

### *Account of Livestock from Fayum Villages*

P. Sed. 175\_6 . A  
41 x 11 cm.

Arsinoite Nome  
3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C.

This papyrus is one of the private collections preserved in the museum of the faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University under “SEDMENT 1996, 175\_6.A”.<sup>(1)</sup>

The papyrus was vertically folded two times. It suffers from scattered worm-holes throughout the text. The document contains 49 lines. It contains a list of livestock collected from Fayum villages. The lower margin is ca. 03.50 cm. The upper margin is missing. In some lines the writing reaches the very edge of both right-hand and left-hand margins: new section, usually beginning with village name, followed by name(s) of police chief(s), and sometimes policemen, then record of livestock.

The writing runs along the fibers on recto in a medium sized cursive script, which in places is faint. On the verso there are some illegible traces. The handwriting is the same as that of P. Sed. 175\_5.A, which is from the same collection and is published in the BACPSI, XXIII, Cairo, 2006, 9-17. The handwriting of both have parallels for the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., see P. Petr. I, 27 (Fragments of Legal Records), 234 B.C.; P. Cairo Zenon, *passim*, e.g. P. Cairo Zenon I 59001, (Loan of Money), 273 B.C., see also E. M. Thompson, An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography, New York 1973 (1<sup>st</sup> Edition Oxford, 1912), facsimile no. 20, p.152.

Though the papyrus comes from Sedment, most villages mentioned belong to the Arsinoite nome i.e. they lie to the north of the Heracleopolis.<sup>(2)</sup> The Cynopolite nome which is to the south of Heracleopolis is also mentioned, but as an ethnic for the police-chiefs Pais and Petenouris: Κυνοπολίταις ἀρχιφυ(λακίταις) (l. 6). The text was written in the Fayum but found in Sedment in mummy cartonnage.

Villages are grouped by merides. The first group are probably villages in the meris of Herakleides but this section is not preserved. The second group are villages in the meris of Themistos: Πτολέμαις (line 4), Σεθρονπάις (line 9), Θεαδελφεία (line 15), Φιλωτέρις (line 20), Ψεντύμις (line 22), Ἀπολλωνίαις (line 25). The third group are villages in the Polemon meris: Μούχις (line 30), Βουκόλιον (line 32), Βερενίκις (line 36), Θευγόνις (line 39). The merides offer as terminus post quem 244 BC, see introduction

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(1) We thank Willy Clarysse for kind assistance and cooperation regarding revision and correction of both the text and the introduction. We have been benefited a lot from his experience.

(2) Sedment (Ehnasya; Ancient Egyptian: *Hen-en-Nisut*; Graeco-Roman Heracleopolis Magna) was the principal town of the 20<sup>th</sup> province of Upper Egypt, near the Fayum. Sedment was especially important in the First Intermediate Period, when the Egyptian kings came from here and may be also used the town as residence. The town kept its importance throughout the Egyptian history, and was again the seat of local kings in the late Third Intermediate Period. The main local god was *Herishef*. The temple was excavated by Naville in 1891 and Petrie in 1904, (<http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/ehnasya/index.html>)

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online of Leuven Fayum villages (Willy Clarysse, [http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/gen\\_name.php](http://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/gen_name.php)).

It is probably a list of livestock handed over to the police-chiefs of various villages for supply of troops. P. Tebt. III (1), 729 (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. B.C.) shows a report of the high handed proceeding of an individual who seems to have been in command of troops (ll.1-2): σ[τρα]-/τιώταις εἰς τὰς σιταρχίας “to the soldiers for their pay”. It reports seizure of sheep and cattle of the writer’s neighborhood and handing over to the policemen (ll. 7-9): τὰς τε βόας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα συνπερ[ι]-/ελάσας ἀνήγαγεν εἰς τὴν κώμην, ἃ καὶ παρέδωκεν τοῖς/φν(λακίταις) “Rounding up the cattle and sheep brought them to the village and handed them over to the policemen”. In P. Tebt. number of the livestock from one village was high such as case of the text being published herein (P. Tebt., ll. 9-10): πρ(όβατα) σὺν ἄρ(νασι) φπ, βόες σὺν ταύροις καὶ/δαμάλεσιν ξζ “580 sheep and lambs, 67 cows, bulls, and heifers”.

