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# GREEK PAPYRI

IN THE

# BRITISH MUSEUM

# CATALOGUE, WITH TEXTS

VOL. V

EDITED BY

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ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

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### INTRODUCTION

THE present volume, unlike the last but like volumes i-iii, is concerned with papyri drawn not from one single find but from various sources and covering a considerable extent of time. Their range is not indeed as wide as was at first intended. The original plan was to include in the volume all the papyri acquired in 1906 and 1907; but when the whole collection had been dealt with and all those texts transcribed which seemed worthy of publication in full, it appeared likely that the inclusion of all of them would make the volume inconveniently bulky. The great size of vol. iv, undesirable in itself, was unavoidable if a very important and unusually homogeneous collection of papyri was not to be divided between two volumes, but there was not the same reason for keeping all the 1906 and 1907 texts together, and it was therefore decided to omit part of them. The obvious plan was to confine the volume to the acquisitions of 1906, but it was an objection to this that texts belonging to the same find (the sixth-century Kôm Ishgau papyri) were acquired in both 1906 and 1907, and it would have been a mistake to separate Moreover, the acquisitions of 1907 included the important Syene papyri, which it seemed desirable, in view of the impending publication of the Munich papyri belonging to the same find, to issue as soon as possible. It happened that the Roman and Ptolemaic texts acquired in 1906 and 1907 were not only less numerous but of less importance than those of the Byzantine age, whereas, on the other hand, the large papyrus collection purchased in 1911 consists almost entirely of texts of the Roman period. It seemed best therefore to confine the present volume to Byzantine papyri, and to leave over the Roman and the few Ptolemaic texts for inclusion in vol. vi. In view of the fact that the texts here published are representative of only one period no atlas of facsimiles is being issued; but it is hoped to publish with vol. vi facsimiles of the most noteworthy papyri in both volumes.

As already said, the new texts in this volume come from various sources. As they were all acquired by the Museum by purchase, not by excavation, their provenance can be established only on internal evidence. Fortunately that evidence is in many cases clear. Two homogeneous groups stand out among the rest. The first and largest is that of the Kôm Ishgau papyri of the second find. The first find, made in 1901, consisted of eighth-century papyri, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic, of which the Greek and Coptic texts acquired by the British Museum were dealt with in vol. iv. The later find (or finds, for papyri of this collection were found on more than one occasion) consisted of sixth-century papyri; and these seem all to have belonged to a single 'muniment room', that of the poet Dioscorus. It is unnecessary to say much of Dioscorus here, since the late M. Jean Maspero, the editor of the Kôm Ishgau texts at Cairo, has already given a full account of his career and personality, so far as known, in his article *Un dernier poète grec d'Égypte: Dioscore, fils d'Apollos* published in the *Rev. des Ét. grecques*, xxiv, pp. 426-481, and a further account, correcting and supplementing the earlier one in the light of later evidence, is being prepared by the present

editor for publication elsewhere.1 He came of a well-to-do Coptic family, which belonged to the local aristocracy of Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). The earliest member of it known to us is Psimanobet, whose son and heir was Dioscorus. Dioscorus had two sons, Apollos and Besarion, who held the rank of πρωτοκωμήτης or village headman, and one of whom, Apollos, obtained shortly before his death the Flavian dignity. Apollos was the father of our Dioscorus, who was known throughout as Flavius, and inherited his father's estates and office of πρωτοκωμήτης. He was trained in the law, and received a sufficiently good general education to read at least a fair amount of Greek literature and to write execrable verses. Owing to his collision with the pagarch of Antinoopolis he was compelled to leave his native village and settled at Antinoopolis, where he became a public notary; but eventually he returned to Aphrodito and seems to have ended his days in a position little, if at all, impaired by the vicissitudes through which he had passed. The documents contained in his archives, which are now mainly distributed between Cairo, Florence, and London, fall into three principal groups, those written before his flight, those written during his stay at Antinoopolis, and those (represented only by a few texts at Cairo, chiefly in vol. iii of the Cairo catalogue) written after his return to Aphrodito. The first group contains documents of various classes: (1) administrative documents, which must have come into Dioscorus's possession owing to his own and his father's official position; (2) deeds relating to the family property and personal documents, such as letters, and legal, literary, and grammatical texts; this class includes two valuable documents, now at Cairo, written at Constantinople; (3) documents, chiefly legal deeds, which have no obvious connexion with the family of Dioscorus, and which were probably acquired by him (in accordance with a common custom) as waste paper, to be used on the verso. The second group consists (1) of documents written in the office of Dioscorus while notary at Antinoopolis; these are chiefly drafts and include a number of petitions to the Dux or other high officials; (2) of a few deeds personal to Dioscorus himself or to his clients; (3) of a number of Dioscorus's literary compositions, chiefly poems asking for assistance and patronage from men of rank. The third group contains various legal and official papers.

The Museum portion of the find was acquired (on two occasions) not as a single lot but dispersed among other papyri of various dates and from various places. It is nevertheless easy in all but a few cases to establish their provenance. In many cases, of course, place names or personal names furnish evidence. In others we have to depend chiefly on the evidence of handwriting. Papyri written by Dioscorus are for the most part easily recognized, as he wrote a very distinctive hand (or rather hands ²); and, as regards the other documents, the hands in use at Aphrodito, as no doubt in other places, have a kind of family likeness which, after some practice, can be recognized with fair confidence. But there is a further indication. The Kôm Ishgau papyri of the sixth century seem to have been found not much above, and in some cases even below, the damp level; and in general they are stained dark, sometimes very dark, in colour. Some have the colour of peat, and the ink has been so affected by the damp as to acquire a silvery hue, so that it can best be read by holding the document obliquely to the light. Even those papyri which show no effect of damp are usually dark rather than light in colour. Thus on

¹ In connexion with an edition of those of Dioscorus's verses contained in the British Museum collection. It had been hoped to publish this article in time to be referred to here, but the author's temporary transfer to the War Office has made it necessary to suspend the work till the end of the war.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dioscorus wrote sometimes in uncials and sometimes in cursive, but the general character of both is the same, and not infrequently he mixed the two styles. In this catalogue the uncial hand is called hand A, the cursive hand B.

one ground or another it is possible to identify with practical certainty the provenance of all but; a very few of the Kôm Ishgau papyri.

It may be noted here that very few papyri seem to have been found on the site of Antinoopolis till the excavations there of Mr. J. de M. Johnson in 1913-1914; and in the case of
any particular document written in that city there is always at least a presumption that it was
discovered elsewhere. To take Byzantine papyri only, there was published in vol. i of the
Florentine papyri a well-known document of divorce (no. 93) written at Antinoopolis, which was
apparently acquired before the rest of the Kôm Ishgau papyri. As it has no subscriptions it
is clearly a draft only. Now, in the present volume 1713 is a duplicate of the Florentine
document—or rather it is a draft of the copy intended for the wife, whereas P. Flor. 93 is a draft
of that intended for the husband. 1713 is in hand B of Dioscorus, and was therefore written in
his office at Antinoopolis and taken by him to Aphrodito on his return. Consequently P. Flor.
93 also must have come from Kôm Ishgau.

Again, there are in P. Strassb. i several Byzantine documents from Antinoopolis. Of no. 40, dated 569 (when Dioscorus was a notary in the city), five lines are given in facsimile; and the hand is almost certainly that of Dioscorus. That it comes from Kôm Ishgau is confirmed (if further confirmation were needed) by Preisigke's statement that much of the papyrus is very dark, parts almost black, and that in places it is only possible to read it 'wenn man den Papyrus schräggegen das Licht hält'. Nos. 46–51, all dated in 566, may also very probably have come from Kôm Ishgau, Dioscorus having bought them as waste paper; the only one given in facsimile certainly, from the photograph, resembles the Kôm Ishgau papyri in its state of preservation.

The Kôm Ishgau documents in this volume are neither so numerous nor so important as those at Cairo, which indeed it is no exaggeration to call epoch-making for the study of Byzantine Egypt. Nevertheless they include several very interesting texts, and both they and the Florentine papyri serve to amplify the knowledge derived from the Cairo collection. Of the documents from Aphrodito itself or the Antaeopolite nome attention may be called specially to the tax order from the praeses (1663), the two interesting contracts concerning the collection of taxes (1660 and 1661), and the two letters (1679 and 1680) which throw light on the procedure in the case of legal summonses. There is a useful series of leases and one sale of land. The Antinoopolite documents are, however, the most valuable portion of the collection. The petitions, though less novel than those at Cairo, have several noteworthy features; and the long arbitration settlement (1708) is of quite exceptional interest. There is also a lease (in form at all events) of a boat (1714) and a valuable marriage contract (1711), of which, however, there is a draft in the Cairo collection. Finally, the metrological papyrus, 1718, is a noteworthy addition to our material for the study of Egyptian metrology, and to some extent of ancient metrology generally.

The Syene papyri, now divided about equally between London and Munich, also form part of the contents of a single 'muniment room'—that of Patermuthius and his wife Kako. Patermuthius was not, like Dioscorus, a member of the Coptic gentry, but a man of the people, a sailor by trade, and later a soldier in the numerus of Elephantine; and so far as our evidence goes he never advanced beyond the rank of a private. But he was, for his position, fairly well-to-do, owned a good deal of house property, and had some ready money; and in course of time he came into possession of a considerable number of title deeds to various property.

The Syene papyri are noteworthy for the length and excellent preservation of many of them,

and besides containing useful legal material they furnish information on military matters and on the state of culture and, to some extent, social conditions in a frontier town. The Museum texts do not include any of quite the same interest as two of the Munich ones, the receipt for a soldier's probatoria (no. 2) and the judgement of Menas (no. 6). Moreover, after the publication of P. Mon. i, they have naturally less interest than if they had appeared first. Nevertheless they contain much noteworthy matter and form a useful supplement to the Munich collection.

Of the remaining papyri in the collection the majority certainly identifiable come from Hermopolis or its nome, so that Hermopolis may probably be conjectured as the source of many of those whose provenance is not identified. There are a small number from Oxyrhynchus, and a few may probably be from the Fayum. The Panopolite, Nilopolite, and Heracleopolite nomes are also represented by odd papyri.

The Early Byzantine documents are in general not very noteworthy, but 1649 and 1650, which throw light on some liturgical officials and on the care of the embankments, and the interesting but unfortunately mutilated petition, 1651, deserve mention. The Late Byzantine documents include a number of tax receipts, a fair number of leases, a Latin letter (1792), mutilated but valuable because of the rarity of Latin letters, a Greek letter (1786) interesting for its vulgar Greek, and some useful contracts of a miscellaneous character, e.g. a contract of surety (1793) mentioning the caput-unit of taxation, two contracts of partnership (1794 and 1795), and a very puzzling agreement about land (1796) which would be of really exceptional interest if the editor's conjecture as to its nature (about which he is now even more dubious than when the sheet in question was printed off) should be correct.

Something must be said as to the arrangement of the volume. In accordance with the precedent set in previous volumes the Early Byzantine documents are grouped by subject; but in the case of the Late Byzantine papyri, which occupy by far the largest part of the volume, it seemed undesirable to break up the Kôm Ishgau and Syene groups, and a topographical arrangement has therefore been adopted. First are given those of the Kôm Ishgau papyri which relate to Aphrodito or other places in the neighbourhood of Antaeopolis, arranged by subject. They include the petitions, which, though written at Antinoopolis in the office of Dioscorus, relate to inhabitants of the Antaeopolite nome. Next come the papyri written at Antinoopolis, also arranged by subject. The Kôm Ishgau papyri are followed by those from Syene, divided into two groups according as they were written in the neighbourhood of Thebes or at Syene; as a matter of fact the latter include one document probably written at Babylon, though presumably relating to a native of Syene. Both groups are arranged chronologically, on the model of the Munich Syene papyri. Finally, under the heading 'Miscellaneous', are placed all the remaining texts, which, as already explained, come in the main from Hermopolis or its nome, though there are also several from Oxyrhynchus and possibly odd ones from other localities. The texts are followed by 'Descriptions' of less important papyri, arranged on the same principle as the texts but beginning with the literary and semi-literary papyri. It may be pointed out that many of these descriptions include almost or quite complete texts of the documents concerned.

Since the order is thus topographical, it seemed advisable to preface the texts by a classified list of documents.

There are few novelties in the principles followed in this volume. As in vol. iv, the numbering of texts is continuous, a table of inventory and catalogue numbers being given at the

INTRODUCTION vii

end. An innovation is the addition of an index of references. This is perhaps unnecessarily full, but such indices are often useful, and in this case the index was rendered specially advisable by the close connexion between texts in this volume and those in the Cairo and Munich volumes. A further novel feature, novel not only in this catalogue but among papyrological publications generally except P. Mon. i, is the list of Latin words occurring in a Greek form. It is hoped that this list will be useful as giving a conspectus of the Latin element in Byzantine Greek. Several indices are grouped together under the heading 'Chronology'. Apart from these particulars, the indices follow the same lines as in previous volumes.

An attempt has been made throughout to indicate all changes of hand, as far as possible. In the case of endorsements such indications are, of course, specially uncertain, since not only is it difficult to compare writing on opposite sides of the papyrus but endorsements are often written in a hand of special type.

An apology is due for the late appearance of this volume. It was hoped to publish it in the spring of this year, and the intention would probably have been realized but for the war; but, in the first place, the depletion of the staff of the Clarendon Press made the work of printing somewhat slower than usual, and, secondly, the removal of the editor in November, 1915, for the major part of his time, to the War Office naturally delayed very greatly the work of indexing.

Assistance has been given to the editor by several persons, to whom he owes sincere thanks. Before he had seen any of the texts dealt with in the volume the whole collection had been examined by Sir Frederic Kenyon, who had transcribed many of the texts, in particular the long 1708 and nearly all the Syene papyri; and these transcripts were of great assistance in preparing the volume. Sir Frederic Kenyon also read the greater part of the proofs, though latterly his military duties prevented him from giving them such close attention as they would otherwise have received. They were read in addition by Mr. Gilson, the Keeper of MSS., and by Prof. Hunt. All three made various suggestions, which are as a rule not separately acknowledged. Help in reading the proofs of the indices and introductory matter, at a time when the editor was occupied elsewhere, was given by Mr. Meyerstein, Assistant in the Department. To M. Jean Maspero the editor is indebted not only for information as to readings in the Cairo papyri but for a sight of the proofs of vol. iii of the Cairo catalogue, which was of great value in several ways. M. Maspero, killed during the French attack on Vauquois last year, is now, alas! beyond the reach of thanks or praise; but the editor feels it his duty to express his sense of the loss to papyrology involved in the death, at the age of only twenty-seven, of so able a worker. Prof. Vitelli kindly sent proofs of that portion of P. Flor. iii containing the Kôm Ishgau papyri, and Profs. Heisenberg and Wenger did a like service as regards the proofs of the Munich volume, besides furnishing information on various single points. The text and translation of the Coptic arbitration, 1709, are due to Sir Herbert Thompson, who also indexed the document. Mr. J. de M. Johnson gave information regarding papyri in the Rylands collection before the publication of P. Rylands ii, and Dr. Crönert was kind enough to answer queries on lexicographical points. Help given by other scholars on single points is separately acknowledged. Finally, it is a pleasure to express thanks to the staff of the Clarendon Press, and particularly to the Press Reader for the correction of slips and for several acute suggestions.

#### ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 7, 1650. See Addendum to 1828.

Page 18, 1657, 10, note. For ζώμαρίστρα read ζωμάριστρα.

Page 47, 1673, 159, note. In the sentence beginning at the foot of col. 1 read: In 1907 (7th cent.) the curiously different rates of 1 s. per 12 (dochic) artabas and 1 s. per 15 (dochic) artabas occur. The statement in the original note was due to a misreading and consequent misinterpretation of the passage referred to.

Page 59, 1874, 20, note. For 37002 read 67002.

Page 61, 1674, 45, note. The correct accentuation of διαλαλια is διαλαλιά; see Chandler, Greek Accentuation<sup>2</sup>, p. 27.
Page 81, 1688, introd. For the ἀστικά see now, however, P. Oxy. xii. 1419, 2, note, where the editors incline to reject the idea that ἀστικά and πολιτικά were communal rather than imperial taxes. Their theory is supported by 1686, with its division of the ἀστική συντέλεια into the same categories as the imperial taxes.

Page 83, 1686, 29, note. Flor. iii. 296 (published since 1686 was printed off) seems to contain a reference (ll. 28-32) to the payment by possessores of Aphrodito of taxes properly payable by the people of Phthla, and possibly that passage is to be brought into connexion with the present one; but it is too imperfect to be very clear.

Page 91, 1892 (a), 15, note. Ψιλαμπων is correct; see P. Cair. Masp. iii. 67328, vi, 9.

Page 98, l. 6 of second paragraph. For Cair. Masp. ii. 67108, 67109 read Cair. Masp. i. 67108, 67109.

Page 101, 1696, 1. Read probably Αφροδιτης; for though κώμην 'Αφροδίτην does occur (1686, 29) the genitive (which is the correct form) is much the commoner.

Page 122, 1708, 90, note. Perhaps the contrast is between the wages of a μίσθισς (sc. an apprentice) and those of an εργόχειρος (sc. a skilled labourer); Kenyon. But the word ἐργόχειροs is not known, and to take the genitive as from ἐργόχειρον (' wages for my labour') makes a good sense.

Page 142, 1711, 47, note. The suggested reading yupros is supported by P. Cair. Masp. iii. 67305, 26, and is probably right.

Page 147, 1714, 13, note. For especially l. 16 (F) read especially l. 17 (F).

Page 148, 1714, 17. For Hagiolul read probably vavrolul.

Page 153, 1717, 33. After Ιουστινο insert a note of interrogation. If Ιουστινο is correct the date will of course be 565-673, but Φ[λ] Ιουστινιανου is also possible.

Page 164. For these measures of length see now P. Rylands ii. 64, which confirms the reading of  $\kappa[a]\lambda[a\mu\nu\nu\nu\nu]$  in l. 79 here.

Page 191, 1732, 2. It should have been pointed out that Φιλων here is presumably a slip of the pen for Ελεφαντινηs, as there can be little doubt that the Fl. Patermuthins in question is the husband of Kako, who belonged to the numerus of Elephantine.

Page 233, 1773, 10, note (cf. 1800, 3, note). Prof. Grenfell has called attention to the fact that a new reading at which he has arrived of P. Lond. ii. 248 (p. 306), 16-21 invalidates Kenyon's conclusion that in that papyrus the denarius was equivalent to the drachma; and consequently the current identification of denarius and drachma in Byzantine papyri (e. g. Maspero, P. Cair. Masp. ii, p. 121) must be given up. The denarius was equivalent to the tetradrachm.

Page 235, 1775, 5, note. A semicolon and cf. have dropped out in printing.

Page 237, 1777. It was not discovered till sheet Nn was on the point of being sent to press that 1895 belongs to this document. The text now reads:—

μετα την υπατιαν του δεσποτου ημων Θεοδοσιου αιωνιου Αυγαυστου το ιδ και Φλί Μαξ[ι]μου του λαμπρο/ Θωθ ι Αυρηλιος Αριστων Πανβηκιον απο κωμης Ταμπετι του [0] ξυρυγχι[του νο]μου Αφυγ'γιω πρεσβυτερω καθολικης [ε]κκλησιας [...]ερους (ΟΓ ]ενους) κτλ.

Page 242, 1786, 5, note. For preposition read pronoun.

Page 256, 1798, 3, note.  $\pi \rho^{0}$ / is perhaps merely  $\pi \rho \delta s$ , i.e. (supplies) 'amounting to'.

Page 266, 1828. As Julius Eubulius Julianus was praeses in A.D. 372 (see 1650, introduction), this document can date only from the year after the consulship of Modestus and Arintheus, i. e. 373. Unless Fl. Entychius became praeses during 373, the date on the verso of 1650 can hardly then refer to the document on the recto.

Page 299, Index of persons. For Ἰακῶβος (three times) read Ἰάκωβος.

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# ABBREVIATIONS AND METHOD OF PUBLICATION

The method of publication followed in this volume is in the main the same as that in previous volumes. Accents and breathings are not inserted; but they and other lectional signs are given when they occur in the MSS. Abbreviations are left unextended. In the descriptions, however, abbreviations are extended and accents and breathings inserted. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the extension of an abbreviation, double brackets [] words or letters deleted in the MS., angular brackets () a letter or letters supplied by the editor, two strokes above the line ' that the words so enclosed are in the MS. inserted above the line. As a rule, however, such later insertions are left in publication in their original position. Dots under letters indicate that they are doubtful or extremely imperfect. Dots placed close together indicate the approximate number of letters lost or illegible, dots spread out, e.g. 1700, 12, letters lost or illegible of which the exact number is difficult to estimate. A line of dots at the beginning or end of a text, if not counted in the numeration of lines, means that the text is incomplete; if so counted, that there are traces of letters visible but not enough for any connected reading. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to texts in this volume and vol. iv, ordinary numerals to lines, Roman numerals to columns. Where several documents are referred to at the same time the references to the single documents are separated by semicolons.

The abbreviations used in referring to publications of papyrus texts are for the most part those used in the Archiv für Papyrusforschung. Below are given some which vary from the Archiv practice and also abbreviated references to other publications.

Berger, Strafklauseln = Adolf Berger, Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden, 1911.

Cantarelli = Luigi Cantarelli, La Serie dei Prefetti di Egitto. Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1906-1911.

Daremberg-Saglio = Ch. Daremberg et Edm. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, 1877, etc.

Ducange = C. du Fresne, Dominus Du Cange, Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis.

Ferrari, Pap. ined. = Tre Papiri inediti greco-egizii dell' età bizantina, in Atti del R. Ist. Veneto di Sc., Lett. ed Arti, lxvii, 2, p. 1187 ff.

G. G. Nachrichten = Nachrichten v. d. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse.

Gelzer, Studien = M. Gelzer, Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens, Leipziger Hist. Abhandlungen, Heft xiii. Maspero, Org. militaire = J. Maspero, Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine, Bibl. de l'Éc. d. Hautes Études, 201<sup>me</sup>

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der Class. Altertumswissenschaft; ed. by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, 1894, etc.

P. Beaugé = J. Maspero, Les Papyrus Beaugé, in Bull. de l'Inst. fr. d'arch. or. x.

PERF. = Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer: Führer durch die Ausstellung. Wien, 1894.

Preisigke, B.-L. = Fr. Preisigke, Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten. Strassburg, 1913, etc.

——, Sammelbuch = Fr. Preisigke, Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten. Strassburg, 1913, etc.

Reil, Gewerbe = Th. Reil, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten. Borna-Leipzig, 1913.

RKT. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. J. Krall, Koptische Texte. Wien, 1895.

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## CLASSIFIED LIST OF PAPYRI

[In the dates Roman numerals indicate the century; an Arabic numeral 1 or 2 means 1st or 2nd half, the letter m the middle, of the century.]

#### A. LITERARY TEXTS.

	TT								_	
1811.	Homer, Iliad xxii, ll. 449-4		•	•	•	•	•	•	Provenance unknown	iii.
1812.	Tragic fragment		•	•	•	•	•	•	,,	Early iii.
1813.	Tragic (?) fragment .			•	•	•		•	73	ii <b>(?).</b>
1817.	Dioscorus, encomia .		•	•	•	•	•	•	Kôm Ishgau	vi².
1818.	Dioscorus, poems and pros					•			"	vi².
1819.	Dioscorus, epithalamium					•			"	vi².
1820.	Dioscorus, verse fragment						•		"	vi².
1809.	Epicurus, Περὶ Φύσεως, bk.	xi							Herculaneum	i (?).
1814.	A. Oration							•	Unknown	ii.
	B. Xenophon, Mem. iv. 2.	r-4							,,	ii.
	C. Demosthenes, De Fals.	Leg. 4-	-7, r	2-13					,,	iii.
1816.	A. Prose fragment .								>)	ii.
	B. Hexameter poem (fragn	nent)							,,	ii.
	C. Oration (?)								,,	i–ii.
1815.	Prose fragment								,,	ii.
1718.	Metrological tables and pro								Antinoopolis	vi².
1821.	Dioscorus, Greek-Coptic gl								Kôm Ishgau	vi².
1810.	Unknown	-							Herculaneum	i (?).
									DOCUMENTS.	
					ı,	LETT	ERS.			
1624.	· · · · ·				ı.	Lett	ERS.	•	Hermopolite nome	Early iv.
		·			ı.	LETT	ERS.		Panopolis (?)	iv.
					i.	LETT	ERS.		Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?)	iv.
1825 (					1.	LETT	ERS.	•	Panopolis (?)	iv. iv. vi¹.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839.	Order to send persons to c			· · · ·	1.	LETT	ERS.		Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?)	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839.	Order to send persons to c				I,	LETT	ers.		Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹. vi™.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839. 1682, 1680.	Order to send persons to content to send persons				I	LETT	ERS.		Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839. 1682, 1680.	Order to send persons to c				I	LETT	ERS.		Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹. vi™.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839. 1682, 1680.	Order to send persons to content to send persons	ourt • • •				Ord			Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito  " " " "	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹. vim. vi.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839. 1682, 1680.	Order to send persons to content to send persons to content to send persons to send per	ourt • • • • • •				ORD			Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito  "" "" Oxyrhynchus	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹. vi™. vi.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839. 1682, 1680. 1681,	Order to send persons to content for payment to donly order for payment of militimates.	ourt	plies	•					Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito  " " " "	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹. vim. vi. vi.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839. 1682, 1680. 1681,	Order to send persons to content to send persons to content to send persons to send per	ourt	plies	•					Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito  "" "" Oxyrhynchus	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹. vim. vi. vi.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839. 1682, 1680. 1681,	Order to send persons to content for payment to donly order for payment of militimates.	ourt	plies	village	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	ORD			Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito  "" "" Oxyrhynchus Aphrodito ""	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹. vim. vi. vi. vi.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839. 1682, 1680. 1681,	Order to send persons to content for payment to donly order for payment of militimates.	ourt	plies from	village 3. F	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	ORD			Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito  "" "" Oxyrhynchus Aphrodito ""	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹. vim. vi. vi. vi.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839. 1682, 1680. 1681, 1798. 1663. 1667,	Order to send persons to content to send to	ourt	plies from rov	village 3. F	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	ORD	ers.		Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito  "" "" Oxyrhynchus Aphrodito ""	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹. vi™. vi. vi. Early vi.
1825 ( 1826. 1679. 1839. 1682, 1680. 1681, 1798. 1663. 1667,	Order to send persons to content to send persons to send to s	ourt	plies from rov	village 3. F	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	ORD	ers.		Panopolis (?) Hermopolis (?) Aphrodito  "" "" Oxyrhynchus Aphrodito "" Nilopolis	iv. iv. vi¹. vi¹. vi™. vi. vi. A.D. 470. vi. Early vi.

			4. T	`AX	RECEI	PTS.		
1664. Gold taxes (to a village) .							Aphrodito	vi.
1750. Poll-tax, etc. (to a village) .							Unknown	Ar. period.
1665, 1666. κωμητικά							Antaeop. nome	vi.
1738. δημόσια, poll-tax, and δαπάνη							Oxyrhynchus (?)	A.D. 710(?) or 680(?).
1739. δημόσια and poll-tax						46	Unknown	Ar. period.
1740, 1742. δημόσια							,,	vii,
1741. δημόσια								Ar. period.
1743. δημόσια		i	•			•	oxyrhynchus (??)	Ar. period.
<b>1863.</b> δημόσια	•		•	•	•	·	Hermopolis	Ar. period.
1747. Poll-tax	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	vi–vii.
1744. Poll-tax		•	•	•	•	•	Oxyrhynchus (?)	Ar. period.
1745. Poll-tax	•	•	•	•	•	•	Hermopolis (?)	Ar. period.
1746, 1748. Poll-tax	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	Ar. period.
1749. Poll-tax	•	•	•	•	•	•	Oxyrhynchus (?)	Ar. period.
1751, 1752, 1864. δαπάνη	•	•	•	•	•	•		Ar. period.
1754. Customs	•	•	•	•	•	•	,, Babylon	Ar. period.
	•	•	•	•	•	•	Herm. nome	vi–vii.
•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	vi-vii. vi <sup>1</sup> .
1758. Annona (money)	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	vi.
1865. Embola	•	•	•	•	•	•	"	
1759. Embola	•	٠	٠	•	•	•	"	· vi–vii.
1755-1757, 1760. Embola	•	•	•	•	•	•	22	vii.
		5. A	CCOUN	TS.	and R	EGISTE	ers.	
1653. Register of rent (?)-payments.		J					Panop. nome	iv.
1654. Account of expenses	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	iv.
1671. Account of receipts	•	•	•	•	•	•	Aphrodito	Early vi.
1670. Account of expenses	•	•	•	•	•	•	Apinouno	vi <sup>1</sup> .
	•	•	•	•	•	•	Anhandita (2)	vi.
•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Aphrodito (?)	
1673. Account of receipts	•	•	•	•	•	•	Antaeop. nome (?)	vi.
1761. Tax (?) account	•	•	•	•	•	•	Herm. nome (?)	vi (?).
1838. Account of receipts	•	•	•	•	• •	•	Aphrodito	vi.
1869. Account of receipts .	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	vi. 
1762. Account of expenses	•	•	•	•	•	•	23	vi–vii.
1763. Account of receipts (?)	•	•	•	•	•	•	,,	Ar. period.
1870. Tax account	•	••	•	•	•	•	"	Ar. period.
1652. List of persons	•	•	•	•	•	•	Fayum (?)	iv¹.
1866. List of persons	•	•	•	•	•	•	Herm. nome	v.
1868. List of persons	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	vi.
<b>1867.</b> List of persons	•	•	•	٠	•	•	,,	vi–vii.
•	6.	CONTR	ACTS	FOR	Овяю	TAT. P	URPOSES.	
1662. Contract to collect taxes (?) .					01110		Aphrodito	vi¹.
1660. Contract to collect taxes .	•	•	•	•	•	•	Antaeop. nome	
1661. Contract to collect taxes .	•	•	•	•	•	•	Aphrodito	Circ. A.D. 553.
Tool. Contract to concer taxes	•	•	•	•	•	•	ripinouito	A.D. 553.
		Срр	2 T T 7 A 1	тъ	DOC	ייבוMו	VT'S	
		. I I	VY A YV	115	ויייייי	OME	A T 12'	
			r.	PE	TITION	s.		
1827. To a strategus					•		Herm. nome	Early iv.
1651. To a strategus							Hermopolis	а. д. 363.
1911. To exactores							Heracleopolis	Early iv.
1828. To —— (?)						•	Hermopolis	A.D. 373.
1829. To (?)					•		Hermopolis (?)	iv.
ν,	•			•	-	•		***

#### CLASSIFIED LIST OF PAPYRI

1831.	To (?)	•	•	•			•	•	Unknown	iv.		
1830.	To (?)								"	Late iv.		
1675, 1	.676. To the Dux								Antinoopolis	A.D. 566-573.		
1674.	To the Dux								77	Circ. A.D. 570.		
1677.	To a magister								**	<sub>А. Д.</sub> 566-567.		
1678.	To magistri				alle.				,,	а.д. 566-573.		
	o .				**				"			
2. Contracts and Receipts.												
(a) Agreements concerning legal cases.												
			(a)	Agr	eemen.	ts con	cerning	g lega	il cases.			
1707.	Compromissum								Antinoopolis	а. д. 566.		
1708.	Arbitration								99	A.D. 567 (?).		
1709.	Arbitration (Coptic) .								"	Before circ. A. D. 570 (?).		
1849.	Settlement of dispute .								Syene	A.D. 583.		
1728.	Settlement of dispute .								,,	A.D. 584 or 585.		
	•				•		•	•				
			(6)	) Fa	mily	and b	usiness	cont	racts.			
1710.	Marriage contract								Antinoopolis	Circ. A.D. 565-573.		
1711.	Marriage contract								,,	A.D. 566-573.		
	1713. Contracts of divorce					Ī				а. д. 569.		
1894.	Will	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	,, Antinoopolis (??)	Early vi.		
1727.	Parental division of property	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Syene	A.D. 583-584.		
1706.	Contract of apprenticeship		•	•	•	•	•	•	Aphrodito	vi.		
_			•	•	•	•	•	•	•			
1794.	Contract of partnership.			•	•	•	•	•	Hermopolis	A.D. 487.		
1705.	Contract of partnership (agri			•	•	•	•	•	Aphrodito	vi¹.		
1795.	Contract of partnership.	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	Hermopolis	vi.		
						(c) S	uretv.					
1500	Count for 7					( ) ~			II			
1793.	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	Herm. nome	A.D. 472.		
1893 B	, , , , ,			•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	V.		
1732.	Surety for appearance at arbi	tratio	n	•	•	٠	•	•	Syene	a.d. 586 (?).		
						(d) S	ales.					
1000	Land					()			Anhrodita	. p. c6c		
1686.	Land	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Aphrodito	A.D. 565.		
1722.	House property	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Syene	A.D. 573.		
1724.	House property	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	"	A.D. 578-582.		
1733.	House property .	•	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	"	A.D. 594.		
1734.	House property	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	,,	Late vi.		
1735.	House property	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Babylon (?)	Late vi.		
1729.	Conveyance of reversion of pr		in re	eturn	for se	ervices	receiv	red	Syene	а. д. 584.		
1730.	Surrender of house property	•	•		•	•	•	•	>1	A.D. 585.		
1726.	Boat								,,	A.D. 581.		
1656.	Sale in advance (?) of κοῦφα								Fayum (?)	iv.		
1764.	Sale in advance of wine.								Unknown	vi.		
1881.	Sale in advance (?) of wine,	etc.					•		"	vi.		
1871.									,,	vi.		
	( )								"			
						(e) L	eases.					
1691.	House property (χώρημα)								Aphrodito	A.D. 532.		
1872.	House property								Herm. nome	A.D. 548.		
1715.	House property								Antinoopolis	vi.		
1768.	House property							•	Hermopolis	vi.		
1877.	House property				•	•	•	٠	Unknown	vi. vi.		
1874.	House property		•	٠	•	•	•	•	Hermopolis			
1832.	Land	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	a.d. 605 or 613.		
	Land	•	•	•	•	•		•	Herm. nome	iv.		
1833.	Lailu	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	iv.		

1688.	Land									•	Aphrodito	A.D. 523.
1889,	1 <b>690.</b> Land .						•				"	A.D. 527.
1695.	Land								•	•	22	A.D. 531 (?).
1841.	Land (métayage)						•				"	A.D. 536.
1693.	Land										"	Early vi.
1694.	Land (métayage)										"	vi¹.
1696,	1697, 1842 (?).	Land	d.								"	vi¹.
1765.	Land										Herm. nome	A.D. 554.
1692.	Land (two lease	s).									Aphrodito	A.D. 555 and 556.
1873.	Land										Herm. nome	A.D. 556.
1698.	Land (métayage	?)									Aphrodito	vi <sup>m</sup> .
1880.	Land	٠.									Herm. nome	After A.D. 593.
1769.	Land (vineyard)										"	vi.
1770,	1771. Land . ´										**	vi.
1878.	Land										Unknown	vi.
1879.	Land (?) .										Kôm Ishgau (?)	vi.
1714.	Boat (= contrac	t of s	service	?)							Antinoopolis	A.D. 570.
1876.	Uncertain .			·,							Unknown	v.
1767.	Uncertain .	·		·							Herm, nome	A.D. 561.
1843.	Uncertain .		·	·	·	·					Kôm Ishgau	vim.
1875.	Uncertain .	•	•	•							Hermopolis	а. D. 615-616 or 630-631.
		•	•	·	•	-	•	•			<b>.</b>	
(f) Loans and acknowledgements of debt.												
1570	T	t•41.			())	200,00	07,00		-010 mg	.,,,,,,,,,,	Thebes	(2)
1719.	Loan of money	•		. ,	•	•	•	•	•	•		A.D. 541 (?).
1716.	Loan of money				•	•	•	•	•	•	Antinoopolis	A.D. 570 (?).
1723.	Loan of money				•	•	•	•	•	•	Syene	A.D. 577.
1882.	Loan of money			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	vi.
1736.	Loan of money		•		•	•	•	•	•	•	Syene	A.D. 611.
1737.	Loan of money (				•			٠	•	•	"	A.D. 613.
1725.	Acknowledgemen					bropter	nuptio	zs	•	•	"	A.D. 580.
1687.	Acknowledgeme					•	•	•	٠	•	Aphrodito	A.D. 523.
1786.	Acknowledgeme					•	•	•	•	•	Herm. nome	A.D. 559.
1772.	Acknowledgemen						•	•	•	•	"	vi.
1700.	Acknowledgeme							•	•	•	Aphrodito	vi.
1773.	Acknowledgeme			-		wine	•	•	•	•	Hermopolis	A.D. 454.
1699.	Acknowledgeme			•		•	•	•	•	•	Aphrodito	A.D. 520.
1844.	Acknowledgeme					•	•		•	•	"	Early vi.
1721.	Acknowledgeme	nt of	debt			•					Thebes	A.D. 542-543 or 557-558 (?).
1775.	Acknowledgemen										Hermopolis	vi.
1776.	Acknowledgemen	ıt of	debt								**	vi–vii.
	•											
							<b>(</b> g)	) Re	ceipts.			
1702.	For rent .										Aphrodito	vi¹.
1704.	For rent .			Ť	•	-		•			-	vi.
1780.	For rent .	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	,, Hermopolis	vi.
1781.	For rent .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Herm. nome (?)	vi.
1779.	For rent .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	vi–vii.
	785. For rent	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Hermopolis	vii.
	For rent .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	
1884.	For fleeces .	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	•		vii.
1777.			•		•	•	•	•	•	•	Oxyrhynchus	A.D. 434.
1731.	For money in ser	ttem	ent of	aispu	ite	•	•	•	•	•	Syene	A.D. 585.
1703.	For sportulum	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Aphrodito	vi.
1774.	For price of vege		seed	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Hermopolis	A.D. 570.
1701.	For price of wine		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	Aphrodito	vi.

1	<b>n</b>									<b>!</b>
1778.	For firewood and iron .		•	٠	•	•	•	•	Unknown	v-vi.
1720.	For price of ear-ring .		•	٠	•	•	•	•	Thebes	A.D. 549.
1717.	For repayment of mone	•	٠	٠	•	•	•	•	Antinoopolis	Circ. A.D. 560-573.
1883.	For corn and money	• •	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	vi.
				(h)	Miscell	aneous	s and	Uncer	tain.	
1898.	Agreement concerning	land (s	urrende	er ?)					Hermopolis	A.D. 594.
1798.	Agreement concerning								"	vi.
1902.									Antinoopolis	A.D. 566-573.
	B. Agreement .								,,	а.д. 566-573.
1898.	Uncertain								Hermopolis	A.D. 483.
1893 A	A. Uncertain								Unknown	v.
1797.	Uncertain								Oxyrhynchus	A.D. 546 (? <b>).</b>
1845.	Uncertain								Kôm Ishgau	vi <sup>m</sup> .
1897.	Uncertain								Antinoopolis (?)	A.D. 588.
1901,	1903. Uncertain .								Unknown	vi.
1900.	Uncertain								Hermopolis (?)	vi².
1899.	Uncertain								Herm. nome	а. д. 600.
1862.	Uncertain								Lycopolite nome	vi or vii.
						3. O	RDERS			
1655.	Order for payment					J. U.			Oxyrhynchus	A.D. 364.
1799.	Order for payment			•	·	·	·	·	Unknown	v (?).
	-1802, 1805. Orders for	r navn	ient .	•	•				,,	v–vi.
1804.				·		•	•		77	vi.
1803.						·			77	vi.
1806.	Order for payment			·			- :		23	Ar. period.
	order for paymons		•			4. LE	mar pa		<i>,,</i>	•
1050	1659, 1836, 1837.					4. ЦЕ	LIER	3.	Unknown	iv.
1786.	1000, 1000, 1007.		•	•	•	•	•	•	-	v.
	1885		•	•	•	•	•	•	"	v–vi.
-	(Latin)	• •	•	•		•	•	•	,,	v or vi.
1788.	• ,		•	•	•	•			Aphrodito (??)	vi.
1887.				·	·		•		Hermopolis (??)	vi.
	1789, 1888 (or report),			·					Unknown	vi.
1890.	• • •								,,	vii.
1791.									Hermopolis or Oxy	rhynchus vii.
-	1892								Unknown	vii–viii.
,								T		
3040	1040 Download				5. Acc	COUNT	5 ANI	) 17121	Thebes (?)	vi.
	-1848. Pawnbroker's ac	counts		•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	iv.
1834.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		iv.
1835.	•	•	• •	•	•	•	•	•	21	v or early vi.
1904.	•	٠ ،		•	•	•	•	•	***	v or earry vr. vi–vii,
1905.	, ,	•		•	•	•	•	•	Herm. nome	vii.
1807.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	vii.
1808.	•	• •		•	•	•	•	•		
1907.	, , ,		•	•	•	•	•	•	Hermopolis	vii.
1906.	,		•	•	•	•	•	•	Unknown	vi. :
1657.	Inventory of goods		•	•	•	•	•	•	77	iv–v
					<b>6.</b> 3	Misce	LLAN	eous.		
1850-	-1881. Miscellaneous fra	agment	is .						Syene	vi <sup>2</sup> .
1908.	Shorthand document								Unknown	Byz. period.
1909.	Leather binding .								"	vii.
1910.	Seals								11	?

### TEXTS.

#### A. EARLY BYZANTINE PERIOD.

I. Official Documents.

#### PAPYRUS 1647.—[A. D. 298.]

Inv. No. 1611 recto. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $8\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times$  8 in. In a small slightly sloping cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus a good deal rubbed. Recto of **1824**.

IN previous volumes of this catalogue the reign of Diocletian has been for the most part treated as belonging to the Roman period, but in such an age of transition it is hardly possible to draw the lines of division very consistently. Wilcken in his Chrestomathie includes the reign in the Byzantine period; and in subject-matter the present document belongs unmistakably to the Byzantine rather than to the Roman period. It is a return of landed property to the censitor, and though, like nearly all the documents of the Early Byzantine period in this volume, it is in a bad state of preservation, it can be read almost completely with the help of P. Flor. i.  $32 \alpha$ ,  $\delta$  (= Wilcken, Chrest. 228), which are two returns to the same censitor, from the same village, and in identical formulae. It follows that the date of the present document is the same, namely A.D. 298. return is therefore for the census of 297, the first under the new organization introduced by Diocletian and the starting-point of the first indiction-cycle (Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. lx, 223, 227). The return being on closely parallel lines to Chrest. 228, Wilcken's commentary on that document (Grundzüge, p. 227) applies equally to it. The question must however be raised here whether it is, like Flor. 32 a, b, an original, or only a copy. That it is the latter is suggested by the fact that the signature is obviously in the same hand as the body of the document and possibly by the omission of the date (see note on l. 1); but on the other hand the censitor's legi seems to be in a different hand from the rest (though the fact that it is in Latin makes it very difficult to be certain of this), and the seal certainly suggests an original. Moreover, the return may very likely have been written by the person who signs for the landowner. It is, however, highly probable that besides making up the original returns into a roll (συγκολλήσιμος) the officials would also keep a register of copies of them (εἰρόμενον), and it is therefore quite conceivable that this document was a copy.

On the left, on a different  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu \alpha$  of papyrus, are the ends of a few lines of a preceding document. As the verso was subsequently used, two unconnected documents may have been stuck together to yield a new sheet of papyrus, but it is perhaps more likely, especially if the present return is an original, that this preceding document was a similar return to the present one, a number of returns having been united in a composite roll in the office of the *censitor*.

These Hermopolite returns are to be compared with P. Thead. 54, 55 (A. D. 299) from the Fayum.

