

STUDIA AMSTELODAMENSIA  
AD EPIGRAPHICAM,  
IUS ANTIQUUM ET  
PAPYROLOGICAM PERTINENTIA

Moderantibus

J.A. ANKUM  
H.W. PLEKET et  
P.J. SIJPESTEIJN

IX

Roger S. Bagnall, P.J. Sijpesteijn, K.A. Worp  
OSTRAKA IN AMSTERDAM COLLECTIONS

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**Ostraka**  
**in**  
**Amsterdam**  
**Collections**  
(O. Amst.)

Roger S. Bagnall, P.J. Sijpesteijn, K.A. Worp

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## PREFACE

The ostraka published in this volume were all purchased at Luxor within the last decade. They belong to three collections: (1) The University of Amsterdam, which owns most of those published here, and the entirety of whose collection is published; (2) the private collection of R. Demarée; and (3) a few pieces in the private collection of K.A. Worp. Those belonging to the University are given inventory numbers without prefix; the others are given numbers prefixed with D. and W., respectively. There is no stated provenance for any of the ostraka, but some can be determined from internal evidence to come from the Theban region, while none gives indication of a source elsewhere.

We would like to thank Jean Bingen, who read the manuscript of a portion of this work in an earlier form and offered some helpful suggestions, and John C. Shelton, who read the final draft of the book and improved it at many points, particularly 6 and 53.

March, 1976

#### EDITORIAL METHODS

The editorial practice used in this volume is, in the main, that of the Leiden convention followed in most editions of papyrus and ostrakon texts, with ( ) indicating the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol, [ ] a lacuna, [[ ]] a deletion in the original, < > an omission in the original, { } superfluous letters, ... the number of letters not read, and [...] the number of letters not restored in a lacuna. We have resolved abbreviations and symbols except for numerals and signs for denominations of coinage. The apparatus and notes provide standard spellings for words which are written according to contemporary pronunciation, except in cases where there is no likelihood of confusion (as in simple cases of iotacism) and in proper names.

Papyrological references follow the abbreviations listed in *BASP* 11 (1974) 1-35; texts in the present volume are cited by italicized numbers. All dates are A.D. if no other indication is given; a and p are used with Roman numerals to represent centuries before and of the present era.

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SUB-LITERARY TEXT

1. School Exercise

Inv. 50

4 x 6.5 cm.

This text shows part of a typical exercise, in which the student wrote all of the permutations of initial consonants with a following vowel (cf. H.I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* [Paris 1965] 231). While only a small piece is missing at the left side and bottom, the ostrakon was probably much larger at the right side, but we cannot tell at what consonant the exercise continued onto another sherd or was stopped. A number of parallel examples are attested; see O. Guéraud, *Un livre d'écolier* (Publ.Soc.Fouad II), pp. 1-2 and plate I (lines 1-8); O.ROM I 65, introd.; G. Zlateo, "Papiri scolastici," *Aegyptus* 41 (1961) 160-235.

[β]α γα [δα]

βε γε [δε]

[β]η γη [δη]

4 [β]ι γι [δι]

[β]ο γο [δο]

[β]υ γυ [δυ]

- - - -

PTOLEMAIC TEXTS

2. Receipt for *Ennomion*

Inv. 2

6.4 x 4.8 cm.

II/Ia

Published: *Cd'E* 45 (1970) 325-7. = SB.12.10212

This text appears to preserve a receipt form prepared in advance but never completed for use. The first line, of which now only traces are visible, probably contained the

year, month, and day; the surviving lines give us the name of the collector and his tax. Presumably the payer's name and amount would have been added when the receipt was issued. A fuller discussion of this point is given in the first publication.

## Traces

Ἄσκληπιάδης ὁ ἔξει-

ληῶς τὸ ἐννόμιον

4 τοῦ περὶ Θῆ(βας) εἰς τὸ ζ (ἔτος).

Asklepiades, contractor for the *ennomion* for the (nome of the) Theban region for the 7th year.

2. The ἔξειληφότες of various taxes commonly use the letter form in their receipts, cf. Wilcken, *WO I*, pp. 61 ff. Asklepiades the contractor is not previously attested. For the form in which he describes his office, cf. e.g. *P.Ryl.* IV 575, *SB VI* 9552, 9623, *O.Edf.* 365.

3. For ἐννόμιον see the note in the first publication and cf. the views expressed in the introductions to *O.ROM* II 74 and 284.

4. The ostrakon is damaged where the reading is dotted. There is no precise parallel for the citation of the place name after the name of this tax in the title of a collector; there is a partial parallel in the giving of this place name after this tax in *WO* 1510.

## 3. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. D.12

7.9 x 5.5 cm.

13 March 139 B.C.

(ἔτος) λα μεχείρ κα τέ(τακται) ἐπὶ

[τὴν] ἐν Διῶς πό(λει) τῆι με(γάληι) τρά(πεζαν) ἐφ'

ῆς Ἡρακλείδ(ης)

[εἰς τὴν ἑκα]τοστὴν Πασικρά-

4 [της ± 9].αχῶνε...

[± 5 δισχιλί]ας, (γίνονται) 'B.

Year 31, Mecheir 21, Pasikrates ... paid to [the] bank in Diospolis Magna, over which Herakleides (is in charge), [to the] one percent (tax) ... (drachmas) two thousand, that is, 2000.

2. The banker Herakleides is known from years 30 to 41 of Ptolemy VIII; see *WO* 347-349, 1515 and *O.Bodl.* 68, 69, 79.

#### 4. Receipt for a Money Tax

Inv. D.9

10.8 x 8.5 cm.

IIa

(Ἔτους) ἰα Παχῶν τέτακται

[...]ρις Μανρέους

[.....].δ

4 [.....]λου τέλος.

1. The absence of an exact date is curious, and the formula (such as is preserved) does not appear to resemble those for monthly payments such as *O.Bodl.* 127.

2. It is uncertain if the ink at the end of this line represents something washed out, ink from below the line smeared up, or something else. For this genitive of the uncommon name Μανρέης, cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* I.2, par. 63, Anh. 6.

3. Possibly ]νδ as a date to year 54, in which case read in line 1 (ἔτους) α.

4. The order of words here does not support any notion that the tax paid is the τέ(λος) τόπου ψιλ(οῦ) of *P.Teb.* II 280.5-6 (126 B.C.), where a sales tax of 10 percent is in question. The evidence for the τέλος δούλου, which would be open to the same objection, comes from the Roman period, cf. Bagnall's references in the Youtie *Festschrift*.

#### 5. Receipt for Grain

Inv. 1

8 x 10 cm.

107 B.C.

Published: *Cd'E* 45 (1970) 325. (58 10911)

Ἔτους ι Παχῶν ε̄ με̄ (μέτρον) ι (ἔτους) Μεμ(νονείων)

Ψενμῖνις Πανοῦφις

πυροῦ ἡμι(σου) (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) ∟. Ἑρμῖα(ς).

Year 10, Pachon 5. Psenminis son of Panouphis has paid for the 10th year for the Memnoneia half (an artaba) of wheat, that is, 1/2 art. wh. Hermias.

1. Pachon 5 = 21 May.

3. The signer Hermias is also signer of *O.Bodl.* 206 (cf. *WO* 713 and 1500), which secures the dating of our ostrakon. Below this line there is a blank space of 6 cm.

#### 6. Receipt

Inv. 75

8.1 x 9.5 cm.

IIa

This is apparently a receipt for delivery of grain for two persons by someone else; too much is lost to allow translation, but the sense was approximately, "Delivered by NN son of Pemmos... 13 3/4 art. Demetrios son of NN, delivered by NN, 13 3/4 art."

[ - - - - ]...ε( )

[ - - - ὑπέ]ρ τοῦ κ (ἔτους) ἀς

[NN - - - ] Πεμμοῦς

4 [ - - - - ] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δέκα τρεῖς

[∟d - - - ] (γίνονται) ιγ ∟ d. Δημήτριος

[NN - - - ]ελ.διος ε..ε( ) ἀς Ἑ...α( )

[ - - - ] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ιγ ∟d (γίνονται)

(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιγ ∟d.

8

Demotic

## 7. Receipt

Inv. D.4

8.5 x 11.8 cm.

IIa

The main text of nine or more (the bottom is very dark and faded) lines stands on the convex side, but there are scattered bits of writing on the concave side as well.

Ἔτους κγ μεχλῖρ ις παρα-

δέδωκεν εἰς τὸ ἐν Διὸς π(όλει)

Σαραπίων Φ - ± 13 -

4 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν - ± 9 -

..... ὑπὲρ τοῦ κβ ἔτους (?)

εις - - - - -

Traces of three more lines

1-2. The verb παραδέδωκεν appears commonly in Ptolemaic receipts for chaff (e.g. *O. Bodl.* 230-241).

3. Σαραπίων: We are certainly dealing with a temple of Sarapis, since the festival of the Sarapeia is always (like other festivals) referred to in the plural (see for this festival F. Bilabel, "Die gräko-ägyptische Feste," *N. Heidelb. Jahrb.* 1929, 49). The *phi* which follows is probably the start of a person's name; perhaps Φμόις Ψενμώνθου.

TEXTS CONCERNING THE ROMAN ARMY AND  
POLICE ADMINISTRATION

There is no reason to believe that these fourteen texts, 8-21, constitute an archive, properly speaking, but they have many interconnections, the chief of which is a concern with *stationes* and guard duty. One of the principal tasks of the Roman army in the countryside of Egypt was providing police protection to the country. The best exposition of this system remains that of J. Lesquier, *Recherches sur l'armée romaine en Egypte* (Cairo 1918) 235-7.

Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 413-4, is also helpful; the discussion which follows is based on these, on other works to be cited, and on Bagnall's work to be published in volume 3 of *Illinois Classical Studies*, where these topics will be treated in more detail.

Security was provided by a network of *stationes*, military police posts located with a density varying according to geography and demography. In charge would be an officer (centurions, decurions, *principales*, *optiones*, and *beneficiarii* are all attested), often called the *stationarius*, with a small detachment of soldiers under him. The references for these officers and their posts which have accumulated since Lesquier wrote have been collected by R. Rémondon, *Cd'E* 27 (1952) 197 and S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 37 (1957) 101-2.

Various assignments of men to posts appear in 8-15. In 8 we are dealing with lists of posts and the men placed in them on different days. Fragment *a-b*, as far as we can reconstruct it, gave a list of men assigned to *stationes*, or of *stationarii* (other lists use both words) for the 20th, 21st and 22nd days of an unknown month, at Hebeion, Ision, and Palaia Kome; the names of the men are almost entirely lost. We cannot observe, in consequence, the principle of rotation used, nor the status of the personnel.

Fragment *d* appears to be concerned with the same three *stationes*, as appears in Column II, where the shift for Phamenoth 6 for the same 3 places is given; this time two names are given, Petosiris and Apolinarius. It is not clear whether what precedes these entries in this column pertains to the same column or to Column I, where a distinction between  $\delta\nu\omega$  and  $\kappa\delta\tau\omega$  at the Ision is made in the listing for Phamenoth 1. Among the watchmen are Aelius Strictor, Pate-nephotes and Maximus son of Arianus.

Fragment *e* appears to contain two different items. In Column I a list is given by date (16th-21st) of *stationes*. Most of the names are lost, but the *stationes* are numbered 1-4, first in transliterated Latin ordinals, then with Roman numerals I-IV. A similar list is preserved in 9, where four numbered stations again appear (the text is otherwise too damaged to allow an assessment of a possible connection). Column II, on the other hand, is a list of *vectigaliones* from the 1st to 15th. There are two posts,  $\delta\nu\omega$  and  $\kappa\delta\tau\omega$ , and two pairs of *vectigaliones*. The pairs alternate and within each pair the men alternate posts (thus producing an ab, cd, ba, dc pattern, repeated four times in the preserved text). Column III has two of the same guards on Phamenoth 30, but it is not clear what they are doing.

A partial parallel to the list of *vectigaliones* comes in 13, where there is again an upper/lower distinction, without any observable repetition of personnel. Column I of 15 may have been analogous, but it is now mostly lost.

In 12 we have a list of *stationarii* for Tybi 1-3. For the first two days we have 3 men each, the same on both days but listed in a different order each time; on the third day the roster seems to have changed.

In 10 a different term is used, *skopelarioi*, and we have a list of eight of them, certainly Egyptians. They are not the same as *stationarii*, even though the latter may well have had dealings with watchtowers. The question of *skopelarioi* is discussed in greater detail in Bagnall's publication of the Florida ostraka (*The Florida Ostraka* [Greek Roman and Byzantine Monograph 7: Durham, N.C. 1976]), where it is concluded that the men were civilians, not members of the army. For the *stationarii*, however, we must assume a military status, since they are always military in other texts. The interrelation of these military and civilian guards is discussed by Bagnall in the article cited on page 6.

The letters, 16-19, are imperfectly preserved and miscellaneous in character, but they all show a connection of some sort with the military, and they may have come from the same milieu as the lists. Three have in common that they come from the cavalry (16, with an *eques* of the turma of Herennius; 17 with an *eques* and a horse; and 18 with a remarkable horse formula). The centurion of 19, however, cannot belong to the same units; he can, of course, be a part of a larger one if this is a *cohors equitata* of auxiliaries.

## 8. Official Records

Inv. 90

IIP

We are reasonably confident that Fragments *a-b*, *d* and *e* all form part of the same pot, although they cannot now be joined. Fragment *c*, which is similar in hand and fabric, is small enough that its association is somewhat dubious, as the contents are not evident.

Fragment a-b

20 x 15.5 cm.

(There is some writing which we cannot read in the left margin, at right angle to the text.)

στα...[

*vacat* [.....] traces

σκοπέλ[ου .. 'ΗΒ]είου Πετ.[

4 σκοπέλ[ου 'Ησί]ου 'Αρειανό[ς

σκοπέλ[ου Πα]λεᾶς Κόμης

ἀλλα[γή]  $\bar{\alpha}$

σκοπέλου ἠβείου

8 σκοπέλου ἠσί[ου]

σκοπέλου Π[αλεᾶς Κόμης]

ἀλλα[γή]  $\bar{\kappa}\beta$

σκοπέ[λου]

12 σκοπ[έλου]

σκο[πέλου]

Fragment c

9.5 x 4 cm.

Traces

*vacat*

16 ]πολεπ[

*vacat*

]γοφεισ[

]οσιρεισ[

20 ].εψασ[

Fragment d

19 x 14.5 cm.

Column I

[ - - Φα]μενώτ  $\bar{\alpha}$

[ - - ] Είσιου κάτω

[ - - ]. Παλαιᾶς Κόμης

24 [ - - ]ου ἄνω

- - - - -

## Column II

Αἴλις Στρεΐκτωρ

Πατενεφώτης

Μάξιμος Ἀριανοῦ

28 ἀλλαγή σκοπέλων Φαμενώτ  $\overline{\zeta}$

Πετοσῖρεις σκοπέλου Ἡβείου

Ἀπολεινάριος σκοπέλου Εἰσίου

..[..... σκοπέ]λου Παλεᾶς Κ[ώμης]

Fragment e

42 x 32 cm.

## Column I

32 [σ]τατίωνες  $\overline{\iota\zeta}$

[Πετοσῖ]ρεις πρίμα

[Ἀπώ]νεις σεκόνδα

[Αἴλε]ις τερτία

36 [....]ωφεις κόρτα

(2nd hand)

$\overline{\iota\zeta}$

[Ἀπ]ώνεις πρίμα

[ - - ] σεκούντα

40 [ - - ]ς τερτία

[Πετ]οσῖρεις κόρτα

$\overline{\iota\eta}$

[ - - ]ς Η

44 [Πετ]οσῖρεις Η

	[ 'Από ] γεις	III
	[ - - ]ς	VI
	$\overline{\iota\theta}$	
48	[Π]ετοστ̄ρεις	I
	[ 'Α ] πώνεις	II
	[Α] ἴλεις	III
	[ - - ] . λεις	VI
52	$\overline{\kappa}$	
	'Απώνεις	I
	Αἴλεις	II
	[..]αλεις	III
56	[Πε]τοστ̄ρεις	VI
	$\overline{\kappa\alpha}$	
	[ - - ] χος	I
	[ - - ]	II
60	[ - - ] . τη .	III

## Column II

(3rd hand)

	$\overline{\alpha}$	οὐεγτιγαλίωνες	
	$\overline{\alpha}$	Μονατιονές	ἄνω
64		Εἰσίδωρος	κάτω
	$\overline{\beta}$	Δράκων	ἄνω
		[Κ]λή[μ]ης	κάτω
	γ	[Μουνατιαν]έξ	κάτω
68		[Εἰσίδωρος]	ἄνω

	δ	Δ[ράκων]	[κά]τω
		Κλ[ήμης]	[ἄνω]
	ε̄	Μ[ουνατιανός]	[ἄνω]
72		Ίσ[ίδωρος]	[κάτω]
	ς̄	Δράκων	ἄνω
		[Κ]λήμης	κάτο
	[ζ̄]	Μουνατιανός	κάτο
76		Ίσίδωρος	ἄνο
	η̄	Δράκων	κάτο
		Κλήμης	ἄνο
	θ̄	Μουνατιανός	ἄνο
80		Ίσίδωρος	κάτο
	ῑ	Δράκων	ἄνο
		Κλήμης	κάτο
	ιᾱ	Μονατι[ανός]	κάτο
84		Ίσίδωρος	ἄνο
	ιβ	Δράκων	κάτο
		Κλήμης	ἄνο
	ιγ	Μουνατιανός	ἄνο
88		Ίσίδωρος	κάτο
	ιδ	Δράκων	ἄνο
		Κλήμης	κάτο
	ιε	Μουνατιανός	κ[άτω]
92		Ίσίδωρος	[ἄνω]

- - - - -

## Column III

(4th hand)

Φαμενώτ λ̄ [

α..πιστου.[

Μονατιαγ[ές

96 καὶ Εισίδωρ[ος

1. Perhaps στατώνες or στατιωνάριοι, but the remaining letters survive only in their bottom tips.

2. By analogy with lines 6 and 10 one would probably be correct in restoring [ἀλλαγή κ].

3-4. In these lines we take the names at the ends to be those of the persons on duty, not the continuations of the place names.

3, 19. Perhaps this is the name Petosiris, which appears commonly in this spelling throughout Fragments *d* and *e*.

21-24. It is not clear if we should take these place names as being the places in which the persons named in the next column (lines 25-27) are stationed, or whether there was more information lost to the left. The former seems to us more likely. In that case we are probably missing, below Column I, the entries for Phamenothe 2-5, with Column II then continuing the 6th (in line 28). The one problem with this theory is that the place names in 22-24 are not quite the same as those in the next column, but neither group is so well preserved as to allow certainty.

