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A Dossier of Seed Orders and
Farmers' Oaths from Karanis*

Plates 3–6

The farming of public and imperial land in Roman Egypt was the responsibility of local tenants under customary arrangements and various forms of collectivity whose details often escape notice. Yet the organization and activities of these farmers are of particular importance insofar as they highlight the contours of state power in the countryside and the customs underpinning rural society. The key instrument of this compact took the form of a *cheirographia*, a written oath sworn in the emperor's name by public farmers in connection with the assumption of leaseholds and the receipt of seed loans, which "articulated their obligations and the conditions of their tenancy," just as written contracts governed private tenancy arrangements.¹ Few such oaths taken upon the receipt of seed have hitherto been identified and published.

The dossier of orders and oaths presented here thus adds substantially to our knowledge of this regular articulation of the relationship between state and peasantry

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¹ J. Rowlandson, *The Organisation of Public Land in Roman Egypt*, in: J. C. Moreno García (ed.), *L'agriculture institutionnelle en Égypte ancienne : état de la question et perspectives interdisciplinaires*, Lille 2005, 184. The main study on oaths in this period remains E. Seidl, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht. Erster Teil: Die Zeit von der Eroberung Ägyptens bis zum Beginn der Regierung Diokletians*, Munich 1933.

in early Roman Egypt.² They are united by their connection to the village of Karanis and shared formulae. 1–4 from the Vienna collection form a coherent group (a small archive, in fact) dating to the winter of Tiberius’ 13th year (December, 26), probably even to the same day. Particularly valuable to understanding the organization of agricultural activities is the supervisory role of the lead farmer, called ἐπιτηρητῆς καὶ δεκανός in the seed orders (see Section III below). 5, on the other hand, stems from the University of Michigan excavations and is dated a half century later, but its similarities to the earlier Vienna group provide evidence for procedural continuity and justify its inclusion here.

Doc.	Inv.	Date (CE)	Type
1	P.Vindob. inv. D 9992 recto	22 and 23 Dec., 26	Order (ll. 1–12) and Oath (ll. 13–45)
2	P.Vindob. inv. G 24567 recto, sheet 1	22 Dec. (?), 26	Oath
3	P.Vindob. inv. G 24567 recto, sheet 2	22 Dec., 26	Order
4	P.Vindob. inv. D 10007 recto	22 Dec. (?), 26	Order (mostly lost) and Oath (ll. 3–26)
5	P.Mich. inv. 5544	81–84	Oath (?)

Tab. 1. Overview of Texts.

I. An Archive of Seed Orders and Oaths

The Vienna documents all involve seed loans to farmers of the estate of “Iulia Augusta” (the imperial mother Livia) around Karanis. They consist of orders from the well-attested *strategos* Dionysodoros to the estate *sitologos* Zoilos, as well as the subsequent oaths written by the local notary (*nomographos*) or his assistant on behalf of the farmers and addressed to representatives of the *strategos*. 1 and 4 contain both the order and the corresponding oath on a single sheet, while the joined sheets 2–3 contain respectively an oath and an order, although they do not correspond to one another. The backs of these documents were later used for Demotic accounts associated with the priests of Soknopaiou Nesos, where the papyri were no doubt discovered. We may

² Under the “peasantry” we include farmers whose main landholdings were public and ousiac land, without excluding others. On the practical overlap between these types of land and the assimilation of those that farmed them, see already M. Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonats*, Leipzig, Berlin 1910, 131, n. 1; cf. A. Tomsin, *Étude sur les presbuteroi des villages de la chora égyptienne. Deuxième partie*, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l’Académie Royale de Belgique 38 (1952) 467–532 at 477 and Rowlandson, *Public Land* (n. 1) 175. From an earlier period, A. Monson highlights the likeness to royal farmers of a peasant association brought to cultivate part of Apollonios’ gift estate (*P.Agri.*, pp. 13–14).

safely presume that 1–4 were found and acquired together, but there is no pertinent information in the Vienna records.³

Who kept the papers before they reached Soknopaiou Nesos? We have considered three candidates: 1) the *strategos*; 2) the *sitologos* Zoilos in Karanis; or 3) the *nomographos* of Karanis, NN alias Sotas. Given that the oaths are addressed to the *strategos*' representatives, we favor him as the archive holder. The joined sheets 2–3 might support this idea, if indeed they are indicative of an official *tomos synkollesimos* (to which 1 and 4 would also have originally belonged),⁴ since such official *tomoi* are associated with metropolite archival practices.⁵ We may compare the late Ptolemaic archive of the royal scribes Peteimouthes and Harchebis (TM Arch 456), which includes a number of seed documents, some of which may have been joined in a *tomos synkollesimos*,⁶ and the group of late first century CE Oxyrhynchite seed applications and orders, which are linked by the *strategos* Dios (TM Arch 386).

Sitologic archives, on the other hand, are one of the most common types of official archives that have come down to us, and just from the early Roman period we have the papers of Akousilaos of Bakchias (TM Arch 296), Akousilaos of Lysimachis (TM Arch 263), Asklepiades of Neilopolis (TM Arch 681), and the granary directors of Koma in the Herakleopolite (TM Arch 521), so we do not exclude Zoilos as the archive holder.⁷ The papers of Akousilaos of Lysimachis, moreover, were also joined together and reused for Demotic accounts⁸ (as well as literary texts), although there we find clear cases of composite rolls created for the purpose of reuse rather than archiving. The fact that the Karanis seed documents were reused by the priests of Soknopaiou Nesos is not

³ They belong to the “alter Bestand,” that is, the papyri acquired before the 1899 incorporation of Archduke Rainer's collection in the (then) Hofbibliothek. They were inventoried separately, 1 and 4 under the D(emotic) numbers, and the joined sheets of 2–3, whose Demotic is more faded, under the G(reek) numbers.

⁴ The other possibility, which we consider less likely but do not exclude, is that the sheets were glued together by the priests of Soknopaiou Nesos, in which case this would be a composite roll rather than an official *tomos*.

⁵ On the association of *tomoi* with the nome archives, see W. Clarysse, *Tomoi Synkollesimoi*, in: M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions. Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, Oxford 2003, 354.

⁶ E.g., *P.Berl.Salmen.* 3 and 4 (cf. the editor's remarks, p. 80 and D. Kaltsas, *Aus den Archiven der Königlichen Schreiber Peteimouthes und Harchebis*, *Tyche* 18 [2003] 7).

⁷ For the more remote candidate of the Karanis notary, cf. the archive of the Narmouthis notaries discussed below, which contained seed oaths (but no orders). Below, however, we suggest that 2 is a copy written outside the *grapheion* (Section V), which makes it less likely that the papers were stored there.

⁸ Cf. also the farmers' oath *P.Vind.Tand.* 10, likewise reused for Demotic accounts. The archive of the *sitologos* Akousilaos of Bakchias (TM Arch 296) was found in the area of the temple of Soknobkonneus: cf. M. Resel, *Zahlungsanweisungen für Weizen aus dem Tempel des Soknobkonneus in Bakchias. Das Archiv des Sitologen Akousilaos*, *JJP* 45 (2015) 172 on possible reasons for the findspot, including the priests' intention to reuse them.

decisive either way, as they could have just as well made use of old papers from their neighboring village as from the nome archives.⁹

It is also at the level of administrative language and formula that the archive of Akousilaos of Lysimachis comes in for special comparison, particularly *P.Lond.* II 256e (p. 96) = *W.Chr.* 344. This order to the *sitologos* contains a detailed exposition of how the seed is to be properly used by the farmers, which finds close parallels not in the orders of the Vienna group, which are succinct, but in the oaths of the farmers, the most expansive and best preserved examples of this type of document. The London papyrus contains another close parallel, 256c descr., whose significance we only recognized upon the recent return of some digitalized manuscripts to the British Library website.¹⁰ Otherwise, the closest comparanda come from the unpublished Narmouthis *grapheion* archive of the later first century housed in the Chester Beatty Library (hereafter, CBL), among which the two large oaths, CBL Pap. 1003 of 68 CE and 1006 of 74 CE, take pride of place.¹¹ Together, these texts form a constellation of overlapping and similar clauses that have contributed to iterative progress on the whole group, including *P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344 and other published documents, corrections to which can be found in the appendix. For an overview of the clauses of such oaths, see Section VI.

II. Procedures for the Distribution of Seed Grain to Farmers

In Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, there were three documented steps to state seed loans, even if evidence is patchy and precise personnel and procedures varied over time and place:¹² 1) requests from local officials or applications from farmers; 2) orders from

⁹ The reuse of papers and rolls from the metropolite archives is well attested across the nome, and there is plenty of such evidence related to the priests of Soknopaiou Nesos found amongst the Vienna demotica; cf. also the later reuse of official documents in Greek (among other types of documents) for the accounts of the priest Pakysis (TM Arch 165): A. Jördens, *P.Louvre* I, pp. 220–221 and C. Balamoshev, W. G. Claytor, *From Soknopaiou Nesos to Warsaw: A Greek Account on the Back of the Demotic Temple Inventory P.Berol. Inv. 6848*, JJP 52 (2022) 5.

¹⁰ <https://www.bl.uk/research/digitised-manuscripts/> (accessed 8 Jan., 2025). For a preliminary description of 256c, see the appendix.

¹¹ The authors are part of a working group led by Brian McGing that is studying this archive. For an introduction, see B. McGing, *Papyrology in its Second Century, and the Chester Beatty*, in: M. Wallraff, P. Andrist (edd.), *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri at Ninety*, Berlin, Boston 2023, 7–17.

¹² For discussions and analysis, see Rostowzew, *Kolonat* (n. 2) 213–218; M. Schnebel et al., *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Munich 1925, 120–129; N. Hohlwein, *Le blé d'Égypte*, ÉtPap 4 (1938) 33–120; C. Michurski, *Les avances aux semailles et les prêts de semences dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Eos 48 (1956) 105–138; H. El-Maghrabi, J. D. Thomas, *P.Oxy.* LVII, pp. 99–125; T. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung. Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs (30 v. Chr. – 245 n. Chr.)*, Vol. 1, Munich, Leipzig 2002, 406–448; I. L. Forselv, *Affidavit of State Farmers. P. Osl. inv. no. 1468*, Symbolae Osloenses 78 (2003) 19–29; Rowlandson, *Public Land* (n. 1) 184–185; C. Armoni, *Studien zur Verwaltung des Ptolemäischen Ägypten: Das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus*, Cologne 2012, 89–102; W. G. Claytor, *Mechanics of Empire: the Karanis Register and the Writing Offices of Roman Egypt*, University of Michigan diss. 2014, 111–116;

officials to granary personnel to measure out seed; 3) receipts issued by farmers. The documents published here correspond to steps 2 and 3.

In 1, the order and oath upon receipt date to the same day, which was probably also the case for the other seed loans documented in the Vienna group, a concurrence that is best explained by the presence of the *strategos* and the royal scribe (who countersigns the order) in Karanis on 22 December, 26.¹³ Similarly, the papers of the *strategos* Dios contain an application (preserved in two copies, *P.Oxy.* LVII 3903 and 3904) and an order (likewise in two copies, *P.Oxy.* LVII 3908 and 3909) dated to the same day (14 November, 99), which led Rathbone to conclude that the “whole process of making and responding to these applications was carried out in one go with all the signatories present,” perhaps at the office of the local village scribe.¹⁴ Nevertheless, not all farmers would have benefited from such ready service, even if none officials no doubt undertook regular tours of their district.¹⁵ In the unpublished P.Berol. inv. 16042 (Pelousion [Arsin.], 20 Jan., 138, edition in preparation), a farmer acknowledges receipt of seed 25 days after the order of the *strategos* and royal scribe was issued, an order that he personally brought back to his home village.¹⁶

There is general agreement that an oath was required at some stage of the procedure throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman period.¹⁷ The Ptolemaic documents make clear that a written oath had to be submitted by the farmers when the seed was measured out and even provide a sense of its contents, although as far as we know no oath itself has been identified from this period.¹⁸ The seed order *SB V 8755.8–10* (Herakleopolite, 78 BCE), for instance, instructs the *sitologos* to receive from the royal farmer in question “a written declaration of a royal oath (χειρογραφία ὄρκου βασιλικού) concerning the sowing of the land and the repayment (of the seed) from the new (crops) together with

Resel, *Zahlungsanweisungen* (n. 8) 175–178; U. Yiftach, *P.Col. inv. 84 (7): A Special Report (Προσφώνησις), Presumably Issued by Σιτολόγοι (98 CE, Oxyrhynchites?)*, ZPE 229 (2024) 175–181.

¹³ Although the oaths are addressed τοῖς παρὰ Διονυσιοδώρου στρατηγοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου, perhaps a sign that the *strategos* was not himself present.

¹⁴ D. Rathbone, [review of] *P. Oxy. LVII*, *The Classical Review* 42 (1992) 413.

¹⁵ On what little is known of the official travel of *strategoi* and royal secretaries, see Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* (n. 12) 47.

¹⁶ This need not be a regular procedure either, as the seed in this case was issued for a plot of confiscated land (γεννηματογραφουμένων ἐδαφῶν, l. 6).

¹⁷ See already Rostowzew, *Kolonat* (n. 2) 213 and Seidl, *Der Eid* (n. 1) 69; cf. Rowlandson, *Public Land* (n. 1) 184–185.

¹⁸ Two Ptolemaic documents have long been connected to the annual distribution of seed, but we think that both were occasioned by the assumption of a new leasehold, for which oaths were also required (for Roman examples, see n. 30): the Demotic oath *UPZ II 186 = P.Choach.Survey 83* descr. (133 BCE), with W. Spiegelberg, *Der Königseid des demotischen Papyrus 3080*, *RecTrav* 36 (1914) 167–174; and *P.Tebt. I 210* descr. (107 BCE), with T. Prussin, *Lease of Land in the Form of an Oath*, in: E. Cole, T. Hickey, A. Hogan, *Of Exceptional Importance and Interest: Papyri Curated by Affiliates of the Center for the Tebunis Papyri*, Berkeley 2022, 77–78. For the connection of these documents to seed distributions, see Rostowzew, *Kolonat* (n. 2) 213, followed by Forselv, *Affidavit* (n. 12) 20.

the rents due on the land.”¹⁹ In addition, the *sitologos* is to produce both “a receipt and counter-receipt”²⁰ recording the exact amount of seed given to the farmer.

Roman-period documents suggest a merging of oath and receipt,²¹ for which the Vienna papyri now provide clear examples: the *strategos*’ orders in **1** and **3** require an *ἀποχή* from the farmers, who in turn produce an oath in the name of the emperor swearing to their receipt (μεμετρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπεσχηκέναι) of the given amount of seed and its proper use. 15 years earlier, in the detailed order *P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344 (11), the *sitologos* is instructed to receive from the farmers a χειρογραφία concerning their obligations to the land (l. 4 ff.) and an ἀποχή recording the amount of seed received (l. 10). These have been considered two distinct documents, a holdover from Ptolemaic practice,²² but we rather think a single document was intended, an oath upon receipt in the style of **1**, **3**, and **4**, which could be called χειρογραφία or ἀποχή, depending on which aspect was emphasized.²³ The same London papyrus, in fact, contains a previously-unrecognized oath of this type dating to 5 CE (*P.Lond.* II 256c descr.: see appendix). Later documents from the Oxyrhynchite also suggest that the two terms could be used interchangeably.²⁴

Text	Date	Place	Farmers	Arour. ²⁵	Artab.
<i>P.Lond.</i> II 256c descr. (cf. append.)	13 Dec., 5	Tristomon/ Boukolion	?	[50?]	50
<i>P.Vind.Tand.</i> 9.i ²⁶	11 Nov., 10	Lysimachis	20 (?) ²⁷	[483?]	483
1.13–45	22 Dec., 26	Karanis	9	90	90
2	22 Dec.?, 26	Karanis	17	170	170
4.3–26	22 Dec.?, 26	Karanis	5	23 ¹³ / ₁₆	23 ¹³ / ₁₆

¹⁹ ληφθείσης αὐτοῦ χειρογραφίας ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ περ[ὶ τοῦ] | κατασπερεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ παραδώσειν ἐγ νέ[ων ἅμα] | τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἐκφορτοῖς. See further below on the clauses of oaths.

²⁰ καὶ σύμβ(ολον) καὶ ἀντισύμβ(ολον) ποίησα[ι], l. 12.

²¹ Rowlandson, *Public Land* (n. 1) 185.

²² H. El-Maghrabi, J. D. Thomas, *P.Oxy.* LVII, p. 120 and Rowlandson, *Public Land* (n. 1) 185. Cf. *BGU XVI* 2590 (Herakleopolite, 25 BCE), in which an oath and a receipt (regarding paid dike work) are written on the same sheet.

²³ The Tebtynis notary Kronion uses the term χειρογραφία σπερμάτων to refer to such documents: see n. 30.

²⁴ Rowlandson, *Public Land* (n. 1) 185. Yiftach, *P.Col. inv.* 84 (7) (n. 12) 179, however, sees a distinction between the two terms in the Oxyrhynchite orders.

²⁵ Seed was generally distributed at a ratio of one artaba per aroua, which is the basis for supplying the extent of land when it is not specified or lost.

²⁶ The editors tentatively considered this document a “Bericht über die Verteilung von Saatgut” (ll. 1–4 n.), but the subscription of Patynis (the *hegoumenos* of the farmers, as *P.Vind.Tand.* 9.ii.10 shows) with the verb συναπέχω shows that this is the bottom of a receipt, presumably framed as an oath: cf. the additional subscription to the oath at **1.44–45** with n.

²⁷ *P.Vind.Tand.* 9.i (oath upon receipt), *W.Chr.* 344 (order), and *P.Vind.Tand.* 9.ii–iii (order) involve the same group of farmers over three consecutive years, in each of which they receive 483 artabas of seed grain. A full list of the farmers appears to be preserved in *P.Vind.* 9.ii–iii: we see eight lines of names (rather than the editors’ nine) under the order of *P.Vind.* 9.ii, which is then followed by 12 farmers in the next column and a large bottom margin, giving what seems to be a total of 20 farmers. On the significance of this figure, see below on *dekaniai*.

CBL Pap. 1003	11 Nov., 68	Narmouthis	ca. 190	[2700?]	2700
CBL Pap. 1005	12 Dec., 71	Narmouthis	?	[30 or 300?]	30 or 300
CBL Pap. 1006	15 Nov., 74	Narmouthis	140	[2903?]	2903
5	81–84	Karanis	?	[500+]	500+
P.Mich. inv. 5838k ²⁸	Late I–II	Karanis	?	?	?
P.Berol. inv. 16042 (cf. above)	20 Jan., 138	Pelousion (Arsin.)	1	12	12
BGU I 85 = W.Chr. 345 (cf. append.)	138–161	Arsin.	20+	50+ ²⁹	47 ⁷ / ₁₂ +
P.Sakaon 49	314	Theadelphia	16	[76?]	64 (wheat), 12 (barley)

Tab. 2. Oaths upon Receipt of Seed Grain.³⁰

No reference is made in our documents to the first step of seed distributions, namely requests or applications. The procedures were traditionally initiated by local officials, such as the *topogrammateus* (cf. *P.Berl.Salmen*. 3–5, 86 BCE) or *komogrammateus* (e.g. *BGU XVI 2560*, 8/7 BCE, and others from TM Arch 521), but applications from individual farmers (and sometimes larger groups) are known from the late first century CE on. Rowlandson proposed that applications were only necessary under special circumstances, such as when farmers took over a new plot of land,³¹ while Yiftach has now argued (without engaging with Rowlandson) for the introduction of a new policy in the late first century CE requiring farmers to apply for seed distributions, thereby rendering the detailed oath upon receipt redundant, since the applications already included the oath.³²

Yiftach's argument deserves further consideration, but we note here that it makes no allowance for regional differences: the applications from the late first century whose

²⁸ An unedited fragment from granary C123 (on which see *P.Mich.* XXI) containing τ]ὸν ὄρκον ἀπέχιν τὰ σπέρματα τῆς [... κατασπορᾶς ...] (ll. 3–4) and other phrases suggesting the subscriptions to an oath upon receipt of seed.

