

Herausgegeben von:

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TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

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Tafeln 1–12

Die *Annona Epigraphica Austriaca* erscheint auf der Homepage des Instituts für Alte Geschichte der Universität Wien (<http://altegeschichte.univie.ac.at/forschung/aea/>) und wie bisher auch in der Zeitschrift *Römisches Österreich*.

W. GRAHAM CLAYTOR

Rent Receipts for Temple Land in Theadelphia

Plate 3

The rent receipts published here pertain to temple-owned land around the Fayum village of Theadelphia and date to the sole reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹ The issuing authority is identified as the “superintendent of the property belonging to the gods” (ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς προσηκόντων), a title that can likely be connected to the great Sobek temple in Arsinoe, whose management was by now in the hands of the metropolite elite. In two receipts, the superintendent is a former *agoranomos* named Sarapion, while an Alexandros occupies this position in another. All receipts were written in the skilled hand of their assistant (βοηθός) Chairemon and were issued to the same tenant, Isidoros, son of Aphrodisios.

1 comes from a *tomos synkollesimos*, with parts of four sheets remaining pasted together. The *tomos* was purchased by Orlando Qualley in 1924 from the well-known dealer Maurice Nahman and later donated to Luther College.² **2** is a fragment of a single sheet from the University of Michigan collection, acquired as part of a large lot from the same dealer in 1925. Although the texts are now separated, their similar acquisition histories and the coherence of their contents make it possible that they were once part of the same roll. In any case, the conjoined sheets of **1** offer a rare example of a private *tomos synkollesimos*.³

1. Rent Receipts

P.Luther 3	9.5 × 19.5 cm	169–177 CE
Theadelphia	Acquired in 1924	Plate 3

Parts of four sheets (A–D) of this *tomos synkollesimos* have been preserved. Sheet A is badly damaged at the left and bottom, with a remaining width of 4.5 cm. Sheets B and C retain their original widths of 7.5 cm and 5.5 cm respectively (both with top margins of 2 cm). Only a small part of sheet D remains attached; it has been unexpectedly turned 90 degrees and attached 6 cm

¹ The documents are published courtesy of the Luther College Archives (**1**) and the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection (**2**).

² For details, see W. G. Claytor, *A Decian Libellus at Luther College (Iowa)*, Tyche 30 (2015) 13–18.

³ See W. Clarysse, *Tomoi Synkollēsimoi*, in: M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions*, Oxford 2003, 344–359, especially pages 355 and 357.

below the top of the previous sheet. All sheets are written along the fibers, including the rotated sheet D, and their backs are blank. Digital images of the papyrus can be found here: <http://www.luther.edu/archives/research/digital-collections/papyrus/images/> (accessed June 19, 2018).

The fragmentary sheet A contains only line ends and is cut off at the left, top, and bottom. The individual sheets of *tomoi synkollesimoi* were generally aligned at the bottom, rather than the top,⁴ so it is uncertain how much is lost at the top, where there are traces of one line written above the level of sheets B and C. Line 2 contains a total of wheat, which is followed by a dating formula in lines 3–4. One might interpret this as the end of a receipt, but the following line mentions a four-choenix measure. After an apparent blank space under this block of text, the sheet preserves the very ends of a few lines that appear to be written in the same hand as sheets B and C.]της in line 6 might therefore point to ἐπιμελη]της, found at line end in sheet B, perhaps indicating that a receipt was written at the bottom of sheet A.

Sheets B and C are better preserved and mirror each other closely,⁵ although the latter is narrower and its writing correspondingly hastier and more abbreviated. Both contain receipts issued in the name of Sarapion, former *agoranomos*, in his capacity as ἐπιμελητής τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς προσηκόντων, “superintendent of the revenues due to the gods.” This title finds an expanded parallel in the rent receipt *P.Stras.* V 464 (ca. 227–230) from the archive of the village elders of Polydeukeia (TM Arch 253), which begins (ll. 1–8): Α[ὐ]ρήλιος Διόσκορος [ἐξ]ηγ(ητεύσας) βουλευτής ἐπιμελητής ὑπαρχόντων κα[ὶ] προσηκόντων τοῖς πατρώοις ἡμῶν θεοῖς Σούχου θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν, “Aurelius Dioskoros, former *exegetes*, councilor, superintendent of the properties and revenues of our paternal gods, Sobek, twice-greatest god, and the gods who share his temple.” The Luther College receipts likely refer to this same position, although their abbreviated formula does not make it explicit. If so, the former *agoranomos* Sarapion was the administrator of the property under the control of the ancient temple of Sobek in the metropolis Arsinoe, the largest and most important native temple in the nome.⁶ Notably, the present receipts would show that the administration of the temple was already in metropolite hands during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.⁷

