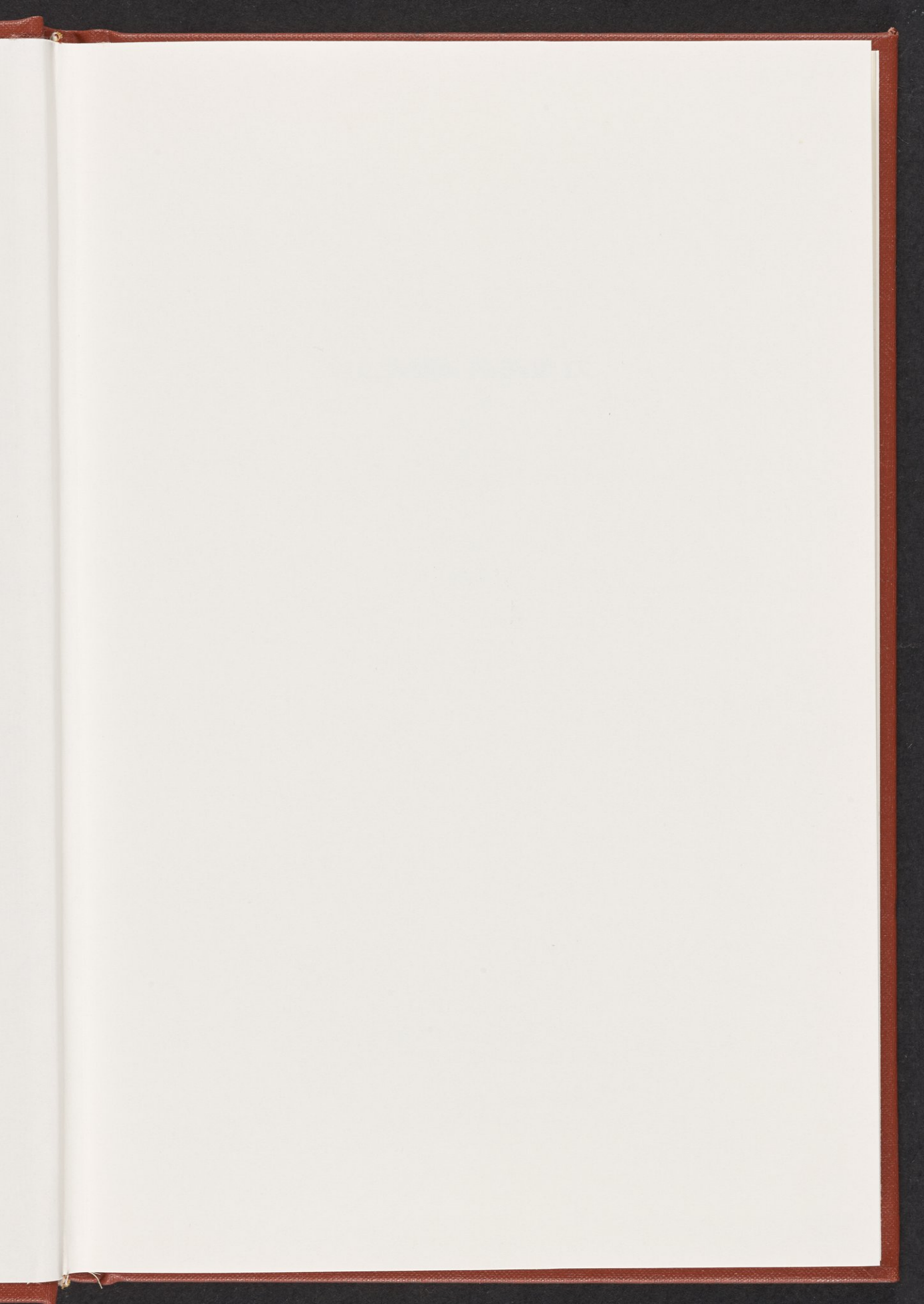




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AMERICAN STUDIES IN
PAPYROLOGY

COLUMBIA PAPYRI IX

Series Editor
Ann Ellis Hanson

Number 39
COLUMBIA PAPYRI IX
The West-Militaric Codex
edited with commentary by
Jennifer A. Spivack

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**COLUMBIA PAPYRI IX
The Vestis Militaris Codex**

edited with commentary by
Jennifer A. Sheridan


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COLUMBIA PAPYRI IX
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edited with commentary by
JENNIFER A. SHERIDAN

SCHOLARS PRESS
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Printed in
on acid free paper



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1998

COLUMBIA PAPYRI IX
The Vestis Militaris Codex

edited with commentary by
JENNIFER A. SHERIDAN

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The American Society of Papyrologists

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For Mom and Dad

Introduction	1
Part I: Editions of Texts	
The Steps of a Documentary Edition	7
F. Col. 247 (Archives of the <i>Yezdi Militaria</i>)	
Introduction	17
Text and Translation	23
Notes	60
F. Col. 248 (Private Account)	
Introduction	63
Text and Translation	66
Notes	70
Part II: Commentary	
Chapter 1	
The <i>Yezdi Militaria</i> and the Uniform of the Russian Army	73
Chapter 2	
Clothing, Decorations and Acquisitions through the End of the Third Century	81
Chapter 3	
The Fourth Century and the <i>Yezdi Militaria</i>	87

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Introductio
Part I: E
The Shape
P. Col. 24
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Text
No
P. Col. 2
Intro
Text
No
Part II:
Chapter
TI
Chapter
C
Chapter
T

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Part I: Editions of Texts	
The Shape of a Documentary Codex	7
P. Col. 247 (Account of the <i>Vestis Militaris</i>)	
Introduction	17
Text and Translation	20
Notes	60
P. Col. 248 (Private Account)	
Introduction	63
Text and Translation	66
Notes	70
Part II: Commentary	
Chapter 1	
The <i>Vestis Militaris</i> and the Uniform of the Roman Army	73
Chapter 2	
Clothing Deductions and Acquisition through the End of the Third Century	81
Chapter 3	
The Fourth Century and the <i>Vestis Militaris</i>	87

Chapter 4	
The Administration of the Hermopolite Nome	106

Part III: Appendices

Appendix 1	
Catalogue of Clothing Requisition Documents	137

Appendix 2	
Catalogue of Toponyms.....	147

Bibliography	161
--------------------	-----

Index.....	171
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Acknowledgements

This book is the product of many years, much toil, and the generosity of many scholars, friends, and institutions. The librarians of the Rare Book and Manuscript Collection of Columbia University Libraries were most helpful to me over the years. A grant from St. Joseph's University in 1991 allowed me to spend the summer at Columbia researching Chapter 4. Summer grants in 1996 and 1997 from Wayne State University allowed me to complete the final revisions. The publication of this book was supported by two grants from the Stanwood Cockey Lodge Foundation.

It would be impossible to acknowledge by name everyone who made a contribution, such as those who clarified my thinking when I gave papers based on topics in the book. The following people, however, are especially deserving of my gratitude.

Dirk Obbink, Darice Birge, and Richard Billows, all members of my dissertation committee, helped this work have the structure in now has. While living on the east coast, I was able to try out many an idea at the Columbia Papyrology Seminar; fortunately, some of the ideas never left the room due in part to the participants' comments and criticisms. In particular, I want to thank Jonathan Roth, Bruce Nielsen, and Glen Thompson.

Alan Cameron and Klaas Worp have helped me at every stage. My work has benefitted from correspondence and conversations with Jean Gascou, J.P. Wild, Traianos Gagos, Peter van Minnen, and Raffaella Cribiore. My thanks also to Katy McNamee for her persistent encouragement. Ann Hanson took an early interest in my work and directed it from the stage of dissertation to the final manuscript, and for this I am deeply indebted to her. I also wish to thank the anonymous referees for their contributions.

Three dear friends deserve special recognition. Jackie Long has been with me through my whole academic career and has influenced my work more than she will ever know. Terry Wilfong sacrificed many hours to this book, both in listening to me and generating the drawings for the final manuscript. And Larry Lombard literally sat at my side through the final revisions, "disambiguating" my sentences and offering support. To them I quote Cicero: "*Qui esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus nisi haberes qui illis aequae ac tu ipse gauderet?*" (*De Amicitia* VI 22). I know that they share my pleasure in the completion of this book.

Roger Bagnall, too, has been there from the beginning, stealthily planting in me an interest in papyrology, and supporting and encouraging me at every stage of my career, first as an advisor, then as the chair of my committee, and finally as a colleague. His mentoring (and, fortunately, his typesetting skills as well) are unsurpassed.

This book is dedicated to my parents, Thelma and George Sheridan, whose unfailing love, encouragement, good sense, good childrearing skills, and good humor in the face of a daughter with papyrological aspirations have made it possible for me to undertake this career and work.

Part III: Appendix

Appendix 1

Contents of Chapter 4

Appendix 2

Contents of Chapter 4

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There are friends whose special recognition, I think I can say, has been with me through my whole academic career and has influenced my work more than she will ever know. Terry Wilcox has helped me many times in the past, both in listening to me and generating the drawings for the final manuscript. And Larry Lombard hardly set it up, but through the final revision, "rearranging" my sentences and offering support. To them I give credit. "Get over those factors in your work, you will achieve and lift higher as in your gratitude." (2000, p. 123). I know that they share my pleasure in the completion of this book.

Robert Hagrell, too, has been there from the beginning, steadily planning in the so-called "in preparation" and supporting and encouraging me at every stage of my career, but as an advisor, then as the chair of my committee, and finally as a colleague. His mentoring (and, fortunately, his speaking skills as well) are unsurpassed.

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Introduction

In 1932, the Columbia University Libraries purchased a twenty-two page papyrus codex. The codex contains two documents. The first is an assessment of military garments for the *vestis militaris* from the Hermopolite nome. The twenty-page account is not complete, but lists approximately two-thirds of the villages in the nome. The second document is a private account listing expenses and assets for a household.

The present work is an *editio princeps*, including a transcription and translation of, and commentary on, both documents in this codex. Since I have changed some of the readings of the papyrus since the writing of my 1990 dissertation, the text of 247 contained herein supercedes that of SB XX 14661.

I first became aware, in 1987, of the existence of this long, unpublished papyrus codex in the Columbia collection after I expressed an interest in writing a dissertation on the economic impact of the Roman army. Roger Bagnall, curator of the collection, knew that J. Frank Gilliam, the former curator, had reserved the text for editing; Bagnall, however, was unable to establish whether Gilliam had actually worked on the codex. Given Gilliam's deteriorating health and the improbability that he would finish any work on the text that he may have begun, the papyrus was reassigned to me. The codex became the subject of my 1990 dissertation, *Roman Military Requisitions in Egypt*, and the present work.

As I edited the codex, I began to wonder why the text had not been edited and published earlier; other scholars who knew of my work were equally curious. When Gilliam had worked on it in the 1960's, it had already remained unedited for at least thirty years from the time of its purchase in 1932. To the trained eye of any papyrologist, this was obviously an important text, if for no other reason than its length.

The reason that the text had gone unedited emerged from a clipping from the *New York Times* discovered and sent to me by a colleague, Peter van Minnen, as he went through William H. Willis' papers in the papyrus collection of Duke University. The article, bearing the headline "Professor Works At A Rare Trade. Barnard Papyrologist Traces Paper-Work Trail of the Roman Armies," describes the work of John Day, a professor of Greek and Latin at Barnard College, and a member of the earlier generation of papyrologists at Columbia

University.¹ The article describes Day's current project: "He is now engaged in making the first transcriptions of a codex, or compilation of papyrus pages in book form of the fourth century A.D. The codex deals with the requisitions of clothing and other supplies for the Roman Army."

There were no records in the papyrus inventory to indicate that Day had worked on the codex; but fortunately, his papers had been deposited in Columbia's Rare Book and Manuscript Library by his widow in two separate gifts (in 1965 and in 1979). The collection includes approximately fifty "blue books" (university exam books) containing notes on many papyri in the Columbia collection. The preponderance of the notes concern the texts published in 1956 by Day and Keyes in *Tax Documents from Theadelphia: Papyri of the Second Century A.D.* (*P. Col. V*); Day also made preliminary transcriptions of many other texts, and listed those he considered too mystifying to be edited usefully.²

The collection of notes also included extensive work on the codex. There are two transcriptions of the first document (247), and one of the second (248); these are not preliminary transcriptions, as erasures and corrections show, and the second transcription of 247 is typewritten, indicating that it was a final version. There were no translations of the texts; Day may not have seen a need for a translation of 247, and he wrote a summary of 248, leaving out the figures.

Day had approached the codex in the same manner I had; identifying related papyri,³ finding other citations of Hermopolite toponyms,⁴ and taking notes on secondary scholarship.⁵ He was as perplexed as I was about the meaning of *παρατέλειος*, noting a reference to the *Wörterbuch*: "Preisigke, s.v. *teleios* cites *P. Hamb. 10*, cf. lines 20, 32 - and says 'a suit is complete when it includes everything which is needed to dress a person.' Does the word then mean 'complete' in the sense 'ready to wear?'" Day consulted his colleagues, as I later consulted mine, for suggestions on the meaning of this cryptic word.⁶ He too was unable to make much sense of the marginal notes in 247.

Day also had difficulty reading 248. He appears to have made a preliminary transcription which was sent, along with a photostat of the text, to H.I. Bell. Bell responded in two letters, dated 14 April and 30 May 1936. The original letters are not included in the Day archive; he copied the relevant parts into a blue book, curiously from the back of the book to the front.

¹*New York Times*, 24 November 1957.

²Among those in this category is *P. Col. Inv. 173*, which I have now published as *P. Col. X 286*. His evaluation of the papyrus was not far off base.

³A blue book marked "Papyri connected with the *vestis militaris*, etc." contains transcriptions and notes on many *vestis militaris* papyri.

⁴A blue book marked "Villages in Pagi in Codex" contains only one entry.

⁵Another blue book is marked "Johnson and West Byz. Egypt" and contains notes from this 1949 work.

⁶"Re: *parateleia*: W.M. Calder says that he found one of these adjectival forms in *para-* in Asia Minor. Look up in MAMA." The following note may also be an attempt to resolve this question: "xxx contributes this: They must have had the parts of these *sticharia* and the *delmatika* worked out in somewhat the following way: sleeves 1/30 each (perhaps); lengths measured in parts; so that the collectors could readily estimate one uncompleted *sticharion* and *delmatikon* at least to a thirtieth." There is no indication in the notes as to the identity of "xxx".

The first letter from Bell concerns the varying symbols for "talent" in the text.⁷ Day made some corrections, sent another transcription to Bell, and in return received comments on various readings as well as an approximate date (Bell suggested the mid-fourth century).

The work on the codex in Day's archive is nearly sufficient for the publication of an *editio princeps*; indeed, he could have published the texts, omitting only the toponymic references, which were not critical to an edition and on which he had made little progress.

A few dated references in Day's notes may help to explain why he never published his work on this codex. Columbia University had purchased the codex in 1932. Day must have begun work on it soon thereafter, since he was asking Bell detailed questions about 248 in early 1936, and comments in the letters suggest that he had already identified and transcribed 247. In the late 1930's and early 1940's, Day was completing his work, *An Economic History of Athens Under Roman Domination* (Columbia University Press, 1942), which he had begun as a fellow at Yale some years earlier.⁸ Day provides no information on his activities during the 1940's, but in 1950, he began working on the completion of Keyes' manuscript of the Theadelphia tax documents, published in 1956, in *Columbia Papyri V*.⁹

I believe that Day returned to work on the codex after the completion of *Columbia Papyri V*. In his notes, he refers at random to published papyri¹⁰ and to various secondary works¹¹ indicating that he could not have resumed this project earlier than 1950; this shows that the blue books in his archive date to the 1950's.¹² The codex was a work-in-progress when the *New York Times* featured Day in 1957. Day must have just begun his research into the toponyms¹³ when his health began to deteriorate, and, without completing his edition, he died late in 1961.¹⁴

Given his interest in the Roman army, J. Frank Gilliam, the next papyrologist at Columbia, planned to edit the codex. He did indeed work on at least a transcription of the text with a group of students in a graduate seminar in the 1960's,¹⁵ but I have not been able to discover the extent of his work or whether it was in his papers at the time of his death in 1990.

⁷"It is certainly a teaser you have sent me this time! The difficulty is increased by the fact that on the photostat it is often hard to tell whether a given stroke is ink or a fibre or discoloration of the papyrus. I have examined the photostat carefully with Skeat and also Roberts who is here today, and our combined wisdom (or lack of it) leads to the conclusion that the payments are all expressed by a single sign, which seems to me likeliest to be talents. I admit it varies in form but I don't know that the variation is great enough to enforce a distinction between one case and another..."

⁸Thus Day in his introduction, vii. He received his PhD from Johns Hopkins in 1925, and taught at Hamilton College from 1927-29. For two years, (1929-31) he was a Sterling Fellow at Yale, and then he received his appointment at Barnard. It is not difficult to imagine, as Day mentions, that the early part of his teaching career distracted him from his research.

⁹*P. Col. V*, iii.

¹⁰E.g. *P. Fuad I Univ.* (1949).

¹¹For example, those of Segre (1942), Taubenschlag (1944), Johnson and West (1949).

¹²This might explain why Day's transcription of the two letters from Bell in 1936 are in reverse chronological order in the blue book. The typewritten transcription of 247 probably also dates to the 1950's. The transcription is typed on the back of copies of a third-year Latin exam on Livy, which unfortunately does not bear a date.

¹³In addition to the blue book containing toponymic references, there are annotations near some of the toponyms in the transcription.

¹⁴His obituary in the *New York Times* (29 December 1961) says that he died "after a long illness." All biographical facts about Day have been taken from this obituary or the article mentioned above.

¹⁵I was informed of this by Seth Schein, who was a student in the seminar. Schein tells me that Gilliam knew that Day had worked on the codex, but it is not clear whether Day's notes were available to Gilliam.

I first saw Day's notes on the codex after I had finished my dissertation and had begun the present work. It was gratifying to see that my transcription and Day's agreed in almost all instances. While I occasionally disagreed with his readings, he provided a few crucial letters, particularly in 248, which enhanced my transcription and improved my understanding of the text.

This edition of the Columbia codex follows in the tradition of other volumes in the *Columbia Papyri* series (volumes I, II, V, and VI) by editing a single long papyrus, and, like volumes I, IV, and VII, it includes extensive secondary historical interpretation, to which this exceptional codex is particularly suited.

From its earliest stages I have seen this volume both as an *editio princeps* and as a work of ancient history, a work that I hope will be accessible to both the papyrologist and the historian of the Roman Empire.¹⁶ The codex, which is one of the best extant sources for the history of fourth century taxation, codicology, and the history of the administration of late antique Egypt, is an important resource for scholars of both types. What I shall say in this work will not be the last word on these subjects. I do hope, however, that the work will open a dialogue on this important document of fourth century Egypt and the issues of which it speaks.

¹⁶The need for this type of work has been recognized in recent years by many papyrologists. See, e.g. Gagos 1992, 206, van Minnen 1993, 14-15, and Bagnall 1995.

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Part I

Editions of Texts

The Shape of a Documentary Codex

The Columbia *vesti militari* codex has five verso sheets intact, and also displays some evidence of binding. The fine condition of this artifact justifies a close examination of its form. This section will investigate the condition and construction of the codex and place it in the historical framework provided by other early documentary codices.

The sheets of the Columbia codex are in excellent condition overall. Damage to individual sheets is detailed below.

- Sheet I: One half intact. Some small holes and damage at the edges and at the center fold line.
- Sheet II: Some small holes and damage at the edges, including large corner sections missing at top and bottom from the right/left, resulting in the loss of approximately eighteen lines of text from the second column. Minimal damage at the fold line.
- Sheet III: Some small holes and streaking of the surface, jagged edges on the left and right. Minimal damage at the fold line.
- Sheet IV: In the best condition of all the sheets. A few holes, and one edge is slightly damaged. Fold line exceptionally intact.
- Sheet V: Few holes, but considerable damage to the left and right edges as well as the fold line.
- Sheet VI: Many holes and tears, damage to all edges, some streaking of the surface. There are three fold lines (probably caused by the leaves being crumpled) in addition to the central one, and there is damage along all of them.

There is no record of whether the codex was assembled when unrolled. Sheets II, III, and IV, at least, were together when they were buried, since there are two holes (and the connecting spaces) near the central fold line which line up on all three.

* This text provides no new information as well as the opening portion of the limited edition of the work. The relevant information has been comprehensively gathered by Harris (1971), an article in which Harris uses the same general approach to the codex.

The paper sheets of the codex are numbered in the order they appear within the spine, from outside to inside. Sheet I is the outermost leaf, which Sheet V would have been Sheet VI in the original codex.

The first part of the book is devoted to the study of the evidence of the handwriting of the author of the book. It was generally agreed that the handwriting of the author of the book was that of a man of the 17th century. This is especially clear in the case of the handwriting of the author of the book, particularly in the case of the handwriting of the author of the book, particularly in the case of the handwriting of the author of the book.

Part I: The Evidence of the Handwriting of the Author of the Book

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The Shape of a Documentary Codex

The Columbia *vestis militaris* codex has five entire sheets intact, and also displays some evidence of binding. The fine condition of this artifact justifies a close examination of its form. This section will investigate the condition and construction of the codex and place it in the historical framework provided by other early documentary codices.¹

The sheets of the Columbia codex are in excellent condition overall. Damage to individual sheets² is detailed below:

- Sheet I: One half extant. Some small holes and damage at the edges and at the center fold line.
- Sheet II: Some small holes and damage at the edges, including large corner sections missing at top and bottom from the → right/↑ left, resulting in the loss of approximately eighteen lines of text from the second column. Minimal damage at the fold line.
- Sheet III: Some small holes and shredding of the surface, jagged edges on the left and right. Minimal damage at the fold line.
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There is no record of whether the codex was assembled when unearthed. Sheets II, III, and IV, at least, were together when they were buried, since there are two holes (not the binding holes) near the central fold line which line up on all three.

¹This text provides no new information to add to the ongoing debate on the introduction of the codex. The various arguments are now conveniently gathered by Harris 1991, an article in which Harris adds his own practical approach to the controversy.

²The extant sheets of the codex are numbered in the order they appear within the quire, from outside to inside. Since four sheets are lost, extant Sheet I would have been Sheet V in the complete codex.

The work of Turner³ and Robinson⁴ established proper terminology for papyrus codicology and identified the most important elements of the codex.⁵ Based on their work, this analysis of the Columbia codex will determine the dimensions of the leaves, the size of the codex, whether the codex was written in before or after assembly, and how the codex was bound. Finally, an examination of the joins on the papyrus sheets will determine the structure of the papyrus roll from which they were cut.⁶

The dimensions of the leaves and sheets of the codex are as follows:

Sheet I (14.8 x 25 cm.) - leaf 1 (pp. 1, 2): 14.8 x 25 cm.; leaf 2: lost

Sheet II (28.9 x 25 cm.) - leaf 1 (pp. 3, 4): 14.9 x 25 cm.; leaf 2 (248): 14 x 24.2 cm.

Sheet III (28.1 x 24.3 cm.) - leaf 1 (pp. 5, 6): 14.7 x 24.3 cm.; leaf 2 (pp. 19, 20): 13.4 x 23.9 cm.

Sheet IV (31 x 24.7 cm.) - leaf 1 (pp. 7, 8): 15 x 24.7 cm.; leaf 2 (pp. 17, 18): 16 x 24.3 cm.

Sheet V (31.6 x 24.6 cm.) - leaf 1 (pp. 9, 10): 15.3 x 24.5 cm.; leaf 2 (pp. 15, 16): 16.3 x 24.6 cm.

Sheet VI (27.4 x 24.4 cm.) - leaf 1 (pp. 11, 12): 13 x 24.4 cm.; leaf 2 (pp. 13, 14): 14.4 x 24.4 cm.

The dimensions of these leaves, approximately 15 x 25 cm., place this codex in Turner's "Group 7".⁷ The Columbia codex is the only document in this group, which also contains literary and sub-literary texts, as well as Greek and Coptic biblical tracts.

In its original state, the codex included at least ten sheets (twenty leaves, forty pages).⁸ This number, including the six extant sheets plus four additional ones, is derived from the average amount of space taken by each pagus' entry in the account, approximately one and a half pages. The five missing pagi therefore occupied seven and a half pages before the first extant page; the extra half page at the beginning may have contained the totals for the nome, or a formula dating the period of time the account represents.

Evidence suggests that this codex had only one quire, the norm for the fourth century.⁹ The sheets, before folding, were placed with the ↑ side down, so that the pages run ↑→↑→ in

³Turner 1977.

⁴Robinson 1978.

⁵I follow Turner and Robinson in my use of codicological terminology:

kollema—one of the individual pieces of papyrus comprising a roll

join—the connecting point of two *kollemata* in a papyrus roll

sheet—a cut piece of papyrus which is folded in half to form the codex (contains two leaves, four pages)

leaf—one half a sheet in a codex, with text on both sides (contains two pages)

page—one side of a leaf

quire—a gathering of sheets in a codex

→ - the side of a sheet or leaf with horizontal fibers

↑ - the side of a sheet or leaf with vertical fibers

⁶Similar analyses of codices have now appeared. Wouters 1990-91 examines Chester Beatty Ac. 1499; Gasco analyzes *P. Sorb.* II 69 in his introduction, 1-13.

⁷Turner 1977, 19. See also Gasco 1989, 98-101.

⁸Contrary to Turner 1977, 63 who says that quires of eight sheets ("octoniones") are "the largest plausibly suggested gatherings."

⁹Single-quire codices were standard from the second through the fourth centuries (Turner 1978, 12).

the space in the codex (it fills only 28 pages, seventy percent of the space). It would be rather wasteful to copy a document into a codex that was known to be too large. This suggests that this codex was purchased already assembled.¹²

Unlike many early codices, the Columbia codex preserves evidence of its binding. A small piece of binding string protrudes from Sheet IV. The position of the string indicates that the lacing went through only the back half of the codex, rather than through the fold, as in modern quires.¹³ A single string was threaded through the upper left-hand corner and back again into the lower left-hand corner from the center of the codex to the back. It is impossible to determine whether the string was tied inside the codex (at the center) or in the back. In either case, the string must have been rather long, so that there would be enough slack in the binding to turn the pages in the second half of the codex. Alternately, the binding may only have been added after the writing was complete (see Figure 2).

During the early period of the development of the codex, sheets were normally cut from papyrus rolls, not manufactured specifically for the codex. The sheets will therefore display the joins of the *kollemata* which comprised the original roll. An analysis of the joins on such sheets is important for understanding the development of the codex, and allows for a reconstruction of the structure of the papyrus roll from which it was cut.

The sheets of the Columbia codex all incorporate at least one join. They measure as follows:¹⁴

Sheet I: less than 1 cm. from the left edge (note that half of the sheet is missing)

Sheet II: one 5 cm. right of center; one 2 cm. from the left edge

Sheet III: one 4.9 cm. right of center; left edge damaged

Sheet IV: one 5 cm. right of center; one 1.3 cm. from the left edge

Sheet V: one approx. 3.5 cm. right of center; one 1.2 cm. from the left edge

Sheet VI: one approx. 1.5 cm. left of center

Each sheet of this codex is comprised of one entire *kollema* and sections of two others. Two joins are uniform on Sheets I-V: one very close to the left edge,¹⁵ and one c. 5 cm. to the right of the central foldline.¹⁶ The distance between these two joins on each sheet varies from 17.5 to 18.5 cm. The roll(s) from which the first five sheets were cut, therefore, was assembled of *kollemata* roughly 18 cm. in breadth.¹⁷ A typical sheet of the codex is illustrated in Figure 3.

¹²For further evidence that ready-made codices were available in the fourth century, see discussion in Wouters 1990-91, 15.

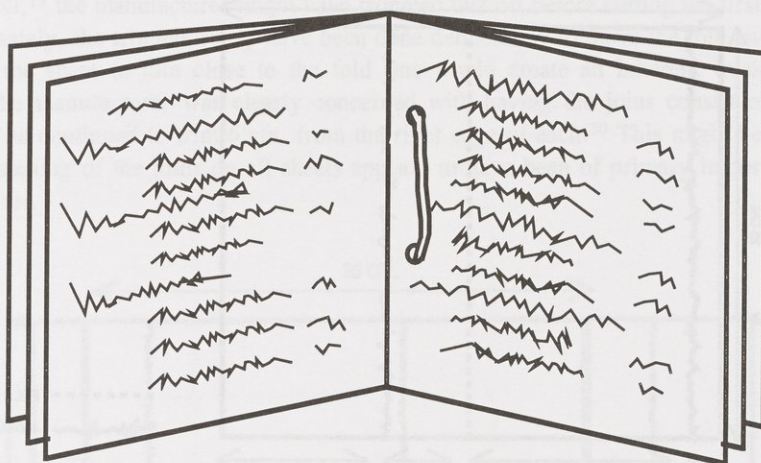
¹³*P. Mich. XVII 758*, plate 10, shows similar binding of a fourth century codex.

¹⁴All measurements refer to the → side of each sheet.

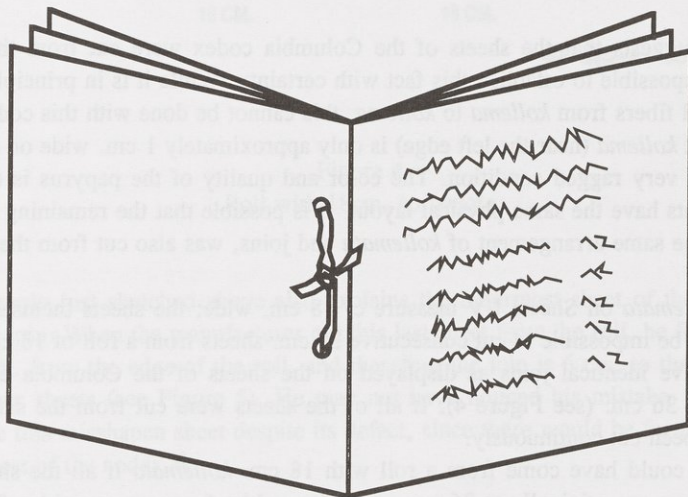
¹⁵This join is broken off the edge of Sheet III.

¹⁶Sheet VI does not follow the pattern of the others. It has only one join near the center, and is comprised of parts of only two *kollemata*.

¹⁷*Kollemata* averaged 16-18 cm. (Turner 1977, 47-48).



INSIDE
CENTER



BACK

FRONT

Figure 2
Binding of the codex

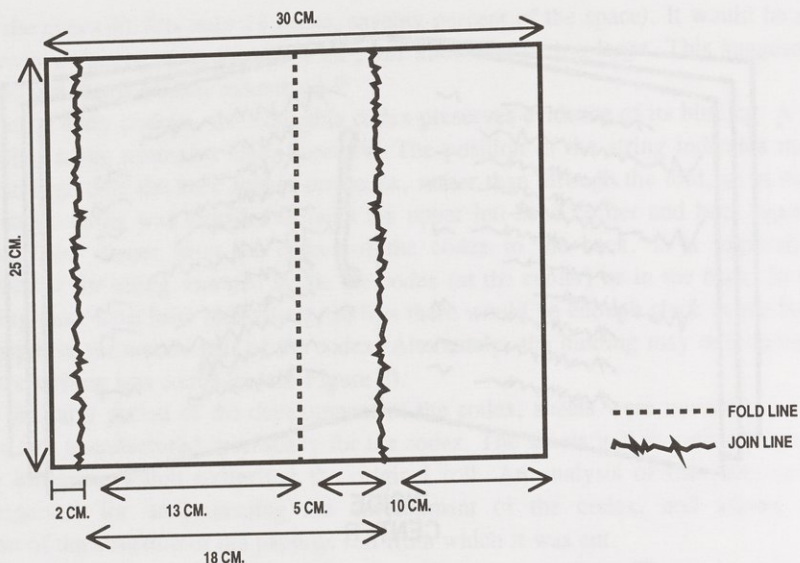


Figure 3
Typical sheet (Sheets I-V)

Evidence suggests that the sheets of the Columbia codex were cut from the same roll, although it is impossible to establish this fact with certainty. While it is in principle possible to match horizontal fibers from *kollema* to *kollema*, this cannot be done with this codex, since the piece of the first *kollema* (near the left edge) is only approximately 1 cm. wide on all the sheets and most are in very ragged condition. The color and quality of the papyrus is uniform, and most of the sheets have the same physical layout. It is possible that the remaining sheet, which does not have the same arrangement of *kollemata* and joins, was also cut from the same roll as the others.

All the *kollemata* on Sheets I-V measure c. 18 cm. wide; the sheets themselves measure 30 cm. It would be impossible to cut consecutive 30 cm. sheets from a roll of 18 cm. *kollemata* which would have identical joins as displayed on the sheets of the Columbia codex;¹⁸ such sheets would be 36 cm. (see Figure 4). If all of the sheets were cut from the same roll, they could not have been cut continuously.

The sheets could have come from a roll with 18 cm. *kollemata* if all the sheets (but the aberrant one) were cut originally to 36 cm., and trimmed by 6 cm. on one side after the codex was assembled. Another possibility is that a 6 cm. piece was trimmed from the roll before a new sheet was cut. Such trimming would result in uniform sheet with matching joins. Why would such trimming have been done? If there were an imperfection in the first 6 cm. of the

¹⁸In order for the Columbia sheets to have been cut consecutively from one roll, it would have to have been made of alternating 18 cm. and 12 cm. *kollemata*, an unlikely method of construction.

papyrus roll,¹⁹ the manufacturer might have trimmed this off before cutting his first sheet of 30 cm. Alternately, the trimming may have been done deliberately to move the join away from the center of the sheet (a join close to the fold line would create an inherent weakness in the codex). The manufacturer was clearly concerned with having the joins consistent on all sheets, so he continued to trim 6 cm. from the right edge of each.²⁰ This might be wasteful,²¹ but the matching of the joins on all sheets appears to have been of primary importance to the manufacturer.

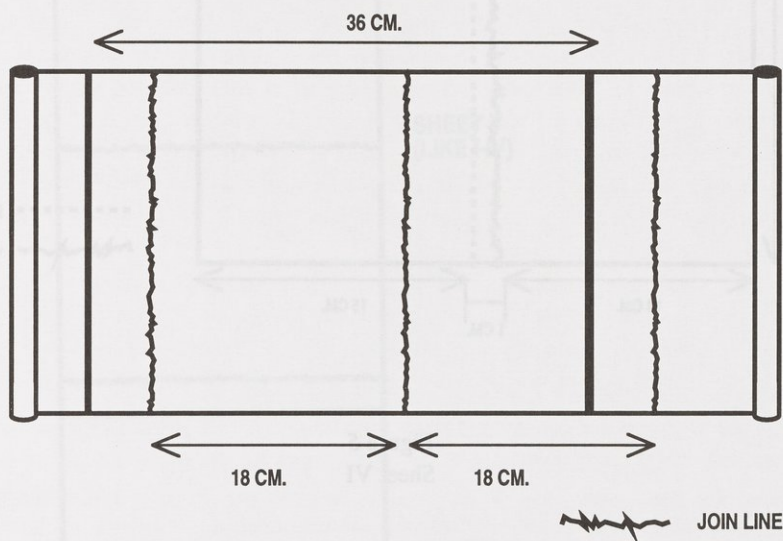


Figure 4
Roll with 18cm. *kollemata*

The scenario just sketched above also explains the innermost sheet of the codex with its left-of-center join. When the manufacturer cut this last sheet from the roll, he forgot to trim the standard 6 cm. from the edge of the roll, and therefore the join is 6 cm. to the left of where it is on the other sheets (see Figure 5). He may not have noticed his mistake, or he may have chosen to use this misshapen sheet despite its defect, since there would be far less stress on the innermost sheet of the codex.²²

¹⁹It should be noted here that the rolls were cut into sheets from right to left.

²⁰It would be interesting to know whether manufacturers regularly cut sheets with matching joins. I have seen no discussion of this phenomenon in the literature; it is unlikely that many extant codices are in a condition which would allow such scrutiny.

²¹60 cm., enough for two more sheets, according to my reconstruction of the roll below. But 6 cm. wide strips could easily be used for brief receipts or letters, e.g. *P. Charite* 40 (6.2 cm. wide) or *P. Charite* 27 (7 cm. wide).

²²Of course, there may be other explanations of this non-standard sheet.

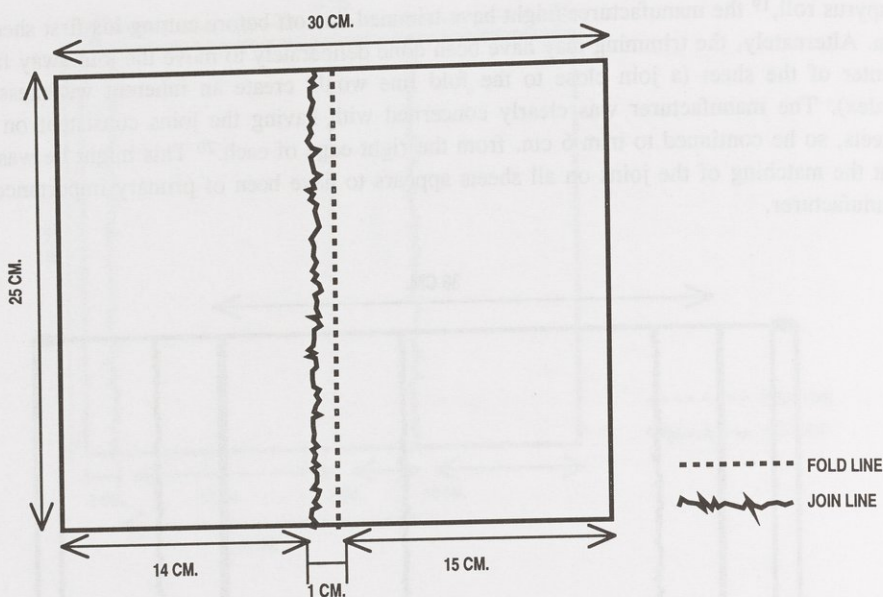


Figure 5
Sheet VI

Assuming that all the extant and missing sheets came from the same roll, its size can be determined. If the quire had ten sheets of 30 cm., with a 6 cm. trim cut before each sheet, the usable portion of the full roll measured 3.6 m.²³ With *kollemata* measuring 18 cm., the roll was constructed from 20 *kollemata*, a standard number for a papyrus roll.²⁴ This hypothetical roll is pictured in Figure 6.

Jean Gascou's recent work on documentary codices has made a comparison of the Columbia codex with others comparatively easy.²⁵ Turner occasionally mentions non-literary codices, but the main body of his evidence is literary. As the documentary codex emerged two centuries later than the literary, its history needs to be treated separately.

²³There would additionally be a *protokollon* (the outermost piece of papyrus, used to protect the outside of the closed roll), which was not used in the codex, measuring 18 cm.

²⁴Turner 1977, 44.

²⁵Gascou 1989. MacCoull 1986, in its introduction, also contains a useful list of documentary papyrus codices from the sixth through the eighth centuries.

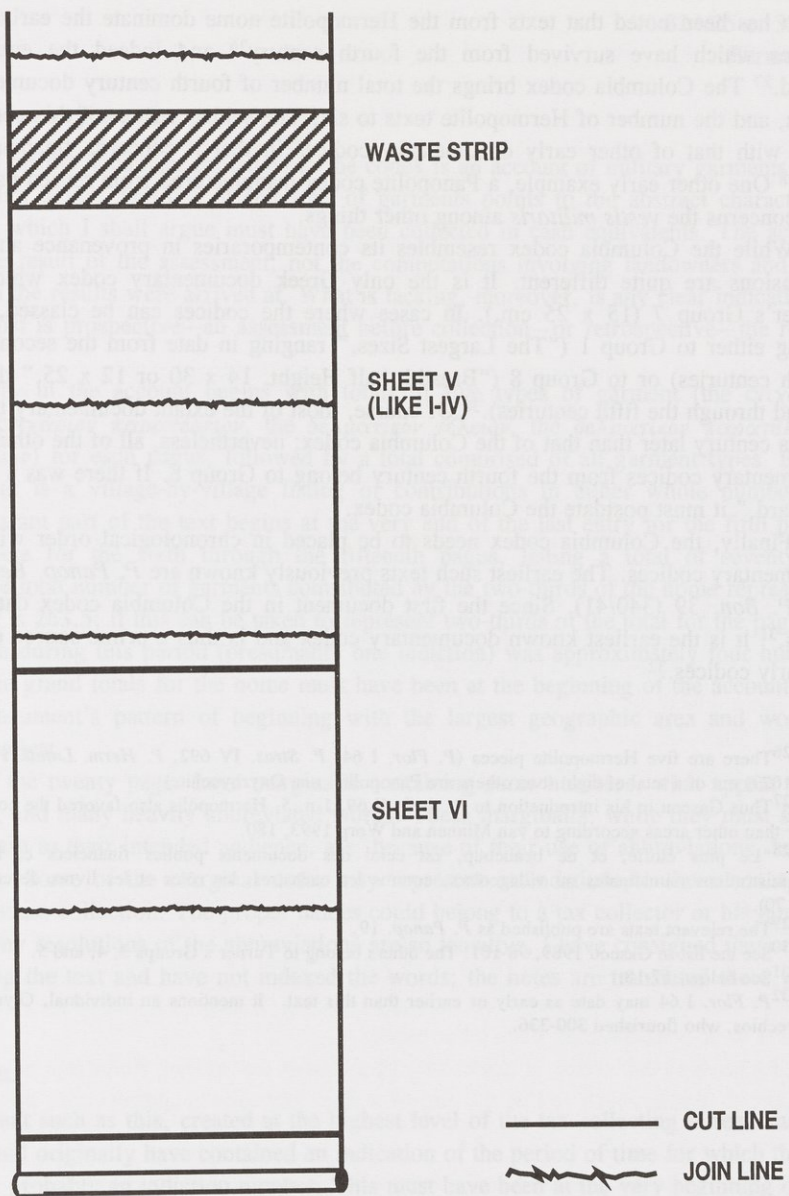


Figure 6
The codex as cut from the roll

It has been noted that texts from the Hermopolite nome dominate the early documentary codices which have survived from the fourth century²⁶ and indeed the entire Byzantine period.²⁷ The Columbia codex brings the total number of fourth century documentary codices to ten, and the number of Hermopolite texts to six. The subject matter of this codex also coincides with that of other early documentary codices in that it concerns financial administration.²⁸ One other early example, a Panopolite codex manufactured from reused papyrus rolls,²⁹ also concerns the *vestis militaris* among other things.

While the Columbia codex resembles its contemporaries in provenance and content, its dimensions are quite different. It is the only Greek documentary codex which belongs to Turner's Group 7 (15 x 25 cm.). In cases where the codices can be classed, the majority belong either to Group 1 ("The Largest Sizes," ranging in date from the second through the eighth centuries) or to Group 8 ("Breadth half Height, 14 x 30 or 12 x 25," dated from the second through the fifth centuries).³⁰ Of course, most of the extant documentary texts date to at least a century later than that of the Columbia codex; nevertheless, all of the other Hermopolite documentary codices from the fourth century belong to Group 8. If there was a "Hermopolite standard," it must postdate the Columbia codex.

Finally, the Columbia codex needs to be placed in chronological order with other early documentary codices. The earliest such texts previously known are *P. Panop. Beatty* (339-346) and *P. Bon. 39* (340/41). Since the first document in the Columbia codex dates to the mid 320's,³¹ it is the earliest known documentary codex and is thus a prime source of information on early codices.³²

²⁶There are five Hermopolite pieces (*P. Flor.* I 64, *P. Stras.* IV 692, *P. Herm. Landl.* I and II, *BGU* IV 1024/1027) out of a total of eight (two others are Panopolite, one Oxyrhynchite).

²⁷Thus Gascou in his introduction to *P. Sorb.* II 69, 1 n. 5. Hermopolis also favored the codex for literature earlier than other areas according to van Minnen and Worp 1993, 180.

²⁸"Le plus étoffé, et de beaucoup, est celui des documents publics financiers et fiscaux, émanant d'administrations municipales ou villageoises, comme les cadastres, les rôles et les livres de comptes" (Gascou 1989, 70).

²⁹The relevant texts are published as *P. Panop.* 19.

³⁰See the list in Gascou 1989, 98-101. The others belong to Turner's Groups 3, 4, and 5.

³¹See below, 17-18.

³²*P. Flor.* I 64 may date as early or earlier than this text. It mentions an individual, Olympiodoros son of Hyperchios, who flourished 300-336.

247. Account of Military Clothing for the *Vestis Militaris*

Inv. 544.1-332

324/25 or 325/26

Hermopolis

Content and Nature of the Text

The first (and major) document contained in the codex is an account of military garments from the Hermopolite nome. The use of fractions of garments points to the abstract character of these figures, which I shall argue must have been collected in cash equivalents. The account gives only the result of the assessment, not the computations involving landowners and their land by which the results were arrived at. What is lacking, moreover, is any clear indication of whether this list is prospective—an assessment before collection—or retrospective—the record of collection.¹

Each entry in the account begins with totals of five types of garment (the *στιχάριον τέλειον*, the *στιχάριον παρατέλειον*, the *δελματικὸν τέλειον*, the *δελματικὸν παρατέλειον*, and the *πάλλιον*) for each pagus, followed by a total comprised of all garment types. Below the pagus total is a village-by-village listing of contributions in either whole numbers or halves. The extant part of the text begins at the very end of the last entry for the fifth pagus, and is complete for the sixth through the fifteenth pagus, listing a total of seventy-two toponyms. The total number of garments contributed by the two-thirds of the nome represented in the account is 263.5; if this can be taken to represent two-thirds of the total for the pagi, the total collection during this period (presumably one indiction) was approximately four hundred garments.² The grand totals for the nome must have been at the beginning of the account, following the document's pattern of beginning with the largest geographic area and working toward the smallest.