[Ιουλιω Αλεξα]νδρω τω διασημοτατω [κ]ηνσ[ιτορι] [παρα Αυρηλιου  $\Omega$ ]ρου  $\Delta$ ισκατος απο κωμης Ορμου ακο[λου $\theta$ ως τω] [θειω προσταγματι τω]ν δεσποτων ημων Διοκλητιανου [και Μαξιμιανου]  $[\Sigma \epsilon eta a \sigma au \omega ]$  κ[a]ι Κ $[\omega]$ ν  $\sigma au \sigma au \tau$ ιου και Μαξιμιαν[o]υ τω[v] επιφαν  $\epsilon \sigma au \sigma au \omega au$ [Καισαρων α]πογραφομαι  $\epsilon \chi \epsilon \iota \nu \left[ \mu \right] \epsilon$  $[\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \ \pi] \rho \alpha \kappa \tau \sigma \rho \iota \alpha \nu \ A \mu \mu \omega \nu \sigma \sigma \tau \sigma \pi [\alpha \rho] \chi \epsilon \iota \alpha \sigma \ \Pi \epsilon \rho \iota \ \Pi \sigma [\lambda \iota \nu \ \kappa \alpha \tau \omega]$ [εκ το]υ Μοσχιωνος κληρου ιδιω[τι] εσπαρ αρουρ [ [κ]αι του . λ . . [...κληρου] ιδιω $[τι^κ]$  χερσου αρουρ' [[και  $\epsilon$ ]ξομνυμι  $\tau$ [ην] των κυριών ημων Διοκλητιανου [και Μαξιμιανου] 10  $[\Sigma \epsilon] \beta a \sigma \tau \omega \nu$  και  $K[\omega] \nu \sigma \tau a \nu \tau \iota o \upsilon$  κ[a]ι Μαξιμιανου  $\tau [\omega \nu \epsilon \pi \iota \phi a \nu \epsilon \sigma \tau a \tau \omega \nu]$ [K]αισαρων τυχη $[\nu]$  εξ αλη $\theta$ ειας και πιστεως την απο $[\gamma \rho \alpha \phi \eta \nu]$  $\pi \epsilon \pi \circ \iota \eta \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$  και ουδεν  $\tau [o]$  συνολον κεκακουργηκεν[αι  $\eta$   $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ]$ λελοιπεναι ει δε μη υπευθυνος εσομαι τω σεβασμιω [ορκω και] προς τουτο επερωτη<sup>θ</sup> ωμολο<sup>γ</sup>15 Αυρ' Ωρος απεγραψαμην ομνυς τον σεβασμίον ο]ρ[κ]ον [Αυρ' . . . . ] as  $\epsilon \gamma \rho_0$  υπερ  $\hat{S}$  γραμ[μ], μη  $\epsilon \iota \delta o^{\tau}$  (2nd hand) legi

(3rd hand?)  $\delta \kappa \delta^- [\rho] \phi \theta^-$ 

- 1. Before this line the date should have been written, as in Flor. 32, but there is no sign of it. There may have been a space, or the last line of the dating clause may have been shorter than the rest, but if the document was a copy (see the introduction) it is possible that the date was omitted.
  - 2.  $a\kappa o\lambda o u\theta \omega s$ : there is no space before this as in Flor. 32.
- 5. In Flor. 32 a, b there is no space before  $\ell\chi\epsilon\nu$ , but the present document confirms Wilcken's conjecture (*Chrest.* 228, 9, note; cf. Preisigke, B.-L. i, p. 137) that nothing is wanting in Flor. 32 b after  $\mu\epsilon$ : the specification of the land began a new line, which, here as in the Florentine document, was indented.
- 6. κατω: so in Flor. 32 a, b, where however the πρακταρεία is probably not the same; but the evidence of those documents makes it likely that an inhabitant of Hormus would hold land in  $\Pi \epsilon \rho \lambda$   $\Pi \delta \lambda \iota \nu$  κάτω rather than in  $\Pi$ .  $\Pi$ .  $\mathring{a}\nu \omega$ . It is not quite certain whether  $^*A\mu\mu\omega\nu\sigma$ s is to be taken as a village or other geographical name or as the name of the official at the head of the  $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\sigma\rho\epsilon i\sigma$ . The analogy of Flor. 32 b would suggest the former, though here  $\kappa \dot{\omega}\mu\eta s$  is not inserted, as it is there. Wilcken reads in Flor. 32 b  $\kappa \dot{\omega}\mu\eta s$ .  $\mu$ . []s. Is it possible that  $A\mu\mu[\omega\nu\sigma]$ s is to be read? The  $\kappa \lambda \dot{\eta}\rho\sigma s$  is here  $Mo\sigma\chi\iota\omega\nu\sigma s$  (but see the next note), and in Flor. i. 50, 75 a  $\kappa\lambda \dot{\eta}\rho\sigma s$   $N\epsilon\iota\lambda[\epsilon]\omega s$   $\kappa\sigma[i]$   $Mo\sigma\chi\iota\omega\nu\sigma s$  occurs, perhaps in the village of A—— (so Vitelli states in the index, but cf. Il. 74–75, where another village name seems to intervene). If so,  $A[\mu\mu\omega\nu\sigma s$  is possibly to be read there.
- 7. Μοσχιωνος: not quite certain; Μαγχιωνος could also be read, but seems a much less likely name. Besides the κληρος

- mentioned in the preceding note, a  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\sigma$  Mo $\sigma\chi\iota\omega\rho\sigma$  also occurs in P. Amh. ii. 99 b, 6 as in the  $\Lambda\epsilon\nu\kappa\sigma\nu\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota[\tau\eta \ \kappa]\dot{\alpha}\tau\omega$  (for  $\tau\iota\dot{\alpha}[\lambda]\iota\nu$  there a village name is presumably to be read as suggested by Wilcken,  $Archi\nu$ , ii, p. 133).
- 8. Νιλεω[s (see l. 6, note) seems just possible, but the traces are not clear enough to justify its insertion in the text, especially as in Flor. 50, 75 Νειλέωs καὶ Μοσχίωνος is a single κλήρος.
- 11. πιστεωs: in *Chrest*. 228 Wilcken takes this as a miswritten adverb, printing πιστ«ε»ω̂s, but the present document shows that the manuscript is correct and the word the genitive of πίστις.
  - 15. Perhaps  $E\rho\mu$ ].
- 17. Cf. P. Flor. 32 a, 18; b, 21. The analogy of those documents suggests that ko- is to be read here, but the traces strongly suggest & rather than o. In Chrest. 228, indeed, Wilcken marks the o as doubtful, so that it is possible  $\kappa\delta^-$  is to be read in the Florentine documents also; but Prof. Preisigke in a private letter (see now his B.-L. i, p. 137) remarks that  $\kappa o(\lambda \lambda \eta \mu a \tau o s)$  is the word required, the note probably being a reference to the land-register of the taxation officials, made up from the returns, and  $\delta$  being perhaps  $\delta\iota(a)$ . If  $[\rho]o\theta$  here is right, all these three returns were summarized in the same column, which is not unnatural, as they are all from the same village. It seems nevertheless, as already said, very difficult to read ko- here; and if κδ- is read we must suppose either that Preisigke's explanation, plausible as it is, is wrong, or that, if ko is confirmed in the Florentine papyri, κδ here is a scribe's blunder. As regards  $[\rho]o\theta$  it may be remarked that the slight traces before o suit  $\rho$  perfectly.

#### PAPYRUS 1648.—A. D. 373.

Inv. No. 1709. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome. 7 in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. In an upright cursive hand, along the fibres; much rubbed and worm-eaten. Folded from right to left.

'HIS and the following document belong to a class fairly well represented among papyri ▲ of the Early Byzantine period, namely returns, with warranty, of persons qualified to undertake liturgical offices. Other examples are P. Lond. iii. 1246-1249 (pp. 224-228). Documents of a somewhat different class (warranty for officials already appointed) but showing similar formulae are P. Lips. i. 45-56. The present documents, with 1822, which is a duplicate of 1648 (not in the same hand), are in a very bad state of preservation and in places by no means easy to read, but fortunately they supplement one another, so that it is possible to decipher them almost completely. They are of a distinctly interesting character and make us acquainted with officials who appear to be new. 1648 with its duplicate (in the notes and this introduction referred to as B) is a return by the irenarch of Temenkyrkis Poimenon, a village in the Hermopolite nome already known from P. Strassb. i. 29, 7, 33; Flor. i. 2, 43 (cf. Temenkyrkis, P. Lips. i. 99, ii, 18), to the riparii of the nome, of persons qualified to be ἐκβολεῖς χωμάτων (4), χωμογραμματεύς (1), ξυλομέτρης (1), ἐργοδότης (1), and φύλαξ Πορλα της δημοσίας όδοῦ (1). The riparii, for whom see Gelzer, Studien, p. 53 f., are well known as a police authority, who seem regularly to have been two in number. Since they appear as the *riparii* of a complete nome they were presumably the heads of the police organization of the nome. The irenarchs (Gelzer, p. 58 f.), one of whom appears for a single village, may have had supreme charge of the village police," that they were in a position superior to that of mere φύλακες is clear from the present document, where an irenarch nominates a  $\phi i \lambda \alpha \xi$ , but which shows that their functions were not limited to those connected with the police. It may be added that these village irenarchs are to be distinguished from the irenarchs of the nome; see P. Strassb. i, p. 22, note 1.

The known connexion alike of the irenarch and of the riparii with the police would naturally suggest that the offices to which nominations are made would fall under the same category, but this is not the case here. The  $\phi \dot{\nu} \lambda \alpha \xi \tau \dot{\eta} s \delta \eta \mu o \sigma \dot{\iota} \alpha s \dot{\delta} \delta o \dot{v}$  is indeed an official of the class to be expected, but the others can hardly be so. It might indeed be suggested that the  $\epsilon \kappa \beta o \lambda \epsilon \hat{\iota} s$  were persons in charge of the sluices (cf.  $\tau \hat{\eta} s \ldots \hat{a} \nu \alpha \beta \acute{a} \sigma \epsilon \omega s$ ), analogous to the second century  $\mathring{a} \phi \epsilon \sigma \sigma$ φύλακες of P. Strassb. i. 55; and it would be natural that those responsible for opening the sluices should also be charged with the duty of preventing any interference with them by unauthorized They would thus have a semi-police character. But apart from the fact that  $\epsilon \kappa \beta o \lambda \epsilon \hat{i} s$ seems a not very likely title for officials of this character, it is highly improbable that if the word referred to the letting out of the water it would be joined with χωμάτων; and in P. Rylands 90, 17; Wessely, Karanis, p. 55, we have the compound χωματεκβολεύς (χωματεκβολία). ence is rather to the throwing up of the necessary dikes; and since the actual labour was performed by the peasantry as a whole, the  $\epsilon \kappa \beta o \lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath}_S$  must have been the officials in charge of the work, a position also indicated by the two passages just referred to, where the  $\pi\delta\rho$ os necessary to qualify for the liturgy is 600 drachmae. How their functions differed from those of the ἐργοδότης τῶν χωμάτων does not appear. It may be added that the word occurs also in P. Oxy. x. 1301.

The χωμογραμματεύς (for which we should expect χωματογραμματεύς, but the reading is assured) was no doubt charged with the secretarial work connected with the construction and repair of the dikes; he may probably have issued the certificates of the statutory amount of labour, which in the Fayum, at all events in the Roman period, were given by the κατασπορεύς (Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 335).

The ξυλομέτρηs is a hitherto unknown official, but the word is doubtless to be brought into connexion with the verb ξυλομετρέω in BGU. i. 12 (= Wilcken, Chrest. 389), 27, [γ]εωμετροῦντος καὶ ξυλομετροῦντος. Wilcken suggests that the ξυλο- is connected with the word ξύλον, a measure of 3 ells forming 'die Seite des Naubion-Kubus'. His conjecture is obviously confirmed by the present document. The ξυλομέτρης was, then, the official who measured the naubion-quotas of the labourers. This shows that in the Thebaid, to which the Hermopolite nome now belonged, the quota of labour was still, as in the Roman period (Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 334), reckoned by naubia, as against the five-day unit of the Fayum. It is true that the Berlin document just referred to is from the Fayum, and the verb ξυλομετρεῖν is there used, not of the measurement of the quotas but of the ἐπίσκεψις τῶν χωμάτων καὶ διωρύχων, so that here also the ξυλομέτρης may be intended for a similar duty; but this seems unlikely. In BGU. 12 the official who ξυλομετρεῖ bears the title of γεωμέτρης, not ξυλομέτρης; and in the present document the other duties are certainly connected with the construction of dikes.

The  $\phi \dot{\nu} \lambda \dot{\alpha} \xi$   $\Pi o \rho \lambda \hat{\alpha}$   $\tau \hat{\eta} s$   $\delta \eta \mu o \sigma \dot{\alpha} s$   $\delta \delta o \hat{\nu}$  is clearly a police official, and his juxtaposition by the side of officials concerned with the embankments may be regarded as fortuitous; unless, indeed, the road in question was closely connected with dikes. But it is perhaps not without significance that in both 1648 and B the entry relating to this appointment is a later addition. The nomination to an office of this kind would naturally be in the hands of the irenarch. The reading  $\Pi o \rho \lambda \hat{\alpha}$  is derived from B, where it seems certain. It is presumably a place-name, though it seems a little curious that the office should be locally circumscribed. But perhaps  $\Pi o \rho \lambda \hat{\alpha}$  was a hamlet or other subdivision of the main village.

It will be seen that our conception of the functions of the *riparii* must be extended. They clearly exercised some sort of supervision over the dikes; and since their name was presumably derived from the Latin *ripa*, it seems probable that this was, as suggested by Spohr (P. Iand. 37, 2, note), their original function. Presumably they were at first officials charged with the general superintendence and protection of the embankments (something like our 'Thames Conservancy', Kenyon), whose duties were gradually extended till they acquired the character of chiefs of the nome police. It may be added that these *riparii* of the nome are to be distinguished from the village *riparii* of whom we hear in Late Byzantine times (1687, introduction), though the functions of the latter were similar in kind (P. Cair. Masp. i. 67091, 2, note).

It is to be noted that in Lond. 1246–1248 (A.D. 345), referred to above, the nomination of  $i\delta\rho o\phi i\lambda a\kappa\epsilon s$  is made by the comarchs to the  $\chi\omega\mu a\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon i\kappa\tau a\iota$  of 'the southern portions' of the nome. It is curious that, while the officials responsible for the construction of the dikes were nominated by the irenarch to the *riparii*, those whose functions  $(-\phi i\lambda a\kappa\epsilon s)$  gave them a certain police character should have been nominated and approved by functionaries not specially connected with the police. Since the authority of the  $\chi\omega\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon i\kappa\tau a\iota$  extended to only a portion of the nome they were possibly themselves subordinate to the *riparii*, and their supervision of the appointment of  $i\delta\rho o\phi i\lambda a\kappa\epsilon s$  may have been due to the inferior importance of the latter. The

appearance of the irenarch in the present context is easily to be accounted for by the fact that he was a subordinate official in the department of the *riparii*.

μ[ετα την] υπατειαν Δο[μ]ιτιου Μοδεστου του λ[αμπροτα]του επαρχου του ιερου πραιτωριου και Φλαυιου Αρινθεο[υ] του λ[αμπροτα]του στρατηλατου Αυρηλιοις Δωροθ[ε]ω Σιλβ[α]νου και Αρτεμ[ιδ]ω[ρω] Ερμιψ[ο]υ πολιτευομε νοις ριπαρι[ο]ι[ς νομ]ου Ερμου[π]ολιτ[ο]υ

- 5 π/ Α[υ]ρ// Καστορο[ς Πα]πνουθιου μῆ Σ[οφιας ε]ιρηναρχου απο κωμης Τ[εμενκ]υρκεως Ποιμενων του αυτου [νομου αν]αριδωμι και ε[ισα]γγελλω του[ς ε]ξης εγ'γεγρ[αμ]μεν[ους εκβ]ολεας τε χωματων κα[ι] χωμογ[ρ]αμμ[ατεα] και ξυλομετρην κα[ι ε]ργοροτη[ν] τωνδε των χωματων της [ευτυ]χως εισιούσης ι[ζ] ητ[οι] β νεας ινδι\*/
- 10 α[να]βασεως καρ[π]ων της ευτυχους [ιη] ητοι γ΄ ινοικ, οντας ι[κα]νους και επι[τ]ηδειους και ευθετο[υς προ]ς το [εγ'χι]ρισθεν αυ[τ]οις φροντισ[μ]α κινδυνω εμού [του ειρηναρχ]ου εισι οξε

εκβολεις
Απολλωνιος Κ[ο]λλουθο<sup>ν</sup>

Οννωφρις [Ευδα]ιμονος
Αυτις Παλ

χωμογραμματευς

Ϊβοϊς Στεφανου

ξυλο[μετρη]ς

Ηρακλει[ος Π]ε[β]ω[το]ς

εργοδ[οτης]

Λυτις Σιλ[βανου]

(2nd | φυλαξ [Πο]ρ[λ]α της δ[η]μοσιας οδου hand) Πετβη[ς Πησ]ιος

1. λαμπροτατου: B apparently λα[μπ]ροτο<sup>υ</sup>.

3.  $\Delta\omega\rho o\theta \epsilon\omega$ : B apparently  $\Delta\omega\rho o\theta \epsilon o]\nu$ . This is perhaps the *riparius* who occurs in P. Lips. i. 62, i, 33 (A.D. 385), where his colleague is Zenodotus. The latter seems to occur again in Lips. 37, 3 (A.D. 389).

Αρτεμιδωρω: possibly the same person as in P. Lips. i. 98, iii, 8.

- 4. νομου: B omits the word, unless it followed Ερμουπολιτου; cf. 1649, 5.
  - 5. Παπνουθιου: Β apparently Παπνουσιου.
- 8. και εργοδοτην τωνδε: a doubtful reading here, owing to the rubbing of the papyrus, but its correctness (so far as εργοδοτην is concerned) is assured by l. 15 = B, l. 14; the present passage is lost in B.  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \epsilon$ , which is fairly clear, may mean 'the local dikes' only.
- 9. ½ ητοι β: this is a late instance of this method of stating the indiction, which has been explained (Wessely, Studien, ii, p. 33; Wilcken, Archiv, ii, p. 393) as a practice adopted only in the early days of the indiction reckoning and soon discontinued. An instance from the preceding year (A.D. 372) is BGU. iv. 1092, 9. Earlier instances are P. Cair. Preis. 34, 8 (A.D. 315); Wessely, I. c. (A.D. 328, 343); Cair. Preis. 39, 9 (A.D. 347; see Archiv, ii, p. 135).

10.  $\kappa a \rho \pi \omega \nu$ : B  $\kappa o \rho \pi \omega s$  (sic). The wording, if taken literally, would imply that the dikes were to be constructed or repaired for the inundation (and therefore sowing) of the 2nd indiction (A. D. 373-374), the crops from which would be harvested in the 3rd indiction (A. D. 374-375); but since the harvest certainly came at the end, not the beginning, of an indiction (about March or April), this interpretation is impossible. Sir Frederic Kenyon

has suggested that the meaning is that the dike-officials were appointed at the beginning (εἰσιούσης) of an indiction, to repair the dikes towards the end of it, ready for the inundation, sowing, and harvest of the following indiction. ἀναβάσεως, however, which must refer to the inundation (it cannot, e.g., be taken with  $\kappa a \rho \pi \hat{\omega} \nu$ ), is clearly referred here to the 2nd indiction, the ανάβασις of the 2nd, the καρποί of the 3rd. Moreover, such methods of expression are not uncommon; cf. the following instances :-- BGU. iv. 1092, 8-10 πρός μόνην την εὐτυχῶς έσομένην κ[ατ]ασπορά[ν] της έκκαιδεκάτης ήτοι πρώτης ινδ., καρπών δευτέρα[ς] (a lease); PSI. i. 62, 17 f. σπείρειν ἐπὶ τῆς παρούσ[η]ς δευτέρας  $i\nu\delta$ ., καρπ $\hat{\omega}(\nu)$  τρίτης  $i\nu\delta$ . (surety); Oxy. i. 133, 18–20  $\hat{\alpha}$ ποδώσομεν ... εν τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ ... τῆς αὐτῆς παρούσης τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ὶνδ. έκ νέων καρπών της σύν Θεώ πεντεκαιδεκάτης έπινεμ(ήσεως) (advance of seed-corn); 1769, 1; etc. The explanation is presumably that, though the harvest came at the end of an indiction, the tax- and rent-payments from it were not made till the following indiction, and thus the crops came to be regarded as belonging to the year following that in which they were sown. Certainly, however, it might have been expected that the dike-officials would be appointed some months before the beginning of an indiction rather than at its commencement, as ελσιούσηs implies was the case here.

- 11.  $\epsilon \gamma' \chi \iota \rho \iota \sigma \theta \epsilon \nu$ : this suits the space rather better than  $[\epsilon \gamma' \chi \epsilon \iota] \rho \iota \sigma \theta \epsilon \nu$ .
- 16. Ευδαιμονος: it is not certain that there is room in the lacuna for Ευδα, but in this hand letters are sometimes very cramped.
- 17 f. φυλαξ κτλ.: in B also this is a later addition, in a second hand.

20 Ουσπερ εγ'γυωμαι και παραστησω [αποπ]ληρουντας το εγ' χειρισθεν αυτοις φροντισμα καθ[ως] π[ρ]οδεδηλωται ϋγιως και πιστως εις το εν μηδενι μεμφθηναι εαν δε τις α[υτων α]φυστε[ρ]ηση και μη π[αρ]αστ[ησω εγ]ω αυτο[ς τ]ον υπερ [αυτου λογον υποσ]τησο[μαι και επερωτηθεις ωμολογησα]

21. φροντισμα: Β φροτισμα.

1649. In B all that remains after παραστησω (l. 26) is ]μαι και (l. 27).

#### PAPYRUS **1649**.—A. D. 373.

Inv. No. 1610. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome. 11\frac{1}{4}\text{ in. } \times 5\text{ in.} In an upright laterally compressed cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus rubbed in places. At the foot, 3\frac{1}{2}\text{ in. of blank papyrus.}

A RETURN of the same character as the preceding, perhaps a copy rather than an original return (see note on 1. 21). The name of the village ended in  $\eta$ , but is almost wholly lost. Only  $\epsilon \kappa \beta o \lambda \epsilon \hat{i}_s$  are here concerned.

μετα την ὑπατ[ε]ιαν Δομετιου [Μ]οδεστου του λαμπ[ρο]τα[του] επαρχου του ιερ[ου] πραιτωρι[ου] και Φλ΄ Αρινθεου του λα[μπροτατου στρ]ατηλ[ατου]

Αυρηλιο[ι]s Δωρ[οθεω Σι]λ[βανου] και Αρ[τ]εμι[δωρω]
5 Ερμινου πο[λ]ιτευο[με]νοις ριπ[α]ριοις Ερμοπολι[τ]ο[υ]
[π/ Αυρ/] Σιλβανου Παχυμιος μη Τβηκιος απο κωμης
[...]. η του αυτου νομου ειρηναρχου αναδιδωμι κα[ι]
εισαγ'γελλω τους εξης εγγεγραμμεν[ο]υς εκβολει[ς]
χω[μ]ατων της ευτυχως εισϊουσης ϊζ ητοι β

10 ινδ[ικ], αναβασεως κ[αρ]πων της ευτυχους ιη ητοι γ ινδικ) οντας ικανου[ς] και επιτηδειους και ευθετους προς το ενχιρισθεν αυτοις φροντισμα κινδυνω εμο[υ] του ειρηναρχου εισι δε

Ατρης Ωρου

15  $\dot{\Lambda}$ τρης Κολλ[ουθου]

ουσπερ εγ·γυωμαι και [παρ]αστησω [α]ποπ[λ]ηρουντα[ς]
[τ]ω εγ'')χιρισθεν αυτο[ις φ]ροντισμα υγιως και
πιστως εις το εν μηδ[εν]ι [μ]εμφ[θ]ηναι εαν
[δε] τις αυτων αφυστερηση [κα]ι μη παραστησω
20 [εγω αυτος] τον υπερ αυ[του λογ]ον υποστησομαι

8.  $\epsilon \kappa \beta o \lambda \epsilon \iota s$ : sic, apparently; the reading is not certain, but  $\iota$  seems more likely than  $\alpha$ . 17.  $[\tau] \dot{\varphi}$ : sic, apparently, but not certainly.

 $\kappa[a]\iota$  επερ[/] ωμολ . . . . . . . Αυρ[/] Σιλβανος ο προ<sup>κ</sup> ειρηναρχος επιδεδωκ[α] Αυρ/ Αμμώνιος εγρα[ψα]  $[v]\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\alpha v\tau$ ,  $[\gamma\rho]$ ,  $\mu\eta$   $\epsilon\iota[\delta o]^{\tau}$ δι' εμ[ου] . . . χου εγραφη

21.  $\omega\mu$ o $\lambda$ ....): the traces do not suggest either  $\omega\mu$ o $\lambda$ o $\gamma\eta$ ) or  $\omega \mu o \lambda / \omega s \pi \rho o \kappa /$ , but the former is just possible. It is not clear whether the subscription is in a different hand from the body of the document. If not, the document may be a copy. It is 1661, 29. The name may be Eximaxov.

noteworthy that the irenarch cannot write.

24. Possibly not in the same hand as the rest, but it may be the same scribe spreading the letters out more. Cf. note on

#### PAPYRUS 1650.—A. D. 373 (?).

Inv. No. 1609 C. Acquired in 1906. [Hermopolis?]  $1 \text{ in.} \times 10\frac{1}{4} \text{ in.}$  In a small sloping cursive hand, along the fibres.

CO small is this strip of papyrus from a report of a law case that it would not be worth giving but for the name of a praeses which it contains and for its mention of the riparii (see introduction to 1648). The praeses can be identified with certainty. On the back is a date corresponding to the year A. D. 373, and though this is written in a different hand from the report on the recto it probably refers to it, since there is no trace of anything besides the date having been written. In any case, it gives some indication of the date of the law case, which was heard by the praeses Julius Eubulius Julianus. Now in P. Lips. i. 52, 53, dated in 372, the praeses of the Thebaid is Julius Julianus, and since the Thebaid is the probable provenance of the present document, the majority of the Early Byzantine papyri acquired in 1906 being from the Hermopolite nome, the identification of the present praeses with that in the Leipzig documents is at once suggested. That it is correct is confirmed by Prof. Wilcken, who states that an unpublished Leipzig papyrus (Inv. 366), dated in 372, is addressed Ἰουλί $[\phi]$  Εὐβ[ ]λί $\phi$  Ἰ[o]υλιαν $\hat{\phi}$  τ $\hat{\phi}$  λαμπροτάτ $\phi$  $\mathrm{E}\dot{\nu}\beta[o\nu]\lambda i\omega$  is evidently to be read, and the identification is therefore certain. Lips. i. 52, 13 Mitteis reads Ἰουλίου Ἰουλιανιο[υλ]ιανου, explaining as an example of dittography; but Wilcken writes: 'Ich habe mir in meinem Exemplar notiert: 'Ιουλίου 'Ιουλιαν(οῦ) 'Ϊουβιανοῦ. Letzteres wäre vielleicht Jovianus? Aber das habe ich vor einigen Jahren gelesen, gebe es nur mit Vorbehalt. Dann wäre also der volle Name: Ἰούλιος Εὐβούλιος Ἰουλιανὸς Ἰουβιανός. praeses see in addition Cantarelli, ii, p. 41.

Small as the fragment is, it enables us to form some idea of the subject of the dispute. It -was clearly one as to the ownership of property. The advocate of one of the parties grounds his claim on the possession of the documents of sale, and the praeses states that in that case the possession will be given to his clients. The advocate asks that this may be done  $\beta o \eta \theta \epsilon i a$   $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ The reply of the praeses is lost, but may probably have been in the affirmative. The invocation of the riparii in a case of this kind is doubtless to be connected with their police duties, and is of some interest as extending our knowledge of their functions.

It is to be noted that the report is written throughout in Greek, not in Latin, as was usual (apart from the speeches) at this period (see Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 86).

the perfunctory, unofficial script suggest that it was a transcript made for private purposes, with translation of the Latin, from the official journal; and this may give some support to the conjecture (l. 4, note) that H stands for  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\sigma$ s. A translator might very naturally use this rather than the usual  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\rho$  for advocatus. The original would presumably have the advocate's name in full. The same remark may very likely be applicable to Lond. 971, which is clearly no official transcript.

Lastly, it may be remarked that the fragment seems likely to come from near the end of the document. This conjecture, probable from the internal evidence, is supported by the fact that there is only a single layer of papyrus, the fibres being horizontal on both sides. As both sides are used, one layer must have flaked off in antiquity, and this is likely to have occurred at the end rather than in the middle of the roll.

2 ] . . . . νομης ανά . . . . . χορ . . προνοια των ριπαριων εχομεν γαρ μετα χειρας τας πρά σις // Ιουλιος Ευβουλιος Ιουλιανος ο λαμπροτατος ηγεμων ει) ει και πρασιν εχεις και νομην ηνεχθη σεται σοι η νομη Η βοηθεια των ριπαριων // Ιουλιος Ευβουλιος Ι[ουλ]ι[ανος ο λαμπροτατος ηγεμων

Verso, along the fibres, the opposite way up:

- 5 (2nd hand) μετα την υπατειαν Δομιτιου Μοδεστου του λαμπροτατου επαρχου του ιερου πραιτωρι ου και Φλαυιου [Α]ρινθεου του λαμπροτατου στρατηλατου
- 2. Above this line towards the end are traces of letters in the preceding line, ending with  $\zeta \omega$ . [.

3. ει): εἶπεν.

 $\epsilon$ ι και κτλ.: i.e., apparently, 'if in addition to the actual possession  $(\nu o \mu \dot{\eta})$  you have the document of sale, the possession will be secured to you.'

ηνεχθησεται: sic, apparently.

4. H: the advocate is indicated by this symbol or abbreviation.

Wilcken (Grundzüge, p. 86, note 2) and Mitteis (Chrest. 95, 9, note) take the similar symbol in P. Lond. iii. 971 (p. 128) as a Latin letter, but this may be doubted. In the present case also the traces most obviously suggest  $\pi$ . The coincidence is very likely a mere accident, but it may perhaps suggest that the same word is indicated in both cases; if so, it must be a common noun rather than a personal name; perhaps  $\pi a \rho \acute{a} \kappa \lambda \eta \tau o s$  as equivalent to the Latin advocatus?

### PAPYRUS 1651.—20 Apr., A. D. 363.

Inv. No. 1607. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $10\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a clumsy irregular cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded at right angles to the fibres, perhaps from left to right.

In previous volumes of this catalogue petitions, being of a character intermediate between official and private, have been placed by themselves; but since the present one is the only petition of the Early Byzantine period in this volume sufficiently well preserved to be worth publishing it is more convenient to class it with official documents.

It is unfortunate that it is in such a bad state of preservation and in addition rather

badly written, as it is of some interest. It is a petition by an inhabitant of Hermopolis to the strategus, complaining that during his absence from home his wife has carried off the contents of his house, including valuable legal documents. Having failed to get them back, he requests the strategus to secure the offender and place her under arrest pending the arrival of the *praeses*, before whom he intends to take proceedings.

For the strategus in the fourth century see Gelzer, Studien, p. 50 ff.; Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 77. Gelzer showed that the strategus mentioned in documents of this period was not the strategus of Roman times, whose office was probably abolished at the same time as the old nomeorganization, but was merely a synonym for the new exactor, who inherited the financial functions of the strategus. The present document is of interest because the rôle of the strategus here does not fit very well into the definition of the exactor's duties as concerned exclusively with matters directly or indirectly affecting the finances, but is suitable rather to the Roman strategus. The fact that the documents concerned related to property and in particular to sales of house property (ll. 13-14) may bring them into the sphere of the exactor's functions, but the connexion is not exactly obvious; and the petition, if rightly addressed to the exactor, may perhaps indicate that his authority was rather more general than has been supposed.

For other late instances of στρατηγός as = exactor see P. Oxy. ix. 1190 (A. D. 347); i. 66 (357); vii. 1057 (362); Wilcken, *Chrest.* 43, introd. (369-370). It is to be noticed that the strategus is described as of the *city* (Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 78).

<sup>6.</sup>  $\epsilon \tau \iota$ : Kenyon. Or possibly  $\epsilon \pi \iota = \epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota$ .

<sup>7.</sup> καιροτηρησαμενη: the beginning is a correction; or possibly  $a\iota$  has been altered to  $\eta$ .

<sup>9.</sup>  $\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha s$ : Kenyon. The reading, which is doubtful, is quite possible if we suppose that the  $\eta$  is a correction (perhaps from  $\epsilon$ ) or has been muddled. The traces at first suggest rather  $\tau\eta s$   $\mu\alpha s$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha s$ ;  $\epsilon\mu\eta s$ , which is a priori more likely, is hardly possible.  $\tau\eta s$   $\mu\alpha s$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha s$  might be a clumsy way of indicating that the petitioner has two houses (a town and a country house?), and that it was only one of them which his wife rifled.

<sup>11-12.</sup> Very difficult.  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \mu \pi o \nu'$  is not a certain reading; for the over-written  $\nu$ ,  $a\iota$  might be read. For  $\kappa \lambda a\iota a$ ,  $\kappa \lambda a\iota b$  is perhaps

just possible, though unlikely.  $\epsilon\pi i$   $\sigma\epsilon$  cannot be read, as there is a letter between  $\iota$  and  $\sigma$ . This letter looks like  $\iota$  or  $\sigma$ .  $a\nu\epsilon\sigma\chi\nu\nu\tau\sigma$ ... is some part or derivative of  $d\nu al\sigma\chi\nu\nu\tau\sigma$ ; possibly  $a\nu\epsilon\sigma\chi\nu\nu\tau\sigma$  [ $\tau\alpha$ ] $\tau$ [ $\sigma$ ] $\nu$ . At the beginning of l. 12  $\delta\epsilon$ , which we should expect, is not perhaps quite impossible. The sense of the whole may be that the petitioner repeatedly sent to his wife (or summoned her before some official), and that sometimes she came and sometimes refused, but that in either case she had failed to restore the stolen property.

<sup>13.</sup>  $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\epsilon s$ :  $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma s$  was first written and afterwards corrected by writing  $\epsilon$  above the line.

- 15 α[φ]η[σ]υχασαι επιδ[ι]δωμι τ[η ση] συνεσει ταδε τ[α] βιβλια α[ξι]ων ταυτην [πα]νταχοθε[ν] αχθηνε και εν ασφαλει εινα[ι] α[χρι] της ευτυχους επιδημιας του κυριου μου διασημοτατου ηγεμονος Κερεαλιου Τηλεφιου Γεροκλε[ου]ς εμου μελλοντος
  20 την περι τουτου εντυχιαν ποι[η]σασθαι διευτυχει
- $\dot{\Upsilon}$ πατ[ει]ας της προκε[ι]μενης Φαρμουθι  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\epsilon}$  (2nd hand) Αυρ' Διο[ς Α]πολλωνος [ε]πιδεδωκα Αυρ' Ολ . [. .]ς Παθερμουθιο[υ εγραψ]α υπερ α) γραμμη [μη  $\epsilon$ ι]δο

15. αφησυχασαι: corrected from -σει. Cf. P. Amh. ii. 141 (= Mitteis, Chrest. 126), 15.

συνέσει: corrected from συνέσει in the same way as πρασεις in l. 13.

16.  $\tau a \nu \tau \eta \nu$ : Hunt. The  $\nu \tau$  is however very doubtful and looks rather more like  $\sigma$ .  $\pi a \nu \tau a \chi \delta \theta \epsilon \nu$  must mean 'from wherever she may be'.

19. Κερεαλιου Τηλεφιου Ιεροκλεους: apparently a hitherto unknown praeses of the Thebaid.

22.  $A\pi o \lambda \lambda \omega vos$ : the earlier part, if rightly read, is much cramped. This subscription is in paler ink than the body of the document.

23. Oλ . . . s: there is perhaps room for Ολυμπιος.

#### PAPYRUS 1652.—First half of 4th Century.

Inv. No. 1613. Acquired in 1906. Possibly Fayum.  $8\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 2\frac{7}{8}$  in. In a clear regular upright cursive hand, along the fibres.

CO incomplete is this papyrus that it is impossible to say what is its subject or to be certain That it properly falls under the category of official documents, and it would not be worth publishing but for the interesting personal names it contains. It is an account or register; that it is official seems likely, but as already remarked cannot be regarded as certain. Its provenance is also a matter of uncertainty. The papyri of this period acquired in 1906 come almost entirely from the Hermopolite nome, but the names here do not suggest that district, and several of them do on the contrary point to the Fayum. Thus the name Sakaon seems, in published papyri, not to occur outside the Fayum except, in the form Σακαύων, in Oxy. vii. 1059, 4. In the Fayum, besides the well-known Sakaon of the Theadelphia fourth century papyri, we have a Sakaon son of Artemas in Lond. ii. 250 (p. 310; circ. A. D. 350), a Sakaon son of Petmoutius in Gen. 65, 4 of about the same date (but see Jouguet's remark, P. Thead. p. 26), and probably a different Sakaon in Thead. 22, 6; etc. Aion again, though known in the Hermopolite nome (e.g. Lond. iii. 1157, 96, 155, pp. 65, 67), at Memphis (Wessely, Studien, x. 296 verso, 6), and at Heracleopolis (UKF. 367, 1), is far more common in the Fayum. Alypius also points in the same direction, and one or two of the other names occur in the Abinnaeus accounts, Lond. ii, pp. 307-311; Gen. 63-65. The Sakaon father of Aion (l. 3) and the Sakaon father of Timotheus (l. 20), though they may be the same person, are apparently distinct from the Sakaon of Theadelphia, who does not seem to have had any sons of these names.

On the verso is a small portion of a money account with the large sums characteristic of the earlier part of the fourth century.

```
[.....δ[ινου δ[ι'
   Σασε Σουρεως δι' Αιων[ος
    Αιων Σακαωνος Αραβ[οτοξοτης?
    Πτολεμαιος Πασιγεν[ους
5 Απολλων Δημητριου [
    Πιτον καστελλιτης [
    Κυριλλος ο και Θεοδωρ[ος
    Ιεκων Τερηουτος δι' [
    Ηρων Ατουφιου δι/ Η[ρωνος?
10 Λασκας Π[...]ς δι/ Α[
    και δι' Πα[μιδωρου?
    Κοδων Ηρων[05
    Τευης και Παριτο δι' κλ[ηρονομων?
    Ατας Ηρωνος δι' Παμιδω[ρου?
15 Αυνης Ακουλεως δι'.[
    Aras E\beta\eta\tau\epsilon\omegas \delta\iota \Lambda\pio\lambda\lambda[\omega\nuos?
    Αλυπιος Διοσκορο[υ
    Ωριων Αιωνεως δ[ι/
    Ταπαεις Λατουτος δι' . [
20 Τιμοθέος Σακαωνος [
    Ηρας ταυρελατης [
    Ηρων Ατουφιου δι' Ηρ[ωνος?
     Θερμουθαριον Πασιγεν[ους
    Κυριλλα `Ακυλα'ου δι' Ηρωνος [
25 Βαλβινος γυμή δι Ιερ[
    Σαραπιων Κυμινου δι' [
     Σανσις και Ελλας δι' Πα[μιδωρου?
     και δι/ Αρεσιου
```

1. δι/: διά.

3. Αραβοτοξοτης: Hunt, who refers to P. Amh. ii. 77, 4. αραβ[αρχης (for which see P. Cair. Masp. ii. 67166, 8; Wilcken, Ostr. i, p. 350 f.; Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, s. υυ. Alabarches and Arabarches) is unlikely here. If Αραβοτοξότης is right, it perhaps gives some support to the view that the document comes from the Fayum, as Amh. 77 is from that district.

6. καστελλιτης: rather more like κεστελλιτης, but that seems inexplicable, whereas καστελλιτης may be a derivative of κάστελλου. If the reading is correct it seems likely that the word may correspond to castellarius, 'Aufseher bei einem castellum (= Reservoir)' (Kubitschek in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, s. v.). κάστελλα in the sense of reservoirs are known in the Fayum from

Lond. iii. 1177 (p. 180) = Wilcken, Chrest. 193.

8. Ιεκων: this seems the reading.

9. H[ $\rho\omega\nu$ os: see l. 22, where the same person pays through H $\rho$ [, and l. 24, where Heron appears as an agent through whom a payment is made.

A[: perhaps A[ιωνος (l. 2) or A[πολλωνος (l. 16).

11. Παμιδωρου : cf. l. 14.

14.  $\Pi a\mu \iota \delta \omega \rho \sigma v$ : this seems the easiest reading; cf. too l. 27.  $\Lambda \rho \tau \epsilon \mu \iota \mu$  is out of the question.

19.  $\Lambda \alpha \tau \sigma \nu \tau \sigma s$ :  $\lambda$  apparently corrected from  $\alpha$ .

24. Perhaps ou is a scribal blunder which was not corrected when Ακυλα was inserted.

25. γυμί : probably γυμνοσιαρχήσας.

#### PAPYRUS 1653.—4th Century.

Inv. No. 1757 recto. Acquired in 1907. Panopolite nome. 11\frac{3}{4} in. x 1 ft. 0\frac{1}{4} in., with some fragments. In a small neat upright rather flourished cursive hand, along the fibres. Recto of 1654.

IN the case of this register again it is not easy to determine whether it properly belongs to the category of official documents. Its scope suggests that it does; but this is rendered somewhat doubtful by the fact that several of the payments are described as είς τὸ δ(ημόσιον) (see 1. 9, note), which suggests a tax-payment. The register may relate to the estate of a large landowner or possibly to that of a  $\pi \delta \lambda is$  or other corporation. The payments are usually in money, being then in solidi and fractions of a solidus; in other cases corn is paid. Where corn is paid, no money appears, and vice versa; moreover the corn is always paid  $\epsilon is \tau \delta \delta(\eta \mu \delta \sigma \iota o \nu)$ , the money never. This suggests, as at least a possible explanation of the account, that it is a register of rents paid by the tenants either of a private landowner or of a corporation, and that in some cases the tenant was instructed, in lieu of rent, to pay a proportion of the embola for which the landlord was liable direct to the authorities. This would save the landlord the trouble of making his embola-payments himself. But this is of course only a conjecture, and too little remains of the account to make certainty possible.

Most of the names are preceded by the word  $\kappa\lambda\eta^{-}$ . They are most of them of a type characteristically Byzantine; and though such κλήρος-names are common enough in late papyri one would expect in the fourth century a fair proportion of names of the earlier type. The question may therefore be raised whether  $\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}(\rho os)$  is to be read; whether  $\kappa\lambda\eta(\rho o\nu\delta\mu o\iota)$  is not a more likely extension. Κληρονόμοι however seems to be ruled out by l. 19, where the personal name and description is followed by  $\kappa(\alpha i)$   $\kappa o (\nu \omega \nu \hat{\omega} \nu)$ ; and on the whole  $\kappa \lambda \hat{\eta} \rho o s$  seems the likeliest extension. The names are presumably those of the present occupiers. If the register is one of rents, they cannot be the owners of the  $\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}\rho\omega$ .

Only two headings are preserved, both incomplete. The first shows that the following section of the account relates to the three  $\mu\epsilon\rho$ i $\delta\epsilon$ s of the οἰκονομία of Ψινάβλα. This place is known as a village in the Panopolite nome; see 1692 (a), 7, (b), 5; Cair. Masp. ii. 67264; and no doubt **1460**, 98; **1461**, 5, where it appears as  $\Psi \omega \alpha \beta \epsilon \lambda [\epsilon]$  in the Panopolite pagarchy. It is very likely the same as Psinaula in the Notitia Dignitatum (ed. Seeck), Or. xxxi. 54, where the 'ala secunda Herculia dromedariorum', under the authority of the Dux of the Thebaid, is stationed at it, and Ψινάβλα της Θηβαΐδος of Athanasius, Hist. Arianorum ad Monachos, § 72 (Migne, Patr. Gr. XXV, col. 780), where Adelphius is banished thither. See too H. Gauthier, Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. or. iv, p. 82; x, p. 94 (the latter volume not yet accessible to the present editor).

The second heading contains only one word, which is unfortunately of too doubtful a sense to explain the nature of the account.

Col. 1.]

this (see ll. 57-62).

I.  $q \mu q$ :  $\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{48}$ . It is not certain how much is lost before 2. The o's inserted here and in following lines are merely marks to guide the eye from the name to the money entry, like

```
νοαμέ
 5
                                     \epsilon is \tau o \delta^{[-]} \sigma i \vartheta_{\alpha} ia \vartheta
                           ]τιου Απα Χ[...]φιου
10
                           ] Ellyvidos \epsilonis το δ- \sigmai \theta- \kappa \beta5/
12 [....]. [... τ]ων \bar{\gamma} μεριδων της \bar{\alpha} \bar{\nu}^{\tau} οικονομίας Ψιναβλα
12 a
     [κλ]η^{[-]} Μιαω[τος? μ]ισθωτου
     [\kappa\lambda\eta^{-}] \Pia\nue\chi[a\tau0]\nu \kappa, \Pia\chi0\nu\mu10\nu
15 [κλη^-] Αβρααμ[ι]ου Πανεχατου
                                                                      ο νο ζ γκδ
      κλ[η^-] Πεβωτος ποιμενος
      κλη- Φοιβαμμωνος ποιμί
      κλη - Ϊωαν[νου] ποιμενος
      κλη - Ατρητος [κε]φαλαιω κ κοι -
20 [κλη] Παπνου[θιο]υ Κομωδου
                                                                      [ο ν°] β Υ=
      κλη[ about 14 letters ]υ
                                                                      [o] ν[o] αγκδ
                        do.
                                      ].
      \kappa[\lambda]\eta^-
      \kappa[\lambda\eta^- \text{ about 15 letters }].
                                                                     [o] v^o a
      \kappa[\lambda\eta]^- [about 14 letters]. ov
                                                       [o] o [o \nu^o] \alpha
                                                              [ο ο] ν<sup>[σ]</sup> αδ'
25 \kappa[\lambda\eta]^- \dots o\nu[\dots] \cdot [o]v
                                                       ο [ο ο νο] αδ΄
      \kappa \lambda \eta^{-1} \dot{I} \omega a[\nu] \nu o \nu \pi[o] \iota \mu \epsilon \nu[o] s
      κλη - Βικτορος Μακ[α]ρι[ο]υ
      κλη- Παχουμιου Παπνουθιου
      κλη Τεβωτος Διου
                                           / εις το δ- σι θ- ...[
30
   Col. 2.]
      \kappa\lambda\eta^- \Pi[
      κλη- Ψατου [
      κλη - Πεβωτ[ο]ς Μακ[αριου?
```

our modern dots or asterisks. Dots are plentifully employed for the same purpose in the Aphrodito registers in vol. iv.

