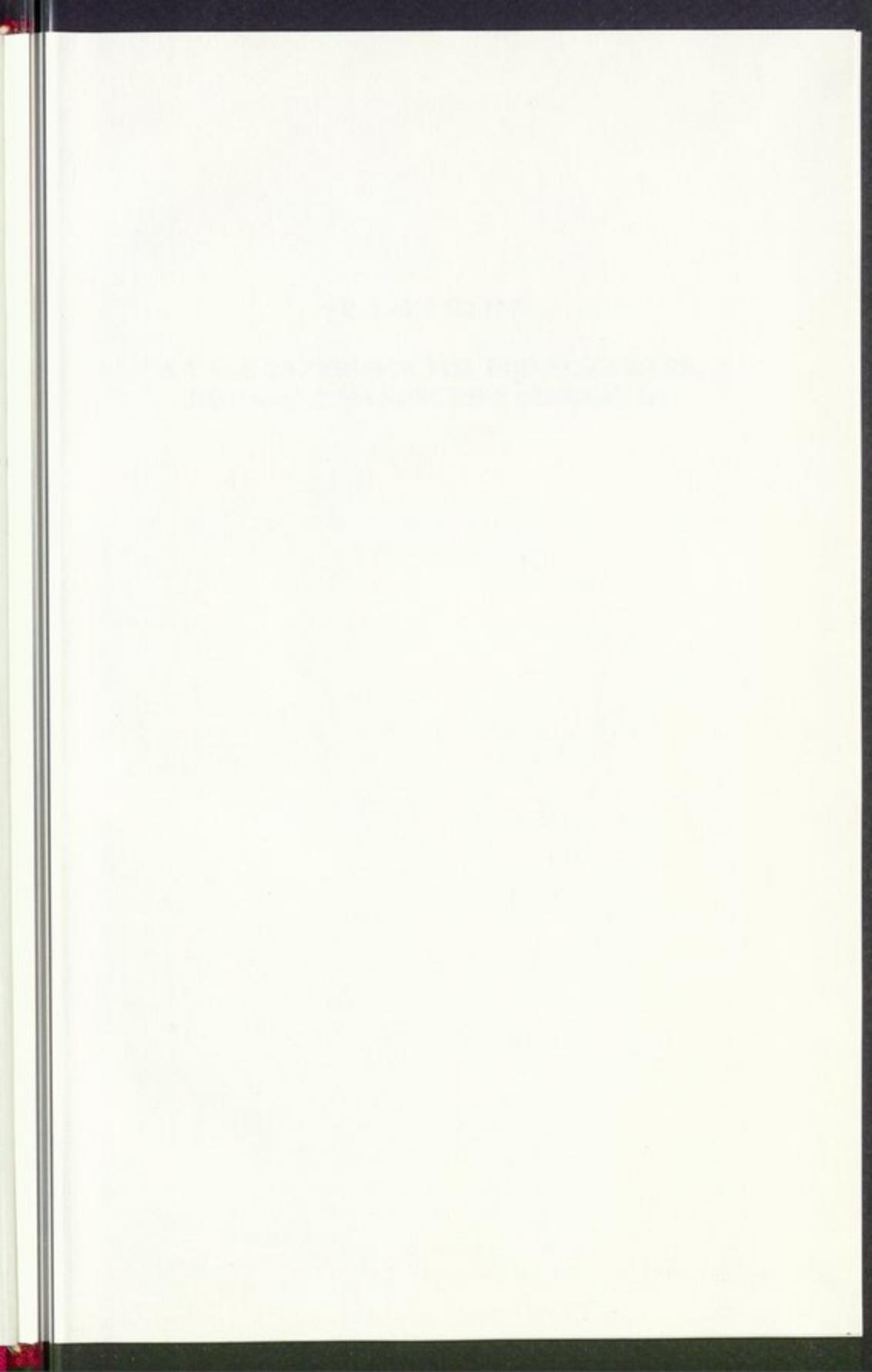
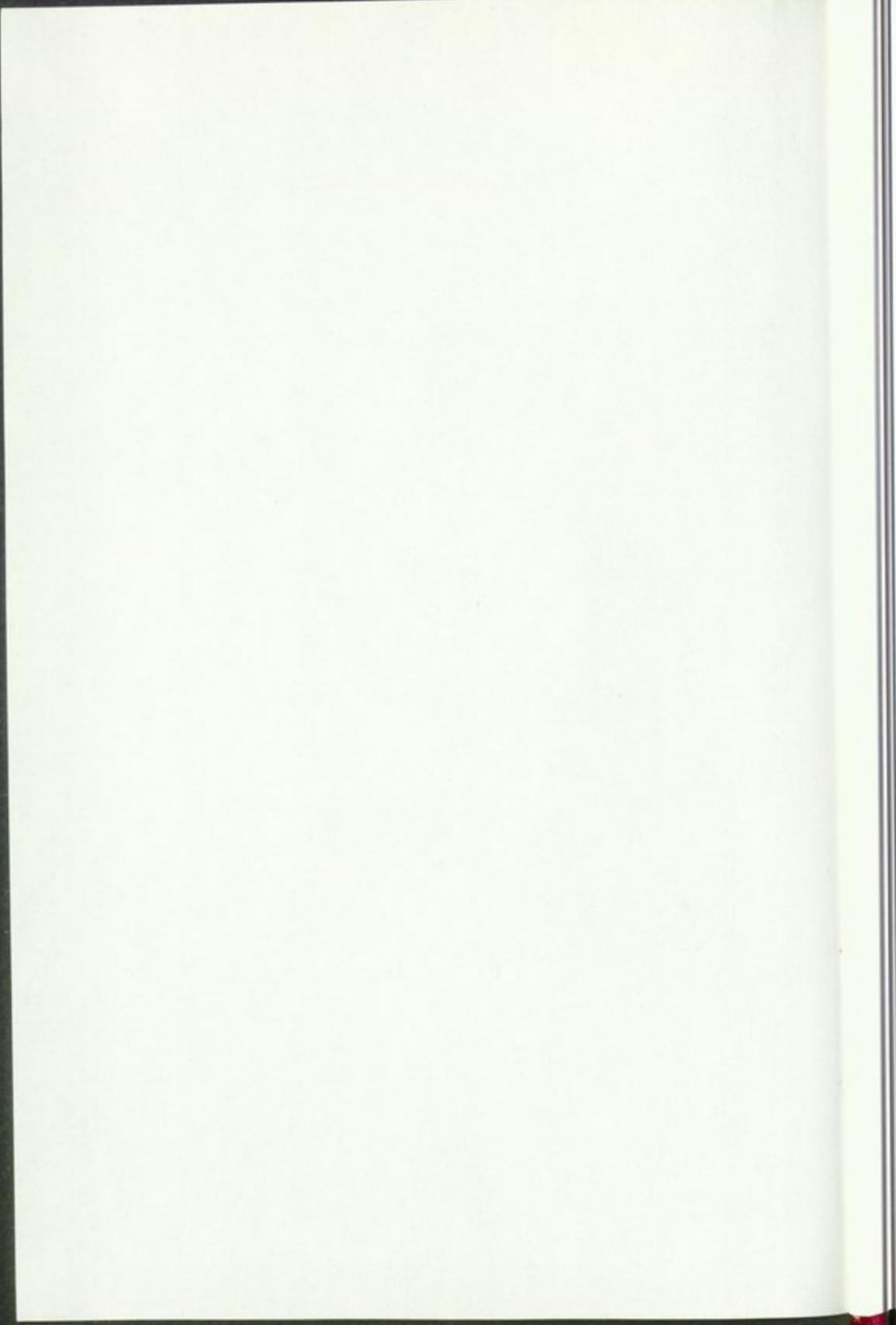




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P. YALE III 137

A YALE PAPYRUS IN THE BEINECKE RARE
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AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY

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Number 41

A Yale Papyrus (P Yale III)
in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library III

by
Paul Schubert

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IN THE BEINECKE RARE BOOK AND
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by
PAUL SCHUBERT

American Society of Papyrologists
Oakville, Connecticut

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2001

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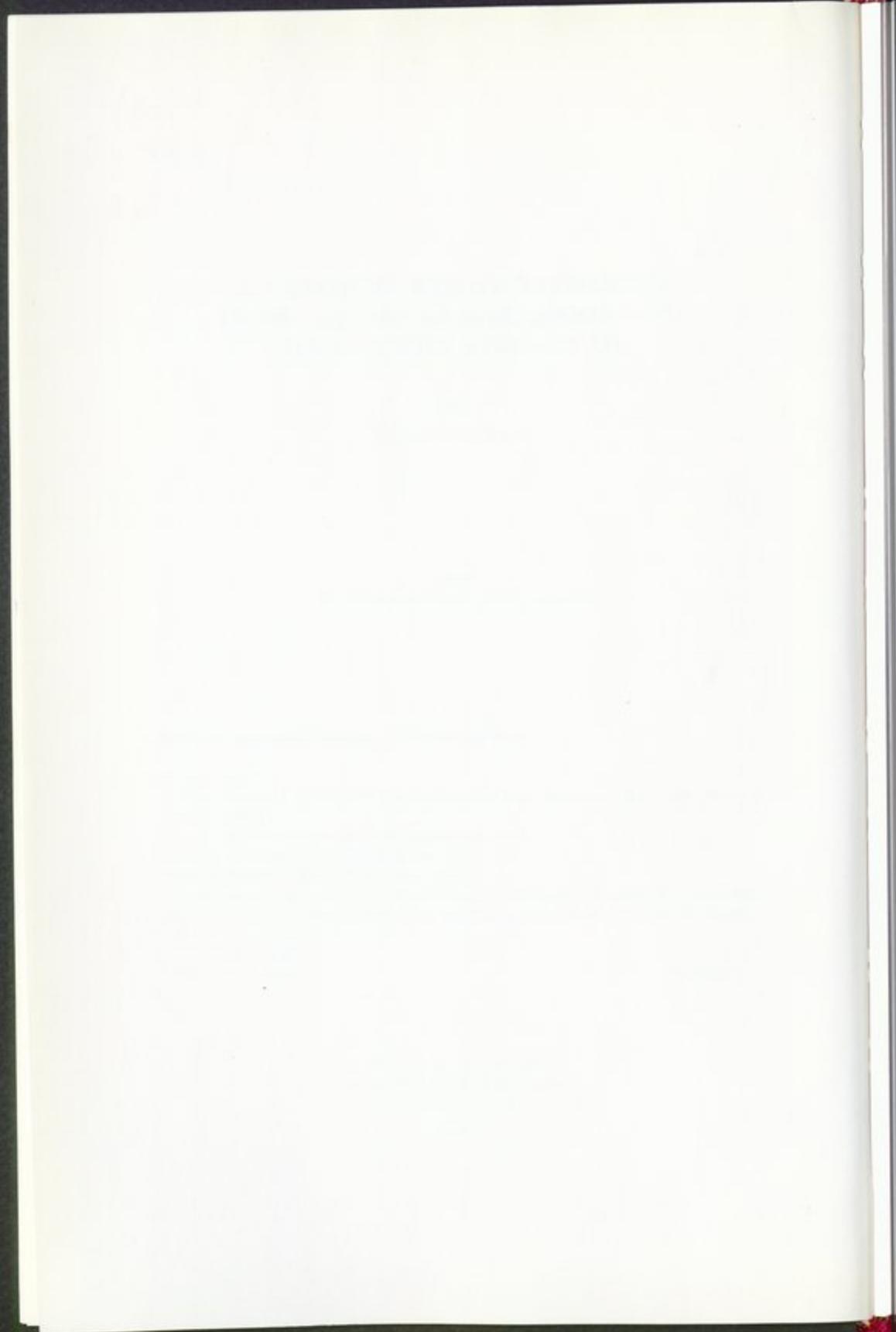
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For John R. Rea and Revel A. Coles
the Dioscuri of the Ashmolean



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PREFACE

This publication has been waiting for more than thirty-five years. While I was working on my doctoral thesis (*P. Diog. = Les archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes*), which dealt with a family living at Philadelphia in the second and third centuries A.D., my attention was drawn to John Oates' preliminary reports on what has now become *P. Yale III 137* (henceforth 137).¹ At the time (1988), he had already passed the project on to Susan Stephens, who very kindly allowed me to include in my dissertation whatever material I would find helpful from her own work. I made use of this source of information in *P. Diog.* 44-45, where I referred to what was then known as *P. Yale* inv. 296. It should therefore be clear to the reader that the present publication owes much to the draft versions of both Oates and Stephens, to whom I extend my warmest thanks for having given me full access to their work, although I cannot acknowledge their contribution in detail.

When Roger Bagnall approached me in 1995, asking me to take over the publication of 137, I seized what I thought would be an opportunity to pay back my debt to my American colleagues. Little did I suspect that this

¹ J.F. Oates, "The Romanization of the Greek East: The Evidence of Egypt", *BASP* 2 (1965) 57-64; id., "Philadelphia in the Fayum during the Roman Empire", *Atti dell'XI Congr. Int. di Pap. (Milano 1965)*, Ist. Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere (Milano 1966), 451-474; id., "Landholding in Philadelphia in the Fayum (A.D. 216)", *Proc. of the XIIth Int. Congr. of Pap. (Ann Arbor 1968)*, (Am. Stud. Pap. 7, Toronto 1970), 385-387.

debt, far from being settled, would actually increase to a size where compensation could not even be considered. I will nevertheless gratefully acknowledge some of the help I received while working on this book.

In addition to giving this project a fresh start, Bagnall read several versions of the book in draft form, checked for me some readings on the original in New Haven, and was a constant inspiration throughout the process of writing. Some will recognize his trademark number crunching approach in the introduction, even though the disciple's struggle with quantitative analysis will easily be distinguished from the master's achievements in this particular area. Since such arcane formulae as *P*CumY* were Greek to me when I started working on 137, I needed a crash course in setting up statistical tables; this was provided by my colleague François Grosjean, who deserves special thanks for his patience while dealing with an eager but clumsy pupil.

In the course of writing the book, I benefitted from discussions with Jean-Jacques Aubert, Alan Bowman, Dirk Obbink and Michael Sharp. The latter very kindly showed me a draft version of his work on Theadelphia, which has been published in the meantime.

Even at the ripe age of thirty and some years, a scholar can still learn from his mother; mine took the pain to weed out quite a number of mistakes from my less than perfect English.

The two anonymous readers who went through this book in the final stage of writing deserve special thanks for offering, always with great tact, more suggestions and corrections than I could decently confess to the reader. My only frustration lies in the fact that anonymous readers, by definition, do not get due credit attached to their names. I take solace in the

thought that I can name a third reader, Ann E. Hanson: going well beyond the call of duty as editor of this series, she read the whole manuscript in detail and improved it in many ways. I would also like to thank Gregory Rowe for having read through the last set of proofs. All the same, I take full responsibility for any errors that remain.

Finally, I would like to thank the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library and its curator, Robert Babcock, for allowing me to publish this papyrus.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

The text in this volume is edited according to the standard "Leiden" system described by E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1980²) 187-188 and 203:

$\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ = letters about the reading of which there is a genuine doubt, or letters which are so mutilated that without the context they might be read in more than one way

.... = illegible letters, of which the number is estimated

[....] = missing letters, of which the number is estimated

$[\alpha\beta\gamma\delta]$ = letters restored by the editor of the text

$\langle\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\rangle$ = letters or words omitted by the scribe and supplied by the editor

$(\alpha\beta\gamma\delta)$ = resolution of abbreviations

$[\alpha\beta\gamma\delta]$ = erasures by the scribe

' $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$ ' = interlinear additions

Papyrus editions and papyrological journals are cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, ed. J.F. Oates / R.S. Bagnall / W.H. Willis / K.A. Worp (BASP Suppl. 7, Atlanta 1992⁴).

INTRODUCTION

This papyrus is a return of taxable private land for the village of Philadelphia dating from A.D. 216/17. Except for a few damaged places and possibly the lack of a first introductory column (see below), the register is complete, and thus provides us with an exceptional overview of landholding in this village. The papyrus was purchased in 1931 in Cairo from the dealer Maurice Nahman, who had apparently had access to a large find from the village of Philadelphia in the Arsinoite nome. The bulk of *P. Diog.*, found also in Philadelphia and dating from the same period, was bought from Nahman by the "papyrus cartel" for the British Museum in 1922. 137 was already presented in its outline in the 1960s (see above, preface, footnote 1), but publication has been delayed ever since.

Description

137 is a roll with seven columns of writing on the recto, running along the fibers; the verso is blank. At the time of discovery, it was one single piece, then was cut into four pieces, each approximately 32 x 25 cm, before being eventually reassembled in a single frame. The roll is in a good state of preservation, except for col. I, which has lost its lower left corner and is damaged by a number of holes. This seems to imply that, as should be expected, col. I formed the outer part of the roll when it was found. The papyrus shows throughout varying degrees of wear, abrasion or puncture.

Comparison with *BGU II 659* (Soknopaiou Nesos, A.D. 229), however, suggests that there may have been yet another column at the beginning of the roll. In this parallel document, the first column gives some information

on the purpose of the document. Col. I, lines 6-10: [δῆ]μοσίᾳ π[ρό]κει[τ]αι κατὰ | [τὰ] κελευσθέ[v]τα [ὑπ]ὸ Δει[δίου] Βαλβείν[ου] το[ῦ] κρατίστου | [ἐπιστρα]τήγ[ου], ἵνα πάντες | [εἰδῶ]σι ("[The register] has been posted in public in accordance with the orders of the most excellent *epistrategos* Didius Balbinus, so that all may know it.").² The second column begins with an introduction similar to the one found in the first column of 137, mentioning the name of the *amphodogrammateus* of Soknopaiou Nesos, then the nature of the list, a register of land under the care of public farmers, obviously for the purpose of taxation. *BGU* II 659 was copied especially to be posted in public. If this was also the case with the present document, one might expect an introductory column, although this hypothesis is anything but certain. In an ordinary situation, where one could expect this register to have been copied for use by village officials (and not for posting in public), there is no need for a preceding column as found in *BGU* II 659.

Margins at the top and bottom are between 1.5 cm and 2.5 cm over the different columns. At the left before col. I there is a margin of 5.0 cm, and at the right of col. VII, one of 1.0 cm. A space varying from 2.0 to 3.0 cm has been left between the columns of writing. Col. I and II are approximately 13.0 cm wide, but columns III to VII only 10 to 11 cm in width.

² For parallels to the wording δημοσίᾳ πρόκειται, see e.g. *PSI* Corr. I 1148.31 (Tebtynis, A.D. 120; orders relating to the prefect's visit); *P.Oxy.* X 1254 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 260; publication of an appointment); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2109.11 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 261; publication of an offer for lease); *P.Flor.* I 2 i 7 (Hermopolis, A.D. 265; appointment of liturgists); *P.Oxy.* XII 1412 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 284; notice of a special meeting of the senate).

Except for the last two columns, the ink is dark and easily legible. The writing, running along the fibers, is in a fluent, fast cursive hand, and makes use of many abbreviations. Parallels can be found at the beginning of the third century A.D.³

It should be noted that, when employing fractions, the scribe has two ways of writing $1/2$. $\angle = 1/2$ (not in the form $3/4$) is always followed by another smaller fraction (see lines 8, 61, 95, 107, 149). On the other hand, f' is never followed by a small fraction (except when combined with $d = 1/4$ to make $3/4$). On the whole, small fractions appear relatively seldom, in contrast to *P.Herm. Landlisten*.

