An edition of unpublished Greek papyrus documents from Roman Egypt

Elmaghrabi, Hassan Mohammed Abdalla

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ABSTRACT

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

Texts 9-14 are of a miscellaneous character. Text number 9 dates from the same period as numbers 1-8; it is probably an application for the refund of the price of requisitioned wheat which the farmers have supplied to the government. Text number 10 is
an offer to lease land, which dates from the very end of the second century A.D. and has several peculiarities in its format. Texts numbers 11-12 are undertakings by a sailor to serve on the boats which are transporting corn from the Arsinoite nome. These texts, and number 13, a receipt for the return of the boat, all date from the reign of the emperor Gallienus. Finally, number 14 is a receipt for wages which belongs in the sixth century A.D. The thesis is completed by an index of Greek words contained in the papyri.
AN EDITION OF UNPUBLISHED GREEK PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS
FROM ROMAN EGYPT

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

by

Hassan Mohammed Abdalla Elmaghribi

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December, 1982
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The papyri edited in this thesis belong to the Egypt Exploration Society, London. I am very grateful to the Society for permission to edit them here. I wish to thank Dr. R. A. Coles for providing some of the photographs. I wish also to extend my particular thanks to my supervisor, Dr. J. D. Thomas, for showing me my first papyrus and teaching me how to read it, and for his constant help, continuing patience and advice. My thanks go also to Professor Gavin B. Townend for his moral support and encouragement, and to the Head and Staff of the Department of Classics. I tender my warmest thanks to Mrs. J. L. Kennett, my typist, for coping with a difficult manuscript.
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NOTES ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION

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

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

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

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

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

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<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Archiv</td>
<td>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>American Studies in Papyrology</td>
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<td>Berichtigungsliste</td>
<td>See Preisigke</td>
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<td>Chr. d'Ég.</td>
<td>Chronique d'Égypte</td>
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<td>Dizionario</td>
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<td>GD</td>
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<td>LSJ</td>
<td>See Liddell, Scott and Jones</td>
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<td>Onomasticon</td>
<td>See Foraboschi</td>
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<tr>
<td>PW</td>
<td>Pauly-Wissowa, <em>Real-Encyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft</em></td>
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<td>Spoglio</td>
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Texts 1 - 5 : Applications for Loans of Seed-Corn

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


4. See Res gestae Divi Augusti, 27.

5. See Rostovtzeff, SEHRE, pp. 274-5; H.I. Bell, Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest (1946), pp. 65 ff.
of the agricultural resources in Egypt, Augustus employed the Roman army in rebuilding the irrigation system and also encouraged the private ownership of the lands in order to reclaim waste and abandoned land on a large scale. The Romans made special regulations for the administration of the country based on the previous system. By doing so they tried to ensure the flow of the revenues of Egypt to Rome, whether in money or in kind.

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

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7. See Suetonius, Divus Augustus 17, 18.
10. See Johnson, Roman Egypt, Ch. 4; Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, Ch. 18.
waters' deposit and the proper irrigation of the land on which the agricultural economy of Egypt depends, was the paramount factor in calculating accurately the expected crops and the revenues from Egypt accordingly.\footnote{See Strabo, 17 1.48; Johnson, \textit{Roman Egypt}, pp. 7-25; Hohlwein, \textit{Et. Pap. 4} (1938), Ch. 3; Wallace, \textit{Taxation in Egypt}, p. 336; Bonneau, \textit{Le Fisc et le Nil. Incidences des irregularités de la crue du Nil sur la fiscalité foncière dans l'Egypte grecque et romaine} (1972).}

It was the Nile which created the arable Nile valley, that long passage which stretches from the south (upper Egypt) to the north, and which spreads in a Delta, with its marshes and swamps, along the Mediterranean.\footnote{See Strabo, 17 1.4.} Because of the various levels of the land and irrigation problems which differ from one district to the other, the Nile Valley and the Fayum were more important for cultivation than the marshy and swampy Delta.\footnote{Cf. Hohlwein, \textit{Et. Pap. 4} (1938), Ch. 3; Johnson, \textit{Roman Egypt}, pp. 7-25.} Accordingly, a great deal of the country's wheat came from the Nile Valley and the Fayum.\footnote{See Schnebel, \textit{Landwirtschaft}, pp. 94 ff; Johnson, \textit{Roman Egypt}, p. 1; Hohlwein, \textit{Et. Pap. 4} (1938), p. 78.}

It was the prefect who, as soon as the height of the flood was known, fixed the tribute to be exacted from the arable lands in each nome according to the survey of the land and the amount of water covering the fields or not...
covering it all. This fixing of the tribute was determined annually according to the real height of the flood and varied from one year to another. In practice, the fixing of the tribute was established on the basis of the average flooding for a certain number of years. The practice was the subject of severe measures from certain prefects amongst whom was Tiberius Julius Alexander.

17. See Strabo, 17 1.48; Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 503-15; Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], pp. 81-2; cf. Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, p. 29 and n. 5; Bonneau, Le fisc et le Nil, pp. 152-3, 169.


20. See Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], p. 81; Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, pp. 31-3; Bonneau, Le fisc et le Nil, pp. 165-71.
How the Government issued loans of Seed-corn

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


22. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 127-8; Bevan, History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, p. 145; F. Heichelheim, 'Sitos' PW Suppl. 6 [1936], Coll. 844 ff; Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], pp. 78 and n. 5, 90-102; Préaux, L'économie royale, pp. 119-21; Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, p. 279; Michurski, Eos 48, 3 [1956], pp. 105-38; See also Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Le bordereau d'ensemencement dans l'Egypte ptolémaïque [1967], passim.
government interest charges on loans of grain. 23
N. Hohlwein questioned whether the issuing of loans of
seed-corn occurred annually or only when the harvest was
bad in the previous year, thinking that normally the
farmer must have preferred to use his own seed to avoid
the government's expensive loans. To him, in case of
general distribution of loans of seed to the farmers,
the question was reduced to a question of distributing
loans of seed-corn based on demand. In this way, Hohlwein
believes that the authorities fixed the total quantity of
seed needed for the nome which was then advanced to the
farmers in the form of loans. 24

For the present state of our sources, it is approp­
riate to say that the issuing of seed-corn by the govern­
ment to farmers of public land was a well-known phenomenon
in Egypt in the Roman period and it is surprising that we
do not have more texts which refer to it directly. 25
Less than twenty texts which are either applications
for seed-corn or authorizations to issue the corn are

23. See Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 18-9, 460-1;
cf. Rostowzew, Kolonat, pp. 216 ff;
Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 120-8;
Michurski, Eos 48, 3 [1956], p. 108;

24. See Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1937], p. 9;
cf. n. 23 above.

25. See Rostowzew, Kolonat, pp. 213 ff;
Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 18-9, 460-1;
Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 [1938], pp. 76 ff;
P. M. Meyer, introduction to P. Hamb. I 19;
D. H. Samuel, introduction to P. Coll. Youtie I 26;
A. C. Tomson, introduction to P. Berl. Leihg. II 26;
Michurski, Eos 48, 3 [1956], pp. 105-38.
known to me from published papyri. Since this thesis contains not less than eight texts of these two types, it can be seen at once that it adds substantially to our knowledge of the subject of the issuing of seed-corn. An examination and analysis of the texts allows us to know its general format and the various ways in which the documents are distinctive from each other and also may allow us to revise the opinions prevailing on this subject.

A. Applications for seed-corn

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


27. Add to the applications in note 26 above P. Oxy. ined. 1, 2 = 3, 4, 5.
like this: 1. The addressee; 2. The applicants; 3. The Request Clause; 4. The Loan is always from the harvest of the previous year; 5. The current year; 6. The type of land; 7. The amount of land; 8. The location of the land; 9. The amount of seed required; 10. The Sowing Clause; 11. The Repayment Clause; 12. The Oath; 13. The Subscription of the applicants; 14. The date; 15. The Annotation of the Komogrammateus.

The addressee is a government official, normally the strategus, the head of the nome administration, who gives the decision on the distribution of the seed to the state farmers according to the territorial plans of seed distribution μετοχοι σπαθεβατων; these were prepared from the official reports of the komogrammateus.


29. In the Ptolemaic period, the government regulated the cultivation of the royal land and there was a general plan of distributing seed-corn to the royal farmers. See Préaux, L’économie royale, pp. 117 ff; R. Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri² (1955), pp. 658-60; Michurski, Eos 48, 3 (1956), pp. 118-9, especially n. 102; for the Roman period, see Michurski, Eos 48, 3 (1956), pp. 119-20.

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

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32. See Hohlwein, Le Strategæ, Ch. 4 B; and n. 29 above.

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

34. Dio Cassius, 76.13; Scriptores Historiae Augustae Severus, 16-17;
37. See Jouguet, La Vie Municipale, pp. 196, 298, 339 ff., 398; Oertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 335-8; Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 119 ff; Lewis, ICS s.v.
40. See Jouguet, La Vie Municipale, pp. 292 ff; Oertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 329-32; Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 139-40, 143; Lewis, ICS s.v.
41. See n. 37 above.
both men were elected by the boule ἑπὶ τῇ χιμναζίᾳ· 
[lines 3-4]. In the case of P. Oxy. ined. 5.1
[A.D. 229/30] the addressee is the komogrammateus, who was an officer representing the government in the village, and was required to implement government policies. His duties were almost all of a routine kind and he executed them at the request of higher authority. Such duties were financial: compiling lists of the inhabitants of the village and their properties, lists concerning land and its exploitation; it was his duty to verify applications or declarations made by private individuals and also to supply the names of candidates to be appointed to the liturgies of the village.

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

42. See Berichtigungsliste I, p. 136.
43. See n. 30 above.
P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 = SB X 10 614 = G. Poethke, Epimerismos, pp. 93 ff. [Arsinoite nome; A.D. 167/8], an order for advancing seed, it is clear that the village presbyters\(^44\) have made an application for seed-corn to the nome authorities on behalf of their village. We do not have an application for seed-corn directly presented from the inhabitants of a village to their presbyters. The presbyters were the representatives of their communities and were acting as intermediaries for the payment of taxes on behalf of their village and also controlled the cultivation of its lands.

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

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44. On the \(\alpha\acute{\nu}κ\acute{\beta}ότερο\) of the village in the Roman period, see Jouguet, \textit{La Vie Municipale}, pp. 202 ff; Dertel, \textit{Die Liturgie}, pp. 146-53; A. Tomsin, '\textit{Étude Sur Les \(\alpha\acute{\nu}κ\acute{\beta}ότερο\) des villages de la \(\chiύρα\) égyptienne}', \textit{Bull. Cl. Lettr. de l'Acad. Roy. Belg.} serie v, 38 (1952), pp. 95-6, 467-532.

the applicant was an inhabitant of a village, did he write to the strategus of the nome? At the same time we find in P. Oxy. ined. 5 that the applicants of a village wrote to a local official, the komogrammateus.

The reason why P. Hamb. I 19, SPP XX 34 and P. Oxy. ined. 5 do not follow the pattern, as in P. Oxy. Hels. 24, P. Oxy. VII 1031 and P. Flor. I 21, is not determined yet. 46

After addressing the government official or officials the applicants' names follow. The application could be presented either by an individual or a group of persons. In P. Coll. Youtie I 22.2-4, P. Oxy. ined. 1.9, P. Oxy. VII 1031. 7, P. Hamb. I 19.3 and SPP XX 34.3-4 the applicant is an individual. P. Oxy. ined. 2.15-17 and its parallel ined. 3.13-14 have two applicants. P. Flor. I 21.5-6 has three applicants. P. Oxy. ined. 5. 3-6 has five applicants who collectively cultivate probably more than six plots of land. In P. Oxy. ined. 4, 2-15 the applicants are a group of nine persons who separately cultivate nine plots of land, one plot each in a village different from their village of domicile. 48


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

48. In P. Oxy. ined. 4, the situation of the land is probably ἐπιμέτρημος [of public land] since the applicants come from one village and cultivate land in a different village (lines 17-18 πάντως τῶν ἡμῶν κυρίον πέλας. Ἐπει δὲ ἐπιμέτρημον ἔρι Μωνίῳ...). Probably this land was imposed on the inhabitants of Pela, cf. Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 294; P. Berl. Leihg. I pp. 65 ff, 81; cf. also P. Tebt. II 341. For the ἐπιμέτρημος in general see G. Poethke, Epimerismos, Betrachtungen zur Zwangspacht in Ägypten während der Prinzipatszeit (1969).
In P. Coll. Youtie I 26 there are a group of applicants who cultivate eleven separate plots of land; six of these are cultivated by six separate groups of applicants but we cannot determine how many persons are in each group since they are unnamed \( \nu\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\iota \).\(^{49}\) Sometimes applications for seed-corn are presented on behalf of villages. In P. Tebt. II 341.3 the applicant is the komogrammateus, who is requesting seed for the inhabitants of his village; these inhabitants cultivate a certain amount of land in a village different from their own.\(^{50}\) In the case of P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 A. 10-12, the villagers' presbyters\(^{51}\) requested loans of seed for the public farmers in their villages and also perhaps give a receipt for receiving the loans in B 22.

In all the applications the writing begins with a request clause, asking for the payment of the loans of seed. The commonest beginning is \( \alpha\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\mu\omicron\alpha \upsilon\nu\zeta\alpha\lambda\iota\nu\alpha \epsilon\zeta \varsigma\pi\acute{e}\mu\acute{m}a\tau\alpha \delta\acute{a}n\epsilon\alpha \),\(^{52}\) in the singular or the plural (P. Hamb. I 19.5, P. Oxy. VII 1031. 8-9, P. Oxy. ined. 5, 6-7, SPP XX 34. 5-7 and P. Flor. I 21.9). P. Coll. Youtie I 22. 6-7 has \( \chi\acute{e}\gamma\omicron\womicron \epsilon\zeta \varsigma\varsigma\pi\acute{e}\mu\acute{m}a\tau\acute{a} \delta\acute{a}n\epsilon\alpha \). P. Coll. Youtie I 26. 2-3 has \( \acute{e}n\pi\rho\omicron\delta\epsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron\epsilon\theta\alpha \varsigma\pi\acute{e}\mu\acute{m}a\tau\acute{a} \delta\acute{a}n\epsilon\alpha \).

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51. For the \( \pi\rho\epsilon\rho\omicron\beta\omicron\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron \) see n. 44 above.

52. cf. Michurski, \( \epsilon\omicron\omicron \), 48, 3 [1956], pp. 105-107, 109.
The request clause for the payment of the loan of seed is lost in P. Dxy. ined. 1. In P. Dxy. ined. 2 and its duplicate 3 the top, which contains the addressee and his office and the names of the applicants, is lost, but when we compare these two documents and P. Dxy. ined. 4, which has a complete top, with the other documents, it is apparent that they follow a different pattern in this formula. P. Dxy. ined. 4 which has a complete top does not begin with the request clause, following the usual pattern; also, it may be noticed that the formula \( \text{σπέρματις} \) \( \text{δίνω} \) does not occur,\(^{53}\) but instead it begins with this phrasing \( \text{ὅπερ γεωργοῦμεν} \) [line 17] so many aromae, \( \text{kαὶ ταύτας σπείρωμεν} \) [line 28], \( \text{kαὶ δανάνωμεν} \) \[lines 30-31], \( \text{καὶ κοιτάζωμεν} \) \[lines 31-32]. It is probable that P. Oxy. ined. 2 and the duplicate 3 follow the same pattern because they have almost the same phrasing \( \text{καὶ σπείρωμεν} \) \( \text{ἐντολὴν} \) [lines 3-6]. P. Dxy. ined. 1, 2 and the duplicate 3 and 4 are dated in the same regnal year; ined. 1 has a similar entry to 2 and the duplicate 3, which means it is probably from the same place, and all come from the Oxyrhynchite nome; and ined. 2 and the duplicate probably follow the pattern of ined. 4. Therefore it could be said that P. Dxy. ined. 1 probably follows the same pattern and formula as in the

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53. cf. P. Dxy. ined. 2.4 and note.
other documents. P. Tebt. II 341. 4-5 has the request clause  ἐνεκταλήσας εἰς ἡμέλια σπέρματα.

Loans of seed are always from the produce of the previous year and should be one year old, ἀπὸ γενηματω ἐκείθεν εἴτ' έτους 54 for the sowing of the current year, εἰς καταστροφὴν τοῦ ἐνεκταλοτε εἴτουε 55.

The type of land for which loans of seed are requested is usually specified by the applicants; they say that they are farming εἰς ἄν γεωργῷ ἐκεῖνην ἦν 56.

54. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 121 n. 1;
   P. Tebt. II 341. 1, 6-7;
P. Coll. Youtie I 26.3;
P. Hamb. I 19.5;
P. Oxy. VII 1031. 9-10;
P. Oxy. ined. 5.7;
P. Flor. I 21.11;
SPP XX 34. 12-13;

55. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 121;
P. Coll. Youtie I 22.7-8;
P. Tebt. II 341.5;
P. Coll. Youtie I 26.3;
P. Hamb. I 19.5-6;
P. Oxy. VII 1031. 10-11;
P. Oxy. ined. 5.8;
SPP XX 34.8-9;
P. Flor. I 21.10-11;
cf. P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3, which has σπέρματα ἐν ἐνεκταλε ἐς εἰς,
cf. also P. Oxy. ined. 4.28-29 and P. Berl. Leihg II 26, n. to line 6.

56. See P. Coll. Youtie I 22.12-14; 26.4;
P. Hamb. I 19.7, 10;
P. Oxy. VII 1031. 9
P. Oxy. ined. 5.8;
SPP XX 34.13-14.
P. Dxy. VII 1031 has ἱδροςία γῆ instead. The type of land is not specified in P. Dxy. ined. 4 nor in P. Flor. I 21 and it is probably lost in P. Dxy. ined. 1, 2 and its duplicate 3 with the missing parts at their tops.

In P. Tebt. II 341 the loans of seed were for both ἑσσελίκη and προοίμου γῆ. The rent on the land varies in the documents, and sometimes the statement

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57. The ἱδροςία γῆ is a Roman term ager publicus: public land, and there is no clear difference between ἑσσελίκη and ἱδροςία γῆ, see Rostowzew, Kolonat, p. 153; Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 288; Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, p. 3; Kuhnke, Οδοιπορία γῆ, pp. 11-13; cf. A. Tomsin, "Ἡσσελίκη καὶ ἱδροςία γῆ" dans l'Egypte romaine', Mélanges René Fohalle, Mélang. ling. phil. méth. de l'enseign. lang. anc. (1969), pp. 271-80.

58. The ἱδροςία γῆ was the royal land of the Ptolemies which was taken over by the Romans as the public land of the province of Egypt. It was administered by the dioecetes and was cultivated by the royal or public farmers, see Rostowzew, Kolonat, p. 152; Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 288; Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 15 ff; Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, p. 3; Tomsin, Mélanges René Fohalle (1969), pp. 271-80; Kuhnke, Οδοιπορία γῆ, pp. 8-11, 14-16; cf. also n. 57 above.


60. The rent varied depending upon the quality of the land, accessibility to the market and flood conditions, see Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 81; J. Herrmann, Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der gräco-ägyptischen Papyri (1958), p. 102; D. Hennig, Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemaïschrömischen Ägypten (Diss. München 1967), p. 26.
is added to the effect that the land pays a certain rent, which in some cases was not less than two artabae of wheat per aroura as in the cases of P. Coll. Youtie I 26. 5 and P. Dxy. VII 1031. 11-12; or it can also be a certain rent, more than two artabae, but not less than the amount specified in the documents, as in P. Dxy. ined. 4.28, SPP XX 34. 14-15. This assertion of the rent is presumably important and means that the land is not of too poor a quality and will yield enough produce to repay the loans, and so the applicants justify their request for the loans of seed needed for cultivating their land. Sometimes this assertion of the rent is not mentioned, as is the case with P. Dxy. ined. 5. Instead in lines 13-16 and 18 we have an elaborate indication of the various amounts of rent payable on all the different plots of land, cf. also P. Hamb. I 19 and the note on line 10 p. 83, and P. Tebt. II 341.13-15 which has the highest rent per aroura in this kind of document. The amount of rent is not stated in P. Coll. Youtie I 22; it would have been expected after the clause which specifies the type of land, and it is lost in P. Dxy. ined. 1, 2 and 3.


According to the general format the location of the land is given next; in our documents it is lost in P. Dxy. ined. 1, 2 and 3; in 5, line 9, it is said to be near the same village whence the farmer came, but in 4 the format is different and the location of the land (line 18) is mentioned directly after the introductory verb. The location of the land in ined. 4 is said to be near a village different from the village from which the farmers come. After that the amount of land, which varies in the documents, is mentioned precisely, then follows the number of artabae of seed requested. The amount of seed-corn was usually one artaba per aroura. Cf. P. Dxy. ined. 2.4-5, P. Dxy. ined. 4, and its duplicate ined. 3.3; and in P. Dxy. ined. 4 the amount of land is 7½ arourae and the amount of the seed-corn requested is 7½ artabae of wheat.

64. See P. Coll. Youtie I 22. 14-15, 26. 5; P. Hamb. I 19. 7-8; P. Oxy. VII 1031-12; P. Dxy. ined. 5.9; SPP XX 34. 15-16; cf. P. Oxy. ined. 4.18; P. Tebt. II 341. 9-10.
65. Cf. n. 64 above.
66. See P. Coll. Youtie I 22, 3 arourae; P. Dxy. ined. 1, 6 arourae; P. Dxy. ined. 2 = 3, 3½ arourae; P. Dxy. ined. 4, 7½ arourae; P. Coll. Youtie I 26, 5 ¼ arourae [see n. 4 line 17]; P. Hamb. I 19, 34 arourae; P. Oxy. VII 1031, 3 arourae; SPP XX 34, 50 arourae; P. Flor. I 21, 136 arourae.
67. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 125-7. But there is a diversion in the norm; see Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 126 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 130, n.1, 102 ff., 129 ff.
Almost all texts continue at this point with a pledge by the applicant that they will plant the seed-corn upon the land; the usual clause is ἐδείκτηκαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου. This planting clause is not mentioned in P. Coll. Youtie I 26, and it is lost in P. Oxy. ined. 1 and 5. In some documents there is a pledge to clear from barley and darnel the seed which the farmer will plant (P. Hamb. I 19 15-16; P. Oxy. VII 1031. 17).

In most texts the words ἐδείκτηκαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου were added to the planting clause (P. Oxy. VII 1031.18; P. Hamb. I 19.17; P. Flor. I 21.13; SPP XX 34.19-20). P. Coll. Youtie I 22.17-18 has ἐδείκτηκα only. These words are not mentioned in P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3, and are lost in P. Oxy. ined. 4 after the planting clause. Sometimes a more elaborate phrase is found, stating that the sowing will be under cognizance of the appointed officials (P. Hamb. I 19.17-19; P. Oxy. VII 1031.18-19; SPP XX 34.20-22).

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

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68. The reading could be ζαφωκ for ἐδείκτηκα, see Berichtigungsliste I, p. 136.

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

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

term of reimbursement. The most common form of words is καὶ ἐκ νέων ἀνοικτῶν τὰς ἱππότακτα 73 (P. Hamb. I 19-20; P. Oxy. VII 1031.19-20; P. Oxy. ined. 2.8-9; and ined. 3.6-7); P. Coll. Youtie I 26.17-18, uses the verb μετρῆω instead. P. Coll. Youtie I 22.18 has καὶ ἐκ νέων μετρῆω without τὰς ἱππότακτα, while P. Flor. I 21.14-15 has καὶ εἰκονεῖ κοιμητὴν ἐν πρώτῳ.) 74 The repayment clause is lost in P. Oxy. ined. 4, 5 and SPP XX 34. In P. Oxy. ined. 1.2 only the word ἀνοικτῶν survives. Some texts go on to add that public dues on the land will also be included in the repayment of the loan; P. Coll. Youtie I 22.18-19 says αὐτὰ τοῖς τῇς δημοσίοις; so also P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3; in P. Oxy. ined. 1.2-3 the parallel phrase is αὐτὰ τοῖς τῇς δημοσίοις καθήκουσι δημοσίοις. A more complicated phrase in different texts is found describing various undefined dues on the land. These phrases are in P. Coll. Youtie I 26.18 76 αὐτὰ τοῖς


76. See p. 236 of the introduction to this text; P. Hamb. I 19 note to lines 19-21; P. Oxy. VII 1031 notes to lines 20, 21-2; Johnson, Roman Egypt, pp. 460-ff.; Michurski, Eos 48.3 (1956), p. 115; The explanations given in the above references do not yet give a definite answer to what these charges were.
It is apparent that the charges or the dues which accompanied the repayment of the loan of seed-corn were not all the same, and they also were described in various phrases and sometimes they were undefined.

Texts usually end with an oath sworn by the Emperor in which the applicant affirms that the statements he has made previously are true;78 P. Oxy. VII 1031.25 and P. Hamb. I 19.25 have μὴ ἔμευθησαί, P. Oxy. ined. 1.7 has ἀλήθι ἦντον τὸ προστίματος; or that he will abide by the conditions: P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3 ποιήσεν ὡς προκείμενον; P. Oxy. ined. 1.8 adds this phrase as well.

The details of the oath in P. Coll. Youtie I 22 are lost at this point. P. Oxy. ined. 4, 5 and SPP XX 34 are broken away before the oath. It is rather surprising that there is no oath formula in either P. Coll. Youtie I 26 or P. Flor. I 21.


78. See E. Seidl, Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht, [1933], pp. 8 ff, 33-36, 50-68 ff, 134. Two different types of oath formulae occur in P. Oxy. ined. 1.7-8.
To make the request valid the applicant signs it himself or has it written by the scribe who also serves as a witness. It may be noticed that only P. Oxy. ined. 1 and 2 = 3, P. Coll. Youtie I 26, P. Hamb. I 19, P. Oxy. VII 1031, P. Flor. I 21 survive beyond the oath formula, or, if no oath is used, beyond the repayment clause. And of these documents P. Oxy. ined. 1.9-11 has the name of the applicant followed by ἐπικεῖσθαι καὶ ὁμώμετα τὸν ὦρκ[ον] , and the same phrasing is used in a second hand, P. Oxy. ined. 2.13-16 and its duplicate, where two parties sign and where there is also a subscription of another person in a third hand.

