

Noha 'Abd –El 'Aāl Sālem

Ten Greek Papyri from Cairo Museum^(*)

This collection consists of ten unpublished papyri. Unfortunately, most of them have neither provenance nor date indicated. The places of discovery of most of them are recorded in Cairo museum registrations. They are dated according to paleographical evidence or other evidences. In this thesis, the documents are arranged chronologically.

<i>No</i>	<i>P.Cair.mus. C.G. No.</i>	<i>Type of Document</i>	<i>Date</i>
1	10709	<u>A part of a private Letter</u>	1 st
2	10499	A fragment of deposit repayment	2 nd AD
3	10705	An Official Document	3 rd AD
4	10643	A fragment of a Receipt	4 th AD
5	10513	A Petition to an Exactor	4 th AD
6	10490	A fragment of a Petition	4 th AD
7	10514	<u>A part of an agreement of sale</u>	4 th AD
8	10614	A part of a private letter	4 th AD
9	10545	A fragment of a private letter	4 th AD
10	10746	A Receipt	7 th AD

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1. A part of a private Letter

P. Cair., mus. C. G. 10709 21.4 x 19.7 cm. Prov. Unknown 1st. AD.

This papyrus is a part of a letter in 12 lines. Unfortunately, the head of the document has been cut off. The right margin measures 2.1 cm., the left 3.2cm., and the bottom 6 cm. It has a few small wormholes. The script runs parallel with the fibers. Four vertical folds are visible. This papyrus is stocked on cardboard, therefore it is not possible to know if verso is blank or not.

The handwriting is a semi-uncial hand. On paleographical grounds it can be dated to the first century AD. It similar *P. Oxy.* II, 246 (66 AD.); 270 (94 AD.); cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1971, Plate 15, (Oxy.; end of 1st BC. or the beginning of 1st AD.).

This private letter may be dealing with financial affairs since there is a promise to do καθήκοντα. It is not clear if these καθήκοντα are just a due or dues of payment. It may relate with land since there is an indication to rent in kind ἐκφόριον 1. 8.

Recto: →

].πιτ[

ρασ[]ξαντα επ[

παρά[]άνθρωπο[άγα-

θώτατον ἐγώ δὲ[κα-

5 θήκοντα ποιήσω εἰς τὸ καὶ τ[οῖς]

παιδίοις καὶ τῶι Ἀρχιβιάνω[ι καὶ

τῆι Θασιτι--- δειχθῆναι οἱ δε

ὅπως ἀντιγράψωσι δοκῶ ἐκφόριον

γραψαί σοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασχο-

10 λουμένοις αὐτόν. ὁ Ἀρχιβιανός

ἐπίτροπος ὦν τῶν πραγμάτων

ποιεῖ. ἐρρ().

Correction:

L. 11τῶν πραγμάτων (l. τὰ πράγματα)

Translation:

From line 4:on the other hand I myself shall do the payments due “καθήκοντα” for having been mentioned for both the children (young slaves), and Archibianos, and *Thasis*(?).

But, I think, that I wrote to you and to the others who are occupied with him. in order that, they may rewrite again about the rent in kind (ἐκφόριον). *Archibianos*, as he being *epitropos*, does the affairs.

Greetings.

Commentary:

1-]επιτ[uncompleted word, it seems to be ἐπίτροπος, but there is no evidence to confirm it.

2-]ξαντα επ[: This group of letters may form two words, the first is a suffix]ξαντα, that seems to be an ending of a participle or a noun 3rd declension noun in accusative case. The other letters seems to be a prefix of a word begins with επ[.

3- ἀνθρωπο[: Because of the right side margin, the reading of the last letter is not clear. The word’s meaning may be related with humanity, like ἀνθρωπό[τητα and it may agreed with the superlative ἀγαθώτατον. If this supposition is correct, the meaning will run as “throughout your humanity and your goodness ”

4- ἀγαθώτατον, The superlative ἀγαθώτατος is used as βέλτιστος, but the latter form βέλτιστος is more common. See F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. II, Milano, 1981, pp.146-7.

In the first three centuries AD this adjective was used, as an honorific adjective not related with official position. It was used commonly in private letters, cf. “ἀνδρα ἀγαθώτατον”; *P. Mich.* V, 244, 4 (43 AD.); *P. Brem.* 5, 6-7, (117-19 AD.) *P. Mich.* VIII, 498, r, 8, (Karanis, IIAD.); “

τῷ ἀγαθωτάτῳ σου φίλῳ”; *P. Par.* 18, r, 3, (?; IIIAD.); “ἀγαθώτατόν μου υἱόν”; *P. Ryl.* IV, 691, r, 18 “τὴν ἀγαθώτατην σου θυγατέρα”.

-καθήκοντα ‘The proper, fitting’ cf. *P. Oxy.* I, 115,5-6, (II AD.) “καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἦν καθήκοντα ἐποίησα καὶ παντες οἱ ἐμοί” “and I did everything that was fitting, and so did all my friends”. It may also mean one’s due, always concerns due of payment. In this case it may follow by words such as ἐκφόρια,τόκους cf. *BGU* VIII, 1822, 22, (Herakleopolite, 1st AD.); *SB* VI, 89, 2, 23 (Bousiris, 1st AD.); *PSI* III, 173, 8 (Thinite, 2nd AD.); *PSI* X, 1124, 23 (Teb.; 150 AD.); *P. Mich. Inv.* 4385 r, 47-8, (Karanis; 80 AD.) (= *XV congress international de papyrologie*, Bruxelles, 1979, pp.75-85) “οἱ κωμογραμματεῖς τὰ ἐν ἀπαιτήσει ὄντα ἐκφόρια καὶ καθήκοντα τῷ β ἔτει ἡλασσώθησαν” “the village clerks were in the second year relieved, as to the payments in kind and the fixed dues which were collectible.”

6- παιδίους: This word may refer to either children or young slaves. The meaning of παιδίους here is inclusive followed by detailing that those young παιδίους are both *Archibianos* and *Thasis*.

“καὶ τῷ Ἀρχιβιάνῳ [καὶ τῷ Θάσιτι]”. It seems that the aforesaid καθήκοντα is related with those παιδίους. And this letter informs the addressee that the writer has done these dues by himself.

cf. Ll. 3-7 “εγὼ δὲ [κα]/θήκοντα ποιήσω εἰς τὸ καὶ τ[οῖς] παιδίους καὶ τῷ Ἀρχιβιάνῳ [καὶ τῷ Θάσιτι]...δειχθῆναι”

“... on the other hand I myself shall do the payments due “καθηκόντα” for having been mentioned for the children (young slaves), both *Archibianos*, and *Thasis*.”

- Αρχιβιάνωι The name Αρχιβιάνωι didn’t occur in P. M. Fraser & E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, in 3 vols. The name Αρχίβιος is recorded in papyri cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*;

Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. The suffix -ίανος which is a Latin origin, was used originally to form adjectives from names in-ius. So, its usage was extended to appellative. See L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, London, 1948 vol. I, pt. I, p. 46.

The supervision of land was undertaken on the *epitropos*, who was often freedman. He administrates the large estates as well as he was responsible of all the payments related with the land, with the direction outlines of the lord of the land. See J. Schwartz, "Le terre d'Egypte au temps de Trajan el d'Hadrien, Archives de Sarapion", *Cd'E XXXIV* 1959, p. 348.

- δειχθῆναι A spot of ink could be observed under "χ".

This infinitive may be related to the preposition εἰς, which followed by the article τὸ in L.5 to form together articular infinitive with proposition. εἰς τὸ δειχθῆναι. The prepositional infinitive is very frequent in papyri. One of the predominant meanings expressed by the prepositional infinitive is purpose. See B. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §839; 843.

8- οἱ δε ὅπως ἀντιγράψωσι δοκῶ ἐκφόριον γραψαί σοι

-ἐκφόριον is a regular term for rent in kind as well as φόρος is a rent in money .

The letter O in ὅπως is written in a large size, by comparing it with the other ones along the document. Reading the word ἐκφόριον after δοκῶ is hardly difficult, but a letter like 'κ' followed by clear 'φο' then 'ν' could be observed at the end of the word. The reading of ἐκφόριον seems somewhat right since there is a former indication to another sort of payment, cf. 4-5 ' καθήκοντα'.

9- 10- καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασχολουμένοις αὐτόν.

The reading to the first letter (ἀ) in the word "ἀπασχολουμένοις" is uncertain. May a full stop be observed after αὐτόν. there is a trace of ink after the first (ο) of ἀπασχολουμένοις the writer may intended to begin

completing the word in the same line, but he changed his mind. cf. P. Merton II, 90, 21; P. Cair. Isid., 81, 9, “--καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Περᾶ ἀπασχλουμένου περὶ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντα” “and my brother Peras occupied with the property belonged to him.”

2- A fragment of deposit repayment

P. Cair., mus. C.G.10499 8.8 X 5.7 cm. Prov. Arsinoite Nome 2nd AD.

This light brown papyrus is described in *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*, eds. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, Oxford, 1903, as consisting of 15 lines but there are traces of unreadable letters at the top of the document. The distance between these traces of letters and the following line is the same as the distance between the first three lines.

The papyrus is full of wormholes. It has been mutilated from all sides. The ink is bolded. There are two demotic lines at the end.^(*) A bold line separates the Greek text and the demotic one. The writing runs across the fibers. The provenance is not recorded, but the mention of Στοτοήτιος Ἀρπαγάθου, suggests that it may be from the *Arsinoite nome*, especially from *Socnopaiei Nesos* village cf. L. 13 note.

Two hands may be distinguished.

The first hand Ll. 1-3 is a large cursive, while the second Ll. 4-15 is a small cursive hand. This 2nd handwriting is similar to *P. Vind. Worp* 10, tafel 10, *Socnopaïou Nesos*, (143-144 AD). The size and darkness of the demotic hand resemble those of the second Greek hand; It seems impossible to say if the same scribe wrote both.

The name in l. 13 named Στοτοήτιος Ἀρπαγάθου, is widespread in *Socnopaïou Nesos*, particularly in the second century AD. cf. *P. Aberd.* 45,2 ff., (*Socnopaïou Nesos*, 141 AD.); *P. Vind.Tand.* 26, 7;25, (*Socnopaïou*

^(*) I am grateful to Prof. Dr. O. El-Ogazy, who kindly read to me the two Demotic lines, which unfortunately are unclear.

Nesos, 143 AD.); *BGU* II ,433, i, 4, (Soknopaei *Nesos*, 190 AD.); *P. Amh.* II, 111, 6, (*Socnopaiou Nesos*, 132 AD.); *SB* I, 16, 9, (Arsinoite Nome, 155/6 AD.); *SB* XII, 10883, r, 3, (*Socnopaiou Nesos*, 158 AD.).

Another incomplete personal name appears in genitive case cf. 1.7] Πᾶνεφρέμμεως. Whether this is a patronymic or reflects the to grammar is unclear.

The general nature of this document seems clear. The papyrus is a fragment of subscription of a receipt of repayment of a deposit cf. ll.4-5. There are stipulation clauses indicating that this receipt may be a return of this deposited money, cf. ll.6; 8-9, where there is a mention of an account, λόγου.

The name of the ὑπογραφεύς can be read in the last two Greek lines. The ὑπογραφεύς always gives his name in the subscription that he writes for his principals, sometimes also a signature, cf. comment l. 13; H. C. Youtie, Ὑπογραφεύς: the Social Impact of illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt, *ZPE* 17, 1975, pp. 201-221.

Verso: ↓

]. . . [
]. π[] .π[ἄ]ργ[υ]ρίο[υ]
]. σ[
] [] . . [] οδ. [α]ις
 5- ὁμολῶ] ἀπε[σ]χηκένα[ι] παρ' αὐτου
 ἀργυριου] δραχμάς χιλιά[ς] τριακο[
] ..ης παρεθέτω αὐτῶ[ι
] Πᾶνεφρέμμεως παρὰ[
]. χιλίων καὶ οὐδὲν αὐ[
 10-] . κλιον οὐδὲ πισ<τ>εύω ν[
] εμον δὸς δὲ τοῦ λόγου[
 τι] μῆς ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν[
] Στοτοτήτις Ἀρπαγάθου [ἐγράψα

ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἰδέναί αὐτὸν γράμματα

2 Demotic lines.

15- T3..dj.t n.n mh
Dj.n.j n.k

Corrections:

l. 7- l. παρέθετο l. 14- l. εἰδέναί

Commentary:

5 - ὁμολοῶ] ἀπε[σ]χηκένα[ι] παρ' αὐτοῦ

“I acknowledge that I] have received from him”

Using of the verb ἀπέχω indicates to a declaration from one party (creditor) to another one (debtor). the first party declare that he has receive a loan or deposit completely. For this form cf. O. Montevicchi, *La Papirologia*, Milano, 1972, p. 226; H. A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quitting im Recht der Graeko-Ägyptischen Papyri*, München, 1971, p. 63.cf. *BGU IV*, 1163, 6; *P. Dura.*, 32, 13; *P. Frib.IV*, 59, 8; *P. Mich.* V, 337,1.

6 - ἀργυρίου] δραχμᾶς χιλία[ς] τριακο[

“One thousand and three hundred silver drachmae.”

This line indicates the amount which is 1300 *drachmae*. The restoring of this line depends on line 12. ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν.

-τριακο[It may be restored as τριακόντα or τριακο[σίας].

7 -] ..ης παρέθετω (l. παρέθετο) αὐτῶ[

]..ης It can be restored as αὐτῆς. cf. *P. Oxy.* 2975, (198 AD.), 9ff. αὐτῶ ἠνίκα ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀμμωνιακῇ τῶ τετάρτῳ ἔτει.”“Which he deposited with him when he was in the Ammoniac (Oasis) in the fourth year...”

8 -]Παγεφρέμμεως the reading of the first letter isn't clear whether it is ‘Π’ or ‘Τ’. Since the Egyptian masculine article is pronounced ‘p’ and the feminine one ‘t’, proper names beginning with ‘Π’ are often men’s names

and those beginning with ‘T’ are women’s names. The prefix Πα (Τα for feminine) means he (or she) who belongs to. The second syllable indicates the god’s name that was belonged to – νεφέρως crocodile. See Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, P. 46; For the meaning of *Pa& Ta* in Egyptian language cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Leipzig, 1901, PP. 26-27; G. Vittmann, “Between Grammar, Lexicography and Religion, Observation on some Demotic Personal Names”, *Enchoria*, band 24, 1997-8, PP. 90-102; Preisigke *Namenbuch*; Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* s.v. Τανεφρεμμίς & Πανεφρεμμίς (*ta*) *Pa-n- nfr-H r*.

9 -]χιλίωγ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐ[

“Thousands, and nothing”

Of course the translation here seems without meaning because of the fragmentary case of the document. This line seems to carry a stipulation formula as *P. Oxy.* III, 513, 55 ff. (receipt, 184AD.), “καὶ οὐ[δὲν αὐτ]ῷ ἐνκαλῶ οὔτε περὶ τούτου οὔτε περὶ ἄλλου [οὐδε]νὸς ἀπ λῶς ὡς πρόκειται” “and I have no claim against him with regard to this or any other matter whatever, as aforesaid.”

13 -]στοτοῆτις Ἰ Αρπαγάθου Stotoetis son of Harpagathus’

The name Στοτοῆτις Ἰ Αρπαγάθου is widespread in *Socnopaïou Nesos* village. cf. *P. Aberd.* 45, 12, (*Socnopaïou Nesos*, 141 A. D.); *P. Lond.* II, 350, 2 (*Socnopaïou Nesos*, 212 A. D.); *P. Muench* III, (*Socnopaïou Nesos*, 144 A. D.); *P. Vind. Tand.* 26, 7, (*Socnopaei Nesos*, 143 A. D.); *P. Vind. Worp*, 10, 13, (*Socnopaïou Nesos*, 143/ 4 A. D.); *SB XII*, 10883, 3, (*Socnopaïou Nesos*, 158 A. D.); *SB XVI*, 12957, (*Socnopaïou Nesos*, 98-117 A. D.); *Stud.Pal.* XXII, 43, 12, (*Socnopaïou Nesos*, 151 A. D.), ...etc.

There are three persons or more called Στοτοῆτις Ἰ Αρπαγάθου to be distinguished by the grandfather’s name; cf. *P. Aberd.* 45, 2, (141 A. D.) “Στοτοῆτιο]ς Ἰ Αρπαγάθου τοῦ [παρὰ Πακύσεως [ἀπὸ κώμης Σοκνοπ]αίου Νήσου.” ; Another Στοτοῆτις Ἰ Αρπαγάθου is mentioned in *P. Vind.Tand.* 26, 7; 25, (143 A.

D.),“παρὰ Στοτ[ο] ἡτεως Ἄρπα[γά] θου τοῦ Σαταβούτρου”; also in *BGU* II 406, ii, 11, (II A. D.) “Στοτοῆτις Ἄρπαγάθου τοῦ Πανεφρέμ[ε]ως μητρὸς Στοτοῆτεως τῆςΣτοτοῆτεως.”

According to the last example, it is obvious that the name Στοτοῆτις was used commonly as a masculine and feminine name. It is referred about 25 times as a feminine proper name throughout Greek papyri. cf. also *BGU* II, 406, ii, 8, (II A. D.) “Στοτοῆτις Σαταβ[οῦ]τος τοῦ Στοτοῆτεως μητρὸς Στοτοῆ[τε]ως τῆς Παν[ε]φρέμ[ε]ως...etc.”; M. Gaber, ‘*Η Σοκνοπαίου Νησος a village in Fayum Nome through Greco-Roman period*, unpublished MA. thesis, in Arabic, Alexandria, 2001. p. 204.

Looking at the previous parallel we find that it carries the name Στοτοῆτις son of Ἀρπαγάθης linked with the name mentioned in I.7 Πανφερέμμις. It may lead us to say that this person who appeared in *BGU* II, 406, ii, 8 is the same of the present document. It is just a suggestion. There is no evidence to confirm it.

It seems that Στοτοῆτις son of Ἀρπαγάθης, who is mentioned in the present document is a man not a woman, for in the next line we find that this Στοτοῆτις signed as a ὑπογράφεις. Women do not appear as ὑπογράφεις.

D. H. Samuel in her article, *Greeks and Romans at Socnopaïou Nesos, analysis the ethnic origin of all of the hypographeis who countersign Greek documents drawn up at Socnopaïou Nesos*; she expected a preponderance of Greek names, but in fact a very few number was found. The indigenous Egyptians are strongly in the majority, with few Greek names. The village from its inception centered on the cult of the crocodile god *Souchos*, and the consequent existence of a local priesthood presumably placed a certain native stamp upon the character of the community. See D. H. Samuel, “Greeks and Romans at Socnopaïou Nesos”, *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology 1980*, New York, 1981, pp. 389-403.

14 - ὑπὲρ α]ύτου μὴ ἰδέναι(1. εἰδέναι) α[ύ]τὸ[ν γράμματα

“On behalf of him, because he does not know letters”

This is the formula that was used by a *hypographeus* when he wrote a subscription for clients who were illiterate. H. C. Youtie, “Because they do not know letters”, *ZPE* 19, 1975, pp. 101-108.

The clause may be restored as Στοτοῆτις Ἄρπαγάθου [ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ α]ύτου μὴ ἰδέναι (1. εἰδέναι α[ύ]τ[ὸ]ν [γράμματα]. cf. *P. Vind. Tand.* 25, 8 ff. (143 A. D.)“ ἔγραψεν ὑ [π] ἐρ α [ύτου Σ] ἀταβοῦς Στ[ο]τ[ο]ῆτι[ος διὰ τὸ] μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα.”; “ he wrote on behalf of him because he does not know letters” *P. Lond.* II, 350, l. 17 ff. (Socnopaiou Nesos, 212 AD.) “Στοτοῆτις ἔγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὁρου ἀγραμμάτου.” “ I, Stotetis wrote also on behalf of Horos for he is illiterate”. Another short formula to express ignorance of reading and writing is *P. Osl.* II, 37, 22-23, “Αὐρήλιος Ἀλύπιος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτο[ῦ] ἀγραμμάτου” “ Aurelius Alypius wrote on behalf of him because he is illiterate ”.

15 -16 The Demotic lines:

T3..dj.t n.n mh□

Dj.n.j n.k

“I gave to you completely what is given to us.”

3- An Official Document

P. Cair., mus. C. G. 10705 11.7 X 6 cm. Prov: unknown 3rd A. D.

This papyrus is cut off on all sides. There is a margin of 2 cm. at the left side, and one of 1.7 cm. at the bottom. The writing runs across the fibers. The provenance is unknown.

The document is written in a professional hand that is similar a “Biblical Uncial” style. See C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 BC. - AD.400*, Oxford, 1956, *P. Ryl.* I, 16 (255-6AD.); E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of The Ancient World*, Oxford, 1971, Plate 11 (3rd cent. AD.)

Since the text is so fragmentary, the exact nature of this document is hard to be defined with certainty. Lines 4-5 make it clear that it is an official document in which the state's treasury, κυριακὸν λόγον, plays a role. The main idea of the text seems to deal with transportation, cf. line 9 note. For transportation control see P.J. Sijpesteijn, "What happened to Tax Grain upon Arrival at Alexandria? ", *Cd'È* 137 (1994), PP. 132-37; Meijer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im Griechisch- Römischen Recht*, Zutphen, 1978, PP. 56f; A. Johnson & L. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton, 1949, p.155; M. Merzagora, "La navigazione in Egitto nell' età greco-romana", *Aegyptus* 10, 1929, pp.105ff.

Recto:

.[]εοσ.[..]φ[.]. [
 βῶν ἐπ[τ]ακισχ[ιλίων
 δύο τοὺς οὖν γε[
 Πετεήσεως κ[(?) κυ-
 5- ριακὸν λόγον π[
 σὺν διαφόρῳι.[
 πρὸς σε τε[
 ὡς καὶ ἐπει.[
 τοῦ γόμου.[
 10- το ὑπέρτ[
 δηλωσ[

Correction:

L.7 πρὸς σε (πρὸσε)

Commentary:

2- βῶν ἐπ[τα]κισχ[ιλίων the acceptable restoration may be [ἀγωγῆς ἀρτα]/βῶν ἐπ[τα]κισχ[ιλίων meaning "... of 7000 artabas burden."

This amount here may concern the quantity of the cargo, or the capacity of the ship (ships). cf. *P. Bibl. Univ. Giss. Inv. No. 285, ll.7-9*. See P. J. Sijpesteijn, & K. A. Worp, "Documents on Transportation by Ship"

ZPE XX, 1976, pp.157-165. “[παρειληφέναι] καὶ [ἐμ]βεβλήσθαι εἰς πλοῖα γ’ [±12letters] Ἀκωριτιὰ ἀγωγῆς (άρταβῶν) Αχ ”
 “That we have received and embarked upon 3 *Acoritic* boats [each] of 1,600 artabas burden”

The information provided by papyrus texts let one know about boats’ names of various types; the carrying capacities of the boats, i.e. πολύκωπον “multioared” with a recorded capacity of 505 to 1010 *artabas*, cf. *P. Oxy.* I 149,1; XVI 1996, 3; *SB XIV* 11593, r, ii, 30. ἑλληνικόν “Greek vessel” with a somewhat wider range 350 to 2000 *artabas*, cf. *BGU VII*, 1663, 6; *P. Cair.Goodsp.* 14, 3; *P. Grenf.* I 49,r,17. ζευγματικόν cf. *P. Oxy.* XXIV 2415, iii,2; XLIV, 3180, 5. for more details See R. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, 1993, PP. 35-6.

3- δύο τοὺς οὖν γε[

‘δύο’ may be a part of the amount, which has been mentioned in the last line. It seems that δύο stands at the end of a sentence. Then τοὺς οὖν form another new sentence since οὖν stands in the second place of sentences.

