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COLUMBIA PAPYRI VII

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by
Gerald M. Browne,
Ann E. Hanson and Ludwig Koenen (Chairman)

Columbia Papyri VII:
Fourth Century Documents from Karanis

Transcribed by Roger S. Bagnall and Naphtali Lewis
Edited with Translation and Commentary
by Roger S. Bagnall

COLUMBIA PAPYRI VII
FOURTH CENTURY DOCUMENTS FROM KARANIS

TRANSCRIBED BY
ROGER S. BAGNALL AND NAPHTALI LEWIS
EDITED WITH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY BY
ROGER S. BAGNALL

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Columbia Papyri VII:
Fourth Century Documents from Karanis
Roger S. Bagnall and Naphtali Lewis

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To the Memory of

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PREFACE

A word of explanation is due the reader at the outset for the number assigned to this volume. The last volume of *Columbia Papyri* was numbered V, and the *Apokrimata*, edited by W. L. Westermann and A. A. Schiller, which were published in 1954, were not part of the series. This papyrus was, however, numbered *123*, in sequence with the last Zenon text, and the volume is often referred to as *P.Col.* VI. For this reason the present volume, beginning with *124*, is numbered VII. (Cf. *P.Lond.* VII, p.iii, for another such decision in similar circumstances.)

Most of the papyri published here are part of the Columbia Papyrus Collection. They were copied by Naphtali Lewis in 1936 and 1937, and some of them have been published by him (and by others) over the years in articles. Pressure of other work, however, has prevented Professor Lewis from undertaking the final publication of the larger mass of material, and when I came to Columbia in 1974, he turned his dossiers over to me. I have revised the transcriptions repeatedly against the originals and photographs, and I take responsibility for their final form, but credit for them in the main belongs to Professor Lewis. The translations and commentaries, on the other hand, are—with the exception of *124*—almost entirely my work, although Professor Lewis has read them and improved them at many points.

The other papyri in this volume belong to the University Library in Oslo, the British Library in London, and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Their relationship in origin and contents to the other parts of the Karanis archives is detailed in the General Introduction (below, pp. 2–4). For several of the Oslo papyri I had the advantage of the preliminary transcriptions made by Leiv Amundsen; two others I identified only during a visit to Oslo in September, 1976. I am very much indebted to Professor Amundsen for the generosity with which he turned over to me the rights of publication of these papyri. (One of them which appeared in a first publication in an article in the meanwhile is included here for the sake of completeness.) His younger colleagues, Martha Eliassen-De Kat and Inger Louise Forselv, helped me during my visit and by correspondence in numerous ways, and I want to renew my thanks to them here.

The British Museum apparently received two papyri of the Karanis find. One of these was published as *P.NYU* 11a; the other I discovered and transcribed during a visit to London in October, 1976. I am indebted to T. S. Pattie of the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library (where the papyri are now kept) for permission to include this papyrus here.

The penultimate version of my typescript was read by Professor H. C. Youtie to its great improvement; I am also obliged to Mrs. Youtie for a painstaking search of the Michigan

collection which revealed no still unpublished texts of these archives. The typescript was subsequently read against the photographs by P. J. Sijpesteijn, who contributed numerous improvements. For the unselfish expenditure of time and care by all these friends, I offer my gratitude; they are not to blame if many of my errors have escaped them.

It remains to thank those whose practical assistance has been valuable: J. F. Gilliam, Curator of the Collection of Papyri, for permission to publish these texts; Kenneth A. Lohf and the staff of the Rare Book Reading Room for their cordial assistance; H. Ballou of the University Library for making the photographs; the Columbia University Council for Research in the Humanities for two summer grants in support of my work on this book; and my brother Robert Bagnall, who typed the final manuscript and eliminated many errors and inconsistencies.

Columbia University
September, 1977

Roger S. Bagnall

CONTENTS

Preface vii
Contents ix
Table of Documents xi
Editorial Procedure xiv
General Introduction 1
A. The Historical Significance of the Karanis Archives 1
B. The Karanis Archives of 275–375 2
C. The Family Connections 4
The Texts 11
Indices 223
I. Emperors 223
II. Regnal Years, Consulates, Indictions and Epigraphai, Months and Days 224
III. Names of Persons 227
IV. Geography 241
V. Religion 243
VI. Official and Military Terms 243
VII. Money and Measures 247
VIII. Taxation 249
IX. General Index of Greek Words 250
X. Subjects Discussed in the Commentaries 273
XI. Texts Discussed or Corrected 273
Concordance of Inventory Numbers and *P.Col.* VII 274
Concordance of *P.Col.* VII and Other Publications 275

TABLE OF DOCUMENTS

		(All dates A.D.)	
124	Extracts from Census Declarations	298–302	11
125	Extract from Census Declarations	after 307	16
126	Account of Money Payments	*ca* 350–365	17
	127–129 ACCOUNTS OF TAXES AND LAND		19
127	Account of Tax on Wine and Meat	363/4 (?)	21
128	Account of Landholdings	*ca* 363/4 (?)	21
129	Account of Payments for Clothing	363/4 (?)	22
130	Account of Payments for Sea Transportation	334/5	23
131	Account of Tax Payments	*ca* 350–360	25
132	Account of Money Payments	*ca* 330–340	26
133	Account of Grain	2nd quarter of IVp	27
134	Account of Money	310–320 (?)	28
135	Account of Grain Deliveries	*ca* 335 (?)	29
135a	Account of Grain	Prob. 340/1 or 355/6	31
136	Receipts for Transportation Charges, Wheat, and Other Taxes	296–298	32
137	Receipts for Taxes in Grain and Money	301–302	37
	138–140 RECEIPTS FOR DELIVERY OF BULLION		44
138	Receipts for Delivery of Bullion	307–308	46
139	Receipts for Delivery of Bullion	308	49
140	Receipts for Delivery of Bullion	308	51
141	Receipts for Various Taxes	308–310	52
141a	Receipt for *Adaeratio* of Barley	314	63
142	Receipts for *Adaeratio*	336	63
	143–165 RECEIPTS FOR DELIVERIES IN KIND		65
143	Receipts for Delivery of Chaff	322–323	105
144	Receipts for Delivery of Wheat	334–335	107
145	Receipt for Delivery of Wheat	335	109
146	Receipts for Deliveries of Barley and Meat	335/6	110
147	Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat and Chaff	337–342	111

148	Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat	340	113
149	Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat	340	116
150	Receipts for Deliveries in Kind	342–346	117
151	Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat	342–343	121
152	Receipts for Deliveries in Kind	343–345	122
153	Receipts for Deliveries in Kind	344–345	125
154	Account and Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat	343	128
155	Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat	343	131
156	Receipt for Delivery of Barley	344	132
157	Receipts for Delivery of Wheat and Meat	344–347	133
158	Receipts for Deliveries in Kind	344	134
159	Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat	344–345	137
160	Receipts for Deliveries in Kind	345–354	138
161	Receipts for Deliveries in Kind	345–351	143
162	Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat	345	146
163	Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat	348	147
164	Receipts for Deliveries in Kind	348–350	148
165	Receipt for Delivery of Barley	349	149
166	Receipt for Dike Work	Probably 345/6	150
167	Account of Work on the Dikes	373	152
168	Receipt for Dike Work	373	153
	169–170 PETITIONS FOR RECOVERY		154
169	Petition for Recovery	318	155
170	Petition for Recovery	318	157
171	Petition to the *Praepositus Pagi*	324	159
172	Petition about Land	*ca* 341–342 (?)	161
173	Petition about Illegal Sale	*ca* 330–340 (?)	163
174	Memorandum and Notes of an Advocate	*ca* 325–350 (342?)	165
175	Hearing before the *Defensor Civitatis*	339	173
176	Loan of Wheat	325	186
177	Loan of Money	326	188
178	Loan of Wheat	327	190
178a	Loan of Wheat	336	192
179	Lease of an Olive Grove	300	194
180	Lease of Land	315/6 or 330/1	196
181	Sale of Land	342	198
	182–184 LOAN CONTRACTS OF TETOUEIS		201
182	Loan of Wheat and Money	372	203
183	Loan of Money	372	205
184	Loan of Money	372	207
185	Receipt for Rent and Taxes	319	208
186	Receipt for Pay	338/9 (?)	210
187	Receipt for Repayment of Debt	*ca* 375 (?)	211

188	Will of a Centurion	320	212
189	Letter about a Payment	IVp	219
190	Letter of Antiourios to Eudaimon	*ca* 340 (?)	220
191	List of Names	Middle IVp	220

EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

Texts in this volume are presented according to the usual papyrological practices. Punctuation, accents and breathings are added. Diaeresis in the text is noted in the apparatus. The following signs have their usual senses:

( )	Resolution of abbreviation or symbol
[ ]	Lacuna in the papyrus
⟨ ⟩	Letters omitted by the scribe
[[ ]]	Letters written, then deleted, by the scribe
{ }	Letters erroneously written by the scribe
αβγ	Letters, the reading of which is uncertain or would be uncertain outside of the context
. . .	Letters of which part or all remain but which have not been read
[± 5]	Approximate number of letters lost in a lacuna and not restored
˹αβγ˺	Letters inserted by the scribe above the line

In addition, the following numerical symbols may need explanation:

M	=	10,000
d	=	¼
∠ . S	=	½
Ш	=	⅔
ꝑ	=	¾
∞	=	1/12 (=ιβ)

Where scribal orthography differs from the standard forms of Greek, the latter are given in the critical apparatus, except in cases of very obvious or common iotacisms. The 'corrected' versions of proper names are given solely to indicate the editor's view of the syntactic role of the names or to indicate the standard spelling of a name when it is considered that we are dealing with an actual error and not a legitimate variant. Errors of case are corrected in the apparatus, not by letters inside ⟨ ⟩ in the text. Names and words of which 'incorrect' forms appear in the text are generally accented there as if the correct form had been written.

Papryri are cited according to the "Checklist" in *BASP* Suppl. 1 (1978); exceptions and additions should be clear. Journals are cited according to the practice of *AJA* 82 (1978) 3–10. Papyri published in this volume are indicated by numerals in italic type.

The following volumes are cited by short title or abbreviation:

Lewis, *ICS* = Naphtali Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services* (Am. Stud.Pap. 3, New Haven 1968; revised pages, New York 1975)

Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* = H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I–III (Amsterdam 1973–1976)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A. *The Historical Significance of the Karanis Archives*

The texts published in this volume are diverse in type, the common lot of volumes of documentary papyri. Their unity is one of time and place—they all date from the period between the reign of Diocletian and the 370's and were found at Karanis—and of persons. The relationship of these papyri to other published texts of the Karanis archives of this period and in particular to the persons known in them is discussed below, pp. 2–9. Some of the papyri belong to or are closely related to the archive of Aurelius Isidoros: these are *124, 125, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 169, 170, 171, 179* and *180; 185* and *188* are more tangentially linked. Others belong to later groups (see infra).

The importance of these papyri, apart from prosopographical, lies principally in the new evidence they provide for a variety of problems in administration, taxation, social and economic history. These are discussed in varying degrees of detail in the introductions to the individual texts, but in order to keep the already large bulk of the manuscript from growing further, a good deal of discussion of these problems has been given elsewhere. In the following pages I have tried only to list what seemed to me the most interesting areas where the papyri in this volume make a contribution and to mention those places in which a discussion appears elsewhere.

Administration: It is particularly the financial administration which is illuminated by these documents. The receipts of *136* have some contribution to make to the discussion of the system of *epigraphai* and *dekaprotoi*, and the receipts of *137* also provide useful information on the *dekaprotoi*, who were abolished in 302.[1] The system of *epigraphai* was the forerunner of the indictional method of taxation and dating documents, which developed in the fourth century and remained dominant in Egypt for centuries. Numerous documents in this volume help to fill out our picture of indictional dating in the fourth century, ranging from *141a* in 314 to *168* in 373. The place of these texts in the problem of indictions in general has been treated fully by K. A. Worp and me in a separate volume.[2]

Judicial administration is illuminated by a number of documents previously published and brought together here: the *defensor civitatis* appears in *175* in a very active role as judge

1. On the abolition, see J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 11 (1974) 60–68. See further my discussion of the terms and number of *dekaprotoi* in *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 160–67, Thomas' remarks on *epigraphai* in *BASP* 15 (1978) 133–45, and our joint note in *BASP* 15 (1978) 185–89.

2. *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Stud.Amst. 8, Zutphen 1978).

and questioner, and a new fragment of that text gives it an exact date. In *174*, I argue that *Narratio* is an inappropriate resolution of the ℕ at the start, and that the document is a draft prepared by a *iuris prudens* (νομικός) for the rhetor of his client. In *188* we have the earliest seven-witness will so far published (A.D. 320).

The Isidoros papyri in the volume add to our repertory of holders of liturgical appointments in Karanis in the early fourth century. Grouping this information with that already available in *P.Cair.Isid.*, I have sketched the available information on the property-holdings of these village liturgists, arguing that very few of them were more than modestly prosperous.[3]

It is in the history of taxation that the most significant contribution of these texts is to be found. With *143–165*, the available stock of grain delivery receipts from fourth-century Karanis is more than doubled, with important results: the entire body of material can now be dated exactly, and it is shown that a major change in grain-tax collection policies and procedures occurred in the 320's, leading to a speed-up of collections and deliveries to river harbors—and hence to government stocks (pp. 93–102).

The evidence of *138–140* permits progress in another area also, the nature of the collections of gold and silver bullion attested in the papyri. On the basis of the figures for Isidoros and his family, I have argued that these collections were forced purchases at fixed prices by the government, assessed on the basis of amount and type of land, or in proportion to wheat taxes.[4] This type of transaction exemplifies the undermining of the coined currency in the fourth century, which was furthered in large part exactly by such government 'purchases' as this, which weakened confidence in the government's own acceptance of its currency, as Alan Bowman has recently shown.[5]

The deterioration of the value of currency in the fourth century and the consequent inflation of prices is exemplified in various ways in these texts. With the creation of a list of prices in this period,[6] it was possible to date *127–129* more accurately; and the price for the land sold in *181* can now be seen to have been very low in purchasing power, barely more than a token payment for land which the seller wished to be rid of, in all likelihood. The declining productivity of the land which led to such desperation is seen also in the considerable number of loans contracted by these farmers, as in *176–178a, 182–184* (and compare *169–170*). Those contracts which involve payments of money to be repaid in goods appear to me to belong to the same class as contracts of loan of wheat, and I have discussed their significance elsewhere.[7] The increasing difficulties of these small and moderately prosperous farmers, who provide the documentation published here, signal the approaching decline and death of the village of Karanis in the early fifth century.

B. *The Karanis Archives of 275–375*

A tentative reconstruction of the sources of the Karanis archives of the early Byzantine Period was set out by Naphtali Lewis in *P.NYU*, pp. ix–x. It is now possible to add to this information in several areas.

3. *BASP* 15 (1978) 9–16.
4. *Cd'E* 52 (1977) 322–36.
5. In his paper at the Fifteenth International Congress of Papyrology, Brussels 1977.
6. See my article (with P. J. Sijpesteijn) in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111–124.
7. *GRBS* 18 (1977) 85–96.

Seventy-five years ago, Edgar J. Goodspeed, presenting his collection of seed-grain receipts from Karanis, remarked that the site had evidently yielded everything that could be expected. He was proven a false prophet first by the native, clandestine digging of about 1920–1924, then by the University of Michigan expedition of 1924–1934. Thousands of papyri and ostraka were found by the two groups. Those properly excavated have in part been published in several volumes of the *Michigan Papyri* (and *Ostraca*); the originals are largely now in Cairo, having been returned by the university.

Some few of these excavation papyri are related to the fourth-century archives which concern us here, but most belong to earlier periods.[8] The papyri clandestinely found and sold to antiquities dealers, on the other hand, had a very rich concentration in the century from 275 to 375, particularly between 300 and 350. The bulk of the first and best-known of the archives, that of Aurelius Isidoros, was purchased by the Egyptian authorities in 1923 and kept in the Cairo Museum, some 143 pieces. The remaining items of this archive and practically all of the other groups came on the market and were purchased in 1923–1925 by H. I. Bell, principally from the dealers Nahman and Kondilios, acting for a consortium which included—to name only those collections which to my knowledge possess Karanis papyri of this period—Michigan, Columbia, New York University (through Columbia), Cornell, Oslo, the British Museum, and Wilfrid Merton. A particularly large number was acquired in 1924. Bell observed that many of the pieces were closely related and made some effort to concentrate them in his allocation, but he remarked that giving all of the related pieces to one institution was not practically feasible. The following table shows the distribution of these years:

Collection	*1923*	*1924*	*1925*	*1926*	*Total*
Michigan	8	3	–	–	11
Columbia	2	52	10	–	64
New York Univ.	–	25	–	–	25
Cornell	–	2	–	–	2
Oslo	7	–	–	–	7
British Museum	–	–	2	–	2
Merton	–	7	–	–	7
Cairo	143	–	–	1	144
	160	89	12	1	262

The publication of these papyri has proceeded as follows:

Michigan, 1923: *P.Mich.* X 596; XII 626, 636, 648, 649, 651
*P.Mich.*Inv. 1409: R. Coles, *TAPA* 97 (1966) 61–66 (*SB* X 10729)
*P.Mich.*Inv. 1410: J. C. Shelton, *JJurPap* 18 (1974) 158–160

Michigan, 1924: *P.Cair.Isid.* 7, 16, 17

Columbia: All published or republished in this volume

Oslo: *P.Oslo* II 38; 6 others published in this volume

British Museum (now British Library): *P.NYU* 11a; *P.Col.* VII 178a

Merton: *P.Mert.* I 30, 31, 37; II 88, 89, 91, 92

Cairo: *P.Cair.Isid.* (all except 7, 16, 17); 1926 piece is part of *175*.

It will be evident from the above that every papyrus from these finds known to me has been published, except for some scraps at New York University which have so little readable text

8. The probably pertinent papyri are: *P.Mich.* VI 376–379, 399–417; VIII 518; IX 530(?), 547(?), 548(?), 573; XII 652(?).

as not to warrant even description. This statement rests on my own examination of all papyri acquired in the pertinent years by Columbia, New York University, Oslo, and the British Library; on Naphtali Lewis' examination of the Cornell collection (which is now housed at Michigan); on Mrs. Louise C. Youtie's examination of the Michigan collection; and on J. D. Thomas' publication of the Merton collection. Saving error, therefore, or purchases outside the cartel by other collections, only Cairo may now have any unpublished texts of this group; no others, however, appear in the papyri photographed by the International Photographic Archive of Papyri thus far.

Since we now have these archives in as near to definitive form as we are likely to reach, this is the proper occasion for a reexamination of the interconnections of these papyri.

C. *The Family Connections of Valerius son of Antiourios and Aion son of Sarapion*

The process of disentangling and interrelating the people and archives in the numerous papyri from fourth-century Karanis has been a long and difficult one. The most recent contributions have been the remarks of Naphtali Lewis in the preface to *P.NYU*, in an article of 1962, and in his paper to the Marburg Congress of 1971.[9] Lewis distinguished the well-known archive of Aurelius Isidoros, which has some 170 texts now known,[10] that centering around Aion son of Sarapion and Valerius son of Antiourios,[11] and the small archive of Aurelia Tetoueis,[12] from the 370's. Lewis sought to establish two lines of connection among the archives: first, he argued that the Sarapion son of Venaphris of *P.NYU* 22 (A.D. 329) might be the father of the Venaphris son of Sarapion who is a lender in one of the Columbia Tetoueis documents (A.D. 372); and secondly, he suggested that Tetoueis' father Hatres was the son of the Atisios whose landholdings figure in a number of Isidoros papyri.

In studying the Columbia papyri from these archives, I have been led to reexamine the family relationships of the various figures involved in the papyri. The following discussion is an attempt to advance the question with the aid of the new evidence joined to the old, devoted to the effort of clarifying the nature of these archives.

We begin our inquiry with Venaphris son of Isas and his wife Eirene. Eirene owned land in the village of Karanis which Venaphris registered in her name in *P.Cair.Isid.* 6. 85–87 (A.D. 300–305). She paid taxes in 308/9 of 12⅓ artabas of wheat, 6 of barley, which suggest holdings of about 8 arouras.[13] Venaphris owed chaff taxes for 310/11 still in 314 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 17.87), but Eirene's name is not mentioned. She may have been dead by this time. Venaphris does not appear after 314.

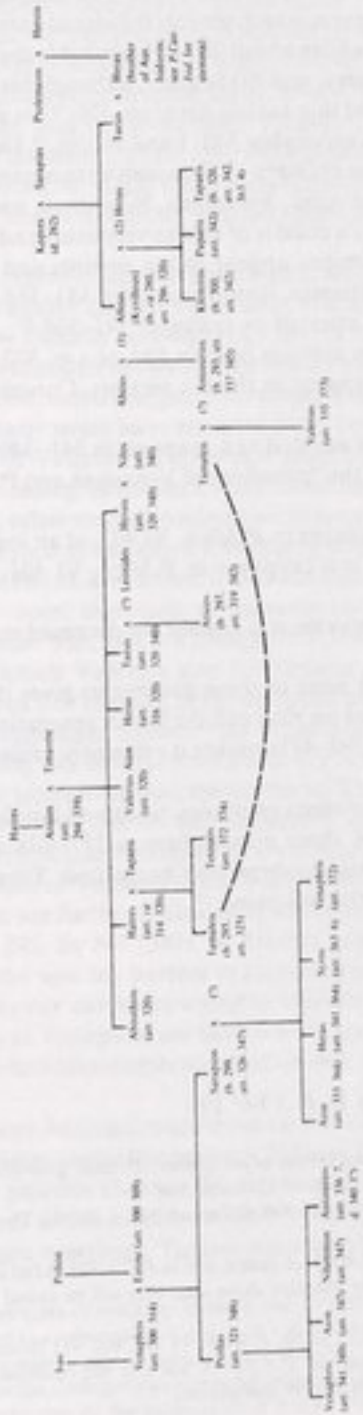
9. *P.NYU*, p. ix; *AJP* 83 (1962) 186; *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (München 1974) 225–26.

10. *P.Cair.Isid.* (146 documents), *P.Mert.* I 30, 31; II 88, 89, 91, 92; *P.Mich.* IX 573, XII 626, 636; 13 pieces in the Columbia collection; *P.NYU* 1, 21.

11. *P.NYU* includes some 25 pieces of this archive; *P.Mich.* X 596 and XII 648, 649, and 651 are related to it. The present volume contains another 50 or so pieces, including a few from the Oslo collection.

12. *P.Oslo* II 38, *P.NYU* 24, *P.Mert.* I 37 and the three Columbia pieces, *182–184*.

13. It is true that Eirene has no patronymic in *P.Cair.Isid.* 6.85–86, while in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.93, 202 the patronymic Polion is given and no husband is mentioned. But there is no other person in Karanis with her name at this time, and the identification is not doubtful. The payment figures cannot be the whole taxes for any number of arouras (cf. for the computation *Cd'E* 54 [1977] 322–36), so that we are probably to suppose some arrears left unpaid.



FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE KARANIS ARCHIVES

Their son, Sarapion, appears in a number of documents ranging from 326 to 346/7, in two of which his mother's name is given, which secures the identification. In one he is stated to be about 30 years old in 329,[14] thus born about 299. It is probable that Ptollas son of Venaphris, who was Sarapion's contemporary, was his brother, although his mother's name is nowhere mentioned. Ptollas is mentioned in a taxing list from 336/7, as a taxpayer in 345, and as a taxpayer in indictions 14 and 6 (probably 340/1 and 347/8).[15] This probable relationship is strengthened by the fact that the children of Sarapion were named Aion, Heras, Syros, and Venaphris; those of Ptollas were Aion, Venaphris, Nilammon, and perhaps Antiourios. The use of the grandfather's name for a child is of course very usual and appears in both branches.

The children of these two families appear in tax receipts and contracts as follows:

1) Aion son of Sarapion is attested from (probably) 333–364 as a taxpayer.[16]

2) Heras son of Sarapion is attested as taxpayer 341–364.[17]

3) Venaphris son of Sarapion appears only in *184*, of A.D. 372, where he lends money to Aurelia Tetoueis. He does not appear in the tax receipts. Conceivably he was the youngest son.

4) Venaphris son of Ptollas is attested as a taxpayer in 341–349 in a number of texts, and he is probably the Venaphris of the "*pittakion* of Venaphris and Ptollas" (with his father?) in *154* (A.D. 343).[18]

5) Aion son of Ptollas is a taxpayer in *P.Mich.* VI 402, of an indiction 6, probably 347/8.

6) Nilammon son of Ptollas is a taxpayer in *P.Mich.* VI 401, 403, 404, and 405, all of indiction 6 (again 347/8).

7) Antiourios son of Ptollas may be, it is argued, the deceased man of *135a*, and appears in *P.NYU* 3 and *178a*, from 336.

It must be acknowledged that none of these documents gives the name of the mother of any of the seven members of what we may call the fourth generation. But the archival nature of our texts (and of *P.Mich.* VI 399–411) makes it extremely probable that the relationships were as stated.

We turn now to a group of accounts of money taxes and landholdings. Two of these are published as *P.NYU* 14 and 19; three appear here as *127*, *128* and *129*. For our present purposes, other than personal relationships may be ignored. These texts list essentially the same people in each; these are the following:[19]

Valerius son of Antiourios
Aion son of Sarapion
Heras son of Sarapion
Tapaeis (not in *P.NYU* 19)
heirs of Tamaleis and Alia
Syros son of Sarapion (only in *P.NYU* 19)

14. *177* (326) and *P.NYU* 22 (329) name Eirene as his mother; the latter gives his age. The others are *P.NYU* 23 (326/7, doubtful), *149*.1–18 (340), and *161*.20–32 (345 and 346/7).

15. *P.NYU* 12 (336/7); *162* (345); *P.Mich.* VI 406, 412 (prob. 340/1, 347/8). The undated list *O.Mich.* I 268 lists him or a homonym as *kephalaiotes*.

16. He appears in numerous texts in *P.NYU*, cf. index, and in *P.Col.* VII. A full listing of his tax receipts appears in pp. 76–91 below, and a defense of the absolute dates used here will be found below, pp. 65–70.

17. See n. 16 for references.

18. *P.NYU* 11a.157, 5.34; *152*.13, *154*.23,32,36; *P.Mich.* VI 399, 400, 411 (indictions 6 and 8).

19. The patronymics mostly appear only in *P.NYU* 19, but it is not doubtful that the people are the same throughout (the hand is even the same in all five documents).

We can see at once that another son of Sarapion may be added to the family, and that this son was probably the replacement for Tapaeis in the *pittakion* (*P.NYU* 19 must therefore be the latest of the texts). This group of texts comes from a seventh indiction, probably 363/4.[20]

In conjunction with this group is to be taken the petition *172* (no date), in which Valerius son of Antiourios complains that the *horiodiktes* Palemon had registered the entire 80 arouras assigned to him and his brothers as arable, when in fact only half of the parcel was fit for cultivation; and in addition, he made some complaint about the twenty-three arouras held by Tapaeis daughter of Heras, a relative, who had taken to flight. (The text breaks off at this point.)

181 is a contract whereby Aurelii Klemitos and Tapaeis, both children of Heras and Alous (Klemitos is 42 years old, Tapaeis 22) sell 9½ arouras of arable land in the *horiodiktia* of Karanis; the date is 342. Now Tapaeis' holdings years later in *128* (*ca* 363/4) are given as 12½ arouras, and the 9½ sold in 342 added to this comes out only one short of the 23 mentioned in the petition in *172*. The petition, therefore, probably comes from a time anterior to the sale of the 9½ arouras in 342; Tapaeis must have returned from her flight.

Two important remarks of Valerius' petition now need examination: first, he refers to himself and his brothers as holding 80 arouras; and second, he calls Tapaeis his kinswoman (συγγενική). As to the first, other sons of Antiourios are entirely lacking from the texts; but more importantly, it is three sons of Sarapion who appear with him consistently throughout both lists and receipts: Aion, Heras, and Syros. It does not seem possible to avoid concluding that these are his brothers—sons, therefore, of the same mother but not father.[21] We are nowhere told who this woman was, but I will suggest a probable identification later.

The term "kinswoman" which Valerius uses for Tapaeis suggests only that she is not something simple and obvious like mother, sister, daughter or the like. In fact, the available evidence allows only one suggestion, namely that Tapaeis was the half-sister of Valerius' father. The chain of reasoning has several links which are not demonstrable, but none that are not probable. First, it is interesting that the mother of Klemitos and Tapaeis in *181* has the same name as the mother of one of the purchasers, one Antiourios son of Abous. Antiourios was 49 years old in 342, according to the contract, thus born in 293. He belongs to the generation of Sarapion son of Venaphris, and is therefore of the right age to be the father of Valerius. His connections are further indicated by his appearance in tax receipts, *147, 148* and *162*, between 337 and 345. In *148* (340), he delivers grain as *kephalaiotes* along with Atisios son of Leonides, who was his partner in acquiring land from Tapaeis (and, as her petition, *173*, shows, his partner earlier in trying to swindle her out of the land). And his connections with the family of Venaphris are shown in the fact that Ptollas son of Venaphris was the other taxpayer who had his receipts recorded on *162*. *P.NYU* 9 (344) is another of his tax receipts.[22]

Now if the Allous who bore Antiourios to Abous *ca* 293 was the mother also of Klemitos and Tapaeis, she married Heras sometime between 293 and 300 (the approximate birthdate of Klemitos). It is entirely possible that the Papeeis son of Heras who appears in 345 as a taxpayer (*160*.35–44) in a text which includes mainly receipts given to Aion son of Sarapion, was a third child of the same marriage. Tapaeis was thus the much younger (by 27 years)

20. The date is based on the amounts of currency involved; see *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111–124.

21. I find a curious confirmation in a reference to Aion son of Antiourios in *160*.64, in a context where the son of Sarapion *must* be meant. Such an error would be natural only if Aion was generally known as Valerius' brother.

22. Antiourios also shared duties (as *sitologos* it seems) with Ptollas son of Venaphris in a tenth indiction which is probably 336/7, *P.NYU* 12; he may also be the collector (?) of *P.NYU* 17 (preceding indiction 8).

daughter of Antiourios' mother Allous, and hence a kind of half-aunt of Valerius; no wonder that he called her a *συγγενική*. We leave these people for now to inquire after the next-to-last entry on the lists, heirs of Tamaleis and Alia. The latter I have not succeeded in identifying, but Tamaleis is not difficult. She appears in *176*, a loan of grain of 325, as the borrower. She is identified as the daughter of Hatres and Tapaeis, about 30 years old (i.e. born about 295). Now another daughter of Hatres and Tapaeis is known, none other than Aurelia Tetoueis, who so styles herself in *183* and *184*. Tetoueis may well have been substantially younger than Tamaleis, who was evidently dead by the latter 340's. Even so, Tetoueis probably lived to a good old age.

A link is thus forged between the Tetoueis archive and the archives of the 340's.[23] But this is not all: Lewis has already shown that the Hatres son of Atisios (who may well be Tetoueis' father, he argues) and Heras son of Atisios were brothers, and sons of Atisios son of Hatres, whose property in and around Karanis is abundantly documented by *P. Mich.* XII 626 and 636, *P. NYU* 20, and *124* and *125*, as well as other documents of the Isidoros archive. One of his sons was the testator of the will presented by Lewis to the Marburg Congress (now *188*), in which he leaves his property in part to his five siblings: Heras, Abouthios, Hatres, Thaesis, and Herois (320). Thaesis (Taesis) and Herois appear again in *175*,[24] a hearing on ownership from which it emerges that Atisios had held the land in question from about 294 until he died in about 337, and that Herois and Taesis had then inherited it. They had fled to avoid taxes, but returned within a year and the villagers who had cultivated the land handed it back to them. The hearing dates to May, 339; from it we also learn that Herois had married a man called Nilos.

The relationship of Tamaleis to the group of Valerius and Aion, however, is still obscure. One (and only one) hypothesis, however, explains all of the data extremely well: she was the twice-married woman who was their mother, wife of Antiourios and of Sarapion—in what order we do not know. That these two men, Valerius and Aion, should commonly own her property would be natural, and it is hard to see why else the property of a woman apparently unrelated (by blood) should pass into this family. Before we try to fit in some of the minor figures of the archives, we must turn back to Allous. Just one woman of the proper generation is known in Karanis. She was the daughter of Kopres and Sarapias, and the sister of the Taesis who was married to Heras son of Ptolemaios—the brother of Aurelius Isidoros. We do not know of any husbands of this woman from the Isidoros papyri. She was generally called Kyrillous, but *P. Cair. Isid.* 104.4 and 105 show us that Ἀλλοῦς was her nickname.[25] Her period of attested activity runs from 296 to 316, but she was certainly born by about 282, when her father died. She could well have been born about 280, a mother at 13, at 20 and perhaps for the last time at 40. Given the limited population of Karanis, especially in the landholding class, together with the fact that Kyrillous/Allous did own land (as did the mother of Klemitos and Tapaeis) the identification has considerable verisimilitude. Since Heras son of Ptolemaios was married to Taesis in 300 (date of Klemitos' birth), it is not probable that he was the Heras who married Allous. Much more likely is Heras son of Atisios—but even that is a guess, since the name is common.

A few other figures deserve comment now. First, Atisios son of Leonides and Taesis, who was a lessee in 319 (*185*), a taxpayer (and *kephalaiotes*) in 340 (*148*) and a purchaser of land

23. It may also be of interest that Valerius son of Antiourios was still alive in 373; cf. *167–168*.

24. Published by Lewis and Kraemer in *TAPA* 68 (1937) 357–87 (*SB* V 8246).

25. Her other texts are *P. Cair. Isid.* 62.2 (296); 64.2 (298); 6.238–243 (300–305); 9.162,276 (308/9); 17.66 (314); 53.2,18,24 (313–4); 55.3,10 (314); 59.11 (316); cf. N. Lewis, *BASP* 16 (1979) 206.

in 342 (*181*), when he was 45 years old. His close association with Antiourios son of Abous has been pointed out already. Again one cannot be sure, but the habit of giving the grandfather's name to the child points to Taesis daughter of Hatres as the mother; the dates are suitable enough.

Ammonios son of Atisios, a taxpayer in 342–344 (*151*, *154*, and *158*), could be another son of Atisios son of Hatres (see *188* for this family), but he is not one of the heirs in *188*, and the association would be pure speculation. It is interesting that *151* has receipts given to him and to Ptolemaios son of Aion. Two other sons of Aion appear, a Ptollas (the same, perhaps?) in *144*.16–17 (334?), and a Sabinos (*O.Mich.* 204, perhaps of 336). These texts suggest the existence of otherwise unknown branches of the families we have been discussing, but again it would be impossible to add them to the stemma without further evidence. The same must be said of the two sons of Valerius, Paianos (334: *SB* X 10729 and *159*) and Horion (341, 343: *P.NYU* 11a.172–173; 7.12–17).

The stemma above is based on the above discussion; it includes all relationships which the above discussion has to my mind rendered certain or probable; the concluding speculations are not represented on it.

THE TEXTS

124

Extracts From Census Declarations

Inv. 181 (11) 68 x 24.5 cm. 298–302

Published: N. Lewis, *P.Coll.Youtie* II 76

Grayish tan papyrus, complete in its outer dimensions but damaged in the lower half. The three columns of writing, in a large and clear upright hand, cross four joins of papyrus sheets (Column II is spread across two); at the left a margin of 10 cm., originally left blank, was later used to record two receipts for the delivery of grain, written by another hand, also across a join, published below as *146*. The clear widths of the *kollemata* between the total of joins are 15, 13.3, 15 and 14 cm.

The document is an extract—two extracts, to be precise—from the records of the census of 297, taken in the Arsinoite Nome by Iulius Septimius Sabinus. *P.Cair.Isid.* 2, introduction, discusses the conduct of the census in some detail. These extracts list the various holdings of Atisios son of Hatres of Karanis. Twelve parcels of land, of divers categories, are registered in Atisios' name, two of them being held in partnership. Seven of the parcels are in the fiscal district known as *κώμη Καρανίδος*, the other five in that called *ὁριοδικτία Καρανίδος*; on these designations see the introductions to *P.Cair.Isid.* 5 and 6.

This text was composed between the date of the census and 302, since Atisios ceded possession of his property in the first and fifth *sphragides* of the *horiodiktia* in that year, a transaction recorded in *P. Mich.* XII 636, of which *P.NYU* 20 is another copy (see revised text in *P.Mich.* XII, pp. 38–41). *124* was used by Browne in preparing *P.Mich.* XII 626, which is another (fragmentary) copy of the text which occupies lines 2–29 of our papyrus, as well as in editing *P.Mich.* 636, as it had been by Boak and Youtie, who mention it in the introductions of *P.Cair.Isid.* 2 and 6.

→ Column I

ἀ(ντίγραφον)
ἐξ ἀπογραφῶν Σαβείνου κηνσίτορος· κώμης Καρανίδος
Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρῆ ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος
4 δ/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπῳ Στω λεγομ(ένῳ) β(ασιλικῆς) σπορ(ᾶς) ιγ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) θ̄ $\overline{\text{ις λβ ξδ}}$
ἀνατολ(ῶν) γῆ ἀβρόχου ἀδέσποτος διόλου, δυσμ(ῶν) Ἥρωνος
καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ἀπὸ κοινωνίας Ἥρωνος ἰδιω(τικῆς) σ(πορᾶς) ιγ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) δ d η $\overline{\text{ξδ}}$
ἀνατολ(ῶν) καὶ δυσμῶν Ἥρωνος κτῆσις
8 ς/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπ(ῳ) Τμουειταλη λεγομ(ένῳ) β(ασιλικῆς) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) η d η $\overline{\text{ις}}$
ἀνατολ(ῶν) Λεονίδου δυσμ(ῶν) ὑδραγωγὸς μεθ' (ὃν) Πανν[illegible]
ζ/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπῳ Ταπατης λεγομ(ένῳ) β(ασιλικῆς) σπο(ρίμης) (ἀρ.) γ θ̄ $\overline{\text{ις ξδ}}$
καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπ(ῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπο(ρᾶς) φοιν(ικῶνος) ιβ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) ε
12 ἀνατολ(ῶν) ὑδραγωγὸς μεθ' (ὃν) ἄβροχ(ος) ἀδέσποτ(ος) διόλου
δυσμῶν Ἡρακλέου
ια/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπ(ῳ) Πελουα λεγομ(ένῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) γ η
ἀνατολ(ῶν) γῆ ἄβροχ(ος) ἀδέσποτ(ος) διόλου
16 δυσμ(ῶν) γῆ χέρσο(ς) ξυλίτιδος διόλου
ιγ/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπ(ῳ) Πιασοκμην λεγομ(ένῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορ(ίμης) (ἀρ.) ε ∠ η $\overline{\text{ις ξδ}}$
ἀνατολ(ῶν) Ἀβοίκεως κτῆσις δυσμ(ῶν) Παησίου κτῆσις
ιδ/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπ(ῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορίμης (ἀρ.) ιδ d $\overline{\text{ις}}$
20 καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπ(ῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) χέρσου (ἀρ.) η
ἀνατολ(ῶν) ὑδραγωγὸς [με]θ' (ὃν) Ἀβοίκε[ως] ˋκτῆσις´ δυσμ(ῶν)....[

Column II

ιη/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπῳ Πααλαμα λεγομ(ένῳ) ἀπὸ κοινωνίας
Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Ἥρωνος καὶ Ἑλένη ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορᾶς ιδ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) ∠ η $\overline{\text{ις λβ ξδ}}$
24 ἀνατολ(ῶν) Ἰσιδώρου κτῆσις δυσμ(ῶν) χέρσο(ς) ξυλῖτι(ς) διόλου
(γίνονται) ὁμοῦ βασι(λικῆς) σπορίμ(ης) (ἀρ.) δ ∠ η $\overline{\text{ις}}$
ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορίμ(ης) (ἀρ.) λ $\overline{\text{η ξδ}}$
β(ασιλικῆς) ἀβρόχου (ἀρ.) η d η $\overline{\text{ις}}$
28 ἰδιω(τικῆς) ἀβρόχου (ἀρ.) γ η

ἰδιω(τικῆς) χέρσου (ἀρ.) η
β/ τόμ(ου) κολλημ(άτων) ξς̣ζ

ὁριοδικτίας κώμης Καρανίδος
ἀτῖσις Ἀτρῆ ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος
α/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τ[όπ(ῳ)] Τ̣αλιναρτυ λεγομ(ένῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) στορί[μ(ης) (ἀρ.)] γ η ξδ
καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐ[τ]ῷ τόπ(ω) ἰδιω(τικῆς) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) d ιϛ
καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπ(ω) βασι(λικῆς) σπορίμ(ης) (ἀρ.) ς ϐ η
καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπ(ω) βασι(λικῆς) σπορᾶς ιγ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) d η ις
[κ]αὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπ(ω) βασι(λικῆς) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ∠ [ις]
ἀ[ν]α̣τ̣ο̣λ̣(ῶν) ...[... δυσ]μ(ῶν) διῶρ(υξ) μεθ' (ἧν) χέρσος δ[ιόλου

Column III

ε/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπ(ω) Τκαειν̣π̣α̣ω̣ λεγομ(ένῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορ(ᾶς) [ιγ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) β]
ἀνατολ(ῶν) Ταυημέρας δυσμ(ῶν) Παησίου
ζ/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπ(ω) Παμμαρς λεγομ(ένῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορίμ[ης (ἀρ.) ?]
ἀνατολ(ῶν) Σερηνί(ου) δυσμ(ῶν) Παησίου
η/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπ(ω) Καλατους λεγομ(ένῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπο[ρίμης (ἀρ.) ?]
ἀνατολ(ῶν) Ταησίου δυσμ(ῶν) Ἰσιδώρου
(γίνονται) ὁμοῦ βασι(λικῆς) σπορ(ίμης) (ἄρ.) ζ d ις
ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορίμης (ἄρ.) ι d [η ξδ]
βασι(λικῆς) ἀβρόχου (ἀρ.) ∠ [ις]
ἰδιω(τικῆς) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) d ις
β/ τόμου κολλη(μάτων) οθπ
γί(νονται) ὁμοῦ τῶν δύο ἀπογραφῶν
βασι(λικῆς) σπορίμης (ἄρ.) ιβ
βασι(λικῆς) ἀβρόχου (ἄρ.) θ-
ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορίμης (ἄρ.) μ ∠ λβ
ἰδιω(τικῆς) ἀβρόχου (ἄρ.) γ d η ις

5 ἄβροχος 9 δυσμ-(?) ὑδρ- pap. 16 ξυλῖτις 20 [γ|η' ed. pr.; dubious that there is a letter before η' 23 Ἐλένης

Copy

From the declarations (for the census) of Sabinus, *censitor:* village of Karanis, Atisios son of Hatres, of the village of Karanis.

Section 4, in the area called Sto, royal land classed arable in year 13, $^{35}/_{64}$ ar.; on the east ownerless uninundated land continuously; on the west (property of) Heron; and in the same area, in partnership with Heron, private land classed arable in year 13, $4^{25}/_{64}$ ar., on east and west property of Heron.

Section 6, in the area called Tmoueitale, royal land, uninundated, $8^{7}/_{16}$ ar.; on the east (property of) Leonides; on the west an irrigation ditch, then (property of) Pannous.

Section 7, in the area called Tapates, royal land, arable, $3^{53}/_{64}$ ar., and in the same area, private land in a palm grove, classed arable in year 12, 5 ar.; on the east an irrigation ditch, then ownerless uninundated land continuously; on the west (property of) Herakles.

Section 11, in the area called Peloua, private land, uninundated, $3^{1}/_{8}$ ar.; on the east ownerless uninundated land continuously; on the west dry brush land continuously.

Section 13, in the area called Piasokmen, private arable land, $5^{45}/_{64}$ ar.; on the east property of Aboikis; on the west property of Paesios.

Section 14, in the same area, private arable land, $14^{5}/_{16}$ ar., and in the same area, private dry land, $^{1}/_{8}$ ar.; on the east an irrigation ditch, then the property of Aboikis; on the west. . . .

Column II

Section 18, in the area called Paalama, in partnership with Isidoros and Heron and Helene, private land classed arable in year 14, $^{47}/_{64}$ ar.; on the east property of Isidoros; on the west dry brush land continuously.

Totals:	royal arable	$4^{11}/_{16}$ ar.
	private arable	$30^{9}/_{64}$ ar.
	royal uninundated	$8^{7}/_{16}$ ar.
	private uninundated	$3^{1}/_{8}$ ar.
	private brush	$^{1}/_{8}$ ar.

Volume 2, pages 66–7.

Horiodiktia of the village of Karanis
Atisis son of Hatres, of the village of Karanis.

Section 1, in the area called Talinarty, private arable land, $3^{9}/_{64}$ ar.,
and in the same area private land, uninundated, $^{5}/_{16}$ ar.,
and in the same area royal arable land, $6^{7}/_{8}$ ar.,
and in the same area royal land classed arable in year 13, $^{7}/_{16}$ ar.,
and in the same area royal land, uninundated, $^{9}/_{16}$ ar.,
on the east . . . ; on the west a canal, then dry land continuously.

Column III

Section 5, in the area called Tkaeinpao, private land classed arable [in the 13th year, 2 ar.;] on the east (property of) Tauemera; on the west (property of) Paesios.

Section 7, in the area called Pammars, private arable land, [. . .]. ar.; on the east (property of) Serenius; on the west (property of) Paesios.

Section 8, in the area called Kalatous, private arable land, [..]. ar.; on the east (property of) Taesis; on the west (property of) Isidoros.

Totals:	royal arable	$7\frac{5}{16}$ ar.
	private arable	$10\frac{25}{64}$ ar.
	royal uninundated	$\frac{9}{16}$ ar.
	private uninundated	$\frac{5}{16}$ ar.

Volume 2, pages 79–80.

Total altogether of the two declarations:

royal arable	12 ar.
royal uninundated	9 ar.
private arable	$40\frac{17}{32}$ ar.
private uninundated	$3\frac{7}{16}$ ar.

4,6 (sim. 23, 36). σπορ(ᾶς) ιγ (ἔτους): the significance of such expressions is discussed by Lewis in *JEA* 29 (1943) 71–73. Land so designated was brought under (or restored to) cultivation in year 13 of Diocletian (=296/7). As the land has remained arable since then, such parcels are not separately listed in the totals (lines 25–39, 45–48, 51–54) but included in the totals of σπορίμη. Cf. also *P.Cair.Isid.* 4, introd.

11. The shade of the palm tree was (and still is) regarded as favorable for the growth of various crops: cf. M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten* (Münch. Beitr. 7, München 1925) 295–96.

16, etc. χέρσος is land permanently dry and unproductive, in contrast to ἄβροχος (*passim*), which designates cultivable land temporarily unsown because unreached by water.

18. Cf. *P. Mich.* XII 636.10 for the estate of Paesis.

19. The copyist first wrote σπορ, intending to abbreviate as in line 17, then added ιμης.

21. κτῆσις is added below the line. At the end, a proper name is expected. It is just possible that κτῆσις is meant to follow the lost name and that the word was omitted altogether after Aboikis' name.

22. Browne (*P.Mich.* XII 626.19n.) points out that a place called Παχαλαμα appears in *SB* VI 9242d.

29. Though listed here, this ¼ aroura of dry land is omitted from the later totals (lines 45–48, 51–54).

30. κολλ. ξς̣ζ: pages 66–7. This type of composite reference to more than one page in the archives occurs here for the first time, as far as we are aware. Any doubt as to the meaning is dispelled by the comparable οθπ, i.e. 79–80, of line 49.

33–38. These parcels are all ceded in *P.Mich.* XII 636.5–8.

39–43. Subtracting the $3\frac{9}{64}$ aroura of line 33 from this category's total of $10\frac{25}{64}$ (line 46) shows that the three parcels listed in lines 39–43 totaled $7\frac{1}{4}$ ar. *P.Mich.* XII 636.6 and *P.NYU* 20.7 show that the parcel of the fifth *sphragis* (ceded there) was 2 arouras; the restoration in line 39 comes from those texts. There is no way to tell how the remaining $5\frac{1}{4}$ ar. divided between the other two parcels.

125

Extract from Census Declarations

Inv. 181 (25) 10.5 x 26 cm. after 307

Portion of single *kollema*, broken only at top. Folded in middle vertically, and at least four times horizontally. Lower half and back blank.

This text is, like *124*, an extract from the census declarations addressed to Iulius Septimius Sabinus, the *censitor* of 297. Unlike *124*, however (and that text's parallel, *P. Mich.* XII 626), *125* contains only one piece of the property of Atisios son of Hatres, that in the 18th section of the village of Karanis.It was not, to judge from its format (alone on a single sheet with the lower half blank and no damage at the sides) part of a comprehensive listing of Atisios' property. It is directly paralleled by *124*.22–24 and *P. Mich.* XII 626.19–21.

The date of this copy is indicated to be in or after 307/8 by the appearance in line 2 of the *pagus* (5th) in which Karanis lay, in place of the *meris*. Cf. J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 11 (1974) 60–61, for a recent summary of the evidence on the introduction of the *pagi*. There does not seem to be any means of setting a *terminus ante quem* for the text.

→ *ἐξ ἀπογραφῶ[ν Σα]βείνου κ̣η̣ν̣σίτορ[ος]*
κώμης Καρανίδος ε πάγου Ἀρ(σινοίτου) νο(μοῦ)
Ἀτῖσις Ἀτρῆ ἀπὸ Καρανίδος
4 *ιη' σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπῳ Πααλαμα*
λεγομένῳ ἀπὸ κοινωνίας
Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Ἥρωνος
καὶ Ἑλένης ἰδιωτικῆς
8 *σπορᾶς ιδ (ἔτους)´ (ἀρούρης) ∠ η ις λβ ξδ''*
ἀνατολῶν Ἰσιδώρου
δυσμῶν χέρσο(ς) ξυλῖτις
χῆ διόλου

---

12 *ἀπε̣γρά(ψατο) ἅμα ἄλλαις ἀρούραις.*

6 ἰσιδωρου pap. 7 ἰδιωτικης pap. 9 ἰσιδωρου pap.; σ ex ζ, δ ex ο

Excerpt from the declarations (for the census of) Sabinus the *censitor*, from the village of Karanis in the 5th *pagus* of the Arsinoite Nome.

Atisis son of Hatres from Karanis. Section 18, in the area called Paalama, in partnership with Isidoros and Heron and Helene, private land classed as arable in year 14, $^{47}/_{64}$ ar. On the east, property of Isidoros; on the west, dry brush land continuously.

He registered them with his other arouras.

126

Accounts of Money Payments

P. Oslo Inv. 518 25.2 x 26.3 cm. *ca* 350–365

Light brown papyrus, complete at top and both sides. The bottom is damaged, but the original edge may be preserved in places.

Like other accounts in this group, the present text lists payments made, presumably for some tax, by Aion son of Sarapion, and others. Line 11 tells us that Aion was a *παραλημπτής*, receiver; it does not say of what. *Paralemptai* were receivers of taxes in kind (cf. Lewis, *ICS* s.v.); Aion is therefore probably recording here payments of an *adaeratio*.

The persons who appear in the list are in part known to us, in part not. Aion and his brother Heras appear, likewise Tapaeis and Tetoueis, who must be the women of that name who appear in other accounts of the family. None of the other persons can be identified with confidence, but Nilammon, Sokrates and Atisis are certainly attested names in Karanis in this period, and only the absence of a patronymic prevents our seeking an identification. The date rests on the known span of Aion's activity (see above, p. 6), coupled with the amounts of money listed (above, p. 7). The writer consistently writes omicron for omega in the names Aion, Sarapion, Sokrates, and Heron.

Column I

→ Δι' Ἀιῶν Σαραπίον
Ἡλίας (τάλ.) Ϛφν
Ἀιῶν Σαραπίον (τάλ.) ∩ δ Ἐσ
4 Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίον (τάλ.) Ἠτ
Σοκράτης (τάλ.) ‹∩› β Ἀχ
Λήειν (τάλ.) Ἀχ
[[Ἀματᾶς (τάλ.) ∩ α Θφ]]
8 Ἀτολᾶς (τάλ.) υ
(τάλ.) ∩ ι Ϛσν
(τάλ.) ∩ η Ϛχν
(M2) Ἀιῶν Σαραπ[ίο]ῡος παραλημπτής
12 Ἀιῶν ∩ . [amount]
Τα[μ]άλε̣ι̣[ς amount]
Ἀτῖρις [amount]
Ἡρᾶς Σαρο̣[πίονος] (τάλ.) ψπ
16 Τ̣ερμοῖ[θιον (τάλ.)] Ϛυ
Ν̣ιλάμμ[ωνος] (τάλ.) ∩ γ ρ

Column II

(M3) ὀνόματος Κολλοίθου
δι(ὰ) Ταπάεις (τάλ.) Θτ
20 καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Ἡρᾶς (τάλ.) Ἀσν

ὁμοίως Ταπάεις
ὑπὲρ τῶν δύο ὀνομάτων (τάλ.) ∩ α χ
6 cm. blank
(M2) ὑποδοχὴ Ἀιόνο(ς) Σαραπίονο(ς)
24 Τιτρύεις (τάλ.) ∩ ε ων
Πανκράτις (τάλ.) ∩ α Δσις
Ἥρᾶς Σαραπίονος (τάλ.) Ε υν
Ἥρον Ὅλ (τάλ.) Ϝψ
28 (γίνεται) ὁμοῦ ∩ ζ φ. ἄλλα (τάλ.) Γψ

1, 3, 11, 12, 23 Ἀιών, -ῶνος 1, 3, 4, 11, 15, 23, 26 Σαραπίωνος 4 Ἡ corrected from ϛ. 5 Σωκράτης 7 Ἠ corrected from washed out Ἐ, then entire line crossed out. After this line remnants visible of a line which was entirely washed out. 9 Originally ∩ι ρν 22 α corrected from Ἀ 27 Ἥρων

Through Aion son of Sarapion
Elias tal. 6,550
Aion son of Sarapion tal. 45,200
Heras son of Sarapion tal. 8,300
Sokrates tal. 24,600
Leein tal. 1,600
Amatas tal. 19,500 (cancelled)
Atolas tal. 400
total, tal. 106,250

tal. 86,650
(M2) Aion son of Sarapion, receiver
Aion [ ]
Tamaleis [ ]
Atisis [ ]
Heras son of Sarapion tal. 780
Termou[thion tal.] 6,400
Nilammon tal. 30,100

Column II

(M3) In the name of Kollouthes,
through Tapaeis tal. 9,300
And for the name of Heras tal. 1,250
Likewise Tapaeis for the two names tal. 10,600
(M2) Receipts of Aion son of Sarapion:
Titoueis tal. 50,850
Pankratis tal. 14,216
Heras son of Sarapion tal. 5,400
Heron son of Hol tal. 3,700
Total. tal. 70,500. Another tal. 3,700.

9. The scribe added the amounts in lines 2, 3, 4 (before correction, 6,300 T.), 5, 6, 7 (before correction, 15,500 T.), and 8 to reach the figure originally written here, 100,150 T. He then

added 2,000 T. to the amount in line 4, and 4,000 T. to that in line 7, and corrected line 9 to read 106,250, just 100 above the correct total.

10. This figure was reached by subtracting 19,500, the amount deleted in line 7, from the previous total in line 10.

21–22. The word order suggests that line 21 is to be taken with line 22, not with line 20, for in the latter case, the phrase ὁμοίως Ταπάεις should have appeared in line 20 before the amount. It is worth recording, however, that the amount in line 22 as corrected, 10,600, is close to the sum of the figures in 19 and 20 (10,550); it is possible that line 21 was added as an afterthought.

23. It appears that ὑποδοχή is corrected, in that the delta may originally have been a lambda. The word signifies the receipt of money or goods by a tax-collector; a good parallel is *PSI* VIII 959.1, which probably belongs in much this period, cf. *ZPE* 24 (1977) 123.

27. A Heron son of Hol was the surety for Sarapion son of Venaphris in *P.NYU* 22, A.D. 329; it may be the same man here.

28. The total of 70,500 was written before line 27, which is consequently listed after the total as a further payment. Even so, the payments of lines 24–27, if read correctly, total 70,516, not 70,500 given by the scribe. Perhaps the 16 were disregarded as insignificant.

127–129

Accounts of Taxes and Land

These three documents are closely related to *P.NYU* 14 and 19. All five were written by the same hand, all deal with essentially the same persons, listed in much the same order, and all probably come from the same or nearly the same time; two mention the 7th indiction. In the discussion of the families and properties of the people involved, in the General Introduction, it is argued that this indiction is probably 363/4. A list of similar format, but with mostly different people, is published as *P.Mich.* XII 651 (no date, but probably contemporary).

The following chart sets out the amounts of money and land listed in the various texts. It is clear that there are some important interrelationships. The amounts in *127* and *P.NYU* 14 are virtually the same, the differences being a matter of a few hundred talents. These figures are in turn related to those in *129* in that for Aion, Valerius and Tapaeis, the ratio of *127* to *129* is 7:8; for Heras it is almost the same, for the heirs, 8:9. The two lists of landholdings do not match up with the taxes quite so well, but the ratio of Tapaeis to the heirs in *P.NYU* 14 and *128* is exactly the same, $2\frac{3}{16}$:1. And roughly the same proportion between the taxes and land of Valerius, of Aion and Heras together, and of Tapaeis is kept (using the figures of *128*). For Valerius and Tapaeis, the tax in *127* is exactly 700 talents per aroura, and the heirs come very close to this (over 695). And Aion and Heras come out to 777, which is fairly close.

	127 (wine/meat, 7th indiction)	*128* (landholdings)	*129* (clothing, 7th indiction)	*P.NYU* 14 (*merismos*)	*P.NYU* 19 (landholdings)
Valerius	23,100 tal.	33 arouras	26,400 tal.	23,300 tal.	31 arouras
bakery	1,300				
keph( )			4,600	3,000	
Aion	14,000	28	16,000	14,000	11
Heras	9,800	2⅝	11,100	9,700	7
keph( )			4,600	3,000	
Tapaeis	8,750	12½	10,000	8,750	—
heirs of Tamaleis & Alia	[4,000]	5¼	4,600	4,000	10⅔
Syros					7
Total	[60,950]	81⅞	77,300	65,750	66⅔

127

Account of Tax on Wine and Meat

Inv. 181 (29) 8 x 27.5 cm. 363/4 (?)

Light brown papyrus, complete. Left edge shows where joined to preceding *kollema*. Folded twice vertically, width of folds about 3 cm. Margins of 1 cm. on sides and top, 11.5 cm. on the bottom. Verso blank.

This list was not completed; the writer omitted the figures for Tamaleis and Alia's heirs, which by analogy with *P.NYU* 14 would be 4,000, and the total, which would then be 60,950.

A sum of 1,300 talents for *ἀρτοκ(όπιον)* figures in line 4 as an additional assessment on Valerius. It is not evident to me what a bakery charge has to do with a payment for wine and meat.

→ *μέρος οἴνου καὶ*
κρέως ζS // *ἰνδι(κτίονος)*
Οὐαλέριος (*τάλαντα*) ∩ *β* Γ*ρ*
4 *ἀρτοκ(οπίου)* (*τάλαντα*) Ἀ*τ*
Ἀ*ιῶν* (*τάλαντα*) ∩ *α* Δ
Ἡ*ρᾶς* (*τάλαντα*) Θ*ω*
Τ*απάεις* (*τάλαντα*) Η*ψν*
8 *κλη(ρονόμοι)* Τ*αμάλει κ(αὶ)* Ἀ*λία*
(*τάλαντα*)
(*γίνεται*) (*τάλαντα*) ∩

4 *ἀρτοκ(οπίου)*: *ο* corr fr. *ι*

128

Account of Landholdings

Inv. 181 (35a) 12.5 x 28 cm. *ca* 363/4 (?)

Light brown papyrus, complete. Surface of right side rubbed. Upper portion (lines 1–5) crossed out with three strokes, two diagonal and one roughly horizontal. Folded 4 times vertically at width of 2.5 cm. Small margins (under 3 cm.) except at bottom, 10 cm. Back blank.

The relevance of the list of holdings given in this papyrus to the family of Valerius and Aion and its economic activities is discussed in the General Introduction and below, pp. 92–93. The lower part of the text contains notations of four cash payments by or for Aion, the purpose of which is evidently *πρ*( ) (lines 7 and 10), an abbreviation also used in *133*. I do not know what it signifies; normally it represents *πρός* or some compound involving that word. Cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* 4 (1908) 426 and *P.Oxy.* XL 2915.20n.

→ Οὐαλέριος (ἄρουραι) λγ
Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων (ἄρουραι) κη
Ἡρᾶς (ἄρουραι) βS' ῆ
4 Ταπάεις (ἄρουραι) ιβS/
κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀλεία καὶ Ταμάλει (ἄρουραι) ϛ ϐ
γ(ίνονται) (ἄρουραι) πα ϐῆ

(M2) ϐ Ἀιῶν διὰ Ἰσιδώρου (τάλαντα) ∩ .
8 ὁ αὐτὸς ἄλλα (τάλαντα)∩ β/
Ἀιῶν (τάλαντα) Ἴ
νέας μορος ϐ Ἀιῶν (τάλαντα) Ἀ

2 Σαραπίωνος 7 ἰσιδωρου pap.

6. The stroke under line 6 seems not to represent ὧν as it commonly does, but only to separate the two texts from one another.

10. I do not know what νέας μορος is; perhaps a geographical term?

129

Account of Payment for Clothing

Inv. 181 (35b) 9 x 27.5 cm. 363/4 (?)

Light brown papyrus, complete. Folded twice vertically at width of *ca* 3 cm. Margins small except *ca* 14 cm. at bottom. Back blank.

This papyrus lists contributions for ἐσθής, presumably the *vestis militaris*. *P.NYU* 4 includes a receipt given to Aion for a payment of 3000 talents for this purpose, probably for the same 7th indiction as here. Lewis remarks that although *Cod.Theod.* 7.6.3 shows official sanction for *adaeratio* of the *vestis militaris* first in 377, the practice was no doubt much older. If all of these texts date around 363, the antiquity of the practice is not so great as if their date were earlier in this century, as Lewis supposed. For bibliography on the assessment, see *P.Cair.Isid.* 54, introduction, and *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3194, introduction.

→ ἐσθῆτος ζS" ἰνδι(κτίονος)
Οὐαλέριος (τάλαντα) ∩ β ϟυ
κεφ( ) (τάλαντα) Δχ
4 Ἀιῶν (τάλαντα) ∩ α ϟ
Ἡρᾶς (τάλαντα)∩ α Ἀρ
κεφ( ) (τάλαντα) Δχ
κλη(ρονόμοι) Ταμάλει (καὶ) Ἀλία (τάλαντα) Δχ
8 Ταπάεις (τάλαντα) ∩ α
γ(ίνεται) (τάλαντα) ∩ ζ Ζτ

3, 6. κεφ( ) is evidently an additional charge at a fixed amount; it also occurs in *P.NYU* 14 (cf. introd.). I do not know what it means.

130

Accounts of Payments for Sea-Transportation

Inv. 310 32.5 x 22.5 cm. 334/5

A poorly preserved papyrus, light yellow in color, with an account of payments for *ναῦλον θαλασσίων πλοίων* on the recto and a very badly damaged account of grain on the verso. The bottom third of Column I and the bottom two-thirds of Column II on the recto are blank.

The *ναῦλον θαλασσίων πλοίων* was a charge assessed to pay for costs of transporting grain from Alexandria to Rome and (later) Constantinople. A summary of evidence and bibliography is given in *P.Cair.Isid.* 59.4n., where the evidence of *P.Ryl.* IV 617.12 is cited for the conclusion that the *naulon* was assessed on land. Another receipt for the tax was published as *P.NYU* 3.

The text is to be associated with *P.NYU* 12, 16 and 17, accounts of various taxes from the period around 336. (The interrelationship of the NYU papyri is evident from a concentration of names common to them.)

Text	*Indiction*	*Taxes*	*Collector*
P.NYU 12	10	*ἀπαίτησις ἀργυρίου, θαλάσσια*[1]	Antiourios, *sitologos*
P.NYU 16	10	*ἀπαίτησις κριθῆς* for *μέρος* Πτολεμαίδος	—
P.NYU 17	8	*εἰσδοχή/ἐμβολή σίτου* for Πτολεμαὶς Καρανίδος	Kastor (s. of Paritios) and Antiourios
130	8	*θαλάσσια*	Antiourios

We notice that Antiourios and Kastor are active as collectors of grain (in *P.NYU* 12, Antiourios is specifically a *sitologos*) and related monetary payments in indictions 8 and 10; it is also important that two of these texts concern Ptolemais. Now we know from *P.Cair.Isid.* 59.19 that an Antiourios was one of the *sitologoi* of Ptolemais in indiction 6, 317/8. The conclusion that indiction 8 here is 319/20, that the list concerns Ptolemais, and that Antiourios is the same would seem inevitable but for the fact that the amounts collected and the connection of the group and *P.NYU* 3 (the verso of which is *P.NYU* 16) show the true date to be 336/7. Cf. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 70–71, and above, p. 7.

Since we cannot determine the rate at which this *naulon* was charged, we cannot argue from the amounts to landholdings. But the brute amounts are considerably higher than those which tend to appear in the Isidoros papyri: small numbers of talents plus drachmas in the thousands are typical of *130* and the *NYU* group. The contrast to papyri of the 350's and later, when amounts are given in the thousands, even tens of thousands, of talents, is very striking (compare *127*, *129* and probably *131*).

1. Ed. pr. *λόγον θαλλείων* is palaeographically acceptable but is surely very unlikely in this context, and on examination of the original it is evident that *θαλασσίων* is also possible. The writing is not dissimilar to that in *130*.

→ Column I

ἀπαίτησις θαλασσίων η ἰνδικτίονος
δι' Ἀντιοῦρις //
Ἀιῶν Κοπρῆ[ς] (τάλ.) ιδ
4 Ὠρίων Ἀπωλλῶ (τάλ.) ς
Εὐδαίμων Μελᾶ (τάλ.) .
Οὐενᾶφρις Ἀτρῆ [(τάλ.) .]
Ἰσᾶρις γυνὴ Ἀτρ[ῆ (τάλ.)] ς
8 Κοπρῆς ...[(τάλ.) .]
Συρίων Ἀπωλ[λῶ (τάλ.) .]
Ὠρίων Ἀπ[ωλλῶ ? (τάλ.) .]
Κοπρῆ[ς .]ρ.[(τάλ.)] ς
12 Ἰσίδ[ωρος] Δημη[τρίου (τάλ.).]
Ταπ.[.... γ]υνὴ Κρ[(τάλ.)] β
[.....]ις Ἀτρε[(τάλ.)] .

Column II

τὰ καταβληθέντα
16 ἐν τῇ πόλι εἰς λόγον θαλασσίων
δι(ὰ) Κάστορ(ος) Παριθίου ἀργυρίου (τάλ.) νε
δι(ὰ) Ἀντιουρίου ἐν τῇ πόλι [[.]] (τάλ.) με
ὁμοίο`ς' ὁ αὐτὸ[ς] ἐν τῇ πόλι (τάλ.) κ
20 ὁμοίος Κάστορ ἐν τῇ πόλι (τάλ.) ις

↑ Verso

]...[
].πουαλ (ἀρτ.) γ
] Ἀβόκ (ἀρτ.) γ
24] .... (ἀρτ.) [
] Ἀι[ώ]ν (ἀρτ.)] γ ιο
[ ]
[ἐν τῷ θη]σαυρῷ
28]..ας [
].που ἄλ(λ-) (ἀρτ.) α
] Κάστορ (ἀρτ.) α ιο
] Κάστορ (ἀρτ.) S/
32] Π[τολ]εμαίου (ἀρτ.) βS/
] _____ (ἀρτ.) ∠γ/
]αιαν ..[.]α.. (ἀρτ.) ∠γ/
Ἀβόκ Πετ... (ἀρτ.) α∠γ/
36 Ἀτῖσις Ἀβόκ (ἀρτ.) β___

1, 16 θαλασσίων 2 Ἀντιούριος 6 Οὐενανφρις pap. 16, 18, 19, 20 πόλει
20 ὁμοίως Κάστωρ 30, 31 Κάστωρ

2. Antiourios is discussed in the introduction. He is probably the son of Abous (see

General Introduction, p. 7). The marginal curved line may be meant as ὧν, whether for this line or line 3.

3. This man (or a homonym) is attested in *154*, 343, delivering grain. He is the only figure from this list, except Antiourios (if it is the son of Abous here) to be represented in the delivery receipts.

5. This man is no doubt the son of Melas son of Eudaimon who appears in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.107, 217 (wheat and barley taxes for about 28 arouras); 10.43,196 and 17.78 (chaff for 24 arouras), from 308/9 to 314.

19. The scribe probably wrote *ομοιο*, then took the last omicron as the article before *αὐτὸς*. He then evidently corrected himself by adding the sigma above the line and a tiny omicron before alpha.

36. An Atisis son of Aboikis appears in *P.Cair.Isid.* 20.19 (after 314).

131

Account of Tax Payments

Inv. 181 (40) 8.5 x 28.5 cm. *ca* 350–360

Light brown papyrus, perfect condition. Back blank.

This papyrus lists payments by members of some sort of group (probably a *pittakion*) for a *merismos*, the object of which is not stated. It includes payments by a minimum of nine people, evidently made through the largest payer (and pittakiarch), one Aion. I cannot say if all payments credited to Aion come from the same man. The hand and amounts are very similar to those involved in *127–129* and the related NYU papyri, but the cast of persons is different except perhaps for Aion. Since none of the persons of *131* has a patronymic, I do not venture any identifications.

The total of the main group of payments (lines 3–17) is given correctly in line 18 as 53,000. The balance of 15,400 (line 19) thus tallies correctly with the grand total in line 2 of 68,400.

—	*μερισμοῦ Φαμενώθ*		
	Ἀιῶν	(τάλαντα)	∩ ς Hυ
(ὧν)	Ἀμάεις	(τάλαντα)	Ζσ
4	Ἀιῶν	(τάλαντα)	∩ β φ
	Οὐενᾶφρις	(τάλαντα)	Ἀφ
	Πανκράτις	(τάλαντα)	Γτ
	Ἀιῶν	(τάλαντα)	Ἀσ
8	Ἀμμωνᾶ	(τάλαντα)	Ἀ
	Ἀτρῆς	(τάλαντα)	ψ
	Ἀιῶν	(τάλαντα)	υ
	Ἀιῶν	(τάλαντα)	σ
12	Ἀιῶν	(τάλαντα)	Βχ
	Ἀναροχει	(τάλαντα)	Ἀρ
	Ἀιῶν	(τάλαντα)	Ἀρ

Ἀναῦφις (τάλαντα) Δφ
16 Παντῆλ (τάλαντα) Β
Ἀιῶν (τάλαντα) Εφ
(γίνεται) (τάλαντα) ∩ ε Γ
λοι(πὰ) (τάλαντα) ∩ α Ευ
(ὧν)
20 Ἀτρῆ(ς) (τάλαντα) Ἀφ ἅλ(λα) (τάλαντα) ⊼
Ἀμάει(ς) (τάλαντα) Ἀυ Ἀιῶν Β ⊼

132

Account of Money Payments

Inv. 181 (15) 14.4 x 24.2 cm. *ca* 330–340

The papyrus is complete except for the damage at the top. There are three vertical folds. The back is blank.

This list of payments now lacks whatever statement of purpose originally occupied line 1. The amounts in talents are somewhat larger, on the whole, than those in *130*, but they are at least of the same order of magnitude. Of the persons listed, only three are linked to other documents. Of these, one appears in *P. Cair. Isid.* 17 and 20, from 314 and after (see line 18n.), while the other two are probably sons of men active in the first two decades of the fourth century (7 and 16, notes). The date of our text is thus probably in the 330's.

→ [..].εγη[.....]..νιου
...[.....]ιου (τάλ.) β
Ἰσ[α]ὁ[κ? Ἰ]ρ[ωνος] (τάλ.) ιβ
4 Χαιρήμων Ἰ[σ]ί[ω]νος (τάλ.) δ
Φίρμος Δίου (τάλ.) θ
(M2) δοῦλος Πανκράτε[ι] (τάλ.) κ
Οὐαλέρι Δημήτρου (τάλ.) νζ
8 Νεῖλος Ἀιῶν (τάλ.) λ
Ἀναμου Ἥρων (τάλ.) μη (δρ.) Β
Ἰσάκα Ἰσίωνος (τάλ.) νβ
Χαιρήμων Ἰσίωνου (τάλ.) ζ
12 Φίρμος Δίου (τάλ.) κ
Ἀιῶν Ἀντωνίου (τάλ.) .
Πεκύσεις Ταήσε (τάλ.) λα
Ἰσίδωρος Ἀντώνου (τάλ.) ..
16 Ἀπωλώνι Σώτας (τάλ.) λη
Οὐαλέρε Δημητρίου (τάλ.) κ
Ὠλ Ἀπωλλῶς (τάλ.) κη
Πεγῦσι Ταήσι (τάλ.) ιε
20 Χαιρήμων Ἰσίωνος (τάλ.) νζ

Ἰσίδωρος Ἀντωνίου (τάλ.) λ
Ἀπωλλώνι Σώτας (τάλ.) [.]
δοῦλος Πανκράτει (τάλ.) [.].

5 Δι vac ου pap. 6, 23 Πανκράτιος 7, 17 Οὐαλέριος 7 Δημητρίου 8 Ἀιώνος 9 Ἥρωνος 11 Ἰσίωνος 14, 19 Ταήσιος 15 Ἀντωνίου 16, 22 Ἀπολλώνιος Σώτα 18 Ἀπολλῶ 19 Πεκῦσις

6. Here and throughout the account the scribe's penchant for simplification of names and avoidance of declension is striking even in this period.

7. A Demetrios son of Valerius appears as a member of a *pittakion* headed by Aurelius Isidoros in *P.Cair.Isid.* 24.7, 25.6, 26.6, and as a collector of shipping charges for taxes in kind, in 51.3 (309/10).

16. A Sotas son of Apollonios appears in texts of *P.Cair.Isid.* (see index there) from 308/9 to after 314. It may be his son here.

17. The amount may be two talents (β) instead of 20.

18. Hol son of Apollos appears in *P.Cair.Isid.* 17.117 and 20.3, texts of 314 and later.

133

Account of Grain

Inv. 181 (34) 9.6 x 27.5 cm. 2nd quarter of IVp

Complete, but surface rubbed and difficult to read. Portion of a single *kollema*. Folded twice vertically at intervals of 3 cm. Margins *ca* 1 cm. on top and sides, 5 cm. on bottom. Back blank.

No legend is now readable to tell us for what purpose this ledger of income and expenses in grain was maintained. In the absence of patronymics, I do not venture any identifications, but some connection with the people of *131* is not improbable. The main outlines of the ledger are clear enough: the starting balance (line 4) was 79⅓ artabas of wheat. Deductions in 5–7 brought this total down, but it still was over 70 (8). Some additions (9–12) produced a total of 102⅔ (13). Deductions again (14–18) totalling 74¼ (19), left a balance of 28 5/12 (20). The extensive damage to the writing precludes a fuller analysis of the account.

→ α̣ι̣..[.....].
σίτου .....
δ[ι(ὰ)] Μ̣α̣ρι̣[..]...
4 (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) οθγ'
(ὧν) β̣ Ἀβ..( ) [..]..'
β̣ Ἀνούφιος [...] ἀδελφ[οῦ]
σὺν Ἡρακλέου (ἀρτάβαι) δ γ"
8 λοι(παὶ) (ἀρτάβαι) ο ."
ὀν(όματος) Ἀραβικοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) ις
Πτολ̣ε̣μ̣α̣ῖος (ἀρτάβαι) α∟

ὀν(όματος) Ἡραρκλέρ̣ υ̣ (ἀρτάβαι) γ
12 ἀπορ( ) (ἀρτάβαι) ..
(γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ρβ Ϡ
(ὧν) ἀποχὴ Παχρ̣ύ̣τ̣(ου) ...
Ἀνοῦφις δι(ὰ) Ἀπι.[...]ς
16 Οὐενάφρις β̄ Ἀμμωνι.....
Παῦλος (ἀρτάβη) α Πανκρά[τις]
ἀποχὴ (ἀρταβῶν) β ∠ιο Ἀμάει(ς) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ Ϡ
(γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) οδ d
20 λοι(παὶ) (ἀρτάβαι) κη γ ιο"

5-6. For β see *128* introd.
7. Ἡρακλέου is probably genitive for dative, as is common in this period.

134

Account of Money

Inv. 181 (24) 17.2 x 25.4 cm. *ca* 310–320 ?

Badly mutilated fragment, broken on both sides. First column rubbed and almost completely destroyed; Column II complete except for rubbing and some lacunae. Only upper half of sheet used; space of 5 cm. between columns. No indication of folds or of size of *kollemata*. Back blank.

This papyrus contained an account in two columns (perhaps more, originally) with sums given in the thousands of drachmas. Nothing survives to show for what purpose these sums were paid. The word λῆμμα (line 30) indicates that Column II, at least, recorded receipts from the people in question.

Of the persons named here, four may be found in the principal land and taxing lists of *P.Cair.Isid.* (6,9,10,12,14,17), which range from the period 300–305 to 314. These are Heron son of Heron (line 19), Heron son of Aion (20), Venaphris son of Paesis (22), and Horion son of Chairemon (28). Complete references may be found in the index to *P.Cair.Isid.* By contrast, none of the persons appears in those texts in *P.NYU* or in the pieces of the Columbia collection coming from the period 330–360, except that Heron son of Aion is attested in *P.NYU* 16.11 (336/7). These prosopographical indices and the appearance of amounts in drachmas point to a date in the latter part of the range of the Isidoros archive.

→ Column I

]αη.....μ( )
]αθ̣ρ̣...ο...ο.. (δραχμὰς) .
].τοις .... (δραχμὰς) Ϡ
4].τοις.... (δραχμὰς) .
]ον.....κ/ (δραχμὰς) .
traces of the ends of 10 lines

16]οισαλ... (δραχμὰς) .
] (δραχμὰς) .

Column II

λόγος ..[..]. Ἀνοῦφις .....
Ἥρων Ἥρωνι(ος) τι(μὴν) φακ(οῦ) (δραχμὰς) ψ
20 Ἥρων Ἀιώνεως τι(μὴν) φακ(οῦ) (δραχμὰς) [[χ]] ψ
καὶ Παῦλ(ος) Ἀλέξανδρος (δραχμὰς) .
Οὐενᾶφρι Παησίου (δραχμὰς) Τ
δοῦλος Ψαμοῦς (δραχμὰς) χ
24 Ἡρᾶς Μασικλ(έους) (?) (δραχμὰς) Τ
Σερῆνος ὁμοῦ (δραχμὰς) Τφ
Παλήμω[ν] Θιω.. (δραχμὰς) Τσ
Ἀπολλώνιος ..λος (δραχμὰς) ..
28 Ὠρείων Χαιρήμω(νος) (δραχμὰς) .

(γίνονται) ε. / ανα.....θ.....ας
ἄλλο λῆμμα ..

21 Ἀλιξάνδρου 22 Οὐενᾶφρις

24. Μασικλῆς may be a mispelling of Μνασικλῆς.
26. This could just possibly be Θιουκ; a Palemon son of Teiouk appears in *P.Cair. Isid.* 9.125, 235.

135

Account of Grain Deliveries

Inv. 77 18 x 17 cm. *ca* 335 (?)

This fragment of light-colored papyrus has been torn on all sides except probably the bottom, and it cannot now yield any coherent picture of its original contents. Its nature, however, is clear from several indications. Column II of the back is the most useful part; it is certainly a listing of deliveries of grain by the donkeys of various persons. The number of donkeys in each case is not given, but the number of artabas is. Column I shows notations of various ἀποχαί, receipts, which are characterized as πόλεως and Τιμοθέου. Timotheos is certainly the *sitometres* who served as Souchidas' assistant at Leukogion Harbor in *144*.9,12,22,24, in indiction 9 (335/6 in all likelihood). We have, therefore, records of deliveries to both the city and Leukogion harbors; for the procedures involved, see below, pp. 93-99.

A list of deliveries like this reminds one of parts of *154*, where notations of the *pittakion* to which a payment was credited also occur as in line 12 here. More puzzling is the notation ἀπορ( ) which occurs some half- dozen times with various entries. The reference is perhaps

to land classed as ἄπορος, unproductive (generally because of abandonment), for the taxes on which the village as a whole, and the *sitologoi* in particular, had responsibility. See *P.Cair.Isid.* 68.17n. for references, and cf. *133* and *135a*. What is curious is that we seem to have individual payments attributed to this cause in our account, whereas the extensive body of receipts we have for this period (see table below, pp. 76–91) never once mentions such land as a motive for payment. That *135* was maintained by individual taxpayers is suggested by the fact that back Column I points so clearly to the system of delivery by taxpayers rather than *sitologoi*, which was introduced in the fourth century, around 325 (see below, pp. 93–102).

→ Front

] (ἀρτάβας) [
]ωσα β. ἄπορ( ) (ἀρτάβας) α γ ιο
]ϛιωνος (ἀρτάβας) ια
4] *vacat* ἄπορ( )
].ωσα ιη Πατερμῶθις ὑποδέ(κτης) (ἀρτάβας) γ
].α (ἀρτάβας) ια
].δ γ ″ ἄπορ( )
8].τωρος (ἀρτάβας) Sϛ″
]. ἄπορ( )

↑ Back

Column I

] (ἀρτάβας) θ
]πολ...μι.[...] ἄπορ( )
12]πιτ(τάκιον) Ἀντωνίου [.]ηνου
]—ἀποχὴ πόλεως (ἀρτάβας) ης″
ἀ]ποχὴ Τιμοθέου (ἀρτάβας) ν[..] ὁμοίος
]γ ἀποχὴ Τιμοθέου (ἀρτάβας) .
16]ρων ἀποχὴ Τιμοθέου (ἀρτάβας) ε[

Column II

ὄνων Ἀταλι (ἀρτάβας) η
ὄνων Τιβερίνου (ἀρτάβας) η
ὄνων Ἀτωρᾶ (ἀρτάβας) [
20 ὄνων Αὐνῆ (ἀρτάβας) [
ὄνων Ἰσιδόρα (ἀρτάβας) [
Κερκεσούχων (ἀρτάβας) [
ὄνων Σακαῶν [
24 ὄνων Πτολλᾷ [
ὄνων Σερηνίλ[υ
ὄνων Ἀιῶν [
ὄνων Σώτα [
28 ὄνων Ἡρωνίνου [

ἀπορ( ) (ἀρτάβας) [
κδ̣ ..[

5 Πατερμοῖθος 14 ὁμοίως 21 Ἰσιδώρας 23 Σακαώνος 26 Ἀιώνος

5. No *hypodektes* named Patermouthis has appeared in the delivery receipts known so far, although many other men holding that office are known.

19. Ἀδωρᾶς, of which this is probably a variant spelling, occurs in *P.Cair.Isid.*

26–27. There are heavy marginal strokes against these lines, unless they are to be taken as a large and bold zeta.

135a

Account of Grain

P.Oslo Inv. 517 9.1 x 27.7 cm. Probably 340/1 or 355/6

This papyrus is complete on all sides, but the bottom is torn and abraded. Throughout there are areas of ink abraded from an apparently perfect surface.

The account lists amounts in grain after names of persons, under the heading, "Heirs of Antiourios, grain of the 14th indiction." The nature of the entries, and the appearance of ἀπορ( ), κεφ( ), and ἀποχὴ πόλεως remind us of other accounts in the archive, notably *129, 133,* and *135*. Too much ink is missing to allow a complete reconstruction of the contents. The payments in lines 3–12 are totalled correctly in line 13, but what comes after this is very fragmentary but similar to *135*.14–18.

Who is the Antiourios, deceased, whose heirs are listed here? The best-known person of this name in our documents is the son of Abous, father of Valerius (as I argue above, p. 7). But we know that Valerius survived his father's last appearance by some three decades, appearing as late as 373, and yet he does not figure in this papyrus. An alternative is Antiourios son of Ptollas, who appears in *P.NYU* 3, which comes from 336/7, and in *178a*, from 336. If this is our man, he could well be dead by 340/1, which was a 14th indiction; but a later one, 355/6, is not impossible. This hypothesis is supported by the presence of a Ptollas among the heirs. The principal heir is an Atisios; perhaps there was a family connection to the descendants of Atisios (see above, p. 8) as well.

→ κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀντιουρίου
σίτου ιδ/ ἰνδικτί(ονος)
ὀν(όματος) Ἀτισίου (ἀρτ.) μβ̣
4 [ὀν(όματος)] Κολλούθου (ἀρτ.) ϛγ″
[ὀν(όματος)] Τιτο.. (ἀρτ.) γ
Πτολεμαείου (ἀρτ.) β
[ὀ]ν(όματος) Ἀραβικ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) ιS
8 ὀν(όματος) Ἥρων Ἀιών (ἀρτ.) ιδ ϛ′
[ὀν(όματος)] Πτολλᾶ (ἀρτ.) γ ιφ̄

Σεράβει (ἀρτ.) ιβ γ"
ἀπορ( ) (ἀρτ.) ια ς"
12 κηφ( ) (ἀρτ.) αS γ ιο
(γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) ρηS–
(ὧν) ἀπωχὴ πόλεος
..... πρ( ) ηραν
16 ..... ἀπωχὴ πόλεος
Traces
Traces πεω (ἀρτ.) ε⌊μη
α.....
20 α.....οι (ἀρτ.) θ S–

8 Ἀιώνος 10 Σαράπις ? 14, 16 ἀποχὴ πόλεως

Heirs of Antiourios: Grain of the 14th indiction.
In the name of Atisios, art. 44
[In the name] of Kollouthes, art. 6⅓
[In the name] of Tito.., art. 3.
Ptolemaios, art. 2
In the name of Arabikos, art. 10½
In the name of Heron son of Aion, art. 14⅙
[In the name] of Ptollas, art. 3 1/12
Sarapis (?), art. 12⅓
for unproductive land (?), art. 11⅙
for *keph*( ), art. 1 ½, ⅓, 1/12
Total, art. 108½
(remainder is fragmentary)

5. The letter after omicron could be epsilon, i.e. the name would be Titoueis.

136

Receipts for Transportation Charges, Wheat and Other Taxes

Inv. 67+66 59 x 12 cm. 296–298

Two adjoining sheets, now separated. Each sheet has two *kollemata*. Dark brown papyrus; column II is black, practically illegible. Verso blank.

This papyrus has the small height (12 cm.) common in rolls of this period used for tax receipts; these have in common not so much any given size as the characteristic of not reaching the 32 or 33 cm. that one would expect of a roll of papyrus, nor even the 26 cm., usual in the rolls of rather smaller height. *P.Cair.Isid.* 41 is a good example of the type; *P.Mert.* II 88 (also of the Isidoros archive) is another.

In the present document we have receipts mostly from the summer of 296, toward the end of year 12-11-4. The first (lines 1–10), dated Epeiph 8 (2 July) is issued by the *apaitetai* Aurelii Pelenis, Isidoros, Ptollas and Pankrates, for *ναῦλα εἰδῶν καὶ σαργάμου* (see notes) and for price of wine, these for the fifth *epigraphe*. The taxpayers credited are Sarapion son of Onnophris, Chairemon son of Sarapion and Chairemon son of Kopres, for all of whom Isidoros (son of Ptolemaios) acts as agent.

Column II (lines 11–23) is occupied by a damaged receipt for grain taxes collected by the four *sitoparalemptai* of Karanis on Mesore 11 (4 August). Column III (24–34), same date, is a receipt from the same collectors given to Isidoros for grain paid on behalf of Chairemon son of Sarapion. Extensions of this receipt (lines 34–49) add payments by and for other taxpayers. Lines 50–54 are a receipt of year 14-13-6, Mecheir 30 (24 February 298) to Isidoros for grain and *adaeratio* thereof for Sarapion son of Onnophris for the crop of year 12-11-4. It is in the same hand which wrote all of the preceding receipts except the first (Column I) and looks like continuous composition. From this fact it is evident that all of these receipts in Columns II–IV were written at one time, and evidently in year 14-13-6. The writer is Aurelius Paesis, one of the four *sitoparalemptai* for that year, evidently clearing up arrears more than a year and a half after the harvest. One will remember that the revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus had occurred in the meantime.

The form, persons, style and date of our text most clearly resemble those of *P.Cair.Isid.* 37, which includes a receipt of 10 August 295 for price of wine and one for transportation charges on wine from 25 May 296.

→ Column I

ἔτους ιβS / καὶ ιαS / τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ δS / Κωνσταντίου
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Σεβαστῶν
4 *Ἐπὶφ / η /. Διέγραψεν Σαραπίων Ὀννώφρεως καὶ*
Χαιρήμων Σαραπίωνος καὶ Χαιρήμων Κοπρῆ
δι' Ἰσιδώρου ναῦλα ἰδῶν καὶ σαργάμου 'καὶ τι(μὴν) οἴνου' ε'
ἐπιγραφῆς
δραχμὰς χιλείας ἑξακοσίας, (δραχμὰς) Ἀχ.
8 (M2) *Αὐρήλιοι Πελῆνις καὶ Ἰσίδωρος ἀπετητῶν σεσημιώμεθα.*
(M3) *Αὐρήλιος Πτολλᾶς καὶ Πανκράτι ἀπαιτητῶν*
σεσημιώμαιθα.

Column II

(M2) *ἔτους ιβS / καὶ ιαS / καὶ δS / τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ*
12 *καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σ[εβαστῶν] καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ*
Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν [ἐπιφαν]εστάτων Καισάρων Μεσορὴ ιᾶ
[Αὐρήλι]οι Παῆσις [καὶ Λ]εωνίδης καὶ Συρίων καὶ Ἰσίδω[ρ]ος
[οἱ δ' σ]ιτοπαραλημπταὶ κώμης Καρανίδος ἐμ[ε]τρή(θησαν)
16 *[ἡμῖν] ἐν θη(σαυρῷ) τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ*
ξυστῷ....[..].....[.].....Καρανίδος
.....[.....].....[.]..... εἴκοσι .....
.....[...]..[.].....
20 *.....[...]τ.....*

.....[.]....[..]
Αὐρήλιοι Παῆ[σι]ς καὶ Λεωνίδη[ς] καὶ Συ[ρίων καὶ Ἰσίδωρος
σεσημειώμεθα.]
Παῆσις ἔγρ[α]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων.

Column III

24 ἔτους ιβS′ καὶ ιαS/ κ[αὶ] δS/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μ[αξι]μιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
καὶ Κωνσταντίο[υ κα]ὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
ἐπιφανεστάτω[ν] Καισάρων Μεσορὴ ιᾶ.
28 Αὐρήλιοι Παῆσις [καὶ] Λεωνίδης καὶ Ἰσίδωρος
καὶ Συρίων οἱ δ' σ[ι]τοπαραλημπταὶ κώμης
Καρανίδος ἐμετ[ρ]ή(θησαν) ἡμῖν ἐν θη(σαυρῷ) τῆς αὐτῆς
κώμης μετρημ( ) δημ(οσίῳ) ξυστῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
32 ιβS/ καὶ ιαS/ καὶ δS/ ὑπὲρ κώμης Καρανίδος ὀνό(ματος)
Χαιρήμωνι[ο]ς Σαραπίωνος δι(ὰ) Ἰσιδώρου
πυ[ρο]ῦ καθ(αροῦ) ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι, γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) κ· καὶ
ὑπὲρ
ὀνό(ματος) Πτολεμαί[ου] Χαιρήμωνος δι(ὰ) κληρ(ονόμων)
Κοπρῆτος
36 πυροῦ καθ(αροῦ) ἀρτάβας πέντε, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ε καὶ
ὑπὲρ ὁριοδικ(τίας)
ὀνό(ματος) Κοπρῆτος πυροῦ καθ(αροῦ) ἀρτάβη‹ν› μίαν καὶ
ὑπὲρ
ὀνό(ματος) Σαραπίων Ὀννώ[φ]ριος δι(ὰ) Ἰσιδώρου πυροῦ
καθ(αροῦ) ἀρτάβας ἕνδεκα, γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ια.

Column IV

40 καὶ ὑπὲρ [ἀ]ποσπορᾶς πυροῦ καθ(αροῦ)
ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι ἡμισυ, γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) κS′.
γ(ίνονται) τοῦ συμβ(όλου) πυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) νζS/.
Αὐρήλιοι Παῆσις καὶ Λεωνίδης
44 καὶ Συραίων καὶ Ἰσίδωρος σεση(μειώμεθα).
Παῆσις ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινων(ῶν)
ἀγραμμάτων.
ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰσίδωρος ἐμέτρη(σεν) ὑ(πὲρ) ὀνό(ματος)
48 Σαραπίων Ὀννώφρεως πυροῦ καθ(αροῦ)
ἀρτάβας τρῖς, γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) γ′.
καὶ ιδS/ καὶ ιγS/ καὶ ϛS/ Μεχεὶρ λ̄ ′ διέγρα(ψεν) τι(μὴν)
πυροῦ γενή(ματος) ιβS/ καὶ ιαS/ καὶ δS
ὑ(πὲρ) ἀποσπορᾶς ὁριοδικτίας δραχμὰς
52 ἑπτακοσίας εἴκοσι, γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ψκ καὶ τούτων
τοὺς ὀβολοὺς καὶ τὰς διαγρα(φάς). Αὐρήλιοι
Παῆσις καὶ οἱ κοινων(οὶ) σεση(μειώμεθα).

6 ἰσιδωρου pap.; εἰδών, σαλγάμου 8 ἀπαιτηταί 9 Αὐρήλιοι, Πανκράτις, ἀπαιτηταί
10 σεσημειώμεθα 41 ἡμισυ 44 Συρίων 38, 48 Σαραπίωνος

Column I

Year 12 and 11 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and 4 of Constantius and Maximianus the most noble Caesars Augusti, Epeiph 8. Sarapion son of Onnophris and Chairemon son of Sarapion and Chairemon son of Kopres paid through Isidoros the transportation charges on goods and on *salgamum* and the price of wine for the 5th *epigraphe*, a thousand six hundred drachmas, dr. 1600. (M2) We, Aurelii Pelenis and Isidoros, *apaitetai*, have signed. (M3) We, Aurelii Ptollas and Pankrates, *apaitetai*, have signed.

Column II

(M4) Year 12 and 11 and 4 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus the most noble Caesars, Mesore 11. Aurelii Paesis [and] Leonides and Syrion and Isidoros [all 4] receivers of grain of the village of Karanis: measured [to us] in the granary of the same village by the level public measure. . . . We, Aurelii Paesis and Leonides and Syrion [and Isidoros, have signed]. I, Paesis, wrote for them since they are illiterate.

Column III

Year 12 and 11 and 4 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius [and] Maximianus the most noble Caesars, Mesore 11. Aurelii Paesis [and] Leonides and Isidoros and Syrion, all 4 receivers of grain of the village of Karanis: measured to us in the granary of the same village by the level public measure for the present 12th and 11th and 4th year for the village of Karanis, in the name of Chairemon son of Sarapion, through Isidoros, twenty artabas of clean wheat, that is, art. 20. And for the name of Ptolemaios son of Chairemon through the heirs of Kopres, five artabas of clean wheat, that is, art. 5. And for the *horiodiktia* in the name of Kopres, one artaba of clean wheat, and for the name of Sarapion son of Onnophris through Isidoros, eleven artabas of clean wheat, that is, art. 11.

Column IV

And for the sowing, twenty and a half artabas of clean wheat, that is, art. 20½. Total for the receipt, art. of wheat 57½. We, Aurelii Paesis and Leonides and Syrion and Isidoros, have signed. I, Paesis, wrote for my partners since they are illiterate.

The same Isidoros measured for the name of Sarapion son of Onnophris three artabas of clean wheat, that is, art. 3.

And in the 14th and 13th and 6th year, Mecheir 30, he paid the price of wheat for the produce of the 12th and 11th and 4th year for the sowing of the *horiodiktia*, seven hundred twenty drachmas, that is, dr. 720 and the obols and the deposit charge on them. We, Aurelii Paesis and his partners, have signed.

1–4. Year 12 of Diocletian. 11 of Maximian, 4 of Constantius and Galerius = 295/6. Epeiph 8 = 2 July 296. The imperial formula is the common one except for the addition of Σεβαστοί at the end of the titles of Constantius and Galerius. A similar error occurs in *P.Cair.Isid.* 35.6, cf. note *ad loc.* with parallels.

4. Sarapion son of Onnophris appears in a number of other documents ranging from 294–299: *P.Cair.Isid.* 34.17,21; 36.7; 37.9; 38.7; 39.7; *P.Mert.* II 88.v.5, x.7. The introduction to

P.Cair.Isid. 34 discusses his relationship with Isidoros, concluding that the latter paid taxes in respect of land leased from Sarapion as the landlord's agent.

5. Chairemon son of Kopres and Chairemon son of Sarapion do not appear elsewhere in the Isidoros papyri (a Chairemon son of Kopres occurs in the undated list *O.Mich.* 332).

6. On *ναῦλα εἰδῶν*, transportation charges on the taxes paid in kind, see *P.Cair.Isid.* 51.2n. It is certain that *σάργαμον* here must be meant as *σάλγαμον*, the Latin *salgamum* (pickling materials), which has appeared heretofore only in *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.246,286 and *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2561.17, with a useful note by Barns, referring *inter alia* to the important discussion of L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 39–41. See also *Cd'E* 48 (1973) 129–30, n. to line 13. The question of the *epigraphai* has been much discussed; cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 37, introduction, and *O.Oslo*, p. 65. Boak and Youtie regard the system as "unreliable" for dating, on the basis that *epigraphe* 5 was 296/7 but their papyrus has a payment for it on Pachon 30 (25 May) 296, as well as one on Mesore 17, 295 for *epigraphe* 4 (295/6). The proper explanation is surely that suggested by J. D. Thomas, *Proc. XIV Int. Congr. Pap.* (Oxford 1975) 66: that the *epigraphe* started in the early summer, between late May and early July. Cf. further *BASP* 15 (1978) 133–45.

