



TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 1, 1986

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Verlag Adolf Holzhausens Nfg., Wien

Herausgegeben von:

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

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Zuschriften und Manuskripte erbeten an:

Redaktion TYCHE, c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte, Universität Wien, Dr.-Karl-Lueger-Ring 1, A-1010 Wien. Beiträge in deutscher, englischer, französischer, italienischer und lateinischer Sprache werden angenommen. Eingesandte Manuskripte können nicht zurückgesendet werden. Bei der Redaktion einlangende wissenschaftliche Werke werden besprochen.

Auslieferung:

Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg., Kandlgasse 19-21, A-1070 Wien

Gedruckt auf holz- und säurefreiem Papier.

Umschlag: IG II² 2127 (Ausschnitt) mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Epigraphischen Museums in Athen, Inv.-Nr. 8490 und P. Vindob. Barbara 8.

© 1986 by Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg., Wien

Eigentümer und Verleger: Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg., Kandlgasse 19-21, A-1070 Wien. Herausgeber: Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber, c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte, Universität Wien, Dr.-Karl-Lueger-Ring 1, A-1010 Wien. Hersteller: Druckerei A. Holzhausens Nfg., Kandlgasse 19-21, A-1070 Wien. Verlagsort: Wien. — Herstellungsort: Wien. — Printed in Austria.

ISBN 3-900518-03-3

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Tafeln 1—32

PIETER J. SIJPESTEIJN

Six Papyri from the Michigan Collection*

1. Declaration Concerning Temple Expenditure

Arsinoite Nome
P. Mich. inv. 3756

13.7 x 10.5 cm.

September 21, A. D. 111

A light-brown papyrus regularly cut off at the right and partly so at the bottom. The text runs along the fibers. The reverse is blank. At the bottom there is a free margin of 5 cm. and at the left the free margin was at least 1.5 cm.

- 1 → [± 25]μεν μ[.]α
2 [.....].[.].[..... σ]πονδῆ βουλόμεθα
3 [.....]α[.] δράγματα σταχύων νόμους
4 [.....]β() πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) γ αἶ συναγό(μεναι) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) κδ ἐκ ὧν
5 [..].α[.]..ς εἰς λόγον οὐ προνοοῦμεν Ἰσιήου
6 [ἀν]αλίσκομεν [.]τ() τοῦ ὄντος ἐν Κ[υν]ῶν πόλ(ει)
7 εἰ[ς] θυσίας [τ]οῖς θε[ο]ῖς ἐπι τοῦ ἐκεῖ βωμοῦ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
8 σιμιδάλ(εως) χ(οίνικα) α αἶ συναγό(μεναι) τοῦ ἐνιαυτ[οῦ] (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) θ γ
9 καὶ εἰς λυχναψί(αν) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐκάστ[η]ς ἡμέ-
10 ρας ἐλαίου κοτύλ(ης) ἡμισυ αἶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κοτύλα
11 ρβL (γίνονται) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ρη αἶ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) κβ Lγ κ[αὶ ...] (πυροῦ)
(ἀρτάβη) αd
12 ἡ κα[.]...ρουσα τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀγ[νεύο]υσι
13 παστοφόροις εἰς διατροφήν καὶ ὀμνύομεν
14 τὴν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ
15 [Σ]εβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ τύχην ἀληθῆ
16 εἶναι τὰ προ[δε]δηλωμένα καὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦσθ(αι)
17 [ἡ] ἔνοχοι εἴμεν τῷ ὄρ(κῳ).
18 (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ
19 [Σεβαστοῦ] Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Θῶθ κγ.

The papyrus preserves the lower part of a declaration made by more than one person (cf. lines 13 and 17) concerning temple expenditure. Similar although more complex declarations are

*I wish to thank Mrs. L. C. Youtie who offered me these texts for publication and Gregg W. Schwendner for correcting my English.

cited and extensively treated by M. Hombert, Cl. Préaux, CdE 29 (1940) 134ff. (= SB VI 9199). Other documents concerning temples or priests sometimes contain information about temple expenditure (cf. e. g., P. Tebt. II 298; SB VI 9320).

W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Leipzig, Berlin 1908, II 145ff. assumed that these declarations of λήμματα καὶ ἀναλώματα were part of the γραφή ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ. In ZPE 59 (1985) 123ff., however, F. Burkhalter has shown that in this expression χειρισμός has a very restricted meaning. (Cf. also E. Battaglia, *Aegyptus* 64 [1984] 79ff.). It is possible that the declarations of the revenues and expenses of temples were sent in together with the γραφαὶ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ (cf., e. g., P. Tebt. II 298) but they certainly were not identical with the χειρισμός.

The revenues of the temple in question may have been listed (cf. ἐκ ὧν at the end of line 4) in the part lost at the top and in the first four preserved lines, which due to mutilation yield, however, no coherent sense. J. A. S. Evans, YCIS 17 (1961) 149ff. has treated the social and economic history of an Egyptian temple (i. e. the one of the god Soknebtunis at the village Tebtunis) in the Greco-Roman period extensively (cf. also E. H. Gilliam, YCIS 10 [1947] 179ff.).

