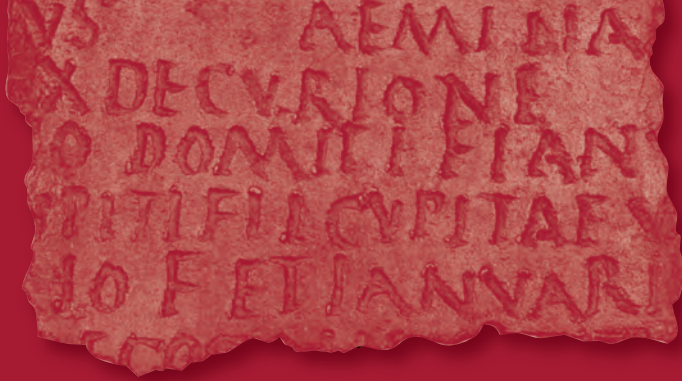
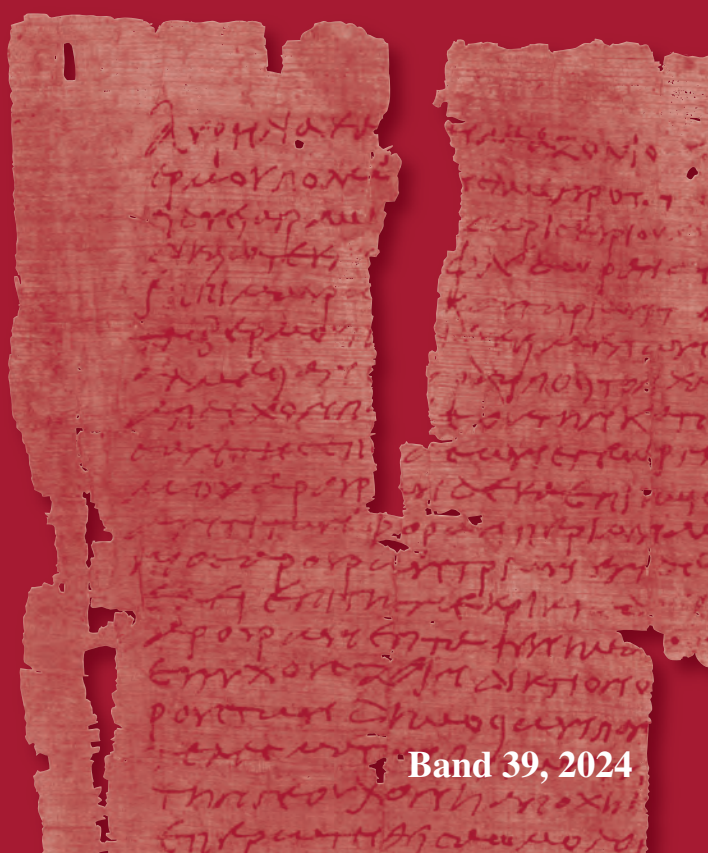




TYCHE

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AIKATERINI KOROLI

A Greek Late Antique Heracleopolite Land Register with Numbered Parcels and Payments*

Plates 18–19

This hitherto unpublished papyrus with text on both sides is housed at the Department of Papyri of the Austrian National Library. It preserves part of a land register with numbered parcels (κοῖται; see ll. 1; 2; 4; 5; 6; 9) corresponding to payments either in coin or in kind.

The recto records a two-columned list. The first column contains information about numbered land lots, specified by proper names, and in some cases also the ὀνόματος-formula (see ll. 2; 5; 6; 9), and/or information on the category or the use of the land lot (see ll. 1; 3; 4; 7; 8; 10). The second column contains numbers of arouras, which are now lost. The bottom part of this list is certainly missing, as is its right part.

The verso side of the papyrus preserves four columns, the first of which is very fragmentary. The second column contains numbers of arouras (all less than 1 aroura, with the exception of l. 12), whereas both the third and fourth columns contain sums of either solidi or field crop.

Both fragments are parts of the same land register. They were written by the same hand and they presumably presented the same content and structure. Specifically, the κοῖται-list is the beginning of one of the four-columned units preserved on both sides of the papyrus, which becomes evident also from the length of the left margin and the partial evenness of the left edge of the papyrus. Each one of these units was structured as follows:

- Col. i: Information about each one of the land-lots in question. Each one of the numbered κοῖται is followed by its name and the fiscally responsible entity; see col. i of both recto and verso.
- Col. ii: The acreage of each land-lot measured in arouras; see col. ii of both recto and verso.
- Col. iii: A sum in money or in kind; see col. iii of the verso.
- Col. iv: A second sum in money or in kind; see col. iv of the verso.