25. Strictor is not listed in Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lat. Eigennamen*; and as a common noun it is cited only from Cato Maior, *De agricultura* 144, meaning "stripper, plucker".

32. The *iota* of the numeral is corrected.

62. Neither this word nor any derivative of *vectigal* seems to be attested in Greek. Nor is *vectigalio* attested in Latin, so far as we know. The dictionaries give one attestation for *vectigaliarius* with the meaning of a collector of *vectigalia* (Firmicius Maternus 3.11.3), and



## Column II

$\overline{\iota\eta}$  [I - - - ]  
 16 I [I - - ]  
 III [ - - ]  
 IV [ - - ]  
 $\overline{\iota\theta}$  I [ - - ]  
 20 II . [ - - ]  
 III [ - - ]  
 IV [ - - ]  
 $\overline{\kappa}$  I [ - - ]  
 - - - - -

15. It is not certain if the loss of 23 lines fell entirely below Column I, or if some are lost above the remaining portion of Column II.

## 10. List of Watchtower-Guards

Inv. 48

7.6 x 10.8 cm.

IIP

See the general introduction for the import of this document. It is to be noted that almost all of the names are Egyptian, and there is no one who does not have either an Egyptian name or an Egyptian patronymic.

κατ' ἄνδρα σκοπ[ελάριοι  
 Δημήτριος(ς) Τιθο[ήους  
 Καμήτι(ς) Θαμο( ) . [

4 Παναθῶτ(ος) ᾠ[ρου  
 Πατῶτο(ς) νεω(τέρου) . [

Πατομγός .[

· Βάρβιλλος Ἐριέ[ως

8 Ἔσρος Παοῦς [

· Πουήριος Ψ.[

3. It is just possible that the last letter before the break belongs to the patronymic and not to a third name or designation.

7, 9. We do not know what the dot-like mark before the names in these lines represents; it is not like the signs for δεκανός in other texts.

#### 11. List of *Stationes*

Inv. 49

11.8 x 10 cm.

IIp

The text evidently lists two persons who occupy the two *stationes* of the village; but it is very cryptic and does not yield much information. There are traces of ink at the lower right; it is not clear if they are connected with this text. Perhaps they are to be linked with some other traces scattered around the surface, which may belong to an earlier text now erased.

στατίονες κόμης

Ψενοσῆρεις

3 Ἵρονδφεις

#### 12. List of *Stationarioi*

Inv. 82

9.5 x 8 cm.

IIp

The first six names represent the same three men twice, but in a different order the second time. The group changed with the third day, but not much of that is preserved.

ᾱ Τύβι

στατιωνάριο[ι]

- Ἄπολλῶς  
 4 Νεφωτιανές  
 Ἄρποχράς  
 β̄ Ἄρποχράς  
 Ἄπολλῶς  
 8 Νεφωτιαν[ός]  
 [γ̄ Π]τολεμαῖ[ος]  
 [.....]../  
 - - - - -

2. The *sigma* is corrected from *delta* or *beta*.

### 13. List of Guards

Inv. 85

15.5 x 13.8 cm.

IIp

- - - - -

	[Name ] .	ἄν[ω]
	[δ] [Name ]	κάτω
	[Name ]	ἄνω
4	[ε] [Name ]	κάτω
	[Σ]ατορνείλος	ἄνω
	ς Ἄριανός	ἄνω
	Μάξιμος	κάτω
8	ζ Παπιῶμις	ἄνω
	Ἑρμεῖνος	κάτω
	η Ὀρέστης	κάτω
	Παχῶμις	ἄνω

8. The first letter is corrected.

11. The name is faint but all present.

14. List of Watchmen

Inv. 87

8.1 x 7 cm.

IIP

See the photograph for the physical state of this text. It appears that we must reckon with two or three stages in its composition. The text at the right margin, broken off after about four letters, is plainly anterior to the text written at right angles to it, with the ostrakon rotated ninety degrees counterclockwise. A third text is written in the same orientation as the first, but in smaller letters. Most of it is lost, with only the right ends of lines preserved. Probably texts 1 and 3 are both anterior to 2, and 2 was written only after the original sherd was broken on three or four sides.

Text 1

- - - -

Χοί[ακ

σκοπ[έλου

Ἰούλ[ις

4 σκοπ[έλου

Ἀρυώ[θης

σκοπ[έλου

Πετε[

8 Χοί[ακ

σκοπ[έλου

- - - -

Text 2

σκοπέλου Ἰβις .[

σκοπέλου Ἀφίς [

- 12 σκοπέλου Ἰσίων [   
 Πλατα Πασημ[   
 Ἰούλις Σερηνη[   
 Ἰούλις Ἐρμῖνος [   
 - - - - -

Text 3

- 16 ]..μῖνος   
 ]φι   
 ] Σατορνίλου   
 ]ς   
 20 ]..ις   
 ]..εκ..   
 ]ψων   
 ]..ις   
 24 ].....

16. Possibly Γεμῖνος or Ἐρμῖνος.

## 15. List of Guards

Inv. 89

20 x 15 cm.

IIP

## Column I

- ].. ἄν(ω)   
 ].. κά(τω)   
 ] ἄν(ω)   
 4 ] κά(τω)   
 ] ἄν(ω)

κ]ά(τω)

ἀ]γ(ω)  
 \_\_\_\_\_

## Column II

8

ὁμοίως  
 σκοπέλου  
 πρεσιτι  
 Ἰουλία Πουλῖνα

12

ὁμοίως  
 σκοπέλου  
 κάτω  
 Διδίμι Κασι[

16

]·

ὁμοίς Φαρ[μοῦθι ?  
 σκοπέλου [  
 Ἰούλις Ἀπ. [  
 ].[

1. ἀν(ω) corrected.

10. Read (probably) πραισιδίου.

11. Iulia Paulina?

## 16. Letter

Inv. 46

6.4 x 5.7 cm.

IIp

Despite its shape and appearance, this ostrakon is probably complete at left and almost so at right. It is uncertain whether something is lost at the bottom. At top much may have been lost.

- - - - -

τῆς ἡμέρα[ς ἔ-]

δωκα Διονυσίῳ [ἰπ-]

πεῦ τύρμης `Ε-

4 ρεννίου κα

ταστησει

ισορνει.

2. Δι corrected.

4-6. We are not certain what the sense of these last lines is. If one assumes a break after Herennius, perhaps a new sentence begins καταστήσει ἕς ορνει, thus requiring the assumption that something is lost at the end.

## 17. Letter

Inv. 71

7.8 x 9.6 cm.

IIp

The mention of a cavalryman, a horse, a command, and the names Maximus and Apolinarius all suggest a military context here. The sender of the letter appears to inform his correspondent that a cavalryman had set out for him on the 10th, in response to his order.

. [

ευ [

ὡς ἐκέλευσα[ς - - `Απολ-]

- 4      λιναρίου ἱππέ[ως  
          Μαξιμου ἀπελ[θόντ--  
          πρὸς σέ τῆ̄ ἰ̄ [̄  
          τὸν ἵππον [̄  
 8      ἐρῶσθα[ί σε εὐχομαι.]

5. It is not certain whether the participle should be singular or plural; is Maximus a second soldier or the decurion of the first? The former is more probable.

## 18. Private Letter

Inv. 47

4.5 x 4.7 cm.

IIP

The sherd is broken at both sides but probably complete at both top and bottom.

- [ - - - ].ωτι πλεῖστα χαίρ[ειν - - ]  
 [ - ἄβασ]κάντου σου ἵππου .[ - - - ]  
 [ - - - ]ου <έ>κομισάμην π[αρά - - ]  
 4 [ - - - ].ρτες καὶ οὐκ ἐμ[ομισάμην? - ]  
 [ - - - ].υ ἵνα σοι πεμ[ - - - ]

1-2. We cannot tell where the line division fell, but the phrase to be restored is probably πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν μετὰ τοῦ ἀβασκάντου σου ἵππου. The latter part of the phrase is found otherwise only in *O. Florida* 15 and 18, which are addressed to persons evidently serving as auxiliary cavalrymen in the Roman army. The first *tau* may be corrected from *pi*.

2. ἵππου ostr.

## 19. Letter

Inv. D.14

10 x 9.6 cm.

IIP

]ρασουπ[

].ον .. .. κιβαρίων ου.[

]ωκεμοι τὰ γ̄ μάτια πυροῦ [

4 ] .μ. .ε. .αλιν τὸ χοιρίδιον .. [

] ἀπέχει αὐτὸ ὅτι ἔπεμψα αὐτῷ [

] . . . . . μην αὐτοῦ παρά τι ἀπῆλθε [

] πρὸς τὸν κεντυρίωνα μετὰ τοῦ [

8 ] Ἐπειφ ἰᾱ *vacat*

3. Probably δέδ]ωκέ μοι.

6. The last letter of the line is corrected to or from something (*alpha?*).

## 20. Instructions

Inv. 64

7.7 x 8.2 cm.

IIP

All that is reasonably preserved here is the instruction to deliver the ostrakon to Aphis; this name recurs in the Florida ostraka and in 14.11 as the name of a *skopelos*. It appears thus to designate a post, perhaps in the Eastern Desert, to which soldiers were sent. How much is lost of this text is uncertain; perhaps it was attached to a bundle. The restoration is based on the assumption that the left margin was originally about as defined by the beginning of line 2. The *upsilon* is clear, and we must suppose either that the note means "deliver to Apolinarios" with genitive used for dative, or "deliver from Apolinarios." The former seems to us much the more likely, given the frequent confusion of cases in ostraka texts, and the general tendency of the dative to give way in later Greek.

Εἰς Ἄφιν

*vacat*

ἀπόδες

[Ἄ]πολινα-

4 [ρίο]υ

## 21. Uncertain Text

Inv. 55

6.2 x 3 cm.

IIp

- - - - -

] Traces

]γ κατελειψαν .[

] στατείωνα καί [

4 ]ε εἰς τὴν κώμηγ [

Traces

- - - - -

3. The markings at the end of the line are the modern inventory number, not ancient text.

## PRIVATE LETTERS

## 22. Letter of Eponychos to Sarapion

Inv. D.1

11 x 8.3 cm.

IIp

Ἐπώνυχος Σαραπίων τῷ φιλιτά-

τῳ πολλὰ χαίρειν·

εὖ ποιήσεις, φίλε, σκύλητι μικρὸν

4 μετὰ κειπαρος εἰς τὸ πέρα

ὡς ἀπολάβῃ τὰ χάλκεια

ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

ἵνα μίνης αὐτόν, ἐπὶ γάρ  
 8 ὀρτίζει πρὸς σε αὐρίον.  
 ἔρρωσθ(ε).

1 λ. Σαραπίωνι 7 λ. ἐπεὶ

Eponychos to his dearest Sarapion many greetings. Please, friend, make a little haste to go with the *kīparos* to the other side, in order that he may receive the bronze tools from the man. Wait for him since he comes to you tomorrow. Farewell.

4. In *BGU* II 470.3 we come across a κηπαρός; it is perhaps the same occupation as that mentioned here. What the meaning is, we do not know, unless it is the same as κηπουρός, as suggested by van Herwerden, see *WB* II. But it could also be a proper name; the *Onomasticon* cites many similar.

7. For ἵνα with the subjunctive as a periphrasis for the imperative, see B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens 1973) par. 585, 587 ff.

8. See Bauer, *Wörterbuch NT* s.v. ὀρθρίζω for this verb, which is misspelled here (read ὀρθρίζει). A similar phenomenon is seen in *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 50.13, ὀρθ(ρ)ίσας.

### 23. Private Letter

Inv. 43

13.7 x 11 cm.

IIp

- - - - -

του[ - + 25 - ]

ναύλου οἴγου .[ - + 16 - ]

καὶ σοκάρια περὶ τοῦ ον[ - + 9 - ]

4 τι θέλεις. γινώσκιν σε θέλω [ὅτι ?α-]

γωι εἰς Ψενῦριν μετὰ Κυριλλᾶτ[ος]

καθὼς μοι ἔγραψας καὶ εἴ τι χρεῖαν

ἔχεις γράψον Ἀθηνόδωρῳ ἐπὶ  
 8 αὐτὸς μένει ὧδε. ἀσπάζεται σε  
 Σεραπίων καὶ Φιλωνοῦς καὶ Ἀθη-  
 νόδωρος καὶ Κυριλλᾶς καὶ πάντε'ς  
 οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν.  
 12 ἔρρωσ(θαί) σε εὐχομαι.  
 4 λ. γιγνώσκειν 7 λ. ἐπεὶ

... I want you to know that I am bringing (it?) to Psenyris with Kyrillas just as you wrote to me, and if you have any need write to Athenodoros, since he is staying here. Serapion and Philonous and Athenodoros and Kyrillas and all those here with us greet you. I pray for your health.

2. For *naulon* of wine, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte* (Bruxelles 1964) 203.

3. One is probably to punctuate and restore as follows: καὶ σοκκάρια. περὶ τοῦ ὄν[ου γράψον ὅ] τι θέλεις, "and sokkaria. About the ass, write what you wish." We know of no attestation of σοκκάριον, but it appears to be a diminutive of σόκκος, a lasso, for which see *LSJ*, Lampe and S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Berlin 1971) 9.20 (n. on p. 247).

6. As we do not know the source of the ostrakon, we cannot identify the toponym; there is a Psenyris in the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite Nome (cf. C. Wessely, "Topographie des Fayûm in griechischer Zeit," *Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 1904, s.v., pp. 163 ff.; *P.Teb.* II, p. 410), but there is another in the Thebaid (cf. *O.Bodl.* III, index VI, s.v.: *O.Ashm.* 84 and *O.Bodl.* 2262).

9. The name Philonous does not appear in the *NB* or the *Onomasticon*.

10. The name Kyrillas does not appear in the *NB* or the *Onomasticon*.

12. There are traces at the beginning of this line, but they do not appear to belong to this text.

## 24. Private Letter

Inv. 44

8 x 10.8 cm.

IIP

This letter, broken everywhere except at the left, deals with pots full of oil and perhaps other liquids. There is mention of filling one or more - presumably empties.

- - - - -

κομισε. [

γην έλαιου [

καιανγην. [

4     ἀ έπεμψές μοι [

έως σήμερον . [

αύτά μεστά. έάν δ[έ

τήν κύθραν τών . [

8     ψον μοι και πλησω [

λον έξελεθειν προ[ός

μοι Παωρ τ.. [

μη ενε.. [

12    .. [

- - - - -

1. It is uncertain at the end of this line if the tip of the descending stroke belongs to the letter immediately following *epsilon*.

2-3. Probably we should understand ἀγ|γην in lines 1-2 and και άνγην in line 3, taking these as misspellings of άγγειον; alternatively, we may be dealing with 50 άγγη, the plural of άγγος, but the former word is common in papyri.

7. At the end, restore either πέμ|ψον or γρά|ψον, depending on whether the addressee is to send instructions

or to send the jars for filling. For κύθρα (Ion.) vs. χύτρα (Att.), cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*<sup>2</sup> I.1, 158, par. 44-46.

## 25. Letter to Alexandros

Inv. 41

9.2 x 7.7 cm.

IIP

The use of τειμώτατος in the salutation suggests that we have to do with a business letter of some sort (cf. H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griech. Briefes* [Helsinki 1956] 100 ff.). With only the top intact, not much can be said of the contents.

[ - + 14 - ] Ἀλεξάνδρωι τῶι τειμω(τάτω)

[χαίρειν· γινώσκε]ιν σε θέλω ὅτι ἀσθε[νῶ (?) - ]

[ - + 14 - ]ς Τιβερεΐνω σακκο[ - - ]

4 [ - + 14 - ] καὶ ἄλλον ἄρω[ - - ]

[ - + 14 - ] εχουσαν χ.[ - - ]

Traces

- - - - -

2. This restoration seems almost certain. It is not at all assured that there is a loss at right; what is placed there might have been at the beginning of the following line (and so in 3).

3. Perhaps σάκκο[ν; "give Tiberinos a sack of [ - ] and another of bread."

4. As there are no Greek compounds in ἄρω-, we must have (1) a dative singular or genitive plural of ἄρος; or (2) the start of a personal name; or (3) a misspelling of ἄρω- in composition.

6. Only the tops of letters remain; the third or fourth letter could be *psi*.

## 26. Private Letter

Inv. 42

5.5 x 5 cm.

IIP

[ - + 9 - Ἡ]ρακλιανῶ χαίριν·

[καλῶς ποιήσ]εις δοῦς τὸ κενόν

[ - + 10 - ]ρον Οὐαλερᾶτι τῶ

4 [ - + 7 - ] ὁ κύρις αὐτοῦ ἐπεζη-

[ - + 7 ἐκο]μισάμην τὸ ἔλαιν

[ - + 10 - ]πανην ἔν' εἶδω. ἡ προσ-

[ - + 10 - ]αῖν εἶπον περὶ τοῦ

- - - - -

2. For καλῶς ποιήσεις, see H.A. Steen, "Les clichés épistolaires dans les lettres," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 1 (1938) 138 ff. κενόν: from κενός or καινός?

4. A form of ἐπιζητέω, ἐπεζήτησε or ἐπεζήτει.

6. Perhaps restore δα]πάνην. The meaning could be, "Tell me the cost, so that I may know." ἔν ostr.

## 27. Fragment of a Letter

Inv. 58

12.7 x 12 cm.

IIP

- - - - -

[.....]....[

[.....] οκομ..[

..... αυτω π...[

4 [...]ως ενυκιο οφιλ.[

ἐνοίκιον ωσ.....[ - - - ὁ ἀδελ-]

φός σου Ἀτῆρις [

τὰ οἰνάρια. ἀσπάζεται[ί σε

(2nd hand)

8 ἔρρωσθαί σε ....[

2. Perhaps ὁ κομίζων σοι κτλ.

4. Read ἐνοίκιο, but whether genitive, dative, or accusative, we do not know.

6. It is uncertain if this is the Roman Haterius or an Egyptian name. The *rho* in it is corrected, perhaps from *lambda*.7. οἶνάριον is cheap, bad wine according to *LSJ* s.v., but one may doubt that the diminutive has this force consistently.8. The *sigma* and *epsilon* are visible, but there is space between; perhaps the visible *epsilon* is that of εὐχομαι, but we cannot make out any of the rest of that word.

## 28. Private Letter

Inv. 59

10 x 9.6 cm.

IIp

This text, evidently unbroken, is badly faded at the right.

