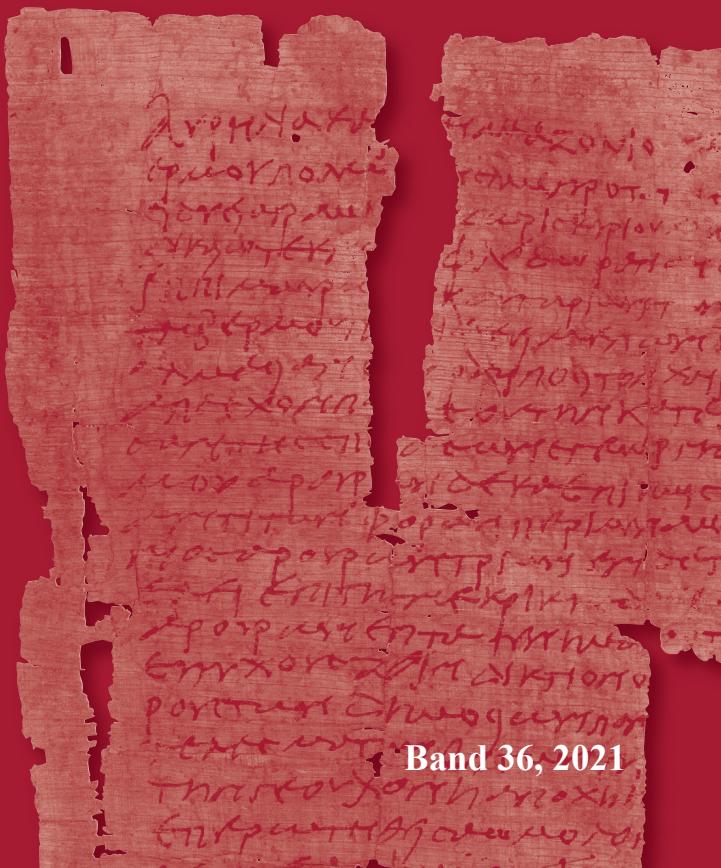


# TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte  
Papyrologie und Epigraphik



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N I K O L A O S   G O N I S

## From Theadelphia to Philadelphia (PA): Two New Papyri from the Dossier of Aurelius Sakaon

Plates 6–7

Most texts of the archive and wider dossier of Aurelius Sakaon (TM ArchID 206) first appeared in *Papyrus de Théadelphia* in 1911. Nothing was said about the find in this publication other than that the papyri entered the Cairo museum in spring 1903. Pierre Jouguet, the editor, was less reticent a few years earlier, when he spoke of ‘un lot saisi entre les mains d’un marchand par le Service des Antiquités d’Egypte’.<sup>1</sup> The lot seized by the authorities did not contain all the papyri of the dossier. A few of them were bought by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt and were resold to the John Rylands Library at Manchester;<sup>2</sup> Girolamo Vitelli had purchased a handful of others in January 1903,<sup>3</sup> and two other lots were acquired by the library of the University of Strasbourg, one in January 1902, and another possibly in 1900/1901.<sup>4</sup> The find’s places of dispersal

<sup>1</sup> P. Collinet, P. Jouguet, *Papyrus bilingue du Musée du Caire*, APF 3 (1906) 339.

<sup>2</sup> This would have happened by 1907 at the latest. The papyri in question are P.Ryl. II 114 (= P.Sakaon 36), and probably P.Ryl. IV 653, 656 (part of P.Thead. 55, but this was not recognized by the editor), and 659 (= P.Sakaon 33, 3, 41). The last item may not have belonged to Sakaon’s papers.

<sup>3</sup> P.Flor. I 14, 36, 53, 54, 60 = P.Sakaon 66, 38, 72, 49, 20.

