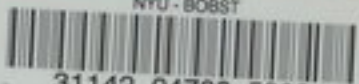


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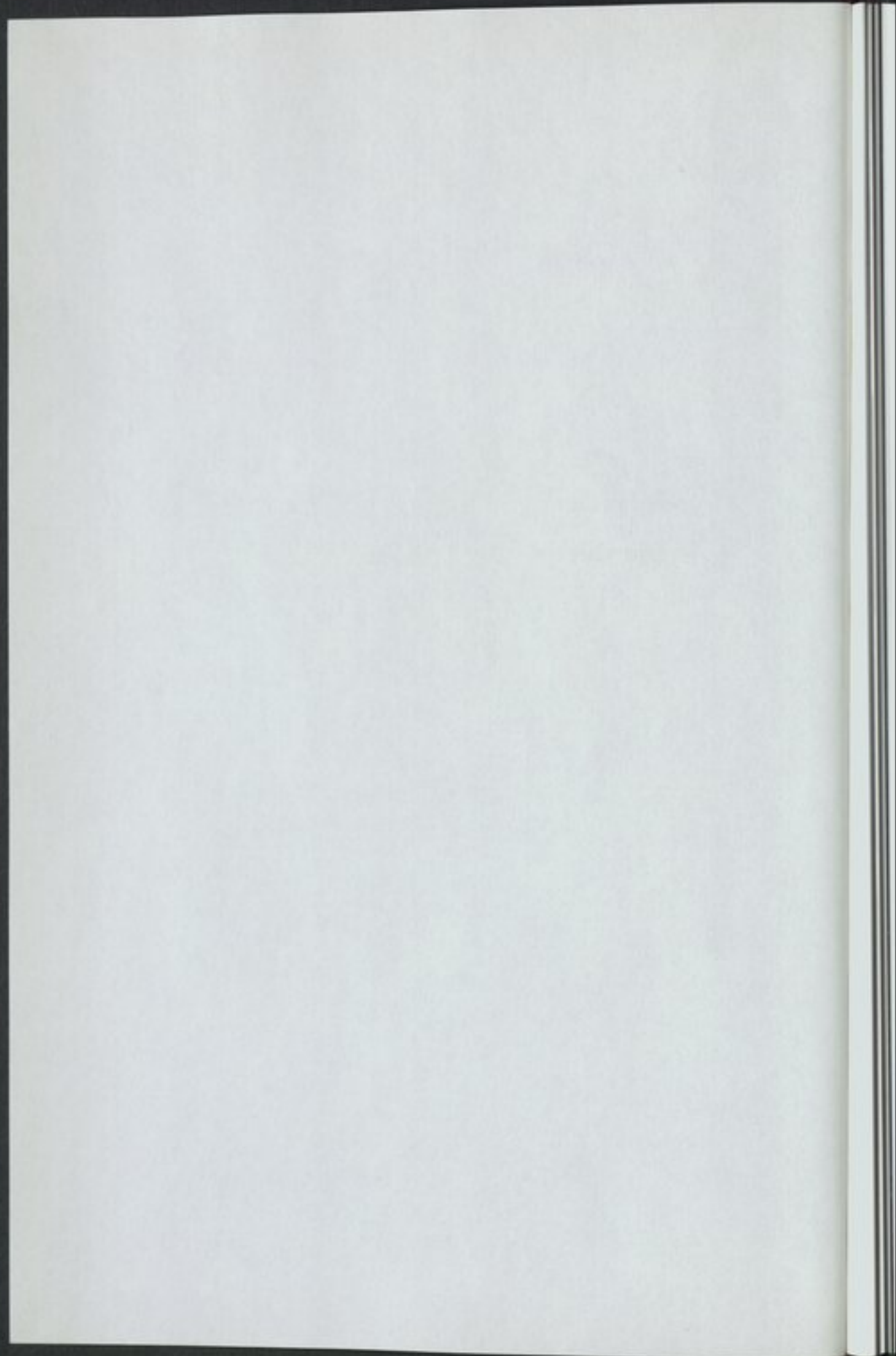
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**P.Berl.Cohen**  
**Greek Documentary Papyri from Egypt**  
**in the Berlin Aegyptisches Museum**

# **AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY**

Series Editor  
Ann Elis Hanson

Number 44

## **Greek Documentary Papyri from Egypt in the Berlin Aegyptisches Museum**

**(P.Berl.Cohen)**

by  
**Nahum Cohen**

**GREEK DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI  
FROM EGYPT IN THE BERLIN  
AEGYPTISCHES MUSEUM**

by  
**NAHUM COHEN**

American Society of Papyrologists  
Oakville, Connecticut  
Achva Academic College of Education, Shikmim, Israel

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To my family

Ahuva, my wife

Avner and Hila, my children

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE

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## Preface

The present book is a revised version of my dissertation *Greek Documentary Papyri from Egypt at the Berlin Museum* submitted to the senate of the Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel, in November 1993 and finally approved nine months later in July 1994. It was Professor Ranon Katzoff, my supervisor, at the time head of the Classical Department at Bar Ilan, who first planted the seed of papyrology in my heart and head, and together with the late Dr. William Brashear, director of the papyrological department at the Aegyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, guided me through the demanding path of editing a collection of papyri from the Berlin museum. Later Professor Katzoff introduced me to Professor Ann E. Hanson with the idea that my dissertation be published by the ASP. Ann Hanson read the dissertation and accepted the suggestion forwarding the manuscript to a strict examination by the anonymous referees for the ASP.

The collection itself is composed of documentary papyri mostly from the Roman period with two Byzantine texts. Most of the documents originate from localities in the Arsinoite Nome with only a few outside it. Along with tax receipts this volume includes sale contracts, various kinds of declarations, private and official letters among other types of documentary papyri. The wide range of topics covered by the texts at hand draws a vivacious picture of the daily life mainly of villagers of the Arsinoite Nome in Roman Egypt.

I am grateful to a large number of teachers, advisors, colleagues and family members to whose support and caring I owe much of the determination to complete this project. First foremost is my supervisor Prof. Ranon Katzoff, whose dynamic, strict, teaching and profound guidance established the framework of this volume. Prof. David Sohlberg, of the Bar Ilan University, encouraged my academic advance as early as when he was my teacher in the 1960's at the Tel Aviv University. Since then he has constantly found much interest in my work. Prof. Naphtali Lewis helped me with reading some of the papyri in this collection. He never missed an occasion to meet and enrich me with his deep insight and enlightening suggestions. In the course of our long discourses I managed to understand the meaning

and essence of papyrology. Prof. D. Schaps, the department of classics, Bar Ilan University, helped me through many difficulties I had with various forms of the Greek in my texts. The late Prof. P.J. Siipesteijn read the whole volume, made valuable remarks and with much grace and patience answered any question I posed to him. Ann Hanson and the referees for the ASP read the dissertation and suggested many changes and corrections. Ann's encouraging and warm approach accompanied me all along the way, and facilitated the rigorous path of editing and publishing a collection of not so promising Greek papyri. Last but not least is the late Dr. William (Bill) Brashear who showed me my first papyrus and taught me how to read it. He was an excellent guide and a friend. I admire his patience, kindness and hospitality shown to me on my scholarly visits to the museum in Berlin and throughout the years starting with his visit to Israel in 1984 and up to his untimely death in 2000. I miss him as a colleague and grieve for his death.

In addition I would like to express much gratitude to the institutions whose generous grants and support helped me perform this research. First foremost the Aegyptisches Museum und Papyrusammlung, Berlin whose kind permission authorized me to prepare the texts included in this volume for publication. The grants were allowed by the following institutions: Bar Ilan University; Mofet, The Institute for Research and Development by the department for Teacher Training at the Ministry of Education and Culture; Achva Academic College for Education. Special thanks are due to the librarians at the Bar Ilan central library and the staff of the library at Achva Academic College for Education, headed by the excellent Mrs. S. Cohen, who did their utmost to locate any book or article I was in need of. Dr. Hava Korzakova (Bar-Ilan University) prepared the camera-ready version. Her patience, punctuality and devotion contributed enormously to the production of this volume. I owe her my gratitude for that.

I am thankful to them all for their assistance and encouragement bestowed on me. For the errors that remain in the present volume I am solely responsible.

This book is dedicated to my dear and beloved family, Ahuva my wife, Avner and Hila, my children. Their vigorous support and joint contribution to the completion of this project cannot be expressed in words.





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## Notes on Editorial Conventions

Papyrus editions and papyrological journals in this volume are cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, ed. J. F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, S.J. Clackson, A.A. O'Brien, J.D. Sosin, T.G. Wilfong and K.A. Worp (*BASP* Supp. 9, Atlanta 2001, fifth edition). Titles of classical works are abbreviated according to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Books and reference works cited by short titles are listed in full in the bibliography.

The texts are presented according to the usual papyrological practices, for which see Pestman (1990) 317, *P.Col.* X introd. p. xii and XI p. xiii-xiv. The following signs are used:

( )	Resolution of abbreviation or symbol
αβγ]	Lacunae in the papyrus
or [αβγ	
or [αβγ]	
< >	Letters omitted by the scribe
[ ]	Letters written, then deleted, by the scribe
{ }	Letters erroneously written by the scribe
α β γ	Uncertain letters
...	Letters of which part or all remain but which have not been read
[±3]	Approximate number of letters lost in a lacuna and not restored
`αβγ`	Interlinear additions.

Bold numbers of texts refer to numbers of documents edited in this volume. Where Greek names appear the Latin form was preferred as for instance: Diodorus (not Diodoros) or Heliodorus (not Heliodoros). The critical apparatus supplies all corrections for departure from standard, classical Greek. Diaeresis in the text is noted in the apparatus. When indicating the dimensions of the papyri the breadth comes first, followed by the height.

"Introd." stands for: "introduction".

"Supp." – "Supplement."

REPLY TO THE EDITOR: A LAST SYNTACTIC CHECK

1981

The JAMA staff always provides us with the most professional and comprehensive coverage of the medical community. The layout and design of the journal is always top-notch and the writing is clear and concise. The production is excellent and the printing is of high quality. The journal is a pleasure to read and a valuable source of information for all medical professionals.

TEXTS

The first text discusses the importance of continuing education for medical professionals. It highlights the need for staying current in a rapidly changing field and the various ways in which this can be achieved. The second text focuses on the role of the medical professional in society, emphasizing the ethical responsibilities and the impact of their actions on the community. The third text explores the challenges of medical research and the importance of collaboration and communication among researchers. The fourth text discusses the current state of the medical profession and the need for reform and improvement. The fifth text provides a historical perspective on the medical profession and the evolution of medical practice over time.

The sixth text examines the impact of technology on the medical profession, discussing both the benefits and the challenges. The seventh text looks at the future of medicine and the potential for new discoveries and treatments. The eighth text discusses the importance of patient care and the role of the medical professional in providing a high quality of care. The ninth text provides a critical analysis of the current medical system and offers suggestions for improvement. The tenth text concludes the section with a call to action for the medical profession to continue to strive for excellence and to serve the needs of the community.

The final text in the section is a summary of the key points discussed in the previous texts. It emphasizes the importance of continuing education, ethical responsibility, collaboration, and patient care. It also highlights the need for reform and improvement in the medical profession and the potential for new discoveries and treatments. The text concludes with a call to action for the medical profession to continue to strive for excellence and to serve the needs of the community.

The section concludes with a final thought on the importance of the medical profession in society and the need for continued support and resources. It encourages the medical profession to embrace change and to continue to make a positive impact on the world.

### THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. From the first European settlers to the present day, the nation has expanded its territory and diversified its population. The early years were marked by the struggle for independence from British rule, followed by a period of westward expansion and the development of a unique American identity.

The American Revolution was a pivotal moment in the nation's history. It led to the creation of a new government based on the principles of liberty and democracy. The Constitution, drafted in 1787, established a system of checks and balances that has endured to this day.

The 19th century was a time of rapid growth and change. The discovery of gold in California and the opening of the transcontinental railroads led to a massive influx of immigrants and a period of intense economic activity. However, this growth was also accompanied by the expansion of slavery and the struggle for civil rights.

The American Civil War, fought from 1861 to 1865, was a defining moment in the nation's history. It resulted in the abolition of slavery and the preservation of the Union. The war led to a period of Reconstruction, during which the rights of African Americans were being established.

The 20th century has been a time of great change and progress. The United States emerged as a world superpower after World War II, and it has played a leading role in the development of the modern world. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s led to significant advances in the rights of African Americans.

The United States has a rich and diverse history. It is a nation of immigrants, and its people have brought with them a wide range of cultures, languages, and traditions. This diversity has been one of the strengths of the nation, and it continues to be a source of pride and inspiration for Americans.

The history of the United States is a story of hope and achievement. It is a story of a nation that has overcome many challenges and has emerged as a leader in the world. The future of the United States is bright, and it is up to us to continue the legacy of our founding fathers.

## 1. REPLACEMENT FOR A LOST SYNTAXIMON RECEIPT

This dark brown papyrus is broken on all four sides, and holes produced by worms are responsible for some of the lacunae, especially the large one at lower left. The top margin of ca. 2.5 cm. is intact, but 2-3 letters are missing along both the left and right margins in most lines. For the first line, however, the right margin is preserved. The papyrus was probably folded several times horizontally; traces of one such fold appear between lines 2 and 3 and another ran along line 8. The papyrus was broken apart in the process of opening, and no doubt the horizontal folds contributed to the breaking. The sheet now consists of the two surviving pieces, and these were attached at the Museum's laboratory in Berlin. A third, the lower section, seems not to have been brought to the Museum and when it separated off from the rest, it took with it nearly half of line 8. It is likely, however, that only a line or two has been lost from the text, since the warning against reusing the old document (lines 5-8) comes at the end of 1, and this is where such warnings can be found in most parallel texts. (See e.g. nos. 22, 23, 25 on chart 1 *infra*). The scribe writes the replacement receipt in a fast cursive hand, and his letters frequently lack individual articulation. *Verschleifung* is particularly prominent in the imperial titles at lines 1-2. The text is written along the fibres (→); the other side (↓) is blank.<sup>1</sup>

A resident of Soknopaïou Nesos, (NN), a son of a certain Παπαῦς and grandson of Ἀμᾶς, paid an installment of twelve drachmas for the syntaximon of the second year of Claudius (CE 41/42). The taxpayer lost his original receipt (lines 6-8), and the clerk who is issuing the new document warns the taxpayer against reusing the old receipt (lines 5-6). Thus 1 will now replace the previous receipt the taxpayer claims to have lost.

Syntaximon seems to have been the only tax dealt with in the original receipt, or else the other taxes would also have been alluded to in the new document. The mention of twelve silver drachmas in line 8 indicates that the original receipt was paid in the tetradrachms demanded by the Roman government. Because the text breaks off at

<sup>1</sup> For *Verschleifung*, see Præaux (1954) 83-87; Coles (1987) 256 reviewing *BGU* 2525; Sijpesteijn (1989)a 94.

this point, it is unclear whether or not this was the only payment recorded in the previous receipt.

For recent discussions of *συντάξιμον* see Gallazzi in *O.Tebt.Pad. I* (1979) pp. 4-17; Hanson (1982) *passim*; Hobson (1984)b 854-55; Nelson in *BGU XV* (1985) pp. 155-56; Rathbone (1993) 87-88. See also Rupprecht (1994) 79-80.

The standard annual rates per capita for syntaximon during most of the I century CE in Egypt were 44 drs. 2 chalk. or 44 drs. ½ ob. 2 chalk. Arrears payments were exacted by the government at a higher rate: 45 drs. 2 obols; 45 drs. 3 obs.; 46 drs. 3 obs.<sup>2</sup>

Some scholars studying the poll-tax in Roman Egypt during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, notably Keyes (1931) 266-67, and Tcherikover (1950) 191-92, believed that Syntaximon and Laographia were identical. In Gallazzi's opinion (*P.Tebt.Pad.* p. 5), however, Syntaximon included Laographia and other minor taxes. This presentation of Syntaximon and Laographia as opposed to the notion of their being identical came to be the leading approach during the closing decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and is now supported by most scholars. See Wallace (1938)a 122-23, and Gallazzi, Hobson, Hanson and Nelson (cited above).

Local officials in both Ptolemaic and Roman periods seem to have been particularly concerned that invalidated receipts not be used by taxpayers in their jurisdiction. Most of the replacement receipts derive from both the Fayum and from the settled areas further to the south (see chart 1 *infra*). The main point of interest in 1, then, seems to be the subject of issuing replacement documents to substitute for lost ones.

It was the usual procedure for any tax collector to enter his taxpayers' names into the ledgers recording and acting as final proof for the payments of taxes in the course of a certain year. These ledgers

<sup>2</sup> See Gallazzi, in *O.Tebt.Pad.I* p. 5, and for arrears p. 12; Nelson in *BGU XV* 155; for Philadelphia see Hanson (1988) 266-67; 271 note 54 *ad. loc.* See also Wallace (1938)a 123. For variations see *SB XVIII* 13862.36-37; *P.Mich.* XII 640.53, note *ad. loc.* and p. 48 (*introd.*).



were kept either at the collector's bureau or at the local bank.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of *P.Princ.* I 10 col. i (CE 34) the following items are stated: regnal year, emperor's name, month, the tax paid, place of residence for those whose payments are listed. The taxpayers are identified by names, patronymics and the sum paid (e.g. *P.Princ.* I 10.5). It should have been rather easy to prove or deny any taxpayer's claim regarding his past payments, if the original receipt was lost. The clerk, presumably, having verified the applicant's request, would issue a new replacement receipt.

Lines 5-8 of I refer to "the other receipt", (the ἕτερον κύμβολον), probably a lost document, which our receipt is issued to replace. In extant papyri dated to the I-II centuries CE one encounters replacement documents issued under various circumstances (see chart 1 for a list of such documents):

- 1) Receipts issued to substitute for previous ones - possibly on the grounds of their being faulty for one reason or another. Otherwise, no other specific cause is stated. (*P.Fay.* 54.3 and note ad loc. In addition, see chart 1, nos. 5; 6; 10; 12; 17; 24; 27).
- 2) Receipts written by praktores argyrikon with a promise to exchange them for others issued by a public bank (see chart 1, nos. 29-32).
- 3) Receipts and other documents issued to replace former ones claimed by their recipients to have been lost (nos. 2; 8; 9; 13-15; 22; 23; 25; 26; 28; 34; 36-39).

A deeper study of the subject of replacement documents requires an examination of the text at hand. Lines 5-8 of I contain two components relevant to the matter under discussion here, with a third to be supplied by some of the texts grouped in chart 1:

A) μὴ προσ[χρ]ήσασθαι ἑτέρῳι κύμβολῳι (I.5-6)

<sup>3</sup> See *P.Princ.* I introd. p. xiv; Wallace (1938) a 318-19; Schuman (1963) 306; Bogart (1989) passim. Apparently it seems that local banks existed in many villages at least in the Arsinoite nome.

B) τὸ σύμβολον ἄκυρον εἶναι (to be found in nos. 9, 13, 14, 26, 28, 38, chart 1)

C) διὰ [τὸ ἐ]κπεπτωκέναι αὐτό (1.6-8).

The announcement declaring the issuing of a replacement document, then, consists of three parts. The scribe confirms that a previous document was lost (C), declares it to be invalid (B), and warns against reusing it (A).

Chart 1 presents an updated list of extant documents issued to replace others, 40 in all. They originate from various nomes all over Egypt and can be categorized as follows:

- 1) tax receipts - 27 (nos. 1-7, 9-12, 13(?), 14-19, 22, 24, 29-33, 37, 40)
- 2) private receipts - 5 (nos. 8, 26, 28, 38-39)
- 3) penthemeros certificates - 2 (nos. 23, 25)
- 4) orders - 2 (nos. 35-36)
- 5) repayment of a loan - 1 (no. 20)
- 6) transport dues - 1 (no. 18)
- 7) confirmation of a certificate - 1 (no. 24)
- 8) copy of a diagraphé - 1 (no. 21).

Most of the documents here make use of at least one of the above three components. In some cases A, B or C are either missing or differently phrased in the documents on chart 1. A and C seem to be commoner than B. Excluding nos. 20, 21, 28, 35, 36, 38-40 which are private all the remaining documents on chart 1 are official.

Unless otherwise stated II, III, IV - indicate centuries CE.

**Chart 1. List of Replacement Documents**

No.	Text	Date(CE)	Provenance	Components
1	<i>O.Bodl.</i> 160	BCE 157	?	A - -
2	<i>O.Tait</i> I 62	BCE 157-51	?	A - C
3	<i>O.Theb.</i> I 25	BCE 138	Thebais	A - -
4	<i>O.Stras.</i> 6	BCE 135	?	A - C
5	<i>WO</i> II 1526	BCE 123/22	Hermonthis	A - -

No.	Text	Date(CE)	Provenance	Components
6	WO II 351	BCE 122	Hermonthis	A - -
7	O.Bodl. 18	BCE 118	Diospolis	A - -
8	P.Dion. 35	BCE 111	Hermopolis	- - C
9	O.Stras. 18	II BCE	Koptos	A - C
10	WO II 1496	II BCE	Diospolis	A - -
11	O.Theb. 16	BCE 76?	Thebais	A - -
12	WO II 1026	Ptolemaic	?	A - -
13	SB XIV 11624	7/8	?	- B C
14	1	41/42	Sokn. Nes.	A - C
15	WO II 50	98	?	- - C
16	P.Stras. V 404	106/107	Bacchias	A - -
17	P.Fay. 47a	114/15	Euhemeria	A - -
18	P.Fay. 54	117/18	Euhemeria	A - -
19	P.Graux 20	138	Theadelphia	A - -
20	P.Yale I 65	138	Oxyrhynchus	- B? C
21	P.Stras. VII 628	140	Ars. nome	- - C
22	BGU I 214	152	Sokn. Nes.	A - C
23	P.Lond. II 316a (p. 104)	153	Sokn. Nes.	A - C
24	BGU I 66	161/62	Bacchias	A - -
25	SB XX 14994	169	Arab. Kom.	A - C
26	P.Lond. III 918 (p. 171)	171	Nilospolis	- B C
27	P.Tebt. II 364	170-75	Tebtunis	A - -
28	SB VI 9619.12	184	Ars. nome	- B C
29	P.Fay. 64	II	Euhemeria	- - -
30	P.Hamb. I 44	215	Psennuris	- - -
31	P.Hamb. I 45	215	Hephaistias	- - -
32	P.Hamb. I 42	216	Karanis	- - -
33	P.Diog. 40	216	Tanis	A - -
34	P.Oxy. XLIX 3497	216	Ophis	- - -
35	P.Alex. 13	III	Oxyrhynchus	- B C
36	CPR VI 38	321	?	A - -
37	SB X 10729	330	Karanis?	- - -
38	P.Oxy. XIV 1716	333	Oxyrhynchus	- B C
39	P.Oxy. VIII 1133	396	Oxyrhynchus	A B C
40	SPP XX 105	IV	?	- B C

**Notes to Chart 1.**

No.13 - No emperor is mentioned in the text. Yet, year 37 (line 7) should assign this document to Augustus' reign.

No. 15 - See *WO* I 78.

No. 24 - Bureth (1964) 106 dates this document into the second year of Elagabalus, CE 218.

Nos. 29-32 - The editors of *P.Fay.* 64 suggest a link between lines 7-9 of their text and component A. The same reasoning may be applied to *P.Hamb.* I 44.6-8; 45.8-9; 42.8-9.

No. 34 - The scribe's statement: φθάνω δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ κύμβολ(ον) ἔγδούε (lines 11-12) describes a case of a lost document which is substituted by a new one. See commentary on p. 221.

No. 37 - For the date of this papyrus see Lewis (1970) 112. Lines 5-6 read: ἑτέρου ... ἀποχῆς μὴ ἐπιφερομέ(νου). The editor suggests that there was an earlier receipt, which was replaced by the present document. See commentary on pp. 64-65. ἐπιφέρομαι (produce) is used in a similar situation in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1133.14.

No. 38 - προεχράομαι is missing. Yet, phrases such as: μηδὲν ... ἐγκαλεῖν (line 14), or μηδὲ ἐπελεύεσθαι (line 15 read -εεσθαι) convey a similar sense.

Schuman<sup>4</sup> contended that any Egyptian paying his taxes not at a public bank branch was provided with a temporary receipt by the tax collector. This document had to be exchanged at a public bank for a permanent one. In his opinion only the receipts issued by the bank (τὸ δημόσιον κύμβολον) were valid.

This theory implies an elaborate system regularly working to provide Egyptian taxpayers with temporary and permanent receipts. Considering the great number of taxes paid by Egyptians under Roman rule one should expect to find a common procedure according to which temporary receipts were daily exchanged for permanent ones. Yet, the whole theory rests on a tiny group of four documents in which the tax collectors promised to exchange the receipts they were handing the taxpayers for others issued by the banks. (See *P.Fay.* 64; *P.Hamb.* I 44; 45; 42 - nos. 29-32 on chart 1).<sup>5</sup> Not even one pair of

<sup>4</sup> (1963) 308 and footnote 1; (1983) 49

<sup>5</sup> Four more texts (disregarded by Schuman) in which the tax collectors undertake to provide the taxpayers with the demosion symbolon should probably be added to this

temporary/permanent receipts issued to the same taxpayer for the same tax in a given year was found to prove this theory to be correct.

Schuman advanced his ideas in 1963. In 1983 he restated this suggestion using the same four documents (footnote 4). A period of 20 years had not yielded any new evidence in support of a theory presented as a common day-to-day procedure. On the contrary, as demonstrated in chart 1, most of the documents in question there were issued to replace others for their being faulty, lost or for whatever other reasons, except for the arguments advocated by Schuman.

Moreover, Schuman selected *BGU* I 214 and *P.Lond.* II 316a (nos. 22-23 chart 1) as examples to prove his theory. See Schuman (1963) 308 and footnote 1 ad loc. This attempt of his, however, is not convincing, since in both cases a former lost document is mentioned. The present receipts claimed by Schuman to be the permanent ones, can also be regarded as substitutions issued to replace the former (lost) documents. One might say that the taxpayers in both cases wanted to have new receipts. They did not wish to exchange temporary documents for permanent ones, but simply because their originals had been lost they looked for replacements to prove (on demand) that they had fulfilled their obligations in this matter.<sup>6</sup>

From Schuman's theory one might gather the following:

- a) Only receipts issued at the banks were valid.
- b) Every permanent receipt invalidated a previous temporary one using the prohibition section or its variants (μη̄ προεχ ... = component A chart 1).

Yet, only very few documents carrying this restriction were found (see the list of documents on chart 1 supra, component A), whereas most extant receipts do not. It is clearly out of the question to infer that most Egyptians trotted to bank offices to discharge their tax obligations, or to be provided with the valid permanent receipts on presenting their temporary ones. Neither is it practical to reason that

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group: *P.Oslo* 116 (CE 144); *BGU* I 223 (CE 210/11); *P.Ryl.* II 358 (CE 216/17); *P.Hamb.* I 80 (beginning of III century CE). Yet, even eight texts are not enough to establish the existence of a daily procedure, particularly when six of these are dated into a rather short period (beginning of III century CE). *P.Lond.* III 1234.6 is too mutilated to yield any significant text. *BL* I 275 considered, it is entirely risky to deduce that an exchange of receipts is meant here.

<sup>6</sup> As for *P.Lond.* II 316a see Sijpesteijn, (1989)a 94, discussing *SB* XX 14994.5-6 (no. 25 chart 1) who regards the London document as it really is, a replacement for a lost receipt.

the tax collectors were burdened with the task of exchanging the temporary/permanent receipts. What would they do with the thousands of invalid (temporary) pieces of papyrus? And who would pay the extra *συμβολικόν* for the new receipts?<sup>7</sup> If taxpayers did not visit local banks to pay their taxes, they certainly would not incur the same trouble just to exchange their temporary receipts for permanent ones. Consequently, it was left to the tax collectors to exchange the receipts and deliver the valid ones to the payees, apparently a wearisome mission imposed on top of the enormous paper work they were already burdened with.<sup>8</sup> Nor could one conclude that taxpayers simply preferred to keep the temporary receipts not bothering to exchange them for permanent valid ones. Moreover, three of the four receipts advanced by Schuman to prove his theory, (nos. 30-32 chart 1), are dated CE 215-16 (the fourth is dated to II century CE). All four originate from the Arsinoite nome. This may merely indicate a local temporary arrangement between tax collectors and taxpayers; not a long term province wide daily procedure. On the basis of the above discussion it seems that one ought to reject Schuman's theory.<sup>9</sup>

A proper way to deal with the texts grouped in chart 1, in my opinion, is to treat them as irregular cases. In the matter of tax receipts it seems that, for one reason or another, tax collectors either required

<sup>7</sup> For methods of tax collecting in Roman Egypt during the first two centuries CE, see Shelton in *P.Cair.Mich.* II, pp. 2-4 for Karanis, where he convincingly demonstrated that tax collectors made door to door rounds in villages and metropoleis exacting payments for capitation taxes; see also Hanson (1994) *passim* for Philadelphia.

<sup>8</sup> See Shelton in *P.Cair.Mich.* 359 vol. II pp. 1-6; p. 6 in particular.

<sup>9</sup> For disagreements with Schuman's theory see Sijpesteijn in *P.Customs*, pp. 10-11, (in connection with customhouse receipts); Bogaert (1989) 218-19. Herrmann (1979) 226-30 adopts Schuman's theory and suggests that symbolon be regarded as the temporary receipt, whereas antisymbolon as the permanent one. He cites Petronius Mamertinus' edict (*P.Fay.* 21 - CE 134), which demands of both payer and collector of money to hand each other receipts concerning the transaction at hand. This, however, does not resemble the instances discussed by Schuman. There, both documents, the temporary and the permanent receipts, were meant for the taxpayer. When the taxpayer supposedly exchanged his temporary receipt, he did not hand over a document, which he himself had written (as ordered by the praefect Mamertinus), but simply returned the old receipt, issued for him some time earlier. From Nelson's note to *BGU XV 2533.5* one may gather that he supports Schuman. However no new evidence is suggested. Verdult, *P.Erasm.* II p. 112, is not fully convinced by Schuman's explanations ("Schuman tried to explain ..." repeated on p. 113). Consequently, the above conclusions regarding Schuman's double document theory stand unchanged.

the cancellation of documents they had issued earlier, or promised to exchange the receipts they were handing the payers for ones to be written in the future. In other cases lost documents simply had to be replaced by new ones.<sup>10</sup>

Two more comments will be suggested:

- a) In spite of the fact that most of the phrases assembled in connection with each of the three components in chart 1 are similar, it is more likely that there was not any binding procedure regulating the issuing of replacement receipts. It seems that every clerk approached with such a request acted of his own volition.
- b) The same phrasing (components A, B, C) was used in private business documents as can be discerned from *P.Dion.* 35 and *P.Oxy.* VIII 1133 (nos.8 and 39 on chart 1).

**P.Berol. inv. 25557**  
**6.8 x 8.5 cm. (Pl. 1)**

**Soknopaiou Nesos**  
**16-25 November CE 41/42**

[ἔτο]υς δευτέρου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου  
 [Καίσα(ρος)] Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτ[ορος  
 [Ἄθ]ῆν κ. διαγέγ[ραπται] διὰ Διωδώδ(ου)  
 4 [..]μ[±3].ε Παπαίτο(ε) Ἀμάσι(ος) συντ(άξιμον) κ[ώμ(η)ς]  
 [Κοκν]οπ(αίου) Νήσο[υ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτου)ς καὶ μὴ προε-  
 [χρ]ήσασθαι ἕτερον σύμβολον διὰ  
 [τὸ ἐ]κπεπτωκέναι τὸ αὐτὸ σύμ-  
 [βολον ±6]εῖναι ἀργ(υρίου) δεκαδύο.

3 leg. Διοδότ(ου); 6 leg. ἑτέρωι συμβόλωι

In the second year of Tiberius Claudius [Caesar] Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Hathyr 20 ... NN son of Papais grandson of

<sup>10</sup> See Wallace (1938)a 318. Citing *P.Fay.* 64 he states that at times temporary receipts were issued by tax collectors, which were later exchanged for permanent ones; clearly not a daily procedure, but an irregular phenomenon. Moreover, the editors of *P.Fay.* 54 in their note to line 3 observe the prohibition section warning against using the former receipt as an injunction relating to cases of lost or faulty documents, rather than as a part of a regular phrasing attached to every permanent receipt.

Amasis has paid the syntaximon of the village of Soknopaiou Nesos for the same year through Diodotus, and do not use the other receipt, because it has been lost ... for twelve silver (drachmas).

3 [Aθ]ύρ: October 28 - November 26. For the agricultural calendar of the Egyptian year paired with the names of the Egyptian months see Pestman (1990) 315. Φαῶφι was the first month in which syntaximon payments were made for the year, and thus the payment in Hathyr may have been the second installment made by our taxpayer. See Hanson (1982) 52 (text no. 2, note to line 17, p. 56).

διαγέγ(ραπται): This form is regularly used in the Julio-Claudian period, whenever it is written in full. For διαγέγραπται in syntaximon receipts dated to I century CE Philadelphia see Hanson (1982) 54-55.

διὰ Διωδώδ(ου): For the interchange of delta and tau see Gignac (1976) 63; 80-83. The extant text of our papyrus does not suggest any title for Diodotus. Probably nothing was written at the end of line 3 (following Diodotus). Evidently, the beginning of line 4 is occupied by the taxpayer's name, or actually what was left of it, reserving no space for any title for Diodotus. Yet, it is clearly stated that the tax was paid through (διὰ) Diodotus. This figure, Diodotus, may have been a praktor argyrikon, as we can learn from other instances such as *P.Mich. X* 582 col. ii. 2 (CE 49/50) and *P.Mich. XII* 640.1 (1<sup>st</sup> half I century CE) and note ad loc. See also the history of Nemesion, son of Zoilos, related by Hanson (1989) 429-40 passim. Diodotus might have been an assistant to such an official, a cheiristes as in *BGU XIII* 2291.2 (Soknopaiou Nesos, BCE 6/5 or 5/4), and *P.Mich. XII* 640.1 and note ad loc. See also Wallace (1938)a 288. Alternatively he might have been just a friend paying the tax on our taxpayer's behalf. New evidence (the Michigan papyri and Hanson cited above) prove that praktores argyrikon were active in Arsinoite villages in Julio-Claudian Egypt. This is contra Wallace (1938)a 291. Moreover, it ought to be stated that officials titled πράκτωρ λαογραφίας are known to have been active in some Arsinoite villages in the course of the I century CE. See *P.Gen. II* 91 i.7-8 (CE 50-51); *P.Ryl. II* 595.1-2 (CE 57); Wallace (1938)a 307.



4 [..]μ[±3].c Παπάϊτο(ε)᾽ Αμάρι(ος): One is tempted to read Παπάϊc at the beginning of line 4, yet the only certain letters surviving from this name are mu and sigma (at the end). A Papais son of Papais appears in *BGU XIII 2245* (CE 14-37) and probably again in *P.Lond. II 139* (CE 49), both from Soknopaiou Nesos. Our taxpayer could have been a family member, perhaps a brother of this Papais. Two more documents originating from this village attest two people bearing similar names, *P.Köln VI 276* (CE 41) and *P.FuadUniv. I 34* (CE 42). As names of fathers are missing, definite identification is impossible. The mother's name missing in 1 comes to be frequent in typical formulas identifying taxpayers in Syntaximon receipts only after the second half of Claudius' reign. See Nelson in *BGU XV 2533.3*, (note ad. loc.) generally for syntaximon receipts. For Philadelphia see Hanson (1982) 51-52.

\* I would like to thank Prof. D. Hobson for making her database concerning Papais available to me.

συντ(άξιμον): The accusative form is employed in some first century syntaximon receipts, a seemingly quite adaptable resolution to our text. See Hanson (1982) 56.

5 [Cοκν]οπ(αίου) Νήσο[v]: See 7.1 and note ad loc.

6 σύμβολον: See Herrmann (1979) 222-26 for a discussion and various uses of this term.

5-6 μὴ προσ/[χρ]ήσασθαι: For the infinitive of the middle aorist used as imperative see *BGU IV 1096.8-9*. 1 is the only document in chart 1 to employ this form. Other texts using component A exhibit either the middle aorist participle (χρησάμενος/οι) or the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular of the future indicative (χρήσει; προσχρήσει). For a discussion of the use of προσχρήσει see Sijpesteijn (1989)a 94.

μὴ προσ/[χρ]ήσασθαι ἕτερον σύμβολον: Read: ἑτέρω συμβόλω): Most Ptolemaic texts on chart 1 employing component A read: τῷ πρότερον γραφέντι μὴ χρήσει, whereas the documents of the Roman period (except for no. 24) read: μὴ προσχρήσει ἑτέρω συμβόλω. Nevertheless, χράομαι was in use in Roman and in Byzantine papyri. See Gignac (1981) 368-69 and nos. 22-23.

8 ἀργ(υρίου) δεκαδύο: The lower part of the symbol designating δραχμάς was lost. For a similar syntaximon receipt from Soknopaiou Nesos see *P.Gen.* II 90.3 (CE 36); see also *P.Fay.* 45.4 (CE 10-11).

## 2. POLL-TAX RECEIPT <sup>11</sup>

Except for a few small holes this piece of light brown papyrus is preserved almost in full. The top margin is about 1½ cm. the bottom 3½. At left the papyrus seems to have been torn as a result of a vertical folding. The first two lines are extended on the right to the edge of the papyrus, while the rest form a margin of about one cm. Judging from the extant part of the text it seems that 6-9 letters were lost at the beginning of each line. The papyrus shows signs of other folds, both vertical and horizontal. In contrast to the straight cut top edge, the bottom was badly damaged. The relatively copious bottom margin may have been reserved for the writing of a subsequent receipt. The bold ink produced a fine highly cursive hand, which is very hard to read having been written very quickly.<sup>12</sup> At lines 3, Ὀρίω(νος), and 4, Χη(νοβοκίων), the scribe employed raised letters to indicate abbreviations. The lines run along the fibers (→). On the other side (↓) there are some undefined marks of ink.

In 2 the son of Onesimos, from the Second Goose-Pen Quarter in the metropolis of the Arsinoite nome, paid 20 silver drs. to which extra charges of 10 obs. were added, presumably for λαογραφία, the poll-tax in Roman Egypt. The receipt was issued during the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus most likely between 177 and 179 (see note to lines 1-2).

Close parallels to 2 are *P.Mich.* XV 695-99; 756. For a detailed discussion of the structure of this type of laographia receipts see *O.Tebt.Pad.* I, pp. 14-23, and especially pp. 21-23. See also *P.Mich.* XV pp. 21-23. Laographia at the reduced rate of 20 drs. plus 10 obs. χαλκοῦ is well attested among the privileged inhabitants of the

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to the late Prof. P.J. Sijpesteijn for his help in the reading of this papyrus.

<sup>12</sup> For Verschleifung see 1, footnote 1.

metropolis of the Arsinoite nome,<sup>13</sup> and although laographia means "the registering of the people", the tax so named is to be distinguished from the syntaximon, the latter being used to designate laographia paid at a higher rate of 40 drs. plus extra charges by peasant taxpayers in Arsinoite villages (see I introd.). As the sons of the more privileged metropolitites came of age, they were subject to an investigation known as ἐπίκρισις that vindicated their right to the special status and to the lower rate for capitation taxes.<sup>14</sup> The age of liability for poll-tax was 14 years, and only males were liable; the age of exemption varied in the course of the period during which this tax was exacted.<sup>15</sup> As a capitation tax laographia was closely related to the 14-year census cycles of Roman Egypt, introduced into this and other provinces during the reign of Augustus. The officials levying the capitation taxes relied on the census returns submitted by heads of houses, as they prepared lists of male taxpayers who were liable for capitation taxes each year. Although the inhabitants of the province of Egypt received the Roman citizenship early in the III century and added "(Marcus) Aurelius" to their names thereafter, receipts for payments of laograohia were issued for more than a decade subsequent, and the last provincial census was proclaimed in CE 257/58. So far as we know, no official declaration announced the end of poll-tax collections.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See Samuel (1977)a 135-43; *O.Tebt.Pap.* I, pp.4-11; *P.Mich.* XV 695-99; 756 and 22-23. For further parallels see Rupprecht (1994) 79-80.

<sup>14</sup> Modrzejewski (1985) 257-59 divides the population in Egypt into three categories:

a) Roman citizens; b) non-Romans who acquired the Roman citizenship (*cives peregrini*); c) the remaining bulk of the Greek-Egyptian population whom Modrzejewski terms the 'tiers etat'. The first two categories were tax free (ἀτελείς). On class and status designation in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see further Bowman (1986) 122-40. Our son of Onesimos was, then, a member of the third category which was divided into two classes as shown above. See also Rowlandson (1998) 11-12. For the aims and importance of the census system and the poll-tax see Nicolet (1991) 135-36; Bagnall-Frier, next note.

<sup>15</sup> See Bagnall and Frier (1994) 27-30.

<sup>16</sup> See Hombert and Préaux in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* V pp. 40-41; Lewis (1983) 169-70; Rathbone (1993) 86-88; 96-97.

P.Berol. inv. 25563  
6x9 cm. (Pl. 2)

Arsinoiton Polis  
July 24 of CE 177, 178, or 179

- [ἔτους) ι? Αὐρη]λίωv Ἀντων(ίνου) καὶ Κομμόδου  
[τῶν κυρίων] Σεβαστῶν Ἐπειφ λ' ἀριθ(μήσεως) Παῦ(νι)  
[δι(έγραψεν) NN Ὀ]μησίμου τοῦ Ὠρίω(νος) (μητρὸς)  
Ἡρ( )  
4 [ὑ(πὲρ) λαο(γραφία) ±4 κ]αὶ δεκάτου (ἔτους) Ἐτ(έρων)  
Χη(νοβοσκίων)  
[(δραχμάς) εἴκοσι (γίνονται) κ πρὸς(διαγραφομένων)  
χ(αλκοῦ) ὀβ(ολοῦς) δέκα.

3 Pap. -) ηρ/; 5 Pap. κ

In the 1[.]th year of the lords Aurelii Antoninus and Commodus Augusti, the 30<sup>th</sup> of Epeiph for the account of Pauni, NN, son of Onesimos, grandson of Horion, his mother being Her( ), from the Second Goose-Pen Quarter, has paid twenty drs. for the laographia of the 1[.]th year, equals 20, extra charges 10 copper obs.

1-2 and 4: For this dating formula see Bureth (1964) 85. All the texts cited by Bureth and by PHI 7 database list dating formulas referring to years 17-20 of the joint rule of these two emperors (CE 176/77-179/80). Commodus was elevated to the rank of Augustus in midsummer of 177. Thus his co-regency with his father, Marcus Aurelius, lasted from midsummer of 177 till March 180 (Marcus' death), encompassing four imperial years (17-20). The word δεκάτου at line 4 is very clearly written. Preceding the κ]αὶ in the lacuna ἐπτά, ὀκτώ σ' ἐννέα can be written to complete the year numbers ἐπτακαιδεκάτου, ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου σ' ἐννεακαιδεκάτου. The available space in the lacuna preceding κ]αὶ would allow for any of the three options only if λαογραφία is strongly abbreviated – λαο(γραφία), as suggested in the comment to line 4 infra. At line 2 Epeiph 30, 24 July, might, then, be assigned to one of the years 177, 178, 179. Another reasonable solution for the curved stroke preceding δεκάτου was suggested by Prof. D. Hagedorn (in an e-mail dated

November 15, 2000, for which I am grateful to him). He commented that at times scribes would write only δεκάτου in full indicating the other part of the year number with a numeral; in the present case: ζ καὶ δεκάτου, η καὶ δεκάτου or θ καὶ δεκάτου. If this solution is endorsed θ καὶ δεκάτου might have to be excluded on account of the superstitious belief in the phenomenon of the theta nigrum, for which see Thomas (1977) 241-43. Consequently, the text will have to be assigned to either CE 177 or 178.

\*Ἐπεὶ φ' λ' ἀριθ(μήσεως) Παῦ(νι): arithmesis was a bookkeeping term for which see *WO* I 814-15; Youtie (1981)a 410. See also *P.Hamb.* III 204 col. i. 2 and note ad loc. Our son of Onesimos with his metropolitan status probably paid his poll-tax currently as against villagers with peasant status paying laographia at the highest rates described by Samuel (1977)a 130-31. He might have been better off than other members of his class. (See footnote 14 supra). For members of the metropolite class in Roman Egypt and their status and obligations see Lewis (1983) 39-64; Bowman (1986) 124-28.

3 NN Ὀ]νησίμου τοῦ Ὀρίωνος: Egyptians were in the habit of naming sons after fathers and grandfathers. See Wessely (1902) 81-171 (*Personen-Verzeichnis*, passim). It would be reasonable to surmise that the taxpayer's proper name was Ὀρίων, which would fit the available space at the beginning of line 3. On the phenomenon of ponymy see 12.2 and note ad loc.

(μητρόσ): For the sign indicating this word see *BGU* I p. 352; Bilabel in *RE* ii p. 2303. See also Youtie (1973) 942.

4 [ύ(πὲρ) λαο(γραφίαις)]: For this restoration see *SB* XVIII 13911; *P.Hamb.* III 204.4; 10; 16; 205.5; 206.5; 207.5. All seven instances are II century CE. Another option was λαο(γραφίαις), see *SB* XII 10952-10956. The first option was applied to our text, since this abbreviated version fits in the restored part at the beginning of line 4.

\*Ἐτ(έρων) Χη(νοβοσκίων): Another option was Χη(νοβοσκίων). See Calderini, *Dizionario*, II p. 181; Suppl. I (1988) p. 115; Suppl. II (1996) p. 56. Χηνοβοσκίων was commoner. The following instances should be added to Calderini's bibliography: *SB* XVIII 13313.7-8 (CE

162 - Χηνοβοσκίων); *P.Mert.* I 21.3 (CE 188 - Χηνοβοσκίων). See also Daris (1981) 151.

