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New Papyri from the New York University Collection: IV (nos. 38 - 53)

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NEW PAPYRI FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY COLLECTION: IV

In this fourth instalment we publish sixteen more papyri from the collection of New York University¹. Our thanks go, as ever, to Prof. M. Peachin for kindly allowing us to publish these texts. A few of them have appeared already earlier (nos 38 - 40, 42, 45, 49), but we have carefully inspected each of the original papyri and this produced new readings which in our opinion make republication of these texts worthwhile. Furthermore, we have adapted the commentary to these texts. In general, we should like to express our debt to our colleague D. Hagedorn for contributing again a number of acute observations on these texts.

(38) Homer, *Iliad* Γ, 188-199

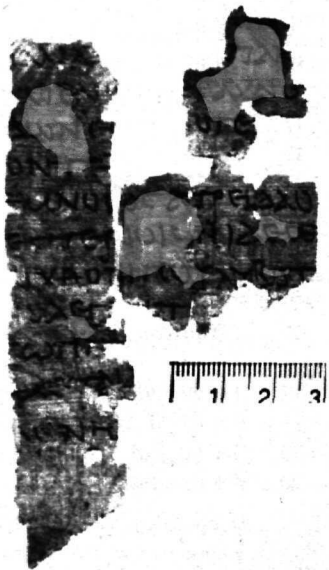
P.NYU Inv. # 524 (XX.1)

I^a - IP

Prov. unknown

H. 11 x W. 6.2 cm. The bottom margin of the LH fragment is 2.2 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers. The back is blank.

-
- 188 [και γαρ εγων επικουρος εων μετα τοι]σιν ε[λεχθην]
 189 [ηματι τωι στε τ ηλθο]ν Αμαζ[ονες] α[ν]τιαν[ειραι]
 190 [αλλ ουδ οι τοσοι ησαν ο]σοι ελικ[ωπ]ες Αχαιοι
 191 [δευτερον αυτ Οδυσηα ι]δων ερ[ρει]ν ο γερ[αιος]
 192 [ειπ αγε μοι και τονδε φιλ]ον τεκ[ος ος τ]ι[ς οδ εστι]
 193 [μειων μεν κεφαληι Αγαμ]εμνονος Ατρειδαιο
 194 [ευρυτερος δ ωμοισιν ιδ]ε στερνοισιν ιδεσθ[αι]
 195 [τευχεα μεν οι κειται ε]πι χθονι πουλυβοτ[ειρηι]
 196 [αυτος δε κτιλος ως επιτ]ωλειτ[α]ι στιχας αν[δρων]
 197 [αρνειω μιν εγωγε εισ]κωπηγ[εσιμαλλω]
 198 [ος τ οιων μεγα πωυ διερ]χεται α[ργενναων]
 199 [τον δ αμειβετ επειτ ε]ληνη [διος εκγεγαυια]



The right hand part of this papyrus was published originally by N. Lewis in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (New Haven, Conn. 1966) pp. 1-2 (with pl. on p. 7); it is now catalogued as Pack³ 691.1 = Allen-Sutton-West no. 468a. At some moment after Lewis' original publication a fragment which now is the left hand part of the text was placed next to the fragment published by Lewis, extending the original number of lines 188 - 196 by 3 more lines, 197-199. As noticed already in the *ed. princ.* the text, as far as preserved, offers no interesting textual variants and the main interest of the fragment is its style of writing. Lewis dated the text to 'I^a - IP' and we find no reason to depart from that.

According to the *LDAB*, Pack² has 26 entries for *Iliad* book Γ, viz. ## 680-705; of these, # 693 goes with # 686, and # 696 belongs to # 695. Since Pack² appeared in 1965, at least 18 new texts have been published. Moreover, Pack² 573 (a magical text containing part of book A) also contains a verse from book Γ of the *Iliad*, and for various other reasons Pack² ## 565, 634 + 1539, 640, 1174 and 1612 are also to be taken into account for the same book.

¹ See ZPE 133 (2000) 163 - 186 (Nos. 1-10); 136 (2001) 125-44 (Nos. 11 - 22); 140 (2002) 129-150 (Nos. 23 - 37).

(39) Roman Will

P. NYU inv. # 4 (II.15)

335P

Fayum (Karanis?)

Dark brown papyrus. H. 21.5 x W. 20 cm. Margins: at the top 1.5 cm., at the bottom 1 - 1.5 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers. Verso blank, except a trace of an official stamp. For this phenomenon, cf. P.Diog. p. 37f., where add to the list of documents showing [remains of] a stamp, e.g., P.Vindob. Tandem 26; P.Mich. IX 554 and the first edition of SB XXII 15472, published originally in Stud.Amst. XXXV, p. 513ff. Cf. Tafel. III.

- 1 [Αὐρήλιος Ν.Ν. υἱὸς Ν.Ν. τοῦ Ν.Ν. ἀπὸ κώμης Ν.Ν.]ς νοῶν καὶ φρονῶν διαθήκην ἐπ[ο]ίη-
σεν γραφισ[ο]μένην τε ὑπηγόρευσεν ± 56]
- 2 [± 63] μ . . . [πα]τρὸς Εὐδαίμονο[ς] καὶ Ἰσίδωρος ὁμοίως πατρ[ὸ]ς Ε[ὐ]δαίμονος ± 66]
- 3 [± 58 κληρο]νόμοι μου ἔστωσαν αἰρέσει τῇ ὑποκιμένη καθὼς ἐξῆς ἐκ[ασ]το[ς] προσδέξεται.
Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀποκληρόνομοι μου ἔστωσαν προσερχέσθωσαν τὴν]
- 4 [κληρονομία μου ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκάστω καταλιμπανομένοις ὅταν γνῶσι καὶ δύνωνται μαρτύρ]α-
σθαι ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοῦ κληρονόμους εἶναι. Η [. . .]υ[± 75]
- 5 [± 67]ς δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ δωριμαίαν ἐξου[σ]ίαν . . . οποιη . . . [± 75]
- 6 [± 61] δέκα, πρόβατα λευκὰ τέλεια δύο π . ε . σκαίτου ρ . . . [± 75]
- 7 [± 61] . . . ἄν εἰσιν γίτονες ἀπὸ μὲν ἀν[α]τολῶν [. . .] π ρ σπα[± 75]
- 8 [± 63] α [κα]ῖ [ο]ῦς εἶχον καὶ οἰκοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλλη[ς] μ]ου οἰκίας τόπους [± 69]
- 9 [± 59 θυγα]τρὶ Εὐδαίμωνος τετελευτηκότος μου υἱοῦ πρόβατα τέλεια λευκὰ τρία [± 62]
- 10 [± 63] . . . ζμ[. . .]ιν καὶ δοῦλον [Α]νδρισκον καὶ Ἰσίδωρον περὶ τίνος γο[± 69]
- 11 [± 63 ἐχέ]τωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου πέμπτου μέρους εἰς τὸ μέρος ἑαυτῶν ± 61]
- 12 [± 65] τοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κινουμένοις ἐπιπλῶν καὶ σκευῶν καὶ ἐν[δο]μειῶν ± 57]
- 13 [± 78] ἡν ἐν πᾶσι φαγ . . . μοι καὶ [. . .] καμῶντες ἐν τε[± 69]
- 14 [± 73 πρόβα]τα λευκὰ τέλεια δέκα. Τῆν δὲ τοῦ σωματίου μου κω . . . [κηδεῖαν καὶ
περιστολὴν ± 45]
- 15 [± 49 . Οἰκετεῖαν χρήματα ταύτης] διαθήκης γεινομένης ἐπρίατο χαλκοῦ ἀσσαρίου
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀρτεμίδωρος, ζυγοστατόντος τοῦ Ν.Ν. Ἀντεμαρτύρατο τὸν
Ν.Ν.]
- 16 [Ὑπατείας Ἰουλίου Κωνσταντίου πατρικίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Κωνστ]αντίνου
Αὐγούστου καὶ Ῥουφίου Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων . . . [± 64]
- 17 [± 69] κ[αθά]περ καὶ πρὸ τούτου . . . εἰ καὶ κινῆται ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀντεπερωτηθεῖ[ς ± 57]
- 18 [± 69 (M. 2)] θ[. . .]ω ληγαταρίου ἀπ[ο]δίξας τοὺς λοιποὺς [± 69]
- 19 [± 69] (M. 3) Αὐρήλιος Μέλας Ὠρίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Κ. [± 75]
- 20 [± 69] (M.4) Αὐρήλιος Ἡράκλιος . . . κκαλ[. . .] μαρτυρῶ τῇ διαθήκῃ καὶ ἐσ[φ]ράγισα ?]

3 ὑποκειμένη 7 γέιτονες 9 Εὐδαίμονος 15 γινομένης 18 ἀποδείξας

The papyrus appears in L. Casson's unpublished dissertation as text # 5, after it had been first published in an article (appearing under the name of L. Cohen) in TAPA 68 (1937) 343ff. (= SB V 8265). It was re-published by M. Amelotti, *Il testamento romano attraverso la prassi documentale* (Milano 1966) 280 # 19 (cf. *ibidem* p. 70 # 76) and later again by L. Migliardi Zingale, *I testamenti romani nei papiri e nelle tavolette d'Egitto* ² (Torino 1991) # 30, where a translation of the text into Italian is given. We offer no independent study of the subject of Greek translations of Roman testaments (for the subject in general, cf. P.Diog. 9). Because so much of the text is missing we do not translate into English but limit ourselves to the following notes and observations.

2] μ . . . [: read, perhaps, ὁμοίως, cf. later in this line Ἰσίδωρος ὁμοίως πατρ[ὸ]ς Ε[ὐ]δαίμονος.

4 Η [. . .]υ[± 75] : is the letter after the eta perhaps a delta, a sigma or a lambda?

- 5 Like the first editor of this text we have no clear idea what a δωριμαία ἐξουσία should mean; the Greek expression seems to occur only at this place, while there is an attestation of δωριμαῖα (neur.plur.) in P.Oslo III 189.1 (λόγ(ος) .. δωριμαί(ι).), cf. *ibidem* also lines 9, 19-21 preserving various forms of δωριμαῖα. The adjective δωριμοῖος (listed neither in LSI nor in LSJRev.Suppl.) should be connected etymologically with the noun δῶρον = 'gift, donation' etc., while the Greek noun ἐξουσία is usually rendered in Latin as 'potestas'. Therefore, D. Hagedorn reminding us of the entry in Corp.Gloss.Lat. II 282: 'δωριμοῖος *gratuitus*', raises the question whether one might translate δωριμαία ἐξουσία as '*gratuita potestas*'. This term, however, seems unattested in Roman legal terminology connected with wills and inheritance and we cannot come further with this. We have also considered translating δωριμαία ἐξουσία into Latin as "*facultas/potestas donandi*", but this phrasing seems equally unattested (we are grateful to our colleague J.A. Ankum [Amsterdam] for his advice on this subject).
- 11 We prefer to connect καὶ αὐτοὶ κτλ. directly with the preceding verb ἐχέτωσαν. The first editor inserts a full stop before καὶ.
- 13 Read καμόντες ἐν Τεπ[τόνυι ± 64]? Cf. also below, note to l. 19.
- 14 The combination of κηδεῖα καὶ περιτολῆ is frequently attested, cf. Pr.WB s.v. κηδεῖα.
- 15 An Aurelius Artemidoros appears as komarch of Bouto in the Memphite Nome in P.Cair.Isid. 128 (A.D. 314).
- 16 The traces of the month are perhaps still readable as Παι, i.e. the months of Παιχών or Παιφώνι could be involved. In view of the position of these months within the year it looks far more likely that one should restore here the consular formula of A.D. 335 rather than the postconsulate (in A.D. 336); cf. CSBE² p. 183 (the comment on SB V 8265 made there s.a. 335, 'p.c. possible', should be disregarded).
- 17 The earlier editors of this text read (κε)κρηται, but that reading seems suspicious to us and we prefer our reading κινήται; we have also considered a reading of πρὸ τούτου ἐκεῖ καίκηται, but we cannot persuade ourselves that this is correct.
- 19 It seems just conceivable to read at the end of this line the village name as Κα[ρανίδος ± 68] and if that is correct, a restoration of Καρανίδος in l. 1 is also conceivable (but cf. l. 13n.). If persons mentioned in this text would come from Karanis there is a direct link between this papyrus and the other NYU papyri from Karanis published in P.NYU I and II (see 23 in ZPE 140 [2002] 129). Aurelius Melas son of Horion, however, does not appear in P.NYU I, P.Cair.Isid. or in P.Col. VII.
- 20 After 'Ηράκλιος a patronymic like Μικκάλλου is conceivable, but an Aurelius Heraklios, son of Mikkalos, is not elsewhere attested in P.NYU I, P.Cair.Isid. or in P.Col. VII.