9.  $\epsilon_{18}$   $\tau_{0}$   $\delta^{-}$ : cf. ll. 11, 30, 36, 40, 54-59. The over-written stroke, being in ll. 11 and 59 slightly curved, might stand for v, but probably the abbreviation is to be explained as  $= \delta_{\eta\mu}\delta\sigma\iota_{0}v$ ; cf.  $\tau_{0}\hat{v}$   $\delta[\eta\mu]o\sigma\dot{\iota}(ov)$  in 1654, 3 and frequently. These payments then, always of corn, are tax-payments or payments of corn for the public service; see the introduction. The symbol  $\Im_{0}$ , here and often elsewhere, is made with a straight first stroke, of the shape of a minuscule  $\lambda$ .

12. Evidently a heading. It may have begun with χωρησιμων;

cf. l. 47, note. o $\tilde{v}r\omega s$  below this line is equivalent to our viz.; it is the origin of the symbol  $\sigma$ —, which developed from ov— (1654, 8, 10).

19. κεφαλαιωτ(ου) κ(αι) κοι(νωνων): for the title κεφαλαιωτής see Gelzer, Studien, p. 47 f., and especially Jouguet, P. Thead. 22, 4, note, who is followed by Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 410; now too Reil, Beiträge z. Kennt. d. Gewerbes, p. 194. Jouguet shows that the word corresponds to the Lat. capitularius.

33.  $\Pi \epsilon \beta \omega \tau o s$ : the reading seems obviously suggested, but into the lower part of s comes a horizontal stroke which is difficult to reconcile with the reading  $\tau[o]s$ .

```
\kappa\lambda\eta^- Ωρου Πα\pi\nuου\theta[ιου
35 κλη- Πετρου Ενωχ
                                               [
      κλη- Ψουκιου Ψατου
      κλη - Πατχολ Πεωρ Τασαϊτος [
      κλη- Παχουμιου Ψαϊτ[ο]ς
      κλη- Ψατου Ϊωαννου όριοδ-
40 κλη Παοντε Πουαλελαϊ εις το [\delta^-
      Μωϋσεως πρεσβε
      Πεβωτος Αμμωνιου
                                            0 [
      Πετεμουωτος . [
      \Delta[\omega]\rho\iota\omega\nuos \Pi[
45 [...] \omega \Theta[...] \in \lambda. [
      Φοι[βαμμωνο]ς Τ[
   χωρησιμω[ν
      I\omega a\nu \nu o[v] \kappa \epsilon \phi[a] \lambda [a\iota \omega^{\tau}]
      I\omega[a]\nu[\nu]ου \pi\rho^{\epsilon}/ του αγιου
                                               。[
         Α[πα] Ιωαννου
50
      κλη - Ανουπ Ψενθαμινιος
                                              0
       κλη- Ψεκητος Παβωϊτος
                                               0
       κλη - Πβηκιου Σανσνωτος
                                            εις [το δ-
       κλη Ψενταηυουτος
 55 κλη- Ψαϊτος Απολλωνιου
                                            εις [το δ-
       \kappa\lambda\eta^- Θεοδωρου Διοσκορου εις [το δ<sup>-</sup>
       . .
    Fragments 1 and 2 (probably of col. 1).]
              ] \kappa \in \phi \alpha^{\lambda} \in [\iota_S \tau_O \delta^-] \sigma_{\iota} \theta_{-} \sigma_{\delta} \delta[\ell]
                 ] [i \tau o s \in [\iota s \tau o] \delta^- \sigma \iota \delta_- [
                        \epsilon]is to \delta^- \sigma[i \ \theta_-
    Fragment 3 (probably of col. 1).]
                ] Παυλο[υ
 60
                ] Ψαϊτο[ς
                ] Πετρ[ου
```

37. Tagoīros: over the  $\iota$  are two circles, like those in the lines of the account, instead of dots. So too in the other cases.

39. δριοδ<sup>-</sup>: δριοδείκτου; cf. P. Cair. Preis. 8 (= Wilcken, Chrest. 240), 9. The curved stroke above the o is most likely accidental, but is perhaps just possibly intended as a breathing.

44. Δωριωνος: a doubtful reading.

47. χωρησιμων: l. probably χωρισίμων. The word occurs in P. Flor. i. 64, 9, 35, 79 (Wilcken, Archiv, iv, p. 449), apparently referring to lands, which suits well with the present passage. Herwerden, Lex. Suppl. 2nd ed. s. v., translates 'separatus, a. v. χωρίζειν,' but what class of land is designated by the word

and why the land is so described is obscure, and the present passage contributes nothing to the explanation. This heading may be parallel to that in l. 12; a trace on the right would suit  $\tau$ , so that we might read  $\tau[\omega\nu \ x \ \mu\epsilon\rho\iota\delta\omega\nu \ o\iota\kappaο\nuο\mu\iota as \ \tau\eta s \ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu os \ or \ \tau[\eta s \ o\iota\kappaο\nuο\mu\iota as \ \tau\eta s \ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu os \ simply.$ 

57. This was the first line of the column. It is not clear whether l. I followed directly on l. 59, but it may have done so, as there is a space above it, which shows that the preceding line was either an incomplete line continued in l. I or one containing a wheat payment.

### PAPYRUS 1654.—4th Century.

Inv. No. 1757 verso (see 1653). In a hand of similar formation to that of 1653, but larger, looser, and less regular, across the fibres.

THIS account is written on the back of 1653 by a different hand, and evidently relates to the same estate or estates. It is again uncertain whether it is official in character. Payments to  $\beta oo\tau\rho \delta\phi o\iota$  in the public service (l. 3) suggest that it may be, and  $o\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\kappa\hat{\omega}\nu$  in l. 1 makes in the same direction, but neither is conclusive. The account is in a very bad state of preservation. There are remains of a previous column and fragments from the upper part of that published. Opposite the second line upwards from l. 1 of the text was written the word  $o\phi\epsilon\iota^{\lambda}$ . The account is for expenses, mainly for salaries.

```
🗗 ως π[αντ]ων ουσιακ[ων
           τοις \pi \epsilon \rho i \chi v^{\tau} S \beta o \omega \tau \rho o \phi [ois]
           τοις βοωτροφοις του \delta[\eta\mu]οσι/ \times [σαλαρ/?
           \overline{v\pi\epsilon\rho} τιμ^{\eta} κουφ/ πεπεισ\sigmaοκο\pi[
           τω μεγαλοπρί Δημητριω [..]πο.[
           \overline{v\pi\epsilon\rho} \tau\iota\mu\rangle^{\eta} \kappa\circ v\phi/ \circ\mu\circ\iota/ \pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\circ\kappa\circ v\mu\rangle^{\epsilon} [.]..[
     εις λογον οψωνι' \S δι . ρ . και βεσ^{\tau} διαφορων π[ροσωπων]
          τοις ϋποτεταγ<sup>μ</sup> απο χ<sup>ω</sup> Ψιναβλ[α Φ]ιλοξενου
10
           ο τω λογογραφω της αυτ [οικ]ονομιας [? Ψιν]αβ'λ'α σαλ[αρ/
          ο Κοσμα παιδι και α[.....] και \times σαλαρ/ $ \betaεσ^{\tau} ολ[/ ενιαν^{\tau}?
                   ως υποτετακτ[αι . . . . . . . . . ] . \nu^{o} [. .]\gamma
                   \times salari/ S . [. . . . . . . . ] . . . . \kappa[ai?
15
                        ] . \rho . . . \sigma\piουτερος [. . v\pi]ερ \sigmaαλ[α]ρι' αv^{\tau} ολ' ενιαv[^{\tau} δ'' ινδι<sup>κ</sup>
                        ] . . \pi o i \dots v \pi \epsilon \rho \sigma a \lambda a \rho i' a v^{\tau} o \lambda' \epsilon \nu i a v^{\tau} \delta'' i \nu \delta i^{\kappa}
```

- 1. Ø: ὁμοῦ. The symbol occurs frequently in the sixth century Aphrodito Papyri.
- 2. βοωτροφοίς: = βοοτρόφοις, another form of βουτρόφοις. Those mentioned in the next line were in the public service, and possibly του δημοσιου is to be supplied here.
- 3.  $\times$ : cf. l. 14, where alone the symbol is sufficiently complete to show its shape. It evidently =  $i\pi\epsilon\rho$  (cf. l. 17), but differs in form both from the earlier ( $\times$ ) and the later ( $\times$ ) forms of the symbol for that word. Is this the meaning of the doubtful symbol in P. Flor. i. 64, 11, which Wilcken (Archiv, iv, p. 449), takes as the letter  $\chi$ ?
  - σαλαρ(ιου): cf. ll. 11, 12, 14-17.
- 4. L. κούφ(ων) πεπισσοκοπημένων. The letter over  $\pi$  should be  $\eta$ , but it is not clear that it is. In l. 6 the clerk has written πεπεισσκουμίζ, and possibly here too the reading is πεπεισσοκουμίζ

- [ $\mu$ f], though the traces differ somewhat from those in l. 6. A  $\kappa o \hat{v} \phi o \nu$  was a large jar or tun; see the references given in Herwerden, Lex Suppl.
- 7. δι. ρ.: hardly διατρ(οφη̂s).  $\beta \epsilon \sigma^{\tau}$  is more probably  $\beta \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \omega \nu$  than  $\beta \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \alpha \rho \iota \omega \nu$ ; cf. l. 12.
  - 8.  $ov = = ov \tau \omega s$ ; cf. 1653, 12, note.
- 9. Φιλοξενου: apparently part of the place-name, as the  $\dot{\nu}$ ποτεταγμένοι are the persons specified in ll. 11 and 12.  $\chi^{\omega}$  is corr. from  $\psi$ .
- 11. o. Merely to fill the space, this line and the next being indented.
  - σαλαρ(ιου): σοχ[ is an equally possible reading.
    12. a[: perhaps a[λλοιs; or a name, e.g. A[θανασιω. ολ(ου) ενιαυτ(ου): cf. ll. 16, 17.
  - 15. S: καί (?).

#### 2. Private Documents.

### PAPYRUS 1655.—14 June, 364.

Inv. No. 1759. Acquired in 1907. Oxyrhynchus.  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{3}{8}$  in. In a rapid irregular sloping cursive hand, across the fibres. Probably folded from the bottom upwards.

THIS document is at present very imperfectly read, but it seems worth publishing, as in several of the undeciphered passages conjectures can be verified from the MS. It is an order to deliver two and a half litrae of meat for a purpose at present uncertain. That it comes from Oxyrhynchus is shown by the date, which is by the double era of that city.

```
Απφους και Ϊσιδωριανος Απολλωνιω μαγιρ/ \pi[αρα] δος Παμουθιω απο Αλκυονεως συνλημ φθεντι εις τους νυν παρισταμ[ενο]ν[ς] εως ... υπερ της εννοιας των κυριών μον 5 ... λεων της ζ S ινδικτιονος ν δαπανης ... χθετως απ ... ... [.....] κρεως \lambda βL' (2nd hand) ερρωσθαι σε ευχ' \piο[\lambdaλ] \chi ς S δος κρ/ \lambda βζ' (1st hand) L \mu S' \theta S' Παυνι κ (3rd hand) ερρωσθαι σε ευχ' \piολλ' κυ κ) δος \lambda βL'
```

- If.  $\pi a \rho a | \delta os$ : possibly  $\delta os$  (cf. ll. 8, 10), as  $\pi$  is an uncertain reading, but it is not clear in that case what can have been written.  $\chi a \iota \rho \epsilon \iota \nu$  is impossible.
  - 2. Αλκυονεως: presumably a village name.
  - 3.  $\epsilon \omega s$ : or  $\epsilon \alpha s$ ;  $\epsilon \iota s$  seems impossible.
- 4. ευνοιαs: this reading, which was suggested by Prof. Hunt, is just possible, as a very small trace of ink above the line may be part of v. In the line itself there is certainly not room for more than one letter.

 $\mu ov$ : sic, apparently;  $\eta \mu \omega v$  is hardly possible.

- 5. . . . λεων : βασιλεων is impossible. The traces look like γελλεων or σελλεων.
  - $v^{)}$ : =  $i\pi\epsilon\rho$ .
- 7.  $\lambda := \lambda i \tau \rho a s$ .
- 8. χ.s: this, which is written like χυs, is no doubt an abbreviation or slurred writing of χρόνοις.
- 9.  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu o\iota s$  or an abbreviation seems hardly possible after  $\pi o\lambda\lambda$ , which therefore must stand for  $\pi o\lambda\lambda o\imath s$   $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu o\iota s$  (or  $\pi o\lambda\lambda\acute{a}$ ?).  $\kappa^{\nu}$  perhaps  $= \kappa\acute{\nu}\rho\iota \epsilon$ . The word does not seem to be the same here as in 1. 8, as  $\chi$  is certain there and practically impossible here.

## PAPYRUS 1656.—4th Century.

Inv. No. 1616 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance doubtful; perhaps the Fayum. Extreme dimensions  $5\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times$   $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a fair-sized slightly sloping cursive hand, with a thin pen, along the fibres. Apparently folded from right to left.

THE nature of this document is not quite certain. In form it is an acknowledgement by Aur. Apion, a pincerna, to Fl. Vitalianus of a loan of a quantity of  $\kappa o \hat{\nu} \phi a$  (see note on l. 6); but in l. 8 ff. Apion seems to acknowledge the receipt of the price of the same  $\kappa o \hat{\nu} \phi a$ . The document would therefore appear to be a sale in advance, in the form of a (fictitious) loan, Apion agreeing to deliver the  $\kappa o \hat{\nu} \phi a$  at some future date. It may in that case be compared (though not an exact parallel) with the class of documents represented by 1774

(see the introduction there), the exact nature of which has been disputed; cf. Wilcken, Archiv, v, p. 253, on Strassb. 1. It may then be taken as giving some support to Wenger's view of that class of documents as 'Pränumerationskauf'; but the mutilation of the document makes the above explanation doubtful; it is not clear either whether the price was specified (in l. 11 f.; but cf. Oxy. iv. 728, where also the price is specified) or what provisions were made as to repayment. If the document is really a sale in advance, we may suppose either that the  $\kappa o \hat{\nu} \phi a$  were to be manufactured (though in that case it is curious that the vendor is a pincerna), or that Apion was acting as a middleman, and was to purchase the  $\kappa o \hat{\nu} \phi a$  from dealers and deliver them later.

As regards provenance, it is possible that a clue is afforded by the mention of Fl. Vitalianus. A person of this name occurs in P. Grenf. i. 54, 3 as  $\gamma \epsilon o \nu \chi o \hat{\nu} \nu \tau \hat{\psi}$  'A $\rho(\sigma \iota \nu o \dot{\tau} \tau \eta)$ . The date of that document is A. D. 378, and the hand of the present fragment suits the suggested period very well. Moreover, the name Vitalianus was sufficiently uncommon in Egypt to give the coincidence some value. It is true that most of the Early Byzantine papyri in the 1906 purchase come from the Hermopolite nome, but one, 1652, may, as we have seen, very likely be from the Fayum, and the papyri of the Roman period include a fair number from that district.

```
Φαμενωθ [
Ομολογει Αυρηλιος Απιων Α[
των πολεως πινκερνης [
Φλ' Ουιταλιανω γεουχουντι [εν τη αυτη πολει]
5 εχειν παρ αυτου τον ομολογο[υντα και]
Χρεωστειν κουφα διπλα ε[ντομια και]
Θηβαεικων διπλα κουφα χιλι[α] ν . . . [
επληρωθη ο Απιων παρα του Φλ' Ουιταλια[νου]
την των εντομιων και των Θηβαεικ[ων] κ[ουφων ?]
την συμπεφωνημενην μ[εταξυ αυτων τελειαν ?]
τιμη[ν . . .] . . . ε . . . λετών [
κα[
```

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

] κουφων διπλ[ων

- 1. Above this line the upper layer of papyrus has peeled off, leaving only the lower layer, except in one or two places, where small traces of at least one line are visible. The papyrus on the left is entirely gone, but as there is a blank space before  $\Phi a\mu \epsilon \nu \delta \theta$  it seems likely that nothing was written, and that  $\Phi a\mu \epsilon \nu \delta \theta$  begins a short line, concluding the date.
- 2. At the end of this line may possibly be read (see the introduction) απο της Αρσινοί].
- 5. Nothing more than και seems required. Possibly Απιωνα was read after ομολογουντα.
- 6. εντομια: cf. l. 9. The meaning is doubtful, nor is it quite certain that the word is an adjective agreeing with κοῦφα rather than a noun in the genitive, indicating an article measured by κοῦφα. In favour of the latter explanation is the genitive Θηβαεικων in l. 7, which would point to the sense 'x double κοῦφα of ϵντόμια and 1,000 double κοῦφα of Theban —'. On the other hand, the

meaning of ἐντόμια would then be quite obscure, and, moreover, since  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}$  alone gives no satisfactory sense, we should have to find room in 1. 6 not only for the quantity of  $\kappaοῦφα$  ἐντομίων but also for a noun with which  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\nu$  could agree; and the space seems insufficient. Probably, therefore,  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\nu$  is a slip of the pen for  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$ , and the articles in question are  $\kappaοῦφα$  ἐντόμια and  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}$  κοῦφα. ἐντόμια may possibly refer to the shape of the  $\kappaοῦφα$ ;  $\epsilon\pi(\omega)\mu\iota\omega\nu$ , which might be explained as indicating  $\kappaοῦφα$  adapted for carrying on the shoulders, is hardly a possible reading in 1. 9.

7. Θηβαεικων: the θη is a later addition, apparently by a second hand.

10. τελειαν: some word seems required to fill the lacuna, but perhaps μεταξυ αυτων was spread out.

13. There are traces of a preceding line.

# PAPYRUS 1657.—4th-5th Century.

Inv. No. 1760. Acquired in 1907. Provenance unknown.  $6\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{5}{8}$  in. In a rough uneven cursive hand, along the fibres. Perhaps folded from right to left.

IST of utensils. As usual with such inventories, several of the words are new and of doubtful meaning, but the character of those which can be understood suggests that the inventory is one of an ironmonger's stock. There are slight traces of a column preceding that transcribed.

	κοτυλιν	а	
	λυτρις	a	
	λυχναρια	δ	
	κηκιν	a	
5	μικρην μικρ/	λεκαν) α οφ	βθαλ μικρ/
	πωμα κακκαβ		
	τ[υ]κανια	δ	
	χαλιναρ/	a	
	κανιστρα	a	
10	σωμαριστρα	δ	
	κ $v$ α $ heta$ ια	Ę	
	μαχαιρια .	$\boldsymbol{\theta}$	
	σφραγιστηρ/	β	
	κλιδια	δ	
15	ομοι/ ποτηροπ	λ, α	
	αταζα	a	

- 1. κοτυλιν: a diminutive ( = κοτύλιον) of κοτύλη.
- 2. λυτρις: or λυγρις. Apart from the third letter the reading is certain, but the meaning is obscure; possibly connected with λυτάρι, lorum quo canis venaticus alligatur (Ducange)?
  - 3. λυχναρια: no doubt lamp-stands.
- 4. κηκιν: the second κ seems certain, so that κηβιν (= κύβιον) is impossible. The first letter is doubtful. Possibly κηκίον or κηκεῖον, ink-pot (from κηκίς)?
- 5. Quite obscure.  $\lambda \epsilon \kappa a \nu i$  is presumably  $\lambda \epsilon \kappa \acute{a} \nu \eta$  or  $\lambda \epsilon \kappa \acute{a} \nu i \nu o$ . There is no mark of abbreviation after  $o \phi \theta a \lambda$ , and perhaps  $o \phi \theta a \lambda \mu \kappa \rho /$  in one word is to be read.
  - 6. πωμα κακκαβιου: 'the lid of a cauldron'.

- 7. τυκανια: a diminutive of τυκάνη.
- 9.  $\kappa a \nu \iota \sigma \tau \rho a$ : probably the Lat. can istrum; but  $\pi$  is as possible a reading as  $\nu$  (Soph., Ducange,  $\kappa a \pi \iota \sigma \tau \rho \iota \sigma \nu = cap istrum$ ), and as a and  $\nu$  are not close together there may have been a letter between them (qu.  $\kappa a \mu \pi \iota \sigma \tau \rho a = cam pestria$ ?). But on the whole  $\kappa a \nu \iota \sigma \tau \rho a$  seems the likeliest reading.
- 10. σωμαριστρα: Hunt, who compares Oxy. x. 1289, 3, ζώ-
- 15. ποτηροπλί: ποτηροπλύτηs, a vessel for washing cups; cf. Wilcken, Ostr. ii. 1218.
  - 16.  $a\tau a\zeta a$ : the beginning looks like  $a\pi$ .

# PAPYRUS 1658.—4th Century.

Inv. No. 1614. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a clear, rather narrow cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

PRIVATE letter, evidently from a Christian ecclesiastic, viós being no doubt used in a spiritual sense. The writer is called Antonius. Can this by any possibility be St. Anthony himself? The date would suit, but it would be very rash to assume identity

from a mere coincidence of name, though doubtless Antonius was not one of the commoner names in Egypt. Moreover, it seems to be generally agreed that St. Anthony knew no Greek (C. Butler, The Lausiac History of Palladius, i, p. 222; id. Catholic Encyclopaedia, s. v. Anthony). He might of course have employed an amanuensis; and the name of the recipient may perhaps be taken as affording some confirmatory evidence, for it appears to begin with  $A\mu$ , and an Ammon or Amoun was a friend and contemporary of St. Anthony (Migne, Patr. Gr. xxvi, col. 929; Butler, op. cit., ii, p. 190, where other persons of the same or allied names are mentioned); but the  $\mu$  is a doubtful reading, and a slight trace further in the line gives no obvious support to a reading  $A\mu\nu\nu\nu$  or  $A\mu\mu\omega\nu\nu$ .

On the verso, besides the address, has been written what appears to be another letter.

τω αιμνητω υΐω Αμ[
Αντωνιος εν κω χαιρειν
χαρις τω παντων δεσποτη παρασχοντι ημιν
καιρον επιτηδιον προσειπιν την αναμιλλητον
5 σου θεοσεβιαν αγαπητε υΐε ως γαρ αληθως μνη
μην αδιαλιπτον σου ποιουμαι και αποντος γαρ τις
των ανθρωπων ουκ αν θελησιεν προσομιλειν
[σ]οι ου [την] θεοσεβηαν δη και δια χαραγματων ευχο

Addressed, along the fibres:—  $\tau \omega \ \alpha[\iota] \mu \nu \eta \tau \omega \ [\nu \iota \omega \ A \mu \dots]$ 

8. ευχο: possibly the apparent sign of abbreviation is acci-

dental, in which case read  $\epsilon v \chi o |[\mu a \iota]$ . Or perhaps  $\epsilon v \chi o |[\mu a \iota]$ . 9. The address is written in a much larger script than the letter, but the forms are sufficiently similar for both to be by the same hand.

# PAPYRUS 1659.—4th Century.

Inv. No. 1608. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. 5 in. x 5\frac{5}{8} in. In a small compact sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

THOUGH this is a private letter it may probably refer to official business. Mention is made of various kinds of clothing, about which the writer is or has been anxious, and the word  $\lambda \iota \tau \circ \iota \gamma \gamma \eta \mu a$  in l. 14, though in an obscure context, suggests that he was connected in some way with the ἐπιμέλεια ἐσθῆτος. This is supported by the mention of Alexandria (see l. 12, note) and by the kinds of clothing referred to,  $\chi \lambda a \mu \iota \delta \epsilon s$ ,  $\pi \acute{a} \lambda \lambda \iota a$ , and  $\sigma \tau \iota \chi \acute{a} \rho \iota a$ , for these occur in P. Lips. i. 59, 60 in connexion with this ἐπιμέλεια. See also P. Lips. 45, introd.; Gelzer, Studien, p. 43.

<sup>6.</sup> Probably the sentence ends at  $\tilde{a}\pi o \nu \tau o s$ , and the next sentence should begin  $\tau i s \gamma i \rho$ . The present order is perhaps a slip of the pen.

ημέ[ about 13 letters ] . . ι πέρι τουτού και

εκβασι[ν τ]ου πραγματος πέρι γαρ ολων των

χλαμύδων και των πέντηκοντα δυο παλλιων

ημεριμνησαμέν οτι [? ο]ιως εγενομην εως

το ολού τουτων υποδεχθη και πέρι των στιχαρι
ων απ[ε]βληθησαν τινά εξ αυτων ων την συ
νωνην επο \ι'ησατε συ τε και Θεοτιμος κατ ε
μην απουσιαν έστω ούν το ζητημά πέρι απο

δολης και ουχι πέρι ου οιδας εγνων δε ως μη
κηδομέ[ν]ος περι ημω[ν] εξ ων ημελησας τον
σασθάι τα ειδη η οτι εγν[ω]ς οτι παραδιδωσι με
πέρι τη . . του λι[το]υργηματος απέλθω ϊνα μη

ε[ρ]ρωσ[θαι] σε ευχομά[ι] πολλοις χρονοις κυριε μου πατέρ

Written from top to bottom of the left margin:—

] εδηλωσας τα περι της υγιας των της οικιας μου

1. ] . .  $\iota$ : the traces do not well suit either  $\sigma \circ \iota$  or  $\mu \circ \iota$ .

2.  $\epsilon \gamma \nu \omega \mu \epsilon \nu$ : the writer generally uses the singular but sometimes the plural (ll. 5, 11), so that it is not necessary to read  $\tilde{\epsilon} \gamma \nu \omega \langle \nu \rangle \mu \hat{\epsilon \nu}$ .

 $\tau \eta \nu$  (first):  $\eta$  corrected from o.

5. oiws: the space before i is very small, and o seems to suit it better than any other letter. The sense must be 'in what a state of mind I was!' like oïws εἶχον.

7.  $a\pi\epsilon\beta\lambda\eta\theta\eta\sigma a\nu$ : 'were lost'; or 'were rejected' (as of inferior quality)? The first interpretation is supported by ll. 9-10.

8. εποιησατε: corrected from επαησατε, o being written over a and ι inserted above.

12. Αλεξανδρεια: cf. P. Lips. 58, where clothing is taken to Alexandria

13.  $\eta$  or  $\iota$ : above the  $\eta$  is a curved line which may possibly be a breathing but is perhaps only an accidental stroke.  $\eta \delta \eta$ ,

a likelier reading a priori, is just possible.

14. It would be possible to read περι της [a]υτου, supposing that the writer originally intended to write \(\lambda\ellipsize\text{ouppyeas}\); but this leaves ἀπέλθω without a construction. The traces before του would suit ek, which is appropriate to what follows, but leaves  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\eta$  inexplicable. If  $\epsilon\kappa$  is right, we want a word meaning 'when', but επιδη is out of the question. A conceivable, but very unsatisfactory, solution of the difficulties raised by this whole passage would be to read  $\eta \delta \eta$  in l. 13 and  $\pi \epsilon \rho_i \psi \eta [\mu] \alpha$  (an easy reading, though an unlikely word) here, explain  $d\pi \epsilon \lambda \theta \omega$  as a grammatical blunder for ωστε με ἀπελθείν, and paraphrase the whole 'and I know that, as you show no concern on my behalf, in consequence of your long negligence at Alexandria in not buying the articles you know without my telling you that he [who?] (will) hand me over (to the authorities), so that I shall come out of the liturgy in a miserable state.' This line is continued in l. 16, and l. 15 was written last.

### B. LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD.

### I. Aphrodito and Neighbourhood.

#### I. Public Finance.

### PAPYRUS 1660.—Circa A. D. 553.

Inv. No. 1746. Acquired in 1906. Antaeopolite nome; from Kôm Ishgau. 2 ft.  $7\frac{3}{8}$  in. × 1  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a small compact sloping cursive hand, across the fibres; papyrus very dark, and rubbed in the folds. Half-way down the document, on the right side, is a large irregular stain. Below the document is a blank space of  $11\frac{1}{4}$  in. Folded from the bottom upwards. A note on this document in *Archiv*, vi, p. 111 f.

AS stated in the preface, the documents of the Late Byzantine period are arranged by locality; and the first place is given to the Aphrodito papyri of the sixth century, which are divided into two classes according as they relate to Aphrodito itself and its neighbourhood or to Antinoopolis. In all probability, as stated in the preface, these sixth-century documents from Kôm Ishgau all come from the archive of Dioscorus, for a general account of whom see the articles, etc., referred to in the preface.

In the present section, which relates to public finance, the first place is appropriately given to a contract relating to the collection of taxes, though it does not as a matter of fact relate to Aphrodito itself, but (if the reading of l. 10 is correct) to the village of Phthla, where Dioscorus and his father held land, and which occurs fairly often in the documents of this collection. As no signatures are added it is clear that it is, like several of these papyri, only a draft, though no alterations of phrasing have been made; and that it once belonged to Dioscorus is shown not only by the general evidence which indicates that the whole of the Kôm Ishgau sixth-century find consists of his papers, but also by the fact that on the verso (across the fibres) are the ends of 12 lines of writing almost certainly in his well-known hand, and, though too indistinct for transcription, probably belonging to one of his numerous compositions in verse. The date, though lost with the commencement of the papyrus, may be approximately settled by the mention of the pagarchs, whose names occur also in 1661 dated in 553.

The document is of considerable interest, both in itself and for its evidence on one or two incidental points. As already said, it is a contract concerning the collection of taxes. The wording of ll. 4–10, 16–19 suggests that it is an undertaking to secure the party addressed against a possible deficit in the tax collection; but other passages make it probable that it goes beyond this. Ll. 10–14 ἐπὶ τῷ ἐ[μ]ὲ ποιῆσαι καὶ πληρῶσαι τὴν χώραν σου ἐν ἄπασι καὶ πᾶν εἰσοδ . . . . κέρδος ⟨τῶν⟩ ἐμοὶ πιπτόντων λαβεῖν καὶ συνάξαι κτλ., and again ll. 27–32 seem to imply that the party giving the undertaking is to be the other's deputy in

the actual collection and disposition of the taxes. He agrees to secure him against all claims on the part of the pagarchs touching the  $\delta\eta\mu\acuteo\sigma\iota\alpha$ , the embola, and the eduéveia (see note on l. 9), to act as his representative, to collect all the profits ( $\kappa\acutee\rho\delta\sigma$ s) on the taxes falling under his competence and pay them over, perhaps to the pagarchs (see note on l. 13), to render the other party a complete account of all transactions, and finally, in case of a deficit (but see note on ll. 16–19), to defray half of it himself. The party addressed was therefore a collector of taxes for the village of Phthla; the expressions  $\langle \tau \hat{\omega}\nu \rangle \stackrel{?}{\epsilon}\muol$   $\pi\iota\pi\tau\acuteo\nu\tau\omega\nu$  (l. 12) and  $\tau\grave{o}$   $\stackrel{?}{\epsilon}\pi\iota\beta\acute{a}\lambda\lambda\nu\nu$   $\sigma\iota\iota$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma$ s (l. 19) show that he was not the sole collector but had a colleague or colleagues. In 1665, 1666, we have receipts for tax-payments given to a landowner of Phthla, and both are signed by a  $\beta\iota\eta\partial\acute{o}s$  for the pagarchs. It seems likely, therefore, that the person here addressed may be himself a  $\beta\iota\eta\partial\acute{o}s$ . The latter is addressed sometimes as  $\sigma\acute{\nu}$  and sometimes as  $\dot{\nu}\mu\epsilon\acute{o}s$ . Probably only a single person is referred to, the plural being complimentary. A curious clause is that in ll. 24–27, by which the deputy undertakes to secure the

A curious clause is that in ll. 24-27, by which the deputy undertakes to secure the other party against not only legal proceedings (κίνησις) but even evil-speaking (δυσφημία).

The incidental evidence referred to above is that concerning the pagarchs. Not only are there, as in 1661 and in several other instances previously known, two pagarchs, but, what is more novel, one of them is a woman, 'the most illustrious Patricia'. As it is not very likely that a woman would be specially appointed pagarch it may well be the case that she held the office by succession to her father. That such offices as that of pagarch would tend, in the semi-feudal society of the time, to become hereditary is in itself not unlikely, and is moreover suggested by the case of the Apions of Oxyrhynchus (see Gelzer, Studien, p. 83 ff.; Spohr, P. Iand. i, p. 111 ff.); cf. too, at a somewhat later period, the conditions revealed by PERF. 554, 557-559. Patricia, though called pagarch, does not herself exercise the functions of the office, but deputes them to τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) κυρίου Μηνᾶ αὐτῆς διοικητοῦ καὶ παγάρχ(ου), almost certainly the Menas, σκρινιάριος, of 1661, whose misdeeds are the subject of P. Cair. Masp. i. 67002. This suggests that in 1661 also he may have been pagarch only by delegation; and in that case the difficulty felt by Maspero, P. Beaugé, p. 13, that Menas appears as pagarch in 553 and yet, on his new dating of Cair. Masp. 67002, was appointed pagarch in 566, would be lessened; to accept his new date it would no longer be necessary to infer two periods of office for both Menas and the Dux Athanasius, as we might suppose that at the earlier period Menas was merely the deputy of Patricia and did not become pagarch independently till 566.

[about 14 letters τη]ς ειρημενης κωμης ταυτην τ[ην] ωμ[ο]λ[ογιαν [ + ομολογω δι]α τα[υ]της μου της εγγραφό ασφαλείας ητοι ομολογίας [εκόσιως και πεπ]εισμενος ετοιμως εχειν κινδυνω εμω και [πο]ρω της ενουσης μοι [υπαρ]ξ[εως γενι]κω[ς] κ[αι ϊ]δικως το ανενοχλητον και το αζημιον και το αβλαβες

<sup>1.</sup> ταυτην την (ο)μολογιαν: governed by (e.g.) τίθενται. One would indeed expect the words to come earlier, but though the reading is not certain του αυτου [νομου or a nome-name seems impossible.

<sup>3.</sup> κινδυνω κτλ.: cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67097, r., 57-58; 67115, 17-18; 67120, r., 12-13; iii. 67303, 18-19. Only the last of these

passages affords an instance of  $\epsilon \nu o \nu \sigma \eta s$ , confirming the reading here, where, since the beginning of the word looks like  $\epsilon \nu \nu$ , it might be supposed to be a slip for the more natural  $\sigma \nu \nu o \nu \sigma \eta s$ .

<sup>4.</sup> υπαρξεως: cf. Cair. Masp. iii. 67303, 19. γενικως και ϊδικως: cf. below, l. 46; Cair. Masp. 67097, r., 58; 67120, r., 13; etc.

5 φυλαξαι σοι απο παντος προσ . . [. . .]κ[. . των  $\mu$ ] $\epsilon$ [ $\gamma$ ]αλοπρεπεστατων κοινων δεσποτων παγαρχων Ιουλιανό του μεγαλοπρεστατου απο αρχ[ον]τ[ων και της ενδοξοτατης Πατρικιας  $\delta/$  του λαμπρ $^{o}/$  κυριου Μηνα αυτης διοικητου και παγαρχή ειτε περι των ειρημενων δημοσιων και της αισιας εμβολης κα[ι] της ε[υ]μενεια[ς] ειδε παλιν και περι της αναλισκομενης ρωγας και 10 ετερας ζημιας προφασει της ειρη[ $\mu$ ]εν[ης]  $\kappa[\omega]\mu$ ης [ $\Phi$ ] $\theta$ λα επι τω ε[ $\mu$ ]ε ποιησαι και πληρωσαι την χωραν σου εν απασι και παν εισοδ. ε... κερδος εμοι πιπτοντων λαβειν και συναξαι αγρυπτιστως και καταβαλειν εις ταυτας κ[αι] ε[ν]εγκειν υμιν τον λογον εκαστό κεφαλαιό και εκαστης αποδοσεως και μηδεν αποκρυψαι αχρι  $\epsilon[\nu]o[\varsigma]$  κερατι[o] ου μην αλλα και φρικτον ορκον περι τουτου παρασχειν υμιν εν οις βουλεσθαι αγιοις τοποις ει δε συμβαιη υπολιπεσθαι οιον τι παντελως μετα την αποπληρωσιν των ως ειρηται δημοσιων τε και ετερων κεφαλαιων και δαπανηματων καθα προειπον επι τω ε[ν πασ]ι κοινωνειν και συμμετεχειν σοι εις το επιβαλλον σοι μερος κατα το ημισυ και 20 κινδ[υν]ευσαι ως πασαν λογοποιειαν θεσθαι και αποπληρωσιν των ειρη[μενων] δημοσιων κα[ι] ετερων δοματων εγγυς των προλεχθεντων  $\pi$ αγαρχων και τρακτευτων αυτων α $\pi$ [ο] $\pi$ [.....] ον[τ]ος υ $\pi$ ερ του ανηκοντος τη ειρημενη ϋπερ δημοσιού τε και αναλωματος

Ομολογων δε και τουτο μη συγχωρησαι οιαν δηποτε κινησιν

5.  $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma$  . . . . : the first of the undeciphered letters might be  $\delta$ .

6. μεγαλοπρεσταταυ: sic.

αρχοντων: a doubtful reading, but cf. 1661, 5. Nothing seems required after this word and possibly nothing was written, but there are perhaps traces of ink (which may, however, be only stains) further to the right than αρχοντων would be expected to extend.

8. ειτε: apparently corrected from ειδε; cf. l. 9, where ειδε is uncorrected.

9. ενμενείας: cf. 1753; the reading is not certain but seems best to accord with the traces. The εὐμένεια was presumably an addition to the tax-payments, in the nature of a present to the officials. As it follows the embola it may be the  $\pi \rho o \sigma \theta \eta \kappa \eta$  αὐτῆς of 1686, 27.

ειδε: l. είτε. ρωγας: l. ράγας.

10.  $\kappa\omega\mu\eta$ s  $\theta\theta\lambda a$ : a doubtful reading. The village of Phthla occurs fairly often in the Aphrodito papyri, and Dioscorus and before him his father held land there, so that the reading is a priori not unlikely.  $\kappa[\omega]\mu\eta$ s can only be inferred from the projecting upstrokes and an uncertain  $\mu$ , but  $\theta\lambda a$ , though not certain, is an easy and likely reading. One would indeed expect the  $\phi$  to be visible, which is not the case, but the papyrus is not in good condition here, and possibly the letter was smaller than usual. Or  $\Pi\theta\lambda a$  may very possibly have been written instead; cf. 1460, 121.

11.  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\delta$ .  $\epsilon$ ..: not  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\delta\iota\alpha\zeta\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\nu$  or an abbreviation of it.  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\delta\epsilon\nu[a\nu]$  is more likely, but  $\epsilon$  is not close to  $\delta$  and there seems to be a trace of ink (suggesting  $\iota$ ) as well as a stain in the space.

12. κερδος: after this l. των?

αγρυπτιστωs: presumably a slip of the pen for αγρυπνιστωs =  $\mathring{a}$ γρύπνωs; cf. μετὰ  $\mathring{a}$ γρυπνίαs in l. 29.

13.  $\tau a \nu \tau a s$ : the reading is certain but the reference is not clear.  $\kappa a \tau a \beta a \lambda \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu$  means 'to pay' in the financial texts of the period, so that it is doubtful whether we can take the sense of the phrase to be that the profit was to be added to the  $\hat{\rho} \dot{a} \gamma a \kappa a \hat{\iota} \dot{\epsilon} \tau \dot{\epsilon} \rho a \langle \gamma \mu \dot{\iota} a \rangle$ , which were moreover disbursements, not receipts. Does  $\tau a \dot{\nu} \tau a s$  refer to the pagarchs, one of whom was a woman? In that case the sense may be that what remained after defraying expenses ( $\hat{\rho} \dot{a} \gamma a$ , etc.) was to be paid over to the pagarchs, and an account rendered to the party addressed in this document.

15. βουλεσθαι: Ι. βούλεσθε.

10–19. ει δε συμβαιη κτλ.: from the wording this passage might mean that if any profit is made after all the taxes are paid (i. ε. if the payments exceed the estimates) it is to be divided between the parties to the agreement. In that case it would indicate that the taxes were farmed; but in the first place the evidence is all against the farming of the public taxes at this period (see Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 230; Gelzer, Studien, p. 45), and secondly ll. 20–22 seem rather to imply that what is in question is a possible deficit, to be made up equally by both parties. Probably, therefore,  $d\pi o\pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega \sigma i\nu$  is not to be pressed as = complete payment.

20.  $\omega s$ : the top-stroke of  $\sigma$  was lengthened; or possibly  $\omega \sigma \tau \epsilon$  was written, but there seems hardly room for this.

22. τρακτευτων: cf. 1753, 3, note.

 $a\pi o\pi$ [: what is wanted is a verb going with  $d\pi a\pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega \sigma \iota \nu$ .  $d\pi o\pi \lambda \eta \rho \hat{\omega} \sigma a\iota$  is hardly likely, and moreover the traces do not seem consistent with it, as the  $\lambda$  would probably be visible.  $a\nu$ [a] $\pi$ [ might also be read. Perhaps  $d\pi o\pi \epsilon \mu \psi a\iota$ ? Cf. the parallel use of  $\epsilon \kappa \pi \epsilon \mu \pi \omega$  of tax payments in the Aphrodito letters (see vol. iv, index).

οντος: very doubtful.

23. τη ειρημενη: i.e. probably κώμη; but the mutilation of the previous line makes this not quite certain.

- 25 η και δυσφη[μ]ιαν γενεσθ[αι] καθ ϋμων εν δικαστηριω η εκτος δικαστηριο αλλα προσεχειν παση τη κωμη εν τη των ειρη[μ]ε[νω]ν δικαιων προνομια καν ϋμων οντων εν τη κωμη καν και επη ξενης ως εκ προσωπο ῦμων [π]ραττων και μηδεν κατα δολον πραξαι η κατα αμελειαν αλλα παντα εκτελεσαι μετα αγρυπνιας και ακριβιας και σποθης κα[ι] εφ [ω]
- 30 ει ποτε ελλεχθειην μετα το εμε τον ειρημενον θει[ο]ν ορκον εν το[ις] αγιοι[ς] τοποις αποθεσθαι δολον τινα διαπραξαμενος αχρ[ι] ενος κερατιο επι τω εμε εν διπλω ϋμιν επιγνωναι και ενοχος εσομαι τω θειω ορκω και το περι τουτο επαρτημενω κινδ[ν]ν[ω] συνεχ[ομ]ενος και προσεπι πασι τοις προγεγραμμενοι[ς] συμφωνοις τε και ομολογημασι επομνυμενος τον τε παντοκρατορα Θεο.
- 35 και την θειαν και ουρανιον τυχην του τα παντα νικωντος δεσποτό της οικουμενης Φλ/ Ιουστινιανου τό αιωνιό Αυγουστό Αυτοκρατορος ταυτην την ομολογιαν διαφυλαξαι σοι δια παντος αρραγη και ασαλευτον και αεί...τ.ε. τον και αμετανατρεπτον ειναι αλλα κυριαν δυναμιν εχειν και ϊσχυν βεβαιαν επι πασης αρχης και εξίου]σι[ας] προφερομενην ηνπερ απλην επεταξα γραφηναι και υπογραφηναι
- 40 χειρι εμη και συνηθω[ν μ]αρ[τυ]ρων κατα ν[ο]μους ει δε και θελησω παραβηναι και μη εμμειναι τοις προδεδηλωμενοις συμφωνοις ο[μο]λογω ουγκιας εξ εργω και δυναμει απαιτουμενα ϋποκειμενων ϋμιν εις παντα τα εγγεγραμμενα και εις μερος αυτων και κεφαλαιον και εις την
- 45 εκτισιν του προστιμό παντων μου των ϋπαρχοντων και υπ[α]ρ[ξον]τω[ν] πραγματων υπ[α]ρ[ξον]τω[ν] δικαιω καθαπερ εκ δικη[s] κ[αι] εφ απασι τοις εγγεγραμμενοις ωπ[α]ρ[ξον]τω[ν]

26.  $\epsilon \nu$  τη των ειρημενων δικαιων προνομια: apparently 'in the (matter of the) collection of the said dues'; in which case προνομια will perhaps = προνομεία.

27.  $\epsilon \pi \eta$ :  $\vec{l}$ .  $\hat{\epsilon} \pi i$ ; but possibly  $\epsilon \pi i$  was actually written, the apparent leg of the  $\eta$  being really a stain on the papyrus.

30.  $\epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon \iota \eta \nu$ : 'I should be accused.' The scribe first wrote  $\epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon \iota \eta \mu \epsilon \tau a$  and then apparently added the  $\nu$  on the top of the  $\mu$ .

33. επαρτημένω: l. ἐπηρτημένω; cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67032, 101; 67094, 17. As in the last case the papyrus has  $\pi$ ερι τουτω (corr. from τουτου), and as in l. 32 here τουτα seems to be for τούτω (there is no trace of a v),  $\tau$ ο[v]τ[ω] is probably to be read in 67032. 101.

προσεπι: apparently a stronger form of  $\epsilon n i$ , as Wilcken takes it in Cair. Masp. i. 67032, 73, note. Heisenberg in P. Mon. 1, 44 reads πρὸs  $\epsilon n i$ , taking πρόs as used adverbially; but a comparison of the various places where the combination occurs (cf.

