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Frank D a u b n e r, *Makedonien nach den Königen (168 v. Chr.–14 n. Chr.)* (Historia. Einzelschriften 251), Stuttgart: Steiner 2018 (K. Freitag: 251) — Luis Ángel H i d a l g o M a r t í n, Jonathan E d m o n d s e n, Juana M á r q u e z P é r e z, José Luis R a m í r e z S á d a b a, *Nueva epigrafía funeraria de Augusta Emerita. Tituli sepulcrales urbanos (ss. I–VII) y su contexto arqueológico (NEFAE)* (Memoria I. Monografías arqueológicas de Mérida), Mérida 2019 (S. Tantimonaco: 253) — Stephen M i t c h e l l, David F r e n c h, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra). Vol. II: Late Roman, Byzantine and other Texts* (Vestigia 72), München 2019 (Ch. Wallner: 257).

Tafeln 1–32

DEDICATVM

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OCTOGENARIIS

Public Land in Private Hands: Two Rent Receipts from the Archive of Asoeis and Atammon*

Plate 6–7

These two documents belong to a small archive of five papyri from the 250s CE that were likely found in the ancient Fayum village of Philadelphia, the home of the brothers Asoeis and Atammon.¹ All documents except one concern a large plot of land near Tanis, a subsidiary village south of Philadelphia,² which the brothers, together with a partner from Theadelphia, leased for five years from a former magistrate of Alexandria named Herakleides.³ The collection of rent was delegated to Herakleides' local estate

* My thanks to Roger Bagnall and the two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions.

¹ The archive is now listed in Trismegistos as TM Arch 641 (it does not appear in K. Vandorpe, W. Clarysse, H. Verreth [edd.], *Graeco-Roman Papyrus Archives from the Fayum*, Leuven 2015). The other archive texts are SB 4.7474 (in Princeton), *P.Princ.* 2.29, and 2.37 (the connections between which are discussed in the respective editions). All were acquired in 1924 through the Anglo-American consortium. On the wave of acquisitions in the early 1920s from clandestine excavations at Philadelphia, see P. Schubert, *Philadelphie. Un village égyptien en mutation entre le II^e et le III^e siècle ap. J.-C.*, Basel 2007, 32–36.

² TM Geo 2251. Grenfell and Hunt identified Tanis with the ancient ruins at Manashinshāneh, where they found a mummy label for a soldier from Tanis in the nearby cemetery (*Excavations in the Fayum*, Archaeological Report, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901–1902, 3), now published as SB XII 10833 (III CE). P. Davoli identifies Manashinshāneh with the modern Tell Shinshana: *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana*, Naples 1998, 165. On modern excavations of the cemetery, see K. Muhlestein, K. V. L. Pierce, B. Jensen, *Excavations at the Seila Pyramid and Fag el-Gamous Cemetery*, Leiden, Boston 2019, especially 132–135 on the location and identity of the site.

³ SB 4.7474 (252 CE; for the date, see next n.; on Herakleides, see 1.7–8 n.). An image of the papyrus can be consulted at <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/11454371> (accessed 12 June, 2020). The bottom-right fragment must be moved up one line, and the small fragment reported at *P.Princ.* 2.37, p. 30–31, n. 1, is also out of position. Improvements to this text have already been offered in the introduction to *P.Princ.* 2.37. A few further corrections from the image: 2: μη(τρός) Φάσιος(?) → μη(τρός) [Τ]εκιάσιο(ς); 3–4: Ἡρακλεί[δου τὰς] ὑ[π]αρχούσας → Ἡρακλεί[δου τὰς] ὑπαρχούσας (the supplement is shorter than the 9–12 letters found in other lines, but nothing else is expected, and a long final upsilon could have filled the space); 14–15 τὸν Ἡρα(κλείδην) | [. μετὰ] τὸν χρόν[ο]ν → τὸν Ἡρα[κλείδ(ην) καὶ μετὰ] τὸν χρόν[ο]ν. The lease has a number of seemingly unparalleled clauses and deserves further study.

manager, Amaeis, and, with the additions published here, all five annual rent receipts issued to the brothers and their partner over the course of the lease have been identified.⁴ The last document in the archive introduces a tragic turn: Asoeis notifies the authorities that a nomad attack had forced the brothers to relocate, and Atammon had been grievously injured in a fall from the roof of his new home.⁵ As often, we do not know the end of the story, but the likely provenance of the papyri suggests that Asoeis, at least, was able to return to his home village. Both brothers' names are rare, which will hopefully aid in the identification of further documents.