(40) Official Document

P.NYU Inv. 37 (XIVc.50)

IVP

Prob. Oxyrhynchite nome

Recto: Light brown sheet of papyrus; H. 24.8 x W. 18.8 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers; on the recto, the lower part of the sheet (12 cms) is blank; top margin approx. 2.5 cm, neither side margin is extant; three folds reveal four panels of writing though most of the first panel is lacking.

Verso: medium brown papyrus, slightly muddy. This side is inscribed with annotations of an administrative nature, viz.

a) at the top left there are 4 much faded, virtually illegible lines;

b) then, after a space of about 5.5 cm, in the middle there are again 4 lines, faded and mutilated; then one reads

9	α' Ὀριγένους ---- (ἀρουρ.) λ (α' = (πρότερον))	"earlier of Horigenes --, 30 (?) arourae"
10	α' Πασίανος ----- (ἀρουρ.) ξ	"earlier of Pasion --, 60 (?) arourae"
11	α' Ὀριγένους ---- (ἀρουρ.) [	"earlier of Horigenes --, [] arourae"
12	γ(ῆς) ἡπ(είρου) χλζ η[] or (less likely) χκζ	"of land above inundation level, 637 1/8 [] <ar.>"

c) after another space of ca. 3 cm, there follows a listing of categories of land + some amounts of arourae:

13 Π' Σεντώ (for this village see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite*, 169; Π' = π(ερί)?); 14 Κρισπίνου (ἀρ.) ος (ex corr., γ' ?) εκ[; 15 ἀμπέλου (ἀρ.) <δ εκ (ταλ.)]; 16 χαρακῶνος (ἀρ.) ; 17 πωμαρίου και; 18 χερσαμπέλου (ἀρ.) ; 19 παλε, ζ ε αι[...].κελλ() οίκ() traces. Lines 20-21 contain traces of 2 more lines.

Recto:

Cf. Tafel IV.

- 1 [] []
 2 [] ίου Θεοδώρω τῷ διασημοτάτῳ
 3 [?καθολικο]ῦ καὶ μαγίστρου πριουάτης.
 4 [Μελλούση]ς πράσεως οὐσι[ι]ῶν ταμιακῶν καὶ χωρίων οὐεντι-
 5 [] ῶν περιελθόντων εἰς τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμίον κα-
 6 [τὰ τ]ὸ ἔθος ἀχθήσεσθε ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀσπαλῶ[ς]
 7 [ἐν τ]ῇ πρὸ ἰα Καλανδῶν Ἐμπτεμβρίων ἔδει δι(ὰ) τοῦδε

- 8 [τοῦ] προγράμ[ατ]ος πᾶσιν φανερόν καταστήναι,
 9 [ὅτι οἱ] ὄν οἱ βουλόμενοι πρίασθαι{πρίασθαι} παρὰ
 10 [τοῦ ἰ]ε[ρωτάτου] ταμίου προσελθόντες τῇ ἡμέρῃ
 11 [τάξει] κατὰ τ[ὴν] αὐτὴν ἡμέραν . .
 12 [] μη φανεράν καταστήσωσι.

2 Αὐρηλί[ου], Φλαυ[ίου], Οὐαλερ[ίου] or Ἀντων[ίου]? Θεοδώρου τοῦ διασημοτάτου 5 ταμειῶν 6 ἀχθήσασθαι, ἀσφαλῶς 7 Σεπτεμβρίων 10 ταμειῶν

“--- from Aurelius/Flavius/Valerius/Antonius Theodoros the most distinguished *catholicus* (?) and *magister rei privatae*. As the sale of estates belonging to the *fiscus* and of land parcels --- falling to the most sacred *fiscus* is, according to custom, coming to be held here in the Capitolium surely on the 11th day before the calends of September (= 22. viii), it was necessary to make it clear to all through this proclamation that all those who are willing to make a purchase from the most sacred *fiscus* should address themselves at my office and ... on the same day, in order that they do (not?) make ... clear.”

This papyrus was first published by N. Lewis, *A New Document on the Magister Rei Privatae*, JJP 15 (1965) 157- 161 (= SB VIII 9883). For the *magister rei privatae* in the papyri, see in latest instance R. Delmaire, *Le personnel de l'administration financière en Egypte sous le Bas-Empire Romain (Ive - Vle siècles)*, CRIPEL 10 (1988) 113-138, cf. also F.A.J. Hoogendijk - K.A. Worp in *Tyche* 16 [2001] 57-61, text # 3, intro. and 6n.; for a *magister rei privatae* named Flavius Antonius Theodorus, who officiated some time before 335 and may be identified with the official in the present text, see Delmaire, *loc.cit.*, 119-120, # 17. Though there is still a problem with the precise wording of the end of the text, it is clear that the papyrus refers to regulations concerning the organization of a public auction on August 31 of an unspecified year. Line 13 on the verso shows that the text probably originated in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

- 3 Should one supply at the beginning a term like [καθολικ]ῶ? For the combination of the titles *catholicus et magister privatae* see the careers of Fl. Antonius Theodorus and Fl. Nemesianus in Delmaire, *op.cit.*, 119-120, # 17 and 121-122, # 19.
- 4 For οὐσία ταμιακά, the DDBDP refers to P.Lips. I 101.ii.21; P.Oxy. I 58.5,21; P.Panop. 1.364-365, 369; see also P.Herm.Landl., Anhang II, ll. 126,134; P.NYU I 4a'.23,26, '30; P.Oxy. XLIV 3205.i.14,23, ii.35,50,54. χωρίων οὐεντ- : for a discussion of this passage see J. Gascou in *Trav. & Mém.* 10 (1987), pp. 115-116. Furthermore, cf. BL IX 266 on SB VIII 9883, where an earlier proposal (made in BL VI 160) to read here in ll. 4-5 οὐεντιβίλιων is rejected on the grounds that in the word's ending the letter preceding the omega cannot be read simply as a single iota (before that there surely is a gap and there are no traces of letters). If this is correct, one would have to exclude automatically alternative terms for certain categories of land like ὄουινδικίων (P.Oslo III 113.11 + BL IX 176), ὄουενδ(ικίων) (P.Oxy. XIV 1660.ii.8 + BL VI 133), ὄουενδι(κίων) / ὄβενδικ(ίων) (P.Ryl. IV 655'.ii.4,13; cf. *ibidem* i.1, O[]] vδ[ι]κ()), and ὄουινδικίων (SB XII 10891 = P.Oxy. XLIV 3205). Searching further the DDBDP and consulting the 'Wörterlisten' for Greek transliterations of Latin terms in 'vend-/vind-' (spelled οουενδ/ουινδ-) we found οὐινδικατος / οὐινδικατος [cf. SB XX 14710.iii.6, featuring a spelling οὐινδικατος for οὐινδικατος] and οὐινδικτα [cf. BGU V 1210.iii.64; P.Diog. 6.21, 7.20]. In the present text, a gen. pl. of the noun οὐινδικτα does not seem particularly relevant, but a reading of an adjective (gen. pl.) οὐεντι[κ]ῶν (l. οὐινδικάτων) might fit, both qua size and qua meaning (cf. OLD s.v. vindicare, 2.b: 'to claim territory'). It would seem, however, more logical, if the auction in this text concerned land that had *not* been claimed (by, e.g. heirs to an estate): should one correct the scribe by reading (α)ουεντι[κ]ῶν?
- 6 For the *capitolium* in the Egyptian metropoleis, cf. A. Łukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte romaine* (Warszawa 1986) 173-74. Our reading of the word at the end of this line requires that the omega in ἀσφαλῶ[ς] (l. ἀσφαλῶς) was written much smaller than other omegas in this text; this situation is probably explicable in terms of the writer's approaching the edge of the papyrus which compelled him to make his characters smaller than elsewhere.
- 7 On Roman dates in Greek papyri see the discussion of P.J. Sijpesteijn in *ZPE* 33 (1979) 229-240. There is no parallel for the spelling Εμπεμβρ- (for September).
- 12 One expects a female noun governed by φανερόν and it is conceivable that the preserved letters] μη immediately preceding the verb are to be connected with it. One would then expect, however, a word ending in -μην.

(41) Tax-Receipt

P.NYU Inv. # 17 (III.60)

2.v.131 - 22.v.132P

Oxyrhynchus

Medium brown papyrus. H. 9.7 x W. 7.6 cm. Top margin approx. 2 cm, bottom margin approx. 3.4 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers. The back is blank.

- 1 ιε (ἔτους) Ἄδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ [κυρίου]
- 2 Παχ(ών) ζ· διαγέγρα(φε) δ(ιὰ) Ξένω(νος) πρ(άκτορος) λαο(γραφίας) ιε [(ἔτους)]
- 3 Ἄναμ(φοδάρχων) Διοκλῆς δοῦ(λος) Πανσιρίω(νος) Θέω(νος) (δραχμὰς) δ,
- 4 (γίν.) (δρ.) δ, ὑικ(ῆς) ((δρ.)) α (πεντάβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), (γίν.) (δρ.) α (πεντάβολον)
(ἡμιώβολον)· ις (ἔτους) Φαμεν(ῶθ) []
- 5 λαο(γραφίας) ις (ἔτους) Ἄναμ(φοδάρχων) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δρ.) η, (γίν.) (δρ.) η· ις (ἔτους)
Παχ(ών) κζ
- 6 λαο(γραφίας) ις (ἔτους) Ἄναμ(φοδάρχων) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δρ.) δ, (γίν.) (δρ.) δ, ὑικ(ῆς) ((δρ.)) α
(πεντάβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), (γίν.) (δρ.) α (πεντάβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).

2 Casson read Ξενῶ 3, 5, 6 Casson read ἀναγ(ραφόμενος?)

"Year 15 of Hadrian Caesar the lord, Pachon 7. (In the quarter) of the Anamphodarchi, Diokles, slave of Pausirion son of Theon, has paid through Xenon collector of the laographia, for the laographia of the 15th year, 4 dr. total 4 dr.; for the pig tax 1 dr., 5 obols 1/2 obol, total 1 dr., 5 1/2 ob. For the laographia of the 16th year, Phamenoth [], (in the quarter) of the Anamphodarchi the same (Diokles has paid) 8 dr., total 8 dr. For the 16h year, Pachon 27, (in the quarter) of the Anamphodarchi the same (Diokles has paid) for the laographia of the 16th year, 4 dr.; for the pig tax 1 dr., 5 obols, 1/2 obol, total: 1 dr., 5 1/2 ob."