Cair. Masp. ii. 67243 B, 18) makes the other explanation somewhat the likelier.

34.  $\Theta \in \bar{\alpha}$ : perhaps merely a slip of the pen for  $\Theta \in \wp \nu$ ; but possibly the stroke may here, as occasionally elsewhere, stand for  $\nu$ .

42. εξ επερωτησεως και παραβασεως: the conjunction is curious. εξ ἐπερωτήσεως occurs also in Cair. Masp. ii. 67158, 29, ὥστε τα[ῦτ]α τ[ῷ] ἐμμένοντι καὶ στοιχαῦντι μέρει ἐξ ἐπερωτήσεως [δοθῆναι], where it evidently means 'on demand'. Here the whole clause may perhaps be rendered 'on demand and after transgression'. Possibly 'by reason of transgression' is implied; cf. Cair. Masp. iii. 67299, 55–57, δώσειν [δὲ τ]ῷ ἐμμέν[οντ]ι μέρει ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦ τῆς ποραβάσεως ἐγχειρήματος, ἐκ συμφ [ών]ου καὶ ἐπερωτήσεως, λόγῳ προστίμου καὶ ποινῆς, κτλ.

43. εργω και δυναμει: for this phrase see Wenger's note on P. Mon. 4, 35.

απαιτουμενα: sic. 46. λογου: l. λάγφ.

## PAPYRUS 1661.—24 July, A.D. 553.

Inv. No. 1547. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 10\frac{1}{4} in. × 9\frac{1}{4} in. In a sloping laterally compressed cursive hand, along the fibres; the writing and the spaces between the lines diminish in size towards the end of the document. Rubbed at the right and in some

other places. Folded from left to right. From top to bottom, towards the right side, is a crease in the papyrus which apparently existed in antiquity, as the scribe has frequently avoided it in writing.

THIS document, like the last, is an agreement concerning taxes. It is addressed to the pagarchs Julian and Menas, the heads of the financial organization of the pagarchy, through the πρωτοκωμήται, by two ἀπαιτηταὶ τῶν λειτουργῶν of Aphrodito, and is an acknowledgement by them of a debt of 12 solidi in respect of the λειτουργοί ήτοι φύλακες of the village. It is worded throughout like an ordinary acknowledgement of a debt, and the debtors nowhere speak of taxes being actually collected; but since the persons concerned are ἀπαιτηταὶ τῶν λειτουργῶν, and the debt is in respect of the λειτουργοί, it seems fairly certain that the document is not a private acknowledgement of their indebtedness in respect of taxes personally payable, but is connected with their duties as ἀπαιτηταί. The money may be either already collected or to be collected. The latter supposition is not only in itself the more probable, but is supported by the fact that the payment is to be 'at the three  $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \beta o \lambda \alpha i$  of the δημόσιον'; for the taxes were at this period paid in three instalments each year. The 12 solidi represent, therefore, the amount at which the village (or the subdivision of it for which these persons were responsible) was assessed for the tax in question, and the document is simply an undertaking by the ἀπαιτηταί to collect and pay over this amount. The wording and the fact that the ἀπαιτηταί pledge their whole property as security for the payment show (if the taxation is direct and the ἀπαιτηταί liturgical officials) that the collectors were themselves held responsible for the tax they were called upon to collect, and that in case of a deficit distraint would be levied upon them. Sir Frederic Kenyon suggests, indeed, that the document is a contract for the farming of taxes. The ἀπαιτηταί are then not liturgical officials but taxfarmers, and the 12 solidi are the sum for which they contract, keeping as their profit anything in excess of it. It is in that case natural that they should be held responsible for This explanation agrees well with the wording of the document, and in favour any deficit. of it may be urged the fact that the tax in question is not described as δημόσια (see note on 1660, 16-19). Against it must be set the name of the collectors, ἀπαιτηταί; for certainly in most cases the ἀπαιτηταί of papyri are liturgical officials engaged in the collection of direct taxes (see, for the Roman period, Wilcken, Ostr. i, p. 610, for the Byzantine, Gelzer, Studien, p. 54 ff.; Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 230). The nature of their office is unfortunately too doubtful to throw light on this question. The title is certainly an extraordinary one, and that λειτουργῶν is not a slip of the pen for λειτουργιῶν is proved by the double occurrence of the word and by the addition in l. 12, where  $\phi v \lambda [\alpha \kappa] \omega \nu$  is a very probable though not absolutely certain reading. Possibly persons liable to the liturgy could compound by a money payment and the ἀπαιτηταί were collectors of this; but this seems an unlikely explanation. Prof. Hunt suggests, doubtfully, that the λειτουργοί were not entirely unpaid and that 'a rate raised on their behalf might be collected by persons described as ἀπαιτηταὶ τῶν λειτουργῶν'; and a conceivable explanation is that the ἀπαιτηταί were collectors of cautionary deposits paid by λειτουργοί or their sureties. In any case it is doubtful whether we can regard the document as a contract for farming taxes, tempting as such an hypothesis is in view of the absence of evidence on this institution in the Byzantine period. The agreement may represent either a private arrange-

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ment by which the pagarchs shifted their own responsibility for the taxes of the pagarchy on to the shoulders of their subordinates, or a statutory institution, each collector being directly responsible for his own department. The latter is perhaps the more probable supposition; it is to be noted that in **1660** also the collector is responsible in case of a deficit.

+ βασιλείας του θειοτατο[υ] ημων δεσποτου Φλί Ιουστινιανου του αιωνίου Αυγουστου και Αυτοκρατορος ετους εικο[σ]του εβδομο[υ] μετα την ϋπατείαν Φλί Βασιλε[ι]ου του ενδοξοτ[α]του ετου δωδεκατου Επειφ//λ// δευτερας [ιν]δικτιονος

Φλί Γουλιανώ τω μεγαλοπρεπεστατω απο αρχοιτών και Μηνα λαμπροτατω σκρινιαριω και παγαρχαις της Ανταιοπολιτών δι/ ύμων Φλί Διοσκορο. Απολλωτος και Απολλω[τ]ος Γωαννου ευδοκιμωτατων πρωτοκωμητων κωμης Αφροδιτης του αυτου Ανταιοπολιτου νομου π/ Αυρηλιων Πεσαλουτος Γσιδωρο εκ μητρ/ Μαριας και Μηνα Ερμαυωτος εκ μητρος Τσ[ω]νης απαιτητων των λειτουργώ[ν] της αυτης κωμης Αφροδιτης χαιρ [ομολο]γο[υ]μεν διά ταυτης ημώ[ν] της εγγρα[φ]ο ασφαλείας [ο]φειλείν ϋμιν και χ[ρ]εωστεί[ν] εν κ[α]θαρ[ω] κ[α]ι αναμφιβολω ϋπερ

των αυτων [λ]ειτουργων της αυτης κω[μ]ης Αφροδιτης υπερ της παρουσης  $\delta \epsilon[v]$ τερας  $\ddot{\imath}\nu[\delta]/\chi$ ρυσον νομισμ[α]τια  $\delta \omega \dot{\delta} \epsilon \kappa \alpha$  ευσταθμα ζυγω  $\delta \eta$ μοσιω γι/ $\chi \rho/\nu^{\circ}$   $\ddot{\imath}\beta$  ευσταθμής ζυγή  $\delta \eta$ μοσίου  $\delta \kappa \alpha$  ταυτα ετοιμώς εχομέν παρασχείν  $\ddot{\nu}$ μιν εν τρισι καταβολαίς του  $\delta \eta$ μοσίου εκαστης  $\kappa[\alpha]$ ταβολης  $\chi \rho[\nu]$ σου νομισματία τέσσαρα ευσταθμα καθώς ειρηται  $\delta \iota \chi \alpha$  τινος αντιλογίας και  $\iota \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \theta \epsilon \omega$ ς

επανα[γ]κες παντοιας  $[\![\dot{\nu}\mu]\!]$  ευποριας κατεχομενης  $\ddot{\nu}\phi$   $\ddot{\nu}\mu$ ων αχρι απ[ο]δοσ[ε]ως και συμπληρώσεως παντος το ειρημενου χρυσιου και επ[ε]ρωτηθ[εν]τες ωμολογησαμ[ε]ν δη[λον]οτι εξ αλληλεγγυη'ς και αλληλαναδοχοι και  $\ddot{\nu}$ περ

αλλ[η]λων α[να]δεχομενων . Ş υπεθε[μ]εθα [[και]] ενεχυρου λογω κ, υπο[θ]ηκης [δ]ικαιω

3. етоv: sic.

5.  $M\eta\nu a$ : see introduction to 1660. Though not described as *scriniarius* in 1660, it seems probable that the Menas there is the same person as in the present case.

6. παγαρχαις: this goes with both Ἰουλιαν $\hat{\varphi}$  and Μην $\hat{q}$ . The forms πάγαρχος and παγάρχης were used concurrently.

Διοσκορου: this is the well-known 'poet' and advocate, whose papers make up the sixth-century Aphrodito Papyri. He had succeeded his father Apollos as πρωτοκωμήτης.

- 7. Aπολλωτοs: this person was, with Dioscorus, one of the envoys from Aphrodito who concluded with the Count Palladius the agreement in Cair. Masp. i. 67032 (A.D. 551). He appears with Dioscorus as πρωτοκωμήτηs in 67094, 5, dated in this same year, where Julianus appears as pagarch alone, without Menas.
- 8.  $\Pi \epsilon \sigma a \lambda o v \tau o s$ : in l. 24  $\Pi \iota \sigma a \lambda o v \tau o s$ ; but in neither case is the  $\lambda$  a certain reading, and it is even possible that no letter is to be read between a and o.
- 9.  $T\sigma\omega\nu\eta s$ : though the  $\omega$  is lost the reading is practically certain; cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67109, 12. The Psempnuthius there mentioned is very likely the brother of the present Menas. It is not clear whether the  $M\eta\nu\hat{a}s$   $\Pi\iota\kappa\hat{a}\hat{\nu}$   $\nu\hat{\iota}\delta s$   ${}^{\epsilon}E\rho\mu\hat{a}\hat{\omega}\tau(os)$  of Cair. Masp. ii. 67143, v., 7, is to be identified with this person. The name  $T\sigma\omega\eta$  is well known also in the Syene papyri.

- 11. εν καθαρω και αναμφιβολω: for this phrase cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67129, 9 f., where αναμφιβολω is to be read for αναμφιβ $\langle \rho \rangle$ οχω.
- 13. ζυγω δημοσιω: for the latest treatment of the ζυγά of Byzantine papyri see Wenger, P. Mon. 1,53, note.
- 16. υπερθεως: *l.* ὑπερθέσεως; but it is just possible that the word was correctly written.
  - 17.  $\llbracket \nu \mu \rrbracket$ : the scribe began to write  $\nu \mu \omega \nu$ .
  - 18. αποδοσεως: the second o is a correction from ω.
- 19–20. δηλονοτι—S: a confused passage. The whole section beginning with δηλονότι and ending with  $\delta$ μολογήσαμεν in l. 24 is apparently an afterthought, inserted to make the mutual responsibility more definite. In l. 19 we should expect  $\epsilon \xi$  αλληλεγγυης και αλληλαναδοχης, but the last word is quite impossible. αλληλαναδοχοι is not a quite certain reading, but is very probable, and the union of the adverbial phrase  $\dot{\epsilon} \xi$  άλληλεγγύης with the adjective ἀλληλανάδοχοι, though unusual, is not unnatural. και κτλ. is a (tautologous) expansion of the idea, αναδεχομενων (αναδεχομενον is also possible; neither is quite certain, but αναδεχομεθα seems impossible) being miswritten for ἀναδεχόμενοι. The letter after this looks like v, and above it is a letter or dot in blacker ink. Perhaps the scribe began to write vμιν or vπεθεμεθα, but stopped and only deleted the v later.  $S = \kappa a i$ .

πα[ν]τα τα ϋπαρχοντα και υπαρξοντα γενικως και ϊδικ[ως] εις τ[α π]ρο κειμενα οιωδηποτε οφιληματι μεχρι επιλυσεως το προκ/ χρυσι[ου τ]ων αυτων δωδεκα ευστ<sup>θ</sup> δημοσ, ζυγω νομισματων και επι τότω κ, επι πασι επ ερωτηθζωμολογησαμεν (2nd hand) ₽π/ Αυρηλιων Πισαλουτος Ϊσ[ι]δωρου και Μηνα 24 Ερμαυωτος ως προκ/ [σ]υμφωνε[ι] παντα ως προκ $\prime$  + $\varsigma$  Αυρηλιος  $\Psi$ α $\ddot{i}$ ς Βικτορος αξιω $\theta$ εις εγρα $\psi$ α υπερ αυτων 25 γραματα μη ειδοτων + (3rd hand)  $\ P \ Bikt[\omega\rho] \ \Phi \circ i\beta a\mu\mu\omega\nu[\circ\varsigma] \ \pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta$   $\ \mu a\rho\tau\nu\rho\omega \ \tau\eta \ o\phi i\lambda\eta \ a\kappa o\nu\sigma a\varsigma \ \pi a[\rho]a \ \tau\omega\nu$  $\theta$ εμενων  $\mathbf{P}$  (4th hand) Φλ[αυιος?] Βικτορος μαρτ[υ]ρω τη ωφειλη ακουσας 27 παρα 28 των θεμενων 🗜 (5th hand?) + δι εμου Πιλατου  $\overline{\text{νομικ}[/]}$  εγ[ρ]αφ[η] 29 Endorsed, along the fibres:-30 (6th hand?) +  $\gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \dots / \pi / \Pi[\iota \sigma \alpha \lambda o \nu \tau o s \ I \sigma] \iota \delta \omega \rho / \kappa_1 M \eta \nu \alpha E \rho[\mu \alpha] \nu \omega \tau[s]$  $\chi \rho / \nu^{a} \iota \beta \epsilon \nu \sigma \tau \delta \eta^{[\mu]}$ 31

21.  $\epsilon\iota s \tau a \pi \rho o \kappa \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \nu a$ :  $\kappa \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \nu a$  is certain, and it is difficult to see what but  $\pi \rho o$  can have preceded, but the traces look more like  $\nu \iota$ .  $\epsilon\iota s \tau [a,$  though very indistinct, is a perfectly possible reading.

25. γραματα: sic.

27, 28. Thus indented in the papyrus. The reason is probably that there was in antiquity, as at present, a flaw in the papyrus.

27. Birropos: l. Birrop if  $\Phi \lambda [aulos]$  is rightly restored, but possibly a personal name beginning with  $\Phi \lambda$  is in question; the traces do not much suggest aulos.

29. The hand here is quite different from that of the body of the document, and it seems likely that, as Wenger (P. Mon. I, 64, note) and Mitteis (*Archiv*, iii, p. 174 f.) hold was often the case, Pilatus, though he states that he wrote the document, did not actually do so himself but had it done by a subordinate, and merely took the responsibility for it by signing his name at

the foot; but we have always to reckon with the possibility, recognized by Mitteis, *l.c.*, that notaries might use for the signature a special and artificial kind of script not employed in the document itself (cf. 1716, 17, note). Certainly these notarial signatures often show a type of hand quite unlike that found in any document; and some editors are perhaps too ready to describe such signatures as a new hand on the ground of difference of script. Pilatus is the scribe of several of the Cairo papyri of this collection.

30.  $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu$ ...: probably  $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau_1\sigma\nu$ , the pen being drawn upwards at the end of the  $\nu$ , and  $\tau\iota$  being written close together. This endorsement is in a large spread-out upright hand of a type not infrequently seen in endorsements, and is perhaps therefore due to the original scribe, using a different script (see foregoing note). It may even be the same hand as the signature of Pilatus.

## PAPYRUS 1662.—First half of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1642. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). If t. × 6 in. In a medium-sized fairly regular upright cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus very dark and in bad condition. In the upper half two-thirds of each line are lost. Apparently folded from left to right. With it are two narrow strips from other documents, also of the Kôm Ishgau find.

It is a matter of conjecture only that this document relates to Aphrodito, but the conjecture is a practical certainty. The appearance of the papyrus strongly suggests Kôm Ishgau as the provenance, and the hand indicates Aphrodito rather than Antinoopolis as the place of writing. The names too suit Aphrodito, and the mention of Apollos, perhaps as a  $\pi\rho\omega\tau$   $\kappa\omega\mu\eta\tau\eta$ s, in 1. 3 tends to confirm this.

The nature of the document is less certain than its origin, and it is not beyond doubt that it relates to taxation rather than to a private debt. Like the preceding document, it is an acknowledgement of a debt. That the debt is in respect of taxes is suggested by the word (it is true only a doubtful reading)  $\partial \pi \langle \alpha u \rangle \tau \eta \theta \dot{e} \nu [\tau a]$ , by the fact that the document is very likely addressed to a  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \kappa \omega \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \eta s$ , and perhaps by the mention of a  $\sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \eta \lambda \dot{\alpha} \tau \eta s$ ; and that the taxes are not those of the debtors themselves but are to be collected may perhaps follow from the expression  $\tau o \hat{v} \sigma o \nu \nu \dot{e} \rho \rho u s \tau \dot{e} \tau \dot{\alpha} \rho \tau u v$  in l. 15. If this is so, we may conclude that the document is of a similar kind to the last. Apollos is one of four  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \kappa \omega \mu \dot{\eta} \tau a \iota$  charged with the duty of collecting 9 (nominal) solidi, and he deputes the collection of his part of the whole to two other persons. But it must be admitted that this interpretation is merely conjectural; and other explanations are possible. There is nothing to show what tax (if tax it is) is in question.

```
Αυρηλιοι Απολλω]ς Βησιο
      [και Αβρααμ Ανουφιου οι δυο] απο κωμ
      [Αφροδιτης του Ανταιοπ' νομου] Απολλωτι
      [Διοσκορου?
                                                        ωμιτων
                                                        ] Ψενουσιρι
 5
                                                        ] ὑπερ τεταρ
      [του μερους
                                                     εν]νεα νομισ
      [ματιων?
                                                    ? \tau | \alpha \ \alpha \pi \epsilon \tau \eta \theta \epsilon \nu
                                                        ] , οτατου κεπο
      [τα?
                                                        ] στρατηλατο
10
                                                      \epsilon]\beta\delta o\mu\eta s
                                        ? ινδι]"/ χρυσο" νομισματια
       δυο ευσταθμα ζυγί κερατιο δωδεκατί
       \gamma \iota / \nu^{o} \beta \kappa / \iota \overline{\beta} \zeta \nu \gamma \gamma \kappa \alpha [\iota] \tau \alpha^{\nu} \tau \alpha \epsilon \tau \circ \iota \mu \omega \varsigma \epsilon \chi \circ \mu \epsilon \nu
15 κουφισαι σοι απο του σου μερους τεταρτο
       και εις υμων ασφαλιαν πεποιημεθα
       τουτο το ασφαλές μέθ υπογραφης
       \eta \mu \omega \nu \omega \sigma \pi \rho \sigma \kappa // \text{ (2nd hand)} + A \nu \rho \eta \lambda \iota \sigma \sigma \Lambda \pi \sigma \lambda \lambda \omega \sigma
       Βησιου ο προκ/ εξεδωκα τα ενταγιον των
```

4. ]ωμιτων: very possibly  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \circ \kappa$ ]ωμ(η)τῶν; hence the supplement, as Apollos son of Dioscorus (the father of the versifier Dioscorus) was a  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \circ \kappa \omega \mu \eta \tau \eta s$ . If  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \circ \kappa \omega \mu \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$  is right something like  $\tau \hat{\omega} \in \nu \hat{\tau} \hat{\omega} \nu$  must have preceded it.

8. απετηθεντα: Ι. ἀπαιτηθέντα.

part of a name or a title is not clear. The  $\pi$  is formed in an unusual way but seems likelier than any other letter.

12. If  $l\nu\delta\iota\kappa(\tau io\nu os)$  is right and  $\epsilon\beta\delta\delta \rho\eta s$  refers to it the payments were considerably in arrear. Possibly something like  $d\pi\delta$   $\tau\hat{\eta}s$   $\epsilon]\beta\delta\delta\rho\eta s$  [ $\epsilon\omega s$   $\tau\hat{\eta}s$  . . . .  $\ell\nu\delta\iota]\kappa(\tau io\nu os)$  is to be read.

14.  $\zeta \nu \gamma(\omega)$ : for this absolute use of the word (which is more usually accompanied by a qualifying adjective or noun,  $\zeta \nu \gamma \hat{\varphi}$   $\delta \eta \mu \sigma \sigma i \omega$ ,  $\zeta \nu \gamma \hat{\varphi}$   $\tau \hat{\eta} s \kappa \omega \mu \eta s$ , etc.) cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67044, 3; etc. The sense is probably 'by weight', i.e. it shows that the sum which it follows is the actual, not the nominal, value.

16. νμων: corrected from ημων.

19. τα: sic. This is an uncommon use of ἐντάγιον, which generally means either an order for the payment of taxes or a receipt. Here, however, it means an acknowledgement of a debt.

<sup>6.</sup> For  $\tau$ eraptor  $\mu$ epovs see below, l. 15. Four times 2 s.  $\frac{1}{12}$  c. is 8 s.  $\frac{1}{3}$  c. If therefore, as seems likely, this 'quarter' is a quarter of the 9 solidi apparently mentioned here, the latter sum represents nominal, 2 s.  $\frac{1}{12}$  c. real, value. The average actual value of the nominal solidus would then be  $21\frac{1}{27}$  carats. Probably the reckoning was rough, as  $\frac{1}{27}$  is not a possible fraction in papyri; but of course the value of the individual solidi may have varied. If the  $\frac{1}{12}$  c. were omitted the value of the solidus would be  $21\frac{1}{3}$  c.

<sup>9. ].</sup> οτατου: an epithet, such as ἐνδοξοτάτου, but too little of the letter before o remains for any reading. Whether κεπο is

20 δυο νομισματων κερατιου δωδεκατον ως προκ[/]
(3rd hand) + Αυρηλιος Αβρααμ Ανουφι
ου ο προκ/ εξεδωκα το εντια
γειον ως προκ/ (? 1st hand) Θεοδοσιος μοναζ/
και γραμματ, μαρτυρω το ενταγ, ο και σω25 ματισας εγραφ/ Παϋνι ϊ ϊνδι<sup>κ</sup>/ ιβ//

21. The hand of Abraham is a large clumsy sprawling uncial with some cursive forms.

22 f.  $\epsilon \nu \tau \iota a \gamma \epsilon \iota o \nu$ : sic, apparently.

23. It is clear from the subscription of Theodosius that he was not only a witness but also the scribe who drew up the document, but it does not necessarily follow (see 1661, 29, note) that he was the actual writer of it. In this case, however, it seems probable that he was, for not only does the wording of his subscription seem to mean this but the hand, though sloping, whereas that of the document itself is upright, is fairly similar in the forms of the letters and is in ink of the same colour. The

subscriptions of the parties, on the contrary, are in ink of lighter colour. Some editors (e.g. Heisenberg, P. Mon. 1, 64, note, etc.) conclude from such differences in the colour of ink that the signatures were in some cases added after the date at which the document itself was written, but this does not necessarily follow, as we cannot be certain that only one inkpot was used. In the present case the notary may well have written the document and added his signature at the foot, and then brought it to the parties for their approval and confirmation.

24 f. σω-|ματισας: so written. Apparently εγραφ/ should be ενραψα.

### PAPYRUS 1663.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1550. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). Ift. 0\frac{s}{8} in. x Ift. 9\frac{3}{4} in. In a large easy, cursive hand of official type, very similar to, and possibly but not probably the same as, that of Cair. Masp. i. 67030; the heading in a very tall narrow script. The second column is in the same hand as the first; in Cair. Masp. 67030 it is different. Writing along the fibres. The papyrus, which is discoloured in places, was folded from right to left. See J. Maspero, Org. militaire, pp. 105, 142, etc.

THIS document forms a close parallel in its character and format to Cair. Masp. 67030; but a still closer parallel is to be found in a papyrus at Alexandria which is to be published in vol. iii of the Cairo catalogue (Cair. Masp. iii. 67321), and which, by the kindness of M. Maspero, has been seen in proof by the present editor. Documents of a similar character are P. Flor. iii. 292; 293, also seen in proof by favour of Prof. Vitelli. 67030 is an order by the praeses Jaccobus (sic) for the annual payment of the embola; the present document and the Alexandrine papyrus are orders for the payment of corn, etc. destined for the annona of a corps of Numidians stationed at Hermopolis for the protection of the Thebaid; and the wording of these two is almost identical. They are not indeed duplicates; the praeses and the period for which the supplies are demanded are different, as is also the optio through whom delivery is to be made; but with the exception of these necessary modifications the formula is the same throughout. Both documents have lost their left side, but 67321 has lost much less than 1663, and as the lines are of different length a combination of the two enables the imperfect first column to be restored almost completely. In the present transcript, all the words or letters in the supplements which are not specially marked are visible in 67321; those which are lost even there and have been conjecturally supplied by Maspero are printed in thicker type, while letters uncertain there are marked by the usual dot. 67321 is an order issued by the praeses Jaccobus, the same who occurs in Cair. Masp. 67030,

for the supplies for the months September-December of the 12th indiction; here the praeses is Phoebammon, and the supplies are for January-April of the 13th indiction. These indictions may well be successive years. The optio (for whom see Maspero, Org. militaire, p. 105) is in 67321 Beryllas, here Theotecnus. In both the official responsible for the provisioning of the troops is the comes Plutinus.

It is to be noticed that here the supplies are for 'the second quadrimenstruum of the present 13th indiction', the months concerned being January-April. The use of the Latin names and the description of these particular months as the second quadrimenstruum show that the indiction is that of Constantinople, which began on Sept. 1; the three quadrimenstrua were respectively September-December, January-April, May-August (cf. P. Hamb. i. 39 of A. D. 179, where the same periods are seen). The indiction for purposes of taxation—at least where the reckoning was by these quadrimenstrua—would thus overlap with the Egyptian indiction in current use. This clear instance of the use in a papyrus of the indiction of Constantinople is of interest; cf. Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. lx; Hermes, xxi, p. 281 f. It raises the question whether any others of the indiction reckonings for financial purposes found in such documents as taxation registers are to be identified with the indiction of Constantinople. Those at all events which refer to the Numidians (Cair. Masp. i. 67056, iii, 5; 67058, ii, 6, 8; v, 1; 1670, 16) probably apply to the same quadrimenstrua as here.

In 1. 22 ff. are added to the order to pay the supplies over through the optio Theotecnus the words ἀπροκρίτως ἄχρι κομιδης τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου προδηληγάτου της αὐτης τρισκαιδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος), which are of great interest. The word προδηλήγατον is the Greek form of the Latin praedelegatio, for which see Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, iv, col. 2431, s.v. Delegatio, 2: 'Die Delegatio soll im Anfange jedes Steuerjahres in jeder Stadt durch öffentlichen Anschlag bekannt gemacht werden, ja in einzelnen Provinzen wird schon einige Monate früher eine vorläufige Mitteilung ihres Inhaltes (praedelegatio) zur öffentlichen Kenntnis gebracht. Vor ihrem Eintreffen ist die Erhebung der präsumptiven Steuerquote zwar nicht verboten, wohl aber ihre Verwendung, da auch diese durch die Delegatio geregelt wird.' This suggests that the new word ἀπροκρίτως here is to be taken in the sense of 'without assignment', i. e. the supplies are to be furnished but are not to be actually disposed of till the arrival of the praedelegatio, which accords perfectly with what Seeck says. But at the foot of the document an assignment of the supplies appears to be made, part being for the optio and part for  $\tau \hat{\varphi}$   $\delta \eta \mu o \sigma \hat{\iota}(\varphi)$ ; and though the reference may be particularly to the actual issue of the supplies to the corps and the officials, it is perhaps more likely that, as suggested by Prof. Hunt, the word really corresponds to our 'without prejudice'. τŵ δημοσίφ probably denotes the officials; a small portion of the whole was to be paid to them as salary or for expenses.

It is to be noticed that the *praedelegatio* is that for the indiction, not merely for the *quadrimenstruum*. As the *delegatio* was issued at the beginning of the indiction, the *praedelegatio* should, as stated by Seeck, precede the indiction; but since the thirteenth indiction here concerned is described as  $\tau \eta s$   $\pi a \rho o v \sigma \eta s$  this is impossible in the present case. It might indeed be suggested that though the months January-April are called the second *quadrimenstruum* the reference in  $\tau \eta s$   $\pi a \rho o v \sigma \eta s$  is to the Egyptian indiction; that the letter was written after the commencement of this but before that of the indiction of Constantinople. This is a possible explanation; but it seems unlikely that the supplies for the second *quadrimenstruum* would be raised before the

beginning of the first, and on the whole it is best to suppose that the *praedelegatio* (and a fortiori the delegatio) was not infrequently late in transmission. We might then place the date of this letter some time in the autumn.

Col. 1.]

- $I \quad [+Φλ] \qquad \qquad ] ων \quad \Sigma[\epsilon \rho] ηνος \quad Φοιβαμμων ο \quad μεγαλοπρ<sup>ε</sup> <math>($  κομ<sup>ε</sup> ( και αρχ( της )  $Θηβ^{()}$  (επαρχ(ε) (εγαλοπρ(ε) (εγαλοπρ(ε) (εγαλοπρ(ε) (εγαλοπρ(ε) (εγαλοπρ(ε) (εγαλοπρ(
- 2 [πασας Θεου ηγουμενου τας υφ (?) ηλιω πολ]εις ϊθυνων βασιλευς ο κρατιστος οπλοις και στρατιωτικοις καταλογοις εις παραταξίν
- 3 [παρεσκευασμενοις τη των τα]κτικων εμπειρια μετα της των νομων ταξεως τειχιζει χαρακτηριζει τουτο το νυν φοιτησαν
- 4 [ευτυχημα τω Θηβαιων εθνει θεσπισαι γ]αρ ευτυχώς κατηξιωσεν κατηξιωσεν δια θειου πραγματικό τυπό ενϊδρυσθαι τη Ερμουπολιτων
- 5 [πολει αριθμον των ευκαθοσιωτω]ν Νουμιδων Ϊουστινιανων ανδρων πεντακοσιων οκτω προς παραφυλακην της Θηβαιων
- 6 [επαρχειας και προς εκδιωξιν πασ]ης βαρβαρικης επιδρομης και σιτησεις αυτοις χορηγεισ $\theta$ αι προσεταξεν την γαρ τοιαυτην αγαθην
- 7 [και προνοητικην διοικησιν περατι] παραδουναι προστετακται ο ενδοξοτατος κομες Πλουτινος ανηρ τη ευσεβει ταυτη πολιτια
- 8 [χρησιμος γεγονως και εν τοις κοι]νοις πραγμασι ευδοκιμος φανεις ως και μεμαρτυ[ρ]ηται παρα της κρατουσης τυχης και της
- 9 [υψηλοτατης καθεδρας οστις εκ προ]οιμιων [τ]ης αυτο<sup>υ</sup> αφιξεως εδειξεν το φυσει προσον [τ]η αυτου ενδοξοτητι πραον το λυσιτελουν

I. The Phoebammon here mentioned may well be the same person as the μακαρ[ίαυ] κόμετος Φαιβάμμω[ν]as of P. Beaugé 2. That the last of a series of names was the name in actual use seems established (Maspero, P. Beaugé, pp. 10-11; Bell, Archiv, vi, p. 110 f.), and this praeses was therefore known as Phoebammon. If he is identical with the comes of Beauge 2 this document must be earlier in date than that, as he is there described as dead. It is to be noticed that the titles of the praeses are not here followed by τόδε, which Maspero reads in the text of Cair. Masp. 67030, I. It is therefore very probable that ταδε should there be altered to 70 8', a reading which the facsimile makes likely. This is now confirmed by Cair. Masp. 67321, where Maspero reads in the same position  $\tau a$  5". If this is rightly read an interesting conclusion is suggested. Cair. Masp. 67030 was written in the 10th indiction (Col. 2, l. 2), 67321 in the 12th. If & be read in the former we must infer that the allusion is to the year of office. The 10th ind. was Jaccobus's 4th year of office, the 12th his 6th and, if the present document was written in the following year, his last. Does the same inference apply to the titles of the Dux? If so  $\tau \dot{a} \bar{\beta}$  in Cair. Masp. 67002, etc. means 'for the second year', and Athanasius became Dux in 566-567. 67005 will then prove (see P. Beaugé, p. 11) that he held office for two years only, and that Callinicus became Dux in 567-568. [M. Maspero, in a private letter, questions the above conjecture. Assuming that 'la charge de praeses (consularis), sans doute par un vieux souvenir de l'époque romaine, était peut-être annuelle, mais renouvelable', he agrees that in practice  $\tau \delta \beta$  ( $\gamma$ , etc.) might refer to the year, but thinks that in strictness it always meant 'for the second (third, etc.) time'. As regards Athanasius, he

remarks that 67002 is to be dated in 566-567, which, if  $\tau \delta \beta$  referred to the year of the term, would place Athanasius's first year in 565-566. Menas was pagarch 'from the 15th ind.' (566-567) and was pagarch under Cyrus, the predecessor of Athanasius, so that the latter could not be Dux in 565-566. But 67002 was written after the 15th ind., and therefore not earlier than the middle of 567; and there is no reason why it may not have been written even in 568. Thus Maspero's objection is not conclusive.]

2. ϊθυνων: apparently the Epic and Ionic verb.

]τεγνάν 1

3. μετα της των νομων: 67321 reads τ]ων ναμων.

τειχιζει χαρακτηριζει: neither here nor in 67321 is και written between these words.

- 4.  $\kappa \alpha \tau \eta \xi_1 \omega \sigma \epsilon \nu$ : the word was accidentally repeated; the marks above and below the second writing of it are intended as a sign of deletion.
- 7.  $\tau\eta$  ευσεβει ταυτη πολιτζελια: probably Antinoopolis, which was the capital of the Thebaid and the seat of the Dux (see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 82; Kühn, *Antinoopolis*, p. 163 ff.) and therefore probably of the *praeses*, for though the rations were intended for Hermopolis there seems no reason why the person responsible for collecting them should not have resided at Antinoopolis. That  $\tau a \dot{\nu} \tau \eta$  refers to the city in which the writer is and does not merely point back to  $\tau \dot{\eta}$  ' $E \rho \mu a \nu \pi \sigma \lambda \iota \tau \dot{\omega} \nu$  is certain; in the latter case  $\tau \dot{\eta}$  ε $l \rho \eta \mu \dot{\nu} \nu \eta$  or a similar expression would be used; and that the *praeses* was writing from Antinoopolis, not from Hermopolis, seems to be confirmed by l. 4, where, in the latter case, we should expect  $\tau a \nu \tau \eta$   $\tau \eta$   $E \rho$ .
  - 8. της κρατουσης τυχης: i.e. the Emperor.

10 [..... κοπων θελησατε τοι]νυν δεχ[ομ]ενοι τουτο το δικαστικον προσταγμα χο[ρ]ηγησαι τοις προδηλωθεισιν ευκαθοσιωτοις

ΙΙ [Νουμιδαις Ιουστινιανοις δια Θεοτ]εκνο το [v] καθοσιωμενο αυτων οπτιονος εις ανδρας πεντακοσιους οκτω τελουσιν ϋπερ μηνος

12 [Ιανουαριου και Φεβρουαριου και Μαρτιου] και Απριλιο<sup>ν</sup> της παρουσης τρισκαιδεκατης επινεμησεως ακολουθως τη ϋποτεταγμενη γνωσει

13 [ειδοτες ως ει κατα τι ραθυμια τις παρα]κολο[υθη]ση ουκ εκτος εσεσθε δικαστ[ι]κης κινησεως δια γαρ τουτο  $\epsilon$ κ ταξέως

14 [απεσταλται 📍 (2nd hand) legi (3rd hand?) legi]

15 (1st hand)  $\mathbf{P}$  τοις απο κωμή Αφροδιτης το Αντα[ι]οπολιτου

Col. 2.]

16 \$\mathbb{P}\$ χρη εκ της ϋμετε[ρ]ας κωμης το ϋποτεταγμενον μετρον εισενεγκειν και παρασχειν τοις γενναιοτατ[οις] στρατιωταις τοις απο το αριθμο Νουμιδαις Ιουστινιαν[οι]ς δια Θεοτεκνο του καθοσιωμενο αυτων οπτιονος
20 ϋπερ μηνος Ιαν[ο]υαριο και Φεβρουαριο και Μαρτιου και Απριλιο της δευτερας τετραμηνο της παρουσης τρισκαιδεκατης επινεμησεως απροκριτως αχρι κομιδης του ευτυχεστατο προδηληγατο της αυτης τρισκαιδεκατης ϊνδ/ δηλαδη της καταβολης γινομες
25 τας φορμαρ/ κομιζ//

25 τας φορμαρ/ κομιζ// σιτο m° σμ βρ. βρνη(δ/ οινο<sup>ν</sup> 8 /α βρλδ(»

10. δεχαμεναι : in 67321 placed after πρόσταγμα.

11. Νουμιδαις: perhaps Νουμιδαις (sic), which 67321 has. οπτιονας: it seems possible from the facsimile that in Cair. Masp. i. 67058, ii, 6, Ναμί  $\langle \delta\iota/\rangle$  Λεαντια κ/ (= καθασιωμένου) απί is to be read.

13.  $\epsilon \kappa \tau \alpha \xi \epsilon \omega s$ : the blank space is apparently due to a wish to extend the letter into another line. So too in Cair. Masp. 67030 (pl. xix) l. 5 is left shorter than the preceding ones. 67321 has  $\left[\delta t \alpha \gamma a \rho \tau o \nu \tau\right] \sigma$  blank  $\left[\epsilon \kappa\right] \tau \alpha \xi \epsilon \omega s \kappa \tau \lambda$ . The same space is seen in Flor. 292 and 293.

18. Νουμιδαις Ιουστινιανοις: it is not necessary to suppose that this is a mistake for the genitive as Maspero takes it (Org. militaire, p. 105). The sense will be 'the Numidians of the numerus'.

21. τετραμηνου: see Wilcken, *Archiv*, v, pp. 446, 447 on Cair. Masp. i. 67056; 67058; and cf. below, **1670**, 16.

25. τας φαρμαρ(ιας) κομιζ(ετε): φορμαρία is defined by Suidas as 'παρὰ 'Ρωμαίοις ἀπάφασις θανάτου', but here it evidently means 'receipt'; cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67050, 11; 67051, 6; ii. 67137, 7, 8; 67229, 6. In the second place it is defined: τὴν ἀπάδειξιν ἤται φ[ορμαρίαν]. Its use seems to be official, not for private receipts. The meaning of the whole sentence is 'when payment is made you (will) get the receipts'.

26. mº: modii; the m is the Latin, not the Greek letter.

 $f_{\mu}$ : doubtful; as the symbol is clearly made up of κ and ρ, the natural extension is obviously  $κ_{\mu}ιθων$  (dρτάβωι), and this would suit very well, as the payments would then be of wheat, barley, and wine, though the excess of barley over wheat would certainly be contrary to the usual proportion. In Cair. Masp.

67030, ii, 11, 13, 14, however, the same symbol immediately follows ofrov, which at this period means 'wheat' in particular rather than 'corn' in general, and Maspero therefore takes it as =  $d\rho\tau\dot{a}\beta\eta$ . It might then be explained as  $d\rho\tau\dot{a}\beta\eta$  here, and in that case the wheat is stated in Roman and Egyptian measures. To this, however, there is a conclusive objection—that the artabas are a larger amount than the modii, 9583 as against 240, which would make the capacity of the modius nearly four times as large as that of the artaba. As is well known, the capacity of the artaba varied greatly (Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. lxviii ff.; Ostr. i, p. 741 ff.), but it seems quite impossible that any kind of artaba can have stood in such a relation to the Roman modius. We know (Hultsch, Script. Metrol. i, p. 258, 5; see P. Lips. i, p. 251) that the Romans introduced an artaba equivalent in capacity to  $3\frac{1}{3}$  or 3 (see introduction to 1718) Roman *modii*, and it is certain that no artaba can have been less than a modius; moreover in an official account we might expect the equivalent of the 240 modii to be given in the Roman artaba of 31/3 or 3 modii. A symbol made up of  $\kappa$  and  $\rho$  is so unnatural as =  $d\rho \tau d\beta \eta$  that the explanation may be that it did originally and does here mean  $\kappa \rho \iota \theta \hat{\omega} \nu \left( \hat{a} \rho \tau \hat{a} \beta a \iota \right)$ , but that it came to be used simply as ἀρτάβη, for which it stands in Cair. Masp. 67030. But it seems quite possible that though oîros by itself meant 'wheat' (just as our 'corn' is often used of wheat in particular) yet σίταν κριθαί might still mean barley (cf. 1772, 12, note); or perhaps σιτο[ρ,

fp: 900; apparently a new form of  $\uparrow$ , later  $\searrow$ . 8:  $\xi \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \alpha \iota$ , see vol. iv passim.

27.  $\sigma$  :  $o(\tilde{v}\tau\omega s)$ ; see 1653, 12, note.

τω οπτι/ σιτο<sup>ν</sup> m<sup>ο</sup> σλγ fp, fpλα( οι/ g νδ(<math>> τω δημοσι/ σιτο<sup>ν</sup> m<sup>ο</sup> ζ fp, κζ δ' οι/ g νδ(<math>>

### PAPYRUS 1664.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1732. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a fairly large flowing cursive hand sloping to the right, across the fibres; the subscription larger and looser. Papyrus of dark colour, stained in places a dark red. Apparently folded three times from bottom to top and perhaps once from right to left.

THIS document is exactly parallel with the series of receipts beginning with Cair. Masp. i. 67033, and particularly with that papyrus itself. It is a receipt from the ἐθνικὸς χρυσώνης (for whom see Gelzer, Studien, p. 61) to the people of Aphrodito for the κανονικὰ καὶ χρυσικοὶ τίτλοι. The receipt is signed by the χρυσώνης.

[+δεδωκασιν] οι απο κωμης Αφροδιτης το Ανταιοπολιτο νομου δ/ το [υ θαυμς Ιωαννου (?) υποδεκτς]
[της αυτης] κωμης εις λογον κανονικων και χρυσικων τιτλων πρ[ωτης] κ[α] τ[α] βολης
τριτης ϊνδ/ χρυσου νομισματια εκατον τριακοντα τεσσερα ημισυ ευστας απλ/ γι/ χρ/ νο ρλδι
ευστας απλ/ και εις ῦμων ασφαλειαν και το δημοσιο λογου πεποιημαι τουτο το ενταγιον μεθ'
τπογραφης εμης ως προκ// (2nd hand) + Ηλιοδωρος εθνικ/ χρυσωνς επαρχειας
Θηβαϊδς πεποιημαι το ενταγιο[ν] των νομισματια εκατον τριακοντα
τεσσαρα ημισυ πληρ/ απλ/ ως προκ/

1. του θαυμ(ασιωτατου) 1ωαννου υποδεκτ(ου): for the name see 6. νομισματια: sic Cair. Masp. 67033 ff.; for του θαυμί see 67036, 2; etc.

## PAPYRUS 1665.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1784. Acquired in 1907. Phthla in the Antaeopolite nome; from Kôm Ishgau.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. x about  $11\frac{1}{4}$  in.; in two fragments not continuous. In a small compressed cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus of poor quality. Perhaps folded three times, from left to right.

A RECEIPT similar in form to Cair. Masp. i. 67045-67047. Like the first two it is given to Apollos the father of the versifier Dioscorus but unlike them, which are for the  $d\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}$  or city dues of Antaeopolis, it is for  $\kappa\omega\mu\eta\tau\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}$ , village dues; for the distinction see Maspero's note on 67045. The dues are payable for the  $\kappa\omega\mu\eta\tau\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}$  of Phthla, a village where Apollos and after him his son held land. The receipt is issued by the pagarchs (plural) through their  $\beta o\eta\theta\dot{\delta}s$  (see introduction to 1660).

- + δεδωκ/ Απολλως  $\Delta$ ιοσκορο $^{v}$  δ/ Φοιβαμμωνος [εις λογο] $^{v}$  δημοσιων κωμητικ/ κωμ $^{h}$   $\overline{\Phi\theta\lambda\alpha}$ τριτης καταβο[λης κανο]
- εκτης ϊνδ/ κερατι/ τρια εκτον γι/ κ/ γ  $\acute{\tau}$  [οι ενδο]ξοτατοι παγαρχοι δ/ εμο $^v$  Βικτορος  $\beta$ οη $^{\theta)}$

- 3. os: 1. &s. The writing between the two crosses is apparently shorthand. The following entry is evidently for an

1.  $\overline{\kappa a \nu o}$ : cf. Cair. Masp. 67045, 1; 67046, 1; 1667, 4; additional payment, perhaps  $(i \pi \epsilon \rho)$   $\delta(\eta \mu o \sigma i \omega \nu)$  [ἀστικῶν followed by the specification of the καταβολή. It may very likely not be the same hand as the preceding, as the writing is less compressed, but the ink is the same.

### PAPYRUS 1666.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1772. Acquired in 1907. Phthla; from Kôm Ishgau. 2 in. × 8 in. In a rough clumsy cursive hand with a thick pen, across the fibres; papyrus of coarse quality. Probably folded from bottom to top.

