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## *An edition of unpublished Greek papyrus documents from Roman Egypt*

Hassan Mohammed Abdalla Elmaghrabi

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis consists of the first edition of fourteen previously unedited documentary Greek papyri belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society, London. The papyri all come from Egypt during the period when it was part of the Roman Empire, and range in date from the first century A.D. to the sixth century A.D. Eight of them concern the issuing of seed-corn by the Roman authorities to the farmers and these texts are preceded by a general introduction in which this practice is discussed. Texts 1-5 are applications sent in by the farmers to the authorities requesting the issue of seed-corn; three of them belong to the year A.D. 99 and number 4 is from the same regnal year A.D. 99/100, whereas number 5 is a much later example and dates from the early third century A.D. Texts 6-8 are orders from the authorities to the distributors of seed-corn to proceed with the issuing of the appropriate amount of seed-corn to the farmers. All these three texts date from the year A.D. 99 and may well be the orders corresponding to the applications preserved in Texts numbers 1-3.

Texts 9-14 are of a miscellaneous character. Text number 9 dates from the same period as numbers 1-8; it is probably an application for the refund of the price of requisitioned wheat which the farmers have supplied to the government. Text number 10 is

an offer to lease land, which dates from the very end of the second century A.D. and has several peculiarities in its format. Texts numbers 11-12 are undertakings by a sailor to serve on the boats which are transporting corn from the Arsinoite nome. These texts, and number 13, a receipt for the return of the boat, all date from the reign of the emperor Gallienus. Finally, number 14 is a receipt for wages which belongs in the sixth century A.D. The thesis is completed by an index of Greek words contained in the papyri.

AN EDITION OF UNPUBLISHED GREEK PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS  
FROM ROMAN EGYPT

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the University of Durham  
Department of Classics

by

Hassan Mohammed Abdalla Elmaghrabi

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December, 1982



22. MAY 1984

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The papyri edited in this thesis belong to the Egypt Exploration Society, London. I am very grateful to the Society for permission to edit them here. I wish to thank Dr. R. A. Coles for providing some of the photographs. I wish also to extend my particular thanks to my supervisor, Dr. J. D. Thomas, for showing me my first papyrus and teaching me how to read it, and for his constant help, continuing patience and advice. My thanks go also to Professor Gavin B. Townend for his moral support and encouragement, and to the Head and Staff of the Department of Classics. I tender my warmest thanks to Mrs. J. L. Kennett, my typist, for coping with a difficult manuscript.

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## NOTES ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION

The method of editing the texts and the editorial signs used are conventional and follow normal procedure in the publication of papyrological texts:

- [    ]    lacuna
- [[    ]]    deletion in the original
- <   >    omission in the original
- {    }    superfluous letter or letters
- (    )    resolution of a symbol or abbreviation

Dots within square brackets indicate the approximate number of letters missing, likewise † with numeral; dots outside brackets represent traces of illegible letters; dots placed under letters indicate that those letters if standing alone would be unidentifiable. A blank space within parentheses indicates an abbreviation the resolution of which cannot be determined; a blank space within brackets indicates a lacuna of which the number of missing letters cannot be determined.

In the critical apparatus are to be found the symbols which are resolved in the text and the corrections of unusual errors in spelling.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Volumes of papyri are cited according to the generally accepted conventions, for which see, e.g., E. G. Turner, Greek Papyri; An Introduction, 2nd edition [1980], pp. 159-179. Abbreviations of periodicals are those used in *L'annee philologique*; otherwise they are stated in the list, which also includes other abbreviations.

<u>Archiv</u>	<u>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</u>
<u>ASP</u>	<u>American Studies in Papyrology</u> Toronto, Hakkert.
<u>Berichtungsliste</u>	See Preisigke
<u>Chr. d'Eg.</u>	<u>Chronique d'Égypte</u>
<u>Dizionario</u>	See Calderini
<u>Et. Pap.</u>	<u>Études de Papyrologie.</u> Le Caire.
<u>GD</u>	See Wilcken
<u>GRByz. Stud.</u>	<u>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.</u> Durham, N.C., Duke University.
<u>LSJ</u>	See Lidde  , Scott and Jones
<u>Namenbuch</u>	See Preisigke
<u>Onomasticon</u>	See Foraboschi
<u>PW</u>	Pauly-Wissowa, <u>Real-Encyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft</u>
<u>Spoglio</u>	See Daris
<u>TAPA</u>	<u>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</u>

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TEXTS 1-8:  
DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE ISSUE OF SEED CORN

General Introduction

Agriculture was always the backbone of the Egyptian economy and life in antiquity. The fertile soil of Egypt yielded a variety of agricultural products.<sup>1</sup> Cereals, which represented the essential and largest part of the Egyptian diet,<sup>2</sup> were mainly produced in Egypt and wheat was the first amongst them.<sup>3</sup>

When the Romans took over Egypt after the death of Cleopatra, Augustus annexed it to the empire of the Roman people.<sup>5</sup> Though Egypt became one of the Roman provinces, it was kept under the personal watch of the Roman Emperors, who took the place of their predecessors the Ptolemies as far as the Egyptians were concerned.<sup>6</sup> To increase the exploitation and efficiency

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1. See M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten [1925], Ch. 4 pt. 4 and Chs. 5, 6, 7;  
A. C. Johnson, Roman Egypt to the reign of Diocletian [Econ. Sur. Anc. Rome 2] [1936], pp. 1-7.

2. See M. Rostovtzeff, 'The Foundations of Social and Economic Life in Egypt in Hellenistic times', JEA 6 [1920], p. 163;  
D. J. Crawford, 'Food, tradition and change in Hellenistic Egypt', World Archaeology 2.2 [1979], pp. 136-146.

3. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 94 ff;  
Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 1-2, 481 ff;  
N. Hohlwein, 'Le blé d'Égypte', Et. Pap. 4 [1938] pp. 78, 90-115;  
cf. C. Michurski, 'Les avances aux Semailles et les Prêts de Semences dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine', Eos 48.3 = Symbolae R. Taubenschlag, 3 [1956], pp. 106-33.

5. See Res gestae Divi Augusti, 27.

6. See Rostovtzeff, SEHRE, pp. 274-5;  
H. I. Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest [1948], pp. 65 ff.



of the agricultural resources in Egypt, Augustus employed the Roman army in rebuilding the irrigation system<sup>7</sup> and also encouraged the private ownership of the lands in order to reclaim waste and abandoned land on a large scale.<sup>8</sup> The Romans made special regulations for the administration of the country based on the previous system.<sup>9</sup> By doing so they tried to ensure the flow of the revenues of Egypt to Rome, whether in money or in kind.<sup>10</sup>

So far as the flowing of the revenues in kind to Rome is concerned, the Egyptian grain was one of the most important sources which contributed to the feeding of Rome.<sup>11</sup> The annual flood of the Nile,<sup>12</sup> with its fertile

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7. See Suetonius, Divus Augustus 17, 18.
  8. See F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire (1925), pp. 35, 37; Rostovtzeff, SEHRE, pp. 287 ff; For the land categories in the Roman period, see U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde 1.1 (1912) pp. 286-309; Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 (1938), pp. 40-53; S. L. Wallace, Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian (1938), pp. 1-10.
  9. See P. Jouguet, La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine (1910), Ch. 3.5; Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 28-65; J. G. Milne, A History of Egypt under Roman Rule<sup>3</sup> (1924), Ch. 7; Rostovtzeff, SEHRE, pp. 273, 286 ff; A. H. M. Jones, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces (1971), pp. 309 ff.
  10. See Johnson, Roman Egypt, Ch. 4; Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, Ch. 18.
  11. See Aurelius Victor, Epitome de Caesaribus, 1.6; L. A. Seneca, De Brevitate Vitae, 19.1; M. Rostovtzeff, 'Frumentum', PW. 6 (1912), Coll. 132-6; Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 400-1, 481-93; Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, pp. 336 ff; Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 (1938), pp. 103-15; Geoffry Rickman, The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome (1980), pp. 113-8, 231-5.
  12. See D. Bonneau, La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne à travers mille ans d'histoire [332 av. - 641 ap. J.-C.] (1964), pp. 29-45, 364-5.

waters' deposit and the proper irrigation of the land on which the agricultural economy of Egypt depends, was the paramount factor in calculating accurately the expected crops and the revenues from Egypt accordingly.<sup>13</sup> It was the Nile which created the arable Nile valley, that long passage which stretches from the south (upper Egypt) to the north, and which spreads in a Delta, with its marshes and swamps, along the Mediterranean.<sup>14</sup> Because of the various levels of the land and irrigation problems which differ from one district to the other, the Nile Valley and the Fayum were more important for cultivation than the marshy and swampy Delta.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, a great deal of the country's wheat came from the Nile Valley and the Fayum.<sup>16</sup>

It was the prefect who, as soon as the height of the flood was known, fixed the tribute to be exacted from the arable lands in each nome according to the survey of the land and the amount of water covering the fields or not

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13. See Strabo, 17 1.48;  
 Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 7-25;  
 Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], Ch. 3;  
 Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, p. 336;  
 Bonneau, Le fisc et le Nil. Incidences des  
 irregularités de la crue du Nil sur la fiscalité  
 foncière dans l'Egypte grecque et romaine [1972].
14. See Strabo, 17 1.4.
15. Cf. Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], Ch. 3;  
 Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 7-25.
16. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 94 ff;  
 Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 1;  
 Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], p. 78.

covering it all.<sup>17</sup> This fixing of the tribute was determined annually according to the real height of the flood and varied from one year to another.<sup>18</sup> In practice, the fixing of the tribute was established on the basis of the average flooding for a certain number of years.<sup>19</sup> The practice was the subject of severe measures from certain prefects amongst whom was Tiberius Julius Alexander.<sup>20</sup>

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17. See Strabo, 17 1.48;  
 Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 503-15;  
 Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], pp. 81-2;  
 cf. Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, p. 29 and n. 5;  
 Bonneau, Le fisc et le Nil, pp. 152-3, 169.
18. Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], p. 81;  
 Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 30-1, 481 ff;  
 Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, pp. 8 ff., 32-3, 337 ff;  
 Bonneau, Le fisc et le Nil, p. 169.
19. See Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], p. 81;  
 cf. Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 30.
20. See Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], p. 81;  
 Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, pp. 31-3;  
 Bonneau, Le fisc et le Nil, pp. 165-71.

How the Government issued loans of Seed-corn

The issuing of loans of seed-corn to the royal farmers *Βασιλικὸὶ γεωργοί*<sup>21</sup> by the king in the Ptolemaic period was a not uncommon practice, and it was done in order to secure that the land should be sown whatever the farmers' circumstances might be and that the seed should be of good quality.<sup>22</sup> In the Roman period, the limited sources of applications and orders concerning the issuing of loans of seed-corn to the public farmers might have led to the diversity of opinions. A. C. Johnson believes that the issuing of loans of seed-corn to the public farmers, in general, was probably due to a poor harvest in the preceding year and that there is no evidence that it was a normal practice by the government, but there were loans of seed-corn to individual applicants, and that farmers preferred to use their own seed in normal times and so avoided the

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21. See M. Rostowzew, Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates [1910], pp. 47 ff, 62 ff; Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 27, 274 ff; E. Bevan, A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty [1927], pp. 145-7; Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], pp. 35-6; Cl. Préaux, L'économie royale des Lagides [1939], p. 438; M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World 1 [1941], p. 278.
22. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 127-8; Bevan, History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, p. 145; F. Heichelheim, 'Sitos' PW Suppl. 6 [1936], Coll. 844 ff; Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], pp. 78 and n. 5, 90-102; Préaux, L'économie royale, pp. 119-21; Rostovtzeff, SEHWW, p. 279; Michurski, Eos 48, 3 [1956], pp. 105-38; See also Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Le bordereau d'ensemencement dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque [1967], passim.

government interest charges on loans of grain.<sup>23</sup>

N. Hohlwein questioned whether the issuing of loans of seed-corn occurred annually or only when the harvest was bad in the previous year, thinking that normally the farmer must have preferred to use his own seed to avoid the government's expensive loans. To him, in case of general distribution of loans of seed to the farmers, the question was reduced to a question of distributing loans of seed-corn based on demand. In this way, Hohlwein believes that the authorities fixed the total quantity of seed needed for the nome which was then advanced to the farmers in the form of loans.<sup>24</sup>

For the present state of our sources, it is appropriate to say that the issuing of seed-corn by the government to farmers of public land was a well-known phenomenon in Egypt in the Roman period and it is surprising that we do not have more texts which refer to it directly.<sup>25</sup>

Less than twenty texts which are either applications for seed-corn or authorizations to issue the corn are

23. See Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 18-9, 460-1;  
 cf. Rostowzew, Kolonat, pp. 216 ff;  
 Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 120-8;  
 Michurski, Eos 48, 3 [1956], p. 108;  
 D. H. Samuel, introduction to P. Coll. Youtie I 26.
24. See Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1937], p. 9;  
 cf. n. 23 above.
25. See Rostowzew, Kolonat, pp. 213 ff;  
 Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 18-9, 460-1;  
 Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], pp. 76 ff;  
 P. M. Meyer, introduction to P. Hamb. I 19;  
 D. H. Samuel, introduction to P. Coll. Youtie I 26;  
 A. C. Tomsin, introduction to P. Berl. Leihg. II 26;  
 Michurski, Eos 48, 3 [1956], pp. 105-38.

known to me from published papyri.<sup>26</sup> Since this thesis contains not less than eight texts of these two types, it can be seen at once that it adds substantially to our knowledge of the subject of the issuing of seed-corn. An examination and analysis of the texts allows us to know its general format and the various ways in which the documents are distinctive from each other and also may allow us to revise the opinions prevailing on this subject.

#### A. Applications for seed-corn

In order to obtain loans of seed-corn from the government the public farmers must go through the following procedures. The applicants have to write an application<sup>27</sup> in which they express their desire to receive a loan of seed-corn. The format of the applications, which are predominantly of the Oxyrhynchite nome, is usually

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26. Applications: see P. Coll. Youtie I 22 [A.D. 87/8];  
 26 [A.D. 156/7];  
 P. Hamb. I 19 [A.D. 225/6];  
 P. Oxy. VII 1031 [Nov./Dec. A.D. 228] = W. Chr. 343;  
 SPP XX 34 [A.D. 232/3];  
 P. Flor. I 21 [29 Nov. A.D. 239];  
 also P. Tebt. II 341 [A.D. 140/1];  
 Orders: see P. Lond. II 256 d and e, p. 97 [A.D. 11] =  
 W. Chr. 344;  
 P. Oxy. XVIII 2185 [A.D. 92];  
 P. Oxy. VII 1024 [A.D. 129];  
 P. Oxy. XLI 2956 [A.D. 148/9];  
 P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 [A.D. 167/8] = SB 10614 =  
 G. Poethke, Epimerismos, pp. 93 ff;  
 P. Strasb. 283 [A.D. 170];  
 cf. the acknowledgements P. Oxy. X 1262 [A.D. 197];  
 P. Oxy. Hels. 24 [Nov./Dec. A.D. 217].

27. Add to the applications in note 26 above P. Oxy.  
 ined. 1, 2 = 3, 4, 5.

like this: 1. The addressee; 2. The applicants;  
 3. The Request Clause; 4. The Loan is always from the  
 harvest of the previous year; 5. The current year;  
 6. The type of land; 7. The amount of land; 8. The  
 location of the land; 9. The amount of seed required;  
 10. The Sowing Clause; 11. The Repayment Clause;  
 12. The Oath; 13. The Subscription of the applicants;  
 14. The date; 15. The Annotation of the Komogrammateus.

The addressee is a government official, normally the  
 strategus,<sup>28</sup> the head of the nome administration, who  
 gives the decision on the distribution of the seed to  
 the state farmers according to the territorial plans of  
 seed distribution *μερικοί σπέρματων*;<sup>29</sup> these were  
 prepared from the official reports of the komogrammateus<sup>30</sup>

28. See Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 14, 37 ff., 77;  
 F. Dertel, Die Liturgie, Studien zur ptolemäischen  
 und Kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens [1917],  
 pp. 290-9;  
 Milne, A History of Egypt, pp. 126-8;  
 N. Hohlwein, Le Stratège du Nome, [1969]
29. In the Ptolemaic period, the government regulated the  
 cultivation of the royal land and there was a general  
 plan of distributing seed-corn to the royal farmers.  
 See Préaux, L'économie royale, pp. 117 ff;  
 R. Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the  
 Light of the Papyri [1955], pp. 658-60;  
 Michurski, Eos 48, 3 [1956], pp. 118-9, especially  
 n. 102; for the Roman period, see Michurski, Eos 48,  
 3 [1956], pp. 119-20.
30. For the komogrammateus, see Jouguet, La vie Municipale,  
 pp. 214 ff., 391 ff;  
 Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 84;  
 Dertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 157-60;  
 Milne, A History of Egypt, p. 130;  
 N. Lewis, Inventory of Compulsory Services [1968], s.v.;  
 E. G. Turner, The Papyrologist at Work [1973], pp. 32-47;  
 Z. Borkowski and D. Hagedorn, 'ΑΜΦΟΔΟΚΩΜΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ  
 zur Verwaltung der Dörfer Ägyptens in 3 Jh. n. Chr.',  
Le Monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux [1975], pp. 775-83;  
 J. D. Thomas, 'The Introduction of Dekaprottoi and  
 Comarchs into Egypt in the Third Century A.D.', ZPE 19  
 [1975], pp. 113-9.

to the nome's officials, and from the lists of the sitologus<sup>31</sup> concerning the quantities of grain delivered as seed-corn, and reports of returns in grain addressed to the strategus and returns of seed. In P. Coll. Youtie I 22.1 [Oxyrhynchite nome; A.D. 87/88], 26.1 [Apollonopolite Heptakomis; A.D. 156/7], P. Oxy. ined. 4.1 [A.D. 99/100], SPP XX 34.1 [Herakleopolite nome; A.D. 232/3], the official is the strategus.<sup>32</sup> In P. Hamb. I 19.1-2 [Oxyrhynchite nome; A.D. 225/6], the official is the basilikos grammateus, who was closely associated with the strategus but was probably independent. He is second to the strategus in the administration of the nome and sometimes acts as a deputy strategus in the case of the absence of a strategus, or when the office is temporarily vacant. His office was particularly involved in the financial side of the administration of the nome.<sup>33</sup> Shortly after the visit of the emperor Septimius

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31. See Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 153, 161; Oertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 250-7; Milne, A History of Egypt, p. 131; Z. Ali, 'Sitologia in Roman Egypt', JJP 4 [1950], pp. 289-307; Z. Ali, 'Upon Sitologia in Roman Egypt and the Role of Sitologi in its financial administration', Akten VIII intern. Kongr. Pap. [1955], pp. 17-22.
32. See Hohlwein, Le Stratège, Ch. 4 B; and n. 29 above.
33. See Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 38; E. Biedermann, Studien zur ägyptischen Verwaltungsgeschichte in ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit; Der βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς [Diss. Berlin 1913] (not seen); Oertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 168-71; Milne, A History of Egypt, pp. 128-9; Hohlwein, Le Stratège, pp. 48-56; J. G. Tait 'The Strategi and the Royal Scribes in the Roman Period', JEA 8 [1922], pp. 166-73; M. H. Eliassen-De Kat, 'Substitution of Strategus and Royal Scribes in Roman Period', Actes XV Cong. Intr. Pap. IV, [1979], pp. 116-23.

Severus to Egypt in A.D. 199-200<sup>34</sup> came his reform of the system of administration, including the establishment of the *βουλή* in A.D. 200,<sup>35</sup> and within a few years the boulai are mentioned in the metropolises of Egypt.<sup>36</sup> We find that P. Dxy. VII 1031 [Nov./Dec. A.D. 228] = W. Chr. 343 is addressed to two officials; an archiereus<sup>37</sup> and an agoranomus;<sup>38</sup> both men were elected by the boule to superintend the issuing of seed-corn (lines 4-5).<sup>39</sup> P. Flor. I 21 [Arsinoite nome; 29 Nov. A.D. 239] is also addressed to two officials; a cosmetes<sup>40</sup> and archiereus;<sup>41</sup>

34. Dio Cassius, 76.13;  
Scriptores Historiae Augustae Severus, 16-17;
35. See A. K. Bowman, The Town Councils of Roman Egypt [1971].
36. On the *βουλή* see Jouguet, La Vie Municipale, pp. 344 ff., 361 ff;  
Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 41-3;  
Dertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 378-82;  
Bowman, The Town Councils, pp. 15-19.
37. See Jouguet, La Vie Municipale, pp. 196, 298, 339 ff., 398;  
Dertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 335-8;  
Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 119 ff;  
Lewis, ICS s.v.
38. See Jouguet, La Vie Municipale, pp. 327-8;  
Dertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 332-5;  
L. Mitteis, Grundzüge, [1912], pp. 58 ff.;  
Lewis, ICS s.v.;  
M. G. Raschke, 'The Office of Agoranomos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt', Akten des XIII Intern. Pap. Kongr. [1974], pp. 349-56.
39. See Jouguet, La Vie Municipale, p. 389;  
Dertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 380, 384-5;  
Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 465;  
Bowman, The Town Councils, p. 75;  
P. Dxy. Hels. 24 [Nov./Dec. A.D. 217].
40. See Jouguet, La Vie Municipale, pp. 292 ff;  
Dertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 329-32;  
Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 139-40, 143;  
Lewis, ICS s.v.
41. See n. 37 above.

both men were elected by the boule ἐνὶ τῷ λιμνασμοῦ  
 [καὶ] νέδίων καταστροφῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν σπερμάτων δι[αδόσεως]  
 [lines 3-4].<sup>42</sup> In the case of P. Oxy. ined. 5.1

[A.D. 229/30] the addressee is the komogrammateus,<sup>43</sup>  
 who was an officer representing the government in the  
 village, and was required to implement government policies.  
 His duties were almost all of a routine \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ kind and he executed them at the request of  
 higher authority. Such duties were financial: compiling  
 lists of the inhabitants of the village and their properties,  
 lists concerning land and its exploitation; it was his duty  
 to verify applications or declarations made by private  
 individuals and also to supply the names of candidates to  
 be appointed to the liturgies of the village.

In addition to these applications which are addressed  
 from farmers to government officials as one of the procedures  
 for the process of issuing of seed-corn, there are a few  
 documented applications closely related to the procedure  
 of issuing seed to the public farmers. P. Tebt. II 341  
 [A.D. 140/1] is a letter from the komogrammateus to the  
 basilikos grammateus informing him that the inhabitants of  
 his village need so much seed-corn necessary for such loans.  
 It may be understood from the evidence of P. Oxy. ined. 5  
 [A.D. 229/30] that the komogrammateus writes such a letter  
 to his superiors in the light of the applications of seed-  
 corn addressed to him by the farmers of his village. In

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42. See Berichtigungsliste I, p. 136.

43. See n. 30 above.

P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 = SB X 10 614 = G. Poethke, *Epimerismos*, pp. 93 ff. [Arsinoite nome; A.D. 167/8], an order for advancing seed, it is clear that the village presbyters<sup>44</sup> have made an application for seed-corn to the nome authorities on behalf of their village. We do not have an application for seed-corn directly presented from the inhabitants of a village to their presbyters.

The presbyters were the representatives of their communities and were acting as intermediaries for the payment of taxes on behalf of their village and also controlled the cultivation of its lands.

It may be noticed that, though it was after the establishment of the *βουλή* and its appointment of a commission for the distribution of seed-corn<sup>45</sup> [as in the cases of P. Oxy. Hels. 24, P. Oxy. VII 1031 and P. Flor. I 21], P. Hamb. I 19 and SPP XX 34, are addressed directly to the nome officials and P. Oxy. ined. 5 is addressed to the village official. It may be said that the applicants in P. Hamb. I 19 wrote directly to the Basilikos grammateus because they were inhabitants of the nome metropolis; if that is so, why in SPP XX 34 though

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44. On the *πρεσβύτεροι* of the village in the Roman period, see Jouguet, *La Vie Municipale*, pp. 202 ff; Dertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 146-53; A. Tomsin, 'Etude Sur Les *πρεσβύτεροι* des villages de la *Χώρα* égyptienne', *Bull. Cl. Lettr. de l'Acad. Roy. Belg.* serie v, 38 [1952], pp. 95-6, 467-532.

45. cf. Rostowzew, *Kolonat*, p. 216; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 123 ff.

the applicant was an inhabitant of a village, did he write to the strategus of the nome? At the same time we find in P. Oxy. ined. 5 that the applicants of a village wrote to a local official, the komogrammateus. The reason why P. Hamb. I 19, SPP XX 34 and P. Oxy. ined. 5 do not follow the pattern, as in P. Oxy. Hels. 24, P. Oxy. VII 1031 and P. Flor. I 21, is not determined yet.<sup>46</sup>

After addressing the government official or officials the applicants' names follow. The application could be presented either by an individual or a group of persons. In P. Coll. Youtie I 22.2-4, P. Oxy. ined. 1.9, P. Oxy. VII 1031. 7, P. Hamb. I 19.3 and SPP XX 34.3-4 the applicant is an individual. P. Oxy. ined. 2.15-17 and its parallel ined. 3.13-14 have two applicants. P. Flor. I 21.5-6 has three applicants. P. Oxy. ined. 5.3-6 has five applicants who collectively<sup>47</sup> cultivate probably more than six plots of land. In P. Oxy. ined. 4, 2-15 the applicants are a group of nine persons who separately cultivate nine plots of land, one plot each in a village different from their village of domicile.<sup>48</sup>

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46. cf. D. H. Samuel, introduction to P. Coll. Youtie I 26, p. 234.

47. cf. Samuel, introduction to P. Coll. Youtie I 26, p. 234, on collective applications.

48. In P. Oxy. ined. 4. the situation of the land is probably *ἐπιμερισμός* [of public land] since the applicants come from one village and cultivate land in a different village (lines 17-18 *πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Πέλα. Ἐπεὶ γεωργοῦμεν ἡεὶ Μουσα...*). Probably this land was imposed on the inhabitants of Pela, cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 294; P. Berl. Leihg. I pp. 65 ff, 81; cf. also P. Tebt. II 341. For the *ἐπιμερισμός* in general see G. Poethke, *Epimerismos, Betrachtungen zur Zwangspacht in Ägypten während der Prinzipatszeit* [1969].

In P. Coll. Youtie I 26 there are a group of applicants who cultivate eleven separate plots of land; six of these are cultivated by six separate groups of applicants but we cannot determine how many persons are in each group since they are unnamed *υἱοί*.<sup>49</sup> Sometimes applications for seed-corn are presented on behalf of villages. In P. Tebt. II 341.3 the applicant is the *komogrammateus*, who is requesting seed for the inhabitants of his village; these inhabitants cultivate a certain amount of land in a village different from their own.<sup>50</sup> In the case of P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 A. 10-12, the villages' presbyters<sup>51</sup> requested loans of seed for the public farmers in their villages and also perhaps give a receipt for receiving the loans in B 22.

In all the applications the writing begins with a request clause, asking for the payment of the loans of seed. The commonest beginning is *αἰτοῦμαι ἐπιταλῆναι εἰς σπέρματα δάνεια*,<sup>52</sup> in the singular or the plural [P. Hamb. I 19.5, P. Oxy. VII 1031. 8-9, P. Oxy. ined. 5, 6-7, SPP XX 34. 5-7 and P. Flor. I 21.9]. P. Coll. Youtie I 22. 6-7 has *χῆνω εἰς <σ>πέρματα δάνεια*. P. Coll. Youtie I 26. 2-3 has *ἐπιηροιδεόμεθα σπέρματα δάνεια*.

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49. See Samuel, introduction to P. Coll. Youtie I 26, p. 234.

50. P. Tebt. 341 is included in Poethke's List for the Epimerismos land, p. 101.

51. For the *πρεσβύτεροι* see n. 44 above.

52. cf. Michurski, *Eos* 48, 3 [1956], pp. 105-107, 109.

The request clause for the payment of the loan of seed is lost in P. Dxy. ined. 1. In P. Dxy. ined. 2 and its duplicate 3 the top, which contains the addressee and his office and the names of the applicants, is lost, but, when we compare these two documents and P. Dxy. ined. 4, which has a complete top, with the other documents, it is apparent that they follow a different pattern in this formula. P. Dxy. ined. 4 which has a complete top does not begin with the request clause, following the usual pattern; also, it may be noticed that the formula *σπέρματα δ' άνελα* does not occur,<sup>53</sup> but instead it begins with this phrasing *Ἐπεὶ γεωργο(ῶμεν)* [line 17] so many arourae, *καὶ ταύτας σπείρωμεν* [line 28], *καὶ δαπάνωμεν* — *εἰς σπ(έρματα)* [lines 30-31], *ἄξιούμ(εν)* — *εἰς σπ(έρματα) ἐπισταλή(ναι)* [lines 31-32]. It is probable that P. Dxy. ined. 2 and the duplicate 3 follow the same pattern because they have almost the same phrasing *εἰς <σ>πείρωμ(εν)* — [δ]αη..... — *εἰς <σ>π(έρματα)* — *ἄξιούμ(εν)* — *ἐπισταλή(ναι)* [lines 3-6]. P. Dxy. ined. 1, 2 and the duplicate 3, and 4 are dated in the same regnal year; ined. 1 has a similar entry to 2 and the duplicate 3, which means it is probably from the same place, and all come from the Oxyrhynchite nome; and ined. 2 and the duplicate probably follow the pattern of ined. 4. Therefore it could be said that P. Dxy. ined. 1 probably follows the same pattern and formula as in the

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53. cf. P. Dxy. ined. 2.4 and note.

other documents. P. Tebt. II 341. 4-5 has the request clause *δεῖσι ἐπισταλῆναι εἰς δάνε[λ]α σπέρματα.*

Loans of seed are always from the produce of the previous year and should be one year old, ἀπὸ γενήματος *δολιθόντος ἔτους*<sup>54</sup> for the sowing of the current year, *εἰς κατασποράν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους.*<sup>55</sup>

The type of land for which loans of seed are requested is usually specified by the applicants; they say that they are farming *εἰς ἤν γεωργῶ — βασιλικὴν γῆν.*<sup>56</sup>

54. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 121 n. 1;

P. Tebt. II 341. 1, 6-7;

P. Coll. Youtie I 26.3;

P. Hamb. I 19.6;

P. Oxy. VII 1031. 9-10;

P. Oxy. ined. 5.7;

P. Flor. I 21.11;

SPP XX 34. 12-13;

55. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 121;

P. Coll. Youtie I 22.7-8;

P. Tebt. II 341.5;

P. Coll. Youtie I 26.3;

P. Hamb. I 19.5-6;

P. Oxy. VII 1031.10-11;

P. Oxy. ined. 5.8;

SPP XX 34.8-9;

P. Flor. I 21.10-11;

cf. P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3, which has *σπείρομεν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι γ' ἔτει;*

cf. also P. Oxy. ined. 4.28-29 and P. Berl. Leihg II 26, n. to line 6.

56. See P. Coll. Youtie I 22.12-14; 26.4;

P. Hamb. I 19.7, 10;

P. Oxy. VII 1031. 9

P. Oxy. ined. 5.8;

SPP XX 34.13-14.

P. Dxy. VII 1031 has *δημοσία γῆ*<sup>57</sup> instead. The type of land is not specified in P. Dxy. ined. 4 nor in P. Flor. I 21 and it is probably lost in P. Dxy. ined. 1, 2 and its duplicate 3 with the missing parts at their tops. In P. Tebt. II 341 the loans of seed were for both *βασιλική*<sup>58</sup> and *προκόδου γῆ*<sup>59</sup>. The rent on the land varies in the documents,<sup>60</sup> and sometimes the statement

57. The *δημοσία γῆ* is a Roman term *ager publicus*: public land, and there is no clear difference between *βασιλική* and *δημοσία γῆ*, see Rostowzew, *Kolonat*, p. 153; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 288; Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 3; Kuhnke, *Οὐσιακὴ γῆ*, pp. 11-13; cf. A. Tomsin, '*βασιλικὴ et δημοσία γῆ* dans l'Égypte romaine', *Mélanges René Fohalle, Mélang. ling. phil. méth. de l'enseign. lang. anc.* [1969], pp. 271-80;
58. The *βασιλικὴ γῆ* was the royal land of the Ptolemies which was taken over by the Romans as the public land of the province of Egypt. It was administered by the dioecetes and was cultivated by the royal or public farmers, see Rostowzew, *Kolonat*, p. 152; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 288; Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 15 ff; Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 3; Tomsin, *Mélanges René Fohalle* [1969], pp. 271-80; Kuhnke, *Οὐσιακὴ γῆ*, pp. 8-11, 14-16; cf. also n. 57 above.
59. For the *προκόδου γῆ* see U. Wilcken, 'Papyrus-Urkunden', *Archiv I* [1901], pp. 148 ff; Rostowzew, *Kolonat*, pp. 135 ff; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 296-98; P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Bouriant* [1926], pp. 156-59; Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, pp. 3-4; G. Chalon, *L'Edit de Tiberius Julius Alexander* [1964], pp. 148-52.
60. The rent varied depending upon the quality of the land, accessibility to the market and flood conditions, see Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 81; J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der gräco-ägyptischen Papyri* [1958], p. 102; D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (Diss. München 1967), p. 26.

οὐκ ἐλαττοῦν<sup>61</sup> is added to the effect that the land pays a certain rent, which in some cases was not less than two artabae of wheat per aroura as in the cases of P. Coll. Youtie I 26. 5 and P. Dxy. VII 1031. 11-12; or it can also be a certain rent, more than two artabae, but not less than the amount specified in the documents, as in P. Dxy. ined. 4.28, SPP XX 34. 14-15. This assertion of the rent is presumably important and means that the land is not of too poor a quality and will yield enough produce to repay the loans, and so the applicants justify their request for the loans of seed needed for cultivating their land.<sup>62</sup> Sometimes this assertion of the rent is not mentioned, as is the case with P. Dxy. ined. 5. Instead in lines 13-16 and 18 we have an elaborate indication of the various amounts of rent payable on all the different plots of land, cf. also P. Hamb. I 19 and the note on line 10 p. 83, and P. Tebt. II 341.13-15 which has the highest rent per aroura in this kind of document. The amount of rent is not stated in P. Coll. Youtie I 22; it would have been expected after the clause which specifies the type of land,<sup>63</sup> and it is lost in P. Dxy. ined. 1, 2 and 3.

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61. See P. Coll. Youtie I 26.5 and the note;  
P. Hamb. I 19.10 and the note;  
P. Dxy. VII 1031;  
SPP XX 34.14.

62. A. Tomsin, introduction to P. Berl. Leihg. II  
26, p. 10;  
Samuel, Introduction to P. Coll. Youtie I 26, p. 235.

63. cf. P. Dxy. ined. 4.28;  
P. Coll. Youtie I 26.4;  
P. Hamb. I 19.10;  
P. Dxy. VII 1031. 12-13;  
P. Dxy. ined. 5.13;  
SPP XX 34. 14-15;  
cf. also P. Tebt. II 341. 13-15.

According to the general format the location of the land is given next;<sup>64</sup> in our documents it is lost in P. Oxy. ined. 1, 2 and 3; in 5, line 9, it is said to be near the same village whence the farmer came, but in 4 the format is different<sup>65</sup> and the location of the land [line 18] is mentioned directly after the introductory verb. The location of the land in ined. 4 is said to be near a village different from the village from which the farmers come. After that the amount of land, which varies in the documents,<sup>66</sup> is mentioned precisely, then follows the number of artabae of seed requested. The amount of seed-corn was usually one artaba per aroura.<sup>67</sup> Cf. P. Oxy. ined. 2.4-5  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron(\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu)\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \zeta\omicron\gamma\eta(\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\omicron\tau\alpha)$  (νουροῦ ἀρτάβην) α, and its duplicate ined. 3.3; and in P. Oxy. ined. 4 the amount of land is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  arourae and the amount of the seed-corn requested is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  artabae of wheat.