Expenses are made for sacrifices on an altar, for the lightening of lamps, and for the maintenance of the officiating priests.

The declaration seems to concern only a sanctuary of Isis in Kynopolis. Kynopolis (cf. A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Milano 1980, III 2, 166f.) is absent from W. J. R. Rübsam, *Götter und Kulte in Faiyum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit*, Bonn 1974 and G. Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon rerumque sacrarum et divinarum ad Aegyptum pertinentium*, Milano 1975, III does not list an Ἰσιεῖον at Kynopolis. It is not to be excluded that the sanctuary at Kynopolis depended on another, larger sanctuary in the neighbourhood (cf. A. Bernand, *Les portes du désert*, Paris 1984, no. 51, I n.).

3. γόμους: a reading γόμους is not to be excluded.

4. ἐκ ὧν: cf. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Milano 1976, I 172ff.

5. Ἰσιῆου: read Ἰσιεῖου (cf. Gignac, *Grammar* I 243ff.).

8. σιμιδάλ(εως): read σεμιδάλ(εως) (cf. Gignac, *Grammar* I 250). For the meaning of the word σεμιδάλις, see T. Reekmans, *La Sitométrie dans les Archives de Zénon*, Bruxelles 1966, 11, footnote 3 (Pap. Brux. 3). 365 x 1 choenix makes $9\frac{1}{8}$ artabas of 40 choinikes each (cf. P. Haun, III 55, 14 n.) supposing that σεμιδάλις is equal with πυρός.

9—11. For λυχναψία, cf. M. Hombert, Cl. Préaux, CdE 29 (1940) 145f. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* XV 701b says: λυχνοκαυτίαν δὲ ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι λυχναψίαν Κηφισόδωρος ἐν Ὑί. LSJ⁹ s. v. λυχναψία erroneously remark: "acc. to Ath. 15. 701b less common for λυχνοκαυτία."

One compares the calculations of A. E. Samuel, *Illumination by Castor Oil—P. Cornell I*, BASP I (1963/64) 32ff. The prices for olive-oil listed by A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, Baltimore 1936, 316ff. (T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, II) are in accordance with the approx. 3.5 obols per kotyle paid in the present papyrus. Nearly 5 drachmae for 1 artaba of wheat is not extraordinarily high in A. D. 111 (cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 311).

11—12. κ[αὶ ... - - - ἥ κα[...]ροῦσα: the nominative is strange, since we expect an accusative. The crux is the participle in line 12 which I am unable to read. The letter preceding the lacuna resists decipherment. A reading καλ() cannot be excluded. Since we do not know how substantial the daily allowance for a pastophoros was in A. D. 111 (in view of the nearly 4 centuries which separate the present papyrus from the Zenon Archive, it is dangerous to apply the results obtained by T. Reekmans, *Sitométrie*), we cannot say for how many pastophoroi these 50 choinikes were destined. Neither do we know whether these 50 choinikes were spent for a day, a month, or a year. All the expenses, even if made in another kind of product, are calculated in artabas of wheat. The expenses ($9\frac{1}{8}$ art. [line 8] + $22\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ art. [line 11] + $1\frac{1}{4}$ art [line 11] = 33 art.) are higher than the amount mentioned in line 4. Either other receipts were listed in the part of the text lost at the top or the declarants had to spend more than they received. The latter fact may have been the reason to send in the present text.

13. παστοφόροι: cf. H. B. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter*, Meisenheim am Glan 1976; A. Passoni dell'Acqua, *Aegyptus* 61 (1981) 171ff. Cf. also CPR VII 13.

εἰς διατροφήν: cf. εἰς τροφήν in P. Tebt. II 298, 73 and εἰς ἔκπεψιν in W. Chrest. 92 II 17; SPP XXII 183, 59; SB VI 9199, 3.

“ - - - 3 artabas of wheat, total 24 artabas of wheat from which we spend on account of the temple of Isis which we supervise and which is in Kynopolis for the sacrifices for the - - - on the altar which is there per day 1 choinix of the finest wheat flour, together per year $9\frac{1}{8}$ artabas and for the illumination of the same temple per day half a kotyle of olive-oil, total per year $182\frac{1}{2}$ kotylae, equals 108 silver drachmae, equals $22\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ artabas of wheat and - - - $1\frac{1}{4}$ artabas of wheat - - - for the pastophoroi who officiate in the temple for food and we swear by the genius of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus that the above-stated is true and that we have made no false statement or may we be liable to the penalty of the oath. Year 15 of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Thoth 23.”

2. Cession of Catoecic Land

Arsinoite nome
P. Mich. inv. 3761

23.2 x 20 cm.

Between A. D. 148—161

A light-brown papyrus partly regularly cut off at the left and bottom. The text runs along the fibres. On the other side across the fibres, are the remains of two columns of 2-line entries. Each entry is preceded by a number (65/66 and 76/77/78 are still readable) which reminds one of the numbers of the klerouchies at Karanis (cf. O. M. Pearl, Akten des XIII Intern. Papyrologenkongresses, München 1974, 325ff.). At the left is a free margin of 2 cm. and at the bottom one of 5 cm. 1.5 cm from the left border ist a κόλλησις.