Contents of the register

The register is self-described as a “(list,) by persons, of payments in cash and in kind ($\varepsilon i \delta \omega v \tau e \kappa \alpha \iota \gamma e v \omega v$) being prepared to be sent to Syria” to the armies of the emperor Caracalla, drafted by Aurelius Pasion, village scribe of Philadelphia. The document is dated at the end in the 25th year of Caracalla, i.e. A.D. 216/7. The list itself consists of three parts: first, five entries recording Alexandrian magistrates, then a dozen entries with local magistrates and people of archon rank (metropolitans), and finally a list of all other landholders, in alphabetical order. From the available evidence, it seems that alphabetical ordering was introduced by Alexandrian scholars; but our overall picture of this question could be distorted by the fact that

³ See e.g. W. Schubart, *PGB* 34b (A.D. 216). *P.Diog.* 45 (pl. XXIII) is written in a similar hand, but its dating (after A.D. 216) is based on the secure dating of 137. The best parallel for the writing and general layout is *P.Hamb.* IV 275 (Theadelphia [?], A.D. 198). This is however not the same hand: compare e.g. letters δι.

the relevant documents come mostly from Egypt, which has provided us with the bulk of papyri. In any case, lists seldom follow a strict alphabetical order: usually, only the first two or three first letters of each entry are taken into account.⁴ For 137, only the first letter of the name is relevant to the order in which the names appear. The entry κλη(ρονόμοι) ("heirs") is recorded under *kappa*, and not following the name of the person whose heirs are mentioned.⁵

In all three parts, the document specifies for each name, on the same line, the surface of grain land (σιτικὴ γῆ) and orchard land (δενδρικὴ γῆ) under ownership. In a register of similar purpose, *P. Stras.* VII 688, drawn up in 216, a levy is estimated in two categories, ἐν σιτικοῖς ("in grain") and ἐν ἀργυρικοῖς ("in cash").⁶ The owners are identified by the names with which they were known in the records and (in most cases) a patronymic, or

⁴ See L.W. Daly, *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Coll. Latomus 90; Bruxelles 1967), esp. 45-50; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* II (München 1978) 35; B. Rom / H. Harrauer, "Eine Wachstafel mit alphabetisierten Namen", *CdÉ* 57 (1982) 306; G. Poethke, "Fragment einer alphabetisch geordneten Wörterliste", *Archiv* 37 (1991) 18. The first instance of strict alphabetical ordering is *P. Oxy.* XV 1802 (II / III A.D.), see Daly 30. For lists in alphabetical order in school texts, see R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Am. Stud. Pap. 36, Atlanta 1996), 42-43.

⁵ This seems to be a normal practice; see e.g. *P. Herm. Landl.*, F 297-366 and G 95-150.

⁶ See M. Sharp, "The Village of Theadelphia in the Fayyum: Land and Population in the Second Century", in A.K. Bowman / E. Rogan (ed.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (Proc. Brit. Acad. 96, Oxford 1999) 159-192, esp. 188.

matronymic, social status, name of the master (for slaves), military status, profession, place of residence, heirs. There does not seem to be any straightforward rule for identification. People were probably listed in the same way that they were best known in the community.

Strictly speaking, the heading does not fit the actual contents of the register: no "payments in cash and in kind" are listed in the text. The easiest explanation for this apparent discrepancy is that the register was drafted to assess the value of landholding for each individual in the village. A contribution would be exacted from every owner of private land. The register does not specify the name of the tax that will presumably be levied on the landowners of the village. Lists issued for the collection of taxes, stating the individual taxpayers, the objects taxed, and sometimes the sums to be exacted, were called ἀπαιτήσιμα κατ' ἄνδρα.⁷ Similar lists are to be found which are not explicitly called ἀπαιτήσιμα.⁸ In the case of our register, the heading seems to imply precisely that there is no standard way of naming this unusual contribution.⁹

⁷ Instances of them are *Stud. Pal.* IV xi 433 (Arsinoe, A.D. 72/3), *P.Fay.* 40 (Arsinoite nome, A.D. 162/3; only beginning preserved), *BGU* II 598 (Ars. nome, A.D. 173/4), *Stud. Pal.* XXII 88 (Soknopaiou Nesos, A.D. 214/5), *Stud. Pal.* XXII 174 (Soknopaiou Nesos, A.D. 218), *BGU* II 659 (Soknopaiou Nesos, A.D. 229), *BGU* XIII 2282 (Ptolemais Arabon, A.D. 229/230), *CPR* I 33 (Soknopaiou Nesos, A.D. 215); *BGU* I 175 (Arsinoite nome, II/III A.D.), *P.Oxy.* XIX 2241 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 283/4).

⁸ See *P.Lond.* III 604 (p. 70; Krokodilon Polis [Upper Egypt], A.D. 47); *P.Cair.* *Isid.* 12 (Karanis, A.D. 313/4).

⁹ On the overall question of army logistics at this time, see P. Herz, *Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung. Die Lebensmittelversorgung* (Historia

Historical setting

This document is dated to the 25th year of Caracalla (A.D. 216/7). In its heading, it mentions payments to be sent to Syria to the emperor's army, obviously in preparation for the Parthian war in the course of which Caracalla was assassinated (8 April 217).¹⁰ Contributions (mainly wheat) for the emperors' campaigns could be used not only to support the army in the area of actual combat, but also to support the cities that had to accommodate the army along the way.¹¹ It has also been argued that an army did not cost much more when moving, and that wars were actually

Einzelschriften 55, Stuttgart 1988) 181-184; M. Junkelmann, *Panis militaris. Die Ernährung des römischen Soldaten oder der Grundstoff der Macht* (Mainz am Rhein 1997) 84-85; A.K. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 B.C. - A.D. 200*; J.P. Roth, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 BC - AD 235)* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 23, Leiden / Boston / Köln 1999).

¹⁰ See A. Maricq, "La chronologie des dernières années de Caracalla", *Syria* 34 (1957) 297-302 (= *Classica et Orientalia* [Paris 1965] 27-32); D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (Darmstadt 1996²) 163; H. Bengtson, *Römische Geschichte I* (München 1982³) 394-395; F. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC - AD 337* (Cambridge, Mass. / London 1993), 141-144.

¹¹ See T. Kissel, *Untersuchungen zur Logistik des römischen Heeres in den Provinzen des griechischen Ostens (27 v.Chr. - 235 n.Chr.)* (St. Katharinen 1995) 108-110. Also Roth (above, footnote 9) 117-155.

excuses for raising taxes. This trend is noticeable in the fourth century, but some clues already appear from the Severan times onward.¹²

The emperor stayed in Alexandria between December 215 and the spring of 216,¹³ and we have evidence for requisitions made during his stay.¹⁴ Two documents in particular provide us with a link between Caracalla's visit and the requisitions made for the war effort in Syria. *BGU* I 266 (= *W.Chr.* 245) is a property declaration in which the owner of two camels reports that the animals were requisitioned for Caracalla's visit; they were returned, after which one of them was again requisitioned, this time

¹² See R. MacMullen, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis, A.D. 235-337* (New Haven / London 1976) 104-105 and 257-258, n. 24; for a special war tax on a liturgist to meet the Bastarnian threat ca. 170, A. von Premerstein, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Marcus", *Klio* 12 (1912) 165-166; and for supplies by a liturgist to eastern campaigns of 233 and 243, G.E. Bean / T.B. Mitford, "Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968", *Denkschr. der Öster. Akad. der Wissensch., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 102 (1970) 38-41.

¹³ On Caracalla's sojourn, see F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 34. A terminus post quem of 21 March 216 for his departure from Alexandria has been proposed by A. Lukaszewicz, "Alexandrie sous les Sévères et l'historiographie", in L. Criscuolo / G. Geraci, *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba*, Atti del Coll. internaz., Bologna 1987 (Bologna 1989), 491-496, on the basis of *SB* I 4275. The terminus ante quem for his departure is 27 May 216, when Caracalla is back in Antioch; see *SEG* XVII 759.

¹⁴ See *P.Got.* 3; *P.Stras.* IV 245 [corrected by J. Whitehorne, "Did Caracalla intend to return to Egypt?", *CdÉ* 57 (1982) 132-135]; *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3090; LI 3602-3605. See also Kissel (above, footnote 11) 49.

for the army in Syria, while the other was declared unfit for service, and was therefore returned to its owner. The wording of the phrase mentioning the requisition offers a close parallel to the present text. *BGU I* 266.17-20: εἰς τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ | κυρι[α]κὰς ὑπηρεσίας τῶν γενναι[ο]τάτων | στρατευμάτων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος | Σε[ου]ήρου Ἀντωνίου. 137, 3-7: πεμπομένων εἰς Συρίαν | τοῖς γεννεοτάτοις στρατεύμασι τοῦ κυρίου | ἡμῶν Αὐτ[ο]κράτορος Σεούήρου | Ἀντωνείνου Εύτυχον[ς] Εύσεβον[ς] | Σεβαστοῦ. In both instances, it seems that the person who drafted the document refers back to the text of an order of requisition. The wording τὰ γενναιότατα στρατεύματα, of which there is no other occurrence in documentary papyri, is particularly striking. *BGU I* 266.14-17 specifies that a *centurio*, Aurelius Calvisius Maximus, was sent by the prefect, Valerius Datus, to enforce the requisition. *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3091 is a sworn declaration from a liturgist who undertakes to convey to Alexandria barley destined for the troops of Caracalla in Syria.¹⁵ Finally, *P.Stras.* VII 688 (Theadelphia, A.D. 216) is a fragmentary register with a heading that mentions Syria, before listing large amounts of arouras, following a division ἐν σιτικοῖς (in grain) and ἐν ἀργυρικοῖς (in cash); it is obviously connected with the same occasion.

Since the register is dated to the 25th year of Caracalla, it cannot be earlier than the beginning of this regnal year, i.e. 29 August 216. It also cannot be much later than the date of Caracalla's assassination (8 April

¹⁵ The document is dated tentatively to A.D. 216/7 by the editor; the regnal year is difficult to read. Lines 4-10: εισδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν τόπων | κ[ω]μογραμματέως εἰς τὸ κατελνέγκαι κριθὴν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδριαν | πεμπομένην εἰς Συρίαν ιερῷ | στρατεύματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν | Αὐτοκράτορος Σ[ε]ουήρου | Ἀντωνί(ν)ου.

217). One of the individuals listed in the register, Longinia Thermoutharion, was dead by 7 April 217 (see note to line 19). We thus find confirmation of the fact that the register was drafted at the latest at the beginning of April 217.

Contemporary texts pertaining to the population of Philadelphia

Many individuals listed in this register appear in other contemporary documents already published. While the most obvious cases are listed in the notes, the reader might find it useful to have a short survey of the principal relevant documents.

- *BGU* VII 1617 (A.D. 227; see note to line 17)
- *P.Diog.* 44 and 45 (dated before A.D. 216/7 on the basis of 137)
- *P.Hamb.* III 225 (II / III A.D.)
- *P.Ross. Georg.* V 58 (beginning of III A.D.)¹⁶
- *P.Ryl.* II 206a

This last document is ascribed tentatively to the Arsinoite nome by its editors, and dated to the third century A.D. Comparison of some names found both in 137 and in *P.Ryl.* II 206a shows that the latter must come

¹⁶ On the dating, see *P.Diog.* 44-45, page 211. Prof. M. Manfredi kindly provided a photocopy of a plate of *P.Ross. Georg.* V 58. The original photograph is kept at the Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli" in Florence, whereas, according to Prof. Manfredi, the papyrus itself is kept in Tiflis, at the Manuscripts Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Georgia. The writing, resembling *P.Diog.* 29 (A.D. 225), fits very well the beginning of the third century.

from Philadelphia, and should be dated more precisely to the beginning of the third century:

<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 206a	137
2: Ἡρακλᾶς	86: Ἡρακλᾶς οὐετρ(ανός)
5: Διογένης οὐετραν(ός) (sic)	77: Διογένης οὐετρ(ανός) ἐν τῷ Πέρα
6: Σαβινιανὸς οὐετραν(ός)	186: Σαβινιανὸς οὐετρ(ανός) ἐ[ν] τῷ Νέστῳ
6-7: Σεραπάμμων ιατρός	185: Σεραπάμμων ιατρός
9: Μυσθαρίων Καπίτων(ος)	136: Μυσθαρίων Καπίτωνος
11: Γεμελλίων οὐετραν(ός)	57: Γεμελλί[ω]ν οὐετρ(ανός)
12: Λονγῆς οὐετραν(ός)	126: Λόγγος οὐετρ(ανός)
13: Σερῆνος τεσσαλ(άριος)	190: Σερῆνος θεσσάρις
14: Λουκρητᾶς γυμνασία(ρχος) [ορ γυμνασιά(ρχήσας)]	21: Λουκρητίος γυ(μνασιαρχήσας)
15: Λεωνίδης οὐετραν(ός)	128: Λεωνίδης οὐετρ(ανός)
16: Ἐρέννις οὐετραν(ός)	80: Ἐρέννιος οὐετρ(ανός) ἐν τῷ Νέστῳ; 82: Ἐρέννιος οὐετρ(ανός)

The misspelling in *P.Ryl.* II 206a.13 (λ for ρ) is further argument, if need be, for the Arsinoite origin of the document.¹⁷

¹⁷ See F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 102-107.

A word of caution regarding the use of statistics in the register

The register is in a relatively good state of preservation. The bottoms of two columns, however, as well as some figures, have been damaged. When a figure is partially damaged, the legible part has been recorded; this means of course that the figure is a minimum, to which one would add the missing part of the figure if it were available.

It should also be noted that this register does not include the whole population or even all landowners of Philadelphia, but only private landowners.¹⁸ It is therefore difficult to use it for studying the population of the village as a whole. For instance, one cannot draw conclusions on the importance of the Roman element among the whole population in this village, but only among owners of private land. Also, statistics based on the level of inequality in land distribution among private landowners in the village cannot be extended to the whole population of the village without some sort of weighting for which we do not have reliable criteria.

¹⁸ For comparison, our register lists 149 men and 30 women (besides 17 uncertain cases and 6 entries for heirs), whereas in the year 50/51, Philadelphia had around 900 individuals liable for poll tax, see *P.Sijp*. 26. Farmers of public land (δημόσιοι γεωργοί) appointed 30 Elders (πρεσβύτεροι) for the management of public, domain and revenue land in Philadelphia in A.D. 224, see *P.Gen.* 142.

Land in Philadelphia

Line 8 of 137 provides us with a total in arouras of private land in Philadelphia, divided between grain land and orchard land. These figures can be compared with the totals obtained by adding the various entries in the register.

	total, as indicated in line 8	total, from legible entries (incl. land without owner)
grain land	Γεωκς (+ fraction) = ca. 3826 ar.	3056.08 ar.
orchard land	ψυχζ ζιο = 757.5625 ar.	663.09 ar.

The register is complete (with both beginning and end clearly marked), and only a few entries are illegible. In the case of orchard land, the discrepancy between the total from legible entries and the total as indicated in line 8 (ca. 94 ar., or 12%) might be explained by the fact that a few entries are missing. Considering only the second category of landowners (*ἄρχοντες ἐντόπιοι καὶ ἀρχοντικοί*), it is possible to account for part of the missing orchard land. Orchard land on the list for this category totals 126.75 arouras for 10 entries (including cases where persons do not own any orchard land), or an average of about 13 arouras per entry. If one counts three missing lines at the bottom of col. I, 7 entries for orchard land are missing, which could give about 89 arouras, using the same average as for recorded entries. This is close to the 94 arouras that we left unaccounted for, and does not include a few missing figures in the third category (ordinary inhabitants). This tedious calculation however does not take into account the possibility that the list of metropolitan magistrates could end at line 27 (see note on line 28).

For grain land, we are left with a larger discrepancy between the total announced in line 8 and the total obtained by adding the individual entries (ca. 770 ar., or 20%); the missing entries seem too few to account for this discrepancy. The three categories of people have to be examined separately to allow a proper assessment of what could be missing in the damaged part of 137. The first group (*ἀρχοντες Ἀλεξανδρίας*) is almost fully preserved, and only a few arouras seem to be missing from the list. There is more to be recovered from the second group (*ἀρχοντες ἐντόπιοι καὶ ἀρχοντικοί*), since the bottom of col. I is damaged. Nine preserved entries add up to between 320 and 400 arouras, depending on the surface to be counted for Aurelia Titania (line 23: *σιτ. (ἀρ.) ρ. β.*, i.e. a minimum of 112 arouras); we therefore could have an average of between 35 and 44 arouras per entry (taking line 26 into account, where there seems to be no grain land in the hands of the person listed). If one includes 3 missing lines, there are 8 entries missing for grain land in the bottom part of col. I; in the best of cases, this amounts to about 352 arouras that could be lacking from the register. We are still far from the missing 770 arouras. If one turns to the third group (ordinary inhabitants), owners have an average of about 16 arouras of grain land. Eight entries are missing, not taking into account small losses (under 10 arouras). This means that we can probably account for at least another 128 arouras missing. Altogether, this adds up to 480 arouras; another 290 arouras are still missing. Ninety arouras tentatively attributed to Aurelia Titania (line 23) bring this down to 200 arouras (roughly 5% of the ca. 3826 arouras given in line 8). If one remembers that small losses in the figures (under 10 arouras) have not been taken into account, and that there could be a few very wealthy landowners in the missing part of col. I ("local magistrates and persons of archon rank"), it

seems at least possible to account for the discrepancy between the total indicated in line 8 and the total resulting from adding all entries. One possibly wealthy owner who is conspicuously missing from the list of Alexandrians is Posidonios; his agent Eudaimon is mentioned in line 79. Posidonios is a large estate owner, and a prominent Alexandrian.¹⁹ There are however no missing entries for Alexandrians. It seems that Posidonios owned an estate in Philadelphia in A.D. 227.²⁰ Other agents of Posidonios are known (see Rathbone [footnote 19] 75), but Eudaimon is known from no other source as Posidonios' agent.

The amount of private land is larger than that of most other villages for which we have evidence (with the exception of Karanis):²¹

¹⁹ See *O.Mich.* 94, and D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt* (Cambridge 1991) 15 and 47; see also 25, where we learn that Posidonios' estate was related to Appianos' estate.

²⁰ See *BGU* VII 1617.57-58; Rathbone (above, footnote 19) 49 had doubts about the date, but see below, note to line 17.

²¹ See J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996) 32; R.S. Bagnall, "Agricultural Productivity and Taxation", *TAPhA* 115 (1985) 289-308, in particular 291-293.

source	date	village	total grain land	private land	% private / total
<i>P.Berl. Leihg. I 1 + 5 + P.Stras. VII 688</i>	A.D. 158/9	Theadelphia	6350 ar. ²²	2161.16 ar.	34
<i>P.Bour. 42</i> ²³	A.D. 167	Ptolemais Nea	3924.06 ar.	1465.03 ar.	37
id.		Hiera Nesos	4061.72 ar.	1317.20 ar.	32
id.		Drymos of Hiera Nesos	1753.77 ar.	622.25 ar.	35
id.		Drymos of Kerkeesis	556.72 ar.	267.25 ar.	48
<i>P.Mich. VI 372</i>	A.D. 179/80 or 211/12	Karanis	11500 ar. ²⁴	3832 ar.	33

The proportion between private land and the total surface for these villages oscillates between 32% and 48%. The total for grain land in Philadelphia is given as 3826 arouras. With due caution given to the fact that the data available is half a century older than 137, it may be possible to suggest a figure between 7970 and 11956 arouras (i.e. between 22 and 33 km²) for the total surface of land under cultivation in Philadelphia. In other words, if this assessment is reliable, private land in third-century

²² See D.W. Rathbone, "Villages, Land and Population in Graeco-Roman Egypt", *PCPhS* 216, n.s. 36 (1990) 103-142, esp. 133-134.

²³ See A.C. Johnson, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome: Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* (Baltimore 1936) 38-56.

²⁴ See Rathbone (above, footnote 22) 132-134.