<sup>4</sup> The first group includes P.Stras. I 42–43 = P.Sakaon 1 and 69, which are certainly part of the archive, and P.Stras. I 45 = P.Sakaon 5, i.e. P.Stras. inv. gr. 1592, 1594, and 1591, respectively; see J. France, *Theadelphia and Euhemereia. Village History in Greco-Roman Egypt* (Diss. Leuven 1999) 157. They were bought ‘am 14/1 1902, von Farag Ismain durch R[ubensohn]’ (information supplied by Holger Essler, to whom I am grateful for guidance on the acquisition history of these papyri). The second group consists of P.Stras. III 177 = P.Sakaon 52 and the related P.Stras. IV 320 = P.Sakaon 8, i.e. P.Stras. inv. 1211a and 1200, respectively. France, cit. 158 n. 13, assigns P.Stras. inv. gr. 1101–1269 to the ‘Kauf Thi[e]rsch’, but only 1101–1145 came from Thiersch, while 1167–1170 and 1172–1179 were bought from Borchardt (see P.Stras. X, p. 417). P.Stras. inv. gr. 1200 and 1211a are part of a group, inv. gr. 1169–1238, which contains the archive of the sheep lessees of Theadelphia (TM ArchID 217); see J. Schwartz, *Une famille de chepteliers au III<sup>e</sup> s. p.C.*, Rech. Pap. 3 (1964) 49, who however stated that nothing was known about ‘les conditions de leur arrivée au début de ce siècle’. P.Stras. inv. gr. 1169 and 1170, which stem from Borchardt, are P.Chept. 1 and 3, part of the same sub-dossier as inv. gr. 1214, 1231a + 1196, and 1213 = P.Chept. 2, 4, and 5. One other Borchardt papyrus, inv. gr. 1172, is P.Chept. 6. It would be reasonable to assume that the remaining items in this group also derive from Borchardt; the purchase would have been made between 10 July 1900 and 16 June 1901 (information from H. Essler).

were not limited to Egypt and Europe. Two other papyri, published below,<sup>5</sup> reached as far as Philadelphia in Pennsylvania; they entered the University Museum in 1902 through Wolfgang Max Müller, who would have bought them in Egypt in 1900.<sup>6</sup> It appears then that Sakaon papyri circulated on the market well before the confiscation of the bulk of the archive by the Egyptian authorities, and for two or three years there were piecemeal sales of related papyri. A further implication is that there was not a single original find but a gradual accumulation of texts from the orbit of Sakaon. This would have started soon after the conclusion of Grenfell and Hunt's excavations of Theadelphia in February 1899.<sup>7</sup>

### 1. Account of Tax Payments in Money

E 16760	14 cm (w) × 15.4 cm (h)	c. 300–312
Theadelphia	<a href="https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/81564">https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/81564</a>	Plate 6

The top part of an account of payments in talents and thousands of drachmas, under a heading that describes it as ‘entry of gold’ (*ἰσοχῆς*, *l.* εἰσδοχῆς, χρυσίου). Given that ‘gold’ in texts this period refers to the precious metal and is not a generic term for money, these must be contributions towards a government purchase of gold,<sup>8</sup> such as those in P.Sakaon 17 (308) or 27 (312–329). The listing starts with payments from three persons, the first of them paying twice. Next come payments by the same three persons, described without their fathers’ names. The number 12 precedes the name of the first of these three payers (*l.* 5); perhaps these were payments made on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of a month. Payments by seven other persons follow, before the papyrus breaks off. The amounts are variable; in what is extant, the top payers are Arion son of Dioskoros, with two payments totalling 5 talents 4,200 drachmas, and Melas son of Herakleides, with three payments to a total of 2 talents 4,000(?) drachmas. No conclusions about the tax base of the payers may be drawn, however, since three of them receive more than one entry and the document is incomplete; some of those mentioned once may have made further payments later.

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<sup>5</sup> The texts were first studied from the digital images available on line, and then from higher-resolution images purchased from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, courtesy of which they are reproduced here.

<sup>6</sup> See J. R. Abercrombie, *A History of the Acquisition of Papyri and Related Written Material in the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar 6 (1985) 10, with notes 17–18. Müller made purchases at Luxor, very far from the Fayum, but the papyri sold to the Museum in 1902 include at least two items associated with the Fayum, one Coptic (E 16764) and one Arabic (E 16767). Müller, who also had dealings with a “well-known” Gizeh dealer, probably bought them somewhere else.

<sup>7</sup> The date is given in D. Rathbone, *Villages and Patronage in Fourth-Century Egypt: The Case of P.Ross.Georg. 3.8*, BASP 45 (2008) 192.

