PAYMENT FOR SEED CORN

A.H.EL - Mosallamy

P.Eg.Mus.SR.3049.inv.104

A.D.10/11

11.sx6.3cm.

Theadelphia

The papyrus has both left and right hand margins, There is a broad higher margin as well as extensive lower one (cf.p.Oxy.3474). The begining of the first three lines is mutilated. Close parallels to the handwriting are Thompson, Pal., no. 27.A.D.17; Schubart, Pal., no. 28.A.D.13; P.Mert.104.early 1 st cent.A.D.; Montvecchi, Papirologia, no. 37.1. st cent.A.D.

Phoebammon, whose identity is not mentioned, orders Dionysius, who is almost a banker, to pay to three γεωργοί 100 drachmae of silver είς τιμ (ἡν) σπερμάτων πυρικών, Phoebammon is likely to be a revenue official .

The term σπέρματα πυρικά is not met except here, and the word πυρικός is rarely used in the papyri. As far as I am aware, there are only four examples of the word πυρικός used to specify that the grain intended is wheat and no-other grain (note 1.5). σπέρρατα πυρικά in our document is equivalent to σπέρματα πυρού when used in the contracts of lease when the land was planted wholy with wheat, or in one year with other crops and in another with wheat (e.g.p.Tebt.375.4-23.A.D.14=;P.0xy.3488.25,44.A.D.70;P.0xy.2973.A.D. 103;P.Soterich.,passim;P.Mert.107.11.2 dent.A.D.;P.Ant.89.11.4 dent. A.D.). Similar specification of payment particularly in wheat is έκφ

σιον πυρού and πυρικός φόρος (BGU.920.30.2 $\frac{n\,d}{--}$ cent.A.D.).

Cultivators of the holdings used to get seed corn from the gov-rnment; as this was recorded in the accounts of the sitologi as είν ἀνειον οr δάνεια σπέρματα (e.g.P.Oxy.3474 introd.;P.Oxy.1024;P. ixy.2950;P.Fay.80;Thunell, Sitolog.Pap.IVii.12 et passim;P.Tebt.341; BGU.835;BGU.701;P.Oxy.1031;P.Flor.21).This seed corn which was offered as advance or allowance was repaid with the rent of the coming year, as happens also in the contracts of lease (cf.JJP.15.1965.P. 129 sqq.;P.Mert.70 introd.,P.Oxy.3474 introd.,P.Fay.80 introd.).

The δημόσιοι γεωργοί had to pay interest which varies between the highest rate, ἡμιόλιον, namely 50%, and lower rates for the loans or advances of seed corn (cf.C.Michurski, Eos 48,3,1956,p.105-38=Symb.Taubenschlag.III; P.Lond.1215; P.Strassb,71; Johnson, Rom.Eg., p.488 sqq.). Private cultivators also resorted to loans of seed corn at almost high interest (cf.Montvecchi, Papirologia,p.229), since the seed corn was lended when the price of wheat was high and repaid in the season of harvest when the price was low. The cultivator, under pressure of need, may leave to the lessor to impose the rate of interest (P.Oxy.2775.16-18). In case of failure to repay the seed corn, the cultivator had to pay the price fixed by the lessor for each artaba (e.g.P.Oxy.3488.44-53 and note 1.51; Johnson, Rom.Eg., P.460 sqq.), besides a fine.To avoid troubles, the cultivator sometimes provides himself with seed corn.

Since sowing the land with seed corn was the responsibility of the cultivators themselves and on their own,it was not used to meet the

cultivators supply the seed corn and receive its price either from the administration or from the lessors. The cultivators may receive the value of the πυρός συναγορασικός as imposed by the government (cf.Wallace,Tax.,P.22,365;Thunell,Sitolog.Pap.IVi.10 etc;0.Leid 221, 223 etc.). A deposit valued in money was paid by the assistant of sitologi on account of state cultivators, though it is not clear whether they actually received this money (cf.0.Leid.inv.1969;JEA. 52, 1966.p.131-133).

Seed corn was offered to the cultivators on account of provisions which varied according to the condition of the land. In a contract of lease, Apollonius, the lessee acknowledges that he received from Sarapion, the lessor "for seed and other expenses of sowing without interest 7 \frac{3}{4}\text{ artabae} of barley and 7\frac{1}{2}\text{artabae} of lentils, and for clearing the land from rushes 1500 drachmae of copper, which are not repayable, all free from risk and not subject to any risk"(P.0xy.1628.15-20.B.C.73). Land, which was removed in land-survey from the class of profitable land, was leased in another case without grant of seed ἀσπερμί (P.Tebt. 61(b)17 and note 1.17;cf.P.Brit.Mus.314; P.Amh.ii.90.9). Such a poor land was described in the survey-lists as ἀσπορος (cf.P.Tebt.61(a). 40-41; P.Tebt.63.127) and the lessee was required to pay a specified rent with no allowance of seed corn ανευ σπέρματος (P.Tebt.105.18; P.Tebt.106).

It seems that the landowner of poor quality land had to help the lessee in a way or another. Heraclides has leased to Ision two catoecic holdings for two years. The first holding, which is $6\frac{1}{2}$ arourae,

ill be cultivated with whatever the lessee chooses for a rent in momey. The second, which is 4 arourae, is leased in the first year for a rearly rent of 25 artabae of barley, with no allowance for seed $\alpha\sigma\pi$. The rent for the second year, which is the last year of the lease, is $106\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat, of which the lessee will receive $6\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat for seed, and he will deliver to the lessor the balance, 100 artabae of wheat (P.Tebt.375.4-23.A.D.140). This means that the lessor gives the seed corn for sowing to the lessee ,who pays the rent without the seed corn (cf.P.Tebt.377.17-20.A.D.210).