* I would like to thank the University of Athens (research project NKUA, Special Account for Research Grants [ΕΛΚΕ] 20049 [Καταπίστευμα Κ. Α. Τσαγκαδά]) for financial support that allowed me to study the original in the papyrus collection in Vienna. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for numerous insightful suggestions regarding both the readings and the interpretation of the document.

The four columns seem to be followed by a line separated from the preceding text by a *vacat* and probably containing a sum in total; see l. 18.

The change in direction of the fibres after the *kollesis*, visible on the left of the recto (for its exact position, see below), indicates a protocol. Hence col. i of the recto could well be the very beginning of the present document, which means that the list starts with a reference to the 12th parcel. Given the fragmentary state of the document, it is impossible to estimate the number of the four-columned units and the exact length of the document as a whole. Consequently, the possibility that this is part of a codex should not be ruled out.

The content of the preserved text provides us with no indications as to the place in which the papyrus was written nor does the inventory number point to any specific origin¹. However, the papyrus can be securely added to the long list of instances of the so-called Heracleopolite style of writing dated from the fourth to the sixth century²; cf. the characteristic α, β, κ, λ, μ, ν, π, τ and υ³.

As regards the purport of the document, the occurrence of numbered parcels leaves no doubt that this is a land register. The script rather points to the fifth century. Five Heracleopolite lists with numbered parcels — all preserved in Viennese papyri, namely P.Rain.Cent. 154 with BL IX 224 with plate 107 (4th–5th cent.), SB XXVI 16719 (4th–5th cent.)⁴, and foremost P.Eirene III 33 (5th cent.), 34 (5th cent.) and 35 (= SPP X 144; 5th cent.) with plates 29–31⁵ — offer close parallels in terms of both palaeography and content; cf. the discussion offered by C. Kreuzsaler in the edition of P.Eirene III 33–

¹ There is also no information about the year in which the papyrus was acquired; see Loebenstein, *Vom "Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer" zur Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. 100 Jahre Sammeln, Bewahren, Edieren*, in: *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P.Rainer Cent.)*, Vienna 1983, 20–24. Nor is there any relevant information in Hans Gerstinger's inventory.

² All dates are AD, unless otherwise stated.

³ This script was first recognized and described by B. Rom, H. Harrauer, *Drei byzantinische Papyri*, ZPE 54 (1984) 95–100 and H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie. Textband*, Stuttgart 2010, 77–78. A list of palaeographical parallels is offered by Rom, Harrauer, *Drei byzantinische Papyri* (op. cit.); Harrauer, *Handbuch* (op. cit.) 77–78; 416–417 (= nos 223 and 224; cf. *Tafelband*, plates 208 and 209, respectively); for more examples of this script, see N. Gonis, *Prosopographica*, APF 51.1 (2005) 87–94, esp. 89 (n. 13); B. Palme, *Flavius Flavianus – von Herakleopolis nach Konstantinopel?*, BASP 45 (2008) 143–169; idem, P.Gascou 49–51; cf. C. Kreuzsaler, P.Eirene III, 92 with n. 6.

⁴ F. Mitthof, *Zur Pagusordnung des Herakleopolites*, Tyche 14 (1999) 211–218 with plate 4 (inventory number: P.Vindob. G 41890); cf. the digital image available at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00004791>.

⁵ P.Eirene 33 and 34 are preserved in the recto and verso of the P.Vindob. G 17769, respectively; cf. the digital image available at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00010493>. P.Eirene III 35 (= SPP X 144) is preserved in both sides of P.Vindob. G 12144; cf. the digital images available at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00004540>. The abbreviation of κοῖται, the symbol for aroura, and the characteristic space fillers should be added to the striking palaeographical similarities of the present list to these texts.

35⁶. Similar to P.Rain.Cent. the numbering of parcels in the present text is continuous with the exception of l. 9. The range of numbers varies from 12 to 19. Since the amount of missing text is incalculable, it is impossible to figure out how many parcels were referred to⁷. Moreover, there is no information about the region (ἐποίκιον or πεδῖον) of the Heracleopolite nome in which the parcels were included⁸.

