



## I N H A L T S V E R Z E I C H N I S

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NIKOLAOS GONIS

## 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 Théadelphie* 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’Égypte’.<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

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<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).



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–Alypius are fiscal agents in 314/315 (P.Sakaon 9). Donkeys of Sakaon and probably also of Melas and Alypius 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.

	ἰσοχῆς χρυσίου·	
✓	Μέλας Ἡρακλείδου	(τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) ⚡ ὁ αὐτ(ὸς) ὁ αὐτοῦ (δρ.) Γ. [
✓	Σελπους Σαραπίωνος	(τάλαντον) α
✓	Ἀρίων Διοσκόρου	(τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) Ἐ⚡
5	✓ ιβ Ἀρίων	(τάλαντα) δ'
✓	Μέλας	(τάλαντον) α
✓	Σελπους	(δραχμαὶ) Ἐχ
✓	[Ἀλύ]πιος	(δραχμαὶ) ἸΓ
	[...]. γυνή	(δραχμαὶ) Ἐχ
10	✓ [Σακα]ῶν Σαταβ(οὔτος)	(δραχμαὶ?) Ἐ
	[...] γυνή ὁμοί(ως)	(δραχμαὶ) ἸΓ
	[...] αςνις	(δραχμαὶ) Ἐ
✓	Π[το]λεμῖν[ος]	(δραχμαὶ) Ἐφ
✓	Π[	(τάλαντον) αδ'

1 *l.* εἰσοχῆς 2 *l.* Ἡρακλείδου, αὐτ 2–6, 14 ζ 2, 4, 7–13 ς 10 καταβ' 11 ομοί

<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
—asnis	5,000 drachmas
Ptoleminos	5,500 drachmas
P—	1½ talent

1 ἰσοχῆς χρυσίου. ἰσοχῆς no doubt stands for εἰσοδοχῆς, as in P.NYU I 17.1 (Karanis; 334) εἰσ(δ)οχή σίτου η ἰ[δι]κ(τίονος); it is curious that the spelling without δ is found only in two contemporary Arsinoite texts. εἰσοδοχή 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(ὸς) ὁ αὐτοῦ. A novel and unusual expression. ὁ αὐτοῦ refers to the father, instead of τοῦ αὐτοῦ. ὁ αὐτ(ὸς) would have sufficed. Was the second payment made on the same day?

Ἦ [. . .]. Of the last number only the left-hand part survives; it is either ω (800) or, less likely, Ϟ (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 Alypius and the payers in ll. 12 and 13. This Alypius 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 Alypius, attested in 314 (Bagnall, *ibid.*; B18).

9 [. . .]. γυνή. The remains of the letter on the edge would suit sigma or tau: ]ς, being the end of a short name, or, as F. Mitthof tentatively suggests, [ἡ αὐ]τ(οῦ) γυνή. This would have been the wife of Alypius, 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]ῶν 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>.





- [Αὐρηλίῳ Σακαῶνι Σατ]αβούτο[ς ἀπό]  
 [κώμης Θεαδελφεί]ας  
 [παρὰ Αὐρηλίου] Ἐκύσεως Ἀιώνεως ἀπό  
 [ἐποικίου Σουχᾶ.] βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι πα-  
 5 [ρὰ σοῦ τὰς ὑπαρ]χούσας σοι αἶγας τελείας  
 [εὐαρέστους εἴ]κοσι ἀθανάτους ἐπὶ χρό-  
 [νον ἕτη δύο (?) ἀπ]ὸ τοῦ ὄντος μη(νός) Φαρμου-  
 [θι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο]ς ιβ (ἔτους) (καὶ) ι (ἔτους) (καὶ) β (ἔτους) εἰς ἰνδικτίω-  
 [νος c.10 ] .ν ὑπὲρ φόρου ἐπιγονῆς  
 10 [ c.12 ἐ]ρύφια ἑπτὰ θηλυκὰ  
 [καὶ ἀρσενικὰ c.4 ] . καὶ οὐκ ἐξέσται μοι ἐντὸς  
 [τοῦ χρόνου προ]λείπειν τὴν μίσθωσιν  
 [κατ' οὐδένα τρόπο]ν, τῆς νομῆς καὶ χλωρο-  
 [φαγίας καὶ c.5 κα]ὶ γονῆς ἢ καί, ὃ μὴ εἴοιτο,  
 15 [θανάτου καὶ ἐπιμ]ελείας καὶ φροντίδος οὔσης  
 [πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν με]μισθωμένον, τὸν δὲ κατ' ἕ-  
 [τος φόρον ἴ]του τέστιν τὰ ἐρύφια ἑπτὰ  
 [ἀποδώσω ἀκοιλ]ῆς ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ μετὰ  
 [τὸν χρόνον παρ]αδώσω τὰς αἶγας ἀθανά-  
 20 [τους καθὼς ἀγὼ παρ]ἔ[λ]αβον. [ἢ μίσ]θωσι[ς] κ[υ]-  
 [ρία καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα. - - - ]

3 αἰώνεως 7 μη<sup>1</sup> 8 ιβς ις ιβς<sup>1</sup> 9 ὑπερ 10, 17 ι. ἐρίφια

‘To Aurelius Sakaon son of Satabous from the village of Theadelphia, from Aurelius Ekysis son of Aïonis 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]τῶς ἀπό | κώμης Θεαδε-  
 λφίας.

