

## MORE OSTRAKA FROM THE HEERLEN COLLECTION

In an earlier issue of this journal I published 4 ostraka from the collection of such texts kept in the Thermenmuseum at Heerlen.<sup>1)</sup> These four texts had a non-Theban provenance, i.e. they came from Tebtynis and Edfu. In the following article I publish 18 more Heerlen ostraka from Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine times. Most of them certainly originate from the Theban region; in some cases an exact indication of the provenance is lacking in the texts themselves, but I have not found any reason to believe that in these cases the texts came from outside the Theban region (cf. nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 11, 14-16). More specifically, a few texts can be attributed to the Left Bank of the Nile opposite Thebes, i.e. to the Memnonia (nos. 7, 8, 12), or to the metropolis itself (nos. 2, 3, 9, 10, 13). Nos. 17 and 18 must be attributed to Thebes on the basis of prosopographical considerations.

Again, it is my pleasure to thank the Director of the Thermenmuseum at Heerlen, Drs. J.T.J.Jamar, for his kind permission to publish these texts, and my students H. de Wit, T. v.d. Laan and J.Wisse for their helpful contributions when we read many of these texts in a seminar. A special word of thanks goes to my colleagues P.J.Sijpesteijn and W.Clarysse with whom I discussed various problems of reading and interpretation.

## 1) RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT FOR THE TAX ON POTTERS TO THE BANK AT DIOSPOLIS MAGNA

O.Heerlen BL 247

H. 8.4 x B. 5.8 cms

23. xii. 178<sup>a</sup>  
Diospolis

Brown ostrakon with flat inner and outer surfaces.

SB 18.14021

- 1 ["Ετους] δ. 'Αθῶν ιη' τέτακτα[ι] Taf.IV  
 2 [έ]πῃ τὴν ἐν Διδος πό(λει) τῆι [με(γάληι)]  
 3 [τροῦ] (εζαν) ἐφ' ἧς 'Απολλώνιος  
 4 [καλλ]αινοπ(οιδῶν) δ (ἔτους) βέλφις ..[  
 5 [ 5 ].σ̄σ̄ (δραχμᾶς) πεντεκοσίας  
 6 δ]εκατρεῖς.  
 7 (M.2) 'Ηρακλείδης.  
 8 [δραχμ]ᾶς φιλγ, (γίν.) φιλγ.

1 τέτακτα[ι]. 2<sup>nd</sup> τ ex corr.? 5. r. πεντακοσίας

This text contains a receipt for a relatively rarely attested tax on potters (cf. line 4n.). The banker Apollonios mentioned in line 3 must be the same man as Pros.Ptol. I 1147. To his attestations should possibly also be added O.Leid.11 (= SB X 10309, cf. Pros.Ptol. VIII 1159a: 17.iv.175<sup>a</sup>2), for the editors of the Leiden ostrakon are not correct in regarding the double

1) Cf. ZPE 65,1986,191-194.

amounts as an argument for a late date, cf. the new readings of the Leiden ostrakon proposed in Gnomon 5<sup>4</sup>, 1984, 417. The Heerlen ostrakon gives the earliest attestation of Apollonios' activities as a banker. In O.Bodl. I 45, 46 and O.Theb. 4 he is likewise assisted by a Herakleides, whose precise function is not indicated.

4) For the tax on kallainopoioi cf. C.Préaux, L'économie royale des Lagides, 115; O.Bodl. I 45, 67, O.Theb. 7 + BL II 1 33, 144. For the meaning of kallainos in the papyri in general, cf. P.J.Sijpesteijn in ZPE 30, 1978, 233-34.

After the name of the taxpayer one may expect a patronymic and/or an indication of a profession (both are, however, sometimes lacking; cf. O.Bodl. I 45).

I have no solution to offer for the letters ]  $\overline{\sigma\sigma}$  (probably an abbreviated word). One encounters at this place in the formula often χα(λκοῦ) πρὸς ἀργ(ῦριον) (cf. O.Bodl. I 45, 6) or χα(λκοῦ) ἰσονόμου (cf. O.Bodl. I 46, 5; 47, 5), but neither of these phrasings seem compatible with the traces preserved here on the ostrakon.

"Year 4, Hathyr 18. Belphis --- has paid into the bank at Diospolis magna under Apollonios for potters for year 4 fivehundred thirteen (drachmas). (M.2) Herakleides, 513 drachmas (?), total 513."

2) RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT TO THE BANK AT DIOSPOLIS MAGNA(?)

O.Heerlen BL 343

H. 6 x B. 7.6 cms

10. vii. 155<sup>a</sup>  
Diospolis (?)

Ostrakon with flat greyish-yellow outside; light-brown, slightly ribbed inside.

- 1 ("Ἔτους) κς Παῦνι ἰγ' τέ(τακται) ἐπ[ὶ τὴν ἐν Διὸς πό(λει) τῆι με(γάληι) τρά(πεζαν)]
- 2 ἐφ' ἧς Πτολεμαῖος [
- 3 κς (ἔτους) .. ε .. ως [
- 4 ..... [

For the banker Ptolemaios in Ptolemaic tax-receipts from Thebes see Pros. Ptol. I 1264, 1265 and the addenda in Pros.Ptol. VIII, p.94; O.Leid. 5. For the structure of such receipts, cf. CPJ I, p.194. Line 2 should have contained the name of the tax; in line 3 one expects after the indication of the tax-year the name of the tax-payer. After this one expects something like οὐ ἀλλ(αυῆ) + some amount which is continued and ends in line 4. For the phrasing, cf., e.g., O.Bodl. I 43-95. At the start of line 4 one can read either -οῦσιας or εἰκοσι; after that, there are traces of at least 2 more letters, possibly τρι[ or τρε[.