64. See P. Coll. Youtie I 22. 14-15, 26. 5;  
P. Hamb. I 19. 7-8;  
P. Oxy. VII 1031. 12;  
P. Oxy. ined. 5.9;  
SPP XX 34. 15-16;  
cf. P. Oxy. ined. 4.18;  
P. Tebt. II 341. 9-10.

65. Cf. n. 64 above.

66. See P. Coll. Youtie I 22, 3 arourae;  
P. Oxy. ined. 1, 6 arourae;  
P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3,  $3\frac{2}{3}$  arourae;  
P. Oxy. ined. 4,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  arourae;  
P. Coll. Youtie I 26,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  arourae [see n. 4 line 17];  
P. Hamb. I 19, 34 arourae;  
P. Oxy. VII 1031, 3 arourae;  
SPP XX 34, 50 arourae;  
P. Flor. I 21, 136 arourae.

67. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 125-7.  
But there is a diversion in the norm; see Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 126 ff;  
Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 130, n.1, 102 ff., 129 ff.

Almost all texts continue at this point with a pledge by the applicant that they will plant the seed-corn upon the land; the usual clause is ἄς καὶ καταθήσω εἰς τὴν γῆν . This planting clause is not mentioned in P. Coll. Youtie I 26, and it is lost in P. Oxy. ined. 1 and 5. In some documents there is a pledge to clear from barley and darnel the seed which the farmer will plant [P. Hamb. I 19 15-16; P. Oxy. VII 1031. 17].

In most texts the words ὑγῶς καὶ νεκτῶς were added to the planting clause [P. Oxy. VII 1031.18; P. Hamb. I 19.17; P. Flor. I 21.13;<sup>68</sup> SPP XX 34.19-20]. P. Coll. Youtie I 22.17-18 has ὑγῶς only. These words are not mentioned in P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3, and are lost in P. Oxy. ined. 4 after the planting clause. Sometimes a more elaborate phrase is found, stating that the sowing will be under cognizance of the appointed officials [P. Hamb. I 19.17-19; P. Oxy. VII 1031.18-19; SPP XX 34.20-22].<sup>69</sup>

The applicant then adds that he will repay<sup>70</sup> the corn borrowed, stressing that the repayment shall be from the new crop after the harvest<sup>71</sup> which is the end of the fixed

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68. The reading could be  $\zeta\alpha\phi\omega\varsigma$  for ὑγῶς , see Berichtigungsliste I, p. 136.

69. For the appointed officials, see P. Berl. Leihg. II 26, note to line 22.

70. See Michurski, Eos 48.3 [1956], p. 118 especially n. 98; P. Ups. Frid 3, note to line 6, p. 37.

71. See Michurski, Eos 48.3 [1956], p. 129 and n. 202.

term of reimbursement.<sup>72</sup> The most common form of words is *καὶ ἐκ νέων ἀποδώσω τὰς ἕκασ*<sup>73</sup> [P. Hamb. I 19 19-20; P. Oxy. VII 1031.19-20; P. Oxy. ined. 2.8-9; and ined. 3.6-7]; P. Coll. Youtie I 26.17-18, uses the verb *μετρέω* instead. P. Coll. Youtie I 22.18 has *καὶ ἐξ νέων μετρέσω* without *τὰς ἕκασ*, while P. Flor. I 21.14-15 has *καὶ εἰσενέγκουμεν ἐν πρώτοις*.<sup>74</sup> The repayment clause is lost in P. Oxy. ined. 4, 5 and SPP XX 34. In P. Oxy. ined. 1.2 only the word [*ἀποδ*]ώσω survives. Some texts go on to add that public dues on the land<sup>75</sup> will also be included in the repayment of the loan; P. Coll. Youtie I 22.18-19 says *ἅμα [τοῖς] τῆς γῆς δημοσίαις*; so also P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3; in P. Oxy. ined. 1.2-3 the parallel phrase is *ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γ[ῆς] καθήκουσι δημ[οσ]αῖς*. A more complicated phrase in different texts is found describing various undefined dues on the land. These phrases are in P. Coll. Youtie I 26.18<sup>76</sup> *ἅμα τοῖς*

72. See Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt, pp. 341, 344 and 353.

73. See Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt, p. 344 n. 18; cf. Michurski, Eos 48.3 [1956], pp. 115-116.

74. cf. P. Oxy. VII 1024.8-9.

75. cf. Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, pp. 11-19, 38-46, 47 ff.

76. See p. 236 of the introduction to this text; P. Hamb. I 19 note to lines 19-21; P. Oxy. VII 1031 notes to lines 20, 21-2; Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 460-ff.; Michurski, Eos 48.3 [1956], p. 115; The explanations given in the above references do not yet give a definite answer to what these charges were.

τῆς γῆς ἐκφορίου εὐν τοῖς προπαραγραφησομένοις,  
 P. Hamb. I 19.20-1 εὐν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἄμα τοῖς τῆς  
 <γῆς> — γυησίους τελέμασι, P. Oxy. VII 1031.20-3 εὐν τοῖς  
 ἐπομένοις ἄμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς — γυηλείους τελέμασι;  
 P. Flor. I 21.15 has a different phrase, ἄμα τοῖς τῆς  
 κῶμης δημοσίους πάσι, and it seems that the public dues  
 here are regional.<sup>77</sup>

It is apparent that the charges or the dues which accompanied the repayment of the loan of seed-corn were not all the same, and they also were described in various phrases and sometimes they were undefined.

Texts usually end with an oath sworn by the Emperor in which the applicant affirms that the statements he has made previously are true;<sup>78</sup> P. Oxy. VII 1031.25 and P. Hamb. I 19.25 have μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι, P. Oxy. ined. 1.7 has ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα]; or that he will abide by the conditions: P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3 ποιήσεν ὡς πρόκειται; P. Oxy. ined. 1.8 adds this phrase as well. The details of the oath in P. Coll. Youtie I 22 are lost at this point. P. Oxy. ined. 4, 5 and SPP XX 34 are broken away before the oath. It is rather surprising that there is no oath formula in either P. Coll. Youtie I 26 or P. Flor. I 21.

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77. cf. T. Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg, p. 67.

78. See E. Seidl, Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht, [1933], pp. 8 ff, 33-36, 50-68 ff, 134. Two different types of oath formulae occur in P. Oxy. ined. 1.7-8.

To make the request valid the applicant signs it himself or has it written by the scribe who also serves as a witness.<sup>79</sup> It may be noticed that only P. Oxy. ined. 1 and 2 = 3, P. Coll. Youtie I 26, P. Hamb. I 19, P. Oxy. VII 1031, P. Flor. I 21 survive beyond the oath formula, or, if no oath is used, beyond the repayment clause. And of these documents P. Oxy. ined. 1.9-11 has the name of the applicant followed by ἐνδεδ[ωκ]α καὶ ὁμώμεκα τὸν ὄρκ[λον] , and the same phrasing is used in a second hand, P. Oxy. ined. 2.13-16 and its duplicate, where two parties sign and where there is also a subscription of another person in a third hand.<sup>80</sup> P. Oxy. VII 1031.28-29 has the name of the applicant in a second hand but it is broken off after it. P. Flor. I 21.17, reads ἀλτούμεθα τὰ κτήματα ὡς η(ρόκ(ε)ται) after the names of the applicants. Of the remaining documents P. Hamb. I 19 and P. Coll. Youtie I 26 have no subscription. P. Tebt. II 341, reads ἐνδεδώκα ὡς η(ρόκ(ε)ται) [line 17], after the name of the applicant, the komogrammateus, but is not preceded by any sort of oath. In P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 col. B the acknowledgement reads only ἐνδεδώκα after the name of the γρα(μ)ματεὺς [lines 23-4 but the reading is doubtful, see the note on page 7].

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79. See R. Calderini, 'Gli ἀγράμματοι nell'Egitto greco-romano', Aegyptus 30 [1950], pp. 14-41; C. H. Youtie, 'ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ : An Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt', HSCP 75 [1971], pp. 161-176 [= Scriptumculae 2], pp. 611-627; idem, 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ : The Social Impact of illiteracy in Greco-Roman Egypt', ZPE 17 [1975], pp. 201-221.

80. Probably a fellow farmer.

It was important to sow the seeds as soon as possible after the Nile flood<sup>81</sup> which was remarkable for its great regularity. Every year the river begins to rise in Egypt at the end of June; the water rises until the end of September, then falls from October just after it reaches its greatest height.<sup>82</sup> The time of sowing in Egypt varied from one area to another and from one year to another, depending on the Nile flood, its duration and height.<sup>83</sup> In the same manner the month in which seed-corn was requested varied.<sup>84</sup> The date of requesting seed-corn in the documents is found after the subscription in P. Oxy. ined. 1.11-14 and P. Flor. I 21.19-20, and between the oath formula and the subscription in P. Oxy. ined. 2.10-12 = 3, P. Oxy. VII 1031.26-28; P. Hamb. I 19.25-28 ends with the date which follows the oath formula. P. Coll. Youtie I 26 does not bear a date. The other documents are incomplete before reaching this point. When a month is given it is Neos Sebastos = Hathyr in P. Oxy. ined. 1 and 2 = 3, and Choiak in P. Flor. I 21.<sup>85</sup>

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81. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 137.

82. See J. Barois, Irrigation in Egypt [translated by A. M. Miller, House of Representatives, Miscellaneous Documents IV 134] [1890], pp. 13-15; Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 70; See also in general Bonneau, La Crue du Nil, passim.

83. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 138.

84. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 138 ff.

85. See note 84 above.

It was one of the duties of the komogrammateus<sup>86</sup> and his office to verify the applications presented and to add their annotations. These annotations are found in P. Oxy. ined. 1 and 2 = 3 in a different hand at the bottom.

B. Orders to supply seed-corn

1. The officials concerned

On the basis of the requests for the seed-corn discussed in section A, the authorities fixed the total quantity of seed for the nome. Having done so, the nome official, the στρατηγός<sup>87</sup> and the βασιλικός γραμματεὺς<sup>88</sup> gave orders to the κητολόγος<sup>89</sup> to issue loans of seed-corn to the public farmers.<sup>90</sup> P. Oxy. XVIII 2185, 1024 and 2956, and P. Berl. Leihg II 26 and P. Strasb. 283 are issued by the strategus with the authorization of the basilicos grammateus. The sitologus could receive orders from the local officials

86. For the role of the komogrammateus and his office, see n. 30 above.

87. See nn. 28, 32 above, see also P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 col. A note to line 2.

88. See n. 33 above, see also P. Oxy. VII 1024 n. to line 1;  
P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 col. A n. to line 7.

89. See n. 31 above.

90. For the orders for seed-corn see:  
P. Lond. II 256 d and e [p. 97] = W. Chr. 344 [Arsinoite; A.D. 11];  
P. Oxy. XVIII 2185 [A.D. 92];  
P. Oxy. ined. 6 [A.D. 99];  
P. Oxy. ined. 7 = P. Oxy. ined. 8 [A.D. 99];  
P. Oxy. VII 1024 [A.D. 129];  
P. Oxy. XLI 2956 [A.D. 148/9];  
P. Berl. Leihg II 26 = SB X 10614 = Poethke, Epimerismos, pp. 93 ff. [A.D. 167/8];  
P. Strasb. 283 [Arsinoite nome; A.D. 170].

of the district.<sup>91</sup> Sometimes it was known that the addressee is the sitologus from the way the applicants ask that orders be given for them to be supplied with seed-corn through the agency of the sitologoi,<sup>92</sup> e.g. P. Oxy. ined. 4.33, compare P. Oxy. ined 2 = 3. The only order to the sitologus not sent by a strategus will be P. Lond. 256 e [p. 96] from a slave of the Emperor. We do not know the official who issued P. Oxy. ined. 6 and 7 = 8.

## 2. The principal instructions

All orders where the beginning is preserved start with the imperative of the verb *μετρέω* and include the phrase *δάνεια σπέρματα*. Most of the orders also add the phrase *συνεπιστέλλοντος τοῦ βασιλικῆς γραμματέως* [P. Oxy. XVIII 2185.5-6, VII 1024.6-7, XLI 2956.5-7; P. Berl. Leihg. II 26.3-4, P. Strasb. 283.5]. P. Oxy. 2185 4-5 also adds at this point a reference to the supervision of the sowing by the *κατασπορεύς*<sup>93</sup> and other officials; for this clause see the next section. P. Lond. 256 varies somewhat, since it does not come from the strategus, and so the writer states that his instructions are being given

91. cf. P. Lond. II 256 d [p. 97].

92. cf. Section A above, the request clause, pp. 14-16.

93. For the *κατασπορεύς* see:  
 Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 335;  
 Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 188-9;  
 P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros Certificates in Greco-Roman Egypt*, P. Lugd. Bat. XII [1964], pp. 15-17;  
 Lewis, *ICS* s.v. *κατασπορεία*.

according to the orders of the strategus and basilikos grammateus [lines 2-3], with whom he couples the *τοναρχης*,<sup>94</sup> the komogrammateus and *τῶν ἄλλων εἰθομένων* [lines 3-4]; cf. the way at a later point the writer of SB V 8755 [probably 44/8 B.C.] says that his instruction accords with the *γνώμη* of the topogrammateus and *τῶν εἰθομένων*.

The recipients are described as *δημόσιοι γεωργοί* in P. Berl. Leihg II 26 col. A, P. Lond 256 d and e. The farmer in P. Oxy. XVIII 2185 is farming *οὐκρακή γῆ* [line 23].<sup>95</sup> No doubt the other farmers are to be considered as farming land which belonged to the state, [in SB V 8756 seed-corn is authorised for a catoecus farming his own land; but it is made quite clear that the circumstances are exceptional and this action is being taken by the state only because his land is *ἄσθενοῦς δια τὴν ἀβροχίαν*; line 8 ]. P. Oxy. ined. 6 and 7=8 have a special clause at the end of the main instructions, for which see the commentary to P. Oxy. ined. 7.4 ff.

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94. For the toparch see:

Milne, A History of Egypt, pp. 135-6;

Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 215;

Oertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 162-4.

95. On the *οὐκρακή γῆ* see:

Hans-Christian Kuhnke, Οὐκρακή γῆ Domänenland in den Papyri der Prinzipatszeit [Diss. Köln 1971], pp. 3-8, and *passim*;

G. M. Parássoglou, Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt [1978], Ch. 1 and *passim*.

### 3. Further instructions

#### [a] The Sowing clause

After the completion of the instruction to issue so many artabae of seed-corn and the amount, several texts continue with a statement regarding the sowing.<sup>96</sup>

In P. Oxy. ined. 7 this takes the form [lines 9-12]

ἄς καὶ καταθήκοντ(α) εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπακολουθούτων  
 τῶν [εἰλωθότ(ων) μ]ηδενός ὑπολογουμένου [εἰς  
 ὀφ]ε[λ(ήν)] ἄς εἰς ἕτερόν τ(ε).

A very similar phrase is found in P. Oxy. VII 1024. 30-35 and XVIII 2185.25-27 [where the ἐπακολουθούτων phrase occurs in lines 4-5], and a comparable expression in P. Oxy. XLI 2956.19-21. Cf. the instruction to the sitologus in SB V 8755-6 that he is to get an oath from the recipient that he will use the seed for sowing the land,<sup>97</sup> and a similar instruction in P. Lond. 256.4 ff.

A more elaborate phrase is found in P. Oxy. ined. 6.8 ff;

ἄς καὶ καταθ[ή]κεται εἰς τὴν γῆν ὕγιως καὶ πιστῶς μηθέν  
 νοσφιλιάμενος ἐπακολ(ουθούτων) τῆ καταθέσει τῶν τε καταση(ορέων)  
 καὶ τοῦ κω(μο)γρα(μματέως) [καὶ τῶν ἄλλω(ν) τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς καταση(ορέας)].

A very similar idea, though in different words, is conveyed by P. Berl. Leihg. II 26.22-6. Cf. P. Strasb. 283.17-21.

96. Cf. section A above regarding the statement concerning the sowing, p. 20.

97. See Michurski, Eos 48.3 [1956] p. 126.

(b) The repayment clause

P. Oxy. ined. 7 = 8 continues, after the passage quoted in the previous section, καὶ <ἐ> νέο(υ) [ἀποδώσ]οντι τὰς ἴσας ἄμα τοῖς [τῆς γ(ῆς) δημοσί]α[ι]ς.<sup>98</sup> The same sense is conveyed in P. Berl. Leihg. II 26.26-7, P. Oxy. 2956.23-5, P. Oxy. 1024.25-7, P. Oxy. 2185.29-30 (where it follows the clause to be considered below in the subscription) and SB V 8755-6; though in each case the wording differs slightly. There is no comparable clause in P. Lond. 256 nor in P. Oxy. ined. 6.

(c) The receipt clause

The instructions to the sitologus always end with an order to him to get the appropriate receipt from the farmer who is receiving the seed.<sup>99</sup> Often it is stated that the sitologus is to get two copies of the receipt and give one of them to the strategus. Thus P. Oxy. ined. 6. 14-17 says παρ' οὗ καὶ λάβετε τὴν καθήκο(υσαν) χειρογρ(αφίαν) δευτέρην ὡς τὴν ἑτέραν ἐμοὶ ἀναδώσετε. P. Oxy. ined. 7 = 8 has the same except that ἀποχήν replaces χειρογραφίαν, and this is the formula found in P. Oxy. VII 1024.37-40, XLI 2956.25-7; very similar is P. Berl. Leihg. II 26.28-9. P. Oxy. XVIII 2185.29 follows P. Oxy. ined. 6 in using χειρογραφία but does not mention two copies of the receipt. There is also an instruction to get a receipt in SB V 8755-6 and P. Lond. 256.

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98. cf. section A above, pp. 20-2.

99. See Michurski, Eos 48.3 [1956], pp. 127-8.

4. Date

All papyri have the date of the orders at this point. The months are Hathyr [P. Lond. 256, P. Oxy. VII 1024], Neos Sebastos = Hathyr [P. Oxy. ined. 6 and 7 = 8], Hadrianos = Choiak [P. Berl. Leihg. 26], and Tybi [P. Oxy. XLI 2956]; in P. Oxy. XVIII 2185 the month is lost. These dates should be compared with those discussed above.<sup>100</sup>

5. Subscription

Some texts continue after the date: P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 has authorisations, in different hands, from both the strategus and the basilikos grammateus; the same is true of P. Oxy. XLI 2956 [where the strategus signs through a boethos]; in P. Oxy. VII 1024 only the basilikos grammateus signs, but he signs as acting-strategus. P. Oxy. XVIII 2185 is lost at this point and nothing follows in P. Lond. 256, P. Oxy. ined. 6 and 7 = 8.

C. Acknowledgements of receipt of seed-corn

As we saw on p. 29 above, the sitologus is usually told to get two receipts from the farmer for the seed-corn with which he has been issued. The papyri include a great number of receipts given to sitologi by farmers for grain they have received.<sup>101</sup> In no case is this grain said to be for seed, but it has often been assumed

100. See above, p. 24.

101. e.g. P. Chic Goodspeed 16-24;  
P. Viereck, 'Quittungen aus dem Dorfe Karanis über Lieferung von Saatkorn', Hermes 30 [1895], pp. 107-23;  
H. G. Gundel, 'Einige Giessener Saatquittungen', Chr.d'Eg. 47 [1972], pp. 204-216.

that some, and perhaps indeed all, these receipts are for seed-corn. This assumption seems likely to be right.

There is only one certain document which is an acknowledgement for the receipt of seed, P. Oxy. X 1262 of A.D. 197, addressed to the strategus and basilikos grammateus through the agency of two former magistrates

elected to receive and deliver seed. The farmer says

*παρείληφα καὶ παραμέετ(ρηματι) παρ' ὑμῶν σπέρματα δάνεια*  
for the lands he farms [after this the text is broken off].

We must also compare the recently published P. Oxy. Hels 24. [Oxyrhynchite nome; A.D. 217]. In this text an official elected by the boule ἐνὶ κατασ(πορᾶς) [καὶ ἀναδόσεως σ(περμάτων)], gives a receipt to the sitologi for thirteen artabas of wheat and says that he has given this wheat to a farmer to use on the public land which he is farming.

Two other texts may be acknowledgements of this kind, but in neither case is it probable. The first is P. Oxy. ined. 9, addressed to the strategus by a number of farmers who may be saying 'we have had measured out to us from the public granary seed-corn out of *συναγοραετικὸς* wheat', before the text breaks off. However, in the discussion in the introduction to the text it is suggested that the farmers are more probably saying 'we have paid into the public granary so many artabas of *συναγοραετικὸς* wheat'. The other text is P. Berl. Leihg. II 268. If we accept Tomsin's reading for line 22, *ἡμεῖς οἱ] δ' ηρεσβ(ύτεροι) ἀπέχομε(εν)*, we have a statement by the four village presbyters that they have received the seed which we know they were authorised to receive from the first column of this papyrus.

Koenen and Poethke however, would read  $\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu(ε\nu\omicron\varsigma) = \delta\epsilon\alpha\delta\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  instead of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\mu(ε\nu)$ , and regard this section as a statement made by an acting komogrammateus that he has presented a request. This seems more likely to be right.<sup>102</sup>

#### Addendum

After I had written the above introduction I noticed that another example of an order for seed-corn has recently been published, P. Köln III 137. This text should be added to those discussed in section B above. It comes from the Oxyrhynchite nome and is dated 5 November, A.D. 88. In it the strategus, with the authorisation of the basilikos grammateus, tells the sitologi of an unknown village to issue seed-corn to four farmers; the amount is 25¼ artabae and the land is royal land. Lines 34-41 of this text are similar to P. Oxy. ined. 6-8.

Also to be compared is P. Vindob. Tandem 9, which comes from the Arsinoite nome and is dated to October-December, A.D. 12. Here village officials write to a sitologus about seed-corn for public farmers. Note as well P. Vindob. Tandem 11 [Heracleopolite nome; A.D. 241-242], which should be compared with P. Oxy. X 1262 and P. Oxy. Hels. 24 discussed in section C above.

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102. See the note to line 22 on p. 7.

## 1. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite Nome  
27. 38.420(1-2)c

10 November, A.D. 99

The papyrus survives in only a poor condition. A good deal is lost at the top and it is damaged on the right hand side. What remains measures 17 x 7.5 at the top and 7 cm at the foot. Only lines 2-5 and 8-10 have escaped damage; there is a large hole in the middle and a number of smaller ones. There is a small margin at the left and the bottom 4 cm are blank. A crease running up the middle shows that it was folded. The ink is bold and clear. The hands are both very cursive with many abbreviations, but there is some separation of words. The back is blank. The two hands are so similar to one another and so little survives of the second hand (lines 15-16) that we cannot be sure even that the hand does change at this point. We should, however, expect the annotation by the office of the village scribe to be in a different hand if not from the body of the application at any rate from the signature at the foot (cf. P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3). But it could all be a copy.

The papyrus contains part of an application for a loan of seed. This much is clear from the parallel documents (especially P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3), even though the amount lost at the top is very large. Probably this contained much the same as P. Oxy. ined. 4 and by putting together these texts we can form an idea of what a complete document would have looked like. See further the general introduction, pp. 7-25.

The application is presented by Panechotes son of Panechotes, who was presumably a public farmer. It is preserved from the point at which he states that he will repay the seed and swears an oath to support his application. For these clauses see above, general introduction, pp. 20-2. For the probability that P. Oxy. ined. 6 is the order in response to this application see the introduction to that text.

1

[ ± 6 ] ε [ ± 8 ]

[ἀποδ]ώσω ἅμα τοῖς τῆς  
 γ[ῆς] καθήκουσι δημ[οσ]ίοις  
 καὶ ὀμνύω Αὐτοκράτο[ρ]α

- 5 Καίσαρα Νέρουα<ν> Τραιανὸν  
 [C]εβαστὸν Γερμα[νι]κὸ[ν]  
 ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγ[ε]γρ[αμ(μένα)]  
 καὶ ἕκαστα ποιῆσειν ὡς [πρ]όκ(εῖται).  
 Πανεχώτης Πανεχώτου

- 10 ἐπιδέδ[ωκ]α καὶ ὀμώμεκα  
 τὸν ὄρκ[ον]. (Ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκρ[άτορος]  
 Καίσαρο[ς] Νέρουα Τραι[ανου]  
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μη(νός) [Νέου]  
 vacat Σεβαστοῦ ἰδ.

- 15 (2nd Hand?) Περδίκχα(ς) κ ( ) δι(ὰ) Ε [.....]  
 ἀναγγρά(φομαι) ὡς π(ρόκειται) β η ( ) (ῥουραι) ς.

3 καθήκουσι, κ corrected 7 τά, τ corrected

8 [πρ]ο<sup>x</sup> 11 L 13 μ<sup>η</sup> 15 περδικχ<sup>a</sup>,  
 κωγρα? see note. 5| = διά 16 αναγγρ<sup>a</sup> see note  
 ως), 5 10 l. ὀμώμοκα

Translation

' . . . . I shall repay [out of the new crop an equivalent amount] with the regular state taxes on the land; and I swear by Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus that the conditions written above are true and I will do everything as stated above.

I, Panechotes son of Panechotes, have presented this and have sworn the oath. The 3rd year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, 14th of the month Neos Sebastos.

[2nd hand?] I, Perdiccas the village scribe (?), register through . . . as stated above . . . 6 arourae.'

Notes to the text

1. For the phrase we expect at this point see P. Oxy. ined. 2.8.
- 2-3. On this phrase see general introduction pp. 20-2. It is noteworthy that our text adds *καθήκουσε* to the usual phrase. This reading is sure even though the start of this line is damaged and *γ[ῆς]* seems short for the space. In the preceding line the top of the second half of the line is torn away and the words *τοῦς τῆς* can only be read because we know from parallels that this is what we should expect.
7. *τὰ προχ[ε]γραμ(μένα)*]: this part is damaged and the first *τ* seems to be a correction. *προ* is certain but what follows is very unsure; if the word was *προγεγραμμένα* it cannot have been written in full. This phrase does not occur in P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3.
8. *ὡς [πρ]όκ(ετα)* : there is damage here but the raised *κ* is clear.
- 9-11. The signature of Panechotes is not in a different hand from the body of the application. Either he wrote the whole of it or the whole text is a copy; see introduction to this text.
9. *Πανεχώτου* : the father's name is written very cursively, even for this writer who writes cursively throughout.
- 13-14. In both lines *σεβαστοῦ* is written with 'Verschleifung'.
13. *μη(νός) [Νέου]* : the *η* is raised to mark the abbreviation and we can be certain that the reading is not *μη[νός] | σεβαστοῦ* . It is not likely to be *μη(νός) | σεβαστοῦ* either, as there is plenty

of room in the lost part at the end of this line for us to restore Νέου .

14.  $\text{Cεβαζτου } \overline{\text{Lδ}}$  : this is not written at the beginning of the line but towards the right hand side.
- 15-16. As remarked in the introduction, it is not at all certain that these lines are in a different hand from the lines preceding. They are written very cursively and heavily abbreviated and can only be understood with the help of P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3. (There too the docket is written quickly and abbreviated, but the writing is a little clearer.
15.  $\text{κ . . ( )}$  : the abbreviation mark at the end is exactly like that at the end of the first word in the next line and in the word at the end of line 15 in P. Oxy. ined. 6. Further, what is written here very closely resembles the writing at the end of P. Oxy. ined. 6.12, where we must have a reference to the  $\text{κωμογραμματαεύς}$  . Since the komogrammateus is also mentioned at this point in P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3, this is what we must have here: perhaps we should read  $\text{κ ω (μο) γ ρ (α μ μ α τ ε ύ ς)}$  .
16.  $\text{ἀναγρᾶ (φομαί)}$  : for the abbreviation see the previous note; it is perhaps better read  $\text{γρᾶ}$  rather than  $\text{γρα}$  . The verb could also be in the active. The reading is a little clearer in P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3. Presumably it is a reference to the komogrammateus' making an entry in the register to confirm that the man is entitled to the amount of seed which he is claiming. For such a use of  $\text{ἀναγρᾶ φω}$  see Wörterbuch I s.v.

3 and 4 and IV s.v. 2 [c] and [d].

ὡς η(φόκελια) : very cursive and interpreted in the light of P. Oxy. ined. 2.26, where see the note.

β. . . η ( ) : we appear to have a β at the start and a raised η at the end. There is nothing to correspond to this word in the docketts in P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3.

Was it a reference to the fact that the land in question was βακλιλική? cf. what appears to be the same expression in P. Oxy. ined. 6 line 4.

## 2. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite Nome  
27. 3B.42C[1-2]a

13 November, A.D. 99

The papyrus is broken away at the top where the amount lost can be roughly gauged from parallel documents, see general introduction, pp. 7-25, and especially P. Oxy. ined. 4. What remains is a long, narrow piece of papyrus, 26.1 cm in length and 8.2 broad at its widest part; it gets narrower towards the top. There is some damage at the beginning of lines 1-6, but for the most part the initial letters can be read. The papyrus has suffered irregular damage at its left hand side from line 7 to the foot, and a large piece at the bottom left is lost. Most of the holes are on the left side with only a few on the right. 26 lines of writing remain. The right side is a straight edge; round about lines 8-9 at the right there is a blot of ink. There is a crease in the middle, which suggests that it was folded along its length.

It is written with the fibres and the back is blank. It is written in four hands, of which hands 1, 2 and 4 are generally cursive. Some words are written separately. The second hand appears less trained than the first. The third hand, that of Pekusis, is crude, untrained and clearly the work of a 'slow writer'.<sup>1</sup> As for the first

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1. See H. C. Youtie, 'Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy', GRByz. Stud. 12 [1971], pp. 239-61 = Scriptiunculæ 2 pp. 629-51.

and fourth hands, they are clearly the hands of professional scribes. Some words are abbreviated and this is usually indicated by writing the last letter before the abbreviated part above the line, except in the case of  $\langle\epsilon\rangle\eta(\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha\tau\alpha)$  [line 5] and  $\zeta\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\omicron(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\zeta)$  [line 6]. L adscript is not used.

From the formula in the part of our document which survives we can see that it is an application for a loan of seed. For parallel texts see general introduction p.7 n.26 The addressee is lost but must have been a government official. From a study of the parallels it seems most likely that this official was the strategus, possible also is the basilikos grammateus. The strategus is always the recipient of such applications in the first and second centuries - also in SPP XX 34 of A.O. 232/3; and orders to supply corn in this period are always given by the strategus, with the joint authorisation of the basilikos grammateus [see general introduction p. 25-6]. The applicants were no doubt public farmers; three names are mentioned: Ploutiades son of Ptolemaeus, Diogenes son of Nechthenibis, and Pekusis son of Diogenes [lines 15-21]. They are applying for seed for a total of only  $3\frac{2}{3}$  arouras; one of these arouras is being cultivated in the name of Thatres, daughter of Diogenes, since Pekusis' name occurs last in lines 15-21 he is likely to be the one who is cultivating this one aroura. They say they will sow the land at the rate of one artaba of seed per aroura in the current year 3, and request authority for the payment of this seed through the sitologi of Senekeleu.

- [.] εἰς ὄνο(μα) Θατρῆ[τ](ος) Διογ(ένου) μητ(ρός)  
 Τανεχώ-
- τιδος ἐκ τ(οῦ) Ταρουθ(ίνου) καὶ Παρμενίω(νος)  
 (ἄρουραν) α ὤστ(ε) [έ]πι τ(ὸ) α(ὐτὸ) (ἄρουραι) γβ̂,  
 α̂ς <ε>πείρωμ(εν)
- τῷ ἐ[ν]εστ(ῶτι) γ (ἔτει) πυρῷ [δ]απ.....
- 5 κατὰ ἄρο(υραν) εἰς <ε>π(έρματα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α,  
 ἀξιούμ(εν)
- τὰς συναγο(μένας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γβ̂ ἐπισταλ(ῆναι)  
 [δ]ι(ὰ) ci(τολόγων) Σενεκελεύ, α̂ς καὶ καταθη(σόμεθα)  
 [εἰς] τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐγ νέω(ν) ἀποδώσομ(εν)  
 [τ]ὰς ἴσας ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς δημο(σίαις)
- 10 [κα]ὶ ὀμνύομεν Αὐτοκράτορα  
 [Κα]ίσαρα [N]έρουαν Τραιανὸν Σεβαστὸν  
 Γερμανικὸν ποιήσειν ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).  
 (Ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτο<ρο>ς Καίσαρος Νέρουα  
 [Τ]ραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μη(νός)
- 15 [N]έου Σε[β]αστοῦ ιζ̄. (2nd Hand) Πλουτιιάδης  
 [Π]τολεμαίου καὶ Διογένους Νε-  
 [χθ]ενίβιος ἐπιδεδώκαμεν καὶ ὀ-  
 [μ]ωμέκαμεν τὸν ὄρκ(ον). Βάχχιος

Χαιρήμονο[ε] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ(ν)  
 20 μὴ εἰδότην γράμματα. (3rd Hand) Πέχυσις

Διογένουσι συννομήμεκα

τὸν ὄρκον.

(4th Hand) Ἀπολ(λύνιος) καὶ οἱ [λο]ιπ(οὶ) οἱ  
 διεξάγο(ντες)

τὰ κ[α]τὰ τῆ(ν) [κ]ωμογρα(μμάτειαν) κώμ(ησ)

25 {κώμη(ς)} Κερκε[θ]ύρεω(ς) δι(ὰ) Θεώνο(ς)

[ὕ]πογρα(φέως) ἀναγρα(φόμεθα) ὡς κ(ρόκειται).  
 (ἄρουραι) γβ.

1 ον<sup>ο</sup> θατρη[τ] διοΥ μη<sup>τ</sup> 2 εκ<sup>τ</sup> ταρου<sup>θ</sup> παρμενι<sup>ω</sup>  
 3 τ ωσ<sup>τ</sup> επι<sup>τ</sup> ᾱ τ ασπειρω<sup>μ</sup> 4 ε[ν]εσ<sup>τ</sup>  
 5 αρ̄ο εις<sup>τ</sup> τ αξιου<sup>μ</sup> 6 συναγ̄ο τ̄ο επιστα<sup>λ</sup>  
 7 τ̄ καταθ<sup>η</sup> 8 νε<sup>ω</sup> αποδωσ<sup>μ</sup> 9 δημ<sup>ο</sup>  
 12 προ<sup>χ</sup> 13 L 14 μ<sup>η</sup> 18 ορ<sup>χ</sup> 19 αυτ<sup>ω</sup>  
 23 απο<sup>λ</sup> [λο]ι<sup>δ</sup> διεξαγ<sup>ο</sup> 24 τ<sup>η</sup> [κ]ωμογρ<sup>δ</sup> κω<sup>μ</sup>  
 25 Κερκε[θ]υρε<sup>ω</sup> λ̄ = δι(ὰ) θεων<sup>ο</sup> 26 [υ]πογρ<sup>δ</sup>  
 αναγρ<sup>δ</sup> ωσ<sup>δ</sup> τ̄ 18 l. ὀμωμόκαμεν 21 l. συννομήμοκα

Translation

' . . . . in the name of Thatres daughter of Diogenes, her mother being Tanechotis, in the holding of Tarouthinas and Parmenion 1 aroura, total  $3 \frac{2}{3}$  arourae, which we are sowing with wheat in the present 3rd year using for seed 1 artaba of wheat for each aroura, we request authority for the payment of the total of  $3 \frac{2}{3}$  artabae of wheat through the sitologi of Senekeleu, which we shall also plant in the land and we shall repay out of the new crop an equivalent amount together with the state dues upon the land; and we swear by Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus to act as stated above. The 3rd year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, 17th of the month Neos Sebastos. [2nd Hand] We, Ploutiades son of Ptolemaeus and Diogenes son of Nechthenibis, have presented this and have sworn the oath. I, Bacchios son of Chaeremon, wrote on behalf of them, as they are illiterate. [3rd Hand] I, Pekusis son of Diogenes, joined in swearing the oath. [4th Hand] Apollonius and the rest who are carrying out the office of the village scribe of the village Kerkethyris register through Theon the registrar as aforesaid;  $3 \frac{2}{3}$  arourae.'