Similar to P.Eirene III 33–35, the parcels were identified not only by their numbers but also by their name, which is either Greek or Egyptian. Specifically, the κοῖται-names in ll. 1, 4, 5, and 9 are Greek personal names that are elsewhere attested⁹. The occurrence of parallels dating from the Ptolemaic era, some of which come from the Heracleopolite nome, enhance this possibility that the securely read Φίλαγρος (l. 1), Λεοντεύς (l. 5) and Φίλοκλῆς (l. 9) could well be hitherto unattested names of fossil *kleroi*¹⁰; see nn. to ll. 1, 5 and 9. In l. 6 the parcel is specified by the name Τεσμοῦνι, which seems to be a phonological variant of Egyptian personal names and toponyms hitherto coming exclusively from the Hermopolite and the Antaiopolite nomes; see n. to l. 6. The tentative reading of Ῥαεῖτε in l. 2 points to neither a known personal nor a known place name (see n.). For this co-occurrence of Greek names suggesting Ptolemaic *klerouchs* and Egyptian place names, which may be *addenda onomastica*, see the discussion offered by Kreuzsaler, *P.Eirene III* (see n. 3) 92. According to Zucker, *Klerosnamen* 106, some fossil *kleroi* bore Egyptian personal names. For more details on the names contained in the present text, see below the line-to-line commentary¹¹.

As already noted, each entry contains information about a numbered private land lot (col. i and ii) corresponding to certain sums of payment either in money or in kind

⁶ Cf. Kreuzsaler, *P.Eirene III* (see n. 3) 92. The Heracleopolite land register SB XXVI 16439 recorded in P.Vindob. G 15646 (4th cent.? = F. Mitthof, *Neue Texte zur Topographie des Herakleopolites*, AnPap 10–11 [1998–1999] 79–101, esp. 85–88 [= no 2]) also offers a fairly close parallel regarding palaeography and content, although it does not contain any reference to κοῖται; cf. Kreuzsaler, *P.Eirene III* (see n. 3) 97–98; a digital image is available at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00004798>. For parallels from other parts of Egypt, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *Numbered Koitai in the Oxyrhynchite Nome*, *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 157–159; Mitthof, *Pagusordnung* (see n. 4) 214 with n. 15; Kreuzsaler, *P.Eirene III* (see n. 3) 92 with n. 3.

⁷ In the preserved Heracleopolite parallels, a parcel may bear a number lower than 12 (see, e.g. P.Rain.Cent. 154.4–10 with BL IX 224; P.Eirene III 33.11; 13; 14; 34 col. i.8; 35.5) or much higher than 19 (see, e.g., P.Eirene III 34 col. i.5; 7; 35.2; 8); cf. Mitthof, *Pagusordnung* 214 with n. 17.

⁸ Unlike P.Eirene III 33–35 and SB XXVI 16719, which contain this piece of information.

⁹ Perhaps with the exception of Περσῶ in l. 4 (see n.).

¹⁰ Cf. the definition of the term, as well as catalogue of fossil *kleroi* offered by M. R. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome. A Catalogue of the Toponyms, with Introduction and Commentary* (ASP 37), Atlanta, GA 1998, 273–288; see also F. Zucker, *Beobachtungen zu den permanenten Klerosnamen in: Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte Friedrich Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet*, Bonn 1964, 101–106. The present papyrus and its aforementioned parallels indicate the survival of fossil *kleroi* even after the beginning of the fourth century, contrary to Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome* (op. cit.) 271.

¹¹ The 14th, 16th, and 19th parcel in the present text cannot be identified with the parcels bearing these numbers in P.Eirene 33 and 34; see P.Eirene III 33.10: ις κοί(της) Κόκκωνος; 12: ιθ κοί(της) Πσανσάκε; 16: ιδ κοί(της) Μουλίωνος; 18: ιδ κοί(της) Τουσία, and 34.2: ιδ κοί(της) Τερξε. Thus the present fragment does not refer to the same region of the Heracleopolite nome as the two aforementioned registers.

(col. iii and iv). However, the purpose of the payment, and consequently, the purport of this land register needs to be explored.

The fact that the two fragments were structured according to a specific pattern, repeated in all preserved lines, in combination with the occurrence of the ὀνόματος-formula¹² points to official documents. Nevertheless, the exact type of the text is difficult to ascertain; cf. the discussion of Kreuzsaler, *P.Eirene* III (see n. 3) 97–98. As pointed out by the latter with reference to Mitthof, *Neue Texte* (see n. 6, esp. 86–87), a document such as this could be either public, i.e. fiscal, or private, i.e. a list of lease payments; in the first case, the payments would be made by the owners, and in the second case by the leasers of the land lots referred to. The possibilities that the present register is of a fiscal nature and that the payers were the owners of the parcels are significantly lessened by the references to more than one field products; on this argument, cf. Mitthof and Kreuzsaler, *P.Eirene* III (see n. 3). In addition, if the text was of fiscal nature, the kind of tax would be difficult to define, especially given the two puzzling points discussed in what follows:

a. There is more than one list containing sums of payment, i.e. col. iii and iv of the verso. This means that each entry contains more than one sum corresponding to a certain number of arouras.

b. There are clearly two manners of payment, i.e. either in *solidi* (see verso, col. iii and iv, ll. 12; 15; 17) or in wheat (see verso, col. iii and iv, ll. 13; 14; 16).