<sup>8</sup> See in general R. S. Bagnall, *Bullion Purchases and Landholding in the Fourth Century*, CE 52 (1977) 322–336.

Most of these persons appear together in documents from Theadelphia of the early fourth century.<sup>9</sup> Melas, Selpous, Arion, Sakaon, and Ptoleminos are among the borrowers of seed grain from the state in P.Sakaon 49 of 314. Tax payments by Melas, Arion, Ptoleminos, and Sakaon are known for 309/310 (P.Sakaon 8), and by Arion, Melas, Sakaon and Ptoleminos in 312 (P.Sakaon 5). Selpous and the pairs Sakaon–Melas and Arion–Alypios are fiscal agents in 314/315 (P.Sakaon 9). Donkeys of Sakaon and probably also of Melas and Alypios are recorded in 315/316 (P.Sakaon 19). Two of the payers are women, probably the wives of men recorded in the immediately preceding entries. See further 9 n.

Unlike the next item, which belongs to the archive in the strict sense of the term, this text may have been found not with Sakaon's papers but somewhere else in Theadelphia. Though Sakaon served multiple times as comarch and as sitologus, and may have retained some documents from his terms of office, it is hardly likely that all of the tax documents in P.Sakaon were found together.<sup>10</sup>

The text is written along the fibres and the back is blank.

ἴσοχῆς χρυσίου·	
/_	Μέλας Ἡρακλίδου (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) σω̄ ὁ αὐτ(ὸς) ὁ αὐτοῦ (δρ.) Τ.[
/_	Σελπούς Σαραπίωνος (τάλαντον) α
/_	Ἀρίων Διοσκόρου (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) Ἀσω̄
5	ιβ' Ἀρίων (τάλαντα) δ'
/_	Μέλας (τάλαντον) α
/_	Σελπούς (δραχμαὶ) Ἐχ
/_	[Αλύ]πιος (δραχμαὶ) Τ
	[ . . . ]. γυνὴ (δραχμαὶ) Ἐχ
10	[Σακα]ὸν Σαταβ(οῦτος) (δραχμαὶ?) Ἐ
	[ . . . ]. γυνὴ ὁμοί(ως) (δραχμαὶ) Τ
	[ . . . ]. ασνις (δραχμαὶ) Ἐ
/_	Π[το]λεμῆ[η]νος (δραχμαὶ) Ἐφ
/_	Π[το]λεμῆ[η]ν (τάλαντον) ασ'

1 *I. εἰσδοχῆς* 2 *I. Ἡρακλείδου, αὐτ* 2–6, 14 *γ* 2, 4, 7–13 *s* 10 *σαταβ'* 11 *ομός*

<sup>9</sup> See R. S. Bagnall, *The Population of Theadelphia in the Fourth Century*, BSAC 24 (1982) 35–57.

<sup>10</sup> One such example is P.Princ. III 134 = P.Sakaon 4 (336), purchased in the 1920s and clearly not part of the archive; cf. France, *Theadelphia and Euhemereia* (n. 4) 158, who has it among the texts ‘not strictly belonging to the Sakaon archive, but mentioning Sakaon’.

Entry of gold.

Melas son of Herakleides	1 talent 200 drachmas; the same son of the same, 3,000+ dr.
Selpous son of Sarapion	1 talent
Arion son of Dioskoros	1 talent 4,200 drachmas
12 Arion	4 talents
Melas	1 talent
Selpous	5,600 drachmas
Alypios	3,000 drachmas
..., wife	5,600 drachmas
Sakaon son of Satabous	5,000 drachmas
..., wife, likewise	3,000 drachmas
—asnīs	5,000 drachmas
Ptoleminos	5,500 drachmas
P—	1½ talent

1 ἰσοχῆς χρυσίου. ἰσοχῆς no doubt stands for εἰσδοχῆς, as in P.NYU I 17.1 (Karanis; 334) εἰσ(δ)οχὴ σίτου η ἵγ[δι]κ(τίονος); it is curious that the spelling without δ is found only in two contemporary Arsinoite texts. εἰσδοχῆς is well attested in fiscal documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods for receipts in kind or in money; see P.Heid. IX 424.19 n.