The land around which most of the documents revolve was classified as *basilike ge* but had entered the private ownership of the former *kosmetes* Herakleides.⁶ It was located in, or perhaps comprised the entirety of, a *kleros* called Φθιαπ or Πτιαπ in the territory of Tanis. The land was sown with wheat and hay, probably in rotation and in equal shares: such was the balance of crops when the tenants took over their portion of the land.⁷ The size of the estate is nowhere stated but can be approximated from the rates specified in the lease and the rent actually collected, which amounted to 656 ½ artabas in both years 4 and 5 of the lease (from which must be deducted the seed advance, presumed here to be one artaba per aroura, interest free).⁸ The lease specifies a primary rate of 3 ¾ artabas per aroura for productive land and a reduced rate of 2 ½ artabas per aroura for the optional cultivation of the estate's unseeded marginal land.⁹ The percentage of rent collected at each rate is unknown, but if evenly split between the two, it would correspond to about 160 arouras; if, on the other hand, the rent was collected exclusively at the higher rate, it would correspond to about 138 arouras.¹⁰

⁴ In chronological order: 1, receipts for Gallus year 3 (252/253) and Valerian year 1 (253/254) (years 1 and 2 of the lease); *P.Princ.* 2.37, receipts for Val. year 2 (254/255) and Val. year 3 (255/256) (years 3 and 4 of lease); 2, rent receipt for Val. year 4 (256/257) (year 5 of lease). 1 and 2 confirm the date of the lease proposed at *P.Princ.* 2.37, p. 33.

⁵ *P.Princ.* 2.29 (258 CE) with P. van Minnen, *P.Princ.* 2.29, BASP 46 (2009) 147–148.

⁶ Herakleides' ownership is made explicit through the verb ὑπάρχω at SB 4.7474.4: [τὰς] ὑ[π]αρχούσας σ[οι] περὶ κόμην [Τ]άνιν σ[ι]τ[ι]κὰς βασιλι[κ]ῆς γῆς ... ἀρούρας πάσας. In Roman Egypt, the fiscal category *basilike ge* was technically a subset of *demosia ge* but was generally used as an equivalent: J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt*, Oxford 1996, 38–40; A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans*, Cambridge 2012, 93–94.

⁷ At the onset of the lease, the land was ἀπὸ ἀναπαύματος καὶ καλᾶμης ἐξ ἴσου (SB 4.7474.4), “fresh from fallow crops and stubble crops in equal portion,” as the editors translate it (see also their note *ad loc.*), which was also the condition in which the lessees promised to return it (SB 4.7474.15).

⁸ The rent rate is explicitly stated to be ἀσπερμί, that is, exclusive of the seed advance, at least for the productive portion of the land (SB 4.7474.6; cf. discussion in the *ed. pr.*: H. B. van Hoesen, A. C. Johnson, *A Lease of Crown Land on Papyrus*, TAPA 56 [1925] 219). At 1.12 below, Herakleides acknowledges receipt of “the rent and seed”. The calculation made at *P.Princ.* 2.37.21–22 n. does not account for seed.

⁹ SB 4.7474.6–7.

¹⁰ Split: $656.5 = 3.75(x/2) + 2.5(x/2) + (x = 159.15 \text{ arouras})$. Higher rate only: $656.5 = 3.75x + (x = 138.21 \text{ arouras})$.

Further, the leased portion appears to have been only half of the property,¹¹ so the total size of Herakleides' estate near Tanis might have been roughly 300 arouras.

Whatever its precise extent, this large private estate consisting entirely of *basilike ge* is a key marker of what J. Rowlandson called "the most important transformation in the system of land tenure in Egypt," namely, the effective privatization of public land.¹² Herakleides' lease is in fact the first explicit reference to the "ownership" (ὕπαρχειν) of *basilike ge*.¹³ By the beginning of the fourth century the only remaining distinction between the old categories of "public" and "private" land was their rate of taxation.¹⁴ The precise timing and mechanisms of this development are unclear, although it was certainly underway before Diocletian's fiscal reforms. U. Wilcken placed emphasis on the assignment of public land to private landholders (called *epibole* in the Arsinoite nome),¹⁵ but such assignments were generally small plots,¹⁶ and ownership of public land was a general phenomenon by the census of Sabinus begun in 297.¹⁷ It is clear that Herakleides' estate could not have developed through such smallscale assignments. Rowlandson saw a "gradual erosion of ... tenurial distinctions,"¹⁸ and indeed there is a long history of private landowners taking on plots of public land and public land being reclassified as "private," especially in the Nile valley.¹⁹ But the Fayum had much stronger traditions of communal control over public land,²⁰ and it seems unlikely that Herakleides built his estate through piecemeal encroachments on the traditional land rights of local peasants. Instead, the state probably surrendered its dominion over this public estate as a whole.