For all the above reasons, the register should rather be classified as a rent payment register. The rent rate is defined in col. iii, whereas col. iv provides information on the rent due or paid. This would explain why the amounts in col. iii are not as varied as those in col. iv. This interpretation is also supported by the arithmetic of the account; indeed, if we multiply the number of *arourai* col. ii (acreage of each κοίτη) by the sums mentioned in col. iii (rent rate), the result is what we see in col. iv¹³.

One of the main points of interest is the expression μεγάλ(ου) ἀπόρου occurring in ll. 1, 3, and 4. Ἄπορος is frequently attested as qualifying people with no resources, i.e. people unable to pay their taxes or take part in liturgies. However, it also occurs in documents of the Byzantine, or even the Roman period, to designate the land which is unproductive, due to e.g. barrenness and/or abandonment. The ownership of such ἄπορα ὀνόματα was transferred to the state, whereas their fiscal costs were borne by the community; on this meaning of ἄπορος, -ov, see indicatively the following passages: O.Mich. III 1033.2 (3rd cent.); P.Oxy. XIV 1746.11 (4th cent.); SB XIV 11717.12 (mid 4th cent.); P.Cair.Masp. I 67106.11 (539)¹⁴; P.Gen. I² 66 (= W.Chr.

¹² On the occurrence of ὀνόματος in accounting and fiscal contexts to designate individuals or legal entities, in the name of whom a payment is made, regardless of who actually makes the payment, see J. Gascou, P.Sorb. II 69, 30–32. The personal name following ὀνόματος designates the individual that was initially responsible for a certain payment, which, at a later time, may actually be made by one or more individuals. On the resolution of the abbreviations in genitive, see op. cit. 30 with n. 87.

¹³ In l. 13 the total has obviously been rounded to the nearest *artaba*; hence the sum given is 1^{23/24} and not the 1^{15/16}, as one would expect.

¹⁴ Cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Notes*, ZPE 26 (1977) 267–286, esp. 272.

381).8–9 (374); 67.7–8 (382 or 383); 69.6 (386); cf. *WB* s.v. 2. A discussion about ἄπορα as designating the aforementioned land category, including parallels and bibliography is offered by D. H. Samuel, *P. Yale inv. 1642: New Evidence for the Tax ὑπὲρ ἀπορικῶν*, in: J. Bingen, G. Cambier, G. Nachtergaele (eds.), *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Bruxelles 1975, 611–624; see esp. 619–621; E. Wipszycka, *Les terres de la Congrégation pachômienne dans une liste de paiements pour les apora*, in: Bingen, Cambier, Nachtergaele (eds.), *Le monde grec* (op. cit.) 625–636; see esp. 630–632; J. Gascou, *Κλήροι ἄποροι* (Julien, Misopogôn, 370D–371B), *BIFAO* 77 (1977) 235–255; idem *P.Sorb. II* 69, p. 28–29; F. Mitthof, *Neue Papyrusurkunden zur annona militaris*, *Tyche* 19 (2004) 111–130; see esp. 127. It is clear that the term is used in this papyrus to refer to unproductive land. However, since the phrase μεγάλου ἀπόρου is not elsewhere attested, the passage remains puzzling¹⁵.

P.Vindob. G 31526
Heracleopolite nome

w 11.5 × h 14.9 cm

5th cent.
Plates 18–19

The fragment is middle brown and becomes darker in places. The lower part of the left-hand side and the biggest part of the right-hand side are evenly cut. The rest of the edges are irregularly broken off. The upper margin measures ca. 2 cm, and the left margin measures 2–2.5 cm. There are several gaps and holes throughout the piece. There are traces of a diagonal *kollesis* starting at 3.4 cm and ending at 5.5 cm from the left edge. The script runs along the fibres. The text preserved in the verso also runs along the fibres. The upper margin measures ca. 1.7 cm, the right margin measures ca. 1 cm, and the lower margin measures ca. 3.5 cm.