Philadelphia could have covered roughly the same total surface as the δωρεά allotted by Ptolemy II Philadelphus to his finance minister (διοκητής) in Philadelphia in the third century B.C., which covered 10,000 arouras.²⁵

The distribution of land among private owners in Philadelphia

The data used for calculation is listed in the Appendix. Two different approaches will be used to describe the distribution of land in the village. First, it is possible to compare the holdings of particular groups with other groups or with the whole pool of landowners (subsections **a** to **d**). Second, distribution of land inside each of the two main groups (i.e. metropolitans and villagers) should allow comparison with the situation in other places within a historical context (subsections **e** and **f**).

a) Roman names

The importance of Roman names among owners of private land in Philadelphia has already been discussed by J.F. Oates in *BASP* 2 (1965) 57-64 and *Atti XI Congr. Int. Pap.* 451-474. Of all the individuals listed in the register, only one bears the *tria nomina* (13: Gaius Valerius Celearis, a.k.a. Philoxenos). "Roman names" refers to all people bearing a *nomen* of Latin origin, sometimes followed by a *cognomen*; the latter could be of an origin other than Latin (mostly Greek). Women of course would not have the *tria nomina*, but only a *nomen* and *cognomen*. The biggest owner (line 127: Lucretius, son of Lucretius, 94 arouras of grain land and 34 arouras of orchard land) bears a Roman name, as do the next largest owners (line 147:

²⁵ See *P.Lille* 1 = *P.L.Bat.* XX, suppl. A.

Numissius, goldsmith, 80 arouras of grain land, 8.5 arouras of orchard land; line 132: Mevia Clementina, 73 arouras of grain land, 14.5 arouras of orchard land; line 209: Flavia Sarapias, 66 arouras of grain land, 3.75 arouras of orchard land). There are also several Aurelii. Comparison with other documents where the same people occur shows that the full names have sometimes been abbreviated.²⁶ For instance, the ex-gymnasiarch Papirius of line 22 is called Marcus Aurelius Papirius in *BGU* VII 1656.1 (Philadelphia, A.D. 213/4).²⁷ Given the fact that this list was drafted only a few years after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212, and also since it did not have any direct influence on the civic status of the villagers, it seems difficult to draw any firm conclusion from the presence or absence of a Roman name.²⁸ It is quite likely, however, that rich women with a Roman name (e.g. Mevia Clementina, or Julia Tertia) belonged to a family which had been granted Roman citizenship before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Caracalla's edict had the effect that, at least from 214 on, everyone in Egypt without another *nomen* was entitled to the *nomen* Aurelius; this can be observed in documents where full status designation is expected. In the case of this register, we can assume that every person in

²⁶ See e.g. line 201: Stratippos, son of Diogenes. In *P.Col.* X 274.5-6 (Arsinoite nome, A.D. 208/9), both father and son are Marci Flavii.

²⁷ Men whose name included the full "Marcus Aurelius" belonged to classes that had enjoyed a privileged status before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*; see D. Hagedorn, "Marci Aurelii in Ägypten nach der *Constitutio Antoniniana*", *BASP* 16 (1979) 47-59.

²⁸ See R.S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London / New York 1995) 37; R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (London / New York 1995) 123.

the list (except for slaves and those with a *nomen* other than Aurelius) was also entitled to the *nomen* Aurelius. There was clearly no point in indicating it in every case.

b) Alexandrian and metropolitan magistrates

The ἄρχοντες Ἀλεξανδρίας (Alexandrian magistrates) in all likelihood do not live in Philadelphia, but own land there.²⁹ Other documents where they also appear show that some of these are individuals of high rank in Alexandria. Although three out of five names listed under this heading correspond elsewhere to Alexandrian magistrates, it is not possible to show that the other two are definitely *not* Alexandrian magistrates. In any case, a high position in Alexandria does not prevent them from shouldering some responsibility in the Arsinoite, for instance in tax collection.³⁰

As for ἄρχοντες ἐντόπιοι and ἄρχοντικοί, the first sub-group seems to be opposed to the ἄρχοντες Ἀλεξανδρίας. By “local”, one should understand not “living in Philadelphia”, but “from the nome metropolis”. The second sub-group, ἄρχοντικοί, could refer to people who belong to a family which has provided magistrates of archon rank (see below, note to line 15). For instance, Aurelia Titania (line 23) is known from other documents (*P.Hamb.* I 15 and 16), where she is acting with a guardian, her son Claudius, a.k.a. Ptolemaios, ex-high-priest of the city of the Arsinoites.

²⁹ See Rowlandson (above, footnote 21) 107-108 and the new edition of *P.Gen.* I 72 (forthcoming).

³⁰ See Aurelius Hermias, a.k.a. Apollonios (line 11), who issues tax receipts for the φόρος προβάτων in the Arsinoite nome between A.D. 216 and 219; *P.Lond.* III 851 (p. 48).

Taken at face value, the headings suggest that all the people listed in those two first sections are either magistrates or related to magistrates, in Alexandria or in the nome capital. It is nevertheless tempting to draw a parallel between the three categories of the register and the three main categories of civic status in Roman Egypt: Alexandrians (and more generally citizens of the Greek *poleis*), metropolitans and villagers. The difference of status induces separate ways of assessing the tax rate for each category; this is precisely what may be at stake in 137.

c) Soldiers and veterans

Of the 197 owners listed, 36 bear some relation to the army, including 5 soldiers (see below, note to line 48), 16 veterans, the heirs of two veterans, and finally a veteran's wife. Except for one case (line 167), no veteran owns more than 30 arouras of grain land. Within this span of 30 arouras, no clusters emerge: it is therefore not possible to distinguish a clear gap between rich and poor veterans. Although orchard land shows a tendency to be in the hands of veterans who own larger surfaces of grain land, it is also found among owners of smaller surfaces of grain land. On the whole, veterans own relatively little orchard land in the village. The same overall picture seems to emerge from nearby Karanis, where many veterans also lived.³¹

d) Women

Among the landowners, women account for 32 entries. In some entries, a husband's name is given along with the woman's (lines 68, 75,

³¹ See Alston (above, footnote 28) 139 and 159.

implicitly 87 & 88, 139 and 199), and in one case the wife's name is not given at all (line 55: *γυνὴ Μέλανος ιππέω[ς]*). One woman is registered as a man's daughter (line 97: *θ[υ]γ(άτηρ) Οὐεττίου*). Most of these women however seem to be the actual owners of the land. Women are spread at all levels along the curve of owners of grain land. Of the 9 individuals owning 50 arouras or more of grain land, 5 are women. The same pattern emerges from the study of orchard land, where women are to be found at all levels, but notably among the wealthy owners. Although they account for only 16% of the persons listed in the register, they hold 23% of grain land and 24% of orchard land (excluding the two last entries in the register, which are for so-called "global categories").³² The average holding for a woman is 19.7 arouras of grain land and 4.5 arouras of orchard land, against an overall average of 13.7 arouras of grain land and 2.9 arouras of orchard.

e) Grain land and orchard land

There are 197 individual owners listed. Of these, 123 own only grain land, 7 only orchard land, and the remaining 67 own both grain and orchard land. While owners of small surfaces of grain land are more numerous than wealthy owners, it is hard to set apart distinct groups of

³² For "global categories", see below, note on lines 215 and 216-219. The figures given here can be compared with the situation at Karanis in 308/9, where village women own 17% of all land, and metropolitans own 18%, see R.S. Bagnall, "Landholding in Late Roman Egypt: The Distribution of Wealth", *JRS* 82 (1992) 128-149, esp. 138. In Soknopaiou Nesos in the Roman period, women owned a third of the real estate in the village, see D. Hobson, "Women as Property Owners in Roman Egypt", *TAPhA* 113 (1983) 311-321.

owners. Orchard land tends to be concentrated among owners of large surfaces of grain land, although there are some exceptions.

Ownership of orchard land is limited to 74 people out of 197. Most of them own a modest surface (up to 12 arouras), while a few have between 12 and 20 arouras. Two small clusters of privileged owners are clearly marked, the first with individuals owning a surface of ca. 35 arouras, and the second slightly over 60 arouras.

f) Distribution of land (Alexandrians, metropolitans and villagers)

The following charts summarize the data available for Philadelphia:

	grain land	orchard land
individual owners: 197 ³³	190	74
mean surface	14 ar.	8 ar.
median surface	8 ar.	3 ar.
minimum surface	.5 ar.	.5 ar.
maximum surface	112 ar. ³⁴	62 ar.

³³ This figure does not include the last two entries of the register (l. 215 and 216), which cover global categories; individuals for which a figure is not available are also excluded (e.g. Longinia Thermoutharion, line 19). If a partial figure is available, it is included; this means that the averages are to be considered as minimum averages. In lines 28-29, the traces show that there must have been entries, but we cannot recover anything; the same applies to line 26.

³⁴ See line 23: Αὐ[ρή]λια Τιτανία[ς], σιτ. (ἄρ.) ρ̄ β̄. Since a multiple of ten is missing between ρ̄ and β̄, the figure should be at least ρ̄β̄ = 112.

	entries	%	grain land	%	orchard land	%
Alexandrians	5	2.51	87.22	2.85	126.75	19.12
metropolitans	11	5.53	310	10.14	96.625	14.57
villagers	181	90.95	2190.11	71.66	330.16	49.79
global category	2	1.01	468.75	15.34	109.56	16.52
total	199	100	3056.08	100	663.09	100

Alexandrians and metropolitans own both grain land and orchard land in most cases (9 out of 13 where data is available). Not surprisingly, these people also tend to own larger surfaces of land than villagers, although the gap is on the whole not very wide. Grain land is much more evenly distributed between the groups of Alexandrians, metropolitans and villagers than orchard land, as the chart above shows. Alexandrians in particular, who account for only 2.51% of the entries in the register, own 19.12% of all private orchard land. Several reasons could explain this striking imbalance: a) orchard land could hold more prestige among absentee landlords; b) orchard land could require higher investment in the process of cultivation, but also yield higher income, and thus be more suited to the financial means of Alexandrians and to their financial expectations in the long run; c) orchard land could be easier to manage through an agent. *P.Gen. I 72* illustrates how little time an absentee landlord (Gaius Valerius Celearis a.k.a. Philoxenos; see also 137.13) could devote to his estate; the sole purpose of his visit seems to be the collection of the income from his vineyard.

It is not yet quite clear when and how the large estates of the Byzantine period were built up, a process which appears to have produced a very high rate of inequality in land distribution. A good understanding of

the situation in the preceding centuries (especially the third) could improve an overall interpretation of the phenomenon. The publication of 137 is of interest in that it offers an almost complete survey of the distribution of a particular commodity (private grain and orchard land) in the village of Philadelphia at the beginning of the third century. It is possible to measure inequality of land distribution by means of the Lorenz curve and its single-number summation, the Gini index ($= R$); this method has already been applied to other places in Egypt, notably the Hermopolite nome in the fourth century A.D.³⁵ R is expressed as a figure between 0 and 1, the former meaning perfect equality in the distribution of a particular commodity (in this present instance, private land), and the latter meaning perfect inequality (in other words, one individual would own all the private land available).³⁶ Bowman (151) provides a Gini index for 137 at $R = .737$, which was corrected by Bagnall (above, footnote 32) 131 to .532 using all persons listed, or .516 limiting ourselves to cases with complete data (these figures are for grain land belonging to villagers only). This is no trivial correction, since the figure of .737 was fairly close to the index for residents of Antinoopolis and metropolitans in one of the four quarters of Hermopolis owning land throughout the entire Hermopolite nome around A.D. 350 (.815), and could have suggested no great change during the third

³⁵ See A.K. Bowman, "Landholding in the Hermopolite Nome", *JRS* 75 (1985) 137-163; Bagnall (above, footnote 32).

³⁶ See R. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (Cambridge 1990) 129, n. 40 [= "Some Configurations of Landholding in the Roman Empire", in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Roman Property* (Cambridge 1976) 15, n. 41]; Bagnall (above, footnote 32) 129-130.

and early fourth centuries (see Bowman 155). In any case, comparison between different sets of data can be misleading when they do not pertain to the same level of wealth. In other words, metropolitans from Antinoopolis and the Hermopolite nome cannot be compared to villagers in Philadelphia, but only to the metropolitans in 137.³⁷ Also, as has been stressed by Bagnall (above, footnote 32) 130, "it is a general fact about Gini indexes that as one moves to larger orders of entities, the index rises".

Given the fact that grain land and orchard land do not hold the same value per aroura, it seems difficult simply to add them together and use this data for the calculation of a global measure of inequality. Therefore, since the data for grain land is relatively abundant in comparison with orchard land, one could take grain land only; or one could follow a more speculative path and attempt to weight orchard land by some factor and combine it with grain land. Even if a rough relative value of orchard land and grain land could be established, we still cannot assess the absolute value of a particular field. The distribution of landholding and the distribution of landed wealth are not necessarily identical.³⁸

In any case, if we turn to the second, more speculative method, assessing a relative weight for orchard land in comparison with grain land could be done if we had a precise idea of the price of these two categories of land in Philadelphia at the beginning of the third century. Unfortunately, although the available data comes mostly from the Arsinoite nome, it is

³⁷ See Bowman (above, footnote 35) 150, n. 75, and Bagnall's word of caution (above, footnote 32) 130, n. 14.

³⁸ See Bagnall (above, footnote 32) 139.

relatively scarce for the relevant period, and shows important variations.³⁹ For grain land between the second and third centuries, a rough estimate of 300 drachmas should not be widely off the mark (see Drexhage 130-1). As for orchard land, Drexhage (137) provides us with figures for olive land, fetching prices of 342.84 dr. (SB VI 9069, III A.D.), 600 dr. (BGU II 379, A.D. 67) and 896 dr. (BGU II 666, A.D. 177). It seems on the whole that orchard land was more expensive than grain land. The price of land however is not necessarily an adequate reflection of its value; orchard land may be more (or less) prestigious than grain land, but we have no way of measuring such prestige. The figure given in SB VI 9069 (342.84 dr.) looks aberrant for the third century: it is most unlikely that, on the whole, the price of olive land would have sunk to less than half of what it was in A.D. 177. If we had more data available, this seemingly abnormal figure would probably be corrected by the bulk of the other data. In any case, we may not arbitrarily exclude this figure simply because it does not suit our general impression. Therefore, a rough price estimate for A.D. 216 could be something around 600 dr. / ar., i.e. twice the price of grain land. On this basis, it is suggested, with due caution, that we double the weight of orchard land in the calculation of an overall Gini index for grain and orchard land combined. The resulting figure (.590) does vary from the figure found using the more conventional method (.542 for grain land

³⁹ See H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten / Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (St. Katharinen 1991), 127-154.

only).⁴⁰ This was to be expected, since only a minority of persons listed in the register own orchard land. Until the price of orchard land can be measured more reliably for the beginning of the third century, it seems hard to draw any firm conclusion from such a figure. Therefore, the figures given below separate grain and orchard land.

Philadelphia, grain land (Alexandrians, metropolitans and villagers combined): $R = .542$.

Alexandrians:

source	location	date	<i>R</i>
137	Philadelphia (grain)	A.D. 216/7	.422
137	Philadelphia (orchard)	A.D. 216/7	.545

Metropolitans:

source	location	date	<i>R</i>
137	Philadelphia (grain)	A.D. 216/7	.362
137	Philadelphia (orchard)	A.D. 216/7	.710
Bagnall 134	Karanis	A.D. 308/9	.638
Bowman 159	Hermopolite nome	ca. A.D. 350	.815

The index seems to rise strikingly with time, and one would be tempted to conclude from these figures that, within a century and a half, the distribution of private land became markedly more uneven. It should be

⁴⁰ If one excludes the seemingly aberrant figure for establishing the price of orchard land, and consequently reassesses the price of orchard land at around 900 dr. / ar., i.e. three times the price of grain land, the resulting weighted index stands at .619.

remembered, however, that the Philadelphia data is quite scarce for Alexandrians and metropolitans (13 cases where data is sufficiently well preserved to be used) and could easily be distorted by individual factors.⁴¹ Also, as has been stated above, R rises as one moves to larger orders of entities. We would therefore expect the index for the whole Arsinoite nome, if available and under similar circumstances, to be higher than the figure found for the sole villages of Philadelphia or Karanis. This explains in part why, for the Hermopolite nome (ca. A.D. 350), R stands at .815. This later figure can be misleading, since, as was pointed out by Bagnall following Bowman, "the figures show the distribution of landholdings in a population of city residents, many of whom may not have depended on those landholdings for their primary source of income or wealth". In the case of our register, the metropolitans listed in the first column could well have owned more private land in other villages of the Arsinoite, or, for the Alexandrians, even outside the nome. Therefore, our Alexandrians and metropolitans did not necessarily depend on their possessions in Philadelphia as their only source of income.

⁴¹ For similar caution, see Bagnall (above, footnote 32) 134.

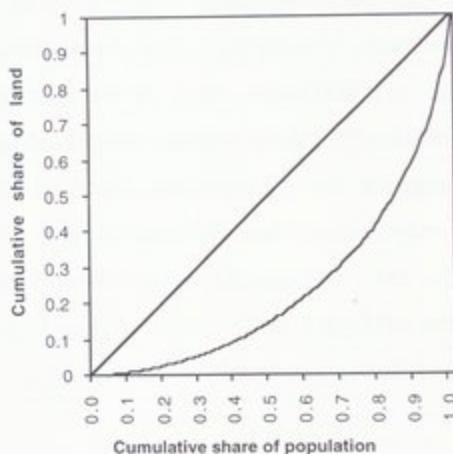
Villagers:

source	location	date	R
Bowman 159	Kerkeosiris (all land)	116/5 B.C.	.374
137	Philadelphia (private grain land)	A.D. 216/7	.532
137	Philadelphia (private orchard land)	A.D. 216/7	.528
Bagnall 135	Karanis (all land)	A.D. 308/9	.431
Bagnall 136	Karanis (private land)	A.D. 308/9	.478

Philadelphia:

Lorenz curve
for distribution
of private grain
land (villagers)

$R = .532$



Bagnall's charts (131, fig. 1 and 135, fig. 5) illustrate the relation between the Gini index, which is a single figure, and the Lorenz curve. Although the same R can correspond to different shapes of curves, the area between the diagonal (= perfect equality in distribution) and the curve will be the same for a given R . This area increases with R ; a curve very close to the diagonal means a fairly even rate of distribution, whereas a very deep curve points to uneven distribution of the item under consideration.

The figures for Kerkeosiris and Karanis, although more than four centuries apart, do not differ much when one considers private and public land together. On the other hand, R rises when restricted to private land, as can be seen from the case of Karanis and Philadelphia (grain land).⁴² Still, the latter village shows the highest rate of inequality in the available data. For villagers owning orchard land in Philadelphia, R (.528) is almost the same as for grain land (.532). It should be noted, however, that the index for orchard land rises sharply (from .528 to .840) if one takes into account zero cases, i.e. villagers listed in the register who do not own any orchard land.⁴³ The same remark applies to the whole register, which does not take into account landless inhabitants in Philadelphia.

As was already noted by Oates (*Proc. XIth Int. Congr. Pap.* 387), no one group dominates the private land of Philadelphia. The Alexandrians and metropolitans listed in the first two categories have larger holdings than the resident population, but this cannot be considered a dominant position. This register takes into account only owners of private land. This means that the farmers who leased land either from private owners or from the state are not included in this survey. State land leased to farmers will probably increase the holdings of absentee owners less than those of residents; the impression that the Alexandrians and metropolitans are not

⁴² See Bagnall (above, footnote 32) 136.