2 Μέλας Ἡρακλίδου. See Bagnall (n. 9) 44 (C3). He is last attested in 314 (P.Sakaon 49.3) or 314/315 (P.Sakaon 9.5).

ὁ αὐτ(ός) ὁ αὐτοῦ. A novel and unusual expression. ὁ αὐτοῦ refers to the father, instead of τοῦ αὐτοῦ. ὁ αὐτ(ός) would have sufficed. Was the second payment made on the same day?

Τ. [ ]. Of the last number only the left-hand part survives; it is either ς (800) or, less likely, ϖ (200).

3 Σελπους Σαραπίωνος. Cf. 7. See Bagnall (n. 9) 47 (E2). He is last attested in 319/320.

4 Ἀρίων Διοσκόρου. Cf. 5. See Bagnall (n. 9) 50 (G3), 55. He is last attested in 336. His are the largest payments in what survives of this account, but his wheat payment in P.Sakaon 5.25 (312) is among the lowest recorded there. On the other hand, his landholdings are among the most extensive in the land register P.Sakaon 4 (336).

8 [Ἀλύ]πιος. The absence of the father's name is curious; the names of fathers were omitted in the previous three entries, presumably because the payers had been fully identified earlier in the text, but this does not hold for Alypios and the payers in ll. 12 and 13. This Alypios may well be the son of Herodes (Bagnall [n. 9] 43; B15), last attested in 315/316 (P.Sakaon 19.5; name plausibly restored). Another candidate is the son of Heron and presumably a grandson of the earlier Alypios, attested in 314 (Bagnall, *ibid.*; B18).

9 [...]. γυνή. The remains of the letter on the edge would suit sigma or tau: ]ζ, being the end of a short name, or, as F. Mitthof tentatively suggests, [ή αὐ]τ(οῦ) γυνή. This would have been the wife of Alypios, not known from elsewhere. The name of the husband is normally stated when a woman is identified as γυνή in tax lists. Husband and wife are mentioned one after the other in P.Col. VII 130.6–7 (334/335), a tax account from Karanis.

10 [Σακα]ὸν Σαταβ(οῦτος). The protagonist in the archive, listed in Bagnall (n. 9) 37f., as A11. The latest discussion is by K. Geens, *Aurelius Sakaon*, in: K. Vandorpe, W. Clarysse, H. Verreth (eds.), *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum*, Brussels 2015, 99–104, and online at <https://www.trismegistos.org/archive/206>.

(δραχμαῖ?) Ἐ. The putative drachma sign looks different from others in the text. A break and a slight misalignment of fibres complicate the picture further. A horizontal written over Ἐ is perhaps a separator from the numbers in the previous line.

11 [ . . . . ] γυνή. One of Sakaon's two wives. His first marriage 'should probably be placed around 290' (Bagnall [n. 9] 42). His first wife was dead by 312, as he had been married to Kamoution by that time. The lacuna is too short for a name more than four letters long. The name of the first wife is unknown, but its genitive ending, -τος, may survive in P.Sakaon 38.4–6 (312), τὴν τῆς θείας μου | [ . . . . . τος θ]υγατέρα Ταξῆν τοῦν[ο]μα . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ μετοξὺ τῆς | [μητρός . . . . . ]τος τετελε[ντ]ηκύης καὶ τοῦ ὀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Σακαῶνος ἑτέρᾳ γυναικὶ κοινωνῆσαν[το]ς, with αὐτῆς recorded in the apparatus as an alternative to μητρός in l. 6. We could try to dissociate ]τος from the name of the mother and read τῆς | [μητρός τῆς Ταξῆν]τος, but if all that is lost at the start of P.Sakaon 38.5 is the mother's name, its length will not tally with that of the lacuna in the present document.

όμοι(ως). The purported ω is too narrow and it would be easier to read ι, but the papyrus is not fully flattened at this point; what follows, a tall upright whose upper part is intersected by a horizontal, may only be read as ι( ).

12 [ . . . . ], ασνίς. No match with a known name has been possible.