Really it is difficult to restore this line depending on such scanty words, but it may run parallel with *P. Oxy.* IV, 708,(188 A. D.), which deals with a similar subject cf. *P. Oxy.* IV, 708 ll.9ff. “τοὺς [ο]ὖν τὸν πυρὸν [ἐ]μβα[λο]μένους σιτολόγους πρᾶξον τῷ σῶ κινδύνῳ [τὰ]ς συναγο(μένου) σίτο(υ) δια-φόρῳ (πυρου) (αρτάβας)...”
 “Accordingly exact, at your own risk, from the *sitologi* , who shipped the wheat the difference on the whole amount of the corn *artabae*....”

4- Πετεήσεως κ[

The Egyptian proper names, which begin with P, are often masculine names. Here this name Πετεήσις consists of two parts, Πετε- which in Egyptian means ‘ he who has been given by (the god/ goddess)’ , plus the goddess’ name Isis. Therefore this name means ‘he who has been given by the goddess Isis’. See P. W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*,

Leiden, 1994, p. 46. This name is recorded in both Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. cf. *BGU* I, 277, 1, 2 (Ars.; II A. D.); *BGU* II, 657, 3, 23 (Ars. II A. D.); *P. Mich.* IV, 223, (Karanis; 171-2 A. D.).

This name may concern the pilot of the ship. Therefore this line may be reconstructed as: [proper name son of] Πετεήσεως κ[υβερνήτης. cf. *P. Oxy.* I, 86(= W.Chr. 46), (338 A. D.), ll.4-6 “ [π]αρά Αύρηλίου Πανούθιος Παύμι[ος]...[.] Οξυρυγγείτου κυβερνήτου πλοίο[υ] δημοσί[ου]” “ from Aurelius Panouthis, son of Paumis, ... of Oxyrhynchus, pilot of a public vessel.”

Perhaps this man was in charge of the load as *SB* XII 11082, ll. 13-14; *P. Oxy.* IV, 708, 3 - 4, “[τοῦ] καταθέντος γόμου ἐκ τοῦ ὑπό σοι νομοῦ [διὰ .]αύσιος Σιπῶτος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν πυροῦ ἀρτάβαις Β’ ” “Since the cargo dispatched from the Nome under you in charge of [.]ausis son of Sipos and his companions, amounting to 2000 *artabae* of wheat”.

4-5 κυ]/ριακὸν λόγον

These lines refer to the Imperial treasury.

In the Roman period, the control of transportation on the Nile vested in the Prefect. Transport from Alexandria to Rome was presumably an imperial concern under the supervision of the Prefect of the *annonae*. A. Johnson & L. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton, 1949, p. 155.

A parallel is provided by *SB* XII, 11082, 4; 18. The responsibility in corn - transport to Alexandria (*Arsinoi* – 138 – 161 A. D.), “[τοὺς σὺν τὸν πυρὸν] ἐμβαλομένους σειτολόγους πρᾶξον εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν λόγον τῷ σῷ κινδύνῳ [τὰς (πυροῦ)(ἀρτάβας)]”. “Therefore exact, at your own risk, from the *sitologi* who shipped the corn *artabae* to the imperial treasury.”

P. Oxy. LX 2938 (256-261 AD.) is a receipt, Which connected with corn dole archives. L. 5-6 ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ]ον τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ ” “I have received from you....(to?) Imperial account.”

This group of documents, corn dole Archives, reveals that a corn dole was distributed in Oxyrhynchus in the reign of Claudius II and Aurelian and adds significantly to the otherwise not very extensive evidence for the existence of corn doles in the cities of Egypt in the third century AD. Perhaps the most important aspect of the archives is the possibility, which affords of confirming or correcting the view of the Roman corn dole. It is regarded as a gift from the emperor, as in Rome at least from the time of *Severus*. But, that with some local difference, as it might be expected. For more details about the corn dole, see the introduction of *P. Oxy.* XL, pp.1-8.

6-σὺν διαφόρῳι.[

In pilots' receipts an extra 1.5 % was added to shipments, but the reason for this extra is unknown. A. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, Baltimore, 1936, p. 402. cf. *P. Oxy* IV, 708, ll. 9-11 “τοὺς [ο]ῦν τὸν πυρὸν [ἐ]μβλα[λο]μένους σιτολόγους πρᾶξον τῶσῶ κινδύνῳ [τὰ]ς συναγο(μένου) σίτο(υ) διαφόρῳ(πυροῦ)(ἀρτάβας)...” “Accordingly exact, at your own risk, from the *sitologi*, who shipped the wheat the difference on the whole amount of the corn *artabae*....”

7 - πρὸς σε τε[

It seems that the writer tried to write πρὸς then he was confused between the last sigma of πρὸς, considering that he has written the sigma of σε then he began to correct his confusion. He corrected the mistaken ‘ε’ to ‘ς’

9 - τοῦ γόμου

This word may agree with παραδόσειν as in *SB* XII, 11082, 20 “ [...τῆ γε]νομένη παρ’ ἐμοῖ τοῦ γόμου παραδό[σ]ει...” “the delivery of the cargo which was made to me” cargo belongs to me.”; also in *P. Cairo* inv. 10580; 10488, ll.10-11. (*ZPE* XX) “.....αὐτὸν τὴν παράδο[σι]ν τοῦ γόμου ποιήσασθαι ἐκ [±10 letters εἰς τοὺς] ἐκ τεταγμένων τόπων καὶ ἐποείσιν ἄποχα γράμμα[τα τῆς τούτων παρα]δόσεως τῆ στρατηγικῆ τάξει”. “He will deliver the cargo [] to the appointed places and he will produce their letters of consignment to

the office of the *strategus*.”

The role of *sitologi* doesn't end at the stage of collecting and a massing state-grain in heaps under seal within the granaries. It extends to an equally important and responsible task, i.e. the grain transportation whether by land-routes or waterways. This dual operation was bound to bring further responsibilities upon *sitologi*, who had to keep busy in controlling and safeguarding this transaction from any mishaps or illicit dealings. *The Sitologen Papyri* published by K. Thunell (*P. Berl.Thun.*) and the transportation receipts in *P. Col.* 1r, 4-5, published by W.L. Westermann and C. W. Keyes, have furnished us with immense data pertaining to this operation and testifying to its utmost importance. Zaki A., *Essays and papers*, Athens, 1994, pp. 55-56.

10 - το ὑπερτ[

Reconstruction of this fragmentary line is hardly uncertain. There is no indication whether this mentioned ‘το’ is a neuter article or the end of a word. ὑπερτ[may be completed as ὑπερτελής, cf. *PSI* I 66, 21; or it is a prefix of a verb like ὑπερτίθημι, cf. *P. Fam. Teb.* 20, I, 25.

11 - δηλωσ[“Show?”

This line is so fragmentary, but it may be restored as *P.Oxy.* IV, 708, 12-13, “καὶ προσθέμε [νος] τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ χιλιάρχου δηλωσόν μοι.” “and when you have added this total to the account of the *chiliarch* let me know (show me).” Or *SB* XII, 11082, 4-5, “καὶ προσθέμε[νος] τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ χειρισμοῦ τῆς Νέας πόλεως δηλωσόν μοι. And when you have added this total to the account of the administration of Neas Poles let me know.(show me)”

4 - A fragment of a Receipt

P. Cair., mus.C. G. 1064 6 X 13 cm. Prov.: Hermopolis 4th A. D.

This light brown papyrus, regularly cut off on all sides except the left side, which has a margin, measured 1cm. It consists of 7 lines. The papyrus

is suffered damage in several parts, especially on the right side. An horizontal fold line could be visible, breaking the fourth line and making the reading of this line unclear. Six vertical fold lines are visible. It seems that the third fold line approximately divides the papyrus in two equal parts. Find that the first fold line and the second one of the right hand side are conformable with the fourth and the fifth fold lines. The script runs parallel to the fibers. The papyrus has been described, in the museum registers, as coming from *Al-Ashmunen*, ancient *Hermopolis*. Verso is blank.

It is written in a skilful cursive hand. It is similar to *P. Charite* 34, (Herm; 318 or 348 AD.), taf. XXVIII; *P. Rend. Harr.* II, 236, (*Oxy.* 329 AD.), Plate VII; O. Montevicchi, *La papirologia*, tav. 85, (= *P. Mert.* II, 92), 324AD.).

This document seems to be a subscription of a receipt ‘ή ἀποχή’ which ended with the common formula. This receipt may concern a quantity of wine (?) 400 *kindia*.

Recto:

.πορη..[
 []γράφου τῶν[]οι λοιπασθε[
 οἴνου κνιδίων τετρακοσίων ἀχρι ἀποδ[οσέως
 . μετὰ τῷ προκειμ[έν]ῳ χρόνῳ παρα[δ]ώσ[ω
 5 τῶν πάντων ὄ[ν]των πρὸς τὸν.....[
 αὕτη ή ἀποχή κ[υρί]α καὶ ἐπερωτη(θεῖς)ώμολόγ(ησα)..[
 ει ’ Αλφάιου .[]ελλ.ι. α . υ ..[]..σ[

Corrections:

4 - L. μετὰ τόν προκείμενον χρόνον

Translation:

From line 3 “of wine, four hundred *knidia* till return, I’ll return...in.. time ,the receipt is valid and when interrogated I assented.....”

Commentary:

2 - []γράφου τῶν[]οι λοιπασθέ.[

For the restoration of]γράφου it has several probabilities as ‘χειρογράφου’ ‘manuscript, contract’, cf. *BGU* XII, 2207, 1, “χ(ει)ρ(ό)γραφον) οἶ(νου) μέτρ(ων) κδ’”; *PSI* XII, 1250, 16 “ἐγὼ ἢ Διοσκουριαίνα ἀκολούθως χειρογράφου οἴνου κεραμίω(ν)...” “I am Dioskuriaina in accordance to the contract of wine..” Or ἐγγράφου written (receipt); document, Cf. *SB* XVIII, 13124, 1-5 “διὰ ταύτης μου τῆς ἐγγράφου ἀσφαλείας ἐσχηκ[έναι] καὶ πεπλη-ρῶσθα ι παρὰ σοῦ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους σ[υμπε]φωνημένης τελεί-ας καὶ ἀξία ς τιμῆς οἶ[νου νέου μούστου] μέτρων πεντηκοντα “such that certain written through me I have received and you pay to me dual the agreed upon price complete for amount of new wine (measured) 50.”

3 - οἴνου κνίδιον τετρακόσιων

κνίδιον is a measure of wine.

Wine was measured by various measures like μετρητής cf. *CPR* VIII, 7, 7; *P. Petr.* II, 30, 8; *P. Grenf.* I, 9, 16; *P. Koeln* 221, 2, 22

κοτύλη cf. *P. Cair. Zen* 59548, 1, 13; *O. Stras.* 584, 2 ;

κεράμιον cf. *BGU* I, 14, ii, 7; *Chr. Mitt.*, 183, 12; *Chr. Wilck.* 110A, 22; *CPR* VI, 12, 8;

χοῦς Cf. *P. Dion* 9, 7; *P. Enteux* 35,3; *P. Grenf.* I 51, 11; *P. Lond* VII, 2140, 21;

ξέστης *BGU* I, 21, 2, 9; *Chr. Wilck.* 422, 24; or other else.

In Greek papyrological documentation the attestation of χοῦς / χόες become much less numerous in the 4th century AD.; likewise, the μετρητής seems to disappear in the course of the 4th century AD.. See N. Kruit & K. A. Worp, “Metrological notes on Measures of Liquids”, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 45, 1999, PP. 104-5. Where they conclude that a container name like κνίδιον is widespread in Byzantine contracts concerning delivery of certain quantities of wine as, specially in *Hermopolite Nome* and *Oxyrhynchite Nome*. cf. Kruit & Worp, “Measures

of Liquids”, P. 116. See [http:// www.perseus.tufts.edu](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu) .

This line may be similar to *P. Lond.* V, 1773, 8, (454 A. D.); *P. Oxy.* LVI, 3874, ii, 34, (345 A. D.) “τοῖς ὀφ(φικιαλίοις) ὑπὲρ τι(μῆς) οἴνου κνιδί(ων) β” “To the officials, in respect of the price of two *knidia* of wine.”; Or *BGU* XII, 2176, 7 “τιμ] ἦς οἴνου κνιδίων

διακοσίων εἴκοσι καὶ ἀποδώσω τῷ καιρῷ [ὡς πρόκ(ειται).”
“For the price of 220 *knidia* of wine and I’ll return at the time as aforesaid.”

The prices of wine are different according to the type of measure. cf. *SB* XVI, 12825, v, 11, (Herm; 330-337 A. D.) in which 100 *ξεστῶν* equal 200 *τάλαντα*; while in *P. Oxy.* LVI, 3874, ii, 34, (345 A. D.) 2 *κνιδίων* equal 18 *τάλαντα*.

The price of the wine may also be different according to the place of source that we can observe somewhat difference in the price of wine from place to another one. For example, in Hermopolite Nome during the fourth century AD., the price of one *κνιδιον* equals 8 *τάλαντα* cf. *SPP* XX,75,I, 12, (Herm; IV A. D.). While in Oxyrhynchite Nome also during the fourth century A. D., the Price of 2 *κνιδί(ων)* equal 18 *τάλαντα*, which means that 1 *kindion* equals 9 talant. But in Antinoopolis, also during the fourth century A. D., we find that 3 *κνιδίων* equal 15 *τάλαντα*. cf. *P. Ant.* I, 46, v, 9(Ant; IV A. D.).

In addition to the aforesaid, one can not neglect that the kind and quality of the wine also play a role in the value of wine. For various prices of wine See A. C. Johnson & L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton, 1949, pp. 178-181.

- ἄχρι ἀποδ[όσεως
“till repayment ...”

This restoration ἄχρι ἀποδ[όσεως depends on *BGU* XII, 2140, 12, (Herm; 432 AD.) *CPR* VII, 40, 19, (492 AD.) ; *BGU* II, 363, 13, (Ars; 323-642 AD.) “ ἄχρι ἀποδ(όσεως) τ[οῦ χρέους”. “Till repayment of the debt.”

4. μετὰ τῷ προκείμ[εν]ῳ χρόνῳ παρα[δ]ώσ[ω]

This line seems to be part of the receipt conditions, in which one part promises to return something in exact time.

5 - τῶν πάντων ὄντων πρὸς τὸ [All the (charges) shall be by (Name)

This line seems to be somewhat obscure because of the uncertain of reading. But it may run parallel with *P. Fam.Teb.* 47, 23, “τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δημοσίων πάντων ὄντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς.” “But all the other public (taxes) shall be (up on) you.”

6 - αὕτη ἡ ἀποχὴ κ[υρί]α καὶ ἐπερωτη(θεὶς) ὠμολόγ (ησα)
.. [“This receipt is valid and when interrogated I assented.” This formula is a validity stipulation used to testify to the validity of receipts. See H. A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der Graeco-Ägyptischen Papyri*, München, 1971. It runs parallel with *CPR* VII, 18, 12 (Herm.Mag; 379 AD.); *P. Amh.* II, 106, 3, (Herm. Mag; 281 AD.); *P.Ant.* II, 106, 5, (Ant. 304 AD.); *P.Cair. Isid.* 54r, 14, (Karanis, 314 AD.); *P.Charite* 8r, 18, (Herm. Mag; 348 AD.); *P. Oxy.* 1715, (292 AD.) ll. 16-19.

- ἐπερωτη(θεὶς) ὠμολόγ (ησα) The scribes have invented different methods to save space and time when writing. For various types of abbreviations See B.A. Groningen, *Short manual of Greek Palaeography*, Leiden, 1955, PP. 43. Here letters could be visible till ‘τ’ of ἐπερωτηθεὶς, then a space sufficient for maximum one letter followed by a traces of a letter looks like ‘ω’ of ὠμολόγησα to complete such a common formula. The shape of γ extended more than regular, cf. l. 2 (??γραφοῦ), perhaps this extension of gamma shape was intended to indicate an abbreviation.

This expression common in agreements has a perfective sense as it appears from the context, “and in answer to the formal question I gave my consent”. As late as II century A. D., The Romans used a contract made by formal question and answer imposing a duty on the promiser only. It was the custom to add the stipulation-clause to different contracts in order to

submit them to the rules of *stipulatio*. See B. Mandilaras, *The verb in the Greek non-Literary Papyri*, Athens 1973, p. 164; 360 § 340 n.3; § 900. Taubenschlag, *The Law*, p. 396; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 1957-8.

As this formula is common it has various forms of abbreviation cf. *CPR* I 40, 32, ἐπερωτη(θεις) ὠμολόγ-(ησα), *CPR* V, 6, i, 14, ἐπερωτ (ηθεις) ὠμολόγ(ησα), and sometimes the scribes abbreviate this formula to a very short form cf. *CPR* X, 22, 5, ἐπερ (ωτηθεις) ὠμ (ολόγησα) depending on the routines of this formula.

This formula is always followed by dating of the receipt either by indiction cf. *P. Oxy.* LVIII, 3954, r, 43, (Oxy; 611 A. D.); *CPR* VII, 18, 12, (Herm.Mag.; 379 A. D.) “ ἡ ἀποχὴ κυρία καὶ ἐπερωτηθ (έντες) ὀμολογοῦ(μεν). Φαῶφι κέ ἡ ἰνδικτίονος.” “ The receipt is valid, and in answer to the formal question we gave our consent. 25 phaophi, 8 indiction.” Or by consulate date: *CPR* XVII, 7r, I, 12, (Herm. mag. 317 AD.); *P. Cair. Isid.* 54r, 14, (Karanis, 314 A. D.); *P. Heid.* IV, 323, 12, (? , 310 A. D.); *P. Charite* 8r, 18, (Herm. Mag; 348 A. D.) “ ἡ ἀποχὴ κ [υρία καὶ] ἐπερωτηθεῖσα ὠμολόγ [ησα] ὑπατείας Φλαυίου Φιλίπ [που] τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου.” “ The receipt is valid. And in answer to the formal question I gave my consent. In the consulship of Flavios Filippus the most famous prefect.” Or by imperial date cf. *P. Harr.* I, 66, 14, (Oxy, 155 AD.); *P. Oxy.* 50, 3564, 7, (Oxy. 235 AD.); *P. Ant.* II, 106, 5, (Antinopolis, 304 AD.)

“ ἡ ἀποχὴ κυρία καὶ ἐπερωτη (θεις) ὠμολο(γησα). ἔτους κ' καὶ (ἔτους) ιβ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστά-των καισάρων.” “ The receipt is valid, and in answer to the formal question I gave my consent. In the 20th year and the 12th year of our lords Diocletian and Maximianos the most famous Caesars.” Or the name of the *hypographeus* may follow cf. *P. Flor* I, 95, I, 11, (Herm.Mag; IV A. D.), *P.Kell.* 51, 7 (Kellis; 320 A. D.); *P. Cair. Isid.* 58r, 17, (Karanis, 315 A. D.)

“ ἡ ἀποχὴ κυρία καὶ ἐπερωτηθεντες ὠμολογήσαμεν. Αὐρήλιος Νειλά

μμων βουλ (ευτής) ἔγραψα ὑπέρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων.”

For the *hypographeus* See H. C. Youtie, “Υπογραφεύς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt”, *ZPE* 17, 1975, pp. 205-207; Idem, “Because they do not know letters”, *ZPE* 19, 1975, pp. 101-108.

7 - ει ' Αλφαίου. []ελλι. α . υ ..[]..σ[

Unfortunately the reading is very doubtful due to the mutilated state of the papyrus.

Αλφαίου may be of the father's name *hypographius*. This name is recorded in papyri cf. *P. Brem.*, 44, 15, IIAD.), another forms were found as ' Αλφείος cf. *P. Oxy.* XLII, 3016, 10,(148 AD.); Αλφίος cf. *P. Sorb.* II, 69, 61, i,7.

5- A Petition to an Exactor

P. Cair. mus. C. G. 10513 5.9 X 17.3 cm. Prov.:Hermopolis 4th A. D.

This Papyrus is cut off at all sides. There is a margin of 1 cm. on the right hand side. The writing runs along the fibers. One horizontal fold is visible. It is registered as coming from *Al-Ashmunen*, Classical *Hermopolis*. The Verso is blank.

The handwriting is cursive. The suggested date depends on paleographical grounds. It similars W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, Bonn, 1911, plate 38b (348 A. D.). R. Seider, *Paläographie der Griechischen Papyri*, Band I, Stuttgart, 1967, *tafel* 30 (=P. *Vindob.G.* 2079 b.), See also from *Hermopolis* (321/322 A. D.), E. Boswinkel & P. Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri, Ostraca and Mummy labels*, Amsterdam, 1968, plate 36 (= P. *Wisc* I, 71), 4th A. D.

The mention of the ἑξάκτωρ also helps to fix the suggested period, since the first known occurrence of an exactor comes in 309 A. D. See J. Thomas, “The Office of *Exactor* in Egypt”, *CE* 34, 1959, p. 124 ; see also line 1 note.

This papyrus is somewhat fragmentary, but the nature of the document seems to be a petition. It belongs to a widow (l. 2 χήρα) who complains of some troubles (l. 3 ὄθεν ὀχλουμένη). This petition may be presented to the *exactor* according to custom, κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν cf. l. 1. The *exactor* may be instructed by a higher official to deal with that petition. cf. l. 4 where this higher official refers her message to the *exactor*'s office. This petition may concern a large vine yard (l. 3 πολλῆς ἀμπέλου χέρσου). The widow perhaps have to pay a high tax on that land, cf. comment l. 3 & l. 6.

Recto:

Ἰτούσης τῷ ἑξάκτορι κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν μὴ ὀχλει
Ἰελείου ἔνεκεν αἴνου δία τό χήραν ἀλλ' εἶναι καὶ
Ἰπολλῆς ἀμπέλου χέρσου ὄθεν ὀχλουμένη
Ἰἀναφέρω ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῆς πρὸς ἑξάκ[τορος
5- τρ]έπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἑξάκτορα ἀπὸ Σχεδ[ρίας
Ἰ.ης κατ' ἐμοῦ ὀχλησαμένης καὶ συντηρησα[μένης

Commentary:

1- Ἰτούσης τῷ ἑξάκτορι κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν μὴ ὀχλει“
(Which falls under the sphere) of the exactor, according to the custom, does not trouble...”

The speech may be directed to the exactor according to custom. He was requested not to make troubles.

-] τούσης For the reconstruction of this word, which seems to be a feminine participle in genitive case. There are various probabilities as ζητούσης: ‘seek for’, ἀπαιτούσης: ‘demand’; κρατούσης: ‘rule’; υποπιπτούσης: ‘fall under’.

The later suggestion may be more suitable. ὑποπιπ] τούσης τῷ ἐξάκτορι may be translated as “[] which fall under the sphere of the exactor”. cf. P. Wisc. II, 80, 1, 5, (Bacchias, 114 AD.),

“ἀναγ(ραφομένου) ἐπ’ ἀμφόδου Θαραπίας καθεσταμένου □ ὑπὸ σου ἐπιτηρητοῦ πύλης Βακχιάδος υποπιπτούσης τῷ τῆς Μέμφεως λιμένι.” “registered in the quarter of Tharapia, appointed by you superintendent of the customs station of Bacchias, which falls under the sphere of the Harbour of Memphis”. cf. also *BGU* I, 57, v, 1, 3 “[] σιν ὑποπίπτουσιν τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ” they fall under the sphere of Idios Logos.”

-ἐξάκτορι: This word is driven from the Latin word exactor. See F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. II, Milano, 1981, P. 48.

During the fourth century, the position and the nature of the office of Strategus underwent changes. The Strategus appears to have lost his position as the head of the local administration in the Nome, which he had held in the third century. The evidence shows that he was now mainly concerned with the imposition and collection of taxes. From the early fourth century onwards, the documents attest an official known as στρατηγὸς ἦτοι ἐξάκτωρ. See K. A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, Toronto, 1971, P. 76.