8–9. The collectors are not previously known in this office. Aurelius Pelenis was *sitologos* in 303/4 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 41.81), and he may be the son of Kastor attested as landowner by his tax payments (*P.Cair.Isid.* 9.134, 241; 10.56; 12.61), though the latter was scarcely well-to-do (he pays taxes for about 12 arouras). An Aurelius Ptollas was *sitologos* in *P.Cair.Isid.* 59.9,19 (316), but the 20-year gap makes an identification uncertain. There were many men named Isidoros in this period; whether Pankrates is the brother of Isidoros son of Ptolemaios I do not know.

11–13. Cf. 1–4n.; here the formula seems to have been written correctly. Mesore 11 = 4 August 296. This is the latest date by the tetrarchs from summer 296 preserved in the documents from Karanis published to date, being 24 days later than *O.Mich.* 456; see *P.Cair.Isid.*, p. 18. T. C. Skeat, *P.Panop.Beatty*, p. xi, seems to accept that *O.Mich.* 77 (19 August) comes from Karanis; he is summarizing arguments of Claude Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des Prefets d'Egypte de 284 à 395* (Bruxelles 1962) 44–61. This assumption probably goes back to Boak's inclusion of the text in his table of Karanis dates in *EtPap* 8 (1957) 44, under 295 (this date was reported in *BL* V, 156). But Boak was wrong: the text plainly comes from Theadelphia (line 1: *θησ(αυροῦ) κώ(μης) Θεαδελφίας*), and the date is in fact 296. This slip was presumably caught before *P.Cair.Isid.* was sent to press, as it does not figure in the list there, but it has been propagated by others. It seems still to be accepted by J. Schwartz, *L.Domitius Domitianus* (Pap. Brux. 12, 1975) 78.

14–15. This is the only appearance of *σιτοπαραλημπταί* in the Isidoros archive. Aurelius Paesis could be the son of Ision (*P.Cair. Isid.* 6.28 etc.) or one of the several others listed in the index to *P.Cair.Isid.* Syrion could be the son of Sotas (*P.Cair.Isid.* 6.167 etc.). But I cannot feel any confidence in these identifications.

24–27. Date same as preceding (11–13n.).

31. It is not clear to us what the scribe intended. One expects *μέτρῳ*, but that was not written. Perhaps the scribe was abbreviating *μετρήματι*, which would be wrong but understandable. Or read *μέτρ(ῳ) ἡμ(ιαρταβίῳ)* or *μέτρ(ῳ) ἡμ(ῶν)*?

35. The heirs of Kopres are evidently those of the Aurelius Kopres who was intermediary for this Ptolemaios son of Chairemon in *P.Cair.Isid.* 37.6, on 10 August 295, a year less 6 days previously. Kopres' death is presumably to be placed within the year 295/6, for the tax

paid in line 27 is for his account, not his heirs'. If the Kopres in line 37 is the same, the use of his name without κληρονόμοι may be only shorthand.

40. (also 51). ἀποσπορά is perhaps equivalent to σπορά (see *P.Cair. Isid.* 34.5n.) or κατασπορά (see *P.NYU* 4a); its sense here would then be simply "for the crop"; but the composition of the receipt must then be taken as maladroit. Possibly the explanation of Boak and Youtie (which they do not defend) is incorrect. Does the term mean "unsown land"?

42. The total here includes the 20 art. in line 34, the 5 of 36, the 1 of 37, the 11 of 39, and the 20 of 41.

45–46 (cf. 23). Literacy was not required for this position, therefore. This information may be added to Lewis, *ICS*, s.v. παραλημπτής.

52–53. For τοὺς ὀβολοὺς καὶ τὰς διαγραφάς see *P.Cair.Isid.* 38.10n. These were extra charges on grain delivered at the granary, perhaps for transportation.

137

Receipts for Taxes in Grain and Money

Inv. 68 76 x 25 cm. 301–302

This papyrus is now divided into two parts. The color is medium to dark brown. The upper part is virtually undamaged, but the lower half is badly mutilated in many places. There are margins of 2–5 cm. on almost all sides. The verso is blank. There are two separate pieces which together contain column VI; their relationship to the main piece is uncertain.

The text consists of receipts for taxes, mainly given by the *dekaprotoi* for grain, but some payments of cash are also recorded, largely for *delegatio*—price of chaff and meat—paid to *apaitetai*. The collectors and taxpayers (members of Isidoros' family) are discussed in the notes. This roll fits into the series of Isidoros' tax records between *P.Mert.* II 88, which has a variety of receipts from the period February, 298 to January, 301, and *P.Cair.Isid.* 41, which has receipts from summer 302 onward. *P.Mert.* I 30 also belongs to the same period (September, 302).

→ Column I

Ἔτους ιζS καὶ ιηS καὶ ἑνάτου ἔτους Φαρμοῦθι κδ
διέγραψεν Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαί[ου] καὶ Ταῆσις Κοπρῆ
τιμὴ ἀχύρου καὶ κρέως α' διατυπώσεως κώμης
4 {κώμης} Καρανίδος (δραχμὰς) ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα [δ]ύο, (δρα-
χμὰς) ρνβ,
δι' Ἀχιλλᾶ καὶ Ἀραβικοῦ καὶ τῶν κοι(νωνῶν) ἀπαιτ(ητῶν).
καὶ ὑπὲρ κώμης ὁριοδικτίας Καρανίδος τιμὴ ἀχύρου
καὶ κρέως τετάρτης θείας διατυπώσεως (δραχμὰς) τρισχειλίας
8 ὠκτακοσίας, (δραχμὰς) Ἓω, δι' Ἀχιλλᾶ καὶ Πελῆνις ἀπαιτ(η-
τῶν).

(M2) [ἔτους ιζS καὶ ι]ϛ[S] καὶ θS Φαρμοῦθι [..]
[διέγραψεν Ἰσίδ]ωρος Πτολλεμέου θί[ας]
[διατυπώσεως] ὑπὲ[ρ] ιεS καὶ ιδS κ[αὶ ζS]
12 [κώμης Καρ]αν[ί]δος τιμὴ ἀχύρο[υ καὶ κρέως?]
[(δραχμὰς) χιλίας ἐν]ακοσίας, (δραχμὰς) Ἀ͵Θ. Αὐρη[λιος—
σεση(μείωμαι).]
(M3) [Date] διέγρα(ψεν) Ἡρᾶς Πτολεμαίου [– –]
[?τιμὴν ἀχύρου] καὶ κρέως γ̄ διατυ(πώσεως) [amount]
16 [± 11].. κρέως λί(τρας) . [– –]
[..... τετρα]καιεξηκοστόν. καὶ ὑπ(ὲρ) .... [– –]
(M4) καὶ τῇ [....δι(έγραψεν)] Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαίου ὑπ(ὲρ) τῆς αὐ-
(τῆς) διατυ[π(ώσεως)]
τ[ιμῆς κρ]έως διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπαιτ(ητῶν) (δραχμὰς) τριάκοντα
ἕξ, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) λς.

Column II

(M5)
20 ἔτους ιζS καὶ ιεS καὶ θ ἔτους τῶν κυρί[ων] ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
κ[αὶ] Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
[τ]ῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Φαρμοῦθι κθ'. Αὐρή(λιοι)
Ὠρίων
[κα]ὶ Φιλῶτας δεκ(άπρωτοι) δ ε το(παρχίας) Ἡρακλεί(δου)
μερίδος, ἐμ(ετρήθησαν) ἡμεῖν
24 ἐν θησ(αυρῷ) κώμ(ης) Καρανίδος μέτρῳ δημ(οσίῳ) ξυστῷ ὑπ(ὲρ)
γενή(ματος) ιεS καὶ ιδS καὶ [ζS]
καὶ ιϛS καὶ ιεS καὶ ηS' ὑπ(ὲρ) κώμ(ης) Πτολ(εμαίδος) νέας
ὀνό(ματος) Θαησίου Κοπρῆ
διὰ Ἰσιδώρου πυροῦ καθαροῦ σὺν (ἑκατοσταῖς) ιβ' ἀρτάβας δύο
ἥμισυ, (ἀρτάβας) β∠.
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Φιλῶτας σεση(μείωμαι). Ὠρίων σεση(μείωμαι).
(M6)
28 ἔτους ιζS' καὶ ιεS' καὶ θS' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ
Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνστα[ντί]ου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστά-
των
Καισάρων Παχὼν ια'. Αὐρ(ήλιοι) Σεουηρῖνος καὶ Ἀνδρείας ἐξη-
γ(ητεύσας) βουλ(ευτὴς) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)
καὶ κλη(ρονόμοι) Σαρμάτου καὶ Σα[βεῖ]ν[ο]ς γυμνασ(ιαρχήσας)
δεκά(πρωτοι) δ ε το(παρχίας) Ἡρακλείδ[ου] μερίδος,
32 ἐμετρήθησαν ἡμῖν ἐ[ν θησ(αυρῷ)] κώ(μης) Καρανείδος ὑπ(ὲρ)
ὀρεοδικτίας [ὑπ(ὲρ) θ]ε[ίας
διατυπώσεως γενή(ματος) [ιζS' καὶ ιϛ]S' καὶ θS' μέτρῳ δημο-
(σίῳ) ξυστ[ῷ..].....
Ταήσεως Κοπρ[ῆ πυροῦ κ]αθαροῦ ἀρτάβης δίμ[οιρον – – –]
καὶ ὑπὲρ Πτολεμαί[δος ..... ἐ]μετρήθησαν [..... πυροῦ]
καθαροῦ

36 ἀρτάβας πέντε [τρίτον, (γίνονται) καθ(αροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)] ε ̄γ.
καὶ ..[..... Π]τολεμαίδος
καὶ Ἡρ[- ± 11- ὁριο]δικτίας ἄλλ[ας πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρ]τάβας
εἴκοσι .[- ±14 -]..[..]....[- - -]
(M7) του ..[- ± 19 -].....[- - -]
40 τητη.[- ± 19 -]..[- - -]
Αὐρηλι.[- ± 19 -]..[- - -]

Column III

(M8) ἔτους ιζS καὶ ιεS καὶ ἐνάτου τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ
44 Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστά-
των Καισάρων Παχὼν ε̄. Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος
γυμ(νασιαρχήσας) βουλ(ευτὴς) δεκ(άπρωτος) α ς τρ(παρχίας)
Ἡρακλίδου μερίδος δι'
ἐμοῦ Ἥρωνος Ὀνομάστου, ἐμετρήθησάν μοι
48 ἐν θησαυρῷ κώμης Καρανίδος μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ
ξυστῷ γενή(ματος) ιεS καὶ ιεS καὶ ηS καὶ ιεS καὶ ιδS καὶ
ζS καὶ ιδS καὶ ιγS καὶ εS ὀνόματος Ταῆσις Κοπρῆ
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δέκα δύο ἡμισυ τέταρ-
52 τον, (ἀρτάβας) ιβSd, καὶ ὀνόματος Ἡραίδος Χαιρήμονος
διὰ Ἰσιδώρου πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δέκα ἡ-
μισυ, (ἀρτάβας) ιS, γίνονται ὁμοῦ τοῦ συμβόλου (ἀρτάβαι)
κγ d.
Αὐ[ρ]ήλιος Ἥρων δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πικῶτα σεσημ(είωμαι).
(M9)
56 [ἔτου]ς ιη καὶ ιζS καὶ ιS Χοιακ δ.
[διέγραψεν] Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαί[ο]υ [- - -]
[.' διατυπώ]σεως κα[τὰ] τ[ὸ]ν θῖον νόμ[ον - -]
[± 8] ὁριδι[κτί]ας Καρανίδος ε[- -]
60 [(δραχμὰς) ὀκτακ]ισχειλίας [[πεν]] `τετ΄ρακοσίας ἐβ[δο-]
[μήκοντα] τ[έσσ]αρες, γί(νονται) Ἡυοδ [- - -].

(M10)
[- ± 10 -]ν δι' ἐμ[ο]ῦ ....[- - -]
[..... Αὐρή]λιος Σαρ[μ]άτης ... [- - -]
64 [..... σεσ]ημίωμ[αι].
(M11) [- ± 10 -] καὶ Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμ[αίου]
[ὑπ(ὲρ) διατυπ]ώσεως (δραχμὰς) χειλίας ὀκτακο[σίας]
[ἑξήκοντα (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ)]Ἀωξ. καὶ Ἡρᾶς Πτολεμαίου
(δραχμὰς) δισ-
68 [χειλ]ίας τριάκοντα ἕξ, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) Ἀλς.
[... Ταῆ]σις Κοπρῆ (δραχμὰς) ὀγδοήκοντα τέσ(σαρας), (γίνον-
ται) (δραχμαὶ) πδ.
[± 6] Ὠρίων δεκάπ(ρωτος) σ(εσημείωμαι).

Column IV

(M12) ἔτους ιζ καὶ ιϛS′ καὶ ἐνάτου τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιαν̣οῦ
72 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Μεσορὴ ιζ′. Ἀ[ὐρήλ(ιοι)] Ὡρίων
καὶ Σαρμάτης δεκά(πρωτοι) δ ε το(παρχίας) Ἡρακλείδου μερ[ίδος], ἐμετρή(θησαν)
ἡμῖν ἐν θη(σαυρῷ) κώ(μης) Καρανίδος ὑπὲρ ὁριοδ(ικτίας) Καρανίδος
76 καρπὸν νέας ὀνό(ματος) Ἰσιδώρου Πτολεμαίου ὑπ(ὲρ) γενή(ματος)
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ιζS καὶ ιϛS′ ‹καὶ› ἐνάτου πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρ[τά]βας
τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρας τέταρτον, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)
καθ(αροῦ) μδ d′,
καὶ τὰς κελευσθείσας ἑκατοστάς.
80 καὶ ὀνό(ματος) Ἡρᾶ Πτολεμαίου πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας
εἴκοσι τρῖς, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) καθ(αροῦ) κγ, καὶ τὰς
ἑκατοστάς.
καὶ ὀνό(ματος) Ταησίου Κοπρῆ δι(ὰ) Ἡρᾶτος πυροῦ καθαροῦ
ἀρτάβης ἥμισυ, (γίνεται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) καθ(αροῦ) S′.
84 καὶ ὀνό(ματος) τῆς αὐτῆς Πτολ(εμαίδος) νέας [πυ]ροῦ καθαροῦ
ἀρτάβας τέσσαρες ἥμισυ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) καθ(αροῦ) δ S′,
καὶ τὰς κελευσθείσας ἑκατοστά[ς]. Αὐρή(λιος) Ὡρίων σεση(μείωμαι).
(M13) Αὐρήλιος Σαρμάτης σεση[μείω]μαι.
(M14)
88 [ἔτους] ιζS καὶ ιϛS καὶ ἐνάτου τῶν κυρίω[ν ἡμῶν Διο]κλητιανοῦ
[κα]ὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβασ[τῶν] καὶ Κων[σταντίο]υ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
[τῶ]ν ἐπιφανεστ[άτων Κ]αισάρω[ν date Αὐρ]ή(λιος) Γερόντιος
[δε]κ(άπρωτος) α ς′ τοπ(αρχίας) Ἡρακ(λείδου) [μ]ερ(ίδος) ἐμ[ετ(ρήθησαν) ἡμῖν ἐν θησαυ]ρῷ κώμ(ης)
92 [Καρα]νίδος ὑπ(ὲρ) ὀνό(ματος) Τ[αήσ]εως Κ[οπρῆ.....].ος
καὶ τῇ
[– ± 5 –].ς δι′ Ἰσιδώρο[υ ...] Ἰσιδ[± 12].....
[ὑπὲρ] τοῦ γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ ἔτ]ους π[υροῦ καθ(αροῦ) ἀρτά]βας δεκα-
[επτ]ὰ ἥμισυ′, (ἀρτάβας) ιζS, καὶ τὰς [κε]λ[ευ]σθείσ[ας ἑκατοστάς. Αὐρ]ή(λιος) Γερόντιος σεση(μείωμαι).
96 ὑπ(ὲρ) ἀριθ(μήσεως) ἀρτάβης ἥμισυ [δωδ]έκατον. Γερόν[τιος δεκ(άπρωτος) α ς] τ(παρχίας) σίτου
μέτρ(α) αS′ σεση(μείωμαι).

Column V

(M15) Αὐρήλιοι Σ[α]ρμάτης Ὀνωράτου
.[...]..ρ′ δεκ(άπρωτοι), ἐμέτρησεν [

100 [..]θS ὁριοδικτίας Κεραν[ίδος
[..].[..]. καὶ Ἡρᾶ κριθ(ῆς) δ[
– – – – – – – – – – – –
– – – – – – – – – – – –
(M16)
104 ἔτους ιη[S] καὶ ιζS καὶ ιS [
(M17) ἔτους ιηS καὶ ιζS καὶ ιS Τῦβι ις, δι[έγραψεν – – –]
Πτολεμαίου ὀνόμ(ατος) τῆς γυναι[κὸς – – – ὑπ(ὲρ)]
διατυπώσεως κατὰ τὸν ...
108 καὶ ὀνό(ματος) .[.]... ὑπ(ὲρ) κώμης [...
κοσίας.
καὶ ὀνόμ(ατος) Ἰσιδώρου Πτο[λεμαίου
ἑβδομη[κο]ντα δύο [
112 καὶ ..[..]ο' τοῦ συμβίου (δραχμὰς) [
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Γ[ερό]ντιος δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀ[
....[....].ιου (δραχμὰς) τβ. .[
.....[....]... (δραχμὰς) ἑξήκ[οντα
116 [...]..[.....].....[
]..[

3, 6, 12 τιμὴν 8 ὀκτακοσίας 10 Πτολεμαίου, θε[ῶν 17 possibly του ιζ[S], but the papyrus is very abraded 26, 53 ἰσιδωρου pap. 26 et passim, ἀρτάβαι (subject of ἐμετρήθησαν) 32, 59 ὁριοδικτίας 48 μέτρῳ 52 ηραϊδος pap. 55 ἰιου pap.; Πεκώτος 58 θεῖον 61 τέσσαρας 76 καρποῦ νέου

Column I

Year 17 and 16 and nine, Pharmouthi 24. Isidoros son of Ptolemaios and Taesis daughter of Kopres paid as price of chaff and meat for the first *delegatio* for the village of Karanis, a hundred fifty-two dr., dr. 152, (paid) through Achillas and Arabikos and their partners, *apaitetai.* And for the village *horiodiktia* of Karanis, price of chaff and meat for the fourth divine *delegatio,* dr. three thousand eight hundred, dr. 3800, (paid) through Achillas and Pelenis, *apaitetai.*

(M2) [Year 17] and 16 and 9, Pharmouthi [..]. Isidoros son of Ptolemaios [paid] for the divine [*delegatio*] for the 15th and 14th and [7th year for the village of] Karanis as price of chaff [and meat?, one thousand] nine hundred [dr.], dr. 1900. I, Aurelius [—, have signed].

(lines 14–19 too fragmentary to translate)

Column II

(M5) Year 17 and 16 and 9 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus the most noble Caesars, Pharmouthi 29. Aurelii Horion and Philotas, *dekaprotoi* of the 4th and 5th toparchy of the Herakleides Division: paid to us in the granary of the village of Karanis, by level public measure, for produce of the 15th and 14th and [7th year] and 16th and 15th and 8th year, for the village of New Ptolemais, in the name of Thaesion daughter of Kopres, through Isidoros, two and a half artabas of clean wheat with the twelve percent, art. 2½. I, Aurelius Philotas, have signed. I, Horion, have signed.

(M6) Year 17 and 16 and 9 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and

Constantius and Maximianus the most noble Caesars, Pachon 11. Aurelii Severinus and Andreias, former *exegetes,* councillor of Alexandria, and the heirs of Sarmates, and Sabinos, former gymnasiarch, (all) *dekaprotoi* of the 4th and 5th toparchy of the Herakleides Division: paid to us in [the granary] of the village of Karanis for the *horiodiktia* for the divine *delegatio* on the crop [of the 17th and 16th] and 9th year, . . . artabas by the level public measure; (and in the name of) Taesis daughter of Kopres, two-thirds artaba of clean wheat . . . (lines 35–41 are too fragmentary for translation)

Column III

(M8) Year 17 and 16 and nine of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus the most noble Caesars, Pachon 5. Aurelius Didymos, former gymnasiarch, councillor, *dekaprotos* of the 1st and 6th toparchy of the Herakleides division through me, Heron son of Onomastos: paid to me in the granary of the village of Karanis by the level public measure, for produce of the 16th and 15th and 8th year and 15th and 14th and 7th year and 14th and 13th and 6th year in the name of Taesis, daughter of Kopres, twelve, a half, a fourth artabas of clean wheat, art. 12¾. And in the name of Herais daughter of Chairemon through Isidoros, ten and a half artabas of clean wheat, art. 10½, total for the receipt altogether, art. 23¼. I, Aurelius Heron, have signed through me his son Pikos.

(lines 56–70 are too fragmentary for translation)

Column IV

(M12) Year 17 and 16 and nine of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus the most noble Caesars, Mesore 17. Aurelii Horion and Sarmates, *dekaprotoi* of the 4th and 5th toparchy of the Herakleides Division: paid to us in the granary of the village of Karanis for the *horiodiktia* of Karanis from the new crop in the name of Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, for the crop of the same 17th and 16th and ninth year, forty-four and a fourth artabas of clean wheat, that is, 44¼ art. clean wh., and the authorized percentage. And in the name of Heras son of Ptolemaios, twenty-three artabas of clean wheat, art. clean wh. 23 and the percentage. And in the name of Taesion daughter of Kopres through Heras, a half artaba of clean wheat, that is ½ art. clean wh. And in the name of the same woman, for New Ptolemais, four and a half artabas of clean wheat, that is 4½ art. clean wh. and the authorized percentage. I, Aurelius Horion, have signed. (M13) I, Aureiius Sarmates, have signed.

(lines 88-117 are too fragmentary for translation.)

1. Year 17-16-9 = 300/1. Pharmouthi 24 = 19 April 301.

2. Taesis daughter of Kopres was the wife of Isidoros' brother Heras. See *138*.36n.

3. διατύπωσις = *delegatio,* a term "specialized for a tax assessed in money or kind . . . in accordance with the schedule and distinguished from other types of taxation" (*P.Cair.Isid.* 42 introd.). Considering the appearance also of Taesis, Isidoros is certainly paying here as a taxpayer; but from *P.Cair.Isid.* 42.4 we know that he himself was an *apaitetes* for the *delegatio* of year 17-16-9. The large discrepancy between the amount paid for the village (152 dr.) and for the *horiodiktia* (3800 dr.), coupled with the disproportion of Isidoros' landholdings in favor of the *horiodiktia* (*P.Cair.Isid.*, p. 7) lends credence to A. C. Johnson's suggestion (quoted by Boak and Youtie) that the charge was a flat rate per arcura (he suggested 120 dr.).

5. Achillas is previously attested as *apaitetes* by *P.Mert.* II 88.vi.6,9. Several men of that name held land at Karanis. Arabikos is probably the son of Ptollas found in *P.Cair.Isid.* 6.109, there listed as holder of a total of 20⅝ arouras in the village alone. His 68¾ art. of wheat in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.71 suggests a total of at least 44 arouras (considering the 10+ arouras of private land in no. 6); and 54 arouras are suggested by *P.Cair.Isid.* 10 and 17, where his chaff assessment comes to 9 sarganai (9 x 150 lb. = 1350 lbs., = 54 arouras at 25 lbs. per aroura).

8. For Achillas, see 5n. Pelenis appears as *apaitetes* in *P.Mert.* II 88.v. 11, vi.5. The editors there remark on the incompetent handwriting; Pelenis was not the writer in our text, which is fluent.

9–13. The drafting of this receipt is somewhat defective, but the restorations at right must apparently be short.

14–17. Heras is the brother of Isidoros. Too much is lost in this receipt to allow a secure restoration of the missing parts; evidently both cash and meat are involved, and perhaps a grain in line 17. In that line, the text is very abraded and does not permit certainty (cf. apparatus).

18. [αὐτῇ] is a very probable restoration, although another date, expansively written, could have stood in the space.

20–22. Year 17-16-9 = 300/1; Pharmouthi 29 = 24 April 301.

22–23. These *dekaprotoi* appear in *O.Mich.* 478, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485 and 486, of 299/300 and 300/1, but not in the Isidoros papyri.

25. Ptolemais is in the *horiodiktia* of Karanis, cf. *154*.28n. Taesis' name is usually spelled with a tau.

26. σὺν (ἑκατοσταῖς) ιβ: for bibliography on the extra percentage, see *P.Cair.Isid.* 45.7n. The numeral 12 here is clear; usually one finds a charge of 10 per cent on wheat.

28–30. Pachon 11 = 6 May 301.

30–31. We find here four *dekaprotoi* (one represented by his heirs) for the 4th and 5th toparchy; two other men (see 22–23n.) were *dekaprotoi* for the same toparchy just 19 days earlier. A full discussion of this evidence in the context of the general problem of the number and term of the *dekaprotoi* will appear in *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 160–67.

33. The unread text at the end is presumably the amount paid or ὀνό(ματος).

42–45. Date: 30 April 301.

45. Aurelius Didymos is not elsewhere attested as *dekaprotos*.

47. An Aurelius Heron was *dekaprotos* of the 1st/6th toparchy in 296/7, cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 39.3. Whether a *dekaprotos* would identify himself not by title but by patronymic, as Heron does here, however, is dubious.

49–50. Payment covers the three past years, 297/8, 298/9, and 299/300; no doubt the arrears were being cleared up with the fresh produce from the harvest of 301.

52. The name Herois (i.e. Isidoros' mother) cannot be read, but no Herais is known in the family. It may be only a matter of a spelling variant, as in *175*. For the interchange of these names, see *P.Mich.* IV 2, p. 170, and J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï* (Leuven 1976) 266 n.9.

54. ὁμοῦ τοῦ συμβόλου: for this phrase, see *141*.31 and *136*.42.

56. Year 18-17-10, Choiak 4 = 30 November 301.

58. The θεῖοι νόμοι are mentioned elsewhere in the archive, generally in petitions like *P.Cair.Isid.* 69.22, but in the phrase of the tax receipts κέλευσις or πρόσταξις is usually found instead.

63. If the name is read here correctly, it is difficult to see that this can be the *dekaprotos* of this name, whose heirs appear in line 31 almost seven months before the date of the present receipt. But we have not succeeded in reading another name here, and cf. below on lines 73–74.

65–70. This section was mismounted so that the right part does not align with the left but is a line too high.

71–73. Date: 10 August 301.

73–74. On the collector, see above, note to lines 30–31. It is extremely odd—to say the least—that Aurelius Sarmates appears here in person as *dekaprotos* collecting and signing (it is a new hand in line 87) for the taxes in grain, when already in August, 299 (*P.Mert.* II 88.xviii) his heirs collected in his stead. Either this is an error, or the heirs are now represented by a homonymous son.

79. Cf. above, line 26, for the extra percentage. It is not stated here whether this is the usual 10 per cent or the 12 per cent attested in line 26. Cf. also lines 86 and 95.

82. Heras is Taesis' husband.

88–90. Date: 300/1.

90–91. Aurelius Gerontios appears in several ostraka (*O.Mich.* 498 and 499 are dated in 302 for the crop of the preceding year; 167 and 246 are undated) as *dekaprotos*. His activity, all of which falls in the ostraka in year 18-17-10 (301/2), is now shown to have begun already in 17-16-9.

93. I cannot say what stood in any of the lacunae in this line, particularly the middle one.

96–7. The reading at the end of line 96 is very uncertain. The quantities in 96 and 98 do not agree, but both readings seem certain.

98. On Sarmates see notes to lines 30–31, 63 and 73–74. The date here is too ill-preserved to contribute to the solution of the problem.

99. Possibly [ἀρχ]ιερ(ατεύσας).

105. Year 18-17-10, Tybi 16 = 11 January 302.

113. For Aurelius Gerontios, cf. line 90.

138–140

Receipts for Delivery of Bullion

These three texts all record deliveries of gold and silver bullion by Aurelius Isidoros and members of his family (plus one person whose relationship to them is not known). Such receipts were previously known from *P.Mert.* I 31, which also belongs to the archive of Isidoros and is dated in the same fiscal year, 307/8. The evidence of all these receipts is set out in tabular form below.

The purpose of these payments is discussed at length in my article in *Cd'E* 52 (1977) 322–36. There it is concluded, pursuing a suggestion of T. C. Skeat amplified by John Rea, that we are dealing with the phenomenon of the συνωνή, a governmental buying-up of bullion from landowners in amounts and at prices fixed by administrative decision. The levy constituted an indirect tax in that the fixed price was undoubtedly well below the actual market price, with the result that all landowners who did not have a store of uncoined gold and silver metal would have to buy it at market price and sell it much more cheaply.

Reference	*Year*	= *Julian*	*Month*	= *Julian*	*Collectors*	*Payer*	*Paid*
P. Mert. 31.1–6	(16–4)	307	13 a.Kal.Ian.	20 Dec.	Aur. Sarapammon and Potammon, *epimeletai*	Heras s. of Ptolemaios	2 oz. silver
id.7–13	same	same	9 a.Kal.Ian.	24 Dec.	same	same	6 gr. silver
id.14–20	same	same	same	same	Aur. Isias, *epimeletes*	Taesis d. of Kopres	12 gr. silver
P. Col. 138.1–10		same	same	same	Sarapammon/Potammon	Isidoros s. of Ptolemaios	4 oz. 6 gr. silver
id.11–17		(308)	10 a.Kal.Mai.	22 Apr.	Aur. Eudaimon, *epimeletes*	same	6½ gr. gold
id.18–25	16–4	308	6 a.Kal.Mai.	26 Apr.	Aur. Heron, *epimeletes*	same	4¼ gr. gold
id.26–34	same	same	5 a.Kal.Mai.	27 Apr.	same	Heras	4 gr. gold
id.35–43	same	same	2 a.Kal.Mai.	30 Apr.	Aur. Euporos, *epimeletes*	Heras and Taesis	3 7/16 gr. gold
P. Col. 139.1–12	same	same	18 a.Kal.Iun.	15 May	Aur. Achillas and Kasianos, *tesserarii*	Isidoros, Heras, Taesis, Palemon	4 oz. silver, 8 gr. gold
id.13	same	same	same	same	same	same	2 oz. silver
id.14–20	same	same	5 a.Kal.Mai.	27 Apr.	Aur. Apin( ) and Asem( ), *tesserarii*	Taesis	20 gr. silver, 1⅝ gr. gold
P. Col. 140.1–11	same	same	12 a.Kal.Iun.	21 May	Aur. Achillas and Kasianos	Ameis d. of Horion	1 oz., 3 gr. silver, 2¼ gr. gold
id.12–17	same	same	same	same	same	Isidoros	⅝ gr. gold, 5/16 gr. gold
id.18–27	same	same	lost	lost	*tesserarii*	Isidoros?	lost

The texts are clear in stating that the basis of the assessment was landed property, but they nowhere specify the rate. It is argued in the article cited that in the present texts we are dealing with a levy of one ounce of gold and twelve of silver per 100 artabas of wheat due on the farmer's land. Isidoros and his brothers (along with the wife of one of them) formed a consortium in this matter as they so often did.

138

Receipts for Delivery of Bullion

Inv. 183 47 x 26 cm. (total) 307–308

Two pieces of dark brown papyrus, from the same roll; they are probably but not certainly contiguous. The second piece is in worse condition than when it was first read in 1937, but no wholesale redotting of letters seems necessary.

→ Column I

Αὐρήλιοι Σαραπάμμων καὶ Ποτάμμων
ἐπιμελητὲ ἀσήμου Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσιδώρου
Πτωλεμέου χαίρειν· {παρελάβαμεν} παρε-
4 λάβαμεν παρὰ σοῦ κατὰ θείαν πρόστα-
ξιν ὑπὲρ τῆς κτήσεως σοῦ κώμης
[ὁ]ρωδικτίας Καρανείδος ἀσήμου καθαρὰ
[ο]ὐγκείας τέσσαρες γράμματα ἕξ.
8 Ποτάμμων σεσημ(είωμαι).
[ὑ]πατίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου Καίσαρος
πρὸ θ καλαντῶν Εἰανουαρίων.
(M2) Αὐρήλιος Εὐδαίμων ἀρχιερατεύσας βουλευτὴς
12 ἐπιμελητὴς χρυσοῦ Ἰσιδώρου χαίρειν·
παρέλαβον παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς γενομένης
ἐπιβολῆς κατὰ θείαν κέλευσιν ὑπὲρ ὁριοδι-
κτίας Καρανίδος χρυσίου καθαροῦ γράμματα
16 ἕξ ἥμισυ, γ(ίνεται) γρά(μματα) ϛS//. Εὐδαίμων ἔγρα(ψα) τὰ ὅλα.
πρὸ ι' καλ(ανδῶν) Μαίων.
(M3) Αὐρήλιος Ἥρων βουλ(ευτὴς) ἐπιμελητὴς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀσήμου
Αὐρηλ[ί]ῳ Ἰσιδώρῳ Πτολεμαίου χαίρειν·
20 παρέλαβ[ο]ν παρὰ σοῦ τῆς γενομένης ἐπιβολῆς κατὰ θείαν πρόσταξιν
κώμη[ς] Καρανίδος ὁριοδικτίας χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ γράμματα
τέσσερα ὄγδοον, γρά(μματα) δ η''. (M4) Ἥρων σεσημείωμε.
(M3) (ἔτους) ιϛ'' καὶ δS'' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ

24 Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
Καίσαρος, πρὸ ς καλανδῶν Μαίων.

Column II

(M5) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἥρων βουλ(ευτὴς) ἐπιμ(ελητὴς) Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρᾶτι Πτολεμαί[ο]υ
ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος χα(ίρειν)·
28 παρέλαβον παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς γενομένης ἐπιβολῆς
ὑπὲρ κώμης ὁριοδικτίας Καρανίδος χρυσίου
καθαροῦ γράμματα τέσσερας, γ(ίνεται) χρυσίου γράμ(ματα) δ.
(M4) Ἥρων σεσημίωμε.
(M5)
32 (ἔτους) ιςS καὶ δS τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιο[νο]ῦ
Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου Καίσαρος πρὸ πέν[τε]
καλανδῶν Μαίων.
(M6) Αὐρήλιος Εὔπορος ἄρξας βουλ(ευτὴς) ἐπιμελητὴς
36 χρυσοῦ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρᾷ καὶ Ταῆσι χαίρειν·
παρέλαβον παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γενομένης
ἐπιβολῆς κατὰ τείαν πρόσταξιν κώμης ὁριοδικτίας Καρανίδος γράμματα τρία τέταρτον δγδοον
40 ἑκκαιδέκατον, γί(νεται) γρά(μματα) γ $\overline{\text{δηις}}$.
(M7) Γερόντιος σεση(μείωμαι).
(M6) (ἔτους) ιςS καὶ δS' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμι[ανοῦ]
Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος πρ[ὸ] β
καλαντῶν Μαίων. Νείλου υἱὸς σεσ(ημείωμαι).

2 ἐπιμεληταί, Ἰσιδώρῳ 3 Πτολεμαίου: 2nd παρελάβαμεν, 1st ε corr. fr. α 6 ὁριοδικτίας, καθαροῦ 7 τέσσαρας 10 καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίων 12 Ἰσιδώρῳ 17, 25 Μαῖων pap. 22, 31 σεσημείωμαι 30 τέσσαρα 32 ις, ς corr. fr. δ 34 Μαῖων pap. 38 θεῖαν 44 καλανδῶν

Aurelii Sarapammon and Potammon, *epimeletai* of uncoined silver, to Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, greeting. We have received from you according to the divine command for your property in the village *horiodiktia* of Karanis, four ounces and six grams of pure uncoined silver. I, Potammon, have signed. In the consulate of our master Maximinus Caesar, 9 before the Calends of January.

(M2) Aurelius Eudaimon, former chief priest, councillor, *epimeletes* of gold, to Isidoros, greeting. I have received from you for the assessment imposed according to the divine command for the *horiodiktia* of Karanis, six and a half grams of pure gold, gr. 6½. I, Eudaimon, wrote the entire document. 10 before the Calends of May.

(M3) Aurelius Heron, councillor, *epimeletes* of gold and uncoined silver, to Aurelius Isidoros, son of Ptolemaios, greeting. I have received from you for the assessment imposed

according to the divine command for the *horiodiktia* of the village of Karanis, four and an eighth grams of pure gold, gr. 4⅛. (M4) I, Heron, have signed. (M3) Year 16 and 4 of our lords Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus and Galerius Valerius Maximinus the most noble Caesar, 6 before the Calends of May.

Column II

(M5) Aurelius Heron, councillor, *epimeletes*, to Aurelius Heras, son of Ptolemaios, from the village of Karanis, greeting. I have received from you for the assessment imposed for the account of the village *horiodiktia* of Karanis, four grams of pure gold, that is, 4 gr. gold. (M4) I, Heron, have signed. (M5) Year 16 and 4 of our lords Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus and Galerius Valerius Maximinus Caesar, 5 before the Calends of May.

(M6) Aurelius Euporos, former magistrate, councillor, *epimeletes* of gold, to Aurelii Heras and Taesis greeting. I have received from you for the assessment imposed according to the divine command for the village *horiodiktia* of Karanis, three, a fourth, an eighth, a sixteenth grams, that is, gr. 3, ¼, ⅛, 1/16. (M7) I, Gerontios, have signed. (M6) Year 16 and 4 of our lords Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus and Maximinus the most noble Caesar, 2 before the Calends of May. I, Neilos, his son, have signed.

1. These collectors appear also in *P.Mert.* I 31.1, written in the same hand. The *-μμων* ending of the name is consistently written with the omega little more than a brief curve between a rather full mu and a full nu. Possibly *Πατάμμον* would be a better reading. These collectors, alone of the *epimeletai* in these texts, do not call themselves *bouleutai*. Whether this is significant for their status I do not know.

6. *P.Mert.* I 31 also has this spelling of *horiodiktia*.

9–10. Date: 24 December 307.

11. The collector does not recur.

15. There is no apparent significance in the fact that these collectors sometimes use *χρυσός* and sometimes *χρυσίον* for gold bullion.

23–25. Date: 26 April 308. For the use of the Roman calendar in Egypt, see the article of P.J. Sijpesteijn in *ZPE* 33 (1979) 229–40.

26. Same collector as preceding receipt.

31. The signature is the same as in line 22.

32–34. Date: 27 April 308.

35. Euporos does not appear elsewhere.

36. Taesis also pays in *P.Mert.* I 31.15. There the collector addresses her as Aurelius Taesios, i.e. as a man. Cl. Préaux, *Cd'E* 25 (1950) 336, suggested that Aurelia should be read, but the plate shows, as the editors of *P.Mert.* II say (p. 133), that *Αὐρηλίῳ* is unavoidable. The mistake is thus the scribe's, a relatively natural one since the form *Ταῆσιον* for her name is known, e.g. in *139*.3.

40. Collectors named Gerontios appear in this period, but we cannot identify any of them with this one.

139

Receipts for Delivery of Bullion

Inv. 188 55 x 26.2 cm. 308

Medium brown papyrus. Three *kollemata*, with the writing of Column II across the second joint. A space 24 cm. in width is blank at the left of the writing. This papyrus is closely related to 140 and originally may have formed part of the same roll. These texts are receipts given by *tesserarii* to the landholders.

Column I

→ Αὐρήλιοι Ἀχιλλᾶς καὶ Κασιανὸς θεσσαλάριοι
κώμης Καρανίδος Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσιδώρου
Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἡρᾶ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ταησίου
4 Κοπρῆ καὶ Παλήμωνος Πτολεμαίου χαίρειν·
παρελάβαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γενομένης
ἐπιβολῆς κατὰ θίαν πρόσταξιν ὑπὲρ ὁριο-
διεκτίας καὶ Καρανίδος ἀσήμου καθαροῦ
8 οὐνκίας τέσσαρες, (γίνονται) ϟ̅ ὁ̅, καὶ χρυσοῦ
ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀνομάτων
γράμματα [ὁ]κτώ, (γίνεται) γρά(μματα) η̅. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀχιλ-
λᾶς
σεσ(ημείωμαι).
12 (ἔτους) ιϛS καὶ [δS] π̅ρ̅[ὸ] ιη̅' κ̅αλαντῶν Ἰωνίων.
ὁ αὐτὸς [ὁμ]οίως ἀσήμου οὐνκίας δύο, (γίνονται) ϟ̅ β̅.

Column II

(M2) Αὐρή(λιοι) Ἀπιν( ) καὶ Ἀσημ( ) θεσσαλάριοι κ̅ώμ̅ης Πτολε-
μ(αίδος)
Νέας Αὐρηλί(ᾳ) Ταῆσις Κωπρῆ ἀπὸ Κ̅[α]ρανίδος
16 χαίριν· ἔσχαμεν παρὰ σοῦ εἰς τ̅[ι]μὴν ἀσήμου
γράμματα εἴκοσι καὶ χρυσοῦ γράμμα ἓν ἥμισυ ὄγδον.
(ἔτους) ιϛS καὶ δS τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Γ̅αλερίου Οὐαλερίου
‹Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γαλερίου› Οὐαλερίου
Μ̅αξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος,
20 πρὸ πέντε καλανδῶν Μαίων.

1, 14 τεσσαράριοι 2 Αὐρηλίοις Ἰσιδώρῳ 3 Ἡρᾶτι, Ταησίῳ 4 Παλήμωνι
6 θείαν 8 τέσσαρας 12 καλανδῶν Ἰουνίων 15 Ταῆσι Κοπρῆ 17 ὄγδοον

Aurelii Achillas and Kasianos, *tesserarii* of the village of Karanis, to Aurelii Isidoros son of Ptolemaios and Heras son of Ptolemaios and Taesion daughter of Kopres and Palemon son of Ptolemaios, greeting. We have received from you for the assessment imposed according to the divine command, for the account of the *horiodiktia* and of Karanis, four ounces of pure uncoined silver, that is, 4 oz., and of gold, likewise for the same names, eight grams, that is, 8 gr. I, Aurelius Achillas, have signed. Year 16 and [4], 18 before the Calends of June.

The same, likewise, two ounces of uncoined silver, that is, 2 oz.

Column II

(M2) Aurelii Apin( ) and Asem( ), *tesserarii* of the village of New Ptolemais, to Aurelia Taesis, daughter of Kopres, from Karanis, greeting. We have received from you for the price of uncoined silver twenty grams, and one, a half, an eighth gram of gold. Year 16 and 4 of our lords Galerius Valerius ‹Maximianus Augustus and Galerius› Valerius Maximinus the most noble Caesar, five days before the Calends of May.

1. These officials are not attested elsewhere as *tesserarii* except in *140*. There are at least two men named Achillas in Karanis with adequate wealth and active at this time, and I do not offer an identification. Kasianos, on the other hand, must certainly be the Kasianos who was *sitologos* of Karanis in 308/9 (the year after our text), in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9 etc. He was the son of Saprous. Curiously, his tax payments in *P.Cair. Isid.* 9 and 17 do not indicate a man of any wealth. Perhaps he had landholdings outside the *horiodiktia* of Karanis. A Kasianos also was *apaitetes* in 309/10 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 51). If these two and our man are all the same, as I think, his affliction with three consecutive liturgies ranks with Isidoros' burdens of these years (308/9 komarch; 308/9 and 309/10 *sitologos;* 310/11 *apaitetes* of chaff). On the *tesserarius,* about which little is known, see A. E. R. Boak in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of A. C. Johnson,* ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton (Princeton 1951) 322–35; for the variant spellings of the title, see *P.Got.* 6.7n. Lewis, *ICS* s.v., cites 314 as the earliest attestation known to him.

7. The meaning of this phrase is presumably that both *horiodiktia* and village were paid for.

12. Date: 15 May 308. Cf. *138*.23–25n.

13. The singular of *αὐτός* is peculiar, since four names are given for the preceding delivery. Perhaps Isidoros was the agent of the four (as so commonly) and it is to him that the collector refers.

14. These collectors are unknown. The first is probably meant as *Ἀπῖν(ος)*; for the second (appropriate enough!) *Ἀσῆμις* and *Ἄσημος* are given by the *NB*.

16. *τ[ι]μὴν* is certain; it occurs nowhere else in the receipts for bullion, and its sense is not clear since Taesis obviously is not paying an *adaeratio*. Indeed, an *adaeratio* in cash would be absurd, since the government aimed to collect bullion, not cash. Perhaps the fact that a purchase rather than a tax is at stake here confused these small-town collectors. The same man, after all, botched the date (see below). The fact that the payer was to be reimbursed for the bullion may have contributed to the confused terminology.

18. A virtual haplography has occurred here in the date, blending the two emperors. Date: 27 April 308.

140

Receipts for Delivery of Bullion

Inv. 64 19 x 26.5 cm. 308

Dark brown papyrus. Margin at left, 9 cm. About a third of Column I and verso blank.

This papyrus contains one column and the left edge of a second one. From the limited remains of Column II I judge that it is in the same hand as Column I, and the collectors' names are restored accordingly. The remainder of the restorations are highly probable but the wording could be different at several points.

→ Column I

Αὐρήλιοι Ἀχιλλᾶς καὶ Κασιανὸς
θεσσαλάριοι κώμης Καρανίδος
Αὐρηλίᾳ Ἀμεῖς Ὠρίωνος χαί(ρειν)·
4 ἔσχαμεν παρὰ σοῦ κατὰ θίαν πρόσ-
ταξιν ὑπὲρ τῆς γενομένης ἐπιβο-
λῆς ἀσήμου καθαροῦ οὐνκίαν
μίαν γράμμα‹τα› τρία, (γίνεται) ϟ α γρά(μματα) γ,
8 καὶ χρυσοῦ ὁμοίως γράμματα δύο
τέταρτον, (γίνεται) γρά(μματα) βd/. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀχιλλᾶς
σεση(μείωμαι).
(ἔτους) ιϛS καὶ δS πρὸ ιβ' καλαντῶν Ἰωνίων.
12 καὶ ὁμοίως Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαί[ου]
χρυσίου καθαροῦ γράμματος ἥμισου
ὄγδον, (γίνεται) γρά(μματος) ∠η̄ . Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀχιλλᾶς σεσ(η-
μείωμαι).
καὶ ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτὸς χρυσίου καθαροῦ
16 γράμματος τέταρτον ἑκκαιδέκατον,
(γίνεται) γρά(μματος) d̄ ις̄.

Column II

Αὐ[ρήλιοι Ἀχιλλᾶς καὶ Κασιανὸς]
θεσ[σαλάριοι κώμης Καρανίδος]
20 Αὐρ[ηλίῳ Ἰσιδώρῳ Πτολεμαίου χαί(ρειν)·]
δι[γραψεν ἡμῖν κατὰ θίαν πρόσταξιν]
ὑ[πὲρ τῆς γενομένης ἐπιβολῆς χρυ-]
σ[οῦ καθαροῦ amount]
24 κ[αὶ ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτὸς – – – καθαροῦ]
γ[ραμματ— amount]
.[total, signature]
(ἔτους) ι[ϛS καὶ δS πρὸ .. καλαντῶν Ἰωνίων (?)].

1. 19 *τεσσαράριοι* 3 *Ἀμεῖ* 4, 21 *θείαν* 11, 27 *καλανδῶν Ἰουνίων* 13 *ἥμισου*
14 *ὄγδοον*; *ογ̄δον* pap.

Aurelii Achillas and Kasianos, *tesserarii* of the village of Karanis, to Aurelia Ameis daughter of Horion, greeting. We have received from you in accordance with the divine command, for the assessment imposed, one ounce, three grams of pure uncoined silver, that is, 1 oz., 3 gr., and of gold likewise two and one-fourth grams, that is 2¼ gr. I, Aurelius Achillas, have signed. Year 16 and 4, 12 days before the Calends of June.

And likewise Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, a half and an eighth gram of pure gold, that is, ½, ⅛ gr. I, Aurelius Achillas, have signed.

And likewise the same man, a fourth and a sixteenth gram of pure gold, that is, ¼, 1/16 gr.

1, 18. For the collectors see *139*.1n.

3. If the gender of Αὐρηλία is correct (the reading is certain), we learn that Ameis was daughter, not son (as the editors of *P.Cair.Isid.* list her), of Horion (the name occurs for both sexes). She appears in *P.Cair.Isid.* 6.308–10 as owner of a total of 9 7/64 arouras of land in the village. In *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.83,193 she pays taxes for about 15 arouras; in 17.27 she owes for 18 arouras' worth of chaff. Why she appears here, I cannot say, unless either Isidoros was the lessee of land belonging to her and made the payment on behalf of that land, or she was the wife of some member of the family.

11. Date: 21 May 308.

17. The second fraction could be $\overline{\iota\delta}$. About a third of Column I is left blank after this line.

21. It is also conceivable that this is δι(ά), and that a different name should be restored in the preceding line, with Isidoros the intermediary in this line.

26. The first letter may be tau, possibly τ[έταρτον].

141

Receipts for Various Taxes

Inv. 60 166 x 26.5 cm. 308–310

Four contiguous pieces from a roll. Color varies from light to dark brown. Verso blank.

This papyrus contains a diverse group of receipts given to Isidoros and members of his family over a period of two years. It was compiled contemporaneously with a number of other receipts in the archive, *P.Cair. Isid.* 47–50. The bulk of the receipts in the present text, however, come from 309, a year not represented in these papyri.

Columns I–III contain receipts for various items in money and grain; the motive is not always stated. Column IV contains a remarkable receipt for cast bronze. The later columns are receipts mainly for chaff and wheat. The following table sets out the details. Numerous points of interest are discussed in the notes.

Lines	*Year* =	*Julian*	*Month* =	*Julian*	*Taxpayer*	*Collector*	*Payment*
1–5	16–4	308	Epeiph 24	18 July	Isidoros for self and Palemon		25¾ art. wheat
6–8	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	Isidoros		price of hay
9–11	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	Isidoros		price of hay
12–15	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	Isidoros		lost
16–19	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	Isidoros, Palemon		5500 dr., 2800 dr., 2000 dr.
20–22	n.d.	n.d.	Pharmouthi 14	9 April	Isidoros for Palemon		2900 dr.
23–33	17–5	309	Tybi 6	1 Jan.	Isidoros & bros., also for Palemon & Taesis	Aur. Valas *tesserarius*, Aur. Isidoros *quadrarius*	cast bronze
34–36	17–5	309	Pachon 18	13 May	Isidoros		price of fodder
37–44	17–5	309	Mesore 15, 19, 7 a.Kal.Sep.	8, 12, 26 Aug.	Isidoros	Aur. Herodianus, Sarapion, Antinoos, *apaitetai* of chaff	15 sarganai chaff
45–53	17–5 & 18–6	309	Mesore 29	22 Aug.	Isidoros and brothers	Aur. Seuthes & Eudaimon, *apaitetai*	*delegatio* & *primipilum*
54–60	18–6	309	Phaophi 6	3 Oct.	Isidoros for Palemon	Aur. Anouphis *tesserarius*, Kopres *quadrarius*	cash for quarterly account
61–67	18–6	309	Thoth 7	4 Sep.	Isidoros and brothers	Aur. Heron s. of Heron & Kapeeis s. of Apollonios, (*apaitetai*?)	chaff
68–78	18–6	309	Thoth 7	4 Sep.	same	same; also Doulos and Aphys	price of chaff, also meat
79–84	18–6	309	Phaophi 9	6 Oct.	Isidoros & Herois	Aur. Kopres, Harpalos & Hatres, *apaitetai*	cash for chaff
85–92	cos.	309	Choiak 28?	24 Dec.?	Isidoros	6 *sitologoi* of Karanis	wheat

Lines	*Year* =	*Julian*	*Month* =	*Julian*	*Taxpayer*	*Collector*	*Payment*
93–94	same	309	Choiak 28	24 Dec.	Isidoros	same	same
95–100	cos.	310	Phaophi 21	18 Oct.	Isidoros	Aur. Kopres & Sotas, *apaitetai*	*delegatio*
101–104	same?	310?	same?	same?	Palemon	Serenos & Sarapion, *apaitetai*	*delegatio* & *primipilum*

→ Column I

Ἀ[ὑρ(ήλιος) Ἰσ]ίδωρος Πτολεμαίου διὰ Ἰσίωνος
ὑπ[ὲρ] γενήματος ιϛS καὶ ȯS ἔτους
[....] καὶ ὀνόματος Παλήμωνος
4 .. ὁμοίως (ἀρτάβας) ιγ ȣ̄. Ἐπεὶφ κδ/.
ὁμ[ο]ίως (ἀρτάβας) ιβ/.
(remainder of column blank)

Column II

(M2) δέδω[κεν Ἰσ]ίδορος
εἰς τιμὴν χ[ό]ρτων (τάλαντα) ιβ.
8 ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτὸς [ε]ἰς τιμὴν χόρτο(υ) (τάλαντα) ιβ.
(remainder of column blank)

Column III

(M3) [παρέσχε]ν Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαίου εἰς τιμὴ[ν]
χ[όρτου ....]...[± 9]...[± 6]
ἑξακοσίας / .....
12 παρέ[σχε]ν Ἰσίδωρος Π[τολεμαίο]υ ...α
κωμητῶν κώμης Καρανίδος ...[.]...[....]..
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

(M4)
16 παρέσχεν Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαίου ἐμοῦ
παρόντος δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλείας
πεντακοσίας. ὁ αὐτὸς δι(ὰ) Ἥρω(νος) (δραχμὰς) Ϡω.
Παλήμων Πτολεμαίου (δραχμὰς) Ϡ.

(M5)
20 καὶ τῇ ιδ τοῦ Φαρμοῦθι ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰσίδωρος
ὑ(πὲρ) ὀνό(ματος) Παλήμονος Πτολεμαίου (δραχμὰς) δισχει-
λίας ἐννακοσίας, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) Ϡ ⲁ
(remainder of column blank)

Column IV

(M6) Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλᾶς τεσσαλάριος Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσιδώρῳ
24 Π[τ]ολεμαίου καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χα(ίρειν)· ἔσχον παρ' ὑμῶν
κατὰ θείαν πρόσταξιν ὑπὲρ κώμ(ης) Καρανίδος καὶ ὁριοδ(ικτίας)
Κ[αρ]ανίδος χαλκῆς χυτῆς ὕλης, μὴ δοθείσης ὑφ' ὑμῶν
τῆς ἀνακαθάρσεως ἕως ὅτου περὶ τούτου κελευσθῇ,
28 λί(τρας) δεκατρεῖς οὐγκίας ἓξ ἡμισυ, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀνό(ματος)
Παλήμο-
νος Πτολεμαίου ὁμοίως χαλκῆς χυτῆς ὕλης λί(τραν) μίαν
[οὐ]γκίας ἓξ/, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀνό(ματος) Ταήσεως Κοπρῆχαλκοῦχυτοῦ
οὐγκίας δέκα, ὁμοῦ τοῦ συμβόλου λί(τρας) δεκαπέντε
32 οὐγκ(ίας) δέκα ἡμισυ, γ(ίνονται) λί(τραι) ιε ⲧ ιϛ/. Αὐρήλ(ιος)

Ἰσίδωρος κουαδράριος ἔγρα(ψα).
(ἔτους) [ι]ζS καὶ εS Τῦβι ϛ̄.
(M7) καὶ Παχὼν ιη' παρέλαβον παρὰ σοῦ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ χόρτου χλωροῦ
κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον σοι μέρος τοῦ παρασχεθέντος εἰς τροφὰς
36 ἵππων στρατιωτικῶν πλήρης.
(remainder of column blank)

Column V

(M8) Αὐρήλιοι Ἡρωδιανὸς καὶ Σαραπίων καὶ Ἀντινόου
ἀπαιτηταὶ ἀχύρου κώμης Καρανίδος καὶ ὁριοδικτίας
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσι[δ]ώρου Πτολεμίου χαίρειν· μετέβαλις
40 εἰς δρμῳ Λευκογίου ὑπὲρ γενήματος ιζS καὶ εS
ἀχύρου σαργ(άνας) δέκα/, γί(νονται) σαρ(γάναι) ι// εἰς Μεσορὴ ιε.
ιθ' ὁμοίως σαρ(γάνην) μίαν, γί(νεται) σαρ(γάνη) α'. καὶ τῇ πρὸ ζ' καλαντῶ(ν)
Σεπτεμβρίον ἀπὸ ἀποχὴν Σουχάμμωνος
44 σαργάνας τέσσαρες, γί(νονται) σαρ(γάναι) δ//.
(remainder of column blank)

Column VI

(M9) Αὐρήλιοι Σεύθης καὶ Εὐδαίμωνος
ἀπετηταὶ διατυπώσεως ιζS καὶ εS/
ὁρι(οδικτίας) Καρ(ανίδος) Αὐρ[η]λ(ίῳ) Ἰσιδώρου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ χα(ίρειν)·
48 ἔσχαμεν παρ' οἰμῶν ὑπὲρ διατυπώσεως
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχ-
μὰς χειλίας τετρακοσίας, γί(νονται) (τάλαντα) β(δραχμαὶ) Ἀυ. ιζS καὶ εS/ Μεσορ(ὴ) κθ/.
52 καὶ ὑπὲρ π(ριμι)π(ίλου) ιηS καὶ ϛS/ (δραχμὰς) Ἀρ καὶ δι(ὰ) Ἡρων(ος)
ἄλλα(ς) (δραχμὰς) ·.ρ
(M10) Αὐρήλιος Ἀνοῦφις θεσσαλάριος καὶ Κοπρῆς
κουαδράριος κώμ(ης) Καρ(ανίδος) καὶ ὁρι(οδικτίας) Καρ(ανίδος)
56 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσιδώρῳ Πτολεμαίου χα(ίρειν)·
ἔσχαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ·.. ὀνόματος Παλήμωνος' εἰς λόγον τριμηνιαίου
ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ἓν καὶ δραχμὰς τετρακισχειλί[α]ς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, γί(νεται) (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) Ἀρν.
60 ιηS καὶ ϛS Φαῶφι ϛ/.
(remainder of column blank)

Column VII

(M11) Αὐ[ρή]λιος Ἥρων Ἥρωνος καὶ Καπέεις Ἀπολλωνίου
δι' ἐ[μο]ῦ Ἥρωνος Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσιδώρου Πτολεμαίου
καὶ [οἱ] ἀδελφοὶ χαίρειν· παρήνεγκες εἰς τῷ
64 ὀρ[μῳ] ἀχύρου σαργ(άνας) δέκα καὶ ἐννέα ὑπὲρ γ[ε]νή-
μ[α]τος ιδS. *vacat* Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐ-
τῶν ἀγραμμάτων. Θὼθ ζ.
(ἔτους) ιη [καὶ] ϛS/.

(M12)
68 Αὐρήλιοι Ἥρων Ἥρωνος καὶ Καπέεις δι' ἐμοῦ Πτολλᾶς
Ὀνομάστου Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσιδώρου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ χαίρειν·
διέγραψεν ἡμῖν τιμῆς ἀχύρου γ" μέρους τάλαν-
των ἓν καὶ δραχμὰς τρεισχιλίας ἐννακοσίας,
72 γ(ίνεται) (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) ΤΘ Ἰσίων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων.
(ἔτους) ιη καὶ ϛS Θὼθ ζ. καὶ ὁμοίως διὰ Ἥρωνος δραχμὰς
τρεισχιλίας πεντακοσίας, (δραχμαὶ) Τφ {καὶ Ἡρᾶς τιμῆς}
[[ ]]
[[ ]]
76 καὶ ὁμοίως διέγραψεν οἱ αὐτοὶ τιμῆς κρέως τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ" μέρους
διὰ Δούλου καὶ Ἀφῦς τάλαντων ἓν καὶ δραχμὰς τετρακισχιλίας
ἑξακοσίας, γ(ίνονται) (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) Ἀχ.

Column VIII

(M13) Αὐρήλ[ιο]ι [Κοπρῆς κ]αὶ Ἅρπαλος καὶ Ἀτρῆς καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ)
80 ἀμφότεροι ἀπετη[ταὶ] ἀχύρου κώ[μ](ης) Καρανίδος νέα[ς ἐ]πι-
βολῆς
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσιδώ[ρο]υ Πτολεμα[ί]ου χαίρειν· ἔσχ[α]μεν παρὰ σοῦ
ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐ[π]ιβολῆς ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Ἡρωΐδος Χαιρή-
μωνος...
καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [ὀν]όματος (δραχμὰς) Ἐω. Κοπρῆς σεση-
μίωμαι. (M14) Ἀτρῆς σεσ(ημίωμαι).
84 (ἔτους) ιη[S] καὶ ϛS/ Φ[α]ῶφι θ.
(remainder of column blank)

Column IX

(M15) Αὐρήλιοι Πλήειν καὶ Ἰσίων καὶ Κ.[...]ων καὶ Ὧρος καὶ Ἡ.[...]
καὶ Πα[ο]ν ἀμφότερον σιτολόγων κώμης Κα[ρ[ανί]δος κ[αὶ ὁ]ριο-
δικτίας
χ[ε]νήματος ιϛS καὶ δS/ ἐμετρήθ[ησαν] ἡμῖν ἐν θησαυρῷ [περ]ὶ
τὴν αὐτὴ[ν]
88 κ[ώμ]ην καὶ ὁριοδικτίας μέτρῳ μοδίῳ ξυστῷ ὀνόματος Ἰσίδωρος
Πτολεμαίου πυροῦ σὺν τα..... ..[..]..[..]δ[.]κατ ... ἀρτάβας
ἐβ[δο-]
μήκοντα ἥμισυ τέταρτον, (ἀρτάβαι) ρϟ. Ἰσίων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ

αὐτῶν ἀγρα[μμ(άτων)].
ὑπατίας τῶν δεσπο̣τῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικ[ι]νν̣ι̣α̣νοῦ Λικιννίου Σε[β(αστοῦ)]
92 κ̣α̣ὶ Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντί[νου] υ̣ἱοῦ Σεβα[σ]τῶν.
ἐ[με]τρήθη(σαν) ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ νέα[ς] ἐπι̣βολῆς ἀρ[τάβ]ας [δ]εκαοκτὼ ἥ[μισυ],
(ἀρτάβαι) ιηS. Χοίακ κη/ .....
Αὐρήλιοι Κοπρῆς καὶ Σ̣ώτας ἀμφότερον ἀπαιτηταὶ ὁριοδικτίας Καρανίδ[ος]
96 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαίου χαίρειν· ἔσχαμε̣ν̣ παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ διο̣[τυ-]
πώσεως ιηS καὶ ϛS καὶ δS καὶ βS δραχμὰς τρισχιλείας ἑκατόν, γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) Τρ.
ὑπὲρ π(ριμι)π(ίλου) ἰθS καὶ ζS ‹καὶ› εS καὶ γS ′ δραχμὰς ἐννακοσίας, (δραχμαὶ) ϡ.
ὑπατίας Στατίου Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ Πομπηίου Πρόβου τῶν
100 λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχου Φαῶφι κα.
καὶ ὁμοίως δι(ὰ) Σερήνου καὶ Σαραπίων ἀπαι̣τηταὶ κώμης Καρανίδος
ὑπὲρ διατυπώσεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ὑπὲρ [ὀ]νό(ματος) Παλήμωνος
διατυπώσ(εως) καὶ π(ριμι)π(ίλου) ἰθS καὶ ζS καὶ εS καὶ γS′ δραχμὰς δισχ[ιλ]ι̣ίας ἑπτακοσίας, γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) Ἀψ.
104 Ἰσίων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμά̣[τ]ων.

1 ἰσιωνος pap. 6 Ἰσίδωρος 23 τεσσαράριος 37 Ἀντίνοος 39 Ἰσιδώρῳ, Πτολεμαίου, μετέβαλες 40 δρμον; ε corr. ex ζ 42 καλανδῶν 43 Σεπτεμβρίων, ἀποχῆς 44 τέσσαρας 45 Εὐδαίμων 46 ἀπαιτηταί 47 Ἰσιδώρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς 48 ὑμῶν 54 τεσσαράριος 56 Ἰσιδώρῳ last ω ex ου? 57 τριμ·η·νιαίου 61 Αὐρήλιοι 62 Ἰσιδώρῳ 63 τοῖς 64 δρμον 68 Πτολλά 69 Ἰσιδώρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς 70 τιμήν, τάλαντον 72 αὐτῶν, υ ex τ 76 διέγραψαν, τιμὴν 77 τάλαντον 80 ἀπαιτηταὶ 81 Ἰσιδώρῳ 85 ἰσιων pap. 86 ἀμφότερου σιτολόγου 88 ὁριοδικτίαν, Ἰσιδώρου 92 υἱου pap. 95 ἀμφότερου 96 Ἰσιδώρῳ 100 ἐπάρχων 101 Σαραπίωνος ἀπαιτητῶν

Column I

Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, through Ision, for produce of the 16th and 4th year . . . and in the name of Palemon . . . likewise art. 13¼. Epeiph 24, likewise, art. 12.

Column II

(M2) Isidoros gave for the price of fodder 12 tal. Likewise the same man for the price of fodder, 12 tal.

Column III

[1st two receipts not translated]

(M4) Isidoros son of Ptolemaios paid in my presence five thousand five hundred drachmas. The same man through Heron, dr. 2800. Palemon son of Ptolemaios, dr. 2000.

(M5) And on the 14th of Pharmouthi the same Isidoros in the name of Palemon son of Ptolemaios, dr. two thousand nine hundred, that is, dr. 2900.

Column IV

(M6) Aurelius Valas, *tesserarius*, to Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios and his brothers, greeting. I have received from you, in accordance with the divine command, for the village of Karanis and the *horiodiktia* of Karanis, thirteen pounds, six and a half ounces of poured copper material not given by you for the cleansing at the time when it was ordered, and in the name of Palemon son of Ptolemaios, likewise of poured copper material, one pound six ounces, and in the name of Taesis daughter of Kopres, ten ounces of poured copper; altogether for the total receipt, fifteen pounds, ten and a half ounces, that is, 15 lbs., 10½ oz. I, Aurelius Isidoros, *quadrarius*, wrote this. Year 17 and 5, Tybi 6.

(M7) And on Pachon 18 I received from you in full the price of green fodder according to your assessed share of that furnished for the feeding of army horses.

Column V

(M8) Aurelii Herodianus and Sarapion and Antinoos, *apaitetai* of chaff for the village of Karanis and its *horiodiktia*, to Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, greeting. You have delivered to the harbor of Leukogion for produce of the 17th and 5th year, ten sarganai of chaff, that is, 10 sarg., up to Mesore 15.

On the 19th, likewise, one sargane, that is, 1 sarg. And on the 7th day before the Calends of September, from the receipt given by Souchammon, four sarganai, that is, 4 sarg.

Column VI

(M9) Aurelii Seuthes and Eudaimon, *apaitetai* of the *delegatio* of the 17th and 5th year for the *horiodiktia* of Karanis, to Aurelius Isidoros and his brothers, greeting. We have received from you for the *delegatio* of the same year two talents and a thousand, four hundred drachmas, that is, 2 tal. 1400 dr. 17th and 5th year, Mesore 29.

And for the *primipilum* for the 18th and 6th years, dr. 1100, and through Heron another dr. –,100.

(M10) Aurelius Anouphis, *tesserarius*, and Kopres, *quadrarius*, of the village of Karanis and of the *horiodiktia* of Karanis, to Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, greeting. We have received from you in the name of Palemon toward the quarterly account, of silver, one talent and four thousand one hundred fifty drachmas, that is 1 tal. 4150 dr. 18th and 16th year, Phaophi 6.

Column VII

(M11) Aurelius Heron son of Heron and Kapeeis son of Apollonios through me, Heron, to Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios and [his] brothers, greeting. You have delivered to the harbor nineteen sarganai of chaff for the produce of the 14th year. I, Aurelius Ision, wrote for them because they are illiterate. Thoth 7. Year 18 [and] 6.

(M12) Aurelii Heron, son of Heron, and Kapeeis, through me, Ptollas son of Onomastos, to Aurelius Isidoros and his brothers, greeting. He has paid to us for the price of chaff for the

3rd part, one talent and three thousand nine hundred drachmas, that is, 1 tal., 3900 dr. I, Ision, wrote for them because they are illiterate. Year 18 and 6, Thoth 7. And likewise through Heron, three thousand five hundred drachmas, dr. 3500.

And likewise the same men paid for the price of meat of the same 3rd part through Doulos and Aphys, one talent and four thousand six hundred drachmas, that is, 1 tal. 4600 dr.

Column VIII

(M13) Aurelii [Kopres] and Harpalos and Hatres and their partners, all *apaitetai* of chaff of the village of Karanis for the new assessment, to Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, greeting. We have received from you for the same assessment in the name of Herois daughter of Chairemon . . . and for the same name, dr. 5800. I, Kopres, have signed. (M14) I, Hatres, have signed. Year 18 and 16, Phaophi 9.

Column IX

(M15) Aurelii Pleein and Ision and K . . . and Horos and H . . and Paona, all *sitologoi* of the village of Karanis and the *horiodiktia* for produce of the 16th and 4th year: there was measured to us in the granary in the same village and *horiodiktia* with the level modius measure in the name of Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, seventy artabas, a half, a fourth, of wheat with . . . , art. 70, ½, ¼. I, Ision, wrote for them because they are illiterate. In the consulate of our masters Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus and Flavius Valerius Constantinus the son of the Augusti.

There was measured to us likewise for the new assessment, eighteen artabas, a half, art. 18½. Choiak 28 . . .

Aurelii Kopres and Sotas, both *apaitetai* of the *horiodiktia* of Karanis, to Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, greeting. We have received from you for the *delegatio* of the 18th and 6th and 4th and 2nd year three thousand one hundred drachmas, that is, dr. 3100. For the *primipilum* for the 19th and 7th and 5th and 3rd year, nine hundred drachmas, dr. 900. In the consulate of Statius Andronicus and Pompeius Probus, the most illustrious prefects, Phaophi 21.

And likewise through Serenos and Sarapion the *apaitetai* of the village of Karanis for the *delegatio* of the same year, in the name of Palemon for the *delegatio* and the *primipilum* for the 19th and 7th and 5th and 3rd year, two thousand seven hundred drachmas, that is, dr. 2700. I, Ision, wrote for them because they are illiterate.

1. It is not clear whether Ision here is a collector or an intermediary of the taxpayer.
2. Year 16–4 = 307/8.
4. Epeiph 24 = 18 July. The date is probably 308, but 309 cannot be excluded.

16–17. *ἐμοῦ παρόντος* seems enigmatic, the more so as the motive and date for the payment are apparently not stated (a substantial blank intervenes after line 15). A somewhat similar phrase, *δι(ὰ) τοῦ παρόντος Ἡρακλᾶ*, is found in *P.Cair.Isid.* 53.19–20; see the note *ad loc.*, which argues that the collector is referred to. So also perhaps Heron in line 18 below.

20. Pharmouthi 14 = 9 April; the year is not given.

23. An Aur. Valas was *apaitetes* of the *horiodiktia* in 314 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 53.23). He may be the Valas son of Sarapion who is shown in *P.Cair.Isid.* 10 and 17 as paying or owing chaff equivalent to the taxes on 30 arouras.

26–27. So far as we know this phrase and tax (or requisition) are not certainly attested

elsewhere. χαλκὸς χυτός is poured, cast bronze as opposed to malleable, hammered material: cf. *P.Oxy.* I 85 ii 16–18 and (for silver) *P.Ant.* I 38.17, both of the fourth century. ἀνακάθαρσις is perhaps a charge for impurity of the coinage, like κάθαρσις in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1653.16 (306), cited by L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton 1944) 128. *P.Stras.* 577 (Theadelphia, 309) is a list of payments of amounts of χαλκός (described as ἐλατός, hammered, in line 8); these may be payments like this.

27. For ἕως ὅτου see e.g. W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum NT* s.v. ἕως II i b γ and *P.Oxy.* VII 1061.16f.

31. ὁμοῦ τοῦ συμβόλου: cf. *137*.54.

32. This is the earliest attestation of a *quadrarius*. The earliest listed by Lewis, *ICS*, is in 314; on the position, see A. E. R. Boak in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of A. C. Johnson*, ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton (Princeton 1951) 322–35. Which of at least four contemporaries named Isidoros in Karanis this is, I cannot say.

33. Date: 1 January 309.

34. Date: 13 May 309.

37. Herodianus is not securely identifiable; he could be the person mentioned in *P.Cair.Isid.* 88, 89 and 97 (see 97, introd.). Sarapion is a common name, but only one man of the name appears among the taxpayers of *P.Cair.Isid.* 9, namely a son of Artemidoros, who seems to pay for about 37 arouras. Antinoos I cannot identify.

39. In a faster hand one would read Πτολεμαίου, but our scribe is careful in forming letters.

39–40. Delivery to the harbor was used for chaff before it was adopted for wheat, cf. below, p. 98.

41. Mesore 15 = 8 August 309.

42. Mesore 19 = 12 August; 7 ante Kal. Sep. = 26 August 309.

43. Souchammon was an *apodektes* of chaff at Leukogion, as appears from *P.Cair. Isid.* 46.1 (307).

44. Isidoros pays in all 15 sarganai = 2,250 lbs., chaff sufficient for taxes on 90 arouras. Since he seems to have held only about 54 arouras at the time (*P.Cair.Isid.*, p. 8), he is probably paying in part for other family members. Comparative figures from *P.Cair.Isid.* 10 and 17 are unfortunately lacking. Cf. *Cd'E* 52 (1977) 322–36.

45. Aurelius Seuthes son of Heras was an *apaitetes* of chaff with Isidoros in 310/11 (see *P.Cair.Isid.*, index). It could be the same person. Eudaimon is not an uncommon name and I do not offer an identification.

46. Lewis, *ICS*, does not list an ἀπαιτητὴς διατυπώσεως, viewing such designations (*P.Cair.Isid.* 42, for example) as verbal variants of *apaitetai* for a year.

51. Date: 22 August 309.

52. π(ριμι)π(ίλου): ⲡ-ⲡ pap., in the Latin mode of abbreviation which was becoming popular in Greek in this period. For the *primipilum* see J.-M. Carrié, in *Actes du XV [1977] Congrès Int. de Papyrologie* (Bruxelles, forthcoming).

54. An Anouphis, son of Masculinus, was *sitologos* in 308/9; it is not impossible that he was *tesserarius* in 309/10 here: cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9 etc. Kopres is too common a name in this environment to permit conjecture. On the *tesserarius* and *quadrarius*, see above, 32n.

57. τριμνιαῖος is probably a misspelling of τριμηνιαῖος, quarterly (cf. LSJ). A monthly accounting was usual, cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 1.64 etc. The unread letters are probably ἐπ' or ἀπ'.

60. Date: 3 October 309.

61. Heron son of Heron was a landowner in Karanis. To judge from *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.24,203, he had about 39 arouras, mostly private land; 10 and 17 suggest holdings of 42 arouras. Kapeeis son of Apollonios appears in several other texts (*P.Cair.Isid.* 6.219; 9.102,212; 12.36; 14.71,119; 17.72). His holdings are not consistently indicated by his taxes, but they were probably over 30 arouras in all (he paid 49¾ art. of wheat).

64. 19 sarganai = 2,850 lbs., chaff taxes sufficient for 114 arouras. This is paid for year 14(-2), i.e. 305/6, but Isidoros pays it in year 18-6, i.e. 309/10. Here again (see 44n.) he pays for far more land than his own holdings. If the 2 talents, 1400 drachmas paid in lines 68–74 are for the same year (and given the same collectors, that is probably the case), at the rate of 800 dr./sargane used in *P.Cair.Isid.* 10, the money could represent another 16¼ sarganai, payment on 100½ arouras. The receipts, however, are not so clear as to impose on us the conclusion that Isidoros paid in one year for 214½ arouras.

65. For Ision see lines 72, 90 and 104 below. He is perhaps the same person who writes for Isidoros in *P.Cair.Isid.* 54.18.

66–67. Date: 4 September 309.

70. *γ″ μέρους*. The reading of *P.Cair.Isid.* 53.3 is thus confirmed. It appears again in line 76. I am not confident that Boak and Youtie's explanation (third part of three of the total due) is right.

73. Date: see 66–67n.

75. The line has been erased.

76. See 70n. for the third part.

79. Aurelius Harpalos, the brother of Seuthes, was *sitologos* in 308/9 and appears from various texts to have had perhaps 44 arouras of land. See *P.Cair.Isid.*, index. Hatres could be the *apaitetes* of chaff in *P.Cair. Isid.* 46.3 (for year 15-3-1 = 306/7) or of *P.Cair.Isid.* 53.16 (314).

82. Herois daughter of Chairemon was Isidoros' mother. In *P.Cair. Isid.*, p. 3 it is noted that she was still alive at least as late as 300; we can now add nine years to her known life-span; since she had children by *ca* 270, she must have been at least about 55 by 309.

84. Date: 6 October 309.

85. An Aurelius Pleein was *sitologos* in 304 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 41.68). He may be the same man who appears as a landholder (about 34 arouras) in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.112,223. The letter after kappa in the third name is probably omega or omicron. At the end of the line, perhaps *Ἡρ[ων]*.

89. There was presumably some variant of the usual phrases for surtax like *σὺν δεκάταις*, *σὺν (ἑκατοσταῖς) δέκα*, etc., but I have not succeeded in reading it.

91–92. Consuls for 309.

97. The reading is uncertain; perhaps *ἑ[τ]ερον ἄποχον ὅλο[ν μ]ὴ [ἐπι]φερόμενον* or *ἑ[τ]έρας ἀποχῆς ἢ ἐντα[γίου μ]ὴ [ἐπι]φερόμενον*. Date: 24 December (309).

95. A Sotas son of Apollonios is known as a landholder at Karanis in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9, 10, and 17, but several key amounts are lost there and prevent us from estimating his holdings.

98. See 52n.

99. These consuls of 310 appear in *P.Cair.Isid.* 50.13,29,44; 69.32; and 127.14 with the name of the first written *Τατίου* (this is therefore to be restored in 118.9). This is generally taken to be correct. But here we find *Στατίου*, and this spelling appears in *P.Panop.* 20.15 and 24.4. Date: 18 October 310.

101. On Sarapion as *apaitetes*, see 37n. There is no proof that it is the same man as there.

141a

Receipt for *Adaeratio* of Barley

P.Oslo Inv. 492 20.5 x 10.6 cm. 314

Complete papyrus in perfect condition. The text is arranged in four lines of almost equal length in the center of the papyrus, with margins of 5.5 cm. except at top, where 2 cm. are left. The hand is extremely fast.

This papyrus is included here because it probably concerns a tax payment by a man attested in the Isidoros archive. A Papnouthios, with no patronymic given, owes chaff for the account of someone else, in *P.Cair. Isid.* 17.143, from the crop of 310/11. It is the only Papnutios occurring in the Isidoros archive and in Karanis at that time. There is every chance, therefore, that the taxpayer in the present text is the same as the man in the Isidoros list.

→ Ὑπατείας Ῥουφίου Οὐολουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρωνίου
Ἀννειανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων Μεσορὴ ις,
Αὐ(ρήλιος) Παπνούτιος Σίττιος κριθῆς
4 βS′ Καρανίδος (δραχμὰς) χειλίας ἑκατόν, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ)
Ἀρ.

In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus the most illustrious, Mesore 16, Aurelius Papnutios son of Sittis, for barley of the 2nd (indiction) for Karanis, one thousand one hundred drachmas, that is, dr. 1,100.

2. Mesore 16 = 9 August.

3. The nominative form Σίττις does not occur in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*, although Σιττᾶς is well attested.

142

Receipts for *Adaeratio*

Inv. 181 (7) 36.5 x 22.8 cm. 336

Two *kollemata*; broken at left and incomplete on right. Folded vertically five times, width of folds *ca* 7 cm. Margins, 9 cm. between columns and below column I, 2.5 cm. at top, 6.5 below column II. Verso blank.

This papyrus, severely damaged by vertical rents (especially in the lower part) and broken at the right, contains two receipts written in the same hand. Both are for ἐξαργυρισμός, *adaeratio* of taxes in kind; the term is generally equivalent to the more common τιμή. See *P.Cair.Isid.* 59.15,41 and 60.14–16 for examples. The former of these does not state for

which tax the payment is made, but the latter specifies meat and chaff. The hand of our document is very rapid, and at times the *Verschleifung* is extreme.

The receipts were written on the same day. In the first the payer is identified only as Kopres, without patronymic or title. In the second the name is lost, but the payers are identified as the *sitologoi* of the village of Ptolemais in the *horiodiktia* of Karanis. Payments are made on Choiak 10 and 12 (6 and 8 December 336) and Pharmouthi (March–April), probably of 337, for the indiction year 334/5. The receiver Eulogios must be a harbor official or banker, someone to whom the *sitologoi* were responsible for the total of the assessment.

→ Column I

ὑπατίας Νεπ[ωτ]ιανοῦ καὶ Φακούνδου τῶν
λαμπρ(οτάτων) Χοίακ ι διέγ(ραψε) Κοπρῆς
ἐξαργυρισμοῦ ὀ[γδόη]ς [ἰν]δικτ[ίονο]ς
4 Πτολεμα(ίδος) Καρανί[δο]ς τάλαντα [ἑξ]ή-
κοντα, (γίνεται) (τάλαντα) ξ.
Φαρμοῦθι ὁ αὐ[τὸ]ς ὁμοίως Πτολεμα(ίδος)
Καρανίδος τ[άλαντα ἐ]ννέα, (τάλαντα) θ.
8 Εὐλό[γ]ι[ο]ς δ[ι' ἐμοῦ Ὡρ]ίωνος.

Column II

ὑπατίας Νεπωτιανοῦ κ[αὶ Φακούνδου τῶν]
λαμπρ(οτάτων) Χοίακ ι διέγ(ραψαν).[.....]
καὶ οἱ κοιν(ωνοὶ) σιτολόγοι ἐξαργυ[ρισμοῦ]
12 ὀγδόης [ἰ]νδικτίονος Π[τολεμα(ίδος)]
Καρανίδος τάλαντα τε[σσαρά-]
κοντα, (γίνεται) (τάλαντα) μ.
καὶ τῇ ιβ ὁμ(οίως) οἱ αὐτ[οὶ – –]
16 ἐξαργυρισμοῦ ὀγδόης ἰν[δικτίονος]
Πτολεμα(ίδος) Καρανίδος τά[λαν-]
τα πεντήκοντα, (γίνεται) (τάλαντα) [ν].
Εὐλόγιος δι' ἐμοῦ Ὡρί[ωνος].

4 [ἑξ]η˙ pap. 10 There are several letters possible here at the break, including alpha, kappa, and lambda. 19 There is a horizontal line under the signature on pap.

In the consulate of Nepotianus and Facundus the most illustrious, Choiak 10, Kopres paid for *adaeratio* of the eighth indiction for Ptolemais of Karanis sixty talents, that is, 60 tal.

Pharmouthi, the same man likewise for Ptolemais of Karanis, nine talents, 9 tal. Eulogios through me, Horion.

In the consulate of Nepotianus and [Facundus the] most illustrious, Choiak 10, . . . and his partners, *sitologoi*, paid for *adaeratio* of the eighth indiction for Ptolemais of Karanis, forty talents, that is, 40 tal.

And on the 12th likewise the same men for *adaeratio* of the eighth indiction for Ptolemais of Karanis, fifty talents, that is, [50] tal. Eulogios through me, Horion.

1. Consulate of Nepotianus and Facundus = 336.

2. Date: 6 December 336.
3. Indiction 8 = 334/5.
6. Pharmouthi = March/April (337?).
15. Date: 8 December 336.

143–165

Receipts for Delivery in Kind

The 23 texts published here comprise a third of this volume and a major addition to the texts of this kind. They are of varying sizes and shapes, but they have in common that they record the delivery of wheat, barley, chaff, or meat to a river port. A number of aspects of these texts will be considered in general terms here, then a chart will be given of these and the other published texts of this kind which come from fourth-century Karanis.

1. Chronology

The first group of texts belonging to this general type was excavated at Karanis between 1924 and 1929 and published by Leiv Amundsen in *O.Mich.* The basic formula of these was that of our papyri, *παρήνεγκεν ὁ δεῖνα ὑπὲρ* x *ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος*, amount and signature (with some variations), although the ostraka are sometimes more abbreviated than the papyri, as is customary in other types of documents as well. These ostraka contain dates only by indictions; this ensured that they belonged to the fourth century or later, and Amundsen concluded on palaeographical grounds that the ostraka belonged to the early part of the fourth century, before about 330 (*O.Mich.*, p. x).

The fifteen-year indiction system began in 312/3. This first cycle of 312/3 to 326/7, then, seemed like the logical one for Amundsen's ostraka, and when Revel Coles published the first papyrus exemplar of these receipts (P.Mich.Inv. 1409, in *TAPA* 97 [1966] 61–66; text reprinted in *SB* X 10729), he assigned the third indiction in that text to 315, with the caveat that "330 A.D. could not be excluded palaeographically." His choice of 315 reflected his opinion that the connections with the Michigan ostraka and Amundsen's dating of them made the earlier date more likely. The publication of *P.NYU* 5–11a in the following year (1967; the volume had been in press since 1962) provided some 69 receipts on papyrus to add to Coles' 4 (some 30, all for chaff, were available on ostraka, counting only those related to the papyrus archive), making the discussion more substantial and better-based. Lewis' remarks (*P.NYU*, pp. 10–11) indicate that prosopographical connections enable the conclusion to be drawn that (1) the later 320's and 330's are prosopographically suitable, and (2) the term *νέα*, applied to an indiction, had so far occurred only for the cycle beginning in 342/3 and after, and this term appeared in three of the New York University papyri. Lewis therefore offered the alternatives of the cycles starting in 327/8 and 342/3 for the NYU receipts, except some indictions in high numbers, for which he gives the 312/3 cycle as a possibility.

Two further papyri, with seven receipts, were published by Gerald M. Browne in 1970 (*HSCP* 74 [1970] 317–21) and republished in 1975 as *P. Mich.* XII 648 and 649. Browne gives the cycles of 312/3 and 327/8 as the two possibilities, following the arguments of Lewis.

To the dossier we can now add the 108 Columbia receipts and 13 Oslo receipts all published below, more than doubling the available information. And, more importantly for the dating, four of the Columbia papyri have consular dates; when these are fully exploited, they enable us to provide firm dates for practically the entire dossier.

(1) *143* gives two dates corresponding to July, 322 and February, 323; the indiction of the former is lost, that of the latter is the 10th (321/2). The delivery is thus made in the winter after the end of the year in which the crop was harvested. Both receipts are for chaff, issued to Herakles and Alexandros through Syrion and Heras (Syrion alone in lines 1–13, both in 14–21). The collectors are Gounthos in the first and Heron (through Dorotheos) in the second, both *epimeletai*. It should be pointed out that these persons are entirely absent from the other texts recording deliveries in kind; given the heavy incidence of repetition found elsewhere, this in itself is likely to be significant.

(2) *148* contains six receipts for wheat of indiction 12, with a consular date of 340 (all in March). Indiction 12 is thus 338/9, and delivery is made in the spring of the next year (during indiction 13) before the crop of 340 would be ready. The deliverers are Aurelius Atisios son of Leonides and Aurelius Antiourios son of Abous, followed by Chaireas and Kastor son of Aritios. The collectors are Aurelius Kopres son of Paulos and Iulius Severinus, *ἀποδέκται σίτου πόλεως*. Kopres signs the receipts, accompanied variously by Ploution and Anaios.

(3) *149*, dated also in 340 (June and July), contains three receipts for wheat of the 14th indiction (340/1), delivered to the credit of the *sitologoi* Aurelii Ptollas and Atisios by Sarapion son of Venaphris. Kopres and Ploution sign all three on behalf of Kopres and Dorotheos son of Hierax, who have the same title as Kopres and Severinus in the preceding text. (4) *150*, columns I–III, contains seven receipts; two have the consular dates of 342

(4) *150*, columns I–III, contains seven receipts; two have the consular dates of 342 (June–July). The receipts are for the 16th (i.e., the 1st) indiction, the 2nd *nea* and the 3rd; these are therefore 342/3, 343/4 and 344/5. The consular dates pertain only to the deliveries for indiction 16, 342/3. The collectors are Aurelii Ouranios and Ammonios son of Apion, *ὑποδέκται σίτου πόλεως* in 16 and 3; Ouranios signs. In the 2nd new indiction, Euporion and Kyrillos are the collectors. The deliveries for 16 and 3 are made by Sokrates (Sokras) son of Isidoros, in indiction 16 for *sitologoi* named Aphus, Palemon and Abok. Those for indiction 2 are made by Papeeis son of Isidoros on behalf of *sitologoi* (Valas, A. . . . , Heron and partners).

It will be clear that these papyri provide secure chronological pegs for a number of the named officials and taxpayers. Perhaps the most immediately useful is Kyrillos; this collector appears also in the same indiction (2 *nea*) in *155*, a collection of 6 receipts, all for wheat, all signed jointly with Souchidas. The deliverer is the Papeeis son of Isidoros previously encountered, who makes two deliveries for each of three groups of *sitologoi* (the principals are Heron, Pannous, and Apollonios). We can hardly doubt that 2 *nea* is here also 343/4.

Kyrillos also appears in two papyri of the immediately preceding 16th/1st indiction, *P. NYU* 5 and *151*. The former gives 12 receipts from indictions 14, 15 (for 14), 16/1, 2, 3 *nea*, and 4. Kyrillos appears in indiction 16 as the agent of Makarios and Ouranios. These receipts therefore may be assigned to the period 340/1 to 345/6. A number of other payers and collectors appear, some of whom we will consider later. In *151*, we have also two receipts for

the 16th indiction from Kyrillos as agent for Makarios and Ouranios. These too belong to 342/3.

Two appearances of Kyrillos remain, in *154* and *160*. In *154*, he signs for grain of the 2nd new indiction delivered by Ammonios son of Atisios. In the latter papyrus the first three columns give us interleaved receipts for grain from indiction 4, signed by Petronios, and 5, signed by Kyrillos, identifying himself once as *sitometres*. It is thus certain that the 4th and 5th indictions here are 345/6 and 346/7. Column IV has miscellaneous receipts of indictions 4, 6, 8, and 12; these are almost certainly in a range up to 353/4.

It will be recalled that *155* also gave us a date of 343/4 for Souchidas. This collector appears in numerous texts on papyri and ostraka, as follows:

(a) He signs a receipt to the Heron and partners, *sitologoi*, who appear in the same second indiction in *155*, in *P.NYU* 7. This text is therefore to be assigned to 343/4.

(b) He appears in the long British Museum papyrus published as *P.NYU* 11a in indictions 14 and 15 (lines 113–126 and 167–173). These appearances may be confidently dated to 340/1 and 341/2.

(c) He also appears in *152*.35–38, 49–55, of indiction 4. This text therefore is to be assigned to 345/6, and internal correspondences of this with other already dated papyri will be seen to confirm this placement.

(d) The Michigan ostraka offer dates of indictions 10, 13, 3 and 6 for Souchidas. Given his other appearances, it seems logical to suppose that 10 and 13 (issued to the same deliverer, it should be noted) date from 336/7 and 339/40, while 3 is 344/5. Indiction 6 is less certain, but it is likelier to be 347/8 than 332/3.

(e) There remains *144*.5–9, where Souchidas receives wheat in indiction 9. The other persons of the text, notably Ouranios, make a date in 335/6 very likely; this will be argued further when we consider Ouranios.

A probable career of 335/6 to 347/8 (less likely, but possibly 332/3 to 345/6) has therefore been established for Souchidas. With both him and Kyrillos securely dated, it is possible to move on to some other collectors who appear in the same texts as these. We will take Elias first. The following chart (Table 1) sets forth, in summary, his appearances:

Table 1

Indiction	*text*	*collects*	*associates*
12	*P.NYU* 11a.6–9	meat	per Serenianos
14	*P.NYU* 11a.96–99	meat	—
	P.NYU 5.56–61	barley	with Diaskopion
15	*P.NYU* 11a.105–8	barley	per Romanos
1	*P.NYU* 6.1–5	meat	—
3 *nea*	*P.NYU* 5.8–14	barley	per Romanos
	158.17–20	wheat	per Romanos
	152.39–43	wheat	—
4	*P.NYU* 5.15–19	barley	per Paulos
	152.44–49	grain	—
7	*163*.6–8	wheat	per Paulos

Now, of the texts involved here, all except *P.NYU* 6, *163* and *158* were already dated, and these can be dated securely with reference to the others. Elias' career covers indictions 12 (338/9) to 7 (348/9), and only this arrangement of it explains the internal arrangement of *P.NYU* 11a and the sequence of Elias' intermediaries. It should be noted that Elias and Romanos operate together in P.Cair.Inv. 10432, published in *Stud.Pap.* 16 (1977) 19–20, an undated fourth-century papyrus containing money payments. (I am not convinced by the editors' ζυ(γοστάτης) in line 2.)

We turn now to the two men named Ouranios:

Table 2

Indiction	*text*	*collects*	*associates*
[8? or 9?]	*144*.1–4	wheat	—
9	*145*.1–6	grain	son of Paulos; with Herodes
11	*P.NYU* 11a.1–5	wheat	with Herodes and Klematios
15	*P.NYU* 11a.143–9	wheat	—
16	*P.NYU* 5.26–29, 34–38	wheat	with Makarios, per Kyrillos
	151.1–9	wheat	same
	150.1–10,21–28	wheat	son of Theodoros; with Ammonios
3	*153*.32–36	chaff	—
	150.11–20	barley	—
	O.Mich. 782, 1015	chaff	—

(*O.Mich.* 199, of indiction 5, is restored as signed by him; if so, it may be dated to 346/7. But practically all of the name is restored.)

The dates from *P.NYU* 11a, *150*, and *P.NYU* 5 are secure, as shown above. The son of Theodoros is thus evidently responsible for the texts of indictions 15 to 3. The dating of the son of Paulos in *145* to 335/6 is made practically certain by the association with Herodes, which in *P.NYU* 11a (its only other occurrence) must be 337/8. *144* is probably thereby confirmed in indiction 8 or 9, which figure in the other 6 receipts on the papyrus.

Next we consider Aurelius Isidoros son of Kanaout, for whom *P.NYU* 5 gives us a date of indiction 2 (343/4). He also appears in *161*.10–19 collecting barley for indictions 4, 5 and 6, and again for indiction 2 in *152*. Indictions 4–6, therefore, are 345/6 to 347/8, and the neighboring dates of *161* are thus placed. Further confirmation comes from the occurrence in *161*.38–48 of one Dorotheos collecting meat through Aphous, in indiction 6. The same people collect meat for the same indiction in *160*.59–62, which is definitely dated above to 347/8. Dorotheos may also appear in *157*.13–15, relating to indiction 6.

Another collector who appears in texts already dated is Ammon, who collects for indiction 2 through the *sitometres* Sarapion in *151*, *152* and *P.NYU* 5. *156*, for the same indiction and also from the city harbor, is issued by Ammon and the *sitometres* Mouses; hence its date is the same, 343/4.

As already observed, the presence of Ouranios (son of Theodoros) allowed *153*, where dates of indictions 2–4 appear, to be dated to 343/4 to 345/6. Two other collectors appear in

153 who prove to be useful for our purposes, Diotimos (who acts through Philippos) and Kopres. Diotimos, who appears in 2 *nea*, is also attested in 2 in *O.Mich.* 197 (also through Philippos) and 16 in *O.Mich.* 216. The problem of Kopres is a bit more complicated. A collector named Kopres collects grain in *149* and *148*, both issued in 340 (consular date). A Kopres also issues *153*.37–46, of indiction 3, and *159*.10–16 and *162*.1–14 of indiction 4. The first of these is securely dated by Ouranios in 344/5 and since it is in the same hand as is *159*.10–16, these three texts may be assigned to one person. Whether this is the same as the collector of A.D. 340 cannot be demonstrated; all the texts cannot belong to one term as *hypodektes* (3 years), and the signatures of 340 are, though similar to those in the later documents, not certainly in the same hand. At any rate whether one Kopres appears or two men of that name, the dates are secure.

A *sitometres* with a career of about a decade is Ision, whose activity may be charted as follows:

Table 3

Indiction	*text*	*collects*	*associates*
8	*144*.13–17	wheat	
9	*146*.13–17	meat	per Anoubion
12	*O.Mich.* 210	chaff	
15	*O.Mich.* 1021	chaff	
16=1	*O.Mich.* 213–215, 1022	chaff	
3 *nea*	*P.NYU* 9.1–5	wheat	
	157.1–4	wheat	
	O.Mich. 1016	chaff	

Of these texts, *144* has already been dated by the appearance of Souchidas and Ouranios. Confirmation of the date of *157* is provided not only by the probable appearance of Dorotheos, who was discussed above, but also by that of one Sarapion, who is extensively attested as a collector of grain in indiction 2 (343/4) in *151*.10–15, *P.NYU* 5.39–49, and *152*.13–30, where he is associated with Ammon, and in indiction 15 (341/2) in *P.NYU* 11a.127–131 and 157–161.

P.NYU 9, in turn, provides a date for Phileas, also a collector in the 3rd new indiction. He probably appears also in *159*.1–9, again of indiction 3 (on a papyrus in which Kopres also occurs), = 344/5.

We must now consider several documents from the point of view of the identification of the deliverer. *P.Mich.* XII 648 contains 3 receipts issued to Antiourios son of Abous for indiction 14. The same taxpayer appears in *147*, paying for indictions 11 and 15. The proper date for these is indicated by the same taxpayer's appearance in *148*, in which he pays during March, 340 for indiction 12 (338/9). Indictions 11, 14, and 15 are thus 337/8, 340/1, and 341/2.

SB X 10729 contains four receipts given to Paianos son of Valerius for the third indiction by Theodotos and Herodes. Theodotos is otherwise unknown, and it is not sure that Herodes is the same as the *hypodektes* elsewhere attested in indictions 9, 11 and 14. But *SB* X 10729 can be dated through Paianos, who appears also for indiction 3 in *159*, which (we have already seen) belongs to 344/5.

P.Mich. XII 649 has receipts for indictions 8 and 9 given to Heras son of Sarapion by Herodes through his son Chrestos and various other collectors. Heras is known in *P.NYU* 11a.181–184 for indiction 15 (341/2) and in *161* for indictions 6 *nea* and 10. Chrestos also appears in *161*.33–37 (indiction 6 *nea*), and as I have already assigned this text to the years 345/6 to 351/2, I conclude that Heras in *P.Mich.* XII 649 is acting in 349/50 and 350/1.