3–4 [παρὰ Αὐρηλίου] Ἐκύσεως Ἀιώνεως ἀπό | [ἐποικίου Σουχᾶ]. The supplements are based on SB VI 9269.4–5 (304) [παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἐκύσεως Ἀιώνεως μ(ητρὸς) | [ . ] τριας ἄ[πὸ] ἐποικίου Σουχᾶ. Ekysis, who was 40 years old at that time, leased 5 aruras of corn land that were situated [περὶ κ]ώμην[ν] Ἰ[σ]αυριαν πρὸς τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπ[ο]ι[κ]ίῳ (ll. 7–8). A photograph shows that the name of the village should be read as Πύριαν; 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 αἶγας τελείας | [εὐαρέστους εἴ]κοσι ἀθανάτους. Cf. P.Sakaon 71.9–10 αἶγας | [ἀθαν]άτους εὐαρέ[στους πε]ντήκοντα ἑννέα, ἀφ’ ὧν θηλείας τελείας πεν[τήκον]τα τρεῖ[ς]; P.Sakaon 73+4 αἶ[γ]ας τελεία[ς θ]ηλ(είας). See further 19–20 n.

7–8 ἐπὶ χρὸ[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 (ὁ. ἔ. τῶν αἰγῶν), and 19; P.Sakaon 73+.8 has [φόρ]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 ἐξ ἴσο]υ, ‘equally’, but the traces after the break are confusing. Cf. SB V 8086.7 ἀρσενικὰ [καὶ] θηλυκὰ ἐξ ἴσ]ου, 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 ἐξέσται ... 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 ὁ μὴ εἶοιτο | [θανάτου καὶ ἐπι]μελείας καὶ φροντίδος. Cf. P.Sakaon 71.21–22 τῆς τῶν προβάτων καὶ αἰγ[ῶ]ν γονῆς καὶ νομῶν [καὶ] γράσσεως | καὶ κεδρίας καὶ, ὁ [μ]ὴ εἶοιτο, θανάτου καὶ ἐπιμελεί[ας] καὶ φροντίδος γο[ν]ῆς ὄντων; P.Alex.Giss. 5.20–21 (215) τετυχ]ηκότα τῆς ἴ[σ]ῆς ἐπιμελεί[ας] καὶ φρον[τί]δος. χλωρο[φαγίας, ‘grazing of green fodder’, corresponds to γράσσεως, ‘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 χλω[ρο]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 εἶοιτο. A conflation of εἶν and γένοιτο, considered by Gignac, *Grammar* ii 404, as equivalent to γένοιτο. 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 του]τέστιν will not necessarily fill the space; a possible parallel in SB XXVI 16507.7 (Oxy.: 475) ὑπὲρ τούτων φόρους τουτέστιν χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον.

19–20 παρ]αδώσω τὰς αἶγας ἀθανά]τους. 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 καὶ γὰρ παρ]έ[λ]αβον. Restored from P.Sakaon 71.26.



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

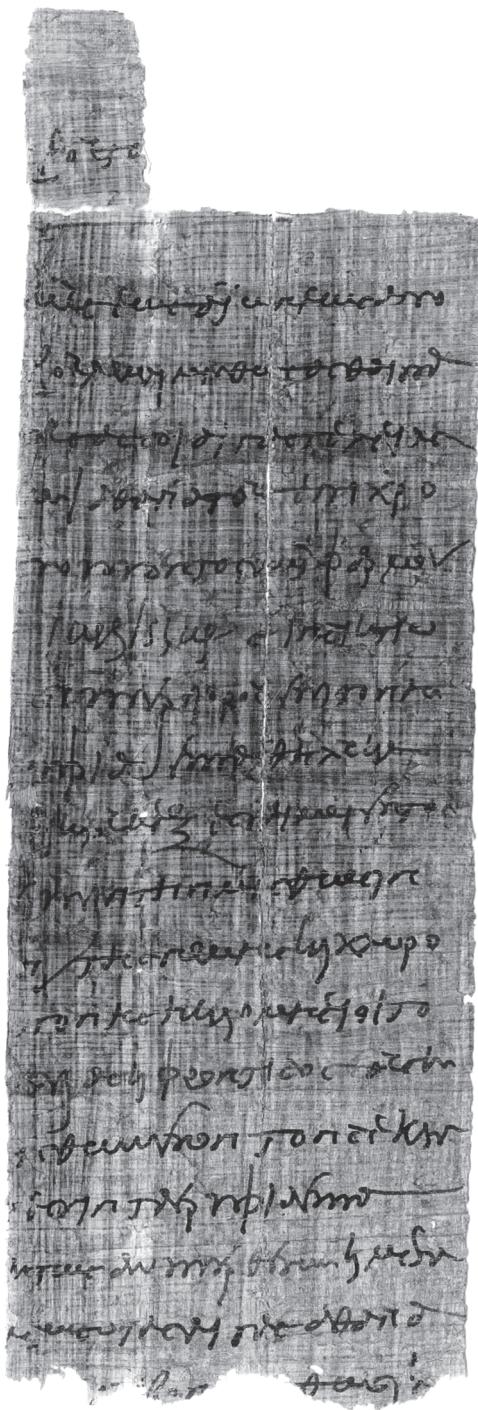


Fig. 2: Courtesy of the Penn Museum, object E16746