2) The name of the banker has been written rather quickly, but an alternative reading is hardly available and the regnal year 26 matches with a series of years in which Ptolemaios is attested (y.24 = 158/57<sup>a</sup> - y.30 = 152/51<sup>a</sup>). Of course, as the place of location of the bank has broken off, one should reckon with another bank than that at Thebes (cf. A.Calderini,



BL II 104 ad WO II 1355 (listed in ZPE as "Theben") [also in O.Theb. 13 and O.Tait 220]; O.Tait 208 comes from Coptos (cf. BL V 158) and O.Tait 207 (+ BL V 158) seems to come from Krokodilopolis (this text is missing in the list of  $\delta\omega\ \tau\omicron\pi\alpha\rho\chi\iota\alpha\varsigma$ -documents in ZPE 61,1985,55).

On the other hand, O.Tait 147 and 148, now listed under "Diospolis Magna", should be classified under "Theben"; the tax-payer in 148 is the same person as the tax-payer in WO II 1489 = 1254 (+ BL II 114); cf. O.Tait 32.

1) For  $\lambda\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon$  heading a receipt for payment of  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\theta\eta$ , cf. O.Bodl. 170. At first sight the fraction looks like  $\frac{1}{18}$  ( $\frac{1}{18}$ ), but Packman, op.cit., 38-40, lists no such fraction and shows that  $\frac{1}{12}$  (also found in O.Tait 170, another epigraphic-payment of barley) is in itself the more likely fraction. The reading of a beta instead of an eta is, however, difficult.

5) Pankrates may be the same man as Pros.Ptol. IV 11557 (WO II 344.3 from either 150<sup>a</sup> or 139<sup>a</sup>).

6) For the sitologus Ptolemaios cf. Pros.Ptol. I 1418, Packman, op.cit., 77 (attested between 139-131), and O.Cair. GPW 27.2 n.

7) For the function of Herakleides, probably that of an antigrapheus, cf. Packman, op.cit. 77 (attested between 140-131).

8) A Hermon is also mentioned in O.Tait 175-76 and O.Heid. NF III 253 (all from year 36) and in O.Cambr. 11 (year 35); cf. also O.Cair. GPW 27, 6n. I do not believe that Packman's date for the man to 145 B.C. (cf. op.cit., 26 n.27, 27) can be maintained, given the attestations for the sitologus Ptolemaios (supra, n.6) and Herakleides (supra, n.7). O.Tait 175-176, O.Heid. N.F. III 253 and O.Cambr. 11, therefore, belong to B.C. 134.

"Sacred (barley)  $\frac{1}{12}$  (?; art.). Year 36, Pachon 23; ---mo( ) and Pankrates have measured to the granary in Diospolis Magna for the epigraphic of the 36th year for the topos five (artabs of) barley, 5, total 5 (art.) barl. Ptolemaios sitologos. Herakleides: I have received 5 (art.) barl.; year 36, Pachon 23. Hermon: 5 (art.) barl., total 5 (art.) barl. Year 36, Pachon 23".

#### 4) LIST OF NAMES AND MEASURES (?)

O.Heerlen BL 352

H. 11.4 x B. 9 cms

Ptolemaic  
Upper Egypt

Reddish-brown ostrakon with flat surface.

-----  
1 B  
2 Γ  
3 Πικῶς κω( ) [ .  
4 υἱῶς κω( ) κ[ .  
5 Ἀσιλλῶς κω( ) κη[ .  
6 Ἀπάθης κω( ) λ[ .  
7 Ἐριεῦς κω( ) κε[ .  
8 ] ως κω( ) [ .  
-----

SB.8.14029

This ostrakon contains a list of names followed by an abbreviation  $\omega$  and a numeral after each entry (lines 3-8). It cannot be ascertained what specific meaning the letters/numerals B, Γ (lines 1-2) had. One might possibly resolve the abbreviation  $\omega$  into  $K\omega$  (ov), a measure of liquids; cf. R.Fleischer, Measures and Containers in Greek and Roman Egypt, Diss. New York, Univ., 1956, 42 (she does not cite, however, any attestation of the use of this measure in Ptolemaic documents, whereas the type of writing of this ostrakon seems to be Ptolemaic rather than Roman, cf. W.Schubart, Papyri Graecae Berolinensis, Bonn 1911, Pl. 8<sup>a</sup> from II<sup>a</sup>).

6) The numeral can be read as either  $\lambda\beta$  or as  $\lambda\eta$ .

## 5) RECEIPT FOR ΤΕΛΟΣ ΟΝΗΑ ( )

O.Heerlen BL 266

H. 9.2 x B. 11.5 cms

25.vii-23.viii.42<sup>P</sup>  
Upper Egypt

Brown ostrakon, outside flat, inside slightly ribbed with blackened discolourings.

- 1 Ἡρακλᾶς Ἀνουβ(ῖωνος) τελώ(νης) Λιβύη(ς) ὄνηλ( ) Taf.IV
- 2 Ψενχῶ(νσει) Ψαμ( ) χα(ίρειν) ὁμολ(ογῶ) ἔχω πα(ρὰ σοῦ) τέλ(ος)
- 3 ὄνου ἑνός ὅπ(ἔρ) β(ἔτους), Ἐπιφ καὶ Μεσορή.
- 4 Πανεθ(βεῦς) Ἀπολ( ) γρα(μματεῦς) νομ(οῦ) ἔγραψα ὅπερ αὐτ(οῦ)
- 5 διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναί αὐτὸν γραμ(ματα). (ἔτους) β
- 6 Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
- 7 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Μεσορ[ῆ-.]
- 8 SB.P. 14025  
σεση(μείωμα)[

This ostrakon concerns a payment for the tax called ὄνηλ( ), i.e. some tax on transportation; the abbreviation ὄνηλ( ) has been resolved in various ways, for which see O.ROM II 160; similar payments are recorded in the introduction to O.ROM II 160; add now O.Leid. 390. An interesting feature in this text is the toponym Λιβύη, which should be considered not as the province of that name, but as a district on the Western Nile bank opposite the Pathyrite, the Perithebas, the Diospolite, or the Coptite Nome; cf. A.Calderini-S.Daris, Dizionario Geografico, III 200, s.n., 2). One may also compare O.Cambr. 137; the position of the toponym between τελώ(νης) and ὄνηλ( ) seems unparalleled and awkward: a more normal order of words would be τελώ(νης) ὄνηλ( ) Λιβύη(ς).