Notes to the text

1. [·], εἰς ὄνομα: the papyrus is slightly damaged at the start of this line and the top of the line is destroyed. εἰς ὄνομα is a suitable phrase at this point, cf. P. Oxy. ined. 8.1.

Ⓜ ατρῆ[τ](ος) : for this woman see P. Oxy. ined. 7.1.

2. ἐκ τ(ου) Ταρουθ(ίνου) καὶ Παρμενίω(νος) : sc. κλήρου ; on this kleros see P. Oxy. ined. 7.3 n.

3. [ἄρουραν] : there is irregular damage at the start of this line; the traces seem more likely to be part of the symbol for aroura, rather than ἄρ.ο(υραν) .

ὡς τ(ε) [ἔ]πί : there is a space between the raised τ and the π ; probably the scribe did write the ε but it has been rubbed away.

<C> πείρωμ(εν) : read C πείρωμ(εν)?; the word may be expanded in the first person plural of the present indicative .

For its use in parallel documents only P. Oxy. ined. 4.28 can be quoted. Other texts use the expression εἰς τὴν καταγοράν giving the same meaning, see general introduction, p. 7 n. 27.

4. [δ]αη..... : the writing here is very cursive and rather clumsy and it is not clear what the scribe meant to put. The duplicate document, P. Oxy. ined. 3.3, has at this point δαηανω [ ] which is to be expanded δαηανῶ(ντες) , see the note there. Here there is no sign of a raised letter for an abbreviation; probably

we should read:  $\delta\alpha\eta\alpha\nu\hat{\omega}\nu\tau[\epsilon\varsigma]$ .

~~but if so he must have left out  $\kappa\alpha\lambda'$  before this, as there is not room for it in the lacuna after  $\pi\upsilon\rho\hat{\omega}$~~

The verb does not appear in most of the applications listed in the general introduction, pp.14-16 but see P. Oxy. ined. 4.32.

5.  $\acute{\alpha}\xi\lambda\omicron\hat{\upsilon}\mu$  (εγ) : again this word is not used in other applications for seed apart from P. Oxy. ined. 4.31.
6.  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\varsigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\chi\omicron(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma)$  : one might think also of  $\varsigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\chi\omicron(\rho\alpha\varsigma\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ , which would agree with  $\pi\upsilon\rho\hat{\omega}$ , and mean that the farmers were requesting the supply of the seed-corn of  $3\frac{2}{3}$  artabas from out of requisitioned wheat. This, however, is not very likely, especially with the article  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , which well suits the expansion  $\varsigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\chi\omicron(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma)$ . For comparable uses of this word in describing total amounts cf. e.g. P. Oxy. XLI 2961.21  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\varsigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma$   $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , and for further examples see Wörterbuch s.v. [2]. The abbreviation is made by prolonging the horizontal stroke of the  $\chi$  across the top of the  $\omicron$ ; this also might tend to suggest that a  $\mu$  followed.
7.  $[\delta\delta]\lambda$  (α') : there is a trace of a dash after the trace of  $\lambda$  which remains. This might just be taken as part of a  $\tau$  for  $\tau(\hat{\omega}\nu)$ , but this expression seems usually to be found without the article.

$\varsigma\lambda(\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega\nu)$  : this is written by prolonging the horizontal of the  $\varsigma$  and writing a very tall  $\lambda$  down through it. On the office of sitologus see general introduction, p.9 and n. 31.

Σενεκελεύ : a village in the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Oxy. X 1285.80, XIV 1659.36.

Presumably it was near Kerkethyris, see line 25.

7ff. For the clause beginning ἄς καὶ καταθῆ(όμεθα) see the general introduction, p.20.

8. [Ε̲Λ̲C] : this is the word always used at this point.

The space where ε and λ would have been written is broken away; the space where ς would have come is still there but presumably the letter has been rubbed out.

8-9. For the repayment clause see the general introduction pp. 20-2.

10. [Κα̲Λ̲'] : since we are connecting one main verb (ἀποδώσομεν) with another (ὁμνύομεν), κα̲λ̲' is the proper word to have stood here; there is a trace of the λ and the space allows room for κα .

11. [N]έ̲ρουαν : the papyrus has no hole at this point but the ν has been completely rubbed off and little of ε can be seen.

Σεβαστόν: here and in lines 14 and 15 this word is written with 'Verschleifung'.

13-14. For the emperor's titles see the note to lines P. Oxy. ined. 9. 16-17.

15. [N]έ̲ρου Σε[Β]α̲στοῦ : the ν is lost because the papyrus is broken away; there are traces of ε following; the β is lost because there is a hole at this point.

This month is equivalent to the Egyptian month Hathyr, 28 October - 26 November [in a non-leap year]; see

M. David, B. A. Van Groningen, Pap. Primer<sup>4</sup> [1965], p. 36.

17. ἐπιδεδώκαμεν : the second ε is very peculiar.
19. αὐτῶ(ν) : very little remains of the dotted letters and of a possible superscript bar marking the abbreviation.
20. εἰδότηων : cursively written but the reading is not in doubt.
21. Δλοχένους : there seems to be some correction; perhaps the writer first wrote ο after δ and then wrote Λ on top of it. The paragraphos sign marking the end of the text proper comes over the first four letters of this word.
23. Ἀπολλ(ώνιος) : probably the name was Apollonius but there are other possibilities.
- οἱ [λο]λη(οί) : nothing remains of the second word but a downstroke and a curve; fortunately the reading is not in doubt because it can be read in the copy, P. Dxy. ined. 3.20.
- 23-24. οἱ δεξιάχο(ντες) τὰ κ[α]τὰ τῆ(ν) [κ]ωμογρα(μμάτελαν) : this is not the most usual phrase for people deputising for the village scribe; the verb usually used is δελαδεχόμενος, e.g. BGU 15 I = W. Chr. 393.8-9. For this expression see Wörterbuch s.v. The men here mentioned were no doubt the village presbyters, who often acted as temporary village scribes, see general introduction, pp. 12 n.44, 14.
25. { κώμη(ς) } : although the reading is not certain it is probable. The word is superfluous and the scribe wrote it twice by mistake.

κερκε[θ]ύρω(ς) : a village in the western toparchy of the Dxyrhynchite nome, see P. Oxy. 1285.70 , XIV 1659.35. It was presumably somewhere near Senekeleu, see line 7.

26. [ϛ]νογρα(φέως) : this is used of someone writing on behalf of others, see H. C. Youtie, **ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ**: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt', ZPE 17 [1975], pp. 201-21, see also P. Oxy. ined. 10 note to lines 53-4.

ἀναγρα(φόμεθα): for this word see P. Oxy. ined. 1.16 n.

ὡς η(ρόκελαι): a rapid scrawl; comparison with the copy, P. Oxy. ined. 3.23, and with the parallel text P. Oxy. ined. 1.16, suggests that in all three places we should read ω , ς and a curve, marking an abbreviation beginning with η . We must then expand ὡς η(ρόκελαι) , which is good sense.

(ἀρουραι) : grammatically this should perhaps be in the accusative after the verb ἀναγράφω. But it is probably to be regarded as an additional note in a sentence by itself.

## 3. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite Nome  
27. 3B.42C(6)a

13 November, A.D. 99

The papyrus is in very good condition except at the top, where it is broken off and a good deal is lost as can be seen from the parallels. What remains is 26 cm in length and 8.2 cm wide. On the left side there is a considerable margin of approximately 2 cm. There is slight damage at the top and bottom on this side. The right side is straight and even, except for a very slight part broken off almost at the bottom. Nearly all the holes are in the left margin or in the large blank space of 12.5 cm at the foot; thus nearly half of what remains is blank at the bottom. The writing escaped the holes except in lines 5, 22 and 23, but even here this does not affect the reading as the holes are very small.

The writing is along the fibres. There is a join between two pieces of papyrus [a collesis] to be seen just over halfway from the left. The writing is clear and the first hand is steady; it writes cursively, except that a few letters are made separately from one another. The final letters in abbreviated words are usually written above the rest, except for  $\mu\eta(\nu\acute{o}\varsigma)$  in line 12. Letters at the beginning of each line are written slightly larger than letters in the other parts of the papyrus. The second, third and fourth hands are the same as those in P. Oxy. ined. 2, on which see the introduction. The back is blank.

It is quite certain that this papyrus is a duplicate

of P. Oxy. ined. 2. [1] As just remarked, the second, third and fourth hands are identical; [2] both texts relate to the same three farmers, the same day and the same amount of seed; [3] both refer to the sitologi of Senekeleu, while the men who add the docket are the acting village scribes of Kerkethyris. It is no surprise that applicants should have been required to submit applications in two or even more copies; cf. the applications to register a birth which are preserved in two copies in P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2855 and P. Cornell 18; cf. also the insistence in orders for seed-corn that the recipients [who are the same farmers as made the application] be required to submit two copies of their receipt [see general introduction, p. 29 ]. It is likely that both these copies were kept in the office of the strategus Dios. The orders granting the seed applied for in these applications also survive in two copies, P. Oxy. ined. 7 and 8, see the introduction to P. Oxy. ined. 7. For translation and notes on general points see P. Oxy. ined. 2.

## 3

- ἄρο(υραν) α ὤστ(ε) ἐπὶ τὸ α(ὕτὸ) ἄρο(υραι) γβ̂ α̂ε  
 σπείρομ(εν) τῶι ἐνεστῶτ(ι) γ (ἔτει) πυρῶ  
 δαπανῶ(ντες) κατ' ἄρο(υραν) εἰς κέρμ(ατα)  
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α,  
 ἀξιούμεν τὰς συναγο(μένας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γβ̂  
 5 ἐπισταλ(ῆναι) δι(ὰ) εἰτολ(όγων) Σενεκελ(εύ), ἃς καὶ  
 καταθ(ηρόμεθα) εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐγ νέων  
 ἀποδώσομ(εν) τὰς ἴσας ἅμα τ(οῖς) τῆς γῆ(ς)  
 δημ(οοίσις) καὶ ὀμνύομ(εν) Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα  
 Νέρουαν Τραιανὸν Σεβασ(τὸν) Γερμαν(ικὸν)  
 10 ἕκαστα ποιή(σειν) ὡς π(ρόκειται). (Ἔτους) γ  
 Αὐτοκράτορο(ς)  
 Καί(ς)αρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
 Γερμανικοῦ μη(νὸς) Νέου Σεβαστοῦ 17.  
 (2nd Hand) Πλουτιάδης Πτολεμαίου καὶ Διο-  
 γένης Νεχθενίβιος ἐπιδεδώ-  
 15 καμεν καὶ ὀμώμεκαμεν τὸν  
 ὄρκον. Βάχχιος Χαιρήμονος ἔγρα-  
 ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ(ν) μὴ εἰδότων γράμμα(τα).  
 (3rd Hand) Πέκῳσις Διογένους συν-  
 ομώμεκα τὸν ὄρκον.

- 20 (4th Hand) Ἀπολ(λώνιος) καὶ οἱ λοιπ(οὶ) οἱ  
 διεξάγο(ντες) τὰ κατὰ  
 τῆ(ν) κωμογρα(μματεῖαν) κώμης Κερκε-  
 θύρεω(ς) δι(ὰ) Θεώ(νος) ὑπογρα(φέως) ἀναγρα(φόμεθα)  
 ὡς π(ρόκειται). (ἄρουνται) γβ.

- 1 αρ<sup>ο</sup> ωσ<sup>τ</sup> τ[οᾶ] αρ<sup>ο</sup> 2 σπειρο<sup>μ</sup>,  
 ενεστ<sup>τ</sup> L 3 δαπαν<sup>ω</sup> αρ<sup>ο</sup> σπερ<sup>μ</sup> ~~τ~~  
 4 συναγ<sup>ο</sup> ~~τ~~ 5 επιστα<sup>λ</sup> δι<sup>τ</sup> ειτο<sup>λ</sup> Cενεκε<sup>λ</sup>  
 6 κατα<sup>θ</sup> 7 αποδωσ<sup>μ</sup> αμα<sup>τ</sup> γ<sup>η</sup> 8 δη<sup>μ</sup> ομνυο<sup>μ</sup>  
 9 see note 10 ποι<sup>η</sup> ωσ<sup>τ</sup> L 12 μ<sup>η</sup>  
 17 αυτ<sup>ω</sup> εἰδ<sup>ο</sup>των, ων corrected from ος? γραμμ<sup>α</sup>  
 20 απο<sup>λ</sup> λοι) διεξαγ<sup>ο</sup> 21 τ<sup>η</sup> κωμογρ<sup>ς</sup>  
 21-2 κερκεθυρε<sup>ω</sup> 22 λ = διά Θε<sup>ω</sup> υπογρ<sup>ς</sup> αναγρ<sup>ς</sup>  
 23 ως) ~~τ~~ 15 λ. ὁκωμόκαμεν

Notes to the text

1. Lines 1-2 of P. Oxy. ined. 2 have been lost before the remaining part of this text begins.

$\alpha(\delta\tau\acute{o})$  : no doubt  $\alpha$  was surmounted by a horizontal dash which is now lost where the papyrus has broken away.

- 1-2.  $\acute{\alpha}\zeta$   $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\mu$  (εν) : P. Oxy. ined. 2.3 has  $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$  (μεν), and has omitted one of the two sigmas.

2.  $\tau\acute{\omega}$ :  $\tau\acute{\omega}$  in P. Oxy. ined. 2.4.

3.  $\delta\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}$  (ν ζεε): the word is expanded into the present participle as this suits the syntax required, the word agreeing with the subject of  $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$ . It is not certain what the scribe of P. Oxy. ined. 2.4 intended to put at this point, see the note there.

$\kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu$  : P. Oxy. ined. 2.5 has  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu$ .

5.  $\delta\zeta(\acute{\alpha})$  : the abbreviation mark over  $\delta\zeta$  is very odd and it is not impossible that the scribe meant it to represent  $\tau$ , i.e. that we should read  $\delta\zeta(\acute{\alpha}) \tau(\acute{\omega}\nu) \kappa\lambda\lambda(\acute{\omicron}\chi\omega\nu)$ ; but this is less likely in the context, see the note to P. Oxy. ined. 2.7.

8.  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\alpha$  : if the scribe wrote the word correctly there is some Verschleifung; he may have left out one or two letters.

9. Even allowing for Verschleifung, there seems no doubt that the writer did not write the end of the words  $\zeta\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  and  $\Gamma\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\nu\lambda\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ . It is very unusual to abbreviate imperial titles.

- 11-12. Again the writer may have left off the ends of  $\zeta\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$

and Γερμανικῶν, but here it may simply be a case of Verschleifung.

12. μη(νός) : after μ we have a symbol much like the sign following ρ in lines 21 and 22.
- 14-15. ἐνδεδώκαμεν ν : the final ν seems to have one stroke too many.
17. αὐτῶ(ν) μὴ ἐξότων : the ending of αὐτῶ(ν) is very difficult to read and the writer may have put αὐτοῦ by mistake. At the end of ἐξότων there is certainly some correction after the τ. Perhaps the scribe put ἐξότος first.

## 4. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite NomeA.D. 99-100

26. 3B.47/L[5-7]a

The papyrus is incomplete at the foot but complete on all the other three sides. It is written in a clear ink, except where it is here and there blotted or rubbed. The papyrus is almost rectangular in shape; it measures 18.5 cm in length on the left hand side and 19.1 cm on the right, while the width varies from 8.5 cm at the top to 9.4 cm at its widest part and 9.2 cm at the bottom. There is a margin at the top of 1.6 cm and a margin of 1.8 cm at the left. The writing extends right to the edge at the right. There are a few scattered holes and a larger piece missing from the top just left of the centre extending down to line 24; at first the gap is very narrow but increases in width to 1.3 - 1.5 cm from line 10 onwards to line 24. The break at the bottom is irregular and the corner at the left is lost, removing part of the beginning of lines 32-34.

The papyrus contains writing on one side only, with the fibres. The hand is a trained one and the writing is largely cursive. Sometimes there is a break between words but this does not happen regularly. Some letters do not normally make a ligature, notably o, l and final c; initial letters in most lines are enlarged. There is a great deal of abbreviation and this abbreviation does not follow a standard pattern: generally the final letter before the part left out is raised and sometimes larger than the

other letters; note especially λ marking an abbreviated word, which is written taller than the usual λ, e.g. ἀρλ(επερῶ) in line 5. It is noteworthy that λ adscript is used with Δίωλ in line 1. Individual letter forms are typical of cursive writing of this period; note the regular occurrence of y-shaped τ.

Our document is an application for a loan of seed; parallel documents are cited in the general introduction, p. 7 nn. 26, 27. It is presented to the strategus Dius by nine farmers from the village of Pela in the Oxyrhynchite nome; eight of them are men, Noumenius, also called Panechotes, Apollonius, Totoes, Hippolytus, Pasalymis, Horus son of Pemsais, Horus son of Parais, and Naris; and one woman, Tanesneus. The applicants all claim seed-corn for very small areas of land, which in total amounts to only 7½ arourae [line 27], land which pays a rent of not less than 2½ artabas of wheat per aroura [line 28]. The amount of seed which they claim is one artaba per aroura [line 31], which is the normal amount for seed-corn, at any rate for public land [see M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten [1925], pp. 125 ff.]. Since the application is sent to the strategus, we are entitled to assume that the applicants are farmers of public land; but it is remarkable that they do not state the category of land which they are farming [contrast all other applications for seed, except P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3].

In our text we may note not only that the portion of land which each farmer is cultivating is small but also that it is being farmed either in the name of someone else

or on someone else's behalf; this is specifically indicated in lines 20, 24 and 25 [where see note], and is presumably what is meant by ὁμι(ολως) used of the other entries. The missing part at the end of the document no doubt followed the pattern which we know of from parallel documents and which is indicated above in the general introduction, pp.7-23. The part preserved, however, does not follow exactly any of the known parallels, since the request begins in line 17 with Ἐπεὶ γεωργο(μ)εν and continues [lines 28-31] with καὶ ταύτας σπείρομεν ... καὶ δαπανῶμεν ... εἰς σπ(έρ)ματα (πυροῦ ἀρταβήν) α before we reach the main verb ἀξ(ι)λοῦ(μ)εν .

## 4

- Δίωι ρ[τρ]α(τηγῶ) vacat  
 παρὰ Νουμ[ην]ίου το(ῦ) χ(αί) Πανεχώ(του) Ἀπολλωνίου(υ)  
 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μη(τρὸς) Διεεῦτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) ιζ  
 ἀσήμ(ου) καὶ Ἀπ[ολλ]ωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλω(νίου) τοῦ καὶ  
 5 Τοτοέως μη(τρὸς) [ ]λη( ) ὡς (ἐτῶν) ογ ο(ύλη)  
 ἀντ(ικνημῖω) ἀρι(στερῶ) καὶ  
 Τοτοέως [ ]α... πους <μητρὸς> Ἀπολλωνίας  
 ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ ο(ύλη) ἀστ(ραγάλω) ἀ[ρι(στερῶ)] καὶ Ἴππολ(ύτου)  
 Πιταίου τοῦ Πιταίου  
 μη(τρὸς) Φιλοῦτ[ος ὡ]ς (ἐτῶν) λς ο(ύλη) ἀντ(ικνημῖω)  
 ἀρι(στερῶ) καὶ Πασαλ(ύμιος)  
 Φιλήμονος [τ]οῦ α... ακος μη(τρὸς) Ἡλείτος  
 10 ὡς (ἐτῶν) ο ο(ύλη) δακτ(ύλω) ι( ) χιρι( ) καὶ Ὠρου  
 Πεμύγι(ος)  
 τοῦ Ἀξι[ ]υ μη(τρὸς) Τ[ε]θεῦτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) με  
 ο(ύλη) γό(νατι) δεξι(ίω) καὶ Ὠρου Παράιτος τοῦ Παράιτ(ος)  
 μη(τρὸς) Κοή[ρεως ὡ]ς (ἐτῶν) ξα ο(ύλη) μετόπ(ω) καὶ  
 Νάρίδος  
 Λιλλάιτος [τοῦ Κ]ολλούθ(ου) μη(τρὸς) Δημέτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ  
 15 [ο(ύλη)] μετ[ί(ω)ρ]ωμ[έω] καὶ Τανε]νεῦτ(ος) Πεπεμίνιο(ς)  
 μη(τρὸς) Θερμ( )  
 μετὰ κυρί[ου Ἡρ]ᾶτος τοῦ Ἡρᾶτος τοῦ Ἀπολλω( )  
 πάντων[ν τῶν ἀ]πὸ κώμ(ης) Πέλα. Ἐπεὶ γεωργο(ῦμεν)  
 περὶ Μουσα... ἔκ τοῦ {τοῦ} Πυθέου καὶ ἄλ(λων)  
 κλήρω(ν) με [ ]... Ἀπολλω( ) Ἀπολλω( ) με...

- 20 δ μὲν Κ[ουμή]νι<ο>ς δ καὶ Πανεχώ(της) εἰς τὸν πατ(έρα)  
τετελε(ευτηκότα) (ἄρουραν) α [καὶ] δ Ἀπολλώνι<ο>ς  
δμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) α καὶ  
[δ Ἰ]ππόλ[υτος δμ(οίως)] (ἄρουραν) α καὶ δ Πασάλῦμ(ις)  
δμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) (ἡμεῖς)  
καὶ δ Ἔρος [Πε]μόν(υιος) δμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) (ἡμεῖς) καὶ  
δ Ἔρος Παρά(ιτος)  
δμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) α καὶ δ Νῆρις ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτ(οῦ) (?) καὶ  
Κολλούθ(ου) ἀδελ(φοῦ)
- 25 (ἄρουραν) α καὶ ἡ Ταν[ε]νε(ῦς) εἰς κοιν Ἰεντ( )  
ακλ( ) παλ( )  
(ἄρουραν) α (γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) ζ καὶ δ Τοτῶης μέτοχ(ος)  
Δαμάτ(ος) Δε ( )  
(ἄρουραν) (ἡμεῖς) (γίνονται) ἐπ(ί) τ[ὸ αὐ]τ(ὸ) (ἄρουραι)  
ζ (ἡμεῖς) τελοῦσαι κατ' ἄρο(υραν)  
οὐκ ἔλασσο(ν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) β (ἡμεῖς), καὶ ταύτας  
σπείρωμεν  
τῷ ἐνεστ(ῶτι) γ (ἔτει) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα
- 30 Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ πυρῶ καὶ  
δαπανῶμεν κατ' ἄρο(υραν) εἰς σπ(έρματα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην)  
α, ἀξιοῦμ(εν)  
[.....]ανωμ( ) εἰς σπ(έρματα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ζ  
(ἡμεῖς) ἐπισταλῆ(ναι)  
[ἡμῖν] διὰ Παμείτος καὶ τῶν μετόχ(ων) εἰτολ(όγων)  
[.....]... κωμ( ) ἄς καὶ καταθη(σόμεθα) εἰς τῆ(ν)  
35 [γῆν

- 1  $\epsilon[\tau\rho]^{\alpha}$       2  $\tau\omicron^{\chi}$      $\pi\alpha\nu\epsilon\chi^{\omega}$      $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\iota^{\circ}$   
 3  $\mu^{\eta}$     L, and so passim      4  $\alpha\sigma\eta^{\mu}$      $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda^{\omega}$   
 5  $\mu^{\eta}$     ] $\lambda^{\eta}$      $\bar{o}$ , and so passim     $\alpha\nu^{\tau}$      $\alpha\rho^{\iota}$   
 7  $\alpha\epsilon^{\tau}$      $\dot{\iota}\pi\kappa\omicron^{\lambda}$      $\pi\iota\tau\alpha\iota^{\circ}$       8  $\mu\eta^{\tau}$      $\alpha\nu^{\tau}$      $\alpha\rho^{\iota}$      $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha^{\lambda}$   
 9  $\mu\eta^{\tau}$       10  $\delta\alpha\kappa^{\tau}$      $\chi\iota\rho^{\iota}$      $\pi\epsilon\mu\sigma\alpha\iota^{\circ}$       11  $\mu^{\eta}$   
 12  $\gamma\bar{o}$      $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota^{\tau}$       13  $\mu\eta^{\tau}$      $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{o}$ ), 1.  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\pi\omega$ , so 1.15  
 14  $\kappa]$  $\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon^{\theta}$      $\mu^{\eta}$       15 ] $\sigma\nu\epsilon\upsilon^{\tau}$      $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\nu\iota^{\circ}$      $\mu\eta^{\tau}$   
 $\theta\epsilon\rho^{\mu}$       16  $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda^{\omega}$       17  $\kappa\omega^{\mu}$      $\gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma^{\circ}$       18  $\alpha^{\lambda}$   
 19  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho^{\omega}$      $\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda^{\omega}$  bis      20  $\omicron^{\chi}$      $\pi\alpha\nu\epsilon\chi^{\omega}$      $\pi\alpha^{\tau}$   
 21  $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon^{\lambda}$      $\zeta$  , so passim       $\omicron^{\mu}$ , so passim  
 22  $\dot{\iota}$  =  $\eta\mu\iota\sigma\upsilon$ , so lines 23, 27, 28    ] $\mu\bar{\epsilon}$      $\pi\alpha\rho^{\alpha}$   
 24  $\hat{\upsilon}$      $\alpha\nu^{\tau}$      $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon^{\theta}$      $\alpha\delta\epsilon^{\lambda}$       25  $\tau\alpha\nu[\epsilon\sigma]\nu^{\epsilon}$      $\alpha\kappa^{\lambda}$      $\pi\alpha^{\lambda}$   
 26 / =  $\dot{\gamma}\dot{\iota}\dot{\nu}\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\alpha\iota$      $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\chi$      $\delta\alpha\mu\alpha^{\tau}$     27  $\epsilon^{\pi^{\circ}}$      $\alpha\nu]^{\tau}$      $\alpha\rho\bar{o}$   
 28  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon^{\circ}$      $\wp$  so lines 31, 32      29  $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma^{\tau}$   
 31  $\alpha\rho\bar{o}$      $\zeta$      $\alpha\Xi\iota\omicron\upsilon^{\mu}$       32 ] $\alpha\nu\omega^{\mu}$      $\zeta$      $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda^{\eta}$   
 33  $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\chi$      $\sigma\iota\tau\omicron^{\lambda}$       34  $\kappa\omega^{\mu}$      $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\theta^{\eta}$      $\tau^{\eta}$

Translation

'To Dius, strategus, from Noumenius also called Panechotes son of Apollonius the son of Apollonius, mother Dieeus, about 17 years old, unscarred, and Apollonius son of Apollonius also called Totoes, mother . . . , about 73 years old with a scar on his left shin, and Totoes . . . mother Apollonia, about 30 years old with a scar on the ball of the left foot, and Hippolytus son of Pitaeus son of Pitaeus mother Philous about 36 years old with a scar on his left shin, and Pasalymis son of Philemon son of Sa . . . . , mother Helis, about 70 years old with a scar on the . . . finger of his left (?) hand, and Horus son of Pemounis, son of Axi . . . . , mother Tetheus, about 45 years old with a scar on the right knee, and Horus son of Parais son of Parais, mother Soeris, about 61 years old with a scar on his forehead, and Naris son of Lillais son of Collouthus, mother Demas, about 40 years old with a scar on his <sup>mid</sup> forehead, and Tanesneus daughter of Peteminis, mother Therm[ ] with Heras son of Heras son of Apollo[ ] as guardian, all from the village of Pela. Since we are farming near Mousa . . . in the holding of Pytheas and the other holdings . . . Noumenius also called Panechotes in the name of his deceased father 1 aroura and Apollonius likewise 1 aroura and Hippolytus likewise 1 aroura and Pasalymis likewise ½ aroura and Horus son of Pemounis likewise ½ aroura and Horus son of Parais likewise 1 aroura and Naris for himself and his brother Collouthus 1 aroura and Tanesneus in the name of . . . 1 aroura, totalling 7

arourae, and Toteus a partner with Damas son of De . . .  
½ aroura, together totalling 7½ arourae, at a rent not  
less than 2½ artabae of wheat per aroura, and since we are  
sowing them in the present 3rd year of Imperator Caesar  
Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus with wheat, and using  
one artaba of wheat as seed for the aroura, we request  
authority for the payment to us of 7½ artabae of wheat  
being needed for seed through Pamis and his fellow sitologi  
of . . . which we shall also plant in the land . . . .

Notes to the text

1. Δίωλ ς[τρ]α(τηγῶ) : the first half of ω in Δίωλ is broken but there is no problem about the reading. The reading following is more difficult, but must be an abbreviated form of στρατηγῶ, since we know from P. Oxy. XII 1452.57-8 that Dios was strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome in this year [for the correct reading see P. Oxy. XXII 2342.17n]. On Dios see further the note to P. Oxy. ined. 9.1. Here both ς and α are broken, and we should perhaps read στρς as the abbreviation.
2. Νουμ[ην]ίου : in line 20 the writer has put Ν[ουμή]νις which could be the correct form of the nominative, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon; it seems better to correct there and suppose the nominative was Νουμήνιος .  
 τo(ῶ) κ(άλ) : the τ is written in the form like an u, as frequently elsewhere in this text . o is very small and k is also small and cursively written above the line.
3. Ἀπολλωνίου : the ω is broader than is usual in this hand.
4. ἄρχημ(ου) : μ is written on top of η. For these identification marks used of people in the papyri see A. Calderini, 'L'indicazioni dell'età individuale nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano', Rassegna italiana di lingua e litterature classiche II [1920], pp. 317-25; J. Hasebroek, Das Signalement in den Papyrusurkunden [1921];

A. Caldara, L'indicazione dei connotati nei documenti papiracei dell 'Egitto greco-romano', Studi della Scuola Papirologica 4.2 [1924]; G. Hubsch, Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsvermerk im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri, Berl. Jur. Abh. [1968].

Ἀη[ολλ]ωνίου : the lacuna admits three letters so that the restoration ολλ is very probable. The name is extremely common and the τού following may suggest that the son had the same name as his father.

5. [-]λη ( ) : η is y-shaped and raised to mark an abbreviation; before it λ is far from certain. Perhaps [Τα]λη (τὸς) . Also possible is μη(τρός) [Α]λευ(τὸς).

6. The reading between Τοτοέως and Ἀπολλωνίας is very difficult but it is not possible to read the expected <μητρός>; presumably the scribe left this out by mistake. Before this we should have the genitive ending of the name of Totoes' father, but the final ς is very hard to read.

7. ἄστ(ραγάλω) ἄ[ρι(τερῶ)] : this, and not ἄντ(ικνημίω) seems to be the correct reading. After this word traces of α survive and the space could contain ρ and a raised λ .

Ἰηνολ(ύτων) : a rare name, see Namenbuch.

Πιταίου : the name is even rarer, see Namenbuch.

8. Φιλοῦτ[ος] : this can be either a masculine or a feminine name; here it is feminine.

ἄντ(ικνημίω) : the ν is very cursively written and ligatured at left and right; but we cannot here read ἄστ(φαγάλω) .

9. Ca...ακος : traces of all the letters survive, but the middle of the name is much damaged and the dotted letters are all doubtful.
10. δακτ(ύλω) , λ( ) χλρλ( ) : the scribe seems to have made some mistakes here. We need after δακτύλω a description of the finger, then χλρός followed by ἄρρτερῶς or δεξιῶς . Perhaps we should take χ(ε)λρλ as haplography for χλρ<αρ>λ = χ(ε)λρ(ός) ἄρρ(τερῶς) . What precedes is still a problem. It would be possible to read τρῖ(τω) , but this description of a finger does not seem to be used in the papyri. Neither λι(χάνω) nor μι(κρῶ) would seem to be possible.

~~Πεμς. ἄλο(ς) : this is a common name and is presumably what the scribe intended, but there is some difficulty in the reading: under the microscope one can see that ς is corrected and something written above it. Was the scribe trying to correct ς to ψ ? For the different forms of the name see Namebuch. See also the note to line 23.~~

11. ἄελ[.....]υ : names beginning with these letters are very rare according to Namebuch and Onomasticon, and neither records a masculine name which would be suitable here.
12. γό(νατλ) : ο is more like an elongated dot than a circle or semi-circle, and the γ seems to have been

written to join a horizontal dash over the O to mark the abbreviation. There is no reason to doubt the reading, however.

Ω]ρου : we can be certain of the name because of the available space and because the name appears in full in line 23.

Παράλιτος : here the name looks more like Παράλιτος, but in its other occurrences (in this line and again in line 23) ρ is a better reading than λ. Namenbuch gives no example of either name, but Onomasticon has an example of Παράλις in P. Merton I 23.1.

13. Κοή[ρωσ : for the restoration of this name see Namenbuch and Onomasticon, and cf. SB I 5138.6. Because we must also have the ω of ω]ς in the lacuna, this name is just the right length.

14. Λιλλάιτος : not in Namenbuch nor Onomasticon, but the names Λιλλᾶ [feminine] and Λαίτιος [masculine] are attested from the Greek papyri. The formation does not seem peculiar and the reading looks certain.

[του : there is clearly need for something to fill the space apart from the κ of κ]ολλούθ(ου) ; we could restore τ(ου) κ(αί) , but the other farmers record their grandfathers' names as well as their fathers'.

Δημάτος : this form does not seem to occur elsewhere as a woman's name, but the form Δημήτος is found in P. Oxy. III 503.2.

15.

[καὶ Τανέ]ενεὺτ(ος) : the reading has been arrived at by comparison with line 25. καὶ is necessary grammatically to connect this name with those preceding and we know from the article ἡ in line 25 that this woman has been mentioned previously; this article also proves that this farmer is a woman, as does the mention of her κύριος . In line 25 Τα is certain as the start of her name, but the ν following is uncertain; this line has room for two letters before νε(υς) and we know from line 15 that the second of these is ε .  
 Τανέενεὺς is attested as a woman's name.

16. κυρίλου : we need the genitive ending because of μετὰ preceding. For the occurrence of a κύριος see note to line 5 in P. Oxy. ined. 9.

Ἡρ]ᾶτος : it is common in the papyri for a person to have the same name as his father, and this is shown here by the use of the article before the father's name; and therefore the restoration is more or less certain.

Ἀπολλω( ) : most probably Ἀπολλω(νίου) but there are other possibilities.

17. πάντων τῶν ἀ]πό : we know from many parallel texts that we must read either this here or πάντων ἀπό without τῶν . From the size of the lacuna the inclusion of the article is more suitable.

Πέλα : a village in the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome; see also P. Oxy. ined. 9, note to line 11.

17ff. For the request formula in this text see the discussion above, general introduction, p. 14-16.

18. Μουσα[...]υ: since the letter after μ cannot be χ, neither Wörterbuch III 16a nor Calderini, Dizionario, records any name here from the Oxyrhynchite nome which will suit the traces. The papyrus here is badly frayed. This seems to be a new village name, perhaps of a place near Pela.

ἐκ τοῦ {τοῦ} : this is very cursively written but the reading seems correct. If so the writer presumably repeated τοῦ by mistake.

18-19. Πυθέου καὶ ἄλ(λων) κλήρω(ν) : for the names of kleroi in the Oxyrhynchite nome see P. Pruneti, 'ΚΛΗΡΟΙ del nomo Ossirinichite. Ricerca topografica', Aegyptus 55 [1975], pp. 159-244. On p. 198 she records a kleros Σελεύκου καὶ Πυθέου in the middle toparchy from PSI IX 1072. If the kleros here is in the western toparchy it seems to be new.