RECEIPT similar to the last and to the same person, but here a payment for certain A monks seems to be included, though, owing to the uncertainty of the reading, this is doubtful. Perhaps a charge in the nature of a tax was made for the support of a local monastery. The receipt is issued by a  $\beta o \eta \theta \delta s$ .

- + δεδωκεν Απολλως Διοσκορό εις λ[ο]γί δημοσ[ιων] κωμητικ/ κωμης  $\Phi\theta$ λα και μονάζ/  $A[\gamma]i[o]^{\nu}$  .  $\epsilon$  . .  $i\bar{o}$  . [ ογδοης ινδ/ κερατια δωδεκα ημισυ τεταρ γι/ κ/ ιβ[ $(\delta')$ ] οι ενδοξέ, παγαρχή δι εμου Ματοι βοηθή στοιχή τα 5 δωδεκα ημισί τεταρ κερατιών ως προκ/
- 4. It is not quite certain whether κερ/ was written after this (in the lacuna), but κερατιων at the end is probably meant for κεράτια, being influenced by the fractions.

# PAPYRUS **1667**.—Early 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1697. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $11\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{3}{8}$  in. In a large flowing irregular cursive hand, along the fibres. Perhaps folded from left to right and once from bottom to top. Below the text is a blank space of 6 in.

THE three following documents are to be compared with Cair. Masp. i. 67052; 67053. They are orders addressed by πρωτοκωμήται of Aphrodito to the ὑποδέκτης John for disbursements from his  $\dot{\nu}\pi o \delta o \chi \dot{\eta}$  (see note on l. 3). The  $\dot{\nu}\pi o \delta \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \tau \eta s$  was clearly not a mere collector or receiver of taxes, but a general finance official under the authority of the πρωτοκωμήται. It was through the  $\dot{\nu}\pi o\delta \dot{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \eta s$ , very likely this same person, that the payments of the village for public taxes were made to the  $\dot{\epsilon}\theta\nu\iota\kappa\dot{o}s$  χρυσώνηs in **1664**. In the two Cairo papyri he is instructed to make payments for various purposes, some at least of which seem to be expenses of local administration. Here it is not said to whom or for what purpose he is to make the payment. Possibly this is due to mere inadvertence; but it may be that the money is to be paid over to the  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\kappa\omega\mu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  for purposes not specified; cf. **1668**, introduction; **1669**, introduction.

```
+ καταβολη· Ιωαννη υποδεκτ'ς
παρασχ΄ς απο της σης
υποδοχης των δημοσς
κανο πρωτης ϊνδ/ χρυσον
5 [ν]ο[μ]ισματιον εν παρα κερ/
[εν η]μισν τεταρτον χρυσοχ
[σταθ γ]ι/ νο α π/ κ/ αίδ Θωθ //ϊη
[της] αντης α ϊνδικ//
(2nd hand) [Χα]ρισιος προτοκ/ σχχχ
10 (3rd hand) [Βοτ]τος προτοκ// σχοι
Endorsed, along the fibres:—
(4th hand) + κ[α]ταβ/ της α ϊνδ/ νο α π/ αίδ χρ
```

1. καταβολη: the dot is a mark of punctuation, intended to separate καταβολη from Iω aννη υποδεκτ(η).

3. υποδοχηs: as in all cases this word is followed by a specification of the indiction it seems probable that it means, not, as σηs would suggest, 'office of receipt of taxes' but 'amount received'.

6-7. χρυσοχ(οικω) σταθ(μω): cf. Cair. Masp. 67052, 6; etc.; Reil, Gewerbe, p. 54.

9. Xapioios: restored from Cair. Masp. 67052, 9; 1668, 12; 1669, 9.

σχχχ: στοιχεί.

10. Borros: from Cair. Masp. 67052, 8; 67053, 13; 1668, 13; 1669. 8.

σχοι: doubtful; = στοιχεῖ.

II. καταβ(ολη): doubtful; in Cair. Masp. 67052 the first word of the endorsement is not read; 67053 has no endorsement.

## PAPYRUS 1668.—Early 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1770 B. Acquired in 1907. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 11\frac{1}{4} in. \times 3\frac{1}{4} in. In a small neat upright cursive hand, along the fibres; the subscriptions in clumsy unpractised hands. Papyrus dark, imperfect on the left, and in a bad state of preservation. Folded from right to left and perhaps once from bottom to top. Below the text is a blank space of 6 inches.

THIS document is somewhat more detailed than the last. The sum ordered to be paid is  $48\frac{1}{3}$  carats, and the various parts of this are specified. It is not clear, however, to whom the money was to be paid or even certain that the words  $\delta\iota\dot{\alpha}$  Xaρισίου in 1. 6 and  $\delta\iota\dot{\alpha}$  Βόττου in 1. 9 mean that the payments were to be made by these persons or merely that the moneys to be expended had been paid in by them. The last explanation seems in itself unlikely, as when money was being paid out of the local treasury it could be of no interest to know who had paid it in, even if, which is improbable, the separate payments were kept distinct in the treasury; but it is supported by 1. 6,  $(\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho)$   $\kappa\tau\dot{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega$ s  $\alpha\dot{\nu}\tau o\hat{\nu}$ ; and as the total sum is described in 1. 10 as  $\delta o\theta(\dot{\epsilon}\nu)$   $\tau\langle o\hat{\iota}\rangle$ s  $\delta\eta\mu\sigma\sigma\dot{\iota}o\iota$ s it might be thought that the payments previously specified were payments into the

treasury. This is not however a necessary inference, and the phrase may merely sum up the payments already specified in detail. In either case it seems clear that the  $48\frac{1}{3}$  c. had already been spent by Charisius and Bottus; the  $i\pi o\delta \epsilon \kappa \tau \eta s$ , who was in charge of the local treasury, might, as in Cair. Masp. 67052; 67053, be authorized to make payments himself, but he might also be instructed to pay out money to the  $\pi \rho \omega \tau o \kappa \omega \mu \hat{\eta} \tau a \iota$  for expenditure incurred or to be incurred by them; and their written order to this effect would serve as evidence of the withdrawal of the money.

```
χμγ
            [+καταβολη Ιωανν]η υποδεκτί παρασχο
               [απο της σης υπο]δοχης των δημοσιων
               [κανονος . . . . . ]ης ϊνδικ/ χρυσο
               [κερατια τεσσαρ]ακοντα οκτω τριτον ζυγ[§]
        5
               [γι/ κερ/ μ]η ή ζυγ δια Χαρ[ι]σιου & κτησεως αυτου
               [..... \xi] κ/ εικοσι και \xi Θμονυχθη δια το αυτου
               [κερ/...η]μισ' τεταρτον κ[α]ι ξ πορου της κωμης
               [κερ/....]τ[ο]ν και δ[ι]α Βοττο\ κερατια
               [\ldots \tau_0] \nu \not\in \kappa / \mu \eta \gamma' \tau_0 \delta_0 \theta' \tau \eta s \delta_0 \mu_0 \sigma_0 s
       10
               [.....] \mathbb{E}\pi\epsilon\iota\phi // \kappa\delta // \tau\eta s \hat{S} \iota\nu\delta\iota\kappa//...
(2nd hand)
                       [Χαρ]ισιος προτοκ/ στοχ
(3rd hand)
                        [Βοττο]ς προτοκ/ στιχι μοι //
```

1.  $\chi\mu\gamma$ : see the references in Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, p. 89<sup>2</sup>, and now particularly Dölger, IXOYS, i, pp. 298-317; W. K. Prentice, *Class. Phil.* 1914, pp. 410-416.

5.  $\tau \rho \iota \tau \sigma \nu$ : apparently a correction, at least as regards the earlier part of the word.

- 6.  $(v\pi\epsilon\rho) \kappa\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\omega s$  avrov: as suggested in the introduction, this would naturally seem to indicate a tax-payment by Charisius into the treasury for his own land, but the other evidence rather makes against this explanation, and it is not quite impossible that a payment for public purposes may be meant.
- 7.  $\mu\iota a$ : such seems to be the reading;  $\tau\rho\iota a$  is impossible;  $\iota$  is apparently a later insertion. Such a mistake as  $\mu\iota a$  for  $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ , in a correctly written document and with a word so common as

κεράτιον, is curious.

Θμονυχθη: cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67243 (B), 14, Θμονεχθη τῆs κώμηs. Both are forms (with the Coptic feminine article) of the place-name Μουναχθη in the Antaeopolite nome, which occurs several times in vol. iv.

9. ]rov: the end of a fraction, and so too  $\tau a$ ]v in 1. 10.

10. Ø: όμοῦ.

της: l. τοῖς.

11. S: αὐτῆς. What follows ωδικ// is probably shorthand or a mere flourish.

12.  $\sigma\tau \circ \chi$ :  $\tau \circ$  is very doubtful and is read on the assumption that a horizontal stroke which covers the whole is the top-stroke of  $\tau$ 

# PAPYRUS 1669.—Early 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1658. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $10\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{3}{8}$  in. In a very uneven awkward cursive hand, in places with very thin, in other places very thick, strokes; in several places the ink is smeared. Writing along the fibres. The papyrus, which is of poor quality, was probably folded once in the middle, below the text and presumably also at right angles to the fibres, but the folds are not clear. Below the text is a blank space of  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in.

In this order the person to whom the money is to be paid is again not named, but as the sum is described as  $\tau a \delta \delta \theta \epsilon \nu \tau a \epsilon s$  Antinoon  $\lambda \delta \gamma \langle \phi \rangle \delta \nu a \lambda \omega \mu \delta \tau \langle \omega \nu \rangle$ , it seems clear that the recipients

are the πρωτοκωμήται themselves. They had apparently advanced out of their own pockets money for the public service and now authorize the  $\dot{\upsilon}\pi o\delta \dot{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \eta s$  to refund them the amount from his υποδοχή; cf. 1668.

```
+ κατ[αβ]ολ Ϊωαννη ϋποδεκτ
                        παρ[ασ]χου απο της ϋποδοχης
                        σης κα[ν]ονος πρωτης i\nu^{\delta}/
                        χρυ[σο]\ νομισματια εξ γι/ <math>χρ// ν^o ς
                 5 \pi/\kappa\epsilon[\rho]/[\delta\epsilon]\kappa[a]\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon \tau\epsilon\tau a\rho\tau, \chi\rho^{\nu}/, \Theta\omega\theta // \iota\eta /
                        της \hat{S} [\iota\nu\delta/]^{o} τα \delta o\theta \epsilon \nuτα \epsilon \iota\varsigma
                        Αντινοου λογο αναλωματί
                        Βοττος προτοκ/ σχ
(? 2nd hand) Xa[\rho]i\sigma i\sigma s \pi \rho \sigma \tau o \kappa / \sigma \chi \chi \chi
```

3.  $\sigma \eta s$ : not well written, but it does not seem possible to

5.  $\chi \rho^{\nu}/\mathfrak{s}$ :  $\chi \rho \nu \sigma \sigma \chi \sigma \iota \kappa \hat{\varphi} (\sigma \tau \sigma \theta \mu \hat{\varphi})$ ; cf. 1667, 6–7, note.

λογου: Ι. λόγω.

8. The document was probably written by Bottus, whose signature does not seem to differ from the foregoing; but this is not certain. The hand of Charisius is also very similar but 6-7. τα κτλ.: for this item of expense cf. Cair. Masp. 67053, 5. is probably autograph, to judge from 1667 and 1668.

#### PAPYRUS 1670.—First half of the 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1858. Acquired in 1907 by transference from the Oriental Department (from Or. 6807, acquired the same year). Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  I ft.  $0\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a cramped cursive hand of varying size, along the fibres; papyrus of a rather dark brown tint. Between the columns a space of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. Probably part of Cair. Masp. i. 67056.

HIS small fragment of an account is worth giving chiefly because of its probable connexion THIS small tragment of an account is worth giving small, and with Cair. Masp. 67056. In order to test the theory of its connexion a photograph of part of the Cairo papyrus was procured through the kindness of M. J. Maspero, but has not enabled a decisive answer to be given. As the photograph was on a reduced scale it was not possible to compare its lower outline with the upper outline of the present papyrus, and the reduction in the size of the writing and one or two differences in the forms of letters make it difficult to be quite certain that the hand is the same. But the arguments for the connexion of the two fragments are very strong. The distance between the two columns seems to be the same, and some perpendicular markings on the papyrus appear to correspond fairly well. Moreover there are in both prominent horizontal flaws in the texture at regular intervals; and these intervals are roughly equal in both fragments. Again in the present document at the top of column 2 there is the end of a stroke which might well be the left limb of the  $\chi$  in  $\epsilon \nu \tau \rho \epsilon \chi o \nu \tau [\omega \nu (67056, iii, 6), and at a sufficient interval$ is the end of another stroke which might be a mark of abbreviation  $(\epsilon \nu \tau \rho \epsilon] \chi [o\nu \tau]$ ). From the photograph it seems probable that the word was so abbreviated, not written in full as Maspero gives it. The arguments founded on internal evidence are still stronger. In col. ii of 67056 the sums are mostly small. The same is the case in col. I here. In col. iii they are on the contrary large, and the one sum preserved in col. 2 here is 20 s. 20 c. Moreover in col. iii there is a payment for the second quadrimenstruum of the Numidians. The payment preserved here is for the third quadrimenstruum. Again, if the one payment here preserved and those in col. iii are added together, the result is  $458 ext{ s. } 8\frac{1}{2} ext{ c.}$  The total of the column given here in l. 17 is  $460 ext{ s. } 21\frac{1}{2} ext{ c.}$ , which would yield for the missing sum in 67056, iii, 6, 2 s. 13 c.; and the character of the entry suggests that the sum might be small. Lastly, in col. 2 here this section of the account is concluded, and in col. iv of 67056 a new section begins. From all these arguments it becomes at least highly probable that the present document forms the lower part of cols. ii and iii of 67056.

Assuming the identity of this account and 67056, we can infer from 67056, i, I, which is the beginning of the account or of this section of it, that it is one of expenses. It is from Aphrodito, as inferred by Wilcken (Archiv, v, p. 446), against Maspero, from Cair. Masp. 67058. This inference is confirmed by 1. 20 here, where Apollos the  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \sigma \kappa \omega \mu \eta \tau \eta s$  is mentioned. The disbursements include tax-payments, both for the  $\kappa \alpha \nu \sigma \nu \kappa \kappa d$  and for such special taxes as the annona of the Numidians. The payments were evidently made from the local treasury, and the document thus illustrates the rôle of this treasury as the centre of the village finance; the taxes, as collected from individual tax-payers, were deposited in it and paid out as required, either to the  $\epsilon \theta \nu \kappa \delta s \chi \rho \nu \sigma \omega \nu \eta s$  or other officials for the tax quota of the village or to individuals of various kinds in discharge of administrative expenses; cf. 1667–1669.

```
Col. I.]
                                                               ] ποιμί
                                                                                      νο ακ/ ϊβ
                                                                L τοκο ν° ακ/ 5
               5
                                                                                       ν° ακ/ 5
                                 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot /
                                                                                                  κ/ κ§
                                                                                                  κ/ ιδ
                                 ].
           10 ? \epsilon \nu \tau ] \alpha \gamma \iota / \delta / I \alpha \kappa \kappa \upsilon \beta  $ $\lambda \cdot \alpha / \text{\theta} \beta / \text{\theta} \end{array}
                                 ]λλαρ/ Κ ωων
                                 Ιοσιεωντος
                                                                                                   K/ ms
                                                                                                   κ/ β
                                                                                                   κ/ αδδ
                                 ] . tas
                                                          ]\iota\nu^{\rangle} \pi\rho^{\alpha} S \lambda o\iota\pi_{\rangle} \nu^{\alpha} . [.] \kappa/ \iota\eta S
           15
Col. 2.]
     \tilde{\gamma} \delta \mu^{\eta} \tau \omega \nu \gamma \epsilon \nu \nu \alpha \iota / No^{\upsilon} \mu \iota \tau ( \nu^{\circ} \kappa \kappa / \kappa
```

<sup>3. ]</sup>  $\tau_i$ : perhaps  $\not$   $\pi\rho\sigma\phi$ /  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\sigma\tau\rho$ ] $a\tau_i$ , as in 67056, ii, 4, but the letter before  $\tau$  looks more like  $\iota$  than a; perhaps, therefore, we may read  $[a \delta\mu^{\eta} \tau\omega\nu \gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha\iota$ /  $N\sigma\nu\mu$ ] $\epsilon\tau_i$ , though this is a different section of the account from that in the following column, and the amount is small.

<sup>11.</sup> ωων: or perhaps βοων; but cf. Cair. Masp. 67053, 7.

<sup>12. ]</sup>  $o\sigma \iota \omega \nu \tau \sigma s$ : the  $\sigma$  has disappeared since this was first read. All the other letters seem certain.

<sup>15.</sup> Possibly  $w^{j}$  is the end of a personal name  $(\Sigma a \beta \iota v^{j};)$  and  $\pi \rho^{\alpha}$  to be extended  $\pi \rho a \gamma \mu a \tau \epsilon v \tau o \hat{v}$ . (kal)  $\lambda o \iota \pi (\hat{\omega} v)$  (cf. 1. 10) supports this.

 <sup>(</sup>τρίτης) (τετρα)μή(νου) τῶν γενναι(οτάτων) Ναυμι(δ)(ῶν).

Θ ν° ὑξ κ/ κας

// ν° φλβ κ/ ιης δ

αφ/ Κ ληματς της υποδοχης των ολον δημς ν° φκα κ/ κβ δ

Σ Κ των δοθεντς δ/ το` κυρ/ Απολλωτος πρωτο<sup>κ</sup>/ ν° ι κ/ ης

Θ ν° φλβ κ/ ιης δ πληρς ο λογος ‡

17. The total of this column.

18. Presumably the total of this and the two preceding columns. The total of the two preceding columns was therefore 71 s.  $21\frac{1}{4}$  c. The letters read as  $\beta$  here and in the amounts in ll. 19 and 21 might equally well be a, but  $\beta$  is required by the arithmetic, and  $\beta$  and  $\alpha$  are very similar in their cursive forms. But there may be a miscopying, as with  $\eta$  in l. 20.

19-21. In these lines the sums making up the total amount are specified and the total is then repeated with a note that the

account is complete. As the preceding account is one of money expended on various purposes, the sums specified in ll. 19, 20 must represent payments into the local treasury; the disbursements recorded in the preceding portion of the account were made out of moneys received respectively from the collection of the  $\delta\eta\mu\delta\sigma\iota a$  and from Apollos the  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\kappa\omega\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\eta s$ .

19. αφ/: ἀφ' ὧν.

20.  $v^0 \iota \kappa / \eta$ : this makes the sum only 532 s.  $6\frac{3}{4}$  c. Clearly the clerk has misread a  $\kappa$  as  $\eta$ .

### PAPYRUS 1671.—Early 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1770 A. Acquired in 1907. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $11\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 3$  in. In a small cursive hand, along the fibres; dark papyrus. Perhaps folded from left to right. Below the text is a blank space of  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in.

THIS is a small account of money received from the shepherds of Aphrodito—if, that is,  $\pi oi\mu\epsilon(\nu\omega\nu)$  is correctly read in l. 2. The account is apparently not of receipts but of expenditure; that is to say, the entries refer to the way in which money received from the shepherds was spent. The shepherds, as we learn from Cair. Masp. 67001, 4,  $\tau \delta$   $\kappa oi\nu \delta \nu$   $\tau \omega \nu$   $\tau oi\mu \epsilon \nu \omega \nu$ , and other places, formed a corporation, and probably they paid their taxes in a lump sum.

‡ λογ, χρυσιο των απο
 Αφροδιτ, ποιμ. Θλου
 ου
 εξ ενταγι/ μο ν μ κ/ ζδ/
 δ/ Αδριανο στρ, κ/ κ
 εξ ενταγι/ μο ομοι/ ν ζ κ/ κγ
 γι/ Θ ν μη κ/ ϊθ δ/
 λοιπ, ν ε ε κ/ δδ/

2. ποιμε(νων): the  $μ^ε$  is very doubtful. Perhaps  $ποι^μ$ . θλοψ should be read.

 $\Theta \lambda o \nu$ : apparently a place-name. It is not possible to read  $\Theta \lambda \alpha$  for  $\Phi \theta \lambda \alpha$  (unless indeed we read  $\Theta \lambda \alpha +$ , but even that is not very likely), which was moreover not a subdivision of Aphrodito.

The shepherds of Phthla occur in Cair. Masp. 67002, i, 14, etc. 5. Αδριανου στρ(ατιωτου): cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67052, 4; etc.; Ferrari, Pap. ined. 3 (= Flor. iii. 280), 12. The latter indicates for the present account a date fairly early in the century.

### PAPYRUS 1672.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1783 verso. Acquired in 1907. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau) (?).  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in. × 5 in. In a small sloping cursive hand with a thin pen, across the fibres. A good deal faded. Verso of 1685.

THE connexion of this papyrus with Aphrodito is a matter of inference only, as neither the verso nor the recto contains anything which definitely points to Aphrodito as the provenance; but this provenance is strongly suggested by the hands, and the letter on the recto resembles the letters from Aphrodito in this and the Cairo catalogue. The address on the verso is unfortunately too indistinct for decipherment.

It is not certain but seems probable that the account is official rather than private. It is apparently one of expenditure, and is to be compared with 1671.

1.  $\gamma\nu\omega$ : presumably  $\gamma\nu\bar{\omega}\sigma\iota s$ , but it is not clear how the character after  $\omega$  is to be explained. It is not the usual abbreviation mark i, but it may be a contorted writing of  $\sigma_i$ . It does not favour the extension  $\gamma\nu\dot{\omega}\mu(\omega\nu)$ .

χρυσιου: corrected from χρυσιων; or possibly the reading is χρυσιων corrected from χρυσιο $^{ν}$ .

3.  $a\nu\nu\omega\mu\nu$ ): obscure. The reading is fairly clear;  $a\nu\nu\omega\nu\iota(\kappa\omega\nu)$  is impossible, and would not in any case go very well with  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\delta\eta\mu(\sigma\sigma\iota\omega\nu)$ .  $\dot{d}\nu\omega\mu(a\lambda\iota a)$  (meaning a deficiency in the  $\delta\eta\mu\dot{\omega}\sigma\iota a$  as compared with the estimates) is too far removed from what is written;  $a\nu\nu\omega\mu\iota\varrho$  (=  $\dot{d}\nu\sigma\mu\dot{\omega}\iota o\nu$  in the same sense) might be read but seems unlikely.  $a\nu a\lambda\omega\mu\mu$  is impossible.

 $\nu^0$   $\iota\zeta$ : this reading depends on the correctness of the  $\iota\gamma$  of l. 2, which is not beyond doubt; but the faint traces are not

inconsistent with ιζ.

- 4. δομεστικ(ου): cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67040, 5; Maspero, Org. militaire, pp. 87, 106.
- 5. πριμικ/: πριμικερίου. See for this word P. Mon. 2, 16, note.

6. νοταρριων: the dotted letters at the end are extremely doubtful, but it seems clear that ρ was repeated. The clerk was probably intending to abbreviate the word.

7 f. Apparently a payment of 'extras' in connexion with the collection of ἀστικά (see 1665, introduction).

10.  $\epsilon \chi \theta (\epsilon \sigma \epsilon \omega s)$ : the sense is not clear; see 1685, 1, note. The word can hardly refer to the *farming out* of taxes (cf. 1660, 16-19, note; 1661, introduction).

12.  $[\gamma \iota]/:$  or perhaps  $\emptyset (= \delta \mu o \hat{\nu})$  was written.

## PAPYRUS 1673.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1686. Acquired in 1906. Ibion (in the Antaeopolite nome?); from Kôm Ishgau (?). Book, at present consisting of 9 folios, all having lost the upper part and more or less mutilated at the foot. About  $9\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a regular upright cursive hand with a rather

thick pen; papyrus for the most part dark brown in colour but with patches of light brown. The book was made up in a single quire, with the protocol  $\kappa \delta \lambda \eta \mu a$  in the middle of the book (f. 5); for mounting, the leaves have been separated, but were originally connected as follows:—ff. 1+[10, lost]; 2+9; 3+8; 4+7; 5+6 (middle of the quire). The fibres of the  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$  which begins on the right of f. 6 are continuous with those of the left  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$  of ff. 4+7.

T is only with reserve that this account is placed under the head of Aphrodito. It relates to a village called Ibion (l. 59); and though this name occurs in the Cairo Aphrodito papyri (i. 67055, r. ii, 8; ii. 67178 (A), 1), probably of a village in the Antaeopolite nome or at least in the neighbourhood of Aphrodito, it is of course far too common in many parts of Egypt to serve in itself as any evidence. The only other place-names which occur (except perhaps  $K\epsilon\nu\hat{\omega}\theta\iota$ s, l. 164) are  $N\hat{\eta}\sigma os$ ,  $\Pi\rho\hat{\eta}\kappa\tau\iota s$ , and  $\Pi o\rho\theta\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}o\nu$  (l. 398; doubtful). The first and last are too general to be of much use, the second is known only as the name of a village in the Hermopolite nome (BGU. i. 21, i, 6; P. Cair. Preis. 6, 2; 18, 6; 19, 7). As an Ibionalso occurs in the Hermopolite nome this may perhaps be regarded as sufficient evidence to justify the conclusion that the papyrus comes from that district; and since many Byzantine papyri of this lot are certainly Hermopolite this hypothesis must undoubtedly be regarded as a very possible one. There are however some considerations, less definite indeed, which point rather to the neighbourhood of Aphrodito. The papyrus resembles the documents from Kôm Ishgau and differs from the majority of those (in the present collection) from Hermopolis in its dark tint. There are indeed light patches, but the prevailing colour is dark. The hand moreover bears a close resemblance to a type of hand common in the Aphrodito papyri, particularly the accounts. Again, the names do not point to the Hermopolite nome, if we may judge by extant documents from that district. They seem rather to suggest a locality not hitherto represented in papyri, and as one or two of the less common ones, such as Τεκρομπίας, 'Ανούφι(ο)s, Πκύλιοs, 'Ιακύβιοs, are known at Aphrodito, this locality may perhaps be looked for in the neighbourhood of Antaeopolis. Lastly, since  $\Pi o \rho \theta \mu \epsilon \hat{i} o \nu$  occurs as a place-name at Aphrodito (1420, 206), it gives some slight support to the localization. These considerations are, it must be allowed, very inconclusive, and we have on the other hand the evidence of the name  $\Pi \rho \hat{\eta} \kappa \tau \iota s$ . The assignment of the document to the Antaeopolite nome cannot therefore be regarded as anything but doubtful.

Nor again is it certain that the account is connected with taxes; for though on a large scale, it might perhaps relate to some big estate such as that of the Apions of Oxyrhynchus or that of the comes Ammonius in Cair. Masp. ii. 67138-67140. It is perhaps most likely that the payments are for taxes; but there is no indication what taxes are concerned. The payments are arranged, not, as usual in the case of taxes, by  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\circ\lambda\alpha i$ , of which there were three in the year, but by  $\delta\circ\sigma\epsilon\iota$ s amounting, so far as the papyrus is extant, to seven; and these are again subdivided into seven  $\phi\nu\lambda()$  each. How the abbreviation is to be extended is not clear. It may be  $\phi\circ\lambda\delta\nu$ , meaning first the leaf of a book on which the payments in any collection were entered and perhaps extended later to denote the collection itself. (The use of  $\phi\circ\lambda\delta\nu$  as 'crop', seen in the Tebtunis papyri, is not appropriate here.) Or again  $\phi\circ\lambda\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ , in the sense of an 'ordinance', i.e. order for collection, seems a possible extension, but is not specially likely.

The format of the account is of some interest for the light it throws on the make-up v.

of papyrus codices. It consisted apparently of only a single quire, like 1419 or P. Oxy. ii. 208 (= Lond. 782), and, as in the case of 1419 (see Addenda to vol. iv), the portion of the papyrus roll containing the protocol forms the middle sheet (ff. 5 and 6). As usual, the first  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$  of the roll was attached in the reverse order to the rest, the vertical fibres being on the inside of the roll, and the protocol was written along the fibres, i. e. from bottom to top of the roll. The fact that the protocol thus forms part of the book and that the sheet forming ff. 5+6 is continuous with that forming ff. 4+7 shows that blank papyrus was bought in rolls (cf. Ibscher, Archiv, v, p. 192) and when made up in codex form was cut into sheets of the required size, which were doubled to form two leaves each. Usually the sheet containing the protocol was the outside sheet of the first quire, or, if there was only one quire, of the whole book, so that the protocol came on the second page; but less commonly, as here, it was placed in the middle. In the present case the protocol  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$  was cut about the middle of the protocol, so that only the last three lines remain; the writing of the account follows the protocol immediately across the fibres, the greater part of this page being formed by the first  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$ .

At the side of the names are strokes, such as are often added in sign of revision; but in many cases here these strokes seem to be made continuously with the first letter of the name and must therefore have been made at the time the account was written.

Fol. 1.]

and deducting c.

```
/ Π[το]λ[ομαιου ?
                                                            ν απ/ ζ(δ/
      / Πτολομ[αιου
                                                             ν απ/ ϊ
      / Κωμητε
      / Πασωθις Ισακιου
 5
                    [\gamma]\iota/\nu \theta\pi/\xi\xi\delta' \kappa\alpha\theta[\delta\nu^{\circ}\xi]\kappa/\xi\xi\delta'
      + γ δοσί 5 φυλ/ ου-
       / Φοιβαμμ Πατενι[ου]
                                                             \nu a \pi/\epsilon
      / \Phi \circ i\beta a\mu\mu E[\nu]\omega\chi\iota[\circ\nu]
                                                             \nu [a] \pi/5
                                                             ν α π/ ζ(δ/
10 / Πετρος Ταυρ[ι]νου
                                                             ν απ/ δ(δ/
       / Πτολομαιο Αβρααμιο
       / Ϊωνις Πασωθιου
                                                             \nu [a] \pi/ \zeta
       / \Gamma \epsilon \rho \rho \nu \tau \iota / E \nu \omega \chi \iota \circ \delta / M \iota \nu \circ \kappa \omega \mu \circ \nu^{[.]} \alpha \pi / \varsigma
       / Αβρααμις οικονομ
                                                             \nu^{\cdot} \beta \pi / \iota \beta. [.]
```

2.  $\pi/$ :  $\pi a \rho a$ ; *i.e.* the solidus was actually worth  $24-7\frac{3}{4}$  carats =  $16\frac{1}{4}$  c. It will be noticed that the variations in the value of the solidus are considerable. Each solidus was separately weighed, and the deduction to be made from its nominal value is noted in the account. Where a payment was of a less amount than a solidus it is stated in carats, apparently of actual value, for no deductions are ever made from them. In the totals, as in 1. 6, the nominal total amount in solidi is first given (a), then (e.g. 1. 54) the total of the sums less than a solidus in carats (b), then the total of the deductions from the nominal solidi (c), and finally the total actual value after adding a to b

1. Πτολομαιου: this is the constant spelling in this account.

- 3. Κωμητε: this name, in its Greek form Κομήτης, occurs in
- Cair. Masp. i. 67097, v. (B), 10; (E), 98; 67123, 3(?); ii. 67212, 3(?). The strokes following are intended merely to guide the eye of the scribe and the auditor to the entry at the end of the line. Sometimes a stroke of the last letter is extended for this purpose; at other times, as here, the line is broken into a succession of short strokes.
- 5. Sometimes  $\sigma$  or  $\sigma = (\sigma = \sigma \tilde{\sigma} \tau \omega s)$  is written instead of the mere line.
- 6. See note on 1. 2 above. The correct extension of  $\kappa a \theta i$  is doubtful; perhaps  $\kappa a \theta \delta \lambda o v$ .
- 9. Ενωχίου: doubtful, but this is very likely the same person as in 1. 134.
  - 13. κωμί: κωμάρχου; for this person see Il. 383, 384, etc.

```
15 / Πεευς [Απολ]λωτος
                                                                                           \nu a [\pi/
                                      [Αβ]ρααμις οικ/ [ομο]ι/
                                                                                                 \alpha \pi /
                                                                                                 \alpha \pi / \eta
                                      [Φ]οιβαμμί [σακι[ου]
                                                                                                 α π/ ζδ[/
                                      [Πε]ευς Ϊωαννου
                                                                                                \alpha \pi / \zeta \subset
                                      [. .] . . ει Τανης
                                                                                                 \alpha \pi / 5 \delta'
                                      [Βι]κτορος βαφευς
                             20
                                                                                            ν απ/ηδ/
                                      [\Phi]o\iota\beta\alpha\mu\mu[\S] H\lambda\iota[\alpha]\S
                                                                                            \nu \alpha \pi / \eta
                                      [I]\omega\nu[\iota]\varsigma \Pi\kappa\nu\lambda\iota\sigma\nu
                                                                                            \nu' \alpha \pi / \zeta(\delta')
                                      [..]ε.. μου Παπνουθιο
                                                       \gamma \iota / \nu' \cdot \iota \zeta \pi / \rho i s \langle \kappa \alpha \theta \rangle [\nu'] \iota \beta \kappa / \gamma \langle
                             25
Fol. 1 6.]
                                     / Φ[
                                     / Φοιβ[αμμ
                                     / Φοιβαμμ<sup>6</sup> . . . . [
                              30 / Αβρααμις πρε[σβυτε]ρ/
                                     / Ανδρεας Απολλωτος
                                     / Ανουφις Ίσακιου _
                                                          \gamma i / \nu "ia \pi / o\delta \kappa[a]\theta \langle \nu " \zeta \kappa / \kappa \beta / \ell
                              35 + \gamma \delta \circ \sigma' \zeta \phi \upsilon \lambda / \circ \upsilon
                                     / Ησαΐας Φοιβαμμί
                                                                                              v' a \pi / 5 
                                     / Βικτορος Βεσβουσου
                                                                                              ν απ/5(8/
                                     / Πισραηλ Ϊωαννου
                                                                                              ν απ/ 5 δ/
                                     / Πτολ/ Αμ[ο]υνιου
                                                                                              ν απ/5
                              40 / M[o]v[\sigma]\eta s \Phi o \beta a \mu \mu s
                                                                                              \nu a \pi/\gamma
                                        [Ιων]ις Ϊωανν[ο]υ
                                                                                         _ ν' απ/ ζ(δ/
                                         [. . . . .] Πτολομαιου
                                                                                               \nu [a \pi]/ \zeta \delta/
                                         [Πτολ]ομαιο Βικτορος
                                                                                               \nu a \pi / \zeta \delta [
                                         [? Πτο]λ/ Αβρααυμιου
                                                                                               \nu a \pi/ \zeta(\delta)
```

[Πτο]λομαιο\ Αμουνιο\ ομοι/

15. Cf. l. 232. A piece of papyrus having broken away in mounting, the stroke and  $\pi$  are now lost.

45

- 16.  $o\mu\omega/$ :  $\delta\mu\omegai\omega s$ ; Abraham had occurred above in l. 14. In this and the following lines  $\nu$  has not been written. Before the name, here and in other cases where the beginning of the line is lost, the stroke was probably made, but as it is not certain that it was added in every case it has not been inserted in the transcript.
- 18. Heevs; cf. 1. 235. There seem to be traces of the evs here, and the name suits the space.
- 21. Hhuas: doubtful; of ll. 230, 244. The  $\eta$ , if correct, is made in the uncial form common in figures but very rare in names in this account.

37. Beσβουσου: cf. the use of Coptic letters in 1419.

 $\nu \alpha \pi / \zeta$ 

- 38. Πισραηλ: a τόπος Πισραηλίου is known at Aphrodito, Cair. Masp. i. 67118, 16.
- 41. Ιωνις: cf. l. 141. This suits the space perfectly, and no other name in -ις which occurs in the account with Ἰωάννου does so. It is therefore, though not certain, a probable reading.
- 44. A $\beta \rho a a \nu \mu o \nu$ : sic, a common spelling in this account. Instead of  $[\Pi \tau o] \lambda /, [E \nu \omega] \chi$  is a possible but a less likely reading.
- 45.  $\bar{\zeta}$ : if  $\zeta$  is read in two of the ll. 45, 48, 49 the total in l. 54 is accounted for. But other fractions are of course possible.

```
K/ 581
                                         [? E\nu]\omega \chi \Pi a\pi \nu o[v]\theta \omega v
                                                                                                          K/ 5[
                                      / Σ[ο]λομων Πεευτος
                                                                                                    \nu a \pi/ \zeta[
                                      ] Πτολ[/] Βικ/ [ο]μοι/
                                                                                                    \nu \alpha \pi / \zeta
                                         [. . . .] Πτολ[ο]μαιου
                                                                                                 \nu \propto \pi / \zeta \delta[']
                                        [? Ερμ]ινος Π[το]λομαιου
                               50
                                                                                                           \kappa/\theta
                                         [Πτ]ολ/ Βεσβουσου
                                         [? E\rho]\mu\nuos \Pi\tau[o]\lambdao\muaιο\ ο\muοι\ \nu α\pi/ 5\[
                                                 γι/ ν· ιδ κ/ κγ π/ ςδ δ' καθ', ν· [ια κ/ α δ']
Fol. 2.]
                                         \zeta \phi[\nu\lambda/\nu \cdot \iota\alpha \kappa/\alpha\delta']
                                      / Om; to \pi^{\alpha}, \gamma doos \nu^{\text{(.)}} \xi\theta \kappa/ 18 8/
                                    + εισπραξ/ δ δοσί κωμί [Ϊ]βιωνος
                                      α φυλ/ ου----
                                                                                                        K/ 7(81
                                       / Ωρος Ψατος
                                                                                                    \nu \alpha \pi / 5
                                       / Ανουφις Β[ι]κτορος
                                       / Ϊωσηφις Αβρααυ[μ]
                                                                                                  ν απ/ ς(
                                       / Ϊωσηφις Αβραυμμή ομοι/
                                65 / Ανουφις Βικτορος ομοι/
                                                   \gamma \iota / \nu' \delta \kappa / \eta (\delta' \pi / \kappa s (\delta' \kappa a \theta) \nu' \gamma \kappa / s
                                      +\epsilon \iota \sigma \pi \rho \alpha \xi / \delta \delta \sigma \delta \beta \phi \nu \lambda / \sigma v
                                                                                                    ν απ/ 5δ/
                                          [...]\iota \alpha[...]\varsigma A\nuo\nu\theta\iotao\nu
                                                                                                     \nu a \pi/\theta \delta
                                          [Φο]ιβαμμί Πελιψ
                                          [Θεο]φιλος Κυριακου
                                                                                                     \nu a \pi/ \zeta(\delta)
                                70
                                                             \gamma \nu / \nu \cdot \gamma \pi / \kappa \gamma \langle \delta' \kappa \alpha \theta_1 \nu \cdot \beta \kappa / \delta'
Fol. 2 b.]
                                       / Ϊσακος Ευ[
                                       / Απολλως Ϊακυβ[ιο]υ
                               75
                                                  \gamma \iota / \nu \cdot \epsilon \kappa / \eta (\delta / \pi / \lambda \epsilon \delta / \kappa a \theta , \nu \cdot \gamma \kappa / \kappa a )
```

<sup>47. (</sup>C: there must be a & here or in l. 51 to make up the total in l. 54.

<sup>55.</sup> The end of the recapitulation of the totals for the various  $\phi v \lambda($  ) of the third  $\delta \delta \sigma v s$ . L. 57 gives the grand total.

<sup>57.</sup>  $\int O\mu s$ :  $\delta\mu o\hat{v}$ ; the stroke is drawn through the o, as in the shorter abbreviation  $\Theta$ . So too in the other cases.

 $<sup>\</sup>pi^a$ s: probably  $\pi \hat{a} \nu$  (cf. 1672, 12), but perhaps  $\pi a \rho a \delta o \theta \dot{\epsilon} \nu$ .

<sup>59.</sup> Ϊβιωνος: one of the two dots is visible.

<sup>64.</sup> Aβρανμμί: sic. This line is a later insertion, by the same clerk.

<sup>66.</sup>  $\nu$  8: 8 is a correction from  $\gamma$ . The sum of the carats to be deducted and the last entry are also corrections, showing that the column was added up before 1. 64 was inserted.

```
+\delta \delta o \sigma \delta \delta \phi u \lambda /
                                                                                          \kappa/\epsilon
                                 / Ψατος Πετρου
                                                                                      v \cdot a \pi / \epsilon \delta'
                                 / Ερμινος Ϊωαννου
                         80
                                                                                      ν απ/ ζ
                                 / Πουροοσε Ϊωαννου
                                 / Πτολομαιου Ϊωαννου
                                                                                       v = a\pi/\theta
                                                                                       ν απ/ ζ
                                 / Ερμινος Ϊωαννου ομοι/
                                                                                       ν απ/ ζδ/
                                 / Ιακυβις Πτολομαιου
                                                                                       ν απ/ ζωδ/
                                 / Ϊακυβις Πτολ/ ομοι/
                         85
                                          γι/ ν· 5 κ/ ε(π/ μδδ/ καθ, ν· δκ/ θδ/
                             [+] \delta \delta \circ \sigma \circ \epsilon \phi \upsilon \lambda / \circ \upsilon
                                    [Ανο]υφις Μηνατος
                                                                                       \nu \alpha \pi / \eta \delta'
                                     [Απολ]λως Πτολομαιου
                                                                                       \nu a \pi/\eta
                                     [Ιω]νις Ϊσακιου _
                                                                                       \nu a \pi/ [5] \delta[']
                         90
                                     Ϊωνις Βικτορος
                                                                                       ν απ/ ζ
                                  / Ανουθις Πτολομαιο
                                                                                       \nu \alpha \pi / \zeta \delta[']
                                                                                       ν β π/ ϊδ δ/
                                     [Πα]σωθις Φοιβαμμή
                                     [\Pi \epsilon]\epsilon \nu \varsigma [A]\pi \circ \lambda \lambda \omega \tau \circ \varsigma
                                                                                       \nu a \pi/\epsilon\delta'
                                     [Πτο]λομαίο\ ελαιουργος
                                                                                       \nu a \pi/\theta\delta
                         95
                                            \gamma i / \nu \cdot \theta \pi / \xi s \kappa a \theta_i \nu \cdot s \kappa / s
Fol. 3.]
                                 Φ[
                                                                                       v] \alpha \pi / \zeta
                                 / Ϊω[
                                                                                    ] \nu \beta \pi / \iota \gamma \langle
                                 / Πτολομ[αιου Δ]ιοσκορου
                                                                                       \nu \alpha \pi / 5 \delta
                       100
                                 / Φιβις Δανιηλι[ο] ομοι/
                                                                                       \nu a \pi/s
                                 / Γωρας Πτολ[/] ελαιουργή
                                                                                        ν απ/ζ
                                            \gamma \iota / \nu' \theta \kappa / [\iota \alpha] \delta' \pi / \xi \beta (\kappa \alpha \theta) \nu' \varsigma \kappa / \kappa \alpha \delta'
                                + δ δοσί 5 φυλ/ ου-
                                 / Ϊωνις Πα[υ]λου
                                                                                       \nu \cdot a \pi / \zeta
                       105
                                 / Ταυρίνος διακονου
                                                                                       v a π/ 5 (δ/
                                 / Φιβις Σαβευ
                                                                                       \nu a \pi/ s \in \delta/
                                 / Πεευς Απολλωτος
                                                                                       ν απ/ ζδ/
                                 / Ηλιας Μουσαιου
                                                                                       ν απ/ 5δ/
                                 ] Φοιβαμμί Ϊσακιου
                                                                                       ν απ/ζ(
                       110
                                    [Αν]δρεας Απολλωτος
                                    [....] δια[κο]νου
                                                                                       \nu \alpha \pi / \eta
                                   [Ταυρ]ινος διακ/ ομοι/
                                                                                       \nu = \pi / 5 \langle \delta' \rangle
                                                                       disappeared.
 88. Ανουφις: cf. l. 201.
 90. Iwvis: cf. 1, 211.
                                                                         94. Heevs: cf. ll. 108, 408.
 91. No stroke is visible before this line, but it may have
                                                                         102. Γωρας: or, less probably, Τωρας.
```

```
\nu a \pi/\eta \delta'.
                                      [Αβρ]ααυμις οικονομου
                                                                                         ν a π/ 5
                                     [Ταυρι]ν[ο]ς διακονού ομοι/
                        115
                                     [ . . . . . ]ς Ϊωνιου
                                                                                         \nu a \pi/5 8/
                                     [Πασω]θις Ωριγενιου
                                                                                         ν' απ/δ
                                     [Αβρ]ααμί οικ/ ομοι/
                                                                                        [ν]· a π/ ζ(
                                     [\Pi \epsilon] \epsilon v_S A \pi o \lambda \lambda [\omega] \tau o_S o \mu o \iota /
                                                                                        ν απ/ζ
                         120
                                     [A\beta\rho]aa\mu oik/ ohoi/
                                                                                        ν απ/ 5δ/
                                     [A\beta\rho]aa\mu oik/ ohoi/
                                                                                        ν απ/ ζδ/
                                             \gamma \iota / \nu \cdot \iota \zeta \pi / \rho \iota \zeta \delta / \kappa \alpha \theta , \nu \cdot \iota \beta \kappa / \beta \zeta \delta [ ]
Fol. 3 b.]
                                   / Φ[
                                  / Φοιβ[αμμί
                                  / Ϊωνις διακ/..[
                         125
                                  / Αβρααμί οικ/ ομ[οι] / [
                                                                                       [\nu] \alpha \pi / \eta \delta /
                                  / Φιβις Αμμωνιο\ Πρηκτ€
                                  / κλ/ \hat{I}ωαννου Σολομω[\nu^o] α\pi^o Πρηκτ^\epsilon( \nu· α \pi/ \theta
                                  / κλ/ Αριλλας απ<sup>ο</sup> Πρηκτ<sup>ε</sup>
                                                                                        \mathbf{v}^{\cdot} \mathbf{a} \pi / \theta \delta \mathbf{v}
                                  / Τεκρομπιας Πενηνιο\ απ" [Π]ρηκτές ν' απ/ ηδ/
                        130
                                  / Αβρααμις κωμαρχί
                                                                                        \nu \alpha \pi / \theta \delta 
                                  / Πεευς Απολλωτο[ς] ομοι/
                                                                                        \nu \cdot \alpha \pi / \zeta
                                  / Βικτορος διακ/ Νησου
                                                                                       ν απ/ζ(
                                  / Φοιβαμμί Ενωχιου
                                                                                        ν απ/ ζ(δ/
                                         \gamma \iota / \nu ϊς κ/ \delta \pi / \rho \iota \zeta \delta' καθ, <math>\nu ϊα κ/ \varsigma \zeta \delta'
                         135
                                 + [\delta] \delta[o\sigma] \zeta \phi v \lambda / ov
                                      [Πτ]ολ[ο]μαιο\ Αμουνιου
                                                                                        \nu^* [a] \pi[/] \varsigma
                                                                                        \nu a \pi/ \theta
                                      [Πτ]ολομαιο\ Βικτορος
                                                                                        ν α π/ ζ
                                      [Π]ισραηλ Ϊωαννου
                                      [Π]απνουθις Ϊωαννου
                                                                                         \nu a [\pi/] \leq \delta[']
                        140
                                      |Ϊ[ων]ις Ϊωαννου _
                                                                                         \nu \cdot \alpha \pi /
                                   / Πεευς Πτολομαιου
                                                                                        \nu a [\pi/
                                      [Π]τολομαιου [Β]ικ/ ομοι/
                                                                                         \nu a \pi / \zeta
                                      [...]μζ [Π]τολομαιου
                                                                                         ν απ/ 5
                                            [\gamma]\iota/\nu \eta \pi/\nu\eta \kappa \alpha \theta \ \nu \in \kappa/\iota \delta 
                         145
Fol. 4.]
```

 $[\gamma\iota/\nu \cdot . \pi/.. καθ, \nu \cdot βκ/] iθ([δ])$ 

place see the introduction to this account. 117. Ποσωθις: cf. Il. 418, 421. 127. Πρηκτε(ωs): a place-name, 'from Prektis'. For this **128. κλ/: κληρονόμοι.** 

Fol. 4 *b*.]