→

1	ιβ κοί(της) Φιλάγγρου μεγάλ(ου) ἀπόρου	(ἄρουρα-) [- - -]
2	ιγ κοί(της) Ῥαεῖτε ὀνό(ματος) Φιλέου Ἀνουθίου	(ἄρουρα-) [- - -]
3	μεγάλ(ου) ἀπόρου	(ἄρουρα-) [- - -]
4	ιδ κοί(της) Περσω . . . μεγάλ(ου) ἀπόρου	(ἄρουρα-) [- - -]
5	ιε κοί(της) Λεοντέως ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ	(ἄρουρα-) [- - -]
6	ισ κοί(της) Τεσμούνι ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ	(ἄρουρ-) [- - -]
7	καὶ ἐν λινοκαλ(άμη)	(ἄρουρα-) [- - -]
8	καὶ ἐν χόρ(τῳ)	(ἄρουρα-) [- - -]
9	ιθ κοί(της) Φιλοκλέους ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ	[(ἄρουρα-) - - -]
10	καὶ ἐν χόρ(τῳ)	[(ἄρουρα-) - - -]
11	κ [- - -]	[(ἄρουρα-) - - -]

¹⁵ As regards the resolution of the abbreviation μεγάλ(ου) and the interpretation of the phrase μεγάλ(ου) ἀπόρου in ll. 1, 3, and 4, I took into consideration the suggestions of the anonymous reviewer; the same applies to the interpretation of the puzzling l. 3, as well as the interpretation of ll. 5, 6, and 9, presented in the relevant notes (see below).

1 κοτ pap. μεγαλ pap. ℓ pap. 2 κοτ pap. ονδ pap. ℓ pap. 3 μεγαλ pap. ℓ pap. 4 κοτ pap. μεγαλ pap. ℓ pap. 5 κοτ pap. ονδ pap. αυτ^{ου} pap. ℓ pap. 6 κοτ pap. ονδ pap. αυτ^{ου} pap. ℓ pap. 7 λινοκαλ pap. ℓ pap. 8 χορ pap. ℓ pap. 9 κοτ pap. ονδ pap. 10 χορ pap.

Verso¹⁶

12	[- - -] .	(ἄρ.) α / ′	χορ(τ) ἐκ νο(μ.) ε ′ ′	νο(μ.) δκ
13	[- - - τῶ] γ αὐτῶν	(ἄρ.) δ̄ηλβξ	σίτ(ου) (ἄρτ.) δ	σίτ(ου) (ἄρτ.) α γ̄η ′ ′
14	[- - -] . . .	(ἄρ.) δ̄ ξ	σίτ(ου) (ἄρτ.) δ	σίτ(ου) (ἄρτ.) α ιβ ′ ′
15	[- - -]	(ἄρ.) d ′	ἐκ νο(μ.) ε ′ ′	νο(μ.) κ ′ ′
16	[- - -] υ	(ἄρ.) δ̄ η	σίτ(ου) (ἄρτ.) γ	σίτ(ου) (ἄρτ.) α η ′ ′
17	[- - - ἐν]	χόρ(τω) (ἄρ.) d ′	χορ(τ) ἐκ νο(μ.) ε ′ ′	νο(μ.) κ ′ ′

vacat ca. 3 lines

18 [- - -] . . [.] σ . . αιθας ι β ′ ′ νο(μ.) γ β̄λε

12 ℓ pap. χορ pap. ḡ pap. ḡ pap. 13 ℓ pap. ḡ pap. ḡ pap. 14 ℓ pap. ḡ pap. ḡ pap. 15 ℓ pap. ḡ pap. ḡ pap. 16 ℓ pap. ḡ pap. ḡ pap. 17 χορ pap. ℓ pap. χορ pap. ḡ pap. ḡ pap. 18 ḡ pap.

For the 12th parcel of Philagros, for the big *aporon* (ar.) ...

For the 13th parcel of Raeite (?) in the name of Phileas, son of Anouthios

(ar.) ...

For the big *aporon*

(ar.) ...

For the 14th parcel of Perso-, for the big *aporon*

(ar.) ...

For the 15th parcel of Leontios in the name of the same person

(ar.) ...

For the 16th parcel of Tesmouni in the name of the same person from ...

(ar.) ...

and in flax

(ar.) ...

and in grass

(ar.) ...

For the 19th parcel of Philocles in the name of the same person

(ar.) ...

and in grass

(ar.) ...

Verso

[- - -]	1½ (ar.)	(rent on grass) at ⅓ sol.	¼ ¹ / ₂₀ sol.
[- - -] of the same persons	¼ ¹ / ₈ ⅓ ¹ / ₁₆ ⅓ ¹ / ₃₂ ⅓ ¹ / ₆₄	(ar.) 4 (art.) wheat	1½ ¹ / ₃ ⅓ ¹ / ₈ (art.) wheat
[- - -]	¼ ¹ / ₆₄ (ar.)	4 (art.) wheat	1 ¹ / ₁₂ (art.) wheat

¹⁶ I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for their revision of the reading and translation of the verso, as well as their thoughtful comments on the arithmetic of this fragment.