P. Oxy. VII 1031.28-29 has the name of the applicant in a second hand but it is broken off after it. P. Flor. I 21.17, reads αἰτούμεθα τὰ σπέρματα ὡς νᾶσκελασ ἐφ' ὑμῖν [line 17], after the names of the applicants. Of the remaining documents P. Hamb. I 19 and P. Coll. Youtie I 26 have no subscription. P. Tebt. II 341, reads ἐπικεῖσθαι ὡς ἐπικεῖσθαι [line 17], after the name of the applicant, the komogrammateus, but is not preceded by any sort of oath. In P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 col. B the acknowledgement reads only ἐπικεῖσθαι after the name of the ἡγεμονεύοντος [lines 23-4 but the reading is doubtful, see the note on page 7].


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

81. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 137.
82. See J. Barois, Irrigation in Egypt [translated by A. M. Miller, House of Representatives, Miscellaneous Documents IV 134] (1890), pp. 13-15; Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 70; See also in general Bonneau, La Crue du Nil, passim.
83. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 138.
84. See Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 138 ff.
85. See note 84 above.
It was one of the duties of the komogrammateus and his office to verify the applications presented and to add their annotations. These annotations are found in P. Oxy. ined. 1 and 2 = 3 in a different hand at the bottom.

B. Orders to supply seed-corn

1. The officials concerned

On the basis of the requests for the seed-corn discussed in section A, the authorities fixed the total quantity of seed for the nome. Having done so, the nome official, the στρατηγος and the βασιλικός γραμματέως gave orders to the σιτολόγος to issue loans of seed-corn to the public farmers. P. Oxy. XVIII 2185, 1024 and 2956, and P. Berl. Leihg II 26 and P. Strasb. 283 are issued by the strategus with the authorization of the basilicos grammateus. The sitologus could receive orders from the local officials for the role of the komogrammateus and his office, see n. 30 above.

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

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

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

89. See n. 31 above.

90. For the orders for seed-corn see:
P. Lond. II 256 d and e (p. 97) = W. Chr. 344 [Arsinoite; A.D. 11];
P. Oxy. XVIII 2185 [A.D. 92];
P. Oxy. ined. 6 [A.D. 99];
P. Oxy. ined. 7 = P. Oxy. ined. 8 [A.D. 99];
P. Oxy. VII 1024 [A.D. 129];
P. Oxy. XLI 2956 [A.D. 148/9];
P. Berl. Leihg II 26 = SB X 10614 = Poethke, Epimerismos, pp. 93 ff. [A.D. 167/8];
P. Strasb. 283 [Arsinoite nome; A.D. 170].
of the district. \(^91\) Sometimes it was known that the addressee is the sitologus from the way the applicants ask that orders be given for them to be supplied with seed-corn through the agency of the sitologoi, \(^92\) e.g. P. Oxy. ined. 4.33, compare P. Oxy. ined 2 = 3. The only order to the sitologus not sent by a strategus will be P. Lond. 256 e (p. 96) from a slave of the Emperor. We do not know the official who issued P. Oxy. ined. 6 and 7 = 8.

2. The principal instructions

All orders where the beginning is preserved start with the imperative of the verb \(\mu\epsilon\tau\beta\varepsilon\\omega\) and include the phrase \(\delta\alpha\nu\varepsilon\iota\alpha\mu\nu\rho\iota\delta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\). Most of the orders also add the phrase \(\sigma\nu\varepsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\ell\alpha\llon\tau\varepsilon\zeta\iota\nu\tau\iota\sigma\omicron\omicron\sigma\iota\varepsilon\iota\nu\omega\nu\) [P. Oxy. XVIII 2185.5-6, VII 1024.6-7, XLI 2956.5-7; P. Berl. Leihg. II 26.3-4, P. Strasb. 283.5]. P. Oxy. 2185 4-5 also adds at this point a reference to the supervision of the sowing by the \(\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\nu\omicron\rho\omicron\epsilon\tilde{e}\iota\varepsilon\) \(^93\) and other officials; for this clause see the next section. P. Lond. 256 varies somewhat, since it does not come from the strategus, and so the writer states that his instructions are being given

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\(^91\) cf. P. Lond. II 256 d (p. 97).

\(^92\) cf. Section A above, the request clause, pp. 14-16.

\(^93\) For the \(\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\nu\omicron\rho\omicron\epsilon\tilde{e}\iota\varepsilon\) see:

Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 335;
Oertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 188-9;
P. J. Gijpsestijn, Pentheremos Certificates in Greco-Roman Egypt, P. Lugd. Bat. XII [1964], pp, 15-17;
Lewis, ICS s.v. \(\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\nu\omicron\rho\omicron\epsilon\tilde{e}\iota\varepsilon\).
according to the orders of the strategus and basilikos grammateus [lines 2-3], with whom he couples the τοπαρχής,⁹⁴ the komogrammateus and τῶν ἀλών εἴθομένων [lines 3-4]; cf. the way at a later point the writer of SB V 8755 [probably 44/8 B.C.] say that his instruction accords with the γνώμη of the topogrammateus and τῶν εἴθομένων.

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

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⁹⁴. For the toparch see:
Milne, A History of Egypt, pp. 135-6;
Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 215;
Oertel, Die Liturgie, pp. 162-4.

⁹⁵. On the οὐκλακὴ γῆ see:
Hans-Christian Kuhnke, Οὐκλακὴ γῆ Domänenland in den Papyri der Prinzipatszeit (Diss. Köln 1971), pp. 3-8, and passim;
G. M. Parássoglou, Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt (1978), Ch. 1 and passim.
3. Further instructions

(a) The Sowing clause

After the completion of the instruction to issue so many artabae of seed-corn and the amount, several texts continue with a statement regarding the sowing. 96 In P. Oxy. ined. 7 this takes the form [lines 9-12]

\[\text{καὶ καταθέντες (καὶ) εἰς τὴν ἑτὺν ἐπακολουθοῦντων τῶν [ἐκθέτος(ων) μήδενς ὑπολογομένου [εἰς ὀφείλεται[λ (ἡν)] Ἡ ἑς εἰς ἐτερόν ἢ (τι).}\]

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

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

\[\text{καὶ καταθέτεις (καὶ) εἰς τὴν ἑτὺν υπὲρ (καὶ ποιτῶς μήθεν νολουκαλουμένος ἐπακολουθοῦντων) τῇ καταθέτεις τῶν τῇ καταχθ(ορέων) καὶ τοῦ κρω(πο)μηκαντέως [ὑπὲρ τῶν θρῆ[ν] τῶν εἰπὶ τῆς καταθε(ορέων).}\]


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

[b] The repayment clause

P. Oxy. ined. 7 = 8 continues, after the passage quoted in the previous section, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιφάνειας τῶν ἐπιστολῶν 
καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιφάνειας τῶν ἐπιστολῶν. The same sense is conveyed in P. Berl. Leihg. II 26.26-7, P. Oxy. 2956.23-5, 
P. Oxy. 1024.25-7, P. Oxy. 2185.29-30 (where it follows the clause to be considered below in the subscription) and SB 
V 8755-6; though in each case the wording differs slightly. There is no comparable clause in P. Lond. 256 nor in 
P. Oxy. ined. 6.

[c] The receipt clause

The instructions to the sitologus always end with an order to him to get the appropriate receipt from the farmer who is receiving the seed. Often it is stated that the sitologus is to get two copies of the receipt and give one of them to the strategus. Thus P. Oxy. ined. 6. 
14-17 says παρ’ ὅδε καὶ θάνατο τῆς καινῆς καὶ ὑπήρξα τῆς τροχαίας. P. Oxy. ined. 7 = 8 has the same except that ἀπολογίζεται 
has the same except that ἀπολογίζεται replaces ἀπολογίζεται, 
and this is the formula found in P. Oxy. VII 1024.37-40, 
XLI 2956.25-7; very similar is P. Berl. Leihg. II 26.28-9. 
P. Oxy. XVIII 2185.29 follows P. Oxy. ined. 6 in using ἔργον, but does not mention two copies of the receipt. 
There is also an instruction to get a receipt in SBV8755-6 
and P. Lond. 256.

98. cf. section A above, pp. 20-2.
4. **Date**

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

5. **Subscription**

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

C. **Acknowledgements of receipt of seed-corn**

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

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100. See above, p. 24.

101. e.g. P. Chic Goodspeed 16-24; P. Vieretk, 'Quittungen aus dem Dorfe Karanis über Lieferung von Saatkorn', Hermes 30 [1895], pp. 107-23; H. G. Gundel, 'Einige Giessener Saatquittungen', Chr.d'Eg. 47 [1972], pp. 204-216.
that some, and perhaps indeed all, these receipts are for seed-corn. This assumption seems likely to be right.

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

\[ \pi\rho\varepsilon\iota\lambda\varsigma\phi\alpha \ \kappa\iota \ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\kappa\epsilon\mu\varepsilon\tau\theta\varsigma\mu\alpha \ \pi\rho\' \upsilon\mu\nu\ \sigma\iota\rho\mu\mu\alpha\tau\varsigma \ \delta\alpha\nu\varepsilon\lambda \]

for the lands he farms [after this the text is broken off].

We must also compare the recently published P. Oxy. Hels 24 (Oxyrhynchite nome; A.D. 217). In this text an official elected by the boule \[ \epsilon\iota \ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma(\nu\rho\rho\varsigma) \ \kappa\epsilon\iota \ \alpha\nu\alpha\beta\delta\varsigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma \ \zeta(\nu\rho\mu\kappa\alpha\tau\varsigma\nu) \]
gives a receipt to the sitologi for thirteen artabas of wheat and says that he has given this wheat to a farmer to use on the public land which he is farming.

Two other texts may be acknowledgements of this kind, but in neither case is it probable. The first is P. Oxy. ined. 9, addressed to the strategus by a number of farmers who may be saying 'we have had measured out to us from the public granary seed-corn out of \[ \zeta\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\sigma\rho\alpha\varsigma\tau\zeta\kappa\omicron\varsigma \]

before the text breaks off. However, in the discussion in the introduction to the text it is suggested that the farmers are more probably saying 'we have paid into the public granary so many artabas of \[ \zeta\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\sigma\rho\alpha\varsigma\tau\zeta\kappa\omicron\varsigma \]

The other text is P. Berl. Leihg. II 268. If we accept Tomsin's reading for line 22, \[ \eta\mu\epsilon[\nu\zeta \ \omicron] \ \delta \ \pi\rho\epsilon\beta\omicron\theta\tau\omicron\rho\sigma \ \alpha\pi\nu\chi\omicron\omicron(\epsilon\nu) \]

we have a statement by the four village presbyters that they have received the seed which we know they were authorised to receive from the first column of this papyrus.
Koenen and Poethke however, would read $\delta e\gamma e\chi o\mu(\epsilon\nu o)$ instead of $\delta e\gamma e\chi o\mu(\epsilon\nu)$, and regard this section as a statement made by an acting komogrammateus that he has presented a request. This seems more likely to be right. 102

Addendum

After I had written the above introduction I noticed that another example of an order for seed-corn has recently been published, P. Köln III 137. This text should be added to those discussed in section B above. It comes from the Oxyrhynchite nome and is dated 5 November, A.D. 88. In it the strategus, with the authorisation of the basilikos grammateus, tells the sitologi of an unknown village to issue seed-corn to four farmers; the amount is 25% artabae and the land is royal land. Lines 34-41 of this text are similar to P. Oxy. ined. 6-8.

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

102. See the note to line 22 on p. 7.
1. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite Nome 10 November, A.D. 99
27. 38.420[1-2]c

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

The papyrus contains part of an application for a loan of seed. This much is clear from the parallel documents [especially P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3], even though the amount lost at the top is very large. Probably this contained much the same as P. Oxy. ined. 4 and by putting together these texts we can form an idea of what a complete document would have looked like. See further the general introduction, pp. 7-25.
The application is presented by Panechotes son of Panechotes, who was presumably a public farmer. It is preserved from the point at which he states that he will repay the seed and swears an oath to support his application. For these clauses see above, general introduction, pp. 20-2. For the probability that P. Oxy. ined. 6 is the order in response to this application see the introduction to that text.
[ἀπόδ]ῶσι αὺμα τοῖς τῆς
γ[ης] καθήκουσί δημ[ος]τοίς
καὶ ὅμως Ἀὐτοχράτορ[α]

5 Καίσαρα Νέσσων Ἐρμα[ν]δ[ρ]


Πανεχύτης Πανεχύτου

10 ἐπιδέδ[ω]κα καὶ ὅμωμεθα

tὸν ὑπ[η]ν.[ον]. (ἢ Έτους) ἵν Ἀὐτοχρ[ά]τος[ος]

Καίσαρο[ς] Νέσσων Ἐρμ[α]ν[δρ]

Δεμα[στ]ὸν Ἐρμανικοῦ μη[νὸς] [Νέου]

vacat  Δεμα[στ]ὸν Ἰδ[].

15 (2νδ Hand?) Ἑρμανικ[α]ς καὶ [ ] διὰ [ ] ἐ.....


3 καθήκουσί, x corrected 7 τά, τ corrected
8 [πρ]ον 11 λ. 13 μ. 15 Ἑρμανικ[α],

ἐνορθ[α]ία, see note. 5 = διὰ 16 ἀναγρ[α]ία see note

ως), L 10 l. ὅμωμοικα
Translation

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

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

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

1. For the phrase we expect at this point see P. Oxy. ined. 2.8.

2-3. On this phrase see general introduction pp. 20-2. It is noteworthy that our text adds Καθόκους to the usual phrase. This reading is sure even though the start of this line is damaged and φ[ης] seems short for the space. In the preceding line the top of the second half of the line is torn away and the words τοζι της can only be read because we know from parallels that this is what we should expect.

7. Ταν προχ[ε]π[καμ(μένα)] : this part is damaged and the first π seems to be a correction. προ is certain but what follows is very unsure; if the word was προχαμμένα it cannot have been written in full. This phrase does not occur in P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3.

8. ως [Να]ύκτακα : there is damage here but the raised Κ is clear.

9-11. The signature of Panechotes is not in a different hand from the body of the application. Either he wrote the whole of it or the whole text is a copy; see introduction to this text.

9. Πανεχώτου : the father's name is written very cursively, even for this writer who writes cursively throughout.

13-14. In both lines Ξεβακτοῦ is written with 'Verschleifung'.

13. μη[νοκ] [Νέου] : the η is raised to mark the abbreviation and we can be certain that the reading is not μη[νοκ] Ξεβακτοῦ. It is not likely to be μη[νοκ] Ξεβακτοῦ either, as there is plenty
of room in the lost part at the end of this line for us to restore $\text{Νέου}$.

14. $\epsilon \beta \alpha κτο\nu$ $\lambda\delta$: this is not written at the beginning of the line but towards the right hand side.

15-16. As remarked in the introduction, it is not at all certain that these lines are in a different hand from the lines preceding. They are written very cursively and heavily abbreviated and can only be understood with the help of P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3. (There too the docket is written quickly and abbreviated, but the writing is a little clearer.

15. $\kappa$. ( ): the abbreviation mark at the end is exactly like that at the end of the first word in the next line and in the word at the end of line 15 in P. Oxy. ined. 6. Further, what is written here very closely resembles the writing at the end of P. Oxy. ined. 6.12, where we must have a reference to the $\kappa\varphi\mu\rho\alpha\mu\tau\varepsilon\omicron\upsilon\zeta$. Since the komogrammateus is also mentioned at this point in P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3, this is what we must have here; perhaps we should read $\kappa\omega(\mu\omicron\nu)(\alpha\mu\tau\varepsilon\omicron\upsilon\zeta)$.

16. $\dot{\alpha} \nu\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha(\phi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota)$: for the abbreviation see the previous note; it is perhaps better read $\gamma\rho\alpha$ rather than $\gamma\rho\alpha$. The verb could also be in the active. The reading is a little clearer in P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3. Presumably it is a reference to the komogrammateus' making an entry in the register to confirm that the man is entitled to the amount of seed which he is claiming. For such a use of $\dot{\alpha} \nu\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\omega$ see Wörterbuch I s.v.
3 and 4 and IV s.v. 2 (c) and (d).

\( \omega \zeta \, \eta (\rho \kappa \varepsilon \lambda \iota \alpha \lambda ) \): very cursive and interpreted in the light of P. Oxy. ined. 2.26, where see the note.

\( \beta \ldots \eta (\ldots ) \): we appear to have a \( \beta \) at the start and a raised \( \eta \) at the end. There is nothing to correspond to this word in the dockets in P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3. Was it a reference to the fact that the land in question was \( \beta \alpha \chi \lambda \lambda \kappa \iota \gamma ? \) Cf. what appears to be the same expression in P. Oxy. ined. 6 line 4.
2. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite Nome 13 November, A.D. 99

27. 38.42C(1-2)a

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

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

and fourth hands, they are clearly the hands of professional scribes. Some words are abbreviated and this is usually indicated by writing the last letter before the abbreviated part above the line, except in the case of \( \alpha \rho \mu \alpha \tau \) [line 5] and \( \nu \nu \nu \) [line 6]. Adscript is not used.

From the formula in the part of our document which survives we can see that it is an application for a loan of seed. For parallel texts see general introduction p. 7 n. 26. The addressee is lost but must have been a government official. From a study of the parallels it seems most likely that this official was the strategus, possible also is the basilikos grammateus. The strategus is always the recipient of such applications in the first and second centuries - also in SPP XX 34 of A.D. 232/3; and orders to supply corn in this period are always given by the strategus, with the joint authorisation of the basilikos grammateus [see general introduction p. 25-6].

The applicants were no doubt public farmers; three names are mentioned: Ploutiades son of Ptolemaeus, Diogenes son of Nechthenibis, and Pekusis son of Diogenes [lines 15-21]. They are applying for seed for a total of only \( 3 \frac{1}{2} \) arouras; one of these arouras is being cultivated in the name of Thatres, daughter of Diogenes, since Pekusis' name occurs last in lines 15-21 he is likely to be the one who is cultivating this one aroura. They say they will sow the land at the rate of one artaba of seed per aroura in the current year 3, and request authority for the payment of this seed through the sitologi of Senakeleu.
εἰς δόνοις Θατρῆς τοῦ Διογένης·
Τανεχώ·
τίδος ἐξ τοῦ Ταρουθίου καὶ Παρμενίω(νος)
(ἀρουραν) ἀ ὡστὸ [ἐ]πὶ τῷ [ἀ]τό (ἀρουρα) γόν,
δὲ <ὁ χειρῳμένι(νος)>
τῷ ἐν [ν]έκτῳ ἐπὶ (ἐτεί) πυρῷ [δ]ακ.
κατὰ ἄροι(υραν) εἰς ἐν [ο]ρ(έματα) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α, ἀξιοῦμ(εν)
τὰς συναγο(μένας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γόν ἐπισταλ(ήματι)
[δ]ι(ά) καὶ (τολόγων) Θενεχέλις, δὲ καὶ καταθῆ(σώμαθα)
[εἰς] τῆν γῆν καὶ ἕγ νέω(ν) ἀποδώσομ(εν)
[τ]ὸς ὦς ἡμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς δημο(σίοις)

ὁμιλείμεν Ἀτοκράτορα

Καὶ σαρα [Μ]έρους Ἀρακοῦν Σαβαδόν
Γερμανικὸν ποιῆσειν ὡς πρόκοπ(ειτατ).
(Ἑτούσα) γὰρ Ἀτοκράτος Ῥος Καίσαρος Νέρουα

[Ν]έου Σαβαδοῦ Ἀτοκοῦ Ἡ
to 2οῦ Δεύτερης Πλουτιάδος

[Π]τολεμαίου καὶ Διογένης Νε-
[χθε]νίβιος ἐπιδεξώχαμεν καὶ ὀ-
[μ]πεχαμεν τὸν ὄρκο(ν). Ἐβαχθιος
Χαιρήμονο[ς] ἐγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ(ν)

20 μὴ εἰδότων γράμματα. (3rd Hand) Πέξδειε

Διογένους συνομώµεξα
tὸν δροκον.

(4th Hand) Ἀπολ(λάκτιον) καὶ οἱ [λο]τ(οί) οἱ
dιεξάγο(ντες)
tὰ κ[α]τὰ τῇ(ν) [κ]ωμογρα(ματειαν) κῶµ(ης)

25 κύµη(ς) Κερκε[θ]ύρεω(ς) δἰ(ά) Θέωνο(ς)
[θ]πογρα(φέως) ἀναγρα(φέμθα) ὡς π(ρόχειται).
(ἀπουραί) γῆ.

1 οὖν θετρη[ς] διον μη 2 εκ το ταρου θ παρμενω
3 τω επὶ το θ ασειρω 4 ε[ν]εκτ
5 αρδ εις ἀξιομ 6 συναγο ἐπισταλ
7 καταθη 8 νε ἀποδωμ 9 δημο
12 προκ 13 λ 14 μη 18 ορκ 19 αυτω
23 απολ [λο]τ διεξαγο 24 τη [κ]ωμογρ τω
25 Κερκε[θ]υρεω ἰ = δι(ά) θεων 26 [ν]πογρ
αναγρ ως 18 η. ὁμομοιας η 21 η. συνομωκασ
Translation

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

1. 

\[ \text{\varepsilon\iota\zeta \delta\nu\omicron\omicron\omicron (\omicron\alpha) } \] : the papyrus is slightly damaged at the start of this line and the top of the line is destroyed. \( \varepsilon\iota\zeta \delta\nu\omicron\omicron\omicron \alpha \) is a suitable phrase at this point, cf. P. Oxy. ined. 8.1.

\[ \Theta\alpha\tau\rho\eta[\varepsilon](\omicron\omicron) \] : for this woman see P. Oxy. ined. 7.1.

2. \( \varepsilon\kappa \tau(\omicron\omicron) \Theta\alpha\rho\omicron\Theta(\iota\nu\omicron) \kappa\alpha \Pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\iota\omicron(\nu\omicron\omicron) \) : sc. \( \kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\omicron \) ; on this kleros see P. Oxy. ined. 7.3 n.

3. \( \Theta\alpha\rho\omicron\alpha\nu \) : there is irregular damage at the start of this line; the traces seem more likely to be part of the symbol for aurora, rather than \( \Theta\alpha\rho\omicron\alpha\nu \).

\[ \omega\kappa\tau(\varepsilon) [\varepsilon] \pi \] : there is a space between the raised \( \tau \) and the \( \pi \) ; probably the scribe did write the \( \varepsilon \) but it has been rubbed away.

\[ \langle \varepsilon \rangle \pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\omicron(\omicron\omicron) \] : read \( \pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\omicron(\omicron\omicron) \); the word may be expanded in the first person plural of the present indicative.

For its use in parallel documents only P. Oxy. ined. 4.28 can be quoted. Other texts use the expression \( \varepsilon\iota\zeta \tau\eta\nu \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\omicron \), giving the same meaning, see general introduction, p. 7 n. 27.

4. \[ \varepsilon\kappa \alpha \Pi \] : the writing here is very cursive and rather clumsy and it is not clear what the scribe meant to put. The duplicate document, P. Oxy. ined. 3.3, has at this point \( \delta\alpha\pi\alpha\nu \) which is to be expanded \( \delta\alpha\pi\alpha\nu(\nu\omicron\omicron) \), see the note there. Here there is no sign of a raised letter for an abbreviation; probably
we should read: ἔωναυνῶντες.

but if so he must have left out ἄναλωμα before this, as there is not room for it in the lacuna after Ἀρμένος The verb does not appear in most of the applications listed in the general introduction, pp. 14-16 but see P. Oxy. ined. 4.32.

5. ἀξία λογοῦ (έν): again this word is not used in other applications for seed apart from P. Oxy. ined. 4.31.

6. τὰς κυνάχους (μενακ): one might think also of κυναχοῖς (τέκτεκοῦ), which would agree with Ἀρμένος, and mean that the farmers were requesting the supply of the seed-corn of 3 2/3 artabas from out of requisitioned wheat. This, however, is not very likely, especially with the article τὰς, which well suits the expansion κυναχοὶ (μενακ) For comparable uses of this word in describing total amounts of, e.g., P. Oxy. XLI 2981.21 τὰς κυναχοῦς ζυξόμακ, and for further examples see Wörterbuch s.v. [2]. The abbreviation is made by prolonging the horizontal stroke of the ζ across the top of the ο; this also might tend to suggest that a μ followed.

7. [δ]ι (α): there is a trace of a dash after the trace of Λ which remains. This might just be taken as part of a Λ for τ (ῶν), but this expression seems usually to be found without the article.

κλ(τολόγρων): this is written by prolonging the horizontal of the Κ and writing a very tall Λ down through it. On the office of sitologus see general introduction, p. 9 and n. 31.
Cevekeleu: a village in the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Oxy. X 1285.80, XIV 1659.36. Presumably it was near Kerkethyris, see line 25.

7ff. For the clause beginning ₐ scram kαλι καταθη (c’μεθα) see the general introduction, p.20.

8. [ελτ]: this is the word always used at this point.
The space where ε and ι would have been written is broken away; the space where ι would have come is still there but presumably the letter has been rubbed out.

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

10. [Kαλ']: since we are connecting one main verb (ανοδυμεν) with another (δυμυμεν), kαλ' is the proper word to have stood here; there is a trace of the ι and the space allows room for Kαλ.

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

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

13-14. For the emperor's titles see the note to lines P. Oxy. ined. 9. 15-17.

15. [Νευ Ce[B]κττν: the ν is lost because the papyrus is broken away; there are traces of ι following; the β is lost because there is a hole at this point.

This month is equivalent to the Egyptian month Hathyr, 28 October - 26 November (in a non-leap year); see M. David, B. A. Van Groningen, Pap. Primer 4 (1965), p. 36.
17. ἐπὶ δὲ δόκιμας: the second ε is very peculiar.

19. οὐ τῷ (v): very little remains of the dotted letters and of a possible superscript bar marking the abbreviation.

20. εἰσόδων: cursively written but the reading is not in doubt.

21. Δαμάντας: there seems to be some correction; perhaps the writer first wrote ὁ after δ and then wrote Λ on top of it. The paragraphos sign marking the end of the text proper comes over the first four letters of this word.

23. Ἀπολλοί (Ἀμνιστ): probably the name was Apollonius but there are other possibilities.

οὶ [ὁ] εἰ (οι): nothing remains of the second word but a downstroke and a curve; fortunately the reading is not in doubt because it can be read in the copy, P. Dxy. ined. 3.20.

23-24. οἱ δὲ ἔχοντες τὰ κεφαλὰ τῆς (v) [Κ]ωμοχραμάτων: this is not the most usual phrase for people deputising for the village scribe; the verb usually used is δεχόμενοι, e.g. BOU 15 I = W. Chr. 393.8-9.

For this expression see Wörterbuch s.v. The men here mentioned were no doubt the village presbyters, who often acted as temporary village scribes, see general introduction, pp. 12 n.44, 14.