The first occurrence of the title exactor in Egypt dates from 309 AD., when an official appears with the title στρατηγὸς ἦτοι ἐξάκτωρ, cf. *P. Nag. Hamm.*, 143 fr. A, 11; 144frH, 6; *SB*. XVIII, 13852, ii, 32 (Hibis). The

title ἐξάκτωρ by itself, without the addition of “στρατηγός” is first attested in 314 AD. cf. Chr. Wilck., 42, 2.

The full title is exactor civitatis (ἐξάκτωρ τῆς πόλεως) which indicates that the sphere under the control of the exactor comprised a whole Nome or civitas. cf. P. Sakaon, 34, ii, 18.

It is remarkable that the title strategus survived for such a long time. We don't know why, but it may be partly because the title exactor was a Latin word, as it is mentioned and so less popular at lower levels, while the other title had such a long traditional of use. See J. D. Thomas, “Strategus and exactor in the fourth century: one office or two? ”, *Cd'É* vol. 139-140, 1995, pp.238-239.

The exactor is responsible for all the tax collection in his Nome. He takes his orders directly from the praeses, as in P. Lips. 64(=Chr.Wilck. 281rp., ii, 10, Theb; 368/9 AD.) a letter from the praeses to exactor of Oasis. The exactor is instructed to collect the ναῦλα for the 12th indiction. See l.9ff.

“...]ἐξάκτορι Ὁάσε [ως μεγάλης χαίρει [ν] τὰ λόγῳ ναύλωνθα λασσίῳν δηληγατευθέντα παρὰ τῶν κυρίῳν μου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων” “]to the Exactor of the great Oasis, greetings. Having the delegation to the account of the marine naula from my men of the famous eparches.”

The exactor's function was also extended to included jurisdiction, as in P. Merton, II, 91 (4th AD.). The praeses ordered him to deal with Isidorus complaint according to the law. ὁ [ἐξ] άκτωρ παρόντος τοῦ σε άδικούντος μέρους κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διαλαβών”“the Exactor, deal with the wronged parts presented to you according to law”

The exactor had also some police powers, as in P. Lips. 64, (368/9 AD.), a letter sent to the exactor of Oasis by a centurion. He asks the exactor to arrest for trial certain persons accused of malpractice. See l. 5 ff., “ Φλάουιος

Άριος εκατόνταρχος ἐξάκτορι Ὁάσεως. Ψάις έντυχών τῶ δικαστηρῶ ήτιάσατο Παχούμιν τινά άπό τῆς ήμετέρας χώρας.” “from Flavios

Arios the centurion to the Exactor of Oasis, arrest to the court someone from your country”.

Finally, he carries out duties of a purely municipal nature. See PSI IV, 285 (317 AD.), in which he and the λογιστης are ordered to attend to various municipal matters including the care of sacred olive, See l. 7-8, “τ[ο] ὑ δημοσίου ἀ] κόλουθον ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν μετὰ τῆς ὀφειλο [μένης. ” “attend to the municipal workers in caring of sacred olive.”

The exactor had control over many of other officials in his district, in particular, over the Praepositi pagi. See P. Amh. II, 142 . He orders the Praepositi pagi to see the measuring of some lands. See l. 10-11, “τοῦ ἐξάκτορος κατὰ [ἀ]κολουθίαν ἐπέστειλεν τῷ πραιποσίτῳ τοῦ πά γου.” “ according to the following, (through) the exactor he sent order to the Praepositi Pagi.”

The appointment of exactores was at one time subject to ratification by the emperor, but the council changed the procedure, some time between 315 and 380, to election. The reason for the change was the increase numbers of persons responsible for taxes and arrears. For more details, See Thomas, “The Office of Exactor in Egypt”, *Cd’É* 34, 1959, pp. 124-40; Idem “ Strategus and Exactor in Early Byzantine Egypt.”, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, tome. 3, P. 1065; A . C. Johnson & L. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton, 1949, PP. 219; 329; E. Hardy, *The large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, London, 1931, P. 48-50; J. Lallemant, *L’administration civile de l’ Égypte l’ avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse 284-382*, Bruxelles, 1964, PP. 118-126; R. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, 1993, P. 166. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford, 1991, vol. II, p. 766.

-κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν Custom plays an important rule in all fields of law, private, penal and administrative law as well. It may be noticed that συνήθεια= ἔθος= ἔθισμός= ἀκολουθία= custom. The execution of taxes is held according to *BGU* 1062, 14 (236 /7 A. D.) “κατὰ [τ] ε τὸν τῆς ὠνῆς γνώμ [ονα καὶ] τὴν τοῦ νομοῦ συνήθειαν.” “and according to the rule of the sale and to the custom of the

nome.” In *P. Cair. Masp.* 67006, 5, (VI A. D.) a widow complains also that she had been forced to do something “παρὰ τὸ ἔθος” “contrary to the custom”; R. Taubenschlag, “Customary Law and Custom in the Papyri”, in: *Opera Minora*, vol. II, Warszawa, 1959, pp. 91-106; A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, Baltimore, 1936, PP. 380.

It seems to be a proceeding confused to the custom is to instruct the exactor to deal with the petition which fall under his sphere according to the custom, as in *P. Merton* II, 91, (4th A. D.) “ὁ [ἐξ] ἀκτωρ παρόντος τοῦ σε ἀδικούντος μέρους κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διαλαβών” “the Exactor, deal with the wronged parts presented to you according to law”. But in the aforesaid example the writer used “κατὰ τοὺς νόμους” not “κατὰ τὴν συνηθείαν”. Probably meaning as “according to the custom of the law” is intended cf. BGU IV 1062, 14 (236 /7 A. D.) “κατὰ [τ] ε τὸν τῆς ὠνῆς γνώμ [ονα καὶ] τὴν τοῦ νομοῦ συνηθεία” “and according to the rule of the bargain and to the custom of the law.”

Or the custom in “κατὰ τὴν συνηθείαν” to instruct the exactor not to make troubles as usual. Here it seems that the speech is directed to concerns someone himself always makes troubles in his sphere, cf. *P. Berl. Zill.*, 4, 22 (350 A. D.), Theodosius advocatus demanded from the praeses of Thebiados to instruct the exactor’s assistant not to make troubles to his agent. “μὴ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνον συνεστῶτος βοηθείη τοῦ ἐξάκτορος” “Not to make troubles to him by that who associate in the assistance of the exactor.”

-μὴ ὄχλει The present imperative is used to forbid the continuance of an act in the future. Here, the exactor may has been instructed not to make troubles, which annoys the petitioner. see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 699.

This verb is commonly used in the papyri. See *P. Herm.* 19, (a petition 392 AD.), in which Apillonus appealed to a high official, probably the praeses, to grant him protection by two of municipal officials, from the demands of stationarius, probably a police official. See l. 15, “[] μὴ ὄχλεισθαι ὑπο τοῦ στατιωναρίου.” “not to be troubled by the

stationarius”; cf. *P. Berl. Zill.*, 4, 22 (350 AD.). Appears also in *O. Fay.* 45, ll.1-2, (a letter 1st AD.) where the addressee asked “μη ὄχλει (l. ὄχλει) τοὺς Σαμβᾶτος.” “Do not trouble the people of Sambas.”

2-]ἐλεγειου ἔνεκεν αἰνου δία τό χήραν ἀλλ’ εἶναι καὶ

“For the sake of the tale of [...] Ilrios, but because of being a widow and [...]

The reading of □the first word is uncertain. The shape of the letter before the genitive ending ‘ου’ seems to read either as ‘ι’ or ‘ρ’. cf. ‘ι’ in l. 1 συνηθείαν; l. 2 εἶναι. cf. ‘ρ’ in l. 1 ἑξάκτορι; l. 2 χήραν.

If the first suggestion is correct, the word may be restored as Πελλίου *P. Ryl.* IV, 629, r, 8, 195, (Herm; 317-323 A. D.); κορελλίου *Stud. Pal.* V, 58, 3, (Herm. ?A. D.).

If the second suggestion is correct it may be restored as Κέλλερου cf. *BGU* II, 439, 4, (Karanis, 158 /9 A. D.); or φολλεροῦ cf. *P. Heid.*V, 316, r, 22, (Arsin.; 613 A. D.). I prefer the second suggestion of reading for the circular shape of the *rou* strike. Concerning αἰνου : ‘tale’ or ‘story’.

-δία τό χήραν ἀλλ’ εἶναι Here the infinitive εἶναι is based on the preposition διὰ, and is prefixed by the article τὸ. See W. Goodwin, *School Greek Grammar*, London, 1956, p. 215.

Διὰ with accusative(here χήραν) + infinitive (here τὸ+ εἶναι) is used to denote the cause of an action. It is very common in petitions. The petitioner here seek the favor of the addressee “but because of being a widow-woman” cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §849; A. Rijksbaron, *The Syntax and Semantics of the verb in Classical Greek, an introduction*, Amsterdam, 1984, P. 111.

Expressing womanly weakness to invoke the aid of the authorities is common in papyri. cf. *P. Oxy.* I, 71, II, 4, (303 A. D.) “--διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀσθενές.--” “For the weakness nature”; l. 7, “γυνὴ

ἀσθ[ε]νῆς καὶ χήρα τυγχάνουσα.” “she is a weak woman and a widow.”

- χήρα The widow women played role in judicial Papyri. B. Baldwin, in his article “Crime and Criminals in Greco-Roman Egypt”, *Aegyptus*, 43, 1963, P. 261, mentions a petition offered by a widow in *P. Oxy. VIII 1120*, L 1.10 ff. “κατὰ τοῦτο μαρτύρομαι τὴν βίαν γυνὴ χήρα καὶ ἀσθενής.” I accordingly testify to his violence, being a feeble widow.”

Widow women appear also in Economic Papyri such as in *P.Oxy. 71*, in which there is a request from a woman concerning the defalcations of her agents. For women and judicial courts See J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance*, tome II, Paris, 1992; “ La reference au veuvage dans les byzantins ”, *Pallas* 32, 1985, PP. 149-157.

3-]πολλῆς ἀμπέλου χέρσου ὀθεν ὀχλουμένη “ Of much dry vine land, on account of which,, I complain.”

This line indicates that the cause of the complaint may relate to a land of vineyard which was χέρσου dry or, at least, marginal land.

- πολλῆς ἀμπέλου S. L. Wallace in “*Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*”, p.14-19, indicates that the rate of taxation on γῆ ἀμπελίτις , former vine land which because of the condition of vines and soil, was no longer profitable as a vineyard was ordinarily 1.5 artabae to the aroura. The only evidence for the rate on this class of land in the Arsinoite nome is doubtful, but it may have been 1 artabae to an arura, while it was 1.5 artaba in the Hermopolite Nome. In the Roman period the arable land was taxed only in kind, while gardens, orchards, and vineyards regularly paid a tax in money. The tax in money on garden land and especially on vine land formed a very considerable part of the cash revenue of the government of Egypt. See Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 47,52. Since in the Roman period vineyards were the most prominent feature of the culture of private land, especially of the great estates. They were developed in the first century, and again in the third century. The rate on vine land was 50 drachmae to the aroura. While the garden land was 25 drachmae to the

aroura; Johnson & West, *Byzantine Egypt*, pp.254-5.

-**χέρσου**, Wallace in, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, P.16 describes **χερσάμπελος**. This land has been variously interpreted as ‘dry land’ which with proper irrigation and cultivation was suitable for growing vines and as former vine land. Johnson, in *Roman Egypt*, P. 29, describes also this sort of land as evidently marginal land taxed at a low rate.

4-]ἀναφέρω ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῆς πρὸς ἐξάκ [τορα “ I refer her a message on the hand of the exactor”

It may mean that the message hasn’t been present by the widow herself. It may be a directed letter from a higher official, probably the praeses, to the exactor. He asked him to employ jurisdiction to this widow’s complaint.cf. *P. Berl.Zill.*, 4, 22 (350 AD.), Theodosius advocatus asks the praeses Thebaidos to instruct the exactor’s assistant not to make troubles his agent. “οὐκ ἐνοχληθήσει ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν”.

5 - τρ] ἐπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἐξάκτορα ἀπὸ Σχεδ [ίας “ to be directed to the exactor from Schedia”

This carries a good notice that the exactor was from Schedia. It isn’t necessary to consider it the sphere of his competence. It may only be his attribute Nome. As there is no parallel to this line, the restoration of]ἐπεσθαι will be τρ]ἐπεσθαι according to ‘τρέπω’ ‘to turn or direct towards.’

-**Σχεδ [ίας** Probably the origin of the exactor would be Schedia. A large town village of lower-Egypt, situated on the great canal which connected Alexandria with the canopic arm of the Nile, near Andropolis. At Schedia was the general custom-house for goods, ascending or descending the river, and also the station for the splendid vessels in which, the prefects visited the upper country; whence it is singular that it is not mentioned by any later writer than Strabo. cf. Strabo, XVII, 800. See *Loeb Classical editions, The Geography of Strabo*, ed. by H.L. Jones, 8 vols. 1917-32.

<i>P.Hib.</i> 10, r, 2, 25	Hibeh, 270 B. C.
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<i>P.Teb.</i> III / I 701, r, 4, 152	Teb. 235AD.
<i>P.Iand.</i> VI, 104, 4	?, 14-37 AD.
<i>P.Diog.</i> 13, 4	Alexandria, 141/2
<i>P.Diog.</i> 14, 5	Alexandria, 141/2 AD.
<i>SB</i> VI, 9210, 3	?-II-IIIAD.
<i>SB</i> VI 9365, 11	Theadelphia, 259 AD.
<i>P.Fay.</i> 104, 2, 21	Theadelphia; IIIAD.
<i>P.Lille.</i> I, 25, 1, 4	Ghoran; III AD.
<i>P. Oxy.</i> XIV, 1768, 5	Oxy; III AD.
<i>PSI</i> VII, 858, 27	Philadelphia, IIIAD.
<i>PSI</i> XIII, 1363, 3	?; III-IV AD.
<i>P.Stras.</i> VI, 558, 2, 3	? ; 300 AD.
<i>SB</i> XVIII, 13948, r, 1, 2	Memphis, 407 AD.

See H. D.Thomas, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ed. by William Smith, vol. II, London, 1873, P. 930; A. Caldrini, *Dizionario dei Nomi Geografici e Topografici dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, vol. IV, Milano, 1983, P. 324; Lallemand, *L'administration*, PP. 101-102; Wallace, *Taxation*, p. 271; Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, P. 591.

β].ης κατ' ἔμοῦ ὀχλησαμέν(ης) καὶ συντηρησα[μένης
 “According to my complaint and protect (?)”

ὀχλησ[[α]]μεν(ης) The writer abbreviates the end of the participle. The aim of the abbreviation is to express a maximum of meaning with a minimum expense of space and labor, and hence time. For more details see Oikonomides, N., *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions, Papyri, Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, Chicago, 1974, P. 9 ff.

One of the *exactor's* office functions was to keep a register of land. He receives the notification of changes in the ownership so that the tax

could be charged to the new owner in future. He receives also petitions related to the land economy. See *P. Michael*. 33, ll.13ff. (late 4th /5th AD.), in which, the writer has transferred the possession of his land to his son in law as a dowry of his daughter. The new owner has to pay the tax from now on, Ἀὐρηλίῳ Μαρτυρίῳ βοηθῶ ἐξάκτορος αὐτῆς πόλεως. σωματίσον τῷ ὄνοματι τῆς ἡμετέρας θυγατρὸς Σαραπιάδος δια τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Ἀμμωνίωνος...” “ to *Aurelios Marturos* the assistant of the exactor of the same city. Registered to the name of our daughter *Sarapias* through her husband, *Ammonion* etc...” See also *P. Berl. Zilliacus* 4, (350 AD.), in which the *Praeses* of the Thebaid instructs the *exactor* to protect the petitioner who complains of having to pay too much tax. “περιφεύγοντος τὰς συντελείας ὁ βοηθούμενος ἀναγκάζεται σὺντελεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, δεόμεθά σου τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τὸ μέρος τὸκ ακῶς ἀπαιτηθὲν ἀπολαμβάνειν καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου συνεστῶτος βοηθεία τοῦ ἐξάκτορος” “ while he was escaped from the joint payments, he was forced by the assistant to pay the joint payments to him (the assistant), he was badly demanded to render the rest and , and we need part of your kindness, not to make troubles to him by that who associate in the assistance of the exactor.”

Now there are two possibilities. The first is that widow complains from high rate of taxes at a land of vineyard since one of the *exactor*'s tasks, as in *P. Berl. Zilliacus* 4, to deal with such petitions. The other is, she complains about affairs related to the aforesaid land since the *exactor*, as aforesaid, receives petitions related to the land economy, as in *P. Michael*. 33. The papyrus is too fragmentary to determine the case.

A Schedule of the Exactors of Hermopolite Nome

This schedule includes the known exactores who are attested in the papyri concerning Hermopolite Nome, arranged by date. It depends on the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri (Phi # 7) and the Internet website [http:// www.perseus.tufts.edu](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu)

316	<i>CPR</i> , XVII A, 6,1	Θεοφάνης
320	<i>CPR</i> XVII A, 9b, 2,3	[Σ]ώστρατος Αίλιανός
320-350	<i>P. Charite</i> , 21, 3	Διοσκουρίδης
321	<i>CPR</i> XVII A, 22, 3	Σώστρατος Αίλιανός
321	<i>CPR</i> XVII A, 18, 2	Σώ[στ]ρατος Αίλιανός
321	<i>CPR</i> XVII A, 15, 2	(?)
321	<i>CPR</i> , vol.17A,16, 2, 22	Θεοφάνης
322	<i>CPR</i> XVII A, 23, 4	[Η]ρακλέων
325	<i>SB</i> XIV 11975, 5	(?)
337-47	<i>CPR</i> V, 10	Αύρήλιος Διοσκουρίδης
340	<i>BGU</i> I, 21, II, 7	Ανουβίων
340	<i>CPR</i> , XVII A, 36,1	Αύρήλιος ' Αν(?)
350	<i>ChLA</i> X, 462,frb 1	(?)
367-8	<i>SB</i> XIV, 11972, fra, 32	Ερμαίων
372	<i>SB</i> XVIII 13251, 3	Αύρήλ[ι]οι ' Υπερέχιος & Ανουβίων
384-5	<i>P. Lips</i> , 62, 1 11	Υπερέχιος
384-5	<i>P. Lips</i> , 62, 1, 10	Αγαθοκλής
384-5	<i>P. Lips</i> , 62, 1, 9	Θεοφάνης
384-5	<i>P. Lips</i> , 62, 2, 30	Αίλιανος
4 th	<i>P. Hermlandl.</i> I 23	Εύλογιος
4 th	<i>P. Hermlandl.</i> I, 31	Νικαντίνοος νικα

4 th	<i>P. Hermlandl.</i> II, XXX	Ερμοδω(ρος)
4 th	<i>Stud. Pal.</i> I,III,V,1,1	(?)
4 th	<i>Chr. Wilck.</i> ,424,1, 4	(?)
4 th	<i>CPR.</i> VIII, 34, 3	(?)
4 th	<i>CPR.</i> VIII, 30,5	Νείλω
4 th	<i>CPR.</i> VIII, 35,5	(?)
4 th	<i>CPR.</i> VIII, 44,12	(?)
4 th	<i>P. Ross. Georg.</i> V, 60, no 2, 2	(?)
4 th	<i>P. Flor</i> I, 95, 2, 45; 48; 60	Θεότιμος
4 th	<i>P.Select</i> , 10, 6	Ηρακλάμμων Δημέου & Ζηνόδοτος&Δωροθέος ' Αχίλλης
4 th	<i>P. VindBosw.</i> 14,1,1	(?)
4 th	<i>SBXIV</i> , 11591, 9	(?)
4 th	<i>SB</i> , vol. 3, 6086, 9	(?)
4 th -5 th	<i>PSI</i> VI, 684, 2	(?)

6 - A fragment of a Petition

P. Cair. mus. C. G. 10490 11.5 X 16.1 cm Hermopolite nome 4th A. D.

This papyrus is a fragment with 9 lines. It has margins on the right side 1cm., and on the bottom 2 cm. Unfortunately, it is mutilated from the top, the left and the lower sides. The text runs parallel to the fibers. Four vertical folds can be visible. It is described in Museum's register as coming from *Al-Ashmunen*, (*Hermopolis*). Below the eighth line is a blank space, it should the right side of a line no doubt containing the rest of the sentence “*χάριτάς σοι ὁμολο- / [γῆσω. διευτύχει.*”, which may be considered as ninth line. Then there are traces of the upper parts of unreadable scripts, which should be considered as the tenth line. The verso is blank.

It is written in medium sized cursive letters that is similar to fourth century A. D. Hand writing, *P. Charite*, 34, recto, plate 28, (Herm., 348 A. D); *P. Cair. Isid.* 94 (Karanis, 312 A. D).

This fragment is the conclusion of a petition. The subject of the petition is almost unclear, since the document is mutilated. But there is a mention of a person named *Βιάνωρ* cf. l. 5, and of written documents (*ἔγγραφα*) and witnesses (*μαρτύρων*), cf. l. 6.

Unfortunately, this petition is fragmentary. So, it is not clear to whom this petition had been offered. The name of the person, to whom this petition has been addressed, is in the mutilated portion. But the using of the word *δικαστήριον* explains that the official to whom this petition was offered has a court. Also the adjective *λαπρότητος* indicates a very important official, cf. L. 8. For the officials to whom petitions could be directed see G. Tibiletti, “Papyri Documantri Dell’Universita Cattolica”, *Aegyptus*, 54 (1974), P. 48 ff.

Many preserved petitions are addressed to the competent authority with the purpose of introducing a civil procedure, asking for penalty or getting protection from authority. cf. *P. Ryl.* I 125, 28 (28-9 A.D.) “*διὸ ἀξιῶι, ἐὰν φαίνηται, ἀχθῆναι τὸν ἐνκαλούμενο (ν) ἐπί σε πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην (ν) ἐπέξοδ (ον).*” “Wherefore I request, if you approve, that the accused be brought before you for the consequent punishment.” See O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Milano, 1973, p. 189. It is noticed that the course of the proceedings has changed in Egypt according to the nature of the court in each of the three eras, Ptolemaic Roman and Byzantine. See Taubenschlag, *The Law*, P.

495. The regular formula of a petition is as follows:

- Address to an official person.
- Greetings.
- Name and style of petitioner.
- The subject of the injury.
- A request for specific action.
- Concluding expression of his gratitude in anticipation of the justice that will be done. See E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri, an Introduction*, Oxford, 1968, 141.

The mutilated head of this document would have followed the pattern of petitions offered to the *Praeses* or the *Praefectus*. cf. the comment to l. 7; *P. Amh.* II, 82, 1 (late 3rd early 4th A. D., Fayum); *P. Sakaon*, 38, 1, (petition to a prefect, 312 A. D, Ars. nome), beginning with “τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου” “to the most eminent prefect of Egypt.” *P. Oxy.* XVI 1881, ll. 1-2, (427 A. D.), “τῇ τάξι τοῦ πρίγκιπος τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος ἐπαρχίας” “to the office of the *princeps* of his eminence my lord the most illustrious *Praeses* of the *eparchy*.”

-From ll. 1-5: we expect the purpose of the petition. But unfortunately because of the fragmentary case of the papyrus it is not clear what is the problem, which the petitioner was facing.

-L. 6: the petitioner confirm his petition by documents ἐγγραφά and refers to witness testimony διὰ μαρτύρων ἐλεγχομένου.

-L.7 the petitioner presents his petition before the immaculate court of the addressee.

- Ll. 8-9 At the end, the conclusion of this petition ends by a common formula promising gratitude: “τῆς σῆς λαμπρότητος χάριτάς σοι ὁμολο[γήσω. διευτύχει].” “ from your excellency, I shall be grateful to you.” [Farewell.]

Unfortunately the exact problem which the petitioner faced has fallen in the lost upper portion of the papyrus. Because of this reason it is hard to guess the subject of this petition.