²⁹ The figures for only one plot of land are fully preserved; others are mostly lost in i.4 and 7.

³⁰ There are also numerous references to such oaths going back to the Ptolemaic period, as mentioned above. Roman-period references include the entries in the notary Kronion's account *P.Mich.* II 123 recto: vii.42 (23 Nov., 45), χηρογραφία σπερμάτων Κερκεσούχων Ὠρο(υς)· (δραχμαὶ) δ; viii.9 (30 Nov., 45), χηρογρ(αφία) εἰαυρέων σπερμάτων(ν) (πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν) ρν· (δραχμαὶ) δ; ix.34 (26 Dec., 45), χηρογρ(αφία) σπερμάτο(ν) δημοσίων γεωργῶ(ν) τῆς κόμη(ς)· (δραχμαὶ) η. Cf. also Claytor, *Mechanics* (n. 12) on similar entries in the Karanis *Grapheion* Account from the early second century. Closely related to the oath upon receipt of seed but distinct in purpose are the oaths produced upon the assumption of a new leasehold (cf. n. 18 for Ptolemaic examples), such as *BGU XIII 2245.i* and *ii* (Soknopaiou Nesos, 14–37), *SB XXX 17666* (Ptolemais Melissourgon, 54), and *P.Mich.* IX 545 (Karanis, 88/89). It was this type of oath that Isidoros of Psobthis claims he was forced into by agents of the *strategos*, a dispute that generated the paperwork of his archive (TM Arch 113).

³¹ Rowlandson, *Public Land* (n. 1) 185–186.

³² Yiftach, *P.Col. inv. 84 (7)* (n. 12) 178–179.

provenance is known are exclusively Oxyrhynchite, and the one contemporary bit of evidence we now have from the Arsinoite, the receipt 5 (84–96), appears to show the same procedure in place as earlier, with a detailed exposition of the proper use of the seed, probably framed as an oath;³³ moreover, there is at least one seed application that predates 5.³⁴ To be sure, the hundreds of small receipts from the mid-second century Karanis *sitologos* archive (TM Arch 271) and others like them show that a new method of recording the receipt of seed by Arsinoite farmers had arisen by this period.³⁵ Yet, there is still evidence of oaths upon receipt in the second century, such as *W.Chr.* 345 (Arsinoite, 138–161), which proves difficult for Yiftach’s proposal that the references to χειρογραφία found in many of the receipts are “fossilized” expressions,³⁶ nor do we find much evidence for Arsinoite applications in the richly-documented second century.³⁷

We are not yet prepared to accept a wholesale shift in the procedures for seed distribution across the province in the late first century. The Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite differed markedly both in the prevalence of public land and the degree of cooperation and communal identity amongst public farmers,³⁸ so regional variations may well have prevailed into the second century, if indeed Rowlandson’s explanation for the applications does not still hold.

III. Cooperative Farming in the Fayum: δεκανία and the ἐπιτηρητής καὶ δεκανός

The cooperative nature of public farming in the Fayum is further underscored by the new evidence presented here for the joint receipt of seed: groups of 5, 9, 10, and 17 farmers are found in the Vienna papyri, and an even larger group in 5, judging by the size of their seed loan (500+ artabas), similar to the amounts found in some of the Akousilaos of Lysimachis documents.³⁹ Yet even these larger groups pale in comparison

³³ Since the top of this document is missing, we cannot be certain that it was framed as an oath, but since it is a receipt with many of the same clauses as the earlier Karanis oaths and the Narmouthis oaths from the 60s and 70s, we think it likely.

³⁴ The “Bain papyrus” (81–84): see the appendix for details.

³⁵ See H. G. Gundel, *Einige Giessener Saatquittungen*, CdÉ 47 (1972) 204–216 and Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* (n. 12) 452–460.

³⁶ Yiftach, *P.Col. inv. 84 (7)* (n. 12) 179. Rowlandson, *Public Land* (n. 1) 184–185 doubts whether these distributions, which were individually receipted, were prompted by individual applications.

³⁷ *P.Tebt.* II 341 (140) is a request from the *komogrammateus* of Theoxenis in the Polemon division to the royal scribe of the Themistos for seed to farm lands belonging to Argias in the latter division, which Rowlandson, *Public Land* (n. 1) 186 already considered in her argument.

³⁸ The point is well underlined by Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* (n. 12) 460–463 in discussing individual versus collective seed distributions.

³⁹ Cf. above with n. 27 on the 20 (?) farmers of *W.Chr.* 344 and *P.Vind.Tand.* 9. In *P.Lond.* II 256d (Kynopolis, 11), the names of 10 farmers are listed below the order, but the list must have originally continued into another column, like *P.Vind.* 9.ii–iii, since only about 250 of the 807 ½ artabas are accounted for in the figures that have been read. If the remaining amount was allocated

to those found in the CBL oaths from Narmouthis, with around 190 farmers receiving 2,700 artabas in CBL Pap. 1003 and 140 farmers receiving around 2,900 artabas in Pap. 1006. As the body of evidence expands, it is becoming increasingly clear that collective oaths upon receipt were the norm in the Arsinoite of the first century plus of Roman rule,⁴⁰ which well fits the concentration and collective importance of public farmers in this region.

The activities of these farming associations were coordinated by boards of elders (πρεσβύτεροι)⁴¹ as well as individual supervisors who carried a range of titles: γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν, ἐπιμελητής, ἡγούμενος, κεφαλαιωτής, προστάτης, etc. *P.Vind.Tand.* 10.iii (Herakleopolite, 54) gives a sense of the responsibilities of ousiac προστάται, while the internal organization of these groups is well illustrated by the association ordinance of the ἀπολύσιμοι of the estate of Claudius (*P.Mich.* V 244, Tebtynis, 43). This ordinance also demonstrates the potential interchangeability of leadership titles, since the man therein elected as ἐπιμελητής is also referred to as ἡγούμενος and possibly κεφαλαιωτής.

None of these terms appears in our texts. Instead, the lead farmer in the orders **1** and **3** is called ἐπιτηρητής καὶ δεκανός. The former is an unexpected title, since there are only a couple possible attestations before the end of the first century CE⁴² and, as far as we know, it has not previously been connected to state or ousiac farmers (but see below). The second title, δεκανός, on the other hand, is known for leading state farmers as early as the second century BCE: *P.Turku* 1 (Theadelphia, 151 BCE) is a petition submitted by a δεκανός τῶν ἐκ τῆς κόμης βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν (ll. 9–10), who was installed in this post by the komarch. He was presumably in charge of a δεκανία,⁴³ although the word has not yet appeared in the Ptolemaic period. Earlier, in the third century BCE, we find farmers organized into δεκαταρχία,⁴⁴ a standard Egyptian work unit of great antiquity.⁴⁵ The Demotic equivalent of δεκατάρχης / δεκανός, *z-n-10*,

at the same average of a little under 28 artabas per farmer, the total group would have consisted of 30 farmers.

⁴⁰ Other examples include the entries in the notary Kronion's account *P.Mich.* II 123 recto, vii.42, viii.9 (a group of priests receiving 150 artabas of seed), and ix.34 (the "public farmers of the village").

⁴¹ See Tomsin, *Presbuteroi* (n. 2) and S. Strassi, *Elders (Presbuteroi) of the Farmers and of the Village in Roman Egypt*, in: M. Langellotti, D. Rathbone (edd.), *Village Institutions in Egypt in the Roman to Early Arab Periods*, Oxford 2020, 66–81.

⁴² *O.Wilck.* 1229.5 (II–I BCE), but the title is doubted (*BL* II.1 97), and *O.Elkab* 180.1 (33/34 CE), where it may be used of a tax collectors.

⁴³ In their translation of this text, however, R. S. Bagnall, P. Derow, *The Hellenistic Period. Historical Sources in Translation*, Malden, MA 2004, 160 gloss *dekanos* as "head of a group of ten, literally, but apparently head of the entire group of cultivators in this case."

⁴⁴ *W.Chr.* 304 (223 BCE) and *P.Ryl.* IV 664 (late III BCE). Cf. already M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer*, Munich 1972 (1913) 163. Other work groups, such as those of stone-cutters, were organized in a like manner: see B. Van Beek, *P.Petrie Kleon*, p. 28.

⁴⁵ M. Di Teodoro, *Labour Organisation in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, London 2018, 161–162. The title *jmj-r 10*, "overseer of ten," the equivalent of δεκατάρχης / δεκανός, goes back to the

might be found in P.Heid.Dem. inv. 46 of the late third century BCE.⁴⁶ Ten, of course, was a nominal figure, and the actual number of group members could vary.

Guard duty is one of the more visible functions of δεκανοί and their teams in both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. In *P.Tebt.* I 27 = *W.Chr.* 331 (Kerkeosiris, 113 BCE) an ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is admonished to call a general meeting of the δεκανοί τῶν φυλακτικῶν about guarding the crops (γενημάτων τήρησις⁴⁷ / φυλακία), while the more fragmentary *P.Tebt.* III.2 927 descr. (ca. 140 BCE) is “a statement from a [γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν] about the procedure to be followed with regard to the crops.” The list of around 10 γενηματοφύλακες⁴⁸ in lines 10–16 (i.e. a δεκανία?) and the phrase ἐν τῇ ἐπιτηρήσει (l. 27) suggest a similar matter is at issue. These references, moreover, provide an explanation for the pairing of ἐπιτηρητής and δεκανός in the Vienna orders (reinforced by the Roman references discussed below) and perhaps suggest that there are Ptolemaic precedents for the former title as well, which either have not come down to us or are yet to be identified.

In the Roman period, the title δεκανός is best attested in relation to the work groups of the Eastern Desert⁴⁹ and the Theban region⁵⁰ but is also borne by farmers in various nomes.⁵¹ *BGU* IV 1189 (Herakleopolite, after 1 BCE/1 CE) is a petition from a man who stood surety for two δεκανοὶ χώματος, while *P.Lips.* II 132 (Hermopolite, 25 CE) is an oath taken by village leaders to provide 50 men organized κ[α]τὰ δεκα[ν]ίας (l. 10) to watch (συντηρέω) the local dikes and fields.⁵² Besides guarding crops, then, another key role of the δεκανοί was leading small teams of villagers on patrol to keep watch

Old Kingdom: A. M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom. The Evolution of a System of Social Organization*, Chicago 1991, 121. H. Cuvigny, *O.Did.*, p. 57, following J. N. Kellérís, *Les anciens Macédoniens. Étude linguistique et historique*, vol. I, Athens 1954, 153–155, instead sees influence from the Macedonian military milieu.

⁴⁶ A. Monson, *Landholders, Rents, and Crops in a Ptolemaic Village: P. Heid. Dem. inv. 46*, in: A. M. Dodson et al. (edd.), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honour of W. J. Tait*, London 2014, 229–240. See pp. 229–230 and the commentary to recto, column 2.1 for discussion of the term.

⁴⁷ On the term τήρησις, see D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine*, Leiden 1993, 188–189.

⁴⁸ See E. Skarsouli, *P.Oxyrhyncha* 16.2–3 on this title.

⁴⁹ H. Cuvigny, *O.Did.*, pp. 57–67.

⁵⁰ R. S. Bagnall, *Army and Police in Roman Upper Egypt*, *JARCE* 14 (1977) 67–86, with the brief response of D. Hagedorn, *Κυνηγίδες*, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 188–189. For archives involving such δεκανοί, see *TM Arch* 459, 460, 461, and 640. The so-called δεκανία-lists are typical of Thebes but are also found elsewhere: cf. e.g. *BGU* VII 1716 (Philadelphia, II), *O.Mich.* IV 1136 (Karanis, early IV), and *O.Kell.* 124 and 125 (III–IV).

⁵¹ Cf. also the δεκανικόν, a rarely-attested tax, presumably connected with the upkeep of δεκανοί: F. Reiter, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites. Ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten*, Paderborn 2004, 189–191.

⁵² The use of the verb συντηρέω twice in this oath (ll. 11 and 13) again provides a link with the title ἐπιτηρητής. Cf. *BGU* XVI 2590 (Herakleopolite, 25 BCE) with C. Armoni, *Of Mice and Men. Bemerkungen zu dokumentarischen Texten*, *ZPE* 216 (2020) 200–201, in which seven village πρεσβύτεροι swear to watch over (τηρήσειν: Armoni) the nearby public dikes night and day.

during the crucial period of inundation and to make necessary repairs.⁵³ The same work groups were no doubt employed for off-season repairs as well, which might explain the role of the Theadelphia farmer identified with the title δεκανός in the *penthemeros* certificate *P.Princ.* II 40.3 (with *BOEP* 4.1, p. 4)⁵⁴ and why some rolls of certificates were not cut up and distributed to individual farmers: they remained in the hands of the δεκανός.⁵⁵ The δεκανίαι were also active at the harvest: in a contract from 12/11 BCE, the grandfather of the dike worker in *P.Princ.* II 40 accepts advance wages for 10 reapers and promises to put them to work upon request.⁵⁶ It is not a leap to suppose that this man, Harthotes of the eponymous archive (TM Arch 99), likewise held the title δεκανός.⁵⁷

1 and **3** show us that the ἐπιτηρητής / δεκανός also played a role in the distribution of seed grain, since the *strategos* orders that it be measured out “through” him. This local farmer was thus entrusted with a degree of administrative oversight, serving as a kind of control representing the interests of his fellow farmers and helping ensure that the *sitologos* measured the grain as ordered. Such a role is perhaps referenced in the order *P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344, where supervision of the seed distribution at the granary was to jointly fall to the toparch, the village scribe, and the “others customarily involved.”⁵⁸ Similar representation is found a century later in *BGU* III 834 (Boubastos, 125), in which a group of ten farmers, each of whom is a δεκανός (ll. 22 and 25) at the head of his own δεκανία (l. 11), acknowledges receipt of grain that they had purchased from various granaries.

Altogether, we can see δεκανοί and their teams in action at just about every stage of the agricultural cycle, from watching the inundation to checking the distribution of

⁵³ *P.Brem.* 14.12–13 (ca. 113–120), a letter to the *strategos* Apollonios sent at the beginning of the inundation, reports a work group of 20 men to be tasked with raising a dike and 30 men εἰς τήρησιν; such groups appear to be organized κατὰ δεκανίας, even if not stated explicitly. For watch groups organized this way, cf. also the Theban *dekania*-ostraka (Bagnall, *Army and Police* [n. 50] 75–76).

⁵⁴ Αὐνῆς Ἀρθώτου δεκανός ἀπὸ Θεαδε(λφίας): cf. W. G. Claytor, N. Litinas, E. Nabney, *Labor Contracts from the Harthotes Archive*, *BASP* 53 (2016) 86. The addition of the title δεκανός is likely just a form of identification, whether or not Haunes led the work group in this particular instance. Titles are rarely attached to the worker in *penthemeros* certificates, but cf. κοσκιν(ευτής) in *P.Gen.* II 92.5 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 51/52).

⁵⁵ *P.Louvre* I 31 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 185) contains exactly 10 *penthemeros* certificates in its extant form (the first is broken at the left). In W. G. Claytor, *More Penthemeros Certificates from Karanis*, *BASP* 54 (2017) 101–102, it was shown that the receipts of this roll are not in fact faulty, which was the previous explanation for why this roll was left uncut. Other uncut rolls include *PSI* X 1110+*P.Mert.* III 103 (Thegonis, 157), *P.Schøyen* II 28 (Tebtynis, 195) and *P.Tebt.* II 371+*SB* XIV 11485 (Tebtynis, 213).

⁵⁶ *P.Mich. inv.* 4436g+4344: Claytor, Litinas, Nabney, *Labor Contracts* (n. 54) 99–104.

⁵⁷ The Theban ostraka contain evidence for the role of δεκανός passing from father to son: see e.g. T. Hickey, *Ostraca Upsaliensia (Part I)*, *Archiv* 56 (2010) 263.

⁵⁸ L. 3: συνεπακολουθούντων τοῦ τοπάρχου καὶ τοῦ κωμογραμμάτεως τῆς κώμης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰθισμένων. The other officials probably included at least the *hegoumenos* and *grammateus* of the farmers (cf. their place alongside the toparch and village scribe in the order *P.Lond.* II 256d.1–4).

seed, guarding the crops, organizing the harvest, and repairing the dikes in the off-season. Given their apparent ubiquity, why are there seemingly so few references to the δεκανοί of farmers? Three reasons occur to us: 1) they represented the lowest level of agricultural organization and are thus less likely to have been mentioned than πρεσβύτεροι or γραμματεῖς γεωργῶν; 2) most references to δεκανοί / δεκανία are silent about their function and may conceal agricultural activities or farming groups activated for other purposes;⁵⁹ 3) foremen need not have always borne the same title, as ἐπιτηρητῆς καὶ δεκανός itself shows. Regarding the last point, comparison can be made with the better-known πιττάκια, headed by πιττακιάρχαι,⁶⁰ which seem to represent the same type of small-scale agricultural association.⁶¹ The δεκανός, like the πιττακιάρχης, was a “*primus inter pares*,”⁶² a public farmer himself, who coordinated the activities of his fellow farmers in a mutually-beneficial association and had a limited degree of administrative responsibility.⁶³

⁵⁹ When the work is specified, guard duty is common, which led Bagnall, *Army and Police* (n. 50) to interpret the Theban δεκανία as a state-imposed system of policing peculiar to the Theban region. Yet δεκανοί were also drafted for guard duty in the Arsinoite and Herakleopolite, where the work was closely tied to the agricultural cycle. Guard duty, moreover, need not have been the sole purpose for which a Theban δεκανία was activated; Hagedorn, *Κωνηγίδες* (n. 50) opens the door to seeing at least some of them as private associations. Bagnall, *Army and Police* (n. 50) 74 notes that “frequently members of the same family occur on the same list ... a fact which emphasizes the local character of the groups ... the persons listed are universally Egyptian peasants of the same class responsible for most of the money and grain tax receipts of the Theban ostraka.” Given the evidence assembled here, it is a reasonable hypothesis that Theban farmers were organized into δεκανία primarily for the coordination of agricultural activities, and that these associations could be directed to any number of public or private purposes (state-run exercises, such as the relatively visible system of guard duty, were of course more likely to be recorded).

⁶⁰ Among key earlier works, see F. Preisigke, *P.Stras.* I 45, intro. and H.-J. Wolff, *Neue juristische Urkunden. Misthosis – Pittakion*, ZRG RA 73 (1956) 326–335. A brief review of literature is found in S. Kambitsis, *BGU XXII*, pp. 3–4; see now T. Kruse, *P.Poethke* II 5, intro. The term πιττάκιον probably stems from membership lists like the δεκανία documents discussed above: see already F. Preisigke, *P.Stras.* I 45, p. 158; cf. T. Kruse, *P.Poethke* II 5, p. 74.