... απολλωνοσπαν.[

τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν· ...[

σοι τὸ βῦνιν δ.....[

4 ελλυρικος δέδωκα αὐτῷ [

θμαριω δέξασθαι αὐ[

προθμαρίφ .....[

σφυρύδιν δεδω[

8 ἀπῆλθε εἰς [

Traces of 5 or 6 letters

1. The remains suggest a short Egyptian name at the start of the line, followed by a patronymic; but the use of the patronymic in this place is uncommon.

3. βϋνις is some kind of malt for brewing, it seems; see O. Lagercrantz, *P. Holm.*, p. 203. The word occurs also in *P. Leid.* V Col. 13.10,17; *SB VI* 9385.18; *P. Graec. Mag.* 12.424, 431.

4. Read perhaps Ἰλλυρικός? Cf. Preisigke, *WB III*, Abschnitt 14.

6. προθμάρτος = πορθμάρτος, ferryman. For examples, see H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae II* (Amsterdam 1973) 894-5, 910. The end of this word may also be read in line 5.

7. Read σφυρίδιον (basket).

#### 29. Fragment of a Letter

Inv. 60

7.8 x 8.5 cm.

IIp

[ - + 13 - ]....φωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι

[ - + 13 - ] χαίρειν·

[γινώσκειν σε θέλω], ἀδελφε, ὅτι εφο.ας

4 [ - + 15 - ].ου ἠσθένηκε καί

[ - + 16 - εὐχ]αριστῶι τῶι θεῶι

[ - + 17 - ].λκεσμαι ἀδελφε

[ - + 18 - ]αι ὅτι .....

8 [ - + 21 - ].φωι...[

[ - + 23 - ]..[

- - - - -

3. Perhaps *lambda*: ἐφ' ὄλας.

6. ]λκεσμαι has the appearance of a middle/passive perfect, but we cannot say what verb it comes from; perhaps it is a misspelling of ἤλκεσμαι or εἴλκεσμαι, from ἔλκω.

## 30. Fragment of a Letter

Inv. 61

5.2 x 7 cm.

IIP

].[.]πετε[  
 ]ς ὡς ἄρτι οφ[  
 ]ν μοι ἢ θέλει[  
 4 ] .ις τὸν πίθον .[  
 ]ρτος κόικα  
 ] .ν ἄσπα-  
 ]αιδία  
 - - - - -

3 ζ. εἰ 5 κοῖκα ostr.

3. Perhaps θέλει[ς.

4. Perhaps μέ]γιστον.

5. κόικα: This is the probable division; a κόιξ is a basket of palm leaves. It is also possible that we have a compound with ἄρτος ("breadbasket"), but this compound is not otherwise attested.

6-7. One is probably to restore ἄσπα|[ζεταί σε τὰ π]αιδία.

## 31. Private Letter

Inv. 63

10.8 x 9.5 cm.

IIP

This text is complete at top, bottom, and right, but a considerable amount seems to be lost at the left.

[ - - - - - ] χαίρειν· ἐπεμ-  
 [ψά σοι - - - - ] καὶ ταπίδαν

- [ - - - - - ]ον καὶ ἀνγεῖον [[ ..]]
- 4 [ - - - - - ] ἔγραψες πέμψις .
- [ - - - - - ]αισαι σαλώτιν ὄπου
- [ - - - - - ]ν πελύκιον εἰς τὸ σαλώτιν
- [ - - - τ]ῶν ταριχίων τὸ οὐιγλίδι
- 8 [ - - - ] λέγει μοι Σερῆνες ὁ σιτομέ-
- [τρης (?) - ]τρια εἴ τινός σοι χρῆα ἐστίν
- [ - - - ]. σοι πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ
- [ - - - - ] ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτη-
- 12 [ρίας - - - ]

2 λ. ταπίδα 5 λ. σαλώτιον 6 λ. πελύκιον, σαλώτιον  
7 οὐιγλίδι ostr. 8 λ. Σερῆνος 9 ὐ ostr.; λ. εἰ

2. For the accusative in -αν in the third declension, see Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri* (Münch. Beitr. 28: München 1938) 126; Mayser, *Grammatik I*<sup>2</sup> 1, 172; F.T. Gignac, *Proc. XII Int. Congr. of Pap.* (Toronto 1971) 145.

4,5. The sense of σαλώτιον is not certain. *LSJ* lists the word only in the plural, giving "dub. sens." for meaning, but pointing out that it occurs in a list of eatables. *WB* gives three examples: *SB I* 1.25 (ῥίζια δύο σαλωτίων); *P.Ryl.* II 172.15 (twelve of them); and *P.Oxy.* VI 920.5. The dates are all third century.

6. It is difficult to see offhand what a small ax (πελύκιον) has to do with the σαλώτιον.

7. ταρίχιον = salt fish; οὐιγλίδι, perhaps to be restored as οὐγλίδι[ον], seems to be a new word, perhaps related to the Latin *vigil*, etc.; its meaning is unclear.

9-10. Perhaps we are to understand εἴ τινός σοι χρῆα ἐστίν, [γράφον μοι καὶ πέμψ]ω σοι. Such a 16-letter restoration would then suggest losses up to 22 letters in the first two lines.

11. For σωτηρία, cf. Koskenniemi, *Studien*, 71.

## 32. Letter to Poseidonios

Inv. 72

5 x 5.8 cm.

IIP

The most probable restorations of lines 3 and 4 suggest a loss at left of about 13 letters, while lines 1 and 2 seem to need a shorter restoration (see notes).

] Ποσειδωνίφ  
 ]φ πλεῖστα χα(ίρειν)·  
 ] ἄδελφε,  
 4 ] .ῶτιον μου  
 ] χρίαν αὐτοῦ  
 θ]έλης δοῦναι  
 ] ἀσπάζε[ται]  
 8 ] τεσε

1-2. One supposes that line 2 had [τῷ ἀδελφ]ῷ or [τῷ φιλιτάτ]φ, which gives us a 7-8 letter gap. Such a loss would give a reasonable length for a name for line 1. The restoration of lines 3-4, however, offers some difficulty. Line 2 might have been indented.

3-4. The missing text was probably something like [καλῶς ποιήσεις], ἄδελφε, [πέμψαι μοι τὸ κ]ιβώτιόν μου, [ὅτι πλείστην (or ἀναγκαίαν)] χρίαν αὐτοῦ [ἔχω]. Obviously other restorations of what is to be sent are possible.

7. The letters at the end are faded beyond reading.

## 33. Fragment of a Letter

Inv. 70

3.8 x 3.5 cm.

IIP

This text is probably complete only at right.

- - - -  
 ].....  
 ἔρχου τῆ ᾱ  
 τ]ῶ πατρί σου  
 4 ] . ἔρχου τῆ ᾱ  
 ] σε άσπ-  
 - - - -

## 34. Fragment of a Letter

Inv. 67

8.2 x 6.2 cm.

IIp

[ - + 9 - ] Σεραπόλλω  
 [ - + 9 - ] σεραπι άμφο-  
 [τέρους] τοῖς άδελφοῖς  
 4 [πλεῖστ]α χαίρειν· άναγ-  
 [ - + 7 - ].νδημ[...].  
 - - - - -

2. The loss supposed in lines 3 and 4 makes it necessary to suppose that 8 letters or so are lost here, more than a καί would occupy. It seems likely, therefore, that a compound name is to be restored, e.g. Φιλο]σεράπι. F. Dornseiff-B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Namenbuch der griech. Eigennamen* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. Leipzig 102.4: Berlin 1957) 199 list some possibilities.

4-5. Restore perhaps άναγ|[καῖόν έστ]ιν.

## 35. Private Letter

Inv. D.3

8.6 x 6.3 cm.

IIp

The ostrakon is complete at top, left (for the first six lines); broken at bottom and bottom left, and at right (though not much may be lost there).

Λούκις Σωκρ[ - - χα(ίρειν)·]  
 έκομισάμην π[αρά - - ]  
 τόν σίτον καί βαλε[  
 4 ανω.... με εχω·[  
 Σατορνεΐλον καί ει[  
 ΐνα σοι δώ[σ]ι ύπερ φα·[  
 [..]. καί τήρησον ήγορακ[  
 8 [.....] έκομισαν παρά·[  
 [.....]...[

1. For the ending in -ις see D.J. Georgacas, *CP* 40 (1948) 243-60.

7. If we restore ήγορακ[ as a finite verb, we may perhaps regard τήρησον as an interjection, comparable to the use of ΐδου in Byzantine papyri. Cf. H. Zilliacus, *Zur Sprache griechischer Familienbriefe des III Jhr. n. Chr.* (Soc.Scient.Fenn., Comment. Hum. Lit. 13.3: Helsingfors 1943) 38-9.

## 36. Fragment of a Letter

Inv. W.3

7 x 6.8 cm.

IIp

]·λλωτι τϕ [

[πλεΐστ]α χαίρ[ειν·]

]α Κρονίου κ·[

4 ]οκελικινρε·[

]·αριων εσφρ[

]·κτυλιδιωι κ[

]·αλλη σφρυ·[

8 ] .οινια ρη [   
 ] .εισιφι . . [

2. [πολλ]ά is also possible.

4. Read perhaps τ]ὸ καλίγιον? Cf. S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d'Egitto* (Pap.Castroct. 3: Barcelona 1971), s.v. Another possibility might be τ]ὸ καλύκιον (diminutive of κάλυξ, cup).

5-6. Perhaps one could restore γα]ραρίων ἐσφρ[αγισμένων ἐμῷ δ]ακτυλιδίῳ, objects sealed with my own ring.

#### RECEIPTS FOR MONEY TAXES

##### 37. Receipt for Tax on Linenweavers

Inv. 19

8.1 x 8.6 cm.

19/18 B.C.

The form of this text is most analogous to *O.Bodl.* 1011, of 17 B.C., also a receipt for the tax on linenweavers, also issued by the banker Kephalos. It presents a problem only in the middle of line 2, which is very faint (note).

Ἑρμίας Πετσαροήριος(ς)

Ἔρο(υ) . . . . . λινύφω(ν)

ἀργυ(ρίου) δραχ(μάς) τριάκοντα,

4 (γίνονται) ἀρ(γυρίου) (δραχμαί) λ. (ἔτους) ιβ.

Κέφα(λος) τρα(πεζίτης).

Hermias son of Petearoeris, grandson of Horos, (for tax on) linenweavers, thirty drachmas of silver, that is, 30 dr. of silver. Year 12. Kephalos, banker.

1. The taxpayer is not elsewhere attested.

2. The center of this line is very faint. *O.Bodl.* 1012, which has the year after the tax-name, has in this place τέτακ(ται) τέλ(ος), while 1011 has τέτακ(ται) τοῦ ιγ (ἔτους) (δραχμάς) ἢ τέλ(ος) λινύ(φω); but the non-adherence

of the ostraka of these early years of Augustus' rule to any rigid formula precludes a certain restoration, and the remaining traces do not seem to support any particular version of such a phrase.

3. The amount is large; in *O.Bodl.* 1010 (22-1 B.C.) a weaver pays 40 dr. ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱστοῦ τὴν τρίτην ἀναφορὰν, but we do not know if that is an official receipt.

4. Kephalos the banker is well known from a large number of ostraka ranging from year 11, 19 B.C. (*O.Theb.* 80) to year 29, 2 B.C. (*O.Bodl.* 765).

## 38. Receipt for Tax on Linenweavers

Inv. 30

11.2 x 9 cm.

10 November A.D. 42

Δια(γέγραφε) Σενβοῦχ(ις) ὤρο(υ) διὰ Φιλάμ(μωνος)  
τέλ(ος) λινύ(φων) β (ἔτους) (δραχμάς) γρ. (ἔτους)  
γ Κλαυδίου

3 Καίσαρος Σεβ(αστοῦ) Ἄθῦρ ἰδ̄.

Paid, Senbouchis daughter of Horos, through Philammon, the tax on linenweavers of the 2nd year, dr. 3, 3 ob. Year 3 of Claudius Caesar Augustus, Hathyr 14.

1. The closest parallel we can cite for the formula is *O.Bodl.* 1015 (A.D. 49), where ὑπὲρ λινύφων appears rather than τέλος λινύφων.

3. Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός is lacking in Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales* (Pap.Brux. 2: Bruxelles 1964) 29-33; such phrases are, however, attested for Tiberius and Gaius, and we are here early in Claudius' reign.

## 39. Receipt for Dike-Tax

Inv. 29

8 x 6.6 cm.

4 July A.D. 66

Διαγέγρα(φε) Θοτεῦς Νεχθμῶνθ(ου) ὑπ(ὲρ) χω(ματικοῦ)  
[Χά(ρακος) (?)]

ιβ (ἔτους) (δραχμάς) τρις (δύβολον) βαλ(ανευτικοῦ)

[ϛ, (γίνονται) δε] καὶ το(ύτων) προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα).

3 (ἔτους) ιβ Νέρωνος [τοῦ κυρίου] Ἐ[πειφ] ι.

Ἄ[πίων] σεση(μείωμα).

Paid, Thoteus son of Nechthmonthes for dike-tax [of Charax?] for the 12th year, dr. three, 2 ob., bath-tax [4 1/2 ob., total, dr. 4, 1/2 ob.] and the additional sums on these. Year 12 of Nero [the lord], Epeiph 10. I, Apion, have signed.

1. A Nechthmonthes son of Thoteus is known from *O.Leid.* 36 (=SB X 10341) of A.D. 52, and 128 (X 10449), of A.D. 48 (and also from the undated *O.Petr.* 76). The taxpayer of the present receipt is probably the son of the other man.

2. The sum for bath-tax is lost, but its restoration is certain. The reading of the end of this line is very uncertain in detail, but it must have contained this phrase even if somewhat varied.

3. Apion is attested as a signer of tax-receipts over much of the second half of the first century; cf. the note to *O.ROM* II 99.

#### 40. Receipt for Dike-Tax

Inv. 15

10 x 5.5 cm.

plate IX

23 July A.D. 70

This clear ostrakon attests a taxpayer known previously from *O.Bodl.* 596, of A.D. 44; he is thus known over a period of 26 years, a remarkably long span for a person attested only for dike-tax receipts (bath-tax is also paid in the Bodleian text): cf. *O.ROM* I, p. 57, Graph 6.4.

Διατέγρα(φε) Ἄσκλης Πανᾶτος ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικοῦ)

Ἄγ(ορῶν) βο(ορᾶ) β (ἔτους) (δραχμάς) ϛϛ, (γίνονται)

ϛϛ καὶ προσδιαγραφόμενα). (ἔτους) β

Αὔτοκρά(τορος)

Καίσαρος Ούεσπασιανού Σεβαστού

4 Ἐπειφ κθ̄. Ἀπῶ(ν) σεση(μείωμαι).

Paid, Asklas son of Panas for dike-tax of Agorai North of the 2nd year, dr. 6, 4 ob., that is, 6 dr. 4 ob. and the additional sums. Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, Epeiph 29. I, Apion, have signed.

4. On Apion, see 39.3n.

## 41. Receipt for Poll-Tax

Inv. D.6

7.8 x 6.4 cm.

A.D. 70-79

For comparable texts see *O. Bodl.* 426-428, *O. Wilb.* 8-9.

Διαγέγρα(φε) ...ψαιτ(ος) Σαχο(μνέως) [

Σενψενμῶ(νθου) Παμώνθ(ου) ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) [

Ούεσπασιανού ....[

4 ὄμο(ίως) Παχ(ών) ε̄ (δραχμάς) δ η[

ὄμο(ίως) ... ᾱ̄ (δραχμάς) δ χ° [

1. Both Πετε and Παου are possible beginnings for the name, but neither is really very attractive. The person appears not to be attested elsewhere. In the lacuna at the end of this line, μητρος is probably to be restored, but it is curious that the mother's patronymic is mentioned. It is also conceivable that Senpsenmonthes is a man, and that διὰ is to be restored instead.

3. κατω or του; there is here an uncertain sawtooth writing.

5. Both Παῦ(νι) and ἔπα(γομένων) appear possible.

## 42. Receipt for a Money-Tax (?)

Inv. 33

7.2 x 5.7 cm.

Ip

Several aspects of this text are puzzling. If one omits line 2, the formula apparently makes sense and follows an attested pattern. But we seem to have another proper name falling between  $\delta\mu\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$  and the place where  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$  may naturally be supposed to have stood. The formula of lines 1 and 3 would find its closest parallel in a group of receipts issued by Psemenophis son of Pikos for an unnamed tax in the years A.D. 29-32.

<i>O.Cam.</i> 52	year 16 (29/30)	cf. <i>O.Bodl.</i> III, p. xvi
<i>O.Bodl.</i> 1049	year 17 (31)	} same day: 21 March
<i>O.Bodl.</i> 1050	year 17 (31)	
<i>O.Minor</i> A2	year 18 (32)	29 April
<i>O.ROM</i> II 78	no year given	

This collector uses a formula which varies only slightly from the following:  $\Psi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\phi\iota\varsigma$   $\Pi\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\chi\omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\acute{\omega}$   $\delta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha$   $\chi\alpha\iota\acute{\rho}\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\delta\mu\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$  --- (month). (έτους) -  $\text{Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ}$ , date. None of these texts gives any amount. The phrase  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$  is omitted in *O.Bodl.* 1050, *O.Minor* A2; the patronymic is found in *O.Bodl.* 1049 only. The only way of supposing that our text fits this formula is, we think, to consider Patseous in line 2 as the father of an intermediary. The text is given without any extensive restoration, because of these difficulties.

μέτ]οχ(οι) ᾠρου χα(ίρειν)· ὄμολ(ογοῦμεν)

] . Πατσεοῦτος

] παρὰ σοῦ ὑπ(έρ) Παχῶν

4 ].. (δραχμῆν) ἀς. (έτους) .[

- - - - -

1. Possibly (cf. introduction) [ $\Psi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\phi\iota\varsigma$   $\Pi\iota\kappa(\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma)$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$  is to be restored before what is printed. This text does not seem to be in the same hand as *O.ROM* 78, the only one of the parallels any of us has seen. *O.Minor* A2 also has the payer's name given in the genitive and without patronymic.

3. Presumably one is to restore  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ .

4. At the start, one may have  $\text{Τῶ]βι.}$

## 43. Receipt for γεωμετρία

Inv. 22

9 x 7.7 cm.