This papyrus appears in L. Casson's unpublished dissertation as text # 1. For laographia receipts from Roman Oxyrhynchus see P.Köln III 138; P.Oxy. XII 1520 (+ pig-tax), 1521, XLIV 3172; P.Oxy. Hels. 12 (+ pig-tax) and SB I 5677 (cf. BL IX 244; Archiv 42 [1996] 215ff.). For recent publications of laographia receipts from elsewhere in Egypt see P.Bodl. I 134; P.Louvre I 30; P.Mich. XV 695-699; Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXV 33,b&c.; BGU XV 2533-2540; and C.A. Nelson in BASP 32 (1995) 133-141. The following payments are recorded in this receipt:

Year 15, Pachon 7:	laographia of year 15: 4 dr.
	pig tax of year 15: 1 dr. 5.5 ob.
Year 16, Phamenoth []:	laographia of year 16: 8 dr.
Pachon 27:	laographia of year 16: 4 dr.
	pig tax of year 16: 1 dr. 5.5 ob.

After a payment of 4 dr. for laographia for year 15 on Pachon 7 of that year, for year 16 two payments of laographia are recorded, one of 8 dr. in Phamenoth (day lost) and one of 4 dr. on Pachon 27, with no other payment intervening between the payment for year 15 and the payment in Phamenoth

of year 16. The two payments of 8 and 4 dr. for year 16 represented together the total sum to be paid for laographia by the μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι as a privileged rate in the Oxyrhynchite Nome (cf. S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, 110, 119, 126-7). The rate paid for pig-tax in this document is also encountered in the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. Wallace, *op.cit.*, 144-45 (with a list of receipts at p. 422, note 43). For slaves paying the rate intended for privileged metropolitans, see Wallace, *op.cit.*, 111.

- 2 The personal name Ξένων is frequently attested in the papyri from Egypt; a masculine personal name Ξενῶς does not yet occur in such documentary texts.
- 3 For the Oxyrhynchite amphodon Ἄναμφοδάρχων, cf. J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt/Main 1990) 82; S. Daris, *I quartieri di Ossirincho: materiali e note*, ZPE 132 (2000) 211-221, esp. 213. The form of the mu in Ἄναμ(φοδάρχων) here and in ll. 5 and 6 looks slightly odd, as it resembles the shape of a tilted zeta. For writings of the word ἀμφοδων in the papyri, cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn in ZPE 75 (1988) 256 n.5 and P. van Minnen in Tyche 6 (1991) 126. For other tax receipts featuring a *praktor* as serving in an Oxyrhynchite amphodon, cf., e.g., P.Oxy. XII 1520, 1521. One wonders whether there is a father/son relationship between Παυσίριων, s.o. Θέων, and Θέων Παυσίρι[in P.Oxy. I 68.2 (133 A.D.); cf. B.W. Jones - J.E.G. Whitehorn, *Register of Oxyrhynchites, 30 B.C. - A.D. 96*, # 3261); in this respect it cannot be excluded that one should read in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus Παυσίρι[ωνος rather than Παυσίρι[ος.

(42) Tax Receipt

P.NYU inv. # 41 (II.219)

VII/VIIIp

Hermopolite nome?

Light brown papyrus. H. 6.4 x W. 7.6 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers; the back is blank. Part of a clay seal remains attached to a thin strip of papyrus; the seal itself, however, is hidden on the back side. After its disappearance (taking place at some unknown time) the papyrus was re-discovered in 2002 by R.S. Bagnall and R. Criboire in the papyrus collection of Columbia University.

- 1 † Ἔσχ(ον) δ(ιὰ) Μηνᾶ στρ(ατιώτου) (ὑπὲρ) δημο(σίων) (καὶ) διαγ(ραφῆς)
- 2 δεκάτης ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίονος) ἄρ(ι)θ(μίου) νο(μισματίου) σ', ἕκτον μ(όνον).
- 3 Μ(ηνὶ) Φαρμ(οῦ)θ(ι) α ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίονος) ι. † Κλαύδιος
- 4 στοιχ(εῖ). † Βίktoros ἀπακτ()
- 5 ἀξιωθ(εῖς) ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπὲρ(ρ) αὐτ(οῦ). †

3 Κλαύδιος, K- ex corr. 4 Βίktoros (τ ex corr.)



"I received through Menas, soldier, for *demosia* and *diagraphe* of the tenth indiction 1/6 'reckoned' solidus, a sixth, in all. In the month Pharmouthi, (day) 1, of the 10th indiction. Claudius agrees. I, Victor *apakt*(), wrote at his request for him."

This papyrus, containing a tax receipt for the payment of δημόσια καὶ διαγραφή, was first edited by L. Casson in TAPA 69 (1938) 288 (= SB VI 9631); subsequently he included the papyrus in his unpublished dissertation as text # 9. We note the following divergences from Casson's text as reprinted in the *Sammelbuch*:

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. 1: Ἔσχον Μηνᾶ | for Ἔσχ(ον) δ(ιὰ) Μηνᾶ, |
| ἰνδικ(τίονος) | for (καὶ) διαγ(ραφῆς); |
| 1. 2: χ(ρυσσοῦ) | for ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίονος), |
| νο(μίσματος) | for νο(μισματίου); |

1. 3: om. M(ηνι);
 Ηλας διασ[(τολεὺς)] for Κλαύδιος,
 1. 4: στεχ(εῖ) for στοιχ(εῖ),
 ὑπακτ() for ἀπακτ();
 we do not accept the suggestion to correct ὑπακτ() into ἀπακτ() (cf. BL VI 156).
 1. 5: ἀγαθ() for ἀζιωθ(εῖς) (but see already BL VIII 352, X 201).

Casson attributed the papyrus to the Fayum, though not without reservations. We, however, think that there are reasons (though different from the arguments adduced by E. Wipszycka, JJP 16/17 [1971] 110-111 n. 5) to attribute it to the Hermopolite nome, viz.:

- (1) The formula Ἔσχ(ον) δ(ιὰ) is not normal for such Fayumic tax receipts (there are hardly parallels among the many Fayumic receipts edited by C. Wessely in SPP III and VIII; these regularly use the formula παρέσχεν N.N., or omit a verb of paying/receiving, see the table of contents of SPP III + VIII; cf., however, SPP III 636);
- (2) this formula is found in PSI 21 Congr. 19 and the Hermopolitan provenance of this text is beyond doubt;
- (3) it is also found in P.Lond. V 1738, 1739, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1749, 1751, 1752, 1864, P.Princ. II 92 (cf. BASP 33 [1996] 74-76), SB XXII 15275 and in P.Duke inv.498, published in ZPE 131 (2000) 150f. It is likely that all of the London papyri should be attributed to the Hermopolite nome, see P.Lond. V 1738 introd.;² most likely the Duke papyrus is also connected with the Hermopolite nome, and the payments for ἀνδρισμός recorded in P.Princ. II 92 and in the Michigan papyrus SB XXII 15275 (cf. PSI XXI Congr. 19.4n.) connect them most probably also with Hermopolis.³ It remains to be seen, of course, whether the soldier Menas in this text from New York University is the same man as the tax payer occurring in P.Lond. V 1738, 1743, 1744, 1749, 1751, and 1864.

- 1 The combined payment of δημόσια καὶ διαγραφή is a phenomenon well documented in texts from the Thebaid, i.e., from Hermopolis (cf. SPP III 291, 597; for P.Lond. V 1738 and 1739 see above; possibly also P.Lond. III 1315.b [p. 275; the papyrus seems to belong to a batch of Hermopolitan documents]), from Aphrodite (cf. P.Cair.Masp. III 67325, fol. VIII*) and from the Theban region (in Coptic papyri: Bal 136 [cf. 135.2n.], 143 [?]; Coptic ostraka: CO 416, 422, 423; KOW 88 [= ST 79], 89, 90, 91; KSB I 257, 258; OMH 221, 227, 228, 230 [? διαγραφή to be supplied in restoration?], 232, 233, 234, 236, 238, 241, 242, 284, 285, 286, 313, 386; Tor 22; BASP 16 [1979] 8-9, # 6 - 9; Enchoria 14 [1986] 115; cf. perhaps also the Coptic ostrakon Hall 76/3; Greek ostraka: O.Bodl. II 2078, 2080*). From the Fayum there are far fewer instances known; in fact there is only one certain attestation (SPP VIII 709); cf. also the tax receipt SB XX 14235 and its uncertain provenance (the editors read in l. 2 the toponym Σινάρῳ in l. 2, but this cannot stand, cf. BL X 226). J.B. Simonsen, *Studies in the Genesis and Early Development of the Caliphal Taxation System* (Copenhagen 1988) notes (p. 86) that "the Egyptian papyri from the beginning of the 8th century have *djizya* in two contexts; one as the term for sums imposed on specific geographical localities, the other for a tax imposed <on> individual taxpayers. In the first case the Arabic *djizya* is translated by the Greek *demosia*, in the second by *diagrafe*, so regardless of there being two different Greek terms, *djizya* is the common Arabic word for both".⁴ For Greek and Coptic tax receipts for δημόσια καὶ διαγραφή in general, cf. I.J. Poll in Tyche 14 (1999) pp. 237-274; for some addenda to his list, see K.A. Worp's edition of a Greek tax receipt on an ostrakon from Alexandria in BSAC 42 (2003) 97-100.
- 3 This text in its new reading (see readings of ed. princ., above) is no longer relevant for a discussion of the office of a διαστολεὺς (for which see E. Wipszycka, *Les reçus d'impôts et le bureau de comptes des pagarchies aux VI^e - VII^e siècles*, JJP 16/17 [1971] 105-116; for SB VI 9631 esp. p. 110 and n. 5).
- 4 We wonder whether there is a connection between ἀπακτ() and an indication of functions like ἀπ(ὸ) ἀκτ(ουαρίων) or ἀβάκτ(ις) (here spelled ἀπάκτις ?); for these officials, cf. I. Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, *Lexikon der Lateinischen Lehnwörter*, s.vv. ἀβάκτις, ἀκτ(ου)άριος. Both of these officials can be expected to be able to write. On the other hand, we cannot exclude a reading ἀπακτ(); in that case one may be dealing with a patronymic like Ἀπα Κῦ(που).

² As the [damaged] Oxyrhynchite era year supposedly occurring in l. 3 of that papyrus turns out to be the result of a misreading (cf. I.J. Poll in Tyche 10 [1995] 249), a connection of this papyrus and of P.Lond. V 1744, 1749 and 1864 with Oxyrhynchus can no longer be sustained.

³ The term ἀνδρισμός appears predominantly in the Hermopolite nome, though it is also attested at Edfu, Aphrodito, Bala'izah and in the Apollinopolites Heptakomias (information kindly supplied by N. Gonis in private communication).

⁴ The reference given in BL IX 263 to Simonsen's volume, p. 86 n. 12 is erroneous, as Simonsen discusses there in fact P.Grenf. II 105 and 106.

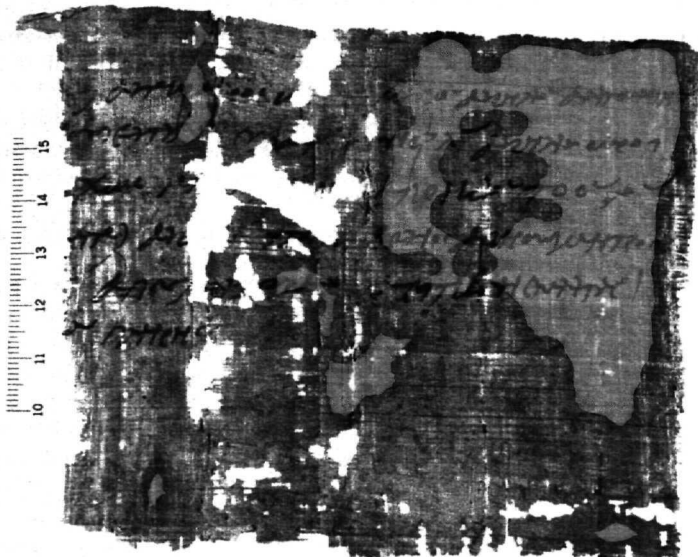
(43) Tax (?) Receipt

P.NYU Inv. # 68 (XVIII.21)

24.vii.221P

Aphroditopolite nome

Medium brown papyrus. H. 10 x W. 13 cm. The verso is blank.