- 1 → τῆς - - - μερίδος τοῦ Ἄρσι[νοίτου] νομοῦ]
- 2 [Ἔτους - - - Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἄδριαν[οῦ] Ἄντωνεῖνου Σεβ[αστοῦ]
Εὐσεβοῦς μηνὸς - - - ἐν - - - τῆς - - - μερίδος τοῦ Ἄρσινοίτου νομοῦ]
- 3 [ὁμολογοῦσι ± 30]φρεως τοῦ Σοχώτου ὡς (ἐτῶν) νθ [καὶ
- 4 [± 10 θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου καὶ τῶν] συννά[ων] θεῶν [τῆς] πέμπτης φυλῆς
Σαρα[πιάδι
- 5 [± 20 μετὰ κυρίου] ὡς (ἐτῶν) κη κεκομένον [δ]άκτυλον πρὸς
τὸν χειρ[όγραφον] τόδε
- 6 [παρακεχωρηκέναι αὐτῇ εἰς μετεπιγραφὴν] ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαν[τα] χρόνον τὰς
ὑπαρχούσας αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀγοραστὰς]
- 7 [κατὰ χειρόγραφον γεγονὸς διὰ τοῦ ἐν] τῇ μητροπόλει γραφείου [τῷ] ἱβ ἔτει Φαῶφι περὶ
κώμην - - - τῆς - - - μερίδος τοῦ Ἄρσινοίτου νομοῦ]
- 8 [πρότερον] κλήρο(ν) κατοικικο(ῦ) ἀρούρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπιβολῆς κώ-
μ[ης] ἀρούρην καὶ
- 9 τ[ῷ] (.) ἔτει Φαρμουῦθι πρ[ότε]ρ[ον] ...]ης τῆς Πασ[.]νου Ἀπίωνος ἐν ἐπ[....]ς
κλήρο(ν) κατοικικ[οῦ] ἀρούρας τέσσαρας νῦν δὲ οὐσας θεοῦ μεγάλου]
- 10 [μεγάλου] καὶ τῶν συν[νάων] θεῶν πάντων ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐσι αὐτῶν ὀρίοις [καὶ] εἰσόδοις καὶ
ἐξόδοις καὶ ποτίστραις καὶ ἐκχύσεις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις πᾶσι ὧν γείτονες καθῶς]
- 11 [κατὰ το]ὺς ὁμολογοῦντ[ας αἰ] παραχωρήσεις περιέχουσι τῶν μὲν ἀρο[υ]ρῶν τρι[ῶν] καὶ]
τῆς ἐπιβολῆς νό[του] βορρᾶ ἀνά μέσον ὄντος]
- 12 ὅ[δ]ρ[α] γώγου λιβὸς π[ρ]ότερον Ἀφροδισίο(ν) κλήρο(ς) ἀπηλιώ(του) [Πι]τ[ο]λλαρίων(ος)
κλ[ῆ]ρο[ς] ἀνά μ[έ]σον οὐσης ποτίστ[ρας] τῶν]