25. {Κωμη (κ)}: although the reading is not certain it is probable. The word is superfluous and the scribe wrote it twice by mistake.
κερκε[θ]οφεω(ε): a village in the western
toparchy of the Dxyrhynchite nome, see P. Oxy. 1285.70,
XIV 1659.35. It was presumably somewhere near Senekelou,
see line 7.

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

αναγρα(φομεθα): for this word see P. Oxy. ined.
1.16 n.

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

αφουρα: grammatically this should perhaps be in
the accusative after the verb αναγραφω. But it is
probably to be regarded as an additional note in a
sentence by itself.
3. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite Nome 13 November, A.D. 99
27. 38.420[6]a

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

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

It is quite certain that this papyrus is a duplicate
of P. Oxy. ined. 2. [1] As just remarked, the second, third and fourth hands are identical; [2] both texts relate to the same three farmers, the same day and the same amount of seed; [3] both refer to the sitologi of Senkeleu, while the men who add the docket are the acting village scribes of Kerkethyris. It is no surprise that applicants should have been required to submit applications in two or even more copies; cf. the applications to register a birth which are preserved in two copies in P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2855 and P. Cornell 18; cf. also the insistence in orders for seed-corn that the recipients [who are the same farmers as made the application] be required to submit two copies of their receipt [see general introduction, p. 29]. It is likely that both these copies were kept in the office of the strategus Oius. The orders granting the seed applied for in these applications also survive in two copies, P. Oxy. ined. 7 and 8, see the introduction to P. Oxy. ined. 7. For translation and notes on general points see P. Oxy. ined. 2.
κατά (ηναι) διὰ (α) τιτόλον (ήμων) ουνεκέλε (εύ), ἢς καὶ καταλογοθεμέθα εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐγ γένεων ἀποδόσομοι ἐνα τὰς ἱερας ἡμα τοῦ (οίκο) τῆς γης· δημοςεις τούτοις καὶ ὄνυμον εν εὐσιν Ἀυτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Νέρονον Τραϊανόν Σεβαστοῦ τόν Γερμανίαν(ιων)

10 έκτιστας ποιήθες (σείμ) ὡς πρόχειται. (οisible) γὰρ
Ἀυτοκράτορος(α)

Καί(ergic) άρος Νέρονον Τραϊανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανίκον μην(ος) Νέου Σεβαστοῦ τε.
(2nd Hand) Πλοτιάδης Πτολεμαίου καὶ Διο-
γένης Νεκτανήσιος ἐπιδεδώ
cαμεν καὶ ὄνιμεκαμεν τὸν
δρχον. Βάρχιος Χαίρημονος έγρα-
ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μῆ εἴδοτων γράμμα(τα).
(3rd Hand) Πέχοις Διογένους συν-
ομαίσχα τὸν δρχον.
20 (4th Hand) Ἀπολ(λάνιος) καὶ οἱ λοιπ(οί) οἱ διεξάγο(ντες) τὰ κατὰ τῆ(ν) κωμογρα(μματείαν) κῶμης Κερκε-
θύρεω(ς) δι(ὰ) Θέω(νος) διογρα(φέως) ἀναγρα(φόμεθα)
ὡς π(ρόχειται). (ἀρουραί) γῆ.

1 αροὺς ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀροὺς
2 σπείροι, εὐεστῶ L
3 διακονοὶ αροὺς σπεῖροι μεῖος
4 συναγόμενοι
5 εὐπισταλῶ διὸ εἰτὸς Κενεκέλ
6 κατὰ θλῆμα
7 ἀποδεκατοῦ μαμάρτην θῆμα
8 δῆμον ομνύομεν
9 see note 10 τοῦ ὑπὸ L
10 μὲν
11-12 εὐδοτὼν, ὧν corrected from οὐ? γραμμέν
20 απὸ λοιπὸν διεξάγο
21 τῇ κωμογραφῃ
21-2 χερκεθυρεῖ μὲν
22 λ = διά θεῶς υπογραφῇ αναγραφῇ
23 μεν ὑμῶν

15 l. θαμμόναμεν
Notes to the text

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

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

1-2. \( \epsilon \zeta \varsigma \varsigma \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \n
and Verschleifung, but here it may simply be a case of

12. $\mu \eta (\nu \omicron)$ : after $\mu$ we have a symbol much like the
    sign following $\rho$ in lines 21 and 22.

14-15. $\epsilon \nu \iota \delta \omega \kappa \alpha \mu \nu$ : the final $\nu$ seems to have one
    stroke too many.

17. $\alpha \upsilon \tau \omicron (\nu) \mu \eta \varepsilon \delta \omicron \tau \omicron \nu$ : the ending of $\alpha \upsilon \tau \omicron (\nu)$
    is very difficult to read and the writer may have put
    $\alpha \upsilon \tau \omicron \nu$ by mistake. At the end of $\varepsilon \delta \omicron \tau \omicron \nu$ there
    is certainly some correction after the $\zeta$. Perhaps the
    scribe put $\varepsilon \delta \omicron \tau \omicron \nu$ first.
4. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite Nome
26. 38.47/L(5-7)a

A.D. 99-100

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

The papyrus contains writing on one side only, with the fibres. The hand is a trained one and the writing is largely cursive. Sometimes there is a break between words but this does not happen regularly. Some letters do not normally make a ligature, notably o, i and final c; initial letters in most lines are enlarged. There is a great deal of abbreviation and this abbreviation does not follow a standard pattern: generally the final letter before the part left out is raised and sometimes larger than the
other letters; note especially \( \gamma \) marking an abbreviated word, which is written taller than the usual \( \iota \), e.g. \( \alpha \rho \lambda (\varepsilon \varepsilon \phi \omega) \) in line 5. It is noteworthy that \( \lowercase{\lambda} \) adscript is used with \( \Delta \omega \) in line 1. Individual letter forms are typical of cursive writing of this period; note the regular occurrence of y-shaped \( \lambda \).

Our document is an application for a loan of seed; parallel documents are cited in the general introduction, p. 7 nn. 26, 27. It is presented to the strategus Dius by nine farmers from the village of Pela in the Oxyrhynchite nome; eight of them are men, Noumenius, also called Panechotes, Apollonius, Totoes, Hippolytus, Pasalymis, Horus son of Pemsais, Horus son of Parais, and Naris; and one woman, Tanesneus. The applicants all claim seed-corn for very small areas of land, which in total amounts to only \( 7\frac{1}{2} \) arourae [line 27], land which pays a rent of not less than \( 2\frac{1}{2} \) artabas of wheat per aroura [line 28]. The amount of seed which they claim is one artaba per aroura [line 31], which is the normal amount for seed-corn, at any rate for public land [see M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten (1925), pp. 125 ff.]. Since the application is sent to the strategus, we are entitled to assume that the applicants are farmers of public land; but it is remarkable that they do not state the category of land which they are farming [contrast all other applications for seed, except P.Oxy. ined. 2 and 3].

In our text we may note not only that the portion of land which each farmer is cultivating is small but also that it is being farmed either in the name of someone else
or on someone else's behalf; this is specifically indicated in lines 20, 24 and 25 (where see note), and is presumably what is meant by ὁμ(οίως) used of the other entries. The missing part at the end of the document no doubt followed the pattern which we know of from parallel documents and which is indicated above in the general introduction, pp. 7-23. The part preserved, however, does not follow exactly any of the known parallels, since the request begins in line 17 with Ἐπεὶ γεωργοῦμεν) and continues [lines 28-31] with καὶ ταύτας ἐπιρομεν... καὶ δαπανῶμεν... εἰς στήματα (ὑπrho ἀρταβ'ν) α before we reach the main verb ἵκενομι (ἐν).
Δίωι φ[τρ]α(τηγιφ) vacat
παρὰ Νουμ[ην]ίου τοῦ(ifecycle) Πανεχώ(του) 'Απολλωνίο(υ)
του 'Απολλωνίου μη(τρός) Διεστος ὡς (ἐτῶν) ἦς
ἀσήμου καὶ Ἀ[ολ]λωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλω(νίου) τοῦ καὶ
Τοτοῦος μη(τρός) [ ]λη( ) ὡς (ἐτῶν) οὐ ο(τῆς)
ἀντ(ικημίω) ἄοι(στερφ) καὶ
Τοτοῦος [ ]ς... ...ς ποὺς ἀμ;τρος' Ἀπολλωνίας
ὡς (ἐτῶν) ὃ ο(τῆς) ἄοι(παγάλω) ἄο[ο(στερφ)] καὶ Ἰππολ(ύτου)
Πιταίου τοῦ Πιταίφ)
μη(ρός) Φιλοτ[φν ή] μ(τρός) Ἡλεῖτος
[ ]ς... ...ς
ὡς (ἐτῶν) ὃ ο(τῆς) ἔακτ(ύλφ) τ( ) χρι( ) καὶ Ἄρων
Πεμφύςο(ς)
τοῦ 'Αεί[... ...]ν μη(τρός) Τ[ε]θετος ὡς (ἐτῶν) με
ὅ(τῆς) γό(νατι) δεξ[ί(ω)] καὶ Ἄρῳ Παράιτος τοῦ Παράιτο(ος)
μη(ρός) Σοή[ρεσ] μ(τρός) (ἐτῶν) ξα ο(τῆς) μετόκ(ψ) καὶ
Νερίδος
Λιλάιτος [τοῦ Κ]όλλοθ(ου) μη(τρός) Δημάτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ
[ο(τῆς)] με[τάμ(ψω) μ(τόω) καὶ Τάνε]σευτ(ος) Πετεμίνιο(ς)
μη(ρός) Θερμ( )
μετὰ κυρί[ου Ηρά]τος τοῦ 'Ηράτος τοῦ 'Απολλω( )
πάντω[ν τῶν ό]πο κύμι(ς) Πέλα. Ἐπεὶ γεωργο(όμεν)
περὶ Μουσα[ν] ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ Πυθέου καὶ Ἄλ(λων)
κλήρω(ν) με... ...ς... ...ς Ἀπολλω( ) Ἀπολλω( ) με...
δ μὲν Κιουμήνι νι ού ε σ και Πανεχθ(ης) ε ι τον πατ(ερα)
τετελ(ευθυκότα) ἄρουραν ἄρουραν ε [και] Ἀπολλάνινις (σκ)
δμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) και
[δ 'Ι]πόλ[υς] δμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) και δ Πακελμί(ις)
δμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) (ήμιευ)
και δ 'Ἐρος [Πε]μοῦ(νις) δμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) (ήμιευ) και
dμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) και δ Παρην(ίτος)
δμ(οίως) (ἄρουραν) και δ Παρην(ίτος) (αστ(οῦ)) (και
Κολλουθ(ου)) δε(λού)
(ἄρουραν) α και Ή Ται[ε]ν(ες) ε ι τον 'Ιερτ( )
ακλ( ) παλ( )
(ἄρουραν) α (γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) ζ και δ Τοπο(νής) μέτοχ(ος)
Δαμάτ(ος) Δε( )
(ἄρουραν) (ήμιευ) (γίνονται) επ(ι) τ [ο αυ]τ(ο) (ἄρουραι)
ζ (ήμιευ) τελοθεικα κατ' ἀρι(ουραν)
osχ Κλασσ(ου) (πυροῦ άρταβας) β (ήμιευ), και ταύτας
κειρωμεν
τω ἐνεπτ(ώτι) γ (ἔτει) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρωνα
30 Τραυματά Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ πυρῶ και
δακταλίμεν κατ' ἀρο(υραν) ε ι τ σ(ήματα) (πυροῦ άρταβην)
α, δεισιοῦ(εν)
[........]ἀνωμ( ) ε ι τ σ(ήματα) (πυροῦ άρταβας) ζ
(ήμιευ) ἐπισταλῆ(και)
[ήμιν] διὰ Παμελητοῦ κατ' τῶν μετόχ(ων) ειτολ(όγων)
[........]..κυμ( ) ἢ και καταθη(σόμεθα) ε ι τῇ(ν)
35 [γην]
1 c[τρ]: 2 τοκ' πανεκ' ἀπολλωνιον
3 μην L, and so passim 4 αςμμ ἀπολλω
5 μην ἦν ὁ, and so passim αυτὸς αὑτή
7 ας ἵππον πινακον 8 μην αὐτὸς αὑτή πασαι
9 μην 10 δαχτλ. χιρίπτι πεμφατον 11 μην
12 γόρο ραφιν 13 μην μετοικεῖ, l. μετατάξω, so l.15
14 κολλοῦνθ μην 15 [ενεφ] ρεπτεμυνιον μην
θερμ 16 ἀπολλω 17 κωμ ἔρωγαν 18 αὐτ
19 κληρω ἀπολλω bis 20 οκ πανεκ' πατ
21 τετελεγμενω, so passim ου, so passim
22 μιχικέ, so lines 23, 27, 28 με παρα
24 ου αυτὸς κολλοῦνθ αἰθ λεπ των[ες]ν ακ λακλα
26 αὐτοντα μετοξ δαματ 27 επιτευχεῖ αὐτό
28 ελασσο[ν] so lines 31, 32 29 ενεκτε
31 αὑτοῦ χεῖρ συντομον 32 [α]νωμ ὁ ἐπισταλεί
33 μετοξ σειστολ ἔς 34 κωμ καταθεῖ την
Translation

'To Dios, strategus, from Noumenius also called Panechotes son of Apollonius the son of Apollonius, mother Dioeus, about 17 years old, unscarred, and Apollonius son of Apollonius also called Totoes, mother . . . , about 73 years old with a scar on his left shin, and Totoes . . . mother Apollonia, about 30 years old with a scar on the ball of the left foot, and Hippolytus son of Pitaeus son of Pitaeus mother Philous about 36 years old with a scar on his left shin, and Pasalymis son of Philemon son of Sa . . . , mother Helis, about 70 years old with a scar on the . . . finger of his left (?) hand, and Horus son of Pemounis, son of Axi . . . ., mother Tetheus, about 45 years old with a scar on the right knee, and Horus son of Parais son of Parais, mother Soeris, about 61 years old with a scar on his forehead, and Naris son of Lillais son of Collouthus, mother Demas, about 40 years old with a scar on his forehead, and Tanesneus daughter of Peteminis, mother Therme[ ] with Heras son of Heras son of Apollo[ ] as guardian, all from the village of Pela. Since we are farming near Mousa . . . in the holding of Pytheas and the other holdings . . . Noumenius also called Panechotes in the name of his deceased father 1 areoura and Apollonius likewise 1 areoura and Hippolytus likewise 1 areoura and Pasalymis likewise ½ areoura and Horus son of Pemounis likewise ½ areoura and Horus son of Parais likewise 1 areoura and Naris for himself and his brother Collouthus 1 areoura and Tanesneus in the name of . . . 1 areoura, totalling 7
arourae, and Toteus a partner with Damas son of De . . .
¼ aroura, together totalling 7¾ arourae, at a rent not
less than 2½ artabae of wheat per aroura, and since we are
sowing them in the present 3rd year of Imperator Caesar
Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus with wheat, and using
one artaba of wheat as seed for the aroura, we request
authority for the payment to us of 7¾ artabae of wheat
being needed for seed through Pamis and his fellow sitologi
of . . . which we shall also plant in the land . . .
Notes to the text

1. Διώκ ἵ[τρ]α·τηγνω : the first half of ω in Διωκ is broken but there is no problem about the reading. The reading following is more difficult, but must be an abbreviated form of Τρατηγνω, since we know from P. Oxy. XII 1452.57-8 that Dius was strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome in this year (for the correct reading see P. Oxy. XXII 2342.17n). On Dius see further the note to P. Oxy. ined. 9.1. Here both ζ and χ are broken, and we should perhaps read Τρ as the abbreviation.

2. Νουμὴνιου : in line 20 the writer has put Ν[ουμήνιου]νιος which could be the correct form of the nominative, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon; it seems better to correct there and suppose the nominative was Νουμὴνιος.

3. Νοσαλλωνίου : the ω is broader than is usual in this hand.

4. Αποθηνου : ι is written on top of η. For these identification marks used of people in the papyri see A. Calderini, 'L'indicazioni dell'età individuale nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano', Rassegna italiana di lingua e letterature classiche II (1920), pp. 317-25; J. Hasebroek, Das Signalement in den Papyrusurkunden (1921);

$\alpha\nu[\varsigma\upsilon\lambda\nu\nu\omega\nu\iota\omicron]$: the lacuna admits three letters so that the restoration $\sigma\lambda\lambda$ is very probable. The name is extremely common and the $\tau\omicron\omicron$ following may suggest that the son had the same name as his father.

5. \[\ldots\] $\lambda\eta$ : is y-shaped and raised to mark an abbreviation; before it $\Lambda$ is far from certain. Perhaps $[\tau\upsilon]\lambda\eta\,(\tau\omicron\omicron)$. Also possible is $\mu\eta(\tau\rho\omicron\omicron)\, [\Lambda]\lambda\varepsilon(\tau\omicron\omicron)$.  

6. The reading between $\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon\omega\omicron\omega$ and $\alpha\nu\nu\lambda\nu\nu\iota\alpha\iota$ is very difficult but it is not possible to read $\langle\mu\eta\tau\rho\omicron\omicron\rangle$; presumably the scribe left this out by mistake. Before this we should have the genitive ending of the name of Totoes' father, but the final $\zeta$ is very hard to read.

7. $\alpha\upsilon(\tau\upsilon\gamma\chi\lambda\omega)\, \alpha[\rho(\tau\epsilon\rho\omega)]$: this, and not $\alpha\upsilon(\zeta\kappa\nu\eta\mu\acute{\iota})$ seems to be the correct reading. After this word traces of $\alpha$ survive and the space could contain $\epsilon$ and a raised $\Lambda$.  

$\iota\nu\nu\lambda(\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron)$: a rare name, see *Namenbuch*.  

$\pi\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\omicron$: the name is even rarer, see *Namenbuch*.  

8. $\phi\epsilon\lambda\nu\upsilon\zeta\omicron$: this can be either a masculine or a feminine name; here it is feminine.
\[\Delta \nu \zeta (\lambda \kappa \nu \eta \mu \iota \omega)\] : the \(\nu\) is very cursively written and ligatured at left and right; but we cannot here read \(\Delta \zeta \zeta (\rho \alpha \gamma \lambda \omega)\).

9. \(\xi \alpha \kappa \kappa \zeta \chi \kappa \zeta \zeta \) : traces of all the letters survive, but the middle of the name is much damaged and the dotted letters are all doubtful.

10. \(\delta \alpha \kappa \zeta (\lambda \lambda \lambda \omega)\) : the scribe seems to have made some mistakes here. We need after \(\delta \alpha \kappa \tau \nu \lambda \omega\) a description of the finger, then \(\chi \lambda \rho \omega\) followed by \(\alpha \rho \zeta \zeta \tau \varepsilon \rho \xi \zeta \) or \(\delta \zeta \varepsilon \xi \zeta \). Perhaps we should take \(\chi (\varepsilon) \lambda \rho \omega\) as haplography for \(\chi \lambda \rho \omega \rho > \lambda = \chi (\varepsilon) \rho (\dot{o} \zeta)\) \(\alpha \rho \zeta (\varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \rho \xi \zeta)\). What precedes is still a problem. It would be possible to read \(\tau \rho \zeta (\tau \omega)\), but this description of a finger does not seem to be used in the papyri. Neither \(\lambda \zeta (\chi \alpha \nu \omega)\) nor \(\mu \zeta (\kappa \rho \omega)\) would seem to be possible.

\(\Delta \varepsilon \xi \zeta \zeta (\zeta)\) : this is a common name and is presumably what the scribe intended, but there is some difficulty in the reading; under the microscope one can see that \(\zeta\) is corrected and something written above it. Was the scribe trying to correct \(\zeta\) to \(\psi\)? For the different forms of the name see Namebook. See also the note to line 23.

11. \(\varepsilon \alpha \xi \zeta [\ldots] \omega\) : names beginning with these letters are very rare according to Namebuch and Onomasticon, and neither records a masculine name which would be suitable here.

12. \(\gamma \zeta (\nu \alpha \zeta \zeta)\) : \(\zeta\) is more like an elongated dot than a circle or semi-circle, and the \(\gamma\) seems to have been
written to join a horizontal dash over the O to mark the abbreviation. There is no reason to doubt the reading, however.

\[\omega\] \rho\nu : we can be certain of the name because of the available space and because the name appears in full in line 23.

\[\Pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron : \text{here the name looks more like } \Pi\alpha\zeta\tau\omicron\omicron, \text{but in its other occurrences [in this line and again in line 23] } \rho \text{ is a better reading than } \zeta. \text{ Namenbuch gives no example of either name, but Onomasticon has an example of } \Pi\alpha\rho\alpha\zeta\omicron \text{ in P. Merton I 23.1.}

13. \text{Co\nu[\varpi\omicron\omicron\omicron} : for the restoration of this name see Namenbuch \text{and Onomasticon, and cf. SB I 5138.5. Because we must also have the } \omega \text{ of } \nu\omicron\omicron \text{ in the lacuna, this name is just the right length.}

14. \text{\Lambda\iota\chi\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\omicron} : not in Namenbuch nor Onomasticon, but the names \text{\Lambda\iota\chi\lambda\alpha} (feminine) and \text{\Lambda\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\omicron} (masculine) are attested from the Greek papyri. The formation does not seem peculiar and the reading looks certain.

\[\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron : \text{there is clearly need for something to fill the space apart from the } \kappa \text{ of } \kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron\theta(\omicron\omicron) ; \text{ we could restore } \tau(\omicron\omicron\omicron) \kappa(\chi\omicron\omicron) ; \text{ but the other farmers record their grandfathers' names as well as their fathers'.}

\text{\Delta\eta\mu\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\omicron} : \text{this form does not seem to occur elsewhere as a woman's name, but the form } \Delta\eta\mu\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\omicron \text{ is found in P. Oxy. III 503.2.}
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15. 

[K α I] Τανε]cνευτε(ος): the reading has been arrived at by comparison with line 25. K α I is necessary grammatically to connect this name with those preceding and we know from the article η in line 25 that this woman has been mentioned previously; this article also proves that this farmer is a woman, as does the mention of her Κύριος. In line 25 Τακ is certain as the start of her name, but the Κ following is uncertain; this line has room for two letters before Κε(ος) and we know from line 15 that the second of these is Κ. 

Τανε]cνευτε is attested as a woman's name.

16. Κυρι[ου]: we need the genitive ending because of Κε(ος) preceding. For the occurrence of a Κύριος see note to line 5 in P. Oxy. ined. 9.

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

'Ανολάω( ) : most probably 'Ανολάω(νιου) but there are other possibilities.

17. Πάντω[v τῶν ἀντι]: we know from many parallel texts that we must read either this here or Πάντως ἀντι without τῶν . From the size of the lacuna the inclusion of the article is more suitable.

Πέλας: a village in the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome; see also P. Oxy. ined. 9, note to line 11.
17ff. For the request formula in this text see the discussion above, general introduction, p. 14-16.

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

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

18-19. Νυθεον καὶ ὑλ(ων) Κηρυκ(ων) : for the names of kleroi in the Oxyrhynchite nome see P. Pruneti, KAHRPPOI del nomo Ossirinichite. Ricerca toponografia', Aegyptus 55 [1975], pp. 159-244. On p. 198 she records a kleros ΤΕΛΕΥΚΟΝ καὶ ΝΥΘΕΟΥ in the middle toparchy from PSI IX 1072. If the kleros here is in the western toparchy it seems to be new.

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

20. Ν[ουμην]υ<ω>ς : see the note to line 2.

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

21. (Δρουραν) α: the α is not a secure reading; but we know the total amount of 7½ arouras in line 27 and all the other individual amounts can be read for certain; if we deduct these from 7½ what is left for Noumenios is one aroura.
δμ(οίων) : this and the next four entries all have this word after the name of the father. Apparently it means that the land is being farmed on the same conditions as those which applied to Noumenios, i.e. that these men are all farming the land in the name of their deceased fathers. This does not seem very likely.

22. Ιππολ [οίνος] : for the name see line 7, but here it seems that the writer wrote the name in full. Even so there is still room in the lacuna and comparison with the preceding and following entries suggests we should supply δμ(οίων).

23. Νευ(οίος) : for the name see line 40 and note. There is a stroke almost on top of the Ν as a sign of abbreviation.

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

25. For the reading Ταυν[ε]κε(οί) see line 15 and note. What follows is very obscure. Εύκ should be followed by a proper name in the accusative, meaning that Tanesneus is farming the land in the name of this person; it is not unlikely that this name ends with the letters ΚΟΛΥ. If so another name [father's name in the genitive case?] appears to follow and may begin Ιερικ, although the dotted letters are uncertain. One or two names beginning this way are attested in Namenbuch. What follows is still wholly unclear.

26. Why is Totoes added after the total has already been given? Did the writer just forget to mention him?
\( \mu \varepsilon \tau \omicron \chi \left( \omicron \omicron \right) \) : the reading is certain, cf. \( \mu \varepsilon \tau \omicron \chi \left( \omicron \nu \right) \) in line 33. I think it is sensible to use it as a noun in apposition with \( \tau o t o \nu c \), meaning 'partner' of the man following, but I know of no exact parallel.

\( \Delta \alpha \mu \tilde{\alpha} \zeta \left( \omicron \omicron \right) \) : Damas is a common name and the genitive will indicate that Totoes is 'partner of Damas'. The cursively written letters following are no doubt the name of his father.

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

\( \varepsilon \eta \left( \omicron \right) \tau \left[ o \alpha \upsilon \right] \tau \left( \omicron \right) \) : palaeographically the reading is very insecure as the papyrus is damaged at this place. However, since \( \varepsilon \eta \left( \omicron \right) \) is very probable [the papyrus has \( \varepsilon \) ] and we need some such expression, what has been restored is likely to be correct.

\( \tau \varepsilon \lambda \omicron \upsilon \omega \varepsilon \alpha \left[ \omicron \omicron \right] \kappa \alpha \tau ^{\prime} \alpha \rho o \left( \upsilon \rho \alpha \nu \right) \omicron \delta \kappa \omicron \varepsilon \lambda \chi \xi \gamma \left( \omicron \upsilon \right) \left( \omicron \nu \rho o \omicron \alpha \pi \tau \alpha \beta \pi \right) \)

\( \beta \left( \omicron \nu \mu \lambda \nu \right) \) : for the inclusion of this type of expression in applications for seed and for its possible meaning, see general introduction above, pp. 17-8.

28. \( \kappa \omega \tau \tilde{\alpha} \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \epsilon \iota \rho \omega \mu \epsilon \nu \) : for an expression with the same meaning but not the same grammatical construction see P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3, lines 3 ff.