- 1 [{"Έτους}] δ Αὐτοκρά[το]ρος Κ[αίσαρος] Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου
- 2 [Εὐσε]βοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπειφ λ. Αὐρήλιος Ὠρος
- 3 [s.o. N.N.] χωματεπ[ι]στά[τη]ς ἐποικίου Τόου τοῦ
- 4 [Ἀφροδ]εῖτοπ(ολίτου) Αὐρηλ[ίω] Πανε[τ]βεύιος Ἀτρήους μητρὸς
- 5 [N.N.] ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ τ[ὶ] ἀ ἐπιβλήθηεντα σοι
- 6 [± 5] α πλήρης.

4 Ἀφροδιτοπολίτου, Παντεβέυει

"Year 4 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph 30. Aurelius Horos, son of N.N., *chomatepistates* of the village of Toou in the Aphroditopolite nome to Aurelius Panetbeuis, son of Hatres, and mother N.N.; I have received from you in full the ---- which were imposed on you."

Originally we considered this text as a receipt for *naubion* (a standard quantity of earth moved for repairing dykes etc.),⁵ but on balance this seems unlikely in view of the verb ἀπέσχον (l. 5) = 'I received'. Unfortunately, due to the small lacuna at the start of line 6 it remains unclear to us what the

⁵ For a recent discussion of the *naubion* see D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine & byzantine* (Leiden 1993) 130ff.; see also the ample documentation given by B. Kramer in P.Heid. IV 320 and the remarks by S.P. Vleeming in Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXV p. 141; for *naubion* certificates, cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn in Pap. Lugd.Bat. XII p. 38ff. and P.Mich. XV, pp. 154, where SB XX 14378 may now be added; additional observations are given by K.A. Worp in ZPE 78 (1989) 49 (cf. also BL IX 395 on O. Stras. 506 = # 97 in Pap.Lugd.Bat. XII p. 44; the document should now be transferred to the section on Thebes/Hermonthis, p. 40-41). Such documents should be distinguished from receipts for payments of ναύβιον-tax (on which see the literature given by H.A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung*, 80 and see D. Bonneau, *op.cit.*, 271-272).

issuer of the receipt received precisely; the wording of l. 5, τὰ ἐπιβληθέντα σοι, taken in combination with the office of the issuer of the receipt, suggests that one is dealing with some form of taxation connected with the maintenance of dykes etc. That office has been read by us as that of a *chomatepistates*; the occurrence of this office is rare and to date it seems restricted to the Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. l. 3n.).

- 3 At the start of the line one expects after Horos' name a patronymic. For the office of *chomatepistates*, occurring to date specifically in the Oxyrhynchite nome see P.Harr. I 76.1-2 (89^p; cf. BL IX 101), P.Princ. II 72.14 (III^p), P.Col. X 289.5 (331^p) and P.Oxy. LXII 4342.i.4 (IV^p). The reading in our text is far from certain, but an alternative reading of χωματεπιμελητής seems just too long, that of χωματεπείκτης too short. In itself one might reckon also with the existence of a compound χωματεπισκέπτης (cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*² 27, s.v. ἐπισκέπτης, 6, where one finds an ἐπισκέπτης χωμάτων καὶ διωρύχων); to date, however, this does not seem to be attested. Moreover, it may be that in the Aphroditopolite nome other titles in χωματε- (or, for that matter, χωματο-) existed.
- 4 The name of a village Τοού (here an ἐποίκιον T.) is attested in various nomes, cf. A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario Geografico*, V 20, *Suppl.* II 219 and III 151; it occurs in the Oxyrhynchite (cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 206-207, κώμη T.), in the Hermopolite, (cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite*, 305-306, κώμη T.) in the Herakleopolite (cf. M. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome*, 231-233, κώμη T.), perhaps in the Arabian nome (cf. P.Oxy. LX 4065.8n.; no designation of the type of village), perhaps in the Arsinoite (?; cf. P.Laur. IV 174.4, III; no designation of the type of village) and in the Aphroditopolite nome (cf. P.Oxy XIV 1746.4 [IV, κώμη T.]). Only the latter village can have been meant here, though one should note in our text the designation of the village as ἐποίκιον. The name Panetbeuis (for the many variants of the same name, cf. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 267) was wrongly declined, i.e., one finds a genitive instead of the dative. For the genitive of the name Ἀτρής see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar*, II 73.
- 6 The restorations in lines 2 and 4 suggest at the start of line 6 a lacuna of 4 or 5 letters.

(44) Tax Receipt

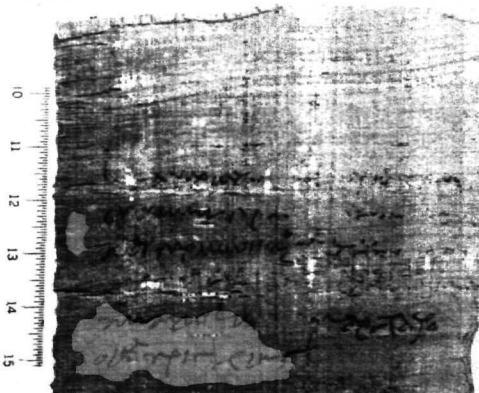
P.NYU Inv. # 77 (X.20)

iv-v.55P

Prov. unknown

Medium brown papyrus. H. 18.5 x W. 8 cm. Margins: at the top 3, at the left 1, at the bottom 12 cm. In the lower part of the papyrus scattered traces of a previously cancelled text. The verso is blank.

- 1 (Ἔτους) α Νέρωνος [Κλαυδί]ου
Κα[ίσαρ]ος
- 2 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμ[ανικοῦ]
Αὐτοκράτορος
- 3 μη(νός) Γερμανικείου Ἀγῆης ...
- 4 το() ὑπ(έρ) *Traces*
- 5 τοῦ αὐτοῦ(ῦ) (ἔτους) κατ[ὰ] μέρος
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς) δύο
- 6 ὀβολ(οὺς) τρῖς, (γίν.) (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) γ.



"Year 1 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor, in the month Germanicus, (day) -. Agches son of N.N. (has paid) for --- ο the same year of money in silver drachmas two, three obols, in total 2 dr., 3 ob."

The name of the tax in l. 4 of this receipt is irretrievably lost, but one may argue that a payment of 2 dr. 3 ob. is, e.g., 1/3rd of the tax on linen weavers at 7.5 dr. p.p. Furthermore, it is half the *monodesmia chortou* in BGU II 431, while an amount of 2 dr., 3 ob. is also mentioned in the tax receipt WO II 266.4 (for the price of 'public' dates).

- 1 Or should the year numeral be read as δ?
- 3 Germanicus = Pachon.
- 5 κατ[ὰ] μέρος (we owe the reading to D. Hagedorn) refers to a partial payment of a (larger) amount, cf. BGU IV 1105.36, P.Fay. 47a.5; O.Berl. 34.3-4; CPap.Gr. I 11.12.

(45) Hymnema for the Nomarch Nikanor

P.NYU inv. # 8 (II.89)

24.vi.212a? (or 30.vi.237a / 20.vi.195a?)

Fayum ?

Light brown papyrus. H. 16 x W. 14 cm. Margins: at the top 1.5, at the left 1.5 - 2 cm. There is a kollesis on the 'verso' at 4.5 cm. from the left/top of the text. The text was folded three times both horizontally and vertically, resulting in four nearly equal panels of 3.5 cm.

Cf. Tafel V.

Recto:

Lines 1-6: cancelled.

7 [Ἡρα/]

Verso (M. 2):

- 8 Ὑπόμνημα Νικάγορι νομ[ά]ρχη
9 παρὰ Ἀρυάτου.
(M.3) 10 Καλῶς ποιήσεις, ἐάν σοι φαίνεται, συγ-
11 τάξας Ἀχοάπει περὶ Πετ[ο]σίριος τοῦ
12 Θοτορταίου ἐκ Φιλαδελφείας γεωργοῦ,
13 ὅπως διεγγυθῆεις ἀφεθῆι κα[ι] γίνηται
14 πρὸς τῆι συναγωγῆι τοῦ σίτου καὶ []
15 []δι[]υρ. θῆι ἐπ [ι] τῶν ἀλώνων. Γεω[ρ]γεὶ δὲ γῆς
16 (ἀρούρας) νε *vacat*
(M.4) 17 Νικάνορι Ἀχοάπει χαίρειν. Ἐπισκεψάμενος,
18 εἴπερ μὴ εἰ μείζονι αἰτία ἐνέχεται,
19 διεγγύησας αὐτὸν μονῆς ἄφες
20 ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς, ὅπως γένηται
21 πρὸς τῆι συν[αγωγῆι το]ῦ [σίτου].
22 *Ε[ρρωσο.]

Recto:

- 23].... Ἀχοάπει
24]...
(M.5) 25 Ἀλεξάνδρῳι
26 Ἀχοάπιδι Ἀλεξάνδρῳι χαίρειν. Ἀπέσταλκά σοι
27 τὴν παρὰ Νικάνορος ἐπιστολήν. Ποίει οὖν, καθότι
28 [22]... (Ἔτους) ι, Παχῶνος ιγ.
29 [25] κατεγγυῆς ἀρ-
30 [35]ι[]

17 Νικάνωρ

(Verso) "Memorandum to Nikanor, *nomarch*, from Haryothes. (M. 3) If it seems right to you, please, give an order to Achoapis concerning Petosiris, son of Thotortaios, a farmer from Philadelphia, in order that he be released (from jail) after a surety has been provided and that he will be there for the collecting of the wheat and --- on the threshing floors. He cultivates 55 arouras of land. (M. 4) Nikanor to Achoapis, greeting. After having checked whether he is not subject to a rather serious accusation and after having given a surety that he will stay, release him from jail in order that he will be present at the collecting of the wheat. Farewell."

(Recto) " --- to Achoapis ---. (M. 5) To Alexandros. Achoapis to Alexander, greeting. I have sent you the letter from Nicanor. Act now according ---. Year 10, Pachon 13. --- ."

For detailed commentary we refer to the first edition of this papyrus given by C.J. Kraemer in TAPA 58 (1927) 155ff. (= SB IV 7285) and the comments made by U. Wilcken in Archiv 9 (1930) 236. In the papyrological literature the text is sometimes cited as 'P.New York II.89', e.g., by C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides* [Bruxelles 1939] 534, 536. It is now considered questionable, whether this papyrus belongs to the famous Zenon archive (as the first editor thought), see Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXI.A, p. 73 bottom.

For the nomarch Nikanor (in II. 8, 17 and 27), see *Pros.Ptol.* I # 402 and Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXI.A, p. 374 n.13; for his term of office, see now the introduction to P.Sorb. I 51. From the range of attestations of his correspondent Thesenouphis we infer that he is likely to have been in office under King Ptolemy IV Philopator, between the years 224 and 217 B.C. For this reason we consider a date of this papyrus to the 10th year of Philopator, 212 B.C., as more probable than a date to the year 237 B.C. (under Ptolemy III Euergetes) or 195 B.C. (under Ptolemy V Epiphanes).