5 [(δραχμάς) εἴκοσι] (γίνονται) κ: Line 5 begins with an iota followed by a long vertical stroke (indicating 'equal') and the digit kappa for εἴκοσι. The curve at left belongs to the beginning of line 4. Above the kappa there is a small dot found usually above the amount of drachmas; see *P.Hamb.* III 204. 5 and note ad loc.\*

προς(διαγραφομένων) χ(αλκοῦ) ὀβ(ολοῦς) δέκα: For the extra charges imposed on the poll-tax paid by Arsinoites see Sijpesteijn in *P.Mich.* XV 695-699 (introd. pp. 22-23). Taxes in Roman Egypt were imposed by the emperors and paid to the imperial coffers. Government officials accepted payments for poll-tax only in tetradrachms, specially minted within the province for this purpose. Thus the taxpayer had to exchange his drachma coins for tetradrachms when paying his taxes. While doing so he was compelled to pay the prosdiagraphomena, or surcharges fixed at 6.25% (1/16) for laographia payments, for which see Gara (1976) 144-46. Schuman (1979) 130 adds that this surtax also covered the costs of transporting the money to Alexandria. See also Gara (1976) 22-23. In Roman Egypt the prosdiagraphomena were implemented as early as the reign of Augustus. See Wallace (1938)a 330; Gara (1976) 26.

\* I would like to thank Dr. N. Litinas who drew my attention to this specific point.

## 3. RECEIPT FOR φόρος βοῶν

The light brown papyrus is full of holes produced by worms particularly between the lines. It has margins of about 1-2 cm. at top and bottom. The right side was neatly cut, with line 2 probably ending at the very edge. Other lines are quite shorter, line 4 having more than 3 cm. of unwritten space at end. At left the papyrus was badly damaged, consequently the lines lost 8-19 letters each on this side. Two vertical folds are easily detected between lines 2-3 and 4-5. The text suffered mostly at these places. At least two more such folds ran along the top and bottom of the papyrus and it seems that parts of both margins were torn off. In the course of opening the sheet was broken in two, between lines 4-5. The two parts were attached together at the museum laboratory in Berlin. The text runs against the fibers (↓); the other side (→) is blank. The papyrus has two hands. The first (lines 1-2) used thick ink producing rough ligatured and rather large characters; the second is less so with smaller and finer letters. The ink has flaked off in some places here. In line 3 underlying the word τοῦ the second scribe first put down a shortened word beginning with μη (probably meaning μητρόε) then crossed it out. As a result the omicron has a strange downward projection, and there is an abbreviating stroke above the word.

The two hands that wrote on our manuscript produced two different texts. Their appearance on the same sheet of papyrus is probably due to some connection between them. This comes to light on comparing lines 1 and 3, which structurally are nearly similar. Unfortunately, I was unsuccessful in attempting to establish any further connection between these two texts beyond that, and the fact that both relate to matters of priests probably at Soknopaiou Nesos. (See *infra*).

The first text is partly an enigma. Line 1 resembles a blank form; whereas line 2 suggests payments for two taxes regularly levied from priests at the temples of the gods Soknopaios and Hermes at Soknopaiou Nesos. Then it goes on to present a sum the purpose of which I was unable to reveal. The first sum (20 drs.) might lead to the εἰσκριτικόν probably for the temple of the god Soknopaios. The second could concern a fee collected at the rate of eight drs. for serving at the temple of Hermes. Both taxes are discussed in *P. Monac.* III 1, 137, a text dealing with taxes paid by priests at Soknopaiou

Nesos, with a reference to Wallace (1938)a 249-51.<sup>17</sup> It would be logical to assume that the fee for extra charges (prosdiagraphomena and symbolikon) would follow the taxes in line 2, as the case is in *P.Monac.* III 1, 107; 137. Unfortunately the sums do not fit, and the problem remains unsolved.

Blank forms in Roman Egypt made intensive use of words like: τίς, ποιός, ποός.<sup>18</sup> Schwartz<sup>19</sup> explains: "... il s'agit d'un formulaire ... L'emploi de τίς (τινός), ποθεν, ποιός, et ποός ne permet aucun doute". A text acting as a blank form usually substitutes names, people and places for respective cases of τίς. See *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2677 introd. p.113 (II century CE). In Schwartz's and in the Oxyrhynchite documents the main element is "τίς" as will be shown below:

τινὶ στρ(ατηγῶι) τίς τινός ποθεν (Schwartz)  
 τίς τινος τοῦ τινος μητ(ρός) τινός ποθεν  
 τινὶ τινος τοῦ τινος (μητρός) τινός ποθεν ... (*P.Oxy.*  
 XXXIII 2677.1-2).

Examining our text, one finds "τίς" and "ποιός" at line 1. It emerges that 3.1 was certainly meant to act as a blank form. The group of documents acting as blank forms (either partly or in full) published so far encompasses various kinds of texts. (For specifications see chart 1 infra). It might be assumed that in Roman Egypt such texts were fitted to special requirements of certain nomes or periods. Texts such as *BGU XIII* 2286 verso (after CE 212) with its "Αὐρήλιός τις" at line 4 or *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3478 (early IV century CE) could not have been in use before CE 212. "Aurelios" came to be a common name only after the Constitutio Antoniniana was put into effect.

Another example is *O.Bruss.Berl.* 14 (CE 42/43) reedited by Hagedorn (1976)a 167-68. This document, solely concerning Κόππος καὶ περὶ Θήβας, could not have been applied to other districts of Egypt. On the other hand *SB VI* 9226 (Schwartz footnote 19 supra) was undoubtedly used all over the province. Such papyri included guidelines for future officials instructing them how to "fill in" these "blank forms". (See *P.Mich.* II 122 introd. p.83).

Several lists of texts acting as blank forms have been published so far: Schwartz (1950) 210; *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2677 (1968); Hagedorn

<sup>17</sup> See also Evans (1961) 258-59.

<sup>18</sup> For a grammatical discussion of these forms see Gignac (1981) 181-82.

<sup>19</sup> (1950) 210.



(1976)a 167; *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3478 (1982). These lists do not complete one another. It seems, therefore, useful to append a more extensive list to the above discussion.

**Chart 1. Texts Acting as Blank Forms (Fully or Partly)**

No.	Text	Subject	Date (CE)
1	<i>O.Bruss.Berl.</i> 14	birth declaration	42/43 <sup>a</sup>
2	<i>P.Mich.</i> II 122	report of a grapheion	49
3	<i>BGU</i> I 88 ii	act of registration or recording	146-47
4	<i>SB X</i> 10288 <sup>b</sup>	suit against a guardian	II century
5	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VII 1034	draft of a will	II century
6	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIII 2677	model contract of deposit	II century
7	3	tax receipt	II-III century
8	<i>P.Oxy.</i> II 509	draft of an agreement	late II century
9	<i>SB VI</i> 9226 <sup>c</sup>	leasing contract	2 <sup>nd</sup> half II century/early III
10	<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1157 verso (p.109)	application for the registration of a loan	246
11	<i>BGU XIII</i> 2286	tax receipt	after 212
12	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLII 3075	opening of a will	III century
13	<i>SB IV</i> 7350 <sup>d</sup>	medical text	III/ early IV century
14	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIX 3478	subscriptions	Early IV century
15	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> II 67243	leasing contract	Reign of Justinian
16	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> II 67154 verso	donation	Reign of Justinian
17	<i>SB I</i> 6000	agreement	VI century
18	<i>MPER XV</i> 109	leasing contract	VI century
19	<i>P.Lond.</i> I 113 (p. 204)	transaction of property	VI-VII century
20	Wilcken (1903) 183 <sup>e</sup>	leasing contract	VII century
21	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XL 2927	registration by a phylarch	Undated

**Notes to chart 1.**

- a) = Hagedorn (1976)a 167, Bingen (1977) 25. Viereck in the lectio prima suggested two dates CE 38/39 or 42/43. Hagedorn (p. 168) preferred the later.  
 b) = Polotzky (1967) 51 = *P. Babatha* 28.  
 c) Schwartz (1950) 209.  
 d) = *P. Berl. Möller* 13. Wilcken, (1930) 247, thinks this is merely an exercise, not a blank form.  
 e) No *SB* serial number found.

The text inscribed by the M. 2<sup>nd</sup>, (lines 3-6), deals with matters related to priests probably in a temple at Soknopaiou Nesos. Στοτοήτις (a name repeated six times at lines 3; 4; 6 in this text) was very frequent in this village.<sup>20</sup> It contains two receipts affirming two payments. The first, (lines 3-5), is paid by one Pakysis through the ἐπιτηρηταί (acting in the temple).<sup>21</sup> In the second receipt, (line 6), the high priest, (the ἀρχιερέυς), another Stotoetis, pays 70 (?) drs. for the φόρος βοῶν.

The evidence concerning the φόρος βοῶν is rather scanty. It actually consists of controversial readings in four texts in addition to 3 and *P. Petaus* 43, which will be discussed following chart 2.

**Chart 2. Texts recording the φόρος βοῶν**

No.	Text	Date (CE)	Provenance	Taxpayer	Payment
1	<i>P. Petaus</i> 43	184-87*	Ptolemais Hormou	?	Kind
2	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 460	191	Soknopaiou Nesos(?)	Priests(?)	20+12 drs.
3	<i>BGU</i> I 25	200	Arsinoite nome	high priest	400 drs.

<sup>20</sup> See Hobson (1982) 90. At times this name was given to several members of the same family (grandfather, father, son as at 3.6). See Battaglia (1986) 85. Στοτοήτις is the most frequent name on this list (*P. Lond.* II 364).

<sup>21</sup> Due to the fragmentary state of line 5 the name of the tax and the sum paid were lost.

4	3	II-III century	Soknopaiou Nesos	high priest	70(?) drs.
5	BGU I 292	II-III century	Soknopaiou Nesos	high priest	104 drs.
6	P.Lond. II 478	II-III century	Soknopaiou Nesos	a priest	100 drs.

\* For the date see PHI 7 database.

**P.Petaus 43.3; 26** In *P.Petaus* 43.3 βοῶν is resolved on the basis of line 26. But the scribe cancelled this line. Consequently, the reading at line 3 is doubtful. Moreover, the payment is in kind alone of all the other five instances on chart 2, which are in cash. Apparently, it ought to be concluded that φόρος βοῶν is not recorded in this document. (See commentary to lines 3-4 ad loc.). Yet, the main issue touching upon the present discussion is the fact that this tax is actually mentioned (in spite of the cancellation of *P.Petaus* 43.26), which should weightily support the conclusion concerning the existence of φόρος βοῶν in Roman Egypt.

**P.Lond. II 460.3; 5 (p. 70)** prima lectio by Kenyon:

3. φόρου βομῶν < φ ρ' δ < κ βο<sup>L</sup> < ια-ό ...

5. φόρου βομῶν < τ ρ' < ιβ βο<sup>L</sup> < σ' ο' ...

The editors of *P.Fay.* 62 (Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth) suggested that the abbreviation βο<sup>L</sup> at lines 3 and 5 be expanded as βοῶν. At first Wilcken, (1901) 141, agreed with them, but later, (1906) 234, doubted this resolution of the London text (βο<sup>L</sup> - βοῶν). Otto, (1905) II 53 note 3, and 54 note 3 ad loc., on the other hand, supported the reading of βοῶν in the text under discussion here. Wallace, (1938)a 456, turned down both Kenyon's prima lectio and the expansion offered by the editors of *P.Fay.* 62. He came up with a new reading: βδ' in place of βο<sup>L</sup> (BL V 53). Johnson, (1936) 555, went along with Wallace's suggestion. For the meaning of βδ' see the discussion of *BGU I* 292.2 infra.

**BGU I 25.8** Prima lectio by Krebs:

8. ὑπ(ερ) φόρου βοῶν

In the apparatus criticus Krebs amended βοῶν to βοῶν. In their introduction to *P.Fay.* 62 the editors accepted this amendment.

Wilcken too supported Krebs republishing this text (*W.Chr.* 270) without altering his transcription.<sup>22</sup> Wallace, (1938)a 80 and note 20 on p. 387, accepted Krebs' version, yet, he argued that one should not exclude the possibility that a mu was omitted which would change βωῶν into βωμῶν. The result would be: φόρος βωμῶν, a well documented tax in Roman Egypt.<sup>23</sup>

**BGU I 292.2** Prima lectio by Krebs:

2. γ (ἔτους) (δραγμαί) φ ριδ' κ[ε]φ(αλαίου) κτλ.

Otto, (1905) II 54 note 3 ad loc. suggested a change in Krebs' reading. In place of ριδ' κ[ε]φ(αλαίου) he offered to read: ρ'δς κ β[ο]<sup>L</sup> meaning - (ἐκατοσταὶ) (τέσσαρες) (δραγμαί) κ β[ο(ῶν)] κτλ. (See also *BL* I 36 and note 15 ad loc.). Wallace, (1938)a 456-57, rejected Otto's proposal. He suggested β[δ]' (=2¼) instead of β[ο]<sup>L</sup>. Linking it with the 4% preceding this symbol at line 2, he reached 6¼% (1/16), the surcharge for prosdiagraphomena imposed on the φόρος βωμῶν (a tax mentioned at line 1 of the document under discussion here). Johnson (1936) 555, agreed with Wallace, doubting the existence of a tax named φόρος βοῶν all together.

**P.Lond. II 478.5 (p. 111)** prima lectio by Kenyon:

5. υ' φδ β[ω] δραγμαί

Otto, (1905) II 53-54 and note 5 ad loc., offered to alter Kenyon's prima lectio as follows: υ'(πέρ) φ(όρου) β[ο](ῶν) κτλ. (See also *BL* VI, 62). His suggestion was backed by Wipszycka (1971)b 117.

In 3.6 one can easily read the phrase φόρου βοῶν at the end of line 6.<sup>24</sup> Though he rejects Otto's approach to *P.Lond.* II 460 and 478, Wallace, (1938)a 80, does not try to change the reading of *BGU* I 25. His attempt to add a mu to the disputed word (βωῶν) might have been supported, had we not found 3 and *P.Petaus* 43. Hence the issue of the existence of a tax under the name of φόρος βοῶν should be reopened.

<sup>22</sup> A comparison of the texts published by Krebs and Wilcken will prove that Wilcken did not automatically print Krebs' version in his *Chrestomathie*, but read the original himself. In spite of this fact he did not decide to change Krebs' reading.

<sup>23</sup> For a recent discussion see Cuvigny (1986) 107-133.

<sup>24</sup> Prof. N. Lewis checked this reading with me and confirmed it (on his visit to Israel, March 1986). For this I owe him much gratitude.

Having presented Otto's opinion concerning φόρος βοῶν *WO* I 352 ought to be added, where this tax is listed among many others known in Roman Egypt. Moreover, Krebs' opinion expressed in the amendment of *BGU* I 25.8 (βωῶν to βοῶν) should not be overlooked.<sup>25</sup> In *WB* III p. 353 Preisigke placed φόρος βοῶν (thus!) right after φόρος βομῶν, but not in the same entry. Finally, it ought to be remarked that the editors of *P.Fay.* 62 introd. referred to the φόρος βοῶν as "a regular tax levied upon bulls and cows".

Wallace, Johnson and others doubted the existence of this tax basing their opinions on the evidence extant at the time. With the publication of *P.Petaus* 43 and 3 the conclusion is clear: the φόρος βοῶν did exist, though the material concerning it is rather scanty, as yet. Future discoveries might solve such problems as: the system of imposing the tax, its rate, the frequency of payments, the time in the course of which it was levied<sup>26</sup> and the like. The extant evidence does not seem to offer adequate answers to these questions. Nevertheless, some important information can be deduced from the six texts on chart 2:

- a) All of them originate from the Arsinoite nome, mostly Soknopaiou Nesos.
- b) The tax was probably imposed on individuals.
- c) *P.Petaus* 43 excluded, all the other taxpayers are priests (three of them high priests).
- d) The φόρος βοῶν was probably paid in cash.

In spite of the fact that 3 does not carry any indication of date, relating it to the last 3<sup>rd</sup> of the II century CE or the beginning of the III might bring us as close as possible to the original date of the two texts inscribed on it. This opinion is based on two arguments:

- a) All the documents on chart 2 might be dated within this period.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Thanks are due to Prof. Poethke who checked the original for me at the late Dr. Brashear's request.

<sup>26</sup> The texts involved with this tax indicate a period of about half a century, namely from the last 3<sup>rd</sup> of II century CE onward. Yet the documentation of the φόρος βοῶν is still insufficient for a clear cut decision regarding this point.

<sup>27</sup> Two of these documents are dated between the end of II and the beginning of III centuries. Considering the fact that the last extant dated document from Soknopaiou Nesos is probably *P.Fay* 90 (CE 234), 3 might have not carried a later date. See Samuel (1977)b 163 and note 7 ad loc.

b) The letter phi is written four times in our manuscript (lines 1; 3; 5; 6).<sup>28</sup> Three of these (1; 5; 6) take a form used in II century. The same phi can be read in *P.Lond.* II 460.3; 5.<sup>29</sup>

P. Berol. inv. 25548  
14.8 cm.x7.1 (Pl. 3)

Soknopaiou Nesos  
Last 3<sup>rd</sup> II/ beginning III century CE

M. 1<sup>st</sup> τίς τινος] τοῦ τινος μη(τρὸς) ποιάς ἱερεὺς ποιάς  
φυλ(ῆς)  
εἰσκρίσεως ἰε]ρέων δι(έγραψεν) (δραχμάς) κ' Ἑρμ(οῦ) η  
[(δραχμάς) .]. ῥυ(παρὰς) δ(ραχμάς) ε (ἡμιωβέλιον)  
(χαλκοῦς) β (γίνονται) ε (ἡμιωβέλιον) (χαλκοῦς) [β

M. 2<sup>nd</sup> διέγραψεν] Πακῦσις Στοτοήτεως [[μη]] τοῦ  
Στοτοήτεως μη(τρὸς) Ταουήτεως γ φυ(λῆς)  
4 διὰ NN] .... Στοτοήτεως ἐπιτηρητ(οῦ) καὶ τῶν λοιπ(ῶν)  
ἐπι[τ]ηρηταί  
tax? ±19]...ρ.ι[±5]. [±4]..[.]...φ[.]υ  
διέγραψεν Στοτοῆ]τι(ς) Στοτοήτεως του Στοτοῆ(τεως)  
ἀρχ[ι]ερεὺς φόρου βοῶν (δραχμάς) ρ

4 leg. ἐπι[τ]ηρητῶν

[A son of B] grandson of C, whose mother is so and so, a priest of tribe so and so, [for the eiskrisis of the] priests [has paid] 20 drs. (and) for Hermes 8 [drs.] ... 5 base drs. ½ ob. 2 chalk. equals 5 (drs.) ½ ob. [2 chalk].

Pakysis, son of Stotoetis, grandson of Stotoetis, whose mother is Taouetis (from) tribe three [has paid through NN] son of Stotoetis, an epiteretes, and the rest of the epeteretai ... Stotoetis, son of Stotoetis, grandson of Stotoetis, a high priest, [has paid] 70 (?) drs. for the cattle tax.

<sup>28</sup> See Thompson (1912) 192-93.

<sup>29</sup> I would like to thank Mr. Tom Pattie who sent me a sketch of the original at the late Dr. Brashear's request.

1 ἱερεὺς ποιὰς φυλ(ῆς): The priests at Egyptian temples were assigned duties and services according to tribe membership. The tribes in charge of such activities shifted monthly. Beginning in the Pharaonic period and until BCE 237 there were four tribes in every Egyptian temple. In 237 a convention of the priests in Egypt gathered at Canopus and decided to form a fifth tribe in honor of Ptolemy IV Philopator (BCE 244-205). The number of priests was not increased but the tribes were differently arranged. This order of tribes was kept unchanged as late as the end of the Pagan Era. See Evans (1961) 180-83. For a list of temple functionaries see Evans (1961) 185-203. Priests at Soknopaiou Nesos had considerable privileges. See Hobson (1984)b 851-52.

2. εἰς κρίσεως ἱερῶν ... Ἑρμ(οῦ): For this restoration see *P.Monac.* III 1, 137.29-30; *SPP* XXII 171.6; *P.Lond.* II 329.7 and a reference in *P.Monac.* III 1,107 note to line 8 ad loc. As for Ἑρμ(οῦ) see also *P.Monac.* III 1,107.8 which reads: Ἑρμαίου.

ῥυ(παρὰς) δ(ραχμάς): See Youtie (1973)a 756; (1982) 598. Between the repeated two sums in line 2 there is an unclear sign, which should certainly mean γίνονται- "equals".

4 ἐπιτηρητ(οῦ) καὶ τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) ἐπιτηρηταί (-τῶν): These were probably the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἱερατικῶν ὧνων. See Lewis (1997) 29. They functioned as tax collectors from individual priests and temples. See Evans (1961) 266-67. The office was liturgic. See Lewis (1997) 28. Usually 2-4 people held this office simultaneously. According to line 4 more than two are attested in our second text. These epiteretai are also documented as collectors of a trade-tax at Tebtunis. See Wallace (1938)a 308. See also Wipszycka (1965)a 163-70 and Rea (1982) 191-209, (pp. 192 and 199 in particular).

6 ἀρχιερεὺς: For high priests in Egyptian temples see Evans (1961) 185; Rigsby (1985) 279-89. The office was made liturgic in CE 237. See Lewis (1997) 15-16.

φόρου: See Wallace (1938)a 77-80.

## 4-6. THREE RECEIPTS FOR KATOIKIC TAXES

**General Remarks**

The following section contains three texts (4-6) dealing with taxes on katoikic land: ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων and ναύβιον κατοίκων. The purpose of the *arithmetikon katoikon* (4-5), is still uncertain, although it seems that the revenues enabled the Roman government in Egypt to finance several activities connected with owners of katoikic land, such as collecting, classifying, and perhaps verifying the information submitted by katoikic landholders, together with the maintenance of an archive safeguarding relevant declarations and documents. The origins of the tax can be traced back into the Ptolemaic period, when a bureau was established to house records documenting the rights of ownership of katoikic land. Maintenance of this bureau was financed by both the landholders themselves and the Ptolemaic rulers. Owners of land classified as katoikic were obliged to pay the *arithmetikon katoikon* only once in every four years.<sup>30</sup> Under the Romans *arithmetikon katoikon* was imposed per capita.<sup>31</sup> This is also to be gathered from the fact that extant documentation attest only one of the six fixed rates listed below for this tax at a time, probably regardless of the measures of the piece of land it was paid for: 14 drs. and 1½ obs.; 16 drs.; 16 and 1½ obs.; 18 drs.; 20 drs.; 28 drs. and 3 obs.<sup>32</sup> The statement by Daniel and Sijpesteijn, (1985) 47, regarding the fact that the *arithmetikon katoikon* was paid and receipted only in the II century CE may require revision as a result of the apparent dates of 4 and 5 in the first decade of the III century. See notes to 4.1 and 5.1.

<sup>30</sup> For a chronological table showing the years in which this tax was due see Pestman in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XV 85-120. See also *BGU* I 342 (CE 181-184); *P.Oxy.* XLII 3030.3-4 (CE 207 ?) and notes ad loc. Both in *BGU* XV 2525 introd. p. 139 and in his article (1984) 91 Nelson asserts that the *arithmetikon katoikon* was paid annually. This statement, however, is at odds with extant evidence. See Wallace (1938)a 179 discussing *BGU* I 342 (CE 181-84); *P.Oxy.* XLII 3030.3-4 and notes ad loc.

<sup>31</sup> See Wallace (1938)a 179-80; Préaux and Hombert (1940) 287; Nelson in *BGU* XV 2525 introd. p. 140; *P.Hamb.* III 209 introd. Daniel and Sijpesteijn (1985) 47.

<sup>32</sup> See Wallace (1938)a 177; Nelson (1984) 91; *P.Hamb.* III 209 introd.; Daniel and Sijpesteijn (1985) 48-49. For irregular payments see Daniel and Sijpesteijn (1985) 48-49 and note 10 ad loc. See also 5.5 -6 infra and note ad loc.



The second tax in this section is the ναύβιον κατοίκων (4 and 6). The word ναύβιον has two meanings:

- a. It signifies a unit of measurement of soil (actually a basket, *WO I* p.260) used in calculating the amount of work annually imposed on peasants with the purpose of maintaining the irrigation system in ancient Egypt.
- b. A land tax related to the activity depicted in a above. The naubion replaced a similar tax named χωματικόν in the course of the II century CE. See Wallace (1938)a 60.

A proper irrigation system continuously and carefully maintained was a matter of life or death in most districts of ancient Egypt. Inhabitants of the Arsinoite nome had to perform a five-day corvée annually (known as the πενθήμερος) maintaining the dike and canal system of cultivated lands in this nome.<sup>33</sup> Some landowners paid the naubion tax ad aruram, which was imposed on two categories of land: the γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει, Wallace (1938)a 60, and the γῆ κατοικική. It is probable that this tax freed its payers from the dike corvée. The purpose of this tax was the upkeep of the irrigation system, which supplied water to both private and imperial land holdings. The rate for γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει was 150 copper dr. per arura; for κατοικική 100.<sup>34</sup> Owners of katoikic land were more privileged, since they paid a lower rate of the naubion tax and were almost certainly exempted from the penthemeros. See *W.Gr.* 336-37; *P.Ryl.* II 192 (142 CE) introd. p. 239; Wallace (1938) a 142-43; Préaux and Hombert (1940) 288; Hobson in *P.Rain.Cent.* 61 introd. p. 347; Nelson (1984) 91-92.

Taxpayers, mostly peasant villagers<sup>35</sup>, in Roman Egypt were obliged to pay some extra charges in addition to their katoikic taxes, namely: προδιαγραφόμενα; κόλλυβος; συμβολικόν. For the prosdiagraphomena see 2.5 and note ad loc.

The kollybos was a special charge for exchanging copper drs. into silver ones. The rate of exchange was 300:1. Exchangers paid a five

<sup>33</sup> See Sijpesteijn in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XII 1-4. Sijpesteijn repeatedly brought his list in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XII up to date, as for example, in *P.Mich.* XV 141-53. See also Rupprecht (1994) 78-80.

<sup>34</sup> The copper drachma was a Ptolemaic currency no longer in circulation during the Roman period. Payments were calculated at the regular rate of exchange between copper and silver currencies (300:1). See Wallace (1938a) 59-61; Shelton in *P.Cair.Mich.* 359 II p.29.

<sup>35</sup> Class and status designation among the Egyptian population are referred to in 2 footnote 14 ad loc.

copper dr. fee for the exchange of each silver one. Thus, the extra charge was at the rate of 1/60 of the value of the silver dr. in copper. See *P.Lond.* II 372.7 (II century CE) in *P.Tebt.* II App. I, note to line 7 on p. 341; *P.Ryl.* II 192.10 (CE 142) and note ad loc.; *P.Cair.Mich.* 359 II p.30.

The symbolikon was the scribes' fee for preparing and issuing receipts.<sup>36</sup> The sum paid differed according to the relevant tax. In many receipts the amount charged is not mentioned; the word symbolikon itself was omitted at times.<sup>37</sup> Yet, even when this surtax was not mentioned by name, there is no reason to believe that it was overlooked and not collected.<sup>38</sup> In addition, paying more than one tax simultaneously and having the payments recorded on the same receipt was convenient and profitable, since the taxpayer was charged an overall reduced fee for the receipt.<sup>39</sup>

The extra charge for symbolikon on arithmetikon katoikon was 3 obs. See *BGU XV* 2525 ii.8 (CE 83-85); *SB XVI* 12792.7(CE 164) text discussed in Poethke and Sijpesteijn (1984) 45-46; Schuman (1975) 38; Daniel and Sijpesteijn (1985) 50. For the naubion katoikon several sums are attested. Examples follow:

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1½ obs. | <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 192a.11 (CE 152).  |
| 3 obs.  | <i>SB III</i> 6591 recto ii.48; iii.63 (reign of Antoninus Pius);<br><i>P.Lond.</i> II 372.9 (II century CE) in <i>P.Tebt.</i> II App. I. |
| 3½ obs. | <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 192.10 (CE 142).   |

<sup>36</sup> See Schuman (1975) 23-24.

<sup>37</sup> See for example *BGU XV* 2525 i; iii; iv (CE 83-85 - no mention of symbolikon); *SPP XXII* 111; 112; 113 (all three CE 192) with a comment in Daniel and Sijpesteijn (1985) 50 and note 14 ad loc. (tax abbreviated and amount omitted).

<sup>38</sup> See previous footnote.

<sup>39</sup> See Schuman (1975) 27.

## 4. ARITHMETIKON KATOIKON AND NAUBION KATOIKON

The piece of light brown papyrus is full of holes produced by worms all over. The top right and left margins (ca. 1-2 cm.) were not damaged. Although at bottom the papyrus sheet lost a part of unknown size, the text remained mostly intact with a large margin extending to 4 cm. in one place. Most of the damage occurs at the vertical and horizontal folds. The hand, written in bold ink abraded here and there, produced thick heavily ligatured letters. The text runs along the fibers (→); the other side (↓) is blank.

4 is a receipt acknowledging two payments; 16 drs. for an unidentified tax, probably the ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων (for which see *infra*); two (or possibly eight) drs. for the ναύβιον κατοίκων. Sotas, the πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν of the village Herakleia, received both payments, which were made by one Syrus in the name of Sambas (?) son of Onnophris. The taxpayer's own name was partly lost.

Although 4 does not specifically mention the arithmetikon katoikon, it presents some features which strongly argue for this tax:

- a. The payment was made to the praktor argyrikon of Herakleia, a village in the Arsinoite nome, where considerable katoikic land was located. In addition, it is remarkable that most receipts for this tax originated from this nome. See Daniel and Sijpesteijn (1985) 47.
- b. In some receipts the sum of 16 drs. is found covering this tax with no additional charges recorded. See *P.Ryl.* II 194.4 (CE 134-36); *P.Lond.* II 451.4 (p.110, CE 195/96); Daniel and Sijpesteijn (1985) 49.
- c. Payments for arithmetikon and naubion katoikon are frequently found on the same receipts, as the case might have been in 4. See Préaux and Hombert (1940) 288; Daniel and Sijpesteijn (1985) 47 note 4 *ad loc.* See also Hobson in *P.Rain.Cent.* 61 p. 348, note 5.
- d. 4 makes it clear that our taxpayer owned katoikic land for the maintenance of which he probably paid both taxes.
- e. The only tax on Johnson's list, (1936) 552-81, which is levied per capita at the rate of 16 drs. and is relevant to 4 is the arithmetikon katoikon.

On the other hand, important arguments playing against categorizing the payment of 16 drs. in 4 as having been made for the arithmetikon katoikon should not be overlooked:

- a. This tax is not specified in 4.
- b. The ninth year of Septimius Severus (CE 200/201) was not a katoikic tax-year, nor was the ninth year of any emperor in the II century. (See also below note to line 1). The most recent katoikic tax year was 199/200. See Pestman in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XV p. 109. Late payments are attested, but receipts spell this out in specific terms. Still, exceptions occurred, as the case of *SB XVI 12792* shows. See Daniel and Sijpesteijn (1985) 49. 4 could have been another exception.

**P. Berol. inv. 25556**  
**11.9x10 cm. (Pl. 4)**

**Herakleia**  
**CE 200/201 (?)**

ἔτους ᾗ διέγραψε Σώτας π[ρ]άκ(τορι)  
 ἀργυ(ρικῶν) κώμης Ἡρακλείας Σε[μ]βᾶς  
 [Ὀ]ννώφρεως τοῦ Καταρούθου  
 4 διὰ Σύρου (δραχμᾶς) ις (γίνονται?) ις  
 καὶ ὑπὲρ ναυβίου κατοίκων (δραχμᾶς) β.

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1 leg. Σώτα

In the 9<sup>th</sup> year Sambas (?) son of Onnophris, gds. of Kataruthes paid to Sotas, praktor argyrikon of the village of Herakleia, through the agency of Syrus 16 drs. equals 16. And for the naubion of the Katoikoi 2 drs..

1 ἔτους ᾗ: Trajan's ninth year was **105/106** (katoikic tax-years in his reign were: 99/100; 103/104; 107/108; 111/12; 115/16 ); Hadrian's - **124/25** (katoikic tax years: 119/120; 123/24; 127/28; 131/23; 135/36); Antoninus' - **145/46** (katoikic tax years: 139/140; 143/44; 147/48; 151/52; 155/56; 159/160); Aurelius', Verus' and Caracalla's -

168/69 (katoikic tax years; 163/64; 167/68; 171/72; 175/76; 179;180); Septimius Severus' - 200/201 (katoikic tax years: 195/96; 199/200; 203/204; 207/208). See Pestman in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XV pp. 98-111. Apparently no match is established. Nevertheless, Septimius Severus' ninth year (200/201) seems a most likely suitable date for 4. Sotas was the praktor argyrikon in three documents: *BGU* XV 2546.3 (12? July CE 198) and note ad loc.; III 790.1 (198/9); I 61.ii.3 (30 August 200) originating from Herakleia rendering the ninth year of Severus far more acceptable. Moreover, 4 and *BGU* XV 2546 (198 CE) were probably written by the same scribe. The hands are similar, and so are both the provenance, Herakleia, and the praktor argyrikon, Sotas. In addition, in various documents dated to the beginning of the sole reign of Commodus (180 CE) and onwards dating formulas similar to the structure in 4 (emperors' names and titles not mentioned) are encountered. See 7.3 and note ad loc. for customs-house receipts. Hobson, *P.Rain.Cent.* 61 (195 CE) introd. p. 347 footnote 1, applies this theory to arithmetikon katoikon receipts showing that scribes of these documents used similar structures which might be explained as in the case of customs-house receipts. 4 could be another such an instance.

Σώτας (-τα). A small dossier documenting Sotas' service as praktor argyrikon at Herakleia in four years of Severus' reign (6<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup>) can be presented by now. For the three texts augmented by 4 see previous note. This Sotas appears on Hobson's list of inhabitants of Herakleia (1986) 118 (nos. 251-53).

1-2 π[ρ]άκ(τορι) ἀργυ(ρικῶν): A Ptolemaic office continued into the Roman period. Praktores were official money collectors. See Wallace (1938)a 286ff. The office turned liturgic in CE 106, the required πόρος ranging from 600 to 3 talents + 3000 drs. A team of two or more officials would have one or more villages as their area of activity. In large cities several quarters might be allocated. The normal term of office was three years which could be prolonged at times. See Oertel (1917) 195-204; Lewis (1997) 42-43; Hobson in *P.Rain.Cent.* 61.2 note ad loc.

2 Κα[μ]βᾶc: No Sambas appears in the list of inhabitants of Herakleia in Hobson (1986) 100-123, p. 113 in particular, and this son of Onnophris can now be added.

Ἡρακλείας: A village in the northern part of the Themistos division, Arsinoite nome, near the border with the Herakleides division, for which see Hobson (1985) 102-103. Originally a Ptolemaic settlement, the village is well attested during the first three centuries of Roman rule in Egypt and into the Byzantine period. See *P.Tebt.* II pp. 377-78; Calderini, *Dizionario* II ii 206-209; Hobson (1982) 81-82; (1985) and (1986) *passim*.

3 [Ἰ]ωνώφρεωc τοῦ Καταρούθου: For this version of the genitive of Ἰωνώφριc see *BGU* VII 1616.7; 17; 1638 B ii.7; 10. For a commoner form, Ἰωνώφριoc, see NB. No Onnophris son of Katarouthes appears in the list of Hobson (1986), although two individuals bearing the name of Onnophris demonstrate that it was known to Herakleia's prosopography (nos. 132-33). The name Katarouthes, however, is previously unattested in published papyri.

4 διὰ Σύρου: This Syrus could probably be identified with an inhabitant of Herakleia (a son of Κέν.ειτοc) attested as a taxpayer of katoikic land in this village (196 CE) for which see *BGU* XIII 2301 (no. 248 on Hobson's list of residents of Herakleia). Another Syrus, a definite resident of Apias, Hobson (1982) 117 no. 163, is attested as praktor argyrikon in CE 180. Are we dealing with the same person, a praktor argyrikon in 180, an agent some twenty years later (CE 200/201), and a taxpayer in between?<sup>40</sup> Hobson, in *P.Rain.Cent.* 61 p. 349, contends that inhabitants of Soknopaiou Nesos owned landholdings at Herakleia and at Apias. She further suggests that the naubion tax for the Apias holdings was paid through agents, probably living on the spot. Could the same notions be related to landholdings at Herakleia?

5 (δραχμᾶc) β: Close examination of the text at this point will show that two letters (beta and eta) were written one on top of the other. It is impossible to decide which of the two the clerk inscribed first only to

<sup>40</sup> I would like to thank Prof. D. Hobson for making her database concerning Syrus available to me.

reverse himself later. A scrutiny of the papyrus under a high powered microscope did not yield a reliable answer.<sup>41</sup> The eta might have been written on top of the beta. Yet the matter will remain undecided as yet. In this case both numbers (two and eight) will be considered. Surtaxes are not mentioned, but the amount of land Sambas owned can be deduced from the sum receipted, for what Sambas paid included the tax itself at 100 copper drs. per aroura, the prosdiagraphomena (10% of the previous), the kollybos (5 copper drs. for the exchange of each silver dr.), and the symbolikon (3 silver obs.). If Sambas paid a total of 2 silver drs., he ought to own 4 arouras; if he paid 8 silver drs., 20 arouras. These calculations are based on the rate of conversion of 300 copper drs. for 1 silver. Similar calculations are employed by Hobson in *P.Rain.Cent.* 61, p. 348, footnote 5. See also the discussion of kollybos supra.

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<sup>41</sup> Thanks are due to Dr. T. Keisar, a professor of biology and director of the laboratories at Achva Academic College, for assisting me with the examination of the papyrus under discussion here.

## 5. ARITHMETIKON KATOIKON

The light brown piece of papyrus is filled with holes produced by worms and its surface suffered extensive damage. Except for some small projections of papyrus fibers, the first two lines of writing are almost entirely lost, taking with them the dating formula of the receipt. Thereafter, however, follow four lines that are nearly complete, with the right margin intact and three to four or five letters lost from the beginning of each line at left. The deep bottom margin leaves about 3 cm. blank. A single vertical fold is clearly visible. The scribe of the receipt wrote an elegant cursive hand with frequent ligatures parallel to the fibers (→). The back side (↓) of the papyrus is blank. The scribe used vertical strokes (lines 4-5) and a raised letter (line 5) to indicate abbreviations.

5 is a receipt to a taxpayer whose name was probably Polion, acknowledging that in the 12<sup>th</sup> year he paid for the land tax ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων 17 (?) drs. and 4 obs. to Ision and his colleagues, the praktores argyrikon of Apias, a village in the Themistos division of the Arsinoite nome. The 12<sup>th</sup> regnal year is most likely that of Septimius Severus, 203/204, due to the fact that not only was it a katoikic year in which the arithmetikon katoikon was to be paid, but also because the praktor, Ision, named in line 3, is attested not only here, but apparently also in 6 augmented by *BGU* XIII 2288 and *BL* VIII 57, likewise dated to year 203/204. An Ision is also attested as praktor argyrikon at Apias some 13 years previously in three receipts for the arithmetikon katoikon, dated to CE 192 (*SPP* XXII 111-13). It is unclear whether the same Ision served two terms as praktor argyrikon of Apias, or whether two different individuals named Ision are involved.

P.Berol. inv. 25559  
6.7x5.8 cm. (Pl. 5)

Apias  
CE 203/204 (?)

]ουε [
   
εὐσε]βοῦε [
   
+3].. διέγρα(ψεν) Ἰσίων[ι καὶ μετ]όχ[οις



4 πράκ(τορρι) ἀργ(υρικῶν) κώ(μης) Ἀπιάδος Πωλι[  
±3] ἀριθ(μητικοῦ) κατοίκ(ων) ιβ (ἔτους) δραχμὰς  
δε]κα[ε]πτὰ τετρώβολον (γίνονται) (δραχμὰς?) ιζf.

... Pius... Pol[ion? son of NN?] paid to Ision and his colleagues, the praktores argyrikon of the village Apias, for the arithmetikon of the katoikoi of year 12 seventeen (?) drs. four obs., equals 17 (?) drs. and 4 obs.

3 Ἰσίων[ι: It is unlikely to assume that the same Ision held the office of praktor argyrikon for the period of over 14 years covered by the six texts listed below. Given that the regular term of this office was a period of three years (see 4.1-2 and note ad loc.) it would be more reasonable to suggest that the same Ision served two different terms as praktor argyrikon, or, and which is more likely, two persons bearing this name are recorded here in this office:

<i>SPP</i> XXII 111	(CE 192)
<i>SPP</i> XXII 112	(CE 192)
<i>SPP</i> XXII 113	(CE 192)
<i>BGU</i> XIII 2288	(CE 203/204) (?)
5	(CE 203/204) (?)
6	(CE 204/205) (?)

For redating *BGU* XIII 2288 by Hobson see *P.Rain.Cent.* 61, p.347 note 1 ad loc. The editor dated it CE 172. Hobson bases her arguments on the fact that the same praktor argyrikon, Ision, is active in the *SPP* documents and in *BGU* XIII 2288, and on the similarity between the *BGU* text and *SB* I 5102 in the matter of the tax receipted (τιμὴ θυρῶν). In concluding that year 32 of *SPP* XXII 112 and 113 ought to be assigned to the reign of Commodus (CE 192) she summons Schwartz's theory in *P.Alex.Giss.* pp. 21-23, namely that beginning with Commodus' sole rule emperors' titles were not indicated in customs-house receipts from Soknopaiou Nesos. Hobson, agreeing with Schwartz, states that his theory can be likewise applied to receipts issued by praktores argyrikon. It seems that the whole matter of leaving out the emperor's name in these documents developed on account of the confusion generated by the fact that Commodus dated the years of his reign from the beginning of Marcus Aurelius' reign.

She reasonably argues that praktores argyrikon faced the same difficulty of dating the receipts they were issuing as the officials collecting customs duties at the gates of Soknopaiou Nesos. See also 4.1 and note ad loc.

μετ]όχ[οις: On a small projection at the end of line 3, a part of the first omicron, and perhaps the edge of the lower left foot of the chi are visible. The praktor acted mostly καὶ μέτοχοι, with colleagues, but also alone. See Sotas in 4 supra and *P.Coll.Youtie* 38.3 (CE 128); *P.Ryl.* II 194.2 (CE 134-36) all three alone; *P.Ryl.* II 192.4-5 (CE 142); *BGU XV* 2546.3-4 (CE 198) both with colleagues.

4 Ἀπιάδος: A village in the Themistos division of the Arsinoite nome attested throughout a period of over six centuries (BC 245 – CE 386). Its site was never excavated, since scholars have not been able to decide upon its exact location. By 1982 86 papyri documenting this village had been published. See Hobson (1982) 80-81; Calderini, *Dizionario* I ii 139-42; Supp. I 44; II 21. 6.6 and 17.27 and 38 also mention this village.

Πωλι[: In place of the dotted iota a lambda can be resolved. Priesigke, WB, gives Πωλίων as the primary orthography for this name, while noting alternate spelling: Πολίον, Πολίων, Πωλλίων. Regularly in such tax receipts the taxpayer's patronymic would accompany the taxpayer's. If the name of Polion's (?) father was actually written, as it should have been, then it must have been very short, since very little free space is left for it at the end of line 4 and the beginning of 5. For other residents of Apias bearing the name Polion see Hobson (1982) 114 (nos. 126-27). No. 126 reappears in *P.Rain.Cent.* 61.2 (CE 195) holding the office of praktor argyrikon in this same village.<sup>42</sup>

5 ιβ (ἔτους): All examined papyri documenting the 12<sup>th</sup> year of Severus (probably a few escaped my checking) record him together with Caracalla. Being that the amount of papyrus and text lost at the beginning of 5 cannot be accurately determined, it would not be illogical to assume that the dating formula here included the names and titulatures of both emperors, probably one of the short version as

<sup>42</sup> I would like to thank Prof. D. Hobson for making her database concerning Polion available to me.

in *BGU XI* 2103.1-3 (year 7, 198/99, CE); *P.Amh.* II 119.1-3 (year 8, 200), or *BGU XIII* 2249.5-8 (probably year 13 or 14). It will be demonstrated presently, why Severus' and Caracalla's 12<sup>th</sup> year (203/204) ought to be preferred to other emperors' in the II century. The 12<sup>th</sup> years of three emperors in the II century and the beginning of the III conform to katoikic tax-years on which payments for arithmetikon katoikon were due: Hadrian, 127/28; Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, 171/72; Septimius Severus and Caracalla, 203/04. (For a list of katoikic tax-years in the II/III centuries see Pestman in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XV 103-111). Hadrian's 12<sup>th</sup> year (127/28) is ruled out by  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$ , which comes into use only with Antoninus. Of the remaining two CE 203/204 seems a better choice than 171/72. To begin with, the dating formula in 5 probably included the title  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$  (line 2), which was not regularly used by Marcus Aurelius. None of Aurelius' dating formulas cited by Bureth, (1964) 77-79, contains this epithet. *P.Fouad* 62, which does employ  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$ , was dated CE 164 in the editio prima (1939), but has been more recently assigned by Bureth, (1964) 107, and McCarren, (1985) 59, to the reign of Elagabalus (CE 220/21). *SB VI* 9330 (CE 178/9) makes use of  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$  and  $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$ , but this is probably a rare case. On the other hand,  $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$  was frequently used in Severan documents. See Bureth (1964) 93-101. Also supporting CE 203/204 are the Ision documents, for which see introd. supra.

5-6 δραχμὰς/ δε]κα[ε]πτὰ τετρώβολον (γίνονται) (δραχμὰς?)  
 ιζf: The amount of 17 drs. and 4 obs. paid for arithmetikon katoikon does not conform to any of the regular payments for this tax. See 4 introd. An attempt to show that this sum contained one of the regular charges (16 drs.) plus the usual surtaxes will result in an unaccounted for shortfall of 30 copper drs.: 16 silver drs. for the tax + 1 silver dr. prosdiagraphomena at the rate of 1/16 of the sum receipted + 3 silver obs. for the symbolikon and the 80 copper drs. for the kollybos.<sup>43</sup> The total is 17 silver drs. and three obols + 80 copper drs. which equals 17 silver drs. 4 obs. and 30 copper drs. The sum of 80 copper drs. will

<sup>43</sup> Five copper drs. were charged for the exchange of each 300 into 1 silver:

5x16=80. For the rate of exchange of copper drs. into silver ones see 4.5 and note ad loc.

render 1 silver ob. (= 50 copper drs.) leaving unaccounted for the remaining 30 copper drs. Actually, sums around up to a quarter of an ob. ( $12\frac{1}{2}$  copper drs.) could be disregarded. See Schuman (1975) 25; Shelton in *P.Cair. Mich.* 359 II p. 32. Otherwise the amount of 17 silver drs. and 4 obs. will have to be considered as another irregular payment for arithmetikon katoikon.