29-30. For the title of the emperor see P. Bureth, Titulatures imperiales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Egypte (30 a.C. - 282 p.C.) (1964), pp. 50-1. We may add to the examples for this same regnal year ined. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8.
31. δὐναντιών ἡμέν: the same word, but in a different grammatical construction, in ined. 2 = 3 [lines 4 ff.].

αὐτοῦ ἔστω: here the main clause begins; cf. ined. 2 = 3 [lines 5 ff.]. The usual word in applications is ἀποτελεῖ τὰ αὐτά, see general introduction, p. 14.

32. [.....] ἀνώμυ: from the similar phrasing in ined. 2 = 3 [lines 4 ff.] we should expect here ἄνω [ἀν] ἀνώμυ ἑνακτο, but this cannot be read. The ά here is probable and the rest of the reading certain; therefore we probably have some part of the verb δυναντιών. Most probably we should read [ἄνω [ἀν] ἀνώμυ ἑνακτο], which is suitable to the space and to the grammatical construction; these words will agree with ἀριθμάδικα and will be the object of ἐπικεφαλήνας.

33. [Η μιν]: there is no comparable word in ined. 2 = 3, but something is needed to fill the space here and Η μιν is a sensible restoration and suits the size of the space.

Παμέςος: the dotted letters are all uncertain, but the name as a whole is probably correct; Παμές occurs quite frequently, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

ἐκτόλογοι [ἐκτόλογοι]: for the role of the sitologi in distributing seed-corn see P. Oxy. ined. 2.7n., and general introduction, p. 9 n. 31.

34. Κωμ(ék): if this reading is right, it should probably be expanded Κωμ(ηκ) or Κωμ(ών).
34ff. For the phrase regarding the planting of the seed and the phrases which will have followed in the lost part see general introduction, pp. 20-5 and cf. especially the parallel type of application, P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3.
S. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite name A.D. 229/230

Inv. no. 26. 38. 93/H(1-2)a

This piece of papyrus contains an application for a loan of seed-corn. Parallels are P. Coll. Youtie I 22 [A.D. 97/8], nos. 1-4 above [A.D. 99-100], P. Coll. Youtie I 26 [A.D. 156], P. Hamb. I 19 [A.D. 225], P. Oxy. VII 1031 = W. Chr. 343 [A.D. 228], SPP XX 34 [A.D. 232/3] and P. Flor. I 21 [A.D. 239].

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

The writing is a medium-sized cursive, the work of a competent scribe. It bears palaeographical resemblance to several documents coming from the first half of the third century: cf. W. Schubart, Griechische Palaeographie, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I 4,1 [1925], p.78 Abb. 48 [BGU 356 = W. Chr. 88; A.D. 213]; idem, Papyri Graecae Berolinenses, Tabulæ in usum Scholarum [1911], 34b [BGU 321 = W. Chr. 11; A.D. 216]; R. Seider, Palaeographie
If we compare our document with those cited above, we notice that the imperial date is missing at the foot. The only date mentioned in the document is the present ninth year, the year of the sowing (line 9), during which the application was presented. This year can be dated to the reign of the emperor Alexander Severus, i.e. A.D. 229/30, for several reasons.

1. Applications for seed-corn are presented to the officials in the same year as that of the sowing (see general introduction p. 16 n.55).

It is known that after the granting of the Roman citizenship within the Roman Empire as a result of the Constitutio Antoniniana in A.D. 212, the newly enfranchised citizens of all classes acquired the name Aurelius as a formal gentilicium. Before the edict, provincials who sought and were granted the citizenship customarily acquired the family names of their patrons, not only for pride and prestige but also and most of all because as citizens they would be registered in the official lists for recognition of their right to Roman status. In the present document we find a group of people who farm \(\beta\alpha\varepsilon\zeta\iota\kappa\iota\kappa\nu\) \(\gamma\gamma\nu\) (lines 8-9), and apparently they are \(\beta\alpha\varepsilon\zeta\iota\kappa\iota\kappa\iota\).
or Σημάδια γνωριμία;⁶ they all bear the name Aurelius and this must be as a result of the Constitutio Antoniniana. It has been shown that the Constitutio Antoniniana was known in Egypt almost certainly by June A.D. 213.⁷ Our document must have been written at a time after the Constitutio Antoniniana was made known in Egypt. The farmers present their application to the κωμογονοματέας [line 1]. The office of κωμογονοματέας is attested in Egypt as late as A.D. 244/5 (P. Oxy. XLII 3046.1) and Feb./Mar. 245 (P. Oxy. XLII 3047.1), for the Oxyrhynchite nome.⁸ With the introduction of comarchs into Egypt towards the middle of the third century - the earliest attestation for the office in the Oxyrhynchite nome is A.D. 247/8 (P. Oxy. XVII 2123.5) and in the Arsinoite


7. See D. Hagedorn, ZPE cited in note 4. cf. also Rubin cited in the same note. Millar, JEA 58 (1962), pp. 127-9, suggests a slightly different date, but this does not affect the dating of the present papyrus. On the time taken by news to reach the various parts of Egypt, cf. U. Wilcken, Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien I (1899), pp. 600 ff.

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

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

9. See Borkowski and Hagedorn, Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux [1975], p. 281 nn. 2, 3; p. 282 n. 4; Thomas, ZPE 19, 1 [1975], p. 113 nn. 13, 14 and the following pages.

10. See Borkowski and Hagedorn, Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux [1975], p. 282; Thomas, ZPE 19, 1 [1975], p. 115 n. 27, pp. 118 ff.

11. See Worterbuch III Abs. 3; Worterbuch Suppl. 1 Abs. 2; Bureth, Les titulatures impériales, p. 108; P. W. Pestman, Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. - 453 ap. J.-C.) [1967], p. 113.

12. Note that the government official to whom applications for loans of seed-corn were sent is not always the same, as we can see from parallel texts. In P. Coll. Youtie I 22 [87/8] it is the strategus. For the komogrammateus applying to the basilikos grammateus for seed-corn for farmers see P. Tebt. II 341 [A.D. 140/1]. See also general introduction, pp. 8 n. 30 and 11.
kind, but the occurrence in lines 9-11 of the phrase ηρωτητομένον μὲν Μάρκιου Λολλίου Λεονίδου καὶ Αθηνόδωρου Αθηνοδώρου γεωργίων is new and distinctive. The phrase is in the genitive absolute and so independent of the rest of the construction of the text. The common usage and meaning of the compound προταττομένω in Greek papyri is 'aforesaid',13 and this apparently does not fit in the present context, because the names M. Lollius Leonides and Athenodorus son of Athenodorus have not been previously mentioned in the text. If we exclude this phrase from the text for the moment, the text follows the usual pattern in this type of document and the understanding of its content is clear. The applicants are presumably lessees, making a request for a loan of seed-corn for royal land which formerly belonged to Heraclides son of Ptolemaeus and to Apollonaria also called Aristandra [lines 11-12]. This royal land which they cultivate is in five parcels; parcels 1 and 2 are registered in the name of Dion[ ] son of Agathinus [line 12],14 parcel 5 is registered in the name of Papontos son of Ariston [Lines 17-18].15 As for parcel

13. Wörterbuch, s.v.; Wörterbuch Suppl. 1 s.v.; Spoglio s.v.; and later publications of Greek papyri.
14. See note to line 12.
15. See note to lines 17-18.
3 (line 16), we should understand that it formerly belonged in some way to the same Dion(   ) son of Agathinus, but it is not known in whose name it is now registered. Possibly the parcel is part of a confiscated kleros and the applicants are responsible for the rent. 16 Parcel 4 is complicated because it is uncertain how to expand the abbreviations ηρο(   ) χλ(   ); cf. the note, where one possibility is suggested (this seems more probable than expanding ηρο(τερον) χλ(   ), which would have to be understood as land formerly belonging to Chl(   )]. From the above we should presumably deduce that the applicants are subleasing parcels 1 and 2 from Dion(   ) son of Agathinus, and parcel 5 from Papontos son of Ariston, who are likely to be lessees of βασιλικὴ γῆ from the state. Besides subleasing parcels 1, 2 and 5 the applicants are presumably leasing parcels 3 and 4 directly from the state, since they are paying rent and these parcels are not mentioned as being in the name of any other person. The βασιλικὴ γῆ is described in lines 11-12 as formerly belonging to Heraclides son of Ptolemaeus

16. See P. Flor. I 21 [A.D. 239], application for seed corn; also P. Tebt. 341 [A.D. 140/1], a letter concerning seed-corn from the komgrammateus of Theogonos, a village in the division of Polemon, to the basilikos grammateus of the division of Themistes, notifying him of the amount of seed-corn required to be advanced to certain inhabitants of Theogonos who cultivate crown lands at another village. Compare also P. Dxy. XL 2956 [A.D. 148/9], order for a grant of seed, in which the receivers of the loan are understood to cultivate the land jointly; P. Berl. Leihg. II 26 = SB X 10614 = Gunter Poethke, Epimerismos, [Pap. Brux. 8] [1969], pp. 93 ff. [A.D. 167/8].
and Apollonaria also called Aristandra, who is likely to be the same woman as the Apollonarion also called Aristandra who appears in P. Oxy. VI 899 of A.D. 200. There because of her sex she petitioned the dioecetes to be released from the georgia of several parcels of baskets, and apparently she gains this exemption.17

To come back to the phrase in lines 9-11: προτεσαμένω μὲν Μαρκίενο δολλίου Δεσπίδου καὶ Ἀθηνάδωρου Ἀθηνάδωρου ἐκφράζων. I suggest the possibility that within the context in our papyrus the most appropriate translation of the verb is 'having been appointed',18 the whole phrase perhaps meaning that M. Lollius Leonides and Athenodorus have been appointed to the land, understanding with the verb εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν γην. This would then perhaps mean that Leonides and Athenodorus were leasing the


18. For this meaning of the word cf. LSJ s.v. 2, and E. A. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (1914), s.v., cf. n. 13 above.
land involuntarily and as a result of some form of compulsory cultivation. 19 Because compulsory cultivation was a burden on people liable to it, such people tried to avoid it by subleasing or running away \( \nu ν ν \nu ν \nu ν ν \nu ν \nu ν ν ν \nu ν \nu ν \nu ν \nu ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν ν
Και με γράμματα των άλλων χωμάτων της [ξ]ως το [ο][π][α][χ](ε)
παρά Αθωνίου· Τουινίου· Αμμωνίου μητρός Αρ...ος και· Αχαιραίου Παποντώτος μητρός Διονυσίας και· Κοπρέως
5 Απεστος μητρός Ταύριος και· Παποντώτος Κ[ο][ρνή]λίου· μητρές·
Οί τόκοι κάτων από κάμης Σινικέας· αιτούμεθα· επιστατή·
λήναι· εις· κέπευμα· ἀπὸ· πυρὸς· γενήμα· (ατές)· τοῦ·
διελ(θόντες)· η(έτοις)· εἰς· κατασκηνοθείων· τοῦ· ἑνεκτότος· θ· (έτους)· εἰς·
γεωργούμεν· βασιλ.[ιήν]
γάρ· περί· τήν· αὐτήν· κάμην· προτεσταμένου· μὲν
10 Μάριοι· ν Λοιπῆ τής· Λουνίδου· καὶ· Αθηνοῦρου· Αθηνοῦρου· γεωργών· πρῶτον· (ερον)· ἠραχλείδου· Πτολεμαίου· ἀγ(σ)ρανομησατ(ος)· καὶ· γυ(μνασιαρχησαντος)· καὶ· 'Απολ[λων]·
ναρίας· τῆς· καὶ· 'Αριστάνδρας· ἔκ· μὲν· τοῦ· Δωσιθέου· εἰς·
Διον( )·· 'Αγαθ(είνου)
ἄν(ά)· (πυρὸς· ἄρτας)· βης· καὶ· (δραχμάς·)· ε(διάφορον)·
χ(αλκούς)· γ· ἀπὸ· (ἀρουρῶν)· κεῖται· τῷ· Ε[λ]· (ἀρουρας)· ἱθῇ· καὶ· ἐκ· τ(οῦ)
Κέλσου· ἄν(ά)· (πυρὸς· ἄρτας)· γλῶ· (ἀρουρας)· γύναι· καὶ· ἀπὸ·
(ἀρουρῶν)· θαρ· τῷ· Ε[λ]· (ἀρουρας)· ζ·· καὶ· ἐκ· τ(οῦ)
15· 'Ασκληπιδόνος· πρῶτον· (ερον)· τοῦ· α(ύτοι)· Διον( )·· 'Αγαθείνου·
ἄν(ά)· (πυρὸς· ἄρτας)· βης· καὶ· (δραχμάς·)· ε(πεντάβολον)· καὶ·
(δραχμάς·)· ε(πεντάβολον)· ε(αλκούς)· γ· (ἀρουρας)· θαρ· καὶ·
ἐκ· τ(οῦ)· παρά· βασιλ( )· πρὸς· ( )· Χ( )·
ἄν(ά)· (πυρὸς· ἄρτας)· ε[γ′]· ἀπὸ·
(Αριστοτέλης ἦκε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ) Ἀριστοτελίκου εἶνε Πανωτῆς

τοῦ Α[ ± 8 ]ου ἄν(α) (πυρὸς ἀρτάμας) γαλοξὸ καὶ
(ἀραχμάς) ε[ ± 14 ]α(αλκοῦ) ὑς,
(ἀρακρας) εἰς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ


2 τ[ο]ρ[α][ρ] βετερ[ε]νς 7 εισερχος γενής
16 ἐνω[τ] and so passim χρ[ε] τον and so passim

ἀριστε[ρ] τον 18 ενω[τ]
Translation

'To the village scribe of . . . and other villages in the Upper Toparchy from the Aurelii Iulius son of Ammonius, mother Ar . . ., Akairaius son of Papontos, mother Dionysia, and Copreus, son of Saras, mother Tauris, and Papontos son of Cornelius, mother Sapsis, all from the village of Sincepha. We request that there be assigned to us as loans of seed from the wheat crop of the past 8th year for the sowing of the present 9th year for the crown land which we farm near the same village, [to which] Marcus Lollius Leonides and Athenodorus, son of Athenodorus, have been appointed (?) farmers, formerly belonging to Heraclides, son of Ptolemaeus ex-agoranomus and ex-gymnasiarch, and Apollonaria also called Aristandra, in the holding of Dositheus in the name of Dion[ ], son of Agathinus at the rate of 2 ¾ ¼ artabae of wheat and 5 drachmae 2 obols 3 chalchi from 26 ¾ arourae the ¾ part 19 ¾ ½ 1/32 arourae and in the holding of Celsus at the rate of 3 1/32 artabae of wheat 3¾ arourae and from 9¾ arourae the ¾ part 7 ¾ ¼ arourae and in the holding of Asclepiades formerly belonging to the same Dion[ ], son of Agathinus at the rate of 2 1/8 1/16 1/32 1/128 artabae of wheat and 5 drachmae 5 obols (?) 3 chalchi 19% arourae and in the holding of . . . royal . . . at the rate of 5¾ artabae of wheat from 12 ¾ 1/32 1/64 (the ¾ part) 9 ¾ 1/8 1/64 arourae and in the holding of Aristonicus in the name of Papontos son of Ariston son of A . . . at rate of 3 ¾ 1/32 1/64 artabae of wheat and 6 drachmae . . . 3½ chalchi 5 ¾ 1/8 arourae and in the holding of . . . . . .'
Notes to the text

1. Κωμό [γρ (αματεί)] ... ΕΩΣ: the village scribe is the only official in the village administration to whom such applications would be presented; cf. P. Tebt. II 341 [140/1], a letter from the village scribe to the basilikos grammateus notifying him of the amount of seed-corn required to be advanced to the inhabitants of the village of Theogonis for the Βασιλική γη which they cultivate in the fields belonging to the village of Argias in the division of Themistes. Cf. also P. Lond. II 256 [p.97] [A.D. 11], where the village scribe authorises with other officials the issue of seed-corn to the demosioi georgoi of the royal, sacred and other land, according to the orders of the strategus and basilikos grammateus. The village scribe is attested in Egypt as late as A.D. 244/5 and Feb./Mar. A.D. 245, see introduction. The word must be in the dative because of the construction with παρα and the fact that the document is an application, see αἰτοῦμεθα [1.6]; see also general introduction, pp. 14-16.

The village name following is uncertain. The traces after the break are very meagre and it is not certain how many letters belonging to the village name have been lost in the lacuna. Κωμογραματεί cannot have been written in full, but it is not certain that it was abbreviated after ρ as indicated in the transcript; the reading Κωμό[γραμμα]τ is not impossible. The village will be one of the more important villages in the Upper
Toparchy near Sincepha; cf. the lists of villages in P. Oxy. X 1285, col. iii, and XIV 1659, col. i (both third century). The letter but one before \( \epsilon\omega\epsilon \) seems to have a long descender and the reading might just be \( \text{\textit{Nec}} \epsilon\omega\epsilon \) (First \( \mu \) very doubtful). This village is known to have been in the Upper Toparchy (see the papyri just quoted) and is associated with Sincepha in P. Oxy. XXXVI 2782 (second/third century).

The village scribe could be in charge of a single village only, but it is not unusual for him to be in charge of several small villages, no doubt all close together; see Oertel, \textit{Die Liturgie}, p. 157; N. Lewis, \textit{Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt} (1968), s.v. For examples from the Oxyrhynchite nome see P. Oxy. XLII 3047 (245), XLIII 3133 (239); cf. XLV 3263 (215).

2. \( \tau[\sigma]\eta[\alpha\rho]\chi (\lambda\alpha\epsilon) \) : the second half of the crossbar of \( \tau \) is broken off and a hole follows; after this the bottom of a vertical stroke is visible, which appears to hook to the right like the right hand vertical of \( \eta \); however, from its position it must be part of the left hand vertical. \( \chi \) is slightly raised above the line to mark the abbreviation.

3. \( \alpha\rho . . . \epsilon \) : there are traces of three letters in the middle of the word but they are too broken to be read; the last is perhaps \( \tau \). \textit{Namenbuch}, and \textit{Onomasticon}, suggest several names ending \( \tau\epsilon\omicron\omicron\) in the genitive which would suit, e.g. \( \epsilon\rho\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\omicron\omicron \), \( \epsilon\rho\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\omicron\omicron \), \( \epsilon\rho\chi\tilde{\iota}\omicron\omicron \).
4. ᾿Ακαλφαίον: the reading is certain. The name is not attested in Namenbuch or Onomasticon. For names ending ᾿αλοκ see D. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen (1957), p. 226, and for names ending ᾿καλοκ see Dornseiff-Hansen Rückläufiges Wörterbuch, p. 242. For the adjective ᾿ακαλφά 'ill-timed', 'unseasonable', see IsJ s.v.
   It is probably for ᾿Ακαλφαίον.

Κορνέως: holes make the reading of ιο and ρ doubtful, but Κορνές and Κορνέως are common names, especially in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

5. Κ[ε]ρνήλιον: a Roman name, which may well imply that Papontos, who no doubt acquired the name Aurelius after the Constitutio Antoniniana, was an illegitimate son of Cornelius Σαπσίς and an Egyptian mother, see H. C. Youtie, 'Ἀνάτορες: Law Vs. Custom in Roman Egypt', Le Mondégrèce. Hommages à Claire Préaux (1975) pp. 737-8.

6. Σύκεφαλ: a well-known village which is known to have been in the Upper Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. P. Oxy. X 1285, col. iii and XIV 1659, col. i.
   ἀετούμεθα ἐπισταλήγακι: for this phrase see the general introduction, pp. 14-16. The papyrus is broken through the middle of the letters at the end of ἐπισταλήγακι making the reading difficult.

7. έλευ ιπέρ (ᾶΣα) : the omission of έ in this expression is very common; cf. e.g. P. Oxy. VII 1031-9 [A.D. 228] and P. Coll. Youtie I 22.6-7 [A.D. 87/8].
   Σάνελα: perhaps better read Σάνλα. It seems as if the writer re-wrote the Ν, perhaps over Ε or something else.
For the expression $\text{ε\iota\iota\kappaappa\sigmasigma\varsigma\upsilon\upsilon\epsilonpsilon}$ see general introduction, pp. 14-16.

$\text{\delta\iota\lambdalambda(\theta\omicron\nu\upsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron) : the abbreviation is indicated by a large \Lambda above the line; perhaps to save space it is written above the \epsilon.}$

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

8. $\text{\epsilon\iota\iota\kappaappa\tautau\alphaalpha\sigmasigma\omicron\omicron\nu\nu : see general introduction p. 16.}$

$\text{\gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\rho\omega\omega\omicron\omicron\nu\nu : the \upsilon is raised slightly as if the scribe was going to abbreviate the word and then changed his mind; cf. the \upsilon in \pi\rho\omicron\tautau\epsilon\epsilon\alphaalpha\gammagamma\mumu\epsilonepsilon\nu \nu \nu \nu in 1.9. Or these could be early examples of the practice, known from the Byzantine period, of writing \upsilon above the level of other letters.}$

$\text{\beta\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\lambdalambda(\kappaappa\etaeta
\nu\nu) : very cursorily written, but the reading is hardly open to doubt. \Lambda is written in one movement with \xi, taking the shape of a loop below the line. \Lambda above the line, indicating the abbreviation, is written in two movements very much like \Lambda in \delta\iota\lambdalambda(\theta\omicron\nu\upsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron) [1.7].}$

8-9. $\text{\epsilon\iota\iota \eta\eta \gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\rho\omega\omega\omicron\omicron\nu\nu \beta\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\lambdalambda(\kappaappa\etaeta
\nu\nu \nu \nu \nu \nu : see general introduction pp. 16-7.}$

9. $\text{\pi\rho\omicron\tautau\epsilon\epsilon\alphaalpha\gammagamma\mumu\epsilonepsilon\nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu : see introduction to this papyrus.}$

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

$\text{\mu\mu\nu : perhaps the scribe simply intended to emphasize \pi\rho\omicron\tautau\epsilon\epsilon\alphaalpha\gammagamma\mumu\epsilonepsilon\nu \nu \nu \nu or he may have intended to add \delta\epsilon after \pi\rho\omicron(\tautau\omicron\omicron\omicron) in the following phrase but forgot to do so.}$
10. Μάρκῳ Δολλίου Λεωνίδου : this is a Roman name, with praenomen, gentilicium and cognomen, the gentilicium being very rare in Egypt (see Namenbuch and Onomasticon). He looks like a person who was a Roman citizen before the Constitutio Antoniniana (see R. Taubenschlag, 'Citizens and non-Citizens in the Papyri', Opera Minora 2 [1959], p. 214 and n. 22, and the following pages). However, as some scholars have pointed out, the fact that a man has a Roman name is not always proof of Roman citizenship, [cf. Wilcken, GO I p. 604; Oertel, Die Liturgie, p. 392 n. 1; J. Lesquier, L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien (1918) pp. 219-22, 265; H. C. Youtie, Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux (1975), pp. 723-40; I. Biezunska-Malowist, 'Les citoyens romains à Oxyrhynchus aux deux premiers siècles de l'empire', Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux (1975), pp. 741-7, particularly p. 742 n. 1). Perhaps he is a veteran or the son of a veteran [see for example, N. Hohlwein, 'Le Veteran Lucius Bellienus Gemellus', Et. Pap. 8 (1957), pp. 69-91.]


10-11. χεογύν : of the four letters at the end of line 10 only χ is certain, but the rest suit the traces very well and the reading of the whole word seems secure.

The word is unexpected, cf. introduction.

11. πρότερον : ἢ is raised and written larger than usual. For the abbreviation see D. Montevecchi,

ΠζοLee(καλον): the € is followed by a long flat dash, perhaps to be taken as a very cursively written μ.


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

11-12. \( \Lambda \nu \varphi \alpha \) : the reading of the dotted letters is difficult because of holes in the papyrus at this point; the rest of the name is certain. The second name of the woman is Aristandra and we have a reference in *P. Oxy. VI 899* (A.D. 199-200) to a woman with land in the Upper Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome who is called \( \Lambda \nu \varphi \alpha \) \( \nu \varphi \alpha \). She petitioned the dioiketes to release her from georgia on the grounds of her sex. It seems that the same woman is referred to in our text even though the first name is slightly different. It is just possible to read here \( \Lambda \nu \varphi \alpha \) if we suppose the \( \omega \) made very small or raised above the line. The ending of the name is certain. Presumably either here or in *P. Oxy. 899* the scribe made a mistake in spelling the name, perhaps confused between the various forms \( \Lambda \nu \varphi \alpha \), \( \Lambda \nu \varphi \alpha \), and \( \Lambda \nu \varphi \alpha \) [cf. *Namenbuch* and *Onomasticon*]. If it is right that there is a reference in the present document to compulsory georgia, \( \nu \varphi \alpha \) may refer to the appointment of this woman in A.D. 199/200 (*P. Oxy.*
VI 899], or she may have been the former owner. It seems most probable that Ἀνοικτωνάραον in P. Oxy. VI 899 is the correct form and that our scribe made a mistake, perhaps because of Ἀριτανδρακ following.

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

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

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

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

(νυποῦ ἀρτιβακ): for the symbol see Bilabel, PW 2A (1923), col. 2304-5. The scribe put the small
circle which is part of the symbol for \( \varkappa \beta \varepsilon \) on top of the right hand end of the horizontal bar of the symbol for \( \nu \rho o \). This small circle at this period was like a heavy dot or vague point, see A. Blanchard, *Signes et abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs*:

Recherches de paléographie BICS (1974), p. 37, cf. Wilcken, *GO I*, p. 819. Compare this with the symbol in line 15 by the same hand where the small circle can be seen separate as a heavy dot.

\[ \beta \eta \lambda \varsigma : \] the reading of the fractions of the artabae of wheat as \( 2 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \) is clear. For the common pattern of fractions for the artaba see Wilcken, *GO I* pp. 749-50; idem Grundzüge p. lxix; H. C. Youtie and D. M. Pearl, 'O. Mich. 1, 154' *AJF* 62 (1941), p. 81 n. 6; H. C. Youtie 'Critical Notes on Documentary Papyri', *TAPA* 92 (1961), p. 570 n. 76 = *Scriptiunculae* I p. 376 idem, Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri *Prolegomena* 2 (1974), pp. 40-9 n. 8. The fraction \( \frac{1}{16} \) falls outside the common fractions for the artaba (see the works just cited), but it does not violate the rule that fractions are placed in a descending scale. On the occurrence of unusual fractions for the artaba see P. Oxy. XII 1446, introduction. The fraction \( \frac{1}{16} \) of an artaba is found in P. Oxy. VI 986 (A.D. 131/2).