For various sorts of crimes See B. Baldwin, “Crime and Criminals in Greco-Roman Egypt”, *Aegyptus*, 43,1963, P. 256-261; R. Bagnall, “Official and Private Violence”, *BASP*, 16,1989, pp. 201-16; R. Morris, “Reflections of Citizens

its stem ends by (?) -ακεω. as ‘κατακείω’ ‘to be idle’; Or the end of verb in 2nd person *διάκεισαι* from the verb *διάκειμαι* ‘to be in a circumstance’; Or other else. It is hard to guess the correct restoration.

-’απελθ[ο]ντός μου Again, a genitive absolute, the Participle of *ἔρχομαι* and the personal pronoun μου. This construction of the participle is well attested in both Ptolemaic and post-Ptolemaic papyri, usually in official documents to express time, cause, condition or concession, exactly as in classical Greek. See B. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non- Literary Papyri*, Athens, 1973, PP. 368-9 § 907ff. W. Goodwin, *School Greek Grammar*, London, 1956, PP. 172§183; 220 §278.

-*ἀναισχυντία*: The dative here come after genitive absolute to denote the manner. So this sentence *ἀπελθ[ο]ντός μου ἀναισχυντία* may mean, “when I have departed, in a shamelessness way”. cf. *P. Oxy.* LI, 3627, (judicial proceedings, late 4th AD) l.6. “ἦ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀναισχυντ-

οὔντα τοῦτον πέμπεσθαι εἰς τὸμεγα[λεῖον τὸ σὸν] καὶ διάπαντ ὅς τ[ῆ] σ[ῆ] λαμπρότητι εὐχαριστήσω.” “..Or if even now he shows no shame, that this person be sent up to your highness and I shall be ever grateful to your magnificence.”

4-].εἰν με πειρῶνται διὰ τὸ παρεληλυθέναι:

This line may be translated as follows “ They try to ...(infinitive verb) me through transgression. cf. *P. Cair., Isid.* 68, 20 (Karanis, 309/10 AD., petition to a *Praepositus Pagi*) “ἐμὲ πειρῶνται τοῦ βαλεῖν ἄντι

Παησίου ἴσως ἀργυρολογήσαντες ἐκεῖνον σὺν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀνα-τροπή” “They are trying to put me into it in place of *Paesius*, Probably having mulcted him at the same time that they seek my ruin.”

- *με*: It is noticed that the second letter “ε” is rewritten instead of “ο”. Perhaps the scribe began to write the personal pronoun in the dative case, then changed to the accusative case. The personal pronoun may be the object of].εἰν which could be a part of suffix of an infinitive. -τὸ παρεληλυθέναι

‘παρέρχομαι’ has several meaning as ‘come and pass’, also it has the meaning of ‘overstep’, ‘elude’, ‘transgress’. I consider the last one is suitable in meaning that offered in a petition.

The infinitive resembles nouns, this substantial function may be made explicit by expressing the article τὸ before the infinitive, See A. Rijksbaron, *The Syntax and the Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek, An Introduction*, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 110.

5- **πρόνοια**: it has always the meaning of the God care, or divine providence. See G. Tibiletti, *Le lettere private nei papiri greci del III e IV secolo d.c.*, Milano, 1979, pp. 118-123; cf. *P. Oxy.* 2156, 5-6, (IV/VAD.) “ὄμοῦ τη θεία τοῦ θεοῦ προνοία εὐχόμενος αἰεὶ” “The divine providence of God that he will ever preserve (you) to us.” cf. *P. Amh.* II, 144, 1.20, (III AD, Letter) “ἐλπίδα δὲ ἔχομεν εἰς τὸν θεόν ἵνα αὐτὸς πρόνοιαν ἡμῶν ποιῆσει” “but I trust to God that he will himself care for us.”

It is also used to express the care of officials as in *P. Fuad* I, 320, 2, (IV, V AD.) “κ [α] τὰ ἀκολουθίαν ἀξιούμεν προνοί [α] τοῦ ἐξάκτορος.” “According to the custom we ask for the care of the *exactor*”; *P. Lond.* V, 1650, r., 2, (*Herm.* 373), “..προνοία τῶν ῥιπαρίων.” “The care of the *riparii*.”

-Βηανούρου This form of the name Βηανούρου is not recorded in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or Foraboschi *Onomasticon*. Another form similar to this name is mentioned. It is Βιάνωρ, ορος, cf. *CPR* XVIII, 5, 90 (*Theogenis*, 231 BC.); *P. Oxy.* VI, 985, 7,4 (*Oxy.*, 90 AD.); *P. Tebt.* I, 120, 7, 127; 129; 131 (*Tebt.*, 97-6 BC.), See also, P. M. Fraser & E. A. Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek personal Names*, Oxford, 1987; 1997, vol II, P. 87; vol. 3, P. 90.

The name here is treated as a proper name from the 2nd declension Masculine. But the forms, which are mentioned in Papyri, is similar to 3rd group of nouns which ends with ωρ, -ορος. “Βιάνωρ, Βιάνορος”, See F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of The Greek Papyri of The Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. II, Milano, 1981, P. 48.

6-ἐγγράφα In the Byzantine period, the importance of written proof is generally stressed at the request of the interested party. See Taubenschlag, *The Law*, PP. 514-15.

Sometimes one aims to obtain a written proof as in *P. Oxy.* LI, 3620, 5, (326 A. D.) where a man offered a petition to the νυκτο [στρατήγ] οἰς τῆς λαμ (πράς) καὶ λαμ (προτάτης) Ὁξ (υρυγχι-

ὦν) πόλεως. He asked for a midwife to be sent to inspect his wife, who had been physically assaulted, and certify her state of health in writing. Thus he might have documentary evidence to submit if there should be proceedings in the court of the Egypt's prefect.

“τῷ ἀχράντῳ δικαστηρίῳ τοῦ κυρίου (1.κυρίου) μου διασημοτάτου ἑπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου”. “ to the immaculate court of our Lord the most distinguished prefect of Egypt”

In *P. Oxy.* LII, 3729, (a doctors Report, 307 AD); a public doctor reports to the *logistes* Aurelius Seuthei (alias) also called Horion “Ἀύρηλιος Σεύθης ὁ καὶ Ὀρίων. λογίστης Ὁξυρυγίτου” that as he instructed he has examined a man who has been wounded, perhaps on the buttocks, and is reporting to the *logistes* in writing “καὶ ἐνγράφως σοι προσφωνῆσαι”

7-] ε πέμπεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀχραντὸν σου δικαστήριον “to be sent to your immaculate court”

This formula of conclusion runs nearly parallel to *P. Oxy.* LI, 3620 (326 AD), see aforesaid note on l. 6; *P. Oxy.* XVI 1881 (427 A.D.) 13-14, “ἐπικαλούμενοι τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀχράντῳ σου δικαστηρίῳ {ν} διάγνωσι” “Invoking the judgment of your immaculate court..”; *P. Cair. Isid.*, 66, 21-22 , (Karanis, 299 A. D.), “παραγγελῆναι αὐτοῦ[ς] διὰ τῆς σῆς τ]άξεως πρὸς [τὸ προσεδρεύ]ιν αὐτοὺς τῷ ἀχράντῳ σ[ο]υ δικασ[τηρίῳ--” “ to be instructed through your office to remain in attendance on your immaculate court.”

8-9- π]αρά τῆς σῆς λαμπρότητος χάριτάς σοι

ὁμολο[γήσω. διευτύχει.] Petitions often conclude by expressing gratitude of the petitioner. cf. *P. Michael.* 30, 15(Oxy., IV AD.); *PSI*, V, 452, 29(Oxy, IV AD); vol. VII, 767, ii, 50(331 AD.); *P. Sakaon* , 18 (Thead. 318-20 AD.) χάριτάς σοι ὁμολογήσω. διευτύχει. Another forms of expressing gratitude as in *P. Sakaon*, 38, 29, “καὶ διὰ παντὸς τῆ τύχῃ σου εὐχ[α]ριστήσω.” “ and I shall forever be grateful to your fortune”.

- λαμπρότητος Is frequently used in the papyri of the fourth till the sixth centuries. It was used as an abstract title for very important persons especially for

the prefect of Egypt. See A. Hanafi, *The Edition of unpublished Greek Papyrus Documents*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cairo, 1979, p.31; Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte Byzantine*, Paris, 1928, p.54; O. Hirschfeld, *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, Berlin, 1963, p. 348.

L1. 8-9-ὄμολο [γῆσω] The restoration depends on line 3, ἀπελθ[ό]ντος μου ; L. 4, με πείρωνται, for the fact that the petitioner is only one person.

Volitive in agreements, expressing obligation dictated by the terms or conditions of the contract, the fulfillment of which is to be accomplished without fail. Such futures as: ὄμολο[γῆσω, which usually accompanied by χάριτας.

Below the ninth line there are traces of unreadable letters. It must be the subscription of this petition, in which may be included the date either of the consular dating as in *P. Amh.II*, 141, r, 20; *P. Sakaon*, 39, 21, ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν N. καὶ N.” or dating by years as in *P. Amh.II*, 78, r, 27, ἔτους κέ Μάρκ[ο]υ Αὐρηλίου ...etc. or may the subscription include the name of the petitioner, cf. *P. Cair. Isid.*, 66, 25; *P. Sakaon*, 38, 30, [Αὐρηλίου] μέλας ἐ]πιδέδωκα. and sometimes the name of the one who writes instead of him if the petitioner didn't write by himself. *P. Amh.II*, 142, 19 ff. “ ἔγραψα [ὑπ]ὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμ[μ]ατα μὴ εἰδότης”. “ I wrote on behalf of him because he did not know writing.”

7-A part of an agreement of sale

P. Cair. mus. C. G. 10514 27X8.5cm. Prov. Hermopolite Nome 4th A. D.

This fragment of papyrus is broken off at the left-hand side. There is a margin of 1.3 cm at the top, and of 4.7cm. at the bottom. The text runs along the fibers. A horizontal fold line transpierces line 18. From this line (18) up to the end a vertical fold line breaks the papyrus. The right hand side from line 18 is darker than the left-hand side. The place of its discovery is *Al-Ashmunen (Hermopolis)*. There is also a mention in L. 4 to an *Hermopolitan* village which is called Πρερή, and to another one *Hermopolitan* in L. 9, which is called Θραγῆ. the papyrus is posted on cardboard, therefore we don't know if the verso is blank or not.

This papyrus is written in an upright cursive hand. It may be dated to the 4th century. The handwriting is similar to *P. Rendel Harris II*, 212, Plate 26, (322-323 AD); *P. Charite*, 7, plate 6, (347 AD).

The suggested date, 4th AD, is based partly on paleography. Partly on the incomplete consular date of preserved in L. 1 (Καίσαρος τὸ ἄ“Αὐρηλία Ταπάις καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζω) γέγον[ε εἰς με] . This shows that the second consul was Caesar and his consulate was for the first time.

In the fourth century AD there were eight various consuls for the first time called Kaisar. They are as shown in the following list:

307	Maximinus Caesar	<i>P.Sakaon</i> 64, 2 (Theadelphia) <i>P.Prag</i> I, 56,2 (?)
318	Crispus Caesar	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 76, 6(Karanis) <i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 82, 17 (Karanis) <i>P.Col.VII</i> , 170, 7(Karanis) <i>P.Got.</i> 5, 12 (?) <i>P.Harr.II</i> , 211, 14 (?) <i>P. Oxy.XII</i> , 1425, 3 (Oxy.)

		<p><i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIII, 2675, 3 (Oxy.) <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLV, 3257, 2 (Oxy.) <i>P.Oxy.</i> LIV, 3743,4(Oxy.) <i>P.Oxy.</i> LIV, 3744,4(Oxy.) <i>P.Oxy.</i> LIV, 3745, 1, 4 (Oxy.) <i>P.Oxy.</i>LXI, 4124, 1, 3 (Oxy.) <i>P.Sakaon</i> 39, 22 (Theadelphia) <i>SB X</i>, 10728,1 (Oxy.)</p>
319	Licinius Caesar	<p><i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 60,19 (Karanis) <i>P.Col.</i> VII,185,19(Karanis) <i>P.Genova</i> I, 21, 26 (oasis Minor) <i>P. Oxy.</i>XLV, 3258, 2 (Oxy.) <i>P. Oxy.</i>XLV, 3259, 3 (Oxy.) <i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV,3746,2,20 (Oxy.) <i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV,3748, 3(Oxy.) <i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV,3749, 3 (Oxy.) <i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV,3750, 3(Oxy.) <i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV,3751, 3(Oxy.) <i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV,3752, 3 (Oxy.) <i>P. Oxy.</i> LIV,3753, 3(Oxy.) <i>PSI</i>, Congr. XVII, 28, 2 (oxy.) <i>SB.</i> VI, 9219,1, (Hermopolis Magna) <i>SB XII</i>, 11496, 2, 15(Oxy.) <i>SB XIV</i> , 12013, 12 (?)</p>
320	Constantinus Caesar	<p><i>CPR</i> V, 8,4 (Hermopolite) <i>CPR XVII A</i>, 9, 2, (Hermopolis)</p>

		<p><i>P.Cair. Isid.</i> 77, 31 (Karanis) <i>P.Col. VII</i>, 188, 1 (Karanis) <i>P.Genova I</i>, 21, 26 (oasis Major) <i>P.Oxy.</i> LIV,3754, 2,(Oxy.) <i>P.Oxy.</i> LIV,3755, 2,23 (Oxy.) <i>P.Oxy.</i> LX,4076, 2 (Oxy.) <i>P.Panop.</i>11,13(Panopolis) <i>PSI V</i>, 454, 4 (Oxy.) <i>P.Sakaon</i> 7, 15 (Theadelphia) <i>SB V</i>, 7667, 22 (?)</p>
321	Constantinus Caesar	<i>P.Kell.</i> 21, 25 (kellis)
326	Constantinus Caesar	<p><i>P.Amh.</i> II 36, 3 (?) <i>P.Ant.</i> I, 36, 3 (Antinoopolis) <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLV, 3249, 3 (Oxy.) <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLV, 3265, 2, 3 (Oxy.) <i>P.Oxy.</i> LI, 3220, 3 (Oxy.) <i>P.Princ.</i> II, 79, 1 (Oxy.) <i>P.Sakaon</i> 52, 24 (Theadelphia) <i>SB XIV</i>, 11385, 3 (Arsinoite) <i>SB XIV</i>, 11938, 9a&8, 2 (Hibis) <i>SB XVIII</i>, 14056, 2 (Hermopolis)</p>
352	Constantinus Caesar	<p><i>P.Oxy.</i>XL 4090, 3 (Oxy.) <i>P.Oxy.</i>XL 4091, 2 (Oxy.) <i>P.Strass.</i> I, 9, 6 (Arsinoiton polis)</p>
356	Iulianus Caesar	<p><i>P. Kell.</i>14,3 (Kellis) <i>P.Oxy.</i> LI, 3622, 2 (Oxy.)</p>

		PSI IX, 1078,3 (Oxy.)
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Besides, the name of the purchaser Ἀὐρηλία Δημητρία is attested in the mentioned Hermopolite *Nome* in the fourth AD. And the formula of our document runs parallel with others from the fourth century AD. cf. *SPP XX*, 80, (*Herm*; 322); *P. Lips*, 6 (*Herm*; 306); *CPR*, VII, 14,r (*Herm*; 305); *P.Cair. Goods.*, 13 (*Herm*, 341).

This document is a part of an agreement of sale. In Beaucamp's book *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4-7 siècle)*, pp. 408-416, there are lists of women either purchasing or selling houses or lands, in consequence, from the 4th century till the 7th century. She collected in these lists both the published and the unpublished documents in which women play a main role in the economic life.

The present document, is one of those mentioned unpublished papyri that deal with purchase of a house by a woman. It is rolled under buying of houses based on the description of Grenfell & Hunt, in *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*, but it deals not only with a sale of a house as Grenfell & Hunt have described, but also with a sale of productive property. Especially there are mentions to *Cleruch* land, cf. L. 7 'κλήρου ἀμπέλου'; a building site with the appurtenances cf. L. 11 οἰκοπέδοις καὶ χρηστηρίοις; and a fallen pottery, cf. L. 17, κεραμίου καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν συμπτώ[σει]. 'pottery and this is in fallen (condition)'. Probably these things form the items of the sale contract.

The sellers were 4 persons (οἱ δ'), see l. 4. One of them is clearly mentioned in l.2 Παῆσις son of Πούπλιος ἦτοι Πκύλιος. Another one is mentioned in l. 8 Παῆσις son of Πισήφισ. The purchaser is mentioned in ll. 4& 28, Ἀὐρηλία Δημητρία.

This document followed the common formula of such fourth century sale's contracts. Its form runs as follows:

1. The consulate dating, cf. l. 1.
2. ὁ δεῖνος τῷ δεῖνι χάριεν, cf. ll. 2-5.
3. The *homologia* form, cf. l. 5-6
4. The duration and the beginning of the sale, cf. l. 6.
5. The locality of the possessions, cf. 7-8.
6. Itemization of the possessions, cf. ll.9-13

with----- (measured) by the just measure used in the settlement-----
 -----the price mutually agreed upon, silver----- in full, has (the
 ownership and the control of the sold house) --and of all the appurtenances and
 managing them in whatever way you choose.----- pottery and it
 is in a collapsed (condition) ----- from them, the products each
 year----- concerning any point of this sale----- without
 anyone else being against-----those proceeding against you the
 purchaser on our behalf, ----- -and to the public treasury the like
 amount, the deed of sale to be none the less valid, as if registered in the public
 archives -----Therefore, when interrogated as whether this is
 rightly and properly drawn up, we have assented.----- Aurelia Demetria
 daughter of Hermes also called Eudaimon----- of all the building site
 ----- the indiction, total, without any other.

Commentary:

1- τοῦ ἐπιφ] ανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ ἄ The probable restoration of this line runs as follow

ὑπατείας □(or □ ἐπὶ ὑπατείας; μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν) □ τῶν δεσποτῶ
 ν ἡμῶν (N. N.) □ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ □ ν. (the number of his consulship)
 □ “ καὶ □ (N. N.) τοῦ ἐπιφ] ανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ ἄ See the
 introduction, and cf. *CPR* XVIIA, 12, 1 (Hermopolis Magna, 320); *P. Cair Isid.*
 77,31 (Karanis, 320); *P. Col.* VII, 188, 1 (Karanis, 320); *P. Harr.* II, 211, 14 (?,
 318); *P. Princ.* II, 79, 1 (Oxy. 326); *SB* X, 10728, 1 (Oxy. 318); *SB* VI, 9219, 1
 (Hermopolis Magna 319)
 “ὑπατείας τῶν δ [ε]σποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ εἰ καὶ Λ
 ικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφ] ανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ ἄ □” “in the consulship of our
 lords Constantinus Augustus (consul) for the fifth time and Licinius the most
 famous Caesar (consul) for the first time” ; *P. Strass.* I, 9, 6 (Arsinoiton Polis, 352)
 “ἐπὶ ὑπατείας τῶν
 δ [ε]σποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγουστοῦ τὸ εἰ καὶ Κωνσταντίου
 τοῦ ἐπιφ] ανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ ἄ □” “in the consulship of our lords
 Constantinus Augustus (consul) for the fifth time and Constantius (consul) for the
 first time.”

2-] καὶ Παῆσις Πουπλίου ἦτοι Πκύλιος

Paesis son of *Puplus* also called *Pkulis*.

This line includes a name of one of the sellers Παῆσις. This name Παῆσις is a pattern to the Egyptian names. This name consists of the syllable ‘Πα-’ which means ‘he who belongs to (God)’; the second part ‘ῆσις’ carries the name of the goddess Isis. Therefore this name means “this person who belongs to the Goddess Isis”. See Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, P. 46; W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptischen und Griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Leipzig, 1901, p.27. The name Παῆσις is mentioned in several documents such as *CPR* VI 44, 3(Herm; III, IV AD); *CPR* VII, 18, 3, (Herm; 379 AD)... etc.

Πούπλου: A praenomen, it is a Latin name cf. B. Meinersmann, *Die Lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri*, Leipzig, 1927, pp.92-3. It is mentioned in *Onomasticon* by the form Πούπλιος, cf. *P. Flor* III, 370, 1, (Herm; 132AD); *BGU* II, 554,12 (Herm; 262/3AD); *P. Flor* I, 2, 1, 32(Herm; 265 AD). in *N.B.* by the form Πόπλιος, cf. *BGU* I 45, 24, (Ars; 203 AD); *BGU* II, 382, Karanis, 206 AD); *P. Aberd.* 35, 3, (Heraklia; 203 AD) ; s.v. Πόπλιος See P. M. Fraser & E. A. Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vols. II- III, Oxford, 1995, 1997.

This name sometimes follows the second declension, as here in our document, the genitive ends with -ου, cf. *P.Bad.* IV 95, 19, 424(Herm; VIIAD) ; *P.Lond.* III, 1072, 2, (Herm; VI AD); *P. Lond.* IV, 1420, 250, (706AD). Or another time follows the third declension and the genitive ends with -ος cf. *P. Vind. Sijp.* 2, 4 (Herm; 339) ; *P. Vind.* Tand. 28, 5, (Herm; 576/7 AD).

3-ὠς(ἔτων)] μβ σὺλη δακτύλω λιχανῶ ἀριστερᾶς / [χειρὸς “Who is about 42 (years) old] with a scar in the forefinger of the left hand”.

If the reading is correct these letters μβ may indicate his age. Therefore, the symbol L (ἔτων) is expected here.

Actually, this line describes one of the sellers, his age and a distinguishing scar. Unfortunately, it isn’t clear to which of the sellers this description applies. But if the other three names of the sellers, and so on, the name of the purchaser, were followed by such descriptions of the distinguished scar and their ages, we will expect a long portion lost in the left edge of the document.

For such descriptions, we find that most of the Egyptian peasants, when they

were identified for official purpose might give name, father's name, sometimes also mother's name and any distinguished scar, but not the specific house where he lived. Since most of them like to share a house and its attached, by rent space in his house to non-relatives or by shares in other houses in the neighborhood. For his sense of place was not bound by the confines of a single building, and not connected to the place where he slept at night. See D. W. Hobson, *House and household in Roman Egypt*, *Yale Classical Studies* 28, 1985, pp. 228-9. cf. *CPR*. VII, 36, 2 (*Herm*; 331 AD); *P. Flor.*I, 2, v, 116, (*Herm*; 265); *P. Charite.* 13, ii, 26 (*Herm*;

327AD) “Αὐρήλιος Τύραν(ν)ος Βήκιος μητρὸς Τρουτὸς ὡς ἐτῶν τεσερ ἄκοντα οὐλὴ δακτύλῳ λιχανῶ ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς ...etc.” “ Aurelius Tyrannus son of Bekis, his mother Troust, forty years old, with a scar in the forefinger of the left hand.”

4- ἀπὸ κώμης Πρερῆ It isn't clear if all the sellers are from this village or not, since there is a mention of another village called Θραγῆ, cf. L. 9.

The *Hermopolitan village Πρερῆ* appears in documents dated from 292-293 AD. till 7th century AD. See A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici*, Vol. IV, s. v. Πρερῆ; M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, *Toponymes et sites*, Missoula, 1979, PP. 220-221.

<i>P.Bad.</i> II	26, inv. 213, r, 6; 8; 16	292-3 AD.
<i>P.Pap.Choix</i> ,	22, 6; 8; 16	292-3 AD.
<i>CPR</i> . XVII A	15, 10	321 AD.
<i>CPR</i> . XVII A	17, 3	321 AD.
<i>P. Muench.</i> III/I	78, 8	378/9 AD.
<i>Stu.Pal.</i> III	95,2	494/5
<i>BGU.</i> XII	2188,r,6	526 AD.
<i>P. Bad.</i> IV	93, 4 r, 84	VII AD.
<i>Stud.Pal.</i> X	39, 5	VII AD.