[- - -]	$\frac{1}{4}$ (ar.)	(scil. rent on grass) at $\frac{1}{5}$ sol. $\frac{1}{20}$ sol.
[- - -]	$\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}$ (ar.)	3 (art.) wheat $\frac{1}{8}$ (art.) wheat
[- - -] in flax	$\frac{1}{4}$ (ar.)	(rent on grass) at $\frac{1}{5}$ sol. $\frac{1}{20}$ sol.

vacat ca. 3 lines

... $1\frac{1}{12}$, $3\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{15}$ sol.

1 Φιλάγγρου: For the reading of lamda, cf. Φιλέου. For this personal name, see *NB* 461; *Onomasticon* 330; TM Nam 3281. All secure attestations date from the Ptolemaic era, which accords with the fact that it is a name for a fossil *kleros*. Attestations from the Heracleopolite nome are offered by the following passages: P.Polit.Iud. 5.9 (135–134 BC; Heracleopolite nome); P.Sorb. I 9.1; 7 (268 BC; cf. BL IX 223 contrary to BL V 128; Oxyrhynchite or Heracleopolite nome?; see BL VII 242–243 contrary to BL VI 187); perhaps also CPR XXVIII 7.2 (late 3rd–mid 2nd cent. BC; Arsinoite or Heracleopolite nome?).

2 Ῥαεῖτε: This tentative reading may be an *addendum onomasticum*. On names starting by Ῥαε-, see *NB* 353; TM Nam 41079; 4691; 24376.

2 Φιλέου Ἀνουθίου: On the well attested name Φιλέας, see *NB* 462; *Onomasticon* 330; TM Nam 3227.

3 The information contained in this line is a continuation of the previous line, given that both lines concern the 13th κοίτη; an unknown number of arouras are registered to Phileas, and another number of arouras are part of the *aporon*.

4 Περω . . : The secure reading of omega after sigma does not allow any of the well attested personal or place names starting with Περω- to be seen in the traces; for personal names such as Περωεύς, Περωέων, Πέρσης or Πέρσις, see *NB* 307; *Onomasticon* 249; TM People¹⁷. For the toponyms starting with Περω-, see TM Places.

5 Λεοντέως: For the name Λεοντεύς, see *Onomasticon* 178; TM Nam 3845. Two of the attestations date from the Ptolemaic period, which can be corroborated with the fact that this is a name of a fossil *kleros*: P.UB Trier S 108-24 (a+b), col. iii.85 (Heracleopolite nome?; BC 146)¹⁸; P.Herakl.Bank 2, part a, col. 7.21 (after 138 BC; Herakleopolis).

5 ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ; 6. ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ; 9. ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ: The reference here is to Φιλέου Ἀνουθίου (l. 2), which means that more than one payment was made on account of the same fiscal entity.

6 Τεσμοῦνι: This name points to the personal names Τσμουνε and Τεσμοῦνα; see *NB* 431; 449; *Onomasticon* 793; TM Nam 6202; 42378; 40262. The toponym Τεσμοῦνε and its variants come from the Hermopolite and not the Heracleopolite nome; see TM Geo 7565 with bibliography; cf. F. Morelli, CPR XXXVI 16.10n (pp. 128–129).

6 ἀπό (ἀρουρ-): i.e. ἀπό ἀρούρης or ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν.

7–8 καὶ ἐν λινοκαλ(άμη) | καὶ ἐν χόρ(τω); 8 καὶ ἐν χόρ(τω); 17 ἐν] χόρ(τω): The land lots in question are to be cultivated with flax and grass, i.e. green fodder for animals. The 16th κοίτη is to be cultivated in both ways. O.Bodl. II 1983.5–6 (late 2nd–early 3rd

¹⁷ https://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php?&search-name=pers|i&single_family=single

¹⁸ S. Scheuble-Reiter, *Drei Trierer Papyri zum ptolemäischen Militär*, APF 58 (2012) 246–268.

cent.), in which the misspelling νιλοκαλάμη occurs¹⁹, and P.Mich. XI 610.21–22 (282) offer the only parallels thus far for this prepositional phrase.

9 Φυλοκλέους: On this personal name, see NB 463; *Onomasticon* 331; TM Nam 3247. Parallels from the Ptolemaic era are offered by the following passages: P.Count. 47 fragm. I col. ii.194 (230 BC; Oxyrhynchite or Heracleopolite nome); P.Herakl.Bank 2 a col. v.15; d col. ii.16; col. iii.17; e col. i.8; col. ii.9; f col. ii.1; 8; l col. ii.4; P.Poethke 1 fragm. c.4²⁰ (sec. half of 2nd cent. BC; Heracleopolite nome).

9 αὐτοῦ: Alternatively, the barely visible trace of ink following omikron may belong to the symbol of aroura or the alpha of ἀπό.