A few texts of Aion son of Sarapion must be dealt with. These are *165*, indiction 8, where he delivers barley to Sarapion; and *164*, where he delivers barley and meat to various collectors who cannot be securely pinned down (indictions 7, 9 and 10 are mentioned, but several are lost). One of the collectors is Sarapion, in a 9th indiction; this text is thus perhaps from the same time as *165*. Another is one Dorotheos (indiction lost). The name is not rare, and there may be as many as 3 other collectors of this name (*143*, indiction 10 = 323; *149*.1–10, indiction 14 = 340; *161*.38–48 and *160*.59–62, indiction 6 = 347/8). The collector of indiction 6, 347/8, is perhaps the most attractive possibility, but it must be admitted that we have no real grounds for decision. The collector Sarapion, however, is probably the same as in *P.Mich.* XII 649, and his presence confirms dates of 349/50 and 350/1.

P.NYU 11, with two receipts for wheat paid by Aion son of Sarapion, was issued by one Isidoros. The name is common, but aside from Aurelius Isidoros son of Kanaout (who regularly uses his patronymic), only a collector of indictions 12–13 is known, in *P.NYU* 11a.10–19, 25–33. If it is the same person, the date of *P.NYU* 11 is 333/4, but this is uncertain. It remains to try to date *P.NYU* 8 and 10, which both involve a Paesios son of

It remains to try to date *P.NYU* 8 and 10, which both involve a Paesios son of Sakaon and bear dates of indictions 2, 3 and 4. The collectors' names are lacking, unfortunately, in three of the four receipts; there remains only a Diogenes, *hypodektes*, in indiction 4. Now, a Diogenes is known from *P.NYU* 11a.132–135 and *P.NYU* 5.63–68, both of indiction 15. If it is the same, the dates of *P.NYU* 8 and 10 would be 343/4 to 345/6. But the name is common enough and the identification therefore insecure.

With these the roster of documents and identifications is complete. The chart below (pp. 76–91) lists each receipt, not by document, but individually by the date. The date given above is, even if tentative, assumed to be correct.

2. The Internal Organization of the Documents

If one reads strictly in order, from the top of the first column to the bottom of the last, in those texts which include more than one receipt, one may be reminded of the arguments of the editors of *P.Mert.* II 88 that the roll of tax receipts (money taxes) published there was a later copy; their principal argument was precisely the failure of the receipts to observe strict chronological order. Even the presence of multiple hands making signatures did not seem to these editors sufficient guarantee that the texts were originals. Though the Merton roll is of rather different format from that of the grain receipts, the same type of argument might well be applied to the latter. But it would be applied wrongly, and the conclusion would be wrong. The creation of these texts is a more complex affair, and a detailed analysis will be necessary.

A good place to start is *148*. Here we have two columns, the first with 2 receipts, the second with 4. All are written in the same hand, but each has a signature or two in a different hand. The arrangement is as follows:

Table 4

Column I	*Column II*
1–9: ind. 12, Pham. 25, deliverer 1	15–24: ind. 12, Pham. 25, del. 2

10–13: ind. 12, Pham. 27, del. 1 25–27: ind. 12, Pham. 25, del. 3
28–31: ind. 12, Pham. 26, del. 2
32–35: ind. 12, Pharm. 1, del. 3

Now, it is evident that the scribe on Phamenoth 25 wrote one receipt at the top of each column, using a different column for each payer. Having then a payment for a third person, he added this below the first payment in Column II. The three payers were presumably related in some fashion, probably as members of a *pittakion.* When payer 2 came again the following day, this payment was naturally added to Column II; then on the 27th payer 1 returned, and his newest payment was added below his earlier one. Finally, four days later, payer 3 made another delivery, and this was added to the column in which his earlier delivery was shown.

The single column text *149* has three receipts, from Pauni 21 and 22 and Epeiph 13, in that order. No explanation is required, and this is what one would normally expect from a one-column text composed in normal fashion. *150* is also instructive, as follows:

Table 5

Col. II	*Col. III*	*Col. IV*
1–8: Ep. 26, ind. 16	26–33: Mesore 4, ind. 16	34–38: Mesore 20, ind. 2
9–10: Ep. 29, ind. 16		39–43: Mesore 20, ind. 2
11–15: Pauni 21, ind. 3	16 cm. blank	
16–20: Pauni 28, ind. 3		

With this to supplement the other evidence, we can state as a standard (1) that payments within a single column tended to be written in consecutive order; (2) that the receivers commonly began a new column for a new occasion or new payer, even though large blank areas might be left in previous columns; (3) that such receipts therefore move across the papyrus as well as down it.

Some further indications are given by *160,* a long papyrus of complex arrangement, first used in indiction 4. There is writing across the joins of Columns II and III and III and IV, but not across I and II or IV and V. Column I, in fact, is a rather roughly joined and differently colored sheet and could have been added later. It should be pointed out that originally there was probably another sheet preceding Column I (see introduction to *160*). In Column II we find first a receipt of Pachon 28 (lines 19–23), then a series of summarily written ones of Pachon 16–24, 5 payments in all. A similar phenomenon occurs in Column III, where a receipt for Pachon 16 *and* 18 is followed by simultaneously written summary receipts for the 20th and 28th. The taxpayer is different from that in Column II. What we have here, apparently, is a recapitulative receipt on Pachon 28 for the deliveries of two men between Pachon 16 and 28, written on the 28th. The same scribe wrote all of these, evidently all at one time. I may tentatively propose, on the basis of this text, that cases where a collector states past payments in summary form represent a general replacement of any piecemeal receipts with a single continuous or summarized statement of the taxpayer's deliveries. It is probable that precisely this same phenomenon is responsible for the retrospective receipts issued by *sitologoi* and other collectors in *P. Princ. Roll.* Column I of our papyrus, then, preserves a

receipt from Pachon 30, and Column IV, lines 54–58, one of Pauni 29 (both in different hands). Column IV also has (63–67), after a receipt of indiction 6, a receipt of indiction 4 which lacks month date. It will be argued later that this is the result of a common phenomenon where the collector left a large blank which was later filled.

The next year, indiction 5, the collectors used the unoccupied space on Columns I–III, in the following order: I, 7–13, on Pachon 1 and 7; II, 31–34, on Pachon 13; III, 45–53, on Pachon 19 and 24; and I, 14–18, on Pachon 27. Another receipt of Pachon 17 was placed on the lost original first column, in all probability. The two receipts of Column V were added much later (indictions 8 and 12), probably when the payer discovered that the roll had some vacant space.

The summary form appears also in *147*. Column I has first a receipt of Choiak 4, indiction 11, then three receipts all in the same (new) hand, of Choiak 2, 6, and 16; the same hand then wrote receipts in Column II for Choiak 16, 19, and 21. It is very possible that all of these six receipts were written at the same time, as they are all written in the same hand and signed by another hand, also the same throughout. A new hand then writes a series of receipts for indiction 15. Of these the first, main receipt is of Pauni 21; in the same "paragraph" there is then a summary receipt for Phamenoth 7, followed by one for Pharmouthi 11. These are thus probably an example of the current receipt followed by a retrospective summary. (It must be admitted that there is a problem in that receipts of Phamenoth and Pharmouthi seem to relate to the same indiction (15); but if they preceded Pauni of indiction 15, they would belong to the 14th indiction. It is possible that the series was all written on Pharmouthi 11 in chronological order.)

We find standard organization in *152*, except that Column II is narrow and was probably crowded between the mostly lost Column I and Column III; the receipt in Column II is 2 days later than lines 21–26 of Column III. *155* provides an interesting variation: we have receipts of Mesore 10 and Mesore 12 for each of three *sitologoi*, delivered in all cases through the same taxpayer. The pattern is thus A10, A12, B10, B12, C10, C12. It is likely that the entire document was written on Mesore 12, as it is apparently of a piece and contemporaneous throughout. Some other documents with minor irregularities will be dealt with in the introductions to them.

If we apply the results of this investigation to the previously published texts, we find generally the same patterns. *P.NYU* 5 seems to exhibit chronological order in each column, although the presence of four receipts without month date hampers the examination; see Table 6. *P.NYU* 11a, the largest of all delivery receipt rolls, is also best shown in tabular form (Table 7):

Table 6
Deliveries in *P.NYU* 5

Col. I
1–7: i.4, n.d., (at foot)

Col. II
8–14: i.3, Ep. 26
15–19: i.4, Thoth 21
20–25: i.4, n.d.

Col. III
26–29: i.16, Th. 19
30–33: n.d.
SPACE
34–38: i.16, Th. 19

Col. IV
39–44: i.2, Ep. 23
45–49: i.2, Ep. 26
50–55: i.2, n.d

Table 7
Deliveries in *P.NYU* 11a

Col. I
1–6: i.11, Epag. 5
6–9: i.12, Ep. 9
10–16: i.13, Pau. 11
17–19: i.13, Pau. 17

Col. II
25–28: i.13, Pau. 25
29–33: i.12, Mes. 10
34–40: i.12, Mes. 19
41–46: i.13, Hath. 20

Col. III
47–50: i.13, Epag. 4
51–54: i.13, Th. 8
SPACE
55–58: i.13, Th. 1
59: n.d.
60–62: i.13, n.d.

Col. IV
63–67: i.13, Th. 13
68–72: i.13, Ch. 10
SPACE
73–76: i.14, Ep. 26
77–81: i.14, Ep. 28

Col. V
82–87: i.14, Ep. 26
88–91: i.14, Ep. 28
92–95: i.14, Mes. 13
SPACE
96–99: i.14, Ep. 29

Col. VI
100–104: i.14, Ep. 16
105–108: i.15, Ep. 13
109–112: i.14, Mes. 13
SPACE
113–120: i.14, Pach. 13

Col. VII
121–26: i.14, Th. –
127–31: i.15, Mes. 23
132–35: i.15, Mes. 25
136–38: i.11, Epag. 3
139–42: i.11, Epag. 5

Col. VIII
143–49: i.15, Mes. 20
150–52: i.15, Ch. 5
153–56: i.15, n.d.

Col. IX
157–61: i.15, Epag. 3
162–66: i.15, n.d.
167–73: i.15, Phao. 16

Col. X
174–77: i.9, n.d.
178–80: i.15?, Phao. 21
181–84: i.15?, Phao. 22

Only one receipt on that roll, lines 1–6, was probably written during indiction 11. The next year the scribe added a receipt for indiction 12 below it. For indiction 13, the pattern is more complex. The collector used first the remainder of Column I for a receipt of Pauni 11, adding a second receipt on the 17th. On Pauni 25 the second column was begun. The next two texts in that column (lines 29–40) are dated Mesore 10 and 19, but refer to indiction 12. Since the collector in 29–33 is the same as in 25–28 (indiction 13), it is probable that here we have arrears, paid in Mesore of indiction 13. For the next receipt, the collector used the top of Column III (lines 47–50) on Mesore Epagomenai 4. There follow receipts of Thoth 8 and 1, in that order. A large blank space occurs between these two. The collectors of Epagomenai 4 and Thoth 8 are the same, that of Thoth 1 different (and probably at a different location). I suggest, as a hypothesis, that the collector of Thoth 1 left a large blank above, the upper part of which was then filled a week later (on Thoth 8) by the previous collector (of Epagomenai 4) immediately below his receipt. The remaining two receipts in this column lack dates. The receipts of indiction 13 conclude with deliveries of Thoth 13 and Choiak 10 at the top of Column IV (lines 63–72).

In indiction 14, this roll was used both by Apphous son of Paianos and Valerius son of Antiourios. When they made deliveries on Epeiph 26, the collectors gave Apphous a receipt in the space remaining in Column IV (lines 73–76), but put Valerius' delivery at the top of the next column (lines 82–87). Two days later both men again made delivery to the same collectors, and each man's receipt was added to the preceding one (lines 77–81 and 88–91). Column IV was now full.

The remainder of Columns V and VI presents some difficulty. After the delivery of grain on Epeiph 28, Valerius made one of meat the next day. This was evidently put at the foot of the column (lines 96–99), with a large space left. When a further grain delivery to the collectors of Epeiph 26 and 28 was made on Mesore 13, it was inserted into the space. Once again a large blank below the receipt testifies to the large space originally left there.

Column VI begins with a receipt of Epeiph 16, indiction 14, given to Aion son of Sarapion. The collectors are those who wrote all of the Epeiph grain receipts immediately preceding, and evidently the new taxpayer was the reason, once again, for starting a new column. But there then follow a receipt of indiction 15, then two more of indiction 14—in reverse chronological order. A large space is left between the third and fourth receipts of the column. The last receipt has the phrase *ἑτέρας ἀποχῆς ἢ ἐνταγίου μὴ ἐπιφερομένου τῶν προκιμένων τῷ πλοίῳ ἀρταβῶν τριῶν*. This is probably the sign of a later replacement (for whatever reason) for an earlier receipt written on a separate ostrakon or papyrus. This column, then, evidently had a large space left at some time and also had a retrospective receipt. Precisely what was the order of writing I cannot say.

The last receipt of indiction 14, for Thoth, begins Column VII. When the start of the deliveries for indiction 15 came, the collector began a new column (VIII, 143–49) on Mesore 20. But the next two were written on Mesore 23 and 25 in Column VII. On Epagomene 3 Sarapion signed a receipt at the top of a new column (IX, 157–61) and then added a receipt to Column VII for indiction 11; another was added on Epagomene 5 for the same indiction. Given the placement of the receipts and the identity of the collector, these must be arrears. Some receipts of Phaophi were subsequently added in Columns IX and X, and one of Choiak in Column VIII.

It can be seen, then, that only relatively simple assumptions, all in themselves reasonable, are needed to explain the order and appearance of these receipts on the longest and most complex of the receipt rolls. It is thereby clear that the rolls were maintained by these

taxpayers and presented at the time of deliveries for the addition of the new deliveries, or else presented along with single receipts at a later time for the replacement of the single ones with a continued entry in the roll. The process is in fact far more systematic than that of modern immigration and customs officials, who look for a likely place to stamp a passport.

3. Chart of the Receipts

All receipts in the documents published here as *143–165* are included in this chart, as are those from *P.NYU* 5–11a, *P.Mich.* XII 648–649, *SB* X 10729, and those of the Michigan ostraka in which either the payer or the collector appears to be related to the archive comprising these papyri. The receipts are arranged in what I take to be chronological order. This order has been based on the following premises: (a) that the dating of the texts is as established in Section 1 above; (b) that receipts in general represent deliveries of grains from the current crop, a position which will be defended in Section 5; (c) that the indiction year began with Thoth only during the first fifteen-year cycle (312/3–326/7) and that in at least the two cycles after that one the indiction-year began with Pachon, probably on Pachon 1. This position I have argued in detail elsewhere (R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* [Zutphen 1978] 9–16). The texts are therefore arranged from Pachon through Pharmouthi within each indiction, with undated texts at the end of the indiction.

Year dates followed by (C) are consular dates in the papyrus, not calculations from the indictions. The payer is in each case the actual deliverer, not the *sitologoi* for whose credit he may be paying, and the collectors are the actual receivers in whose names the receipts were issued.

No.	Reference	Ind.	Year	Eg. date	Julian	Payer	Collector	Amount
1	*143*.1–13	[10?]	322(C)	Ep. 8?	2 July	Heraklas & Alexandros per Syrion	Gounthos *epimeletes*	120 lbs.chaff
2	*143*.14–21	10	323(C)	Pham. 4	28 Feb.	same per Syrion & Heras	Heron, *epimeletes* per son Dorotheos	1740 lbs.chaff
3	*P.NYU* 11.1–4	7	333	Th. 21	18 Sept.	Aion son of Sarapion	Isidoros	11⅔ art.wh.
4	*P.NYU* 11.5–9	7	333	Phao. 24	21 Oct.	same	Isidoros	2 11/12 art.wh.
5	*144*.13–15	8	334	Phao. 15	12 Oct.	same	(Ision)	6 art.wh.
6	*144*.16–17	8	334	Phao. 15	12 Oct.	Ptollas s. of Aion	Ision *sitometres*	2⅚ art.wh.
7	*144*.1–4	[8?]	335	Tybi 28	23 Jan.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Ouranios	91 art.wh.
8	*145*.1–6	9	335	Ep. 30	24 July	Aion s. of Sarapion	Ouranios s. of Paulos & Herodes s. of Dioskourion, *hypodektai*	42½ art.wh.
9	*144*.5–9	9	335	Phao. 24	22 Oct.	same	Souchidas per Timotheos	28 art.wh.
10	*144*.18–22	9	335	Phao. 24	22 Oct.	same	Timotheos	2 11/12 art.wh.
11	*144*.23–24	9	335	Phao. 24	22 Oct.	same	same	4 art.wh.
12	*144*.10–12	9	335	Hath. 6	3 Nov.	same	same	3 art.wh.
13	*P.NYU* 11a.201–206	9	336	Mech. 21	16 Feb.	Kyrillos s. of Arenas	Ausonios s. of Nemesianos	400 art.grain
14	*146*.13–17	9	335/6	[ ]	[ ]	Aion s. of Sarapion	Ision per Anoubion	30 lbs.meat
15	*P.NYU* 11a.174–77	9	335/6	[ ]	[ ]	same	Amonis	8 art.
16	*146*.8–12	[9?]	335/6?	[ ]	[ ]	same	[ ]	19 art.barley

17	*O.Mich.* 202	10	336	Mes. 9	2 Aug.	Kanaout s. of Venaphris	Souchidas	120 lbs.chaff
18	*O.Mich.* 786	10	336	Mes. 13	6 Aug.	Ptol... s. of Akullos	Souchidas	240 lbs.chaff
19	*O.Mich.* 203	10	336	Mes. 13	6 Aug.	Valerius	Souchidas	240 lbs.chaff
20	*O.Mich.* 204	10	336	Th. 28	25 Sept.	Sabinos s. of Aion	Souchidas	600 lbs.chaff
21	*O.Mich.* 205	10	336	Hath. 12	8 Nov.	Kanaout s. of Venaphris	Souchidas	120 lbs.chaff
22	*O.Mich.* 206	10	336	Hath. 12	8 Nov.	Sarapion s. of Chairemon	Souchidas	240 lbs.chaff
23	*O.Mich.* 207	10	336	Ch. 18	14 Dec.	Kanaout s. of Venaphris	Souchidas	120 lbs.chaff
24	*O.Mich.* 208	10	337	Tybi 9	4 Jan.	same	Souchidas	120 lbs.chaff
25	*O.Mich.* 209	11	337	Mes. 5	29 July	same	[ ]	120 lbs.chaff
26	*P.NYU* 11a.136–39	11	337 (actually 341?)	Epag. 3	26 Aug.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Sarapion	$2^{11}/_{12}$ art.wh.
27	*P.NYU* 11a.139–42	11	337 (actually 341?)	Epag. 5	28 Aug.	same	Sarapion	$2^{11}/_{12}$ art.wh.
28	*P.NYU* 11a.1–5	11	337	Epag. 5	28 Aug.	same	Herodes, Ouranios, Klematios	$26^{7}/_{12}$ art.wh.
29	*147*.7–11	11	337	Ch. 2	28 Nov.	Antiourios s. of Abous	Agathos	$2^{11}/_{12}$ art.wh.
30	*147*.1–6	11	337	Ch. 4	30 Nov.	same	Agathos	$5^{5}/_{6}$ art.wh.
31	*147*.12–15	11	337	Ch. 6	2 Dec.	Antiourios s. of Abous	Agathos	$2^{11}/_{12}$ art.wh.
32	*147*.16–19	11	337	Ch. 16	12 Dec.	same	Agathos	3 art.wh.
33	*147*.20–23	11	337	Ch. 16	12 Dec.	same	Agathos	$2^{2}/_{3}$ art.wh.

No.	Reference	Ind.	Year	Eg. date	Julian	Payer	Collector	Amount
34	*147*.24–27	11	337	Ch. 19	15 Dec.	same	[Agathos?]	5 art.wh.
35	*147*.28–31	11	337	Ch. 21	17 Dec.	same	Agathos	$2\frac{11}{12}$ art.wh.
36	*P.NYU* 11a.6–9	12	338	Ep. 9	3 July	Aion s. of Sarapion	Elias per Serenianos	11 lbs.meat
37	*O.Mich.* 210	12	338	Mes. 2	26 July	Panis	Ision s. of Ammonios	150 lbs.chaff
38	*P.NYU* 11a.29–33	12	338	Mes. 10	3 Aug.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Isidoros	$7\frac{7}{12}$ art.wh.
39	*P.NYU* 11a.34–40	12	338	Mes. 19	12 Aug.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Eudaimon, Demetrios, Pappion	$2\frac{1}{6}$ art.wh.
40	*P.NYU* 11a.207–210	12	338	Phao. 30	27 Oct.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Theodoros s. of Gerontios	$17\frac{2}{3}$ art.barley
41	*P.NYU* 11a.20–24	12	338/9	n.d.	n.d.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Amonis (sgn.) per Sabinos	2 art.barley
42	*P.NYU* 11a.10–14	13	339	Pau. 11	5 June	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Isidoros	$55\frac{2}{3}$ art.wh.
43	*P.NYU* 11a.15–16	13	339	Pau. 11	5 June	same	Isidoros	$21\frac{2}{3}$ art.wh.
44	*P.NYU* 11a.17–19	13	339	Pau. 17	11 June	same	Isidoros	$18\frac{1}{6}$ art.wh.
45	*P.NYU* 11a.25–28	13	339	Pau. 25	19 June	same	Isidoros	$12\frac{1}{6}$ art.wh.
46	*P.NYU* 11a.47–50	13	339	Epag. 4	27 Aug.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Polion	600 lbs.chaff
47	*P.NYU* 11a.55–58	13	339	Th. 1	30 Aug.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Pappion	6 art.barley
48	*P.NYU* 11a.51–54	13	339	Th. 8	6 Sept.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Polion	110 lbs.chaff
49	*P.NYU* 11a.63–67	13	339	Th. 13	11 Sept.	same	Epiphanios	$18\frac{1}{2}$ art.barley
50	*O.Mich.* 211	13	339	Hath. 2	30 Oct.	Kanopoi s. of Vesnaphris	——	120 lbs.chaff

50	*O.Mich.* 211	13	339	Hath. 2	30 Oct.	Kanaout s. of Venaphris	——	120 lbs.chaff
51	*P.NYU* 11a.41–44	13	339	Hath. 20	17 Nov.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Dioskourides per Syrion	120 lbs.chaff
52	*P.NYU* 11a.45–46	13	339	Hath. 20	17 Nov.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Dioskourides per Syrion	120 lbs.chaff
53	*O.Mich.* 212	13	339	Hath. 21	18 Nov.	Kanaout s. of Venaphris	Souchidas	120 lbs.chaff
54	*P.NYU* 11a.68–72	13	339	Ch. 10	7 Dec.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Moses	3⅙ art.barley
55	*148*.1–9	12	340(C)	Pham. 25	21 March	Aur. Atisios s. of Leonides	Aur. Kopres s. of Paulos & Iulius Severinus, *apodektai;* sgn.: Kopres, Ploution	8½ art.wh.
56	*148*.15–20	12	340(C)	Pham. 25	21 March	Aur. Antiourios s. of Abous	Kopres & Ploution	5⅔ art.wh.
57	*148*.20–24	12	340(C)	Pham. 25	21 March	Chairaos	Kopres & Ploution	2⅚ art.wh.
58	*148*.25–27	12	340(C)	Pham. 25	21 March	Kastor s. of Aritios	Kopres	5 art.wh.
59	*148*.28–31	12	340(C)	Pham. 26	22 March	Antiourios s. of Abous	Anaios & Ploution	1⅚ art.wh.
60	*148*.10–13	12	340(C)	Pham. 27	23 March	Atisios s. of Leonides	Kopres & Ploution	1⅙ art.wh.
61	*148*.32–35	12	340(C)	Phar. 1	27 March	Kastor *kephalaiotes*	Kopres & Ploution	7/12 art.wh.
62	*P.NYU* 11a.60–62	13	339/40	n.d.	n.d.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Amonis	3½ art.

No.	*Reference*	*Ind.*	*Year*	*Eg. date*	*Julian*	*Payer*	*Collector*	*Amount*
63	*P.NYU* 11a.113-20	14	340	Pach. 13	8 May	Aion s. of Sarapion	Souchidas per Ammon	3 art.wh.
64	*O.Mich.* 1020	14	340	Pau. 7	1 June	Komon per Ptollas s. of Apollonios	Paulos	240 lbs.chaff
65	*149*.1-10	14	340(C)	Pau. 21	15 June	Sarapion s. of Venaphris	Aur. Kopres s. of Paulos and Dorotheos s. of Hierax, *apodektai*	6 art.wh.
66	*149*.11-14	14	340(C)	Pau. 22	16 June	same	Kopres & Ploution	3 art.wh.
67	*149*.15-18	14	340(C)	Ep. 13	7 July	same	Kopres & Ploution	⅓ art.wh.
68	*P.NYU* 11a.100-104	14	340	Ep. 16	10 July	Aion s. of Sarapion	Makarios & Herodes, *hypodektai*	17½ art.barley
69	*P.NYU* 11a.82-87	14	340	Ep. 26	20 July	Valerius s. of Antiourios	same	61 7/12 art.barley
70	*P.NYU* 11a.73-76	14	340	Ep. 26	20 July	Apphous s. of Paianos	same	3 art.wh.
71	*P.NYU* 11a.77-81	14	340	Ep. 28	22 July	same	same	5¼ art.wh.
72	*P.NYU* 11a.88-91	14	340	Ep. 28	22 July	Valerius s. of Antiourios	same	6 art.wh.
73	*P.NYU* 11a.96-99	14	340	Ep. 29	23 July	same	Elias	35 lbs.meat
74	*P.NYU* 11a.92-95	14	340	Mes. 13	6 Aug.	same	Makarios, *hypodektes*	6 art.wh.
75	*P.NYU* 11a.109-112	14	340	Mes. 13	6 Aug.	Aion s. of Ailon	Makarios, *hypodektes*	1¼ art.wh.

76	*P.NYU* 11a.121–126	14	340	Th. [ ]	– Sept.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Souchidas per Ammon	$6\frac{1}{12}$ art.wh.
77	*P.NYU* 5.56–62	14	340	Hath. 30	26 Nov.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Elias s. of Dorotheos & Dioskorion s. of Aninos	$8\frac{1}{2}$ art.barley
78	*P.Mich.* 648.7–12	14	340	Ch. 10	6 Dec.	Antiourios s. of Abous	Ammonios	$2\frac{1}{12}$ art.wh.
79	*P.Mich.* 648.1–6	14	340	Ch. 16	12 Dec.	same	Ammonios	$2\frac{11}{12}$ art.wh.
80	*P.Mich.* 648.13–17	14	340	Ch. 22	18 Dec.	same	Ammonios	$1\frac{11}{12}$ art.wh.
81	*P.NYU* 5.63–68	15 for 14	341	Pach. 7	2 May	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Diogenes s. of Eulogios	23 art.barley
82	*147*.32–34	15	341	Pau. 21	15 June	Antiourios s. of Abous	A.[	15 art.wh.
83	*147*.39–42	1[5?]	341?	Pau. 21	15 June	same	..[	240 lbs.chaff
84	*P.NYU* 11a.105–108	15	341	Ep. 13	7 July	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Elias per Romanos	6 art.barley
85	*O.Mich.* 1021	15	341	Ep. 21	15 July	Sarmates s. of Mious	Ision	60 lbs.chaff
86	*P.NYU* 11a.143–149	15	341	Mes. 20	13 Aug.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Ouranios, *hypodektes*	$36\frac{5}{12}$ art.wh.
87	*P.NYU* 11a.127–131	15	341	Mes. 23	16 Aug.	same	Sarapion	$54\frac{5}{12}$ art.wh.
88	*P.NYU* 11a.132–135	15	341	Mes. 25	18 Aug.	same	Diogenes per Gomothea	$23\frac{7}{12}$ art.barley
89	*P.NYU* 11a.157–161	15	341	Epag. 3	26 Aug.	Venaphris s. of Ptollas	Sarapion	$2\frac{11}{12}$ art.wh.
90	*P.NYU* 11a.167–171	15	341	Phao. 16	13 Oct.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Souchidas	$2\frac{5}{6}$ art.wh.
91	*P.NYU* 11a.172–173	15	341	Phao. 16	13 Oct.	Horion s. of Valerius	Souchidas	$2\frac{5}{6}$ art.wh.

No.	*Reference*	*Ind.*	*Year*	*Eg. date*	*Julian*	*Payer*	*Collector*	*Amount*
92	*P.NYU* 11a.178–180	15	341	Phao. 21	18 Oct.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Aur. Atisios & Sabinos, *hypodektai*	6 art.wh.
93	*P.NYU* 11a.181–184	15	341	Phao. 22	19 Oct.	Heras s. of Sarapion	Atisios & Sabinos, *hypodektai*	$2^{11}/_{12}$ art.wh.
94	*P.NYU* 11a.150–152	15	341	Ch. 5	1 Dec.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Atisios & Sabinos, *hypodektai*	$5^{7}/_{12}$ art.wh.
95	*147*.34–36	15	342	Pham. 7	3 March	Antiourios s. of Abous	A.[	$18^{5}/_{6}$ art.wh.
96	*147*.37–38	15	342	Phar. 11	6 April	same	same	13 art.grain
97	*P.NYU* 11a.153–154	[15]	341/2	—	—	Aion s. of Sarapion	Sabinos & Atisios, *hypodektai*	9 art.wh.
98	*P.NYU* 11a.162–166	15	341/2	n.d.	n.d.	Aur. Valerius s. of Antiourios	Aur. Abous & Sabinos s. of Atisios, *apodektai*	1 art.wh.
99	*150*.1–8	16	342(C)	Ep. 26	20 June	Sokrates (for *sitologoi*)	Aur. Ouranios & Ammonios s. of Apion *hypodektai*	$14^{1}/_{4}$ art.wh.
100	*150*.12–13	16	342	Ep. 29?	23 June	Sokrates (for *sitologoi*)	Ouranios	$12^{3}/_{4}$ art.wh.
101	*150*.29–36	16	342(C)	Mes. 4	28 July	Sokras s. of Isidoros	Ouranios	$1^{1}/_{3}$ art.wh.
102	*O.Mich.* 1022	16	342	Mes. 10	3 Aug.	Severinus	Ision	120 lbs.chaff
103	*O.Mich.* 213	16	342	Mes. 11	4 Aug.	Sek( )	Ision	120 lbs.chaff
104	*O.Mich.* 214	16	342	Mes. 11	4 Aug.	Chairemon per Heron	Ision	120 lbs.chaff
105	*O.Mich.* 215	16=1	342	Mes. 14	7 Aug.	Palemon & Abok	Ision	120 lbs.chaff
106	*151*.1–5	16	342	Th. 10	7 Sept.	Ammonios s. of Atisios	Makarios & Ouranios per Kyrillos	60 art.wh.
107	*151*.6–9	16	342	Th. 10	7 Sept.	Ptolemaios s. of Aion	same	9 art.wh.

105	*O.Mich.* 215	16=1	342	Mes. 14	7 Aug.	Heron Palemon & Abok	Ision	120 lbs.chaff
106	*151*.1–5	16	342	Th. 10	7 Sept.	Ammonas s. of Atisios	Makarios & Ouranios per Kyrillos	66 art.wh.
107	*151*.6–9	16	342	Th. 10	7 Sept.	Ptolemaios s. of Aion	same	9 art.wh.
108	*O.Mich.* 216	16	342	Th. 13	10 Sept.	Isak s. of Ision	Diotimos?	120 lbs.chaff
109	*O.Mich.* 217	16	342	Th. 16	13 Sept.	Kapeeis per Neilos s. of Nemesion	Her[	120 lbs.chaff
110	*P.NYU* 5.34–38	16	342	Th. 19	16 Sept.	Venaphris s. of Ptollas	Makarios & Ouranios per Kyrillos	7 11/12 art.wh.
111	*P.NYU* 5.26–29	16	342	Th. 19	16 Sept.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	same	81 art.wh.
112	*P.NYU* 6.1–5	1	343	Mech. 29	23 Feb.	same	Elias	25 lbs.meat
113	*P.NYU* 5.30–33	16??	342/3	n.d.	n.d.	same	Aur. Atisios s. of Antonios & Sabinos s. of Atisios, *hypodektai*	8 art.barley
114	*151*.10–15	2	343	Pau. 22	16 June	Ammonas s. of Atisios	Sarapion & Ammon, *sitometres*	60 art.wh.
115	*154*.1–3	2	343	Pau. 22	16 June	Aion s. of Kopres	—	5 11/12 art.wh.
116	*154*.4	2	343	Pau. 23	17 June	same	—	5 11/12 art.wh.
117	*154*.5	2	343	Pau. 23	17 June	Kopres s. of Pannous	—	11 5/6 art.wh.
118	*154*.6	2	343	Pau. 26	20 June	same	—	23 1/6 art.wh.
119	*154*.7–8	2	343	Pau. 27	21 June	Ptollas & Panous	—	18 art.wh.
120	*154*.9–10	2	343	Pau. 28	22 June	Kopres s. of Panous	—	23 5/6 art.wh.
121	*154*.11	2	343	Pau. 28	22 June	Sarapamon	—	2 11/12 art.wh.

No.	Reference	Ind.	Year	Eg. date	Julian	Payer	Collector	Amount
122	*P.NYU* 7.12–17	2 nea	343	Pau. 28	22 June	Horion s. of Valerius	Souchidas	1 5/12 art.wh.
123	*154*.12	2	343	Pau. 29	23 June	Aion s. of Kopres	—	9 art.wh.
124	*154*.13	2	343	Ep. 1	25 June	Sarapamon	—	21 art.wh.
125	*154*.21–22	2	343	Ep. 20	14 July	Aion s. of Kopres	—	11 5/6 art.wh.
126	*154*.23–24	2	343	Ep. 20	14 July	same	—	3 art.wh.
127	*154*.24–27	2	343	Ep. 20	14 July	Sarapamon	—	11 5/6 art.wh.
128	*154*.28	2	343	Ep. 21	15 July	Kopres	—	6 1/4 art.wh.
128a	*154*.28–29	2	343	Ep. 21	15 July	same	—	5 5/12 art.wh.
129	*154*.30–31	2	343	Ep. 21	15 July	Aion s. of Kopres	—	11 7/12 art.wh.
130	*154*.32–33	2	343	Ep. 21	15 July	same	—	2 11/12 art.wh.
131	*152*.21–26	2	343	Ep. 21	15 July	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Sarapion & Ammon, *sitometres*	77 2/3 art.wh.
132	*154*.34–35	2	343	Ep. 22	16 July	Aion s. of Kopres	—	11 1/3 art.wh.
133	*154*.36–37	2	343	Ep. 22	16 July	same	—	3 art.wh.
134	*154*.38	2	343	Ep. 22	16 July	[ ]	—	[ ]
135	*152*.13–20	2	343	Ep. 23	17 July	Venaphris s. of Ptollas	Sarapion & Ammon, *sitometres*	12 art.wh.
136	*P.NYU* 5.39–44	2	343	Ep. 23	17 July	Valerius s. of Antiourios	same	12 art.barley
137	*152*.27–30	2	343	Ep. 24	18 July	same	same	6 art.wh.
138	*P.NYU* 5.45–49	2	343	Ep. 26	20 July	same	same	3 art.barley
139	*153*.7–12	2 nea	343	Mes. 3	27 July	Aion s. of Sarapion	Diotimos per Philippos	240 lbs.chaff
140	*153*.13–16	[2]	343	Mes. 3	27 July	same	same	220 lbs.chaff

141	*153*.17–23	[2?]	343	Mes. 4	28 July	same	same	240 lbs.chaff
142	*154*.19–20	[2]	343	Mes. 5	29 July	Ammonios s. of Atisios	—	[ ]
143	*154*.14–17	2	343	Mes. 9	2 Aug.	same	—	5⅓ art.wh.
144	*153*.24–31	[2?]	343?	Mes. 9	2 Aug.	[Aion s. of Sarapion?]	[ ]	[ ]
145	*155*.1–5	2 nea	343	Mes. 10	3 Aug.	Papaeis s. of Isidoros	Souchidas & Kyrillos	2 11/12 art.wh.
146	*155*.9–12	2 nea	343	Mes. 10	3 Aug.	same	same	2 art.wh.
147	*155*.16–19	(2 nea)	343	Mes. 10	3 Aug.	same	same	11/12 art.wh.
148	*155*.6–8	2 nea	343	Mes. 12	5 Aug.	same	same	⅓ art.wh.
149	*155*.13–15	2 nea	343	Mes. 12	5 Aug.	same	same	2 art.wh.
150	*155*.20–23	2 nea	343	Mes. 12	5 Aug.	same	same	5/12 art.wh.
151	*O.Mich.* 197	2	343	Mes. 19	12 Aug.	Syras s. of Komon	Diotimos per Philippos, son	120 lbs.chaff
152	*150*.37–41	2 nea	343	Mes. 20	13 Aug.	Papeeis s. of Isidoros	Euporion & Kyrillos	2 art.wh.
153	*150*.42–46	2 ?	343	Mes. 20	13 Aug.	same	same	⅔ art.wh.
154	*156*.1–7	2	344	Mech. 2	28 Jan.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Ammon & Mouses, *sitometres*	6 art.barley
155	*P.NYU* 8.2–6	2	343/4	[ ]	[ ]	Paesis s. of Sakaon	[ ]	36 art.
156	*P.NYU* 5.50–55	2	343/4	n.d.	n.d.	Aur. Aion s. of Sarapion	Aur. Isidoros s. of Kanaout & Atisios s. of Antoninus	2½ art.barley
157	*152*.31–34	2	343/4	n.d.	n.d.	same	Aur. Isidoros s. of Kanaout, *apodektes*	3 art.wh.

No.	Reference	Ind.	Year	Eg. date	Julian	Payer	Collector	Amount
158	*150*.12–18	3	344	Pau. 21	15 June	Sokras s. of Isidoros	Ouranios	14⅙ art.barley
159	*150*.19–23	3	344	Pau. 28	22 June	same	same	5 7/12 art.barley
160	*O.Mich.* 1016	3	344	Ep. 2	26 June	A...doros s. of Pankratios	Ision	60 lbs.chaff
161	*157*.1–4	3 nea	344	Ep. 6	30 June	Aion s. of Sarapion	Ision	8⅔ art.wh.
162	*P.NYU* 9.1–5	3 nea	344	Ep. 9	3 July	Antiourios s. of Abous	Ision	5 11/12 art.wh.
163	*158*.17–20	3 nea	344	Ep. 10	4 July	Ammonas s. of Atisios	Elias per Romanos	51 art.wh.
164	*157*.5–9	3	344	Ep. 11	5 July	Aion s. of Sarapion	Sarapion	14 11/12 art.wh.
165	*SB* X 10729.1–10	3	344	Ep. 12	6 July	Paianos s. of Valerius	Theodotos & Herodes	5 11/12 art.wh.
166	*P.NYU* 9.6–9	3 nea	344	Ep. 12	6 July	Antiourios s. of Abous	Phileas & Patron	2 art.wh.
167	*157*.10–12	3	344	Ep. 13	7 July	Aion s. of Sarapion	Sarapion	6 art.wh.
168	*152*.39–43	3 nea	344	Ep. 15	9 July	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Elias	86 5/12 art.wh.
169	*P.NYU* 9.10–14	3 nea	344	Ep. 20	14 July	Antiourios s. of Abous	Phileas & Patron	⅚ art.wh.
170	*SB* X 10729.11–15	3	344	Ep. 23	17 July	Paianos s. of Valerius	Herodes & Theodotos	2 11/12 art.wh.
171	*O.Mich.* 1017	3	344	Ep. 24	18 July	Komon s. of Isidoros	Souchidas	240 lbs.chaff

172	*SB* X 10729.16–20	3	344	Ep. 25	19 July	Paianos s. of Valerius	Theodotos	3 art.wh.
173	*SB* X 10729.21–25	3	344	Ep. 25	19 July	same	same & Phi[	3 art.wh.
174	*P.NYU* 5.8–14	3 nea	344	Ep. 26	20 July	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Elias per Romanos	32 11/12 art.barley
175	*159*.1–9	3	344	Mes. 3	27 July	Paianos s. of Valerius	Phileas	2 5/6 art.wh.
176	*P.NYU* 10.1–4	3	344	Mes. 27	20 Aug.	[ ]	[ ], *hypodektes*	[ ]
177	*P.NYU* 10.5–9	3	344	Mes. 27	20 Aug.	Kakakammonis s. of Sarapion	[ ], *hypodektes*	2 1/2 art.grain
178	*O.Mich.* 1015	3	344	Th. 9	6 Sept.	Paesis s. of Demetrios	Ouranios	210 lbs.chaff
179	*153*.37–40	3	344	Hath. 13	9 Nov.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Kopres	2 5/12 art.barley
180	*153*.34–36	3	344	Ch. 29	25 Dec.	same	Ouranios	120 lbs.chaff
181	*O.Mich.* 782	3	344	Ch. 29	25 Dec.	Petronis	Ouranios	240 lbs.chaff
182	*153*.32–34	3	344	Ch. 2–	16–25 Dec.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Ouranios	120 lbs.chaff
183	*153*.41–46	3	345	Mech. 7	1 Feb.	same	Kopres	1 7/12 art.barley
184	*160*.24–25	4	345	Pach. 16	11 May	same	Petronios	11 7/12 art.grain
185	*160*.35–39	4	345	Pach. 16	11 May	Papaeis s. of Heras	Petronios	8 5/12 art.grain
186	*160*.26–27	4	345	Pach. 18	13 May	Aion s. of Sarapion	Petronios	5 7/12 art.grain
187	*160*.27–28	4	345	Pach. 18	13 May	same	same	8 7/12 art.grain
188	*160*.39–42	4	345	Pach. 20	15 May	Papaeis s. of Heras	same	5 5/6 art.grain

No.	*Reference*	*Ind.*	*Year*	*Eg. date*	*Julian*	*Payer*	*Collector*	*Amount*
189	*160*.29	4	345	Pach. 22	17 May	Aion s. of Sarapion	same	3 art.grain
190	*160*.30	4	345	Pach. 24	19 May	same	same	6 art.grain
191	*161*.20–26	4	345	Pach. 24	19 May	Sarapion s. of Venaphris	[ ]	6¼ art.grain
192	*160*.19–23	4	345	Pach. 28	23 May	Aion s. of Sarapion	Petronios	3⅔ art.grain
193	*160*.43–44	4	345	Pach. 28	23 May	Papaeis s. of Heras	Petronios	6 art.grain
194	*160*.1–6	4	345	Pach. 30	25 May	Aion s. of Sarapion	Petronios	7 7/12 art.grain
195	*160*.54–58	4	345	Pau. 29	24 June	same	Syrion s. of Chairemon, *epimeletes*	2⅔ art.grain
196	*P.NYU* 10.10–13	4	345	Ep. 11	5 July	Paesios s. of Sakaon	Diogenis, *hypodektes*	36 art.grain
197	*159*.10–16	4	345	Ep. [ ]	July	[ ]	Kopres	2 11/12 art.wh.
198	*162*.10–14	4	345	Mes. 9	2 Aug.	Antiourios s. of Abous	Kopres	5 11/12 art.grain
199	*162*.1–7	4	345	Mes. 27	20 Aug.	same	same	5 11/12 art.grain
200	*162*.7–10	4	345	Mes. 27	20 Aug.	Ptollas s. of Venaphrios	same	2 11/12 art.grain
201	*152*.44–47	4	345	Epag. 6	29 Aug.	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Elias	71 11/12 art.grain
202	*P.NYU* 5.15–19	4	345	Thoth 21	18 Sept.	same	Elias per Paulos	20 5/12 art.barley
203	*152*.48	4	345	Thoth 21	18 Sept.	same	Elias	4⅔ art.grain
204	*152*.49–55	4	345	Thoth 26	23 Sept.	same	Souchidas, *sitometres*	5⅙ art.wh.
205	*152*.33–38	4	345	Thoth 26	23 Sept.	Nilos s. of Haires	same	2½ art.wh.
206	*P.NYU* 5.20–23	4	345/6	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

205	*152*.35–38	4	345	Thoth 26	23 Sept.	Nilos s. of Hatres	same	2⅔ art.wh.
206	*P.NYU* 5.20–25	4	345/6	n.d.	n.d.	Aur. Aion s. of Sarapion	Appinos for Pantel, Atisis, Demetrios	14⅔ art.wh.
207	*P.NYU* 5.1–7	4	345/6	n.d.	n.d.	same	same *(hypodektai)*	18 art.grain
208	*153*.47–55	4	345/6	n.d.	n.d.	same	Aur. Pachnoutis s. of Pion	2 naubia (dike work)
209	*160*.63–67	4 nea	345/6	n.d.	n.d.	Aur. Aion s. of Antiourios	Aur. Phas & Aphus s. of Aion, *hypodektai*	10⅙ art.barley
210	*160*.7–10	5	346	Pach. 1	26 April	Aion s. of Lakoas (=Sarapion)	Kyrillos	2¼ art.wh.
211	*160*.10–13	5	346	Pach. 7	2 May	same	same	9 art.wh.
212	*161*.1–5	5	346	Pach. 11	6 May	Heras s. of Sarapion	same?	6 art.wh.
213	*160*.31–34	5	346	Pach. 13	8 May	Aion s. of Sarapion	same	8½ art.wh.
214	*160*.45–49	5	346	Pach. 19	14 May	same	same	8⅔ art.wh.
215	*160*.50–53	5	346	Pach. 24	19 May	same	same	3 art.wh.
216	*160*.14–18	5	346	Pach. 27	22 May	same	same	8 7/12 art.wh.
217	*O.Mich.* 199	5	346	Thoth 28	25 Sept.	Kanandros	Ouranios	120 lbs.chaff
218	*O.Mich.* 199	5	346	Thoth 28	25 Sept.	same	same	120 lbs.chaff
219	*161*.27–32	5	346/7	n.d.	n.d.	Sarapion s. of Venaphris	Momas, scribe	20⅓ art.grain
220	*161*.38–41	6	347	Pau. 7	1 June	Heras s. of Sarapion	Dorotheos	10 lbs.meat
221	*157*.13–15	6	347	Pau. 8	2 June	Aion s. of Sarapion	Dorotheos?	20 lbs.meat

No.	Reference	Ind.	Year	Eg. date	Julian	Payer	Collector	Amount
222	*150*.47–51	6	347	Ep. 11	5 July	[ ]	Ploutammon	7 1/12 art.wh.?
223	*150*.52–56	6	347	Ep. 13	7 July	[ ]	Amoios	9 2/3 art.wh.
224	*161*.33–37	6 nea	347	Ep. 14	8 July	Heras s. of Sarapion	Theodoros & Chrestos	6 art.barley
225	*150*.57–61	6	347	Ep. 18	12 July	[ ]	[ ]	17 1/2 art.wh.
226	*O.Mich.* 200	6	347	Ep. 21	15 July	Taeisaris	Souchidas	120 lbs.chaff
227	*O.Mich.* 201	6	347	Mes. 1	25 July	Isidoros	same	120 lbs.chaff
228	*150*.62–65	[6?]	347?	Mes. [ ]	August	[ ]	[ ]	wheat—
229	*160*.59–62	6	347	Hath. 4	1 Nov.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Dorotheos per Aphous	25 lbs.meat
230	*161*.42–45	6	347	Ch. [ ]	December	Heras s. of Sarapion	same	4 lbs.meat
231	*161*.46–48	6	347	Ch. 10	7 Dec.	Sarapion?	Dorotheos	3 lbs.meat
232	*164*.1–4	[7?]	348?	Pach. 20	15 May	Aion s. of Sarapion	Theonas	6 art.barley
233	*164*.5–6	[7?]	348?	Pach. 24	19 May	same	Dorotheos	6 art.barley
234	*163*.1–3	7	348	Mes. 5	29 July	Valerius s. of Antiourios	Melas	38 1/2 art.wh.
235	*163*.4–5	7	348	Mes. 9	2 Aug.	same	Amatas, *hypodektes*	13 5/6 art.grain
236	*163*.6–8	7	348	Mes. 27	20 Aug.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Elias per Paulos	20 art.wh.
237	*164*.7–11	7	348/9	n.d.	n.d.	same	Asklas et al., *hypodektai*	32 art.barley
238	*165*.1–8	8	349	Pach. 16	11 May	same	Sarapion	19 art.barley

239	*P.Mich.* 649.16–23	8	349	Ep. 6	30 June	Heras s. of Sarapion	Kasianos	16⅚ art.wh.
240	*160*.68–73	8	349	Hath. 7	4 Nov.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Paulos	1⅚ art.wh.
241	*164*.21–25	9	350	Pau. 7	1 June	[same]	Sarapion	barley
242	*P.Mich.* 649.30–33	9	350	Mes. 13	6 Aug.	Heras s. of Sarapion	Sarapion	2 art.barley
243	*P.Mich.* 649.1–7	9	350/1	Ep[		same	Herodes per Chrestos, son	17⅚ art.wh.
244	*P.Mich.* 649.8–15	9	350	Thoth 13	10 Sept.	Heras s. of Sarapion	Artemidoros	4⅔ art.wh.
245	*164*.26–29	[9?]	350?	Hath. 1	28 Oct.	[ ]	[ ]	lbs. 30
246	*161*.6–9	10	351	Mes. 6	30 July	Heras s. of Sarapion	Sarapion	13 art.grain
247	*164*.12–15	10	351/2	n.d.	n.d.	Aion s. of Sarapion	Ammonios	72 lbs.meat
248	*160*.74–77	12	354	Mech. 5	30 Jan.	same	Theognostos per Chrestos	30½ lbs.meat
249	*O.Mich.* 1024	[ ]	[ ]	Tybi 2	28 Dec.	[ ]	Ouranios	480 lbs.chaff
250	*P.NYU* 11a.199–200	—	—	Ch. 3	29 Nov.	Aion s. of Sarapion	—	5 art.barley

4. The Landholdings of Aion and Valerius

In the General Introduction it was argued that the documents indicate that Valerius, Aion and brothers farmed about 80 arouras (and paid taxes for them) at some point prior to 342, while Tapaeis had 23. Tapaeis at some point went into flight, with the probable result that the brothers became responsible for her land. By 342 she had returned and she sold (with her brother) 9½ arouras to Antiourios and Atisios. In indiction 7 (probably 363/4, some 20 years later), the landholdings were as described in *128:* Valerius 33, Aion 28, Heras 2⅝, Tapaeis 12½, heirs of Alia and Tamaleis 5¾, total 81⅞. Soon after, however, Tapaeis disappears, and Syros (another of the brothers) is added to the list; the following holdings are given in *P.NYU* 19: Valerius 31, Aion 11, Syros 7, Heras 7, heirs of Tamaleis 10, heirs of Alia 2, total 68. We may now proceed to compare these figures with the grain delivery figures for these people.

The discussion of these receipts in Section 5 below leads to the conclusion that they represent actual tax payments for the indictions in question. The attached graph shows the wheat deliveries of Valerius, Aion and Valerius + Aion. We are handicapped in computing landholdings by our ignorance of the class of land held by these people and by the fact that the only tax rates we can use come from the Isidoros archive about 30 years earlier and can have changed in the meantime.

If the 80 arouras (sometime before 342) were all "royal" land, and if the figures include the *epinemesis* (as I consider is implied in the claim (in *172*) to pay taxes on that many arouras), taxes would have been charged at 1½ artabas per aroura, plus a 10 percent surcharge, the taxes thus amounting to 80 x 1.5 x 1.1, = 132 artabas. Now in indiction 13, 107⅔ artabas are the total paid by Valerius (*P.NYU* 11a.188); in the next indiction, *P.NYU* 11a.194 gives 92½ as a total paid, and the total was arrived at by the writer by combining all payments made by both men. These amounts fall short of 132 artabas; on the other hand, it is very probable that some of the family land was "private" land; some such land is listed on the back of *166,* which pertains on its recto to Heras son of Sarapion. As to the drop from one indiction to the next, one might suppose that the petition of Valerius was at this date successful. But this is probably not correct, for in indiction 15 we have records of about 114 artabas in all for the pair. Nor does the sale of 9½ arouras by Tapaeis before the harvest of 343 (indiction 2) cause a drop in that year's payments. The payment record after indiction 5 is not complete, and we lack therefore good figures which can be compared to the arouras listed in the accounts of holdings. We can see, however, that the grain payments are roughly of the proper magnitude for holdings about 60–80 arouras of land, including both royal and private land.

The records of chaff taxes for the pair are too incomplete to be useful in this regard except as a sort of minimal check. We have the following indicated in the receipts:

indiction 13	Valerius 120 lbs.
	Aion 950
indiction 2	Aion 1300
indiction 3	Aion 240

We know that the chaff tax was charged at the rate of 25 pounds per aroura. The figures above would indicate payment for indiction 13 for just short of 5 arouras for Valerius, and for 38 for Aion, for a total of almost 43. In indiction 2, payment is made for 52 arouras, all by Aion. These payments by Aion are too large for his own holdings as indicated by the accounts, but it is again clear that the two men are acting as part of a joint enterprise. The

GRAPH 1
Wheat Deliveries of Aion and Valerius

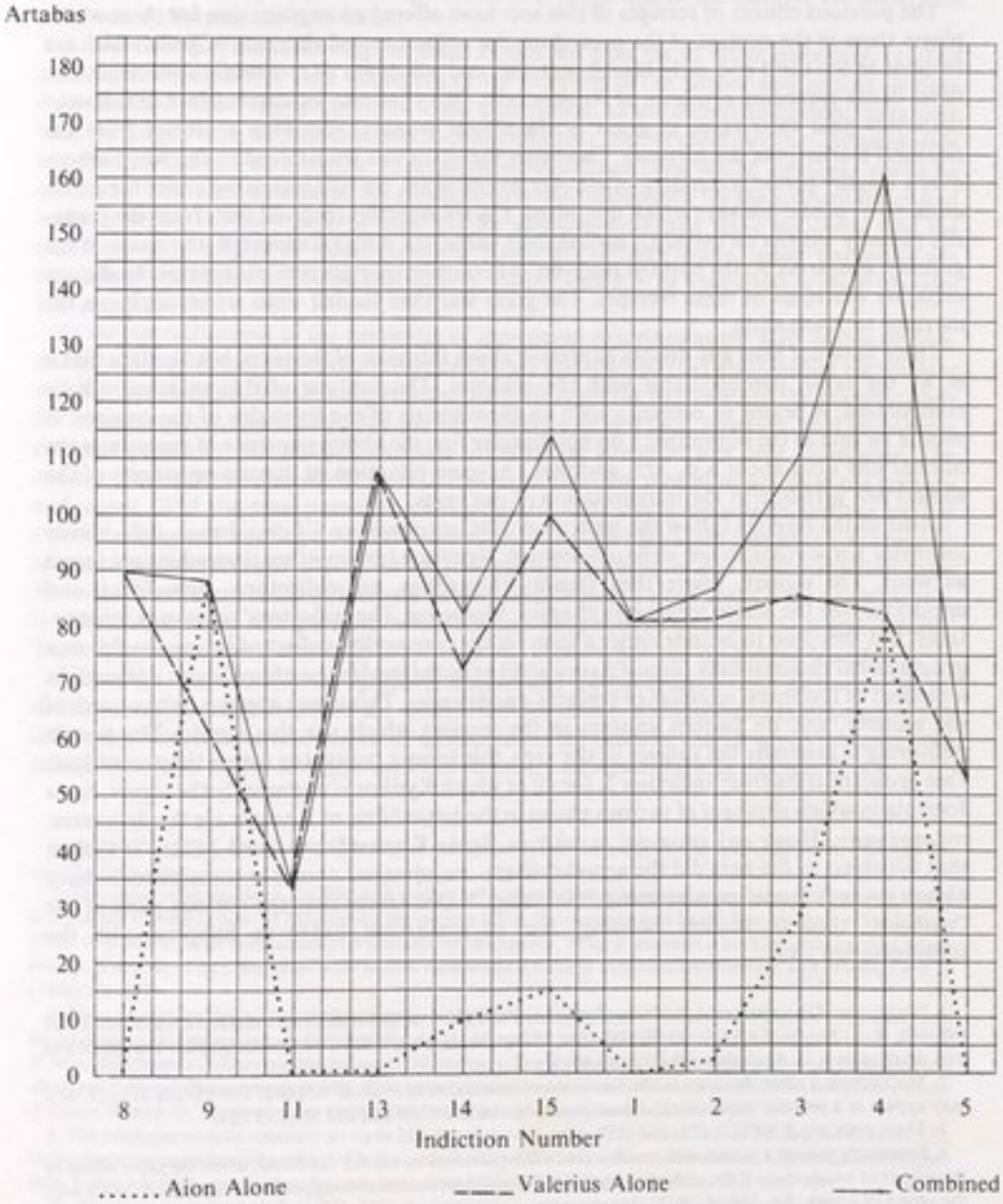


figure from indiction 2, at any rate, provides a confirming floor to the figure provided above for landholdings.

5. Form and Function of the Receipts

The previous editors of receipts of this sort have offered an explanation for them which places them in the context of the procedures for collection and shipping of grain which are familiar in the third and early fourth centuries and which are to a considerable extent like those in the preceding centuries of Roman rule. This view may be summarized as follows:[1] taxpayers paid their taxes in grain at the village granary, receiving a receipt from the *sitologoi* (earlier, the *dekaprotoi*). Thereafter the grain was transferred to the Nile harbors over a lengthy period, extending often over several years, by villagers using either their own donkeys or public donkeys which they hired. The transporters received chits from the granaries (usually written on ostraka), stating their name, the crop transported, the name of the granary, and so on. At the port the receivers gave the transporters receipts for their loads; our texts are examples of these receipts. The grain was then loaded onto transport boats for carriage to Alexandria.

There have not been any doubts expressed about this view of the texts; but I believe that it is, all the same, irreconciliable with the evidence. The analysis of this evidence will be complicated; it begins of necessity with an examination of the formulae of the receipts. It should be said at the outset that I do not disagree that the above sequence of events was the normal one until about A.D. 325, and that I have no intention of discussing aspects of the subject not germane to the interpretation of our texts.

Most of the receipts follow the pattern of date, *παρήνεγκεν ὁ δεῖνα ὑπὲρ – ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ* amount, signature (grains other than wheat are found as well). The signers, where they identify themselves, are collectors—*hypodektai* and *apodektai*—or the actual measurers of grain, *sitometrai*. The collectors' titles vary substantially, but they tend to include either a term for the commodity collected (*σῖτος, κριθή*) or a geographical responsibility (*δρμος Λευκογίου*) or both (*ὑποδέκτης σίτου δρμου πόλεως*). In a number of instances, *κατέβαλεν* replaces *παρήνεγκεν*. This usage appears to be a quirk of the receiver, and no pattern appears in the receipts which use this word.[2] The person delivering is generally the subject of the verb, this being a cultivator rather than an official. One group of texts from indiction 2, for all of which Kyrillos is apparently the signer, has a formula in which *sitologoi* of various places in the *horiodiktia* of Karanis are the deliverers: *παρήνεγκαν Ἥρων καὶ κοινωνοὶ σιτολόγοι Ἱερᾶς Καρανίδος διὰ τοῦ δεῖνα*.[3] It is clear that the object of *διά* here did the actual delivery. *παρήνεγκεν* comes in some places to have almost an impersonal passive sense, "delivered."[4] One senses that the various parts of the "sentence" tend to become headings free of syntactical order as happens with the transportation chits.[5]

1. For the gist of this view, see Lewis' introduction to *P.NYU* 5–11a; G. M. Browne, introduction to *P.Mich.* XII 648–649; H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 81 (1950) 100–101 (=*Scriptiunculae* I 214–215), with bibliography. The fullest and best description is L. Amundsen, *O.Oslo*, pp.40–59.

2. The formula is often the same as the *παρήνεγκεν* formula, as in *P.Mich.* XII 648, *P.NYU* 11a.113,121; or it may appear in a peculiar impersonal, almost passive use as in *147*.39 and *153*.1,7,13,17,24.

3. These texts are *P.NYU* 7; *150; 154; 155*.

4. Frequently enough a receipt with *παρήνεγκεν* will be followed by *καὶ διὰ τοῦ δεῖνα*, where the payer would be the subject of *παρήνεγκεν* if the verb were repeated. The payment continues to appear in the accusative as if it were the object of a verb. See *150*.14, 16–17, for example.

5. Cf. *O.Oslo*, p.41.

Several receipts are written in a "collector to payer, greeting, we have received from you . . ." formula. The verbs used for receiving in these cases are ἔχω (in the aorist) and παραλαμβάνω (also aorist).[6] The collectors are, with the exception only of *143* (the chaff receipts of 322-3) *hypodektai* and *apodektai*. The recipients of the receipts are always the cultivators effecting the deliveries.

A few summary remarks may be made before we pass on to other questions. (1) The cultivators/transporters were delivering to the receivers in the harbor and getting receipts from them; (2) these receipts were of some importance, as the payers assembled them over long periods of time on papyrus rolls; (3) the collectors specify carefully that the amount is for the account of κωμῆται (or πολῖται) and sometimes even which *sitologoi* are to be credited. There is no doubt that the *sitologoi* were still responsible for the amount which had to be collected for their jurisdictions; (4) the amounts collected leave no doubt that the deliveries were largely if not exclusively made by donkey-loads, since payments are consistently multiples of the normal load of wheat (1 sack = *ca* 3 artabas) or chaff (usually 120 pounds).[7]

In the normal course of the operation of the system described at the start of this section, one would expect that each person who paid taxes and transported grain would accumulate at least three kinds of documents: receipts from *sitologoi* for payments to the granary; chits for transportation; and receipts for harbor deliveries. It is a fact, however, that these three document types do not coexist, although all three are found at one time or another. The *sitologoi* receipts and related documents which demonstrate receipt of grains at the granary end about 325;[8] the transportation chits stop about 313 or a bit after;[9] and the harbor delivery receipts do not begin for wheat until 333.[10] Chaff is a separate case which will require special examination later. Given the very substantial quantity of our documentation from Karanis in the fourth century, it would be surprising if such a clear break were an accident—if all harbor delivery receipts from before 330 just happened to have perished, and so forth. These harbor texts come to exist *only* when the other types are no longer found.

That these two sets of texts—granary receipts and transportation chits on the one hand, delivery receipts (for wheat) on the other—are not merely chronologically disjunctive but different in nature is further shown by an analysis of the times of year at which the texts were issued. It will be useful to begin with the summary of Amundsen in *O.Oslo*, p. 43:

6. *P.NYU* 5; *152*.32; *164*.9, *160*.65, *161*.14 all use ἔοχον (-ομεν, -αμεν); *143*.5, *148*.4,18, *149*.5, *150*.7,32 use παρέλαβον (-αμεν).

7. This is seen most clearly in *154*. The sack tended to be slightly under 3 artabas in most cases. The usual unit of chaff earlier was the *sargane* of 150 pounds, but we find 120 as the common unit in the Karanis texts of the 330's to 350's. This load is, to be sure, about 85.5 pounds avoirdupois (ca. 39 kg.), less than a donkey could carry of wheat (about 200 lbs. or 90 kg.). But chaff is far bulkier than wheat. On these measures see Hombert and Préaux, *Cd'E* 15 (1940) 294-295.

8. There is ample evidence from the first quarter of the fourth century for the collection of grain at the granary and its subsequent transportation. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9, 11, 41, 59 and 61 are all instructive, and they go as late as 323. *P.Princ.Roll* shows *sitologoi* receipts as late as 324, the latest I have seen. The Theadelphia papyri are somewhat less clear, but *P.Thead.* 28 is pretty certainly of the system of the third and early fourth century. I am not so sure about *P.Thead.* 30 and 31. Some of these texts will be treated below in more detail.

9. The Michigan ostraka routinely go up to 313. Amundsen suggested 318 tentatively as the date for *O.Mich.* 532. Only a few items come from the period of indictions (*O.Mich.* 541-546), and as none of these had an indiction higher than 5, it is not even certain that they are later than 312, although I think it likely that they are.

10. The dates to indictions 7-9 (333-335) are somewhat unsure, though I think them correct, and those of indiction 10 are all for chaff. Indiction 11 (337/8) is the earliest to afford securely dated texts.

> The text itself is usually dated in the regnal year following upon that of the crop. The time of the harvest in Fayum is the period Pharmouthi-Pachon. In Payni the crop is ready at the ἅλωσι, τὰ δημόσια are paid, and the transport to the granary took place. From the θησαυρός the transportation to the Nile boats is going on all the year round. It culminates in the months Hathyr and Phamenoth.

A slightly different view of this process and of the transportation chits is offered by Youtie,[11] who notes that the activity of the caravans

> was accelerated with the beginning of the harvest in the spring and the collection of revenues in kind through the spring and summer months. In the autumn the river would retreat from the crest of the flood toward its normal level, and there was always the need to get as much of the crop as possible to the harbor granaries before the Nile became too shallow to accommodate the larger cargo boats.

Amundsen's description coincides more closely with the actual distribution of chits through the year, provided that we assume that his "Hathyr" is a slip for "Mecheir." The transportation chits are tabulated on Graph 2 by the months of the Egyptian year in which they are dated.[12] This graph reveals that the deliveries were at a low level from Epeiph to Choiak; that they were high in Tybi, Mecheir, Phamenoth and Pharmouthi; plunged in Pachon; and recovered to a high level in Pauni. On the same graph are plotted the fall and rise of the Nile's waters.[13] It is apparent at once that the Nile waters graph and that of the transportation chits are virtually mirror images.

Now we know, on the one hand, that high water was the best season for river shipping, that is from Epeiph to Phaophi, and on the other that the Nile was navigable for grain transports throughout the year except for the low water period of Pachon.[14] Since Pachon was also the chief harvest month with a heavy load of fieldwork, it is not astonishing that transportation reaches its nadir in this month. When transportation resumes in Pauni, it concerns not the newly gathered crop but still that of the previous summer, as Amundsen rightly pointed out. Transportation then falls to a low level in Epeiph, remaining there for several months, with an acceleration of activity from Choiak to Mecheir.

The cycle of activity we see, then, starts with the harvest (Pachon). In Pauni there was an intense effort to remove the last of the old grain from the village granaries to the river ports,[15] and at the same time the new crop was paid into the granaries, in the villages. After this effort, activity largely lapses for several months while the waters are high. The bulk of the crop is moved only after the waters have receded greatly from their peak.

Why does the process follow this pattern? The flood months, after all, were the idlest time of the year for most of the population, and yet they were not used. Nor is any real advantage taken of the high water for shipping; only the low-water month of Pachon is less used than flood time for transportation by land. The spurt in Pauni would scarcely provide a backlog

11. *TAPA* 81 (1950) 100-101 = *Scriptiunculae* I 214-215.

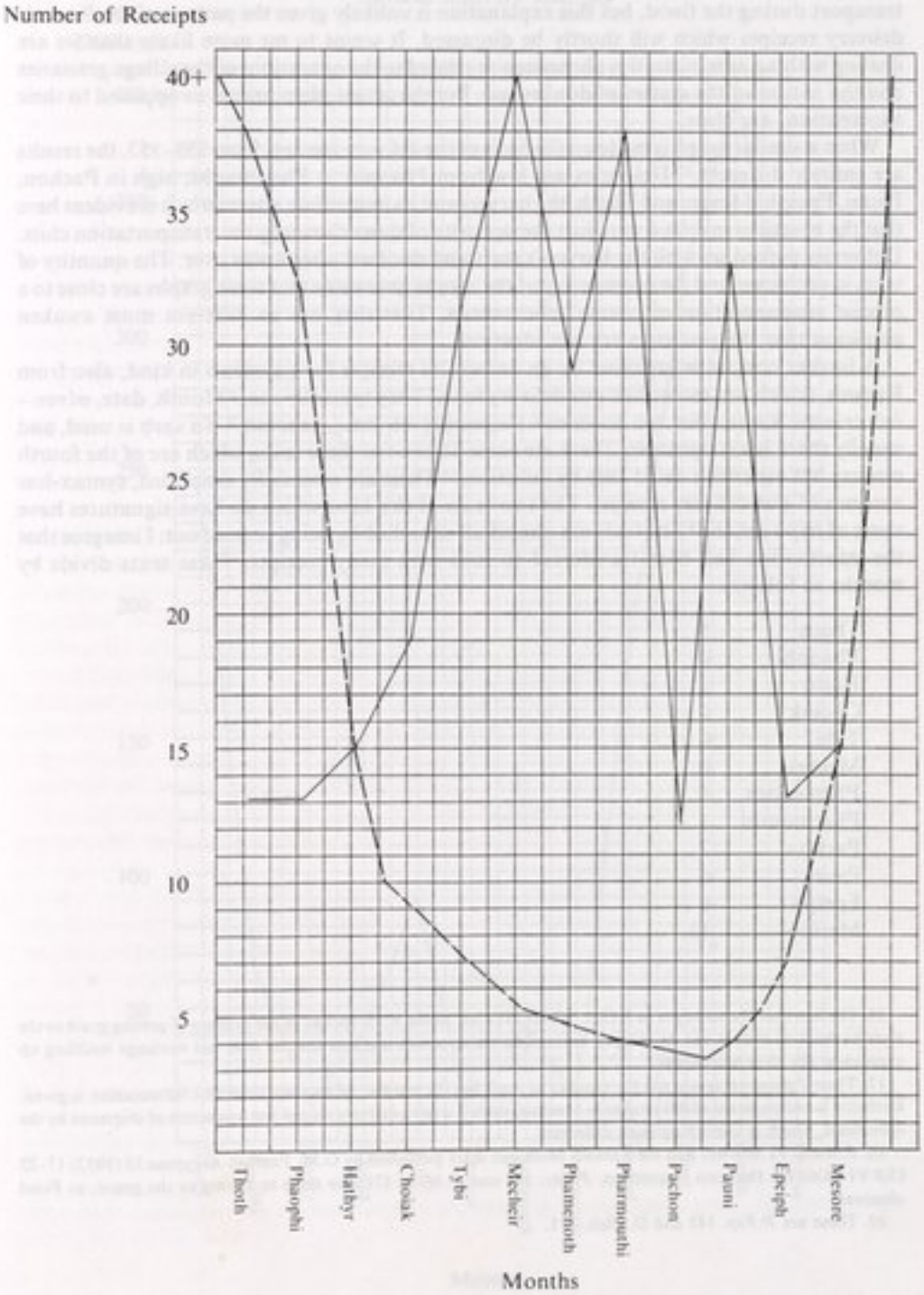
12. All texts with month dates which are stated by the editor to be for transportation from the granary in *O.Mich.* I, II, III, and IV are included in the totals.

13. From D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil* (Paris 1964) 22, Graph VI. This graph is for Aswan, but the difference for the latitude of the Fayûm would be a matter of perhaps two weeks on the average, as Bonneau's table on p.23 shows.

14. See Bonneau (*supra*, n.13) 98-99, who described August (i.e. Mesore) as a good month for shipping because of the ease of bringing large transports up the river and getting them downriver again. Cf. also E. Börner, *Der staatliche Korntransport im griechisch-römischen Aegypten* (Diss. Hamburg 1939) 30.

15. From *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2182 one might deduce that Pharmouthi was the last great spasm of activity before the river became too low; cf. H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II 870-871 = *CW* 37 (1943) 8-9 for the interpretation of this text. But the graph shows that the effort resumed again in Pauni for a month before subsiding for the inundation.

GRAPH 2
Transportation Receipts and the Nile



for shipping in the late summer, and probably the grain transported in the winter was shipped fairly soon.[16] One might attribute the phenomenon to the difficulties of land transport during the flood, but this explanation is unlikely given the pattern of the Karanis delivery receipts which will shortly be discussed. It seems to me more likely that we are dealing with an administrative phenomenon related to the operations of the village granaries and the nature of the system of donkey use. But the actual phenomena, as opposed to their explanation, are clear.

When a similar graph is made on the basis of the delivery receipts from 333–353, the results are entirely different.[17] Deliveries are low from Phaophi to Pharmouthi, high in Pachon, Pauni, Epeiph, Mesore and Thoth, the harvest and its immediate aftermath. It is evident here that the practices involved were just the opposite of those shown by the transportation chits. Deliveries picked up with the harvest's start and declined after it was over. The quantity of texts in each case and the consistency of the results guarantee that these graphs are close to a precise representation of normal phenomena. That they are so different must awaken suspicion that the processes are not identical.

A further control is provided by an archive of receipts for payments in kind, also from Karanis, which are rather like our delivery texts. They typically run, "Month, date, *σίτου – ἰνδικτίονος Καρανίδος τοῦ δεῖνα σὺν εἰκ(οστῇ)* [vel. sim.], amount." No verb is used, and usually there is no signature. There are some 55 or so of these texts, which are of the fourth century but otherwise dated only by indiction.[18] These are essentially simplified, syntax-less versions of our delivery receipts. The two texts of this kind which do have signatures have those of *hypodektai*.[19] The texts are almost all cancelled by being crossed out; I imagine that the information had been transferred to rolls with many receipts. These texts divide by months as follows:

Thoth	5
Phaophi	0
Hathyr	1
Choiak	0
Tybi	0
Mecheir	0
Phamenoth	0
Pharmouthi	1
Pachon	2
Pauni	6
Epeiph	6
Mesore	13

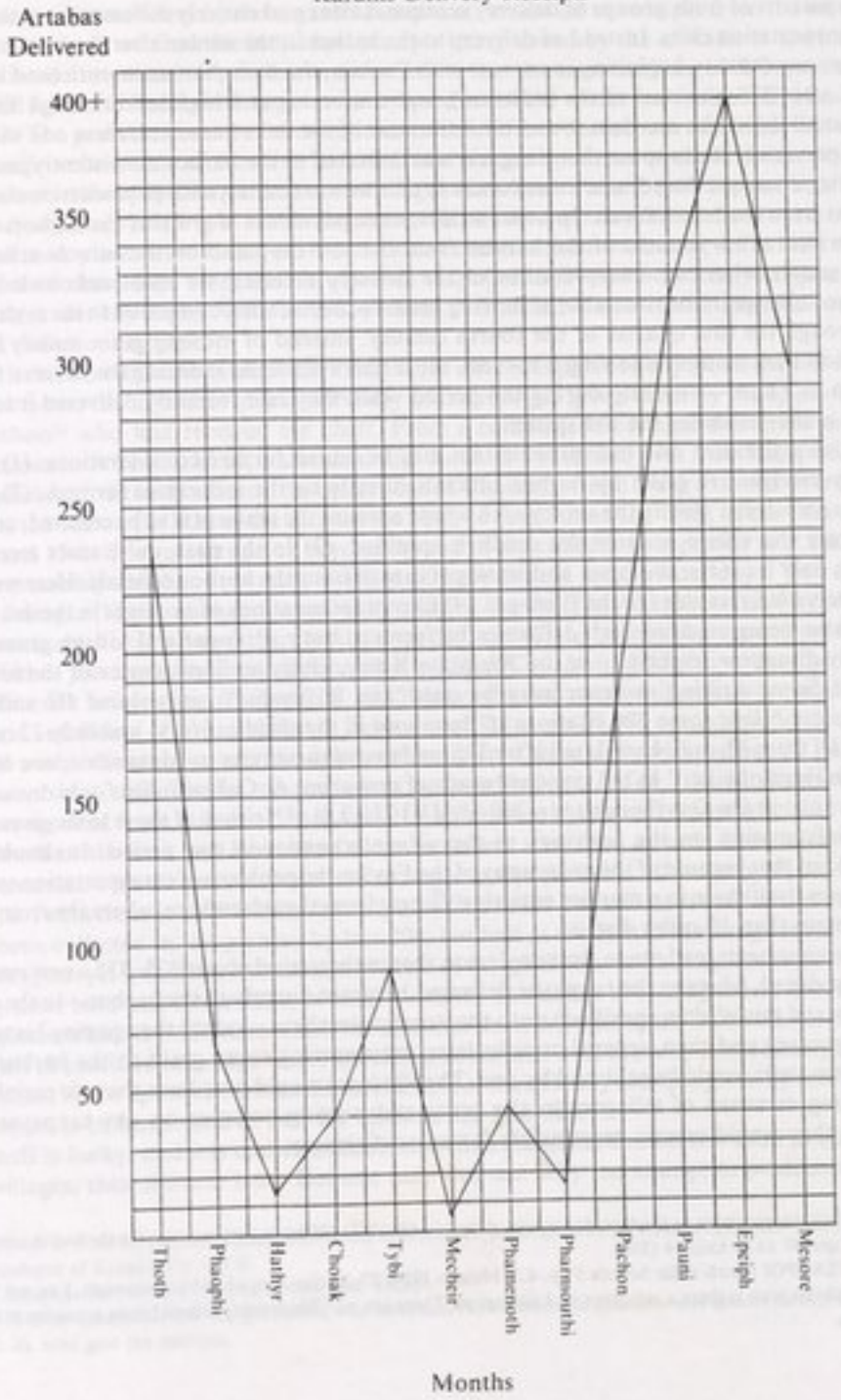
16. The fact that the *strategos* in *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2182 (cf. *supra*, n.15) speaks of the urgency of getting grain to the river harbors so that it can be shipped before low water comes suggests that he does not envisage building up supplies at the river storehouse.

17. These figures represent not the number of texts but the number of artabas, since this information is given. Excluded is one payment of 400 artabas in Mecheir, since it is not a delivery receipt but a notation of shipment by the *epimeletai*, which is something quite different.

18. *P.Mich.* VI 399–417 and the Karanis Michigan texts published by O.M. Pearl in *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) 17–25 (*SB* VI 9436) are the texts in question. *P.Fay.* 143 and *O.Mich.* 171 also seem to belong to the genre, as Pearl observes.

19. These are *P.Fay.* 143 and *O.Mich.* 171.

GRAPH 3
Karanis Delivery Receipts



The numbers are, to be sure, small, and one should not push the precise proportions. But the general resemblance to the graph of the delivery receipts is unmistakable.

The pattern of both groups of delivery receipts is clear and entirely different from that of the transportation chits. Instead of delivery to the harbor in the winter after the harvest was over, we see delivery beginning in earnest with Pachon, the main harvest month (and in the period after 328, the start of the indiction), and continuing at a high level through Thoth. Only small deliveries are then found until the start of the next harvest. Unless one wishes, rather perversely, to suppose that the grain was delivered to the harbor consistently just one year after it was produced, one must conclude that we are dealing with payments on current account from the new harvest. In other words, most payments of grain at the harbors were made within a few months of the harvest from the new crop and on the current account.

No matter what our interpretation of the delivery receipts, we must acknowledge a profound change in the timetable of moving grain to the harbors, compared to the system in use through the first quarter of the fourth century. Instead of moving grain mainly from Choiak to Pharmouthi following a harvest, the farmers delivered it during the harvest, from Pachon to Thoth—precisely during the period when they had formerly delivered it to the village granaries under the old system.

To this significant and indisputable fact may be added further considerations: (1) The delivery receipts are given by harbor officials directly to the individual farmers. (2) The receipts sometimes specify the *sitologoi* to whose account the amount is to be credited, and in every case the village account for credit is specified. (3) In the past, cultivators received receipts only from the *sitologoi*, and *sitologoi* in turn from the harbor officials. Here we see absolutely no direct role for the *sitologoi*. (4) Except for mentions of *sitologoi* in the delivery receipts as being credited with deliveries by farmers, both *sitologoi* and village granaries virtually disappear, especially in the Arsinoite Nome, after the first quarter of the fourth century. Some striking evidence may be cited: the *Wörterbuch*, in volume III and the *Supplement*,[20] lists some 126 citations of θησαυρός in the third century, and only 22 in the fourth. Of these 22, only 4 are dated after 325, and two of these refer to Alexandria; one of the others is Hermopolite.[21] In the standard study of granaries, A. Calderini lists only one other granary, one in the Oxyrhynchite in 360 (*PSI* VI 711.2,4).[22] Neither of these texts gives any useful information on the activities of the village granaries in this period. It should be pointed out that because of the geography of the Fayûm the problem of transportation to the river poses itself there in a manner entirely different from that elsewhere, where the river was rarely more than 10 miles distant.

These arguments lead me to the conclusion that in the period about 325–335 a new system was introduced, whereby the taxpayer delivered his grain directly to the harbor—to the ship directly (and this is often specified) or to the storehouses there—rather than paying his taxes at the granary and then, several months later, transporting some grain to the harbor. In effect, two steps would be replaced by one. The *sitologoi* would now have the role mainly of organizing caravans of villagers to the ports and putting pressure on any taxpayers in arrears; they would remain responsible for any deficiencies.

20. S. Daris' supplement to the *Supplement*, in *Aegyptus* 48 (1968) 229 has no attestations for the fourth century.

21. *P.Lips.* 97 xx.6, xxiii.14 (338).

22. ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΙ (Studi della Scuola Pap. 4.3, Milano 1924) 27–35 (his date of 365 is incorrect). I do not fully understand this text; is there a reference to Leukogion? There are no fifth century references to granaries at all in these lists.

Under such a system, the old way of recordkeeping would change also. Instead of the *κατ' ἄνδρα* records[23] and individual receipts issued by the *sitologoi*, and the delivery of large amounts to the receivers by the organized caravans, which led to receipts from the receivers to the *sitologoi*, we find the individual receipts being issued by the officials at the harbor.

It is interesting that it is possible to demonstrate that the essential lines of this system were adopted for the collection of taxes on the by-product of the wheat harvest, chaff, as early as 310/11. The procedure can be followed in some detail from the records of this harvest which remained in the hands of Aurelius Isidoros, who was an *apaitetes* of chaff in that year, the equivalent in the collection structure of *sitologos* for wheat. *P. Cair. Isid.* 10 is an account of *ἐμβολῆς ἀχύρο[υ] ιθ(ἔτους) διὰ Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Ἡρᾶς ἀπετη(τῶν)*. The collections recorded here all took place in an 11-day period of Choiak in the autumn following the harvest of 310. On each of these days there is a list of which taxpayers delivered how many sarganai (150 pounds, a donkey-load). With each day's total it is stated which of the *apaitetai* was the actual collector on hand.

With this text must be taken *P. Cair. Isid.* 13, in which, as part of a report on the collections of their year, the *apaitetai* give a summary of the receipts given them by the *apodektes* at Akanthon[24] who had received the chaff. From a comparison of these deliveries with the collections in *P. Cair. Isid.* 10, it is evident that the chaff was turned over from the *apaitetai* to the *apodektai* virtually at once; the collections of Choiak 5, 6 and 7 were turned over on the 7th; of the 9th on the 9th; of the 11th on the 11th; of the 13th on the 13th; of the 14th on the 14th and 15th. The receipts go on beyond the end of the collections reported in *P. Cair. Isid.* 10; presumably another document like it must have existed for the later days. Two crucial facts emerge: (1) the *apaitetai* must have collected the chaff in Akanthon itself in order to have been able to turn it over there on the same day, and (2) the collections were crowded into a period of just three weeks in all (Choiak 5 to 25). *P. Cair. Isid.* 13.55 shows that there were no deliveries before then. *P. Cair. Isid.* 16.45 shows that no more deliveries were made until Pachon and Pauni of 313, and that in February of 314 some 53,000 pounds were still owing. Faced with official pressure, the *apaitetai* completed their deliveries before 31 July 314 (*P. Cair. Isid.* 13.56). The list of arrears kept by the collectors, *P. Cair. Isid.* 17, shows that the arrears resulted from failure of the taxpayers to pay what they owed (some who paid up are ticked off in the list), not from any failure to deliver what had already been collected.

A contrast with the procedures of the *sitologoi* in this period is afforded by *P. Cair. Isid.* 9 and 11. From these it is clear that virtually all of the taxes due in wheat and barley for 308/9 had been collected in the granary by late 309; but half of it was still in storage at the village granary, not yet transferred to the storehouses of the *apodektai* at Leukogion. It may be that the greater bulk and lower value of chaff led to the avoidance of storing it and thus created the system which is evident, in which the *apaitetai* must have set specific periods for delivery of chaff to specified locations where *apodektai* could take over the crop immediately after its collection by the *apaitetai*. Our earliest evidence for the delivery receipts given by receivers to taxpayers is in fact found in *143*, for chaff in 322 and 323.[25]

Chaff is bulky, and it is understandable that the authorities should not want to store it in the villages, then move it later. But one may well ask why the change in procedures with

23. Such as *P. Stras.* 145, an account kept by the *sitologoi* of Theadelphia for 312, and *P. Cair. Isid.* 9, the report of the *sitologoi* of Karanis for 308/9.

24. Near the harbor of Kerke, cf. *P. Cair. Isid.* 13.22n.

25. In these documents it is the *epimeletai*, who seem midway between the *apaitetai* and *apodektai* in *P. Cair. Isid.* 13.22–26, who give the receipts.

wheat for which I have argued took place; and if that question is answered, one will ask why these reasons did not seem compelling before. As usual, one can do no more than to set out some possibilities, for we are not likely ever to have the evidence necessary to answer this question with confidence.

The traditional system had some real advantages to the administration: such is the answer to the second question. The taxpayers found it relatively easy to make their payments to the local granary; it was a short trip at a time of year when work in the fields would be heavy, at the grain harvest. The work of transportation could then be spread out over the year, imposing only a moderate burden on manpower and on the supply of donkeys. Only a modest fleet was needed for river transportation, since boats could come and go repeatedly over many months.

Why, then, abandon this system in favor of one which burdens peasants, animals and shipping more heavily in the busy season? Two reasons may be advanced, both of governmental advantage: (1) The traditional system caused the imperial revenues to reach Alexandria and then their ultimate destination rather slowly; a harvest would not all be in Alexandria until 13–14 months after. Wheat was money, and it earned interest in the ancient world just as cash did. The traditional system in effect deprived the government of the use of its revenues for an *average* of something like 6–8 months. It does not require modern economic sophistication to see the wastefulness of such a procedure. Furthermore, the quality of the wheat must have suffered severely under ancient storage conditions from the long wait in the village.

(2) By changing the system to the new one presented above, the government would reap a one-time gain, with most of the crop of one year arriving just after the last part of that of the preceding year. The government's income would thus be accelerated, and yet the annual rate over the long run would not be reduced. In a given fiscal year the gain in actual received income might amount to 75 percent of the normal revenues. Again, this gimmick scarcely requires modern economics to see; it does not seem to me at all incredible that a perennially hard-pressed government would adopt such a gimmick—the more so when it provides a permanent improvement in the speed of collection of the revenues.

6. *Collectors*

Only a few words need be said here about the collectors. They are called indifferently *apodektai* and *hypodektai*, with the latter more numerous. There does not appear to be any noticeable distinction between them.[26] These officials were municipal officials, generally of the bouleutic class, who were assigned one *pagus* as their territory of responsibility.[27] The precise form of their title varies a good deal, as we have seen, but Lewis has reasonably argued that these forms are just ellipses. One finds, thus, *ὑποδέκται/ἀποδέκται ὅρμου πόλεως, σίτου πόλεως, σίτου ὅρμου πόλεως, ὅρμου Λευκογίου, Λευκογίου, Καρανίδος, κώμης Καρανίδος, κριθῆς κώμης Καρανίδος, κώμης*.

With deliveries at Leukogion, we are sometimes informed as to what boat the grain was delivered to. The word *πλοῖον* sometimes is followed only by a name in the genitive; at other

26. This observation is not new, and it has consistently puzzled commentators: see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (Leipzig 1917) 222–225; P. Jouquet, *P. Thead.*, p. 164; Cl. Préaux and M. Hombert, *Cd'E* 15 (1940) 295, note also that it is difficult to separate the functions of *epimeletai* and *apodektai* in dealing with chaff.

27. See N. Lewis' remarks, *P. NYU*, pp. 10–11. He does not include bouleutic status as a characteristic of the office in *ICS*, s.v. *ὑποδέκτης*.

times this name is followed by ὑπό plus another name. This format is paralleled by *P.Oxy.* VII 1048, a text of the late fourth to early fifth century which lists boats, giving names in the genitive and then ὑπό plus a second name in the accusative. Grenfell and Hunt describe the first names as those of "owners," the second as those of captains. Aside from the assumption that the genitive indicated ownership, they described the principals as owners on the basis of contracts like *P.Flor.* I 75, where a shipowner contracts to transport grain to Alexandria for pay; the other party is the *bouleutai* serving as *epimeletai* of the grain dispatched to Alexandria. Just this type of situation is indicated in *P.NYU* 11a.201–206, a receipt for 400 artabas, apparently dispatched by Ausonios son of Nemesinos, *bouleutes* and ἐπιμελητὴς σίτου ἀποστελλομένου ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. The phrase διὰ Κυρίλλου Ἀρηνᾶ perhaps indicates that Kyrillos was the captain, but this is not a necessary conclusion given the cryptic nature of the text. In the absence of contrary information, it seems best to accept that the persons named in the genitive are the owners of the boats.

The owner best attested in the Karanis receipts is one Hierakapollon, called an ἐπίσκοπος.[28] He has ships under various captains. In indiction 4 we find the following owners and captains for ships at Leukogion in Pachon:[29]

16 Pachon	Pergamios, *comes*,[30] under Paulos
18	same
18	Ausonios, *princeps*[31]
20	same
22	Abel
24	Pames
24	Hierakapollon *episcopus*, under Tithioeis
28	Claudianus
30	Hierakapollon *episcopus*, under Chrestos

28. It is a matter of some interest to find a bishop here as the owner of four boats. E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises* (Pap. Brux. 10, 1973) 156–160, remarks that bishops were often wealthy in the early church, but that little is known specifically of Egyptian bishops' wealth. She cites the Hermopolite land registers (to be consulted in the new edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, *Zwei Landlisten aus dem Hermopolites* [Stud. Amst. 7, 1978]), in which one bishop had as much as 466 arouras, mostly of private land. There is in fact some other evidence: *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2729.8 (IVp) contains a directive to the addressee to receive some money δι(ὰ) τοῦ πλοίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν δι(ὰ) Ἠλίας ναύτου. *P.Harr.* 94 (late IVp) is a list of cargoes loaded on boats; among the owners are a councillor, an *a commentariis ducis*, and Ἀπολλώνιος υἱὸς Δουνοίου ἐπισκόπου. There is no mention from this period of any ἐπίσκοπος who cannot with probability be considered a bishop; one may therefore exclude the possibility that ἐπίσκοπος here refers to some other function. The name Hierakapollon is most typically Panopolite and was fairly common among the bouleutic class; cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 1.276,287, 351; *P.Leit.* 10.1; *P.Panop.* 31. In *175* we seem to have a councillor of Arsinoe named Hierakapollon.

29. These appear in *160* and *161*.

30. *Comites* appear from Constantine I on in a great variety of military and civil positions. With no qualification given here, I see no possibility of identifying his office. It is worth mentioning that a Fl. Pompeius Pergamius was *praeses Thebaidos* in 375/6, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte* (Bruxelles 1964) 252–253. This could be the same man at an earlier stage of his career, but we cannot be sure. Official ownership of boats is also attested in *ZPE* 20 (1976) 161, a 4th century Hermopolite declaration where the owner is Athanasius, σπεκουλάτωρ τάξεως [ἡγεμονίας τῆς Θηβαί]δος.

31. This term again is rather vague. One is inclined to suppose a *princeps officii* of a high official is concerned, cf. Lallemand (*supra*, n.30) 73.

In indiction 5 we find the following:

1	Pachon	Hierakapollon, *episcopus*, under Abel
7		same, under Abel
11		same, under Tithioeis
13		same, under Pames
19		same, under Pames
24		same, under Chrestos
27		same, under Pames

From the list of indiction 5 it is probable that Abel and Pames in indiction 4 are also captains of ships of Hierakapollon. Given the relatively small capacity of Nile boats (from a few hundred to a few thousand artabas; *P.Oxy.* VII 1048 gives a range of 308½ to 4417, which translates into 10 to 150 tons, approximately), one may wonder if the boats of indiction 5 are the same boat or many. The latter seems to me the more likely. Leukogion would receive grain from a wide area,[32] and Karanis alone produced some 4500 artabas per year in wheat, 3700 in barley (and 105,000 pounds of chaff, but this was perhaps not transported by these boats), a total of some 250 tons. In all likelihood, then, Hierakapollon had four ships.

32. On its location (Herakleopolite Nome), see *O.Oslo*, p.51.

143

Receipts for Deliveries of Chaff

Inv. 313 14 x 26.8 cm. 322–323

Clear light papyrus, very poorly preserved. Back blank.

Two receipts are preserved here, one in collector to payer form, the other in *παρήνεγκεν* form. The latter records a payment made in February 323 for indiction 10 = 321/2. It is thus for arrears, although this is not stated. A total of 1860 lbs. of chaff is therefore probably paid for indiction 10 in these two receipts, indicating 74.4 arouras at the rate of 25 lbs. per aroura indicated by *P.Cair.Isid.* 13, if that rate was still current. The brothers had 81 37/64 arouras of sown private land (*P.Cair.Isid.* 6.181–184) at one time. Either their holdings had decreased slightly by 322 or we are lacking one or more receipts for that year. Syrion and Heras are probably the lessees of their land in Karanis, since the brothers were absentee landlords, as appears from *174*.

Γοῦνθος ἐπιμελητὴς ἀχύρου τῶν μ[ε]λ-
λομένων ἐνχειρίζε(σθαι) Ἡρακλῆς καὶ
Ἀλέξανδρος δι(ὰ) Συρίωνος ἀπὸ Κα[ρα-]

4 νίδος [χα]ίρ[ε]ιν·
παρέλαβον παρ[ὰ σοῦ ὑπ]ὲ[ρ .].' ἰνδ[ικ(τίονος)]
πολιτῶν ἀχ[ύρου λίτρας - - -.]
λί(τρας) .[- - - μόνας.]
8 [...]ατη[- - - - - -]
- - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - -
τοῖς ἀποδιχθησομ[ένοις]
12 ὑπάτοις τὸ β', Ἐ[πε]ὶφ η.
(M2) Γοῦνθος σεσημίωμε.

παρήνεγκεν Ἡρακλῆ καὶ Ἀλέξαν-
δρος δι(ὰ) Συρίωνο(ς) καὶ Ἡρᾶ ἀπὸ Καραν[ίδ[ος]
16 ὑπὲρ δεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) πολιτῶν ἀχύρου λίτρα[ς]
χειλίας ἑπτακοσίας τεσσεράκοντα,
λί(τρας) Ἀψμ//. Ἥρων ἐπιμελητὴς
σεση(μείωμαι) δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ Δωρόθεως.
20 τοῖς ἀποδιχθησομένις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ
Φαμενὼθ δ".

2-3 Ἡρακλῆ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ 11, 20 ἀποδειχθησομένοις 13 σεσημείωμαι
14 παρήνεγκαν, Ἡρακλῆς 19 Δωροθέου 20 The numeral underlined, read in 1937, has since been lost.

Gounthos, overseer of chaff, for those going to be designated, to Herakles and Alexandros through Syrion from Karanis, greeting. I have received from you for the —th indiction for the account of citizens, [— lbs.] of chaff, — lbs. [only]. In the consulate of the consuls to be designated, for the 2nd time, Epeiph 8. (M2) I, Gounthos, have signed.

Herakles and Alexandros delivered through Syrion and Heras from Karanis for the tenth indiction for the account of citizens, one thousand seven hundred forty pounds of chaff, 1740 lbs. I, Heron the overseer, have signed, through me his son Dorotheos. In the consulate of the consuls to be designated, for the 3rd time, Phamenoth 4.

1-2. I cannot offer a parallel for this phrase.

2. These brothers, sons of Heron, appear as πολῖται and landowners in *P.Cair.Isid.* 6.181-184 and 7. They had a total of 81 37/64 arouras of sown private land and some uninundated or barren land. In *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.29 (309) they pay 57 artabas of wheat, 32½ of chaff. In *P.Cair.Isid.* 14.167, 184-85, they pay further amounts through Asklas and Heras, probably the same Heras who appears in our text in line 15. For citizens of the *metropoleis* as landowners in Karanis, see A. E. R. Boak, *JEA* 40 (1954) 11-14 (p.13 for this pair). Like most such persons, they hold moderate amounts of land. On the other hand, a substantial percentage of their land is both private (i.e. taxed at a lower rate) and sown, and they may well have had landholdings elsewhere. Cf. *174*.

5. Indiction 10, which ended with Mesore in 322, is probably to be restored here.

9-10. Most of the fibers are gone here.

11-13, 20-21. See Kase, *P.Princ.Roll*, pp. 32-36, for this dating formula and its significance: "At the same time, in order to avoid confusion, an era τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις was inaugurated and made to date from 321" (p.35). A further discussion, with a table of regional variations, appears in *P.Panop.* 26, introd.

12. Epeiph 8 = 2 July 322.
21. Phamenoth 4 = 28 February 323.

144

Receipts for Delivery of Wheat

Inv. 181 (37) 33 x 28 cm. 334–335

Light brown papyrus. Middle portion somewhat rubbed and darker; edges frayed but text not badly damaged. First receipt of Column I evidently written at different time from remainder. Two complete *kollemata*, width of each 18 cm. Verso blank.

The earliest receipts of this text are probably those at the top of Column II, but the loss of the indiction number in lines 1–4 makes any conclusions about internal organization uncertain. This text has in lines 14 and 19 the earliest examples of the mention of the boat to which delivery was made; these boats do not occur elsewhere.

→

Column I

[Τῦ]βι κη. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Οὐαλε[ρ]ιος Ἀντιουρίου ἐν δρμ(ῳ) Λευκογ[ίο]υ
[ὑπὲρ – – – ἰνδικτίονος κωμη]τῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ
καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἐνενήκοντα μίαν, (ἀρτάβας) ϙα μόν(ας).
4 Οὐράνιος σεσημίωμαι.
(M2) Φαῶφι κδ. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιῶν Σαραπίωνος
ἐν δρμου Λευκογίου ὑπὲρ ἐνάτης
ἰνδικτίωνος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
8 πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι ὀκτώ, (ἀρτάβας) κη μόνας.
Σουχιδᾶς δι' ἐμοῦ Τιμοθέου σεση(μείωμαι).
(M3) Ἀθὺρ ς'. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀειῶν Σαραπίωνος κωμη(τῶν) Καρανίδος
ἐν δρμου Λευκογίου ὑπὲρ ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίωνος πυροῦ
12 καθαρ[ο]ῦ ἀρτάβας τρῖς, (ἀρτάβας) γ μόν(ας). Τιμόθεος [σ]ε(σημείωμαι).