One could, perhaps also read Λιβυ( ) [taking the raised curved stroke after the ypsilon as a mark of abbreviation], in which case one could resolve the abbreviation into Λιβυ(κῆς); one could translate, then, "telones of the Libyan onel( )", i.e. some tax on transportation in the Libyan desert would be involved. But a reading Λιβυ<sup>η</sup>(<sup>c</sup>) seems to be favored by the fact that the final eta of Μεσορή (line 3) is written in much the same way as the sign following Λιβυ- and that the reading of a raised eta seems preferable to the reading of just a mark of abbreviation.

2) For the construction  $\delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\tilde{\omega}$   $\xi\chi\omega$   $\pi\alpha\rho\tilde{\alpha}$   $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  cf. P.Wisc. I 15.5:  $\delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\tilde{\omega}$   $\delta\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\tilde{\xi}\alpha$   $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ . Of course, this is a contamination of  $\delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\tilde{\omega}$   $\xi\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$  and the simple  $\xi\chi\omega$ .

4) For the office of "nome scribe", not to be confused with the office of βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, cf. F.Oertel, Die Liturgie, 416<sup>6</sup>, 423<sup>1</sup>, on P.Amh. II 68.12,14. As far as I am aware, no parallel for this indication of function is found on ostraka previously published.

"Herakles, son of Anubion, telones of Libya of onel ( ), to Psenchonsis, son of Psam ( ), greetings. I agree that I have received from you the tax for one ass for the 2nd year, the months Epeiph and Mesore. I, Panetbeus, son of Apol ( ), scribe of the nome, have written for him because he does not know letters, Year 2 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Mesore -. I have signed".

## 6) RECEIPT FOR ENNOMION

SB 18-19026

O.Heerlen BL 238

H. 10.4 x B. 13.7 cms

ii-iii. 111<sup>P</sup>  
Upper Egypt

Brown ostrakon with blackened inside. Flat outside, inside slightly ribbed.

- 1 Δι (ἄ) Σεναρμιύσιο(ς) Ἄρμιύσιο(ς) ὕπ(ἔρ) [[δὲκᾶτου]] ἔννομι(ίου) ι ι  
2 Λ ι δ Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαμεν[ῶθ

For the tax on ennomion in the Roman period cf. O.ROM II 284, introd. Most of our attestations come from the Ptolemaic period, and I have not found any 2nd century A.D. parallel text (O.Bodl. II 1103-04 date from the early Roman period).

"Through Senarmiysis, daughter of Harmiysis, for ennomion [ ]. Year 14 of Trajanus Caesar the lord, Phamenoth -."

## 7) RECEIPT FOR GEOMETRIA AND ?

O.Heerlen EL 245

H. 12 x B. 12.5 cms

1 or 11.xii.116<sup>P</sup>  
Memnonia

Ostrakon with flat, brown outside; inside black (not pitched), slightly ribbed.

- 1 Ἐριεὺς Παμών(θου) πράκ(τωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Μεμ(νουίων) δι(ἄ) ... ( )  
2 γρα(μματεῶς) Σεναμώνθου Patronymic καὶ Σενα... ( )  
3 ἀδελ(φῆς) δι(ἄ) Ψεναμούσιος ...τίου ὕπ(ἔρ)  
4 γεο(μετρίας) ι θ (ἔτους) (δραχμᾶς) ε (πεντῶβολον), αἰ κ(αθαραὶ) SB 18-19027  
ξ = c Traces  
5 Traces. ("ἔτους) κ Τραιανοῦ Ἀρίστου  
6 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Χοί(ἄκ) ε̄.

4 γεο(μετρίας): γ ex λ?, 1. γεω(μετρίας) 6 Or: Χο(ί)ακ) ι ε̄?

This ostrakon contains a receipt for geometria issued by the well-known praktor argyrikon Erieus, son of Pamonthes (cf. for a list of his attestations

O.Cair. GPW, p.128). For the tax called γεωμετρία see O.Cair. GPW 48-50, introd. For such receipts from the Memnonia cf. P.Petr. 88, 89 (both 93<sup>P</sup>), SB V 8047 (97<sup>P</sup>) O.Tait. II 885 (122<sup>P</sup>), O.Theb. 39 (126<sup>P</sup> [ed.: for laographia, but cf. L.C.West-Johnson, Currency, 29, who think of a payment of χωματικόν; I prefer to think of an editorial confusion of λαο( ) and γεο( ), 40 (138<sup>P</sup>); cf. BL II 1 35) and the newly published O.Cair. GPW 48 (93<sup>P</sup>), 50 (105/6<sup>P</sup>) and 58 (114<sup>P</sup>). Possibly also from the Memnonia are O.Tait II 874 (52<sup>P</sup>), 878 (92/3<sup>P</sup>), O.ROM I 12 (97<sup>P</sup>); the editors think of a payment for λαογραφία, but there is the same problem as with O.Theb. 39, cf. supra, and the plate of O.ROM I 12), O.Tait II 879 (94/95<sup>P</sup>), 882 (115<sup>P</sup>), 896 and 898 (both 136<sup>P</sup>); these latter texts, however, lack an exact indication of provenance and may stem from some other place on the left bank of the Nile, e.g. the South-West quarter or Hermonthis.