11 κ. . . . [- - -]: This κ, written just below the numbers of the κοῖται, may also be the number (or part of the number) of the next κοίτη mentioned in the register.

12; 15; 17 χορ(τ) ἐκ νο(μ.) ε'': The occurrence of χορ() in col. iii.12, 17 is also implied in l. 15. The abbreviation should rather be resolved as χορ(τικοῦ) *scil.* φόρου. The term, probably denoting the payment of interests in coin, occurs only in two land lease contracts; CPR I 40.23–24 (300; see BL III 47) and SB XXVIII 17208.9 (end of 4th–beginning of 5th cent.)²¹. The resolution of this abbreviation as χόρ(του) would rather point to an *adaeratio* (ἀπαργυρισμός); a payment that was usually made *in natura* is here paid in money. If so, in all three aforementioned lines grass to be paid is equalled to a certain sum of money (1/5 *solidus*). Accordingly, col. iv.12, 15, and 17 contain the sum of *solidi* actually paid after this *adaeratio*. However, this interpretation is less probable.

It is also noteworthy that in all three lines, the fractions of *solidus* are subdivisions of 1/5. A parallel is offered in P.Oxy. XVI 1917 (early 6th cent.?; cf. BL X 144)²²; see the comments of B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt in the introd. (p. 182). Given that some of the village-names included in P.Oxy. XVI 1917 are Heracleopolite, this arrangement could be considered as a Heracleopolite feature.

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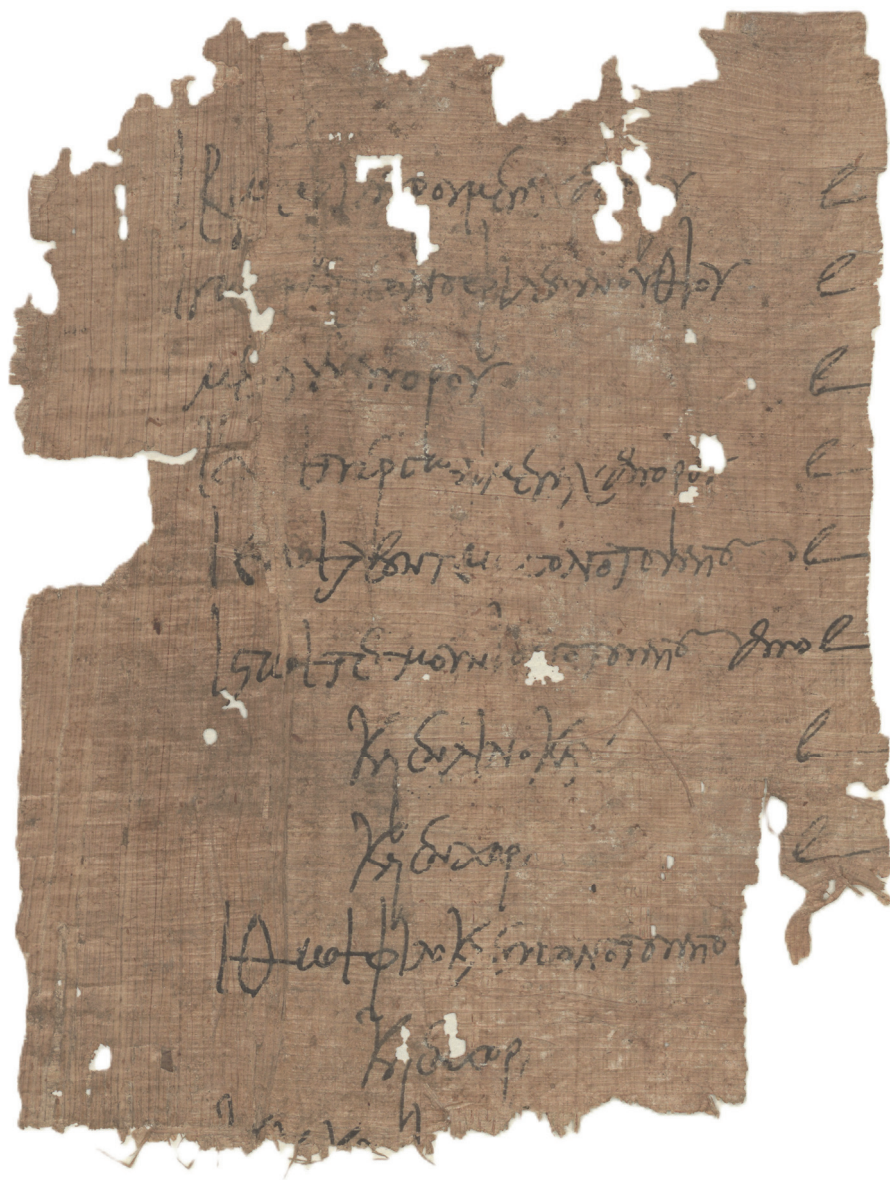
Aikaterini Koroli

¹⁹ The anonymous reviewer is thanked for bringing this parallel to my attention.