Column II

(M4) Φαῶφι' ιε. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιῶν Σαραπίωνος ἐν δ›ρμου Λευκογίου
εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Παπνουθίου Ἑρμία ὑπὲρ ὀγδόης ἰνδικτίωνος
κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ς
μό[νας].

16 καὶ δι(ὰ) Πτολλᾶ Ἀιώνεως πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο ἥμισυ τρίτων, (ἀρτάβας) β ∠ γ μόνας. Ἰσίων σιτομ(έτρης) σεσ(ημείωμαι).

(M2) Φαῶφι κδ. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιὼν Σαραπίωνος ἐν ὅρμου Λευκογίου ὑπὲρ ἑνάτης ἰνδικτίωνος εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Ἀμμωνίου
20 ἀπὸ Λευκογίου κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο ἥμισυ τρίτον δοδέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) β ∠ γ ι[ο].

Τιμόθεος σιτομ(έτρης) σεση(μείωμαι).

ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς ἰνδικτίωνος πυροῦ
24 καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας τέσσαρες, (ἀρτάβας) δ μόνας. Τιμόθεος σεση(μείωμαι)

6, 11 ὅρμῳ 13 ἐν ὅρμῳ 17 τρίτου 18 ὅρμῳ 21 δωδέκατον 24 τέσσαρας

Tybi 28. Valerius son of Antiourios delivered in the harbor of Leukogion [for the —th indiction] for the account of villagers of Karanis, ninety-one artabas of clean wheat, art. 91 only. I, Ouranios, have signed.

(M2) Phaophi 24. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion for the ninth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, twenty-eight artabas of clean wheat, art. 28 only. I, Souchidas, have signed through me, Timotheos.

(M3) Hathyr 6. Aion son of Sarapion delivered for the account of villagers of Karanis in the harbor of Leukogion for the ninth indiction, three artabas of clean wheat, art. 3 only. I, Timotheos, have signed.

(M4) Phaophi 15. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion to the boat of Papnouthis son of Hermias for the eighth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, six artabas of clean wheat, art. 6 only.

And through Ptollas son of Aion, two, a half, a third artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 ½ ⅓. I, Ision, *sitometres,* have signed.

(M2) Phaophi 24. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion for the ninth indiction to the boat of Ammonios from Leukogion, for the account of villagers of Karanis, two, a half, a third, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 ½ ⅓ 1/12. I, Timotheos, *sitometres,* have signed. Likewise the same man for the same indiction, four artabas of clean wheat, art. 4 only. I, Timotheos, have signed.

1. Tybi 28 = 23 January. To judge from the position, one should probably restore indiction 8, i.e. 335.
5. Phaophi 24 = 22 October 335.
10. Hathyr 6 = 3 November 335.
13. Phaophi 15 = 12 October 334.
18. Phaophi 24 = 22 October 335.

145

Receipt for Delivery of Wheat

Inv. 181 (46) 32.5 x 28 cm. 335

Almost perfectly preserved. Writing occupies upper middle of sheet; it covers a space 13.5 x 8 cm. with the rest blank, including the verso. Two *kollemata* joined at center, probably not complete, width 17.5 cm. and 15 cm. respectively.

This text is an acknowledgment of the receipt by the *hypodektai* of wheat delivered in the harbor of the city by Aion son of Sarapion. It is very possible, given the amount mentioned, 42½ art., that this is a summary.

It is to be noted that this text uses σῖτος rather than πυρός for wheat. H. Cadell, *Akten XIII Int. Papyrologenkongresses* (München 1974) 64 has pointed out that *sitos* supplants *pyros* as the term for wheat during the course of the early fourth century, and in particular that *pyros* lingers after about 340 only in private acts, not in official ones, where *sitos* is regular. She pursued this argument in *Cd'E* 48 (1973) 329–338, arguing that *pyros* disappears almost completely after 340. An examination of the delivery receipts, which are official documents, in our dossier shows that there is little chronological correlation between the two terms; *sitos* is used off and on throughout the texts, but it is common only in indiction 4, when it overwhelms *pyros* with 18 occurrences to 4; at all other times, right up to the end of our documentation, *pyros* is the usual term. It may be that 350 would be a better terminus than 340 for the shift.

↓ χ(ει)ρ(όγραφον) σίτου θS' ἰνδικ(τίονος) Οὐρανίου Παύλου
καὶ Ἡρώδου Διοσκορίωνος βουλ(ευτῶν) ὑποδεκ(τῶν)
σίτου ὅρμου πόλεως μηνὶ Ἐπὶφ λ//
4 τῆς θS' ἰνδικ(τίονος) κωμητῶν
Καρανίδος δι(ὰ) Ἀιώνεως Σαραπίωνος
σίτου θS' (ἀρτάβας) μβ∠ μόνας.

Receipt of wheat for the 9th indiction from Ouranios son of Paulos and Herodes son of Dioskorion, councillors, receivers of grain for the city harbor, in the month of Epeiph, the 30th, in the 9th indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, through Aion son of Sarapion, 42½ art. only of wheat of the 9th ind.

3. Epeiph 30 = 24 July 335

146

Receipts for Deliveries of Barley and Meat

Inv. 181 (11), Col. I Cf. *124* for dimensions 335/6

Written in the margin at a later date to the left of the beginning of extracts from census register (*124*). Written across a joint. A receipt of 7 lines erased at start.

→

8 [Month, day παρ(ήνεγκεν)] Ἀιῶν Σαραπίωνι[ος]
[ἐνάτης (?) ἰνδι]κτίονος κωμητ[ῶν]
[Καρανι(δος) κριθῶ]ν ἀρτάβας δ̣ε̣κα̣ε̣ν̣[ν]έα, (ἀρτάβας) ιθ̣ μό-
ν̣(ας),
[ἑτέρας ἀποχῆς] ἤτοι ἐνταγίου μὴ ἐπ[ι]φερομένου.
12 [± 12].υσιων σεση(μείωμαι).

[Month, day παρ(ήνεγκεν)] Ἀγιῶν Σαρα̣π̣ίω̣νος
[± 6 κωμη]τῶν Κερανίδος ὑπὲρ ἐν̣ά̣τ̣ης
[ἰνδικτίο]νος κρέως λίτρας τριάκον-
16 [τα, λί(τρας) λ μ]όνας. Ἰσίων δι' ἐμ(οῦ) Ἀνουβίωνος
σεσημ(είωμαι).

13 Ἀιῶν 14 Καρανίδος

[Month, day,] Aion son of Sarapion [delivered for the ninth(?)] indiction for the account of villagers [of Karanis], nineteen artabas of barley, art. 19 only, no [other receipt] or document being applicable. [I, ...].usion, have signed.

[Month, day,] Aion son of Sarapion [delivered for —] for the account of villagers of Karanis for the ninth indiction, thirty pounds of meat, [30 lbs.] only. I, Ision, have signed through me, Anoubion.

11–12. This phrase, or a variant of it, appears also in *159; 164; SB* X 10729.5–7; *P.NYU* 4a.10–11,27–28; *P.NYU* 11a.72,119–20,193–4; in *O.Mich.* 462 the correct reading is ἄλλης ἀποχ(ῆς) | μὴ ἐπιφερομ(ένης) (lines 6–7), as Professor Youtie and I have confirmed on the photograph. It is clearly used to indicate that some other receipt for the same delivery was or might be extant and that it was hereby declared invalid and replaced by the present text. Such an occurrence would presumably happen particularly when retroactive or summary receipts were composed on rolls to replace texts on small slips or ostraka. Cf. comparable usage when earlier receipts were said to have been lost, Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II 934f. = *ZPE* 1 (1967) 170ff.

12. Alpha or delta precedes upsilon.

13. Indiction 9 is dated to 335/6 on the basis of the signer in line 16; cf. p. 69.

147

Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat and Chaff

Inv. 181 (12) 28.1 x 24.2 cm. 337–342

Well-preserved papyrus, probably part of a roll. Right side broken. Two *kollemata*: left incomplete, right *ca* 18 cm. Verso blank except for slight traces of three lines of a docket.

This papyrus is discussed above, p. 72. It was used by Antiourios son of Abous for receipts principally during indiction 11, but in indiction 15 it was again used for several such receipts.

→ Column I

Χοίακ' δ'. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀντιοῦρις Ἀβοῦ
ὑπὲρ ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος
κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ
4 *ἀρτάβας πέντε ἥμισυ τρίτον,*
(ἀρτάβας) ε ∟ γ" μόνας.
(M2) *Ἄγαθος σεσ(ημείωμαι).*

(M3) *Χοίακ' β/. παρήνεγκεν Ἀντιοῦρις Ἀβοῦ ὑπὲρ*
8 *ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν*
Καρανίδος πυρο[ῦ] κα[θ]αροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο
ἥμισυ τρίτον δωδέκ[α]τον, (ἀρτάβας) β ∟ γ ιο μό(νας).
(M4) *Ἄγαθος σεσ(ημείωμαι).*

(M3)
12 *καὶ τῇ ς" ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀντιοῦρις Ἀβοῦ ὑπὲρ*
ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος [κωμ]ητῶν Κα-
ρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο ἥμισυ τρίτον
δωδέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) β ∟ γ ιο μό(νας). (M4) Ἄγαθος σεσ(η-
μείωμαι).

(M3)
16 *καὶ τῇ ις" ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀντιοῦρις Ἀβοῦ ὑπὲρ*
ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμ[η]τῶν Καρανίδος
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας τρεῖς, (ἀρτάβας) γ μ(όνας).
(M4) *Ἄγαθος σεσ(ημείωμαι).*

(M3) Column II

20 *Χοίακ' ις". παρήνεγκεν Ἀντι[οῦρις Ἀβοῦ ὑπὲρ]*
ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμ[ητῶν]
Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβα[ς δύο δίμοιρον],
(ἀρτάβας) β|||| μό(νας). (M4) Ἄγαθος σεσ(ημείωμαι).

(M3)
24 καὶ τῇ ιθ" ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀν[τιοῦρις Ἀβοῦ ὑπὲρ]
ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμ[ητῶν Καρα-]
νίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας π[έντε, (ἀρτάβας) ε μό(νας).]
(M4?) [...].....[..]

(M3)
28 καὶ τῇ κα/ ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀν[τιοῦρις Ἀβοῦ ὑπὲρ]
ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρ[ανίδος]
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀ[ρτάβας δύο] ἥμισυ τρίτον [δωδέ-]
κατον, (ἀρτάβας) β ∠ $\overline{\gamma\iota\delta}$ μ(όνας). (M4) Ἄγαθος σεσ(ημείωμαι).

(M5)
32 Παῦνι κα. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀντιουρίου Ἀβοῦ ὑπὲρ πεντη[και-]
δεκάτης ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) πυροῦ ἀρτάβ(ας)
δεκαπ[έντε],
(ἀρτάβας) ιε/ μόνας. καὶ Φαμενὼθ ζ, ὁ αὐτὸς [ὑπὲρ]
πεντηκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) πυροῦ
ἀρτάβ(ας) [δε-]
36 καοκτὼ ἥμισοι τρίτον, (ἀρτάβας) ιη ∠ γ μόνας.
καὶ Φαρμοῦθι ια, ὁ αὐτὸς ἄλλας σίτου ἀρτάβ(ας) [– – μόνας].

(M4) Α.[..... σεσ(ημείωμαι).]

(M6) Παῦνι κα. κατέβαλεν κωμητῶν
40 Καρανίδος διὰ Ἀντιουρίου Ἀβοῦ ὑπὲρ [– –]–
δεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) ἀχύρου λίτρας διακ[οσίας]
τεσσαράκοντα, (γίνονται) λί(τραι) σμ μόνας. . [σεσ(ημείω-
μαι)].

32 Ἀντιούριος, πεντε- 35 πεντε- 36 ἥμισυ

Choiak 4. Antiouris son of Abous delivered for the eleventh indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, five, a half, a third artabas of clean wheat, art. 5 ½ ⅓ only. (M2) I, Agathos, have signed.

(M3) Choiak 2. Antiouris son of Abous delivered for the eleventh indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, two, a half, a third, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 ½ ⅓ $^{1}/_{12}$ only. (M4) I, Agathos, have signed.

(M3) And on the 6th, likewise the same Antiouris son of Abous for the eleventh indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, two, a half, a third, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 ½ ⅓ $^{1}/_{12}$ only. (M4) I, Agathos, have signed.

(M3) And on the 16th, likewise the same Antiouris son of Abous for the eleventh indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, three artabas of clean wheat, art. 3 only. (M4) I, Agathos, have signed.

(M3) Choiak 16. Antiouris [son of Abous] delivered [for] the eleventh indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, [two (and) two-thirds] artabas of clean wheat, art. 2⅔ only. (M4) I, Agathos, have signed.

(M3) And on the 19th, likewise the same Antiouris [son of Abous for] the eleventh

indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, five artabas of clean wheat, [art. 5 only. (M4) I, - - -, have signed.]

(M3) And on the 21st, likewise the same Antiouris [son of Abous for] the eleventh indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, [two], a half, a third, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 ½ ⅓ $^1/_{12}$ only. (M4) I, Agathos, have signed.

(M5) Pauni 21. Antiourios son of Abous delivered for the fifteenth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, fifteen artabas of wheat, art. 15 only. And Phamenoth 7, the same man [for] the fifteenth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, eighteen, a half, a third artabas of wheat, art. 18 ½ ⅓ only. And Pharmouthi 11, the same man another [..] artabas of grain [only]. (M4) I, - - -, [have signed].

(M6) Pauni 21. Paid for the account of villagers of Karanis through Antiourios son of Abous for the [?fif]teenth indiction, two hundred forty pounds of chaff, that is, 240 lbs. only. I, - - -, [have signed].

1. Choiak 4 = 30 November 337.
7. Choiak 2 = 28 November 337.
11. One would expect that here and in lines 15, 19, 23, 27, 31, and 38 the second hand would appear (that of line 6), but the hands are clearly different.
12. Choiak 6 = 2 December 337.
16. Choiak 16 = 12 December 337.
20. Choiak 16 = 12 December 337.
21. Choiak 19 = 15 December 337.
28. Choiak 21 = 17 December 337.
32. Pauni 21 = 15 June 341.
34. Phamenoth 7 = 3 March 342.
37. Pharmouthi 11 = 6 April 342.
38. The signer should be Agathos but I cannot read it.
39. Pauni 21 = 15 June (341?). On the construction of *κατέβαλεν* see p. 94.

148

Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat

Inv. 181 (8) 44.6 x 24.2 cm. 340

Two columns, fairly well preserved except for lower portion of Column I. Wide margins. Part of roll, as indicated by left margin (see plate). Traces of four *kollemata*, two complete (16.6 and 9.9 cm. respectively). Verso blank.

→ Column I

Αὐρήλιοι Κοπρῆς Παύλου καὶ Ἰρῆλιος Σευηρίνου καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ)
ἀποδέκται σίτου πόλεως
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀτισίῳ Λεονίδου κεφαλ(αιωτῇ) Καρανίδος χαίρειν·
4 παρελάβαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος

κωμητῶν πυροῦ καθαρ[οῦ] ἀρτάβας ὀκτὼ δωδέκατον,
(ἀρτάβας) η ιο" μόνας. (M2) Κοπρῆς σεσημεί(ωμαι).
(M3) Πλουτίων σεση(μείωμαι).

(M1) ὑπατ[είας Σ]ε̣π̣τιμίου Ἀκινδύνου [το]ῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου
8 το[ῦ ἱερο]ῦ πραιτωρίο[υ] κ̣α̣ὶ Π̣ο̣πολλωνίου Π̣ρόκλου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου,
Φαμ̣ε̣ν̣ὸ[θ] κε/.
[κ]α̣ὶ τῇ κζ [ὁ]μοίως ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀτίσ(ιος) Λεονίδ[ου]' ὑπὲρ δ[ωδε]κάτης ἰνδικτίονος
κωμητῶν Κ̣α̣ρ̣α̣ν̣ί̣δ̣ο̣ς πυροῦ ἀρτάβην μίαν ἕκτον,
12 σῖτον (ἀρτάβην) α[ς]/ μόν̣α̣ς. (M2) Κ̣[οπρ]ῆ[ς σε]σ̣η(μείωμαι).
(M3) [Πλουτί]ων σεση(μείωμαι).

(M4) καὶ π̣ι(ττακίου) Πανὰς ....

Column II

(M1) Αὐρ̣ήλιοι Κοπρῆς Παύλου καὶ Ἰο[ύ]λ̣ιος Σευηρίνου καὶ κοι(νωνοὶ)
16 ἀποδέκται σίτου πόλεως
Αὐρ̣η̣λίῳ Ἀντιουρίῳ Ἀβοῦ κεφαλ(αιωτῇ) Καρανίδος χαίρειν·
παρελάβαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος
κωμητῶν πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας πέντε δίμοιρον,
20 (ἀρτάβας) ε|||. καὶ διὰ Χαιράου ἄλλ[α]ς ἀρτάβας δύο ἥμισυ τρίτον,
(ἀρτάβας) β ∠γ/ μόνας. (M2) Κοπρῆς σεσημεί(ωμαι). (M3) Πλουτίων σεση(μείωμαι).

(M1) ὑπατείας Σεπτιμίου Ἀκινδύνου τ[ο]ῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου
τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Ποπολλωνίου Πρόκλου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου,
24 Φαμ̣ε̣ν̣ὸθ κε—.
τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρ̣α̣ διὰ Κάστορος Ἀριτ̣ίο̣υ κεφαλ(αιωτοῦ) Καρανίδος ὑπὲρ δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κ̣ω̣μ̣η̣τ̣ῶ̣ν πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας πέντε, (ἀρτάβας) ε μόνας. (M2) Κοπρῆς σεσημεί(ωμαι).

(M1)
28 κα[ὶ] τῇ κς, διὰ Ἀντιουρίου Ἀβοῦ κεφαλ(αιωτοῦ) Καρανίδος ὑπὲρ
δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν πυροῦ καθαροῦ
ἀρτάβην μίαν ἥμισυ τρίτον, (ἀρτάβην) α ∠ γ/ μόνας.
Ἄναιος σεση(μείωμαι).
(M3) Πλ̣ουτίω[ν σε]σ(ημείωμαι).
(M5)
32 καὶ Φαρμοῦθι α' δι(ὰ) Κ̣ά̣[στορος] κ̣ε̣φ̣[αλ(αιωτοῦ)] Καρανίδος ὑπὲρ δωδεκάτης
ἰνδικτίονο̣ς [κωμητῶν πυροῦ] καθαρ[ο]ῦ ἀρτάβης ἥμισυ
δωδέκατον, (ἀρτάβης) ∠[ιο/ μόνας.] (M2) Κ̣οπρῆς σεσημεί(ωμαι).
(M3) [Πλουτ]ίω̣ν σ̣ε̣σ(ημείωμαι).

9. 24 Φαμενὼθ 12 οἴτου 14 Πανὰς read by H. C. Youtie, read Πανά.

Aurelii Kopres son of Paulos and Iulius son of Severinus and their partners, receivers of grain for the city, to Aurelius Atisios son of Leonides, *kephalaiotes* of Karanis, greeting. We have received from you for the twelfth indiction for the account of villagers, eight (and) a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 8 $\frac{1}{12}$ only. (M2) I, Kopres, have signed. (M3) I, Ploution, have signed. (M1) In the consulate of Septimius Acydinus the most illustrious prefect of the sacred *praetorium* and of Populonius Proculus the most illustrious, Phamenoth 25.

And on the 27th likewise the same Atisios son of Leonides, for the twelfth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, one (and) a sixth artabas of wheat, 1[$\frac{1}{6}$] art. of wheat. (M2) I, Kopres, have signed. (M3) I, Ploution, have signed.

(M4) For the *pittakion* of Panas . . .

(M1) Aurelii Kopres son of Paulos and Iulius son of Severinus and partners, receivers of grain for the city, to Aurelius Antiourios son of Abous, *kephalaiotes* of Karanis, greeting. We have received from you for the twelfth indiction for the account of villagers, five (and) two-thirds artabas of clean wheat, art. 5 $\frac{2}{3}$. And through Chaireas (?), another two, a half, a third artabas, art. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ only. (M2) I, Kopres, have signed. (M3) I, Ploution, have signed. In the consulate of Septimius Acydinus the most illustrious prefect of the sacred *praetorium* and Populonius Proculus the most illustrious, Phamenoth 25.

On the same day through Kastor son of Aritios, *kephalaiotes* of Karanis, for the twelfth indiction for the account of villagers, five artabas of clean wheat, art. 5 only. (M2) I, Kopres, have signed.

(M1) And on the 26th, through Antiourios son of Abous, *kephalaiotes* of Karanis, for the twelfth indiction for the account of villagers, one, a half, a third artabas of clean wheat, art. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ only. I, Anaios, have signed. (M3) I, Ploution, have signed.

(M5) And Pharmouthi 1 through Kastor, *kephalaiotes* of Karanis, for the twelfth indiction [for the account of villagers], a half (and) a twelfth artaba of clean [wheat], art. $\frac{1}{2}$ [$\frac{1}{12}$ only]. (M2) I, Kopres, have signed. (M3) I, Ploution, have signed.

4. Indiction 12 is 338/9, but all payments in this text are made in 340, late in indiction 13.

7–8. Consuls for 340 (also lines 22–23).

9. Phamenoth 25 = 21 March 340 (also line 24).

10. Phamenoth 27 = 23 March 340.

14. This entry is written in a large and deliberate hand, substantially below the preceding line.

20. Χαιρέου may be meant, the genitive of the known name Χαιρέας; but epsilon cannot be read instead of alpha.

28. Phamenoth 28 = 24 March 340.

32. Pharmouthi 1 = 27 March 340.

149

Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat

Inv. 181 (5) 23.7 x 22.8 cm. 340

Light brown papyrus, very well preserved. Wide margins. Back blank.

→ Αὐρήλιοι Κοπρῆς Παύλου καὶ Δωρόθεος Ἱέρακος καὶ
κοι(νωνοὶ) ἀποδέκται σίτου πόλεως
Αὐρηλίοις Πτολλᾷ καὶ Ἀτισίῳ σιτολ(όγοις) Καρανίδος διὰ Σαρα-
4 πίωνος Οὐενάφρεως *vacat* χαίρειν·
παρελάβαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης
ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ,
(ἀρτάβας) ς μόνας. (M2) Κοπρῆς σεσημεί(ωμαι).

8 (M3) Πλουτίων σεση(μείωμαι).
(M1) ὑπατείας Σεπτιμίου Ἀκινδύνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ
πραιτωρίου καὶ Ποπολωνίου Πρόκλου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Παῦ-
[νι] κα.
καὶ τῇ κβ ὁμοίως οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ Σαραπίωνος Οὐενάφρεως
12 ὑπὲρ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρα-
νίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας τρεῖς, (ἀρτάβας) γ μόνας.
(M2) Κοπρῆς σεσημεί(ωμαι). (M3) Πλουτίων σεση(μείωμαι).

(M1) καὶ Ἐπεὶφ ιγ ὁμοίως οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ Σαραπίωνος Οὐενάφρεως
16 ὑπὲρ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν
Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβης τρίτον, (ἀρτάβης) γ″
μόνον
(M2) Κοπρῆς σεσημεί(ωμαι).

7 σε *vacat* σημει pap.

Aurelii Kopres son of Paulos and Dorotheos son of Hierax and partners, receivers of grain for the city, to Aurelii Ptollas and Atisios, *sitologoi* of Karanis, through Sarapion son of Venaphris, greeting. We have received from you for the fourteenth indiction for the account of villagers six artabas of clean wheat, 6 art. only. (M2) I, Kopres, have signed. (M3) I, Ploution, have signed. (M1) In the consulate of Septimius Acydinus the most illustrious prefect of the sacred *praetorium* and Populonius Proculus the most illustrious, Pauni 21.

And on the 22nd, likewise the same men, through Sarapion son of Venaphris, for the fourteenth indiction, for the account of villagers of Karanis, three artabas of clean wheat, 3 art. only. (M2) I, Kopres, have signed. (M3) I, Ploution, have signed.

(M1) And Epeiph 13, likewise the same men, through Sarapion son of Venaphris, for the fourteenth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, one-third artaba of clean wheat, ⅓ art. only. (M2) I, Kopres, have signed.

5. Indiction 14 = 340/1.
9–10. Consuls for 340.
10. Pauni 21 = 15 June 340.
11. Pauni 22 = 16 June 340.
15. Epeiph 13 = 7 July 340.

150

Receipts for Deliveries in Kind

Inv. 308 342–347

Light, straw-colored papyrus. When purchased and inventoried, it consisted of a main piece 72.7 x 25.5 cm., to which had been attached (perhaps in modern times) two pieces, 8 x 22 cm. and 5 x 21.5 cm. The second of these was detached before mounting, the first not. The first of them, Column V, is published separately as *190*; the second, though now detached, is published after the larger piece. The remaining papyrus was divided into two pieces before mounting; these are 40.2 and 38.1 cm. wide, respectively.

The original roll contained 6 *koliemata*, with the first and last incomplete and the fourth blank. The width of these is 9, 14, 13.5, 13, 13, and 10.2 cm. respectively. There is writing across the joint in Column II.

The margin between Columns I and II is 14 cm., between II and III, 13 cm., between III and IV, 1–2 cm. In the margins between Columns I and II and II and III are holes, 10 on each side of a fold, running the height of the papyrus, at irregular intervals, where the string ran which originally tied the roll. The papyrus was folded inward at each of these folds, then again in the middle so that the holes were aligned. See the photograph.

This roll was kept by two sons of Isidoros, Sokrates and Papaeis. The collectors at the port, Kyrillos and Ouranios, favor the peculiar formula in which the receipt is addressed to the *sitologoi* or *kephalaiotai* through the actual payer; see above p. 94, for this formulaic oddity.

The text several times mentions *pittakia*. These consortia, in which a *pittakiarches* headed a group which farmed jointly a body of land on lease from the state, are well-attested in the Roman period, and much has been written on them; a selected bibliography may be found in H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II, 828. Our texts contribute nothing to the understanding of the institution, but they do show that the deliveries of Sokrates were credited to various *pittakia*.

Column I

.....
(ἀρτάβας) η ∠χ
Πέτρωνι (ἀρτάβας) η/

Column II

(M2)
4 Αὐρήλιοι Οὐράνιος [Θεο]δώρου καὶ Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπίωνος
καὶ κοιμ(ωνοὶ) ὑποδέκται σίτου πόλεως

Αὐρηλίοις .....ι καὶ Ἀπφῦ σιτολόγοις δι(ὰ) Σωκράτους χαίρειν·
παρελάβαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ ἑκκεδεκάτης ἰνδικτίωνος
8 κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δεκατέσσαρες τέταρτον, (ἀρτάβας) ιδ̄ μό(νας).
Οὐράνι[ο(ς)] σεση(μείωμαι).
ὑπατίας τῶν δ[εσπ]οτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ γ καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ β [[Μεσορὴ]] Ἀούστων
Ἐπεὶφ κς.
12 καὶ Ἐπεὶφ κθ ὁμοίως οἱ αὐτοὶ σιτολόγοι δι(ὰ) Σωκράτους ὑπὲρ ἑκκεδεκάτης ἰνδικτί(ονος)
κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δώδεκα ἡμισυ τέταρτον, (ἀρτάβας) ιβ̄ μόνας. Οὐράνιο(ς) σε(σημείωμαι).

(M3) Παῦνι κα'. παρήνεγκεν Σοκρᾶ Ἰσιδώρου ὑπὲρ κωμητῶν Καραν[ίδ]ος ὑπὲρ τρίτης ἰνδικτίονος κριθῆς
16 (ἀρτάβας) δέκα ἕκτ[ον], (ἀρτάβας) ι ς" μό(νας). Οὐράνιο(ς) σε(σημείωμαι). καὶ ὑπὲρ
κωμ[η]τῶ[ν Ἱε]ρᾶς Καρανίδος δι(ὰ) Σοκρᾶ Ἰσιδώρου
κριθῆς (ἀρτάβας) τέ[σ]σαρες, (ἀρτάβας) δ μό(νας). Οὐράνιο(ς) σε(σημείωμαι).
καὶ τῇ κη' [ὁμ]ο[ί]ως ὁ αὐτὸς κριθῆς (ἀρτάβην) μίαν
20 ἡμισυ τέταρτον, (ἀρτάβην) αβ̄ μό(νην). Οὐράνιο(ς) σε(σημείωμαι). καὶ ὑπὲρ κωμ(ητῶν)
Ἱερᾶς Καρανίδος δι(ὰ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ κριθῆς (ἀρτάβην) μίαν
δωδέκατον, (ἀρτάβην) α ιο̄. καὶ ὑπὲρ κωμ(ητῶν) Κενοῦ Καρανίδος
δι(ὰ) Σοκρᾶ κριθῆς (ἀρτάβας) δύο ἡμισυ τέταρτον, (ἀρτάβας) βγ̄ μό(νας). Οὐράνιο(ς) σε(σημείωμαι).
(M1)
24 (ἀρτάβας) ι ς"
.... (ἀρτάβην) αβ̄ (ἀρτάβας) ια γ̄ ς'
(M4) (ὧν) πιτ(τακίου) Μεν[
πιτ(τακίου) Εὐδ[α]ίμ[ονος (ἀρτάβας)] ιᾳ
28 τὸ λοιπὸν (ἀρτάβας) κᾳ

Column III

(M5) Αὐρήλιοι Οὐράνιος Θεοδώρου καὶ Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπίωνος καὶ κοι(νωνοὶ) ὑποδέκται σίτου πόλε(ως)
Αὐρηλίοις Παλήμωνι καὶ Ἀβῶκ σιτολόγοις δι(ὰ) Σωκρᾶ Ἰσιδώρου χα(ίρειν)·
32 παρελάβαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ ἑκκεδεκάτης
ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ
ἀρτάβην μίαν [τ]ρίτον, (ἀρτάβας) αγ" μόνας. Οὐράνιος σεση(μείωμαι).
ὑπατίας τῶν ἐωνίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ ϛ

36 καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ β Ἀούστων, Μεσορὴ δ.
remaining 16 cm. in column blank

Column IV

(M6) Μεσορὴ κ. παρήνεγκεν Ο[ὔ]ᾳλᾶς καὶ Α.[
κεφ(αλαιωταὶ) κώμης Καρανίδος διὰ Παπέει Ἰ[σι-]
δώρου ὑπὲρ βS′ νέας ἰνδικτίονος κωμη-
40 τῶν πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο, (ἀρτάβας) β μ[ό(νας)].
(M7) Εὐπορίων σεση(μείωμαι). (M8) Κύριλλος σεσ(ημείωμαι).
(M6) Μεσορὴ κ. παρήνεγκαν Ἥρων καὶ κοι(νωνοὶ)
σιτολ(όγοι) Ἱερᾶς Καρανίδος διὰ Παπέει
44 Ἰσιδώρου πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβης δίμοι-
ρον, (ἀρτάβης) ||| μόνας. (M7) Εὐπορίων σεση(μείωμαι).
(M8) Κύριλλος σεσ(ημείωμαι).

Column VI

(M9) Ἐπεὶφ ια/. π[αρήνεγκεν ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα —]
48 ὑπὲρ ἕκ[τ]ης ἰν[δικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρα-]
νίδος πυροῦ [καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας —]
ἑπτὰ δωδέκ[ατον, (ἀρτάβας) .ζ ||]
(M10) Πλουτάμμων [σεσ(ημείωμαι).]
(M9)
52 καὶ τῇ ιγ/ ὁμοίω[ς ὁ αὐτὸς - - - ὑπὲρ]
ἕκτης ἰνδικ[τίονος - - - - -]
πυροῦ καθαρ[οῦ ἀρτάβας ἐννέα δίμυρον],
(ἀρτάβας) θ ||| μόν[ας.]
(M11)
56 Ἀμοιρς σε(σημείωμαι).
(M9) καὶ τῇ ιη/ ὁμ[οίως ὁ αὐτὸς - - - ὑπὲρ]
ἕκτης ἰν[δικτίονος - - - - -]
πυροῦ κα[θαροῦ ἀρτάβας δεκαεπτὰ ἥμι-]
60 συ, (ἀρτάβας) ιζ ∠[μόνας. - - - σεση(μείωμαι)].
(M11) (ἀρτάβας) δεκα[επτὰ ἥμισυ.]
(M9) καὶ Μεσορὴ [
κωμ(ητῶν) Κα[ρ(ανίδος) πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας - -]
64 ἥμισυ τρ[ίτον (ἀρτάβας) - - - ∠γ. (M12) - - - σεση(μείω-
μαι) (ἀρτάβας) - - -]
ἥμισυ τρ[ίτον].

6 σ of σιτολόγοι corr. fr. ι 7, 12 ἑκκαιδεκάτης 8 δεκατέσσαρας, δ corr. fr. π
10 Λύγοίστων 13 κωμητῶν, ἥμισυ 14 Σωκράς; Ἰσιδώρου pap. 17, 23 Σωκρᾶ
18 τέσσαρας 22 Καινοῦ 32 ἑκκαιδεκάτης 35 αἰωνίων 36 Λύγοίστων
37 παρήνεγκαν

Column II

(M2) Aurelii Ouranios son of Theodoros and Ammonios son of Apion and partners, receivers of grain for the city, to Aurelii—and Apphys, *sitologoi*, through Sokrates, greeting. We have received from you for the sixteenth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, fourteen (and) a fourth artabas of clean wheat, art. 14¼ only. I, Ouranios, have signed. In the consulate of our masters Constantius for the 3rd time and Constans for the 2nd, Augusti, Epeiph 26.

And Epeiph 29 likewise the same *sitologoi* through Sokrates for the sixteenth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, twelve, a half, a fourth artabas of clean wheat, art. 12¾ only. I, Ouranios, have signed.

(M3) Pauni 21. Sokras son of Isidoros delivered for the account of villagers of Karanis for the third indiction, ten (and) a sixth art. of barley, art. 10⅙ only. I, Ouranios, have signed. And for the account of villagers from Hiera, of Karanis, through Sokras son of Isidoros, four art. of barley, art. 4 only. I, Ouranios, have signed.

And the 28th likewise the same, one, a half, a fourth artabas of barley, art. 1¾ only. I, Ouranios, have signed. And for the account of villagers of Hiera, of Karanis, through the same man, one (and) a twelfth art. of barley, art. 1 1/12. And for the account of villagers of Kainos, of Karanis, through Sokras, two, a half, a fourth art. of barley, art. 2¾ only. I, Ouranios, have signed.

Column III

(M5) Aurelii Ouranios son of Theodoros and Ammonios son of Apion and partners, receivers of grain for the city, to Aurelii Palemon and Abok, *sitologoi*, through Sokras son of Isidoros, greeting. We have received from you for the sixteenth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, one (and) a third artabas of clean wheat, art. 1⅓ only. I, Ouranios, have signed. In the consulate of our eternal ones Constantius for the 3rd time and Constans for the 2nd, Augusti, Mesore 4.

Column IV

(M6) Mesore 20. Valas and A . . . , *kephalaiotai* of the village of Karanis, delivered through Papeeis son of Isidoros for the 2nd new indiction for the account of villagers, two artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 only. (M7) I, Euporion, have signed. (M8) I, Kyrillos, have signed.

(M6) Mesore 20. Heron and partners, *sitologoi* of Hiera, of Karanis, delivered through Papeeis son of Isidoros, two-thirds artaba of clean wheat, art. ⅔ only. (M7) I, Euporion, have signed. (M8) I, Kyrillos, have signed.

Column VI

(M9) Epeiph 11. — son of — delivered for the sixth indiction [for the account of villagers of] Karanis, — seven (and) a twelfth [artabas of clean] wheat, [art. -7 1/12]. (M10) I, Ploutammon, [have signed].

6. The name may end in -ωρι.
7. Indiction 16 (i.e. 1) = 342/3.
9–11. Consuls for 342; Epeiph 26 = 20 June 342.
12. Epeiph 29 = 23 June 342.
14. Pauni 21 = 15 June 344. 14ff. Σοκρᾶς is, of course, the hypocoristic of Sokrates (line 6), so the taxpayer is the same.

17. Hiera (Nesos) of Karanis appears also in *P.NYU* 7.13. The village, which was in the *horiodiktia* of Karanis, in the Herakleides Division, is well-attested, cf. *P.Teb.* II, pp. 380–81.
19. Pauni 28 = 22 June 344.
22. Kainos, also part of the *horiodiktia* of Karanis, appears, for example, in *P.NYU* 10.7.
35–36. Consuls for 342; Mesore 4 = 28 July 342.
37. Mesore 20 = 13 August 343.
47. Epeiph 11, indiction 6 = 5 July 347.
52. Epeiph 13 = 7 July 347.
57. Epeiph 18 = 12 July 347.

151

Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat

Inv. 181 (22) 19.6 x 25.5 cm. 342–343

Light brown papyrus, one *kollema* (about 17 cm. wide) with part of another at its left edge. Writing parallel to fibers. Complete on all sides, no sign of cutting, practically undamaged. Margins at left, 5.5 cm., at right none, at top 2 cm., at bottom, 3 cm. Verso blank.

→ Θὼθ ι'. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀμμωνᾶς Ἀτεισίου ὑπὲρ ἑκκαιδεκάτης
ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ
ἀρτάβας ἑξήκοντα ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ξς μόν(ας). Μακάριος καὶ
4 Οὐράνιος δι' ἐμοῦ Κυρίλλου σεσημίωμε (ἀρτάβας) ἑξήκοντα
ἕξ μόνας.

Θὼθ ι'. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Πτολεμαῖος Ἀιώνεως ὑπὲρ ἑκκαιδεκάτης
ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ
8 ἀρτάβας ἐννῆα, (ἀρτάβας) θ μόν(ας). Μακάριος καὶ Οὐράνιος
δι' ἐμοῦ Κυρίλλου σεσημίωμε (ἀρτάβας) ἐννῆα μόνας.

Παῦνι κβ'. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀμμωνᾶς Ἀτισίου ἐν ὅρμῳ πόλεως
ὑπὲρ δευτέρας ἰνδικτίωνος κωμητῶν
12 Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἑξήκοντα,
σίτου (ἀρτάβας) ξ μόνας. (M2) Σαραπίων σεση(μείωμαι)
σίτου
ἀρτάβας ἑξήκοντα//.
(M3) Ἄμμων σιτομ(έτρης) ἐμέτρησα.

3 ἑξήκοντα 4, 9 σισημείωμαι (σισημειώμεθα is meant) 8, 9 ἐννέα 10 κβ' corr. fr. κα 14 ταβας written twice, first faintly, then in darker ink over the faint letters

Thoth 10. Ammonas son of Atisios delivered for the sixteenth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, sixty-six artabas of clean wheat, art. 66 only. Makarios and Ouranios, through me, Kyrillos, signed for sixty-six art. only.

Thoth 10. Ptolemaios son of Aion delivered for the sixteenth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, nine artabas of clean wheat, art. 9 only. Makarios and Ouranios, through me, Kyrillos, signed for nine art. only.

Pauni 22. Ammonas son of Atisios delivered in the city harbor for the second indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, sixty artabas of clean wheat, 60 art. of grain only. (M2) I, Sarapion, have signed for sixty artabas of wheat. (M3) I, Ammon, *sitometres*, have measured them.

1. Thoth 10 = 7 September 342.
6. Date same as line 1.
7. Pauni 22 = 16 June 343.

152

Receipts for Deliveries in Kind

Inv. 181 (32) 47.4 x 27.5 cm. 343–345

Light brown papyrus. Upper edge broken off; original height *ca* 28 cm. Left and right edges show that both beginning and end are lost; this piece was part of large roll. Two *kollemata* and part of a third, on which first two columns are written. Verso blank.

→ Column I

].μιλοσ.
κωμητῶν Κα]ρανι-
[ίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ (?)]υμων
4 Ο]ὐαλέριος
[Ἀντιουρίου].νῳ
Ends of 7 more lines

Column II

(M2)
13 Ἐπὶφ κγ". παρ(ήνεγκεν) Οὐενάφριος
Πτολλᾶ ἐν ὅρμῳ πόλεως
ὑπὲρ δευτέρας ἰνδικτίονος
16 κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας
δέκα δύο, σίτου (ἀρτάβας) ιβ μόνας.

(M3) Σαραπίων σεση(μείωμαι) σίτου ἀρτάβας
20 δώδεκα. (M4) Ἄμμων σιτο(μέτρης) ἐμέτρησα.
(remainder of Column II lost)

Column III

(M5) Ἐπεὶφ κα. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Οὐαλέριος Ἀντιουρίου ἐν ὅρμῳ πόλεως
ὑπὲρ δευτέρας ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
[[Σα]] πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτὰ δίμυρον,
σίτου (ἀρτάβας) οζ ||| μό(νας) //.
(M3)
24 Σαραπίων σεση(μείωμαι) σίτου ἀρτάβας εὐδωμήκοντα ἑπτὰ
δίμυρον//
(M4) Ἄμμων σιτομ(έτρης) ἐμέτρησα.

(M5) Ἐπὶφ κδ//. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Οὐαλέριος Ἀντιουρίου ἐν ὅρμῳ πό-
λεως
28 ὑπὲρ δευτέρας ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ, σίτου (ἀρτάβας) ς. (M3) Σαρα-
π[ίω]ν σεσ[η(μείωμαι)]
σίτου ἀρτάβας [ἕξ]. (M4) Ἄμμων σιτομ(έτρης) ἐμέτρησα.

(M6) Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος Καναοῦτ καὶ οἱ κοινωνοὶ ἀποδέκται
32 Καρανίδος Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀειῶν Σεραπίωνος χέρ(ειν)· ἔσχ[ομεν?]
παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ δευτέρας ἰντικτίονος πυροῦ καθαρ[οῦ]
ἀρτάβας τρῖς, (ἀρτάβας) γ μόνος. Παλήμω(ν) ἔγραψα.
(M7) Θὼθ κς. παρ(ήνεγκε) Νῖλος Ἀτρῆ ἐν ὅρμου Λευκογίου ὑπὲρ
τετάρτης
36 ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Καρανίδος εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Θεωνᾶ Πατερ-
μουθίου
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο δίμυρων, (ἀρτάβας) β ||| μόνας.
Σουχιδᾶς σιτομ(έτρης) σεση(μείωμαι).

Column IV

(M8) Ἐπεὶφ ιε. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Οὐαλέριος [Ἀντι]ο[υρ]ί[ου ἐ]ν ὅρμου
πόλεως
40 ὑπὲρ τρείτης νέας ἰνδικ[τ]ί[ον]ος κωμητῶν Καρα-
νίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας [ὀγδο]ήκοντα ἕξ ϛ ιω
[δωδέκατον], (ἀρτάβας) πς γ ιω μ(όνας) ..[..]. (M9) Ἡλίας
σεσημ(είωμαι)
σίτου ἀρτάβας ὀγδωήκοντα ἕξ τρίτων δωδέκατον μό(νας).
(M8)
44 Μεσορὴ ἐπαγομένων ϛ. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Οὐαλέριος Ἀντιου-
ρίου
ἐν ὅρμου πόλεως ὑπὲρ τετάρτης ἰνδικτίονος
κωμητῶν Καρο[ν]ί[δος σ]ί[του] ἀρτάβας ἑβδομήκοντα
μίαν ἥμισυ τρίτον [δωδέκατον], (ἀρτάβας) οα ∠ γ ιο μόνας.

48 καὶ Θὼθ' κα ὁ αὐτὸς σίτου ἀρτάβας τέσσαρες δίμυρων.
Ἡλίας ϛεϛη(μείωμαι) [....] μόνας.
(M7) Θὼθ κς. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Οὐαλέρις Ἀντιουρίου ἐν ὅρμου
Λευκογίου ὑπὲρ τετάρτης ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Καρανίδος
52 εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Θεωνᾶ Πατερμουθίου δευτέρου γόμου
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας πέντε ἥμισοι τρίτον,
(ἀρτάβας) ε ∠ γ μόνας.
Σουχιδᾶς σιτομ(έτρης) σεσημ(είωμαι).

23, 25 δίμοιρον 24 Σαραπίων, ἑβδομήκοντα 32 χαίρ(ειν) 33 ἰνδικτίονος, κ ex χ 34 τρεῖς, μόνας 35 ὅρμῳ 37 δύο δίμοιρον 39 ὅρμῳ 40 τρίτης 43 ὀγδοήκοντα, τρίτον 45 ὅρμῳ 48 δίμοιρον 50 ὅρμῳ 53 πέντε ἥμισυ

Column II

(M2) Epeiph 23. Venaphrios son of Ptollas delivered in the city harbor for the second indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, twelve artabas of clean wheat, 12 art. of wheat only. (M3) I, Sarapion, have signed for twelve artabas of wheat. (M4) I, Ammon, *sitometres,* measured them.

Column III

(M5) Epeiph 21. Valerius son of Antiourios delivered in the city harbor for the second indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, seventy-seven (and) two-thirds artabas of clean wheat, 77⅔ art. of wheat only. (M3) I, Sarapion, have signed for seventy-seven (and) two-thirds artabas of wheat. (M4) I, Ammon, *sitometres,* measured them.

(M5) Epeiph 24. Valerius son of Antiourios delivered in the city harbor for the second indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, six artabas of clean wheat, [6 art.] of wheat. (M3) I, Sarapion, have signed for [six] artabas of wheat. (M4) I, Ammon, *sitometres,* measured them.

(M6) Aurelius Isidoros son of Kanaout and partners, receivers of Karanis, to Aurelius Aion son of Sarapion, greeting. We have received from you for the second indiction three artabas of clean wheat, art. 3 only. I, Palemon, wrote.

(M7) Thoth 26. Nilos son of Hatres delivered in the harbor of Leukogion for the fourth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis to the boat of Theonas son of Patermouthios, two (and) two-thirds artabas of clean wheat, art. 2⅔ only. I, Souchidas, *sitometres,* have signed.

Column IV

(M8) Epeiph 15. Valerius [son of Antiourios] delivered in the harbor of the city for the third new indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis eighty-six ⅓ 1/12 artabas of clean wheat, art. 86 ⅓ 1/12 only. (M9) I, Elias, have signed for eighty six, a third, a twelfth artabas of wheat only.

(M8) Mesore epagomenal day 6. Valerius son of Antiourios delivered in the harbor of the city for the fourth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis seventy-one, a half, a third, [a twelfth] artabas of [wheat], art. 71 ½ ⅓ 1/12 only.

And Thoth 21, the same man, four (and) two-thirds artabas of wheat. I, Elias, have signed for ... only.

(M7) Thoth 26. Valerius son of Antiourios delivered in the harbor of Leukogion for the fourth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis to the boat of Theonas son of Paternouthios, as a second load, five, a half, a third artabas of clean wheat, art. 5 ½ ⅓ only. I, Souchidas, *sitometres*, have signed.

13. Epeiph 23 = 17 July 343.
21. Epeiph 21 = 15 July 343.
23. Sarapion began to sign before the receipt was finished.
27. Epeiph 24 = 18 July 343.
35. Thoth 26 = 23 September 345.
39. Epeiph 15 = 9 July 344.
44. Mesore epagomenai 6 = 28? August 345. The year 345, however, had only 5 epagomenai. The reading is certain. Perhaps we should take this as coming from 347, the next leap year, but that seems unlikely given the context, and a scribal error seems to me more likely. Neither 315 nor 375 (when leap year and indiction 4 coincide) seems possible at all.
48. Thoth 21 = 18 September 345.
50. Thoth 26 = 23 September 345. The "second load" is perhaps a reference to the receipt of lines 35–38 by Souchidas to Nilos son of Hatres on the same day.

153

Receipts for Deliveries in Kind

Inv. 181 (20) 48.8 x 24.7 cm. 344–345

Light brown papyrus, in extremely bad condition: worm-eaten and very fragmentary. Formed of two *kollemata*, the one to right 24 cm. wide and the left more than 19.5 cm. Complete at both sides with wide margins. Verso blank.

→ Column I

[[Μεσορὴ ϛ̄ (?)· κατέβαλε κωμητῶν Καρανίδος]]
[[δι' Ἀειώνε[ως] Σαραπίωνος [ὑπὲρ δευτέρας?]]]
[[νέας ἰνδι[κ(τίονος)] ἀχύρου [λί]τρ[α]ς δια-]]
4 [[κοσίας εἴκοσι (?), λί(τρας) σκ μόνας.]]
(M2) [[Διό[τιμος σεσημείωμαι (?)]]]
[[λί(τρας) .. δι' ἐμοῦ Φιλ[ίππο]υ υἱοῦ.]]
(M1) Μεσορὴ γ· κατέβαλε κωμητ(ῶν) Καραν[ίδ]ος
8 δι' Ἀειώνεως Σαραπίωνος ὑ[πὲρ δ]ευ-
τέρα νέας ἰνδικ(τίονος) ἀχ[ύρ]ου λίτρας διακο-
σίας τεσσαράκον[τα], λί(τρας) σ[μ μ]όνας.

(M2) Διότιμ[ος] σ[εσημείω-]
12 μαι [λί(τρας) σμ μό(νας) δι' ἐ]μ[οῦ] Φιλ[ίππου].
(M1) καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ [κατέ]βαλε κω[μητ(ῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) δι' Ἀ]ειώ-
νεως [Σαραπίωνο]ς ὑπὲρ τῆς [αὐτῆς ἰνδι(κτίονος) ἀχ]ύρου
λίτρας δι[ακοσίας εἴ]κο[σι], λί(τρας) σ[κ. (M2) Διότιμος σεσ(ημεί-
ωμαι) λί(τρας) σκ (?)]
16 δι' ἐμοῦ [Φιλίππου υἱοῦ (?)].

Column II

(M1) Μ[εσο]ρὴ δ· κατέβαλε κωμητῶν
Κ[α]ρ[α]νίδος δι' Ἀειώνεω[ς] Σαραπίωνος
[..].[..]..... νέ[ας] δ[ινδ]ικ(τίονος) ἀχύρου
20 [λίτρας δια]κ[οσ]ίας π[ε]σσαρά-
κο[ν]τα, λί(τρας) σμ μόνας. (M2) Διότιμως
σ[εσημεί]ομαι λί(τρας) δι' ἐμ[οῦ]
(M3) Φιλίππου υἱοῦ.

(M1)
24 Μεσ[ο]ρὴ θ· κατ[έβαλε κωμητῶν Καρανίδος]
(next 7 lines lost; a few scattered traces)

(M4)
32 Χ[ο]ίακ κ.· παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀειῶ[ν Σα]ραπίωνος [κωμ(ητῶν) (?)]
Καρανίδος γS ἀχύρο(υ) λί(τρας) [ἑ]κατὸν εἴ-
κοσι, λί(τρας) ρκ μό(νας). Οὐράνι(ος) σεσ(ημείωμαι). καὶ τῇ κθ
[ὁ] αὐτὸς Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων[ο]ς ἀχύρο(υ) λί(τρας) ἑκατὸν
36 εἴκοσι, λί(τρας) ρκ μ(όνας). Οὐράνιο(ς) σεση(μείωμαι).

Column III

(M5) [Ἀ]θὺρ ιγ· παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀι[ῶν] .[
Σαραπίωνος ὑπὲρ τρίτ[ης] ἰνδικ(τίονος)
κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) κριθῆς ἀρτάβας δύο τρίτον
40 δω[δέ]κατον, (ἀρτάβας) β γ ιω μόνας. Κοπρῆς σεση(μείωμαι).

Μεχεὶρ ζ· παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιῶν [Σ]αραπίωνος
ὑ[π]ὲρ τρίτης ἰνδικτίωνος κωμ(ητῶν)
Καρανίδος κριθῆς ἀρτά-
44 βας μίαν ἥμισυ δωδέ-
[κ]ατον, (ἀρτάβας) α [.] ιω μόνας. Κοπρῆς
[σ]εσημεί(ωμαι).

(M6) Αὐρήλιος Ἰαχνοῦτις Πιῶν(ος)
48 ονοποτ..ρ.. [ἀπὸ] κώμ(ης)
Σύρω(ν) τοῦ Ἀρσενο[ί]τ[ο]υ νομοῦ
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀιῶν Σαραπίω(νος)
ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ δ/ ἰν-
52 δικτίωνος δημοσίων χο-
μάτων διώρυχος Ἑρμύ-

θου να[ύ]βια δύο, να(ύβια) β.
Μέλας Σώτου ἔγραψα.

9 δευτέρας 21 Διότιμος 22 σεσημείωμαι 49 Ἀρσινοίτου 52 χωμάτων

(Starting with line 7)

Mesore 3. Paid for the account of villagers of Karanis through Aion son of Sarapion for the second new indiction, two hundred forty pounds of chaff, 2[40] lbs. only. (M2) I, Diotimos, have signed [240 lbs. only through] me, Philippos.

(M1) And on the same day, paid for the account of villagers [of Karanis through] Aion [son of Sarapion] for the [same indiction], two hundred twenty pounds of chaff, 2[20] lbs. (M2) [I, Diotimos, have signed for 220 lbs.] through me, [Philippos his son(?)].

(M1) Mesore 4. Paid for the account of villagers of Karanis through Aion son of Sarapion [for the second?] new indiction, two hundred forty pounds of chaff, 240 lbs. only. (M2) I, Diotimos, have signed for the pounds through me, (M3) Philippos his son.

(Lines 32ff. [M4]) Choiak 2.. Aion son of Sarapion delivered [for the account of villagers] of Karanis for the 3rd (indiction) one hundred twenty pounds of chaff, 120 lbs. only. I, Ouranios, have signed.

And on the 29th the same Aion son of Sarapion, one hundred twenty pounds of chaff, 120 lbs. only. I, Ouranios, have signed.

(M5) Hathyr 13. Aion . . . son of Sarapion delivered for the third indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis two, a third, a twelfth artabas of barley, art. 2 ⅓ $^{1}/_{12}$ only. I, Kopres, have signed.

Mecheir 7. Aion son of Sarapion delivered for the third indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis one, a half, a twelfth artabas of barley, art. 1 [½] $^{1}/_{12}$ only. I, Kopres, have signed.

(M6) Aurelius Pachnoutis son of Pion . . . [from] Syron Kome of the Arsinoite Nome to Aurelius Aion son of Sarapion, I have received from you for the 4th indiction for the public dikes, on the canal of Hermythes, two naubia, na. 2. I, Melas son of Sotas, wrote.

1–6. This receipt is washed out; it appears to have been essentially the same as that of lines 7–12, except in amount. Perhaps it was subsumed in the receipt of lines 7–12. For *κατέβαλε* in 1, see p. 94.

7. Mesore 3 = 27 July 343.

15. The reading, especially of the sum in numbers, is very doubtful.

17. Mesore 4 = 28 July (343?).

19. Probably *ὑπὲρ δευτέρας* was written, but the traces are too exiguous to allow verification of the reading.

24. Mesore 9 = 2 August (343?).

32. Certainly *παρήνεγκεν* stood here; but there is apparently not room for it to have been written in full, and the damage prevents us from knowing where the abbreviation took place. Choiak 2[.] = 17–26 December 344.

33–34. Choiak 29 = 26 December 344.

37. There seems to be a trace at the end of the line; what this can be is uncertain. Perhaps a genitive of Aion was written. Hathyr 13 = 9 November 344.

41. Mecheir 7 = 1 February 345.

48. I cannot suggest what the unread portion contained.

49. The scribe probably wrote Συρου first, then changed the last two letters into an omega.
51. Indiction 4 = 345/6.

154

Account and Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat

Inv. 309 31 x 24.5 cm. 343

Light grayish-yellow papyrus, with two columns complete. Extensive damage at bottom. Both columns cross joints.

This papyrus differs from the bulk of this part of the archive in that it is composed only in part of receipts. Its main part, in fact, consists of an account of deliveries of wheat in the second indiction (343/4), kept by the operators of several *pittakia* (cf. above, p. 117), those headed by Apinos, Ptollas, Sarapammon, and Venaphris. The account is kept by both sacks and artabas, the sack being habitually 3 artabas or a fraction under, a common size for a sack and equivalent to a donkey-load; cf. *O.Oslo*, p. 50; *P.NYU* 17.13n.

→ Column I

ἐμβολὴ σίτου β [ἰ]νδικτίο[νο]ς ..[.....] ἀποδέκτ(αι)
α// Παῦνι κβ πιτακ(ίου) Ἀπίνου σιτολ(όγου) διὰ
Ἀειῶν Κωπρῆ σάκ(κους) β (ἀρτάβας) ε ∟' γ" ῖ̄ο̄
4 β καὶ τῇ κ̄γ̄ Ἀειῶν Κωπρῆ σάκ(κους) β (ἀρτάβας) ε ∟' Ι''' ῖ̄ο̄
τῇ αὐτῇ κ̄γ̄ Κωπρῆς Πανοῦ σάκ(κους) δ (ἀρτάβας) ια ∟'γ"
γ τῇ κς δι(ὰ) Κωπρῆς Πανοῦ σάκ(κους) η̄ (ἀρτάβας) κγ ς
δ τῇ κζ πιτακίου Πτολλᾶ (καὶ) Πανοῦ διὰ
8 Ἀειῶν Κωρπῆ σάκ(κους) ς̄ (ἀρτάβας) ιη
ε τῇ κ̄η̄ πιτακίου Ἀπίνου Κωπρῆς Πανοῦ
σάκ(κους) η̄ (ἀρτάβας) κγ ∟ 'γ"
τῇ αὐτῇ κ̄η̄ διὰ Σαραπάμων σάκ(κον) α (ἀρτάβας) β ∟ 'γ" ῖ̄ο̄
12 τῇ κ̄θ̄ δι' Ἀειῶν Κωπρῆ σάκ(κους) γ̄ (ἀρτάβας) θ
[[ς]] Ἐπεὶφ ᾱ διὰ Σαραπάμμων σάκ(κους) ζ̄ (ἀρτάβας) κα
(M2) Μεσορὴ θ παρήνεγκαν Παιᾶνος καὶ κοι(νωνοὶ) σιτολ(όγοι)
Κερκεσούχων
Καρανίδος διὰ Ἀμμω[ν]ίου Ἀ[τ]ισῖ[ο]υ ὑπὲρ δευτέρας νε[ας
ἰν]δικ(τίονος)

16 κωμητῶν πυροῦ καθαρ[οῦ] ἀρτ[ά]βας πέντε τρίτον,
(ἀρτάβας) ε[γ]" μό(νας).
Κύριλλος σ[εσ(ημείωμαι).]
. . [
Μεσορὴ ε΄ π[α]ρήνεγκο[ν Παιᾶνος καὶ κοι(νωνοὶ) σιτο]λ(όγοι)
Κερκεσούχων Καρανίδος
20 διὰ Ἀμμ[ω]νίου Ἀτισ[ο]υ [ὑπὲρ δευτέρας νέας ἰν]δικ(τίονος)
[κωμ]η[τῶ]ν π[υροῦ] καθαροῦ
- -

Column II

(M1) Ἐπεὶφ κ̄ πιτακί[ο]υ Σαραπάμων καὶ . . σιτολόγος
διὰ Ἀειῶν Κωπρῆ σάκ(κους) δ̄ (ἀρτάβας) ια ∠΄γ"
τῇ αὐτῇ κ̄ πιτακίου Οὐενάφρις καὶ Πτολλᾶ διὰ
24 Ἀειῶν Κωπρῆ σάκ(κον) ᾱ (ἀρτάβας) γ παρὰ μ(οδίους) ι.
τῇ αὐτῇ κ̄ πιτακίου Σαραπάμμων διὰ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ Σαραπάμμων σάκ(κους) δ̄ (ἀρτάβας) ια ∠΄γ"
σάκ(κους) δ̄ (ἀρτάβας) ια ∠΄ῑο
28 τῇ κ̄ᾱ Πτολεμαίδος Καρανίδος διὰ Κοπρῆς (ἀρτάβας) ϛd
Κερκεσούχων Καρανίδος διὰ Κοπρῆ (ἀρτάβας) ε γ" ῑο
τῇ αὐτῇ κ̄ᾱ Πτολεμαίδος Καρανί(δος) διὰ
Ἀειῶν Κωπρῆ σάκ(κους) δ (ἀρτάβας) ια ∠΄ῑο
32 τῇ αὐτῇ κ̄ᾱ πιτα(κίου) Οὐενάφρι(ος) (καὶ) Πτολλᾶ διὰ
Ἀειῶν Κωπρῆ σάκ(κον) ᾱ (ἀρτάβας) β ∠΄γ΄ῑο
τῇ κβ Κερκεσούχων Καρανίδος διὰ
Ἀειῶν Κωπρῆ σάκ(ους) δ̄ (ἀρτάβας) ια γ"
36 τῇ [α]ὐτῇ κ̄β̄ πιτα(κίου) Οὐενάφρι καὶ Πτολλᾶ διὰ
Ἀειῶν Κωπρῆ [[α]] σάκ(κον) ᾱ (ἀρτάβας) γ παρὰ μ(οδίους) ι.
(M3?) τῇ [α]ὐτῇ κ̄β̄ Σαραπάμμων σιτολόγος διὰ [..].....[.....]...
The remainder of the column is blank

2, 7, 9, 21, 23, 25, 32, 36 πιττακίου 3 etc. Κοπρῆς, Κοπρῆ 8 Κωπρῆ: η ex corr. 14 Παϊανος pap. 24, 37 παραμὶ pap. 28 Πτολεμαίδος: π corr. from σ?

Shipment of grain for the second indiction . . . receivers.

1. Pauni 22 for the *pittakion* of Apinos, *sitologos*, through Aion son of Kopres, 2 sacks, art. 5 ½ ⅓ $\frac{1}{12}$.

2. And on the 23rd, Aion son of Kopres, 2 sacks, art. 5 ½ ⅓ $\frac{1}{12}$. On the same 23rd, Kopres son of Pannous, 4 sacks, art. 11 ½ ⅓.

3. On the 26th, through Kopres son of Pannous, 8 sacks, art. 23⅙.

4. On the 27th, for the *pittakion* of Ptollas and Panous, through Aion son of Kopres, 6 sacks, art. 18.

5. On the 28th, for the *pittakion* of Apinos, Kopres son of Panous, 8 sacks, art. 23 ½ ⅓. On the same 28th, through Sarapamon, 1 sack, art. 2 ½ ⅓ $\frac{1}{12}$. On the 29th, through Aion son of Kopres, 3 sacks, 9 art. Epeiph 1, through Sarapammon, 7 sacks, art. 21.

(M2) Mesore 9. Paianos and partners, *sitologoi* of Kerkesoucha, of Karanis, delivered

through Ammonios son of Atisios [for the second new] indiction, for the account of villagers, [x artabas] of clean wheat . . .

(M1) Epeiph 20, for the *pittakion* of Sarapamon and . . . , *sitologos*, through Aion son of Kopres, 4 sacks, art. 11 ½ ⅓. On the same 20th, for the *pittakion* of Venaphris and Ptollas through Aion son of Kopres, 1 sack, art. 3, divided into 10 modii. On the same 20th for the *pittakion* of Sarapammon, through the same Sarapammon, 4 sacks, art. 11 ½ ⅓.

4 sacks, art. 11 ½ 1/12. (=Total of what follows)

On the 21st for Ptolemais, of Karanis, through Kopres, art. 6 ¼. For Kerkesoucha, of Karanis, through Kopres, art. 5 ⅓ 1/12. On the same 21st for Ptolemais, of Karanis, through Aion son of Kopres, 4 sacks, art. 11 ½ 1/12. On the same 21st for the *pittakion* of Venaphris and Ptollas through Aion son of Kopres, 1 sack, art. 2 ½ ⅓ 1/12.

On the 22nd for Kerkesoucha, of Karanis, through Aion son of Kopres, 4 sacks, art. 11½. On the same 22nd, for the *pittakion* of Venaphris and Ptollas through Aion son of Kopres, 1 sack, art. 3, divided into 10 modii. On the same 22nd, Sarapammon the *sitologos* through . . .

1. ἐμβολή means "lading" and is used to refer to various parts of the process whereby grain was loaded in the harbor, and earlier to the movement from granary to harbor. See *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.1n. and *P.NYU* 17.11n. for examples and explanation. H. Cadell, *Akten des XIII Intern. Papyrologenkongresses* (München 1974) 65 remarks that the term comes even to mean the tax on grain itself.

2. α// = α φορά, first convoy, cf. *P.NYU* 17.13n. and *ZPE* 21 (1976) 29–30. Pauni 22 = 16 June 343. For Ἀπῖνος see *ZPE* 18 (1975) 85. An Ἀππῖνος in *P.NYU* 5.7 was "corrected" to Ἀππι‹α›νός by D. Hagedorn, *Gnomon* 41 (1969) 745, but the name should be left as written.

4. Pauni 23 = 17 June 343.

5. A Kopres son of Pannous is attested earlier in the century and may be the same; see *BASP* 13 (1976) 81.

6. Pauni 26 = 20 June 343.

7. Pauni 27 = 21 June 343.

9. Pauni 28 = 22 June 343. The scribe may have omitted διά after Ἀπίνου here.

12. Date same as line 9.

13. Epeiph 1 = 25 June 343.

14. Kerkesoucha is shown to be part of the *horiodiktia* of Karanis by *P.Cair.Isid.* 98.7; cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 99.6n. on the locality. Mesore 9 = 2 August 343.

19. Mesore 5 = 29 July 343.

21. Epeiph 20 = 14 July 343.

24, 37. For παρά plus a number of modii following a number of artabas (at the rate of 3 artabas = 10 modii) see *WB* II, 233 s.v. παρά (g). The modius used is the modius *xystos* of 11.63 liters; cf. R. Duncan-Jones, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 43–52.

28. Ptolemais was also located in the *horiodiktia* of Karanis; cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 22, introd. and *P.NYU* 16, introd. Epeiph 21 = 15 July 343.

34. Epeiph 22 = 16 July 343.

155

Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat

P.Oslo Inv. 511 14.9 x 24.5 cm. 343
Published: I. Forselv, *Symb. Osl.* 52 (1976) 113–16

Complete papyrus with minor damage. Back blank.

This text is almost certainly a summary one written on Mesore 12 of indiction 2 (i.e., 6 August 343) and given to Papeeis son of Isidoros (cf. *150*, introd.) by the collectors Souchidas and Kyrillos for payments of wheat on the 10th and 12th which were credited to the *sitologoi* of three localities, Hiera, Ptolemais, and Kainos (see above, *150*.17n., *154*.28n., and *150*.22n. for these localities).

→ Μ[ε]σ[ο]ρὴ ι/. παρήνεγκαν Ἥρων καὶ κοι(νωνοὶ) σιτολ(όγοι) Ἱερᾶς
Καρανίδος διὰ Παπέει Ἰσιδώρου ὑπὲρ δευτέρας νέας
ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο
4 ἥμισυ τρίτον δωδέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) β ∟ $\overline{\text{γιο}}$ μόνας. (M2) Σουχιδᾶς
σεση(μείωμαι).
(M3) Κύριλλο(ς) σεση(μείωμαι).
(M1) καὶ τῇ ιβ ὁμοίως οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ Παπέει Ἰσιδώρου ὑπὲρ δευτέρας
νέας ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Ἱερᾶς Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ
8 ἀρτάβης τρίτον, (ἀρτάβης) γ″ μόνας. (M2) Σουχιδᾶς
σεση(μείωμαι). (M3) Κύριλ(λος) σεση(μείωμαι).
(M1) Μεσορὴ ι/. Παννοῦς καὶ κοι(νωνοὶ) σιτολ(όγοι) Πτολεμαίδος
Καρανίδος
διὰ Παπέει Ἰσιδώρου ὑπὲρ δευτέρας νέας ἰνδικτίονος
κωμητῶν πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο, (ἀρτάβας) β μόνας.
(M2)
12 Σουχιδᾶς σεση(μείωμαι). (M3) Κύριλλο(ς) σεση(μείωμαι).
(M1) καὶ τῇ ιβ ὁμοίως οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ Π‹απ›έει Ἰσιδώρου ὑπὲρ δευτέρας
νέας ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Πτολεμαίδος Καρανίδος
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο, (ἀρτάβας) β μόνας. (M2) Σουχιδᾶς
σεση(μείωμαι). (M3) Κύριλλος σεση(μείωμαι).
16(M1) Μεσορὴ ι/. Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ κοι(νωνοὶ) σιτολ(όγοι) Καινοῦ
Καρανίδος διὰ
Παπέει Ἰσιδώρου πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἥμισυ τρίτον
δωδέκατον, (ἀρτάβης) ∟ $\overline{\text{γιο}}$ μόνας. (M2) Σουχιδᾶς
σεση(μείωμαι). (M3) Κύριλλος σεση(μείωμαι).
Κύριλλος σεση(μείωμαι).
20(M2) καὶ [τῇ] ιβ ὁμοίω[ς] οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ Παπέει Ἰσιδώρου ὑπὲρ
δευτέρας νέας
[ἰ]νδικτί[ονος] κ[ωμη]τῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτά-

βας τρίτο[ν δωδέκ]ατον, (ἀρτάβης) $\overline{\text{γιο}}$ μόνας. (M2) Σουχιδᾶς σεσημ(είωμαι).

(M3) Κύριλλος σεσημ(είωμαι).

8, 18, 22 μόνον 17, 21-22 ἀρτάβης

Mesore 10. Heron and partners, *sitologoi* of Hiera, of Karanis, delivered through Papeeis son of Isidoros for the second new indiction for the account of villagers, two, a half, a third, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 ½ ⅓ $^1/_{12}$ only. (M2) I, Souchidas, have signed. (M3) I, Kyrillos, have signed.

(M1) And on the 12th likewise the same men through Papeeis son of Isidoros for the second new indiction for the account of villagers of Hiera, of Karanis, a third artaba of clean wheat, art. ⅓ only. (M2) I, Souchidas, have signed. (M3) I, Kyrillos, have signed.

(M1) Mesore 10. Pannous and partners, *sitologoi* of Ptolemais, of Karanis, through Papeeis son of Isidoros, for the second new indiction for the account of villagers, two artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 only. (M2) I, Souchidas, have signed. (M3) I, Kyrillos, have signed.

(M1) And on the 12th likewise the same men through Papeeis son of Isidoros for the second new indiction for the account of villagers of Ptolemais, of Karanis, two artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 only. (M2) I, Souchidas, have signed. (M3) I, Kyrillos, have signed.

(M1) Mesore 10. Apollonios and partners, *sitologoi* of Kainos, of Karanis, through Papeeis son of Isidoros, a half, a third, a twelfth artaba of clean wheat, art. ½ ⅓ $^1/_{12}$ only. (M2) I, Souchidas, have signed. (M3) I, Kyrillos, have signed. I, Kyrillos, have signed.

(M1) And on the 12th likewise the same men through Papeeis son of Isidoros for the second new indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, one-third, one twelfth artaba of clean wheat, art. ⅓ $^1/_{12}$ only. (M2) I, Souchidas, have signed. (M3) I, Kyrillos, have signed.

19. It is not clear why Kyrillos signed twice. The second time overlaps line 20.

21. The space seems too large for Καινοῦ to be read, although one expects it. Perhaps one should read ‹Καινοῦ›.

156

Receipt for Delivery of Barley

P.Oslo Inv. 516 10.3 x 27.8 cm. 344

A single sheet in perfect condition; the bottom 16 cm. are blank, as is the back.

→ Μεχὶρ β^//^. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Οὐαλέριος
Ἀντιουρίου ἐν δρμῳ πόλεως
ὑπὲρ δευτέρας ἰνδικτίονος
4 κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
κριθῶν ἀρτάβας ἕξ, κριθ(ῶν) (ἀρτάβας) ς μόνας.

(M2) Ἄμμων καὶ Μουσῆς καὶ οἱ κοινωνοὶ
σιτομέτραι ἐμετρήσαμεν.

Mecheir 2. Valerius son of Antiourios delivered in the city harbor for the second indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, six artabas of barley, 6 art. of barley only. We, Ammon and Mouses and partners, *sitometrai*, measured it.

1. Mecheir 2 = 28 January 344.
2–3. There is some extra ink between these lines; it is not clear if it belongs to any word.
7. The sigma of ἐμετρήσαμεν is oddly formed; it may originally have been meant as an abbreviation mark.

157

Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat and Meat

Inv. 181 (18) 28.5 x 25 cm. 344–347

Light brown papyrus, upper portion rubbed and broken. Two incomplete *kollemata*, with writing across the joint. Verso blank.

→ Column I

Ἐπεὶφ ς/. π̣ρ̣[ρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀ]ι̣ῶν Σαραπίωνος [ὑπὲ]ρ
τρίτης ν̣ε̣ας ἰν̣δ̣ι̣κ̣τίονος κωμητῶν̣
Καρανίδος π̣υ̣ροῦ κ̣α̣θ̣αροῦ ἀρτάβας ὀκτὼ δί-
4 μυρον, (ἀρτάβας) η ||| μό(νας). (M2) Ἰσίων σεσημ(είωμαι).

(M1) καὶ τῇ ια΄΄, ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀιῶν Σαραπίωνος ὑπὲρ
τρίτης ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δεκατέσσαρες ἥμι-
8 συ τρίτον δωδέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) ιδ ∠γ ῖ̄ο μό(νας). (M3) Σαραπίων
σεσ(ημείωμαι) (ἀρτάβας) δεκατέσσαρες ἥμισυ τρίτον
9 δωδέκατον.

(M1) καὶ τῇ ιγ΄, ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀιῶν Σαραπίωνος ὑπὲρ τρίτης
ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ κα-
12 θαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ς μό(νας). (M3) Σαραπίων σεσ(η-
μείωμαι) (ἀρτάβας) ἕξ.

Column II

(M4) Παῦνι η/. [π]αρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀειῶ[ν Σ]αραπίωνος κ̣ω̣μ̣[η̣τ]ῶν̣

Καραν(ίδος) ὑπὲρ ἕκτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) κρέως [λίτρας εἴ]κοσι,
λί(τρας) [κ].

Διό[τι]μ[ος σεσημείωμαι].

1, 5, 10 αἰων pap. 3–4 δίμουρον 7, 9 δεκατέσσαρας

Epeiph 6. Aion son of Sarapion delivered for the third new indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, eight (and) two-thirds artabas of clean wheat, art. 8⅔ only. (M2) I, Ision, have signed.

(M1) And on the 11th, the same Aion son of Sarapion for the account of villagers of Karanis, fourteen, a half, a third, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art 14 ½ ⅓ $^1/_{12}$ only. (M3) I, Sarapion, have signed for fourteen, a half, a third, a twelfth art.

(M1) And on the 13th, the same Aion son of Sarapion for the third indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, six artabas of clean wheat, art. 6 only. (M3) I, Sarapion, have signed for six art.

Column II

(M4) Pauni 8. Aion son of Sarapion delivered for the account of villagers of Karanis for the sixth indiction, twenty [pounds] of meat, [20] lbs.

1. Epeiph 6 = 30 June 344.
5. Epeiph 11 = 5 July 344.
10. Epeiph 13 = 7 July 344.
13. Pauni 8 = 2 June 347.
13–15. Much of what was read here in 1936 is now not visible, or else very faint.

158

Receipts for Deliveries in Kind

Inv. 307 36 x 25.6 cm. 344

Clear, light papyrus. Column II is written across a joint. Verso blank.

Column II is occupied by a regular series of receipts. Column I, however, begins with some notations of sums of money connected with Papeeis son of Atisios (probably brother of the Ammonas [=Ammonios] son of Atisios who pays in kind in Column II), and continues with a rather peculiar receipt given to Papeeis by one Aurelius Alypios, a veteran but otherwise unknown to us. It is not stated if he holds any official position, and this is evidently a private document. Alypios, the lender, acknowledges that he had received a *chirographon*, here probably an acknowledgement of debt, from Papeeis for 24 artabas of wheat, and states that

he has already given Papeeis 15$^{5}/_{12}$ artabas out of the loan of 24. In lines 13–15 one expects a promise to deliver the remainder, in language like the following: *τὰς λοιπὰς παρ' ἐμοῦ σίτου ἀρτάβας ὀκτὼ ἥμισυ δωδέκατον, (ἀρτ.) η ∟ιβ'', ἐγὼ αὐτὸς παρασχήσομαι σοὶ Παπέει.* Instead, the scribe muddled cases and tense, producing a confused text. (The elucidation of this papyrus owes much to Professor Youtie.)

→ Column I

Παπάεις Ἀτισίου πιτ(τακίου) Ὅλ/ (τάλαντα) ∩ β
Παπαίεις Ἀτισίου (τάλαντα) Δ
α.... (τάλαντα) Εν

(M2)
4 Αὐρήλιος Ἀλύπιος οὐετρανὸς
τῆς Ἀρσινοιτῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου
Φρεμὶ Αὐρηλίῳ Παπέεις Ἀτισίου ἀπὸ
κώμης Κερανίδος *vacat* χαίρειν·
8 ἐπιδὴ χιρώγραφον ἔχω σοὶ σίτου
ἀρταβῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων (ἀρταβῶν) κδ,
ἀπὸ τῶν εἴκοσι τεσάρων παρεσχόμην
σοὶ ἐγὼ Παπέεις σίτου ἀρταβῶν δεκαπέντε
12 τρίτον δωδέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) ιε γ ῖω''.
λοιπαὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐγὼ Παπέεις σίτου ἀρτάβας
ὀκτὼ ἥμισυ δωδέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) η ∟ιο//
[[π]] παρεσχόμην σοὶ αὐτός. Αὐρήλιος Ὅλ ἔγραψε
16 τὰ ὅλα.

Column II

(M3) Ἐπεὶφ ι. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀμμωνᾶς Ἀτισίου ἐν ὅρμου πόλεως
ὑπὲρ τρείτης νέας ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
πυροῦ καθ[α]ροῦ ἀρτάβας πεντήκοντα μίαν, (ἀρτάβας) να
μό(νας).

(M4)
20 Ἡλίας δι' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ σεσημίωμε σίτου (ἀρτάβας) πεντή-
κωντα μίαν μώνας.

(M3) Ἐπεὶφ ιγ. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀμμωνᾶς Ἀτισίου ἐν ὅρμου πόλεως
ὑπὲρ τρείτης
νέας ἰνδικ(τίονος) κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας
ὀκτὼ
ἥμισυ, (ἀρτάβας) η ∟' μ(όνας). (M4) Ἡλίας δι' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ
σεσημίωμε
24 σίτου (ἀρτάβας) ὀκτὼ ἥμισυ μώνας.

(M3) Ἐπεὶφ ιη. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀμμωνᾶς Ἀτισίου ἐν ὅρμου πόλεως ὑπὲρ
τρίτης νέας ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας πέντη ἥμισυ τρίτον, (ἀρτάβας) ε ∟ γ''
μό(νας).

(M4)
28 Ἡλίας δι' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ σεσημίωμε σίτου (ἀρτάβας) πέντη
ἥμισυ τρίτων μώνας.
(M3) Ἐπεὶφ ι. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀμμωνᾶς Ἀτισίου ἐν ὅρμου πόλεως ὑπὲρ
τρείτης
νέας ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος κριθῶν ἀρτάβας
εἴκοσει δίμυρον, (ἀρτάβας) κ ψ'' μ(όνας). (M4) Ἡλίας δι' ἐμοῦ
Ῥωμανοῦ
32 σεσημίωμε κριθῶν (ἀρτάβας) εἴκοσι δίμυρων μώνας.

3–16 see introduction and notes 6 Παπέει 7 Καρανίδος 8 χειρόγραφον 10 τεσσάρων 15 ἔγραψα 17, 21, 25, 29 ὅρμῳ 18, 21 τρίτης 20 πεντήκοντα, μόνας 20, 23, 28, 32 σεσημείωμαι 24 μόνας 27 πέντε 28 πέντε, τρίτον μόνας 29 τρίτης 31 εἴκοσι δίμοιρον 32 δίμοιρον μόνας

(Lines 4ff.)

(M2) Aurelius Alypius, veteran, of the city of the Arsinoites from the *amphodon* Phremi, to Aurelius Papeeis son of Atisios, from the village of Karanis, greeting. Since I have received from you a *chirographon* for twenty-four artabas of wheat, art. 24, of the twenty-four I have supplied to you, Papeeis, fifteen, a third, a twelfth artabas of grain, art. 15 ⅓ 1/12. The remainder, eight, a half, a twelfth artabas, 8 ½ 1/12 art. due from me, I will myself supply to you, Papeeis. Aurelius Hol wrote all of this.

Column II

(M3) Epeiph 10. Ammonas son of Atisios delivered in the city harbor for the third new indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, eight (and) a half artabas of clean wheat, art. 8½ only. (M4) I, Elias, have signed through me, Romanos, for eight (and) a half artabas of grain only.

(M3) Epeiph 18. Ammonas son of Atisios delivered in the city harbor for the third new indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, five, a half, a third artabas of clean wheat, art. 5 ½ ⅓ only. (M4) I, Elias, have signed through me, Romanos, for five, a half, a third artabas of grain only.

(M3) Epeiph 10. Ammonas son of Atisios delivered in the city harbor for the third new indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, twenty (and) two-thirds artabas of barley, art. 20⅔ only. (M4) I, Elias, have signed through me, Romanos, for twenty (and) two-thirds art. of barley only.

1–2. These fragmentary lines also concern the affairs of Papeeis.

4. An Aurelius Alypios appears in several papyri of the late third and early fourth centuries as a scribe, both to private individuals and to liturgical officials; cf. *P. Princ. Roll.* Col. I.9n. (p. 17). Our Alypios, however, who has another write for him, is evidently not the same man.

11. The word order and grammar are confused; one would expect *ἐγώ σοι Παπέει σίτου ἀρτάβας δεκαπέντε.*

17. Epeiph 10 = 4 July 344.

21. Epeiph 13 = 7 July 344.

25. Epeiph 18 = 12 July 344.

159

Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat

Inv. 181 (17) 25 x 25.5 cm. 344–345

Light brown papyrus, well-preserved except for loss of right portion; lower two-thirds of recto is blank. Two *kollemata*, both incomplete. Verso blank.

→

Column I

Μεσορὴ γ. παρήνεγκεν Παιᾶνος
Οὐαλερίου ὑπὲρ τρίτης ἰνδικτί[ο]νος
κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ
4 ἀρτάβας δύο ἥμισυ τρίτον, (ἀρτάβας) β ∟ γ/ μόνας,
ἑτέρου ἐνταγίου ἤτοι ἀποχῆς μὴ ἐπιφερομ(ένης)
τῶν προκ(ειμένων) ἀρταβῶν. (M2) Φιλ[έα]ς σε[σ(ημείωμαι)].
(M3) (ἀρτάβας) β ∟ γ´´
8 (ὧν) πιτ(τακίου) Οὐφριᾶς Ἐλᾶ
(ἀρτάβας) β ∟ γ´´.

Column II

(M4) Ἐπεὶφ [. παρ(ήνεγκεν) - - - - ὑπὲρ]
τετάρτ[ης ἰνδικτίονος κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος)]
12 σίτου ἀρτάβ[ας δύο ἥμισυ]
τρίτου δω[δέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) β ∟ γ ιο μόνας.]
Κοπρῆς ρ[εση(μείωμαι)].
(M3) (ἀρτάβας) β ∟ ῑο
16 (ὧν) πιτ(τακίου) Σώτα (ἀρτάβας) β ∟ γ ῑο.

3 καθ αρου pap. 4 β ∟ pap. 5 επι φερομ pap. 8, 16 ὧν: an L-shaped sign, starting from preceding line.

Mesore 3. Paianos son of Valerius delivered for the third indiction, for the account of villagers of Karanis, two, a half, a third artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 ½ ⅓ only, with no other receipt being applicable for the said artabas. (M2) I, Phileas, have signed.

(M3) Art. 2 ½ ⅓, of which art. 2 ½ ⅓ for the *pittakion* of Ouphrias son of Elas.

Column II

(M4) Epeiph [... - - - delivered for] the fourth [indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, two, a half,] a third, a twelfth artabas of grain, [art. 2 ½ ⅓ 1/12 only]. I, Kopres, [have signed].

(M3) Art. 2 ½ ⅓ 1/12, of which art. 2 ½ ⅓ 1/12 for the *pittakion* of Sotas.

1. Mesore 3 = 27 July 344.

8. This same *pittakion*, with the name read in the same manner but with much doubt, appears in *SB* X 10729. There I would read in line 10 Οὐφριᾶτος, and in line 20, Οὐφριᾶς

Ἑλᾶ. Ouphrias is not attested elsewhere, but Οὐαφρῆς is well-known. For Ἑλᾶς the *Onomasticon* cites *P.Oxy.* XIX 2243 (a).5 (VIp) where the longer genitive Ἑλᾶτος is used. The first hand of *SB* X 10729 is the same as that of our lines 1–6.

10. Epeiph = 25 June–24 July 345.

160

Receipts for Deliveries in Kind

Inv. 57 79 x 25 cm. 345–354

Two pieces, evidently originally joining. Five *kollemata*, about 15 cm. wide. Five columns of writing; Column V, only the upper ⅔ was used for writing. Summaries on verso of Columns II, III, and V.

→

Column I

Παχὼν λ//. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιῶν Σαραπίωνος
ἐν ὅρμου Λευκογίου ὑπὲρ [γ]ε[νή]ματος
τετάρτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) εἰς πλοῖ(ον)
4 Ἱερακαπό[λ]λωνος ἐπ[ισκόπ]ου ὑπὸ Χρῆστων
σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτ[άβας] ἑπτὰ ἥμισυ δοδέ-
κατον, (ἀρτάβας) ζ ∠ιο´´ μόνας. Πετρώριος σεσημ(είωμαι).

(M2) Παχὼν α. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιῶν Λακῶις ἐν ὅρμου Λευκογίου
8 εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Ἱερακαπόλλων ἐπισκόπου ὑπὸ Ἄπελ ὑπ(ὲρ)
εS ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας
δύο
ἥμισοι τέταρτον, (ἀρτάβας) βθ̄. καὶ τῇ ζ̄ ὁμοίως
ὁ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πλοῖ(ον) ὑπ(ὲρ) εS ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμ(ητῶν)
Καρ(ανίδος)
12 πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἐννέα, (ἀρτάβας) θ μό(νας).
Κύριλλος σεσ(ημείωμαι).

Παχὼν κζ. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιῶν Σαραπίωνος ἐν ὅρμῳ
Λευκογίου εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Ἱερακαπό[λ]λωνος ἐπισκόπου
16 ὑπὸ Παμὲς ὑπ(ὲρ) εS ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Κ[α]ρ(ανίδος)
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτά-
βας ὀκτὼ ἥμισοι δωδέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) [η] ∠ ιο᾽ μ[όνα]ς.
Κύρ[ι]λ[λος σεσ(ημείωμαι).]

Column II

(M1) Παχὼν κη//. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιῶν Σαραπίωνος ἐν ὅρμου
20 Λευκογ[ί]ου ὑπὲρ [γε]νήματος τετάρτης ἰνδικ(τίονος)
κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Ἱερακαπόλλωνος ἐπισκό-
που ὑπὸ Χρῆστων σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας τρῖς ᾽δίμυρον᾽,

(ἀρτάβας) γ μόνας.
Πετρώνιος σεσημ(είωμαι).
24 ις// ὁ αὐτὼς εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Περγαμίου κόμιτως ὑπὸ Παῦλων
σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕνδεκα ἥμισυ δοδέκατον, (ἀρτάβας)
ια∠ιο''.
ιη// ὁ αὐτὼς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πλοῖ(ον) σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας πένται
ἥμισυ δοδέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) ε∠ιο'' μόνας. καὶ εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Αὐσω-
νίου
28 πρίγγιπος σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ὀκτὼ ἥμισυ δοδέκ(ατον),
(ἀρτάβας) η∠ιο'' .
κβ// ὁ αὐτὼς εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Ἄβελ σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας τρῖς,
(ἀρτάβας) γ μόνας.
κδ// ὁ αὐτὼς εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Παμὲς σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ,
(ἀρτάβας) ς μόνας.
(M2) Παχὼν ιγ. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιὼν Σαραπίωνος ἐν ὅρμῳ Λευκο-
γίου
32 εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Ἱερακαπόλωνος ἐπισκόπου ὑπὸ Παμὲς
ὑ(πὲρ) εS ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) πυροῦ καθαροῦ
ἀρτάβας ὀκτὼ
ἥμισοι, (ἀρτάβας) η∠ μόνας. Κύριλλος σεση(μείωμαι).

Column III

(M1) Παχὼν ις καὶ ιη//. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Παπάεις Ἡρᾶ
36 ἐν ὅρμου Λευκογίου ὑπὲρ γενήματος τετάρτης
ἰνδικ(τίονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Περγαμίου
ὑπὸ Παῦ-
λων σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας ὀκτὼ τρίτον δ[ο]δέκα-
τον, (ἀρτάβας) η $\overline{\gamma\ \iota\text{ο}}$ μόνας. κ// ὁμοίως εἰς πλοῖ(ον)
40 Αὐσωνίου πρίγγιπος σίτου καθαρ(οῦ) ἀρτάβας
πένται δίμυρον, (ἀρτάβας) ε [𐅵] μόνας. Πετρώνιος
σεσημ(είωμαι).
κη// εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Κλαυδιανοῦ σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτά-
44 βας ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ς μόνας. Πετρώνιος σεσημ(είωμαι).

(M2) Παχὼν ιθ. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιὼν Σαραπίωνος ἐν ὅρμῳ Λευ-
κογίου εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Ἱερακαπόλλωνος ἐπισκόπου ὑπὸ
Παμὲς ὑ(πὲρ) εS ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) πυροῦ
καθαροῦ
48 ἀρτάβας ὀκτὼ δίμοιρον, (ἀρτάβας) η 𐅵 μόνας.
Κύριλλος σεση(μείωμαι).
Παχὼν κδ. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιὼν Σαραπίωνος ἐν ὅρμῳ
Λευκογίου εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Ἱερακαπόλλωνος ἐπισκόπου
52 ὑπὸ Χρῆστον ὑ(πὲρ) εS ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Κ[αρ(ανίδος)]
πυροῦ καθαροῦ
ἀρτάβας τρῖς, (ἀρτάβας) γ μόνας. Κ[ύ]ριλλος σιτομ(έτρης) σεσ(η-
μείωμαι).

Column IV

(M3) Συρίωνι Χαιρήμ[ο]νος ἐπιμελ(ητῇ)
μηνὶ Παῦνι κθ/
56 κωμητῶν Καρανίδος διὰ
Ἀιώνεως Σαραπίωνος
σίτου δS´ (ἀρτάβας) β ⅓.
(M4) Ἀθὺρ δ. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιῶν Σαραπίωνος κωμητ(ῶν)
60 Καρ(ανίδος) ὑπὲρ ἕκτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) κρέως χυρέου
λί(τρας) ἴκοσι πέντε, λί(τρας) κε μόνας.
Δωρόθεος δι' Ἀπφοῦς σεσ(ημείωμαι).
(M5) Αὐρήλιοι Πνᾶς καὶ Ἀφῦς Ἀιῶν ‹ὑ›πωδέκται κριθῆς
64 κώμης Καρ(ανίδος) Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀιῶν Ἀντιουρίου χέριν
ἔσχαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ γενήματος τετάρτης
νέας ἰνδικτί(ονος) κριθῆς ἀρτάβας δέκα ἥμισυ
τρίτον, (ἀρτάβας) ι ∠γ´´ μόνας. Ἀμώνιος σεσ(ημείωμαι).

Column V

(M6)
68 Ἀθὺρ ζ//. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων[ο]ς
ἐν ὅρμου Λευκογίου εἰς πλ(οῖον) Πολυ..
κωμητῶν Καρανίδος ὀγδόης ἰνδικ(τίονος)
πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας μίαν ἥμισυ
72 τρίτον, (ἀρτάβας) α ∠γ´´ μόνας. Παῦλος ἐμέτρησα
μίαν ἥμισυ τρίτον μόνας.
(M7?) Μεχεὶρ ε/. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀιῶν Σαραπίωνος
κωμητ(ῶν) Καρανίδος ὑπὲρ δοδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίονος)
76 κρέως χοιρέου λίτρας τριάκοντα ἥμισυ, λί(τρας) λS
μόνας. Θεόγνωστος δι' ἐμοῦ Χρήστου σεσημείωμαι.

VERSO

↓ Column I (on back of Column II)

(M8) διέγραψεν Ἀ[ιῶν Σαραπίωνος – –]
μηνὶ Θὼθ [
80 μερισμοῦ ἑκατ[ο]ν[–?]
τάρχον ἀργοι(ρίου) (τάλαντα) πα/
πιτ(τακίου) Σαβίν(ου) (τάλαντον) α (δραχμὰς) ρ
πιτ(τακίου) Ὅλ (τάλαντα) ⅁
84 μόνα
πιτ(τακίου) Σαβίνου ἀσ(ήμου) (τάλαντα) ∠γ

Column II (on back of Column III)

(M9) θ——ε∠ιδ
ιζ——ε∠γ´´
88 α——βθ

ζ——θ
ιγ——ηL γ
(ἀρτάβαι) λβ

Column III (on back of Column V)

92 ϵ/ ἰνδικτίονος
Ἀιῶν Σεραπείονος
Παχὼν ιζ ——— ϵL γ''
τῇ α ——— β ∥
96 τῇ ζ ——— θ
τῇ κζ ——— ηL ιο̄
τῇ ιγ ——— η L'
τῇ [ι]θ ——— η ∥
100 τῇ κδ ——— γ
(ἀρτάβαι) μς γ''
τῇ θ ——— (ἀρτάβαι) ϵ L ιο̄

2, 7, 19, 36, 69 δρμῳ 4, 22 Χρῆστον 5, 25, 27, 28, 38 δωδέκατον 10, 17, 34, 71, 73, 76 ἥμισυ 14 Παχ ων, Αἰων pap. 15 Λευ κογιου pap. 19 Αἰων pap. 22, 41 δίμοιρον; σίτου ex corr. 24, 26, 29, 30 αὐτός 24 κόμητος, Παῦλον 26, 41 πέντε 29 αβιλ' pap. 37 Παῦλον 59 Αἰων pap.; κωμητ(ῶν), ω corr. fr. α 60 χοιρέου 61 εἴκοσι; κε: κ ex λι 63 ὑποδέκται 64 χαίρειν 66 ἥμισυ: scribe started to write δίμοιρον, then wrote ἥμισυ over διμο 75 δωδεκάτης 76 τριάκοντα 81 ἀργυρίου 93 Σαραπίωνος

Column I

Pachon 30. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion, for the crop of the fourth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, to the boat of Hierakapollon the bishop, under the command of Chrestos, seven, a half, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 7 ½ 1/12 only. I, Petronios, have signed.

(M2) Pachon 1. Aion son of Lakois delivered in the harbor of Leukogion to the boat of Hierakapollon the bishop under the command of Abel, for the 5th indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, two, a half, a fourth artabas of clean wheat, art. 2 ½ ¼. And on the 7th likewise the same man (delivered) to the same boat for the 5th indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, nine artabas of clean wheat, art. 9 only. I, Kyrillos, have signed.

Pachon 27. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion to the boat of Hierakapollon the bishop under the command of Pames, for the 5th indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, eight, a half, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. [8] ½ 1/12 only. I, Kyrillos, have signed.

Column II

(M1) Pachon 28. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion for the crop of the fourth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, to the boat of Hierakapollon the bishop under the command of Chrestos, three and two-thirds artabas of clean wheat, art. 3 only. I, Petronios, have signed.

The 16th, the same man to the boat of Pergamios the count under the command of Paulos, eleven, a half, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 11 ½ 1/12.

The 18th, the same man to the same boat, five, a half, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 5 ½ $^1/_{12}$ only. And to the boat of Ausonius the *princeps*, eight, a half, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 8 ½ $^1/_{12}$.

The 22nd, the same man to the boat of Abel, three artabas of clean wheat, art. 3 only.

The 24th, the same man to the boat of Pames, six artabas of clean wheat, art. 6 only.

(M2) Pachon 13. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion to the boat of Hierakapollon the bishop under the command of Pames for the 5th indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, eight (and) a half artabas of clean wheat, art. 8 ½ only. I, Kyrillos, have signed.

Column III

(M1) Pachon 16 and 18. Papaeis son of Heras delivered in the harbor of Leukogion for the crop of the fourth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis to the boat of Pergamios under Paulos, eight, a third, a twelfth artabas of clean wheat, art. 8 ⅓ $^1/_{12}$ only. On the 20th, likewise, to the ship of Ausonius the *princeps*, five (and) two-thirds artabas of clean wheat, art. 5 [⅔] only. I, Petronios, have signed.

The 28th, to the boat of Claudianus, six artabas of clean wheat, art. 6 only. I, Petronios, have signed.

(M2) Pachon 19. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion to the boat of Hierakapollon the bishop, under the command of Pames, for the 5th indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, eight (and) two-thirds artabas of clean wheat, art. 8 ⅔ only. I, Kyrillos, have signed.

Pachon 24. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion to the boat of Hierakapollon the bishop, under the command of Chrestos, for the 5th indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, three artabas of clean wheat, art. 3 only. I, Kyrillos, *sitometres*, have signed.

Column IV

(M3) To Syrion son of Chairemon, *epimeletes*, in the month of Pauni the 29th, for the account of villagers of Karanis through Aion son of Sarapion, for grain of the 4th (indiction), art. 2⅔.

(M4) Hathyr 4. Aion son of Sarapion delivered for the account of villagers of Karanis for the sixth indiction, twenty-five pounds of pork meat, 25 lbs. only. I, Dorotheos, have signed through Aphous.

(M5) Aurelii Pnas and Aphus son of Aion, receivers of barley for the village of Karanis, to Aurelius Aion son of Antiourios, greeting. We have received from you for the crop of the fourth new indiction, ten, a half, a third artabas of barley, art. 10 ½ ⅓ only. I, Amonios, have signed.

Column V

(M6) Hathyr 7. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion to the boat of Poly..., for the account of villagers of Karanis for the eighth indiction, one, a half, a third artabas of clean wheat, art. 1 ½ ⅓ only. I, Paulos, measured one, a half, a third only.