- 13 δὲ ἀρουρῶν τεσσάρων νότου διῶρυξ βορρᾶ χέρσος ἐν ἡ σπό[ριμι]οι φοίνικες ἀνά [μέσον
 ὄντος/οὔσης λιβὸς
- 14 [...] ἐδάφη ἀπηλιώ(του) Διονυσίου κληῖρος ἀνά μέσον οὔσ[η]ς τ[ῆ]ς διῶρ(υχος) [δι' ἡς
 αἰ] παρακεχω(ρημένοι) ἄρ[ου]ραι ποτίζονται κυ-]
- 15 ρίας δ[ὲ] εἶναι καὶ τὰς [διὰ] τῶν καταλοχισ(μῶν) οἰκονο(μίας) καὶ ἀπέχει[ν] τοῦς
 ὁμο]λογοῦντας παρ[ὰ] Σαραπιάδος τὸ ἐσταμένον τῶν παρακεχωρημένων καθ-]
- 16 ὧς [π]ρόκ(εῖται) ἀρουρῶν πα[ρα]χωρητικὸν κεφάλαιο(ν) τὸν μὲν Πετεσοῦχο(ν)
 ἄργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς) χ[ιλίας] ἐξα[κο]σίας τὸ[ν] δὲ ἄργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς)
 διὰ τῆς N.N.]
- 17 πλ[η]σίον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶ[ς] κ]ολλυβισ(τικῆς) τραπ(έζης) καὶ βεβαιώσειν αὐτοῦς τε τοὺς
 ὁμο]λογοῦντας] Πετεσοῦχον κ[αὶ] καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν Σαραπιάδι καὶ τοῖς
 παρ' αὐτῆς τὰς κατὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα ὄρι-]
- 18 α καὶ γίτονας παρακεχωρημέν(ας) ἀρούρας πάση βεβαιώσ[ει] ἅς κα[ὶ] παρέξονται
 ἀνεπ[ά]φο[υ]ς κ[αὶ] ἀνεγ[ε]χυράστους καὶ ἀνεπιδανείστους καὶ καθαρὰς ἀπὸ μὲν δη-
 μοσίων τελεσμάτων]
- 19 πάντων ἀρταβίων καὶ ναυβίων καὶ ἀριθμητικ(ῶν) καὶ ἐπ[ι]γρ[α]φ(ῶν) κ[αὶ] π[α]-
 ρα]γρ[α]φ(ῶν) πάσω]ν καὶ κατακριμ[ά]των
- 20 καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπιβολῆς κόμης ὃ δὲ Πετεσοῦχος καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπιβ[ο]λῆς κ[ώ]μης] ἀπὸ [τῶν
 ἔμ]προσθεν χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ διεληλυθότος ἔτους καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔτους Ἀν-
 τωνίνου]
- 21 Κα[ὶ] σαρρος τοῦ κυρίου ἀπ[ὸ] δὲ ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ πάσης ἐμποιήσεως ἐ[πι] τὸν ἅ[παντα]
 χρόνον καὶ μηδένα κωλύοντα Σαραπιάδα μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς κυριεύοντας τῶν]
- 22 παρακεχωρημένων αὐτῆ ὡς πρόκειται ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρουρῶ[ν] ἐπ[ι]τ[ὰ] καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν
 περιγενόμενα ἀποφερομένους καὶ
- 23 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χρήσ[ε]σι χρωμένους κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆ[ς] καὶ μέχ[ρ]ι τοῦ νῦν [συνήθειαν
 καὶ ὡς διὰ δημοσίων βιβλίων δηλοῦται]
- 24 καὶ πρὸς τὰ προκείμενα μὴ ἐπελεύσασθ(αι) τοὺς ὁμολογοῦν[τας] μηδὲ ἐγκαλέσειν μηδὲ
 ἀμφιβητήσειν, ὅτι δ' ἂν παραβῶσιν ἀποτεισάτωσαν]
- 25 [ἐ]πιτιμίαν τῇ Σαραπιᾷ ὃ τε εἴληφان παρ' αὐτῆς παραχωρη[τικὸν] κεφάλαιον μεθ'
 ἡμιολίας καὶ τὰ βλάβη καὶ δαπανήματα διπλᾶ]
- 26 καὶ εἰς τὸ δη(μόσιον) τὰς ἴσας χωρὶς τοῦ μένιν κύρια καὶ τὰ προκείμενα καὶ αἰ γεγонуῖαι
 διὰ τῶν καταλοχισμῶν οἰκονομῖαι ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον

5. κεκομμένον 11. παραχωρήσεις 18. γείτονας 25. Σαραπιάδι 26. μένειν

The present papyrus contains the cession of two plots of land: one of 4 and one of 3 arurae. Approx. 60 letters are missing at the right side but, since this kind of document is relatively well represented among the papyri which have come down to us (cf. BGU XI 2050 introduction; P. Oxy. LII 3690 introduction; Anagennesis 2 [1982] 99ff.; cf. also P. Köln V 227 introd.), supplements, although sometimes only *exempli gratia*, are not difficult to make.

At least one of the two parcels ceded seems to have belonged to a god (cf. lines 9—10. Cf. also note to line 6) and the two persons who cede the land seem to have been priests of this god whom they seem to represent. The arurae are ceded to a woman.

The text was written during the reign of Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138—161). Assuming that year 12 mentioned in line 7 fell in the same reign, since no emperor is mentioned, the text was drawn up after A. D. 148/9.

Since line 1 seems to have been written by the same hand which wrote the other lines and since no personal subscription seems to have been added at the bottom, we are in all probability dealing with a copy.

3.]φρεως: part of the name of the father of one of the two surrenderors. Reasons of space here and in line 17 forbid us to assume that there were more than two surrenderors, one of whom is called Petesuchos (cf. lines 16 and 17). Both persons were probably priests. Priests of the fifth phyle (line 4) were not restricted to a definite temple in a definite place.

4. κεκομμένον [δ]άκτυλον: read κεκομμένον. Cf. P. Tebt. II 298, 6: κεκαμμένον δάκτυλον (also in the Tebtunis papyrus the accusative is used). Cf. also CPR I 170, 3.

Sarapias' guardian seems to have been a *tutor ad actum* (cf. R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, Warszawa 1955², 174). Either χειρὶρόγραφον is an adjective or τόν is a mistake for τό.

6. In the lacuna at the end of this line perhaps we should supplement: N. N. θεῶ μεγάλω μεγάλω και τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς πᾶσι (cf. lines 9—10) instead of αὐτοῖς.

8. ἐπιβολῆς: cf. G. Poethke, *Epimerismos*, Bruxelles 1969, esp. 24ff. (Pap. Brux. 8). Although the plot of 3 arurae has a certain area of land attached to it as ἐπιβολή the surrenderors are requested to guarantee that the two ceded plots are free of ἐπιβολή (cf. line 20).

8—9. In the lacunae at the end of line 8 and at the beginning of line 9 an expression similar to those in the lacunae at the end of line 6 and at the beginning of line 7 will probably have stood. In the lacuna at the beginning of line 9 another regnal year of Antoninus Pius has to be supplemented.

9. ἐπ[: probably ἐπιοικίω followed by a short proper name in the genitive.