- 13 The remark in the *ed.princ.* on the reading γ[ε]ινηται is incorrect. The scribe wrote only γινηται, i.e.: there is no hole in the papyrus concealing an epsilon and the iota is not written in superscript as the rectification of an error (the gamma, however, is damaged).
- 14-15 The first editor read σ[υν]δ[ι]δ[ι]ε[υ]ρεθ[η]ι, but already U. Wilcken doubted this reading. As there are too many elements of doubt (συνδιευρίσκω, e.g., is not attested elsewhere, and the reading of just a few too many letters is insecure), we do not think that this reading can be maintained. We have not been able, however, to find a suitable new reading and restrict ourselves to giving those letters about which we feel reasonably certain, hence our transcript: [. (15) []δ[ι]ε[υ]ρ[η]θ[η]ι.
- 17 The precise position of Achoapis in the official hierarchy is unclear, but evidently he was subordinate to the nomarch Nikanor. For that reason he cannot be identified with another Achoapis who happens to have been a nomarch even before Nikanor (cf. *Pros.Ptol.* I 880 + addenda in *Pros.Ptol.* VIII). The editor of P.Sorb. 51 calls 'our' Achoapis 'le chef de nomarchie', but it is not clear whence this information is obtained. It would rather seem that Achoapis has a policing function.
- 28 We do not subscribe to Bilabel's view (in the critical apparatus to SB IV 7285) that a reading of Μεχειρ is preferable to Παχώνς.

(46) Report Concerning Work Performed

P.NYU Inv. # 20 (IV.1)

III/IVP

Prov. unknown

Light brown papyrus. H. 21.5 x W. 12 cm. Margins: at the left 2.5, at the top 1.5, at the bottom 2 cm. At 2.5 cm. from the right-hand edge there is a kollesis going towards the left (indicating that the papyrus sheet was inscribed after turning it upside down). There are several vertical folds. The verso is blank. Cf. Tafel VI.

1	['Απολ]λοδώρου ογ . . . []
2	[ἐπ]ὶ μὲν μηνὸς Θῶθ	[ἡμέρ(αι)]
3	ἐπὶ δὲ μηνὸς Φαῶφι	ἡμ[έρ(αι)]
4	καὶ ἐπὶ μην(ὸς) Ἄθῦρ	ἡμ[έρ(αι)]
5	καὶ ἐπὶ μην(ὸς) Χοιάκ ἕως	
6	ἰα ἡμέρ(αι) θ	

"Of Apollodoros ... during the month Thoth days *n*, during the month Phaophi days *n*, during the month Hathyr days *n* and during the month Choiak until the 11th, 9 days; 12th: he worked, 13th: he worked, etc."

7	ιβ	ἡργάσατο
8	ιγ	ἡργάσατο
9	ιδ	ἡργάσατο
10	ιε	ἡργάσατο
11	ις	ἡργάσατο
12	ιζ	ἡργάσατο
13	ιη	ἡργάσατο

14	ι[θ]	ἡργάσατο
15	κ	ἡργάσατο
16	κα	ἡργάσατο
17	κβ	ἡργάσατο
18	κγ	ἡργάσατο
19	κδ	ἡργάσατο
20	κε	ἡργάσατο
21	κς	ἡργάσατο
22	κζ	
23	κη	
24	κθ	
25	λ	

This report concerns work performed during a certain number of days in Thoth (line 2), Phaophi (line 3), Hathyr (line 4) and Choiak, i.e., during the first four months of the Egyptian year. Between Choiak 1-11 nine days were occupied by work, i.e., two days during this period no work was performed for one reason or another. It is possible that there was a festival on these 2 days (cf. F. Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque*, Louvain 1993 [= *Studia Hellenistica*, 31], esp. 267ff.) and from Choiak 12 until the 27th work was done every day. From Choiak 27 until Choiak 30 the word ἡργάσατο is lacking, but it is not clear whether the numerals were left open intentionally (i.e. no work was done); it seems possible that the numerals had been written down beforehand and that the scribe never wrote the word ἡργάσατο in the open space after the numeral(s) in question. Space for a second column with data and remarks was already marked off.

- 1 The reading/restoration of [Ἄπολ]λοδώρου is, of course, only a suggestion; we do not know whether a personal or a geographical name is meant (for a kleros of this name situated in either the Heracleopolite or the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. P.Hib. II 214 fr. 1,4 [ca. 250 B.C.!]).
 ογ. [: The 2nd letter after ογ. [may be iota or rho, and a reading ὄγμ[cannot be excluded, though a word beginning with these letters is unknown to us. Is there a connection with the verb ὄγμεύω = 'move in a straight line' (prop. of ploughers or mowers)? Cf. also the subst. ὄγμος in LSJ = 'furrow in ploughing' or 'strip of cultivated land'.
 7ff. A search of the DDBDP shows that almost all cases of the use of the verb ἐργάζομαι concern heavy physical labor like dike work. On the other hand, the months Thoth - Choiak are not the most frequently attested ones in receipts for *penthemeros* and *naubia* (cf. the tables in Pap.Lugd.Bat. XII, pp. 10 and 20; P.Mich. XV App. I) where Mesore and Pauni predominate due to the critical need during the rise of the Nile (Sijpesteijn, pp. 11-12).

(47) Order for Delivery

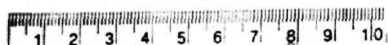
P.NYU Inv. # 21 (IX.10)

V/VIP

Prov. unknown

Middle brown papyrus. H. 3.2 x W. 24 cm. Margins: at the top over 1 cm., at the bottom approx. 0.5 cm. In ll. 1 and 3 there is a vacat of approx. 12 cm. Six vertical folds are still visible; the resulting panels measure 2, 2, 3.2, 4, 4, 6, and the last panel of 2.8 cm must have been tucked inside. With the exception of the left hand side the papyrus was rather regularly cut off.

- 1 Ἰωάννης λαμπρό(τατος) Φοιβάμμωνι μαγί(ρ)·
 2 παράσχου Παπνουθίω καὶ Ψαεῖω ναύταις ἀνειοῦσιν εἰς Τυχινφάγων ἐμβολ(ῆς)
 ε χ ρ . []
 3 Φαμεν[ὲ]θ καθ ἰνδικ(τίωνος) . . . ἔσημ(ειωσάμην).
 1 μαγίρω 2 ἀνειοῦσιν



"Johannes, *vir clarissimus*, to Phoibammon, butcher. Deliver to Papnouthios and Psaeios, sailors, going to Tychinphagon on account of the *embole* of the 5th indiction (?) *n* measures of chaff (?). Phamenoth 29, indiction *n*. I have signed."

The papyrus contains an order issued by a certain Johannes at an unknown place for a butcher to deliver some commodity to sailors going to Tychinphagon, a village in the Oxyrhynchite nome. It is possible, however, that the order came from outside that nome.

- 1 It seems just possible that the article [ὁ] is lost between the final sigma of Ἰωάννης and the start of λαμπροτάτος, but in itself the use of the article with λαμπροτάτος is not obligatory (cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 73 [1988] 54ff.). For the μάγειροι in the papyri in general, cf. H. Harrauer in CPR XIII, p. 123-128; a μάγειρος Phoibammon is not yet known. Μάγειροι in such orders for delivery are frequently butchers (also cooks and retailers, cf. G.M. Browne in *Proc. 12th [1968] Congress* 67 note to line 14).
- 2 Τυχινφάγων is a village in the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario Geografico* V 40. The latest attestation listed there dates from A.D. 350. The few texts mentioning the village do not tell us whether it was situated on a waterway, and in this regard it may be significant that the verb ἀνειμι, not ἀνακλέω is used. The use of the preposition εἰς may indicate that the sailors had to go 'up country'. One might expect at the end of l. 2 something like κρέως λίτρας + amount (possibly abbreviated), cf. similar orders for delivery cited by Harrauer in his list *loc.cit.* ## 36, 46, 49, 73. On the other hand it is possible to read at the end of this line the traces now read as χρ [as ἀχύρου] and before this one might reckon with, e.g., an indication of the indiction connected with the ἐμβολή (read εἰν(δικτιώνας) ?). One might think about restoring something like a measure of capacity + a numeral in the lacuna after ἀχύρου]. This, however, raises the question, why a butcher would be delivering chaff; maybe 'butcher' was added only in order to distinguish Phoibammon (an 'Allerweltsname') from homonymous persons? On the other hand, we have tried to read χοιρ-, but we feel persuaded that an idea about pork (cf. above, the note to l. 1, for the profession of the addressee, a butcher/cook) cannot be defended without first accepting a misspelling in χρ-.
- 3 Or read Φαμεν(ὠ)θ κ. θ ινδ(ικτιώνας), but in view of the ink traces following ινδ(ικτιώνας) which probably belong to the indiction numeral this does not seem likely. Phamenoth 29 = 25.iii. For the omission of the personal name at ἐση(μειωσάμην), cf. F. Zucker, *Urkunde eines römischen Statthalters*. Sb. Akad. Berlin 1910, 714.

(48) Transportation Receipt

P.NYU Inv. # 454

late IVP

Prov. unknown

Dark brown papyrus, now diagonally broken into 2 fragments. H. approx. 11 x W. 6.5 cm. Margin at the top 1.5, at the bottom 5.5 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers. The verso is blank.

- 1 [Αὐρήλιος Παῦλος Ὀλυμπίου
- 2 [Αὐρηλίω . . .]φ Δανιήλ
- 3 [. . .] πολιτευομεν().
- 4 [Π]αρ[έλ]αβ[ον κα]ὶ [ἐνε]βαλόμην
- 5 [ὶ]πὲρ γενήματος β' [ἰνδι]κτιώνας
- 6 [σί]του καθαροῦ ἀρτάβ[ας]
- 7 [ὁ]κτώ, (ὀμοῦ) (γίν.) σ(ίτου) (ἀρτάβαι) η, μόνας.
- 8 [Δ]ι' ἐμοῦ Παύλος Ὀλυμπίου

9 [σ]εσιμίωμαι. Ἐπειφ α
10 [ι]νδ(ικτίονος) βS''.

8 Παύλου 9 σεσημειώμαι

"Aurelius Paulos, son of Olympios, to Aurelius N.N., son of Daniel --- *politeuomenos*. I received (from you) and put on board (of a ship) from the crop of the 2nd indiction eight artabas of clean wheat, 8 art. in total only. Through me, I, Paulos son of Olympios, have signed. Epeiph 1 of the 2nd indiction."

The verb *ἐνεβαλόμην* in l. 4 suggests to us (cf. P.Vindob.Sijp. 1.8-9) that this text contains a receipt issued by a skipper concerning 8 artabas of clean wheat which he had put on board his ship for transportation to an unknown destination (Alexandria?). Probably the wheat had to be transported as a (partial) payment of taxes in kind. For such texts in general see A.J.M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer*, Chapt. I; for a similar text see CPR XVII.A 7 (= P.Vindob.Worp 8 Recto) and, with a slightly aberrant formula, P.Col. VIII 236.

1-3 Probably the opening of the receipt followed the usual 'A to B'- formula. In view of the amount of space available in l. 1 one might think about restoring the names of two senders, but the singular verbal form used in l. 4 makes it fairly certain that there was only one.

In l. 2, -φ (dat.), we find the ending of the addressee's personal name and we take it that Δανιήλ was the name of his father, while *πολιτευομεν()* in l. 3 should be taken with the addressee's name and resolved as *πολιτευομέν(φ)*. Before *πολιτευομεν()* l. 3 may have contained a further indication of the addressee's status (maybe another office?) or the name of the addressee's representative, hence one may also consider restoring at the start of l. 3 [διὰ N.N. πολιτευομέν(ου)]; finally, there is the possibility that line 3 was slightly indented and that one should read [πρ]οπολιτευομεν(); the traces of the first letter after the lacuna are too small to be certain about their character and under such circumstances all restorations remain 'exempli gratia'. It is unfortunate that the full name of the (προ)πολιτευόμενος is unknown, otherwise we might tell more about the provenance of the text and its date; for a recent list of known *πολιτευόμενοι* see K.A. Worp in ZPE 115 (1997) 201-220, with a few addenda in C&E 74 (1999) 124-132. *Πολιτευόμενοι* seem to occur only after ca. A.D. 365, while *προπολιτευόμενοι* occur mainly before this year.