Seven of the twenty pages have marginalia containing some numbers, what appear to be proper names, and many heavily abbreviated words. These marginalia, while they must surely have made sense to their intended audience, are, because of their use of abbreviations, largely indecipherable. Some of the marginal notes may represent emendations to the account, and others may discuss collection. The proper names could belong to a tax collector or his employees. Because my resolutions of the abbreviations are so tentative, I have consigned them to the notes following the text and have not indexed the words; the notes are translated there where possible.

Date of the Text

A document such as this, created at the highest level of the tax collecting bureaucracy of the nome, would originally have contained an indication of the period of time for which the tax was collected, probably an indiction number. This must have been at the very beginning of the

¹Cf. Gascou in the introduction to *P. Sorb.* II 69, 19, on the problem of identifying the genre of the document.

²This account does not list tax payments for landowners living in Hermopolis and Antinoopolis. These must have been listed in another document; the Hermopolite landlists, for example, list only city residents, not those who lived in the pagi. The total tax collection, therefore, would be larger.

text on a page now lost. No date is mentioned in the extant part of the text. Information contained in the text, however, along with external data on the *vestis militaris* and the Hermopolite nome, allows for the establishment of a possible range of dates.

A *terminus ante quem* for the document is based on changes that took place in the administration of the Hermopolite nome³ at the beginning of the second quarter of the fourth century. In short, the number of pagi in the nome, fifteen at the inception of the pagus system, increased to seventeen. The Columbia account clearly predates this administrative change, as the account ends with the fifteenth pagus. Documents in the dossier of Aurelia Charite establish that the change in the number of pagi occurred by 325/26, when the villages of Senilais and Sinarchebis are known to have changed pagus affiliation.⁴ 325/26 is therefore the *terminus ante quem* for 247.

Several factors must be taken into account in establishing a *terminus post quem*. The earliest possible date is 307/308, when the pagus was introduced. The nature of this account as it relates to the history of the *vestis militaris*, however, makes it unlikely that the text dates before the 320's. Before that time, money was collected by villages and converted to garments by village officials. In documents beginning in 324⁵, however, cash is paid to the nome, and conversion into garments took place at that level. This nome level document contains fractional figures, implying that payments were being made to the nome in cash; this, in turn, places the text within the framework of the later stage of the *vestis militaris* of the second quarter of the fourth century.⁶ Therefore the most likely date of this text is 324/25 or 325/26, possibly a year or so earlier than this time frame, but not later.

Palaeography

The most striking characteristic of the hand in 247 is its consistency and neatness. The repetitive nature of the text allows the observation that the letters were formed almost identically throughout the twenty extant pages of the codex. It is only on the last page that the hand begins to deteriorate a bit.⁷ The combination of the consistency early on and the decline in quality toward the end lead to the conclusion that the text was written at one time.

The text is generously spaced throughout the codex, with the exception of only a few lines which were clearly added later (8.133, 10.160, 15.243, 18.292). The layout of the account is also very consistent. Pagus numbers extend to the left margin; village names and garments are indented to distinguish them from other entries.⁸

The hand of this scribe is marked by its frequent use of long flourishes as space fillers at the ends of words which fall at the end of a line, and also as abbreviation marks. Both full-

³The administration of the Hermopolite nome is the subject of Chapter 4. For the change in the number of pagi, see particularly 123-26, below.

⁴*P. Charite* 13 places Sinarchebis in the 10th pagus, whereas earlier texts, including 247, include it in the 9th. *P. Charite* 14 lists Senilais in the 11th pagus, but it is in the 9th pagus in 247.

⁵*CPR VIII 27* and *P. Ant. I 39*.

⁶The change in the tax is detailed in Chapter 3, 96-98, below.

⁷In particular, the upper stroke of the epsilon is often omitted, making it look more like the cursive form of the letter (with one vertical stroke topped by a horizontal at a right angle) than like the rounded E-shaped letter used in earlier lines.

⁸The layout used by the scribe has been reproduced in the transcription on 20-59.

sized and minuscule omicrons are used. Betas are B-shaped except where they are used in the number twelve (9.150, 12.198), where they are U-shaped. The second, upper stroke of the delta, which has a triangular lower part, often begins by touching this lower part, and then curves around in ligature to the subsequent letters, usually the epsilon-lambda of *δελ(ματικόν)*. This upper stroke of the delta forms the lower stroke of the epsilon; and the upper and center stroke of the epsilon end in the lower diagonal of the lambda.

The letters of the marginalia are in most cases considerably smaller than those in the main body of the text, ranging from about one-third to three-quarters the height of the other letters. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify the hand as that of the same scribe of the rest of the text. The marginalia contain the same sweeping lines after abbreviations, and also contain deltas similar to those described above.

The hand of **247** is comparable to the first hand in *P. Charite* 13.i (325), illustrated on Tafel IX. The similarities are many. The Charite scribe uses long flourishes at the ends of lines and after abbreviations, and his symbol for *γίνονται* (line 6) is remarkably similar to that used in **247**. Each text contains an instance of the phrase "Θ πάγου;" the instances are very similar, except for the upsilon. When an upsilon is the last letter of a word, the Charite scribe writes it above the line with a very long stroke which extends beyond the rest of the line, although he writes it just like the Columbia scribe (normal height, on the line, and triangular) when it falls in the middle of a word. Another text *CPR* XVIIIA 9a (ca. 310-320), displays a hand similar to **247** and *P. Charite* 13.i. Interestingly, the hand of the marginalia in this list of deliveries is similar to the marginal hand in **247**.⁹

These three texts have in common not only similar hands, but also provenance and date; all three are from Hermopolis in the 320's. These similarities between **247** and texts of Charite and Adelphios raise the enticing possibility that the codex is somehow related to their dossiers. I am not convinced that the three texts were written by the same scribe, but it is possible that scribes who had trained under the same master, and would have had similar hands, worked for this household. Unfortunately, since the codex does not contain many personal names, no further connection can be established with the evidence available.

⁹Unfortunately, this text is not included in the plates for the volume. My gratitude to Traianos Gagos for showing me a photograph of the text and pointing out the similarities.

Page 1 (Sheet I, ↑ right); Plate 1

	πάλλια	β
	(γίνεται) τὰ προκ(είμενα)	
	ς πάγου στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	γ
4	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	δελμ(ατικὰ) {παρα}τέλ(εια)	ε
	δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλ(ια)	ε
8	(γίνεται) εἶδη ιε	
	ῶν	
	κ[ώ]μης Ἐννεύου	
	πάλλιον	α [] παλ(). α [] το . s() . []
12	δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)	s ...
	κώμης Ἐννεύου	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
16	δελματικ(ὰ) τέλ(εια)	β
	πάλλια	β

Page 1

	cloaks	2
	making the aforesaid total.	
	From the sixth pagus: full-sized tunics	3
4	near full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatics	5
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	5
8	total items: 15	
	of which:	
	from the village of Sarapieon	
	cloak	1
12	near full-sized Dalmatic	1/2
	from the village of Enseu	
	full-sized tunic	1
	near full-sized tunic	1
16	full-sized Dalmatics	2
	cloaks	2

Page 2 (Sheet I, → left); Plate 2

κώμησ Θύνεωσ

	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α	20
20	δελματικ(όν) τέλ(ειον)	α	
	πάλλιον	α	

κώμησ Πρερή

	δελματικ(όν) τέλ(ειον)	α	24
24	δελματικ(όν) παρατέλ(ειον)	σ	

κώμησ Τερτεμβύθεωσ

	στιχά(ριον) τέλ(ειον)	α	
	δελματικ(όν) τέλ(ειον)	α	28
28	πάλλιον	α	
	(γίνετα) τὰ προκ(είμενα)		

(VACAT)

	ξ πάγου στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	γ	32
	δελματικ(ά) τέλ(εια)	β	
32	δελμ(ατικόν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α	
	πάλλια	γ	
	(γίνετα) εἶδη θ		

Page 2

	from the village of Thynis	
	full-sized tunic	1
20	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloak	1
	from the village of Prere	
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
24	near full-sized Dalmatic	1/2
	from the village of Tertembythis	
	full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
28	cloaks	1
	making the aforesaid total.	
	From the seventh pagus: full-sized tunics	3
	full-sized Dalmatics	2
32	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	3
	total items: 9	

Page 3 (Sheet II, ↑ right); Plate 3 right

	$\overline{\omega\nu}$	
36	κώμης <i>Κεσιύ</i>	
	στιχάρ(ιον) τέλ(ειον)	[α]
	δελμ(ατικόν) παρατέλ(ειον)	[α]
	πάλλιον	[α]
40	κώμης Ὑόφεως	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	δελμ(ατικόν) τέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλια	β
44	κώμης Μαγδάλων Μερή	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	δελματικ(όν) τέλ(ειον)	α
	γ(ίνεται) τὰ προκ(είμενα)	
48	$\overline{\eta}$ πάγου στιχ(άρια) τέλεια	δ
	στιχ(άρια) παρατέλ(εια)	β
	δελματικ(ὰ) τέλ(εια)	ς
	δελματικ(όν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
52	πάλλια	ς

	of which:	
36	from the village of Sesiu	
	full-sized tunic	1
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloak	1
40	from the village of Ophis	
	full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	2
44	from the village of Magdolon Mire	
	full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	making the aforesaid total.	
48	From the eighth pagus: full-sized tunics	4
	near full-sized tunics	2
	full-sized Dalmatics	6
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
52	cloaks	6

Page 4 (Sheet II, → left); Plate 4 left

	[(γίνεται)] εἶδη ιθ	$\bar{\omega}\nu$
	[κώμη]ς Ἀρέως	
	[στ]ιχ(άρια) τέλεια	β
56	[σ]τιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλεια	ε
	[π]άλλια	ε
	[κ]ώμης Ὀρμου	
60	δελματικ(όν) τέλ(ειον)	α
	[κώ]μης Φβῦ	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	[κώμ]ης Βουσίρεως	
64	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλιον	α
	[κώμη]ς Σελλέχμη	
	δελμ(ατικόν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
68	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	(γίνεται) τὰ προκ(είμενα)	

Page 4

	total items: 19; of which:	
	from the village of Ares	
	full-sized tunics	2
56	near full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatics	5
	cloaks	5
	from the village of Hormos	
60	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	from the village of Phbu	
	full-sized tunic	1
	from the village of Bousiris	
64	full-sized tunic	1
	cloak	1
	from the village of Sellechme	
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
68	near full-sized tunic	1
	making the aforesaid total.	

Page 5 (Sheet III, ↑ right); Plate 5 right

	θ πάγου στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	ε
	στιχ(άρια) παρατέλ(εια)	γ
72	δελματικ(όν) τέλ(ειον)	ζ
	δελματικ(όν) παρατέλ(εια)	α
	πάλλια	η
	(γίνεται) εἶδη κδ	
76	ῶν	
	κώμης Τεμεσὺ Μωρῶν	
	στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	β
	πάλλια	βs
80	δελμ(ατικόν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	κώμης Ποαμπιμήνεωσ	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	δελμ(ατικόν) τέλ(ειον)	α
84	πάλλ(ιον)	α

	From the ninth pagus: full-sized tunics	5
	near full-sized tunics	3
72	full-sized Dalmatics	7
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	8
	total items: 24	
76	of which:	
	from the village of Temseu Moron	
	full-sized tunics	2
	cloaks	2 1/2
80	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	from the village of Poampimenis	
	full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
84	cloak	1

Page 6 (Sheet III, → left); Plate 6 left

	κώμης <i>Κιναρχήβωω</i>	
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	δελματικ(ὸν) τέλ(ειον)	α
88	πάλλιον	αs
	ἐποικίου <i>Κενεμβάτου</i>	
	δελματικ(ὸν) τέλ(ειον)	α
	Ἰβιώνος <i>Κεευμβάθεωω</i>	
92	στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	εκ παρ() αθιαναιω β ιs ()
	πάλλιον	s
	[κ]ώμης <i>Τλήθμεωω</i>	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
96	[Τ]ερτονσαμού	
	δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον)	α
	<i>Κενινήβωω</i>	
	δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον)	α ια παρ() τι() δι() ερμα ,αφν
100	πάλλ(ιον)	α
	[C]ενιλάεωω δελ(ματικὸν) τέλ(ειον)	α εκ η τ...ιωω παρ() ερμα

Page 6

	from the village of Sinarchebis	
	near full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
88	cloaks	1 1/2
	from the hamlet of Kenembatos	
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	from Ibion Sesymbothis	
92	full-sized tunic	2
	cloak	1/2
	from the village of Tlethmis	
	full-sized tunic	1
96	from Tertonsamoou	
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	from Seninebis	
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
100	cloak	1
	from Senilais: full-sized Dalmatic	1

Page 7 (Sheet IV, ↑ right); Plate 7 right

	πάλλιον	α
	κώμης <i>Κιναπή</i>	
104	δελματικ(όν) τέλ(ειον)	α
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλ(ιον)	σ
	(γίνεται) τὰ προκ(είμενα)	
108	ι πάγου στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	ζ
	στιχ(άρια) παρατέλ(εια)	β
	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	ι
	δελμ(ατικὰ) παρατέλ(εια)	β
112	πάλλια	θ
	(γίνεται) εἶδη λ	ω̄ν
	κώμης <i>Πέελα</i>	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
116	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	δελμ(ατικόν) τέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλ(ιον)	α

	cloak	1
	from the village of Sinape	
104	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	near full-sized tunic	1
	cloak	1/2
	making the aforesaid total.	
108	From the tenth pagus: full-sized tunics	7
	near full-sized tunics	2
	full-sized Dalmatics	10
	near full-sized Dalmatics	2
112	cloaks	9
	total items: 30 of which:	
	from the village of Pesla	
	full-sized tunic	1
116	near full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloak	1

	κώ[μ]ης Μελισσουργῶν	
120	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(εια)	β
	πάλλ(ιον)	α
	κώμης ἼΑκεως	
	δελματικ(ὸν) τέλ(ειον)	α
124	πάλλιον	α
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	κώμης Ναγώγεωσ	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
128	πάλλιον	α
	[ἐ]ποικίου Ἴλίου	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	[Τε]μενκύρκεωσ Ποιμένων	
132	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	[[α] γ
	δελ(ματικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλια	β
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α

Page 8

	from the village of Melissourgon	
120	full-sized tunics	2
	cloak	1
	from the village of Hakis	
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
124	cloak	1
	near full-sized tunic	1
	from the village of Nagogis	
	full-sized tunic	1
128	cloak	1
	from the hamlet of Ilios	
	full-sized tunic	1
	from Temenkyrkis Poimenon	
132	full-sized Dalmatics	3
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	2
	full-sized tunic	1

Page 9 (Sheet V, ↑ right); Plate 9 right

- 136 κώμης Τελβώνθωσ
 δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια) β
 δελματ(ικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον) α
 πᾶλλια γ
- 140 στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον) α
 κώμης Cινπετήεωσ
 στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον) α
 Cιναγήρεωσ
- 144 στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον) α
 Cινταφοῦ
 δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον) α
 γ(ίνεται) τὰ προκ(εῖμενα)
- (VACAT)
- 148 ια πάγου στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια) θ
 στιχ(άρια) παρατέλ(εια) γ
 δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια) ιβ

Page 9

136	from the village of Telbonthis		
	full-sized Dalmatics	2	
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1	
	cloaks	3	
140	full-sized tunic	1	
	from the village of Sinpetesis		
	full-sized tunic	1	
	from Sinageris		
144	full-sized tunic	1	
	from Sintaphos		
	full-sized Dalmatic	1	
	making the aforesaid total.		
148	From the eleventh pagus: full-sized tunics	9	
	near full-sized tunics	3	
	full-sized Dalmatics	12	
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1	
	cloaks	3	

	s	
152	δελμ(ατικὰ) παρατέλ(εια)	γ
	πάλλια	ιγ
	(γίνεται) εἶδη μ	ῶν
	κώμης Τιμώνθεως	
156	στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	β
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	β
	δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
160	πάλλιον	α
	[Ci]ναλαβή	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατ(έλειον)	α
164	[Te]μσεὺ Cκὸρδων	
	στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	β
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	β
168	δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλια	γ

Page 10

152	near full-sized Dalmatics	3
	cloaks	13
	total items: 40 of which:	
	from the village of Timonthis	
156	full-sized tunics	2
	near full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatics	2
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
160	cloak	1
	from Sinalabe	
	full-sized tunic	1
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
164	from Temseu Skordon	
	full-sized tunics	2
	near full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatics	2
168	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	3

Page 11 (Sheet VI, ↑ right); Plate 11 right

	κώμη[ης] Ἀρμώτ[υ]εως	
	[δε]λμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	β
172	[πάλλ]ιον	αs
	κώμης Τώου	
	πάλλιον	α
	Τοῦ Ν[εα]νίκων	
176	δ[ελμ(ατικὰ)] τέλ(εια)	β
	[πάλλιο]ν	α
	Ψωβθονχεναρσιήεωσ	
	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	[α] β
180	πάλλιον	αs
	Τερτ[ο]ν[ψ]εμβή	
	στ[ι]χ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
184	πάλλια	γ
	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	β

Page 11

	from the village of Harmotnis		
	full-sized Dalmatics		2
β	172	cloaks	1 1/2
αs		from the village of Toou	
		cloak	1
α		from Toou Neaniskon	
	176	full-sized Dalmatics	2
β		cloak	1
α		from Psobthonchenarsiesis	
		full-sized Dalmatics	2
[α]β	180	cloaks	1 1/2
αs		from Tertonpsembe	
		full-sized tunic	1
α		near full-sized tunic	1
α	184	cloaks	3
γ		full-sized Dalmatics	2
β			

Page 12 (Sheet VI, → left); Plate 12 left

	δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	[κώ]μης Σκόρδων	
188	πάλλιον	α
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	[κ]ώμης Σκὰρ καὶ Ταναύ	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
192	(γίνεται) τὰ προκ(εῖμενα)	
	(VACAT)	
	[ιβ] πάγου	
	στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	θ
	στιχ(άρια) παρατέλ(εια)	δ
196	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέ[λ](εια)	[ιβ]
	δελμ(ατικὰ) παρατέλ(εια)	β
	πάλλια	ιβ
	(γίνεται) εἶδη μ	
200	$\bar{\omega}\nu$	

Page 12

	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	from the village of Skordon	
188	cloak	1
	full-sized tunic	1
	from the villages of Skar and Tanau	
	full-sized tunic	1
192	making the aforesaid totals.	
	From the twelfth pagus:	
	full-sized tunics	9
	near full-sized tunics	4
196	full-sized Dalmatics	[12]
	near full-sized Dalmatics	2
	cloaks	12
	total items: 40	
200	of which:	

Page 13 (Sheet VI, → right); Plate 12 right

	κώμησ Ἰβιῶνοσ Τεῶ	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
204	δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλιον	s
	κώμησ Ἰβιῶνοσ Τανουπέωσ	στιχ()
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α κη()
208	πάλλιον	αs τι [
	κώμησ Θαλλοῦ	
	στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	γ
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
212	δελ[μ]ατικ(ὰ) τέλ(εια)	ζ
	δελμ(άτικον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλια	γ
	κώμησ Πακῆ	
216	δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον)	α
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλιον	α

Page 13

	from the village of Ibion Teo	
	full-sized tunic	1
	near full-sized tunic	1
204	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloak	1/2
	from the village of Ibion Tanoupiis	
	full-sized tunic	1
208	cloaks	1 1/2
	from the village of Thallos	
	full-sized tunics	3
	near full-sized tunic	1
212	full-sized Dalmatics	7
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	3
	from the village of Pake	
216	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	near full-sized tunic	1
	cloak	1

Page 14 (Sheet VI, ↑ left); Plate 11 left

	κώμης Παρώου	
220	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α στιχ() τελ() α παλ() γ
	δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον)	α αρ.() α..
	πάλλιον	αs τα ιδη παρ() ερμια τιμ() αθ
	κώμης Πότευ	
224	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλιον	α
	κώμης Περγτάλεωc	
	στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	γ
228	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	γ
	δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλια	γ
	(γίνεται) τὰ π<ρ>οκ(είμενα)	
232	[ι]γ̄ πάγου στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	ια
	στιχ(άρια) παρατέλ(εια)	δ
	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	ις

Page 14

	from the village of Paroou	
220	near full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	1 1/2
	from the village of Poteu	
224	full-sized tunic	1
	cloak	1
	from the village of Peentalis	
	full-sized tunics	3
228	full-sized Dalmatics	3
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	3
	making the aforesaid total.	
232	From the thirteenth pagus: full-sized tunics	11
	near full-sized tunics	4
	full-sized Dalmatics	16

Page 15 (Sheet V, → right); Plate 10 right

	δελμ(ατικὰ) παρατέ(λεια)	[γ]
236	πάλλια	ιγ
	(γίνεται) εἶδη μζ	
	ῶν	
	κώμης Κιρκᾶ	
240	στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	γ
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	[[α] ε
	δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
244	πάλλια	ε
	κώμης Τεμσίρεωσ	
	στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	β
	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	β
248	πάλλια	β
	κώμης Σεσόγγων	
	δελ(ματικὰ) τέλ(εια)	γ
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
252	πάλλιον	α

	near full-sized Dalmatics	[3]
236	cloaks	13
	total items: 47	
	of which:	
	from the village of Kirka	
240	full-sized tunics	3
	near full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatics	5
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
244	cloaks	5
	from the village of Temsiris	
	full-sized tunics	2
	full-sized Dalmatics	2
248	cloaks	2
	from the village of Sesoncha	
	full-sized Dalmatics	3
	full-sized tunic	1
252	cloak	1

ἐποικίου Τηβερίου

δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον)

α τη s παρ() ...[
τι() δι() ερμι()

πάλλιον

α

256 [κ]ώμησ' Ἰσιήου καὶ Νάχη

στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)

α

Πρήκτεωσ

στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)

γ

260 στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)

α

δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)

[[α] γ

δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)

α [[β γ]

πάλλια

δ

264 Ἀδμένθων

δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον)

α τα ει()
και τι() .[

στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)

α

[Τεμε]νκύρκεωσ Ἀλιέων

268 δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον)

α

253. Τιβερίου

Page 16

	from the hamlet of Tiberios	
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloak	1
256	from the villages of Isieon and Nache	
	full-sized tunic	1
	from Prektis	
	full-sized tunics	3
260	near full-sized tunic	1
	full-sized Dalmatics	3
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	4
264	from Admentha	
	full-sized Dalmatic	1
	full-sized tunic	1
	from Temenkyrkis Halieon	
268	full-sized Dalmatic	1

Page 17 (Sheet IV, → right); Plate 8 right

κώμης *Κενομορρῶ*

στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)

α

κώμης *Ψύχεως*

272 δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)

α

κώμης *Τοενώρεως*

στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)

α ἐκ βψν

παρ() διοσκορω

(γίνεται) τὰ προκ(είμενα)

(VACAT)

276 ἰδ πάγου στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)

δ

στιχ(άρια) παρατέλ(εια)

γ

δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)

ζ

δελμ(ατικὰ) παρατέλ(εια)

β

280 πάλλια

θ

(γίνεται) εἶδη κε

ῶν

Page 17

	from the village of Senomorro	
	near full-sized tunic	1
	from the village of Psychis	
272	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	from the village of Toenorsis	
	near full-sized tunic	1
	making the aforesaid totals.	
	(VACAT)	
276	From the fourteenth pagus: full-sized tunics	4
	near full-sized tunics	3
	full-sized Dalmatics	7
	near full-sized Dalmatics	2
280	cloaks	9
	total items: 25	
	of which:	

Page 18 (Sheet IV, ↑ left); Plate 7 left

	s	
284	κώμηc Κορκοδεΐλων δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον) πάλλιον	α α
288	κώμηc Ψωβθενύρεωc στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον) στιχ(άριον) παρα[τέλ(ειον)] δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον) πάλλια	α ετελε() αλλοc παλ() β πρ() ερμια α εκ το () δελ() ,ε και διισκορ() . . α γι () υπερ στο παλλ .. β
292	οιc περ . . τι(μῆc) πα(λλίων) ,αχ ἐποικίου Ἐρμιορακλέουc στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον) κώμηc Πέννη	α
296	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια) στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον) πάλλια	β α β
300	κώμηc Τοῦ Πασκῶ στιχ(άρια) παρατέλ(εια) στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	[α] β α

Page 18

- 284 from the village of Korkodilon
- full-sized Dalmatic 1
 - cloak 1
- from the village of Psobthenyris
- 288 full-sized tunic 1
- near full-sized tunic 1
 - full-sized Dalmatic 1
 - cloaks 2
- 292 ...the price of cloaks, 1600
- from the hamlet of Hermoherakles
 - full-sized tunic 1
 - from the village of Penne
- 296 full-sized Dalmatics 2
- full-sized tunic 1
 - cloaks 2
- from the village of Toou Pasko
- 300 near full-sized tunics 2
- full-sized tunic 1

Page 19 (Sheet III, → right); Plate 6 right

	δελματικ(ὰ) τέλ(εια)	γ
	δελμ(ατικὰ) παρατέλ(εια)	β
304	πάλλια	δ
	γ(ίνεται) τὰ προκ(είμενα)	
	ιε πάγου στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)	γ
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
308	δε[λ]μ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	ε
	δελ(μάτικον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλια	ε
	(γίνεται) εἶδη ιε	
312	ῶν	
	κώμης Κομολώ	
	στιχ(άριον) τέλ(ειον)	α
	στιχ(άριον) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
316	δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)	β
	δελμ(ατικὸν) παρατέλ(ειον)	α
	πάλλια	β

Page 19

	full-sized Dalmatics	3
	near full-sized Dalmatics	2
304	cloaks	4
	making the aforesaid totals.	
	From the fifteenth pagus: full-sized tunics	3
	near full-sized tunic	1
308	full-sized Dalmatics	5
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	5
	total items: 15	
312	of which:	
	from the village of Somolo	
	full-sized tunic	1
	near full-sized tunic	1
316	full-sized Dalmatics	2
	near full-sized Dalmatic	1
	cloaks	2

Page 20 (Sheet III, ↑ left); Plate 5 left

κώμης Μνάχεως

320

δελμ(ατικὰ) τέλ(εια)

β

πάλλιον

α

ἐποικίου Βερκύ

στιχ(άρια) τέλ(εια)

β ,βκε

324

πάλλι[ο]ν

α

ἐποικίου Ἀτίνου

δελμ(ατικὸν) τέλ(ειον)

α

πάλλ(ιον)

α

328

.....

γ(ίνεται) τὰ προκ(είμενα)

.....

.....

332

.....

Page 20

	from the village of Mnachis		
320	full-sized Dalmatics	2	
	cloak	1	
	from the hamlet of Berku		
	full-sized tunics	2	
324	cloak	1	
	from the hamlet of Attinos		
	full-sized Dalmatic	1	
	cloak	1	
328		
	making the aforesaid totals		
		
		
332		

N.B. These notes are strictly technical, referring to vocabulary, palaeography, and placement of items in the account. They do not address issues regarding taxation or topography. Commentary on the former can be found in Part II, Chapters 2 and 3; a lengthy discussion of administrative geography is contained in Chapter 4, and an appendix of references to Hermopolite toponyms can be found on pages 147-59.

1.4. The adjectives *τέλειος* and *παρατέλειος* are used in this text to modify the two types of military tunics, the *sticharion* and the *dalmatica*.¹ *Τέλειος* is a common adjective, but it is rarely used to describe items of clothing. Examples of *παρατέλειος*, in any context, are scarce.

There are six examples where *τέλειος* is used to describe clothing. *P. Harris* I 105,² a second century private letter, describes two garments as *τέλειος*, the *dalmatica* and the *birrus*.³ *P. Hamb.* I 10 (second century) describes three different items of clothing as *τέλειος*: a white outfit, a pale gray *paenula* with laconic stripes, and an *abolla*.⁴ *P. Haw.* 208⁵ (24/5) and *P. Oxy. Hels.* 40 both modify the *chiton* with *τέλειος*. Shoes, too, are described as *τέλειος*, in *P. Oxy.* LVI 3869 and LXI 4127.⁶

In addition to these papyrological references, there are two literary references to clothing described as *τέλειος*. Plutarch's *Antony* 71.3 refers to a himation as *τέλειος*. Maurikios, in a passage cited below,⁷ states that the clothing of the soldier should be *πλατέα καὶ τέλεια*.

The etymological meaning of *τέλειος* is clear enough—in all contexts, the adjective means “brought to completion.” Determining its precise idiomatic meaning in relation to clothing, though, is a difficult task. English clothing vocabulary contains a similarly cryptic descriptive phrase—“double breasted”—which illustrates the problem of understanding the meaning of *τέλειος*. “Double breasted” has an apparent etymological meaning, “having two breasts.” This, however, is not the idiomatic meaning in describing jackets, where the phrase means “having one half of the front lapped over the other and usually a double row of buttons and a single row of buttonholes.”⁸

When describing a person or animal, *τέλειος* means “adult”,⁹ and it clearly means “for adults” when describing clothing in some texts. In *P. Oxy. Hels.* 40, three classes of chitons (the classes are differentiated by an alpha, a beta, or no letter) are either *τέλειος* or *παιδικός*. *P. Hamb.* I 10 also contrasts garments which are *τέλειος* or *παιδικός*. *Τέλειος* also means “adult” in Plutarch, where *ἰμάτιον τέλειον* means *toga virilis*. *P. Harris* I 105 contrasts clo-

¹For descriptions of these two garments, see 75-78.

²Reedited in Youtie 1966, 40-42.

³The *birrus* was a cowl cloak, the form of which is not well understood since it has not been identified in art (Wilson 1938, 126).

⁴The *paenula* was a hooded, tight fitting cloak intended for protection from inclement weather. The *abolla* is believed to have been a cloak or wrap not unlike the *pallium* (Wilson 1938, 86-89).

⁵Reedited in van Minnen 1992, 205-08.

⁶In the latter, the editor translates *τέλειος* as “full-sized,” and corrects the translation of the former text to the same.

⁷*Strategikon* I.2, below, 74.

⁸Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Merriam-Webster 1973).

⁹LSJ s.v. *τέλειος*.

thing that is *τέλειος* with that intended for “boys about fourteen years old.” Of course, all clothing intended for the army must have been for adults, so we cannot accept this meaning in the context of the *vestis militaris*.

By association, *τέλειος* must have come to mean “full-sized” when describing clothing, and *παρατέλειος* would then mean “nearly full-sized.”¹⁰ This is supported by the meaning of *τέλειος* in Maurikios, where the word has evolved to mean “full, roomy.”¹¹ Tunics, the only items of clothing modified with both adjectives, are more likely to have come in a variety of sizes than cloaks, which could simply be wound tighter on a smaller person.

1.11. In the margin read: ...πάλ(λιον)...τὸ.σ... (“cloak...1/2”).

1.12. The nominative is restored here based on the nominative at 6.93 and 13.205; likewise the nominative has been restored at 2.24 and 7.106. One might expect the genitive of the garment name when only one half is listed.

3.47. Through most of the text, the symbol for *γίνεται* is Γ . Only a gamma (Γ) is used here and at 9.147, 19.305, and 20.329.

4.67-68. In almost every entry in the account, the garments are listed in a set order: *σιχάριον τέλειον, σιχάριον παρατέλειον, δελματικὸν τέλειον, δελματικὸν παρατέλειον, πάλλιον*. Yet the usually careful scribe occasionally listed the garments out of order (here, 5.77-79, 7.104-105, 8.123-125, 8.132-135, 9.137-140, 11.182-185, 13.216-218, 18.296-298, 18.300-301). There is no pattern common to the instances which deviate from the norm. The deviation from the normal order might indicate that the scribe is copying from an earlier version of the account (cf. *P. Mich.* XI 603).

6.91. No status designation, either *ἐποίκιον* or *κώμη*, is indicated for this toponym. This happens several times in the text (here, 6.96, 98, 101; 8.131; 9.143, 145; 10.161, 164; 11.175, 178, 181; 16.258, 264, 267), generally because the length of the toponym does not leave enough room on the line for such a designation. There are a few cases, though (9.143 and 9.145) where a short toponym is not preceded by a status designation.

6.92. In the margin read: *ἐκ παρ(ᾶ) Ἀθανασίω* is (“...to Athanasius, 10 1/2”)

The word *ἐκ* and the abbreviation *παρ()* are quite common in the marginalia. *Ἐκ* appears to be the preposition; it is followed in one instance (17.274) by a number and may indicate the adaeerated price of a garment. In other cases it is followed by other words (6.97, 6.101, 18.289). What it means in this line, where it is followed immediately by *παρ()*, is unclear. *Παρ()* is mostly followed by a personal name in the dative (e.g. here, 6.101, 17.274, 18.288, 18.289), indicating that it is an abbreviation for *παρά*. In one instance, however, *παρ()* ends a line (6.97) and may be an abbreviation for another word. *Τι()* is also a common abbreviation. I have restored in all occurrences the word *τιμῆ*, which makes sense in the context of taxation, but in none of the marginalia am I sure of the case of the word.

6.99. In the margin read: *ἐκ .ια παρ() τι(μῆ?) δι(ᾶ) Ἑρμίας ρφν* (“...price?...through Hermias 1550”).

¹⁰In addition to 247, *P. Haw.* 208 may list garments which are *παρατέλειος*.

¹¹In the 10th century paraphrase of the *Strategikon* (“Tactical Constitutions”), Leo VI omits the word *τέλειος* in his description of clothing, simply describing the ideal military clothing as *πλατέα*. This implies that the words are redundant. I am indebted to Professor George T. Dennis, S.J. for this reference and his assistance in investigating this topic. The preceding discussion has benefited greatly from my discussions with Peter van Minnen as well as his written work.

6.101. A garment name is on the same line as the toponym. In the margin read $\epsilon\kappa \eta \tau. \iota \omega\sigma$ $\pi\alpha\rho(\acute{\alpha})$ 'Ερμία "...to Hermias."

8.133. The letters are smaller and squeezed between the preceding and following lines.

10.151. This page, along with one other (18.283), is topped with a sinusoidal curve. There seems to be no correlation between the two. Here it occurs in the middle of an accounting of pagus totals, and is centered above the page; at 18.283 it follows the pagus totals and is near the right margin. The two sinusoidal curves do not seem to be indicators of page or sheet order, since they occur on different places on their respective sheets. Here there are double lines after the sinusoidal curve; at 18.283 there are none. Elsewhere in the text, the sinusoidal curve is the symbol for one-half, but that reading does not seem to make sense in these two cases.

10.159. The letters are smaller and squeezed in between the preceding and following lines.

12.196. [$\iota\beta$] is restored because the entries of full-sized dalmatics total twelve, but as a result the grand total of forty is not correct.

13.206. Double lines in the margin.

13.207. In the margin read: $\sigma\tau\iota\chi(\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha) \kappa\eta$ ("tunics 28").

13.208. In the margin read: $\tau\iota(\mu\eta)$ ("price").

13.215. Double lines in the margin.

14.220. In the margin read: $\sigma\tau\iota\chi(\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omega\nu) \tau\epsilon\lambda(\epsilon\iota\omega\nu) \alpha \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda(\lambda\iota\alpha) \gamma$ ("1 full-sized tunic, 3 cloaks").

14.221. No resolution is suggested for the marginalia.

14.222. In the margin read: $\tau\acute{\alpha} \iota\delta\eta \pi\alpha\rho(\acute{\alpha})$ 'Ερμία $\tau\iota(\mu\eta\varsigma) \acute{\alpha}\theta$ ("the items to Hermias price ..."). The final word might be the name Athanasius, or perhaps a number.

15.243. The letters are smaller and squeezed in between the preceding and following lines.

16.254. In the margin read: $\tau\eta \varsigma \pi\rho() \dots [] \tau\iota(\mu\eta\varsigma) \delta\iota(\acute{\alpha})$ 'Ερμία ("the 1/2...price through Hermias").

16.265. In the margin read: $\tau\acute{\alpha} \epsilon\iota(\delta\eta) \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\iota(\mu\eta?)$ ("the items and price...").

17.274. In the margin read: $\epsilon\kappa < , > \beta\psi\nu \pi\alpha\rho(\acute{\alpha})$ Διοσκόρω ("at 2750 to Dioskoros"). The β lacks a thousands marker, as does the beta at 20.323.

18.288. In the margin read: $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon() \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda(\lambda\iota\alpha) \beta$ ("...cloaks, 2").

18.289. In the margin read: $\pi\rho(\delta\varsigma)$ 'Ερμία $\epsilon\kappa \tau\delta \delta\epsilon\lambda(\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\delta\nu) \epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \Delta\iota\omicron\sigma\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho()$ ("from Hermias...the dalmatic 5000 and Dioskoros").

18.290. In the margin read: $\gamma\iota(\nu.?) \acute{\upsilon}\pi\grave{\epsilon}\rho \acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron() \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda(\lambda\iota\alpha)$ ("total for...the cloaks").

18.292. The letters are smaller and squeezed in between the preceding and following lines. This text appears to be a comment on the conversion price of cloaks.

20.323. In the margin read: $< , > \beta\kappa\epsilon$ ("2025"). The numerals in the margin, unlike most of the marginalia, are as large as the linear letters. Like the numerals in the margins of 17.274, this might represent a conversion price for a garment.

The second recorded in two final extant pages corners of the this leaf is so indicate that the

The first varied: some discernible order

The second difficult. The holdings of this appears to previous page. the holder of the

There is originally contained large amounts century.² Wine

That this years presents dating of 247. held in the period. One can imagine a codex containing leaves of the codex. The loss of the first discarded at the

¹ Perhaps the been a wine imposts assistants in these

² Bagnall 198

³ Reuse of p

Rathbone 1991, 6

248. Private Account

Inv. 544.333-388

c. 350-360
Hermopolis

Content and Nature of the Text

The second document contained in the codex is a household account. The entries are recorded in two columns on the penultimate page of the codex, and a single column on the final extant page. The account is not complete on either page because the two outermost corners of the leaf are missing; approximately one-third of the leaf is missing. The damage to this leaf is so substantial (no other leaf in the codex is missing such large pieces) that it may indicate that this was the outermost leaf at the time of the codex's disposal.

The first page reflects household expenses, totalling 10,214 talents. The payments are varied: some tax related, some to individuals, and some for services. The expenses are in no discernible order, and subtotals are employed sporadically.

The second page is more fragmentary, and the ink is much fainter, making decipherment difficult. The account, totalling 9842 talents, concerns primarily the monetary value of wine in the holdings of the household, but also includes a few payments from individuals. Therefore, this appears to be a list of receipts or assets rather than of payments, as recorded on the previous page. If the first page of the account records disbursements, and this page income,¹ the holder of the account is short 372 talents needed to pay his bills.

Date of the Text

There is no date in the extant part of the text; since this is a private account, it may have originally contained an indication of the month under discussion, and possibly the year. The large amounts of money mentioned in this text indicate a date after the middle of the fourth century.² Wine prices in the second half of the document indicate a date in the 350's.

That this document postdates the earlier document in the codex by at least twenty-five years presents no problem for interpretation; likewise, it should not call into question the dating of 247. The *vestis militaris* account is a very important document, which no doubt was held in the personal archives of the tax liturgist for a long time after the year recorded there. One can imagine a scenario in which someone in the household or office later noticed that the codex contained blank pages, and decided to use them for personal calculations. The final leaves of the codex were no doubt torn off to be used for other purposes, thus explaining the loss of the first few leaves of the codex, which would then have been loose, and may have been discarded at that time.³

¹Perhaps the individual owned vineyards and produced wine for sale; alternately, the individual may have been a wine importer. In either case, the people mentioned (Marinos, Gerontios, Herakleides) may have been assistants in these business ventures.

²Bagnall 1985, 12, indicates that myriads of talents appear regularly after 360.

³Reuse of papyrus at a considerably later date is documented elsewhere, e.g. the Heroninus archive. See Rathbone 1991, 6 ff.

Palaeography

The hand of the account can be characterized as rapid and somewhat sloppy, although the columns of the account are aligned rather neatly. Letter forms are reasonably consistent, but size varies within each page. Totals and subtotals are written in larger characters.

The text contains a number of symbols in addition to rather standard abbreviations of common words. The following symbols are used:

Ϟ = *τάλαντον/-τα* (lines 4 twice, 5, 12, 13, 30, 39, 44 first occurrence, 45 twice)

ϙ = *τάλαντον/-τα* (lines 7 twice, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 40, 41, 44 second occurrence, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54 twice, 55, 56)

Ϛ = *γίνονται* (line 4)

ϛ = *γίνονται* (lines 12, 21)

Ϝ = *γίνονται* (line 26)

ϝ = *μυριάς* (lines 4, 54)

Ϟ̄ = *δραχμαί* (lines 14, 15)

ϟ = *λίτρα* (line 19)

Page 21 (Sheet II, recto right); Plate 4 right

Eight rows, II sheets, 12 signs

Column I

	At least 20 signs	At least 20 signs	At least 20 signs
4	... signs	... signs	... signs
8	... signs	... signs	... signs
12	... signs	... signs	... signs
16	... signs	... signs	... signs
20	... signs	... signs	... signs
24	... signs	... signs	... signs

Column II

28	to the ... signs	to the ... signs	to the ... signs
32	to the ... signs	to the ... signs	to the ... signs
36	to the ... signs	to the ... signs	to the ... signs
39	to the ... signs	to the ... signs	to the ... signs

Page 21 (Sheet II, recto right); Plate 4 right

Column i

- λόγος χρημ(άτων) αυ.υ[.].
 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ἀγαλωμάτων [amount?]
 καὶ ἐχρησάμεθα παρὰ Θεοδώ[ρου amount?]
- 4 (γίνεται) ὁμοῦ (τάλαντων) (μυριάς) α (τάλαντα) αιδ
 (ἔν) ἀνηλώθη οὕτως (τάλαντα) [number]
 ἀνηλ(ώθη) ὑ(πὲρ) τιμῆς ἀσήμ' ο' υ λ[ι-]
 τρῶν [δ] γ ἐκ (ταλάντων) (vacat) (τάλαντα) [. .] αφδ
- 8 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ναύλου ἀργυρίο' υ' . [amount]
 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ὀθόνης καὶ δαπάνης [(τάλαντα)] ρη
 καὶ εἰς Διδος πόλιν) διερχο(μένω) (τάλαντα) ργ
 καὶ Μαρίνω (vacat) (τάλαντα) ς
- 12 (γίνονται) (τάλαντα) αωζ
 καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ἀναδο' χ' (ῆς) Σταπιλλίο' υ' (τάλαντα) ρ []
 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) Αἰωνίο' υ' ἀδελφο' υ' (τάλαντα) ξ (δραχμαὶ) δ
 Σερήνω ἐν Ἀνταίο' υ' (πόλει) (τάλαντα) α (δραχμαὶ) δ
- 16 τῷ ναύτῃ ἐν Ἀνταίο' υ' (πόλει) (vacat) (τάλαντα) κ
 καὶ ἐν Παγῶς (πόλει) (vacat) (τάλαντα) κ
 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) Διοσκόρο' υ' ναύλο' υ' (τάλαντα) λ
 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) τιμῆς ἀσήμο' υ' (λιτρῶν) ρι (τάλαντα) φ
- 20 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆ)ς λαχάνο' υ' (vacat) (τάλαντα) σγ
 (γίνονται) (τάλαντα) ακη δραχμαὶ β
 ἐδέδωκε δὲ Βηζα.[
 καὶ δ() γ
- 24 ὁμοί(ως) εἰς συμπλη(ήρωαν) . [
 ὁμοί(ως)
 γί(ν)ονται (τάλαντα) ατπς δραχμαὶ δ

Column ii

- 6 lines missing
 traces
- 28 τῷ παρὰ Δικ. [] (τάλαντα) [amount]
 τῷ κλειδοποιῷ (τάλαντα) .
 καὶ ἔλει.() [. .]...ον (τάλαντα) ι.
 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) δαπάνης ἐν τη... (τάλαντα) [amount]
- 32 Γεροντί[ω] (vacat) (τάλαντα) ρ. [number]
 Ἡρακλείδῃ (vacat) (τάλαντα) υ [number]
 Μαρίνω (vacat) (τάλαντα) σ.
 τῷ (αὐτῷ) ὑ(πὲρ) π[.]... (τάλαντα) σ[number]
- 36 ὁμοῦ γίνονται]
 (τάλαντα) [amount]
29. κλειδο-

Page 21 (Sheet II, recto right)

Column i

- Account of money...
 and for expenses
 and we borrowed from Theodoros
 4 total, all together, 10,214 talents
 of which xx talents were spent
 as follows for the the value of silver bullion
 3 pounds at ... talents, 1554 talents
 8 and for transport of silver
 and for linen cloth and cost, 108 talents
 and to the one going to Diospolis, 103 talents
 and for Marinos, 200 talents
 12 total 1817 talents
 and to me for security on behalf of Statillius. 1[00] talents
 and for Aionios my brother, 60 talents, 4000 drachmas
 To Serenos in Antaiopolis, 1 talent, 4000 drachmas
 16 to the sailor in Antaiopolis, 20 talents
 and in Panopolis, 20 talents
 and for Dioskoros for transport, 30 talents
 and for the value of 110 pounds of silver bullion, 500 talents
 20 and for the value of vegetables, 250 talents
 total 1028 talents, 2000 drachmas
 he had given to Besa...
 and 3
 24 equally to completion ...
 equally
 total 1386 talents, 4000 drachmas

Column ii

- ...
 28 to Dik..., xx talents
 to the key-maker, xx talents
 and, 1x talents
 and for costs in the ..., xx talents
 32 to Gerontios, 1xx talents
 to Herakleides, 400 talents
 to Marinos, 2xx talents
 to the same for ..., 2xx talents
 36 total all together
 talents

Page 22 (Sheet II, verso left); Plate 3 left

- λόγος] χρημάτων διὰ τῆς
 c. 15] κω() (τάλαντα) (vacat) θωμβ
 40 c. 15] ..() (τάλαντα) ρ
 c. 15] (τάλαντα) ρνη
 c. 8] . [c. 5] vacat
 c. 6] οὕτως [c. 4] vacat
 44 κν(ίδια) ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ κνί(δια) ζ̄ ἐκ (ταλάντων) φ (ταλάντα) γφ
 κν(ίδια) ἐν τῇ (αὐτῇ) ε̄ ἐκ (τάλαντων) υ (τάλαντα) β
 ἐν τῇ (αὐτῇ) κνίδ(ιον) (τάλαντα) υπ
 ἐν τῇ (αὐτῇ) κνίδ(ιον) (τάλαντα) φκ
 48 (γίνονται) κνίδ(ια) ιδ (τάλαντα) ζφ
 .. [...] ἀποθήκην ἡμῶν ἄλλο κνίδ(ιον) (τάλαντα) φ
 c. 7] ... ἀποστάλεν ἀπὸ Διοσ πόλ(εως) (τάλαντα) τξ
 [...] ᾱ δίπλα β̄ (τάλαντα) αχμ
 52 [c. 8] . δι(ὰ) Μαρίνοῦ καὶ Γερόντ<ι> ος (τάλαντα) τ
 [c. 8] . Ἡρακλείδου (τάλαντα) υ
 [c. 8] (γίνονται) (ταλάντων) (μυριάς) α (τάλαντα) ρ
 [c. 12] . πωμοῦ (τάλαντα) σνη
 56 [c. 15] (γίνονται) (τάλαντα) θωμβ

Page 22 (Sheet II, verso left)

- account of money through the
 ... 9842 talents
- 40 ... 100 talents
 ... 158 talents
 ...
 thus
- 44 knidia in the house, 7 knidia at 500 talents, 3500 talents
 knidia in the same, 5 at 400 talents, 2000 talents
 in the same, 1 knidion, 480 talents
 in the same, 1 knidion, 520 talents
- 48 total 14 knidia, 6500 talents
 in our storehouse, another knidion, 500 talents
 sent from Diospolis, 360 talents
 ...2 dipla, 1640 talents
- 52 through Marinos and Gerontios, 300 talents
 (from?) Herakleides, 400 talents
 total 10100 talents
 ..., 258 talents
- 56 total 9842 talents

1. One expects a proper name completing the line. A month is also possible, although the letters and traces do not seem to allow such a reading.
2. There may be no text beyond ἀναλωμάτων, or there may be a number of talents, the same amount that was listed in line 5.
5. This line is written smaller and squeezed in; the central word is written slightly lower than the others.
7. This line is problematic. The extant amount at the end is 1554 talents. If this is added to the extant amounts in line 9, 10, and 11, the total, 1965 talents, is more than the subtotal recorded in line 12, and the lost amount in line 8 would still have to be added to this. Furthermore, the price of silver represented here, 518 talents per pound, appears to be too low for the period; the price of silver in 359 (*P. Oxy.* LI 3624) was 544,000 talents per pound. One is therefore tempted to restore a symbol for myriads in the lacuna, but this again presents a problem with the subtotal on line 12. Silver prices also present difficulties at line 19 below.
19. Like line 7, silver prices present a problem here. If the reading is correct, the price of a pound of silver is 4 talents, 5700 drachmas, a price which is both much too low for the period and incongruous with any possible price on line 7. Another possible way to read the line is to take λιτρῶν to mean "one pound" and to take the two letters following the word as something other than numerals. This would at least set the price of a pound of silver at 500 talents, a price close to one possible reading of line 7.
21. Since the figures in lines 13 through 20 appear on a section of the papyrus which is heavily shredded, all of the readings are dubious. None of the possible readings add to the subtotal of 1028 talents, 2000 drachmas given here. The fact that the drachma figure is correct, though, indicates that the figures might have originally added up.
37. The very large talent symbol may indicate that this is the final total, and nothing else followed.
- 44-47. The wine prices are the only solid indication of the date of the text. Here the price of a knidion ranges from 400 to 520 talents. If these figures are multiplied by the knidion to gold index of 900, they represent gold prices of the early 350s (see Bagnall 1985, especially 4 and 61.)
54. The figures from lines 49 through 53, along with the subtotal on line 48, total 9700 talents, 400 talents short of the grand total shown on this line. An entry of 400 talents may have been omitted accidentally, or the figure of 400 talents on line 53 may have been added in twice.
55. This line represents a deduction from the total on line 54.