A few of these ostraka contain receipts for other taxes as well, notably for enkyklion (so O.Cair. GPW 58; O.Theb. 40 [read in line 3 ἐνκυκλ( ) instead of the editor's ἐνκ( ) κλ( ) ? ]; may be also in O.Tait II 885). For this reason it may be assumed that the unread traces in lines 4 and 5 of the Heerlen ostrakon contained a payment for enkyklion as well. For this tax, cf. the introd. to O.Cair. GPW 51-58.

1-2) For the unread name of the scribe representing the praktor argyrikon, cf. the list of Memnonia praktors in O.Cair. GPW, p.128ff. The most likely candidate is the ἄρχος γραμματεῦς mentioned in O.Stras. 281 (115<sup>P</sup>; cf. BL II 1 29); this man also occurs in ostraka from A.D. 111 [as one can read in O.Stras. 185.7-8 δ/8 ωρ .. as δ(ι') ἄρ(ου) γρ(αμματέως) (cf. BL II 1 29 ad O.Stras. 277,11; suggested reading confirmed by J.Schwartz per epistulam), one can attribute this ostrakon to the same praktors who issued O.Stras. 277 (cf. already BL II 1 28 ad O.Stras. 185,1 where the name of Πιετοῦρος Πετεαρ( ), a praktor who was in office in A.D. 111, has been supplied). Cf. also the ἄρχος βοηθός occurring in O.Theb. 36 and 37 (113,113/114). The name ἄρ(ου), however, does not suit the traces at the end of line 1 of the Heerlen ostrakon.

4) For the expression αἱ κ(αθαράι), cf. A.Gara, Prosdigraphomena e circolazione monetaria, 44-49. Her list of documents showing this expression (p.45, n.74) is not exhaustive; a more complete list may be drawn up with the help of BL VII p.336, s.v. καθαρός. Almost all of the documents seem to come from the left bank of the Nile (exception: BGU IX 1894, a papyrus from the Fayum; for this text cf. L.C.West-A.C.Johnson, Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt, 29; cf. now also P.Thmouis I, p.40).

4-5) For the unread parts of these lines, see the introduction above.

## 8) RECEIPT FOR A MONEY TAX

O. Heerlen BL 269

H. 10.2 x B. 9.3 cms

ca. 122-130<sup>P</sup>  
Memnonia

Ostrakon with a light-brown flat outside; inside pitched and slightly ribbed.

1 Ψανσνῶς ὄμ(οίως) πρᾶ[κτωρ] ἀργ(υρικῶν) Με(μνονίων) δι(ὰ) - - ]  
 2 Φθουμόνθ(ου) Χιεύτου· ἔσχη[ον] ὕπ(ἔρ) Tax τοῦ - (ἔτους) (δρ.) - .  
 ("ἔτους) - ]

SB, p.  
14028

3 Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος το(ῦ) κυρίου . . [ . . ]  
 4 ὄμ(οίως) Φαρμ(οῦθι) ῥ̄ (δρ.) δ [ . . ]  
 3 κυρίου

1) Psansnos, son of Psansnos, is well known as a praktor argyrikon in the Memnonia between A.D. 122 and A.D. 128-130; cf. the list of his attestations in O.Cair. GPW p.129, I cannot explain the horizontal stroke preceding his name (above line level).

2) A name Chieutes seems unattested to date; its reading here is insecure, and an alternative might be Χεῶτου or Χεῖτου or Χεστου. Instead of the reading Φθουμόνθ(ου) one might consider a reading Φθουμίνι(ος) at the beginning of the line; the persons concerned cannot be identified in other Memnonia ostraka.

4) It may be that the ῥ̄ (or should we read ῥ̄?) was corrected from ῥ̄. Or should we read ῥ̄γ / ῥ̄ς?

"Psansnos, son of Psansnos, praktor argyrikon of Memnonia through -- to Pthoumonthes (?), son of Chieutes (?). I have received for -- of year -- x dr. Year - of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, -- . Likewise on Pharmouthi 6 (?) 4 dr. ---"

## 9) GRANARY-RECEIPT

O. Heerlen BL 252

H. 7 x B. 5 cms

SB, 18.14029  
ca. 127/28<sup>P</sup>  
Thebes

Brown ostrakon with blackened inside. Flat outside, inside slightly ribbed.

1 [Μέ(τρημα) θη(σαυροῦ) μη](τροπόλεως) (?) γενή(ματος) ιβ (ἔτους)  
 Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ  
 2 [κυρίου, Month + day, ὄνό(ματος) ] μώνθ(ου) Πικῶ(τος) πρεσβ(υτέρου)  
 3 [ὑπ(ἔρ) ] (πυροῦ) δέκα ἡμί(σις) καὶ ὄνό(ματος)  
 4 [ ] ( ) Πενώφιο(ς) Φαρᾶθου  
 5 [(πυροῦ) δύο ἡμίσις δγ]δον, (γίν.) (πυροῦ) βλ η' . . [ . . ]  
 6 [καὶ ὄνό(ματος) ----- ] ὑπ(ἔρ) Βο(ρᾶ) (πυροῦ) ἡμί[σις]  
 7 [ ] ἀχο( ) [ . . ]  
 8 [ ] [ . . ]  
 9 [ ] [ . . ]

2 πρεσβ( ) ex corr.