⁶¹ A tentative parallel between δεκανία and πιττάκια is drawn by Hagedorn, *Κωνηγίδες* (n. 50) 189. The κληρουχία of Karanis, in contrast, appear to be topographical units above all else: see O.M. Pearl, *The 94 Klerouchies of Karanis*, Pap. Congr. XIII, 325–330, drawing on a range of evidence, some still unpublished, that was unavailable to H. Geremek in her earlier thorough treatment of the subject, *Karanis, communauté rurale de l’Égypte romaine au II^e-III^e siècle de notre ère*, Wrocław 1969, 71–90.

⁶² Kruse, *P.Poethke* II 5, p. 77. Cf. D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten*, Munich 1967, 8–10.

⁶³ They can perhaps be seen as πρεσβύτεροι in miniature. Cf. Tomsin’s remarks (*Presbuteroi* [n. 2] 472): “Ils (sc. les πρεσβύτεροι) sont non seulement les mandataires de la communauté au nom de laquelle ils traitent, mais des intermédiaires agréés par l’État qui leur délègue à cette occasion certaines de ses prérogatives. Leur responsabilité, coordonnée à celle de leurs mandants, fournit la garantie de leur gestion.”

There is some evidence of state intervention in the agricultural δεκανία, but much of their activities may have been self-regulated.⁶⁴ *P.Turku* 1 shows that in the Ptolemaic period δεκανοί could be appointed by the komarch, while the requirement of sureties, as in the Augustan-era *BGU* IV 1189, was a way for the state to ensure performance. There is no evidence for the selection of δεκανοί in the Roman period, but by the fourth century certain δεκανία had become liturgical,⁶⁵ and the komarch was again involved in selecting the roster.⁶⁶

The evolution of agricultural δεκανία is hard to trace, but their roots lay in customary forms of organized labor, and their prevalence in the Greco-Roman period is secure. Even if the Ptolemaic and Roman state apparatus harnessed these traditional Egyptian work groups for their own ends, they nevertheless served as the basic units of rural organization and the foundations of peasant cooperation and self-preservation.⁶⁷

IV. The Estate of Livia

The local farmers of the Vienna group worked an estate that connected them all the way to Rome. The owner was the imperial mother Livia, here called Iulia Augusta, reflecting her adoption into the Iulii and new honorific status following Augustus' death in 14. Her estate is documented in 17 texts across the Arsinoite, Herakleopolite, and Hermopolite nomes (TM Ousia 22), along with properties held jointly with other members of the imperial household, namely Iulia, daughter of Augustus (TM Ousia 153), and Germanicus (and, later, his children) (TM Ousia 145 and 146).⁶⁸ The Vienna documents add substantially to her known holdings, which included at least 360 arouras of καρποφόρος land around Karanis (1–3) and 23 ¹³/₁₆ arouras of “dry” shoreland (ἡ κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν χέρσος) (4), altogether farmed by a total of 41 local tenants. On this estate and its management, see further below, 1.31 n.

⁶⁴ Cf. Hagedorn, *Κυνηγίδες* (n. 50) 188, emphasizing the private nature of the δεκανία attested in connection with payments for κυνηγίδες.

⁶⁵ *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2859 (301). Cf. *P.Oxy.* XIV 1626 (325).

⁶⁶ *P.Oxy.* XVII 2155 (IV). Later still we find agricultural δεκανία as subdivisions of land in sixth-century Aphrodite: e.g. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67328 (521) with Bagnall, *Army and Police* (n. 50) 74. For the term δεκανός in the Byzantine period — as difficult to pin down in individual cases as before — see *P.Heid.* XI 486.2 n.

⁶⁷ On the “tension between the villagers’ sense of their traditional rights to the land” and state influence, see Rowlandson, *Public Land* (n. 1) 173; cf. B. Haug, *Garden of Egypt. Irrigation, Society, and the State in the Premodern Fayyūm*, Michigan 2024, 138 on “the distinct duality of Roman coordinated localism in the Fayyūm” in regard to its hydrological administration, “at once internally communal and externally coercive in character.”

⁶⁸ See now Y. Broux, *The Imperial Ousiai of Roman Egypt*, Leuven 2024 (<https://www.trismegistos.org/top>). For an earlier discussion of Livia's estate see G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*, Amsterdam 1978, 16–17, 50ff., 72. The evidence has since expanded, and TM Ousia 22 includes the posthumous references to the Λιβιανή οὐσία under her estate, whereas Parássoglou, loc. cit., 19 also considers Livia Drusi a possibility. See also Y. Broux, *Livia's Prosodos Land in Philadelpheia. A Short-Lived Remnant of a Ptolemaic Tradition*, *ZPE* 210 (2019) 201–211.

V. Diplomatics and Scribes

1 and **4** contain orders and oaths on the same sheet, although only the final signature of the **4**'s order is preserved. The sheet containing the order **3** appears to have been originally envisioned to receive the oath as well, but evidently the space left for this purpose was deemed insufficient, and the final signature was added about halfway down this now redundant space. **2**, on the other hand, is a self-contained oath whose hand differs significantly from those of **1** and **4**, which has led us to consider it a copy (see below). If indeed **2** and **3** were joined as part of an official *tomos synkollesimos* (discussed above), the order corresponding to **2** may have been originally glued to the left (if included at all). We would then expect the farmers' oath corresponding to the order **3** to have originally been glued at the right.

Orders

The seed orders **1.1–12** and **3** are originals, containing the order proper in the name of the *strategos* Dionysodoros, both written in the same hand, and the signature of the royal scribe Heliodoros. The order above the oath in **4** is mostly lost, with only traces of the last line and the beginning of the signature remaining. The hand of the orders is a quick official cursive, which picks up speed after the initial, clearly-written Διονυσόδωρος (evident in **3.1**). The formulaic nature of the orders and the repetitiveness of the task account for the writer's speed. Whether Dionysodoros actually penned the orders himself is uncertain, as no certain examples of his hand are extant.⁶⁹ The royal scribe's signature is similar in appearance to the hand of the order, a product of the fact that both writers came from the same bureaucratic milieu.

A comparison of the three examples of this signature helps justify our reading Ἡλι(όδωρος) βα(σιλικός) γρ(αμματεύς) (Fig. 1). The initial eta, clear in **1**, is followed by a lambda whose second stroke descends straight down, indicating ligature into iota. What follows is a common abbreviation of βα(σιλικός) γρ(αμματεύς), whose form here closely resembles *P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5443.2* (84/85).

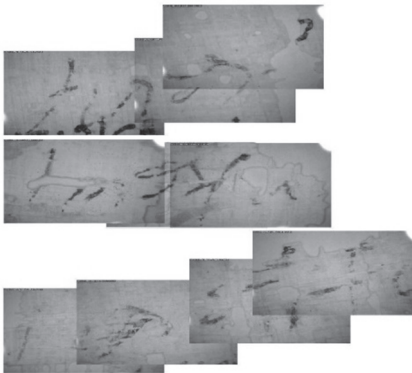


Fig. 1. Infrared images of signatures at **1.11**, **3.12**, and **4.2**.

⁶⁹ The only other possible example of Dionysodoros' hand is the much more neatly written *SB IV 7461* (45), but the identity of this man is uncertain: see T. Derda, *Ἀρσινοϊτῆς νομός. Administration of the Fayum under Roman Rule*, Warsaw 2006, 92, n. 91.

Oaths

All four oaths published here are recorded as written by staff of the local notary's office, as is usual. The Michigan document is anonymously signed by ὁ τῆς Καρανίδος νομογράφος (5.28), but the three Vienna oaths contain the name of the writer: NN ὁ καὶ Σώτας νομογράφος Καρανίδος (1.41); Σώτας [(2.37); Σουχ() γραμμα(τεὺς) Σώτο(υ) (4.24). It is evident from these signatures that the notary of Karanis in this year was a man named NN alias Sotas, who could also go by the single name Sotas, and that he employed a secretary by the name of Souch(). Despite the oaths of **1** and **2** both being written in the name of the notary, however, they were clearly written by different people, which we explain, following an analysis of the hands, by proposing that **2** is a copy written outside the *grapheion*.

1.13–43 is written in a small, quick cursive, characterized by the frequent reduction of the constituent strokes of letters (e.g., the one-stroke tau in the form of a semicircle) and *Verschleifung* as he speeds through his work (e.g. ἀριστερός in the personal descriptions, Σεβαστής, l. 32, κατασποράς, l. 33), although in some cases we cannot exclude that he has in fact omitted letters. While the hand is practiced, numerous orthographic and phonetic errors occur, such as intrusive iota adscript, the graphic variant κσ for ξ (l. 19), and the exchange of rho and lambda (ll. 36 and 37). The singular ὀμνύωι (l. 30), a couple of omissions of words (ll. 30 and 36), and the accidental repetition of κατασποράς where Σεβαστήσ οὐσίαί is needed (l. 33) demonstrate the scribe's haste and inattentiveness.

The handwriting of **4.3–26**, written by the notary's assistant, has a similar appearance to **1**⁷⁰ but is somehow even faster and sloppier: it is often difficult to distinguish letter sequences, even when we know what to expect. Extreme *Verschleifung* occurs (e.g. Πετέσουχος in the personal descriptions, Σεβαστοῦ, l. 10, κατασπεροῦμεν, l. 19), but a more noteworthy feature is the addition of extra strokes that distort the normal shapes of the letters (e.g. sigma in ἐνεστό(ς), l. 12, alpha in Ἰουλί(α)s, l. 14, δε in ἑκαδέκατον, l. 15). The several *lapsus calami* (ll. 13, 15, 20) and a certain redundancy of expression (e.g. κατασπερεῖν δὲ τὰς προκειμένας ἀρούρας | ᾧ καὶ κατασπεροῦμεν πυρικῶι σπόρωι, ll. 18–19) are also suggestive of a similar degree of haste and inattentiveness to detail as that exhibited by the writer of **1**.

The handwriting of **2**, on the other hand, despite also being written in the name of the notary, is a model official hand, larger and slower than **1**, with the individual letters clearly distinguishable. The text, moreover, is orthographically accurate, and even iotacism is rare.

The similarities between **1** and **4** and the stark contrast they present with **2** already suggest that the former are the actual hands of the named writers and the latter the product of another office, but we find confirmation in *BGU II 636*, a contract drawn up in Karanis six years earlier (5 Nov., 20). The editor noted the “schwer lesbare, ungeübte Hand,” which he thought was responsible for the whole document (l. 24 n.), but there were in fact two writers at work, the first responsible for the body contract (ll. 1–24),

⁷⁰ Cf., e.g., the mu-shaped nu and the way ζγραψα is written in both 1.41 (with n.) and 4.24.

the second for the subscription (ll. 24–33).⁷¹ This division of work fits nicely with our identification of the scribes: the notary NN alias Sotas (the scribe of **1**) wrote the body contract, and his assistant (the scribe of **4**) wrote the subscription.⁷²

Sotas' work in the body of the contract is more error-prone than in **1**, to the point that it is sometimes difficult to follow his meaning (e.g. the end of l. 15).⁷³ The contract opens with ἐμίσθωσεν written ἐμθωσεν (l. 6) (which could also be explained as *Verschleifung*), which ought to have been ὁμολογεῖ in any case, as the following infinitive in l. 11 shows. Then, starting in l. 13, he switches from the third to the first person, forgetting the objective style with which he correctly began the contract (albeit with the wrong verb). Finally, after ὑπογραφεὺς τοῦ μεμισθωκότος, he leaves out the expected identifying information of the subscriber. All of this is indicative of a scribe who was still trying to get the hang of Greek contract diplomatics (and perhaps the language itself). Sotas had improved by the time he set down the farmers' oath six years later.

The handwriting of the subscription is a little slower than that of **4**, though still sloppy: see, for instance, the flattened upsilon in ὑπέρ, l. 31. Noteworthy as well is the use of the two Xs, the first of which is underlined, immediately after the signature, which is also found in **1** and was probably part of the bureaucratic usage of Sotas' office.⁷⁴

BGU II 636.30–31 provides the name and patronym of the subscriber, which we have read as Πετέσουχος | Πετάλου (Ναύμαχος | Η.,, ελου *ed. pr.*: see the appendix for discussion). Σουχ() in **4**, then, should be a shortened form of his name. Since this (Pete)souchos was an assistant of the notary, γραμμα(τεὺς) Σώτρω(υ) (4.24), we find here the first clear evidence of a *grapheion* employee serving as a contracting party's *hypographeus*, although such an arrangement must have been common: cf. the case of Heron son of Satyros, attested as a subscriber for Karanis villagers over several decades.⁷⁵

The appearance of the hands of **1** and **4** in this Karanis contract, together with the starkly different skill level of the writer of **2**, leads us to conclude that this latter oath, which is also written on a clean sheet rather than underneath an order, is a copy written outside the *grapheion* of Karanis. The Vienna papyri and *BGU* II 636 shed light on a notary's bureau consisting of at least two writers, the notary himself and an assistant, probably in office at least between the years 20–26, whose graphic idiosyncrasies suggest training in the same milieu.

⁷¹ See further corrections in the appendix.

⁷² Cf. e.g. the writing of δεξιῶτι in 1.16 and *BGU* II 636.8 and the ligature γρ in 1.42 and *BGU* II 636.23; for the other hand, cf. the peculiar phi in 4.21 and *BGU* II 636.23 and the ligature κα in 4.16 and *BGU* II 636.28.

⁷³ See the corrections to the text in the appendix.

⁷⁴ It is not possible to verify whether these Xs also occurred in **2** and **4**, the former having the ink almost completely faded at the end, the latter being broken at the very bottom.

⁷⁵ W. G. Claytor, *Heron, Son of Satyros: a Scribe in the Grapheion of Karanis*, *ZPE* 190 (2014) 199–202.

VI. Clauses of the Oath upon Receipt of Seed Grain

The dossier presented here, together with the unpublished oaths from Narmouthis, add substantially to our knowledge of the formulaic language and clauses of these documents. We follow the scheme adopted in *P.Oxy.* LVII, pp. 117–120 to describe the provisions of the seed orders, since official instructions defined the terms of the oath.

The core of these provisions go back to the Ptolemaic period,⁷⁶ as can be recognized in descriptions of the oaths expected of farmers that have been transmitted in official correspondence. One example has been given above, but an even fuller example containing more of the clauses found in the later oaths of the Roman period, is the order contained in *P.Berl.Salmen.* 3.10–13 (Herakleopolite, 86 BCE) from the archive of royal scribes Peteimouthes and Harchebis (TM Arch 456): the *sitologos* is to receive from the royal farmers “a written declaration of a royal oath to the effect that they will sow the land, allow no aroura (to be left) unsown, pay back (the seed) from the new (crops) together with the rents due on the land, without any deduction, their being mutual sureties for repayment.”⁷⁷

These provisions were passed down into the Roman period, modified or reinforced in places by prefectural edict. The order *P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344.4–10 (with corrections in the appendix below), issued by the *vicarius* of an imperial slave, is particularly instructive, as it provides a detailed *précis* of the χειρογραφία to be taken from the farmers, with explicit reference to the orders of the prefect (l. 8). In contrast, the orders that prompted the Vienna oaths 15 years later are brief: by then, the officials clearly expected local knowledge of what had become a bureaucratic routine.

The oaths proper are generally preceded by a separate section containing the personal descriptions of each of the farmers involved, written by the notary or assistant who pens the oath itself. These contain the name, patronym, age, and signalment in **1**, **2**, **4**, CBL Pap. 1003 (minus patronyms), and CBL Pap. 1006. **5** and CBL Pap. 1005 are broken at the top, so we cannot determine if they contained separate personal descriptions. This practice is often found in contemporary oaths, such as *P.Mich.* V 233 (Tebtynis, 25), where the notary Apion added the descriptions of the four sluice guards at the top.⁷⁸

The clauses are as follows:

⁷⁶ E. Salmenkivi, *P.Berl.Salmen.*, pp. 57–58 points to similar language already in the Revenue Laws (*P.Rev.*² xxvii).

⁷⁷ πρότ[ερ(ον)] | ληφθείσης χειρογραφίας ὄρκου βασιλικού περὶ τοῦ κατασπερεῖν καὶ μηδεμίαν ἄ[ρου(ραν)] (Kaltsas: α[] *ed. pr.*) | ἐάσειν εἰς ἄσπορον καὶ [π]αρ[α]δώσειν ἐγγ νέων ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἐκφορῖοις ἀνυπ[ό]λογον παντὸς ὑπολόγ[ο]υ ὄντες ἀλλήλων ἔγγυοι εἰς ἕκτισιν. Kaltsas, *Peteimouthes und Harchebis* (n. 6) 10 rightly suggests the expected noun ἄ[ρου(ραν)] (usually omitted) by comparison with *W.Chr.* 344.5.

⁷⁸ Cf. also *BGU* XIII 2245 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 14–37), an uncut sheet containing two oaths upon the assumption of new leaseholds. The personal descriptions of the farmers are recognizable above both oaths (i.1 can be corrected from] ἀρτάβαι) ζ η´ [to] οὐ(λη) βή[ματι].

A. Prescript

1. Declarants. The farmers are identified by name and patronym, with a summary phrase such as οἱ + number (with or without the noun γεωργοί) + τῶν ἀπὸ Καρανίδος (1.26–29; 2.18–22). Sometimes, e.g. in CBL Pap. 1006, it is the board of elders and/or individual supervisors who swear in the name of the farmers, who are only referred to by a summary phrase; this seems to be the case in 4 (see l. 8 n.) and is inferred in 5.

2. Addressee. In the Vienna documents, the representatives of the *strategos* (τοῖς παρὰ Διονυσοδώρου στρατηγοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου: 1.29; 2.22–23; 4.8–9). However, the oaths were sometimes addressed to other nome officials, such as the inspectors of sowing (CBL Pap. 1003 and 1006, possibly 5 as well).⁷⁹

B. Body of the oath

1. Acknowledgement of receipt. The oath formula, with the verb ὁμνῶ + the titulature of the emperor in the accusative, is followed in all texts by the phrase εἰ μὴν, the verbs μεμετρήσθαι καὶ ἀπεσχηκέναι and the mention of the *sitologos* or his representative as the intermediary (διὰ) of the disbursement. Both 1.31 and 2.25 include the statement, also present in CBL Pap. 1003 but omitted in 4, that the measurement has been made “by measure” (διὰ μέτρου), the type of measure being specified later (B.4).⁸⁰

2. Purpose of the distribution. The purpose is given as εἰς δάνεια σπέρματα in 4.12, 5.6–7 (?), and CBL Pap. 1003, which is paralleled with slight variations in the seed orders (cf. *P. Oxy.* LVII, p. 118). In contrast, 1.32 and 2.25–26 have simply τὰ σπέρματα in this position, which thereby serves as the object, with the exact number of artabas in apposition. The significance of the presence or absence of δάνεια is debated.⁸¹ In all texts, the seed is meant for the sowing of the present year.