19. It is not clear what is intended by the words following κλήρω(ν). At the end of the line the reading seems to be μεσσε, but this is not a Greek word.

20. Ν[ουμή]νε<ο>ς : see the note to line 2.

εἰς : for its meaning see the note to P. Oxy. ined. 5, [line 12].

21. (ἄρουραν) α: the α is not a secure reading; but we know the total amount of 7½ arouras in line 27 and all the other individual amounts can be read for certain; if we deduct these from 7½ what is left for Noumenios is one aroura.

ὄμ(οίως) : this and the next four entries all have this word after the name of the father. Apparently it means that the land is being farmed on the same conditions as those which applied to Noumenios, i.e. that these men are all farming the land in the name of their deceased fathers. This does not seem very likely.

22. Ἰ]ππὸλ[υτοσ : For the name see line 7, but here it seems that the writer wrote the name in full. Even so there is still room in the lacuna and comparison with the preceding and following entries suggests we should supply ὄμ(οίως) .

~~23. [Πε]μ(οίως) : For the name see line 10 and note.~~

~~There is a stroke almost on top of the ε as a sign of abbreviation.~~

24. ὕη(ερ) ἀῦτ(οῦ) : this reading is very doubtful; if correct it means that Naris is farming the land on behalf of himself and his brother Collouthus.

25. For the reading Ταν[ε]νε(ὸς) see line 15 and note.

What follows is very obscure. εἰς should be followed by a proper name in the accusative, meaning that Tanesneus is farming the land in the name of this person; it is not unlikely that this name ends with the letters ζολυ. If so another name [father's name in the genitive case?] appears to follow and may begin Ἰεῦτ, although the dotted letters are uncertain. One or two names beginning this way are attested in Namenbuch. What follows is still wholly unclear.

26. Why is Totoes added after the total has already been given? Did the writer just forget to mention him?

μέτοχ(ος) : the reading is certain, cf. μετόχ(ων)  
 in line 33. I think it is sensible to use it as a noun  
 in apposition with Τοτόης, meaning 'partner' of the  
 man following, but I know of no exact parallel.

Δαμάτ(ος) : Damas is a common name and the genitive  
 will indicate that Totoes is 'partner of Damas'. The  
 cursively written letters following are no doubt the  
 name of his father.

27. The writing in this line is thicker and the ink is  
 slightly blotted.

ἐν(ὲ) τ[ὸ αὐ]τ(ό) : palaeographically the reading is  
 very insecure as the papyrus is damaged at this place.  
 However, since ἐν(ὲ) is very probable [the papyrus  
 has ε] and we need some such expression, what  
 has been restored is likely to be correct.

τῆλοῦσαι κατ' ἄρο(υραν) οὐκ ἔλασσο(ν) (νουροῦ ἀρτάβα)

β (ἡμεῖς) : for the inclusion of this type of expression  
 in applications for seed and for its possible meaning,  
 see general introduction above, pp. 17-8.

28. καὶ ταύτας σπείρωμεν : for an expression with the  
 same meaning but not the same grammatical construction  
 see P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3, lines 3 ff.
- 29-30. For the title of the emperor see P. Bureth, Titulatures  
 imperiales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les  
 inscriptions d'Egypte [30 a.C. - 282 p.C.] [1964],  
 pp. 50-1. We may add to the examples for this same  
 regnal year ined. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8.

31.  $\delta\alpha\eta\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$  : the same word, but in a different grammatical construction, in ined. 2 = 3 [lines 4 ff.].

$\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\mu(\epsilon\nu)$  : here the main clause begins; cf. ined. 2 = 3 [lines 5 ff.]. The usual word in applications is  $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ , see general introduction, p. 14.

32. [.....]  $\alpha\gamma\omega\mu( )$  : From the similar phrasing in ined. 2 = 3 [lines 4 ff.] we should expect here  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\kappa\upsilon\nu\alpha\chi\omicron(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma)$ , but this cannot be read. The  $\nu$  here is probable and the rest of the reading certain; therefore we probably have some part of the verb  $\delta\alpha\eta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ . Most probably we should read [ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\delta\alpha\eta$ ]  $\alpha\gamma\omega\mu(\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma)$ , which is suitable to the space and to the grammatical construction; these words will agree with  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\varsigma$  and will be the object of  $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\tilde{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota$ .

33. [ $\tilde{\eta}\mu\tilde{\iota}\nu$ ] : there is no comparable word in ined. 2 = 3, but something is needed to fill the space here and  $\tilde{\eta}\mu\tilde{\iota}\nu$  is a sensible restoration and suits the size of the space.

$\Pi\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  : the dotted letters are all uncertain, but the name as a whole is probably correct;  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\varsigma$  occurs quite frequently, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

$\kappa\iota\tau\omicron\lambda(\acute{\omicron}\chi\omega\nu)$  : for the role of the sitologi in distributing seed-corn see P. Oxy. ined. 2.7n., and general introduction, p. 9 n. 31.

34.  $\kappa\omega\mu( )$  : if this reading is right, it should probably be expanded  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu(\eta\varsigma)$  or  $\kappa\omega\mu(\tilde{\omega}\nu)$ .

34ff. For the phrase regarding the planting of the seed and the phrases which will have followed in the lost part see general introduction, pp.20-5 and cf. especially the parallel type of application, P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3.

## 5. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite nomeA.D. 229/230

Inv. no. 26. 3B. 83/H[1-2]a

This piece of papyrus contains an application for a loan of seed-corn. Parallels are P. Coll. Youtie I 22 [A.D. 87/8], nos. 1-4 above [A.D. 99-100], P. Coll. Youtie I 26 [A.D. 156], P. Hamb. I 19 [A.D. 225], P. Oxy. VII 1031 = W. Chr. 343 [A.D. 228], SPP XX 34 [A.D. 232/3] and P. Flor. I 21 [A.D. 239].

The papyrus measures 14.9 cms at the top and 15.5 cms at the bottom; 13.9 cms in height at the left hand side, and 15.5 cms at the right hand side. A small oblong hole is broken away from the top extending down through lines 1 and 2. At the left hand side there is a margin of 2.3 cms. There is no margin at the right, but there are several small holes, especially towards the top and in the middle. The papyrus is broken off at the bottom, where it is irregular and slightly frayed. On the whole the surface is smooth, but there are a few creases which do not affect the reading. It has a crack towards the left from the middle downwards.

The writing is a medium-sized cursive, the work of a competent scribe. It bears palaeographical resemblance to several documents coming from the first half of the third century: cf. W. Schubart, Griechische Palaeographie, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I 4,1 [1925], p.78 Abb. 48 [BGU 356 = W. Chr. 88; A.D. 213]; idem, Papyri Graecae Berolinenses, Tabulae in usum Scholarum [1911], 34b [BGU 321 = W. Chr. 11; A.D. 216]; R. Seider, Palaeographie

der griechischen Papyri I, Urkunden [1967], n. 43  
 (P. Vindob. G 2331 A.D. 218; Tafel 27); Schubart,  
P. Gr. Berol. 36a [BGU 1062 = W. Chr. 276 A.D. 236].

Note that the first letter of each line is larger than the rest. There is a regular space between the lines, sometimes also a narrow gap between words. The lines are strictly horizontal. Among individual letters note the K, written in two movements without lifting the pen and with a small loop at the top of the left stroke [see lines 1, 3, 4 and 5], and Π, written in two strokes with a tail at the end of the second stroke going to the right [cf. A. Bataille, 'La dynamique de l'écriture grecque d'après les textes papyrologiques', Rech. Pap. 2 [1962], p. 16]. ε can be almost an uncial semicircle with crossbar [see εK line 12]. There are some bold ligatures, as with ρη in Αὐρηλίω line 3 [cf. Schubart, Griechische Palaeographie, p. 79].

If we compare our document with those cited above, we notice that the imperial date is missing at the foot. The only date mentioned in the document is the present ninth year, the year of the sowing [line 9], during which the application was presented.<sup>1</sup> This year can be dated to the reign of the emperor Alexander Severus, i.e. A.D. 229/30,<sup>2</sup> for several reasons.

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1. Applications for seed-corn are presented to the officials in the same year as that of the sowing [see general introduction p. 16 n.55].
  2. See Wörterbuch III Abs. 2, p. 62;  
 P. Bureth, Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte [30 a.C. - 284 p.C.] [1964], p. 108;  
 P. Strasb. 69.1; P51 V 450.70; BGU IV 1074.8 = SB 5225.

It is known that after the granting of the Roman citizenship within the Roman Empire as a result of the Constitutio Antoniniana in A.D. 212,<sup>3</sup> the newly enfranchised citizens of all classes acquired the name Aurelius as a formal gentilicium.<sup>4</sup> Before the edict, provincials who sought and were granted the citizenship customarily acquired the family names of their patrons, not only for pride and prestige but also and most of all because as citizens they would be registered in the official lists for recognition of their right to Roman status.<sup>5</sup> In the present document

we find a group of people [lines 3-5] who farm βασιλικήν γῆν [lines 8-9], and apparently they are βασιλικοί

3. See P. Giss 40 Col. 1, 7-11 = M. Chr. 377 [A.D. 212]; Dio 78 9.5; Ulpian, Digest 1, 5, 17; St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei v, 17; Scriptores Historiae Augustae x, 1, 2; A. N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship [1973], pp. 380 ff.
4. See P. Jouguet, La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine [1911], p. 355; U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunden I, i [1912], p. 55; Fergus Millar, 'The date of the Constitutio Antoniniana' JEA 58 [1962], pp. 127-9; D. Hagedorn, 'Quittung eines Reiters über den Empfang von Gerste [P. Colon. Inv. 265]', ZPE 1 [1967], pp. 140-1. cf. Z. Rubin, 'Further to the dating of the Constitutio Antoniniana', Latomus 14 [1975], pp. 431-6; Hartmut Wolff, Die Constitutio Antoniniana und Papyrus Gissensis 40 1 [Diss. Köln 1976] [not seen].
5. See Pliny, Epistulae x, 33, 1, 6 and 26; Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship, p. 246, nn. 2, 3, 5 and pp. 314 ff.

or *δημόσιοι γεωργοί* ;<sup>6</sup> they all bear the name Aurelius and this must be as a result of the Constitutio Antoniniana. It has been shown that the Constitutio Antoniniana was known in Egypt almost certainly by June A.D. 213.<sup>7</sup> Our document must have been written at a time after the Constitutio Antoniniana was made known in Egypt. The farmers present their application to the *κωμογραμματεὺς* (line 1). The office of *κωμογραμματεὺς* is attested in Egypt as late as A.D. 244/5 (P. Oxy. XLII 3046.1) and Feb./Mar. 245 (P. Oxy. XLII 3047.1), for the Oxyrhynchite nome.<sup>8</sup> With the introduction of comarchs into Egypt towards the middle of the third century - the earliest attestation for the office in the Oxyrhynchite nome is A.D. 247/8 (P. Oxy. XVII 2123.5) and in the Arsinoite

6. cf. P. Lond. II 256 R, p. 97 = W. Chr. 344 [A.D. 11-15] P. Oxy. II 368 [A.D. 43-4];  
See A. C. Johnson, Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian [Econ. Sur. Anc. Rome 2] [1936], p. 74;  
Nicholas Hohlwein, 'Le blé d'Egypte', Et. Pap. 4 [1938], p. 41.
7. See D. Hagedorn, ZPE cited in note 4.  
cf. also Rubin cited in the same note.  
Millar, JEA 58 [1962], pp. 127-9, suggests a slightly different date, but this does not affect the dating of the present papyrus. On the time taken by news to reach the various parts of Egypt, cf. U. Wilcken, Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien I [1899], pp. 600 ff.  
G. Chalon, L'Édit de Tiberius Iulius Alexander, Étude historique et exégétique [1964], pp. 45 ff.
8. See Z. Borkowski and D. Hagedorn, 'ΑΜΦΟΔΟΚΩΜΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ zur Verwaltung der Dörfer Aegyptens im 3 J ht. n.Chr.', Le Monde Grec Hommage à Claire Préaux [1975], p. 281 n. 1; further J. D. Thomas, 'The Introduction of Dekaprotai and Comarchs into Egypt in the third Century A.D.' ZPE 19,1 [1975], p. 114 nn. 23, 24 and p. 115 nn. 25, 26, 27 and the following pages.

nome A.D. 250-253/6[SB VI 9408,9] - the office of *κωμογραμματεύς* ceased to exist.<sup>9</sup> From this evidence it has been deduced that the *κωμογραμματεύς* was replaced by the *κωμαρχος* at a date lying between Feb./Mar. A.D. 245 and 247/8.<sup>10</sup> The date of this document will consequently fall in the period between June 213 and 245 or 247/8. The only emperor whose reign lasted more than eight years after the emperor Caracalla within this period is the emperor Severus Alexander, A.D. 222-35, in whose reign the ninth year falls in 229/30.<sup>11</sup>

The text before us is an application for a loan of seed-corn presented to the komogrammateus<sup>12</sup> by four persons who cultivate five parcels of royal land in five different holdings. Its formula on the whole follows the general formula in applications of this

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9. See Borkowski and Hagedorn, Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux [1975], p. 281 nn. 2, 3; p. 282 n. 4; Thomas, ZPE 19, 1 [1975], p. 113 nn. 13, 14 and the following pages.
  10. See Borkowski and Hagedorn, Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux [1975], p. 282; Thomas, ZPE 19, 1 [1975], p. 115 n. 27, pp. 118 ff.
  11. See Wörterbuch III Abs. 3; Wörterbuch Suppl. 1 Abs. 2; Bureth, Les titulatures imperiales, p. 108; P. W. Pestman, Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. - 453 ap. J.-C.) [1967], p. 113.
  12. Note that the government official to whom applications for loans of seed-corn were sent is not always the same, as we can see from parallel texts. In P. Coll. Youtie I 22 [87/8] it is the strategus. For the komogrammateus applying to the basilikos grammateus for seed-corn for farmers see P. Tebt. II 341 [A.D. 140/1]. See also general introduction, pp. 8 n. 30 and 11.

kind, but the occurrence in lines 9-11 of the phrase  
 προτεταχμένου μὲν Μάρκ[ου] Λολλίου Λεωνίδου καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου  
 Ἀθηνοδώρου γεωργῶν is new and distinctive. The  
 phrase is in the genitive absolute and so independent  
 of the rest of the construction of the text. The common  
 usage and meaning of the compound προτάσσω in Greek  
 papyri is 'aforesaid',<sup>13</sup> and this apparently does not  
 fit in the present context, because the names M. Lollius  
 Leonides and Athenodorus son of Athenodorus have not been  
 previously mentioned in the text. If we exclude this  
 phrase from the text for the moment, the text follows  
 the usual pattern in this type of document and the  
 understanding of its content is clear. The applicants  
 are presumably lessees, making a request for a loan of  
 seed-corn for royal land which formerly belonged to  
 Heraclides son of Ptolemaeus and to Apollonaria also  
 called Aristandra (lines 11-12). This royal land which  
 they cultivate is in five parcels; parcels 1 and 2 are  
 registered in the name of Dion[ ] son of Agathinus  
 (line 12),<sup>14</sup> parcel 5 is registered in the name of  
 Papontos son of Ariston (Lines 17-18).<sup>15</sup> As for parcel

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13. Wörterbuch, s.v.;  
Wörterbuch Suppl. 1 s.v.;  
Spoglio s.v.; and later publications of Greek papyri.

14. See note to line 12.

15. See note to lines 17-18.

3 [line 16], we should understand that it formerly belonged in some way to the same Dion[ ] son of Agathinus, but it is not known in whose name it is now registered. Possibly the parcel is part of a confiscated kleros and the applicants are responsible for the rent.<sup>16</sup> Parcel 4 is complicated because it is uncertain how to expand the abbreviations *πρ( ) χλ( )*; cf. the note, where one possibility is suggested [this seems more probable than expanding *πρ(τερον) χλ( )*, which would have to be understood as land formerly belonging to *Chl( )*]. From the above we should presumably deduce that the applicants are subleasing parcels 1 and 2 from Dion[ ] son of Agathinus, and parcel 5 from Papontos son of Ariston, who are likely to be lessees of *βασιλική γῆ* from the state. Besides subleasing parcels 1, 2 and 5 the applicants are presumably leasing parcels 3 and 4 directly from the state, since they are paying rent and these parcels are not mentioned as being in the name of any other person. The *βασιλική γῆ* is described in lines 11-12 as formerly belonging to Heraclides son of Ptolemaeus

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16. See P. Flor. I 21 [A.D. 239], application for seed corn; also P. Tebt. 341 [A.D. 140/1], a letter concerning seed-corn from the komogrammateus of Thegonis, a village in the division of Polemon, to the basilikos grammateus of the division of Themistes, notifying him of the amount of seed-corn required to be advanced to certain inhabitants of Thegonis who cultivate crown lands at another village. Compare also P. Oxy. XL 2956 [A.D. 148/9], order for a grant of seed, in which the receivers of the loan are understood to cultivate the land jointly; P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 = SB X 10614 = Gunter Poethke, *Epimerismos*, [Pap. Brux. 8] (1969), pp. 93 ff. [A.D. 167/8].

and Apollonaria also called Aristandra, who is likely to be the same woman as the Apollonarion also called Aristandra who appears in P. Oxy. VI 899 of A.D. 200. There because of her sex she petitioned the dioicetes to be released from the georgia of several parcels of βασιλική γῆ, and apparently she gains this exemption.<sup>17</sup>

To come back to the phrase in lines 9-11: προτεταχμένου μὲν Μάρκου Δολλίου Λεωνίδου καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρου Ἀθηνόδωρου γεωργῶν . I suggest the possibility that within the context in our papyrus the most appropriate translation of the verb is 'having been appointed',<sup>18</sup> the whole phrase perhaps meaning that M. Lollius Leonides and Athenodorus have been appointed to the land, understanding with the verb εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν γῆν . This would then perhaps mean that Leonides and Athenodorus were leasing the

17. cf. BGU II 648 = W. Chr. 360 12-14 [A.D. 164 or 196]; Wilcken, GO I p. 701; Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 321; Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 76; cf. Naphtali Lewis, 'Exemption from Liturgy in Roman Egypt', Actes du Xme cong. intern. pap. [1964], p. 70 n. 5, p. 71 n. 11. Women were not compelled to cultivate state land, see S. von Bolla, 'Pacht' PW 18.4[1949] Col. 2455; N. Hohlwein, 'Le blé d'Egypte', Et. Pap. 4 [1938] p. 43 n. 5; Chalon, L'Édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander, pp. 105, 239 n. 12, 240 n. 20; Naphtali Lewis, 'Exemption from Liturgy in Roman Egypt', Atti dell XI cong. intern. pap. [1966], pp. 512-3; cf. Hans-Christian Kuhnke, Οὐσιακὴ γῆ : Domänenland in den Papyri der Prinzipatszeit [Diss. Köln 1975], p. 49 nn. 4, 5.
18. For this meaning of the word cf. LSJ s.v. 2, and E. A. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods [1914], s.v., cf. n. 13 above.

land involuntarily and as a result of some form of compulsory cultivation.<sup>19</sup> Because compulsory cultivation was a burden on people liable to it, such people tried to avoid it by subleasing or running away

(ἀναχώρησις).<sup>20</sup> In our document we should perhaps conclude that M. Lollius Leonides and Athenodorus son of Athenodorus have sublet parcels 1 and 2 to Dion[ ] son of Agathinus and parcel 5 to Papontos son of Ariston, who in turn sublet them to the applicants, and have sublet parcels 3 and 4 directly to the applicants.

If this is right, the whole situation is very complicated.

See addenda .

19. See above all G. Poethke, Epimerismos, Betrachtung zur Zwangspacht in Ägypten während der Prinzipatszeit [1969].  
cf. M. Rostowzew, Studien zur Geschichte der römischen Kolonates [1910], pp. 195 ff.;  
Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 295 ff., 319 ff.;  
F. Dertel, Die Liturgie Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens [1917], pp. 95 ff.;  
Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 77-80;  
Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], p. 43;  
R. Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C. - 640 A.D.<sup>2</sup> [1955], p. 660;  
Kuhnke, Οὐσιακή ἰή, pp. 44-7, 51-2;  
H. Cadell, 'La ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ en Égypte: Genèse d'un thème économique et politique', Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux [1975], pp. 639-45.

20. See V. Martin, 'Les papyrus et l'histoire administrative de l'Égypte greco-romaine', Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft. Münchener Beiträge 19. Heft [1934], pp. 144 ff.;  
H. Braunert, 'ΙΑΔΙΑ . Studien zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten', JJP 9-10 [1955/6], pp. 240-93;  
Poethke, Epimerismos, pp. 69-75 and the literature cited there.

## 5

Κωμο[γρ(αμματεῖ) ...]... εως και ἄλλων κωμῶν τῆς [ᾗ]νω  
 τ[ο]π[αρ]χ(ίας)

παρὰ Αὐρηλίω<sup>ν</sup> Ἰουλί<sup>ου</sup> Ἀμμωνίου μητρὸς Αρ...ος

και Ἀκαιραίου Παποντῶτος μητρὸς Διονυσίας και Κοπρέως

5 Καρῶτος μητρὸς Ταύριος και Παποντῶτος Κ[ο]ρνηλίου  
 μητρὸς

Θάψι<sup>ος</sup> πάντων ἀπὸ κώμης Οἰγκέφα. αἰτούμεθα ἐπιστα-

λῆ<sup>ναι</sup> εἰς <ε>πέρμ(ατα) δάνει<sup>α</sup> ἀπὸ πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ  
 διελ(θόντος) η (ἔτους)

εἰς κατασπ(ορὰν) τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος θ (ἔτους) εἰς ἦν  
 γεωργοῦμεν βασιλ(ικὴν)

γῆν περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην, προτεταγμένου μὲν

10 Μάρχ[ο]ν Λολλίου Λεωνίδου και Ἀθηνοδώρου Ἀθηνοδώρου γεωρ-  
 γῶν πρότ(ερον) Ἡρακλείδου Πτολε(μαίου) ἀγ<ο>ρανομήσαντ(ος)  
 και γυ(μνασιαρχήσαντος) και Ἀπολλ[λω-]

ναρίας τῆς και Ἀριετάνδρα<sup>ς</sup> ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Δωειθ(έου) εἰς  
 Διον( ) Ἀγαθ(εῖνου)

ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) βη<sup>ις</sup> και (δραχμὰς) ε (διῦβολον)  
 χ(αλκοῦς) γ ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) κςΙη̄ τὸ ελ̄<sup>2</sup>  
 (ἀρούρας) ιθαη̄λο και ἐκ τ(οῦ)

Κέλσου ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γλ̄ο (ἀρούρας) γς' και ἀπὸ  
 (ἀρουρῶν) θδ' τὸ ελ̄<sup>2</sup> (ἀρούρας) ζς̄ ᾱις̄  
 και ἐκ τ(οῦ)

15 Ἀσκληπ(ιάδου) πρότ(ερον) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) Διον( ) Ἀγαθει<sup>νου</sup>  
 ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) βη<sup>ις</sup>λ̄ορκη και

(δραχμὰς) ε (πεντῶβολον)? χ(αλκοῦς) γ (ἀρούρας) ιθ<sup>α</sup> και  
 ἐκ τ(οῦ) vacat βασιλ( ) προ( ) χλ( )  
 ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ες' ἀπὸ

(ἀρουρῶν) ιββ' λ̄οξ̄ο <τὸ ελ' > (ἀρούρας) θΙηξ̄ο και ἐκ τ(οῦ)

'Αριετονίκου εἰς Παποντ(ῶτα)

'Αρίετω(νος)

τοῦ Α[ ± 8 ]ου ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γδλ̄οξ̄ο και  
(δραχμὰς) ε [ χ(αλκοῦ) ] γζ'  
(ἀρούρας) εΙη̄ και ἐκ τ(οῦ)

[ ± 9 ] εως πα[ ± 14 ] ζ' τοῦ

. . . . .

2 τ[ο]π[αρ]χ̄ 5 μη<sup>τ</sup> ταῦριος 7 εικεπερμς γενης  
διε<sup>λ</sup> ζ̄ = ἔτους 8 κατας) ζ̄ = ἔτους βασι<sup>λ</sup>  
11 προ<sup>τ</sup> πτολε<sup>ε</sup> αγρανομησαν<sup>τ</sup> γυ<sup>ν</sup> 12 δωσι<sup>θ</sup>  
διο<sup>ν</sup> αγα<sup>θ</sup> 13 αν<sup>ν</sup> χ<sup>ν</sup> εκ<sup>τ</sup> 14 αν<sup>ν</sup> εκ<sup>τ</sup>  
15 ακχλη) προ<sup>τ</sup> α<sup>ν</sup> διο<sup>ν</sup> αν<sup>ν</sup> ~~ε~~ and so passim  
16 ζ̄ and so passim χ<sup>ν</sup> λ<sup>ν</sup> and so passim  
εκ<sup>τ</sup> βασι<sup>λ</sup> ρολ̄ χ<sup>λ</sup> αν<sup>ν</sup> 17 εκ<sup>τ</sup> παπον<sup>τ</sup>  
αριετω<sup>ν</sup> 18 εκ<sup>τ</sup>

Translation

'To the village scribe of . . . and other villages in the Upper Toparchy from the Aurelii Iulius son of Ammonius, mother Ar . . . , Akairaius son of Papontos, mother Dionysia, and Copreus, son of Saras, mother Tauris, and Papontos son of Cornelius, mother Sapsis, all from the village of Sincepha. We request that there be assigned to us as loans of seed from the wheat crop of the past 8th year for the sowing of the present 9th year for the crown land which we farm near the same village, [to which] Marcus Lollius Leonides and Athenodorus, son of Athenodorus, have been appointed (?) farmers, formerly belonging to Heraclides, son of Ptolemaeus ex-agoranomus and ex-gymnasiarch, and Apollonaria also called Aristandra, in the holding of Dositheus in the name of Dion[ ], son of Agathinus at the rate of  $2 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{16}$  artabae of wheat and 5 drachmae 2 obols 3 chalchi from  $26 \frac{1}{8}$  arourae the  $\frac{3}{4}$  part  $19 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32}$  arourae and in the holding of Celsus at the rate of  $3 \frac{1}{32}$  artabae of wheat  $3 \frac{1}{2}$  arourae and from  $9 \frac{1}{4}$  arourae the  $\frac{3}{4}$  part  $7 \frac{1}{16}$  arourae and in the holding of Asclepiades formerly belonging to the same Dion[ ], son of Agathinus at the rate of  $2 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{128}$  artabae of wheat and 5 drachmae 5 obols (?) 3 chalchi  $19 \frac{3}{4}$  arourae and in the holding of . . . royal . . . at the rate of  $5 \frac{1}{2}$  artabae of wheat from  $12 \frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$  [the  $\frac{3}{4}$  part]  $9 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{64}$  arourae and in the holding of Aristonicus in the name of Papontos son of Ariston son of A . . . at rate of  $3 \frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$  artabae of wheat and 6 drachmae . . .  $3 \frac{1}{2}$  chalchi  $5 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$  arourae and in the holding of . . . . .'

Notes to the text

1.  $\kappa\omega\mu\omicron$  [ $\rho$  ( $\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ ) ...]...  $\epsilon\omega\zeta$  : the village scribe is the only official in the village administration to whom such applications would be presented; cf. P. Tebt. II 341 [140/1], a letter from the village scribe to the basilikos grammateus notifying him of the amount of seed-corn required to be advanced to the inhabitants of the village of Theogonis for the βασιλική γῆ which they cultivate in the fields belonging to the village of Argias in the division of Themistes. Cf. also P. Lond. II 256 (p.97) [A.D. 11], where the village scribe authorises with other officials the issue of seed-corn to the demosioi georgoi of the royal, sacred and other land, according to the orders of the strategus and basilikos grammateus. The village scribe is attested in Egypt as late as A.D. 244/5 and Feb./Mar. A.D. 245, see introduction. The word must be in the dative because of the construction with  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$  and the fact that the document is an application, see  $\alpha\hat{\iota}\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  [1.6]; see also general introduction, pp. 14-16.

The village name following is uncertain. The traces after the break are very meagre and it is not certain how many letters belonging to the village name have been lost in the lacuna.  $\kappa\omega\mu\omicron\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\hat{\iota}$  cannot have been written in full, but it is not certain that it was abbreviated after  $\rho$  as indicated in the transcript; the reading  $\kappa\omega\mu\omicron[\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha]^{\tau}$  is not impossible. The village will be one of the more important villages in the Upper

Toparchy near Sincepha; cf. the lists of villages in P. Oxy. X 1285, col. iii, and XIV 1659, col. i (both third century). The letter but one before εωϛ seems to have a long descender and the reading might just be Νεϛ]μ.ι.μ.εωϛ (First μ very doubtful). This village is known to have been in the Upper Toparchy (see the papyri just quoted) and is associated with Sincepha in P. Oxy. XXXVI 2782 (second/third century).

καὶ ἄλλων κωμῶν

: the village scribe could be in charge of a single village only, but it is not unusual for him to be in charge of several small villages, no doubt all close together; see Dertel, Die Liturgie, p. 157;

N. Lewis, Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (1968), s.v. For examples from the Oxyrhynchite nome see P. Oxy. XLII 3047 [245], XLIII 3133 [239]; cf. XLV 3263 [215].

2. τ[ο]η[αφ]χ (ί'αϛ) : the second half of the crossbar of τ is broken off and a hole follows; after this the bottom of a vertical stroke is visible, which appears to hook to the right like the right hand vertical of η ; however, from its position it must be part of the left hand vertical. χ is slightly raised above the line to mark the abbreviation.

3. Αρ. . . ος : there are traces of three letters in the middle of the word but they are too broken to be read; the last is perhaps τ . Namenbuch, and Onomasticon, suggest several names ending -τοϛ in the genitive which would suit, e.g. Ἀρεῖτοϛ , Ἀρϛίτοϛ , Ἀρχίτοϛ .

4. Ἀκαρπαίου : the reading is certain. The name is not attested in Namenbuch or Onomasticon. For names ending -παλος see D. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen (1957), p. 226, and for names ending -καρπλος, see ~~Dornseiff-Hansen Rückläufiges Wörterbuch~~, p. 242. For the adjective ἀκαρπος 'ill-timed', 'unseasonable', see LSJ s.v. It is probably for Ἀκαρπαίου.
- Κοηρέως : holes make the reading of η and ρ doubtful, but Κοηρῆς and Κοηρέως are common names, especially in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. Namenbuch and Onomasticon.
5. Κ[ο]ρηγίου : a Roman name, which may well imply that Papontos, who no doubt acquired the name Aurelius after the Constitutio Antoniniana, was an illegitimate son of Cornelius Sapsis and an Egyptian mother, see H. C. Youtie, 'Ἀνάτορες : Law Vs. Custom in Roman Egypt', Le Monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux (1975) pp. 737-8.
6. Κυκέφα : a well-known village which is known to have been in the Upper Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. P. Oxy. X 1285, col. iii and XIV 1659, col. i.
- αἰτούμεθα ἐπισταλήναι : for this phrase see the general introduction, pp. 14-16. The papyrus is broken through the middle of the letters at the end of ἐπισταλήναι making the reading difficult.
7. εἰς <>πέρμ(ατα) : the omission of ς in this expression is very common; cf. e.g. P. Oxy. VII 1031-9 [A.D. 228] and P. Coll. Youtie I 22.6-7 [A.D. 87/8].
- δάνελα : perhaps better read δάνελα. It seems as if the writer re-wrote the ν, perhaps over ε or something else.

For the expression  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\alpha$  see general introduction, pp. 14-16.

$\delta\epsilon\lambda(\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma)$  : the abbreviation is indicated by a large  $\lambda$  above the line; perhaps to save space it is written above the  $\epsilon$  .

( $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ) : on the symbol used here see F. Bilabel, 'Siglae', PW 2A[1923], col. 2306.

8.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\eta(\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu)$ : see general introduction p. 16.

$\gamma\epsilon\omega\phi\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$  : the  $\underline{u}$  is raised slightly as if the scribe was going to abbreviate the word and then changed his mind; cf. the  $\underline{u}$  in  $\eta\phi\omicron\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$  in 1.9. Or these could be early examples of the practice, known from the Byzantine period, of writing  $\underline{u}$  above the level of other letters.

$\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda(\lambda\kappa\acute{\eta}\nu)$  : very cursively written, but the reading is hardly open to doubt.  $\underline{L}$  is written in one movement with  $\underline{c}$  , taking the shape of a loop below the line.  $\lambda$  above the line, indicating the abbreviation, is written in two movements very much like  $\lambda$  in

$\delta\epsilon\lambda(\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma)$  [1.7].

8-9.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \eta\gamma\ \gamma\epsilon\omega\phi\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda(\lambda\kappa\acute{\eta}\nu)\ \gamma\eta\gamma$  : see general introduction pp. 16-7.

9.  $\eta\phi\omicron\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$  : see introduction to this papyrus.

The compound does not appear to have occurred elsewhere in papyri with the meaning suggested for it here.

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  : perhaps the scribe simply intended to emphasize  $\eta\phi\omicron\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$  or he may have intended to add  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$

after  $\eta\phi\omicron(\tau\epsilon\phi\omicron\nu)$  in the following phrase but forgot to do so.

10. Μάρκ[ο]υ Νολλίλου Λεωνίδου : this is a Roman name, with praenomen, gentilicium and cognomen, the gentilicium being very rare in Egypt [see Namenbuch and Onomasticon]. He looks like a person who was a Roman citizen before the Constitutio Antoniniana [see R. Taubenschlag, 'Citizens and non-Citizens in the Papyri', Opera Minora 2 [1959], p. 214 and n. 22, and the following pages]. However, as some scholars have pointed out, the fact that a man has a Roman name is not always proof of Roman citizenship, [cf. Wilcken, GO I p. 604; Dertel, Die Liturgie, p. 392 n. 1; J. Lesquier, L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien [1918] pp. 219-22, 265; H. C. Youtie, Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux [1975], pp. 723-40; I. Biezunska-Malowist, 'Les citoyens romains à Oxyrhynchus aux deux premiers siècles de l'empire', Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux [1975], pp. 741-7, particularly p. 742 n. 1]. Perhaps he is a veteran or the son of a veteran [see for example, N. Hohlwein, 'Le Veteran Lucius Bellienus Gemellus', Et. Pap. 8 [1957], pp. 69-91. R. Cavenaile, 'Prosopographie de l'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Augustus à Dioclétien', Aegyptus 50 [1970], pp. 213-320.
- 10-11. γεωργῶν : of the four letters at the end of line 10 only ε is certain, but the rest suit the traces very well and the reading of the whole word seems secure. The word is unexpected, cf. introduction.
11. πρότ(ερον) : τ is raised and written larger than usual. For the abbreviation see O. Montevocchi,

La Papirologia [1973] p. 474, and P. Oxy. Hels. 22.12 and 20 [second/third century]. For examples of *πρότερον* meaning 'formerly belonging to' see Wörterbuch II col. 423.

*Πτολε(μαίου)* : the ε is followed by a long flat dash, perhaps to be taken as a very cursively written μ .