Part II

Commentary

1. The first figure is the total value of the goods...

Part II Commentary

2. The second figure is the total value of the goods...

3. The third figure is the total value of the goods...

4. The fourth figure is the total value of the goods...

5. The fifth figure is the total value of the goods...

6. The sixth figure is the total value of the goods...

7. The seventh figure is the total value of the goods...

8. The eighth figure is the total value of the goods...

9. The ninth figure is the total value of the goods...

Miles
(SHA)

This chapter soldiers. It m
ary garment referred to in
speaks of a s
equivalent. P
where their r
item of vestis

The con
entirely on p
but have mad
is to explore
chased with
study. Never
of clothing bo
A Roman
thus, only the
the civilian.⁴
and cloak. D
could vary ac

¹ A soldier
² See Chap
³ in conver
evidence might p
⁴ Nam quia

Chapter 1

The *Vestis Militaris* and the Uniform of the Roman Army

*Miles non timendus si vestitus, armatus, calciatus et satur et habens aliquid in zonula*¹
(SHA Severus Alexander 52)

This chapter is concerned to describe the fundamental characteristics of the uniform of Roman soldiers. It might appear that 247, along with other documents, discusses the collection of military garments. However, closer inspection will show, on the contrary, that the garments referred to in the documents actually represent cash payments,² i.e. when a tax document speaks of a *sticharion*, it is not referring to an article of clothing *per se* but rather to its cash equivalent. Perhaps the government chose to use clothing vocabulary to remind taxpayers where their money was going. To the same end, the present chapter is a description of each item of *vestis militaris* specified in the *Vestis Militaris*.

The conclusions drawn in this chapter concerning military clothing are based almost entirely on papyrological evidence. I have utilized literary sources where they are informative, but have made no use of sculptural and other visual evidence.³ The chief purpose of this book is to explore the clothing tax, and not to explore in depth the precise details of what was purchased with the tax collected. To do so would have gone beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see what the relevant papyri have to say about the items of clothing bought with the clothing tax.

A Roman soldier required the same basic garments worn by all men, a tunic and a cloak; thus, only the characteristic armor worn on top of clothing would differentiate the soldier from the civilian.⁴ The Roman military costume lacked uniformity beyond the inclusion of the tunic and cloak. Different branches of the military wore distinctively colored tunics. And the cloak could vary according to the area in which the soldier was stationed; for example, the normal

¹ "A soldier need not be feared if he is clothed, armed, shod, sated, and has something in his money belt."

² See Chapter 3 below.

³ In conversation, J.P. Wild has suggested to me that integrating the visual evidence with the papyrological evidence might prove quite challenging.

⁴ *Nam quidam procerus et, ut indicabat habitus atque habitudo, miles e legione...* (Apul. *Met.* IX 39).

cloak for soldiers in often cold Cisalpine Gaul was the *paenula*, a warmer garment.⁵ Soldiers could also wear other garments, such as leggings, as the climate of their posting dictated. The garments collected by the *vestis militaris* in Egypt certainly represent a regional selection.

Sculptural works show soldiers dressed in a tunic and a *sagum*, a very simple blanket-like cloak,⁶ from early in the imperial period.⁷ The tunic remained a simple garment over the course of time; the only change in the form was the addition of longer sleeves. The cloak, however, grew more sophisticated, adding such details as hoods and cowls.⁸ By the Byzantine period, the availability of a variety of styles of military garments gave Maurikios, the military strategist, an opportunity to discuss the advantages of certain types of clothing for cavalry and infantry soldiers:

χρῆ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν πλατέα εἶναι καὶ τέλεια, κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν Ἀβάρων κεκομμένα, τουτέστι ζωστάρια, εἴτε λινὰ εἶναι εἴτε αἰγία εἴτε ράσσα, ἐφ' ᾧ καβαλλικευόντων αὐτῶν κέπεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν τὰ γόνατα καὶ εὐσχήμους αὐτοὺς φαίνεσθαι. χρῆ φόρειν γουνία ἤγουν νοβερωνικά ἀπὸ κεντούκλων πλατέα πάνυ, ἔχοντα μανίκια φαρδέα, ἐπινοῆσαι αὐτοῦς, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀπλισθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ φορεῖν τὰς ζάβας καὶ τὰ τοζάρια...⁹ (Maurikios *Strategikon* I.2)

Ποῖα δεῖ φορεῖν ἱμάτια τοὺς πεζοὺς εἴτε ζωστάρια Γοθικά, εἴτε ἀρμελαῦα ἔχουσα κονδᾶ, μέχρι τῶν γονάτων αὐτῶν δεῖ φορεῖν αὐτοῦς. Τὰ ὑποδήματα αὐτῶν Γοθικά, κακκντά, δίχα ῥωθωνίων, ἀπλῶς ἐρραμμένα, ὑπὸ δύο ἀκίων καὶ μὴ πλέον ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ ὀλίγοις καὶ μικροῖς κέντροις καθηλοῦσθαι αὐτὰ πρὸς πλείονα ὑπουργίαν. Οὐ γὰρ χρεῖα κρηπιδίων ἢ ὀκριδίων, ὡς τούτων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖων ὄντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν φορεσίαν βραδέων. Ζωνάρια δὲ λιτὰ καὶ οὐ βουλγαρικὰ σαγία. Καὶ τὰς κουράς δὲ αὐτῶν κοντὰς γίνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι αὐτοὺς τελείας τρίχας χρήσιμόν ἐστιν...¹⁰ (Maurikios *Strategikon* XII.B.1)

While Maurikios wrote somewhat later than the classical period—his text dates between 575 and 628¹¹—his description of soldiers' clothing compensates for a lack of a detailed description in any classical source.

⁵Franzoni 1987, 122.

⁶The *sagum* remained in use until the second century. (Payne 1965, 107.)

⁷Franzoni 1987, 37.

⁸Wipszycka 1965, 122.

⁹"The men's clothing, especially their tunics, whether made of linen, goat's hair, or rough wool, should be broad and full, cut according to the Avar pattern, so they can be fastened to cover the knees while riding and give a neat appearance. They should also be provided with an extra-large cloak or hooded mantle of felt with broad sleeves to wear, large enough to wear over their armament..." (Dennis' translation).

¹⁰"The infantry soldiers should wear either Gothic tunics coming down to their knees or short ones split up the sides. They should have Gothic shoes with thick soles, broad toes, plain stitching, and fastened with no more than two clasps; the soles should be studded with a few small nails for greater durability. Boots or greaves are not required, for they are unsuitable for marching and, if worn, slow one down. Their mantles should be simple, not like the Bulgarian cloaks. Their hair should be cut short, and it is better if it is not allowed to grow long" (Dennis' translation).

¹¹Dennis 1984, xvi.

The tunic was the chief garment in the Roman wardrobe, worn by all sexes, ages, and classes of people.¹² Like civilian models, military tunics were generally sleeveless.¹³ Longer, sleeved tunics, such as the *dalmatica*, became popular during the third century.¹⁴ These do not appear to have ever been very popular for military use, as we do not see them mentioned in the papyri until the fourth century, and then only rarely.

A variety of sources provide evidence for the form of the military tunic. Many Coptic tunics have survived antiquity, and while few of these can be identified as specifically military, they are invaluable sources for construction and size. Sculptural evidence is useful but limited. The tunic, by convention, was almost always covered by a cloak or mantle; still, a well detailed sculpture can provide some information on the form of the garment.

The most valuable source for tunics from the Imperial Period is a papyrus dated to 138, a requisition for clothing for the army in Cappadocia:

χιθῶνος λευκοῦ ζωστοῦ ἐνὸς μήκουσ πήχεων γς πλάτους πήχεων γ̄ δακτύλων δ̄
 [...] ὀλκῆς μῶν γ σ δ...ποιήσουσα τὸν ἱματισμὸν ἕκ τε καλῆς καὶ μαλακῆς καὶ
 λευκοτάτης ἐρεᾶς χωρὶς παντὸς ῥύπου εὐφνῆ εὐπαγῆ εὔσημα ἀρεστὰ
 ἀκανῆ...¹⁵ (BGU VII 1564.5, 10-11)

The dimensions of the tunic, 1.6 x 1.40 m., seemingly a bit large, are in keeping with Maurikios' (*Strategikon* I.2) remark that the tunic should be broad and full, and with the dimensions of extant tunics. Those in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum from this period vary in length from 1.016 m. to 1.371 m., in width from 1.295 m. to 2.026 m., and have sleeves 30.4 cm. to 48.7 cm.¹⁶

Tunics had an extremely wide neck opening, large enough to allow an arm to be removed from the tunic through the neck opening if necessary for mobility, such as would be required for intensive physical labor. If the tunic was to be worn on both arms, the excess fabric was bunched up and tied into a knot at the back of the neck. Tunics were girded at the waist and pulled up to a practical length: to the knee during the first two centuries. Length was also commonly adjusted by tucks made in the garment. Tucks at waist level have been found on most extant tunics.¹⁷

Sleeveless tunics were usually woven in two pieces joined at the shoulders and down the sides.¹⁸ Models with sleeves were woven to shape in a single piece with an internal selvedge which, when finished, would form the neck opening. The single woven piece was folded in

¹²Tunics are the most common garment found in burials. (Kendrick 1920, 27.) On tunics in general, see Potthoff 1992, 206-215.

¹³*Tunica est vestimentum sine manicis* (Nonius Marcellus 536 XIV 15).

¹⁴Payne 1956, 100.

¹⁵"one white, belted tunic, three and a half cubits long and three cubits, four fingers wide, weighing three and three quarters minae...they will make the clothing from fine, soft, white wool without any dirt, well-woven and well-edged, pleasing, and undamaged."

¹⁶Kendrick 1920, 28.

¹⁷Granger-Taylor 1982, 10. Further evidence for tucks as length adjustment can be found in Tertullian's *De pallio*. Tertullian states (V.3) that one can avoid the discomfort of the belt by covering one's tunic with a *pallium*. Since tunics were in general too long to be worn without some length adjustment, this indicates that the length was adjusted by something other than the belt, presumably by tucks, which may have been considered unsightly if not covered by a cloak.

¹⁸Fuentes 1987, 43.

half and closed with seams under the arms and at the sides.¹⁹ In either case, the neck opening and lower edges were selvages, thus eliminating the need for hemming.²⁰

Wool appears to be the primary fabric used for military tunics. Evidence for this is contained in many *vestis militaris* documents, which either describe wool tunics or concern wool workers.²¹ The color of military tunics varied.²² Most extant tunics, especially those which postdate the late third century, bear *clavi*, which indicates that most tunics were decorated with them.²³

The *sticharion* was the most common type of tunic worn by late antique soldiers; the clothing tax in Egypt collected more of them than any other garment.²⁴ The word "*sticharion*" was not used before the mid-third century, and no source offers a description of garments so-called; this fact, along with the frequent use of the word, indicates that it had a very general meaning. "*Sticharion*," therefore, appears to be the late antique Greek translation of the Latin *tunica*, as the Greek *χιτών* had been in earlier centuries. The word's possible derivation from *στῆχος* ("stripe") may indicate that stripes, *clavi*, embellished the tunic.²⁵ In a military context, the *sticharion* was the most basic type of tunic, sleeveless²⁶ and constructed from two rectangular pieces of woolen cloth.

It is clear from the papyri that the *sticharion* was more than just a military tunic. It was worn by all segments of the population; men,²⁷ women,²⁸ children,²⁹ and even slaves.³⁰ In later periods it was a sacerdotal vestment.³¹ The civilian *sticharion* could be made of wool,³² or more commonly, according to the papyri,³³ of linen. *Sticharia* must have been available in a variety of colors (civilian models in white³⁴ and rose-pink³⁵ are mentioned in the papyri.) Other descriptions of *sticharia* refer to decoration or lack thereof.³⁶ The fact that the

¹⁹Granger-Taylor 1982, 8.

²⁰This is in keeping with the Roman practice of keeping garment construction as simple as possible (Wilson 1938, 31.)

²¹Granger-Taylor 1982, 8 agrees that wool was the predominant fabric, since the edging methods visible on sculpted tunics are those used in wool finishing, not linen finishing.

²²Fuentes 1987, 51.

²³See below.

²⁴They appear in two-thirds of *vestis militaris* texts which mention garments.

²⁵So Crawford in the introduction to *P. Michael*. 38: "a *στῆχάριον*, would then be a 'striped thing' by etymology, a 'tunic' by use only." Cf. LSJ s.v. *στῆχάριον*. But this etymology is uncertain.

²⁶The *dalmatica* provided a sleeved option for the army.

²⁷In addition to the many references to the *sticharion* in connection to the army, it is described as *ἀνδρική* in *P. Oxy.* XVI 2058.20.

²⁸The *sticharion* is listed among the property of women in *P. Dura* 30, r. 15 and *P. Oxy.* VII 1051.7.

²⁹The *sticharion* is described as *παιδιακόν* in *P. Genova* I 28.4.

³⁰A notice calling for the return of a runaway slave, *P. Oxy.* LI 3616, describes the slave as wearing a thick woolen *sticharion*.

³¹Sophocles 1870, 1012. See also Innemée 1992.

³²*P. Oxy.* XLIV 3194.9, *P. Oxy.* LI 3616.3, *SB* VI 9305.6-7.

³³*P. Mich.* XIV 684.5, *P. Oxy.* VII 1051.7, *P. Oxy.* XLVIII 3426.10, *P. Sakaon* 92.10, *PSI* IV 287.15, *PSI* XIV 1423.13, *SB* III 6222.27-31, *SB* VI 9305.6-7, *Stud. Pal.* X 188, and *Stud. Pal.* XX 92.1. A lighter weight *sticharion* is also described as thin (*λεπτά*) in *P. Ryl.* IV 627.2.

³⁴*P. Dura* 30.r.15, *P. Dura* 33.4, *P. Oxy.* XIV 1741.2.

³⁵*λενκορόδιον* (*P. Princ.* II 82.32).

³⁶"tapestry-woven" - *ἐμπλουμον* (*P. Fouad* 74.5), *πλουμάτων* (*P. Oxy.* XIV 1741.2) or "lacking purple stripes" - *ἀπόρφυρον* (*P. Oxy.* XIV 1741.21).

sticharion, whose name basically means "striped," can lack stripes supports the idea that "*sticharion*" is a basic word for a tunic.

The *dalmatica*,³⁷ a sleeved tunic whose style, as its name implies, was apparently developed in the Roman province of Dalmatia,³⁸ was also collected for the *vestis militaris* in Egypt, although infrequently. The Romans traditionally disapproved of the wearing of sleeved tunics by men as such garments were considered effeminate.³⁹ Indeed, the *Historia Augusta* lists the wearing of *dalmaticae* among the faults of the Emperors Commodus⁴⁰ and Elagabalus.⁴¹ Still, *dalmaticae* appear as male garments during the Imperial Period, and are later used as liturgical vestments.⁴²

Some sources display a confusion between the *dalmatica* and the *colobium*, another type of tunic. The words "*dalmatica*" and "*colobium*" are used synonymously in Diocletian's *Edictum de Pretiis* (26.49, 59) (δελματικῶν ἀνδρείων ἤτοι κολοβίων...) and in later authors: δελματικὰς, ἤγουν κολοβίωνας (Epiphanius *De Haeres* I.15); τῶν δελματικῶν, ἤτουν κολοβίων (Nicetas Choniates *Thesaurus orthodoxae fidei* I 39 1561). Other sources, however, distinguish the two types of garment, stating that the *colobium* was sleeveless:

ET TUNICAE MANICAS tunicae vestrae habent manicas, quod etiam Cicero vituperat, dicens manicatis et talaribus tunicis: nam colobiis utebantur antiqui.⁴³ (Servius *Ad Aen.* IX 613)

Colobium dictum quia longum est et sine manicis.⁴⁴ (Isid. *Etym.* XIX 22.24)

The two types of tunic must have been quite similar to produce such conflicting descriptions. Murri suggests that the *colobium* had sleeves which reached only to the elbow, distinguishing it from the *dalmatica* whose sleeves reached the wrist.⁴⁵ This is a reasonable hypothesis given that κολοβός can mean "short" or "truncated". It would indicate that *manicae* refers specifically to full-length sleeves (to the wrist), and that the adjective *manicatus* means "with full-length sleeves." Thus, the *colobium* can be described as "*sine manicis*" (without full-length sleeves) and have shorter sleeves.

³⁷The Latin word will be used here to represent all of the variant spellings and diminutives in Greek: δαλματική, δελματική, δερματική, δελματικόν, δερματικόν, δελματικίον, δερματικίον (δερματικόν), δελμάτιον. The diminutive forms presumably represented a similar but different garment, as both a δερματική and a δερματικίον are listed in *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3201, but as no extensive descriptions exist, the difference between the garments remains unknown.

³⁸*Dalmatica vestis primum in Dalmatia, provincia Graeciae, texta est, tunica sacerdotalis candida, cum clavis ex purpura.* (Isidor. *Etymolog.* XIX 22)

³⁹*Tunicis uti virum prolixis ultra brachia et usque in primores manus ac prope in digitos Romae atque in omni Latio indecorum fuit. Eas tunicas Graeco vocabulo nostri "chirodytas" appellaverunt feminisque solis vestem longe lateque diffusam non indecere existimaverunt ad ulnas cruraque adversus oculos protegenda.* (Aul. Gell. *NA* VI 12.1-2.) See also Servius *Ad Aen.* IX 613 below.

⁴⁰*dalmaticatus in publico processit...auctio sane rerum Commodi in his insignior fuit...chirodotas Dalmatarum* (SHA *Comm.* 8, *Pertinax* 8.)

⁴¹*Dalmaticatus in publico post cenam saepe visus est* (SHA *Heliog.* 26.)

⁴²Murri 1943, 123.

⁴³"TUNICS (HAVE) LONG SLEEVES 'Your tunics have long sleeves,' which even Cicero found fault with, saying (of Catiline's friends) 'with long-sleeved and ankle-length tunics': for the ancients wore *colobia*."

⁴⁴"It is called 'colobium' because it is long and without long sleeves."

⁴⁵Murri 1943, 125.

Dalmaticae were worn by both men and women.⁴⁶ The typical fabric for the *dalmatica* in a non-military context appears to have been linen,⁴⁷ and, in at least one case, a linen *dalmatica* was lined with wool.⁴⁸ *Dalmaticae* could also be made of wool from Xoïs⁴⁹ or be fashioned by the well-known Tarsian weavers.⁵⁰

Color varied a great deal. The garment could be undyed,⁵¹ white,⁵² onyx-colored,⁵³ sapphire,⁵⁴ honey-colored,⁵⁵ or red.⁵⁶ Some papyri include references to the *clavi* and borders on the tunics. A *dalmatica* could have stripes, a double stripe,⁵⁷ "vegetable purple" stripes,⁵⁸ purple stripes,⁵⁹ or long stripes.⁶⁰ Additional explanatory phrases in the papyri refer to the condition of the garment or fabric: once-fulled⁶¹ and the otherwise unattested adjective *πεπόνιον*, which may mean "soft" or "thick" (coming from *πέπων*) or could refer to shape or color.⁶²

Cloaks, like tunics, were a most basic part of the Roman military uniform. There were three classes of cloak,⁶³ two of which were represented in the *vestis militaris*. Rectangular cloaks of different sizes, represented in the *vestis militaris* by the *pallium*, make up the first category. These could either be simply draped around the shoulders, or could be fastened with a *fibula*. The second group includes cloaks which have one semi-circular edge, but which otherwise vary in shape. These, which include the *chlamys*, were draped around the neck and fastened with a fibula. The third type, not represented in the *vestis militaris* in Egypt, are those which resemble a modern cape, with fitted shoulders and, often, a hood.

The *pallium* had a long history at Rome both as a military and as a civilian garment.⁶⁴ Isidorus explains the derivation of the word:

Dictum autem pallium a pelibus, quia prius super indumenta pellicia veteres utebantur, quasi pellea: sive a palla per derivationem.⁶⁵ (Isid. *Etym.* XIX 24)

⁴⁶P. Oxy. VII 1051.16, P. Oxy. XX 2273.frA.r.ctr.12, P. Oxy. LI 3626.17, P. Oxy. LIV 3765.12, SB V 8013.7, P. Dura 30.r.16-7.

⁴⁷P. Oxy. VII 1051.16, P. Oxy. XXXIII 2682.11, P. Oxy. XLIV 3201.8-9, P. Oxy. LI 3626.17, P. Oxf. 15.12, SB XII 11075.7-9, SB XIV 11575.11, P. Dura 33.8.

⁴⁸μαλλωτόν (P. Oxy. XIV 1741.15)

⁴⁹Ξοϊτικά (P. Oxy. XIV 1741.5). Murri 1943, 126 believes that the word refers to a garment made of wool manufactured in Xoïs, where there was a well known spinning industry (i.e. the word does not indicate that the garment itself was manufactured there.)

⁵⁰ταρσικόν (P. Oxy. LI 3626.4; P. Oxy. LIV 3765.12).

⁵¹ιδιόχρωμον (P. Michael 18.frA2.5; P. Dura 30.r.16-7).

⁵²P. Oxy. XLIV 3201.8-9, SB I 1988.1, SB VI 9594.4-5, P. Dura 30.r.16-7.

⁵³όνυχιον (P. Oxy. VII 1026.10).

⁵⁴σαπυρίνη (P. Tebt. II 405.10).

⁵⁵μελιτόχρωμον (P. Princ. II 82.r.32 = *RhM* 75, p. 472).

⁵⁶κοκκίον (P. Dura 30.r.16-7.)

⁵⁷see P. Michael, 31, for a discussion of the terms involved.

⁵⁸ρίζεσημον (P. Oxy. VII 1051.16.)

⁵⁹πορφυρόσημον (SB XIV 11575.11.)

⁶⁰μακρόσημον (SB I 1988.1.)

⁶¹πρωτόγενος (P. Michael 18.frA.2.2.5.) LSJ defines the word as "fresh from the fullers", but Crawford (31) disagrees, translating the word as "once-carded". J.P. Wild points out to me that the means to card wool was not invented until the Middle Ages, so the appropriate translation is "once-fulled."

⁶²P. Michael, 32.

⁶³Wilson 1938, 77.

⁶⁴Potthoff 1992, 151-55.

⁶⁵"However, the pallium is named from 'pelles' (skins), because previously men of old wore garments made of hide over clothes, as if skinned; or it is derived from 'palla' (mantle)."

The word "*pallium*" is attested as early as Terence and Plautus, and continues to be referred to until late antiquity. The *pallium* was similar in form to the Greek himation,⁶⁶ and although the two were not identical, the *pallium* tended to be considered Greek by the Romans, in contrast with the toga, a specifically Roman garment.⁶⁷

Tertullian, in his anti-Roman treatise *De pallio*, provides the most detailed description of this cloak:

Pallii extrinsecus habitus et ipse quadrangulus ab utroque laterum regestus et cervicibus circumstrictus in fibulae morsu, humeris acquiescebat;⁶⁸ (Tertullian *De pallio* I 1)

At enim pallio nihil expeditius, etiam si duplex, quod Cratetis. Mora nusquam vestiendo imponitur; quippe tota molitio eius operire est solutum: id uno circumiectu licet, et quidem nusquam inhumano; ita omnia hominis simul contegit. Humerum volens exponit vel includit, ceteroquin humero adhaeret, nihil circumfulcit, nihil circumstringit, nihil de tabularum fide laborat, facile sese regit, facile reficit; etiam cum exponitur, nulli cruci in crastinum demandatur. Si quid interulae subter est, vacat zonae tormentum;⁶⁹ (V 3)

The *pallium* was all the more useful because of its shape and size:⁷⁰ in addition to its use as a cloak, it could also be used as a blanket, curtain, or even as a burial shroud.⁷¹

Descriptions of the *pallium* in the papyri are primarily descriptions of color: white,⁷² dyed with crimson vegetable dye,⁷³ and, simply, colored.⁷⁴ The *pallium* is also specified as woolen.⁷⁵ Decoration on the *pallium* was not symmetrical as on the tunic, but was designed to coordinate with the wrapping of the garment.

Additionally, the *pallium* is modified by two ethnic adjectives, *Σαρακήνων*⁷⁶ and *Ζμύρνηνον*,⁷⁷. The Arabic and Smyrniote styles may have been distinctive, or it may be that their quality was known to be superior, just as Egyptian garments from the Xoite nome were.

⁶⁶Wilson 1938, 80.

⁶⁷The difference between the toga and the *pallium* as seen by the Romans is exemplified in the phrases *fabula togata* (a play about Romans) and *fabula palliata* (a play about foreigners). Tertullian (see text below) too saw the toga as a symbol of Rome, and the *pallium* as symbolically unRoman.

⁶⁸"The outer garment *pallium*, itself quadrangular, is thrown back from either side and tied around the neck in the grip of a *fibula*, and it rested on the shoulders."

⁶⁹"For nothing is more convenient than the *pallium*, even if it is double, like that of Crates. Never is there a delay in dressing when it is put on: indeed the entire effort of it is to drape loosely. That can be accomplished by a single casting around, and one in no way unmannerly: thus it covers all parts of the man at the same time. It willingly exposes or covers the shoulder, otherwise it adheres to the (other) shoulder, it does not cling, it binds not at all, it creates no difficulties at all concerning the fidelity of the folds, it easily straightens itself, it easily resets itself; even when it is set aside, it requires no cross pole for tomorrow. If any shirt is underneath, the torment of the belt is absent..."

⁷⁰A sample in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum measures 2.89 m. by 1.905 m. Kendrick 1920, 31 mentions one in another collection measuring 2.362 m. by 1.524 m..

⁷¹Kendrick 1920, 31.

⁷²*P. Dura* 30.14-15 and *P. Michael* 21.5.

⁷³ὑσγινον (*P. Fouad* 77.13.)

⁷⁴χρωμάτινον (*P. Oxy.* XLIX 3491.fr1.7.)

⁷⁵SB XVI 12644.v.9. Wool was presumably the primary fabric used for *pallia* (see Wilson 1938, 83).

⁷⁶"Arab" (*P. Fuad I Univ.* 29.17).

⁷⁷"From Smyrna" (*P. Oxy.* XII 1584.18).

Unlike the *pallium*, the *chlamys*⁷⁸ had a long tradition as a cloak in Greece. It was pictured on many vase paintings, and, in literature, was worn by the god Hermes.⁷⁹ Unlike that of other garments, the shape of the *chlamys* is frequently discussed in the sources, since it was believed that Alexandria in Egypt took the shape of this cloak. Plutarch relates that Alexander, at the site of Alexandria, ordered his architect to draw a plan of the proposed city:

καὶ γῆ μὲν οὐ παρῆν λευκή, τῶν δὲ ἀλφίτων λαμβάνοντες ἐν πεδίῳ μελαγγεῖα κυκλωτέρῃ κόλπον ἦγον, οὗ τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν εὐθείαι βάσεις ὡσπερ ἀπὸ κρασπέδων εἰς σχῆμα χλαμύδος ὑπελάμβανον, ἐξ ἔσου συνάγουσαι τὸ μέγεθος.⁸⁰ (Plut. *Alex.* 26)

Pliny echoes this story:

Metatus est Dinochares...ad effigiem Macedonicae chlamydis orbe gytrato laciniosam, dextra laevaue anguloso procurso.⁸¹ (Pliny *NH* V 62)

From these literary descriptions,⁸² it is surmised that the *chlamys* had a wide, curved lower edge and straight sides which inclined inward toward a straight upper edge which was considerably narrower than the lower edge.⁸³ The corners of the straight upper edge were fastened around the neck with a fibula.⁸⁴

Greek authors of the Roman period used the word *chlamys* to describe all types of Roman fibula-closed cloaks (the *abolla*, *sagum*, and *paludamentum*⁸⁵). Latin authors, however, only use the word interchangeably with *paludamentum*.⁸⁶ Nonius, in fact, says that "Paludamentum est vestis quae nunc chlamys dicitur (Non. Marc. XIV 538.33).⁸⁷ The *paludamentum* and *chlamys* were quite similar, although in place of the rounded lower edge of the *chlamys*, the *paludamentum* sported a narrow straight edge with two other straight edges inclining outward. The neck edge was much wider on the *paludamentum* than the *chlamys*.⁸⁸

After this discussion of the characteristics of Roman military clothing, Chapters 2 and 3 will discuss the means by which clothing was procured. More specifically, Chapter 2 is concerned with how military clothing was procured before the institution of the *vestis militaris*, and Chapter 3 is concerned with the fourth century tax used to purchase military clothing.

⁷⁸Pothoff 1992, 101-03.

⁷⁹Tarbell 1906, 283.

⁸⁰"There was no chalk at hand, so they took barley-meal and marked out with it on the dark soil a rounded area, to whose inner arc straight lines extended so as to produce the figure of a chlamys, or military cloak, the lines beginning from the skirts (as one may say), and narrowing the breadth of the area uniformly" (as translated by Bernadotte Perrin in the Loeb edition).

⁸¹"It was laid out by Dinochares...to the shape of a Macedonian chlamys, indented in its round edge, with projecting corners on the right and left."

⁸²Papyri do not aid our picture, as the only description of a chlamys is "white" (SB VI 9305.4).

⁸³Tarbell 1906, 284-87.

⁸⁴*chlamys est, quae ex una parte induitur, neque consuitur, sed fibula infrenatur;* (Isid. *Etym.* XIX 24.2.)

⁸⁵Amelung, "χλαμύς" P-W vol. 3.2, 2345.

⁸⁶For example, Agrippina Minor had a golden cloak. Suetonius (*Calig.* 19.2) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.56.15) called it a *chlamys* (*aurea chlamyde* and *chlamyde aurata* respectively), but Pliny (*NH* 33.3.63) called it a *paludamentum*.

⁸⁷"The *paludamentum* is a garment which now is called the chlamys."

⁸⁸Wilson 1938, 103.

Chapter 2

Clothing Deductions and Acquisition through the End of the Third Century

The exploits of the army are perhaps the best documented details of Roman history. As interested as ancient authors were in enemies and battles, they were equally uninterested in both the day-to-day details of operating the forces and the army's economic impact.¹ Thus we are left with only incidental tidbits of information on how Roman soldiers acquired their clothing before the reforms of Diocletian, when army uniforms became the indirect concern of every landholding citizen.

The limited evidence available tells us that as far back as the second century BCE, money was deducted from a soldier's pay for clothing. This was a point of contention between the soldiers and the leadership; the soldiers clearly preferred the free clothing that was supplied in some periods. Our sources do not tell us whether the deduction system was mandatory, or whether a soldier could take his pay and purchase clothing privately. A soldier of means could supplement the basic issue with superior clothing from home.²

The earliest evidence for clothing deductions comes from Polybius, writing on the conditions of service in the Roman army of the mid-second century BCE (6.39.15):

τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ τε αἴτου καὶ τῆς ἐσθήτος, κἄν τινος ὕπλου προοδεηθῶσι, πάντων τούτων ὁ ταμίαις τὴν τεταγμένην τιμὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀψωνίων ὑπολογίζεται.³

A quarter of a century later, Gaius Gracchus, responding no doubt to a devaluation of the coinage which reduced the value of the soldiers' pay, introduced reforms which included free clothing for the army:⁴

τῶν δὲ νόμων οὓς εἰσέφερε τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενος καὶ καταλύων τὴν σύγκλητον, ... ὁ δὲ στρατιωτικὸς ἐσθήτᾶ τε κελεύων δημοσίᾳ χορηγεῖσθαι καὶ

¹Alston 1995, 102.

²Such is the case in *P. Mich.* VIII 467 and 468 (early second century), where the soldier Claudius Terentianus writes to his father asking for clothing and other military supplies.

³"For the Romans, the quaestor deducts from their pay a set price for food and clothing and any arms they need."

⁴Watson 1969, 90.

μηδὲν εἰς τοῦτο τῆς μισθοφορᾶς ὑφαίρεισθαι τῶν στρατευμένων, ...⁵ (Plutarch *Gaius Gracchus* V)

The fact that the clothing deduction was cancelled may indicate that it was among the greatest financial burdens of the soldier.⁶ Julius Caesar doubled the pay of the soldier;⁷ he may also at this time have reintroduced the clothing deduction,⁸ which was being collected again by the reign of the emperor Tiberius, as Tacitus reports:

...enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari; hinc vestem, arma, tentoria; hinc saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi.⁹ (*Annals* I.17)

Documentary evidence from Egypt, in the form of pay records for two late first century legionaries,¹⁰ confirms that soldiers had money deducted from their salary for clothing. Deductions are taken from two of the three annual *stipendia*, totaling 200 drachmas in one case, 246 in the other, 26.9% and 33% respectively of the total yearly pay of 742.5 drachmae. It should be noted that the clothing deduction was almost as large as the food deduction, which totals 240 drachmas per year.¹¹

The military bureaucracy, with the soldiers' pay deductions in hand, had to acquire suitable uniforms. Given the cost of transport, the most economical way to purchase uniforms was to purchase it locally. Thus, in the earliest period of Roman history, when the army was fighting primarily in Italy, it is likely that the soldiers acquired their military clothing from the same sources as their civilian clothing, since their military and civilian wardrobes were almost identical.¹²

As military activity spread beyond the confines of Italy, there still was an economic advantage to purchasing clothing locally. There may have been occasions, though, when there were no manufacturers nearby or when local prices were exorbitant; such circumstances would have forced the army to purchase clothing elsewhere. For example, the *Pridianum* of *Coh. I Hispanorum Veterana* (c. 100-105), lists a soldier sent to Gaul to buy clothing; the cohort was stationed in Moesia.¹³ Weavers in Egypt made clothing for soldiers in Cappadocia¹⁴ and Judea;¹⁵ areas of the empire which had a large clothing industry, such as Egypt, may have been major suppliers to the army. There is no evidence that the army produced its own uniforms.

⁵"Among the laws he introduced to please the people and overthrow the Senate...(one was) military, and he ordered that clothing be supplied at public cost, and that nothing be deducted from the wages of those serving."

⁶*P. Gen. Lat.* 1 (see below) indicates that the deduction for clothing could have been the largest from the soldier's pay.

⁷...*legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit* (Suet. *Div. Iul.* 26).

⁸Watson 1969, 90.

⁹"What is more, military service was burdensome and unprofitable: mind and body were assessed at 10 asses per day; from this they had to buy clothing, weapons, and tents; in addition they had to buy off the cruel centurion and buy time off from duty."

¹⁰*P. Gen. Lat.* 1, recto pt. 1 (81) = *Rom. Mil. Rec.* 68.

¹¹Alston 1995, 105.

¹²See above, 73-74.

¹³*Rom. Mil. Rec.* 63, col. ii.18.

¹⁴*BGU* VII 1564; see below, 83-84.

¹⁵*P. Ryl.* II 189.

The earliest documents from Egypt which concern the acquisition of clothing by government agencies date to the second century. These documents are few in number, but nevertheless they illustrate the purchase of garments, cloth, and blankets by various liturgists, as well as the occasional involvement of government officials in the process.¹⁶

The earliest extant document concerning government purchase of textiles, dated to 119,¹⁷ is a declaration to the strategus of the Heracleopolite nome from the cloth dealers of Heracleopolis. The strategus had been asked by the praefect of Egypt to assign a value to a shipment of two hundred blankets that had been produced by the cloth dealers. As soon as a value could be set, the money would be delivered to an agent of the "*optio* in charge of clothing" (*ὀπτιῶν ἐπιμελητῆς ἱματισμῶν*). The declaration informs the strategus of the amount which the cloth dealers were reimbursed. The dealers say that they received two payments, the first of which, according to the editor, was a prepayment.¹⁸

While this declaration is somewhat confusing, because of its fragmentary nature, the transaction can still be explained. Two hundred blankets were produced by the weavers, who received an advance payment and a final payment, totalling 5658 drachmas, from subordinates of the *optio*. The *optio* is seeking reimbursement from the government, but the strategus wishes to confirm the amount before he pays anything to the *optio*. It is clear that the statements of the *optio* were not accepted without verification; given other evidence that the army did not pay fair market value for goods,¹⁹ the strategus in this document may be checking up on the behavior of the *optio*, or it may have been standard procedure to confirm the amount of the reimbursement.

The earliest document which deals directly with a government clothing purchase (dated 128) is a receipt issued by the collectors of public clothing for the guards (*οἱ παραλήπται δημοσίου ἱματισμοῦ κουστωδιῶν*).²⁰ The weavers' guild of the village of Soknopaiou Nesos had supplied nineteen tunics plus five cloaks designated specifically for the soldiers in Judaea. This document notes only the receipt of the garments; no mention is made of payment, which presumably would have been dealt with in a separate document.

Two second century documents from Philadelphia give further information on the process of clothing acquisition. In the first document, dated to 138,²¹ clothing receivers order the

¹⁶On the state needs for clothing in the second and third centuries in general, see Wipszycka 1966.

¹⁷This document, *P. Oxy.* XIX 2230, actually concerns blankets instead of clothing, but the officials here are the same who are concerned with clothing collection, and hence this can be considered in the same category.

¹⁸*P. Oxy.* XIX 2230 9-11n. This would be similar to the prepayment documented in *BGU VII 1564* (see below).

¹⁹Below, 96-97.

²⁰*P. Ryl.* II 189. Collectors with a similar title, *παραλήπται δημοσίων ἱματίων*, appear as the issuers of an unpublished receipt for different colored woolen cloths (which presumably would be made into military clothing). The text, once in the Gradenwitz collection, is referred to in *P. Hibeh* 67 note 10, and *P. Tebt.* II 347 note 12, but has never appeared in print and now is apparently lost. In the introduction to *P. Fuad Univ.* I, David Crawford says of the Gradenwitz collection "I have given in the Catalogue complete or partial transcriptions, wherever there are any points or words of interest, or where wording throws light on the nature of the document." Since he notes that several texts from Gradenwitz's inventory are missing, this text must have been among them, since it clearly must have been worthy of publication by the standards set forth above. The loss of this text is a particularly lamentable one, since it connects (through the liturgists) the collection of raw materials with the collection of completed garments. The liturgy is listed in Lewis 1997, 39-40.

²¹*BGU VII 1564*.

banker Heraclides to pay the weavers an advance payment for garments that had been requisitioned from them for the soldiers in Cappadocia. The order is for one chiton, four Syrian garments, and one blanket, which are described in extensive detail, including instructions about the standards to which they should be woven. The same group of weavers made an application to the strategus a year later.²² The application states that four members of the guild had been conscripted into some type of duty in Alexandria, and that since there were now fewer weavers, they could not finish the work. They request that they be exempted from further service, not only so that they can complete the present order, but also so that they may finish a new order without any further interruptions.

Second century clothing and textile purchases, as illustrated in the preceding four papyrus texts, were rather simple transactions: compulsory sales between the consumer (the government) and manufacturers (weavers, their guilds, and cloth dealers.) Civilian liturgists or military officials²³ placed an order and made a downpayment on the purchase; they later made the final payment, collected, and delivered the merchandise. Government collectors sometimes had to lay out the money for the payments themselves. In such situations, the strategus authorized and distributed reimbursements to them. The strategus also acted as a check on the honesty of the collectors, and the office of the praefect supervised the entire process of purchasing clothing for state needs.

The processes involved in the purchasing of clothing for the army were fundamentally no different from general patterns of requisitioning goods by the army in Egypt. In general, the people resented the army's presence because of the ease with which soldiers could abuse their power by demanding unauthorized requisitions (i.e. seizing property) and billeting.²⁴ The dilemma that the requisitioning system created in Egypt is clearly illustrated in a series of edicts issued throughout the first century which attempt to curtail the harassment of civilians by soldiers. During his visit to Egypt in 19,²⁵ Germanicus Caesar issued an edict (*SB* I 3924) making it clear that no one was to requisition in his name without his authority or that of his secretary. He feared that "the right of hospitality is being forcibly required for my entertainment, and that private citizens are being terrorized".²⁶ Later edicts of Lucius Aemilius Rectus (*P. Lond.* III 1171, dated to 42) and of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito (*CIG* 4956, dated to 49) again attempt to rectify the situation, by both banning any requisitions by soldiers or officials without their permission. The number of these edicts which were issued, as well as clear violations of the edicts mentioned elsewhere in the documents, prove that unauthorized requisitions were an ongoing problem. Even as late as 133/37, Marcus Petronius Mamertinus, praefect, issued an edict (*PSI* V 446) specifically forbidding this type of abuse by soldiers. He was upset by a situation in which "the army is accused of greed and injustice"²⁷

We do not see clothing, however, being seized without payment in the extant papyri. Instead, the evidence shows a series of compulsory purchases. If clothing manufacturers were

²²BGU VII 1572.

²³The specific duties of civilians may have differed from military collectors, but the documents do not supply this information.

²⁴Bowman 1986, 74-76; Alston 1995, 113.

²⁵Reported in Tacitus, *Annals* II 59-61; see Weingärtner 1969, especially 122-37.

²⁶καὶ κτηνῶν γείνεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ σκηνώσεσι καταλαμβάνεσθαι ξενίας πρὸς βίαν καὶ καταπλήσσεσθαι τοὺς ἰδιώτας (lines 6-8).

²⁷τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ ἀδικίᾳ διαβάλλεσθαι συνέβηκε (line 9).

paid a fair market price for their goods - and there is not enough information available to determine this - they could have actually benefitted from their business with the army. But as in the case of other goods needed by the army, and in later periods, it is more likely that weavers were not being paid full market value for their goods.²⁸ There were, though, some protections for clothing manufacturers. That they were at least paid the agreed upon price was assured by governmental oversight.