6 τετρώβολον: The beta was written on top of another stroke, perhaps first intended to mark abbreviation of the remainder of the word, and it is larger than the other letters in this word. The scribe might at first have meant to abbreviate τετρώβολον, but he changed his mind.

## 6. NAUBION KATOIKON (?)

The small piece of light brown papyrus is full of holes produced by worms. Three vertical folds are visible and these divided the papyrus into at least four long strips, the one at left almost totally lost except for a few tiny projections of fibers. The loss of the left strip carried away not only the left margin, but also one letter from the beginning of all the lines at left except 2 and 3. Otherwise, the text is complete at the remaining three sides; the top margin is about 1 cm. broad and its edge was cut straight. A similar cut was made at right, but the scribe wrote up to the edge of the papyrus leaving no margin. The papyrus is broken off at bottom, although the receipt appears complete as preserved. The text was written along the fibers ( $\rightarrow$ ), the other side ( $\downarrow$ ) of the papyrus is blank.

The scribe was by no means a skillful writer and his large and clumsy letters lack the ligatures of fast and more competent writers. While he introduced but two abbreviations (lines 8 and 9), he omitted letters from words in lines 2, 4, and 8; further, he did not write out in words the numerals for the amounts paid, as did many clerks when composing tax receipts, but provided only alphabetic numerals in line 9.

A man apparently named Pakysis paid 10 silver drs. and 4 obs. to Ision, praktor argyrikon of the village of Apias. The amount was meant to cover the ναύβιον for the 13<sup>th</sup> regnal year, probably of Septimius Severus, given Ision's appearance here also as praktor argyrikon of Apias. See the discussion regarding Ision in 5.3 and note ad loc.

The surtaxes were not incorporated in the sum receipted for the tax in 6, but mentioned separately. The amount of payment charged for the prosdiagraphomena was lost together with the beginning of line 9. The fee for the symbolikon was probably not recorded, even though there is no reason to suppose that it was not exacted.<sup>44</sup> In normal circumstances, the amount would be 1½ obs. See 4 introd. and note to line 5 ad loc. Since the kollybos was left out, it appears that the taxpayer used silver currency. For the naubion and its surtaxes see 4 introd. supra.

<sup>44</sup> See 4 footnote 37 supra.

Since released land (γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει) has not been attested at Apias up to now, the naubion tax paid for in 6 was probably that of the katoikoi. Several supporting arguments follow: a. documents dealing with the village of Apias are intensively occupied with katoikic land;<sup>45</sup> b. by the Roman period peasant farmers of Egyptian status came to own katoikic land at Apias.<sup>46</sup> Pakysis, the taxpayer in 6, could be categorized as such.

P. Berol. inv. 25558  
5.5x8.5 cm (Pl. 6)

Apias  
19 June CE 205 (?)

[ἔ]τους ιγ Παῦνι  
κε διέγραψεν  
Πακ[ῦ]σις  
4 [Ι]σίωνι πάτωρι  
[ἀ]ργυρικῶν  
[κ]ώμησ' Απιάδος  
[ῦ]πὲρ να[υ]βίου  
8 [κ]αὶ ἄλων προσ(διαγραφομένων)  
[.c]υ(μβολικοῦ) [δραχμ]ὰς ιϛ.

2 leg. διέγραψεν 4 leg. πράκτορι 8 leg. ἄλων

Year 13<sup>th</sup>, 25 Pauni. Pakysis paid to Ision, praktor argyrikon, of the village Apias for naubion and other surcharges ... symbolikon, drachmas 10, 4 obs.

1-2 [ἔ]τους ιγ Παῦνι/ κε: 19 June 205 (?).

3 Πακ[ῦ]σις: The reading of the name is by no means certain, and only the alpha and the final sigma are read with confidence. The traces

<sup>45</sup> See Hobson (1982) 86 and passim. See also the Fayum Project directed by W. Clarysse and K. Vanderoppe at the Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, under the name of Apias.

<sup>46</sup> See Hobson (1982) 88.

at the beginning of the line, however, resemble the pi in Ἀπιάδος, line 6. The name Πακῦσις is known from the prosopography of Aprias, see Hobson (1982) 111, nos. 96-97.

9 [..: Prodiagraphomena at the rate of 10% would amount to 1 dr. and ½ ob. Actually, it should have been 1 dr. and 0.4 of an ob. Nevertheless, since 0.4 of an ob. did not exist in the monetary system of Roman Egypt, the sum receipted was certainly rounded up to 1 dr. ½ ob.

[δραχμ]ὰς ιϛ: A payment of 10 silver drs. 4 obs. or 3200 copper drs. for the tax naubion katoikon implies a landholding of 32 arouras, assessed at 100 copper drs. per aroura. If the tax were the naubion enaphesion, however, Pakysis' plot would have been of 21½ arouras assessed at 150 drs. per aroura.

7. CUSTOMS-HOUSE RECEIPT<sup>47</sup>

This document is written on a rectangular piece of light brown papyrus, a somewhat unusual feature in customs-house receipts.<sup>48</sup> A small projection in the middle of its right side is all that remains of the right margin. The other sides have margins that vary from 2 mm. (left and top) to 2 cm. (bottom). Worms have produced a few holes in the papyrus, but they hardly touched the text. Two vertical folds are distinct, one horizontal. Except at right the other sides were more or less neatly cut. The rough hand produced a rapid cursive scrawl (*Verschleifung*). The ink is bold, but flaked off in places. The upper portions of some letters can be seen at bottom, perhaps the remains of another receipt. The text runs along the fibres (→). Parts of some letters are visible on the other side rendering no meaningful reading. In three words at lines 1-2 the scribe used raised letters to indicate abbreviations.

This is a standard customs-house receipt, and as such it is full of abbreviations, as the transcription shows.<sup>49</sup> Paeis transports one donkey load of vegetables through the customs-house of Soknopaiou Nesos on Pauni 12 of the 17<sup>th</sup> year and is charged for ἐρημοφυλακία. Customs-house receipts were formulaic. Such texts were described by several scholars.<sup>50</sup> Some customs-house receipts bore seals.<sup>51</sup>

Extensive trade was carried on between the Arsinoite nome and other parts of Egypt. The scope of this activity included the oases as well.<sup>52</sup> This is shown by the enormous information available in

<sup>47</sup> Listed as 423a in *P. Customs* = Sijpesteijn (1987), addenda p. 8.

<sup>48</sup> Customs-house receipts were generally written on square pieces of papyrus. Few like 7 are rectangular oblongs. See for example *SB XVI 12633* = *P. Customs* 461 and introd. p. 14.

<sup>49</sup> For abbreviations in customs-house receipts see Schwartz in *P. Stras.* V 384 introd. and commentary. Examples: *P. Heid.* N. F. III 11 (CE 120); *BGU XI 2029* (CE 161-169); *P. Lond.* III 1265 (p. 37 - CE 177).

<sup>50</sup> The general structure of customs-house receipts is described and discussed by Sijpesteijn in *P. Customs*, introd. pp. 8-15. See also *P. Grenf.* II p. 79; *P. Fay.* pp. 195-96; *P. Lond.* II p. 83.

<sup>51</sup> See Pieper (1934) 247; *P. Customs* introd. pp. 13-14; Joerdens in *P. Louvre* I pp. 141-42.

<sup>52</sup> Export of goods to the oases is mentioned in *BGU XIII 2308* (II century CE); *P. Grenf.* II 50b.3 (CE 145). See also *SB XII 10921*, and Oates (1988) 130-31.



customs-house receipts and registers written at the *πύλαι* (customs-houses), which were located in villages on the border of the Fayum, one of which was Soknopaiou Nesos. Others were in Bacchias, Philadelphia, Karanis. The above mentioned data record 936 cases of transported products (mostly exports) through the gates of villages along the borders of the Arsinoite nome. The items recorded are divided among the various villages as follows:

Soknopaiou Nesos - 574; Bacchias - 138; Philadelphia - 49; Karanis - 23; Philopator al. Teagenes - 17. The rest have less than 10 each. In 90 cases the place names were lost.

The transported products were of a large variety. Three kinds of duties were usually charged: *ἐρημοφυλακία*; *Λιμένος Μέμψεως*; *ρ' καὶ ν'* - a 3% tax. For the last two taxes see Sijpesteijn (1987) 22-26. *ἐρημοφυλακία* was levied for the upkeep of the desert guard and probably the desert roads as well. This guard, (a special desert police?), was responsible for the safe passing of trade caravans transporting goods from Middle and Upper Egypt through Soknopaiou Nesos and the Arsinoite nome to Alexandria and the Delta of the Nile. *ἐρημοφυλακία* is attested in Ptolemaic (*P.Petrie* 25.2 commentary p.73) as well as in Roman times (from CE 41-212).<sup>53</sup> Relying on a few receipts where the rate charged for *ἐρημοφυλακία* is mentioned,<sup>54</sup> scholars advanced some suppositions:

a) that a transporter had to pay two drachmas per camel (one per donkey) on crossing from one nome to another on his way to his final destination;<sup>55</sup>

b) that six drachmas were paid when the border of an *epistrategia* was traversed.<sup>56</sup>

A list of 919 customs-house receipts is presented in Sijpesteijn (1987) 102-142 supplemented by six more in the addenda and another one in *ZPE* 79 (1989)b 192-93 (*P.Lond.* II 302a CE 142). To these

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Agricultural products were regularly exported from the Fayum to Alexandria. See Sijpesteijn (1987) 44-45.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of this tax see Wallace (1938)a 272-73; Sijpesteijn (1987) 21-22; 93-94 and note 22 ad loc.

<sup>54</sup> Sijpesteijn (1987) list I pp.102-143.

<sup>55</sup> Wallace (1938)a 272-73.

<sup>56</sup> Sijpesteijn (1987) 20-21; See also Nelson in *BGU* XV 3543 introd. pp. 182-83.

*P.Louvre* I 29, the eight documents mentioned by Joerdens (*P.Louvre* I p.138) and 7 should be added for a total of 936.<sup>57</sup>

Situated at the beginning of the main desert route from the Arsinoite nome to the oases and Alexandria, Soknopaiou Nesos was a central transit station for products leaving and entering this district. The hundreds of recorded transports at the gates of this village, more than at any other, prove this.<sup>58</sup> Of the 574 customs-house receipts in only 171 the type of duty charged is stated. (42 for ἔρημοφυλακία). In the remaining 403 it is either lost or not mentioned.

The customs duties recorded above were paid for transporting 22 different kinds of products through the gates of Soknopaiou Nesos. In the 574 recorded transports from Soknopaiou Nesos there are 612 items. The difference is to be explained by the fact that sometimes several products or transports were registered in the same document.<sup>59</sup> It will be shown beyond any doubt that wheat and oil held the foremost position among the exported goods from Soknopaiou Nesos, whereas wine was almost the only imported commodity.<sup>60</sup> The list follows (imports will be shown by the numbers in brackets)<sup>61</sup>:

πυρός - wheat = 189 (recorded items); ἔλαιον - olive oil = 139 (1); ὄροβος - bitter vetch = 42; κάμηλοι καὶ ὄνοι - camels and donkeys = 21 (9); οἶνος - wine = (29). φοῖνιξ - all kinds<sup>62</sup> - dates = 21; ἐλένιον - calamint/ elecampane/ comfrey = 17; λάχανον - vegetables = 15 (including 7); καλλαῖνον - glazed pottery = 9; ὄσπρεα - mixed product = 7; ἄλας - salt = 2 (3); λαχανόσπερμον - vegetable seeds = 6; κύαμος μέλας - black beans = 4; ἐλαίνοι χλωραί - green olives = 4; πίσση - pitch =

<sup>57</sup> *P.Customs* 207 and 316 were edited by Joerdens as *P.Louvre* I 27 and 28 respectively. Eight new documents were published between 1989-1998. Sijpesteijn (1987) addenda p. 6 suggests that no. 483 on his list I (*P.Fay.* 180 descr.) be disregarded being identical with no. 335 (*P.Yale* I 74). Yet, the details presented by the two receipts are entirely different.

<sup>58</sup> See Samuel (1961) 47; Rostovtzeff (1967) 12.

<sup>59</sup> In *P.Lond.* III 922a (CE 179 p.40) two different products were transported (πυρός and λάχανον). See also *SB* XX 15030 where seven transports of wheat, one of meat and one of combustible wood are attested.

<sup>60</sup> Sijpesteijn (1987) 58-69 collected some 61 kinds of products (mainly agricultural) transported through the gates of customs-houses in the Arsinoite nome. Special attention will be given here to Soknopaiou Nesos.

<sup>61</sup> In 78 out of the 574 customhouse receipts from Soknopaiou Nesos the transported products are missing.

<sup>62</sup> See Sijpesteijn (1987) 69.

(3); φλοῦς - bark = 2; αἰβένιον - palm-fire = 2. And one each of the following commodities in transport: φύλλα - leaves; φάσηλος - calavance (a kind of beans); εἰσοίτια - ropes; φάκος - lentils; ἄραξ - wild chickling; ξύλα καύσιμα - combustible wood; κρέας - meat.

P.Berol. inv. 25621  
4x8 cm. (Pl. 7)

Soknopaiou Nesos  
6 June 209 (?) CE

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύ(λης) Κοκνοπέου Νήσου  
ἐρημοφυλ(ακίας) Πάει[ς] ἕξ(άγων) λαχ(άνον) ὄνον  
ἓνα ιζ (ἔτους) Παῦνι δωδε-  
4 κάτη ιβ̄  
traces

1 leg. Κοκνοπαίου 3 Παρ. ιζ//

Paid through the gates of the customs-house of Soknopaiou Nesos for the desert guard by Paeis exporting one donkey load of vegetables. Year 17, on the twelfth of Pauni, 12<sup>th</sup>.

1 τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύ(λης): See Sijpesteijn (1987) 8-9 and notes 6 and 7 ad loc. Some customs-house receipts, mostly from the I century and the beginning of the II CE have παρέσχηκε. During the II century τετελώνηται came to be more frequent, though παρέσχηκε was still used occasionally. See for example *P.Lond.* III 1265c, p. 36 (CE 149); *P.Aberd.* 44 (end of the II century CE). For διὰ πύ(λης) see Sijpesteijn (1987) 92-93.

Κοκνοπέου (-παίου) Νήσου. For the various forms of this name see Sijpesteijn (1987) 49. Soknopaiou Nesos was located in the north-western edge of the Fayum valley on the northern shore of Lake Moeris close to where the Libyan Desert begins. See the maps attached to *P.Tebt.* II and Montevicchi (1988). See also Calderini, *Dizionario* IV iii 296-301. It is well documented in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Most of its inhabitants were priests. Very few were Greek and Roman. See Samuel (1981) 391; 399-400. The area of Soknopaiou Nesos was excavated by Boak (1935). Beginning with the

middle of the III century BCE there were four periods of human activity on this site. Three times the village was deserted and then resettled. The last period of settlement was during Roman times, which was the longest and most flourishing. In the middle of the III century CE the village was permanently deserted and no traces of Christian activity were ever discovered on the spot. See Boak (1935) 19-21. Since there was not much agricultural land in the area of this village, the inhabitants of Soknopaiou Nesos were forced to look for other means of living. Transporting products grown in other areas is a vastly attested one. See Sijpesteijn (1987) 102-142; Samuel (1981) 400 and note 29 ad loc.; Hobson (1984)a 89-90 and passim. Cultivating land located in the territory of other villages was another way of making a living for villagers of Soknopaiou Nesos. See 4.4, 12.1 and notes ad loc.; Hobson (1984)a 95.

Πάει[c]: See Sijpesteijn (1987) 35. Paeis<sup>63</sup> is born by five persons in Soknopaiou Nesos. The first (102) operates at an early date (CE 114). The other four are considerably closer to the present document (years 7, 9, 10). In all these four cases the transporters in question pass through the gates of Soknopaiou Nesos, which might raise the option that the same Paeis is confronted in this text and in other three. Sijpesteijn in the addenda to *P.Customs* p. 8 suggested Paüris, not recorded in *P.Customs*. Πάειc seems a better reading.

ἐξ(άγων): See Sijpesteijn (1987) 40-50.

λαχ(άνου): See Sijpesteijn (1987) 64. All the fifteen transports of vegetables attested in customs-house receipts as originating from the Arsinoite nome passed through the gates of Soknopaiou Nesos including the fragmentary P.Mich. inv. 6179a (no SB number found). See Sijpesteijn (1987) list I nos. 306; 309; 313; 352; 364; 422; 423; 426; 457; 523; 558; 569; 572 and Add. p. 8. Vegetables and oil produced from vegetable seeds were important items on the daily menu in Roman Egypt. See Drexhage (1990) 104. For the growing of trade in and prices of vegetables in Roman Egypt see Drexhage op. cit. 88-117.

<sup>63</sup> Dr. N. Litinas (Rethymno, Crete) suggested the name to me for which I am grateful to him.

2-3 ὄνον / ἔνα: Actually the dative was more customary: ἐξάγων ἐφ' ὄνοις/ τρίαι πυρὸν καὶ/ λάχανον ἐφ' ὄνῳ ἔνει. See *P.Lond.* III 922a.3-5 (p.40), probably CE 211. The accusative (as in 7.2-3) was less frequent. For more examples of both options see Sijpesteijn (1987) 144-89. For donkeys as draught animals see Sijpesteijn (1987) 52-53 and 8 introd.

3 ιζ (ἔτους): Schwartz in *P.Alex.Giss.* p. 23 suggests that beginning with the sole reign of Commodus (CE 180) the clerks writing customs-house receipts did not indicate the emperor's name and his titles, and sufficed with the regnal year, month and day. Accepting this theory, the date in 7 would be 6 June 209. Schwartz's suggestion was supported by Koenen (1971) 142-43; Hobson in *P.Rain.Cent.* 61 introd. p. 347 footnote 1, and Sijpesteijn (1987) 71-74. Although Sijpesteijn refrained from dating customs-house receipts bearing only regnal years (even if a seal was attached to them), he stated that those dated by years 17-33 could safely be assigned to the reigns of Septimius Severus (17-19); Commodus or Caracalla (20-25); Commodus alone (26-33). See Sijpesteijn (1987) 72-73.

3-4 δωδε/κάτη ιβ̄: See Sijpesteijn (1987) 12-13, footnote 28, where the change of the first element to the corresponding cardinal number is indicated for numerals 13<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup>. 7 adds it for the 12<sup>th</sup>.

## 8. SALE OF A FEMALE DONKEY (?) AT KERKESOUCHA (?)

This light brown papyrus sheet is nearly complete, except for a few small lacunas and a missing strip at right. The lost part carried away with it the right margin and substantial parts of lines 10-14. At top and left the original neatly cut edges of the papyrus were preserved. The margins here range from 1.5 (top) to 1 cm. (left). One cm. from the right side a kollesis is clearly visible. The writing here extends to the very edge. The bottom margin is about 0.5 cm. The ink, though flaked off in many sections of lines 1-11, is rather bold in the remaining part of the papyrus. Along the kollesis a vertical folding is traceable in addition to several horizontal ones. As a result lines 7, 11, and 18 are quite hard to resolve. Some lacunas at the upper part of the manuscript damaged the script in lines 1, 3, 8, 9 and 10. The text, written by two hands, runs along the fibres (→). The first hand (lines 1-8) is highly cursive; the second though cursive likewise is more elegant producing a finer more easily read script. The other side (↓) is blank.

A son of Horion acknowledges the sale of a female donkey (?) to a son of Mellas at Kerkesoucha (?) for the price of 240 silver drachmas. The transaction, taking place in the reign of Commodus (CE 190?), is final and irrevocable. Apparently, 8 is an animal sale contract written by two scribes: a. up to ὁμολο[γεῖ (inclusive - line 8); b. to the end. The first part was formulaic and regularly prepared before the deal would be concluded; not necessarily pertaining to animal sale contracts it could serve the purposes of any agreement or transaction. The second part would be written when the details of the sale have been agreed upon. This seems to be a procedure used in other similar cases. See *P.Lond.* II 466 (p.196, CE 143); 313 (p.197, CE 148); *SB XVI* 12559 (CE 155). In all three cases the second hand commences after ὁμολογεῖ.

Out of the 98 donkey sale contracts published so far 65 were concluded in the Arsinoite nome, of which thirteen originated from Kerkesoucha.<sup>64</sup> Van Lith's list identifies ten contracts as concluded at

<sup>64</sup> 70 contracts were listed by van Lith (*CPR VI* 2 pp.22-26). Thirteen were added by Oates (1988) 130. Drexhage's list, (1991) 287-94, compared with the above two yields another document (*SB XII* 11063). *BGU III* 912 (CE 33), *SB XVIII* 13259 (CE 166) and *P.Prag.* I 63 (CE 180) listed by Drexhage are not donkey sale contracts.

Kerkesoucha. *SPP* XXII 170 though located in the Arsinoite nome by van Lith, was shown by Sijpesteijn, (1983) 145-46, to have been written at Kerkesoucha too. Adding **8** and *SB* XVI 12559 (CE 155) published after van Lith's list, the number of the Kerkesoucha documents increases to thirteen.

Following is an updated list of donkey sale contracts concluded at Kerkesoucha:

Chart 1. The Kerkesoucha Documents.

No.	Text	Date (CE)	Price (in silver drachmas)
1.	<i>P.Mich.</i> IX 551	103	280
2.	<i>P.Stras.</i> VI 504	106	270
3.	<i>SB</i> XVIII 13897	111	208
4.	<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 46	137	106
5.	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 466 (p. 109)	143	160
6.	<i>CPR</i> VI 2	144	88
7.	<i>SPP</i> XXII 170	145	108
8.	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 313 (p. 197)	148	64
9.	<i>SB</i> XVI 12559	155	224
10.	<i>SPP</i> XXII 27	155	?
11.	<b>8</b>	190(?)	240
12.	<i>SPP</i> XXII 29	II century	236
13.	<i>BGU</i> II 413	219	500

The beginning of **8.8** strongly supports the suggestion that the document was written at Kerkesoucha. Except for its lines 4-6 **8** is structurally similar to 11 of the Kerkesoucha documents; only no. 13

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Joerdens in *P.Louvre* I p. 91 adds eleven new documents. Three more can now be advanced for the total of 98: **8**; **9** (CE 193) and the unpublished *P. Berol. inv. 25141* (CE 205/206). See chart 2 infra.

(chart 1) shows an entirely dissimilar form appertaining to a somewhat different variety of animal sale contracts, for which see 9 (introd.). The following items can be found in all of the Kerkesoucha contracts (excluding no. 13)

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. dating formula                      | 8. πεπρακέναι                     |
| 2. provenance                          | 9. the animal sold                |
| 3. ὁμολογεῖ                            | 10. ἀναπόριφος                    |
| 4. the vendor                          | 11. a form of the verb ἀπέχω      |
| 5. his identifying marks               | 12. the price                     |
| 6. the purchaser                       | 13. βεβαιώσω clause <sup>65</sup> |
| 7. his identifying marks <sup>66</sup> |                                   |

As for Kerkesoucha the present documentation suggests that this village experienced a period of vigorous activity in the field of trading donkeys covering the II century and the beginning of the III CE. On the basis of the present evidence (scanty though it is) it seems that an animal market of some repute was located at this village in the course of more than 100 years.<sup>67</sup>

The description of the animal in donkey sale contracts was usually composed of three components: gender, color, age. See van Lith in *CPR* VI 2, pp. 19-21; Joerdens in *P.Louvre* I 13-15, p. 92. Being that any of these three criteria could have affected the price of the traded animal(s) they were used in all 13 Kerkesoucha documents. Donkeys were usually mouse-colored, white, or black. Special colors may have raised the price of the animal. See Schnebel (1925) 336; *CPR* VI, pp. 22-24; *P.Louvre* I, p. 93; *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3143.10-13 and note ad loc. (bronze); *CPR* VII 36.6 (sand-colored); *P.Louvre* I 14.12 (flame-colored).

Donkeys were not regularly used for farm or agricultural work. They were mainly employed as draught animals. See Schnebel (1925) 337; *BGU* XI 2049 (II century CE), introd.<sup>68</sup> A donkey normally carried half the load of a camel, three artabas as against six. Yet

<sup>65</sup> Absent in no. 8, chart 1.

<sup>66</sup> Absent in the following documents on chart 1: 7 (incomplete), 8, 11, 13.

<sup>67</sup> See P.Stras. II 504 and the commentary on p. 268; Sijpesteijn (1983) 146. Recently Schwartz (1988) 142-47 (p. 147 in particular) has restated his arguments concerning the central animal market at Kerkesoucha. See also *P.Col.* X pp. 57-58; Joerdens (1995) 47, note 42 ad loc. For the trade of donkeys in general see id. 49-61 and *P.Louvre* I, p. 90.

<sup>68</sup> See Drexhage (1986) 34 for the importance of donkeys as draught animals.



weights did not frequently exceed 150-200 kgs depending on the length of the journey and road conditions.<sup>69</sup> Beside cereal grain, the merchandise often included various kinds of fruits and vegetables. It should, however, be noted that Egyptians, as well as Greeks and Romans, preferred transport by sea and other water-ways to land transport wherever and whenever it was possible.<sup>70</sup> Raisers and owners of draught animals could organize themselves in special societies, for which see 10 introd. and footnote 83 ad loc.

Donkey sale contracts were listed in several studies after van Lith with no comprehensive list offered. See J. Froesén et al. in *CPR* VII 36 introd. p.134; Oates (1988) 129-130; Drexhage (1990) 287-94; Pintaudi (1993) 126; Joerdens in *P.Louvre* I p. 91. Chart 2 contains all the 28 donkey sale contracts edited since van Lith.

(Unless otherwise stated - all dates are CE; II, III - stand for centuries; prices in silver drachmas; Num.+Gen. - Number + Gender):

Chart 2: Donkey Sale Contracts

No	Date	Text	Prove- nance	Num.+ Gen.	Price	Color	Age
1	4 BC	<i>P.Köln</i> I 54	Arsinoiton Polis	1 male	40	mouse- colored	full- grown
2	29	<i>P.Louvre</i> I 13	SN	1?	?	white	ἄβολοι
3	41	<i>PSI</i> <i>Congr.</i> XX 6	Tebtynis	1 male	?	black	ἄβολοι
4	44	<i>P.Louvre</i> I 14	SN	1 male	?	red/ brown	πρωτο- βόλοι

<sup>69</sup> For further discussion of transport capabilities of donkeys and other draught animals see Schnebel (1925) 337-38; Landels (1978) 172-73; *P.Customs* pp.52-53; Nachtergaele (1989) 314-15; 324.

<sup>70</sup> See Landels (1978) 170.

No	Date	Text	Prove- nance	Num.+ Gen.	Price	Color	Age
5	98- 117	BGU XV 2479	Arsinoite Nome	1 female + 2 foals	70	?	?
6	120 (?)	BGU XV 2480	Karanis	1 male	100 (?)	white	πρωτο- βόλος
7	126	<i>P.Soteri- chos 27</i>	Theadelphia	part of 1 foal	60	mouse- colored	ἄβολος
8	138	SB VI 9093 <sup>a</sup>	Theadelphia	1 foal	364	white	ἄβολος
9	139	<i>P.Louvre</i> I 15	Psintanu	1 male	280	white	full- grown
10	142	<i>P.Monac.</i> III 81	Ptolemais Euergetis	1 male	184	black	full- grown
11	148/ 158	SB XX 14461	?	1 female	120	white	?
12	155	SB XVI 12559	Kerke- soucha	1 female	224	black	βόλος
13	167/ 169	SB XII 11063	?	1 female	?	white	?
14	178	<i>P.Col.</i> X 263	Memphite Nome	1 female	172	ostracon- colored	?
15	178	<i>P.Col.</i> X 264	Memphite Nome	1 female	230	White	?
16	190 (?)	8	Kerke- soucha	1 female	240	White	full- grown
17	193	9	Arsinoiton Polis	1 male	209	mouse- colored	?
18	197	<i>P.Monac.</i> III 82	Arsinoiton Polis	1 femle 1 foal	?	White	full- grown
19	II	CPR XV 48 <sup>b</sup>	?	1 female	100/ 120	White	πρωτο- βόλος
20	202/ 203	SB XVI 12612	SN	1 female	800	White	full- grown

No	Date	Text	Prove- nance	Num.+ Gen.	Price	Color	Age
21	205/ 206	P. Berol. 25141 <sup>c</sup>	Alexandrou Nesos	1?	40	?	?
22	223	P. Diog. 28	Philadelphia	1 female	600	Black	?
23	236	P. Wisc. 1 15	Oxyrhyn- chos	1 female	80	White	full- grown
24	305	P. Oxy. XLIII 3143	Oxyrhyn- chos	1 male	15 tal.	Bronze	δευτερο- βόλος
25	331	CPR VII 36	Hermopolis	1 male	40 tal.	sand- colored	πρωτο- βόλος
26	383	SB XX 14293	Mothite Nome	1 male	21500 tal.	white	?
27	IV	SB XXII 15328	Karanis	1 female	2000	?	?
28	IV	P. Oxy. XLIII 3145	Oxyrhyn- chos	1 male	12 tal.	mouse- colored	full- grown

## Notes to chart 2.

a) The location on the papyrus where the purchased animal should be indicated shows a lacuna. Worp accepts, uneasily though, the completion of the prima lectio. See *BL* VII 92 and *P. Vind. Worp* 9 pp. 92-93. The text, however, resembles donkey sale contracts. See Joerdens' list.

b) Presented in Joerdens' list along with other donkey sale contracts; actually it is a receipt confirming the payment for a purchased donkey.

c) As yet unpublished. See 9, introd. infra.

P. Berol. inv. 25552  
6x14.8 cm. (Pl. 8)

Kerkesoucha (?)  
April CE 190 (?)

Μ 1<sup>στ</sup> ἔτους τρια[κος(τοῦ)] Μάρ(κου)  
Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου  
Ἄντων(ίνου) Σεβα[στ]οῦ Καί(σαρος) τ(οῦ) κυ(ρίου)

- 4 Φαρμούθι .. ἐπὶ τῆ[ν NN]-  
 π.... γεγυ(μνασιαρχηκότος) τράπ(εζαν) τ(ῆς) μ[η]-  
 τρο(πόλεως) καὶ κομῶν τῶν  
 μερίδων [±3].... ἐ[ν]
- 8 Κερκ(εκούχοις). ὁμολο[γεῖ M. 2<sup>nd</sup> NN  
 Ὀρίωνο[ς] ὥ[ς] (ἔτων) ± 2 οὐ] λῆ  
 ὄφρῦει δεξιᾷ ἀπὸ Μ[ητρ]οδ(ώρου) [τῆς]  
 Πολέμωνος [μερίδος ± 4
- 12 ητι Μέλλανος [πεπ]-  
 ρακέναι αὐτῷ [ὄνον?]  
 θή[λε]ϊαν λευ[κὴν τελεί]-  
 αν ἀναπόριφον <καὶ> ἀπέ[χ]-
- 16 ειν τιμὴν ἀργυρίου  
 δραχμὰς διακοσίας  
 τεσσαράκοντα [ὥς] π[ρό]-  
 κείται

6 leg. κομῶν

In the 30<sup>th</sup> year of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Caesar the lord, the ... of Pharmouthi ... at the bank of NN, an ex-gymnasiarch ... of the metropolis and the villages of the divisions ... at Kerkesoucha (?) NN the son of Horion about (... years of age) with a scar above his right eyebrow from (the village of) Metrodorus, Polemon [division], acknowledges to NN the son of Mellas that he has sold to him a mature white female [donkey (?)], not returnable <and> has received the value 240 silver drachmas [as] aforesaid.

1-4 ἔτους ... Φαρμούθι: *P.Bad.* 23 has a rather similar titulature for Commodus (except for *Κεβακτός* – year 30). Other examples for year 30, likewise excluding *Κεβακτός* (published after Bureth), are: *P.Bas.* 2; *P.Prag.* 22; *P.Stras.* IX 834; *SB* XVI 12390. In *P.Bour.* 32, however, there is a full parallel but the year is 28. (See Gallazzi in *O.Teb.Pad.* I, p. 9, note 27 and *BL* VIII 68 for the correction of the year number in this document). Remnants of the mu (of *Μάρκου*) are visible above and below the right side of the lacuna at line 1. The remaining space (prior to the mu) could contain three letters at most. So it looks as if *τριακοστοῦ* was abbreviated after the sigma. See *SPP*

XXII 27.1 (CE 155) for another instance of abbreviating the year number – ὀκτωκαιδεκ(άτου) in an emperor's titulature.

It seems that scribes at Kerkesoucha were inclined to use a double month-name system in their documents. See Youtie (1982)a II 695. *SPP* XXII 170 (CE 170) should be added to Youtie's list. In 8, however, only the Egyptian month is mentioned.

4-5 ἐπὶ ... τράπ(εζαν): *P.Kron.* 53.2-3 employs a similar structure: ἐπὶ τ(ῆν)/ Ἀπολλωνίου γεγυ(μνασιαρχηκότος) τράπεζαν. In *P.Monac.* III 81.5-7 there is a slightly different phrase.

6-7 The villages and the divisions probably belong to the Arsinoite Nome. Yet, the context is not clear enough. Could the bank in question have been in contact with the capital of the Arsinoite Nome and several other villages throughout its divisions?

7-8 ἐν Κερκ(εκούχοις): The beginning of line 8 suggests a form of the name Kerkesoucha. The abbreviating sign is only faintly visible above the second kappa. Κερκεκούχα κώμη in the Herakleides division, to be distinguished from three other villages of that, or similar names, was located near the village of Karanis. For the history, documentation and exact location of this village see *P.Teb.* II App. ii 384; Calderini, *Dizionario*, III i 106-107; *P.Petaus* introd. p.25-27; Geremek (1969) 15-17; Schwartz (1988) 143. The name Κερκεκούχα probably meant "the establishment of the god Souchos". See *P.Petaus* introd. p. 26-27; *P.Oxy.* L 3589.4 (II century CE) and note ad loc. For the god Souchos alias Sobek see 12.4-5 and note ad loc.

8 ὁμολο[γεῖ]: The Greek text is highly abraded at this point. Still the examples cited above would render it certain that the M. 1<sup>st</sup> included ὁμολογεῖ. For the meaning and use of ὁμολογέω in sale contracts in Egypt see *M.Gr.* 72-76; Pringsheim (1950) 31 and 278; von Soden (1973) 77-79. Except for *BGU* II 413 (chart 1, no. 13) all the other animal sale contracts from Kerkesoucha were written in the form of a ὁμολογία.

10 ἀπὸ Μ[ητρ]οδ(ώρου): Apparently a place name follows ἀπὸ. There were two villages by the name of Metrodorus, one in the Polemon, the other in the Herakleides division. See Calderini,

*Dizionario* III iii 280. Μητροδώρου κλήρος in the Hermopolite nome is attested too.

11-12 [± 4/ ητι Μέλλανος: Aside from *SPP* XXII 27, 8 and *BGU* II 413 all the other ten donkey sale contracts from Kerkesoucha describe the purchaser's identifying marks. Only 15 of the remaining group of donkey sale contracts (concluded elsewhere than in Kerkesoucha) render this information as well: *P.Lond.* II 282; *P.Stras.* II 251; *BGU* XV 2480; *P.Soterichos* 27; *P.Ryl.* II 158; *P.Meyer* 13; *P.Bas.* 4; *SPP* XXII 22; *P.Lond.* II 303; *SB* V 8254; *P.Flor.* I 22; *BGU* II 527 (?); *P.Berol.* 25141; *P.Louvre* I 13; 14.

13-15 όνον]/ ... λευ[κὴν θή[λε]ϊαν: At the beginning of line 14 there is a stain of ink which probably covers a part of the eta, all of the lambda, and the following epsilon. The animal in our text is probably a white female donkey. It apparently was full-grown, that is 5½-8 years of age. See van Lith in *CPR* VI 2 p. 20; Drexhage (1991) 281; Joerdens in *P.Louvre* I pp. 92-93.

15 ἀναπόριφον: In forty donkey sale contracts from places outside of Kerkesoucha a stronger phrase was used: οὗτος τοιοῦτος ἀναπόριφος. For the use and legal implications of ἀναπόριφος see Pringsheim (1950) 480-83; *P.Köln.* I 54.6-7 (4 BC) and note ad loc.; Kränzlein (1985-86) 225-34.

15-16 ἀπέ[χ/ειν: The nu here is similar to the one in τιμήν (the next word). Still it is remarkable that all donkey sale contracts from Kerkesoucha employ ἀπέχει at this point, not the infinitive. Moreover, it seems that the third person indicative was preferred at Kerkesoucha. See Youtie (1982)a II 696, a commentary on *SB* XVI 12559.

16-18 ἀργυρίου ... τεσσαράκοντα: For the prices of donkeys in Roman Egypt see Drexhage (1986) 34-48; (1991) 280-86; Joerdens in *P.Louvre* I, p. 93.

## 9. SALE OF A DONKEY

The dark brown papyrus shows three vertical foldings, which divided it into four long strips. Another folding probably ran along the right edge, where it seems that a fifth strip once existed, and somehow was not preserved. Most of the damage suffered by the manuscript, including several lacunas, concentrates around these foldings. In spite of that the text is relatively complete. The bottom margin is 2.5 cm.; the top margin about 0.5 cm.; the left is 1.5 cm., while the writing extends to the edge of the papyrus at right. The ink is bold. The hand, rather heavy and highly cursive, calls to mind *Verschleifung*.<sup>71</sup> The manuscript runs along the fibres (→). The marks of ink on the other side (↓) do not offer any significant reading.

Someone, the son of a certain Ph...ebeis, aged 65, a resident of the Letopolite nome, sold a mouse-colored donkey for the price of 209 drachmas probably at the market-place of Arsinoiton Polis, the capital of the Arsinoite nome. The sale took place in the course of the short reign of Pertinax (CE 193). The purchaser is not mentioned. The transaction was either confirmed by or concluded with the help of Lek..beros (?) son of Hatres, possibly one of the officials in charge of business activities at the agora.

Wolff (1978) 127-28 termed a group of texts as "atypische Urkunden" basing this description on the fact that the documents he had collected under this heading deviated in form and style from their respective categories. Taking them to be irregular documents he did not suggest any connections or lines of similarities among them. Bastianini (1984) 74, on the other hand, singled out of this group three contracts dealing with sales of animals, and adding two more he created a group of five texts having similar features. (See *ibid.* 73-78). Another two documents can now be added, 9 and the unpublished P.Berol. inv. 25141<sup>72</sup> for the total of seven.

<sup>71</sup> For other examples of texts written with a slurry hand see 1 introd. and footnote 1 *ad loc.*

<sup>72</sup> I would like to express my deep thanks to the late Dr. William Brashear of the Papyrological Department, the Aegyptisches Museum in Berlin, who among other acts of kindness towards me, allowed me to study this document and the transcription he had prepared.

All of these seven documents deal with sales of animals. It will be satisfactorily proved that this group of texts forms a special variety among the larger body of animal sale contracts. All dates are CE; prices in silver drachmas.

**Chart 1. Animal Sale Contracts, a Special Variety**

No.	Text	Provenance	Date	Price
1.	9	Arsinoiton Polis (?)	193	209
2.	P.Berol. inv. 25141	Alexandrou Nesos	205/206	40
3.	BGU XIII 2336	Alexandrou Nesos	208	120
4.	SPP XXII 101	Arsinoiton Polis <sup>a</sup>	end of II century <sup>b</sup>	280
5.	BGU II 413	Kerkesoucha	219	500
6.	SB XII 11152	Alexandrou Nesos	225	300
7.	SB XVI 13071	Arsinoiton Polis	223-35	640

**Notes to chart 1.**

a) The vendor is from Herakleia, the Arsinoite nome. The deal must have been concluded at the nome metropolis. See Bastianini (1984) 74 and footnote 4 ad loc.

b) Bastianini (1984) 74 and note 3 ad loc. Now that the period into which these documents were dated was extended by some fifteen years (chart 1 above) this papyrus could be dated anywhere between CE193-212.

Chart 2 will indicate the similarities among the seven documents in this group (including 9 and P.Berol. inv. 25141). The numbers refer to the manuscripts on chart 1.



Chart 2

No.	Subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Date – CE 193-235	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2.	ἐν ἀγορᾷ <sup>a</sup>	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
3.	locality in the Arsinoite Nome	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4.	πέπρακεν <sup>b</sup>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5.	the vendor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	a) age	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	b) personal marks	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	c) ἰδίᾳ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6.	the purchaser	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	a) age	-	+	-	-	-	-	?
	b) personal marks	-	+	-	-	-	-	?
	c) ἰδίᾳ	-	?	-	-	-	-	+
7.	the animal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	a) short description	+	+	+	-	-	+	?
	b) more detailed description	-	-	-	+	+	-	?
8.	price	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	the γίνονται section	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
9.	an official signing or concluding the deal	+	?	-	+	-	-	+

## Notes to chart 2.

a) No. 7 has ἐν μητροπόλει (lines 5-6) instead.

b) Standard sale contracts have ὁμολογεῖ ... πεπρακέναι instead. See Pringsheim (1950) 482; *CPR* VI 2.8-16 (CE 144).

On the basis of the comparison in chart 2 it is evident that all the seven texts listed on chart 1 agree upon most of the subjects compared. Consequently, they seem to form a certain group, which in some points differ from the standard animal sale contracts. To begin with they are shorter than other contracts. They contain fewer details as regards the purchaser and the animal sold. Several sections regularly found in animal sale contracts were almost entirely omitted in the variety discussed here, namely, the ἀναπόριφος and the βεβαίωσις sections. See, for example, *SB* XVI 12559 (CE 155) and VIII 9829 (CE III century). It seems that we have more than just a

group of some "atypische Urkunden" (now that the number has grown from three to seven), but a collection of documents, which ought to be treated as a different variety of animal sale contracts having similar features and agreeing in time and place.

The provenance of 9 is not clearly stated. Yet since the other six documents in this group originated from the Arsinoite nome and the structure of all the seven is fairly identical, it seems that our papyrus came from that region too. To support this suggestion it should be noted that in certain cases documents written in the Arsinoite nome sometimes referred to its capital, Arsinoiton Polis, merely as μητρόπολις omitting its name. See 17 introd. footnote 155 and the documents cited there. 9 could have been another such case.

P.Berol. inv. 25098  
7.2x8.2 cm. (Pl. 9)

Arsinoiton Polis  
20 March 193 CE

[ἔτο]υ α Πλουλείου Ἑλβίου  
[Περ]τίνακεσ Σεβαστοῦ  
[Φ]α[μ]ενῶ[θ] κδ ἐν ἀγορᾷ  
4 μητροπόλεος πέπρακεν  
Α[± 3]μιε Φ[.]ηβειε (ὡς ἐτῶν) ξε ἀπὸ το(ῦ)  
Λη[τ]ιοπολίτου νόμο[υ] (δραχμάε) εθ  
ὄνον μυοχρος (διὰ) Λεκ..βερος  
8 τοῦ Ἀτρῆτος

2 leg. Περτίνακος; 4 leg. μητροπόλεωε; 7 leg. μυόχρουν; Pap. C

In the first year of Plouleius (Publius) Helvius Pertinax Augustus on the 24<sup>th</sup> of Phamenoth A...mis son of Ph..ebeis aged 65 of the Letopolite nome sold at the market-place of the metropolis a mouse-colored donkey (for the price of) 209 (drachmas) (through the agency of) Lek..beros (?) son of Hatres.

1 Πλουλείου: Pertinax's praenomen was Publius. Our transcription is not attested in extant papyri so far, and might be treated as

mispronunciation of the name rather than misspelling. Πούβλιος was still currently in use in the II century CE; in the III Πούπλιος came to be commoner. See Bureth (1964) 92 s.v. Pertinax; Gignac (1976) 84-85.

Ἑλβίου: The Latin equivalent was Helvius. Still, the Greek character beta did not always transcribe the Latin letter v. At times omicron and upsilon were used. See Debrunner (1959) 23 (section 41); Gignac (1976) 68-69; Bureth (1964) 92. Aside from 9 all the other imperial titles for Pertinax extant in Greek papyri have Ἑλούιος as the Greek transcription for Helvius. See Bureth (1964) 92.

1-2 [ἔτο]υς α ... [Περ]τίνακες (-νακος). Pertinax ruled the Roman empire for only three months, from the first of January to the 28<sup>th</sup> of March CE 193. Very few papyri with his imperial titles came down to us, about ten so far. See Bureth (1964) 92 and *P. Dura* 54 ii.23 where this emperor is referred to as Divus Pertinax. Aside from variations in spelling, the present formula: Πλούλειος (Πούβλιος) Ἑλβίος Πέρτιναξ Σεβαστός is similar to the one employed in three documents cited by Bureth (*ibid.*).

4 μητροπόλεος (-εως). For the internal organization of Egypt into epistrategies and nomes, their capitals (metropoleis) and the officials who dwelt there see Thomas (1974) 397-403; Pestmann (1990) 25

6 Λη[τ]οπολίτου νόμο[υ]: For the Letopolite nome see Thomas (1974) 398-99 and Montevicchi's map (1988) 184-45. Enlarging on Bastianini (1984) 75 note 10 one may remark that in only 46 out of the 98 donkey sale contracts (see 8 *supra*, introd.) both the vendors' provenances and the places where the contracts were concluded are clearly given. Of these in just 13 cases are both places identical.

Arsinoiton Polis: *P. Bas.* 4 (CE 141); *P. Monac.* III 81 (CE 141);  
 The Great Oasis: *SB* I 5679 (CE 307);  
 Hermopolis: *PSI* I 38 (CE 101);  
 Karanis: *BGU* XV 2480 (CE 120);  
 Kerkesoucha: *P. Grenf.* II 46 (CE 137); *SB* XVI 12559 (CE 155);

Oxyrhynchos: *P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2846 (II century CE); *PSI* I 79 (CE 216/17); *SB* VIII 9829 (III century CE); *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3143 (CE 305);

Memphite Nome: *P. Col.* X 263; 264 (both CE 178).

It would not be out of place for a resident of the Letopolite Nome to sell his donkey in the Arsinoite Nome, a known center for animal trading in the II century (See 8 introd. and footnote 67 ad loc.). In *P. Col.* X 263; 264 a resident of Philadelphia (the Arsinoite Nome) buys donkeys at the Memphite Nome possibly for resale. See p. 58 ad loc.