5 l. δγδοον

1) One expects a formula μέτρομα θησαυροῦ --- ὀνόματος τοῦ δεινός, or μεμέτρομεν εἰς θησαυρὸν --- ὁ δεινός, or μεμέτροται εἰς θησαυρὸν --- ὀνόματος τοῦ δεινός. If the second formula is adopted, one has to cancel ὀνό(ματος) in line 2 and change ]μῶνθ(ου) into ]μῶνθ(ης); but cf. ὀνό(ματος) in line 3.

2) We do not know whether ]μῶνθ(ου/ης) (cf. line 1 n.) comes from Παμῶνθης, or from Φθουμῶνθης, or from Ψενμῶνθης or from other related names.

At the end of this line, P.J.Sijpesteijn suggested a reading πρεσβ(υτέρου) [corrected from an earlier νεω(τέρου) ?].

3) Or read `κδ´ instead of `ημ(ιςυ)´

5) It is conceivable that at the end of this line one should read κα[ι] (now fully restored at the start of line 6).

7) Perhaps part of a name like C]αχο(μνεύς) ?

## 10) RECEIPT FOR DYKE-TAX

O.Heerlen BL 322

H. 5.7 x B. 5.8 cms.

ca. 135/6<sup>P</sup>  
Thebes

Brown ostrakon; outside flat, inside slightly ribbed. The text has become difficult to read due to many specks of dirt or ink.

- 1 Κόιντο(ς) Νεμῶ(νιος) Διδύσκ[ορος]
- 2 πρᾶ(κτωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Νό(του) Ψακ[ ]
- 3 ἐχομεν ὑπ(έρ) χωμ(ατ-) κ (έτους) Νό(του)[ ]
- 4 Traces (γίν.) ῥυπ(αρά) (δρ.) α=ς [ ("Ετους) - ]
- 5 'Αδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρ[ι]ο[υ]
- 6 'Αθυρ
- 7 Traces

SB. 8. 19030

This receipt for dyke-tax (cf. O.Cair. GPW 95-96, introd.; another dyke-tax receipt is O.Heerlen BL 334, published in ZPE 65,1986,191ff.) has been issued by the praktor argyrikon Quintus Nemonius Dioskoros who is already known from WO II 575 and O.Tait II 854, 897 (all from A.D. 136); whereas in these ostraka he acts together with a colleague (in WO II 575: Spotous; in O.Tait II 854, 897; [Gaius Longinus Valerianus]), he seems to act alone in our text (cf. note to line 1).

1) I assume that there was not sufficient space for the restoration of another name (Spotous or Valerianus ? Cf. above), for it does not seem likely that much more is lost in line 4 than a year-symbol + a numeral. Moreover, the imperial titulature in line 5 is complete.

2) In the lacuna one expects the continuation of the tax-payer's name and his patronymic.

3-4) One expects first an indication of the amount of the tax written out in full, i.e. ῥυπ(αράν) δραχ(μην) μίαν ὀβολ(οῦς) δύο ἡμ(ιςυ), then (γίν.) ῥυπ(αρά) (δρ.) α=ς, but the first part of this phrase cannot be easily read due to faded writing and dirt on the surface of the sherd.

The amount mentioned in this text is identical with the amount paid in 5 equal rates in other parts of Thebes for dyke-tax, viz. 1 dr. 2 1/2 ob. between ca. A.D. 136-153. For these payments in 5 rates, see the remarks by P.J.Sijpesteijn in *Aegyptus* 47 (1967) 234ff. I cannot read the traces after  $\chi\omega\mu( )$  in line 3 as something like "X μέρουσ" (X=α,β,γ,δ or ε). Year 20 of Hadrian is A.D. 135-36, but one cannot tell whether one is early in this year (Hathyr would be x-xi,135), or that the payment was executed in Hathyr of the next year for the preceding year 20.

5) Cf. for the titulature supra, line 1 note.

6) The numeral letter for the day could conceivably be a  $\bar{\zeta}$ ; Hathyr 6 = 2/3.xi.

7) Below the dirt that covers this sherd are some traces of ink which may have contained the signature of the tax-collector or that of his representative.

#### 11) RECEIPT FOR A MONEY TAX

O.Heerlen BL 259

H. 7,5 x B. 6 cms

6.viii.163<sup>P</sup>  
Theban Left Bank?

Brown ostrakon, flat outside, inside slightly ribbed; traces of pitch are still extant.

1 ] [ου "Αντων(ι ) καὶ μ(έτοχοι) τελ(ώναι)  
2 ] ωθο( ) Πλ(ήνιος) χ(αίρειν)· ἐχ(χομ(εν) ὄπ(ἔρ) τέλ(ουσ)  
3 Μ]εσορή. ("Ετους) γ "Αντωνίνου  
4 [καὶ Οὐήρ]ου τῶ(ν) κυρίων Σεβαστῶ(ν)  
5 Μεσορή εὔ'  
6 (M.2) ]ΟΑΙΝΑΚ -

SA.8.  
19031

The formula is reminiscent of receipts for the tax on weavers (γερδικόν) which is often collected by τελῶναι. It is striking, however, that an amount is not indicated after Μ]εσορή in line 3, as one finds in O.Tait II 1033. One cannot tell, moreover, whether the payment was for 1 single month Mesore or for at least 2 months; in the first case one may simply restore μηνός at the beginning of line 3, in the latter case one needs to restore 'Επειφ. Payments both for 1 month and for 2 months are found in O.Tait II 1010-1035.

2) The name Plenis is specifically used on the left Bank of the Nile opposite Thebes. This may be an indication of the sherd's origin.

2-3) It seems less likely to take the writing between ἐχ(χομ) and τελ( ) as nothing more than a mark of abbreviation for ἐχ(χομ(εν)). If this explanation were correct, the problem of the lack of an amount paid would disappear; the simple τέλ(oc), then, could be taken as a fixed amount.