13 [Πτο]λεμῆ[ο]ς. This is probably Ptoleminos son of Euporos; see Bagnall (n. 9) 49 (F3). He is last attested in 314.

14 ας'. The sinusoid is rewritten in darker ink; I do not wish to rule out that it is a mere numerical marker and does not stand for  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The short oblique stroke indicates that no further amount follows, as in l. 5.

## 2. Lease of Goats

E 16746                            5.4 cm (w) × 17.4 cm (h)                    27 March – 25 April 318  
Theadelphia                        <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/151436>                        Plate 7

Aurelius Ekysis (see 3–4 n.) leases twenty goats from Aurelius Sakaon for two (or more) years. Sakaon leases out ten goats in P.Sakaon 73+ (328), but he was also a lessee himself, as we can tell from P.Sakaon 71 (306), a lease of sheep and goats; cf. also P.Sakaon 72 (327), called an 'extension of lease of sheep'.

The present text adds to the meagre number of leases of goats, most of them connected with Theadelphia and indeed Sakaon.<sup>11</sup> Another point of interest is chronological: the papyrus offers an early equation of regnal years and indiction, and the earliest that involves Constantine, Licinius and the Caesars; see *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 12–13, and cf. below, 8–9 n.

The document has lost its lower part and the lines are incomplete at the left, but most of them can be restored from parallels. The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

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<sup>11</sup> P.Stras. I 30 = P.Chept. 12 (276) and P.Sakaon 73+ (328), the latter re-edited as *P.Sakaon 73 + SB XII 11024: Two Leases of Goats Reduced to One*, ZPE 222 (2022) 207–210. There are also three leases of sheep and goats: P.Alex.Giss. 5 (215), SB V 8086 = P.Chept. 9 (268), and P.Sakaon 71 (306). See M. Langellotti, *Locazioni di capre nell'Egitto romano*, AnPap 18–20 (2006–2008) 145–154. Another lease of livestock may be P.Lond. V 1833; cf. below, 13–14 n.

- [Αὐρηλίῳ Σακαῶνι Σατ]αβοῦτο[ς ἀπὸ]  
 [κόμης Θεαδελφεῖ]ας  
 [παρὰ Αὐρηλίου] Ἐκύσεως Ἀιώνεως ἀπὸ  
 [ἐποικίου Σουχᾶ.] βιούλομαι μισθώσασθαι πα-
- 5 [ρὰ σοῦ τὰς ὑπαρ]χούσας σοι αἶγας τελείας  
 [εὐαρέστους εἴ]κοσι ἀθανάτους ἐπὶ χρό-  
 [νον ἔτη δύο (?) ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μη(νὸς) Φαρμου-  
 [θι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο]ς ιβ (ἔτους) (καὶ) 1 (ἔτους) (καὶ) β (ἔτους) σ ἵνδικτίω-  
 [νος c.10 ] . v ὑπὲρ φόρου ἐπιγονῆς
- 10 [ c.12 ἐ]ρύφια ἐπτὰ θηλυκὰ  
 [καὶ ἀρσενικὰ c.4 ], καὶ οὐκ ἔξεσται μοι ἐντὸς  
 [τοῦ χρόνου προ]λείπειν τὴν μίσθωσιν  
 [κατ' οὐδένα τρόπο]ν, τῆς νομῆς καὶ χλωρο-  
 [φαγίας καὶ c.5 καὶ γονῆς ἢ καί, δ μὴ εἴοιτο,
- 15 [θανάτου καὶ ἐπιμ]ελείας καὶ φροντίδος οὔσης  
 [πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν με]μισθωμένον, τὸν δὲ κατ' ἔ-  
 [τος φόρον ?του]τέστιν τὰ ἐρύφια ἐπτὰ  
 [ἀποδώσω ἀκοιλ]άγτως ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ μετὰ  
 [τὸν χρόνον παρ]αδώσω τὰς αἶγας ἀθανά-
- 20 [τους καθὼς κάγῳ παρ]έ[λ]αβον. [ἢ μίσ]θωσι[ς] κ[αὶ] [ν]-  
 [ρίᾳ καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα. - - - ]
- 