¹¹ This is one interpretation of κατὰ τὸ ἥμισ[σ]υ μέρος τοῦ λοιποῦ [ἡμίσους] μέρους ὄντος σοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλεῖ[δου], which is in an unusual position at the beginning of the lease (SB 4. 7474.2–3): see discussion in the *ed. pr.*, van Hoesen, Johnson, *Lease of Crown Land* (n. 8) 218–221. On leased land in the contemporary Heroninos archive, see D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt. The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate*, Cambridge 1991, 183–186.

¹² Rowlandson, *Landowners* (n. 6) 68.

¹³ Followed shortly thereafter by SB 12.11081 = *P.Oxy.* 67.4595 (Oxyrhynchus, 261). Both are cited by Rowlandson, *Landowners* (n. 6) 68, n. 131.

¹⁴ Boak and Youtie, *P.Cair.Isid.* 11, pp. 103–104; A. Bowman, *Landholding in the Hermopolite Nome in the Fourth Century A.D.*, JRS 75 (1985) 148–149; R. S. Bagnall, *Agricultural Productivity and Taxation in Later Roman Egypt*, TAPA 115 (1985) 289–308. Pace L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden*, Wiesbaden 2017, 16–17, public land was not turned over wholesale to the village *koinon*.

¹⁵ *Grundz. Wilck.*, 312–313. On *epibole* and its equivalency in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see Rowlandson, *Landowners* (n. 6) 88–92.

¹⁶ A. H. M. Jones, *Census Records of the Later Roman Empire*, JRS 43 (1953) 59 (= *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History* [ed. P. A. Brunt], Oxford 1974, 247); Bowman, *Landholding* (n. 14) 148 with n. 62.

¹⁷ Boak and Youtie, *P.Cair.Isid.* 3, pp. 38–39.

¹⁸ Rowlandson, *Landowners* (n. 6) 68.

¹⁹ Rowlandson, *Landowners* (n. 6) 97–101; J. Rowlandson, *The Organisation of Public Land in Roman Egypt*, CRIPEL 25 (2005) 173–196.

²⁰ This contrast between the Fayum and the valley is underlined by Monson, *From the Ptolemies* (n. 6) 151–153.

Given that Herakleides was in possession of the public land by 252 CE, it is tempting to attribute its disposal to the reforms of Philip the Arab (244–249), which were carried out in Egypt by a pair of powerful officials, the *rationalis* (καθολικός) Claudius Marcellus and his assistant Marcius Salutaris, *procurator Augustorum* (ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν).²¹ In the realm of land reform, the officials issued a general order whose details are now lost, but which included provisions for the sale of state-owned derelict land producing no revenue (ὀπόλογος ἄφορος).²² One application resulting from this order is preserved, in which a *beneficiarius* of the prefect applies for and is granted 12 arouras at the low fixed price of 20 drachmas per aroura.²³ The previous category of this land is not recorded, but in principle any type of land, including public land, could be rendered *hypologos* before being put up for sale.²⁴ Given the context of Philip's reforms, I would put forward the hypothesis that Herakleides (or a previous owner) acquired the estate following the general order of Marcellus and Salutaris, either at a low fixed price per aroura, if the land was derelict at sale, or through auction, if the land was marginally productive.²⁵ While still classified as *basilike ge* in the lease, the land was likely assessed at a tax rate lower than usual for public land, perhaps even approaching the norm for private land (1 art. / ar.), since Herakleides' tenants pay only 2 ½ to 3 ¾ artabas per aroura in rent. Whether the disposal of this *basilike ge* was part of a larger program of land reform in the Fayum we do not know.