3. Category, location, and size of the land. This information is introduced by the phrase εἰς ἃς γεωργοῦμεν in 1.33 and 2.27, an expanded variation in 4.13–15 due to the scribe’s redundancy, and ὧν γεωργοῦμεν in 5. The Vienna oaths do not specify the village in which the land was located, but this information is found in the orders (1.8 and 3.9). 5 does not state the amount of land, which can only be inferred from the amount of seed distributed and the usual 1:1 ratio between arouras and artabas.

4. Amount and quality of the seed. All texts indicate the amount of the seed and the standard by which it has been measured. 1.34–35, 2.28–29, and 4.15 record the amount measured by the *dromos* measure with its equivalent by the *chalkos* measure (on which see 1.34–35 n.), while 5 mentions only the “public all-bronze *kankellon*.” This “all-bronze” (ὀλόχαλκος) measure is new but reappears in the Narmouthis oaths (cf. 5.14–15 n.). As for the quality of the seed, no adjectives are found in 1, 2, or 4, while in 5.13

⁷⁹ On the κατασπορεύς, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Leiden 1964, 15–17; Bonneau, *Le régime administratif* (n. 47) 168–173.

⁸⁰ On this phrase, attested in only two other in-kind loans, see W. G. Claytor, *A Schedule of Contracts and a Private Letter*: P.Fay. 344, BASP 50 (2013) 103–104.

⁸¹ See Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* (n. 12) (and Rowlandson, *Public Land* [n. 1] 184) vs. Armoni, *Basilikos Grammateus* (n. 12), both responding to Michurski, *Les avances aux semailles* (n. 12).

the beginning of the list is preserved (πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀκρίθου α[.]θ[.]); the CBL oaths likewise include a detailed specification along these lines.

Sometimes the seed is said to have been “authorized” by higher authorities, apparently only when the oath is addressed to officials other than the *strategos*. CBL Pap. 1003 has τὰς κεχρηματισμένους, with the names and title of the authorizing officials lost in the lacuna, while in CBL Pap. 1006 the participle is missing and the authorities (*strategos* and royal scribe) are preserved.⁸² Both of these oaths are addressed to the *katasporeis*.⁸³ Likewise, the orders referring to “authorized” seed, either with the verb χρηματίζω or ἐπιστέλλω, are those issued by officials other than the *strategos* (*P.Lond.* II 256d.9; *P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344.3; *P.Vind.Tand.* 9.16). On this basis, we assume that 5, which has τὰς ἐπεσταλμένους in l. 3, was addressed to some other official(s), perhaps the *katasporeis* as in the CBL oaths (see further 5.3–6 n.).

5. Sowing clause. The standard phrase is ἄς καὶ καταθισόμεθα,⁸⁴ followed by εἰς τὴν γῆν (1.35, 2.30, CBL Pap. 1003) or the variant εἰς τὰ δηλούμενα ἐδάφη (4.16, CBL Pap. 1005, 1006). The following ὑγιῶς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου is found already in the late Ptolemaic letters *BGU* VIII 1876.5 (64–44 BCE) and 1769.4 (47 BCE) but gained currency in the language of first century seed distributions: it appears in 1 and 2 (possibly at 5.20, if abbreviated), three more times in the Narmouthis archive (CBL Pap. 1003, 1005, and 1006), and again in the order *P.Daris* 14.9–10 (84–96).⁸⁵ ὑγιῶς is also found on its own (*P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344.7, possibly in 4 as well) and later ὑγιῶς καὶ πιστῶς becomes standard (cf. *P.Oxy.* LVII, p. 103).

6. Supervision clause (?). Several applications and orders mention the role of officials in supervising the sowing, generally introduced by ἐπακολουθοῦντων, sometimes with

⁸² On the vocabulary of authorization, χρηματίζω / χρηματισμός, ἐπιστέλλω / ἐπίσταμα, see T. Kruse, *P. Berl. Leihg. II 27: Eine Richtigestellung*, ZPE 126 (1999); cf. id., *Der königliche Schreiber* (n. 12) 419.

⁸³ The authorization clause is found in *P.Lond.* II 256c descr. (see the appendix), although we have not yet determined the addressee.

⁸⁴ 5.19–20 mistakenly uses the perfect middle instead of the future. The seed applications likewise make use of the middle plural: it is written out in *P.Daris* 14.8–9 (84–96) (with the correction in the appendix), *P.Monts.Roca* IV 67.2 (84–96), and *P.Flor.* I 21.13 (Arsinoite, 239). The editors of *P.Monts.Roca* IV 67 suggest that καταθή(σομεν) in *P.Oxy.* LVII 5903–5 might be better resolved καταθη(σόμεθα), for which there is now more support (CBL Pap. 1003 has ἀποκαταστήσομεν, but we suspect this is mistakenly taken over from the repayment clause). In contrast, the active form καταθήσω is preferred in the singular: *P.Coll.Youtie* I 22.17 (Oxy., 87); *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3474.16 (197–198); *P.Oxy.* LXXII 4891.13 (222); *P.Oxy.* VII 1031.17 (228); *SPP* XX 34.18 (Heracleopolite, 232). Given this pattern, καταθήσ[ω] might be preferred to καταθήσ[ομαι] at *P.Hamb.* I 19.16 (Oxy., 225). At *SB* XVIII 13136.20 (Oxy. [?], I–II), Papyri.info has καταθήσωμε (*l.* καταθήσομαι), but the edition in *SB* is in fact more cautious, printing καταθησωμε (an improvement on the *ed. pr.*'s καταθησομε) and considering a range of interpretations. Given that many farmers are allotted seed in the main part of the document, and at least three individuals sign below, we consider the plural καταθησόμεθα most likely here, whether split across lines (καταθησόμε|θα), one of the possibilities considered in *SB*) or abbreviated καταθησόμε(θα) (*l.* καταθησόμεθα).

⁸⁵ For another stereotyped phrase involving ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτιστοῦ, see L. Berkes, W. G. Claytor, *Two Petitions Addressed to Village Epistatai*, *BASP* 56 (2019) 58–59.

the addition of τῆ καταθέσει (cf. *P.Oxy.* LVII, p. 119).⁸⁶ In *P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344.3–4, this clause appears (earlier than in the Oxyrhynchite orders) as follows: συνεπακολουθούντων τοῦ τοπά[ρχ]ου κα[ὶ] τοῦ κωμογρ[αμμ]ατέως τῆς κώ[μ]ης καὶ τῶν ἄλλ[λων] εἰθισμένων. The oaths upon receipt, however, do not seem to include such a clause, unless it is lurking in the unread sequence at 4.16–17.

7. Prohibition on improper use of the seed. This clause varies in detail but is generally concerned with prohibiting improper expenditure of the seed, including its appropriation for private purposes. In **1** and **2**, as in *P.Berl.Salmen.* 3 quoted above, it is reduced to a “no deduction” clause (found in many types of documents) and subsumed under the repayment section (see below, B.9). At 4.17–18 it appears as μηδενὶ αὐτῶν μηδὲν δαπανήσαντες μηδὲ | εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀπενεκάμενοι (*l.* ἀπενεγκάμενοι) and at 5.20–22 as μη|δενὶ μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν δαπανήσαντ[ες μηδὲ εἰς ±3]|αν ἀποδιαστειλάμενοι. These clauses mirror the prohibition in the order *P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344.7–8 (with corrections in the appendix), μ[η]δενὶ μηδὲν δαπαν[ή]σαντες (*l.* δαπανήσαντας) μηδ’ εἰ[ς] ὀφείλημα ἀποδ[ια]στειλαντας *vel*-αμένους]. Similar clauses appear in CBL Pap. 1003, 1005, and 1006. The clause also shows variety but is generally more succinct in the Oxyrhynchite seed orders and the later *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 26.25–26 and *P.Stras.* IV 283.20–21 (cf. *P.Oxy.* LVII, p. 119). The verb ὑπολογέω, common in these later texts, appears in the second century oath *W.Chr.* 345.iii.13–14 (cf. appendix), which provides a semantic link to the “no deduction” clause in **1** and **2**.

8. Care, negligence and penalty clause. In its elaborate form, this clause looks to be peculiar to the Arsinoite documents, being entirely omitted in the Oxyrhynchite seed orders. According to *P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344.4–6 (with corrections in the appendix), the farmers are to swear to properly watering and sowing the land and, in the event of negligence (ἀμέλεια), the rent must be paid from their own funds. Indeed, such a declaration appears in all the oaths: the CBL oaths have a formulation similar to the order, whereas **1** and **2** show a more succinct variant. Proper care of the land was already provided for in the Ptolemaic royal oaths: cf. the common phrase μηδεμίαν (sc. ἄρουραν) ἐάσειν εἰς ἄσπορον in the documents from the archive of Peteimouthes and Harchebis.⁸⁷

The Karanis oaths elaborate on the Ptolemaic precedent: μὴ ἐάσειν ἕως ἀρούρης μᾶς εἰς ἄσπορον ἢ ἄβροχον ἢ ἔμβροχον τραπῆναι (1.36–37, 2.32 and 5.23–24, with slight differences),⁸⁸ preceded by reference to the watering and sowing of the land, found also, with different wording, in the later *W.Chr.* 345.iii.7–9.

⁸⁶ Cf. also *P.Amst.* 29.12–13 (unknown provenance, I–II), a declaration, likely under oath, by a board of κωμοπράκτορες and πρεσβύτεροι of an unknown village, stating that “they will supervise (ἐπακολουθήσειν, *l.* ἐπακολουθήσειν) the seeds that will be issued.”

⁸⁷ *BGU XVIII.1* 2733.7; 2734.11; *P.Berl.Salmen.* 3.11–12 (with the noun included: cf. n. 77 above); 5.10; 15.11; 20.12.

⁸⁸ These examples show that in *SB XXX* 17666.14–15 (Ptolemais Melissourgon, 54), printed as οὐκ ἐάσομεν εἰς ἄσπορον, ἢ ἄβροχον ἢ ἔμβρωχον, τραπῆναι, the commas should be removed and the adjectives understood as three separate outcomes to be avoided: “we will not allow (the parcels) to be left unsown, unwatered, or overwatered,” rather than the editor’s “we

In **1** and **2**, no explicit mention is made of possible negligence on the part of the farmers, although this eventuality is implied through the use of the conjunction ἢ (“or else”) introducing the penalty clause. In contrast, 4.20–21 contains the genitive absolute τῆς δὲ ἀμεληθησομένης καὶ ἀσπορ[ρ]ησίας, which is found (with the verbs in reversed order) in the Narmouthis oaths, and a similar but fragmentary phrase appears at 5.24–25.⁸⁹ None of these examples includes the expected noun γῆς, which suggests that its omission in *P.Bingen* 46.3–4 (Hermopolite?, 52 BCE), printed as ἢ τῆς (γῆς) ἀμελεθησομένης, was not in fact accidental, nor should it be restored at *BGU XIX* 2761.5–6 (Hermopolite?, 52 BCE), belonging to the same *tomos synkollesimos*, where ἢ [τῆς γῆς ἀμελεθησο]μένης is a little too long for the lacuna anyway.

Regarding the penalty clause, we note the alternate use of the verbs ἐκτείσομεν (1.37, 2.33, 4.21), ἀποδώσομεν (5.25) and μετρήσομεν (CBL Pap. 1006); the mention of the mutual guarantee in 4.22, unparalleled in this position, is probably misplaced.

9. Repayment clause. The oaths state that the seed loan will be returned (generally ἀποκαταστήσομεν, but ἀποδώσομεν at 5.26) “upon the new (crop)” (ἐπὶ νέων) along with the annual rent. The preposition ἐπὶ was favored in the first-century Arsinoite over the usual ἐκ νέων, as it appears in all oaths preserved at this point and in the order *P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344.8.⁹⁰ Instead of an elaborate prohibition clause (B.7), 1.39 and 2.34–35 add the common expression ἀνυπόλογα παντὸς ὑπολόγου to the repayment clause, in keeping with the seed orders in the archive of Peteimouthes and Harchebis and *P.Bingen* 46.4. Likewise, these Ptolemaic documents provide the closest parallel for the following phrase concerning the mutual guarantee of the farmers (1.39–40; 2.35; 5.27), which is absent in both the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite orders and probably also the Narmouthis oaths.

10. No-claim clause. A rare addition, found in CBL Pap. 1005 (καὶ οὐ]δὲν ἐγκαλοῦμεν) and in the subscription to *P.Vind.Tand.* 9.i.7–8: Πατῶνις συναπ(έ)χω τὰς προκιμένας (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) υπγ καὶ ὠδδὲ[v] | ἐ[v]καλῶ (the editors printed a lacuna, but there is no room for anything following ὠδδὲ[v]).

11. Final clause on the keeping or breaking of the oath. Omitted in **5**, it recurs elsewhere with the usual formula: εὐορκούσι μὲν ἡμῖν εὖ εἴη, ἐφωρκοῦσι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία.

C. Signature of the notary (or his assistant), who writes on behalf of the illiterate farmers

In 5.28, the notary specifies that he wrote “the body” (τὸ σῶμα) of the oath, while a subscriber adds a separate subscription for the farmers.

D. Date

will not allow (the parcels) to be left unsown, whether unflooded or flooded”). On the meaning of ἔμβροχος, see D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil. Incidences des irrégularités de la crue du Nil sur la fiscalité foncière dans l'Égypte grecque et romaine*, Paris 1972, 74–75.

⁸⁹ On the negligence of farmers, in a very similar context, cf. *P.Amst.* I 29.10–12; see also the later *BGU VII* 1636.30 (Philadelphia, 155–156), which refers to official orders regarding farmers who have neglected their land.

⁹⁰ ἐπὶ νέων appears only once elsewhere, in the first century *CPR XV* 50 fr. b.ii.10, which might therefore speak to an Arsinoite provenance for this document.

E. Signatures of the farmers

Absent in 2 and 4. In 1.44–45, one of the farmers adds a subscription in his own hand: cf. *P.Vind.Tand.* 9.i.6–8, where the *komogrammateus* adds a supervisory subscription and Patynis (the farmers' *hegoumenos*, as ii.10 shows) adds a subscription of receipt in his own hand, as well as *P.Lond.* II 256c, where the village scribe adds a subscription of receipt. In 5.29–33, a *hypographeus* writes on behalf of the farmers. CBL Pap. 1005 and 1006 each contain a few subscriptions, while a large number are found in CBL Pap. 1003, including a more detailed subscription of the γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν. The verbs used in subscriptions vary (cf. 1.44–45 n.) and include: συνέχω and συνμεμέτρημαι (emphasizing receipt), συναποδώσω (repayment), and συνώμοκα (the oath).

1. Order for Seed Grain and Oath upon Receipt

P.Vindob. D 9992 recto⁹¹ 26.5 (h) × 16.5 (w) cm 22 and 23 December, 26 CE
Acquired before 1899 Karanis Plate 3

The full dimensions of the sheet are more-or-less preserved, although it is broken in places, particularly towards the top-left, and marred by worm holes. The remaining top margin measures 1 cm, while the margins to the left and right of the order (ll. 1–12) measure 2.5 cm. The personal descriptions and oath are written in a much smaller hand, with a left margin of 1.7, no right margin, and 1.5 cm at the bottom. There is a kollesis along the right edge of the sheet. Three vertical fold lines and one horizontal are visible. On the format and hands of the two documents written on this sheet (order and oath), see above. The back contains a Demotic account in silver related to the five priestly *phylai*, no doubt from Soknopaiou Nesos.⁹²

This sheet contains a signed order to issue seed grain (ll. 1–12) and the corresponding oath made by the farmers upon receipt (ll. 13–43), both written on the same day. The *strategos*' order is countersigned by the royal secretary. In the space below, the notary of Karanis wrote the personal descriptions of nine farmers and their oath, and the next day, a separate acknowledgement of one of the farmers was added in another hand (ll. 44–45).

Text A

- [Διονυσόδωρο]ς Ζωίλω[ι] σιτολ(όγωι) χα(ίρειν). μέτρη(σον)
[ἐ]ν τ[ῆ]ι κόμῃ Κ[α]ραναίῃ διὰ ἐπιτη(ρητοῦ) καὶ δεκαγ(οῦ)
Πε[τ]ήσεως τοῦ Σ[ω]κράτους αὐτῶι σὺν καὶ
4 { [κ]αὶ } Ἰμού[θ]ει Ἄν[χ]ο(ρίμφεως) καὶ Πέβ[α]υ[τ]ι Ἄν[χ]ο(ρίμφεως) καὶ Πασοκ(ονώπει)
Νεκφέρα(υτος) καὶ Πετοσί(ρει) (Πετοσίρεως) καὶ Πέταντι
Πετοσί(ρεως) καὶ Φάσι[τ]ι(ι) Πετ[ε]σοῦχ(ου) καὶ Ὀννώ(φρει) Πετεύρε(ως)

⁹¹ For images see <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00037877> (accessed 31 Jan., 2025).

⁹² We thank Marcel Moser for providing a description of its contents.

- καὶ Νεφέρω(τι) Μύσθου ξ[ίς] τῆν . . κ[ατα]σπ(οράν) ιγ (ἔτους) ὦν γεωργ(ούσι)
 8 περὶ Καραν[ίδ]α ἀρουρῶ(ν) ρ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ρ αἰ χα(λκῶι) ριε ς
 καὶ λαβὲ ἀποχ(ήν). (ἔτους) ιγ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 Χοι(ακ) κ̄.
- (m. 2) Ἥλι(όδωρος) βα(σιλικός) γρ(αμματεὺς) σεση(μείωμα) (ἔτους) ιγ
 Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 12 Χοι(ακ) κ̄.

Text B, col. I

- (m. 3) Πέτησις Σωκράτους ὡς (ἐτών) με οὐλ(ή) καρπὸ(ν) ἀριστερόν
 Ἴεμούθης Ἀγχορίφους ὡς (ἐτών) μ οὐλ(ή) ὄφρῦ(τι) ἀριστερῶι
 Πάκουσις Ἀγγ[ο]ρίφε[ο]ς ὡς (ἐτών) β οὐλ(ή) χι(ρὶ) δεξιῶ
 16 Πασεκό(νωπις) Νεκ[φ]έ[ρ]αυτο[ς] ὡς (ἐτών) λε οὐλ(ή) ἀγκῶ(νι) δεξιῶι
 Πετόσιρις Πε[τ]ο[σί]ρεος ὡς (ἐτών) λ οὐλ(ή) βραχί(ονι) ἀριστερῶι
 —

Text B, col. II

- Πέταυς Πετοσίρεος ὡς (ἐτών) λε οὐλ(ή)
 τραχ[ή]λ(αι)] ἕκς ἀριστερῶν
 20 Φάσις Πετεσ[οῦ]χου ὡς (ἐτών) κε ο[ῦ]λ(ή) . . . κ()
 ἀριστερῶι
 Ὀνωιφρις Πετεύρεος ὡς (ἐτών) . οὐλ(ή)
 γόνατι [. . .]ῶι
 24 Πνεφέρως Μύσθου ὡς (ἐτών) . [ο]ῦλ(ή)
 [± 2] . τ() ἀριστερ[.]