\( \alpha \nu (\alpha) \ (\nu \rho o \omega) \ldots \chi (\alpha) \kappa o \varsigma \) \( \gamma \) : this rent, which is partly in kind and partly in money, suggests that this plot of land is subleased for more than a year with
provision made for rotation of crops, cf. J. Herrmann, Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri (1958), p. 99 n. 3. For the rotation of crops see M. Schnebel, Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten (1925), pp. 218 ff; D. Hennig, Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten (Diss. München 1967), pp. 50 ff. Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 111 ff. says he has found no examples in which the rent for the same plot is paid partly in kind and partly in money in the same year; cf. P. Mert. III 107. 13 n.

In our document the applicants are requesting a loan of seed-corn for the sowing of the present 9th year for the royal land which they farm. The rent for land which grows wheat is paid in wheat not money, cf. Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 3; money rent is paid for crops of fallow land, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 111-12; Hennig Bodenpacht, p. 5. The rent of $2 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$ artabae of wheat for each aroura is small when the average rental between 200 and 285 was 5½ artabae per aroura, see Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 81 n. 1. The usual rent ranged between four and seven artabae of wheat or barley per aroura, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 102, cf. P. Mert. III 107.7-8 n, Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 26-7. The amount of rent depends partly on the quality of the land, on accessibility to the market, flood conditions etc.; cf. Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 81, Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 102, Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 26.
(ἀροῦφων): for the symbol see Blanchard, Sigles et Abréviations, p. 40; Wilcken GO I 775, Bilabel, PW 2A, col. 2305.

(ἀροῦφων)κςΜη...λθεληδο: the reading of the fractions is clear and follows the common series for fractions of the aurora; see Wilcken, GO I pp. 775 ff., Grundzüge p. lxix-lxxii.

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

14. Κέλεου: this κληροκ does not appear in Pruneti’s list quoted in the note to line 12.

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

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

ἀνὸ (ἀροῦφων) Θδ᾽ τοῦ (ἀροῦφας) τι: in fact 3% of 9¼ aurorae is only 6 15/16; so the calculation is not correct.

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

Προτ(ἐτρον): see above, note to line 11.
\( \alpha(\delta\tau\omicron\omicron) \) : part of the cursively written \( \alpha \) is broken away and the horizontal flat dash marking the abbreviation is written without lifting the pen, in a third movement: \( \delta' = \). For this abbreviation for see Seider, Palaeographie I n. 22.8 = Tafel 15.

\( \tau\omicron\omicron \) \( \alpha(\delta\tau\omicron\omicron) \) \( \Delta\lambda\omicron\upsilon( \) \( \varphi\gamma\alpha\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\omicron \) : the same person as occurred in line 12.

15-16. \( \alpha\nu(\alpha) \) (\( \nu\varphi\omicron\omicron \)) : : : : \( \chi(\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron) \) : for the fractions used and the reckoning of rent in kind and in money see above, note to line 13.

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

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

\( \Theta\tau\omicron \) : there is a crack in the papyrus before the \( \Theta \) and more seems to have been written than just \( \Theta \); however, \( \zeta \) cannot be read so no reading other than 19 seems possible.

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

\( \beta\omicron\alpha\omicron\lambda\omicron\omicron( \) : the abbreviated word is very cursively written and the reading of the dotted letters not certain. However, the writing looks similar to that used for
$\text{Boxil}(\text{κην})$ in line 8.

$\pi\rho\omicron\omicron$: $\pi$ is certain and the curve over the top looks like the common way of writing $\omicron$ in abbreviations; after $\pi$ there is what appears to be $\omicron$, perhaps even followed by $\omicron$. Read $\pi\rho\omicron\omicron$.

$\chi\lambda$: the reading is certain. Presumably we should think of $\chi\lambda(\omega\rho\omicron)$, $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron$ or $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\omicron\rho\omicron\omicron$. If these abbreviations are omitted the sense of the line is not affected. We should have expected $\epsilon\iota\omicron$ or $\pi\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ with a proper name. These abbreviations could be a description of the land, e.g. something like $\text{Boxil}(\text{κην})\pi\omicron\omicron(\text{τερον})\chi\lambda(\omega\rho\omicron\omicron)$ 'royal[land] formerly cultivated with greenstuffs'.

(\text{\textasciitilde}\pi\omicron\omicron\beta\omicron\omicron)\epsilon\iota\omicron: 5% artabas per aroura is an average rent for this period, see note to line 13 above.

\text{\textasciitilde}n\omicron: $\omicron$ is a semi-circle raised and not joined to $\omicron$; contrast the way $\text{\textasciitilde}n\omicron$ is written in lines 13 and 14.

17. (\text{\textasciitilde}\rho\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon): the second sequence of this symbol, the horizontal dash, is not joined to the left hand part.

\text{\textasciitilde}l: the oblique stroke following is clear and the slight traces before this suit the writing for $\text{\textasciitilde}l$.

<\tau\omicron\text{\textasciitilde}l>: presumably the writer just forgot this; it is necessary to produce sense and has occurred in a similar context in line 14.
98

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

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

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

Πανουτ(ῶτα) : the abbreviation is indicated by raising the I : The restoration of the accusative is necessitated by ἐLC. Πανουτῶτα is a common name, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

Ἀπλετωνίκου: the abbreviation is indicated by a horizontal dash above the ω. Masculine names beginning with Ἀπλετεῖο are Ἀπλετεῖον, Ἀπλετεῖονκάκι and Ἀπλετεῖονυμοκ of which names Ἀπλετεῖον is the most commonly used; see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

18. ΤΟΥ Α[-……-]ΟΥ: the crossbar of the Τ appears as if it had been written twice, one on top of the other. Presumably this is the name of the grandfather of the person designated.

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

18-19, ἐν τ(οδ): after this one expects the name of a kleros in line 19 but the papyrus is too badly destroyed at this point to be read.
6. ORDER FOR A GRANT OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite nome 10 November, A.D. 99
Inv. no. 27 36. 42/D[1-2]b

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

The ink is clear. 19 lines remain [though only two broken letters in line 1] all written in the same hand. This is cursive though not all letters are made in the cursive form, and there is some word division. Proper names are abbreviated but the name and titles of the emperor are written in full. Letters at the end of abbreviated words are usually written above the line, but cf. $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\nu(\sigma\rho\epsilon\omega\nu)$ (line 12) and other examples. The letters $\alpha$, $\vartheta$, $\mu$, $\beta$ and $\gamma$ are written bold and clear, and somewhat larger when at the beginning.
of a line. The letter \( \kappa \) has different forms; contrast its form in \( \kappa \alpha \theta \chi \rho \omega \) in line 5 with that in \( \kappa \alpha \iota \) in line 8. \( \tau \) also has different forms; contrast for example its form in \( \tau (o\bar{o}) \) in line 2 with that in \( \tau o\bar{o} \) in line 12, also in \( \tau \eta \nu \) in line 3 with that in \( \tau \eta \nu \) in line 9. \( \omega \) is written wide and without a relatively raised stroke in the middle. The steady hand and the absence of both spelling and grammatical mistakes depict a well-trained scribe.

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

It is very probable that this order corresponds to the application preserved in P. Oxy. ined. 1. Both texts date from the same day and the hand which wrote lines 15-16 of P. Oxy. ined. 1 seems to be the same as the hand which wrote P. Oxy. ined. 6 [it is in fact
possible that both texts are all written in the same hand, see the introduction to P. Oxy. ined. 1.). We do not know the farmer who is concerned in the present text, but the text must relate to a single farmer because of the singular verb Καταβήταλα in lines 8-9 and the singular παρ' αυτοί in line 14. Moreover, both texts refer to six arouras (see P. Oxy. ined. 1.16 and line 5 of the present text).
[±3] ἔπειτα
[όνο]ματος Πτολ. (ἐμαίου) τοῦ Ἐλλήνου Πα[...]ου Ἀλεξά(νορου) περὶ τὴν α(ἵττην) θε(ῦν) ἕκ τοῦ Ἐλλήνου (νοτού) τὴν θ(ῆ)ν (καὶ ἐλληκ. καὶ) ἐπείτα

5 [ἅ]ρως ἑυρήματι νέου καθαροῦ
ἀθόλου ἄ[στερο]ν [κύρ]ος [καὶ] ἔκτυχε[ν] [τῶν [μένο]]
μετρ[ῆ]ς τῇ κελε[ῦ]θε(ῦ) [εἰς] μέτρ(ον)
δημοσίᾳ (ἀρτάβας) καὶ κατα-
θ[ῆ]ς εὐτα[ῖ] εἰς τὴν γῆν δυνάμεν

10 καὶ πιστῶς μηθέν νοσφικά-
μενος ἐπαχολ(οὐθοῦντων) τῇ καθαρεύει
tῶν τε κατασκ(ορίων) καὶ τοῦ κω(μο)γρ(ἀμματέως)
[καὶ τῶν ἄλλων] τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
κατασκο(ρίω) τεταγ(μένων), παρ' οὗ καὶ λά-
βετε τὴν καθήκου(υαν) χιοργ(αφίαν)
δέοςην ὅπε τὴν ἑτέραν ἐμοὶ
ἀναδόσετε. (Ἤπωσ) Ὁ Ἀὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Πέρονα Τραίανον Τεθαστὸν
Περμανίκου μὴ (νόσο) Πέρου Τεθαστὸν Ἐδ.
2 πτολ. τον 3 αλεξάντηρον ἀργυρον τὼ
4 φιλονικὸς ἐν αλ. εἰς ὑμ. 5 [α.] βυν.
7 κελεύοντας μετά 8 ὁ = ἀρτάβας 11 εγαλλόπως
12 κατακλείειν. [κατακλείειν. see note 13 ἀλλὰ ἡ 14 κατακλείειν
τεταχυμένον 15 κατακλείειν χριστίν; 1. χειρογραφίαν
17 Π. 19 μ.π.
Translation

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

1-2. Therefore the farmer is farming land in the name of someone else. Because ματος survives in line 2 we must have here the genitive and so the preposition εν in line 1 [not the alternative expression εις δονομα]. For ενδον ματος cf. e.g. P. Oxy. ined. 7.1.

3. Ἀλεξανδροῦ: the reading of the dotted letters is probable; if right the name of the father is likely to have been Ἀλεξανδροῦ which is much more common than Ἀλεξάρκης or Ἀλεξάς; cf. Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

Τὴν αὐτὴν Ψωβόθ(ε)ν: the name of this village occurs in three toparchies in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Oxy. 1285 col. I 22, col. II 94, 115, 133. The use of τὴν αὐτὴν proves that the village had already been mentioned, and it is likely that the toparchy to which the village belongs was stated in the missing part at the top of the papyrus. Probably this village was the one from which the farmer came.

4. Φιλονῖκο(υ) καὶ Β...: it appears that we may have the double name for a kleros, i.e. 'of Philonious and B....' (sc. Κλήρου); for these double names see the note to P. Oxy. ined. 7.3. There is a kleros of the name Philonious previously called A... mentioned in the village of Ψωβώθ in the middle toparchy, see P. Pruneti, 'KλΗΡΟΙ del nomo Ossirinchite. Ricerca topografica', Aegyptus
55 (1975), pp. 204-5. But if we read καὶ

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

is a description of the land (e.g. an
abbreviated form of βασιλικὴν δῆς)? But what
precedes it could not then be καὶ as this would give
no sense. It may be possible to read it as an

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

7. μετρ[sic]εῖν τῇ κελε[δ]θ(είς): there are holes and
the papyrus is damaged at this point but the reading
is certain. For this expression followed by μετρ[θ]
σμος[θ] in comparable texts see P. Berl. Leihg.

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

10-11. μὴθεν νοσφικακενος: I have not found this
expression in any other order for issuing seed-corn.
A clause with this meaning is often included in orders [stressing that the farmer must not divert any of the seed to his own private use away from the land for which it was issued; see P. Oxy. ined. 7.11-12 and note there]. 

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

11ff. ἔπηκολομουσι δι' ὑποθύντων κτλ.: this elaborate phrase is reduced simply to ἔπηκολομον θουντων των ἐισωθατων in P. Oxy. ined. 7.10-11, where see the note. For a similar phrase to the one we have here see P. Oxy. 2185.4-5, P. Lond. 256e.3ff, P. Berl. Leihg. 26.22-5 and SPP XX 34.20-2. We should no doubt restore something similar in P. Strasb. 283. For the simpler phrase see the parallels cited to P. Oxy. ined. 7.10-11n. For the katasporeus see general introduction, p. 26 n. 93.

12. καταξασίμοι ὁρέων): after κατασκασίμοι we have a slight hook and a semicircle; this semicircle is no doubt to be interpreted as the abbreviation mark for Ν and the hook before it must represent Σ; the same thing occurs in line 14.

14ff. For the receipt clause, which is in the normal form, see general introduction, p. 29. It is very striking indeed that our text makes no mention of repayment [on which see general introduction, p. 29].

19. Νέου Κεβακοτοῆ: very cursively and quickly written.
7. ORDER FOR A GRANT OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite nome

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

13 November, A.D. 99

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

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

The document is a parallel to P. Oxy. ined. 6 and is an order for a grant of seed for some cultivators; for a discussion of this type of document see general introduction, pp.25-30. From the parallels we can deduce that at the top the following has been lost: the authorisation from the strategus [see introduction to P. Oxy. ined. 4] to the sitologi, with the joint authorisation of the basilikos grammateus, to issue the seed to the farmers, whose names have also been lost. Our papyrus begins at the end of the section describing the plots of land for which the seed, $3\frac{2}{3}$ artabas, is
required. The clauses which follow are discussed in the general introduction, pp. 27-30. For various reasons we can be sure that this order corresponds to the application for seed-corn preserved in P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3.

The present text belongs to the same day as P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3 and all three texts refer to an area of 3 1/2 arourae, which is to be sown in the current year 3. In addition all the texts speak of one of these arourae as being farmed in the name of a certain Thatres, daughter of Diogenes and Tanachotis, the land being in the kleros of Tarouthines and Parmenion. Note also that the first hand in P. Oxy. ined. 2 is the same as the hand which wrote P. Oxy. ined. 8, and it is certain that P. Oxy. ined. 8 is a duplicate of P. Oxy. ined. 7, see the introduction to this text.
[ἐ]π’ ἔτερον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἰδιόγενος
[μ]ητρὸς Τανεχώτιδος ἐκ τοῦ
[Ταρσου]θείνου καὶ Παμήνιων ἀριστοῦραν ἀνει—
[τε εἰ]ν[α]τι τὸ αὐτὸ ἀριστοῦραν γῆ, σπειρ(ομένας)

5 [τῷ ἐ]νεστῶτι(ι) γ (ἐτει) πυρᾶ, δακτιλῶ(ι)
[κ]ατ’ (δ)ρόφραν) σπερμάτων πυροῦ (ἀρτάβην) α’
[τ]α(ν) ου(μένας) πυροῦ(ύ) καθαροῦ
ἀδόλου ἄρρηθου(οῦ) κεχοσκ(ινεμένου) μέτρψ
δ[ημο]ύ(ομ) (ἀρτάβας) γῆ, ἀς καὶ καταθήσονται(αὶ)

10 εἰς τὴν γ(ῆν) ἐπαχολουθοῦντω(ν) τῶν
[εἰσωθέτ(οι)] μηδενὸς ᾐκολογομένου
[εἰς δρ]ε[ε]ι(λή)ν] ἡ ἐξερχόμενον τ(ι) καὶ ἡγ νέο(ν)
[ἀκοδώ]μονα τὰς ἑκατ(ερί)ς
[τῆς γ(ῆς) ημερο]ζή(ο)ι[ι οὶ] καὶ παρ’ ἄν καὶ λάβ(ετε)

15 [τὴν καιθ]ήκ(σους) [ἀ]πὸ[ν] ἡ ἡμ(ή)ν) διεκ(ήν) ὁ(υ) τ(ὴν)
ἐτέρα(ν)
[ἐμοι ἄν]αδῶσετε. (Ἐστοῦ) γ Αὐτοκράτ(ορος)
[Κα][ίσαρος Ν]έρου[ν Τραιανοῦ]
[Ο]σβαστοῦ Τερμίνικοῦ μηνὸς
[Νέου Ο]σβαστοῦ Ἡ."
1 ὅλος 3 παρι από 4 από σκειο
5 ε]νεστωτ 6 ἔπαινος 6 αλπο τ'
7 συναγορισμὸς 8 ακρι β' ἕκος ἐκ' 9 καταθέσεων
10 τὴν 11 ὑπολογομενό 12 ετερον τ'
χαίγοντ,' γ' corrected? 13 τοφ 14 λαβ
15 καθη ἔκειστηνετα 16 λ' αὐτοκρατ
Translation

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

1. [ἔ]ὴν', [ὀνά] κατοικία : enough remains to make the reading certain, even though the duplicate, P. Oxy. ined. 8.1, apparently has ἐᾶς ὄνομα ; see the note there; cf. Wörterbuch s.v. ὄνομα col. 186-7. The expression implies that the ἀρούραξ in line 3 does not belong to the farmer or farmers to whom the seed-corn is to be delivered, but belongs to Thatres daughter of Diogenes.

2. [Παρμ]ύθινο : for the restoration see P. Oxy. ined. 8.2. P. Oxy. XXXI 2575 mentions an ἐνοίκιον of this name, but it was probably in the eastern toparchy, see the note ad loc.

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

3-4. ὤδ]τε [ἕ]ὶν λ [α]τὸ ἀντὶ τὸ ἐνὶ τὸ ἀντὶ : the words preceding ἀρούραξ are lost completely in P. Oxy. ined. 8.4. The traces before ἐνὶ here will suit part of μ , then room for a lost letter, and part of .
For the expression \( \acute{e} \nu \tau \varepsilon \acute{e} \nu \alpha \lambda \) followed by 
\( \acute{e} \nu \iota \; \tau \; \alpha \omicron \tau \omicron \) see Wörterbuch IV s.v. \( \alpha \omicron \tau \omicron \) col. 321. There may be other possibilities using 
\( \gamma \acute{e} \nu \varepsilon \theta \alpha \lambda \), cf. P. Dxy. XVIII 2185.22-3 \( \acute{e} \nu \varepsilon \gamma \iota \varepsilon \tau \alpha \lambda \) 
\( \acute{e} \nu \iota \; \tau \; \alpha \omicron \tau \omicron \). 

4. \( \chi \pi \varepsilon \rho \omicron \omega \varepsilon \nu \alpha \) : cf. P. Dxy. ined. 8.4 which has the longer form \( \chi \pi \varepsilon \rho \omicron \mu \varepsilon \nu \alpha \) . We must therefore expand with a form of the participle, and the use of the passive agreeing with \( \acute{e} \pi \omicron \upsilon \rho \omicron \alpha \), suits the whole grammatical construction. The \( \omicron \) is attached to the \( \epsilon \) and goes down below the line.

5. \( \delta \alpha \pi \alpha \gamma \omega \varepsilon \zeta \) : one might think of expanding here another participle in the passive, but the \( \epsilon \) written over the \( \omega \) is clear. There is no parallel document to help here (the word is only found in other orders for seed in P. Dxy. ined. 6 in a different construction), but the dative of the plural present participle can be made to suit the general construction of the document syntactically: the strategus will have instructed the sitologi to measure out the seed to the farmers, whose names will therefore have been in the dative.

6. \( [\kappa \alpha \tau \iota \; [\acute{e} \pi \omicron \nu \rho \alpha \nu \alpha \, \nu \alpha \) : the part containing \( \alpha \tau \) is on a separate piece of papyrus; only a loop of \( \alpha \) remains. Traces of the \( \omicron \) remain. The abbreviation is marked by a dash written over the \( \omicron \).

7. \( \chi \upsilon \nu \alpha \varepsilon \rho \omicron \mu \varepsilon \nu \alpha \) : for this word see P. Dxy. ined. 2.6n. Here the abbreviation is marked by prolonging the horizontal of the \( \upsilon \) over the top of the \( \omicron \).
"νπορο<φ> : there is no sign that the ω is raised to indicate an abbreviation and presumably the scribe forgot the υ.

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

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

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

11-12. ὑπολογομένου[εἰς ὀφελῆ]ς[ην] <η> εἰς ἐπερόν τ(ω). The restoration is certain, as can be seen from the duplicate P. Oxy. ined. 8.10, and from parallel documents, e.g. P. Oxy. VII 1024.30-1 (cf. P. Berl. Leihg. 26.25 f.). Some texts have instead the words ὑγιῆς καὶ πυτῶς and this means the farmer must not take any of the seed away for any other purpose. As to the reading, the lacuna is of the right size and the final υ of ὑπολογομένου is raised above the line. There seems to be room for a raised λ to mark the end of ὀφελήν, but no room for...
the scribe to have written which is required at this point.

12. \( \text{Kal } \varepsilon \gamma \nu \eta \nu \delta \nu ) \) : \( \text{Kal } \) is clear as is \( \nu \varepsilon \) and a raised 0 . In between there appears to be a \( \gamma \) with a stroke through it as though the writer started to put something else and corrected it to \( \gamma \) ; but even so there is no sign of the expected \( \varepsilon \) . The expression is regularly \( \varepsilon K \nu \varepsilon \omega \nu \) as in the duplicate P. Oxy. ined. 8.11; the use of the singular here is not usual and we should perhaps correct to \( \nu \varepsilon \omega \nu \) ; see general introduction, p.29 and note 98.

14-15. \( \nu \alpha \nu \) \( \varepsilon \gamma \nu \kappa \alpha \beta (\varepsilon \tau \varepsilon) \) \( \varepsilon \tau \nu \kappa \alpha \theta \) \( k(\varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \nu \kappa \alpha \nu) \) \( \varepsilon \tau \) : line 15 is broken and damaged at the start and the reading depends on the duplicate, P. Oxy. ined. 8.13-14. We must restore a plural imperative because \( \alpha \nu \alpha \delta \omega \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \) is plural in line 16. See also P. Oxy. ined. 8.14 where \( \lambda \alpha \beta \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \) is written in full. For this 'receipt' phrase see general introduction, p. 29, and also pp. 30-32.

16. \( \dot{\alpha} \nu \) \( \alpha \delta \omega \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \) : in view of the duplicate, P. Oxy. ined. 8.15, the reading may be regarded as certain.

\( \dot{A} \nu \tau \kappa \rho \alpha (\sigma \rho \sigma \nu) \) : the \( \tau \) at the end of the line is attached to the tail of the \( \alpha \) and raised above the line; it is not usual to abbreviate imperial titles.

19. \( [\text{N} \varepsilon \nu \nu \varepsilon \tau t \sigma \nu] \beta \alpha \tau t \sigma t o \nu \) : this exactly fits the lacuna and the restoration is guaranteed by P. Oxy. ined. 8.18. For this month see the note to P. Oxy. ined. 2.15.
8. ORDER FOR A GRANT OF SEED-CORN

Oxyrhynchite nome

13 November, A.D. 99

Inv. no. 27 38.42/C[6]b

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

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

The text must be a duplicate of P. Oxy. ined. 7. Not
only does it relate to the same day and have exactly the
same wording in the formulaic part; it also records that
one plot of the $3\frac{2}{3}$ arouras to which both texts refer is
not leased directly by the applicant to whom the seed is
granted, but in the name of Thatres, daughter of Diogenes
and Tanechotis, and is part of the kleros of Tarouthinas
and Parmenion. We saw above that P. Oxy. ined. 2 and 3
were duplicate applications for the same land from the
same farmers, and that the present text and P. Oxy. ined. 7 are orders relating to the same land as that to which the applications P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3 refer. It is not at all surprising that applicants should have been required to submit two or even more copies of their request, and that two of them should have remained together in the archives of the strategus. But it is surprising that the strategus should have issued an order in two copies or at any rate that he should have kept two copies of his order in his archives. Yet this seems to be what has happened. The inventory numbers show that all four texts were found together.

For translation and general commentary see P. Oxy. ined. 7.
119

... ...

[10] λουσι ηεν...

[Θατρ(ήτος) Δ]ι[ο]γ(ένους) μη(τρός) Τανεχύτιδ(ος)

[έκ τ(οδ) Τα]ρουθ(ένου) και Παρμε(νίνους) (αρουραν) α

[.....] (αρουρας) γβ c[π]ειρουέ(ναι) τφ

5 [ένεστ(άτι) γ] (έτει) π[υρ]φ, δακανω(σι) κατά

[άρο(υραν)] σερμάτων) (πυροθ δράτας) α τας συναγο(μένας)

[πυ]ροθ χαθ(αροθ) δ[δ]λ(ου) διρίθ(ου) κεκοσ(ινεμένου)

[μέτρ]ψ(ψ) δημ(οσφ) (αρτάμας) γβ, δε και καταθ(ονται)

[εις τ(ην) γ]η(ν) επακολ(ουθούντων) τας ειθεότ(ων)

10 [.....] [δ]π[ο]λ(ογί)ουμ(ένου) εις οφειλ(ήν) ἦ εἰς έτε-

[ρόν] τι και ἐγ νέων ἄκοδω(σουσι)

[τας τι]ς[ας]μια τοις της γῆς δημ(οσιε),

[παρ'] ὃν και λάβετε τήν καθή(σουαν)

[άπ]οιχήν διεσήν ὃν τήν ἔτε-

15 [ποι εμ]οι ἀναδώσετε. ("Στους") γ

[Ἀποκρ]άτορος Καίσαρος Νέρονα

[Τραία]γοι Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικὸ

[μηνὸς Ν]έον Σεβαστοῦ Ἔ.
2 δι'όγνωσιν τοὺς ἀνέχωτας 3 τοῖς ἀρχηγοῖς τιμώμενος

4 οὔ τι ἐστὶν 5 ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος 6 εἰσίν

7 καθὼς ἔτεινε 8 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 9 οὗ ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι

10 ὡς ὁ διὰ τὰ πάντα 11 ἑτέρῳ 12 ὁ ἄνθρωπος 13 ἤθελεν 14 ἔχει 15 τὸ
Notes to the text

1. ] KouvL $\eta\epsilon\n\ldots$ [ : P. Oxy. ined. 7.1 begins with the words $\varepsilon\nu\iota\delta\nu\omicron\omega\tau\omicron\omicron$ and is lost before this point. It would be possible here to restore $\delta\nu\omicron[\mu]\omicron\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron$ but what is written before this cannot be read $\varepsilon\nu\iota$. It can be read very easily as $\varepsilon\iota\lambda\omicron$, of the same word in line 10. Before it, parallel texts suggest that we should expect the name of the village where this plot of land was situated; the word ends in $\omicron\upsilon$ and we knew from the corresponding order, P. Oxy. ined. 2 = 3, that the request was for the issue of seed through the siteiologi of Sonekelou. However, it is not certain that we can read $\zeta\epsilon\omicron\nu\kappa\iota\iota\omicron\upsilon$ here, as $\lambda$ is not an easy reading.