On a wider scale, the privatization of large tracts of public land can be connected to the instability of the third century, which must have led to the abandonment of public tenancies (especially those of marginal land burdened by outdated tax schedules), in addition to the deterioration of the infrastructure and communal ties that supported their cultivation. It can be recalled that just after the conclusion of the lease, the brothers Asoeis and Atammon were forced from their home in Philadelphia by a nomad raid. The fort at Dionysias, moreover, was constructed around this time to guard the Fayum from the west.²⁶ Certainly, these violent incursions, while no doubt devastating to those

²¹ P. J. Parsons, *Philippus Arabs and Egypt*, JRS 57 (1967) 134–141; A. Bianchi, *Aspetti della politica economico-fiscale di Filippo l'Arabo*, Aegyptus 63 (1983) 185–198; T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung. Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs (20 v. Chr.–245 n. Chr.)*, vol. II, Munich, Leipzig 2002, 943–952; B. Palme, *Die Reform der ägyptischen Lokalverwaltung unter Philippus Arabs*, in: U. Babusiaux, A. Kolb (edd.), *Das Recht der 'Soldatenkaiser'. Rechtliche Stabilität in Zeiten politischen Umbruchs?*, Berlin 2015, 192–208.

²² Parsons, *Philippus Arabs* (n. 21) 135 with n. 17. References to the orders of Marcellus and Salutaris are found in *P.Oxy.* 1.78.14–16; *P.Oxy.* 17.2123.9–13; *P.Lond.* 1157 verso = *W.Chr.* 375, col. i.7 and 13; *P.Leit.* 16 = *P.Wisc.* 2.86.23–25.

²³ *W.Chr.* 375, col. i–ii (Hermopolite nome, 246 CE).

²⁴ Cf. Rowlandson, *Landowners* (n. 6) 50–51.

²⁵ Rowlandson, *Landowners* (n. 6) 48–53. The land was already productive at the onset of the lease: see n. 7.

²⁶ The exact date of the fort is disputed. J.-M. Carrié, *Les castra Dionysiados et l'évolution de l'architecture militaire romaine tardive*, MEFRA 86 (1974) 819–850 argues for a foundation during Palmyrene rule of Egypt. R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, 174 places it “around 260”. The first secure reference remains *O.Fay.* 21 (306 CE).

affected, did not lead to wholesale abandonment of otherwise stable communities: tax receipts from Philadelphia dated just after Asoeis' petition suggest business as usual, in fact.²⁷ But they were nonetheless significant disruptions, and productivity was not otherwise guaranteed. In Arsinoite Pelousion, for instance, some 4,438 arouras of public land were ἄβροχος in the year 242/243, resulting in a loss of 80% of the expected wheat taxes.²⁸ By transferring public land to private landowners, the state would shed the burden of maintaining public tenancies and transfer the risk to private investors.²⁹

Herakleides' estate also marks a transitional point in the agricultural history of the Fayum. Having apparently recovered from the Antonine plague, Philadelphia and Tanis were flourishing in the first couple of decades of the third century, as the accounts *P.Yale* 3.137 (Philadelphia, 216/217 CE) and *P.Prag.* 2.137 (Tanis, 222 CE) demonstrate.³⁰ The editor of the Yale papyrus estimated that Philadelphia's agricultural land "covered the same total surface area" as the massive 10,000 aroura gift estate established under Ptolemy II,³¹ and in Tanis over 3,000 artabas of wheat were collected in a single month from holders of katoikic land alone (dues on state land are not recorded), implying roughly an equal number of productive arouras among private landowners.³² In stark contrast, an unpublished sitologic report for the year 302/303 records a combined tax yield of 4,905 ¼ artabas of wheat for Philadelphia and the μέρος Τάνεως, which translates to about 3,500 productive arouras for the former and only 950 arouras for Tanis.³³ Clearly, Philadelphia and Tanis had shared a fate similar to Karanis and its dependent villages, where arable land had shrunk by about 65% and tax revenues

²⁷ *BGU* 7.1587 and 1610; *P.Grenf.* 1.50.

²⁸ P. van Minnen, *Pelousion, an Arsinoite Village in Distress*, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 199–200.

²⁹ See A. K. Bowman, *Egypt from Septimius Severus to the Death of Constantine*, in: *CAH* XII, 313–326; A. Monson, *Taxation and Fiscal Reforms*, in: K. Vandenbroucke (ed.), *A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt*, Hoboken 2019, 160.

³⁰ For an account of Philadelphia in this period, see Schubert, *Philadelphie* (n. 1).

³¹ P. Schubert, *P.Yale* 3, pp. 15–16.

³² *P.Prag.* 2.137.10–12. The third-century BCE Demotic accounts in *P.Agr.* (A. Monson, *Agriculture and Taxation in Early Ptolemaic Egypt. Demotic Land Surveys and Accounts*, Bonn 2012), originally assigned to Tanis, appear instead to be from Tebtynis: W. Clarysse, Review of A. Monson, *Agriculture and Taxation in Early Ptolemaic Egypt. Demotic Land Surveys and Accounts*, *Tyche* 29 (2014) 295.