10—11. Or should we read and supplement: καθὼς αἰ[/[εἰς το]ὺς ὁμολογοῦν[τας] παραχωρήσις κτλ. ? Cf. CPR I 177, 18—19.

12. In the lacuna at the end of this line supplement, e. g.,: και τῆς διώρυχος δι' ἧς αἰ παρακεχωρημένα ἄρουραι ποτίζονται (cf. line 14).

13. σπό[ριμ]οι φοίνικες: the same was deciphered in CPR I 45, 7 (for σπόριμοι φοίνικες, see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, München 1925, 296¹). A check of the original revealed that Pringsheim's preference which has become a certainty in BL III 47 has to remain personal. Dr H. Harrauer (Vienna), who at my request checked the original, replies that the correct reading of the Viennese text is: --- σποραῖοι φοίνι/κες ---. σποραῖος does not occur in the papyri to date but is listed in LSJ⁹ with the same meaning as σπόριμος. σπο[ραῖ]οι may be the correct supplement in the present text also.

14—15. κυ[ρί]αξ --- οἰκονο(μίας): the present papyrus shows that P. M. Meyer's correction of P. Hamb. I 62, 11—12 was correct (pace the editor of PLBat. VI 23). In the lacuna at the end of line 14 another infinitive construction introduced by μέν has to be supplemented. For a possible supplement, cf. P. Hamb. I 62, 11.

16. Did Petesuchos receive more money than the other surrenderor, because he was responsible for a larger plot of land ? Also in line 20 one of the surrenderors has to guarantee something the other is not asked.

16—17. For banks πλησίον (Στοῦς) Ἀθηνᾶς, see A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 253. For the κολλυβιστικαὶ τράπεζαι, cf. R. Bogaert, *Anagennesis* 3 (1983) 21ff.

22. For possible supplements in the lacuna at the end of this line, cf., e. g., CPR I 1 = SPP XX 1, 18f.

23. κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆ[ς] και μέχ[ρη] τῶν νῦν [συνήθειαν: the same expression can be supplemented in the lacuna at the end of line 14 of BGU I 233.

24. For ἐπελεύσασθαι instead of ἐπελεύσεσθαι, cf. S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit*, München 1938, 32f.

25. Read in CPR I 1 = SPP XX 1, 21 ὅ τε εἴληφεν instead of ὅ ὑπέιληφεν. In CPR I 188, 22 the papyrus should be checked for the reading ὅ τρε εἴληφεν and in P. Basel 3, 5 ὅ τε εἴληφεν instead of ὅ ὑπέιληφεν should be supplemented.

“ - - - of the - - division of the Arsinoite nome. Year - - of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius on the -th of the month - - in - - of the - - division of the Arsinoite nome. N. N., son of N. N., grandson of Sochotes, aged about 54 years - - - and N. N., son of N. N., grandson of N. N., aged about - - years - - - both priests (?) of - -, the twice great god and of the associate gods of the fifth phyle acknowledge to Sarapias, daughter of N. N., granddaughter of N. N., aged about - - years - - - with as guardian for this transaction N. N., son of N. N., grandson of N. N., aged about 28 years with a chopped off finger, that they have ceded

to her for conveyance from now on for all time three arurae of a catoecic holding formerly in the possession of N. N., son of N N. in the neighbourhood of the village - - in the - - division of the Arsinoite nome which belong to them and which were bought in accordance with a deed of sale drawn up through the record-office in the metropolis in Phaophi of year 12 and - - arura(e) of land assigned to the village and four arurae of a catoecic holding in - - formerly in the possession of N. N., daughter of N. N., granddaughter of Apion but now in the possession of - -. the twice great god and all the associate gods (acquired ?) in Pharmuthi of the -th year with their existing boundaries and entrances and exits and watering-places and drains and all the other rights, of which the neighbours are, as, according to the acknowledging party, the cessions encompass: of the three arurae and the assigned land: in the South - - -, in the North - - - in the middle being an irrigation canal, in the West the holding formerly of Aphrodisios, in the East the holding of Ptollarion in the middle being a watering-place and of the four arurae: in the South a canal, in the North dry land on which there are date-palms fit for being fructuated in the middle being - - -, in the West - - - field, in the east the holding of Dionysios in the middle being the canal through which the ceded arurae are irrigated - - -. Enforceable shall also be the transactions registered in the list of katalochismoι. The acknowledging party has received from Sarapias the sum fixed for the cession of the arurae ceded as above-written: Petesuchos thousand sixhundred silver drachmae and N. N. - - silver drachmae through the money-changers bank of N. N. near the colonnade of Athena; and the acknowledging party themselves, Petesuchos and N. N., and their cessionaries shall guarantee with full security for Sarapias and her cessionaries the ceded arurae in accordance with the above-described boundaries and neighbours, which they shall transfer neither encumbered, nor liable to distraint, nor mortgaged, and free of all public duties, artaba-taxes, naubia, numeration-taxes, assessments, debt-entries, fines - - -, land assigned to the village and Petesuchos (shall) also (guarantee it) free of all land assigned to the village from the former times up to the past -th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord included, as well as from private obligations and every claim whenever. Nobody shall hinder Sarapias and her cessionaries to have possession of the in total seven and - - - arurae ceded to her as above-written - - - and to gain the produce of them and - - - and to use the other uses according to the custom from the beginning up till now and as is made clear by (the) public documents. The acknowledging party shall neither prosecute nor accuse nor dispute with a view to the afore-mentioned agreement. If they transgress in any way they shall pay to Sarapias as a fine the cession sum which they received from her with a surplus of 50 %, twice the amount of the damages and the expenses, and to the Treasury the same sum. Nevertheless both the afore-mentioned agreement and the transactions registered in the list of katalochismoι shall remain enforceable forever.”