2ff. The amount lost at the left can be established with certainty from restorations such as those in lines 7, 16 and 17. Therefore in some lines the writer must have abbreviated the word or words supplied in the lacuna at the left.

4. [.....] : the duplicate apparently has $\omicron\alpha\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\eta\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ $\tau\omicron\omicron\alpha\upsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ at this point, see P. Oxy. ined. 7.3-4 and note. There is not room for all of this here, even allowing for considerable abbreviation.

10. [.....] : we require $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\nu\omicron\omicron\omicron$, no doubt in some way abbreviated.

11. $\nu\epsilon\omega\nu$ : the normal word; the duplicate apparently has $\nu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$, see P. Oxy. ined. 7.12 and note.

14. [\alpha\omicron\nu]\omicron$\chi\eta\nu$ : neither here nor in P. Oxy. ined. 7.15
can this word be regarded as certain. But in both
places the traces suit this better than the alternative
\textit{Xερογραφία} found in P. Oxy. ined. 6.15.
9. APPLICATION[?] CONCERNING θυσία θυσιακά κόσμου.

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

A.D. 99/100

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

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

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

But there is no example of receipts, requests or orders to supply loans of seed-corn out of requisitioned wheat; also there is not any mention of either the words σπέρματα or σπέρματα δανέλα in our text. Such evidence makes the other reading εἰς τὸ δημόθεν (ἐν οὐ), 'we have measured into the public granary so many artabae of requisitioned wheat' more probable, and P. Oxy. XLVII 3335, a request for refund of the price of πυρὰς συναγοραστικός, from the year A.D. 99/100, is a very close parallel to the present document. In P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 the beginning of the text, which contains the name and the title of the official to whom the document is addressed and the name of the person from whom the request is presented, is lost. Such a beginning exists in our text. P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 has a similar formula in lines 3-5 to the one in our text, lines 12-14, κατὰ τὴν κελευσθείσαν ἡγεμόνα Πομπηίου Πλάντια ἡμετρήσασθαί. This formula in both documents is precisely at the same place; after the place where the farmer or farmers come from and before the year date, as also is the term συναγοραστικός πυρὰς. It may be noticed that the word ὑπέρ is missing before συναγοραστικός πυρὰς in our text while it exists in P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 line 9; perhaps the scribe has forgotten to write it. In P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 the amount of corn paid and the price requested for refunding are stated. This information would have been

in our document in the lost part at the bottom which already started at line 18, so from P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 we may estimate how much is lost in our papyrus. Comparing the formula in both documents, it is very probable that P. Oxy. XLVII 3335 would also have been addressed to the strategus Dius if the top was extant. 4 For other parallels for requests for refund of the price of υπὸς κυνοφρασίκος see P. Oxy. XL 2958 [2 Dec. A.D. 99]; 2959 [? Nov. A.D. 99]; 2960 [23 Jan. A.D. 100] and the Fragmentary P. Oxy. X 1304.

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

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

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\(^8\) See note 7 above.
Δίωξεν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὁ ὐμυγχίτου
παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Ἄτρητος
Κολλοῦθου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς
Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ἔλειτος τῆς
5 Ἀπλωνοι ἀμφοτέρων μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ
προγεγραμμένου Ἀπολλωνίου
tοῦ καὶ Ἅτρητος) Κολλοῦθου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
καὶ Μελείτου τῆς Πτόλεμου
μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δαυτής υἱὸς
10 Ἀρβίχιος Πασαλύμιος πρεσβυτέρου
πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ κόμης (ο) Πέλα
tῆς πρὸς λιβά τοπ(αρχισκ). Κατὰ τὰ κελευθέντ(α)
ὅπο τοῦ κρατίστου ἀγεμόνου
Πολιτείας Πλάντα ἐμετρήσαμε(ν)
15 εἰς τὸ δημόσιον αναγορ(αστικοῦ) πυροῦ γενή(ματος)
[τοῦ διελθόντ(ος)] (ἐτούς) Ἁυτοχρ.)ἀτορος Καίσαρος
Νέρουα
[Τραιανοῦ Ωραστοῦ] Γερμανικοῦ
[ὅ μὲν Ἀπολλωνίος ὁ καὶ Ἅτρητος Κο(λ)α(οῦ)]
[+ 18] οΥ traces
129

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1 οξ 5 αμφο 7 τουκ ατρη απολ
10 πρεεπ 11 κωμη 12 το) κελευθ
14 εμετρησαιε 15 δημο συναγορί γενη
18 xo[λ] 21, 23, 24 24 / = γίνεται
Translation

'To Dius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Apollonius, also called Hatres, son of Collouthus, and Apollonia, daughter of Apollonius, and Elis, daughter of Apion both with their guardian the aforesaid Apollonius also called Hatres, son of Collouthus, son of Apollonius, and Melis, daughter of Ptollis with her son Arbichis, son of Pasalymis the elder as guardian, all of them from the village of Pela in the western toparcy. According to the orders of the most excellent prefect Pompeius Planta we measured into the public granary (?) of requisitioned wheat from the produce of the past ... year of Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus I, Apollonius also called Hatres, son of Collouthus ... artaba ... 1½ artabas ... making a total of 2 artabas ...'
1. Δ[θ][θ]: the θ is rubbed off. For Dius the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome see introduction to this text.

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

"Οξ(υρυγχείτου): the abbreviation is marked by a dash over the second letter. νομοῦ is understood after "Οξ(υρυγχείτου).

5. μετα κυριού: according to the Greek-Egyptian law women who were involved in legal businesses acted with the assistance of κυριολ, i.e. male guardians, see W. Weiss, 'Beiträge zum gräko-ägyptischen Vormundschaftsrecht', Archiv 4 [1908], pp. 78-91; L. Mitteis, Grundzüge
8-7. The name of Apollonius is written in full here, contrast the text line 2, when his grandfather's name is not given.

8. Μελετος: the  is written on the top of another letter probably ; the scribe corrected himself. The name is rare cf. Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

9. μετὰ κυρίου: see above, note to line 5.

11. Νέλας: a village in the western toparchy, see P. Oxy. X 1285 81; P. Oxy. XLVI 3269 note to line 3.


8. The abbreviation is determined by
raising the £ • ; for expansion of the abbreviation see
introduction to the text.

15. εἰς τὸ δομοῖον : there are only traces of
ink of the tops of the dotted letters. The reading is
uncertain, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. XLI 2960 [23 Jan. A.D. 100],
lines 21-2 ... ἐκείνης τοῖς εἰς δομοῖον θησαυροὺς
also P. Oxy. XII 1541 Receipt [A.D. 129], line 1 Μετέτει (θνατάτ)
εἰς τὸ δομοῖον νυροῦ συναγο (φαστικοῦ) .
συναγορ (φαστικοῦ) νυροῦ : it would seem that it was
levied (perhaps for the army) when wheat prices on the open
market were high especially as a result of a shortage or
a low Nile flood; in general see A. C. Johnson,
of. S. L. Wallace, Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to
Diocletian (1938), pp. 22-3; and also J. Schwartz,
Les archives de Sarapion, (1961) pp. 327 ff; A. P. Duncan-
Jones, 'The Price of Wheat in Roman Egypt under the
Principate', Chiron 6 (1976), pp. 248-9, and the introduction
to P. Oxy. XLI 2958 (2 Dec. A.D. 99). To the literature
for συναγορ (φαστικοῦ) νυροῦ cited in Wallace, Taxation
in Egypt, p. 365 and in P. Oxy. XLI 2958, introduction,
may be added P. Colon. inv. 682, Aufstellung über
Getreidesteuereingänge und Privatbrief (second century
A.D.), and the literature cited in its introduction in

15-16. γενν(οι) [τοῦ δελθ(οι) : the papyrus is
broken off but the number of letters supplied in the lacuna
seems reasonable; the loss at the beginning of the line is
estimated by the scale of the previous lines. For the
filling of the lacuna see e.g. P. Oxy. XII 1541.
1 - 2; P. Oxy. XLI 2958. 6, 2959. 8.
\(\text{ἐ̇τούε}\) : the regnal year is expected before the imperial title.

17. \(\text{Tρακακω} \ Κεβαγω\) : the line is broken off at this part.

16-17. For the title of the emperor, see P. Bureth, Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraces et les inscriptions d'Égypte [1964], p. 51.
10. AGREEMENT TO LEASE LAND

Oxyrhynchite nome [?]  
A.D. 199

Inv. no. 16 28. 47/C[a]

The papyrus is almost complete; the top is split up into two pieces and after restoration it measures 10.7 x 34 cm. The papyrus is of a coarse quality and written along the fibres. The back is blank. A considerable piece from the top margin is broken off. It is also broken off at the top left and right hand sides. There is a loss of a long strip at the left hand side from line 45 down to the bottom. The papyrus is not free from holes. The scribe left a wide margin of 2 cm on the left side of the papyrus but on the opposite side the margin is very narrow and at places there is no margin at all. There is a large space at the bottom [3 cm]. The writing is of a particularly careful and formal character; the letters are upright, bold and not very cursive. The size of the letters is generally large while there are instances of different scales such as for $\alpha$, $\omicron$, $\kappa$, $\phi$. The general looseness of the structure of the writing is obvious and marks the tendency found in similar documents of the period, cf. W. Schubart, Papyri Graecae Berolinenses. Tabulae in usum Scholarum 2 [1911], plate 27 [2nd century A.D.]; P. Merton I 25 [12 Mar. A.D. 214] plate xxvii; W. Schubart, Griechische Palaeographie, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I 4, 1 [1925], pp. 69-71. The scribe carefully observed the spacing between individual lines.
The present document is an agreement between Panechotes and a woman to lease land from her through her manager. The land is in two plots in one holding at the same village. The lease is for a period of two years. The lessee will sow the land with green stuff in the first year in one plot, and the other with wheat, and will do the opposite in the following year. The rent payment is money for the land grown with green stuff and wheat for the land grown with wheat. The wheat payment will be paid in deposit. The rent will be paid in the month of Payni. The lease is addressed to the lessor and bears the signature of the lessee. The type of this text is a private document in a subjectively styled declaration with ἐμολογῶ in chirographic form without χαίρεω. The scribe must have made a mistake by writing the name of the lessor in the nominative case instead of

1. See lines 6-7, ἐμολογῶ μὲν ὑμῖν ὀκτῆ(ῶςθαί) παρὰ σοῦ 29... ἔποδος σοὶ 34-35... προδέησις σοὶ ὀφεῖς ἐκ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρχόντων μου 46-47... παραδίδεις cf. 38-9 and the note.


the dative. There are two reasons why we must make this correction. Firstly, when one party to a lease of land is a woman and the other a man, it is almost certain that the woman will be the lessor and not the lessee. We know that this must be the case in the present text, because in lines 38-9 we have Τὴν γεωρκον and in lines 43-4, Τῷ μεσθεωσαμένῳ. Secondly, it is quite certain that the present text is written on the part of the lessee, not on the part of the lessor, because of the use of παρὰ in the expression ὁμολογῶ μεσθεωσαμένῳ παρὰ coί in lines 6-7, and the wording in general. Therefore the lessee must appear in the nominative in the text, and the lessor, who is a woman, must appear in the dative. In Oxyrhynchus, homological and subjectively styled declarations do not exist in the Roman period. It is difficult to establish the actual location of the lease since the village Pimpasi [line 10] is not attested in papyri from Oxyrhynchus or elsewhere. Since its context has formulas resembling those found in leases from the Oxyrhynchite

4. For the usual expression cf., e.g. P. Flor. I 85 [A.D. 91]; P. Ryl. II 188 [A.D. 120]; BGU III 920 [A.D. 180]; CPR I 243 (A.D. 224); CPR I 36 (A.D. 225); P. Amh. II 101 [early third century A.D.]; P. Mich XI 609 (A.D. 244).

5. See Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 58.

The scheme of the document is as follows:

1. The introductory words of the contract, *ομο[λογώ]*, line 6-7.
2. Address of the lessee, lines 5-6.
3. The duration of the lease, lines 7-8.
4. The introductory words of the lease, lines 9-13.
5. Establishing the rent, lines 14-27.
6. Arrangement for the payment and the time of paying, lines 27-34.
7. The *νπατελο* clause, lines 34-36.
9. The penalty clause in case of failure to pay the rent, lines 39-42.
11. *βεβαίωσετι* clause, lines 44-45.
12. Probable other provisions, lines 45-46.
14. The *κύρογ* clause, line 48.
15. Date, lines 48-52.

These formulas are found in the following clauses:

1. The *σκυντυκ* clause, lines 32-4, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 127-43; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 143-45; the clause concerning *καψίνα*, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 143-45; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 140-42; and the *βεβαίωσετι* clause, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 154-60. On the other hand, the clause relating to land measurement does not use the expression which is normal in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see the note to lines 21-2.
18. Subscription of the lessee followed by ὥς ἐπάκ(ελταλ), lines 52-53.

19. The name of the person writing for him followed by the illiteracy clause.

Not only does the scribe make a number of mistakes [e.g. in lines 1, 28-9 and 33] and in the imperial dating formula, but he also seems to be very unsure of how to draft a lease. The clauses are more or less what would be expected down to no. 8 above, up to line 24, but those which follow are in a very strange order. In leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome the usual order of clauses was [1] κυρίανοοι clause, [2] provisions concerning taxes, [3] control of καρποί, [4] ἄπροχος clause, [5] βεβαιώσει clause, [6] payment of rent, and [7] πραξία clause; see e.g. P. Oxy. I 101 [A.D. 142], P. Fouad 43 [A.D. 190-1], and P. Oxy. XIV 1689 [A.D. 266].

As well as putting the clauses in an unusual order, the scribe makes serious mistakes concerning the καρποί, and the βεβαιώσει, and, although he writes most of the document in the subjective style, he suddenly uses the objective style for the clauses concerning the taxes, the καρποί and ἄπροχα.

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

8. See the note to lines 39-42.
9. See the note to lines 44-5.
10. cf. also note 4 above.
lease land [σμολογέων] of the Byzantine period.\footnote{cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 36 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 43 ff. Note in particular BGU IV 1092 (Hermopolite; A.D. 392).} It is probably an early example of this type of document. It is also unusual in the Roman period to have the formula τώ ἔδωκεν ... ὑπέτασσε, which became common from the fourth century A.D. onwards.\footnote{For another early example of this order see P. Oxy. XVII 2137 (A.D. 226) which however is a hypomnema type of lease. See in general Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 36 ff, Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 43 ff.}
10

[ γάρ τῇ καὶ οἰ[ γάρ τῇ καὶ οἰ]
[τῇ καὶ οἰ τῇ καὶ οἰ]
[έπι τοῦ Πάνεκώ-]
[τῇ τοῦ Ὀμολογώ]
[ο]μενεθ(ὁσθαί) παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ χρόνιον ἔν-

τη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔνεκτ[ῦνος]

η (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων χίου]

15

περὶ κάμην Πάμπας ἐκ τοῦ

χι]...[.]...[.]...μο κλήρου(οὗ) ἀρουρίας πέν-

της ἀρουρίης ἀνὰ δοξάμας
eἰκοσι τέσσαρες καὶ τῷ

ἰσιώντες θ (ἔτει) εἰς (<ς>πορὰν

πυροῦ ἐκάστης ἀρουρίης

ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάμας ἐς

20

κμινυ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλ(ήρῳ)

ἀρουρίας τέσσαρες τῇ ἔκ γεομ(ετρίας)

φανημ(μένης) εἰς (<ς>πορὰν πυροῦ

ἐκάστης ἀρουρίης ἀνὰ πυροῦ

ἀρτάμας πέντε κμινυ καὶ
25 τῷ θ ἔστει) χλωρίκῳ ἐχλ. (ἀμήσαι) ἐκάστης ἄροβρῃς ἀνά δραχμὰς εἰκοσι, τῷ δὲ ἀναγόμενον ἀργυρίκὸν φόρον καὶ στιχισ(οῦ) ἐκφορίου ἀποδῶμοι σοι.

30 τὸν μὲν πυρὸν ἐν θέμα(τι) τῷ [Χ]ημοσίῳ καὶ τῷ ἀργυρίῳ ὁ δέχωμον τῷ Παύλῳ μηνι ἀ-κίνδυνα τὰ ἐκφόρτ(ι)α παντὸς ἀκίνδυνον τῆς πράξεως σοι οὐ—

32 σε ἐκ τ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων, τῶν δὲ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἢ τοῦ ὀντιοῦ ὑμῶν ὑπό τῆς γενοῦς, ὃν ἐμιθεώροιστο.


45 [τῆς μ]ιθωσομένης αὐτο[-

50 [Εὔσεβον] το Περτίναξον<ε> Ἅραβικ[ον]
Βολείον το Περτίναξον μεγίζετιν(ον)
[± 5 ] ἔβ. (2nd Hand) Πανεχῶ(της) ὁ προγεγρα(μμένως)
μειωθ(εις)ου)

[δέ πρόξ(ειται)]. Παρείτις Κολλοςθ(ον) ἕγραψε(α) ὑπὲρ
[αὐτοῦ] γρά(μματα) μὴ εἰδότος.

7 [μ]εμιοθ. 9 ἡ 11 κληρ. 13 ευδαί
14 ἡ, ἐξ ι 16 1. τέσσερα; 17 1. εἰσιόντι, ἐς
20 ξή 21 1. τέσσερα; γεομ. 22 φαντασ
25 ἐς, ἐξ ἐν ἑιτίκ. 31 αργυρ. 42 αέροα
47 αποτεθηκ. 48 μικτ. Ι. ἡ 49 εἰςκρ.θ
52 πανεχ., προγεγρ. 53 κολλούθ., εὗρης 54 γρη
40 ἥ. ζ. ζ.
Translation

'To . . . dora also called Si . . . through her manager . . . odorus . . ., Panechotes son of Agathon mother . . . ous from . . . in the hamlet of Ko . . . . I agree that I have leased from you for a period of two years from the present 8th year out of your property at the village of Pimpasi in the holding of Ch . . . five and a half arourae previously cultivated by Pekusis son of Eudaemon, to sow in the 8th year with green stuffs at a rent of twenty four drachmae for each aroura, and in the coming 9th year for the sowing of wheat at a rent of six and half artabae of wheat for each aroura, and in the same holding four arourae, in accordance with the survey of the land which will be declared, for the sowing of wheat at a rent of five and a half artabae of wheat for each aroura, and to sow in the 9th year with green stuffs at a rent of twenty drachmae for each aroura, and the total rent in money and in grain I shall pay you, the wheat in deposit to the public [granary] and the silver in acceptable coinage in the month of Payni, the rent free from every risk, you having the right of execution upon me and also on all my property. The public dues on the land rest every year with the proprietress who has leased the crops[?] until[?] she receives her annual dues. If any part of the land be uninundated an allowance shall be made to the lessee and when the lease[?] is confirmed . . . . and I shall deliver the land clear from dirt and free from rushes. The lease is valid. Year 8 of Imperatores
Caesares Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus
Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus . . . 22. [2nd hand] I,
Panechotes the aforementioned, have leased as aforesaid.
I, Pareitis son of Kollouthus, wrote for him as he is
illiterate.'
Notes to the text

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


line 2 is broken off at the left and it is difficult to
identify the traces of ink at the start; \( L \) is possible, suggesting \( \text{Ἀκχλῆς} \ οὐδὲνος \), as also is \( Z \), which suggests \( \text{Δονους} \ οὐδὲνος \), a very common name in Greek papyri, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon. There are very many Greek names ending in \( -οὐδὲνος \), see Dornseiff, Hansen, Ruckläufiges Eigennamen. After this the reading \( ζο \) is doubtful. If it is correct, it is more probably the article \( ζο \) rather than the beginning of the father's name [the rest of which will have come in the lacuna here and at the start of line 3]. On the use of the article before the genitive of the father's name in Greek papyri see C. W. E. Miller, 'Note on the use of Article before the Genitive of the Father's Name in Greek Papyri', AJP 37 [1916], pp. 341-8. For Greek names beginning with \( Το- \) see Namenbuch and Onomasticon. Another possibility is that the epitropos had an alternative name, supplying \( ζο \ ι \). 3. \( \text{ἐν} \ ιτρόνος \) : where the dotted \( \iota \) comes the papyrus is broken off and there are only slight traces of ink. For the reading \( \text{δια} \ \ldots \ \οὐδὲνος \ ζο \ [ει] \ ιτρόνος \) [lines 2, 3] cf. P. Oxy. III 501.5-6 (A.D. 187); P. Oxy. XVIII 2189.4-5 (A.D. 220); cf. also P. Oxy. XVIII 2191.21 [second century A.D.]; cf. Wörterbuch s.v. \( \text{ἐνίτρόνος} \); Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 61. The use of the word \( \text{ἐνίτρόνος} \) denoting a 'manager, steward or overseer' must not be confused with the \( \text{ἐνιτρόνος} \) who serves as a legal guardian [tutor], cf. U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunden I i (1912), pp. 248 ff; R. Taubenschlag,

3-4. \[\pi\alpha\nu\chi\omega\tau\eta\] \[\tau\omicron[\upsilon] \quad \gamma\alpha\theta\omega\nu[\upsilon]oc \] : the name of the lessee has been supplied from line 52, where however, the reading is not certain. Although the letter after ektrapon is broken and the reading \[\eta\] is uncertain, it seems necessary to read this; it is still not certain whether this \[\eta\] is the start of the name of the lessee or is the beginning of \[\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\] , with the lessee’s name following in the genitive. As the reading before \[\gamma\alpha\theta\omega\nu[\upsilon]oc\] in line 4 is so doubtful, this possibility cannot be excluded on palaeographical grounds. However, it is normal for \[\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\] to be used in leases of the hypomnema type, see Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 14-19, and not with those of the type we have in this document. The traces before \[\gamma\alpha\theta\omega\nu[\upsilon]oc\] are very uncertain, as the papyrus is mostly broken away at this point, and could belong to the start of the father’s name; however, Dorseiff-Hansen, Ruckläufiges/Eigennamen does not suggest that there were any names ending \[\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omega\nu\] so that the father’s name was presumably simply Agathon. If \[\tau\omicron[\upsilon]\] is right and if it is right to omit \[\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\] , \[\tau\omicron[\upsilon]\] must belong to the genitive following and mean 'son of'; cf. Miller, AJP 37 (1916), pp. 341-8 cited in...
the previous note. The alternative is to read ΤΟΥ as
the end of the name of the lessee, restoring η[άρ'][ά
Πολεμάρχου] τριτερεύοντα θων οκ. After this we may be confident
that μητροκ is to be supplied.

5. [.] ηουτο[ε] : a number of feminine names in Egypt
can end in this way in Greek, e.g. [Τ]α ηουτο[ε],
cf. Onomasticon.

ανό...[οικών] : the dotted letters have lost
their upper parts. A name of a village is expected after
ανό'. The space left in the line allows us to supply
οικών rather than καταγγυνόηνος (unless καταγγυνόηνος
was abbreviated).

6. [ε]ν έπολεύον Κο...ηου : the papyrus is broken where the
letter ο comes and only parts of the dotted letters appear
on the papyrus, but it is hard to determine the reading of
the word.

6-7. μοι[λογ][η][μεθος(οθεο)] : For the restoration cf. e.g.
BGU III 920.5-6 (A.D. 180/1); this text includes ξαθελν,
which would be expected in a document of this type. For
its omission see n. 3 to the introduction and cf. in
particular BGU IV 1092 (A.D. 372) and P. Gen. 66 =
W. Chr. 381 (A.D. 374).

7-8. ενί χρόνον τη δύο : the duration of the lease
for two years in the Roman period was not uncommon,
cf. the appendix in Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 255 ff. and
in Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 201 ff. For the duration of
leases of land, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 90 ff;
A. C. Johnson, Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian,

10. Πιμανοί: this village is not attested elsewhere in the papyri, cf. Wörterbuch III, 16a.

10-11. ζ[κ τοῦ] Χ[.].[.].[.].[.]μ.ο κλη(ρέου): the third letter in the name of the kleros has a long descender.

P. Pruneti, in her list of 'ΚΑΗΡΟΙ del nomo Ossirinchite, Ricerca Topografica', in Aegyptus 55 (1975), pp. 158 ff. includes Χερείνον and Χερείνον (p. 206). It does not seem possible to read either of these names here, as the letter before the 0 at the end of the word is almost certainly \( \mu \) and cannot be \( \nu \). Presumably the 0 is intended to be raised to indicate that the ending of the word was abbreviated, unless the scribe left off the ending by mistake. On the names of kleroi see F. Zucker, Beobachtung zu den permanenten Klerosnamen, Festschrift Oertel [1964], pp. 101-6.

12-13. τὰς προγέγραψαν μὲν Περὶκλος Εὐβαί(νον): for a clause of this type in leases of land, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. I 104 [A.D. 142], lines 9-10.

13. Εὐβαί(νον): the abbreviation is marked by the horizontal dash above the last letters. The name is common in the Greek papyri, cf. Namenbuch and Dromasticon.
14. * is expected before ἡ (Ἑτέλ); perhaps the scribe rested after the end of the line and forgot the word when he began the next. For the symbol ʃ, see note to lines 8-9.

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

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

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

15-16. ἀνά δραχμάς εἰκόσι τέκαρετ: the scribe wrote τέκαρετ instead of τέκαρετ. Rent is paid in money for crops other than wheat or barley. See Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 96 ff; Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 82; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 98-101; Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 5; cf. also pp. 29-35.

Twenty-four drachmae for the aroura is a normal rent at

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

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

16-18. ζών ζεωνον θεον ηοράν νυρον: this formula specifies the object of the contract, which is to sow wheat, in that year for this plot of land, see Waszyński, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 65-7; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 68-70; Hennig, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 42-3. In the Oxyrhynchite nome the expected formula is ώζειν κεφαλαι νυρόν, see Hennig, *Bodenpacht*, p. 42 n. 5. For the dates for sowing wheat, see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 137-40, and for the Oxyrhynchite nome, see pp. 139-40. For the rotation of the crops, see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 218-39, and for the Oxyrhynchite nome, see pp. 224-6, 237-8; Hennig, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 51-3.