²⁰ Cf. Th. Kruse, *Urkundenreferat 2009 (I. Teil)*, APF 57 (2011) 120–141, esp. 135.

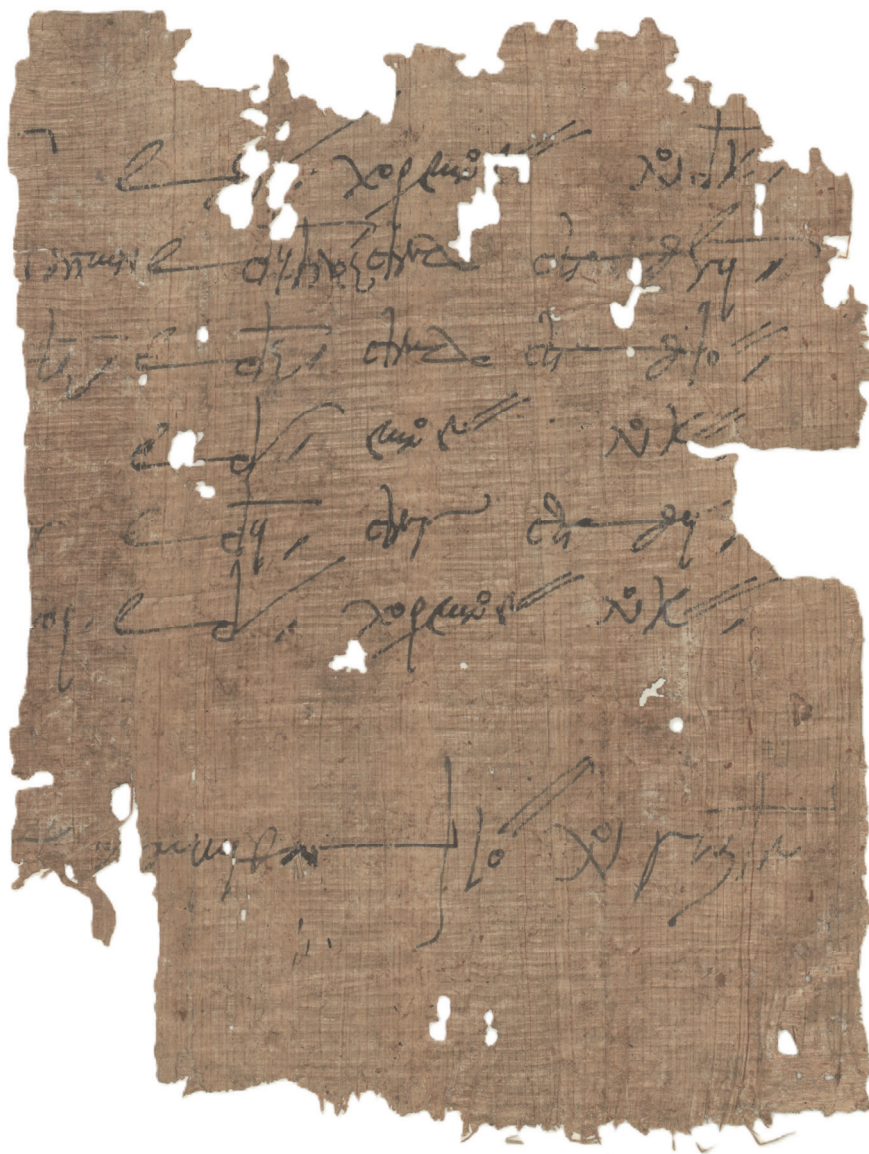
²¹ C. Kreuzsaler, *Ein herakleopolitanischer Pachtvertrag mit „unmöglicher“ Konsuldatierung*, ZPE 141 (2002) 191–198. The exact meaning of the term remains unclear; see the discussion offered by Kreuzsaler, *Ein herakleopolitanischer Pachtvertrag* (op. cit.) 197 (n. to l. 9). The anonymous reviewer is thanked for drawing my attention to this tax and to the resolution of this abbreviation.

²² I am thankful to the anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to the parallel in question, which offers an additional clue to the Heracleopolite provenance of the papyrus.



P.Vindob. G 31526 recto (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung)

zu Ai. Koroli, S. 121



P.Vindob. G 31526 verso (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung)

zu Ai. Koroli, S. 121