3 αἰώνεως 7 μη<sup>1</sup> 8 ιβ<sup>2</sup> 1 ι 1 β<sup>3</sup> 9 ὑπερ 10, 17 l. ἐρύφια

'To Aurelius Sakaon son of Satabous from the village of Theadelphia, from Aurelius Ekysis son of Aionis from the hamlet of Souchas. I wish to lease from you the twenty goats that belong to you, fully-grown, in good condition, immortal, for a period of two (?) years, from the present month of Pharmouthi of the current 12<sup>th</sup> year and 10<sup>th</sup> year and 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the 6<sup>th</sup> indiction, ... at a rent of the produce ... of seven kids, female and male ...; and it shall not be permissible for me to abandon the lease within the term in any way, the pasture and grazing of green fodder and ... produce and, may it not happen, death, as well as the care and provisioning resting upon me, the lessee; and the annual rent, that is, the seven kids, I will pay without fail, without delay; and on the expiration of the term I shall surrender the goats immortal, just as I received (them). The lease is binding, and upon being asked the formal question I gave my assent. ....'

1-2 Cf. P.Sakaon 73+.1-2 (328) Αὐρ[η]λίῳ Ζακαῶνι Σαταβο[ῦ]τος ἀπὸ | κόμης Θεαδελ-  
 φίας.

3-4 [παρὰ Αὐρηλίου] Ἐκύσεως Ἀιώνεως ἀπὸ | [ἐποικίου Σουχᾶ]. The supplements are based on SB VI 9269.4-5 (304) [παρὰ Αὐρηλίου] Ἐκύσεως Ἀιώνεως μ(ητρὸς)ς | . [.]τριας ἀ[πὸ] ἐποικίου Σουχᾶ. Ekysis, who was 40 years old at that time, leased 5 aruras of corn land that were situated [π]ερὶ [κ]όμην[ν] Ἰ[σ]αυρίαν πρὸς τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπ[ο]υ[τ]ο[ν] [κύ]ρῳ (ll. 7-8). A photograph shows that the name of the village should be read as Πύρισν; Isauria (TM Geo 910) may be deleted from

the topographic repertories. The village of Πύρρεια (TM Geo 2036) is not a stranger to the archive (P.Sakaon 53.3 κώμης Πυρρίας), and was located not too far from Theadelphia; it ‘probably belonged to the southern part of the meris of Themistos’ (W. Clarysse, at [https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2036.php?geo\\_id=2036](https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2036.php?geo_id=2036)).

5–6 αῖγας τελείας | [εὐαρέστους εἴ]κοσι ἀθανάτους. Cf. P.Sakaon 71.9–10 αῖγας | [ἀθανάτους εὐαρέστους πεντίκοντα ἐννέα, ἀφ' ὧν θηλείας τελείας πεντήκοντα τρεῖς]; P.Sakaon 73+.4 αῖγ[ας τελεία[ς θ]ηλείοις]. See further 19–20 n.

7–8 ἐπὶ χρό[νον] ἔτη δύο (?). The term is two years in P.Stras. I 30 = P.Chept. 12 (276) and P.Sakaon 73, both of them leases of goats, but five years in SB V 8086 = P.Chept. 9 (268) and P.Sakaon 71, which also concern sheep. πέντε would be too long for the space, but δύο has the right length. τρία would also fit but is unparalleled.

8–9 Year 12 (Constantine) = 10 (Licinius) = 2 (3 Caesars) = indiction 6 = 317/318; see CSBE<sup>2</sup> 132. The only other similar equation comes from P.Sakaon 67 (322).

9 ὑπὲρ φόρου ἐπιγονῆς. This corresponds to ὑπὲρ ἐπιγονῆς in P.Sakaon 71.14, 16 (ὑ. ἐ. τῶν αἰγῶν), and 19; P.Sakaon 73+.8 has [φόρο]ου τῶν αἰγῶν.

10 ἐνιαυσίως (P.Sakaon 73+.8) or τῶν αἰγῶν (P.Sakaon 71.16) will not fill the whole of lacuna.