9-10 A second indiction year within in the 4th century covered the years 313/4, 328/9, 343/4, 358/9, 373/4, 388/9; Epeiph 1 = 25.vii. Judging by palaeographical criteria we are probably in the later part of the 4th century.

8-9 The formula [Δ]ι' ἐμοῦ Παύλος Ὀλυμπίου [σ]εσιμίωμαι is remarkable. One would expect either [N.N.] δ]ι' ἐμοῦ Παύλου Ὀλυμπίου σεσημειώμαι, or simply Παῦλος Ὀλυμπίου σεσημειώμαι (i.e., without δι' ἐμοῦ).

(49) Order to Arrest

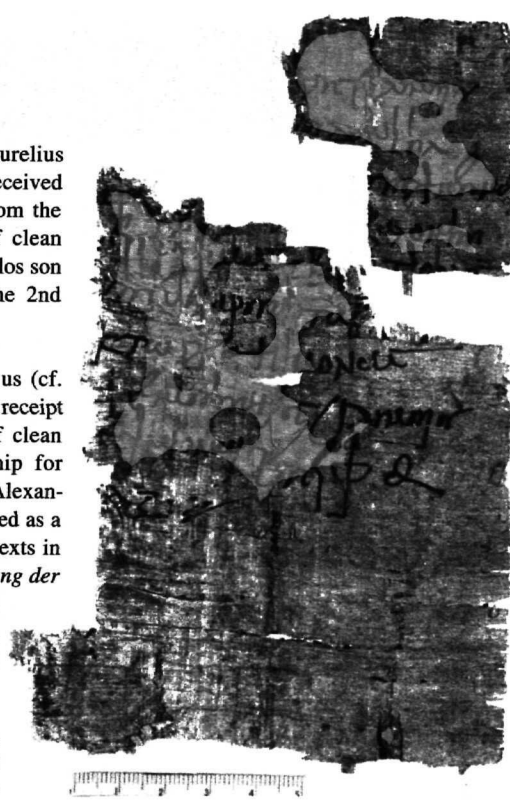
P.NYU Inv. # 367 (IX.8)

II/III?

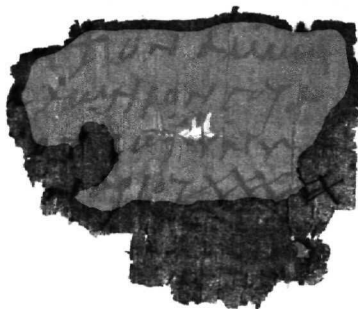
Oxyrhynchite nome?

Medium brown papyrus. H. 4 x W. 5 cm. The verso is blank.

- 1 [Ἄρχεφόδφ (village name): πέ]μψον Ἄμμωνι-
2 [Patronymic καὶ Ἄπο]λλώνιον Σαρα-



- 3 [πίωνος καὶ N.N.]ου μη(τρὸς) Tνε-
4 [φερ--τος, ἐντυχόντος N.N. 'Απολλι]ναρίου XXXXX.



“To the archephodos of ...; send up Ammoni-, son of N.N., and Apollonios, son of Sarapion, and N.N., son of N.N. and the mother Tnepher--, in accordance with the complaint of N.N., son/daughter of Apollinarios.”

The fragment was first published by W.H. Caughran in ZPE 46 (1982) 221-222 with pl. XIV a (= SB XVI 12967). It contains an ‘order to arrest’ addressed to the archephodos (?; title restored) of a village the name of which is lost; as the word ἐξαιτης (typical for Arsinoite orders of arrest) is missing (cf. U. Hagedorn in BASP 16 [1979] 67), its provenance may be the Oxyrhynchite nome. Such orders occur frequently in the papyrological documentation; see T.

Gagos & P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Towards an Explanation of the Typology of the So-Called ‘Orders to Arrest’* [BASP 33 (1996) 77-97] for an exhaustive bibliography on the subject and detailed analysis of such texts (all originating from the Nile Valley); in addition to this article, see the publication of several new orders from the Dakhleh Oasis by K.A. Worp, *Short texts from the Temple at Kellis*, in C.A. Hope - G.E. Bowen, *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary Reports on the 1994/1995 - 1998/1999 Field Seasons*, Oxford 2002, pp. 333ff., with additional new references.

- 1 The ed. princ. read 'Αμόη- but we cannot accept this, the more so as there are no other names in Αμοη-.
3-4 A search in the DDBDP for names in Tνε- yields the result that the name of the mother must be either Tνεφερῶς or Tνεφεροῖς.
4 The first editor restored 'Απολλω]ναρίου, but the nominative 'Απολλωνάριον is an exclusively female name, while the masculine name is spelled invariably 'Απολλινάριος (there is no masc. name 'Απολλωνάριος).

(50) Account

P.NYU Inv. # 9 R° (II.108 R°)

III/IVP

Hermopolite nome

Medium brown papyrus. H. 22 x W. 15.5 cm. The surface is badly rubbed and in places very dark. The writing runs parallel with the fibers. Between col. I and II there is an intercolumnium of ca. 2 cm.

Col. I

Cf. Tafel VII.

- 1 []τι. τι[] ἀ]ρότρων οἴ(νου) [κν](ἰδία) β·
2 []ολ() τοῖς (αὐτοῖς) ὑπ[έρ] θεραπεύσεω[ς] ἄλλου δέρματος
3 εἰς ζυγοδεσμίαν ἀμαξῶν ἦτοι οὐρε οἴ(νου) κν(ἰδία) β·
4 [το]ῖς (αὐτοῖς) ὑπέρ θερα[π]εύσεως μικρῶν δερμάτων
5 [ν] δοθέντων τοῖς βουκόλοις 'Απόλλωνι Τεσνεύ(τος)
6 [α]' Παροούτι ὑποβουκόλ(ω) α, 'Ἐρμίνω βουκόλ(ω) α, ὄμ(οῦ) οἴ(νου) κν(ἰδία) γ·
7 [το]ῖς (αὐτοῖς) σκυτεῦσι ὑπέρ θεραπεύσεως ἄλλων δ[ε]ρμάτων
8 μικρῶν πρὸς χρῆσιν σακκαγάντων ὄνηλατῶν
9 [.]έως τῶν δερμάτων κειμένων οἴ(νου) κν(ἰδία) δ·
10 λακῆματος δι(ὰ) Παήσιο[ς] καὶ []τος καμηλιτ[ῶ]ν
11 ἐν τῇ μεταφορῇ τοῦ οἴ[νο]υ τ[ῆ]ς "Ἀρέως οἴ(νου) κν(ἰδία) β·
12 ὀ[μ](οῦ) οἴ(νου) κν(ἰδία) κ

13	γίν(ονται) ι <i>Traces</i>	
14	ἀπό λόγ(ου) ἀχύρου ἀπό τιμ(ῆς) ἀχ(ύρου) οἴνο(υ) ὡς ἐν τῷ οἴν[ικ(ῶ)]	
15	ἀναλώματι δεδήλωτα[ι]	γομ() []'
16	[καί] ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ὁμοί(ως) ὡς ἐ[ν] τῷ ἀργ(υρικῶ) ἀναλώματι	
17	[δεδήλω]ται	
18	[.....] Λύτιος ὁμοί(ως) []''
19	[.....] τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) δι(ὰ) Σιλβανο[ῦ ..] []'
20	[	]η ἀλ[
21	[	]β Ἰακου[β
22	[	]απ.....[
23	[	] α δι(ὰ) Εὐτυ... [
24	[	] Εὐτυχ... [
25	[	Τεμσευ Σ]κορδ(ων) [
26	[].....[
27	[].....[

Col. II

28	ιβ[]
29	εισεν[]
30	παρ ὑ[μῶν]
31	(ᾧν) ἀπ[]
32	ἀπό λ[όγου]
33	ημ[]
34	μο[]
35	ατ[]
36	γε[]

3 Wolfe reads ζυγοδεσμων 8 σακκαγούντων 13 ἢ Pap. 16 ὁμοῖ Pap.

(Translation of ll. 1-17)

"... of plows	2 knidia of wine;
... to the same persons for the treatment of another skin for a yoke band (for) wagons or ...	2 knidia of wine;
to the same people for the treatment of [n] small skins given to the cowherds, i.e. to Apollon son of Tesneus, 1, to Parous junior cowherd, 1, to Herminos cowherd, 1, together	3 knidia of wine;
to the same shoemakers for the treatment of other small skins for the use of donkey drivers carrying sacks skins	4 knidia of wine;
... through Paësis and N.N., camel drivers, during the transport of wine of the (village of) Ares,	2 knidia of wine;
together 20 knidia of wine;	
total of 10;	
On account of chaff for the value of chaff, of wine as declared in the wine expense	[] loads;
and in money, likewise, as declared in the money expense	[]'

This papyrus was first edited by E. Wolfe in 1949 in her unpublished NYU dissertation as text # 9. The text is an account of wine owed to leather workers, mentioned by trade in line 7, σκυτεύς; cf. also the repeated use of the phrase "to the same persons" in ll. 2 and 4. In general, see on leather workers in the papyri P.Harrauer 54.8n. For the localized nature of leather working in general, see J.P. Sodini, *L'artisanat urbaine à l'époque paléochrétienne IVe-VIe S.*, Ktéma 4 (1979) 71-119, p. 89. The papyri from Egypt contain many references to makers of shoes, sandals, and boots; the DDBDP lists more than 80 attestations of the form σκυτε-, cf. the WL (referring to 9 volumes of papyri; notice the shoemakers account in CPR XV 52 [prov. unknown, IIP]). Saddlemakers (σαγματοράπτης) appear in P.Oxy. XVI 1883.3 (VIP); in the form σαγματορόφος they appear in P.Genova I 24 (IVP), P.Cair. Goodsp. 30 (IP), and P.Ross.Georg. V 61 (Herakleopolite nome?, IVP). We date this piece to the third or fourth century on the basis of palaeographical criteria.