For the restoration ἀπο κώμης cf. *CPR* XVII a, 15, 10, (*Herm*; 321 AD =*P. Vindob. G.* 13581); *BGU* XII, 2188, 6, (*Herm*; 526 AD) “

ἀπὸ κώμης πρερή.”

- οἱ δ' vac. It is noticed that there is a vacat after the symbol δ. The writer used here the letter δ' preceded by the masculine nominative plural article οἱ to express that the numbers of the sellers are 4, cf. *P. Vindob. Bosw.* 6, 1. 2 (*Herm.*, 250 AD.) “...Δημητρία τῆ καὶ [Τινοῦτ]ι καὶ Χαρίνα τῆ καὶ Ἀ[ρτεμι]δώρα ταῖς β' χωρὶς κυρί ου χρημ(ατιζούσας)” “Demetria also called Tinous, and to Charina also called Artemidora both of the two (women) acting without guardian.” Here the letter β is preceded by the feminine dative plural article to express the number 2.

-**Ἀὐρηλία Δημητρία** The purchaser's name *Aurelia Demetria* is mentioned two times in this fragment, cf. l.28.

There are two women called *Ἀὐρηλία Δημητρία* both of them are from *Hermopolite nome* and their activity clearly appeared in the papyri at the same time (320-332). One of them is daughter of *Ερμόδωρος* her husband was *Ἀὐρήλιος Ἡρμῆς*, son of *Ἀμμώνιος*. She is mentioned in *P. Vindob. G.* 16712 (unpublished papyrus studied by K.A. Worp, and deals with a sale of property), cf. *P.Cair.mus.* 10464 (*Herm.Magna*; 316AD.) which is studied by Tarek R.H., *An Edition of unpublished Greek Papyrus Documents, with commentary*, unpublished MA thesis, Cairo, 2003; *P. Mich.* XV, p. 167, no. 86a. The other one is *Ἀὐρηλία Δημητρία ἡ καὶ Ἀμμωνία* daughter of *Πολυδεύκης ἄρξαντος*, and her husband was *Ἀμαζώνιος*. See Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance*, pp. 387, 397, 408-9, 415, 422, 438; *P. Mich.* XV, p. 168, no. 89; *CPR I*, 19a; *SB XIV* 11711.

It isn't clear which *Ἀὐρηλία Δημητρία*, is intended in the present document. In L. 28 it could be read *Ἀὐρηλία Δημητρία Ἐρμου τοῦ καὶ Εὐδαίμογος*; After her complete name we can perhaps expect the term *χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματιζούση τέκνων δικαίω* acting without a guardian in accordance with the right of children (*ius trium liberorum*), ” There are many parallels to women buying a house by themselves without guardians. cf. *P. Mich.* XV, p. 167, no. 86a; no 89; *CPR I* 19a; *SB XIV* 11711. It was clearly recognized throughout the empire in the third century AD. See A. Arijava, “The Guardianship of women in Roman Egypt”, *Akten des 21 Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Band 1, Leipzig, 1997, P. 27; P. Sijpesteijn, “Die

Χωρίς κυρίου χρηματιζούση τέκνων δικαίω in den Papyri”, *Aegyptus* 45, 1965, PP. 171-89. But since we aren't sure who Aurelia Demetria is, it's not possible to be sure whether she obtain such right or not.

The agreement run as the same formula of that Period, the *homologia* form. cf. *CPR* XVIIA, 17 (Herm; 321AD) “ὁ δεινός τῷ δεινὶ χαιρεῖν.” “from someone to another, greetings.” “ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι σοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μοι περὶ πρακ(τορίαν) Τερτενβύθεως” “I declare that I have sold you from now and forever my possessions near the tax district of the *Tertenbuthis*.”

5-6 χαιρεῖν. Ὁμολογοῦμεν πεπρα[κέναι σοὶ “Greetings. We acknowledge that we have sold you.”

In the Roman period the usual form of sale contracts was the *homologia*. ὁμολογεῖ (A) to (B) πεπρακέναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὁμολογίαν (the object). Since in this *homologia* only one party is speaking, it is obvious that this party must be the vendor. See F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale*, p. 109, cf. J. Whitehorse, *P. Mich. Inv.* 1954, (Acknowledgement of Sale, Later 3rd AD.) *Tyche* IV, 1989, pp. 188-189, ll. 3-4 “χαιρεῖν ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι ὑμ[ῖν δικα] ἰωὶ παντ[ὶ] ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν τῇ θυγατρὶ [μ]ου (κτλ.)” “Greetings. I declare that I have sold to you all the rights from now and forever, the possession of my daughter ...etc.”

It is noticed that a phrase like ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον or ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, cf. *P. Wisc.* II, 58, l.7; *SB* X 10728, l.3, is common in such agreements of sale indicating that this agreement is valid forever. Such a phrase is therefore to be restored after the agreement clause ὁμολογῶ πεπρακεναί σοι.

6-]ς ἡμῖν ἀπὸ διανομῆς ἕως ἐδαφῶν “our ...(?) from the division till fields.”

The probable restoration here is ὑπαρχούσα]ς ἡμῖν since it is supposed that this document deals with sale of property, cf. the introduction p. 93, if it is right the meaning of the line becomes more clear “our property from the division till fields”

7-]ἐκ τοῦ Ναικηναίτου κλήρου ἀμπέλου “of vineyard from the Naicenaitus cleruchi plot”

This line may describe the neighborhood of the mentioned house, cf. *P. Flor.* I, 50, ii, 32-33, (Herm. Mag. 268 AD.) “καὶ αὐτῶν οὐσῶν ἐπάνω λίμνης καὶ περὶ Τέρτον [Πειο]χοῦβ]ιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀ]ματόκου [κλήρου] τέταρτον μ[έ]ρος ἀμπελ]ικοῦ κτ[ή]ματο]ς ὄντος” “and those being above the lake and near Terton Peiochobis from the Amatokus cleruch plot, a fourth part of a vine yard plot.”

Another probability is that this line may refer to the site of their possessions, cf. *P. Amh.* 99, 5-6 (179AD) “ὅς ἔχομεν [ἐν τῷ Λευκοπυργεῖτη κάτω περὶ πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ Μοσχίωνος κλήρου” “which we possess in the lower Leucopyrgite district near the metropolis in the holding of Moschion.”

- τοῦ Ναικηναίτου It is expected the personal name of the owner of this vineyard plot, cf. *P. Ryl.* 157, 4, “...ἐκ τοῦ Ξένωνος κλήρου.” “...from the allotment of Xenon”. This proper name Ναικηναίτου (?) is not found neither in F. Preisigke, *NB.*, nor in D. Foraboschi, *Onamasticon*, nor in *Duke Data Bank*, so we are before various probabilities:

- on one hand, this name is an *hapax*.

- on the other hand this name has been alternated from

names like, *καίναίτος* cf. *SB VIII* 9699, 3, 65 (Herm; 78-79 AD); *Μαικηναίτιανῆ* cf. *SB XIV* 11657, 4, 68, (Ars; ΠAD); *P. Tebt.* II, 343, 4, 76, (Teb; ΠAD). If this explanation is correct it may be added that the plot of *Ναικηναίτου* (?) has been cultivated with vineyard.

κλήροι Tended to retain their names, and the evidence is certain when a parcel of an imperial property is called κλήρος or ὁ τοῦ δεῖνα κλήρος This tendency survived well into the third century, since it was a convenient way of specifying a given section of a property. See G. Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*, Amsterdam, 1978, P. 9; about *Hermopolite nome* cf. *P. Ryl.* 157, 4; *P. Sarap.* 34, ll.6-7, “ἀπο οὐσ[ι]ακῆς γῆς ἐκ [τοῦ ...]θαίου κλήρου”

8].μι δὲ τῷ Παῆσι Πισήφιος περὶ τὴν αὐτήν [

“And belonged to *Paesis* son of *Pisephis* near the same (name of the place).”

This name may belong to one of the sellers. It is to be noticed that this name is in dative case. “Sometimes the dative has nearly the same force as a possessive genitive.” It had been known to us before another name of the sellers mentioned in l. 2 “Παῆσις Πουπλίου ἦτοι Πκύλιος” and the description of another one in l. 3 “ὡς (ἐτών)] μβ’ οὐλή δακτύλω

λιχανῶ ἀριστεράς [χειρὸς”. But it seems clear that more than one of the sellers or the purchaser are described as inhabitants “near the same *περὶ τὴν α(ὕτην) village*”□, cf. ll. 8; 9; one can conclude that the name of this village is that mentioned in the former line.

Unfortunately the name of this village is not mentioned before. In the present document, there are indications to two villages from *Hermopolite* Nome that one is called Πρερή cf. l. 4; the other is called Θραγῆ cf. l. 9.

9-10]καὶ <οἰ>κόπεδα περὶ τὴν α(ὕτην) Θραγῆ ἢ

καὶ /[Θράκη“..and buildings site are near the same *Thrage* also called *Thrake*.”

<οἰ> has been dropped The writer may have forgotten to write ‘οἰ’ of οἰκόπεδα after he has written ‘αἰ’ of καὶ.

οἰκόπεδον, which designates land, the site of a house with or without construction; see Husson, *OIKIA*, P. 209.

There is an abbreviation in this line , after the article τὴν there is a letter “α” clearly read ,above it the mark ‘ ~’; See A. Blanchard, *Sigles et abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs*, London, 1974, 54; A. Bataille, *Traité d’ études byzantines*, II, Les Papyrus, Paris, 1955, pt. 8. For this type of abbreviation cf. *BGU I*, 52, Ars; 144/5AD) “α(ὕτης) κώμη”; *BGU I* 298, 5, (Ars; 174/5 AD) “α(ὕτη) κώμη” ; *P. Flor III*, 280, 8, (Aphr; 514 AD). “α(ὕτης) κώμη”

For Θραγῆ The first mention of this village is in the first century and still existed till the 7th century AD. Θρακῆ is another modification form of this village’s name.. See Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, 116-118.

10-]οὐσίας ἐν χέρσῳ σὺν πωμαρίῳ “] Private land in dry land(cultivated) with orchard.”

The quality of χέρσος land concerns its capacity of production, which depends on water that it receives. See, Bonneau, *le fisc*, p.202. Since the irrigation system of Egypt depended, and still does, on the Nile flood, the land productivity varies according to the average of the flood for the year and thence to the fertility of the land. See, Brunt, *The Administration of Roman Egypt*, *JRS* 65, 1975, 137.

For πωμάριον cf. *CPR* XVIIa 6, 5 (Herm. Magna, 316 AD); *P. Charite* 4,4, (Herm. Magna, 320-350 AD); *P. Princ.* II, 97, v, 24, (? , 326/7 AD); *PSI* VII, 782, 9, 6, (? 340 AD.). In Greek papyri the term πωμάριον is first mentioned at the Roman period, since it was a loanword from Latin *pomarium*, cf. *P.Harr.* I, 137,6; 15(Oxy; II AD.); *P.Ryl.* II, 157,5(Herm; 135 AD.) Still mention till the end of 7th century AD./ the early of the 8th century AD. cf. *Studpal.* VIII, 1295, 2 (Arsnome; VII-VIII AD.); *P. Lond.* IV, 1631, ii,3, (Aphrod; 710-11 AD.); 1434, 33, (Aphrod. 714-6 AD).

Orchards themselves were known before the Roman period, for it has been known from Pharaonic times on; and the hellenistic period , different terms were used. cf. Rostwotzeff, *Estate* p. 177; scnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 312.

There are several terms referring to orchards they are as follow arranged alphabetically, άλωή; γεώργιον; κήπος; κηποπαράδεισος; μηλών; ὄρχατος; παράδεισος; πωμάριον; φυταλιά. The most common use of these is κήπος see, www.Perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/engreek

11- ο] υσι οἰκοπέδοις καὶ χρηστηρίοις “Buildings site and its appurtenances.”

About οἰκόπεδον cf. l. 9. In contracts, rent sale or share, the enumeration of the house parts often ends by the mention of χρηστηρία, as an inclusive word instead of listing many things. Husson, *OIKIA*, p.291; cf. *P.Flor.* I, 50, 1, (Herm; 268 AD); *P.Giss.* 119, 4(Herm; VAD); *P.Vind.Sal.* 12,4, (Herm; 334/5).

12- καὶ λ]άκκω ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου σὺν τοῖς “and cistern of baked brick with”

Agricultural land in Egypt was watered by irrigation through a network of canals, which led ultimately from the Nile. Main feeder canals brought the Nile water to groups of villages, from which it was, distributed through, increasingly, shorter and smaller branch canals. To control the spread and distribution of the Nile flood there existed a parallel system of major and minor dikes. Low sitting arable

land was normally watered by ‘natural’ or ‘basin’ irrigation. The land, which lay above the height of the Nile flood or was protected by dikes from it, had to be irrigated ‘artificially’. The water was lifted up to it out of the canals or from reservoirs or wells by buckets or machines such as κηλώνειον in Ancient era; κοχλίας in Ptolemaic era; μηχανή in Roman era. See D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third Century A.D. Egypt, The Heroninos Archive and The Appianus Estate*, Cambridge, 1991, PP. 219-220. In Hermopolis, the documents mention some λάκκοι, either cisterns, from which the water was distributed to vineyards, cf. *P. Herm.* 2160 note 12, or small reservoirs made by a dam. Sometimes λάκκος stands as a main cistern of Hermopolis, and as one of the outstanding marks of the city. cf. Alia Hanafi, *Two contracts of Marriage of Papyrus Collections in Cairo and Copenhagen*, Florence, 1998, where the bride and her κύριος lived south of the cistern of Hermopolis ἐπάνω τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ λάκκου.

λάκκος is a common feature in the description of agricultural property in Byzantine Egypt. cf. *P. Coll. Youtie* II, 68, 20, (Oxy.; 266AD); *P. Congr.* XV, 22, v, 20, (Panop; IV AD); *P. Haun.* III, 63, ii, 22, (Oxy. IV/ V AD); *O. Lund.* 19, 4, (Ars.; III/ IV AD). Sometimes λάκκος seems to serve the whole estate, or other time a particular agricultural unit. See, E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, New York, 1931, PP. 113-4.

The ready availability, at no cost, of earth for brick making, coupled with Egypt's perennial shortage of timber and the expense of bringing stone from quarries at some distance from the Nile, led to a style of house building, which was different from most other lands, where Greeks dwelt in numbers. Houses were constructed of sundries bricks, with timber used sometimes for framing and often for roof beams, stone only for foundations and decorative facing. See Bagnall, *Egypt in late Antiquity*, p. 49.

The main structure at *Hermopolis Magna*, in the Roman period, surviving was the water supply, which was consisted of four water towers, and a long conduit carrying water flanking *Antinoe* street. There are also great many wells to be found throughout the site. See, D. M. Bailey, *Excavations at el Ashmunein*, vol. IV, *Hermopolis Magna : Buildings of the*

Roman Period, London, 1991, p.54. cf. *P. Herm.* 26, 3 (IV AD, lease of a holding) “τὸ τῆς ἐνδό]ξ[ου] μνήμης Θεοδώρου σοῦ πατρός κτήμ[α]]ῶλ [ὀκ]ληρ[ον] πατρι[κόν] ὡς ἀρουρῶν ὅσων ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ λάκκος ὀλόκλ-ρος καὶ φοίνικες καὶ ἀκανθέαι καὶ συκάμινο[ι] καὶ οἰκία καὶ ἕτεραχρηστήρια.” “The holding of your father Theodorus of renowned memory, complete and inherited from his father, of as many arouras as it consists of, in which there are an entire tank, date palms, acacias, mulberry trees, a house, and other appurtenance.”

13-] τῶ τῆς κατοικείας δικαίω σχοινίῳ “(measured) by the just measure used in the settlement”

This phrase has to be reconstructed as *P. Strass.*I, 52, I, 14, (Herm; 151 AD); *SB* VI, 9219,14, (Herm; 319AD); *P.Vind.Bosw.* 6, 5 (Herm; 250AD); *P.Lond.* III, 1012, 26 (Herm; 633 AD); *P. Lips.* 6, 2, 6 (Herm; 306 AD); *P. Flor.* III, 380, 3 (Herm; 203/4AD); *P. Ryl.* II, 164, 6, (Herm; 171 AD), “]ᾶς παραδώσω κατ’ ἀ[γρὸν] σπορίμας πλήρεις τῶ τῆς κατοικίας δικαίω σχ]οινίῳ καθαρὰς ἀπὸ Βασ[ιλ]ικῆς καὶ πάντος ἀπλω[ς ε]ἴδο[υ]ς[ο]ῦσας ἐν κοιναῖς” “will transfer these severally in good condition for sowing, in full, measured by the just measure used in the settlement, free from the cultivation of royal land and every impost whatever..”

It must be indicated that this formula is mentioned in the contracts of sale or lease from *Hermopolis* which deal with *Katoikic land*. See, Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 16-17. It may be considered that this phrase concerns a land, which would be a part of the sell items as]οὔσιας ἐν χέρσῳ σὺν πωμαρίῳ in L. 10; and οἰκοπέδοις καὶ

χρηστηρίοις in L. 11; . In which the sellers described the land that would be in a good condition, and measured by the just measure used in the settlement, free from the cultivation of royal land and every impost whatever.

14- τιμῆς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλ]ήλους συμπεφωνημένης ἀργυρίου “ The price mutually agreed upon, silver....”

No price is preserved, on account of the fragmentary condition of our document. But this fragmentary line gives us an important information that the price was paid in “silver” ἀργυρίου.

Since sometimes the prices were recorded as paid in gold. See, G. Parassoglou, *BASP* VII, a document deals with the sale of a house, it is dated back to the beginning of fourth century AD, but the provenance of the document is unknown, we find that the price was paid in gold. cf. ll. 8-10, “τι]μῆς τῆς συμπεφωνημένης πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀργυρίου Σεβασ τῶ [ν καινοῦ ἐν]χρυσῶ νομίσματος] ταλάντων διακοσίων ἐβ δομηκοντα,ἄπ[ερ ἀπέσχο]ν παρά σου διὰ χειρ]ός πλήρη” “The price mutually agreed upon is two hundred and seventy talents of new imperial silver coin paid in gold, which I have received from you in full by hand.” But paying in gold does not seem the basic rule, because, while the price is amounted first in imperial silver coin on it was paid in gold.

According to the other documents it is found that the values of houses and lots varied with conditions. In the villages prices were usually low, but were at higher levels in the larger towns. There was no great difference in prices could be determined for the first and the second centuries AD. but in the third century the average was generally higher. cf. See *P. Wisc.* II, 58 & 59, (sale of House, *Ptolemeis Eurgetis*, 289 AD.) “ τῆ[ς αὐτ]ῆς οἰκίας μέτροις καὶ πη[χισμοῖς καὶ θεμελίους καὶ τειχ-εσικαὶ φωσφορίαὶς καὶ εἰσόδοις καὶ ἐξόδοις καὶ ταῖς πάσαις [χ]ρή-σεσι.” “The house itself and what is around it with the measurements, cubits, foundations, walls, windows, entrances, exits of the same house and with all the appurtenances”. The price of this house of *P. Wisc.* II, 58 is “τὴν συμφωνημένην τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἐκ πλήρους

ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς τρισχλίας”. “The entire price agreed upon, in full, three thousand silver *drachmae*.” See A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian, An Economic survey of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore, 1936, p. 256; R. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in the Fourth Century AD.*, *BASP* suppl. 5, P. 70-71.

While in the fourth century AD. We found that there is also a great

difference according to the place or the additional items which are sold in beside the house cf. *P. Sakaon* 59 (Arsinoi; 305 AD) the price of a house and its appurtenances is 9 *talent*; when in *P. Sakaon* 60 (Arsinoi, 306 AD) the price of a house and its appurtenances is 10 *talent*; *P.Cair.Goods* 13, (Hermopolis; 341 AD) open lot with ruins of a house and cistern 100 *talent*. See, A.C. Johnson & L. West, *Byzantine Egypt, Economic Studies*, Princeton, 1949, p.199.

15- ενης πλήρη καὶ εἶναι τὴν τῆς
 16-17- [] τῶν χρηστηρίων πάντων καὶ οἴκο/
 [νομοῦντας καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἰρῶσαι τρόπον

“In full, has (the ownership and the control of the sold house) ---- and of all the appurtenances and managing them in whatever way you choose.”

It is to be noticed that the letter ‘ι’ of ‘χρηστηρίων’ in L.16 extended above the following ‘ων’ too.

These two lines make one paragraph which carry a mean of declaration from the sellers to the purchaser that the latter had control of the sold property, and right of possession. It may run parallel as *SPP*. XX, 80, 5; *CPR* VII, 14r, 14; *BGU* XI, 2113, 10, (Herm; 178/9 AD) “καὶ εἶναι τὴν τῶν πεπραμ[ένω]ν ὡς πρόκειται (ἀρουρῶν) ἰ κυρίαν καὶ κράτησιν [] καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἰρῶνται τρόπον ἀπ[ὸ το]ῦ ν ὕν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον” “and being (to the buyer) the control of the sold (property), as aforesaid, 10 arourae [] in whatever way they choose, from now and for all the time.”; *P. Cair. Goods*. 13, 9-10, “ἐκ πλήρους, καὶ εἶναι περὶ τὸν ὠνούμενον καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σου τῆς πεπραμένης σοι ὡς πρόκειται παλαιᾶς οἰκίας κυρίαν καὶ ἰ κράτησι-ν χρωμένους καὶ οἰκονομοῦντας περὶ αὐτῶν καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἰρήσθε τρ-όπον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον” “in full, and I (acknowledge) that with you the purchaser and your agents belong the ownership and the control of the old house sold to you as aforesaid to be used and dealt with in whatever way you choose from now and forever.”

It is expected here to determine the time such as in the aforesaid

parallel cf. *P.Strass.* VI, 555, rp. ii ,16
 “ἀπο τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον.”; *P. Cair. Goodsp.* 13, l. 10
 “ἀπ[ὸ το]ῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον” “from now and forever” no
 evidence to prefer one formula than other.

17-18 τοῦ]νοντος κεραμίου καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν
 συμπτῶ [σει “Pottery and it is in a collapsed (condition)”

This line indicates a pottery and it described as it is collapsed. It is not
 the first time to find someone selling a collapsed building. cf. *P.Cair.Goods.*
 13, 4,(341 AD.), where Aurelius Silvanus deeds to Aurelius Asclepiades
 “παλαιᾶς συμπτωσίμοις οἰκίας” “an old collapsed house”.

The question now is whether this pottery was one of the sold house’s
 parts? Or it was separated? Were there a relation between the
 κλήρου ἀμπέλου in l. 7, and this pottery? If we suppose that is right, this
 pottery might be established for the wine, which depended on this vineyard.
 It is not clear because of the fragmentary condition of the document. But it
 is clear that this pottery has stopped working since it is described
 as συμπτῶ[σει].

The manufacture of the pots took place during the winter till *Epeiph*
 (June-July) when the whole process finished in the time for the use in the
 wine harvest. The manufacturing process began with the removal of small
 stones from the clay. After the jars had been made on a wheel, they needed
 to be dried before firing to prevent the rapid vaporization of water in the
 kiln from rupturing them. The fourth stage was the firing. The final stage
 in manufacture was the coating of the jars on the inside with pitch. For
 more details see, H. Cockle, “Pottery manufacture in Roman Egypt, a new
 papyrus”, *JRS* 71, 1981, pp. 87-97.

19]... τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν κατ’ ἔτος περιγεῖ/ νόμενα “their products
 every year”

The reading of this line is very difficult because of the scratch of the papyrus. The right hand side, from line 18 up to the end of the papyrus, is darker than the left one.

There is no close parallel for such unclear phrase, but περιγξει[may be restored as περιγεινόμενα, cf. *P. Amh.* II, 99, 17, (Herm; 179AD) “καὶ ἀπο]φερόμενον τὰ ἐξ [α]ύτων [κ]ατ’ ἔτος γενήματα καὶ περιγ[εινόμενα ἀπαντ[α] εἰς τὸ ἴδιον” “ and obtain from them each year all the crops and products for his own”

24-[]ν περὶ μηδενὸς τῆσδε τῆς πράσεως
“concerning any point of this sale.”