11 c.4 ]. . Perhaps ἕξ ἵσο]ν, ‘equally’, but the traces after the break are confusing. Cf. SB V 8086.7 ἀρσενικὰ [καὶ] θηλυκὰ ἕξ [ἵσο]ν, 8087.6, and P.Sakaon 73+.8. The fact that seven is an odd number and the division cannot be equal may be paralleled from P.Sakaon 73+.

11–13 καὶ οὐκ ἔξεσται … τρόπο]ν. The supplements are based on P.Sakaon 71.20–21, with one minor difference, προλιπεῖν (P.Sakaon 71.20, after D. Hagedorn’s correction) vs. προ]λείπειν here.

13–16 τῆς νομῆς καὶ χλωρο|[φαγίας καὶ c.5 καὶ] γονῆς ἢ καὶ διὰ εἴσιτο | [Θανάτου καὶ ἐπιμ]ελείας καὶ φροντίδος. Cf. P.Sakaon 71.21–22 τῆς τῶν προβάτων καὶ αἰγ[ῶ]ν γονῆς καὶ νομῶν [καὶ] γράστεως | καὶ κεδρίας καὶ διὰ εἴσιτο, θανάτου καὶ ἐπιμελεῖ[ας] καὶ φροντίδος γονῆς δύντων; P.Alex.Giss. 5.20–21 (215) τετυχ]ηκότα τῆς ᾔσθησης ἐπιμελεῖ[ας] καὶ φροντίδος χλωρο|[φαγίας, ‘grazing of green fodder’, corresponds to γράστεως, ‘pasture’. There is room for one short word in the lacuna at the start of l. 14, but κεδρίας, *l. χε-*, ‘pulse’ (cf. P.Lond. V 1833.5), is probably too long. χλωροφαγία is mentioned also in P.Sakaon 74.9–10 (326/327); see Bagnall [n. 9] 28), a receipt for fleeces supplied for χλωρο|[φαγίας and another reason; cf. also P.Lond. V 1833.3–4 (Ars. [with BL XIII 127]; 4<sup>th</sup> c.), a lease, apparently of livestock. On the term see further F. Mitthof, *Annona militaris* (Pap. Flor. XXXII), Florence 2001, 217 n. 571, 448f.

14 εἴσιτο. A conflation of εἴη and γένειτο, considered by Gignac, *Grammar* ii 404, as equivalent to γένειτο. This form also occurs in SB XVIII 13103.23 (117–138), SPP XX 35.7 (235), P.Sakaon 71.22, and P.Mich. XX 807.17 (372), always as part for the same phrase.

17 τού]τεστιν will not necessarily fill the space; a possible parallel in SB XXVI 16507.7 (Oxy.; 475) ὑπὲρ τούτων φόρους τοντέστιν χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον.

19–20 παρ]αδώσω τὰς αἰγας ἀθανάτους. Cf. 6. On this clause in leases of animals, see J. L. Alonso, *Fault, strict liability and risk in the law of the papyri*, in: J. Urbanik (ed.), *Culpa. Facets of Liability in Ancient Legal Theory and Practice*, Warsaw 2012, 56–61.

20 καθὼς κάγῳ παρ]έ[λ]αβον. Restored from P.Sakaon 71.26.