(δραχμὰς) ϰθ: The theta is interlinearly inscribed. See Drexhage (1986) 34-48 and (1991) 280-86 for the prices of donkeys

7 ὄνον μυοχρος: Read: μύοχρον. See 8.13-15 and note ad loc. for the terms of describing the traded animals in donkey sale contracts. The orthography μύοχρον occurs in *BGU* II 584.4.

7-8 (διὰ) Λεκ...: Resembling a lunatic sigma the letter (sign ?) preceding this name could also be resolved as: ϰ(εεμείωμαι). See Montevecchi (1988) 474. This, to a certain extent, is unlikely, since in the sole two cases in our collection where this section of the contracts is referred to (*SPP* XXII 101.11; *SB* XVI 13071.18, nos. 4 and 7, chart 1) the clerks wrote: διὰ NN ἑρμηνέως. But for one incomplete instance in a II century text (*BGU* IX 1900.77) no other example of a name beginning with Λεκ could be found in any of the standard namelists. The person referred to at line 7 was one of the ἐπιτάται through whom contracts were confirmed at the market-place. Two taxes were collected in connection with such transactions: ἐπιτατεία καὶ δεκάτης ἀγορᾶς. Both taxes were discussed by Pintaudi (1987) 43-47. See also the discussions in *BGU* XIII 2275 and 2293 (both CE 155), and Johnson (1936) 556; Wallace (1938)a 226; 261-62. For the rules governing sales of animals in Roman Egypt see Taubenschlag (1955) 334-36.

8 τοῦ Ἀτρῆτος: Another possible resolution of this line would read Τουτηῆτος. This suggestion should be ruled out, since this name is unattested in the papyri. The closest documentation is Τουτηῆς in a Ptolemaic text (*SB* III 6319.34), a genitive form.

## 10. CAMEL DECLARATION

The dark brown papyrus has holes produced by worms particularly between the lines. As a result the sheet was broken between lines 3 and 4, and then attached together at the museum laboratory in Berlin. Nevertheless, the lower part of line three is still missing. The upper margin is intact (about 1 cm.), whereas of the lower (2 to 3 cm.) only the right part survived. The margins together with 3-7 letters at left and 3-5 at right were lost. Even so lines 13-14 seem to be complete at left. 10 shows several horizontal and vertical folds with lacunas of various sizes almost everywhere. In spite of all this the text appears to be fairly restorable, as will be demonstrated below. Three hands are visible. M. 1<sup>st</sup> (lines 1-15) is a typical II century CE cursive, fine and legible. The other two are rather unclear with heavy ligatured strokes and many ink stains which make the reading hardly possible. The document runs along the fibers (→), the other side (↓) here is blank.

10 is a camel declaration in which Panephremmis, probably a resident of Soknopaiou Nesos, declares to the strategos Potamon and apparently to the royal scribe, both of the Herakleides division, that he owns one adult camel. The declaration is then confirmed by the above mentioned officials.

Although documentation of camels encompasses the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods,<sup>73</sup> extant declarations of camels date from the Roman period solely. All in all (including 10 and 11) 45 camel declarations from Roman Egypt have been published so far (chart 1). Mostly formulaic such documents generally contain the following parts: a docket; an address to the officials; the declarant's personal details; the animals, their sex and number (specifying the reasons for the changes that occurred in the course of the past year),<sup>74</sup> with the confirmation of the declaration nearly always found at end.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> See Leone (1988) 47-53.

<sup>74</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the structure of camel declarations see Avogadro (1935) 170; Johnson (1936) 565; Wallace (1938)a 88-89; Montevicchi (1988) 186-87. Most of the declarations present individual returns. No. 3 (chart 1 and note a), however, is different in this respect.

<sup>75</sup> This way of verifying declarations (ἐξαρῖθμησις) was not a Roman invention. A Ptolemaic custom was adopted here. See Avogadro (1935) 138. ἐξαρῖθμησις was

The dating formula is not placed at the end of the declarations, as it occurs in so many official documents, but rather in the body of the manuscript. *P.Grenf.* II 45 (CE 136 – chart 1 no. 4) is irregular in this respect repeating its date four times throughout the text.

Extant declarations of private ownership of camels run from CE 129 to 217. *BGU* III 785 is so far the sole known text to have been dated to the I century CE. Excluding two (chart 1 nos. 28; 36) where the provenance is not clearly stated all of the remaining 43 camel declarations originated from the Arsinoite nome<sup>76</sup>: Soknopaiou Nesos – 34; Karanis – 5; Arsinoiton Polis – 2; Arsinoite nome – 2.

Considering the above information some scholars held the opinion that beginning with the Roman occupation of Egypt (BC 30) and as late as the thirties of the II century CE Roman authorities treated camels as state property.<sup>77</sup> Wallace (footnote 77) further suggested that camel privatization took place only in the Arsinoite nome, while everywhere else in Roman Egypt a state monopoly continued. Wallace's approach can still be supported, since 13 of the 14 camel declarations edited after his 1938 book (see *infra*), originated from that same nome. The provenance indication in *BGU* XIII 2238, (chart 1 no.38), however, was lost. Nevertheless, its structure is very similar to the other declarations from the Arsinoite nome, from which it too presumably originated.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, the suggestion that camels were kept as a state monopoly in all the remaining nomes of this province may account for the fact that declarations for private ownership of camels are extant solely from the Arsinoite nome. See chart 1.

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also applied when other animals were declared, sheep and goats (πρόβατα καὶ αἰγες) for example. See Hagedorn (1976)b 164.

<sup>76</sup> *BGU* I 153 (CE 152), considered by Wallace, (1938)a 88, to be a camel declaration, is in fact a camel sale contract concluded at Dionysias. A resident of this village sells a camel to a dweller of Soknopaiou Nesos. Lines 19-20 mention the registration of this animal in the records of Dionysias. This might lead to the conclusion that a camel declaration was submitted probably originating from Dionysias.

<sup>77</sup> See Johnson (1936) 228; Wallace (1938)a 88.

<sup>78</sup> Eleven of the 45 extant camel declarations mention sales/purchases of camels. But for one all the owners involved are identified as residents of localities in the Arsinoite nome: Soknopaiou Nesos – 6: chart 1, nos. 10, 12, 14-16, 26; Arsinoiton Polis – 3, nos. 9, 28(?) 31; Karanis – 1, no. 25; unknown – 1, no. 30. In addition all receipts for the payment of the camel tax that have come down to us originated from the Arsinoite nome. See Daniel and Sijpesteijn (footnote 87 *infra*).

Combining the information available from camel declarations and contracts of sale of camels together with receipts for the τέλεσμα καμήλων and the τέλος καμήλων as Joerdens does, it comes to light that most of the families referred to in the documents related to activities involving camels originated from Soknopaiou Nesos. This strengthens the notion concerning the central position of this village in the field of raising, maintaining and trading of camels. In many respects these were family businesses overlapping more than one generation.<sup>79</sup>

Camels were considered a highly important means of land transportation in Roman Egypt.<sup>80</sup> Realizing the usefulness of these animals to the climate and geographical features of this province the Roman authorities maintained them as state property for a long time (footnote 77). Even when this policy was partly abandoned, the Romans retained close control by means of the obligatory declarations annually submitted to officials as high as the strategos and the royal scribe.<sup>81</sup> Camel owners were even exempted from liturgies.<sup>82</sup>

Owners and breeders of beasts, κτηνοτρόφοι, such as camels and donkeys were organized in special unions in Roman Egypt: ὀνηλάται, καμηλοτρόφοι, καμηλίται.<sup>83</sup> Such unions transported wheat and other sorts of cereals from villages in the Arsinoite nome to central granaries on the banks of the Nile, whence they would be ferried to Alexandria and thence to Italy.<sup>84</sup> Camels were not used for land transportation of wheat before the Roman occupation.<sup>85</sup> These associations were of much assistance to the authorities rendering tax levies an easier mission. Moreover, necessary information could be

<sup>79</sup> See Joerdens (1995) 64-70. See also footnote 87 *infra*.

<sup>80</sup> The commonest means of land transportation in Roman Egypt were donkeys and camels. Wagons were far less regularly used. See Johnson (1936) 403; Bagnall (1985)c 1; 4; Leone (1988) 47-88 as regards camels.

<sup>81</sup> See Avogadro (1935) 147. Under special circumstances (wars, important visits, and other irregular events) camel owners were required to hand over to the government as many of their animals as it demanded. See for example chart 1 no. 45 (CE 216/17). In the course of the I century CE camels were declared twice a year. See note to line 20 *infra*.

<sup>82</sup> See SB VIII 9897.6 (CE 161) discussed by Lewis (1982)b 36; *P.Leit.* 6 (CE 216/17) introduction and text; Lewis (1997) 91 and footnote 14 *ad loc.*

<sup>83</sup> See Rostovtzeff (1906) 219-20; San Nicolo (1972) I 118-19

<sup>84</sup> See *P.Col.* II 1 recto 4 introd. p. 106; 110-111; Bagnall (1985)c 5.

<sup>85</sup> See San Nicolo (1972) 113. For burden capacities of camels and other draught animals see 8 introd.

rapidly collected and any requirement (like mobilizing beasts of burden for war or other operations) more effectively imposed on single owners through the union.<sup>86</sup>

Apparently M. Aurelius' year 16 (175/76) began on August 30, as year 15 (174/75) was a leap year, with an additional day (29 August) added to αἱ ἐπαγόμεναι regularly ending the Egyptian calendar. As a result Μεχεῖρ γ of year 16 fell on 29 January\* rather than the customary 28. No discrepancy was caused, however, since year 16 was a Julian leap year. Thus the odds were settled and Θώθ α of year 17 was readjusted to coincide with 29 August (176/77) placing the two calendars in the same order as before.

The Heracleides division, 10.2, and the uncertain sigma and omicron (line 7) are the only place indications here. Both the owner's grandfather, Stotoetis, a frequent name in Soknopaiou Nesos, and the fact that most camel declarations originated from this village, make Soknopaiou Nesos likely as the provenance of 10.<sup>87</sup>

Avogadro (1933) 133 listed 31 camel declarations. Since then another 12 were published (chart 1 nos. 2, 3, 13, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 34, 36, 37, 41); 10 and 11 may now be added for a total of 45. An updated list of camel declarations is available in chart 1. All dates are CE.

### Key

I = first century; II = second century; Prov. = provenance; Doc. – docket;

state: 1 = animals declared for the first time; 2 = number of camels remained as it was; 3 = number of camels changed: s = sold; bou =

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\* See Pestman (1990) 39–40 for a discussion of Egyptian leap years. Many thanks are due to J. Whitehorne, who drew my attention to the change of the date in the Julian calendar.

<sup>86</sup> See chart 1 no. 45 (CE 216/17); Johnson (1936) 393, and footnote 7 ad loc. For further use and employments of camels see Balconi (1990) 122.

<sup>87</sup> The fact that receipts attesting the payment of the camel tax (the τέλος or τέλεσμα καμήλων) come from either Soknopaiou Nesos or Karanis (actually, mostly Soknopaiou Nesos), certainly supports the above conjecture. See Daniel and Sijpesteijn (1986) 111–12; Battaglia (1986) 85. For the centrality of Soknopaiou Nesos as regards trading of camels see Leone (1988) 57 and footnote 61 ad loc.; Joerdens (1995) 62–79.



bought; bor = born; d = died; gov = in the governor's service; 4 = no camels left to declare.

Kar. = Karanis; SN = Soknopaiou Nesos; Ars. = Arsinoiton Polis; AN = Arsinoite Nome.

Chart 1. List of Camel Declarations

No.	Text	Date	Prov.	Doc.	Animal			State			
					m.	f.	πωλ	1	2	3	4
1	BGU III 785	I	Kar.	-	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2	P.Aberd. 47	129/ 33	Ars.	+	6	-	-	?	?	?	?
3	P.Mich. IX 543 <sup>a</sup>	134/ 36	Kar	-	55	-	16	-	?	?	-
4	P.Grenf. II 45 <sup>b</sup>	136	SN	-	3	-	-	-	+	-	-
5	BGU III 869	136	SN	-	5?	-	?	?	?	?	?
6	BGU I 352 <sup>b</sup>	137	SN	+	3	-	-	-	+	-	-
7	P.Grenf. II 45a	137	SN	+	-	6	-	-	+	-	-
8	BGU I 355	139/ 40	SN	+	-	3	-	-	+	-	-
9	BGU I 353	140/ 41	SN	+	2	-	2	-	-	2s	-
10	BGU I 354	140/ 41	SN	+	-	4	-	-	-	1bou	-
11	BGU I 357 <sup>c</sup>	141	SN	+	-	7	2	-	-	2bou	-
12	BGU I 51	143	SN	+	7	-	2	-	-	2s+2 bor	-
13	SB VI 8977	143	SN	+	2	-	-	-	+	-	-
14	SPP XXII 90	144	SN	-	-	-	-	-	-	7s <sup>d</sup>	+

No.	Text	Date	Prov.	Doc.	Animal			State			
					m.	f.	πωλ	1	2	3	4
15	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 304	144	SN	?	-	-	-	-	-	5s	+
16	<i>BGU</i> I 52	144/ 45	SN	+	8	-	2	-	-	1s+2 bor	-
17	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 309	146	SN	+	3	-	-	-	-	1d	-
18	<i>BGU</i> VII 1582ii	149	Ars.	-	8	-	2	-	-	2bor	-
19	<i>BGU</i> I 358	151	SN	+	-	7	2	-	-	2d+2 bor	-
20	<i>BGU</i> XIII 2235	151/ 53	AN	-	-	-	-	-	-	1d	+
21	<i>BGU</i> XIII 2236	152	SN	+	?	-	?	-	-	1bor	-
22	<i>SPP</i> XXII 15	156/ 57	SN	+	-	1	-	+	-	-	-
23	<i>SB</i> XXII 15207	157 -59	SN	+	1?	-	?	?	?	?	?
24	<i>CPR</i> XV 21	159	SN	+	-	1	1	-	+	-	-
25	<i>BGU</i> II 421	159/ 60	Kar.	?	4	-	-	-	-	1s	-
26	<i>BGU</i> II 629	161	SN	+	-	1	1	-	-	1s	-
27	<i>BGU</i> XIII 2237	161	SN	+	6	-	-	-	-	2s	-
28	<i>SPP</i> XXII 28 <sup>c</sup>	161/ 62	?	?	-	-	1	-	-	1s <sup>f</sup>	+
29	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 327	162	SN	+	1	-	-	-	+	-	-
30	<i>BGU</i> III 762	162/ 63	SN	+ <sup>g</sup>	4	-	-	-	-	1s+1 gov	-
31	<i>BGU</i> I 89	163	SN	?	-	-	-	-	-	1s	+
32	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 328	163	SN	+ <sup>g</sup>	1	-	-	-	-	2gov	-

No.	Text	Date	Prov.	Doc.	Animal			State			
					m.	f.	πωλ	1	2	3	4
33	<i>SPP XXII</i> 91	164	SN	+	4	-	-	-	+	-	-
34	<i>P.Aberd.</i> 48	166?	SN	+	1	?	?	?	?	?	?
35	<i>BGU III</i> 852	167	SN	+	4	-	-	-	+	-	-
36	<i>BGU XIII</i> 2238	167	?	+	1	-	-	-	+	-	-
37	<i>SB XII</i> 11110	169	Kar.	-	3	-	-	-	+	-	-
38	<i>SPP XXII</i> 98	171	SN	+	4	-	-	-	-	ld	-
39	10	176	SN?	+	1	-	-	-	+	-	-
40	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 368	179	SN	+	2	-	-	-	+	-	-
41	<i>P.Prag.</i> I 21	181	SN	+	1	-	-	-	+	-	-
42	<i>BGU I</i> 192	II	AN	?	2	-	-	?	?	?	-
43	<i>SPP XXII</i> 97 <sup>h</sup>	II	SN	?	-	1?	-	-	-	gov? <sup>i</sup>	-
44	11	II	Kar.	?	-	2	1	-	-	lbor	-
45	<i>BGU I</i> 266 <sup>j</sup>	216/ 17	SN	-	1	-	-	-	-	lgov	-

#### Notes to Chart 1.

a) This is a joint declaration of more than eight declarants. As such it is somewhat unique, since most camel declarations are from individual owners. The oath sworn to the tyche of the emperor Hadrian (lines 4-5) is another peculiar feature of this papyrus. *SPP XXII* 81 (III century CE), not included in Avogadro's list, appears to be a kind of a report specifying the ownership of camels and cattle; it might have been a parallel document to *P.Mich.* IX 543.

b) Nos. 4 and 6 were probably submitted by the same declarant.

c) Nos. 10, 11, and 13 might have been submitted by the same person. Consequently, the grandfather's name in no. 11 probably was Stotoetis as well.

- d) The text (lines 13-14) is unclear about another three camels. It does, however, state that the owner having declared eight camels and two colts for the past year has none left to declare for the present year.
- e) The final section of this document is different from most of the other declarations.
- f) The declarant probably wishes to make clear that he has no adult camels left to declare, though he still owns one colt.
- g) ἔξαριθ(μηθέντες) added to the docket here is somewhat unusual in camel declarations.
- h) The declarants' ages are mentioned in this document and in no. 28 alone of all the other camel declarations.
- i) The phrase κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου (line 5) followed by the prefect's name may indicate that some of this declarant's animals were ordered away on a certain mission. See other examples in nos. 30; 32; 45.
- j) The mother's name is used here, but that of the father is omitted.

P.Berol. inv. 25336  
5x17.6 cm. (Pl. 10)

Soknopaiou Nesos(?)  
28 January CE 176

- M. 1<sup>st</sup> ±3] κάμηλ(ος) α  
Ποτά]μωνι στρ[(ατηγῶ) ±2]....[±4].  
±4]....[
- 4 ±8]το( ) η[±5] μερ[ί-  
δος παρὰ Π]ανεφρέμμεω[  
±8]μ. τοῦ Στοτοή[τιος  
ἀπὸ κ]ώμη. Σ[οκν]ο(παίου) Νή[σου
- 8 ±2] ὃν ἀπεγρ(αψάμην) τῷ διελη[λυ-  
θότι] ιε (ἔτει) κάμηλον τ[έ-  
λειον] ἕνα καὶ νῦν ἀπο[γρά-  
φομ]αι ἰ[σ] τὸ ἐνεστὸς ι[σ] (ἔτος
- 12 Αὐρ]ηλίου Ἄντων(ίνου) [Κα(ίσαρος) τοῦ  
κ[υ]ρίου Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ ἐπ[ὶ  
τῇ αὐτῆς κώμης τ[ὸν  
αὐτὸν κά]μηλον ἕ[να
- 16 M. 2<sup>nd</sup> ἔ]ξαριθ(μήθη) π(αρά) .... κάμ(ηλος) α  
Με]χ(εῖρ) γ ἀπεγ(ράφη) κάμ[ηλος α

±6] Μεχ(εἶρ) γ Μ. 3<sup>rd</sup> ἐξ(ηριθμῆθη) π(αρά) στρ(ατηγῶ)  
 ±12].  
 20 (ἔτους) ις Μεχ(εἶρ)] γ

11 leg. εἶς

... one camel

To Potamon, strategos ... the Arsinoite nome, the Herakleides division, from Panephremmis, son of NN grandson of Stotoetis (from the) village of Soknopaiou Nesos. The one adult camel which I declared in the past year 15, I am also declaring now for the present year 16 of the lord Aurelius Antoninus [Caesar] Augustus, at the same village, the same one camel. M. 2<sup>nd</sup> Counted by ... one camel. Mecheir 3 one camel declared.

M. 3<sup>rd</sup> Mecheir 3 Counted at the office of the strategos ... [The 16th year, Mecheir] 3.

1 ±3] κάμηλο(ς) α: In most camel declarations written with a docket (29 documents, see chart 1), these sections contain the provenance of the declarant (lost in 10) and the number of camels declared. Only in no. 17 is it omitted. 10 might well have had its provenance in the docket, probably an abbreviated form of Soknopaiou Nesos. See chart 1 nos. 31-32. For this village see 7.1 and note ad loc. For dockets in general see 7 introd. The docket was an efficient device for checking the main details in the declaration: the number of camels and the provenance of the declarant. A mere glance would be sufficient for collecting this vital information. Balconi's statement, (1990) 118-19, namely that the sex of the animals declared in camel declarations is not precisely indicated seems at odds with the evidence as one may infer from chart 1 supra. The results emerging from close examination of the documents show that male camels are declared in 26 out of the 45 extant declarations, whereas females appear in only nine. Ten manuscripts are either incomplete, or have dubious information.

2 Ποτάμωνι: The strategos Potamon functioned in the Heracleides division CE 171-176. See Bastianini and Whitehorne (1987) 31. He was then replaced by Flavius Apollonios (*BGU* VII 1574 – August CE 176. See Bastianini and Whitehorne supra). Both Henne, (1935) 55, and Bastianini, (1972) 42, contend that the actual substitution took

place between November 175 and July 176. **10** adds a detail which may better clarify this picture, as it presents Potamon still in office in January 176. Thus, Potamon must have been replaced at some date between January and July 176.

2-5 Ποτά]μωνι ... μερ[ί]δος: The identification of the strategos brings in some clues which might assist with the restoration of lines 2-5. Considering the phrasing of the opening lines in most extant camel declarations and the fact that the majority of them originated from the Herakleides division in the Arsinoite nome the following suggestion seems in place: Asklepiades is known to have served under the strategos Potamon as basilikos grammateus in the Herakleides division in the course of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> years (**10.9**; **11**) of Antoninus' reign (CE 175-76). See Bastianini and Whitehorn (1987) 31; 122-23. Consequently lines 2-5 (until παρά) might be read as follows: Ποτάμωνι στρατηγῶ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ βασιλικῶ γαρμματεῖ Ἀρσινότου Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος. In 23 out of the 45 extant camel declarations this phrasing is similar. The exact word formation of each word cannot be safely established, as the texts are differently abbreviated in the various declarations, but it should be remarked that the ]το( ) in line 4 probably belongs to the end of Ἀρσινότου and the following η[ to Ἡ[ρακλ(είδου)].

5 Π]ανεφρέμμεω[ς: Possible identification might be with a Panephemmis documented some thirty years earlier at Soknopaiou Nesos, with a grandfather carrying a similar name, Stotoetis, likewise breeding camels; see chart 1 nos. 12 (CE 143); 16 (CE 144/45).

10 καὶ νῦν: καί = too. καί was mostly used in declarations where the amount of the animals declared in the previous year did not change. (See chart 1 no. 41.12 and note ad loc.). The complete formula which is very fragmentary in **10** follows: καὶ νῦν ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ... (ἔτος). (See chart 1 nos. 7.9-10; 8.8-9; 24.9-10). Other declarations have a slightly different version: ἀπογράφομαι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ... (ἔτος). See nos. 4.9-10; 17.11.

9, 11 ιε (ἔτει), ι[ς (ἔτος): This Marcus Aurelius dating formula Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος Σεβαστός is cited in Bureth (1964) 82-83 for years 10, 12, 14, 18. Years 15 (CE 174/75) and 16 (175/76) are added in **10**.

11 ἰ[ε] (εἶς). Some declarations have πρός instead. See chart 1 no. 41.13 and note ad loc.

16 Following π(αρά) the scribe must have written an abbreviated form of βασιλικῶ.

18 ἐξ(ηριθμήθη): For the procedure of checking and confirming the declarations of camels see Wallace (1938)a 89. ἐξαριθμέω (I count) was regularly used when asserting that the beasts were actually counted. The ξένος mentioned in some texts, probably stood for representatives of officials from other nomes. See Bayer (1940) 303.

20 Μεχ(εἶρ) γ: In the course of the I century CE camel declarations were submitted twice a year in the months of Mecheir (January 26-February 24) and Epeiph (June 25-July 24). A change took place at the beginning of the II century as a result of which the Epeiph declarations were no longer demanded. See Montevicchi (1988) 186; Balconi (1990) 116. Wherever the date survived it is mostly Mecheir 3<sup>rd</sup>. Some declarations were submitted on other days of this month: 11 - 1<sup>st</sup>; chart 1 no. 18.15 - 2<sup>nd</sup>; 30.21 - 5<sup>th</sup>; 22.12 - 6<sup>th</sup>. See also nos. 15.20; 21.16 and notes ad loc.; Avogadro (1935) 185-86.

## 11. CAMEL DECLARATION

The light brown papyrus was written in a fine ligatured II century CE cursive which is hard to read in places. The ink is mostly bold. The papyrus shows many holes produced by worms particularly between the lines. The only conspicuous margin is of about 5 cm. at bottom left. The text seems to have survived intact on the right. At left, however, all the lines lost up to 10 letters each. The upper part of the papyrus was torn off carrying away with it the beginning of the manuscript. Several vertical foldings divided 11 into long one cm. wide strips. Only three incomplete such strips survived. Some strips were lost at left and at least one (the margin?) at right. In lines 1 - ...δ(?), 3 - ἐνεστό(ς), 4 - ἐπιγο(νής), 6 - Καρανίδ(ος), 7 and 9 - καμήλ(ους) the scribes employed raised letters to indicate abbreviations. The text was written along the fibers (→); the other side (↓) is blank.

Except for Μεχέιρ α at lines 8 and 10 no other date is suggested by 11. Still, as most camel declarations were written during the II or the beginning of the III century CE (129-217), one may assign it to this period. As was customary in camel declarations the papyrus sheet carried the owner's statement and the signatures of the officials endorsing it. See 10 introd. Three hands are distinguishable: the first in lines 1-8; the second: 9-10; the third: 11-12. A resident of the village of Karanis, declares that in the present year he maintains the same two camels he owned the year before and their young πῶλος in addition. The lost part of the declaration must have carried away with it the following components of the original document: the docket (in case there was one); the address to the relevant officials, and most of the declarant's personal details. See 10 introd. and footnote 74 ad loc. for references to more detailed description of such documents. The extant part of the declaration was written by M 1<sup>st</sup>. The other two added the officials' confirmations and signatures.

For the importance of camels as means of land transportation in Roman Egypt and the structure of camel-owners' organizations see 10 introd. and footnotes 78-83 ad loc.

Out of the 45 camel declarations published so far (see 10 chart 1) only 17 mention πῶλοι. The declarations are spread over a period of about 30 years (CE 134-64): Soknopaiou Nesos - 13 (see 10 chart 1



nos. 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33); Karanis – 2 (3, 44); Arsinoiton Polis – 1 (18); chart 1 no. 28 is incomplete.

The location of πῶλοι in camel declarations was not identical in all extant documents. There were three possible positions which will be indicated as follows (all numbers refer to 10 chart 1):

a) body of the declaration: nos. 3, 18, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 44.

b) body + signatures and confirmation units: 14.

c) body + signatures and confirmation units + docket: 9, 11, 12, 16, 19, 21, 24, 26.

This information shows that camel declarations made clear distinction between adult camels and their young.<sup>88</sup> Declaring πῶλοι alongside adult (τέλειοι) camels was obligatory.<sup>89</sup> The Romans demanded these reports in order to update their records, as the young camels of the present year might be the adult of the year after. Thus each camel owner was ordered to submit a precise report as regards quantity and age of all the animals in his possession, adult and young. It seems that πῶλοι were exempted from the tax imposed on κάμηλοι τέλειοι, the τέλεσμα καμήλων.<sup>90</sup> Apparently both declarants and government officials were interested in indicating the existence of πῶλοι in the text of the declarations, but for different motives: the owners wishing to avoid the payment of unnecessary taxes; the authorities' reasons were already stated above.

P.Berol. inv. 25550  
5x14.2 cm. (Pl. 11)

Karanis  
Second half of the II Century CE

M. 1<sup>st</sup> [±10]...ε..[.]..οδ( )  
[ἄς τῶ διελη(λυθότι) ? (ἔτει)] ἀπεγρ(άψαμεν) τὰς δύο β  
[καμήλους] ἀπογρά(φομαι) καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸ(ς)  
4 [? ἔτος] κ[αὶ] τὴν προσγεν(ομένην) ἐξ ἐπιγο(νής)

<sup>88</sup> A similar distinction was made when donkey-foals were concerned. See *PSI* VII 785 (CE 93). See also *P. Oxy.* II 354.15 (CE 15); 350.8-9 (CE 23 or 25); 356.6 (CE 27); 352.5 (CE 28); 355.15 (CE 41) where the young of the sheep (ἄρνες) and the same of the goats (ἐρίφοι) are separated in the declarations from the adult animals. For these texts see Balconi (1984) 25-60.

<sup>89</sup> See Balconi (1990) 117.

<sup>90</sup> See Wallace (1938)a 89.

- [αὐτ]ῶ(ν) πῶλον α  
 [ἐπὶ τῆς] αὐτῆς κώ(μης) Καρανίδ(ος)  
 [ἀπεγρ(άφησαν) πα]ρὰ στρ(ατηγῶ) καμήλ(ους) β
- 8 [πῶλον α Με]χ(εῖρ) α.  
 M. 2<sup>nd</sup> [ἀπεγρ(άφησαν) π(αρά)] β[α]c(ιλικῶ) [γ]ρ(αμμτεῖ)  
 καμήλ(ους) β  
 [πῶλον α] Μεχ(εῖρ) α  
 M. 3<sup>rd</sup> [±8].
- 12 [±8].... ἐξ(ηριθμήθη) c(υμφώνως).

... The two, 2, female camels which I declared the year before, I declare for the present year (?) as well as their offspring, 1 foal, at the same village of Karanis. Declared at the office of the strategos 2 camels, 1 foal, Mecheir 1.

Declared at the office of the basilikos grammateus, 2 camels [one foal], Mecheir 1.

... counted in corroboration.

2 τὰς δύο β: For parallel repetition of the numeral in presenting the animals in camel declarations see: 10 chart 1 nos. 4.13; 25.4.

2-3 [τῶ διελη(λυθότι...)/... τὸ ἐνεστό(ς): For other documents having τῶ διεληλυθότι before ἀπεγραψάμην, as the order is in 11, see 10 chart 1 nos. 8.6; 10.7; 11.6.

6 κώ(μης) Καρανίδ(ος): The text is rather unclear at this point. The letters rho, iota and delta are quite distinct; the nu, on the other hand, is similar to the pi of ἐπιγούνης at line 4. Apparently, of the known three places where camel declarations originated from, Karanis seems most suitable as the provenance of this document. See 10 chart 1. Out of the 45 camel declarations published so far five were submitted at Karanis (see 10 chart 1 nos. 1, 3, 25, 37, 44). In no. 22.10 a camel owner declares selling one of his beasts to a resident of Karanis. No. 3 is a joint declaration of several camel owners announcing the holding of 72 camels. In *P.Hamb.* 1 40 (CE 216) Serenos, another resident of Karanis, pays taxes for 24 camels. Consequently it seems that Karanis, along with Soknopaiou Nesos, might have been another center for

camel owners in Roman Egypt. Moreover, there was an important market for donkey traders in this village as well. See Schwartz (1988) 142 and *passim*; Joerdens (1995) 77. Karanis is well attested in the papyri. See Calderini, *Dizionario* III i 70-79. The history of this village in the III and the IV centuries CE is better documented than in the first two of our era. See *P.NYU* introd. p. ix; Gerermek (1969) 6. For an interdisciplinary approach to the discussion of papyri and archaeological data from Karanis see van Minnen (1994) 227-51 with a map of the village on p. 238.

9 [ἀπεργ(άφησαν): For the restoration of this line see 10 chart 1 no. 33.15.

8 and 10 Με]χ(εῖρ) α: See 10.18; 20 and notes ad loc.

12 ἐξ(ηριθμήθη): See 10 chart 1 no. 36.18 for the restoration. See also previous note.

## 12. NOTICE OF BIRTH OF A GIRL

The light brown papyrus is full of holes produced by worms. It has margins of about 1-1½ cm. at top, bottom and left. The right margin and the right lower corner were lost carrying away the end of line 13. The text, however, was kept almost intact. Three vertical folds can clearly be distinguished. There probably were two horizontal ones, though they are harder to detect. 12 has two hands. The first (lines 1-2) is a somewhat rough script with heavy ligatures; the second is a fine II century cursive. Towards the end of the manuscript (middle of line 12 to line 14) the writing changes slightly, but not so much that one would want to see a third hand. The text runs along the fibers (→), the other side here (↓) is blank.

The 19<sup>th</sup> year (line 11) is the only dating offered by 12. The text seems to resemble papyri from the later part of the II or beginning of the III centuries CE. See *BGU* III 807 (CE 185); I 15 (CE 200); 97 (CE 202/203).<sup>91</sup> 12 might have been written in CE 179/80 (the 19th year of the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus), or 211/12 (the 19th year of Septimius Severus and Caracalla). Pakysis, son of Pakysis, grandson of Pakysis, submits a declaration to the village scribe in Soknopaiou Nesos informing the authorities that a daughter, named Tapakysis, was born to him and to his wife, Tapiomis, daughter of Onnophris, in the 19th year. Satyros wrote this declaration on their behalf since they were illiterates.

This is a ὑπόμνημα ἐπιγεννήσεως (a birth notice) concerning a daughter presented by both parents.<sup>92</sup> Judging from their names father and mother were of Egyptian origin. Pakysis was a member of the first of the five priestly tribes serving at the temple in Soknopaiou Nesos.<sup>93</sup>

As for their structure notices of birth concerning girls were not different from their counterparts about boys. Generally three types of

<sup>91</sup> Schubart (1911) 26b; 32b; 34a.

<sup>92</sup> See *W.Gr.* 195-96; Wallace (1938)a 105; Montevicchi (1947) 10; (1988) 179; Taubenschlag (1955) 625.

<sup>93</sup> The present discussion will touch upon notices of birth submitted by residents of Egypt of Greek and Egyptian origin. Roman citizens were obliged to declare the birth of their children under the Lex Aelia Sentia et Papia Poppaea of 4 CE. See Taubenschlag (1955) 625-26; *CAH* X 433.

these documents (declaring boys or girls) are extant, corresponding respectively to three Egyptian districts<sup>94</sup>:

- a) the Arsinoite nome (with slight differences between the capital and the villages of the nome)
- b) Oxyrhynchos
- c) Antinoopolis

Chart 1 will indicate the main differences and similarities among the three types:

**Chart 1. Different Types of Notices of Birth**

No.	Arsinoite Nome		Oxyrhynchos	Antinoopolis
	city	village		
1.	address	address <sup>a</sup>	address	address
2.	applicant/s	applicant/s	applicant/s	applicant/s
3.	parents' residence	parents' residence	parents' residence <sup>b</sup>	parents' residence
4.	-	status of mother/father (priests)	-	-
5.	-	-	-	privileges of Antinoite children
6.	main verb <sup>c</sup>	main verb	main verb	main verb
7.	-	-	residence of registered children	-
8.	name/s of registered	name/s of registered	name/s of registered	name/s of registered
9.	age <sup>d</sup>	age	age	age
10.	-	-	status of the registered	-

<sup>94</sup> For previous discussions of notices of birth see Grassi (1922) 206-208; Montevecchi (1947) 3-24: Arsinoite nome - pp. 5-6; Oxyrhynchos - 6-8; Antinoopolis - 11-12; *P. Fuad Univ.* 13 introd. pp. 23-24; Mertens (1958) 48-65.

No.	Arsinoite Nome		Oxyrhynchos	Antinoopolis
	city	village		
11.	-	-	-	proof of marriage and parentage
12.	closing formula	closing formula	closing formula	closing formula
13.	-	-	-	three guarantors
14.	oath <sup>c</sup>	-	oath	oath
15.	signatures	signatures	-	-
16.	date	date	date	date
17.	-	-	signatures <sup>f</sup>	signatures
18.	-	-	repetition of request <sup>g</sup>	repetition of request and oath
19.	-	-	-	Signatures and oath of guarantors <sup>h</sup>

### Notes to chart 1.

Note: The numbers in the notes refer to texts in chart 2.

a) The provenance comes together with the address in the following texts: 1; 11; 17; 19.

b) Only in no. 20.

c) In the Arsinoite nome and in Antinoopolis the verb used is ἀπογράφομαι/μεθα. In Oxyrhynchos, however, the formula was βούλομαι/μεθα πρώτως ἀναγραφῆναι. See *P.Ups.Frid* 6.5 and note ad loc.

d) See Mertens (1958) 58-60 and chart 2.

e) Probably only in no. 5.

f) Absent in no. 20.

g) Only in nos. 29; 31. Absent in 20 and 30. Incomplete are the following: 21; 25; 27; 33; 34.

h) No. 13 breaks off after the signatures (item 17 on chart 1).

12 differs from other declarations of birth submitted at Soknopaiou Nesos in two of the items on chart 1: it has no closing formula (διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι ...); an ἀγράμματος section is inscribed at the end of the declaration. Our document seems to be a summary copy of the original handed to the village scribe.<sup>95</sup> This copy might have been written simultaneously with the original text, or even at a later date.

It seems that the first hand of 12 was written in advance at the village scribe's bureau. The second, comprising the main body of the declaration, was probably filled in by Pakysis' scribe with the proper details appertaining to his case.<sup>96</sup>

In 1947 when Montevecchi (footnote 94 supra) discussed notices of birth 18 such announcements were available, two of which concerned girls. At present the collection of declarations of birth contains 34 texts (chart 2):

boys - 28 declarations; girls - 4; mixed boys and girls - 2.

Arsinoite nome	Oxyrhynchos	Antinoopolis
Soknopaiou Nesos - 6	16	3
Arsinoiton Polis - 6		
Ptolemais Hormou - 1		
Tebtunis - 1		
Arsinoite nome - 1		
total - 15.		

Except for 12 whose dating is not specific most of the Arsinoite and two of the Antinoopolite texts are from the II century CE. The major part of the Oxyrhynchite declarations date to the III.

As far as the Roman authorities were concerned all Egyptians living in the χώρα (Greeks, Greco-Egyptians and Egyptians) were liable to pay the normal rate of poll-tax. Nevertheless, Greek inhabitants of the metropoleis, (the capitals of the Egyptian nomes),

<sup>95</sup> The closing formula is particularly important, because it proves that the document in question was actually submitted. *BGU* 1 28 has διὸ ἐπιδίδωμεν (lines 19-20), and *P.Petaus* 1.15-17 reads as follows: διὸ ἐπιδίδομεν τὸ τῆς ἐπιγεννήσεως ὑπόμνημα). See also *P. Warr.* 2.15; *SPP* XXII 18.14-15; *PSI* III 164.14-15.

<sup>96</sup> 8 (CE 190) was prepared in the same manner. Its first part (lines 1-8) was written in the registration office at Kerkesoucha, whereas the rest of the document was added after the conclusion of the transaction at the market place of that village. *SB* XVI 12559 (CE 155) is another example of the same kind of document.

the so called "οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως", could apply for a reduction of this payment. Before his application was approved the applicant had to prove himself a member of the privileged class. Such verification (ἐπίκρισις) would require the consulting of the census returns where the applicant was registered, and the notice of his birth stressed the fact that his father and mother were also born into that same class.<sup>97</sup> Apparently notices of birth were not required by the government. They granted privileges, but these did not materialize unless they were claimed. So much for the declarations concerning boys.<sup>98</sup>

Since girls did not have to pay poll-tax, there must have been different reasons for announcing their birth to the Roman authorities. (See *P.Petaus* 1-2 introd. p. 68). Though some scholars have suggested that such notices declaring the birth of girls were exceptional or written by mistake, this does not seem to be the case.<sup>99</sup> A declaration delivered to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς (*P.Petaus* 2) should have concerned an important matter. (*P.Petaus* 1-2 introd. p. 69). This official treated the case with much responsibility, when he passed it to the care of a lower clerk attaching explicit directions to the document (*P.Petaus* 2.13-15). Notices of birth, then, were seriously treated. Moreover, the basilikos grammateus' remark in *P.Petaus* 2.14-15 referring to ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων (similar cases) should not be overlooked. Apparently, documents declaring the birth of girls to the Roman authorities were not reserved for special occasions (as Montevicchi suggested; footnote 99 supra), but were rather frequent,

<sup>97</sup> See Wallace (1938)a 105; 109-110; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* V 116-17; Bagnall-Frier (1994) 28.

<sup>98</sup> None of the extant notices of birth has a formula like κατὰ τὰ κελευθέντα... Such a phrase would imply that a certain act was taken under the requirements of an edict or a law. See *W.Gr.* 195-96; Taubenschlag (1955) 625-26; Mertens (1958) 62-65; *P.Petaus* introd. pp. 67-68 contra Bickerman. See footnote 3 ad loc. Moreover, the fact that there was no fixed age for the declaration of boys, and apparently nor for girls, (see chart 2), further supports the notion that notices of birth were not obligatory.

<sup>99</sup> See Montevicchi (1947) 8-9; Taubenschlag (1955) 625. Montevicchi, in a later study, (1988) 179, supported the suggestion of the editors of *P.Petaus* 1-2 (introd. p. 68 and note 8 ad loc. - namely that the child declared in *BGU* 1 28 was a girl) remarking that such notices were reserved for special occasions. See also *BL* III 8; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* V p. 117 note 7 ad loc. In Bagnall-Frier (1994) 29 a declaration of birth of a girl is referred to as being used in a conflict over an inheritance.



notwithstanding the fact that only a few of them have been found so far.

The factors motivating the submission of such declarations seem to be of legal and of social natures. On the legal level, a boy had to prove that both his parents belonged to the privileged class in order to be enrolled among his future peers. (In all birth declarations the boys' mothers, even grandmothers at times, are mentioned). In that sense, the registration of a girl (the future mother) among the members of her class would be important.<sup>100</sup>

On the social level it seems that girls who proved that both their parents belonged to the class of οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως could marry more easily. A father asking to register his eighteen year old daughter ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει ὡς καθήκει (*P.Oxy.* XLIII 3136.5-6 and introd. pp. 108-9) probably wished to advance her marriage prospects.<sup>101</sup>

The four documents declaring the birth of girls solely ought to be divided into two groups. *P.Petaus.* 1-2 and *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3136 register Greek-Egyptian girls. *BGU* I 28 and 12 raise a different issue. They concern the children of priestly families at Soknopaiou Nesos. The question of whether a boy or a girl is registered in *BGU* I 28 becomes irrelevant, as it seems that both sons and daughters of such families were entitled to certain privileges in the temple of this village.<sup>102</sup> These privileges granted the daughters, αἱ παρθέναι τῶν ἱερέων, a certain position in the temple requiring them to perform some functions there in return. To ensure the position of his daughter any priest would have to register her birth as the custom was. In 12 the girl

<sup>100</sup> See *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3136 introd. p.109; Nelson (1979) introd. vii-viii.

<sup>101</sup> If a girl being an only child were declared, her legal status as the sole heir of her parents after their death would not be questioned. (*P.Petaus* p. 69). The story of Thamistis alias Thamista and her half brother (?) Anikos is a living proof of what might have happened to a girl, if her legal status was not unequivocally established. See Youtie (1981) 17-19. In Roman Egypt women had the right to maintain property in their own names. At Soknopaiou Nesos women's property consisted mainly of non-agricultural assets (houses, slaves, camels). In most cases they acquired their holdings by way of dowry or inheritance. See Hobson (1983) 311-21, pp. 315-16; 321 in particular. See also Rowlandson (1998) 218-21.

<sup>102</sup> *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* V 117; Bagnall-Frier (1994) 24.

is less than one year old at the time of registration. *BGU* I 28 even indicates that both parents were priests.<sup>103</sup>

Lists of declarations of birth were previously compiled by the following:

a) Grassi (1922) 206 (10 documents including a Latin declaration, *P.Oxy.* VI 894 - CE 194-96. Later lists were limited to Greek declarations only).

b) Wallace (1938)a 400 has 14, including the doubtful *O.Bruss.Berl.* 14. This was not a regular declaration of birth. See Viereck's commentary on p. 10, but a blank form; Hagedorn (1976)a 167; Bingen (1977) 25; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* V p. 117, note 7.

c) Montevecchi (1947) 3-4 (18, excluding *O.Bruss.Berl.* 14).

d) *P.Ups.Frid* 6 introd. p. 64 (15 solely Oxyrhynchite documents).

Since the collection totals 34 notices at present, a comprehensive list follows.

All dates are CE; Num+Gen. stand for - number and gender:

**Chart 2. A Comprehensive List of Birth Declarations**

No.	Text	Date	Provenance	Num. + Gen.	Age
1.	<i>P.Tebt.</i> II 299	ca. 50	Tebtunis	1M	-
2.	<i>P.Warren</i> 2	72	Arsinoiton Polis(?)	1M	3
3.	<i>CPR</i> XV 24	119	Ptolemais Euergetis	1M	4
4.	<i>BGU</i> XI 2020	124	Arsinoite Nome	3M+1F	6; 5; 4
5.	<i>BGU</i> I 110	138/39	Arsinoiton Polis(?)	1M <sup>a</sup>	2
6.	<i>BGU</i> I 111	138/39	Arsinoiton Polis(?)	2M	4; 2
7.	<i>SPP</i> XXII 100	147/48(?)	Soknopaiou Nesos	1M	?

<sup>103</sup> Otto (1905) II, 203 and footnote 3 ad loc; 210.

No.	Text	Date	Provenance	Num. + Gen.	Age
8.	<i>SPP</i> XXII 18	149	Soknopaiou Nesos	1M	3
9.	<i>P.Fay.</i> 28	150/151	Arsinoiton Polis	1M	1
10.	<i>SB</i> V 7602 <sup>b</sup>	151	Antinoopolis	1M	20 days
11.	<i>SPP</i> XXII 38	155	Soknopaiou Nesos	1M	6
12.	<i>P.Meyer</i> 3 <sup>c</sup>	155	Arsinoiton Polis	1M	4
13.	<i>SB</i> XVI 12742	157	Antinoopolis	1M	25 days
14.	<i>P.Oxy.</i> III 479	157	Oxyrhynchos	1M	8
15.	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXVIII 2858	171	Oxyrhynchos	1M	4
16.	<i>BGU</i> I 28 <sup>d</sup>	183	Soknopaiou Nesos	1F	6
17.	<i>SPP</i> XXII 37	184	Soknopaiou Nesos	1M	3
18.	<i>P.Petaus</i> 1-2	185	Ptolemais Euergetis	1F	8
19.	12	179/80 or 211/12	Soknopaiou Nesos	1F	born the same year
20.	<i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1267	209	Oxyrhynchos	1M	3
21.	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XII 1552	214/15	Oxyrhynchos	1M	1
22.	<i>Pap.Lugd.Bat.</i> II 2 <sup>e</sup>	248	Antinoopolis	1M	25 days
23.	<i>P.Col.</i> VIII 231	249-69	Oxyrhynchos	M (?)	?
24.	<i>PSI</i> XII 1257 <sup>f</sup>	249-82	Oxyrhynchos	2M	6; 2
25.	<i>P.Köln</i> II 87	271	Oxyrhynchos	1M	?
26.	<i>P.Ups.Frid</i> 6	273	Oxyrhynchos	1M	13
27.	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVI 3295	285	Oxyrhynchos	1M	11(?)
28.	<i>PSI</i> III 164	287	Oxyrhynchos	1M	14 <sup>g</sup>

No.	Text	Date	Provenance	Num. + Gen.	Age
29.	<i>P.Corn.</i> 18	291	Oxyrhynchos	2M+2F	boys: 13; 5 girls: 15; 7
30.	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXVIII 2855	291	Oxyrhynchos	1M	13
31.	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIII 3136	292	Oxyrhynchos	1F	18
32.	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIV 3183	292	Oxyrhynchos	2M	7;8
33.	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIII 3137	295	Oxyrhynchos	M <sup>b</sup>	?
34.	<i>P.Fuad</i> <i>Crawford</i> 13	297/98	Oxyrhynchos	1M	?