19-20. άνα ηορον αρτάας επ ηχε : the amount of the rent depends on the quality of the land, accessibility to market, or flood conditions, see Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 81; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 102; Hennig *Bodenpacht*, p. 26. The rental of 6½ artabae of wheat per aroura in the second half of the second century was a high one, cf. P. Fouad 43 [A.D. 190/1] which has a rental of 8 artabae
of wheat per aroura. The average rental between A.D. 150 and 200 was ca. 4½ ar tabae, cf. Johnson, 
Roman Egypt, p. 81; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 102-3; 
Hennig, Bodenpacht, pp. 26-8 and the index of rent in 
kind pp. 33-4. The rent is paid in kind when wheat or 
barley was sown, see Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 80. Rent 
is paid in wheat when the land is growing wheat, see 
Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 3 n. 3.

21. γεωμύς(ἐτρής): on writing ο instead of ω in 
γεωμύς(ἐτρής) see E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen 

21-22. η ἐκ γεωμύς(ἐτρής) φανερωθῇ; this stipulation in 
the contract is for more specification for the size 
of the land, which might affect the rent when it is paid, 
see Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 75 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, 
pp. 76, 163 ff; P. Berl. Leihg. 20, note to line 4. 
According to Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 164, the normal 
expression in leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome was 
ἀρούρας ἦ ἔκαν ὤμων ἐκ γεωμύς ἐτρής. The 
expression in the present text comes closest to those 
he quotes from the Hermopolite nome, e.g. P. Stras. I 
10, lines 11-2. It is very strange that the scribe has 
put the words in our text at this point, where they seem 
to have no meaning. Usually they qualify the expression 
ἐκάστης ἀρούρης.

22. ἐκ <c>πορᾶν: see note to lines 16-18.

23-24. ἀνά πυρόν ἄρταβας πέντε ἕκατο: cf. note to lines 
19-20.
24. (εΤΕλ) : see note to lines 8-9.

25. \( \chi\lambda\nu\varphi\beta\kappa\omega \varepsilon\upsilon\lambda(\alpha\mu\nu\zeta\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma) \) : in line 14 the scribe uses one of the usual expressions for the planting of land with green stuffs; but here he uses the word \( \chi\lambda\nu\varphi\beta\kappa\omega \) to which there is no parallel. The entry in LSJ s.v. suggests that it is doubtful whether the word exists at all, so probably the scribe simply made another mistake here and intended to write \( \chi\lambda\nu\varphi\beta\kappa \) again.

26-27. \( \varepsilon\upsilon\varphi\chi\mu\alpha\varepsilon\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma \) : cf. note to lines 15-16.

28-29. [ἐ]Κφορίου : this is a mistake for 'ΕΚφορίου.

30. ἐν Θεμαίτι : it seems that the scribe has forgotten to finish the word when he reached the end of the line, though there is enough space left for the two letters \( \tau\eta \). We cannot read \( \Theta\epsilon\mu\alpha \tau\eta [\delta\iota\nu\omicron\omicron\omicron] \), as the \( \omicron \) in line 31 is certain. The wheat was to be deposited in the state granary to the credit of the lessor. cf. P. Oxy. III 501.18 and the note (= Mitt. Chr. 349) [A.O. 187]; cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 114 ff; see also Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 4 n. 8; on \( \Theta\epsilon\mu\alpha \), see N. Lewis, 'Notationes Legentis', BASP 13 (1975), pp. 167-9; D. Hagedorn 'ΘΕΜΑ', ZPE 25 [1977], pp. 197-8.

31. ζω [διημοσιω] : the \( \zeta \) is lost except the right part of the cross bar; \( \Theta\gamma\alpha\varphi\beta \) is understood. This is the place where the payment of the wheat had to be made, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 109-10; Hennig, Bodenpacht, p. 25; see also note above.

31-32. Το ἄργυρ(ιον) δόκημον : despite the hole the reading of the letter \( K \) is certain. For the expression see Wörterbuch III 17. In the Roman period the use of silver

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

32-33. *ἀκίνδυνα τὰ ἐκφόρισια*: there is a hole in the papyrus but there are traces of the letter λ in ἀκίνδυνα. The scribe apparently has forgotten the ι in ἐκφόρια.

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


34-35. *τῆς πρόξεως καὶ ὀνήμης ἐκ τῷ ἑμῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων*: the lessor was protected by penalties in case the rent was not paid, see Waszyński, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 145-8; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*,.

Worp 10.

37-39. τοῖν δὲ τῆς γῆς κατ' ἐτος δημοκίνων ὄντων πρὸς τὴν γεωύχον: the lessor's tax liability was the usual rule, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 115-8; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 122-4. Instead of πρὸς τὴν γεωύχον we should expect, in a subjectively styled contract, πρὸς σέ. Here the scribe has suddenly changed into the objective style, of the introduction.

39-42. ἣν ἐμεθώσατο τοῦς καρπάς ὀνᾶς τὸ κατ' ἐτος δὲφέει λόμεν κομίσθησαν: a clause stating that the lessor is to retain ownership of the crops until the amount of rent owing is paid is very common in leases from the Oxyrhynchite nome, see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 143-5, Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 140-2; Rainer Kniepkamp, Ὁ καρπὸς in den Papyri [Diss. Koln. 1970] [not seen]; Arnold Kranzlein, 'Zur Urkundenklausel κυριεύεται τῶν καρπῶν ἔως... ', Akten des XIII. Intern. Pap. Kongr. Marburg/Lahn 1971. [Münchener Beiträge 66. Heft, Munich, 1974], pp. 215-24. But the verb is always κυριεύω, followed by the genitive, and the conjunction is always ἔως and never ὀνᾶς. The relative clause is either in the accusative and infinitive or nominative and indicative. For example, see P. Oxy.

cf. also P. Oxy. I 101 (A.D. 142), and III 501 (A.D. 187). The expression which the scribe has used in our document does not seem to make any sense. It seems as though what he put here is just a mistake for the usual clause with ἱππείρου.

40-41. κατ' ἐπο[σ ἀ]πειλόμενα: the papyrus is broken off. For the restoration cf. e.g. P. Oxy. I 101.23 and III 501.33.

42. ἕος ἐ εἰς ἀβροχέος ἑγήται: an insufficient flood (ἀβροχέος) is a reason for the reduction of the rent, i.e. a natural phenomenon which makes the fulfilment of the terms of the lease impossible or at least most unlikely, cf. P. Amh. II 85.15-17. ἔστω ἐ εἰς ἀβροχέος ἑγήται ἢ καὶ λοταμοφόρητος ἢ ὕφαρμος ἢ κατεχυμένη ἑγήται [Hermopolite, A.D. 78], see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, pp. 132 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 161-2.

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

Τῷ μεθωσκαμένῳ: the usual word is τῷ μεθωσκαμένῳ, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. I 101.26 (A.D. 142); VI 910.28 (A.D. 197); Wörterbuch, Spoglio II. This phrase follows the clause in line 42 to safeguard the interests of the lessee and states that the lessor had to grant a rebate to the lessee, see
Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 132 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 161-2; cf. the phrase used to protect the lessor against loss in lines 32-4 and the notes; cf. also P. Frank. 12 cited by Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 144 which has the clause ἀκίνδυνον ἀλήν ἀβρόχου, which signifies that the lessor is protected except in the case of insufficient flood.

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

45-46. αἴχυ [ἐ]θανός: the last two letters in line 45 are not quite certain, but very probable. αἴχυ— must refer
to chaff, whether we read some form of ἄχυρφον or the verb ἄχυρνησι [for which see Wörterbuch]. It is not clear why either word should be mentioned at this point. In line 46 C is not quite certain, but is very probable; the ∆ is also very probable and what precedes looks rather like a symbol for drachma. This suggests that we may have a reference to σνυόνη at the rate of 4 drachmas; but there is no mark of abbreviation after σνον. For σνυόνη consisting of only a few drachmas in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see Herrman, Bodenpacht, pp. 116-7.

46-47. Παραδώ[ε]τήν καθάραν ἀποτεθερόορκ (ονημένην) : in ἀποτεθερόορκ (ονημένην) the abbreviation is marked by raising the K above the line. The scribe failed to write the O perhaps on purpose because there is not enough space or he was thinking of abbreviating the word and became slack when he reached the end of the line.

The usage of this compound verb in this context was not known before in the Greek papyri, cf. Wörterbuch; Spoglio; Wörterbuch Suppl. 1, but θυρκοπέω is used, cf. P. Oxy. VI 910 [A.D. 197], lines 41-4, παραδώνατε τήν τῆς τῷ ἐκχάτῳ ἐναυτῷ τεθυρκοπήμενῃ καὶ καθάραν ἀπὸ θρύον καὶ δείχνει πάντας , cf. also Wörterbuch; and Spoglio.

This stipulation in the lease requires from the lessee to hand over the land clean, free from the cut rushes, cf. Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 68-71; Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, pp. 115 ff; Herrmann, Bodenpacht, pp. 128-9; J. D. Thomas, 'Some Recently Published Leases of Land', JJP 15 [1965], pp. 131-2; Hennig, 'Die Arbeitsverpflichtungen der Pächter
48. [Kuπία ἦ] μίζηθ(ωτττ) : in leases in subjective style of the Roman period the lease itself concluded with this sanction clause before the imperial date and later, in the third century, it was supplemented with the stipulation clause καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὁμολογεῖα ; see Waszynski, Bodenpacht, pp. 27-8. For this sanction clause, see H. J. Wolff, Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri [1978], pp. 145-6, Manfred Hässler, Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden, [1960], D. Simon, Studien z. Praxis d. Stipulationsklausel, [1964], pp. 3 ff. See also Marcel Hombert 'Un bail de terre d'Oxyrhynchus', Hommage C. Préaux [1975], p. 608 note to line 29.

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

48-51. Αὐτοκράτωρ : the reading is certain; for the filling of the lacunae of the title of the emperor, see Wörterbuch III; Wörterbuch Suppl.; P. Bureth, Les titulatures imperiales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C. - 282 p.C.) [1964], pp. 93 ff.
μεγ[ειτον] : after the χ the papyrus is broken off and the word could not have been written in full in the space left by the lacuna which is decided approximately by the end of the margin. After μεγ[ειτον], καὶ is expected followed by the title of the emperor Caracalla who was ruling jointly with his father in the year 8, but it is certain that the scribe has forgotten altogether to complete the imperial date since he started it with Αβοτοκρατον, cf. PSI 1328 [SB 7817], 10-12 [A.D. 199-200]; Wörterbuch III ab.2, Wörterbuch Suppl. 1; Bureth, Les titulatures impériales, p. 97.

52. [±5] ΚΒ : a word of five letters may be supplied in the lacuna for the month. One of these four months must almost certainly be supplied [Θωθ, Φωκφ, Θεφ, Χολωκ], for leases of land in the Oxyrhynchite nome were drawn up in one of these four first months of the year, see Herrmann, Bodenpacht, p. 96, cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, p. 63.

52-53. Πανεχθο(της) : the reading of ω is not sure; before it Χ is more probable than Κ. There are no signs to determine the abbreviation. The name is written cursively. The name is common in the Greek papyri, cf. Namenbuch; Onomasticon.

ὁ προσφώμ(μένως) : the sign of the abbreviation is the raised ς. The word is very cursive as if the writer was hurrying. By "the aforementioned" cf. lines 3-4, the lessee is meant.
the papyrus is broken off after the left part of the μ. The scribe probably had abbreviated the word in the space left by the lacuna and did not write it in full, otherwise he would have finished it on the following line; but this is unlikely because there is no room for it as well as ὧς ἑπὸκ(εἰτακ). [ὁς ἑπὸκ(εἰτακ)]: this is the expected reading, cf. BGU III 920.41-2 (6 August A.D. 180); P. Mich IX 609.45-6 (A.D. 244); CPR I 37.19 (A.D. 251). This is the signature of the lessee endorsing the terms of the lease. The hand is very similar to the first hand.

53-54. [ἀὐτοῦ]: for the restoration cf. lines 3-4, 52. This is the signature of the person who wrote for the lessee. Illiteracy was the common condition of the great mass of Egyptians, see R. Calderini, 'Ἀγράμματοι οὖν' Egitto-greco', Aegyptus 30, (1950), pp. 14-41; H. C. Youtie 'ἈΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΣ : An aspect of Greek society in Egypt', HSCP 75 (1971) pp. 161-76; idem, 'ὙΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt', ZPE 17 (1975) pp. 201-21.
11. UNDERTAKING TO SERVE AS A SAILOR

Oxyrhynchite nome 19 February, A.D. 266

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

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

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

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

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

The work which the sailor is required to do is to be regarded as requisitioned labour for the government, such as is discussed by U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunden I, i (1912), pp. 330-9, and by F. Oertel, Die Liturgie - Studien zur ptolemäischen und Kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens (1917), pp. 62-93. It is important to note that the man's labour in our text is not being requisitioned for a fixed term but is to last \epsilon\chi\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicrontimes. For requisitioned labour we
may compare P. Leit. 9, also from the middle of the third century, in which men write to the prefect asking him to release them from building work which they have been performing at Heliopolis. We may also compare P. Flor. I 3 = W. Chr. 391 (A.D. 301): in this document comarchs of a village in the Hermopolite nome write to the strategus to tell him that they will send men to work in the mines at Alabastine as they had been ordered. One important difference between that text and the present document is that the comarchs say the men are being sent at the risk of the whole village, lines 8-10: κ(ω)ς [λύν]ων ημῶν κα(λ)λ[ι]ν πάντων τῶν ἄν[δ]ε τῆς κόμης ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. In the present document the sailor gives the name of his own guarantor.

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

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

μωνι διαδεχο(μένω) σφα(τηγίαν) Ὠξ(υρυχίτου)

Ἄφρήλιος Ἀγαθὸς Σιλβα-νοῦ μητρὸς Καρακιάδως

5 ἀπ' Ὠξυριδχων πόλεως

ναυτής. Ὄμνων τὴν

Γαλλιηνοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου

τῆς ἐπιπλεόντειν ταῦτα

ἐπιστατομένως εἰς τὸν

10 Ἀρσενοεὶτην σκάφας

πρὸ[δε] τὴν ἐκεῖ τοῦ ὑμο-ς[ου] [πυρ*]οῦ διέρασεν καὶ

πᾶσαν τὴν ναυτικήν ὑ-

πηρ[ε]ῶναν ποιήσοντα καὶ

15 μὴ ἄπολειψθησθαι

ἄχνος οὐ ἄπολυθα εἰς τὸ

μηδεμίαν μέμψιν

ἐπακολουθήσαι, λαμβά-

νων παρὰ τῶν εὐσχημο-

20 τῶν ἐπι σκαφῶν

κατὰ μῆνα ἐκαστον τὸ ὄ-

ψώνιον ἐν ὀραχμαὶς

ἐκατὸν ἐξήκουντα ἡ ἐνο-

χος εὑρήσετο γὰρ ὄρκῳ. παρέ-
25 εχόν δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐνγυνη-
τὴν Ἀδρῆλιον Δίον
Πλουτίωνος μητρὸς Ἀρ-
εινόης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-
λεως παρόντα καὶ ἐθνοχθ(ν)-
tα. vacat
( Ἑστους) ἢ Ἀὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Ποικίλου Ἀγ[κ]ή[ν]
vίο(ν)
Γαλληνίου Γερμανίκου
μεγίστου Ὀδεσσόβου Ἐὐτυχο[ὐ]
30 Ἑραστοῦ Μεξεἵρ κε.
(2nd Hand) Ἀδρῆλιος Ἀγαθὸς Σι[λ-
ήιοι] ὕμως τὸν ὥρκον
[πε]ρὶ πρόκειται. Ἀδρῆλιος
Ἀπ[ολλ]αρῖος Ἀπολλώνιον
40 ἔγρ[α]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐ[τοῦ] μὴ ἱδρ-
tος γράφματα.
(3rd Hand) [Ἀ]δρῆλιος Δ[ί]ος Πλου-
tίωνος ἔγραφαμαι
[τῶν] Ἀγαθὸν ὡς πρόκει-
tαι. (4th Hand)[Π]έλνωφορι[τ] Πε-
[t]έρμουθου ἐγγυητοῦ
2 διαδεχόμεν. στρ. ος/ 13 ὑπορεσίαν 25 1. ἐγγυητὴν
29-30 εὐδοκοῦ/τα 30 1. 32 λυ[χ]τι[ν]υ
40-1 1. εἴλδατος 45[Ψε]νοννωφ
Translation

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

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

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

Psenonnophris, daughter of Patermouthus....'
Notes to the text

1-2. Αὔρηλιος Ἀρποκρατάμμων: for names ending in -αμμων see F. Dunand, 'Les noms théophores en-ammon. A propos d'un papyrus de Strasbourg du IIIᵉ siècle p.C.', Chr. D'Eg. 38 [1963], pp. 134-46. She does not mention the name Harpocratammon, which is not in either Namenbuch, or Onomasticon. It is therefore a new name, found only here and in P. Oxy. ined. 12, line 1. However, the name Harpocra'mmon is known, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

2. δωξεξο(μένω) στρα(ττιαν) Οὐ(ομυχίτου): for the way the abbreviations are indicated see the critical notes to the text. For a list of strategi known from the Oxyrhynchite nome see J. E. G. Whitehorne, 'A Checklist of Oxyrhynchite Strategi', ZPE 29 [1978], pp. 167-90.

It is very probable that our text comes from 19 February, A.D. 266, see the note to line 31. At this date the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome was (Aurelius He)raclius also called Asterius, who is attested for 11 October 265 in P. Giss. I 34.1 and for 5 August 266 in PSI VIII 940.1 [see Whitehorne, ZPE 29 [1978], p. 181]. It is remarkable that we know of another deputy for this strategus who was acting for him on 5 August, A.D. 266, Aurelius Dionysammon: see PSI VIII 940.9-10 [Whitehorne, ZPE 29 [1978], p. 181, no. 95]. His name, Dionysammon, is similar to the name of the acting-strategus in the present text, Harpocratammon.

Professor Manfredo Manfredi was kind enough to supply a photograph of PSI 940. The photograph shows quite clearly...
that the name there is correctly given as Dionysammon. He is therefore a different acting-strategus from the man in our text. It was usual for the basilikos grammateus to act as the strategus' deputy in the first two centuries A.D. and the earlier part of the third century. But it is not certain that the office of basilikos grammateus still existed in the reign of Gallienus, see J. D. Thomas, 'The Introduction of Dekaprotei and Comarch into Egypt in the Third Century A.D.', ZPE 19 [1975], p. 119 n. 41.

5. ἐν' Ὄξυρογχων πόλεως: there is a mark like an apostrophe over the η of ἐν, which does not seem to be the tail of η from the preceding line. It does not seem to have any function. The η of Ὄξυρογχων has a very long tail going to the right. In the Greek papyri this city is principally called Ὅξυρογχων πόλες. The expression ἐν' Ὄξυρογχων πόλεως is used to indicate the place of the sailor's origin. For this expression and the various designations of the city of Oxyrhynchus, see D. Hagedorn, Ὅξυρογχων πόλες und Ὅξυρογχοτῶν πόλες', ZPE 12 [1973], pp. 277-92.

8. ἐπιπλαύσεως: this does not seem to have anything to do with the liturgy of ἐπιπλαύσεως. An ἐπιπλαύσεως was a man appointed to sail on the boats carrying the corn to Alexandria to make sure that the corn was protected and properly delivered; see Lewis, ICS s.v., P. Petaus, pp. 222-3, and J. Frosen, 'Le transport du blé et la
 rôle des 'επιφάνειον', *Arctos* 12 (1978), pp. 5-17.

10. *ckáφαλ* : this is translated in Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v. and in *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *scapha*, 'light boat or skiff'. See Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities [1923] s.v. *Scapha* (*ckáφη*), 'A skiff or cutter carried on large vessels to be lowered for use as required [Caes. B.C. ii. 24]. They were rowed with from one to three pairs of oars.' It was probably similar to the *náκτων* which occurs in *P. Oxy.* ined. 13 line 7, but it may have been poled like a punt rather than rowed with oars. Both types of boat were no doubt used to carry the corn from the shore out to larger boats anchored out in the river.

11. *νρ[α]ς* : a hole has taken away two letters and damaged the Τ following, but the reading as a whole is certain.

11-12. *την εκεί τοῦ δημοσίου [ποροῦ διέφαραν] : for the *διέφαραν* of public corn see the introduction to this text. It is not clear whether the word is correctly spelt *διέφαραν* or *διαφέραν* ; see on this the remarks in *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2568, note to line 16.

14. *εκείνου*.

16. *αφρίλ* : after *αφρίλ* the writer seems to have started to write something other than *C* and then to have corrected what he had written.

18-19. *λαμβάνων ορα* : something similar has happened here: there is too much ink for just *ν η* at the end of *λαμβάνων* and the start of *ορα", and it seems that here again the writer made some correction.
19-20. έυςχημόνων: these must have been the men chosen for the liturgy of supplying small boats (κικφοι) for the transport of the corn in the Arsinoite nome. The description of them as έυςχημόνες means that they were not poor and so had enough money and property to be required to perform a liturgy for the government. On the έυςχημόνες see the note to P. Warren 5, line 5, and the introduction to P. Petaus 85.

22. ἐν δραχμίς: a hole has taken away almost all the writing in the word ἐν. In line 23 of the duplicate P. Oxy. ined. 12 the reading is much clearer, so that we can be sure of what was written here.

29-30. Παρόντα καὶ έυδοκοῦ(τ)α: after Παρόντα the papyrus is badly rubbed and a lot of the ink has disappeared. The final Τα is very clear and it is just possible to see a dash over Υ at the end of the previous line where Υ has been left out. What does survive suits the traces we should expect and the reading is not in doubt.

31. ("Ετούκη) Υ: of the year number Λ is clear but Υ is uncertain (and the number does not survive in the duplicate, P. Oxy. ined. 12). For the titles of Gallienus see P. Bureth, Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C. - 284 p.C.) (1964), pp. 117-21. From the titles which he gives it seems that the only possible years for our text are years 10-14 (p. 120). It cannot be year 10, because a figure has been written after Λ. What remains
of the traces of this figure suit \( \delta \) better than either \( \beta \) or \( \sigma \). It is therefore very probable that the text belongs to Gallienus' thirteenth year, A.D. 265-6.

32. \( \Delta \gamma \nu \gamma \nu \zeta \gamma \nu \) : only a few traces are left of this word, but they can be made to fit the reading which we expect from the titles of Gallienus [see the preceding note].

40-41. \( \mu \eta \iota \delta \omicron \omicron \omicron \gamma \rho \alpha \mu \kappa \alpha [\tau \alpha] \) : it is perhaps easier to read the second letter as \( \varepsilon \); if so, we should have to suppose that the writer had put \( \mu \varepsilon \iota \delta \omicron \omicron \omicron \) and that this was a mistake for \( \mu \eta \varepsilon \iota \delta \omicron \omicron \omicron \). For the significance of this expression, see P. Oxy. ined. 10 note to lines 53-4.

45-46. \( [\upsilon \varepsilon] \nu \nu \nu \varphi \tau \delta \varepsilon \mu \nu \theta \mu \vartheta \omicron \varepsilon \gamma \nu \gamma \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \) : this is added in a very clumsy hand, see the introduction. The text is complete without this addition and it is not clear why these words have been added. Ceramophrhis is a very unusual name, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.
12. UNDERTAKING TO SERVE AS A SAILOR

Oxyrhynchite nome 19 February, A.D. 266

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

It is quite certain that the text is a duplicate of P. Oxy. ined. 11: it is sent to the same acting-strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome by the same Aurelius Agathus son of Silvanus and Sarapias, who is a ναύτης. In both texts he swears the same oath by the emperor Gallienus to go to the Arsinoite nome and work on the σκόπεα which are being used there for the διεραξε of the public corn, for a payment, which he will get from the εὐκλήμονε, of 160 drachmas every month. He also gives as his guarantor in both texts Aurelius Dius son of Plution and Arsinoe. After this the present text is broken away at the point at which the regnal date is just starting, so that we do not know the month and year. But the present text must date from the same day as P. Oxy. ined. 11.
The papyrus is not written by the same writer as the man who was responsible for writing most of the document in P. Oxy. ined. 11 [the first hand]. The writer of the present document writes very cursively and his writing is not easy to read. But he is obviously a man who is used to writing. He writes very quickly, joining the letters together often, in a cursive hand which slopes to the right. It is the type of hand which is very often found in documents from the middle of the third century A.D.

For translation and general commentary see P. Oxy. ined. 11.
Α_ulong_ 'Aρπηλίω 'Ασποχρ[ατά]μ-
μωνι διαδέξα[ό]ε[μένψ] [ε]τρ(ατηγίαν) 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου)
Αὐρήλιος ᾿Αγαθ[:δε] [Σιλ]βα-
νοῦ μητρὸς Σαρακιᾶδος

5 ἀπ᾿ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως
ναύτης. Ὁμηρῶν τὴν
Γαλλιηνοῦ Καίσαρος
tοῦ κυρίου τύχην ἐπι-
πλεόνειν ταῖς ἐπιστελλο-

10 μέναις εἰς τὸν ᾿Αφοινοεῖ-
tὴν σκάφαις πρὸς τὴν
ἐκεῖ τοῦ ὁμοσπον δυροῦ
διέρασιν καὶ πᾶσαν
tὴν ναυτικὴν ὅπη-

15 ἡς ἠκοίμαται καὶ
μη ἀπολειψθῆς εἰ[θα]ι]
ἀρχις ο[ν] ἀπολυθ[ῶ εἰς τὸ]
μηδεμίαν μ[έμοιν]
ἐπαχολουθῆς ε[αί, λαμ—]

20 [βάν]ων [π]αρὰ [τῶν]
eῦχ[χημ]όνων [ἐπὶ]
ἐχαφῶν κατὰ μη[να ἐκα—]
στὸν τὸ ὀψάνιον ἐν
οραχμαίς ἔ[α]τον ἐξῆς-
χοντα ἦ ἐνοχος εἶην
τῷ ἀρχε. ἐ[ά]χον
δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐγνυθήν
Ἀδρή[λ] οῦν Δίον Πλουτίω-
νος μητρὸς Ἁμινόης[έ] ἀπὸ)
30 τῆς αὐτῆς τὸλεος παρόντα
[("Ετους) ἴγ' Ἀντο]χρά[το]ρος

. . . . . .