⁴³ The same phenomenon was mentioned by Bagnall (above, footnote 32) 139 for mid-nineteenth century Wisconsin, where the Gini index rises from .400 to .670 when zero cases are taken into account.

dominant would thus presumably be strengthened if one had public land in the figures.⁴⁴

Coming back to the debate on the constitution of large estates in the Byzantine period, the evidence collected from the village of Philadelphia at the beginning of the third century shows a pattern where inequality does exist, but at a rate that is more or less comparable with what we find in Kerkeosiris at the end of the second century B.C., or in Karanis at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. No single individual can be shown to be in possession of a disproportionate amount of land. Among the wealthiest landowners, no clear family links have been established which would, by forming a cluster, enable us to identify a large estate. Concentration of private landed wealth would have occurred, if at all, in a later period.

⁴⁴ On the impact of absentee landlords on the villages, see M. Sharp, "The Village of Theadelphia in the Fayyum", *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 96 (1999) 174-182; also J. Rowlandson, "Agricultural Tenancy and Village Society in Roman Egypt", *ib.* 139-158, esp. 145-147.

TEXT

P.CtYBR 296 (= *P. Yale* III 137)

Col. I

1 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πασίων[ο]ς κωμογρ(αμματέως) Φιλαδελφίας
 2 κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν παρασκευαζομένων
 3 εἰδῶν τε καὶ γενῶν πεμπομένων εἰς Συρίαν
 4 τοῖς γεννεοτάτοις στρατεύμασι τοῦ κυρίου
 5 ἡμῶν Αὐτ[ο]κράτορος Σεουήρου
 6 Ἀντωνείνου Εύτυχον[ζ] Εύσεβον[ζ]
 7 Σεβαστοῦ. [ἔστ]ι δέ·
 8 ιδιωτικ(ῆς γῆς), σιτ(ικῆς γῆς) (ἄρουραι) Γωκς . . δενδ(ρικῆς γῆς)
 (ἄρουραι) ψνζ < io
 9 ἀρχόντων Ἀλεξανδρίας
 10 Αὐρήλιος Ἀπίων καὶ ως χρ(ηματίζει)
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) λ δενδ. (ἄρ.) ξβ
 11 Αὐρήλιο[ζ] Ἐρμείας ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) α η δ(ενδ.) (ἄρ.) ις < η
 12 Φλ(άουιος) Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ Τρύφων . .
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιβ ſ
 13 Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Κελεάρις ὁ καὶ Φιλόξ(ενος)
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) λς δενδ. (ἄρ.) θ
 14 Γέμελλος ἀπὸ (έκατονταρ)χ(ίας)
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ < io λ[ο] δενδ. (ἄρ.) θ

15 ἀρχόντων ἐντοπίων καὶ ἀρχ[ο]ντικῶν

16 Διόδωρος ἀρχ(ιερατεύσας)
[σ]ι[τ. (ἄρ.)] λζ̄ʃ̄

17 Ἰοῦστ(ος) ἀρχ(ιερατεύσας)
σιτ. (ἄρ.) [δεν]δ. (ἄρ.) νη̄ʃ̄

18 κλη(ρονόμοι) Τούφου
σιτ. (ἄρ.) λ [δενδ. (ἄρ.)] /

19 Λογγινία Θερμού[θάριον] [....]

20 Λοκρήτια Διοδώρ[α]
σιτ. (ἄρ.)] δενδ. (ἄρ.) ε

21 Λοκρήτιος γν(μνασιαρχήσας)
σιτ. (ἄρ.) μ δενδ. (ἄρ.) β

22 Παπείριος γν(μνασιαρχήσας)
σιτ. (ἄρ.) κᾱʃ̄ δενδ. (ἄρ.) β d'

23 Αὐ[ρη]λία Τιτανία[ζ]
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ρ β δενδ. (ἄρ.) νθ

24 [Αὐρηλ]ία Ἰσιδώρα ἡ καὶ Κύριλλα
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιγ

25 [.....]
[σ]ι[τ.] (ἄρ.) ιβ

26 [.....] δενδ. (άρ.) []

27 [.....]
σιτ. (άρ.) νδ []

28 [.....]ηκω()[]

29 [.....] [.....]
 (± 3 lines missing)

4 γενναιοτάτοις 13 Γαϊος pap. 23 Τιτανία[ζ] ζ has line through it

Col. II

30 Ἀπολινάριο[ζ]ανοῦ
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) δ

31 Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνιανοῦ
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιδ δενδ. (ἄρ.) ε

32 Ἀσκληπίδος Α[.....]ιου
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιβ δ' δ(ενδ.) (ἄρ.) β

33 Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε

34 Ἀπολινάριος Γερμανοῦ
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε δ(ενδ.) (ἄρ.) α

35 Ἀμμώνιος Σ[.....]
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ι δ'

36 Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀρτεμιδ(ώρου)
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιη

37 Ἀπολλῶς [.....]αιωνος
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) κδ δενδ. (ἄρ.) β

38 Α[.....] τνι [.....]έ]ν τῷ Νέστῳ

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε ^ʃ

39 Ἀμμόνι[ος] Ἡρακλείδου
σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ

40 Ἀσῆμις Β[]αρί[ο]ν
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιγ ^ʃ

41 Ἀσῆμις Πάσει Ψάσλα
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ ^ʃ

42 Ἀντωνία Θερμουθάριον
σιτ. (ἄρ.) μγ d' δ(ενδ.) (ἄρ.) ιδ

43 Ἀρτεμις Σαραπίωνος
σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ δενδ. (ἄρ.) λα

44 Ἀκουτιανὸς ιατρός
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ

45 Ἀμμωνιανὸς οὐετρανός
σιτ. (ἄρ.) α δενδ. (ἄρ.) α

46 Ἀγχορίμφις ἀραβιδοξ(ότης)
σιτ. (ἄρ.) κ ^ʃ

47 Ἀπολλώνιος Καλλίστου
σιτ. (ἄρ.) β

48 Ἀλέξανδρος στρ(ατιώτης)
δενδ. (ἄρ.) α

49 ἀδελφὴ Οὐαλ[ε]ρίου ιππέως
σιτ. (ἄρ.) δ ^ʃ δενδ. (ἄρ.) β

50 Ἀπολινάριος []α μου καὶ Νουμίσσιος ἀδελ(φός)
δενδ. (ἄρ.) ζ

51 Αμμ [.....]ως

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε ſd η̄

52 Ἀρριανὸς οὐετρ(ανός)
σιτ. (ἄρ.) β

53 Γερμανὸς υἱὸς Γεμελλίωνος
σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ ſ'

54 Γέμελλος οὐετρ(ανός)
σιτ. (ἄρ.) κδ

55 γυνὴ Μέλανος ἵππεω[ς]
σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ

56 Γαίων
[σ]ι[τ.] (ἄρ.) κγ ſ' δ(ενδ.) (ἄρ.) γ ſ'

57 Γεμελλί[ω]ν οὐετρ(ανός)
[σ]ιτ. (ἄρ.) δ

58 Διόδωρο[ς] Ψεναμού[νιος]
σιτ. (ἄρ.) β d'

59 Δίδυμ[ο]ς ἵππεύς
δενδ. (ἄρ.) ε ſd

60 Διοδώρα Ψεναμ[ούνιος] ... ἀδελ(φή)
σιτ. (ἄρ.) i d'

61 [.....] [.] Ίουλ[.....] ...
δενδ. (ἄρ.) γ Λ η̄

62 [.....]
σιτ.] (ἄρ.) ε η̄

63 [.....]
σιτ.] (ἄρ.) ſ' δενδ. (ἄρ.) ε

64 [.....]

σιτ.] (ἄρ.) λ δενδ. (ἄρ.) α
 65 [.....]
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιʃ'

46 ἀραβοτοξότης 47 Καλλίστου, 1st λ ex ζ 49 ἵππεως παρ.

Col. III

66 Διογένης οὐετρ(ανὸς) Ψῶις δενδ. (ἄρ.) α
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) κδ

67 Δίδυμος στρ(ατιώτης) δενδ. (ἄρ.) ήd
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ

68 Ἡρακλεία γυνὴ Μύσθου δενδ. (ἄρ.) εʃ
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) εʃ'

69 Διόδωρος Τερενκατ

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε

70 Διογένης Γεμέλλου δενδ. (ἄρ.) β
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) καʃd

71 Δίδυμος Ἰσίωνος δενδ. (ἄρ.) β
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιζ'

72 Διογένης Ἀντωνίου Καλαβέλ δενδ. (ἄρ.) β
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιδʃ

73 Διογένης Λοκρητίου Παραδρο(μαῖος) δενδ. (ἄρ.) β
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιβʃ

74 Δεῖος Σαραπάμμωνος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ

75 Δημαροῦς γυνὴ Πασινίκου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ι δ'

76 Διογένης Τιτὰν ἐν Τάνει

σιτ. (ἄρ.) κε ∫

77 Διογένης οὐετρ(ανός) ἐν τῷ Πέρα

σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ

78 Ἐρμεῖνος Λογγίνου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) β

79 Εὐδαίμων φροντ(ιστής) Ποσιδ(ωνίου)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) κβ

80 Ἐρέννιος οὐετρ(ανός) ἐν τῷ Νέστῳ

σιτ. (ἄρ.) β ∫

81 Ἐρμεῖνος ἐν τῷ Νέστῳ

σιτ. (ἄρ.) κδ

82 Ἐρέννιος οὐετρ(ανός)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) κ

δενδ. (ἄρ.) α

83 Ἐριεὺς Σισόιτος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ ∫'

84 Ἡρακλείδης Νεστησίου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε δ'

85 Ἡραὶς ἡ καὶ Σεούήρα

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ια

86 Ἡρακλᾶς οὐετρ(ανός)

[σ]ιτ. (ἄρ.) ιγ ∫'

87 [Ἡ]ραιδοῦς γυνὴ

σι[τ.] (ἄρ.) ι

88 Ἡρακλεία γυνὴ ἐν τῷ Νέστῳ
σ[ιτ.] (ἄρ.) ια

89 Ἡρακλείδης ιππεύς
σιτ. (ἄρ.) η d'

90 Ἡραῖς Κωρίου
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ι

91 Ἡρων Βακχιώτης
σιτ. (ἄρ.) θ δενδ. (ἄρ.) δ

92 Ἡ[ρ]ᾶς μη(τρὸς) Ἡραίδος
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιδ

93 Ἡ[ρ]ακλάμμων Οὐαλερίου
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιβ d'

94 Ἡρ[α]κλῆς Ὄρπί[ωνο]ς
σιτ. (ἄρ.) δ

95 Θατρῆς Ὄρσενούφεως
σιτ. (ἄρ.) β η

96 Θερμοῦθις Νεμεσᾶ
σιτ. (ἄρ.) δ

97 θ[ερ]μή(άτηρ) Οὐεττίου ἐν τῷ Νέστῳ
σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ ſ'

98 [Ιουλ]ιανὸς Π' α' ουάλης ἐν Καρ(ανίδι)
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε

99 [Ισί]δωρος Ἀρείου
σιτ. (ἄρ.) η ſd

100 [Ιου]λιανὸς οὐετρ(ανός)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιδ	δ(ενδ.) [(ἄρ.)]
101 Ἰουλία Τερτία	

σιτ. (ἄρ.) νη δενδ. (ἄρ.)

74 Δῖος 83 Σισόιτος, 1st o ex i 92 ηραιδος pap.

Col. IV

102 Ἰουλία μήτηρ Βαυθλάτος		
σιτ. (ἄρ.) β		
103 Ἰσοχος δοῦλ(ος) Δημητρίου γυ(μνασιαρχήσαντος)		
σιτ. (ἄρ.) κʃ		
104 Ἰούλιος Σεουνῆρος		
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε		
105 Ἰουλία Κοπροῦς		
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ν δενδ. (ἄρ.) γʃ'		
106 Ἰρρανος (δεκάδαρ)χ(ος)		
	δενδ. (ἄρ.) εʃ'	
107 κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἰγναδίου Διογένους		
σιτ. (ἄρ.) λδ δενδ. (ἄρ.) ζʃ'		
108 Κοτταρᾶς Ἰούστου		
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιβ δενδ. (ἄρ.) β ∠ λω		
109 κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀντάτος οὐετρ(ανοῦ)		
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ		

110 κλη(ρονόμοι) Διογένους ούετρ(ανοῦ) ἐν τῷ Νέστῳ

σιτ. (ἄρ.) η \int'

111

δενδ. (ἄρ.) δ \int'

112 Κάστωρ Ἰουλίου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιδ

δενδ. (ἄρ.) ζ

113 κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἠρύφου Σαραπίωνος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) με $\int d$

δενδ. (ἄρ.) θ

114 Κρῆκος Ἡρωνᾶτος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ

115 Κᾶσις Κασυλλᾶτος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ

δενδ. (ἄρ.) \int'

116 Κοπρῆς ἀπελεύθερος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε \int'

117 Κοπρῆς Πετρωνίου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) β

118 Κυριλλίων Οὐεττίου ἐν τῷ Νέστῳ

σιτ. (ἄρ.) β

119 Κρονίων Εὐφράτου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) β

120 [Κ]ύριλλα ἀδελφὴ Σαραποδώρου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε

121 [κλ]η(ρονόμοι) Πευσηνίου Ἰουλιανοῦ

σιτ. (ἄρ.) [. . .]

δενδ. (ἄρ.) γ

122 Κοπρῆς μη(τρὸς) Ἰλάτος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) β

123 Κοπ[ρ]ῆς Ἀπύγχεως

σιτ. (ἄρ.) α \int'

124 Κολλοῦθ[ο]ς Ἀσκλάτος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) δ \int'

125 Καπιτωλεῖνος βενεφ(ικιάριος)

δενδ. (ἄρ.) λ

126 Λόγγος οὐετρ(ανός)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) δ η \wedge

127 Λ[ο]κρῆτις Λοκρητίου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιδ

δενδ. (ἄρ.) λδ

128 Λεωνίδης οὐετρ(ανός)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) β

129 Λογγίνος Σαραπίωνος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιβ \int'

δενδ. (ἄρ.) ιβ η \wedge

130 Λοκρητία Λοκρητίου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ις \int'

131 Λοκρητια[νό]ς Ἀντωνίου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) η δ'

132 Μηνούα Κλημεντίνα

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ογ

δενδ. (ἄρ.) ιδ \int'

133 Μέλας ιατρὸς καὶ Σπόρος ἀπελ(εύθερος)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιη

134 Μύσθη[ς] Ὁρσενούφεως τεσσερ(άριος)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) []

135 Μάξιμο[ς] γρ(αμματεὺς) διοικήσεως

σιτ. (ἄρ.) κε

δενδ. (ἄρ.) \int'

136 Μυσθαρίων Καπίτωνος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε

137 Μαρκιανὸς Κασύλλου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιβ

107 Ἰγνατίου 110 η ḍ', η ex ζ 125 Καπιτωλίνος 127 Λουκρήτιος Λουκρητίου

132 μηνονία pap. 134 τεσσερ/, 1st ε and 2nd σ ex corr.; τεσσαράριος ?

Col. V

138 Νεμεσᾶς οὐετρ(ανός)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ι

139 Μοῦσα γυνὴ Διογένους οὐετρ(ανοῦ)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) δ

δενδ. (ἄρ.) β

140 Μύσθης ἐλαιοιουργός

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ .

141 Μενῆνις Ζωίλου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) η

142 Μαικιανὸς δοῦλος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) α η̄

143 Νεῖλος Μύσθου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ ḍ'

144 Νεμεσίων οὐετρ(ανός)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) λ

δενδ. (ἄρ.) γ ḍ'

145 Νουμισσιανὸς Νουμισσιανοῦ καὶ Ἱροῦφος

146 ἀδελφός

	σιτ. (ἄρ.) λβ	δενδ. (ἄρ.) ε
147	Νουμίσσιος χρυσοχό(ο)ς	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) π	δενδ. (ἄρ.) η ſ'
148	Νεπωτιανὸς Σαβινιανοῦ	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιγ δ'	δενδ. (ἄρ.) ..
149	Νουμίσσιος Σαρίμμα	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) ι	δενδ. (ἄρ.) θ
150	Νεπωτιανὸς στρα(τιώτης)	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) ια ſd'	δενδ. (ἄρ.) α
151	Νικάνωρ Σύρου	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ	
152	Νεμεσᾶς κυλλός	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ	
153	Νεόφυτος Ἰσίωνος	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ	
154	Νουμίσσιος Ἀλκίμου	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) α	
155	Νεμεσίλλα Εύτέρπη	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) κ	
156	Οὐαλέριος Αττι()	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ	
157	Οὐαλέριος ἀπὸ Ἀρσινόης	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ ſ'	
158	Οὐαλέρι[ος] Πίσσα	
	σιτ. (ἄρ.) ις	δενδ. (ἄρ.) ε d'
159	Οὐαλέριος ίππεύς	

σιτ. (ἄρ.) κγ̄ d' δενδ. (ἄρ.) β

160 Ὀκτάγιος [.] [.] σιτ. (ἄρ.) λγ̄ ſd η̄ ι(ο) λω δενδ. (ἄρ.) γ d'

161 Ὄννῶφρις Μύσ[θ]ου σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ

162 Οὐαλέριος ζωγράφος σιτ. (ἄρ.) θ ſ'

163 Οὐηρος (δεκάδαρ) χ(o ζ) σιτ. (ἄρ.) θ d' η̄ δενδ. (ἄρ.) β

164 Οὐαλέριος Ἡρακλιανοῦ σιτ. (ἄρ.) κς δ(ενδ.) (ἄρ.) ζ d'

165 Πτολλοῦς Σατύρου σιτ. (ἄρ.) λε ſ'

166 Πίσις Νεστνήφεως σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιγ̄ d' δενδ. (ἄρ.) β

167 Πούπλιος οὐετρ(ανός) σιτ. (ἄρ.) μζ̄ ſ' δενδ. (ἄρ.) γ

168 Πανίσκος ιππεύς σιτ. (ἄρ.) ν δενδ. (ἄρ.) ιβ

169 Πετερμοῦθις σαγματοράφος σιτ. (ἄρ.) α

170 Πάσεις Ἀτρῆτος σιτ. (ἄρ.) ι ſd

171 Πετρώνιος ἐν τῷ Νέστῳ σιτ. (ἄρ.) η

172 Πασιψῆμις Ἀραβᾶτος

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιβ

173 Πτολεμαῖος στρ(ατιώτης)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε

174 Πᾶσις Σύρου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) δ

141 ζωῦλον παρ.

Col. VI

175 Παψόις Τγναδίου καὶ Διογένης ἀδελ(φός)

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ

176 Π..[...].....ον

σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ

177 Πτόληις Διοσκόρου

σιτ. (ἄρ.)

178 Πα..[...].[...].[...].[...].

δεν[δ. (ἄρ.)]

179 Ποτάμων Διοσκόρου

σιτ. (ἄρ.)

180 Πάσεις Νεμεσ[ί]ου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ια

δενδ. (ἄρ.) γ

181 Πασιψῆμις Σαβίνου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) β

182 Πασίων Διοσκόρου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) α η̄

183 Πᾶσις Πασιψήμεως
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ι'

184 Πασίων Παήσιος
σιτ. (ἄρ.) α

185 Σαραπάμμων ιατρός
σιτ. (ἄρ.) κ̄

186 Σαβινιανὸς οὐετρ(ανὸς) ἐ[ν] τῷ Νέστῳ
σιτ. (ἄρ.) κβ̄

187 δενδ. (ἄρ.) β

188 Συρίων Νομηνί[ο]ν
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ιδ̄ ι'

δ(ενδ.) (ἄρ.) α η̄ ιο̄

189 Σεμπρώνιος στρ(ατιώτης)
σιτ. (ἄρ.) κα

δενδ. (ἄρ.) α η̄ ιο̄

190 Σερῆνος θεσσάρις
σιτ (ἄρ.) κ

191 Σαραπίων Πάσε[ι]
σ[ιτ.] (ἄρ.) δ

192 Σαραπίων Ούραινου
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ια

δ(ενδ.) (ἄρ.) γ

193 Σαραπάμμων Ούαλερίου
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ι δ'

194 Σερῆνος Ζωίλον
σιτ. (ἄρ.) ια []

195 Σερῆν[ος] Λεωνίδου
σιτ. (άρ.) []

196 Σαραπίων . . . [. . .] . . . ἐν τῷ Ν[έσ]τ[ο]
 σ]ι[τ.] (ἄρ.) .