30 October A.D. 90

A thin stroke (of ornamentation?) in the clay of this light brown ostrakon runs through and above line 2. The interest of the text lies in the person of the taxpayer, who is elsewhere attested. He is known, but without his grandfather's name, in *O.Bodl.* 1150, of A.D. 92, in which he pays an unidentified money tax; in the same text he pays another sum ὀνό(ματος) κλη(ρονόμων) ὤρου Πετεμίνιος. Thirty years later (122), in *O.Bodl.* 1227, we find him paying grain through one Esminis son of Horos. This person is without doubt the same as the taxpayer of *O.Bodl.* 581 (dike-tax, A.D. 116), whose name is given there more fully as Esminis son of Horos, grandson of Porieuthes the younger. He is thus the grandson of the taxpayer of the present text. Adding the present document to our information, we can see a chiasmic arrangement of names in this part of the family: Esminis-Horos-Porieuthes-Horos-Esminis. It appears to us very likely, in view of the fact that Porieuthes' grandfather is now known to have been named Esminis, that the deceased person for whose heirs Porieuthes pays in 92 is in fact his father, and that the doubtful Peteminis of that text should be emended to Ἐσμίνιος; the strokes would probably be similar.

It is possible that this family is to be connected with the Porieuthes the younger son of Horos grandson of Psenchonsis known from *O.Bodl.* 997 (175?) and 1535 (188), but the names are not rare and too many generations and documents are missing to verify a link.

Διαγέγρα(φε) Ποριεύθη(ς) νε(ώτερος) ὤρου  
Ἐσμίνιο(ς) ὑπ(έρ) γεω(μετρίας) Ἄνω τ(οπαρχίας)  
θ (έτους) (δραχμάς) τέσσαρας,  
(γίνονται) δ καί προσδιαγραφόμενα). (έτους) ι  
Δομιτιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Φαῶ(φι) λγ.

4

Σω(κράτης) σεση(μείωμα).

Paid, Porieuthes the younger, son of Horos, grandson of Esminis, for *geometria* of the upper toparchy for the 9th year, dr. four, that is, 4 and the additional sums. Year 10 of Domitian the lord, Phaophi 30-3. I, Sokrates, have signed.

3. A summary of the views and evidence concerning these 30+ dates is given *ad O.ROM II 84.4*.

4. Sokrates is abundantly attested between 90 and 94; see *O.Bodl. 1150*, and add *O.ROM II 93*.

## 44. Receipt for Poll-Tax

Inv. 7

7 x 5.4 cm.

Ip

Handwriting and formula alike provide a date before 107 for this text, but nothing that is preserved allows us to reconstruct the missing portions, which will have consisted mostly of names and dates.

Διαγέγρα(φε) Φαῖρι[ς  
 ὑπ(ὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) ᾿Ω[φιήου

3 (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) ιη [

- - - - -

## 45. Receipt for γεωμετρία

Inv. 32

8.4 x 7.3 cm.

28 May A.D. 112

Δια(γέγραφε) Πικῶς Τιθοῆου  
 διὰ ᾿Αμηνώθου Πετοσίριου(ς)  
 ὑπ(ὲρ) γεω(μετρίας) Χά(ρακος) ἀργ(υρίου) ῥυπ(αροῦ)  
 δραχ(μάς)

4 τέσσαρας, (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) δ.

(ἔτους) ιε Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου

Παῦνι γ̄.

Paid, Pikos son of Tithoes through Amenothes son of Petosiris, for *geometria* of Charax, debased silver drachmas four, that is, dr. 4. Year 15 of Trajan the lord, Pauni 3.

1. The formula seems as clear as the date, even though this formula is in general confined to the period up to A.D. 107.

3. For ἀργύριον ῥυπαρόν see *O.Petr.* 79.3n., where the term is taken as equivalent to a statement that προσδια-γραφόμενα are included.

## 46. Receipt for Bath-Tax

Inv. 26

9.4 x 8.1 cm.

27 April A.D. 131

Πετεχεςποχ(ράτης) καὶ μ(έτοχοι) τε[λ(ῶναι)]

θησ(αυροῦ) ἱερωῶν Ψεν-

αμ(ούνει) [..]μι( ) Πετεχεςπ(οχοράτου)

4 χα(ίρειν)· ἔσχο(μεν) παρὰ σοῦ ὑπ(έρ) βαλ(ανευτικοῦ)  
τοῦ ιε (έτους) Ἄδριανοῦ  
τοῦ κυρίου Παχώ(ν) β.

Petechespochrates and associates, farmers of the granary of the temples, to Psenamounis son of ---, grandson of Petechespochrates, greeting. We have received from you for bath-tax of the 15th year of Hadrian the lord, Pachon 2.

1. Petechespochrates is well-known from a number of receipts, for which references can be found in the notes to *O.Bodl.* 680; two further texts are *O.ROM* II 113 and 116. His span of activity is attested as 114-133.

## 47. Receipt for Poll-Tax and Bath-Tax

Inv. 34

7.2 x 5.8 cm.

11 August A.D. 121

Πόστομ(ος) ὄς καὶ [ᾠ]ρο(ς) πράκ(τωρ)

ἀργ(υρικῶν) Ἄγρ(ῶν) βο(ρᾶ) Ἴμουθ(η) . . . . .

ἔσχο(ν) ὑπ(έρ) λαογρ(αφίας) καὶ βαλ(ανευτικοῦ)

4 πέμπτου ἔτους ῥυπ(αρᾶς) δραχ(μάς) δώ-

δεκα, (γίνονται) ῥυπ(αραί) (δραχμαί) ιβ.

(ἔτους) ε Ἀδριανοῦ

Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Μεσ(ορή) ιη.

Postomos also called Horos, collector of money taxes for Agorai North, to Imouthes son of ---, I have received for poll-tax and bath-tax of the fifth year debased drachmas twelve, that is, debased dr. 12. Year 5 of Hadrian Caesar the lord, Mesore 18.

1. This collector is attested in receipts dated from 121 to 124: *WO* 527, 529, 1243; *O.Bodl.* 530, 842, 884; *P.Lips.* 67; *O.Heid.* 259; and *O.ROM* II 111. Cf. below on line 4.

4. The writing-out of the ordinal number of the year is a characteristic found in five of the other receipts of this collector where the date is preserved; Wilcken restored it also in *WO* 1243. Postomos is elsewhere careful about spelling ordinals, but the *pi* missing here is clearly not to be read.

#### 48. Receipt for Poll-Tax and Dike-Tax

Inv. 4

11.6 x 9.7 cm.

A.D. 126

This text must be considered together with *O.Aberd.* 77, of the same year, issued by the same collector, to the same taxpayer, and written in the same hand. First, with the use of the present text it is possible to read on *P.Aberd.*, Pl. V, the patronymic in line 2 left unread by the editor; it is, as here, Τισόθιο(ς).

The relationship between the two texts is complicated, and a table of the payments involved in them may be of use.

#### *O.Aberd.* 77

<u>Date of Payment</u>	<u>Year Pd.</u>	<u>Tax Paid</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Year 10, Pharm.	9 10	laographia	8 dr.
Year 10, Pachon	25 10	laographia	4 dr.
Year 10, Mesore	3 10	laographia	8 dr.
Year 11, Phaophi	24 10	chomatikon	4 dr. = 3 dr. 4½ ob.
Year 11, Choiak	8 10	chomatikon	4 dr. = 3 dr. 4½ ob.
Year 11, Tybi	10 10	chomatikon	2 dr. 4½ ob. = 2 dr. 2 ob.

It has been assumed in this table that the tax paid continues to be the same as in the preceding payment unless the

information is given to the contrary (since it is made clear in lines 5 and 6 that those payments are for dike tax).

*O. Amst.* 48

<u>Date of Payment</u>	<u>Year Pd.</u>	<u>Tax Paid</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Year 10, Pham. 23	10	laographia	lost
Year 10, Pham. 30?	10	uncertain	lost
Year 10, Pharm. 9	10	same	4 dr.
Year 10, Pharm. 25	10	same	3 dr. 4½ ob.
Year 10, lost	10	unknown	lost
Year 10, Epeiph 24	10	same	4 dr.
Year 11, Thoth 27	11	same	lost
Year 11, lost	11	unknown	3 dr. 4 ob.
Year 11, Hath. 27	11	chomatikon	lost

Only two taxes are mentioned anywhere, and it is likely that those for which the tax name is lost are paid for one of these two taxes, more likely the poll-tax. The amounts are noteworthy: a total of 45 dr., 1 1/2 ob. (after discount) is recorded for these two years, and five payments are lost. If these averaged 4 drachmas each, and most payments are at least that large, the total would come to over 65 drachmas. And in both cases we have payments recorded only over the equivalent of one year, for only half of each of the tenth and eleventh years is represented. The amounts of the two taxes in question paid per year by a resident of the Memnoneia was set by Wilcken many years ago at 24 drachmas of poll-tax and 6 drachmas, 4 obols for dike-tax. Two years' taxes for an individual (and there is no indication that more than one person is involved) would thus come to 61 drachmas, 2 obols. It is difficult to believe that our two receipts do not represent more than this sum.

We see several possibilities: (1) more taxes than these two are paid here; (2) the amounts to be paid are to be called into question; (3) the statement of years for which paid is not strictly accurate; (4) the scribe has confused the taxpayer with an elder brother in some instances. The loss of the right side of the Amsterdam text makes it uncertain in several cases whether a tax name is to be restored. It may well be that the assumption that ὁμοίως means the same tax unless stated otherwise is not correct. It is interesting that the payments of our two ostraka interleave their dates, with only Pharmouthi 9 overlapping as far as we can tell; and then, the amounts are different, which probably indicates that it is not the same payment being recorded twice.

Ψανονῶς ——— πρᾶκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Με(μνονεῖων)

- δι(ά) Φθομ[ών(θου) γρα(μματέως)]  
 Ψεννήσιο(ς) νεωτ(έρου) υίο(ϋ) Τιθάθιο(ς) ἔσχ(ον)  
 ὑπ(έρ) λαο(γραφίας) ι [(ἔτους) (δραχμάς) - .  
 (ἔτους) ι]  
 Ἄδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαμ(ενῶθ) κ̄γ̄.  
 ὁμ(οίως) .[ - - - - (δραχμάς) - - ].  
 4 ὁμ(οίως) Φαρμ(οῦθι) θ̄ (δραχμάς) δ, ὁμ(οίως) κ̄ε̄  
 (δραχμάς) γfζ', [ὁμ(οίως) date (δραχμάς) - ],  
 ὁμ(οίως) Ἐπ(είφ) κ̄δ̄ (δραχμάς) δ, ὁμ(οίως) ια  
 (ἔτους) θῶθ κ̄ζ̄ (δραχμάς) [-, ὁμ(οίως) date]  
 (δραχμάς) γf, ἀλ(λας) ια (ἔτους) Ἄθῦρ κ̄ζ̄ ὑπ(έρ)  
 χ[ω(ματικοῦ) (δραχμάς) - ]

Psansnos, son of Psansnos, collector of money taxes of the Memnoneia, through Phthmonthes [the scribe], to Psennesis the younger, son of Tisathis, I have received for poll-tax of the 10th [year, dr. --. Year 10] of Hadrian Caesar the lord, Phamenoth 23. Likewise, ... likewise, Pharmouthi 9, dr. 4; likewise the 25th, dr. 3, 4 1/2 ob.; [likewise ... dr. ...]; likewise Epeiph 24, dr. 4; likewise 11th year, Thoth 27, dr. [..; likewise ...], dr. 3, 4 ob.; 11th year, Hathyr 27 for dike tax, other [dr. ...].

1. Psansnos is known also from *O.Theb.* 39, *PSI* 266, *O.Cam.* 37 and 38, and *O.ROM* II 115. The line meaning ὁμοίως after his name appears also in other texts, as does the secretary Phthmonthes.

3. The letter just before the break could be either a *lambda* (as a date) or an *alpha* (as in ἀλ(λας)).

6. One expects a 1/2 ob. in the amount, but it does not seem to have been written.

## 49. Receipt for μερισμός τελωνικῶν

Inv. 10

9.6 x 5.5 cm.

A.D. 143/4?

The date proposed for this text rests on the name of the collector, whom we identify with the Pikos, ἀπαιτητῆς μερισμῶν Ἀγορῶν β of *O.Bodl.* 800; this collector there receives the merismos for the seventh year of Antoninus, the same as in our text.

Πικῶς κἔ μ(έτοχοι) ἀπαιτ(ηταί) μερισ(μοῦ)

τελ(ωνικῶν) Ἀγο(ρῶν) [β(ορρά)]

Ἀμενρώσι(ο)ς Δέκμ(ου) Ἀρπαήσι(ο)ς ἔσχ(ομεν)

ὑπ(έρ) μερισ(μοῦ) ζ (ἔτους) δραχ(μῆν) μί[αν]

4 καὶ ὀνό(ματος) Μεγ( ) Φ[ - - ]

Traces

Pikos and associates, collectors of the *merismos telonikon* of Agorai North, to Amennrosis son of Dekmos, grandson of Harpaeisis, we have received for the merismos of the 7th year one drachma, and in the name of Meg( ) son of Ph[...]

1. Both *omegas* are written very clearly. Read Πικῶς καί.

5. There is a horizontal line, then a chip, then the trace of one letter.

## 50. Receipt for a Money-Tax

Inv. 20

6.8 x 6.6 cm.

A.D. 138-161

It has not been possible to restore most of this receipt, since it is not possible to determine with certainty if we are dealing with a known collector. It seems that one name and part of a patronymic are lacking in line 1, and the slope of the ostrakon suggests that there was not another imperial name in line 5.

[ - - - ] μώνθο(υ) καὶ μ(έτοχοι) ἐπιτηρηταῖ)

[τέλ(ους) (?) - - ] οὐβι Ψανονῶτο(ς)

[ - - ξ]σχο(μεν) παρὰ σοῦ ὑπ(έρ) τέλ(ους)

4 [ - - - ] ἀργ(υρίου) δραχ(μάς) πέντε ὄβολο(ύς)

[ - (ἔτους) - ] Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος

[τοῦ κυρίου]υ θῶθ β̄. Πετεχ( ) σεση(μείωμα).

1. One thinks naturally of Pamonthes as a patronymic, and some collectors can be named who use this. The Herieus son of Pamonthes active between 113 and 116 (cf. references *ad O.ROM* 19, plus *O.Stras.* 281, cf. *BL* II, 29) is certainly too early for consideration; his namesake (probably not the same man, cf. *BL* II, 149) of 137 in *O.Stras.* 227 is more plausible, but he is not an epiteretes, rather a praktor. There is therefore neither evidence to exclude him nor, really, to support his restoration here. If, as does not seem likely, we are to restore Αὐρηλίου in the lacuna of line 5, one might also consider Διῶνχις Παμώνθ(ου), ἐπιτηρητῆς τέλους μεταβόλων ἀλιέων in *WO* 1449, from year 5 of Aurelius and Verus; a gap of a few years might be supposed; or it is possible that this text belongs to this same collector and is in the latter part of the reign of Antoninus. Again, there is no clear case for restoration.

2. It is uncertain if the first name is abbreviated.

#### 51. Receipt for a Money-Tax

Inv. 9

8.8 x 9.1 cm.

Last Quarter of IIP

The tax for which this receipt was given is not specified; it was most likely the bath-tax, the usual tax collected by these overseers, but it could also be something else, like the τέλος ταφῆς collected by some epiteretai of the temples' granary in *O.Bodl.* 1072. The year is lost, and the collector unknown. Only the hand affords an approximate dating; it closely resembles those of the later years of Commodus and the early years of Severus. A possible identification of the signer would agree with this date.

Γάιο(ς) Ἄντ( ) Εὐδαί(μων) καὶ μ(έτοχοι)

ἐπιτηρηταὶ τέλ(ους) θησαυροῦ ἱερῶ(ν)

Πετεχεσπ(οχράτη)

[Ἴ]μούθου καὶ Ἴμούθου Ἑρι(έως), ἔσχ(ομεν)

4 [παρ'] ὑμῶ(ν) τὸ καθῆκ(ον) τέλ(ος).

[(ἔτους) - ]// Παχῶ(ν) κ̄ς.

[ - - Π]ικῶς σεση(μείωμα).

Gaius Ant( ) Eudaimon and associates, overseers of the tax of the granary of the temples, to Petechespochrates son of Imouthes and Imouthes son of Herieus, we have received from you the tax due. Year --, Pachon 26. I, Pikos, have signed.

1. This person is not attested elsewhere. In view of the various occurrences of men named Gaius Antonius (cf. *WO* 931 and the *Onomasticon* for other examples), and the lack of those with this praenomen and other nomina beginning with these letters, it is likely that we are to resolve this name as Antonius.

2. The taxpayers are not attested elsewhere; various men named Imouthes son of Herieus are known, but none can be identified with our taxpayer with any confidence.

6. A Pikos is attested as ἐπιτηρητὴς θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν in *WO* 955, year 26 of Commodus (185/6). Given the hand and the double strokes after the year (line 5), both characteristic of the 180's and 190's, an identification is plausible.

#### 52. Receipt for γεωμετρία

Inv. 66

8.3 x 7.5 cm.

A.D. 177 or 208

For this type of document, cf. S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton 1938) 49 ff. and *O.Wilb.* 35-39. For the taxpayer, see 64.

Παῦ(νι) ἰ τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)

Πετε(μενώφιλος) νε(ωτέρου) Πετε(μενώφιλος) Ψενχῶ(νσιος)

ὕπ(ερ) γεω(μετρίας) ιζ (ἔτους) Χ(άρακος) (δραχμᾶς)  
 δύο, (γίνονται) (δραχμᾶ) β. Ἄ(μώνιος)  
 σεση(μείωμαι).

4 Παῦ(νι) Ἰ.

Pauni 10 of the 17th year, in the name of Petemenophis the younger, son of Petemenophis, grandson of Psenchonsis, for *geometria* of the 17th year for Charax, two dr., that is, 2 dr. I, Amonios, have signed, Pauni 10.

## 53. Receipt for Rent

Inv. 62

7 x 5.7 cm.

Probably 194

For this type of receipt, see Wallace, *Taxation*, 75 and *O.Wilb.* 25.

Τῦβι Ἐ τοῦ γ (ἔτους) ὕπ(ερ) λημ(μάτων) β (ἔτους)  
 ὀνό(ματος) Πετε(μενώφιος) ν(εωτέρου) Ψενχώ(νσιος)  
 ἐνοικ(ίου)

3 Χά(ρακος) β (ἔτους) (δραχμῆν) μίαν f, (γίνεται)  
 (δραχμῆ) αf. Α(ύρήλιος) Ἄ(μώνιος) σεση(μείωμαι).