*ἄγ<ο>ρανομήσαντος*: this tells us that Heraclides son of Ptolemaeus was formerly an agoranomus. The agoranomus was a member of the municipal archontes fulfilling a notarial function. On the office see K. Wessely, 'Die ägyptischen Agoranomen als Notare', MPEP 2 [1893] 89 f.; Jouguet, La Vie Municipale, p. 167, 174, 294, 298 ff., 327-8; Oertel, Die Liturgie, 332-5; A. H. M. Jones, The Greek City from Alexander to Justinianus [1940], pp. 215-7; 349-50 nn. 10-13; Lewis, ICS s.v.; M. Raschke, 'The Office of Agoranomos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt', Akten XIII Intern. Pap-kong. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung, Heft 66 [1974], pp. 349-56.

*γυ(μνακλαρχήσαντος)*: there is a horizontal dash above υ . The reason for choosing to expand *γυ(μνακλαρχήσαντος)* rather than *γυ(μνακλάρχου)* is that Heraclides son of Ptolemaeus is a former owner of the land who by now was perhaps dead. He is not in P. J. Sijpesteijn, Liste des gymnasiarques [1967] nor the supplement in P. Theones. On the gymnasiarch see Oertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 316-25;

Jouguet, La vie municipale, pp. 166 ff., 292 ff., 318-24; N. Hohlwein, L'Égypte romaine. Recueil des termes techniques relatifs aux institutions politiques et administratives de l'Égypte romaine [1910], pp. 17, 19, 113-6, 176-8, 180; Wilcken, Grundzüge pp. 39 ff, 46 ff., 143, 350; Lewis, ICS s.v.; B. A. van Groningen, Le gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine [1924] [not seen].

- 11-12. Ἀπολλ[λω]ναρίαις : the reading of the dotted letters is difficult because of holes in the papyrus at this point; the rest of the name is certain. The second name of the woman is Aristandra and we have a reference in P. Oxy. VI 899 [A.D. 199-200] to a woman with land in the Upper Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome who is called Ἀπολλωνάρλον ἢ καὶ Ἀριστάνδρα . She petitioned the dioeketes to release her from georgia on the grounds of her sex. It seems that the same woman is referred to in our text even though the first name is slightly different. It is just possible to read here Ἀπολλ[λω]ναρίαις if we suppose the ω made very small or raised above the line. The ending of the name is certain. Presumably either here or in P. Oxy. 899 the scribe made a mistake in spelling the name, perhaps confused between the various forms Ἀπολλ(λ)ωναρία, Ἀπολλ(λ)ωνάρλον and Ἀπολλ(λ)ωναρία [cf. Namenbuch and Onomasticon]. If it is right that there is a reference in the present document to compulsory georgia, πρότερον may refer to the appointment of this woman in A.D. 199/200 [P. Oxy.

VI 899], or she may have been the former owner. It seems most probable that Ἀπολλωνάριον in P. Oxy. VI 899 is the correct form and that our scribe made a mistake, perhaps because of Ἀριζάνδρα following.

ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Δωκεθ(έου): κλήρου is understood, see E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit II 2 (1906), p. 352. This is not among the kleroi listed for this toparchy by P. Pruneti, 'ΚΛΗΡΟΙ del nomo Ossirinichte. Ricerca topografica', Aegyptus 55 (1975), pp. 159-244.

εἰς Δλον( ): the abbreviation is indicated by a dash above the ν. Of the various names beginning with Δλον- given in Namenbuch and Onomasticon Δλονύκλος is the most commonly used, so the likeliest restoration is Δλον(ύκλου). This accusative dependent on εἰς probably means 'in the name of', cf. Mayser Grammatik, II 2, p. 415, Wörterbuch I col. 427, II cols. 185-7 s.v.

Ἀγαθ(είνου) : for the restoration see line 15 where the name is written in full.

13. ἄν(ᾶ) : used with the accusative to indicate the amount of rent due on each aroura, see Mayser Grammatik II 2, p. 402, Wörterbuch I col. 74; cf. P. Coll. Youtie I 22. For the expression ἄν(ᾶ) πυροῦ ἀρτάβας see Wörterbuch II col. 589.

(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) : for the symbol see Bilabel, PW 2A (1923), col. 2304-5. The scribe put the small

circle which is part of the symbol for  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$  on top of the right hand end of the horizontal bar of the symbol for  $\nu\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$ . This small circle at this period was like a heavy dot or vague point, see A. Blanchard, Sigles et -abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs: Recherches de paléographie BICS [1974], p. 37, cf. Wilcken, GO I, p. 819. Compare this with the symbol in line 15 by the same hand where the small circle can be seen separate as a heavy dot.

$\beta\eta\lambda\epsilon$  : the reading of the fractions of the artabae of wheat as  $2 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$  is clear. For the common pattern of fractions for the artaba see Wilcken, GO I pp. 749-50; idem Grundzüge p. lxix; H. C. Youtie and D. M. Pearl, 'D. Mich. 1, 154' AJP 62 [1941], p. 81 n. 6; H. C. Youtie 'Critical Notes on Documentary Papyri', TAPA 92 [1961], p. 570 n. 76 = Scriptiunculae I p. 376 idem, Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri Prolegomena<sup>2</sup> [1974], pp. 48-9 n. 8. The fraction  $\frac{1}{16}$  falls outside the common fractions for the artaba (see the works just cited), but it does not violate the rule that fractions are placed in a descending scale. On the occurrence of unusual fractions for the artaba see P. Oxy. XII 1446, introduction. The fraction  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an artaba is found in P. Oxy. VI 986 [A.D. 131/2].

$\acute{\alpha}\nu(\acute{\alpha})$  ( $\nu\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$ ) .....  $\chi(\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon)$   $\gamma$  : this rent, which is partly in kind and partly in money, suggests that this plot of land is subleased for more than a year with

provision made for rotation of crops, cf. J. Herrmann, Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri [1958], p. 99 n. 3. For the rotation of crops see M. Schnebel, Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten [1925], pp. 218 ff; D. Hennig, Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten [Diss. München 1967], pp. 50 ff. Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 111 ff. says he has found no examples in which the rent for the same plot is paid partly in kind and partly in money in the same year; cf. P. Mert. III 107. 13 n. In our document the applicants are requesting a loan of seed-corn for the sowing of the present 9th year for the royal land which they farm. The rent for land which grows wheat is paid in wheat not money, cf. Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 3; money rent is paid for crops of fallow land, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 111-12, Hennig Bodenpacht, p. 5. The rent of  $2 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$  artabae of wheat for each aroura is small when the average rental between 200 and 285 was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  artabae per aroura, see Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 81 n. 1. The usual rent ranged between four and seven artabae of wheat or barley per aroura, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 102, cf. P. Mert. III 107.7-8n, Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 26-7. The amount of rent depends partly on the quality of the land, on accessibility to the market, flood conditions etc.; cf. Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 81, Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 102, Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 26.

(ἄρουρῶν) : for the symbol see Blanchard, Sigles et Abréviations, p. 40; Wilcken GO I 775, Bilabel, PW 2A, col. 2305.

(ἄρουρῶν) κςΛῆ . . . . . εθελῆλο : the reading of the fractions is clear and follows: the common series for fractions of the aroura; see Wilcken, GO I pp. 775 ff., Grundzüge p. lxix-lxxii.

ἐκ τ(οῦ) : there is some ink under the right hand side of the crossbar of the raised τ, which appear to serve no purpose.

14. Κέλκου : this κλήρος does not appear in Pruneti's list quoted in the note to line 12.

(πυροῦ ἄρτάβας) : most of the symbol for πυροῦ is lost in the lacuna, but the symbol for ἄρτάβας is clear.

(ἡμλκυ) : on the use of a double curve with an oblique dash as the symbol for ἡμλκυ see Bilabel PW 2A, col. 2307.

ἄνὸ (ἄρουρῶν) θδ' τὸ ε (ἄρούρας) ἔ δ̄ε : in fact  $\frac{2}{3}$  of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  arourae is only  $6\frac{15}{16}$ , so the calculation is not correct.

15. Ἀσκληνη(λάδου) : not found in the list of Pruneti for the Upper Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite (see note to line 12).

ηρότ(ετρον) : see above, note to line 11.

$\alpha(\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon)$  : part of the cursively written  $\alpha$  is broken away and the horizontal flat dash marking the abbreviation is written without lifting the pen, in a third movement:  $\overset{\rho}{\alpha} = \bar{\alpha}$ . For this abbreviation for see Seider, Palaeographie I n. 22.8 = Tafel 15.

$\tau\omicron\hat{\upsilon} \alpha(\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\hat{\upsilon}) \Delta\lambda\omicron\nu( ) \text{'Αγαθελίνου}$  : the same person as occurred in line 12.

15-16.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu(\acute{\alpha}) (\eta\upsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon) \dots \chi(\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma) \gamma$  : for the fractions used and the reckoning of rent in kind and in money see above, note to line 13.

16.  $(\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu)$  : not certain; there is an oblique dash which does not seem part of the usual symbol for  $\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ . Perhaps the scribe intended some deletion.

$\chi(\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma)$  : there is a blob of ink at the bottom left of the right hand stroke.

$\zeta\theta\epsilon\lambda'$  : there is a crack in the papyrus before the  $\theta$  and more seems to have been written than just  $\underline{L}$  ; however,  $\underline{K}$  cannot be read so no reading other than 19 seems possible.

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau(\omicron\upsilon)$  : there is a blank space after this where the name of the kleros should have come. Perhaps the scribe could not read the name in the document from which he was copying.

$\beta\alpha\kappa\iota\lambda( )$  : the abbreviated word is very cursively written and the reading of the dotted letters not certain. However, the writing looks similar to that used for

Βασιλ(ικήν) in line 8.

ηρο( ): ρ is certain and the curve over the top looks like the common way of writing η in abbreviations; after ρ there is what appears to be ο, perhaps even followed by ε. Read ηρο( )? .

χλ( ): the reading is certain. Presumably we should think of χλ(ωρόν), χλωροφαγία or χλωροφόρος. If these abbreviations are omitted the sense of the line is not affected. We should have expected εἶς or πρότερον with a proper name. These abbreviations could be a description of the land, e.g. something like Βασιλ(ικήν) πρό(τερον) χλ(ώροισ) 'royal[land] formerly cultivated with greenstuffs'.

(ἀρτάβας)εζ' : 5½ artabas per aroura is an average rent for this period, see note to line 13 above.

ἀνο' : ο is a semi-circle raised and not joined to η; contrast the way ἀνο' is written in lines 13 and 14.

17. (ἀρουρῶν) : the second sequence of this symbol, the horizontal dash, is not joined to the left hand part.

ελ' : the oblique stroke following is clear and the slight traces before this suit the writing for ελ

<το ελ'> : presumably the writer just forgot this; it is necessary to produce sense and has occurred in a similar context in line 14.

(ἄρουρα) : part of the horizontal dash and ink traces before this survive.

Ἀρλοτονίου: there is a kleros of Ἀρλοτῆ at Mermetha in the Upper Toparchy attested by PSI X 1070.8 [261]. See Pruneti, cited in line 12n.

ἔλϰ : there are some holes but the reading is secure. For ἔλϰ with proper names see note to line 12.

Παροντ(ῶτα) : the abbreviation is indicated by raising the τ : The restoration of the accusative is necessitated by ἔλϰ . Παροντῶς is a common name, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

Ἀρίττω(ος) : the abbreviation is indicated by a horizontal dash above the ω . Masculine names beginning with Ἀρλοτ- are Ἀρίττων, Ἀρλοτωνᾶς and Ἀρλοτῶνυμος of which names Ἀρίττων is the most commonly used; see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

18. τοῦ Α[.....]ου: the crossbar of the τ appears as if it had been written twice, one on top of the other. Presumably this is the name of the grandfather of the person designated.

(δραχμᾶς)ς.[.. : the reading after the number [6] for drachmas is uncertain; it appears to end 3½ which is presumably the number of chalkoi.

- 18-19, ἐκ τ(οῦ) : after this one expects the name of a kleros in line 19 but the papyrus is too badly destroyed at this point to be read.

## 6. ORDER FOR A GRANT OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite nome10 November, A.D. 99

Inv. no. 27 38. 42/D[1-2]b

The papyrus is irregularly broken off and incomplete at the top. What survives measures 15.2 cm in length by 7.8 cm in breadth. At the right side it is almost complete, except in lines 6-7 where there is a hole which does not affect the reading. The left hand side is broken off in many places, especially the corner at the top and in lines 5-7, but it is unbroken at the bottom. There is a margin here of approximately 1 cm. The bottom of the document is complete with a blank space of about 2.6 cm, and a piece torn off in the middle. There are many holes in the papyrus but the bottom part of the written part which contains the regnal year with the titles of the emperor and the date is not damaged. The amount lost at the top can be roughly gauged from parallel texts.

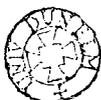
The ink is clear. 19 lines remain [though only two broken letters in line 1] all written in the same hand. This is cursive though not all letters are made in the cursive form, and there is some word division. Proper names are abbreviated but the name and titles of the emperor are written in full. Letters at the end of abbreviated words are usually written above the line, but cf. *κατασπ(ορέων)* [line 12] and other examples. The letters α, δ, θ, μ, β and γ are written bold and clear, and somewhat larger when at the beginning

of a line. The letter κ has different forms; contrast its form in καθαρός in line 5 with that in καί in line 8. τ also has different forms; contrast for example its form in τ(οὐ) in line 2 with that in τὸῦ in line 12, also in τῆν in line 3 with that in τῆν in line 9. ω is written wide and without a relatively raised stroke in the middle. The steady hand and the absence of both spelling and grammatical mistakes depict a well-trained scribe.

From the context and the formulae used in our papyrus it is obvious that the present document is an order for a grant of seed. Since the top is lost we do not know from whom the order was sent, but from a comparative study of the available parallels, and particularly the parallels of the same period, we may guess that it came from the strategus of the nome to the sitologi, jointly with the authority of the royal scribe. From the plural imperative λάβετε in lines 14-15 we understand that the order was given to two or more sitologi and not to a single sitologus. The formulae for the most part follow those known from parallel documents and which are discussed in the general introduction, section B. These points are taken up further in the notes.

It is very probable that this order corresponds to the application preserved in P. Oxy. ined. 1. Both texts date from the same day and the hand which wrote lines 15-16 of P. Oxy. ined. 1 seems to be the same as the hand which wrote P. Oxy. ined. 6 (it is in fact

possible that both texts are all written in the same hand, see the introduction to P. Oxy. ined. 1.). We do not know the farmer who is concerned in the present text, but the text must relate to a single farmer because of the singular verb *καταθήσεται* in lines 8-9 and the singular *παρ' οὗ* in line 14. Moreover, both texts refer to six arouras [see P. Oxy. ined. 1.16 and line 5 of the present text].



6

- [ ± 3 ] τ[ ± 14 ἐπ' ]  
 [ὄνό]ματος Πτολ(εμαίου) το(ῦ) κ(αὶ) Πα[.....]ου  
 Ἀλεξά(νδρου) περι(τὴν) α(ὐτὴν) Ψῶθε(ιν) ἐκ το(ῦ)  
 Φιλόνικο(υ) κ. Β. η( ) καὶ ἄλλων) εἰδῶ(ν)  
 5 [ἄ]ρο(ύρα) ε πυροῦ νέου καθαροῦ  
 ἀδόλου ἀ[κρί]θ[ου] κ[ε]κ[ο]κινε[υ(μένου)]  
 μετρ[ή]σει τῆ κελε[υ]εθ(είση) μέτ(ρω)  
 δημοσίῳ (ἀρτάβα) ε ἄε καὶ κατα-  
 θ[ή]σεται εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑγιῶε  
 10 καὶ πιστῶε μηθὲν νοσφισά-  
 μενος ἐπακολ(ουθούντων) τῆ καταθέσει  
 τῶν τε κατασπ(ορέων) καὶ τοῦ κω(μο)γρ(αμματέως)  
 [κ]αὶ τῶν ἄλλῶν) τῶν ἐπὶ τῆε  
 κατασπ(ορέε) τεταγ(μένων), παρ' οὔ καὶ λά-  
 15 βετε τὴν καθήκο(υσαν) χιρογρ(αφίαν)  
 δίσην ὧν τὴν ἐτέραν ἐμοὶ  
 ἀναδώσετε. (Ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
 Γερμανικοῦ μη(νός) Νέου Σεβαστοῦ 18.

2  $\pi\tau\omicron^\lambda$   $\tau\omicron^\chi$  3  $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\zeta$   $\bar{a}$   $\psi\omega\beta^\theta$   $\tau^\circ$   
 4  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\nu\iota\chi^\circ$   $\beta..^\eta$   $a^\lambda$   $\epsilon\iota\delta^\omega$  5  $[\alpha]\rho\bar{\omicron}$   
 7  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon[\nu]c^\theta$   $\mu\epsilon^\tau$  8  $\bar{o} = \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\varsigma$  11  $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\chi\omicron^\lambda$   
 12  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma)$   $\kappa\epsilon\lambda$ , see note 13  $\alpha\lambda\lambda^\omega$  14  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma)$   
 $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha^\gamma$  15  $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\bar{o}$   $\chi\iota\rho\omicron\gamma\Gamma$ , 1.  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$   
 17 L 19  $\mu^\eta$

Translation

' . . . in the name of Ptolemaeus also called  
Pa . . . son of Alexander near the same village of  
Psobthis in the holding of Philonicus . . . . .  
and of other kinds(?), 6 arourae, 6 artabae of wheat,  
new, pure, unadulterated, not mixed with barley and  
sifted, according to public measure and regulation  
measurement, and he shall plant them in the land  
honourably and in good faith without any appropriation  
while both the inspectors of sowing and the village  
scribe and the others appointed over the sowing  
supervise the planting. And take from him the proper  
acknowledgement in duplicate and you shall give one of  
them to me. The 3rd year of Emperor Caesar Nerva  
Traianus Augustus Germanicus, the 14th of the month  
Neos Sebastos.'

Notes to the text

- 1-2. Therefore the farmer is farming land in the name of someone else. Because  $\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  survives in line 2 we must have here the genitive and so the preposition  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$  in line 1 [not the alternative expression  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$  ὀνόμα ] . For  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$  ὀνόματος cf. e.g. P. Oxy. ined. 7.1.
3. Ἀλεξιά(νδρου) : the reading of the dotted letters is probable; if right the name of the father is likely to have been Ἀλέξανδρος which is much more common than Ἀλεξάρχος or Ἀλεξᾶς; cf. Namenbuch and Onomasticon.
- τὴν αὐτὴν Ψῶβθ(ων): the name of this village occurs in three toparchies in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Oxy. 1285 col. I 22, col. II 94, 115, 133. The use of τὴν αὐτὴν proves that the village had already been mentioned, and it is likely that the toparchy to which the village belongs was stated in the missing part at the top of the papyrus. Probably this village was the one from which the farmer came.
4. Φιλονίκο(υ) κ... β...η( ) καὶ ἄλλ(λων) εἰδῶ(ν): it appears that we may have the double name for a kleros, i.e. 'of Philonicus and B....' [sc. κλήρου ]; for these double names see the note to P. Oxy. ined. 7.3. There is a kleros of the name Philonicus previously called A... mentioned in the village of Ψῶβθων in the middle toparchy, see P. Pruneti, 'ΚΛΗΡΟΙ del nomo Oessirinchite. Ricerca topografica', Aegyptus

55 [1975], pp. 204-5. But if we read *καί*

it is not written like *καί* elsewhere in this hand. The problem is caused by *καί ἄλλων εἰδῶ(ν)* following [the reading is certain]. This expression is found elsewhere in papyri, but seems to give no sense as a description of kleroi. In P. Coll. Youtie I 22.14, for example, the phrase is *βασιλικήν γῆν καί ἄλλων εἰδῶν*, which is translated 'Königsland und andere Landsorten'. This is what the expression would most naturally mean here. Is it possible that the abbreviated word

is a description of the land (e.g. an abbreviated form of *βασιλικῆς γῆς*)? But what precedes it could not then be *καί* as this would give no sense. It may be possible to read it as an abbreviation for *κλή(ρου)*. Cf. P. Oxy. ined. 1, line 16.

5-6. This description of the wheat to be used in issuing seed is often found in orders, e.g. P. Oxy. VII 1024. 24-6; see also P. Oxy. ined. 7.7-8. But none of the parallels includes the word *νέου*.

7. *μετρ[ή]σε τῆ κελε[υ]σθ(είε)*: there are holes and the papyrus is damaged at this point but the reading is certain. For this expression followed by *μέτρω δημοσίω* in comparable texts see P. Berl. Leihg. 26.20-1, P. Oxy. 1024.26-8.

8ff. For this 'sowing' or 'planting' clause see general introduction, p. 28 n.96.

10-11. *μηθὲν νοσφιλᾶμενος*: I have not found this expression in any other order for issuing seed-corn.

A clause with this meaning is often included in orders [stressing that the farmer must not divert any of the seed to his own private use away from the land for which it was issued; see P. Oxy. ined. 7.11-12 and note there].

νοσφίξομαι with the meaning required here is found a few times in papyri, cf. Wörterbuch s.v.

- 11FF. ἔηακολ(ουθούντων) κτλ: this elaborate phrase is reduced simply to ἔηακολουθούντων τῶν ἐλωθότων in P. Oxy. ined. 7.10-11, where see the note. For a similar phrase to the one we have here see P. Oxy. 2185.4-5, P. Lond. 256e.3FF, P. Berl. Leihg. 26.22-5 and SPP XX 34.20-2. We should no doubt restore something similar in P. Strasb. 283. For the simpler phrase see the parallels cited to P. Oxy. ined. 7.10-11n. For the katasporeus see general introduction, p. 26 n. 93.
12. Κατασ(ορέων) : after κατα we have a slight hook and a semicircle; this semicircle is no doubt to be interpreted as the abbreviation mark for η and the hook before it must represent ς ; the same thing occurs in line 14.
- 14FF. For the receipt clause, which is in the normal form, see general introduction, p. 29 It is very striking indeed that our text makes no mention of repayment [on which see general introduction, p. 29].
19. Νέου Σεβαστοῦ: very cursively and quickly written.

## 7. ORDER FOR A GRANT OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite nome13 November, A.D. 99

Inv. no. 27 38. 42/C[6]c

The document consists of a long strip of papyrus, 26 cm in length. Its breadth varies, because of the uneven damage along its left side: at its broadest, in lines 8-10 and 19, it measures 7.3 cm. The top is lost and it is broken away badly and irregularly at the left: the loss can be gauged from lines 8-10. There is no damage on the right side. The writing occupies only the top 9.6 cm of the length and the rest is blank space. There are a few holes in the papyrus.

The writing is clear and the letters are well shaped. Although the hand is generally cursive, many of the letters are written without any link. The lines are horizontal with a regular space between them. The whole is written in one hand, that of a reasonably well trained scribe.

The document is a parallel to P. Oxy. ined. 6 and is an order for a grant of seed for some cultivators; for a discussion of this type of document see general introduction, pp.25-30. From the parallels we can deduce that at the top the following has been lost: the authorisation from the strategus (see introduction to P. Oxy. ined. 4) to the sitologi, with the joint authorisation of the basilikos grammateus, to issue the seed to the farmers, whose names have also been lost. Our papyrus begins at the end of the section describing the plots of land for which the seed,  $3\frac{2}{3}$  artabas, is

required. The clauses which follow are discussed in the general introduction, pp.27-30. For various reasons we can be sure that this order corresponds to the application for seed-corn preserved in P. Oxy. ined.

2 = 3.

The present text belongs to the same day as P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3 and all three texts refer to an area of  $3\frac{2}{3}$  arourae, which is to be sown in the current year 3. In addition all the texts speak of one of these arourae as being farmed in the name of a certain Thatres, daughter of Diogenes and Tanechotis, the land being in the kleros of Tarouthinas and Parmenion. Note also that the first hand in P. Oxy. ined. 2 is the same as the hand which wrote P. Oxy. ined. 8, and it is certain that P. Oxy. ined. 8 is a duplicate of P. Oxy. ined. 7, see the introduction to this text.

- [έ]π' [όνό]ματος Θεατρήτος Διογ(ένουε)  
 [μ]ητρὸε Τανεχάτιδοε ἐκ τοῦ  
 [Ταρου]θίνου καὶ Παρμ(ενίωνοε) ἄρο(ύραν) α ὤε-  
 [τε εἶ]ν[α]ἰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἄρο(ύραε) γβ̂, σπειρ(ομέναε)  
 5 [τῷ ἐ]νεστῶτ(ι) γ (ἔτει) πυρῷ, δαπανῶε(ι)  
 [κ]ατ' [ἄ]ρῶραν) σπερμάτων πυροῦ (ἀρτάβην) α  
 [τ]ὰ[ε] συναγο(μέναε) πυρο<ῦ> καθαροῦ  
 ἀδόλου ἀκρίθ(ου) κεκοκ(ινευμένου) μέτρῳ  
 δημο)(εἶψ) (ἀρτάβαε) γβ̂, ἄε καὶ καταθήσονται)  
 10 εἰε τῆν γ(ῆν) ἐπακολουθούντω<ν> τῶν  
 [εἰωθότ(ων) μ]ηδενοε ὑπολογουμένου  
 [εἰε ὀφ]εἰ[λ(ῆν)] <ῆ> εἰε ἕτερόν τ(ι) καὶ <έ>γ νέο(υ)  
 [ἀποδώε]ουε τὰε ἴεαε ἅμα τοῖε  
 [τῆε γ(ῆε) δημοε]ίο[ι]ε, παρ' ὦν καὶ λάβ(ετε)  
 15 [τῆν καθ]ήκ(ουεαν) [ἀ]π[ο]χ(ῆν) διεε(ῆν) ὦ<ν> τῆν  
 ἑτέρα(ν)  
 [έμοἰ ἀν]αδῶεετε. (ἔτουε) γ Αὐτοκράτ(οροε)  
 [Καίεαροε Ν]έρουα Τραιανοῦ  
 [εεβαετο]ῦ Γερμανικοῦ μηνὸε  
 [Νέου εε]βαετοῦ ἱζ̄.

- 1 δλο<sup>γ</sup>      3 παρ<sup>μ</sup>    αρ<sup>ο</sup>      4 αρ<sup>ο</sup>    σπει<sup>ρ</sup>  
 5 ε]νεστω<sup>τ</sup>    L    δαπανω<sup>ς</sup>      6 α]ρ<sup>ο</sup>    ¯  
 7 συναγο<sup>ο</sup>πυρο      8 ακρι<sup>θ</sup>    κεκο<sup>ς</sup>      9 καταθησον<sup>τ</sup>  
 10 τη<sup>ν</sup>γ<sup>γ</sup>      11 υπολογουμεν<sup>υ</sup>      12 ετερον<sup>τ</sup>  
 καιγνε<sup>ο</sup>, γ corrected?      13 το<sup>ς</sup>      14 λα<sup>β</sup>  
 15 καθ]η<sup>κ</sup>    δι<sup>ς</sup>ωτηνετερ<sup>α</sup>      16 L    αυτοκρα<sup>τ</sup>

Translation

' . . . in the name of Thatres daughter of Diogenes her mother being Tanechotis, in the holding of Tarouthinas and Parmenion, 1 aroura total  $3\frac{2}{3}$  arourae, to be sown with wheat in the present 3rd year, using 1 artaba of wheat seed for each aroura, in total  $3\frac{2}{3}$  artabae of wheat, pure, unadulterated, not mixed with barley and sifted, according to the public measure, which also they shall plant in the land under the supervision of the usual officials without any deduction for debt or any other purpose, and they shall repay the equivalent amount out of the new crop together with the state taxes upon the land; and take from them the proper receipt in duplicate and you shall give one copy of them to me. The 3rd year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, the 17th of the month Neos Sebastos.'

Notes to the text

1. [ἐ]π' [ὄνο]ματος : enough remains to make the reading certain, even though the duplicate, P. Oxy. ined. 8.1, apparently has εἰς ὄνομα ; see the note there; cf. Wörterbuch s.v. ὄνομα col. 186-7. The expression implies that the ἀρουρα in line 3 does not belong to the farmer or farmers to whom the seed-corn is to be delivered, but belongs to Thatres daughter of Diogenes.
3. [Ταρου]θίνου : for the restoration see P. Oxy. ined. 8.2. P. Oxy. XXXI 2575 mentions an ἐνοίκιον of this name, but it was probably in the eastern toparchy, see the note ad loc.

Παρη(ενίωτος) : for the extension of the abbreviation, cf. P. Oxy. ined. 8.2 and the names given in Namenbuch and Onomasticon. A kleros of this name occurs in P. Oxy. XLIV 3168.17 [late 2nd century], but there it is a single name for the kleros. No kleros with the double name we have here is recorded in P. Pruneti, 'ΚΛΗΡΟΙ del nomo Oessirinchite. Ricerca topografica', Aegyptus 55 (1975), pp. 159-244. It was presumably in the same area as the village of Senekelou, see P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3.7n. On double names for a kleros see F. Zucker, 'Beobachtungen zu den permanenten Klerosnamen', Studien zu Papyrologie = Festschrift Oertel [1964], pp. 105-6.

- 3-4. ὡς[τε ἐ]ν[α]λ ἐνὶ τὸ αὐτό : the words preceding ἀρο(ύρα) γβ̂ are lost completely in P. Oxy. ined. 8.4. The traces before ἐνὶ here will suit part of ν, then room for a lost letter, and part of λ.

For the expression  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$  followed by  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota \tau\acute{o} \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$  see Wörterbuch IV s.v.  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$

col. 321. There may be other possibilities using

$\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , cf. P. Oxy. XVIII 2185.22-3  $\acute{\omega}\sigma \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\langle\alpha\iota\rangle$   
 $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota \tau\acute{o} \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$ .

4.  $\sigma\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho(\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma)$  : cf. P. Oxy. ined. 8.4 which has the longer form  $\sigma\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}(\nu\alpha\varsigma)$ . We must therefore expand with a form of the participle, and the use of the passive agreeing with  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ , suits the whole grammatical construction. The l is attached to the ε and goes down below the line.
5.  $\delta\alpha\eta\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma\langle\iota\rangle$  : one might think of expanding here another participle in the passive, but the ς written over the ω is clear. There is no parallel document to help here [the word is only found in other orders for seed in P. Oxy. ined. 6 in a different construction], but the dative of the plural present participle can be made to suit the general construction of the document syntactically: the strategus will have instructed the sitologi to measure out the seed to the farmers, whose names will therefore have been in the dative.
6.  $[κ]α\tau' [\acute{\alpha}]\rho\omicron(\upsilon\tau\alpha\nu)$  : the part containing ατ is on a separate piece of papyrus; only a loop of α remains. Traces of the ρ remain. The abbreviation is marked by a dash written over the ο.
7.  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\chi\omicron(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma)$  : for this word see P. Oxy. ined. 2.6n. Here the abbreviation is marked by prolonging the horizontal of the χ over the top of the ο.

πυρο<ο> : there is no sign that the ο is raised to indicate an abbreviation and presumably the scribe forgot the υ .

7-8. For this description of the seed see the note to P. Oxy. ined. 6.5-6.

9ff. For the sowing or planting clause see general introduction p. 28 n. 96.

10-11. ἐπακολουθούντω<ν> : the final ω does not seem to have been raised and it seems that the scribe forgot to write a υ after this.

ἐπακολουθούντω<ν> τῶν [εἰωθότων]: for the restoration of the last word see P. Oxy. ined. 8.9. This expression is used in other orders for seed (see P. Oxy. 1024, 2956; cf. 1031 and P. Hamb. 19). Its meaning can be seen from the more elaborate expressions found in some texts, which mention the katasporeus and other officials: see P. Oxy. ined. 6.11-14, and the texts quoted in the note there.

11-12. ὑπολογουμένου [εἰς ὄφ]ε[λ] (ήν) <ῆ> εἰς ἕτερον τ(ι) : the restoration is certain, as can be seen from the duplicate P. Oxy. ined. 8.10, and from parallel documents, e.g. P. Oxy. VII 1024.30-1 (cf. P. Berl. Leihg. 26.25 f.). Some texts have instead the words ὑγλῶς καὶ πικτῶς and this means the farmer must not take any of the seed away for any other purpose. As to the reading, the lacuna is of the right size and the final υ of ὑπολογουμένου is raised above the line. There seems to be room for a raised λ to mark the end of ὄφελήν , but no room for

the scribe to have written  $\overset{\text{>}}{\eta}$  which is required at this point.

12.  $\text{καὶ } \langle \overset{\text{>}}{\epsilon} \rangle \chi \nu \acute{\epsilon} \sigma (\upsilon) : \text{καί}$  is clear as is  $\underline{\nu \epsilon}$  and a raised  $\underline{\sigma}$ . In between there appears to be a  $\delta$  with a stroke through it as though the writer started to put something else and corrected it to  $\underline{\chi}$ ; but even so there is no sign of the expected  $\underline{\epsilon}$ . The expression is regularly  $\acute{\epsilon} \kappa \nu \acute{\epsilon} \omega \nu$  as in the duplicate P. Oxy. ined. 8.11; the use of the singular here is not usual and we should perhaps correct to  $\nu \acute{\epsilon} \omega (\nu)$ ; see general introduction, p.29 and note 98.

- 14-15.  $\text{παρ' } \hat{\omega} \nu \text{ καὶ } \lambda \acute{\alpha} \beta (\epsilon \tau \epsilon) [\tau \eta \nu \text{ καθ}] \eta \kappa (\sigma \upsilon \sigma \alpha \nu) [\acute{\alpha}] \eta [\sigma] \chi (\eta \nu) :$   
 line 15 is broken and damaged at the start and the reading depends on the duplicate, P. Oxy. ined. 8.13-14. We must restore a plural imperative because  $\acute{\alpha} \nu \alpha \delta \acute{\omega} \sigma \epsilon \tau \epsilon$  is plural in line 16. See also P. Oxy. ined. 8.14 where  $\lambda \acute{\alpha} \beta \epsilon \tau \epsilon$  is written in full. For this 'receipt' phrase see general introduction, p. 29, and also pp. 30-32.
16.  $\acute{\alpha} \nu ] \alpha \delta \acute{\omega} \sigma \epsilon \tau \epsilon$  : in view of the duplicate, P. Oxy. ined. 8.15, the reading may be regarded as certain.

$\text{Αὐτοκράτ(ορος)}$  : the  $\underline{\tau}$  at the end of the line is attached to the tail of the  $\underline{\alpha}$  and raised above the line; it is not usual to abbreviate imperial titles.

19.  $[\text{Νέου } \langle \epsilon \rangle \beta \alpha \sigma \tau \hat{\upsilon}]$  : this exactly fits the lacuna and the restoration is guaranteed by P. Oxy. ined. 8.18. For this month see the note to P. Oxy. ined. 2.15.

## 8. ORDER FOR A GRANT OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite nome13 November, A.D. 99

Inv. no. 27 38.42/C(6)b

The papyrus is badly damaged at the top and at the left hand side; the right hand side has escaped damage. There are many holes, especially towards the left and to the foot, from below the writing to the bottom. Here and there the surface is missing. The papyrus as it survives measures 26.4 cm in length by 5.8 cm in breadth at its broadest part. The writing occupies only the top 11.5 cm.

The hand is very cursive and not easily legible. There is reasonable spacing between the lines, which tend to run downward to the left. The letters in the first seven lines appear a little larger than those in the rest of the document, and the ink in these lines is darker than in the other parts. It is the same hand as is responsible for P. Oxy. ined. 2 (1st hand).

The text must be a duplicate of P. Oxy. ined. 7. Not only does it relate to the same day and have exactly the same wording in the formulaic part; it also records that one plot of the  $3\frac{2}{3}$  arouras to which both texts refer is *not leased directly* by the applicant to whom the seed is granted, but in the name of Thatres, daughter of Diogenes and Tanechotis, and is part of the kleros of Tarouthinas and Parmenion. We saw above that P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3 were duplicate applications for the same land from the

same farmers, and that the present text and P. Oxy. ined. 7 are orders relating to the same land as that to which the applications P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3 refer. It is not at all surprising that applicants should have been required to submit two or even more copies of their request, and that two of them should have remained together in the archives of the strategus. But it is surprising that the strategus should have issued an order in two copies or at any rate that he should have kept two copies of his order in his archives. Yet this seems to be what has happened. The inventory numbers show that all four texts were found together.