**Notes to Chart 2.**a) See *BL* I 21.b) = *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* VI 33. See Bell (1933) 517-22.c) = *P.Gen.* I 33 = *W.Chr.* 211; see also Pestman (1990) 188-89.d) See *BL* III 8 and note 99 *supra*.e) = *P.Vind. Bosw.* 2.f) For the date see *BL* IV 90.g) See *P.Corn.* 18 introd. p. 99.

h) The number of boys registered was lost.

**P.Berol. inv. 25099**  
7.5x12.2 cm. (Pl. 12)

**Soknopaiou Nesos**  
CE 179/80 or 211/12

Μ 1<sup>st</sup> κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Σοκνοπ(αίου Νήσου)  
παρὰ Μ. 2<sup>nd</sup> Πακ[ύ]σεως Πακύ-  
σεως τοῦ Πακύ[εω]ς  
4 ἱερέως ᾧ φυλ(ῆς) Σοκν[ο]π[α]ίου  
θεοῦ μεγάλου καὶ τῆς  
γυναίκος Ταπιώμι(ς) Ὀινώ(φριος)

- μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ Πακύ-  
 8 σεως. ἀπογραφόμεθα  
 τὴν γεγонуῖαν ἡμεῖν  
 ἐξ ἀλλήλων τῷ ἐνεστῶ-  
 τι ιθ (ἔτει) θυγατέραν Τα-  
 12 πακῦαν. Κάτυρ[ο]ε ἔγρα-  
 ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγ[ρ]α[μμάτου]  
 ὄντος.

9 ἡμῖν is preferable; but see note to line 9 infra.

To the village scribe of Soknopaiou Nesos M. 2<sup>nd</sup> from Pakysis, son of Pakysis, grandson of Pakysis, a priest of the 1<sup>st</sup> tribe of the great God Soknopaios and his wife, Tapiomis, daughter of Onnophris, with Pakysis her guardian. We hereby register the daughter born to both of us, Tapakysis, in the present 19<sup>th</sup> year. I, Satyrus, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.

1 Κοκνοπ(αίου Νήσου): See 7.1 and note ad loc. Most of the residents of this village were priests living on the chores and services they did for temples there. In quite a number of cases both husband and wife were priests, as in *BGU I 28*.

παρά: The address in most notices of birth takes the following form: to B... from (παρά) A ... See Exler (1923) 40-41 and his commentary on pp. 60-61. No. 14 (chart 2) is irregular in this sense. The forms of address in the following texts are incomplete: 3; 7; 26; 31.

2 Πακ[ύ]σεως: Names like Πακῦας or Στοτοῆτις were very common among priests and others at Soknopaiou Nesos. They were written in various forms, as can be seen in NB and Foraboschi (1966). This was the result of transcribing Egyptian names into Greek. The same name (Pakysis) is used over three generations in 12. Moreover the daughter's name was derived from her father's. For the recurrence of this phenomenon see *BGU I 353.10-12* (CE 140/41); Hobson (1982) 90; (1989) 162. Paponymy was traditional in Egypt as well as in other countries in the East and in Europe. See Mazar (1957) 235-36.

4 ἱερέως ᾧ φυλ(ῆς): See 3.1 and note ad loc.

4-5 Κοκν[ο]π[α]ίου/ θεοῦ μεγάλου: For Soknopaios, alias Sobek, the god worshipped in the central temple at Soknopaiou Nesos see Frankfurter (1998) 98-100. The emphasis of μέγας was at times doubled - μεγάλου μεγάλου- see *P.Lond.* II 299.8-9 (CE 128). It was even tripled - τριμεγάλου - in reference to some gods as in *P.Flor.* I 50.97 (CE 268).

5-6 καὶ τῆς/ γυναικὸς Ταπιώμιος Ὀννώ(φριος): In extant papyri the name Tapiomis could be traced as far back as the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. See Liesker and Tromp (1986) 84. For a slightly different form of the genitive of Ὀννώφρις (Ὀννώφρεως) see 4.3 and note ad loc. In Soknopaiou Nesos both parents usually submit these declarations. See Montevicchi (1947) 12-13; (1988) 179. In such documents from Oxyrhynchos the father is the sole representative of the family. See *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2855.8 (CE 291) and note on p. 73. In all three texts declaring solely girls (excluding Oxyrhynchos - nos. 16; 18; 19 on chart 2) both parents submit the applications.

7 μετὰ κυρίου: The guardian (κύριος) of a married woman in Roman Egypt would normally be her husband. Alternatives would be her sons, father, grandfather, or brothers. See Taubenschlag (1955) 170-71. Yet in many cases women (married and otherwise) acted independently of a kyrios when business activities were transacted, in particular if property ownership was concerned. See Taubenschlag *ibid.* 175. Hobson (1983) 317-18. On the guardians of women in the Judaeon Desert papyri see Cotton (1997) 267-74.

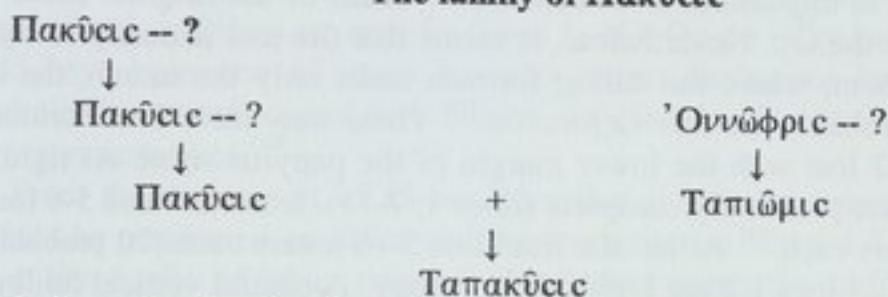
9 ἡμεῖν: This form appears in four texts on chart 2: 6.12; 9.9; 23.11; 26.9.

11 θυγατέραν: So in *P.Petaus* 1.13. For this form see further Lewis (1989)a 81.

11-12 Ταπακῦσις: A rather rare name recurring only three times in the papyri. See *P.Lond.* II 325.7 (p.106 - CE 161); *P.Mich.* IV 223 (CE 171/72); *SB* IV 7284 (II century CE). A close parallel is Ταπεκῦσις

daughter of Πακῦσις, who lived at Soknopaiou Nesos at the beginning of the II century CE, probably deriving her name from her father's as well. See Wessely (1902) 155. A genealogical table describing this family as presented in 12 follows:

**The family of Πακῦσις**



11-13 ἔγραψα ὑπερὸ αὐτοῦ ἀγ[ρ]α[μμάτου]/ ὄντος: See 19.17 *infra* (a Byzantine land-lease) and note *ad loc.* The singular is employed here referring to the father (alone!) rather than the plural. Actually both parents are named as submitting the declaration together (ἀπογραφόμεθα - line 8). See *CPR XV* 24.6 and note *ad loc.* where the editor prefers ἐπιδίδ[ο]μεν (plural) on the grounds that both parents submit the declaration in question there, as was the custom in Ptolemais Euergetis. The same argument can be applied to Soknopaiou Nesos.

13 ἀγ[ρ]α[μμάτου]: Πακῦσις is referred to as illiterate. He was a member of the first (prestigious?) tribe of priests at the important temple of Soknopaiou Nesos. He might have been called so because his Greek was bad. See Hanson (1991) 177. In *SB I* 5117 (CE 55) we chance upon another inhabitant of Soknopaiou Nesos described as μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα ἑλληνικά, ἀλλὰ Αἰγύπτια γράφει. See Youtie (1973)b 613. Greek and Latin were the official languages used when appealing to or addressing the authorities in Roman Egypt. Egyptians continued using their language in the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods. Thus in many cases ἀγράμματος should perhaps be taken to indicate illiteracy only in Greek and Latin. See Youtie *ibid.* 611-12; Lewis (1983) 62-64; 81-83. For recent studies of literacy and illiteracy in the ancient world see Hanson (1991) 159-98; Greenfield (1993) 39-44; Rowlandson (1998) 87, note 8 *ad loc.* with important comments and additions by van Minnen (1994) 248-49.

## 13. LETTER CONCERNING THE RISE OF THE NILE

The hand of the dark brown papyrus is a fine II century CE cursive which is quite easy to read. The papyrus was broken on all four sides, and it is impossible to calculate how much of the original sheet was lost at the top. Nevertheless, it seems that the text is nearly complete at bottom, where the dating formula lacks only the month, the day, and probably the title  $\text{Cεβαττόc}$ .<sup>104</sup> These may have been written in line 12 lost with the lower margin of the papyrus sheet. At right the lines are practically complete (lines 4; 7-11). Lines 1-3 and 5-6 lost 1-3 letters each.<sup>105</sup> At left the lines lost 5-16 letters each (20 probably at line 1). Lines 1-2 are highly fragmentary. A central vertical folding is clearly visible. Others, horizontal as well, can be easily traced. These probably caused the breaking of the papyrus on all sides and the loss of considerable parts of the original sheet. Many holes were produced by worms damaging the whole manuscript, lines 6-7 in particular. The text runs along the fibers ( $\rightarrow$ ). But for some illegible script, probably an address, the other side ( $\downarrow$ ) is blank.

13 is best defined as a letter sent by a strategos or probably a higher ranking official to local ones.<sup>106</sup> This letter could have been based on standing instructions, or on a circular similar to *P.Oxy.* XII 1409 (CE 278), a document accompanying an address forwarded by a superior functionary to his subordinates announcing the beginning of the high season of the preparations for the rise of the Nile in CE 278. Following such a circular or an edict, lower officials (strategi?), either on their own initiative, or by specific instructions, sent more detailed directions to their subordinates. A more or less similar chain of events can be envisaged in *P.Oxy.* XII 1409.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Bureth (1964) 60-65 cites eight different formulas of Hadrian which begin with  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . Four of them end with  $\text{Cεβαττόc}$ . According to Exler (1923) 99 most dating formulas ended with the month and the day.

<sup>105</sup> The restorations at the beginning of lines 9-10 reinforce the supposition that the text is nearly complete at right.

<sup>106</sup> See Katzoff (1982) 209; 213-15 where the distinctions between edicts and such official letters are made clear.

<sup>107</sup> For other examples of documents requiring lower officials to make certain edicts or letters public or to send instructions to others see *P.Fay.* 24 (CE 158); Katzoff (1982) 213-14; *P.Coll. Youtie* I 30, reedited by Rea (1977)b 151-56 (=SB XIV 12144), is an official letter, written by the prefect instructing certain strategi to pass



Our document is not likely to be an edict. No prefect is mentioned here. It is not addressed to the public but to certain people who are asked to report back to the writer (line 11). Whoever he may be, he uses neither imperative nor vocative forms which are regular in edicts. Neither does he imply general statements, as do the edicts addressing a large body of people. The instructions are delivered in the second person plural, and they are specific (lines 5; 10). On the other hand, 13 could have been one of many business letters exchanged between hired clerks or workers and their bosses, the owners of large farms or their representatives.<sup>108</sup>

From the extant part of 13 we learn that it was concerned with work to be performed on dikes and dense vegetation (lines 4-5). The text at line 8 talks of "short time left till...", then comes the prefix ἀνα ... after which the beginning of line 9 is lost. The suggested restoration for line 9 ἀνά/[βασιν], agrees with the rest of the manuscript.<sup>109</sup> Consequently 13 may be specifying the repairs needed in the canal and dike system of a certain settlement in Egypt in CE 128/29. Our document is obviously not a private letter. It is not written in a personal manner, and no greetings are sent to relatives and friends. Furthermore, the full dating formula at end belongs mostly in official letters rather than private ones.<sup>110</sup>

The Egyptian canal and dike systems served public as well as private lands. The owners of large estates made use of the public system, but they certainly had their own canals and dikes regulating the irrigation of their vast fields. The public system was called δημοσία χώματα (see *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XII 11 and footnote 2 ad loc.).<sup>111</sup> 13 does not indicate the kind of system in question here,

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some information and orders to the public (lines 12-15). See also Katzoff (1980) 821.

<sup>108</sup> See *P.Oxy.* IX 1220 (III century CE); *P.Flor.* II 162 (CE 260); *P.Ryl.* II 238 (CE 262); *P.Flor.* II 137; 142 (both CE 264).

<sup>109</sup> See note to lines 8-9. Other words associated with the canal and dike system are used here: ὑδροφ[ύλαξι] (line 3); διάκοπος (line 5).

<sup>110</sup> See, however, *BGU* IV 1079 (CE 41) and *P.Fay.* 114 (CE 100) which end with both greetings and imperial dating formulas. Private letters are discussed *infra* in 14-15 introd. See also Exler (1923) 78-98 and p. 23 for the various kinds of letters, private and official.

<sup>111</sup> See Parassoglou (1978) 65-68 for a list of private farms (οὐσίαι) in Roman Egypt. For the maintenance of canal and dike systems in private farms see Johnson (1936) 12-14; Rathbone (1991) 219-28. See also *P. Oxy.* II 290 (CE 83/84) – building a private dam. As regards δημοσία and ἰδιωτικὰ χώματα see Calderini

though the absence of public functionaries in charge of the public irrigation system might imply that we are dealing with the *ιδιωτικά* rather than the *δημοσία χώματα*.<sup>112</sup>

The level of the annual rise of the Nile was a prime factor in the success or failure of agricultural production in Roman as well as in other periods of Egyptian history. Most of the Egyptian population was involved in agriculture,<sup>113</sup> and since rains are very rare in this country, it was totally dependent on the yearly flood of the river and the proper maintenance of the canal and dike system. The importance which ancient writers attributed to the annual rise of the Nile is fully understandable.<sup>114</sup>

The rise of the Nile (*ἀνάβασις*) was annually measured.<sup>115</sup> It began in June continuing to grow during the following months, the

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(1920) 189-190. For their importance to Egyptian life see Rostovtzeff (1929) 279; Rathbone (1991) 224-25. See also Boak (1926)b 361-63 illustrating the importance of the irrigation system through various periods in the history of Karanis. The town was prosperous and well off when the canal and dike system was properly handled, but its condition deteriorated to the point of desertion when this life vein was neglected.

<sup>112</sup> The officials involved in the maintenance of the irrigation system were the following: *κωμογραμματεὺς*; *βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς*; *καταπορεύς* (see *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XII 8); *χωματεκβολεὺς*; *χωματεπιμελητής*. For these last two see Lewis (1997) 50. Beginning with the III century CE the *strategos* should be added. For the *χωματεπιμελητής* replaced by the *χωματεπέικτης* (not later than the end of the III century) see Sijpesteijn (1964) 9-19.

<sup>113</sup> See Bonneau (1964) 40.

<sup>114</sup> For the dependence of this province and even the population of the city of Rome on Egyptian agricultural productions see Herodotos 2.13; Diodorus Siculus 1 36.11-12; Pliny *N.H.* 5.10.57-59; 18.17.167-68; 36.11. For the effects of famine caused by improper floods see Hanson (1988) 268-71. The rise of the Nile was regarded as a divine act annually anticipated and celebrated. See Bonneau (1971) 22-27 and p. 26 footnote 72 for Hapi, the Egyptian god of rise of the Nile. See further Frankfurter (1998) 42-46. See also Bonneau (1989) for a recent discussion of the development of the Egyptian irrigation system compared with other eastern countries.

<sup>115</sup> *P.Oxy.* XVI 1830 (VI century CE), discussed by Bonneau (1971) 40, is a letter in which the process of day to day measuring of the rise of the Nile is described. The flood was intensively watched and carefully recorded. See also *P.Mich. inv.* 5795 (II century CE – no *SB* number found) edited and discussed by Pearl (1956) 51-59, pp. 53-56 in particular, and Bonneau (1971) 47-48. See also *P.Rain.Cent.* 125 (VI century CE) dated by Worp (1984) 116 to CE 605, and *P.Aberd.* 18 reedited by Youtie (1940)a 480-81. For the *πῆχυς* see Bonneau (1971) 22-24; the measuring of the rise is discussed on pp. 55-59 ad loc.

zenith being reached in August-September.<sup>116</sup> The recession, ἀπόβασις,<sup>117</sup> began around the middle of September and went on till November, when the sowing season took place.<sup>118</sup> The economic effects of the ἀνάβασις and the ἀπόβασις were stressed above.<sup>119</sup> In Roman Egypt the level of the annual flood was translated into economic success or failure as follows:<sup>120</sup> 12 cubits and below - a year of hard famine; 13 - shortage of food; 14 - satisfactory yields; 15-16 - high success (τελεία ἀνάβασις).<sup>121</sup> A flood of more than 16 cubits would cause disasters endangering the food supply.<sup>122</sup>

No document specifying the works annually performed on the canal and dike system in Egypt has ever been found. These tasks were called ἀνακάθαρσις τῶν διωρύγων and ἀπεργασία τῶν χωμάτων.<sup>123</sup> Yet, one can build a picture from bits of information offered in several papyri.<sup>124</sup> The maintenance works included the following: a) pruning the bushes and heavy vegetation which grew on the embankments of the canal beds; b) cleaning the bottom of the canal beds and removing weeds, mud and erosion which accumulated there during the past watering season; c) repairing the walls of the canal beds and filling all the cuts, breaks, and holes caused by the severe heat during the dry months before the flood season; reinforcing the dikes keeping their depth in proper shape so as to make them

<sup>116</sup> The rise began in the Upper Nile outside the borders of Egypt. See Bonneau (1964) 40-42; Lewis (1983) 108-109; Sijpesteijn (1986)a 151. The height difference between Elephantine (the first cataract of the Nile's bed) and sea level, where the river joins the Mediterranean, is illustrated in Taf. v of Borchardt (1906). The distance is some 900 km. Elephantine is situated 90 m. above sea level.

<sup>117</sup> Pearl (1956) 52.

<sup>118</sup> For a description of the sowing season in Egypt see Bonneau (1964) 117-18.

<sup>119</sup> See also Johnson (1936) 8-9; 11-15. For γῆ ἔμβροχος or καθ' ὕδατος see Abd-El-Ghany (1988) 298-99.

<sup>120</sup> The figures were derived from Herodotos, Diodorus Siculus and Pliny cited above, and discussed by Johnson (1936) 15-17. Strabo, 17.788, offers a different scale: 8 cubits - a year of starvation; 12 - a regular year; 14 - economic success. See also next note.

<sup>121</sup> For a rise of 12 cubits see Bonneau (1971) 52; 14 cubits see pp. 51-52; 16 cubits pp. 50-51.

<sup>122</sup> See Bonneau (1971) 264 (graphique V) for illustrations of the rise in good and bad years.

<sup>123</sup> See *P. Oxy.* XII 1409.3-4 and Youtie (1940)b 635.

<sup>124</sup> See Sijpesteijn in *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XII 12-14 and Bonneau (1964) 53-54; 56. Rathbone (1991) 222-226 discusses a number of texts which deal with preparations anticipating the impending rise.

strong enough to withstand the power of the water during the flood, and the erosion when the recession begins.<sup>125</sup>

13 was found in the Arsinoite nome. It might have dealt with matters relating to several villages in this nome, or simply preserved in the archive of someone who moved into this area from somewhere else. If, however, the linkage between 13 and the Arsinoite nome could be established, it should not be hard to decide upon the month in which it was written. The rise of the Nile reached the Arsinoite nome during the month of June. Our manuscript (line 8) states that it was written shortly before the rise(?). The document might have been written in mid May or the beginning of June 129 CE. See note to line 8.

**P.Berol. inv. 25546**  
**11.1x7.2 cm. (Pl. 13)**

**Arsinoite nome**  
**May/June(?) CE 129**

±20χ]ώματα[±14]δ.[  
±16] ἀνοικοδομή[σετε τὰ χώμα]τ[α ±3]ης ο[ὐ]δὲν  
±15]ν οὐδένα τοι ὑδροφ[ύλαξι] (οἷς) ἐπέ[δ]ωκα μ.[  
4 ±13] τοῦτόν τε τὸν διάκοπον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τὸν κα-  
±15] προνοήσητε τῆς τε ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
±15]εθεαστον ἀνάλωμα εἰσφέροντες κατὰ  
±14 ε]υντελεσθῆναι, γεινώσκοντες ὅτι ἐὰν  
8 ±13 ἔτ]ι ὀλίγου χρόνου ἐγλείποντες εἰς τὴν ἀνά-  
βασιν ±10].έσθαι καὶ εἴ τι, ἐὰν διὰ τοῦτο ἐπακολου-  
θῆτε ±5]...πτιδος ταύτης φανεράς μοι ποιήσετε καὶ τοῖς  
ἄλλοις ±6]. (ἔτους) ιγ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου  
Ἀδριανοῦ  
12 Σεβαστοῦ month, day].

<sup>125</sup> *P.Oxy.* XII 1409, mentioned above, is a letter sent by the strategos Aurelius Harpocras to the dekaprotoi of the Oxyrhynchite nome. This carries several instructions to be performed prior to the rise of the Nile. Among other things the writer urges his readers to strengthen the walls of the canal beds, so as to render them massive enough to hold the powerful overflow of the flooding Nile. See also Brashear (1979) 26. In *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3508.8-18 an epimeletes while delivering his oath states the measures he intends to take in order to prepare the canals and dikes for the coming flood. See Hübner (1977) 43-53.

3 leg. τοῖς Pap. c = (οἷc) 5 Pap. ὕληc

...the dikes ... you(?) will rebuild (the dykes?) ... no one/no thing to the water-guard to whom I submitted... this cut (in the dike) and the other ... (in order that) you pay attention as regards the dense vegetation and the other ... those who carry (the burden of the) expense and ... to be completed ... knowing that if ... yet a short time is left till the rise ... and even (a little) thing if on account of this you will follow ... make clear to me and to the other... The 13<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus [Augustus ... month, day].

2 ἀνοικοδομή[ceτε: Line 2 starts with the lower parts of the first six characters of this word. Since ἀπό is only rarely found with οἰκοδομέω, ἀνοικοδομέω (attested in the papyri, for which see WB) was preferred to ἀποικοδομέω (not in WB, but see LSJ for only literary references), although the second letter here resembles a "π" rather than a "ν". The ending of the verb is lost. The future tense is offered in the translation, since 13 concerns future activities. The second person plural has been used because the letter may have been forwarded to more than one addressee. See lines 5 and 10.

3 ὕδροφ[ύλαξι]: Waterguards, documented CE 70-345. See Oertel (1917) 189-92; Schnebel (1925) 63-64; Lewis (1997) 58. Two categories are distinguishable: a) Public (δημόσιοι) ὕδροφύλακες; b) Private ὕδροφύλακες. Public waterguards were of two kinds. The first were salaried, and can be traced till the last third of the II century CE. The other was liturgic and is attested during the rest of the period specified above. See Bonneau (1974) 41; Lewis (1997) 48. Waterguards would be hired on a multi-annual basis, but employed in the course of the necessary period only. See *P. Tebt.* II 393.9-10 (CE 150); Johnson (1936) 22. The number of such functionaries in office was usually adjusted to the needs of the hiring party (government officials or private owners). Private waterguards were also salaried. See for example *P. Wisc.* I 19 (CE 156). Their functions were similar to the public ones. From *P. Oxy.* XII 1409.13-14 and note ad loc. we learn that those in charge of preparing the dikes and canal beds for the rise of the Nile were the χωματεπιμελεταί. They did not perform the

manual work themselves, but had to urge others to do so. This kind of work was reserved for those having to perform the *corvée* of five days, *πενθήμερος*, imposed on the rural male population in the Arsinoite nome. The *ὑδροφύλακες*, it appears, were under the supervision of the *χωματεπιμελεταί*. See also *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3508.15-18 (CE 70) and Hübner (1977) 49; *P.Lond.* III 1246-48 (all three CE 345).

The waterguards began their activity before the annual rise of the Nile. Lewis (1997) 48. During the high season of the flood, about mid-July to mid-September, they stood on the dikes to inspect the water-ways, making sure that the flow advanced freely – see Bonneau (1964) 85 and Lewis (1983) 108-109. The water distribution was regulated according to the quotas allowed to each farmer. See *P.Lond.* III 1246 (p. 224) introd. and text. Controlling the most important natural resource of the province they saw to it that the quantities received were precisely as previously fixed. Furthermore, the *ὑδροφύλακες* had to stand guard at the water-gates day and night in the course of the flood season. Apparently they worked in shifts around the clock. See *P.Lond.* I 131.67 (p.172 - CE 78/79); Oertel (1917) 189. A list of the documents where *ὑδροφύλακες* or their office (*ὑδροφυλακέω*, *ὑδροφυλακία*) are mentioned follows (all dates are CE):

*ὑδροφύλακες δημοσίοι*:

1) salaried: *P.Mert.* I 11.11,30 (39/40); *P.Ryl.* II 80 (I century); *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2410.20 (120); *P.Tebt.* II 393 (150); *P.Berl.Frisk* 1.29 (155); *BGU* II 621 (II century).

2) liturgic: *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3508 (70); *P.Leid.Inst.* 50.1 (211); *P. Stras.* II 538.5,10 (281); *P.Panop.* 137 (298); *P.Wisc.* I 9 (183); *PSI* III 219 (III century); *P.Lond.* III 1246-48 (pp. 224-27; 345 all three); *P.Thead.* 14 col. ii (IV century); *P.Cair.Preis.* 15 (IV century).

Private *ὑδροφύλακες*: *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3498.17 (72); *P.Lond.* I 131 col. iii (p.172 - 78/79); *P.Corn.* 22. 3 (I century); *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 212 verso col. i.8 (109); *P.Oxy.* IV 792.23 (137); *P.Oxy.* LII 3690.16 (139); *P.Wisc.* I 19 (156); *P.Oxy.* L 3589.9 (II century); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3989 r. 11 (II century); *P.Oxy.* LI 3638.33 (220); *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3498 (CE 274); *P.FuadUniv.* 21.23 (253-60); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1700.16; XLI 2989.19 (both III century).

Doubtful: 13 (128/29); *P.Oxy.* X 1270.39-40 (159); *P.Cair.Mich.* 359.456 (175); *P.Mich.* IV 224.51\* (172-73); *P.Mich.* IV 224.358\* (172-73); *P.Mich.* IV 224.1195 (172-73); *P.Mich.* IV 224.1774 (172-73); *P.Mich.* IV 224.2777\* (172-73); *P.Mich.* IV 224.3717\* (172-73); *P.Mich.* IV 225.559\* (173-74); *P.Oxy.* IX 1208.21-23 (291) see Oertel (1917) 192 and *BL* I 333; *P.Brem.* 14.13. For the date see Bonneau (1964) 55, footnote 3.

\* The text reads ὑτροφύλαξ. For the interchange of delta and tau see Gignac (1976) 63; 80-83.

ἐπέ[δ]ωκα: The lacuna in the middle of this word is very small, yet a tiny delta, like those at the beginning of lines 3 or 10 could be squeezed in.

4 τὸν διάκοπον: A cut or a break in a dike. See Schnebel (1925) 43-44; Wilcken (1920) 282 on *BGU* IV 1188. One of the most important tasks in connection with preparing the ground for the rise of the Nile was filling in and repairing such breaks and cuts in the dike system. In *P.Oxy.* XII 1409 (CE 278) the demand to start this operation is addressed on 6 Φαρμουῦθι (April 1<sup>st</sup>, line 23). The work was performed by local inhabitants doing their πενθήμερος corvée. See *P.Oxy.* XII 1469.5ff (CE 298) and *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XII 13-14. The explanation offered by Kenyon and Bell in *P.Lond.* III 1246.7 and note (p. 224 - CE 345) that διάκοπος is probably a place name ought to be rejected. διάκοπος also appears in *P.Lond.* III 1247-48 (CE 345) and is connected with ὑδροφυλακία in all three documents, where it obviously means breaks and cuts in the dikes. Moreover, the context of the three London documents, dealing with lists of nominees to the liturgy of ὑδροφύλακες sent by κωμάρχοι of certain villages in the Hermoopolite nome to the χωματεπιμεληταί, supports this meaning. See *P.Lond.* III 1246.6-7; 1247.10; 1248.7-8 (pp. 224-26).

5 τῆς τε ὕλης: For the use of diaeresis in papyri see Crihiore (1996) 83-84.

*P.Oxy.* XII 1409.3-4, mentioned above, distinguishes between two kinds of activities as regards the canals prior to the rise of the Nile: a) περὶ τῆς τῶν χωμάτων ἀπεργασίας and b) τῆς τῶν διωρύγων ἀνακαθάραως. If such preparations were not successfully accomplished, many obstacles would hinder the water from freely

flowing through the canals during the flood season. Two of the meanings of ὕλη can be applied to the work described in 13. They are: wood (bushes, heavy vegetation and wood material), and mud. A necessary activity related to the present discussion was ἀφυλιζμός, a word derived from ὕλη. There has been disagreement over the precise meaning of ἀφυλιζμός. Westermann (1925) 123-24, followed by Boak (1926)a 218-19, and Youtie (1940)b 635 note 46, using the second meaning of ὕλη (supra) argued that ἀφυλιζμός meant cleaning the canal walls and beds of mud and erosion. Sijpesteijn (1962) 128-29; 132, correctly, to my mind, following Schnebel, presented a different explanation arguing that as ὕλη means wood, ἀφυλιζμός should imply cutting down bushes and clearing the embankments and canal beds of unwanted vegetation. He further argues that if ἀφυλιζμός means removing mud one could not apply it to the canal walls as mud was not to be removed there. *P.Oxy.* XII 1409 distinguishes between working on the embankments and cleaning the canal beds (ibid. pp. 129-30). For the cutting down and removing of dry wood and vegetation see Bonneau (1964) 56. As mentioned above, either meaning of ὕλη may be applied to 13, since one cannot tell which part of the whole system is under repair here, the embankments, canal beds or both. A possible restoration at the beginning of line 6 is δένδρων or ξύλων. For ξύλα in connection with clearing out the canal system see *P.Giss.* 42 (CE 117).

6 ἀνάλωμα εἰσφέροντες: "Those burdened with the expenses". Two possible meanings can be suggested: a) a group of inhabitants privately paying for the works done; b) a liturgy imposed on the people of the village involved here.

7 γεινώσκοντες: γεινώσκω = γιγνώσκω. See *Sel.Pap.* I 111.4; *P.Berl.Zill.* 11.4. WB I 297. See also Debrunner (1959) 13 (Section 23), 19 (Section 34.4).

7-9 γεινώσκοντες - εἶσθαι: This part of the text is fragmentary due to the lacunae at the beginning of lines 7-8. Consequently the verb governed by ὅτι εἶν and a part of the infinitive at line 9 were lost along with other parts of these three lines.



8 ὀλίγου χρόνου: The maintenance of the canal and dike system was taken care of the whole year around (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XII 10-12). Special efforts were made during the months of Παῦνι, Ἐπίφ and Μεσορή, probably Παχών as well. See the table in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XII 10; *P.Fouad* 60; 62 and pp. 140-41. The rise of the Nile is caused by the melting snows in the mountains of Ethiopia every spring. See Lewis (1983) 108-109. The rising water rolls down the river entering Egypt at the beginning of June. Some 2-4 weeks later the flood would reach the Arsinoite nome. This period covers more or less the month of Παῦνι (May 26 - June 24). The "short time before the flood" may indicate this month as the date of 13. See also Westermann (1920)a 298 and note 1; Pearl (1951) 228-29. Today the Aswan dam controls the rising level of the Nile regulating the flowing of the water into the southern route of the river.

ἐγλείποντες: = ἐκλείποντες. See LSJ 511-12 s.v. ἐκλείπω II 6.

8-9 ἀνά/[βασι]: Probably ἀνάβασι τοῦ Νείλου. I thank Prof. N. Lewis for this suggestion. To describe the rise of the Nile ἀναβαίνω (more frequent) and προσβαίνω were used. See *BGU* I 12.4 (CE 181/82); Youtie (1940)a 481. See also Bonneau (1964) 59 and note 3 for other possible restorations.

10 φανεράς μοι: See *SB* IV 7357.16 (III century CE); Winter (1927) 254.

11-12 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ / [Cε-βαστοῦ: The closest parallels in Bureth (1964) are:

- a) Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός;
- b) Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός, cited for years 11; 20 (a) and 21 (b) of Hadrian respectively. See p. 63. 13 adds a similar formula for year 13.

## 14. LETTER CONCERNING A SOLDIER

The dark brown papyrus shows many holes produced by worms, with a large lacuna in its middle beginning at line 1 and ending at 18. The lower left corner was completely lost. The only extant margin here, about 1½ cm. is at left. While the right side and the bottom of the manuscript were only slightly damaged, with little loss to the text at bottom and no margins at all (see note to line 20 *infra*) a considerable part was lost at top. Four vertical foldings are clearly visible dividing the papyrus sheet into five long strips, one of which is the margin at left. A horizontal folding is traceable between lines 7-8,<sup>126</sup> perhaps the only such one in the extant part of this papyrus sheet. The hand, a nice second half of the II century CE cursive with curled letters at times, particularly nu and alpha at the beginning and ending of lines, is occasionally ligatured. The text runs along the fibers (→). On the other side (↓) ἀπόδοc can be clearly read together with remnants of more text, perhaps the lost name and whereabouts of the addressee. Lines 18-20 at end show a somewhat slurry hand (*Verschleifung*),<sup>127</sup> slightly different from the rest of the manuscript. They are slanting to the right with many more ligatures and smaller spaces between the words than in the rest of the manuscript. Apparently, no second hand was involved here.

14 is a private letter as will be presently shown. Generally speaking, private letters consisted of three parts<sup>128</sup>: a) the opening formulas - included various ways of addresses which people made use of, when writing to each other.<sup>129</sup> This was at times followed by details concerning the well being of the writer and inquiries about the addressee/s. In many cases writers employed the *προκύνημα* wishing that the gods protect the addressee and look after him/her and his/her family's well being. See 15.2-3 and note *ad loc*; b) the matters concerning which the letter was written were handled in this part of

<sup>126</sup> 14 seems to have been folded in the same way as *P.Oxy.* LV 3809. (See *introd. ad loc.* pp. 189-90). The papyrus sheet was folded from right to left into at least five long vertical strips the last of which was squeezed inside to keep off possible damage. A horizontal folding now followed.

<sup>127</sup> For *Verschleifung* see I footnote 1.

<sup>128</sup> See White (1972) 3-4.

<sup>129</sup> For various forms of addresses see Exler (1923) 24-60.

the document; c) the closing formulas began with the regards one sent to relatives and friends.<sup>130</sup> Greetings (ἔρωω and other forms of the verb ῥώμνυμι) were frequently added at this point.

An indeterminate part of 14 was lost at top carrying away with it the opening formulas and leaving the main body of the text incomplete (lines 1-6). Even the third section in 14 (the closing formulas, lines 6-20), though well preserved here with numerous salutations is incomplete too.<sup>131</sup> Though 14 is mutilated, it would be safe to conclude that it was sent to close acquaintances. Still the regards forwarded to the addressee's relatives do not reveal the level of relations between them and the writer.

The writer, (his name did not survive, a former soldier? see lines 13-14), is a brother of a soldier in a Roman legion deployed in Egypt at the time.<sup>132</sup> This soldier is being detained until a κλήρος, scheduled for the month of Mecheir, takes place (lines 5-6). The last part of the letter with the regards sent to various people reveals a great deal concerning them. All the names in the text are either Greek or Roman.

<sup>130</sup> The verb ἀπάζομαι came to be extensively used in the I century CE. See Exler (1923) 111-13; 116.

<sup>131</sup> There seems to be disproportion among the main parts of this letter. The last part, supposed to be only the ending section, occupies nearly half of the original text. Yet, this is not to be considered an anomaly in Egyptian private letters of the time. See for example *SB XIV 12137* (IV century CE) discussed by Youtie (1978)a 265. Egyptian settlements situated distantly from one another, had very few rather slow lines of communication. The lack of information concerning the well-being of relatives and acquaintances created feelings of apprehension. This can be vividly dramatized by Sempronius' letter to his mother, *P.Mich. XV 752.1-13* (late II century CE). More than half of the epistle depicts his worries and fears because of not hearing from her. But for a letter he had received, he would not have been relieved. See also 14. 8-9 and note ad loc. (ἀβάσκαντος) with Koskenniemi (1956) 64-87, pp. 73-75 in particular.

<sup>132</sup> Name and number of this legion are not mentioned, which might lead to the inference that only one such unit was stationed in the province at the time, so that identifying details were unnecessary. Segrè (1942-43) 429-30 remarks that the Roman army in Egypt was two legions strong in the I century CE. It was reduced to one around the middle of the II century. See Domaszewski (1981) 120-21; 178-79. This development probably took place during the twenties of the II century. See *CAH XI* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) 321-23. It supports the supposition that 14 was probably written in the second half of the II century CE. For tables showing the deployment of the Roman legions close to the end of the I century CE and at the end of Hadrian's Principate see Parker (1958) 145 and 163 respectively. The legion in question here was apparently the II Traiana. See also note to lines 2-3 *infra*.

Moreover, considering the fact that a Roman soldier and a standard bearer of the legion (σημειοφόρος - signifer) are referred to, those with Roman names appear to be non-Romans who acquired the Roman citizenship in 14.<sup>133</sup>

The date is either lost, or, what is more likely, simply was not written. Several private letters were dated (usually at the end), but there was no binding rule concerning this matter. Very many others were left undated.<sup>134</sup> This was a direct result of the fact that in many cases ancient private letters carriers were familiar with both addresser and addressee, so they could orally fill in the missing items.<sup>135</sup> 14, written before the month of Mecheir, ought to be dated into the second half of the II century CE. Hadrian (line 12) as a personal name could not have been common earlier. This inference is supported by the fact that the hand is similar to *BGU I 87* (CE 144) = Schubart (1911) no.23, with matching letters (δ, δ+ρ, τo).

The addresses (the whereabouts) of one or both correspondents at the time of writing were not as a rule added to the letters. This vital information was only sparingly provided, probably because the letter carriers were acquainted with the addressee/s (see supra).<sup>136</sup> Details shedding light on the whereabouts of writer or addressee are used to determine the provenance of private letters. Nevertheless, in many cases where no information is offered by the text, the places where letters were found would decide this question. See for example

<sup>133</sup> See 2 footnote 14.

<sup>134</sup> For instance, of the 52 letters (*Sel.Pap.* I 105-157), chosen by Edgar and Hunt to represent the I-III centuries CE: 17 were dated; 30 - undated; in five of them the texts are incomplete. See also Exler (1923) 98; Pestman (1990) 35. Most of the letters on Tibiletti's list, (1979) 6-22 are undated. For examples of dating formulas see Exler (1923) 79-98.

<sup>135</sup> Winter (1933) 82-83. A father explains to his son that he did not send him a letter, not finding anybody who traveled to where he was staying. See Winter (1933) 60; *SB XIV 11584*. Sempronius, (*SB III 6263* - probably the same anxious son, as in *P.Mich. XV 752*, footnote 131 supra, though the texts are slightly different) on his part, complains to his mother that he did not receive any letter from her, though many travelers had arrived from her town to his. Sijpesteijn, (1976) 172 note 3 ad loc., closes a circle remarking that some letter carriers failed to fulfill their mission, either out of carelessness or on account of other reasons.

<sup>136</sup> 14.18-20, *P.Oxy. VII 1062.11-22* (II century CE) and *P.Mich. XV 752.39* and note ad loc. (late II century CE) attest examples of letters and other things carried to their destinations by acquaintances. See also Farid (1978) 146; van Minnen (1994) 244.

*P.Herm.* 2-6; 11; 13; 43; 45-46. Many of the letters published in the *Oxyrhynchus* volumes, have no addresses, yet they are mostly treated as letters from this town.<sup>137</sup> The provenance of 14 is unknown.

**P.Berol. inv. 21882**  
**11.6x14.5 cm. (Pl. 14)**

**Provenance unknown**  
**Second half, II century CE**

- ±10]τ.[±2].[±3].[±2]η[±4]η[±2  
 φαι[±4 ὁ στρατ]ιώτης ἐπαρχ[±5] [[γων]  
 λεγῶν[ος ἀ]δελφός μ[ο]ῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ἀνέε-  
 4 χηται [ὁ] ἑπαρχος ἀφείναι δὲ ἕως  
 τοῦ κλήρ[ου]. ὁ κλή[ρος γ]ὰρ τῷ Μεχείρ ἐε-  
 τίν[ι]. ἀσπ[άζομαί σε] πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελ-  
 φούς σου κ[αὶ τὴν μη]τέρα[ν] σὺν τοῖς  
 8 σοῖς κα[ὶ NN τὸ] ἀβάσκαντόν σου  
 παιδίον [±6 καὶ].ητα.ιμον τὸν  
 ἀδελφὸν [±5 καὶ τ]οὺς αὐτοῦ πάντα  
 ἀσπα[±9] Βερενε.. καὶ  
 12 Κατορ[±6 καὶ] Ἀδριαν[ὸν τὸ]ν ἀδελ(φόν).  
 ἀσπαζ[±9]μινον τὸν συν-  
 στρατιώ[την ±8] καὶ ἀντίγραφόν  
 μοι τῆ[ν] αἰτί[αν ±3]..εε αὐτ[ῆς] ἐπιστ[ο-  
 16 λῆς πρὸ τ[ο]ῦ κλήρου τῶν ἀφηκιων.  
 ἀ[ν]αδῶσε[ι]ς Ἑρμίω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν  
 Μάρκου τοῦ σημαφόρου. ἔγραψα τὴν ἐπιε-  
 τολή[ν] σοι ἵνα διὰ Οὐαλερίου Ῥούφου σοι πέμ-  
 20 πω ... οὐθὲν ἐμοῦ περιπωμένου.

Verso: ἀπόδος [

3 leg. λεγιῶνος 19 Pap. ὕα.

<sup>137</sup> *W.Gr.* 122-23 advanced a special theory to help determine the provenance of certain private letters. He argued that letters with the προσκύνημα to Serapis were on the whole sent from Alexandria, since the central temple of this deity was located there. Youtie (1981)b 44-45 accepts this theory with some reservation. But see Farid (1978) 141-47 for a different opinion.

... The soldier... of the legion is my brother, and the eparchos is prevented from releasing (him) at least until the kleros. The kleros is (cast in the month of) Mecheir. I am sending many regards to you, and to your brothers, to your mother and to your relatives, and to ... your little one, may he not be touched by the evil eye ... and to ... brother and his relatives ... best regards ... to Berenike and to Saturninus ... and to brother Hadrian ... Give my best regards to ...minos my fellow soldier ... and write me back the reason why ... of that letter before the kleros of ... Give to Hermias the letter belonging to Marcus, the signifer. I wrote this letter to you, so I (could) send it with Valerius Rufus ... I shall not be bothered any further...

Verso: Deliver to ...

2-3 ὁ στρατ]ιώτης ἐπαρχ[... λεγ<α>ών[ος: The phrase στρατιώτης λεγιώνος (also common with λεγεώνος) is well documented in the papyri. See WB III 222; Daris (1991) 65. One of the cases of ἐπαρχος is restorable at end of line 2, but this word must have belonged to a previous section of the sentence, which did not survive along with the first part of the papyrus sheet. For service conditions of soldiers in Roman Egypt see Lewis (1983) 20. For ἐπαρχος (not necessarily the Praefectus Aegypti) see WB III 208-209; Mason (1974) 138-39; Thomas (1976) 266; *BGU* I 142.4 (CE 159); *P.Amh.* II 107.3 (CE 185). The II Traiana deployed in Egypt about CE 120, stayed there for most of the II century CE. This might have been the legion referred to here. See Maxfield (1981)163 and footnote 132 supra.

5 τοῦ κλήρ[ο]υ. ὁ κλή[ρος]: The meaning in our context is casting of lots or sortition. The other sense of κλήρος, a piece of land, is excluded by ἔως, which must refer to an event, not to a thing. Assigning liturgies by lot was common in Roman Egypt from CE 131-353. See Lewis (1997) 70-71; 84-85 and table 3 pp.115-16. 14 clearly belongs in this period, yet, the idea of a sortition for liturgy nominations for which a detained soldier might have been a candidate ought to be rejected and with three convincing arguments: a) the person in question was a Roman soldier and apparently a citizen. In

Egypt until the 70's of the II century CE these were known to have been totally exempt from liturgic service. During the last third of the century this full exemption was changed into a five years period of recess granted to soldiers on their release from the army. At the end of it they were eligible for liturgies like anybody else. Septimius Severus returned these privileges to the discharged veterans. See Lewis (1997) 90. b) A nominee to a liturgy appointed by κλήρος (such as the κωμογραμματεύς) had to be a permanent inhabitant of an ἰδία outside the specific community where he was expected to carry out his compulsory service. Lewis (1997) 72; 84. Soldiers by the nature of their occupation could not meet such a requirement. See Rea (1977) a 223-27 for a discussion of the restationing of army units and moving even single soldiers from one cohort to another. c) I was unable to find any liturgy the ballot for which would be cast in the month of Mecheir. On the other hand, if the procedure of the κλήρος was not completed before the starting day of the relevant liturgy at times postponed for weeks or even months, and such instances were documented, as in Lewis (1997) 84, then the month of Mecheir would not be of much assistance here. This casting of ballots could have pertained to a certain business, concerning which we have no information. The soldier might have had nothing to do with the said sortition, yet, if officials were expecting some troubles during the said κλήρος, they could have decided to cancel all leaves of the military.