(M7?) Mecheir 5. Aion son of Sarapion delivered for the account of villagers of Karanis for the twelfth indiction, thirty (and) a half pounds of pork meat, 30½ lbs. only. I, Theognostos, have signed through me, Chrestos.

1. Pachon 30 = 25 May 345.
4. On ἐπίσκοπος, see p. 103.
7. Λακῶις: *P.NYU* 11a.109 would suggest Αειλωνος here, but that appears not to be possible. Whatever the reading, it is clear that Lakois is an error or else some sort of nickname; the summary on the verso, where this payment is listed as one of those by Aion son of Sarapion, shows that the persons are identical. Here and elsewhere Kyrillos puts no strokes after or above his numerals. Pachon 1 = 26 April 346.
10. Pachon 7 = 2 May 346.
14. Pachon 27 = 22 May 346.
19. Pachon 28 = 23 May 345.
22. δίμοιρον was added after the text was written, and no numeral for ⅔ was added to the statement in figures.
24. Pachon 16 = 11 May 345.
26. Pachon 18 = 13 May 345.
28. On πρίγκιψ, see p. 103.
29. Pachon 22 = 17 May 345.
30. Pachon 24 = 19 May 345.
31. Pachon 13 = 8 May 345.
35. Ταπάεις (the sister of Παπάεις) is also a possible reading here.
39. Pachon 20 = 15 May 345.
45. Pachon 19 = 14 May 346.
55. Pauni 29 = 23 June 345.
59. Hathyr 4 = 1 November 347.
68. Hathyr 7 = 3 November 349.
74. Mecheir 5 = 30 January 354.
94–97. These entries have check marks at the left. The entries in 94, 99 and 102 are not represented on the surviving columns of the recto.

161

Receipts for Deliveries in Kind

Inv. 311 27 x 24.5 cm. 345–351

Light grayish-yellow papyrus, rather poorly preserved. The last letter of line 6 crosses a joint.

→ Παχὼν ια· παρ(ήνεγκεν) [Ἡρᾶς Σ]αραπίωνος
ἐν ὅρμ(ω) Λευκογίου εἰς πλοῖ(ον) Ἱερα-
καπόλλωνος ἐπισκόπου ὑπὸ Τιθιοεῖς
4 ὑπ(ὲρ) εS ἰνδικ(τίονος) κω(μητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) πυροῦ καθαροῦ
ἀρτάβ(ας) ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ς μόνας. Κύριλλος σεσ(ημείωμαι).

(M2) Μεσορὴ ς'''· παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος ἡ[π]ὲρ δεκά-
της ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
8 σίτου ἀρτάβας δεκατρεῖς, (ἀρτάβας) [ιγ] μ(όνας).
(M3) Σαραπίων σεσ(ημείωμαι).
(M4) Αὐρήλιοι Οἰσίτωρος Κανᾳοῦ
καὶ Ἀιῶν καὶ κ(οινωνοὶ) ὑποτέκ(ται)
12 κώμης Καρανίδος
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρᾷ Σεραπ[ίωνι(ος)] χ(αίρειν)·
ἔσχαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπ[ὲρ]
τετάρτη<ς> δS/ καὶ πέμτης
16 εS καὶ ϛS κω(μητῶν) κριθῆ<ς> ἀρτάβ[α]ς
δώδεκα ἥμισυ τρίτου,
(ἀρτάβας) ιβ ∟ γ'' μόνας. Αὐρήλιος Μέλας ἔγραψα
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμ(άτου).

Column II (upside down)

(M5)
20 Παχὼν κδ// παρ(ήνεγκεν) Σα[ρ]απίων Οὐεν-
αφρίου ἐν δρμῳ Λευκογίου ὑπὲρ γενή-
[η]ματος τετάρτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ-
ανίδος εἰς πλοῖ(ον) [Ἡ]ερακαπόλλωνος
24 [ἐ]πισκόπου ὑπὸ Τιθιωεὶν σίτου καθαροῦ
[ἀρτάβα]ς ἓξ τέτ[α]ρ[το]ν, (ἀρτάβας) ς d' μόνας.
.ε.[ ] σεσημί(ωμαι).

(M6) διέγραψεν Σαραπίων Οὐενά-
28 φρις σίτου ἐν τῇ κώ-
μῃ ὑπὲρ πέμτης
εS' σίτου ἀρτάβας
εἴκοσι δίμυρω(ν), (ἀρτάβας) κ ⅄.
32 Μωμᾶς ἔγραψα τὰ ὅλα.

VERSO

↓ Column I (back of Column I)

(M7) [Ἐ]πεὶφ ιδ· παρήνεγκεν Ἡρᾶς Σαρ[απ]ίω[νος]
[κω]μητῶν Καρανίδος ὑπὲρ ἕ[κτ]ης ἡ[έα]ς
ἰνδικτίονος κριθῆς ἀρτάβα[ς] ἓξ, (ἀρτάβας) ς.
36 Θεόδωρος καὶ Χρῆστος σεσημ(ειώμεθα) κριθ[ῆς]
ἀρτάβας ἓξ μόνας.
(⅔ of column blank)

Column II (back of Column II)

(M8) Παῦνι ζ· παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνι[ος]
κομητ(ῶν) Κ[αρ(ανίδος) ὑπὲρ ἕκτης ἰνδικ(τίονος)
40 κρέως χυρίου λί(τρας) δέκα, λί(τρας) ι μόνας.
Δωρόθεως δι' ἐμοῦ ....

(M9) Χοίακ [.]· παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἡρᾶς Σεραπίωνος
κωμ[ητ(ῶν) Καρ(ανίδος)] ὑπὲρ ἕκτης
44 ἰνδικ(τίονος) [κρ]έως λί(τρας) τέσσαρες, λί(τρας) δ μόνα[ς].
[Δωρόθεο]ς δι' Ἀφοῦς σεσ(ημείωμαι).

Χοίακ ι· παρ(ήνεγκεν) [Σ]αραπίον .....[
κωμητ(ῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) ὑπὲρ ἕκτης ἰνδικ[κτίονος]
48 κρέως λί(τρας) τρῖς, λί(τρας) γ μόνας. Δω[ρό]θεος [σεσ(ημείω-
μαι)].

10 Ἰοίδωρος 11 ὑποδέκται 27–28 Οὐενάφριος 29 πέμπτης 31 δίμοιρον
39 κωμητ(ῶν) 40 χοιρέου

Column I

Pachon 11. [Heras] son of Sarapion delivered in the harbor of Leukogion to the ship of Hierakapollon the bishop, under the command of Tithioeis, for the 5th indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, six artabas of clean wheat, art. 6 only. I, Kyrillos, have signed.

(M2) Mesore 6. Heras son of Sarapion delivered for the tenth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis thirteen artabas of wheat, art. [13] only. (M3) I, Sarapion, have signed.

(M4) Aurelii Isidoros son of Kanaout and Aion and partners, receivers of the village of Karanis, to Aurelius Heras, son of Sarapion, greeting. We have received from you for the fourth (4th) and fifth (5th) and 6th indictions for the account of villagers, twelve, a half, a third artabas of barley, art. 12 ½ ⅓ only. I, Aurelius Melas, wrote for him because he is illiterate.

Column II

(M5) Pachon 24. Sarapion son of Venaphrios delivered in the harbor of Leukogion for the crop of the fourth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis to the boat of Hierakapollon the bishop, under the command of Tithioeis, six (and) a fourth artabas of clean wheat, art. 6¼ only. I, ..., have signed.

(M6) Sarapion son of Venaphris paid twenty (and) two-thirds artabas of wheat in the village for wheat of the fifth (5th) indiction, art. 20⅔. I, Momas, wrote all of it.

Verso: Column I

(M7) Epeiph 14. Heras son of Sarapion delivered for the account of villagers of Karanis for the sixth new indiction, six artabas of barley, art. 6. We, Theodoros and Chrestos, signed for six artabas of barley only.

Column II

(M8) Pauni 7. Heras son of Sarapion delivered for the account of villagers of Karanis for the sixth indiction, ten pounds of pork. 10 lbs. only. I, Dorotheos, [have signed] through me....

(M9) Choiak [.]. Heras son of Sarapion delivered for the account of villagers [of Karanis] for the sixth indiction, four pounds of meat, 4 lbs. only. I, Dorotheos, have signed through Aphous.

Choiak 10. Sarapion . . . has delivered for the account of villagers of Karanis for the sixth indiction, three pounds of meat, 3 lbs. only. I, Dorotheos, [have signed].

1. Pachon 11 = 6 May 346.
5. The letters υρι are very doubtful, but with this ending they must be correct.
6. Mesore 6 = 30 July 351.
18. Aurelius Melas also appears in *P.NYU* 3 of an indiction 10, for which the editor suggests 336/7.
20. Pachon 24 = 19 May 345.
26. Πετ[ρώνιος] is possible.
32. Μέλας is not possible.
33. Epeiph 14 = 8 July 347.
37. Pauni 7 = 1 June 347.
38. Παῦν[ι] ις is also possible; there is a lacuna, but the letters are widely spaced.
42. Choiak = 28 November–27 December 347.
46. Choiak 10 = 7 December 347.

162

Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat

Inv. 317 19 x 19.5 cm. 345

Light yellow papyrus. Back blank.

→ Μεσορὴ κζ.
παρήνεγκεν Ἀντιούριος Ἀβοῦ
τετάρτης ἰνδικτίωνως
4 κωμη(τῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) σίτου ἀρτάβας
πέντη ἥμισυ τρίτον δω-
δέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) ε ∠ γ ῖ̅ο̅ μόνας.
Κοπρῆς σεσημ(είωμαι). καὶ διὰ Πτολλᾶ
8 Οὐεναφρίου δS/ σίτου ἀρτάβας δύο
ἥμισυ τρίτον δωδέκατον, (ἀρτάβας) β ∠γ ῖ̅ο̅ μό(νας).
Κοπρῆς σεσημ(είωμαι). καὶ Μεσορὴ θ/
διὰ Ἀντιουρίου Ἀβοῦ τετάρτης
12 ἰνδικτίωνως σίτου ἀρτάβας
[πέν]τη ἥμισυ τρίτον δωδέκα-
[τον], (ἀρτάβας) ε ∠γ ῖ̅ο̅ μόνας. Κοπρῆς
[σεσ(ημείωμαι).]

3, 12 ἰνδικτίωνος 5, 13 πέντε

Mesore 27. Antiourios son of Abous delivered for the fourth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, five, a half, a third, a twelfth artabas of wheat, art. 5 ½ ⅓ $\frac{1}{12}$ only. I, Kopres, have signed. And through Ptollas son of Venaphrios, for the 4th ind., two, a half, a third, a twelfth artabas of grain, art. 2 ½ ⅓ $\frac{1}{12}$ only. I, Kopres, have signed. And Mesore 9 through Antiourios son of Abous for the fourth indiction five, a half, a third, a twelfth artabas of wheat, art. 5 ½ ⅓ $\frac{1}{12}$ only. I, Kopres, [have signed].

1. Mesore 27 = 20 August 345.
10. Mesore 9 = 2 August 345.

163

Receipts for Deliveries of Wheat

Inv. 181 (45) 19 x 28 cm. 348

Light brown papyrus, a single *kollema* practically complete. The sides show traces of having been pasted onto contiguous sheets, now smoothly cut. Probably three folds, vertically, 6 cm. apart. Only upper half of recto used; verso blank.

→ Μεσορὴ ε. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Οὐαλέριος Ἀντιο[υρίου ἐν ὅρ]μου
Λευκωγίου ὑπὲρ ἑβδ[ό]μ[ης ἰνδ(ικτίονος)]
κωμ(ητῶν) Καρ(ανίδος) πυροῦ κ[α]θαρο[ῦ] ἀρτάβας τρ[ιάκον]τα
ὀκτὼ ἥμισοι, (ἀρτάβας) λη ∠ [μόνας].
Μέλας σιτομ(έτρης) ἐμέτρη[σα].
(M2)
4 ὁμοίως θ/. Ἀματᾶς ὑποδέκτῃ σίτου (ἀρτάβας) ιγ ∠ χ.
Σεύθης σεση(μείωμαι).
(M3) Μεσορὴ κζ/ /. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀειὼν Σαραπίωνος ἐν ὅρμου πόλεως
ὑπὲρ ἑβδόμης
ἰνδικτίονος κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι,
(ἀρτάβας) κ μόνα[ς].
8 Ἡλίας δι' ἐμ[ο]ῦ Παύλ[ου σεση(μείωμαι).]

1, 6 ὅρμῳ Λευκωγίου 2 ἥμισυ 4 Ἀματᾷ

Mesore 5. Valerius son of Antiourios delivered [in] the harbor of Leukogion for the seventh [indiction] for the account of villagers of Karanis, thirty-eight (and) a half artabas of clean wheat, art. 38½ [only]. I, Melas, *sitometres*, measured it.

(M2) Likewise, the 9th, to Amatas the receiver, 13 ½ ⅓ art. of wheat. I, Seuthes, have signed.

(M3) Mesore 27. Aion son of Sarapion delivered in the city harbor for the seventh indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, twenty artabas of clean wheat, art. 20 only. I, Elias, [have signed] through me, Paulos.

1. Mesore 5 = 29 July 348.
4. Mesore 9 = 2 August 348.
6. Mesore 27 = 20 August 348.

164

Receipts for Deliveries in Kind

P.Oslo Inv. 519 23 x 24.3 cm. 348–350

Now a nearly square papyrus, cut neatly through Column II, along present right edge. The papyrus was apparently folded three times vertically and subsequently mended along the resultant splits with thread. According to H. I. Bell's inventory, this work was done in antiquity (the only example he had seen). The surface is much damaged and abraded, but all sides except the right are nominally complete.

Column I

→ Παχὼν κ. π̣[α]ρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀειῶν [Σαρ]απίο-
νος ὑπὲρ [ἑ]β̣[δ]ο̣μης ἰνδικ[τίο]νος
κωμητ[ῶ]ν Κ[αρα]νί̣δ̣ως κ̣ριθῆς
4 ἀρτάβας ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ς μ̣ό̣νας. Δ̣ω̣ρ̣ό̣θ̣ε̣ο̣ν σεση(μείωμαι).
καὶ τῇ κδ' ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς ἰνδικ(τίονος) κρι-
θῆς ἀρτάβας ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ς μ(όνας). Δωρόθε̣ο̣ς σεσημ(είωμαι).
(M2) Αὐρ̣ήλιοι Ἀσ̣κ̣λ̣ᾶ̣ς Ἰσίωνος καὶ Νεῖλος Ἀι[ῶν] ἀμφώτεροι
8 ὑπωδ[έ]κτε κώμ̣η̣ς τῆς [ζ] S" Αὐρ̣ηλίῳ Ἀιῶν Σερ[α]πεί(ονος)
χαίρ(ειν) ·
ἔσχ[ο]μεν παρ̣ὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ εὐδώμ̣η̣ς ἰνδικτ(ίονος) κριθῆς
ἀρ̣τ̣ά̣β̣ας τριάκοντα δύο, (ἀρτάβας) λβ μόνας.
(M3) Ἀμμ̣ω̣ν̣ι̣ος σεση(μείωμαι).
(M2)
12 διέγραφεν Ἀι̣ῶ̣ν Σεραπείον ὑπὲρ
κρέ̣ω̣ς δεκάτης ἰνδικτ(ίονος) λίτρας
εὐδομήκοντα δύο, λί(τρας) οβ μόνας.
(M3?) Ἀμμ̣ώ̣νιος σεση(μείωμαι).

Column II

About five lines washed out
(M4)
21 Παῦνι ζ/. παρ(ήνεγκεν) [- - - - - - ὑπὲρ]
ἐνάτης ἰνδι[κτίονος κωμητῶν Καρα-]
νίδος κριθῶν [ἀρτάβας -, (ἀρτάβας) - μόνας,]
24 ἑτέρας ἀποχῆς [ἤτοι ἐνταγίου μὴ ἐπιφερο(μένου).]
(M5) Σαρα[πίων σεση(μείωμαι).]

(M6) Ἀθὺρ α. παρ(ήνεγκεν) [- - -]
ὑπὲρ κωμη[τῶν Καρανίδος - -]
28 ἰνδικτί[ονος - - - λίτρας τριάκον-]
τα, λί(τρας) λ΄ μφ[νας. - - - σεση(μείωμαι).]

1 Ἀτῶν Σαραπίωνος 3 Καρανίδος 4 Δωρόθεος 7 ἀμφότεροι
8 ὑποδέκται 9 ἑβδόμης 10 τριάκοντα 14 ἑβδομήκοντα; first ο corr., possibly from start of ε 16–20 only traces visible; a δ at end of 20 27 ὑπὲρ: υ corrected

Pachon 20. Aion son of Sarapion delivered for the seventh indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, six artabas of barley, art. 6 only. I, Dorotheos, have signed.

And on the 24th, the same man for the same indiction, six artabas of barley, art. 6 only. I, Dorotheos, have signed.

(M2) Aurelii Asklas (?) son of Ision and Neilos son of Aion, both receivers of the [7th] (indiction) to Aurelius Aion son of Sarapion, greeting. We have received from you for the seventh indiction thirty-two artabas of barley, art. 32 only. (M3) I, Ammonios, have signed.

(M2) Aion son of Sarapion paid for meat of the tenth indiction seventy-two pounds, 72 lbs. only. (M3?) I, Ammonios, have signed.

(M4) Pauni 7. — delivered [for] the ninth indiction [for the account of villagers] of Karanis, [- - - artabas] of barley, [art. - - - only,] with no other receipt [or document being applicable]. (M5) I, Sarapion, [have signed].

1. Pachon 20 = 15 May 348. More than παρ may have been written.
2. Only πέμπτης and ἑβδόμης are allowed by the space, and the traces certainly fit only the latter.
5. Pachon 24 = 19 May 348.
8. There are traces of the numeral, but they are extremely exiguous and not determinative.
9. Indiction 7 = 348/9.
13. Indiction 10 = 351/2.
21. Pauni 7 = 1 June 350.
26. Hathyr 1 = 28 or 29 October. The date rests on Amundsen's transcription. In September, 1976, I could see virtually nothing of it.

165

Receipt for Delivery of Barley

Inv. 181 (43) 11.5 x 28 cm. 349

Light brown papyrus. Surface rubbed but letters fairly well preserved. Complete. Only upper third of front used. Back blank.

→ Παχὼν ις· παρήνεγ-
κεν Ἀιὼν Σαραπίωνος
ὑπὲρ ὀγδόης ἰνδικτίονος
4 κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
κριθῆς καθαρὰς ἀρτάβας
δεκαε[ν]νέα, (ἀρτάβας) ιθ μόνας.
Σα[[Σα]]ραπ[ίω]ν σεση(μείωμαι) κρι-
8 θῆς (ἀρτάβας) δεκαεννέα.

7 Σα blotted, rewritten to left 8 κριθῆς, θ corr. (ex η?)

Pachon 16. Aion son of Sarapion delivered for the eighth indiction for the account of villagers of Karanis, nineteen artabas of clean barley, art. 19 only. I, Sarapion, have signed for nineteen art. of barley.

1. Pachon 16 = 11 May 349. The scribe began παρήνεγκεν below the numeral for the day.

166

Receipt for Dike Work

Inv. 47 23.5 x 17 cm. probably 345/6

Published: W. L. Westermann, "Dike Corvee in Roman Egypt: on the meaning of ἀφυλισμός," *Aegyptus* 6 (1925) 121–129 (*SB* III 7189); cf. A.E.R. Boak, *Aegyptus* 7 (1926) 218–219 (on dike work); U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 8 (1926) 102–103 (on the sense of the text). Westermann gives the inventory number incorrectly as 56.

This rather ungrammatical but perfectly preserved receipt is probably to be dated to 345/6 (a fourth indiction, line 6) on the basis of the appearance of Heras son of Sarapion, who is known to have been active in this period, and of the scribe (see note to line 7). Normal word order would suggest that Heras is the official, Ptollas and Apion the workers; all of their names appear in the nominative. Westermann, however, took it that Aurelius Heras Sarapion was the worker, Aurelius Ptollas Mela and Aurelius Apion Isidoros the collectors. Wilcken further suggested that despite the nominative case, the second name after Aurelius in each person's nomenclature was a patronymic; such use of the nominative in place of oblique cases is of course very common in this period (in fact, however, genitives actually stand on the papyrus). The plural verb and the singular σοῦ in line 4 support Wilcken's view, although the singulars ἐπεροτηθὶς ὁμολόγησα (ἐπεροτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα) (lines 6–7) do not. Since this stipulation phrase is very conventional, however, it is probable that it was written by scribal confusion quite without consideration of the numbers involved. Heras was in any case probably too poor to have been a liturgist; only our ignorance of contemporary requirements (and for that matter, whether the post in question is that of χωματεπείκτης, ἐκβολεύς, or something else) prevents us from arguing from his means (cf. p. 92). Ptollas and Apion are not otherwise known.

On the back there is a short account relating land to grain, but the motive and method of it are unknown.

→ Αὐρήλιος Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίων ἀπὸ κώμης
Καιρανίδος Αὐρήλιοι Πτολλᾶς Μέλα
καὶ Ἀπίων Ἰσιδώρου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
4 κώμης. ἔσχαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ ἀφυλισ-
μοῦ χωμάτων ναύβια δύο, να(ύβια) β, τῆς
τετάρτης νέας ἰντικτίωνος καὶ ἐπερωτη-
θὶς ὁμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος Μέλας ἔγραψα.

↓ Back

8 ἰδιωτικῆς σπορίμης (ἀρουρῶν) ηθ' ἢ (ἀρτ.) ιαS",
ἰδιωτικῆς ἀσπόρου καὶ ἀβρόχου (ἀρουρῶν) ιεS" (ἀρτ.) ιεS",
(γίνονται) ὁμοῦ σὺν ἐνδεήματος (ἀρτ.) κη.

1 Ἡράτι Σαραπίωνος Wilcken 3 Ἰοίδωρος Westermann (wrongly) 5 χωμάτων
6 ἰνδικτίωνος 6–7 ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν 7 Μέλα Westermann 10 ἐνδεήματι

To Aurelius Heras son of Sarapion, from Karanis, from Aurelii Ptollas son of Melas and Apion son of Isidoros, from the same village, we have received from you for the cleaning of dikes two naubia, na. 2, for the fourth new indiction, and on formal interrogation we gave our assent. I, Aurelius Melas, wrote.

Back

private sown land, 8¾ ⅛ ar., art. 11½,
private unsown and unwatered land, ar. 16½, art. 16½,
total with arrears, art. 28.

1. For Heras son of Sarapion, see General Introduction, p. 6.

4–5. ἀφυλισμός: see the works by Westermann and Boak cited in the lemma for a discussion of this term, which signifies removal of earth and other material blocking watercourses and its transfer to places where it would reinforce the dikes; the phrase ἀφυλισμὸς χωμάτων is thus a rather abbreviated expression. For more recent discussion see H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 71 (1940) 634–638 = *Scriptiunculae* I, 74–78, plus addenda on pp. 101–102 with recent bibliography (including other interpretations). A recent example is *P.NYU* 2.

6. Indiction 4 = 345/6.

7. Aurelius Melas identifies himself as the son of Sotas in *153.55*, also a dike receipt of indiction 4. He is the scribe also of *178a*, of 336, and probably also of *P.NYU* 3 (336/7) and of *161*.

8–10. I can find no reasonable rate by which 8⅞ would yield 11½; perhaps the 11½ includes the arrears (as indicated in line 10), so that the true amount currently is less. The ratio in line 9 is 1:1, and line 10 is an accurate total of 8 and 9. The genitive is used for dative in line 10; this phenomenon is particularly common with σύν and rather suggests that the genitive was widely considered the proper complement for that preposition.

167

Account of Work on the Dikes

Inv. 181 (1) 22.7 x 12.3 cm. 373

Light brown papyrus, well-preserved. Right half blank; back blank. Apparently folded (vertically) four times, width of folds about 6 cm.

This papyrus contains a list of names together with numbers of naubia. Two of the persons are attested in other documents: Amaeis the *diakonos*, who is listed here as performing 1⅓ naubia, appears in *P.Mich.* X 596, of indiction 16, as the recipient of a discharge from Aurelius Ptoleminos for 1½ naubia worked. And Valerius is Valerius son of Antiourios, who appears in *168*, of indiction 1 (i.e., same as 16), one day later than *P.Mich.* 596 and also issued by Aurelius Ptoleminos for the performance of five naubia, the amount for which he is listed here. Since *168* is securely dated to 373, we must conclude that *167* and *P.Mich.* 596 belong to the same year and concern the same activity. For further discussion, see the introduction to *168*.

→	Κάστορος Ἀμίτων	ναύ(βια)	ιδ
	Αἴπαρος Παιάνου	ναύ(βια)	γ
	κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀχιλλᾶς	ναύ(βια)	δ
4	Οὐαλέριος	ναύ(βια)	ε
	Ἀριβικός	ναύ(βια)	αd
	Ἀμάεις διάκων	ναύ(βια)	ϙ γ
	Ὠρίων Οὐαλερίου	ναύ(βια)	ϙ γ
8	Παῆσις Δημητρίου	ναύ(βια)	ε
	[[Κασ.....	ναύ(βια)	γ]]

1. Κάστορος is a genitive; the mixture of nominative and genitive especially in name lists was already common centuries before. Ἀμίτων is not elsewhere attested.

2. Αἴπαρος is cited by the *Onomasticon* only from *P.Ryl.* IV 671 (IIa).

5. Presumably Ἀραβικός is meant.

6. Amaeis also has the title διάκων in *P.Mich.* X 596.5; it is equivalent to διάκονος, as pointed out by Deissman, *Licht vom Osten*[4] (Tübingen 1923) 73 [= *Light from the Ancient East* (London 1927) 94] (cited by Browne). An Aion *diakon* appears now in *P. Mich.* XII 651.4.

7. This person appears in *P.NYU* 7.13 and *P.NYU* 11a.172, of indictions 15 and 2 (341/2 and 343/4). He and Valerius are the only members of this list who appear in the extensive documentation for the 340's, which is hardly surprising, Valerius must have been nearly 60 now.

9. The line is thoroughly erased except for the first and last few letters.

168

Receipt for Dike Work

Inv. 181 (36) 17.3 x 28 cm. 373

Dirty brown papyrus, complete but with surface rubbed, some wormholes and other lacunae. Perhaps a single *kollema*, with right side cut carefully along glued edge. Folded vertically four times, right to left, width of folds ca. 4 cm., and horizontally three times, width of folds about 7.5 cm. Margins very narrow (1 cm. or under) except at bottom, 3.5 cm. Verso blank except for docket.

This is a relatively long receipt of its kind, especially if compared with *P.Mich.* X 596, which contains two receipts issued by the same man (with a different scribe) on the preceding day. The date of *168* is given by the consuls, thus demonstrating that *P.Mich.* 596 also belongs to year 373. On the connections of the two documents to *167*, see the introduction to that document.

Aurelius Ptoleminos calls himself *ναῦτος χωμάτων* in *P.Mich.* 596, a phrase which G. M. Browne conjectured was an error for *ναύτης χωμάτων*, sailor with charge of the dikes. Here we find *ναύτης δημοσίων χωμάτων*, which confirms Browne's opinion. Ptoleminos also wrote *P.NYU* 2, of a 6th indiction (perhaps 377/8, just possibly 362/3), but his title is lacking there. A good selection of bibliography on the dike receipts will be found *ad P.Mich.* 596.

→ Α[ὐ]ρήλιος Πτολεμῖνος Ερ[. . . .] ἀ[π]ὸ Πτολε[μαί-]
δος ὅρμου ναύτης δημοσίων χωμάτων
τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐαλε[ρίῳ]
4 *Ἀντιούριτος ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδο[ς] τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου*
νομοῦ. ὁμολογῶ πεπληρῶσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τὰ ἐροῦν-
τα σοὶ ναύεια διώρυγος Πτολεμαείδος ὅρμου
ναύεια πέντε τῆς α΄ νέας ἰνδικτίωνος
8 *καὶ ἐξεδόμην σοὶ τὴν ἀποχὴν κυρίαν*
οὖσαν καὶ βεβαίαν πανταχοῦ ἐπιφερομένην,
καὶ ἐπερωτηθὶς ὡμολόγησα.
ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν [Ο]*ὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος τῶν*
12 *αἰωνίων Ἀγούστων τὸ δ, Φαρμοῦθι ις. ἔγ(ραψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτοῦ.*
(M2) *Αὐρήλιος Πτολεμῖνος ἐξαιδόμειν τὴν ἀποχὴν*
ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Κόμων Νείλου αἴγρ(αψα) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.
16 *βεβαιω( ) . . . .*
Verso: one-line docket, not clear enough to read.

4 Ἀντιουρίου 5 αἱροῦντα 6, 7 ναύβια 12 αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων 13 ἐξε-
δόμην 14 ἔγρ(αψα)

Aurelius Ptoleminos son of Er . . ., from Ptolemais Harbor, sailor in charge of public dikes from the city of the Arsinoites, to Aurelius Valerius son of Antiourios from the village of Karanis of the Arsinoite Nome. I acknowledge the fulfillment by you of the naubia owed

by you on the dike of Ptolemais Harbor, five naubia for the 1st new indiction, and I have issued to you the receipt, which is valid and secure wherever it is produced, and on formal interrogation I have given my assent.

In the consulate of our masters Valentinian and Valens the everliving Augusti for the 4th time, Pharmouthi 16. I wrote for him.

(M2) I, Aurelius Ptoleminos, issued the receipt as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Komon son of Neilos, wrote for him.

5–6. For αἱροῦντα, see *P.Thead.* 34.5n.

6, 7. A similar phonetic spelling of ναύβια appears in *P.Mich.* X 596.5,17.

7. Indiction 1 = 372/3.

11–12. Fourth consulate of Valentinian and Valens is 373. Pharmouthi 16 = 11 April.

12. This scribal signature was not really necessary here; even much more vital elements, in fact, might safely be omitted without altering the fact that a text was a valid receipt; cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I 66, n. 21, and 100 for discussion and bibliography.

16. I do not know what this note means.

169—170

Petitions for Recovery

Inv. 61 and 62 318

Published: N. Lewis, *JJurPap* 2 (1948) 51–66 (*SB* VI 9187–9188); cf. M.-Th. Lenger, *Cd'E* 24 (1949) 359–360.

These two petitions represent the culmination of a long struggle between Aurelius Isidoros and two residents of Boubastos, Kastor and Ammonianus, and their heirs and successors. The beginning of the controversy may be found in *P.Mert.* II 91, a petition of 30 January 316 from Isidoros to Aurelius Octavius, *strategos* of the Arsinoite Nome, which in turn includes a copy of a petition of 27 December 315 sent to Aurelius Antonius, *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia; the *praeses* had in reply instructed the *exactor* to compel Kastor and Ammonianus to make restitution to Isidoros. The history of the quarrel is as follows: Isidoros leased (in 314/5) 25 arouras of grain land from the brothers on the commonly used basis that each party would have half of the crop, with Isidoros furnishing the labor. In fact, Isidoros paid all of the costs of cultivation (seed, plowing, harvesting) and also lent money to his landlords. Instead of repaying Isidoros from the produce, however, the brothers seized the entire crop. It was at this point that Isidoros appealed to the *praeses*, and then to the *strategos* (*P.Mert.* 91).

We learn from *169* that a settlement was reached in Phamenoth of 316, in which the brothers paid off their indebtedness to Isidoros except for 32 artabas of wheat and 18 of beans. This remaining amount was secured by the hypothecation of three of their oxen, and in addition Tomis, the brother-in-law of Kastor and Ammonianus, became surety for the delivery of the three oxen if repayment was not made in Pauni (316), after the next harvest.

Our documents, which come from 318, do not set out the chronology of the intervening period in detail, but no payment was made in Pauni; then Kastor died, Ammonianus fled, and their successors (Tomis and his brother Demetrios, the husband of the brothers' sister Atola) were unwilling to discharge the debt. On 13 April 318, Isidoros petitioned the *praeses* again (in *169*); this petition was returned with the *praeses*' reply, that the *praepositus pagi* would investigate and help Isidoros to recover whatever was lawfully his. A copy of all this with a covering petition was then sent to the *praepositus pagi* (*170*). Further copies of *170*, which includes the text of *169*, are given by *P.Cair.Isid.* 76, which is a text established from collation of two copies in the Cairo collection.

The first publication by Lewis of the two Columbia documents has a detailed commentary on the hypothecation of oxen and on the judicial competence of the *praepositus pagi*. Readers are referred to that article for these subjects.

169

Inv. 61 25.5 x 26 cm. 13 April 318

This medium-brown papyrus is complete although it has suffered minor damage at various points. There were six vertical folds. The back contains the fragments of ten lines in a very small cursive hand, unconnected with the text on the recto. The year is not given on the papyrus, but the close relationship to *170* makes it clear that the papyri belong in the same year.

→ Οὐαλερίῳ Ζίπερι τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι Ἡρ̣κ̣ο̣υ̣λ̣[ί]ας
Αἰγύπτου
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἰσιδώρου Πτολεμαίου ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος
τοῦ Ἀρσιν̣ο̣[ίτου νομο]ῦ. κ̣α̣τ̣ὰ τὸν
Φαμενὼθ μῆνα τῆς Σαβείνου καὶ Ῥουφίνου ὑπατείας, ἡγεμῶν
δέσ[π]ο[τα, Κ]ά̣σ̣τ̣ω̣ρ καὶ ὁ τ̣ο̣ύ̣τ̣ου
4 ἀδελφὸ̣ς̣ Ἀμμωνια̣νὸς̣ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἐν χρίᾳ
γενόμενοι ηὐχρ̣[ηστήθησα]ν̣ παρ' ἐμοῦ σίτου
ἀρτάβας τριάκοντα δύο καὶ φασήλου ἀρτάβας δεκαοκτὼ καὶ
γραμματε̣[ῖά μοι το]ύ̣τ̣ων ἔθε̣ν̣ το ἐπὶ ὑπο-
θήκ̣η̣ β̣ο̣ϊκῶν τετραπόδων τριῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ὁ
τ̣[ούτων π]ε̣ρ̣θερὸς Τῶμις ὁμολο-
γείας γράμματά μοι ἔθετο δι' ἧς τὴν ἀναδοχὴν τῶν βοῶν
πεποίηται ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐὰν μὴ εἴσω τοῦ Παῦνι μη-
8 νὸς τὴν τῶν ὀσπρέων παράδοσίν μοι ποιήσωνται δηλαδὴ τὴν τῶν
βοῶν ἔχειν με δεσποτίαν τοῖς
γραμματείοις ἀκολούθως. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ μὲν Κάστωρ ἐξῆλθεν τὸν
βίον καὶ Ἀμμωνια̣νὸς̣ ἐν ἀναχωρήσει
τυγχάνε[ι], ὅ τε π̣ρ̣οκείμενος Τῶμις καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφὸς
Δημήτριος ἀ̣ν̣ὴ̣ρ τ̣υ̣γχάνων τῆς τῶν ὑπο-
χρέω̣ν̣ μου ἀδελφῆς Ἀτολᾶς πάντων τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνων
καταλιφθέντ[ων]—βοϊκῶν δὴ λέγω

12 ὀκτὼ καὶ οἰκ[ο]πέδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων—ἐνκρατῆς ἐγένοντο, ἐμοὶ
μηδὲν π̣αρασχόμενοι μήτε τὰ
ὄσπρεα μήτε τὰ βοϊκὰ τετράποδα τοσούτου χρόνου
διαγενομένου, καταφρονοῦντές μου,
τούτου ἕνεκεν καταλαμβάνω τὴν σὴν ἀνδρείαν δεόμενος καὶ
παρακαλῶν ὅπως εἴ σοι δό-
ξιεν κελεῦσαι δι' οὗ ἐὰν δοκιμάσῃς ἐπαναγκασθῆναι τοὺς
ἀντιτεταγμένους ἢ τὰ ὄσπρεα ἀποδοῖ-
16 ναι ἢ τὴν τῶν βοῶν τριῶν ἀποκατάστασίν μοι ποιήσασθαι τοῖς
γραμματίοις ἀκολούθως, καὶ χάριτάς
σοι ὁμο[λογ]εῖν. διευτύχει. Φαρμοῦθι ιη.
(M2) ὁ πραιπόσιτος τοῦ πάγου διαγνοὺς μεταξὺ ὑμῶν τὴν
προσήκουσάν σοι
βοήθειαν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρεωστουμένοις παρέξει. κόλ(λημα) ξη.

14-15 δόξεια 18 ὑμων pap.

To Valerius Ziper, the most distinguished *praeses Aegypti Herculiae*, from Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, from the village of Karanis of the Arsinoite Nome.

In the month of Phamenoth in the consulate of Sabinus and Rufinus, my lord *praeses*, Kastor and his brother Ammonianus, inhabitants of the same village, having fallen into need borrowed from me thirty-two artabas of wheat and eighteen (artabas) of kidney-beans, and they gave me a note for these, mortgaging three oxen as security. On the same day, their brother-in-law Tomis executed in my behalf a contract-bond by which he undertook the security of the oxen, so that if they [Kastor and Ammonianus] did not effect the delivery of the produce to me within the month of Pauni, I was clearly to acquire ownership of the oxen, in accordance with the bond.

Now since Kastor has departed this life and Ammonianus is in flight from his home, the aforesaid Tomis and his brother Demetrios, who is the husband of Atolas the sister of my debtors, have taken possession of everything left by them—viz., eight oxen, house (-lot)s and the rest—and, despising me, have given me nothing, neither the produce nor the oxen, though so long a time has passed.

Therefore, I appeal to your nobility, begging and beseeching you to instruct, if it please you, through whomever you think best that my opponents be compelled either to pay back the produce or to effect the transfer to me of the three oxen in accordance with the bond, and I shall be grateful to you. Farewell. Pharmouthi 18.

(M2) (Reply of the *praeses*) The *praepositus pagi*, after having decided between you, will provide you the appropriate assistance in the matter of the debt owed you. Page 68.

1. For the *praeses* Valerius Ziper, see Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte* (Bruxelles 1964) 255; she cites Lewis' restoration of the nomen in *P. Thead.* 19, which has not been listed in the *BL*. His term of office was 316–321; cf. *CPR* V 7.2n.

8. ὄσπρεα refers in the parlance of this period to any mixed produce; here it is wheat and kidney-beans. See the first edition for references.

9. I take the plural γραμματεῖα here and in line 16 to refer to the newest group of documents, those of Phamenoth 316. Isidoros is in effect suing all of his possible adversaries, and leaving it to the *praeses* to allocate the guilt and burden of repayment.

11. The name Ἀτολᾶς is probably a variant of Ἀτωρᾶς = Ἀδωρᾶς; cf. *135*.19.

17. The detailed argument for the necessity of placing this document in 318, rather than in 317 (the other possibility) is given by Lewis in the notes to the first edition. This date has been accepted by the editors of *P. Mert.* II 91 and *P. Cair. Isid.* 76, and I consider that the argument is still valid. It is very unlikely that Isidoros would have had to wait more than a year for the *praeses*' subscription, and we see in *170* that he submitted it to the *praepositus pagi* with no evidence of delay. Isidoros apparently uses the infinitive ὁμολογεῖν because of the preceding series of infinitives.

18–19. The number refers to the file in the *praeses*' office.

170

Inv. 62 — 26.5 x 26 cm. — 15 July 318

This light brown papyrus has suffered some damage at right and is badly rubbed, with the writing effaced, at points in the center. The back is blank. The text is essentially the same as that of *169*, preceded by the covering letter to the *praepositus*.

→ Αὐρηλίῳ Γεροντίῳ π[ραιπ]ο[σί]τ̣ῳ ε̣ [π]ά̣γου
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἰσιδώρου Πτολεμαίου ἀπὸ κ[ώ]μης Καρα̣νίδος.
ὧν ἀνήνεγκα βιβλ[ι]δ[ί]ω̣ν τῷ κυρίῳ μου διασῃ-
μοτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι τῆς Ἡρκουλίας Αἰγύπτου Οὐ[αλερ]ί[ω] Ζίπερι
μεθ' ἧς ἔτ̣υχον ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγα̣λείου αὐτοῦ ὑπογραφῆς τ̣ὸ ἀν-
4 τίγραφον ἐξῆς ὑποτάξας ἐπιδίδωμί σοι, ἀξιῶ[ν] τ̣[ούτ]ω̣ν τ̣ὸ ἴσον
ἐπισταλ̣ῆναι το̣ῖς αἰτιαθε̣ῖ[σι]ν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Τώμ[ει καὶ Δημη-]
τρίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης, ἵν' εἰδῶσι τὰ κ̣εκ̣ε̣λ̣[ευσμέν]α [καὶ]
π̣ροσεδ̣ρεύσωσιν τῷ σ̣[ῷ δι]καστηρίῳ ἄχρι ἁ̣[ν τὰ με-]
ταξὺ ἡμῶν πέρατος τύχῃ. διευτύχει. ὑπα̣τ̣είας τ̣[ῶν δεσποτ]ῶ̣[ν
ἡμῶ]ν̣ Λ̣ι̣κ̣ι̣ν̣ν̣ίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Κρίσπου [τοῦ]
ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α', Ἐπεὶφ κβ. ἔ[στι] δέ· [Οὐαλερίῳ
Ζίπ]ε̣ρι τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἡγε̣μόνι Ἡρκο[υλίας]
8 Αἰγύπτου παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἰσιδώρ[ο]ν̣ Πτολε̣[μαίο]ν̣ ἀπ̣[ὸ
κώμης Καρα]ν̣ίδ̣ος τ̣οῦ Ἀρσι̣ε̣[οίτ]ου νομοῦ. κ̣ατὰ τὸν
Φαμενὼθ μῆνα τῆς Σαβείνου καὶ Ῥ[ου]φ[ίνου ὑπατ]ε̣ί[ας, ἡγε-
μῶν δέσ]π̣οτα, Κάσ[τωρ καὶ] ὁ τ̣ούτου ἀδελ[φὸς Ἀμ-]
μωνιανὸς ἀπὸ τῆς α̣ὐτῆς κώμης ἐν χρίᾳ [γενόμε]ν̣ο̣ι ν̣ὐχρησ̣τ-
ήθη̣σ̣α̣ν̣ παρ' ἐμοῦ [σίτου ἀ]ρτάβας τρ[ιάκοντα]
δύο καὶ φασήλου ἀρτάβας δεκαοκτὼ κ̣αὶ γρ̣ο̣[μματ]ε̣ί̣ᾳ [μο]ι
[τούτων] ἔθεντο ἐπὶ ὑ[ποθ]ήκ̣η̣ βοϊκῶ[ν τετραπό-]
12 δων τριῶν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ὁ [τούτων πενθ]ερὸς Τῶμις
ὁμολογείας γραμματεῖόν μο̣ι [ἔθετο]
δι' ἧς τ̣ὴ̣ν ἀναδοχὴν τῶν βοῶν πε̣π̣ο̣ίη̣[ται ἐφ' ὥτε] ἐὰν μὴ εἴσω τοῦ
Παῦνι μηνὸς τὴν τῶν ὀ̣σ̣π̣ρέ-

ων παράδωσίν μοι ποιήσωνται δηλαδ[ὴ τὴ]ν [τῶν] βοῶν ἔχειν με
δεσποτίαν τοῖς γραμματίο[ι]ς
ἀκολούθως. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ μὲν Κάρτωρ ἐξῆλθ[ε] τὸν βίον καὶ Ἀμμω-
νιανὸς ἐν ἀναχωρήσει τυγχάνει,
16 ὅ τε προκείμενος Τῶμις καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελ[φὸς] Δ[ημή]τριος
ἀ[νὴ]ρ τυγχάνων τῆς τῶν ὑποχρέων μου
ἀδελφ[ῆς] Ἀτολᾶς πάντων τῶν ὑπ' [ἐκείνων καταλι]φθέντων –
βοϊκῶν δὴ λέγω ὀκτὼ καὶ οἰκοπέ-
δων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων – ἐνκρατῆς ἐγ[ένοντο, ἐμοὶ] μηδὲν παρασχό-
μενοι μήτε τὰ ὄσπρεα μήτε
τὰ β[οϊ]κὰ τετρ[ά]πορα τοσούτου [χρ]όν[ου] διαγενομένου, κατα-
φρονοῦντές μου, τούτου ἕν[εκ-]
20 κεν καταλαμβάνω τὴν σὴν ἀνδρ[εί]αν [δεό]μενος [καὶ παρα-]
καλῶν ὅπως εἴ σοι δόξιεν κελεῦσαι δι' οὗ [ἐὰν δο-]
κιμά[σῃ]ς ἐπαναγκασθῆναι τοὺς ἀντιτετα[γ]μένους ἢ τὰ ὄσπρεα
ἀποδοῦναι ἢ τὴ[ν] τῶν βοῶν τριῶν [ἀπο-]
κατ[άστ]ασίν μοι προήσασθαι τοῖς γραμ[μ]ατίοις ἀκολούθως, καὶ
χάριτάς σοι ὁμολογεῖν. διευτύ[χει.]
Φαρμοῦθι [ι]η. ὁ πραιπ[ό]σιτος τοῦ [πάγου διαγνοὺ]ς μεταξὺ
ὑμῶν τὴν προσήκουσάν [σοι]
24 βοήθειαν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρεωστουμένοις παρέξει. κόλ(λημα) ξη.
(M2) Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐ[πιδέ-]
δωκα. Αὐρήλιος Σερῆνος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου.

4 ἴσον pap.; ἐπισταλῆναι, first α corr. fr. ο 5 ἴν pap.; κεκελευσμένα from *P.Cair.Isid.* 76
7 κφ ed. pr., κβ *P.Cair.Isid.* 76 8 Αὐρηλίου: ρ ex corr.

To Aurelius Gerontius, *praepositus* of the fifth *pagus*, from Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, from the village of Karanis.

Appending immediately below the petition which I submitted to my lord Valerius Ziper, the most distinguished *praeses Aegypti Herculiae*, together with the subscription granted to me by his highness, I present this to you, with the request that the duplicate be sent to those accused by me, namely Tomis and Demetrios, inhabitants of the same village, so that they may know what has been ordered, and may attend at your court until the issue between us is settled. Farewell.

Consulate of our lords Licinius Augustus for the fifth time and Crispus the most noble Caesar for the first time, Epeiph 22.

As follows: [there follows a copy of *169*].

(M2) I, Aurelius Isidoros, submitted the petition. I, Aurelius Serenus, wrote for him because he is illiterate.

1. Gerontius is no doubt the later *strategos* of the Arsinoite Nome known from *P.Amh.* II 138 (see V. Martin, *Archiv* 6 [1920] 163, *BL* III, 5) and other documents; for references, see now G. Bastianini, *Gli strateghi dell'Arsinoites in epoca Romana* (Pap.Brux. 11, 1972) 61; he was *strategos* from 323–326. Cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 75 introd., where it is suggested that he was a receiver of chaff in 311.

171

Petition to the *Praepositus Pagi*

Inv. 187 12 x 26 cm. 324

Published: N. Lewis, *P.Coll.Youtie* II 77

Light-brown papyrus showing several vertical folds. Well-preserved except for some surface abrasion toward the right. The writing, a rapid cursive that is almost a scrawl, crosses the joint of two *kollemata* at the right; the final upsilon is regularly written in the raised position. The verso is blank.

The destructive irruption of cattle onto crop land was an age-old problem in Egypt. In the late third century it reached such serious proportions that in 292 the prefect issued a decree, preserved in *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2704, admitting lawsuits in such cases to his personal jurisdiction and threatening the guilty with confiscation of the offending cattle and other "stern measures." These penalties are invoked in two documents of the Isidoros archive, *P.Cair.Isid.* 78 and *P.Mert.* II 92. In the former, written in January of 324, Isidoros complains to the *praepositus pagi* that cattle have devastated his wheat crop; in the latter, written on the last day of May, he amplifies, naming the owners of the offending cattle and characterizing them as *μεγάλα δυνόμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων*.

In the present petition, written about a week later (and thus the latest dated document from the archive of Aurelius Isidoros), on 6 June 324, Isidoros sends to the same *praepositus* a similar complaint against two other men. In this instance, as he reports in picturesque detail, he took hold of the offending cow and was leading it back to the village (presumably to arrange for its confiscation) when he was set upon by the animal's owners, from whom he was rescued by a deacon and a monk—our clearest evidence yet of a Christian establishment in the area so early in the fourth century, a mere dozen years after the battle at the Milvian Bridge. Cf. E. A. Judge, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 20 (1977) 72 ff.

→ Διοσκόρῳ Καίσωρι πραιπ(οσίτῳ) ε πάγου
παρὰ Ἰσιδώρου Πτολεμαίου ἀπὸ κώ(μης) Κα̣ρ̣[α]ν̣ίδος
τοῦ ὑμετέρου πάγου· τῶν θρεμμ[άτ]ων Παμού-
4 νεως καὶ Ἀρπάλου κα̣τ̣αλυμηνα̣[μέ]νων ἣν
ἔχω σπορὰν καὶ μὴν καὶ τῆς β̣[οὸ]ς α̣[ὐτῶν] π̣ά̣λιν
ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καταβοσκηθείσης ὥσ̣τ̣ε ἀχρή-
σιμόν μοι τὴν γεωργίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ κ̣α̣τ̣α̣λαβο-
8 μένου μου τὴν βοῦν καὶ ἀνάγοντος αὐτὴν
ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης ἀπαντήσαντές μοι κατὰ τοὺς
ἀγροὺς μεγά‹λῳ› ῥοπάλῳ καὶ χαμαιριφῇ ἐμὲ ποι-
ησάμενοι πληγαῖς κατέκοψαν καὶ τὴν βοῦν
12 ἀφείλαντο ὥσπερ καὶ αἱ περὶ ἐμὲ πληγαὶ
δηλοῦσιν, καὶ εἰ μὴ βοηθείας ἔτυχο(ν) ὑπὸ
τῶν παραγενομένων Ἀντωνίνου διάκο-
νος καὶ Ἰσὰκ μοναχοῦ τάχα ἂν τέλεόν
16 με ἀπώλεσαν. ὅθεν ἐπιδίδωμι τάδε

τὰ ἔνγραφα ἀξιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀχθῆναι ἐπὶ σοῦ
καὶ περὶ τῆς σπορᾶς καὶ περὶ τῆς ὕβρεως
τηρεῖσθαι ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τοῦ
20 ἡγεμονικοῦ δικαστηρίου .....

τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ δ
Παῦνι ιβ

To Dioskoros Caeso, *praepositus* of the 5th *pagus*, from Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, from the village of Karanis in your *pagus*. The cattle of Pamounis and Harpalos damaged the planting which I have and, what is more, [their cow] grazed in the same place so thoroughly that my husbandry has become useless. I caught the cow and was leading it up to the village when they met me in the fields with a big club, threw me to the ground, rained blows upon me and took away the cow—as indeed the (marks of) the blows all over me show—and if I had not chanced to obtain help from the deacon Antoninus and the monk Isaac, who happened by, they would probably have finished me off completely. Therefore I submit this document, asking that they be brought before you to preserve my claim (to be heard) in the prefectural court both in the matter of the planting and in the matter of the assault.

In the year of the consuls-to-be for the fourth time, Pauni 12.

1. For the second cognomen of the *praepositus* see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischen Eigennamen*, 136 and 439, n.1. It is conceivable that the much more common nomen Caesonius is meant, and that we are to understand an abbreviation, but there is no mark of any abbreviation. That Caeso is an abbreviated patronymic seems to me very unlikely.

14–15. Commenting on the appearance of an ex-gymnasiarch named Aurelius Ioannes in two Isidoros documents of 304 and 306, the editors of *P.Cair.Isid.* remarked (114.2n.), "The name is distinctively Jewish or Christian. . . . Unfortunately, there is no assurance that Johannes is either Jewish or Christian by religion. Although he is certainly descended from a Jewish or Christian family, the various social and official pressures of the time may have converted him to paganism as they did so many others. The text is inconclusive." The present mention of a deacon and a monk leaves no doubt now that by the end of the first quarter of the fourth century the Christian church was fully institutionalized in or near Karanis.

18–20. The petitioner reserves his right to bring an action before the prefect. In the matter of the destroyed crop the action would lie, presumably, pursuant to the prefect's decree of *P.Oxy.* 2704 (see introd.). As for the charge of assault and battery, a papyrus of the mid-second century (*SB* XII 10929) shows that the prefect took jurisdiction in cases of *ὕβρις ἀνήκεστος (vis atrox)*, probably only when this involved Roman citizens; by the fourth century, of course, this included practically everybody: see N. Lewis, *Rev. hist. droit* 4 ser. 50 (1972) 5–12.

20. At the end, perhaps διευτύχει.

21. For this style of dating, see *143*.11–13n.

172

Petition about Land

Inv. 314 21 x 27.5 cm. *ca* 341–342 (?)

Light colored papyrus, complete except at upper left and bottom, but with considerable effacement of text and numerous holes. The writing crosses joints at left and right. Three vertical folds. The verso is blank.

This petition from Valerius son of Antiourios, a well-known figure in the Karanis documents from the middle of the fourth century (cf. above, pp. 7–8), complains that the *horiodiktes* Palemon has registered the entire eighty arouras possessed by him and his brothers as arable, so that they are required to pay taxes on all of it, even though half of the land is not irrigated and was registered by the surveyor as wasteland. The petition proceeds to make a remark about an additional twenty-three arouras held by Tapaeis, a relative of Valerius, who had taken to flight; perhaps these had also been added to Valerius' tax burden, but the papyrus becomes fragmentary and then breaks off at the crucial point.

The official addressed was apparently called *ὁ διασημότατος ἡγεμών*; this title properly belongs to the *praeses* and not to the prefect, and in fact petitions otherwise seem to be fairly consistent in addressing the *praeses* as *ἡγεμών*, the prefect as *ἔπαρχος* (see Lallemand, *L'administration*, 60–61, and Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des Préfets d'Egypte de 284 à 395* [Coll. Latomus 55: Bruxelles 1962] 100–101). (Palaeographically *λαμπρότατος* is possible, but it is not likely as an epithet of the *praeses* at this period.) Since Tapaeis is known to have been born about 320 (above, p. 7), it is unlikely that the *praeses* addressed can be the *praeses Aegypti Herculiae*, who was active only from 315 until 323; it is much more likely that we are dealing here with the *praeses Augustamnicae*. Augustamnica was created in 341; on the other hand, we know that Tapaeis was in Karanis, selling 9½ arouras of land, in 342 (*181*). Given the amounts of land credited to her in other documents (see above, p. 92), I think it likely that the 23 arouras cited here belong to the period before the sale. If this is correct, the present petition must belong to 341 or early 342. It is not impossible, however, that it belongs after 342.

It is probable that the critical distinction in the argument between Valerius and the *horiodiktes* was the question of whether the 40 arouras which were currently unwatered were in fact permanently dry (*χέρσος*), as the surveyor had thought and Valerius claimed, or merely temporarily unwatered but able to be returned to cultivation in another year (*ἄβροχος*), as the *horiodiktes* no doubt alleged. The former category was not entered in the tax rolls, whereas the latter was taxed even in years when nothing was grown upon it. (See *P.Cair.Isid.*, pp. 57–58, 101 for the categories and their taxes.) It is not made clear in the petition whether a complete new survey had been made, or whether this was just a particular instance of reclassification by a single official. The survey on which the census of Sabinus was based, four decades before, involved both the *horiodiktes* and the surveyors.

→ [– – ± 22 – –]...[..].....ᾳτῳ ἡγεμ[όνι]
[– ± 10 χαί]ρειν *vacat*
[παρὰ Αὐρ]ηλίου Οὐαλ[ερίου] Ἀντιουρίου ἀπὸ κώμης Κ̣ᾳρ̣[ανίδος]

4 [τοῦ Ἀρσι]ν̣οίτου νομοῦ. τελῶ ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφ[οὶ ἐμ]ο̣[ῦ]
[ὑπὲρ ἀρ]ο̣[υ]ρῶν ὀγδοήκοντα ἀφ' ὧν σπίρονται τὸ ἥμ[ισ]υ̣
[μέρος,] τ̣[ὸ δ]ὲ λοιπὸν ἥμισυ μέρος ἀ̣γ̣ε̣ώρ̣[γ]η̣τόν ἐ̣σ̣τ̣ι̣ν̣.
ἐπ̣[ειδὴ ..] ἀ̣ν̣α̣μετρουμ[έ]ν̣ης τῆς γῆς ὁ ὁριο̣δίκτης τῶν
8 τ̣ό̣[πω]ν̣ Π̣αλήμων κατὰ ἐθελοκακίαν πάσας τὰς
ἀρ̣[ούρ]α̣ς ὑπέβαλεν σπο̣ρίμ[α]ς καὶ τέλεον ἃ μέ̣τ̣ρ̣ι̣α
..[.]..... ἐπὶ οὖν καὶ π̣οτίστρα ἔ̣σ̣τ̣ι̣ν δι' ἧς
κ̣[αὶ πο]τ̣ί̣ζ̣ο̣ν̣τ̣α̣ι (?) τὰ ἡμέτ̣ε̣ρ̣α γῆδια, ὁ αὐτὸς ὁριοδίκ̣τ̣η̣ς
12 Π̣[αλ]ήμων ὑπέβαλ̣[ε]ν̣ αὐτὰς ἐν τάξι σπορίμης
γῆς πάντων ποτιζόντων ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ μηδὲ τ̣ῶ̣ν̣
.[...] σπαρέντων, παρακαλῶ τὴν σὴν λαμπρότητα
ἐ̣π̣ι̣δὴ (?) καὶ Πορφυρίου τοῦ γεομέτρου ἀ̣ν̣α̣μετρήσαν-
16 τ̣ο̣[ς] δίκαιον ἔπραξεν καὶ τὴν μὲν σπορίμην ὡς
σπ̣[ορί]μη̣ν̣ ἠνένεγκεν, τὴν δὲ χέρσοι ἀμμόχωστον
ὡς [χέρσο]ν̣ ἤνεγκεν, ὁ δὲ Παλήμων ὁ ὁριοδίκτης
ὑπ̣[έ]βαλεν τὰς πάσας ἀρούρας σπορίμας {ἐποίησεν}
20 καὶ ἐ̣[πι]δὴ Ταπάεις Ἑρᾶ συνγενική μου τ̣ῇ διαφυγῇ ἐχρή[σ]α̣τ̣ο̣
κε̣κ̣[τημ]ένη ἀρούρας εἴκοσι τρῖς ἃς καλλίσ[τ]ας οὔσας εἰς [α]ὐ-
τὴν [ἀ]ν̣ε̣πε̣μψαν ἐχούσαν ι̣[.]δε̣ς δύο .[..]..σ̣ι̣α̣.....
ε̣ι̣ς [..].... ὅπως ε[ἰ] σοι δόξ̣ε̣ι̣ν κελεύ[σ]αι ἀνα.....
24 [..... ὁριοδί]κτου ἐκίνου τὴν .....[.....]...[.
[– ± 10]..τα.....[..].[

1 prob. [δι]ασημοτάτῳ 5 σπείρεται 10 ἐπεί 15 γεωμέτρου 17 χέρσον
24 ἐκείνου; κ corr fr. τ

[To ...], the most distinguished *praeses* [of Augustamnica?], greeting [from] Aurelius Valerius son of Antiourios from the village of Karanis [of the] Arsinoite Nome. I pay taxes, I and my brothers, [for] eighty arouras, of which one-half are sown, and the other half are unfarmed. Since . . . when the land was measured, the *horiodiktes* of the district, Palemon, because of malice recorded all the arouras as arable and which are mediocre, . . . , since there is a conduit through which our plots are watered, the same *horiodiktes* Palemon reported them in the category of arable land, although everybody draws water from it [the conduit], not [all the adjacent land] is seeded. I ask your magnificence, since also when Porphyrios the surveyor measured he did justice and reported the arable land as arable, but the waste, sandy land as waste land, but Palemon the *horiodiktes* reported all the arouras as arable, and since Tapaeis daughter of Heras, my kinsman, has taken to flight, being the possessor of twenty-three of the finest possible arouras they reported her as having . . . so that if it please you to order . . . that *horiodiktes*.

1. If the date is in fact 341–2, the *praeses* would be Flavius Iulius Ausonius (Lallemand, 256–257), whose names would adequately fill the space.

9. The reading seems correct, but the syntax is apparently muddled; one expects probably τελε(ί)ας ἃς μετρίας.

12. Palemon, like Porphyrios, is unknown, although persons of the former name are common enough in Karanis in this period.

13–14. The uncertain part here may have been a phrase like "and not that only some were sown," but I cannot find a suitable reading which will fit the traces.

20. Tapaeis was, I argue in the general introduction, the half-sister of Valerius' father; it is no wonder that the complainant uses the vague term here.

173

Petition about Illegal Sale

Inv. 312 24.1 x 25 cm. *ca* 330–340 (?)

Light yellow papyrus, complete on all sides but very poorly preserved. Four vertical folds. Writing across a joint near the middle. Verso blank.

This petition is of considerable interest, but its extremely poor condition makes the reading and interpretation hazardous. Aurelia Tapaeis (on whom see above, p. 7) appeals to a high official to protect her from the illegal actions of two men who have sold property which belonged to her and not to them. If the names are read correctly, the two men are Antiourios son of Abous and Atisios son of Leonides, well-known figures in Karanis during the second quarter of the fourth century; Antiourios, in fact, was Tapaeis' half-brother. The second parcel mentioned, 9½ arouras of arable land, was in fact sold in 342 by Tapaeis and her brother to just these two men; the contract of sale is preserved in *181*. It seems certain that this petition must antedate the contract, since we have no reason to doubt the validity of the sale.

The other factor which contributes to dating this text is the fact that Tapaeis describes herself as being an orphan and a minor (lines 8–9). Since we know from *181* that Tapaeis was about 22 years old in 342, her minority would have ended in about 334. Unfortunately the sentence in which her claim to be a minor occurs is badly damaged on both sides of the crucial phrase, with the result that we cannot be certain whether she was a minor when the illegal sale took place or is one now, or both. It appears to me likely that the last is the case.

On the other hand, it is clear that the text cannot date from before 324, given the presence of a Flavius in the name of the high official who is approached. Our inability to read the title of the official is unfortunate, but unless the date is 341 or later, which is not likely, the official must be the prefect. He cannot, furthermore, be Flavius Philagrius, whose honorific is λαμπρότατος, not διασημότατος. The years 335–336 and 338–340 are thus excluded. But ἡγεμών usually refers to the *praeses* (see *172* introd.).

I am much indebted to E. G. Turner and K. A. Worp for suggestions on the text of this papyrus.

→ Φλαυ[ίῳ ..].. [... τ]ῷ διασημοτά[τῳ] ἡ[γ]ε[μό]ν[ι..] .....
παρὰ Α[ὐρη]λίας [Τα]π̣ά̣ιτος Ἐρᾷ [μη(τρὸς) Ἀλλοῦτος ἀπὸ
κώμ]ης Κ̣αρ̣ανίδ[ος]
τοῦ Ἀρσ[ιν]ο̣ί̣τ̣ου ν̣ομοῦ· δικαιοτάτην [ἀ]ξ̣ίωσι[ν] β̣[αλοῦσ]α τῷ
σῷ μεγ[έθει], ἡ-

4 γεμῶν [δ]ἑσποτα, εὔελπίς εἰμι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ [σοῦ με]γ[έ]θ[ο]υς
βοηθείας τυ-
χεῖν· [τά]δε κατεμαρ[τ]ύρησα ὅτι Ἀν[τιο]ῦρις [Ἀβοῦτος κ]αὶ
Ἀτίσιος τοῦ
υἱὸς Λ[εων]ίδου ἀπὸ [τῆ]ς αὐτῆς κώμης Κα[ρα]νί[δος] πρᾶγ[μ]α
παρα[ν]ομό-
τατο[ν κα]τ' ἐμοῦ διέπρ[αξαν] ὅπερ οἱ νόμοι [τ]ὴν [σὴν] μεγαλίαν
ἀκοιροῦν
8 εἰσφ[έρου]σι[ν]. πα.[...].[.]..... παρα[.]..[...].. πρός με
παῖδα ἀτε-
λῆ κ[αὶ ὀρ]φανὴν ο[ὖσαν .].[.].....[..] τὰς μητρῴας μου
ἀρού-
ρας τ[έσσα]ρας [[.]]αι..[..].[..].....[..]....ησεν πρός τινα
γραμ-
ματέ[α] Δί[δ]υμον καὶ [.].....[.....].ου ὑποτελοῦσα. δεῖ
12 γὰρ α..ουδεινου [... ὑ]πογράφει η..... [ὑπο]γ[ρ]άψαι, ..ς
αὐτῶν νομί-
μως ... διαπραξ[α]μένη δεδύνηται πρᾶξ[αι ....]αι τῶν μητρῴων
μου
ἀρου[ῶ]ν ἐννέα ἡμίσους ὄντων περὶ τὴν [αὐτὴν] κώμην Καρανίδα.
τὸ δὲ
χεῖρα ἕτερον καὶ α..[..]ον ἐποίησεν ἐν ταύ[τῃ τῇ] πράσει ὅπερ οὐκ
ἐξοδίασ‹εν›
16 ἐπιβαλόμενος δεσποτ[ί]αν αὐτῶν ἐκ δίκης [....] τοίνυν ταῦτα τὰ
γραμματῖα
μάλιστα κατὰ περιγραφὴν ἀτελῶν πρ...[...]. συνεστανόμενα
ὡς
προείρηται ἀκυροῦσιν οἱ νόμοι καὶ τὰ [.....]... τούτου χάριν
εὐτυ-
χήσασα [τ]ῆς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς σου ἀρχῆς τὴν [εἰς το]ὺς πόδας σου καταφυγὴ[ν]
20 ποιοῦμαι παῖς ὀρφανὴ δεομένη, καὶ πα...[..] σοῦ ἐμοῦ
ἀληθευούσης
ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅπως προστάξῃς Πτολε[μαῖον].....[....] τοῦτον ἀπὸ
.....ξης του..... προ.[.....].. ἄκυρ[ο]ν εἶναι τὴν
γενομ[έ]νην παράνομον πρᾶσιν, παραδ[οῦ]ναι δ' ἐμοὶ [τὴν τ]ῶν
γηδί[ων]
24 δεσποτίαν ἵνα τούτο[υ] τυχοῦσα δυνηθῶ δυνησιν αὐτῶν ἔχειν καὶ
εἰς ἀεὶ σοὶ εὐχαριστήσω. διευτύχει. Αὐρη[λί]α [Τα]πάεις
ἐπ[ι]δέδωκα. Αὐρήλιο[ς]
Διόσκορος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγραμμάτου.

5-6 υἱὸς τοῦ 6-7 παρανομώτατον 7 ἀκυροῦν 11 δεῖ corrected 13 μητρῴων
14 οὐσῶν 14-15 τὴν δὲ χεῖρα ἑτέραν; α of χεῖρα and ε of ἕτερον corrected

To Flavius . . . , the most distinguished prefect (?) ---, from Aurelia Tapais daughter of Heras [and Allous, from] the village of Karanis of the Arsinoite Nome. Having submitted a

most just request to your highness, lord prefect, I am of good hope of receiving help from your highness. I give witness to the following, that Antiouris [son of Abous] and Atisios son of Leonides from the same village of Karanis carried out a most unlawful deed against me, which the laws instruct your highness to invalidate. --- against me, who am a minor and an orphan --- my maternal four arouras --- to a certain scribe Didymos --- For it is necessary --- carrying out she could sell --- my maternal nine and a half arouras located near the [same] village of Karanis. But he made the other and . . . contract in this sale which he did not pay in full (?), seeking possession of them according to law; --- therefore the laws, as aforesaid, and the ... invalidate these contracts especially since they are concocted in fraudulent intention against minors. For this reason having reached your fortunate rule I flee to your feet, a needy orphan child, and I [ask?] you, if I am telling the truth in these matters that you instruct Ptolemaios --- for the illegal sale which has taken place to be invalid, and to give to me the ownership of the plots so that receiving this I may be able to have their benefit and be eternally grateful to you. Farewell. I, Aurelia Tapaeis, have submitted it. I, Aurelius Dioskoros, wrote for her being illiterate.

8-9 and 17. I take ἀτελής here as meaning "minor" (i.e. the opposite of τέλειος, adult); cf. e.g. *BGU* I 168.5, where an *epistrategos* is told by a petitioner's representative that the official should πᾶ[σι] ἀνθρώποις ἀπονεῖμαι τὰ ἴδια, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τοῖς ἀτελέσι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡλικίαν. The usage is also classical; *LSJ* cites Aristotle, *Pol.* 1275a17, where he speaks of ἀτελεῖς citizens, young men who have not yet reached the age for taking an active part in the city's affairs.

10. The verbs from here on are singular, even though two malefactors are named above. It seems likely that one was responsible for one transaction, with four arouras, the other for another, with nine and a half. The condition of the text prevents the more exact determination of responsibility.

12. Probably some short relative clause stood here. The overall structure here is not clear to me; there may be some error of case following δεῖ, which stands in a correction.

20. As it seems, the traces do not suit παρακ[αλ]ῶ σε.

174

Memorandum and Notes for an Advocate

Inv. 181 (27) 34 x 26.5 cm. *ca* 325-350 (342?)

Published: N. Lewis and A.A. Schiller, *Daube Noster* (Edinburgh/London 1974) 187-200

Complete papyrus, well preserved except for a few small holes and some abrasion of the surface.

This papyrus was the fifth document of its kind—commonly called a "Narratio" document—to be published; the previously known examples were *P. Lips.* 41 (*M. Chr.* 300),

P.Thead. 16, *P.Princ.* III 119 (reedited in *ZPE* 8 [1971] 15–27) and *P.Panop.* 31 (*ZPE* 10 [1973] 150–155). Since the first publication of the Columbia piece, a sixth such document, P.Vindob.Gr.Inv.39757, has been published by P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp in the Lewis *Festschrift* (*BASP* 15 [1978] 115–23). All of these texts, from various provenances, date to the fourth century and apparently all to its first half. A good description of them is given by Ann E. Hanson in her commentary to her reedition of *P.Princ.* 119 (the Vienna papyrus is like the majority of four in the following discussion):

> "All five of these texts contain a rhetorical presentation of a case at law, and four of the five contain a summary of the facts of the speech in the left margin. In the fifth, *P.Thead.* 16, the blank left-hand margin is 9 cm. wide. In all five, the body of the speech begins with the symbol ℕ. . . . After this symbol comes an introductory statement which differs only slightly from one text to another; it notes that someone, presumably the advocate, speaks on behalf of clients whose names are given. The body of the speech follows. The marginal column, in each of the four papyri which contain the column, was rapidly written and is difficult to read. One or two heavy strokes were inserted at the left margin of each memorandum, apparently to highlight an important aspect. . . . The memoranda occasionally employ words and phrases which differ from those used in the speech itself. . . . The four texts which contain memoranda also carry horizontal lines over the proper names in the body of the speech; in P.Köln 1698 B ined. [*P.Panop.* 31] the lines also occur over numbers in the text and over names and numbers in the memorandum. The Columbia papyrus permits a sure conclusion about the temporal relation of the memoranda to the main texts: 'The notes intrude into the text on the right in such a way that the text on the right must have been written first, with a space left for the notes' [H.C. Youtie]. The speech was written on the papyrus first, but the scribe reserved a copious left margin to accommodate a memorandum. Subsequent to the writing out of the speech, the memorandum was added at the left, in a quickly written hand and with abbreviated forms. The notes were made for personal use; perhaps the lawyer intended to refer to them during the courtroom proceedings."

The most recent detailed juridical commentary on this genre is given by A.A. Schiller in the first edition of the Columbia papyrus; the reader is referred there for the bibliography. Schiller begins from Collinet's suggestion of the resolution *N(arratio)* of the ℕ at the start of the main text—*Narratio* in the sense of an exposition of the plaintiff's request at law—and states, "There seems to be no reason to disturb the conjecture since it corresponds to the nature of the documents." Schiller distinguishes between (a) the oral *Narratio* which followed the opening of an advocate's speech in court and (b) a written *Narratio*, for which he offered the hypothesis that "it is the extrajudicial notification of controversy (denuntiatio litis) prepared for the complainant by his attorney, and submitted to the office of the praeses/praefectus for eventual delivery, if authorized, to the defendant" (p. 195). It is with type (b) that he identifies the papyri of the sort under discussion.

Schiller's argument in favor of this hypothesis rests on several points. The first of these is that the *Narratio* cannot be a lawyer's brief to aid him in the oral argument because such argument was constantly interrupted by the presiding judge and the counsel for the opponent, so that a formal written brief would serve no purpose. *Narratio*, rather, refers only to the preliminary statement of facts, and the marginal notes would be useless for this part of the trial. But it must be said at once that this argument is weak and ultimately circular, since it depends for its validity on the acceptance of the resolution *N(arratio)*.

Schiller then rejects the notion that the plaintiff himself would have had any use for the document; this leads him, by elimination, to the view that the *Narratio* was prepared for

official use. For Schiller, the marginal notations support this idea; they are the notes of a "bureau office . . . for presentation of the case to the higher official for interlocutory decision" (p. 196). Schiller's conclusion is thus at odds with the interpretation proposed by Hanson and by the editors of *P. Panop.*, for whom the **N** documents are indeed lawyer's speeches and notes.[1]

Sijpesteijn and Worp have given several reasons for mistrusting the resolution *N(arratio)*: a single Latin word in a Greek text is very odd; the *Narratio* does not include properly what follows on the same line (i.e. λέγεις ὑπὲρ NN); and there are several Greek abbreviations very similar to **N**, like **X** for χειρόγραφον. Two stronger arguments which may be advanced against both the resolution *Narratio*, which Sijpesteijn and Worp oppose, and against the entire interpretation put forth by Schiller are: (1) *P. Princ.* 119 is manifestly a speech of the defense, not of the plaintiff. A theory according to which the document is the plaintiff's means of serving process on the defendant is therefore excluded.[2] (2) The logical conclusions which Schiller draws from a firm reliance on the resolution *N(arratio)* are unacceptable, and since the conclusions in fact follow logically from the premise, the premise must be wrong.

The crucial point here is the nature of the marginal notes. Despite Schiller's confident assertion, these simply cannot be notes made by an official, who would have prepared a relatively simple objective summary. Instead, we find rhetorical highlights presented from the partisan viewpoint of the persons for whom the document was drawn up, whether plaintiff or defendant, simply reeking of subjectivity. For example, *174* refers to "our clients" (οἱ βοηθούμενοι) and makes a first-person request (δεόμεθα); the actions of the opponents are characterized by highly colored speech (βιάζομαι, πρόφασις). *P. Princ.* 119 also has a first-person viewpoint (line 21: ὁμολογεῖ μέν(τοι) ὑφ' ἡμ(ῶν) κατέχ(εσθαι). . .) and deals largely in vilification of the opponent. The other examples are similarly rhetorical in flavor and in no way can be the kind of summary an official would make before a case had been heard.

These notes must be those of a *rhetor*, the advocate in court, picking out highlights from his material for oral presentation. The *rhetor* in question is mentioned on the verso of our text: Ὠρείων ῥ(ήτωρ), along with the names of his clients. Now this docket raises important questions on the nature of legal practice in fourth-century Egypt. Schiller regards the *Narratio* documents as having been "prepared for the complainant by his attorney." It appears that the cases in question were all or mostly destined for a hearing before a high official—who is, however, named in none of them.

The judge is addressed as σοῦ τῆς λαμπρότητος in *P. Panop.* 31 B.18; as τὴν σὴν εὐσέβιαν in *P. Princ.* 119; as τοῦ μεγαλείου τούτου in *174*. The editors of *P. Panop.* 31 commented, "Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach wird der Praeses der Thebais hiermit angeredet." A considerable problem, however, comes from the fact that otherwise this official is not known to have been *clarissimus* until 368. The answer here, I think, is surely to be found in their suggestion, "ausserdem könnte die Anrede λαμπρότης nach weniger strengen Massstäben verwendet worden sein als der Rangtitel λαμπρότατος." In other words, we are not to take these honorific epithets too literally as applying to one level of office. For example, the

1. Hanson entitles the papyrus "Memorandum and speech of an advocate"; *P. Panop.* 31 is called "Rede eines Advokaten".

2. Schiller (199 n.35) considers *P. Princ.* 119 the complaint in the defendants' counter-suit; but there is no evidence for this contention in the text, which is concerned above all with defending the clients; cf. especially lines 38–40, 52–59.

syndikos (*defensor civitatis*) in *175* is addressed as τὴν σὴν καθαρότητα and τὴν σὴν ἐμμέλειαν. The index of honorific epithets (Index IX) of *P.Panop.Beatty* furnishes abundant material for observing the varied use of these epithets. It is not to be excluded, therefore, that the judge before whom these pleas were heard may have been the *defensor civitatis*, and the trial reported in *175* very strongly suggests that he was an official to whom the prefect would routinely delegate cases involving disputes over land, as nearly all the Ν documents in fact do.

At all events, the court would be a high one, presided over by an official cognizant of the laws and probably skilled in presiding over a courtroom (cf. the incisive performance of the *defensor* in *175*). A significant degree of legal sophistication on the part of both parties would be expected. One would need to examine local or nome registers and census declarations, search titles, and examine the records of the imperial or prefectorial legislation for the principles and precedents on which the case was to be founded. The use of Constantine's law on long possession in *175* is an example of the fruits of such legal research. Who would carry on this research? Not the *rhetor* who presented the case in court, surely; such men were, as E. Seidl has remarked, "nur in Rhetorenschulen ausgebildete Leute."[3]

On the contrary, it was the work of the *iuris prudens* or *iuris peritus* to prepare such legal arguments. It is for this reason that Sijpesteijn and Worp advance the resolution N(ομικός), for νομικός is the Greek equivalent of the Latin *iuris prudens* or *iuris peritus*.[4] There is little evidence in the papyri concerning the work of these men in preparing cases for court, to judge from the study by R. Taubenschlag,[5] who deals in the main with the role of the *nomikos* as legal advisor to the court in trials, or as advisor to those drawing up contracts. Nor does *SB* V 7696, chosen as an example by Sijpesteijn and Worp, clarify the situation much, for the context surrounding line 116, where a *nomikos* speaks, is almost entirely lost, and we cannot tell what his role is. But the examples given by L. Robert, *loc.cit.*, are sufficient to establish that private persons had recourse to a *nomikos* in order to assist in their court cases.[6]

In sum, for a complicated trial before a high court, one would expect that the material to be presented by a *rhetor* would be prepared by a *nomikos* after due research. On this assumption, the format of the Ν documents is easily to be explained. Ν is the sign of the *nomikos*; the first line is his "stage directions" to the *rhetor*, telling him who his clients are. The plural λέγομεν in *174* represents the *nomikos'* self-identification with the *rhetor* as acting for the plaintiff. What follows is a concise but reasonably full statement of the case, more or less rhetorical in the various papyri of the type (Hanson comments on the excesses of *P.Princ.* 119). It is not surprising that the *nomikos*, trained himself no doubt in rhetoric, would suggest to the *rhetor* what would be an effective approach to take. Whether this statement would in fact be used as a whole verbatim by the *rhetor*, we cannot say. The *rhetor* then overlined names for quick reference, and made for himself an *aide-mémoire* in the left margin, deliberately left blank for that purpose, as *P.Thead.* 16 (never used) shows. These notes would be the *rhetor*'s selection of facts and points for use in the courtroom. His experience of oral argument would no doubt help him to select from the *nomikos'* presentation what would be the most effective.

3. E. Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte Aegyptens als römischer Provinz* (Sankt Augustin 1973) 115, commenting on *SB* V 7696 (cf. *infra*).

4. See L. Robert, *Hellenica* I (1940) 62–63 n.9 for numerous examples concerning the equation.

5. *Opera Minora* II 161–165 = *Festschrift Schulz* (Weimar 1951) II, 188–192.

6. Especially interesting are his references to *C.Gl.Lat.* III 648 and the *Edictum de Pretiis*, where a tariff is given for *advocatus sive iuris peritus*, in Greek δικόλογος ἤτοι νομικός.

The above considerations seem to me to determine rather completely the nature of these documents. They suggest very strongly that N(ομικός) is the correct resolution of the opening symbol, although they cannot be said yet to have provided a complete proof of this hypothesis.

The defendants in this case, Alexandros and Heraklas, are attested in *142* and elsewhere. Their *floruit* belongs in the first quarter of the century, and the latest date we have for both of them alive is 323. Since Heraklas but not Alexandros is now dead, the date is probably not too many years after 323. If the cryptic γ' και β' of line 56 refers, as Professor Youtie suggests, to the third consulate of Constantius, the second of Constans, we have a date of 342. It does not seem possible to identify further the villagers who have filed the complaint in this case.

Main Text

(M1) N(ομικός). λέγομεν ὑπὲρ Σαμβαθίωνος καὶ Ἐρᾶ ἀπὸ κώμης Κερανίδος.
γῆν πολλὴν καὶ διάφορον οἱ συνηγορ(ούμενοι) ἀπεγράψαντο ἐν τοῖς γεγενημένοις κήνσοις
ἐν τῇ ἐνορίᾳ τῆς κώμης Κερανίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου, Σαμβαθίων μὲν βασιλικῆς
4 ἀρούρας ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἰδιωτικῆς δέκα, ὁ δὲ Ἐρᾶς βασιλικῆς ἐνενήκοντα.
ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑδρεύματος καταπεσόντος καὶ οὐκέτι τῶν γῶν ἀρδευομένων, συμβέβηκεν
αὐτὰς ἀσπόρους ἀπομεῖναι καὶ πλίστην δσην ζημίαν ἐπενεγκεῖν τοῖς βοηθουμένοις.
οὐκ ἀντεχόντων τοίνυν αὐτῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, μείζονα ἐπήριαν προσάγουσιν
8 οἱ πρακτῆραις. Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ καὶ Ἡρακλᾶ οὗ κληρονόμοι ἑ[σ]τήκασιν ἀπογρα-
ψαμένων πλίστην δσην γῆν ἐν τῷ παιδίων ἐκίνῳ καὶ ταύτης[ηδη γ]εωργουμένης
ὑπό τινων ὁμοκωμητῶν κἀκίνων ἐν ἀναχωρήσι γεγενημένων, οἱ πρακτῆραις
οὐ δέον ἐπιβαίνουσιν τούτοις καὶ ἀναγκάζουσιν μήτε δεσπότας ὄντας μήτε ἀπο-
12 γραψαμένους μήτε κατέχοντας τὰς συντελείας πληροῦν, δέον παρ' ἐκίνων τῶν
ἀπογραψαμένων καὶ δεσποτῶν καὶ ταῦτα συνεστηκότων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροίκους
καὶ ἀπράγμονας διαβεβήκασιν. δεόμεθα τοῦ μεγαλείου τούτου, ἐπειδὴ ἔχομεν καὶ
τοὺς κήνσους ἔνθα ἐλέγχονται αἱ γαῖ οὐκ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ διαφέρειν ἢ Ἡρακλᾷ
16 καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐπαναγκασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ὄντας τὰς συντελίας
τῶν γῶν ἐπιγιγνώσκειν, τὸ δὲ ἀνενόχλητον ἔχειν τοὺς β[ο]ηθουμένους, ἐπειδὴ

πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκῖνοι δυνάμενοι καὶ βίαιοι ὄντες τοὺς
ἀγροίκους προσ-
τρίβουσιν τὰς ἑαυτῶν συντελίας

In the left margin

(M2)
20 οἱ β(οηθούμενοι) Σανβαθίων καὶ
Ἑρᾶ‹ς› ἀπὸ κόμης
Κερανίδος

ἀ(ντίδικοι) Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ
24 κληρονόμοι Ἡρακλᾶ

ἀπεγράψαντο ἐν τοῖς κήνσοις
Σανβαθίων βασιλικ(ῆς) (ἀρ.) ϙ
ἰδιωτικ(ῆς) (ἀρ.) ϛ
28 Ἑρᾶς δὲ βασιλικ(ῆς) (ἀρ.) ϙ
ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑδρεύματος καταπεσόντ(ος)
καὶ τῶν γῶν ἐν χερσίᾳ γεγονυιῶν
οἱ πρακτῆρες ἐβιάσαντο οὐ μόνον
32 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ
Ἀλεξάνδρου προφάσει πρὸ πολλοῦ
χρόνου γεγεωργη[κ](ότων) ἐκίνου γῆς
....( )
36 φυγῇ κέχρηγ̣τ̣αι ἀλλ' ἀδύνοντο ἀ̣πελθ(εῖν)
αὐτ̣ῶν πάλ[ι]ν βιαζομένων
ἐκίνους γεω[ργεῖ]ν καὶ τ̣ούτους
βιάζονται. δ[ε]όμεθα ἐπιδὴ πρό-
40 εισιν ἀπογ[ρ]αφαὶ οἵ τε δεσπόται
ἑστήκασιν π̣[ρ]οστάξαι προνοίᾳ
ε..ρυν...θ(αι) αὐτοὺς καὶ
ἐπαναγκάσθ(αι) τοὺς γεωργ(οὺς)
44 τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ποιήσασθ(αι).

ε̣.ι̣λλεν οἱ β(οηθούμενοι) παρ̄α̅.ε
ἡμῶν τὰ πρόσωπ(α)
[[ἀπεγρ( )]] οἱ γεωργοί
48 Ὀρσενοῦφις ις
Σουείς κ
Ἀσκλᾶς ε
Ἡρᾶς ε
52 Πανοῦφις β
Κάστωρ δ S
Ἥρων β S
ἐγεώργουν
56 γ' καὶ β'

Verso

(M3) [ὑ(πὲρ) Σαμ]βαθίωνος
ἀ]πὸ κώμης
Κ]ερανίδος
60 Ὠρείων ῥ(ήτωρ)

3 αρσινοιτου pap. 4 ενεν ηκοντα, ἰδιωτικης pap. 8, 10 πρακτῆρες 9 πεδίῳ 12 παρ' pap., α corr. fr. dittography of π 18 τοῖς ἀγροίκοις 21 κώμης 33 π of προφασι corr. fr. φ 36 ἀλλ ..υν. το εναλθ( ) ed.pr.; read ἐδύνατο ἐπελθ(εῖν) or ἀνελθ(εῖν).

Nomikos (?). We are speaking on behalf of Sambathion and Heras, of the village of Karanis. In the previous census records our clients registered considerable land of different categories in the territory of the village of Karanis in the Arsinoite (Nome), viz. Sambathion ninety arouras of royal and ten of private land, and Heras ninety of royal. But after the reservoir collapsed and the land was no longer being watered, it came to pass that these arouras remained unsown and brought an enormous loss upon our clients. With them in dire straits on this account, the collectors add a still greater injury. For Alexandros and Heraklas—his heirs are here present—registered in that area an enormous amount of land, and this was then being farmed by some fellow-villagers, and as they have become fugitives the collectors are improperly attacking these (our clients) and are compelling them, who are neither owners nor registrants nor holders (of the land), to pay the taxes—which they ought properly to collect from those who registered and own it and contracted these obligations, but they have proceeded instead against law-abiding peasants. We beg this high court, inasmuch as the very census records are in hand in which the lands are proved to belong to none other than Heraklas and Alexandros, that they, living in the city, be compelled to acknowledge their liability for the taxes of the lands and that our clients not be troubled, inasmuch as the former, being very powerful and oppressive in the region, are inflicting their own taxes upon the peasantry.

(In the margin)

Our clients: Sanbathion and Heras, of the village of Karanis.

Opponents: Alexandros and heirs of Heraklas.

They registered in the census records:

Sanbathion	royal 90 ar.
	private 10 ar.
and Heras	royal 90 ar.

But after the reservoir collapsed and the lands [came to be] in dry state, the collectors pressured them not only for their own property but also for Alexandros' on the pretext [they had farmed the land of that person?] a long time before. . . . [The actual farmers] have resorted to flight, but they were able to return as they (the collectors) again pressured them to farm it, and they are pressuring these (our clients). We beg (you), since registrations already exist and the owners are here present, to order . . . and to compel them to direct their demand to the (actual) farmers. Our clients . . . names.

The farmers farmed:

Orsenouphis	16
Soueis	20
Asklas	5

Heras	5
Panouphis	2
Kastor	4 1/2
Heron	2 1/2

(Docket on verso)
On behalf of Sambathion of the village of Karanis, Horion, advocate.

1. Here and throughout, the person who composed the marginalia has overlined crucial names and phrases.

2. The census in question is that of Sabinus in 297 to 300 (and perhaps later also); cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 2, introd.

5 (and 29). On the meaning of ὕδρευμα, see P.J. Parsons, *JEA* 57 (1971) 173.

5–6 (and 29–30). These lines read like a capsule history of some Arsinoite villages in the first quarter of the fourth century: progressive collapse of the irrigation system, with consequent abandonment of unproductive (dry) land and depopulation of villages. A dramatic instance is found in *P.Thead.* 16, in which we find the plea of three farmers "who are left in the deserted village of Theadelphia in the 8th *pagus* of the Arsinoite Nome . . . The fields of our village are situated in elevated places and the nearest villages steal our water and prevent our land from being irrigated . . . The tax levied on our village encompasses 500 arouras, which are permanently dry . . . We have managed to pay for 200 arouras, and for the other 300 arouras order as you see fit."

7. In the language of the papyri ἐπήρεια denotes the abusive act of an official, cf. *Atti XI* [*1965*] *Congresso*, 512ff.

8 (and 41). The perfect tense of ἵστημι is the technical term for "they have appeared" before a tribunal in litigation; cf. for example *P.Lips.* 38 (*M.Chr.* 97.3) and *M.Chr.* 96 II.7 and III.7 (*P.Bour.* 20.25 and 44).

10. κἀκείνων: the crasis is no doubt a small fillip of the advocate's rhetoric; note ἐπιγιγνώσκειν in line 17.

11–12. Three types of possession are carefully distinguished and disclaimed: (a) δεσπότης = *dominus*, owner by title; (b) ἀπογραφάμενος = registered holder; (c) κατέχων (κάτοχος) = *detentor*, holder by some other right.

15–16. Heraklas and Alexandros were absentee landlords living in Ptolemais Euergetis and leasing their lands; cf. *141* for further reference.

47–55. These are presumably the "fellow villagers" (line 10) who actually cultivated the land of Alexandros and Heraklas, with the number of arouras cultivated by each. The erasure in line 47 reflects the writer's realization that these peasants were, while the cultivators, not the registered owners of the land.

52. The purpose of the overlining of the last letters of the name is uncertain.

56. See the introduction for the possibility that this is a consular date.

58. The lacuna is too short for καὶ Ἑρᾶ which was probably therefore omitted here as it originally was in line 1, where it was later inserted above the line.

175

Hearing before the *Defensor Civitatis*

P.Cair. Journal d'entrée 48016+
P.Col.Inv. 181 (19) + 182 154.5 x 25 cm. 339

Published (P.Col.Inv. 181 (19) + 182 only): N. Lewis and Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., "A Referee's Hearing on Ownership," *TAPA* 68 (1937) 357–387 (V. Arangio-Ruiz, *FIRA* III, 101; *SB* V 8246). Cf. T.C. Skeat, *JEA* 25 (1939) 81; U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 13 (1938) 242–243; L. Wenger, *Archiv* 13 (1938) 257–259.

This long papyrus, in four columns, was divided after discovery; Columbia University acquired all except the first column in 1924, while the Cairo Museum acquired the first column (missing its left quarter) in 1926. The Columbia pieces were published in 1937 and have figured in many historical and juristic works since then; the Cairo piece was photographed by the International Photographic Archive of Papyri in 1974; I am indebted to Professor Ludwig Koenen for making this photograph available to me, and to the authorities of the Cairo Museum for permission to publish it here.

Except for the loss of the first 20–25 letters of the first column, the papyrus is virtually intact along its edges; a certain amount of loss has occurred where the columns were separated (by the finder?) before they were sold, and some other surface rubbing causes problems in a few areas. The Cairo piece is somewhat more damaged than the rest. The papyrus is written in the large, flowing chancellery hand, with a few marks of punctuation, notably a slanting *paragraphos* (/) indicating remarks by the *defensor*, and a large apostrophe on occasion, as well as the diaeresis.

The first edition was accompanied by a very full commentary on this important text, and the present edition presents the findings of that commentary in summary form, with attention given particularly to some of the subsequent discussions of the text and to the information provided by the newly-discovered first column. The reader is referred to the first edition for the details of the juristic implications of the text.

The papyrus contains the minutes of a hearing before the *defensor civitatis* about the ownership of some property in Karanis. The date, given by the consuls in the heading of the first column, is Pachon (April-May) 339. The first editors had deduced from internal evidence that the date was 339 or 340; they favored the latter. This date was accepted by some commentators (such as B.R. Rees, *JJur Pap* 6 [1952] 83–84), but it was challenged by A.E.R. Boak and H.C. Youtie in *P.Cair.Isid.*, p.32, in favor of a date of 334. Their arguments rested principally on the question of the dates of the census of Sabinus. C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des Préfets de l'Egypte* 108, n.3, refined the argument on the basis of his conclusions about the prefecture of Flavius Philagrius, and settled on 335. The first column now demonstrates that the first editors were essentially correct. The implications of this fact for the census of Sabinus are discussed below.

The facts of the case, as nearly as we can make them out from the testimony, are as follows: Herois and Taesis inherited from their father Atisios (son of Hatres: for his place in the families of Karanis, see above, pp. 8–9) an estate consisting of a house in the city of Ptolemais Euergetis and farm land in the vicinity of Karanis. The farm land had been in Atisios' undisputed possession for forty-five years at the time of his death, and was therefore

inalienably his by virtue of Constantine's law on the acquisition of prescriptive possession by length of tenure (see below). The heirs, finding themselves unable to pay the taxes assessed on this land, took to flight. Since the community was nonetheless responsible for the taxes on the land, the *praepositus pagi* assigned the abandoned land to the villagers for cultivation. Willingly or not, the peasants cultivated the land. After the harvest, however, Herois and her husband Nilos (whom she had apparently married in the meanwhile) came to Karanis and demanded that the peasants pay the rent due them as the rightful owners of the land. The peasants paid them a rental of three artabas of wheat per aroura, and promptly turned the land over to them. Thereupon Nilos went to the *praepositus*, protesting that the peasants had returned to him and his wife not only their own land but in addition a parcel from the estate of one Atisios, and therefore ostensibly not theirs. The *praepositus* instructed him to petition the prefect, which Nilos did. The prefect referred the matter to the *defensor*, who held the investigation recorded in this papyrus. Nilos appeared and testified for Herois and Taesis, who were represented by the advocate Theodoros. Germanos, the headman (*μείζων*) of Karanis, appeared and testified for the peasants of the village, who were represented by the advocate Alexandros.

The damage to Column I makes the beginning of the papyrus difficult to interpret, but it begins with a consular date, followed probably by a statement of the fact that the court was that of the *defensor*, then a list of those present at the trial, who include three members of the municipal council of the nome, a *Nilometres*, an *archihyperetes* and two assistants of the *defensor*. The litigants are then mentioned, followed by what appears to be a statement in letter form by someone, perhaps Germanos the headman, then evidently the prefectural authorization of the *defensor* to hear the case. After some remarks by this party, Theodoros, the advocate for Nilos and the sisters, asserts that his party has been wrongly burdened, and he asks to be allowed to read the orders of the prefect, which he proceeds to do. The letter of the prefect simply instructs the *defensor* about investigating the claim. Theodoros then reads the original petition (which is not written down in the minutes).

As Theodoros is proceeding thereafter to proclaim the righteous motives of his clients and the injustice done them, Alexandros interrupts to say that the story in his opponents' petition is all a tissue of lies. Alexandros establishes first that the land had been for forty-five years in the possession of the father of Herois and Taesis, who inherited the land on his death but fled to avoid the taxes. Theodoros, after the irrelevant but insidious assertion that his clients had been absent from Karanis for five years and more, presents their claim that upon their return they were given not only their own land but also a parcel registered as a portion of the estate of one Atisios. Germanos testifies that, contrary to Theodoros' implication, the villagers cultivated Herois' and Taesis' land for one indiction only, and that a rental of three artabas of wheat per aroura was paid the owners by the villagers when they returned the land. Theodoros again attempts to obscure the point at issue by taking up Germanos' last statement and replying that his clients had received no rental at all. This leads to an exchange of questions and answers on what in that case Nilos should have done and actually did. Alexandros interrupts these irrelevancies to return to the point at issue: the claim that the land from the estate of Atisios does not belong to Herois and Taesis is specious because the house in Ptolemais Euergetis which they inherited from their father is also "from the estate of Atisios." Nilos, questioned by the *defensor*, at first disclaims all knowledge of such a house, but on being pressed says, "It has burned down." This reluctant admission clinches the case, and the *defensor* renders his decision, confirming Herois and Taesis in possession of the disputed land and holding them liable for the taxes on the land as in the past.

The minutes make lively reading, with extensive quotation of impromptu dialogue. It is made clear that Nilos and Germanos are both Egyptians, and they must speak to the court through an interpreter. They are nonetheless Roman citizens, and the law of the dispute is Roman law. The crucial statute is Constantine's law on *praescriptio longi temporis*. The present papyrus provides the only extant text of this law, part of which is quoted verbatim in Greek translation. The innovative aspect of this law was that whereas previous laws required evidence of a lawful beginning of possession in order for length of time to confer uncontested possession on a landholder, Constantine decreed that forty years' possession gave ownership no matter what the origin of the possession. The first editors established that the date of Constantine's law was between 325 and 333, and that it was issued first in the form of a Latin *constitutio* addressed to a Roman senator, one Agrippinus. The first editors discuss the legal terminology at length and reconstruct the probable course of the Latin original. The reader is referred to their discussion for references and details.