Sheet D is turned 90 degrees relative to the other sheets. Two worm holes that pierce both layers of the *kollesis* make it clear that this was its original orientation and is not an accident or a modern imposition. The right edge of the sheet (relative to the writing) aligns with line 6 of sheet C, about six cm below the top edge of sheets B and C. Only a few letters are preserved, but it too may have been a receipt, judging by the line end ἐπιμελη]της (?) τῶν. It is uncertain whether this sheet was also written in the same hand as A (2nd hand), B, and C.

⁴ Clarysse, *Tomoi* (n. 3) 354.

⁵ For the form of these receipts, see H.-A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der gräco-ägyptischen Papyri*, Munich 1971, 27–38.

⁶ For an archaeological overview, see P. Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana*, Naples 1998, 149–159, especially 151–152. Cf. P. Davoli, N. M. Ahmed, *On Some Monuments from Kiman Fares (Medinet el-Fayyum)*, *Studi di Egittologia e Papirologia* 3 (2006) 81–109.

⁷ On the encroachment of the metropolite elite on the administration of native temples, see R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, London 2002, 201–202.

Sheet A

	— — — — —
] <i>traces</i>
	πυροῦ] ἀρτάβας ἕξ, (γίν.) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ς
	Ἄντων]εῖνου
4] Φαῶφι κ [—]
	μέτρῳ ... τ]ετραχοινίκ(ῳ)
	<i>vac.</i>
2 nd Hd.	(?) ἐπιμελη]τῆς
].
8].
].
	— — — — —

“... six artabas [of wheat], which comes to 6 art. of wheat ... Antoninus ... Phaophi 20 ... by the four-choinix [... measure] ... (2nd hand) superintendent (?) ... ”

3 Ἄντων]εῖνου. If the short-form titulature was used, one could restore: [ἔτους X Αὐρηλίου Ἄντων]εῖνου | [Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου,] Φαῶφι κ. Cf. B.9–10 below.

Sheet B

	Σαραπίων ἀγορανομήσας ἐπ[ι]μελ[ητ]ῆς
	τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς προσηκόντων διὰ
	Χαιρήμονος βοηθοῦ Ἰσιδώρω
4	Ἄφρ[ο]δισίου χαίρειν. μεμέτρημαι
	παρὰ σοῦ ἀφ' οὗ ὀφείλεις ἐκφορί[ο]υ
	οὗ γεωργίς τῶν θεῶν κλήρ[ου πε]ρὶ
	κώμην Θεαδέλφειαν π. .[ca. 6–7]
8	.[. ο]υ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ν[<i>vac.</i> ?]
	(ἔτους) [x] Αὐρηλίου Ἄντων[ίνου Καίσαρος]
	[τοῦ κυρί]ου [month, day.]

6 l. γεωργεῖς 7 l. Θεαδέλφειαν

“Sarapion, former *agoranomos*, superintendent of the revenues due to the gods, through Chairemon, his assistant, to Isidoros, son of Aphrodisios, greetings. I have had measured out by you from the rent that you owe for the plot of the gods that you farm around the village of Theadelphia ... 50(+) artabas of wheat. Year [x] of Aurelius Antoninus [Caesar, the] lord [month, day].”

1 Σαραπίων ἀγορανομήσας. A former Arsinoite *agoranomos* named Sarapion is found in *P.Ryl.* II 175 (Theadelphia, 168), but the name is too common to proffer an identification. The

office of *agoranomos* was one of the four main magistracies held by members of the metropolite elite in Roman Egypt (see Alston, *The City* [n. 7] 187–196). While the *agoranomos*' notarial functions are most visible in the papyri (as early as 270 BCE: see now *P.Sorb.* 3.70), the official also appears to have had general supervisory duties over the market (Alston, *The City* [n. 7] 190–191). For the Roman-period *agoranomos*, see M. Raschke, *The Office of Agoranomos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, in: *Pap. Congr.* XIII, 349–356; H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats*, II, Munich 1978, 15–18; and the documents edited in A. Benaissa, *Sixteen Letters to Agoranomi from Late First Century Oxyrhynchus*, *ZPE* 170 (2009) 157–185. The office is in need of a fresh study that places it in the context of the transition between Ptolemaic and Roman rule and institutional developments in the wider Greco-Roman world (on which, see the papers in L. Capdetrey, C. Hasenohr [edd.], *Agoranomes et édiles. Institutions des marchés antiques*, Bordeaux 2012).