If we put in mind that number of animals is too high to be for the supply of troops and that there is no mention for sheep nor bulls, but heifers in addition to cows and calves. It could be then a list prepared for taxing purposes. “In Ptolemaic Egypt, all animals, like adults, were taxed in various ways, and therefore needed to be counted at regular intervals” see; Willy Clarysse / Dorothy J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*. II, Cambridge, 2006, Chapter 6, “counting the animals”.

By the end of each meris total number of items is given (ll. 27, 28 for Themistos and 42, 43 for Polemon (γίνεται)...κτλ.), while the grand total is written by the end of the document (l. 44 εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ)...κτλ.). Heifers or calves compared to cows are relatively small. In Themistos e.g. heifers to cows are 277:673 i.e. ca. 41% and calves to cows are 53:673 i.e. ca. 8% (see note on ll. 26-27). The government may not have required young animals and left them to be fed for the following collection or survey.

The following table shows number of items listed per village:

<i>Lines</i>	<i>Village</i>	βοῦς	δαμάλεις	μόσχο ι	βουκόλοι	παιδάρια	γυναῖκες
1-3	Unknown	150	16	4			
04	Πτολέμαις	44	13	---	02	02	---
09	Σεθρονπαίς	96	25	---	02	01	---
12	Φυρταῖος?	80	25	40	01	01	01
15	Θεαδελφεία	62	42	---	[..]	---	01
20	Φιλωτέρις	92	[..]	---	04	---	---
22	Ψεντύμις	84	20	---	---	---	---
25	Ἀπολλωνίας	33	12	---	[..]	---	---
30	Μοῦχις	02	---	---	01	---	---
32	Βουκόλιον	---	---	---	[..]	---	01
36	Βερενίκης /	56	20	---	01	---	---

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	Φερμούθις						
39	Θευγόνις	07	---	---	[..]	---	01

Most of the items are written in nominative case, but some are in accusative, e.g. in ll. 18, 33, 41 (γυναῖκα not γυνή) in l. 27 (βόες not βούς). The items in this account were addressed to either police-chiefs ἀρχιφυλακῖται or to policemen φυλακῖται. In l. 19 the cowherd(s) was/were addressed to a holder of 10.000 arourae “καὶ Ἐριεῖ μυριαρούροι βουκ[όλ]”. The *myriarouros* was a subordinate to the *nomarches* responsible for infrastructure of the newly won agricultural land in the Fayum (see W. Clarysse, *Nomarchs and toparchs in the third century Fayum*, in *Archeologia e papiri nel Fayyum. Atti del convegno internazionale*, Siracusa, Quaderni del Museo del Papiro 8, 1997, pp. 69-76 and P. Sorb. III, p. 55).

Collaboration between policemen such as ἀρχιφυλακῖται and φυλακῖται with other officials is common during the early Ptolemaic period, see: e.g. P. Tebt. III (1), 708, late 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C., lines 2-6; "τοῖς ν[ομάρχαις καὶ] τοῖς οἰκ[ο]νόμοις καὶ τοῖς βασιλικ[οῖς] γρα[μματεῦσιν] τ[ο]ῦ Ἀφροδιτο-/πολίτ[ου καὶ] Ἡρακλε-[οπο]λίτου καὶ Ὀξ[υ]-/ρυγχ[ίτου καὶ] Κ[υ]νοπολίτου καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιφυ(λακίταις)/ καὶ φυ(λακίταις)".