³³ The report survives in four copies and is part of a sitologic archive cataloged as *P.Mich.* inv. 393–402, which has been partially published as *P.Mich.* 10.600 and 12.643–647; the rest of the archive is being edited for a future Michigan volume. The tax yield of 4,905 ¼ artabas of wheat (and wheat equivalents; arrears are excluded) for the year 302/303 breaks down to 3,852 ½ artabas collected from Philadelphia (78.5%) and 1,052 ¾ artabas from the μέρος Τάνεως (21.5%). Excluding the 10% surcharge and assuming a 50/50 split between "public" land (taxed at 1.5 art./ar.) and "private" land (taxed at 0.5 art./ar.), these yields correspond to a tax basis of 3,550 arouras for Philadelphia and 956 arouras for the μέρος Τάνεως, giving an estimated total of 4,506 arouras for the entire administrative territory. If part of the year's tax assessment was left in arrears (which seems likely), the tax basis must be raised.

by some 95% by the early fourth century.³⁴ There is no way of charting this diminution over the course of the third century,³⁵ but the consolidation of public land in the hands of the wealthy Alexandrian Herakleides seems to suggest that the decline had already begun by mid-century. The small archive of his tenants Asoeis and Atammon thus provides an interesting glimpse into the changing rural landscape of Egypt during the transformative third century.

1 Receipt for Rent (pl. 6)

P.Mich. inv. 1767
TM 851624

10 × 6.7 cm (frag. 1)
8.7 × 4.5 cm (frag. 2)

Philadelphia
1 September, 254 CE

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-8036/1767R.TIF>. Two joining fragments and a third positioned to the right with a small gap.³⁶ Broken at the top and left. Back is blank.

The receipt covers rent for the first two years of the lease (year 3 of Gallus = 252/253 CE and year 1 of Valerian = 253/254 CE; see ll. 4–5 n.). In his subscription, however, Herakleides only acknowledges receipt of the last year's rent, which is probably just an oversight. The lease remains in force for the following years.

- — — — —
- [ca. 14–16] ἀπ[έσχον]
[παρ' ὑμῶν τὸ ἐκφόριον] ὧν γεωργεῖτ[έ]
[μου ἀρουρῶν ἐπὶ κοινῶ]νία π[ερὶ κώμη]ν
4 [Τάν]ιτ ὑπὲρ τοῦ διελη[λυθότο]ς γ (ἔτους) // Γ[άλ]λου
[καὶ] α (ἔτους) // Οὐαλερ[ιανοῦ] πλήρης, κυρίας
[οὔ]σ[ης] τῆς μ[ε]θώσεως καὶ ἐπ[ε]ρωτηθεῖς
[ὡ]μολόγησα. (2nd hd.) Αὐρή(λιος) Ἡρακλείδ[ης] κοσμητεύ(σας)
8 [Αλεξ]ανδρείας ἀπέσχον τὰ ἐκφόρια καὶ σπέρματα
[τοῦ π]ρώτου ἔτους πλήρης, μένο[ν]τός μοι τοῦ
[λό]γου πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς γεωργ[ί]ας τῶν ἐξῆς
[ἐτ]ῶν ἀκολ[ού]θως μισθώσι.
12 (1st hd.) [(ἔτους) β]/ τῶν κυρ[ί]ων ἡμῶν Οὐαλερ[ιανοῦ] καὶ Γαλλινοῦ
[Σεβασ]τῶν Θ[ε]ο[ῦ] δ⁻.

11. l. μισθώσσει

³⁴ Bagnall, *Agricultural Productivity* (n. 14) 293 and A. Bowman, *Agricultural Production in Egypt*, in: A. Bowman, A. Wilson (edd.), *The Roman Agricultural Economy. Organization, Investment, and Production*, Oxford 2013, 241.

³⁵ In *P.Leit.* 16 = *P.Wisc.* 2.86 (245–247), three Antinoite landowners in Philadelphia complain that local officials had overassessed their landholdings (much of which was *abrochos*), perhaps in an attempt to make up for shortfalls in tax revenue. The administrative consolidation of the two villages is reflected in a shared komarch for the year 260 (*P.Grenf.* 1.50).

³⁶ The positioning of the fragments has been made digitally in plate 5 due to the closure of Hatcher Library during the COVID-19 pandemic.