1–2 ἐπ[ι]μελ[η]τ[η]ς | τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς προσηκόντων. For this title, cf. the expanded version in *P.Stras.* V 464.2–8 (Polydeukeia, ca. 227–230), quoted above. *P.Stras.* V 463 ter was issued by the same official as 464, differently styled: Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος ἐξηγη(ητεύσας) βουλ(ευτῆς) τῆς Ἄρσι(νοϊτῶν) πόλεως ἑπιμελητῆς ἱεροῦ. A similar circumscription is found in the title carried by the overseer in the famous accounts of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter in Arsinoe: Αὐρήλιος Σερήνος ὁ καὶ Ἰσιδώρος κοσμητεύσας βουλευτῆς, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν προσηκόντων τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν θεῷ Διὶ Καπιτωλίῳ (*BGU* II 362, *passim*, 215–216 CE). After the establishment of *boulai* in the Egyptian metropoleis in ca. 200/201, these temple administrators were chosen by the city council, as *BGU* II 362 makes explicit; in the time of our texts, the *strategos* would likely have been responsible for this decision.

3–4 Ἰσιδώρω | Ἄρρ[ο]δισίου. The tenant Isidoros does not appear to be attested in other documents apart from this dossier.

6 οὗ γεωργίς τῶν θεῶν κλήρ[ου]. This formulation makes clear that the temple owns the plot in question. Cf. *P.Stras.* V 463 ter.8–10, μετρημάτων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν τῶν θεῶν λόγον, which only reveals the assignment of revenue to the temple (without excluding the temple's ownership of the land).

γεωργίς is written with such rapidity that it is difficult to determine whether -εἰς was actually intended; cf., however, the relatively clear -ῖς in 2.6.

6–8 περὶ | κόμην Θεαδέλφιαν π. [ca. 6–7] | . [ο]υ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ν[]. The amount of rent often follows directly after the name of the village, but here a short phrase is inserted. The small trace just before the lacuna looks to be the bottom of a lambda's first stroke (cf. ἐπ[ι]μελ[η]τ[η]ς, l. 1), which would lead one to consider either ἐπὶ λ[όγου] (“on account,” “as an installment”) or perhaps ὑπολ[ογήσαντος], meaning a deduction was made. While ἐπὶ λόγου appears in this position in rent receipts (e.g. *BGU* XV 2552.6; *SB* XII 10920.5; *P.Leid.Inst.* 37.6–7; *SB* VI 8999.13–14), this phrase would not completely fill the space. If, on the other hand, ὑπολ[ογήσαντος] could fit at the end of l. 7, the phrase could perhaps be completed by σ[ο]ῦ in the next line, meaning that the tenant had made a deduction of some sort from the rent. While a reference to deductions is found in this position (*P.Soter.* 19.6–7), there does not appear to be a precise parallel.

9–10 The titulature beginning Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου belongs almost certainly to Marcus Aurelius' period of sole rule between 169 and 177: see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C. – 284 p.C.)*, Brussels 1964, 77–87 (cf., however, *P.Harr.* I 146.8, dated to Commodus' reign). His joint rule with Verus can likely be ruled out, since one would have expected Αὐρηλίῳ at the beginning (the formula Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν is rare and limited to the Theban region: Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 78). Likewise, Bureth (*Les titulatures*, 85–87) lists no suitable formula for the joint rule with Commodus.

Sheet C

- Σαραπίων ἀγορανομ(ήσας)
 ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν
 τοῖς θεοῖς προσηκόντων
 4 διὰ Χαιρήμ(ονος) βοηθ(οῦ)
 Ἰσιδώρω Ἀφρ[ο]δισίου
 χ[αί]ρειν. μεμέτρημαι
 παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐκφορίου
 8 οὗ γεωργίς [τῶ]ν θεῶν
 κλήρου [περὶ] κώμ(ην)
- — — — —

1 αγορανω pap. 4 χαιρη pap. 5 βοηθ pap. 8 l. γεωργεῖς 9 κω pap.