3. List of Payments of Grain

Arsinoite nome
P. Mich. inv. 3758

20.4 x 14.3 cm.

IInd century A. D.

This is a heavily mutilated yellowish papyrus which is irregularly broken off on all sides. It is, however, complete at the top (where the free margin was at least 2.5 cm.), bottom, and part of the right side. The text runs along the fibers. Traces of a preceding column are still visible. On the other side written across the fibers are the remains of 10 lines of an account. The villages Πτολεμιαίδ(ος), Κερκ(εσούχων), and Καρα(νίδος) are mentioned in lines 7, 8, and 9.

1 → μητρός) Ἀθηναρίου διὰ Διδύμο[υ] μο..()
 2 (ἄρουραι) εγ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κζLγ κριθ(ῆς) αLίο
 3 Πετάμων Ὀρου νεωτ(έρου) Πεταῦτος
 4 Δεῖος Ἀρψύχεως τοῦ Σοχάτου
 5 (ἄρουραι) γ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιηε κριθ(ῆς) Lγ
 6 Νινεῖς Νινεῖτος τοῦ Ὀρσενούφειας μη(τρὸς) Τα[
 7 Ἀσκλᾶς Πτόλλωνος τοῦ Ἡρ[ώδ]ου
 8 Ὀρσ[ε]νουφίς Ψενατύμειας νεφτ(έρου) τ[οῦ] Ὀννώφ[ρεως
 9 [(ἄρουραι)] λς (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) λδς' κριθ(ῆς) α[
 10 Πα[τκό]γνεις Πατκόννειας .[
 11 Βαυθλᾶς Ζαίλου τοῦ Σαμ[β]ᾶ [
 12 [(ἄρουραι)] διό (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιδL κριθ(ῆς) κῶμ[ῶ
 13 Πεταῦς Παεῖτος τοῦ Π[α]πεῖτος μητρ[ὸς]
 14 Πα[σεῖς] Νινεῖτος τοῦ Πασεῖτος μη(τρὸς) [
 15 [(ἄρουραι)] . (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιαLγ κριθ(ῆς) Lγ
 16 Ὀρσενούφίς Σοχάτου τοῦ Ὀρσενο[ύ]φειας
 17 (ἄρουραι) α (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ε μῆ κριθ(ῆς) [
 18 Ὀ]ρσενούφειας τοῦ Σ[
 19]. φς Αὐνεῖους τοῦ Ψενατ[ύ]μειας
 20 (ἄρουραι) ε γ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιζLκῶ κ[ριθ(ῆς)]
 21]ρος Χαρίτωνος τοῦ Ἡρακ[λ
 22 (ἄρουραι) ε [] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κςLκῶ

Payments (?) in wheat and barley are listed. The payments are connected with arurae but a fixed relation between the number of arurae and the seize of the payments cannot be established. In some cases two or three persons are grouped together but in lines 16 and 21 a single person is mentioned. The purpose of this papyrus (several names occurring in the Karanis Tax-Rolls are mentioned) can no longer be established.

4. List of Expenditures

Provenance unknown
P. Mich. inv. 3731

17.5 x 16 cm.

IInd/IIIrd century A. D.

A light-brown papyrus regularly cut off only on the right side. At the left edge there is a κόλλησις. The text runs along the fibers. The reverse is blank. At the left there is a free margin of approx. 2 cm. and at the top the free margin was at least 1.5 cm.

Column I

1 → [...].[.].v.[.]() χ.λ()
 2 / φ[...].ο() ζ (δραχμαὶ) νς
 3 / να[ύ]λο(υ) ὄνο(υ) (δραχμαὶ) δ
 4]νεπ.τίφ(ν) γ (δραχμαὶ) λς
 5 / .αβ..() α (δραχμαὶ) κδ
 6 / ναύ[λο(υ)] ὄνο(υ) (δραχμαὶ) δ

7	/ ἄρτων α.̄ ασδ()	
8	/ ὄγων ε	(δραχμαὶ) ξδ
9	[.].[(δραχμαὶ)] ιβ
10	/ ἀγθ.[.]. οἶν(ου) κε(ραμίου) α	(δραχμαὶ) ς
11	/ καὶ εἰς ἐγαντ()	(δραχμαὶ) β (δωβολός)
12	/ εἰς τὰ ἐρίτια	(δραχμαὶ) ιβ
13	/ βάψιμα	(δραχμαὶ) κδ
14	/ ἔρια εἰς πάλλιο(v)	(δραχμαὶ) δ
15	ύ]φάνδρ[ο]υ	(δραχμαὶ) λβ
16	/ δαπάνης γερδ(ίου)	(δραχμαὶ) δ
17] ἔρεῶν ...[.]θ()	(δραχμαὶ) ς
18	/ [ύ]φάνθρ(ου)	(δραχμαὶ) δ
19	/ [γ]γαφ(εἶ) ὑπέρ τιμῆς	(δραχμαὶ) β
20	[.].[.]ς δρομέως	(δραχμαὶ) ιβ
21	[...]πο ε..[] (δραχμαὶ) δ
22]ιμε[