Tybi 5 of the 3rd year for receipts of the 2nd year, in the name of Petemenophis the younger, son of Psenchonsis, for rent for Charax for the second year, one dr. 4 ob., that is, 1 dr. 4 ob. I, Aurelius Amonios, have signed.

1. Tybi 5 = 31 December.

## 54. Receipt for Merismoï

Inv. 6

6.8 x 7 cm.

II/III

Ἄδρι(ανοῦ) Ἐ τοῦ κ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)

Παναμέως Παν

Ψενχώνσ(ιος) ὑπ(έρ) μερισ(μῶν)  
 4 [.. (ἔτους)] μη(τροπόλεως) (δραχμῆν) αῖ.  
 Πόσ(τομος) σεση(μείωμα).

Hadrianos 9 of the 20th year in the name of Panameus son of Psenchonsis (?) for merismoι of the ..th year, dr. 1, 5 ob. I, Postomos, have signed.

1. The year numeral could also be a *beta*.

2. The last few letters are smudged and perhaps partly erased; it is uncertain what they were intended to be. We do not think it likely that we should read a name Πεν-ψενχώνσις.

55. Receipt for Price of Wine and Dates

Inv. 17

7 x 11 cm.

II/III

Ἐπειφ Ϛ τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Σενθῶτο(υ) Πατορ-  
 μούθιοσ ..... ( ) Πετεμ(ενώριος) ὑπ(έρ) τι(μῆς)  
 οἴνο(υ) καὶ φοι(νίκων) (δραχμάς) ἕξ ῑ, (γίνονται)  
 (δραχμαὶ) Ϛῑ. Σαβῖνος σεση(μείωμα).

Epeiph 6 of the 17th year in the name of Senthotes daughter of Patormouthis ... of Petemenophis, for price of wine and dates, dr. six, 5 ob., that is, 6 dr., 5 ob. I, Sabinos, have signed.

2. The unread traces all seem to belong to one word, but if that is a name we would then have four names in a row, which is unusual.

3. There is a large smudge over the signature, which partially obscures it. It seems that the signer wrote the first four letters of his name, wrote a double stroke for abbreviation, then thought better of it and wrote the last three letters. These changes of mind are common enough; two occur in *P.Teb.* 648 and 661 (texts in *BASP* 6 [1969] 128 no. 7 and 129 no. 10, with plates; the feature was pointed out in *Aegyptus* 52 [1972] 145).

## 56. Receipt for a Money-Tax

Inv. 27

7.9 x 6.4 cm.

II/III

[ Month ] δ τοῦ β (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Ἐριεῦς

Πετεχῶ(νσιος)

[ - - - ].....( ) λη(μμάτων) α (ἔτους) (δραχμάς)

ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) η.

3

Κ.( ) σεση(μείωμα).

2. The correct reading is probably τι]μ(ῆς) πυρο(ῦ) λη(μμάτων) α (ἔτους); cf. *O.ROM* II 159 for an example of τιμῆ φοινίκων λημμάτων. For a price of wheat paid for the λήματα of the preceding year, see *O.Ashm.* 70, *O.Bodl.* 978.

3. One or two letters follow the *kappa* of the signer's name.

## 57. Receipt for a Money-Tax

Inv. 35

10.3 x 7.1 cm.

II/III

[ Month, date, year, ὀνό(ματος) - - ].( ) Παναμέως

[ ὑπ(έρ) tax, year, payment ] β καὶ ὀνό(ματος)

Ἔρου Νεχθ(ανούπιος)

[ - - - - - (δραχμάς) ] ιβ  $\frac{1}{4}$ . ἀλ(λας) κη ὀμ(οίως)

4 [ - - - - - ]. (δραχμάς) δ-ε. σεση(μείωμα).

[ - - - - - ] σεση(μείωμα). γ (ἔτους)

χ( ) (δραχμῆν) α.

[ - - - - - ] σεση(μείωμα).

One deleted line

1. The date of the handwriting and the appearance of Horos son of Nechthanoupis in line 2 suggest that only this formula is possible.

2. This taxpayer occurs in *O.Ashm.* 47 of a year 10 of the late second or early third century paying *geometria*.

4. It appears that no name precedes the signature in this line. In lines 5 and 6 what precedes is lost, and we cannot be certain if names stood there.

5. One would expect that χ( ) in this position would represent a tax, hence χ(ωματικόν); but it is written instead rather like the usual abbreviation of X(δρακος), and that may be a preferable reading. Another possibility is χα(λκίνην).

6. It is also possible to read a letter or two of a signer's name followed by a very abbreviated σεση(μείωμα).

## 58. Receipt for the Price of Wheat

Inv. 8

10 x 6.8 cm.

21 July A.D. 216

The dating of this ostrakon, which can belong only to Commodus or Caracalla, is secured for the reign of the latter by the appearance of the signature of Aurelius Paniskos. This person appears in *O.Bodl.* 557, whose two-digit year date was unreadable (but probably also a date of Caracalla) and in *O.Bodl.* 1115 of a year 3 that Tait, relying on the presence of the third-century διέγρα(αψεν), thought was later than the reign of Elagabalus. In *O.Bodl.* 1687, Aurelius Paniskos signs for a payment in a second year, of which Tait said, "probably 239 or 245." The present text suggests that these latter two texts may need to be dated somewhat earlier than appeared suitable to Tait.

Ἐπ(είφ) κζ τοῦ κδ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Παν(αμέως)

Πετε(μενώφιος)

ν(εωτέρου) [[ Πετεχ(ώνσιος) ]] Ψενχώ(νσιος) ὑπ(έρ)

τι(μῆς) πυροῦ δραχμᾶς

ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) η. Α(ύρηλιος) Πανίσ(κος).

(2nd hand) ἄλ(λας) Μεσ(ορή) β

4 ὁμοίς δραχ(μάς) τέσσαρες, (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) δ.

A(ύρήλιος) Πανίσ(κος).

(3rd hand) ἄλ(λας) Μεσο(ρή) δ̄ ὁμοί(ως) τέσσαρες,

(γίνονται) (δραχμαί) δ. A(ύρήλιος) Πανίσ(κος).

(4th hand) ἄλ(λην) ἦ ὁμ(οίως) μίαν ÷, (γίνεται)

(δραχμή) α ÷. A(ύρήλιος) Πανίσ(κος).

Epeiph 27 of the 24th year in the name of Panameus son of Petemenophis the younger, grandson of Psenchonsis, for price of wheat eight drachmas, that is, dr. 8. I, Aurelius Paniskos (have signed). Others, Mesore 2, likewise drachmas four, that is, dr. 4. I, Aurelius Paniskos (have signed). Others, Mesore 4, likewise four, that is, dr. 4. I, Aurelius Paniskos (have signed). Another the 8th, likewise one, 2 ob., that is, dr. 1, 2 ob. I, Aurelius Paniskos (have signed).

1-2. Panameus the taxpayer is attested elsewhere; cf. the commentary to 64 for a discussion of the receipts connected with his family. The argument there further supports our dating of this text.

#### 59. Receipt for a Money-Tax

Inv. 25

6 x 6.2 cm.

IIIp

Clearly something is lost at the left, and this loss can only be the διέγραψεν of the third-century formula (as in *O. Bodl.* 1165).

[Διέγρα(ψεν)] Μεσο(ρή) κ̄ε τ[οῦ .. (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)]

[ - - - ] κωτ(ος) διὰ Σεν[ - - - - - ]

[ - - - ] ἦ (ἔτους) Ἄγο(ρῶν) ῥυπ(αράς) (δραχμάς)

δύ[ο - - ]

## 60. Receipt for a Money-Tax

Inv. 24

5 x 6.4 cm.

IIIp

Since a payment in line 6 is made for a month, this receipt may have been given for a tax on a trade.

Διέγρα(ψε) ΦΘ..[

φίλιος Ψεν[

θης Πανει[

4 δραχ(μάς) εἴκοσι .[

ἀλ(λας) τῆ α(ύτῆ) ἡμέρα .[

ὕπ(ερ) Φαῶ(φι) β (ἔτους) [

ἀλ(λας) τῆ αὐ(τῆ) ἰβ [

8 Ἄμμ[

ἀλ(λας) [

- - - - -

## RECEIPTS FOR GRAIN TAXES

## 61. Receipt for Grain

Inv. D.7

7 x 5 cm.

98-117

For a parallel to this text, see *WO* 791 with the corrections of *BL* II, 78.

Μεμέτρῃ(κεν) [εἰς τὸ συν-]

αγοραστικ(όν) [γενή(ματος) .. (ἔτους)]

Τραιανοῦ τ[οῦ κυρίου]

4 Ἐπειφ ᾱ [ - Name - ]

Φάηριος Δ[ - - - ]

Παμώνθ(ου) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) [ - - - ]

7 δωδέκατ[ον, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαί) ..  $\bar{\iota}\beta$ .

Signature].

### 62. Granary Receipt

Inv. 14

11 x 13.6 cm.

4 July A.D. 125

This ostrakon records a payment by a person through an intermediary, both of them already attested persons. The taxpayer, Kametis son of Psenchonsis, is known from a series of Bodleian ostraka (1218, 1228-1230, 1235, 1246, 1255, 1261, 1274) as a payer of grain between 119 and 128. His brother Melanion appears between 120 and 128, in *O.Bodl.* 1222, 1235, and 1269; in the last of these he lacks a patronymic, but he is there paying for his nephew (or niece) Esoueris, son (or daughter) of Kametis, who is in turn known from 125 to 128 (references in *Death and Taxes*, no. 101, to which add *O.Leid.* 53 [SB X 10358]; his grandfather's name, Psenchonsis, is given in *O.Leid.* 80 [SB X 10401]). In the present text Esoueris is acting as intermediary for Kametis as in *O.Bodl.* 1274.

Μέ(τρον) θησ(αυροῦ) κω(μῶν) γενή(ματος) θ (ἔτους)

Ἄδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου

Ἐπειφ  $\bar{\iota}$  ὀνό(ματος) Καμήτιο(ς)

4 Ψενχώ(νσιος) διὰ Ἐσουήριο(ς)

(πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) [[ δέμοιρο(ν) ]] ἑμίαν'. ἄλ(λο) κ $\bar{\beta}$

ὀνό(ματος) Σενχώ(νσιος) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) τρίτον,

(γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) αγ ..

Payment to the granary of the villages from produce of the 9th year of Hadrian the lord, Epeiph 10, in the name of Kametis son of Psenchonsis through Esoueris, art. wh. one. Another on the 22nd in the name of Senchonsis, art. wh. a third, total, art. wh. 1, 1/3.

7. The horizontal bar of the *gamma* is extended to the right some distance and through it something resembling a

rounded *delta* of considerable size has been drawn; perhaps a signature.

## 63. Granary Receipt

Inv. 23

5.7 x 4.8 cm.

A.D. 161-180

This very much damaged piece, missing probably about half the text at the left, takes interest from the possibility that the same person appears in *O.Leid.* 83 (*SB X 10404*), of A.D. 140, if the name Σενχῶ(νσις) can be read at the end of line 3 of that ostrakon, which we think it can.

[Μέ(τρημα) θησ(αυροῦ) .. γενή(ματος) -- (ἔτους)]

Αύρηλίου Ἄντων(ίνου) Καίσαρος

[τοῦ κυρίου month, day ] ὀνό(ματος) Σενχῶ(νσις)

Δημᾶτος

3 [ - - - - - ] σεση(μείωμα).

## 64. Receipt for Chaff

Inv. 74

8.3 x 5 cm.

ca. A.D. 210/1

This text follows the normal formula for its class; cf. *O.Bodl.* 1641-1688, *O.Wilb.* 71-73. The word ἀχυρον is altogether lacking, which is unusual but not unattested (as *O.Bodl.* 1671, 1678, 1679); the more common occurrence is its presence in the early part of the receipt but omission before the measure, as in *ZPE* 14 (1974) 237, no. 10.

The taxpayer of this text, Panameus son of Petemenophis the younger, grandson of Psenchonsis, is known from a number of texts. For convenience we tabulate them:

<i>O.Bodl.</i> 1550	year 31	A.D. 191	pays wheat
<i>O.Amst.</i> 65	year 3	194	pays chaff
64	years 17-19	208-211	pays chaff
<i>ZPE</i> no. 10	year 18	210	pays chaff
11	year 20	212	pays grain
12	year 22	214	pays barley
<i>O.Amst.</i> 58	year 24	216	pays price of wheat

The texts cited as *ZPE* are published in *ZPE* 14 (1974) 229-39 and belong to a private collection.

Of the dates assigned in this table, only that to 191 is absolutely secure, as no other year 31 is possible. But other arguments may be brought to bear.

(1) 58, of year 24, is signed by Aurelius Paniskos. The use of the nomen by signers of Theban receipts is generally a sign of a date after the Antonine Constitution, even though the taxpayers do not normally use the nomen. It is, as shown there, likely on other grounds that the date falls in the third century. Year 24, therefore, is likely to be that of Caracalla, 216.

(2) Once this date is accepted, it is very likely that the texts with dates near that, ranging from years 17 to 22, all belong to the same period. ZPE no. 10 and 64 clearly belong together, being chaff receipts both signed by Horos. It is particularly noteworthy that the texts which we assign to the years 210-214 do not have a single signer with the nomen Aurelius; this is precisely what one would expect, given the delay of two years or so after the Constitution before Aurelius became widely used in Egypt. Since the terminal receipt of the series, from 216, has a signer with the nomen Aurelius, the expected pattern is complete. It is, of course, much less likely on general grounds and for reasons of longevity that the other receipts would date from the reign of Marcus Aurelius and of Commodus.

(3) This leaves the text of year 3, 65. One has the choice of 194 or 219. The signer is Amonios, and the absence of Aurelius suggests the earlier date. Now Amonios is a very common name for signers of receipts for taxes in kind in the second half of the second century, and we will certainly never know how many men are represented by the decades of these receipts. But they do, in any case, belong predominantly to the period before 200, reinforcing thus the suggestion of 194.

Some other texts may be related to the family, but they raise problems. 52 has a Petemenophis the younger, son of Petemenophis, grandson of Psenchonsis paying *geometria* for Charax, with Amonios signing. Since this is a money tax, the Amonios need not be the same. Our choices are 177 and 208. It is perfectly reasonable to assume that this taxpayer is a brother of Panameus; the date of 208 would thus be the more likely. But it must be admitted that the relationship is not proven. 53 is dated to a year 3; Petemenophis the younger, son of Psenchonsis, pays rent for year 2; the signer's name is read as Aurelius Amonios, but the resolution is uncertain. The taxpayer could be the father of Panameus, and the date of 194 given reflects the probability that this is so; but it is not clear that this is necessary, and if this man is not the father, he may be some other relative - or no relation at all. The names are, after all, not rare. ZPE no. 13, finally, has a Petemenophis son of Psenchonsis, grandson of Herak( ) paying rent through (?) his son Panameus (there is some difficulty in

the text). There is no date, unfortunately, and a connection is speculative.

Παρεκομίς(θη) εἰς τὴν χώρα(την)

γενή(ματος) ιθ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος) Πανα(μέως) Πετε-  
μενώ(φιος) υ(εωτέρου) Ψενχώ(νσιος) ιζ (ἔτους)

4 [γ]όμο(ν) ἔν, α. Ἱερός σεση(μείωμαι).

Furnished to the cohort, from produce of the 19th year, in the name of Panameus, son of Petemenophis the younger, grandson of Psenchonsis, for the 17th year, one, 1 gomos (of chaff). I, Horos, have signed.

## 65. Receipt for Chaff

Inv. 76

8 x 10.3 cm.

A.D. 194

For the taxpayer, see the preceding text.

Ἄθῦρ ιδ {δ} τοῦ γ (ἔτους) ὀνό(ματος)

.... Πανα(μέως) Πετε(μενώφιος) υ(εωτέρου)

Ψενχώ(νσιος) γ(όμου) ἕκτ(ον) μ[.] ἠ', (γίνεται)

γ(όμου) ς μη.

4 Ἄμ(ώνιος) σεση(μείωμαι).

Hathyr 14 of the 3rd year, in the name of ... Panameus son of Petemenophis the younger, grandson of Psenchonsis, one-sixth gomos, 1/48, that is, gom. 1/6, 1/48. I, Amonios, have signed.

1. The second *delta* is to the right and slightly lower and the first; the reason for it is unclear.

2. The letters at the start are very faint; they do not look like a dittography of Panameus, nor do they look much like Aurelius (which would not be expected here; taxpayers with Aurelius in texts where the signer is not an Aurelius are not found).

## 66. Receipt for Price of Wheat

Inv. 12

7.5 x 5.3 cm.

A.D. 179 or 211

Ἄδ(ριανοῦ) ᾧ τοῦ κ (ἔτους) ὑπ(έρ) προ(σθέσεως)  
 ὀνό(ματος) Παν( ) Πετεμεν(ώφιος)  
 Πικῶτο(ς) τι(μὴν) πυροῦ (ἀρτάβης)  $\angle$   $\overline{10}$   
 4 δραχ(μάς) δεκαοκτώ :c, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης)  $\angle$   $\overline{10}$   
 (δραχμαί) ιη:c. Πε( ) σεση(μείωμα).

Hadrianos 30 of the 20th year for *prosthesis*, in the name of Pan( ) son of Petemenophis, grandson of Pikos, price of 1/2, 1/12 art. of wheat, eighteen drachmas, 2 1/2 ob., that is, 1/2, 1/12 art. wh., 18 dr., 2 1/2 ob. I, Pe( ), have signed.

3. It is unusual to find both the amount of grain and the amount of money in a receipt for price of wheat; usually only one appears. An example parallel to our text is *O.Bodl.* 979, of a year 16, in which 12 drachmas are paid for the same amount of wheat as in our text, 7/12 artaba. The "price" of wheat to be calculated in these examples ranges from 20 to 30 drachmas per artaba, which is very high. The peculiarity of this receipt may be connected with the fact that it is for *prosthesis*, on which see 67.

67. Receipt for *Prosthesis*

Inv. W.2

6.7 x 5.5 cm.

II/III

This type of *prosthesis* receipt is fairly common; see the introduction to *O.ROM* 60 for references. The collector was not previously attested.

Καλασίρι(ς) Καλασίριο(ς) [καί μέτο-]  
 χο(ι) πράκ(τορες) σιτικῶ(ν) .[ place ]  
 ἔσχ(ομεν) εἰς πρόσθ(εσιν) [date? name]

4 Ἄρσιή(σιος) πυροῦ [ἀρτάβ(ης)]  
 ¯, (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) §. .[ signature ].