7-8 *ἐν τοῖς / σοῖς*: The phrases οἱ ἐν σοί and οἱ ἐν ἡμῖν or οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν were common in Egyptian letters from III-IV centuries CE. See Tibiletti (1979) 61; examples: a) ἀσπάζοντέ σοι/ καὶ το[ῦ]ς σοῦς πάντας οἱ ἐμοὶ πάντας. *SB IV 7357.21-22 = P.Mich. III 206* (III century CE); b) ἀσπάζομαι ... καὶ Ἐλένην καὶ τοὺς αὐτῆς. *Sel.Pap. I 121.11-12* (II century CE). See also *P.Oxy. I 114.17-19*; *P.Giss. 24.5-6*. Similar phrases were used in Latin letters. See Cotton (1981) 9 and note 44 ad loc.

8-9 τὸ] ἀβάσκαντόν σου/ παιδίον: This word stands for a phrase meaning "may ... (somebody) be guarded from the evil eye". See LSJ 2; Deissmann (1923) 160; Bonneau (1982) 23; Warga (1986) 97. ἀβάσκαντος was used as a private name, Bonneau (1982) 26-27, or as an adjective accompanying such names or pronouns (p. 29). Using this word the writer hoped to avert the influence of the evil eye from the

loved ones to whom he had attached it. See the following: a) Διονύσιον τοῦ ἀβάσκαντόν σου – (SB XVIII 13973.3-4); b) ἀσπάζομαι σε καὶ τὰ ἀβά[σκαν/τά σου τέκνα. See SB XX 15069.3-4. ἀβάσκαντος was in use in the Roman and Byzantine periods, Bonneau (1982) 25, mostly in private letters where the beloved to be protected were mainly children (pp. 29-30). This is not unusual, since children are more vulnerable than grown ups (sicknesses, other dangers). People cared for and worried about them, and naturally they employed every means to assure their protection and safety. Unexplainable calamities were frequently attributed to the "evil eye". Some people added ἀβάσκαντος even to the names of their horses (*O.Ams.* 18; *O.Florida* 15 - 18 all three II century CE - see pp. 3-5 ad loc. for the dates). Support for the above can be found in Koskenniemi's discussion (footnote 131 supra) of the causes that drove people in Roman Egypt to write letters. The lack of routine mail system and other modern means of communications providing the population with regular transit of information concerning the fate of friends and relatives was a cardinal motive for writing such letters. Writers expected to find relief from worries and fears by means of the writing. See also footnote 131 supra. The very mentioning, or for that matter, writing of the beloved one's name juxtaposed with ἀβάσκαντος made the addresser feel that he had built a protecting wall around his/her dear one.

].ητα.ιμον: Probably the name of another brother.

11 Βερενε...: Apparently Βερενείκην. See NB p. 74 for various versions of this name.

12 Κατορ[ : The rho is rather uncertain. An upsilon could be read just as well. Any of the five forms compiled in NB is possible, (nu and lambda tend to substitute each other), s.v. Κατορνῖνος; Κατορνῖλος. In some forms an upsilon could be read following the first omikron. It seems that the names with lambda were commoner. See Meinersmann (1927) 96. The text does not offer any information concerning this Saturninus/Satornilus. Was he a soldier too, a friend or a relative of both correspondents and a Roman citizen?



Ἄδριαν[όν: For Ἄδριανός as a proper name (from the second half of the II century CE onwards) and a name of a month (a nickname of Χοίακ) see NB and Foraboschi (1966); Meinersmann (1927) 66; WB III 85; Pestman (1990) 315.

13-14 ]μινον τοὺν συν/στρατιώ[την: See Gignac (1976) 170. Another variant was συστρατιώτην. See WB III 223; Palmer (1946) 113.

15 τῆ[ν] αἰτί[α]ν: See *P.Mich.* XV 751.7 for a similar use of αἰτία.

16 τ[ο]ῦ κλήρου τῶν ἀφηκιων: No information is available in 14 concerning this kleros. Is it to be connected with the kleros of line 5 above? Are the people (?) alluded to here related in any way to the soldier dealt with at beginning of the letter? There is no clear connection between ἀφεῖναι (line 4) and ἀφηκιων, although the repetition of the word κλήρος in lines 5 and 16 suggests that those who are to be released are involved. Perhaps ἀφη<λι>κίων or a mangled form of a participle from ἀφεῖναι?

18 σημαφόρου: Lat. signifier, the signal bearer of the legion. This form is absent from the list of various versions of this word attested in WB III Ab. 10; Meinersmann (1927) and LSJ 1593. σημειοφόρος is better documented in both papyri and literary texts.

Μάρ]κου τοῦ σημαφόρου: Cavenaile, (1970) 213-320, compiled a list of 30 signifiers four of them answering to the private name Marcus. They are nos. 78, *BGU* II 610 (CE 140); 1100, *P.Hamb.* I 39 (Fayum, CE 179); 1203a, Cavenaile (1970) 265 (Fayum CE 179); 2083, *BGU* II 600 (Fayum, II-III century CE). Except for no. 78 (provenance unknown) the other three documents came from the Arsinoite nome. No link could be established between our Marcus and any of the others. Yet, date and provenance are closely related between 14 and three of Cavenaile's signifiers (nos. 1100; 1203a; 2083).

19 ἵνα: For the use of diaeresis in papyri see 13.5 and note ad loc. (ῥληε).

20 οὐ]θέν: Only a small remnant of a character survived at the beginning of line 20. This cannot be read as delta rendering theta as a

better alternative. οὐθείς/ οὐθέν are Ptolemaic. οὐδείς/ οὐδέν came to be more frequent in the middle of the II century CE (LSJ 1269 s.v. οὐθείς); Debrunner (1959) 18 section 33. See also WB II 206 s.v. οὐθείς; Gignac (1981) 185-86. Another line (21) probably once existed containing the customary final greetings: ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι as in *BGU VII* 1676; *P.Oxy. XII* 1482, both II century CE.

### 15. LETTER TO SARAPION, HAPLONOUS' FATHER

The light brown papyrus has all its sides complete except at top where the upper margin together with a considerable part of the first two lines were lost. Worms produced holes of various sizes all over the papyrus sheet. A row of large lacunas vertically situated in the middle of the papyrus left only a few lines of the document intact. Three of the papyrus sides were neatly cut making the impression of a sheet taken out of a letter file. There is a margin of six cm. at the bottom, 1½ cm. along the left margin, and no margin on the right, where the lines reach the very edge of the papyrus. Hardly anything survived up to the middle of line 2, where relying on parallel texts πλείετα χαίρειν can be restored. Though the ink has flaked off in large areas at right, the preserved parts of the text (on both sides) show a fine cursive hand with nicely written letters mostly ligatured and easy to read. The papyrus might have got wet in ancient times, after or even before it reached the addressee.<sup>138</sup> The text runs along the fibres (→). On the other side (↓) a part of the address was preserved. There is some more script here, (rho, iota and delta are traceable) probably a different hand running across the fibres of this side, at a 90° angle to the address, just above the iota of π[...]ι. Beginning with the left side, nine vertical foldings are clearly visible. This suggests the reasons why the left side was better preserved, being the internal part and hence suffering less damage. At least one horizontal folding is distinct

<sup>138</sup> Such accidents did happen. An addressee complains about the blotted papyrus sheet he has received which was rendered illegible on account of the stains (*PSI IV* 403.2-5, Roman period). Another example is *P.Lond. II* 144 introd. (p. 253, I century CE). The editors suggest that the papyrus was stained as a result of having been folded before the ink dried. See also *P.Princ. I* 8 introd. (CE 28-32).

as well. While it partly flaked off at right, the ink was better preserved on the left side.

15 is a private letter<sup>139</sup> sent to Sarapion, Haplonous' father (lines 15-16), probably by his son-in-law, Haplonous' husband. Family and other matters occupy the writer's attention in this letter. The main body of the epistle deals with a certain assignment imposed on a weaver, a dyer and the writer himself. The first, though slow in performing his job, did eventually complete it. The writer now sends regards to Haplonous' parents and to other people not mentioned by name. The letter is fragmentary at end.

The nice hand might suggest that a professional clerk<sup>140</sup> wrote 15, though his manuscript is not infallible (lines 5, 9, 16). But for one (Παινεύε?, line 10) all the names in 15 are Greek creating the impression that Sarapion's was a mixed (Greek-Egyptian) family. No provenances are indicated in 15, neither the writer's nor the addressees'. *BGU I 213* (CE 113) from Karanis, however, where another Haplonous, daughter of Serapion is chanced upon paying the *ὄνων δίπλωμα*, seems to help tie this family to the same village (Wessely [1902] 85). The time distance between 15 and *BGU I 213* (nearly a whole century, see *infra*) might discourage such attempts. However, considering the Egyptians' habit of using similar names over several generations, the relation of 15 to Karanis might be risked.<sup>141</sup>

15 seems to have been written at the end of the II century CE or the beginning of the III. The hand resembles Schubart's (1911) no. 29a (II century CE) and no. 33 (CE 200). The text also mentions "the 16th of Thoth" (lines 4-5) which lacking the year number and emperor's name does not offer a better suggestion for the date of 15.

<sup>139</sup> For a discussion of some aspects of private letters in Roman Egypt see 14 introd.

<sup>140</sup> Winter (1927) 238-39 thinks that Apion, probably an illiterate, did not personally write his letter, *BGU II 423* (II century CE), but dictated it to a professional clerk, as might be the case in 15. Illiterates did send letters in Roman Egypt using the services of professional writers. Another example is *P.Oxy. LV 3809* introd. p. 190 (II century CE). Rea thinks that the letter was not written by the barber himself but by a scribe he had probably hired. See also Harmon (1934) 154 and note 4 ad loc.

<sup>141</sup> For the phenomenon of papyonymy, families using the same name over several generations, see 12.2 and note ad loc.

P.Berol. inv. 21640  
16.5x21 cm. (Pl. 15)

Karanis (?)  
II/III century CE

M. 1<sup>st</sup> [±7]. [±12]π[±4].ιc[±4].ειc  
 τ[±4 π]λ[ε]ϊ[ε]τ[α χαι]ρειν. πρὸ μὲν πάντων  
 τὸ προσκύνημα ὑ[μῶν ποιῶ π]αρ[ὰ τ]οῖς [έ]νθάδε θεοῖς.  
 4 πρώτῳ μηνὶ ἀφη[με]ρ..[±3].ε τῷ Δημητριακῷ ἕκκαι-  
 δεκάτῃ ἐξῆλθεν Κα.[±4]εινης σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ  
 καθὼς τεθίκατε τὰς ...ρτ.. τοῦ [±3].λιου χρώματος  
 8 σπουδαίως αὐτὸ πεποήκα[μ]εν. Ὁ δὲ γέρδις βεβρά-  
 δυνκε πρὶν ἐργάσατο .μ[.].... διδ[.].ε. παρὰ τοὺν βα-  
 φέα ἐστίν. Ἐλέγαμεν ὅτι διδωco.εν αὐτὸ Διωγένει  
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Παισνευτος ἐὰν [±8] μενεναγ  
 πιτεν κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ἡμῶν [λ]ήψωμεν  
 12 αὐτὸ ἐπιμελέστ[ατα]. .[±2]..λ[±3]. διδιν[.] Ἐχω  
 τρία ψωμία καὶ φ.[±5]...c[±8]ριγ[±2]..[  
 .εσφ.ρ.[±2]τι καὶ πα[±5]ντ[.].c ..... τοῦτον  
 πέμψαι ἡμῖν. ἀc[π]άζεται ce ἡ [θυ]γάτηρ σου  
 16 Ἀπλονοῦς καὶ τὴν μητέρα [καὶ τοὺς σοὺς] πάν-  
 τας ..[±3]..[.]νικ[.].ισαρ[.]. ce [±2]χ[

Verso: Ἐραπίωνι π[...].ι ἀπόδ[ο]c  
 M. 2<sup>nd</sup>: .[.].ριδ

3 Pap. ὑ[μῶν] 5 leg. αὐτοῦ 6 leg. χρώματος 9 leg. Διωγένει  
 16 leg. μητέρα

... very many greetings. Before all else [I make] supplications for you before the gods of this place. In the first month ... on the sixteenth Kallisthenes (?) went away with his brother ... at the ... of Demeter... As soon as you set the ... of the color of (?), we rapidly did it. The weaver, however, took his time before completing it ... (It) is with the dyer. We said that we would give (?) it to Diogenes. His brother, Paoisneus (?) if ... faithful according to our opinion, we will take it most carefully. ... I have three small pieces of bread and ... and ... send this to us ... Haplonous your daughter sends her best regards to you and to her mother and to all your relatives ...

Verso: Deliver ... to Sarapion ...

1-2 π[λ[ε]ῖ[ς]τ[α] χαί]ρειν: For similar addresses employing this greeting see Exler (1923) 28, 30, 31.

3 τό προσκύνημα: Originally προσκύνημα was an act of worship (LSJ p.1518 s.v. προσκύνημα). In papyri (particularly private letters) it was often used in a formula (as in 15.2-3) which was meant to act as a prayer, or a request addressed to the gods wishing benevolence and help for another person (usually the addressee/s of the epistle, his/her beloved ones and household). See WB II 406; Geraci (1971) 16-17; Farid (1978) 141. Geraci, (1971) 203-208, collected some 150 letters using the προσκύνημα formula most of which are Roman (with a few Ptolemaic and Byzantine). He argued that by employing this formula Egyptians were reverting to an old habit of Pharaonic times (pp.16, 21-22). Worshipers attending services in temples would leave on the walls inscriptions in which they expressed their admiration to the gods, their prayers and wishes. Such epigraphic remembrances were expected to substitute for the permanent presence of the adoring visitor before the god. See Geraci (1971) 18. For further references to the προσκύνημα and its uses see Koskenniemi (1956) 139-45; Farid (1978) 141-47; Tibiletti (1979) 53-58.

ύ[μῶν]: For the use of diairesis in the papyri see 13.5 and note ad loc. (ύλης).

4-5 πρώτῳ μηνὶ ... ἑκκαί/δεκάτῃ: Θώθ (August 29-September 27), the 16<sup>th</sup> will be September 13. No relevant information that might connect this date with the cult of Demeter could be found. Was the 16<sup>th</sup> of Thoth a day of reverence for Demeter – Isis concerning which nothing is known to date?

ἀφη[με]ρ...: Probably ἀφήμερος. Line 4 is cut in two by a large lacuna. On the upper edge of a left side projection continuing this line into the lacuna a remnant of a letter is visible, probably a part of the lower leg of a rho. It is slightly curved, making the impression of a rho written somewhat differently from others in this papyrus though quite similar to the one at end of line 7 (βεβράδυνκε). ἀφήμερος, an

adjective meaning 'absent during the day', is cited mostly in marriage contracts, where the bride undertakes not to leave her house without her husband's permission, and also in contracts of paramone. See *BGU* IV 1050.20, 1051.28, 1052.25, all three from the Augustan principate. In this sense ἀφήμερος seems out of place in our text. On the other hand, the writer might have planned to connect it with τῷ Δημητριακῷ. The habit of holding recluses connected with the cult of Serapis might be invoked here to explain the absence of people. See Bell (1948) 108 and note 9 on p.148. It is remarkable that Demeter's cult was quite widespread in Egypt. See *RE* IV 2 pp. 2742-43; Otto (1905) II 265; Frazer (1972) I 198-201; Casarico (1981) 130-31, and next note. Could we attribute the habit of ἀφήμερος to worshippers of Demeter as well?

τῷ Δημητριακῷ: See *LSJ* s.v. Δημητριακός for literary evidence; an adjective, see Dornseiff and Hansen (1978) 249, as in Δημητριακῶν καρπῶν - *SB* V 7666.6 (CE 330), which is the only papyrological evidence for this word so far. It is found neither in *WB* nor in its Supplements 1-3. The particular function of Δημητριακός (or Δημητριακόν) in this context is not clear. Δημητριακός as any adjective would accompany a noun, a place, an event pertaining to Demeter as in the instance cited above. Could the writer be referring here to a temple (as in *P.Oxy.* XII 1485.3), a place name (as in *BGU* XIII 2342.3-4; *BGU* VII 1623.6), a festival (as in *P.Tebt.* III 1079.2; *P.Giss.* 18.11) with regards to Demeter? The goddess' name was widely used as demonstrated in the texts gathered by Ronchi (1974) 224-29.

5 Κα.[±4]ενης: A proper name with a lambda or a rho to be restored after the alpha. Three possible restorations: Καρτιθένης; Καλλιγένης; Καλλιθένης. The first, (not in *WB*), is cited twice in Foraboschi (1966): *BGU* VI 1237 (Ptolemaic); *SB* V 7631 (III century BC). The second, (not in *WB* either), is cited only once in Foraboschi: *SB* V 8243 (undated). Καλλιθένης, common in the Roman period, seems best suitable for our text. See *NB* and Foraboschi.

ἀτου (αὐτοῦ). This would render a logical restoration indicating Kallisthenes' (or whatever he might have been named) brother. Since

there is nothing between the alpha and the tau, the scribe might have left off the first upsilon.

6 τεθίκατε: τεθείκατε is also possible. See Gignac (1981) 398.

]λιου: A slanting stroke is clearly seen in the interlinear space before the iota, which might stand for the lower part of a lambda. τοῦ [ἐμπ]ελίου would be a reasonable resolution, attractively accompanying χρώματος, meaning: the dark color. This suggestion, unfortunately, has a rather weak basis, since the text is very fragmentary at this point. Moreover, the adjective ἐμπέλιος has not yet appeared in the papyri.

7 Ὁ δὲ γέρδις: Another form was γέρδιος. See WB I 291 s.v. γέρδιος; Gignac (1981) 27.

8 ἐργάσατο: Reduplication or lengthening of the epsilon in the aorist indicative could be omitted. See Gignac (1981) 236-37.

8-9 τὸν βα/φέα: For dyers and their well known organization in the Arsinoite Nome see *P.Tebt.* II 287 (CE 161-69); Reil (1913) 99-101; Wipszycka (1965) 145ff.

9 διδωσο.εν: Apparently διδώσομεν, though the regular form would be δώσομεν. See Gignac (1981) 399. For the transformation of δίδωμι into thematic forms in post Ptolemaic papyri see Mandilaras (1973) sections 86-94, pp. 73-74.

Διωγένει: Read: Διογένει. The names in 15 are Greek and Egyptian indicating that the families involved in this correspondence were of mixed Greek-Egyptian origin. See 2 footnote 14 ad loc.

10 ἀδελφοῦ: The scribe of 15 used two forms of phi: one in lines 4, 9, 13, 14; the other in line 10. Both were common in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. See Thompson (1912) 190 and chart on p. 192.

Παιουεντος: No entries could be found in either NB or Foraboschi (1966). A very close form seems to be Πανενεύς, genitive Πανενεύως. Παιουεντός might be a suitable nominative, but no such name is anywhere attested. Pape-Benseler (1959) has Παιοίεντος,

which is close enough to Παιουενός, but lacks papyrological evidence. See also Dornseiff and Hansen (1978) 293. See Sijpesteijn (1975) 304 for general comments on reading proper names in the papyri.

11 [λ]ήμψωμεν: This active future is cited in LSJ s.v. λαμβάνω, a late literary form attested in the Septuaginta *Maccabees* I 4.18, and in a letter from the 30's-40's of the IV century CE, where it is written with an omicron, καταλήμψομεν. See *P.Congr.* XV 22.8. For the option of preserving or omitting the mu in the future forms of λαμβάνω see Gignac (1981) 269.

12 αὐτό: This might have been the object connected with line 11, probably the "work" which this whole letter is concerned.

ἐπιμελέετ[ατα]: As in *SB* XIV 11980.30. See Gignac (1981) 149-150 for the superlative of adverbs.

13 ψωμία: Small pieces or loaves of bread. Another form of the word is ζωμία (WB I 650 s.v. ζωμίον). Offerings to the crocodile god were called ψωμίον. See *P.Tebt.* I 33.13-14 (BC 112). This item might have been connected in some way to the mentioning of Demeter at line 4 supra. The rest of the line following ψωμία is quite illegible leaving the writer's intentions concerning the contextual meaning of this word rather vague.

14 πα[±5]υτ[.]c: Barely legible. The first half of line 14 was badly damaged; in the other half the ink has almost entirely flaked off. Only καί and τοῦτον can be safely restored here. Following line 10 one might risk the restoration of Πα[οιουε]υτ[ο]c. If so then καί might suggest another proper name at the beginning of line 14.

15 εε: The epsilon here is somewhat similar to the one in ἐργάετο (line 8). Both are different from other epsilons in this document having their ligatures from the top, contrary to the others where it is done by the middle arm of the letter.

16 Ἄπλωνοῦc: This form is only twice attested. See *BGU* I 213.5 (CE 112); *SB* I 4947.2,11 (III century CE).



17 The text at this point is highly abraded. The empty space following τας might call for the conventional continuation: κατ' ὄνομα, which can be encountered at the end of so many contemporary private letters. See for instance: *P. Oxy.* VI 930. 22-26; XII 1482. 23-24, (both second century CE).

17 ce [±2]χ[: A slanting stroke from left to right and another spot below it may indicate all that have survived of a chi. If so, the customary final greeting ce [εϛ]χ[ομαι] might be ventured. The epsilon of ce is different from others in this manuscript, but it is very much like the ones in ἐργάατο (line 8), and in ce (line 15).

**Verso:**

Carapión: This was the more common form of the name. Another, Cεραπίων, was rather rarely used. See NB s.v. Carapión; Cεραπίων.

## 16. LIST OF WORKERS (?)

While the extant text suffered very little damage, the piece of light brown papyrus has holes produced by worms all over. Even though a margin of about two cm. at top and a far lesser one at left survived, apparently this piece of papyrus was torn on all sides. Lines 1-6 are fairly complete. Of line 7 little short than a half survived, and of line 8 only the remnants of one or two letters. The text begins on the very edge at left, where the course of the only vertical folding is distinct. 16 runs against the fibers ( $\downarrow$ ). On the other side ( $\rightarrow$ ) there is a list of names. The hand is a fine cursive, partly ligatured. It resembles some texts dated to the second half of the II century CE. See *P. Med.* 51 - in Montevicchi (1988) tav. 54 (CE 160); *P. Oxy.* VI 853 - in Roberts (1956) 17a (middle of II century CE); *BGU* III 807- in Schubart (1911) 26b (CE 185).

16 perhaps belonged to a papyrus roll, as the number  $\xi\gamma$  (63) shows, which contained at least 63 columns. Alternatively,  $\xi\gamma$  might have referred to some kind of counting the nature of which is not revealed here, or merely connected somehow to the other countings encountered in this fragment. The extant text is composed of two parts. The first is a list of craftsmen, vertically arranged on the left side of the papyrus; the second is a group of numbers juxtaposed with the first in a likewise manner. The nature of the connection between the two lists remains to be decided. 16 is probably not a tax list. It does not present individual taxpayers with specific sums of money, as for instance, the papyri in *P. Princ.* I do. It could, however, be a list prepared for the collection of taxes imposed on individuals occupied with such trades. Another possibility might be a summary payment of wages paid to these craftsmen for work they have performed. Alternatively, the summing up of working days completed by each group of workers could have been shown here, or a number of specific quantities produced by the workmen mentioned, or the quantities needed by a purchaser. A further suggestion might be the grouping of these workmen to be available for future state projects. In this case the fraction (apparently?) following the gamma at line 6 would probably suggest that the numbers here indicate the amounts of working days, rather than workmen.

Relying on one (partly?) extant column out of at least 63 of the original manuscript far reaching conclusions can hardly be expected. Yet, the employment of some of the highly important professions in Egyptian economy ought to be remarked: textile industry – ραφιδοποιοί, ἐριοραβδιεταί<sup>142</sup>; cutlery – μαχαιροποιοί<sup>143</sup>; water supply of any kind – ὑδραγωγός or ὑδραγωγεῖον. For the importance of this last field of occupation see 13 introd.

Examining the grammatical features of the text in our papyrus one should notice the following: three of the seven words making 16 are listed neither in the standard Koine dictionaries nor in extant papyri. The six (fully written) words referring to craftsmen can be divided into two groups: one ending with -ης, the other with -ποιος. The words in the first group are more frequent, whereas in the second are partly rare, partly entirely new in extant papyri. See commentary infra. The rare/new words have two components. They begin with common nouns or verbs; then a suffix, -ποιος, is added to form the final result.

**P.Berol. inv. 25097 verso**  
10.2x9.4 cm. (Pl. 16)

**Provenance unknown**  
Second half, II century CE

ξγ	
ῥαφιδοποιῶν	να
ἠθμοποιῶν	..
4 μετροποιῶν	.φ
ἐριοραβδιετῶν	τ.
κοινατῶν	γ <sup>l</sup> (?)
μαχαιροποιῶν	σμ
8 ὑδραγω[	
±2].[	

63 ... of the needle makers 51 ... of the makers of colanders (filters);  
... of the makers of weights; ...70(?) ... of the wool beaters 300(?) ...  
of the makers of soap powder. 3(?) ... of the knife makers (?)240 ...  
(of the) water carriers ...

<sup>142</sup> See Wipsycka (1965) 7.

<sup>143</sup> See Reil (1913) 62-63.

2 ῥαφιδοποιῶν: This word is rare both in papyrological and in other sources. LSJ (s.v. ῥαφιδοποιός) cites only the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinarum* (vol. VI 20), where it is glossed *cutarius* (read: *acuarius* from *acus*, needle). See *BGU XII* 2351.6 (late II century CE) and note ad loc. ῥαφίς was listed by Reil on his list of "Bronze- und Eisenwaren in den Papyri", (1913) 67.

3 ἡθμοποιῶν: ἡθμός - a colander, strainer (LSJ). For papyrological evidence see *WB I* 653; and *P.FuadUniv.* 26.4 (I-II century CE). The combination ἡθμοποιός appears to be attested in 16 for the first time. Though there are some strokes of ink on the column facing this word, no significant text can be resolved.

4 μετροποιῶν: An alternative translation would be "... of the makers of things by measure", or "of the makers of measuring instruments". The word is not found in any of the standard dictionaries consulted (Stephanus; Sophocles; *WB*; *LSJ*; *Lampe*; *TLG*<sup>144</sup>), though words such as *μετροποιία*, *μετροποιέω*, *μετροποιεῖν* do appear in *Stephanus*, *Sophocles*, *LSJ* and *TLG*. *LSJ* offers two alternatives for *μετροποιέω*: "make by measure" and "make verses". See *Sophocles* s.v. The first option seems more compatible with 16.

5 ἐριοραβδιετῶν: See *LSJ* and *WB* s.v. ἐριοραβδιετής. This word has no entries in *Stephanus*, *Sophocles*, *Lampe*, *TLG*. Ἐριοραβδιεταί beat wool so as to separate it from all the waste material mixed with it in the process of shearing. See *Wipszycka* (1965) 33. For the importance of wool and its uses see *Reil* (1913) 98-99; *Keenan* (1989) 183-86. Wool-beaters are attested in *Arsinoiton Polis*. See *P.Lond.* II 261.410=*SPP IV* (p.70) viii.131 (CE 72/73); *Wessely* (1903) 9; 11; 13. See also *P.Bon.* 24 i.14; ii.16; iii.11 and introd. p. 76 (*Tebtunis*, CE 135), a property transaction attesting the sale of an ἐργαστήριον ἐριοραβδιετικόν, probably a workshop for beating wool. For the trade of wool and textile products in Roman Egypt see *Johnson* (1936) 339; *Wipszycka* (1965) 9.

<sup>144</sup> Thanks are due to Mr. T.F. Brunner and his staff of the *TLG Text Search Service*, University of California, Irvine, who checked the words at lines 4, 5 and 7 at my request.

6 *κοιιατῶν*: See Stephanus, WB and LSJ. No entries were found in Sophocles, Lampe, TLG. For 'makers of soap powder' see LSJ s.v. *κοιλία* II, soap powder. These plasterers or white-washers used the powder made out of the chalky lime-stone, the *κοιλία*, to execute their job. See Reil (1913) 34-35. See also *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 30 xlii.17 (CE 191/92) and note on p.70; *SB* III 6823.20 (middle of I century CE). For the accent see WB s.v. *κοιιατῆς* contra LSJ.

γ<sup>L</sup>(?): Following the gamma the lower rightward curve of the sign designating a half is visible.

7 *μαχαιοποιῶν*: No entries were found in Sophocles, WB, Lampe. Stephanus, s.v. *μαχαιοποιός*, translates: *machairarum et gladiatorum artifex*. For entries see LSJ (no papyrological evidence), and TLG. *μαχαιρᾶς*, *P.Oxy.* XIV 1676.6 (III century CE) has the same meaning as *μαχαιοποιός*. Occupational terms ending with *-ας* convey the same meaning as those terminating with *-ποιός*. They refer to "producers or sellers of various objects of commerce". See Olsson (1925) 247-49; Jernstedt (1929) 75; Youtie (1979) 111.

.μ: Preceding the mu the right part of a curve may be traced, probably of a sigma as in *ἑριοραβδιετῶν* at line 5, indicating the number 240.

8 *ὕδραγωγ[γῶν* (a water carrier) ought to be adopted here. Water carrying as an occupation was quite old in Egypt, being mentioned by Manetho (I 84). See Tod (1904) 198. The word could also refer to officials in charge of operating the aqueducts. A water-carrier would earn 25 *dinarii* a day in Diocletian's time, the second lowest daily wage on this emperor's price list. Tod (1904) 196 (vii 31); Lauffer (1971) 120-21; 231). None of the other occupations mentioned in 16 appear in Diocletian's edict. Another possible meaning was an aqueduct designer. See Plutarch *Moralia* XI.914b and *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67095.13 (CE 548).

## 17. LIST OF ABSENTEES FROM THEIR 'Ιδία

The light brown papyrus is wider at top (7.7cm.) narrowing at bottom (5.5 cm.). It is full of holes of various sizes. Four paragraphs, vertically arranged, are clearly visible. Of the first only the lower part of the last line survived. The second and third were fairly well preserved. The fourth has the right parts of its first four lines only. The paragraphs are separated by blank spaces: 1½ cm. between the first and the second paragraph; 2 cm. between the second and third; 5½ cm. between the last two. There is a stroke of ink between paragraphs one and two. The original papyrus sheet was broken on all four sides. Nevertheless, nearly nothing seems to be missing from the left sides of paragraphs 2-3 where many of the lines begin with name formulas and checking marks (/). For examples of other documents similar in form see *P.Princ.* I 8 (27-32 CE); 14 introd. (23-40 CE); *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2413 (middle of the II century CE). The exact number of letters missing on the right cannot be determined. Most of the lines on the second and third paragraphs break off after or before the word μητρόσ. Parallel documents allow further details concerning the people listed, age, as in *P.Princ.* I 8; a list of debts, as in *P.Ryl.* IV 595 (57 CE). The text runs against the fibers (↓). The other side (→) shows parts of letters with no significant reading. One tiny strip of papyrus about two cm. long is visible opposite line 3 at right; another, 3½ long, comes out from line 32 at left. The second, bearing some parts of letters which do not belong to 17, was probably glued to the papyrus sheet after the present document was written. Most of the horizontal fibers from the 18<sup>th</sup> cm. down were lost leaving the papyrus sheet with the vertical only.<sup>145</sup>

Two hands are distinguishable. The first is a fine easily read cursive with bold ink and large spaces between the lines. These spaces were filled in by the second hand producing rough letters written in fainter ink. The text here is unclear in places. Paragraph 4 might have been entirely written by M. 2<sup>nd</sup>. This scribe employed raised letters to indicate abbreviations (lines: 7, 25, 27, 29, 31, 35, 38, 39, 40). Other

<sup>145</sup> It often happened in antiquity that papyri inscribed on the one side with material which was of no longer use to their owner, were sold and then written on the other side. Sometimes the purchaser, or maybe the seller, tried to erase the written text while damping the papyrus. Perhaps during such an attempt some of the horizontal fibers fell off the papyrus sheet on which 17 was written. See Gallo (1986) 10.

modes of abbreviations are used at lines: 5, 19, 20. ζήτ passim is resolved as ζήτ(ει) even though no particular symbols warrant abbreviations ad loc. (lines: 19, 27, 36, 37, 38). At lines 18 and 28 M. 1<sup>st</sup> used vertical strokes to cancel parts of his script. The original measures of 17 cannot be accurately determined. Yet, since the names of inhabitants from two districts of Arsinoiton Polis are recorded here, and this town had over thirty, the original manuscript might have been much larger.<sup>146</sup>

17 lists the names, personal details and other items concerning a number of inhabitants of the capital of the Arsinoite nome. In the course of the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή such personal details of the inhabitants were updated.<sup>147</sup> The permanent residence of people at the time of registration was called ἰδία.<sup>148</sup> Absentees, those not found in the ἰδία recorded under their names in the previous census, were termed ἐπίξενοι.<sup>149</sup>

The people listed in 17 were absent from their ἰδία at the time of preparing this manuscript. This is to be gathered from the extant part of the document. The two scribes go over the names of 18 people, who regularly resided at Arsinoiton Polis (ἀμφοδα Μοήρεως and Μακεδόνων), but were (temporarily?) staying out of town (7 at localities in the Arsinoite nome – lines 5; 9; 17; 23; 25; 27; 38; 3 at Letopolis – line 34; 1 at a provenance unknown as yet – line 7; in 7 cases the text is either not clear enough or incomplete – lines 11; 13; 15; 19; 20; 35; 39). M. 1<sup>st</sup> stated the names of the inhabitants

<sup>146</sup> Daris (1981) 143-51.

<sup>147</sup> See Wallace (1938)a 99, 102; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* V 40-41; Taubenschlag (1955) 611; Bagnall and Frier (1994) 20-26.

<sup>148</sup> The word ἰδία links a person to a place from two aspects: a) it is one's home. See Braunert (1955-56) 216; b) it is the place where he is to fulfill his obligations to the government. It is in his ἰδία, his permanent residence, not in his temporary one that one pays his taxes and carries out the liturgies to which he is nominated. See Braunert (1955-56) 212-13.

<sup>149</sup> For definitions of ἐπίξενοι and ἰδιῶται see Plodzién (1951) 222-23; Hanson (1988) 265-268 (ἐπίξενοι in Julio-Claudian Philadelphia). Both ξένος and ἐπίξενος can be used to convey the same meaning in our context. See Lewis (1937) 68 note 6. See also WB I 566 (ἐπίξενος – 1); II 144-45 (ξένος – 2a); *P.Tebt.* II 391.13-15 (CE 99); Rostovtzeff (1910) 75; Taubenschlag (1955) 590. In Alexandria and in other cities a praktor xenikon was nominated, attested BCE 221 - CE 224; see Préaux (1955) 107. From the II century CE his post was liturgic - Lewis (1997) 42-43. His functions were executive in nature in cases where ξένοι were involved. See Plodzién (1951) 225-27; Préaux (1955) 109.

presumably according to their *ἰδία*. M. 2<sup>nd</sup> added their possible whereabouts (mostly out of the city). To most of his lines in paragraphs 2-3 M. 2<sup>nd</sup> also added slanting strokes probably intending them to function as some sort of checking marks. For other instances of attaching such marks to names (but not necessarily with similar intentions) see *P. Princ.* I 8 introd. p. 27 (double checking marks); 14 introd. p. 108 and *P. Corn.* 23a ii.26 (note on p. 186 ad loc.). M. 2<sup>nd</sup> might have examined other records at the registrar's office in which he had probably succeeded in locating the persons he later on marked. The fact that M. 2<sup>nd</sup> inserted the marks apparently supports this presentation.

Another point to sustain the suggested interpretation regarding the function of this list is the inclusion of a person termed ἀνεπίκριτος in 17, which might indicate that he was absent from his *ἰδία* at the time of the census (line 33 and note ad loc.).

People left their places for several reasons. Two are relevant in this context:

- a) People who left/temporarily changed their permanent abodes looking for new jobs, or for other purposes such as visiting family or friends.<sup>150</sup>
- b) Others, trying to escape punishment having failed to pay their taxes, or perform liturgies, deserted their permanent residences. They headed for unknown destinations with the purpose of vanishing from the eyes of government officials. They were also called ἀποροι ἀνεύρετοι.<sup>151</sup> Presumably the group of absentees listed in 17 belonged to the first of the two categories presented above.

<sup>150</sup> *P. Princ.* I 14 (CE 23-40) is probably a list of Philadelphians living away from their home town (ἐπίξενοι, see previous note). One could be registered in one address, but live in another. See Rea in *P. Oxy.* LV 3787 (CE 301-302) introd. p. 33.

<sup>151</sup> See *P. Oxy.* XXXIII 2669 (CE 41-54); *SB IV* 7462 (CE 55-60); *P. Corn.* 24.5 (CE 56); *P. RyI.* 595 (CE 57); Rostovtzeff (1929) 35152; 354-55; Lewis (1937) 68; (1983) 163. See also Thomas (1975) 216. In an edict dated CE 154 Sempronius Liberalis, prefect of Egypt, declared that all ἐπίξενοι were bandits living with gangs of robbers and murderers (*W. Chr.* 19 = *BGU II* 372). This statement ought to be considered with due reservation, since the proclamation was made close to the suppression of the Egyptian revolt in 153-54 (during which the former prefect, L. Munatius Plancus, was killed). The prefect commences this address to the public, however, declaring his pardon to all the rebels who will lay down their arms and return peacefully to their *ἰδία*. (*W. Chr.* p. 31). Apparently, Liberalis hoped to tempt back to normal Egyptian life as many of the runaway bandits as he could. For a recent discussion of Liberalis' edict see Strassi-Zaccaria (1988).



Moreover, most of the people on our list were located, or enough information concerning them was collected, so as to help officials find them. This clearly means that they never tried to vanish, like the ἐπίξενοι in category b above.<sup>152</sup> One could with much confidence argue that this papyrus deals with people whom business, pleasure, or other needs carried out of their ἰδίαι to new permanent or temporary residences.<sup>153</sup>

17 was probably written in the II century CE. The hand resembles *BGU* I 136; II 417; *P. Mil.* II 51 (all three from the II century CE). For the first two see Schubart (1911) 22b; 27; for the third Montevicchi (1988) tav.54 p. 95. The writing of α, δ, ν, ων is very closely related in 17 and the other three papyri. Furthermore, 17 bears strong resemblance to the hand in *BGU* XIII 2251 (II century CE).

As for the provenance of our papyrus apparently this list was prepared in the capital of the Arsinoite nome, Ἄρσινοῖτων πόλις.<sup>154</sup> It concerns inhabitants whose permanent dwellings, ἰδίαι, were in quarters of this city, (the ἄμφοδα Μοήρεως and Μακεδόνων – lines 3 and 21). See Daris (1981) 148. WB III and Calderini, *Dizionario* III iii do not cite any other Egyptian towns with quarters bearing similar names. The Suppls. of WB, 1 - 3, and of Calderini, 1- 2, do not offer any new evidence either. See also Wessely (1903) 30-32. In addition, most of the people listed here left the city for localities inside the Arsinoite nome. (One just changed a quarter within the city, lines 3-5). They seem to have (temporarily or permanently) changed their residences leaving the capital for one of its villages, rather than coming from the capital of another nome. Moreover, μητρο(πόλεως) - line 5 - supports the supposition regarding the provenance of the text, namely Ἄρσινοῖτων πόλις. In census declarations officials and clerks deleted the name of this city referring to its inhabitants as οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Lines 40-41 locate one of the absentees staying at his sister's.

<sup>153</sup> For the unrestricted right of movement enjoyed by the Egyptians in the Roman period see Taubenschlag (1955) 601. First signals of changes in this policy can be sensed at the beginning of the III century CE. See Thomas (1975) 216-18.

<sup>154</sup> Oates (1975) 114 opposes the use of the name "Arsinoe". He states that until CE 155 the city was called ἡ πόλις ἡ Πτολεμαίων. After that it was referred to as stated above. See Oates (1975) 118.

<sup>155</sup> See Oates (1975) 116. For more instances where this city is referred to by its title solely leaving out its name see *SB* III 6001 (CE 179); *BGU* II 527 (CE 197); *P. Monac.* III 82 (CE 197); Shelton (1968) 5.

P.Berol. inv. 21904  
7.7x26 cm. (Pl. 17)

Arsinoiton Polis (?)  
II Century CE

Paragraph 1  
(Illegible remains of some letters)

Paragraph 2

- ἀπ]ὸ ἀμφόδ[ου] Μοήρεω  
 4 Ἡρ[ω]ν Ἡρων[ος] τοῦ Ἡρωνος μητρ[ὸς]  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /μητρο(πόλεω) ἐν τῆς Λυκίε  
 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Νεῖλος Ἀπίωνος τοῦ Ἀπίωνος  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /ἐπυκ(ίω) Μυεθοῦ Παλαιο[ῦ]  
 8 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρωνος τοῦ Ἡρωνος  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /Καλλιφάνου  
 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Χρυεᾶς Χρυεᾶ τοῦ Ἡρωνος μητρ[ὸς]  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /Cιγ[.]οις μετὰ τὸν ρ.η...[  
 12 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Πρωτᾶς ἀδελφὸς μητρ[ὸς] [τῆς αὐτῆς  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /το  
 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Καβ[εῖ]νος Διογένου τοῦ Χαιρήμονος  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /το[  
 16 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Κέφαλος Κρατέρου τοῦ Χαιρήμονος  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /Ταυρίγου πρὸς Ἀκουσίλαον  
 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) [[Καβε[ί]νος Καβεῖνου]] Ἄν.ε.ε. τοῦ Καραπίωνος  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /ζήτ(ει) πρὸς Καραπίωνα δι(ὰ) γαμ[  
 20 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Καραπίων Καβε(ῖνου) τοῦ Καραπίωνος

Paragraph 3

- ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Μακεδόνων  
 Ἡρακλείδης Δι[ο]δώρου πρεσβ[υτέρου]  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /Καμείνων  
 24 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Πρωτᾶς ἀδελφὸς μητρ[ὸς] [τῆς αὐτῆς  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /Καμ(είνων) ὁμοίως  
 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Δίδυμος Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /ζήτ(ει) Ἀπιάδος Θε(μίτου) πρὸς Καραπίωνα

- 28 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) 'Ιείδωρος Κύρ[.ον ἀπό] 'ου' τοῦ [εὐ] 'Δι' [ (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /Λητοῦε Πόλ(εωε)  
 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Λογγίνοε ἀδελφὸε μη[τρὸε τῆε αὐτῆε  
 (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /Λογγίνο(ι) ? ελ.μ() μναι[  
 32 (M. 1<sup>st</sup>) Παρίων [ 'Ωρίωνοε τοῦ [ (M. 2<sup>nd</sup>) /ἀνεπικριτεε μεμ[  
     οί γ Λατοῦε Πόλεωε  
     Αλκα() Γομ() Μετάλοε  
 36 ζήτ(ει)

## Paragraph 4

- ζή]τ(ει)  
 ζήτ(ει) ἐν 'Απάδ(ι) Διδύμ(ω)  
 (±4) ἀντικ(ρυσ) χρυσοχόου ἐν Ca.τ.()  
 40 (±5) πρὸε τῆν ἰδίαν ἀδελ(φήν) αὐτοῦ  
 (±6) θυγατέρα 'Αμμων[ίου  
 traces

5. leg. τοῖε Λυκίοε 7. leg. ἐποικ(ίω) 19 Pap. qS 23 leg. Καμίνων  
 32 Pap. (. 'Ωρίωνοε etc. 33 leg. ἀνεπικρίτοε 38 leg. 'Απιάδ(ι)

## Paragraph 2

)  
 From the quarter of Moeris.

Heron, son of Heron, grandson of Heron, his mother (being) ...

Of the metropolis, in the Lycian quarter.

Neilus, son of Apion, grandson of Apion ...

At the Old Mysthas estate.

Heraclides, son of Heron, grandson of Heron ...

At (the estate of?) Kalliphanes.

Chrysas, son of Chrysas, grandson of Heron, his mother ...

At Si... beyond ...

Protas, his brother, his mother [being the same ...

Sabeinus, son of Diogenes, grandson of Chairemon ... ..

Kephalus, son of Kraterus, grandson of Chairemon ...

In Taurinos towards Akousilaus' ...

Dy... son of Sarapion ...

Search at (the house of) Sarapion through ...

Sarapion, son of Sabeinus, grandson of Sarapion ...

Paragraph 3

From the quarter of the Macedonians.

Herakleides, son of the old Diodorus ...

In the village of Kaminoi.

Protas, his brother, his mother [being the same ...

Likewise at Kaminoi.

Didymus, son of Ammonius, grandson of ...

Search towards Sarapion's, the village of Apias, Themistos (division).

Isidorus, son of Syrus, grandson of Di...

In Letopolis.

Longinus, his brother, his mother [being the same ...

At Longinus' ...

Pasion ...

Registered among those who have not yet been subjected to epikrisis,

... (?) The three in Letopolis at(?) Alka(?) Gom(?) son of Metalus ...

(Space of 2.5 cm.).

Search ... (space of 2.8 cm.)

Paragraph 4

Search ...

Search at Didymus in the village of Apias ... opposite the goldsmith's shop in the (village of ?) ...at his own sister's ... the daughter of Ammonius

2 A slip of a pen or rather another checking mark (see introd. supra) is visible in the centre of the space between paragraphs 1 and 2.

5 τῆς Λυκίης (τοῖς Λυκίοις). The interchanging of upsilon with the diphthong omicron iota (υ-οι) came to be common in the I century CE. See Gignac (1976) 197-99.

For this quarter see Calderini, *Dizionario* III i 208.

7 ἐπικ(ίω) (ἐποικ-) Μυθοῦ Παλαιο[ῦ]: ἐποίκιον: the word means a village or an estate. It was scantily cited in the Ptolemaic period, grew more frequent in I-IV centuries CE and very common in V-VIII. With the economic and social changes that took place in Egypt during

III-IV centuries it came to signify a village or a tiny rural settlement, borgo as Pruneti, (1981) 11, put it. See WB I s.v. ἐποίκιον; Lewuillon-Blume (1978) 184-85. ἐποίκια similar to the one recorded here are cited in *P.Oxy.* LV 3787.30 and 3795 passim (both IV century CE). No settlement bearing this name could be located (neither in WB nor in Calderini, *Dizionario* and their Suppls.). Neilos son of Apion was probably spotted in a certain rural settlement, or an estate in the Arsinoite nome.