Evidence of clothing acquisition from the third century, either documentary or literary, is virtually nonexistent. There are only two papyri which pertain to clothing requisitions,²⁹ and one of these seeks clothing for gladiators, not soldiers. Although the sources are meager, they include enough information to show a significant modification of the process of collecting clothing which provides a link between the simple sales of the second century and the complicated process of the fourth century.³⁰

One long roll of accounts³¹ lists payments to soldiers in several entries under the heading "account of the village." Two lines describe cash payments made to soldiers for clothing.³² Although the nature of these entries is not entirely clear, two facts are apparent. First, the village is somehow involved in collecting money for clothes. Second, the village is presenting cash payments, not merchandise. *Adaeratio*, commutation of payments in kind into cash, was common in the fourth century, and also is seen in earlier texts.³³ *Adaerated* payments are not repaid by the government, so the practice described in the text is an early manifestation of a clothing tax.

Clothing for gladiators appears to have been requisitioned in the same manner as that for soldiers.³⁴ Thus, a third century document (*P. Lips.* 57, dated 261), discussing such a requisition should be mentioned here, particularly since it confirms the evidence of the previous text. Here, Aurelius Achilleus, acting on behalf of the town of Hermopolis, will deliver one half of the number of garments requisitioned; one hundred forty seven pairs (?) of tunics, eighty seven Syrian garments, and an unknown amount of another type of garment (both the amount and name of the garment are lost). Aurelius Achilleus is charged with "the oversight, preparation and convoy" of the garments. We lack context for a full explanation of Achilleus' duties, but it

²⁸Alston 1995, 112.

²⁹There are two other papyri which must be mentioned here. *SB* I 5677 (Hermopolis [?], 21.ix.222), a receipt, contains the abbreviation *στολ() στρ()*, which the editors filled out to read *στόλ(ου) στρ(απιωτών)*, a phrase which does not occur elsewhere (one could also imagine *στολ(ισμοῦ)*). The papyrus, originally in the private collection of Gradenwitz, is now in Tübingen. See Brashear 1996.

There is one additional document dated to the third century by Wilcken. This letter (*BGU* III 927) from the komarchs of a village to a man named Aurelius [], whose title is lost, discusses a requisition of wool. Thomas 1975, 118 shows that komarchs were not introduced before 245-247/8, so this is the earliest possible date for the text. Komarchs, however, are not regularly involved in clothing requisitions until the early fourth century. The papyrus will therefore be discussed below with texts dating to the late third-early fourth century.

³⁰See below, Chapter 3.

³¹*SB* VI 9406, dated Feb. 246 or later.

³²*στρατιώτη ἱματίων ὑπὲρ ἐπο() (δραχμαὶ) (τεσσαράκοντα)στρατιώτη ἱματίων (δραχμαὶ) (διακόσται)* (*SB* VI 9406 xii.289, 302).

³³Johnson 1936, 621.

³⁴Requisitioning for gladiators may have been a common practice, but this is the only extant document which refers to it. Evidence for gladiatorial *munera* at Alexandria is scarce: aside from the existence of an amphitheatre and an imperial *ludus*, there are only four documents, including the one under discussion, which provide evidence for the games. There is no evidence whatsoever for games in the *χώρα* (see Robert 1940, 242-3).

appears that he is responsible for acquiring the goods and delivering them to the gladiators. This text affirms the role of localities in the collection of garments.

Third century texts show an important change from those of the previous century. The army's clothing purchases in the second century were simple, direct sales between weavers and agents of the central government. The evidence of the third century, limited though it is, never mentions manufacturers. The emphasis has shifted - now villages and towns appear to bear the responsibility for supplying clothes or collecting money for them. While it could be argued that these differences reflect only a change in the nature of the extant documentation, this seems unlikely, given the obvious shift in responsibility. Second century texts include no intermediaries between the weavers and the government, but third century texts do; by the fourth century, complete responsibility lies with localities. Weavers, of course, would still provide the garments, but the village or town was responsible for collecting them and supplying them to the government.

The imposition of middle men in the process of collecting clothing was the result of the complex economic and political situation in the third century. Increasingly, provincials were forced to provide food and clothing for the army; the increased burden created a need for more administration of the process, which in turn may have pushed local governments to their limits.³⁵ Still, the overall burden of supplying the army was not devastating to the economy, because the increase in administration succeeded in distributing the burden more evenly.³⁶

Inflation also played a role in changing the way the government acquired clothing. The army undoubtedly paid weavers at a fixed rate, as they did in the early fourth century. As inflation, and debasement of the money in the latter part of the century, diminished the value of payments to weavers, citizens were forced to take on the financial burden of the collection process. Thus the third century marks the beginning of a system for the collection of clothing, a system fed by taxation.

³⁵Bowman 1986, 76-77.

³⁶Alston 1995, 113-14.

Chapter 3

The Fourth Century and the *Vestis Militaris*

Introduction

The history of requisitions of military clothing, as we have seen in Chapter 2, is one not easily traced before the fourth century. The army must have been buying or requisitioning clothing somewhere, but the process left virtually no documentation, especially when compared to the abundant sources of the fourth century. Evidence from the second century, limited as it is, shows the government entering into contracts directly with producers of clothing. During the third century, though, towns and villages appear to have taken on the responsibility of acting as intermediaries between the manufacturers and the government, and may themselves be responsible for raising the necessary funds. This is not surprising, given the distribution of fiscal duties to localities introduced by the reforms of Septimius Severus. The creation of town councils in Alexandria and in the nome capitals provided a framework into which requisitioning, e.g., of clothing, could be fit. Since the town council acted as tax supervisors for the entire nome, central military authorities could pass the burden of clothing acquisition to local liturgists drawn from the bouletic class.

The changes of the third century bring clothing requisitions into the realm of taxation. The fiscal burden of government operations was now placed in the hands of the town council, village officials, and even landowners, although these third century clothing requisitions do not represent an institutionalized or regularized levy, such as the one in operation in the following century. The shift toward local responsibility set the stage for the fourth century tax called, in the Theodosian Code, *vestis militaris*.

From the end of the third century through the first half of the fourth, sources show a systematic clothing tax collected in Egypt. Why military clothing became the focus of such governmental attention is unclear. The origin of the meticulous organization of the tax's collection is easier to explain, however, as it is tied to the fiscal and administrative reforms of Diocletian. The effect of the reforms on clothing taxation can be seen almost immediately.¹

Diocletian, in attempting to regularize taxes in kind, established a land-based taxation system. The design of the taxation system was straightforward—Diocletian divided land into

¹E.g., *P. Michael*. 21 (285), *P. Mich.* IX 547 (298), *P. Oxy.* XIV 1718 (ca. 298-301).

units, computed the needs of the Empire, and made each land unit responsible for its share of the burden. This uncomplicated approach to taxation was relatively easy to administer, and taxed the primary economic activity, namely agriculture.²

Thus, for the clothing tax, the needs of the Empire were assessed each year, and the amount required from each province was communicated to provincial officials. In Egypt, the primary collection unit was the nome, although the pagus became the most effective unit of land management in the *chora* after its introduction as an administrative subdivision in 307/308.³

A Thumbnail Sketch

Although the *vestis militaris* changed and evolved over time, the basic process of assessment and collection remained the same. Before looking at the changes and variation, it will be helpful to observe the *vestis militaris* as collected in the *chora* in a hypothetical model based on the tax rate shown in 247. The model is offered here as a way of clearly explaining how the *vestis militaris* worked; it is in no way meant as a perfectly accurate accounting of the year 324/25 or 325/26 (the dates of 247).⁴

The Hermopolite nome, comprised of approximately 413,820 arouras, owed about 400 garments; 247 therefore shows a taxation rate of 1 garment per 1000 arouras.⁵ Egypt's 9,000,000 arouras,⁶ would then be responsible for approximately 9000 garments.

A hypothetical collection model can be constructed using a total provincial collection of 10,000 garments, rounded up from the 9000 garments seen above to allow for a margin of error.⁷ The assessment of 10,000 garments would have been communicated to Egyptian provincial officials by the central Roman taxation authorities. Using records from earlier land surveys, provincial officials would assign the responsibility for garments to each nome according to its size. The following chart shows the approximate clothing assessments that would be collected from the nomes of Upper Egypt and the Memphite nome of Lower Egypt (the only parts of the province whose approximate land area can be estimated).⁸

Nome	Land Area (arouras)	Clothing (garments)
Ombite	26,136	28
Apollonopolite	49,731	53
Latopolite	81,675	88
Diospolite	103,092	111
Koptite	120,153	129
Tentyrite	108,900	117

²Bagnall 1993, 153-60 on taxation in the fourth century. See also Jones 1966, 33-36.

³Bowman 1971a, 45.

⁴We lack many of the data needed to determine the actual number of "clothes" collected, such as the tax collected on land owned by town residents.

⁵See above, 17. All land figures are from Bagnall 1993, 333-35. These numbers are not precise; hence I will round numbers throughout this sketch.

⁶Bagnall 1993, 20.

⁷For example, 247 may not have listed the contributions of urban residents.

⁸Calculated using the formula $400/413820 \times \text{area} \times 1.11$ (the final calculation is for rounding up).

Diospolite Parva	111,078	119
Thinite	222,519	239
Panopolite	208,725	224
Antaiopolite	192,753	207
Hypselite	45,375	49
Apollonopolite Parva	74,778	80
Lykopolite	90,750	97
Koussite	98,736	106
Hermopolite	413,820	444
Kynopolite	39,930	43
Oxyrhynchite	238,140	256
Herakleopolite	233,409+	250+
Arsinoite	326,700	351
Nilopolite	48,279	52
Aproditopolite	72,600	78
Memphite	102,003	109

Total Garments Collected 3230⁹

After provincial officials communicated the assessment to the nome, a liturgist in the nome capital (town) would divide the levy among the villages of the pagi in a document similar to 247. He would communicate the pagus' and village's assessments to each *praepositus pagi*, who would in turn give each village tax collector (*apaitetes*) his charge. In the Hermopolite, villages were responsible for between one and fifteen garments.

The "clothing" collector would then collect money from individual landholders at a rate of 1 garment per 1000 arouras.¹⁰ We do not have exact prices for garments in this period, so the precise cash value of these payments cannot be established. Still, there is some reason to believe that this tax did not create a great burden on landowners.¹¹

The monies collected were then sent up the hierarchy, from village to pagus to town, and were at some stage in the process used to purchase garments for the army.¹² Only then did the army itself get involved, retrieving the clothing from the civilian tax apparatus.

The town council was the central authority on which the entire *vestis militaris* collection procedure rested in each nome.¹³ Although there were supervisory personnel for the province, town councillors bore almost the entire responsibility. It was up to them to appoint, largely from among themselves, the liturgists who assessed, collected, and delivered clothing. Early in

⁹This figure represents less than one-third of the total collection from Egypt, since the land areas of three Upper Egyptian nomes (the Hermonthite, and Antinoite, and the Great Oasis) are not known; the figure does, however, include the one nome of Lower Egypt, the Memphite.

¹⁰Again based on the Hermopolite ratio of 400 garments/413,820 arouras seen in 247.

¹¹On the fiscal burden of military taxes, see Carriè 1977, 382 ff. and Bagnall 1985. On the actual money payments by individuals, see Carriè 1988, 139-20, especially 146.

¹²The point of conversion changes during the century. See below 96-98.

¹³The primary responsibility of the council was the collection of taxes, military taxes in particular (Bowman 1971b, 69).

the century, they supervised reimbursement.¹⁴ When there were deficiencies, their resources bridged the gap; when there were disputes, the council heard and settled them. Thus 247, the record of a town councillor, perhaps the *epimeletes esthetos*, is vitally important to our understanding of the tax.

Money or Clothes?

Was the *vestis militaris* paid in clothing, as the documents seem to suggest, or in money? This essential question about the tax has caused a great deal of confusion among scholars. The vocabulary of *vestis militaris* assessment and collection was always clothing; the documents speak of payments in clothing. Yet the papyri also include references to payments in fractions of garments, which obviously cannot be paid in kind; they also speak of money for garments. In spite of the seeming emphasis on clothing, no individual landowner/taxpayer ever paid this tax in kind. Careful analysis of the documents and the assessment and collection processes show that money was collected, and then clothing was purchased and delivered to the army.¹⁵ Thus the only references to actual items of clothing in the texts are ones which have been purchased with taxpayer's contributions. The administrative level at which the money was converted to clothing changed over time.

Although taxpayers only paid money, clothing was the currency, and denominations included the *pallium*, the *sticharion*, the *chlamys*, and the *dalmatikon*. We do not know how these units of taxation were assigned; *pallia*, *chlamydes*, and *sticharia* were charged both to villagers and town residents.¹⁶ The price differential among the garments was not great. The choice of "garments" also does not seem to correspond to the needs of the army. If this were the case, many more tunics than cloaks would have been collected, because tunics wore out more quickly and a soldier would probably need to own more than one. But in 247, more cloaks than tunics are reported as having been collected.

Payments by individual landholders are most often referred to in fractions of garments.¹⁷ To suit the needs of a particular place and assessment, the fractions range from 1/2 to 1/384.¹⁸ Texts which give a cash amount often include a stipulation that the money is for a particular item of clothing.¹⁹ One text lists the cash equivalents of fractional garments.²⁰

Only two texts list cash payments for clothing without specifying what the money represents.²¹ In both cases, the account is designated for clothing, but the individual payments are not itemized. These texts are related - they concern the same village, the same indiction, and one of the same taxpayers - so they should probably be seen either as an aberration from the normal pattern of designating the payments for specific items of clothing or as local level documents which did not require such a precise accounting. Their late date in the fourth century could indicate some change in accounting practices.

¹⁴See below, 92-96.

¹⁵Carriè 1993, 117.

¹⁶*Dalmatika* were rarely charged to anyone.

¹⁷Papyri which have clothing payments in fractions include *P. Oslo* III 119 (319), *P. Stras.* VIII 737 and 738 (380/81), *SB XVI* 12644 (2nd half fourth century) and 12646 (326/27).

¹⁸*P. Stras.* VIII 737 (380/81) lists the smallest fractions attested.

¹⁹E.g. *P. Panop.* II 17 and 18 (329), *PSI VII* 781 (341).

²⁰*P. Lond.* III 1259 (342/43).

²¹*P. Col.* VII 129 and *P. NYU* 4 (both 363/64).

At some stage in the taxation process, civilian tax officials needed to convert the money collected into clothing.²² In the period from Diocletian to Constantine, clothing was purchased by village officials;²³ for a brief period, pagus officials were responsible, but for the remainder of the century, the transactions were carried out by nome officials. The process of purchasing clothing did not generate as much paperwork as the collection of the tax would and did; but even this stage of the process is documented. For example, in 325 the *prytanis* of Oxyrhynchus (the head of the town council), after collecting money for clothing, sent his assistant to Tyre to purchase garments.²⁴ A papyrus from 342 acknowledges payment from the nome treasury to a group of clothing manufacturers (a weaver, a dyer, and a linen maker) for clothing that they delivered.²⁵ The final destination of clothing collected for the army was Alexandria,²⁶ although there may have been intermediate distribution points throughout Egypt.²⁷ It may often, though, have been most convenient for the deliverer to carry the cash to Alexandria and make the purchases near where the clothing was to be deposited, thus eliminating the problems and expenses of transporting the goods.²⁸

The papyri thus show that individuals never paid the *vestis militaris* in kind, but this view appears to conflict with the relevant section of the Theodosian Code, written at Hierapolis in 377:

...ita ut per Orientem provinciae in titulo auri comparaticii, quod per iugationem redditur, compensationis gratia perfruantur, exceptis Osrhoena et Isauria: nam easdem constat aurum comparaticium minime redhibere. (VII 6.3)²⁹

In addition to establishing a mode for assessment, the statute legalizes *adaeratio*, or payment in cash, in the provinces of the Orient. We know from the papyri, however, that cash payments had been made for almost a century. This statute may just have legitimized a common practice. It is more likely, though, that it is evidence of a further stage in the evolution of the *vestis militaris*, one in which nomes are permitted to pay cash to the provincial government without ever purchasing clothing.³⁰

Why did the government employ a clothing vocabulary when the *vestis militaris* was essentially a money tax? It certainly would have been simpler to refer to all the payments in cash. This would have saved local level collectors the aggravation of computing tax payments in small fractions of "clothes." But no one likes paying taxes, and pouring endless cash into

²²We do not know whether the amount of "clothing" collected (i.e., the money collected) would actually pay for the number of items of clothing stipulated.

²³See below, 92-96.

²⁴*P. Oxy.* LIV 3758.1-38.

²⁵*P. Bodl.* I 16.

²⁶*P. Lips.* 58, 59 (both 371) and *PSI* 1264 (fourth century).

²⁷Hermopolis was a center for distribution of food supplies to the army in the early fourth century, and other major cities along the river must have served in a similar capacity (see Bowman 1978, 36).

²⁸In *P. Lond.* V 1659, for example, the clothing collector sent his assistant to Alexandria to buy clothing.

²⁹"...such that through the Orient the provinces, except Osrhoena and Isauria, will enjoy the option of substituting gold for purchase, which is returned through iugation: for it is established that these provinces return gold payment not at all." Also *CJ* XII 39.2.

³⁰*P. Oxy.* XLVIII 3424.9 n.

the coffers of a government that you do not yet know or trust may have been troublesome for citizens of an empire which had recently undergone so many changes. The citizenry was familiar with clothing requisitions, which had existed as far back as anyone could remember. Clearly, there was a need for clothing. And perhaps it was a comfort to the taxpayers of this new empire to know where their money was going, especially since it was being spent on something so basic and essential, something that every citizen could understand the need for.³¹ Thus the decision to maintain the traditional vocabulary of clothing requisitions within the realm of money taxation was almost certainly a conscious choice on the part of the new government. Furthermore, calling this a clothing tax was not a deception: the money collected was, as far as we know, ultimately used to clothe the soldiers.

Requisition with Reimbursement: The First Quarter of the Fourth Century

The first period of the *vestis militaris* (285-327) is extremely well-documented because, by its nature, it created a great deal of paperwork.³² During these early years, villages, and perhaps individual taxpayers, were reimbursed by some officials for part of their contribution to the *vestis militaris*. As compared to the tax of the latter part of the century, the reimbursement process added another step in the tax collection process and yet another layer of documentation. Virtually all of the papyri from this period center on reimbursement and clearly illustrate this stage in the evolution of the *vestis militaris* from a requisition to a tax, while incidentally explaining, among other matters, the process of collection.

During the first quarter of the century, the clothing requisition operated in much the same manner as it did throughout its history. Clothing assessments were established by the central authorities, and communicated down through the administrative hierarchy to individual taxpayers. Landowners paid their tax in money to the village komarchs, who used the money to purchase garments, and delivered them to the army. The komarchs then applied to the strategus for reimbursement, and received it through the public bank. Presumably, individual taxpayers were originally taxed only for the difference between the price of the garment and the anticipated reimbursement; there is no evidence showing a reimbursement to an individual landowner. The reimbursed amount was always less than the full cost of the garments, so the *vestis militaris* in this period might be called a requisition or a quasi-tax.³³ It is interesting to note that although there had been outright clothing levies in the third century, the reforms of Diocletian restored the *vestis militaris* to the realm of compulsory purchase, at least for a few decades.

As was the case throughout the century, the town council provided leadership in collecting and monitoring the tax for the entire nome. In the first quarter of the century, however, the

³¹One is reminded of women knitting for the "boys" during World War II. Although this activity can partially be attributed to wartime patriotism, it also shows the common person's understanding of the most basic needs of the soldier.

³²Aurelius Polydeukes, in *CPR* V 6.4 (306) mentions that he was required to make seven copies of his receipt for reimbursement, and this was only one small step in a complicated process!

³³"Quasi-tax" is an appropriate term given that the *vestis militaris* was regularly levied on agricultural land just like any other tax, but it also resembles a compulsory purchase.

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strategus had a pivotal role, coordinating the payment of reimbursement.³⁴ The collection of taxes in kind (e.g., grain, wine, and shoes) was in fact the most important duty of the strategus, as is known from many documents addressed to strategi from tax collectors.³⁵ Officials at the local level, who had collected money and had purchased garments, had to apply to the strategus for reimbursement.³⁶ He then authorized payment through the public bank, and local officials were required to issue a receipt to the strategus upon payment.³⁷ The documents do not show the strategus involved in any other stage of the process.

Reimbursement payments for garments contributed to the government came from public bankers and were given directly to those who had purchased the garments. Local officials were required to give formal acknowledgement of the repayment to the bankers. This could be done with a copy of the acknowledgement sent to the strategus,³⁸ or in a separate document.³⁹ In at least one case, the payment was delivered by the *hypodektes*, who probably also gathered the garments procured by the villages.⁴⁰

The town council acted as supervisors in the imposition of the *vestis militaris*. They appointed and sometimes acted as liturgists who collected money and purchased clothing throughout the nome. In addition, it appears that town councillors were responsible for collecting the *vestis militaris* for the town itself. There is no evidence that the town was responsible for paying the tax later in the century, but documents from the period of reimbursement imply that the tax was levied on urbanites. Evidence suggests that there may have been clothing levies on towns in the third century.⁴¹ Thus, in the period of experimentation early in the century, there was a system of assessment on the property of town residents.⁴²

The evidence for urban *vestis militaris* payments consists of three acknowledgements of reimbursement issued by councillors.⁴³ Two of these are receipts addressed to the strategus or *exactor* for small amounts of clothing, one *chlamys* and one *sticharion* in one case,⁴⁴ one

³⁴One document, *P. Ant.* I 39, puts the *exactor* in this role instead of the strategus. There is an ongoing controversy as to whether the office of strategus existed after the introduction of the office of the *exactor* in 307/308. Most recently, Sijpesteijn 1992 has argued that both offices coexisted; Thomas 1995 argues that the *exactor* supplanted the strategus, but that people may have continued to use the old designation.

³⁵Thomas 1960, 263.

³⁶*P. Oxy.* XLIV 3194 (323, but referring to the tax years of 320/21 and 321/22), is the only extant request for repayment. Here the komarchs ask a certain Eudaemon to instruct the public bankers to pay them for clothing they furnished. Eudaemon's title is omitted, but he is certainly the strategus since it is the strategus' role to negotiate with public bankers. Nevertheless he is listed in Bastianini and Whitehorne 1987 with a question mark.

³⁷E.g. *BGU* II 620 (c. 302) and *P. Cair. Isid.* 54 (314).

³⁸*CPR* V 6.13-14.

³⁹*P. Oxy.* XIV 1718 (ca. 298-301).

⁴⁰*P. Ant.* I 39 (323).

⁴¹As in *P. Oxy.* XII 1414.2 (270-75), where the prytanis of Oxyrhynchus mentions the city's share of a clothing payment (*εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως*). This may, however, represent tax on the country holdings of city dwellers. See above, 86, and Lewis 1997, 26, on the *epimeletai esthetos*.

⁴²Bagnall 1993, 153-54 on experimental urban taxation in the early fourth century.

⁴³*P. Ant.* I 39 (323) and *CPR* V 6 (306), *P. Oxy.* XIV 1718 (ca. 298-301).

⁴⁴*P. Ant.* I 39 (323).

chlamys in the other;⁴⁵ the other is a receipt of payment from a councillor to a public banker, citing reimbursement for a larger number of garments, perhaps thirty or more.⁴⁶ It appears in these documents that councillors are serving the same function that komarchs do in the villages: delivering garments and receiving reimbursement for them.

The few documents we have concerning urban taxation show a disparate number of garments. Two of the documents list small amounts of clothing, one or two garments. Such payments would represent unusually large property holdings for an individual; very few people in the Hermopolite landlists own so much land.⁴⁷ We should not dismiss the possibility that the city councillors named in these texts are actually village tax collectors (komarchs), receiving reimbursement for a small village.

The larger reimbursement, for thirty or more garments, must represent the payment for the whole city, or a significant part of it. It has been argued that this reimbursement might be a partial payment from the whole nome, being paid to a councillor in charge of nome wide collection.⁴⁸ If this is the case, it is the only piece of evidence to support nome wide collection, and since the text does not give an explicit explanation, some caution must be exercised. Village level documentation argues against nome wide collection, since komarchs deliver their garments and then deal directly with the strategus for reimbursement; nowhere do we see komarchs accounting to the council for their village's share.

On the village level, the task of gathering requisitioned garments (i.e. collecting money from taxpayers and purchasing clothing) and requesting reimbursement fell to the komarchs,⁴⁹ and on occasion to the *tesserarius*.⁵⁰ Komarchs had been reintroduced into the Romano-Egyptian system of local administration ca. 245, that is, at about the same time that the office of village scribe ceased to exist.⁵¹ A number of texts show the komarchs heavily involved in

⁴⁵*CPR* V 6 (306). Rea, editor of the text, believed that strategus/exactor was the correct identification of the addressee, based on several parallels. Bagnall 1988, 161 n.1 disagrees, believing that a banker is the addressee, as is the case apparently with *P. Oxy.* XIV 1718. A banker, however, is an unlikely addressee in *CPR* V 6, since bankers are referred to in the third person (*τοῖς τραπεζίταις*, line 14), distinct from the addressee. The evidence of all other documents from this period shows the strategus as the only party with the authority to order reimbursement. Additionally, in a document which follows on the papyrus, the strategus of the Hermopolite nome is addressed.

⁴⁶*P. Oxy.* XIV 1718 (c. 298-301). The reimbursement amount is twenty-five talents, which at then current rates (see below) represents at least thirty garments. Clothing is not mentioned in this text, but it clearly belongs to the clothing reimbursement genre.

⁴⁷See Bowman 1985, 158-59. According to the tax rate in 247, an individual would have to have owned 1000 arouras to owe one garment.

⁴⁸Bagnall 1988 restores line 5 to read *εἰς τὸν τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ] νομοῦ λόγον κτλ.* ("for the account of the same nome, etc.").

⁴⁹*BGU* II 620 (=Wilcken *Chrest.* 186) and *SB* I 4421, both dated to ca. 302, document reimbursement for the value of tunics. These two receipts are issued by the same pair of komarchs from the village of Karanis, and are addressed to the same strategus, who functions on behalf of his superior, Annius Diogenes, the *procurator Haptanomia* (also attested in *P. Oxy.* XLII 3031 [ca. 302]). *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3194 (323) is a request for repayment from the komarchs of Sepho in the Oxyrhynchite nome to the strategus.

⁵⁰*P. Cair. Isid.* 54 (= *SB* VI 9071), dated to 314, is a receipt from the komarchs and the *tesserarius* of Karanis to the strategus of the Arsinoite nome. They acknowledge the receipt of a sum of money as reimbursement for *sticharia* and *pallia* that they delivered to *apodektai* (receivers) for a period three years past (310/11). The content of the account is summarized in *P. Cair. Isid.* 72.16-18, a memorandum for a petition to the praefect (*P. Cair. Isid.* 73). The petition is a complaint by the *tesserarius* against his "utterly depraved" colleagues, the *praepositi pagi* and the komarchs.

⁵¹Thomas 1975, 118.

the collection of military requisitions, such as fodder and rope, in addition to military garments.⁵² The *tesserarius*, a liturgy which is clearly distinct from the military office of the same name,⁵³ consisted, according to Lewis, of "a confusing variety of duties".⁵⁴ This single official, who held office for one year, was nominated by the *komarchs*, and could function alone or with the *komarchs*. He seems primarily to have been charged with the collection of requisitions, particularly military ones, from the village. The *tesserarius* may have served as a check on the *komarchs*.⁵⁵

The role of the town vis-à-vis the village within the tax collection system differed in the first quarter of the century from its role later in the century. The town councillors acted as supervisors in the period of reimbursement, appointing liturgists and communicating assessments. Since it was the *strategus*, however, that disbursed reimbursements, the *komarchs* applied directly to him. Our evidence does not show that the villages had to account to the town council.

The documents record other officials involved in the requisition and reimbursement process, although the totality of their roles is not known. For example, the *catholicus*, an imperial official, was involved in the delivery of clothing to the army,⁵⁶ and may have had other responsibilities.⁵⁷ Likewise, the *procurator*, another imperial authority, had a supervisory position in this process in that he was the superior of the *strategus*.⁵⁸ The *magister rei privatae* may also have had the authority to make requisitions.⁵⁹

The clothing that villages procured, however, was given directly to collectors appointed by the town council. Clothing *epimeletai*, or collectors, or *apodektai*⁶⁰ or *hypodektai*⁶¹ received the goods purchased by *komarchs* and issued them a receipt.⁶² All the clothing collected was gathered in a central location, certainly the town in each nome, and recorded⁶³ before being passed to the army.

Within the system of reimbursement of the first quarter of the fourth century, there is an unusual feature. From all of the reimbursements, there is a deduction of 6 1/2% for the

⁵²See Missler 1970, especially 95-97.

⁵³The re-use of the name of the military office may reflect the fact that the military *tesserarius* too was charged with collection of supplies. See Boak 1951, 333.

⁵⁴Lewis 1997, 47.

⁵⁵Boak 1951, 333.

⁵⁶*CPR* V 6 (306), where a town councillor says that he delivered a cloak to the *catholicus*.

⁵⁷The *catholicus* appears to be involved in another requisition for *sticharia* in *P. Panop. Beatty* 2.20-26. This letter to the *strategus*, dated to 300, mentions a requisition of military garments by imperial order, although the fragmentary state of the text does not allow for clarification of the nature of the requisition.

⁵⁸Annius Diogenes, known to have been a *procurator Heptanomiae* from *P. Oxy.* XLII 3031 (ca. 302), is mentioned as giving authority to the *strategus* in *BGU* II 620 and *SB* I 4421 (both ca. 302). The *procurator* of the Lower Thebaid authorizes a lower official (the *strategus*?) to reimburse a councillor in *CPR* V 6 (306).

⁵⁹In *BGU* III 927, *komarchs* have delivered raw wool according to the orders of the *magister rei privatae*. This text was dated by Wilcken to the late second/early third century, but the involvement of *komarchs* dates the text to 245 or later; I would place it in the Diocletianic - Constantinian period, since it so resembles clothing requisition documents in form. Unfortunately, this document is not very enlightening, since it is the only one which mentions the *magister rei privatae* and the only text to discuss raw wool requisitions. For clothing requisitions within the *res privata*, see Delmaire 1989, 332-45.

⁶⁰*CPR* V 6 (306).

⁶¹*P. Stras.* VII 618.4 (after 319).

⁶²Examples of this type of receipt include *P. Michael.* 21 (285) and *P. Mich.* IX 547 (298).

⁶³*P. Stras.* VII 618 and *P. Stras.* VII 691 (after 319) (two pieces of the same text) may represent a list of collections brought to the town.

fiscus.⁶⁴ Johnson⁶⁵ believed that, because the deduction was always connected to payments through banks, it must have been a banker's discount of some kind. This opinion is refuted, however, by the evidence of *BGU* II 620, as reread by Rémondon, which makes clear that the bankers do not retain this money. Instead, Rémondon argued that the deduction, at least in the second and third centuries, was a tax on manufacturing, since no such deduction is known to have been made from natural materials supplied to the government in this period. By the fourth century, when the responsibility for providing garments had shifted from the producers to localities, the deduction, representing a manufacturing tax, had become so entrenched in the system of clothing collection that it was probably no longer questioned, if in fact it ever had been.

It is possible that the 6 1/2% deduction represents a transportation charge: a papyrus from the end of the first quarter of the century shows a 7% charge in connection to the price of a tunic, presumably for transportation.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, none of the texts explain the reason for the 6 1/2% deduction.

The 6 1/2% deduction was simply subtracted from the reimbursement before the amount was sent to either a komarch or a councillor. Typically, the receipt for such a transaction cites the total payment, the rate and the amount of the deduction, and the net payment.⁶⁷ Since calculating 6 1/2% is not a simple matter, computational errors sometimes occurred.⁶⁸

The 6 1/2% deduction occurs so consistently with clothing and tow reimbursements⁶⁹ that it is reasonable to assume that any document with a 6 1/2% deduction refers to clothing requisitions.⁷⁰ No other commodities carried this charge, as is shown in two documents concerning reimbursement which list clothing or tow among other items, such as gold and charcoal. In both cases, the deduction is made only from the reimbursement for clothing.⁷¹ Thus it may be possible to identify a number of fragmentary texts as belonging to the genre of clothing requisition reimbursements, simply because they include the deduction of 6 1/2%.⁷²

A Period of Transition

During the period from Diocletian to Constantine, the government procured clothing from villages and towns, and reimbursed them for their expenses. The rate of reimbursement

⁶⁴There has been a great deal of scholarship on this question. Rémondon 1956, 244-260 first gathered the relevant material for analysis; Youtie 1956 and Bagnall 1988 established the direct connection between the 6 1/2% deduction and clothing requisitions.

⁶⁵1936, 447-48.

⁶⁶*P. Oxy.* LIV 3758 (325).

⁶⁷Documents with 6 1/2% deductions include *BGU* II 620 (ca. 302), where the deduction is listed as going ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς λόγοις (i.e. to the *fiscus*); *P. Cair. Isid.* 54 (=SB VI 9071 (314), *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3194 (323), *P. Ant.* I 39 (324). The only reimbursement document which does not mention the deduction is *CPR* V 6 (306), but this may have been an oversight, or the amount mentioned may be net, not gross.

⁶⁸E.g. *P. Cair. Isid.* 54 (314).

⁶⁹Raw material for clothing was part of the requisition for the first quarter of the century, but apparently not afterward. Texts with tow requisitions are *P. Oxy.* LIX 3982 (314) and *P. Oxy.* XII 1430 (324).

⁷⁰Bagnall 1988, 160-64.

⁷¹*P. Oxy.* XLIV 3194 (323), which deducts 6 1/2% from each individual clothing transaction (no other commodities are listed), and *P. Oxy.* XII 1430 (324).

⁷²These include *P. Oxy.* XIV 1718 (ca. 298-301), which acknowledges repayment of a large amount of money to a councillor, authorized by the strategus; *P. Col.* X 286 (317), where a long series of calculations include deductions of 6 1/2%; *CPR* VIII 27 (324), where the reimbursement is paid in gold.

remained constant from 302 to 323: 4000 drachmae for a *sticharion*, and 5000 drachmae for a *pallium*.⁷³ The actual cost of producing these garments, however, did not remain constant during this twenty-one year period. In the period from 312 to 318, inflation had reduced the value of the cash reimbursement to one-sixth of the value it had at the turn of the century. By 327, the reimbursed value of a *sticharion* was 1 talent;⁷⁴ but even this larger amount was worth only one twenty-fifth of the value of 4000 drachmae at the beginning of the century.⁷⁵ Since reimbursement no longer compensated those who had purchased the clothing, the requisition was quickly evolving into a tax.

Other changes were underway. In 327, reimbursement was paid to a *praepositus pagi* rather than to a komarch or councillor.⁷⁶ This is the last recorded case of a reimbursement payment. Further deviation from normal patterns appears in the documentation. Earlier, villages collected money and purchased clothing. But in 319, a village is recorded making a fractional payment, implying that the village now made its contribution in money, not clothing.⁷⁷

The change from a partially compensated requisition to a pure tax occurred over a short period of time, and several factors may have been involved. The continuing depreciation of the reimbursement, due to inflation, probably affected village officials' ability to purchase garments. The centralization of tax authority with the town council played a role. Also, the introduction of the pagus provided a new level of bureaucracy. Thus, at some time around 320, village komarchs began to pay cash to the *praepositus pagi*, who purchased garments and received reimbursement. And then, a few years later, reimbursement was discontinued completely, and nome level officials took over the responsibility of purchasing clothing.⁷⁸ This practice continued for the remainder of the century, until, perhaps, the law recorded in the Theodosian Code allowed cash to be sent to the central government.⁷⁹

The *vestis militaris* codex, 247, dates exactly to the period of the transition. Here we see a document produced at the level of the nome, which presumably included nome totals. The accounting is broken down with totals for the pagi and villages. Since the amounts listed for villages (be they assessment or collection figures) include fractions, we can be sure that the village was not purchasing clothing, but that the adaeerated payments were passed to a higher level of the bureaucracy before being used to purchase clothing.

What is not clear from 247 is who, at this time, would have turned the cash payments into clothing, the *praepositi pagi*, or nome officials. The inclusion of pagus totals perhaps argues that it was the *praepositi pagi* who converted the money, but this cannot be established for certain because when the nomes were converting money to clothing, there was still an accounting at the pagus level. A contemporary Oxyrhynchite text (*P. Oxy.* LIV 3758) shows nome level conversion, but the codex might date one year earlier than this text, when a different process may have been in effect.

⁷³Rates documented in *BGU* II 620, *P. Cair. Isid.* 54, and *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3194.

⁷⁴*PSI* IV 309 (327). This rate was still in effect in 342 (*P. Bodl.* I 16).

⁷⁵Bagnall 1985, 69. Carriè 1980, 453 argues that at this time the citizenry may have been placated by thinking that they were only being reimbursed for the cost of labor, not materials. This seems unlikely.

⁷⁶*PSI* IV 309 (327).

⁷⁷*P. Oslo* III 119 (319). Of course, very small villages, which would have owed less than one garment, may have always made their payments in cash.

⁷⁸As they do in *P. Oxy.* LIV 3758.1-38 (325).

⁷⁹See below, 100-101.

It is clear from the sources that during the 320's, the *vestis militaris* evolved from a requisition to a tax through a series of changes. There were two primary facets of the change. First, there was a change in the level at which cash payments were converted to clothing; earlier it had been the village but it rapidly moved to the pagus and then to the nome. Second, reimbursement to villages decreased in value and then stopped altogether. What is not clear from the evidence is whether this was a smooth transition or whether, in these years of swift change, there was consistent practice from nome to nome. The Columbia codex, lengthy and tantalizing through it is, does not contain the type of specific information we would need to answer these questions, but it does at least confirm that by the mid 320's villages were no longer responsible for converting cash to clothing.

Aspects of the Vestis Militaris

Assessment

The sources for the assessment of the *vestis militaris* are particularly helpful in that we have both schedules of assessment and assessments on specific parcels of land. In addition to papyri, we have the Theodosian Code (as well as that of Justinian) which records an official policy on the *vestis militaris* from the imperial government. Unfortunately, though, most of the information we have postdates the bulk of *vestis militaris* papyri, and the data are incomplete, making a comparison from decade to decade difficult.

The basic system of assessment was straightforward, although there were certainly snags in the process at the local level. The texts indicate that the province was assigned a number of garments to supply to the imperial government. This number may have varied according to the needs of the army, or it may have been fixed for stretches of time. The rate seen in 247 implies a payment of roughly one garment per thousand arouras at the end of the first quarter of the century; in the late 350's, the rate was roughly fourteen garments per thousand arouras.⁸⁰ A decade before this, there may have a higher rate, but the figures are difficult to compare.⁸¹

Every level of administration, from the provincial to that of the village, was involved in the assessment process. Land survey records were kept by provincial administrators, and through these a levy was assigned to each nome in proportion to its taxable arouras.⁸² After a number of garments had been assigned to the nome, the official in charge, again using survey records, divided the assessment among the pagi.⁸³ The *praepositus pagi* further divided the assessment of garments among the villages and hamlets according to their taxable land area.

At the village level, local officials must certainly have kept meticulously accurate figures on the property of each landholder in the community. Using current information on the price of

⁸⁰Data from SB XVI 12644 (second half fourth century) and P. Oxy. XVI 1905 (356/57 or 371/72); see below.

⁸¹Figures from PSI VII 781 (341); see below.

⁸²At the upper levels of administration, numbers were rounded off, so that we see no levy in a fraction smaller than one-half. It is only at the local level that minute fractions appear. Rounding off would obviously simplify the process.

⁸³Pagus level officials were involved in collection, as is shown in 247, where pagus totals are noted, and P. Oxy. XII 1448 (c. 318), where pagus arrears are listed. No documents show the *praepositus pagi* involved in assessment, but it can be assumed that the assessment process followed the same chain of command as that of collection.

each of the required garments, the village tax official computed precisely what each taxpayer owed, in fractions as small as were necessary. Clearly, the work of the local level assessor was the most difficult, since it often involved computing tiny fractions and amounts, although this would have been far more complicated were the figures not rounded off before they came to the village assessor. These officials appear to have had some latitude in how they computed individual assessments, since no standard set of fractions was used.

Collection documents show that the straightforward assessment process did not guarantee that the tax would be paid in a timely fashion, or that it would be paid in full. A collection account from the second half of the century shows that, on average, 86% of the assessed amount was collected, though sometimes the figure was as low as 66%.⁸⁴

Our earliest assessment document dates to 341.⁸⁵ Here a payment of 428 talents, 2000 drachmas is paid at a rate of 700 drachmas per aroura. Thus, a landholder with 1000 arouras would have been required to pay 116 talents, 3960 drachmas, the equivalent of 4.17 artabas of wheat.⁸⁶ Compared to the period fifteen years earlier, when 1000 arouras would have been taxed at the equivalent of 3.5 artabas, this rate seems exorbitant; the nature of the data involved, though, may skew this comparison.⁸⁷

Two documents from the second half of the fourth century show a consistent and seemingly lower rate of assessment. A brief account assesses 1/12 of a *chlamys*, 1/8 of a *sticharion*, and 1/90 of a *pallium* on 19 1/6 arouras.⁸⁸ The rate of assessment in this document is 1 *chlamys* for 230 arouras, 1 *sticharion* for 153 arouras, and 1 *pallium* for 1726 arouras, or approximately eleven garments per thousand arouras. Another document shows a similar rate of payment.⁸⁹ This assessment calls for a contribution of one *sticharion* for 175 arouras, 1 *chlamys* for 243 arouras, and one *pallium* for 1925 arouras, or approximately ten garments per thousand arouras. Additionally, for each *chlamys* contributed, the taxpayer also had to pay 11/12 of a linen *sticharion*, bringing the total contribution on a thousand arouras to approximately fourteen garments. These figures from these two texts are remarkably similar, and this should be taken as evidence of a regularization of the *vestis militaris* by the middle of the century.

The papyri indicate that the rate of assessment of the *vestis militaris* was standardized around the middle of the century. A statute recorded in the *Theodosian Code* (Hieropolis, 377) showed yet another change in the rate of assessment, this one to the advantage of tax payers:

⁸⁴P. Innsbruck inv. 9, which is being edited by Ann E. Hanson. The document shows the collection of the same number of garments for six of seven years, implying that it dates after the regularization of the *vestis militaris*.

⁸⁵PSI VII 781, a document recording payment for clothing for recruits.

⁸⁶An artaba of wheat averages 28 talents c. 338-341 according to SB XIV 11593 and SPP XX 75.

⁸⁷At this time (327, seen in PSI IV 309), a garment was reimbursed at 10 talents, and an artaba of wheat at 2.89 talents, so the assessment rate in 247 would be the equivalent of 3.5 artabas of wheat. The problem with this calculation, though, is that the "prices" we have for both commodities from 327 are not sale prices but reimbursement prices; the data from 338-341 are sale prices. We do not know if wheat and clothing were reimbursed at the same rate, i.e. it is possible that wheat was reimbursed at, say, 90%, and clothing at 75%, which would make the ratio invalid.

⁸⁸SB XVI 12644 (353/54).

⁸⁹P. Oxy. XVI 1905 (356/57). Bagnall 1980, 185-95 and Carriè 1980, 435 both favor this date, but Carriè does not want to dismiss the possibility of 341/42. This text is crucial to our understanding of taxation in this period; see e.g. Carriè 1988, 116-30.

Provinciae Thraciarum per viginti iuga seu capita conferant vestem: Scythia et Mysia in triginta iugis seu capitibus interim annua solutione dependant: per Aegyptum et Orientis partes in triginta terrenis iugis, per Asianam vero et Ponticam diocesim ad eundem numerum in capitibus seu iugis annuae vestis collatio dependatur... (VII.6.3)⁹⁰

Analysis of earlier assessment data shows that this law reduced the tax burden on Egypt by charging one set of clothing on thirty *iuga* rather than on twenty, the rate shown in the earlier assessment texts of the 350's.⁹¹

Collecting Money for the Tax

While assessment for the *vestis militaris* operated from the top of the administration down, collection began at the level of the village and worked its way up through the governmental layers. Following the norm for Egypt, each level of administration had liturgical collectors, all appointed and overseen by the town council for each nome. The councillors bore the financial risk inherent in collection, but there were also opportunities for profit available to the entrepreneur willing to hire himself out as an assistant to a councillor.⁹²

Appointment of *vestis militaris* collectors rested with members of the town council acting in various liturgical positions. The *praepositus pagi* accepted nominations to the position of village collector (*apaitetes*) from the komarchs and *tesserarii*, the local tax men.⁹³ Nome level clothing supervisors (*epimeletes*) were appointed by the *prytanis*, who could take on this position while he searched for someone to fill it, as is seen in a group of texts from Panopolis.⁹⁴ In the case of these Panopolite texts, overall supervision came from the *officialis* of the praeses of the Thebaid; the provincial governor's office was generally the highest authority.

We know some things about *vestis militaris* liturgies from those who wanted to be excused from them, as is the case with many such offices. For example, in proceedings before the council of Oxyrhynchus, Macrobius, on behalf of his father Theon, son of Ammonius, asks that he be relieved of the collectorship of woolen clothing for the soldiers.⁹⁵ Macrobius notes to his fellow councillors that he has already been listed among those charged with pagarchies and contractorships, and additionally he raises horses (presumably to supply the army), which

⁹⁰"The provinces of Thrace will contribute one set of clothing for each twenty taxable land units or taxable persons. Scythia and Moesia, for the interim, will pay in an annual payment one set of clothing for each thirty taxable land units or taxable persons; through Egypt and parts of the Orient one set of clothing for each thirty taxable land units, moreover through the dioceses of Asia and Pontus the annual clothing levy will be paid according to the same number of taxable persons or land units..." See Dautzenberg 1971, 139-41.

⁹¹Carriè 1993, 116-27.