Kalasisiris son of Kalasisiris and associates, collectors of grain taxes of ... We have received for the extra charge [of ... in the name of ...] son of Harsiesis, 1/2 artaba of wheat, that is, art. wh. 1/2.

## 68. Granary Receipt

Inv. 21

9.4 x 9.7 cm.

15 July A.D. 237

The dating formula of this receipt of the reign of Maximinus and Maximus is attested elsewhere only in the much-damaged *WO 997* (cf. Bureth, *Titulatures imp.*, 112). The taxpayer's family is well-known from other texts; cf. our reconstruction of their stemma in *BASP* 6 (1969) 68. This man himself appears in *O.Leid.* 15 (*SB X 10323*), as corrected in *BASP*.

Μέ(τρομα) θησ(αυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος)

γ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν

Γαίου Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου Μαξιμίνου καὶ Γαίου

Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου Μαξιμίμου Εὐσεβῶν Σεβασ(τῶν)

4 Ἐπειφ̄ κᾱ ὑπ(έρ) Χ(άρακος) ὄνό(ματος) Πεκύ(σιος)

Ψανσ(νῶτος) π[ρ] (εσβυτέρου)

Ἀσκλείας (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) μίαν ἕκτον, (γίνεται)

(πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) ας'. Ἄρπ(οκράς) σεση(μείωμαι).

Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the third year of our lords Gaius Iulius Verus Maximinus and Gaius Iulius Verus Maximus Pii Augusti, Epeiph 21 for Charax in the name of Pekysis son of Psansnos the elder, grandson of Askleia, art. wh. one, a sixth, that is, art. wh. 1 1/6. I, Harpokras, have signed.

4. The stroke of abbreviation at the end of the line is visible despite the dark blotch at that point.

5. A Harpokras signs for grain in *O. Bodl.* 1589 (209), 1616 (225), and 1620 (year 4, which Tait thought belonged to Severus Alexander or Philip). He is perhaps the same.

## ACCOUNTS

## 69. Uncertain Account

Inv. 88A-B

A: 12 x 13 cm.

B: 14 x 22 cm.

Roman

This and the following two texts clearly are kindred documents. In all of them the word κηλόνιον (*l.* κηλώνειον) appears, more often than not abbreviated κηλ. The same word appears, abbreviated in the same way, in *O. Mich.* I 323: Σαβεῖνος Ἴσχυρᾶ κηλ( ) β. The word means "swing-beam" for drawing water. It is likely that in the same way in which μηχανή, the (irrigation) machine, came to mean the area of land irrigated by such a machine (cf. *P. Lond.* V 1741.5n.), so κηλώνειον acquired the meaning "piece of land irrigated by a shadouf." This interpretation would lead us to take ημ[ in 70.2 and 71.10 and ημι[ and ημια[ in 71.2 and 3 as being ἡμιαρούριον, a piece of land a half aroura in size.

On the other hand, in the present text the κηλώνια appear to be counted, a fact which seems to run counter to the above interpretation. It is possible that there was a tax on irrigation machines (cf. *P. Lond.* V 1741.5n.). In our texts there may be a question of counting these machines for tax purposes. In this case one would more likely take the broken words cited above as parts of ἡμιαρτάβιον or ἡμιαρταβία: a tax on the machines at the rate of a half-artaba each, or a tax on some other basis.

---

ὁμοίως τω φληρ Τίνουβε[

Βῆκιδις Κακουνης καὶ Πρ.[

Ἄρπεκῦσις καὶ Ψεμεντω.[

4 Πλῆνιδις Ψεμπνου

---

ὁμοίως τω φληρ Κακιτω.[

Πευορ κηλ( ) ᾱ [

Πλεινεμεν κηλ( )  $\bar{\cdot}$  [

---

8 ὁμοίως τω φ[ληρ  
Κάσις

Πρεμικρη [   
Σαρωτ καὶ [

12 Πανπληου[   
καὶ Αλτιγ[

---

τω φλ[ηρ  
Ψενο[

16 Διον[

Βη[

Α[

(Piece B)

]ου

20 ]σιρις καὶ Ἄτρεψις κηλ( )  $\bar{\delta}$

]ιης καὶ Κολλασαι

]κραμπα κηλ( )  $\bar{\delta}$

---

]ριουλις

24 ]αχνουβις

] κηλ( )  $\bar{\beta}$

κ]αὶ Μεσουήρις κηλ( )  $\bar{\beta}$

] καὶ Ψενμώνθης

28 ] κηλ( )  $\bar{\alpha}$

---

]·θφοιτος

]·[.]ως και 'Ατρεῆς

]·σις κηλ( )  $\bar{\gamma}$

32 ]·ιτης κηλ( )  $\bar{\alpha}$

]ηθεστας κηλ( )  $\bar{\alpha}$

] κηλ( )  $\bar{\beta}$

]ης κηλ( )  $\bar{\alpha}$

1. τω φληρ (also lines 5, 8, 14): It is possible that no division should be made and this read as a place-name; several beginning with τω- are known. Τινουβε[: There are several feminine proper names with the beginning Τινου-.

2. Κακουνης: This name is not otherwise attested, but it may be a variant of Κακόνη in 72.5,8. Πρ.[: The unread letter may be ε.

3. 'Ωρπεκῦσις: This name is not attested, but its meaning is clear: "Horos, the Nubian" (cf. for the latter part of the name H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I, 102, 5). Ψεμεντω[: Cf. Ψενμενθ( ) in *PSI* III 263.1 and Ψενμωντι in *O. Petr.* 381.3.

4. Ψεμπνου: Perhaps a form of the name Ψενπνούθης, but there is no mark of abbreviation.

5. Κακτω: Cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.n. Κακῶ.

6. Πευορ: Cf. the names Πευῶρις and Πευωρι( ) (in *PSI* X 1176, introd.).

10. Πρεμκιορ[: There are many names with the beginning Πρεμ- ("the man of"), cf. *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* VII 31.

13. Αλτιν[: In *P. Princ.* II 96.42 the proper name "Αλτινα appears.

21. Κολλασαι: This proper name is new.

22. ]κρομπα: If this is a part of a proper name, as seems probable, we cannot identify it; nothing suitable appears in Dornseiff and Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*. The same is true of proper names, if they are such, in lines 23, 24, 29, and 33.

27. Ψενμώνθης: There is a trace of ink between *nu* and *theta*.

## 70. Account

Inv. 86

11.2 x 5.2 cm.

Roman

This sherd probably comes from the same pot as the following text. For the contents, see 69, introduction.

- - - - -  
 [ - + 10 - ] *vacat* κηλ( ) [  
 . [ - + 8 - ] .νεώτερος η. [  
 Τη[...]ιρις *vacat* κηλ( ) [

4 Ούαλεριανός κυνονυ  
 Πρινκουρεσι  
 Παμώνθη(ς) ἀδελφ[ός  
 Τιθοῆς ἀδελ[φός

8 [.....]. [

3. At the start, probably a proper name ending in -ῖρις.

4. Read κοινωνοί (for κοινωνός), probably.

5. This is not a known proper name. The κ has been corrected.

6. The name has no mark of abbreviation.

## 71. Account

Inv. W.1

11 x 9 cm.

Roman

This account probably comes from the same sherd as 70. See 69, introduction, for the purpose.



## Column I

- - - - -

ἡμέρας]  $\bar{\alpha}$

]ας[

]ς ἡμερῶν [

4 ] .εις Πετσοιτεις [ἡμερῶν] β

Κ]ακόνης ἡμερῶν β

] .ος Λουκρητείου ἡμέρας  $\bar{\alpha}$

] ητεις ἡμέρα<ς>  $\bar{\alpha}$

8 ]μαξ[[ω]] `α`ν κακόνη.[...]  $\bar{\alpha}$

]ς ...[

- - - - -

## Column II

- - - - -

κα ..[...]σιρι[ς]

Παση...[

12  $\bar{\kappa}\beta$  Τυ[

one or more lost lines

$\bar{\kappa}\gamma$  Α...υ.[

Καμυστις [

Ούαλ[

16  $\bar{\kappa}[\bar{\delta}]$

- - - - -

4. The components Πετ and Σοις are well-known, but this name compounded of them is not.

5. Κ]αμόνη (and in line 8) is perhaps a new feminine name. Cf. 69.2.

7. ]ητεις is probably iotacism for -ητις or -ητιος, both common name endings.

8. We do not recognize a proper name in the letters at the start of the line; perhaps this is a reference to wagons.

10. Presumably the end of a proper name.

13. Καμυστις is not previously attested.

## 73. Account

Inv. D.11

6.8 x 5.5 cm.

II/IIIp

This account probably served tax purposes. On the part of the ostrakon broken away at the right, the number of artabas paid was probably mentioned.

..

Παμοντκύσιο(ς) Π..[

Πλήνιο(ς) ὑπ(έρ) .. (άρούρης) α.[

4 ῑα Πλήνιος Ἄρσιή[σιος

ὄμ(οίως) ὑπ(έρ) (άρουρῶν) β η̄ λ̄β[

Φθο(μώνθου) Φθο(μώνθου) Παουάσιο(ς) [

κ̄γ̄ Λαχε( ) Φθο(μώνθου) Δ[

1. Only the feet of the letters are preserved. The first may be *iota*.

2. The omission of *epsilon* in the middle of this name may reflect an actual consonant cluster in pronunciation or may be a simple error. The patronymic (?) may begin in Πεν-.

3. ὑπ(έρ) .. (άρούρης): Before the symbol for aroura, something which looks like the normal way to write λί(τρα) is found. Perhaps it indicates something in the quality or location of the land, such as λιβικῆς, λιπαρᾶς, λιμνασθείσης.

7. Λαχε( ): This is perhaps to be resolved as Λαχε(τᾶς) as in *BGU* II 630.22; but a variant spelling of the genitive of Λάχης cannot be excluded. The *delta* at the end of the line may begin the grandfather's name. The grandfather's name appears in line 6, and there would have been room in line 4.

## 74. Account

Inv. D.5

6.2 x 6.8 cm.

III/IVp

] . μη(τρὸς) Σενπεβρίχιο(ς)

]μου Πανεχωτ( ) μη(τρὸς) Σε..

*vacat*

(γίνονται) ιη

4 διὰ Πετεαρβ( ) Ψενω.....

1. The name does not appear to be elsewhere attested, but the formation is evident.

3. It is not clear whether 18 is in money or kind.

## 75. Account

Inv. 81

8 x 7.7 cm.

IIIp

It appears that this account, broken on every side, dealt with men, children (slaves?) and money. The left-hand column has the ends of entries, with amounts in drachmas and obols. The right column gives first a number, which is presumably a date (2nd-9th of an unknown month), then ἄνδ(ρες) and παιδία (twice only, at the bottom) followed by a number. It may be that after this one would again have an amount.

Column I

Column II

- - - - - 10 [β̄ ἄνδ(ρες)?] ε̄

] . (δραχμάς) δ γ̄ ἄνδ(ρες) ε̄

	] (δραχμάς) μ	12	δ̄ ανδ(ρες) ζ̄
	] (δραχμάς) μ		ε̄ ανδ(ρες) ζ̄
4	]..		ζ̄ ανδ(ρες) ζ̄
	]—		ζ̄ ανδ(ρες) ζ̄
	]—	16	η̄ ανδ(ρες) ζ̄
	]—		παιδία [
8	]f		θ̄ ανδ(ρες) [
	].		παιδ(ία) [

5-7. The line is probably the one-obol sign. The trace before it in 5-6 is probably a number of drachmas, with both *mu* and *alpha* being possible.

19. Only the tops of the letters are preserved. What there is looks like παιδ with a second *delta* written over the first.

## 76. Account of Grain

Inv. 78

13.1 x 19.5 cm.

IV/Vp

This is an account of persons who paid certain numbers of artabas.

	Γάιος Πεκύσι(ος)	(άρτάβης) γ
	Σισόλις Πεκύσ(ιος)	(άρτάβης) ζς
	Ἔρω(ς) Πεκύσι(ος)	(άρτάβης) ζς
4	Πετεήσιο(ς)	(άρτάβης) ε
	Φα( ) γεώ(τερος) Ἔρω(ς) (άρτάβης) ζ	
	Πεταῦ Ἰουλ(ίου)	(άρτάβης) ε
	Παῶ...	(άρτάβης) γ
8	Πασήμι(ς)	(άρτάβης) γ

Παμώ(νθης) Πουήριος (ἀρτάβης) ὄς

3. The patronymic is curiously written; Περουᾶ (cf. *SB* I 5950) would be a possible alternative. The way the number is made appears to indicate that it is one-sixth, as also in lines 4 and 6; the formation in lines 2 and 9 is somewhat different.

6. The name Πεταῦ is indeclinable also in *BGU* I 160.4.

#### 77. Account of Money

Inv. 53

7.5 x 5.2 cm.

II/IIIp

The purpose of this account is not preserved.

[...]ωσ[.].[

[Π]λῆνις Πασήμ[ι]ος

[Π]αχῶνις καὶ Ἐκοπ..[

4 Πατεμουῶς (δραχμαί) η

Πατᾶσις (δραχμαί) η

3. Παχῶνις is not attested, but Παχῶμις and Παχῶνσις are known. The second name perhaps began Ἐκοπελ, a beginning known in such names as Ἐκοπελλεῦς, Ἐκοπελᾶς, Ἐκοπέλλις.

5. Πατᾶσις occurs also in *O. Florida* 24.

#### LISTS

#### 78. Dekania List

Inv. 77

8.5 x 7 cm.

Early IIP?

This dekania list is not in a typical hand for such a document. Practically all such lists come from the second century or the early third; this list is perhaps on the early side. The people do not appear to be elsewhere attested. For the use of these lists, see Bagnall's article in *Illinois Classical Studies*, volume 3.

α

Χεσθώτης Ν. [

Ἀπάθης Ψενσευ [

4 . Παμώνθ(ης) Πετεμε(νάφιος) μη(τρὸς) Τ [

↑ Ἀμενρῶ(σις) πρε(σβύτερος) Σαχομ(νέως) [

Φατρῆς ὁ καὶ Δαμων [

Traces

- - - - -

5. ↑ = δεκανός.

## 79. List of Names

Inv. 13

8 x 10.5 cm.

IIp

Ἔωρος Χουώτιο(ς)

6 ΠΕΤΕΝΓΩΦΤΗΣ ΤΕ [

Μούρου Ἑρακλέο(υς)

4 Βησαρίων Ἀρμαίο(υ)

Σομτοῦ(ς) πρε(σβύτερος) Πασή(μιος)

Σαραπάμ(ων) Νείλων(ος)

Ἔωρος Νείλου ..

8 Τεῶτ(ος) Δολοῦτο(ς)

Κούλειος Ἐρζίω(νος)

Πεμμαῦς Ἀρχιβί(ου)

Πλελοῦτο(ς) Νεζίλ(ωνος)

1. Χουώτις is not elsewhere attested.

2. Πεπενγώφης is not attested, but it is probably related to Πεπενεφώης (which we do not think readable here). The *delta* before his name may represent δεκανός, although that is normally represented by a sign.

3. Μοῦρος is not elsewhere attested, but cf. Μῶρος.

## 80. List of Names

Inv. 3

10.6 x 12.9 cm.

Roman

The names of this ostrakon suggest that it, like the series *O. Bodl.* 1762 ff., comes from the West Bank; noteworthy are Patsebt(h)is, Plenis, Psensenplenis, and Chollos.

Πατσέβτις ν(εώτερος)

Πληνις υἱ(ός) Πεκῦσις

Ψενσενπλ(ήνις) Ἐντιλέ(οντος)

4 Πετρονίου Τράριος

Πλ(ήνις) υἱός Πανιτβηοῦ

Χολλῶς

2. A Plenis son of Pekysis figures in *O. Bodl.* 1764, but both names are very common.

3. Ἐντιλέων is cited by the *Onomasticon* only from the Zenon papyri.

4. Τράριος does not appear in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

5. The spelling Πανιτβηοῦς seems to be unattested, but Πανειτβηοῦς appears in both *NB* and *Onomasticon*.

## 81. List of Names

Inv. 31

8.7 x 5.5 cm.

Late Roman

The original purpose of this list is uncertain; it might have been an account.

[ό]νό(ματος) Φθουμῶνθ(ου) Ἀπίωνο(ς) εἰ[  
 [ό]νό(ματος) Κολλούθιο(ς) Πτολεμαῖο(υ) εἰ[  
 [ό]νό(ματος) Ἀμάρω(νος) Ἀπίωνο(ς) .[

## 82. List of Names

Inv. 45

6 x 5.7 cm.

Roman

Neither handwriting nor names remind one of the Theban name lists, although some of the names are well-known at Thebes.

Trace

Πασαντ.[

Κουαλαυ[

4 Ἔωρος Παμω[

Πλήνις Καρ[

Ἀνθεστᾶς Σ.[

Κοκομης Κ[

8 Ἔωρος Αμε[

Ἔωρος Σκ.[

...ωτικ[

## 83. List of Names

Inv. 54

6.2 x 5.6 cm.

Roman

The names in this list are except for Peteesis not Theban; the hand is characteristic of name-lists from Thebes; and the use of καί instead of patronymics in most lines is remarkable. We can offer no hypothesis for the purpose of the text.

- - - - -

Πριν...[

Ἀπολωνιτη κ[αί

Καπίτων κα[ί

4 Ἐροῦτος καί [

Ἐρος καί Κυ[

Πασσατος τ[

[Πε]τεῖσις [

- - - - -

1. We cannot find a known name to suggest here.

6. Πασσατος sounds as if it might be Roman, but it does not appear in Schulze, *Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* any more than in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*.

#### UNCERTAIN TEXTS

#### 84. Magical Text?

Inv. 83

7.2 x 6.6 cm.

Roman

The remains of this text suggest some application of astrology. Professor O. Neugebauer, who has kindly examined the text and photograph, thinks that it is not a horoscope. The only possibility he finds attractive, even though it is very uncertain in the state of the text, is that this is a magical text in letter form, perhaps an invocation of help or request for advice.

] .ος Ούρσιν[

] εν κύρειέ μο[υ

τ]φ Ὑδρηχφ δευ[

4 ] καί Ἄρης Κρειφ [

] οιδει έρρωσ[

5. Neugebauer cites Preisendanz, *P.Graec.Mag.* II, p. 157 (XXXI b 10) for ἔρρωσ[ο in such a text.

## 85. Uncertain Text

Inv. D.2

7.7 x 12.6 cm.

IIP

The remains of this text, complete except at left, are rather unusual for an ostrakon and raise an interest they cannot satisfy. We appear to have cited here some terms related to a loan and its interest. The use of πρὸς in line 1 perhaps suggests a contract. But beyond this, enough is lost that we cannot offer a connected sense.