197 Σαραπιάς . . . [. . .] . ζ
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ ξο'

198 Σερῆνος Ἡρᾶ
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) η

199 Σαραπίας γυνὴ Ἀρτεμιδώ(ρου)
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ

200 Σαραπίων Ἀρείου
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) γ δενδ (ἄρ.) α

201 Στράτιππος Διογένους
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) κδ δενδ. (ἄρ.) ι'

202 Σερῆνος Ἀγαθόπους
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ε

203 Σάτυρος Ἰουλίου
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) θ δενδ. (ἄρ.) ζ

204 Σερῆνος Ἰουλίου
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) κζ δενδ. (ἄρ.) γ'

205 Τίτος Ἀφροδειτοπολ(ίτης)
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) ι

206 Ταῆσις Ἀνκιαμοῦλ
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) α

207 Τούρβων βαλανεύς
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) η

208 Τεσεῦρις Ψάσλα
 σιτ. (ἄρ.) δ

209 Φλανία Σαραπιάς

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ξς

δ(ενδ.) (ἄρ.) γ̄d

210 Χάρης Σαβείνου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) η

188 Νουμηνίου

190 τεσσαράριος

201 Διογένους, -γενους rewritten

202 Ἀγαθόποδος

Col. VII

211 X[.....]δωρου

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ζ

212 X[.....]...

σιτ. (ἄρ.) ᾱf

213 Ωρ[.....]...

σιτ. (ἄρ.) θ

214 Ωρ[.....][.....]τος

[σ]ιτ. (ἄρ.) η

215 ι[.....]...

σιτ. (ἄρ.) η̄d

δενδ. (ἄρ.) ξε d'

216 αδ[].....α[π] μησωσδ ..ου

217 και[].....πι.....ης δεδήλωται

218 ύπο τω[n π]ρὸ ἐμοῦ πρ.....κω.....

219σιτ. (ἄρ.) το δενδ. (ἄρ.) μδ d' io

(space)

220 (ετονς) κε Μάρκου Αύρηλίου Σεουήρου
221 Ἀντωνίνου Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου
222 Βρεταννικοῦ μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ
223 μεγ[ίσ]του Εύσεβοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.
224 Αὐρ[ήλ(ιος)] Πασίων κωμογρ(αμματεὺς) ἐπιδέδωκα.

TRANSLATION

Col. I

1-7:

From Aurelius Pasion, village scribe of Philadelphia. (Itemized list,) by persons, of payments in cash and in kind prepared to be sent to Syria to the excellent armies of our master the Emperor Severus Antoninus Felix Pius Augustus. Thus:

15	local magistrates and persons of archon rank	
16	Diodoros, ex-high-priest gr. l. 37 1/2 (ar.)	
17	Justus, ex-high-priest gr. l. [...] (ar.)	orch. l. 58 1/2 (ar.)
18	The heirs of Rufus gr. l. 30 [...] (ar.)	orch. l. [...] (ar.)
19	Longinia Thermou[tharion]]
20	Lucretia Diodora [gr. l. ... (ar.)]	orch. l. 5 (ar.)
21	Lucretius, ex-gymnasiarch gr. l. 40 [...] (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)
22	Papirius, ex-gymnasiarch gr. l. 21 1/2 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 1/4 (ar.)
23	Aurelia Titania gr. l. 1 [...] 2 (ar.)	orch. l. 59 (ar.)
24	[Aurel]gia Isidora, a.k.a. Kyrilla gr. l. 13 (ar.)	
25	[... gr. l.] 12 (ar.)	
26	[]	orch. l. [...] (ar.)
27	[]	gr. l. (ar.) 54 []
28 - 29	too damaged to allow a reading; then ± 3 lines missing at the bottom of the column.	

Col. II

30	Apolinarius, son of -anus	
	gr. l. 4 (ar.)	
31	Ammonios, son of Ammonianus	
	gr. l. 14 (ar.)	orch. l. 5 (ar.)
32	Asklepios, son of A-	
	gr. l. 12 1/4 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)
33	Ammonios, son of Ammonios	
	gr. l. 5 (ar.)	
34	Apolinarius, son of Germanus	
	gr. l. 5 (ar.)	orch. l. 1 (ar.)
35	Ammonios, son of S-	
	gr. l. 10 1/4 (ar.)	
36	Artemidoros, son of Artemidoros	
	gr. l. 18 (ar.)	
37	Apollos, son of -aion	
	gr. l. 24 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)
38	A-, in Nestou	
	gr. l. 5 1/2 (ar.)	
39	Ammonios, son of Herakleides	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	
40	Asemis, son of B [...]arios	
	gr. l. 13 1/2 (ar.)	
41	Asemis, son of Pasis, son of Psasla	
	gr. l. 6 1/2 (ar.)	
42	Antonia Thermoutharion	

	gr. l. 43 1/4 (ar.)	orch. l. 14 (ar.)
43	Artemis, daughter of Sarapion	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	orch. l. 31 (ar.)
44	Acutianus, physician	
	gr. l. 6 (ar.)	
45	Ammonianus, veteran	
	gr. l. 1 (ar.)	orch. l. 1 (ar.)
46	Anchorimphis, Arab archer	
	gr. l. 20 1/2 (ar.)	
47	Apollonios, son of Kallistos	
	gr. l. 2 (ar.)	
48	Alexandros, soldier	orch. l. 1 (ar.)
49	The sister of Valerius, cavalryman	
	gr. l. 4 1/2 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)
50	Apolinarius, son of -mos, and his brother Numissius	
		orch. l. 6 (ar.)
51	Amm-	gr. l. 5 3/4 1/8 (ar.)
52	Arrianus, veteran	
	gr. l. 2 (ar.)	
53	Germanus, son of Gemellion	
	gr. l. 3 1/2 (ar.)	
54	Gemellus, veteran	
	gr. l. 24 (ar.)	
55	The wife of Melas, cavalryman	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	
56	Gaion [...]	
	[gr. l.] 23 1/2 (ar.)	orch. l. 3 1/2 (ar.)

Col. III

66	Diogenes, veteran, son of (?) Psois	
	gr. l. 24 (ar.)	orch. l. 1 (ar.)
67	Didymos, soldier	
	gr. l. 7 (ar.)	orch. l. 3/4 (ar.)
68	Herakleia, (his ?) wife, daughter of (?) Mysthes	
	gr. l. 5 1/2 (ar.)	
69	Diodoros, son of (?) Terenkat	
	gr. l. 5 (ar.)	
70	Diogenes, son of Gemellus	
	gr. l. 21 3/4 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)

71	Didymos, son of Ision	
	gr. l. 17 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)
72	Diogenes, son of Antonius Kalabel	
	gr. l. 14 1/2 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)
73	Diogenes, son of Lucretius, "of the walking area"	
	gr. l. 12 1/2 (ar.)	
74	Dios, son of Sarapammon	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	
75	Demarous, wife of Pasinikos	
	gr. l. 10 1/4 (ar.)	
76	Diogenes, son of (?) Titan, in Tanis	
	gr. l. 25 1/2 (ar.)	
77	Diogenes, veteran, in (the place ?) beyond	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	
78	Herminius, son of Longinus	
	gr. l. 2 (ar.)	
79	Eudaimon, agent of Posid(onios)	
	gr. l. 22 (ar.)	
80	Herennius, veteran, in Nestou	
	gr. l. 2 1/2 (ar.)	
81	Herminius, in Nestou	
	gr. l. 24 (ar.)	
82	Herennius, veteran	
	gr. l. 20 (ar.)	orch. l. 1 (ar.)
83	Herieus, son of Sisois	
	gr. l. 3 1/2 (ar.)	
84	Herakleides, son of Nestesios	

Col. IV

102	Julia, mother of Bauthlas	
	gr. l. 2 (ar.)	
103	Isochos, slave of Demetrios, ex-gymnasiarch	
	gr. l. 20 1/2 (ar.)	
104	Julius Severus	
	gr. l. 5 (ar.)	
105	Julia Koprous	
	gr. l. 50 (ar.)	orch. l. 3 1/2 (ar.)
106	Irranos, decurion	orch. l. 5 1/2 (ar.)
107	The heirs of Ignatius Diogenes	
	gr. l. 34 (ar.)	orch. l. 7 1/2 (ar.)
108	Kottaras, son of Justus	
	gr. l. 12 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 1/2 1/32
109	The heirs of Antas, veteran	
	gr. l. 7 (ar.)	

110 The heirs of Diogenes, veteran, in Nestou
 gr. l. 8 1/2 (ar.)

111 orch. l. 4 1/2 (ar.)

112 Castor, son of Julius
 gr. l. 14 (ar.) orch. l. 6 (ar.)

113 The heirs of Rufus, son of Sarapion
 gr. l. 45 3/4 (ar.) orch. l. 9 (ar.)

114 Krekos, son of Heronas
 gr. l. 3 (ar.)

115 Kasis, son of Kasyllas
 gr. l. 6 (ar.) orch. l. 1/2 (ar.)

116 Kopres, freedman
 gr. l. 5 1/2 (ar.)

117 Kopres, son of Petronius
 gr. l. 2 (ar.)

118 Kyrillion, son of Vettius, in Nestou
 gr. l. 2 (ar.)

119 Kronion, son of Euphrates
 gr. l. 2 (ar.)

120 Kyrilla, sister of Sarapodoros
 gr. l. 5 (ar.)

121 The heirs of Peusenias, son of Julianus
 gr. l. [...] (ar.) orch. l. 3 (ar.)

122 Kopres, whose mother is Ilas
 gr. l. 2 (ar.)

123 Kopres, son of Apynchis
 gr. l. 1 1/2 (ar.)

124	Kollouthos, son of Asklas	
	gr. l. 4 1/2 (ar.)	
125	Capitolinus, beneficiarius	orch. l. 30 (ar.)
126	Longus, veteran	
	gr. l. 4 1/8 (ar.)	
127	Lucretius, son of Lucretius	
	gr. l. 94 (ar.)	orch. l. 34 (ar.)
128	Leonides, veteran	
	gr. l. 2 (ar.)	
129	Longinus, son of Sarapion	
	gr. l. 12 1/2 (ar.)	orch. l. 12 1/8 (ar.)
130	Lucretia, daughter of Lucretius	
	gr. l. 16 1/2 (ar.)	
131	Lucretianus, son of Antonius	
	gr. l. 8 1/4 (ar.)	
132	Mevia Clementina	
	gr. l. 73 (ar.)	orch. l. 14 1/2 (ar.)
133	Melas, physician, and Sporos, freedman	
	gr. l. 18 (ar.)	
134	Mysthes, son of Orsenouphis, tesserarius	
	gr. l. [...] (ar.)	
135	Maximus, secretary of the financial administration of public land	
	gr. l. 25 (ar.)	orch. l. 1/2 (ar.)
136	Mystharion, son of Capito	
	gr. l. 5 (ar.)	
137	Marcianus, son of Kasyllos	
	gr. l. 12 (ar.)	

Col. V

138	Nemesas, veteran	
	gr. l. 10 (ar.)	
139	Mousa, wife of Diogenes, veteran	
	gr. l. 4 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)
140	Mysthes, manufacturer of oil	
	gr. l. 7 [...] (ar.)	
141	Menenis, son of Zoilos	
	gr. l. 8 (ar.)	
142	Maecianus, slave	
	gr. l. 1 1/8 (ar.)	
143	Neilos, son of Mysthes	
	gr. l. 6 1/2 (ar.)	
144	Nemesion, veteran	
	gr. l. 30 (ar.)	orch. l. 3 1/2 (ar.)
145	Numissianus, son of Numissianus, and Rufus,	
146	his brother	
	gr. l. 32 (ar.)	orch. l. 5 (ar.)
147	Numissius, goldsmith	
	gr. l. 80 (ar.)	orch. l. 8 1/2 (ar.)
148	Nepotianus, son of Sabinianus	
	gr. l. 13 1/4 (ar.)	orch. l. [...] (ar.)
149	Numissius, son of Sarimmas	
	gr. l. 10 (ar.)	orch. l. 9 (ar.)
150	Nepotianus, soldier	
	gr. l. 11 3/4 (ar.)	orch. l. 1 (ar.)

151	Nikanor, son of Syros	
	gr. l. 7 (ar.)	
152	Nemesas the club-footed	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	
153	Neophytos, son of Ision	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	
154	Numissius, son of Alkimos	
	gr. l. 1 (ar.)	
155	Nemesilla Euterpe	
	gr. l. 20 (ar.)	
156	Valerius Atti()	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	
157	Valerius, from Arsinoe	
	gr. l. 7 1/2 (ar.)	
158	Valerius, son of Pissas	
	gr. l. 16 (ar.)	orch. l. 5 1/4 (ar.)
159	Valerius, cavalryman	
	gr. l. 23 1/4 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)
160	Octavius [...]	
	gr. l. 33 3/4 1/8 1/16 1/32 (ar.)	orch. l. 3 1/4 (ar.)
161	Onnophris, son of Mysthes	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	
162	Valerius, painter	
	gr. l. 9 1/2 (ar.)	
163	Verus, decurion	
	gr. l. 9 1/4 1/8 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)
164	Valerius, son of Heraklianos	

	gr. l. 26 (ar.)	orch. l. 6 1/4 (ar.)
165	Ptollous, daughter of Satyros	
	gr. l. 35 1/2 (ar.)	
166	Pisis, son of Nestnephis	
	gr. l. 13 1/4 (ar.)	orch. l. 2 (ar.)
167	Publius, veteran	
	gr. l. 47 1/2 (ar.)	orch. l. 3 (ar.)
168	Paniskos, cavalryman	
	gr. l. 50 (ar.)	orch. l. 12 (ar.)
169	Petermouthis, saddler	
	gr. l. 1 (ar.)	
170	Pasis, son of Hatres	
	gr. l. 10 3/4 (ar.)	
171	Petronius, in Nestou	
	gr. l. 8 (ar.)	
172	Pasipsemis, son of Arabas	
	gr. l. 12 (ar.)	
173	Ptolemaios, soldier	
	gr. l. 5 (ar.)	
174	Pasis, son of Syros	
	gr. l. 4 (ar.)	

Col. VI

175	Papsois, son of Ignatius, and his brother Diogenes
	gr. l. 7 (ar.)

176 P- gr. l. 3 (ar.)

177 Ptollis, son of Dioskoros
gr. l. [...] (ar.)

178 Pa- orch. l. [...] (ar.)]

179 Potamon, son of Dioskoros
gr. l. [...] (ar.)

180 Pasis, son of Nemesius
gr. l. 11 1/2 (ar.) orch. l. 3 1/2

181 Pasipsemis, son of Sabinus
gr. l. 2 (ar.)

182 Pasion, son of Dioskoros
gr. l. 1 1/8 (ar.)

183 Pasis, son of Pasipsemis
gr. l. [...] 1/2 (ar.)

184 Pasion, son of Paesis
gr. l. 1 (ar.)

185 Sarapammon, physician
gr. l. 20 [...] (ar.)

186 Sabinianus, veteran, in Nestou
gr. l. 22 (ar.)

187 orch. l. 2 (ar.)

188 Syrion, son of Numenius
gr. l. 14 1/2 (ar.) orch. l. 1 1/8 1/16 (ar.)

189 Sempronius, soldier
gr. l. 21 (ar.) orch. l. 1 1/8 1/16 (ar.)

190 Serenus, tesserarius
gr. l. 20 (ar.)

191	Sarapion, son of Pasis	
	gr. l. 4 (ar.)	
192	Sarapion, son of Ourainos	
	gr. l. 11 (ar.)	orch. l. 3 (ar.)
193	Sarapammon, son of Valerius	
	gr. l. 10 1/4 (ar.)	
194	Serenus, son of Zoilos	
	gr. l. 11 (ar.)	
195	Serenus, son of Leonides	
	gr. l. [...] (ar.)	
196	Sarapion, [...], in Nestou	
	gr. l. [...] (ar.)	
197	Sarapias [...]	
	gr. l. 7 1/64 (ar.)	
198	Serenus, son of Heras	
	gr. l. 8 (ar.)	
199	Sarapias, wife of Artemidoros	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	
200	Sarapion, son of Areios	
	gr. l. 3 (ar.)	orch. l. 1 (ar.)
201	Stratippos, son of Diogenes	
	gr. l. 24 (ar.)	orch. l. 10 1/2 (ar.)
202	Serenus Agathopous	
	gr. l. 5 (ar.)	
203	Satyros, son of Julius	
	gr. l. 9 (ar.)	orch. l. 6 (ar.)
204	Serenus, son of Julius	

205 Titus, from Aphroditopolis	gr. l. 27 (ar.)	orch. l. 3 1/2 (ar.)
	gr. l. 10 (ar.)	
206 Taesis, daughter of (?) Ankiamoul	gr. l. 1 (ar.)	
207 Turbo, bathkeeper	gr. l. 8 (ar.)	
208 Teseuris, daughter of Psasla	gr. l. 4 (ar.)	
209 Flavia Sarapias	gr. l. 66 (ar.)	orch. l. 3 3/4 (ar.)
210 Chares, son of Sabinus	gr. l. 8 (ar.)	

Col. VII

211 Ch-, son of -doros	gr. l. 7 (ar.)	
212 Ch-	gr. l. 1 1/2 (ar.)	
213 Hor-	gr. l. 9 (ar.)	
214 Hor-	gr. l. 8 (ar.)	
215 [...]	gr. l. 98 3/4 (ar.)	orch. l. 65 1/4 (ar.)
216 [...]		
217 and [...] has been indicated		
218 by the [...] who have preceded me		
219	gr. l. 370 (ar.)	orch. l. 44 1/4 1/16 (ar.)

- 220 The 25th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus
- 221 Antoninus Parthicus Maximus
- 222 Britannicus Maximus Germanicus
- 223 Maximus Pius Augustus.
- 224 I, Aurelius Pasion, village secretary, have submitted (this list).

NOTES

1 Αύρηλίου Πασίων[ο]ς. Aurelius Pasion is mentioned also as village scribe of Philadelphia in P.Mich. inv. 5299a [published by P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 106 (1995) 219-220], a document on nomination of liturgists (A.D. 215/6). This document was not acquired in the same way as 137, but was found during the 1928/9 excavations at Karanis (see Sijpesteijn 219, n. 23).

2 παρασκευαζομένων. The term was probably taken from the official order to levy the special tax. See *SB* XIV 11651.2-4 (Middle Egypt, A.D. 231-233 ?): παρασκευαζομένων ἐπιτηδείων ε[ις τὴν θείαν] | [ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ τε κυρίου ἡμῶν Αύτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αύρηλίου Σ]εουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εύσεβοῦς Εύτυχ[οῦς Σεβαστοῦ] | [καὶ Ίουλίας Μαμαίας μητρὸς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ιερῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ συγκλή]του τῆς ιερωτάτης Σεβαστῆς. This passage comes from a letter addressed to the strategi and royal scribes of the Heptanomia and Arsinoite in preparation for a visit of Severus Alexander and his mother Iulia Mamaea.