147.  $\epsilon \pi \iota \tau^0$ ;  $\tau^0$ ; is certain from ll. 268, 373. Here  $\epsilon \pi$  seems certain; in the other places  $\epsilon \pi \iota$  is written in a sort of monogram which makes it look like a large  $\phi \phi$ . The extension is no doubt  $\epsilon \pi \iota \tau^0$   $\alpha \iota \tau^0$ .

152. Got by the addition of ll. 96 and 103; this  $\phi v \lambda$  ( ) was divided between two pages. So too with the 6th and 7th  $\phi v \lambda$  ( ).

156. The sum is a correction.

158.  $\Delta$ : probably  $\lambda \delta \gamma o s$ . This and the account in ll. 164, 165 are separate ones, unconnected with the main account;  $o \delta (r \omega s)$  in l. 157 does not refer to them but is used, like the symbol  $\sigma$ , unmeaningly, after as well as before the total; cf. l. 166.

 $v^{\pi}: v\pi\epsilon\rho.$ 

159. Probably the money alone was paid (in lieu of 33 artabas of wheat), not both wheat and money, as this is an account of money payments only. If 4 solidi was taken as the price, this gives  $8\frac{1}{4}$  artabas per solidus; on the actual value of the money paid, i. e. 2 s. 22 c., the rate is roughly  $11\frac{1}{3}$  artabas to the solidus. In A. D. 699 the rate of  $\frac{1}{4}\pi\alpha\rho\gamma\nu\rho\iota\sigma\mu\dot{\sigma}s$  for wheat for the embola was 1 s. per 20 artabas, in 706–707, 1 s. per 12, in 709, 1 s. per 13, in 715–716, 1 s. per 10 (vol. iv, p. xxxviii). In Cair. Masp. i. 67062, 8 artabas cost 1 s. The price per artaba was therefore 3 carats. In 1907 (7th cent.) the curiously different rates of 6 s. per 12

(dochic) artabas and 4 s. per 15 artabas seem to occur. In Cair. Masp. iii. 67289, 13, 10 artabas cost 1 s. less 6 c. In 67320 adaeratio of wheat is at the rate of 40 modii (=  $13\frac{1}{3}$  artabas) to the solidus. The figures for the money here are a correction; the original amount ended with  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

160.  $a\phi/: \dot{a}\phi' \dot{\delta}\nu$ . But the a is doubtful. The sum of ll. 161 and 162 is 4 s. less 26 c., *i. e.* the amount noted as paid in l. 159. 3 s. less  $19\frac{3}{4}$  c. were paid for some uncertain purpose, and 1 s. less  $6\frac{1}{4}$  c. remained over.

162.  $\pi \lambda \eta \rho(\eta s)$  o  $\lambda o \gamma(os)$ : cf. 1670, 21. The identity of formula perhaps gives some slight support to the hypothesis that this account was written in the Antaeopolite nome.

164.  $K \epsilon \nu \omega \theta \epsilon \omega s$ : this form of genitive, at this period, suggests a place-name, but from the analogy of 1. 158 we should rather expect a personal name.  $K \epsilon \nu \hat{\omega} \theta \iota s$  does not seem to occur as a place-name.

165.  $\epsilon \lambda a \beta \epsilon(\nu)$ : this reading, which was suggested by Prof. Hunt, is favoured by a horizontal stroke joining the  $\lambda$  on the left.

 $A\lambda \epsilon \xi (a\nu \delta \rho \epsilon \iota as)$ : 'on the Alexandrian standard.' No deductions are made; the solidi were full weight. Note that the sum is given in solidi and carats; see note on l. 189.

168. Βικτορος: cf. l. 282.

```
/ Βικτορος Πτολημαιο\
                                                   ν[· a] π[/] ε(δ/
       / Ωρος Ψατος _ _ _
       / Πεευς Πασωθιου
              γι/ ν. θ κ/ α δ/ π/ ξε δ/ καθ, ν. 5 κ/ η
175
      + \epsilon \delta o \sigma \beta \beta \phi v \lambda / o v
       / Παπνουθις Ανουφιου
                                                    \nu a \pi/ \tau
      / Ωρος Ησαΐου _ _ _ _
                                                   ν απ/ζ(
       / Γεροντιος Ησαΐου
                                                        κ/ ια(δ/
180 / Φοιβαμμί Ϊωαννου
                                                   ν απ/ζ
         [Φοι]βαμμή Ϊωαννου ομοι/
                                                   ν απ/ζδ/
       ] Ησαΐας Σαλιωρίε
       / Φοιβαμμί Ιωαννο\ ομοι/
                                                    ν α π/ ζ (δ/
         \gamma \iota / \nu \cdot \epsilon \kappa /  \ddot{\imath}η(δ/ \pi / \lambda \varsigma \kappa \alpha \theta, \nu \cdot \delta \kappa / \varsigma(δ/
185
      + \epsilon \delta o \sigma \int \gamma \phi u \lambda / o v
                                                    \nu \cdot \alpha \pi / \theta
       / Ανουφις αναγνωστου
                                                    \nu \cdot \beta \pi / i\delta \delta'
         [Μ]ινος κωμαρχί
         [Μι]νος κωμαρχ[§] ομοι/ _ _
                                                   ν β7π/ ϊδ/
          [? Μαρ]κος Ευσεβειου
                                                    \nu a \pi/\epsilon
190
          [? Ιωαν]νης Πτολομαιό
```

185.  $v \cdot \delta \kappa / \mathcal{F}(\delta')$ :  $\delta$  is apparently a correction, perhaps also  $\kappa / \mathcal{F}(\delta')$ . 189. 7: apparently a new symbol. The arithmetic shows that it denotes  $\frac{2}{3}$  (of a solidus) = 16 carats. This was the nominal value only, as a deduction is made. This fact and that previously noted, that where an amount is given in carats no deduction is made, confirm the view put forward in vol. iv, p. 84 ff. that ἀρίθμια νομίσματα, expressed in solidi and fractions, are of nominal value only, and εχόμενα νομίσματα, expressed in solidi and carats, are of real, standard value. This view has been questioned by Maspero, Addenda to vol. ii, fasc. I of his Cairo catalogue, and Rev. d. Et. gr. xxv, p. 221 (see, at the last reference, the remark 'La valeur nominale du solidus est de 24 κεράτια; c'est donc le νόμισμα έχόμενον qui la représente, et non l' ἀρίθμιον'). This difference of opinion is apparently concerned more with wording than with anything substantial and seems to rest on a misconception of the meaning of the present editor's remarks in vol. iv. Both are agreed that the ἀρίθμιον νόμισμα was of less value than its nominal one of 24 carats. The sentence in vol. iv, p. 84, 'it seems obvious that the higher amount must represent the lower value, i.e. that the larger sum, the  $d\rho i\theta \mu ia$ , gives the nominal, the lower sum, the  $\dot{\epsilon}\chi \delta\mu \epsilon \nu a$ , the real value' is perfectly true as it stands and agrees with Maspero's own view; and his objection to it seems to rest on the supposition that by value is meant cash. Of course the ἀρίθμια were real, the ἐχόμενα nominal, cash; that is to say, the money actually paid in consisted of ἀρίθμια νομίσματα, coins of less worth than 24 carats; and the sums stated in εχόμενα are fictitious, nominal sums in that they represent not actual cash but the actual value of the cash paid in. As regards the further

question, what was the cause of the depreciation, see Kubitschek, Numism. Zeitschr. Wien, vol. xxix, 1897, p. 166 ff.; Maspero, Cair. Masp. ii, p. 26; Wenger, P. Mon. 1, 53, note. Wenger, whose explanation seems to be anticipated by Maspero in his remark as to 'un de ces systèmes locaux de poids et mesures que l'autorité impériale ne put jamais détruire en Égypte ' (Rev. Ét. gr. xxv, p. 221), holds that the word ζυγόν so often mentioned in connexion with coinage refers to the 'Nachprüfung des Sollgewichts des νόμισμα (1/72 Pfund)', and as different ζυγά were employed it was safer in any individual case to specify the ζυγόν used. This theory seems likely to be the true one; and thus the variations in the actual value of the solidus will be due partly indeed to the actual degree of wear or initial deficiency in weight but partly also to differences in the standards of weight. That the latter is, however, not the only or perhaps even the principal cause is shown by the evidence of the present document; for the ratio between real and nominal values varies considerably, whereas the scales and standard of correctness must have been the same for all the coins received. A still more striking proof of the fact is to be found in Cair. Masp. iii. 67309, where of 15 solidi, all weighed ζυγφ καὶ σταθμφ δημοσίφ 'Αντινόου, 6 are described as worth 19 c. and 9 are worth 18 c. It may be added that in 1674, 36 a sum given in carats (8) is apparently described as worth only  $5\frac{2}{3}$  c. in actual value. This is an exception to the rule noted above, whereby ἐχόμενα are given as carats, άρίθμια as fractions of a solidus.

191. Ιωαννης: a Μουσης Πτολομαίου occurs in l. 200, but here the letter after the lacuna looks more like  $\nu$  than  $\sigma$ .

```
[...]ς Απολλωτος
                                                                                                   ν a π/η(
                                          [...]\log \Delta a \nu [\iota] \eta \lambda \iota o \nu
                                              [\gamma \iota / \nu \cdot \zeta] \ 7 \ \kappa / (\delta' \pi / \mu \zeta \kappa \alpha \theta, \nu \cdot \epsilon \kappa / \ddot{\iota} \zeta (\delta'))
Fol. 5.
                                       /[
                             195
                                       / [. . . . .]ς Πτολ[ομαιου ομ]οι/
                                               \gamma \iota / \nu^{[\cdot]} \eta \kappa / \alpha \pi / \nu \varsigma (\delta' \kappa \alpha \theta) \nu \epsilon \kappa / \iota \varsigma \delta'
                                        +\epsilon \delta o \sigma (\epsilon \phi v \lambda / o v -
                                       \int Ιωνις Βικτί \times τιμί λαχ \partial_{-} \ddot{i}\beta \nu \beta \pi / \ddot{i}\beta
                                                                                                        κ/ ϊδ/
                                       / Μουσης Πτολομαιου
                                        / Ανουφις Μηνατος
                                                                                                    \nu a \pi/\eta \delta'
                                                                                                    \nu \alpha \pi / \eta \delta'
                                        / Παυλος Ϊσακιου
                                                                                                   \nu a \pi/ \zeta
                                        / Ανουφις Πασωθιου
                                        / Ανουθις Πτολομαιου
                                                                                                    \nu \cdot \alpha \pi / \zeta
                                                                                                    \nu \alpha \pi / \zeta
                              205 / Ανουθις Ισακιου
                                        / Ϊωαννης Φοιβαμμί
                                                                                                        \kappa/\epsilon
                                        / Πασωθις Φοιβαμμί
                                                                                                    \nu a \pi/5 \leq \delta'
                                                                                                    ν απ/ ζ(δ/
                                        / Ϊσακος Απολλωτος
                                        / Φιβις Δανιηλιου
                                                                                                    \nu \alpha \pi / \zeta \delta 
                                      ] Πα[σ]ωθις Ϊσακιου
                                                                                                    \nu \cdot \beta [\pi/\iota] \delta
                                        / Ϊωνις Ϊσακιου
                                                                                                    \nu \beta \pi / i\delta
                                        / Ϊωνις Βικτορος
                                                                                                    \nu a \pi/ \leq \delta'
                                        ] Ανδρεας Παυσωθιου
                                                                                                    ν απ/ ζ
                                           [Πα]υλος Ϊσακιου ομοι/
                                                                                                    \nu a \pi/ s \in \delta/
                                                                                                    ν a π/η
                              215 / Ανουφις Πασωθιο ομοι/
                                        Ι Ανουθις Ϊσακιου ομοι/
                                                                                                    \nu a \pi/ \zeta(\delta)
                                        / Φιβις Δανιηλιου ομοι/
                                                                                                    \nu a \pi/
                                        / Ϊων[ις] Βικτορ/ ομοι/
                                                                                                    \nu a[\pi/
                                           Παυλος Ϊσακιου ομοι/
                                                                                                    \nu a \pi
                              220
                                               \gamma \iota / \nu \cdot \kappa \beta \kappa / i \in \delta' \pi / \rho \xi \delta' \kappa \alpha [\theta_1 \nu \cdot \iota \in \kappa / \kappa \gamma]
Fol. 5 b.]
                                        / A\nu
                                        / Παυλος Ισα[κιου
                                        / Ανουθις Ϊσακ[ιου ομ]οι/
                                       / Ϊσακος Αγενι[ο]υ
                                               \gamma \iota / \nu \cdot \eta \kappa / \epsilon \delta / \pi / \xi \alpha \kappa \alpha \theta_1 \nu \cdot \epsilon \kappa / \iota \epsilon \delta /
```

193. [...]  $los: not [\Phi \iota \beta] los (l. 209, \Phi \iota \beta \iota s).$ 

1

v.

<sup>199. 🗶</sup> τιμί λαχ 🦫 ο ϊβ: ὑπὲρ τιμῆς λαχάνων ἀρταβῶν ϊβ.

<sup>213.</sup> Παυσωθίου: a variant spelling of Πασωθίου, like 'Αβρααύ-

μιζο)s for 'Αβραάμιος.

<sup>219.</sup> There was probably no stroke at the beginning.

<sup>222.</sup> Aν[: perhaps Αν[ουθις Ισακιου; cf. l. 224.

```
+ \epsilon \delta o \sigma (s \phi v \lambda / o[v])
                                                         ν απ/ 5
        / Αβρααμις οικονομ
                                                         \nu^{[\cdot]} \propto \pi / \eta \delta'
230 / Φοιβαμμων Ηλιας
                                                         \nu a \pi/\eta \delta
        / Ενωχις Παπνουθιο\
                                                         \nu a \pi[/.] \delta
        / Πεευς Απολλωτος
        / Ανδρεας Απολλωτ
                                                        \nu a \pi/5
        / Ταυρινος διακονου
                                                        ν' απ/5
235 / Πεευς Ϊωαννου
                                                         \nu' \alpha \pi / 5 (\delta')
                                                         \nu a \pi/ \zeta
        / Ανουφις Ισακιο\
                                                        ν απ/δ
        / Φοιβαμμίς Πατενιοί
        / Ϊερημιας Ϊωνιου
                                                       [\nu] \alpha \pi / [
        / Αβρααμμίς οικ/ ομοι/
                                                        \nu a \pi/ \zeta[
240 / Φοιβαμμί Ϊσακιδ
                                                        ν' απ/ 5[
                                                        \nu' \gamma [\pi/
        / Βικτορος γνωστηρ/
                                                         \nu^{[\cdot]} \alpha \pi / . [
        / Ταυρινος διακ/ ομοι/
        / Αβρα[α]μ\ οικ/ ομοι/
                                                         ν' απ[/
        / Φοιβαμμί Ηλιας
                                                        \nu \beta \pi / \eta
                                                            \kappa/\in (\delta']
245 \int A[\pi] o \lambda \lambda \omega s E \lambda \lambda \omega \tau
                                                        \nu \beta \pi / \ddot{\iota}
        / Ανδρεας Απολλωτ[ς ομοι]/
```

 $\gamma \nu'$  ν κα κ/ ε δ' π/ ρνγ καθ, ν°  $i\delta$  κ[/ κ δ']
249-251 In the left margin, remains (3 lines) of the protocol, written in an illegible sprawling script. The last line may end with ε.

#### Fol. 6.]

```
[\gamma\iota/\nu^{\cdot}.\kappa/.\pi/..\kappa\alpha\theta,\nu^{\cdot}\beta\kappa/\kappa\alpha]
        [+\epsilon \delta o \sigma \int \zeta \phi v \lambda / o v^{-}]
                                                                     ν απ/ ζ(δ/
             [\Sigma o\lambda o\mu]\omega\nu \Pi \epsilon [\epsilon v]
                                                                     ν α π/ ζδ/
255 / \Pi[a]\sigma\omega\theta\iota\varsigma B\iota\kappa\tau[o\rho\sigma]\varsigma
                                                                          κ/ ιβδ/
         / Παυλος Βικτο[ρος]
                                                                           \kappa/ vy(\delta)
          / Απολλως [? Ιακυβ]ιο\
         / Πτολομ[α]ιο Αμουνιο\
                                                                           κ/ ιδ
          / Ησαΐας Φοιβαμμί
                                                                      ν' a π/ 5
260 / \Pi \tau[o]λομαιο\ Βικ[\tau o]ρ/
                                                                      \nu a \pi/\eta
          / Σολομων Πεευς [ο]μοι/
                                                                      ν απ/ 5 (δ/
          / Ϊωαν[ν]ης Ευδαιμωνος
                                                                     \nu a \pi/ \delta(\delta)
          / Φιβις Γεροντιου
                                                                     ν απ/ ζ(δ/
          / Πασωθις Βικ/ ομοι/
                                                                      \nu a \pi/ 5
         / Ενωχις Σαραπιων
                                                                           κ/ ϊβ(δ/
265
                \gamma \iota / \nu \cdot \eta \kappa / \nu \beta (\delta' \pi / \nu \epsilon \delta' \kappa \alpha \theta) \nu \cdot \zeta \kappa / \kappa \alpha \zeta
```

257. 1ακυβιου: cf. l. 74, etc.

```
Επι τος ου-
                                                                                                   α φυλ/
                                                                                                   v. 8 K/ 5(8/
                                          \beta \phi v \lambda /
                            270
                                                                                                   ν' εκ/ ιζ(δ/
                                         [\gamma] \phi \upsilon \lambda /
                                                                                                   ν εκ/ 15 8/
                                          \delta \phi v \lambda /
                                                                                                   ν κακ/ ιεδ/
                                          ε φυλ/
                                                                                                   ν ϊζκ/ ιη δ/
                                          ν ζκ/ κα
                                        [\zeta \phi \nu \lambda/]
                             275
                                                     [,0\mu$ to \pi^a$ \epsilon] \delta0\sigma$ \nu^o \xi\theta \kappa/ $\(\delta\)
Fol. 6 b.]
                                       \int \Sigma[\alpha] \beta \iota[\nu o s]
                                       / M\eta\nu[\alpha\varsigma] . . [
                             280 / Πασωθις Βικτορ[ος ομοι]/
                                       / Πασωθις Βικτορο[ς ομοι]/ \nu α [\pi/. \delta] / Ανουφις Βικτορο[ς ομοι]/ \nu α \pi/\zeta[\delta]
                                       / Ανουφις Βικτορο[ς ομοι]/
                                              \gamma \iota / \nu \cdot \tau \kappa / (\pi / \lambda \eta (\delta / \kappa \alpha \theta) \nu \cdot \delta \kappa / \theta (\delta / \theta))
                             285 + \epsilon δοσ\ \beta φυλ/ου-
                                                                                                 \nu [a] \pi/ \zeta
                                       / Φιβις Πτολομαιο\
                                       / Γεροντιος Ησαΐου _ _
                                       / Φοιβαμμων Ϊωαννου
                                        / Πεευς Ϊωαννου _ _ _
                             290 / Φοιβαμμίς Ϊωαννου ομοι/
                                                     [\gamma]\iota/\nu \cdot \epsilon \pi/\lambda  \kappa \alpha \theta \nu \cdot \gamma \kappa/\iota \beta''
                                    [+] = \delta \circ \sigma \circ \gamma \phi \upsilon \lambda /
                                           [Απολ]λως Ϊακυβιου _ _ _
                             295
                                          [Ιωαν]νης Παπνουθιου
                                                                                                   \nu a \pi/ \eta
                                          [Ε]λλως σκυδευς
                                          [I\omega]a\nu\nu\etaς \Pi a\pi\nu o[v]\theta i\bar{o} o\mu oi/
                                                                                                   ν a π/5
                                                                                                   \nu \delta [\pi/\kappa\beta]
                                          [? Μιν]ος κωμαρχ
                              300
                                                    \gamma \iota / \nu \cdot \zeta \kappa / \alpha \pi / \mu \epsilon \kappa \alpha \theta_i \nu [\cdot \epsilon \kappa / \delta]
```

268. E $\pi\iota$   $\tau^{\circ}$ (: cf. note on l. 147. 279. M $\eta\nu$ as . . [: not M $\eta\nu$ [as]  $a\nu$ [a $\gamma\nu$  $\sigma\tau\eta$ s (cf. l. 169). 282.  $\nu$ \*: over this has been written what looks like  $\eta$ .

297. σκυδευς: L. σκυτεύς. 299. ν δπ/κβ : it is possible that in l. 298 was followed by δ' (the papyrus is lost after ). If so, read here κβ δ'.

```
Fol. 7.]
```

```
[\gamma \iota / \nu] \delta \kappa / 5 [ \pi / \kappa . \kappa \alpha] \theta, \nu \gamma \kappa / 5
                                   [+ \varepsilon \delta o \sigma (\epsilon)] \phi v \lambda [/] o [v - \epsilon]
                           305 / Aνουθις Πτολομα[ιο]v
                                                                                               \kappa/ \omega \delta'
                                                                                            \nu = a \pi / \eta \delta
                                    / Ανουφις Μηνατος
                                                                                                \kappa/\delta'
                                    / Παπνουθις Πισουλου
                                                                                               κ/ ϊβ(_
                                    / Ϊωαννης Φοιβαμμ
                                                                                            \nu a \pi/ \zeta
                                    / Α[ν]ουθις Πτολομαιο\ ομοι/
                                                                                            \nu a \pi/ \zeta
                           310 / Ανδρεας Πασωθιου
                                                                                            ν απ/ 5δ
                                    / Ϊωνις Ϊσακιου _
                                                                                                \kappa/\delta'
                                    / Παπνουθις Πισουλου ομοι/
                                                                                            \nu a \pi/ \zeta
                                    / Αν[ου]θις Ϊσακιου
                                                                                                \kappa/a(\delta)
                                    / Βι[κ]τορος Δανειτ
                                                                                            \nu \alpha \pi / \ddot{\iota}
                                    ] Μουσης Φ[ο]ιβαμμ
                           315
                                    ] A\beta\rho[a]a\mu, A\pi o\lambda\lambda\omega\tau o[s]
                                                                                            \nu \alpha \pi / \epsilon
                                                                                            ν απ/ 5
                                       [A]\nu o \nu \theta \iota s \Pi \tau o \lambda / o \mu [o] \iota /
                                       [Α]νουθις Πτολ/ ομοι/
                                                                                            \nu a \pi/\eta
                                                                                            \nu = a\pi/\eta(\delta)
                                       [? Ελλ]ως Πτολ/
                           320
                                           \gamma \iota / \nu \cdot \ddot{\iota} \kappa / \kappa \eta (\pi / o \in \delta / \kappa \alpha \theta) \nu \cdot \eta \kappa /
Fol. 7 6.
                                     / Ķ.[
                                     / \Pi \omega \omega \theta \omega . [.] . [
                                                                                            \nu .] \pi[/
                                     / Φοιβ[α]μμ\ Φουρβ[ιον
                                                                                            \nu a \pi/
                                                                                            \nu a \pi[/
                           325 / Μινος Φοιβαμμ[6
                                                                                                \kappa/\epsilon
                                     / κλ/ Λευτος απ^{o} Πρ[ηκτ)]
                                                                                                 \kappa/a
                                     / κλ/ Σαραπιον απ<sup>ο</sup> Π[ρηκτ]
                                     / Απολλως Ϊσχ[υ]ρ/ απο Πρηκτί
                                                                                            \nu a \pi/ \eta \delta/
                                                                                                 \kappa/\delta'
                                     / Μαρια Ϊσχυρ/ απ° Πρηκτ\
                                                                                                 κ/ δ/
                                    \int Τεκρομ\pi\iota/ a\pi^{\circ} \Pi \rho [\eta] \kappa \tau
                                                                                                 κ/ δ/
                                     / A\mu a\nu\nu a \ a\pi^o \ \Pi\rho[\eta]\kappa\tau
                                      / Νουνας απ' Πρηκτ
                                                                                                 \kappa/(\delta')
                                                                                                 κ/ δ/
                                      / Ϊωαννης [? Αν]ουφ/ απο Πρηκτή
                                      / Φοιβαμί Θεοφιλοί Νησοί
                                                                                             \nu a \pi / \eta \delta'
                                     / Ϊωαννης Λαπε Νησου
                                                                                             \nu a \pi / \zeta \delta 
                            335
```

<sup>303.</sup>  $\pi/\kappa$ : if no fraction followed  $\mathcal{F}$ , the reading will be  $\pi/\kappa\delta$ .

likely; here very little of the letter remains. Perhaps for Fulvium (Hunt)?

<sup>322.</sup> K: or perhaps I.

<sup>331.</sup> Αμαννα: perhaps a compound of ἄμα = ἄμμα and "Αννα?

<sup>324.</sup> Φουρβίου: cf. l. 344. Φουρμίου is also possible there but less 334. Νησου: i. e. 'from Nesus', a place-name; cf. l. 133.

Fol. 8.]

339. Heevs: cf. l. 235.

in Il. 343, 346.

342.  $\Pi \alpha \sigma \omega \theta \iota s$ : cf. l. 117, etc.

```
LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD
                                                           \nu a \pi/ \theta
        / Ϊωαννης Λαπε Νησου ομοι/
                                                          ν' a π/ ε(
           [....] Ma\rho\theta a N\eta\sigma o
                                                           \nu a \pi/ \eta \delta/
          [Πε]ευς Ϊωαννου
                                                           \nu a \pi/\eta
                                                           ν απ/ ζ(δ/
           [? Μα]καρις Ϊσακι[ο]υ
340
                                                           \nu \alpha \pi / \eta
          [? Μα]καρις Ϊσακιο\ ομ[ο]ι/
                                                           \nu a\pi/\eta
          [\Pi a\sigma \omega]\thetais \Omega \rho i \gamma \epsilon \nu i [ov]
                                                           ν' απ/ ζδ/
          [? Ηλ]ιας κωμαρχί
           [Φοι]βαμί Φουρβιον [ομ]οι/
                                                           ν α π/ ζ
                                                           ν' απ/ ζ
          [\ldots] . \omega . [
345
                                                           \nu a \pi/5
          [? Ηλιας κωμ]αρχί ομοι/
          [....]πι/ Νησου
                                                           \nu a \pi/\eta
               [\gamma\iota/\nu] \kappa\delta\kappa/\theta\pi/\rho\circ\beta\delta'\kappa[\alpha\theta,\nu\cdot\iota\zeta\kappa/\delta(\delta')]
350 + \varsigma [δο]\sigma, \zeta \phi v \lambda / [ov -]
        / [[ω]σηφις Μουσαιου
                                                           \nu^{[\cdot]} a \pi / \zeta
        / Πεευς Ερμινου
                                                          [\nu \beta] \pi / \ddot{\imath} \delta
        / Πτολομαιο\ Βικτορ/
                                                           \nu a \pi/ 5
        / Πτολομαιο\ Αμουνιο\
                                                           \nu a \pi/ 5
355 / Σολομων Πεευτος
                                                           ν απ/ζ(δ/
        / Πτολομή Βικτορ/ ομοι/
                                                           \nu a \pi / \zeta
        / Πασωθις Βικτορ/
                                                           \nu: \beta \pi / \ddot{\epsilon}
        / Παπνουθις Ϊωαννου
                                                           ν απ/ ζ
```

```
/ Πτ[ο]λομ$ Βικτορ/ ομοι/
                                                 ν α π/ ζδ/
       / Ησαΐας Φοιβαμ
                                                 \nu a \pi/ 5(\delta)
       / Ανδρεας Μουσαιου
                                                 ν a π/ 5(8
       / Πτολομαιου Βικ/ ομοι/
                                                 ν απ/ ζδ/
      ] Πασωθις πρεσβυτερ/
365
         [Πε]ευς Ερμινου
         [? Παυλος Ϊερακος
         [? Παυλ]ος Ϊερακος ομοι/
                                                 \nu[·
         [Σολομ]ων Πεευς ομοι/
         [Πτο]λομαιο\ Βικ/ ομοι/
370
         [...]ος Πτολομαιου
         E[\pi]\iota \tau^o \int o v
                                       347. ]\pi\iota/: perhaps [T\epsilon\kappa\rho o\mu]\pi\iota(as).
```

345. ]. ω. [: very possibly κωμ[αρχί, i.e. the same person as page. Perhaps it was at first accidentally omitted.

 $\nu a\pi/\eta$ 

 $\nu$  a  $\pi/5\delta$ 

371. The total must have been written on the right of the

/ Πτολομί Βικτορ/ ομοι/

360 / Γεροντιος Μουσαιου

Fol. 8 *b*.]

```
+\zeta \delta o \sigma \zeta \gamma \phi v \lambda / o v^-
      / Απολλω[ς] Ϊακυβι[ου] _
        / Ανουφις Ατ. κηνου
        / Ϊωαννης νομικ[ο]<sup>ν</sup>
        / Μινος κωμαρχου
        / Μινος κωμα[ρ]χή ομοι/
                                                         \nu^{\cdot} \beta \pi / \iota \epsilon (\delta')
                                                          ν απ/ ζ(δ/
385 / Πουλις Ϊακυβιου
        / Ελλως Παυλου
                                                          \nu a \pi/\eta
        / Ελλως Παυλου ομοι/
                                                          \nu \cdot \alpha \pi / \zeta
                                                               \kappa/(\delta')
        / Πουλις Ϊακυβι[o]\ ομοι/
                                                         ν απ/ 5(δ/
        / Παπνουθ, Ανουφιου
390 / Μουσης Χελο Κ τη τελωνιας
                                                         \nu \alpha \pi / \zeta
        / Μινος κωμαρχ' ομοι/
                                                              K/ 5
        / Μινός κωμαρχή ομοι/
                                                          \nu \alpha \pi / \zeta \delta
                                                         \nu \alpha \pi / \epsilon \delta'
           Μι[νος] κωμαρχ, ομοι/
           [Mivos \kappa\omega\mua]\rho\chi[5 o]\muoi/ _ _ \nu a \pi/ \gamma(
                                               _ _ ν βπ/ ΰζιδ/
395
                                    ? Πο]ρθμιο\
           [\gamma\iota/\nu \cdot \iota\theta \kappa/\zeta\pi/\rho\lambda\gamma\delta]' \kappa[\alpha]\theta\zeta \nu \cdot i\gamma \kappa/i\zeta(\delta')
400 [+ ζ δοσί δ φυλ/ ου——
```

```
Πτολ]ομαιο\
                        ] . . . ωθιο` ομοι/
405
                    [\gamma \iota / \nu \epsilon \kappa] / 5 \delta' \pi / \lambda \delta \delta' \kappa \alpha \theta_1 \nu \gamma \kappa / \kappa''
```

381.  $A\pi[a]\mu\eta\nu\sigma\nu$  is a possible reading.

<sup>374.</sup> The total of the 4th  $\phi\nu\lambda($  ) is taken from 1. 303. 375. The total of the 5th  $\phi\nu\lambda($  ) from 1. 321; but as it is just possible that that  $\phi\nu\lambda($  ) extended on to f. 7 b the supplement is not certain.

<sup>376.</sup> The total of the 6th  $\phi v \lambda$ ( ) cannot be supplied, as the top of f. 8 is lost.

<sup>379.</sup> Two  $\phi v \lambda$ ( ) have preceded on this page.

<sup>390.</sup>  $(\upsilon \pi \epsilon \rho) \tau \eta \langle s \rangle \tau \epsilon \lambda \omega \nu \iota as$ : the evidence is hardly sufficient to show whether the allusion is to the farming of taxes (see introd. to 1661) or to the payment of customs dues.

<sup>393.</sup> No stroke is at present visible at the beginning.

<sup>398.</sup>  $\Pi \circ \rho \theta \mu \circ \sigma$ : probably the common noun  $\pi \circ \rho \theta \mu \in \sigma$  used as a place-name; cf. 1420, 206.

Fol. 9.]

```
/ [H]λι[ας Πεευ]ς [
                                                  δγ
      / Πεε[υς ? Απολλω]τος
                                                 ] δ/
      / Πκυλις [Α]βρααμί
410 / Φοιβαμμί Ενωχιδ
                                       ν· β[
      / Ηλιας Πεευς ομοι/
       / Μουσης Φιλημμ
                                       \nu[·
       / Μουσης Φιλημ, ομοι/
                                       \nu[·
      / Μουσης Φιλημί ομοι/
                                       ſ
415 / Φοιβαμμίς Ε[ν]ωχιο ομοι/
                                       [
                                       ν' [
                                                 1.
       / Αβρααμις οικονομί
       / Φοιβαμμων Ενώχ ομοι/
                                       [\nu] a \pi/\epsilon
       / Πασωθις Ωριγς ο[μ]οι/
                                       [\nu] \alpha \pi / \zeta
       / Πεευς Μουσαιου
                                       \nu a \pi/
420 / Πασωθις Μοφιλου
                                       \nu[ a] \pi/ s\\delta/
       / Πασωθις Ωριγί ομοι/
                                       \nu a \pi/ 5 (\delta)
       / Ηλ[ιας Μουσ]αιου
                                       \nu[\cdot a]\pi/\varsigma
       / Π[
```