Text B, col. III

- Πέτησις Σωκράτους καὶ Ἴεμούθης Ἀγχορίφους καὶ Πέβανς [Α]γχορίφους
 καὶ Πασεκόνωπ[ι]ς Νεκφέραυτος καὶ Πετόσιρις Π[ε]τοσίρεος [καὶ] Πέταυς
 Πε[τ]ο[σί]ρεος
 28 καὶ Φάσις Πετεσ[οῦ]χου καὶ Ὀνωιφρις Πετεύρεος καὶ Πνεφέρως Μύσθου [οἰ] θ
 γεωργοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Καρανίδος τοῖς παρὰ Διονυσιοδώρου στρατηγοῦ Ἀρσ[ι]νο[ί]του·
 ὀμνῶι Τιβέριον Καίσαρα Σεβαστοῦ (Αὐτοκράτορα) θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υεῖδὸν εἰ μὴν
 μεμετρῆ[σθαι]
 καὶ ἀπεσχηκέναι ἡμᾶς διὰ Ζωείλου σιτολόγου Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς διὰ μέτρον
 32 τὰ σπέρματα τῆς ἰς τὸ ἐνεσθὸς ιγ (ἔτος) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ κατασποράς
 ἰς ἃς γεωργοῦμεν ἐν τῇ καρποφόρῳ Ἰουλίας {κατασποράς} (Σεβαστῆς οὐσίαι)
 ἀρούρας ἐνενήκ-
 οντα πυροῦ δρόμοι ἀρτάβας ἐνενήκοντα αἰ χαλκῶι ἀρτάβαι ἑκατὸν δεκαπέντε
 ἔκτον ἃς καὶ καταθησόμεθα ἰς τὴν γῆν ὑγιῶς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστ[τ]ου, τὰ δὲ ἐξδάφη
 36 βεβλήχθαι (ἄ) καὶ κατασπεροῦμεν πυρῶι καὶ μὴ ἑάσιν ἕως ἀρούρης μιᾶς ἰς ἔμβλο-

χον ἢ ἄβλοχον τραπήνην ἢ αὐθώτεν ἡμῖς αὐτοὶ ἐκτίσωμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου
 τὰ ἐκφόρια, τὰ δὲ προκείμενα σπέρματα ἀποκαταστήσωμεν ἐπεὶ γέων
 ἅμα τοῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἐκφορίοις ἀνυπόλογα παντὸς ὑπολόγου καὶ ἐγγυώ-
 40 μεθα ἀλλήλους ἰς ἔκτισιν. εὐορκούσι μὲν ὑμῖν εὖ εἶη, ἐπειορκούσι δὲ ὑμῖν
 τὰ ἐναντία. ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὁ καὶ Σώτας ν(ομο)γράφος Καρανίδος
 διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς γράμματα. (ἔτους) ιγ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Χοιακ
 X X κς̄.

44 (m. 4) Ἰμούθης Ἀγχορίμφιος συναπέχω καὶ συναποδώσω καθὼς πρόκειται.
 (ἔτους) ιγ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Χοιακ κς̄.

13 l. καρπῷ ἀριστερῷ 15 (ἐτῶν) λβ vel μβ, l. χειρὶ 19 l. ἐξ 28 l. Ὀνωφορις 29 l. στρατηγῷ 30 l.
 ὀμνύομεν, Σεβαστόν, νιόν 31 l. Ζωίλου 32, 33, 35, 36, 40 l. εἰς 32 l. τό 33 l. καρποφόροι 36 βεβλέχθαι:
 χ cop. ex θ, l. βεβρέχθαι, ἄσειν 36–37 l. ἔμβροχον 37 l. ἄβροχον, αὐτόθεν 38 l. ἐπὶ 39–40 l. ἐγγυώμεθα
 40 l. ἡμῖν (2x), ἐπειορκούσι 44 l. πρόκειται

Order

[Dionysodoros] to Zoilos, *sitologos*, greetings. Measure in the [village] Karanis through the supervisor and *dekanos* [Petesis the son] of Sokrates, to him together with Imouthes son of Anchorimphis and Pebaus son of Anchorimphis and Pasokonopis son of Nekpheraus and Petosiris (son of Petosiris) and Petaus son of Petosiris and Phasis son of Petesouchos and Onnophris son of Peteuris and Nepheros son of Mysthas for the ... sowing of the 13th year for the 90 arouras they farm around Karanis 90 artabas of wheat = 115 % by the bronze (measure) and take a receipt. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak 26.

(2nd hand) I, Heliodoros, royal secretary, have signed. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak 26.

Personal Descriptions

(3rd hand) Petesis son of Sokrates, about 45 years old, scar on his left wrist
 Iemouthes son of Anchoriphis, about 40 years old, scar on his left eyebrow
 Pakysis (*sic*) son of Anchoriphis, about x2 years old, scar on his right hand
 Pasekonopis son of Nekpheraus, about 35 years old, scar on his right elbow
 Petosiris son of Petosiris, about 30 years old, scar on his left arm
 Petaus son of Petosiris, about 35 years old, scar on the left side of his neck
 Phasis son of Petesouchos, about 25 years old, scar on his left ...
 Onnophris son of Peteuris, about xx years old, scar on his ... knee
 Pnepheros son of Mysthas, about xx years old, scar on his left ...

Oath

Petesis son of Sokrates and Iemouthes son of Anchoriphis and Pebaus son of Anchoriphis and Pasekonopis son of Nekpheraus and Petosiris son of Petosiris and Petaus son of Petosiris and Phasis son of Petesouchos and Onnophris son of Peteuris and Pnepheros son of Mysthas, 9 farmers from Karanis, to the representatives of Dionysodoros, *strategos* of the Arsinoite: I (*sic*) swear by Tiberius Caesar Augustus

(Imperator) son of the divine Augustus that we have had measured out and have received by measure through Zoilos, *sitologos* of Iulia Augusta, the seed for the sowing of the present 13th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus for the ninety arouras we farm on the profitable (estate) of Iulia {sowing} (Augusta), namely ninety artabas of wheat by the *dromos* (measure), which are one hundred fifteen and a sixth artabas by the bronze (measure), which we shall sow in the ground in a sound manner and according to the best standard, and that the fields we will sow with wheat have been inundated and that we will not allow even an aroura to become overwatered or unwatered or else immediately we ourselves shall pay the rents from our own funds, and the aforementioned seed we shall repay upon the new (crop) together with the rents of the same year without any deduction, and we are mutual sureties for repayment. If we keep the oath, may it be well for us, but if we break the oath, may it be the opposite. I, NN alias Sotas, *nomographos* of Karanis, wrote for them since they do not know letters. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak 26.

Additional Subscription

(4th hand) I, Imuthes son of Anchorimphis, have jointly received (the seed) and will jointly pay it back as written above. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak 27.

1 [Διονυσόδωρο]ς. Supplied from 3.1. Dionysodoros (TM Per 34687) is attested as *strategos* between 14–33, an unusually long period, and possibly again in 45: see *Str.R.Scr.*², pp. 10–11, Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* (n. 12) 37, and T. Derda, *Ptolemaic Ἀρσινοίτης νομός to Three Arsinoite Merides as Independent Administrative Units in Roman Period: Continuity and Administrative Change*, in: S. Lippert, M. Schentuleit (edd.), *Graeco-Roman Fayum – Texts and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Third International Fayum Symposion, Freudenstadt, May 29 – June 1, 2007*, Wiesbaden 2008, 95. He is mostly associated with the Herakleides meris but is addressed in three petitions from Euhemeria in the Themistos meris between 28–31. He was in office in the summer of 26, the end of Tiberius' 12th year (Philadelphia, *SB XIV 11335*), and the present texts add Tiberius' 13th year to his tenure. On the debate over the purview of early Roman *strategoí* in the Arsinoite (individual *merides* or the whole nome), see Derda, *Ἀρσινοίτης νομός* (n. 69) 87–102, Derda (this note), as well as the new information provided by *P.Lond.* II 256c descr.: see the appendix.

2 [ἐ]ν τ[ῆ]ι κώμηι Κ]αρανίδι. 3.2 just has ἐν Καρανίδι, but here a longer phrase was used, given the clear tau after [ἐ]ν and the position of the rho (clear with the digital microscope) of Κ]αρανίδι.

διὰ ἐπιτη(ρητοῦ) καὶ δεκαν(οῦ). Cf. 3.2 with n., which guides the reading of διὰ ἐπιτη(ρητοῦ) here. On these titles, see Section III of the introduction. They are borne by Peteesis son of Sokrates, the first farmer listed in both the personal descriptions and the oath. The seed is measured out both “through” him (suggesting an administrative role) as well as “to” him (see next n.), as he was himself a farmer. The terms δεκανός and δεκανία are only attested again in Karanis in the III–IV centuries: *O.Mich.* I 82, 137, IV 1136.

3 αὐτῶι. The pronoun serves to make clear that a share of the seed distributed “through” the leading farmer is also going “to” him.

3–4 σὸν καὶ |{[κ]αί}. 3.3 omits καί. The digital microscope reveals extra strokes at the end of l. 3 that suggest the writer committed dittography across the line break.

4 Ἰμοῦ[θει]. The name is written Ἰεμούθης by the notary below (ll. 14 and 25), a less common spelling, then Ἰμύθης in the added subscription (l. 44). The hand of the order is so cursive that Ἰεμού[θει] could be defended, but we prefer the reading without epsilon.

Πέβᾱ(τι). Cf. l. 26. In the descriptions, l. 15, however, the scribe has substituted the more common Πάκυσς for this less common name.

6 Ὀνῶ(φρει). A small fragment containing the first two letters is slightly out of place.

11 Ἡλι(όδωρος) βα(σιλικός) γρ(αμματεὺς) σεση(μείωμαι). On the reading of the signature, see Section V of the introduction above. Heliodoros is by far the most common name beginning Ηλι- in the Greco-Roman period and should therefore lie behind the unusually short abbreviation. He is the earliest royal scribe known by name in the Herakleides meris of the Roman period (cf. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* [n. 12] 960; *Str.R.Scr.*², 128) and second earliest in the Arsinoite in general, next to Asklepiades (Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* [n. 12] 980, 994–995; *Str.R.Scr.*², 138–139).

For the addition of the royal scribe's signature to the *strategos*' order, cf. the subscription in *P.Oxy.* VII 1024.43–46 (129), XLI 2956.34–36 (148), and *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 26.34 (Theadelphia, 167).

18 Πέταυς. There is a dot before this name, the first in the second column of personal descriptions.

29 στρατηγῶ. The *DDbDP* returns seven other examples of this hypercorrect spelling, all dating between the second half of the second century BCE and 21 CE.

30 Τιβέριον Καίσαρα Σεβαστοῦ (l. -ὸν) Ἀυτοκράτορα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ νεῖόν. 2.23–24 and 4.9–10 show that Ἀυτοκράτορα, also found in all other oaths under Tiberius, was omitted by mistake. For this titulature, cf. *CPR* XXIII 1.14–16 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 14–19), *P.Oxy.Hels.* 10.16–17 (34), and *P.Sijp.* 19.8–9 (Ptolemais Melissourgon, 34); P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C. – 284 p.C.)*, Brussels 1964, 28 records a variety of similar titulatures.

31 διὰ Ζωεῖλου σιτολόγου Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς. The same at 2.25, but at 4.11 the grain is measured through an assistant of Zoilos. In the orders, he is addressed simply as σιτολόγος. He was likely the δημόσιος σιτολόγος of Karanis as well, as examples in the Akousilaos of Lysimachis archive suggest, e.g. δημοσίῳ σιτολόγῳ τῷ παρ[ᾶ] Πρίσκου Καίσαρος (*P.Lond.* II 256d.5–6) and σιτολόγῳ δημο[σ]ίῳ Λυσιμαχίδ(ων) [β τῷ πα]ρὰ Λουκίου Μ[α]ρίου ἀπελευθέρου . . . του Σεβαστοῦ [. . .] ,ς (*W.Chr.* 443.4–6). Large estates in Egypt were managed by a complex hierarchy of officials (D. Kehoe, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt during the Early Empire*, Bonn 1992, 18–29) and had a number of special buildings, including granaries: see in particular *PSI* IX 1028.13 (Tebtynis, 15), where mention is made of a granary of Iulia Augusta, and *P.Mich.* XII 634.14–15 (Tebtynis, 25/26), where Iulia Augusta appears as co-owner with Germanicus' children of presumably the same granary.

διὰ μέτρον. On this rare phrase, see Section VI, B.1 of the introduction with n. 80.

33 καρποφόρου (*l. καρποφόροι*). A term rarely attested in papyri, where it always refers to trees (e.g. *PSI* III 171.39: φ[οίνι]κας καρ\πο/φόρους), but it is found in connection with land in both literary sources and inscriptions: see LSJ, *s.v.*; cf. also the corresponding verb καρποφορέω in *P.Mich.* I 106.6 (Philadelphia, mid III BCE).

Ἰουλίας {κατασποράς} (Σεβαστῆς οὐσία). A *lapsus calami*. Cf. 2.27 and 3.9.

34–35 πυροῦ δρόμοι ἀρτάβας ἐνενήκοντα αἰ χαλκῶι ἀρτάβαι ἑκατὸν δεκαπέντε | ἕκτον. Cf. 2.28–29 and 4.15. The *dromos* measure is frequently attested in the Arsinoite nome throughout the Roman period (cf. *P.Leid.Inst.* I 25.8–9 n.), while only a few occurrences of the bronze measure, in use since the third century BCE, are found in papyri from the early Roman period.⁹³ *P.Lond.* II 265 p. 257 (Arsinoite,⁹⁴ I) provides the rules for converting between different types of artabas, and the ratio given in ll. 1–9 (100 artabas δρόμω = 128 artabas χαλκῶ) is consistent with the figures recorded here and in the other Vienna oaths.

38 ἐπεὶ γέωγ. This preposition is favored over ἐκ in the first century Arsinoite (cf. above Section VI, B.9 of the introduction).

41 ὁ καὶ Σώτας νομογράφος. The notary appears to carry a double name. The first or second letter descends into the next line, crossing the end of γράμματα. We have considered reading Φίλωγ. Between Σώτας and -γράφος, there is too little space for νομο- to have been written in full, even with the writer's typical *Verschleifung*; we would not rule out an omission, but for the internal abbreviation, cf. the Augustan-era κ(ωμο)γρ(αμματεύς) found throughout the archive of Akousilaos, *sitologos* of Bakchias (TM Arch 296), and in contemporary Herakleopolite documents (*BGU* XVI 2563, 2565, and XX 2860). Noteworthy is also the rho written through the gamma as if in abbreviation (cf. ἔγρ(αφεν) in 2.36), though here the ending is written in full.

44–45 Ἰμύθης Ἀγχορίμφορος συναπέχω καὶ συναποδώσω κτλ. This additional subscription, dated to the day following the order and oath above, is written in yet another hand, presumably that of the farmer himself since no *hypographeus* is named.

The farmer's name is partially abraded: there are traces of a long hasta descending below the line, followed by a shorter hasta, with a stroke leading to the right, disappearing in a hole. The proposed mu of Ἰμύθης would have to be raised in ligature; cf. that of the patronym (if indeed this is not nu), which, however, begins with an oblique rather than vertical stroke. The expected omicron, if intended, would have to be hinted at in

⁹³ *P.Köln* XVII 670.6, 8, 9, 10 (Neilopolis, 20 BCE); *P.Prag.* I 54, (Arsinoite, 19/20); *P.Princ.* II 54.61–62 (unknown provenance, early I); *P.Louvre* II 103 recto 2, 8, 14 (Arsinoite?, I–II). As noted in *P.Louvre* II 103.2 n., this measure later became private property: in addition to *P.Hamb.* I 8.9 (Theadelphia, 136) and *SPP* XX 67.24 (Arsinoite, II–III), see *BGU* IV 1018.18 (Arsinoite, III). Nothing can be said about *P.Ryl.* II 393 recto descr. (unknown provenance, II–III), of which too little is transcribed.

⁹⁴ On the Arsinoite provenance of the recto, cf. *P.Vind.Tand.* 12, pp. 72–73 (= *BL* VII 84), to which can be added that the back of the papyrus, described as “census-list” (*P.Lond.* II 265 descr., p. xxv), is in fact a list of priests and their sons from Soknopaiou Nesos (cf. also the column of Demotic on the recto).

the transition from mu. In any case, the identity of this man with the second farmer named above is clear.

For the additional subscription, cf. *P.Vind.Tand.* 9.i.7, where the farmer Patynis also signs off on his receipt of seed grain with the verb συναπέχω. There, however, Patynis signs because he is ἡγούμενος of the farmers, as ii.10 shows, whereas Imouthes appears to have not been present for the oath, since his signature is dated to the following day.

Imouthes' signature emphasizes the contractual aspects of the arrangement (συναπέχω καὶ συναποδώσω), rather than its basis in an oath; the formula συνομώμοκα τὸν ὄρκον might also have been used, as in the seed applications *P.Oxy.* LVII 3903 and 3904 (both 99). In CBL Pap. 1003 and 1006, the subscribers variously use oath and receipt formulas, another sign of the interchangeability of these two aspects of the document (cf. Section II of the introduction).

2.–3. Oath upon Receipt of Seed Grain and Order Glued Together

P.Vindob. G 24567 recto⁹⁵ 29 (h) x 35.5 (w) cm 22 December (?), 26 CE
Acquired before 1899 Karanis Plate 4

The papyrus consists of two separate documents written on the recto along the fibers and likely joined together as part of a *tomos synkollesimos* (see above). Three kolleseis are visible, at approximately 16 cm, 19.5 cm and 26 cm from the left edge, the second one the result of gluing the originally independent sheets together. The back contains a Demotic account written against the fibers.

2. Oath upon Receipt of Seed Grain

The sheet, although studded with worm holes, is preserved in its full dimensions. The margins measure 2 cm at the top, 4.5 cm at the bottom, and 2 cm at the left; only the personal descriptions have a right margin (1.6 cm), while the lines of the oath reach the edge of the sheet. On the handwriting, which leads us to consider this text a copy made outside the *grapheion*, see above.

The document is an oath upon receipt made by 17 farmers, whose personal descriptions, at the top of the sheet, are arranged in two columns and separated from the text of the oath by a space of 1.5 cm. The ink is completely faded at the bottom, leaving the date only partially legible. However, the plausible reading of day 26 (l. 38 with n.) suggests that this oath was likely written on the same day as **1** and **3** (see also above).

Col. I

- Ὀρος Ὀρο(υ) [ὠ(ς)] (ἐτῶν) νε οὐλ(ῆ) ποδ(ί) ἀρι[στ(ερῶ)]
 Ἡράς Ἀγχώ(φιος) [ὠ(ς)] (ἐτῶν) κε οὐλ(ῆ) ποδ(ί) δε[ξι]ῶ
 Σαμβαθί(ω) Ἀγχ[ώ(φιος)] ὠ(ς) (ἐτῶν) λ οὐλ(ῆ) γόγ(ατι) δεξι[ῶ]
 4 Ἀγχωφίς Κοπ(ανέως) ὠ(ς) (ἐτῶν) ξ οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντικ(νημίω) δεξιῶ

⁹⁵ For images see <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00013642> (accessed 31 Jan., 2025).