3 εἰδῶν τε καὶ γενῶν. I have found no exact parallel to this expression in this period. These two words, however, are already opposed in classical Greek to contrast specific and general aspects; cf. e.g. *Plat. Parm.* 129c and esp. *Aristot. Met.* 1059b37. The expression is found again in the singular in later papyri, e.g. *BGU I* 316.37 (= *M.Chr.* 271; A.D. 359): ἐν παντὶ εἴδ(ε)ι καὶ γέν(ε)ι [a clause frequent in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries A.D.];

P.Oxy. VIII 1134.12-13 (A.D. 421): οὐτε | περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς εἰδους ἢ γένους; *P.Dub.* 33.17 (= *SB* I 5175; A.D. 513): ιδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς. To understand the use of the formula in 137, it seems preferable to start with γένος / γενικός. The adjective γενικός is sometimes used in opposition to ἀργυρικός, see *P.Oxy.* L 3569.5-6 (A.D. 282): τὸ[ν μη]γιαῖον λόγον ἀργυρικὸν καὶ | γεν[ι]κόν; *P.Prag.* I 10.4 (A.D. 309-315): τὸ[ν μη]νιαῖον λόγον γενικόν [with explanatory remark in *ZPE* 77 (1989) 216]; *P.Ant.* I 32 recto 3 and verso 1 (A.D. 339); *P.Bon.* 43.9 (= *SB* V 7615; I A.D.): γενικῶς ἢ ἀργυρικῶς. *P.Oxy.* L 3569 shows that γενικός and ἀργυρικός can mean “in kind” and “in cash”. Confirmation of the meaning “in kind” for γένος can be found in *BGU* I 14 i 2-7 (A.D. 255), and especially in *P.Gen.* I 43.8-10 (A.D. 227): (όμολογοῦσιν) ἔχειν παρ' αὐτοῦ οἱ ὄμ[ολ]οι[γοῦντες] ἔξ ἀλληλε[γγ]ύης διὰ χειρὸς ἀργυρίου κ[ε]φαλα[ί]ου δραχ[μ]ὰς διακοσίας τε[σ]σ[α]ρά[κοντα,] | [όμοιως] δὲ καὶ μεμετρηθεῖ χρῆσιν ἐγ' γένι (l. ἐν γένει) κριθῆς ἀρτάβας τέσσαρας. Coming back to ἀργυρικός, in *P.Stras.* VII 688, contributions are listed either ἐν ἀργυρικοῖς (in cash) or ἐν σιτικοῖς (in grain). I would assume that ἀργυρικός corresponds to εἶδος. The couple εἶδος / γένος is paralleled in Latin with *species* / *genus*, see O. Hey, “genus”, *ThLL* VI.2 (1929) 1902, 49 - 1903, 9, and is preserved in modern languages, as in French “paiement en espèces / paiement en nature”, or in English “specie” [obsolete form equivalent to “in cash”] / “in kind”. Coming back to ιδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς in *P.Dub.* 33.17, the editor translated this expression by “severally and generally” [see *Tyche* 5 (1990) 84]. A vendor is pledging, as a guarantee for a sale, all his possessions, present and future; it therefore seems likely that one should rather translate ιδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς by “in cash and in kind”. The same applies to *P.Oxy.* XIX 2238.22 (A.D. 551) and 2239.22-23 (A.D. 598). In *BGU* I

316.37 (= *M.Chr.* 271) (see above), the seller of a slave also gives a guarantee to the purchaser, offering as a backing for his guarantee his present and future belongings, *ἐν παντὶ εἰδ(ε)ι καὶ γέν(ε)ι*. Again, as in the case of *P.Dub.* 33.17, one should understand this as “in all form of cash or kind”; but the specific meaning of *εἰδος* as “cash” is not always clear: in some cases it is apparently used for “kind” (*in natura*), see Preisigke, *WB* IV 657, 24-50 (§ 5). Preisigke also noted the use of *εἰδος* to designate payment of taxes, see *WB* III 234-235. Although one cannot claim that every occurrence of the word is to be understood as “cash”, it seems appropriate to mention the particular case of *μονοδεσμία χόρτου* (or: *ἀργυρικῶν*) *καὶ ἄλλων εἰδῶν*. In spite of the wording itself (which must refer to an earlier stage of the collection of *μονοδεσμία χόρτου*), this tax was collected in cash, see P.J. Sijpesteijn, “Receipts for *χόρτου μονοδεσμία* and Other Taxes”, *ZPE* 87 (1991) 263-267 [see also *ZPE* 109 (1995) 107]. Since it has been demonstrated independently by Sijpesteijn that *μονοδεσμία* refers to a tax paid in cash, the expression *ἄλλα εἰδη* can implicitly refer also to payments in cash.

10 Αύρηλιος Ἀπίων καὶ ὡς χρ(ηματίζει). This is the well known Aurelius Apion, nomarch of the Arsinoite nome, for which see G. Messeri / R. Pintaudi, “Apion, nomarca dell’ Arsinoites”, *ZPE* 120 (1998) 131-144, esp. 136 (no. 25 in the list established by Messeri / Pintaudi). In *SB* VI 9562.1-2 (Philadelphia, A.D. 214), his status of ἄρχων Ἀλεξανδρίας is explicitly mentioned: Αύρηλιοι Ἀπίωνι ἐξηγητεύσαντι τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως | τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει. This latter text is an application for the lease of 8 arouras of land belonging to Aurelius Apion.

11 Αύρηλιο[ς] Ἐρμείας ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος. His status of ἄρχων Ἀλεξανδρίας is confirmed by *P.Alex. Giss.* 5.1 (Arsinoite nome, A.D. 215): [Αύρηλίῳ Ἐρμίᾳ τῷ καὶ Ἀπ[ο]λλ[ω]νίῳ νεωκόρῳ τοῦ μεγάλου | [Σα]ράπιδος γενομένῳ στρατηγῷ τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως | [τ]ὸν Ἀλεξαν[δρ]έων βουλευτὴν καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει. In the period from 216 to 219, he issues tax receipts for the φόρος προβάτων in the Arsinoite nome, see *P.Lond.* III 851 (p. 48). He appears again in *P.Corn.* 11.1-2 (Philadelphia, A.D. 204/5 ?): Αύρηλίῳ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γενομένῳ πρ(εσβευτῇ) τῆς | λαμπροτάτης πόλ(εως) τῶν Ἀλεξανδρίων (l. -δρέων). In this document, two villagers (on Dios son of Sarapammon, see below, line 74) offer to lease from Apollonios six arouras of land, five of which belong to a date grove. These five arouras must be included in the 16 1/2 1/8 arouras presently recorded as orchard land.

13 Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Κελεάρις ὁ καὶ Φιλόξ(ενος). He appears in *P.Gen.* I 77 (Philadelphia, III A.D.), without the *praenomen*, and in *P.Gen.* I 72, simply as Philoxenos; see the new edition of these two papyri (forthcoming). *P.Gen.* I 72 is dated 10 Epeiph of a 19th year (emperor not specified). On the basis of the writing, it can be assigned to the third century; it should therefore be dated more precisely to 4 July 211.

Gaius Valerius Celearis a.k.a. Philoxenos is to be found also in *P.Stras.* IX 897.45 (III A.D., provenance unknown). His name appears in the publication as Γάιος Οὐαλέ[ρ]ιος λ. ριος | καὶ Φιλόξενος. J.-L. Fournet (Strasbourg) kindly checked the text for me and confirmed the following reading: Γάιος Οὐαλέ[ρ]ιος Κελεάριος | ὁ καὶ Φιλόξενος. *P.Stras.* IX 897 is a short list of names with surfaces of land (Philoxenos has 2 arouras under his name). Another Valerius Philoxenos, found in *P.Lond.* II 188.85 (p. 141-

146) [see also *BGU* II 585 = *CPJ* III 471, *ZPE* 73 (1988) 56] may be the same person, although this is far from certain.

14 Γέμελλος ἀπὸ (έκατονταρ)χίας. Α [Γέ]μελλος (έκατοντάρ)χης appears in *P.Erl.* 49.36 (provenance unknown, III A.D.), but it is not possible to establish a certain link between the two occurrences of this name. On the title ἀπὸ (έκατονταρχίας), see *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3365.14 (A.D. 241): Οὐιβίου Ὁριγένους ἀπὸ έκατονταρχίας. In later documents, editors have resolved the abbreviation as ἀπὸ (έκατοντάρχων) (of centurion rank): see *PSI* VI 713.22 (III A.D.): Κοπρία γενομένη γν(νή) Ἡρακλειανοῦ ἀπὸ (έκατοντάρχων); *P.Cair. Isid.* 91.3-4 (A.D. 309): Αύρηλίῳ Νείλῳ οὐετρ(ανῷ) τῶν ἐντίμως ἀπολελυμένων ἀπὸ (έκατοντάρχων); *P.Flor.* III 320.3 (A.D. 373): Φλανίῳ Διδύμῳ ἀπὸ (έκατοντάρχων). It apparently follows the Latin terminology, e.g. *a rationalibus*, which is frequent in the sixth century.

15 ἀρχόντων ἐντοπίων καὶ ἀρχ[ο]γυτικῶν. See *P.Oxy.* XXII 2346.23 (and note ad loc.): ἀρχοντικῶν καὶ δημοτῶν. C.H. Roberts understood the word ἀρχοντικός tentatively as "member of a family which has provided archons". See also *LSJ Rev. Suppl.* s.v. ἀρχοντικός, where ἀρχοντικῶν καὶ δημοτῶν is translated by "people of rank and commoners". The occurrences in *CPR* V 12.13 and 19, and 17.8, do not help us understand the word. In 137, the expression ἀρχόντων ἐντοπίων καὶ ἀρχ[ο]γυτικῶν seems to confirm Roberts' translation. A more simple explanation however might be that the whole heading refers to metropolitans, as opposed to Alexandrians and villagers; see above, introduction. On the question of civic status, see C.A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* (Am. Stud. Pap. 19, Amsterdam 1979).

17 Ιοῦστ(ος) ἀρχ(ιερερατεύσας). See *BGU* VII 1617.27 (Philadelphia): κλη(ρονόμοι) Ιούστου ἀρχ(ιερατεύσαντος). This latter text is dated to Mecheir 6 of a 6th year, that is 5 March 198 or 227. The publication of 137 now makes the dating to 227 almost certain, unless one were to consider dating *BGU* VII 1617 to 243 (Gordian III's 6th year).

18. An oblique stroke can be seen at the end of the line; due to the gap on the left of the stroke, I do not feel that I can offer a satisfactory explanation.

19 Λογγινία Θερμού[θάριον]. Longinia Thermoutharion also appears in *BGU* XIII 2290 (Bacchias, A.D. 203), a tax receipt for the vineyard-tax (τέλεσμα ἀμπέλου) and for the survey-tax (γεωμετρία). In *BGU* II 558 iii 15 (early III A.D.), she owns land in Sebennytos (Arsinoite nome, division of Herakleides). She thus owned land also in places other than Philadelphia. In *BGU* II 614.5 (Arsinoite nome, 7 April 217), there is a mention of Longinia Thermoutharion's heirs. Her death must have occurred between the writing of 137 and that of *BGU* II 614. We thus have a *terminus ante quem* for the register. A Longina Thermoutharion also appears in *P.Mich.* IV 224.4130, a register from Karanis; the date of this document (A.D. 172/3) makes an identification improbable, although not impossible. See also note to line 98.

21 Λοκρήτιος γυ(μνασιαρχήσας). A Lucretius appears as ἔναρχος γυμνασίαρχος (gymnasiarch in office) in a receipt addressed to the πρεσβύτεροι κώμης of Soknopaiou Nesos; see *SB* VI 9574.1-2 (II A.D.). This is probably the same man who appears also in *BGU* I 121.1-2 (= *W.Chr.* 184; Arsinoite nome, A.D. 194); but the name Lucretius is too

frequent to warrant a certain identification. In *P.Ryl.* II 206a.14 (see above, introduction), probably the same man is recorded as either Λουκρητᾶς γυμνασία(ρχος) or Λουκρητᾶς γυμνασια(ρχήσας).

22 Παπείριος γυ(μνασιαρχήσας). This man is known by his full name, Marcus Aurelius Papirius, in a receipt from Philadelphia, *BGU* VII 1656.1 (A.D. 213/4): Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Παπίριος γυμ(νασιαρχήσας) βου(λευτής) τῆς Ἁρσι(νοειτῶν) πόλεω(ς). He appears again in *P.Diog.* 34.1-2, probably originating from Philadelphia (A.D. 222-231).

23 Αὐ[ρη]λία Τιτανία[ζ]. This is probably the same Titania as appears in *P.Hamb.* I 15 and 16 (Arsinoite nome, A.D. 209), where, along with three other persons, she sells a small part of a house in Philadelphia, for 100 drachmas, to Antonia Thermoutharion (see line 42). In *P.Hamb.* I 16.16-18, her guardian is her son, Claudianus a.k.a. Ptolemaios, ex-high-priest of the city of the Arsinoites.

28]ηκω(). Possibly ἐν τ]ῇ κώ(μῃ)[, in which case this line could contain a heading or a summary of the preceding list. There would then be 12 metropolitan magistrates in the list, although it seems difficult to press the argument on the basis of this reading.

32 Ἀσκληπιὸς Α.....ιον. Probably Ἀσκληπιὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, but the patronymic is illegible.

38 [έ]ν τῷ Νέστῳ. This place-name, elsewhere called τὸ Νέστον ἐποίκιον, is found ten times in this register (see also 80, 81, 88, 97, 110, 118, 171, 186, 196). It is most intimately connected with Philadelphia from

Ptolemaic times on. See Calderini / Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici*, s.v. Νέστου ἐποίκιον. *P.Corn.* 22 (Philadelphia, I A.D.) confirms the close connection between Philadelphia and Nestos: it is a census roll listing persons domiciled in other villages. Almost half of them (56 out of 125) are called Νεστωπυκίτ(ης) (to be understood as Νεστο-ἐποικιώτης?). In *P.Warr.* 8 (Philadelphia, A.D. 86), two people ἀπὸ τοῦ Νέστου ἐποίκιον agree to pay arrears of rent for land in Philadelphia. From 137 as well as from the two documents mentioned, it is clear that land belonging to residents of Nestos were administered from Philadelphia, and that Nestos was fiscally a part of Philadelphia.

41 Ἀσῆμις Πάσει Ψάσλα. See *P.Hamb.* III 225, 16 (Philadelphia, II/III A.D.): Πᾶσις Ψάλλας.

42 Ἀντωνία Θερμουθάριον. This woman is to be found also in *BGU* VII 1617.18-19 (Philadelphia, A.D. 227; see above, note to line 17), where she pays 12 drachmas in taxes. In *P.Hamb.* I 15 (Philadelphia, 30 Sept. 209), she buys a small part of a house in Philadelphia, for 100 drachmas (see also above, note to line 23). She avails herself of the *ius trium liberorum*, and her age is given as 46 years. At the time when 137 was written, she was therefore 54 years old. *P.Hamb.* I 16 (7 Oct. 209) deals with the same business as *P.Hamb.* I 15. Finally, *P.Ross. Georg.* V 58.4-5 should be read Ἀπολιναρίου διὰ τῆς μη(τρὸς) Ἀντωνίας | Θερμουθάριν. In this land register, 8 arouras are listed under the name of Antonia Thermoutarion's son. For the dating of this papyrus, see *P.Diog.* 44-45 (p. 211).

48 στρ(ατιώτης). This abbreviation recurs in lines 48, 67, 150, 173 and 189. I cannot think of a plausible alternative to resolve the abbreviation. It should be noted that, in all five instances, the names followed by στρ() are men's names; also, in two out of five instances, the name is a Latin one (150: Nepotianus; 189: Sempronius). Soldiers on active duty were in principle prohibited from purchasing land in the provinces where they were serving. See N. Lewis, "Soldiers Permitted to Own Provincial Land", *BASP* 19 (1982) 143-148, which quotes the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (§ 111 = BGU V 1210, 43), along with *Digest* 49, 16, 9 (Marcian) and 18, 1, 62, *pr.* (Modestinus). Lewis shows that the possibility for soldiers of purchasing land previously confiscated from their fathers for fiscal debt was probably already in force in Egypt around A.D. 155/6, that is forty years before the relevant Severan legislation. In essence, such purchases would have been a kind of reclaiming of land. This in turn seems to indicate that – in contrast with purchase – ownership of land was not prohibited, as long as the land had been acquired either before enrollment, or through inheritance. See R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (London / New York 1995) 59.

57 Γεμελλί[ω]γ οὐετρ(ανός). See *P.Ryl.* II 206a, discussed in the introduction.

60 Διοδώρα Ψεναμ[ούνιος] . . . ἀδελ(φή). There may be two sisters, in which case one should read Διοδώρα Ψεναμ[ούνιος] καὶ ἡ ἀδελ(φή).

66 Διογένης οὐετρ(ανός) Ψῶις. See line 175: Παψόις Ἰγναδίου καὶ Διογένης ἀδελ(φός). Ψῶις could be Diogenes' nickname.

68 Ἡρακλεία γυνὴ Μύσθου. This name is placed among names beginning with letter Δ, against the alphabetical order. It follows Δίδυμος στρ(ατιώτης) (line 67). The only other occurrence of such a case is to be found in line 138, where the veteran Nemesas is listed before Μοῦσα γυνὴ Διογένους οὐετρ(ανοῦ) (line 139). This double occurrence suggests that, in both cases, a husband and a wife could have been placed together in the register. In lines 86-88, Heraklas and his two wives Heraidous and Herakleia could be listed in succession without breaking the rule of alphabetical order, where only the first letter of the name was taken into account. Such an explanation for the apparent misplacing of Herakleia wife of Mysthes would lead to the translation "Herakleia, (his) wife, daughter of Mysthes". In line 139, one should then also translate "Mousa, his [i.e. Nemesas'] wife, daughter of the veteran Diogenes". Against such an interpretation, one should note that: a) in line 55, γυνὴ Μέλανος does not leave any doubt that the genitive refers to the husband, and not to the father; b) in lines 75 and 199, understanding the genitive as a patronymic would require that the husband's name begin, in both cases, with the same letter as his wife's, which is not very probable. If such a grouping of husband and wife should nevertheless be accepted, the practice is not consistent with other forms of grouping: the cavalryman Valerius is to be found in line 159, under letter Ο (for Οὐαλέριος), whereas his sister is listed in line 49, under letter Α (for ἀδελφὴ Οὐαλ[ε]ρίου ἴππεως).

69 Διόδωρος Τερενκατ. I have found no parallel for the name Τερενκατ. It could be Diodoros' nickname.

72 Διογένης Ἀντωνίου Καλαβέλ. The name Καλαβέλ could belong to Diogenes' grandfather. A Diogenes, son of Antonius, is to be found in

P.Hamb. III 225.18 and 26. The name Kalabel is found only at Soknopaiou Nesos (except for *P.Mich.* IV 357a.19, from Karanis, A.D. 173/4), or, when the precise origin is unknown, it is invariably the Arsinoite nome. All datable occurrences are from the beginning of the third century. See e.g. *BGU* II 392.36; 639.7; *P.Turner* 32.15.

73 Διογένης Λοκρητίου Παραδρο(μαῖος). See *P.Diog.* 27.26: Διογένους Παραδρομαίου, and note ad loc. The Diogenes listed here is probably Marcus Lucretius Diogenes, for which the archive *P.Diog.* was named. In *P.Diog.*, I suggested that Παραδρο(μαῖος) could be a toponym; but I have found no other parallel. This adjective is derived from παραδρομή ("running by"), or connected more probably to παραδρομίς ("place for taking the air"), see e.g. *P.Oxy.* III 502.19 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 164); *P.Flor.* I 50 ii 60 (Hermopolis, A.D. 269). This could be a nickname.