- 1 Presumably this line concerned the making of straps and other fittings used with a plow.
- 2 The form of the symbol for (αὐτοῖς) in lines 2, 4 and 7 seem to be used specifically in the Hermopolite nome (for this origin of the papyrus, cf. also the notes to ll. 18 and 25).
- 3 ΟΥΡΕ is no doubt a Coptic word forming the equivalent of the preceding Greek phrasing ζυγοδεμίαν ἀμαζῶν. Our colleague S. Torallas Tovar (Madrid) kindly refers us to W.E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 488, s.v. ΟΥΡ (where Crum refers to line 113 in the famous Greek-Coptic glossary published by H.I. Bell and W.E. Crum in *Aegyptus* 6 [1925] 179ff.; the same text is now available in MPER NS XVIII 256) and *ibidem*, 424 ΤΟΥΡΕ, where it is found in relationship with the Manichaean 'archons of the ζώνη. She also drew our attention to P.Fay. 115.15,18, where a word of unknown meaning spelled as ωειρι and ουρι is found. As the editors of this papyrus noted, the word in question probably means much the same as the term ζυγόμεσμος [] in P.Fayum 121.3 and we are confident that the same Coptic word as in our papyrus is meant.
- 5 In a name with a Te- prefix, such as Tesneus, we would expect a female (e.g., *M.Chr.* 172.i.2, 8, 17 and ii.20, 36 (Hermop., 256)).
- 6 The term ὑποβούκολος occurs also in P.Lips. I 97.vi.7, xiv.25 and xv.6 (Hermonthis, 338).
- 8 The reading -ακκαγω- is secure. We take σακκαγόντων = σακκηγούντων, cf. P.Mil.Vogl. II 57.2,6,8,18; IV 216.4; VII 301.16,17 and SB VI 9410 (7) 52,60,135,137, where ὄνοι σακκηγούντες are mentioned. We guess that the verb σακκηγέω can be used also with ὄνηλάται (= donkey drivers).
- 9 There is insufficient space in the lacuna at the beginning of the line and at the end of the previous line for restoring θεραπεύσεως over these two lines. Further, as there are no knidia of wine at the end of the previous line, we feel that ll. 7 - 9 should be treated as one single entry. We do not know, however, whether to accept ἕως or to restore [τ]έως; the precise interpretation of the entry is not clear to us.
- 10 The word λακῆματος is not common in the papyri and its meaning is dubious; in SB I 4425.xi.24 (II) it appears in an entry ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ σὺν λακῆμασι λέπτια 1, while in BGU I 34.ii.3, 16 (also from Hermop., IV) it seems used more or less similarly as here, referring there to a number of knidia of wine owed to camel drivers. Is some form of additional payment or gratuity meant in these texts (cf., however, LSJ Rev.Suppl.s.v.: 'lot')? In P.Ryl. IV 706.verso.1 one finds λακῆματος ὄσπρέων, in SB V 8063.4 λακῆματος εὐδῶδην Ῥόδι(α), *ibidem* in l. 6 λακῆματος Ῥόδι(τον), while the term also occurs in a not very informative context in O.Bodl. II 2047.4 (an account of wine given to a cornicularius?). For camel drivers in the papyri see H. Harrauer in CPR XIII pp. 106-109.
- 11 For the Hermopolitan village of Ares mentioned in this line (we owe the reading to D. Hagedorn) cf. now A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario Geografico, Supplemento* 3, p. 20 s.n., # 2.
- 12 As in the preceding lines a total of (2 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 2 =) 13 *knidia* is listed, there are 7 such *knidion*-jars (for this jar, cf. N. Kruit - K.A. Worp in *Archiv* 46 [2000] 80-82, 104-110) missing in the part of the text not preserved.
- 13 After γίν(οντα) the ink is very much faded.
- 14 We might suggest ὄμοι(ως) for οἶνο(υ), but the reading remains doubtful. This entry seems to suggest that chaff is converted into wine and that loads/cargos of the latter commodity brought into account. For parallels for such a conversion, cf. P.Kellis IV, pp. 61-62. It is, however, not normal to connect the term γόμος with wine, whereas the combination ἀχόρου γόμος is found often enough.
- 16 ὄμοι(ως) may be taken to refer back to ἀπὸ τιμῆς οἴνου in l. 14.
- 18 The personal name Lytis is hardly attested outside of the Hermopolite nome, see the attestations contained in the DDBDP.
- 25 The village of Temseu Skordon was situated in the Patemites Ano toparchy of the Hermopolite nome; for literature, cf. A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario Geografico, Supplemento* 3, p. 148.

(51) Account

P.NYU Inv. # 9 V° (II.108 V°)

III/IVP

Hermopolite Nome

For the dimensions of the papyrus see 50. At the bottom of col. I at this side there is a margin of 3.5 cm, while there is a left margin of 2 cm. The surface of this side is abraded and some areas are very dark. Between cols. I and II there is an intercolumnium of ca. 2.3 cm. The writing is upside down with respect to the recto.

Col. I

Cf. Tafel VIII.

1	[-----]ιδιανεπει[]
2	[-----]ατος
3	[-----]ης Τερτονεπᾶ []
4	[-----]βω
5	[-----]ιασι ἐκ (ταλ.) ς[]
6	[-----]θίου πρὸς ... []
7	[-----]ποσελλα υτι[]
8	[...] γνιτεριον ιερεϊ[...] ν []
9	[...] ἐκ (ταλάντων) βφ
10	[...] λήματι(ος) ἀρ(γυρίου) (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) κη ς [ἀρ(γυρίου)] (ταλ.) (μυρ.) ια β
11	ἀναλώματος ὁμοίως οὕτως·
12	Ἐλλῶτι σχυνοπλόκω [] ἀρ(γυρίου) (ταλ.) (μυρ.) α ςφ
13	Ἀπολλωνίω οριγο[-]η μ σουα ...
14	τοῖς οἰκοδόμοις ἀρ(γυρίου) (ταλ.) [...] [(μυρ.)] β
15	Ἐλλῶτι σχυ[ν]οπλό[κ]ω (ταλ.) (μυρ.) δφ
16	Ταυρί[ν]ω σι οπ (ταλ.) (μυρ.) δφ
17	Φο[ι]βαδῖω σχυνο[π]λόκω [(ταλ.)] (μυρ.) ς
18	Ταυρίνω ὁμοίως [...]
19	κε Ἀτρῆ() σχοινο(πλόκω) ὑπ(ἐρ) τιμ(ῆς) ν[...] (ταλ.) [(μυρ.)] ς
20	Ἄθῦρ κη τιμ(ῆς) ν ορεοχρία (ταλ.) (μυρ.) β
21	Ἄθῦρ λ τιμ(ῆς) [...] μέων (ταλ.) [(μυρ.)] θ
22	Χοιάκ α τῆ οἰκοδεσποίνῃ (ταλ.) (μυρ.) β
23	(γίν.) ὁμοῦ ἀναλ(ώματος) ἀρ(γυρίου) (ταλ.) (μυρ.) κ θυ
24	λοι(παῖ) γί(ν.) ὁμοῦ ἀρ(γυρίου) (ταλ.) (μυρ.) ς ζψ

Col. II

25	λόγος ... []	account --- []
26	π(αρά) τοῦ σαρ ... []	from the sar- []
27	π(αρά) Βασιλει ... []	from Basilis []
28	καιμαλ ... []	
29	π(αρά) Λατοῦτος []	from Latous
30	Ὅμ(οῦ) η ... ου[]	Together
31	ἀν[α]λώματος []	of / for expenses
32	Βασιλεῖτι ἰδ[ι] () ὑπ(ἐρ)	To Basilis, private --, for []
33	τιμ(ῆς) σαγμαίων	For the price of pack-saddles [--]
34	Ταῆσι ἰδι() ὑπ(ἐρ)	To Taësis, private --, for []
35	τιμ(ῆς) ἐλαιίου[]	for the price of oil []
36	τιμ(ῆς) ἀθή[ρας]	for the price of porridge []

37	τιμ(ῆς) [	] for the price of [
38	τιμ(ῆς) καρπ[οῦ	] for the price of fruit [
39	τιμ(ῆς) τραγ[ήματος	] for the price of snacks [
40	[τ]ιμ(ῆς) ὑγροπ[ίσεως	] for the price of fluid pitch
41	τιμ(ῆς) ἀγγίου[	] for the price of a vessel [
42	τιμ(ῆς) πινακ(ίων) σὺν [	] for the price of wooden boards with [
43	ναύλ(ου) τούτων [	] for transportation cost of these items[
44	τιμ(ῆς) κύθρων[	] for the price of citrons
45	Βασιλεῖτι ἰδι() ὑπ(ἐρ) τι[μ(ῆς)?	] To Basilis, private --, for the price (?) of
46	Χοιᾶκ ζ' τιμ(ῆς) κε.[	] Choiak 7, for the price of ---[
47	ζ' τιμ(ῆς) ὄψους [	] on the 7th, for the price of food [
48	ζ' τιμ(ῆς) πιπεραίω[ς	] on the 7th, for the price of pepper [
49	ζ' τῆ οἰκοδεσπ[οίνῃ	] on the 7th, to the lady of the house [
50	τιμ(ῆς) ἐλαίου π.[	] for the price of oil -- [
51	τιμ(ῆς) στύ[ρακος	] for the price of storax[
52	τιμ(ῆς) ἐλαί[ου	] for the price of oil [

10 λήμματος 12,15 (and 17?) σχοινοπλόκω 32, 34, 45: ὑπ(ἐρ) Pap. 32,45 Βασιλίδι 48 πιπέρεως

This papyrus was first included by E. Wolfe in her unpublished dissertation, text # 10. For the trade of σχοιν(ι)οπλόκοι (see ll. 12, 15, 17-19; we cannot persuade ourselves that the same trade is to be read also with the personal in names in ll. 13 and 16) cf. the following texts: BGU I 118.ii.9 (189P); P.Berl.Bork. 17.8,12,16 (ca. 300P); P.Cair.Goodsp. 30f.ii.1 (191/2P); P.Harr. I 97v.8 (IVP), P.Laur. II 37.1 (III P), P.Lond. III 1177², col viii.170 (113P); P.Oxy. VI 934.4 (III P); P.Prag. I 14.19 (III P); P.Princ. III 180.5 (VIP); PSI XII 1233.16-17 (323/4P); P.Wisc. I 29v.14 (III/IV P; cf. ZPE 142 [2003] 146) and SPP XX 85.i.22 (320/321P?). The data from the papyri for the production of rope etc. are discussed in P.Lond. III 1177², pp. 189-201.

- 3 For the toponym Tertonepa see M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite*, 284; A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario Geografico, Supplemento* 3, p. 148.
- 19 Is this ('Αθῦρ) κε (cf. the next two lines), or should one interpret κέ = καὶ ?
- 27 Read Βασιλεῖτος (l. Βασιλίδος) ?
- 29 For the personal name Λατοῦς cf. P.Lond. V 1652.19, O.Douch II 64.5, 96.1, O.Waqfa 70.5 (all IV P).
- 36 For 'Αθήρα, cf. below at 52.7,24n.
- 41 For the term ἀγγεῖον, cf. N. Kruit - K.A. Worp, *Two Notes on Byzantine Containers*, MBAH 21 (2002) 45-52; cf. also K.A. Worp, *Ein Apion-Mass?*, ZPE 127 (1999) 162.
- 43 A reading πρ(ὸς) ναύλον is not possible.

(52) Private Account

P.NYU inv. # 31 R^o (XIVb.63)

Early IIP

Prov. unknown

Medium brown papyrus. H. 23 x W. 10 cm. The bottom margin is 3 to 4 cms wide, in which line 26 containing the total amount was written. Traces of a first column are preserved, but they seem hardly worthwhile transcribing. Between coll. I and II there is an intercolumnium of ca. 1-1.8 cm. Obviously, an originally larger piece of papyrus inscribed on the recto was cut afterwards to a size matching the intended lay-out of the text on the verso. We publish this text primarily due to the occurrence of many names which may be of Jewish origin. It is hard to imagine in a papyrus dating from the second century that a list of such names would refer to Christians, but it is also unwarranted to designate as Jewish a name solely on the basis of biblical affinities. For recent bibliography on Jewish names in antiquity see the works of T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity. Part I, Palestine 330 BCE - 200 CE* (2002), and R. Hachlili, "Hebrew Names, Personal Names, Family Names and Nicknames of Jews in the Second Temple Period" in J.W. van Henten and A. Brenner (edd.), *Families and Family Relations as represented in Judaism and Early Christianities: Texts and Fictions* (2000), pp. 83-115.

Col. II:

Cf. Tafel IX.