- Μάρων Πεθ[έ(ως) ώ(ς)] (έτων) κη ούλ(ή) άντ(ικνημίω) άρ(ιστερῶ)
 [Ά]τρής Σοκμ[ή(νιος)] ώ(ς) (έτων) κη ούλ(ή) πήχ(ει) δεξιῶ]
 Μύσθας Πα[πά(ιτος)] ώ(ς) (έτων) λ ούλ(ή) μετ[ώ(πω) μ]έ(σφ)
 8 Π[εθεύς Π]γεφέρω(τος) ώ(ς) (έτων) κς ούλ(ή) χειρὶ άρ(ιστερῶ)
 Σ[ε]ταβούς Ἐλήκιο(ς) ώ(ς) (έτων) ν ούλ(ή) άντικ(νημίω) (άριστερῶ)

Col. II

- Ἔωρος Πεθεώς ώ(ς) (έτων) νε ούλ(ή) δα[κ]τύλ(ω) μ[ι]κ(ρῶ) χειρὸς άρ(ιστερῶς)
 Μεγχις Πνεφέρω(τος) ώ(ς) (έτων) λ ούλ(ή) πήχ(ει) άριστερῶ
 12 Πάπαις Ἄρπαγάθ(ο) ώ(ς) [(έτων)] λ ούλ(ή) όφρ[ύ]ει άριστ(ερῶ)
 Ἄρπάησις Ἔωρος ώ(ς) (έτων) μ ούλ(ή) άγ[κ]ῶνι δεξι[ί]ῶ
 Αύνης Ψεγήσιος [ώ(ς)] (έτων) ν ούλ(ή) άγκῶνι άριστ(ερῶ)
 Χαρίδημος Πεθέω(ς) ώ(ς) (έτων) λ ούλ(ή) άγκῶνι άρ(ιστερῶ)
 16 Ἐριεύς Πετεεύτο(ς) ώ(ς) (έτων) ν ούλ(ή) ύπ[δ] καρπ(όν) δεξιῶ(ν)
 Ἔωρος Πεθεώς ώ(ς) (έτων) κε ούλ(ή) άντικ(νημίω) δεξιῶ

Col. III

- [Ἔ]ωρος Ἔωρος [καὶ Ἡ]ράς Ἀγχώφιος καὶ Σαμβαθίων Ἀγχώφιος [καὶ] Ἄγχωφίς
 Κοπαγέως
 [καὶ] Μάρων Πεθέως καὶ Ἄτρής Σοκμήνιος καὶ Μύσθας Παπάιτος καὶ Πεθεύς
 Πνε-
 20 [φ]έρωτος καὶ Σεταβούς Ἐλήκιος καὶ [Ἔ]ωρος Πεθέως καὶ Μεγχις Πνεφέρωτος
 καὶ Πάπαις
 [Ἀ]ρπαγάθου καὶ Ἄρπάησις Ἔωρος καὶ Αύνης Ψεγήσιος καὶ Χαρί[δ]ημος Πεθέως
 καὶ Ἐριεύς
 [Π]ετεεύτος καὶ Ἔωρος Πεθέως οἱ δεκαεπτὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Καρανίδος τοῖς
 [παρ]ὰ Διο[νυσ]οδώρου στρατη[γ]οῦ Ἄρσινοεῖτου· ὀμνύο[μ]εν Τιβέριον Καίσαρα
 24 [Σε]βαστὸν Αὐτοκράτορα Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν [εἶ] μὴν [με]μετρήσθαι καὶ ἀπεσ-
 χηκέναι ἡμᾶς διὰ Ζωίλου σειτ[ο]λόγου Ἰουλίας Σε[βαστ]ῆς διὰ μέτρου τὰ
 σπέρματα τῆς εἰς τὸ ἔνεστος τρισκαιδέκατον (ἔτος) Τ[ιβερ]ίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστ[οῦ]
 κατασποράς εἰς ἅς γεωργοῦμεν ἐν τῇ καρποφόρῳ [Ἰ]ουλίας Σεβαστῆς οὐσ[ί]α]
 28 ἀρούρας ἑκατὸν ἑβδομῆκ[ο]ντα πυρ[οῦ] δρόμω [ἀ]ρτάβας ἑκατ[δ]ὲν ἑβδ[ο]-
 μήκοντα αἶ χαλκῶ ἀρτάβαι διακόσια[ι] δεκαεπτὰ ἡμισυ δωδέκα[τον]
 [ἄ]ς καὶ καταθησόμεθα εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑγιῶ[ς] καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου, τὰ δὲ ἐδάφη
 βεβρέχθαι ἃ καὶ κατασπεροῦμεν πυρῶ καὶ μὴ ἑάσιν ἕως μιᾶς ἀρούρης
 32 εἰς ἔμβροχ[ο]ν ἢ ἄβροχον τ[ρα]π[ή]ναι· ἢ αὐτόθεν ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου
 ἐκτείσομεν τὸ ἐκφόριον, τὰ δὲ προκείμενα σ[πέ]ρματ[α] ἄ[π]οκαταστήσ[ο]-
 μεν ἐπὶ νέων ἅμα τοῖς [τοῦ ἔνεσ]τ[ῶ]τος (ἔτους) ἐκφορίοις ἀνυπόλο[γ]α παντ[ῶ]
 ὑπολόγου καὶ ἐγγυῶμ[ε]θα ἀλλ[ή]λους εἰς ἕκτισιν· εὐο[ρ]κοῦσι μὲν ἡμεῖν
 36 εὖ εἶη, ἐφορκοῦσ[ι] δὲ τὰναντία. *vac.* ἔ[γ]ρ(αμεν) ὑ[πὲρ] αὐ[τῶ]ν φ[α]μένω[ν] μὴ εἰδ[έ]ναι]
 γράμματα Σώτας. []

(ἔτους) γ Τιβερίου Καίσαρο[ς] Σ[εβαστοῦ Χ]οῖακ κς̄

4, 13, 16, 17 δεξιῶ: omega raised 11 ἀριστερ^ο 14 Ψεγήσιος: second σ written above line
 23 l. Ἀρσινότου, ομνο[μ]εν: second ν re-inked? 25 l. σιτολόγου 26 l. τρεῖσκαιδέκατον 31 l. ἐάσειν 35
 l. ἡμῖν

Personal Descriptions

Horos son of Horos, [about] 55 years old, scar on his left foot
 Heras son of Anchophis, [about] 25 years old, scar on his right foot
 Sambathion son of Anchophis, about 30 years old, scar on his right knee
 Anchophis son of Kopaneus, about 60 years old, scar on his right shin
 Maron son of Petheus, [about] 28 years old, scar on his left shin
 Hatres son of Sokmenis, about 28 years old, scar on his right forearm
 Mysthas son of Papais, about 30 years old, scar in the middle of his forehead
 Petheus son of Pnepheros, about 26 years old, scar on his left hand
 Setabous son of Helekis, about 50 years old, scar on his left shin
 Horos son of Petheus, about 55 years old, scar on the little finger of his left hand
 Menches son of Pnepheros, about 30 years old, scar on his left forearm
 Papais son of Harpagathes, about 30 [years old], scar on his left eyebrow
 Harpaesis son of Horos, about 40 years old, scar on his right elbow
 Haunes son of Psenesis, [about] 50 years old, scar on his left elbow
 Charidemos son of Petheus, about 30 years old, scar on his left elbow
 Herieus son of Peteeus, about 50 years old, scar under his right wrist
 Horos son of Petheus, about 25 years old, scar on his right shin

Oath

Horos son of Horos and Heras son of Anchophis and Sambathion son of Anchophis [and] Anchophis son of Kopaneus and Maron son of Petheus and Hatres son of Sokmenis and Mysthas son of Papais and Petheus son of Pnepheros and Setabous son of Helekis and Horos son of Petheus and Menches son of Pnepheros and Papais son of Harpagathes and Harpaesis son of Horos and Haunes son of Psenesis and Charidemos son of Petheus and Herieus son of Peteeus and Horos son of Petheus, seventeen (farmers) from Karanis, to the representatives of Dionysodoros, *strategos* of the Arsinoite: we swear by Tiberius Caesar Augustus Imperator son of the divine Augustus that we have had measured out and have received by measure through Zoilos, *sitologos* of Iulia Augusta, the seed for the sowing of the present thirteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus for the one hundred and seventy arouras we farm on the profitable estate of Iulia Augusta, namely one hundred and seventy artabas of wheat by the *dromos* (measure), which are two hundred seventeen a half and a twelfth artabas by the bronze (measure), which we shall sow in the ground in a sound manner and according to the best standard, and that the fields we will sow with wheat have been inundated and that we will not allow even an aroura to become overwatered or unwatered or else immediately we ourselves shall pay the rents from our own funds, and the aforementioned seed we shall repay upon the new (crop) together with the rents of the present year without any deduction, and we are mutual sureties for repayment. If we keep the oath, may it be well for us, but if we break the oath, may it be the opposite. I, Sotas [alias NN, *nomographos* of Karanis (?),]

wrote for them since they say that they do not know letters. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak 26 (?).

4 δεξιῶ. The omega is raised because the scribe ran out of space, not to indicate an abbreviated iota adscript, which he does not use elsewhere; cf. also ll. 13, 16, 17.

5 ἀντ(ικνημίω). The resolution is based on ll. 4, 9, and 17 (here more abbreviated due to lack of space); ἀντ(ίχειρι) is not attested in this text and can be excluded since in this case the abbreviation would be ambiguous.

9 ἀριστερῶ. On this symbol see Claytor, *Schedule of Contracts* (n. 80) 88 with n. 43. To the occurrences mentioned there, we can add *P.Louvre* I 18.8, where βραχίονι (ἀριστερῶ) should be read instead of βραχίονι δεξιῶ.

11 ἀριστερῶ. The scribe, used to abbreviating the word, apparently first wrote ἀρ̄, then continued the word in full.

27 ἐν τῇ καρποφόρῳ [Ἰ]ουλίᾳ Σεβαστῆς οὐσι[[α]. The reading of the last word is influenced by 3.9.

34–35 These lines are read and restored in comparison with 1.39–40.

37 Σώτας .[. After the name, we see the left-hand arc of a rounded letter, possibly omicron, but phi is possible, particularly if the point below the line is intentional (i.e. the lower end of a long hasta). Several possibilities present themselves, e.g. Σώτας ὁ [τῆς Καρανίδος (or: τῆς κόμης) νομογράφος, that is, with a single name as at 4.24 (for the form of the title, cf. 5.28 and *P.Mich.* V 233.23), or some version of his double name in reverse order of 1.41 (see n., where Φύλων is suggested as a possibility for his first name there): Σώτας ὁ [καὶ Φύλων² νομογράφος Καρανίδος or Σώτας (ὁ καὶ) Φύλων² νομογράφος Καρανίδος. The slight traces of ink in the rest of the line are not sufficient enough to influence the reading.

38 Χ]οιακ κς̄. Only the day is readable: a long vertical line survives, with a descending stroke nearly halfway down that is almost attached to the stigma, suggesting a kappa rather than an iota as the first digit of the day number. On this basis, we transcribe the name of the month (of which only insubstantial traces are in fact visible) as Choiak, assuming that the oath was made on the same day as 1 and 3 (see the introduction above on the *strategos*' travel to Karanis that occurred this day).

3. Order for Seed Grain

This second sheet is more or less preserved in its original dimensions, with a top margin of 2.5 cm, a left margin of 2 cm, and a right margin of 0.9 cm. A large and some smaller worm holes have affected almost the entire lower half of the sheet, although the original height is intact at the far left.

The *strategos*' order concerns eleven farmers, whose corresponding oath was likely written on a separate sheet. In the unused space below the order, the royal scribe placed his signature (see above).

→ Διονυσόδωρος Ζώλωι σιτολ(όγωι) χα(ίρειν). μέτρη(σον)
ἐν Καρανίδι διὰ ἐπιτη(ρητοῦ) καὶ δεκανοῦ Ὀννώ(φρεως)
τοῦ Ἀκουσιλάου αὐτῶι σὺν Παγέλωτι
Ὀννώ(φρεως) καὶ Μεστασύμῃ Πτόλλιδ(ος) καὶ Σαταβ[ο]ῦ(τι)

- 5 Μεστασύτμεως καὶ Πετεύτι Πετοβάστεως
καὶ Πεκμή(ιτι) Ἄγαθοκ(λέους) καὶ Ἄγχορίμφ(ει) Ἔρωτ(ος)
καὶ Πεθευτι Ὀρνίνιτος καὶ Ἄρπαή(σει) Πάσιτος
καὶ Ἄρπαγάθ(ηι) Ὀννώφρεως εἰς τη[. .]() σπ(ερματ-) κατασπ(ορα-) ιγ (ἔτους)
ὄν γ[ε]ωργ(ουσι) [ἐ]γ τῆ καρπ[ο]φόρω(ι) οὐ(σίαι) περι Κα[ρα]γίδα
10 ἀρουρῶ(ν) ρ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δρό(μοι) ρ αἰ χα(λκῶι) ρ[ικη] καὶ λαβὲ ἀποχ(ήν).
(ἔτους) [ι]γ. Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Χοι(ακ) κς̄

vac.

- (m. 2) Ἡλι(όδωρος) βα(σιλικός) γρ(αμματεὺς) σ[εση(μείωμα)] (ἔτους) ιγ Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος Χοι(ακ) κς̄]

4 l. Μεστασύτμει 6 ερωτ: τ corr. ex ι?

Dionysodoros to Zoilos, *sitologos*, greetings. Measure in Karanis through the supervisor and *dekanos* Onnophris the son of Akousilaos, to him together with Paneilos son of Onnophris and Mestasytmis son of Ptollis and Satabous son of Mestasytmis and Peteus son of Petobastis and Pekmeis son of Agathokles and Anchorimphis son of Eros and Petheus son of Orninis and Harpaesis son of Pasis and Harpagathes son of Onnophris for the seed of the sowing (?) of the 13th year for the 100 arouras they farm on the profitable estate around Karanis 100 artabas of wheat by the *dromos* (measure) which are 1[28] by the bronze (measure) and take a receipt. Year [1]3 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak 26.

(2nd hand) I, Heliodoros, royal secretary, [have signed. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak 26].

3 Παγέλωτι. We tentatively read this name, which is new in this form and could be a variant of Πανιλοῦς, attested only once, in P.Lond. inv. 1580a.1 (N. Gonis, *Three Receipts from Soknopaiou Nesos*, ZPE 200 [2016] 413). However, the reading is not without uncertainties: the nu would have a completely horizontal second stroke, resembling a pi (but for a similar shape, see Νεφέρω(τι), I.7), while just before the first iota, which is unusually curved at its lower end, a rounded stroke is visible, which looks to be superfluous if it belongs to the epsilon.

4 Σαταβ[ο]ῦ(τι). The lower part of what we read as beta is clearly visible, as is the raised final letter, which resembles the top of upsilon (cf. Μεστασύτμεως, I. 5). The only secure letters, however, are ατ, and the reading of the name should not be considered certain.

6 Ἔρωτ(ος). It appears that the scribe first wrote a superfluous iota adscript above the omega, and then corrected it to a tau by adding a horizontal dash through it.

7 Ὀρνίνιτος. The name is otherwise unattested but could be built on the name Νίνις, which is common in the Arsinoite nome (TM Nam 17189).

8 εἰς τη[. .]() σπ(ερματ-) κατασπ(ορα-). The exact phrasing of this formula has escaped us. The sequence τη, followed by a short lacuna and a horizontal stroke raised above the line, apparently marking an abbreviation, does not match the phrase εἰς δάνεια σπέρματα κατασπορᾶς, which would be expected here based on parallels: cf., e.g., *P.Tebt.* II 341.4–5 and Section VI, B.2 of the introduction.

τὸν αἰγιαλὸν χέρσῳ[ι] τῆς Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς εἰς τὰς προκειμένας ἀρού(ρας)
 εἴκοσι τρεῖς ἡμισυ[σ]οι τέταρτον ἑκακιδέκατον {αρ} ὄρο(μω) (ἀρτ.) κγ Lγ' αἰ
 χα(λκῶ) (ἀρτ.) λL

- 16 αἱ καὶ καταθροσόμεθα εἰς τὰ δηλο]ύμεγα ἐδάφη ὑγιῶς δι
 . . κ μηδενὶ αὐτῶν μηδὲν δαπανήσαντες μηδὲ
 εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀπενικάμενοι, κατασπερεῖν δὲ τὰς προκειμένας ἀρούρας
 ὧ καὶ κατασπεροῦμεν πυρικῶι σπόρωι καὶ μὴ ἐάσειν ἕως ἀρούρης
 20 {ρης} μιᾶς εἰς ἄσπορον ἢ ἄβροχον ἢ ἔμβροχον τραπῆναι, τῆς δὲ ἀμελη-
 θησομένης καὶ ἀσπο[ρ]ησάσης ἐκτίσωμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου τὸ ἐκφόριον
 ὄντες [ἀ]λλήλων ἐγγύ[ου]ς εἰς ἕκτισιν. τὰ δὲ σπέρμ(ατα) ἀποκαταστήσομεν
 ἐπεὶ νέων ἅμα τοῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἐκφορίοις. εὐφοροῦσι μὲν ἡμ[ῖν]
 24 εὖ εἴη, ἐφ[ι]φοροῦσι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία. Σουχ() γραμμα(τεὺς) Σώτο(υ) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέσθαι αὐτ[οὺς] γράμματα.
 [(ἔτους) ιγ] Τιβερίου Καίσαρος [. .] . . Σεβαστοῦ Χοι[ακ κς²]

15 l. τρεῖς, ἡμισυ 18 l. ἀπενεγκάμενοι 21 l. ἐκτίσωμεν 22 l. ἔγγυοι 23 l. ἐπί l. εὐφοροῦσι 24 l. ἐφοροῦσι

Order

... (2nd hand) I, Heliodoros, royal secretary, have signed. [Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak 26.]

Personal Descriptions

(3rd hand) Petheus son of Theon, about 25 years old, scar ...

Petesouchos son of Petesouchos, about x years old ... on his left ...

NN the younger son of Petesouchos, about x years old ...

Panesneus son of Petesouchos, about x years old ...

NN son of Satabous, about x years old, scar on his right forearm

Oath

... to the representatives of Dionysodoros, *strategos* of the Arsinoite: we swear by Tiberius Caesar Augustus Imperator son of the divine Augustus that we have had measured out and have received through ... assistant of Zoilos, *sitologos* of Iulia Augusta, as seed loans for the sowing of the present 13th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus for the plots that we farm in the dry land along the shore of Iulia Augusta for the aforementioned twenty-three and a half, a fourth, and a sixteenth arouras, 23 ½ artabas by the *dromos* (measure), which are 30 ½ artabas by the bronze (measure), which we shall sow in indicated plots in a sound manner ..., expending none of them in any (other) way, nor carrying them off for private purposes, and that we will sow the aforementioned arouras with the wheat seed that we will sow and that we will not allow even one aroura to be unsown or unwatered or overwatered. If the (land) should be neglected and unsown, we shall pay the rent from our own funds, being mutual sureties for repayment. And the seed we shall pay back upon the new (crop) together with the rents of the same year. If we keep the oath, may it be well for us, but if we break the

oath, may it be the opposite. I, Souch(), secretary of Sotas, wrote for them since they do not know letters. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar ... Augustus, Choiak [26 (?)].

2 The date would have followed the signature: cf. 1.11–12 and 3.12.

4 ἀριστερ. Written αρ– with *Verschleifung*, so the ending cannot be determined.

6 Πετεςούχο(υ). For the pi with looped initial stroke, cf. τραπήναι, l. 20.