“... I have received [from you the rent] for the [arouras of mine] that you farm in partnership around the village of Tanis, on behalf of [the] past 3rd year of Gallus [and] 1st year of Valerian, in full. The lease remains in force, and upon being asked the question, I have assented. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Herakleides, former *kosmetes* of Alexandria, have received the rent and seed [for the] first year in full, and I retain my claim with you regarding the tenancy for the following years, in accordance with the lease. (1st hand) [Year 2] of our lords Augusti Valerian and Gallienus, Thoth 4.”

1 The beginning of the receipt is lost but can be restored *exempli gratia* following *P.Princ.* 2.37.1–5: Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης κοσμητεύσας τῆς | λαμπ(ροτάτης) πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρέων διὰ | Ἀμαί φροντιστοῦ Τάνεως Αὐρη(λίους) |⁴ Πάτρωνι καὶ Ἀσόει καὶ Ἀτάμμωνι μισθ(ωταῖς) | κλή(ρου) Πτιαπ χαίρειν. ἀπέσχον ... For the unabbreviated Πτιαπ, see 2.5–6 n.

χαίρειν is expected before ἀπ[έσχον]. The stroke visible before the alpha is likely either a filler stroke coming off of the final nu of [χαίρει]y or else the remains of an abbreviation stroke.

4–5 ὕπ[ερ τοῦ διελη]λυθότο[ς] γ (ἔτους)// Γ[άλ]λου | [καὶ] α (ἔτους)// Οὐάλερ[ιανου]. The Egyptian evidence for the recognition of Gallus and Valerian (with Aemilianus briefly in between) is discussed in D. W. Rathbone, *The Dates of the Recognition in Egypt of the Emperors from Caracalla to Diocletianus*, ZPE 62 (1986) 114–117. Aemilianus’ brief reign corresponded, on Egyptian reckoning, to the end of Gallus’ third year and the beginning of Valerian’s first year and was generally subsumed under these regnal years in retrospective accounts, as is the case here (the elision of Aemilianus’ rule was both practical and political, as one anonymous reviewer notes).

7–8 Αὐρή(λιος) Ἡρακλείδ[ης] κοσμητεύ(σας) | [Ἀλεξ]ανδρείας. The same title is found at SB 4.7474.17; elsewhere we find slight variations on this styling. Herakleides is possibly to be identified with [] . . . ου Ἡρακλείδου κοσμ[...] Ἀλεξανδρείας of PSI 8.880.24–26 (Oxyrhynchus, 254/255 CE)³⁷ but must be distinguished from the Herakleides known from the Heroninos archive, who was a council member of Arsinoe, not Alexandria. Van Hoesen, Johnson, *Lease of Crown Land* (n. 8) 216–217 suggest the possibility that this Herakleides was *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome in the 260s (on whom, Whitehorne, *Str.R.Scr.*², 49), but the name is too common to proffer an identification.

8 τὰ ἐκφόρια καὶ σπέρματα. Herakleides explicitly acknowledges receipt of the seed advance together with the rent (cf. discussion above). On seed provisions in leases, see Rowlandson, *Landowners* (n. 6) 222–225.

12–13 The small lacuna guarantees the month Thoth, as opposed to Phamenoth. Year 1 of Valerian and Gallienus can be excluded because the pair were not recognized in Egypt until October (see ll. 4–5 n.).

³⁷ A. S. Jesenko, *Eine Studie zu einem liturgischen Amt des kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten*, unpublished Diplomarbeit, Vienna 2012, 160, n. 717.

2 Receipt for Rent (pl. 7)

P.Mich. inv. 1768
TM 851625

13 × 15 cm

Philadelphia
257/258 CE

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-8036/1768R.TIF>. Two joining fragments, though with much damage in between. Broken at the left. Back is blank.

This rent receipt is drawn up in the name of the estate manager Amais³⁸ and differs in form from the others. It covers rent for the past fourth year of Valerian and Gallienus, which was the fifth and final year of the lease. The rent was paid in two installments, with the second added in the same hand but with a lighter pen. The first installment can be confidently restored as 637 ½ artabas, which, with the additional installment of 19 artabas, equals the 656 ½ artaba rent paid the previous year (*P.Princ.* 2.37.22–23).