“Sarapion, former *agoranomos*, superintendent of the revenues due to the gods, through Chairemon, his assistant, to Isidoros, son of Aphrodisios, greetings. I have had measured out by you for the rent of the plot of the gods that you farm [around] the village ...”

7 ὑπὲρ ἐκφορίου. Sheet B.5 has ἀφ’ οὗ ὀφείλεις ἐκφορίο[υ] in this position.

Sheet D (turned 90°)

- 1 [(?) ἐπιμελη]τῆς τῶν
 [] .ς
- — — — —

2. Rent Receipt

P.Mich. inv. 3490b
 Theadelphia

7.5 × 5.5 cm
 Acquired in 1925

ca. 169–177 CE
 Plate 3

The sheet is broken at the right and bottom, and the back is black. It is written with the fibers in the same hand as sheets B and C of 1.

- 1 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ κα[ί] ca. 10–14]
 2 ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν [τοῖς θεοῖς προσ-]
 3 ηκόντων διὰ Χαιρ[ή]μονος βοηθοῦ]
 4 [Ἰ]σιδώρω Ἀφροδισίου [χαίρειν.]
 5 παρέλαβον [παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐκφορίου]
 6 [ο]ῦ γεωργίς [τῶν θεῶν κλήρου περὶ]
- — — — —

6 l. γεωργεῖς

“Alexandros alias [NN ...], superintendent of the revenues due to [the gods], through Chairemon, [his assistant], to Isidoros, son of Aphrodisios, [greetings]. I received [from you for the rent of the plot of the gods] that you farm ...”

1 Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ καὶ [ca. 10–14]. Depending on the length of the second name, there may have been room for an abbreviated civic office.

5 παρέλαβον. Sheets B and C of 1 use μεμέτρημαι in this position.

5–6 These lines have been restored *exempli gratia* on the basis of receipts B and C above. For the restored formula, cf. also *P.Stras.* V 458.3–4 (Polydeukeia, 228 CE): παρέλαβον παρ’ ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκφορί(ου) | ὧν ἐγεωργήσατε ...

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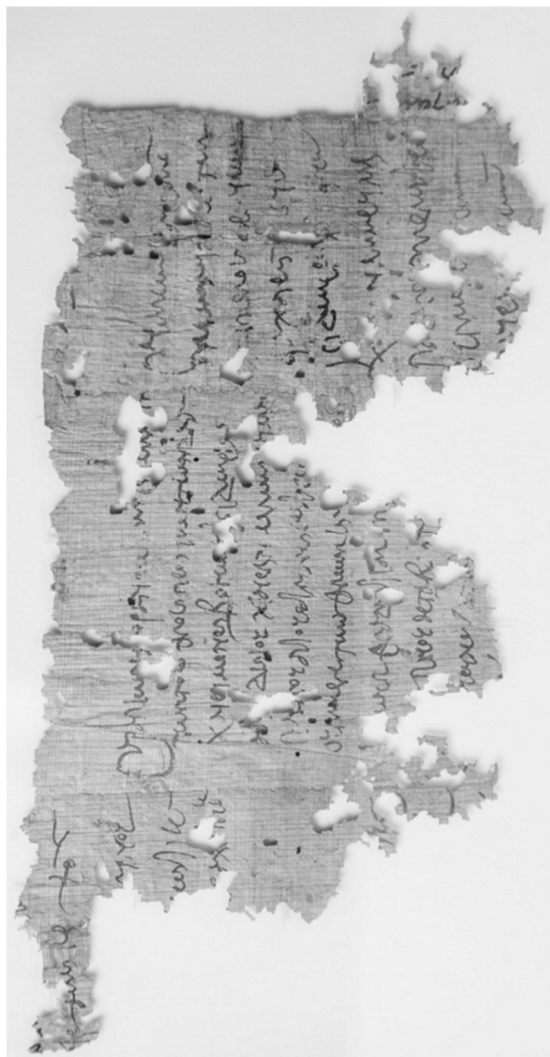


Fig. 1: P.Luther 3



Fig. 2: P.Mich. inv. 3490b

zu W. G. Claytor, S. 49 und 53