8 Most of this line has escaped us. It should begin with the name of one of the farmers or their representative and reference the body of farmers as a whole. We could see Πανεσνεύ[ς] at the beginning, although what follows does not match Πετεςούχου, the patronym of the Panesneus in the personal descriptions above. Later in the line, the delta and possible sigma (for the shape, cf. that of εἴκοσι, l. 15) have lead us to consider δεκανός, but the middle of the word would have to be written with much *Verschleifung*. We have also considered τῆς κώμ[ης] before τοῖς π[α]ρῶ.

11 δι[ὰ . . .] παρὰ Ζωίλου(ου) σιτολόγου. The parallels have only διὰ Ζωίλου in this position. The space looks a bit long for simply δι[ὰ] τῶν, so perhaps a short name and τοῦ stood here.

13–14 ἐ{ν}δάφῃ ἐν τῇ κατὰ | τὸν αἰγιαλὸν χέρσω[ι]. The shoreland of Karanis (on Lake Moeris) is referred to in a few second century texts: *BGU I* 234.11 and 13 (142), a division of leaseholds; *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 22, one of the many seed receipts from 158/159; and *P.Cair.Mich.* III 15, part B.2. Soknopaiou Nesos is much better known for its shoreland: D. Hobson, *Agricultural Land and Economic Life in Soknopaiou Nesos*, *BASP* 21 (1984) 89–109. See D. Bonneau, *Aigialos (αἰγιαλός), la “terre riveraine” en Égypte, d’après la documentation papyrologique*, *Yale Classical Studies* 28 (1985) 131–143 on shoreland in general and 141 on “dry” shoreland, known from several early third century texts from Soknopaiou Nesos.

14 τὰς προκεμμένας ἀρού(ρας). Evidently referring back to the mention of these arouras in the order, although the phrase is perhaps rather a mistaken anticipation of its appearance in l. 18.

{αρ}. A lapse influenced either by the preceding ἀρού(ρας) or the (ἀρτ.) to come.

16 εἰς τὰ δηλο]ύμενα ἐδάφη. The same phrase, slightly different from that found in 1 and 2 at the corresponding section of the oath, occurs in CBL Pap. 1003 and 1006.

16–17 We have not succeeded in identifying this clause; cf. above Section VI, B.6.

17–18 μηδενὶ αὐτῶν μηδὲν δαπανήσαντες μηδὲ | εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀπενικάμενοι. On the clause prohibiting the private use of seed, see Section VI, B.7. The spelling ἀπενικ- instead of ἀπενεγκ- appears in CBL Pap. 1003 and 1005.

20–21 τῆς δὲ ἀμεληθησομένης καὶ ἀσπο[ρ]ησάσης. For this clause, see Section VI, B.8.

22 The scribe first wrote ἀποκατασ̄, then continued the word in full.

24 Σουχ() γραμμα(τεὺς) Σώτο(υ) ἔγραψα κτλ. We are uncertain how the scribe, whose name we have read as Petesouchos in *BGU II* 636.30 (see the introduction, Section V, and corrections in the appendix), wrote his name here, as only the upsilon topped by chi is clear. There does not appear to be enough space for Πετέσουχος to have been written out, even with the *Verschleifung* evident in the Berlin text (cf. also how Πετεςούχο(υ) is written in l. 6 above). Our initial reading here was Σουχ(), to

which we have tentatively returned. If correct, it would be a shortened form of Petesouchos, such as Σουχᾶς, Σουχίων, or Σουχός.

ἔγραψα is written with the gamma through the rho, even though the word continues, just as Sotas does in ν(ομο)γράφος, 1.41.

26 Nothing is expected between Καίσαρος and Σεβαστοῦ, so perhaps [Σεβα]στῶ was written here, then accidentally repeated.

5. Oath (?) upon Receipt of Seed Grain

P.Mich. inv. 5544⁹⁷
27-X⁹⁸

15.5 (h) × 11 (w) cm
Karanis

81–84 CE
Plate 6

Broken at top, right, and bottom, though close to full width is preserved around ll. 24 and 25. The left margin measures 2 cm. The back is blank. One small fragment (1 x 1.5 cm) found tangled next to ll. 11–12 was detached during conservation, but we think it belongs just to the right of these lines. The writing of the notary responsible for the body of the document gets progressively smaller in an attempt to leave sufficient space for the farmers' subscription.

Enough remains of this document to show that it contains a receipt of the annual seed distribution, with language similar to oaths from a half century earlier published above. It is likewise written for the farmers by the notary of Karanis (here, anonymous) and was probably framed as an oath in the name of the emperor Domitian. The amount of seed received, over 500 artabas, makes it clear that we are dealing with a large group of farmers, and the phrase “us and our fellow farmers” in ll. 3–4 suggests that representatives (e.g., πρεσβύτεροι, δεκανοί, inter alios: see the introduction) are acting here. The bulk of the seed was earmarked for the Camelian estate around Karanis, but the farmers also worked land belonging to the old estate of Germanicus around the smaller neighboring village of Ptolemais Nea, which is in keeping with other evidence for the involvement of Karanis farmers with this estate.

The missing opening address and the fragmentary state of lines 4–6 obscure the details of the procedure involved. The seed is said to be authorized by officials whom we identify as a new *strategos* of the Herakleides division (NN Herakleides) and a royal scribe whose tenure can be extended (Diomedes). If correct, the addressee should be someone else (cf. above on the clauses, Section VI, B.2), possibly the *katasporeus* or multiple *katasporeis*, as in the closely contemporary CBL Pap. 1003 and 1006, from 68 and 74 respectively. The lack of the victory title *Germanicus* places the document early in Domitian's reign (81–84).

⁹⁷ A pre-conservation image is currently (31 Jan., 2025) available at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-14355/5544R.TIF>.

⁹⁸ This excavation label indicates that papyrus was a surface find during the 1927/28 excavation season of the University of Michigan at Karanis.

- σαρ.[τῆς]
 προκειμέ[ν]ης κόμης ἐν τῶι .[±8]
 τὰς ἐπεσταλμένας ἡμῖν κ[αὶ τοῖς συν-]
- 4 γεωργ[οῖς] ἡμῶν δοθῆναι ὑ[πὸ ±8]
 Ἑρακλείδ[ο]υ καὶ Διομήδους . . .[±8]
 καὶ τῶν πρὸς χρεία . . .[±4 εἰς δάνεια?]
 σπέρματα τῆς εἰς τ[ὸ] ἐ[ν]ε[σ]τὸς ±10 ἔτος]
- 8 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ]
 κατασποράς ὧν γεω[ργοῦμεν περὶ τὴν προ-]
 κειμένην κώμην Καραγ[ίδα ±13]
 τῆς προκειμένης Καμηλιανῆς οὐσί[ας καὶ περὶ Πτο-]
- 12 λεμαίδα Νέαν τῆς πρότερ[ο]υ Γερμα[νικιανῆς οὐσίας]
 πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀκρίθου α[.]θ[.] ±12]
 ἀπὸ γενήματος τοῦ διε[ληλυ]θότο[ς] ἔτους μέτρῳι
 δημοσίῳι ὀλοχάλκῳι κ[αγκ]έλλ[ωι ±12]
- 16 πρότερον Καμηλιανῆ[ς .] . .[±15]
 ἀρτάβ(ας) τετρακοσίας δεξα[±12]
 οὐσίας Πτολεμαίδ(ος) Νέας ἀρτάβ(ας) . .[±12]
 ἡμισυ, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) φ[.] ἅς καὶ κατα-]
- 20 τεθείμεθα εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑγιῶς [±8 , μη-]
 δενὶ μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν δαπανήσαντ[ες μηδὲ εἰς ±3]
 ἀν ἀποδιαστειλόμενοι, τὰ τε ἐδά[φ]η ±10]
 καὶ οὐκ ἐάσομεν ἕως ἀρούρης μιᾶς εἰς ἄ[β]ροχο[υ]
- 24 ἢ ἔμβροχο(ν) τραπῆναι ἢ τῆς ἀμεληθ[.] . .[±5]
 σης ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου τὸ ἐκφόριον ἀποδώσομεν, τ[ὰ δὲ]
 σπέρματα ἀποδώσομεν ἐπὶ νέων ἄμ[α] τοῖ[ς] τοῦ ἐνε-]
 στῶτος ἔτους ἐκφορίοις ὄντες ἀ[λ]λή(λων) ἔγγυο(ι) εἰς ἔ[κτισιν. ἔγρα(ψεν)]
- 28 τὸ σῶμα ὁ τῆς Καρανίδος νομογράφ(ος). (ἔτος) . [Αὐτοκράτορος]
 Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Τυβ[ί] κ̄. (m. 2)[±5]
 καὶ Θεῶν Φαήσιος καὶ Πεθεὺς .ρσ. .θεως
 καὶ Πολλοῦς Πνεφέρως καὶ .[±8]
- 32 . .[.] . .ρημ . . . [Ἰ]σχυρίων .[±8]
 [±5]γ[. . . .][±13]

19–20 l. καταθησόμεθα 22 l. τὰ δέ 25 ἴδιου 28 νομογρ̄ 31 l. Πνεφέρωτος

... of [the] aforementioned village in the ... the artabas authorized to be given to us and our fellow farmers by NN Herakleides and Diomedes ... and those in charge ... [for] seed [loans (?)] for the sowing of the present ... [year] of Imperator Caesar [Domitian Augustus] of the (land) which we farm [around the] aforementioned village

of Karanis ... belonging to the aforementioned Camelian estate [and around] Ptolemais Nea previously belonging to the [estate] of Germanicus, namely for the land previously belonging to the Camelian estate four-hundred ten(+) artabas of pure wheat, not mixed with barley ... from the crop of the previous [year], by the public all-bronze *kankellon* [measure] ... and for the ... estate of Ptolemais Nea ... and a half artabas, in total 500+ artabas of wheat, [which] have sown in the ground in a sound manner ... expending nothing from it in any (other) way, [nor] setting anything apart for ... And we shall ... the fields and not allow even one aroura to be unwatered or overwatered or else, if (the land) should be neglected ... we shall pay the rent from our own resources. [And] we shall pay back the seed upon the new (crops) together with the rents of [the] current year, we being mutual sureties for repayment. The notary of Karanis [wrote] the body (of the document). Year x of [Imperator] Caesar Domitian Augustus, Tybi 20. (2nd hand) ... and Theon son of Phaesis and Petheus son of ... and Pollous son of Pnepheros and ... Ischyriion ...

1–2 The *sitologos* of the village mentioned above may have been referred to here as the intermediary of the distribution; cf. above on the clauses, Section VI, B.1.

2 ἐν τῷ θ[ησαυρῳ?]. We have not found a parallel for such a phrase in this position.

3 τὰς ἐπεσταλμένας modifies the two instances of ἀρτάβας down in ll. 17 and 18.

3–6 τὰς ἐπεσταλμένας ... δοθῆναι ὑ[πὸ ±8] | Ἡρακλείδ[ο]υ καὶ Διομήδους . . . [±8] | καὶ τῶν πρὸς χρεῖα . . . [. The authorization of the seed loan was made by at least two men and a group of unnamed officials. We expect the *strategos* and royal scribe to have been involved so are inclined to see these officials in the two named individuals in l. 4, particularly since a Diomedes is known in the latter office in the year 77, and the next known royal scribe of the Herakleides division appears in 86/87 (*Str.R.Scr.*², p. 129). There is likewise a gap in the fasti of *strategoī* between Ammonios (77/78, out of office in 79/80) and Claudius Chares (before 29 March, 87) (*Str.R.Scr.*², p. 12), which could be filled by NN Herakleides (the end of l. 3 would likely contain a *nomen*). The lack of title *strategos* is paralleled.⁹⁹ Thereafter, Διομήδους β[α]σ[ι]λικῶν γρ[α]μματεῶν is a possible reading. For other officials joining in the seed authorization with the *strategos* and royal scribe, cf. *P.Vind.Tand.* 9.17–20 and *P.Lond.* II 256d.10–12 (a *vicarius* of an imperial slave in each). Here, these unnamed officials carry the generic title οἱ πρὸς χρεῖα (or χρεῖαις), on which see *P.Oxyrhyncha* 3.4 n. Our closest parallel is *BGU* III 915 (Arsinoite, ca. 49–54), a document concerning ὑπόλογος land that cites the ὑπογραφή of an unknown higher official ordering the royal scribe and ὁ πρὸς ταῖς χρεῖαις to register land through seed lists.¹⁰⁰ The title can stand on its own but in this case may have been further defined.

6–7 εἰς δάνεια? | σπέρματα. On this clause, see above Section VI, B.2.

⁹⁹ E.g. *P.Bodl.* I 29.13–15 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 101): τὰς ἐπεσταλ[μ]έννας ἡμ[ι]ν ὑ[πὸ] Κλαυδίου Πτολεμέου καὶ Κλαυδίου | Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλικῶν ...

¹⁰⁰ ὁ βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς καὶ ὁ πρὸς ταῖς χρεῖαις ἦν | παραδεικνύουσι [γ]ῆν διὰ τῶν σπόρων καθ' ἔτος ἀναγραφέσθωσαν (ll. 9–10). For an analysis of this challenging document, see Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber* (n. 12) 519–524.

8 Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Δομτιανού Σεβαστοῦ]. The restoration of the titulature without *Germanicus* is based on ll. 28–29.

9–11 ὧν γεφ[ργοῦμεν περὶ τὴν προ]κειμένην κώμην Καραν[ίδα ±13]. The lacuna probably contained ἑδαφῶν defined by an adjective.

11 τῆς προκειμένης Καμηλ[ιανῆ]ς οὐσί[ας. Perhaps a mistake for πρότερον based on l. 16.

11–12 The small detached fragment contains]ουσι[in the first line and],γερμ[in the second, which fits well with the content of these lines (our only hesitation is the shape of the final sigma of Καμηλ[ιανῆ]ς). The former estate of Germanicus (TM Ousia 19) included some 577 arouras around Ptolemaic Nea (*P.Bouriant* 42), so our group of farmers would have been one of several working these estate lands. In the Karanis *Grapheion* Account (xxiv.11–12; cf. Claytor, *Mechanics* [n. 12] 114), there is an entry regarding the receipt of seed for 10 arouras of this estate around Ptolemais Nea.

14–15 μέτρωι| δημοσίωι ὄλοχάλκωι κ[αγκ]έλλωι. On the *kankellon* measure, see *P.Oxy.* LV, pp. 128–129, where the earliest attestation, κανκερλωτω, in *P.Lond.* II 256a = *W.Chr.* 443.12 (Arsinoite, 29 Oct., 15) is interpreted as a phonetic spelling of καγκελλωτῶ (*BL* IX 127; by contrast, *BL* I 250 reads καγκέλλω τῶ), dittography with the following τῶ ἀνενηνεγμένω κτλ.). Here, we favor the regular form κ[αγκ]έλλωι based on the closely contemporary *SB* XIV 12169.13 (Ptolemais Euergetis, 26 Jan., 96) and the numerous occurrences in Byzantine papyri. An “all-bronze” measure has not previously been identified but is found also in the Narmouthis *grapheion* archive (CBL Pap. 1003 and 1006). Another parallel lurks behind *P.IFAO* I 8.17–18 (Theadelphia, 64), where after μέ[τρωι] δημοσίωι, we read κ[αὶ τῶ]ι ὄλοχάλκ[ωι] καγκέλλ[ω]ι for the editor's κ[. . .] ὄλοχ. .[. . .] καγκέλλ[ω]ι based on an image kindly supplied to us by the IFAO. Following καγκέλλ[ω]ι is τῶ (potentially relevant for the reading of the *W.Chr.* 443.12), but we have not recognized what remains in the rest of the line. The present papyrus is of no help on this score due to the break, but the lacuna may have held some further definition of the measure.

19–20 ὅς καὶ κατα]τεθείμεθα. The perfect instead of the future tense, which is what is expected here and found in all the parallels, is no doubt an oversight on the part of the scribe; cf. above on the clauses, Section VI, B.5.

20 The standard καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου looks to be too long for the lacuna; perhaps it was abbreviated.

21–22 μηδὲ εἰς ± 3]αν ἀποδιαστειλάμενοι. We restore this verb at *W.Chr.* 344.7: εἰ[ς] ὀφείλημα ἀποδ[ιαστειλάμενοι]. Another noun, such as χρεῖ]αν, must have stood here.

22 τά τε ἐδά[φη. Either βρέξομεν] or λιμνάσομεν] based on parallels. τε instead of δέ is perhaps a *lapsus calami* rather than a phonetic error.

24–25 ἡ τῆς ἀμεληθ[. . .] .[± 5]σης. For this clause, see above, Section VI, B.8. After ἀμεληθ, there is space for about 9 letters. Unless abbreviated, the phrase differed in some way from those attested in parallels.

28 ὁ τῆς Καρανίδος νομογρ(άφος). The same anonymous formulation is found in the contemporary Karanis oath *P.Mich.* IX 545 (88/89), perhaps related to the same village notary (the handwriting cannot be compared, however, since it is a copy).

28–29 A strip of papyrus containing the line over the numeral κ and the beginning of the first farmer’s name is out of place and needs to be lowered.

Appendix: Corrections to Published Texts and Notes on Inedita

P.Lond. II 256 (Arsinoite, 5–15)¹⁰¹

This composite roll consists of various sitologic documents that were pasted together to receive the rhetorical exercises written on the back (TM 63121 = LDAB 4325). Most of the recto has been published, but there is also an unedited document that we have identified as an oath upon receipt (*P.Lond.* II 256c descr.: see below), as well as fragmentary lines and various notes unrelated to the main documents. Of the edited documents, all relate to the *sitologos* Akousilaos of Lysimachis (TM Arch 263). From left to right:

1. Unedited. Fragmentary lines of accounts, some written upside down, indicating various stages of writing.

2. Unedited. In the blank space between the accounts and the next document, one line at the top and three lines at the bottom.

3. *P.Lond.* II 256a (Arsinoite, 29 Oct., 15). Receipt addressed to Akousilaos. Line beginnings covered by join.

4. *P.Lond.* II 256e = *W.Chr.* 344 (20 Nov., 11). Order addressed to Akousilaos. Written in a wide format with generous margins, spanning three kollemata. Added upside down relative to the other documents, with some line ends covered by the join. In the blank lower margin (the upper margin in the orientation of the composite roll) were added various notations and the famous epigram on the Battle of Actium (*P.Lond.* II 256b descr. = TM 63120 = LDAB 4324). Two lines were also added between ll. 5 and 6 of the order. These additions are written upside down relative to the order but with the same orientation as the other documents.

5. *P.Lond.* II 256c descr. Oath upon receipt of seed (13 Dec., 5). Written in a similar format to preceding, here centered, with roughly equal upper and lower margins. Spans three kollemata, the first with vertical fibers indicating that it was the *protokollon* of the original roll from which it was cut.

6. *P.Lond.* II 256d. Order to Akousilaos (ca. 11).