1	Τρ()		
2	Ἰακούβ(ου)	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	α χ(οίνικες) []
3	ἄλ(λου) [Τ]α[κ]ώ(βου)	σιγκ()	ϒ η
4	ἑτέρο(υ)	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	δ χ(οίν.) θ
5	Σαμβα()	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	α
6	Ἰωνᾶτ(ος)	χ(όρτου)	ια ^L χ(οίν.) ς
7	ἀθ() χ(οίν.) ζ, ἄλ(λαι) β χ(οίν.) ς, (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) β ϒ χ(οίν.) γ		
8	Ἰσάκιος	σιγκ()	α ^L
9	Ἰωσήπ(ιος)	σιγκ()	γ ϒ χ(οίν.) η
10		ἡ α(ύτῃ) κώ(μη)	δ ϒ
11		χ(όρτου)	ια d
12		ἡ α(ύτῃ) κώ(μη) []	ϒ χ(οίν.) δ
13	Βοκχ(ώριος)	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	β d
14	Ἐκωνο() Δημοκ() Ἰωσήπ(ιος)	χ(όρτου)	α ἡ
15	Ἰωσήπ(ιος)	σιγκ()	α d χ(οίν.) α
16	Τρ()	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	δ d χ(οίν.) γ
17		σιγκ()	α ^L χ(οίν.) ζ
18	Πτολ(λᾶτος) υ(ιοῦ) Ἰακ[ώβ(ου)]	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	α ^L
19	Πτολ(λᾶτος)	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	ε ^L χ(οίν.) ς
20	Πτολ(λᾶτος)	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	β χ(οίν.) δ
21	Πτολ(λᾶτος)	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	γ d χ(οίν.) ς
22	Βοκχ(ώριος)	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	α χ(οίν.) ζ
23	Δωσᾶτ(ος)	πω()	ζ ^L χ(οίν.) ζ
24	I [...]	ἀθ()	ς
25	Κλα() πω ...	ἡ α(ύτῃ)	δ ^L
26	(γίνονται) (πυροῦ) [ἀρτ.] δ ^L χ(οίν.)		

14. A reading Ἐκωνος and a reading Εβωνος seem both possible. 18 Or read ὑ(πέρ) instead of υ(ιοῦ)? 24. A reading Ἰω[σῆ]π(ος) seems possible. 25. A reading Πωλλᾶ for πω ... seems possible.

L. Casson edited this papyrus in his unpublished dissertation as texts ## 2, 3 (verso of 2). There he transcribed in ll. 2, 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 16, 18-22, and 25 (πυροῦ) ἀρτ.) instead of ἡ α(ύτῃ), and in ll. 3, 8, 9, 15, 17 σι(λί)γν(ου) instead of σιγκ(), but we do not accept these readings. In the case of the latter word it should be noticed that an internal abbreviation is abnormal for the period under review and, moreover, that the letters actually look like σιγκ(). Is there a connection with, e.g., the village Sinkere in the Hermopolite nome or Sinkepha in the Oxyrhynchite nome (but there are also other village names in Σιγκ- / Σινκ-)?

In general, the precise interpretation of this text raises questions. We take the Greek χ() followed by a numeral as standing for 'χ(οίνικες) n'; if that is correct, the numerals preceding these *choinikes* (= a subdivision of the artaba) could be related to artabs of wheat; at the same time it should be noticed that uneven amounts of choinikes are not very regular, and it should be stressed that the addition apparently found in line 7 (0.5 [artab], 7 *choinikes* + 2 [artabs], 6 choin. = 2.75 artabs, 3 choin.) is correct only when using the standard artaba of 40 *choinikes*. It is problematic that the artabs are hardly identified in terms of wheat or barley or whatever. Furthermore, one cannot be certain, either, whether a resolution χ(όρτου) in ll. 6, 11 and 14 is inescapable and we have no firm idea what meaning πω() in l. 23 is supposed to convey. In sum, the purpose of this list is enigmatic. We date this piece to the early second century on the basis of palaeographical criteria.

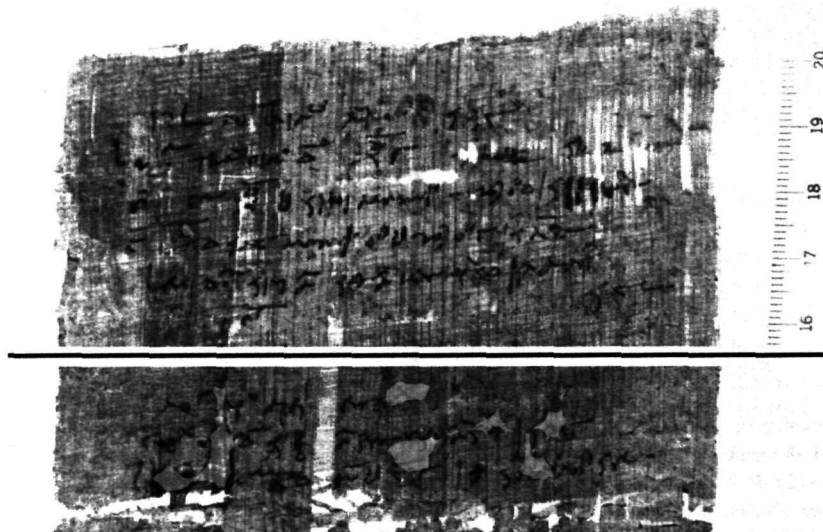
- 7, 24 Perhaps one might resolve ἀθ(ήρας) = 'wheat porridge', or a diminutive form like ἀθ(ηρίου)? For this product see, e.g., H.J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians. Vorarbeiten zu einer Wirtschaftsgeschichte des römischen Ägypten*, I (St. Katharinen 1991) 27, and F. Perpillou in *Aegyptus* 72 (1992) 103-110.

(53) Private Account

P.NYU inv. # 31 V° (XIVb.63)

Early IP
Oxyrhynchite?

For a description of the papyrus cf. 52. The text on this side has been written across the fibers. Between ll. 6 and 7 there is an empty space of 12 cm. Parts of ll. 8 and 9 are blotted at the start.



- 1 ιζ (ἔτους)· λόγ(ος) ψιλῶ(ν) λη(μιάτων) (δραχμαὶ) [ϙ]ος,
 2 (ῶν) ἀνηλ(ώθησαν) τιμη(ς) οἴνο(υ) δ̄ (τετρα)χ(όων) γ (δραχμαὶ) κζ (δραχμαὶ) κζ·
 3 ε̄ ὀμ(οίως) (τετρα)χ(όων) β (δρ.) ιη, μεταφο(ρᾶς) (ὀβ.), τοπ() (ὀβ.) δ, (γίν.) (δραχμαὶ) ιη
 ὀβ(ολ.) ε·
 4 ζ̄ (τετρά)χ(οες) δ (δρ.) λς, μεταφο(ρᾶς) (ὀβ.) β, τοπ() (ὀβ.)ς, (γίν.) (δραχμαὶ) λζ ὀβ(ολός)·
 5 (ῶν) ἐπὶ δόμ() (δρ.) ιη, ἀλ(λων) (δρ.) θ, ἀλ(λων) Κάστορ(ι) (δρ.) δ, (γίν.) (δρ.) λα, λοιπ(αὶ)
 6 ε̄ ε̄ ρ̄ ετ() (δρ.)ς (ὀβολός).
 7 λόγ(ος) πρὸς) Ἀρει[] εἰσοδοχ(ῆς)·
 8 ἔσχ(ον) ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) δ̄ (δρ.) ξ [], ἀλ(λας) ῥεμου (δρ.) η, ἀλ(λας) (δρ.) η, (γίν.) (δρ.) ος,
 9 (ῶν) ἔδοκ(α) κ(α)μ(ηλίτη?) [ς] δ̄ δ [], ε̄ β, ζ̄ γ, (γίν.) θ, (δρ.) πα, λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ε.

1. Or read Φίλω(νος)? 3 both characters in 2nd ιη ex corr. 8 ξ ex corr.

"Year 17. List of net (?) revenues (or: 'list of Philon, of revenues'): dr. 76 (ex 96); of which were expended for the price of wine on the 4th for 3 4-chous jars 27 drachmas; likewise, on the 5th for 2 4-chous jars 18 dr., for the conveyance 1 ob., for τοπ() 4 ob., makes 18 dr., 5 ob. On the 6th, for 4 4-chous jars 36 dr., for their conveyance 2 ob., for τοπ() 6 ob., makes 37 dr., 1 ob., of which for --- 18 dr., for other expenditures 9 dr., for other expenditures for/to Kastor 4 dr., makes 31 dr., leaves (?) 6 dr., 1 ob.

Account for Areios (?) of revenue: I received on the 4th 60 dr., 8 other --- dr., again 8 dr., makes 76 dr. And of these I gave to the cameldriver (?) on the 4th for 4, on the 5th for 2, on the 6th for 3 (4-chous jars), makes 9 (4-chous jars) 81 dr.; balance 5 dr."

The text on the verso of 52 contains an account of prices paid for amounts of wine measured in 4-chous jars (on these mostly Oxyrhynchite jars, cf. N. Kruit - K.A. Worp in *Archiv* 45 [1999] 96-127, esp. 106). Evidently, ll. 2-6 contain recordings of expenditures made on the 4, the 5th and the 6th day of an unspecified month (less likely expenditures are recorded for a 4th, 5th and 6th year). There is a fixed relationship between payments for transport, μεταφο(ρῶς), and the number of 4-chous jars, but the amount paid for 'storage' (= τοπ(), cf. ll. 3, 4), does not work the same way.

Furthermore, there is a correspondence between the first and the second account on this side of the text. It should be noticed that ll. 2-6 refer to $(3 + 2 + 4 =) 9$ four-chous jars delivered on successive days, while ll. 8 - 9 refer to $(4 + 2 + 3 =) 9$ similar jars delivered on the same days. In ll. 2-4 a 4-chous jar of wine evidently cost 9 dr. Obviously, from the calculation in l. 4 we are dealing with a seven-obol drachma.

The calculations in ll. 2-6 are:

l. 1:	76 dr.	
l. 2:	27 dr.	-
l. 3:	18 dr., 5 ob.	-
l. 4:	- 37 dr., 1 ob.	(= 36 dr. 8 ob.)
l. 5:	- 31 dr.	(= 18 + 9 + 4 dr.)
l. 6:	6 dr., 1 ob.	

A calculation of 76 dr. $-(27 \text{ dr.} + 18 \text{ dr. } 5 \text{ ob.} + 37 \text{ dr. } 1 \text{ ob.}) = 82 \text{ dr. } 6 \text{ ob.}$ would produce a negative amount of $- 6 \text{ dr. } 6 \text{ ob.}$, which we do not find elsewhere in the account. Alternatively, a calculation of 76 dr. $-(27 \text{ dr.} + 18 \text{ dr. } 5 \text{ ob.} + 6 \text{ dr. } 1 \text{ ob.}) = 51 \text{ dr. } 6 \text{ ob.}$ produces an amount of 24 dr. 1 ob. which is not retrievable either.

The calculations in ll. 8 and 9 are:

l. 8:	$60 + 8 + 8 \text{ dr.} =$	76 dr.
l. 9:	$4 + 2 + 3 = 9$ (4-chous jars) x 9 dr. each =	81 dr.

Hence, the difference between the amounts of drachmae in these lines was $81 - 76 = 5 \text{ dr.}$ (l. 9).

In l. 3 the amount for μεταφο(ρῶς) may appear to have been indicated as '1.5 ob.', but if that reading were correct, the total would have been different in this line.

1 A year 17 in the first half of the 2nd century of our era corresponds with year 113/14, 132/133 or 153/154.

We find it difficult to decide whether the word after λόγ(ος) starts with a φ or with a ψ. The many possibly Jewish names in the account on the other side of this papyrus (cf. 52) might be taken to support a reading Φύλω(νος), but it is also true that not every Philo is necessarily a person of Jewish origin. On the other hand, it must be admitted that a Greek accounting expression ἀήμματα ψιλὰ = 'net revenue' is apparently not (yet) known.

3,4 We do not know with certainty how to expand the abbreviation τοπ(). Evidently, it indicates here some form of payment for 'storage', and possibly a word like τοκοθεσία is meant.

8 We do not know what to think of ῥεμ(ον); alternatively, one might consider a reading ῥυτρον, but we do not think that would solve the problem.

9. Our resolution of the abbreviation κ()μ() is a counsel of despair (for cameldrivers cf. above at 50.10n.). All we can tell for certain is that the word seems to feature an internal abbreviation; one may also think about resolving a personal name as the recipient of some 4-chous jars.