The ἐπιστάτης φυλακῖτων was the head of the police of a whole nome assisted by the village police chiefs ἀρχιφυλακῖται. The ἀρχιφυλακῖται and the φυλακῖται had financial duties. Their main function in connection with guarding and inspection of items delivered such as livestock, liquids, crops, ... etc. beside checking wages or fees paid for workmen (see note on line 159 of P. Tebt. 5 (118 B.C.)).

The papyrus is probably an account of deliveries to be addressed to higher authority, the ἐπιμελητής or the διοικητής (unfortunately, the heading is lost), or a report gathering accounts made by different officials of the above mentioned villages and handed over to the ἀρχιφυλακῖται and their φυλακῖται.

**Text**

[±13] ..... καὶ  
ο]βαστει ἀρχιφυ(λακίταις) καὶ Τεῶτι καὶ  
Νε]χθενίβι φυ(λακίταις) βούς ρν δαμά(λεις) ις μόσχοι δ [  
ἐν] Πτολεμαίδι τῇ ἐν τῷ δρυμῶι  
5 ]ᾶ παραδοθέν[τ]α Παίτι καὶ  
Πετ]ενοῦπει Κυνοπολίταις ἀρχιφυ(λακίταις)  
βούς μδ δαμά(λεις) ιγ μόσχοι β  
βουκό(λοι) β παιδάρια β  
ἐ]ν] Σεθρονπάι Θαμῶντι Θαμῶντος ἀρχιφυ(λακίτηι)  
10 βούς ζς 'δαμάλεις' κε  
βουκόλοι β παιδάριον α  
Vac  
ἐν ] τῇ Φυρταιου Ἄρενδῶτη ἀρχιφυ(λακίτηι)

- βοῦς π δαμά(λεις) κε μόσχοι μ  
βουκόλος α γυνῆ [α] παιδάριον α  
15 ἐν] Θεαδελφε[ί]αι Ἐριανούπει Πα[... αρχιφυ(λακίτη)]  
καὶ Πᾶσι καὶ . . . . . φυ(λακίταις)  
βοῦς ξβ [δ]αμάλεις μβ  
βουκόλοι [. .] γυναῖκα α  
καὶ Ἐριεῖ μυριαρούρωι βουκ[όλ  
*Vac*
- 20 ἐν] Φιλωτερίδι .νο.δ.ει ἀρχιφυ(λακίτη)] . .  
βοῦς Γβ 'δαμάλεις' .. βουκόλ[οι] δ  
ἐν] Ψεντύμει Ἀρογβούτι ἀρχιφυ(λακίτη) καὶ  
Ἴνα[ρ]οῦσι καὶ Ὠρωι φυ(λακίταις) βοῦς πδ  
δαμάλεις κ  
*Vac*
- 25 ἐν Ἀ]πολλωνιάδι Δημητρίωι ἀρχι[φυ(λακίτη)  
βοῦς λγ δαμάλεις ιβ βουκ[όλ]οι  
ἀρχιφυλα(κίτη) (γίνεται) βόες χογ δαμάλεις ροζ  
μόσχοι ξγ βουκόλοι κα γυ(ναῖκες)]  
*Vac*
- 30 ἐν τ]ῆι Πολέμωνος μερίδι  
ἐ]γ Μούχει Πτ[ολεμ]αιῶι ἀρχιφυ(λακίτη)  
] βοῦς β [. . . βου]κόλον α  
*Vac*
- [ἐν] τῶι Βουκολίωι τοῖς ἐκεῖ βουκόλοις [  
καὶ τὴν γυναῖ[κ]α [ α  
ἐν Τε]π[τ]ύνι Α . . ωι ἀρχι[φυ(λακίτη)  
35 ] . . . [. . .] βουκόλοι β  
ἐν Βε]ρενικίδι τῶν ἐκ Φερμούθ[εως  
βοῦς νς δαμάλεις κ  
βουκόλον α  
ἐν Θευγονίδι Λυσιμάχ]ωι  
40 ἀρχιφυ(λακίτη) βοῦς ζ βο<υ>κόλ[ον  
καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα α]  
*Vac*
- (γίνεται) βόες Γη [μ]όσχοι [  
βουκόλοι [. .] γυναῖκ[ες  
εἰς τ[ὸ αὐτὸ] βου[  
45 μόσχοι β δ[αμάλεις