P.Lond. II 256c descr. (13 Dec., 5)

This document consists of 17 wide lines, more-or-less complete, but lacunose in places due to tears and abrasion. From a preliminary evaluation based on the image recently returned to the British Library website, we have determined that it is an oath upon receipt of seed grain written in the name of officials and farmers of the village of Boukolion alias Tristomon in the Polemon division (TM Geo 2475). The village scribe

¹⁰¹ Image available at https://iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc_100058771031.0x000001 (accessed 31 Oct., 2024).

signs at the bottom for the receipt of 50 artabas of wheat and adds the date of Year 35 of Augustus, Choiak 17 (= 13 Dec., 5). Most notably, among the officials who authorized the seed distribution, we find a new *strategos*, Noumenios,¹⁰² whose tenure thus overlaps with Tryphon, attested as *strategos* in the same month. Tryphon's activities concerned Philadelphia in the Herakleides meris, which suggests that the two *strategoí* in office had different administrative ambits. An edition of this document is in preparation.

P.Lond. II 256e = W.Chr. 344 (20 Nov., 11)

To Wilcken's reedition and the corrections recorded in *BL I* we add the following based on Borrelli's autopsy, DinoLite images, and the image that has recently returned to the British Library website.

5 τοῖς ἀρμόζουσι καὶ . . . [. . .]σι γένεσι → καὶ λυ[σιτελέ]σι γένεσι. Not much is legible after καί, but λυ[σιτελέ]σι is a likely candidate based on CBL Pap. 1005 and CBL Pap. 1006, where the phrase is τοῖς ἀρμόσουσι καὶ λυσιτελέσι τῆι γῆι γένεσι.

5 ἔρ[ημον] → εἰ[ς] ἄσπορον]. Given that the next line begins ἢ ἄβροχον ἢ ἔγβροχον, another adjective is required at the end of the line: 4.20 and *SB XXX 17666.14* (cf. above n. 88) provide the likely solution.

6 παυ . . . ν . . . → τραπήναι.

6 [τ]ῆς καθ' ὄνδηποτεοῦν τρόπον δι' ἀμέλειαν μὴ σπ[α]ρείσης γῆς α . . .] ἐκφόρια → ἢ [τ]ῆς καθ' ὄνδηποτεοῦν τρόπον δι' ἀμέλειαν μὴ σπ[α]ρείσης { ησ } αὐτ[οῦ]ς (τὰ) ἐκφόρια. This line clearly contains a neglect and penalty clause (see above Section VI, B.8), but its precise rendering remains somewhat unclear, perhaps due to scribal error. Before [τ]ῆς, a somewhat awkward eta can be read, which fits the parallels, as does the omission of γῆς following the article. After μὴ σπ[α]ρείσης, we could expect a verb of payment, but instead the editor's γῆς is recognizable, although τῆς or a repetition of -σης also come to mind; any of these readings, however, would have to be excised from the text (including γῆς, which would be out of position). What follows is not compatible with any of the expected verbs of payment (ἐκτεῖσειν, ἀποδώσειν, μετρήσειν). Instead, αὐτ- looks promising, which leads us to read the pronoun (cf. the correction αὐτό[ν] → αὐτό[ς] below). ἐκφόρια needs an article. The verb of payment does not seem to appear in what we have read, so we suspect that it may have been lost at the end of line, which was obscured when the sheet was joined to the composite roll (the verb is likewise postponed in CBL Pap. 1006).

7 κεκρ . μ . ημέγα (*BL I 249*) → κεχρηματισμένα. Bell already thought κεκρ- was possible, as reported in the *BL*. The participle is used to modify the artabas of grain in the orders *P.Lond. II 256d.9* (ca. 11) and *P.Vind.Tand. 9.ii.16*, both likewise belonging to the archive of Akousilaos, *sitologos* of Lysimachis. The verb refers to the authorization of the *strategos* and royal secretary. Here, the emphasis is on quality control: the

¹⁰² We read part of l. 3 as [τ]ῶς κεχρη[μα]τ[ι]σμένας ἡμῖν κ[ατὰ] χρημα[τισμ]οῦς [Νο]υμηνίου στρατηγῶ καὶ . . . There follows mention of two more officials, one of whom we think is an imperial slave or *vicarius* of one, the other the royal scribe.

farmers must use the “authorized” seed, presumably that from which the sealed samples (l. 3) came.

7 μη]θενὶ μηδ[ε] . . . δα . μ[.]η[.]α . ελεσμα δε .[.] ὀφειλήματα α[→ μ[η]δενὶ μηδὲν δαπαν[ή]σαντες (l. δαπανήσαντας) μηδ’ εἰ[ς] ὀφείλημα ἀποδ[ιαστεύλαντας vel -αμένους]. The general nature of this clause here was already recognized by H. El-Maghrabi, J. D. Thomas, *P.Oxy.* LVII, p. 119.

8 αὐτό[ν] → αὐτοῦ[ς], referring to the farmers.

8 ἀκολούθως τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος περὶ αὐτ[ῶν] ἐπεσταλμένοι(?)ς → περὶ αὐτῶν προστεταγμένοις. The prefect was probably C. Iulius Aquila, who is also known to have been involved in a canal project near Alexandria (*I.Alex.Imp.* 3; cf. D. Faoro, *I prefetti d’Egitto da Augusto a Commodo*, Bologna 2015, 27 and L. Capponi, *Augustan Egypt: The Creation of a Roman Province*, New York, London 2005, 107).

8 ἅπαντα . . . η . δε ε . . . ν[→ ἀποκαταστήσειν δὲ ἐπὶ γέω[ν] ἅμα τοῖς]. On ἐπὶ νέων, see Section VI, B.9.

10 Wilcken proposed ἀποχ[ῆν] δισσήν] based on parallels, but the traces at the end of the line are not compatible with this suggestion. We have considered reading πε]ρὶ τοῦτ(ων).

*BGU I 85 = W.Chr. 345*¹⁰³

(Oath upon Receipt of Seed Grain, Arsinoite, 138–161)

In his revision, Wilcken identified this text as an oath sworn upon receipt of seed grain and noted the similarities with the earlier *W.Chr.* 344. A few more improvements can be made.

i.13 (ἀρούρας) π → ν. 47 7/12 artabas of seed were allocated for this land, so the new reading means that the ratio of artabas to arouras is closer to the usual 1:1.

iii.7–9 τήν] | δὲ γῆν πᾶσαν βεβ[ρεγμένην] | νασθαι → τήν] | δὲ γῆν πᾶσαν βεβ[ρέχθαι καὶ λελιμ] | νᾶσθαι. The only example of this tautology; elsewhere, the two verbs are used interchangeably.

iii.10 In the lacuna, e.g. [τῶ δέοντι καιρῶ καί] based on *W.Chr.* 344.5, as well as CBL Pap. 1005 and CBL Pap. 1006.

iii.13–14 → μηδ] ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπ[ολογούμενος . . .]. The verb is restored from the Oxyrhynchite orders (cf. *P.Oxy.* LVII, p. 119), which continue εἰς ὀφειλήν ἢ εἰς ἕτερόν τι vel sim. For this type of clause, see above Section VI, B.7.

*P.Daris 14*¹⁰⁴ (Application for seed grain, 84–96)

The date range given in the *ed. pr.* can be slightly revised due to the presence of the victory title *Germanicus*, which was assumed by Domitian towards the end of 83.

We note here that the structure of this and the following two applications differs from those described at *P.Oxy.* LVII, pp. 99–104. As noted at *P.Daris* 14.14 n., the main difference concerns the position of the request clause, which appears in the more common model at the beginning of the document, immediately following the prescript;

¹⁰³ Image available at <https://berlpap.smb.museum/01014/> (accessed 31 Oct., 2024).

¹⁰⁴ For an image see plate 14 of the volume.

in the other model, it is found toward the end of the document, after the description of the farmed land and preceding the sowing and repayment clauses, as well as the final oath. On the other hand, in light of our revision of the text, *P.Daris* 14 is organized as follows: 1) description of land (ll. 3–7), 2) amount of seed (ll. 7–8), 3) sowing clause (ll. 8–11), 4) repayment clause (ll. 11–13), 5) request clause (ll. 13–17), 6) oath (ll. 17–21), and 7) subscriptions (ll. 21–24). The position of the request after the sowing and repayment clauses now finds a parallel in *P.Monts.Roca* IV 67 and in the “Bain papyrus” (see below). In both of these cases, however, the request even follows the final oaths. Since the tops of these papyri are missing, we cannot determine whether an additional request statement may have appeared at the beginning of the documents.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, one or two additional models for applications can now be identified.

8–9 καταθ[ήσομεν . . .]τα → καταθ[ησόμε]θηα. See Section VI, B.5.

9 καί] → καὶ ἀπό]

10–11 κα[. . .]ου` . . . → κα[τασπε]ροῦμ(εν).

13–16 αἰ[το]ῦμεν ἐπισταλῆναι π[. . .] . . . τασδι[.]σφυι . [. . .] . . . τῶν σιτολόγων [. | το]ῦ ἐποικίου → ἀξι]οῦμεν ἐπισταλῆναι ἡ[μῖν | τ]αύτας διὰ Συφίω[νος καὶ μετ]όχων σιτολόγων [. |]ου ἐποικίου. The beginning of the sentence is paralleled by *P.Monts.Roca* IV 67.8–9 with the corrections below.¹⁰⁶ We take Συφίω[νος to be a graphic error for Συρίωνος, caused by the similar ductus of the two letters (cf. the rho of ἐκφορίω[ς, l. 13). The name of the *epoikion* is mostly lost between ll. 16–17.

21 π[ο]ύησε[σθαι | . . .] . . . ὡς πρόκειται → π[ο]ύησε[τω κα]θὼς πρόκειται. We supply the active form, which also fits the lacuna better, based on the Oxyrhynchite applications (*P.Oxy.* LVII 3902.8; 3903.12).

22 [. . .] . . . ακλιου → [Ἡ]ρακλίου.

P.Monts.Roca IV 67¹⁰⁷ (Application for seed grain, 84–96)

The date can be revised on the same basis as the previous text.

8–9 | . . . [. . .] . . . ἡμεῖν. ταῦτα → ἀξι]οῦμεν ἐ[πι]στ[α]λῆν[αι] ἡμῖν ταύτα[ς] διὰ. The name of the *sitologos* would have followed.

“Bain Papyrus”¹⁰⁸ (Application for seed grain, 81–84)

This fragment, broken at the top and bottom, contains seven lines of an application for seed grain. It dates to 81–84 because of the lack of victory title *Germanicus* in

¹⁰⁵ Cf. e.g. the much later request for payment in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3176 (reign of Sev. Alex.).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. also *P.Oxy.* LVII 3905.33 with n., where [ἡμῖν] can now be confirmed; likewise, [τὰς δαπ]αγωγμ(ένας) (l. 32 with n.), which, like our ταύτας, also refers to the artabas mentioned above.

¹⁰⁷ Image available at <https://dvctvs.upf.edu/catalogue/p-monts-roca-inv-1451/> (accessed 31 Oct., 2024).

¹⁰⁸ Amongst H. I. Bell's correspondence in the British Library is a photo of the papyrus enclosed with a letter specifying that it was purchased by one Donald Calder Bain from the well-known dealer van Scherling (BL Add. MS 59525 ff. 84–86; the current location of the papyrus is unknown). We thank Nikolaos Gonis for bringing this papyrus to our attention. An edition of this papyrus based on the photo is in preparation.

Domitian's titulature, which makes it the earliest document of this type (the next being *P.Coll.Youtie* I 22, Oxy., 87). In the repayment clause, we read the reference to the state taxes on the land with a specification concerning the mode of delivery, which is unparalleled (ἄμα τοῖς) τῆς γῆς δημο(σίοις) | ἐν στερε(οῖς) γένεσι μετρουμένοις), ll. 2–3). Then, the farmer's oath (ll. 4–6) is followed by the request clause, which is similar to the two previous papyri: διὸ ἀξιώ ἐπισταλ(ῆναι) διὰ | [. . .] . . . καὶ μετόχ(ων) σι(τολόγων) (ll. 6–7).

BGU II 636¹⁰⁹ (Karaniš, 20)

As discussed above in Section V, this contract is written in the hand of the notary NN alias Sotas (ll. 1–24), with a subscription added by his assistant (ll. 24–33), Petesouchos son of Petalos. It is a sale of crops framed as lease/cession of land, for which *P.Meyer*. 12 (Theadelphia, 115) provides a (better-executed) comparandum.

10–11 δεξι[ὶ] ἐπικεχωιρηκέναι → δεξι(ῶι) | ἐπικεχωιρηκέναι.

15 συμ . . . χαρατι → συνουχαρατι. Still obscure to us. Somehow a reference to fodder for the sheep, *l. σὺν τῷ χόρτῳ*? Cf. e.g. *P.Lips.* II 129.15.

16–17 προ(βάτων καὶ) κατανομήν: *BL* I 439 → προβάτων | Also read by Nikolaos Gonis, who shared a draft of an unpublished note on this text. The common complement καὶ κοιτασμόν is too long here, but perhaps καὶ κοίτην could fit: cf. *P.Athen.* 14.19–20 (Philadelphia, 22).

19 ξηρῶν καὶ ἀπέχῳι τὰ ὄρη | . . . ἐν προδώματι → ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἀπέχῳι τὰ . . . ρη . . . | τ . . . τιμὴν ἐν προδώματι. In ὑπὲρ and again in l. 23, the notary added flair to his initial upsilon, which gives it the appearance of a xi. After ἀπέχῳι, we see something that resembles τὰ σπερμα-, but this would be non-sensical in a position where we expect something like τὴν συνκεχωρημένην τιμὴν.

23 ξυγγραφεύς → ὑπογγραφεύς. Cf. previous correction for the exuberant upsilon. Normal procedure would be to add the name, patronym, age, and personal description of the subscriber, but that information has been omitted.

25 Πεθεκάτος: *ed. pr.* and *BL* I 439 (against Πεθεβάτος: *BL* I 58) → Πεθεῦτος. The spelling Πεθεκάς for the rare name Πετεκάς has not been attested. The alpha in -κατ- would also be much reduced. Neither is a fatal objection to the reading, but we see a flattened upsilon in place of -κα-, with its bowl sitting at line level: cf. the upsilon of ὑπέρ, l. 31. If this reading is correct, [Πεθεῦτος] needs to be supplied in l. 7 and [μο]υ Πεθεῦτος read in l. 14.

30–31 Νάμμαχος | Η . . . ελου → Πετέσουχος | Πετάλον. The first name looks like Πετευχος but should rather be read as a reduced form of Πετέσουχος, a topic recently discussed by U. Gad¹¹⁰ and A.I. Blasco Torres.¹¹¹ Blasco Torres argues on the basis of select examples that names transcribed as Πετευχος *vel sim.* should all be seen as

¹⁰⁹ Image available at <https://berlpap.smb.museum/01999/> (accessed 31 Oct., 2024).

¹¹⁰ U. Gad, “Petesouchos in *Verschleifung* and the Family of Lautinas son of Petesouchos,” *Korr. Tyche* 826 in “Bemerkungen zu Papyri XXIX,” *Tyche* 31 (2016) 276–280.

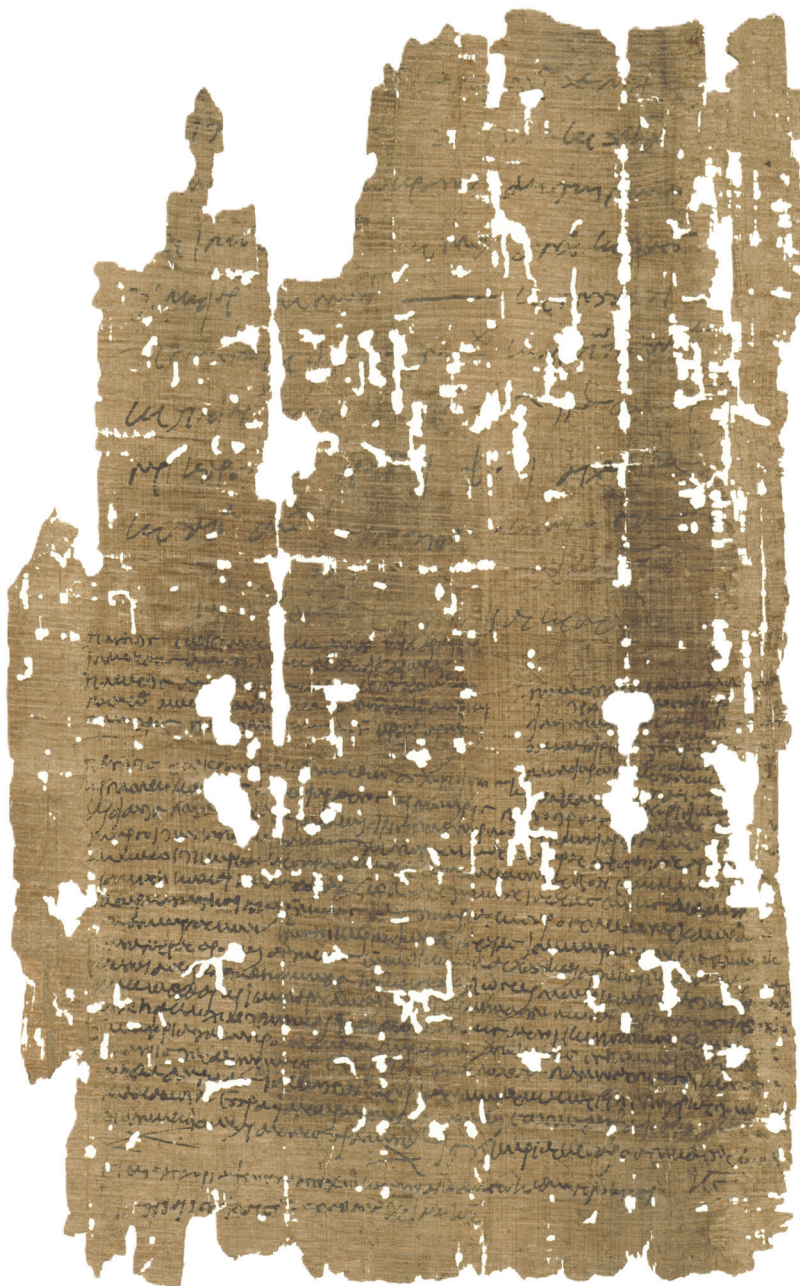
¹¹¹ A. I. Blasco Torres, *Some Corrections on Egyptian Anthroponyms in Greek Transcription*, *Archiv* 63 (2017) 332–334.

Πετέσουχος in *Verschleifung*,¹¹² while Gad adduces cases in which reduced renderings of the name can be checked against internal evidence, namely, other references to the person within the same text or within the same archive.

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¹¹² This interpretation is applicable in many cases, but we note that the document from which one example is adduced, *P.Mich.* V 354, contains several scribal omissions, including τὸν Κρονί(ων)α (l. 11, the line following the editor's Πετ(εσ)ούχου), which cannot be interpreted as *Verschleifung*.



No. 1: Order for Seed Grain and Oath upon Receipt
P.Vindob. D 9992 recto (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung)

zu B. Borrelli, W. G. Claytor, S. 32



No. 2-3: Oath upon Receipt of Seed Grain and Order Glued Together
P.Vindob. G 24567 recto (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung)

zu B. Borrelli, W. G. Claytor, S. 38



No. 4: Order for Seed Grain and Oath Upon Receipt
P.Vindob. D 10007 recto (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung)

zu B. Borrelli, W. G. Claytor, S. 43



No. 5: Oath (?) upon Receipt of Seed Grain
P.Mich. inv. 5544 (University of Michigan Library Digital Collections)