⁹²Bagnall 1993, 157-58.

⁹³*P. Oxy.* LI 3621 (329). A *praepositus pagi* could also prevent someone from being appointed *apaitetes* as a personal favor, as in *P. Oxy.* XII 1424 (c. 318).

⁹⁴*P. Lips.* 45, 46, 58, 59, and 60 (371) show the process of replacing of Aphthonius, the clothing supervisor, who has died. Immediately after his death, his daughter assumed the liturgy, but the *prytanis* then took on the responsibility until a replacement could be located. The *prytanis* appointed a supervisor; he was succeeded by a pair of men, but the work was finally carried out after they were replaced. Since one of the intermediate collectors was the son of the deceased, there may have been a legal dispute as to whether he had to assume his father's financial obligations.

⁹⁵*P. Oxy.* XVII 2110 (370).

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should exempt him from this additional duty as a clothing collector. Members of the council are polled, each defending Macrobius' claim, and in the end he is relieved of the clothing liturgy. Thus the clothing collectorship was considered a burdensome task, certainly one that you would not want to do in concert with other liturgies.⁹⁶

In a village, payments for the *vestis militaris* were collected by an *apaitetes*⁹⁷ or his assistant.⁹⁸ These officials collected money from landholders and issued receipts to them.⁹⁹ The *praepositus pagi* received the money from the village *apaitetes*, before passing it to an official in the town.¹⁰⁰ It appears that money was also sometimes paid directly from a landholder to a *pagus* level official.¹⁰¹

Supervisors (*epimeletai*) in the nome capital supervised the nome wide tax collection process¹⁰² and deposited the cash payments in the public bank.¹⁰³ Before the institution of the office of the *praepositus pagi*, they accepted clothing payments directly from village officials.¹⁰⁴ They may still have accepted payments from collectors later in the century.¹⁰⁵ The *exactor* had some role in *vestis militaris* collection for the nome, but the texts do not offer specific details.¹⁰⁶

Finally, clothing collection was accounted for at the level of the province. Although the structure of Egypt as a province was altered many times during the fourth century, as was the office of the governor,¹⁰⁷ someone had to supervise the work which was carried out by the nomes. Unfortunately, this stage in the process is not present in our documentation, so we do not know the specific official charged with provincial collection.

The Purchase and Delivery of Clothing

Once cash payments for the *vestis militaris* were amassed, they were used to purchase clothing, and the goods were delivered to the army. This is the least documented stage of the fourth century *vestis militaris*. Typically, taxation creates a vast quantity of paperwork; consumer transactions produce less, even when the government is the consumer. The dearth of

⁹⁶Macrobius' other liturgies are referred to as "heavy" (*βαρύτατοι*).

⁹⁷Attested in *P. Bad.* II 26 (292) *P. Oslo* III 119 (318/19), *P. Oxy.* LI 3621 (329), and *P. Panop.* 18 (c. 329).

⁹⁸*P. Stras.* VIII 738 (380/81?).

⁹⁹For a comprehensive study of this office, see Palme 1989.

¹⁰⁰No texts directly show a *praepositus pagi* receiving money from an *apaitetes*, but several texts imply that this official at least supervised the collection of payments, and the collection was accounted for at the *pagus* level. Among these are *P. Oxy.* XII 1448 (c. 318), 247 (324/25), *P. Lond.* III 1259 (342/43), *P. Stras.* VIII 735 (fourth century). See also Bagnall 1993, 157-58.

¹⁰¹In *P. Panop.* 18, Psnos makes a clothing payment to the *apaitetai*; in *P. Panop.* 17 (also 329), he makes the payment directly to the collector (*epeiktes*) for the first *pagus*.

¹⁰²These officials are seen in *P. Stras.* VII 695 (second half fourth century), although they are not mentioned here by name because the text is fragmentary. 247 was certainly composed by the *epimeletai* for the Hermopolite nome. *P. Innsbruck* inv. 9, which I date to the second half of the fourth century because it shows consistent collection over the course of several years, is probably also a nome level document, composed by an *epimeletes*. It shows a collection of 3600 garments per year, which, at the rate of 12.5 garments per *aroura* (see above), indicates a taxable land area of 288,000 *arouras*. This could represent one of the larger nomes.

¹⁰³*P. Oxy.* LVI 3874 (c. 345/46), line 30 and note.

¹⁰⁴*P. Michael.* 21 (285) and *P. Mich.* IX 547 (298).

¹⁰⁵*P. Stras.* VII 695. The text is very fragmentary, but an *apaitetes* is mentioned (line 8).

¹⁰⁶*SB* XII 10988 (342).

¹⁰⁷For the reorganization of the provinces of Egypt, see Bagnall 1993, 63-64.

documentation may also reflect the fact that many of these transactions took place in Alexandria or abroad. The final delivery point was Alexandria.¹⁰⁸

Early in the century, it was the responsibility of village komarchs to purchase clothing. Nome level officials also had some part in clothing purchase, but perhaps only in the case of clothing owed by city residents.¹⁰⁹ Throughout the rest of the century, high-ranking nome liturgists, such as the *prytanis* or the clothing *epimeletai*,¹¹⁰ were responsible for buying the clothing from tradesmen and manufacturers.¹¹¹ It seems, however, that they usually acted through assistants; those who held these liturgies no doubt had many other duties which required that they be in the town, so a trip to buy clothing might be an inconvenience. Such is the case in a fourth century private letter written by a clothing liturgist to his assistant, who had been sent to Alexandria to procure clothing. But the letter also shows that entrusting your duties to another could put you in a vulnerable position.¹¹²

The consequences and risks of the clothing purchaser are illustrated in a proceeding before the *logistes* of Oxyrhynchus in 325.¹¹³ The councillors and landholders, headed by Leukadios, exacted the sum of 7000 talents from the people, and then sent the assistant of Leukadios to Tyre to purchase 150 tunics. But now, according to an order of the praefect, the people must be paid back, and the *logistes* is enforcing the order. Leukadios wants no part of the negotiations, since he, in his estimation, has done his duty, and he does not feel responsible for the tunics which are now surplus. Nevertheless, the *logistes* tells him that he must pay the money back to the people and then try to recoup his losses by selling the clothing to his fellow councillors and landholders, who in turn can try to sell them to recover their loss.

The implication of this text is that there was room for graft within the collection and delivery system.¹¹⁴ It appears that the citizens had been cheated, and were not in fact responsible for paying for the tunics - they are said to have handed over the money "unwillingly". The praefect apparently got wind of the injustice, and insisted that the situation be rectified. The councillors have now received their due, because they are left with tunics for which there is no use; the text implies that they will now take a loss if they resell them.

The overhead costs of purchasing and delivering the clothing were borne by the taxpayers, or perhaps the tax collector if he did not figure this into the original assessment. In the scant evidence we have, expenses, presumably including travel for the purchaser and transportation

¹⁰⁸As in *PSI* XII 1264 (fourth century), a list of contributions sent to Alexandria.

¹⁰⁹The strategus is involved in a clothing purchase in *P. Panop. Beatty* 2.20-26 (300). The *prytanis* discusses a clothing purchase in *P. Oxy.* XII 1414.1-3 (270-75), but the clothing represents the "city's share" (*τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως*).

¹¹⁰*P. Lips.* 58, 59, and 60 show an *epimeletes* purchasing clothing in Alexandria.

¹¹¹*P. Bodl.* I 16 (342), where the nome treasury has made a payment to a weaver, a dyer, and a manufacturer.

¹¹²*P. Lond.* V 1659 (fourth century). The text of the letter is quite difficult to decipher; the editor paraphrases the ending of the letter as follows: "And I know that as you show no concern on my behalf, in consequence of your long negligence at Alexandria in not buying the articles you know without my telling you that he will hand me over (to the authorities), so that I shall come out of the liturgy in a miserable state."

¹¹³*P. Oxy.* LIV 3758 (325). This text is fragmentary and confusing, but is still one of the most important pieces of evidence concerning purchases of clothing.

¹¹⁴The possibility of fraud is directly addressed in the *CTh* as it regards military clothing receivers: "...ut ad excludendas fraudes uno anno, non plus, haec necessitas procuratur..." (VII.6.1 [365]).

of the goods, were set at seven percent of the total cost of a garment.¹¹⁵ This figure might be higher than the norm, since the clothing was being purchased abroad.

In Alexandria, the clothing was delivered to representatives of the army.¹¹⁶ The military had their own system of distribution. The acquisition process, like the assessment and collection processes, was supervised by provincial officials such as the *praeses* or *procurator*.¹¹⁷ By the end of the century, according to the provision for *adaeratio* in the Theodosian Code, it may have been possible for the nome treasury simply to transfer cash to an army official, leaving the responsibility for purchasing with the military.¹¹⁸ In some parts of the Empire, soldiers were given money to purchase their own clothing.¹¹⁹

Accounting and Documentation

If there is one sure fact about the *vestis militaris*, it is that it produced a huge volume of documentation.¹²⁰ If the system worked well, in a given indiction assessment documents were produced at the provincial, nome, pagus, village, and individual level; receipts for payments were also generated at each stage. Many transactions would also have to be explained in declarations. Any departure from the routine, however small, produced extra paperwork.

Through the whole history of the tax, receipts are the most common type of *vestis militaris* documents. In spite of their individual brevity, these texts offer a great deal of information, including the method of payment, the rates of assessment, the "garments" collected, and information on who collected the tax. Receipts may follow an order to pay¹²¹ or a declaration of payment.¹²²

Among the receipts from the first quarter of the century are a group which recognize repayment to the village for clothing provided to the government.¹²³ Typically, these are addressed to the strategus from the komarchs of a particular village. The text acknowledges reimbursement from a public bank, usually with a 6 1/2% deduction from the amount. A request for reimbursement is also documented.¹²⁴

Receipts for payments made by individuals to tax collectors, or from local level tax collectors to nome officials, constitute the majority of *vestis militaris* documentation and span the whole century.¹²⁵ These are addressed to the taxpayer (or lower level official), listing the pay-

¹¹⁵*P. Oxy.* LIV 3758, where a tunic cost 65,000 denarii with an additional 5000 denarii for expenses.

¹¹⁶"Sive ex principalium sive ex honoratorum numero susceptor vestium nominetur..." *CTh* VII.6.1 (365).

¹¹⁷*P. Oxy.* XLII 3031 (302).

¹¹⁸*P. Ross. Georg.* V 61 (last quarter fourth century) may show cash deliveries to the army; since the document is very fragmentary, it could be that it should be placed at the nome level.

¹¹⁹Soldiers in Illyria were given cash for *chlamydes* (*CTh* VII.6.4 [396]). By 423, the Code stipulates that 5/6 of money collected for clothing goes to the *fortissimi milites*; the remaining money goes to weavers to make clothing for common soldiers and recruits (*CTh* VII.6.5).

¹²⁰Thus taxation is an industry in itself. The amount of paperwork required by new, bureaucratically controlled taxes like the *vestis militaris* provided more work for scribes, and created more demand for papyrus.

¹²¹*P. Panop.* 17 and 18 (329).

¹²²*BGU* III 927 (early fourth century), *P. Lips.* 58 and 59 (371), 60 (?).

¹²³*P. Ant.* I 39 (323), *BGU* II 620 (302), *P. Cair. Isidor.* 54 (314), *CPR* V 6 (306), *CPR* VII 27 (324), *P. Oxy.* XII 1430, *P. Oxy.* XIV 1718 (298-301), *P. Oxy.* LIX 3982 (314), *SB* I 4421 (c. 302), *SB* XVI 12543 (327).

¹²⁴*P. Oxy.* XLIV 3194 (323).

¹²⁵*P. Ant.* I 40 (318 or 333 or 348), *P. Bad.* II 26 (292/93), *P. Bodl.* I 16 (342), *P. Mich.* IX 547, *P. Michael.* 21 (285), *P. NYU* 4 (363/64), *P. Oslo* III 119 (319), *P. Panop.* 19 (339-345), *PSI* VII 781 (341), *SB* XIV 11886 (333), *SB* XVI 12646 (326/27), *P. Stras.* I 246 (c. 380), *P. Stras.* VII 695 (second half fourth century), *P. Stras.* VIII 737 (380/81), *P. Stras.* VIII 738 (380/81?).

ment in either clothing, clothing fractions, or money.¹²⁶ Most are dated with at least an indication, if not a more specific date.

Typical of receipts from the *vestis militaris* proper are those for taxes paid on the estate of Alopex of Panopolis.¹²⁷ The texts span a period of nine years (337-346) and include payments for all the indictions of that interval except the fifteenth.¹²⁸ The standard unit of payment is 1/6 of either a *sticharion* or a *chlamys*, which is, in some cases, simply referred to as "the amount owing" (τὰ αἰρούντα).

Some receipts have unusual features. There are a few which are receipts for other commodities in addition to clothing.¹²⁹ One text records the payments of several individuals together; these perhaps were co-owners of the property that was taxed.¹³⁰ Two receipts record garments in minute fractions, multiples of 1/192.¹³¹

Lists and accounts form another class of *vestis militaris* documents.¹³² These range in length from a few lines to a few hundred lines and reflect all of the levels of involvement in the taxation process except that of the province: the individual taxpayer (e.g. *P. Oxy.* LVI 3874), the village (e.g. *P. Col.* VII 129), the pagus (e.g. *P. Stras.* VIII 735), the nome (e.g. 247). Individual accounts often list *vestis militaris* payments among other expenses; public accounts list tax paying units (individuals, villages, pagi) and the amount of payment or lack thereof. Because many lists and accounts were intended for internal use, they can seem cryptic or overly brief to the modern reader. Still, their importance cannot be overemphasized because it is only through the bird's eye view provided by a long public account, like 247, that we can place the more particular evidence, such as a brief receipt, into the perspective of the entire tax collecting process.

Another group of *vestis militaris* documents are those which address problems arising from the assessment or collection process. Often, they involve liturgists or the problems which arise from liturgies. These include private correspondence,¹³³ official correspondence,¹³⁴ and accounts of official proceedings.¹³⁵

Epilogue: Clothing Taxes in the Empire

Although the evidence is scarce, we know that the *vestis militaris* was collected beyond the fourth century. A long tax codex from the Hermopolite village of Skar (*CPR* V 26), dated

¹²⁶*SB* XIV 11886 (333) is the only extant receipt which acknowledges delivery of rough cloth rather than garments. Since this text is unique, it is difficult to explain.

¹²⁷*P. Panop.* 19. There are twenty-six receipts in this document; the *vestis militaris* receipts are *P. Panop.* 19.i.a (342), c (343), d (343), e (344); iii.b (344); iv.a (339), b (339), c (342); vi.b (340), d (342); vii (346); viii.b (339), c (339), d (341); x.b (345). Another *vestis militaris* receipt from this group is *P. Dub.* 21 (337).

¹²⁸*P. Panop.*, 52.

¹²⁹E.g. *P. Oslo* III 119 (319), which also acknowledges the delivery of palm rope and *O. Bodl.* II 2064 (fourth century), which lists other money charges.

¹³⁰*SB* XVI 12646 (326/27).

¹³¹*P. Stras.* VIII 737 (380-81) and 738 (380-81?). A payment of 1/384 of a garment is also recorded.

¹³²*P. Col.* VII 129 (363/64), 247, *P. Innsbruck inv.* 9 (fourth century), *P. Lond.* III 1259 (342/43), *P. Oxy.* XII 1448 (c. 318), *P. Oxy.* LVI 3874 (345/46?), *PSI* XII 1264 (fourth century), *P. Ross. Georg.* V 6 (last quarter fourth century), *SB* XII 10988 (342), *SB* XVI 12644 (second half fourth century), *P. Stras.* VII 691 (early fourth century), *P. Stras.* VIII 735 (fourth century).

¹³³*P. Lond.* V 1659 (fourth century), *P. Oxy.* XII 1424 (c. 318).

¹³⁴*P. Oxy.* XLII 3031 (c. 302), *P. Panop. Beatty* 2.20-26 (300), *P. Oxy.* LI 3621 (329).

¹³⁵*P. Oxy.* XII 1414 (270-75), *P. Oxy.* XVII 2110 (370), *P. Oxy.* LIV 3758 (325).

to the second half of the fifth century, shows the collection of myriads of talents from individuals for three types of garments, the *dermatike*, the *mafortion*, and the *colobion*.¹³⁶

The most regrettable lacuna in the sources is the lack of corroborating evidence on the *vestis militaris* from the remainder of the Roman Empire. The Theodosian Code tells us that the tax was collected throughout the eastern provinces, and that it was assessed in a manner similar to Egypt. The Code discusses the result of clothing collection in Illyria. Thus although we can assume some local peculiarities, the *vestis militaris* operated more or less in the same way throughout the East. The fact that this tax was collected elsewhere makes our knowledge from Egypt all the more important.

¹³⁶Page 44, ll. 870-902.

Chapter 4

The Administration of the Hermopolite Nome

Introduction

The revision of the taxation system under Diocletian, as well as the alterations that were made during the next forty years, required a careful accounting of the land. Thus, beginning in 307/308, with the introduction of the *pagus*, the administration of the taxable land of Egypt was changed and continuously fine-tuned to optimize the collection of land-based taxes.

The collection of a tax such as the *vestis militaris* would not have been possible without tax-collecting structures linked to basic divisions of the land. Thus, land administration and tax collecting are inseparable activities linked by a common goal: raising revenue for the state. This chapter will investigate the organization and administration of the Hermopolite Nome, incorporating the new evidence of 247 with the vast body of existing data. Indeed, it is particularly good fortune that this codex is Hermopolite, since that nome is otherwise so well documented. Furthermore, the nearby Oxyrhynchite nome, whose administration is also well known, provides data which can be compared to that from the Hermopolite.

This chapter owes an enormous debt to Marie Drew-Bear in her important study of the toponyms of the Hermopolite, *Le Nome Hermopolite* (Missoula 1979, referred to herein as "Drew-Bear"). Technological advances in recent years permit computer searches for toponyms that appear in published papyri;¹ but these are not a substitute for the careful study of toponyms that Drew-Bear presented in her volume. Using that technology, however, I have updated Drew-Bear's catalogue for the toponyms included in this text (not for the entirety of the Hermopolite, which would be beyond the scope of this work).²

New Sources

Since Drew-Bear's 1979 publication, many previously unknown Hermopolite texts have been edited, and some known ones reedited. Quite a number of these offer us new information about the nome. The following are brief descriptions of the most important sources for the

¹Searches of the *Duke Database of Documentary Papyri* can be done using various software packages.

²See Appendix 2, 147 ff.

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study of administrative geography. These sources either list many toponyms or elucidate administration through other information.

The Hermopolite Land Registers (P. Herm. Landl.)

This volume includes three documents, all dealing with assessments of estates in the Hermopolite nome held by Hermopolite and Antinoite individuals. Text F (a reedition of P. Flor. I 71) and Anh. I (P. Flor. I 87 plus an unedited fragment) are parts of the same codex; Text G (P. Giss. inv. 4) is a similar register. A *terminus post quem* for the main texts has been set at 346/47 on prosopographical evidence.³ Anh. II dates to the late 3rd - early 4th century (before 307/308).

The typical entry in the land registers records the name of the landholder, followed by the amount of land held in a particular pagus/toparchy (the terms are used interchangeably in this text). Village names are used to identify individuals and so occur throughout the texts, but only the earliest register (Anh. II) locates some villages in their toparchies. Thus, in spite of their length, the land registers are of limited use in the study of administrative geography, since they do not tell us which villages are located in which pagi.

There is, nevertheless, pertinent information in the registers. First, they record a nome of the mid-fourth century which was divided into seventeen pagi, unlike 247 which shows a partition into fifteen. Also, the pattern of landholding in certain pagi, as well as a lack of any mention of the seventh pagus, provides information on the location of the pagi in relation to Hermopolis and Antinoopolis.⁴

Village payment lists (P. Col. IX 247, P. Laur. IV 173, SB XX 15063,⁵ SB XX 15064⁶)

These fourth century documents are lists of payments made by villages. Because it covers such a vast area of the nome, 247 ranks as the single most important Hermopolite topographical document. The account locates seventy-two toponyms in their respective pagi, and shows that there were fifteen pagi during the first quarter of the century. The text also includes five previously unattested toponyms, and four others not included in Drew-Bear. SB XX 15063 and SB XX 15064 list villages which can be assigned primarily to the *Leukopyrgites Ano* toparchy; they may therefore have been generated not by a pagus, but by a toparchy, and must date before 307/308. P. Laur. IV 173 lists villages known to belong to the *Leukopyrgites Ano* and *Kato* toparchies, as well as one village (Senembo) which belonged to a toparchy further north. It is therefore probable that this document was generated by a pagus, as pagi were often composed of villages which formerly belonged to different toparchies. These three documents are particularly important since they list geographically grouped villages from parts of the nome not covered by 247.

³Van Gucht 1984; also see Bagnall 1979 and Bowman 1985.

⁴See below, 123-26, 131-32.

⁵#3 in Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990.

⁶Revised reading in Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990, 262-65.

The Dossiers of Aurelia Charite and her family (*P. Charite* and *CPR XVIII*)

Aurelia Charite was a wealthy landowner from Hermopolis who owned estates in twelve pagi of the nome. The forty one texts in her dossier, all dating to the period between 320 and 350 (firmly dated texts range from 325 to 348), mention nine village names, placing four in their respective pagi. The papers of Charite are particularly important because they span the period of the reorganization of the Hermopolite. Indeed, three of the four villages attested in pagi are mentioned in two different pagi within this group of texts. These texts are the best evidence for the dating of the reorganization.

Aurelius Adelphios was probably the husband of Charite and also a resident of the town of Hermopolis. A man of some status, he held several important offices, such as gymnasiarch and councillor, and owned land in various parts of the nome. His dossier, with dated texts spanning the period from 312 to 322, mentions fourteen toponyms, although only two are located in pagi.

Aurelius Asklepiades, *praepositus* of the fifteenth pagus around 340, may have been the son of Charite and Adelphios. Because of his official position, several of the documents in his dossier list villages in that pagus.⁷ Two texts from this group are of particular importance. *SB XVI 12826*,⁸ dated 18 April 340, is a list of payments in folles and denarii from seven villages of the fifteenth pagus. And *P. Lond. III 1251 descr.*⁹ (340/41) lists payments for the military annona from seven villages of the same pagus.

Administrative status of toponyms

The meaning of village (*κῶμη*) and hamlet (*ἐποίκιον*)

The majority of localities listed in 247 are described as villages (*κῶμαι*). This term describes the administrative center of a parcel of agricultural territory.¹⁰ The meaning of the designation remained consistent through the Roman period and into the late antique period, a time when there were changes in the structure of village bureaucracy and administration.

Six places in the text, though, are distinguished as hamlets (*ἐποίκια*), namely Attinos (20.325), Berku (20.322), Hermoherakles (18.283), Ilios (8.129), Kenembatos (6.89), and Tiberion (16.253). Originally, the term "hamlet" was used to designate private estates, often bearing the name of the owner, which depended on a neighboring village for administration. In fourth century texts, however, hamlets are taxed and administered just like villages, indicating a possible change in status.¹¹ Some localities, such as Berku, are called both village and hamlet in different texts.¹² The hamlet Ilios is known to have had the same liturgists that appear in villages, such as *sitologoi* (*P. Stras. VIII 735*) and even a komarch (*P. Lips. 84 xi 20*).

⁷Much of his archive was already published individually when Drew-Bear composed her catalogue. *CPR XVIII* contains nine new texts (nos. 31-39).

⁸#3 in Bagnall and Worp 1983.

⁹#2 in Parássoglou 1987a.

¹⁰Drew-Bear, 41, and Pruneti 1981, 10-12.

¹¹Drew-Bear, 41-2, and Lewuillon-Blume 1982, 341-46.

¹²Below, 148.

Although some appear to have become the administrative equivalent of villages, hamlets are differentiated in official accounts and lists. Some texts note villages but record other places without a designation of status,¹³ while others display the opposite pattern, in which hamlets are marked as such, but villages are not.¹⁴ It is similarly possible for accounts to include neither status designation¹⁵ or both, as 247 does.

Is size the feature which distinguishes a village from a hamlet? Size can be determined in part by tax liability; since the *vestis militaris* is based on landholding, larger payments would indicate a locality with more taxable property. Of course, the real size of a village cannot be determined from the information in 247 because the codex does not list land in the villages which was owned by town residents; this would have been recorded in a separate document. Village land owned by town dwellers was not evenly distributed around the nome, but was concentrated in areas closest to the town. By assigning values to the garments collected in 247, the relative taxability of its villages and hamlets can be determined.

The actual prices of the garments are not known, but relative values can be assigned to them. During the early years of the *vestis militaris*, a *sticharion* was reimbursed at four-fifths the amount of a *pallium*.¹⁶ The value of a *dalmatikon* is not attested, but since it consists of no more than a *sticharion* with sleeves, it seems reasonable to assume that it was worth more than a *sticharion* but less than a *pallium*.¹⁷ A garment described as "full-sized" is worth more than one which is "nearly full-sized."¹⁸

To calculate the relative tax liability, and hence the size, of the localities, the following values will be used: *pallium*, 5; *sticharion teleion*, 4; *sticharion parateleion*, 3; *dalmatikon teleion* 4.4; *dalmatikon parateleion* 3.3. The tax liability of each village and hamlet, listed by pagus, is included in Figure 1; a list of villages from largest to smallest is presented in Figure 2. Since the values of the garments are so close, Figures 3 and 4 duplicate the calculations in Figures 1 and 2, respectively, except that actual numbers of garments are used instead of weighted values for garments.

In order to determine the size of hamlets relative to villages, each hamlet must be examined in two contexts, that of its own pagus, and that of the whole nome. Two of the hamlets, Berku and Attinos, were located in the fifteenth pagus in the northernmost part of the nome. In this pagus of four localities, they rank third and fourth in size, although Berku is not much smaller than Mnachis, the second largest village. They represent 19.9% and 14%, respectively, of the total land of the pagus. Hermoherakles comprises only 3.7% of the total area of the fourteenth pagus, making it less than half the size of the next largest village. Ilios was among the smallest areas of the tenth pagus, as was Kenembatos in the ninth (there is one smaller village). Tiberion, in the thirteenth pagus, however, was larger than six other villages

¹³For example, SB XVI 12826 lists Prektis, Psychis, Nache, and Admentha as villages, where Tiberion, Isieon, and Korkodilon are listed without any qualification.

¹⁴E.g. P. Oxy. LV 3795.

¹⁵E.g. P. Lond. III 1251 descr., which interestingly includes the same toponyms as SB XVI 12826.

¹⁶4000 drachmas for a *sticharion*, 5000 for a *pallium*. See above, 92-96.

¹⁷In the case of modern men's shirts of equal quality, the long-sleeved version costs approximately 10% more than the short-sleeved version.

¹⁸Those garment which are nearly full-sized have been arbitrarily assigned a value seventy-five percent that of their full-sized equivalent.

VILLAGE	PAGUS	ST	SPT	DT	DPT	P	TAX LIABILITY	% OF TOTAL
Sarapicon	6				0.5	1	6650	
Enseu	6	1	1	2		2	25800	
Thynis	6	1		1		1	13400	
Prere	6			1	0.5		6050	
Tertembythis	6	1		1		1	13400	
PAGUS TOTAL		3	1	5	1	5	65300	5.78
Sesiu	7	1			1	1	12300	
Ophis	7	1		1		2	18400	
Magdolon Mire	7	1		1			8400	
PAGUS TOTAL		3	0	2	1	3	39100	3.46
Ares	8	2	1	5		5	58000	
Hormos	8			1			4400	
Phbu	8	1					4000	
Bousiris	8	1				1	9000	
Sellechme	8		1		1		6300	
PAGUS TOTAL		4	2	6	1	6	81700	7.24
Temseu Moron	9	2			1	2.5	23800	
Poampimenis	9	1		1		1	13400	
Sinarchebis	9		1	1		1.5	14900	
Kenembatos	9			1			4400	
Ibion Sesymb.	9	2				0.5	10500	
Tlethmis	9	1					4000	
Tertonsamouu	9			1			4400	
Senilais	9			1		1	9400	
Seninebis	9			1		1	9400	
Sinape	9		1	1		0.5	9900	
PAGUS TOTAL		6	2	7	1	8	104100	9.22
Pesla	10	1	1	1		1	16400	
Melissourgon	10	2				1	13000	
Hakis	10		1	1		1	12400	
Nagogis	10	1				1	9000	
Ilios	10	1					4000	
Temenkyrkis P	10	1		3	1	2	30500	
Telbonthis	10	1		2	1	3	31100	
Sinpetesis	10	1					4000	
Sinageris	10	1					4000	
Sintaphou	10			1			4400	
PAGUS TOTAL		9	2	8	2	9	128800	11.41

Figure 1
Tax liability of each village, listed by pagus (weighted)

VILLAGE	PAGUS	ST	SPT	DT	DPT	P	TAX LIABILITY	% OF TOTAL
Timonthis	11	2	1	2	1	1	28100	
Sinalabe	11	1			1		7300	
Temseu Skordon	11	2	1	2	1	3	38100	
Harmotnis	11			2		0.5	11300	
Toou	11					1	5000	
Toou Neaniskon	11			2		1	13800	
Psobthonchen.	11			2		1.5	16300	
Tertonpsembe	11	1	1	2	1	3	34100	
Skordon	11	1				1	9000	
Skar and Tanau	11	1					4000	
PAGUS TOTAL		8	3	12	4	12	167000	14.79
Ibion Teo	12	1	1	1		0.5	13900	
Ibion Tanoupis	12	1				1.5	11500	
Thallos	12	3	1	7	1	3	64100	
Pake	12	1	1			1	12000	
Parouu	12		1	1		1.5	14900	
Poteu	12	1				1	9000	
Peentalis	12	3		3	1	3	43500	
PAGUS TOTAL		10	4	12	2	11.5	168900	14.96
Kirka	13	3	1	5	1	5	65300	
Temsiris	13	2		2		2	26800	
Sesoncha	13	1		3		1	22200	
Tiberion	13			1		1	9400	
Isieon and Nake	13	1					4000	
Prektis	13	3	1	3	1	4	51500	
Admenthon	13	1		1			8400	
Temenkyrkis Hal.	13			1			4400	
Senomorro	13		1				3000	
Psychis	13				1		3300	
Toenorsis	13		1				3000	
PAGUS TOTAL		11	4	16	3	13	201300	17.83
Korkodilon	14			1		1	9400	
Psobthenyris	14	1	1	1		2	21400	
Hermoherakles	14	1					4000	
Penne	14	1		2		2	22800	
Toou Pasko	14	1	2	3	2	4	49800	
PAGUS TOTAL		4	3	7	2	9	107400	9.51
Somolo	15	1	1	2	1	2	29100	
Mnachis	15			2		1	13800	
Berku	15	2				1	13000	
Attinos	15			1		1	9400	
PAGUS TOTAL		3	1	5	1	5	65300	5.78
General Total		61	22	80	18	81.5	1128900	

Figure 1
Continued

VILLAGE	PAGUS	TAX LIABILITY	% OF TOTAL
Kirka	13	65300	5.78
Thallos	12	64100	5.68
Ares	8	58000	5.14
Prektis	13	51500	4.56
Toou Pasko	14	49800	4.41
Peentalis	12	43500	3.85
Temseu Skordon	11	38100	3.37
Tertonpsembe	11	34100	3.02
Telbonthis	10	31100	2.75
Temenkyrkis P.	10	30500	2.70
Somolo	15	29100	2.58
Timonthis	11	28100	2.49
Temsiris	13	26800	2.37
Enseu	6	25800	2.29
Temseu Moron	9	23800	2.11
Penne	14	22800	2.02
Sesoncha	13	22200	1.97
Psobthenyris	14	21400	1.90
Ophis	7	18400	1.63
Pesla	10	16400	1.45
Psobthonchen.	11	16300	1.44
Parouu	12	14900	1.32
Sinarchebis	9	14900	1.32
Ibion Teo	12	13900	1.23
Mnachis	15	13800	1.22
Toou Neaniskon	11	13800	1.22
Poampimenis	9	13400	1.19
Tertembythis	6	13400	1.19
Thynis	6	13400	1.19
Berku	15	13000	1.15
Melissourgon	10	13000	1.15
Hakis	10	12400	1.10
Sesiu	7	12300	1.09
Pake	12	12000	1.06
Ibion Tanoupis	12	11500	1.02
Harmotnis	11	11300	1.00

Figure 2
Villages ranked largest to smallest (weighted)

VILLAGE	PAGUS	TAX LIABILITY	% OF TOTAL
Ibion Sesymb.	9	10500	0.93
Sinape	9	9900	0.88
Attinos	15	9400	0.83
Korkodilon	14	9400	0.83
Senilais	9	9400	0.83
Seninebis	9	9400	0.83
Tiberion	13	9400	0.83
Bousiris	8	9000	0.80
Nagogis	10	9000	0.80
Poteu	12	9000	0.80
Skordon	11	9000	0.80
Admenthon	13	8400	0.74
Magdolon Mire	7	8400	0.74
Sinalabe	11	7300	0.65
Sarapieon	6	6650	0.59
Sellechme	8	6300	0.56
Prere	6	6050	0.54
Toou	11	5000	0.44
Hormos	8	4400	0.39
Kenembatos	9	4400	0.39
Sintaphou	10	4400	0.39
Temenkyrkis Hal.	13	4400	0.39
Tertonsamoou	9	4400	0.39
Hermoherakles	14	4000	0.35
Ilios	10	4000	0.35
Isieon and Nake	13	4000	0.35
Phbu	8	4000	0.35
Sinageris	10	4000	0.35
Sinpetesis	10	4000	0.35
Skar and Tanau	11	4000	0.35
Tlethmis	9	4000	0.35
Psychis	13	3300	0.29
Senomorro	13	3000	0.27
Toenorsis	13	3000	0.27
TOTAL		1128900	
AVERAGE		16127.14	
MEDIAN		11300	

Figure 2

Continued

VILLAGE	PAGUS	ST	SPT	DT	DPT	P	TAX LIABILITY	% OF TOTAL
Sarapieon	6				0.5	1	1.5	
Enseu	6	1	1	2		2	6	
Thynis	6	1		1		1	3	
Prere	6			1	0.5		1.5	
Tertembythis	6	1		1		1	3	
PAGUS TOTAL		3	1	5	1	5	15	5.71
Sesiu	7	1			1	1	3	
Ophis	7	1		1		2	4	
Magdolon Mire	7	1		1			2	
PAGUS TOTAL		3	0	2	1	3	9	3.43
Ares	8	2	1	5		5	13	
Hormos	8			1			1	
Phbu	8	1					1	
Bousiris	8	1				1	2	
Sellechme	8		1		1		2	
PAGUS TOTAL		4	2	6	1	6	19	7.24
Temseu Moron	9	2			1	2.5	5.5	
Poampimenis	9	1		1		1	3	
Sinarchebis	9		1	1		1.5	3.5	
Kenembatos	9			1			1	
Ibion Sesymb.	9	2				0.5	2.5	
Tlethmis	9	1					1	
Tertonsamoou	9			1			1	
Senilais	9			1		1	2	
Seninebis	9			1		1	2	
Sinape	9		1	1		0.5	2.5	
PAGUS TOTAL		6	2	7	1	8	24	9.14
Pesla	10	1	1	1		1	4	
Melissourgon	10	2				1	3	
Hakis	10		1	1		1	3	
Nagogis	10	1				1	2	
Ilios	10	1					1	
Temenkyrkis P.	10	1		3	1	2	7	
Telbonthis	10	1		2	1	3	7	
Sinpetesis	10	1					1	
Sinageris	10	1					1	
Sintaphou	10			1			1	
PAGUS TOTAL		9	2	8	2	9	30	11.43

Figure 3
Tax liability of each village, listed by pagus
(counting each garment as one)

VILLAGE	PAGUS	ST	SPT	DT	DPT	P	TAX LIABILITY	% OF TOTAL
Timonthis	11	2	1	2	1	1	7	
Sinalabe	11	1			1		2	
Temseu Skordon	11	2	1	2	1	3	9	
Harmotnis	11			2		0.5	2.5	
Toou	11					1	1	
Toou Neaniskon	11			2		1	3	
Psobthonchen.	11			2		1.5	3.5	
Tertopsembe	11	1	1	2	1	3	8	
Skordon	11	1				1	2	
Skar and Tanau	11	1					1	
PAGUS TOTAL		8	3	12	4	12	39	14.86
Ibion Teo	12	1	1	1		0.5	3.5	
Ibion Tanoupis	12	1				1.5	2.5	
Thallos	12	3	1	7	1	3	15	
Pake	12	1	1			1	3	
Paroou	12		1	1		1.5	3.5	
Poteu	12	1				1	2	
Peentalis	12	3		3	1	3	10	
PAGUS TOTAL		10	4	12	2	11.5	39.5	15.05
Kirka	13	3	1	5	1	5	15	
Temsiris	13	2		2		2	6	
Sesoncha	13	1		3		1	5	
Tiberion	13			1		1	2	
Isieon and Nake	13	1					1	
Prektis	13	3	1	3	1	4	12	
Admenthon	13	1		1			2	
Temenkyrkis Hal.	13			1			1	
Senomorro	13		1				1	
Psychis	13				1		1	
Toenorsis	13		1				1	
PAGUS TOTAL		11	4	16	3	13	47	17.90
Korkodilon	14			1		1	2	
Psobthenyris	14	1	1	1		2	5	
Hermoherakles	14	1					1	
Penne	14	1		2		2	5	
Toou Pasko	14	1	2	3	2	4	12	
PAGUS TOTAL		4	3	7	2	9	25	9.52
Somolo	15	1	1	2	1	2	7	
Mnachis	15			2		1	3	
Berku	15	2				1	3	
Attinos	15			1		1	2	
PAGUS TOTAL		3	1	5	1	5	15	5.71
General Total		61	22	80	18	81.5	262.5	

Figure 3
Continued

VILLAGE	PAGUS	TAX LIABILITY	% OF TOTAL
Kirka	13	15	5.71
Thallos	12	15	5.71
Ares	8	13	4.95
Prektis	13	12	4.57
Toou Pasko	14	12	4.57
Peentalis	12	10	3.81
Temseu Skordon	11	9	3.43
Tertonpsembe	11	8	3.05
Somolo	15	7	2.67
Telbonthis	10	7	2.67
Temenkyrkis P.	10	7	2.67
Timonthis	11	7	2.67
Enseu	6	6	2.29
Temsiris	13	6	2.29
Temseu Moron	9	5.5	2.10
Penne	14	5	1.90
Psobthenyris	14	5	1.90
Sesoncha	13	5	1.90
Ophis	7	4	1.52
Pesla	10	4	1.52
Ibion Teo	12	3.5	1.33
Parouu	12	3.5	1.33
Psobthonchen.	11	3.5	1.33
Sinarchebis	9	3.5	1.33
Berku	15	3	1.14
Hakis	10	3	1.14
Melissourgon	10	3	1.14
Mnachis	15	3	1.14
Pake	12	3	1.14
Poampimenis	9	3	1.14
Sesiu	7	3	1.14
Tertembythis	6	3	1.14
Thynis	6	3	1.14
Toou Neaniskon	11	3	1.14
Harmotnis	11	2.5	0.95

Figure 4
Villages listed largest to smallest
(counting each garment as one)

VILLAGE	PAGUS	TAX LIABILITY	% OF TOTAL
Ibion Sesymb.	9	2.5	0.95
Ibion Tanoupis	12	2.5	0.95
Sinape	9	2.5	0.95
Admenthon	13	2	0.76
Attinos	15	2	0.76
Bousiris	8	2	0.76
Korkodilon	14	2	0.76
Magdolon Mire	7	2	0.76
Nagogis	10	2	0.76
Poteu	12	2	0.76
Sellechme	8	2	0.76
Senilais	9	2	0.76
Seninebis	9	2	0.76
Sinalabe	11	2	0.76
Skordon	11	2	0.76
Tiberion	13	2	0.76
Prere	6	1.5	0.57
Sarapieon	6	1.5	0.57
Hermoherakles	14	1	0.38
Hormos	8	1	0.38
Ilios	10	1	0.38
Isieon and Nake	13	1	0.38
Kenembatos	9	1	0.38
Phbu	8	1	0.38
Psychis	13	1	0.38
Senomorro	13	1	0.38
Sinageris	10	1	0.38
Sinpetesis	10	1	0.38
Sintaphou	10	1	0.38
Skar and Tanau	11	1	0.38
Temenkyrkis Hal.	13	1	0.38
Tertonsamoou	9	1	0.38
Tlethmis	9	1	0.38
Toenorsis	13	1	0.38
Toou	11	1	0.38
TOTAL		262.5	
AVERAGE		3.75	
MEDIAN		2.5	

Figure 4
Continued

in that area. When the hamlets and villages are considered together, the hamlets were of less than average size;¹⁹ and all but Berku are below the median. Therefore, while the hamlets tend to be among the smaller places in the nome, size alone does not seem to be their distinguishing characteristic, as there are also many small villages.

It seems most likely that these hamlets, some of which bear personal names, were once private estates that had been assimilated into the mainstream of administration. Whatever their history, however, they function just like their neighboring villages within the tax collecting bureaucracy.

Toponyms without status designations

Sixteen toponyms occur in 247 without any indication of status. They are (in the order they occur): Ibion Sesymbothis (6.91), Tertonsamouu (6.96), Seninebis (6.98), Senilais (6.101), Temenkyrkis Poimenon (8.131), Sinageris (9.143), Sintaphos (9.145), Sinalabe (10.161), Temseu Skordon (10.164), Toou Neaniskon (11.175), Psobthonchenarsiesis (11.178), Tertonpsembe (11.181), Prektis (16.258), Admentha (16.264), and Temenkyrkis Halieon (16.267). The distinguishing factor common to the majority of these toponyms is the length of the names themselves, and this seems to be the primary reason for their being listed without being preceded by a status designator. The scribe of 247 was clearly interested in producing a neat and precisely organized account and the scheme he devised did not allow two lines for a toponym.

A few of these toponyms, however, are not of a length which requires an entire line in the text. The omission of a status designator in these cases may be attributed to scribal error or oversight. "Senilais", for example, is written on one line, followed on the same line by the beginning of the tax payment entry for that village. Here it seems that the scribe did not wish to end the page with the name of a village but no ledger entry, although he could have simply moved the entire entry to the top of the next page. Like "Senilais", there is no indicator of status before either "Sinalabe" or "Prektis", although all are known from other texts to have the status of village. The lack of status designation for Sintaphos is unfortunate, since no other fourth century text indicates its status.

Administrative Geography

The administration of the agricultural land of Egypt was of the utmost importance to the its Graeco-Roman invaders. The land and its produce provided the Ptolemies with their main source of revenue;²⁰ the Roman government, from the beginning of its occupation, jealously guarded the wealth of the province. Meticulous accounting of land and its productivity maximized the ability of the conquerors to reap the profits of agricultural production; it also facilitated the collection of taxes. The Ptolemies developed a practical approach to supervising the land by creating several levels of manageable subdivisions of the country. The Romans adopted the Ptolemaic system, but altered it when necessary to suit their particular needs.

¹⁹This statistic is deceptive since 68% of the villages fell below the average, which is skewed by several very large villages at the top of the scale. Berku, for example, while below average, is still larger than 39 villages in the text.

²⁰Rostovtzeff 1941, 290.

When the Ptolemaic dynasty came into power at the end of the fourth century BCE, Egypt was already divided into about forty subdivisions which the Greeks called nomes. These nomes were ancient in origin, probably the remnants of older kingdoms unified under the Pharaohs.²¹ The Ptolemies partitioned the land further by dividing the nomes into toparchies, which were comprised of small groups of villages. At each administrative level - nome, toparchy, and village - there was an official in charge of overseeing agricultural production as well as the taxation of the productive land.²²

The success of this system of nomes and toparchies is evident, as the Ptolemies utilized a similar scheme in other areas under their dominion, such as the interior parts of Syria.²³ The Romans, too, found these subdivisions useful, not only in Egypt, but in other parts of the empire as well, including Syria and Thrace.²⁴ While there were changes in the bureaucracy, the basic system of land administration established by the Ptolemies lasted through six centuries of Roman rule.

When Diocletian came into power at the end of the third century, the organization of the province of Egypt was different from others, at least in terminology. Diocletian seems to have preferred uniformity in administration, and so he set out to bring the organization of Egypt into the mainstream, continuing a process of romanization which had been in progress throughout the century.²⁵

At the heart of Diocletian's reorganization, in 307/308, was the creation of the "pagus," a group of villages within a nome.²⁶ Structurally, pagi were not unlike toparchies, although each nome contained more pagi than it had toparchies; thus the group of villages in a pagus rarely corresponded exactly to a former toparchy. Administratively, pagi had a far more important role than toparchies. The chief official of the pagus, the *praepositus pagi*, was responsible for all administration of the villages in his charge, including the assignment of liturgies and overall responsibility for tax collection.²⁷ The *praepositi* now shouldered more of the tax-collecting burden than nome-level officials.

The introduction of the pagi and the creation of the office of *praepositus pagi* reflect Diocletian's preference for subdividing of provinces into smaller units, a policy maintained by

²¹For nomes in the Graeco-Roman period, see Jones 1971, 297-301, and Gauthier 1935.

²²For an overview of Ptolemaic administration, see Bagnall 1976, 3-6, and Bowman 1986, 56-59.

²³Jones 1971, 239-40, notes that it is only the parts of Syria that were occupied by the Ptolemies that are divided in this manner reminiscent of Egypt. Seleucid territories were divided into territories called hyparchies. See also Rostovtzeff 1941, 347.

²⁴Jones 1971, 22-3; 272-74.

²⁵Lallemand 1964, 97; Bagnall 1993, 55; cf. Bowman and Rathbone 1992.