[Αὐρήλιος] Ἄμαις φροντιστῆς [Ἡρακλείδου
[Αὐρηλίοις Πά]τρωνι καὶ Ἀσόιτι κ[αὶ Ἀτάμμω]γι
[μισθωταῖς χ]αίρειν. ἔσχον [ἀ]φ' ἡμ[ῶν ὑπὲρ] ὧν
4 [γεωργεῖτε] μετὰ τοῦ εὐσχήμον[ος ca. 5]. ια
[ca. 7–10]ου λόγου κλήρου λε[γομένου] Φθιαπ
[περὶ κόμ(ην) Τ]άνεως ἐκφορίο[υ ἀ]ρτ[άβας] ἑξα-
[κοσίας τριά]κοντα ἐπτά ἡμισ[υ] ὑπ[ὲρ τ]οῦ
8 [διεληλυ]θότος δ (ἔτους)/. καὶ ὁμο[ί]ως
[ἀρτάβας] δεκαεννέα.

[(ἔτους) ε]/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Οὐα[λερ]ιανοῦ
[καὶ Γ]αλλιανοῦ καὶ Κορνηλίου [υ] Καί[σαρος]
12 [Σεβ]αστῶν.

3 l. ὑμῶν, ὧν corr. 8 καί: α corr. ex λ

“[Aurelius] Amais, estate manager of Herakleides to the tenants Aurelii Patron and Asois and [Atammon], greetings. I have received from you for the ... that [you farm] with the gentleman ... on account of (?) the plot called Phthiap [near the village] of Tanis, for rent, six hundred thirty-seven and half artabas, for the past 4th year. And likewise nineteen [artabas]. [Year 5] of our lords Augusti Valerian [and] Gallienus and Cornelius Caesar.”

1 [Αὐρήλιος] Ἄμαις φροντιστῆς [Ἡρακλείδου]. The receipts of *P.Princ.* 2.37 were issued in the name of Herakleides διὰ Ἀμαί φροντιστοῦ Τάνεως.

³⁸ The hand is different from the main hand of *P.Princ.* 2.37, both of whose receipts were drawn up “through” Amais. The main hand of 1 is also different, although the opening is lost, and it is therefore not certain whether it was also drawn up “through” Amais (as has been restored). Estate managers at the time did not necessarily write everything drawn up in their name: for an example, see Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism* (n. 11) 338 n. 7.

2 [Πά]τρωνι. The son of Heron and Tekiasos, Patron came from Theadelphia on the other side of the Fayum: *SB* 7.7474.2 (see correction to his mother's name in n. 3).

Ἀσώιτι κ[αὶ Ἀτάμω]γι. Sons of Pausiris and Thaisas according to *SB* 7.7474.2, the pair came from Philadelphia (*P.Princ.* 2.29). Asoeis was born ca. 218 CE (*P.Princ.* 2.29.20).

3 [μισθωτάις]. For the supplement, cf. *P.Princ.* 2.37.4–5 and 16–17.

3–4 ἔσχον [ἀ]φ' ἡμ[ῶν ἀ]φ' ὧν | [γεωργεῖτε]. The expected phrase is παρ' ὑμῶν, but there are examples of the preposition ἀπό together with ἔχω in receipts (e.g., *P.Nekr.* 40, Mothis, 308 CE). As for ἡμῶν, the interchange of eta and upsilon is common, though rarely found in this position in rent receipts.

4 μετὰ τοῦ εὐσχήμον[ος]. The phrase is unparalleled. The land can be said to be farmed “with the gentleman” (i.e. the landlord Herakleides) since the brothers and their partner seem to have leased only half of Herakleides' estate (see above with n. 11); the other half of his Tanis estate may have been managed by Herakleides' φροντιστής Amais in a manner similar to the contemporary administration of Appianus' estate as documented in the Heroninos archive. For εὐσχήμων = landlord, cf. *SB* 6.9562.16–17 (Philadelphia, 214 CE), *P.Stras.* 5.465.21–23 (Polydeukia, 230 CE), *SB* 8.9908 and 9909 (Theadelphia [?], 267 CE), and the discussion at Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism* (n. 11) 18. See further N. Lewis, *Εὐσχήμονες in Roman Egypt*, *BASP* 30 (1993) 105–113.

The lacuna looks tight for [ἐπὶ κοινῷ]γῖα.

5 σου λόγου. Perhaps ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, “on account of”, but the phrase is usually found without the article.