It seems that this line and the following form the conclusion of this agreement with the common contracting promises. It may run parallel with *P.Lips.* 6, 13-14, (306AD); *CPR* VII, 14, r, 16, (305AD); *P. Strass.* III, 144, 2, 16, (245AD); *P. Vind.Bosw.* 6, 17, (250AD); *P.Cair.Goods.*, 13, 11-12, (341AD), “καὶ μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαί με μηδ’ ἄλλον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ σε τὸν ὠνούμενον μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς παρὰ σου περὶ μηδενὸς τῆσδε τῆς πράσεως τρόπῳ μηδενί.” “I (declare) that neither I nor anyone on my behalf shall on any account, make a claim against you the purchaser, nor against your legal representatives, with the reference to any point of this sale.” τὴν ὠνουμένην may restore the beginning of the line.

25-27 [ὑπ]ὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπελευσόμενοί σοι τη
ὠνου [μένη καὶ εἰς] τὸ δημοσίον τὴν ἴσην καὶ μηδὲν [ἦσσον ἢ
πρᾶσ-ις κυρία ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ ἀρχεῖῳ κατακειμένη] “ those
proceedings against you the purchaser on our behalf, --- and to the public
treasury the like amount, the deed of sale to be none the less valid, as if
registered in the public archives.”

The reconstruction of these three lines depends on the close parallel to *P. Flor.* I, 96, 4, (337 AD); *P. Coll.Youtie.* II, (III AD); *Stud.Pal.* XX, 72, 17, (271 AD); *P. Lips* 6, 14-16, (306 AD); *CPR* XVII a, 17, (321 AD); *P. Cair. Goods.*, 13, 12-14“ ἔαν δὲ ἐπέλθωμεν, ἢ μὴ βεβαίῳ ἢ τε

ἔφοδος ἄκυρος ἔστω καὶ προσαποτίσω ἢ ὁ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπελευ-
 σόμενος σοι τῷ ὄνου[μένῳ] ἢ τοῖς παρὰ σου τὰ τε βλάβη καὶ
 ἀπανήματα ἐπιτίμου ὡς ἴδιον χρέος διπλῆν τὴν τιμὴν καὶ εἰς
 τὸ δημόσιον τὴν ἴσην καὶ μηδὲν ἥσσον ἢ πρᾶσις κυρία ὡς ἐν
 δημοσίῳ ἀρχεῖῳ κατακειμένη.” “and if I make a claim or fail to
 perform the purchaser, let such claim be void, and I or whoever make a
 claim on my behalf shall pay you the purchaser or your legal representatives
 in addition both damages and expenses, and by way of penalty on my part as
 a personal obligation double the price, and to the public treasury the like
 amount and non the less, the deed of sale is valid as if registered in the
 public archives.”

27-28- περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτως ὀρθῶς [καὶ καλῶς

γίνεσθαι ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν. “Therefore, when
 interrogated as whether this is rightly and properly drawn up, we have
 assented.”

If the reading is right this reconstruction runs parallel with *P. Cair.*
Goods. 13, 15-16, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτως ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς

γίνεσθαι ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς) ὡμολόγ(ησα).

In this line the verbs are modified to the plural case,
 “ἐπερωτηθέτες ὡμολογήσαμεν” because the sellers are four persons.

- ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν This formula is common in
 agreements has a perfective sense as it appears from the context, “and in
 answer to the formal question I gave my consent”. As late as 2nd century
 AD, the Romans used a contract made by formal question and answer
 imposing a duty on the promiser only. It was the custom to add the
 stipulation-clause to different contracts in order to submit them to the rules
 of *stipulatio*. See, B. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek non Literary*
Papyri, Athens 1973, p.164; 360 §340 n.3 ; § 900. Taubenschlag, *The Law*,
 P. 396; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol 1, Oxford, 1991.

This formula is always followed by dating of this agreement, either by

indiction. cf. *P. Oxy.* LVIII, 3954, r, 43, (Oxy; 611 AD); *CPR* VII, 18, 12, (Herm. Mag.; 379AD) “ἔπερωτηθ(έντες) ὁμολογοῦ(μεν). Φαῶφι κε΄, ἡ ἰνδικτιονος.”, or it may be followed by consulate date cf. *P. Cair.Goods.*13, 16 (341 AD) “ὑπατείας Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου

καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων”; Or by the imperial date, cf. *P. Lips.* 6, 2, 18, *P. Coll.Youtie* II, 72, 15, (281. AD)“ (ἔτους) ἐ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Πρόβου Σεβαστοῦ” ; or might be followed by such declaration cf. *P.Wisc.* II, 58, 19, “ Τίτος Οὐαλέριος Γαιανὸς ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι Αὐρηλία Ταπάειτι τὸ ὑπαρχόν] [μοι] ἐν κώμη Φιλαδελφία οἰκίδιον ἐν ᾧ ὑπαυλις” “Titus Valerius Gaeanus acknowledge having sold to Aurelia Tapaeis the small house that belongs to me in the village of Philadelphia in which there is a yard”. I think that the last parallel is more suitable and agree with the remaining lines of the present document.

28- Αὐρηλία Δη]μητρία Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ καὶ Εὐδαιμονος.
 “Aurelia Demetria daughter of Hermes also called Eudaimon”.

For Aurelia Demetria cf. Comment 1.4. I think this line is run parallel with *P.Wisc.* II, 58, 19, cf. the former comment.

The mention of Demetria in this line might be as a purchaser of possession. This line seems to be a subscription of the agreement, which is concluded by a quick view to the subject of this agreement. cf. *P. Wisc.* II, 58, 21-22, “Αὐρηλία Ταπάις καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζω) γέγον[ε εἰς

με ἢ πρᾶσις ὡς πρόκ(ειται).” “Aurelia Tapaeis and however I am styled have received the deed of sale.”

29-]των πάντων οἰκοπέδων“ of all the buildings site”

The reading of this line is very difficult. If it is right, it might be, here a description to the possessions, which had been sold to Aurelia Demetria.

It may be reconstructed from the information that was known before from the same document itself as τῶν χρηστηρίων πά]γτων (καὶ)

οἰκοπέδων.

30- ἰν]δικ(τίωνος) μόνα, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ζη----

“ The indiction, without anyother?”

May be this line mentioned the indiction. Unfortunately, the number of the indiction was on the lost portion.

The system of the indiction was occurring in fifteen-year cycle. It related to taxation, which was already known from literary and legal sources. For at least 15 years, namely between 279AD. and 312 AD., the Roman government issued tax declarations annually, calling them epigraphai or indictions. These declarations were grouped in five-year cycle, with at least three such cycles occurring in 312. Then, it began the regular use of fifteen-year cycle, the cycle where the length used ever after. See Bagnall & Worp, *Chronological System*, p. 1.

8- A part of a private letter

P. Cair., mus. C. G. 10614 8 X6.5 cm. Prov. Hermopolis 4th A. D.

A medium brown Papyrus cut off on all sides. It is a part of a letter consisting of clear 10 lines. There are traces of the head of two letters under the tenth line. It is consisted of 11 lines. The script runs across the fibers. Two vertical folds are still visible. There is a vacancy for ± 1 cm. at the beginning of line 6. The place of discovery is registered as coming from *Al-Ashmunen*, Ancient Hermopolis. The verso can not be visible since the papyrus portion is glued on cartoon. It is registered, as the verso is blank.

The handwriting is clearly written in medium sized cursive letters. It can be compared with that of *P. Harr.* II, 229, plate IV (III AD) ; *P. Oxy.* 3106, (III AD); *P. Charite* 16, plate XVII (IVAD). based on paleographical ground the document's date is the end of the 3rd century AD or the beginning of the 4th century AD.

According to the text, the document may be part of a private letter. It is too fragmentary to know either its sender or addressee. It talks about supplying with some necessities ἀν]αγκαίωv εὐπορεῖν. There is a mention of “a private land” γῆ οὐσιακῆ (l. 4), and “a meadow” τὸ ἔλος(1.6), and to tax income εἰσφορᾶς (1.8) may be concerning that land.

Since the text is incomplete, the subject of the document is uncertain. But it seems to deal with agricultural matters that are related to a certain person who is called Amazonius.

This name Amazonius is rare in papyri. When it exists, it always connects with Amazonius father of Aurelia Charite Thus the sender might be Aurelia Charite who has a known archives, and also has a great economical activity.

Amazonius was from the high official class. He was a former gymnasiarch and a member in the Hermopolis senate βουλῆ. K. Worp, *Das Aurelia Charite Archiv*, Zutphen, 1980, p. 5; *P. vind. Worp* 8, 40- 43; *P. Charite* 13, 29-31 “Ἀὐρελία Χάριτι Ἀμ[αζ]ωνίου γυμνασuarχή-σαντο ς γεν[ομένο]υ βο υλευτοῦ Ἐρμουπόλεως χαίρι[ν] (1.χαίρ-ειν) ”.

Sijpesteijn mentioned him at the new lists of the gymnasiarches. See P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des metropoles de l' Egypte Romaine*,

Zutphen, 1986, p. 48, no d' ordre 605& 611.

K. A. Worp in his article “Γενόμενος βουλευτής”, *ZPE*, 30, 1978, pp. 239-244, explains that this term γενόμενος is referred to a person already deceased. Since γενόμενος, in principle, means “former”, having ceased to be, “ex-” because the position of senator lasted until death. It was generally assumed that the term γενόμενος when attached to the title βουλευτής came to be applied only to a person who are dead.

In fact, this Amazonius never appears living in the documents belonging to the archives of his daughter. Her own activity, according to her archives, seems to span about 320 to 350 AD. An imagination to Amazonius's life can be done throughout the few indications in his daughter's archives and also throughout the land registers of Hermopolis. See, P. Sijpesteijn, & K. A. Worp, *Zwei Landlisten aus dem Hermopolites*, Zutphen, 1978. Therefore it is expected that his span was before 320-350 AD.

Since Aurelia Demetria is considered the mother of Aurelia Charite, she should be Amazonius' wife, father of Charite. See, *P. Charite* 38, 4-5 “ἀπὸ τοῦ θέματός μου λημάτισον τῇ θυγατρὶ μο[υ] Χαρίτη”. He was father of two daughters Aurelia Charite, as aforesaid, Euthion, and son Euthalios, whose name is the same of Amazonius' father. cf. *P. Stud. Pal.* XX, 85, 17; *P. Landlisten II*. 7ff. We met Amazonius himself in the land-registers of Hermopolis as an owner of both δημοσίους and ἰδιωτικὴ γῆ. See, *P. Herm.LandL.* II, VII, 94.

The dating of the land registers of Hermopolis has been a matter of some conversations. For the accurate date of this registers see, R. Bagnall, “The Date of The Hermopolite Nome Land-registers”, *BASP*, 16, 1979, pp. 159-168. In which he depends on the date of Aurelia Charite and her father Amazonius (275- 314/320 AD) to approve that the suitable date of this register is about 340 AD. For more details see A. Bowman, “Land holding in Hermopolite nome in the Fourth Century AD.”, *JRS* 75, 1985, pp.137-155; R. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*, London, 1995, pp. 76-77. In *CPR* 19 a, dated to the 7th indiction, Charite borrows 640 talents for a month ὑπάλλαγμα of a property described as “τὴν ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς με ἀπὸ κληρονομίας τοῦ ἀπογενομένου μου πατρὸς ἔπαυλιν ἐπ' ἀμφοδου φρουρίου λιβὸς ἐν ἐξέδρα καὶ κατάγειον καὶ χορτοθήκη καὶ φρέατο(ς) ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλί[νθου].” “The farm building

which came to me from the inheritance of my deceased father, in the quarter of West Fort, containing a porch, basement, barn and well of baked brick". Sijpestein & Worp in *P. HermLandL.* p. 17 seeks to show that 318 AD is the most likely date for that document. But Bagnall in his article "The Date of The Hermopolite Nome Land-registers" suggested that the date is 348 choiak (December) AD.

The similarity between the two (Amazonios), first, the father of Aurelia Charite, the other who is mentioned in the present document, in the date and the nation and the property may encourage us to consider that both of them is the same.

If this suggestion is right the present document may be an addition to the archives of Aurelia Charite.

Recto:

]υ.[]ικ[
 τῆ]ς σῆ]ς χρηστότητος[
'αν]αγκαίων εὐπορεῖν δ.[
].πον γῆ οὐσιακῆ λ[
5]ην δέ οἱ ἡμ[έ]τεροι γε[ωργοὶ(?]
]. vac. διαφέρει ἔλει ποτ[
]ηρ Αμαζόνιος πα[
]ες εἰσφορὰς καὶ προσκ.[
]μος τυγγάνω μητε.[
10]προορώμαι δέ το.[

Translation:

From line 2 ...your kindness...
to provide by necessities
... the estate land
...and our(farmers)
it belongs to the meadow...
...Amazonius
...the tax-income
...I do neither ...(nor)
...take care ...

Commentary:

2-]. σῆ]ς χρηστότητος[

A mode of address, much like “your grace, kindness” as a honorific. It is often found in a Christian context. It was an honor title, but it wouldn’t be kept like military or administrative titles. G. Tibiletti, *Le Lettere Private nei Papiri Greci del III e IV Secolo d. c., tra paganesimo e cristianesimo*, Milano, 1979, pp.35-37; cf. also BGU 984, 2-3, (IV A. D.) “ ἔγρα[ψα τῆ] χρηστ[ότ]ητι σοῦ” “ I wrote to your grace” ; M. Naldini, *Il Cristianismo in Egitto, Lettere Private nei papiri dei secoli II-VI*, Firenze, 1968, Pap. no. 41, 2“...γρα]φήν[α]ι πρὸς τὴν σὴν χρη[στότ]ηταν” “ to be written to your grace.”

3- ἀν]αγκαίων εὐπορεῖν δ.].

These necessities, which were mentioned, may connect with the private land γῆ οὐσιακῆ on l. 4, or may concern providing with farmers, cf. l.5 οἱ ἡμ[έ]τεροι γε[ωργοί]. i.e. A contract for cultivation of a land on joint tenancy specified that one of the partners would provide a γεωργός. cf. SB 7474,12,(254 AD) ; A. Johnson, & L. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton, 1949, p. 26.

In one of the contracts between the adscripticus and the landlord, the farmer acknowledges the loan of some farm equipment, such as a part of a mill or of a water wheel. In all these loans, however, it is obvious that the proper functioning of the mill or the water wheel was as much to the interest of the landlord as of the tenant. It is not unlikely that the contract was made to avoid any dispute about the ownership of this piece of machinery, which might arise on the termination of the lease. cf. *P. Oxy.* XIV, 1982, 497AD; A. Johnson, *Egypt and the Roman Empire*, Ann Arbor, 1951, pp. 99-100.

At Oxyrhynchus in 137AD., a vineyard and reed-plot were leased for four years. The lessor providing 5 oxen and 3 steers for irrigation and advancing 3000 dr. for building a new waterwheel; paying public taxes and getting half the produce, plus 50 keramia of wine and 100 one-obol cheeses. The lessee got lodging free of rent and paid for half the irrigation-work, half of the fertilizer. cf. *P. Oxy.* IV, 729; See, J. Lindsay, *Leisure and Pleasure in Roman Egypt*, London, 1965, p.268.

In 239 AD. Aurelia Demetria leased out a vegetable plot of one aroura for three years. Her tenant was to pay an annual rent of 100 drachmae. The major contribution that this tenant made consisted of labor, as the landlord was to provide an ox as well as other material used for irrigation. cf. *P. Flor.*I 16; D.P. Kehoe,

Management and investment on Estates in Roman Egypt During The Early Empire, Bonn, 1992, p. 131.

4- γῆ οὐσιακή The *ousiai* were long understood as closely parallel to the Ptolemaic δωρεαί, revocable gifts from the emperor to his favorites. See J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt, The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome*, Oxford, 1996, p. 55. Parassoglou argued that there is a fundamental difference between the *ousiai* and the Ptolemaic δωρεαί, the latter were temporary grants, held at the pleasure of the king. Whereas there are no firm grounds for supposing that the *ousiai* were anything other than the Private Property of their holders. The gradual acquisition of these *ousiai* by the emperors was the result, not of the revision back to its owner of a temporary grant, but of the general tendency for the emperors to receive inheritances from prominent Romans, by unscrupulous means, if their wills had not been sufficiently generous. See G. Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*, Amsterdam, 1978, pp.5 ff.; Rowlandson, *Landowners*, pp.55-56.

Parassoglou's view that the individual holders of *Ousiai* purchased them, rather than receiving them by gift, has not found favor, although his dissociation of the *ousiai* from the Ptolemaic δωρεαί has been more widely accepted. See Parassoglou, *Imperial Estates*, P. 42; Rowlandson, *Landowners*, P. 56.

Rathbone argued that the *Ousiai* were from the start part of Augustus' patrimonium, from which he granted grace-and-favor estates to friends and relatives, consciously modeled on the δωρεαί of the Hellenistic kingdoms. See Rowlandson, *Landowners*, p. 56.

During the revolutionary period of the 3rd century Diocletian introduced some changes. The ancient classification of crown, hieratic, and ousiac land persisted as late as 332 AD. Afterwards this classification disappeared in one way or another, between that date and the recording of the land-registers of Hermopolite Nome. At Hermopolis all lands changed its nomination. The private land became ιδιωτική, the public land became δημοσία, and the municipal land became πολιτική. See Johnson & West, *Byzantine Egypt*, p. 40.

5 - οἱ ἡμ[έ]τεροι γε[ωργοί?]

The possessive pronouns are generally equivalent to the possessive genitive of the personal pronouns. Here it may be restored as γε[ωργοι] since the text related with land. Some of the οὐσιακή γῆ was farmed in small-scale farmers,

who might be described as *δεμοσίοι* or *ούσιακοὶ γεωργοί*. Farmers could receive seed loans from the villages *σιτολόγοι* on the orders of the strategus cf. *P. Oxy.* XVIII, 2185. Sale contracts sometimes guaranteed that the object was free of georgia of royal and ousiac “ἀπὸ γεωργίας βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακῆς”. Rowlandson, *Landowners*, P. 57. cf. *P. Oxy.*, III, 577.

6. Vacate διαφέρει ἔλει ποτ[

This line begins with a trace of a head of a letter then vacates about 1cm. There is a mention before to an ousiac land. In this line there is another mention of a meadow ἔλος, which may be a part of the aforesaid ousiac land.

ἔλος is a meadow. The meadow is mentioned through papyri several times. As the present papyrus belongs to Hermopolite Nome, the suitable parallel to the meadow in Hermopolite Nome is *BGU* XII, 2152, r, 7, (Herm; VAD) “ἐν τῷ ἔλε[ι] περὶ πρακτο[ρ]ίαν τῆς αὐτῆς

κώ[μης]” “ In the meadow near the office of the practor of the same village” The mentioned village in later parallel is Thynis cf. L. 3 of the same *BGU* XII, 2152, 3 “ἀπὸ κώμης Θύ]νεως τ[οῦ Ερμο]υπολίτου

υ[ρομοῦ]” “from Thynis village of Hermopolitan Nome”. Cf. also *BGU* XII, 2155,8, (Herm.; 481AD.) “ἐν τῷ ἔλει τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ” it seems that the intended village here also Θύνις. *CPR* V, 16, r, 9, (Herm; 486 AD) confirm the aforesaid “ἐν τῷ ἔλει περὶ Θύνιν” “in meadow near Thynis.”. but in *P. Charite* 8, r, 13, (Herm.; 348 AD) another meadow appeared in another place of Hermopolite Nome, “ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔλει ἐπὶ τῆς Νεκρικῆς διώρυ[γ]ος” “ in the meadow of the Corpse high”. There is no explanation to the place of this meadow more than it is part of Corpse high. The publisher intend to edit *Νεκρικῆς* beginning with capital letter as it is known place, but he comment that this is the first time for this place to be attested in documents. It seems that there are many meadows in Hermopolite Nome in different cities.

7 -]ηρ' Αμαζονίος,

The reading of the first letter is uncertain. The traces of the letter seems to be read as *γ*, *π* or *η* but the manner of the writer in writing either *γ* or *π* is different, cf. *γ* in *γῆ* l. 4; *π* in l. 4; 6, 8. so the other possibility is to read as *η* cf. the shape of *η* in l. 5 looks similar to this in the present line. So this line may be restored as

πατ]ήρ' Αμαζονίος.

This name Amazonius is rare in papyri, cf. the introduction.

8 - εἰσφοράς this tax-income may connect with γῆ οὐσιακῆ which is mentioned in l. 4 of the text. In respect to taxation, private land differed from domain land chiefly in that, the former paid at a fixed rate determined by the provisions of the original grant land. The private land almost invariably paid its land-taxes in wheat, because Roman government for the anonna used these revenues. See S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton, 1938, pp.12-13; A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, Toronto, 1971, p.76.

-**προσκ.**[There is no evidence to restore this word, or to determine if these letters form one word as προσκατάβλημα, ατος, sums paid to make up a deficiency in the revenue. Or two words consisting of: the preposition πρὸς and another word beginning with “κ” followed by unreadable letter.

..(salute?) *Termouthis* and *Isis* and ...
 ...and *Dwrotheos* and (his?) children...
 ...and *Maria* and (her?) children...
 ...concerning the pack-ass ?...
 ...and ..of an anointing oil ...

Commentary:

2 - πολλὰς γὰρ ἐπι[

This line is too short to have a suitable parallel. It may be resemble to *P. Oxy.* XLII, 3065, 4 “ ἤδη πολλὰς ἐπιστολάς ὑμῖν ἐγράψα...” “I wrote already to you many letters”. Therefore, this line may be restored as “πολλὰς γὰρ ἐπιστολάς ὑμῖν ἐγράψα” “for I wrote many letters to you”

3 -ηκίς ὑμας εϋ.[

ηκίς It is not clear if this suffix is a part of a noun; or a verb with the second person singular with the common interchanging “ι” for “ει”. If this suggestion is correct, it may be restored as proper name like Βῆκίς, *O. Amst.* 9,I, 7; *CPR* V, 39847, 21, 473; *XVIIA*, 3, ii, 17; *P. Cair. Preis.* 38, 17. Παμβῆκίς cf. *O. Stras.* 183; 569, 15; *P. Lond.* IV, 402, r, 16. Παβῆκίς cf. *PSI* VII, 819, r, ii, 4. Αρπεβῆκίς cf. *P. Warr.* 13, r, 4. in this case the text might be run as ἐγὼ (the addressor) καὶ Βῆκίς(or other else) ὑμας εὐχόμεθα...etc.

The rest of this line may be restored as ὑμας εὐχ[όμεθα cf. *P. Chr. Mitt.* 196, 14; *CPR* V, 23, r, 16; VII, 14, 7; XVII, 2612, 13; ...etc. The reading of the last letter is uncertain. The trace of it does not exactly look like χ, another restorations could be considered as εὐαγεῖ Lsj s.v. ‘to be pure; holy’ cf. *P. Cair. Mas.* II 67170, 18; εὐλογεῖσαι Lsj s. v. ‘to bless’ cf. *P. Kell.* 63, 29.

4 - ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς.[This line may run as *P. Ant.* II, 96, 17 “γράψαι ὑμῖν] περὶ (the subject which the writer desires to inform.)” ; *P. Apoll.* 19, 6 “γράψω ὑμῖν π[ερὶ τούτου.”

5-τα τὰ σου τέκνα κ[α]ῖ[

This line may be restored as *PSI* VIII, 972 (*Oxy.* 4th AD) 1.4, ἀσπάζομαι τὰ ἀβασκαντὰ σου τέκνα..” “I salute your children ,free from envy,”

An attributive adjective, which qualifies a noun with the article commonly, stands between the article and the noun. Sometimes the noun itself may have another article before it. See W. Goodwin, *School Greek Grammar*, London, 1956, §142. Therefore this line may run as ἀσπάζομαι τὰ ἀβάσκαντα τά σου τέκνα.