Fol. 9 b.] Too much rubbed and mutilated for continuous transcription. Fol. 10.] Lost.

```
407. Cf. l. 411. impossible.
408. Cf. ll. 94, 108. 422. Ηλίας Μουσαίου: cf. l. 109.
420. Μοφίλου: this seems to be the reading; Θεοφίλου is
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#### 2. Petitions.

### PAPYRUS 1674.—About A. D. 570.

Inv. No. 1727 recto. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau. About 4 ft. x 1 ft. In the cursive hand (B) of Dioscorus (see P. Cair. Masp. i, pl. xxviii, xxix, upper portion), across the fibres; papyrus dark, in places very dark, in other places rubbed. Perhaps folded from bottom to top; at fairly regular intervals the papyrus is eaten away from side to side, but the gaps do not occur at increasing intervals from either bottom to top or top to bottom, the width of continuous portions varying from  $4\frac{3}{4}$ , 5, or  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in. in the middle to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. at the top and  $7\frac{1}{8}$  in. at the bottom. On the verso is a Greek-Coptic glossary in the uncial hand (A) of Dioscorus (see Cair. Masp. i, pl. xxviii, xxix, lower portion). A note on the present document in *Archiv*, vi, p. 110 f.

AFTER the documents relating to finance may be placed petitions, several of which are contained among the Aphrodito papyri in the British Museum, as among those at Cairo. As none of them is dated it seems best to arrange them according to the rank of the officials to

whom they are addressed, beginning with those to the Dux. Those addressed to the Dux or other high officials of the Thebaid (as compared e.g. with Cair. Masp. i. 67091-67093, addressed to riparii), here and at Cairo, form a single group, all of which probably proceed from the office of the 'poet' Dioscorus, and nearly all of which are in his own hand. Such is the opinion of M. Maspero regarding the Cairo petitions; and so distinctive is the hand of Dioscorus in papyri certainly written by him that there can be no doubt he is right in his identification. Since Dioscorus did not settle at Antinoopolis and become a νομικός in that city till 566, the date of all these petitions, which were doubtless written there for presentation, must be later than May of that year, Dioscorus having fled from Aphrodito in the 15th indiction (so Maspero concludes, P. Beauge, p. 14, no doubt rightly, from Cair. Masp. 67002, i, 10-12, 19), which began in 566. This agrees with the evidence of the London papyri; in 1686, dated 7 Nov., 565, Dioscorus occurs as still at Aphrodito, but on 28 Sept., 566 he was already at Antinoopolis (Cair. Masp. ii. 67161), and 1708, which falls in the year 567-568, and possibly between May and 13 Nov., 567, was written by him there. He probably therefore became a νομικός by the autumn of 567; and as some time must be allowed for him to obtain the position, which was due to a request to the praeses (Cair. Masp. ii. 67131 verso), it is not likely to have been before the end of 566 or the beginning of 567 that he began his notarial activities. As he wrote Cair. Masp. 67002 not long after the end (της ἔναγχος διαδραμούσης κτλ. i, 10) of the 15th indiction, his appointment may probably have taken place before the middle of 567.

Most of the petitions to the Dux, including the present one, are obviously merely drafts; and since all were discovered at Kôm Ishgau, whither they could hardly have found their way if they had been actually presented, it seems likely that all were so, even Cair. Masp. 67002.

The London petitions have not the novelty and importance of that just mentioned, but they are of considerable value. It is most unfortunate that the present document is in such a bad state of preservation, as it is of special interest. Its mutilation leaves many points uncertain, but some facts emerge clearly.

In the first place we have to determine to what village the petitioners belong. In the note in the Archiv referred to above it was stated categorically that the village is Aphrodito. At that time the name in 1.34 was read  $\dot{A}\phi \rho$ [/]; but further examination has led to the conclusion that the reading is hardly reconcilable with the traces and that Aprailov] is more likely. The reference is therefore not to the village but to the whole pagarchy, and we can gather from it merely the fact that the village was situated in the Antaeopolite pagarchy. The presumption is, however, strongly in favour of Aphrodito, owing to the evidence to which attention was called in the Archiv. In Il. 91-95 reference is made to a previous petition to the 'Patrician' Athanasius. The words ότι δη έν χειμονι δρόξιμα κατεσθίομεν αντί τροφης άρτου και οὐδεν ήμιν ύπολέλιπται σύν τέκνοις ή  $[\mu\hat{\omega}]\nu$ , which are a rough quotation from this earlier petition, are so similar to those in Cair. Masp. 67002, iii, 10–12, ὅτι ἐν τῷ χειμο[ν]ι δρόξιμα καὶ ὀλύρας ἐσθίομεν and οὐδὲν παντελῶς ημ<math>ιν ψπολέλειπται that, even in such a self-plagiarist as Dioscorus, they make it almost certain that the Cairo document is the petition here referred to. The village is in that case Aphrodito. This conclusion is supported by other, less cogent, evidence. Reference is here made to outrages by the pagarch and his followers on the nuns, showing that the village contained a convent of nuns. Similar misdeeds are alluded to in 67002. Again, in l. 95 f. it is stated, 'ἀπὸ λεπτοκτητόρων γὰρ σύγκειται ή κώμη.' With this cf. 67002, heading,  $\pi\alpha(\rho\grave{a})$  τῶν . . . λεπτοκτητόρων, iii, 3 f., τοὺs ταλ[αι]π[ώρους] ήμᾶς λεπτοκτήτορας. Again, in 106 f. the petitioners state, 'μετὰ τὴν αὐτῶν (i. ε. τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν or something similar?) ἀποβίωσιν ὀρφανοὶ [. . . ] γεγόναμεν ὡς ὁρᾶτε τὴν ἡλικίαν (sc. μικρὰν ὡς ὁρ. τὴν ἡλ. ?)'; cf. 67002, iii, 9, ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ὅλους ὀρφανούς, ἀκολούθως τῆ ὁρωμένη ἡμῶν γυμνῆ ὄψει μικρὴν τὴν ἡλικίαν. Lastly, though this is not wholly clear, it seems probable that the village here enjoyed the right of αὐτοπραγία, and that the pagarchs had systematically attempted to subject it to their authority.

As regards date, the mention of Athanasius and the reference to the petition to him give a terminus post quem. Cair. Masp. 67002 was presumably written in A.D. 567 or at latest early in 568 (see 1663, 1, note). When Athanasius ceased to be Dux is uncertain. Maspero places the end of his government, doubtfully, about 570 (P. Beaugé, p. 15), but later (ib. p. 16, note) he mentions evidence (Cair. Masp. i. 67097) which, he thinks, may indicate 573 as the date. Athanasius was no longer Dux when the present petition was written, but we have no evidence to show to which Dux it was addressed. Since, however, all these papers of Dioscorus were found at Kôm Ishgau, to which he must later have returned for good, and none of the Antinoopolite documents bears a later date than 570, and since, finally, we know that he was at Aphrodito in 573 (Cair. Masp. i. 67096; the document must fall in the summer or early autumn of 573, for the 8th year of Justin ended, not began, as Maspero states, in November, 573), we are probably justified in assuming that his final return occurred before the autumn of that year. Since, then, Cair. Masp. 69097, v. (A) is dated 20 Choiak (= 16 Dec.) of the 7th indiction and relates to Aphrodito, and is nevertheless followed by eulogies of Athanasius and by a διήγημα ἀποκηρύξεως presumably written by Dioscorus as νομικός of Antinoopolis (see Cuq, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et B.-L. xxxix, p. 218 ff.; on the other side Lewald, Zeitschr. d. Sav.-Stift. xxxiv, p. 441 ff., but his arguments are not conclusive), the 7th indiction mentioned in it can hardly be that beginning in 573. This is borne out by the document on the recto, which refers to 'the present 5th indiction' and clearly relates to Aphrodito. The conclusion must be that the recto was written at Aphrodito, before the flight of the poet from the village, that he there acquired the roll as scribbling paper, wrote on the verso the document (A) in A. D. 558, the poems (B) and (C) shortly after his arrival at Antinoopolis, the document (D) while νομικός there, and the poems (E) and (F) later still. (F), which refers to a στρατηγόν νέον, may, as Maspero suggests, belong to the government of Callinicus. Thus Maspero's suggested extension of the government of Athanasius to 573 must be rejected. If the suggestion made in 1663, 1, note be correct, that  $\tau \delta x$ , even in the title of a Dux, may be taken as referring to a single year rather than to a term of years, Athanasius must have vacated his office in 568. In any case the utmost we can say of the present petition is that its date falls between 567 and the summer of 573. As an interval of some extent must clearly be allowed between Cair. Masp. 67002 and it, the date was probably not much, if any, earlier than 570. In passing it may be remarked that Maspero's argument for placing P. Beaugé 2 early in the government of Callinicus is not conclusive; for it is evidently only a draft, and the omission of the names of the Dux may be due, not to ignorance, but simply to a desire to save time.

The subject of the petition is the misdeeds of the pagarch or pagarchs. The petitioners declare that their village, its soil being sandy and unproductive, had been assessed, along with the rest of the pagarchy, at 2 carats per aroura for arable and 8 carats per aroura for vine land. Later, apparently by the pagarch Julian (l. 37), the rates were raised, but it was at the same time

V. 1

laid down that no further demands should be made on the village. This ordinance was not observed, however; further increases were made in the rates (ll. 52-54); and when the inhabitants [proved unable to pay these?] owing to the failure of the inundation, the pagarch, though he had sworn to be content with the taxes paid at the old rates (ll. 72-75), visited the village with his soldiers and committed many outrages. This pagarch may be Menas, and the events those recorded in Cair. Masp. 67002; but more probably they are the misdeeds with which this petition is directly concerned. It is like the rambling and verbose style of Dioscorus to return later in the petition (ll. 90-98) to earlier events. In this later portion reference is made to the petition to Athanasius which led to a remission of taxation. The remission had continued in force till lately ( $\delta\omega$ s  $\delta\rho\tau\iota$ , l. 97), but now had evidently been disregarded by the pagarch.

Incidentally it is of interest to see the rôle played by the pagarch in the financial affairs of the pagarchy. Though he did not himself fix the rates for the pagarchy (l. 45), it was he who gave effect to the assessments arrived at, and he was clearly responsible for the due collection of taxes, even in villages enjoying the right of  $a v \tau o \pi \rho a \gamma i a$ . The petitioners, at all events, do not complain that he exceeded his powers in these respects, but rather that he illegally raised the rates and that on non-payment he employed unjustifiable violence. We may take it that if persons or communities enjoying  $a v \tau o \pi \rho a \gamma i a$  did not pay their taxes it was the duty of the pagarch, as the head of the financial organization, to take steps either to compel them or to discover what grounds, if any, there were for overlooking the omission.

₽ η θεια προνοια και ο φιλοχρ[ιστος ημων βασιλευς] την εξοχωτατην ϋμων φιλανθρωπιαν ατε δωρον τη παντι[αθλια Θηβαι]ων χωρα
 εχαριζατο θεσπισαι κατηξιωσεν αρχειν ως ϊκ[αν]ην ουσαν αν[α]στειλαι τα πικρα Θηβαιων αδικηματα και τουτο μαθοντες ακ[ρι]βως παρα ποδα των ευκλεω[ν] ϋμων ϊχνων κυλινδουμεν[οι] ηκαμεν παροδ[υρ]ομενοι διδασκοντες το κ[αθ] ημας εν τουτοις εχον διδα[σκομεν τ]ην ενδ[οξο]ν ϋμων φιλαν[θ]ρωπι[αν] ως απα γονεων και προγον[ων . . . .]ς εθος εχ[ομεν . . . . .]. ν[. .]
 προστ . . εν . . ϋπ εξονσι[α]ν . [. . . . .]σι ϋπο τ[ων] . νη . ων τη[ς π]ολεω[ς]
 Ανταιο και πασης της ταντ[ης . . . . . .] . ων κατ[ε]στησαν ϋπο την πολιτικ/

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 $<sup>1-6 = \</sup>text{Cair. Masp. i. 67009, } 1-7.$ 

<sup>3.</sup>  $\epsilon \chi a \rho \iota \langle a \tau o \ \theta \epsilon \sigma \pi \iota \sigma a \iota \kappa \alpha \tau \eta \xi \iota \omega \sigma \epsilon \nu$ : Cair. Masp. 67009, 3 has  $\theta \epsilon \sigma \pi \iota \sigma \langle a \iota \kappa a \rangle \tau \eta \xi \langle a \tau o \rangle$  (Wilcken, Archiv, v, p. 444) with  $\epsilon \chi a \rho \iota \langle a \tau o \rangle$  written above, apparently as a correction. The construction does not allow of both expressions, and though it is possible that a  $\kappa a \iota \iota$  has been accidentally omitted after  $\epsilon \chi a \rho \iota \langle a \tau o \rangle$  (sc.  $\epsilon \chi a \rho \iota \langle a \tau o \rangle$ ), it seems more likely that Dioscorus in carelessly copying from another draft (perhaps 67009 itself) has inserted both the original phrase and the correction. The sense will be 'has graciously granted your supreme humanity for a gift to the all-miserable Thebaid to rule over it, as being capable of redressing the bitter wrongs of the Thebans'.

ταυτην: in 67009, 3 read probably [ταυτ]ην.

<sup>5-6.</sup> το καθ ημας: 67009, 6 adds πρᾶγμα.

<sup>7. ]</sup>s  $\epsilon\theta$ os  $\epsilon\chi o\mu\epsilon\nu$ : this, with  $\sigma\iota\bar{\nu}\pi\sigma\tau$  in 1. 8 and  $.\omega\nu\kappa\sigma\tau$  in 1. 9, is on a detached fragment, the exact position of which is not certain. At present it is placed near to  $\pi\rho\sigma\gamma\sigma\nu$ [, but as the reading  $\pi\rho\sigma\gamma\sigma\nu$ [ $\omega\nu$  is practically certain, and the letter before  $\epsilon\theta$ os can hardly be  $\nu$ , more room must be allowed. The place

assigned to the fragment in this transcript is suggested by l. 9, where  $\kappa \alpha \tau [\epsilon] \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$  is a possible reading; but this is so doubtful that no great confidence can be placed in its evidence. That the fragment is rightly placed in this lacuna is rendered likely by the (not certain but probable)  $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta \sigma s \tilde{\epsilon}\chi \sigma \mu \epsilon \nu$ , which suits the preamble; but it is not beyond doubt, and a not unsuitable position would be in the lacuna in ll. 12–14. The mutilation of these lines is regrettable, as they might throw light on the position of Aphrodito. They evidently refer to the relation of the village to Antaeopolis and contain an assertion that the villagers have always paid their taxes regularly. Here  $\sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \chi \omega$ ] would suit the space, but the s is very doubtful.

<sup>8.</sup>  $\epsilon \xi \sigma \sigma \iota a \nu$ : very doubtful;  $\epsilon \xi$  seems certain. After this word either  $\kappa$  or  $\eta$  is a possible reading. Before  $\ddot{\nu}\pi$  perhaps  $\pi \rho \sigma \sigma \tau [a\tau] \epsilon \nu \sigma q [\iota]$ .

 $<sup>\</sup>tau\omega\nu$ : again doubtful, and as stated above  $\tau$  is on a fragment whose position is uncertain.

<sup>9.</sup> After ταυτ[ης, perhaps εναριας, κατεστησαν: very doubtful.

 $[\tau a]$ ξ $[\iota \nu \ \epsilon\iota s]$  ην και εισφερομ $[\epsilon \nu]$  ανελλειπως  $[\kappa \alpha \iota \ \epsilon]$ υγνωμονως και πληρωτικ $[\omega s]$ 10 [τα] ευσεβη καθ ετος βασιλικα τελεσματα προς την αυ . . μιν των βασιλ[ικ]1.. ο προσταγματών της [η]μιν ϊδιαζοντω[ς ] $\tau o^{v} \kappa \dots v \pi \cdot [\dots] \cdot \tau \cdot [\dots]$ πλ... ] ταξις των τ.... ητό των δουλων της ϋμετερ/ [φιλανθρωπιας? . . . ειλ]κυσθημεν ευγενως κ[αι] ελευθερικώς τον βιον κατ[αγ]ομεν[ον . . . . . . ] της παγαρχιας ζυγον παρ[α?] ] . . . . . .  $[\pi \epsilon] \pi \rho \alpha \gamma \mu \epsilon \nu o^{\nu} \tau \epsilon \tau \omega [\nu]$ των αποφθαλμιωσαμενών τη[ς? ]... αγειν εις δουλειαν παγαρχων των ημας α.[ το δη και πεπραχασιν και [...]...[....]. αν ημας της αναγκαιας τροφης ευπορειν τ[.....] πασι. [..]λλωτερο οντος μετευθύν 20 επι τη πινα αγχομεθα απο τοτε ουν δεσποτα καταπονο μεθα ϋπο τοτω[ν] πλεον των βαρβαρωθεντων τοπων καθ εκαστην επινοουμενοι εις τε διαγραφων ζημίας ευχ . [. .] κ[αι?] απ[αιτησεις? πα]ρα το εθος και τοιαυτα[ς] ]..  $ovo^{\nu}\mu\epsilon\nuoi\ [\epsilon]\pi i\ \tau$ ... [....] πασας επιβαρεσε[ις του της ενδοξο μνημης και προ  $[\cdot] \cdot [$ 25 την π]ροσ[θ]ηκην  $\epsilon]\pi i\gamma \rho[.]$ της τε αισιας εμβολ[ης και των γονεων ημων εκτ. $[\dots, ]$ ε Ανταιοπολή οια δη κακα

10. ταξιν: for the πολιτική τάξις see Cair. Masp. 67002, iii, 7; 67019, 2, from both of which passages, and particularly from the second (ὑπὸ τὴν ϵ[πι]χώριον σεμνήν πολι[τι]κήν τάξιν), it appears that the τάξις is that of the province, not of the πόλις of Antaeopolis; cf. Cair. Masp. iii. 67282, 6, where, as Maspero points out, πολιτική βοήθεια means 'la police, placée sous les ordres du praeses et de ses agents, par opposition à la στρατιωτική βοήθεια ou force armée, prélevée sur la garnison'.

εισφερομεν: a probable reading; cf. 1676, 35.

11. av . .  $\mu\nu$ : the characters look like  $auvo\mu\nu$  or  $\epsilon uvo\mu\nu$ .  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\beta a\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa(\omega\nu)$  is excessively doubtful.

12. ιδιαζαντως: 'individually'; cf. Cair. Masp. 67002, iii, 8.

- ]... a: the first letter after the lacuna is η or κ. It is impossible to read either απο or δια. Nor can το προσταγμα των be read.
- 13. The tops of a few letters are preserved near the beginning of this line.
- κ..νπ....τ.: καθυπξ[ρτ]ατφ[ν] or καθυπη[ρ]ξτφ[ν] are possible readings, but the traces are so indistinct that without the context it seems idle to read any letters except those which are certain.

14. ταξις των: something has been added above.

15.  $\eta\tau o\iota$ : written in the margin as an afterthought. If the reading is correct  $\iota$  was written above because there was no room for it in the line, but possibly the stroke so read is part of a letter in the previous line, and in that case the reading will be  $\hat{\eta}$   $\tau \delta$ .

ειλκυσθημεν: perhaps a compound, e.g. καθέλκω; but cf. Cair. Masp. iii. 67283, i, 2, Ἰσυλιανὸς ὁ λαμπρ(ότατας) βούλεται παρὰ τὸ] ἔθος ἡμᾶς ἕλκ[εσ]θαι εἰς παγαρχίαν τῆ[s ᾿Ανταιου]πολιτῶν.

16. της παγαρχίας ζυγον: before this very possibly υπο το]. The whole passage may mean, 'Our life which was honourably and freely spent was dragged' (lit. 'we were dragged as regards our life', etc.) 'under the yoke of the pagarchy by those who looked askance on our . . . . ', but the construction is awkward.

17. αποφθαλμιωσαμενων: Stephanus quotes the participle ἀποφθαλμιῶν from Theod. Stud., explaining it as from ἀποφθαλμιῶν, a mistake for ἐποφθαλμιῶν. It may be that the form is right and that the participle comes, like the present one, from ἀποφθαλμιῶν; in any case the sense 'look askance on' and so 'covet' or 'envy' suits the context here; see the last note.

18. A statement that the pagarchs (of Antaeopolis) attempt or have attempted to reduce the people of Aphrodito to slavery, 'which indeed they have done' (τὸ δὴ καὶ πεπράχασιν, l. 19).

19-20. The sense is 'and moreover they prevented us from enjoying our necessary sustenance'. So perhaps εκωλυ]σαν.

20.  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu\theta\nu\nu\alpha\iota$ : such seems to be the reading, though  $\gamma$  is also possible for the third letter.  $\mu\eta$   $\tau\epsilon\chi\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$  (Hunt) is impossible. The sense required is that it is better for all of them to (die?) owing to the hunger they suffer; cf. Cair. Masp. 37002, iii, 14.

21. επι: doubtful; written in the margin; l. ἐπεί.

 $a\pi o \tau o \tau \epsilon$ : 'since then', *i.e.* since the pagarchs asserted their authority over them?

τουτων: probably the pagarchs.

22. βαρβαρωθεντων: cf. Cair. Masp. 67002, iii, 3. The reference is to districts exposed to barbarian incursions; cf. Cair. Masp. iii. 67283, i,  $[\pi]\lambda[\epsilon a]\nu$  τῶν ὑπὸ βαρβ[ά]ρων λελυμαινομένων (sic) τό $[\pi\omega]\nu$ .

καθ εκαστην επινοουμενοι: 'being plotted against each hour' (sc. ωραν).

23.  $\delta \iota a \gamma \rho a \phi \omega \nu$ : probably in the usual sense of poll-tax (vol. iv, p. 168 f.); the pagarchs may have attempted to enforce too high an assessment for the village.

24.].. ανουμεναι: not κατ]αποναυμεναι.

26. προσθηκην: the traces are too indistinct for certainty, but the reading is rendered very probable by ll. 44, 54 and by **1686**, 26–27, τῆς ἐμβολῆς.... καὶ πρασθήκης αὐτῆς; cf. too **1660**, 9, note.

27. επιγρ[.]: doubtful in the extreme.

s παρατυχθεν[τος? aνηνεχθεντος επι τη[ς...] aς ημιν [[...]]βασιλικης γεωμετριας λο[......? την γ] $\eta[\nu]$  ημων ψαμμωδη 30 ουσαν και χερσωδη και επα[ναγκες? . . . . . . . ] . . . και [α]ναλωματα διολου παρεχοντων τοις  $\pi[a]$ ρερ[χομε]νοις ημερ[αια?] στρ $^-$ / τε S και ως επι πλειω βαρυτελων τυγχανοντων δια την των κακοφυων ημων αροθρων ακαρπιαν εκανονισ $\theta$ ημεν εκπαλαι αμα τω παντι της παντα $\theta$ λιας Ανται[ov][? κτητο]ρ[ι] δ[υο] μονα κερατια εκαστης αρουρης σποριμης γης της δε αμπ[ελου] 35 [κ]ερατια οκτω έχο(ε) [.] . [ε] του  $a\pi^o\gamma$ ενομές προκ[ουρατορος? . . . . . . . . . . . ]ης Ϊουλιαν $\bar{o}$  το $^v$   $[a\pi]^o$  επαρχων ] . . . [. . .] .  $\epsilon \rho$ [. .] και [παγαρχου? ] . . . [α]κουσαι  $[\ldots\ldots]$  ερε  $[\ldots\ldots]$  ερε  $[\alpha]$  ειρ $[\gamma\mu]$  βασιλικων φορων φησιν 40 δια την πληναριαν της ταξ[εως . . . . . . .]μενης . [. .]α ευρη αυτην πληρωσαι και απο τοτε τελουμεν τω δη[μο]σιω λογω τεσ[σ]ερα κερατια εκαστης αρορης σποριμης γης και εκαστης αρο $^{[v]}$ ρης αμπελο $^v$  κερατια εικοσι τρια ζ $v^\gamma$  δημοσιω

29. Hardly any trace remains of the writing after  $\eta\mu\nu$ , which was clearly washed off intentionally. Possibly the word was a passive participle agreeing with  $\gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho$  and governing  $\hat{\eta}\mu\hat{u}\nu:-\hat{\epsilon}\pi\hat{\iota}\,\hat{\tau}\hat{\eta}[s\ldots\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\ell]$  as (or  $\pi\rho\sigma\tau\hat{\epsilon}\rho$ ] as)  $\hat{\eta}\mu\hat{\iota}\nu$  [...  $\epsilon\hat{\iota}\sigma\eta$ s]  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\hat{\eta}s$   $\gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\hat{\iota}\alphas$ .

30. Apparently part of a statement that the imperial survey has established the fact that the soil of Aphrodito is sandy and unproductive. This is an interesting addition to our knowledge of the village, though it is likely enough there may be some exaggeration. But if Ανται[ον] is rightly read in 1. 34 this may apply to the whole pagarchy. Sandy soil is mentioned in Cair. Masp. i. 67118, 36, τον ... χερσώδους καὶ ἀμμώδους μέρο[υς τῶν] ἀρουρῶν.

31. διολου: a later addition, with a different pen and darker ink, but probably by Dioscorus.

32.  $\pi a \rho \epsilon \rho \chi o \mu \epsilon \rho a i a$ : very conjectural, but it suits the context, and the slight traces are quite consistent with the reading.  $\pi a \rho i \sigma \tau a \mu \epsilon \nu a i s$ , suggested by l. 49, is less likely palaeographically. For  $\dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon \rho a i a$  see 1677, 26; Cair. Masp. i. 67002, iii, 13; 67008, 5.  $\sigma \tau \rho^-/=\sigma \tau \rho a \tau i \omega \tau a i s$ , and the context no doubt refers to contributions levied on Aphrodito for the maintenance of troops sent to collect arrears of taxes and for similar purposes. As S should =  $\kappa a i$  the following  $\kappa a i$  seems to be redundant. It is perhaps a correction and in that case has possibly been inserted by mistake, the S being overlooked; but more probably, as  $\tau \epsilon$  is not required here, Dioscorus was going to write  $\sigma \tau \rho (a \tau i \omega \tau a i s) \tau \epsilon (\kappa a i) \ldots \kappa a i \omega s \kappa \tau \lambda$ , but changing his mind altered the other word to  $\kappa a i$  and forgot to delete  $\tau \epsilon$  S.

32-35. 'And since we (or the lands) became still more burdened owing to the unfruitfulness of our barren arouras we were long ago assessed, together with every possessor in the allmiserable Antaeopolite nome, at two carats only for each aroura of arable land.' If this passage stood alone we might indeed take  $\beta a \rho \nu \tau \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$  as referring to the taxes and meaning 'burdensome'; but it evidently goes with the same words as  $\pi a \rho \epsilon \chi \delta \nu \tau \omega \nu$ , which can only refer to the villagers or their holdings ( $\kappa \tau \eta \mu a \tau a$ ?). It will therefore have the sense of 'paying too heavily', 'over-taxed'.

34. Aptaiov: a doubtful reading, but cf. l. 46, from which also  $\kappa\tau\eta\tau\sigma\rho\iota$  is read. The assessment apparently applied then to the whole  $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\nu\rho\dot{\iota}a$  of Antaeopolis; for that this and not the city is meant is clear from ll. 76, 78, 96, which show that the petitioners are the inhabitants of a village. Cf. 1686, 20, note.

35.  $\delta vo$ : it appears from ll. 36-47 that the rates mentioned in ll. 42-43 were due to an increase. For arable land the rate is there 4 carats. Here therefore it must be either three or two. If  $\tau \rho \iota a$  had been written the bottom of the  $\tau$  and  $\rho$  would probably be visible; and moreover, a small trace suggests the  $\delta$ .

36.  $\epsilon \chi o i \epsilon$ .):  $\epsilon \chi o i \mu \epsilon v a \epsilon$ .), i. e. in actual value  $5\frac{2}{3}$  carats. Elsewhere sums of carats are not thus given in equivalent values. The  $\kappa$ / written above (which is in darker ink) is probably for  $\kappa \epsilon \rho a \tau a$ . For the symbol.  $a = \frac{2}{3}$ , see 1718, 44 and note.

κατα πεισμονην κτλ.: the sense is apparently that although the rates of taxes had been assessed as above, the pagarch Julian (l. 37), by the persuasion of Christodotus, had raised or procured the raising of the rates, since when (and τότε, l. 42) the petitioners had paid at the higher rate. One would expect the petitioners to represent this raising of the rate as illegal, but this is not quite clear; see note on l. 44.

37. απο επαρχων: cf. 1660, 6; 1661, 5.

39. akou $\sigma ai$ : the first letter read is rendered probable by a ligature attached to  $\kappa$ . Very possibly  $v_{i}\pi[a]\kappa o v \sigma ai$ .

40.  $\epsilon \iota \rho \eta \mu \epsilon (\nu \omega \nu)$ : before the second  $\epsilon$  another letter seems to have been written above the line.  $\phi \eta \sigma i \nu$  possibly refers to Julian.

41. πληναριαν: see Just. Nov. 128 (Teubner ed. 152), cap. 3, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων συντελειῶν τὰς ἀποχὰς ἤτοι ἀμεριμνίας, μερικάς τε καὶ πληναρίας, πᾶσι τρόποις παρὰ τῶν τὰ δημόσια ὑποδεχομένων γίνεσθαι διορίζομεν, σημαινούσας τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ποσότητα καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰούγων ἤτοι τῶν ἰουλίων ἤγουν κεντουρίων, καὶ τὰ ἀνόματα τῶν κτήσεων, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰς συντελείος ὑποδέχονται.

 $\tau a \xi \epsilon \omega s$ : very doubtful, but the first letter looks like  $\tau$  and there is the end of a curved down stroke, which suggests  $\xi$ .

. [..]a: the first letter is probably  $\rho$ ,  $\tau$ , or  $\mu$ . If the last, there is perhaps only one letter in the lacuna, and  $\mu[\epsilon]\theta\epsilon\nu\rho\eta$  could be read; but this is an unlikely compound.

60

και της προσθη $^{κ}$ ) αντης διχα της αισιας  $\epsilon\mu\beta$ ολ S του ταυτης ναυλο διαταξας δ $\epsilon$  ομως το τηνικαυτα εκ διαλαλίας κατα δεκρητον μηδεν ετερον περαιτερω τουτων δυνηθηναι 45 τον κατα καιρον παγαρχ[ov] πρ[o]σ $\theta$ ειναι τω αθλιω κτητορι της Ανται $\bar{o}$  ε $\phi$  οτι εις α $[\pi a v^{\tau}]$ τα ειρημ $^{\epsilon}$ ς δημοσια μετα της εμπεριεχουσης αυτοις προσ $\theta$ ηκης επαρκειν συνεστηκ[αμεν]παντι δημοσιω τιτλω της τε πολεως Ανταιό το[υ δε αυτ]ης νομω μεχρι και το μισθο των παρϊσταμενων  $\sigma$ [τρατιωτων ? . . . . . . . . . . . ] συνϊοντα εις  $[\pi]$ ληρες  $] \cdot \kappa \cdot \cdot [ \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot ]$ 50 ]..  $\pi a \rho a \lambda [a] \mu [\beta a \nu ... \tau \eta \nu ?]$ των δη[μοσιων καταβολην και ηρξαμ[εν .....] την τρ[...] των ανηκοντων ημιν δημοσιων αποκρινασθαι δύο φησιν και ημισυ κερατια εκαστης αρουρης μετα τα ανω ειρημ $^{\epsilon}$ ς συν προσθηκαις δημοσια μη λιμνασθειση[ς] της ημων πεδιαδος παντελως εφ ετους αλλ' αβροχο ουσης 55 μεθ ου και θνησιν ζωων ϋπεστημεν μη δυνηθεντες το τριμερες το ολο ημων αγρου καταθειναι ασπορου οντος και εν αφεσει και την αυταρκη των σωθεντων ημω[ν . . . ] . . . . [. . .  $\tau$ ]ροφην σπειραι και ο  $^{v}$ τως ] . . . . και α . [. .]δως ουκ [.] . . . . [

44. διαταξας δε ομως τα τηνικαυτα: it is not clear either who is the subject of διατάξας or what date is indicated by τηνικαῦτα, but it seems certain that διαταξας ought grammatically to be the genitive absolute:—'although he at that time laid it down by decree in accordance with the decision of the magistrates that nothing else beyond these taxes could be added by the pagarch in office to the wretched proprietor in the Antaeopolite nome, to the intent that he should be able to pay all (?) the said public taxes with the additional payment attached to them, yet we are rendered liable', etc. Who is the subject of διατάξας depends in the main on the interpretation we give to τηνικαῦτα and to what follows. If τηνικαῦτα refers to the assessment mentioned in ll. 34-36, then the subject of διατάξαs is the person who made that assessment, τούτων refers to the rates established by it, and the rates mentioned in 11. 42, 43 are an illegal increase due to Julian. τούτων, however, would most naturally refer to the rates specified in 11. 42, 43, and as no person was mentioned in l. 34 as making that assessment it is more likely that Julian is the subject of διατάξας. In that case the course of events was as follows:-The rates were fixed originally (κανανίζω), in consequence of a survey which showed that the land was of poor quality, at 2 carats per aroura for arable and 8 (=  $5\frac{2}{3}$ ) for vine land. Then Julian, during his tenure of office, for reasons and under circumstances which the mutilation of ll. 37-41 makes it impossible to determine, brought about a raising of the rates to 4 carats for arable and 23 for vine land. With the sanction of the  $d\rho \chi o \nu \tau \epsilon s$  these rates were embodied in a decree, which forbade any subsequent pagarch to make any addition to the sum of taxes so determined. In spite of this decree the inhabitants have been subjected to further exactions.

45. διαλαλίας: see Cair. Masp. i. 67097, v. (D), 86, ἐκ διαλαλίας φοβερωτάτων δικαστηρίων. Maspero renders 'décret',

but Cuq, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et B.-L. xxxix, p. 204, remarks that 'la  $\delta\iota a\lambda a\lambda ia$  est un simple interlocutoire; ce n'est pas un jugement, une décision qui tranche un litige ou même qui ait un caractère impératif'; and this is borne out by the present passage. It is by the  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\rho\eta\tau\sigma\nu$  that the  $\delta\iota a\tau a\gamma\mu a$  was made binding; the  $\delta\iota a\lambda a\lambda ia$  was the previous investigation and decision of the magistrates in accordance with  $(\epsilon\kappa)$  which the pagarch issued the  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\rho\eta\tau\sigma\nu$ .

ωs: in blacker ink.

]...[

46.  $\pi a \gamma a \rho \chi \sigma \nu$ : this form is more likely than  $\pi a \gamma a \rho \chi \eta \nu$ , because the upstroke of  $\eta$  would probably be visible.

47. εμπεριεχουσης:  $\mu$  is a correction. What is meant is εμπεριεχομένης.

48. If the reading is right (and  $\pi o \lambda \epsilon \omega s \, A \nu \tau a \iota \bar{o}$  is very probable)  $\nu o \mu \omega$  must be a mistake for  $\nu o \mu o \hat{v}$ . Perhaps  $\tau \omega$  [ $\delta \epsilon$  is rather to be read.

49. στρατιωτων: for this reading cf. l. 32. But there παρερχομενοιs is an easier reading than παρισταμενοίs.

52.  $\tau \rho[\ldots]$  :: hardly  $\tau \rho[\iota\beta\eta]\nu$ ? The sense appears to be that when the petitioners had begun to pay their taxes 'he' (presumably the pagarch) demanded  $2\frac{1}{2}$  carats per aroura over and above the rates (4 and 23) stated above, and this although their lands had not been properly irrigated.

53.  $\phi \eta \sigma \omega$ : possibly a verb in the infinitive governed by this has been accidentally omitted.

55. εφ ετους: l. έπ' ἔτος.

56. τριμερες: third, instead of its original meaning threefold.

58.  $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ : very doubtful, the traces being extremely small. After it probably  $\zeta\omega\omega\nu$  or some similar word. The petitioners cannot even  $(\alpha i\delta \hat{\epsilon} \ \delta \nu\nu \langle \hat{a} \rangle \mu\epsilon\theta a)$  sow sufficient fodder for the animals that have survived.

ουδε δυνημεθα: in a blacker ink with a thinner pen, but probably by the hand of Dioscorus.

```
. . . . . . . . ρω[.] . . . [. . . . . . . . . . . . . ] . ημων \ddot{\iota}σογομ . . . .
          τυπο^{\nu} και τας κορας κ[α]ι [τας α]σκ[η]τριας π[αρ]\thetaενους δια\phiθειραι και
          τα ζωα ημών αφαιρεισθαι και τον σπαρεντα μ[\epsilon]τα μοχ\theta\bar{\phi} \epsilonις τρο\phiην
          τουτων χορτον καταναλισκειν εις τα ζωα της αυτό καθ ημων
          συσκευης προς τω ξηρανθηναι τον σπορον ϋπο διψαν εις αναστροπη[ν]
65
          τελειαν ημων και προς λυμην το δημοσιου λογο καιτοι αφ ης
          παρελαβεν την παγαρχιαν συνεχως απηειμεν προς αυτον
          καλο\thetaελως και ευγνωμονως με[τα] πασης της πρεπο^{υ}σης
          \kappa/ της ομ[.]η . [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ] \pi\epsilon\rho[\iota] τον τ[. .]δα\iota . . \iota^{\eta\nu}
70
                                                      ? \mu \epsilon \tau | a \tau o^{\nu} \tau [.] . [...]
          ετερα \nu^{\alpha} \bar{\rho} ευστα\theta[μα . . . . . . . . . ]ς \nu[ποδ]εξαμενω ημιν ενωμοτ\nu[ς]
          εμπροσθεν των αγιων υπο [το]υ θεοφιλός πατρος και ηγουμενο
          του ευαγους μοναστηριο Απα Μακροβιου τουτοις και μονοις
           αρκεσθηναι μετα τα προσημανθεντα δημοσια εφϊορκησαν<sup>τα</sup>
75
           ημιν και αδικως καθ ημασυν και της αθλιας ημων κωμης
           χρησαμενον μετα των ληστρικων εφοδων και απο προοδων
           πολλων ως ειρηται παγανων των και την κωμην ημων επι
           πηδησαντων τ[......]. ν δικην βαρβαρων
80
           \pi\epsilon\rho[
           παγαρχος το λοι[πον?.....] ινα εις....[..]
           ανευρεσει ως εκ . [......] νοστίς [με]τρησας κατο . δε ...
           απαξαπλως μαρτυρα γαρ καλουμεν τον δεσπος Θν και βασιλεα
           βασιλευοντων Χριστον οτι συναλλαγουσιν ημιν πραγματευ
           οι δανισται και εμποροι τησδε της χωρας κατα σιτου λε του νοστί
 85
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62. τας ασκητριας παρθενους: cf. Cair. Masp. 67002, iii, 2.

65. συσκευης: apparently in the sense of 'expedition'. αὐτοῦ refers to the pagarch; cf. l. 67.

67.  $\alpha\pi\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ : the form  $\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$  is described by Goodwin, *Greek Grammar* (ed. 1894), p. 179, as 'rare and doubted'. This is a clear instance and confirms the  $\alpha\pi\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$  of Cair. Masp. 67009, 27, which Maspero describes as doubtful. Is  $\pi\rho\rho\rho$  autop possible there instead of  $\epsilon\lambda\rho\nu\rho\rho\rho$ ? The meaning here is that the petitioners have shown the pagarch all due attention.

69.  $\kappa/$ :  $\kappa al.$  This is an unusual abbreviation for  $\kappa al$  and possibly  $\kappa \tau \eta \sigma \dots \eta$ . [ is to be read; but it is difficult to see what word that could be, in the present context.

73. υπο: if this and the doubtful reading υποδεξαμενω are correct, ὑπό must go with ἐνωμότως, 'under oath (administered) by ', etc.

75. εφιορκησαντα: sic.

76. ημασυν: l. ἡμᾶ⟨s⟩ σύν. The construction is a confusion between καθ' ἡμᾶs (e.g.) διαπραξάμεναν and ἡμῖν χρησάμενον.

78. παγανων: not 'pagans', but local, cantonal levies (gendarmes) as opposed to the troops (στρατιῶται) of the Imperial army; cf. Cair. Masp. 67002, ii, 23, μετὰ πολλῆς ληστρικῆς τε καὶ

παγανικῆς καὶ [στ]ρατι[ωτ]ικῆς βοηθεί[ας]; so too in 67021, v., 8 f. See also Wilcken, Chrest. p. 150.

80. It is possible that a line is lost after this.

81.  $\pi a \gamma a \rho \chi \bar{a}s$ :  $\pi a \gamma a \rho \chi a s$  is also possible but less likely; cf. too l. 46 and note.

82. κατο. δε..: possibly κατον..., but the traces do not allow of κατ' ἄνομα. κανον[ι]κα is perhaps, but barely, possible. This line may refer to a rate. For νοστ; see the note on 1.85.

85. του νοστ(ου): νομ[/] = νομίσματος is hardly possible; moreover this (I s. for 36 artabas) would be an impossible rate (cf. 1673, 159, note), and, further, προκι[, which must almost certainly be read προκιμ(ένου), is inconsistent with such a reading. νοστ; is supported by νοστ; in l. 82. The sense may be that seen in Trypho apud Athenaeum 618, d, ό νόστος καὶ τὰ ἐπίμετρα τῶν ἀλεύρων, i.e. 'produce', and so 'interest', but the connexion with the context is still not very clear. Apparently a rate of interest is indicated; perhaps on loans of seed or mortgages? But even so it is not clear what the unit is on which the interest is calculated; possibly, from l. 86, ἡ ἄρουρα ἐβαρύθη, the aroura of arable land or vineyard.

και κρ/  $\frac{\xi}{\sigma}$  ξ και λαχ  $\frac{1}{\sigma}$  ϊβ και οινου αγγι/ ρ και εκ τότου η αρουρα εβαρυθη και εις δημοσια και εις τα δανια ουκ' αποκρινεται εις την τηλικαυτην του δανιστου ποσοτητα πανίτα  $\frac{1}{\sigma}$  ταυ]τα μετρείν κ[, εμεμ]είτρ]ηκεμεν τα δημοσια και τα δανια ο γαρ ασ[

ITHS  $\tau \in a\sigma ... o\mu[...]$ 90 πραιτευομενους ... [. . . . . . . τη]ν μεγαλ[η]ν ημων στενωσιν τε και αποριαν κατεμαθέν πρατ των ο πανευφμος πατρικιος Αθανασιος οτι δη εν χειμονι δροξιμα κατ'εσθιομεν αντι τροφης αρτο" και ουδεν ημιν υπολελιπται συν τεκνοις η[μω]ν εκ των γηδιων εις αποτροφην απο λεπτοκτητορων γαρ 95 προσεταξεν συγκειται η κωμη κατελεησεν ημας τοτε μηδεν απαιτη ει μη αυτα μονα τα ξηρα δημοσια κ[ai] εως αρτι ευχαριστο $^{v}[\mu]$ ε[v]τω Θεω επι τουτω [  $[\ldots\ldots]$  .  $a\sigma\ldots\pi$  . [ θαλψοντα τοις αθλιο[ις λεπ]το[κτ]ητο[ρσι ει παρ] 100 ασταιη προσταξαι επι τ $[\epsilon ?]$  δελτιω παντα τα κα $\theta$  ημας δια . [.][. .]ζωθηναι εις τε εκδικησιν πασαν και κατορθωσιν του μειν[αι]δυνασθαι ημας εν τοις ίδιοις αδιαστροφως και αταραχως και μη αναγκασθηναι πλαζεσθαι [..................] της ημων πατριδος ύ[πο 105 ημεθα και μετα την αυτων αποβιωσιν ορφανοι [....] γεγοναμεν ως ορατε την ηλικιαν και εξεσπασθημεν  $[\ldots]\rho\mu\ldots$ [... ? ταυτη]ν την κωμ[ην 011  $[\ldots\ldots]$ ov .  $\alpha\nu\tau\omega\ldots$ 

88.  $\kappa(a\iota)$  εμεμετρηκεμεν: the second word seems an obvious reading, but the space between  $\kappa$  and  $\epsilon$  is very small for it. The word may have been miswritten (e.g. εμετρηκεμεν).

89. Perhaps  $a\sigma[\pi \lambda a \gamma \chi \nu \sigma s]$  (Cair. Masp. 67002, i, 13). A line may be lost after this.

90. της τε: something was apparently written above this.

91. πραιτευομενουs: for πραιδευομενουs, the Lat. praedor. It may govern  $\tau\eta\nu$  μεγαλην κτλ., 'plundering our helplessness and poverty'; but possibly that may go with κατέμαθεν:—'[when] A. learnt our helplessness, etc., how that in the winter', etc. After πραιτευομενουs the traces point to  $\sigma\tau$ ,  $\epsilon\rho$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ , or  $\sigma\iota$ .

92. κατεμαθεν: perhaps rather κατεμαθον, but κατέμαθεν must be meant, as 'Αθανάσιος is clearly the subject.

πραττων: cf. 1708, 79, note.

πανευφμοs: this method of writing φη is characteristic of Dioscorus"; cf. 1676, 69; 1708, 14, etc.; and Maspero's note on Cair. Masp. ii. 67166, 6. The reading here (in Archiv, vi, p. 110 πανεύφ(η)μοs was read) is due to Maspero.

93. δροξιμα: Ι. τρώξιμα.

97. τα ξηρα δημοσια: see Archiv, vi, p. 111, where it is suggested that this may mean the taxes in money and corn as opposed to e.g. such taxes as the ἀπαργυρισμὸς μέλισος and

άπαργυρισμὸς γάλακτος which the village is known to have paid in the Arab period and which it may have paid at this time also. But it may mean the  $\delta\eta\mu\delta\sigma\iota a$  simply in contradistinction to additional payments and extraordinary taxes.

 $\epsilon \omega s \ a \rho \pi \iota$ : i.e. till lately the remission has held good, but now, we may infer, the pagarch has disregarded it.

98. A line may be lost after this.

100-101.  $\epsilon\iota$  παρασταιη: cf. Cair. Masp. 67002, iii, 22; etc. The subject is no doubt the Dux himself, to whom also θάλψοντα will refer. This is evidently the concluding portion of the petition.

101–102. δια....ζωθηναι: the ζ, though probable, is not certain, but  $[\delta\eta]\lambda\omega\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$  is impossible. Probably δια is part of the verb in the infinitive rather than of e.g. δια $\pi(\epsilon\pi o\iota\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha)$ , which is in any case an unlikely abbreviation.

102.  $\tau ov \ \mu \epsilon \iota \nu a \iota$ :  $\tau ov$  is here used in a final sense, 'that we may be able to remain.'

104. Something was added above at the end of this line. In this passage is introduced the idea so common in such petitions, that by obtaining succour the petitioners will be saved from the necessity of ἀναχώρησιs; cf. Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 324.

111. Possibly Αντωνιο[ν οτ Αντωνιν[αν.

**[1674** 

Detached fragment:—

].  $\nu\omega\nu$ os  $\tau$ o $^{\nu}$  [ ]  $\kappa \eta \sigma \iota \varsigma \circ \mu \dots [$ 

#### PAPYRUS **1675**.—A. D. 566–573.

Inv. No. 1743. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau.  $9\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{1}{8}$  in. Hand B of Dioscorus, across the fibres. Below the text a blank space of 6 in.

THE conclusion of a petition to the Dux. As the width of the papyrus is the same as that of 1674 and the petition is from a new 1. 1674 and the petition is from a number of persons, and as 1674 must have ended shortly after the last line preserved, this may be the missing conclusion; but this is rendered doubtful by the appearance of the fibres. Two κολλήματα are represented, of which the top one is marked by very dark perpendicular lines at regular intervals. As not much more than half the κόλλημα is preserved and the last  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$  of 1674 is also imperfect, one would expect this  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$  and the last of 1674 to be the same, which is not the case. It is, however, possible that Dioscorus's verbosity prevented him from bringing the petition to a conclusion so soon as at the end of 1674 he seems preparing to do.

] . ων ενο[ρκουντες]

την ευκλειαν υμων κατα της αχραντο Τριαδος και της ύμων σωτηριας και του νικητο $^{v}$  ημων και κρατιστο $^{v}$  βασιλέ[ωs]μη παροραν ημας θλιβομενους και καταπονουμενους 5 εν οιω δηποτε πραγματι προς ϋμας γαρ την ορμην ημῶ πεποιηκαμεν εκδεχομενοι το ϋμετερον ελεος καθαπερ οι εν τω Αδη εξεδεχοντο την του Χυ παρουσιαν δεσποτα ενδοξο στρατηλατα δουξ Αγουσταλιε κυριε

1. ενορκουντες: this word doubtless occurred in this line, but has only 7 letters in the corresponding space. to identify the visible traces with the beginning of it perhaps makes the number of letters supplied in the lacuna too small. The lines are, however, by no means regular in length, and 1. 7

3. νικητου: Ι. ἀνικήτου. 6-7. Cf. Cair. Masp. 67002, i, 2. 8. Αγουσταλιε: sic.

# PAPYRUS 1676.—A. D. 566-573.

Inv. No. 1744. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau. 2 ft.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{1}{8}$  in. In a good-sized sloping and rather straggling cursive hand, across the fibres; an addition at the top and perhaps one or two corrections are in hand B of Dioscorus. The document occupies both sides of the papyrus; the writing on the verso (along the fibres) is the reverse way up (bottom to top) to that on the recto. Papyrus dark, in places a very dark reddish brown, but with light patches, and rubbed in places, with some lacunae. Probably folded from bottom to top.

T is not quite certain that this petition was addressed to the Dux and not rather to the praeses I (no other official seems possible); but the Dux is the more probable from ll. 55-59 and from the title ἐνδοξον ὑπερφυίαν (cf. the Cairo petitions; P. Beaugé 2, 15; and the Apion documents from Oxyrhynchus, where ὑπερφυέστατος is the epithet used). Unlike the preceding and following petitions this was not written by Dioscorus, but it seems certain that it comes from his office. As the papyrus is fully occupied by the text, on both sides, it would be useless as scribbling paper (unless it were intended to wash off the writing and use it as a palimpsest), and its presence among the papers of Dioscorus could hardly be accounted for if it came from some other notarial bureau. The style also strongly recalls that favoured by Dioscorus; cf. especially 11. 23-24, 43-44, 52-60 (see notes). Finally, the addition at the end and possibly one or two corrections are, as said above, almost certainly in his hand.

Though the papyrus is damaged in places and consequently some lines are at present imperfectly read, there is no doubt as to the general tenor of the petition. The father of the petitioner, a former defensor of Antaeopolis, had become a monk (as, we learn from the Cairo documents, did the father of Dioscorus); and on retiring from the world he left his son, then under age, to the guardianship of the boy's maternal uncle, who, on his coming of age, married him to his own daughter and gave him part of his own property as dower. Subsequently the father-in-law fell ill (it is interesting to find the malady specified, πεφλεγμένη ποδαλγία) and was reduced to such straits that, unable to pay his taxes, he transferred the greater part of his property to a scriniarius named Peter, who undertook to pay the taxes on it. This he did as long as the vendor lived; but on his death (so we may gather, though his death is not actually mentioned) he attempted to shift the responsibility for the tax-payments on to the property conveyed to the petitioner as dower of his wife.

For an instance of the sale of property on consideration of the payment of taxes see 1686; but there certain property is sold for the payment of taxes on other property of the vendor's; the total price was the amount of taxes. Here, on the contrary, the taxes are payable on the property transferred only, and a price additional to the amount payable was clearly paid for the property (1. 32).

Recto.]

+ διδασκω την ϋμετεραν ενδοξον ϋπερφυϊαν ως ο της μακαριας μνημης εμος πατηρ ετι περιων καταλελοιπεν τη[ν] εμην ελεϊνοτητα μικρην αγοντα την ηλικιαν και το μονηρη 5 ειλατο βιον απο εκδικων τυγχανων της Ανταιοπολιτων και α $\phi$ ηκεν με εκτοτε τω  $\theta$ ειω μο $^{v}$  κατα μητερα και τα -ελαχιστα μο<sup>υ</sup> πραγματα μετεπειτα δε γενομενον εν ηλικια συνηψατο με ο αυτος πενθεριδης μου τη αυτου θυγατρι και

<sup>2.</sup> διδασκω: διδασ is a correction.

<sup>3.</sup> εμος: ε corr. from o.

καταλέλοιπεν: ι is a later insertion.

<sup>4.</sup> μικρην αγοντα την ηλικιαν: cf. 1674, 107.

word looks like αφηκυεν.  $\theta \epsilon \iota \omega$ : corr. from  $\theta \epsilon \iota \circ \nu$ .

<sup>7.</sup> γενομένον: corr. from γενομένος.

<sup>8.</sup>  $\pi \epsilon \nu \theta \epsilon \rho \iota \delta \eta s$ : the end is confused, and there has apparently 6. αφηκεν: the scribe has made a digit too many, so that the been an alteration; but πενθεριδης must be right, as ll. 37, 48

 $[\tau\omega\nu \ \tau\epsilon]$ 

φανερα πραγματα κατα το προσηκον της αυτο<sup>υ</sup> υποστασεως

10 κατα προικιμαιον συμβολαιον εμοι εχαρισατο αμα τη αυτου θυγατρι και ταυτα αφωρισας προ ϊκανου του χρονου και επι νομης γεγενηται και δεσποτειας της εμης μετα της τουτων προσοδου οικαδε ανεχωρησα μετα της αυτου θ[υγ]ατρ[ος] αυτου δε του προαφηγηθεντος εμο<sup>υ</sup> πενθερο<sup>υ</sup> Κολλουθου

- 15 Βικτορος Ισιωνος ονοματι νοσω βαρυτατη περι πεπτωκοτος φημι δη τη πεφλεγμενη ποδαλγεια εν η και ημιθανης κατεστη και απρακος παντελως ωστε αυτον δεισθαι της αναγκαιας τροφης μέτα των αυτο<sup>υ</sup> παιδαριων μη εχοντα παντοιον επιμελητην και
- 20 κηδεμονα των ελαχιστων αυτου πραγμων εικος οτι η τουτον εκ π[[υρ]]ριττου στερρωτατη οχλησις προσκειται αυτω αδιαλειπτως μετ επηριας και διαστροφης των δημοσιων πρακτορων ωστε αυτου προ καιρ[ου τον] θανατον επικαλεσαι αποβλεπον<sup>τα</sup> τα στενα πανταχη
- 25 του τε σωματος της συνεχουσης αυτο<sup>ν</sup> φοβερωτατης ανομαλιας της δε ψυχης [? πν]ι[γ]ηρας αλιψε[ως] [κα]ι λιμωξεως αυτο<sup>ν</sup> προς δε τουτοις και της περι εξωθεν μαχης της των δημοσιων οχλησεως κ[αι της?]