Column II

23	η...[...].ετ.() ι	(δραχμαὶ) ς
24	τύλαι τριβακαὶ β	(δραχμαὶ) ιβ
25	(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) υδ	. μγ
26	(ῶν) ἀνηλώθ(ησαν)	
27	τῆ δανισ[...].α	(δραχμαὶ) λε
28	φιλανθρώ(πω)	(δραχμαὶ) ι
29	// ἀποίκω ξ μηνῶ(v)	(δραχμαὶ) κζ
30	// κρέως καὶ ἀλλαντ(ίων)	(δραχμαὶ) ιβ
31	// ἄρτων αζ καὶ ὄνο(v)	
32	// μεταξ[ά]γτω(ς)	(δραχμαὶ) η
33	// ὄνο(v) μεταξ(άντων)	(δραχμαὶ) ς
34	// γναφεῖ	(δραχμαὶ) δ (δωβολον)
35	// ὄξους κεραμ(ίων) β	(δραχμαὶ) δ (δωβολον)
36	// ἀσπαρακίου κατ' ᾱ	(δραχμαὶ) β
37	// ἄρτων εἰς τὸ πλοῖ(ον)	(δραχμαὶ) γ
38	// λαχ(άνου) καὶ ἐλαίου	(δραχμαὶ) β
39	εἰς τὴν διφυρο()	(πεντώβολον)
40	ὄνων μεταφερό(ντων) εἰς τὸ	
41	πλοῖον	[(δραχμαὶ)] δ (τετρώβολον)
42	μεταφερω(ντ) εἰς τὴν	

This papyrus, badly mutilated (especially in the first column), contains a survey of expenditure (cf. line 26) and probably of revenues also. However, the remains of the first column do not suggest receipts but also expenditures.

There are frequent references to the production of cloth and clothing (lines 12, 14—18), and there are expenses for dying and fulling (lines 13, 19 and 34). In this respect the present papyrus resembles P. Mich. inv. 1933 published by A. E. Hanson, *BASP* 16 (1979) 75ff., to which publication I refer the reader for a thoroughgoing treatment of this kind of document. However, there are also amounts paid out for wages and foodstuffs listed.

Most of the entries have 1 (column I) or 2 (column II) heavy oblique lines in front of them indicating that they were verified.

If line 10 is correctly read, the price for 1 keramion of wine (cf. also line 35) would point to the IInd rather than to the IIIrd century A. D. (cf. A. E. Hanson, *BASP* 16 [1979] 76). The hand may be compared with the ones of P. Mich. inv. 1933.

1. Since no column seems to have preceded, one expects in this line the heading of this text. The scanty remains do not allow a reading.

2. φ[...]ο(): φ[...]ω(v) with omikron instead of omega ? Things at 8 drachmae a piece are involved.

3. να[ύ]λο(v) ὄνο(v): also in line 6. Cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae*, Amsterdam 1973, I 87.

13. βάψιμα: this word is not in the papyrological dictionaries and its only attestation in LSJ⁹ is: "that what has to be dyed."

14. πάλλιο(v): cf. S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d'Egitto*, Barcelona 1971, 88.

20. δρομέως: "runner" does not often occur in the papyri. We could be dealing with a proper name (cf. W. Pape, G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig 1911³, 323b).

25. In front of μγ=43 there are faint traces of what probably was a symbol.

27. τῆ δανισ[...]α: perhaps the unattested τῆ δανισ[τρ(ε)ί]α. For the formation of substantives in -τρια, cf. L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, London 1945, I 94.

28. φιλανθρώ(πω): φιλάνθρωπον is known as a tax (cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, Princeton 1938, 41). For φιλανθρωπία, see P. Wisc. I 3, 9n.

29. We should like to know why a settler (from where ?) receives for six months money, 4 1/2 drachmae per month.

30. The papyrological dictionaries list the word ἀλλάντιον only from P. Oslo III 152, 9.

31. ἄρτων α λ: not 1 1/2 loaf of bread but 1 1/2 measure of bread. Like in line 36 the measure is not mentioned. Cf. also line 7.

32. μεταξ[ά]γρω(ς): the use of the aorist participle here and in line 33 is noteworthy. In lines 40 and 42 the usual present participle is used.

36. ἀσπαράκιου: the word ἀσπαράγιον in neither listed in the papyrological dictionaries nor in LSJ⁹. We are dealing with the "diminutive" form of the well attested word ἀσπάραγος.

39. εἰς τὴν διφυρο(): a word δίφυρος does not exist. The word must be feminine. Perhaps we should print: εἰς τὴν Διφύρο(v) (sc. οἰκίαν). Διφύρου could stand for Διφίλου.