5–6 κλήρου λε[γομένου] Φθιαπ | [περὶ κόμ(ην) Τά]νεως. At *P.Princ.* 2.37.5 and 14–15, the editors read κλή(ρου) Πτιαπ() and rightly identified the toponym as that found in the lease (*SB* 4.7474.4), expanding the passage as follows: ἐν τόπῳ Φθ[ιαπ() κλήρ]ου (see *P.Princ.* 2.37, pp. 30–31). H. C. Youtie, *Critical Trifles VI*, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 294 notes that the curved stroke found after the final pi in Πτιαπ is not an abbreviation sign but rather an apostrophe marking an undeclined non-Greek name and adduces the comparable names Πκιατιαπ and Κιατιαπ from the Karanis Tax Rolls (*P.Mich.* 4.223.1408, 224.2038, 225.2119).

6–9 The supplement [τριά]κοντα produces a total rent of 656 ½ artabas, which is equal to the total recorded in the second Princeton receipt.

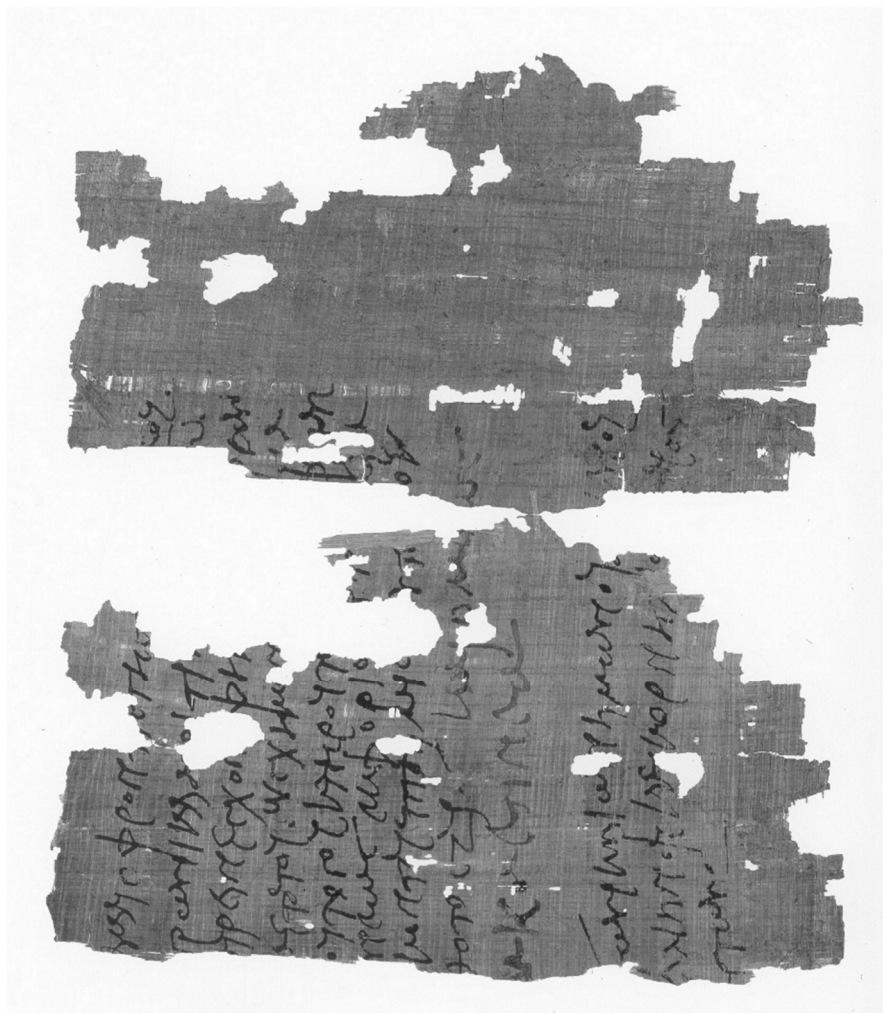
11 Κορηλίο[υ Καί]σαρος. An anonymous reviewer astutely notes that this short-form identification of the Caesar is unique. Valerian Caesar was replaced by his brother Saloninus in this very year, and since they were both Corneli, it is not clear which man is referred to here. See J. R. Rea, *Valerian Caesar in the Papyri*, *Pap.Congr.* XVII, 1125–1133 and F. Mitthof, *Vom Ieróτaтos Καίσαρ zum έπιφανέσταтos Καίσαρ. Die Ehrenprädikate in der Titulatur der Thronfolger des 3. Jh. n. Chr. nach den Papyri*, *ZPE* 99 (1993) 109–110.

12 The small lacuna between the two fragments (ca. 1.5 cm wide) might have contained a (short) month and day, or else they were not recorded.



P.Mich. inv. 1767

zu W. G. Claytor, S. 30



P.Mich. inv. 1768

zu W. G. Claytor, S. 32