6) It does not seem possible to read here the name of Apollinaris which is found in some texts from Coptos dealing with the tax on weavers, ca. A.D. 183 (O.Tait II 1024-1027). The formula of these Coptos receipts is also slightly different from the formula found here.

## 12) RECEIPT FOR A MONEY TAX

O.Heerlen BL 316

H. 6 x B. 6 cms

142/3<sup>P</sup> or 165/6<sup>P</sup>  
Memnonia

Brown ostrakon; outside flat, inside slightly ribbed.

- 1 Ψενμοντ[παει( ) Ψ[ πρ(άκτωρ)]  
 2 άργ(υρικῶν) Με(μνονεῖων)· διέ(γραψεν) Φα.[  
 3 Παμό(νθου) Σαραπ[  
 4 (δραχμάς) δ. ("Ετους) ε 'Ανω[νίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ]  
 5 κυρίου [ ]α.[

SB. 14032

1) If the reading of the praktor's name is correct, he seems to occur here for the first time (cf. the list of Memnonia praktores in O.Cair. GPW p.128ff.). As alternatives, however, one could think of Ψενμοντ( ) Παει( ) or Ψενμοντ( ) Παεμ( ) ; the following Ψ[ should be taken as the beginning of the grandfather's name (normally, such grandfathers are not mentioned in a praktor's affiliation, but cf. O.Stras. 281). If the date of the Heerlen ostrakon would be A.D. 165/66, one might compare another ostrakon from this year, viz. O.Moen inv. 590 published in BASP 20,1983,52, n<sup>o</sup> 3, where in line 1 ]πανο( ) Ψενο( ) πρακ(τορ ) άργ(υρικῶν) has been read. A check of the original makes me feel that at the beginning one might also read: ]ειμο( ) Ψενο( ) ; one may compare this with the possible reading of the letters παει( ) in the Heerlen ostrakon. It may be that one is dealing with (part of) the same name and that one should print in the first line of the Heerlen text: Ψενμοντ( ) Παει(μο ) Ψ[ενο( ) , whereas one might restore in the Moen ostrakon: Ψενμοντ( ) Πα]ειμο( ) .

4-5) Alternatively one may restore 'Ανω[νίνου καὶ Ούήρου τῶν] /<sup>5</sup> κυρίων [Cεβ]α[α]τῶν, but the traces after κυρ- in line 5 are better compatible with an ending -ίου than with -ίων. Moreover, if one would read -ίων, the space between these letters and the next alpha would not be sufficient for a restoration of [cεβ]. It would seem safer to take the alpha as part of a month name (first or second letter?). On the other hand, a date to year 6 of Antoninus and Verus ( = 165/66) might enable us to identify the praktor mentioned in this text (cf. line 1, note).

## 13) GRANARY-RECEIPT

O.Heerlen BL 237

H. 7.6 x B. 9.4 cms

22.x.165<sup>P</sup>  
Thebes

Ostrakon with greyish-brown flat outside; reddish-brown slightly ribbed inside.

Taf.V

- 1 [Μέ(τηρμα) θη(σαυροῦ) μη(τροπόλεως)] γενή(ματος) ε (έτους) 'Αντωνίνου  
 καὶ Ούήρου  
 2 [τῶν κυρίων] Cεβαστῶν Φαδ(φ.) κε τοῦ ε (έτους)  
 3 [όνό(ματος) ]..ωνος Cελεύκου (πυροῦ) μίαν, (γίν.) α,

SB. 14033

- 4 [καὶ ὕπ(ερ) δόν(ο)ματος Ἀμ(ωνίου) τοῦ καὶ Αἰμιλίου(ο) Σέξτου(ο)  
 5 [(πυροῦ) ἤμισυ δ]γδο(ον), (γίν.) (πυροῦ) Ἱ η), καὶ δόν(ο)ματος Ἡρίων(ος)  
 Ἄριστ(οβούλου) (πυροῦ) τρεῖς  
 6 [δγδοον], (γίν.) (πυροῦ) γ δγδοον. Ἀμ(ωνιος) σεση(μείωμαι). δημο(ίως)  
 Φαῶ(φι) κε ὕπ(ερ) Ἄγο(ρῶν)  
 7 [δόν(ο)ματος Ἀμ(ωνίου)] τοῦ καὶ Αἰμιλίου(ο) Σέξτου(ο) (πυροῦ) τέταρτο(ν),  
 (γίν.) (πυροῦ) δ . Ἀμ(ωνιος) σεση(μείωμαι).

6 Or: ὁμο(ίως) ?

This granary receipt was issued on the same day and by the same man as O.Tait II 1467. For Horion, son of Aristoboulos, cf. O.Tait II 2367 and O. Petr. 347.6; the other taxpayers mentioned in the text cannot be further identified.

4,7) I am doubtful whether one is dealing with Ammonios alias Aemilius Sextus, or with Ammonius alias Aemilius, son of Sextus; the first option seems more likely, but the second cannot be excluded. For the spelling Σέξτος, cf. F.Th.Gignac, Grammar I 141.

"Payment to the granary of the metropolis from produce of the 5th year of Antoninus and Verus, the lords Augusti, Phaophi 25 of the 6th year, in the name of --on, son of Seleukos, art. wh. one, total 1, and in the name of Amonios alias Aemilius Sextus (?) art. wh. one-half one-eighth, total art. wh. 1/2 1/8, and in the name of Horion, son of Aristoboulos, art. wh. three one-eighth, total art. wh. 3 one-eighth. I, Amonios, have signed. Likewise on Phaophi 25 for Agorai in the name of Amonios alias Aemilius Sextus (?) one-fourth art. wh., total art. wh. 1/4. I, Amonios, have signed."

14) RECEIPT FOR MERISMOI

O.Heerlen BL 324

H. 5.1 x B. 6.6 cms

II/III<sup>P</sup>  
Upper Egypt

Brown ostrakon; both sides flat.