5. Liste of Names

Arsinoite nome
P. Mich. inv. 3784a

10.6 x 6 cm.

IInd/IIIrd century A. D.

A light-brown papyrus irregularly broken off on all sides, although the text is only incomplete at the right. The text runs along the fibers. The reverse is blank. At the top there is a free margin of 2 cm., at the bottom one of 3 cm., and at the left one of over 1.5 cm.

1 → Κερκεσοῦχα Ἄ[γορᾶς

2 Βελλῆν Σω[

3 Τούρβωνα Θε[
 4 Τούρβωνα Η[
 5 Ὅρσενουῶφιν [
 6 Ἄλ[έ]ξα[ν]δ[ρον]

The purpose of this list of names, which all (with the possible exception of the indented name in line 6) stand in the accusative and all probably were followed by the father's name, is not longer clear. The piece of papyrus lost at the right might have given the solution.

1. For Κερκεσοῦχα Ἄγορᾶς, see P. Cair. Isid. 99, 6n.; A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* - - -, Milano 1980, III 2, 108.

2. For the accusative Βελλῆν, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, Milano 1981, II 73f.

3. 4. The proper name Τοῦρβων=Latin *Turbo* appears frequently in the papyri.

6. Petition to a *Defensor Civitatis*

Provenance unknown
 P. Mich. inv. 3722

14.5 x 12 cm.

IVth century A. D.

A light-brown papyrus irregularly broken off on all sides, although the text is only incomplete at the bottom. The text runs along the fibers. The reverse is blank. Approx. 0.5 cm. from the right is a κόλλησις. At the top and left approx. 1 cm. have been left free.

1 → Αὐρηλίω Ἄ[πολ]λωνίω ἐκδίκω
 2 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἡστιοδώρου ἀπὸ τῆς
 3 αὐτῆς πόλεως· vacat τὰ σύμφωνα καὶ
 4 ὁμόλογα γραμμάτια κύρια καὶ βέβαια
 5 κα[ί] ἀσάλευτα δι<α>μένειν ὑπὸ τε τῶν
 6 νόμων τετηρημένα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς
 7 [.].ης τοῦ πεπιστευομένου [.]. ἡμᾶς < .>
 8 ὁ τοίνυν ἡμέτερος ἀδελφὸς
 9 Κηπίων ἦνικα περὶ ἁμοιβῆς
 10 χάριν ἔγγραφον γραμμάτιον χά-
 11 ριτος εἷς με πεποίηται τόπου
 12 ἑνὸς ἐν τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ αὐτῷ οἰκ[ία]
 trace

5. δι<α>μένειν 10. ἔγγραφον

The upper part of a petition to the *defensor* of an unknown *civitas* has been preserved. Hestiodoros received from his brother Kepion while the latter was still alive a room in his house. Probably because there are now difficulties after Kepion's death concerning this room, Hestiodoros addresses the *defensor civitatis*.

Traces of a following document are still visible. We are, therefore, dealing with a fragment of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος.

1. For the ἔκδικος = *defensor civitatis*, cf. P. Köln Panop. 29, 6n. For the nomen *Aurelius* in connection with the *defensor civitatis* in the IVth century A. D., see J. G. Keenan, ZPE 13 (1974) 291 and 294.

2. The proper name Ἡστίοδωρος is not listed in the onomastica. Both σ and τ are doubtful. F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, 228 lists Ἰστίοδωρος and Ἐστίοδωρος occurs in P. Tebt. III 795, 4; 890, 5 (IInd century B. C.).

2—3. τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως: the city = *civitas* has not been mentioned before. Cf. P. Vindob. Tandem 3, 3n.

3—7. These lines contain a general introductory sentence as often found in this kind of document. The case-history begins only in line 8 (the omikron which starts line 8 is enlarged). At the end the writer has gone astray and as it stands now the sentence makes no sense, since a main verb is missing and ἡμᾶς in line 7 hangs in the air. In the margin in front of line 7 there is a small, vague trace of ink which gives the impression that the writer added something he forgot in first instance. Maybe he intended to write: ἀ[ρε]τῆς τοῦ πεπιστευομένου ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστεύσαμεν. Even if this assumption is correct, it remains doubtful whether ὁ πεπιστευομένος refers to the *defensor civitatis* or (more likely) to a higher instance, maybe even the emperor in Constantinople.

8. τοῖνον marks the transition from the enunciation of a general proposition to the consideration of a particular instance of it. Cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, Oxford 1954², 576.

9. The proper name Κηπίων is listed in the *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum* 164a only from SB VI 9044, 11 = P. Cair. Isid. 34, 11.

ἀμοιβῆς: the meaning “wages” seems more suitable here than “substitution.”

“To Aurelius Apollonios, *defensor*, from Aurelius Hestiodoros of the same city. <We believed that> the agreed upon and admitted documents remained enforceable, firm, and unshaken, since they are guarded by both the laws and the excellence of the person in whom we have put our trust. Well, because of wages, our brother Kepion, while he was still alive, drew up a written document of a deed of gift towards me of one room in the house that belonged to him - - -”.