Cultivators sometimes acknowledge that they received from the sitologus seed corn for the $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\rho$ 01 which they hold, but nothing is mentioned about repayment (e.g.P.Hib.87.B.C.256). This may show that the government offered seed corn to certain cultivators of the $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\rho$ 01 as present or grant, since repayment of the loans of seed corn was usually mentioned (e.g.P.Hib.85;P.Hib.86). In receipts for payment of rent, we meet the lesser acknowledges that he received the $\epsilon\kappa\varphi\rho\rho\nu$ 00 from the lessee without mention of the repayment of the $\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\nu$ 01 (e.g.P. Ibscher 15.A.D.209, in JJP.13, p.82 sqq.).

In certain lease contracts, the condition of the land may require that the lessor should provide both seed corn and be responsible for all expenses. Petesuchus has leased 15 arourae on condition that he shall pay 15 artabae for seed and all expenses (P.Oxy.108.B.C.93 or 60). More help is sometimes offered by the lessor .Aurelius Aeil proposed to Aurelius Abinas to lease from him 10 arourae planted with wheat.The lessor will have the rent of one artaba per aroura, offer the seed corn,

furnish the beasts, undertake the charge of irrigation and pay the $\delta\eta\mu o\sigma\iota\alpha$ (P.Thead.5.A.D.338). The low rate of the rent indicates the poor condition of the land. A similar proposal of lease (metayage) is offered by Aurelia Cotyrillous to Sakaon, from Theadelphia shows that the lesseewill receive half of crops and the lessor must offer the seed corn, furnish the beasts and pay the $\delta\eta\mu o\sigma\iota\alpha$ (P.Thead.6.A.D. 322). There is evidence that the lessor presents seed corn to lessee (S.Weszyński, die Bondenpacht.P.78-79).

It seems that the government sometimes buys the seed corn and supplies it to the cultivators. This may be deducted from the troubles in which Criton and Plutarchus found themselves. The two persons, who are suggested to have been minor revenue officials at Heira Nesus in the Arsinoete nome, were involved in a demand to pay for some seed which had been sown upon βασιλικοί κλήροι. Criton sends a letter to Plutarchus saying παραγενομενος προς με Νίκαιος απηιτεί την τιμήν τον οπέρματος ου έφη εμβεβληκέναι είς τον Πρωταγορου κλήρον (έτων) γ (αρταβα) λγ , (εί) δε μη έφη καθεξείν τον χορτον μου τον έν τῶ πεδίωι (P.Hib.63.2-10). Such a practice is seen also in case of private lands. A landowner found himself obliged to search for seed for the cultivators come to you wanting seed, tell me at once in order that I may send you a few measures to them from somewhere " (P.Tebt.423.20-23. eaely 3rd cent.A.D.).

Dionysius in our document may be, as mentioned before, a banker, who had received an order from Phoebammon, who in this case may be a

revenue official. But , since the cultivators are simply described as $\gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma \circ i$, Phoebammon could be a landowner and Dionysius is his agent, who paid to the cultivators the value of the seed to supply themselves with the seed corn (cf.J. Hermann, Studien zur Bondenpacht in Recht der Graeco-Aegyptischen papyri - 1959,P-129 sqq.).

The accounts of an estate deal in the third year only with expenditures for purchase of wool, hay and seed: τειμής σπερματων σπερματο (P.Princ. 152.ii.13. A.D.55 - 60; cf. P.Mil.Vogl.iv.212.p.2. 2. A.D. 109). The agent of the estate paid the price of seed to unmentioned person. So, our document is an explicit evidence of paying the price of seed disectly to the cultivators. (1)

¹⁻ I should like to express my gratitude to Professor W.H.Willis of Duke University for checking the phrase $\tau\iota\mu\eta$ $\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ through the Duke Data Bank .

Φοιβάμ ?) μων Διονυσίωι διά) γρ (αψον) Πανισκώι και 'Αγ) αθονικώι και Ηρακλίω τοΐς τρΐσι γεωργοΐς είς τιμ (ην) σπερμάτων πυρικών

- 5 αργυρίου δραχμάς εκατον.
 - Υ (ινονται) άργ (υρίου) (δραχμαί) ρ (έτους) μ Επειφ μη-(νός) κβ-
 - " Phoibam?) mon to Dionysius. Deliver to Paniskos, Agathenicus and Heraclius, the three cultivators, 100 drachmae of silver, the price of seed corn, total 100 drachmae of silver, $40\frac{\text{th}}{\text{year}}$, Epeiph 22 ".
 - 1. Φ or i and i) $\mu\omega\nu$: The letters in the lacuna are counted by analogy of 1.4.
 - 5. πυρικός (P.Mich.226.34.1 st cent.A.D.); πυρικός φόρος (BGU.920.30. 2 nd cent.A.D.); τα πυρικά "wheat "(P.1ond.iii.924.9.2 nd cent A.D.); πυρικός γόμος (OG1.629.86.2 nd cent.A.D.).
 - 7. Pauni is expected as time of harvest, but the letter epsilon is clear.

 Epeiph may be a suitable time for selling the surplus of the crops after paying the government or private dues.
 - 8.(ετους) μ suits the reign of Augustus, cf.o.Leid.43.44.

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