2 διαδεχτ[ο], [κ]τρ[ς], οὲ' 14-15 ὑπηρεσιῶν
27 1. ἐγγυητήν
Notes to the text

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

2. \(\delta\lambda\alpha\varepsilon\chi[\omicron](\nu\varepsilon\nu\nu)\;\varsigma\tau\rho\alpha(\tau\eta\gamma\iota\alpha\nu)\;\delta\omicron\upsilon(\upsilon\nu\nu\chi\iota\tau\omicron\omicron)\) : the abbreviations of \(\delta\lambda\alpha\varepsilon\chi(\nu\varepsilon\nu\nu)\) and \(\delta\omicron\upsilon(\upsilon\nu\nu\chi\iota\tau\omicron\omicron)\) are made in the same way as in P. Oxy. ined. 11. The abbreviation of \(\varsigma\tau\rho\alpha(\tau\eta\gamma\iota\alpha\nu)\) is not clear since there is a hole at this point.

8. \(\kappa\upsilon\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\) : the \(\nu\) has a very long tail which goes down into \(\mu\tau\nu\alpha\lambda\omicron\) in line 10. Several of the other \(\nu\) in this text also have very long tails.

11-12. \(\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\;\tau\eta\nu\;\xi\kappa\omicron\omicron\) : in the duplicate (line 11) the reading is damaged, but here it is quite plain.

15. \(\nu\omicron\eta\chi\alpha c\theta\alpha l\) : in P. Oxy. ined. 11.14 it is possible that we should read \(\nu\omicron\eta\chi\alpha c\theta\alpha l\), which is the correct form. The change from \(-\chi\alpha c\theta\alpha l\) to \(-\chi c\theta\alpha l\) in these infinitives is very common in the papyri, see B. G. Mandilaras, The Verb in the Greek non-literary Papyri (1973), p. 314, sect. 754.

16ff. The letters missing at the right in these lines can be supplied from the duplicate, lines 15 ff.

23-24. \(\epsilon\nu \delta\rho\alpha\chi\lambda\alpha\omicron\omicron\) : the reading \(\epsilon\nu\) is not at all clear in the duplicate, line 22. Here \(\nu\) is certain and a little of \(\epsilon\) can be seen.

29. \(\chi\eta\nu\iota\omicron\omicron\) : there is not room for the word to have been written out in full.

31. The line ends with a long filling-in stroke.
13. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FOR RETURN OF A BOAT

Dyrrhynchite nome

Inv. no. 1728. 53/6[9]

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

The little that remains is very similar indeed to P. Oxy. XXXI 2568 and it seems very probable that the document was of the same type, an acknowledgement for the return of a boat (n
\textsuperscript{α}κτινυν), see line 7. Dr. Revel Coles kindly supplied a photograph of P. Oxy. 2568, so that it was possible to compare the hands used in the two documents. It is quite certain that the second hand in our document is the same as the third hand in P. Oxy. 2568; therefore the Apollonius, son of Apollonius, who is writing for an illiterate in our document is the same man as Apollonius who writes for an illiterate in P. Oxy. 2568. It is very probable that the first hand in our document is the same as the second hand in P. Oxy.
2568, the hand which has written lines 24-29 (the date). It is written very quickly and cursively. The hand of Apollonius is written more slowly and more clumsily, but he is certainly not a 'slow writer'.

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


2. But note that the \( \frac{1}{2} \) in the year number is not absolutely certain, so that we cannot be sure that the texts must come from year 13; see the note to P. Oxy. ined. 11.31.
Even though only such a small fragment of the writing survives we can hardly doubt that the content of this text was the same as that of P. Oxy. 2568: Aurelius Patr[son of Eutyches is acknowledging that he has received back his boat with its oars. In P. Oxy. 2568 Aurelius Heracles acknowledges the receiving back of his boat, also a πάκτων with oars, which he had provided for the διαφώνειν δημοσίου πολέων. On this dierasis see above, P. Oxy. ined. 11. It is very probable that the boat mentioned in the present text had been requisitioned by the government for the same purpose. Aurelius Heracles in P. Oxy. 2568 has actually made the boat, since he calls himself a πακτωνολόχος [line 10]. Perhaps Aurelius Patr[ ] in our text was also a boat maker, but he could have been the owner of the boat. P. Oxy. 2568 is addressed to an irenarch and a man who is simply called τῷ ὑπατίτῳ. It is possible that our text was addressed to the same two people in the same month of the same year (the day of the month is lost in our text). It is also possible that the present document was addressed to the deputy-strategus, since it was found along with two texts [P. Oxy. ined. 11 and 12], which were addressed to the deputy-strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome.
2 Ἐρμανικοῦ μεγίς[του]
Ἐδεσβοῦ Ἐὐτυχοῦ[ὸς]
Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπείφ [ ]

5 (2nd Ham) Ἀθηλίος Πατρ [ ]
Ἐὐτύχου π[αρείληφα]
τὸν πάκτ[ωνα σὺν ταῖς]
κὼσαι καὶ [ἐπερωτη]-
θείς ἰμολόγη[ς]. Ἀθηλίο[ς]

10 Ὅλλωνιος Ὅλλωνι-
οῦ ἐγραψᾳ ὅπε[ρ α]ὐτο[δμ]η
εἰδότος γράμμ[α]τα.
Translation

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

1. Only faint traces survive from this line.

2. Γερμανικοῦ μεγίστου Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτύχος Σεβαστοῦ: For the title of Gallienus which we should expect at this point see Bureth, _Les titulatures impériales_, p. 120. His examples suggest that the full title in these years would have been Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Πούβλιος Λυκίννος Γαλλιηνὸς Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτύχης Σεβαστός.

4. Ἕπειρας: there would be room for the day to have come in the small amount lost at the end of the line. Note that this is the same month as we find in P. Oxy. 2568.29.

5. Αὐρήλιος Πνευμ.: what can be seen after the _p_w at the end is too slight to suggest one letter rather than another. Namenbuch and Onomasticon suggest several possibilities, e.g. Πατρώβιος, Πατρώνας or Πάτρων. Of these the commonest is Πάτρων and this would fit most easily into the available space.

6. ς[αρχιλή]θα: the trace remaining before the papyrus breaks off suits _θ_ very well and the reading as a whole can be regarded as certain, since this is the word used at this point in P. Oxy. 2568.31.

7. Τὸν Νάκτανα: this must have been a small boat which could be rowed by means of oars. It was probably very similar to the _καφη_, which was discussed in connection with P. Oxy. ined. 11.
7-8. *καὶ ταὶς διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν* : this is the wording in P. Oxy.

2568.32-3. It is not certain that in our text there would have been room for *ταὶς*.


9-11. For this Apollonius son of Apollonius see the introduction.
14. RECEIPT FOR WAGES

Oxyrhynchite nome 14 June, A.D. 519

Inv. no. 9 18. 181/C(b)

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

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

The papyrus begins with the date. Then a certain Aurelius Isak, who seems to have been an $ \epsilon \rho \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omega \omicron \omicron \nu \omicron \kappa \tau \zeta $ for two hamlets in the Oxyrhynchite nome [see below], writes to the supervisor [ $ \nu \rho \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \nu \omicron \tau \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma $ ] of these hamlets acknowledging the receipt of his wages for
the present twelfth indiction. These amount to two gold solidi. His receipt is written for him by AureliuS Serenus. At the foot of the receipt the clerk has added a sentence stating that he has drawn up the document. The title describing the document is given on the back.

The date is given in lines 1-2. The text belongs in the consulship of an emperor Flavius Justinus who is consul for the first time. It also belongs in a twelfth indiction. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (1978), pp. 69-94, list three consuls with the name Flavius Justinus. The one in our text cannot be Flavius Justinus who was consul in A.D. 540 because he was not an emperor. We must choose between Flavius Justinus = the emperor Justin I, consul for the first time in A.D. 519 (Bagnall-Worp, *CSBE*, pp. 86 and 122), and Justinus = the emperor Justin II, who was consul for the first time in A.D. 566 (Bagnall-Worp *CSBE*, pp. 89 and 125). Because of the indiction number our text must belong in the first consulship of the emperor Justin I. The concordance in Bagnall-Worp, *CSBE*, p. 86, shows that induction 13 began during the Julian year A.D. 519, and in the Oxyrhynchite nome it will have begun on Thoth 1st (see Bagnall-Worp, *CSBE*, p. 60). Therefore in A.D. 519, Payni 20 = 14 June is correctly placed in the 12th indiction in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

For other receipts for wages from the Oxyrhynchite nome in the Byzantine period see P. Oxy. XVI 1992
None of these is a close parallel to our text but the closest parallel is P. Oxy. XXXVI 2780 just mentioned. Our document is a little unusual in its structure. This is as follows:

1. Lines 1-2: date.
2. Lines 3-9, description of the parties in the form ὁ δείνος τῷ δεῖνι Χαῖρεν.
3. Lines 9-14: the main part of the receipt in the form ὁμολογῶ εἶληφέναι .παρὰ σοῦ νομιμάτικα ἄμο.
5. Lines 19-20: the ἱπτία clause.
6. Lines 21-25: the signature in a second hand with the illiteracy clause.
7. Lines 26-28: the annotation by the clerk in Greek and Latin.

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

In line 5 the writer describes himself as an ὀρκοδιόκτης; in line 12 he calls his work that of an ἐργοδιόκτον, and on the back he writes ὁρκοδιόκτον [for a discussion of the readings see the notes]. There seems no possibility of deriving a sensible Greek word.
from any form starting with ο (whether we read the third letter as ι or ἰ). It seems clear that the form which begins with ε must be the correct one and that the writer was aiming to write in each instance the word ἔργοδιώκτης or ἔργοδιώκτου. According to the papyrological lexica this word is known only from papyri of the 3rd century B.C. See also LSJ, which quotes further examples from the Septuagint and Photius, and regards the word as meaning a 'taskmaster'. Unfortunately, there is no context in our papyrus to show whether this is what the word means here or not. See addenda.
'Υπατείς τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἑλ(εούς) Ἰού[ετίνου] τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀνγοῦ[ετο]ῡ τὸ α’ Ἡρῴου κ ινδ(ικτίονος) ἤβ.

Αὐρήλιος Ἰκάκ γιλὸς Φοιβάμμωνος μητρός
Εἰρήνης καταμένων ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρῇ

5 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεων ὁρχοδιόξτης ἑποικίᾳ[ν] Ἕλεστοι[ν] καί Ἀνουσίας Αὐρήλιῳ Μηνᾶ[ν] ἤφιοι

vacat ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως]

προνοητῇ τῶν εἰρημένων κτημάτων[ν]
χαίρειν. 'Ομολογῶ εἰληφέναι παρὰ [σο]ῦ

καὶ πεπληρωθέθαι τὸ(ν) μεσθοῦς τοῦ
ἡμετέρους ὑπὲρ ἡς προειλθαμενες χρείας του
ἐργοδιόξτου εἰς τὰ[ ....... ] δύο νομισ[μάτια]
καὶ ἐπὶ [τῇ] ἐπαραθέσθες δω[δεκάτης ἱνδ(ικτίονος)]

το[ ± 6 χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο γί[νεται] χρ(υσοῦ)
[νο(μισμάτια) β]

καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς γεναμένης εἰς ἑμὲ

καρὰ σοῦ καταβολῆς τῶν αὐτῶν
δύο νομισμάτων τῶν ἐμῶν μισθῶ[ν]

τῆς αὐτῆς δωδεκάτης ἱνδ(ικτίονος)

ταύτην π[εποίη]μαι τὴν ἀποχήν, ἵτις

15 καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς γεναμένης εἰς ἑμὲ
καρὰ σοῦ καταβολῆς τῶν αὐτῶν
δύο νομισμάτων τῶν ἐμῶν μισθῶ[ν]

tῆς αὐτῆς δωδεκάτης ἱνδ(ικτίονος)

ταύτην π[εποίη]μαι τὴν ἀποχήν, ἵτις

20 κυρία οὔθεν ἡ[ἀληθεία(η)] καὶ ἐπερατηθεὶς
[in]μολ(ήμησα).
(2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Ἰκάκ ... [, Φοιβά]μμωνος ὁ

προγεγραμμένως]

ἐσχον καὶ ἐπλη[ρόθην] τοῦ ἡμετέρους μισθοῦς τῶν...
νομισμάτων τῆς ἡλεκάτης ινήχ(τίνος) καὶ συμφωνῆσ
μο[ν] ἐντὸς
δὲ πρὸ[ξ(εταί)]. Ἀὐρ(ῆλος) Θερήνος Ἀφροδίτως δεσμοθεῖος
ἐγραφα ὅτερ αὐτοῦ

25 ἀγραμμάτων ὄντος.
(3rd Hand) ἄν' ἐμοὶ [...], νεῖλον συμβολαίο[γ]ράφ(ον)

1 ὑπατεία φησ 2 ἱνδ/ 3 νῖος, see note οὐκ
4 καταμένων, o corrected from e
5 ορθοδιοκτησ, o corrected from γ; 1. ἐργοδικτησ
12 1 ἐργοδιώκτου 14 γιφ χρ/ []
20 γράφ/ ὕπο[λ] — 22 μισθοῦς, o corrected from ω
23 ἱνδίκ/, ἱν written over ἐπ 24 προχ/ αὐρς
26 συμβολαίο[γ]ραφ/

Back

Π ἀποχ(η) Ἰεάχ [ν]ὲοδ θοιμάμμων ἐργοδιώκτου ἀτὸ
tῆς Ὀξυνγίτης τόλμως

ἀποχὰς ἰσαξ [ν]ὶου 1. ἐργοδιώκτου
Translation

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

Aurelius Isak son of Phoebammon, mother Eirene, living here in the glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, taskmaster[?] for the hamlets of Neophytos and Anousia, to Aurelius Mena[?] son of... from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, supervisor of the aforesaid settlements, greetings.

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

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

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

[Latin].

[Back] Receipt of Isak, son of Phoebammon, taskmaster[?], from the city of the Oxyrhynchites.
Notes to the text

1-2. On the consulship see the introduction.

Only one consul is mentioned. It is unusual for the first consulship to be marked by the addition of the phrase τὸ αὐτὸ; usually consulships were only counted from the second onwards, see Bagnall-Worp, CSBE, pp. 104 ff. However, CSBE does quote a few examples in which the first consulship has the phrase τὸ αὐτὸ, e.g. Constans I in A.D. 339 (pp. 110-1), Leo in A.D. 458 (p. 118). According to the documents listed in CSBE, this is the first example of the consulship for this year except for the very doubtful example of P. Strasb. 133.1 (see p. 122).

For the omission of Ἀυτοκράτορος in the emperor's titles cf. his second consulship in A.D. 524 in P. Cair. Masp. I 67117.27.

3. Ἀυτοκράτορ Ἰκάκ μιὸς Φοιβαρμωνος: the reading here must be considered in conjunction with the reading in line 21 and on the back. For proper names beginning Ἰκάκ see Namenbuch and Onomasticon; they show that Ἰκάκ, Ἰκακί, and Ἰκακλος are all possible.

In the present line the writer appears to have written Ἰκακί; on the back it is possible to read Ἰκακλού or to suppose that a small υ has been lost in the hole after Ἰκάκ and to read Ἰκάκ [υ]οὐ.

In line 21 the slight traces of two broken letters after Ἰκακ look most like υλ, i.e. they suggest the reading Ἰκάκ υλος. It is not possible to
say for certain whether the man's name was 'Icακλος or 'Icακ. We should probably prefer 'Icακ υλος or υλοω, because the L after U has two dots over it in this line and on the back. If this is right, the scribe must have first written Icακ in this line and then corrected the L. All the names ('Icακ, Φοιβαμων and Ερημη) are common in papyri of the Byzantine period, see Namenbuch and Onomasticon.

4. καταμένων ένταυθα: the scribe first put κατεμένων and then corrected the first κ by writing α in the loop at the bottom of the letter. For ένταυθα in this phrase not followed by έν cf. e.g. P. Oxy. XXII 2239.4 and Wörterbuch s.v.

5. ορκοδιοτής: this must be a mistake by the writer for the word έργοδικτής, see the introduction. The writer first put ορκοδιοτής and then corrected the α to a ο, but did not alter the other letters. In line 12 he spelt the word correctly, except that he wrote ο for ω. On ο for ε and vice versa see E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit I [1906], pp. 45 and 72, F. T. Gignac, A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods I [1976], pp. 289-92; and on interchange of ι and κ see Mayser, Grammatik, I pp. 143-4, and Gignac, Grammar, pp. 77-80. On the meaning of the word see the introduction.

5-6. ἔποικ[ε]υν Νεοφύτος[υ] καὶ Ἀνοικίας: these words mean that Isak was έργοδικτής for these two hamlets. An έποικίου Νεοφύτου is not attested.
elsewhere, but it is no doubt the same place as the 
χωρίον Νεοφύτου which occurs in SB I 1973.20,
cf. SB I 1945.15, from the Oxyrhynchite name. No
example of an ἐνοικιάς called Ανωυς is given
in Wörterbuch nor in Calderini, Dizionario.

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

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

8. Προνοητής: for the pronoetes in Byzantine papyri who
was in charge of certain areas, see M. Gelzer, Studien
zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens [1909], 87;
G. Rouillard, L'administration civile de l'Egypte byzantine [1925],
pp. 132-3, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. I 136.15.

Τῶν εἰρημένων κτημάτων: this expression shows that
κτημάτων is regarded here as equivalent in meaning to
ἐνοικίων in line 5.

9ff. The usual expression in receipts for wages [see, e.g.
P. Oxy. XXXVI 2780 (A.D. 553), lines 16 ff.) is ὑμολογῶ
ἐχρηκένας, followed by οὕτως μεθοῦ / μεθῶν or
ἀνὸ ή λόγος τοῦ ἐμοῦ μεθοῦ, with the amount received
then following in the accusative. In the present text
the verbs used are \(\varepsilon \iota \lambda \eta \phi \varepsilon \nu \alpha \nu\) [which is replaced by \(\varepsilon \chi \lambda \nu \nu\) in the subscription in line 22] and \(\pi \nu \iota \lambda \eta \phi \nu \omega \varsigma \theta \alpha \nu\) and the word for 'pay' appears in the accusative, as does the amount, \(\nu \omicron \omicron \iota \omicron \varsigma \iota \varsigma \alpha\) \(\delta \omicron \omicron\) in line 14. The general construction is not clear because of the lacunas in lines 12-14, which make it difficult to be sure what to read there; see the notes which follow.

10-11. \(\tau \omicron \omicron \varsigma \; \eta \mu \tau \varepsilon \rho \omicron \omicron\) : both here and in line 22 the writer uses the first person plural although only one person is involved. Contrast line 17, where he writes \(\tau \omicron \omicron \nu \varepsilon \mu \omicron \nu \; \mu \iota \chi \omega \nu [\nu]\) .

12. \(\epsilon \omicron \iota \omicron \; \tau \alpha \circ \ldots \ldots \); \(\delta \omicron \omicron \nu \omicron \omicron \iota \omicron \omicron \varsigma \iota \varsigma \alpha\) : the trace after the hole is very suitable for \(\alpha\) and it is tempting to read \(\epsilon \omicron \iota \omicron \; \tau \alpha \; \tau \iota \omicron \iota \iota \kappa \iota \iota \kappa \omicron \iota \omicron \varsigma \iota \varsigma \alpha \delta \omicron \omicron\) , meaning 'the work which I do for the two hamlets [i.e. those mentioned in line 6]' . But if we supply this, it is very hard indeed to see how to make sense out of \(\nu \omicron \omicron \iota \omicron \) following, which can hardly be anything other than \(\nu \omicron \omicron \iota \omicron \varsigma \iota \varsigma \alpha\) . Since we know from line 14 that the pay was 2 solidi per year, we must presumably take \(\delta \omicron \omicron\) in this line with \(\nu \omicron \omicron \iota \omicron \varsigma \iota \varsigma \alpha\) which follows. Perhaps we should supply a word meaning something like 'usual' or 'customary', with the expression meaning 'in respect of' or 'amounting to the customary amount of two solidi' . The use of \(\epsilon \omicron \iota \omicron\) in such an expression is not expected. Perhaps cf. P. Oxy. VI 914.9, and supply here \([\zeta \omicron \mu \iota \phi \omicron \nu \alpha \nu]\) .

13. \(\kappa \alpha \pi \; \tau \gamma [\tau]\; \gamma \omicron \omicron \nu \omicron \omicron \varsigma \iota \omicron \omicron \varsigma \iota \varsigma \alpha \delta \omicron \omicron \varsigma \iota \varsigma \alpha\) \(\zeta \omicron \delta [\lambda \kappa \tau \iota \omicron \nu \omicron \omicron]\) may have been abbreviated in order
to fit into the space. This supplement seems the most probable. It is also possible to think of 'in respect of the past ἐν δεκάτησι' and 'in respect of the coming τρικαλίδιος δεκάτησι indiction'. The function of καὶ is unclear. See addenda.

14. Τὸ [τέ] : the τέ is very probable. Perhaps we should read τὸ ἐκτὸς', for which there is probably just enough room in the space before χρυσοῦ. χρυσοῦ and the reading which follows is certain, because of the reading at the end of the line. We certainly cannot read ἐνδ[π] | τίςονος. For τοῦτ' ἐκτὸς', with the meaning of Latin id est, 'that is to say', cf. e.g. P. Oxy. XLI 2995 (6th century A.D.), lines 2 ff.: δεδικτος τὸν ἀφελημένον ἐκ έθος — χρυσίκον δημοσίων — ὃ(ὶ) τερ δημοσίων δεκάτης ἐνδικτόνος, τοῦτ' ἐκτός χρυσοῦ νομισμάτα δύο.

15ff. A great many receipts from the Oxyrhynchite nome of about this period contain clauses which are similar to the one we have here, though none is exactly parallel. Usually the wording is καὶ πρὸς ἀνοικίαν τῆς ὑπολειψαν ταύτην πεποίημαι τὴν χειρογραφίαν, or similar wording followed by the Κυρία clause; cf. P. Oxy. XVI 1898 [A.D. 587], 1900 [A.D. 528], 1983 [A.D. 535] 1985 [A.D. 543], 1987 [A.D. 587], 1988 [A.D. 587], 1989 [A.D. 590], 1999, XXXVI 2779 and 2780 [A.D. 530]. In our text the writer has indicated very clearly what the ἀνοικία relates to, by writing it out in full in lines 15-18, and has then used the word ἀνοικία for the receipt, in line 19 (and again on the back).
16. *καταβολή* : nearly always this word is only used when payment takes place in several instalments, see Wörterbuch s.v. However, Wörterbuch also indicates that it is possible to use the word, as here, to relate to a payment which took place at one time only.

17. *νόμισματων* : here and in line 23 the word used is *νόμισμα*, whereas in line 14 it is *νόμισματων*. There is no difference in meaning.

20. For the Κυρία clause see P. Oxy. ined. 10, note to line 48.

[ἐνλή] : exempli gratia; the word to be supplied could equally well be [ἐνεργεία] .

ἐνεργείας [ἐν] λοι(δήμος) : for this clause, known as the stipulatio clause, see D. Simon, Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel (1964).

21. For the reading of the name seen, to line 3.

22. At the end of the line the writer may have put τῶν δύο [or δύο], but the writing is very cursive and the reading is unclear.

23. *ἐνδέκ* [τινως] : the first two letters are written over τον, which suggests that the writer started to put ἐννευματευο , the alternative word in the Oxyrhynchite name for ἐνδέκτευον (cf. Bagnall-Worp, CSBE, pp. 26-7).

23-24. *συμφωνεῖ* μο[ι] ποντῆ καὶ πρόκειται : the usual phrase at this point (cf. e.g. P. Mich. XI 608.20-1) is *συμφωνεῖ* μοι πῶς τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα καὶ πρόκειται. This cannot have been written here as there is insufficient room. On the other hand, the phrase which we have in,
e.g. P. Grenf. I 54.24 [see Berichtigungsliste I], 

$$\gamma_{\mu} \phi_{\omega} \varepsilon \nu \eta \kappa_{\omega} \tau \alpha \lambda$$, does not account for all 

that is written at the end of line 23. Probably this 

very cursive writing is intended to represent $$\eta \alpha \nu \tau \alpha \chi$$, 

thus giving us a parallel to the phrase which occurs, 

e.g. in P. Oxy. XXXVI 2780.30: $$\chi_{\tau} \alpha \chi_{\varepsilon} \nu \omega \eta \alpha \nu \tau \alpha \chi \omega$$ 

$$\eta \kappa_{\omega} \pi \tau \alpha \varepsilon$$.

26. 

$$\delta \nu \varepsilon \mu \omega \upsilon$$: Neilos is a common name, 

see Namenbuch and Onomasticon, so that it would be 

good sense to read just $$\delta \nu \varepsilon \mu \omega \upsilon \eta \iota \iota \lambda \omega$$ . This is 

not possible, since there is some ink before the $$\nu$$ . 

This cannot be part of $$\rho$$, so that we cannot read 

$$[\chi_{\alpha} \tau \alpha] \rho \upsilon \varepsilon \iota \lambda \varphi$$, which in any case is rather long 

for the available space.

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

following note:

"Parallel documents, e.g. P. Oxy. I 136.49-50, 138.48-9, 

XXXVI 2780.32, show that what we should have here is a 

repeat of the words just used, written this time in 

Latin characters. Indeed, several letters can be 

recognised, if this assumption is made, but other letters 

can only be interpreted as Latin if we assume exceedingly 

bizarre shapes. In line 28 we have $$xii$$ followed by two 

oblique strokes. Clearly this is to be understood as 

the number 12, and the only relevant number 12 in the 

present document is the number of the indiction. Presumably, 

therefore, we must interpret the symbol preceding $$xii$$, 

which looks like an $$S$$ on its side, as indicating 

indictionis."
Back: For the reading of the proper name see the note to line 3. The reading after ἀνὸ is very uncertain, as the papyrus is torn and rubbed at this point.


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Addenda

To p. 81: It is also possible that in lines 11 and 15 \( \pi\rho\omicron\tau(\_\_\_\_) \) should be expanded \( \pi\rho\omicron\tau(\sigma\tau\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\omicron\nu\omicron) \) and not \( \pi\rho\omicron\tau(\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu) \). This would of course affect the interpretation of the text as just given.

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

To p.191: For further instances of the word \( \epsilon\rho\omicron\sigma\omicron\delta\omega\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma \) in contemporary texts see P. Oxy. XVIII 2195.128 and 2197.176 etc.

To p.199: An alternative way of taking this phrase would be to restore \( \delta\omicron\upsilon\omicron \nu\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\varsigma \) \( \mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon \) \( \omega\varsigma \) \( \kappaappa\omicron \) \( \epsilon\omicron \) \( \tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\nu\omicron\alpha\omicron \) \( \epsilon\omicron\omicron \) \( \sigma\omicron\epsilon\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \) \( \kappaappa\omicron \) \( \epsilon\omicron \). This would provide an explanation for the \( \kappaappa\omicron \).