]λις πρὸς Τέρτιν

]της (δραχμάς) μ καὶ τόκον ἀπὸ μηνὸς

τὸ]ν στατήρα ἵνα γράψῃ μοι ἐφ' ἔν

4 ]αι ἔχι μου Μαουῶς ὀνηλάτης

μην]ὸς Παῦνι ὁ στατήρ ὀβολῶν

]μοι ἔσεν τὸ γεινόμενον καὶ

]δ καὶ τριῶν ἐτῶν τόκον

8 τ]ειμὴν χόρτου τὸ γεινόμενον

].ψιαναπειθη ἱκανὸν δὲ τῷ

]λησαι θιννησις (δραχμάς) η

]— ἰστοπα ταύτη γρα (δραχμάς) ζ.

2-3. It does not seem possible to bring the mention of interest into direct relation with that of the stater. The entries in *WB* II under τόκος show that interest was generally calculated by the month and on a per mina basis. Even an obol per stater per month would be very high interest (ca. 43 percent annually). If the lacuna in line 3 held a month name plus a rate of interest and then the beginning of the construction of which the surviving part formed a portion, the lacuna was large indeed.

4. What Maouos has to do with the transaction is not clear; no more the role of Thinnesis in line 10.

6. Read ἴσον.

10. Θιυνησις is cited by *NB* only from two ostraka from Syene; a version with one *nu* is also cited from the same group of ostraka. The remains at the start of the line suggest an aorist infinitive.

11. We cannot make out the sense of the opening group of letters; γρεα we do not recognize unless it is a misspelling of κρέας.

#### 86. Uncertain Text

Inv. W.5

9 x 10.5 cm.

Roman

The meaning of this text is not clear to us. It seems to be complete at top, bottom, and right; but the loss at left must be considerable.

]οι τῶν ἱερέων ᾶν

]νον δέδωσαν ὡς ὄτου

?γ]εῖνωμαι καὶ εἶδω τοὺς α

#### 87. Text Concerning Measures

Inv. 73

5.5 x 4.2 cm.

Roman

It is uncertain on which side(s), if any, this text is complete; it seems to be a list of amounts of something (liquid) in several measures, the last two of which are known, the *rhodion* and the *kolophonion*. The first may end in ]δία, perhaps either ῥόδια or κνίδια.

]ια κα

]λονοκε δ

] κολοφών[ια

4 ] ῥόδια [

2. We have not found any measure which resembles this word.

## 88. Contract?

Inv. W.4

9.2 x 6.5 cm.

Roman

The extensive breakage on three sides makes it difficult to see what is at stake here. The hand is not a scribal cursive. Some lines are too damaged to allow even a division into words, but in line 5 there is mention of rendering an account, and in line 8, half of something yearly; line 9 may mention a payment.

- - - - -

]..[

]ακουω[

]ς ἐστιν τ.[

4 ] ὁμοῦ τρις οὐμ[

λ]όγον διδώντω[ν

].περ ἀγροίκων κα[

].οντων δικαίως κα[

8 ] ἡμύσους ἐνιαυτῷ λο[

].ων δώσει τὸ γαρ[

9. Perhaps των.

## 89. Memorandum?

Inv. D.13

4.3 x 4.1 cm.

Roman

Too little of this remains for us to say if it was a receipt for a money tax or only a memorandum of some sort. The names are typical of the Theban ostraka.

- ] . Ἀρμυύσιος  
 ] . μη(τρὸς) Σενφθο(μώνθου)  
 ].....εὐ
- 4 Ἀ]θὺρ  $\bar{\alpha}$  (δραχμᾶς) β-  
 ]..

## 90. Memorandum

Inv. D.8                      9.6 x 5.5 cm.                      Roman

This text is presumably a memorandum or label; it does not seem to be broken.

Φθομώνθ(ης) Μέμων(ος)

## BYZANTINE TEXTS

## 91. Receipt for Grain

SB 16.12433

Inv. 5                      9.7 x 11.8 cm.                      V/VIp

Jacob acknowledges receipt of a certain number of artabas of wheat paid by Paamios for religious purposes.

- Ἰάκωβ Πααμίφ  
 δέδωκας (ὑπὲρ) προσφορ(ᾶς) τοῦ ἀγίου  
 ἄπα Παπνουθίου(υ) (καί) τοῦτο ὑπὲρ  
 4 πτερέωνος σίτου ἀρτάβας  
 εἴκοσι τέσσαρας (καί) (ὑπὲρ) λεγτοσχ( ) σίτου  
 ἀρτάβας δεκαῆξ (καί) (ὑπὲρ) περσέας  
 ἀρτάβας δύο (καί) (ὑπὲρ) τοῦ ἄπα Ψάρου  
 8 ἀρτάβας δύο δίμοιρον, {γί(νονται)}  
 γί(νονται) μδ (δίμοιρον) μέτρ(φ) δικαίφ καὶ ταῦτ(α)

λογί(σεταί) σοι Ἀτροῖ(ς) Ἀρπ( ) ἰδ" ἰνδ(ικτίονος).

ἐγρο(άφη) Μεσορῆ ἰη ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἰδ" .

12 Ἀπ[α] Ἰάκωβ σεσημ(είωμα).

12 Ἰάκωβ ostr.

Jacob to Paamios. You have given for the offerings for (the church of) the abbot Parnouthios and especially for the ---, twenty-four artabas of wheat and for the --- sixteen artabas of wheat, and for the perseas, two artabas, and for (the church of) the abbot Psaros, two and two-thirds artabas, total  $44 \frac{2}{3}$  by the just measure, and they will be set down to your account of the 14th indiction by Hatres, son of Harp( ). Written Mesore 18, 14th indiction. I, Abbot Jacob, have signed.

2. προσφορ(ᾶς): cf. *P. Cair. Masp.* II 139 iv 6 (p. 51); *P. Oxy.* XVI 1898.23n.

2-3. τοῦ ἀγίου ᾄπα Παπνουθίου(υ): cf. Παπνουθίου ἐκκλησία in *P. Lond.* IV 1420.204.

4. πτερέωνος: This word is not known. Are we dealing with a feathered or winged instrument or ornament?

5. λεντοσχ( ): The third letter looks more like *nu* than *pi*, although there are many words compounded with λεπτο-. No words starting with λεντοσχ- or λεπτοσχ- are known.

6. περσεάς: This is an Egyptian tree. In *BGU* IV 1028.9, it stands for an ornament in the form of a leaf of the perseas-tree. This might be the case here.

7. ᾄπα Ψάρου: The proper name is well-known, but no abbot (cf. M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* [Firenze 1968] no. 49, 3n.) of this name is known.

## 92. Order for Payment

Inv. 51

10.5 x 10 cm.

V/VIp

Apollonios gets the order to pay a shipper a certain amount of money to cover the freight costs of something to an unknown place. Cf. A.C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* (Baltimore

1936) 407 f. and G. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich* (Soc.Scient.Fenn., Comment. Hum. Lit. 4.2: Helsingfors 1932) 226 ff., for costs of water transport.

ιβ' ἰνδικ(τίονος) Μεσουρή ᾱ

Μακάριος δι' ἐμοῦ Παύ-

λου Ἀπολλωνίῳ.

4 ἀργυρίου ταλάντων  
 μυριάδας δύο τετρα-  
 κισχειλίας παρέσχε  
 Πεκύσει ναύτη

8 ὑπὲρ ναύλων σί-

[τ]ου. σεσημ[είωμαι.]

12th indiction, Mesore 3. Makarios through me, Paulos, to Apollonios. Give Pekysis, the shipper, for freight-costs two myriads, four thousand talents of silver. I have signed.

4-6. For the money see L.C. West and A.C. Johnson, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 134.

8. ναύλων: Cf. O.M. Pearl, "Transport Charges in Egypt in the Era of Inflation," *TAPA* 83 (1952) 74 ff.

9. For the absence of a name in the signature, see *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XII, p. 17.

### 93. Receipt

Inv. 80

10 x 7.8 cm.

VI/VIIp

In texts of this kind (cf. *O.Bodl.* 2067 ff.) we should expect to find payments for the land-tax (δημόσια), the poll-tax (ἀνδρισμός), the tax called the δαπάνη, and the *embole*. But except for the proper names and the date, the reading of this text is very doubtful.

† Ἀβραάμι(ς) Ἀδρων  
 .....νην..ρ.( ) θι..( )

- - - - -

4 .η// Ἀθύρ θ Ἰνδ(ικτίονος) η†  
 † Πεσάτε Πώσι(ος) † στοιχ(εῖ)

*vacat*

Ψάτε Πισραῆλ Ἀμμ( )

Πετετύ(μιος) †

2-4. It might be possible to read at the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 4, θ Ἰ(νδικτίονος) ἀρ(ι)θ(μίου) νο(μισματίου) η (or (ἐκτον)). The line between 2 and 4 was probably added later and is not legible.

4. The proper name Πεσάτε is well-attested in *P.Lond.* IV.

6. There is no mark of abbreviation to the name.

#### DESCRIPTIONS

94. Inv. 40. 9 x 9 cm. Fragment of a letter, mostly lost at left. IIP. 4 lines.

95. Inv. 65. 9 x 3.7 cm. Fragment of a letter, broken at left and below. Probably from Apollinaris to Areies. IIP. 4 lines.

96. Inv. 68. 6 x 3.4 cm. Fragment of a letter, broken on all sides except left. IIP. 5 lines.

97. Inv. 69. 5 x 5.6 cm. Fragment of a letter, broken on all sides except below. IIP. 2 lines.

98. Inv. 37. 8.8 x 5.7 cm. Receipt of year 2 (?), Mesore 27, for bronze drachmas paid by Heliodoros to his sisters. Ptolemaic. 5 lines.

99. Inv. 36. 11.6 x 5.6 cm. Receipt for *laographia* of Charax of the 13th year of a Roman emperor whose names are not readable with certainty (Claudius?). 5 lines.

100. Inv. 16. 6.8 x 7 cm. Receipt of Epeiph 16 of the 19th year given to a son of Chatabous for an unreadable tax and for *geometria*. II/IIIP.

101. Inv. 39. 7.2 x 8.6 cm. Ribbed pot, evidently a receipt given to a Maieuris for 1, 1/6, 1/12 artabas of wheat or the price thereof. Roman. 2 lines.

102. Inv. 28. 7.9 x 6.3 cm. Account in drachmas, with traces of a second column preserved at left. Roman. 5 lines.

103. Inv. D.10. 5.7 x 4.8 cm. Uncertain fragment. Roman. 3 lines (perhaps a fourth washed out).

104. Inv. 79. 5.8 x 8.7 cm. Fragment, perhaps of a letter. Roman. 6 lines.

105. Inv. 57. 5.7 x 9.5 cm. Fragment. Roman. 6 lines.

106. Inv. 56. 6 x 13.5 cm. Fragment of uncertain text, broken at right. Roman. 11 lines.

107. Inv. 52. 5.4 x 6.5 cm. Uncertain text, not clearly broken but faded. Roman. 9 lines.

108. Inv. 38. 7 x 5.8 cm. 7 lines. Byzantine.

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 54.3; 55.2; [57.2]; 58.2;      χρεία 23.6; 31.9; 32.5  
 60.6; 66.1; 68.4; 73.3,      χωματινόν see Index IX  
 5; 91.2,3,5,6,7; 92.8      χώρη see Index VI
- φίλος 22.1-3      ὄδω 23.8  
 φληρ 69.1,5,8,14      ὡς 17.3; 22.5; 30.2; 86.2  
 φοῖνιξ 55.3
- χαίρω (χαίρειν) 18.1; 22.2;  
 [25.2]; 26.1; 28.2; 29.2;  
 31.1; 32.2; 34.4; 35.1;  
 36.2; 42.1; 46.4

## Addenda et Corrigenda

Index III

Ἄρη( ), f. of Ἄρησ 91.10

Σ., f. of Ἀνθεστᾶς 82.6

Σεράπυλλος 34.1

Index X

δεκάξι 91.6

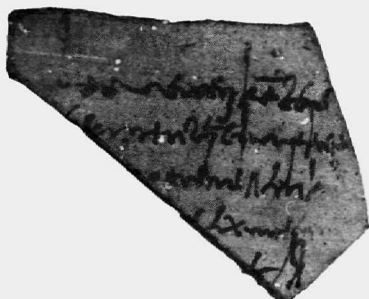
## CONCORDANCE OF INVENTORY NUMBERS

<u>Inv. No.</u>	<u>O.Amst.</u>	<u>Inv. No.</u>	<u>O.Amst.</u>
1	5	46	16
2	2	47	18
3	80	48	10
4	48	49	11
5	91	50	1
6	54	51	92
7	44	52	107
8	58	53	77
9	51	54	83
10	49	55	21
11	9	56	106
12	66	57	105
13	79	58	27
14	62	59	28
15	40	60	29
16	100	61	30
17	55	62	53
18	Fake, not publ.	63	31
19	37	64	20
20	50	65	95
21	68	66	52
22	43	67	34
23	63	68	96
24	60	69	97
25	59	70	33
26	46	71	17
27	56	72	32
28	102	73	87
29	39	74	64
30	38	75	6
31	81	76	65
32	45	77	78
33	42	78	76
34	47	79	104
35	57	80	93
36	99	81	75
37	98	82	12
38	108	83	84
39	101	84	72
40	94	85	13
41	25	86	70
42	26	87	14
43	23	88A+B	69
44	24	89	15
45	82	90	8

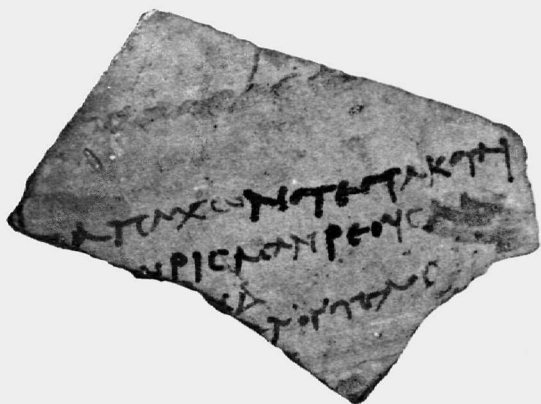
<u>Inv. No.</u>	<u>O.Amst.</u>
D1	22
D2	85
D3	35
D4	7
D5	74
D6	41
D7	61
D8	90
D9	4
D10	103
D11	73
D12	3
D13	89
D14	19
W1	71
W2	67
W3	36
W4	88
W5	86



Text No. 1



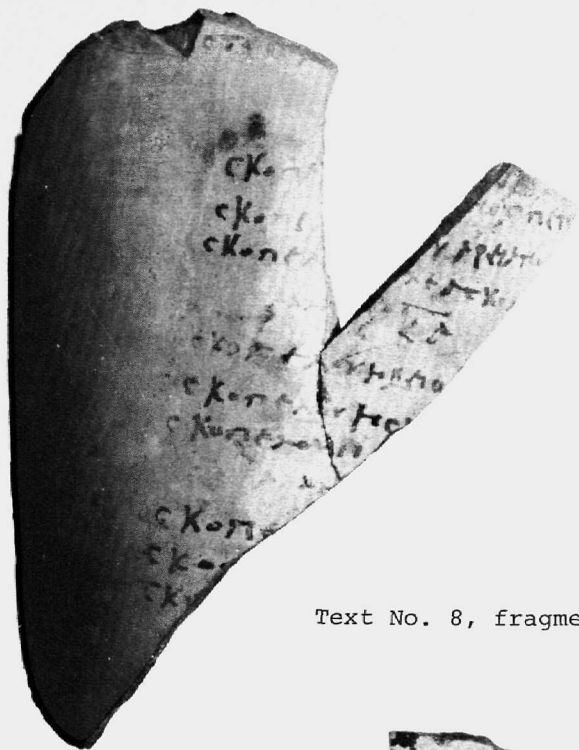
Text No. 3



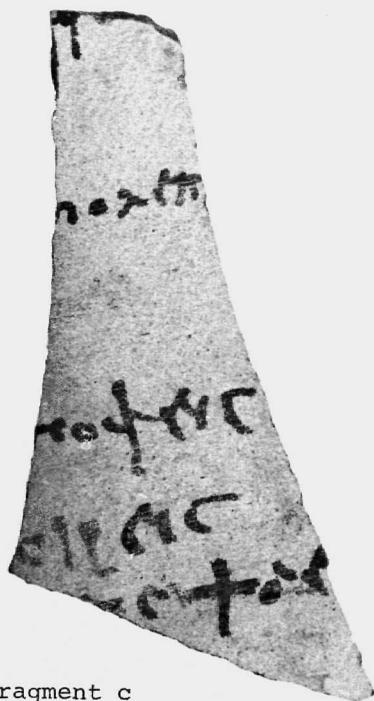
Text No. 4



Text No. 6



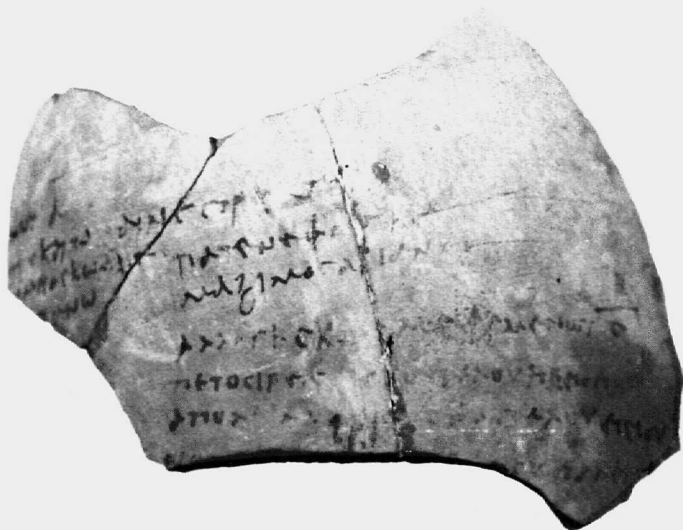
Text No. 8, fragment a-b



Text No. 8, fragment c



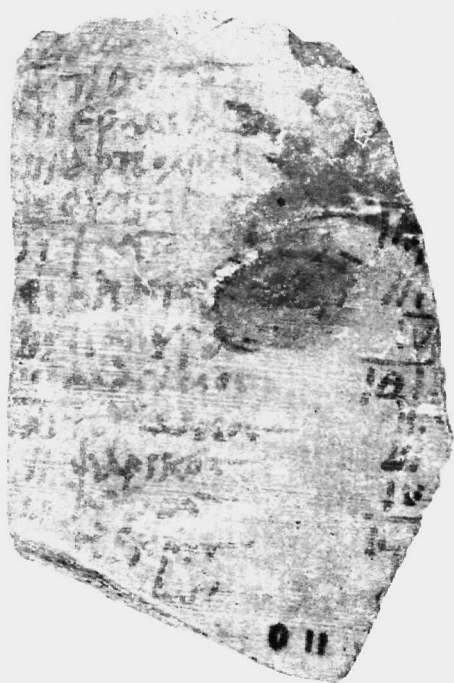
Text No. 8, fragment d



Text No. 8, fragment d



Text No. 8, fragment e,  
Column I



Text No. 9



Text No. 8, fragment e, Column II







Fragment of a handwritten document with dark ink on a light background. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and damage, but some characters are visible.