There are various adjectives, which may be suitable to restore this phrase as γλυκύτετα; φιλτατα; ἀγαπητά cf. Tibiletti, *Le lettere private*, pp. 43-46; Koskenniemi, *Studien Zur Idee und Phraseologie*, p. 103.

6 - μαι Τερμοῦθιν καὶ Ἴσιν κ[αὶ

This line may be restored depending on lines 7& 8, if the writer followed the same way, to salute certain persons with their kids καὶ τὰ παιδία. for -μαι verbs of salutation like εὐχομαι; ἀσπάζομαι ...etc. may be sited in the beginning of this line. Such phrase is used very frequently in familiar letters. The briefest form consists of the verb only and the name of the person saluted.

This line may run as ἀσπάζομαι Τερμοῦθιν καὶ Ἴσιν κ[αὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτῶν. If both Termothi and Isis were couple, the suitable pronoun, in this case, might be αὐτῶν. But if the above mentioned τὰ παιδία belonged only to Isis, then the suitable pronoun might be αὐτῆς.

-**Τερμοῦθιν** For the various forms of this name, see Preisigk, *Namenbuch*; Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* Τερμοῦθις; Θερμοῦθις; Τερμούθιος ...etc. cf. *P. Ross.Georg.* III, 28(IV AD.); *P. Petr.* II, 28, ii,2; *SB I*, 42 ...etc.

-**Ἴσιν** It is a widespread name of an Egyptian goddess. It still mentioned in the Greek papyri till the 7th century AD. cf. *Stud. Pal.* XX, 231, v, 1 (VI-VII AD); Preisigk, *Namenbuch*; Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*; H. Brugsch, *Sammlung Demotisch-Griecher Eigennamen ägyptischer Privatleute aus Inschriften und Papyrusrollen*, Berlin, 1851, pp. 30-31.

7 - καὶ Δωρώθειον καὶ τὰ πεδία[

This line may be restored as τὰ πεδία[αὐτοῦ unless if the writer mentioned to a feminine name, before the name Dorotheus, if he spoke about couple as the aforesaid supposition in l. 6. In this case the restoration of τὰ πεδία[may be τὰ πεδία[αὐτῶν. I think this suggestion is accepted comparing with the precedent line.

He precedes clearly the male name followed by female name in l. 6. But here in l. 7 it seems that he may forward the female name. If it is correct I consider he forward the name of interest to him first, then the other part of the couple.

-**Δωρόθεον** (l. Δωρόθεον)The confusion of ‘ο’ with ‘ω’ indicates that the sounds originally represented by these symbols, became identified in ‘ο’ after the loss of the quantitative distinction. This identification came about elsewhere in the *koine* by the beginning of the Roman period. cf. F.T. Gigniac, , *A Grammar of The Greek Papyri of The Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. I, Milano, 1975, p. 277. cf. P. Heid. VII, 406, r, 2; P. Osl. III, 162, v, 18; P. Stud.Pal. VIII, 706, r, 3.

This name Δωρόθεον is mentioned, both in Preisigk, *Namenbuch* and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* cf. P. Oslo III, 162, r, 1; P. Oxy. II, 250, r, 9; XIV, 1684, r, 15; XXXVI, 2777, 5; P. Pinc. II, 64, r, ii, 5; P. Vind. Tand. 18, r, I, 11,... etc.

7 - πεδία (l. παιδία) Interchanging, resulting from pronunciation, frequently occurs. The spelling variations found in the papyri through both Roman and Byzantine periods are analyzed to determine, as accurately as possible, how the writers of the papyri actually pronounce Greek. One of the most frequent interchange in the papyri is the interchanging of αι for ε. Gigniac, *A Grammar*, vol. I, p. 57; 192. cf. P. Ross.Georg. III, 10, (IV-V AD), ll. 10-11 , [Τανε][φρ]ίμμιν τήν γυνέκων (l. γυναικων) Παφν- ουτίου καὶ τὰ πε[δία (l. παιδία) αυ]τῆς; P. Lond. II, 416, (Ars. 346AD), ll. 4 ff. ἀσπάζομαι (l. ἀσπάζομαι) τὰ πεδία (l. παιδία)

σου πολλά.

8 - Μαρίαν : Μαρία or Μαριάμ is a Jewish name cf. Preisigk, *Namenbuch* and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

9- περὶ τοῦ κανθήλιου σ[

κανθήλιος, pack ass; ass. It is mentioned few times in papyri. The meaning here does not seem clear. cf. P. koeln. VII, 318, 11. It seems that after long salutations, which may be extended to four lines or more the writer start to the purpose of his letter. The subject seems to relate with a cargo on pack ass. This cargo probably concerning the mentioned ἐλαίου χριστοῦ in L.10

10 - καὶ ἐλαίου χριστοῦ ξ[[“and anointing oil (?number) [*sextarius*.”

This line may be completed as P. Bad. IV 54, 8, (Herm; V AD)

“ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ ξ(έσται) ξ\” “60 *sextarius* of good kind oil” *P. Ryl.* IV, 629, v, 5, 354, “ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ ξ(έστου) α \” “one *sextarius* of good kind oil”; 639, r, 6, 96, (Herm; IV AD) “ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ ξ(έστης) α/” .

Sextarius is a liquid measure of variable capacity used here for measuring a kind of oil its capacity is 1/6 χοῦς. cf. T. Lewis & ch. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *sextarius*: the six part of a measure, as a liquid measure, the six the part of a congius (χοῦς). The *sextarius* is encountered for the first time in Roman Egypt, more specifically in the 2nd or early the 3rd century AD. cf. S. Daris, *Il Lessico Latino nel Greco del' Egitto*, Barcelona, 1991, s.v.; N. Kruit & K. A. Worp, Metrological notes on measures and containers of liquids, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 45, 1999, P. 111.

In the early Byzantine period the replacement of μετρηταί, χοῦς and κοτύλαι by the Roman *sextarius* is completed, and by the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century the *sextarius* is in use as a measure for various liquids. See Kruit & Worp, “Metrological notes on measures”, p. 119-120.

10- Receipt

P. Cair. mus. C. G. 10746 10.8 X 7.1cm. Prov.Hermopolis 7th A. D.

This is a medium brown papyrus. It is cut off regularly on all sides except the right one. There is a free margin of 0.8cm at the top; 0.4 cm at the left-hand side; 6.1 cm at the bottom. The text runs along the fibers. Two vertical fold lines could be visible as well as three horizontal fold lines. This papyrus suffers several worm-holes. Guessing of the missed letters could not be done exactly, because of the abbreviated way, which was used by the writer.

The scribe has abbreviated some words either by an oblique stroke at the end of the word cf. 1.5 γί(νεται); κ(εράτια) or by extension of the last letter of the word in a very long stroke as the letter ‘υ’ in l. 6 Θεοδώρο’υ’

The date is mentioned as the twelfth indiction, see l. 4 δωδεκάτης ἰ(ν)δικτίονος). The handwriting is similar to the seventh century AD. cf. *P. Mich.* XIII, 665, (Aphrodito; 613-641 A. D); *P. Münch.* I, 133, (unknown; 6-7th A. D).

There are five probabilities of the twelfth *indiction* falls in the 7th century AD. 608 AD; 623AD; 638AD; 653 AD or 668 AD. cf. the synoptic chronological table in R. Bagnall & K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Zutphen, 1978,pp. 92-94; *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD*, Eng. trans. Michael & Mary Whitby, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 147; 166.

This document is a receipt which is distinguished with the monogram †both in the beginning and in the end of document. Perhaps, this receipt is payment's taxes, see Ll. 3-4 τῶν ἀλ(λων) τέλων ἰνδικτίονος.

Recto^(*)

(*) It is difficult to read lines 2-3. I consulted some scholars such as Profs. K.A. Worp, A.

† δέδωκ(εν) μον[
 κομμάχοις ομ[
 β' κ(αὶ) τῶν ἄλ(λων) τελῶν ὑ[(πὲρ)
 δωδεκάτης ἰ(ν)δικτίονος) κερ[(άτια)
 5 τέσσαρα γί(νεται)κ(εράτια) δ' μ(όνα)
 Παῦλο[ς]
 ε θεοδώρο†

Translation:

Mon[]hadgive...and the other taxes concerning the twelfth indiction four keratia become 4 keratia only (signed by) Paulus son of Theodorus.

Commentary:

1- δέδωκ(εν) μον[

This fragmentary line has various probabilities to be restored. The Superficial restoration is μόν[ον means only. The other probability that verb δέδωκ(εν) is usually followed by a name of the person who δέδωκ(εν) . cf. *P. Ant.* II, 90, r, 1, (Antinoopolis, VII) “δέδωκεν Φοιβάμμ(ων) Κάστου”; *P. Cair. Mas.* III, 67325, vii, r, 8, (Aphrod; 539-545 AD) “ δέδωκ(ε) Κορνήλειος Φιλαν(τινρού)” ; *P. Flor.* III, 298, E, 72, (Aphrod; VI)“δέδωκ(εν) Δει[ό]σκορος' Απολλῶτος”.

For the expected names which may be restored in this line beginning with μον[: Μοντάνος cf. *BGU* VII, 1662, 4, (Philad; 182AD); Μονύρις cf. *BGU* XI, 2074, v, 1, 7, (Herm; 286/7AD); Μοναξίς cf. *CPR* X, 38,r, 1, (Herak; 420 AD) ; Μονίμος cf. *BGU* XI, 2101, 1, 1 (Philopator; 209 AD) or another else.

Another probability that μον[could be expanded into μοναστήριον. Unfortunately, there is no parallel to μοναστήριον given in such receipts. On the other hand, there is a parallel to an ecclesia's receipt cf. *P. Grenf.* II, 95, 1, (VI-VII AD) “δέδωκεν ἐκκλ(ησία) Απόλλωνος εἰς λόγον ἀννωνῶν” “ the church of Apollon had given to the account of the *annona*”. and if the church can give something, the μοναστήριον should also be considered as able to give something.

Hanafi, R. S. Bagnall and others, who did their best to review my reading of these lines. Unfortunately, they described this text as an enigmatic piece.

cf. also *P. Lond.* III, 1072, a, 2, (Herm; VI AD) “ἡ ἀγί(α) τ(οῦ) θε(ο)ῦ ἐκκλη(σ)ία Ἐρμ(οῦ) π(ό)λεως δ(ι) Ν.Ν δέδωκ() (ὑπὲρ) ἐ]κφορ(ί)ων καρπ(ῶ)ν...etc. the holy God’s church of Hermopolite Nome N.N. .(the representative) has given for the *ekphoria* (taxes in kind) of the produce.”

μον[could be the title of the person who has given δέδωκε, it may be restored as Μονάχος as *P. Laur* III, 110, 4, (Herm; 615 AD) “ δέδωκ(εν) Μ[α]γίστωρ”.

I must confess that I could not assert which probability is more convenience since this piece of text has not a close parallel to help me getting better view.

2 - κομμάχοις ομ[

This line is the enigmatic part of this fragmentary text. There are some difficulties to have a convenience explanation to this line.

First one could read κομ clearly then uncertain letter might be μ; κ or β These letters might form a word like κόμμα, ατος means a piece of coin. In this case the letter coming after the extended ‘α’ might be ‘χ’ stand for i.e. ‘χρυσίον’. “κόμμα(σι) χρυσίοις) οἷς With the golden pieces which...” Unfortunately, there is no parallel to confirm this suggestion.

This κομ- may be a part of the name of the tax collectors, such as Κομμόδος, Κόμωνος, Κομανός or any other name else.

3 - β' κ(αί) τῶν ἄλ(λων) τελῶν ὑ(πὲρ)

The reading of this line is uncertain. One could recognize a letter, which seems to be ‘β’ with a longish horizontal stroke connected with the next letter, which seems to be ‘κ’. This ‘κ, ισ also extended and connected with a readable article τῶν. Then the ink became faded. The first ‘β’ might be stand for the number 2, and this number may be related to the previous line. And the ‘κ’ stands for κ(αί).

I tried to read the rest letters as I could see ‘αλ’ then an abbreviated sign looking like ‘j’. This may be an abbreviation word is ἄλλων in genitive case according to the previous article. Then I could read ‘tau’ and uncertain ‘epsilon’. Then a letter, which looks like as ‘lamda’ all of them form a prefix of a word

‘τελ’. The rest part of it falls in a lacuna. So, it is difficult to read it, but it seems grammatically in the genitive case. The word might be τελω̄ν. I think that the last upsilon with an oblique stroke is an abbreviated sign for ὑπέρ.

In the Byzantine period the main burden of taxation was the *embole* and the subsidiary charges. These were the taxes on land paid in money. In addition there was the *annona* for the army and officials paid either in kind or in money. see A. Ch. Johnson & L. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton, 1949, p. 297.

4 - δωδεκάτης ἰ(ν)δικτίωνος

The common form of the abbreviation ἰνδικτίωνος is to write the first three letters then to abbreviate the rest of the word as follow ἰνδ(ικτίωνος). In this document the writer used another way of abbreviation, according to which he wrote only the first and third letters and abbreviated both ‘ν’ and the rest of the word: ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος).

For such abbreviation form to *indiction* ἰ(ν)δικτίωνος. See *P. Princ.* II, 92, 3, (unknown; 6th 7th AD); *P. Lond* V, 1864, 3 (Oxy; 642 AD) δωδεκ(ά)της ἰ(ν)δικτίωνος.

4 – 5 - κερ (άτια) τέσσαρα γί(νεται)

As a result of the currency reform of Diocletian, a uniform system of coinage was adopted for the whole Roman Empire. The standard coin was the *solidus* of 4 grams=δλοκόττινος or νομισμάτιον, which was subdivided into 24 carats of 1/6 gram of gold, each one=κεράτιον. cf. P. W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, Leiden, 1994, P.47.

Such abbreviated formula is common in such receipts cf. *P. Lond.* V, 1740,3(Herm;VIIAD),

“Πρώτης ἰνδικτίωνος χρυσοῦ κεράτια τέσσαρα, γί(νεται)
 χρ(υσοῦ) κ(εράτια) δ μόνα.”

It runs parallel with *CPR* VII, 29, 2; 9 (Herm; 608/9), a receipt for the *annona* of the δωδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος); *SB* XVI, 12492, 16 (Herm; 638); 13016, 6 (Ars; 638); *CPR* VIII, 71, r, 4 (Ars; 641AD); *P. Lond.* V, 1864, 3 (Oxy; 642AD); *Stud. Pal.* VIII, 1151, 4(unknown; 642); *SB* XVI, 12481, 4 (Ars; 668); *T. Varie* VIII, 1151, 4, (Oxy ; 669) a receipt, which dates back to

ἰνδ(ικτί)ο(νος) δωδεκάτης.

5- Παύλο[ς] One may be reckon of an abbreviated verb like στοιχεῖ or σεσημείωμαι cf. *BGU* IV, 1020, 17, (Herm. Mag. VI-VII AD) “ Αὐρή(λιος) Αβραάμ Φοι(βάμμωνος) στοιχεῖ” ; *BGU* XII, 2192, 2-3, (Herm. Mag.; VI AD) “ Ἰσάκ διοικ(ητῆς) στοιχεῖ ὡς πρόκειται”. *BGU* IV, 1090, 1, 9, (Herm; 280/6AD) “ κλ(αύδιος) Νέαρχος σεσημ(είωμαι)”.

This receipt seemed to be signed by *Paulus* son of *Theodorus*.

6- Θεοδώρο[] the reading of this name is clear. A horizontal stroke can be observed above the last two letters ρο. Perhaps this stroke forms a flat upsilon.

This proper name Παύλο[ς] θεοδώρο'υ' is mentioned both in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*; and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. cf. *BGU* II, 586, 3 (Ars; 324 AD); *P.Gen.* I, 15, 1(Ars; 323-642 AD); *P. Ryl.* IV, 702, v, 1(?; IV AD); *P. Wuerzb*, 20, 4 (Herm.Mag; 642 AD). It is regarded that the last parallel is not only corresponding with the suggested date of the present document (*P. Cair.*10746), the seventh century AD, but also with the place of discovery of the present document. This may encourage us to say that Παύλος θεοδώρου who appeared in *P. Wuerzb*, 20, 4 (Herm; 7th –8th AD) may be the same person mentioned in our document, or perhaps, it is just a similarity in names. In *P. Wuerzb*, 20 (Herm; 7th –8th AD) Arabian authorities have demanded from the inhabitants (or at least from some of them) a statement of the taxes which they were paying. Such a statement consisted of a list of taxes and amounts paid.

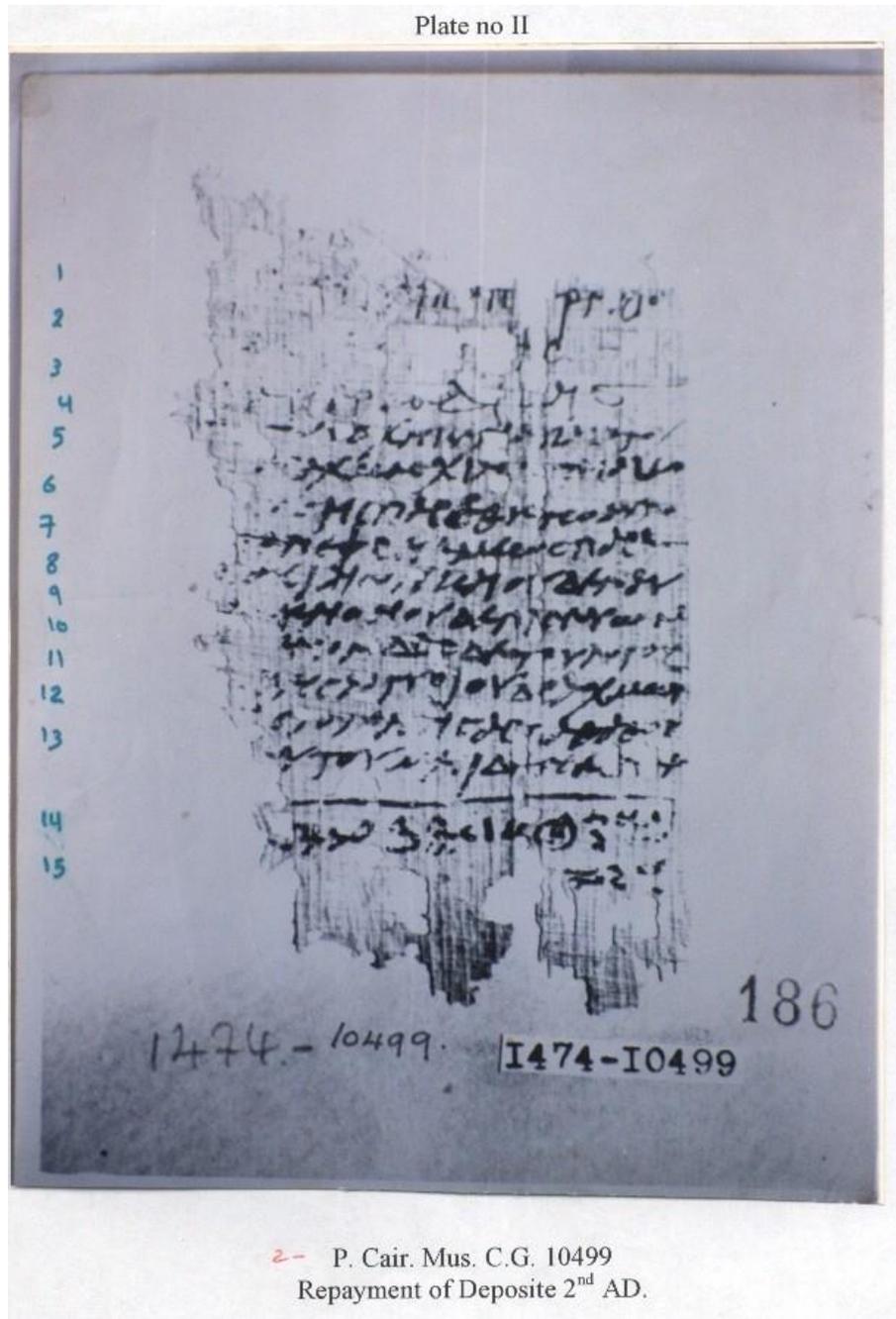
An epsilon could be observed before the name Θεοδώρο[] I have no certain explanation of this epsilon, but what I have is just a probability. This epsilon may denote the profession of this *Paulos*. cf. *P. Gen.* I, 15, 1, (Arsinoite 323-642AD)“Παύλω χρυσοχώ υἱῶ Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ τῆς

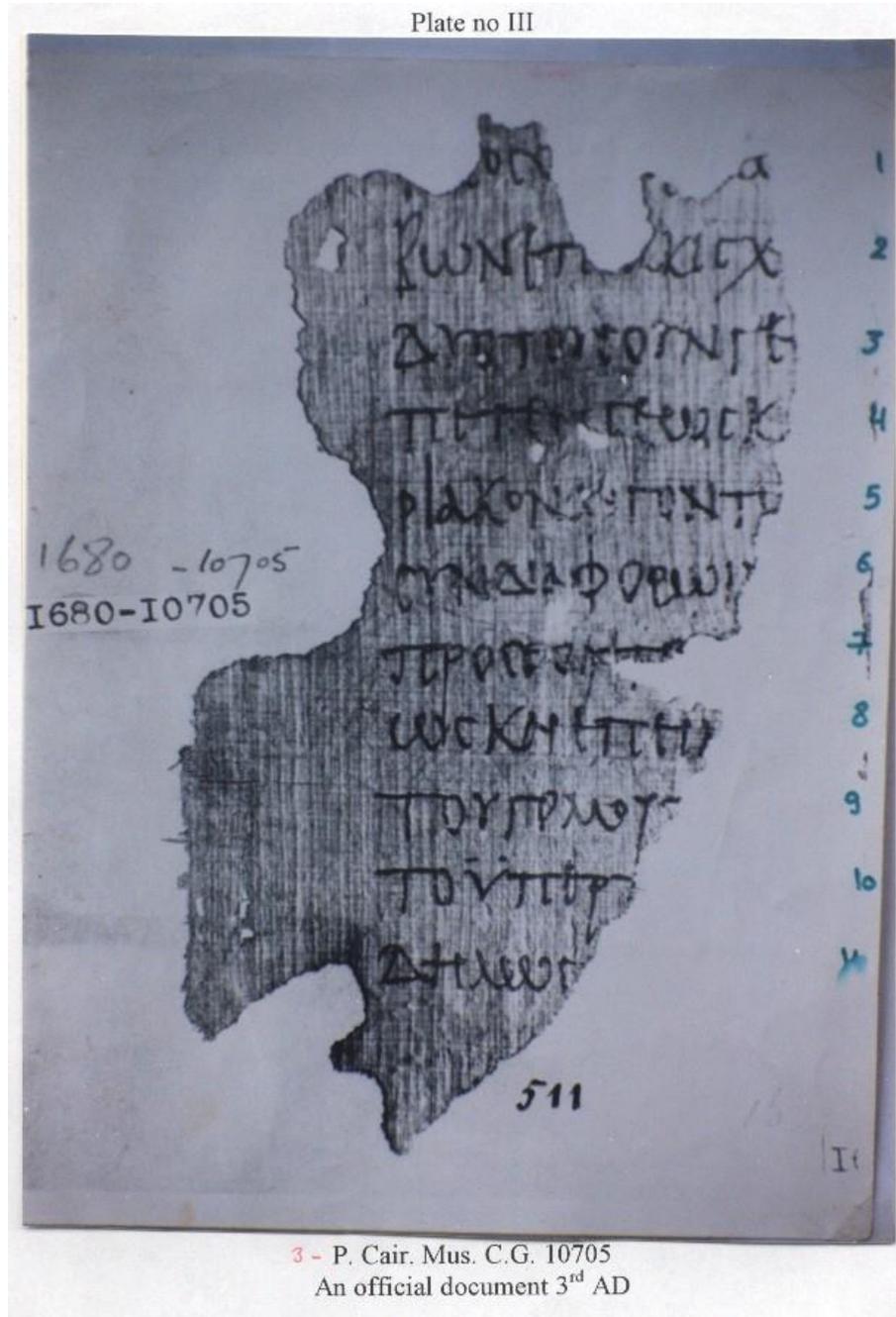
’ Αρσινουιτῶν.” “ *Paulus* the goldsmith son of *Theodwrus* from *Arsinoite*.” also *P. Oxy.* LVI, 3874, 2, 29, (Oxy., 345 AD), “Θεοδώρω ἐπιμελητη Βαβυλῶνος.” “Theodorus the epimeletes son of Babulon.” According to the aforesaid our sentence might run as follows: Παύλος ἐπιμελητῆς Θεοδώρου.