For translation and general commentary see P. Oxy. ined. 7.

- [ 10 ] Κουελ ηεη [
- [Θατρ(ῆτος) Δ]ι[ο]γ(ένουε) μη(τρὸς) Τανεχῶτιδ(ος)
- [ἐκ τ(οῦ) Τα]ρουθ(ίνου) καὶ Παρμε(νίωνος) (ἄρουραν) α
- [.....] (ἄρούρας) γβ̂ ε[π]ειρομέ(νας) τῶ
- 5 [ἐνεστ(ῶτι) γ] (ἔτεε) π[υρ]ῶ, δαπανῶ(ει) κατὰ
- [ἄρο(υραν)] σ(έρμάτων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α τὰς συναγο(μένας)
- [πυ]ροῦ καθ(αροῦ) ἀ[δ]όλ(ου) ἀκρίθ(ου) κεκοσκ(ινευμένου)
- [μέτ]ρ(ω) δημ(οσίω) (ἀρτάβας) γβ̂, ἃς καὶ καταθή(σονται)
- [εἰς τ(ῆν) γ]ῆ(ν) ἐπακολ(ουθούντων) τῶν εἰωθότ(ων)
- 10 [.....] [ύ]π[ο]λ[ογ]ουμ(ένου) εἰς ὀφειλ(ῆν) ἢ εἰς ἔτε-
- [ρόν] τι καὶ ἐγ νέων ἀποδώ(σουςι)
- [τὰς ἴ]ε[α]ς ἄμ]α τοῖς τῆς γῆς δημ(οσίοις),
- [παρ'] ὧν καὶ λάβετε τὴν καθήκ(ουσαν)
- [ἀπ]οχῆν δι(εσῆν) ὧν τὴν ἐτέ-
- 15 [ραν ἐμ]οῖ ἀναδώ(σετε). (Ἔτουε) γ
- [Αὐτοκρ]άτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα
- [Τραια]νοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
- [μηνὸς Ν]έου Σεβαστοῦ ΙΖ.

2 δ]ι[ο]γ μ<sup>η</sup> τανεχωτι<sup>δ</sup> 3 τα]ρου<sup>θ</sup> παρμ<sup>ε</sup> ζ  
 4 ζ c[π]ειρομ<sup>ε</sup> 5 L δαπαν<sup>ω</sup> 6 c)  
 ουναγ<sup>ο</sup> 7 κα<sup>θ</sup> α[δ]ο<sup>λ</sup> ακρι<sup>θ</sup> κεκος<sup>κ</sup>  
 8 μετ]ρ δη<sup>μ</sup> καταθ<sup>η</sup> 9 γ]η επακο<sup>λ</sup>  
 ειωθο<sup>τ</sup> 10 υ]π[ο]λ[ογ]ου<sup>μ</sup> οφει<sup>λ</sup>  
 11 αποδ<sup>ω</sup> 12 δη<sup>μ</sup> 13 καθη<sup>κ</sup> 15 L

Notes to the text

1. ] Κουλλη η ἐν [ : P. Oxy. ined. 7.1 begins with the words ἐν ὀνόματι and is lost before this point. ~~would be possible here to restore ὀνο[ματιος] but what is written before this cannot be read ἐν. It can be read very easily as ἐλς, of the same word in line 10. Before it, parallel texts suggest that we should expect the name of the village where this plot of land was situated; the word ends in -ου and we knew from the corresponding order, P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3, that the request was for the issue of seed through the sitelegi of Senekelou. However, it is not certain that we can read [ενεκε] λς here, as λ is not an easy reading.~~
- 2ff. The amount lost at the left can be established with certainty from restorations such as those in lines 7, 16 and 17. Therefore in some lines the writer must have abbreviated the word or words supplied in the lacuna at the left.
4. [...]. : the duplicate apparently has ὡστε εἶναι ἐν τὸ αὐτο at this point, see P. Oxy. ined. 7.3-4 and note. There is not room for all of this here, even allowing for considerable abbreviation.
10. [...]. : we require μηδενός, no doubt in some way abbreviated.
11. νέων : the normal word; the duplicate apparently has νέου(υ), see P. Oxy. ined. 7.12 and note.
14. [ἀν]οχήν : neither here nor in P. Oxy. ined. 7.15

can this word be regarded as certain. But in both places the traces suit this better than the alternative

*Χειρογραφίαν* found in P. Oxy. ined. 6.15.

9. APPLICATION(?) CONCERNING *συναγοραεικός πυρός*.Oxyrhynchite nomeA.D. 99/100

Inv. no. 27 3B. 42/C(3-5) b.

The papyrus is of a good quality. It measures 16.8 x 8.3 and is incomplete. There is a top margin of 2 cm with a blot of ink on it and a left hand side margin of 2 cm. The document as we have it, with some holes spread all over, is broken off irregularly at the foot. On the left hand side the papyrus is broken off from the bottom of line 15 downwards with a loss of almost one third of lines 16-18. The remaining portion at the bottom right hand side from line 19 downwards has suffered badly from rubbing but there are still traces of letters and symbols. On the back there is a stain of ink and some writing. The writing on the front is legible and in the small cursive hand of a trained scribe. The scribe used his pen steadily and evenly, producing a clear and not ungraceful style. A space between the words is remarkable. The initial letters of words at the beginning of each line are slightly larger and very clearly written. The scribe changes the scale of various letters to meet the different combination of letters in the words. The writing in general resembles the style which was used at the end of the first century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

The text, as we have it, is addressed to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome by four persons presumably farmers, one man and three women with their guardians.

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1. cf. W. Schubart, Griechische Palaeographie, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft (1925) pp. 57-60.

They all come from the village of Pela. The applicants are informing the strategus that according to the orders of the prefect they measured either into or from the granary *συναγοραστικὸς πυρός*, the amount of which would have been stated after the name of each applicant from line 18 and the following lines, where symbols for *πυροῦ ἄρταβη* survive. The title of the emperor is complete but the imperial year is lost. It is rather difficult to determine the type of this document because of the broken off part at its bottom, also the text is broken and abbreviated in such a way in line 15 that either *ἔμετρῆκάμε(θα) ἐκ τοῦ δημο(κίου)* or *ἔμετρήκαμε(ν) ἐς τὸ δημο(κίου)* could be read. If we take the reading *ἐκ τοῦ δημο(κίου)* into consideration, meaning 'we have had measured out to us from the public granary so many artabae of synagorastikos wheat' (though one would then expect the passive and not the middle) the document presumably would be a receipt for a loan of corn, probably seed-corn, addressed to the strategus; in such a case the nearest parallel to our document would be P. Oxy. X 1262, a receipt of seed-corn from A.D. 197, addressed to the strategus and the basilikos grammateus of the nome through an ex-gymnasiarch and an ex-exegetes. In the Ptolemaic and Roman period receipts for loans of seed-corn from farmers were normally addressed to the sitologi.<sup>2</sup>

2. See Michurski, 'Les avances aux semailles et les prêts de Semences dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine', *Eos* 48.3 Symbolae R. Taubenschlag<sup>3</sup>, [1956], pp. 123-4, 126-8. cf. P. Oxy. Hels. 24 'Certificate for the advance of seed-corn', [Nov./Dec. A.D. 217].

But there is no example of receipts, requests or orders to supply loans of seed-corn out of requisitioned wheat; also there is not any mention of either the words *σπέρματα* or *σπέρματα δάνεια*<sup>3</sup> in our text. Such evidence makes the other reading *ἐξ τῶ δῆμό(ε)υ*, 'we have measured into the public granary so many artabae of requisitioned wheat' more probable, and P. Oxy. XLVII 3335, a request for refund of the price of *πυρὸς συναγορατικὸς*, from the year A.D. 99/100, is a very close parallel to the present document. In P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 the beginning of the text, which contains the name and the title of the official to whom the document is addressed and the name of the person from whom the request is presented, is lost. Such a beginning exists in our text. P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 has a similar formula in lines 3-5 to the one in our text, lines 12-14, *κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντ(α) ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος Πομηηίου Πλάντα ἐμετρήσαμε(ν)*. This formula in both documents is precisely at the same place; after the place where the farmer or farmers come from and before the year date, as also is the term *συναγορατικὸς πυρὸς*. It may be noticed that the word *ὑπέρ* is missing before *συναγορ(α)τικ(οῦ) πυροῦ* in our text while it exists in P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 line 9; perhaps the scribe has forgotten to write it. In P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 the amount of corn paid and the price requested for refunding are stated. This information would have been

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3. See Michurski, Eos 48.3 [1956], p. 126.

in our document in the lost part at the bottom which already started at line 48, so from P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 we may estimate how much is lost in our papyrus. Comparing the formula in both documents, it is very probable that P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 would also have been addressed to the strategus Dius if the top was extant.<sup>4</sup> For other parallels for requests for refund of the price of *πυρὸς συναγοραστικὸς* see P. Oxy. XL 2958 [2 Dec. A.D. 99]; 2959 [? Nov. A.D. 99]; 2960 [23 Jan. A.D. 100] and the fragmentary P. Oxy. X 1304.

The imperial year is lost before the title of the emperor but it must fall at a time when Dius was the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome and Pompeius Planta was prefect. Dius was strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome at the earliest in 20 November A.D. 99 to 16 March A.D. 100 as the latest date,<sup>5</sup> and Planta was prefect as early as 4 September A.D. 98 to 1 February A.D. 100 as latest attested date.<sup>6</sup> The date of this document probably will be between 4 September A.D. 98 to 1 February A.D. 100 and this period falls in the years 2 and 3 of the emperor Trajan.<sup>7</sup> Probably this text

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4. cf. P. Oxy. XLI 2958 [2 Dec. A.D. 99]; 2959 [? Nov. A.D. 99].
  5. See J. E. G. Whitehorne, 'A Checklist of Oxyrhynchite Strategoi', *ZPE* 29 [1978], p. 172.
  6. See G. Bastianini, 'Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30<sup>ab</sup> al 299<sup>cd</sup>', *ZPE* 17 [1975], p. 279; idem, 'Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30<sup>ab</sup> al 299<sup>cd</sup> aggiunte e correzioni', *ZPE* 38 [1980], p. 80.
  7. See P.W. Pestman, Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques [332 av. J.C. - 453 ap. J.C.] [1967], p. 103.

belongs in year 3 of the emperor Trajan A.D. 99/100<sup>8</sup>  
because its inventory number is fairly close to P. Oxy.  
inv. no. 27 38. 42/D(1-2)c, an application for seed-corn  
[10 Nov. A.D. 99] and P. Oxy. inv. no. 27 38. 42/D(1-2)b,  
an order to supply seed-corn [10 Nov. A.D. 99], = numbers  
1 and 6 in this collection.

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<sup>8</sup> See note 7 above.

## 9

- Δί[ω]ι στρατηγῶι Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου)  
 παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀτρῆτος  
 Κολλούθου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς  
 Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ἡλείτου τῆς  
 5 Ἀπίωνος ἀμφο(τέρων) μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ  
 προγεγραμμένου Ἀπολλωνίου  
 τοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἀτρῆ(τος) Κολλούθου τ[ο]ῦ Ἀπολ(λωνίου)  
 καὶ Μελείτου τῆς Πτόλλιδος  
 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς υἱοῦ  
 10 Ἀρβίχιος Πασαλύμιος πρεσβ(υτέρου)  
 πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ κώμη(ς) Πέλα  
 τῆς πρὸς λιβὰ τοπ(αρχίας). Κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντ(α)  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος  
 Πομπηίου Πλάντα ἐμετρήσαμε(ν)  
 15 εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον) συναγορ(αετικοῦ) πυροῦ γενή(ματος)  
 [τοῦ διελθόντ(ος) (ἔτους) Αὐτοκρ]άτορος Καίσαρος  
 Νέρουα  
 [Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] Γερμανικ[οῦ]  
 [ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ] Ἀτρῆς Κο[λ]λ(ούθου)  
 [ ± 18 ]ου traces

20	[	$\pm$	18	]	traces
	[	$\pm$	18	]	(κυρού άρταβ ) traces
	[	$\pm$	18	]	traces
	[	$\pm$	18	]	(κυρού άρταβ ) α $\bar{\eta}$
	[	$\pm$	18	]	α (γίνεται) (κυρού άρταβαι ) β
25	[	$\pm$	18	]	... $\bar{a}$ ...

1 οξ̄      5 αμφ<sup>ο</sup>      7 του<sup>χ</sup>    ατρ<sup>η</sup>    απο<sup>λ</sup>  
 10 πρεσβ̄    11 κωμ<sup>η</sup>      12 το)    κελευ<sup>θ</sup>  
 14 εμετρησαμ<sup>ε</sup>    15 δημ<sup>ο</sup>    συναγορ<sup>ς</sup>    γεν<sup>η</sup>  
 18 κο[λ]<sup>λ</sup>      21,23,24  $\bar{\sigma}$       24 / = γίνεται

Translation

'To Dius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Apollonius, also called Hatres, son of Collouthus, and Apollonia, daughter of Apollonius, and Elis, daughter of Apion both with their guardian the aforesaid Apollonius also called Hatres, son of Collouthus, son of Apollonius, and Melis, daughter of Ptollis with her son Arbichis, son of Pasalymis the elder as guardian, all of them from the village of Pela in the western toparchy. According to the orders of the most excellent prefect Pompeius Planta we measured into the public granary (?) of requisitioned wheat from the produce of the past . . . . . year of Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus I, Apollonius also called Hatres, son of Collouthus . . . . . artaba . . . . .  $\frac{1}{8}$  artabas . . . . . making a total of 2 artabas . . . . .'

Notes to the text

1. ΔΙ[ω]Λ: the ω is rubbed off. For Dios the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome see introduction to this text.

στρατηγῶν: the document is undoubtedly an application concerning corn, in particular requisitioned corn, and as such must have been addressed to the strategus or the royal scribe; see P. Oxy. XLI 2958.1, [2 Dec. A.D. 99]; 2959.1 [? Nov. A.D. 99]; 2960.1 [23 Jan. A.D. 100], Requests for the refund for the price of *πυρὸς συναγοραστῆκος*; also cf. P. Oxy. XLI 2961. 10-12; Receipt for the price of *πυρὸς συναγοραστῆκος* [A.D. 154], authorized by the strategus and the royal scribe; 2962. 4,7,8 [? Feb. A.D. 154]; 2963. 5-6, 11-12 [A.D. 154]; 2965. 4, 7-9 [15 Feb. A.D. 154]; 2966. 4, 7-8 [A.D. 154]; 2967. 4-5, 8-9 [3-7 Mar. A.D. 154], addressed to the strategus and authorized by the royal scribe. For the strategus' financial administration, see Nicolas Hohlwein, Le Stratège du nome, Pap. Brux. 9 [1969], pp. 111-126; see also general introduction, p. 9 n.32.

²ΟΞ(υρυχειζου) : the abbreviation is marked by a dash over the second letter. νομοῦ is understood after ²ΟΞ(υρυχειζου) .

5. μετὰ κυρίου : according to the Greek-Egyptian law women who were involved in legal businesses acted with the assistance of κύριοι, i.e. male guardians, see W. Weiss, 'Beiträge zum gräko-ägyptischen Vormundschaftsrecht', Archiv 4 [1908], pp. 78-91; L. Mitteis, Grundzüge

und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunden [1912], p. 248, pp. 251 ff.; R. Taubenschlag, 'La compétence du κύριος dans le droit gréco-égyptien', Arch. d'Hist. du Droit Orient. 2 [1938], pp. 292 ff. = Opera Minora, 2 [1959], pp. 353 - 77; idem, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri, 332 B.C. - 640 A.D.<sup>2</sup> [1955], pp. 170 - 8.

- 6-7. The name of Apollonius is written in full here, contrast the text line 2, when his grandfather's name is not given.
8. Μελέτιος: the o is written on the top of another letter probably υ; the scribe corrected himself. The name is rare cf. Namenbuch and Onomasticon.
9. μετὰ κυρίου: see above, note to line 5.
11. Πέλα: a village in the western toparchy, see P. Oxy. X 1285 81; P. Oxy. XLVI 3269 note to line 3.
13. κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος: for the titles and appellatives of the prefect, see O. W. Reinmuth, The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian, Klio Bhft. 34 [1935], pp. 9-10.
14. Πομηγίου Πλάντζα: for the term of office, see introduction to the text. For the prefect of Egypt in general see Reinmuth, The Prefect of Egypt; idem, 'Praefectus Aegypti', PW 22.2 [1954], coll. 2353 - 77; idem, 'Praefectus Aegypti', PW Suppl. 8 [1956], coll. 526 - 39; idem, 'A Working List of the Prefects of Egypt 30 B.C. to 299 A.D.', BASP 4 [1967], pp. 75-128; idem, 'A Working List of the Prefects of Egypt', BASP 5 [1968], pp. 105 - 6; P.A. Brunt, 'The Administrators of Roman Egypt', JRS LXV [1975], pp. 124 - 47.
- ἔμετρήσαμε(ν): the abbreviation is determined by

raising the ε ; for expansion of the abbreviation see introduction to the text.

15. εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον) : there are only traces of ink of the tops of the dotted letters. The reading is uncertain, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. XLI 2960 [23 Jan. A.D. 100], lines 21-2 ... ἐμετρήσαμεν εἰς δημόσιον θεσφαυρόν, also P. Oxy. XII 1541 Receipt [A.D. 129], line 1 Μεμέτ(ρηνα) εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον) πυροῦ συναγο(ρακιτικοῦ) . συναγο(ρακιτικοῦ) πυροῦ : it would seem that it was levied [perhaps for the army] when wheat prices on the open market were high especially as a result of a shortage or a low Nile flood; in general see A. C. Johnson, Roman Egypt, [Econ. Surv. Anc. Rome 2] (1936) , pp. 620 ff., cf. S. L. Wallace, Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian [1938], pp. 22-3; and also J. Schwartz, Les archives de Sarapion, [1961] pp. 327 ff; R. P. Duncan-Jones, 'The Price of Wheat in Roman Egypt under the Principate', Chiron 6 [1976], pp. 248-9, and the introduction to P. Oxy. XLI 2958 [2 Dec. A.D. 99]. To the literature for συναγορακιτικὸς πυρὸς cited in Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, p. 365 and in P. Oxy. XLI 2958, introduction, may be added P. Colon. inv. 682, Aufstellung über Getreidesteuereingänge und Privatbrief [second century A.D.], and the literature cited in its introduction in ZPE 13 [1974], p. 142; P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 [A.D. 99-100].
- 15-16. γενή(ματος) [τοῦ δειλθ(όντος) : the papyrus is broken off but the number of letters supplied in the lacuna seems reasonable; the loss at the beginning of the line is estimated by the scale of the previous lines. For the

Filling of the lacuna see e.g. P. Oxy. XII 1541.

1 - 2; P. Oxy. XLI 2958. 6, 2959. 8.

(ἔτους) ] : the regnal year is expected before the imperial title.

17. [Τραλανὸῦ Σεβαστοῦ] : the line is broken off at this part.

16-17. For the title of the emperor, see P. Bureth, Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraces et les inscriptions d'Egypte (1964), p. 51.

## 10. AGREEMENT TO LEASE LAND

Oxyrhynchite nome [?]A.D. 199

Inv. no. 16 2B. 47/C[a]

The papyrus is almost complete; the top is split up into two pieces and after restoration it measures 10.7 x 34 cm. The papyrus is of a coarse quality and written along the fibres. The back is blank. A considerable piece from the top margin is broken off. It is also broken off at the top left and right hand sides. There is a loss of a long strip at the left hand side from line 45 down to the bottom. The papyrus is not free from holes. The scribe left a wide margin of 2 cm on the left side of the papyrus but on the opposite side the margin is very narrow and at places there is no margin at all. There is a large space at the bottom [3 cm]. The writing is of a particularly careful and formal character; the letters are upright, bold and not very cursive. The size of the letters is generally large while there are instances of different scales such as for α, ο, κ, ρ. The general looseness of the structure of the writing is obvious and marks the tendency found in similar documents of the period, cf. W. Schubart, Papyri Graecae Berolinenses. Tabulae in usum Scholarum 2 [1911], plate 27 [2nd century A.D.]; P. Merton I 25 [12 Mar. A.D. 214] plate xxvii; W. Schubart, Griechische Palaeographie, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I 4, 1 [1925], pp. 69-71. The scribe carefully observed the spacing between individual lines.

The present document is an agreement between Panechotes and a woman to lease land from her through her manager. The land is in two plots in one holding at the same village. The lease is for a period of two years. The lessee will sow the land with green stuff in the first year in one plot, and the other with wheat, and will do the opposite in the following year. The rent payment is money for the land grown with green stuff and wheat for the land grown with wheat. The wheat payment will be paid in deposit. The rent will be paid in the month of Payni. The lease is addressed to the lessor and bears the signature of the lessee. The type of this text is a private document in a subjectively styled<sup>1</sup> declaration with ὁμολογῶ in chirographic<sup>2</sup> form without χαίρειν.<sup>3</sup> The scribe must have made a mistake by writing the name of the lessor in the nominative case instead of

- 
1. See lines 6-7 ὁμο[λογῶ μ]εμισθ(ῶσθα) παρὰ σοῦ  
29 . . . ἀποδώσω σοι  
34-35 . . . πράξειε σοι οὐχὲς ἐκ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν  
ὑπαρχόντων μοι  
46-47 . . . παραδώξω  
cf. 38-9 and the note.
  2. cf. S. Waszyński, Die Bodenpacht, Agrargeschichtliche Papyrusstudien, Bd. I Die Privatpacht [1905], pp. 28-9; L. Mitteis, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunden II i [1912], pp. 73 ff; H. J. Wolff, 'Consensual Contracts in the Papyri?' JJP I [1946], p. 57; J. Herrmann, Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht graeco-ägyptischen Papyri [1958], p. 24 and nn. 2, 3; D. Montevicchi, La papirologia [1973], p. 215.
  3. See Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 28-9; cf. Mitteis, Grundzüge, pp. 73 ff; H. J. Wolff, Das Recht der griechischen papyri Ägyptens II [1978], p. 107 n. 5.

the dative.<sup>4</sup> There are two reasons why we must make this correction. Firstly, when one party to a lease of land is a woman and the other a man, it is almost certain that the woman will be the lessor and not the lessee.<sup>5</sup> We know that this must be the case in the present text, because in lines 38-9 we have τὴν γεούχον and in lines 43-4, τῷ μελεθωσαμένῳ. Secondly, it is quite certain that the present text is written on the part of the lessee, not on the part of the lessor, because of the use of παρά in the expression ὁμο[λογῶ μ]εμελεθ(ῶ)σθαι παρά σου in lines 6-7, and the wording in general. Therefore the lessee must appear in the nominative in the text, and the lessor, who is a woman, must appear in the dative. In Oxyrhynchus, homological and subjectively styled declarations do not exist in the Roman period.<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to establish the actual location of the lease since the village Pimpasi [line 10] is not attested in papyri from Oxyrhynchus or elsewhere. Since its context has formulas resembling those found in leases from the Oxyrhynchite

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4. For the usual expression cf., e.g. P. Flor. I 85 [A.D. 91]; P. Ryl. II 168 [A.D. 120]; BGU III 920 [A.D. 180]; CPR I 243 [A.D. 224]; CPR I 36 [A.D. 225]; P. Amh. II 101 [early third century A.D.]; P. Mich XI 609 [A.D. 244].
5. See Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 58.
6. cf. Wolff, JJP I [1946], p. 57; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 255-73; D. Hennig, Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten [Diss. München 1967], pp. 191 ff.

nome,<sup>7</sup> it must be assumed that its location is the Oxyrhynchite nome. The scheme of the document is as follows:

1.  $\tau\omega\ \delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\lambda\ \dots\ \delta\ \delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\ \dots$ , lines 1-5.
2. Address of the lessee, lines 5-6.
3. The introductory words of the contract,  $\epsilon\omicron\mu\omicron[\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega]$  [  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\theta(\omega\epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda)$  ], line 6-7.
4. The duration of the lease, lines 7-8.
5. The date of the beginning of the lease, lines 8-9.
6. The description of the object of the lease, its location and size, lines 9-13.
7. Establishing the rent, lines 14-27.
8. Arrangement for the payment and the time of paying, lines 27-34.
9. The  $\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\lambda\lambda$  clause, lines 34-36.
10. Provisions concerning public taxes, lines 37-39.
11. The penalty clause in case of failure to pay the rent, lines 39-42.
12. Provisions in case of  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\omicron\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , lines 42-44.
13.  $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma$  clause, lines 44-45.
14. Probable other provisions, lines 45-46.
15. Provisions concerning the return of the land, lines 46-47.
16. The  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$  clause, line 48.
17. Date, lines 48-52.

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7. These formulas are found in the following clauses: the  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  clause, lines 32-4, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 127-43; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 143-45; the clause concerning  $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\theta\omicron\lambda$ , see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 143-45; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 140-42; and the  $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma$  clause, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 154-60. On the other hand, the clause relating to land measurement does not use the expression which is normal in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see the note to lines 21-2.

18. Subscription of the lessee followed by *ὡς πρόκ(ε)τα*, lines 52-53.
19. The name of the person writing for him followed by the illiteracy clause.

Not only does the scribe make a number of mistakes [e.g. in lines 1, 28-9 and 33] and in the imperial dating formula, but he also seems to be very unsure of how to draft a lease. The clauses are more or less what would be expected down to no. 8 above, up to line 24, but those which follow are in a very strange order. In leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome the usual order of clauses was [1] *ἀκλύδουρος* clause, [2] provisions concerning taxes, [3] control of *καρποί*, [4] *ἀβροχός* clause, [5] *βεβαίωσις* clause, [6] payment of rent, and [7] *πρᾶξις* clause; see e.g. P. Oxy. I 101 [A.D. 142], P. Fouad 43 [A.D. 190-1], and P. Oxy. XIV 1689 [A.D. 266]. As well as putting the clauses in an unusual order, the scribe makes serious mistakes concerning the *καρποί*,<sup>8</sup> and the *βεβαίωσις*,<sup>9</sup> and, although he writes most of the document in the subjective style, he suddenly uses the objective style for the clauses concerning the taxes, the *καρποί* and *ἀβροχία*.

The nearest parallel to our document in the Roman period is BGU III 920 [A.D. 180], cf. also P. Amh. 101 [early third century A.D.].<sup>10</sup> This lease has more resemblance to the subjectively styled agreements to

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8. See the note to lines 39-42.

9. See the note to lines 44-5.

10. cf. also note 4 above.

lease land [ ὁμολογία ] of the Byzantine period.<sup>11</sup>

It is probably an early example of this type of document.

It is also unusual in the Roman period to have the

formula τῷ δεῦτε . . . ὁ δεῦνα , which became

common from the fourth century A.D. onwards.<sup>12</sup>

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11. cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 36 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 43 ff.  
Note in particular BGU IV 1092 (Hermopolite; A.D. 392).

12. For another early example of this order see P. Oxy. XVII 2137 [A.D. 226] which however is a hypomnema type of lease. See in general Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 36 ff, Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 43 ff.

10

- [ ± 8 ] δῶρα <τ>ῆ καὶ ci [ ± 5 ]  
 [διὰ .....] οδώρου το [ ± 5 ]  
 [ ± 6 ἐπ]ιτρόπου Π[ανεχώ-]  
 [τ]ῆς το[ῦ] Ἀγαθῶν[ος μητρὸς]  
 5 [.] ηουτο[ς] ἀπὸ .... [οικῶν]  
 [ἐ]ν ἐποικίῳ Κο...ληου. Ὅμο[λογῶ]  
 [μ]εμισθ(ῶσθαι) παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ χρόν[ον ἔ-]  
 τη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶτος]  
 η (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ς[οι]  
 10 περὶ κάμην Πίμπαι ἐ[κ τοῦ]  
 Χ[.] [.] [.] μο κλήρ(ου) ἀρούρη[ας πέν-]  
 τε ἡμι[ς]υ τὰς προγεωργου-  
 μένας ὑπὸ Πεύσιος Εὐδαί(μονος)  
 τῷ μὲν η (ἔτει) χλωροῖς ξυλ(αμῆσαι) ἐκάσ-  
 15 τῆς ἀρούρης ἀνὰ δραχμὰς  
 εἴκοσι τέσσαρες καὶ τῷ  
 ἰσιόντι θ (ἔτει) εἰς <ς>πορὰν  
 πυροῦ ἐκάστης ἀρούρης  
 ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ  
 20 ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλ(ήρω)  
 ἀρούρας τέσσαρες τῆς ἐκ γεομ(ετρίας)  
 φανησο(μένης) εἰς <ς>πορὰν πυροῦ  
 ἐκάστης ἀρούρης ἀνὰ πυροῦ  
 ἀρτάβας πέντε ἡμῖν καὶ

- 25 τῷ θ (ἔτει) χλωρικῶ ξυλ(αμῆσαι) ἑκάσ-  
της ἀρούρης ἀνὰ δραχμὰς  
εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ ἀναγόμενον  
ἀργυρικὸν φόρον καὶ ειτικ(οῦ)  
[ἐ]κφορίου ἀποδώσω σοι
- 30 τὸν μὲν πυρὸν ἐν θέμα<τι>  
τῷ [δ]ημοσίῳ καὶ τὸ ἀργύρ(ιον)  
δόκιμον τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ ἀ-  
κίνδυνα τὰ ἐκφόρ<ι>α παντὸς  
κινδύνου τῆς πράξεως σοι οὗ-  
σης ἕκ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
- 35 ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων,  
τῶν δὲ τῆς γῆς κατ' ἔτος δη-  
μοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὴν  
γεοῦχον, ᾧν ἐμισθώσατο
- 40 τοὺς καρ[π]οὺς ὅπως τὸ κα-  
τ' ἔτο[ς] ἐφειλόμενα κομίση-  
[ται· ἐὰ]ν δέ τις ἄβροχ(ος) γένηται  
[παραδε]χθήσεται τῷ μισθω-  
σαμένῳ· ἐκβεβαιωμένης
- 45 [τῆς μι]σθωσαμένης ἀχυ-  
[ ± 6 ]ρον δ καὶ παραδώ-  
[σω τὴν] γῆν καθαρὰν ἀποτεφρυ(ο)κ(οσημένην).  
[κυρία ἢ] μίσθ(ωσις). ("ἔτους) ἡ Αὐτοκρατόρων  
[Καισάρων] Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σευήρου(υ)

- 50 [Εὐσεβοῦ]ς Περτίνακο(ε) Ἀραβικ[οῦ]  
 [Ἀδρια]βηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ μεγ[ίστου]  
 [ ± 5 ]  $\bar{\kappa}\beta$ . (2nd Hand) Πανεχῶ(της) ὁ προγεγρα(μμένος)  
 μιμίσει(ωμαι)]  
 [ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)]. Παρεῖτις Κολλούθ(ου) ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπὲρ  
 [αὐτοῦ] γρά(μματα) μὴ εἰδότες.

7 [μ]εμιε<sup>θ</sup> 9 ης 11 κλη<sup>ρ</sup> 13 ευδα<sup>ι</sup>  
 14 ης, ξυ<sup>λ</sup> 16 1. τέσσαρας 17 1. εἰσιόντι, θς  
 20 κ<sup>λ</sup> 21 1. τέσσαρας; γεο<sup>μ</sup> 22 φανησ<sup>ω</sup>  
 25 θς, ξυ<sup>λ</sup> 28 ειτι<sup>κ</sup> 31 αργυ<sup>ρ</sup> 42 αβρο<sup>κ</sup>  
 47 αποθερυ<sup>κ</sup> 48 μιε<sup>θ</sup>, L η 49 σενη<sup>ο</sup>  
 52 πανεχ<sup>ω</sup>, προγεγρς 53 κολλου<sup>θ</sup>, εγρς 54 γρς  
 40 ε. τὰ

Translation

'To . . . dora also called Si . . . through her manager . . . odorus . . . , Panechotes son of Agathon mother . . . ous from . . . in the hamlet of Ko . . . . I agree that I have leased from you for a period of two years from the present 8th year out of your property at the village of Pimpasi in the holding of Ch . . . five and a half arourae previously cultivated by Pekusis son of Eudaemon, to sow in the 8th year with green stuffs at a rent of twenty four drachmae for each aroura, and in the coming 9th year for the sowing of wheat at a rent of six and half artabae of wheat for each aroura, and in the same holding four arourae, in accordance with the survey of the land which will be declared, for the sowing of wheat at a rent of five and a half artabae of wheat for each aroura, and to sow in the 9th year with green stuffs at a rent of twenty drachmae for each aroura, and the total rent in money and in grain I shall pay you, the wheat in deposit to the public (granary) and the silver in acceptable coinage in the month of Payni, the rent free from every risk, you having the right of execution upon me and also on all my property. The public dues on the land rest every year with the proprietress who has leased the crops(?) until(?) she receives her annual dues. If any part of the land be uninundated an allowance shall be made to the lessee and when the lease(?) is confirmed . . . , and I shall deliver the land clear from dirt and free from rushes. The lease is valid. Year 8 of Imperatores

Caesares Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus  
Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus . . . 22. [2nd hand] I,  
Panechotes the aforementioned, have leased as aforesaid.  
I, Pareitis son of Kollouthus, wrote for him as he is  
illiterate.'

Notes to the text

1. [ ± 8 ] δώρα <τ>ῆ καὶ Cε[±5]: on the reasons for altering this name into the dative see the introduction. A great many feminine names ending in -δωρα are given in F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen [1957], but the only one which is at all common in Greek papyri is Ἰσιδώρα see Namenbuch and Onomasticon. Before this we should supply a Roman nomen [women with Roman nomina acting as lessors are common in the papyri, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 58 n. 1]; Onomasticon, s.v. Ἰσιδώρα, lists Αἰλία, Κλαυδία, Οὐαλερία and Φλαουία. If the woman's name was Claudia Isidora also called Si[, she might well belong to the same family as Claudia Isidora also called Apia, whose name occurs in a number of papyri of about this date from Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere; see on her E. Constantinides, 'An Oxyrhynchus Papyrus', BASP 6 [1969], p. 55, and J. D. Thomas, 'A Document Relating to the Estate of Claudia Isidora Reconsidered', [BGU xi 2126], JJP 18 [1974], p. 239. There would be room to supply [Κλαυδία Ἰσιδώρα here if we suppose that line 1 projected slightly further to the left than the lines following, as is not uncommon.

Cε[ ± 5 ] : Cελυθῶνις is very common as a woman's name at Oxyrhynchus, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon. The lexica also suggest as possibilities Cε[λβανη] or Cε[βόλλη].

- 2-3. [δία . . . .] . οδώρου το[ ±5 ] / [ ±6 ἐπ ] ετρούου  
line 2 is broken off at the left and it is difficult to

identify the traces of ink at the start; Λ is possible, suggesting Ἀσκλητῆ<sup>ς</sup> οδώρου, as also is ϸ, which suggests Δλονυτῆ<sup>ς</sup> οδώρου, a very common name in Greek papyri, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon. There are very many Greek names ending in -οδώρος, see Dornseiff, Wörterbuch... Hansen, Rückläufiges Eigennamen. After this the reading τῶ is doubtful. If it is correct, it is more probably the article τῶ rather than the beginning of the father's name [the rest of which will have come in the lacuna here and at the start of line 3]. On the use of the article before the genitive of the father's name in Greek papyri see C. W. E. Miller, 'Note on the use of Article before the Genitive of the Father's Name in Greek Papyri', AJP 37 [1916], pp. 341-8. For Greek names beginning with Το- see Namenbuch and Onomasticon. Another possibility is that the epitropos had an alternative name, supplying τῶ καί .