9 Καλλιφάνου: A village in the region of Polemon, the Arsinoite nome. It was also referred to as χωρίον or ἐποίκιον. This place is cited during a very long period, III century BC – VIII CE. See WB III 303; Calderini, *Dizionario* III i 58.

10 Χρυᾶ: For genitive forms in ᾶ see Gignac (1981) 16-18.

11 Κυ[.]οις: In accordance with the context of 17 a name of a settlement in the Arsinoite nome would likely fit at this point, though no suitable proposition could be suggested.

ρ.η...[: Probably a personal name. See *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI 19 (CE 118). Since 17 deals with locating people and places, μετά + accusative followed by a personal name might mean beyond. See LSJ s.v. μετά C ii 1 (p. 1109). A translation might be ventured: in the (village of) ... beyond the place(?) of ...

12 μητρὸς [τῆς αὐτῆς: For the restoration of this phrase see *P.Princ.* I 8 ii.1.4 (CE 27-32); *P.Mich.* VI 380.8 (second half of the II century CE). Yet, the restoration is offered with due reservation, since these brothers might have the same father but different mothers.

13 /το: The same two letters recur by M. 2<sup>nd</sup> at line 15. If a number is meant (370), was it a sum of money? a debt to be settled, or a tax already paid? The question remains open. In *P.Corn.* 23.3-4; 6; 8; 31 the text reads το( ). The editor resolves τό(που) preceding a place name. The whereabouts of Protas at line 13 and of Sabeinos at 15 are expected. Yet M. 2<sup>nd</sup> does not record any information regarding these people as he does in other cases.

17 Ταυρίγρου: The nu is uncertain, as the text is very badly preserved at this part of the manuscript. Yet if the reading is correct, then a village in the division of Themistos, the Arsinoite nome, near Euhemeria is meant. It is well attested in the Roman and the Byzantine periods. See Calderini, *Dizionario* III iii 369.

Ἄκουσί[λαον: The text following the upsilon at the end of the line can be resolved as α, υ, or ει with an underlying stroke of the pen resembling the symbol.), unexplainable as yet. The first option, applied here, renders a name common in Roman Egypt. See NB and Foraboschi (1966). The other two possible resolutions are less likely to be adopted - Ἄκουῦ[ιν (Polemaic); Ἄκουεῖ[ιν - rare in Roman Egypt.

18 The name written at the beginning of this line was cancelled by M. 1<sup>st</sup> with a vertical stroke. He then inscribed the correct one above the line, a name partly lost.

Ἄυ.ε.: A likely restoration is probably Δυθέων attested once in *O.Fay.* 3.2 (I century BC). See NB. There are no new references in Foraboschi (1966).

19 ζήτ(ει): See *SB* I 5124.29 and 135, a report on dike corvée (CE 192), prepared by two clerks. At lines 29 and 135 the second commenting on statements made by the first wrote ζήτει meaning "continue to search!"

πρὸς Καρπίωνα: πρὸς + accusative with verbs of motion (ζητέω as in 17.19) conveys the meaning of towards. See LSJ s.v. πρὸς C 1 (p. 1497); Debrunner (1959) 124, section 239 (4).

ϛS: Read: δι(ά). Blanchard (1974) 22; 57 cites *P.Tebt.* III 890.21; 22 (Pl. 4) where a similar sign signifies δι(ά). The function of S in this context is unclear to me, unless it designates the abbreviation.

γαμ[: Probably the beginning of the name of the person through whose services the Dy... of line 18 might be located. Alternatively: διὰ γαμ[ετῆς, which might suggest that Dy... might be located through someone's wife, probably Sarapion's.

23 Καμ(είνων): The nominative is Κάμιννοι, a village in the Polemon division, the Arsinoite nome, attested III century BC - VIII CE. See WB III 303; Calderini, *Dizionario* III i 63.

27 Ἀπιάδος Θε(μίτου): See 5.4 and note ad loc.

28 M.1<sup>st</sup> cancelled a part of his text completing the name Κύρου interlinearly. This convention is employed again at the end of the line. See also line 18 supra. A vertical stroke underlying πρὸς at line 27, unaccounted for as yet, might have been intended for the cancellation of the script following cup in line 28.

29 Λητοῦς πόλ(εως): Calderini, *Dizionario* III i 197-98 records two places under this entry. One refers to the capital of the Letopolite nome in the western Delta of the Nile. The other is a village in the Heracleides division of the Arsinoite nome. Since most of the people on our list lived in the capital of the Arsinoite nome or in the regions around, it seems more appropriate to assign the three people located at Letopolis to a village in the Arsinoite nome, rather than to the capital of another.

31 A stain of ink at left somewhat obstructs the reading at this point.

32 [᾽Ὠρίωνος: In some papyri round parentheses signify deletion of the text they enclose. See *P.Princ.* I 2 vi.15-16 and note ad loc. (CE 25); *P.Corn.* 21.221 and note to line 223 on p. 172 (CE 25). Here the editors record round double parentheses. In *P.Col.* 1 Recto 6 ii. 25-26 and notes ad loc. (Hadrian or Antonius Pius) there is a single round parenthesis. In 17 only the left round wing survived. The other was probably lost together with the rest of line 32. There is a dot inside the extant (left) part of the parenthesis, for which no satisfactory explanation could be advanced. See also LSJ s.v. περιγράφω III, "cancel".

33 ἀνεπικριτεῖς (-κρίτοις), basically referring to those who have not submitted their declarations, thus acting against the law. See Wallace (1938)a 314; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* V 97-98. One might be termed ἀνεπίκριτος not because he was intentionally trying to break the law, but because of various reasons. One of which might be his absence

from his *ιδία* during the census period, thus failing to make his declarations. See Wallace (1938)a 114 and *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* V 140 - both referring to *P.Lond.* II 260 v 71-72 (CE 72-73; p. 49). In 17 the clerks being unable to examine Pasion's reports, probably on account of his absence, they entered his name into the list of absentees declaring him ἀνεπίκριτος.

38 Διδύμ(ω): Another Didymus staying with Sarapion in the same village of Apias is referred to at 17.26-27. They could not have been the same person, since Dydimus of line 26 was sought by the authorities, while this one was not.

39 ἀντικ(ρυσ) χρυσοχόου: See *P.Tebt.* II 395.3-4 (CE 150) for a similar phrase: τραπεζης ἀντικρυσ Τυχαίου (the bank opposite the temple of Tyche).

Ca.τ.( ): Apparently the location where this person was staying at, a place opposite the goldsmith's shop.



## 18. PROPERTY REGISTRATION

The light brown papyrus shows wide margins (about 2-2.5 cm.) at top and left. Line 2 is the only complete one at right, whereas lines 3-8 lost up to 17 letters (line 4) in some cases. Of line 9 only the top of several letters survived with little more script at end. The upper and right margins were damaged considerably losing large portions. Four vertical foldings and one horizontal are clearly visible. There could have been another horizontal folding at bottom, where the papyrus seems to have been rather carelessly torn off. The ink flaked off in places mainly at right (lines 2-4). The text runs along the fibers (→). The hand is highly cursive to the level of slurring occasionally.<sup>156</sup> The scribe forgot two words at line 8 which he interlined above *περὶ κώ(μην)* in the same line. On the other hand, he shows some graceful writing. The first two letters at line 1 are larger than others in this manuscript; the theta is prominent being located in the margin. Consequently line 2 starts about 1 cm. inside this line clearing the required vacant space for the large letters of line 1. The pi beginning line 3 is unexplainably enlarged.<sup>157</sup> At lines 2, 3, 5, 8 and 9 the scribe employed raised letters to indicate abbreviations. Other conventions of abbreviations are used as well. On the other side (↓) there is a short text (11 lines). But for the loss of the lower left corner and the right part of line 1 it would have been complete. Unfortunately the writing is much abraded and little coherent text can be established. Consequently, the reading of the left half is hardly possible. Nevertheless it seems that it is a receipt or some kind of a payment or a private account.

**18** is a declaration of property<sup>158</sup> in which Tabous daughter of Satabous, an inhabitant of the village of Soknopaiou Nesos, writes to the guardians of the property-registers of the Arsinoite nome concerning a property transaction she had contracted with Stotoetis

<sup>156</sup> For the manner of writing slurringly (*Verschleifung*) see **1** and footnote 2 *ad loc.*

<sup>157</sup> A modern eye might find here a contrast with present day rules of writing. *παρα* does not commence a new sentence, yet it resembles a capital letter; whereas another pi, right below it starting a personal name (*Πανεφρέμις*), is smaller being not at all different from other letters on this papyrus.

<sup>158</sup> For a discussion of such documents see *P.Col.* VIII 213 *introd.* and the bibliography cited there.

the younger and probably asking them to register that transaction. It appears that Tabous had previously declared her assets to former guardians of the property-registers (Socrates and Antipatrus) apparently<sup>159</sup> in the course of a census of property. At this stage the papyrus breaks off, and an indeterminate portion of the text has been lost. As a result of the present state of the manuscript the details of the transaction can be only partly reconstructed. The text does not reveal details regarding the nature of the transacted property, neither does it volunteer any information concerning the present holdings of Tabous, the declarant. 18 might have ended with: διὸ ἐπίδωμι.<sup>160</sup>

Many parallel texts carry the signature of the official to whom the announcement was delivered, obviously acting as a receiving clerk. This part of the manuscript usually preceded the main text at top.<sup>161</sup> The clerks in question were members of the staff hired by the bibliophylakes. The traces of script at top of 18 might have belonged to such a signature.<sup>162</sup>

A property transaction document having been submitted at the property-registers office could have generally included the following components:

a. reception signature; b. the address to the bibliophylakes; c. the writer (the first party to the transaction) - personal details; d. description of the property in question;<sup>163</sup> e. the other party - personal details; f. the nature of the transaction; g. the closing formula; h. dating formula. The main body of 18 did not survive: a is probably missing; b, c, e are in a restorable state. Of d probably very little is preserved, the extant script (line 9) is not restorable. e, f, g, h were entirely lost.

18, then, is a property registration notice, an announcement of the regular or the standard not of the general sort (*P.Col.* VIII 213 p. 89). Documents of the regular kind were submitted to the guardians of the property-registers in order to declare transactions of property carried

<sup>159</sup> Line 6: ἀπογέγραφα).

<sup>160</sup> See e.g. *P.Lond.* II 299.18 (p. 151 - CE 128); *P.Bon.* 24 C (CE 135). For alternative phrasing see e.g. *BGU* II 379.17-19 (CE 67) and *P.Fay.* 31.19-20 (CE 129). See also Wolff (1978) 238.

<sup>161</sup> See *P.Wisc.* II 54.1-2 (CE 116) and note ad loc.; *P.Lond.* II 299.1-2 (CE 128) and introd. p.151; *P.Bon.* 24b (CE 135).

<sup>162</sup> See *P.Mich.* IX 541 introd. for a similar instance.

<sup>163</sup> In many declarations this order of sections d, e, and f was reversed. See e.g. *BGU* XI 2098 (CE 83); 2017 (CE 88); *P.Fay.* 31 (CE 129).

out in between general censuses of the property. On the other hand, the general declarations were submitted when a general census of property was ordered by the prefect requiring all owners to deliver returns describing their possessions. These notices usually began with phrases such as: κατὰ τὰ κελευθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος. See *BGU* II 420.6-7 (CE 130/31); 459.8 (CE 131).<sup>164</sup> Since 18 does not have this phrase,<sup>165</sup> it clearly does not belong in the category of general returns.<sup>166</sup>

18 seems to have been written at the beginning of the II CE. It records two pairs of bibliophylakes: Socrates and Antipatrus who were in office in CE 88 (*BGU* II 536)<sup>167</sup> and Thrakidas and Demetrius alias Herakleides, in office in CE 116 (*P. Wisc.* II 54), nos. 49 and 50 on Sijpesteijn's list (1986) 6. As Tabous writes to the later pair, she might have done it in CE 116.<sup>168</sup>

**P. Berol. inv. 25551**  
7.7x12 cm. (Pl. 18)

**Soknopaiou Nesos**  
CE 116

Traces (docket?)

Θρακείδαι καὶ Δημητρίωι τῶι καὶ Ἡρακλ(εῖδη)  
γεγυ(μνασιαρχηκόα) βιβλ(ιοφύλαξιν) ἐγκτή(σεων)  
Ἄρσι(νοίτου) [

4 παρὰ Ταβοῦτος τῆς Κατα(βούτος) μ[ετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ?  
Πανεφρέμμιος [±2].α.ρ( ) ἀπὸ κώμης Κο[κνοπ(αίου) Νήε(ου)].  
ἀφ' ὧν

<sup>164</sup> For lists of "regular" and "general" announcements see Avogadro (1935) 135-36 and Montevicchi (1988) 186-87 (supplementing Avogadro's lists of "regular" and "general" announcements). See also Youtie (1980) 208.

<sup>165</sup> Line 6 only refers to a previous general census, ἀπογραφή, following which the submission of general property returns was ordered.

<sup>166</sup> Mettius Rufus, prefect of Egypt, published an edict in CE 89 specifying the rules for declaring of and registering property. See *P. Oxy.* II 237 iii.28-43. This prefect also ordered a general registration of property (lines 31-32).

<sup>167</sup> See note to line 6 *infra* for further references.

<sup>168</sup> One of the bibliophylakes to whom Tabous addresses her report is Demetrius alias Herakleides. In *P. Wisc.* II 54 (CE 116) one of the pair is Herakleides also called Demetrius. This is probably the same official. Inversions of double names were not unknown in Roman Egypt, as Calderini (1941) 253 shows.

ἀπογέγρα(αφα) Σωκρά(τη) καὶ Ἄντ[ι]πάτρῳ βα.[  
 Στοτοῆτι Ὀρ(ου) νε(ωτέρῳ) τοῦ Σαταβούτ(ος) α..[  
 8 ἐν ἀπογραφῇ ἄ παραχ(ωρητικ...) ου(?)? περὶ κώ(μην)  
 Σοκνοπ(αίου) Νή[ε(ου)] [  
 ±12] (traces of 12 letters) πλου( ) [

To Thrakidas and Demetrius alias Herakleides ex-gymnasiarchs, keepers of the property-registers of the Arsinoite (nome) ... from Tabous daughter of Satabous with her husband ? (acting as her) guardian Panephremmis, son of ... from the village of Soknopaiou Nesos. Of the ... declared to Socrates and Antipatrus in the census return at the village of Soknopaiou Nesos ... yielded to Stotoetis the younger, son of Horus, grandson of Satabous ...

2 Θρακίδαι καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἡρακλ(είδη): See NB and Foraboschi (1966) for alternatives: Θρακίδας or Θρακίδης. Beginning with the middle of Δημητρίῳ the hand slurs heavily. The names are identified with the help of parallel formulae, as shown in the introd. and notes to line 6 infra. Only tiny traces are left of the iota adscriptum of Θρακίδαι. Though Gignac, (1981) 1, remarks that as early as the II CE this iota was usually deleted, it is kept here as in *P.Heid.* II 219.1 (CE 100).

3 γεγυ(μνασιαρχικός): These bibliophylakes were usually ex-gymnasiarchs. For the office of gymnasiarchs see van Groningen (1938) 505-511 and Lewis (1997) 17.

βιβλ(ιοφύλαξι) ἐγκτή(σεων) Ἄρσι(νοῦ): See Wolf (1978) 49-55; 222-55. Registration documents for land and other immovable property were kept at this office. Any property transaction had to be reported to the bibliophylakes, otherwise it would be invalid in a court of law. This office was active from the middle of the I century CE till the beginning of the IV. Two officials regularly ran it exceptionally in Oxyrhynchos, three. The earliest compulsory bibliophylax is documented in CE 112 or even earlier. See *P.Oxy.* II 237 viii.27-43; Lewis (1997) 17. Their term of the office was 1-2 years. See Lewis (1961) 245.

4 μ[ετὰ κυρίου etc.: At the end of the line there probably came an indication of the relation between Tabous and her guardian, Panephremmis, as in *P.Ryl.* II 107.20-22 (CE 84); *P.Fay.* 31.4-6 (CE 129); *P.Bon.* 24 b.11-12; c.7-8 (CE135). *P.Lips.* 9.10 (CE 233), however, does not point out any such relation. Owing to the fact that not much space is available at the end of this line ἀνδρός would seem a reasonable completion here.

5 [±2].α.ρ( ): This is what is left of the name of Panephremmis' father.

6 Σωκρά(τη) καὶ Ἄντ[ι]πάτρωι: A rather slurry hand. Probably Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀντίπατρος mentioned here are those referred to as nos. 25, 26 on Sijpesteijn's list (1986) 4. See also *P.Col.* VIII 213.1-2 (ca. 84-96 CE, date corrected in the commentary to line 1). In several texts where an earlier declaration to bibliophylakes is mentioned, the genitive form with διὰ is usually supplied. See *BGU* II 379.7-8 (CE 67); XI 2097.11 (CE 83); III 919.12 (II century CE). In 18.6 (as in *P.Mich.* IX 541.8 - CE 69-79) διὰ is absent, consequently the dative is preferred.

8 ἐν ἀπογραφῇ: As this ἀπογραφῇ (general census) is somehow connected with the term of service of Socrates and Antipatrus, *BGU* II 536 (CE 88), it must have taken place in CE 87-88. See introd.

ἴ παραχ(ωρητικ...): Since the nature of the property transacted by Tabous is not revealed in the text, this abbreviation is not fully expanded.

## 19. LEASE OF LAND

The dark brown papyrus is intact at right and bottom except for the left corner. Worms produced holes on the upper and left sides particularly along the folding lines. The right margin is about 1 cm. whereas the bottom shows blank space of some 6 cm. The papyrus was straight and neatly cut here. The top was seriously damaged having lost both right and left corners.<sup>169</sup> It seems that the papyrus was broken along the main vertical folding. The writing begins right at the edge of the left side, and a comparison with parallel texts suggests that in most cases nearly half the lines of 19 are missing. See *P.Lond.* V 1692 (CE 556); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104 (CE 530). Lines 6 and 15, which can be fully restored, yield a similar conclusion. Written in a cursive elegant hand the document runs along the fibers (→). The other side (↓) is blank. Lines 15-17 show a second hand. Line 18 contains more text written by M. 1<sup>st</sup>. Compared with the first the second hand is rapid with square rude characters. Hermaius, M. 1<sup>st</sup>, is apparently a professional scribe. See 19.17 (ἀξιωθεῖς) and note ad loc. regarding M. 2<sup>nd</sup>. The writer of the main body of this document took care to mark some names and beginnings of sentences with large letters: line 3: Φλα(ουίου) Ἰωάνου; line 5: Ὁμολογῶ – the initial omicron is larger than usual with a horizontal stroke inside probably indicating a new sentence. For other examples see *P.Lond.* I 113.11 (CE 543); Montevicchi (1988) Tav. 98 and *CPR* VIII 61.10 (CE 546) and note ad loc. M. 1<sup>st</sup> (throughout the manuscript) and 2<sup>nd</sup> (at line 16) employed raised letters in addition to other modes to indicate abbreviations. At least three horizontal folds are traceable in addition to several vertical ones. These produced long strips of 1-1½ cm. each. There is an extra space of about 2 cm. between lines 1-2.

Owing to the loss of a considerable part of the papyrus sheet at left it is quite difficult to reconstruct the manuscript in detail. Still it seems that Aurelius Pouaris is concluding a land-lease with a woman, somehow related to Ko... (his daughter?) through the agency of one Flavius Ioannes. The exact relationships between this probable

<sup>169</sup> The following parts are missing from the dating formula which usually occupies 2-4 lines of the opening of documents in the Byzantine period: the name of the emperor; an invocation; some of his titles; the regnal year, month and day, the indiction and its number. See 19.1 and note to line 1 *infra*.

daughter of Κο... (the lessor), Flavius Ioannes (the agent), and the κόμης τῶν καθορισμένων δομειτικῶν (the count of the household troops) cannot be properly established due to the fragmentary state of the opening lines of 19. It is impossible to gather from the extant text the duration of the tenure (line 7) or the rate of the rent.<sup>170</sup> Aurelius Pouaris promises to use his own beasts of burden and to fulfill his obligations according to the contract, even in case the leased land is left uninundated by the yearly flood of the Nile.<sup>171</sup> Pouaris acknowledges that the document has been read out to him and that he acquiesces to everything that it stipulates. Then the son of Paulus, the village elder, signs the contract on his behalf, since Pouaris is illiterate.

The village Τερῦθις is mentioned once in 19.11. Earlier (line 5) the remnants of the name of a nome are preserved: ...]πολείτου νόμου. Calderini, *Dizionario* IV iv 400, lists four different villages named Terythis attested in papyri from Byzantine Egypt. The four were located in the Oxyrhynchite, Apollonopolite, Antaiopolite and Cynopolite nomes.<sup>172</sup> The ending in line 5 excludes the Oxyrhynchite nome, which leaves us with three possible locations for the village mentioned above. In the list of 694 land-leases, published up to 1967, compiled by D. Hennig (1967), 225 belong in the Byzantine period. Neither the Apollonopolite nor the Cynopolite nomes are represented in this group of papyri. On the other hand, 50 were concluded in the Antaiopolite nome (all from the VI century, mostly Aphrodito and Phthla). The hands and phrasing link 19 to the VI century too. Terythis, alluded to in 19, then, was probably located in the Antaiopolite nome. This village might have been the provenance of

<sup>170</sup> In land-leases from Byzantine Egypt the rent was paid in kind, cash or both. See Taubenschlag (1955) 357; Shelton (1968) 86; Montevecchi (1988) 216; *P.Herm.* 26.7-11: cash and kind (V century CE); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1968.5-6: only kind (VI century); *BGU* II 364.13-14 (CE 553) and I 303.16-21 (CE 568) both only cash. See also 20 footnote 181. In Byzantine land-leases φόρος could be used for both modes of payment. See Herrmann (1958) 98-100; Hennig (1967) 3-5, Rupprecht (1994) 122 and note to line 14 *infra*.

<sup>171</sup> Since it was impossible to foretell the Nile's annual rise, lessors and lessees took measures to protect themselves against possible calamities, each in his own interests. See Westermann (1921) 184. For the yearly flood see 13 *introd.*

<sup>172</sup> For the Cynopolite Terythis see Litinas (1994) 161-62.

one of the parties involved in 19. Alternatively it could have been the location of the leased property. See note to line 11 *infra*.<sup>173</sup>

The contract was written in the form of a χειρόγραφον. This kind of document is styled like a private letter with an address including the usual greeting χαίρειν (line 5).<sup>174</sup>

Most of the land-leases concluded during the VI-VII centuries were cheirographa.<sup>175</sup> The address and application were usually pompous. Writing in such terms was quite out of place up to the IV century, not yet fully developed in the V, but can be amply found in documents from the VI century. Such leases of the IV century were still relatively rare, using very few superfluous adjectives, while VI century contracts tend to be long and rhetorically decorated.<sup>176</sup>

**P.Berol. inv. 25360**  
**29.2x12.9 cm. (Pl. 19)**

**Antaiopolite Nome (?)**  
**VI-VII centuries CE**

- [βασιλείας ±5 τοῦ Αἰωνίου Αὐγο]ύστου Αὐτοκράτορο(ς) ἔτ[ου  
[±13 NN ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κόμι]τι τῶν καθοσιωμένων δομεστικῶν  
[±16 τῆς τοῦ ἐνδόξου μνήμης Κο.[.]ητο(ς) δι(ὰ) Φλ(αοῦ)ου  
Ἰωάννου  
4 [±6 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πουάρεως ἐ]κ πατρὸς Μακαρίου(ν) ἐκ  
μητρὸς Γ.ι.ι.τος  
[ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης Τερύθειας τοῦ ±5]πολείτου νομοῦ χαίρ(ειν).  
Ὁμολογῶ ἐκουσίως  
[καὶ αὐθαιρέτως μεμισθῶσθαι παρὰ τῆς ε]ῆς  
μεγ[α]λοπρεπείας δι(ὰ) τοῦ προγεγραμμένο(ν)  
[Φλ(αοῦ)ου] Ἰωάννου ±7 ἐπὶ ... ἔτη χρό]νον λογιζόμενον ἀπὸ  
γενήματος τῆς  
8 [±3 σὺν θεῶ ±10 ἰνδικ(τίονος) καὶ αὐ]τῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐξῆς

<sup>173</sup> There are numerous instances of lessors and lessees coming from different villages, or even different nomes. See *P.Cair.Masp.* III. 67301.5-11. (CE 531). There the lessor was from Aphrodito, while the lessee came from the village Τανναῖθις (Apollonopolite nome. See WB III 331).

<sup>174</sup> See Herrmann (1958) 46-54 where the main characteristics of the Byzantine cheirographa are discussed.

<sup>175</sup> See Herrmann (1958) 43. This is clearly seen in his list of documents (pp. 280-87, nos. 90-198), and in Hennig (1967) 319-354, nos. 522-660.

<sup>176</sup> See Herrmann (1958) 48-50.



- χρόνο(υ) τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐτῇ  
 [κτῆμα/γεώργιον/χωρίον ±20] οἱ μετ' ἐγγυητοῦ Φιλοξένου  
 αιλεντιαρίου  
 [±27] ἐριγ c[ὺν] διμοίρῳ μέρει τοῦ ἐκεῖσε λάκκο(υ)  
 [±27] κώμης Τερύθως κλήρου Σηρβηνε  
 12 [±4 τὴν ἐργασίαν ποιήσασθαι ἰδί]οις μοῦ ζώοις καὶ  
 ἀναλώμασι καὶ διδόναι  
 [οἱ ὑπὲρ ἀποτάκτου φόρου κατ' ἔτος ἐν τ]ελείῳ καὶ  
 ἀβροχικῶ, ὃ μὴ εἶη, εἶτο(υ)  
 [καθαροῦ x number of ἀρτάβαι μέτρῳ cῶ φο]ρικῶ  
 ἀναμφιλόγως. ἢ μίσθως(ις)  
 [κυρία καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολό]γ(ησα).  
 Μ. 2<sup>nd</sup> Αὐρήλιος Πουάρης Μακαρίου Σ  
 16 [ὁ προκ(είμενος) μεμίσθωμαι ὡς πρό(κειται) ±7]...ης  
 Παύλο(υ) πρεσβ(ύτερος) ἀπὸ κώμης  
 [Τερύθως ἀξιωθεῖς ἐγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτ]οῦ γράμματα μὴ  
 εἰδότης.  
 [Μ. 1<sup>st</sup> ±21 δι' ἐμοῦ] Ἐρμαί(ου).

3 Pap. Ἰωαννου 4 Pap. Τ.ἰ.ἰτος 5 Pap. Ὁμολογῶ 8 Pap. ὑπαρχον  
 15 Pap. Σ (see note ad loc.)

In the ... year [of the reign of ... the perpetual] Augustus, Emperor ...  
 to the comes of the household troops ... Κο... of [famed] memory  
 through Flavius Ioannes ... [from Aurelius Pouaris] his father being  
 Makarius, his mother T.i.itos [from the village of Terythis, the  
 Antaio]polite nome, greetings. I agree, that I have willingly [and of  
 my own free choice leased from] your magnificence through the  
 aforementioned [Flavius Ioannes, for] the period of ... years, counted  
 from the produce of ... [the coming ... Indiction] ... inclusive and in the  
 time after that [the piece of land] belonging to her ... with the surety  
 Philoxenus the silentarius ... together with the share of two thirds of  
 the pond therein ... the Serbene kleros of the village Terythis ... [to do  
 the work] with my own beasts of burden and at my own expense, and  
 to hand over [to you the rent of a fixed amount year by year] whether

the land is inundated or dry, may it not happen, of wheat [pure, x number of artabs by your measure for] rendering rent, without dispute. This lease [is valid and guaranteed, and in answer to the formal question] I have given my consent. M. 2<sup>nd</sup> I, Aurelius Pouaris son of Makarius [the aforementioned, have taken the lease as set forth]. I, ... son of Paulus, elder from the village [of Terythis, having been requested, have written] on his behalf, since he is illiterate ... M. 1<sup>st</sup> [Written by me] Hermaius.

1 Αὐγο]ύετου Αὐτοκράτορο(ε) ἔτ[ουc: Line 1 suggests, that Hermaius employed a regnal formula in 19. Such dating formulas fell into disuse during the IV century, Bagnall and Worp (2004) 251, but were revived by Justinian sometime after CE 537, who combined consular and regnal dating formulas. Only after his death (CE 565) documents dated solely by the emperor can be found. See Bagnall and Worp (2004) 213-216; 257-71; *PSI* IV 283.1-4 (CE 550) – regnal and consular; *SB* VI 9085.1-3 (CE 579) – only regnal; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67111.1-3 (CE 581) – regnal and consular; *SB* VI 9085.1-4 (CE 589) – only regnal. Owing to the poor state of preservation of this part of the manuscript it is impossible to decide, whether 19 carries a double or a single (only regnal) dating formula. Any date between CE 540 and the end of Byzantine rule in Egypt (CE 642) is possible. See Ostragorsky (1957) 103. On the other hand, if the same clerk, Hermaius, wrote *P.Hamb.* I 68 (CE 550), *P.Lond* V 1692 a+b (CE 555-56), *P.Michael.* 46 (CE 559) and 19, it might be safer to date it into the second half of the VI century CE.

2 κόμι]τι: For similar formulas see: *SB* I 5273.2 (CE 487); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1982.4 (CE 497); 2019.1 (VI century); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 32.2 (CE 504). κόμιτι: See *WB* III Abscht. 8 p.126 s.v. κόμεc; Meinersmann (1927) 27; Daris (1991) 57-58 both κόμεc and κόμηc. μεγαλοπρεπέστατος would also fit in the lacuna preceding κόμηc. τῶν: Relying on the formula used in the texts cited above, τῶν would be expected. However, there are some superfluous strokes of ink around the nu which remain unaccounted for. δομετικῶν: Lewis and Short (1879) s.v. domesticus; Meinersmann (1927) 14-15. The whole formula stands for "the count of the household troops". See Bell (1948) 122. Jones (1964) II 636. See also next note.

3 τῆς τοῦ ἐνδόξου μνήμης: A typical reverent reference to the deceased usually preceded by an appropriate adjective. In 19 one ending with a genitive in ου is necessary here, or: ὁ δεῖνα υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ περιβλέπτου μνήμης NN. See WB II 112 s.v μνήμη; III Abscht. 9 s.v. περίβλεπτος.

Κο.[.]ητο(ς): For possible restorations of Byzantine proper names see NB: Κοσμήτος (nom. Κοσμής); Κόμητος (Κόμης); Κοπμήτος (Κοπμής).

δ(ιὰ): Owing to its faint color of ink, it appears as if this word was squeezed in, after the writing of the document had been completed. For some more similar abbreviations see *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104.2 (CE 530); *P.Prag.* I 39.12 (end of the VI century CE).

Φλ(αουίου): For other versions of this name see Gignac (1976) 230; Meinersmann (1927) 101. In Byzantine Egypt the names Flavius and Aurelius (line 4) carried a kind of a status designation. Those economically better off, those who worked for the imperial administration, or served in the army usually adopted Flavius. The vast masses of the population, farmers, workmen and others, could only take Aurelius. Thus in land-leases, or loans the Flavii usually have the better side; they are lessors, or creditors, whereas the Aurelii occupy the other appearing as lessees or debtors. See Keenan (1974) 301-302. Nevertheless see Zilliagus (1947) 4; 9; 12; 14 (= *SB* VI 9085 - VI-VII centuries CE). In three leases here the lessor is Aurelia Aphthonia. This might have been the result of intermarriage between families from different social status. See Keenan (1974) 302.

Ἰωάννου: for the use of diaeresis here and at 19.4; 9 see 13.5 and note ad loc.

Φλ(αουίου) Ἰωάννου: This agent is once more alluded to at line 7. Owing to the large number of incidents where agents are found doing business for clients, not always on behalf of women or children, at times churches or monasteries, as in *P.Lond.* V 1690.3 (CE 527) and in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67111.5 (CE 585), it seems that this was an acceptable procedure in Byzantine business activities. See also *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104.2 (CE 530); *PSI* IV 283.6 (CE 550). The phenomenon of women

doing business on their own came to be a matter of fact in this period, legally authorized. See *P.Lond.* III 870 (p. 235 – IV century CE); *P.Herm.* 22 (CE 394); and *SB VIII* 9085 (VI-VII CE). Nevertheless, incidents of women represented by a κύριος did not entirely disappear. 19 probably was one of these cases. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104.2-3 might offer another example where a daughter of one Ioannes is represented by Flavius Menas. Maspero (p.161-62) remarks that this could have been a guardian, probably because the girl was unmarried. The daughter(?) of the deceased Ko... in 19 might have been in a similar position.

6 τῆς εἰς μεγ[α]λοπρεπείας: For the employment of such circumlocutions in Byzantine documents see Herrmann (1958) 49. Other variations were: θεοσέβεια - *P.Lond.* V 1690.6 (CE 527); εὐδοκίμεια - *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67301.12 (CE 531); θαυμασιότης - *P.Grenf.* I 56.7 (CE 536); εὐγένεια - *SB VI* 9085 (CE 565). The superior position of lessors might have posed another reason for this kind of language on the part of the lessees. See Shelton (1968) 84 and note to line 3 (Φλαουίου).

προγεγραμμένο(υ): The pi corrects another letter probably first written on the papyrus.

7 ἐπὶ ... ἔτη χρόνον: See *P.Grenf.* I 56.7 (CE 536); *P.Lond.* III 1006.8-9 (CE 556) for the restoration. πρὸς ... χρόνον is also possible. See *P.Flor.* III 281.8 (CE 517); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67107.6 (CE 540?).

ἀπὸ γενήματος: ἀπὸ καρπῶν was more frequently used. γενῆμα equals καρποί in this context. See Comfort (1934) 436.

8 καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐξῆς χρόνο(υ): See *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67109.19 (CE 565); III 67301.15 (CE 531). As for καὶ αὐτῆς see Comfort (1934) 437.

8-9 τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐτῆ/ κτῆμα/γεώργιον/χωρίον]: For these possible restorations see *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67300.8 (CE 526 – κτῆμα); I 67107.8 (CE 540 – γεώργιον); *P.Flor.* III 315.6 (CE 435 – χωρίον).

9 μετ' ἐγγυητοῦ Φιλοξένου αλεντιαρίου: For similar constructions see *P.Oxy.* LXI 4132.41-41 (CE 619); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 51.7 (CE 631). The eta of ἐγγυητοῦ, written somewhat over the upsilon, resembles the one of αὐτῆ at the end of the previous line. Hermaius, the scribe, made a similar slip of the pen in προγεγραμμένου (line 6) writing the pi over another letter previously inscribed.

αλεντιαρίου: Not attested in papyrological documents. See WB Meinersmann (1927); WB Supp. 1 and 2; Daris (1991). Latin: *silentarius*, a court official whose function was to see to domestic silence. In the *Codex Justiniani* he is presented as a high officer at court, a kind of a privy-councilor. See LSJ 1598; Lewis and Short (1879) 1698: *Cod. Jus.* III 28.30. The *Silentiarii* also functioned as ushers at meetings of the consistory held within the palace, and as imperial messengers. See Jones (1964) II 571-72; III 164.

Φιλοξένου: 19 does not offer enough details to account for the mentioning of this person (the guarantor of the sale) here, his connection to the people, place, or the transaction proper. Was he the owner of the *kleros* of line 11? What were his relations with the κόμης of line 2?

10 ε[ὺν] διμοίρω μέρει τοῦ ἐκεῖσε λάκκο(υ): For a similar phrase see *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67110.31-32 (CE 565). μετὰ τοῦ is also used (in place of εὺν) as in *P.Lond.* III 1012.31-32 (P. 266 - CE 633) and in *P.Herm.* 34.11-12 (VII century CE). For λάκκος see *P.Herm.* 34.12; *P.Hamb.* I 23.17 (CE 569) and notes ad loc.; Westermann (1920)b 131 and footnote 6 ad loc.

11 Τερόθεως κλήρου Cηρβηνε: Could this be the leased property? κλήρος in this context means a farm. See *P.Michael.* 46.13 (CE 559) and note ad loc.

Cηρβηνε: No such name is available in the standard name-lists: NB; Meinersmann (1927); Pape-Benseler (1959); Foraboschi (1966). WB I κλήρος, III Abs. 23 and Supp. 1-3 do not list such a *kleros*, neither do Calderini, *Dizionario* and Supp. 1-2. It could have been a distortion of a Roman name as for instance Cηρῆνος, Cεουηριάνος or the like. See

Meinersmann (1927) 97. Lewis and Short (1879) record Servianus. So do NB and Foraboschi (1966) s.v. *Κεουηριάνος*.

12 τὴν ἐργασίαν ποιήσασθαι ἰδίῳις μου ζώοις καὶ ἀναλώμασι: This formula describing the expenses which the lessee undertakes to pay, phrased in the dative case, is characteristic of leases concluded at Hermopolis. See *P.Herm.* 34.30-31 and note ad loc.; *SB VI* 9085 and note in Zilliacus (1947) 8. See *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67300.10-11; I 67109.34-35 for similar formulas in Aphrodito. Nevertheless, the genitive is also used as in *P.Michael.* 46.12-13 (CE 559).

13 καὶ ἀβροχικῶ, ὃ μὴ εἶη: The rent was fixed (ἀπότακτος) and was paid even if the leased land remained uninundated. It could not be changed either. See Westermann (1921) 182; Taubenschlag (1955) 361. See Abd-el-Ghany (1988) 295-99 for a discussion of taxing of state ἀβροχος γῆ in Roman Egypt.

14 μέτρῳ κῶ φο]ρικῶ: It seems that the rent in 19 was paid in kind as in *P.Flor.* III 281.17 (CE 517), *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67109.39 (CE 565) and in *PSI IV* 283.20 (CE 550) where similar phrases are employed.

14-15 ἡ μίθωσις) ... ὁμολόγη(σα): For the restoration see *BGU II* 900.28-29; *P.Cair.Masp.* 67104.17-18. A tiny fraction of the right part of the gamma survived (at the beginning of line 15), indicating that this section of the confirmations and signatures was originally there. See Herrmann (1958) 51.

15 S: This symbol is written in the right margin facing both lines 15 and 16. The beginning of line 16 did not survive and it is restored only in accordance with parallel texts. See for instance *BGU I* 303.21-22 (586 CE); III 900.27-29. Consequently it is impossible to decide whether S was in some way connected with line 15 or line 16, or whether the scribe wrote it at this particular spot for other reasons.

16 ...ης Παύλο(υ) πρεσβ(ύτερος): Judging by his handwriting the son of Paulus, the village elder, who was asked to assist Pouaris, might have been one of those half illiterates, described by Youtie,

(1973)b 621-22, who laboriously memorized a couple of formulas, using which they ratified or signed receipts and other documents.

17 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότης: In the Byzantine period illiterates used to sign documents by putting down three crosses. See *P.Ross.Georg.* III 33.22 (CE 523); Shelton (1968) 49; 55. This, however, was not a compulsory procedure, since there are examples of illiterates not signing their documents at all, but relying on others to do this act for them. See *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67301 (CE 531); *P.Lond.* V 1692a (CE 555); *P.Michael.* 46 (CE 559).

18 δι' ἐμοῦ] Ἑρμαί(ου): A part of the signature of Hermaius might have been extended into the interlinear space between lines 17 and 18. Similar instances may be found in Diethart and Worp (1986) in the *Tafelband* pp. 27 (Herm. 5.10.1); 47 (Oxy. 21.2.1, where the normal space between the lines in this document can be seen for comparison); 57 (Herk. uns. 25.2.1). Applying to professional clerks was another characteristic of the cheirographon. See Herrmann (1958) 45-46. These clerks, the *tabelliones*, charged with drawing documents, were supervised by the government. See Shelton (1968) 87. See also 20.8 and note ad loc. In some documents the ending formula was written in Latin as well as in Greek. See *BGU* III 364 (CE 553).

## 20. FOUR BYZANTINE TAX RECEIPTS: ANOTHER MAGISTOR TEXT

The light brown papyrus shows small and medium size holes produced by worms and broken corners at left. The original margin of about 1 cm. partly survived here. While at bottom the papyrus sheet was torn off with considerable damage to the manuscript, at top and right the margins were preserved in a fragmentary state. Nevertheless, it appears that the papyrus was intentionally cut here before or right after the text was written. **20** bears four tax-receipts. Despite its state of preservation three of the texts (**a**, **c**, **d**) are nearly complete. Only text **b** was seriously damaged, though it can be adequately restored too. All four receipts were written by a professional clerk, one Kollouthos. The hand, clearly Byzantine, is very cursive and ornate with long slanting letters, chi and the abbreviation strokes in particular, yet difficult to read. The texts run against the fibers (↓), the other side (→) is blank. One horizontal fold running between the upper and lower texts is visible; another, vertical and slanting, is close to the left side of the papyrus. Owing to the fragmentary state of preservation of the papyrus other folds could not be discerned.

The practice of writing several documents on the same papyrus was no irregularity.<sup>177</sup> The four receipts on **20** attest the payments of various sums of money (in gold) to the *λόγος δημόσιος* for taxes called *ἀννῶνα καὶ κανονικά*. All the payments are effectuated by agents, who pay on behalf of four people presented as their brothers and verified by the *διαστολεύς* and the *boethos logisteriou*. The texts are full of abbreviations as receipts in Roman and Byzantine Egypt typically were.<sup>178</sup> **20** seems to be a collective copy of the receipts given to the brothers/agents of the taxpayers at the moment of payment. For reasons yet unknown, it seems that another kind of document was usually issued sometime after the writing of the receipts. This time it was only an attestation reconfirming the actions mentioned in the first text.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>177</sup> For similar examples see *BGU* III 791 (CE 205); *P.Lond.* V 1692 (CE 555-56); *P.Havn.* III 64 (VI century CE). See also *P.Lond.* III 1310 introd. p.250 (VII century CE).

<sup>178</sup> See Bell (1951) 429 and *P.Havn.* III 64 introd. p.74.

<sup>179</sup> See Wipszycka (1971)a 115. **20** probably records the original receipts given to the taxpayers' agents on different occasions during the first indiction (CE 627). For



The ἀννώνα was the most important land tax imposed on farmers and land owners in Byzantine Egypt.<sup>180</sup> This tax was exacted in gold, χρυσικά.<sup>181</sup> There were three installments per year. *P.Haun.* III 64 introd. p. 75 (VI century CE), however, has only two. The κανονικά probably consisted of a group of taxes, the best known of which are the largitionalia. These too were land taxes paid in gold and in three annual installments as well.<sup>182</sup>

A clear cut distinction must be made between this annona and the amounts of wheat and barley annually collected in Egypt during harvest season, shipped to Rome and later to Constantinople. The latter, another annona, or annona civica, had no connection with the taxes in question here.<sup>183</sup> The annona civica consisted mainly of the quantities of cereal grain collected under the ἐμβολή, a tax on the production of wheat and barley, which was exacted in kind.<sup>184</sup>

The κεράτιον (carat), 1/24<sup>th</sup> of the solidus, is the currency used to pay taxes in 20. Before the V century CE it was used as a unit of weight. In the VI century, however, it appears as the standard fraction of the solidus and the acceptable unit of account.<sup>185</sup> Taxes, prices, and other monetary transactions were usually calculated in gold. The

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examples of the verification documents see Wipszycka (1971)a 105-107 (*SB* XII 10902 and 10903).

<sup>180</sup> Segre (1942-43) 441; el Abbadi (1981) 511.

<sup>181</sup> All taxes paid in gold were referred to likewise. See Johnson and West (1949) 320. Boak (1944-45) 28, discussing IV century tax-receipts, states that taxpayers had an option of paying either in cash or in kind. See *BGU* XII 2143; *SB* VII 9606; *P.Lond.* V 1759-60 (chart 1 infra), where the payments are in kind. All the other texts listed in chart 1 attest payments in cash. See also Casson (1938) 275. From Bagnall, (1993) 153-60 (pp. 155-58 in particular), it appears that taxes in IV-V centuries CE and even later were payable in cash and in kind. See also 19, footnote 170.

<sup>182</sup> For ἀννώνα see Johnson and West (1949) 283, 300; *P.Haun.* III 64 introd. pp. 74-75. For κανονικά see *W.G.R.* 222; Johnson and West (1949) 275-76; 309-310; *CPR* VII 29 introd.

<sup>183</sup> Segre (1942-3) 441-42.

<sup>184</sup> *WB* I s.v. ἐμβολή (3): III Abschn. 11 (Abgaben, p. 236); Segre (1942-43) 439; Johnson and West (1949) passim.

<sup>185</sup> Bagnall, (1985)a 10, attesting *P.Amst.* I 53 (CE 433), observes that it was used as such as early as CE 433; see also Johnson and West (1944) 129; el Abbadi (1981) 511.

actual payments from a certain sum down were made in subsidiary coinage that is bronze.<sup>186</sup>

Calderini, *Dizionario* II iv 298, cites two villages named Thynis: one in the Hermopolite nome, the other in the Thebaid. The first is attested from the II century BCE into the VIII CE. Citations for the second, however, go as late as IV century CE only. Since 20 is from the VII century, it is apparent that the text at hand was located in the Hermopolite nome. See also Gascou in *P.Sorb.* II p. 60 and the map on p. 59.

The list of parallel documents can be divided into two groups: a) receipts attesting payments for only one of the two taxes discussed above (annona or canonica) and/or for other taxes; b) receipts confirming payments for both annona and canonica together.<sup>187</sup>

Chart 1 will show these two groups, the officials which endorsed the payments in the documents and the changes that took place in this field during V-VII centuries CE.

#### Key

dias – diastoleus; boethos – boethos logisteriou; apait – apaitetes; logo – logographos.

**Chart 1. Documents attesting the taxes  
and the activity of various officials**

No.	Text	Group	Date (CE)	Dias	Boethos	Apait	Logo
1	<i>SPP VIII</i> 1277	b	V	+	-	-	-
2	<i>BGU XII</i> 2143	a	V	+	-	-	-
3	<i>SPP III</i> 297	?	V-VI	+	-	-	-

<sup>186</sup> See Johnson and West (1944) 123, 127; Bagnall, (1993) 156-59, for a collection of IV-V century taxes.

<sup>187</sup> The form of the documents in both groups is described in detail by Rees in *P.Herm.* 41 introd. p. 81.