Tafel 6

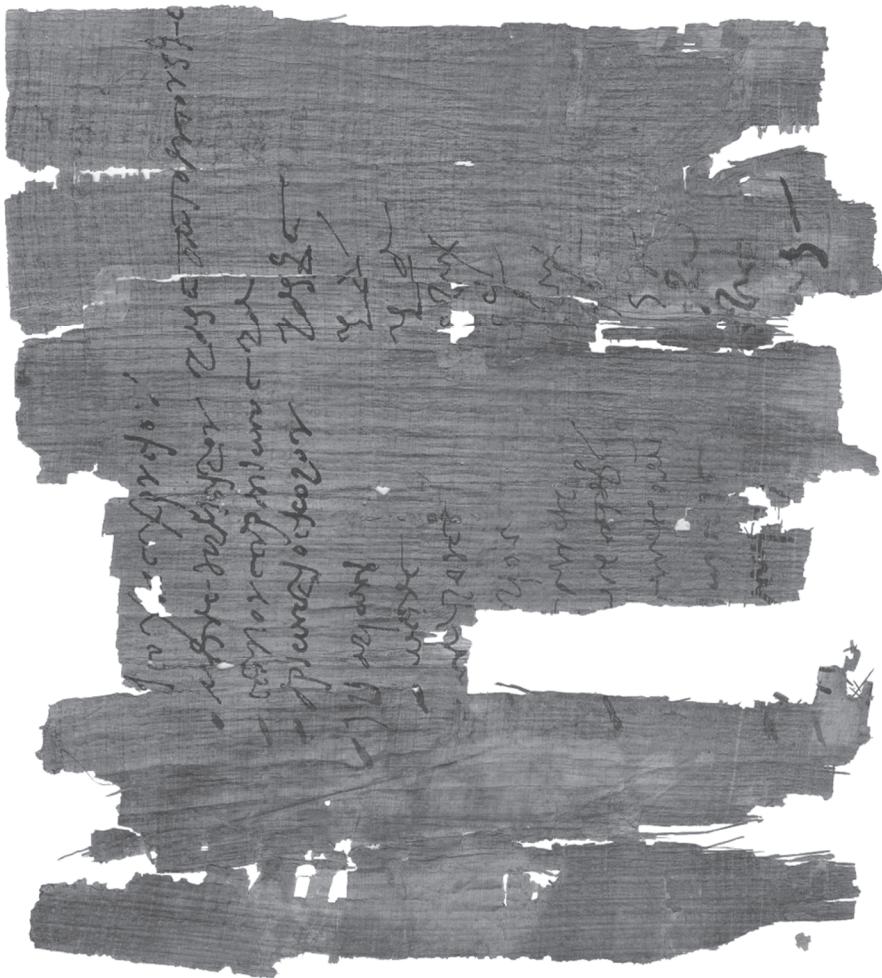


Fig. 1: Courtesy of the Penn Museum, object E16760

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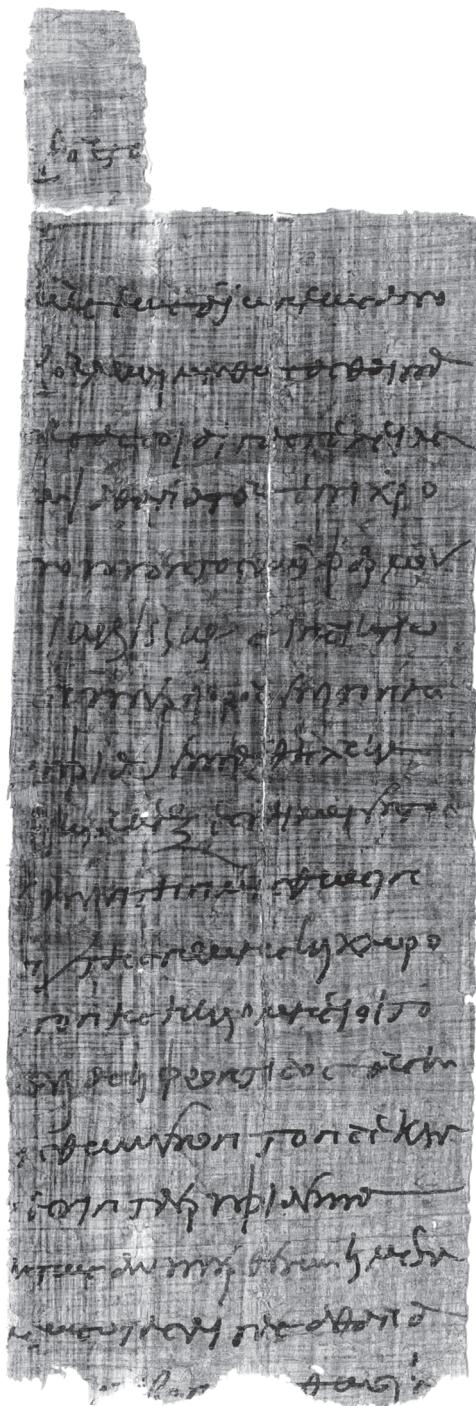


Fig. 2: Courtesy of the Penn Museum, object E16746

zu N. Gonis, S. 67