The chronology of the events described above is not entirely clear, but Lewis and Kraemer were probably right to ascribe this to the evasive remarks of Theodoros. It is established in line 47 that Atisios had died only recently. In line 32, Alexandros claims that Atisios had held the land for 45 years, and the claim is repeated in vaguer terms in line 48 ("forty years and more"). Now it is clear that the villagers cultivated that land for only one indiction (line 58). Since some time has elapsed since the harvest of that indiction, during which the taxes were paid, the owners returned, and the early stages of the litigation took place, the harvest in question must be that of 338. Since the death of Atisios precedes the beginning of cultivation of that crop (the winter of 337/8) by enough for the *praepositus* to have ordered the villagers to cultivate it, the flight of Herois and Taesis must have taken place by fall, 337, and the death of Atisios must have occurred earlier in that year. That would give 292 (or 293, if the reckoning is inclusive) as the approximate date of the beginning of Atisios' tenure of the land.

The remark of Theodoros in line 49 must also be taken into consideration. There he claims that it has been barely 33 years since the *καταπάτησις* of the *censitor* Sabinus; he gives this information in response to a question of the *defensor*. It is curious that the *defensor* does not have this information, and he does not follow it up at once. In fact, he never returns to the precise number of years; it is, of course, probable that the proceedings are not given verbatim in full. At any rate, the reply of Theodoros claiming only 33 years since the survey of Sabinus seems to be ignored in the decision of the *defensor*. There are two possibilities, evidently: (1) If Theodoros is telling the truth, there was *a* census in which Sabinus was involved in about 306 or 307 (depending on how Theodoros is reckoning). Although we have no evidence from other documents that Sabinus was active later than the census of 302, we would have to accept that Sabinus was also active in that of 307 *or* that he did a final tour of inspection in 306 to conclude (or revalidate?) that of 302. (2) If Theodoros is lying here, we have no way of determining the true date of the event to which he refers.

This papyrus is of importance for the history of the development of the office of *defensor civitatis*, who is called *σύνδικος* here. The most illuminating discussion of the office is that of B.R. Rees, *JJurPap* 6 (1952) 73–102, who concludes that the official of our text and some other contemporary ones is a transitional figure between the city advocate of earlier centuries and the formalized *defensor civitatis* who figures in the legislation of Valentinian. The civil jurisdiction, delegated by the prefect, that he exercises in the present hearing is typical of his authority in this period.

→ Column I

[- - - ± 25 - - -] *vacat* ν[...]...[± 6]..ομμωνος συν[δίκου] traces
[*ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν*] *ἡμῶν* Κωνσταντίου *τὸ β' καὶ* Κώνσταντος *τὸ α'* Αὐγούστων, Παχὼν ..".
[- - - ± 25 - - -].*εως καὶ* Χαιρήμονος Γ*ερο*ντίου *καὶ* Γ*ερο*ντίου Ἀμμωνίου *καὶ* Ἱερακαπόλλωνος *βουλευτῶν*
4 [*καὶ* - - ±19 - - *καὶ*] Νείλου *νειλομέτρου καὶ* Ἀνουβίωνος *ἀρχιε*[*π*]*ηρέτου καὶ* Ἡλία *καὶ* Σαμβᾶ *δημοσίων συνδίκου.*
[Αὐρήλιος Γ*ερμανὸς μείζων κ*]*ώμης* Καρανίδος *πρὸς κληρονόμους* Ἀτισίου *δι' ἐντολικαρίου* Νείλου *τοῦ παρόντος ἐντυγχάνουσιν*
[± 14 · *ὑπατείας τῶν*] *δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν* Κωνσταντί[ου] *τὸ β' καὶ* Κώνσταντος *τὸ α'* Αὐγούστων Παχὼν ιε
[- - - ± 25 - - -] *κώμης* Καρανίδος *τοῦ* Ἀρσι(νοίτου) *νομοῦ τῷ*....[.....].ας *ἀδελφῆς* Ἡραείδο[ς] *δι'* Αὐρηλί[ου]
8 [- - - ± 25 - - -]ως *χαίρειν· ἐπειδὴ* .ικηι ...*ἀνάκιται πρ*[*ὸ*]*ς κληρονόμους* Ἀτισίου *περὶ ὧν πρ*[...].[..]
[- - - ± 25 - - -] Ἀτισίου *ἀλλοτρίων πανθάπασιν* [*ἐντ*]*υγχάνοντο*[*ς*] *αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτ*[*ὸς*] *α*.*επατω*.....
[- - ± 24 - - *ἐ*]*πὶ τ*[*ο*]*ῦ συνδίκου τοῦ δοθέντ*[*ος δι*]*καστοῦ κα*[*τὰ*] *κέλευσιν τῆς ἐπάρχου ἐξου*[*σίας*].....
[- - - ± 25 - - -] *επ*[.] *ἐντέλλομαι σοὶ καὶ ἐπιτρέπ*[*ω*]· *αὐτοτελῆ ἐξ*[*ου*]*σίαν δίδομι ὥστε δι*.....*ς αυτ*.[
12 [- - - ± 25 - - -]... *ἀκολοίθως τοῖς* ..[..]*ουσιν ἡμῖν* .....*ως ἐμοῦ παρ*..... *καὶ βεβ*.[
[- - - ± 25 - - *πα*]*ρατεθησόμενα τὴν δὲ ἐντολὴν ταύτην μοναχὴν σοὶ ἐξεδόμην ἥτις κυρία ἐστι*
[- - - ± 25 - - -]*αι* Ταῆσις *ἡ προκιμένη ἐξεδόμην σοὶ τὴν ἐν*[*τ*]*ολὴν ὡς πρόκιται.* Αὐρήλιος Μωρίων
[- - - ± 25 - - -] *μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν* Θεόδωρος *ῥ*(*ήτωρ*) *εἶ*(*πεν*)· *οὐ δεόντως καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐνοχλούμενο*[*ι*]
16 [- - - ± 25 - - -]*ων τῶν μὴ διαφερόντων* Ἀ[*τί*]*σις κατὰ* ... [*ἐξ*]*έτασιν διὰ λιβέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον λαμ*-
[*πρότατον ἔπαρχον τῆς Αἰγύπτο*]*υ* Φλ(*άυιον*) Φιλάγριον *καὶ ἅτινα προσέταξεν αὐτοὺς* .[..]...*ιον, συνχώρι μοι παραθέσθαι*
[- - ± 20 - *τὰ προσ*]*ταχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου* Φλ(*αυίου*) Φιλαγρίου *ἀνάγνωθει καὶ*
[- ± 20 - Φλ(*άυιος*) Φι]*λάγριος συνδίκῳ* Ἀ[*ρσι*]*νοίτου χαίρειν· τίνα ἠξίωσαν* Ἡραεὶς *καὶ* Ταῆσις, *ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιτύπου*

Column II

20 τοῦ τοῦ ἐζευγμέν[ο]υ λιβέλλου μαθεῖν δυνήσει. καὶ φρόντισον τῆς δημοσίας ἀπαιτήσεως κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἐμποδιζομένης
τῆς ἀξιώσεως αὐτῶν τὴν δέουσαν πρόνοιαν κατὰ τ[ο]ὺς νόμους ποιήσασθαι. ἔρρωσο. μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν προσέθηκεν· ἀνα-
γιγνώσκω καὶ τὸν λιβέλλον. καὶ ἀναγνοὺς προσέθηκεν· οὐκ ἁπλῶς οὐδ' ὡς ἔτυχεν αἱ συνηγερούμεναι λιβέλλον ἀνέτιναν
ἐπὶ τὴν ἔπαρχον ἐξουσίαν· καὶ ἑξῆς λέγοντος, Ἀλέξανδρος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(εν)· παραγράφομαι. / ὁ σύνδικος αὐτῷ εἶπ(εν)· εἰπὲ τὴν παραγραφήν. Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπ(εν)·
24 εὐκταῖον μὲν ἦν τοῖ‹ς› συνηγορουμένοις τὸν ἀγῶνα συστήσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ μίζονος δικαστηρίου πρὸς τὸ συκοφάντας φανείσας
τὰς ἀντιδίκους τιμωρίαν ὑποστῆσαι· πάντα γὰρ ἐσυκοφάντησαν δι' οὗ ἀνήνεγκαν λιβέλλου ἐπὶ τὴν ἔπαρχον ἐξουσίαν. ἤδη γὰρ τὴν παραγρα-
φὴν ἣν προυτινάμην τῷ σεμνῷ τούτῳ δικαστηρίῳ ἐννόμως παραθήσομαι πρὸς τὸ ἀναδιδάξαι τὴν σὴν καθαρότητα ὡς ὅτι ματεώτ(ατα) ‹αἱ›
ἀντίδικοι κεκινήκασιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δικαστήριον. θείῳ τοίνυν καὶ προσκυνητῷ νόμῳ ἐπεριδόμενος τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστω(ν)
28 ἕστηκα εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ὅστις κελεύει τὸν ἐν νομῇ τυγχάνοντα πραγμάτων τεσσερακονταετῆ χρόνον μηδαμῶς ἀποκινεῖσθαι
παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν νομὴν μηδὲ παλαιὰν ζητεῖσθαι ἀρχήν. ὁ τοίνυν πατὴρ τῶν δι' ἐναντίας κέκτηται περὶ κώμην Καρανίδα ἀρούρας ἐκποιη-
θείσας [[καὶ]] ἢ παραχωρηθείσας αὐτῷ, οὐκ εἴσμεν· ὅστις τὴν καλλιεργίαν αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὰ περιγινό-
μενα ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον
ἀπεφέρετο, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημόσια τελέσματα εἰσέφερεν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ἀντιλογίας οὐδεμιᾶς γιγνο-
32 μένης ἐπὶ ὅλα τεσσεράκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἐκείνου νεμομένου, λέγω δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ἀντιδίκων, μηδεμίαν μέμψιν ποιησαμένου.
ἀλλ' ἔδοξεν, ἵνα μὴ πολλὰ λέγω, τελευτῆσαι τὸν πατέρα τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἐπὶ κληρονόμοις ταῖς θυγατράσιν, λέγω δὴ ταῖς ἀντιδίκαις, αἵτιναις
ἀντέχειν μὴ δυνηθεῖσαι πρὸς τὰ ζητούμενα τελέσματα τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν φυγῇ ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τί ἠδύνατο ποιεῖν ὁ πραιπόσιτος
τοῦ πάγου; τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἑαυτοῦ προνοούμενος ὁμοῦ τε καὶ τῶν δημοσίων εἰσφορῶν παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης

36 ἐκδέδωκεν ταύτας τοῖς ἀγροίκοις πρὸς γεωργίαν. ἡ δὲ μία τῶν ἀντιδίκων συνελθοῦσα ἀνδρεὶ Νείλῳ τούτῳ τῷ παρόντι εἰς τὸ
δικαστήριον, μετῆλθεν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν πέρυσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἐγεώργησαν τὰ γήδια, τῶν φόρων ἕνεκεν,
καὶ ἀπῄτησεν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀπηνέγκατο ὡς δεσπότης τυγχάνων τῶν γῶν. ἐπὶ τοίνυν παρελογίσαντο τὴν μίζονα ἐξουσίαν,

Column III

ἀξιῶ συνχωρηθῆναί μοι ἀναγνῶναι τὸν θεῖον καὶ προσκυνητὸν νόμον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούσ[τ]ων ὃς κελεύει εἰ παρέλθοιεν
40 τεσσερακονταετὴς χρόνος νεμομένου τινὸς πράγματα μηδαμῶς ἐπιβένειν τινὰ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἢ παραλύειν τὴν πολυχρόνιον νομήν.
/ ὁ σύνδικος αὐτῷ εἶπ(εν)· ὃν φῆς ἔχειν μετὰ χεῖρας θεῖον καὶ προσκυνητὸν νόμον ἀνάγνωθει. καὶ ἀνέγνω οὕτως· οἱ δεσπότε ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστὸς
καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Κωνσ[τάντι[ο]ς ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαραις Ἀγριππίνῳ βουλ(ευτῇ)· καὶ παλαιᾶς νομῆς εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤρεσεν ἔχεσθαι τὸν λογισμὸν ἵνα
ἀπ' ἐκίνων εἰ συνέστηκειν τὸ [...].. περὶ οὗ ἐστιν ἡ ζήτησις τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεσιν νενεμῆσθαι μηδὲ τὸν κανόνα τῆς νομῆς ζητῖσθαι. ἤρε-
44 σεν καὶ δικαίου κανόνος [..]..ρ.κοντος τῇ τῆς δεκ[α]ετίας ἢ εἰκοσαετίας παραγραφῇ τὴν κάτοχον βοηθεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν
/ ὁ σύνδικος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ [ε]ἶπ(εν)· ὀφίλεις καὶ τὴν γεγενημένην εἰς αὐτοὺς παραχώρησιν ἀναγνῶναι ἵν' εἰδόμεν τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου καὶ 'τὰ' ἀκό-
λουθα τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ πραχθῆναι δυνηθῇ. Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπ(εν)· εἶται ἐξεποιήθησαν εἶται παρεχωρήθησαν οὐκ εἴσμεν· παλαιὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος.
/ ὁ σύνδικος τῷ β(ήτορι) [Θ]εο[δώ]ρῳ εἶπ(εν)· πόσος ἐστὶν χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἐτελεύτησεν; Θεόδωρος εἶπ(εν)· οὐκ ἔστιν πολὺς χρόνος. Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπ(εν)·
48 παρελήλυθεν τεσσερακονταετὴς χρόνος καὶ πρός, αὐτῶν νεμομένων ταύτας τὰς ἀρούρας. / ὁ σύνδικος αὐτῷ εἶπ(εν)· πόσα δέ ἐστιν
ἔτη ἀπὸ τῆς καταπατήσεως Σαβίνου τοῦ κηνσιτορεύσαντος; Θεόδωρος εἶπ(εν)· μάλα μόλεις τριάκοντα καὶ τρία. / ὁ σύνδικος αὐτῷ εἶπ(εν)· καὶ τίς κατὰ τὸν πέρυσι ἐνι-
αυτὸν συνε[κο]μίσατο; Θεόδωρο[ς] εἶπ(εν)· οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης. Νεῖλος ἐντολικάριος εἶπ(εν)· οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης. Θεόδωρος εἶπ(εν)· φυγῇ χρησαμένων τῶν πρὸς ἐμοῦ βοη-

θουμένων ἔτεσιν πέντε καὶ πρός, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς διατριβόντων, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης ἐπειδήπερ 'εἰς αὐτοὺς' διέβενεν τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρουρῶν τελούμενα
52 ἐγεώργησαν τὴν γῆν· εἶτα τῶν βοηθουμένων ἐπανελθόντων ἐπὶ τὴν θρεψαμένην, παραδέδωκαν μὲν αὐταῖς

θουμένων ἔτεσιν πέντε καὶ πρός, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς διατριβόντων, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης ἐπειδήπερ 'εἰς αὐτοὺς' διέβενεν τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρουρῶν τελούμενα

52 *ἐγεώργησαν τὴν γῆν· εἶτα τῶν βοηθουμένων ἐπανελθόντων ἐπὶ τὴν θρεψαμένην, παραδέδωκαν μὲν αὐταῖς τὰς ἀρούρας, παραδέδωκαν δὲ καὶ τὰ*

ἀπὸ ὀνόματος Ἀτισίου ὧν ἀλλοτρίαις πανθάπασιν καθεστη[[κασιν]] 'κιείαις' τῶν δεσποτῶν ἑστηκότων. τούτου ἕνεκεν καταπεφεύγασιν ἐπὶ τὸν κύρι[ό]ν μου

τὸν λαμπρότατ[ο]ν ἔπαρχον τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φλ(άουιον) Φιλάγριον ἀξιοῦσαι μηδαμῶς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι προφάσει τῶν αὐτῶν γηδίων, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ γήδια ἔχειν καὶ μὴ

ὑπέραλλα κετέχεσθαι. ἐπὶ τοίνυν πάρισιν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης οἱ δυνάμενοι καταθέσθαι τίνων εἴη τὰ γήδια καὶ τίς τὴν κατασπορὰν πεποίηται τούτων, ἀξιῶ

56 *πύσμαδε αὐτοὺς προσαγαγῖν. / ὁ σύνδικος Γερμανῷ εἶπ(εν)· τί λέγει ὁ παρὼν Γερμανός; κατὰ ποίαν πρόφασιν ταύτην τὴν γῆν ὑμεῖς κατεσπίρατε; δι' Ἀνουβίωνος*

ἑρμηνεύοντος εἶπ(εν)· εὐλαβῶς ἔχοντες μὴ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ τελέσματα ἔλθῃ κατεσπίραμεν ταύτας. / ὁ σύνδικος εἶπ(εν)· καὶ πόσος ἐστὶν χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ αὐτὰς κατεσπί-

ραται; διὰ τοῦ αὐ[τ]οῦ ἑρμ(ηνέως) ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· μίαν μόνην ἰνδικτίονα κατεσπίραμεν αὐτά. / ὁ σύνδικος αὐτῷ εἶπ(εν)· καὶ πῶς σήμερον τοῖς περὶ Νεῖλον αὐτὰς παρεσ[χήκ]ατε; διὰ τοῦ

αὐτοῦ ἑρμ(ηνέως) ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· ὁμολέγοντες ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν. / ὁ σύνδικος αὐτῷ εἶπ(εν)· ὑπὸ σπορὰν αὐτοῖς παριδόκατε τὴν γῆν; διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑρμηναίος

Column IV

60 *ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· αὖ ἀλλὰ παρεσχήκαμεν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης ἀρούρης σίτου ἀρτάβας τρῖς. Θεόδωρος ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(εν)· ψεύδεται· οὐδὲν εἴληφαν ἀλλὰ ἠναγκό[σ]θη [[.]]μ[...].. παραδέξασθαι ....ε..*

τῶν αὐτῶν γηδίων. / ὁ σύνδικος εἶπ(εν)· καὶ ἐχρῆν σε πάραυτα ἀναγκασθέντα μέμψασθαι δι' ἐγγράφων καὶ μηδὲ φόρον παραδέξασθαι. Νεῖλος δι' ἑρμ(ηνέως) εἶπ(εν)· πάραυτα ἦλθον τῷ

πραιποσίτῳ καὶ εἶπέν μοι· ἀνένεγκον λιβέλλον ἐπὶ τὸν ἔπαρχον. Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπ(εν)· ἵνα τοίν[υ]ν ἐντελέ-στερον ἀναδιδάξῳ τὴν σὴν ἐμμέλιαν, ἔστιν καὶ οἰκόπεδον τοῦ

αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως διακατεχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἀπὸ πατρῴας αὐτῶν διαδοχῆς. / ὁ σύνδικος Νείλῳ ἐντολικαρίῳ εἶπ(εν)· ἀκήκοας αὐτοῦ ‹τοῦ› διαδικοῦντο[ς]

64 *μέρους φήσαντος διακατέχειν σε καὶ οἰκόπεδον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν γηδίων καὶ ὀφίλεις καταθέσθαι εἰ ἐν νομῇ τυγχάνις οἰκοπέδ[ο]ν ἢ μέρο[ς] αἰ μή. Νεῖλος δι(ὰ) Ἀνου-*

βίωνος ἀρχιυπηρ(έτου) ἑρμ(ηνεύοντος) εἶπ(εν)· οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἔνι οἰκία. / ὁ σύνδικος αὐτῷ εἶπ(εν)· τίς τοίνυν τὰ στεγανόμια κομίζεται; διὰ τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ] ἑρμ(ηνέως) ἀπεκρ(ίνατο)· οὐδείς. κατέπρησεν γάρ. / ὁ σύ[ν]δικος 'αὐτῷ' εἶπ(εν)·

πῶς τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔξαρνος ἐγίνου μὴ εἶναι οἰκόπεδον τούτου ὀνόματος, νυνὶ δὲ ὁμολογεῖς εἶναι μέν, κατα πεπρηκέναι δέ; Νεῖλος διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑρμ(ηνέως) ἀπεκρ(ίνατο) ὅτι
οὐδὲν οἶδα οὐδὲ ἐνοίκια εἴληφον. / ὁ σύνδικος εἶπ(εν)· θείου καὶ προσκυνητοῦ νόμου τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν αἰωνίων βασιλαίων παρατεθέντος ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπο-
68 μνημάτων τῆς ἐ[μ]ῆς μετριότητος διαρρήδην προστάτ‹τον›τος εἰ τεσσερακονταετὴς παρέλθοιεν χρόνος νομομένου τινὸς πράγματα μηδὲ
δικαίαν ἀρχὴν ζητεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ τοίνυν καὶ Γερμανὸς ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος κατέθετο ὡς τῶν περὶ Ἡρωείδα καὶ Ταῆσιν ἐν νομῇ οὐσῶν τοῦ ὀνόματος
Ἀτισίου, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν φυγῇ αὐτὰς τὸ πρὶν εἶναι κατεσπάρθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης, κατέθετο δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀποσυστ[α]θεὶς ὑπὸ αἱ[τ]ῶν ἐντολικάριος ἀνὴρ τῆς
Ἡρωεί[δ]ος γιγνώσκειν καὶ τὸ οἰκόπεδον τοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρῶν, ὅθεν ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ τῷ θείῳ καὶ [π]ροσκυνη[τ]ῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ πο-
72 λυχρονίῳ νομῇ ἀκολούθως καὶ τῇ φωνῇ Γερμανοῦ τοῦ μίζονος κώμης Καρανίδος ἔχεσθαι Ἡρωείδα καὶ Ταῆσιν τῶν αὐτῶν γηδίων καὶ τελεῖν
τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ[ν] εὐσ[ε]βῆ τελέσματα καθὰ καὶ ἐτέλουν ἐχόντων αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ οἰκόπεδον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν εὐπορίο[ν] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν
τῆς ἐμῆς μετριότητος θείου παρατεθέντος νόμου πολυχρόνιον παρασαλεύειν νομήν. Νεῖλος εἶπ(εν)· ἐκκαλοῦμαι. / ὁ σύνδικος αὐτῷ εἶπ(εν)· ..ε..α.

3 ἰ̈ρακ- pap. 9 τυγ̓χ- pap. 11 δίδωμι 16 λιβελλων, ω corr. fr. ο 19 α[ρα]νοῖ του pap. 21 δε of διουσαν written over εσ, perhaps the beginning of εσομενην 22 ουκ̓, ουδ̓ pap.; ανἀγκους, first α begun with dry pen and rewritten. οὐχ, συνηγορούμεναι 23 λεγοντος, λ written over another letter, perhaps γ 25 ανηνεγ̓καν pap. 26 ματεως οι α[ντι- ed. pr.; ματεώτατα, Skeat; *l.* ματαιότατα 27 δικοι added in margin as afterthought 28 τυγ̓χανοντα pap. 29 το ιυν pap.; ας of εναντιας written over an earlier letter, perhaps ν 30 και deleted by two oblique strokes (//). ουκ̓, καλλιεργι αν pap.; final ο of εποιειτο corr. fr. α; ἴδιον pap. 31 τελεσ ματα, ἱερωτατω pap. 32 εν of μενης written over premature ης 33 ἵνα pap.; ἀντιδίκοις, αἵτινες 34 δυ νηθεισαι, ζητο^υ^μενα, ἂν των pap.; ν of δυνηθεισαι corr. fr. an earlier letter, perhaps ο; ἐχρήσαντο 35 προνοοῦμενος, δη μοσιων pap. 36 τα^ι^τας pap. The scribe first wrote, apparently, τεσ; this he first corrected to ταο; he then changed ο to τ, inserted υ above the line and added ας. ι of μια written prematurely, then rewritten as final stroke of μ and another ι added. 37 μι τηλθεν, κατ α, ει αυ τον pap. Last ε of ἕνεκεν corr fr. an earlier letter, perhaps α. 38 απητησεν, ἴδιον, απηνεγ̓κατο, τυγ̓χανων, εἰο^υ^σαν pap.; τυγχάνουσα, ἐπεί 39 συγο^υ^σ[τ]ων pap. 40 τ of την corr. fr. η; ἐπιβαίνειν 41 δεσπόται 42 ἵνα pap.; Καίσαρες 43 Letters after τὸ can be read neither as γῆδιον nor as πράγμα. κτῆμα Arangio-Ruiz; traces do not support this, but [κτή]μα is possible. ενεμηθαι, second ν corr. fr. μ 44 [πρ]ρσηκοντος cannot be read; ρ may be also either ι or φ, and the next letter may be α. 45 αυτο^υ^ς, ἴν, ειδομ εν pap.; εἰδῶμεν 46 ο υκ pap.; εἴτε; πάρεστιν ed. pr.; γάρ ἐστιν Skeat 47 ἴμων pap. 49 ε of τις interlinear; κ of κατα written over an earlier letter 51 θι^ι^μενων, αυτο^υ^ς, τελο^υ^μενα pap.; διέβαινεν 53 παντάπασιν; φ of κατα πεφευγασιν was begun and then rewritten further to the right because it coincided with downstrokes of α of τα and ρ of υπερ in line 51. καθεστηκυίας 54 φλ̓, οἰκιο^υ^σαι pap. 55 κατέχεσθαι, ἐπεί 56 ἵμεις, αυτο^υ^βιωνος pap. 57 κατεσπείρατε 58 τοι ε pap. 59 ομ of ομολεγοντες written over unfinished ω; ὁμολογοῦντες, παριδώκατε, ἑρμηνέως 60 α of αυ corr. fr. ο 61 ρ of φορον corr. fr. φ 62 ν of εντελεστερον corr. fr. ο 64 δ of διακατεχειν corr. fr. ε; τυγ̓χανις pap. εἰ μή 67 εἴληφαν, βασιλέων 68 νεμομένου 69 κωμη ς pap.; ἐπεί 71 ο of ηρωειδος corr. fr. ω 73 τελεσματα, final α corr. fr. ος; οικοπεδον, initial ο corr. fr. ι (scribe started to use ο of το as first letter). 74 παρατεθεντος, first τ corr. fr. incipient θ.

(Lines 19–74)

"[Flavius] Philagrios to the *defensor* of the Arsinoite, greeting. What Herais and Taesis have requested, you will be able to learn from the copy of the attached petition. Take pains to give the necessary consideration to their request in accordance with the laws, but with no impediment to the collection of public dues in any way. Farewell." After the reading he added, "I shall now read the petition as well." After reading this, he added, "Neither thoughtlessly nor at random did my clients submit a petition to the Prefect." As he was continuing, Alexandros, advocate, said, "Objection!"

The *defensor civitatis* said to him, "State your objection."

Alexandros said, "It would have suited my clients to plead the case before the higher court in order to have our opponents undergo punishment when their malice became evident. For there is nothing but malice in the petition which they submitted to the Prefect. And now I shall formally depose before this august court the objection which I just now proffered in order to prove to Your Excellency that our opponents have set the court in motion against us totally without reason. I have come before the court, relying on a divine and venerated law of our masters, the eternal Augusti, which provides that IF ANYONE IS IN POSSESSION OF PROPERTY FOR A PERIOD OF FORTY YEARS, HIS POSSESSION IS IN NO WAY TO BE REMOVED FROM HIM NOR IS THE DATE OF THE INCEPTION OF POSSESSION TO BE INVESTIGATED.

"Now the father of our opponents owned in the vicinity of the village of Karanis fields which had been made over or ceded to him, we do not know which. He performed the cultivation of these fields, appropriated their produce to his private purse and likewise paid to the imperial treasury the public taxes levied upon them, with no dispute arising during the entire forty-five years in which he, I mean the father of our opponents, who incurred no reproach, was in possession. Now it seems, to be brief, that the father of our opponents died leaving as heirs his daughters, I mean our opponents, who, unable to meet the taxes demanded on the said fields, took to flight. What could the *praepositus pagi* do? Having an eye at once to his own safety and to the public revenues, he came to the village and assigned these fields to the peasants for cultivation. But one of our opponents married Nilos, the man here present in court, and made a claim against the villagers to collect rent because they had cultivated the plots during the previous year. She demanded rent and appropriated it to her private purse on the ground that she was still the owner of the land.

"Therefore, since they deceived the higher authority, I beg leave to read the divine and venerated law of our masters, the eternal Augusti, which provides that IF A PERIOD OF FORTY YEARS HAS ELAPSED WITH A PERSON IN POSSESSION OF PROPERTY, NO ONE IS IN ANY WISE TO PROCEED AGAINST HIS PROPERTY OR DISSOLVE HIS LONGSTANDING POSSESSION."

The *defensor* said to him, "Read the divine and venerated law which you say you have at hand."

"OUR MASTERS CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS AND CONSTANTINE AND CONSTANTIUS MOST NOBLE CAESARS TO THE SENATOR AGRIPPINUS: IT IS OUR PLEASURE THAT CONSIDERATION BE TAKEN ALSO OF THE LENGTH OF THE POSSESSION TO THE EXTENT THAT, IF IT IS ESTABLISHED BY INQUIRY FROM THEM THAT THE PROPERTY (?) WITH WHICH THE INVESTIGATION IS CONCERNED HAS BEEN HELD FOR FORTY YEARS, NOT EVEN THE GROUNDS OF THE POSSESSION BE INVESTIGATED. IT IS OUR PLEASURE MOREOVER THAT, SINCE LEGAL GROUNDS OF POSSESSION ARE

NECESSARY (?) ONLY FOR PRESCRIPTION AFTER TEN OR TWENTY YEARS, THE PRESENT HOLDER BE AWARDED THE PROTECTION OF THE COURT, etc."

After the reading, the *defensor* said to Alexandros, "You should read also the deed of cession issued to them, in order that we may know the interval of time and that action may be taken in accordance with the divine law."

Alexandros said, "Whether the fields were made over or were ceded, we do not know, for it was a long time ago."

The *defensor* said to the advocate Theodoros, "How long is it since your (clients') father died?"

Theodoros said, "Not long."

Alexandros said, "The space of forty years and more has elapsed with them in possession of the fields."

The *defensor* said to him, "How many years is it since the official survey by Sabinus the then *censitor*?"

Theodoros said, "Barely thirty-three."

The *defensor* said to him, "Who gathered in the harvest last year?"

Theodoros said, "The villagers."

Nilos, appearing on behalf of Herois and Taesis, said, "The villagers."

Theodoros said, "Since my clients had been in flight for five years and more and were living away from the village, and since the taxes on the land devolved upon the villagers, the latter cultivated the land. Then, when my clients returned to their native village, the villagers handed over to them the fields. But they handed over also the property from the estate of Atisios, because the actual owners of that property were firmly maintaining their claim that the land was absolutely not their own. For this reason my clients fled for refuge to my lord, the most illustrious prefect of Egypt, Flavius Philagrios, to ask that they should not be troubled in any way on account of the said fields, but that each one should keep his own plots and not be held responsible for others' plots. Therefore, since the villagers, who can attest whose the fields are and who did the sowing of them, are also present, I respectfully request permission to bring them forward for questioning."

The *defensor* said to Germanos, "What does Germanos, here present, say? For what reason did you villagers sow this land?"

Through Anoubion, interpreting for him, he said, "We sowed these fields as a precaution lest the taxes devolve upon us."

The *defensor* said, "And how long is it since you began sowing them?"

Through the same interpreter he answered, "We sowed them for one indiction only."

The *defensor* said to him, "And how is it that you have now handed them over to Nilos and the women?"

Through the same interpreter he answered, "Because we agree that the fields are their property."

The *defensor* said to him, "Did you give them back the land under seed?"

Through the same interpreter he answered, "No, but we gave them three artabas of wheat for each aroura."

Theodoros, advocate, said, "He lies. My clients received nothing, but were compelled . . . to accept (?) . . . the said plots."

The *defensor* said, "Then, if you were being compelled, you ought immediately to have complained through petitions and above all not have accepted rent."

Nilos said through the interpreter, "I did go immediately to the *praepositus*, and he said to me, 'Bring a petition before the Prefect.'"

Alexandros said, "Well, then, in order the more completely to convince your Grace, there is also a house in this city registered in the same name (i.e. Atisios) and held by our opponents from their father's succession." The *defensor* said to Nilos, appearing on behalf of Herois and Taesis, "You have heard him, your opponent, say that you possess also a house registered in the same name as the plots, and you must depose whether or not you are in possession of a house or part thereof."

Nilos said through Anoubion, the Chief Assistant acting as interpreter, "I do not know if there is a house."

The *defensor* said to him, "Well, then, who pockets the rent?"

Through the same interpreter, he answered, "Nobody. It has burned down."

The *defensor* said to him, "How is it, then, that at first you denied that there was a house in this name, and now you admit that there was but that it has burned down?"

Nilos replied through the same interpreter, "Because—I don't know anything. And they haven't received any rent."

The *defensor* said, "Whereas a divine and venerated law of our masters, the eternal rulers, set down in the records of My Mediocrity, expressly orders that IF A PERIOD OF FORTY YEARS HAS ELAPSED WITH A PERSON IN POSSESSION OF PROPERTY, THE LEGALITY OF THE INCEPTION OF POSSESSION IS NOT TO BE INVESTIGATED; since in addition Germanos from the village of Karanis has deposed that Herois and Taesis and their families are in possession of property from the estate of Atisios and that because they were formerly in flight the fields were sown by the villagers; and since even the husband of Herois, appointed by the women to appear in court on their behalf, has deposed that he recognizes also the house registered in the same name as the said fields:

"Therefore, it follows from the divine and venerated law itself, and from the longstanding possession, and is in accordance also with the testimony of Germanos the headman of the village of Karanis, that Herois and Taesis are to retain ownership of the said plots, and are to pay the imperial taxes on them as in the past, since they possess also the house and the entire estate registered in the same name. For it is not the place of My Mediocrity, since a divine law is applicable, to disturb a longstanding possession."

Nilos said, "I appeal."

The *defensor* said to him, ". . ."

1. This line included some sort of heading, which is mostly effaced and which I cannot read. It is not clear whether some of it was placed over the now missing left part of the column.

2 (and 6). Consulate of Constantius II and Constans I = 339; Pachon is April-May.

3. One supposes that the line began with a notation of the tribunal, followed by *παρόντων*; this would be the first instance of the latter in a post-Diocletianic protocol: see R.A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings* (Pap.Brux. 4; Bruxelles 1966) 32, who suggests that the prevalence of bilingual protocols is possibly responsible.

4. Anoubion is the Chief Assistant of the *defensor* (line 65).

5. A statement of the opposing parties with *πρός* is the commonest formula for listing the litigants (Coles, 31 n.4). *ἐντολικάριος* (cf. lines 50, 63, 70) = *mandatarius*, a person appointed by another to appear for him in court.

6–10. The start of line 7 seemingly allows only Germanos or his opponents as restoration.

Since it appears that this is the start of the letter of which the greeting appears in line 8, where the heirs of Atisios are mentioned in the third person, Germanos (or the peasants as a body) seems the proper choice. The phraseology of line 9, however, is reminiscent of that in line 53, when Theodoros is speaking.

11. The phraseology here (*ἐντέλλομαι σοὶ καὶ ἐπιτρέπω*) can hardly be that of anyone but a very high official, presumably the prefect. The same phrase occurs in *P. Lips.* 38.5; it is presumably a quotation from a letter of the prefect to the *defensor*; but if so, is it from the same letter as that quoted in line 19ff. or a different one?

22. *οὐκ ἁπλῶς οὐδ' ὡς ἔτυχεν* ("neither lightly nor haphazardly"), though it has classical forebears (Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.9.13: *ὡς ἔτυχε ζημιοῦσθαι*), is a late expression; see Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* 7.22 par. 342B), *μὴ ἁπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις*. For further references see Sophocles, *Lexicon* s.v. *ἁπλῶς*.

24. *τοῦ μίζονος δικαστηρίου*: Alexandros' clients would have found the Prefect's court congenial because he, unlike the *defensor*, could entertain a criminal charge of *συκοφαντία* and mete out punishment to offenders.

28 (and 39). *ὅστις κελεύει* introduces a paraphrase, not a direct quotation.

29. What is enjoined is not seeking an 'old' (i.e. 'original'?) origin but a "just" one, and probably we should consider that the text should have said *δικαίαν* at this point.

35. What the *praepositus pagi* would fear, naturally, was being made himself responsible for any deficiency in the collection of taxes.

47. The advocate whom the *defensor* addresses is certainly Theodoros, but it is not easy to read his name here. Since elsewhere no article is used with names of persons addressed, something more must have stood here; the text gives the best reading I can find.

53. The scribe's correction points to a problem in the syntax which the correction does not solve; I cannot understand the grammar of this passage as it stands. The translation reflects a meaning which may have been intended but is not conveyed by the text in its present form. It is not to be thought that Theodoros himself is representing all that he says as his clients' views; rather, he is summarizing what happened, and the reasons advanced by the villagers at the time.

55. For *ὑπέραλλα* see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 281–83.

56. *πύσμαδε*, "for questioning", is encountered only in this text (and is listed from it in LSJ, *Suppl.*).

57–58. Germanos does not precisely answer the question put to him, but the information given is essentially what the *defensor* wanted, a check on the claim of five years' absence made by Theodoros.

65–66. Skeat conjectured that the text has *πέπτωκεν* and *καταπεπτωκέναι* instead of the ed. pr. *κατέπρησεν* and *καταπεπρηκέναι*; the former is not excluded by the traces, but the latter is quite impossible, and the original reading appears to be correct. The recognition that ed. pr. *νῦν* should be replaced by *μέν*, giving a good contrasting structure, was made by Arangio-Ruiz; the traces are exiguous and would allow either reading.

67. Nilos collapses in confusion under the *defensor*'s pointing out of his inconsistency.

68 (also 74). For *ἡ ἐμὴ μετριότης* as "My Mediocrity", a self-depreciatory description in opposition to the laudatory epithets used for one's superiors, cf. *P. Panop. Beatty* 1, passim and Skeat's comments.

176

Loan of Wheat

Inv. 315 12.5 x 25 cm. 325

Light papyrus, complete on all sides but poorly preserved. The writing crosses a joint at the extreme right. Four vertical folds, from right to left.

This and the following two papyri are part of a cluster of such texts from the period 325–330; others are *P.NYU* 22 and 23. All of them are loans to be repaid in produce, but in the case of *177* the amount actually lent is seven talents of silver. In each case the loan is made during the last four months of the Julian year, and in each case repayment is to be made at the end of Pauni in the following year; in Egyptian terms, the loans are made in the first few months of the year to be repaid from the harvest late in the same year. The form of the loans is in the main a standard one, the private note of hand (*χειρόγραφον*). See *182–184*, introduction, for a discussion of these loans.

The borrower in the present documents is Tamaleis daughter of Hatres and Tapaeis; it is argued above (p. 7) that she was the mother both of Aion son of Sarapion and of Valerius son of Antiourios. The lender is one Eutropios son of Archias. He is not otherwise known, but he is stated to be a resident of the city of the Arsinoites, acting through an agent Poeris. From the other documents of this group, as well as from the Aurelia Tetoueis texts (see below, *182–184*) we see that this is a typical pattern; the lenders are well-to-do individuals whose agents no doubt lent out their funds (in money or in kind) to numerous borrowers in various locations.

The amount of this loan is stated to be 38 1/2 artabas of wheat *σὺν ἡμιολίᾳ*; in contracts of this sort the *hemiolia* represents the interest on the loan, and the phrase indicates that the amount stated already includes the interest of 50%. In demonstrating that this is the meaning of the phrase, N. Lewis (*TAPA* 76 [1945] 126–139) has suggested that the motive for this means of expressing interest may have been to establish the amount to be repaid as the "amount of the contract", on which any further penalties would be based and which would be legally collectible.

— Ὁμολογεῖ Αὐρηλία Ταμάλεις Ἀτρῆς μητρὸς
Ταπάειτος ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανείδος ὡς ἐτῶν
τριάκοντα οὐλὴ καρπῷ χειρὸς δεξιᾷ[ς]
4 ἔχειν κ[α]ὶ μεμαιτρῆσθε παρὰ Εὐτροπείῳ
Ἀρχείᾳ τῆς Ἀρσινοει[τ]ὸν πό[λεω]ς διὰ Ποή-
ριν προνοητοῦ πυρῷ σὺν εἰμιολείας
ἀρτάβ[α]ς ληS// ἅσπερ ἐπάναγκον ἀποδώ-
8 σιν αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ὁμολογοῦσαν ἐνπροθεσ-
μεῖ ἐν μηνεὶ Παῦνει τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
ἔτους [[μ[έ]τρῳ τετραχοινείκῳ]] ἀπὸ γενήματος ιδS' ἰνδεικτί-
ωνος μ[έ]τρῳ τετραχυνείκῳ τ[ὸ] γένος νέον
12 καθα[ρὸν] ἄδολον εὐάρεστον ἀνυπερ-
θέτω[ς], ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπε[τ]ήσεως γεί-

ṿεσθ[αι] τῷ Εὐτρο[π]είῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐκ
τε τῆς ὁμολογοῦντο‹ς› εἰ καὶ ἐκ [τ]ῶν ὑπαρ-
16 χόντων αὐτῆς πάντων καθάπερ
ἐκ δίκης, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησ(εν).
ὑπατείας Πα[υ]λείνου καὶ Ἰουλειανοῦ
τῶν λαμπροτ[ά]τ̣ων, Θὼθ ια.
20 Αὐρηλία Ταμάλεις ἔσχον τὰ[ς το]ῦ πυροῦ
ἀρτάβας τριάκοντα ὀκτὼ ἥμισοι
καὶ ἀποδώσο τῇ προθεσμίᾳ ὡς πρόκειται.
Χαιρέας ἔγρα[ψ]α ‹ὑ›πὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγραμμάτου.

Verso

24 χι(ρόγραφον) Ταμάλ̣ε̣ι [Ἀτρῆ πυροῦ] (ἀρταβῶν) ληS/.

1 ομολογειαν corrected to ομολογειαν; Ἀτρῆς: nom. for gen. 4 μεμετρήσθαι 5 Ἀρσινοιτῶν, σ corr. fr. ε 6 Ποήριος, ἡμιολία 8 δε seems to have slipped in by inattentiveness of the scribe 11 μέτρῳ, τετραχοινίκῳ 12 ευαρ corr. fr. αρη 13 ἐπί, ἀπαιτήσεως 15 ὁμολογούσης ἡ 17 ἐπερωτηθεῖσα 21 ὀκτὼ ἥμισυ 22 ἀποδώσω

Aurelia Tamaleis, daughter of Hatres and Tapaeis, from the village of Karanis, about thirty years old, with a scar on the wrist of the right hand, acknowledges that she has received and has had measured out to her from Eutropios, son of Archias, inhabitant of the city of the Arsinoites, through his agent Poeris, 38 1/2 artabas of wheat including the additional one-half, which she, the acknowledging party, is of necessity to repay without delay on the appointed day in the month of Pauni of the present year from the crop of the 14th indiction, using the four-choinix measure, in quality fresh from the harvest, free from dirt, unadulterated, and in good condition, and that upon a request for payment [after default], Eutropios is to have the right of execution upon the acknowledging party and all her possessions as in accordance with a legal decision, and upon formal interrogation she acknowledged (the above).

In the consulate of Paulinus and Iulianus the most illustrious, Thoth 11.

I, Aurelia Tamaleis, have received the thirty-eight and a half artabas of wheat, and I will repay them on the proper day as aforesaid. I, Chaireas, wrote for her because she is illiterate.

Verso

Note of hand of Tamaleis [daughter of Hatres for] 38 1/2 art. [of wheat].

6–7. The amount actually given to Tamaleis was therefore 25 2/3 artabas, cf. introd.

8–9. This is probably a new adverb (of a common type), ἐμπροθεσμί; it is also possible to suppose ἐν προθεσμεί‹α›.

10. Indiction 14 = 325/6; its harvest fell in 326.

15. Cf. *P.NYU* 24, introd., for such masculine forms used inappropriately.

17. The phrase ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησεν and its variants have been the subject of much discussion, particularly in the last two decades. It was in the past generally accepted that the phrase is a form of the Roman "stipulatio" introduced into Egypt (after the *Constitutio*

Antoniniana) to provide a form of oral validation under Roman law to the written contracts familiar in the papyri. F. De Visscher, in *BIDR* 3 ser. 2 = 63 (1960) 19–37 and elsewhere argued that on the contrary, the phrase essentially expressed the agreement of the party concerned that the written document had been read back to him and accurately reflected what he had agreed to; he argued, therefore, that the later spread of phrases of this kind reflected provincial (i.e. Graeco-Egyptian) influence, not Roman. This view has been vigorously contested by numerous juristic scholars; a good bibliography and summary of arguments will be found in D. Simon, *Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel* (Münch. Beitr. 48, München 1964) 3–16. A partial support of De Visscher's views on the basis of a parallel in the *Alcestis* of Euripides comes from Cl. Préaux, *Cd'E* 42 (1967) 140–144, but she modifies De Visscher's theory to admit that a ruling by a Roman governor with the *stipulatio* in mind played a part in the creation of the phrase. For a summary see J. Modrzejewski, *Proc. XII Int. Congress Pap.* (Toronto 1970) 362 and n.293; he rejects De Visscher's and Préaux's arguments.

18–19. Consulate of Paulinus and Iulianus = 325, Thoth 11 = 8 September.

177

Loan of Money

Inv. 181 (9) 14.5 x 24.5 cm. 326

Complete but in poor condition; many lacunae, surface badly rubbed. Large triangular break at bottom. Four folds lengthwise. Back blank.

In this text, alone of the group from the 320's, we find a loan of money to be repaid in kind. The amount of money lent is stated to be seven talents of silver as principal; it is lent as the price of one artaba of vegetable seed, λαχανόσπερμον. The period of the loan runs from 31 December 326 to the end of Pauni (24 June) 327. For a more detailed discussion of these loans, with references, see the introduction to *182*.

The borrower in the present text is Sarapion son of Venaphris and Eirene, a pivotal figure in the archives of the several interrelated families described in the General Introduction. We know from *P.NYU* 22 that Sarapion was born around 299, and he was the father of several persons who appear in numerous documents in this volume and in *P.NYU*. The lender, one Apion (his father's name is lost), comes from the nome capital and is undoubtedly to be viewed as a wealthy lender of the sort encountered also in *176*.

→ [Ὁ]μο[λογε]ῖ Αὐ[ρήλιος Σ]αραπίων
[Οὐ]ενόφρεως μη[τρὸ]ς Ε[ἰ]ρήνης
[ἀπ]ὸ κώμ[ης] Καρανίδ[ο]ς Αὐρηλίῳ
4 [Ἀπίωνι....]ρι τῆς Ἀρσι(νοιτῶν) πόλεως
[διὰ....]ωνος π[ρο]νοητοῦ ἔχειν

παρὰ αὐ[τοῦ] ὁ ὁμολογ[ῶν Σα]ραπίων
διὰ χιρὸς ἀργ[υ]ρίου κεφαλαίου τάλαν-
8 τ[α ἑ]π̣τά, [(τάλαντα)] ζ, ὤντα εἰς τιμὴν λαχα-
νοσπ̣[ε̣]ρμου ἀρτάβην μίαν μέτρῳ
αἰλιουργεικοῦ ‹ἥνπερ› ἐπάναγκον ἀποδώσειν
τὸν [ὁμο]λ[ο]γοῦντα ἐν τῇ προθεσ-
12 [μίᾳ μη]νὶ Παῦνι γενήματος ιε΄ ἰνδικτί(ονος)
[ἐν τ]ῇ π̣ροκιμένῃ κώμῃ μέτρῳ αἰλαι-
ουργε[ι]κοῦ [τ]ὸ γένος νέον καθαρὸν εὐ-
άριστον ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπαι-
16 τήσε[ως γ]ε̣ίνεσθαι τῷ Ἀπίων τὴν πρᾶ-
ξιν ἐκ [τ]ε τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος καὶ ἐκ τῶν
[ὑπαρχό]ν̣των αὐτ[ῶ] πάντων καθά-
[περ] ἐκ δίκης καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησεν.
20 ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ζ καὶ Κων[στα]ντίου Καίσαρος τὸ α
Τύβ[ι] ε. Αὐρήλι[ος Σαραπ]ίων ἔσχον τὰ [τοῦ]
ἀργυρίου τ[άλαν]τα [ἑπτὰ ὄντα εἰς τιμ]ὴν λαχα[νοσπ-]
24 ερμου ἀρτάβ[ην μίαν, (ἀρτάβη) α, καὶ ἀποδ]ώσω [τῇ προθεσ-]
μίᾳ [ὡ]ς πρ[όκειται. Αὐρ(ήλιος) ..... ἔγραψα ὑπ(ὲρ)]
αὐτ[ο]ῦ ἀγ[ραμμάτου].

6 τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Σαραπίωνα 7 χειρὸς 8 ὄντα 10, 13 ἐλαιουργικῷ
10 ἀποδώσειν 13 προκειμένῃ 15 εὐάριστον 16 γίνεσθαι, Ἀπίωνι

Aurelius Sarapion, son of Venaphris and Eirene, from the village of Karanis, acknowledges to Aurelius [Apion, son of —]os, from the city of the Arsinoites, [(acting) through] his agent [—]on, that he, Sarapion, the acknowledging party, has received from him personally the principal sum of seven talents, that is 7 [tal.] in silver, as the price of one artaba of vegetable seed by the oilmakers' measure, which he, the acknowledging party, is under obligation to repay without delay on the appointed day in the month of Pauni in the aforesaid village, from the crop of the fifteenth indiction, by the oilmakers' measure, in quality fresh from the harvest, clean and in good condition, and that upon demand for payment [after default], Apion is to have the right of execution both upon the acknowledging party and upon all his property, just as if in accordance with a legal judgment, and on formal interrogation, he acknowledged (the above).

In the consulate of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 7th time and Constantius Caesar for the first time, Tybi 5.

I, Aurelius Sarapion, have received the [seven] talents of silver, [being the] price of [one] artaba [(1 art.)] of vegetable seed, [and] I will repay [on the appointed day] as aforesaid. [I, Aurelius . . . , have written for] him since he is illiterate.

7-8. The sum stated is the principal and does not include interest. Since the lender presumably realized some profit on his money, the artaba of vegetable seed to be repaid was probably anticipated to be worth substantially more than seven talents, but we are not in a position to say by how much it exceeded the principal in value.

9-10. The *μέτρον ἐλαιουργικόν*, oil-makers' measure, is commonly used for measuring vegetable seed; cf. *P. Oxy.* VIII 1140, and XIV 1743 among other examples. It was a seven-

measure arataba, with each measure containing four choinikes; the artaba thus contained 28 choinikes. See A. Segrè, *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria degli antichi* (Bologna 1928) 502, 505.

11–12. The 15th indiction = 326/7; the last day of Pauni = 24 June.

13. It is interesting that the borrower is allowed in this text to make payment in his own village rather than, as commonly, in the place of residence of the lender.

19. For the "stipulatio" see *176*.17n.

20. Consulate of Constantine VII and Constantius Caesar I = 326; Tybi 5 = 31 December.

178

Loan of Wheat

Inv. 181 (16) 22.5 x 25.5 cm. 327

Dirty light (straw-colored) brown papyrus, practically complete but in poor condition, with many lacunae throughout and a ragged top. Folded four times vertically. Right-hand *kollema* probably complete, width ca. 16.5 cm. Writing crosses joint. Verso blank.

This loan is of standard form (see *176* for discussion) and offers only some minor problems which are discussed in the notes. It is not clear why the document should have been found together with the archives of Aion son of Sarapion and Valerius son of Antiourios, since we have not been able to establish any family relationship between them or their relatives and Sarapion son of Patas, the borrower here.

→ Ὁ[μολογεῖ Αὐρήλιο]ς Σ[αρ]απ[ίων Πατᾶ μητρὸς]
Ταυρῖφ[εως ἀπὸ] κώμη[ς] Καρα[νίδος] ὡς (ἐτῶν) ῡ
οὐλὴ χ[ει]ρ[ὸ]ς ἀριστερᾶς Ἀν[τωνί]ῳ Σαρα-
4 πάμμωνι ἀπὸ στρατηγιῶν διὰ Ἡρᾶ προνο-
ητοῦ ἔχειν καὶ μεμετρῆσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ
ὁ ὁμολογ[ῶν] ἐν γένει πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ὀκτὼ ‹ἅσπερ›
ἐπάναγ[κο]ν ἀποδώσειν τὸν ὁ[μο]λογοῦντα
8 μηνὶ Πα[ῦ]νι τῆς ις ἰνδικτίον[ος] ἐν τῇ προ-
κειμένῃ κώμῃ μέτρῳ τετραχοινίκῳ
τὸ γένη[ος] νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον εὐά-
ρεστον ἀνυπερθέτως, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀ-
12 παιτή[σεως] γίνεσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν πρᾶξ[ι]ν
ἐκ τε τ[οῦ ὁ]μολογοῦντος καὶ ἐκ τῶν
ὑπαρχ[όντω]ν αὐτῷ πάντω[ν] καθά-
περ ἐ[κ δίκη]ς καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ὡμολόγησεν.
16 ὑπατ[είας Φλ]αυίου Κωσταντίου

καὶ Ο[ὐαλερίο]υ Μαξίμου τῶ[ν] λ̣α̣μ̣π̣ρ̣ο̣ρ̣(άτων)
ἐπάρ[χων] Χοίακ κγ.
(M2) Αὐρήλιος Σαραπ̣ε̣ίω̣ν Ι̣ατᾶ μητρὸς Τανο̣ύφ̣ε̣ω̣ς
20 ἔσχον τ̣ὰ̣ς τ̣ο̣[ῦ] π̣υ̣ρ̣οῦ ἀρτάβας ἑπτὰ μέτρα' η̣"
καὶ ἀπ[οδώ]σ̣ω̣ τ̣ῇ προθεσμίᾳ ὡς πρόκειται.
Αὐρ̣ήλι̣ος Δ̣ί̣δ̣υμ̣[ο]ς Σώτου ἔγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμά[του].

6 τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα, γένει 7 ἀποδώσειν 8/9 προκειμένῃ 11 ἀνυπερθέτως, υ corr
20 ἀρτάβας, ρ ex τ; ἑπτά, ε corr. (ex π?)

[Aurelius] Sarapion, [son of Patas and] Tanouphis, [from] the village of Karanis, about fifty years old, with a scar on his left hand, acknowledges to Antonius Sarapammon, former strategos, (acting) through his agent Heras, that he, the acknowledging party, has had measured out (to him) and has received eight artabas of wheat in kind from him, which he, the acknowledging party, is under obligation to repay without delay in the month of Pauni of the 16th indiction, in the aforesaid village, using the four-choinix measure, in quality fresh from the harvest, clean, unadulterated, and in good condition, and that upon formal demand [after a default] he is to have the right of execution both upon the acknowledging party and upon all his property, just as if in accordance with a legal judgment, and on formal interrogation, he acknowledged (the above).

In the consulate of Flavius Constantius and Valerius Maximus the most illustrious prefects, Choiak 23.

(M2) I, Aurelius Sarapion, son of Patas and Tanouphis, have received the seven artabas 8 metra (?) of wheat, and I will repay on the legal day as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Didymos, son of Sotas, wrote for him too since he is illiterate.

1. Sarapion son of Patas and Tanouphis is known from *P.NYU* 12.17,55, a tax list of 321/2, and from *P.Cair.Isid.* 21.11, where he appears in a list of payments (for vegetables) dated hesitantly by the editors *ca* 314/5 or later. His brother Pemes appears in P.Mich.Inv. 1410, edited by J. Shelton in *JJurPap* 18 (1974) 158–160, borrowing money from Antonius Sarapammon in 326. This text should be seen as embodying usurious interest of 50 per cent; see on loans "without interest" the article of P.W. Pestman, *JJurPap* 16–17 (1971) 7–29, and cf. *GRBS* 18 (1977) 95.

3. Antonius Sarapammon was strategos of the Arsinoite Nome in 312–314; see *P.NYU* 22.6n. for references; also *JJurPap* 18 (1974) 159.

4. On the expression ἀπὸ στρατηγιῶν, see N. Lewis, *AJP* 81 (1960) 186–187; I follow the first of his suggestions, that the word in question is στρατηγία (so also Lewis in *P.NYU* 22). Heras is also the agent of Sarapammon in *P.NYU* 22, in 329.

6. It is interesting that the text does not state any rate of interest; it is not said whether 8 artabas is principal or includes the interest, and the difficulty of line 20 (see note ad loc.) makes it impossible to settle the matter with certainty.

8. Indiction 16, i.e. 1, was thought at the time of drafting to be that running from 1 Thoth 327 to 5 Epagomenai 328. It was probably in 327, however, that the change of the starting date of the indiction year to Pachon 1 occurred, so that the harvest of 328 became the 2nd—although still by old reckoning the 16th. See R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen 1978) 9–14.

15. For the "stipulatio" clause see *176*.17n.

16. Consulate of Flavius Constantius and Valerius Maximus = 327; Choiak 23 = 20 December.

20. This line poses a considerable problem. The papyrus reads *αρταβασεπταμετρα'η"*. The interpretation given in the text suggests that the borrower acknowledges receipt of 7 artabas and 8 metra, whereas above he agrees that he has received 8 artabas. This might be explained as a difference of 2 metra representing interest, but the rate of interest (about 3%) would be ridiculously low compared with ordinary charges in loan contracts in kind. And the point of having the amount above given as 8 artabas, as I have said, would be partly that the sum would thus be established as the amount of the contract. To have a smaller sum given below would negate the purpose. The alternative is to conclude that we should read *ἀρτάβας ἑπταμέτρα(ς) η"*; in this case, the borrower would be acknowledging receipt of 8 artabas of 7 metra each, i.e. of 28 choinikes each, when he had to repay 8 artabas of 40 choinikes each. In this event the interest would be about 42%, not far from the range of ⅓ to ½ which is usual. To this may be objected again that the amount given below should be the same as that given above in order to follow normal patterns; and it is odd that *ἑπταμέτρας* would be abbreviated in this way, with only the sigma omitted and a stroke added.

22. Why *καί*, "also," is included in the subscription, I cannot say. Perhaps, though the document is framed as an acknowledgment from borrower to lender, the scribe viewed himself as agent of the lender; writing for the borrower was then "also."

178a

Loan of Wheat

P.Lond.Inv. 2719 10 x 22.5 cm. 336

Complete at some point on all sides, but most of upper left and center is missing. Considerable abrasion of the surface has taken place throughout the text.

This loan of wheat is, so far as preserved, of standard form, with the exception of lines 15–16 (cf. note). The borrower is Antiourios son of Ptollas, for whom see the introduction to *135a*. The lender's name is lost, but remains of it are visible in line 12. The amount borrowed is 2 artabas, including interest at the rate of one-third: the principal was thus 1½ artabas.

— [Ὁμολογεῖ Αὐρήλιος Ἀντιο]ῦριος Πτολῆ μη(τρὸς)
[11 *ἀπὸ κώμης* Κ]*αρανίδ*[*ος*] Ἀρσενο(*ίτου*) *ν*[*ο*(*μοῦ*)]
[± 22].
4 [± 22]..... *ρ*[
[± 23]...[
[± 19 *σὺν*] *τρίτου*
ἀρτάβα[*ς δύο*, (*ἀρτ.*) *β*, *ἅσπερ ἐπ*]*άναγκ*[*ον*]
8 *ἀποδώ*[*σειν ἐν προθεσμίᾳ μ*]*ηνὶ Παῦνι*
τῆς ἐνδικά[*της ἰνδικ*]*τίονος τὸ γένος*

νέον καθαρὸν [ἄδο]λ̣ον μέτρ[ῳ] τετρα-
χυνίκῳ ἀνυπ[ερθέτως] καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς
12 ἀπαιτή[σεως γίνεσθαι τ]ῷ .....
τὴν πρᾶξι[ν ἐκ τε τοῦ ὁμολ]ογο[ῦ]ντος
καὶ ἐ̣κ τ[ῶ]ν [ὑπαρχόντων αὐ]τ[ῶ] κ[α]θά-
περ ἐκ δίκης ..... φηρατ.....
16 αδ[.].....[.....]αθαρην κα̣ὶ
κυρια. . . καὶ ἐπερωτ[θ(εὶς)] ὡμολ̣όγησε[ν.]
ὑπατίας Ἰουρίου Ν̣[επω]τ̣ιανοῦ καὶ Τετ[τ]ίου
Φαγούντου τῶν [λα]μπροτάτων
20 Χ[οί]ακ ϊ̄. Αὐρήλιος Ἀντιούριος
ἔσχον τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας
δύο, (ἀρτ.) β καὶ ἀποδόσο [ὡ]ς πρό-
κιτε. Αὐρήλιος Μέλας
24 Σώτου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμά-
του.

1 Πολλὰ 2 Ἀρσινο(ίτου) 6 τρίτῳ 9 ἐνδεκάτης 10-11 τετραχοινίκῳ
12 ἀπαιτήσεως 17 κυρία pap. 18 Οὐιρίου 19 Φακούνδου 22 ἀποδώσω
23-24 πρόκειται

(Lines 7 ff.) [. . . including] a third (interest), [two] artabas, [2 art., which] he will repay necessarily [on the appointed day] in the month of Pauni of the eleventh indiction, new, clean, unadulterated produce by the four-choinix measure, without delay, and on demand . . . . shall [have] the right of execution [from the] acknowledging party and from his [possessions] just as in accordance with a legal decision . . . and on interrogation, he acknowledged (the above).

In the consulate of Iurius (sic) Nepotianus and Tettius Facundus the most illustrious, Choiak 9.

I, Aurelius Antiourios, have received the two artabas, 2 art., of wheat, and I will repay (them) as aforesaid.

I, Aurelius Melas son of Sotas, from the same village, wrote for him because he is illiterate.

4. Possibly].ν̣ι ἀπὸ στρ[, which would suggest [Ἀντωνίῳ Σαραπάμμ]ωνι ἀπὸ στρ[ατηγιῶν, for whom see *178*.3 and 4nn. I cannot verify the conjecture from line 12, where the lender's name should appear.

15-17. The parallel texts from Karanis, which otherwise have considerable similarity to this document, offer no comparable reading in this passage, and I cannot say what should be read or restored. In line 17, the scribe has corrected himself after κυρια, following with what looks like εεο; but there are also other traces, and something has been erased. In all probability we are dealing with some sort of validity clause.

18-19. The correct form of the name of the first consul is Virius; see *P. Panop.* 6.12n. (*ZPE* 7 [1971] 21).

20. Choiak 9 = 5 December 336.

23-24. Aurelius Melas son of Sotas appears in several other documents of this period as scribe, with or without his patronymic. See *P.NYU* 3.6 (336/7), and *153* (345/6) and *161* (347/8).

179

Lease of an Olive Grove

Inv. 65 12.5 x 24.5 cm. 300

Published: S. B. Porges, "A Lease of an Olive Grove," *TAPA* 92 (1961) 469–480 [essentially the text of her 1961 Columbia dissertation] (*SB* VIII 9835). Cf. N. Lewis, *TAPA* 93 (1962) 164–165.

The papyrus is complete but has suffered minor damage throughout, including a vertical split to the left of center along one of three vertical folds made in antiquity. The side margin of 2 cm. is torn away after line 19; the only other margin (also 2 cm.) is at the top. The back is blank.

This papyrus is an offer to lease an olive grove of two arouras belonging to Aurelia Thermoutharion; the lessee is Isidoros son of Ptolemaios. The *editio princeps* contains a very full and illuminating commentary on the agricultural aspects of the text, to which the reader is referred for details.

Isidoros' mother owned two parcels of land containing olive trees, which are recorded in *P.Cair.Isid.* 2 and 3, but as with grain land, Isidoros was ever ready to become a lessee where this might bring him profit (cf. *P.Cair.Isid.*, p.10). Isidoros is by this lease to keep half of the produce and turn half over to the lessor, along with one artaba of olives per year. Out of his income he is to take care of all agricultural work; the lessor pays the taxes from her share. These clauses are usual, and Isidoros entered into a number of such agreements. Among extant leases of olive groves or crops, the present text is unusual in its virtually perfect preservation and in the fullness of its detail. One may contrast the recently published *P.Mich.* IX 561 (Karanis, A.D. 102), an application to lease an olive crop, which states the rent and size of the property but nothing about the proportions in the division of the crop, and IX 562 (Karanis, 119), where the rent is not stated. A list of similar documents is given by Porges (p. 470, n.3).

— Ὑπατείας τῶ[ν] κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου
[κα]ὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ γ'.
Α[ὐ]ρηλίᾳ Θερμο[υ]θαρίῳ θυγατρὶ Σέξκτου λεγιω-
4 νᾳρίου χωρ[ί]ς κυρίου χρηματ(ίζουσα) τέκνων δικαίῳ
παρ[ὰ] Αὐρηλίου Ἰσιδώρου Πτολεμαίου μητρὸς
[Ἡρωί]δος ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος. βούλομαι μισ-
θώσ[α]σθ[α], παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ ἡμίσει μέ-
8 ρει τὰ[ς] ὑπαρχούσας σοι περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
κώμην Καρανείδα ἐλαιῶνος ἀρούρας δύο
ἢ ὅσας ἐὰν ὦσιν εἰς ἔτη πέντε ἀπὸ καρπῶν
τοῦ ἐνε[σ]τῶτος ιεS καὶ ιεS καὶ ηS ἐκπιπτόν-
12 των εἰς τὸ ἰσιὸν ἔτος, διδόντος μου ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἡμετέρου μέρους κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστ[ο]ν ἐλαιῶν
ἀρτάβην μίαν μέτρῳ δρᾳμῳ τετραχυνί-
κῳ. καὶ ο[ὐ]κ ἐξέστε μοι ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
16 προλιπεῖν τὴν μίσθωσιν κατ' οὐδένα τρόπο(ν),
καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπιτελέσω τὰ κατ' ἔτος ἔργα πάντα
ξηρολογίας κορμολογίας περιφιαλισμούς,

[το]ῦ ἐκ[τι]ναγμοῦ ὄντος πρὸς ἐμαὶ τὸν μισ-
20 θούμενον. ποιήσομαι δὲ καὶ ὑποσχισ-
μοὺς καὶ ποτισμούς, καὶ διεραιθησόμεθα
[τ]οὺς ἐπιγινομένους καρποὺς κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ
μέρος, τῶν δημοσίων πάντων ὄντων πρὸς
24 σὲ τὸν κτήτορα, καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον πα-
ραδώσω τὸν ἐλαιῶνα τετευχότα τῶν δε-
[.....] πάντων ὡς κἀγὼ παρέλαβο(ν),
ἐὰν φαίνεται με[σ]θῶσαι. καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εὶς) ὡμολό(γησα).
28 [Αὐρηλία] Θερμουθᾶρις μεμίσθωκα ἐπὶ
[ἡμίσει μέρει] ὡς πρόκιται. Αὐρήλιος Μίκκαλος
[ἔγραψα] ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.
(ἔτους) ιϛ καὶ ιε καὶ ηS τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ[ν] Διοκλητιανοῦ
32 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταν[τίο]υ καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν [ἐπ]ιφανεστάτω[ν Καισά]ρων,
Μεχεὶ[ρ] ι.

3 Σέκστου ed.pr. (printing error): Σέξτου 9 Καρανίδα ed.pr. 11, 31 ι corr. fr. οδ 12 εἰσοὺς; ἴσους pap. 14-15 τετραχοινίκῳ 15 ἐξίσται 18 περισκαλισμοὺς ed.pr., περιφιαλισμοὺς Lewis, *AJP* 19 ἐμὲ 20 θουμενον ———— pap. 21 διαιρεθησόμεθα 22 ἥμισι ed.pr. 29 πρόκειται 30 εἰδυίας 34 Μεχεὶ[ρ ed.pr.; Μεχεὶ[ρ] ι Lewis, *AJP*

In the third consulate of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, most noble Caesars. To Aurelia Thermoutharion, daughter of Sextus, a legionary, who is acting without a guardian by virtue of the *ius liberorum*, from Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios and Herois, from the village of Karanis. I wish to lease from you in partnership on a basis of half-shares the two arouras, or however many there may be, of an olive grove belonging to you in the vicinity of the same village of Karanis, for five years [reckoning] from the fruits of the current sixteenth, fifteenth, and eighth year, which mature in the coming year, it being my obligation to give from my portion each year one artaba of olives by the four-choinix dromos measure. And it shall not be permissible for me to abandon the lease within the term in any way, and I shall accomplish all the yearly chores, gathering and removal of dry, dead branches, pruning, harrowing, the harvesting being my responsibility as the lessee, and I shall do both plowing and irrigating, and we shall divide the harvests in half-shares, all public charges resting on you, the owner; and on the expiration of the term I will surrender the olive grove having had . . ., as I also received it, if you agree to make the lease. And when the formal question was put to me, I made acknowledgment. I, Aurelia Thermoutharion, have made the lease on half-shares, as stated above. I, Aurelius Mikkalos, have written on her behalf, since she is illiterate. Year 16-15-8 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Constantius and Maximianus, the most noble Caesars, Mecheir 10.

1. The third consulate of Constantius and Maximianus was 300.

7–8. For leases which are in effect sharecropping arrangements, see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* (Münch. Beitr. 41, München 1958) 204–213.

9. If Schnebel (*Landwirtschaft*, 304–305) is right, this plot would hold about 36 trees. *P.Cair.Isid.* 2 is a declaration of 25 trees (1⅓ arouras by the same standard), and *P.Cair.Isid.* 3 is a declaration of 19/64 arouras (again, by the same figures, about 6 trees).

10. This period of five years is the longest period known for the lease of an olive grove. The fruit on the trees on Mecheir 10 (5 February) would be harvested in about October in the following Egyptian year. For the phraseology see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I 358–359.

18. ξηρολογία, the gathering and removal of dry dead wood from the trees, is attested also in *SB* I 5126.25; cf. *Geoponica* 9.9.9. κορμολογία appears in the same document; Porges argues that it must mean pruning, as Schnebel thought. περιφιαλισμός, which occurs here for the first time, refers to the scooping of shallow basins around the tree trunks to catch rainwater (cf. further Lewis' remarks in *AJP* cited above).

20–21. For ὑποσχισμός, intensive plowing, see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 106, 246, 306. See Porges' commentary for the evidence concerning ancient irrigation of olive trees.

25–26. In the first edition Porges reported the suggested restoration of δε[όντων ἔργων] favored by H. C. Youtie, which she translates "having had the necessary tillage." This is surely the necessary sense; whether the words were precisely those is undemonstrable in the absence of parallels.

28. Youtie pointed out that the name must be Thermoutharion, a typical feminine diminutive, and that Thermoutharis here is evidently an error for the nominative Θερμουθάριν (with the common phenomenon of the omission of omicron in the ending).

28–29. Porges credits this restoration to H. C. Youtie, suggesting as an alternative ἐπὶ [ἡμίσει καθ]ὡς πρόκιται.

180

Lease of Land

Inv. 181 (21) 16 x 26 cm. 315/6 or 330/1

Complete, but surface badly rubbed; the upper third is almost entirely obliterated. Back blank except for docket.

The document, a lease of three arouras of land, is of a standard type, a "Teilpacht" in which half of the produce goes to the lessor, half to the lessee; *179* is similar. The lessor is one Patermouthis, whose patronymic I read as Basos with some doubt; the lessee is Heron, probably son of Ptolemaios. One is tempted to see in him Heron the brother of Isidoros (cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* Index IV, s.v.). In that case, indiction 4 (line 11) would be 315/6, and the date of the document probably 315. On the other hand, the identification is very insecure, and reference to an indiction is more characteristic of later periods. But the later formula contrasting the present indiction and the crops of the next is absent, and the wording of lines 10–11 suggests that sowing and harvest would fall in the same indiction, a condition fulfilled in 315/6 but not in 330/1.

The condition of the first seven lines of the text is extremely bad. The text probably began with a date (consuls, month, day), but the consuls' names are mostly effaced, and even the reading of the month name is little more than a guess. The opening formulation is also very unsure. What we can see of the text shows typical phonetic spelling and numerous errors of case, repetition and number.

— ο[.....]ερ .... [± 15]
.επ..ο....α....[± 15]
[Πα]ῦνι .. Αὐρήλιος Ἥρων Πτολεμ[αίου ?]
4 [ἀ]πὸ κώμης Καρανίδος τοῦ Ἀρσε[ν(οίτου) νομοῦ]
[ὁ]μολογῶ ..... Αὐρηλίῳ [Πατερμο]υ- (?)
θίῳ Βάσσου ἐν πόλει Ἀρσ[ινοι(τῶν).....].....
ἐν τόπῳ Τεστω νε ... υ .... φο .. ἀρούρας
8 τρῖς, (ἀρούρας) γ. ἢ ὥσας εἰὰν ὦσι, ἐπὶ ἡμίσους
μέρους συ τῷ γεούχῳ ἥμισοι τὸ λυπῶ[ν]
ἥμισοι μέρος συ τῷ γεωργούντων τῆς
εὐτυχούσης τετάρτης δS' ἰνδι(κτίονος). ἡ [μίσ-]
12 θω(σις) κυρία καὶ βαιβαία καὶ ἔστω παντ[αχοῦ]
ἐπιφερομένου καὶ ἐπεροτηθεὶς ὡμ[ο]λό(γησα).
Αὐρήλιος Πατερμοῦθις ὁ προκίμ[ενο]ς
μεμίσθωκα τῷ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἥρωνι τὰς προκι-
16 μένας ἀρούρας ἐπὶ ἡμίσους μέρους [ὡς]
προκιται καὶ συμφωνεῖ μοι πάντα τὸ [ἐ]γ[γεγρα]μ-
μένα. Αὐρήλιος Λεόντιος Διδύμ[ου]
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἔγραψα ἰ[π]ὲ[ρ]
20 ο[ὐτ]οῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότως.

Back

μίσθ(ωσ)ις Πατερμοῦθις Ἥρων ἀπὸ Τάνε[ως] (ἄρουραι) γ.

4 Ἀρσινοίτου, cf. *181.4* 8 ὅσας ἐὰν 9 σοί, ἥμισυ, λοιπὸν 10 ἥμισυ, ἐμοί, γεωργοῦντι 12 βεβαία; first α corrected 13 ἐπιφερομένη, ἐπερωτηθείς 14 Πατερμοῦθις, τ corr. fr. θ

—Pauni . . . I, Aurelius Heron son of Ptolemaios (?), from the village of Karanis of the Arsinoite [Nome], acknowledge . . . to Aurelius Patermouthis (?) son of Basos in the city of the Arsinoites (that you) have leased (to me) in the place Testo . . . three arouras, ar. 3, or however many they may be, on a basis of half-shares—a half share for you the landowner, and the remaining half share for me the cultivator—for the prosperous fourth (4th) indiction. Let the lease be valid and secure wherever it is produced, and on formal interrogation I have acknowledged (the above).

I, Aurelius Patermouthis, the aforesaid, have leased to Aurelius Heron the aforesaid arouras for a half-share as aforesaid, and all that is written within has my agreement. I, Aurelius Leontios son of Didymos, from the same city, wrote on behalf of him because he is illiterate.

Back

Lease of Patermouthis to Heron from Tanis, 3 ar.

6. The patronymic may be intended as Βάσσου.

7. The place Testo is known from *P. Flor.* III 340.8 (early IIIp), where it seems to be in the neighborhood of the village of Eleusis in the Polemon division. Professor Youtie remarks that the traces following suggest νεοφύτου ἐμφόρου.

13. See *176*.17n. for the "stipulatio."

Back. The mention of Tanis, a village in the Herakleides Division, is unexpected, if the reading of Karanis is correct in line 4; it does not seem possible to read Τάνεως anywhere in line 4.

181

Sale of Land

Inv. 181 (2) 41.5 x 21 cm. 342

Published: N. Lewis, *P.Coll.Youtie* II 78

Light-brown papyrus, complete in its outer dimensions but badly damaged in its lower half and riddled with small holes. Fourteen vertical folds. The writing, now impaired in places through fading or surface abrasion, crosses two joins of papyrus sheets, the clear width of the central *kollema* between the joins being 21.5 cm.

The hand of this papyrus is the flowing cursive of a practiced writer; the docket on the verso, written in the center of the papyrus, perpendicularly to the recto text, is in larger letters by what looks like the same hand. The Greek text produced by this skilled hand reveals a scribe whose mastery of the business formulary was adequate, but whose mastery of Greek grammar—particularly in the use of case and number—was at best uncertain and erratic.

The document is a contract by which 9½ arouras of private land classified as σπόριμος are sold for 50 talents in cash by a brother and sister who had inherited the land from their mother. The land is identified as having been registered by her in the census conducted by Sabinus, on which see *P.Cair.Isid.* 2, introd. For the persons involved, see the notes.

→ ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν δεσποτῶ(ν) ἡμῶν Κωσταντίου τὸ γ" καὶ Κόσταντος Ἀγούστων τὸ β' μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου Φαῶφι κα ἐν Πτολ[ε]μαείδι Εὐεργέτιδει τοῦ Ἀρσ[ε]νοίτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογοῦσιν Αὐρήλιοι Κλήμιτος καὶ Ταπάεις ἀμφοτέρων τέκνα

Ἡράτος μητρὸς Ἀλοῦτος, τὸν μὲν Κλῆμ(ιτος) ὡς (ἐτῶν) μβ οὐλὴ ἔμπροσθεν γόνατι ἀριστεροῦ, ἡ δὲ Ταπάεις ὡς (ἐτῶν) κβ οὐλὴ χειρῶ

4 ἀριστερῶ, ἀπὸ κώμης Κεραν<ί>δος ε' πάγου τοῦ Ἀρσενοίτου νομοῦ Αὐρήλιοι Ἀτῖσις Λεωνίδου μητρὸς Ταήσεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) με οὐλὴ ἀντε-

κνημίῳ ποδῶ δεξιῶ [κα]ὶ Ἀντιούριος Ἀβοῦτος μητρὸς Ἀλλοῦτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) μθ οὐλὴ ποδῶ δεξιῶ ἀμφοτέροις ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Κερανίδος

τοῦ Ἀρσενοίτου νομοῦ πεπρακέναι τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας τοῖς περὶ Ἀντιουρίου καὶ Ἀτισίου ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον

τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῶν περὶ ὁριοδικτίας κώμης Κερανίδος ἐπὶ τῆς ς σφρ(αγῖδος) ἰδιωτικῆς σπορίμης ἀρούρας ἐννέα ἥμισυ ἐν τόπῳ

8 λεγομένῳ Τμειτειας ἐπ' ἀνόματει Ἀλοῦς καθὼς κεῖται ἐν τῇ ἀπογραφῇ αἱ γιτνίαις παρὰ Σαβείνου κηνσιτορεύσαντει ἐπὶ τοῖς οὖσι

αὐτῶν [ὁρ]ίοις πᾶσι καὶ ταῖς πρ[ο]κιμέναις αὐτῶν γιτνίαις καὶ τοποθεσείαις καὶ ἀπέχειν τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας παρὰ Ἀτισείου καὶ Ἀντιουρίου

τὰ συμπεφωνημένα τῆς τιμῆς ἀργυρίου τάλαντα πεντήκοντα ἐκ πλήροι[ς] διὰ χειρὸς καὶ βεβειώσεως αὐτῶν δὲ τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας

καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν Ἀτῖσις καὶ Ἀντιοῦρις καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶσιν τῶν προκιμένων ἀρουρῶν πᾶσι βεβαιώσει ἃς καὶ παρέξεται

12 ἀνέπαφον καὶ ἀνενεχύρεστον καὶ ἀνεπιδάνιστον καὶ καθαρὰς ἀπὸ παντὸς ὀφιλήματος, ἀπὸ μὲν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων καὶ ἀνωνῶν

καὶ ἐπιβο[λ]ὰς πάσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνὰ χεῖρα χρόνων μέχρει τῆς ἐκκεδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίονος), ἀπὸ δὲ ἰδιωτικοῦ καὶ πάσης ἐμποιήσιως διὰ παντός,

καὶ [ἀπὸ] τοῦ [νῦν] τὸν Ἀτῖσιν καὶ Ἀντιοῦριν κρατεῖν τ[ο]ύτων καὶ κυριεύειν καὶ τὰ πε[ρ]ιγειν[όμ]ενα εἰς τ[ὸ] ἴδιο[ν αὐτ]ῶν ἀποφ[έρ]εσθαι καὶ διοι-

κεῖν καὶ οἰκον[ο]μεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐὰν αἱρῆται καὶ διευθύνειν αὐτῶν τῷ ἱερ[ωτάτῳ] ταμιείῳ τὰ [ὑπὲρ αὐ]τῶν δημόσια πάντα

16 καὶ ἀνωνῶν{ων}ας καὶ ἐπιβολὰς πάσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἑπτακαιδεκάτ[η]ς ἰνδικ(τίονος) ἐπὶ τὸν ἀεὶ χρ[όνον, ἐφ' ἃς] καὶ μὴ ἐπι[πορεύεσθ]αι τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας

[μ]ηδὲ ἄλλον ὑ[π]ὲρ αὐτῶν μηδένα κατ[ὰ] μηδένα τρίπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τ[οὺς ἐπ]ελευσομ[ένους ἢ ἐ]νποιησο[μένους κα]θ' ὁντιναοῦν τρόπον

ἀποστήσι[ν ἐ]κε[ίνω]ν παραχρῆμα τοῖς ἰδίο[ι]ς δαπανήμασιν, ἔτι δὲ [κα]ὶ προ[σ]εκτίσιν τὴν [τιμὴν με]θ' ἡμιολίας [καὶ τὰ τέ]λη καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα διπλᾶ

χωρὶς [τ]οῦ [μένιν κύρια κ]αὶ τὰ προ[γ]εγρ[αμμένα], περ[ί] τε τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτω[ς ὀρ]θῶς κ[αλῶς γεγο]νέναι ἐπε[ρωτήσα]ντες ἀλλήλους ὡμολόγησαν.

→ Verso

20 πρᾶσις γῆν ἰδιωτικ(ῆς) σπορ(ίμης) (ἀρ.) θ S.

1 Κωνσταντίου, Κώνσταντος Αὐγούστων 2 Ἀρσινοίτου, ἀμφότεροι 3 ὁ μέν, ἀριστερῷ, χειρὶ 4 Ἀρσινοίτου, Αὐρηλίους Ἀτίσι 5 ποδὸς δεξιοῦ, Ἀντιουρίῳ, ο of αλλουτοι corr. fr. first stroke of a third λ, ποδί, ἀμφότεροι 6 Ἀντιούριον, Ἀτίσιον 7 αὐτοῖς, ὁριοδικτίαν 8 ὀνόματι Ἀλοῦτος, τῶν γειτνιῶν, π of παρα corr. fr. ο or ε (beginning of σαβεινου or επι), Σαβίνῳ 10 μ of τιμης rewritten, π of πεντηκ.

corr. fr. δι (beginning of δια χειρος), βεβαιωσιν αυτοις τε 11 Ἀτίσι, Ἀντιουρίῳ, αὐτῶν, πάσῃ, παρέξονται 12 φ of ανεπαφον corr. fr. π, ἀνεπάφους, ἀνεν-χυράστους, ἀνεπιδανείστους 13 ἐπιβολῆς, πάσης 15 ν of οικονομειν corr. fr. ?, αἱρῶνται 19 first ρ of προγεγρ. corr. fr. ε (beginning of περι), π of περι app. corr. fr. τε(= δε), ο of ωμολογησαν app. corr. fr. αι. Verso γῆς

In the consulate of our lords Constantius for the 3rd time and Constans for the 2nd, Augusti, in the month of Apellaios/Phaophi 21, in Ptolemais Euergetis of the Arsinoite Nome.

Aurelii Klemitos and Tapaeis, both children of Heras and Alous, Klemitos about 42 years old with a scar on the front of his left knee, Tapaeis about 22 years old with a scar on her left hand, of the village of Karanis in the 5th *pagus* of the Arsinoite Nome, acknowledge to the Aurelii Atisis son of Leonides and Taesis, about 45 years old with a scar on the shin of his right leg, and Antiourios son of Abous and Allous, about 49 years old with a scar on his right foot, both of the village of Karanis in the Arsinoite Nome, that the acknowledging parties have sold to the party of Antiourios and Atisios from the present day unto all time the nine and one-half arouras of private arable land belonging to them in the horiodiktia of the village of Karanis, in section 6 in the locality called Tmeiteias, listed in the name of Alous, as the boundaries are given in the declaration made under the then *censitor* Sabinus, with all their present limits and with the aforesaid boundaries and locations; that the acknowledging parties have received from Atisios and Antiourios in full in person the fifty talents of silver agreed upon as the price; that they, the acknowledging parties and their representatives, will guarantee to Atisis and Antiouris and their representatives with every guarantee the terms of sale of the aforesaid arouras, which they will deliver unencumbered, not liable to distraint, free of lien, and clear of every obligation—of government taxes, annona assessments and every imposition from the present time through the sixteenth indiction, and of private obligation and every claim forever;

and that from the present Atisis and Antiourios are to have and to hold these (arouras), are to appropriate all the produce to their private possession, are to manage and administer them as they please, and are to pay to the imperial treasury all government taxes, annona assessments and impositions upon them from the seventeenth indiction unto all time; and that neither the acknowledging parties nor anyone else in their behalf will institute adverse proceedings in any way but will themselves immediately at their own expense repulse any who shall in any way whatsoever bring suit or claim, and further (if they fail so to act) they will in addition pay one and a half times the (purchase) price and double the fees and expenses, aside from the aforegoing terms also remaining valid.

As to the accuracy and correctness of these terms thus stated, they put the formal question to each other and gave their acknowledgment.

Verso

Sale, private arable land, 9½ ar.

1 and 19. The writer ends and begins with a flourish, with both initial and concluding letters far beyond normal size. Phaophi 21 = 18 October 342.

2. Κλήμιτος was not previously attested; it may be related to Κλήμης (= Clemens) or to Κλημάτιος. For Tapaeis, see above, p. 7, and also the introduction to *173*.

4–5. For Atisios and Antiourios, both well-known figures in this period, see above, p. 7–8.

13–16. The sixteenth indiction began in Pachon (May) 342, and its taxes would have been paid during the summer of 342. This contract, from the October following, looks to the 17th (i.e., the 2nd) indiction, 343/4, as the first for which the buyers would pay the taxes.

18. The penalty clause is meant to be invoked in case the sellers violate the preceding provision, to come forward to defend the validity of the sale.

182—184

Loan Contracts of Tetoueis

Published: John Day and Sarah B. Porges, "Financial Transactions of Aurelia Titoueis," *AJP* 81 (1960) 157–175 (*SB* VI 9603). Cf. N. Lewis, *AJP* 83 (1962) 185–187; Zola Packman, *CdE* 50 (1975) 285–296; R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 85–96.

These three documents belong to an archive containing six (or perhaps seven: cf. *187*) texts known to date; the others are *P.Oslo* II 38, *P.Mert.* I 37, and *P.NYU* 24. All six record loan transactions involving an Aurelia Tetoueis (spelled also Titoueis), who was the daughter of Hatres and Tapaeis. Her father is attested in the period about 315–320, but not (so far) subsequently (cf. above, p. 000). Tetoueis was a sister of Tamaleis, who was probably the mother of Aion son of Sarapion and Valerius son of Antiourios (cf. *176*, introd.). Tamaleis was born about 295, and her known activity falls in the year 325; she was dead by the 360's. Tetoueis, on the other hand, was still alive in the 370's, and indeed it is only from that decade that we have any attestation of her. Even if she was considerably younger than her sister, she must have been fairly elderly in 372–375.

Of the documents belonging to the papers of Aurelia Tetoueis, three are loans of wheat, two of money repayable in kind, and one of both money and wheat, repayable in barley and wheat. All are of much the same format and phraseology. The table below sets out the essential information about the six documents.

The documents in which money is lent in return for repayment in kind have most commonly (though not universally) been seen as being in essence advance sales, sales in which the price was received now and the goods delivered later. I, on the contrary, regard the loan function as the dominant aspect. A bibliography on the subject, together with a full argument for this position, appears in the article cited in the lemma.

Aside from the question of the document type, a challenge to the date given by *182* has recently been raised by Zola Packman (see lemma). She argues that the period of 17 months indicated as the period of *182* is unacceptable, because no other contract for later delivery has such a date of delivery, nor do plain commodity loans have dates of repayment more than a year distant. Her solution to this problem is to propose that the scribe has made an error, and that the consular date by Domitius Modestus and Flavius Arinthaeus should be instead to the *year after* their consulate, particularly as the document is dated early in the year when such *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν* phrases are commonly found. Despite the attractiveness of the argument, however, it seems to me to rest on very insecure foundations; it must be

Document	*Lender*	*Amount borrowed*	*To be repaid*	*Int.*	*Date lent*	*Date to repay*
182	Aur. Koutina, fr. Ptol. Euerg.	6 art. wheat, 3000 talents	9 art. wheat, 6 art. barley	50% ?	4-2-372	7-373
183	Fl. Venaphrios, soldier	money, amount not given	6 art. wheat, 6 art. barley, 3 art. veg. seed	?	23-11-372	6-373
184	Aur. Venaphris	3600 talents	6 art. barley	?	17-12-372	24-6-373
P.Mert. 37	Aur. Kottine	18 art. wheat	27 art. wheat	50%	3-9-373	6-374
P.NYU 24	Aur. Koutina	6 art. wheat	9 art. wheat	50%	fall, 373	24-6-374
P.Oslo II 38[1]	Aur. Kottine	27 art. wheat	40 ½ art. wheat	50%	fall, 374	6-375

This text was restored by H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 83 (1952) 116–119, on the basis of *P.Mert.* I 37. The revised text is printed as *SB* VI 9311.

remembered (as Lewis points out) that the date, in February, is after the normal sowing season, and that the document thus is not of the same sort as other such documents, which presume that the loan is for the purpose of seed for sowing. In such a situation, to assert on essentially *a priori* grounds that the scribe did not know his business is methodologically unsound.[1] I have therefore retained the scribe's dating.

182

Loan of Wheat and Money

Inv. 59 10 x 25.9 cm. 372

The papyrus is complete and in good condition, with only minor damage here and there to the surface.

Tetoueis borrows here 6 artabas of wheat to be repaid with nine, and 3,000 talents to be repaid with 6 artabas of barley. The same lender, Aurelia Koutinon (Koutina), lent Tetoueis 6 artabas of wheat once again, shortly after the repayment date specified here, in *P.NYU* 24. Whether the lender is the same as the Aurelia Kottine who figures as the lender in *P.Mert.* I 37 and *P.Oslo* 38 is harder to say; the spelling is not vastly different, but the patronymic is different. The editors of our texts, Day and Porges, argued that they were probably the same person, and that one name was an alias. I am not persuaded by this suggestion, but it does not appear possible to demonstrate either the truth or falsity of this proposition.

— Αὐρηλία Τετούεις Ἀτρῆ ἀπὸ κώ-
μης Κερανίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου
νομοῦ Αὐρηλίᾳ Κουτίνου
4 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσινοιτῶν πόλεως
χέρειν·
ὡμολογῶ ἐσχηκαίνε καὶ με-
μαιτρῆσθαι παρὰ σοῦ σίτου σὺν
8 ἡμιωλίας ἀρτάβας ἐννῆα, (ἀρτάβας) θ,
καὶ ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσμα-
τος ταλάντον τρισχιλίων, (τάλαντα) /Γ,

1. Packman relies heavily on evidence of scribal confusion about dating with consular and indiction systems in other documents. Some of this confusion, however, is Packman's. *SB* VI 9189 lacks a consular date not because of scribal confusion but because it is a copy (as Wilcken observed). In *P.Vindob.Sijp.* 13, the text is erroneously transcribed; see *ZPE* 26 (1977) 269 for the correct reading, which reveals a proper formulation. *P.NYU* 22 is simply mutilated. The documents with τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις and similar formulas in the early 320's (see *143*.11–13n.) reflect not the "despair" of the scribes but an officially prescribed formula; it came about not because of scribal inability but because of political turmoil, and it is thus irrelevant for the consulates of 372, which were not in doubt. The sixth century datings after the consulate of Basilius are an entirely different phenomenon. *P.Oxy.* 2239.3n. is a different phenomenon also and quite irrelevant.

ὤντων εἰς τιμὴν κριθῆς ἀρτα-
12 βῶν ἕξ, (ἀρταβῶν) ς, ἅσπερ σὺ ἀποδώ-
σο {σοί}, τὰ πάντα, μηνὶ Ἐπὶφ τῆς
εὐτυχοῦς βS ἰνδικτίωνος ἀνυ-
περθέτος καὶ ἄνευ πάσης ἀντι-
16 λογίας, τῆς πράξεώς συ γιγνω-
μένης ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ ἢ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων μου πάντων
παντίων εἰδῶν πράσσοντί σοι
20 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖσα) ὁμω-
λόγησα. ὑπατίας Δωμεττίου
Μωδέστου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρ-
χου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρετορίου καὶ Φλ(αουίου)
24 Ἀριανθέου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κώμη-
τος καὶ μαγίστρου τῆς πεδικῆς δυνά-
μ[ε]ος Μεχὶρ θ. Αὐρηλία Τιτούις
ἡ προκιμένη ἔσχον τὰς τοῦ σίτου
28 ἀρτάβας ἐννῆα, (ἀρτάβας) θ, καὶ τὰς τῆς κρι(θῆς)
ἀρτάβας ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ς, καὶ ἀποδόσο τῇ πρ[ο-]
θεσμίᾳ ὁς πρ[ό]κιτε. Αὐρήλιος Πέ-
τρος Νεμεσιαροῦ ἔγραφα ὑ-
32 πὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγραμμάτου.

Back

χ(ειρόγραφον) Τιτούεις ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος σίτου (ἀρταβῶν) θ
καὶ κριθῆς ‹ἀρταβῶν ς›

2 Καρανίδος 5 χαίρειν 6 ὁμολογῶ, ἐσχηκέναι, μεμετρῆσθαι 8 ἡμιολίῳ, ἐννέα 10 τάλαντα τρισχίλια 11 ὄντα 12 σοί, ἀποδώσω 14 εὐτυχοῦς, ἀνυπερθέτως 16 περιγιγνω- ed.pr.; σὺ (=σοί) γιγνω- Lewis, *AJP*; Youtie; cf. *BL* V, 117 17 τῶν 18 ὑπαρχόντων, πάντων 19 παντοίων εἰδῶν 20–21 ὡμολόγησα 21 Δομιτίου 22 Μοδέστου 23 πραιτωρίου 24–25 κόμητος 25–26 δυνάμεως 26 Τιτούεις ed.pr. 28 ἐννέα 29 ἀποδώσω 30 ὡς πρόκειται 31 Νεμεσια vac νου (pap. already defective in antiquity) 32 γρά(μματα) μὴ εἰδ(υῖας) ed.pr.

Aurelia Titoueis daughter of Hatres, of the village of Karanis of the Arsinoite Nome, to Aurelia Koutinon, of the city of the Arsinoites, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received and have had measured from you nine artabas of wheat, (9 art.), including interest of one-half, and three thousand talents in Augustan silver coinage (3000 tal.) which are for the price of six artabas of barley (6 art.), which I will repay to you, in full, in the month of Epeiph of the second fortunate indiction with no delay and without any dispute, the right of execution belonging to you from me or even from all my property of all kinds and sorts for you at execution as though by a legal decision, and when the formal question was put to me I acknowledged (the above). In the consulate of Domitius Modestus, the most illustrious Praetorian Prefect, and Flavius Arinthaeus, the most illustrious Count and Master of the Infantry Force, Mecheir 9. I, the aforementioned Aurelia Titoueis, received the nine artabas of wheat (9 art.) and the six artabas of barley (6 art.) and I will repay them at the appointed

time, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Petros, son of Nemesianus, have written on her behalf because she is illiterate.

Back

Note of hand: Titoueis from the village of Karanis, 9 artabas of wheat, and ‹6 art. of› barley.

9–10. For "Augustan" silver in papyri of the third and fourth centuries, see L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton 1944) 67.

14. Indiction 2 = 373/4; the harvest of the year fell in the spring and summer of 373.

21–26. Consulate of Domitius Modestus and Flavius Arinthaeus = 372; Mecheir 9 = 4 February.

25–26. For the title of Flavius Arinthaeus, see Day and Porges' commentary ad loc. together with Lewis' remarks in *AJP* 83 (1962) 186–87.

30–31. The scribe also appears in *184*. Apollonios son of Nemesianos, scribe of P.Mich.Inv. 3036 (*ZPE* 24 [1977] 140f.), may be his brother.

183

Loan of Money

Inv. 181 (28) 13.2 x 26.9 cm. 372

Light-brown papyrus in nearly perfect condition; 5 vertical folds.

This text tells us that the lender, a legionary soldier on active duty, had lent the money for repayment with various amounts of wheat, barley and vegetable seed. The amounts of money are not given, nor is there any penalty clause. Here, in fact, whatever interest was charged is entirely concealed from view.

→ ὑπατείας Δομεττίου Μοδέστου τοῦ λαμπρο-
τάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Φλ(αουίου)
Ἀρινθέου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κόμιτος καὶ μαγίσ-
4 τρου τῆς παιδικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀθὺρ κζ.
ὁμολογεῖ Αὐρηλία Τετούεις Ἀτρῆ μητρὸς
Ταπάειτος ἀπὸ κώμης Καραν[ί]δος
Φλ(αουίῳ) Οὐεναφρίῳ στρατιώτῃ λεγέωνος
8 πρίμα Μαξιμιανῆς διακιμένης ἐν Ὀξυ-
ρύγχων ἔχιν παρ' αὐτοῦ π[ῆν] ὁμολογοῦσαν
Τετούειν τὴν συμφωνηθεῖσαν τιμὴν σίτου
καθαροῦ ἀρταβῶν ἓξ καὶ κριθῆς καθαρᾶς

12 ἀρταβῶν ἓξ καὶ λαχανοσπέρμου καθ(αροῦ)
ἀρταβῶν τριῶν ἅσπερ ἐπάρ̣ο̣[γ]κον ἀποδώ-
σι τῷ Οὐε̣ν̣αφρίῳ μηνὶ Παῦνι τῆς β' ἰνδι-
κτίονος ἐπὶ τῆ[ς] π̣όλεως μέτρῳ τετραχοινίκῳ,
16 τὸ δὲ λάχ[α]νον δωδεκαμο̣[τ]ίῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπαι-
τήσεως γίνεσθαι τῷ Οὐεναφρίῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν
ἔκ ται τῆς ὁμολογούσ̣ης Τετοίεις καὶ ἐκ τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῇ πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δί-
20 κης, καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖσα) ὡμολ(όγησεν).