Text No. 37

Fragment of a handwritten document with dark ink on a light background. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and damage, but some characters are visible.

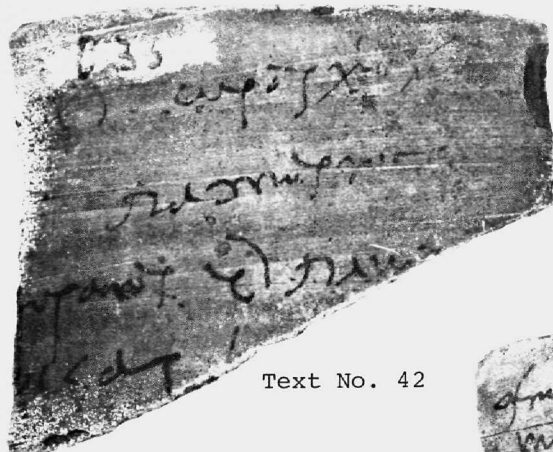
Text No. 40

Fragment of a handwritten document with dark ink on a light background. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and damage, but some characters are visible.

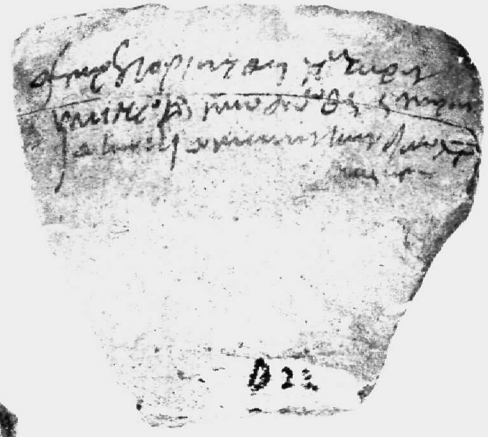
Text No. 38

Fragment of a handwritten document with dark ink on a light background. The text is mostly illegible due to fading and damage, but some characters are visible.

Text No. 41



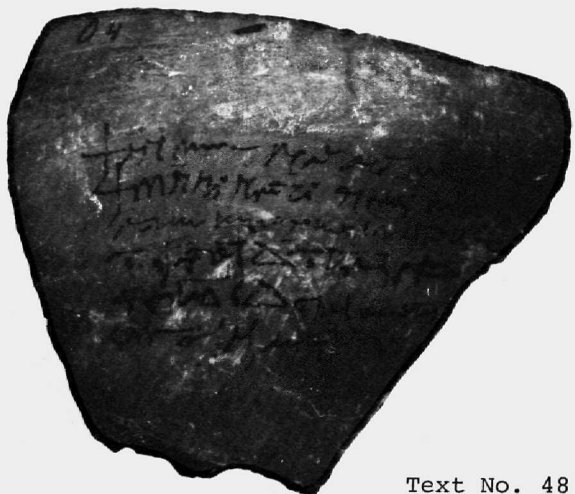
Text No. 42



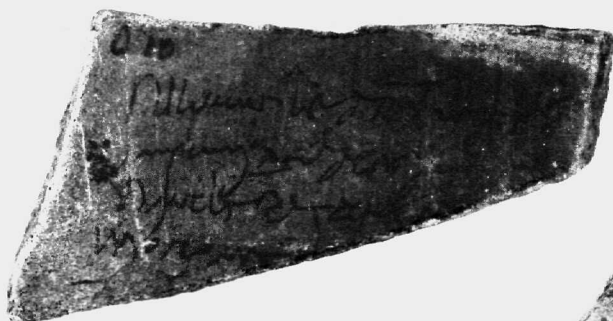
Text No. 43



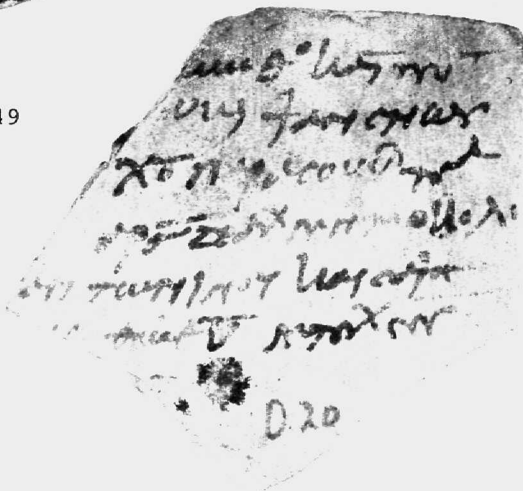
Text No. 47



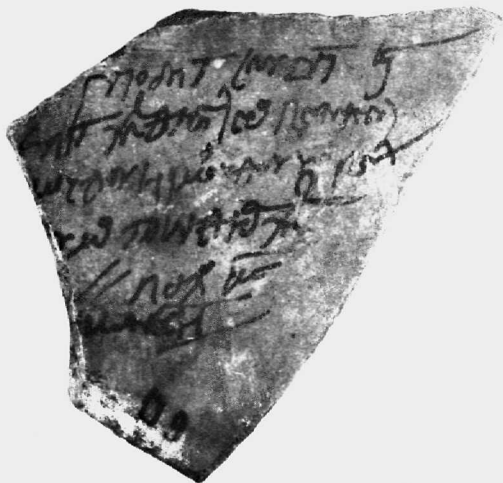
Text No. 48



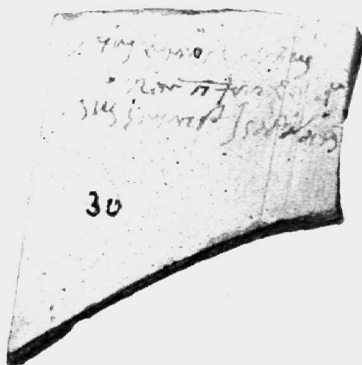
Text No. 49



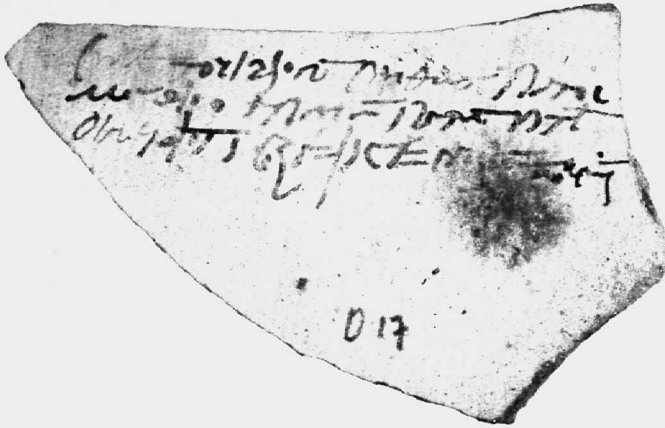
Text No. 50



Text No. 51



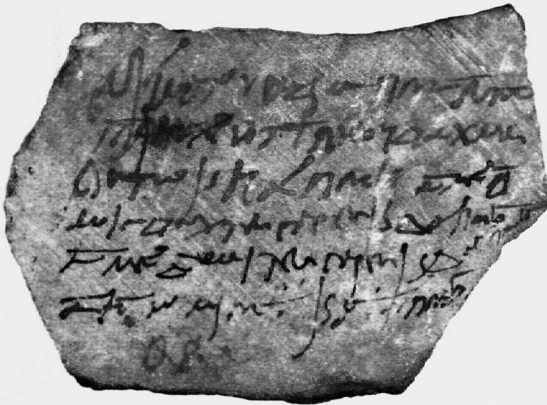
Text No. 53



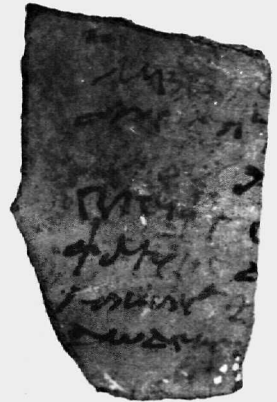
Text No. 55



Text No. 56



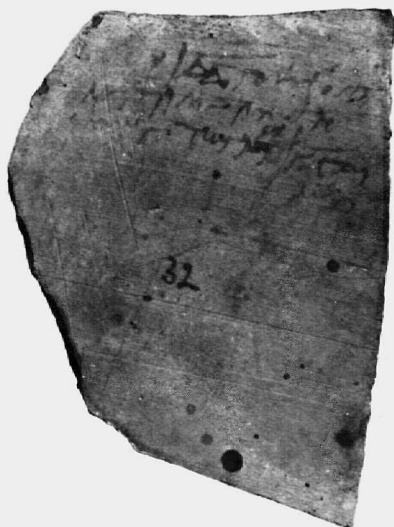
Text No. 58



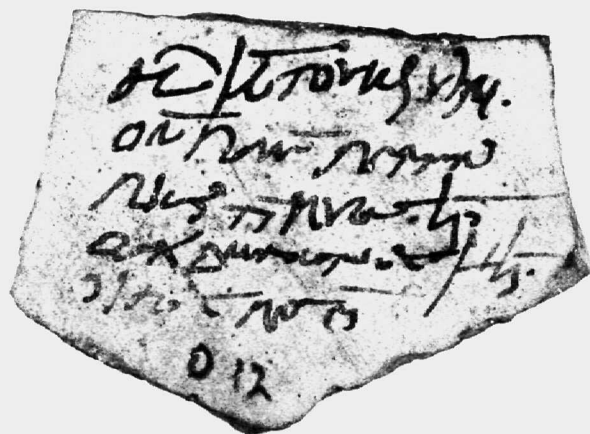
Text No. 61



Text No. 62



Text No. 65



Text No. 66



Text No. 67

ΤΥ ΑΡΤΙΝΟΤΑ  
 ΜΡΟΚΚΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΡΟΜΕΝΤΟΝ  
 ΠΑΝΙΣ ΤΟΥ  
 ΟΜΟΙΩΣΤΩ ΜΡΟΚΚΙΤΩ  
 ΡΕΥΟΡ  
 ΠΑΙΝΣ ΜΕ  
 ΟΜΟΙΩΣΤΩ  
 ΚΑΘΙΣ  
 ΠΡΕΜΚΙΡΗ  
 ΣΟΥΤΚΟΙ  
 ΠΟΝΛΑΚΟΙ  
 ΧΟΙΒΑΤΙ  
 ΤΥ ΑΡ  
 ΤΕΝΟ  
 ΔΙΟΝ  
 ΣΗ

Ν  
 ΟΙ ΡΙΣΚΟΙ Δ ΤΡΕΝΣ ΚΗ Δ  
 ΝΕΚΟΙ ΚΟΛΛΟ ΣΙ  
 ΣΑΜΠΟ ΚΗ Δ

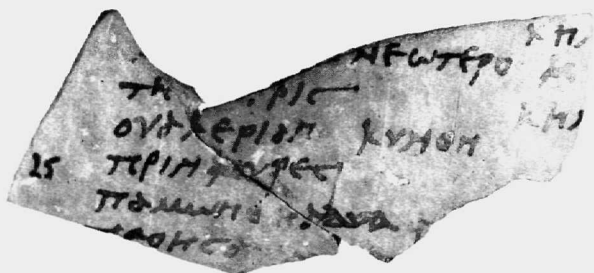
Text No. 69A

ΓΙΟΥΛΙΣ  
 ΧΝΟΥΡΙΣ  
 ΚΗ Δ  
 Η ΜΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΙΣ ΚΗ Δ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΜΑΝΟΥΝΕ  
 ΚΗ Δ  
 ΗΡΩΤΟΣ  
 ΟΙΣΚΟΙ Δ ΤΡΕΝΣ  
 ΟΙΣ ΚΗ Γ  
 ΝΕΚΟΙ ΚΗ Δ  
 Η ΒΕΣΤΟΣ ΚΗ Δ  
 ΚΗ Δ

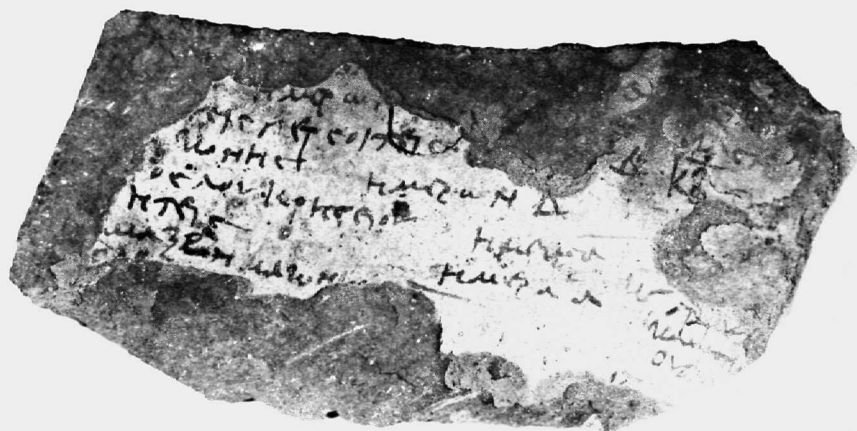
Text No. 69B



Text No. 68



Text No. 70



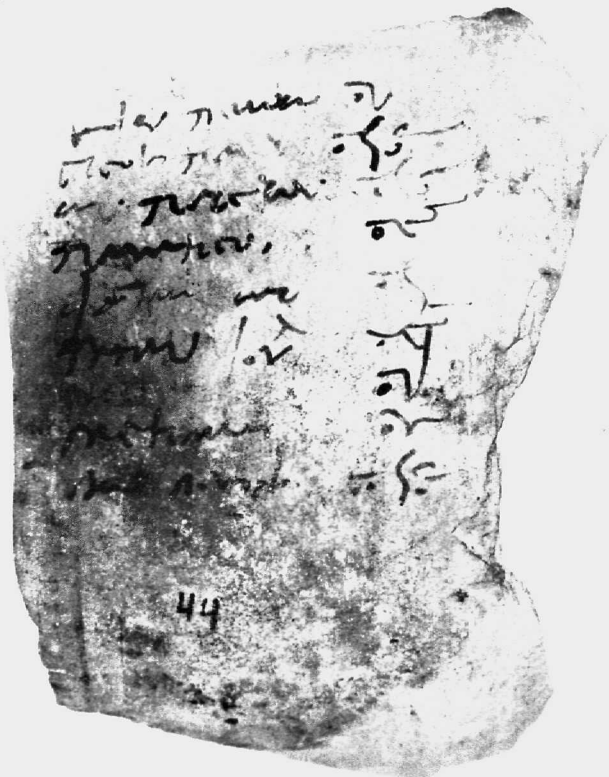
Text No. 72



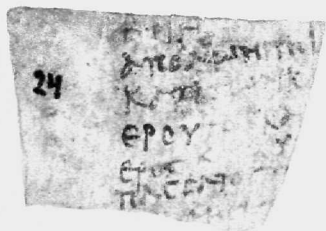
Text No. 75



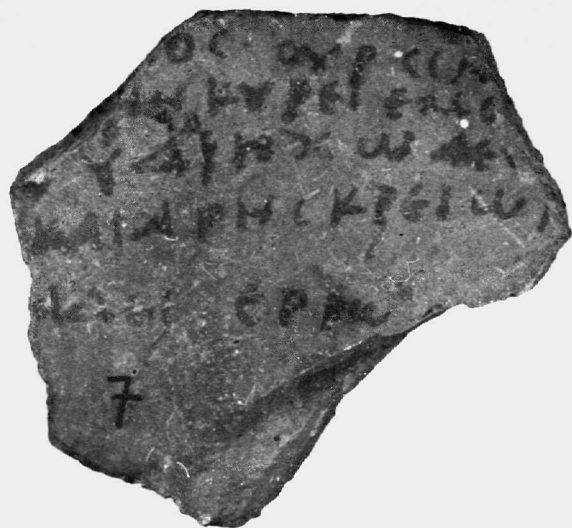
Text No. 82



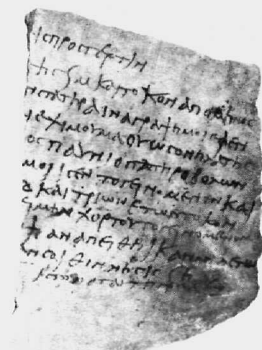
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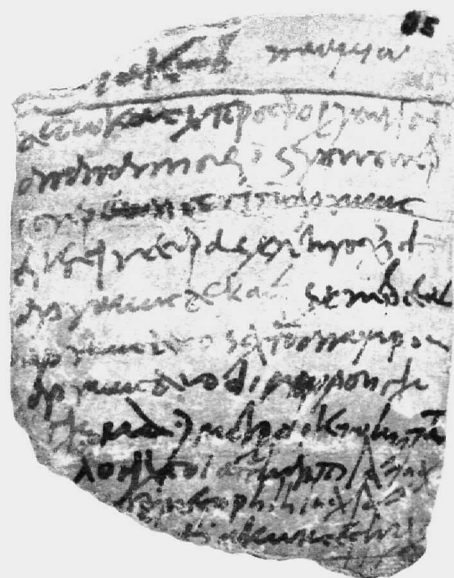
Text No. 83



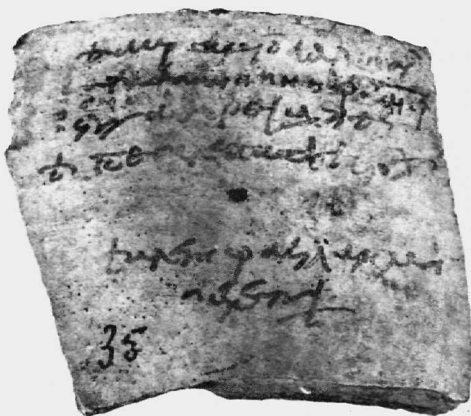
Text No. 84



Text No. 85



Text No. 91



Text No. 93