3. ἐπιτρόπου : where the dotted ε comes the papyrus is broken off and there are only slight traces of ink. For the reading [ δλα . . . . ] οδώρου τῶ [±τ] | [±ε ἐπιτρόπου] (lines 2, 3) cf. P. Dxy. III 501.5-6 [A.D. 187]; P. Dxy. XVIII 2189.4-5 [A.D. 220]; cf. also P. Dxy. XVIII 2191.21 [second century A.D.]; cf. Wörterbuch s.v. ἐπίτροπος ; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 61. The use of the word ἐπίτροπος denoting a 'manager, steward or overseer' must not be confused with the ἐπίτροπος who serves as a legal guardian [tutor], cf. U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunden I i [1912], pp. 248 ff; R. Taubenschlag,

The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C. - 640 A.D. [1955], p. 153, pp. 157 ff; N. Lewis, Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, ASP III [1967] s.v. For other meanings of ἐπίτροπος as a procurator, see H. J. Mason, Greek terms for Roman Institutions, ASP 15 [1974], pp. 442-3.

- 3-4. Π[ανεχώτης] το[ύ] Ἀγαθῶν[ος] : the name of the lessee has been supplied from line 52, where however: the reading is not certain. Although the letter after ἐπίτροπου is broken and the reading η is uncertain, it seems necessary to read this; it is still not certain whether this η is the start of the name of the lessee or is the beginning of η[αρά], with the lessee's name following in the genitive. As the reading before Ἀγαθῶν[ος] in line 4 is so doubtful, this possibility cannot be excluded on palaeographical grounds. However, it is normal for παρά to be used in leases of the hypomnema type, see Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 14-19, and not with those of the type we have in this document. The traces before Ἀγαθῶν[ος] are very uncertain, as the papyrus is mostly broken away at this point, and could belong to the start of the father's name; however, Dornseiff-Hansen, Wörterbuch... Ruckläufiges Eigennamen does not suggest that there were any names ending -αγαθων so that the father's name was presumably simply Agathon. If το[ύ] is right and if it is right to omit παρά, τοῦ must belong to the genitive following and mean 'son of'; cf. Miller, AJP 37 [1916], pp. 341-8 cited in

the previous note. The alternative is to read  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$  as the end of the name of the lessee, restoring  $\eta[\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \Pi\alpha\nu\epsilon]\chi\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron[\upsilon]\ \text{Ἀγαθῶν}[\omicron\omicron\omicron]$ . After this we may be confident that  $\mu\eta\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  is to be supplied.

5.  $[\cdot]\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron[\epsilon]$  : a number of feminine names in Egypt can end in this way in Greek, e.g.  $[\tau]\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron[\epsilon]$ , cf. Onomasticon.

$\acute{\alpha}\eta\acute{\omicron}\dots[\omicron\acute{\omicron}\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu]$  : the dotted letters have lost their upper parts. A name of a village is expected after  $\acute{\alpha}\eta\acute{\omicron}$ . The space left in the line allows us to supply  $\omicron\acute{\omicron}\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$  rather than  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\lambda\eta\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  [unless  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\lambda\eta\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  was abbreviated].

6.  $[\acute{\epsilon}] \nu \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\ \kappa\omicron\lambda\eta\upsilon$  : the papyrus is broken where the letter  $\omega$  comes and only parts of the dotted letters appear on the papyrus, but it is hard to determine the reading of the word.

- 6-7.  $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron[\lambda\omicron\chi\acute{\omega}] | [\kappa]\epsilon\mu\iota\theta(\acute{\omega}\varsigma\theta\alpha\iota)$  : for the restoration cf. e.g. BGU III 920.5-6 [A.D. 180/1]; this text includes  $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\lambda\upsilon$ , which would be expected in a document of this type. For its omission see n. 3 to the introduction and cf. in particular BGU IV 1092 [A.D. 372] and P. Gen. 66 = W. Chr. 381 [A.D. 374].

- 7-8.  $\acute{\epsilon}\eta\lambda\iota\ \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu[\omicron\nu]\ \acute{\epsilon}\eta\tau\eta\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$  : the duration of the lease for two years in the Roman period was not uncommon, cf. the appendix in Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 255 ff. and in Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 201 ff. For the duration of leases of land, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 90 ff; A. C. Johnson, Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian,

(Econ. Surv. Anc. Rome 2), p. 82; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 89 ff.

- 8-9. ἀνὸ τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶτος] ἡ (ἔτους) : the symbol } , a double curve, serves for ἔτος , see F. Bilabel, 'Siglae', PW 2 A [1923] col. 2306, H. C. Youtie, The Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri Prolegomena, BICS Suppl. 33 [1974], p. 13 and n. 39 p. 21.
10. Πίμνασι : this village is not attested elsewhere in the papyri, cf. Wörterbuch III, 16a.
- 10-11. ἐ[κ τοῦ] Χ[.] [.] [.] μο κλήρου : the third letter in the name of the kleros has a long descender. P. Pruneti, in her list of 'ΚΛΗΡΟΙ del nomo Ossirinichite, Ricerca Topografica', in Aegyptus 55 [1975], pp. 158 ff. includes Χαριξείνον and Χερυγένου (p. 206). It does not seem possible to read either of these names here, as the letter before the O at the end of the word is almost certainly μ and cannot be ν . Presumably the O is intended to be raised to indicate that the ending of the word was abbreviated, unless the scribe left off the ending by mistake. On the names of kleroi see F. Zucker, Beobachtung zu den permanenten Klerosnamen, Festschrift Dertel [1964], pp. 101-6.
- 12-13. τὰς προχωρηγούμενας ὑπὸ Πεκύκλος Εὔδαί(μονος) For a clause of this type in leases of land, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. I 101 [A.D. 142], lines 9-10.
13. Εὔδαί(μονος) : the abbreviation is marked by the horizontal dash above the last letters. The name is common in the Greek papyri, cf. Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

14. <sup>2</sup>εν is expected before τῶ η (ἔτελ); perhaps the scribe rested after the end of the line and forgot the word when he began the next. For the symbol Ϛ, see note to lines 8-9.

χλωροῖς : χλωρά is a comprehensive term which includes both χόρτος and ἄρακος ; cf. P. Tebt. I, pp. 563-4; P. Dsl. II 32, note to line 17; M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten [1925], p. 213; Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 43. On the dates for sowing χλωρά, see Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 214 ff.

Ξυλ(αμῆσαι) : the abbreviation is marked by writing the λ above the υ. The verb is used in its proper sense, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 70; Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 43 n. 21 cf. Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 133-4.

χλωροῖς Ξυλ(αμῆσαι) : the usual construction would be ὥστε χλωροῖς Ξυλαμῆσαι, see e.g. P. Oxy. XIV 1629.8-10 [B.C. 44]; P. Oxy. II 280.11-13, 15 [A.D. 88-9]; P. Oxy. III 499.15 [A.D. 121]; P. Oxy. IV 730.10 [A.D. 130]; P. Oxy. IV 729.31 [A.D. 137]; P. Oxy. XIV 1687.16-18 [A.D. 184]; P. Oxy. XIV 1689.13-14 [A.D. 266].

- 15-16. ἄνα δραχμὰς εἴκοσι τέσσαρες : the scribe wrote τέσσαρες instead of τέσσαρας. Rent is paid in money for crops other than wheat or barley. See Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 96 ff; Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 82; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 98-101; Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 5; cf. also pp. 29-35. Twenty-four drachmae for the aroura is a normal rent at

this period; see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 100-4; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 225 ff; Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 201 ff.

17. (Έτελε) : on the symbol used here, see note to lines 8-9.

ε̅τελε <C>νορᾶν : the omission of the C in this expression is very common, cf. e.g. P. Coll. Youtie 22. 6-7 [A.D. 87/8]; P. Mil. Vogl. II 83.9, 15 [17 Sept. A.D. 134], 106.9, 15, 18, 20 [A.D. 134]; P. Oxy. VII 1031.9 [A.D. 228].

- 16-18. τῶ ἔτελε ἄρτάβας θ (Έτελε) ε̅τελε <C>νορᾶν νοροῦ: this formula specifies the object of the contract, which is to sow wheat, in that year for this plot of land, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 65-7; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 68-70; Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 42-3. In the Oxyrhynchite nome the expected formula is ὡςτε κνεῖραι νορῶ, see Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 42 n. 5. For the dates for sowing wheat, see Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 137-40, and for the Oxyrhynchite nome, see pp. 139-40. For the rotation of the crops, see Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 218-39, and for the Oxyrhynchite nome, see pp. 224-6, 237-8; Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 51-3.

- 19-20. ἀνά νοροῦ ἄρτάβας ἐξ ἡμετε : the amount of the rent depends on the quality of the land, accessibility to market, or flood conditions, see Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 81; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 102; Hennig Bodenpacht, p. 26. The rental of 6½ artabae of wheat per aroura in the second half of the second century was a high one, cf. P. Fouad 43 [A.D. 190/1] which has a rental of 8 artabae

of wheat per aroura. The average rental between A.D. 150 and 200 was ca. 4½ artabae, cf. Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 81; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 102-3; Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 26-8 and the index of rent in kind pp. 33-4. The rent is paid in kind when wheat or barley was sown, see Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 80. Rent is paid in wheat when the land is growing wheat, see Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 3 n. 3.

21. γεομ(ετρίας) : on writing ο instead of ω in γεωμ(ετρίας) see E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit I i [1970], pp. 75-6.
- 21-22. τῆς ἐκ γεομ(ετρίας) φανησομ(ένης) : this stipulation in the contract is for more specification for the size of the land, which might affect the rent when it is paid, see Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 75 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 76, 163 ff; P. Berl. Leihg. 20, note to line 4. According to Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 164, the normal expression in leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome was ἀρούρα ἢ ἂν ὧσιν ἐγ γεωμετρίας . The expression in the present text comes closest to those he quotes from the Hermopolite nome, e.g. P. Stras. I 10, lines 11-2. It is very strange that the scribe has put the words in our text at this point, where they seem to have no meaning. Usually they qualify the expression ἐκάστης ἀρούρης .
22. ἐλς <ε>νορᾶν : see note to lines 16-18.
- 23-24. ἂν ἂ νυροῦ ἀρτάβας δέντε ἡμλω : cf. note to lines 19-20.

24. (ἔτελ) : see note to lines 8-9.
25. χλωρικῶ ξουλ(αμῆκαλ) : in line 14 the scribe uses one of the usual expressions for the planting of land with green stuffs; but here he uses the word χλωρικῶ to which there is no parallel. ~~The entry in LSJ s.v. suggests that it is doubtful whether the word exists at all, so probably the scribe simply made another mistake here and intended to write χλωροῦς again.~~
- 26-27. ἀνά δραχμάς ἐλκοῦ : cf. note to lines 15-16.
- 28-29. [ἐ]κφορίου : this is a mistake for ἐκφόριον
30. ἐν θέμα<τλ> : it seems that the scribe has forgotten to finish the word when he reached the end of the line, though there is enough space left for the two letters τλ . We cannot read θέμα|τλ [δ]ημοσίῳ , as the ω in line 31 is certain. The wheat was to be deposited in the state granary to the credit of the lessor. cf. P. Oxy. III 501.18 and the note (= Mitt. Chr. 349) [A.D. 187]; cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 114 ff; see also Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 4 n. 8; on θέμα , see N. Lewis, 'Notationes Legentis', BASP 13 [1976], pp. 167-9; D. Hagedorn 'ΘΕΜΑ', ZPE 25 [1977], pp. 197-8.
31. τῶ [δ]ημοσίῳ : the τ is lost except the right part of the cross bar; θεσαυρῶ is understood. This is the place where the payment of the wheat had to be made, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 109-10; Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 25; see also note above.
- 31-32. τὸ ἀργύριον δόκιμου : despite the hole the reading of the letter κ is certain. For the expression see Wörterbuch III 17. In the Roman period the use of silver

coins continued until the 4th century, see G. Mickwitz, Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich [1932]; L. C. West - A. C. Johnson, Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt, [1944]; Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 424 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 111-2; Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 21.

32. τῷ Παῦλι : this is the usual month for the payment of rent in kind in the Oxyrhynchite and Arsinoite nomes. Since there is no general or common time for the payment in money the time for the payment in money in this document is apparently in the time soon after the crop; see in general Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 107-9, 111-2; Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 22-4.

32-33. ἀκίνδυνα τὰ ἐκφόρ<λ>α : there is a hole in the papyrus but there are traces of the letter κ in ἀκίνδυνα . The scribe apparently has forgotten the λ in ἐκφόρ<λ>α

33. κινδύνου : the reading of the dotted letter is uncertain because of the hole.

32-34. The form of this clause is usual for Oxyrhynchite leases, cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, p. 128; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 143. The purpose of this clause was to protect the lessor against reduction in rent; cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 128 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 143-5. Cf. U. Wollentin, Ὁ κίνδυνος in den Papyri [Diss. Köln 1961], pp. 61 ff. [not seen].

34-35. τῆς πράξεως σου οὕτως ἔκ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἔκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μου πάντων : the lessor was protected by penalties in case the rent was not paid, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 145-8; Herrmann, Bodenpacht,

p. 150; Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 86-7; in general see H. J. Wolff, Die Praxisklausel in Papyrusverträgen, Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Altgriechenlands und des hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten (1961), pp. 102-28; idem 'Some observations on Praxis', [Proc. XII Intern. Cong. Pap. Toronto 1970] pp. 527-35; see also the bibliography cited in note to line 6 in P. Vindob.

Worp 10.

- 37-39. τῶν δὲ τῆς γῆς κατ' ἔτος δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὴν γεοῦχον : the lessor's tax liability was the usual rule, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 115-8; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 122-4. Instead of πρὸς τὴν γεοῦχον we should expect, in a subjectively styled contract, πρὸς ἐμέ . Here the scribe has suddenly changed into the objective style, cf. the introduction.
- 39-42. Ὡν ἐμισθώσατο τοὺς καρ[η]νοὺς ὅπως τὸ κατ' ἔτο[ς] δ]φει-  
λόμεν κομίσχη[ται]: a clause stating that the lessor is to retain ownership of the crops until the amount of rent owing is paid is very common in leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 143-5, Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 140-2; Rainer Kniepkamp, Ὁ καρπός in den Papyri (Diss. Köln. 1970) [not seen]; Arnold Kranzlein, 'Zur Urkundenklausel κυρτεύω τῶν καρπῶν ἕως . . .', Akten des XIII. Intern. Pap. Kongr. Marburg/Lahn 1971. (Münchener Beiträge 66. Heft, Munich, 1974), pp. 215-24. But the verb is always κυρτεύω , followed by the genitive, and the conjunction is always ἕως and never ὅπως . The relative clause is either in the accusative and infinitive or nominative and indicative. For example, see P. Oxy.

VI 910.23-6 (A.D. 197): πρὸς [τὸν γεο]ῦχον, ὄν [κ]αὶ  
κυρλεύειν τῶν [καρη]ῶν ἕως τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλόμε[να κο]μίσηται.

cf. also P. Oxy. I 101 (A.D. 142), and III 501 (A.D. 187).

The expression which the scribe has used in our document does not seem to make any sense. It seems as though what he put here is just a mistake for the usual clause with κυρλεύω.

40-41. κατ' ἔτο[ς ὀ]φειλόμενα : the papyrus is broken off.

For the restoration cf. e.g. P. Oxy. I 101.23 and III 501.33.

42. ἐὰν δέ τι ἀβροχ(ος) γένηται : an insufficient flood (ἀβροχία) is a reason for the reduction of the rent, i.e. a natural phenomenon which makes the fulfilment of the terms of the lease impossible or at least most unlikely, cf. P. Amh. II 85.15-17. ἐὰν δέ τι ἀβροχος γένηται ἢ καὶ ποταμοφόρητος ἢ ὑφαρμος ἢ κατεξυμένη γένηται (Hermopolite, A.D. 78), see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 132 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 161-2.

43-44. [παράδε]χθήσεται τῷ μισθωσαμένῳ : for the restoration in the lacuna, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. I 101.25 (A.D. 142). The reading of χ is not certain because of the extensive damage and only dots of the top and bottom part of the letter can be read.

τῷ μισθωσαμένῳ : the usual word is τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. I 101.26 (A.D. 142); VI 910.28 (A.D. 197); Wörterbuch, Spoglio II. This phrase follows the clause in line 42 to safeguard the interests of the lessee and states that the lessor had to grant a rebate to the lessee, see

Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 132 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 161-2; cf. the phrase used to protect the lessor against loss in lines 32-4 and the notes; cf. also P. Frank. 12 cited by Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 144 which has the clause ἀκίνδυνον πλὴν ἀβρόχου, which signifies that the lessor is protected except in the case of insufficient flood.

- 44-45. ἔκβεβαλωμένης [τῆς μ]εθωσαμένης: the usual expression is τῆς δὲ μεθώσεως βεβαλουμένης, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. III 499.24-5 [A.D. 121], I 101.26-7 [A.D. 142]. It is possible that there is room for δέ here at the start of line 45, but there is no doubt about the reading of either ἔκβεβαλωμένης or of μεθωσαμένης. μεθωσαμένης must be a mistake: the verb in the middle refers to the lessee [see Wörterbuch s.v.] and we know that the lessee in this contract was a man; also the word makes no sense in the context, and we must assume that the writer intended the normal word μεθώσεως. ἔκβεβαλώ is not attested in Wörterbuch, Wörterbuch Suppl. nor Spoglio. For its meaning see LSJ s.v. and E. A. Sophocles, Lexicon. The meaning of such a clause is to guarantee that the lessor had to give to the lessee the use of land and the right to gather the crops himself, see Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 82-90; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 153-60; Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 89 ff; Wolff, Die Praxisklausel, pp. 139-42 and note 28.

- 45-46. αχϛ [± 6] ϛ nov. δ : the last two letters in line 45 are not quite certain, but very probable. αχϛ— must refer

to chaff, whether we read some form of ἄχυρον or the verb ἄχυρηγέω [for which see Wörterbuch]. It is not clear why either word should be mentioned at this point. In line 46 C is not quite certain, but is very probable; the δ is also very probable and what precedes looks rather like a symbol for drachma. This suggests that we may have a reference to κνονδη' at the rate of 4 drachmas; but there is no mark of abbreviation after κνον. For κνονδη' consisting of only a few drachmas in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see Herrman, Bodenpacht, pp. 116-7.

- 46-47. παραδώ[σω τήν] γῆν καθαρὰν ἀνοτεθρυ<ο>κ(σημένην) :  
 in ἀνοτεθρυ<ο>κ(σημένην) the abbreviation is marked by raising the κ above the line. The scribe failed to write the ο perhaps on purpose because there is not enough space or he was thinking of abbreviating the word and became slack when he reached the end of the line. The usage of this compound verb in this context was not known before in the Greek papyri, cf. Wörterbuch; Spoglio; Wörterbuch Suppl. 1, but θρυοκονέω is used, cf. P. Oxy. VI 910 [A.D. 197], lines 41-4, παραδῶναι τήν γ[ῆν] τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἐνλαυτῷ τεθρυοκονημένην καὶ καθαρὰν ἀπὸ θρύου καὶ δελύης πάσης, cf. also Wörterbuch; and Spoglio. This stipulation in the lease requires from the lessee to hand over the land clean, free from the cut rushes, cf. Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 68-71; Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 115 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 128-9; J. D. Thomas, 'Some Recently Published Leases of Land', JJP 15 [1965], pp. 131-2; Hennig, 'Die Arbeitsverpflichtungen der Pächter

in Landpachtverträgen aus den Faijum', ZPE 9 [1972] pp. 123-8.

48. [κυρία ἤ] μίσθ(ωσις) : in leases in subjective style of the Roman period the lease itself concluded with this sanction clause before the imperial date and later, in the third century, it was supplemented with the stipulation clause καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα ; see Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 27-8. For this sanction clause, see H. J. Wolff, Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri [1978], pp. 145-6, Manfred Hässler, Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden, [1960], D. Simon, Studien z. Praxis d. Stipulationsklausel, [1964], pp. 3 ff. See also Marcel Hombert 'Un bail de terre d'Oxyrhynchus', Hommage C. Préaux [1975], p. 608 note to line 29.

(ἔτους) η : the abbreviation for ἔτους is marked by the normal form of the symbol L when it precedes; cf. the cursive symbol ζ for (ἔτους) in lines 9, 14, 17, 25 which frequently comes after the numeral, see Youtie, Textual Criticism, p. 20 n. 20. The year 8 of Septimius Severus falls in A.D. 199-200, see Wörterbuch III; P. W. Pestman, Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques [1967], p. 109.

- 48-51. Αὐτοκρατόρων : the reading is certain; for the filling of the lacunae of the title of the emperor, see Wörterbuch III; Wörterbuch Suppl.; P. Bureth, Les titulatures imperiales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte [30 a.C. - 282 p.C.] [1964], pp. 93 ff.

μεγ[ίςτ(ου)] : after the γ the papyrus is broken off and the word could not have been written in full in the space left by the lacuna which is decided approximately by the end of the margin. After μεγ[ίςτ(ου)], καὶ is expected followed by the title of the emperor Caracalla who was ruling jointly with his father in the year 8, but it is certain that the scribe has forgotten altogether to complete the imperial date since he started it with *Αὐτοκρατόρων*, cf. PSI 1328 [SB 7817], 10-12 [A.D. 199-200]; Wörterbuch III ab.2, Wörterbuch Suppl. 1; Bureth, Les titulatures impériales, p. 97.

52. [±5] ΚΒ : a word of five letters may be supplied in the lacuna for the month. One of these four months must almost certainly be supplied [Θῶθ, Φαῶφι, Ἀθύρ, Χοίακ], for leases of land in the Oxyrhynchite nome were drawn up in one of these four first months of the year, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 96, cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, p. 63.
- 52-53. Πανεχῶ(της) : the reading of ω is not sure; before it χ is more probable than κ. There are no signs to determine the abbreviation. The name is written cursively. The name is common in the Greek papyri, cf. Namenbuch; Onomasticon.

ὁ προγεγραμμένος : the sign of the abbreviation is the raised ς. The word is very cursive as if the writer was hurrying. By "the aforementioned" cf. lines 3-4, the lessee is meant.

μ[εμίθ(ωμα)] : the papyrus is broken off after the left part of the μ . The scribe probably had abbreviated the word in the space left by the lacuna and did not write it in full, otherwise he would have finished it on the following line; but this is unlikely because there is no room for it as well as ὡς πρόκ(ελα)

[ὡς πρόκ(ελα)] : this is the expected reading, cf. BGU III 920.41-2 [6 August A.D. 180]; P. Mich IX 609.45-6 [A.D. 244]; CPR I 37.19 [A.D. 251]. This is the signature of the lessee endorsing the terms of the lease. The hand is very similar to the first hand.

53-54. [αὐτοῦ] : for the restoration cf. lines 3-4, 52.

This is the signature of the person who wrote for the lessee. Illiteracy was the common condition of the great mass of Egyptians, see R. Calderini, 'Ἀγράμματοι nell' Egitto-greco', Aegyptus 30, [1950], pp. 14-41; H. C. Youtie 'ἈΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ : An aspect of Greek society in Egypt', HSCP 75 [1971] pp. 161-76; idem, 'ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ : The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt', ZPE 17 [1975] pp. 201-21.

## 11. UNDERTAKING TO SERVE AS A SAILOR

Oxyrhynchite nome19 February, A.D. 266

Inv. no. 17. 28. 53/E[a]

The papyrus is a long, narrow strip. It measures 6 cm at its widest point and is 33.5 cm in length. It is almost complete, but there are a few small holes and a larger hole in the middle of lines 41-45, and from line 35 to the end the ink has here and there been rubbed off. There is a small margin of less than one cm at the left and just over one cm at the top. The bottom 8 cm are blank.

The document is written in four different hands. The first hand is responsible for the first 35 lines, which contain the substance of the text and the date. This hand is written very quickly by a practised scribe and is a cursive hand typical of documents from the middle of the third century A.D. The second hand is that of Apollonius son of Apollonius, who writes on behalf of illiterates in at least two other texts of this period.<sup>1</sup> The third hand is written rather slowly and clumsily, while the fourth hand is that of a 'slow writer': it is written in crude capital letters, not joined together at all.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See on this man the introduction to P. Oxy. ined. 13.

2. On these slow writers see H. C. Youtie, 'βραδέως γράφων : between literacy and illiteracy', GRBS 12, 1971, 239-66 = Scriptiunculae [1973] II pp. 629-51.

The document is addressed to Aurelius Harpocratammon, the acting-strategus of the Oxyrhynchite. It is being sent to him by a certain Aurelius Agathus, a sailor [ ναύτης ], line 6. He swears an oath by the emperor that he will go to the Arsinoite nome on board the ships [ σκάφαι ] which are being sent there for the *διέραισι* of the public corn, and that he will perform there all the duties of a ναύτης which he may be required to do. His term of duty is to last until he is released and he acknowledges the receipt from the *εὐσχημόνες* in charge of the boats of pay, amounting to 160 drachmas each month. He also gives the name of Aurelius Dius as the man who will guarantee that he remains and does the job as he has undertaken to do. The document was submitted in at least two copies, since in P. Oxy. ined. 12 we have a duplicate of this text.

The work which the sailor is required to do is to be regarded as requisitioned labour for the government, such as is discussed by U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunden I, i [1912], pp. 330-9, and by F. Dertel, Die Liturgie - Studien zur ptolemäischen und Kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens [1917], pp. 62-93. It is important to note that the man's labour in our text is not being requisitioned for a fixed term but is to last *ἄχρις ὅς ἀπολυθῶ* [line 16]; and it is also important that he is being paid for his services, though he is not being paid by the government but by the *εὐσχημόνες* [lines 18 ff.]. For requisitioned labour we

may compare P. Leit. 9, also from the middle of the third century, in which men write to the prefect asking him to release them from building work which they have been performing at Heliopolis. We may also compare P. Flor. I 3 = W. Chr. 391 (A.D. 301): in this document comarchs of a village in the Hermopolite nome write to the strategus to tell him that they will send men to work in the mines at Alabastine as they had been ordered. One important difference between that text and the present document is that the comarchs say the men are being sent at the risk of the whole village, lines 8-10: κ[λυ]δ[ύ]ω ἡμῶν κα[ὶ] πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κώμη[ς] ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης. In the present document the sailor gives the name of his own guarantor.

The work the sailor is to perform concerns the *διερασεια* or *διαίρεσεια* of the *δημόσιος πυρός*. The liturgy connected with this operation is discussed by Oertel, Die Liturgie, p. 130, see also N. Lewis, Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt [1968], s.v. *διεραματίτης*, who gives a list of references. It used to be thought that the liturgy was concerned with sifting the corn, but we are now sure that it is concerned with the lading of the corn [see Oertel, loc. cit.]. It seems that the sailor in our text was being used on a small boat which would sail out from the harbour with the corn to the larger boats anchored further out in the river [presumably these boats could not come closer to the shore because of their draught]. These

larger boats would then take the corn away down river, no doubt to Alexandria and then to Rome. For the transport of corn in Egypt see M. Rostovtzeff, 'Kornerhebung und Transport im griechisch-römischen Ägypten', Archiv 3 [1906], pp. 20 ff., E. Börner, Der staatliche Korntransport im gr.-röm. Ägypten [Diss. Hamburg 1939], J. Schwartz, 'Le Nil et le ravitaillement de Rome', BIFAO 47 [1948] 179 ff., D. Guéraud, 'Un vase ayant contenu un échantillon de blé [ΔΕΙΓΜΑ]', JJP 4 [1950] 107 ff., and P. Petaus, pp. 222-3; see also A. Swiderek, 'The Responsibility in Corn-Transport to Alexandria: *σιτολογοι, ἐπίηλοοι, δειγματοκαταγωγέυς* [P. Berol. inv. 1419 and 741]', Eos 58 [1969/70], pp. 63-6 and the literature cited there.

The document is dated Mecheir 25 and the year is almost certainly year 13 of Gallienus [see the note to line 31]. Therefore it belongs to 19 February, A.D. 266.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀρποκρατάμ-  
 μωνι διαδεχο(μένῳ) στρα(τηγίαν) Ὀξ(υρυγίτου)  
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀγαθοῦ Γιλβα-  
 νοῦ μητροῦς Σαραπιάδος  
 5 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως  
 ναύτης. Ὀμνύω τὴν  
 Γαλλιηνοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 τύχην ἐπιπλεύσειν ταῖς  
 ἐπιτελλομέναις εἰς τὸν  
 10 Ἀρεινοεῖτην ἐκάφαις  
 πρ[ὸς] τὴν ἐκεῖ τοῦ δημο-  
 εῖου [πυ]ροῦ διέραςιν καὶ  
 πᾶσαν τὴν ναυτικὴν ὑ-  
 πηρ[ε]σίαν ποιήσεσθαι καὶ  
 15 μὴ ἀπολειφθήσεσθαι  
 ἄχρις οὗ ἀπολυθῶ εἰς τὸ  
 μηδεμίαν μέμψιν  
 ἐπακολουθήσαι, λαμβά-  
 νων παρὰ τῶν εὐεχημό-  
 20 νων τῶν ἐπὶ σκαφῶν  
 κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον τὸ ὀ-  
 ψώνιον ἐν δραχμαῖς  
 ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα ἢ ἕνο-  
 χος εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ. παρέ-

- 25 εχον δὲ ἑμαυτοῦ ἐγγυη-  
 τὴν Αὐρήλιον Δίον  
 Πλουτίωνος μητρὸς Ἄρ-  
 εινόης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-  
 λεως παρόντα καὶ εὐδοκοῦ(ν)-  
 30 τα. vacat  
 ("Ἔτους) ἰγ' Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Πουπλίου Λι[κ]ι[ν]νίου(ν)  
 Γαλλικηνοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
 μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχο[υ]ς  
 35 Σεβαστοῦ Μεχεῖρ κε.
- 
- (2nd Hand) Αὐρήλιος Ἄγαθος Οἰ[λ]-  
 [β]αννοῦ ὥμοσα τὸν ὄρκον  
 ὡ[ς] π[ρό]κειται. Αὐρήλιος  
 Ἄπ[ολ]λώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου  
 40 ἔγρα[ψα] ὑπὲρ αὐ[τ]οῦ μὴ ἰσό-  
 τος γράμμα[τα].  
 (3rd Hand) [Αὐ]ρ[ή]λιος Δί[ος] Πλου-  
 τίων[ος] ἐγγυῶμαι  
 [τ]ὸν Ἄ[γαθ]ὸν ὡς πρόκει-  
 45 ται. (4th Hand) [Ψ]ε[νοννῶφρ(ις)] Πε-  
 [τ]ερμούθου ἐγγυητοῦ

2 διαδεχ $\bar{\omega}$ . στρ $\delta$  , οξ/ 13 ὑπηρεσιαν 25 1. ἐγγυητήν  
 29-30 ευδοκου $\bar{\omega}$ /τα 30 L 32 λι[κ]τι[ν]νι<sup>ο</sup>  
 40-1 1. εἰδότης 45 [Ψ ε]νοννωφ $\bar{\rho}$

Translation

'To Aurelius Harpocratammon acting-strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. I, Aurelius Agathus, son of Silbanus, mother Sarapias, a sailor, from the city of Oxyrhynchi, swear by the genius of Gallienus Caesar, the Lord, that I shall sail to the Arsinoite nome on the boats which are sent for the lading of the government corn there, and shall do all the naval service and shall not withdraw until I am released, so that no blame may result, receiving from the well-to-do, who are in charge of the boats, each month a salary of a hundred and sixty drachmae; otherwise may I be liable to the penalties of the oath. I have presented my own surety Aurelius Dius, son of Plution, mother Arsinoe, from the same city, who is present and gives his consent. Year 13 of Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Mechêir 25.

[2nd Hand] I, Aurelius Agathus, son of Silbanus, have sworn the oath as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Apollonius, son of Apollonius, wrote on his behalf since he does not know letters.

[3rd Hand] I, Aurelius Dius, son of Plution, guarantee Agathus as aforesaid. [4th Hand] Psenonnophris, daughter of Petermouthus....'

Notes to the text

- 1-2. *Αὐρηλίω Ἁρποκρατάμμωνι* : for names ending in - αμμων see F. Dunand, 'Les noms théophores en-ammon. A propos d'un papyrus de Strasbourg du III<sup>e</sup> siècle p.C.', Chr. D'Eg. 38 [1963], pp. 134-46. She does not mention the name Harpocratammon, which is not in either Namenbuch, or Onomasticon. It is therefore a new name, found only here and in P. Oxy. ined. 12, line 1. However, the name Harpocrammon is known, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.
2. *δισδεχο(μένω) στρα(τηγίαν) Ὀξ(υρυγίτου)* : For the way the abbreviations are indicated see the critical notes to the text. For a list of strategi known from the Oxyrhynchite nome see J. E. G. Whitehorne, 'A Checklist of Oxyrhynchite Strategi', ZPE 29 [1978], pp. 167-90. It is very probable that our text comes from 19 February, A.D. 266, see the note to line 31. At this date the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome was [Aurelius He]raclius also called Asterius, who is attested for 11 October 265 in P. Giss. I 34.1 and for 5 August 266 in PSI VIII 940.1 [see Whitehorne, ZPE 29 [1978], p. 181]. It is remarkable that we know of another deputy for this strategus who was acting for him on 5 August, A.D. 266, Aurelius Dionysammon: see PSI VIII 940.9-10 [Whitehorne, ZPE 29 [1978], p. 181, no. 95]. His name, Dionysammon, is similar to the name of the acting-strategus in the present text, Harpocratammon. Professor Manfredo Manfredi was kind enough to supply a photograph of PSI 940. The photograph shows quite clearly

that the name there is correctly given as Dionysammon. He is therefore a different acting-strategus from the man in our text. It was usual for the basilikos grammateus to act as the strategus' deputy in the first two centuries A.D. and the earlier part of the third century. But it is not certain that the office of basilikos grammateus still existed in the reign of Gallienus, see J. D. Thomas, 'The Introduction of Dekaprottoi and Comarch into Egypt in the Third Century A.D.', ZPE 19 [1975], p. 119 n. 41.

5. ἀν' Ὀξύρχων πόλεως : there is a mark like an apostrophe over the π of απ, which does not seem to be the tail of ρ from the preceding line. It does not seem to have any function. The ξ of Ὀξύρχων has a very long tail going to the right. In the Greek papyri this city is principally called Ὀξύρχων πόλις. The expression ἀν' Ὀξύρχων πόλεως is used to indicate the place of the sailor's origin. For this expression and the various designations of the city of Oxyrhynchus, see D. Hagedorn, 'Ὀξύρχων πόλις und ἡ Ὀξυρυχητῶν πόλις', ZPE 12 [1973], pp. 277-92.
8. ἐπιηλεύσειν : this does not seem to have anything to do with the liturgy of ἐπίηλοος. An ἐπίηλοος was a man appointed to sail on the boats carrying the corn to Alexandria to make sure that the corn was protected and properly delivered; see Lewis, ICS s.v., P. Petaus, pp. 222-3, and J. Frosen, 'Le transport du blé et le

rôle des ἐπίηλοοι<sup>1</sup> , Arctos 12 [1978], pp. 5-17.