²⁶The term "pagus" had previously been used to describe the subdivision of a city territory elsewhere in the Roman world. On the creation of the pagus, see Lallemand 1964, 97; Jones 1971, 337; Johnson and West 1949, 99-100; Thomas 1974, 60-68; Wilcken *GZ*, 76-78.

²⁷On the liturgy in general, see Boak 1934-37, 125-29 and Lallemand 1964, 131. Five different Hermopolite *praepositi pagi* are attested in the extant sources: Aurelius Demeas, *praepositus* of the 12th pagus (*P. Stras.* III 129 [331]) and the 15th (*P. Stras.* III 149 [n.d.]); Aurelius Demeas, son of Demeas, *praepositus* of the 8th pagus (*P. Herm.* 21 and 54 [346]); Flavius Olympiodoros, alias Asynkritius, *praepositus* of the 1st and 2nd pagus (*P. Flor.* I 34 [342]), and the 1st (*P. Lond.* III 1249 [345], *P. Oslo* III 113 [346]) (Asynkritius is attested elsewhere, but not in an official role); Aurelius Diokles, *praepositus* of the 12th pagus (*P. Amh.* II 140 [349], 139 and 141 [350]); Aurelius Asklepiades, *praepositus* of the 15th pagus (see above, 108, and *CPR* XVIIA, p.65 ff. for a list of the Asklepiades papyri).

his immediate successors. The province of Aegyptus itself was divided into four smaller provinces: Libya, consisting of the old nome of Libya, the Thebaid, Aegyptus Herculia, consisting of the Heptanomia and the eastern Delta, and Aegyptus Iovia, made up of the remaining part of the Delta. The divisions of the province were altered several times during the course of the century, as were the number of pagi.²⁸ Both the partitioning of the province and the addition of a new layer of bureaucracy, the pagus, distributed the responsibility for tax collection more broadly and ultimately provided more checks on the taxpayers.

The Administrative Geography of the Hermopolite

While the basic framework of administrative geography is well known from literary and documentary sources, the application of the system to any particular area of Egypt has been difficult to decipher. Information concerning the location of villages in any particular nome, or where the divisions of toparchies or pagi fell, appears at random in the sources. Isolated details, such as the pagus number of one or two villages in a nome, limit our ability to understand the workings of the organization; only comprehensive information concerning a whole nome, or at least a large part of it, can be helpful here.

There are only two nomes whose administrative geography has been clarified through the analysis of the sources, and these are, not suprisingly, among the best documented areas in Egypt, the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes. Lists of villages by toparchy and pagus have been assembled for the Oxyrhynchite, and the general location of the toparchies and pagi has been established.²⁹ For the Hermopolite, Drew-Bear was able to locate a majority of villages in toparchies, but the sources were not forthcoming with pagus numbers. The comprehensive nature of the data contained in 247, combined with other evidence gathered since the publication of Drew-Bear, now makes it possible to place many more villages in their respective toparchies and pagi, as well as to establish hypothetical boundaries for the subdivisions.

Toparchies

Like the rest of the Egyptian nomes, the Hermopolite was divided into a number of toparchies. Although not well documented for the Ptolemaic period, the composition of these administrative subdivisions is well attested in the Roman period until they ceased to exist in the beginning of the fourth century. From south to north, these twelve toparchies were called *Koussites Ano*, *Koussites Kato*, *Leukopyrgites Ano*, *Leukopyrgites Kato*, *Peri Polin Ano*, *Peri Polin Kato*, *Patre Ano*, *Patre Kato*, *Patemites Ano*, *Patemites Kato*, *Mochites*, and *Pasko*. The north-south order conjectured by Drew-Bear is confirmed by the evidence of 247.³⁰

The introduction of the pagus in the Hermopolite did not completely eliminate the use of the term "toparchy". The Hermopolite Land Registers, which were written at least forty years after the introduction of the pagus, sometimes refer to numbered toparchies, a clear confusion between the numbered pagi and the old terminology.³¹ This, however, is not the norm; the term "pagus" was used regularly after it was introduced.

²⁸Bagnall 1993, 63-64.

²⁹See Pruneti 1987 and 1989, and the introduction and notes to *P. Oxy.* LV 3795.

³⁰Drew-Bear, 46-7. See below, 128-32.

³¹*P. Herm. Landl.*, 9-10. *P. Stras.* 325 also refers to numbered toparchies.

While 247 postdates the existence of toparchies, the location of some villages in toparchies can be confirmed by their placement in a particular pagus. Evidence for these villages is noted in the catalogue of toponyms.³²

Pagi

Although pagi were introduced into the administrative system ten years earlier, the first attestation of a particular Hermopolite village in its pagus dates to 317.³³ Texts which locate a village in a pagus are scarce; by locating seventy-two villages in pagi, the codex triples our knowledge of the location of villages and hamlets.³⁴

This text tells us more, though, than which villages belonged in which pagi. As represented here, the Hermopolite was divided into fifteen pagi. Yet other texts list a sixteenth and a seventeenth pagus³⁵, and several villages are attested in two or more pagi. Clearly, there was a change in the number of pagi at some time during the fourth century, and further redistricting also occurred.³⁶

Before looking at the evidence for the change in number of pagi, it must be stressed that 247 is a complete account at its end; i.e., it is not missing the pages containing the sixteenth and seventeenth pagus. Two facts establish this. First, although we do not know which villages comprised the sixteenth or seventeenth pagus, villages listed in the fifteenth pagus in 247 are known to be the northernmost of the nome. Berku, for example, sat on the border between the Hermopolite and the Oxyrhynchite (the next nome north), and belonged to both nomes at different times. Second, the page of the codex containing entries for the fifteenth pagus is definitely the last page of the *vestis militaris* account, as the page that follows contains a private account of a later date (248). At the time that 247 was written, therefore, there were only fifteen pagi.

All available evidence indicates that the Hermopolite nome was originally divided into fifteen pagi, and later seventeen, with some minor adjustments after the extra pagi were added. In favor of this conclusion is the fact that when the nomes were switched from the toparchy to the pagus system, the number of groups increased. The Oxyrhynchite, for example, had six toparchies, but ten pagi.³⁷ Whatever the original number of Hermopolite pagi, there was a definite increase in number of pagi (fifteen or seventeen) over toparchies (twelve). Generally, in this period, the number of manageable tax collection units increased.

The increase in the number of pagi can also be supported geographically. If first there were fifteen pagi, and later the same group of villages were divided into seventeen groups, villages from the center to the north of the nome would shift upward in pagus numbers; centrally

³²Below, 147-59.

³³CPR XVIII 7.

³⁴There are only thirty-six other references to villages in pagi, and the majority of these come from the archive of Aurelius Asklepiades and refer to the fifteenth pagus. Thus Drew-Bear was able to place twenty villages in pagi; this text adds another sixty (some were already known to Drew-Bear).

³⁵Bowman 1985, 152; Lallemand 1964, 98. The sixteenth pagus appears in *P. Charite* 11 and 12 (both 320-50); the seventeenth in *CPR* VIII 34 and 35 (both 4c); *P. Landl.* I 58, 107; II 71, 113, 180, 279, 332, 548, 549, 573, 751; *SB* XIV 12217.8 (1st 1/2 4c).

³⁶Cf. Rea 1985, 70, "It begins to look as if the boundaries of pagi in the north of the nome were revised in this period (1st 1/2 4c)." See above, 18.

³⁷*P. Oxy.* LV, 69.

located villages would likely move up one pagus, northern villages two. Sinarchebis, for example, a village formerly part of the *Patre Ano* toparchy in the central part of the nome, changes from the ninth to the tenth pagus in dated texts during the 320's,³⁸ which confirms that the change took place in the mid 320's.

Precisely dating the change in the number of pagi is difficult. Although there is ample evidence for the change, several of the texts involved are undated (such as 247), and many have only an indiction year. The dates of some of the indiction year texts can be narrowed with some certainty, given the overwhelming evidence that the number of pagi increased rather than decreased, so it is possible to narrow the range of years.

One key text is *P. Adolph.* Anh. B, two tax receipts belonging to the dossier of Aurelia Charite, which records payments for the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth indictions. While these could refer to three different periods during Charite's lifetime, it is most likely that the text dates to the 320's, a period from which we have several of Charite's receipts (such as *P. Charite* 13, 14, and 15). This text places the village of Senilais in the ninth pagus during the ninth indiction; elsewhere, it is listed in the eleventh pagus beginning in the fourteenth indiction.³⁹ This information conforms with the geographic formula detailed above: since Senilais, formerly in the *Patemites Ano* toparchy, was farther north than Sinarchebis, the redivision of the pagi pushed it to a pagus numbered higher by two. The text also places Sinarchebis in the ninth pagus in the tenth indiction (its place in the fifteen pagus arrangement), narrowing the time period when the change could have occurred to between the eleventh and fourteenth indiction.

Further evidence, while not definitive, narrows the possibility of when the shift took place. The village of Temseu Moron is attested in the ninth pagus in the thirteenth indiction;⁴⁰ it is also listed in the ninth in 247. Given this village's location in the southernmost part of the ninth pagus (hence the central part of the nome), it may well have shifted to another pagus, most likely the tenth, in the reorganization. If this did happen, the change had not yet taken place by the thirteenth indiction.

There is no contemporary evidence to place any of the villages in a pagus during the fourteenth indiction (325/26). *P. Charite* 13 and 14 discuss arrears for the fourteenth indiction, but as they were both written during the fifteenth indiction, they list the pagus affiliations of the villages in question (Senilais, Sinarchebis, and Sinape) as they were at that time, after the reorganization. Whether these are accurate for the fourteenth indiction, or whether they reflect the new arrangement, cannot be determined. The change in the number of pagi, therefore, occurred in either the fourteen or fifteenth indiction.

The fifteenth indiction, unquestionably the *terminus ante quem* for the modification of the land divisions, is an attractive choice for the precise time of the change. It was during this indiction that two other major adjustments were made in the administration, namely the shift of the first day of the year from Thoth 1 to Pachon 1 and the reorganization of the indiction years. The fifteenth indiction year of 326/27 was prolonged in order to accommodate the new start of the year, and the fifteenth indiction became the first indiction of the new cycle.⁴¹ It

³⁸9th pagus: *P. Adolph.* 7 (317); 10th pagus: *P. Charite* 13 (326/27).

³⁹*P. Charite* 14 and 15.

⁴⁰*P. Charite* 13.

⁴¹Bagnall and Worp 1978, 11-14.

seems likely therefore that the addition of two pagi in the Hermopolite happened the same year.

The reasons for a change in the administration of the nome, like the change in the calendar, "rest on motives of fiscal advantage to the state."⁴² Pagi provided easily controlled and supervised parcels of land, and the bureaucrats in charge of these matters must have seen an advantage in increasing the number of pagi, as well as in the other changes made later in the century. One possible reason for the change in number is that the pagi, as they are represented in 247, are vastly different in size (see Figure 5) and therefore tax liability. In effect, this would mean more work and more potential liability for any tax liturgist in one of the larger pagi. Not enough data is available for such a precise measuring of the land in the later arrangements, but the addition of two pagi in the north may have evened out the sizes of the pagi to a certain extent.

The First Arrangement of Hermopolite Pagi

The villages and hamlets included in 247 represent those of the northern two-thirds of the nome, beginning with villages near the city of Hermopolis and ending at the Oxyrhynchite border in the north. Since there is far more documentation to show the composition of the sixth through fifteenth pagi, this discussion will begin with those. The conclusions drawn from the northern part of the nome can then be applied to the south where there is less concrete evidence.

The sixth pagus, the first attested in the extant section of 247, contained five villages which were all previously located in the *Peri Polin Ano* toparchy (Enseu, Prere, Sarapieon, Tertembythis, and Thynis). These represent no more than half of the villages in that toparchy.⁴³ The total taxable land area of the sixth pagus represented 5.78% of the total area listed in 247; it coincidentally had the exact same tax payment as the fifteenth pagus.⁴⁴

The seventh pagus contained the smallest number of villages of any listed in 247, only three (Magdolon Mire, Ophis, and Sesiou), and was the smallest of any in the north. The three villages were previously part of the *Peri Polin Kato* toparchy. The town of Hermopolis appears to have been part of the seventh pagus, although it is not listed in this tax register.⁴⁵

Five villages made up the eighth pagus. Three (Bousiris and Hormos with certainty; Sel-lechme possibly) were previously in the *Peri Polin Kato* toparchy, and two (Ares and Phbu) in *Patre Ano*. These villages bore 7.23% of the tax burden represented in 247.

⁴²Bagnall and Worp 1978, 13.

⁴³See below, 128-29.

⁴⁴Data for size/taxability of villages and pagi can be found in Figures 1 and 2, 175-78.

⁴⁵There are no landholdings recorded in the seventh pagus in the Hermopolite Land Registers. Bowman 1985, 152, believes that this is because the town was part of the pagus and required a separate register. The Hermopolite was redistricted between the time of the writing of the Columbia codex and that of the Land Registers, so it is possible that the seventh pagus had changed in composition. But the small number of villages in the seventh pagus as recorded in 247 suggests that Hermopolis may have been included in the 320's.

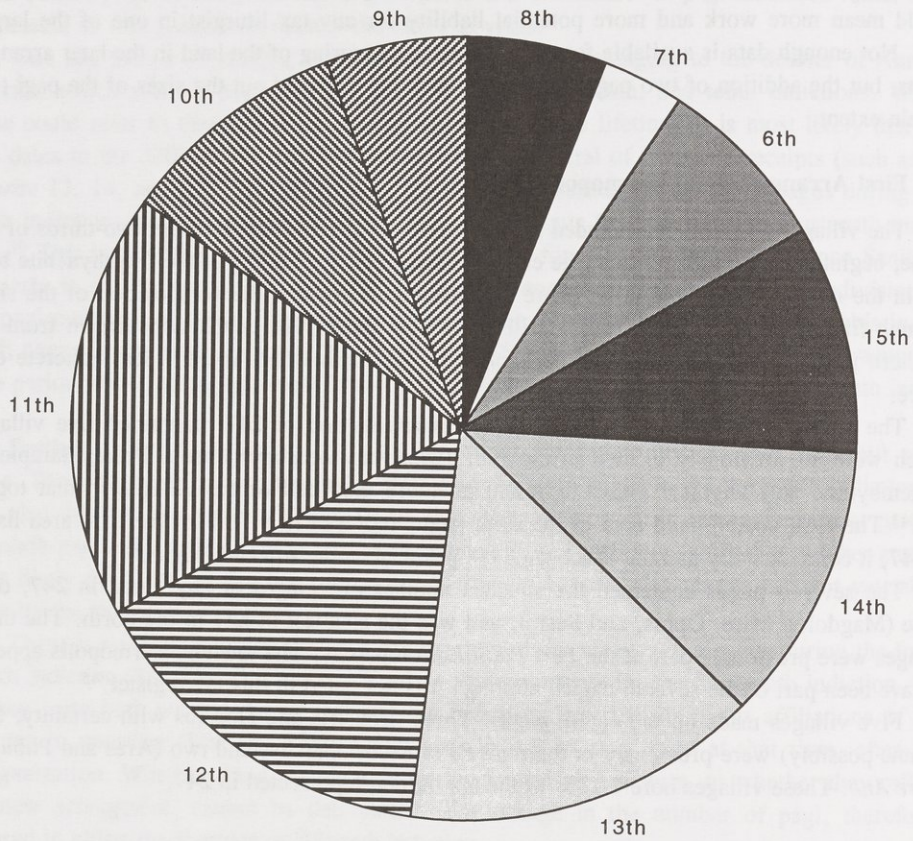


Figure 5
Relative size of pagi 6-15

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The ninth pagus was composed of ten villages, mostly small, which had been administered in three different toparchies. Poampimenis, Sinarchebis, and Tlethmis had belonged to the *Patre Ano* toparchy; Seninebis, Sinape, and Tertonsamouu were located in the *Patre Kato* toparchy; Senilais in *Patemites Ano*. Temseu Moron is believed to have belonged to either *Peri Polin Kato* or *Patre Ano*, but the composition of this pagus seems to indicate that *Patre Ano* is more likely. Ibion Sesymbothis is listed in other documents with villages of both *Patre* toparchies. The toparchy of Kenembatos is unknown. The ten villages accounted for 9.22% of the area described in 247.

Ten villages from three different toparchies constituted the tenth pagus, which was somewhat larger than the ninth because of the inclusion of two very large villages, Telbonthis and Temenkyrkis Poimenon, the ninth and tenth largest villages in 247. The majority of the villages belonged to the *Patemites Ano* toparchy (Hakis, Ilios, Nagogis, Sinageris, Telbonthis, Temenkyrkis Poimenon), but there was one each from *Peri Polin Kato* (Sintaphos) and *Patre Kato* (Melissourgon). The toparchies of Pesla and Sinpetesis are not attested.

Villages of the *Patemites Ano* (Sinalabe, Skar, Skordon, Temseu Skordon, Timonthis) and *Kato* (Tanau, Tertontsembe, Toou Neaniskon) toparchies comprised the large eleventh pagus, as did three villages whose toparchy is not known (Harmotnis,⁴⁶ Psoththonchenarsiesis, Toou). The villages ranged in size from very large (Temseu Skordon was almost as large as the entire seventh pagus) to very small (Skar and Tanau, listed in a joint entry, make one of the smallest tax payments). The entire pagus paid 14.79% of the tax burden in 247.

The remainder of the villages from the *Patemites Kato* (Pake, Peentalis, Thallou) were included with Ibion Tanoupis, Ibion Teo, Parouu, and Poteu (toparchies unknown) in the twelfth pagus. The total taxable land area of the twelfth was larger than the eleventh because it included two extremely large villages, Thallou (the second largest in 247) and Peentalis.

The thirteenth pagus was largest in both number of villages (eleven) and tax burden (17.83%). It also contained the largest village recorded in 247, Kirka, which alone had the same tax burden as the villages of either the sixth or fifteenth pagus, and considerably more than the seventh pagus. In addition to Kirka, Admentha, and Sesoncha certainly belonged to the *Mochites* toparchy; Isieon, Nache, Prektis, Senomorro, and Tiberion appear also to have been in the *Mochites*.⁴⁷ Psychis was originally administered under the *Pasko* toparchy. The toparchies of the other villages in the fifteenth (Temenkyrkis Halieon, Temsirir, and Toenorsis) are not known.

The remaining villages of the *Mochites* toparchy, Hermoherakles (presumably), Korkodilon, Penne, and Psoththenyris belonged to the fourteenth pagus. Toou *Pasko*, the fifth largest village in 247, was originally part of *Pasko*, the northernmost toparchy. Because of the inclusion of three large villages, the fourteenth pagus bore 9.51% of the tax burden.

The four villages of the fifteenth pagus presumably all belonged to *Pasko*; Mnachis is attested there, but there is no evidence for the toparchies of Attinos, Berku, and Somolo. The total area of the fifteenth pagus was equal to the sixth.

⁴⁶Drew-Bear placed this village in either the *Patre Kato* or *Patemites Ano*, but its placement in this pagus indicates that it was part of *Patemites Ano*.

⁴⁷These villages are among those which were redistricted into the fifteenth pagus later in the century. They must have been neighboring localities.

The pagi, since they were more numerous, clearly did not follow the same "borders" as the toparchies. *Peri Polin Ano* villages became part of the sixth and another lower numbered pagus; *Peri Polin Kato* villages joined the seventh, eighth, tenth, and another pagus.⁴⁸ The *Patre Ano* toparchy was divided into the eighth and ninth pagi, *Patre Kato* into the ninth and tenth. The *Patemites Ano* villages became part of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh; *Kato* villages were divided among the eleventh and twelfth pagi. The large *Mochites* toparchy was divided into the thirteenth and fourteenth pagi. The northernmost toparchy, *Pasko*, was distributed among the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth pagi.

The papyri offer us no information concerning the criteria used to divide villages into pagi, or, for that matter, into the original toparchies. The evidence supports the proposition that the toparchies were more or less geographical divisions - the nome was simply cut into pieces with east-west lines, probably at some salient topographical feature (e.g., a hill or canal) that was obvious to those making the decision. The toparchies appear to have had neither equal numbers of villages (although this is not certain) nor equal land area.⁴⁹

The beginning of the fourth century was a period of reorganization of the system of taxation; one is tempted to tie the redistricting of the land in this period to those changes. To the modern mind, one obvious plan would be to divide the villages into contiguous groups with more or less an equal tax burden, leaving no *praepositus pagi* with more of a burden than another.⁵⁰ The authorities in Egypt certainly had the information they needed to create such subdivisions, yet the pagi are far from equal, as the tax collection in 247 clearly shows.

The pagi may have been centered around a particular village, one for example that had a public granary or other storage area for materials collected for the government. We know of such storage places in the nome capitals. It would be very difficult, though, to identify such places without explicit references in the papyri, since neither their general location nor tax liability (all we know about most villages) would identify them.

The original division of villages into pagi turned out to be unacceptable, because changes were made within twenty years. The only useful information we have concerning this change is that the number of pagi increased. While that might seem to indicate on the surface that another attempt was being made to even out the burden, we know that Kirka and Prektis (the first and fourth largest villages) remained in the same pagus. Clearly then, size was not a deciding factor. Thus, why the redistricting of the land took place is still unknown.

Villages Missing from the codex

While the codex is the most comprehensive source to place villages in pagi, it does not include all of those known in the fourth century for the northern two-thirds of the nome. The following villages, attested in the fourth century but not in the codex, are listed by toparchy.⁵¹

⁴⁸See below, 129, 132. Some *Peri Polin* villages may have also become part of the Antinoite nome (below, 127-28).

⁴⁹Some of the largest villages (e.g. Kirka and Prektis, or Thallou and Peentalis) were in the same toparchy.

⁵⁰Drew-Bear, 47, makes this assumption.

⁵¹Those marked with an asterisk (*) are not attested during the fourth century, but texts dated before and after the century confirm their existence at that time. The numbers following each toponym are page references to Drew-Bear.

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Peri Polin Ano or *Patre Ano*: *Onomphthis (185)

Peri Polin Kato or *Patre Ano*: Magdola Boukolon (159-60)⁵²

Patre Ano: *Kantos Nesou (137), Sebaemphis (248), Sinkere (254-56), Tellaeos (274), Tertonpso (288)

Patre Kato: Tertesmonis (282-3)

Patemites Ano: Tertonepta (284)

Patemites Kato: Temseu Patemit' (278)

Pasko: Chysis (322-26)

Toparchy unknown: Ibion Chyseos (131-32),⁵³ Ibion Panektyreos (125-26),⁵⁴ Kalchonos (137),⁵⁵ Senombo (243-44), Tertonchobis (not in Drew-Bear)⁵⁶

Why are these sixteen villages omitted from the tax list? Perhaps they were under the administrative control of another village. Ibion Chyseos and Chysis were close to the Oxyrhynchite border and may have been part of that nome at the time that 247 was written.

A number of the remaining villages appear to have been located very close to the west bank of the Nile; some of them may have been on the east bank, near Antinoopolis, although there is no evidence for this. This introduces the possibility that these villages may, around 325, have belonged to the Antinoite nome.⁵⁷ This would explain their absence from the Hermopolite account.

A "Map" of the northern Hermopolite Nome

The listing of the pagi in 247, combined with the information collected by Drew-Bear and others, allows for the drawing of a rough map of the land divisions of the Hermopolite at least from the town northward (Figure 6). There is not enough information to locate many of the villages definitively, but most can be placed relative to each other because of their inclusion in a particular toparchy or pagus.

First, the toparchies and pagi must be placed in relation to the town. Clearly the *Peri Polin Ano* and *Kato* toparchies were closest to Hermopolis, and the villages of these toparchies became part of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and tenth pagi. The Hermopolite Land Registers also

⁵²See also Rea 1985, 69-70. This village is attested in the 7th pagus during the fourth century.

⁵³In the far northern part of the nome.

⁵⁴In the 12th pagus in 350.

⁵⁵Near Ibion Panektyreos.

⁵⁶Listed with one village of *Peri Polin Ano* and one of *Patre Ano* in *P. Cair. inv. 10546* (Sijpesteijn and Worp 1990, 257-58). Otherwise unattested.

⁵⁷Several of the villages were part of the *Patre Ano* toparchy, which, at its southernmost end, must have been directly across the Nile from Antinoopolis.

suggest that the fifth through tenth pagi were the closest to Hermopolis. The registers record landholding by residents of the town, and these holdings were concentrated in those pagi; it is assumed that these must be close to Hermopolis.⁵⁸

The sixth pagus as described in 247, since it includes only some of the villages of *Peri Polin Ano* (presumably the northermost ones), must have been more or less parallel to the town, and the seventh just north of, but bordering the town. Continuing upriver would have been the eighth and ninth pagi, both still reasonably close to Hermopolis. The tenth pagus, which includes villages from three different toparchies and was still close to the town, must have been formed from the villages on the eastern end of those toparchies. The northern part of the tenth, with villages from the *Patemites Ano*, must have been parallel with the southern part of the eleventh, which had villages from the same toparchy. The same is true of the eleventh and twelfth, which split the villages of the *Patemites Kato*. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth pagi would have fallen in succession upriver, with the fifteenth meeting the Oxyrhynchite border in the north.

Allowance must be made in such a "map" for the villages near the bank of the Nile (on either side) which may have been included in the Antinoite nome. These villages came from a number of different toparchies,⁵⁹ so the eastern ends of each of the toparchies must have come close to the river.

In creating this "map" of the Hermopolite, a number of assumptions have been made. I have presumed that the north-south order of the toparchies is as described by Drew-Bear,⁶⁰ a fact which is confirmed by the arrangement of the pagi. I have also assumed that the toparchies were separated from each other by reasonably straight east-west lines. The "map" also presupposes that the villages within a toparchy or a pagus were contiguous, except in the case of a toparchy or pagus that may have extended to the east bank of the Nile. Villages which were identified by Drew-Bear are in their correct position in relation to the town and the Nile.

The chart which results from these assumptions should be understood as more of a graphic representation of the division of the nome than a map as such. It presents one possible configuration of the toparchies and pagi, and the villages within them, but it should be emphasized that this is not the only one possible, and that very few of the villages can be placed so precisely (particularly the ones whose toparchy is unknown). No attempt has been made to set the correct proportions of the villages or pagi. The "map" also ignores topographical features of the area, with the exception of the path of the river.

The Southern Pagi of the Hermopolite Nome

While the composition of the sixth through fifteenth pagi of the Hermopolite is clearly established by 247 and other evidence, we lack similar information on the pagi in the south. It is possible, nevertheless, to draw some general conclusions about the first five pagi by identifying the villages of the lower toparchies and looking at the few pagus references for this

⁵⁸Bowman 1985, 152. The increase in the number of pagi by the time of the Land Registers probably did not change the location of the pagi by much.

⁵⁹See above, 127.

⁶⁰See above, 120.

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⁶⁵See

part of the nome. The subdivisions in the northern part of the nome also provide evidence for the general change from toparchies to pagi.

The first five pagi were composed of all of the villages in the *Koussites Ano*, *Koussites Kato*, *Leukopyrgites Ano*, and *Leukopyrgites Kato* toparchies; also included were some villages which had previously been within the two toparchies around Hermopolis, *Peri Polin Ano* and *Kato*, although about half of the villages in these two toparchies became part of the sixth, seventh, eighth, or tenth pagus. The following villages, listed by toparchy, are firmly attested during the fourth century.⁶¹

Koussites Ano: *Moirai (172-73), *Plethmis (209-10).

Koussites Kato: Pois (227-28), Titkois (300-01).

Koussites Kato or *Leukopyrgites Ano*: Dioskorou (94).

Leukopyrgites Ano: Demetriou (90), Diodorou (92), Hermitariou (102), Isidorou (134), Issou (135), Micholis (170), *Monoï (174-75), Monyris (175), Pallantos (189-90), Paploou (193), Pasinouphis (194), Seleslais (235-36), Sembeichis (238), Senoabis (243), Sinkatape (253-54)⁶², Tanemois (264-5), *Tertonpekoou (286), Tochnoubis (308-09).

Leukopyrgites Ano or *Kato*: Achilleos (78).

Leukopyrgites Kato: Ibion Peteaphthi (126), Leukopyrgou (155), Poing'goris (217), Pois (227-30), *Senkyrkis (242), Tarouthis (267), Tachoi (269), Tekerketothis (271-72), *Tertonpsake (287-88).

Peri Polin Ano:⁶³ *Mogkanei (171-72), *Poampinouphis (216-17), *Senberris (239-40), Thotis (116), Thrage (116-18).

Peri Polin Kato:⁶⁴ Ammonos (62-63), Boou (85-86), Bounoi Kleopatras (82-83), Kleopatras 141-43)⁶⁵.

⁶¹The following villages are listed by Drew-Bear for the fourth century, but their presence in the Hermopolite at the time of the creation of the pagi is dubious: Alabantis (56), Archeiou (75-76), Eirenes (96), Erkousis (101), Helia (106), Kleopatridos (143-44), Koussai (147-51), Pannit() (191), Patedorou (196), Psobthis (331-32), Semou (238), Tepot (280), Thmounkrekis (114-15).

⁶²See also Drew-Bear 1979a, 289.

⁶³Those not included in the sixth pagus.

⁶⁴Those not included in the seventh or eighth pagus.

⁶⁵See also van Minnen 1987, 121.

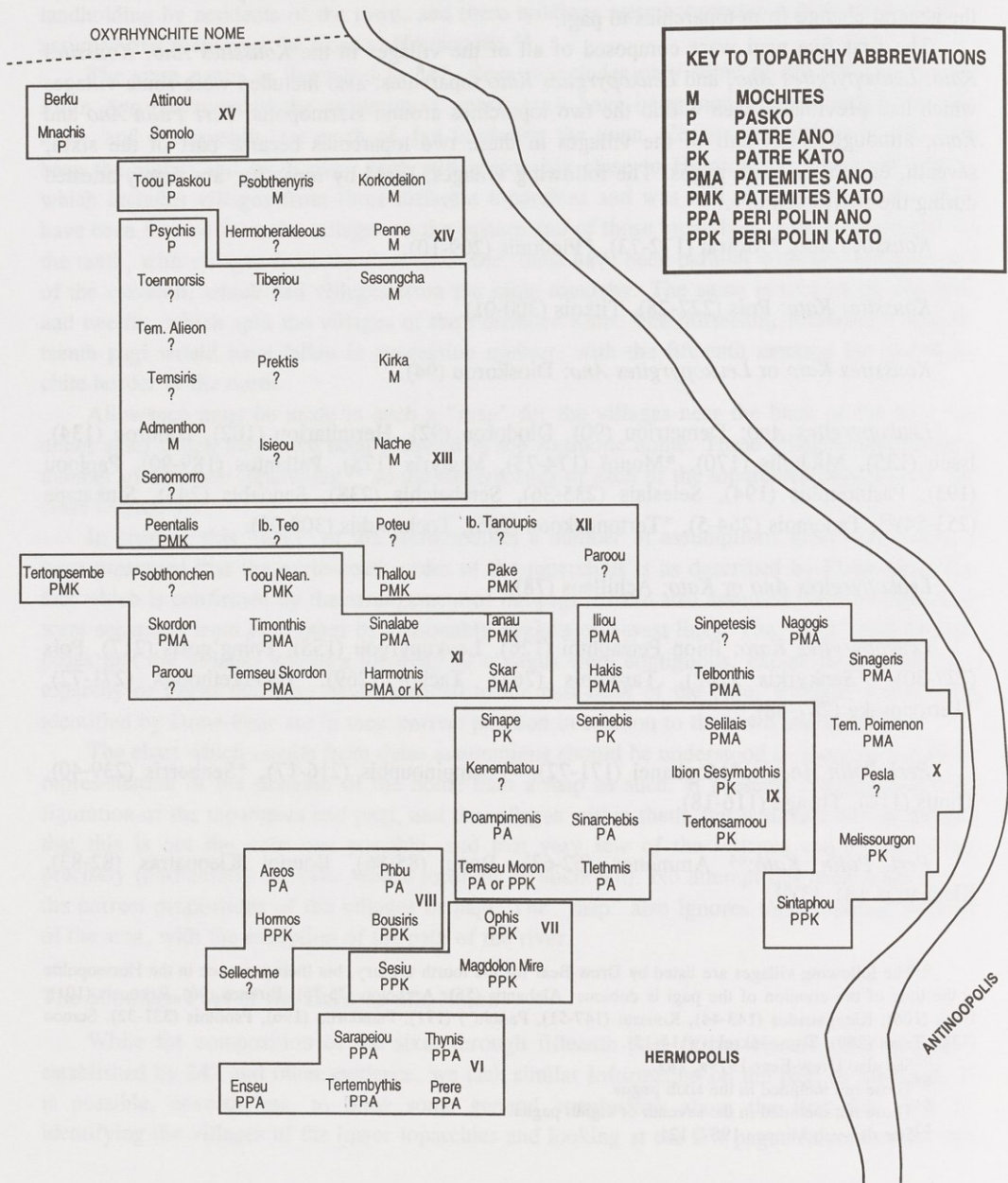


Figure 6
A "map" of the Hermopolite

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69Probably
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71Probably
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73 p. Laur.
74Perhaps
75Later in
76 p. Laur.
77Perhaps
78Perhaps
79 p. Laur.
80Drew-Bea
81 p. Cair. i
82SPP XX 8

Also located in the southern part of the nome were the following villages whose toparchy is unknown or uncertain:

Ekous (96),⁶⁶ Kamphora (137), Kepos (140), Komonos (146),⁶⁷ Lysimachou (157), Magdola (157-59),⁶⁸ *Nephie (181),⁶⁹ Patelkiou (196),⁷⁰ Pselamynthis (326-27),⁷¹ Psothis (334-35),⁷² Senembo (not in Drew-Bear),⁷³ Senethothis (240),⁷⁴ Sentryphis (245),⁷⁵ Stopar() (not in Drew-Bear),⁷⁶ *Tagkasis (263),⁷⁷ Tektis (291), Tertonkano (285),⁷⁸ Tolkis (not in Drew-Bear).⁷⁹

The division of these villages into pagi is virtually unknown. There are only six references to southern villages in pagi, and none of these references is solidly dated earlier than the mid-century, when the pagi had already been rearranged. Patelkiou, Sentryphis, Pois are placed in the first pagus in texts dated to the 340's; Lenaïou and Tertonkano also belonged in the first pagus at some time in the century.⁸⁰ Of all of these villages, only Pois can be firmly located in a toparchy, the *Koussites Kato*; Tertonkano may have been in the *Leukopyrgites Ano*. The first pagus, then, probably contained villages from the *Koussites Ano* and *Kato* toparchies, and perhaps some from *Leukopyrgites Ano*.

A few fourth century village payment lists⁸¹ may contain evidence concerning the composition of the second pagus. These list villages which are primarily attested in the *Leukopyrgites Ano* toparchy. There are a number of villages, though, whose toparchy is unknown, and one is definitely attested in *Leukopyrgites Kato*. If the first pagus, as described above, included the Koussite villages and a few from *Leukopyrgites Ano*, then some of the villages in that toparchy, and some from *Leukopyrgites Kato* would have made up the second pagus. The possibility remains, however, that these documents all predate the creation of the pagus and are merely lists of neighboring villages.

The third pagus is attested only once.⁸² The village of Senoabis, formerly of the *Leukopyrgites Ano* toparchy, is listed there. There is no evidence for the fourth pagus.

No villages are attested in the fifth pagus, but the Hermopolite Land Registers offer some information about the location of the pagus. Many residents of Antinoopolis owned land in the fifth pagus, but very few residents of Hermopolis did. This seems to indicate that the fifth

⁶⁶Perhaps *Leukopyrgites Ano*.

⁶⁷Later in the seventh pagus, so almost certainly *Peri Polin Kato*.

⁶⁸Perhaps *Leukopyrgites Ano*.

⁶⁹Probably Koussite.

⁷⁰Later in the first pagus, so probably Koussite.

⁷¹Probably Peri Polin.

⁷²Probably Peri Polin.

⁷³*P. Laur.* IV 173. Perhaps in one of the *Leukopyrgites* toparchies.

⁷⁴Perhaps *Leukopyrgites Ano*.

⁷⁵Later in the first pagus, so probably Koussite.

⁷⁶*P. Laur.* IV 173. Perhaps in one of the *Leukopyrgites* toparchies.

⁷⁷Perhaps *Leukopyrgites Ano*.

⁷⁸Perhaps *Leukopyrgites Ano*.

⁷⁹*P. Laur.* IV 173. Perhaps in one of the *Leukopyrgites* toparchies.

⁸⁰Drew-Bear, 377.

⁸¹*P. Cair.* inv. 10511, *P. Cair. Preis* 30, *P. Laur.* IV 173.

⁸²*SPP XX* 89 (341).

pagus was closer to Antinoopolis.⁸³ It may have been that the fifth pagus was on the east bank of the Nile, or it may have included some of the villages which appear to be missing in 247.⁸⁴

Later Arrangement of the Hermopolite Pagi

Evidence for the composition of the Hermopolite pagi after their reorganization in the mid 320's is scarce. Much of it derives from the dossiers of Aurelia Charite and Aurelius Asklepiades, and is therefore limited to the area near Hermopolis and the fifteenth pagus. The lists of villages presented below, therefore, are far from complete, but worth mentioning since they provide further information on the location of villages and groups of villages (toparchies and pagi) in relation to one another.

There were at least two reorganizations of the pagi in the Hermopolite. The first increased the number of pagi from fifteen to seventeen, and shifted many of the villages in the north into different pagi.⁸⁵ Some villages changed pagus a third time, which is documented as early as 334.

At the time when there were fifteen pagi, Magdolon Mire was in the seventh pagus, and Bousiris and Hormos were in the eighth. In a text datable to 346,⁸⁶ all three are in the seventh pagus, and an additional text places Bousiris there.⁸⁷ Since these data are late, it cannot be determined whether this seventh pagus is similar to that immediately after the addition of the extra pagi, or whether this represents later changes. Bousiris and Magdolon Mire were previously villages of the *Peri Polin Kato* toparchy, as was Hormos presumably.

The tenth pagus, soon after the addition of the sixteen and seventeenth pagi, included Sinarchebis, formerly in the ninth pagus. Later, in 334,⁸⁸ Sinape, also originally in the ninth, was part of that pagus; it had briefly been in the eleventh.⁸⁹ Both villages originally were in the *Patre Ano* toparchy.

Sinape and Senilais moved from the ninth pagus in the original set of pagi to the eleventh in the mid 320's. Senilais, unlike Sinape, was part of the *Patemites Ano* toparchy, and it remained in the eleventh pagus at least as late as 329.

There is some documentation concerning the twelfth pagus in the middle of the century. Penne, originally in the fourteenth pagus, and Sesoncha, previously in the thirteenth and then the fifteenth, were both part of the *Mochites* toparchy.

There is only one attestation of a village in the thirteenth pagus after the increase in the number of pagi.⁹⁰ The village, Temseu Skordon, is listed in the eleventh pagus in 247, and

⁸³Bowman 1985, 152.

⁸⁴Listed above, 126-27.

⁸⁵See above, 121-22, for the increase in number of pagi.

⁸⁶*P. Lond.* III 1293. The text dates to the fifth indiction (316 or 331 or 346). 346 is the most likely date given the occurrence of the name Dorotheos, which rarely occurs before the Hermopolite Land Registers. I am indebted to Roger Bagnall for this suggestion and others within this section on the dating of texts.

⁸⁷*P. Herm.* 21 (346). Note that the pagus number (ζ) is translated incorrectly as "eighth."

⁸⁸*P. Charite* 19. Prices contained within indicate that this eighth indication (320 or 334 or 349) text dates to 334.

⁸⁹For references, see catalogue of toponyms, 147 ff.

⁹⁰The text which provides the information, *SB XIV* 11352, is unfortunately not dated, although it clearly must date after the mid 320's.

was part of the *Patemites Ano* toparchy. This attestation again confirms the geographical pattern of villages in the north shifting two pagi after the change.

The fifteenth is the best attested of the later pagi because a number of the items from the dossier of its *praepositus pagi*, Aurelius Asklepiades, is preserved. The following villages are attested in the fifteenth in 340: Nache, Psychis, Isieon, Senomorro, Prektis (also attested in 339), Tiberion, Admentha, and Korkodilon. Sesoncha is listed in the fifteenth in 331, but it does not appear in the Asklepiades papers, and in 349 is part of the twelfth. All the villages in Asklepiades' pagus, except Korkodilon, are listed in the thirteenth pagus in 247 (Korkodilon was in the fourteenth). Psychis was part of the *Pasko* toparchy; the others were all presumably *Mochites*.

Conclusion

How does the picture of Hermopolite administrative geography compare to that of its neighboring nome, the Oxyrhynchite? Oxyrhynchite administrative geography lacks a text as comprehensive as 247 for the fourth century, but the sheer volume of material from that nome provides a great deal of information on toparchies, pagi, and villages.

The Hermopolite nome was considerable larger than the Oxyrhynchite in land area - the Hermopolite had 46% more land than the Oxyrhynchite.⁹¹ Yet the number of villages does not appear to be drastically different. Rathbone reckons that the third century Oxyrhynchite contains approximately 100 villages;⁹² if the 72 villages in 247 represent two-thirds of the nome, we can approximate the number of Hermopolite villages at 110.⁹³ Since the much larger Hermopolite had almost the same number of villages as the smaller Oxyrhynchite, we can conclude that Hermopolite villages were, on average, larger than those in the Oxyrhynchite.⁹⁴ Variation in the size of villages within the each nome, however, is very similar. Most Oxyrhynchite villages, like those in the Hermopolite, were small, and a minority of villages were relatively large.⁹⁵

About half of Oxyrhynchite villages can be assigned to a pagus.⁹⁶ As in the Hermopolite nome, most pagi contain villages from only one toparchy, although as one moves farther north, the mix of toparchies within a pagus becomes more common. The Oxyrhynchite does not show evidence of a serious reconfiguration of the pagi as was done in the Hermopolite.

Perhaps the most important point to come from a comparison of the Hermopolite and the Oxyrhynchite nomes is that there appears to have been no attempt in either nome (and none

⁹¹Bagnall 1993, 334-35. These figures unfortunately do not tell us anything about the cultivable or taxable land areas.

⁹²Rathbone 1990, 125.

⁹³Because the number of villages in the two nomes is so close, it is tempting to consider that the number of tax-collecting units was set at 100, with smaller, unnamed villages paying their tax to another. But the villages of Skar and Tanau are listed together in the codex, when elsewhere they are listed separately. If these refer only to abstract tax-collecting units, why list both names? Also, very few known villages are missing from the codex. The fact that the two nomes have a similar number of villages may just be a coincidence.

⁹⁴This would also support Rathbone's contention that Oxyrhynchite villages were smaller than those of other nomes. See Rathbone 1990, 125.

⁹⁵Rathbone 1990, 127-29. The pattern for the Oxyrhynchite is strikingly similar to that of the Hermopolite in Figure 6.

⁹⁶Pruneti 1989, 116-17 updates her earlier work (1981).

elsewhere in Egypt) to equalize size among villages, toparchies, or pagi, with the effect of distributing the tax collection burden in the *chora* equally. The variation in the taxability of villages and pagi is noted above. Oxyrhynchite toparchies varied widely in size⁹⁷ as did the Hermopolite toparchies, as far as it can be determined. Hermopolite pagi also differed in land area. Thus the topographical factors at work in dividing land into villages, and villages into toparchies or pagi must have had a strong effect in influencing administrative geography. It is therefore all the more important that further work be done on the physical geography of these two well known nomes.

⁹⁷See Table 1 in Rathbone 1990, 128.

Appendix I

Catalogue of Clothing Requisition Documents

Part III

Appendices

The following catalogue lists all pages of the *Journal* which contain requisition documents under the words *requisition*. They are arranged chronologically in accordance with Chapters 2 and 3 of the commentary. Dates include both the year and those which have been assigned to a text, in some cases narrowing that of the entry, in others giving it respectively. All *Requisitionnaire* listings are given for each text, but *Requisitionnaire* references are given only for material pertinent to the matters under discussion here. Multiple publications of the same text is also listed under "Bibliography."

Texts dating ca. 119-261 (discussed in Chapter 2)

P. Oxy. XIX 2239

Date: between 10.vii.119 and 10.viii.124

Provenience: Heracleopolis Magna

Type of Document: declaration of cloth dealers on price of requisitioned material

SI. IX 265

P. Ryf. II 189

Date: 22.ii.128

Provenience: Soknopiteon Neues

Type of Document: receipt to weavers' guild for requisition of wool and combs

SI. II 114; IV 73

Bibliography: Johnson 1936, #372; Heugot #160

SGP/VII 1564

Date: 9.ii.138

Provenience: Philadelphia

Type of Document: order for advance payment to weavers for requisitioned clothing

SI. II 32; VIII 45; IX 27

Bibliography: Johnson 1936, #74; Seif Pap vol. 2 #395; Blassoulon 1936, 345

Part III
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Appendix 1

Catalogue of Clothing Requisition Documents

The following catalogue lists all papyri and ostraka which directly relate to state clothing requisitions and/or the *vestis militaris*. They are arranged chronologically to coordinate with Chapters 2 and 3 of the commentary. Dates marked with an asterisk are those which I have assigned to a text, in some cases narrowing that of the editor, in others changing it completely. All *Berichtigungsliste* listings are given for each text, but bibliographic references are given only for material pertinent to the matters under discussion here. Multiple publication of the same text is also listed under "Bibliography."

Texts dating to 119-261 (discussed in Chapter 2)

P. Oxy. XIX 2230

Date: between vi/vii 119 and 10.vii.124

Provenance: Heracleopolis Magna

Type of Document: declaration of cloth dealers on price of requisitioned blankets

BL VIII.255

P. Ryl. II 189

Date: 22.ii.128

Provenance: Soknopaeou Nesos

Type of Document: receipt to weavers' guild for requisition of tunics and cloaks

BL II.114, IV.73

Bibliography: Johnson 1936, #372; Hengstl #160.