No.	Text	Group	Date (CE)	Dias	Boethos	Apait	Logo
4	<i>SPP III</i> 298	?	V-VI	?	?	?	?
5	<i>P.Lond. V</i> 1758	b	first half VI	+	-	+	-
6	<i>P.Herm.</i> 41	b	VI	+	-	-	-
7	<i>SB XII</i> 10904 <sup>a</sup>	b	VI	-	+	-	-
8	<i>SB VI</i> 9606 <sup>b</sup>	a	VI	+	-	-	-
9	<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1310 <sup>c</sup>	a	VI	+	-	-	-
10	<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1322 <sup>d</sup>	b	VI	+	-	-	-
11	<i>P.Lond. V</i> 1740 <sup>d</sup>	a	VI	+	-	+	-
12	<i>P.Lond. V</i> 1759 <sup>d</sup>	a	VI-VII	+	-	-	-
13	<i>SB XII</i> 10905	b	VI-VII	-	-	-	+
14	<i>CPR VII</i> 29.1-4	b	608/609	-	+	-	-
		b	608/609	+	-	-	-
	5-7 <sup>c</sup>						
15	<b>20a</b>	b	627	+	+	-	-
16	<b>b</b>	b	627	?	?	-	-
17	<b>c</b>	b	627	+	-	-	-
18	<b>d</b>	b	627	+	-	-	-
19	<i>P.Herm.</i> 85	a	VII	-	+	-	+
20	<i>P.Lond. V</i> 1760	b	VII	-	+?	-	-

**Notes to chart 1.**

a) The official here is just the boethos.

b) A fragment supplying the ending of this receipt was published by Fournet (1989) 88-89.

- c) See note 189 *infra*. Another receipt of an identical form, probably written on the same papyrus sheet, was left out by the editor.  
 d) See note 189 *infra*.  
 e) Lines 5-7 present another receipt of a similar form.

It appears from chart 1 that the role of the diastoleus<sup>188</sup> in confirming such payments dwindled from the end of the VI century onwards. The boethos logisteriou, an official occasionally encountered in these receipts, seems to have shared the powers of the diastoleus in managing the demosios logos during the VII century (probably even earlier). In several documents the same person holding both offices is found.<sup>189</sup>

In addition to the above the boethos logisteriou also took part in controlling the cadastre, concluding leases of public land: he participated in composing various kinds of documents; directed the transportation of wheat and signed receipts.<sup>190</sup> The diastoleus appears in three of the four receipts composing 20. Twice he is alone (c and d); once (a) the posts of diastoleus and boethos logisteriou are both, presumably, held by the same person, Magistor. This Magistor collaborates with Kollouthus, who is the scribe of all four receipts on 20. This, however, is not the first time for these two people to work together. Text no. 8 on chart 2 in which Magistor functions as a boethos logisteriou was also written by a Kollouthus. *SB XVI 12264* (CE 628 - no. 10) was written by a similar hand, probably Kollouthus

<sup>188</sup> This official had two important functions, among others: a) receiving payments for various charges and taxes; b) overseeing public land transactions. See *P.Heid.* IV 308 (CE 369-70) pp. 111-12 and 114.

<sup>189</sup> According to Wipszycka (1971)a 111 the diastoleus and the boethos logisteriou both were in charge of the demosios logisteriou during the VII century. Sijpesteijn (1981) 98 delineating the curriculum vitae of one Magistor (on whose identification see *infra*) lists eight documents covering a period of about forty years (CE 591-628). To these *SB XVI 12999* (CE 626 - chart 2) ought to be added. The said Magistor functions in all nine texts first as a diastoleus. At the turn of the century he becomes a boethos along with his former position. In the last two documents, (dated 626; 628), he holds the position of boethos logisteriou only. Sijpesteijn's description strengthens Wipszycka's approach. Accordingly, *P.Lond.* III 1310; 1322 and V 1740 (chart 1 nos. 9-11), issued to the same taxpayer, Nona daughter of Olympiodorus, by the same diastoleus, Phoibammon, where this official acts on his own, ought to be dated into VI rather than VII century.

<sup>190</sup> See Johnson and West (1949) 174-75; Wipszycka (1971)a 111.

too. Thus there are at hand three documents with identical hands, apparently all inscribed by Kollouthus. This makes 20 an integral part of the Magistor dossier of papyri (chart 2).

To determine the date of 20 it is necessary to revise Sijpesteijn's list (note 189 *supra*). *SB XVI 12999* and 20 should be added as nos. 8 and 9, promoting the original no. 8 (CE 628) to become no. 10. In the period covered by the Magistor documents (CE 591-628) "the first indiction" of 20 could fit three different years: CE 597; 612; 627. Yet, of the said nine texts, in only two does he cooperate with the scribe Kollouthus: the new nos. 8 and 10 (chart 2) dated CE 626 and 628 respectively. Consequently CE 627 ought to be preferred as the first indiction year of 20.

Chart 2. The Magistor dossier

No.	Text	Indiction	Date (CE)
1	<i>SPP III 42</i>	10	591
2	<i>P.Laur. III 110</i>	3	600
3	<i>P.Lips. 90</i>	3	600
4	<i>P.Laur. III 77</i>	7	603
5	<i>P.Berol. 21967<sup>a</sup></i>	12	608/609
6	<i>CPR VII 29</i>	12	608/609
7	<i>P.Wurzb. 19</i>	10	622
8	<i>SB XVI 12999<sup>b</sup></i>	14	626
9	20	1	627
10	<i>SB XVI 12264</i>	2	628

a) Unpublished as yet. Thanks are due to Prof. H. Maehler, who sent me a transcription of this text at the late Dr. Brashear's request.

b) Sijpesteijn (1982) 117 presents it as covering CE 625/26 (clearly following the Egyptian year beginning August and ending July of the following year). Pharmouthi 20 of the 14 indiction (line 4) assigns this document to April 15 CE 626. Bagnall and Worp (2004) 156, however, equate this 14<sup>th</sup> indiction with CE 625 only.

P.Berol. inv. 25135  
 Nome 15x10 cm. (Pl. 20)

Thynis, Hermopolite  
 CE 627

a

[† δέ]δω[κ]εν ὄν(όματος) Ἡρακλ( ) Πεκ[ύ]αι(ος)  
 [δ(ιὰ) το(ῦ) ἀ]δελ(φοῦ) Κωνσταντίνο(υ) εἰς λόγ(ον)  
 [δημο]σί(ων) ἀννων(ῶν) κα(ὶ) κα[νο]νικ[ῶν]

- 4 [π]ρώτη(ε) ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(νος) Ἄντωνίο(υ) Κ(?) ††  
 ἀπὸ Θύνεω(ε) χρυσο(ῦ) κεράτι(ον) ἐν ἡμῶν  
 τέταρτον γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) κ(εράτιον) α<sup>Ld</sup> ῥ(υπαρὸν)  
 δοθ(έν) δ(ιὰ) το(ῦ)  
 Μαγίστωρος βο(ηθοῦ) λογιετ(ηρίου) † Μαγίστωρ  
 8 (ἐ)ξ(η)μ(ειώ)θην .. διαστ(ολεὺς) † δι' ἐμοῦ Κολλούθου  
 κυ(μ)φ(ωνῶ) †

b

† δέδωκεν ὄν(όματος) Ἡρακλ[( )] Πεκύαι(ος) δ(ιὰ) το(ῦ)  
 ἀδ[ε]λ(φοῦ)

- Κωνσταντίνο(υ) υἱο(ῦ) Ἄντωνίο(υ) ἀπὸ Θύν(εως)  
 [εἰς] λόγ(ον) δημοσί(ων) ἀννων[(ῶν)] κα(ὶ) κ[ανονικ(ῶν)]  
 12 [π]ρώτη(ε) ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(νος) χρυσο(ῦ) κεράτι(ον) [ἐν...  
 [γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ)] κ(εράτιον) α.δ<sup>η</sup>† Μαγίστωρ  
 † δι' ἐμοῦ Κολλ[ού]θου κυ(μ)φ(ωνῶ) †

c

† δέδωκεν ὄν(όματος) Θεοδώρ(ου) Πεκύαι(ος)

- 16 δ(ιὰ) το(ῦ) ἀδελ(φοῦ) Κωνσταντίνο(υ) υἱοῦ)  
 Πεκύαι(ος) Κουληρα( ) ἀπὸ Θύνε(ως)  
 ε[ἰ]ς λόγ(ον) δημοσί(ων) ἀννων(ῶν) κα(ὶ) κανονικ(ῶν)  
 πρώτη(ε) ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(νος) χρυσο(ῦ) κεράτι(ον) ἡμῶν  
 20 ὀγδόου γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) κ(εράτιον) <sup>Lη</sup>† Μαγίστωρ  
 (ἐ)ξ(η)μ(ειώ)θην διαστ(ολεὺς) † δι' ἐμοῦ Κολλο(ύ)θου  
 κυ(μ)φ(ωνῶ) †

d

† δέδωκε[ν] [ὄν](όματος) Θεοδ( ) Ἡλιοδώρ(ου)

- δ(ιὰ) το(ῦ) ἀδελ(φοῦ) Κωνσταντίνο(υ) υἱοῦ) Κωνσ(?)  
 24 ἀπὸ Θύν(εως) εἰς λόγ(ον) δημοσί(ων) ἀννων(ῶν) κα(ὶ)  
 κ[αν]ονικ(ῶν) πρώτη(ε) ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(νος) χρυσο(ῦ) κεράτι(ον)

[ἦ(μικ)]  
 ὀγδόου † γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) κ(εράτιον) ἡ̄ † Μαγίστωρ  
 (ἐ)ε(η)μ(ειώ)θην διαστ(ολεὺς) † δι' ἐμοῦ Κολλούθου  
 ε(υ)μφ(ωνῶ) [†]

13, 20, 26 Pap. 4 = 1/8.

a

† Herakl( ) son of Pekysis in his own name has paid [through his] brother Constantinus to the account of public charges for the annona and the canonica of the first indiction for Antonius K(?) from (the village of) Thynis one gold carat and one half and one quarter gold carats, equals  $1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4}$  base gold carats. Delivered through his excellency, Magistor, the assistant at the accounts department. † I, Magistor, cashier, have signed; confirmed by me, Kollouthus†

b

† Herakl( ) son of Pekysis in his own name has paid through his brother Constantinus son of Antonius of (the village) Thynis [to] the account of public charges for the annona and the canonica of the first indiction [one and ... ] carats, [equals]  $1 + \dots + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$  [gold] carats † I, Magistor ... [Confirmed] by me, Kollouthus†

c

† Theodor( ) son of Pekysis in his own name has paid through his brother Constantinus son of Pekysis Koulera(?) from (the village) of Thynis to the account of public charges for the annona and the canonica of the first indiction one half and one eighth gold carats; equals  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8}$  gold carats. † I, Magistor, cashier, have signed; confirmed by me, Kollouthus†

d

† Theod( ) son of Heliodorus in his own name has paid through his brother Constantinus son of Cons(?)... from (the village of) Thynis to the account of public charges for the annona and canonica of the first indiction [one half] and one eighth gold carats, equals  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8}$  gold

carats. † I, Magistor, cashier, have signed. Confirmed by me Kollouthus†

1 †: This sign has several functions in 20: a) it designates the beginning and ending of the document; b) it points out the ending and beginning of sentences or paragraphs (line 7 for instance); c) it functions as an abbreviation symbol - as in line 7: βo† = βo(ηθoῦ); d) it fills in empty space at the ends of lines in order to prevent uncalled-for additions and forgery (line 4). This practice was exercised in the Roman period too. See Sijpesteijn in *P.Customs* p. 13; Herrmann (1958) 46-47. Moreover, illiterates in the Byzantine period used to sign documents putting down three crosses. See Shelton (1968) 49; 55.

δέ]δωκεν ὀν(όματος): See *P.Herm.* 41.1 introd. and note ad loc.; Wipszycka (1971)a 107. Alternatively - ὄνομα. See *SPP* III 297-98; *P.Lond.* V 1740. Both ὄνομα and ὀνόματος could be followed by proper names in the nominative or the genitive cases in these contexts. See the texts listed in chart 1 supra. For δέδωκεν ὀνόματος see Metzger (1961) 28; Préaux (1965) 480; Youtie (1973)a 919 note 40; Fournet (1989) 89. For a wide discussion of the various uses of ὀνόματος see Gascou in *P.Sorb.* II 69 pp. 30-32.

Ἡρακλ( ): See previous note. Genitive Ἡρακλ(είου), and nominative Ἡράκλ(ειος) would fit in this context. See Préaux (1965) 480. Another possibility is Ἡρακλ(είδης). Both forms of the name were common in Byzantine Egypt. See NB; Foraboschi (1966).

2 [δ(ιά): Designates the agent or person who actually paid the taxes on behalf of the taxpayer. See Ljungvik (1932) 29 for some more examples. But for two, nos. 2, 7, chart 1, all the other receipts have the same arrangement. No. 4 is incomplete.

Bell in *P.Lond.* V 1758.1 and note to διὰ ad loc. suggests that the agent might be a landowner collecting payments from his coloni and delivering them to the government. As far as the authorities were concerned the patron, not the colonus, was responsible for paying the taxes. See Johnson and West (1949) 29. In Bell's case the patron was a monastery. Similarly in the six extant receipts of *P.Haun.* III 64 the



agent is the house (οἶκος) of a certain Timagenes. The house collects taxes from a hostel (ξενοδοχείου Παυλακίου) presumably for a piece of land, which, so it appears, was leased by the hostel, but belonged to the house. This, however, is not the case in all the above mentioned receipts. In *P.Lond.* V 1760.1 two brothers act as the agents. Similarly, the agents in 20 a-d are presented as brothers of the taxpayers, not their patrons (see next note). For a discussion of the relations among religious institutions and bodies like a xenodochion see Husson (1974) 176.

ἀ]δελ(φοῦ) Κωνσταντίνου(υ):

Text	Taxpayer		Agent		Place
	name	father	name	father	
a	Herakl(?)	Pekysis	Constantinus	?	Thynis
b	Herakl(?)	Pekysis	Constantinus	Antonius	Thynis
c	Theodorus	Pekysis	Constantinus	Pekysis	Thynis
d	Theod( )	Heliodorus	Constantinus	Cons(?)...	Thynis

The two taxpayers of a, b and c are sons of the same father, Pekysis. So is the agent of c. Theod( ) d has a different father. This might have not been the case of patron and coloni, since four of the eight(?) people mentioned above were probably members of the same family. See previous note. The circumstances of life in a tiny community or a small cell within a village like the house of Timagenes (*P.Haun.* III 64) could create family-like relations among the members of a group. A similar situation could have developed within groups of farmers cultivating large areas of land together, perhaps a koinon, for which see Johnson and West (1949) 153; hence the habit of addressing close friends, partners, or associates as brothers. See also Yadin (1961) 44; Hobson (1989) 172-73.

2-3 λόγ(ον)/ [δημο]σί(ων): This is the village treasury, which dealt with collecting taxes, issued leases of state lands, and generally controlled all finances belonging to the government. See Johnson and West (1949) 97-98.

3 ἀνω(ων): ἀνωτικῶν is also possible. See *P.Herm* 41.4 and *P.Haun.* III 64 (1, 2, 6).

4 [π]ρώτης: The curve of the lower part of the rho can be clearly seen above the ἀπό at the beginning of line 5.

ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(νος): See Bell (1951) 431 for the abbreviation.

5-6 ἐν ἡμῶν/ τέταρτον: This and presumably the payments in (b - line 13) are more than twice as large as the payments in (c - lines 19-20) and (d - lines 25-26). Two explanations are possible: 1 the pieces of land taxed in a + b were larger than those in c and in d; 2 two installments are paid in a and in b as against one in c and in d.

6 δοθ(έν): See *SB* XII 10902.1 and XVI 12264.2.

8 δι' ἐμοῦ: Details concerning the scribe occasionally accompany this phrase: his office, father's name. See *P.Heid.* IV 308.14 and note. See further 19.18 and note ad loc.

13 The lacuna following the alpha in this line probably contained the sign <sup>l</sup> = (1/2). A dot at the upper part of the papyrus facing the lacuna from its left side is all that remained. Since the numeral preceding the lacuna is α (one) and the one following it is δ (1/4), this might be the best possible restoration. Herakl( ), then, must have paid 1 + 1/2 + 1/4 + 1/8 (in sum 1 7/8 gold carats). The two dots following the delta belong to the upper part of a sign <sup>u</sup> meaning 1/8. It is inscribed in full at line 20 (text c). See *BGU* I p.352 (siglen). Above them a horizontal stroke is located. Immediately following is the horizontal part of the cross indicating the end of this paragraph.

17 Πεκύσι(ος): Alternatively Πακύσιος, both rare in Byzantine papyri.

Κουληρα( ): Probably a name accompanying Πεκύσις, though no entries were found in the standard name-lists from Roman and Byzantine Egypt.

20 ὀγδόου: Johnson and West, (1944) 165, remark that the commonly used fractions of the carat were 1/2 and 1/4. The eighth part thrice employed in 20 (lines 13; 20; 26) was rare in Byzantine Egypt.

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\*The bibliography serves also as a list of abbreviations for the books and articles cited all along this volume.

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- Zilliacus (1947): H. Zilliacus, "Late Byzantine Land-Leases from Hermopolis", *Societas Scientiarum Fennica* XIV 3 (1947) 1-16.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the United States from its discovery to the present time.

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## INDICES



## Indices

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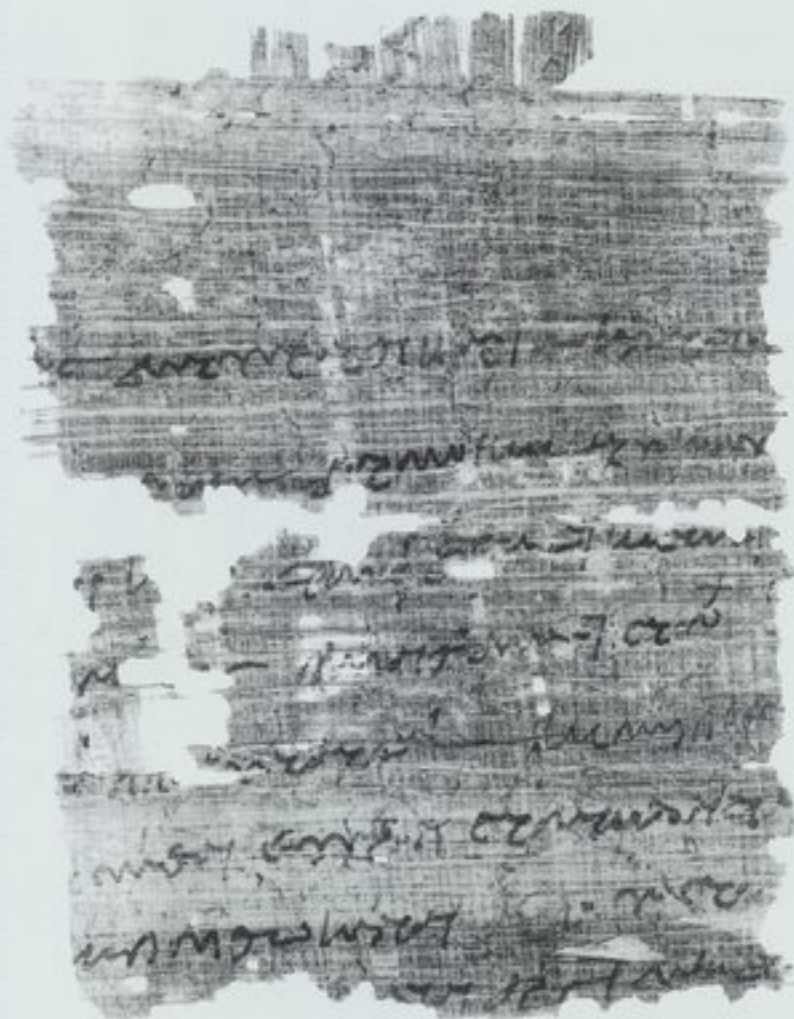
PLATE 19

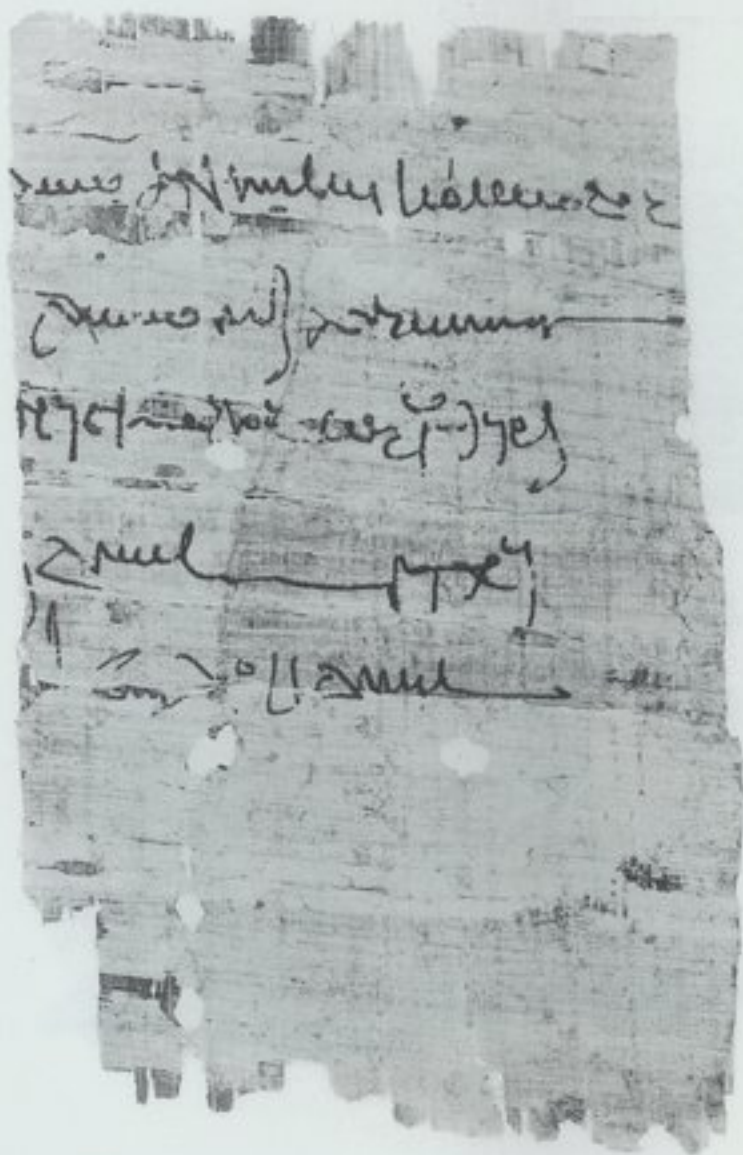
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50. *...*





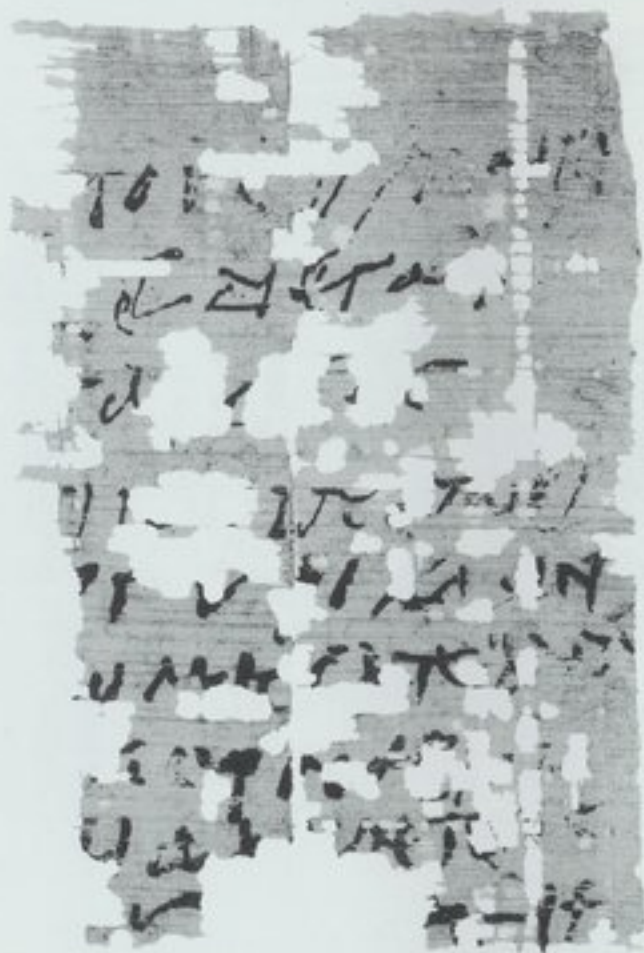
Fragment of papyrus with five lines of handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is written in dark ink on a light-colored, fibrous material. The lines are roughly horizontal and contain several characters, some of which are difficult to decipher due to the cursive style and the fragment's condition. The fragment is rectangular and has a slightly irregular, torn edge at the bottom.



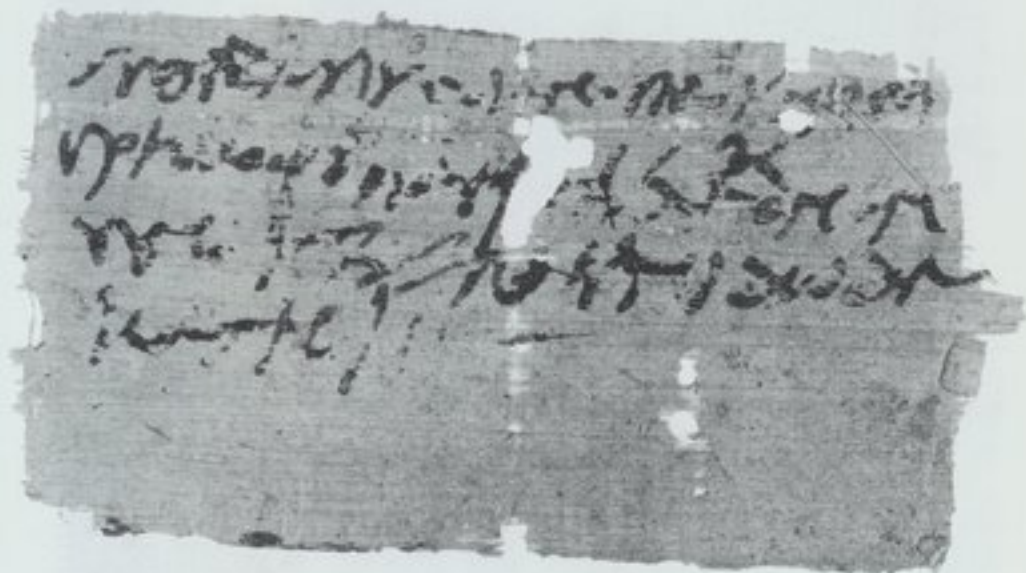












Fragment of a papyrus scroll with approximately 24 lines of ancient Greek text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is significantly damaged, with several large holes and areas of loss. The fragments are arranged in two main sections, with a gap between lines 18 and 19. The text is oriented vertically on the page.

10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24





10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of Greek text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by a dark, irregular stain. The fragment is oriented vertically on the page.







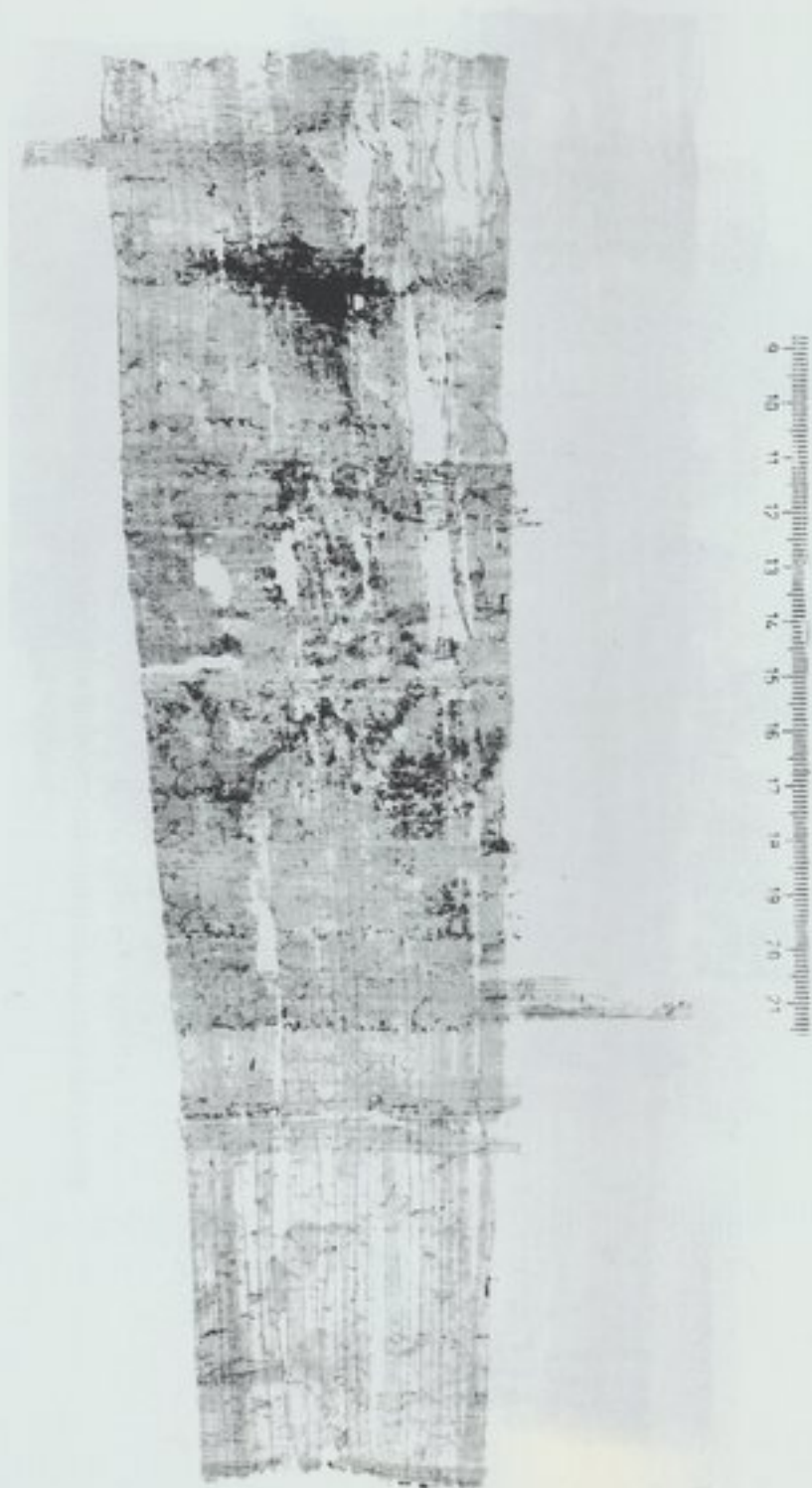




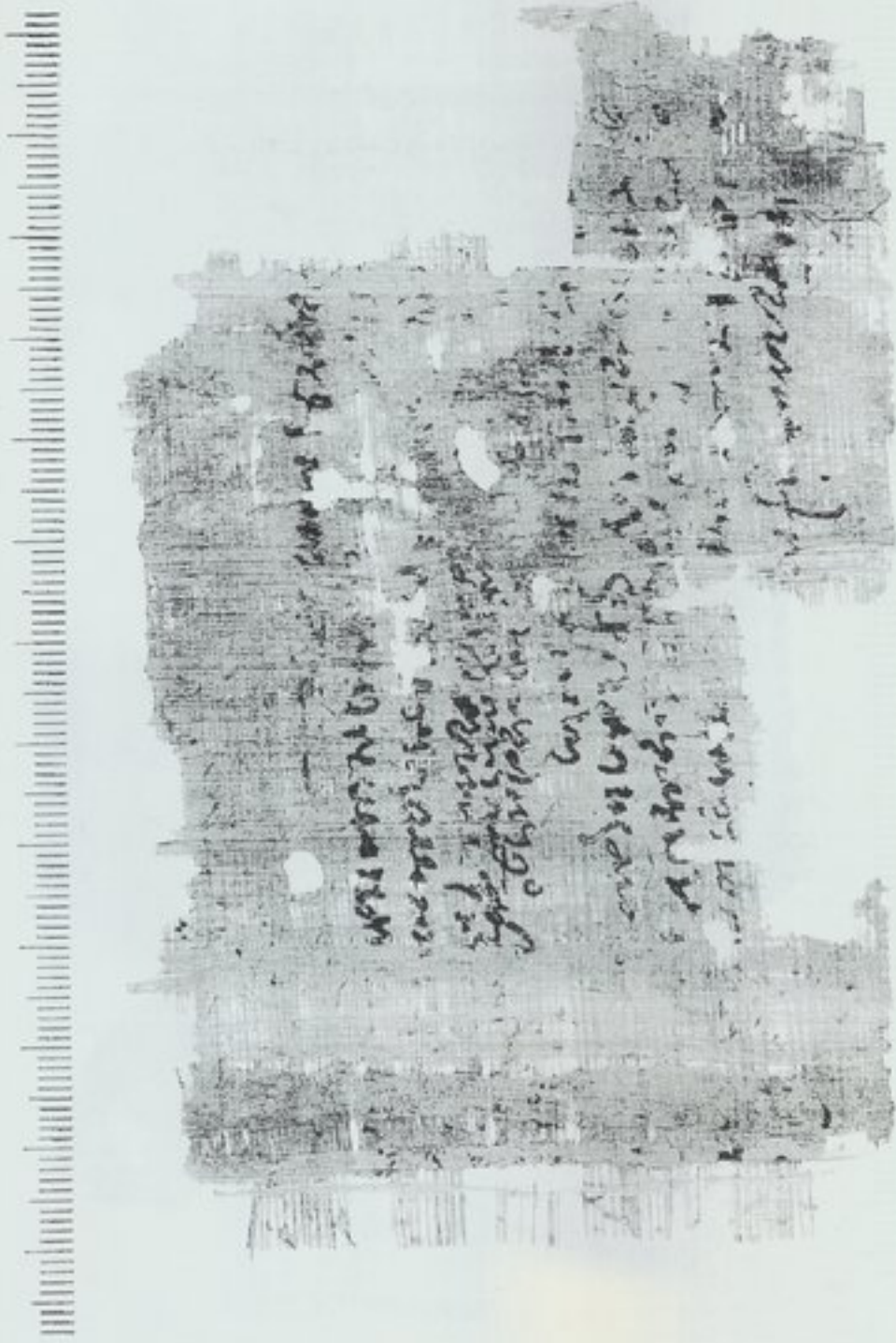
ραφιδουραυλ  
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 ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΥ  
 ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΥ  
 ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΥ













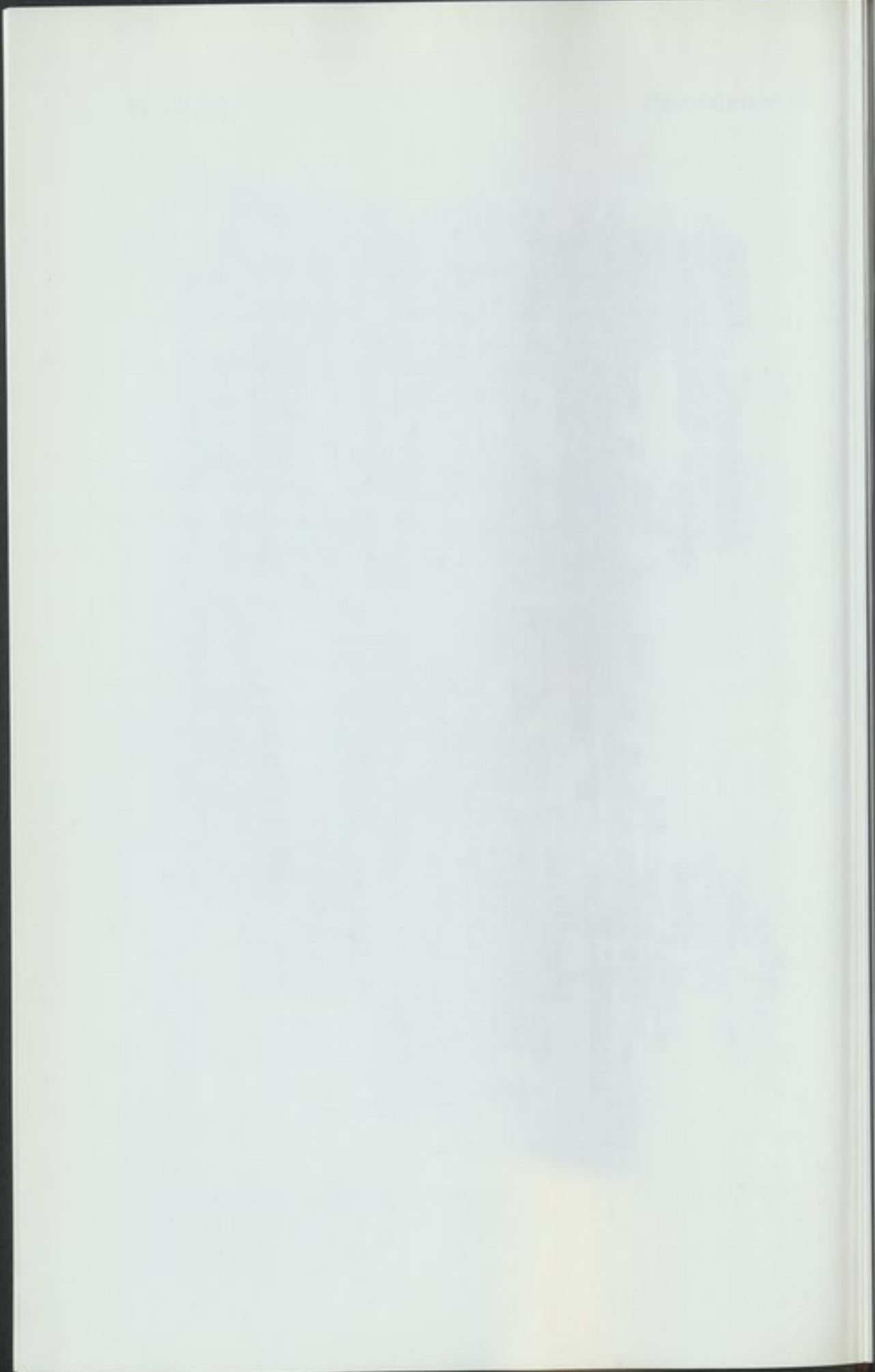
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 100

[Faded handwritten text, likely a list or index, with some legible words such as "15", "20", "25", "30", "35", "40", "45", "50", "55", "60", "65", "70", "75", "80", "85", "90", "95", "100" and various symbols and characters.]



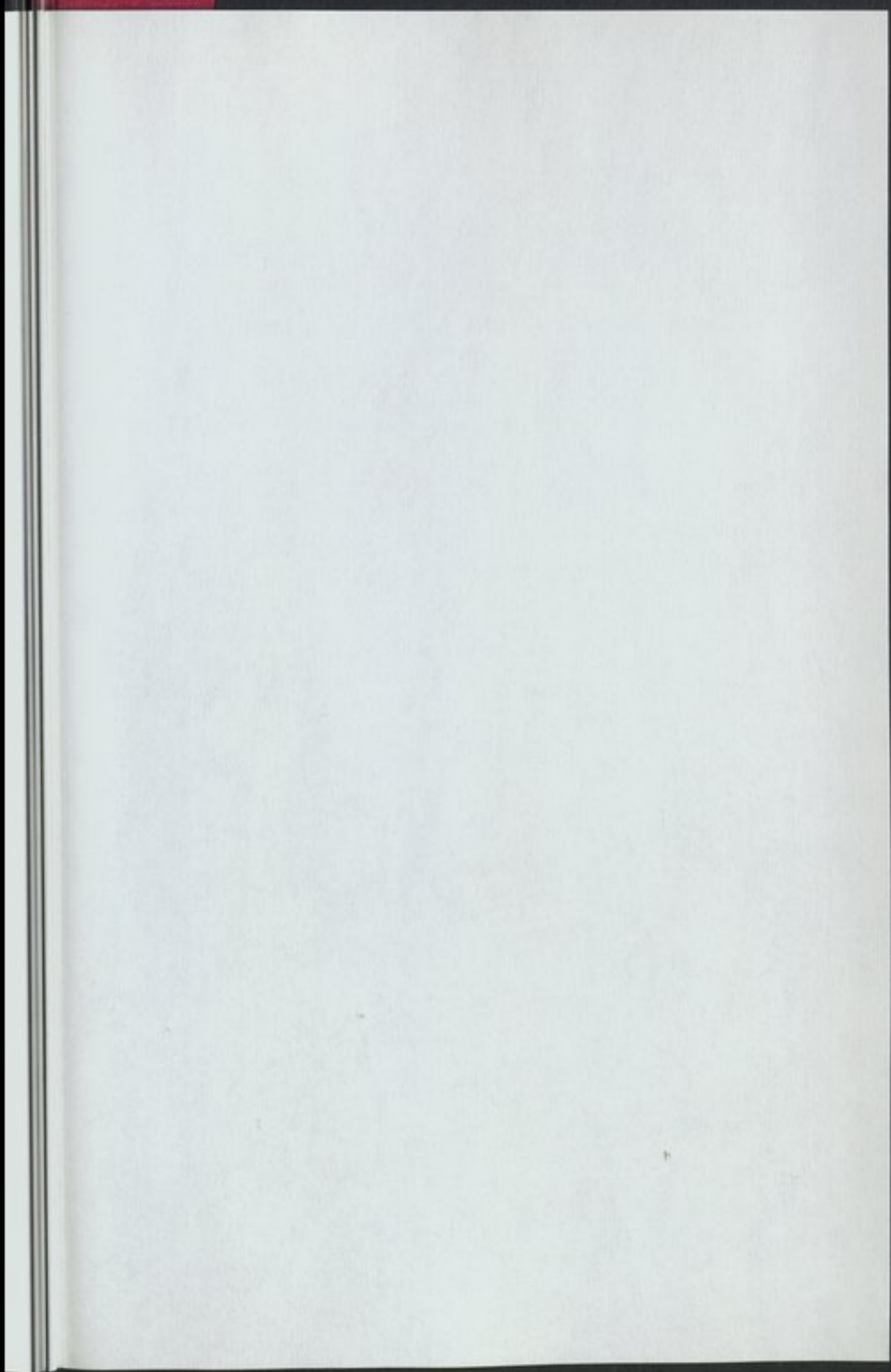


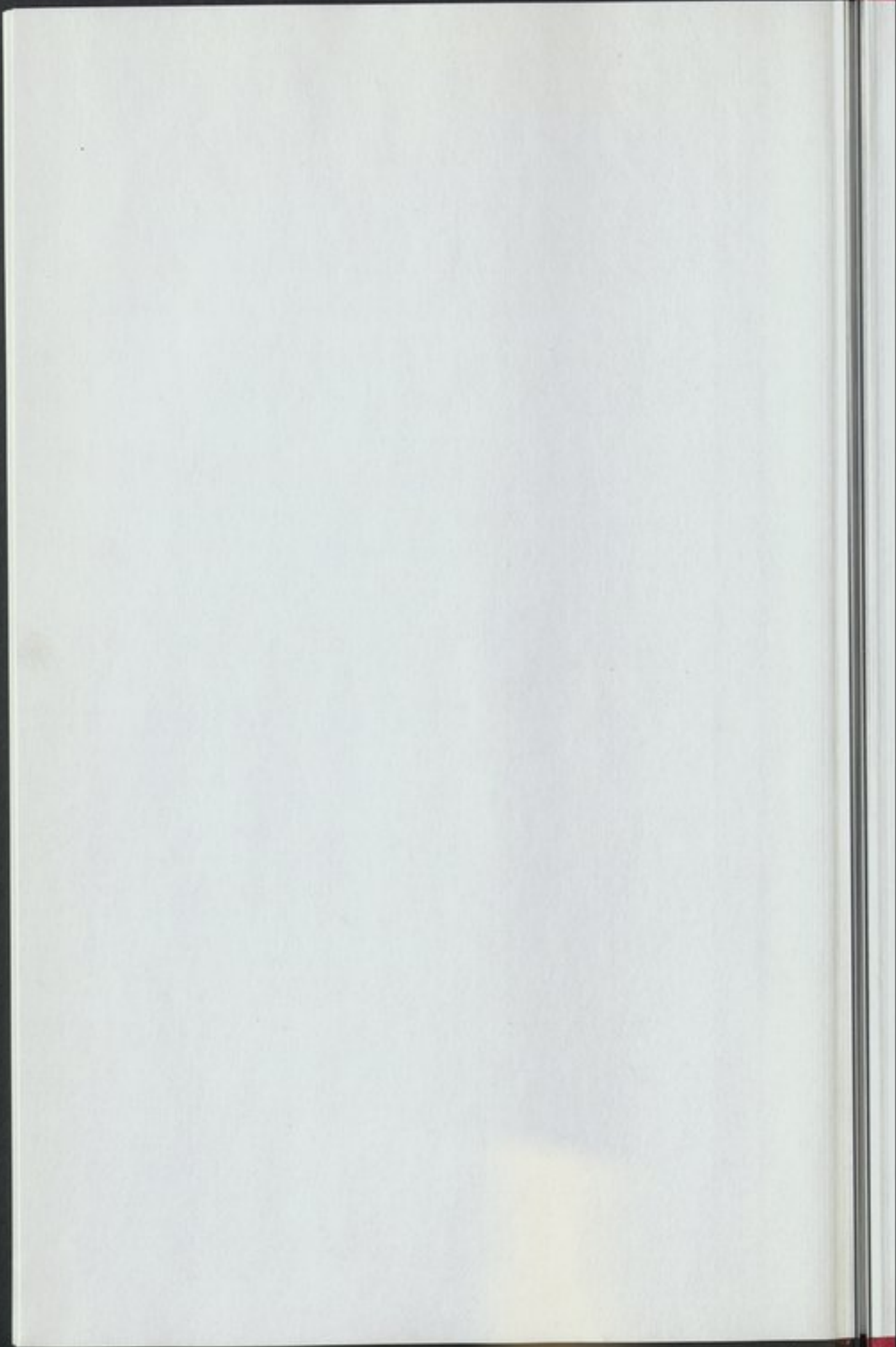
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