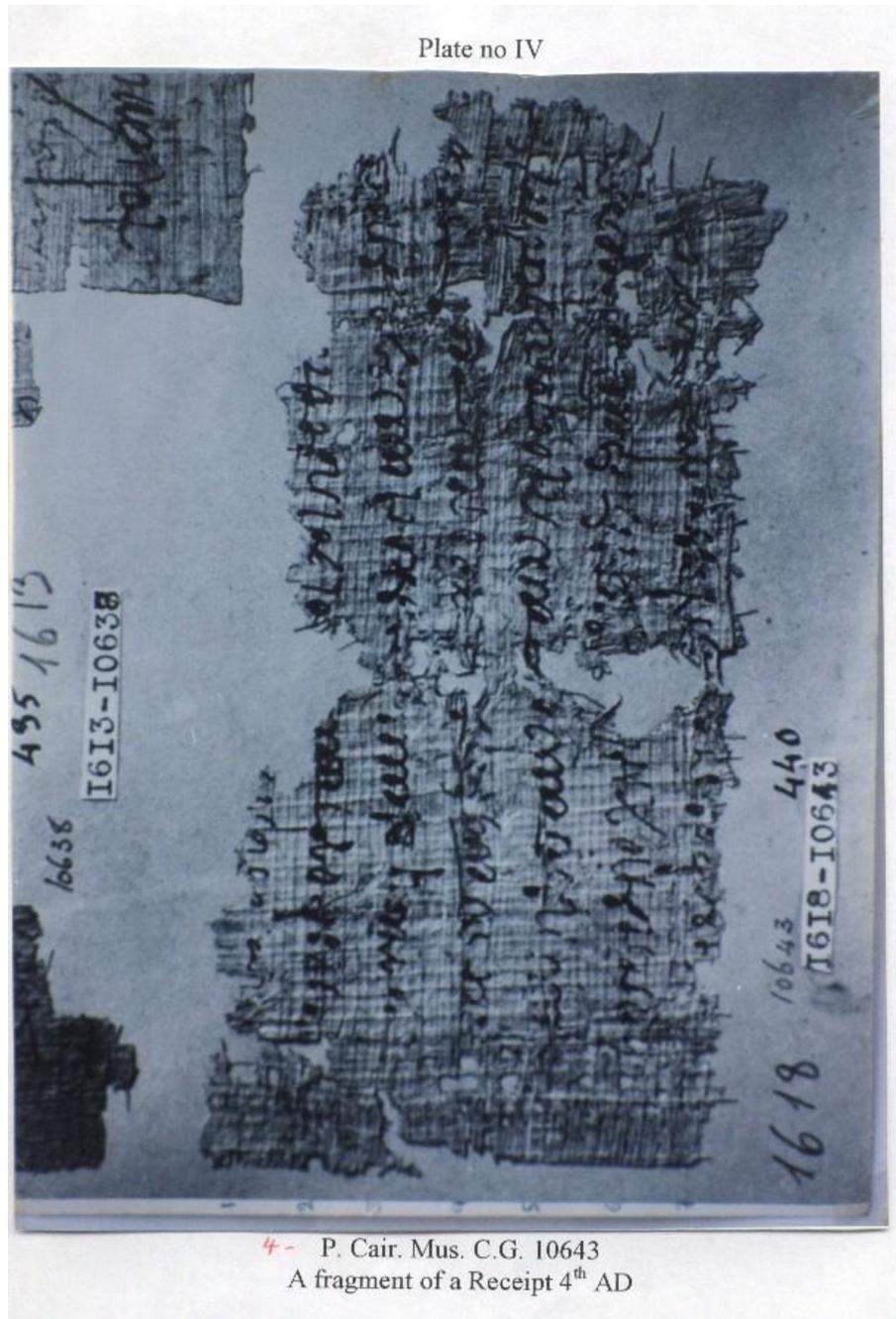
This epsilon can not be considered as an abbreviation to υἱος since there is no parallel, which might confirm this suggestion. So, one must search for another

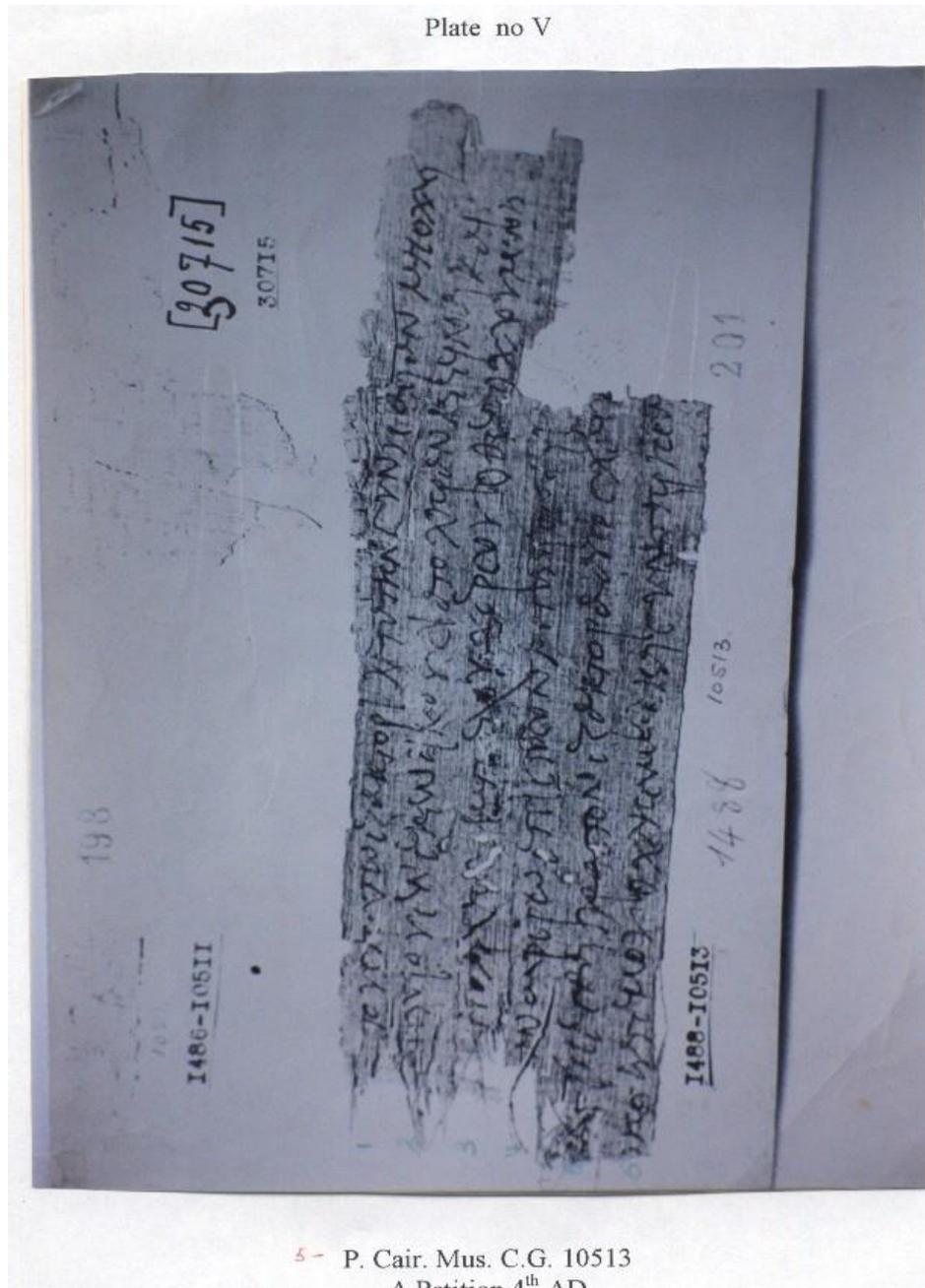
idea to solve such enigmatic epsilon.

This epsilon may stand for ἔγραψα. that Paulus might wrote on behalf of Theodwrus. But the common formula is, cf. *P. Osl.* II, 37, 22-23, “Ἀὐρήλιος Ἀλύπιος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ[ϛ] ἀγραμμάτου”. Therefore this suggestion is also somewhat inconvenience as well, as the exit of this epsilon by this way.









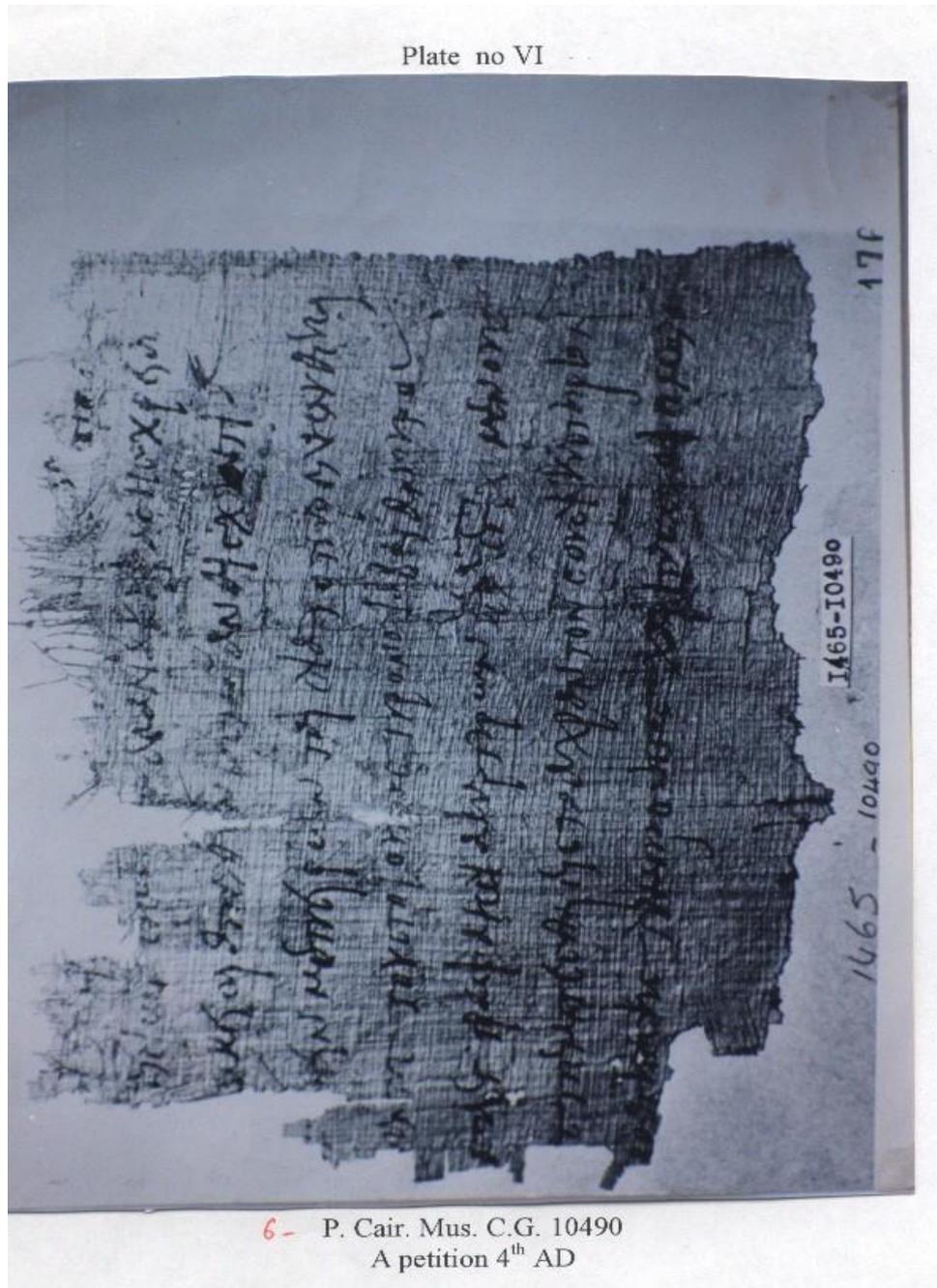
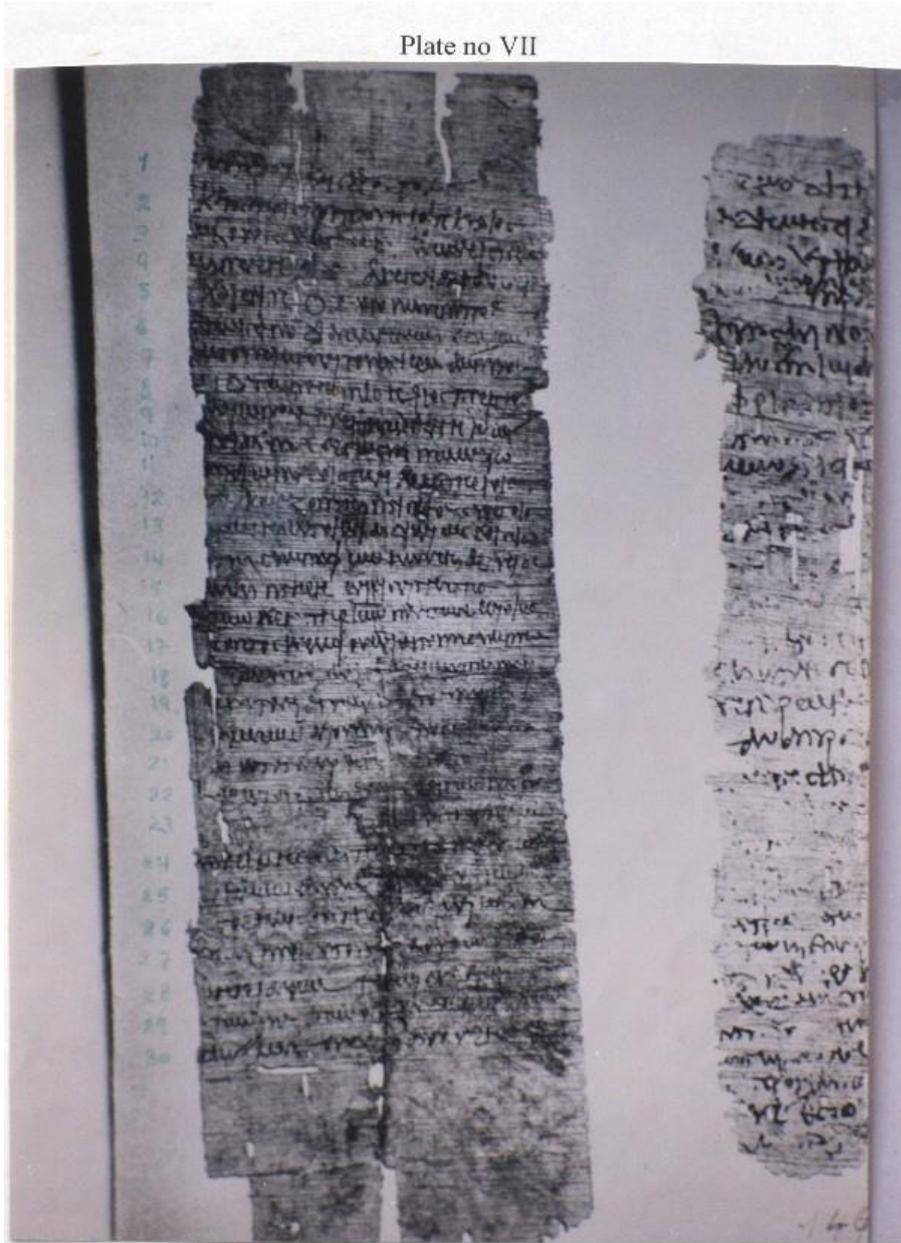


Plate no VII



7- P. Cair. Mus. C.G. 10514
Agreement of sale 4th AD.

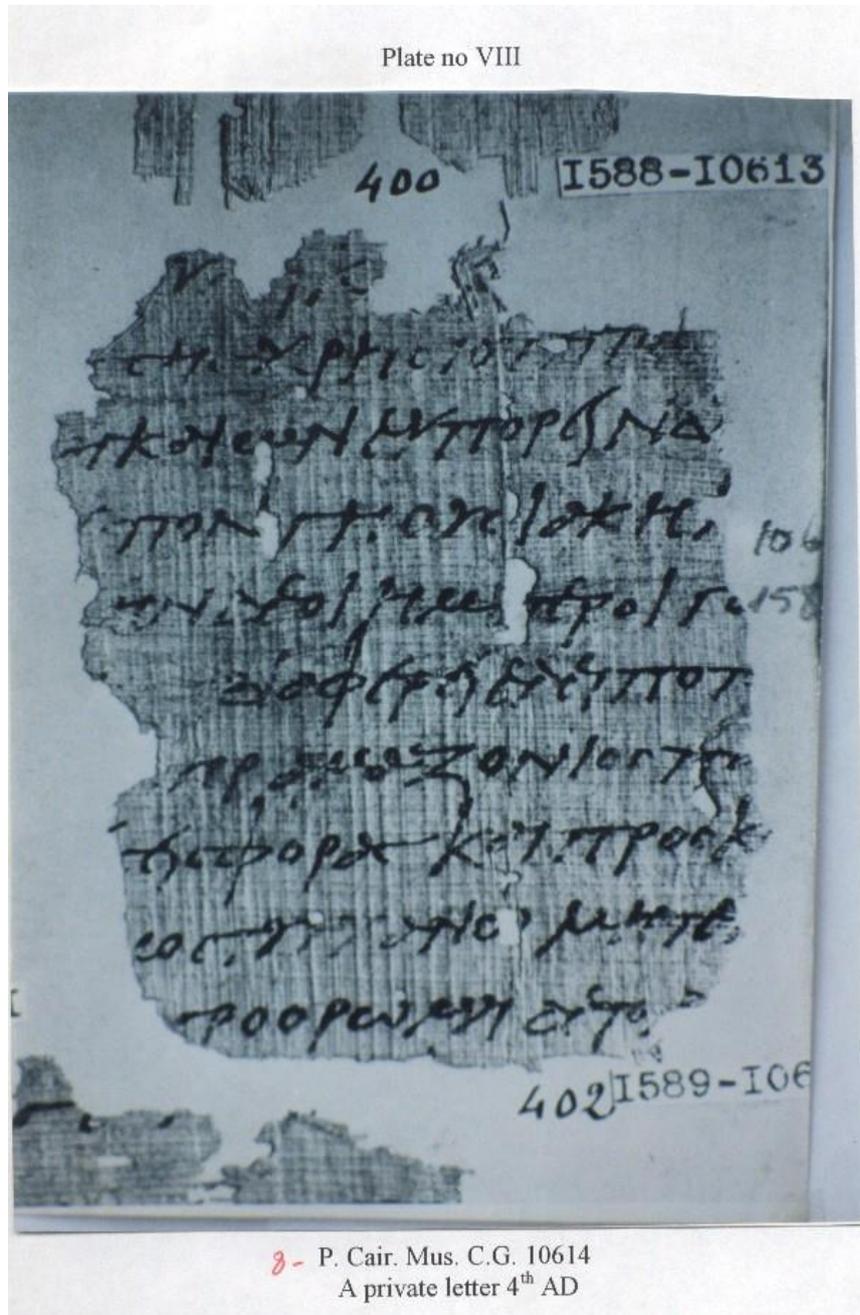


Plate no IX

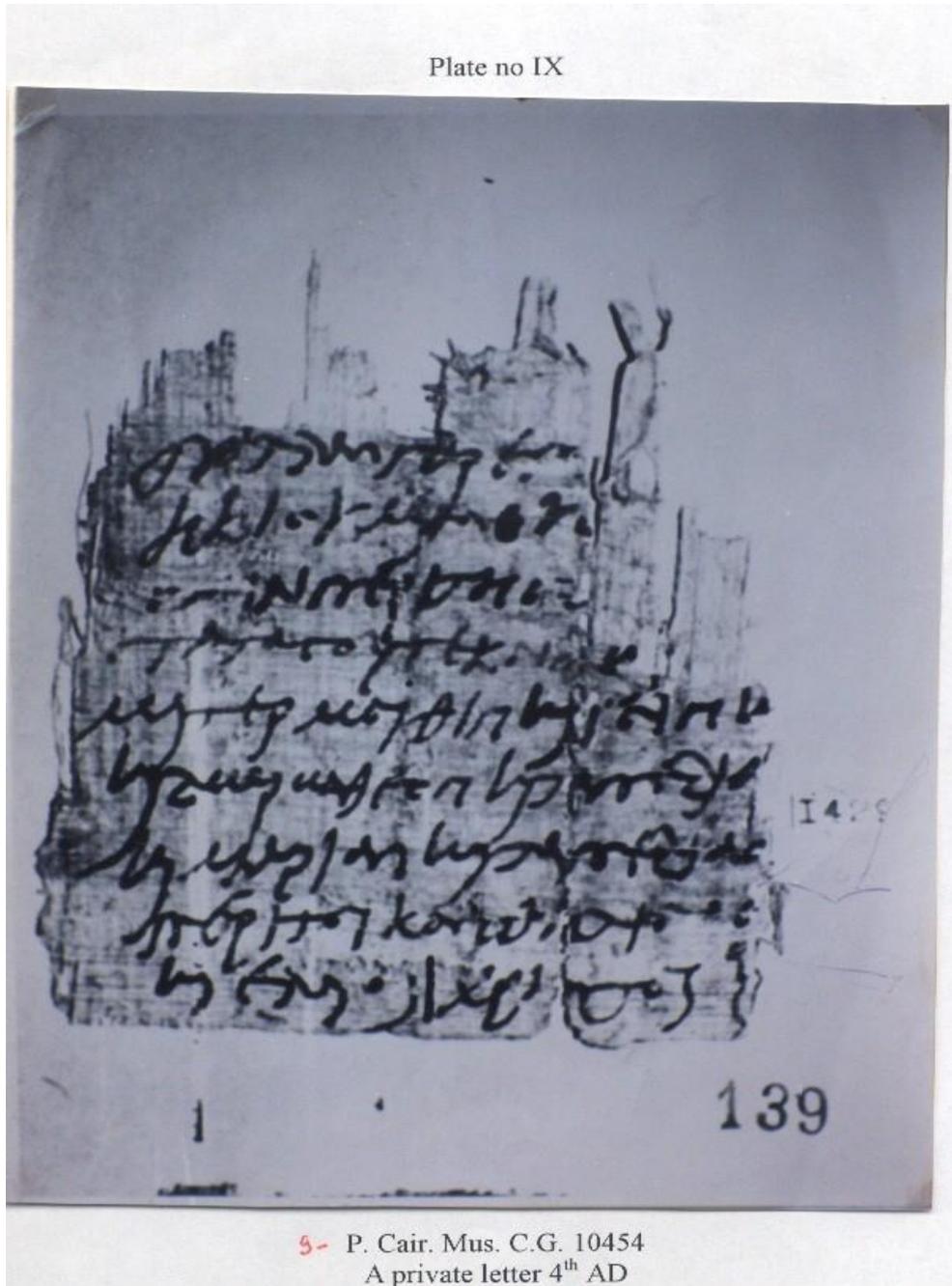


Plate no X