BGU VII 1564

Date: 9.ix.138

Provenance: Philadelphia

Type of Document: order for advance payment to weavers for requisitioned clothing

BL II.32, VIII.45, IX.27

Bibliography: Johnson 1936, #374; *SelPap* vol. 2 #395; Rémondon 1956, 245.

BGU VII 1572

Date: 139

Provenance: Philadelphia

Type of Document: application to the strategus from the same weavers' guild as BGU VII 1564

BL II.32-3, III.21

Bibliography: *P. Phil.* 10**P. Gradenwitz (unpublished)**

Date: *2-3c

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: receipt for woolen cloths

Bibliography: referred to only in *P. Hibeh* 67.10n; *P. Tebr.* II 347.12n**SB I 5677**

Date: 21.ix.222

Provenance: Hermopolis (?)

Type of Document: receipt, perhaps for clothing requisition

BL VII.188, VIII.322, IX.244

Bibliography: otherwise unpublished

SB VI 9406

Date: ii.246 or later

Provenance: Theadelphia

Type of Document: village account including clothing and rope for soldiers

BL IV.85, V.115, VII.208, VIII.344, IX.258

Bibliography: *P. Prag.* II 1**P. Lips. 57**

Date: 6.iii.261

Provenance: Hermopolis

Type of Document: clothing requisition for gladiators

BL I.209, 465, V.48, VI.60, VIII.171

Bibliography: Johnson 1936 #385

Texts dating to 285-381 (discussed in Chapter 3)**P. Michael. 21**

Date: 10.ii.285

Provenance: Arsinoë

Type of Document: receipt for a *sticharion* and a *pallium*

BL V.68, VI.80, IX.158

P. Bad. II 26

Date: 292/3

Provenance: Hermopolite

Type of Document: fragment of an account of receipts and expenses

BL V.8, VIII.14, IX.10

P. Mich. IX 547

Date: 15.vi.298

Provenance: Karanis

Type of Document: receipt for a *pallium*

BL VII.113

P. Oxy. XIV 1718

Date: ca. 298-301

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: receipt for reimbursement in silver for garments (?)

BL III.139, VIII.249

Bibliography: Whitehorne 1986, 313-17; Bagnall 1988, 157-64.

BGU III 927

Date: late 3- early 4

Provenance: Heracleopolis Magna

Type of Document: acknowledgement of delivery of wool

BL III.927

Bibliography: Wilcken *Chrest.* #178; Wilcken 1913, 185-86.**P. Stras. VII 618+ 691**

Date: early 4c

Provenance: Hermopolis

Type of Document: account of *chlamydes*

BL VIII.430

P. Panop. Beatty 2

Date: 31.i.300

Provenance: Panopolis

Type of Document: letter from *procurator* to strategus mentioning military clothing requisitions

BL V.9, VIII.9, VI.10, VIII.17, IX.14

BGU II 620

Date: ca. 302

Provenance: Karanis

Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for *sticharia*

BL I.57, IV.5, 104, V.12, VI.12, VII.13-14

Bibliography: Wilcken *Chrest.* #186; Youtie 1956, 69-73; Rémondon 1956, 246-48; Bagnall 1988, 160.

SB I 4421

Date: ca. 302

Provenance: Karanis

Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for *sticharia*

BL VII.184

Bibliography: Goodspeed 1906, 167-75; Bagnall 1988, 160.

CPR V 6

Date: 20.iii.306

Provenance: Hermopolis

Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for *chlamys* delivered to the *catholicus*

BL VII.44, VIII.100

Bibliography: Bagnall 1988, 160-61.

P. Cair. Isid. 54

Date: 15.i.314

Provenance: Karanis

Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for *sticharia* and *pallia*

Bibliography: SB VI 9071; Boak 1947, 24-33; Youtie 1956, 69-73; Rémondon 1956, 248-49; Bagnall 1988, 161.

P. Oxy. LIX 3982

Date: 5.v.314

Provenance: Phoboou (Oxyrhynchite nome)

Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for tow

P. Col. X 286

Date: 24.iv.317

Provenance: Pela (Oxyrhynchite nome)

Type of Document: receipt for payment for the value of barley; may be related to clothing

P. Ant. I 40

Date: 7th indiction (*318/9)

Provenance: Antinoë

Type of Document: receipt for a *chlamys*

BL IX.40

P. Oxy. XII 1424

Date: ca. 318

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: letter of *centurio princeps* concerning garment collection liturgy**P. Oslo III 119**

Date: 3.ix - 11.xi.319

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: receipt for *pallia*, *dalmatica*, and palm rope

BL III.126, V.74, VIII.229, IX.176

Bibliography: Lallemand 1964, 182 n.4, 183 n.4.

P. Stras. VI
Date: after 302
Provenance: Karanis
Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for a *chlamys*

P. Oxy. XL
Date: 29.iv.306
Provenance: Hermopolis
Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for a *chlamys*
BL VIII.267

P. Ant. I 35
Date: 6.ii.314
Provenance: Karanis
Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for a *chlamys*
BL IV.2, V.1
Bibliography: Bagnall 1988, 161

P. Oxy. XII
Date: 10.ii.314
Provenance: Phoboou
Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for tow
BL V.78, IX.40
Bibliography: Bagnall 1988, 161

CPR VIII 2
Date: 23.vi.317
Provenance: Pela
Type of Document: receipt for payment for the value of barley
BL VIII.114
Bibliography: Bagnall 1988, 161

P. Col. IX
Date: 324/5
Provenance: Karanis
Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for a *chlamys*

P. Oxy. XI
Date: *post 302
Provenance: Karanis
Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for a *chlamys*
BL VII.139

P. Stras. VII 618

Date: after 319

Provenance: Hermopolis

Type of Document: account of *chlamydes***P. Oxy. XLIV 3194**

Date: 29.iv.323

Provenance: Sepho (Oxyrhynchite nome)

Type of Document: request for reimbursement for tunics and cloaks

BL VIII.267

P. Ant. I 39

Date: 6.ii.323

Provenance: Antinoë

Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for a *pallium* and a *sticharion*

BL IV.2, V.6, VII.6

Bibliography: Youtie 1956, 69-73; Thomas 1960, 263 n.7; Rémondon 1956, 249-50; Bagnall 1988, 161.

P. Oxy. XII 1430

Date: 10.ii.324

Provenance: Herakleides (Oxyrhynchite nome)

Type of Document: reimbursement receipt for gold, charcoal, and tow

BL V.78, IX.12, VIII.245

Bibliography: Rémondon 1956, 250-251; Bagnall 1988, 161.

CPR VIII 27

Date: 23.vi.324

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: receipt for reimbursement paid in gold (?)

BL VIII.114, IX.68

Bibliography: Hagedorn 1984, 153-54; Bagnall 1988, 162-63.

P. Col. IX 247

Date: 324/5 or 325/6

Provenance: Hermopolite

Type of Document: account of military clothing for the *vestis militaris***P. Oxy. XII 1448**

Date: *post 324

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: list of arrears of *sticharia* and *pallia*

BL VII.139, VIII.246

P. Oxy. LIV 3758.1-38

Date: 325

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: proceedings before the logistes concerning the collection of clothing

SB XVI 12646

Date: 326/7

Provenance: Oxyrhynchite nome

Type of Document: receipt for *sticharia* and *pallia*

Bibliography: Youtie 1980, 298-91.

PSI IV 309

Date: 11.ii.327

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: receipt for reimbursement of a *chlamys*

BL I.395, II.135, VIII.397

Bibliography: Bagnall 1982, 87-91; Bagnall 1988, 161-62.

P. Panop. 17

Date: ii-iii.329

Provenance: Panopolis

Type of Document: order to pay for *vestis militaris***P. Panop. 18**

Date: ca. 329

Provenance: Panopolis

Type of Document: order to pay for *vestis militaris***P. Oxy. LI 3621**

Date: 10.v.329

Provenance: Seneceleu (Oxyrhynchite nome)

Type of Document: nomination of village liturgists

SB XIV 11886

Date: 333

Provenance: Hermopolis

Type of Document: receipt for delivery of a *chlamys*

Bibliography: Stud. Pal XX 87; Bagnall and Worp 1977, 319-21.

P. Panop. 19

Date: 339-345

Provenance: Panopolis

Type of Document: receipts for *sticharia* and *chlamydes*

PSI VII 781

Date: 10.iv.341

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: payment for clothing for recruits

BL VIII.401

P. Dub. 20

Date: 3.v.342

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: declaration concerning textiles

SB XII 10988

Date: 342

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: account of clothing (*sticharia*, *pallia*, and *dalmaticae*)**P. Bodl. I 16**

Date: 5.iii.342

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: receipt for tunics

P. Lond. III 1259

Date: 342/3

Provenance: Hermopolite (?)

Type of Document: account of *chlamydes*

BL III.97, IV.45, VII.91, VIII.188, IX.142

Bibliography: Bagnall and Worp 1983, 7-12.

P. Oxy. XVI 1905

Date: 15th indiction (356/7 or 371/2)

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: assessment schedule for *vestis militaris*

BL III.140, IV.62, VII.142, VIII.251, IX.189

Bibliography: Lallemand 1964, 184; Bagnall 1980, 185-95.

P. Oxy. XLVIII 3424

Date: 357 or 372 (?)

Place: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: tax schedule

P. NYU 4

Date: 363/4

Provenance: Karanis

Type of Document: receipt for clothing payment

BL VI.91, VII.124, VIII.227

Bibliography: *P. Col.* VII 129

P. Col. VII 129

Date: 363/4 (?)

Provenance: Karanis

Type of Document: account of clothing payments

P. Oxy. XVII 2110

Date: 6.x.370

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: proceedings of the boule concerning liturgists

BL VII.144, IX.193

Bibliography: *Sel. Pap.* vol. 2 #240**P. Lips. 45**

Date: 371

Provenance: Panopolis

Type of Document: notice of assumptions of a *vestis militaris* liturgy

BL I.208, VIII.171

P. Lips. 46

Date: 22.viii.371

Provenance: Panopolis

Type of Document: nomination to *vestis militaris* liturgy

BL I.208

P. Lips. 58

Date: 7.x.371

Provenance: Lycopolis (?)

Type of Document: official correspondence concerning *vestis militaris* liturgists

BL I.209

P. Lips. 59

Date: 371

Provenance: Panopolis

Type of Document: acknowledgement of a return receipt (?)

BL I.209

P. Lips. 60

Date: c. 371

Provenance: Panopolis

Type of Document: acknowledgement of a return receipt (?)

BL I.209

Bibliography: Wilcken *Chrest.* #187**P. Stras. VII 695**

Date: 373

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: fragment mentioning collection of *sticharia* and *pallia*

BL VIII.430

P. Stras. IV 246

Date: ca. 380

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: receipt for anticipated payment for a *sticharion***P. Stras. VIII 738**

Date: 380-1 (?)

Provenance: Hermopolite

Type of Document: receipt for *chlamydes*

BL VIII.431

P. Stras. VIII 737

Date: 380-1

Provenance: Hermopolite

Type of Document: receipts for *chlamydes***CPR V 26 (P. Vindob. G39847)**

Date: second half 5c

Provenance: Skar (Hermopolite nome)

Type of Document: account of garments

P. Lond. V 1659

Date: 4c

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: private letter referring to a garment collection liturgy

P. Oxy. LXII 4348

Date: 4c

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: Tax Schedule

PSI XII 1264

Date: 4c

Provenance: Lykopolite nome

Type of Document: register of contributions sent to Alexandria

BL IX.321

P. Stras. VIII 735

Date: 4c

Provenance: Hermopolite nome

Type of Document: account of *sticharia* and *chlamydes*

BL VIII.431

SB VI 9305

Date: 5.vii (6th indiction)

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: receipt (?) for *sticharia* and *chlamydes*

P. Innsbruck inv. 9

Date: 12th - 3rd indiction (338-344, 353-359)

Provenance: unknown

Type of Document: report of collection of the *vestis militaris*

Bibliography: unpublished; being edited by Ann E. Hanson

SB XVI 12644

Date: second half 4c

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus

Type of Document: memorandum listing payments of *chlamydes*, *sticharia* and *pallia*

Bibliography: Youtie 1980, 285-6.

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Ares (4.54)
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Appendix 2

Catalogue of Toponyms

In this catalogue, toponyms included in 247 are listed in alphabetical order, followed by the page and line number where they occur in the text. The administrative status is listed as it appears in 247. Most toparchy references were established by Drew-Bear; if the toparchy is based on new information, it is noted. Pagus references are listed as they are in 247; if there is another pagus attestation for a particular place, the other pagus and relevant references are included. A citation is given for Drew-Bear and any other important bibliography on the village or hamlet; if no Drew-Bear reference is given, the place is not listed therein. Each entry is completed with any new (post Drew-Bear) attestations of the toponym.

Admentha (19.264)

Status: Ἀδμένθων; κώμη in other texts

Toparchy: Μωχίτης

Pagus: 13; 15 in 340 (*CPR* XVIII. 32, *SB* XVIII 13147, *SB* XVI 12826)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 53.

Additional references: *CPR* XVIII. 32.5 (340); *SB* XVIII 13147.12 (340/1); *SB* XVI 12826.7 (340).

Ares (4.54)

Status: κώμη Ἀρέως

Toparchy: Πατρῆ ἄνω

Pagus: 8

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 69-71.

Additional references: *P. Bon.* 50a.9 (first/second century); *P. Stras.* IX 863.2 (second century); *P. Brem.* 29.2, 24 (113); *SB* XX 15140.ii.3 (158/59); *CPR* VIII 22.ii.28 (314); *P. Herm. Landl.* I 636 (post 346/47); *SB* XIV 11373.10 (513); *CPR* VIII 85.4 (seventh/eighth century); *CPR* IX 73.7 (first half seventh century); *CPR* VII 29.5 (608/9). Possibly also in *P. Lugd. Bat.* XXV 27.35 (first century) where the editors read Ἀρ.ω(), a toponym in one of the Πατρῆ toparchies. There are several other misspellings in the text.

Attinos (20.325)

Status: ἐποικίου Ἀττίνου

Toparchy: presumably Παस्कώ

Pagus: 15

Otherwise unattested? The toponym appears in *P. Herm.* 4.10 (fourth century), where the editor has assumed that it is the Arsinoite village of the same name.

Berku (20.322)

Status: ἐποικίου Βερκύ

Toparchy: presumably Παस्कώ

Pagus: 15

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 80-81; Pruneti 1981, 39-40

Additional references: *P. Oxy.* L 3598.2 (fourth century); *P. Oxy.* XLVIII 3400.3, 33 (359-65).

Bousiris (4.63)

Status: κώμης Βουσίρεως

Toparchy: Περί Πόλιν κάτω

Pagus: 8; 7 in 316 or 331 or 346 (*P. Lond.* III 1293); 8 in 346 (*P. Herm.* 21)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 83-85.

Additional references: *CPR* XIV 36.1, 5, 9, 13 (sixth/seventh century); *CPR* IX 73.6 (first half seventh century); *CPR* VIII 85.19 (seventh/eighth century); *CPR* IX 74.2 (seventh/eighth century)

Enseu (1.13)

Status: κώμης Ἐνσεύ

Toparchy: Περί Πόλιν ἄνω

Pagus: 6

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 97-99.

Additional references: *SB* XIV 12132.6 (sixth century); *SB* XVI 12488.2 (538).

Hakis (8.122)

Status: κώμης ἼΑκεως

Toparchy: Πατεμίτης ἄνω

Pagus: 10

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 55-56; Lopez García 1990, 6.

Additional references: *CPR* IX 70.5 (seventh century); *CPR* IX 76 i.4, ii.4, iv.4, v.5, vi.4 (first half seventh century).

Harmotnis (11.170)

Status: κώμης Ἀρμώτνεως

Toparchy: listed with villages of the Πατεμίτης ἄνω and Πατρῆ κάτω in *CPR* IX 76, but Πατεμίτης ἄνω villages predominate the 11th Pagus.

Pagus: 11

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 73-74.

Additional references: *CPR* IX 76 i.3, ii.3, iv.3, v.3, vi.3 (first half seventh century).

Hermoheraki
Status: ἐποικί
Toparchy: pr
Pagus: 14
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Hormos (4.5
Status: κώμη
Toparchy: pr
Pagus: 8; 7 in
Bibliography:

Ibion Sesym
Status: Ἰβίων
Toparchy: Π
Pagus: 9
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Ibion Tanou
Status: κώμη
Toparchy: un
Πόλιν
Pagus: 12
Bibliography:
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Ibion Teo (1
Status: κώμη
Toparchy: un
Pagus: 12
Bibliography
Additional re

Ilios (8.129)
Status: ἐποικ
Toparchy: Π
Pagus: 10
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sevent

¹Like its

Hermoherakles (18.293)

Status: ἐποικίου Ἑρμοηρακλέους

Toparchy: probably Μωχίτης, like most villages of the 14th Pagus.

Pagus: 14

Otherwise unattested.

Hormos (4.59)

Status: κόμησ Ὅρμου

Toparchy: presumably Περὶ Πόλιν κάτω¹Pagus: 8; 7 in 5th indiction (316 or 331 or 346) (*P. Lond.* III 1293)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 186.

Ibion Sesymbothis (6.91)

Status: Ἰβιώνος Σεσυμβώθεως; κόμη in other texts

Toparchy: Πατρὴ ἄνω or κάτω

Pagus: 9

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 127-28.

Additional references: *P. Prag.* I 45.6 (521); *SB XX* 14446 (seventh century); *CPR VIII* 85.14 (seventh/eighth century).**Ibion Tanoupis (13.206)**

Status: κόμησ Ἰβιώνος Τανουπέως

Toparchy: uncertain: attested in lists of villages from several toparchies (Πατεμίτης ἄνω, Περὶ Πόλιν κάτω, Πατρὴ κάτω).

Pagus: 12

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 129.

Additional references: *P. Stras VIII* 775 i.1 (300); *CPR IX* 76 i.6, ii.8, iv.8, v.8 (first half seventh century).**Ibion Teo (13.201)**

Status: κόμησ Ἰβιώνος Τεῶ

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 12

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 130-31.

Additional references: *CPR IX* 76 i.7, ii.6, iv.6, v.6, vi.8 (first half seventh century).**Ilios (8.129)**

Status: ἐποικίου Ἰλίου

Toparchy: Πατεμίτης ἄνω

Pagus: 10

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 133.

Additional references: *P. Stras. VIII* 735 ii.17 (fourth century); *CPR IX* 73.3 (first half seventh century).¹Like its neighbors Βουσίρις and Μαγδάλων Μιρή.

Isieon (16.256)

Status: *κώμη* Ἰαήον, listed in a joint entry with the village Νάχη

Toparchy: presumably Μωχίτης

Pagus: 13; 15 in 340 (*SB XVIII* 13147, *SB XVI* 12826)

References: *SB XVIII* 13147.17 (340/41), *SB XVI* 12826.9 (340/41).

Kenembatos (6.89)

Status: *ἐποικίου* Κενεμβάτου

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 9

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 138.

Kirka (15.239)

Status: *κώμη*ς Κιρκᾶ

Toparchy: Μωχίτης

Pagus: 13

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 140-41, and Rea 1985, 69.

Additional references: *P. Dion.* 10.r.1 (109); *P. Rain.Cent.* 83.8 (311); *SB XVI* 12340.18 (312); *P. Wisc.* I 10.5 (468)

Korkodilon (18.284)

Status: *κώμη*ς Κορκοδείλων

Toparchy: Μωχίτης (*P. Dion.* 17 and 20)

Pagus: 14; 15 in 340 (*SB XVIII* 13147 and *SB XVI* 12826; also tied to the 15th Pagus in *P. Herm. Landl.* II 747.)

Bibliography: Worp 1983, 261/62.

References: *BGU VI* 1218.2 (second century BCE); *BGU VI* 1219.ii.35 (second century BCE); *P. Cair. Preis.* 45.8 (fourth century); *SB XVIII* 13147.9 (340/41); *SB XVI* 12826.10 (340); *SP XX* 75.ii.16 (c. 340); *P. Herm. Landl.* II 747 (post 346/47).

Magdolon Mire (3.44)

Status: *κώμη*ς Μαγδώλων Μιρή

Toparchy: Περὶ Πόλιν κάτω

Pagus: 7 (here and in *P. Lond.* III 1293 [5th indiction])

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 160-63.

Additional references: *P. Charite* 7.10 (347); *SB XIV* 11972 frA.1, 9-10, 12-13 (367/68); *CPR VII* 18.5 (379); *P. Hamb.* III 222.8 (sixth/seventh century); *CPR IX* 73.4 (first half seventh century).

Melissourgon (8.119)

Status: *κώμη*ς Μελισσουργῶν

Toparchy: Πατρηή κάτω

Pagus: 10

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 166-67.

Additional references: *SB XIV* 11597.6 (mid third century); *SB XVI* 12377.28 (sixth/seventh century); *CPR IX* 76 i.9, ii.9, iv.9, v.9, vi.9 (first half seventh century).

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Ophis (3.4
Status: κ
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Pake (13.21
Status: κ
Toparchy
Pagus: 12
Bibliogr

²This text

Mnachis (20.309)Status: *κώμη* Μνάχεω

Toparchy: Παακώ

Pagus: 15

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 170-71.

Additional references: *SB* XII 11108.2 (third/fourth century); *P. Lugd. Bat.* XXV 103.7 (late fourth century).**Nache** (16.256)Status: *κώμη* Νάχη, listed in a joint entry with the village Ἰαήου

Toparchy: presumably Μωχίτης

Pagus: 13; 15 in 340 (*P. Vindob. Sijp.* 5 and *SB* XVI 12826)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 179-80.

Additional references: *P. Charite* 2.7 (312/22?); *SB* XVI 12826 (340).**Nagogis** (8.126)Status: *κώμη* ΝαγώγεωToparchy: Πατεμίτης ἄνω assumed by Drew-Bear on the basis of *P. Flor.* 388, *P. Stras.* 137, and *PSI* 304. The assumption is further supported by the fact that the majority of 10th Pagus villages were previously in the Πατεμίτης ἄνω Toparchy.

Pagus: 10

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 177-78; Lopez García 1990, 8.

Additional references: *P. Herm. Landl. Anh.* II ii.83, 119 (fourth century); *SB* XX 14455.1 (sixth century or later); *CPR* IX 76 i.10, ii.10, iv.10, v.10, vi.10 (first half seventh century).²**Ophis** (3.40)Status: *κώμη* Ὀφεω

Toparchy: Περί Πόλιν κάτω

Pagus: 7

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 187.

Additional references: *CPR* XVIII A. 5b.4 (316); *P. Amst.* I 43.10 (fifth/sixth century); *SB* XX 14709.9 (late fifth/early sixth century); *SB* XVI 12377.26 (sixth/seventh century); *CPR* IX 73.5 (first half seventh century); *CPR* VIII 85.5 (seventh/eighth century); *CPR* IX 74.4 (seventh/eighth century).**Pake** (13.215)Status: *κώμη* Πακή

Toparchy: Πατεμίτης κάτω

Pagus: 12

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 188-89.

²This text extends the knowledge of this village, previously attested only until the sixth century.

Parou (14.219)Status: *κώμη*ς Παρώων

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 12

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 194. This is the earliest attestation of this toponym, and the only one in Greek.

Peentalis (14.226)Status: *κώμη*ς Πεεντάλεωσ

Toparchy: Πατεμίτης κάτω

Pagus: 12

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 198-200, and Rea 1985, 70.

Penne (18.285)Status: *κώμη*ς Πέννη

Toparchy: Μωχίτης

Pagus: 14; 12 in 350 (*P. Amh.* II 141)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 201-202.

Pesla (7.114)Status: *κώμη*ς Πέσλα

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 10

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 204-206; introduction to *CPR* VI, 58; van Minnen 1987, 122.Additional references: *CPR* VI 12.5, 13.5, 14.6 (300/301), 18.3, 19.5-6, 20.3, 29.4 (?), 31.11, 19, 33.5, 34.3, 5 (300/301?), 62.1, 68.2 (?); *SB* XVI 12340.5 (312); *CPR* VIII 23.6 (320); *P. Prag.* I 46.r.7 (522); *CPR* IX 71.3 (second half seventh century).**Phbu** (4.61)Status: *κώμη*ς Φβϋ

Toparchy: Πατρῆ ἄνω

Pagus: 8

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 315-16.

Additional reference: *P. Herm. Landl.* I 70 (post 346/47)**Poampimenis** (5.81)Status: *κώμη*ς Ποαμπιμήνεωσ

Toparchy: Πατρῆ ἄνω

Pagus: 9

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 214-16.

Additional references: *CPR* VIII 22 i.9-10, iii.47 (314); *CPR* XVIII 9a.7 (c. 320); *CPR* VIII 85.7 (seventh/eighth century).**Poteu** (14.223)Status: *κώμη*ς Πότευ

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 12

References: *P. Prag.* I 36.1, 5, 10 (88).

Prektis (16.258)

Status: *Πρήκτεωσ*; *κώμη* in other texts

Toparchy: presumably *Μωχίτης*

Pagus: 13; 15 in 339/40 (*BGU I 21*, *CPR VII 17*, *CPR XVIII 32*, *P. Cair. Goodspeed 12*, *P. Cair. Preis. 18* and *19*, *SB XVIII 13147*, *P. Vindob. Sijp. 2*, and *SB XVI 12826*)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 222-23; Sijpesteijn 1987.

Additional references: *CPR XVIII 33.0* (c. 340); *CPR XVIII 34.1* (c. 340); *CPR VII 17.5* (340); *CPR XVIII 32.11* (340); *SB XVIII 13147.4* (340/41); *SB XVI 12826.4* (340); *SB XIV 11548.2* (343); *SB XX 14468.1* (4c)

Prere (2.22)

Status: *κώμησ Πρερή*

Toparchy: presumably *Περὶ Πόλιν ἄνω*

Pagus: 6

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 220-21.

Additional references: *CPR XVIII 15.10* (321); *CPR XVIII 17a.3* (321?); *CPR XVIII 17b.4* (321?); *P. Monac. III 78.8* (378/79)

Psobthenyris (18.287)

Status: *κώμησ Ψωβθενύρεωσ*

Toparchy: *Μωχίτης*

Pagus: 14

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 331.

Psobthonchenarsiesis (11.178)

Status: *Ψωβθονχεναρσιήσεωσ*; *κώμη* in other texts

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 11

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 333-34.

Additional reference: *P. Charite 39.4* (320/50) *χεναρσιήσεωσ*.

Psychis (17.271)

Status: *κώμησ Ψύχεωσ*

Toparchy: *Πασκώ* (*P. Lugd. Bat. XXV 27.18-19* [first century])

Pagus: 13; 15 in 340 (*SB XVIII 13147* and *SB XVI 12826*)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 330-31.

Additional references: *P. Lugd. Bat. XXV 27.18-19* (first century); *P. Hibeh II 272.4* (first/second century); *CPR XVIII 10.8* (320); *SB XVI 12826.5* (340); *SB XVIII 13147.36* (340/41); *P. Herm. Landl. I.586*, II.798 (post 346/47).

Sarapieon (1.10)Status: *κώμη* *Σαραπιήου*Toparchy: *Περὶ Πόλιν ἕνω*Pagus: 6; 2 after 307 (*CPR XVIIA 25*)³

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 233-34.

Additional references: *SB XX 15061.9* (third/fourth century); *CPR XVIIA 25.15* (post 307); *CPR XVIIA 6.5* (316?); *CPR XVIIA 15.8* (321)**Sellechme (4.66)**Status: *κώμη* *Κελλέχμη*

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 8

Otherwise unattested.

Senilais (6.101)Status: *Κενιλάεω*; *κώμη* in other textsToparchy: *Πατεμίτης ἕνω*Pagus: 9 here, 9th indiction (*CPR XVIIA Anh. B*) and in 320/50 (*P. Charite 22*); 11 in 15th indiction (326/27 or later) (*P. Charite 14*) and in 329 (*P. Charite 15*)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 236-37.

Additional references: *P. Monac.* III 1.122.4 (third/fourth century); *P. Flor.* I 64.8 (late third/early fourth century);⁴ *CPR XVIIA 4.5, 7-8* (314); *CPR XVIIA Anh. B ii.1* (320 or 335 or 350); *P. Stras.* VII 692.7 (c. 340); *P. Charite 22.8* (320/50), 14.1 (326/27), 15 i.1 (329); *SB XX 14709.2* (sixth or seventh century); *CPR IX 44.1, 73.2* (first half seventh century).**Seninebis (6.98)**Status: *Κενινήβεω*; *κώμη* in other textsToparchy: *Πατρὴ κάτω*

Pagus: 9

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 241; Lopez García 1990, 8.

Senomorro (17.269)Status: *κώμη* *Κενομορρῶ*Toparchy: presumably *Μωχίτης*Pagus: 13; 15 in 340 (*SB XVIII 13147* and *P. Vindob. Sijp.* 4)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 244.

Additional references: *SB XIV 11593.46* (fourth century); *SB XVIII 13147.13, 32* (340/41).

³That the village of Sarapieou should have been in the second pagus at any time is difficult to reconcile with the other evidence for the nome. It is possible that the second pagus was generally near the sixth, but a change of affiliations, especially so early in the century, is not otherwise supported by the evidence. I can offer no explanation for this curiosity.

⁴Revised reading in Sijpesteijn and Worp 1978.

Sesiu (3.36)Status: *κώμη* *Κεαύ*Toparchy: *Περὶ Πόλιν κάτω*

Pagus: 7

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 245-46.

Additional references: *P. Stras.* VIII 772.3, 10, 20 (second century)**Sesoncha (15.249)**Status: *κώμη* *Κεσόγχων*Toparchy: *Μωχίτης*Pagus: 13; 15 in 331 (*SB* V 8753); 12 in 349 (*P. Amh.* I 140)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 247.

Additional references: *P. Stras.* IX 839.5 (fifth century).**Sinageris (9.143)**Status: *Κιναγήρεως*; *κώμη* in other textsToparchy: *Πατεμίτης ἄνω*

Pagus: 10

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 249-50; Lopez García 1990, 8.

Sinalabe (10.161)Status: *Κιναλαβή*; *κώμη* in other textsToparchy: *Πατεμίτης ἄνω*

Pagus: 11

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 250-51.

Additional references: *P. Herm. Landl. Anh.* II r.iii.90 (fourth century); v.i.136 (?); *SB* XVI 12486.5 (470)**Sinape (7.103)**Status: *κώμη* *Κιναπή*Toparchy: *Πατρὴ κάτω*Pagus: 9; 11 in 327 (*P. Charite* 13); 10 in 10th indiction (320 or 335 or 350) (*P. Charite* 19)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 251-52.

Additional references: *CPR* XVIIIA 9a.19 (c. 320); *CPR* XVIIIA 22.5-6, 9 (321); *P. Charite* 13 i.19 (327); *P. Charite* 15 ii.22 (340's?); *P. Charite* 19.2 (320 or 335 or 350); *CPR* VII 28.1 (sixth/seventh century).

Sinarchebis (6.85)Status: *κώμη* *Συναρχήβειω*Toparchy: *Πατρὴ ἄνω*Pagus: 9 here, in 317 (*CPR* XVIII 7), and 10th indiction (*CPR* XVIII Anh. B); 10 in 327 (*P. Charite* 13) and 320/50 (*P. Charite* 18)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 252-53.

Additional references: *CPR* VI 31.9 (300/01?); *CPR* XVIII 7.5, 27-8 (317); *CPR* XVIII 8.8-9 (317); *CPR* XVIII Anh. B ii.9 (321 or 336 or 351); *P. Charite* 18.7 (320/50); *P. Charite* 40.5 (320/50); *P. Charite* 13 i.18 (327); *CPR* IX 62.1 (sixth century); *P. Lond.* III 877.1 (sixth century);⁵ *CPR* VIII 85.6 (seventh/eighth century).**Sinpetesis (9.141)**Status: *κώμη* *Σινπετήσεω*

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 10

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 256.

Additional references: *CPR* VIII 85.21 (seventh/eighth century).**Sintaphos (9.145)**Status: *Σινταφοῦ*; *κώμη* in other textsToparchy: *Περὶ Πόλιν κάτω*

Pagus: 10

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 256.

Skar (12.190)Status: *κώμη* *Σκάρ*, listed in a joint entry with the village of *Ταναῦ*Toparchy: *Πατεμίτης ἄνω*

Pagus: 11

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 257.

Additional references: *P. Herm. Landl.* Anh. II iii.89, v.i.155 (fourth century).**Skordon (12.187)**Status: *κώμη* *Σκόρδων*Toparchy: *Πατεμίτης ἄνω*

Pagus: 11

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 257-58.

Additional references: *P. Herm. Landl.* Anh. II ii.85, iii.89, v.i.148 (fourth century).**Somolo (19.303)**Status: *κώμη* *Σομολῶ*Toparchy: presumably *Πάσκω*

Pagus: 15

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 259-60.

⁵Published in Sijpesteijn 1995.Tanau (12.19)
Status: *κώμη*
Toparchy: *Πα*
Pagus: 11
Bibliography:Telbonthis (9)
Status: *κώμη*
Toparchy: *Πα*
Pagus: 10
Bibliography:
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seventhTemenkyrkis
Status: *Τεμε*
Toparchy: un
Pagus: 13
Otherwise unTemenkyrkis
Status: *Τεμε*
Toparchy: *Πα*
Pagus: 10
Bibliography:
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Status: *κώμη*
Toparchy: *π*
Pagus: 9 here
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Status: *Τεμε*
Toparchy: *Π*
Pagus: 11; 1
Bibliography:Temsiris (13)
Status: *κώμη*

Tanau (12.190)

Status: *κώμη* Ταναύ, listed in joint entry with the village *Σκάρ*

Toparchy: Πατεμίτης κάτω

Pagus: 11

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 264.

Telbonthis (9.136)

Status: *κώμη* Τελβώνθεωσ

Toparchy: Πατεμίτης ἄνω

Pagus: 10

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 272-74.

Additional references: *SB* XX 15061.22, 23 (third/fourth century); *CPR* IX 71.1 (second half seventh century).

Temenkyrkis Halieon (16.267)

Status: *Τεμενκύρκις Ἀλιέων*; status not attested

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 13

Otherwise unattested.

Temenkyrkis Poimenon (8.131)

Status: *Τεμενκύρκεωσ Ποιμένων*; *κώμη* in other texts

Toparchy: Πατεμίτης ἄνω

Pagus: 10

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 275-57.

Additional references: *P. Stras.* VII 672.3 (289/90); *P. Rain. Cent.* 99.4 (451). Probably also in *P. Lugd. Bat.* XXV 27.28 (first century), where the editor reads *περικν.εωσ*, and *CPR* IX 76 i.11, ii.11, iv.11, v.11, vi.11, where the editor reads *πιμικυρεωσ* and *πεμενκυρ*].

Temseu Moron (5.77)

Status: *κώμη* Τεμσεὺ Μωρῶν

Toparchy: presumably Πατρῆ ἄνω

Pagus: 9 here and in 325 (*P. Charite* 13)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 278.

Additional references: *CPR* VI 31.7-8 (300/301?); *P. Charite* 13 ii.27 (325); *CPR* IX 34.3 (fifth/sixth century); *CPR* IX 73.8 (first quarter seventh century); *CPR* IX 55.1 (first half seventh century); *CPR* VIII 85.11 (seventh/eighth century).

Temseu Skordon (10.164)

Status: *Τεμσεὺ Σκόρδων*; *κώμη* in other texts

Toparchy: Πατεμίτης ἄνω

Pagus: 11; 13 in first half fourth century (*SB* XIV 11352)

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 278-79.

Temsiris (15.245)

Status: *κώμη* Τεμσίρεωσ

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 13

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 279.

Additional reference: *CPR* IX 65.11 (fourth century)

Tertembythis (2.25)

Status: *κώμης Τερτεμβύθεως*

Toparchy: *Περὶ Πόλιν ἄνω*

Pagus: 6

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 281-82.

Additional references: *CPR* XVIIIA 16.15-16, 31 (321); *CPR* XVIIIA 17a.1, 2 (321?); *CPR* XVIIIA 17b.1, 3 (321?); *SB* XX 14709.14 (late fifth/early sixth century); *CPR* IX 70.8 (seventh century); *CPR* IX 30.1 (first half seventh century).

Tertonpsembe (11.181)

Status: *Τερτονψεμβή; κώμη* in other texts

Toparchy: *Πατεμίτης κάτω*

Pagus: 11

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 288.

Tertonsamouu (6.96)

Status: *Τερτονσαμουού; κώμη* in other texts

Toparchy: *Πατρῆ κάτω*

Pagus: 9

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 287.

Thallos (13.209)

Status: *κώμης Θαλλοῦ*

Toparchy: *Πατεμίτης κάτω*

Pagus: 12

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 108-109.

Additional references: *CPR* IX 76 i.5, ii.5, iv.5, v.5, vi.5 (first half seventh century).

Thynis (2.1)

Status: *κώμης Θύνεως*

Toparchy: *Περὶ Πόλιν ἄνω*

Pagus: 6

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 118-21.

Additional references: *CPR* XVIIIA 15.8 (321); *CPR* XVIIIA 22.4 (321); *P. Herm. Landl.* I xvi.221 (post 346/47); *P. Stras.* VIII 712.5 (second half fourth century); *P. Köln* III 153.3 (fifth/sixth century); *SB* XX 14709.7 (late fifth/early sixth century); *CPR* IX 26.20 (545/46); *P. Laur.* III 94.1 (sixth century); *P. Oxf.* 16.16 (sixth/seventh century); *P. Laur.* III 77.11 (619), 121.6 (642).

Tiberion (16.253)

Status: *ἐποικίου Τιβερίου*

Toparchy: presumably *Μωχίτης*

Pagus: 13; 15 in 340 (*CPR* XVIIIA 32, *SB* XVIII 13147 and *SB* XVI 12826)

Reference
32.

Timonthis
Status: κώμης
Toparchy:
Pagus: 11
Bibliography:
Additional
(first)

Tlethmis
Status: κώμης
Toparchy:
Pagus: 9
Bibliography:
Additional
cent
74.5

Toenorsis
Status: κώμης
Toparchy:
Pagus: 13
Otherwise

Toou (11.1)
Status: κώμης
Toparchy:
Pagus: 11
Otherwise

Toou Near
Status: Τοο
Toparchy:
Pagus: 11
Bibliography:
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lisher

Toou Pask
Status: κώμης
Toparchy:
Pagus: 14
Bibliography

⁶Revised

References: *SB* XIV 11594.7 (fourth century); *Stud. Pal* XX 75 ii.9 (c. 340);⁶ *CPR* XVIII 32.7 (340); *SB* XVI 12826.8 (340); *SB* XVIII 13147.22 (340/41).

Timonthis (10.155)

Status: κώμη Τιμώνθεω

Toparchy: Πατεμίτην ἄνω

Pagus: 11

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 297-98.

Additional references: *P. Herm. Landl. Anh.* II iii.100, 112 (fourth century); *CPR* IX 73.1 (first half seventh century); *CPR* VIII 85.16 (seventh/eighth century).

Tlethmis (6.94)

Status: κώμη Τλήθμεω

Toparchy: Πατρῆ ἄνω

Pagus: 9

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 302-303.

Additional references: *CPR* IX 54.7 (sixth century); *P. Rain. Cent.* 78 r.4 (1st half sixth century); *P. Würzb.* 19.7, 9 (652?); *CPR* VIII 85.9 (seventh/eighth century); *CPR* IX 74.5 (seventh/eighth century).

Toenorsis (17.273)

Status: κώμη Τοενώρσεω

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 13

Otherwise unattested.

Toou (11.173)

Status: κώμη Τοού

Toparchy: unknown

Pagus: 11

Otherwise unattested.

Toou Neaniskon (11.175)

Status: Τοὸν Νεανίσκων; κώμη in other texts

Toparchy: Πατεμίτης κάτω

Pagus: 11

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 306-307.

Additional references: *P. Mich. inv.* 472.5 (425); *P. Mich. inv.* 455.7 (427/28) (both published in Gagos and van Minnen, 1992).

Toou Pasko (18.299)

Status: κώμη Τοὸν Πασκώ

Toparchy: Πασκώ

Pagus: 14

Bibliography: Drew-Bear, 305-306.

⁶Revised reading in Worp 1976, 35.

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I. Greek

ἀδελφός 2

Αἰώνιος 24

ἄλλος 248

ἀναδοχή 2

ἀναλίσκος 2

ἀνάλωμα 2

Ἀρσίου π

ἰσὶ 248.50

ἀποθήκη 24

ἀποκτελλω

ἀργύριον 24

ἕρμος 248.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

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ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

ἰσός 248.3.

Indexes

I. Greek General¹

ἀδελφός 248.14
 Αἰώνιος 248.14
 ἄλλος 248.49
 ἀναδοχή 248.13
 ἀναλίσκω 248.5, 6
 ἀνάλωμα 248.2
 Ἄνταίου πόλις 248.16
 ἀπό 248.50
 ἀποθήκη 248.49
 ἀποστέλλω 248.50
 ἀργύριον 248.8
 ἄσχημος 248.6, 19
 αὐτός 248.35, 45, 46, 47

 Γερόντιος 248.32, 52
 γίγνομαι 247.2, 8, 29, 34, 47, 53, 69, 75,
 107, 113, 147, 154, 192, 199, 231, 237,
 275, 281, 305, 311, 329; 248.4, 12, 21,
 26, 36, 48, 54, 56

 δαπάνη 248.9, 31
 δελματικόν 247.5 *et passim*
 διά 248.38, 52
 δίδωμι 248.22
 διέρχομαι 248.10
 Διόσκορος 248.18

Διὸς πόλις 248.10, 50
 δίπλον 248.51
 δραχμή 248.14, 15, 21, 26

 ἐγώ 248.49
 εἶδος (pl.) 247.8, 34, 53, 75, 113, 154, 199,
 237, 281, 311
 εἰς 248.10, 24
 ἐκ 248.7, 44, 45
 ἐν 248.15, 16, 17, 31, 44, 45, 46, 47
 ἐποίκιον 247.89, 129, 253, 293, 322, 325

 Ἡρακλείδης 248.33, 53

 Θεόδωρος 248.3

 καὶ 248 *passim*
 κλειδοποιός 248.29
 κνίδιον 248.44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49
 κόμη 247.10, 10, 13, 18, 22, 25, 36, 40, 44,
 54, 59, 61, 63, 66, 77, 81, 85, 94, 103,
 114, 119, 122, 126, 136, 141, 155, 170,
 173, 190, 201, 206, 209, 215, 219, 223,
 226, 239, 245, 249, 256, 269, 271, 273,
 284, 287, 295, 299, 313, 319

 λάχανον 248.20
 λίτρα 248.6-7, 19
 λόγος 248.1, 38

¹The Greek toponyms in 247 are indexed in Appendix 2; toponyms which occur in 248 are listed here. The marginalia in 247 have not been indexed because their identification is so tentative.