→ Back

χ(ειρόγραφον) Τετοίεις Ἀτρῆ ἀπὸ Καρανίδος [σίτου (ἀρταβῶν)
ς καὶ κριθῆς (ἀρταβῶν) ς] καὶ λαχάνου (ἀρταβῶν) γ.

1 Δομιτίου 4 πεδικῆς 8 πρίμης 18 τε

In the consulate of Domitius Modestus the illustrious Praetorian Prefect, and Flavius Arinthaeus, the illustrious Count and Master of the Infantry Force, Hathyr 27. Aurelia Tetoueis daughter of Hatres and Tapaeis from the village of Karanis, acknowledges to Flavius Venaphrios, soldier of the *Legio I Maximiana*, which is stationed at Oxyrhyncha, that she, Tetoueis, the acknowledging party, has received the price agreed upon for six artabas of clean wheat and six artabas of clean barley and three artabas of clean vegetable seed, which she will necessarily repay to Venaphrios, by the four-choinix measure, in the month of Pauni of the second indiction, at the city, and the vegetables by the twelve-mation measure, and upon default, Venaphrios is to have the right of execution both from Tetoueis, the acknowledging party, and from all her property as though by legal decision, and when the formal question was put to her, she acknowledged (the above).

Back

Tetoueis, daughter of Hatres, of Karanis: note of hand [for 6 artabas of wheat and 6 artabas of barley] and 3 artabas of vegetables.

4. Hathyr 27 = 23 November.

5. A review of the spellings of Tetoueis' name is given by Day and Porges in their note ad loc. It is, as is common in names of this period, frequently treated as if indeclinable, but in line 10 of this text an accusative ending in nu is found.

8-9. Day and Porges take this as a reference to the encampment of this legion at Oxyrhynchos, and present a very involved theory of the reasons therefor: that flight from public service into monasticism caused considerable disturbances at this time, and that Oxyrhynchos was a center of monasticism. Whatever the reason for moving the legion from its normal position in the south, we must observe that nothing here identifies the place as the distant Oxyrhynchos rather than, as reason argues, the nearby Fayûm village of Oxyrhyncha; the genitive proves nothing, as confusion of genitive and dative is common in this period and is found in the Tetoueis documents upon occasion.

14. The second indiction = 373/4, the harvest of which fell in 373; Pauni was May-June, 373.

15. The city in question is Ptolemais Euergetis.

16. For this measure cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 71.12n. Various subsequent references do not affect the picture.

184

Loan of Money

Inv. 181 (30) 14.2 x 26.7 cm. 372

Light-brown papyrus in nearly perfect condition.

→ ὑπατίας Δωμεττίου Μωδέστου τοῦ
λαμπροτάτου {τοῦ λαμπροτάτου} ἐπάρχου
τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρετορίου καὶ Φλ(αουίου) Ἀρι‹ν›θέου τοῦ λαμπρ-
4 οτάτου κώμιτος καὶ μαγίστρου τῆς πεδικῆς
δυνάμεως Χύακ κα. Αὐρηλία Τιτούις Ἀτρῆ
μη(τρὸς) Ταπάιτ(ος) ἀπὸ κώμης Καραν{ί}δος τοῦ Ἀρσι(νοίτου)
νομ(οῦ)
Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐενάφρι Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς
8 Ἀρσινωιτῶν πόλεως χαί(ρειν) · ὡμολογῶ
εἴληφαι παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ἰριθμῖσθαι ἀργυρίου Σεβ-
αστοῦ νομίσματος ταλάντον τρισχιλίον
ἑξακωσίων ὥντον ἰς τιμὴν κριθῆς
12 ἀρταβὸν ἕξ, (ἀρταβῶν) ς, ἄσπερ σοι ἀποδώσω μη-
νὶ Παῦνι τῆς εὐτυχῶς β΄ ἰνδικτίωνος
ἀνυπερθέτος καὶ ἄνευ πάσης ἀντιλο-
γίας τῆς πράξεώς σοι γιγνωμένης
16 ἔκ ται ἐμοῦ ἢ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντον
μου πάντον παντύων εἰδῶν πρ‹ά›τ-
τοντί σοι καὶ ἐπερωτητὶς ὡμωλόγησα.
Αὐρηλία Τιτούεις ἡ προκιμένη ἔσχον
20 τὰ τοῦ ἀργυρίου ταλ̣άντον τρισχιλίων ἑξα-
κωσίων ὥντων εἰς τιμὴν κριθῶν ἀρ-
ταβῶν ἕξ, (ἀρταβῶν) ς, καὶ ἀποδώσο τῇ προθ-
εσμίᾳ ὡς πρόκιται. Αὐρήλιος Πέτρος
24 Νεμαισιανοῦ ἔγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
γράμμα̣τα̣ μὴ εἰδύης.

→ Back

χ(ειρόγραφον) Τιτούεις Ἀτρῆ ἀπὸ Καρανίδος κριθ(ί,ς)
(ἀρταβῶν) ς.

1 ὑπατείας Δομιτίου Μοδέστου 3 πραιτωρίου 4 κόμητος 5 Χοίακ 8 Ἀρσι-
νοιτῶν, ὁμολογῶ 9 εἰληφέναι, ἠριθμῆσθαι 10 τάλαντα τρισχίλια 11 ἑξακό-
σια ὄντα εἰς 12 ἀρταβῶν 13 εὐτυχοῦς 14 ἀνυπερθέτως 15 γιγνομένης
16 τε, τῶν ὑπαρχόντων 17 πάντων παντοίων εἰδῶν 18 ἐπερωτηθεῖσα
ὡμολόγησα 20 τάλαντα τρισχίλια 20-21 ἑξακόσια 21 ὄντα, κριθῶν
22 ἀποδώσω 24 Νεμεσιανοῦ, Νεμαισιανοῦ ed.pr. 25 εἰδυίας

In the consulate of Domitius Modestus the most illustrious Praetorian Prefect and Flavius Arinthaeus, the most illustrious Count and Master of the Infantry Force, Choiak 21. Aurelia Titouis, daughter of Hatres and Tapais, of the village of Karanis of the Arsinoite Nome, to Aurelius Venaphrios, son of Sarapion, of the city of the Arsinoites, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received and had counted from you for myself three thousand six hundred talents of Augustan silver coinage, which are for the price of six artabas of barley (6 art.), which I will repay to you in the month of Pauni of the second fortunate indiction with no delay and without any dispute, and you are to have right of execution from me or even from all of my property of all kinds and sorts, and when the formal question was put to me, I acknowledged (the above). I, the aforementioned Aurelia Titoueis, received the three thousand six hundred talents, which are for the price of six artabas of barley (6 art.) and I shall make repayment at the appointed time, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Petros, son of Nemesianos, have written on her behalf since she is illiterate.

Back

Note of hand: Titoueis, daughter of Hatres, of the village of Karanis, barley, 6 art.

1–2. Day and Porges took the repetition of *τοῦ λαμπροτάτου* to be a formality in which the first one represented *vir clarissimus*, the second being the descriptive adjective with the title of Praetorian Prefect. They cite no parallel. I think that a dittography is much more likely.

5. Choiak 21 = 17 December.

7. For the creditor, cf. above, pp. 4, 6.

13. Indiction 2 = 373/4, its harvest being in 373.

23. The scribe is that of the similarly misspelled *182*.

185

Receipt for Rent and Taxes

Inv. 63 13.5 x 25.5 cm. 319

Dark brown papyrus, lighter and rubbed in the upper middle. 4 vertical folds. Back blank.

The lessor of a plot of land in the *horiodiktia* of Karanis acknowledges the receipt of two years' rent on it paid by the lessee and confirms the continuing validity of the lease. The payment of two or three years' rent at once is not uncommon in such receipts of this period (e.g. *P.Cair.Isid.* 108, 112, 122). It may result from a clause in the lease itself, but in *P.Cair.Isid.* 122, which is especially close to our text in formula (and where *185* is cited in the

note to line 6), the receipt for two years is preceded by one for one year; probably it is there a question of arrears.

→ Αὐρηλία Ἀ[λ]ε̣κα Ἀπολλω-
νίου μητ(ρὸς) Ε̣ρ..ιλης ἀπὸ ἀμ-
φόδου Φρ̣εμὶ χ̣ω̣ρὶς κυρίου
4 χρηματίζουσα τ̣έκνων δι̣καίω̣
Αὐρηλίω Ἀτ̣[ι]σ̣ίω̣ (?) Λεω̣νίδ̣ο̣υ̣
χαίρειν· ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ
τὸ ἐκφορίου ὧν γεωργεῖς
8 μου ἀρουρῶν περὶ ὁριο[δι]κτί-
[αν] Κ̣αρανίδος ὑπὲρ γεν[ή]μα-
τ̣ος πέμπτης καὶ ἕκ-
της ἰ‹ν›δικτίονος σὺν ο̣ἷς ἐ-
12 μέτ̣[ρ]ησας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ σίτου τε καὶ
κριθῆς καὶ ἀργυρικῷ[ν] τελε̣σ̣-
μάτων πλήρης, κυρίας
οὔσης τῆς μισθώσεως κ̣α̣ὶ ἐπε-
16 ρωτηθεῖσα ὡμολόγησα.
μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δ[ε]σ̣π̣ο̣τῶν
ἡμῶν Λεκιννίου Σεβαστ(οῦ) τ̣ὸ ε καὶ
Κρίσπου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Κ̣αίσαρος
20 τὸ α/ Τῦβι κ̣ε̣. (M2) Αὐ̣ρηλία Ἀλε̣[κα] ἔσχον
τὰ ἐκφόρια πλήρης ὡς [πρό]κιται.
Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίων Παησίου ἐ̣[γ]ραψα
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγραμμάτων.

7 ἐκφόριον 18 Λικιννίου 23 ἀγραμμάτου

Aurelia Aleka, daughter of Apollonios and Er..ile, from the *amphodon* of Phremi, acting without a guardian in accordance with the *ius liberorum*, to Aurelius Atisios son of Leonides, greeting. I have received from you the rent for the crop of the fifth and sixth indictions on my arouras in the *horiodiktia* of Karanis which you are cultivating, together with the taxes in wheat, barley, and money, which you have paid in full on my behalf, and the lease continues to be valid. On formal interrogation, I acknowledged (the above).

The year after the consulate of our masters Licinius Augustus for the 5th time and Crispus the most illustrious Caesar for the 1st time, Tybi 26.

(M2) I, Aurelia Aleka, have received the rent in full as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Ision son of Paesios, have written for her since she is illiterate.

1. The space in the lacuna is large enough for two or three letters more, but the name is certain from line 20. It is very probable that the alpha starting Ἀλέκα was written large like the initial letter of Αὐρηλία; only its lower tip is now visible.

5. For Atisios son of Leonides, see above, pp. 8–9.

10–11. Indictions 5 and 6 = 316/7 and 317/8.

11–12. The papers of Isidoros present numerous instances of this practice. The suggestion of οἷς is due to Professor Youtie. It is interesting that the verb ἐμέτρησας is used even of the money taxes.

14–15. *κυρίας οὔσης* has the force of *κυρίας μενούσης* (as also, e.g., in *P. Princ.* II 37.9); see *P.Cair.Isid.* 122.6n. for this phraseology.

17–20. The consulate of Licinius for the fifth time and Crispus for the first was 318; the new consuls were not yet known in Karanis on 21 January 319, the date of this document.

186

Receipt for Pay

Inv. 181 (3) 11.6 x 21.5 cm. 353/4 (?)

Complete, well-preserved except for lacunae along fold running vertically through center. Margin of 1 cm. at left and above, 5 cm. at bottom. Left side irregularly cut. Back blank.

The text is closely parallel to *P.NYU* 4.1–7, a receipt given by Timotheos, described as *δημόσιος Σελευκίῳ μονόπι ῥιπαρᾶ[ο]υ*. The present text confirms that the editor there was correct in taking the datives as errors for genitives. There the formula runs *ἔσχον ὑπὲρ Ἀιῶνις μισθοῦ μηνῶν τεσσάρων*; the indiction is the twelfth, as here. For the date of *P.NYU* 4, on which the date of *186* is based, see *ZPE* 24 (1977) 122–23. Lines 10–16 of *P.NYU* 4 are also a receipt for a payment by Aion for the pay of one month for a different official, issued by his *σύμμαχος*, also in the twelfth indiction. The amount is probably (*τάλαντα*) *ἑξ[αχισχίλια]*, 6000 talents.

The position held by Seleuk(i)os, *riparius*, was one of the more onerous liturgical burdens in this period (see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* [Leipzig 1917] 284–86; N. Lewis, *ICS*, s.v.). The *riparius* had wide-ranging responsibilities for public order throughout the nome; he had, therefore, numerous subordinates, the finding and management of whom was, to judge from *P. Oxy.* VI 904, a substantial problem.

In *186* and *P.NYU* 4, we find Aion contributing to the pay of an assistant to Seleukos the *riparius*. In the present text the object is the pay of an assistant *βοηθείας δεκαδαρχίας*. The decurion's assistants would no doubt be involved in police work under the general coordination of the *riparius*. More than one explanation of the payments can be suggested. To my mind it is most likely that the position in question (*δημόσιος*) was itself liturgical, that Aion had been nominated for it, and that he was paying others to do the work instead; such substitution for pay is attested in e.g. *P.Cair.Isid.* 123.

→ Αὐρήλιος Τ̣ι̣μώθεος Ἡρακλίδο(υ)
δημόσιος Σ̣ε̣λεύκου Αὐρηλίῳ
Αἰῶν Σεραπείου ἀπὼ Καρανίδος
4 χέριν·
ἔσχον π‹α›ρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ
δημοσίου βωητίας (δεκ)αδαρ-
χίας ὑπὲρ δωδεκάτης

8 ἰνδικτίον[ο]ς μῆνας τρῖς,
μῆ(νας) γ' μόνα, πλήρες.
Αὐρήλιος Ἀμώνιος
ἀπὼ Καρανίδος
12 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτ(οῦ).

3 Ἀιὼνι Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ 4 χαίρειν 6 βοηθείας 6–7 ἰαδαρχιας / pap. 11 ἀπὸ

Aurelius Timotheos son of Herakleides, assistant of Seleukos, to Aurelius Aion son of Sarapion from Karanis, greeting. I have received from you the pay of an assistant in the service of the decurionate, for the twelfth indiction for three months, 3 mos. only, in full. I, Aurelius Amonios from Karanis, wrote for him.

6–7 The suggestion of (δεκ)αδαρχίας was made by Professor Youtie. LSJ gives only literary citations where the word means *decemviratus* or *decuria*, neither suitable here. Cf. *P.Dura* 129.2, where the editors read χ̣ and transcribe (τούρμης). Despite the oddity of the manner of writing (the alpha after ι seems superfluous), the interpretation appears necessary. For the interconnections of the police and military in Egypt, cf. R.S. Bagnall, "Army and Police in Roman Upper Egypt," *JARCE* 14 (1977) 67–86.

187

Receipt for Repayment of Debt

Inv. 45 9.5 x 27.3 cm. *ca* 375 (?)

Light-brown papyrus, surface much rubbed especially in upper part. Three vertical folds, one horizontal. Considerable damage along folds. Only the upper half of sheet is used for writing.

In this brief text, Makarios and Ision acknowledge to a party whose name is lost the payment of a loan recorded in a contract of debt (called a γραμμάτιον) in the name of Titoueis. It is very possible that this person is the Titoueis of *182–184*, and the hand could well be contemporary with those, but there is not enough information as yet to make the identification secure.

→ Front

Αὐρήλιοι Μακάριος καὶ Εἰσίων
.....ὸς καὶ Ν.[..] χέ(ρειν)· ἐπληρ[ώ]θη-
μεν παρὰ σοῦ τὰ χρεοστῖς ἡμῖν
4 ἀπὸ τ̣[ο]ῦ̣ λ̣όγου τοῦ γραμματίου
ἐπ' ὀνόματος Τιτούειτος
καὶ ἐδέξου παρ' ἡμῶν τ̣ὰ ἐνέ-
χυρα καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἔχο-
8 μεν̣ πρὸς σαὶ περὶ τούτου.
Αὐρήλιος Μαχάριος ἔγρα-
ψα τὰ ὅλα ὡς πρόκιται.

Back

Two (?) dockets, very faded.

1 Ἰσίων 2 τῷ καὶ, χαίρειν 3 ὁ χρεωστεῖς 6 ἐδείξω 8 οἱ 9 Μακάριος

Aurelii Makarios and Ision to ... also called N..., greeting. We have had paid to us from you what you owe to us on the account of the document in the name of Titoueis, and you have received from us the security, and we have no cause for complaint against you concerning this matter. I, Aurelius Macharios, wrote everything as aforesaid.

2. The name at the beginning of the line is probably epsilon followed by one or two letters, then κου.

188

Will of a Centurion

Inv. 181 (38) 48 x 27 cm. 320

Published: N. Lewis, *Akten des XIII. Int. Papyrologenkongresses*, 225-233 (*SB* XII 11042)

It is unfortunate that this document, which might have answered some important questions, is so poorly preserved. The entire center of the papyrus has been destroyed, apparently by dampness. In its present state the papyrus consists of five fragments, two large and three small, the two smallest of which have not yet been placed. Only the right third is well preserved, the remainder constantly mutilated. The verso is unused. The hand is the neat cursive of a trained scribe, whose one idiosyncrasy is a large lunate sigma placed in the middle as well as at the beginning of words.

In this document Valerius Aion, centurion of the *vexillatio* of *equites promoti* of *Legio II Traiana*, being stricken with a serious illness (not further specified), drafts his last will and testament, naming as heirs to all his property in equal shares his wife, their daughter, and his five brothers and sisters. A fellow centurion, Apion, is named executor to divide the estate among the heirs.

The will is couched principally in the Hellenistic formulae, which, as Kreller (*Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* . . . . 340-341) long ago showed, predominate after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, but Roman elements also appear. After the date and the naming of the heirs comes the enumeration of Aion's property, which takes up half the document. Part of his money is stated to be "stored away"—i.e., presumably, cash locked up in a strongbox—while the remainder is out on loan to various persons. There are also loans in, or repayable in, kind. All are carefully enumerated and totalled. Similarly, Aion's personal and household effects are itemized. Disinheritance is mentioned. Apion is named executor. Then follow the inviolability and validation clauses, and the signatures. Strangely, the signature of the testator is omitted. Was he too ill to sign? The witnesses— seven in number (see note to lines 26-31)-are all fellow centurions, three of them illiterate.

Valerius Aion was one of the sons of Atisios and Timarete, and as such an uncle of Tamaleis and Tetoueis, and otherwise related to other figures of fourth century Karanis; see above, p. 8.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπ[οτ]ῶν [ἡμ]ῶν [Κωνσ]ταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ς" καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
Καίσ[αρος τὸ α"] Φαμενὼθ ιη. Οὐαλέριος Ἀειῶν ἑκατόνταρχος οὐξιλατίωνος ἱππέων
προμώτων λεγίων[ος] β" Τραιανῆς τῶν ὑπὸ Δηκέντιον π[ραι]πόσιτον διακει[μέ]νων ἐν κώμῃ Ἀ[σ]φ[ύνει τοῦ
Λ]ατοπολείτου νομοῦ Αὐρηλίοις Ἡρᾶτι καὶ Ἀβουθίῳ καὶ Ἀτρῆτι καὶ Θαῆσι καὶ Ἑρω-
ίτι τοῖς πέντε ἀδ[ελ]φοῖς μου τ[ῶν] αὐτῶν γονέων ἐκ πατρὸς Ἀττιτίου μητρὸς Τιμαρέτ[ης ἀπὸ κώμης
...]..ικου τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ ὑπὲρ μερῶν πέντε καὶ Αὐρηλίοις Σενπαχούμει
4 Βήκιος Λαμηιος πρεσβυτέρου μητρὸς Τᾶ νεωτέρας γ[υ]ναικί μου κα[ὶ ...]ρῆρι θυγατρί [μου] μητρὸς τῆς
προκειμένης Σενπαχούμιος ταῖς δυσὶ ὑπὲρ μερῶν δύο ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ προκει-
μένης κώμης Ἀσφύνεως τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ] Λατοπολ[εί]του νομοῦ εἰσυνπιπροκ[± 8]ς ἑπτὰ νο[ῶ]ν κ[αὶ] φρονῶν
καὶ ἐπακολουθούντων οἷς λέγων δὴ καὶ φ.ασων ..ειμι ζῆν
καὶ ὑ[γ]ιαίνειν ἔχω τὴ[ν] δεσ[ποτείαν τῶν] ὑ[π]ογεγραμμένων μου προ[γμάτων, εἰ δὲ ἀν]θρώπινόν τί μοι
συνβαίη ἐν τῇ καταλαβούσῃ με δινοτάτῃ νόσῳ ὑμᾶς τοὺς προκειμένους
ἑπτὰ κληρονόμους κληρονομεῖ[ν] πάντα [τ]ὰ καταλιφθησόμ[ε]να ὑπ' ἐμο[ῦ ± 10] εἴδη ἐνδομ[ενι]κά. ἔστι
δὲ τὸ κατ' εἶδος· ἐν μὲν χρυσῷ· χρυσοῦ ὁλοκοττ[ί]νους τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀπο-
8 θέτῳ δύο καὶ παρὰ Σκεύακι δ[ι]ὰ χ[ειρογρ]άφου δύο καὶ παρὰ Κεφάλωνι ὁ[μ]οίω[ς διὰ χε]ιρογρά(φου) δύο
καὶ παρὰ Ἀμμωνίῳ βιάρχῳ ἓν καὶ παρὰ Πμουεῖτι Ἱέρακος ἁλιεῦτι δ[ι]ὰ χειρογρά(φου) ἓν
γίνονται τοὺς προκ[ι]μένους ὁλ[ο]κ[οττ]ίνους[ς] η κ.[.].....[..]νενων [.....] ..ο[.]ν α κοβαθρ[ο]ν
ἡμουλίτριον α ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα ἑνὶ ἡμισυ
ἐν ἀποθέτῳ .. παρὰ Σκ[εύ]ακι τ[άλαντα τέ]σσερα [traces and lacunas ± 45 κ]αὶ π[α]ρὰ Ἰσιδώρῳ Τιθοῆς
διὰ χειρογρά(φου) κεφαλαίου τάλαντα τέσσερα καὶ παρὰ
Παχοῦμι Ἀρσάκου ὁμοί[ως δι]ὰ [χειρο]γρά(φου) [κεφα]λα[ίου τάλαντα ± 15] ..αμως ὁμοίως διὰ
χειρογρά(φου) κεφαλαίου τάλαντα δεκαοκτὼ καὶ παρὰ Πλῆνι ποιμένει ἀπὸ Λεμαίως
12 δ[ι]ὰ χειρογρά(φου) κεφαλαίου τάλ[α]ντα [± 12 ἑπτ]ὰ ἡμ[ισυ ± 10 καὶ] παρὰ Πετεροτμ[ο]ύθῃ ἀπὸ
Λεμαίως διὰ χειρογρά(φου) κεφαλαίου τάλαντα ἑπτὰ ἡμ[ι]συ καὶ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ
Π[ετε]ροτμ[ού]θῃ κεφ[αλαίου τά]λα[ντα ± 45]φίου [ἀ]ργυρίο[υ] κεφαλαίου τάλαντα πέντε καὶ παρὰ
Παντβεῦτι Ἡλίας (ἑκατοντάρ)χ(ω) .. διὰ χειρογρά(φου)
ἀ[ρ]γυρίου τάλαντα τέσ[σερα ± 25]ς διὰ χ[ειρ]ογρά(φου) κεφαλαίου τάλαντα δύο καὶ παρὰ Πεειαῦνε
Παοῦτος διὰ χειρογρά(φου) ἀπὸ (τάλ.) γ ἀφ' ὧν ἔσχον παρ' αὐτοῦ
τ[ά]λαντον ἓν λοιπὰ τ[άλαντα δύο ± 30 ἀργ]υρίου κεφ[α]λ[αίου] τάλαντα τρία τῆς ἀπ[ο]δ[ό]σεως ἐν
φοινικίων π. γ(ίνονται) ἀργυρίο[υ] τὸ π[ροκ]είμενα
16 τάλαντα ‹ρ. ?θ (ἥμισυ) ἱππρ[± 45] γ μοσχίον πυ.[..].ν α- ὅπλον α- κοντὸς [α] - ἀλαβαντικὸν α-
θωράκιον α- πελέκιον α- ἱμάτι-

[ο]ν α- ἄλλ(ο) πέλεκ[ιον ± 50] α- σ[ά]κκος τριχίνους $\overline{\beta}$ θαλίον ὁμοίως τρίχινον α- δισάκκιον μικὸν τρί[χι]νον α-

δ[ι]σό[κκ]ι[ον δ]ερμα[τικὸν traces and lacunas ± 60]β- βάλτιον ὁμοίως α- τράπεζ(α) χαλκ(ῆ) α- ματίδιον ὁμοίως χαλκοῦν α-

[traces and lacunas ± 60]ο- κο[ί]αρ...[...] γενομέναις .α β' καὶ [πα]ρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀτρῆτι ἀπὸ Τάνεως διὰ χειρογρά(φου) κεφ[α]λαίου

20 ..... ἀρτάβας ὀκτῷ ἥμ[ισυ ± 50 παρὰ] Ἀπίωνι ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ζ καὶ εἰς τὴν αν.ην μου ὀ[ρ]γυ(ρίου) τάλαντα [.] καὶ πα[ρὰ τῷ αὐ]τῷ

Ἀπίωνι (ἑκατοντάρ)χ(ῳ) ἀργυ(ρίου) τάλαντα [± 50 εἰς τὰς ἑκ]ατοστάς μου ἀργυ(ρίου) τάλαν[τα] δεκαπέντε, τῶν δὲ ὑπαρχ[ό]ντων μοι εν. πα[.]πα

.[...] ἀπόκληρος νομι[traces and lacunas ± 45] καὶ τὰ [π]ροκεί[με]να εἴδη εἶναι παρὰ τῷ πρ[ο]κειμένῳ Ἀπίωνι (ἑκατοντάρ)χ(ῳ) καὶ [ἐ]ξουσίαν ἔχειν [.]..[.]ων

διαιρήσασθαι εἰς τ[οὺς κληρονόμους? μου?] κα[ὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς μηδὲ μη]δ[ἑ]να ἄλλον μετὰ θαναπ[ό]ν μου ἐνκ[α]λεῖν μητὲ ἐνκαλέσιν μηδὲ ἐπελεύσεσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ

24 καιρῷ καθ' ὁνδηπο[τοῦν τρόπον] περὶ τῶν ἐνγεγραμ[μένων ± 45]ο[..] καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δηλουμένοις πᾶσι πεπῖσθαι καὶ συντεθεῖσθαι ὡς πρόκειται.

τ[ὸ] δὲ βούλημα τοῦτο ἁπλ[ῶς γραφέ]ν ἐο[τ]ω κύρ[ιο]ν με[τὰ τὴν τελευτήν μου....]ν παντο[χῇ ἐπιφερόμενο]ν ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακεχω(ρισμένον) ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολό[γ]ησα. Αὐρήλ[ιο]ς

Ἰσιδωρίδου ε..[± 8].. (M2) Οὐαλέριος ..[..... (ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος) σ]υνκολλήγας ...[± 10]ν τῷ προκ(ειμένῳ) Ἀει[ῶ]νι (ἑκατοντάρ)χ(ῳ) τὸ πρ[ο]κ(είμενον) βο[ύ]λη[μ]α ἐφ' αἷς περιέχε[ι]

διαστολα[ῖ]ς ἁπά[σαις ± 7].ι. (M3) Οὐαλέρ[ιος ..].[4-5 τ]ῷ προκιμένῳ [Ἀειῶνι (ἑκατοντάρ)χ(ῳ) τὸ πρ]οκίμε[νον] β[ούλημα] ὡς πρόκιται. Οὐαλέριος Ἀπι[ς (ἑκατόνταρ)]χ(ος) [σ]υνκ[ολ-]

28 λήγα·ς· ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ α[ὐτοῦ] χρ[ά]μματα μὴ εἰδότ[ο]ς. (M4) Οὐαλέριος Ἰσίδ[ωρος (ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος) συνκολλ]ήγας συν[έστηκα κα]ὶ μαρτοιρῶ. Οὐαλέριος .....ιος

[(ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος) συνκολλήγα]ς συ[νέστηκα καὶ μαρτυρῶ. Οὐα]λέρι[ος Ἰσί]δωρος (ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος) ὁ προκ[ί]μενος ἔγραψα ὑ]πὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος. (M5) Οὐαλέριος Σαραπίων (ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος) [συ]νκ[ο]λλή-

γας συνέστηκα καὶ μα[ρ]τοιρῶ. (M6) Οὐαλέριος Ἱέραξ (ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος) συνκολλήγας συνε[σ]τηκ[α καὶ μαρτυρῶ]. (M7) Οὐαλεριος Παλήμων (ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος) συγκολλήγας παρὼν κ...[..]..[

Οὐαλέριος Σαραπίω[ν (ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος)] ἔγρ[α]ψ[α] ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγρ[α]μμάτου.

1 2nd ν of 2nd συνστρεννου corr. 2 Ἡρω 3 τι. αἰ'τιτιον pap.; Αὐρηλίου 5 ο of ἑκατοντ- written over ι. λέγω, φράσω? ... see notes 6 διεστάτω corr. fr. ω 7 ιλιοστ'ι pap. ἀλιοσίτιον οι 9 of συνκείμενα ἀλιοσίτιον 10 Τιβοῦτιν 13 Ἠλία 15 εἰ passim δ pap. 17 ὀλκαι τρίχινοι, θαλίον 23 διαιρήσασθαι, μηδὲ ἐγκαλέσιν 24 ἐκκείσθαι 26 Ἰσιδωρίδου 28, 30 μαρτυρῶ

1 2nd ν of 2nd κωνσταντινου corr. 2 Ἡρω- 3 ἴτι, ατ'τιτιου pap.; Αὐρηλίαις 5 θ of ἐπακολουθ- written over ν: λέγω, φράσω? — see notes 6 διεστάτῃ: corr. fr. ω 7 ολοκοτ'τ' pap. ὁλοκόττινοι οἱ 9 οἱ προκείμενοι ὁλοκόττινοι 10 Τιθοήτος 13 Ἡλία 13 et passim ῥ pap. 17 σάκκοι τρίχινοι, θαλλίον 23 διαιρήσεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐγκαλέσειν 24 πεπεῖσθαι 26 Ἰουδωρίδης 28, 30 μαρτυρῶ

μαρτυρῶ. (4th) Οὐαλέριος Σαραπίω[ν (ἑκατόνταρ)χ(ος)] ἔγρ[α]ψ[α] ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγρ[ά]μματου.

In the consulate of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 6th time and Constantinus the most illustrious Caesar for the 1st time, Phamenoth 18.

Valerius Aion, *centurio vexillationis equitum promotorum Legionis II Traianae* (cavalrymen) stationed under the *praepositus* Decentius in the village of Asphynis of the Latopolite Nome, to the Aurelii Heras, Abouthios, Hatres, Thaesis and Herois, all five brothers and sisters german born of the same parents—father Atitios, mother Timarete—of the village of —ikos of the Arsinoite Nome, for five shares, and to the Aureliae Senpachoumis, my wife (daughter of Bekis ... the elder, her mother being Tas the younger) and -eris, my daughter, her mother being the aforesaid Senpachoumis, the two of them for two shares, of the same and aforesaid village of Asphynis of the Latopolite Nome, the total of the aforesaid being (?) seven:

Being sound of mind and sane, and confirming what I say and declare— as long as I live and am in good health I retain the ownership of my property hereinafter detailed; but if some mortal event should befall me in the very serious illness that has attacked me, you, the aforesaid seven heirs, shall inherit all the property that shall be left by me, money (?) and (?) household effects. The itemized list is:

In gold: gold solidi: in the strongbox, 2; with Skeuax on note of hand, 2; with Kephalon, likewise on note of hand, 2; with Ammonios the commissary-general, 1; with Pmouis the fisherman, son of Hierax, on note of hand, 1; total of the aforesaid solidi = 8.

[In silver]..., 1; half-pound chest, 1. Silver talents, one hundred ninety-nine and a half: in the strongbox ...; with Skeuax (?), 4 tal.; ... with Isidoros son of Tithoes on note of hand, sum of 4 tal.; with Pachoumis son of Arsakes, likewise on note of hand, sum of ... tal.; with ... son of ..., likewise on note of hand, sum of 18 tal.; with Plenis, shepherd, of Lemaios, on note of hand, sum of ... tal.; with Peterotmouthes of Lemaios on note of hand, sum of 7 ½ tal.; with the same Peterotmouthes, sum of ... tal.; with ... son of -phios, sum of 5 tal. silver; with Pantbeus son of Elias, centurion, ... on note of hand, 4 tal. silver; with ... on note of hand, sum of 2 tal.; with Peeiaune son of Paous on note of hand for 3 tal., of which I have received from him 1 tal., remainder 2 tal.; with ... sum of 3 tal. silver, to be returned in 80 (measures) of dates ...; total = the aforesaid 199 ½ talents of silver.

Horse ... calf, 1; weapon, 1; pole, 1; *alabandicum*, 1; breastplate, 1; hatchet, 1; cloak, 1; another hatchet, ... 1; sacks, haircloth, 2; *thallion*, likewise haircloth, 1; small saddlebag, haircloth, 1; saddlebag, leather, ... belt, likewise, 1; bronze table, 1; small measure, likewise bronze, 1; ... with the same Hatres of Tanis on note of hand, sum of 8 ½ artabas of ... with Apion, 7 tal. silver; for my ...,... tal. silver; with the same Apion, centurion, ... tal. silver; ... for my percentages, 15 tal. silver.

Disinherited of my property ... and the aforesaid effects shall remain with the aforesaid Apion, centurion, and he shall have the power ... to divide them among the heirs, and neither they nor anyone else shall have the right after my death to sue then or thereafter at any time in any way whatsoever concerning the dispositions herein, [and I declare?] that I am satisfied with all the foregoing provisions and have covenanted them as written above.

This will, produced in a single copy, shall after my death be valid, wherever produced, as if registered in a public archive, and upon formal interrogation I have acknowledged it. Aurelius Isidorides ...

(M2) I, Valerius ..., centurion co-colleague, (witness) for the aforesaid Aion, centurion, the aforesaid will in all the specifications it contains ... (M3) I, Valerius ... (witness) for the aforesaid Aion, centurion, the aforesaid will as written above. I, Valerius Apis, centurion co-colleague, wrote for him because he is illiterate. (M4) I, Valerius Isidoros, centurion co-

colleague, have been present and witness. I, Valerius ..., centurion co-colleague, have been present and witness. I, Valerius Isidoros, centurion co-colleague, have been present and witness. I, Valerius ..., centurion co-colleague, have been present and witness. I, Valerius Isidoros, the aforesaid, wrote for him because he is illiterate. (M5) I, Valerius Sarapion, centurion co-colleague, have been present and witness. (M6) I, Valerius Hierax, centurion co-colleague, have been present and witness. (M7) I, Valerius Palemon, centurion co-colleague, here present ... I, Valerius Sarapion, centurion, wrote for him because he is illiterate.

1. The right tip of one of the slanting strokes that followed the alpha is visible.

2. *διακειμένων*, agreeing with *ἱππέων*, strikingly confirms the conclusion (e.g. *RE* 12, 1490) that under the Dominate detachments of *Legio II Traiana* were stationed at various places in Upper Egypt—a deduction arrived at despite the deceptive form of the same participle in *P. Grenf.* II 74: *ἱππεὺς ... ἀπὸ λεγέωνος β Τραιανῆς διακειμένης ἐν Τεντύρῃ.* Ἀσφῦνις: present-day Asfun el-Mataneh, 28½ miles south of Luxor on the west bank of the Nile, 8½ miles north of Esna (Latopolis). This is the first mention of Asphynis in the papyri, and the only indication of activity in the Latopolite Nome between A.D. 164 (*IGR* I 1273) and late Byzantine times (*BGU* III 972). Δῆκέντιον = Decentium. It has recently been stated and illustrated by D. Weissert, *Hermes* 91 (1963) 249-250, that in general "die Transkriptionen auch in der späten Kaiserzeit vorwiegend rightige Beachtung der jeweiligen Quantität des lateinischen *g* zeigen."

3. The only village name I can find that suits the traces is Φιλ]ο̣ρ̣ίκου but this in all its other occurrences is always characterized as an *ἐποίκιον*, which one would expect after the name.

4. Τᾶ, if correctly read, suggests a nominative not elsewhere attested, but it may be a hypocoristic of an already known name.

5. After *νομοῦ* there are grave doubts about the phrasing and even the general sense. The first editor took the passage as referring first to the presence of seven witnesses, then to the mental health of the testator, while *ἐπακολουθούντων* referred to the action of the witnesses. At the end of the line he remarked that we expect *εἴη με ζῆν* and suggested that the scribe's intent may have been something like *εἴ‹η› μ‹ο›ι ζῆν*. Youtie, however, suggests to me that (i) the mention of seven summarizes the preceding heirs, and (ii) that *ἐπακολουθούντων* is an error for *ἐπακολουθῶν* referring to the testator, "and being responsible for my statements." At the end of the passage he suggests that something like *καὶ ‹ἐ›φ' ὅσων* (=*ὅσον*) *πρόειμι ζῆν καὶ ὑ[γ]ιαίνειν, ἔχω κτλ.* The reading of *προκ*[before the lacuna, suggested by Youtie, indicates that he is probably correct in assigning the phrase ending in *ἑπτά* to the heirs, the aforementioned seven persons. I cannot, however, find a convincing reading for what precedes (something, e.g. along the lines of *οὖσι τοῖς προκειμένοις ἑπτά*, as Youtie suggests).

If this analysis is correct, a new phrase begins with the participles, and all of them must refer to the testator himself unless the scribe has truly garbled the phraseology of the will and not merely some forms by assigning the statement of mental health to the legatees. But it seems much more likely that the sense is as follows: "... the total of the aforementioned being seven: being sound of mind and sane and responsible for what I say and declare, for as long as I live and am healthy, I am to have ..." At the end of the line, the alpha of *φ.ασων* is certain, and rho is very well possible, so that *φράσων* for *φράζω* seems very likely. One must then suppose the complete omission of *ἐφ' ὅσον*, possibly a lapse occasioned by the similarity of

those words to what had just been written. I am not certain if there is enough space for πρόειμι, but I doubt it.

7. Before εἴδη either χρήματα καὶ] or τοῦ Ἀειώνος] would fill the space satisfactorily.

8 (and 10?). Σκεύακι implies a nominative Σκεύαξ, which is lacking from *NB* and *Onomasticon*, but Pape-Benseler does have the form Σκευᾶς.

8–15. No χειρόγραφον is mentioned in the case of the solidus on loan to the commissary-general Ammonios and for several of the loans in silver talents. Whether the omission is significant or merely fortuitous is not apparent.

*9. κοβαθρ[ο]ν: cf. Hesychius κύβεθρον (a chest or box). ἡμουλίτρινον = ἡμιλίτριον (adjectival form).

12–14. The names Πεειαῦνε and Πετεροτμούθης are not previously attested.

16. ἀλαβάντικον: the reading is certain, the word new. It appears to be an adjective derived from the city of Alabanda in Caria, but no known use of such an adjective seems appropriate here. In the context of the armament listed in this line it is tempting to think of some kind of weapon. In the middle, Youtie suggests πυρρόν, which is compatible with the remains but not confirmable.

17. μικός for μικρός also occurs in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1655, of the third century; with two kappas, μικκός is more common.

18. ματίδιον, a new word, is presumably a diminutive of the well-known measure μάτιον. For βάλτιον (suggested by Youtie), see *P.Mich.* III 217.

22. The first word is apparently not ἑ[στω; the initial trace looks more like tau than anything else. Before the lacuna, possibly νομί[μως, as Youtie suggests.

24. ἐνγεγραμ[μένων: reading suggested by Youtie.

26. It is not possible to read the expected ἔγρ[αψα τὸ ὅλ]ον after Ἰσιδωρίδου.

26–30. συνκολλήγας is a new (and redundant) compound from κολλήγας (*collega*).

26–31. Beginning with Valerius in line 26, seven different individuals subscribe their attestations of the will. In the first three centuries of our era the requisite number of witnesses was six (*RE* 5A, 976), in the fifth and sixth centuries the legal number was seven (e.g. *Stud. Pal.* I, p.6, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, III 67312). In several wills of the Roman period (e.g. *P.Oxy.* I 105 and III 491 = *M.Chr.* 303 and 304, *P.Ryl.* II 153) the signatures of the six witnesses are followed by a notarial docket. That is not likely to be the case here; the final signatory is a centurion like the others and, like them, he stresses his presence (as a witness) even though the one who writes for him uses a variant formula.

The change from six to seven witnesses is attributed by H. Kreller (*Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* 288) to a constitution of A.D. 439 (*Cod.Just.* 6.23.21 = *Nov.Theod.* 16.1). But in the language of that constitution the use of seven witnesses is an existing practice rather than a new one. M. Amelotti (*Il testamento romano* [Firenze 1976] 103–104) makes the point about another part of the same constitution: "sicchè la disposizione di Teodosio II in Nov. Theod. 16.8 (a. 439) ribadisce soltanto, nonostante alcune apparenze innovative, un risulto già raggiunto." Unless its fragmentary state has rendered it deceptive, the present will of Valerius Aion provides an instance of a seven-witness will as early as 320. As Kreller's latest six-witness will dates from 211–17 (p.282), the change from six to seven took place, it now seems, between 211–17 and 320, most likely as one of the reforms of Diocletian or Constantine.

27. The short space after Οὐαλέρ[ιος suggests that the verb was inadvertently omitted from this attestation.

189

Letter about a Payment

Inv. 181 (42) 5.5 x 28 cm. IVp

Dirty brown papyrus, complete. Folded thrice vertically, width of folds less than 1 cm., and once horizontally in middle. Back blank.

This letter, written on a narrow strip of papyrus, is an order from one brother to another to pay to a third party 50,000 talents of silver. The size of the sum and the handwriting both suggest the second half of the fourth century as the date. I cannot identify any of the people concerned.

→ κυρίῳ μου ἀ-
δελφῷ Θι-
θωεῖ Εὐδέ-
4 μων χέριν·
δὸς Σαβίν[ῳ]
Μιὸς εἰς
ἐμοῦ λόγον
8 ἀργοιρίου
τάλαντα
μυριάδας
πέντη,
12 (τάλαντα) ∩ ε μόνα,
ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀ-
μελήσῃς
δῶνε αὐτά.
16 Παχὼν ιθ.
ἐρρῶσθέ σε
ε[ὖ]χ[ομαι].

1 κυρίῳ 3/4 Εὐδαίμων χαίρειν 5 δὸς 8 ἀργυρίου 11 πέντε 15 δοῦναι 17 ἐρρῶσθαι

To my lord brother Thithoes, greeting from Eudaimon. Give Sabinos son of Mys on my account fifty thousand talents in silver, 50,000 tal. only, and don't neglect to give them. Pachon 19. I pray for your health.

2. This spelling of the well-known name Τιθοῆς is not recorded in the *Namenbuch* and the *Onomasticon*, but Θιθοεῖς is cited by the latter from *P.Hamb.* I 99 (Ip).

13. The final alpha of ἀλλά has been smudged and looks like iota.

190

Letter from Antiourios to Eudaimon

Inv. 308 10.2 x 21.9 cm. *ca* 340 (?)

This letter was written on a thin strip of papyrus which was when received at Columbia pasted on to the right edge of *150*, a roll of tax receipts from 342–344. Antiourios could be the son of Abous, but this and any other connection to *150* and related pieces is speculative.

→ Τῷ ἀ[δ]ελφῷ μου Εὐδαίμωνι
Ἀντι[ου]ρίου ἀδελφὸ[ς] χαίρειν·
κατ[άλ]ειπε ἐμοὶ ἕνεκεν τῶν
4 φασήλων δως τοῦ Παιανοῦ
Πεταοῦς ἀργυρίου τάλλαν-
τα εἴκοσι, (γίνεται) (τάλ.) κ μώνας,
ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελλήσῃς.

2 Ἀντιούριος, χαίρειν 4 φασήλων; δώσειν or δώσουτι τῷ Παιανῷ 5 Πεταούτος τάλαντα 6 μόνα 7 ἀμελήσῃς

To my brother Eudaimon, Antiourios his brother, greeting. Leave me for the beans, to give to Paianos son of Petaous, twenty talents of silver, that is, 20 tal. only. And do not neglect this.

4. Probably a future infinitive or participle was intended. δως may stand for δοὺς, in which case the scribe used the nominative of the aorist participle instead of the dative of the future participle.

191

List of Names

Inv. 184 7.5 x 25.5 cm. middle IVp

Light-brown papyrus in nearly perfect condition; back blank.

The purpose of this list is not stated, and even its attribution to Karanis is not quite certain, although the inventory number and the common Karanidian name of Aion are suggestive. The village of Seryphis mentioned in this text, however, is Oxyrhynchite (see 3n.). I cannot tell whether this had an official or a private purpose.

→ Ἀιῶν
Τουᾶν
Παῦλος ἀπὸ Σερύ-
4 θεως
Καπέεις
Τιῆπις
Φοιβάμμων ἀπὸ
8 Σερύφεως
Χοοῦς
Πεκῦσεις
ἀποὺ γῆς τῆς
12 κώμ(ης) Ἀγαθάμ-
μωνος
Παῦλος
Θεόδωρος

2. Τουᾶν is cited by the *NB* as a variant of Τουᾶνις, and a number of other examples (all fifth century or later) are given by the *Onomasticon*.

3. Seryphis (as it is written in line 8) is a well-known village in the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite Nome; cf. *WB* III, 327 and further in the *Supplement*. All of the attestations concern the Oxyrhynchite village. No village named Serythis is attested; one may suppose a spelling error in this line for Seryphis or Terythis (also Oxyrhynchite) or else an otherwise unknown village.

6. Τιῆπις is lacking from the *NB* and *Onomasticon*.

9. This name is evidently a variant of Χοῦς, which is cited by the *NB*.

11–13. This phrase is rather puzzling; the scribe had written ἀπὸ correctly before. The name Ἀγαθάμμων is not in either *NB* or *Onomasticon*, but its formation is clear and it is now found also in *O.Leid.* 49.

INDICES

I: EMPERORS

(Cf. also Index IIB, Consulates)

The Tetrarchs

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες *136*.1–3 (adds *Σεβ.* after *Καισ.*), 11–13,24–27; *137*.20–22,28–30,42–45,71–73, 88–90; *179*.31–33

Galerius and Maximinus

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Γαλέριος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστὸς καὶ Γαλέριος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμῖνος ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ *138*.23–25, 32–33,41–42; *139*.18–19

Constantinus I and II, Constantius II

οἱ δεσπόται ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστὸς καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Κωνστάντιος ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες *175*.41–42

οἱ δεσπόται ἡμῶν αἰώνιοι Αὔγουστοι *175*.27,39,67 (*βασιλεῖς*)

II: CHRONOLOGY

A. Regnal Years

ἔτος ιβ-ια-δ (295/6) *136*.1,11,24,32,50
ἔτ. ιβ (295/6) *124*.11
ἔτ. ιγ (296/7) *124*.4,6,36,[39]
ἔτ. ιδ-ιγ-ς (297/8) *136*.50; *137*.50
ἔτ. ιδ (297/8) *124*.23; *125*.8
ἔτ. ιδ (305/6) *141*.65
ἔτ. ιε-ιδ-ζ (298/9) *137*.11,24,49–50
ἔτ. ις-ιε-η (299/300) *137*.25,49; *179*.11,31
ἔτ. ις-δ (307/8) *138*.23,32,41; *139*.12,18; *140*.11,[27]; *141*.2,87
ἔτ. ιζ-ις-θ (300/1) *137*.1,9,20,28,33,42,71,77,88,(94),100
ἔτ. ιζ-ε (308/9) *141*.33,40,46,(49),51
ἔτ. ιη-ιζ-α (301/2) *137*.56,104,105
ἔτ. ιη-ς-δ-β (309/310) *141*.97
ἔτ. ιη-ς (309/310) *141*.52,60,67,73,84
ἔτ. ιθ-ζ-ε-γ (310/11) *141*.98,(102),103

B. Consulates

300 *ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν* Κωνσταντίου *καὶ* Μαξιμιανοῦ *ἐπιφανεστάτων* Καισάρων *τὸ γ'* *179*.1–2
307 *ὑπατίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν* Μαξιμίνου Καίσαρος *138*.9
309 *ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν* Οὐαλερίου Λικιννιανοῦ Λικιννίου Σεβαστοῦ *καὶ* Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου *υἱοῦ* Σεβαστῶν *141*.91–92
310 *ὑπατίας* Στατίου Ἀνδρονίκου *καὶ* Πομπηίου Πρόβου *τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων* *141*.99–100
314 *ὑπατείας* Ῥουφίου Οὐολουσιανοῦ *καὶ* Πετρωνίου Ἀννειανοῦ *τῶν λαμπροτάτων* *141a*.1–2
316 *τῆς* Σαβείνου *καὶ* Ῥουφίνου *ὑπατείας* *169*.3; *170*.9
318 *ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν* Λικιννίου Σεβαστοῦ *τὸ ε'* *καὶ* Κρίσπου *τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου* Καίσαρος *τὸ α'* *170*.6–7
319 *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν* Λεκιννίου Σεβαστοῦ *τὸ ε'* *καὶ* Κρίσπου *τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου* Καίσαρος *τὸ α'* *185*.17–20
320 *ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν* Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ *τὸ ς'* *καὶ* Κωνσταντίνου *τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου* Καίσαρος *τὸ α'* *188*.1
322 *τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ β'* *143*.11–12
323 *τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ'* *143*.20
324 *τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ δ'* *171*.21

325 ὑπατείας Παυλείνου καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων *176*.18–19
326 ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίου Καίσαρος τὸ α' *177*.20–21
327 ὑπατείας Φλαυίου Κωσταντίου καὶ Οὐαλερίου Μαξίμου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων *178*.16–18
336 ὑπατίας Ἰουρίου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου Φαγούντου τῶν λαμπροτάτων *178a*.18–19
ὑπατίας Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Φακούνδου τῶν λαμπροτάτων *142*.1–2,9–10
339 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ β' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ α' Αὐγούστων *175*.2,6
340 ὑπατείας Σεπτιμίου Ἀκινδύνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Ποπολωνίου Πρόκλου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου *148*.7–8,22–23; *149*.9–10
342 ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ γ' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ β' Ἀούστων *150*.10,35–36 (αἰωνίων instead of δεσποτῶν)
ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωσταντίου τὸ γ' καὶ Κόσταντος Ἀγούστων τὸ β' *181*.1
γ' καὶ β' *174*.56
372 ὑπατίας Δομεττίου Μοδέστου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Φλαουίου Ἀρινθέου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κόμιτος καὶ μαγίστρου τῆς πεδικῆς δυνάμεως *182*.21–26; *183*.1–4; *184*.1–5
373 ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος τῶν αἰωνίων Ἀγούστων τὸ δ' *168*.11–12

C. Indictions, διατυπώσεις and ἐπιγραφαί

Indictions

α' *168*.7 (372/3) (νέα)
β' *141a*.4 (313/4)
β', δευτέρα *150*.39 (νέα); *151*.11; *152*.15,22,28,33; *153*.[3],9,[14],19? (all νέα); *154*.1,15 (νέα),[20] (νέα); *155*.3,7,10,14,21 (all νέα); *156*.3 (all these 343/4)
β' *182*.14; *183*.14; *184*.13 (all 373/4)
γ', τρίτη *150*.15; *152*.40 (νέα); *153*.33,38,42; *157*.2,6,11 (all νέα); *158*.18,22,26,30 (all νέα); *159*.2 (all 344/5)
δ', τετάρτη *180*.11 (315/6 or 330/1)
δ', τετάρτη *152*.36,45,51; *153*.51–52; [*159*.11]; *160*.3,20,37,58,65–66(νέα); *161*.15,22; *162*.3,(8),12; *166*.6(νέα) (all 345/6)
πέμπτη *185*.10 (316/7)
ε', πέμπτη *160*.9,11,16,33,47,52,92; *161*.4,15,(30) (all 346/7)
ἕκτη *185*.10–11 (317/8)
ς', ἕκτη *150*.48,53,58; *157*.14; *160*.60; *161*.16,35(νέα),39,44,47 (all 347/8)
ἑβδόμη *163*.1,7; *164*.2,(5),9 (348/9)
ζ' *127*.2; *129*.1 (363/4)
η', ὀγδόη *130*.1; *142*.3,12,16; *144*.14 (all 334/5)
ὀγδόη *160*.70; *165*.3 (349/50)

θ', ἐνάτη *144*.6,11,19,(23) (335/6?); *145*.1,4,(6) (335/6); *146*.[9],15 (335/6?)
ἐνάτη *164*.22 (350/1)
δεκάτη *143*.16 (321/2)
δεκάτη *161*.7; *164*.13 (351/2)
ἑνδεκάτη *147*.2,8,13,17,21,25,29; *178a*.9 (all 337/8)
δωδεκάτη *148*.4,10,18,26,29,33 (338/9)
δωδεκάτη *160*.75 (353/4); *186*.8 (353/4?)
τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη *149*.6,12,16 (340/1)
ιδ' *135a*.2 (340/1 or 355/6)
ιε' *177*.12 (326/7)
πεντηκαιδεκάτη *147*.33,35 (341/2)
ις' *178*.8 (327/8)
ἑκκαιδεκάτη *150*.7,12,33; *151*.2,7; *181*.13 (all 342/3)
ἑπτακαιδεκάτη *181*.16 (343/4)
[ ]δεκάτη *147*.41 (15th = 341/2?)
Number lost: *143*.5; *144*.2; *164*.28

διατυπώσεις
α' *137*.3 (297/8)
γ' *137*.15,(18) (299/300)
τετάρτη *137*.7 (300/1)
Unnumbered or number lost: *137*.[11],33,58,66,107; *141*.46,48,96–97, 102,103

ἐπιγραφαί
ε' *136*.6 (296/7)

D. Months and Days

Θώθ ζ *141*.66,73; ι *151*.1,6; ια *176*.19; κα *152*.48; κς *152*.35,50; [ ] *160*.79
Φαῶφι ς *141*.60; θ *141*.84; ιε *144*.13; κα *141*.100; *181*.1; κδ *144*.5,18
Ἀθύρ α *164*.26; δ *160*.59; ς *144*.10; ζ *160*.68; ιγ *153*.37; κζ *183*.4
Χοίακ β *147*.7; δ *137*.56; *147*.1; ς *147*.12; θ *178a*.20; ι *142*.2,10; *161*.46; ιβ *142*.15; ις *147*.16,20; ιθ *147*.24; κα *147*.28; κγ *178*.18; κη *141*.94; κθ *153*.34; κ[ ] *153*.32; [ ] *161*.42; Χύακ κα *184*.5
Τῦβι ε *177*.22; ς *141*.33; ις *137*.105; κς *185*.20; κη *144*.1
Μεχεὶρ β *156*.1; ε *160*.74; ζ *153*.41; θ *182*.26; ι *179*.34; λ *136*.50
Φαμενώθ δ *143*.21; ζ *147*.34; ιη *188*.1; κε *148*.9,24,(25); κς *148*.28; κζ *148*.10; N.N. *131*.1; *169*.3; *170*.9
Φαρμοῦθι α *148*.32; ια *147*.37; ιδ *141*.20; ις *168*.12; ιη *169*.17; *170*.23; κδ *137*.1; κθ *137*.22; N.N. *137*.9; *142*.6
Παχὼν α *160*.7,88,95; ε *137*.45; ζ *160*.10,89,96; θ *160*.86,102; ια *137*.30; *161*.1; ιγ *160*.31,90,98; ιε *175*.6; ις *160*.24,35; *165*.1; ιζ *160*.87,94; ιη *141*.34; *160*.26,35; ιθ *160*.45,99; *189*.16; κ *160*.39; *164*.1; κβ *160*.29; κδ *160*.30,50,100; *161*.20; *164*.5; κζ *160*.14,97; κη *160*.19,43; λ *160*.1; N.N. *175*.2
Παῦνι ζ *161*.38; *164*.21; η *157*.13; ιβ *171*.22; κα *147*.32,39; *149*.10; *150*.14; κβ *149*.11; *151*.10; *154*.2; κγ *154*.4,5; κς *154*.6; κζ *154*.7; κη *150*.19; *154*.9,

11; κθ *154*.12; *160*.55; N.N. *169*.7; *170*.13; *176*.9; *177*.12; *178*.8; *178a*.8; *180*.3; *183*.14; *184*.13
Ἐπείφ α *154*.13; ς *157*.1; η *136*.4; *143*.12; ι *158*.17,29; ια *150*.47; *157*.5; ιγ *149*.15; *150*.52; *157*.10; *158*.21; ιδ *161*.33; ιε *152*.39; ιη *150*.57; *158*.25; κ *154*.21,23,25; κα *152*.21; *154*.28,30,32; κβ *154*.34,36,38; *170*.7; κγ *152*.13; κδ *141*.4; *152*.27; κς *150*.11; κθ *150*.12; λ *145*.3; N.N. *159*.10; *182*.13
Μεσορή γ *153*.1,7,(13); *159*.1; δ *150*.36; *153*.17; ε *154*.19; *163*.1; ς *161*.6; θ *153*.24; *154*.14; *162*.10; *163*.4; ι *155*.1,9,16; ια *136*.13,27; ιβ *155*.6,13,20; ιε *141*.41; ις *141a*.2; ιζ *137*.73; ιθ *141*.42; κ *150*.37,42; κζ *162*.1; *163*.6; κθ *141*.51; N.N. *150*.62
- ἐπαγομένων ς *152*.44

πρὸ θ καλαντῶν Ἰανουαρίων *138*.10
πρὸ ι καλανδῶν Μαίων *138*.17; ς *138*.25; πέντε *138*.34–35; *139*.20; β *138*.42–43
πρὸ ιη καλαντῶν Ἰωνίων *139*.12; ιβ *140*.11
πρὸ ζ καλαντῶν Σεπτεμβρίων *141*.42–43

Ἀπελλαῖος *181*.1

III: NAMES OF PERSONS

Emperors and Consuls (Indices I and IIB) are not included. Αὐρήλιοι are listed under the second name, i.e. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος is listed under Ἰσίδωρος. Alternative spellings of names are given in brackets ⟨ ⟩ after the form chosen for the main entry for a person; cross-references are given. Note the following abbreviations: Αὐρ. = Αὐρήλιος/Αὐρηλία; s. = son; f. = father; gs. = grandson; gf. = grandfather; d. = daughter; m. = mother; gd. = granddaughter; gm. = grandmother; w. = wife; h. = husband; br. = brother; sist. = sister. Names not in the *Namenbuch* or the *Onomasticon* (in the form listed) are marked with *.

Ἄβελ *160*.8,29
Ἀβοῖκις *124*.18,21
Ἀβόκ *130*.23
- s. of Πετ... *130*.35
- f. of Ἀτῖσις *130*.36
* Ἀβούθιος (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἀττίτιος and Τιμαρέτη *188*.2
Ἀβοῦς, f. of (Αὐρ.) Ἀντιούριος *147*.1,7,12,16,[20,24,28],32,40; *148*.17,28; *162*.2,11; [*173*.5]; *181*.5
Ἀβῶκ (Αὐρ.), *sitologos* *150*.31
Ἀβ..( ) *133*.5
* Ἀγαθάμμων *191*.12–13
Ἄγαθος *147*.6,11,15,19,23,31
Ἀγριππῖνος, *bouleutes* *175*.42
Αἴπαρος s. of Παιᾶνος *167*.2
Ἀιών *130*.25; *131*.2,4,7,10,11,12,14,17,21; *135*.26; *191*.1

- (Αὐρ.), ὑποδέκτης κώμης Καρανίδος *161*.11
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἀντιούριος *160*.64
- s. of Ἀντώνιος *132*.13
- s. of Κοπρῆς *130*.3; *154*.3,4,8,12,22,24,31,33,35,37
-(Αὐρ.), s. of Σαραπίων *126*.1,3,11,12,23; *127*.5; *128*.2,7,(8),9,10; *129*.4; *144*.5,10,13,18; *145*.5; *146*.8,13(Ἀγιῶν); *152*.32; *153*.2,8,13–14,18,32,35,37,41,50; *157*.1,5,10,13; *160*.1,(7),14,19,31,45,50,57,59,68,74,78,93; *164*.1,8,12; *165*.2; *186*.2–3
- f. of Ἥρων *134*.20; *135a*.8
- f. of Νεῖλος *132*.8; *164*.7
- f. of Πτολεμαῖος *151*.6
- f. of Πτολλᾶς *144*.16
- see also Οὐαλέριος Ἀ.
Ἀλεία see Ἀλία
(Αὐρ.) Ἀλέκα, d. of Ἀπολλώνιος and Ερ..ιλη *185*.1,20
Ἀλέξανδρος
- ῥήτωρ *175*.23,45,46,47,62
- s. of Ὠρίων, br. of Ἡρακλῆς *143*.3,14–15; *174*.8,16,23,33
- f. of Παῦλος *134*.21
Ἀλία <Ἀλεία> *127*.8; *128*.5; *129*.7
Ἀλλοῦς <Ἀλοῦς>
- m. of Ἀντιοῦριος *181*.5
- m. of Κλήμιτος and Ταπάεις *181*.3,8 (Ἀλοῦς)
- m. of Ταπάις [*173*.2]
Ἀλοῦς see Ἀλλοῦς
Ἀλύπιος (Αὐρ.), veteran *158*.4
Ἀμάεις *131*.3,21; *133*.18
- διάκων *167*.6
Ἀματᾶς *126*.7
- ὑποδέκτης *163*.4
Ἀμεῖς (Αὐρ.), d. of Ὠρίων *140*.3
* Ἀμίτων f. of Κάστωρ *167*.1
Ἄμμων, sitometres *151*.15; *152*.20,26,30; *156*.6
Ἀμμωνᾶς *131*.8
- s. of Ἀτίσιος *151*.1,10; *158*.17,21,25,29
Ἀμμωνιανός, br. of Κάστωρ *169*.4,9; *170*.9–10,15
Ἀμμώνιος
- βίαρχος *188*.8
- (Αὐρ.), ὑποδέκτης σίτου πόλεως, s. of Ἀπίων *150*.4,29
- s. of Ἀτίσιος *154*.15,20
- f. of Γερόντιος *175*.3
Ἀμμωνι..... *133*.16
* Ἀμοιος *150*.56
Ἀμώνιος *160*.67; *164*.11,15
- (Αὐρ.), scribe *186*.10
* Ἄναιος *148*.30
* Ἀναμόν <Ἀναμοῦν> s. of Ἥρων *132*.9
* Ἀναροχει *131*.13

* Ἀναῦφις <Ἀνοῦφις?> *131*.15
Ἀνδρείας (Αὐρ.), former *exegetes, bouleutes, dekaprotos 137*.30
Ἀνουβίων, *archihyperetes*, interpreter *175*.4,56,64–65
- signer *146*.16
Ἀνοῦφις *133*.6,15; *134*.18
- (Αὐρ.), *tesserarius 141*.54
Ἀντίνοος (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτητὴς ἀχύρου *141*.37
Ἀντιούριος <Ἀντιοῦρις> *130*.2,18; *190*.2
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἀβοῦς and Ἀλλοῦς, *kephalaiotes 147*.1,7,12,16,20,24,28,32,40; *148*.17,28; *162*.2,11; *173*.5; *181*.5,6,9,11,14
- [(Αὐρ.)], s. of Πτολλᾶς *135a*.1?; *178a*.1,20
- f. of Ἀιῶν *160*.64
- f. of Οὐαλέριος *144*.1; *152*.[5],21,27,39,44,50; *156*.2; *163*.1; *168*.4; *172*.3
Ἀντωνῖνος, διάκων *171*.14
Ἀντώνιος Σαραπάμμων, former *strategos 178*.3–4; *178a*.4?
Ἀντώνιος
- s. of [--]ηνος *135*.12
- f. of Ἀιῶν *132*.13
- f. of Ἰσίδωρος *132*.15,21
* Ἀπῖν( ) (Αὐρ.), *tesserarius 139*.14
* Ἀπῖνος *154*.2,9
Ἄπις see Οὐαλέριος Ἄ.
Ἀπίων
- centurion *188*.20,21,22
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἰσίδωρος *166*.3
- (Αὐρ.), s. of]ου *177*.[4],16
- f. of Ἀμμώνιος *150*.4,29
Ἀπι.[...]ς *133*.15
Ἀπολλώνιος
- *sitologos 155*.16
- s. of Σώτας *132*.16,22
- s. of ..λος *134*.27
- f. of Ἀλέκα *185*.1–2
- f. of Καπέεις *141*.61
Ἀπολλῶς <Ἀπωλλῶς>
- f. of Συρίων *130*.9
- f. of Ὠλ *132*.18
- f. of Ὠρίων *130*.4,10
Ἀπφῦ (Αὐρ.), *sitologos 150*.6,(12)
Ἀραβικός <Ἀριβικός> *133*.9; *135a*.7; *167*.5 (Ἀρι-)
- ἀπαιτητὴς *137*.5
* Ἀρίτιος <Ἀρῖτις> f. of Κάστωρ *148*.25
Ἄρπαλος *171*.4
- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτητὴς ἀχύρου *141*.79
Ἀρσάκης f. of Παχοῦμις *188*.11
Ἀρχίας f. of Εὐτρόπιος *176*.5
Ἀσημ( ) (Αὐρ.), *tesserarius 139*.14

'Ασκλᾶς *174*.50
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἰσίων, ὑποδέκτης κώμης *164*.7
Ἄταλις *135*.17
'Ατίσιος ‹'Ατῖσις, 'Αττίτιος› *126*.14; *135a*.2; *175*.5,8,9,16,53,70
- (Αὐρ.), *sitologos 149*.3
- s. of 'Αβόκ *130*.26
- s. of 'Ατρῆς *124*.3,32; *125*.3
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Λεωνίδης and Ταῆσις, *kephalaiotes 148*.3,10; *173*.5; *181*.4,6,9,11,14; *185*.5
- f. of Οὐαλέριος 'Αιῶν etc. *188*.3 ('Αττίτιος)
- f. of 'Αμμωνᾶς *151*.1,10; *158*.17,21,25,29
- f. of 'Αμμώνιος *154*.15,20
- f. of Παπάεις *158*.1,2,6
'Ατολᾶς *126*.8
- sist. of Ἰσίδωρος *169*.11; *170*.17
Ατρε[f. of]ις *130*.14
'Ατρῆς *131*.9,20; *188*.19
- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτητὴς ἀχύρου *141*.79,83
- (Αὐρ.), s. of 'Αττίτιος and Τιμαρέτη *188*.2
- f. of 'Ατίσιος *124*.3,32; *125*.3
- f. of Νεῖλος *152*.35
- f. of Οὐενᾶφρις *130*.6
- f. of Ταμάλεις *176*.1,[24]
- f. of Τετούεις *182*.1; *183*.5,21; *184*.5,26
- h. of Ἰσᾶρις *130*.7
* 'Αττίτιος see 'Ατίσιος
* 'Ατωρᾶς ‹= 'Ατολᾶς?› *135*.19
Αὐνῆς *135*.20
Αὐρήλιος see the second name. In the following, second name lost or unread: *137*.13,41; *150*.6,(12); *175*.7; [*177*.25]
Αὐσώνιος *princeps 160*.27,40
'Αφοῦς *160*.62; *161*.45
'Αφῦς *141*.77
- (Αὐρ.), ὑποδέκτης κριθῆς κώμης Καρανίδος *160*.63
'Αχιλλᾶς *167*.3
- ἀπαιτητὴς *137*.5,8
- (Αὐρ.), *tesserarius 139*.1; *140*.1,9,14,[18]
Α.[*147*.38
-*kephaliotes 150*.37

Βάσος ‹Βάσσος› f. of Πατερμοῦθις *180*.6
Βῆκις f. of Σενπαχοῦμις *188*.4

Γέρμανος (Αὐρ.), μείζων κώμης Καρανίδος *175*.[5],56,69,72
Γερόντιος *137*.113
- (Αὐρ.), *praepositus pagi 170*.1
-*dekaprotos 137*.90,95,96
- collector *138*.40

- s. of Ἀμμώνιος, *bouleutes* *175*.3
- f. of Χαιρήμων *175*.3
Γοῦνθος, ἐπιμελητὴς ἀχύρου *143*.1,13

* Δηκέντιος, *praepositus vexillationis* *188*.2
Δημήτριος *170*.4–5
- f. of Ἰσίδωρος *130*.12
- f. of Οὐαλέριος *132*.7,17
- f. of Παῆσις *167*.8
- br. of Τῶμις *169*.10; *170*.16
Δίδυμος
- (Αὐρ.), ex-gymnasiarch, *bouleutes*, *dekaprotos* *137*.45
- γραμματεύς *173*.11
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Σώτας, scribe *178*.22
- f. of Λεόντιος *180*.18
Δῖος f. of Φίρμος *132*.5,12
Διοσκορίων f. of Ἡρώδης *145*.2
Διόσκορος Καίσων, *praepositus pagi* *171*.1
Διόσκορος (Αὐρ.) *173*.26
Διότιμος *153*.5(?),11,[15],21; *157*.15
Δοῦλος *141*.77
Δωρόθεος *160*.62; *161*.41,45,48; *164*.4,6
- s. of Ἥρων *143*.19
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἱέραξ, ἀποδέκτης σίτου πόλεως *149*.1

Εἰρήνη m. of Σαραπίων *177*.2
Εἰσίων see Ἰσίων
Ἑλᾶς f. of Οὐφρίας *159*.8
Ἑλένη *124*.23; *125*.7
Ἑρᾶς see Ἡρᾶς
Ἑρμίας f. of Παπνούθιος *144*.14
* Ἑρωίς see Ἡρωίς
Ερ..ιλη m. of Ἀλέκα *185*.2
Ερ[....] f. of Πτολεμῖνος *168*.1
Εὐδαίμων *150*.27; *189*.3–4; *190*.1
- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτ. διατυπώσεως *141*.45
- (Αὐρ.), former chief priest, *bouleutes*, ἐπιμελητὴς χρυσοῦ *138*.11,16
- s. of Μέλας *130*.5
Εὐλόγιος *142*.8,19
Εὐπορίων *150*.41,45
Εὔπορος (Αὐρ.), *bouleutes*, ἐπιμελητὴς χρυσοῦ *138*.35
Εὐτρόπιος s. of Ἀρχίας *176*.4,14

Ζίπερ see Οὐαλέριος Ζ.

Ἡλίας *126*.2; *152*.42,49; *158*.20,23,28,31; *163*.8
- δημόσιος of the *syndikos* *175*.4
- f. of Παντβεῦς *188*.13
Ἡραίς *175*.7,19 (in 69,70,72 Ἡρωίς)

- d. of Χαιρήμων *137*.52 (error for Ἡρωΐς?)
Ἡρακλᾶς *174*.8,15,24
Ἡρακλείδης f. of Τιμόθεος *186*.1
Ἡρακλῆς *124*.13; *133*.7,11
- s. of Ὠρίων, br. of Ἀλέξανδρος *143*.2,14
Ἡρᾶς ‹Ἐρᾶς› *174*.1,4,21,28 (all Ἐρᾶς),51
- προνοητής of Ἀντώνιος Σαραπάμμων *178*.4
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἀττίτιος and Τιμαρέτη *188*.2
- s. of Μασικλῆς *134*.24
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Πτολεμαῖος *137*.14,67,80,82,101; *138*.26,36; *139*.3; *141*.74
-(Αὐρ.), s. of Σαραπίων *126*.4,15,20,26; *127*.6; *128*.3; *129*.5; *161*.[1],6,13,33,38,42; *166*.1
- f. of Κλήμιτος and Ταπάεις *181*.3
- f. of Παπάεις *160*.35
- f. of Ταπάεις *172*.20; *173*.2 (Ἐρᾶς 2x); *181*.3
- intermed. of Ἡρακλῆς and Ἀλέξανδρος *143*.15
Ἡρώδης s. of Διοσκορίων, *bouleutes*, ὑποδέκτης σίτου δρμου πόλεως *145*.2
Ἡρωδιανός (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτητὴς ἀχύρου *141*.37
Ἡρωΐς *175*.69,71,72 (evid. error for Ἡραΐς, q.v.)
- (Αὐρ.), d. of Ἀττίτιος and Τιμαρέτη *188*.2–3
- d. of Χαιρήμων *141*.82; cf. *137*.52 (Ἡραΐς)
- m. of Ἰσίδωρος [*179*.6]
Ἥρων *124*.5,6,7,23; *125*.6; *141*.18,52; *174*.54
- (Αὐρ.), *bouleutes*, ἐπιμελητὴς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀσήμου *138*.18,22,26,31
- ἐπιμελητὴς ἀχύρου *143*.18
- *sitologos* *150*.42; *155*.1
- s. of Ἀιῶν *134*.20; *135a*.8
- *sitologos* *150*.42; *155*.1
- s. of Ἀιῶν *134*.20; *135a*.8
- s. of Ἥρων *134*.19; (Αὐρ.), chaff collector *141*.61,62,68,73
- s. of Ὄλ *126*.27
- s. of Ὀνόμαστος *137*.47
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Πτολεμαῖος *180*.3,15,21
- f. of Ἀναμόν *132*.9
- f. of Ἥρων *134*.19; *141*.61,68
- (Αὐρ), f. of Πικῶς *137*.55
Ἡρωνῖνος *135*.28
Ἡ.[...], *sitologos* *141*.85

Θαῆσιος see Ταῆσις
Θαῆσις (Αὐρ.), d. of Ἀττίτιος and Τιμαρέτη *188*.2
Θεόγνωστος *160*.77
Θεόδωρος *161*.36; *191*.15
- ῥήτωρ *175*.15,47,49,50,60
- f. of Οὐράνιος *150*.4,29
Θερμουθάριον ‹Θερμουθάρις› (Αὐρ.), d. of Σέξτος *179*.3,28 (28, Θερμουθάρις)
* Θερμουθάρις see Θερμουθάριον
Θεωνᾶς s. of Πατερμούθιος *152*.36,52

* Θιθωεῖς ‹= Τιθοῆς, Θιθοεῖς› *189*.2–3
Θιω.. f. of Παλήμων *134*.26

Ἱερακαπόλλων
-*bouleutes* *175*.3
- ἐπίσκοπος (bishop) *160*.4,8,15,21,32,46,51; *161*.2–3,23
Ἱέραξ
- f. of Δωρόθεος *149*.1
- f. of Πμουεὶς *188*.8
- see also Οὐαλέριος Ἱ.
Ἰούλιος (Αὐρ.), s. of Σεουηρῖνος, ἀποδέκτης σίτου πόλεως *148*.1,15
Ἰσαάκ ‹ Ἰσάκ, Ἰσάκα›
- μοναχός *171*.15 (Ἰσάκ)
- s. of Ἰσίων *132*.3,10 (10, Ἰσάκα)
Ἰσάκ, * Ἰσάκα see Ἰσαάκ
* Ἰσάρις w. of Ἀτρῆς *130*.7
* Ἰσιδόρα ‹= Ἰσιδώρα› *135*.21
Ἰσιδωρίδης (Αὐρ.), scribe? *188*.25–26
Ἰσίδωρος *124*.23,24,44; *125*.6,9; *128*.7
- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτητής *136*.8
- (Αὐρ.), κουαδράριος *141*.32
- (Αὐρ.), σιτοπαραλήμπτης *136*.14,[22],28,44
- s. of Ἀντώνιος *132*.15,21
- s. of Δημήτριος *130*.12
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Καναοῦτ, ἀποδέκτης Καρανίδος *152*.31; *161*.10 (Οἰσίτωρος, ὑποδ-)
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Πτολεμαῖος and Ἡρωίς *136*.6,33,38,47; *137*.2,10,18,26,53,57,65,76,93,110; *138*.2,12,19; *139*.2; *140*.12,[20]; *141*.1,6,9,12,16,20,23,39,47,56,62,69,81,88,96; *169*.2; *170*.2,8,24; *171*.2; *179*.5
- s. of Τιθοῆς *188*.10
- f. of Ἀπίων *166*.3
- f. of Παπέεις *150*.38–39,44; *155*.2,6,10,13,17,20
- f. of Σωκράτης (Σωκρᾶς) *150*.14,17,31
- see also Οὐαλέριος Ἱ.
Ἰσίων *141*.65,72 (Αὐρ.); *141*.1,104; *146*.16; *157*.4; *187*.1 (Αὐρ. Εἰσ-)
- (Αὐρ.), *sitologos* *141*.85
- *sitometres* *144*.17
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Πατήσιος, scribe *185*.22
- f. of Ἀσκλᾶς *164*.7
- f. of Ἰσαάκ *132*.3,10
- f. of Χαιρήμων *132*.4,11,20
Καίσων see Διόσκορος Κ.
Καναοῦτ f. of Ἰσίδωρος *152*.31; *161*.10
Καπέεις *191*.5
- s. of Ἀπολλώνιος, chaff collector *141*.61,68
Κασιανός (Αὐρ.), *tesserarius* *139*.1; *140*.1
Κάστορ ‹= Κάστωρ› *130*.30,31
Κάστωρ *169*.9; *170*.15; *174*.53

- s. of Ἀμίτων *167*.1,9?
- s. of Ἀρίτιος, *kephalaiotes 148*.25,32
- s. of Παρίθιος *130*.17,20
- br. of Ἀμμωνιανός *169*.3; *170*.9
Κεφάλων *188*.8
Κλαυδιανός *160*.43
* Κλήμιτος (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἥρᾶς and Ἄλλοῦς *181*.2,3
Κολλούθης (or Κολλούθος) *126*.18; *135a*.4
Κόμων (Αὐρ.), s. of Νεῖλος *168*.14
Κοπρῆς *130*.8; *136*.35,37; *142*.2; *153*.40,45; *159*.14; *162*.7,10,14
- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτ. ἀχύρου *141*.[79],83
- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτ. ὁριοδικτίας *141*.95
- (Αὐρ.), κουαδράριος *141*.54
- s. of Πανοῦς *154*.5,6,9,28,29
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Παῦλος, ἀποδέκτης σίτου πόλεως *148*.1,6,12,15,21,27,34; *149*.1,7,14,18
- s. of [.]ο[*130*.11
- f. of Ἀιῶν *130*.3; *154*.3,4,8,12,22,24,31,33,35,37
- f. of Ταῆσις *137*.2,25,34,50,69,82,92; *139*.4,15; *141*.30
- f. of Χαιρήμων *136*.5
* Κούτινον (Αὐρηλία) *182*.3
Κο[h. of Ταπ.[*130*.13
Κύριλλος, *sitometres 150*.41,45; *151*.4,9; *154*.17; *155*.5,8,12,15,18,19,23; *160*.13,18, 34,49,53; *161*.5
Κ.[...]ων, *sitologos 141*.85

* Λακωίς f. of Ἀιῶν (alias of or error for Σαραπίων) *160*.7
* Λαμηειος (personal name?) *188*.4
Λεονίδης ‹= Λεωνίδης› *124*.9; cf. Λεωνίδης
Λεωνίδης ‹Λεονίδης›
- (Αὐρ.), σιτοπαραλήμπτης *136*.14,22,28,43
- f. of Ἀτίσιος *148*.3,10 (Λεονίδης); *173*.6; *181*.4; *185*.5
Λεόντιος (Αὐρ.), s. of Δίδυμος, scribe *180*.18
Λήειν *126*.6

Μακάριος ‹Μαχάριος› *151*.3,8; (Αὐρ.), *187*.1,9 (9, Μαχ-)
Μαρι [*133*.3
* Μασικλῆς f. of Ἥρᾶς *134*.24
* Μαχάριος see Μακάριος
Μέλας (Αὐρ.) *166*.7
- *sitometres 163*.3
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Σώτας, scribe *153*.55; *161*.18; *178a*.23
- f. of Εὐδαίμων *130*.5
- f. of Πτολλᾶς *166*.2
Μεν[*150*.26
Μίκκαλος (Αὐρ.), scribe *179*.29
Μουσῆς, *sitometres 156*.6
Μῦς f. of Σαβῖνος *189*.6
* Μωμας, scribe *161*.32

Μωρίων (Αὐρ.), *175*.14
Νεῖλος ‹Νῖλος› *138*.43
- νειλομέτρης *175*.4
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἀιῶν, ὑποδέκτης κώμης *132*.8 (no title); *164*.7
- f. of Κόμων *168*.14
- representative of Ἡρωΐς/Ἡραΐς and Ταῆσις, h. of Ἡρωΐς *175*.5,36,50,58,61, 63,64,66,74
Νεμεσιανός f. of Πέτρος *182*.31; *184*.24
Νιλάμμων *126*.17
Νῖλος ‹Νεῖλος› s. of Ἀτρῆς *152*.35

Ὅλ *158*.1; *160*.83
- f. of Ἥρων *126*.27
- (Αὐρ.), scribe *158*.15
Ὀννῶφρις f. of Σαραπίων *136*.4,38,48
Ὀνόμαστος
- f. of Ἥρων *137*.47
- f. of Πτολλᾶς *141*.69
Ὀνωρᾶτος f. of Σαρμάτης *137*.98
Ὀρσενοῦφις *174*.48
Οὐαλᾶς
- (Αὐρ.), *tesserarius 141*.23
- *kephalaiotes 150*.37
Οὐαλέριος
- Οὐαλ. Ἀιῶν, s. of Ἀττίτιος and Τιμαρέτη, centurion *188*.1,26,[27]
- Οὐαλ. Ἄπις, centurion *188*.27
- Οὐαλ. Ζίπερ, *praefectus Herculiae Aegypti 169*.1; *170*.3,7
- Οὐαλ. Ἱέραξ, centurion *188*.30
- Οὐαλ. Ἰσίδωρος, centurion *188*.28,29
- Οὐαλ. Παλήμων, centurion *188*.30
- Οὐαλ. Σαραπίων, centurion *188*.29,31
- Οὐαλ. [, centurion *188*.26,27
- Οὐαλ. .....ιος, centurion *188*.28
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἀντιούριος *127*.3; *128*.1; *129*.2; *144*.1; *152*.4,21,27,39,44,50; *156*.1; *163*.1; *167*.4; *168*.3; *172*.3
- s. of Δημήτριος *132*.7,17
- f. of Παιᾶνος *159*.2
- f. of Ὠρίων *167*.2
Οὐενᾶφρις ‹Οὐενάφριος› *131*.5; *133*.16; *154*.23,32,36
- s. of Ἀτρῆς *130*.6
- s. of Παήσιος *134*.22
- s. of Πτολλᾶς *152*.13
- s. of Σαραπίων *184*.7
- f. of Πτολλᾶς *162*.8
- f. of Σαραπίων *149*.4,11,15; *161*.20–21,27–28; *177*.2
- see also Φλάουιος Οὐεν.
Οὐράνιος *144*.4; *151*.4,8; *153*.34,36

- (Αὐρ.), s. of Θεόδωρος, ὑποδέκτης *150*.4,9,13,16,18,20,23,29,34
- s. of Παῦλος, *bouleutes*, ὑποδέκτης *145*.1
* Οὐφριᾶς s. of Ἑλᾶς *159*.8
Παήσιος ‹Παῆσις› *124*.18,40,42
- f. of Ἰσίων *185*.22
- f. of Οὐενάφρις *134*.22
Παῆσις ‹Παήσιος›
- (Αὐρ.), σιτοπαραλήμπτης *136*.14,22,23,28,43,45,53–54
- s. of Δημήτριος *167*.8
Παιᾶνος
- *sitologos 154*.14,[19]
- s. of Οὐαλέριος *159*.1
- s. of Πεταοῦς *190*.4
- f. of Αἴπαρος *167*.2
Παλήμων
- ὁριοδίκτης *172*.8,12,18
- scribe *152*.34
- s. of Θεω.. *134*.26
- s. of Πτολεμαῖος *139*.4; *141*.3,19,21,28–29,57,102
- see also Οὐαλέριος Π.
* Παμές ‹= Παμῆς› *160*.16,30,32,47
Παμοῦνις *171*.3–4
Πανᾶς *148*.14
Πανκράτις *126*.25; *131*.6; *132*.6,23; *133*.17
- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτητής *136*.9
Πανοῦς ‹Πανοῦς› *124*.9
- *sitologos 155*.9
- f. of Κοπρῆς *154*.5,6,9
Πανοῦς ‹Πανοῦς› *154*.7
Πανοῦφις *174*.52
Παντῆλ *131*.16
Παντβεῦς s. of Ἡλίας, centurion *188*.13
* Παόνα ‹Παῶν› (Αὐρ.), *sitologos 141*.86
Παοῦς f. of Πεειαῦνε *188*.14
Παπάεις ‹Παπέεις› s. of Ἡρᾶς *160*.35; see also Παπέεις
Παπέεις ‹Παπάεις›
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἀτίσιος *158*.1,2 (2x Παπάεις),6,(11,13)
- s. of Ἡρᾶς *160*.35
- s. of Ἰσίδωρος *150*.38,43; *155*.2,6,10,13,17,20
Παπνούθιος ‹Παπνούτιος› s. of Ἑρμίας *144*.14
Παπνούτιος ‹Παπνούθιος› (Αὐρ.), s. of Σίττις *141a*.3
* Παρίθιος f. of Κάστωρ *130*.17
Πατᾶς f. of Σαραπίων *178*.[1],19
Πατερμούθιος ‹Πατερμοῦθις›
- (Αυρ.), s. of Βάσος *180*.5–6,14,21
- f. of Θεωνᾶς *152*.36,52

Πατερμοῦθις ‹Πατερμούθιος›, ὑποδέκτης *135.5*
Παῦλος *133.*17; *160.*24,37–38; *163.*8; *191.*3,14
- *sitometres 160.*72
- s. of Ἀλέξανδρος *134.*21
- f. of Κοπρῆς *148.*1,15; *149.*1
- f. of Οὐράνιος *145.*1
Παχνοῦτις (Αὐρ.), s. of Πιῶν *153.*47
Παχοῦμις s. of Ἀρσάκης *188.*11
* Παχούτης *133.*14
* Πεγῦσι see Πεκῦσις
* Πεειαῦνε s. of Παοῦς *188.*14
Πεκῦσις *191.*10 (-σεις)
- s. of Ταῆσις *132.*14,19 (Πεγῦσι)
Πελήμων (Αὐρ.), *sitologos 150.*31
Πελῆνις (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτητής *136.*8; *137.*8
Περγάμιος, κόμης *160.*24,37
Πεταοῦς f. of Παιᾶνος *190.*5
* Πετεροτμούθης *188.*12,13
Πέτρος (Αὐρ.), s. of Νεμεσιανός, scribe *182.*30–31; *184.*23
Πετρώνιος *150.*3; *160.*6,23,41,44
Πετ… f. of Ἀβόκ *130.*35
Πικῶς s. of Αὐρ. Ἥρων *137.*55
Πιῶν f. of Παχνοῦτις *153.*47
Πλήειν ‹Πλῆνις› (Αὐρ.), *sitologos 141.*85
Πλῆνις ‹Πλήειν›, ποιμήν *188.*11
Πλουτάμμων *150.*51
Πλουτίων *148.*6,13,21,31,35; *149.*8,14
Πμούεις s. of Ἱέραξ, ἁλιεύς *188.*8
Πνᾶς (Αὐρ.), ὑποδέκτης *160.*63
Ποῆρις, προνοητής of Εὐτρόπιος *176.*5–6
Πορφύριος, γεωμέτρης *172.*15
Ποτάμμων (Αὐρ.), ἐπιμελητὴς ἀσήμου *138.*1,8
Πτολεμαῖος *130.*32; *133.*10; *135a.*6; *173.*21
- s. of Ἀιῶν *151.*6
- s. of Χαιρήμων *136.*35
- f. of Ἥρᾶς *137.*14,67,80; *138.*26; *139.*3
- f. of Ἥρων *180.*3
- f. of Ἰσίδωρος *137.*2,10 (Πτολλεμέος),18,57,65,76,106?,110; *138.*3 (Πτωλεμέος),19; *139.*3; *140.*12,[20]; *141.*1,9,12,16,24,39,56,62,81,89,96; *169.*2; *170.*2,8; *171.*2; *179.*5
- f. of Παλήμων *139.*4; *141.*19,21,29
Πτολεμῖνος (Αὐρ.), s. of Ερ[….] *168.*1,13
Πτολλᾶς *135.*24; *135a.*9; *154.*7,23,32,36
- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτητής *136.*9
- (Αὐρ.), *sitologos 149.*3
- s. of Ἀιῶν *144.*16

- (Αὐρ.), s. of Μέλας *166*.2
- s. of Ὀνόμαστος *141*.68
- s. of Οὐενάφριος *162*.7
- f. of Ἀντιούριος *178a*.1.
- f. of Οὐενάφριος *152*.14

Ῥωμανός *158*.20,23,28,31

Σαβεῖνος ‹Σαβῖνος› *160*.82,85
- κηνσίτωρ *124*.2; *125*.1; *175*.49; *181*.8
- (Αὐρ.), former gymnasiarch, *dekaprotos* *137*.31
- s. of Μιῶς *189*.5
Σακαῶν *135*.23
Σαμβαθίων *174*.1,3,20,26,57
Σαμβᾶς, δημόσιος *175*.4
Σαραπάμμων ‹Σαραπάμων› (Αὐρ.), ἐπιμελητὴς ἀσήμου *138*.1
- see Ἀντώνιος Σ.
Σαραπάμων ‹Σαραπάμμων› *154*.11,13 (13, -άμμων)
- *sitologos* *154*.21,26,38
Σαράπις ‹Σεράβις› *135a*.10
Σαραπίων *151*.13; *152*.19,24,29; *157*.8,12; *161*.9,46; *164*.25; *165*.7
- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτ. ἀχύρου *141*.37
- ἀπαιτ. κώμης Καρανίδος *141*.101
- s. of Ὀννῶφρις *136*.4,38,48
- s. of Οὐενάφρις and Εἰρήνη *149*.3–4,11,15; *161*.20,27; *177*.1,22
- s. of Πατᾶς and Τανοῦφις *178*.1,19
- f. of Ἀιῶν *126*.1,3,11,23; *128*.2; *144*.5,9,13,18; *145*.5; *146*.8,13; *152*.32; *153*.2,8,14,18,32,35,38,41,50; *157*.1,5,10,13; *160*.1,14,19,31,45,50,57,59,68,74,[78],93; *164*.1–2,8,12; *165*.2; *186*.3
- f. of Ἥρᾶς *126*.4,15,26; *161*.1,6,13,33,38,42; *166*.1
- f. of Οὐενᾶφρις *184*.7
- f. of Χαιρήμων *136*.5,33
- see also Οὐαλέριος Σ.
Σαρμάτης (Αὐρ.), s. of Ὀνωρᾶτος, *dekaprotos* *137*.63,74,87,98
- κληρονόμοι Σ. *137*.31
Σέλευκος *186*.2
Σενπαχοῦμις (Αὐρ.), d. of Βῆκις and Τᾶς νεωτέρα *188*.3,4
Σέξτος f. of Αὐρ. Θερμουθάριον, legionary *179*.3
Σεουηρῖνος ‹Σευηρῖνος› (Αὐρ.), *dekaprotos* *137*.30
* Σερηνῖλος *135*.25
Σερήνιος *124*.42
Σερῆνος
- ἀπαιτ. κώμης Καρανίδος *141*.101
- (Αὐρ.), scribe *170*.25
- s. of Σερῆνος *134*.25
- f. of Σερῆνος *134*.25
Σευηρῖνος ‹Σεουηρῖνος› f. of Ἰούλιος *148*.1,5
Σεύθης *163*.5

- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτ. διατυπώσεως *141*.45
* Σίττις f. of Παπνούτιος *141a*.3
* Σκεῦαξ *188*.8,10
* Σοκρᾶς see Σωκράτης
Σοκράτης ‹Σωκράτης› *126*.5
* Σουείς *174*.49
Σουχάμμων *141*.43
Σουχιδᾶς, sitometres *144*.9; *152*.38,55; *155*.4,8,12,15,18,22
Συρίων
- (Αὐρ.), σιτοπαραλήμπτης *136*.14,22,29,44
- s. of Ἀπωλλῶς *130*.9
- s. of Χαιρήμων, ἐπιμελητής *160*.54
- intermed. of Ἡρακλῆς and Ἀλέξανδρος *143*.3,15
Σωκράτης ‹Σοκράτης, Σοκρᾶς› s. of Ἰσίδωρος *150*.6,12,14(Σοκρᾶς), 17,23,31(3x Σοκρᾶς)
Σώτας *135*.27; *159*.16
- (Αὐρ.), ἀπαιτ. ὁριοδικτίας *141*.95
- f. of Ἀπολλώνιος *132*.16,22
- f. of Δίδυμος *178*.22
- f. of Μέλας *153*.55; *178a*.24

Ταήσιος ‹Ταῆσις› *124*.44; cf. Ταῆσις
Ταῆσις ‹Θαήσιος, Θαῆσις, Ταήσιος› *175*.14,19,69,72
- (Αὐρ.), d. of Κοπρῆς *137*.2,25(Θαήσιος),34,50,69,82(Ταήσιος),92; *138*.36; *139*.3,15; *141*.30
- m. of Ἀτῖσις *181*.4
- m. of Πεκῦσις *132*.14,19
* Ταμάλεις *126*.13; *127*.8; *128*.5; *129*.7
- (Αὐρ.), d. of Ἀτρῆς and Ταπάεις *176*.1,20,24
Τανοῦφις m. of Σαραπίων *178*.2,19
Ταπάεις *126*.19,21; *127*.7; *128*.4; *129*.8; (Αὐρ.) *173*.25
- (Αὐρ.), d. of Ἡρᾶς (Ἐρᾶς) and Ἀλλοῦς (Ἀλοῦς) *172*.20; *173*.2; *181*.2,3
- m. of Ταμάλεις *176*.2
- m. of Τετούεις *183*.6; *184*.6
Ταπ.[w. of Κο[*130*.13
* Τᾶς νεωτέρα m. of Σενπαχοῦμις *188*.4
* Ταυημέρα *124*.40
* Τερμούθιον *126*.16
Τετούεις see Τιτούεις
Τιβερῖνος *135*.18
* Τιῆπις *191*.6
Τιθοεῖς *161*.3,24
Τιθοῆς f. of Ἰσίδωρος *188*.10
Τιμαρέτη m. of Οὐαλέριος Ἀιῶν κτλ. *188*.3
Τιμόθεος *135*.14,15,16
- (Αὐρ.), s. of Ἡρακλίδης, δημόσιος *186*.1
- sitometres *144*.9,12,22,24

Τετούεις ‹Τετούεις› *126*.4; *135a*.5n.; *187*.5
- (Αὐρ.), d. of Ἀτρῆς and Ταπάεις *182*.1,26,33; *183*.5,10,18,21(4x Τετούεις); *184*.5,19,26
Τουᾶν *191*.2
Τῶμις, πενθερός of Ἀμμωνιανός and Κάστωρ *169*.6,10; *170*.4,12,16

Φιλάγριος see Φλάουιος Φ.
Φιλέας *159*.6
Φίλιππος *153*.6(?),12,[16],23
Φιλώτας (Αὐρ.), *dekaprotos 137*.23,27
Φίρμος s. of Δῖος *132*.5,12
Φλάουιος, Φλάυιος
- Φλ. Οὐενάφριος, legionary *183*.7,14,17
- Φλ. Φιλάγριος, *praefectus Aegypti 175*.17,18,19,54
- Φλ. [*173*.1
Φοιβάμμων *191*.7

* Χαιράος *148*.20
Χαιρέας, scribe *176*.23
Χαιρήμων
- s. of Γερόντιος, *bouleutes 175*.3
- s. of Ἰσίων *132*.4,11,20
- s. of Κοπρῆς *136*.5
- s. of Σαραπίων *136*.5,33
- f. of Ἡραΐς *137*.52
- f. of Ἡρωΐς *141*.82
- f. of Πτολεμαῖος *136*.35
- f. of Συρίων *160*.54
- f. of Ὠρίων *134*.28
* Χοοῦς *191*.9
Χρῆστος *160*.4,22,52,77; *161*.36

Ψαμοῦς *134*.23

Ὠλ ‹Ὅλ› s. of Ἀπωλλῶς *132*.18
Ὠρείων ‹Ὠρίων›, *ρήτωρ 174*.60
Ὠρίων ‹Ὠρείων› *142*.8,19
- (Αὐρ.), *dekaprotos 137*.22,27,70,73,86
- s. of Ἀπωλλῶς *130*.4,10
- s. of Οὐαλέριος *167*.7
- s. of Χαιρήμων *134*.28
- f. of Ἀμεῖς *140*.3
Ὥρος (Αὐρ.), *sitologos 141*.85

]αῆρις d. of Οὐαλέριος Ἀιῶν *188*.4
]..αμμων, *syndikos 175*.1
].εως (gen.) *175*.3
.ε.[*161*.26
]ηνος f. of Ἀντώνιος *135*.12
.....ιος see Οὐαλέριος

]ις s. of Ἀτρῆς *130*.14
..λος f. of Ἀπολλώνιος *134*.27
---δς καὶ Ν.[..] *187*.2
]ου f. of Ἀπίων *177*.4
].πουαλ *130*.22
[.]ρ[f. of Κοπρῆς *130*.11
]σίων *135*.3
].τωρος *135*.8
].υσιων *146*.12
]ων, προνοητής of Ἀπίων *177*.5