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2 cows, ....., 1 cowherd  
In Boukolon to ... cowherds there  
And 1 wife  
In Teptynis to the police chief  
..... , 2 cowherds  
In Berenikis, to those from Phermouthis  
56 cows, 20 heifers, and  
1 cowherd  
In Theogonis, to Lysimachos  
The police chief [.]7 cows, .. cowherd(s)  
And 1 wife  
Total 98 cows, .. calves  
    .. cowherds, .. wife (wives)  
Grand total  
2000 calves, .. heifers  
.....”

**Notes:**

- 1 ]βαστει, this name could be reconstructed as [Πετο]βάστει, [Ψενο]βάστει see P/N and F/O.
  - 3 Νε]χθενῖβι, it is reconstructed in accordance with P. Tebt. III, ii, 1043 (170 B.C.), 2, 22.
  - 5 ἄ παραδοθέν[τ]α, this verb seems to indicate that the animals were handed over to the policemen. This is not just “counting the animals” in the village, but amount collected for troops see supra P. Tebt., 729, 8-9: εἰς τὴν κόμην, ἃ καὶ παρέδωκεν τοῖς/φυ(λακίταις), or a high tribute actually paid by each of these villages.
  - 10 δαμάλεις, it is written over an erasing.
  - 12 Φυρταιου, reading is clear, this village name does not appear elsewhere in published papyri. Cf. Herbert Verreth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period*, Koeln/Leuven, 2008 ([www.trismegistos.org/top.php](http://www.trismegistos.org/top.php)).
  - 22 Ψεντύμει, this village was not known in published papyri of the Ptolemaic period. It is in the north-western part of Themistos, see, L. Youtie, ΦΕΝΤΥΜΙΣ: A False place name, *BASP* 18 (1981), pp. 174-175.  
Ἄρονβουῖτι, though the reading of this name is clear we do not find the name elsewhere in papyri.
- 27-27 By comparing items of Themistos, missing items, can be deducted as follows:

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	Βοῦς	δαμάλεις	μόσχοι	βουκόλοι	παιδάρια	γυναῖκες
Total written	673	277	53	21	---	[..]
Present	641	155	46	9	4	2
Missing (lacuna)	32	22	7	12	---	[..]

Young slaves are not written in the total, they could have been added to the cowherds. The high number of missing cowherds (12) could be distributed between the missing village in the beginning plus the lacunae of lines 18 “βουκόλοι [. .]” and 19 “μυριαρούροι βουκ[όλ]”, after deducting the 4 and missing young slaves.

- 33 Ἐβουκόλιωι, Βουκόλων κώμη is well known in the meris of Themistos, but here we are in the Polemon meris. In Polemon there is also a village called Βουκόλος? Βουκόλιος? rather than Βουκόλων, see, L. Youtie, Geographical Notes, BASP 19 (1982), pp. 91-92.
- 36 ἐν Βε]ρενικίδι τῶν ἐκ Φερμούθ[εως, this formula is not familiar. Both villages are in the Polemon meris, one may think that items were brought from Phermouthis to Berenikis to be counted there. Maybe, there is no police chief in Phermouthis.
- 44 εἰς τ[ὸ ἀντὸ] “grand total”, this line and the following lines would include the grand total of all the three merides. In that case, β that accompanied μόσχοι of line 45 could be interpreted as 2000 not 2.
- 45 δ[αμάλεις, restoration is made in accordance with its occurrence *passim* in the papyrus being published herein.

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