- 1 Ἀδρ(ιανού) θ τοῦ θ (ἔτους) δόν(ο)ματος  
 2 Διδύμου Περικίου  
 3 ὕπ(ερ) μ(ερισμῶν) η (ἔτους) ῥηπ(αρὰς) (δραχμὰς) διακοσί(ας)  
 4 τριάκοντα δύο, (γίν.) (δρ.) σλβ  
 5  
 6

SB 18.  
14034

3 ὕπ(ερ) μ(ερισμῶν) η (ἔτους): ex corr.

The text concerns a payment for a tax, the reading of which is doubtful. If the transcription in line 3 is correct (cf. note ad loc.), one is dealing with unspecified merismoi. For parallel texts cf., e.g., O.Tait II 796ff. and III, index VIII, p.219 s.v. μερισμῶς. For the formula used in this text, cf. R.Bogaert in CdE 55,1980,286; the earliest example of this formula may date from A.D. 165, O.Tait II 919. If this is correct, year-9 can be either year 9 of Antoninus Pius (167/68) or of Septimius Severus (200/201) or of Severus

Alexander (229/30). Hadrianus (= Choiak) 9 = 5/6.xii.

3) The scribe may have written first  $\mu\epsilon\rho$ ; then he wrote the year-numeral  $\eta$  over  $\epsilon\rho$ . The letters following this do not particularly look like  $\delta\omega\pi$  ( ) [especially rho and pi are difficult] and I have considered also a reading  $\eta\varsigma/\delta\upsilon(\pi.)$ , i.e. with the rho made as in  $\text{Ἄδρ(ιανοῦ)}$  and the ypsilon made as in  $\Delta\iota\delta\upsilon-$ .

4) For various forms of the numeral 30, see F.Th.Gignac, Grammar, II 196.

5) I am not certain whether the sign (shaped like a symbol for 3 obols) is the signature of the tax-collector  $\Gamma$  ( ) also found in WO II 688, 691; O.Tait II 931, 939. No trace of  $\epsilon\epsilon\eta(\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\mu\alpha\iota)$  is visible after this.

"Hadrianus 9 of the 9th year; in the name of Didymos, son of Pekysios, for merismoi (?) of the 8th year two-hundred thirty-two drachmas, total 232 dr. G( ) (?)."

## 15) RECORD OF EXPENDITURES

O.Heerlen BL 220

H. 6.3 x B. 6.4 cms

II<sup>P</sup>  
Upper Egypt?

Brown ostrakon; both sides flat.

- 
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | ἐ]κ (δραχμῶν) α[ <sup>-</sup>                             |
| 2 | ]ἐκ (δρ.) α <sup>-</sup> (δρ.) β=[                        |
| 3 | λ]ακτηει ἐκ (δρ.) α <sup>-</sup> (δρ.) ς χ <sup>ς</sup> [ |
| 4 | ]λακτηει ἐκ (δρ.) α <sup>-</sup> (δρ.)[                   |
| 5 | ].. (πεντώβολον)  |

SB 12 14035

This ostrakon contains part of a list in which a number of expenditures for some object(s) are recorded. A "unit price" of 1 dr., 1 ob. (= 56 chalkoi) appears throughout lines 1-4. The total in line 2, 2 dr., 2 ob. presupposes 2 units; the total in line 6, 6 dr., 6 chalkoi presupposes 5 1/4 units.

## 16) DEKANIA-LIST (?)

O.Heerlen BL 313

H. 8.6 x B. 5.6 cms

II/III<sup>P</sup>  
Upper Egypt

Brown ostrakon; outside flat, inside ribbed.

- |   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| 1 | Παθιοῦς [        |
| 2 | Ἄμμοῦφιό(ς) Α[   |
| 3 | Ἄτρῆς Πατρε [    |
| 4 | Πανομο(ῦς) vac.[ |
| 5 | Παπουθ[          |
- 

SB 12 14036

The purpose of this list of names cannot be established with certainty. It might be a fragment of a dekania-list; for such lists, cf. O.Cair. GPW 133-137 and the literature quoted there.

3) Cf. names like Πατρεβθις, Πατρεοῦς, etc.



that no patronymic was added to this name, as is normally done in such tax-receipts.

I am not certain that the reading of λ(όγου) is correct; its occurrence in this position in Greek tax-receipts from late Byzantine and early Arabic Egypt is rare, but cf. O.Tait II 2067,2: ἀπὸ λό(γου) δημο(σίων) τῆς α' κατα(βολῆς); cf. also WO II 1606; 1607. I do not think, however, that one can read ὕπ(ἔρ) α' κ(ατα)β(ο)λ(ῆς) as in O.Tait II 2077, O.Petr. 466 and O.Cambr. 116.

3) After the indiction-numeral one expects an indication of the amount of the tax paid. The numeral 2 suggests either 2 nomismatia or 2 keratia, both possibly qualified as χρουσοῦ and/or ἀρίθμια; I cannot, however, read any of the expected words. I do not think that one can solve the problem by assuming that the reading of ι(ν)δ(ικτιώνος) ἰα (with half of a dihaeresis on top of the iota of the numeral) is incorrect (an indication of the tax-year seems necessary), and that one should try to read the start of the expected words/symbols already at this place in the line. After ἰα one may read e.g. a tau (or a gamma?), a rho, an omikron followed by either a curved abbreviation in superposition or a raised epsilon marking abbreviation (but it seems also possible that the raised curve is in fact part of either the iota of Couαει or the lambda of λ(όγου) (?) in the preceding line). After this follow a mu ending with a small upward-slanting diagonal stroke and above it a slightly curved mark of abbreviation; after this a kind of symbol which may have contained the currency unit used in this receipt which is followed by the numeral β, δύο (it is quite common to find the amount indicated first as a cipher, than as a word). Normally speaking Coptic tax receipts concern payments of 1/2 or 1 ἀρίθμιον νομισμάτιον (cf. the tables in KOW, p.22; OMH, p.31ff.), but other payments of 1/2, 1 or 2 tremisses also occur. Payments of either 2 full nomismatia or 2 keratia are not normal; a payment of 7 1/8 carats is found in WO II 1607 and payments of 3 nom., 14 3/4 car. + extras are found in O.Leid. 368 and 369 (cf. also O.Leid. 370: the total payment runs up to 33 1/2 ker. = 1 sol. 9 1/2 ker.). Unfortunately, the currency unit in O.Minor E 6 is lost, and one cannot tell whether 5 nomismatia or 5 keratia are involved.