IV: GEOGRAPHY

Αἴγυπτος *175*.[17],18,54. See also Ἡρκουλία Α.
Ἀλεξάνδρεια *137*.30
ἄμφοδον Φρεμι *158*.5–6; *185*.2–3
ἀνατολή *124*.5,7,9,12,15,18,21,24,38,40,42,44
Ἀρσινοίτης νομός *125*.2; *153*.49; *168*.4–5; *169*.2; *170*.8; *172*.4; *173*.3; *174*.3; *175*.7,19(νομ. om.); *178a*.2; *180*.4; *181*.2,4,6; *182*.2–3; *184*.6; *188*.3
Ἀρσινοιτῶν πόλις *158*.5; *168*.3; *176*.5; *177*.4; *182*.4; *184*.8. See also πόλις.
Ἀσφῦνις *188*.2,5
διῶρυξ *124*.38
- δ. Ἑρμέθου *153*.53–54
- δ. Πτολεμαίδος ὅρμου *168*.6
δυσμή *124*.5,7,9,13,16,18,21,24,38,40,42,44
ἐνορία τῆς κώμης Καρανίδος *174*.3
Ἡρακλείδου μερίς *137*.23,31,46,74,91
Ἡρκουλία Αἴγυπτος *169*.1; *170*.3,7–8
Ἱερὰ Καρανίδος *150*.17,21,43; *155*.1–2,7
Καινὸς Καρανίδος *150*.22; *155*.16
Καλατους *124*.43
Καρανίς *124*.2,3,31,32; *125*.2,3; *136*.17; *139*.7,15; *141a*.4; *143*.3–4,15; *144*.2,7,10,15,20; *145*.5; *146*.[10],14; *147*.3,9,13–14,17,22,25–26,29,33,35,40; *148*.3,11,17,25,28,32; *149*.3,12–13,17; *150*.8,13,15,33,38,48–49,63; *151*.2,7,12; *152*.2–3,16,22,28,32,36,40–41,46,51; *153*.1,7,[13],18,[24],33,39,43; *155*.21; *156*.4; *157*.3,6,11,14; *158*.7,18,22,26,30; *159*.3,[11]; *160*.3,9,11,16,21,33,37,47,52,56,60,64,70,75; *161*.4,7,12,22–23,34,39,43,47; *162*.4; *163*.2,7; *164*.3,22–23,[27]; *165*.4; *184*.26; *186*.3,11. See also ἐνορία... Καρανίδος, Ἱερὰ Καρανίδος, Καινὸς Καρανίδος, Κερκεσοῦχα Καρανίδος, κώμη Καρανίδος, ὁριοδικτία Καρανίδος.
Κερκεσοῦχα *135*.22. Κερκεσοῦχα Καρανίδος *154*.14–15,19,29,34
κώμη *137*.108; *161*.28–29
- (= Καρανίς) *136*.16,31; *169*.4; *170*.5,10; *171*.9; *175*.35,37,50,51,55,70; *177*.13; *178*.9; *178a*.24

κώμη Ἀγαθάμμωνος 191.12–13
κώμη Ἀσφῦνις 188.2,5
κώμη Καρανίς 124.2,3,31,32; *125*.2; *136*.15,29,32; *137*.3–4,6,12,24,32,48,75,91–92; *138*.5–6,21,27,29,38–39; *139*.2; *140*.2,[19]; *141*.13,25,38,55,80,86,(88),101; *150*.38; *158*.7; *160*.64; *161*.12; *166*.1–2,(4); *168*.4; *169*.2; *170*.2,8; *171*.2; *172*.3; *173*.2,6,14; *174*.1,3,21–22,58–59; *175*.5,7,29,69,72; *176*.2; *177*.3; *178*.2; *178a*.2; *179*.6,9; *180*.4; *181*.4,5,7; *182*.1–2,33; *183*.6; *184*.6
κώμη Σύρων 153.48–49
κώμη [...]..*ικου 188*.3
Λατοπολίτης νομός 188.2,5
Λεμαιως 188.11,12
Λευκόγιον 144.20. See also *ὅρμος Λ*.
μερίς see *Ἡρακλείδου μ*.
νομός see *Ἀρσινοίτης, Λατοπολίτης*.
Ὀξυρύγχα 183.8–9
ὁριοδικτία (of Karanis) *124*.31; *136*.36,51; *137*.32,37; *141*.38; *181*.7
ὁριοδικτία Καρανίδος 137.6,59,75,100; *138*.6,14–15,21,29,38–39; *139*.6–7; *141*.25–26,47,55,86,88,95; *185*.8–9
ὅρμος 141.64
ὅρμος Λευκογίου 141.40; *144*.1,6,11,13,18; *152*.35,50–51; *160*.2,7,14–15,19–20,31,36,45–46,50–51,69; *161*.2,21; *163*.1
ὅρμος πόλεως 145.3; *151*.10; *152*.14,21,27,39,45; *156*.2; *158*.17,21,25,29; *163*.6
Πααλαμα 124.22; *125*.4
πᾶγος 169.18; [*170*.23]; *175*.35
- ε' πᾶγος 125.2; *170*.1; *171*.1,3; *181*.4
Παμμαρς 124.41
Πελουα 124.14
Πιασοκμην 124.17
πόλις (= *Ἀρσινοιτῶν π*.) *130*.16,18,19,20; *135*.13; *135a*.14,16; *148*.2,16; *149*.2; *174*.16; *175*.63; *180*.19; *183*.15. See also *ὅρμος π*. and Index VI.
πόλις Ἀρσινοιτῶν 180.6. See also *Ἀρσινοιτῶν πόλις*.
Πτολεμαὶς Εὐεργέτις 181.2
Πτολεμαὶς νέα (*κώμη*) *137*.25,35,36,84; *139*.14–15
Πτολεμαὶς Καρανίδος 142.4,6–7,12–13,17; *154*.28,30; *155*.9,14
Πτολεμαὶς ὅρμος 168.1–2,6
Σερύθις (error for *Σερύφις* or *Τερύθις*?) *191*.3–4
Σερύφις 191.8
Στω 124.4
σφραγίς 124.4,8,10,14,17,19,22,33,39,41,43; *125*.4; *181*.7
Ταλιναρτυ 124.33
Τάνις 180.21; *188*.19
Ταπατης 124.10
Τεστω 180.7
Τκαειυπαω 124.39
Τμειτειας 181.8

Τμουειταλη *124*.8
τοπαρχία
- α' ε' *137*.46,91,96
- δ' ε' *137*.23,31,74
τόπος see Καλατουε, Πααλαμα, Παμμαρε, Πελουα, Πιασοκμην, Στω, Ταλιναρτυ, Ταπατης, Τεστω, Τκαειυπαω, Τμειτειας, Τμουειταλη
Φρεμι see ἄμφοδον.
[...]..ικου *188*.3

V. RELIGION

διάκων *167*.6; *171*.14–15
ἐπίσκοπος
- Ἱερακαπόλλων *160*.4,8,15,21–22,32,46,51; *161*.3,24
ἱερός see Index IIB.
μοναχός *171*.15

VI: OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS

ἀπαιτητής *137*.19
- Ἀχιλλᾶς *137*.5,8
- Αὐρ. Ἰσίδωρος *136*.8
- Αὐρ. Πανκράτι *136*.9
- Αὐρ. Πελῆνις *136*.8; *137*.8
- Αὐρ. Πτολλᾶς *136*.9
ἀπαιτ. ἀχύρου κώμης Καρανίδος
- Αὐρ. Ἅρπαλος *141*.79
- Αὐρ. Ἀτρῆς *141*.79
- Αὐρ. Κοπρῆς *141*.80
ἀπαιτ. ἀχύρου κώμης Καρανίδος καὶ ὁριοδικτίας
- Αὐρ. Ἀντίνοος *141*.38
- Αὐρ. Ἡρωδιανός *141*.38
- Αὐρ. Σαραπίων *141*.38
ἀπαιτ. διατυπώσεως
- Αὐρ. Εὐδαίμων *141*.46
- Αὐρ. Σεύθης *141*.46
ἀπαιτ. κώμης Καρανίδος
- Σαραπίων *141*.101
- Σερῆνος *141*.101
ἀπαιτ. ὁριοδικτίας Καρανίδος
- Αὐρ. Κοπρῆς *141*.95
- Αὐρ. Σώτας *141*.95

ἀπὸ στρατηγιῶν 178.4; 178a.4?
ἀποδέκτης 154.1
ἀποδ. Καρανίδος 152.31–32
ἀποδ. σίτου πόλεως
- *Αὐρ. Δωρόθεος s. of Ἱέραξ 149.2*
- *Αὐρ. Ἰούλιος s. of Σεουηρῖνος 148.2,16*
- *Αὐρ. Κοπρῆς s. of Παῦλος 148.2,16; 149.2*
ἄρξας 138.35
ἀρχιερατεύσας 138.11
ἀρχιυπηρέτης 175.4,65
βασιλεύς see Index I.
βίαρχος 188.8
βοήθεια see *δημόσιος*.
βουλευτής 175.42
- *Αὐρ. Ἀνδρείας 137.30*
- *Γερόντιος s. of Ἀμμώνιος 175.3*
- *Αὐρ. Δίδυμος 137.46*
- *Αὐρ. Εὐδαίμων 138.11*
- *Αὐρ. Εὔπορος 138.35*
- *Ἡρώδης s. of Διοσκορίων 145.2*
- *Αὐρ. Ἥρων 138.18,26*
- *Ἱερακαπόλλων 175.3*
- *Οὐράνιος s. of Παῦλος 145.2*
- *Χαιρήμων s. of Γερόντιος 175.3*
γεωμέτρης 172.15
γυμνασιαρχήσας 137.31,46
δεκαδαρχία 186.6–7
δεκάπρωτος
- *Αὐρ. Σαρμάτης s. of Ὀνωρᾶτος 137.99*
- *δεκ. α' ς' τοπαρχίας*
- - *Γερόντιος 137.91,[96]*
- - *Αὐρ. Δίδυμος 137.46*
- *δεκ. δ' ε' τοπαρχίας*
- - *Αὐρ. Ἀνδρείας 137.31*
- - *Αὐρ. Σαβεῖνος 137.31*
- - *Αὐρ. Σαρμάτης 137.74; κληρονόμοι Σ. 137.31*
- - *Αὐρ. Σεουηρῖνος 137.31*
- - *Αὐρ. Φιλώτας 137.23,(27)*
- - *Αὐρ. Ὠρίων 137.23,(27),(70),74*
δεσπότης (of a *ἡγεμών*) *169.3; 170.9; 173.4*
- (of the emperor) see Index I, IIB.
δημόσιον 188.25
δημόσιος
- *βοηθείας (δεκ)αδαρχίας 186.6–7*
- *συνδίκου 175.4*
- *χωμάτων 168.2*

- of Seleukos *186*.2
δικαστήριον *170*.5; *175*.24,26,27,28,37
- ἡγεμονικόν *171*.20
δικαστής *175*.10
δύναμις see Index IIB.
ἑκατόνταρχος *160*.80–81(?); *188*.1,13,21,22,26,27,[28],29,30,31
ἐξηγητεύσας *137*.30
ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου *175*.[17],18,54,62(om. Αἰγ.)
ἔπαρχος ἐξουσία *175*.10,23,25
ἔπαρχος see also Index IIB.
ἐπιμελητής *160*.54
ἐπιμ. ἀσήμου *138*.2
ἐπιμ. ἀχύρου *143*.1,18
ἐπιμ. χρυσοῦ *138*.12,35
ἐπιμ. χρ. καὶ ἀσήμου *138*.18,26
ἡγεμονικός *171*.20
ἡγεμών *172*.1; *173*.1,3–4
ἡγ. Ἡρκουλίας Αἰγύπτου *169*.1,3; *170*.3,7,9
ἱππεύς *188*.1
κεφαλαιωτὴς Καρανίδος
- Ἀντιούριος s. of Ἀβοῦς *148*.28
- Αὐρ. Ἀτίσιος s. of Λεωνίδης *148*.3,17
- Α. [*150*.38
- Κάστωρ s. of Ἀρίτιος *148*.25,32
- Οὐαλᾶς *150*.38
κηνσιτορεύω *175*.49; *181*.8
κηνσίτωρ *124*.2; *125*.1
κῆνσος *174*.2,15,25
κώμης *160*.24; see also Index IIB.
κουαδράριος (κώμης Καρανίδος) *141*.32,55
κύριος (= prefect) *170*.2; *175*.16,18,53
κωμήτης *141*.13; *144*.2,7,10,15,20; *145*.4; *146*.9,14; *147*.3,8,13,17,21,25,29,33,35,39; *148*.5,11,19,26,29,[33]; *149*.6,12,16; *150*.8,13,14–15,17,20,22,33,39–40,[48],63; *151*.2,7,11; *152*.[2],16,22,28,36,40,46,51; *153*.1,7,13,17,[24],[32],39,42; *154*.16,20; *155*.3,7,11,14,21; *156*.4; *157*.2,6,11,13; *158*.18,22,26,30; *159*.3,[11]; *160*.3,9,11,16,21,33,37,47,52,56,59,70,75; *161*.4,7,16,22,34,39,43,47; *162*.4; *163*.2,7; *164*.3,[22],27; *165*.4
λεγέων πρῖμα Μαξιμιανή *183*.7–8
λεγίων β' Τραιανή *188*.2
λεγιωνάριος *179*.3–4
μαγίστρος see Index IIB.
μείζων (κώμης Καρανίδος) *175*.[5],72
ναύτης *168*.2
νειλομέτρης *175*.4
ὁριοδίκτης *172*.7,11,18,24
οὐετρανός *158*.4

οὐεξιλατίων ἱππέων προμώτων λεγίωνος β' Τραιανῆς 188.1–2
παραλημπτής 126.11
πεδικός see Index IIB.
πολίτης 143.6,16
πραιπόσιτος πάγου 169.18; 170.1,23; 171.1; 175.34,62
πραιπόσιτος of *vexillatio 188.2*
πραιτώριον see Index IIB.
πρακτήρ 174.8,10,31
πρίγκιψ 160.28,40
πρῖμος see *λεγέων*.
προμῶτος 188.2
σιτολόγος 142.11; 150.12
- Αὐρ. Ἀβῶκ *150.31*
- Ἀπῖνος *154.2*
- Αὐρ. Ἀπφῦς *150.6*
- Αὐρ. Πελήμων *150.31*
- Σαραπάμμων *154.21,38*
- Αὐρ. *150.6*
σιτ. Ἱερᾶς Καρανίδος
- Ἥρων *150.43; 155.1*
σιτ. Καινοῦ Καρανίδος
- Ἀπολλώνιος *155.16*
σιτ. Καρανίδος (κώμης Κ.)
- Αὐρ. Ἀτίσιος *149.3*
- Αὐρ. Ἡ.[...] *141.86*
- Αὐρ. Ἰσίων *141.86,90*
- Αὐρ. Κ.[...]ων *141.86*
- Αὐρ. Παονα *141.86*
- Αὐρ. Πλήειν *141.86*
- Αὐρ. Πτολλᾶς *149.3*
- Αὐρ. Ὥρος *141.86*
σιτ. Κερκεσούχων Καρ.
- Παιᾶνος *154.14,19*
σιτ. Πτολεμαίδος Καρ.
- Παννοῦς *155.9*
σιτομέτρης
- Ἄμμων *151.15; 152.20,26,30; 156.7*
- Ἰσίων *144.17*
- Κύριλλος *160.53*
- Μέλας *163.3*
- Μουσῆς *156.7*
- Σουχιδᾶς *152.38,55*
- Τιμόθεος *144.22*
σιτοπαραλήμπτης κώμης Καρανίδος *136.15,(22),(23),29,(43–45)*
στρατηγία see *ἀπὸ στρατηγιῶν*.
στρατιωτικός 141.36

στρατιώτης 183.7
σύνδικος 175.1,4,10,19,23,41,45,47,48,49,56,57,58,59,61,63,65,67,74
συνκολλήγας 188.26,27–28,28,29,29–30,30

ταμεῖον 175.31; *181*.15
τεσσεράριος (*κώμης* Καρανίδος) *139*.1,14; *140*.2,19; *141*.23,54

ὑπατεία see Index IIB.
ὕπατος see Index IIB.
ὑποδέκτης 135.5; *163*.4
ὑποδ. σίτου πόλεως (*ὑποδ. σίτου ὅρμου πόλεως*)
- Αὐρ. Ἀμμώνιος s. of Ἀπίων *150*.5,30
- Ἡρώδης s. of Διοσκορίων *145*.2
- Οὐράνιος s. of Παῦλος *145*.2
- Αὐρ. Οὐράνιος s. of Θεόδωρος *150*.5,30
ὑποδ. κριθῆς κώμης Καρανίδος
- Αὐρ. Ἀφῦς s. of Ἀιῶν *160*.63
- Αὐρ. Πνᾶς *160*.63
ὑποδ. κώμης (*κώμης* Καρανίδος)
- Αὐρ. Ἀιῶν *161*.11
- Αὐρ. Ἀσκλᾶς s. of Ἰσίων *164*.8
- Αὐρ. Ἰσίδωρος s. of Καναοῦτ *161*.11
- Αὐρ. Νεῖλος s. of Ἀιῶν *164*.8

VII: MONEY AND MEASURES

A. *Money*

ἀργύριον 130.17; *141*.58; *160*.81; *177*.7,23; *181*.10; *184*.20; *188*.9,13,14,15,20,21; *189*.8; *190*.5
ἀργύριον Σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος 182.9–10; *184*.9–10
ἄσημος 160.85
δραχμή 136.7,51; *141*.17,49–50,58,71,73,77,97,98,103. (*δραχμή*) *134*.2–5,16,17,19–28; *136*.7,52; *137*.4,7,8,13,19,[60],66,67,68,69,112,114,115; *141*.18,19,21,22,50,52,53,59, 72,74,78,83,97,98,103; *141a*.4; *160*.82
μυρίας 189.10
νόμισμα see *ἀργύριον*.
ὀβολός 136.53
ὀλοκόττινος 188.7,9
Σεβαστός see *ἀργύριον*.
τάλαντον 141.49,58,70–71,77; *142*.4,7,13,17–18; *177*.7–8,23; *181*.10; *182*.10; *184*.10,20; *188*.9–16,20,21; *189*.9; *190*.5–6. (*τάλαντον*) *126*.2–10,15,[16],17,19,22,24–28; *127*.3–7,9,10; *128*.7–10; *129*.2–9; *130*.3–5,[6–14],17,18,19,20; *131*.2–21; *132*.2–23; *141*.7,8, 50,59,72,78; *142*.5,7,14,18; *158*.1–3; *160*.81,82,83,85; [*177*.8]; *182*.10; *188*.14; *189*.12; *190*.6

χρυσίον 138.15,29,30; *140*.13,15
χρυσός 188.7

B. Measures

ἄρουρα 125.12; *172*.5,9,19,21; *173*.9–10,14; *174*.4; *175*.29,34,48,51,52,60,71; *179*.9; *180*.7,16; *181*.7,11; *185*.8. (*ἄρουρα*) *124*.4,6,8,10,11,14,17,19,20,23,25–29,[33],34–37,[39,41,43],45–48,51–54; *125*.8; *128*.1–6; *166*.8,9; *174*.26–28; *180*.8,21; *181*.20
ἀρτάβη 136.34,36,37,39,41,49; *137*.26,34,36,37,51,53,77,80,83,85,94,96; *141*.89,93; *144*.3,8,12,15,16,21,24; *146*.10; *147*.4,9,14,18,22,26,30,33,35,37; *148*.5,11,19,20,27,30,33; *149*.6,13,17; *150*.8,13,34,40,44,[49,54,59,63]; *151*.3,8,12,14; *152*.17,19,23,24,29,30,34,37,41,43,46,48,53; *153*.39,43–44; *154*.16; *155*.3,8,11,15,17,21–22; *156*.5; *157*.3,7,12; *158*.9,11,13,19,22,27,30; *159*.4,6,12; *160*.5,9,12,16–17,22,25,26,28–30,33,38,40,43–44,48,53,66,71; *161*.5,8,16,25,30,35,37; *162*.4,8,12; *163*.2,7; *164*.4,6,10,[23]; *165*.5; *169*.5; *170*.10,11; *175*.60; *176*.7,21; *177*.9,24; *178a*.7,21; *179*.14;*182*.8,11–12,28,29; *183*.11–13; *184*.12,21–22; *188*.20
- (*ἀρτάβη*) *130*.22–24,[25],29–36; *133*.4,7–13,17–20; *135*.1–3,5–6,8,10,13–22,29; *135a*.3–13,18,20; *136*.34,36,39,41,42,49; *137*.26,[36],52,54,78,81,83,85,95; *141*.4,5,90,94; *144*.3,8,12,15,17,21,24; *145*.6; *146*.10; *147*.5,10,15,18,23,[26],31,34,36; *148*.6,12,20,21,27,30,34; *149*.7,13,17; *150*.2,3,8,13,16,18–25,27,28,34,40,45,[50],55,60,61,[64]; *151*.3,4,8,9,13; *152*.18,23,29,34,37,42,47,54; *153*.40,45; *154*.3–6,8,10–13,16,22,24,26–29,31,33,35,37; *155*.4,8,11,15,18,22; *156*.5; *157*.4,8,9,12; *158*.9,12,14,19,20,23,24,27,28,31,32; *159*.4,7,9,[13],15,16; *160*.6,10,12,17,22,25,27–30,34,39,41,44,48,53,58,67,72,91,101,102; *161*.5,8,18,25,31,35; *162*.6,9,14; *163*.2,4,7;*164*.6,10,[23]; *165*.6,8; *166*.8,9,10; *176*.24; [*177*.24]; *178a*.[7],22; *182*.8,12,28,29,33; *183*.21; *184*.12,22,26
γόμος 152.52
γράμμα 138.7,15,16,21,22,30,39,40; *139*.10,17; *140*.7–9,13,14,16,17,25
δρόμος see *μέτρον*.
ἐλαιουργικός see *μέτρον*.
ἡμουλίτρινος 188.9
λίτρα 137.16; *141*.28,29,31,32; *143*.[6,7],16,18; *146*.15,[16]; *147*.41,42; *153*.3,4,6,9,10,[12],15,[20],21,22,33,34,35,36; *157*.14; *160*.61,76; *161*.40,44,48; *164*.13,14,[28],29
μέτρημα 136.31
μέτρον 137.97; *178*.20
- *μ. δημόσιον ξυστόν 136*.16–17; *137*.24,33,48–49
- *μ. δρόμον τετραχοινικόν 179*.14
- *μ. δωδεκαμάτιον 183*.15–16
- *μ. ἐλαιουργικόν 177*.9–10,13–14
- *μ. μόδιον ξυστόν 141*.88
- *μ. τετραχοινικόν 176*.10,11; *178*.9; *178a*.10–11; *183*.15
μόδιος 141.88; *154*.24,37
ναύβιον 153.54; *166*.5; *167*.1–9; *168*.6,7
οὐγκία 138.7; *139*.8,13; *140*.6; *141*.28,30,31,32

σάκκος 154.3,4,5,6,8,10,11,12,13,22,24,26,27,31,33,35,37; *188*.17
σαργάνη 141.41,42,44,64
τετραχοινικός see *μέτρον*.

VIII: TAXATION

ἀννώνη 181.12,16
ἀπαίτησις 175.20
- *ἀπ. θαλασσίων 130*.1
ἀπορ( ) 135.2,4,7,9,11,29; *135a*.11
ἀποχή 135.13,14,15,16; *135a*.14,16
ἀργυρικὰ τελέσματα 185.13–14
ἄσημον 138.2,6,13,18; *139*.7,16; *140*.6
ἀφυλισμὸς χωμάτων 166.4–5
ἄχυρον see *τιμὴ ἀχύρου*.
δημόσια 179.23; *181*.15
δημοσία εἰσφορά 175.35
δημόσια τελέσματα 175.31; *181*.12
διαγραφή 136.53
διατύπωσις see Index IIC.
εἶδος see *ναῦλον*.
εἰσφορά see *δημοσία*.
ἑκατοστή 137.26,79,81,86,[95]
ἐξαργυρισμός 142.3,11,16
ἐπιβολή 138.14,20,28,38; *139*.6; *140*.5–6,[22]; *141*.80,82,93 (*νέα*); *181*.13,16
ἐπιγραφή see Index IIC.
ἐσθής 129.1
θαλάσσια 130.1,16
ἰνδικτίων 175.58; *176*.10–11. See also Index IIC.
κεφ ( ) 129.3,6; *135a*.12
κρέας see *μέρος, τιμή*.
λόγος τριμνιαῖος (= *τριμηνιαῖος* ?) *141*.57
μερισμός 131.1; *160*.80
μέρος οἴνου καὶ κρέως 127.1–2
ναῦλον εἰδῶν 136.6
- *ν. σαλγάμου 136*.6
ὀβολός 136.53
οἶνος see *μέρος, τιμή*.
πρεμιπῖλον 141.52,98,103
πυρός see *τιμή*.
σάλγαμον see *ναῦλον*.

τέλεσμα 175.34,57,73
- *δημόσια τ. 175*.31; *181*.12
- *τ. σίτου τε καὶ κριθῆς καὶ ἀργυρικῶν 185*.13–14
τέλος 181.18
τιμή 141.74
- *τ. ἀσήμου 139*.16
- *τ. ἀχύρου 137*.3,6,12,[15]; *141*.70
- *τ. κρέως 137*.3,6–7,[12?],15,19; *141*.76
- *τ. οἴνου 136*.6
- *τ. πυροῦ 136*.50
- *τ. φακοῦ 134*.19,20
- *τ. χόρτου, χόρτων 141*.7,8,9–10,24 (*χ. χλωρός*)
φακός see *τιμή*.
χλωρός see *τιμή*.
χόρτος see *τιμή*.
χρυσός 138.12,18,21,36; *139*.8,17; *140*.8,[22–23]
χῶμα see *ἀφυλισμός*.

IX: GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

ἄβροχος 124.5,8,12,14,15,27,28,34,37,47,48,52,54; *166*.9
ἀγαθός: *ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς 173*.19
ἀγεώργητος 172.6
ἀγράμματος 136.23,46; *141*.66,72,90,104; *161*.19; *170*.25; *173*.26; *176*.23; *177*.26; *178*.23; *178a*.25–26; *182*.32; *185*.23; *188*.31
ἄγροικος 174.13,18; *175*.36
ἀγρός 171.10
ἄγω 171.17
ἀγών 175.24
ἀδελφή 169.11; *170*.17; *175*.7
ἀδελφός 133.6; *141*.24,47,63,69; *169*.4,10; *170*.9,16; *172*.4; *188*.3; *189*.1–2; *190*.1,2
ἀδέσποτος 124.5,12,15
ἄδολος 176.12; *178*.10; *178a*.10
ἀεί 173.25; *181*.16
αἱρέω 168.5–6; *181*.15
αἰτιάω 170.4
αἰώνιος see Indices I, IIB.
ἀκόλουθος 169.9,16; *170*.15,22; *175*.12,45–46,71,72
ἀκούω 175.63
ἄκυρος 173.22
ἀκυρόω 173.7,18
ἀλαβαντικός 188.16
ἀληθεύω 173.20

ἁλιεύς *188*.8
ἀλλά *174*.5,29,32,36; *175*.33,54,60; *181*.17; *189*.13; *190*.7
ἀλλήλων *181*.19
ἀλλοδαπός *175*.51
ἄλλος *125*.12; *126*.28; *128*.8; *130*.29?; *131*.20; *134*.30; *137*.37; *141*.53; *147*.37; *148*.20; *169*.12; *170*.18; *175*.55; *181*.17; *188*.17,23
ἀλλότριος *175*.9,53
ἅμα *125*.12
ἀμελέω *189*.13–14; *190*.7
ἀμμόχωστος *172*.17
ἀμφοδον see Index IV.
ἀμφότερος *141*.80,86,95; *164*.7; *181*.2,5
ἄν *170*.5; *171*.15
ἀνά *181*.13
ἀναγιγνώσκω *175*.18,21–22,39,41,45
ἀναγκάζω *174*.11; *175*.60,61
ἀνάγνωσις *175*.15,21,44
ἀνάγω *171*.8
ἀναδιδάσκω *175*.26,62
ἀναδοχή *169*.7; *170*.13
ἀνακάθαρσις *141*.27
ἀνάκειμαι *175*.8
ἀνάλωμα *181*.18
ἀναμετρέω *172*.7,15–16
ἀναπέμπω *172*.22
ἀνατείνω *175*.22
ἀνατολή *125*.9; see also Index IV.
ἀναφέρω *170*.2; *175*.25,62
ἀναχώρησις *169*.9; *170*.15; *174*.10
ἀνδρεία *169*.14; *170*.20
ἀνενεχύραστος *181*.12
ἀνενόχλητος *174*.17
ἀνέπαφος *181*.12
ἀνεπιδάνειστος *181*.12
ἄνευ *182*.15; *184*.14
ἀνήρ *169*.10; *170*.16; *175*.36,70
ἀνθρώπινος *188*.6
ἀνωνύμη see Index VIII.
ἀντέχω *174*.7; *175*.34
ἀντίγραφον *124*.1; *170*.3–4
ἀντίδικος *174*.23; *175*.25,27,32,33,36,63
ἀντικνήμιος *181*.4–5
ἀντιλογία *175*.31; *182*.15–16; *184*.14–15
ἀντιτάσσω *169*.15; *170*.21
ἀντίτυπος *175*.19
ἀνυπερθέτως *176*.12–13; *177*.15; *178*.11; *178a*.11; *182*.14–15; *184*.14
ἀξιόω *170*.4; *171*.17; *175*.19,39,54,55

ἀξίωσις 173.3; *175*.21
ἀπαιτέω 175.38
ἀπαίτησις 174.44; *176*.13; *177*.15–16; *178*.11–12; *178a*.12; *183*.16–17; see also Index VIII.
ἀπαιτητής see Index VI.
ἀπαντάω 171.9
ἅπας 181.6; *188*.27
ἀπέρχομαι 174.36
ἀπέχω 181.9; *185*.6
ἁπλῶς 175.22; *188*.25
ἀπό 124.3,6,22,32; *125*.3,5; *138*.27; *139*.15; *141*.43; *143*.3,15; *144*.20; [*153*.48]; *158*.5,6,10; *166*.1,3; *168*.1,4; *169*.2,4; *170*.2,5,8,10; *171*.2; *172*.3,5; *173*.[2],6,21; *174*.1,21,58; *175*.30,37,43,47,49,50,51,53,55,57,63,69,70; *176*.2,10; *177*.3; *178*.[2],4; *178a*.[2],4?,24; *179*.6,10,12; *180*.4,19,21; *181*.4,5,6,12,13,[14],16; *182*.1,4,33; *183*.6,21; *184*.6,7,26; *185*.2; *186*.3,11; *187*.4; *188*.[3],4,11,12,14,19; *191*.3,7,11
ἀπογραφή 124.2,50; *125*.1; *174*.40; *181*.8
ἀπογράφω 125.12; *174*.2,8–9,11–12,13,25,47
ἀποδείκνυμι see Index IIB.
ἀποδέκτης see Index VI.
ἀποδίδωμι 169.15–16; *170*.21; *176*.7–8,22; *177*.10,24; *178*.7,21; *178a*.8,22; *182*.12–13,29; *183*.13–14; *184*.12,22
ἀπόδωσις 188.15
ἀπόθετος 188.7–8,10
ἀποκατάστασις 169.16; *170*.21–22
ἀποκινέω 175.28
ἀπόκληρος 188.22
ἀποκρίνω 175.58,59,60,65,66
ἀπόλλυμι 171.16
ἀπομένω 174.6
ἀπορ( ) 133.12; see also Index VIII.
* *ἀποσπορά 136*.40,51
ἀποσυνίστημι 175.70
ἀποφέρω 175.31,38; *181*.14
ἀποχή 133.14,18; *141*.43; [*146*.11]; *159*.5; *164*.24; *168*.8,13; see also Index VIII.
ἀπράγμων 174.14
ἀργυρικός see Index VIII.
ἀργύριον see Index VIIA.
ἀρδεύω 174.5
ἀρέσκω 175.42,43–44
ἀριθμέω 184.9
ἀρίθμησις 137.96
ἀριστερός 178.3; *181*.3,4
ἄρουρα (*ἄρουρα*) see Index VIIB.
ἀρτάβη, (*ἀρτάβη*) see Index VIIB.
ἀρτοκόπιον 127.4
ἀρχή 173.19; *175*.29,66,69
ἀρχιερατεύω see Index VI.
ἀρχιυπηρέτης see Index VI.

ἄρχω: ἄρξας see Index VI.
ἄσημος see Indices VI, VIIA, VIII.
ἄσπορος *166*.9; *174*.6
ἀσφάλεια *175*.35
ἀτελής *173*.8–9,17
αὖ *175*.60
Αὔγουστος see Indices I, IIB.
αὐτός I, intensive reflexive pron. *158*.15; *175*.9,34
αὐτός II, third person pron. *136*.23; *141*.65–66,72,90,104; *144*.23; *161*.19; *168*.12,15; *170*.3,25; *171*.5,8,17; *172*.12,13,21–22; *173*.12,16,24,26; *174*.6,7,16,32,37,42; *175*.9, 17,21,23,29,30,31,41,45,48,49,51,52,56,57,58,59,63,65,70,73,74; *176*.8,16,23; *177*.6, 18,26; *178*.5,12,14,23; *178a*.[14],25; *179*.30; *180*.20; *181*.7,9,10,11,14,15,17; *182*.32; *183*.9,19; *184*.24; *185*.23; *186*.12; *188*.14,23,28,29,31; *189*.15
αὐτός III, with article *124*.6,11,19,20,34,35,36,37; *128*.8; *130*.19; *136*.16,30,47; *137*.18,19,77,84,94; *139*.9,13; *140*.15,[24]; *141*.8,18,20,49,76,82,83,87,102; *142*.6,15; *144*.23; *147*.12,16,24,28,34,37; *148*.10,25; *149*.11,15; *150*.12,19,21,[52,57]; *152*.48; *153*.13,[14],35; *154*.5,11,23,25,26,30,32,36,38; *155*.6,13,20; *157*.5,10; *160*.11,24,26,29,30; *164*.5; *166*.3; *169*.4,6; *170*.5,10,12; *171*.6; *172*.11; *173*.6,14; *175*.54,58,59,61,63,64, 65,66,71,72,73; *178a*.24; *179*.8; *180*.19; *188*.3,4,5,12,19,20
αὐτοτελής *175*.11
ἀφαιρέω *171*.12
ἀφίστημι *181*.18
ἀφυλισμός see Index VIII.
ἀχρήσιμος *171*.6–7
ἄχρι *170*.5
ἄχυρον *141*.38,41,64,80; *143*.1,6,16; *147*.41; *153*.3,9,14,19,33,35; see also Indices VI and VIII.
βάλλω *173*.3
βάλτιον *188*.18
βασιλεύς see Index I.
βασιλικός *124*.4,8,10,25,27,35,36,37,45,47,51,52; *174*.3,4,26,28
βέβαιος *168*.9; *180*.12
βεβαιόω *168*.16?
βεβαίωσις *181*.10,11
βιάζω *174*.31,37,39
βίαιος *174*.18
βίαρχος see Index VI.
βιβλίδιον *170*.2
βίος *169*.9; *170*.15
βοήθεια *169*.19; *170*.24; *171*.13; *173*.4; see also Index VI.
βοηθέω *174*.6,17,20,45; *175*.44,50–51,52
βοϊκός *169*.6,11,13; *170*.11,17,19
βουλευτής see Index VI.
βούλημα *188*.25,26,27
βούλομαι *179*.6
βοῦς *169*.7,8,16; *170*.13,14,21; *171*.5,8,11

γάρ *173*.8,12; *174*.8; *175*.25,46,65,73
γειτνία *181*.8,9
γίνημα *136*.50; *137*.24,33,49,76,94; *141*.2,40,64–65,87; *160*.2,20,36,65; *161*.21–22; *176*.10; *177*.12; *185*.9–10
γένος *176*.11; *177*.14; *178*.6,10; *178a*.9
γεοῦχος *180*.9
γεωμέτρης see Index VI.
γεωργέω *174*.9,34,38,55; *175*.37,52; *180*.10; *185*.7
γεωργία *171*.7; *175*.36
γεωργός *174*.43,47
γῆ *124*.5,15,16; *125*.11; *172*.7,13; *174*.2,5,9,15,17,30,34; *175*.38,52,56,59; *181*.20; *191*.11
γῆδιον *172*.11; *173*.23; *175*.37,54,55,61,64,72
γιγνώσκω *175*.71
γίγνομαι *175*.31–32; *182*.16–17; *184*.15; see next word.
γίνομαι (*γίνομαι*) *124*.25,45,50; *127*.10; *128*.6; *129*.9; *131*.18; *133*.4,13,19; *134*.29; *135a*.13; *136*.34,36,39,41,42,49,52; *137*.19,[36],54,61,[67],68,69,78,81,83,85; *138*.13,16,20,28,30,37,40; *139*.5,8,10,13; *140*.5,7,9,14,17,[22]; *141*.22,32,41,42,44,50,59,72,78,97,103; *141a*.4; *142*.5,14,18; *147*.42; *169*.4,12; *170*.10,18; *171*.7; *173*.23; *174*.2,10,30; *175*.45,66; *176*.13–14; *177*.16; *178*.12; [*178a*.12]; *181*.19; *183*.17; *188*.9,15,19; *190*.6
γόμος see Index VIIB.
γονεύς *188*.3
γόνυ *181*.3
γράμμα *169*.7; *179*.30; *180*.20; *184*.25; *188*.28,29; see also Index VIIB.
γραμματεῖον *169*.5,9,16; *170*.11,12,14,22; *173*.16
γραμματεύς *173*.10–11
γραμμάτιον *187*.4
γράφω *136*.23,45; *138*.16; *141*.32,65,72,90,104; *152*.34; *153*.55; *158*.15; *161*.18,32; *166*.7; *168*.12,14; *170*.25; *173*.26; *176*.23; [*177*.25]; *178*.22; *178a*.25; [*179*.30]; *180*.19; *182*.31; *184*.24; *185*.22; *186*.12; *187*.9–10; *188*.25,28,[29],31
γυμνασιαρχέω see Index VI.
γυνή *130*.7,13; *137*.106; *188*.4
δαπάνημα *181*.18
δέ *169*.6; *170*.12; *172*.18; *173*.14; *174*.4,13,17,28; *175*.36,48,52,66,70; *176*.13; *178*.11; *179*.20; *181*.3,10,13,18; *183*.16; *188*.[6],7,21,25
δεινός: *δεινότατος* *188*.6
δέκα *137*.51,53; *141*.31,32,41; *150*.16; *152*.18; *160*.66; *161*.40; *174*.4
δεκαδαρχία see Index VI.
δεκαεννέα *146*.10; *165*.6,8
δεκαεπτά *137*.94–95; *150*.[59],61
δεκαετία *175*.44
δεκακαιεννέα *141*.64
δεκαοκτώ *141*.93; *147*.35–36; *169*.5; *170*.11; *188*.11
δεκαπέντε *141*.31; *147*.33; *158*.11; *188*.21
δεκάπρωτος see Index VI.
δεκατέσσαρες *150*.8; *157*.7,9
δέκατος *143*.16; *161*.6–7; *164*.13
δεκατρεῖς *141*.28; *161*.8

δεξιός *176*.3; *181*.5
δέον *174*.11,12
δεόντως *175*.15
δερματικός *188*.18
δεσποτεία *169*.8; *170*.14; *173*.16,24; *188*.6
δεσπότης *174*.11,13,40; *175*.38,53; see also Indices IIB, VI.
δεύτερος *151*.11; *152*.15,22,28,33,52; *153*.[2],8–9,19?; *154*.15,[20]; *155*.2,6,10,13,20; *156*.3
δέχομαι *187*.6
δέω (A) *175*.21
δέω (B) I, *δεῖ* *173*.11; II Med. *169*.14; *170*.20; *173*.20; *174*.14,39
δή *169*.11; *170*.17; *175*.32,33; *188*.5
δηλαδή *169*.8; *170*.14
δηλόω *171*.13; *188*.24
δημόσιος *136*.16,31; *137*.24,33,48; *153*.52; *168*.2; *175*.20; see also Indices VI, VIIB, VIII.
διά *126*.1,19; *128*.7; *130*.2,17,18; *133*.3,15; *136*.6,33,35,38; *137*.5,8,19,26,46,53,55,82, 93,113; *141*.1,18,52,62,68,73,77,101; *142*.8,19; *143*.3,15,19; *144*.9,16; *145*.5; *146*.16; *147*.40; *148*.20,25,32; *149*.3,11,15; *150*.6,12,17,21,23,31,38,43; *151*.4,9; *153*.2,6,8,[12, 13],16,18,22; *154*.2,6,7,11,12,13,15,20,22,23,25,28,29,30,32,34,36,38; *155*.2,6,10,13,16, 20; *158*.20,23,28,31; *160*.56,62,77; *161*.41,45; *162*.7,11; *163*.8;*169*.7,15; *170*.13,20; *172*.10; *175*.5,16,25,29,56,58,59,61,64,65,66,70; *176*.5; *177*.[5],7;*178*.4; *181*.10,13; *188*.8,10,11,12,13,14,19
διαβαίνω *174*.14; *175*.51
διαγιγνώσκω *169*.18; *170*.23
διαγίνομαι *169*.13; *170*.19
διαγραφή see Index VIII.
διαγράφω *136*.4,50; *137*.2,[10],14,[18,57],105; *140*.21; *141*.70,76; *142*.2,10; *160*.78; *161*.27; *164*.12
διαδικέω *175*.63
διαδοχή *175*.63
διαιρέω *179*.21; *188*.23
διακατέχω *175*.63,64
διάκειμαι *183*.8; *188*.2
διακόσιοι *147*.41; *153*.3–4,9–10,15,20
διάκων see Index V.
διαπράσσω *173*.7,13
διαρρήδην *175*.68
διάσημος: *διασημότατος* *169*.1; *170*.2–3,7; *173*.1
διάστημα *175*.45
διαστολή *188*.27
διατρίβω *175*.51
διατύπωσις see Indices IIC, VI, VIII.
διαφέρω *174*.15
διάφορος *174*.2
διαφυγή *172*.20
δίδωμι *141*.6,26; *175*.10,11; *179*.12; *189*.5,15; *190*.4
διευθύνω *181*.15
διευτυχέω *169*.17; *170*.6,22; *171*.20n.; *173*.25

δίκαιος *172*.16; *175*.44,69; *179*.4; *185*.4; *δικαιότατος* *173*.3
δικαστήριον see Index VI.
δικαστής see Index VI.
δίκη *173*.16; *176*.17; *177*.19; *178*.15; *178a*.15; *182*.20; *183*.19–20
δίμοιρον *137*.34; *147*.22; *148*.19; *150*.44–45,[54]; *152*.23,25,37,48; *157*.3–4; *158*.31,32; *160*.22,41,48; *161*.31
διοικέω *181*.14–15
διόλου *124*.5,12,15,16,24,38; *125*.11
διπλοῦς *181*.18
δισάκκιον *188*.17,18
δισχίλιοι *137*.67–68; *141*.21–22,103
διώρυξ see Index IV.
δοκέω *169*.14–15; *170*.20; *172*.23; *175*.33
δοκιμάζω *169*.15; *170*.20–21
δοῦλος *132*.6,23; *134*.23
δραχμή, (*δραχμή*) see Index VIIA.
δρόμος see Index VIIB.
δύναμαι *173*.13,24; *174*.18,36; *175*.20,34,46,55
δύναμις see Index IIB.
δύο *124*.50; *126*.22; *137*.4,26,51,111; *139*.13; *140*.8; *141*.49; *144*.16,21; *147*.9,14,[22,30]; *148*.20; *150*.23,40; *152*.18,37; *153*.39,54; *155*.3,11,15; *159*.4,[12]; *160*.9; *162*.8; *164*.10,14; *166*.5; *169*.5; *170*.11; *172*.22; *178a*.[7],22; *179*.9; *188*.4,8,14,[15]
δυσμή *125*.10; see Index IV.
δώδεκα *150*.13; *152*.20; *161*.17
δωδεκαμάτιον see Index VIIB.
δωδέκατος *137*.96; *144*.21; *147*.10,15,30–31; *148*.4,5,10,18,26,29,32,34; *150*.22,50; *152*.42,43,[47]; *153*.40,44–45; *155*.4,18,22; *157*.8,9; *158*.12,14; *159*.13; *160*.5–6,17,25,27,28,38–39,75; *162*.5–6,9,13–14; *186*.7

ἐάν *169*.7,15; *170*.13,[20]; *179*.10,27; *180*.8; *181*.15
ἑαυτοῦ *174*.19; *175*.35,54
ἑβδομήκοντα *137*.60–61,111; *141*.89–90; *152*.23,24,46; *164*.14
ἕβδομος *163*.1,6; *164*.2,9
ἔγγραφος *171*.17; *175*.61
ἐγγράφω *180*.17–18; *188*.24
ἐγκαλέω *188*.23
ἐγκρατής *169*.12; *170*.18
ἐγχειρίζω *143*.2
ἐγώ *137*.47,55,62,113; *141*.16,62,68; *142*.[8],19; *143*.19; *146*.16; *151*.4,9; *153*.6,12,16,22; *158*.11,13,20,23,28,31; *160*.77; *161*.41; *163*.8; *169*.4,[5],7,8,11,12,13,16; *170*.2,4,10,11,12,14,16,[18],19,22; *171*.7,8,9,10,12,16,19; *172*.4,20; *173*.7,8,9,13,20,23; *175*.9,12,17,18,39,50,53,62; *179*.12,15,17,19,26; *180*.17; *182*.17,18; *184*.16,17; *185*.8,12; *188*.3,4,6,7,20,21,23,[25]; *189*.1,7; *190*.1,3
ἐθελοκακία *172*.8
εἰ *169*.14; *170*.20; *171*.13; *172*.23; *175*.39,43,64,65,68; [*188*.6]
εἶδος *182*.19; *184*.17; *188*.7,22; see Index VIII.
* *εἰκοσαετία* *175*.44

εἴκοσι *136*.18,34,41,52; *137*.38,81; *139*.17; *144*.8; *153*.4(?),15,33–34,36; *157*.14; *158*.9, 10,31,32; *160*.61; *161*.31; *163*.7; *172*.21
εἰμί *168*.9; *170*.7; *172*.6,10,21; *173*.4,9,14,22; *174*.11,16,18; *175*.13,24,43,46,47,48, 55,57,59,62,66,69,70,71,73; *177*.8,[23]; *179*.10,19,23; *180*.8,12; *181*.8; *182*.11;*184*.11, 21; *185*.15; *188*.7,22,25; cf. Index IIB.
εἶπον *175*.15,23,41,45–50,56–63,65,67,74
εἰς *130*.16; *139*.16; *141*.7,8,9,35,40,41,57,63; *144*.14,19; *152*.36; *160*.3,8,11,15,21,24,26, 27,29,30,32,37,39,43,46,51,69; *161*.2,23; *172*.21; *173*.19,25; *175*.28,30,36,38,42,51,57; *177*.8,[23]; *179*.10,12; *181*.14; *182*.11; *184*.11,21; *188*.20,[21],23; *189*.6
εἷς *136*.37; *139*.17; *140*.7; *141*.29,42,58,71,77; *144*.3; *148*.11,30; *150*.19,21,34; *152*.47; *153*.44; *158*.19,20; *160*.71,73; *175*.36,58; *177*.9,[24]; *179*.14; *188*.8,15
εἴσειμι *179*.12
εἰσφέρω *173*.8; *175*.31
εἰσφορά see Index VIII.
εἴσω *169*.7; *170*.13
εἶτα *175*.52
εἴτε *175*.46
ἐκ *173*.16; *175*.19; *176*.14,15,17; *177*.17,19; *178*.13,15; *178a*.[13],14,15; *181*.10; *182*.17,20; *183*.18,19; *184*.16; *188*.3; ἐξ *124*.2; *125*.1; *172*.13
ἕκαστος *175*.60; *179*.13
ἑκατόν *137*.4; *141*.59,97; *141a*.4; *153*.33,35; *188*.9
ἑκατόνταρχος see Index VI.
ἑκατοστός *188*.21; see also Index VIII.
ἐκδίδωμι *168*.8,13; *175*.13,14,36
ἐκεῖνος *169*.11; [*170*.17]; *172*.24; *174*.9,10,12,18,34,38; *175*.32,43; *181*.18
ἑκκαιδέκατος *138*.40; *140*.16; *150*.7,12,32; *151*.1,6; *181*.13
ἐκκαλέω *175*.74
ἐκπίπτω *179*.11–12
ἐκποιέω *175*.29–30,46
ἐκτιναγμός *179*.19
ἕκτος *148*.11; *150*.16,48,53,58; *157*.14; *160*.60; *161*.34,39,43,47; *185*.10–11
ἐκφόριον *185*.7,21
ἐλαία *179*.13
ἐλαιουργικός see Index VIIB.
ἐλαιών *179*.9,25
ἐλέγχω *174*.15
ἐμβολή *154*.1
ἐμμέλεια *175*.62
ἐμός *175*.68,74
ἐμποδίζω *175*.20
ἐμποιέω *181*.17
ἐμποίησις *181*.13
* ἐμπροθεσμί *176*.8–9
ἔμπροσθεν *181*.3
ἔμφορος *180*.7n.
ἐν *124*.4,6,8,10,11,14,17,19,20,22,33,34,35,36,37,39,41,43; *130*.16,18,19,20,[27]; *136*.16,30; *137*.24,32,48,75,[91]; *144*.1,6,11,13,18; *151*.10; *152*.14,21,27,35,39,45,50; *156*.2;

158.17,21,25,29; *160*.2,7,14,19,31,36,45,50,69; *161*.2,21,28; *163*.[1],6; *169*.4,9; *170*.10,15; *172*.12; *173*.15; *174*.2,3,9,25,30; *175*.28,64,69,70; *176*.9; *177*.11,[13]; *178*.6,8; [*178a*.8]; *180*.6,7; *181*.2,7,8; *183*.8; *188*.2,6,7,10,23,25
ἐναντία *175*.29
ἔνατος *146*.[9],14; *164*.22
ἐνδέημα *166*.10
ἕνδεκα *136*.39; *160*.25
ἑνδέκατος *147*.2,8,13,17,21,25,29; *178a*.9
ἐνδομενικός *188*.7
ἔνειμι: ἔνι *175*.65
ἕνεκεν *169*.14; *170*.19–20; *175*.37,53; *190*.3
ἐνενήκοντα *144*.3; *174*.4; *188*.9
ἐνέχυρον *187*.6–7
ἔνθα *174*.15
ἐνιαυτός *175*.37,49–50
ἐνίστημι: ἐνεστώς *136*.31; *176*.9; *179*.11
ἐννακόσιοι *137*.13; *141*.22,71,98
ἐννέα *142*.7; [*150*.54]; *151*.8,9; *160*.12; *173*.14; *181*.7; *182*.8,28; *188*.9
ἔννομος: ἐννόμως *175*.26
ἐνοίκιον *175*.67
ἐνορία see Index IV.
ἐνοχλέω *175*.15,54
ἐντάγιον *146*.11; *159*.5; [*164*.24]
ἐντελής: ἐντελέστερον *175*.62
ἐντέλλω *175*.11
ἐντολή *175*.13,14
ἐντολικάριος *175*.5,50,63,70
ἐντός *179*.15
ἐντυγχάνω *175*.5,9
ἐξ *137*.19,68; *138*.7,16; *141*.28,30; *144*.15; *149*.6; *151*.3,5; *152*.29,[30],41; *156*.5; *157*.12; *160*.30,44; *161*.5,25,35,37; *164*.4,6; *182*.12; *183*.11,12; *184*.12,22
ἑξακόσιοι *136*.7; *141*.11,78; *184*.11,20–21
ἐξαργυρισμός see Index VIII.
ἔξαρνος *175*.66
ἐξέρχομαι *169*.9; *170*.15
ἔξεστι *179*.15; [*188*.23]
ἐξέτασις *175*.16
ἐξηγητεύω see Index VI.
ἑξήκοντα *137*.[67],115; *142*.4–5; *151*.3,4,12,14
ἑξῆς *170*.4; *175*.23,44
ἐξοδιάζω *173*.15
ἐξουσία *175*.10,11,23,25,38; *188*.22
ἐπάγω see ἐπαγόμεναι Index IID.
ἐπακολουθέω *188*.5
ἐπαναγκάζω *169*.15; *170*.21; *174*.16,43
ἐπάναγκον *176*.7; *177*.10; *178*.7; *178a*.7; *183*.13
ἐπανέρχομαι *175*.52

ἔπαρχος see Indices IIB, VI.
ἐπεί *169*.9; *170*.15; *172*.10; *173*.16; *175*.38,55,69
ἐπειδή *158*.8; *172*.7,15?,20; *174*.14,17,39; *175*.8,37
ἐπειδήπερ *175*.51
ἐπερείδω *175*.27
ἐπέρχομαι *181*.17; *188*.23
ἐπερωτάω *166*.6–7; *168*.10; *176*.17; *177*.19; *178*.15; *178a*.17; *179*.27; *180*.13; *181*.19; *182*.20; *183*.20; *184*.18; *185*.15–16; *188*.25
ἐπήρεια *174*.7
ἐπί *169*.5,7,19; *170*.11,[13],24; *171*.9,17,19; *173*.19,21; *174*.13,16,18; *175*.10,16,23,24,32, 33,35,51,52,53,62,63,67; *176*.13; *177*.15; *178*.11; *178a*.11; *179*.28; *180*.8,16;*181*.6,7,8, 16; *183*.15,16; *187*.5; *188*.24,26
ἐπιβαίνω *174*.11; *175*.40
ἐπιβάλλω *141*.35; *173*.16
ἐπιβολή see Index VIII.
ἐπιγιγνώσκω *174*.17
ἐπιγίνομαι *179*.22
ἐπιγραφή see Index IIC.
ἐπιδίδωμι *170*.4,24–25; *171*.16; *173*.25
ἐπιμελητής see Index VI.
ἐπιπορεύομαι *181*.16
ἐπίσκοπος see Index V.
ἐπιστέλλω *170*.4
ἐπιτελέω *179*.17
ἐπιτρέπω *175*.11
ἐπιφανής: *ἐπιφανέστατος* see Indices I, IIB.
ἐπιφέρω *146*.11; *159*.5; [*164*.24]; *168*.9; *174*.6; *180*.13; [*188*.25]
ἑπτά *150*.50; *152*.23,24; *160*.5; *177*.8,[23]; *178*.20; *188*.5,7,12
ἑπτακαιδέκατος *181*.16
ἑπτακόσιοι *136*.52; *141*.103; *143*.17
ἔργον *179*.17
ἑρμηνεύς *175*.58,59,61,65,66
ἑρμηνεύω *175*.57,65
ἔρχομαι *175*.57,61
ἑσθής see Index VIII.
ἕτερος [*146*.11]; *159*.5; *164*.24; *173*.15; *174*.15
ἔτι *181*.18
ἔτος, (*ἔτος*) *175*.32,43,49,51; *176*.2,10; *178*.2; *179*.10,12,13,17; *181*.3,4,5; see also Index IIA.
εὐάρεστος *176*.12; *177*.14–15; *178*.10–11
εὔελπις *173*.4
εὐκταῖος *175*.24
εὐλαβής: *εὐλαβῶς* *175*.57
εὐπορία *175*.73
εὐσεβής *175*.73
εὐτυχέω *173*.18–19; *180*.11
εὐτυχής *182*.14; *184*.13

εὐχαριστέω *173*.25
εὔχομαι *189*.18
εὐχρηστέω *169*.4; *170*.10
ἔχω *139*.16; *140*.4; *141*.24,48,57,81,96; *152*.32; *153*.51; *158*.8; *160*.65; *161*.14; *164*.9; *166*.4; *169*.8; *170*.14; *171*.5; *172*.22; *173*.24; *174*.14,17; *175*.41,42,54,57,72,73; *176*.4,20; *177*.5,22; *178*.5,20; *178a*.21; *182*.6,27; *183*.9; *184*.19; *185*.20; *186*.5; *187*.7–8; *188*.6,14,22
ἕως: ἕως ὅτου *141*.27
ζεύγνυμι *175*.20
ζημία *174*.6
ζητέω *175*.29,34,43,69
ζήτησις *175*.43
ζῶ *188*.5
ἤ *175*.30,40,64; *176*.15; *179*.10; *180*.8; [*181*.17]; *182*.17; *184*.16
ἡγεμονικός see Index VI.
ἡγεμών see Index VI.
ἤδη *175*.25
ἡμεῖς *136*.[16],30; *137*.23,32,75,[91]; [*140*.21]; *141*.70,87; *170*.6; *174*.46; *175*.12,27,57; *187*.3,6; see also Indices I, IIB.
ἡμέρα *153*.13; *169*.6; *170*.12
ἡμέτερος *172*.11; *179*.13
ἡμιολία *176*.6; *181*.18; *182*.8
ἥμισυς *136*.41; *137*.26,51,53–54,83,85,95,96; *138*.16; *139*.17; *140*.13; *141*.28,32,90,93; *144*.16,21; *147*.4,10,14,30,36; *148*.20,30,33; *150*.13,20,23,59–60,[61],64,65; *152*.47,53; *153*.44; *155*.4,17; *157*.7–8,9; *158*.14,23,24,27,28; *159*.4,[12]; *160*.5,10,17,25,27, 28,34,66,71,73,76; *161*.17; *162*.5,9,13; *163*.2; *172*.5,6; *173*.14; *176*.21; *179*.7,22,[29]; *180*.8,9,10,16; *181*.7; *188*.9,12,20
* ἡμουλίτρινος see Index VIIB.
ἤτοι *146*.11; *159*.5; [*164*.24]
θαλάσσιος see Index VIII.
θαλλίον *188*.17
θάνατος *188*.23
θεῖος *137*.7,10,32,58; *138*.4,14,20,38; *139*.6; *140*.4,[21]; *141*.25; *175*.27,39,41,46,67,71,74
θησαυρός *130*.27 *136*.16,30; *137*.24,[32],48,75,91; *141*.87
θρέμμα *171*.3
θυγάτηρ *175*.33; *179*.3; *188*.4
θωράκιον *188*.16
ἴδιος *175*.30,38; *181*.14,18
ἰδιωτικός *124*.6,11,14,17,19,20,23,26,28,29,33,34,39,41,43,46,48,53,54; *125*.7; *166*.8,9; *174*.4,27; *181*.7,13,20
ἱερός see Index IIB; ἱερώτατος *175*.31; *181*.15
ἱμάτιον *188*.16–17
ἵνα *170*.5; *173*.24; *175*.33,42,45,62
ἰνδικτίων see Indices IIC, VIII.
ἱππεύς see Index VI.
ἵππος *141*.36
ἴσος *170*.4

ἵστημι *174*.8,41; *175*.28,53
καθά *175*.73
καθάπερ *176*.16; *177*.18–19; *178*.14–15; *178a*.14–15; *182*.20; *183*.19
καθαρός *136*.34,36,37,39,40,48; *137*.26,34,35,[36,37],51,53,77,78,80,81,82,83,84,85,[94]; *138*.6,15,21,30; *139*.7; *140*.6,13,15,[23,24]; *144*.3,8,12,15,16,21,24; *147*.3,9,14, 18,[22],26,30; *148*.5,19,26–27,29,33; *149*.6,13,17; *150*.8,13,33,40,44,[49], 54,59,[63]; *151*.2,7,12; *152*.[3],17,23,29,33,37,41,53; *154*.16,20; *155*.3,7,11,15,17,21; *157*.3,7,11–12; *158*.19,22,27; *159*.3; *160*.5,9,12,16,22,25,26,28,29,30,33,38,40,43, 47,52,71; *161*.4,24; *163*.7; *165*.5; *176*.12; *177*.14; *178*.10; *178a*.10; *181*.12; *183*.11,12
καθαρότης *175*.26
καθίστημι *175*.53
καθώς *181*.8
καί *passim*
καιρός *188*.24
Καῖσαρ see Indices I, IIB.
καλάνδαι see Index IID.
καλλιεργία *175*.30
καλός: κάλλιστος *172*.21
- καλῶς *181*.19
κανών *175*.43,44
καρπός (A) *137*.76; *179*.10,22
καρπός (B) *176*.3
κατά *137*.58,107; *138*.4,14,20,38; *139*.6; *140*.4,[21]; *141*.25,35; *169*.2,6; *170*.8,12; *171*.9; *172*.8; *173*.7,17; *175*.10,20,21,37,49,56,66; *179*.13,16,17,22; *181*.11,17; *188*.7,24
καταβάλλω *130*.15; *147*.39; *153*.1,7,13,17,24
καταβοσκέω *171*.6
κατακόπτω *171*.11
καταλαμβάνω *169*.14; *170*.20; *171*.7–8; *188*.6
καταλείπω *169*.11; *170*.17; *188*.7; *190*.3
καταλυμαίνομαι *171*.4
καταμαρτυρέω *173*.5
καταπάτησις *175*.49
καταπίμπρημι *175*.65,66
καταπίπτω *174*.5,29
κατασπείρω *175*.56,57,57–58,58,70
κατασπορά *175*.55
κατατίθημι *175*.55,64,69,70
καταφεύγω *175*.53
καταφρονέω *169*.13; *170*.19
καταφυγή *173*.19
καταχωρίζω *188*.25
κατέχω *174*.12; *175*.55
κάτοχος *175*.44
κεῖμαι *181*.8
κέλευσις *138*.14; *175*.10
κελεύω *137*.79,86,95; *141*.27; *169*.15; *170*.5,20; *172*.23; *175*.28,39

κεφάλαιον *177*.7; *188*.10,11,12,13,14,15,19
κεφαλαιωτής see Index VI.
κεφ ( ) see Index VIII.
κηνσιτορεύω see Index VI.
κηνσίτωρ see Index VI.
κῆνσος see Index VI.
κινέω *175*.27
κληρονομέω *188*.7
κληρονόμος *127*.8; *128*.5; *129*.7; *135a*.1; *136*.35; *137*.31; *167*.3; *174*.8,24; *175*.5,8,33; *188*.7,[23]
* *κόβαθρος* *188*.9
κοινωνία *124*.6,22; *125*.5; *179*.7
κοινωνός *136*.45,54; *137*.5; *141*.79; *142*.11; *148*.1,15; *149*.2; *150*.5,30,42; *152*.31; *154*.14,[19]; *155*.1,9,16; *156*.6; *161*.11
κόλλημα *124*.30,49; *169*.19; *170*.24
κόμης see Index VI.
κομίζω *175*.65
κοντός *188*.16
κορμολογία *179*.18
κουαδράριος see Index VI.
κρατέω *181*.14
κρέας *137*.16; *146*.15; *157*.14; *160*.60,76; *161*.40,44,48; *164*.13; cf. Index VIII.
κριθή *137*.101; *141a*.3; *146*.10; *150*.15,18,19,21,23; *153*.39,43; *156*.5; *158*.30,32; *160*.63,66; *161*.16,35,36; *164*.3,5–6,9,23; *165*.5,7–8; *182*.11,28,33; *183*.11,[21]; *184*.11,21,26; *185*.13; cf. Index VI.
κτάομαι *172*.21; *175*.29
κτῆσις *124*.7,18,21,24; *138*.5
κτήτωρ *179*.24
κυριεύω *181*.14
κύριος *168*.8; *175*.13; *178a*.17; *179*.4; *180*.12; [*181*.19]; *185*.3,14; *188*.25; *189*.1; see also Indices I, IIB, VI.
κώμη see Indices IV, VI.
κωμήτης see Index VI.
λαμβάνω *175*.60,67; *184*.9
λαμπρός: *λαμπρότατος* *175*.16–17,18,54; see also Index IIB.
λαμπρότης *172*.14
λάχανον *183*.16,21
λαχανόσπερμον *177*.8–9,23–24; *183*.12
λεγίων see Index VI.
λεγιωνάριος see Index VI.
λέγω *124*.4,8,10,14,17,22,33,39,41,43; *125*.5; *169*.11; *170*.17; *174*.1; *175*.23,32,33,56; *181*.8; *188*.5
λῆμμα *134*.30
λιβέλλος *175*.16,20,22,25,62
λίτρα see Index VIIB.
λογισμός *175*.42
λόγος *130*.16; *134*.18; *141*.57; *171*.19; *187*.4,7; *189*.7

λοιπός *131*.19; *133*.8,20; *150*.28; *158*.13; *172*.6; *180*.9; *188*.15
μαγίστρος see Index VI.
μάλα *175*.49; *μάλιστα* *173*.17
μανθάνω *175*.20
μαρτυρέω *188*.28,[29],30
μάταιος: *ματαιότατα* *175*.26
* *ματίδιον* *188*.18
μεγαλεῖον *170*.3; *174*.14
* *μεγαλία* *173*.7
μέγας *171*.10; *μείζων* *174*.7; *175*.24,38; see also Index VI.
μέγεθος *173*.3,4
μέλλω *143*.1–2
μέμφομαι *175*.61
μέμψις *175*.32
μέν *169*.9; *170*.15; *172*.16; *175*.24,52,66; *181*.3,12; *188*.7
μένω [*181*.19]
μερίς see Index IV.
μερισμός see Index VIII.
μέρος *141*.35,70,76; *172*.6; *174*.7; *175*.64; *179*.7–8,13,23,[29]; *180*.9,10,16; *188*.3,4; see also Index VIII.
μετά *124*.9,12,21,38; *170*.3; *175*.15,21,41,44; *179*.24; *181*.18; *188*.23,25; see also Index IIB.
μεταβάλλω *141*.39
μεταξύ *169*.18; *170*.5–6,23
μετέρχομαι *175*.37
μετρέω *136*.15,30,47; *137*.23,32,35,47,74,91,99; *141*.87,93; *151*.15; *152*.20,26,30; *156*.7; *160*.72; *163*.3; *176*.4; *178*.5; *182*.6–7; *185*.11–12
μέτρημα see Index VIIB.
μέτριος *172*.9
μετριότης *175*.68,74
μέτρον see Index VIIB.
μέχρι *181*.13
μή *141*.26; *146*.11; *159*.5; [*164*.24]; *169*.7; *170*.13; *171*.13; *175*.16,33,34,54,57,64,66; *179*.30; *180*.20; *181*.16; *184*.25; *188*.[23],28,29; *189*.13; *190*.7
μηδαμῶς *175*.28,40
μηδέ *172*.13; *175*.29,43,61,68; *181*.17; *188*.23
μηδείς *169*.12; *170*.18; *175*.20,32; *181*.17; *188*.23
μήν *145*.3; *160*.55,79; *169*.3,7–8; *170*.9,13; *171*.5; *176*.9; *177*.12; *178*.8; *178a*.8; *181*.1; *182*.13; *183*.14; *184*.12–13; *186*.8,9
μήτε *169*.12,13; *170*.18; *174*.11,12
μήτηρ *176*.1; *177*.2; *178*.[1],19; *178a*.1; *179*.5; *181*.3; *183*.5; *184*.6; *185*.2; *188*.4
μητρῷος *173*.9,13
μικός = *μικρός* *188*.17
μισθός *186*.5
μισθόω *179*.6–7,27,28; *180*.15
μίσθωσις *179*.16; *180*.11–12,21; *185*.15
μόδιος see Index VIIB.
μόλις *175*.49

μοναχός *175*.13; see also Index V.
μόνος [*143*.7]; *144*.3,8,12,15,17,24; *145*.6; *146*.10,16; *147*.5,10,18,23,[26],31,34,36,[37],42; *148*.6,12,21,27,30,[34]; *150*.8,13,16,18,20,23,34,40,45,55,[60]; *151*.3,5,8,9,13; *152*.18,23, 34,37,42,43,47,49,54; *153*.4,10,[12],21,34,36,40,45; *154*.16; *155*.4,8,11,15,18,22; *156*.5; *157*.4,8,12; *158*.19,20,23,24,27,28,31,32; *159*.4,[13]; *160*.6,12,17,22,27,29,30,34,39,41, 44,48,53,61,67,72,73,77,84; *161*.5,8,18,25,37,40,44,48; *162*.6,9,14;*163*.[2],7; *164*.6, 10,14,[23],29; *165*.6; *174*.31; *175*.58; *186*.9; *189*.12; *190*.6
μόρος *128*.10
μοσχίον *188*.16
μυρίας see Index VIIA.
ναύβιον see Index VIIB.
ναῦλον see Index VIII.
ναύτης see Index VI.
νειλομέτρης see Index VI.
νέμω *175*.32,40,43,48,68
νέος *128*.10; *137*.76; *141*.80,93; *166*.6; *168*.7; *176*.11; *177*.14; *178*.10; *178a*.10; see also Indices IIC, IV.
νεόφυτος *180*.7n.
νοέω *188*.5
νομή *175*.28,29,40,42,43,64,69,72,74
νομικός (*174*.1)
νόμιμος: *νομίμως* *173*.12–13; *188*.22n.
νόμισμα see Index VIIA.
νόμος *137*.58; *173*.7,18; *175*.15,21,27,39,41,46,67,71,74
νομός see Index IV.
νόσος *188*.6
νῦν [*174*.9]; *181*.6,[14]
νυνί *175*.66
ξηρολογία *179*.18
ξυλῖτις *124*.16,24; *125*.10
ξυστός *136*.17,31; *137*.24,33,49; *141*.88; cf. Index VIIB.
ὁ, ἡ, τό *passim*
ὀβολός see Indices VIIA, VIII.
ὀγδοήκοντα *137*.69; *152*.41,43; *172*.5
ὄγδοος *138*.22,39; *139*.17; *140*.14; *142*.3,12,16; *160*.70; *165*.3
ὅδε *171*.16; *173*.5; *175*.63
ὅθεν *171*.16; *175*.71
οἶδα *170*.5; *175*.30,45,46,65,67; *179*.30; *180*.20; *184*.25; *188*.28,29
οἰκία *175*.65
οἰκονομέω *181*.15
οἰκόπεδον *169*.12; *170*.17–18; *175*.62,64,66,71,73
οἶνος see Index VIII.
ὀκτακισχίλιοι *137*.60
ὀκτακόσιοι *137*.8,66
ὀκτώ *139*.10; *144*.8; *148*.5; *157*.3; *158*.14,22,24; *160*.17,28,33,38,48; *163*.2; *169*.12; *170*.17; *176*.21; *178*.6; *188*.20

ὁλοκόττινος see Index VIIA.
ὅλος *138*.16; *158*.16; *161*.32; *175*.32; *187*.10
ὅμοιος: ὁμοίως *126*.21; *130*.19,20; *135*.14; *139*.9,13; *140*.8,12,15,[24]; *141*.4,5,8,29, 42,73,76,93,101; *142*.6,15; *144*.23; *147*.12,16,24,28; *148*.10; *149*.11,15; *150*.12,19,52, 57; *155*.6,13,20; *160*.10,39; *163*.4; *175*.31; *188*.8,11,17,18
ὁμοκωμήτης *174*.10
* ὁμολέγω *175*.59
ὁμολογέω *166*.7; *168*.5,10; *169*.17; *170*.22; *175*.66; *176*.1,8,15,17; *177*.1,6,11,17,19; *178*.1,6,7,13,15; *178a*.[1],13,17; *179*.27; *180*.5,13; *181*.2,6,9,10,16,19; *182*.6,20–21; *183*.5,9,18,20; *184*.8,18; *185*.16; *188*.25
ὁμολογία *169*.6–7; *170*.12
ὁμοῦ *124*.25,45,50; *126*.28; *137*.54; *141*.31; *166*.10; *175*.35
ὄνησις *173*.24
ὄνομα *126*.18,20,22; *133*.9,11; *135a*.3,[4,5,7],8,[9]; *136*.32,35,37,38,47; *137*.25,50,52, 76,80,82,84,92,106,108,110; *139*.9; *141*.3,21,28,30,57,82,83,88,102; *175*.53,63,64,66,69, 71,73; *181*.8; *187*.5
ὄνος *135*.17,18,19,20,21,23,24,25,26,27,28
ὅπλον *188*.16
ὅπως *169*.14; *170*.20; *172*.23; *173*.21
ὀρθός: ὀρθῶς *181*.19
ὁριοδίκτης see Index VI.
ὁριοδικτία see Indices IV, VI.
ὅριον *181*.9
ὅρμος see Indices IV, VI.
ὀρφανός *173*.9,20
ὅς *169*.7,15; *170*.2,3,13,20; *171*.4; *172*.5,9,10,21; *174*.8; *175*.8,25,26,39,41,43,47,53; *181*.11,[16]; *185*.7,11; *187*.2; *188*.5,14,26
ὁσδηποτοῦν *188*.24
ὅσος *174*.6,9; *179*.10; *180*.8
ὅσπερ *173*.7,15; *176*.7; [*178a*.7]; *182*.12; *183*.13; *184*.12
ὅσπριον *169*.8,13,15; *170*.13–14,18,21
ὅστις *175*.13,17,28,30,33
ὁστισοῦν *181*.17
ὅτι *173*.5; *175*.26,59,66
ὅτου: ἕως ὅτου *141*.27
οὐ, οὐκ *173*.15; *174*.7,11,31; *175*.15,22,30,46,65,73; *179*.15
οὐγκία see Index VIIB.
οὐδέ *175*.22,67
οὐδείς *175*.31,60,65,67; *179*.16; *187*.7
οὐετρανός see Index VI.
οὐιξιλλατίων see Index VI.
οὐκέτι *174*.5
οὐλή *176*.3; *178*.3; *181*.3,4,5
οὖν *169*.9; *170*.15; *172*.10
οὗτος *136*.52; *141*.27; *169*.3,5,6,10,14; *170*.4,9,[11,12],16,19; *173*.15,16,18,21,24; *174*.7, 9,11,13,14,38; *175*.13,26,36,48,53,55,56,57,66; *181*.14,19; *187*.8; *188*.25
οὕτως *175*.41; *181*.19

ὀφείλημα 181.12
ὀφείλω 175.45,64

πᾶγος see Index IV.
παιδίον 174.9
παῖς 173.8,20
παλαιός 175.29,42,46
πάλιν 171.5; *174*.37
* *πανθάπασι(ν) (παντάπασιν) 175*.9,53
πανταχῇ 188.25
πανταχοῦ 168.9; *180*.12
παντοῖος 182.19; *184*.17
παρά 138.4,13,20,28,37; *139*.5,16; *140*.4; *141*.24,34,48,57,81,96; *143*.5; *148*.4,18; *149*.5; *150*.7,32; *152*.33; *153*.51; *154*.24,37; *158*.13; *160*.65; *161*.14; *164*.9; *166*.4; *168*.5; *169*.2,4; *170*.2,8,10; *171*.2; [*172*.3]; *173*.2,4; *174*.12; *175*.15,29; *176*.4; *177*.6; *178*.5; *179*.5,7; *181*.8,9,11; *182*.7; *183*.9; *184*.9; *185*.6; *186*.5; *187*.3,6; *188*.8,10,11,12,13,14,19,20,22
παραγίνομαι 171.14; *175*.35
παραγραφή 175.23,25–26,44
παραγράφω 175.23
παραδέχομαι 175.60,61
παραδίδωμι 173.23; *175*.52,59; *179*.24–25
παράδοσις 169.8; *170*.14
παρακαλέω 169.14; *170*.20; *172*.14
παραλαμβάνω 138.3–4,13,20,28,37; *139*.5; *141*.34; *143*.5; *148*.4,18; *149*.5; *150*.7,32; *179*.26
παραλήμπτης see Index VI.
παραλογίζομαι 175.38
παράλογος 173.23
παραλύω 175.40
παράνομος 173.23; *παρανομώτατος 173*.6–7
παρασαλεύω 175.74
παρατίθημι 175.13,17,26,67,74
πάραυτα 175.61
παραφέρω 141.63; *143*.14; *144*.1,5,10,13,18; [*146*.8,13]; *147*.1,7,20,32; *150*.14,37,42,47; *151*.1,6,10; *152*.13,21,27,35,39,44,50; *153*.32,37,41; *154*.14,19; *155*.1; *156*.1; *157*.1,13; *158*.17,21,25,29; *159*.1,[10]; *160*.1,7,14,19,31,35,45,50,59,68,74; *161*.1,6,20,33,38,42,46; *162*.2; *163*.1,6; *164*.1,21,26; *165*.1–2
παραχρῆμα 181.18
παραχωρέω 175.30,46
παραχώρησις 175.45
πάρειμι 141.17; *175*.5,36,55,56; *188*.30
παρέρχομαι 175.39,48,68
παρέχω 141.9,12,16,35; *158*.10,15; *169*.12,19; *170*.18,24; *175*.58,60; *181*.11
πᾶς 169.11; *170*.17; *172*.8,13,19; *175*.25,73; *176*.16; *177*.18; *178*.14; *179*.17,23,26; *180*.17; *181*.9,11,12,13,15,16; *182*.13,15,18; *183*.19; *184*.14,17; *188*.7,24
πατήρ 175.29,32,33,47; *188*.3
πατρῷος 175.63
πεδικός see Index IIB.
πείθω 188.24

πελύκιον *188*.16,17
πέμπτος *161*.15,29; *185*.10
πενθερός *169*.6; *170*.12
πεντακισχίλιοι *141*.17
πεντακόσιοι *141*.18,74
πέντε *136*.36; *137*.36; *147*.4,26; *148*.19,27; *152*.53; *154*.16; *158*.27,28; *160*.26,41,61; *162*.5,13; *168*.7; *175*.32,51; *179*.10; *188*.3,13; *189*.11
πεντεκαιδέκατος *147*.32–33,35
πεντήκοντα *137*.4; *141*.59; *142*.18; *158*.19,20; *181*.10
πέρας *170*.6
περί *141*.27,87; *171*.12,18; *173*.14; *174*.7; *175*.8,29,43,69; *179*.8; *181*.6,7,15,19; *185*.8; *187*.8; *188*.24
περιγίνομαι *175*.30; *181*.14
περιγραφή *173*.17
περιέχω *188*.26
* περιφιαλισμός *179*.18
πέρυσι *175*.37,49
πιπράσκω *181*.6
πιττάκιον *135*.12; *148*.14; *150*.26,27; *154*.2,7,9,21,23,25,32,36; *158*.1; *159*.8,16; *160*.82,83,85
πλεῖστος *174*.6,9
πληγή *171*.11,12
πλήρης *141*.36; *181*.10; *185*.14,21; *186*.9
πληρόω *168*.5; *174*.12; *187*.2
πλοῖον *144*.14,19; *152*.36,52; *160*.3,8,11,15,21,24,26,27,29,30,32,37,39,43,46,51,69; *161*.2,23
ποιέω *169*.7,8,16; *170*.13,14,22; *171*.10–11; *172*.19; *173*.15,20; *174*.44; *175*.21,30,32,34,55; *179*.20
ποῖος *175*.56
πόλις see Indices IV, VI.
πολίτης see Index VI.
πολύς *174*.2,18,33; *175*.33,47
πολυχρόνιος *175*.40,71–72,74
πόσος *175*.47,48,57
ποτίζω *172*.11,13
ποτισμός *179*.21
ποτίστρα *172*.10
ποῦς *173*.19; *181*.5
πρᾶγμα *173*.6; *175*.28,40,68; *188*.6
πραιπόσιτος see Index VI.
πραιτώριον see Index IIB.
πρακτήρ see Index VI.
πρᾶξις *176*.14; *177*.16–17; *178*.12; *178a*.13; *182*.16; *183*.17; *184*.15
πρᾶσις *173*.15,23; *181*.11,20
πράσσω *172*.16; *175*.46; *182*.19; *184*.17–18
πρεσβύτερος *188*.4
πρίγκιψ see Index VI.

* πριμιπῖλον see Index VIII.
* πρῖμος see Index VI.
πρίν *175*.70
πρό *174*.33; cf. Index IID.
προγράφω *181*.19
πρόειμι *174*.39–40
προερέω *173*.18
προθεσμία *176*.22; *177*.11–12,24–25; *178*.21; [*178a*.8]; *182*.29–30; *184*.22–23
πρόκειμαι *159*.6; *168*.14; *169*.10; *170*.16; *175*.14; *176*.22; *177*.13,25; *178*.8–9,21; *178a*.22–23; *179*.29; *180*.14,15–16,17; *181*.9,11; *182*.27,30; *184*.19,23; *185*.21; *187*.10; *188*.4,4–5,6,9,15,22,24,26,27,29
προλείπω *179*.16
προμῶτος see Index VI.
προνοέω *175*.35
προνοήτης *176*.6; *177*.5; *178*.4–5
πρόνοια *174*.41; *175*.21
πρός *173*.8,10; *175*.5,8,24,26,27,34,36,48,50,51; *179*.19,23; *187*.8
προσάγω *174*.7; *175*.56
προσεδρεύω *170*.5
προσεκτείνω *181*.18
προσήκω *169*.18; *170*.23
προσκυνητός *175*.27,39,41,67,71
πρόσταξις *138*.4–5,20,38; *139*.6; *140*.4–5, [21]; *141*.25
προστάσσω *173*.21; *174*.41; *175*.17,18,68
προστίθημι *175*.21,22
προστρίβω *174*.18–19
πρόσωπον *174*.46
προτείνω *175*.26
πρόφασις *174*.33; *175*.54,56
πρ( ) *128*.7,10; *133*.5,6,16
πυρός *136*.34,36,37,38,40,42,48; *137*.26,[34,35,37],51,53,77,80,82,84,94; *141*.89; *144*.2,8,11,15,16,20,23; *147*.3,9,14,18,22,26,30,33,35; *148*.5,11,19,26,29,[33]; *149*.6,13,17; *150*.8,13,33,40,44,49,54,59,[63]; *151*.2,7,12; *152*.[3],17,23,29,33,37,41,53; *154*.16,20; *155*.3,7,11,15,17,21; *157*.3,7,11; *158*.19,22,27; *159*.3; *160*.9,12,16,33,47,52,71; *161*.4; *163*.2,7; *176*.6,20,[24]; *178*.6,20; *178a*.21; (πυρός) *137*.78,81,83,85; cf. Index VIII.
πυρρόν *188*.16n.
πύσμαδε *175*.56
πῶς *175*.58,66
ῥήτωρ *174*.60; *175*.15,23,47,60
ῥόπαλον *171*.10
ῥώννυμι *175*.21; *189*.17
σάκκος see Index VIIB.
σάλγαμον see Index VIII.
σαργάνη see Index VIIB.
Σεβαστός see Indices I, IIB, VIIA.
σεμνός *175*.26

σημειόω *136*.8,9,[22],44,54; *137*.[13],27,55,64,70,86,87,95,97; *138*.8,22,31,40,43; *139*.11; *140*.10,14; *141*.83; *143*.19; *144*.4,9,12,17,22,24; *146*.12,16; *147*.6,11,14,19,23,31,[38,42]; *148*.6,12,13,21,27,30,31,34,35; *149*.7,8,14,18; *150*.9,13,16,18,20,23,34,41,45,46,[51],56,[60,64]; *151*.4,9,13; *152*.19,24,29,38,42,49,55; *153*.[5],11–12,[15],22,34,36,40,46;*154*.17; *155*.5,8,12,15,18,19,22,23; *157*.4,9,12,15; *158*.20,23,28,32; *159*.6,14; *160*.6,13,18,23,34,42,44,49,53,62,67,77; *161*.5,9,26,36,45,[48]; *162*.7,10,[15]; *163*.5,[8]; *164*.4,6,11,15,[25,29]; *165*.7
σήμερον *175*.58
σιτολόγος see Index VI.
σιτομέτρης see Index VI.
σιτοπαραλήμπτης see Index VI.
σῖτος *133*.2; *135a*.2; *137*.96; *145*.1,3,6; *147*.37; *148*.2,12,16; *149*.2; *150*.5,30; *151*.13; *152*.18,19,23,24,29,30,43,46,48; *154*.1; *158*.8,11,13,20,24,28; *159*.12; *160*.5,22,25,26,28,29,30,38,40,43,58; *161*.8,24,28,30; *162*.4,8,12; *163*.4; *169*.4; [*170*.10]; *175*.60; *182*.7,27,33;*183*.10,[21]; *185*.12; cf. Index VI.
σός *169*.14; *170*.5,20; *172*.14; *173*.3,[4],7; *175*.26,62
σπείρω *172*.5,14
σπορά *124*.4,6,11,23,36,39; *125*.8; *171*.5,18; *175*.59
σπόριμος *124*.10,17,19,25,26,33,35,41,43,45,46,51,53; *166*.8; *172*.9,12,16,17,19; *181*.7,20
στεγανόμιον *175*.65
σύ *138*.4,5,13,20,28; *139*.16; *140*.4; *141*.34,35,57,81,96; [*143*.5]; *148*.4,18; *149*.5; *150*.32; *152*.33; *158*.8,11,15; *160*.65; *161*.14; *164*.9; *166*.4; *168*.5,6,8; *169*.14,17,18; *170*.4,20,22,[23]; *171*.17; *172*.23; *173*.19,20,25; *175*.11,13,14,61,64; [*178a*.8]; *179*.7,8,24; *180*.9,10 (error); *182*.12,13,16,19; *184*.9,12,15,18; *185*.6; *186*.5; *187*.3,8; *189*.17
συγγενικός *172*.20
συγκομίζω *175*.50
συγχωρέω *175*.17,39
συκοφαντέω *175*.25
συκοφάντης *175*.24
συμβαίνω *174*.5; *188*.6
σύμβιος *137*.112
σύμβολον *136*.42; *137*.54; *141*.31
συμφωνέω *180*.17; *181*.10; *183*.10
σύν *133*.7; *137*.26; *141*.89; *166*.10; *176*.6; [*178a*.6]; *182*.7; *185*.11
συνέρχομαι *175*.36
συνηγορέω *174*.2; *175*.22,24
συνιστάνω *173*.17
συνίστημι *174*.13; *175*.24,43; *188*.28,29,30
συνκολλήγας see Index VI.
συντέλεια *174*.12,16,19
συντίθημι *188*.24
σφραγίς see Index IV.
τάλαντον, (*τάλαντον*) see Index VIIA.
ταμεῖον see Index VI.
τάξις *172*.12
τάχα *171*.15

τε *169*.10; *170*.16; *174*.40; *175*.35; *176*.15; *177*.17; *178*.13;[*178a*.13]; *181*.19; *182*.17; *183*.18; *184*.16; *185*.12
τέκνον *179*.4; *181*.2; *185*.4
τέλειος: *τέλεον* *171*.15; *172*.9
τέλεσμα see Index VIII.
τελευτάω *175*.33,47
τελευτή [*188*.25]
τελέω *172*.4; *175*.51,72,73
τέλος see Index VIII.
τεσσαράκοντα *137*.78; *142*.13–14; *143*.17; *147*.42; *153*.10,20–21; *175*.32,43
τεσσαρακονταετής *175*.28,40,48,68
τέσσαρες *137*.61,69,78,85; *138*.7,22,30; *139*.8; *141*.44; *144*.24; *150*.18; *152*.48; *158*.9,10; *161*.44; *173*.10; *188*.10,14
τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος *149*.5,12,16
τεσσεράριος see Index VI.
τέταρτος *137*.7,51–52,78; *138*.39; *140*.9,16; *141*.90; *150*.8,13,20,23; *152*.35,45,51; *159*.11; *160*.3,10,20,36; *161*.15,22,25; *162*.3,11; *166*.6; *180*.11
τετρακαιεξηκοστός *137*.17
τετρακισχίλιοι *141*.58–59,77
τετρακόσιοι *137*.60; *141*.50
τετράπους *169*.6,13; *170*.11–12,19
τετραχοινικός see Index VIIB.
τηρέω *171*.19
τίθημι *169*.5,7; *170*.11,[12]
τιμή *177*.8,23; *181*.10,[18]; *182*.11; *183*.10; *184*.11,21; cf. also Index VIII.
τιμωρία *175*.25
τίς *175*.19,34,49,55,56,65,68
τις *173*.10; *174*.10,15; *175*.40; *188*.6
τοίνυν *173*.16; *174*.7; *175*.27,29,38,55,62,65,66,69
τόμος *124*.30,49
τοπαρχία see Indices IV, VI.
τοποθεσία *181*.9
τόπος *171*.6; *172*.8; *174*.18; see also Index IV.
τοσοῦτος *169*.13; *170*.19; *175*.42
τράπεζα *188*.18
τρεῖς *136*.49; *137*.81; *138*.39; *140*.7; *144*.12; *147*.18; *149*.13; *152*.34; *160*.22,29,53; *161*.48; *169*.6,16; *170*.12,21; *175*.49,60; *180*.8; *183*.13; *186*.8; *188*.15
τρέφω *175*.52
τριάκοντα *137*.19,68; *146*.15–16; *160*.76; *163*.2; *164*.10,28–29; *169*.5; *170*.10; *175*.49; *176*.3,21
τριμ‹η›νιαῖος *141*.57
τρισχίλιοι *137*.7; *141*.71,74,97; *182*.10; *184*.10,20
τρίτος [*137*.36]; *144*.17,21; *147*.4,10,14,30,36; *148*.20,30; *149*.17; *150*.15,34,64,65; *152*.40,43,53; *153*.39; *154*.16; *155*.4,8,17,22; *157*.2,6,8,9,10; *158*.12,18,21,26,27,28,29; *159*.2,4,13; *160*.38,67,72,73; *161*.17; *162*.5,9,13; *178a*.6
τρίχινον *188*.17
τρόπος *175*.20; *179*.16; *181*.17; [*188*.24]

τροφή *141*.35
τυγχάνω *169*.10; *170*.3,6,15; *171*.13; *173*.4–5,24; *175*.22,28,38,64; *179*.25
ὕβρις *171*.18
ὑγιαίνω *188*.6
ὑδραγωγός *124*.9,12,21
ὕδρευμα *174*.5,29
υἱός *137*.55; *138*.43; *143*.19; *153*.6,[16],23; *173*.6; see also Index IIB.
ὕλη *141*.26,29
ὑμεῖς *138*.37; *139*.5; *141*.24,26,48; *150*.7; *169*.18; *170*.23; *175*.47,56; *188*.6
ὑμέτερος *171*.3
ὑπάρχω *176*.15–16; *177*.18; *178*.14; [*178a*.14]; *179*.8; *181*.7; *182*.18; *183*.19; *184*.16; *188*.21
ὑπέρ *126*.20,22; *136*.23,31,32,34,36,37,40,45,47,51; *137*.6,11,17,18,24,25,32,35,[66],75, 76,92,[94],96,[106],108; *138*.5,13,14,28,29,37; *139*.5,6,9; *140*.5,22; *141*.2,21,25,28,30, 40,48,52,64,65,72,82,83,90,93,96,98,102,104; *143*.5,16; *144*.[2],6,11,14,19,23; *146*.14; *147*.2,7,12,16,[20,24,28],32,[34],40; *148*.4,10,18,26,28,32; *149*.5,12,16; *150*.7,12,14,15, 16,20,22,32,39,48,[52,57]; *151*.1,6,11; *152*.15,22,28,33,35,40,45,51; *153*.[2],8,14,38, 42,51; *154*.15,[20]; *155*.2,6,10,13,20; *156*.3; *157*.1,5,10,14; *158*.18,21,25,29; *159*.2,[10]; *160*.2,8,11,16,20,33,36,47,52,60,65,75; *161*.4,6,14,19,21,29,34,39,43,47; *163*.1,6; *164*.2,5, 9,12,[21],27; *165*.3; *166*.4; *168*.12,14; *170*.25; [*172*.5]; *173*.26; *174*.1,32,[57]; *175*.31, 51,60,73; *176*.23; [*177*.25]; *178*.22; *178a*.25; *179*.30; *180*.19; *181*.[15],17; *182*.31–32; *184*.24; *185*.9,12,23; *186*.5,7,12; *188*.3,4,28,29,31
ὑπέραλλα *175*.55
ὑπό *141*.26; *160*.4,8,16,22,24,32,37,46,52; *161*.3,24; *169*.11; *170*.3,4,17; *171*.13; *174*.10; *175*.59,63,70; *188*.2,7
ὑποβάλλω *172*.9,12,19
ὑπογραφή *170*.3
ὑπογράφω *173*.12; *188*.6
ὑποδέκτης see Index VI.
ὑποδοχή *126*.23
ὑποθήκη *169*.5–6; *170*.11
ὑπόμνημα *175*.67–68
ὑποσχισμός *179*.20–21
ὑποτάσσω *170*.4
ὑποτελέω *173*.11
ὑπόχρεως *169*.10–11; *170*.16
ὑφίστημι *175*.25
φαίνω *175*.24; *179*.27
φακός see Index VIII.
φάσηλος *169*.5; *170*.11; *190*.4
φέρω *172*.17,18
φημί *175*.41,64
φοινίκιον *188*.15
φοῖνιξ *124*.11
φόρος *175*.37,61
φράζω *188*.5n.
φρονέω *188*.5
φροντίζω *175*.20

φυγή *174*.36; *175*.34,50,70
φωνή *175*.12

χαίρω *138*.3,12,19,27,36; *139*.4,16; *140*.3,[20]; *141*.24,39,47,56,63,69,81,96; *143*.4; *148*.3,17; *149*.4; *150*.31; *152*.32; *158*.7; *160*.64; *161*.13; *164*.8; *172*.2; *175*.8,19; *182*.5; *184*.8; *185*.6; *186*.4; *187*.2; *189*.4; *190*.2
χαλκός *141*.26,29,30
χαλκοῦς *188*.18
χαμαιριφής *171*.10
χάρις *169*.16; *170*.22; *173*.18
χείρ *173*.15; *175*.41; *176*.3; *177*.7; *178*.3; *181*.3,10,13
χειρόγραφον *145*.1; *158*.8; *176*.24; *182*.33; *183*.21; *184*.26; *188*.8,10,11,12,13,14,19
χερσία *174*.30
χέρσος *124*.16,20,24,29,38; *125*.10; *172*.17,18
χίλιοι *136*.7; *137*.[13],66; *141*.50; *141a*.4; *143*.17
χλωρός see Index VIII.
χοίρεος *160*.60,76
χόρτος see Index VIII.
χράομαι *172*.20; *174*.36; *175*.34,50
χρεία *169*.4; *170*.10
χρεωστέω *169*.19; *170*.24; *187*.3
χρῆ *175*.61
χρηματίζω *179*.4; *185*.4
χρόνος *169*.13; *170*.19; *174*.34; *175*.28,40,45,46,47,48,57,68; *179*.15,24; *181*.6,13,16
χρυσίον see Index VIIA.
χρυσός see Indices VI, VIIA, VIII.
χυτός *141*.26,29,30
χῶμα *153*.52–53; *168*.2; cf. Index VIII.
χωρίς *179*.4; *181*.19; *185*.3

ψεύδομαι *175*.60

ὡς *168*.14; *172*.18; *173*.17; *175*.14,22,26,38,69; *176*.2,22; *177*.25; *178*.2,21; *178a*.22; *179*.26,29; [*180*.16]; *181*.3,4,5,15; *182*.30; *184*.23; *185*.21; *187*.10; *188*.24,25,27
ὥσπερ *171*.12
ὥστε *171*.6; *175*.11
ὥτε *169*.7; [*170*.13]

X. SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN THE COMMENTARIES

Aion son of Sarapion 4–9, 92–93
Archives, Karanis 2–4
Bishops 103
Boats, grain 102–104
Bullion 2
Census 11
Christianity 159
Collectors 102–104
Comites 103
Currency 2
Defensor Civitatis 1
Dekaprotoi 1
Dike work 150–154
Epigraphai 1
Epithets, depreciatory 185
Gold bullion 2
Grain delivery to harbor 65–104
Grain taxes 92
Granaries 100
Hypothecation of cattle 155
Indictions 1
Inflation 2
Irrigation system, collapse of 172
Isidoros, Aurelius 3
Iuris prudens 2
Latopolite Nome 217
Legio I Maximiana 206
Legio II Traiana 217
Liturgical appointments 2
Loans to be repaid in kind 2
Monks 159
'Narratio' 2
Naulon 23, 33
Nomikos 2, 165–169
Pittakion 117
Princeps 103
πυρός 109
Police work 210
Riparius 210
Silver bullion 2
σῖτος 109
Taxation 2, 93–102
Tetoueis, Aurelia 8
Valerius son of Antiourios 4–9, 92–93
Vestis militaris 22
Wills, forms of 212, 217–218

XI. TEXTS DISCUSSED OR CORRECTED

P.Cair.Isid. 53: 62
P.Mich.inv. 1410: 191
P.NYU 5: 130
P.NYU 11a: 143
P.NYU 12: 23
O.Mich. 77: 36
O.Mich. 462: 110
SB X 10729: 137–38
JJurPap 18 (1974) 158–60: 191

CONCORDANCE BETWEEN INVENTORY NUMBERS AND P.COL. VII

Columbia Inv.	*P.Col. VII*	*Columbia Inv.*	*P.Col. VII*
45	187	181-16	178
47	166	181-17	159
57	160	181-18	157
59	182	181-19	175 (part)
60	141	181-20	153
61	169	181-21	180
62	170	181-22	151
63	185	181-24	134
64	140	181-25	125
65	179	181-27	174
66+67	136	181-28	183
68	137	181-29	127
77	135	181-30	184
181-1	167	181-32	152
181-2	181	181-34	133
181-3	186	181-35a	128
181-5	149	181-35b	129
181-7	142	181-36	168
181-8	148	181-37	144
181-9	177	181-38	188
181-11	124	181-40	131
181-11, Col.i	146	181-42	189
181-12	147	181-43	165
181-15	132	181-45	163

Columbia Inv.	*P.Col. VII*
181–46	145
182	175 (part)
183	138
184	191
187	171
188	139
307	158
308	150
308, Col.V	190
309	154
310	130
311	161
312	173
313	143
314	172
315	176
317	162

Cairo Inv.	*P.Col. VII*
48016	175 (part)
British Library Inv.	
2719	178a
Oslo Inv.	
492	141a
511	155
516	156
517	135a
518	126
519	164

CONCORDANCE OF PUBLICATIONS

Editio Princeps	*Sammelbuch*	*P.Col. VII*
Aegyptus 6 (1925) 121–129	III 7189	166
AJP 81 (1960) 157–161	VI 9603a	182
AJP 81 (1960) 161–164	VI 9603b	183
AJP 81 (1960) 164–166	VI 9603c	184
Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologen-kongresses, 225–233	XII 11042	188
Daube Noster (Edinburgh/London 1974) 187–200		174
JJurPap 2 (1948) 51–63	VI 9187	169
JJurPap 2 (1948) 63–66	VI 9188	170
P.Coll.Youtie II 76		124
P.Coll.Youtie II 77		171
P.Coll.Youtie II 78		181
Symb Osl 52 (1977) 113–16		155
TAPA 68 (1937) 357–387	V 8246	175
TAPA 92 (1961) 469–480	VIII 9835	179

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