74 Δεῖος Σαραπάμμωνος. In *P.Corn.* 11 (Philadelphia, A.D. 204/5 ?), Dios makes a joint offer with another villager to lease six arouras of land from an Alexandrian, Aurelius Apollonios (see above, line 11).

76 Διογένης Τιτάν ἐν Τάνει. The village of Tanis is close to Philadelphia (ca. 10 km.); see e.g. *P.Diog.* 40. Τιτάν could be a nickname (instead of a patronymic). I owe the following information to Prof. A.E. Hanson, to whom I express my gratitude: "Τιτάν is a name known principally at Philadelphia (for other occurrences of the name as of 1970, see *P.Mich.* X, p. 4 and footnote 6, introduction to *P.Mich.* X 578). While G.M. Browne was wrong to argue that the 'year 6' in this papyrus is 'probably 22/23' (it should be '45/46'), even the first-century [Philadelphia] tax archive has only a few men named Τιτάν, and they seem to be related."

77 Διογένης οὐετρ(ανός) ἐν τῷ Πέρα. See *P.Ryl.* II 206a, discussed in the introduction. According to Calderini / Daris' *Dizionario dei nomi geografici*, Πέρα (on accent: *P.Mich.* XV, p. 126-7) is the name of a κτῆμα in the Arsinoite. See also *P.Tebt.* II 555 (II A.D.). In our case, Πέρα is probably to be understood as the adverb, although it is difficult to ascertain what is meant by "beyond".

78 Ἐρμεῖνος Λογγίνου. The name is to be found also in *P.Hamb.* III 225.22. In *P.Diog.* 29.3 (Philadelphia, A.D. 225) an Aurelius Longinus, son of Herminus, makes an offer for a lease. This Longinus could be the son of our Herminus.

79 Εὐδαίμων φροντ(ιστής) Ποσιδ(ωνίου). Posidonios is known as a wealthy landowner and prominent Alexandrian from other sources; he is related to Appianos' family, for whose estate we have ample information. See Rathbone (above, footnote 19), esp. 14-15, 25 and 47. Posidonios had other agents, but Eudaimon is not attested as such anywhere else; see Rathbone 75.

80 Ἐρέννιος οὐετρ(ανός) ἐν τῷ Νέστῳ. See *P.Ryl.* II 206a, discussed in the introduction.

82 Ἐρέννιος οὐετρ(ανός). See *P.Ryl.* II 206a, discussed in the introduction.

86 Ἡρακλᾶς οὐετρ(ανός). See *P.Ryl.* II 206a, discussed in the introduction.

86-88. It seems that we have here a case of bigamy: Heraklas has a first wife in Philadelphia (Heraidous), then a second wife in Nestos (Herakleia). This goes against the pattern emerging from the census returns from Roman Egypt, where "marriage is monogamous"; see R.S. Bagnall / B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994) 121. Cases of bigamy are nonetheless traceable in a number of instances, see J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge 1998) 170, 188 and 209.

91 Βακχιώτης. The use of the adjective points to an immigrant, whereas e.g. ἐν Καρ(ανίδι) (line 98) refers to a resident of Karanis who owns land in Philadelphia.

98 [Ιουλ]ιανὸς Π' α' ουάλης ἐν Καρ(ανίδι). Α Ιουλιανὸς Παουνάλης appears in *P.Cair. Goodsp.* 30 xxxiii 16 and 20; xxxv 17; xxxix 20; xli 3. This document comes from Karanis, and is dated A.D. 191/2. This person is also found in *P.Mich. IV* 224.4276 (Karanis, A.D. 172/3). Although it is not impossible that we are dealing with the same man here, the time span between these three documents seems rather long. See also note to line 19. On ἐν Καρ(ανίδι), see note to line 91.

100 [Ιουλ]ιανὸς οὐετρ(ανός). For a parallel to a veteran called Julianus in Philadelphia in this period, see *P.Hamb. III* 225.14 (II/III A.D.).

101 Ιουλία Τερτία. Iulia Tertia is found also in *BGU II* 567.28 (II A.D. ?), where she has lent 200 drachmas to a man called Diogenes.

103 Ἰσοχος δοῦλος Δημητρίου γυναικαρχήσαντος. The name Ἰσοχος is not attested in any other papyrus, and I have found no occurrence of it anywhere else. One cannot rule out a relation with the name Σισοῦχος, which is very frequent in the area of Karanis and Tebtynis. The initial iota is confirmed by the alphabetical order of the register. It would also be possible to read Ἰσόχρυσος: this name is well attested in Attica, the Aegean islands and the Peloponnese, see P.M. Fraser / E. Matthews (ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. I to IIIa (Oxford 1987-1997), s.v. Ἰσόχρυσος; also *P.Brem.* 44.6 (A.D. 113-120, Hermopolis ?): Διδύμη ἡ καὶ Λεμφατρῆς Ἰσοχρύσου. For another instance of a slave listed as owning private land, see line 142. Slaves could, under some circumstances, own property, see R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (Warszawa 1955), 87-91; I. Biezenska-Malowist, *L'esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, vol. II (Wroclaw 1977) 133-134 and 151-152; J.A. Straus, "L'esclavage dans l'Égypte romaine", *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988) 878. In this case, the slave seems to be the actual tenant of the land, and his master acts as a guarantor for him. For parallels to gymnasiarchs owning slaves, see e.g. *P.Grenf.* I 47.8-9; *P.Merton* I 18.7-17; *BGU* III 937.5-9. Demetrios is probably the same Demetrios found in *P.Gen.* I 43.7-8 (Ptolemais Euergetis, A.D. 227), where he is an ex-gymnasiarch of Arsinoe.

105 Ιουλία Κοπροῦς. Ioulia Koprous appears as a landowner also in *P.Ross. Georg.* V 58.55.

106 Ἰρρανος. Probably Ἰρανος; see *P.Tebt.* III.2 1052.7 (Tebtynis, II B.C.).

107 κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἰγναδίου Διογένους. See line 175: Παψόις Ἰγναδίου καὶ Διογένης ἀδελ(φός). In *P.Hamb.* III 224.11 (Philadelphia ?, II/III A.D.), Ignatius Diogenes is still living. With 137, we have a *terminus ante quem* for this other document.

113 κλη(ρονόμοι) Ῥούφον Σαραπίωνος. In *P.Diog.* 45.31 (Philadelphia, dated before 216/7 on the basis of 137), Rufus son of Sarapion is still alive, and holds catoecic land. In *BGU* VII 1617.14 (Philadelphia, 227 [see above, note to line 17]), the heirs of Rufus, son of Sarapion, pay 12 drachmas in taxes.

121 Πευσηνίου. Probably the same as Παυσανίου; but I have found no other occurrence of this spelling.

122 Ἰλᾶτος. I have found no parallel to this name. It seems to be formed on the same model as e.g. Ἀχιλ(λ)ᾶς or Νειλᾶς.

124 Κολλοῦθ[ο]ς. Ασκλᾶτος. Α Κολλοῦθος Ασκλᾶ τῷ Κολλοῦθου appears in *P.Münch.* III 144.2 (Arsinoite nome, II A.D.), but identification is less than certain.

125 βενεφ(ικιάριος). On the *beneficiarius*, see J. Ott, *Die Beneficiarier* (Historia Einzelschriften 92; Stuttgart 1995), esp. 34-5 and 183-4.

126 Λόγγος οὐετρ(ανός). See *P.Ryl.* II 206a, discussed in the introduction.

128 Λεωνίδης οὐετρ(ανός). Α Λεωνίδης οὐετραν(ός) can be found also in *P.Ryl.* II 206a.15; see introduction.

133 Μέλας ιατρός. A physician named Melas is also to be found in *Stud. Pal.* XXII 67.262 (Soknopaiou Nesos, II/III A.D.).

134 Μύσθη[ς] Ὁρσενούφεως τεσσερ(άριος). See *BGU* VII 1638a.9 (Philadelphia, II A.D.): Μύσθης Ὁρσενούφεως τοῦ Σαμβᾶ μη(τρὸς) Τανεφρέ[μμεως]. The Greek word τεσσεράριος / τεσσαράριος stands for Latin *tesserarius*, see S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (Barcelona 1991), s.v. τεσσεράριος.

135 γρ(αμματεὺς) διοικήσεως. I have found only one parallel to this office, in *P.Oxy.* III 642 (Oxyrhynchus, II A.D.).

136 Μυσθαρίων Καπίτωνος. See *P.Ryl.* II 206a, discussed in the introduction.

138 Νεμεσᾶς οὐετρ(ανός). See *P.Diog.* 45.33; see also note to line 68 (above).

140 Μύσθης ἐλαιουργός. See *P.Diog.* 45.48: Μύσθης ἐλαιουργός σὺν τῷ ἀδελφ[ῷ].

143 Νεῖλος Μύσθου. See *P.Diog.* 45.35: Μύσθης Νείλου καὶ Νεῖλος νιός.

147 Νουμίσσιος χρυσοχό(ο)ς. See *P.Diog.* 45.15: Νουμίσεις Ίουλ(ίου) χρυσοχό(ός); also *BGU* VII 1617.5 and *P.Ross. Georg.* V 58.33 and 47. On goldsmiths, see S. Russo, *I gioielli nei papiri di età greco-romana* (Firenze 1999) 278-279.

149 Νουμίσσιος Σαρίμμα. The name Σαρίμμας is to be found elsewhere only in *P.Ross. Georg.* V 58.25: Ἀπολιναρ[ίο]ν Σαρίμμα. Since this document originates from Philadelphia, and is to be dated to roughly the same period as our register, it is quite likely that both persons are the offspring of the same Sarimmas.

152 κυλλός. This word ("club-footed") is attested unambiguously as a nickname in *P.Coll. Youtie* II 105.3-4 (Panopolite nome, II-IV A.D.): Ἀτρῆς | ὁ κυλλός. In other instances where the word has been understood as a personal name, it can also be easily taken as a nickname: see *P.Bour.* 38.9; *P.Herm. Rees* 7.13 (Ψόϊς κυλλός wrongly corrected into Ψόϊς Κύλλου); *P.Mich.* IV 224.1441 and 225.2434. See also note to line 202 for a possible nickname with the opposite meaning.

157 ἀπὸ Ἀρσιγόνης. This refers probably to the village of Arsinoe in the division of Herakleides, for which see *P.Tebt* II, Appendix II, § 5, p. 369-370; S. Daris, "Minima geographica 3-4", *CdÉ* 62 (1987) 228-233, esp. 230-233.

162 ζωγράφος. Possibly a painter who produced mummy portraits. See M.L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (London 1997).

167 Πούπλιος οὐετρ(ανός). See *BGU* VII 1658.1-3 (Philadelphia, A.D. 234): Αύρήλιος Σερῆνος νιὸς Πουπλίου | οὐετρανοῦ τῶν ἐντίμως ἀπολελυμένων καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω.

169 Πετερμοῦθις σαγματοράφος. Another saddler is active in Philadelphia in roughly the same period, see *P.Hamb.* III 224.15: Ἀπολλῶς σαγματοράφος. Yet another saddler is to be found in Karanis in A.D. 191/2, see *P.Cair. Goodspeed* 30 xxxviii 19. For other occurrences of this trade, see *P.Genova* I 24.9 (prov. unknown, IV A.D.); *P.Ross. Georg.* V 61, fr. a.10 (Herakleopolite nome ?; IV A.D. ?); *SB* X 10447.18 (Herakl. nome ? III B.C. ?).

175 Παψόις Ἰγναδίου καὶ Διογένης ἀδελ(φός). See line 107: κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἰγναδίου Διογένους. 66: Διογένης οὐετρ(ανὸς) Ψῶις.

179 Ποτάμων Διοσκόρου. See *P.Diog.* 44.17: Ποτάμων Διοσκόρ(ου).

182 Πασίων Διοσκόρου. See *Stud. Pal.* XX 65.4 (prov. unknown, A.D. 213/4): Διοσκοροῦς Πασίωνος τοῦ Διοσκόρου. The dating of this document would make an identification very tempting; but other names occurring in the text do not lend any support for locating it in Philadelphia.

185 Σαραπάμμων ιατρός. See *P.Ryl.* II 206a (discussed in the introduction), where Sarapammon is also ιατρός.

186 Σαβινιαγὸς οὐετρ(ανὸς) ἐ[ν] τῷ Νέστῳ. See *P.Ryl.* II 206a, discussed in the introduction. A veteran called Sabinianus is also found in *P.Hamb.* III 225.13 and 36.

190 Σερῆνος θεσσάρις (= *tesserarius*). See *P.Ryl.* II 206a (discussed in the introduction), where Serenus is called a τεσσαλ(άριος); see also note to line 134.

191 Σαραπίων Πάσε[ι]. On (Aurelius) Sarapion, son of Pasis, see *P.Diog.* 29.2 (Philadelphia, A.D. 225); 35.1 (Phil. ? A.D. 221/2); 53.6 (Phil. ? II/III A.D.). He is the agent of Marcus Lucretius Diogenes II, see *P.Diog.*, p. 15 (also more recently *P.Mich.* XVIII 791).

192 Σαραπίων Ούραίνου. In A.D. 204, Sarapion, son of Urainos, is πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν of Philadelphia, see *P.Hamb.* III 211.8. The same man occurs again in *P.Hamb.* III 225.28. He shares his position of πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν with Serenus, son of Zoilos, who is to be found in 137 at line 194.

193 Σαραπάμμων Οὐαλέριον. In *P.Diog.* 11.23 and 12.17 (Philadelphia, A.D. 213), Sarapammon, son of Valerius, is named as μισθωτὴς ἔξαμαρτυρ[...]. This should probably be read as ἔξαμαρτύρων (sc. συγγραφῶν), *pace* ed. pr. There is no parallel to this title, for which see note ad loc.; it apparently applies to a person in charge of drafting documents in the presence of six witnesses, and collecting the fees on such documents.

194 Σερῆνος Ζωΐλου. See above, note to line 192; also *P.Ross. Georg.* V 58.53 and *P.Diog.* 45.40 (?).

201 Στράτιππος Διογένους. See *P.Diog.* 45.24: Stratippos, son of Diogenes, is listed as paying a certain number of artabai of wheat (the figures are damaged) on catoecic land, the surface of which is not specified. In *P.Col.* X 274.5-6 (extract from property register, Arsinoite nome, A.D. 208/9), both Stratippos and his father Diogenes have the *tria nomina*: they are Marci Flavii. At that time, Stratippos is not yet of age, and his father

Diogenes apparently gives to Stratippos' sister some land located in Philadelphia and belonging to Stratippos himself; the figures are for the most part lost.

202 Ἀγαθόπους. This could be a nickname: "good-footed", as opposed to κυλλός (see line 152). It is also attested as a *signum*, e.g. *O. Wilck.* 1482, 2: Ἐπάγαθο(ς) ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀγαθόπ(ους).

205 Ἀφροδειτοπολ(ίτης). At least two towns in the division of Herakleides are attested under the name of Aphroditopolis, see Calderini / Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici*, s.v. Ἀφροδειτόπολις. This entry could also refer to the capital city of the Aphroditopolite nome, on the opposite bank of the Nile, at a distance of ca. 15 km. as the crow flies.

206 Ἀνκιαμοῦλ. Possibly a nickname for Taesis.

210 Χάρης Σαβείνου. Α Χάρης Σαβείνου ν[ο]μογ[ρά]φ[ος] | κόμης Φιλαδελφ[εί]ας appears in *BGU* VII 1589.1 (Philadelphia, A.D. 166/7). Although damaged, the dating seems secure. The older Chares is probably the grandfather of the person bearing the same name in our register.

215. The entry is unfortunately illegible. It comes at the end of the list, just before what is probably another global entry. The surface of land listed (gr. l.: 98 3/4 ar.; orch. l.: 65 1/4 ar.) should allow the conclusion that this is also a global entry of some sort.

216-219. Like the preceding entry, these lines must refer to a global category. We can guess that the global entries at the end of the register

referred to private land that had, in one way or another, been abandoned or confiscated. The first word of line 216 might tentatively be read as ἀδ[ε]σπότων; but this is far from certain. The figures (grain land: 370 arouras; orchard land: 44 1/4 1/16 arouras) seem too large for an individual. Moreover, the entry, which is the last one in the register, is quite a bit longer than the usual entries. In lines 217-8, we can understand that the figure to follow in line 219 has been taken over from a previous assessment, made by another authority. It seems very tempting to read ὑπὸ τῷ[ν π]ρὸ ἐμοῦ πρεσβυτ(έρων) κώ(μης) ("by the Elders of the village who have preceded me"). The office of πρεσβύτερος κώμης was a one-year compulsory service, see A. Tomsin, *Étude sur les πρεσβύτεροι de la χώρα égyptienne*, Bull. Acad. Roy. de Belgique, Cl. des lettres et des sc. morales et politiques, 5ème série, tome 38 (Bruxelles 1952), 520; N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (= Pap. Flor. 28, Firenze 1997²), 43. This relatively frequent rate of replacement could explain the wording ὑπὸ τῷ[ν π]ρὸ ἐμοῦ πρεσβυτ(έρων) κώ(μης): the village secretary seems to refer to an assessment made by the Elders of an earlier year. These Elders came directly after the village secretary in the village hierarchy, and could fulfill part or all of the village secretary's duties, see Tomsin 474 and 503-505; *BGU* I 6.4; *P.Mich.* VI 423.18; *P.Rainer Cent.* 67.4; esp. *SB* XVI 12504.31-34: ἀνεδόθη ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς μερίδος κωμογραμματέων, ὃν δὲ κωμῶν μή εἰσιν κωμογραμματεῖ[ι]ς, πρεσβυτέρων διαδεχομένων τὰ κατὰ τὰς κωμογραμματείας; *BGU* I 15.8-9 (= *W. Chr.* 393); κωμογραμματέα οὐκ ἔχι (sic) ἡ Νείλου πόλις, ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέρους | διαδεχομένους. *P.Aberd.* 81 (A.D. 186) shows that indeed πρεσβύτεροι fulfilled the office of the village secretary in Philadelphia. In A.D. 224, there were 30 πρεσβύτεροι in Philadelphia, see *P.Gen.* I 42. As for the part these

πρεσβύτεροι may have taken in the drafting of 137, it is well known that they were frequently in charge of delivering the goods for army requisitions, including special occasions such as is the case here, see Tomsin 495-497. In spite of this very tempting suggestion, the reading itself is rather problematic, and Roger Bagnall, having kindly checked the original for me, was quite reluctant to accept this reading.

APPENDIX

Owners of private land at Philadelphia⁴⁵

line	name	grain land	orchard land
Alexandrians:			
10	Aurelius Apion	30	62
11	Aurelius Hermias	1.125	16.625
12	Fl(avius) Ptolemaios	12.5	0
13	Gaius Valerius Celearis	36	9
14	Gemellus	7.59375	9
Metropolitans:			
16	Diodoros	37.5	0
17	Justus		58.5
18		30	
20	Lucretia Diodora		5
21	Lucretius	40	2
22	Papirius	21.5	2.25

⁴⁵ To make comparison more easy, the data has been recorded following the same criteria as had been established by R.S. Bagnall (above, footnote 32) 132: "Where names appear in the lists but the amounts are lost, a blank is left; where the name does not appear under one of the grains [in this case: under either 'grain land' or 'orchard land'], a zero is entered. Missing fractions are disregarded, and where a ones digit is lost but a tens preserved, the latter is given."