4) For the strategus Onnophrios cf. Till, op.cit. 148; BASP 16,1979,8 (7).6; 9 (8).7; CO 422.6 (where his title is lacking; in line 7 read ΠΑΠΝΟΥΘΙΟΣ, cf. OMH 227, 235, 237, 239, where this man also occurs in combination with Dioskoros). Onnophrios is always acting together with Andreas and Petros, except in CO 422, where he is assisted by Papnouthios and Dioskoros. It seems as if the office of a strategos in Theban tax-receipts from the 7th/8th centuries is the same as that of an apē (cf. Till, op.cit. 137-38, s.n. Markos; 194-95, s.n. Samuel). On the function of an apē, cf. A.Steinwenter in SPP XIX, p.38-60. I have found the following names of strategoi in such

Theban tax-receipts; Anastasios, Kyriakos, Markos, Onnophrios, Philotheos, Samuel, Solomon and --mares (for Mares?); for their attestations, cf. Till, *op.cit.*, s.nn. and OMH 286 on --mares). Most of these people are also attested as being an apē (exceptions: Kyriakos and -mares/Mares). It is striking that apparently in all ostraka which mention a strategus, this man never signs in his own hand, but in that of the scribe who signed the receipt. It may be, however, that this is a matter of editorial negligence to indicate a change of hands (cf. O.Petr. 468, where in line 4 one should presumably read  $\text{C}\omega\lambda\omicron\mu\omega\nu\ \delta\ \text{C}\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma)$ ; no doubt, Peter and Andrew signed by themselves, though this is not indicated in the printed text): It is equally striking that in a few texts the mention of a strategus is not preceded by his name: cf. for instances of this KOW 89,6; BASP 16,1979,9 (9),6 and O.Minor. E 6.4 (according to a drawing kindly sent by R.S.Bagnall one should read here  $\delta\ \text{C}\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma)$  at the beginning of the line).

5-6) Under normal conditions Andrew always signs together with Peter (cf. Till, *op.cit.* 174, s.n. Petros, BASP 16,1979,8-9, nos.7-9); in this text, however, it does not seem possible to read Peter's signature in line 6 (and even the reading of Andrew's name is not secure). But it seems worthwhile to recall that the strategos Onnophrios is almost always assisted by Andrew and Peter (cf. above, note to line 4) and that the scribe Aristophanes is also frequently mentioned in combination with these people (the alternative combination of witnesses acting together with the strategos Onnophrios and the scribe Aristophanes is the pairing of Papnouthios and Dioskoros).

7-8) For the scribe Aristophanes cf. BASP 16,1979,8 (6).11 note and the literature cited there. As indictions 10-13 frequently mentioned in tax-receipts written by him must refer to A.D. 726-730, our text must belong to the same period.

"I have received from you, Souaei, on account of the 1st instalment of the poll-tax for the 11th indiction ----, 2, two. Choiak 9 of the 11th indiction. Onnophrios, the strategos, signs. (2nd Hd.) Andreas signs. (3rd [?] Hd.) ---, (1st Hd.) I, Aristophanes, son of Johannes, have written."

## 18) RECEIPT FOR PROSTIMON

O.Heerlen BL 308

H. 8.3 x B. 5.7 cms

VII/VIII<sup>P</sup>  
Thebes

Ostrakon with flat surface on both sides. Outside pinkish-brown, inside greyish.

- 1 + Ἡλίας Ἰσιδώ-  
 2 [ρ]ου (ὑπὲρ) προστί(μου)  
 3 ἀρ(ισμίου) ἄ ημίσι.  
 4 Ἄθῦρ ι (νδ(ικτίωνος) γ †  
 5 κόμεσ τεχεῖ.  
 6 (M.2) Πχῆρ Ἀθανασίου  
 7 στοιχεῖ †

SB. P. 4038

In itself one may wonder whether this ostrakon should be regarded as a Greek or as a Coptic text. The names of the signers occur in a number of Coptic texts (for Komes cf. W.C.Till, *Zur Datierung und Prosopographie der Koptischen Urkunden aus Theben*, Wien 1962 [= SB Akad.Wien 240.1], 123; for Pcher, son of Athanasios, cf. *ibid.*, 162), but texts like OMH 325-6, 393 could be classified as Greek equally well as Coptic. The writing of this text seems to derive from a Greek rather than from a Coptic hand, and for that reason I regard it as a "Greek" ostrakon, though the setting it was written in was doubtless Coptic. For similar receipts for prostimon (= fine) cf. OMH 243 and 326 (?), both signed by the same persons.

1) This person is not listed by Till, *op.cit.*

4) One could also read at the end ἄρ(ις) for γ †.

"Elias, son of Isidoros, for a fine 1/2, one-half reckoned (solidus).  
 Hathyr 10, indiction 3. I, Komes, agree. I, Pcher, son of Athanasios, agree."

Amsterdam

K.A.Worp