Μαρίνος 248.11, 34, 52
 μυριάς 248.4, 54

ναῦλον 248.8, 18
 ναύτης 248.16

οἰκία 248.44
 ὀθόνη 248.9
 ὁμοίως 248.24, 25
 ὁμοῦ 248.4, 36
 ὄς 247.9, 35, 76, 113, 154, 200, 238, 282,
 312; 248.5
 οὔτως 248.5, 43

πάγος 247.3, 30, 48, 70, 108, 148, 193, 232,
 276, 306

πάλλιον 247.1 *et passim*

Πανός πόλις 248.17

παρά 248.3, 13, 28

παρατέλειος 247.4 *et passim*

πρόκειμαι 247.2, 28, 47, 69, 107, 147, 192,
 231, 275, 305, 329

Σερῆνος 248.15

Στατίλλιος 248.13

στιχάριον 247.3 *et passim*

συμπλήρωσις 248.24

τάλαντον 248.4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14,
 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 28, 29,
 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41,
 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53,
 54, 55, 56

τέλειος 247.3 *et passim*

τιμή 247.292; 248.6, 19, 20

ὑπέρ 248.2, 6, 7, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 31, 35

χράομαι 248.3

χρήμα 248.1, 38

II. Subjects (References are to page numbers)

apaitetes

role in *vestis militaris* 89, 100-101

apodektes

role in *vestis militaris* 95

army, Roman

pay deductions for clothing 81-82

requisitioning by 84-85

uniform worn 73-74

bankers, public

role in second century clothing collection
 83-84

role in *vestis militaris* 93

blankets

collected like clothing 83

catholicus

role in *vestis militaris* 95

Charite, Aurelia

dossier of 19, 108

chlamsys

compared to *paludamentum* 80

cloak

military 73, 74, 78

clothing purchases

abroad 82

local 82

for the *vestis militaris* 89

codices, documentary

binding 10

construction of 12-14

cut from rolls 10, 14

dates of 16

dimensions 8

reuse of 63

quires 8

writing in 9

colobium

confused with *dalmatica* 77

sleeves on 77

compulsory purchase 84-85, 92

dalmatica

civilian 78

confused with *colobium* 77

- decoration of 78
 sleeves on 77
 Diocletian
 tax reforms of 87-88, 92, 106
epimeletes
 role in *vestis militaris* 95, 100-101, 102
epoikion
 administrative status of 108-118
exactor
 role in *vestis militaris* 101
 gladiators
 clothing for 85
 Hermopolite Land Registers 107, 120, 123
 n.45, 127
hypodektes
 role in *vestis militaris* 93, 95
 komarch
 role in *vestis militaris* 92, 94-95, 100,
 102
logistes
 role in *vestis militaris* 102
magister rei privatae
 role in *vestis militaris* 95
 manufacturers, clothing 84-85, 102
 marginalia 17
 nome, Hermopolite
 compared to the Oxyrhynchite 133-134
 "map" of 127-30
 pagi of 121-26
 toparchies of 120-21
 nomes
 history of 119
 role in *vestis militaris* 88, 89
officialis
 role in *vestis militaris* 100
optio 83
paenula 74
 pagi, Hermopolite
 1st 131
 2nd 131
 3rd 131
 4th 131
 5th 131-32
 6th 123, 127, 128
 7th 123, 127, 128, 132
 8th 123, 127, 128, 132
 9th 125, 128, 132
 10th 125, 127, 128, 132
 11th 125, 128, 132
 12th 125, 128, 132, 133
 13th 125, 128, 132, 133
 14th 125, 128, 132
 15th 108, 125, 128, 132, 133
 16th 121 n.35
 17th 121 n.35
 change in number 18, 108, 121-23, 126,
 132
 composition of 121
 third arrangement of 121, 132
 pagus
 history of 88, 97, 119-20
 palaeography
 of 247 18-19
 of 248 64
pallium
 decoration of 79
 similar to himation 79
 used for other purposes 79
parateleios 60-61
praepositus pagi
 duties of 119, 126
 role in *vestis militaris* 89, 97, 98, 100-
 101
procurator
 role in *vestis militaris* 95, 103
prytanis
 role in *vestis militaris* 91, 100, 102
sagum 74

sticharion

- civilian 76
- meaning of word 76, 77
- military 76

strategus

- role in *vestis militaris* 93

symbols

- in household account 64

teleios 60-61*tesserarius*

- role in *vestis militaris* 94-95, 100

Theodosian Code 97, 104-105

toparchies, Hermopolite

- composition of 120-21
- Koussites Ano* 129, 131
- Koussites Kato* 129, 131
- Leukopyrgites Ano* 107, 129, 131
- Leukopyrgites Kato* 107, 129, 131
- Mochites* 125, 126, 132, 133
- Pasko* 125, 126, 127, 133
- Patemites Ano* 125, 126, 127, 128, 132, 133
- Patemites Kato* 125, 126, 127, 128
- Patre Ano* 123, 125, 126, 127, 132
- Patre Kato* 125, 126, 127
- Peri Polin Ano* 123, 126, 127, 128, 129
- Peri Polin Kato* 123, 125, 126, 127, 129, 132

toparchy

- history of 119
- reorganization to pagus 119

town council

- role in *vestis militaris* collection 87, 89, 92-95, 100

tunic

- ancient descriptions of 74, 75
- civilian 75
- decoration on 76
- dimensions of 75
- fabrics for 76
- military 74
- sleeves on 75, 77

vestis militaris

- accounting for 103-104
- adaeratio for 90-92
- assessment of 88-89, 98-100
- burden of 89, 99-100
- clothing delivery for 101-103
- collection of 100-101
- liturgists 94-95, 100-101
- payments by towns 93-94, 102
- payments by villages 92-93, 94-95, 97, 101
- reimbursement for 92, 95-98

village

- administrative status of 108
- role in *vestis militaris* 85, 89, 95, 97

00
103
102
-93, 94-95, 97,
-98
08
89, 95, 97

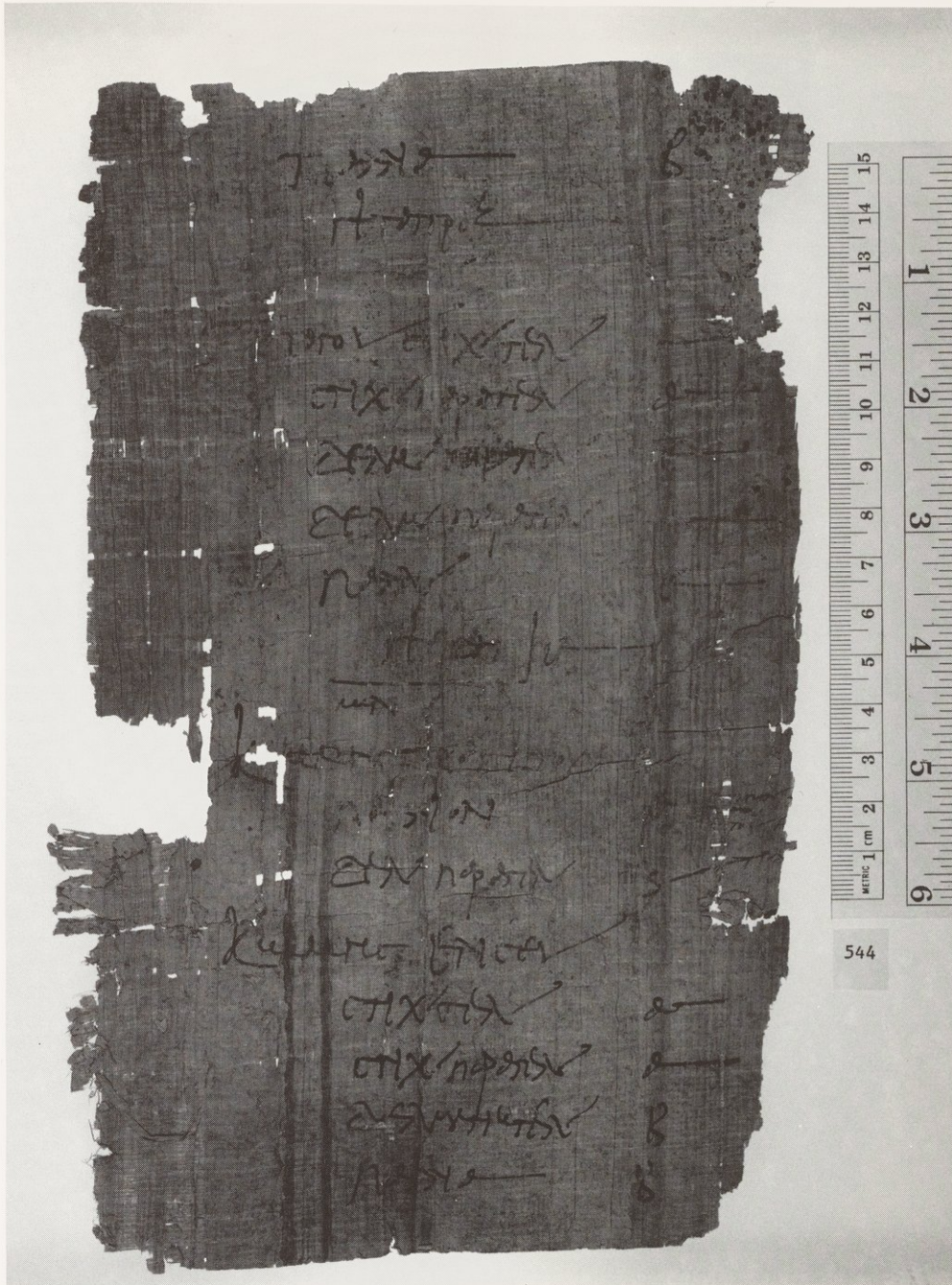


Plate 1: 247, page 1

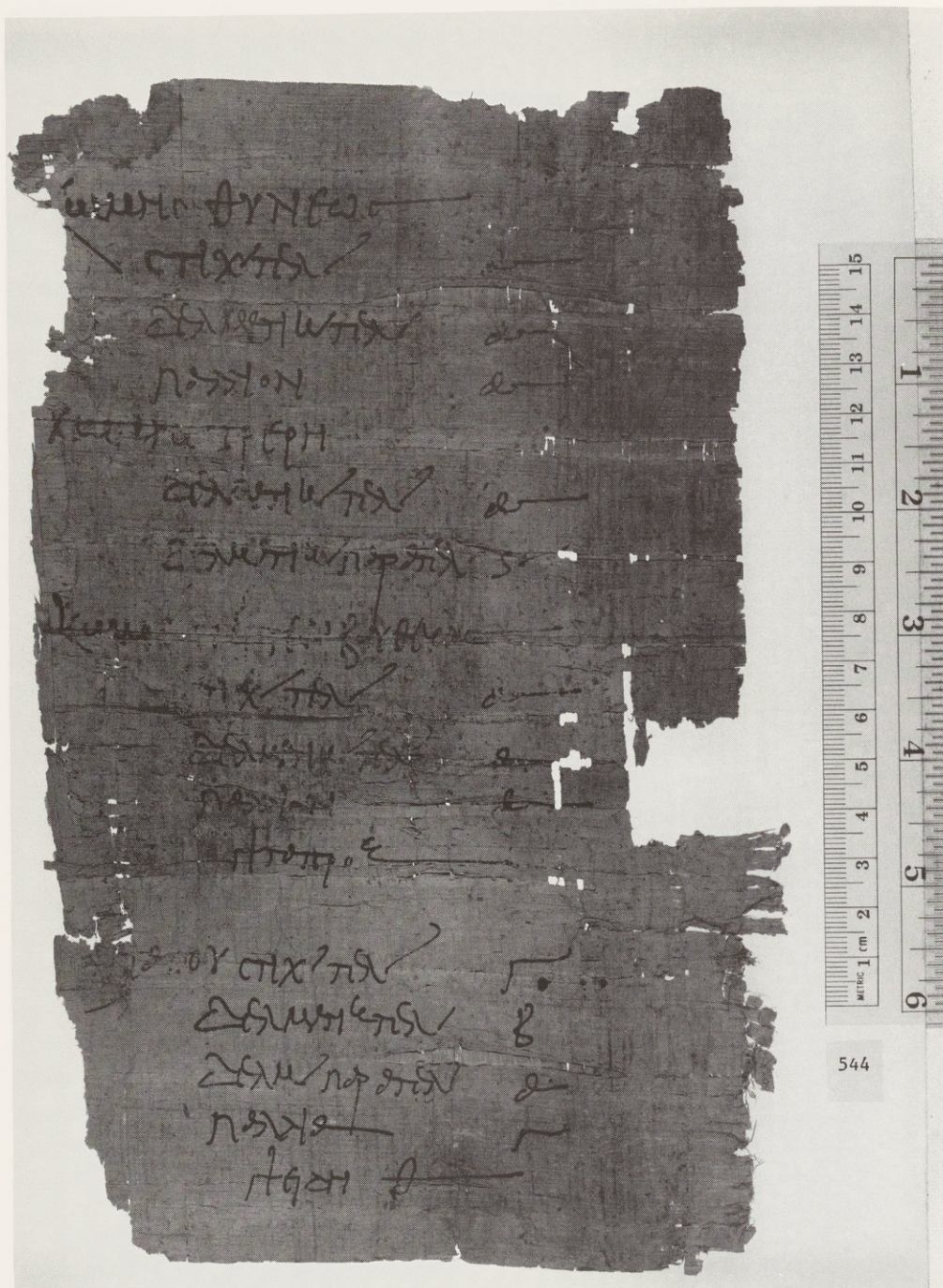


Plate 2: 247, page 2

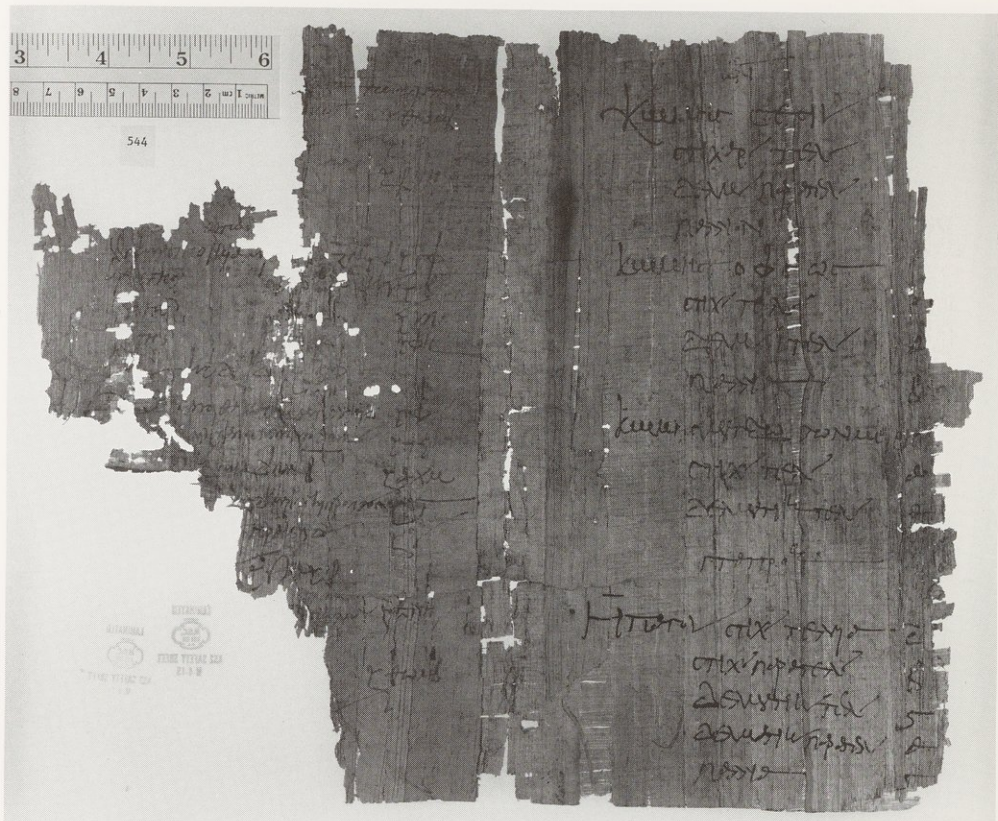


Plate 3: 248, page 22; 247, page 3

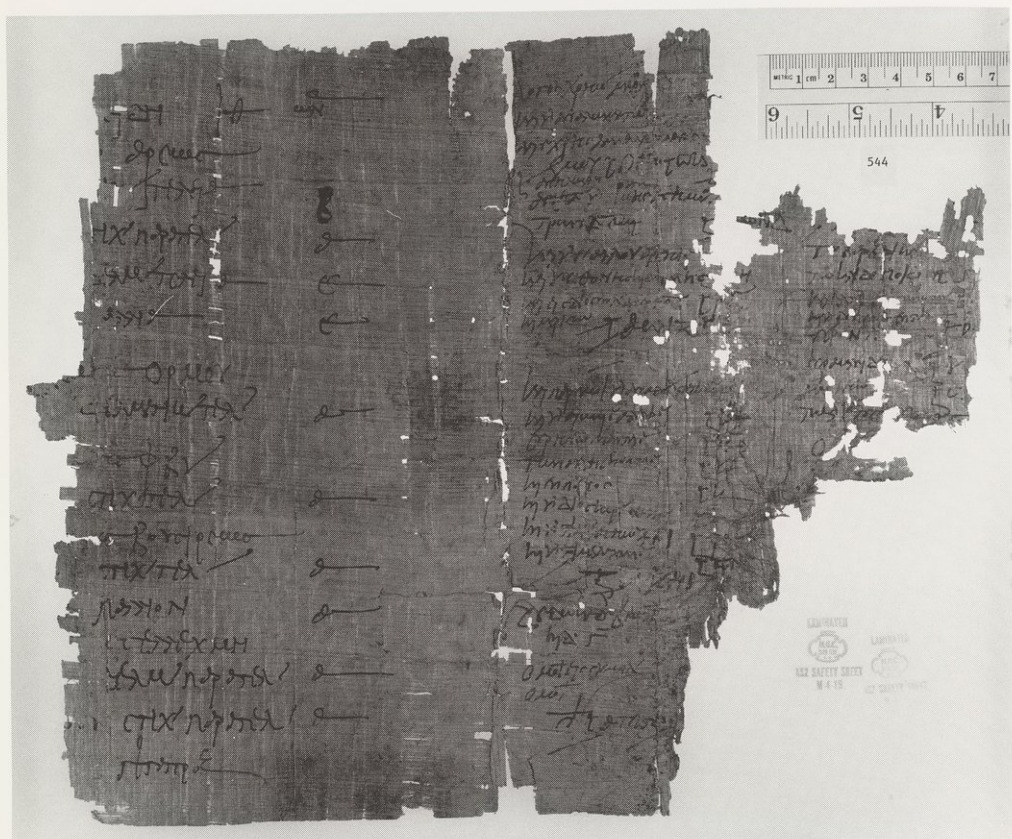


Plate 4: 247, page 4; 248, page 21

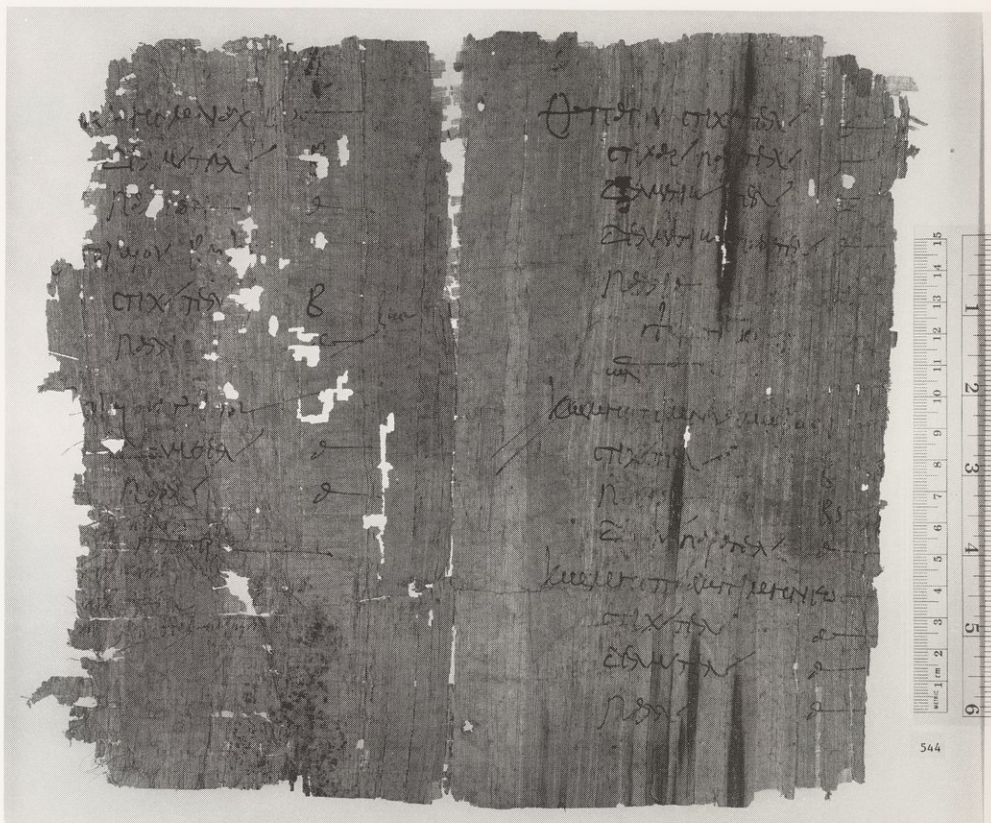


Plate 5: 247, page 20; 247, page 5

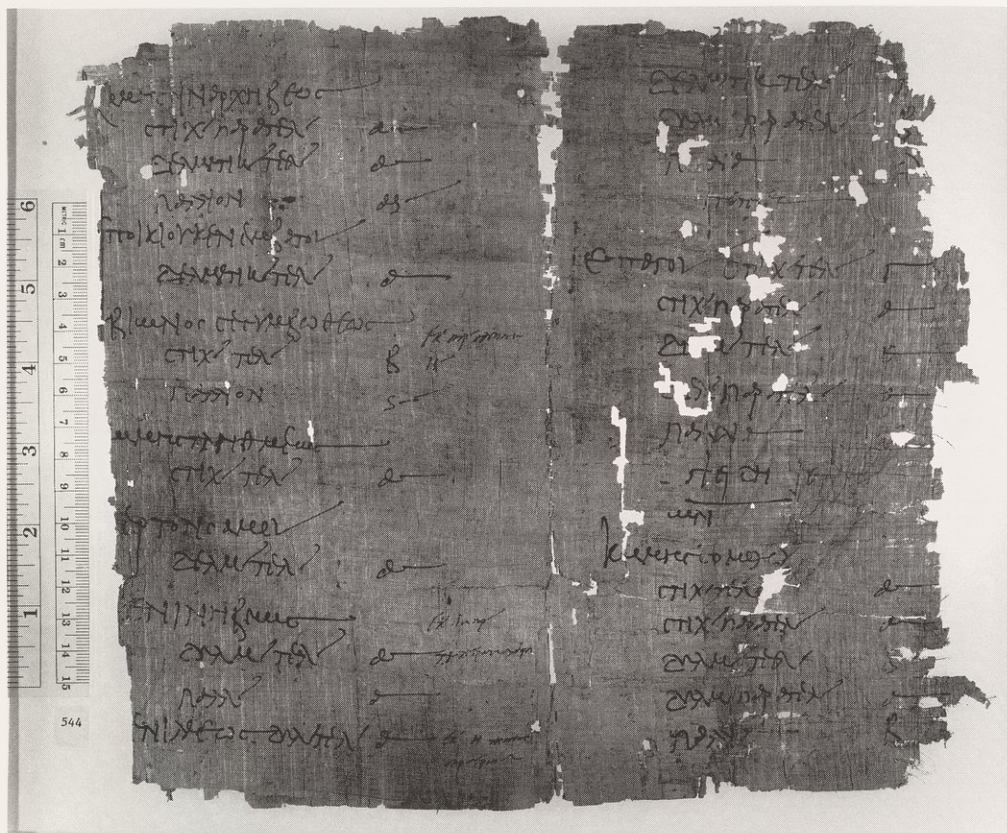


Plate 6: 247, page 6; 247, page 19

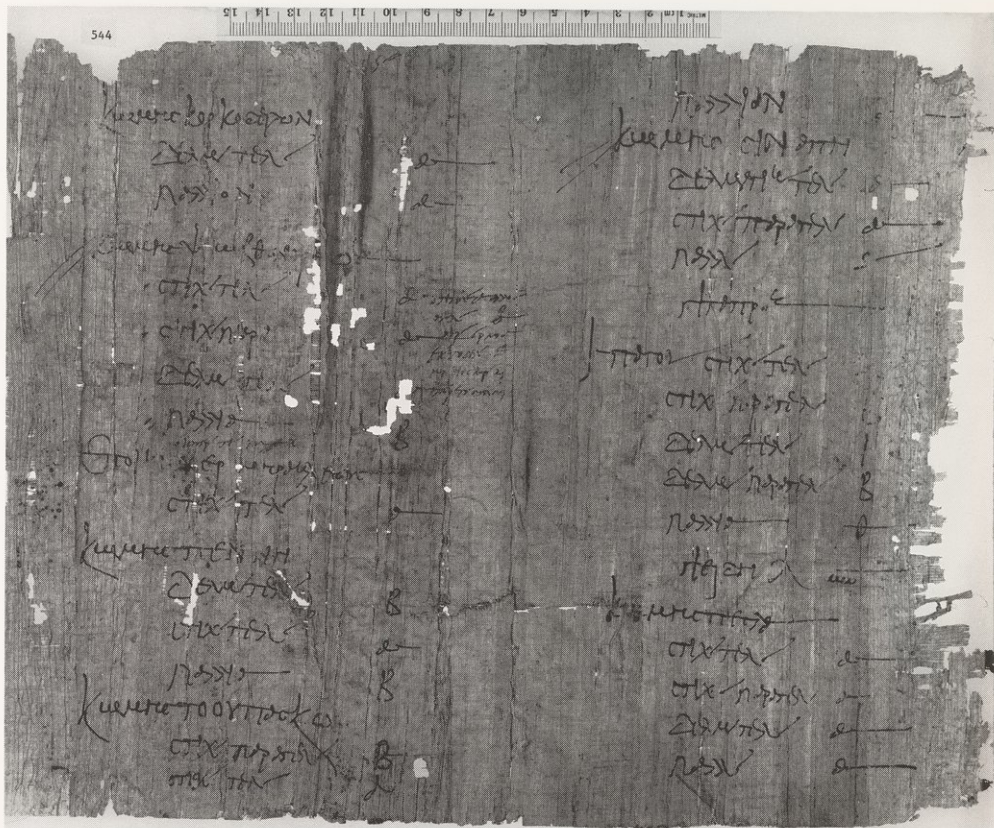


Plate 7: 247, page 18; 247, page 7

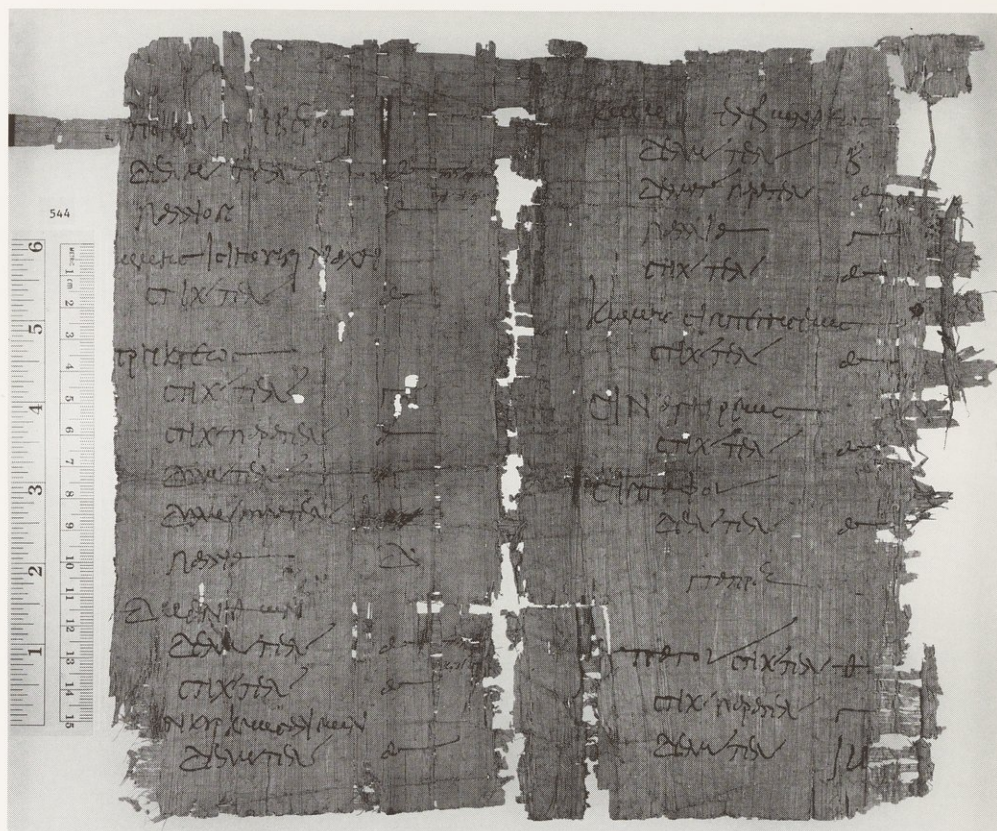


Plate 9: 247, page 16; 247, page 9

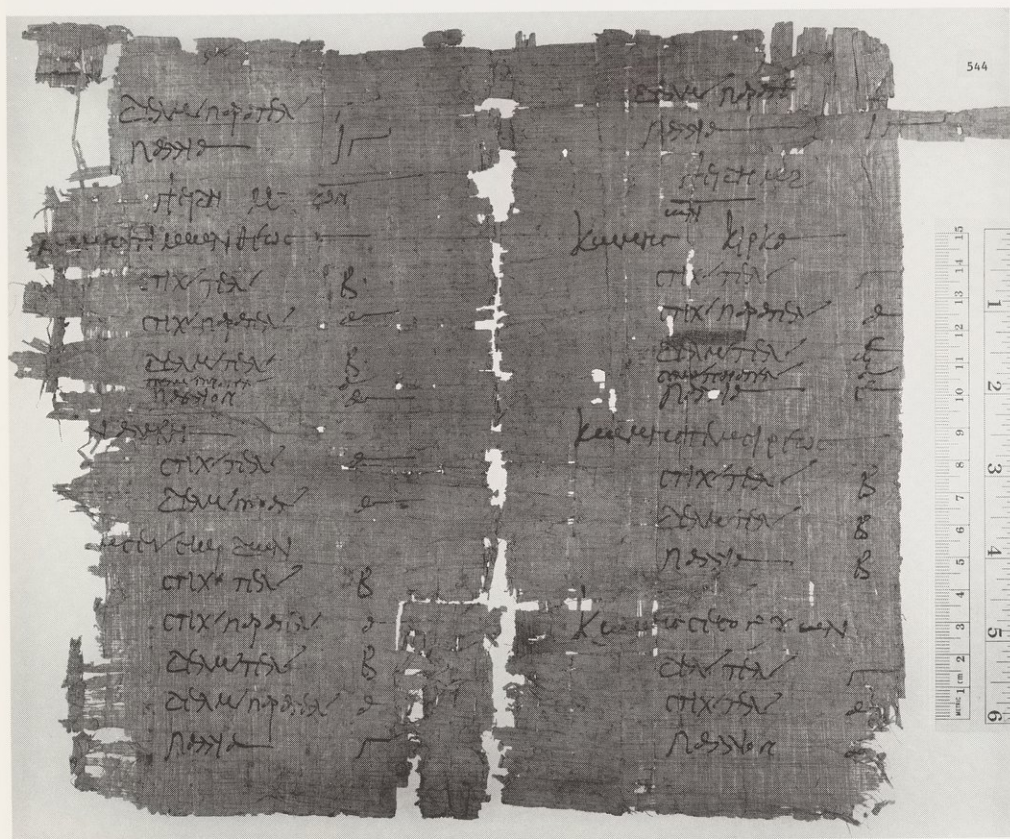


Plate 10: 247, page 10; 247, page 15

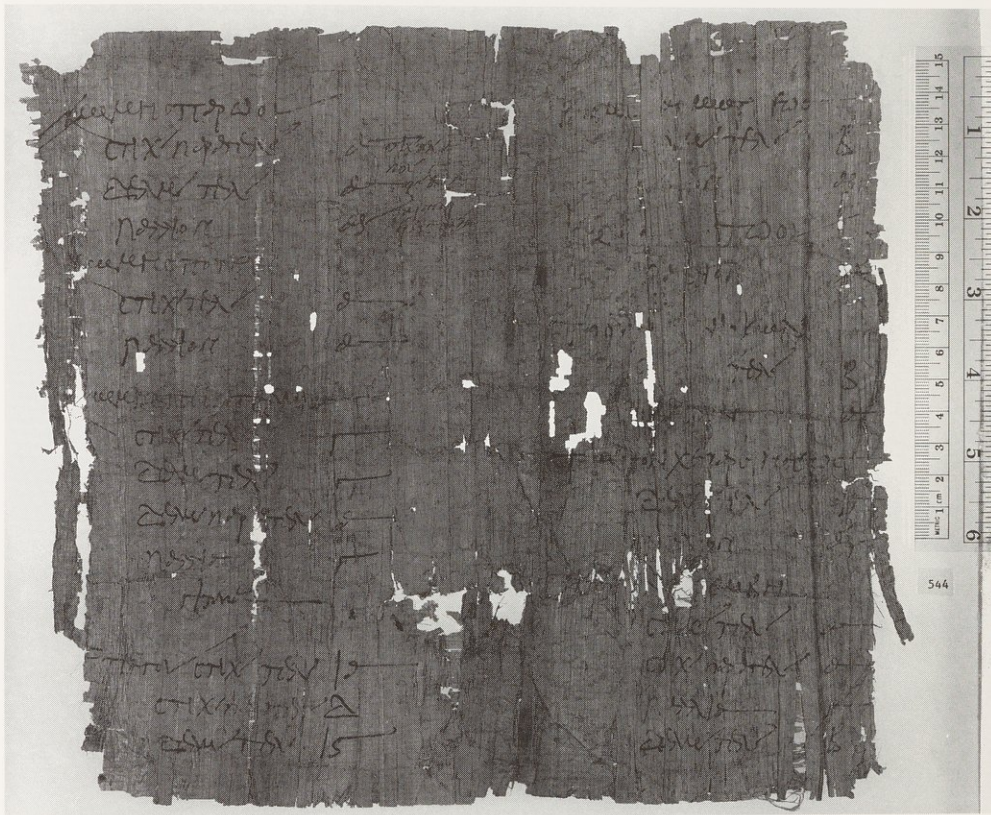


Plate 11: 247, page 14; 247, page 11

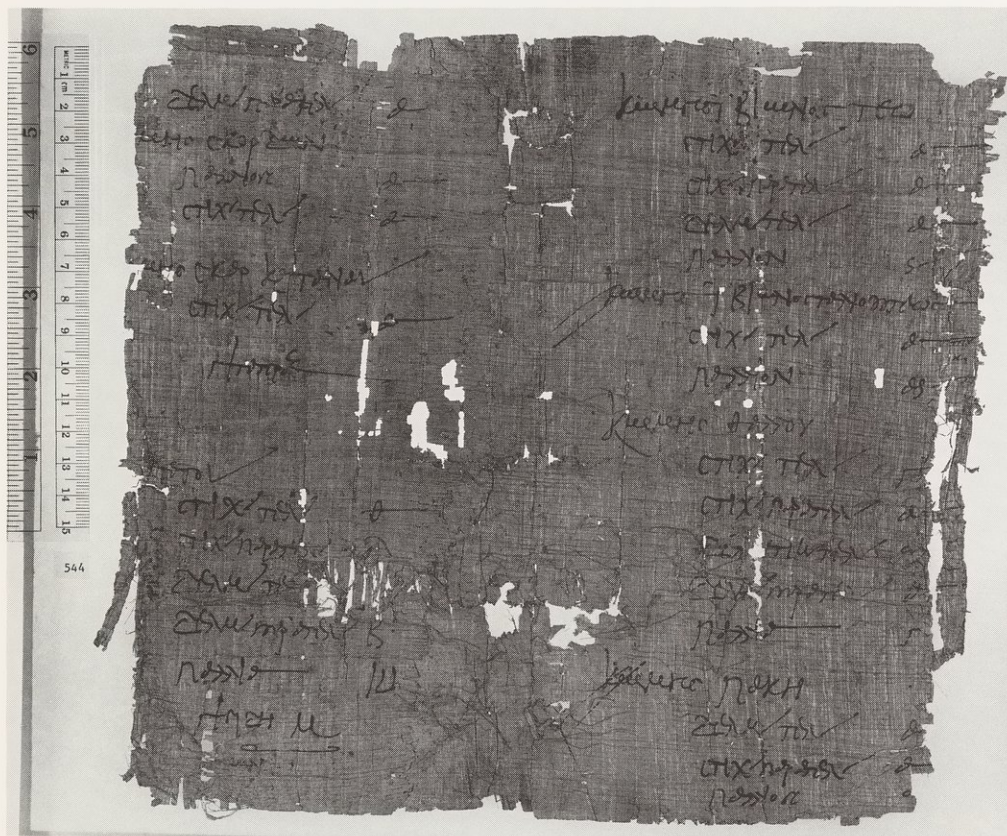
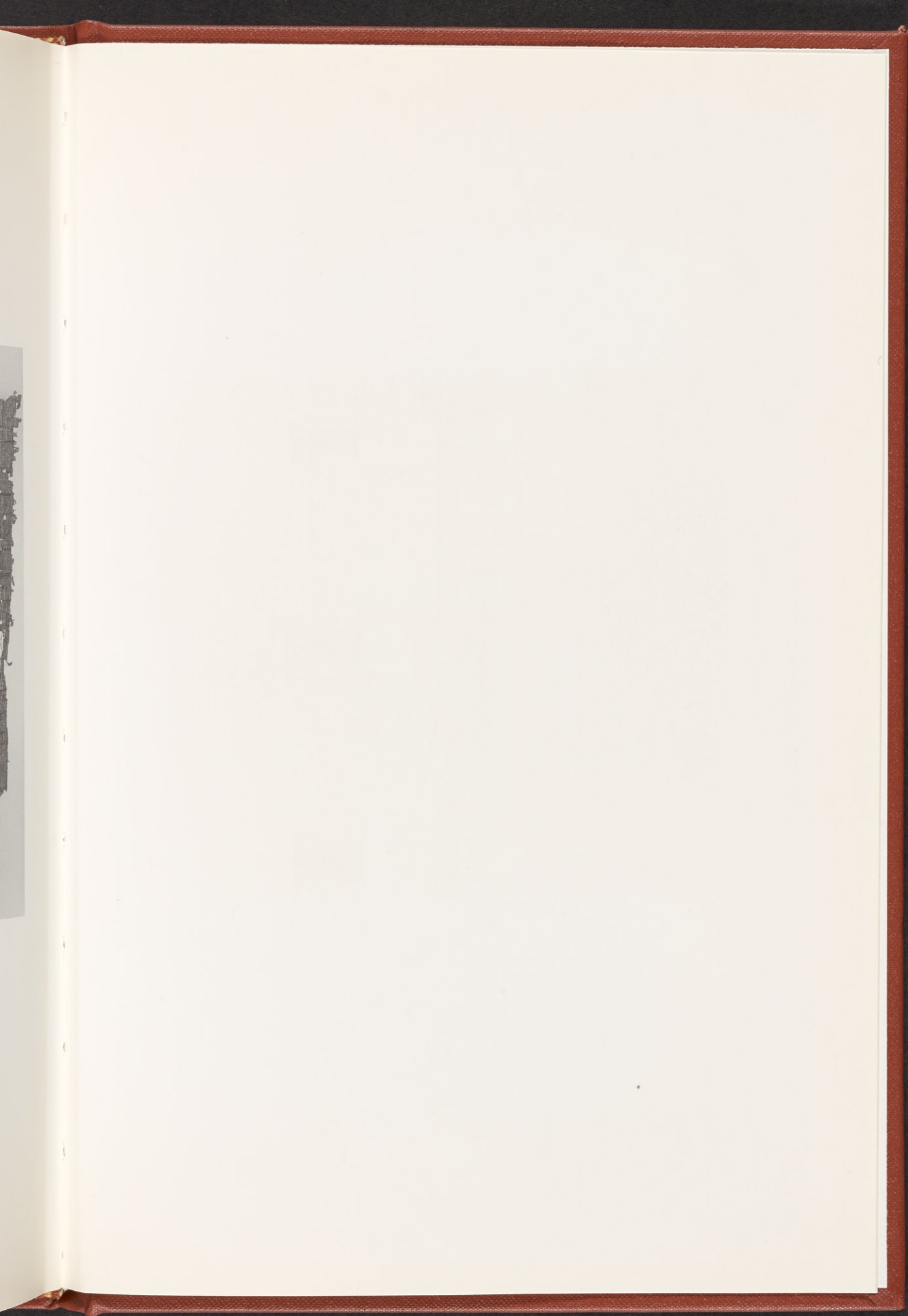
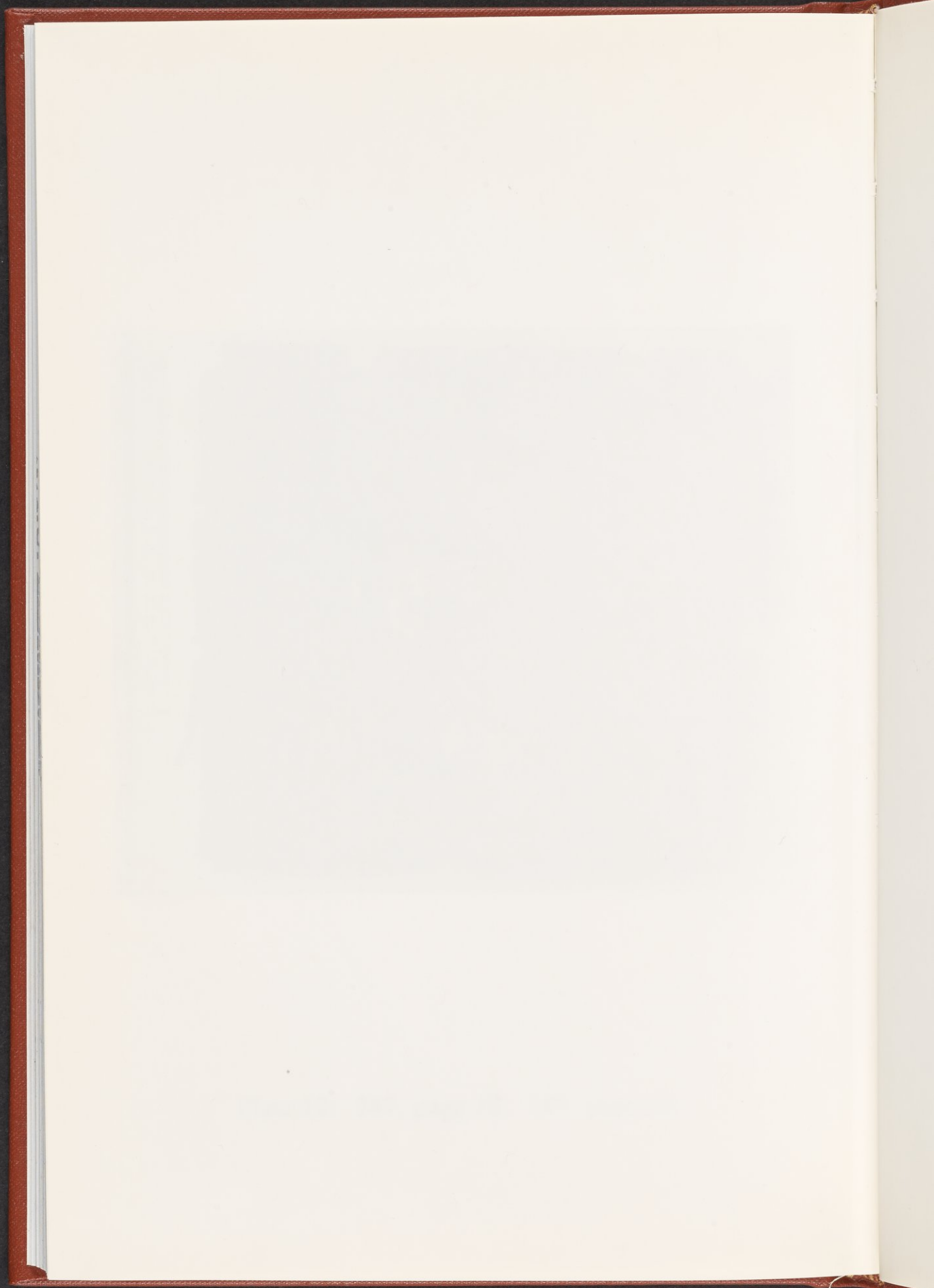
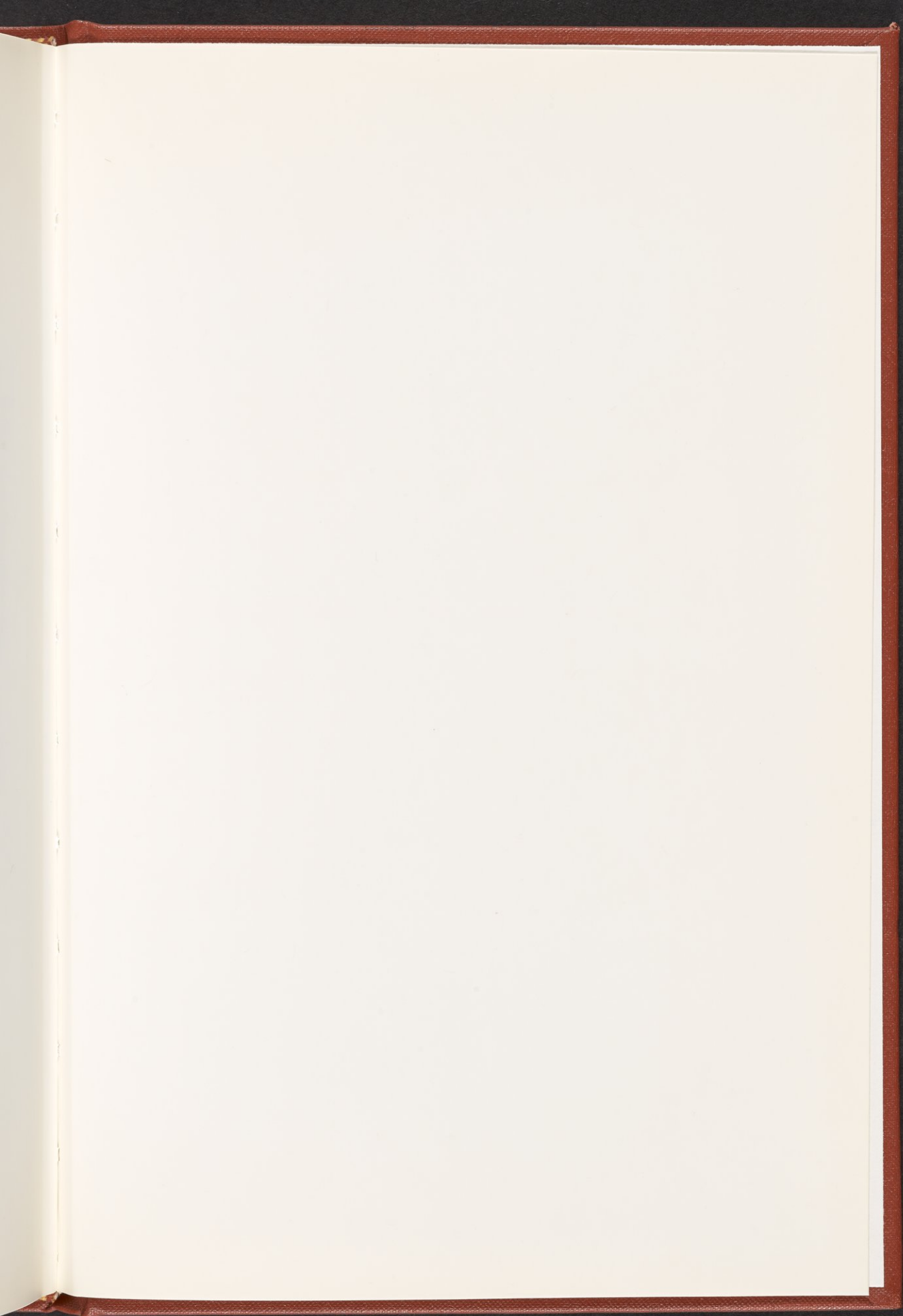


Plate 12: 247, page 12; 247, page 13













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