23	Aurelia Titania	102	59
24	Aurelia Isidora	13	0
25		12	0
27		54	

Villagers:

30	Apolinarius	4	0
31	Ammonios	14	5
32	Asklepios	12.25	2
33	Ammonios	5	0
34	Apolinarius	5	1
35	Ammonios	10.25	0
36	Artemidoros	18	0
37	Apollos	24	2
38	A-	5.5	0
39	Ammonios	3	0
40	Asemis	13.5	0
41	Asemis	6.5	0
42	Antonia Thermoutharion	43.25	14
43	Artemis	3	31
44	Acutianus	6	0
45	Ammonianus	1	1
46	Anchorimphis	20.5	0
47	Apollonios	2	0
48	Alexandros	0	1
49	Valerius	4.5	2
50	Apolinarius + Numissius	0	6
51	Amm-	5.875	0

52	Arrianus	2	0
53	Germanus	3.5	0
54	Gemellus	24	0
55	The wife of Melas	3	0
56	Gaion	23.5	3.5
57	Gemellinus	4	0
58	Diodoros	2.25	0
59	Didymos	0	5.75
60	Diodora	10.25	0
61	[...] Jul- [...]	0	3.625
62		5.125	0
63		0.5	5
64		30	1
65		10.5	0
66	Diogenes	24	1
67	Didymos	7	0.75
68	Herakleia	5.5	0
69	Diodoros	5	0
70	Diogenes	21.75	2
71	Didymos	17	2
72	Diogenes	14.5	2
73	Diogenes Paradromaios	12.5	0
74	Dios	3	0
75	Demarous	10.25	0
76	Diogenes	25.5	0
77	Diogenes	3	0
78	Herminus	2	0
79	Eudaimon	22	0

80	Herennius	2.5	0
81	Herminus	24	0
82	Herennius	20	1
83	Herieus	3.5	0
84	Herakleides	5.25	0
85	Herais	11	0
86	Heraklas	13.5	0
87	Heraidous	10	0
88	Herakleia	11	0
89	Herakleides	8.25	0
90	Herais	10	0
91	Heron	9	4
92	Heras	14	0
93	Heraklammon	12.25	0
94	Herakles	4	0
95	Thatres	2.625	0
96	Thermouthis	4	0
97		3.5	0
98	[Jul]ianus	5	0
99	[Isi]doros	8.75	0
100	[Ju]lianus	14	
101	Julia Tertia	58	
102	Julia	2	0
103	Isochos	20.5	0
104	Julius Severus	5	0
105	Julia Koprous	50	3.5
106	Irranos	0	5.5
107		34	7.5

108	Kottaras	12	2.53125
109		7	0
110		8.5	4.5
112	Castor	14	6
113		45.75	9
114	Krekos	3	0
115	Kasis	6	0.5
116	Kopres	5.5	0
117	Kopres	2	0
118	Kyrrillion	2	0
119	Kronion	2	0
120	Kyrrilla	5	0
121			3
122	Kopres	2	0
123	Kopres	1.5	0
124	Kollouthos	4.5	0
125	Capitolinus	0	30
126	Longus	4.125	0
127	Lucretius	94	34
128	Leonides	2	0
129	Longinus	12.5	12.125
130	Lucretia	16.5	0
131	Lucretianus	8.25	0
132	Mevia Clementina	73	14.5
133	Melas + Sporos	18	0
134	Mysthes		0
135	Maximus	25	0.5
136	Mystharion	5	0

137	Marcianus	12	0
138	Nemesas	10	0
139	Mousa	4	2
140	Mysthes	7	0
141	Menenis	8	0
142	Maecianus	1.125	0
143	Neilos	6.5	
144	Nemesion	30	3.5
145	Numissianus + Rufus	32	5
147	Numissius	80	8.5
148	Nepotianus	13.25	
149	Numissius	10	9
150	Nepotianus	11.75	1
151	Nikanor	7	0
152	Nemesas	3	0
153	Neophyton	3	0
154	Numissius	1	0
155	Nemesilla Euterpe	20	0
156	Valerius Atti()	3	0
157	Valerius	7.5	0
158	Valerius	16	5.25
159	Valerius	23.25	2
160	Octavius	33.96875	3.25
161	Onnophris	3	0
162	Valerius	9.5	0
163	Verus	9.375	2
164	Valerius	26	6.25
165	Ptollous	35.5	0

166	Pisis	13.25	2
167	Publius	47.5	3
168	Paniskos	50	12
169	Petermouthis	1	0
170	Pasis	10.75	0
171	Petronius	8	0
172	Pasipsemis	12	0
173	Ptolemaios	5	0
174	Pasis	4	0
175	Papsois + Diogenes	7	0
176	P-	3	0
177	Ptollis		0
178	Pa-	0	
179	Potamon		0
180	Pasis	11.5	3.5
181	Pasipsemis	2	0
182	Pasion	1.125	0
183	Pasis	0.5	0
184	Pasion	1	0
185	Sarapammon	20	0
186	Sabinianus	22	2
188	Syrian	14.5	1.1875
189	Sempronius	21	1.1875
190	Serenus	20	0
191	Sarapion	4	0
192	Sarapion	11	3
193	Sarapammon	10.25	0
194	Serenus	11	0

195	Serenus	0
196	Sarapion	0
197	Sarapias	7.015625
198	Serenus	8
199	Sarapias	3
200	Sarapion	3
201	Stratippos	24
202	Serenus	5
203	Satyros	9
204	Serenus	27
205	Titus	10
206	Taesis	1
207	Turbo	8
208	Teseuris	4
209	Flavia Sarapias	66
210	Chares	8
211	Ch-	7
212	Ch-	1.5
213	Hor-	9
214	Hor-	8
215	global group (?)	98.75
216	without owner	370
	totals	3056.08
		663.1

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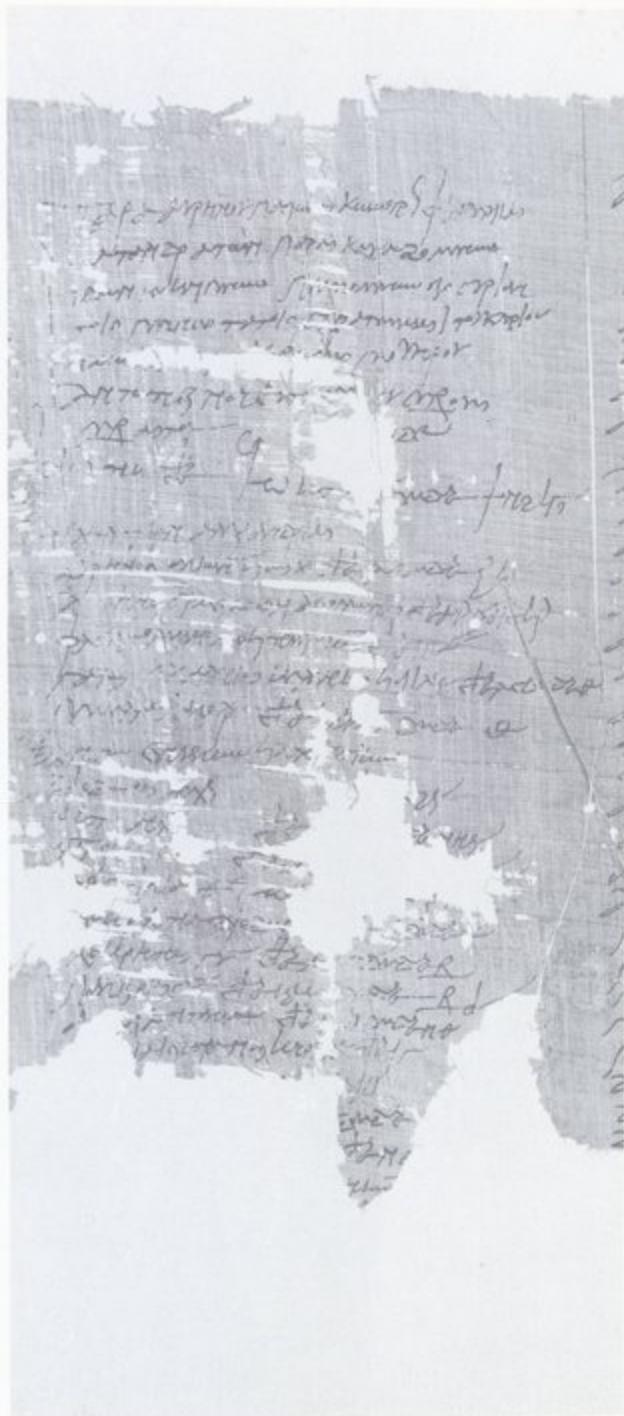
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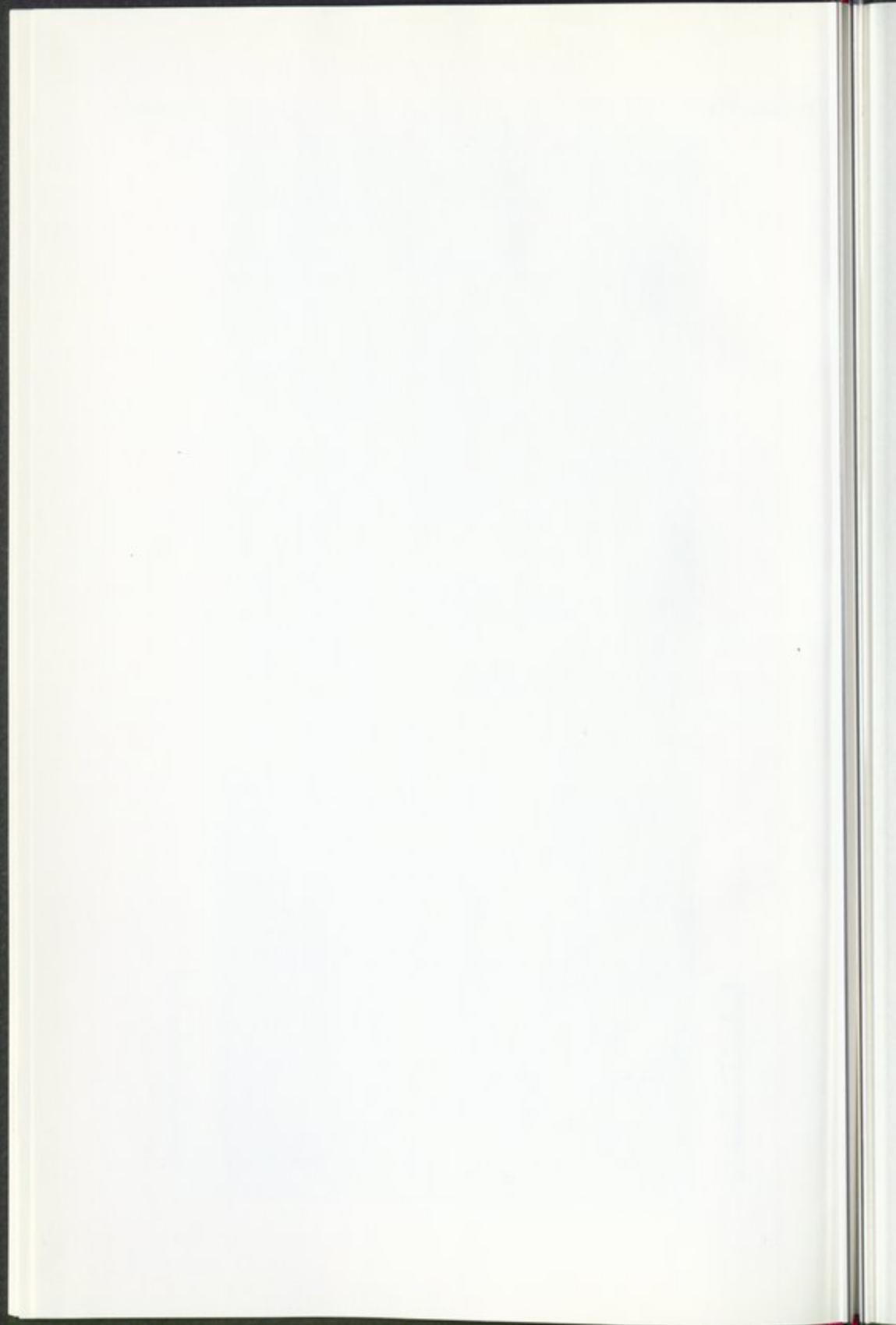
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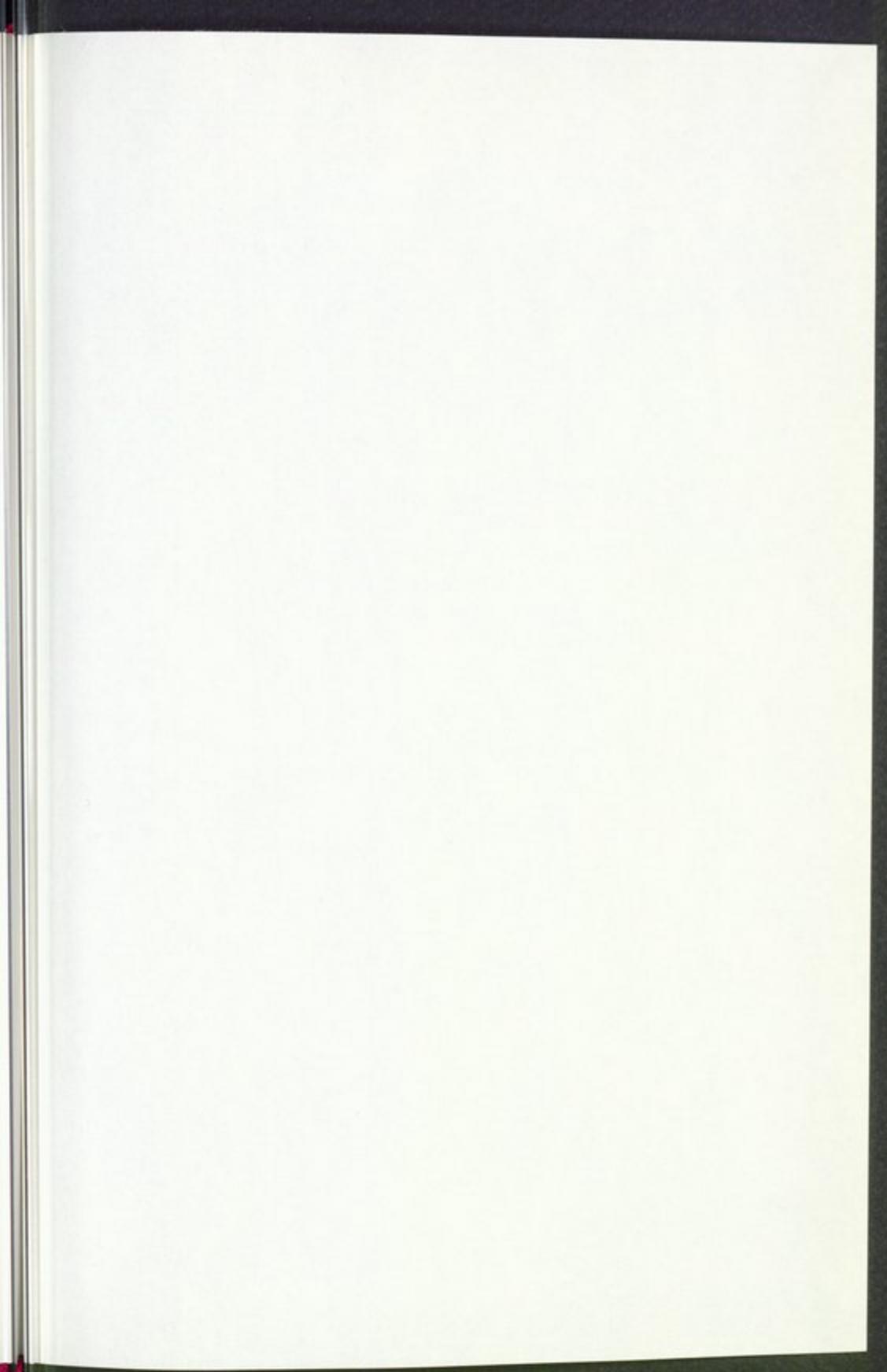


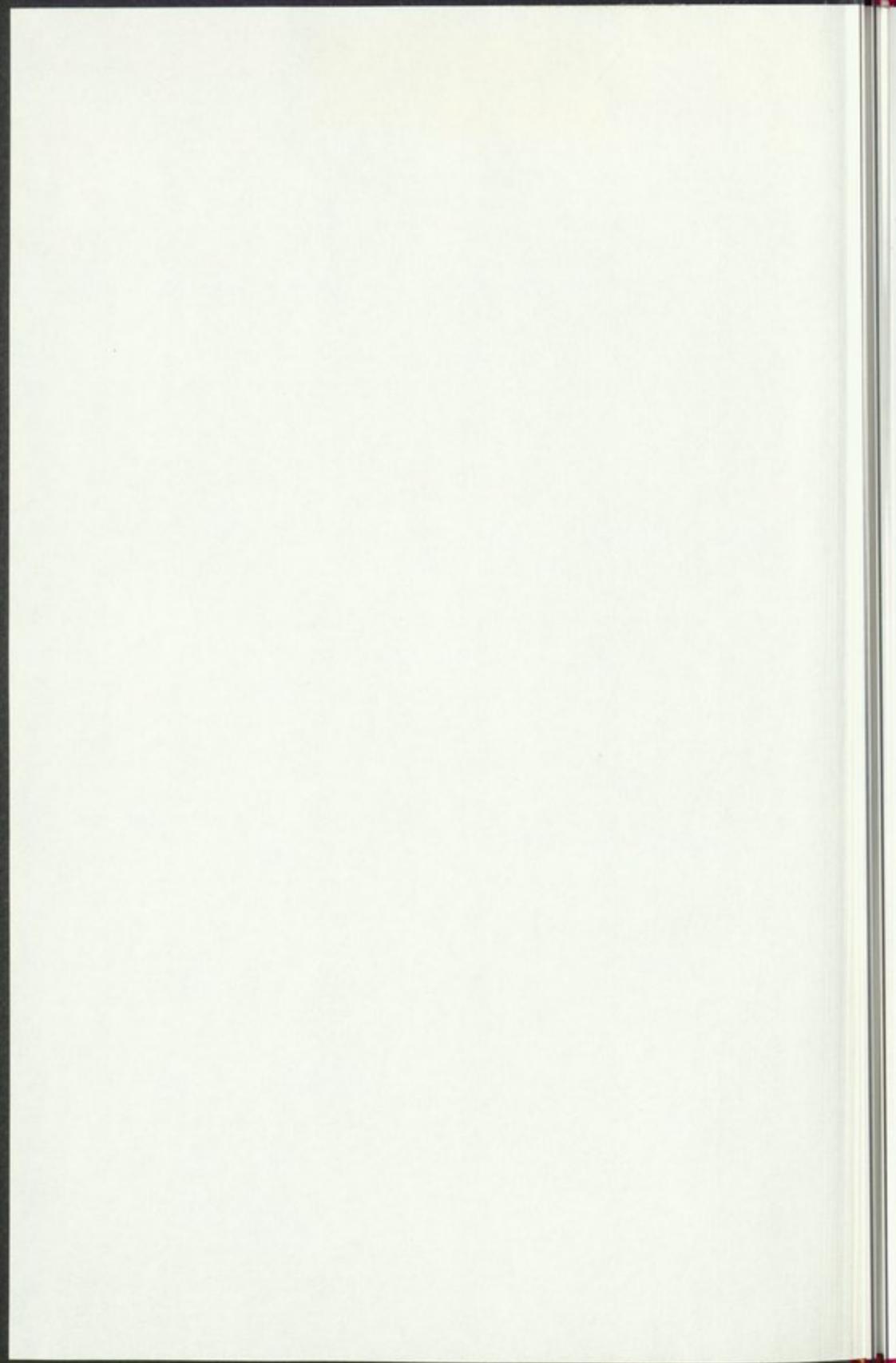
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