10. σκάφαλλ : this is translated in Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v. and in Oxford Latin Dictionary, s.v. scapha, 'light boat or skiff'. See Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities<sup>2</sup> [1923] s.v. Scapha [σκάφη], 'A skiff or cutter carried on large vessels to be lowered for use as required [Caes. B.C. ii. 24]. They were rowed with from one to three pairs of oars.' It was probably similar to the πάκτων which occurs in P. Oxy. ined. 13 line 7, but it may have been poled like a punt rather than rowed with oars. Both types of boat were no doubt used to carry the corn from the shore out to larger boats anchored out in the river.
11. ηρ[ὸς] τήν : a hole has taken away two letters and damaged the τ following, but the reading as a whole is certain.
- 11-12. τὴν ἐκεῖ τοῦ δημοσίου [πυ]ροῦ δλέραλλον : for the δλέραλλον of public corn see the introduction to this text. It is not clear whether the word is correctly spelt δλέραλλον or δλαίραλλον ; see on this the remarks in P. Oxy. XXXI 2568, note to line 16.
- 1A. See addenda.
16. ἄχρλ οδ : after αχρλ the writer seems to have started to write something other than σ and then to have corrected what he had written.
- 18-19. λαμβάνων παρὰ : something similar has happened here: there is too much ink for just νπ at the end of λαμβάνων and the start of παρὰ , and it seems that here again the writer made some correction.

- 19-20. εὐσχημόνων : these must have been the men chosen for the liturgy of supplying small boats [ σκάφαι ] for the transport of the corn in the Arsinoite nome. The description of them as εὐσχημόνες means that they were not poor and so had enough money and property to be required to perform a liturgy for the government. On the εὐσχημόνες see the note to P. Warren 5, line 5, and the introduction to P. Petaus 85.
22. ἐν δραχμαῖς : a hole has taken away almost all the writing in the word ἐν . In line 23 of the duplicate P. Oxy. ined. 12 the reading is much clearer, so that we can be sure of what was written here.
- 29-30. παρόντα καὶ εὐδοκοῦ(ν)τα : after παρ the papyrus is badly rubbed and a lot of the ink has disappeared. The final τα is very clear and it is just possible to see a dash over υ at the end of the previous line where ν has been left out. What does survive suits the traces we should expect and the reading is not in doubt.
31. (Ἔτους) λγ' : of the year number λ is clear but γ is uncertain [and the number does not survive in the duplicate, P. Oxy. ined. 12]. For the titles of Gallienus see P. Bureth, Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte [30 a.C. - 284 p.C.] [1964], pp. 117-21. From the titles which he gives it seems that the only possible years for our text are years 10-14 [p. 120]. It cannot be year 10, because a figure has been written after λ . What remains

of the traces of this figure suit γ better than either β or δ. It is therefore very probable that the text belongs to Gallienus' thirteenth year, A.D. 265-6.

32. Λ[κ]ι[ν]υλί(υ) : only a few traces are left of this word, but they can be made to fit the reading which we expect from the titles of Gallienus [see the preceding note].

40-41. μη̇ ἰδότης γραμμα[τα] : it is perhaps easier to read the second letter as ε; if so, we should have to suppose that the writer had put μειδότης and that this was a mistake for μ<η> εἰδότης. For the significance of this expression, see P. Oxy. ined. 10 note to lines 53-4.

45-46. [Ψ ε]νοννῶφρ(υ) Π[ε]τρ[ι]μούθου ἑγγυητοῦ : this is added in a very clumsy hand, see the introduction. The text is complete without this addition and it is not clear why these words have been added. Chenonnophris is a very unusual name, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

## 12. UNDERTAKING TO SERVE AS A SAILOR

Oxyrhynchite nome19 February, A.D. 266

Inv. no. 17 28. 53/G(9)

Like P. Oxy. ined. 11, this is a long narrow strip of papyrus. At its widest point it measures 6.0 cm and it is 23.6 cm long. There is a small margin of just over one centimetre at the top and the same amount at the left hand side. There are a number of holes, especially in lines 16-24 and from line 28 to the end. In both these places a lot of the writing has been lost and even where the papyrus remains, the ink is sometimes rubbed off. The papyrus is complete at the top and at both sides, but it is torn away unevenly at the bottom. The back is blank.

It is quite certain that the text is a duplicate of P. Oxy. ined. 11: it is sent to the same acting-strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome by the same Aurelius Agathus son of Silvanus and Sarapias, who is a *ναύτης*. In both texts he swears the same oath by the emperor Gallienus to go to the Arsinoite nome and work on the *σκάφα* which are being used there for the *δραχμα* of the public corn, for a payment, which he will get from the *εὐσχήμονες*, of 160 drachmas every month. He also gives as his guarantor in both texts Aurelius Dius son of Plution and Arsinoe. After this the present text is broken away at the point at which the regnal date is just starting, so that we do not know the month and year. But the present text must date from the same day as P. Oxy. ined. 11.

The papyrus is not written by the same writer as the man who was responsible for writing most of the document in P. Oxy. ined. 11 [the first hand]. The writer of the present document writes very cursively and his writing is not easy to read. But he is obviously a man who is used to writing. He writes very quickly, joining the letters together often, in a cursive hand which slopes to the right. It is the type of hand which is very often found in documents from the middle of the third century A.D.

For translation and general commentary see P. Oxy. ined. 11.

- Αὐρηλίω Ἀρποκρο[ατά]μ-  
 μωνι διαδεχ[ο](μένω) [ε]τρο(ατηγίαν) Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου)  
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀγαθ[ός]ε [Cιλ]βα-  
 νοῦ μητρος Σαραπιάδος  
 5 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως  
 ναύτης. Ὀμνύω τὴν  
 Γαλλιηνοῦ Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου τύχην ἐπι-  
 πλεύσειν ταῖς ἐπιτελλο-  
 10 μέναις εἰς τὸν Ἀρκενοεῖ-  
 την ἐκάσαις πρὸς τὴν  
 ἐκεῖ τοῦ δημοσίου πυροῦ  
 διέρασιν καὶ πᾶσαν  
 τὴν ναυτικὴν ὑπη-  
 15 ρεσίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ  
 μὴ ἀπολειφθήσε[θαι]  
 ἄχρις ο[ὗ] ἀπολυθ[ῶ] εἰς τὸ  
 μηδεμίαν μ[έμφιν]  
 ἐπαχολουθήσ[αι, λαμ-]  
 20 [βάν]ων [π]αρά [τῶν]  
 εὐε[χημ]όνων [ἐπι]  
 σκαφῶν κατὰ μῆ[να ἕκα-]

στον τὸ ὀψώνιον ἐν  
 δραχμαῖς ἐ[κ]ατὸν ἑξή-  
 25 κοντα ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην  
 τῷ ὄρκῳ. π[αρ]έχον  
 δὲ ἑμαυτοῦ ἐγγυητήν  
 Αὐρή[λι]ον Διον Πλουτίω-  
 νος μητρὸς Ἀρσινόης[ε] ἀπ' ὅ  
 30 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως παρόντα  
 [καὶ ] ἐ[ὕ]δοκ[οῦν]τα.  
 [(Ἔτους) γ' Αὐτο]κρά[το]ρος

. . . . .

2 διαδεχ[ο], [ε]τρδ , οξ' 14-15 ὑπηρεσιαν

27 1. ἐγγυητήν

Notes to the text

For translation and notes see P. Oxy. ined. 11. The following notes mention only points which do not occur in the duplicate text.

2.  $\delta\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon\chi[\omicron](\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega)$   $\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha(\tau\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu)$   $\omicron\Xi(\upsilon\rho\upsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon)$  : the abbreviations of  $\delta\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega)$  and  $\omicron\Xi\upsilon\rho\upsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$  are made in the same way as in P. Oxy. ined. 11. The abbreviation of  $\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha(\tau\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu)$  is not clear since there is a hole at this point.
8.  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$  : the  $\underline{\lambda}$  has a very long tail which goes down into  $-\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\lambda\epsilon$  in line 10. Several of the other  $\underline{\lambda}$  in this text also have very long tails.
- 11-12.  $\eta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  : in the duplicate [line 11] the reading is damaged, but here it is quite plain.
15.  $\eta\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\theta\alpha\lambda$  : in P. Oxy. ined. 11.14 it is possible that we should read  $\eta\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma\theta\alpha\lambda$ , which is the correct form. The change from  $-\epsilon\varsigma\theta\alpha\lambda$  to  $-\alpha\varsigma\theta\alpha\lambda$  in these infinitives is very common in the papyri, see B. G. Mandilaras, The Verb in the Greek non-literary Papyri [1973], p. 314, sect. 754.
- 16ff. The letters missing at the right in these lines can be supplied from the duplicate, lines 15 ff.
- 23-24.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$  : the reading  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  is not at all clear in the duplicate, line 22. Here  $\underline{\nu}$  is certain and a little of  $\epsilon$  can be seen.
29.  $\acute{\alpha}\eta\langle\acute{\omicron}\rangle$  : there is not room for the word to have been written out in full.
31. The line ends with a long filling-in stroke.

## 13. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FOR RETURN OF A BOAT

Oxyrhynchite nomeReign of Gallienus

Inv. no. 17 2B. 53/G(9)

The papyrus was found together with P. Oxy. ined. 12 and bears the same inventory number. Only a small part of the original document remains and most of what does remain is blank. The papyrus measures 7.0 cm in width by 16.3 cm in length, but only the top 6 cm have any writing. There is a margin of 1.3 cm at the left. A large hole has removed much of lines 6-8 at the right and there are other small holes and some loss at the right in most other lines. As well, part of the writing has been rubbed away in lines 10-12. The writing is along the fibres on what must have been a long, narrow strip of papyrus. The back is blank.

The little that remains is very similar indeed to P. Oxy. XXXI 2568 and it seems very probable that the document was of the same type, an acknowledgement for the return of a boat [ *νακτων* ], see line 7. Dr. Revel Coles kindly supplied a photograph of P. Oxy. 2568, so that it was possible to compare the hands used in the two documents. It is quite certain that the second hand in our document is the same as the third hand in P. Oxy. 2568; therefore the Apollonius, son of Apollonius, who is writing for an illiterate in our document is the same man as Apollonius who writes for an illiterate in P. Oxy. 2568. It is very probable that the first hand in our document is the same as the second hand in P. Oxy.

2568, the hand which has written lines 24-29 [the date]. It is written very quickly and cursively. The hand of Apollonius is written more slowly and more clumsily, but he is certainly not a 'slow writer'.

Only a trace survives in line 1, which cannot be read, but what remains of the imperial titles in lines 2-4 suits the titles of Gallienus, who was emperor first with Valerian in A.D. 253-260, and then alone from A.D. 260 to A.D. 268.<sup>1</sup> Since P. Oxy. 2568 dates from Epeiph 29, year 11 of Gallienus = 23 July, A.D. 264, we may be sure that the present document dates from about the same time. As was mentioned above, it was found with P. Oxy. ined. 12. P. Oxy. ined. 12 is a duplicate of P. Oxy. ined. 11, as was shown above in discussing these texts. P. Oxy. ined. 11 is also written for an illiterate by Apollonius son of Apollonius and this again is the same man as the one who appears in our text and in P. Oxy. 2568. P. Oxy. ined. 11 dates from Mecheir 25, year 13 of Gallienus = 19 February, A.D. 266.<sup>2</sup> So it is reasonably certain that the present document dates from the period A.D. 264-266, but we cannot be certain of the year as the number of the year has been lost.

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1. For the titles of Gallienus, see P. Bureth, Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte [30 a.C. - 282 p.C.] Pap. Brux. 2 [1964], pp. 117-21.
  2. But note that the  $\chi$  in the year number is not absolutely certain, so that we cannot be sure that the texts must come from year 13; see the note to P. Oxy. ined. 11.31.

Even though only such a small fragment of the writing survives we can hardly doubt that the content of this text was the same as that of P. Oxy. 2568: Aurelius Patr[ son of Eutyches is acknowledging that he has received back his boat with its oars. In P. Oxy. 2568 Aurelius Heracles acknowledges the receiving back of his boat, also a *νάκτων* with oars, which he had provided for the *δραίρεσις δημοσίου νηροῦ*. On this dierasis see above, P. Oxy. ined. 11. It is very probable that the boat mentioned in the present text had been requisitioned by the government for the same purpose. Aurelius Heracles in P. Oxy. 2568 has actually made the boat, since he calls himself a *νακτωνοποιός* [line 10]. Perhaps Aurelius Patr[ ] in our text was also a boat maker, but he could have been the owner of the boat. P. Oxy. 2568 is addressed to an irenarch and a man who is simply called *τῷ κρατίστῳ*. It is possible that our text was addressed to the same two people in the same month of the same year [the day of the month is lost in our text]. It is also possible that the present document was addressed to the deputy-strategus, since it was found along with two texts [P. Oxy. ined. 11 and 12], which were addressed to the deputy-strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome.

13

- 2 Γερμανικῶ μεγίς [του]  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχο[ύς]  
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπειφ [ ]
- 
- 5 (2nd Hand) Αὐρήλιος Πατρ [ ]  
 Εὐτύχου π[αρείληφα]  
 τὸν πάκτ[ωνα σὺν ταίς]  
 κώπαις καὶ [ἐπερωτ]η-  
 θείς ὁμολόγη[σα]. Αὐρήλιος [ς]
- 10 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνί-  
 ου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ [α]ὐτοῦ [ὕ μ]ῆ  
 εἰδότης γράμμ[α]τα.

Translation

' . . . Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus,  
Epeiph [day]. [2nd hand] I, Aurelius Patr ( )  
son of Eutyches, have received the boat with its  
oars and in answer to the formal question I have  
given my consent. I, Aurelius Apollonius son of  
Apollonius, have written on his behalf as he does  
not know letters.

Notes to the text

1. Only faint traces survive from this line.
2. Γερμανικοῦ μέγλις[του] Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχο[ος]  
 Σεβαστοῦ : for the title of Gallienus which we should expect at this point see Bureth, Les titulatures impériales, p. 120. His examples suggest that the full title in these years would have been Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούβλος Λικίννος Γαλληνὸς Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός.
4. Ἐπειφ[ ] : there would be room for the day to have come in the small amount lost at the end of the line. Note that this is the same month as we find in P. Oxy. 2568.29.
5. Αὐρήλιος Πατρ.[ ] : what can be seen after the ρ at the end is too slight to suggest one letter rather than another. Namenbuch and Onomasticon suggest several possibilities, e.g. Πατρώβλος, Πατρωνᾶς or Πάτρων. Of these the commonest is Πάτρων and this would fit most easily into the available space.
6. η[αρείλη φα] : the trace remaining before the papyrus breaks off suits η very well and the reading as a whole can be regarded as certain, since this is the word used at this point in P. Oxy. 2568.31.
7. τὸν πάκτι[ωνα] : this must have been a small boat which could be rowed by means of oars. It was probably very similar to the σκάφη which was discussed in connection with P. Oxy. ined. 11.

- 7-8. *σὺν ταῖς*] *κώπαις* : this is the wording in P. Oxy. 2568.32-3. It is not certain that in our text there would have been room for *ταῖς* .
- 8-9. *καὶ [ἐπερωτ]ηθεὶς ὁμολόγη [σα]* : for this clause see D. Simon, Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel [1964]. For its use in the subscription of the writer see especially pp. 41-4.
- 9-11. For this Apollonius son of Apollonius see the introduction.

## 14. RECEIPT FOR WAGES

Oxyrhynchite nome14 June, A.D. 519

Inv. no. 9 1B. 181/C(b)

The papyrus is rectangular, measuring 14.3 cm in breadth by 32.3 cm in length. There is a small margin at the top and at the left hand side. There is a large hole in the middle in lines 12-15 and again at the right hand side of the same lines. There are other smaller holes. Apart from these holes the papyrus is complete.

The writing is with the fibres on both the front and the back. The first hand is a large semi-cursive hand of the sort which is quite normal at this date. This hand is also responsible for the writing on the back. The second is much smaller and more curisve, but the third hand is more or less the same size as the first hand. The most interesting feature is the gap in the writing two-thirds of the way across the papyrus. This gap is one centimetre wide in line 1 and comes between φ and λς of φλ(αουίου). It appears also in the following lines down to line 13, but it gets gradually smaller and smaller. It appears that the papyrus may have been folded at this point or had a crease in it when it was being written.

The papyrus begins with the date. Then a certain Aurelius Isak, who seems to have been an ἐργοδιώκτης for two hamlets in the Oxyrhynchite nome [see below], writes to the supervisor [ προννητής ] of these hamlets acknowledging the receipt of his wages for

the present twelfth indiction. These amount to two gold solidi. His receipt is written for him by Aurelius Serenus. At the foot of the receipt the clerk has added a sentence stating that he has drawn up the document. The title describing the document is given on the back.

The date is given in lines 1-2. The text belongs in the consulship of an emperor Flavius Justinus who is consul for the first time. It also belongs in a twelfth indiction. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt (1978), pp. 69-94, list three consuls with the name Flavius Justinus. The one in our text cannot be Flavius Justinus who was consul in A.D. 540 because he was not an emperor. We must choose between Flavius Justinus = the emperor Justin I, consul for the first time in A.D. 519 [Bagnall-Worp, CSBE, pp. 86 and 122], and Justinus = the emperor Justin II, who was consul for the first time in A.D. 566 [Bagnall-Worp CSBE, pp. 89 and 125]. Because of the indiction number our text must belong in the first consulship of the emperor Justin I. The concordance in Bagnall-Worp, CSBE, p. 86, shows that indiction 13 began during the Julian year A.D. 519, and in the Oxyrhynchite nome it will have begun on Thoth 1st [see Bagnall-Worp, CSBE, p. 68]. Therefore in A.D. 519, Payni 20 = 14 June is correctly placed in the 12th indiction in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

For other receipts for wages from the Oxyrhynchite nome in the Byzantine period see P. Oxy. XVI 1992

[A.D. 372], 2006 [5th/6th century A.D.], 1999 [6th/7th century A.D.], and XXXVI 2780 [A.D. 553]; see as well P. Oxy. I 55 [A.D. 283] and XIV 1626 [A.D. 325]. None of these is a close parallel to our text but the closest parallel is P. Oxy. XXXVI 2780 just mentioned. Our document is a little unusual in its structure.

This is as follows:

1. Lines 1-2: date.
2. Lines 3-9, description of the parties in the form  
 ὁ δέινος τῷ δέινε χείρην .
3. Lines 9-14: the main part of the receipt in the form  
 ὁμολογῶ εἰληφέναι .....παρὰ σοῦ .....νομισμάτια δύο .
4. Lines 15-19: the ἀπόδειξις clause.
5. Lines 19-20: the κυρία clause.
6. Lines 21-25: the signature in a second hand with the illiteracy clause.
7. Lines 26-28: the annotation by the clerk in Greek and Latin.

Of these sections number 3 is in a rather unexpected form. We should expect after ὁμολογῶ a verb in the infinitive, followed by ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ or ὑπὲρ μισθῶν with νομισμάτια δύο as the object. We do not have simply this in the present text. What we do have is not quite clear because of the difficulty with reading lines 12-14, on which see the notes.

In line 5 the writer describes himself as an ὀρκοδιόκτης ; in line 12 he calls his work that of an ἐργοδιόκτον , and on the back he writes ὀργοδι[όκτου] [for a discussion of the readings see the notes]. There seems no possibility of deriving a sensible Greek word

from any form starting with ο (whether we read the third letter as κ or δ). It seems clear that the form which begins with ε must be the correct one and that the writer was aiming to write in each instance the word *ἐργοδωκτης* or *ἐργοδωκτου*. According to the papyrological lexica this word is known only from papyri of the 3rd century B.C. See also LSJ, which quotes further examples from the Septuagint and Photius, and regards the word as meaning a 'taskmaster'. Unfortunately, there is no context in our papyrus to show whether this is what the word means here or not. See addenda.

14

ⲉ Ὑπατεία τοῦ δεσποῦ ἡμῶν Φλ(αουίου) Ἰου[ε]τίνου  
 τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγού[ετο]υ τὸ α' Παῦνι κ ἰνδ(ικτίονος)  
 ιβ.

Αὐρήλιος Ἰσακ υἱὸς Φοιβάμμωνος μητρὸς

Εἰρήνης καταμένων ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ

5 Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλε[ι] ὀρκοδιόκτης ἐποικ[ί]ων

Νεοφύτο[υ] καὶ Ἀνουσίας Αὐρηλίω Μηνᾶ[υ]ίω

vacat ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεω[ε]

προνοητῇ τῶν εἰρημένων κτημάτω[ν]

χαίρειν. Ὁμολογῶ εἰληφέναι παρὰ [ε]οῦ

10 καὶ πεπληρωθεῖαι το(ῦ)ε μισθοῦς τοῦς

ἡμετέρους ὑπὲρ ἧς ποιούμαι χρείας τοῦ

ἐργοδιόκτου εἰς τα[.....] δύο νομικ[μάτια]

καὶ ἐπὶ [τ]ῆ[ε] παρούσης δωδεκάτης ἰνδ[ικτίονος]

το[ ± 6 χρυσοῦ νομικ]μάτια δύο γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ)

[νο(μικμάτια) β]

15 καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς γεναμένης εἰς ἐμὲ

παρὰ σοῦ καταβολῆς τῶν αὐτῶν

δύο νομικμάτων τῶν ἐμῶν μισθῶ[ν]

τῆς αὐτῆς δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος

ταύτην κ[εποιή]μαι τὴν ἀποχήν, ἥτις

20 κυρία οὖσα [ἀπλῆ ἐ]γράφη) καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς

[ὦ]μολ(όγησα).

(2nd Hand) Αὐρήλιος Ἰσακ ..[.. Φοιβά]μμωνος δ

προγεγραμμέν[ος]

ἔσχον καὶ ἐπλη[ρώθη]ν τοῦς ἡμετέρους μισθοῦς των ..

νομιμάτων τῆς δωδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) καὶ συμφωνί  
μο[ι] πᾶντα

ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ὀρῆνος Ἀφούτος ἀξιωθείς  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

25 ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος.

(3rd Hand) ✕ Δι' ἐμοῦ [...] νειλου συμβολαιο[γ]ράφ(ου)  
ἐτελ[ειώθη] ..... e lu sūmbola[eogr]afu ..  
~ xii// .[.]..

- 1 ὑπατεία φλς      2 ἰνδ/      3 νῆος, see note ἰσακ  
4 καταμένων, α corrected from ε  
5 ορκοδιοκτης, ρ corrected from γ; 1. ἐργοδιώκτης  
12 1. ἐργοδιώκτου      14 γλς χρ/ [  
20 γραφ/ ωμολ—      22 μισθούς, ο corrected from ω  
23 ἰνδικ/, ἰν written over επ      24 προκ/ αὐρς  
26 συμβολαιο[γ]ραφ/

Back

† ἀποχ(ῆ) ἰσακ [ν]ίου Φοιβάμμανος ὀργοδι[όκτου] ἀπὸ  
τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως

αποχς ἰσακ {ν}ίου 1. ἐργοδιώκτου

Translation

'In the consulship of our lord Flavius Justinus the eternal Augustus for the 1st time, Payni 20, Indiction 12.

Aurelius Isak son of Phoebammon, mother Eirene, living here in the glorious city of the Dxyrhynchites, taskmaster(?) for the hamlets of Neophytos and Anousia, to Aurelius Menas son of....from the city of the Dxyrhynchites, supervisor of the aforesaid settlements, greetings.

I agree to have received from you and to have been paid in full our pay for the work of taskmaster(?) which I do, amounting to the usual two solidi(?) also(?) for the present twelfth indiction, that is to say two gold solidi = 2 gold solidi, and as proof of the payment of the said two solidi for my pay for the said twelfth indiction made to me by you I have produced this receipt, which is valid, written once, and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent.

[2nd hand] I, Aurelius Isak son of Phoebammon the aforesaid, have got and received in full our pay of two(?) solidi for the twelfth indiction and I am in agreement with everything(?) as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Serenus son of Apphous, having been requested, have written for him as he is illiterate.

[3rd hand] It was drawn up by me . . . neilus, clerk.

[Latin].

[Back] Receipt of Isak, son of Phoebammon, taskmaster(?), from the city of the Dxyrhynchites.

Notes to the text

1-2. On the consulship see the introduction.

Only one consul is mentioned. It is ~~also~~ unusual for the first consulship to be marked by the addition of the phrase τὸ α ; usually consulships were only counted from the second onwards, see Bagnall-Worp, CSBE, pp. 104 ff. However, CSBE does quote a few examples in which the first consulship has the phrase τὸ α , e.g. Constans I in A.D. 339 [pp. 110-1], Leo in A.D. 458 [p. 118]. According to the documents listed in CSBE, this is the first example of the consulship for this year except for the very doubtful example of P. Strasb. 133.1 [see p. 122]. For the omission of Ἀυτοκράτορος in the emperor's titles cf. his second consulship in A.D. 524 in P. Cair. Masp. I 67117.27.

3. Ἀρχηγός Ἰσακ υἱὸς Φαιβάρμωνος : the reading here must be considered in conjunction with the reading in line 21 and on the back. For proper names beginning Ἰσακ see Namenbuch and Onomasticon; they show that Ἰσάκ, Ἰσακί and Ἰσάκλος are all possible. In the present line the writer appears to have written Ἰσακί ; on the back it is possible to read Ἰσακίου or to suppose that a small υ has been lost in the hole after Ἰσάκ and to read Ἰσάκ [υ]ίου . In line 21 the slight traces of two broken letters after Ἰσακ look most like υ λ , i.e. they suggest the reading Ἰσάκ υἱ[ός] . It is not possible to

say for certain whether the man's name was Ἰσάκλος or Ἰσάκ . We should probably prefer Ἰσάκ υἱός or υἱοῦ , because the ι after υ has two dots over it in this line and on the back. If this is right, the scribe must have first written Ισακκ in this line and then corrected the ι . All the names [ Ἰσάκ , Φοιβάμμων and Εὐρήνη ] are common in papyri of the Byzantine period, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

4. καταμένων ἐνταῦθα : the scribe first put καταμένων and then corrected the first ε by writing α in the loop at the bottom of the letter. For ἐνταῦθα in this phrase not followed by ἐν cf. e.g. P. Oxy. XXII 2239.4 and Wörterbuch s.v.
5. ὀρκοδλόκτης : this must be a mistake by the writer for the word ἐργοδλώκτης , see the introduction. The writer first put ογκοδλοκτης and then corrected the γ to a ρ , but did not alter the other letters. In line 12 he spelt the word correctly, except that he wrote ο for ω . On ο for ε and vice versa see E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit I [1906], pp. 45 and 72, F. T. Gignac, A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I [1976], pp. 289-92; and on interchange of γ and κ see Mayser, Grammatik, I pp. 143-4, and Gignac, Grammar, pp. 77-80. On the meaning of the word see the introduction.
- 5-6. ἐποικ[λί]ων Νεοφύτου καὶ Ἀνουκίας : these words mean that Isak was ἐργοδλώκτης For these two hamlets. An ἐποίκλον Νεοφύτου is not attested

elsewhere, but it is no doubt the same place as the  
 χωρίον Νεοφύτου which occurs in SB I 1973.20,  
 cf. SB I 1945.15, from the Oxyrhynchite nome. No  
 example of an ἐποικίον called Ἀνουσία is given  
 in Wörterbuch nor in Calderini, Dizionario.

6. Μηνᾶ [υ]ῆω : ~~Namenbuch gives an example of a name~~  
~~Μηνάτιος and of a name Μηνάελος ; either could be~~  
~~supplied in this papyrus. A very much commoner name~~  
~~at this period is Μηνᾶε (see Namenbuch and Onomasticon)~~  
 It is very probable that what the writer put in this line  
 is Μηνᾶ [υ]ῆω . In this case he will have intended to  
 go on in the next line with the name of Menas' father,  
 but left a blank since he did not know what the name was.

7. The first 2.5 cm of this line have been left blank. See  
 the previous note.

8. προνοητή : for the pronotes in Byzantine papyri who  
 was in charge of certain areas, see M. Gelzer, Studien  
zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens [1909], 87;

G. Rouillard, L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine [1928],  
 pp. 132-3, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. I 136.15.

τῶν ἐρημένων κτημάτων : this expression shows that  
 κτημάτων is regarded here as equivalent in meaning to  
 ἐποικίων in line 5.

- 9ff. The usual expression in receipts for wages [see, e.g.  
 P. Oxy. XXXVI 2780 [A.D. 553], lines 16 ff.] is ὁμολογῶ  
 ἐσχηκέναλ , followed by ὑπὲρ μεθοῦ / μεθῶν or  
 ἀπὸ λόγου τοῦ ἐμοῦ μεθοῦ , with the amount received  
 then following in the accusative. In the present text

the verbs used are *ἐἴληφέναι* [which is replaced by *ἔσχον* in the subscription in line 22] and *πεπληρωθεῖν* and the word for 'pay' appears in the accusative, as does the amount, *νομισμάτια δύο* in line 14. The general construction is not clear because of the lacunas in lines 12-14, which make it difficult to be sure what to read there; see the notes which follow.

10-11. *τούς ἡμετέρους* : both here and in line 22 the writer uses the first person plural although only one person is involved. Contrast line 17, where he writes *τῶν*

*ἐμῶν* *μισθῶ[ν]* .

12. *εἰς τα[ . . . . ] δύο νομισμάτια* : the trace after the hole is very suitable for α and it is tempting to read *εἰς τὰ [ἐνοίκι]α δύο* , meaning

'the work which I do for the two hamlets [i.e. those mentioned in line 6]'. But if we supply this, it is very hard indeed to see how to make sense out of

*νομισ* following, which can hardly be anything other than *νομισμάτια* . Since we know from line 14 that the pay was 2 solidi per year, we must presumably take *δύο* in this line with *νομισμάτια* which follows.

Perhaps we should supply a word meaning something like 'usual' or 'customary', with the expression meaning 'in respect of' or 'amounting to the customary amount of two solidi'. The use of *εἰς* in such an expression is not expected. Perhaps cf. P. Oxy. VI 914.9, and supply here *[σύμφων]α* .

13. *καὶ ἐπὶ [τ]ῆ[ς] παρούσης δωδεκάτης ἰνδ[ικτιόνο]ς :*  
*ἰνδ[ικτιόνο]ς* may have been abbreviated in order

to fit into the space. This supplement seems the most probable. It is also possible to think of 'in respect of the past ξν]δεκάτης indiction' and 'in respect of the coming τρικκαλ]δεκάτης indiction'. The function of καί is unclear. See addenda.

14. το [± 6 ] : the ε is very probable. Perhaps we should read το[ὗτ' ἔστιν] , for which there is probably just enough room in the space before χρυσοῦ.

Χρυσοῦ and the reading which follows is certain, because of the reading at the end of the line]. We certainly cannot read ἰνδ[κ] | τί[ονος] . For τοῦτ' ἔστιν , with the meaning of Latin id est, 'that is to say', cf. e.g. P. Oxy. XLI 2995 [6th century A.D.], lines 2 ff.: δέδωκες τὸν ὀφειλόμενον ἐξ ἔθους — χρυτικὸν δημόσιον — ὕ(πέρ) δημοσίων δεκάτης ἰνδ(κτικίου), τοῦτ' ἔστιν χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο .

- 15ff. A great many receipts from the Oxyrhynchite nome of about this period contain clauses which are similar to the one we have here, though none is exactly parallel. Usually the wording is καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην πεποιήμαί τὴν χειρογραφίαν, or similar wording followed by the κυρία clause; cf. P. Oxy. XVI 1898 [A.D. 587], 1900 [A.D. 528], 1983 [A.D. 535] 1985 [A.D. 543], 1987 [A.D. 587], 1988 [A.D. 587], 1989 [A.D. 590], 1999, XXXVI 2779 and 2780 [A.D. 530]. In our text the writer has indicated very clearly what the ἀπόδειξις relates to, by writing it out in full in lines 15-18, and has then used the word ἀνοχή for the receipt, in line 19 [and again on the back].

16. *καταβολῆς* : nearly always this word is only used when payment takes place in several instalments, see Wörterbuch s.v. However, Wörterbuch also indicates that it is possible to use the word, as here, to relate to a payment which took place at one time only.
17. *νομιματίων* : here and in line 23 the word used is *νόμιμα*, whereas in line 14 it is *νομιματίων*. There is no difference in meaning.
20. For the *κυρία* clause see P. Oxy. ined. 10, note to line 48.

[ἀληθῆ] : *exempli gratia*; the word to be supplied could equally well be [δικαίη] .

ἐπερωτηθεὶς [ὦ]μολ(όγησα) : for this clause, known as the stipulatio clause, see D. Simon, Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel (1964).

21. For the reading of the name seen. to line 3.
22. At the end of the line the writer may have put *τῶν δύο* [or *δύω*], but the writing is very cursive and the reading is unclear.
23. *ἑνδεκ(τίονος)* : the first two letters are written over *εν*, which suggests that the writer started to put *ἐπινεμήσεως*, the alternative word in the Oxyrhynchite nome for *ἑνδεκτίων* [cf. Bagnall-Worp, CSBE, pp. 26-7].
- 23-24. *συμφωνῆ μο[ε] πάντα ἕως πρόκε(τα)* : the usual phrase at this point [cf. e.g. P. Mich. XI 608.20-1] is *συμφωνῆ μοι πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ἕως πρόκετα*. This cannot have been written here as there is insufficient room. On the other hand, the phrase which we have in,

e.g. P. Grenf. I 54.24 [see Berichtigungsliste I],  
 συμφωνεῖ μοι ὡς πρόκειται , does not account for all  
 that is written at the end of line 23. Probably this  
 very cursive writing is intended to represent πάντα ,  
 thus giving us a parallel to the phrase which occurs,  
 e.g. in P. Oxy. XXXVI 2780.30: ζτολχεῖ μοι πάντα ὡς  
 πρόκ(ε)ταλ) .

26. δι' ἐμοῦ [...], νεῖλου : Neilos is a common name,  
 see Namenbuch and Onomasticon, so that it would be  
 good sense to read just δι' ἐμοῦ Νείλου . This is  
 not possible, since there is some ink before the v .  
 This cannot be part of ρ , so that we cannot read  
 [κατο]ρνεῖλου , which in any case is rather long  
 for the available space.

- 27-28. Read by Dr. J. D. Thomas, who has supplied the  
 following note:

"Parallel documents, e.g. P. Oxy. I 136.49-50, 138.48-9,  
 XXXVI 2780.32, show that what we should have here is a  
 repeat of the words just used, written this time in  
 Latin characters. Indeed, several letters can be  
 recognised, if this assumption is made, but other letters  
 can only be interpreted as Latin if we assume exceedingly  
 bizarre shapes. In line 28 we have xii followed by two  
 oblique strokes. Clearly this is to be understood as  
 the number 12, and the only relevant number 12 in the  
 present document is the number of the indiction. Presumably,  
 therefore, we must interpret the symbol preceding xii,  
 which looks like an S on its side, as indicating  
indictionis."

Back: For the reading of the proper name see the note to line  
3. The reading after  $\alpha\eta\acute{o}$  is very uncertain, as the  
papyrus is torn and rubbed at this point.

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Addenda

To p.81: It is also possible that in lines 11 and 15  $\pi\rho\omicron\tau$  ( ) should be expanded  $\eta\rho\omicron\tau(\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon)$  and not  $\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau(\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu)$ . This would of course affect the interpretation of the text as just given.

To p.173: Instead of  $\nu\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda$  it may be possible to read  $\nu\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda$ , which is the form used in P.Oxy.ined. 12.15

To p.191: For further instances of the word  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\delta\omega\kappa\tau\eta\varsigma$  in contemporary texts see P. Oxy. XVIII 2195.128 and 2197.176 etc.

To p.199: An alternative way of taking this phrase would be to restore  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron \nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma[\mu\alpha\tau\alpha \acute{\omega}\epsilon] \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota} [\tau\acute{\eta}\zeta \nu\alpha\rho\epsilon\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu]\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma \kappa\tau\lambda.$  This would provide an explanation for the  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  .