 $\kappa$ , τουτων αποριας τέλος διανοη $\theta$ εις ηναγκ $[\alpha\sigma\theta]$ η τα

30 πλειστα των κτηματων αυτου καταγραψαι και εκποιη[σα]ι Πετρω τω λαμπρο/ και περιβλεπτω [[κομες]] σκρινιαρι[ω] και δοξασης

τιμης της αρεσθεισης μεταξύ αυτων

show. Sophocles quotes the word in the sense of 'wife's brother'; here it is evidently synonymous with  $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\rho\delta s$ . It is used proleptically in this passage, for the uncle did not become the father-in-law till after the marriage.

9.  $\phi a \nu e \rho a$ : in the sense of  $\tau \iota \nu a$ , as often in Byzantine Greek. II-I3. The sense might be either 'and some considerable time after he had made this settlement, (during which time) he had enjoyed the administration and possession of my income with that derived from this property (i. e. the property given as dower), I returned home', etc., or, taking  $\epsilon \pi \iota$  as  $= \dot{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \dot{\iota}$ , 'and some considerable time after he had made this settlement and when (this property) had been in my disposition and possession together with the income derived from it, I returned home'. The latter seems much the more likely interpretation. In either case it appears that the young couple at first lived with the father-in-law, but later set up house for themselves.

14. Κολλουθου: evidently not identical with the Colluthus son of Victor of Cair. Masp. ii. 67166, 9, who lived at Antinoopolis and was a poulterer; but he may be the Colluthus of i. 67087, who was a  $\beta$ oηθός of the defensor of Antaeopolis.

15-16. περιπεπτωκοτος: the last  $\pi$  is a correction.

16.  $\tau\eta$ : a correction, probably from  $\pi\epsilon$ , the scribe having begun to write  $\pi\epsilon\phi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\nu\eta$  too soon.

ποδαλγεια: γει is probably a correction.

17. απρακος: L. either ἄπρακτος or ἄπραγος.

20. πραγμων: Ι. πραγμάτων.

είκος οτι κτλ.: this is a parenthesis; τούτων may possibly refer to τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδαρίων—their troubles were an additional burden to his own—; but that seems rather too far away, and perhaps the reference is to the trouble of looking after his property; not only could he not work at his business, but even the trouble of attending to his property, with the numerous claims made on it, was beyond his strength. See, however, l. 29.

21.  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\tau\sigma\upsilon$ : corr. from  $\pi\upsilon\rho\rho\epsilon\tau\sigma\upsilon$ . The second  $\rho$  of  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\tau\sigma\tau\eta$  is also a later addition.

23-24. Quite in the style of Dioscorus: cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67019, 20.

24. αποβλεποντα: corr. from αποβλεπων.

25. αυταν: corr. from αυτω.

26. avomadias: the a corr. from  $\omega$ .

 $\delta \epsilon$ : corr. from  $\tau \epsilon_{\epsilon}$ 

πνιγηραs: very doubtful, but it suits the traces and the sense.  $\dot{a}\lambda i\psi \epsilon \omega s = \dot{a}\lambda \omega_i \phi_{ij}$ , 'blotting out', and so 'destruction'.

27. autou: the first v is apparently a correction.

29. κ(αι): added in the margin. τούτων must apparently refer to τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδαρίων.

30. καταγραψαι: cf. the expression which occurs in sales (Mitteis, 'einheitlicher Kauf') καὶ καταγεγραφήκαμεν (οr καταγεγραφηκέναι).

Verso.]

```
🗜 οφειλοντι τω προρηθεντι και ηγορακοτι την
        ενελκομενην τοις αυτω πραθεισι κτημασι βασιλεικην
        και δημοσιαν συντελειαν ανελλειπως εισφερει[ν] τω
35
        δημοσιω λογω κατ ετος
                                      ακολουθως ταις γεναμεναις
        αυτω ωνιακαις συνγραφαις παρα του εμο^{v} πενθεριδ[ο]v
37
        και τη δυναμεί του επισταλματος αυτου ητοι κουφισμον μεθ υπογραφ/ το[υ]... τοχο[υ]
37 a
        δι ην και επεστειλέν περιοντος δε αυτο^{ν} . . . . . . [. . . . .]
38
        τω δημοσιω λογω και . . . ασμένως παρέσχοντο[ς?] . . . . .
        φανερον χρονον ηδη διαγεναμενον
                                                  αρτιως δε
40
        ο[υ]κ [οι]\delta[α] \piοθεν καιροτηρησας την \sigma[υμ]\phiονικη[ν . . . .]
        ε . . . . . . . . . . τορα γεγονοτα και ασυγγενιστοτα[τα?]
        επεφθη ο προλεχθεις περιβλεπτος ανηρ τυραννιδι
        επερειδομενος τοις ελαχιοις και διακεχωρισμενοις
        εμοι προ ϊκανου του χρονο[υ] προικιμαιοις πραγμασι
45
        \betaο^{v}λομενος αλλην επιθειναι μοι συντελειαν εις ανατροπη[v]
                                            μεθ ο [[γενομενο<sup>υ</sup>]]
        εμην τελειαν και ενδειαν αρτου \llbracket \tau \overline{o} v \rrbracket κου\bar{\phi}ισμον \llbracket \pi \alpha \rho \ [av]\tau [ov?] \rrbracket
                               εγγραφως
                                        о каі
        τω εμω πενθεριδη [[εχομενου]] μεταχειρ[[ασμου]] εξ ου
```

34. ενελκομενην: cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67151, 135. In P. Flor. i. 50, 75–76, σὺν τῷ ἐνελκομένης βασι[λικῆς γῆς] ἀρούρης τετάρτ[ $\varphi$ ], the word is probably used in the same sense; the obligation to cultivate royal land was involved in the tenure.

37 a. A later addition but by the same scribe. As  $\delta i' \hat{\eta} \nu \kappa a \hat{\iota} \epsilon \pi \epsilon \epsilon \tau \epsilon i \lambda \epsilon \nu$  in l. 38 is meaningless apart from this line the draft must clearly have been copied from a (still rougher) draft, in which the scribe inadvertently overlooked a line.

του επισταλματος αυτου ητοι κουφισμου: the meaning is no doubt given by Cair. Masp. i. 67104, 17, ἐπὶ τῷ ταύτης τὰ ἐκφόρια κουφισθηναί μοι ἀναμφιλόγως. The κουφισμός was an undertaking to pay the taxes, given by Peter to Colluthus, and was thus the completion of the whole transaction, of which the first stage was the transfer of the property from Colluthus to Peter (ταίς γεναμέναις αὐτῷ ἀνιακαῖς συνγραφαῖς). An actual example of a κουφισμός is probably to be found in Cair. Masp. i. 67048, which is described as an ἐπίσταλμο. The word ἐπίσταλμα is indeed also used of a further stage, the notification of the transfer of property to the δημόσιος λόγος (so in Cair. Masp. i. 67117; 67118; and no doubt in 67119, where the  $i\pi\sigma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\dot{\eta}$  is lost); but this cannot be the sense here, as appears from 11. 47-49 (see note there). Perhaps the very fact that the word ἐπίσταλμα was ambignous led the scribe to add ήτοι κουφισμού. In Cair. Masp. 67048, 2, can  $\epsilon \xi \iota \sigma \bar{\sigma} [\kappa/]$  (or  $[\kappa a \tau a]$ ?)  $\tau \sigma \tau \rho \iota \mu \epsilon \rho [\epsilon s]$  be read? In this case three persons will be concerned. The lacuna seems too small for  $\tau a \ldots \sigma ] \sigma i$ , supplying a participle after 7a.

 $\tau o[v]$ : it is not possible to read autov instead of this.

38. περιοντος δε αντον: the sense of this mutilated passage to διαγεναμένον in l. 40 is clearly that while Collnthus lived Peter loyally observed his agreement to pay the taxes, and had done so for a period of six years (ἐξ ἐνιοντούς is a correction of the vaguer φανερὸν χρόνον).

39.  $\pi a \rho \epsilon \sigma \chi a \nu \tau o [s]$ :  $\pi a \rho$  and  $\sigma \chi o \nu$  being practically certain, and  $\tau o$  hardly more doubtful, it seems as if the participle were intended, hut neither a nor  $\epsilon$  suits the traces after  $\rho$  very well. Since a stroke projects above,  $\epsilon$ , which must be a slip of the pen, is the more likely of the two; possibly the reading is  $\pi a \rho \epsilon \sigma \chi \sigma \nu$  (sc.  $-\chi \epsilon \nu$ )  $\tau o$ , which would improve the grammar.

41. συκ σιδα ποθεν: 'I do not know for what reason'. The traces are, however, very slight. This sentence states that lately, no doubt on the death of Colluthus, Peter has attempted to shift his liabilities on to the shoulders of the petitioner.

42. και ασυγγενιστοτατα: the  $\kappa$  is very doubtful, as there is no sign of an upstroke, but since  $\alpha\iota$  is certain it is difficult to see what else the word can be, as ασυγγ seems clearly the beginning of a new word. ασυγγενιστοτατα is a curious word, but seems fairly probable.

43.  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\phi\theta\eta$ : this governs  $\tau\sigma\hat{\imath}s$   $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\hat{\imath}\sigma\tau\sigma\imaths$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ . The  $\theta$  is, however, doubtful.

44. επερειδομενος: δ corrected from τ. For the phrase cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67087, 15.

 $\epsilon \lambda a \chi \iota \sigma \tau o \iota s$ : the scribe at first wrote  $\epsilon \lambda a \chi o \iota s$ ; the  $\iota$  is inserted in the line itself.

47–48. This much corrected passage now reads  $\mu\epsilon\theta$  δ κουφισμον  $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$  ταγη διέθετο τῷ ἐμῷ πενθερίδη ἐγγράφως, δ καὶ μεταχειρίζομαι, ἐξ οὖ κτλ., the meaning evidently being 'after he had', etc., not 'after which he', etc.; or possibly  $\mu\epsilon\theta$ ' δ(ν) κουφισμόν . . . διέθετο is to be read; it is to be noticed that κουφισμός is treated as neuter in 1.48. The petitioner is appealing to the evidence of the κουφισμός, which had doubtless come to him or his wife (μεταχειρίζομαι) as heir to his father-in-law. This proves that the κουφισμός in this case is the document given by Peter to Colluthus, not the return to the δημόσιος λόγος. Besides the corrections seen in the text, the ν of κουφισμον is a correction

ωμολογησεν ανελλειπως εισπραξαι τω δημοσιω λογω καθ εκαστον βασιλικο[vs]

- 50 ετος τους των πράθεντων αυτω πραγματων δημοσιους φορους ακολουθως ταις [[πρασεσ]] γεναμεναις αυτω εγγραφως ωνιακαις συγγραφαις και επειδηπερ αλλην ελπιδα και καταφυγην ουκ εχω μετα τον Θεον τον της ψυχης μ[ου] κυριον προσϊμι τοις ευκλεεσι ϋμων ϊχνεσι κυλινδο[υ]μ[ενος]
- 55 καθϊκετευων την υπερφυη υμων φιλανθρωπιαν ην ο πανοικτιστης Θεος και ο θειστατος και οικουμενικος
- δεσπί ημων βασιλευς εχαρισατο τη πανταθλια ταυτη χωρα και τοις ενοικουσι δωρον μεγιστον ατε ευβο $^{v}$ λο[v] ε[ $\iota$ ]ς [το] τα πικρα Θηβαιων αδικηματα αναστειλαι ει παρασται[η]
- 60 προσταξαι ϊκανως μηδεμιαν παροδον του προρηθεντος περιβλεπτου ανδρος γενεσθαι μοι περι τουτου μητε καινοτομιαν αδικον ην επιβουλευει εμοι προσθεσθαι παρα το προσηκον εκ δυναστειας βιαιως οπως εν τουτώ απολαυομαι της υμετερας δικαιοσυνης και παντοτ[ε]
- 65 υπερευξομαι τω πανεποπτη Θεω και δικαιω μονώ κριτη τω οντι πατρι των ορφανων πλουσια χειρι τα ϋμετερ[α] υμιν αντεισαξαι μυριαντοπλασιαις αμοιβαις υπερ τησδε της εις εμε γεναμενης εν τουτω επικουριας

Recto (at the top of the document and probably in the hand of Dioscorus).]  $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \, \eta s \, \ddot{\nu} \mu a s \, \epsilon \xi o \rho \kappa \iota \zeta \omega \, \kappa a \tau a \, \tau \eta s \, a \theta a \nu a \tau o^{\nu} \, \kappa o \rho \nu \phi s \, \kappa a \iota \, a \nu \tau \bar{o} \, \delta \epsilon \sigma \pi^{\circ} (\eta \mu \bar{\omega})$ 

70 βασιλί και της ϋμων σωτηριας

from v and  $\epsilon \xi$  probably from  $\sigma vv$ .  $\epsilon \gamma \gamma \rho \dot{\alpha} \phi \omega s$  may possibly be in the hand of Dioscorus. The meaning of  $\epsilon v \tau \alpha \gamma \hat{\eta}$  in this connexion is uncertain, and the reading, though certainly suggested by the traces, must be regarded as doubtful.

- 49. εισπραξαι: a curious word for the tax-payer himself.
- 50. βασιλικους: probably in the hand of Dioscorus.
- 51.  $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\epsilon\sigma$ : sic; the scribe stopped to delete the word before finishing it. It is possible also that the s was never added to  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha$ . The reading is certainly  $-\alpha\iota$  not  $-\alpha\iota$ .
- $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omega$ s: doubtful; it is apparently a correction, presumably from  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omega$ s (or *vice versa*).
  - 52.  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \eta \pi \epsilon \rho$ : corr. from  $\epsilon \pi \iota \delta \eta \pi \epsilon \rho$ .
- 54.  $\pi pooriu$ : the first  $\iota$  is a correction, probably from  $\epsilon\iota$ . The o of row seems also to be a correction.
- 55. καθϊκετευων: corr. from και ϊκετευων. Before τ a v seems to occur, but whether at the first writing, being corrected

afterwards, or inserted subsequently is not clear.

- 56. πανοικτιστης: 'all-pitying'; cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67004, 6; 67020, r., 10. In both places Maspero's notes require correction, the word being from the active πανοικτιστής, not the passive πανοίκτιστος. Here the o seems to be a correction from  $\theta$ .
- 57. βασιλευς: there is a digit too many, so that the word looks like βασιλυευς.
- εχαρισατο: corr. from εχαριζατο, which is a common mistake; cf. 1674, 3; Cair. Masp. i. 67009, r., 3.
  - 58. τοις: corr. from της.
  - ατε ευβουλον: very doubtful.
  - 61. μητε : l. μηδέ.
- 62.  $\eta \nu$ : there is a dot over this word, perhaps accidental, but possibly intended to mark it off as a separate word.
  - 63. δυναστειας: probably the  $\epsilon$  was inserted later.
  - 69. корифя: cf. 1674, 92, note.

## PAPYRUS 1677.—A. D. 566-567.

Inv. No. 1646. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau. 1 ft. 0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. x 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in., except at the top, where two other (not continuous) fragments remain, giving a width of about 1 ft. 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. In hand B of Dioscorus on both sides of the papyrus, on the recto

along, on the verso (where the writing is the reverse way up) across, the fibres. At the beginning the writing is large but diminishes in size as the document proceeds. The papyrus was perhaps folded perpendicularly, from right to left.

As in the case of the preceding drafts, the name of the official to whom this petition was addressed has not been inserted, but since he is called μαγίστερι he was clearly not the Dux. For this title μαγίστηρ see Cair. Masp. i. 67003, 4, where a petition is addressed to the Dux διὰ τοῦ μ[εγ]αλοπρ(επεστάτου) μ[α]γίστερος Δωροθέου (cf. Maspero, Bull. de l'Inst. fr. d'arch. or. vii. 85), and Just. Novell. xxx (= Teubner ed. xliv), cap. 2, especially the words κινδύνω τῆς δλης κομιτιανῆς τάξεως καὶ τῶν δεκατριῶν τῶν πρωτευόντων, οῦς δὴ μαγίστερας πρώτους καὶ δευτέρους καλοῦσιν. It is clear that the μαγίστηρ was an official of the τάξις, in the present case of the Ducal τάξις; and he was therefore a natural person to whom to address a petition.

Though, as usual, undated, the petition can be dated on internal evidence with practical certainty. The petitioner is Dioscorus himself, and he complains of the misdeeds of the pagarch Menas. A comparison of ll. 12–15 with Cair. Masp. 67002, i, 11–18 makes it quite certain that the occasion was the same as in the latter document; and since that must have been written in the latter part of 567 or the beginning of 568 the date of the present document cannot be much later. It may probably be earlier, for though this petition is a personal one from Dioscorus alone, whereas 67002 is from the *possessores* of Aphrodito generally, the case of Dioscorus is alluded to in that petition, which is to the Dux, and he would hardly address himself to a  $\mu \alpha \gamma i \sigma \tau \eta \rho$  subsequently. He may have written it shortly after reaching Antinoopolis; in any case it will probably fall between the summer of 566 and that of 567.

The mutilation of the document is unfortunate, as it is of some interest and mentions events not alluded to in 67002, which the lacunae make it in several cases difficult to follow. Dioscorus's complaint falls into two portions. First (ll. 10–20) he refers to the facts already known from 67002: that Menas had transferred his lands at Phthla to the  $\beta o\eta \theta o'$  and shepherds of that village, leaving to him however the liability for the taxes payable on them. If the supplement adopted in l. 14 is correct, or at least correctly represents the sense, the confiscation of his property was not so complete as might be gathered from 67002, only his lands at Phthla being affected; but it is of course only conjectural. Lower down he appears to refer to an order by the Dux in his favour.

Secondly, Dioscorus complains of outrages by Menas on his (Dioscorus's) brother-in-law and son. It is not always clear in this portion to which of the two the reference is, but the following seems to be the likeliest summary of what is said:—Menas brought about the appointment of the brother-in-law Apollos (it is not clear what relation Evgav has to  $A\pi o\lambda\lambda\omega v$  in l. 23, but the name in ordinary use was clearly Apollos, as appears from ll. 31, 46, 47) as  $\pi\rho\omega\tau o\kappa\omega\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\eta s$  of Aphrodito. This at least appears to be the sense of ll. 22–24, taken in connexion with the evidence of l. 48, from which it is clear that Apollos did actually hold this office, but why Menas secured his appointment is not stated, so far as the extant portion of the document goes. Subsequently, apparently owing to arrears in, or (alleged) non-payment of, the taxes, Menas sent a force of the local gendarmes to his house, which was completely pillaged, Apollos and his children being reduced to poverty, and (l. 30) his lands being handed over to the shepherds. Not content with this, Menas had Dioscorus's son arrested under the pretext that he was responsible for his uncle's

debts. It seems likely (see note on 1.49) that this son was the  $\beta o\eta \theta \delta s$  of Aphrodito, which will explain why he was saddled with the liability; but Dioscorus declares that this was not justified, since (l. 31) his son had nothing to do with the affairs of Apollos, and moreover (l. 49) Apollos paid the taxes direct to Menas, not through the  $\beta o\eta \theta \delta s$ . In l. 52 f. he rather hints that Apollos may really have paid the taxes, but that the receipts for them were confiscated when his house was plundered; 'if, when his house was pillaged, the receipts were taken... I do not know.'

It is not quite clear whether in 1. 32 the children mentioned are those of Apollos or of Dioscorus's son. The mention of them follows a reference to the son, but they may still be the children of Apollos if some such reading as that suggested in the note be adopted. In any case, Dioscorus's son must have been of age and therefore not one of the παιδία νήπι[α] . . . μὴ ἐγνωκότα τὴν ἀριστερὰν μήτε σχεδὸν καὶ τὴν δεξιάν referred to in 67002, i, 12. If Apollos was really first made πρωτοκωμήτης by Menas he can hardly be the Apollos son of John who occurs in that office, along with Dioscorus, in 1661, 7; Cair. Masp. i. 67094, 5 (cf. too 67060, verso, where the same person may be meant, and 67032, 10, where he is found at Constantinople with Dioscorus); but it is possible, though not likely, that the interpretation given to Il. 22–24 is mistaken. He may well be the person mentioned in 67008; cf. l. 26 here, κ]αὶ ἐπορθήθη ἡμεραία (sc. ὥρα, 'by day') ἡ αὐτοῦ οἰκία παρά τε τῶν ληστῶν καί κτλ., with l. 5 there, τ[ο]ῦ βιαίως ἀν[αι]ρηθέντο[s π]αρὰ τῆς ληστρικῆς ἐφ[όδ]ον ἡμεραία (so no doubt for Maspero's ημεραια[s]; cf. too 67002, iii, 13). A nephew despoiled by the pagarch for taxes owing by an uncle called Apollos recalls 67026; but there the uncle is a maternal uncle, the pagarch is Julian, the nephew is Dioscorus, and the uncle had died previously.

The name of Dioscorus's sister is probably (see note on l. 23) not given. She may be the sister alluded to in 67026 if that is a genuine rescript and refers to our Dioscorus; but though Partsch defends its authenticity (Neue Urkunden zum justinianischen Reskriptenprozesse, G. G. Nachrichten, 1911, p. 224 ff.) there are still grave difficulties.<sup>1</sup>

### Recto.]

#### $[\chi\mu\gamma]//$

5 ευφημ[ειται] και διαβεβοηται εν απασι παρα παντος ανθρωπο $^{ ext{v}}$  η φιλοκαγαθο $^{ ext{s}}$ 

1 One would gather from the rescripts that the Dioscorus there mentioned was still fairly young and also by no means well-to-do. Our Dioscorus appears as tenant of the monastery of St. Sourous, a Flavius, and θανμασιώτατος in 543 (Cair. Masp. i. 67087). His father was alive and at Constantinople in 541 (ii. 67126). He was dead before 555 (1692), probably before 547 (i. 67108; the supplements there are rendered probable by ii. 67134), and Maspero (Rev. Ét. gr. xxiv, p. 461) places his death in 542, though this is not beyond doubt. Before his death he became a monk (67064; 67096). Dioscorus was a man of wealth and importance both before and after 551, the only time at which we know for certain that he was at Constantinople (Partsch, I.c. p. 218, supposes him to have visited the city

twice, but even he says 'jedenfalls aber gehört unser Reskript in die 50er Jahre des 6. Jahrhunderts'). Moreover there is no trace elsewhere of his having had any cause for dispute with his father, such as 67028 would indicate; see especially 67064; 67096 referred to above. It is of course possible that the Dioscorus of the rescripts was a different person altogether, and that our Dioscorus translated them merely as an exercise in Latin. Note that a brother (or half-brother) of his occurs in 1702.

2. φιλανθρωπ(ω): there is no sign of abbreviation. Possibly a single word is intended, φιλανθρωπευεργέτη.

15

20

25

 $\ddot{v}$ μων [λαμ]πρα  $\epsilon v \epsilon [\rho]$ γεσια αει σπουδασόσα παντα τα λυσιτελη και ψωφελη

] δικαιων υπασαν αρετην ην επεχει ορεγεται διατελειν ]μενη καγω τότο σαφως επισταμενος αοκνως προσίμι τοις ανεπαφοις υ]μων ϊχνεσι το κατ εμε πραγμα διδασκων εν τότοις

[? εχον + Μηνας ο λα]μπροτατος σκρινιαριος και παγαρχης της Ανται ως ϊς τε πλεο [? νεξιαν ... βλα]βας μο` και θλιψεις και στενοχωρίας ας ϋπεμεινα ενταθα

συ]νεχομενος τη απορια και πενια παλαιω $^{\nu}$  ε $\phi$  ο τι ο  $\beta$ οη $\theta$ ος

[? Κυρος της κωμης  $\Phi\theta$ ]λα μετα των ταυτης ποιμενων καρπουνται τας αρόρας [μου ? εν τω πεδιω  $\overline{\Pi}$ ιασε τ]ης αυτης κωμης ανευ εκφοριων και δημοσιων και [? την συντελείαν τότον] εασας ενεπιτετομμένην μου αδικώς επι ναο της πορ

[? την συντελειαν τότων] εασας ενεπιτετραμμενην μοι αδικως επι γαρ της προ [? ηγησαμενης αρχης . . . . τ]ό της ενδοξό μνημης αραβαρχου πολλας δυσφημειας και  $[\tau o^{\nu} \tau o^{\nu}$  εποιουν και πα $[\rho]$ εθετο μοι αυτω η μεγαλοπρεπης

] το το το εποιουν και πα[ρ]εθετο μοι αυτω η μεγαλοπρεπης? κα]ι αυτος ο δουξ τοτε τω ειρημες κελευσαντες ανδρι τότο ]ενως αρα αυτος εστιν ο οικειουμενος τα γενηματα εαυτω

τ]οις εμοις ανθρωποις οι ποιμενες εκεινοι προς δε τοις ανύποιστοις

[τουτοις και . . . . ? αδικη]μασι κατεσχεν τον εμον υϊον ϋπερ αλλοτριων δημοσιώ ελ]ασσωμα περι τότων ο γαρ ειρημ<sup>ε</sup> Μηνας φρεναπατης γεναμ<sup>ε</sup> ]υ Ευξαν Απολλων τον ανδρα της εμης αδελφης ακοντα

? πρωτοκωμητην Α]φροδιτης κωμης ποιησασθαι και του εινεκα αρεσκειν αυτω

] ὕπ αυτον της κωμης πρωτοκωμητης κακω και  $oldsymbol{eta}$ ιαιω κ]αι επορθηθη ημεραια η αυτ $ar{eta}$  οικια παρα τε των ληστων και

6.  $\lambda a \mu \pi \rho a$ : there is not room for  $\kappa a \iota$ .

7. At the beginning may be something like [kai tois opeyo- $\mu\epsilon\nuois$  (cf. 1678, 4)  $\tau\omega\nu$ ]. The edge of the papyrus here is below the  $\sigma$  of  $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\sigma ia$  in 1. 6. In the following lines one or two more letters are preserved, except in 1. 13, where the edge is almost level with that in this line. As Dioscorus forms his letters very unevenly no estimate of missing letters has been made, but the approximate number can be judged from Il. 2-6. Since however the writing grows smaller and more compressed as the document proceeds, it must be remembered that in the lower lines the number of letters lost will be larger.

9. τοις ανεπαφοις υμων: cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67008, 8 f., πρόσιμι τοῖς εὐκλε[έσ]ι ὑμῶν [ἔχνεσι]; P. Beaugé 2, 5, πρόσιμι το[ῖς] εὐκλεέσι καὶ ἀνεπάφοις ὑμῷ[ν] ἔχνεσι. The space here is hardly enough for ευκλεεσι και as well, but on the other hand is perhaps too big for τοις ανεπαφοις only.

10. εχον: cf. Cair. Masp. 67008, 9, τὸ] κατ' ἐμὲ πρᾶγμα ἐν τούτοις ἔχον; P. Beaugé 2, 8, τὸ γὰρ κατ' ἐμὲ πρᾶγμα ἐν τούτοις ἔχω; 1674, 5 f. The lacuna is too large for what is here read, but probably a space was left after εχον. Possibly, too, Φλαουιος was written, abbreviated or in full.

Aptau ws is: the ov is written under the line, across the downstroke of  $\iota$ , in a manner comparable to the  $\phi$  common in the writing of Dioscorus. For ws is,  $\omega$  eis  $(\phi$  eis) is possible. The meaning would then be 'to whom . . . [I reported] my losses', etc.; but eis  $\tau \in \pi \lambda eo[\nu e \xi ia\nu$  does not fit well into this, and there is no trace of a verb meaning 'I reported'.

11. The âs ὑπέμεινα makes against reading [νεξιων αυτου και εις βλα]βας, which would otherwise be not unlikely.

άς υπεμεινα: the mark over a is evidently a breathing,

inserted for the sake of clearness. The v is a correction.

12. Perhaps  $[\kappa a\iota \ \epsilon \nu \ A\phi \rho o \delta \iota \tau \eta s \ \kappa \omega \mu \eta]$ ? But this seems unlikely.  $\pi a \lambda a \iota \omega \nu$ : the bearing of this is not clear. The  $\nu$  is not certain but probable.

εφοτι: 'inasmuch as'.

13. For the supplement (which is, however, rather too short) cf. Cair. Masp. 67002, i. 17.

καρπουντά: plural for singular owing to μετὰ τῶν ταύτης

14-15. Cf. Cair. Masp. 67002, i, 13-15. For the supplement in l. 14 see 1686, 28.

16.  $a\rho a\beta a\rho \chi ov$ : cf. 1652, 3, note. The person here referred to for purposes of dating was presumably Dux, and it is in this capacity, not as Arabarch, that his  $\dot{a}\rho \chi \dot{\eta}$  is mentioned; cf. 67002, ii, 1, and 1708, 79, note. A very short name (e. g.  $Kv\rho \bar{o}$ ; but in 67002, ii, I Cyrus is described as referendarius) must be supplied.

18. Perhaps [εξουσια του ...], but since the Dux is mentioned later in the line it is unlikely that any other (presumably lower) official would be referred to here. Hence perhaps [δουκικη ταξις is possible.

 $a\nu\delta\rho\iota$ : probably Menas; the Dux and somebody else (see last note) had apparently ordered him to desist from his persecution of Dioscorus.

20.  $a\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma as$ : servants or tenants? The latter is rather supported by 1682, 4 f.

23. ακοντα: this looks like  $\theta$ κοντα, which might be the (Coptic) name of Dioscorus's sister; but probably  $\theta$  (for  $\langle \mu \eta \rangle \theta \in \lambda$ οντα?) has been corr. to  $\alpha$ .

24. του: 1. τούτου? For πρωτοκωμητην see ll. 47, 48.

[	? των παγανων και των συ]ν	τουτοις ποιμενων και των α $\pi^{0}$ της κωμης ολων οικητορων εν α $^{v}$ τη
28	α]ν	αιρεσεως και ου μονον οτι ουκ ηυεργετησεν τους νηπιδς του <sup>του</sup>
		ταλαιπω
29	[και αφηλικας υιδς τδς συ]	νελθοντας εις εσχατην πενιαν και το <sup>υ</sup> αρτό ενδειαν αλλα και το <sup>υ</sup> ς φονιους
20		ματα αυτ $ar{0}$ σπειραντας μισ $ heta$ ωτας και ποιμενας μετα την αυτ $ar{0}$
30	: τα κτης	ματα αυτό σπειράντας μισυωίας και ποιμένας μετά την αυτό αναιρεσιν
		μου
31		το υιου μηδεν του Απολλωτος παντελως μεταχειριζομενο καιτοι γε
32	o]	φειλει απολ[υ]θηναι τοις ταλαιπωροις αυτο" κ[α]ι αφηλιξι υϊοις καθοτι
Vers	so.1	
		$+\chi\mu\gamma//$
		· Λτ// ]ηθησαν [τ]ον πατερα αυτων και διαρπαγην και σαθρωσιν
35		το ϋπεστησαν και κτηναφαιρεσιν ως αν ειπης πλεον
		] τ[ο]πων λεηλατηθησαν πορθηθεντες όπερ εστι πικρωτατον
	-	βασιλικης προσταξεως ανηρεθη ανθρωπος ποτε ταμιευθει <sup>ς</sup>
		]ενος αναιρειται ο δε απεριστατος και αθλιος τα δυο κακα
		] διο παρακαλω καθϊκετευων τον αγαθον δεσποτην
40	[μο και ενορκιζων κατα	] της αενα $ar{\Theta}$ $\overline{\Theta}$ $ar{v}$ σωτηριας και της των $\ddot{v}$ μετερων $\lambda$ αμπρ $^o/$ τεκν $ar{w}$
	και της	] παναριστης αυτων μητρος και κυρας και της $\ddot{ ext{u}}$ περ $oldsymbol{eta}$ αλλ $\ddot{ ext{o}}$ σης
	[υμων εξουσιας ει πα	]ρασταιη δια τον $\overline{\Theta}$ ν ϊκανως προσταξαι γραφηναι τω $\epsilon$ ιρημ $\epsilon$
	[Μηνα ? αποστηναι απο τ	]ο $^{ u}$ υϊου $\mu$ ō και της κατ αυτ $\bar{ m o}$ οχλη $\sigma\epsilon$ ως υ $^{\pi}$ Α $\pi$ ολλωτος
		δημοσια
		]χωρησο ./ ει βουλετ[α]ι κα των σπειραντων τα κτηματα
45	[αυτου	] καταθεις βασιλευς ου προς ανθρωπους ϋπερ αλλων ηγόν
		] . $\theta$ ηναι τα χωρια Απολλωτος καιρο καλοντος και πληρω $\theta$ ηναι
		] α. εται ηκουον γαρ Απολλωτος ενταυθα γεναμενό μετα το"

27. των παγανων: or perhaps στρατιωτων. For the παγανοί see 1674, 78, and note, and for their association with  $\lambda η \sigma \tau a i$  see Cair. Masp. 67002, ii, 23.

της κωμης: as it is very unlikely that the people of Aphrodito would be found co-operating with Menas and his 'brigands', it is probable that the village here referred to was Phthla, from which the shepherds certainly came (l. 13).

- 28. At the beginning something like  $[\mu\epsilon\chi\rho\iota\ \tau\eta s\ a\nu\tau\bar{a}\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota as\ a]$   $\mu a\nu\rho\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega s$  is possible. For  $a\nu a\nu\rho\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega s$  see l. 30.
- 29. For the supplement see l. 32. Perhaps rows was not written.
- 31.  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\zeta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\upsilon$ : probably not genitive absolute with  $A\pi\sigma\lambda\lambda\omega\tau\sigma$ s but going with  $\tau\sigma\upsilon$   $\upsilon\iota\sigma\upsilon$   $\mu\sigma\upsilon$ :—'though he had nothing at all to do with the affairs of Apollos'.
- 32. Possibly [και αυτος ο Απολλως ο]  $\phi$ ειλει would express the sense of this passage. Not much can be lost after this line, judging from the verso; and it is not certain that anything is lost
- 34. The beginning of this and the following lines is so much rubbed that in many cases hardly a trace of writing remains.

The sense of the lost beginning of l. 35 is probably something like 'which it would be impossible to describe'.  $\delta \nu \nu ]a\tau a[\iota]$  could perhaps be read.

35. κτηναφαιρεσιν: cf. Cair. Masp. 67002, ii, 25. 36. των βαρβαρωθεντων τοπων: cf. 1674, 22 and note.

λεηλατηθησαν: Ι. έλεηλατήθησαν.

δπερ: or ουπερ.

πικρωταταν: corr. from πικροτατον.

37. Perhaps a contrast between the fate of some other offender and that of Menas. But  $\beta a \sigma i \lambda i \kappa \eta s$  is only a doubtful reading, and possibly the person referred to in this line may be the same as the one in 1. 38, in which case he must be Apollos.

40. Cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67020, r., 8, where καθϊκετευοντες is to be read, as the facsimile shows. κατὰ τῆς ἀενάου Θεοῦ σωτηρίας is a curious expression.

44. The earlier part is very difficult.  $\kappa a$  seems clear, and the over-written  $\delta \eta \mu \sigma \sigma a$  suggests that it is part of  $\chi \rho \nu \sigma \kappa \dot{\alpha}$ , but this is impossible, and the traces strongly suggest  $\beta \sigma^{\nu} \lambda \epsilon \tau a$ . We should expect  $\tau a$   $\delta \eta \mu \sigma \sigma a$ , but  $\tau a$  is impossible. Probably  $\kappa a$  is a slip of the pen for  $\kappa a \tau \dot{a}$ , but  $\delta \eta \mu \dot{\alpha} \sigma a$  is still a difficulty.

		] . πριν αυτον ϋπεισϊεναι την πρωτοκωμητιαν οτι τα δημοσια ? ι]δικως [π]αρεχω τω κυριω Μηνα και ο <sup>υ</sup> τω βοηθω Αφροδιτης
50		]τ Αφθ[ον]ιον ϊδον εκεινον κατατρυχοντα τος εμος
3 -	[? ανθρωπους	] εκ τ $[ου]$ το ητησα τον παγαρχον αλλοτριον τον $β$ οη $θ$ ον
52		$\mathcal{E}_{\lambda}$ χρυσι]κα $\delta[\eta]$ μοσια $\epsilon$ ι δ $\epsilon$ επορθηθη η οικια αυτο $\lambda$ τα $\epsilon$ υταγια
		$\epsilon \lambda \eta \mu \phi  heta \eta^{\sigma a  u}$
53		] πραγματα εγω αγνοώ ορκος δε επι τότω προβησεται
		] τον αναιτι[ον μ]ο υϊον αλογως επηρεασθηναι υπ ξενώ
		7a
55		υπ]ερ αυτών [λ]αβον απεί[ρ]ατα μεγιστα υπευξομαι τότο τυχώ
56		] τα $[\dots]$ . $v^{\pi}$ σωτηρ $[\iota]$ ας και διαμονης ϋμων τ $\epsilon$ και των λαμ $\pi$ ρρ/
		υμων τεκνῶ
57		$\delta$ ] $\epsilon\sigma\pi^{\circ}+$

49.  $\pi a \rho \epsilon \chi \omega$ : this is probably a verbal quotation of what Apollos said. He paid his taxes direct to Menas, not to the  $\beta \sigma \eta \theta \delta s$  of Aphrodito. As the whole of this passage (see especially  $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho$   $\ddot{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ , l. 45) seems to be a protest against the imprisonment of Dioscorus's son for another person's liabilities this mention of the  $\beta \sigma \eta \theta \delta s$  may probably imply that the son in question held that office. Presumably it was for this reason that Menas held him responsible for the debts of Apollos, wrongfully if it is really true that the  $\beta \sigma \eta \theta \delta s$  had nothing to do with his tax-payments. How far the quotation extends is not clear; perhaps to l. 52, but more probably the subject of  $\eta \tau \eta \sigma a$  in l. 51 is Dioscorus.

52. χρυσικα δημοσια: very doubtful.

54.  $v\pi(\epsilon\rho)$  ξενω(ν): at the beginning of l. 55 perhaps  $o\phi\epsilon\iota\lambda\eta$ ματων οι δημοσιων (cf. l. 21).

55. απειρατα: cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67184, v., 2. [π]αθοντα cannot be read.

υ"ευξομαι: ί.ε. ὑπερεύξομαι.

56.  $\tau a$ : before this is a blank space, and on the preceding fragment no trace of ink is discernible. If this is the beginning of the line the writing must have begun a good deal to the right of the left margin of the papyrus and the supplements in ll. 36, 40, 42, 43 are too big; but l. 57 certainly began further to the left than  $\tau a$  in this line.

### PAPYRUS 1678.—A. D. 566-573.

Inv. No. 1741. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in. × 1 ft.  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. In hand B of Dioscorus, along the fibres; the writing large and spread out; ink light in colour. The papyrus, which is stained dark brown in some places, was folded perpendicularly, from right to left. An uncertain number of letters is lost at the beginning of every line.

THIS petition, like the last, is addressed not to the Dux but to μαγίστερες; in this case to at least two (probably not more), whereas 1677 is to one only. Only one name remains, that of Callinicus. A Callinicus was the successor of Athanasius as Dux (P. Beaugé, p. 11), and as the present person is a comes, and the μαγίστηρ was clearly an official of high rank, it seems likely enough that the two are to be identified, Callinicus having been first a κόμης καὶ μαγίστηρ and later Dux. This seems to be confirmed by Cair. Masp. ii. 67179, (A), which is an epithalamium addressed by Dioscorus  $\epsilon\iota_s$  τον δομ Καλλ τον περιβλεπ κομή Καλλικ/ (= Καλλίνικον). The epithet περίβλεπτος and the title comes show that Callinicus was not at this time Dux, and δομ suggests δομεστικόν. Now it appears from Cair. Masp. i. 67005, verso, that the Dux Callinicus was comes domesticorum; it seems highly probable therefore that the Callinicus of the epithalamium was the same person.

5

7

The petitioners are the people of Antaeopolis; their grievance is evidently the invasion of their privileges by some persons not identifiable. As only the beginning of the petition is preserved and the left side of this is lost the details cannot be recovered. Possibly the subject of the petition may be the same as that of Cair. Masp. i. 67009, which is a complaint by the Antaeopolitans of the invasion of their privilege ( $\pi \rho o \nu \acute{o} \mu \iota o \nu$  as here) by a certain Florentius.

μεγ]αλοπρεπεσταζταζ περιβλεπτοις κομεζμεζ κ[αι] μαγιστερσι Καλλινικω και 
? δουλοι] ϋμων οι αθλειοι δειλαιοι απο της πολεως Ανταιου 
? δουλ]ών ημων και ϋπηκοων εθεσπισαν αρχειν τη[ν ε]υφυη αυτώ 
τ]ους των δικαιων ορεγομενους και δυναμεν[ο]υς εν δικαιοσυνη 
]σαι τοις ταυτην ενοικουσιν των συμβεβηκο[τ]ων αυτοις αθεσμων 
]ης εκ προγονων δεσποται την βασιλικην βουλην τουτ[ο] οπερ εστι το 
διοικησαι 
? ευεργετηθ]εντες εκπαλαι παρα των καλως κειμενων νομων δημωται επ αυθεντια 
]εν εκ προνομιου καταγομεθα τυχης εως μονον [ο]νοματος απο προσ 
]ως τη Ανταιου και τω ταυτης νομω και κατακρατουμεθα ϋπο τουτων

2. Perhaps [Δωροθεω; cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67003, 4.

3.  $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ : perhaps in apposition to δούλων καὶ ὑπηκόων, or possibly a mistake for ὑμῶν. But αὐτῶ(ν) at the end of the line appears to refer to the μαγίστερες. This is a preamble of the usual kind. The μαγίστερες have been appointed by [οἱ βασιλεῖς or something similar] to dispense justice to the oppressed.

6. βουλην: for βουλή in this sense, 'will', see Cair. Masp. i.
 67097, v. (D), 68. That document also was written by Dioscorus.

7. ευεργετηθεντες: with δημωται.

δημωται: *l.* δημόται; *cf.* Lond. i. 113 (1), 116 (p. 204), δημότη[s] τῆs 'Αρσινοειτ[ῶν πόλεωs; RKT. 162, 11, where it is used absolutely, 'the δημότηs', without the name of a city (for BGU. i. 64, 7, where Wilcken suggested  $\delta \eta (\mu o \tau \hat{\omega} \nu)$ , see Preisigke,

B.-L.). The word means simply 'townsmen'. In 1708, 265 it may conceivably mean a member of a deme, but the same sense as here is perhaps the likelier.

8. εκ προνόμιον: the προνόμιον of Antaeopolis is referred to in Cair. Masp. i. 67009, v., 10. In the other places where the word occurs in that volume it refers to the αὐτοπραγία of Aphrodito. What the προνόμιον of Antaeopolis was does not appear.

εως μονον ονοματος: probably 'to a name only', i. e. the privilege became only a nominal one.

9.  $vo\mu\omega$ : this reference to the nome, in a document addressed by the citizens as a whole to public officials, is noteworthy; cf. 1674, 48.  $v \dot{o} \mu o s$  (e.g. the  $\pi o \lambda \iota \tau \iota \kappa \dot{o} s$  v  $\dot{o} \mu o s$ ) seems out of the question; Antaeopolis was never a  $\pi \dot{o} \lambda \iota s$  in the Greek sense.

#### 3. Letters.

## PAPYRUS 1679.—First half of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1661. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $8\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a fairly large sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded perpendicularly from right to left.

AFTER the petitions may be placed the letters, which are probably all official in character. The present one is of some interest. The words  $\epsilon\kappa\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha$   $\tau\delta$   $\iota\sigma\sigma\nu$  in the subscription, being identical with those in the subscription to Cair. Masp. iii. 67282, suggest at first that the present letter belongs to the same class as that. 67282 is described as  $\iota\sigma\nu$   $\kappa\rho\mu[\mu\sigma]\nu\iota\tau\omega\rho\iota\nu$ , i. e. it was a so-called commonitorium; 1680 and P. Oxy. viii. 1106 (where for  $\kappa\delta\mu\mu\omega\nu$   $\tau\alpha\nu\rho()$  read  $\kappa\rho\mu\omega\nu\iota\tau\omega\rho(\iota\sigma\nu)$ ; Maspero, confirmed by Hunt) belong to the same class. The word commonitorium has more than one meaning (see the new Thesaurus Linguae Latinae and Seeck

in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, s. v.), but the one most nearly applicable in the case of these documents is b in the *Thesaurus*: 'litterae quibus ab imperatore magistratibus peculiaria mandantur'. In the documents under consideration the word has however a slightly different application; the documents are not issued by the Emperor, but by inferior authorities, perhaps by the officium of the praeses. They are instructions to officials (in Cair. Masp. 67282 and perhaps in Oxy. 1106, if  $\sigma$ υγγουλαρ( $i\varphi$ ) can be read for Σιλλαγρ( ), to a singularis) to execute commissions. commissions are, in 67282, to bring before the court (δικαστήριον) an offender arrested by οί ἀπὸ 'Αφροδίτης της κώμης but not yet sent by them; in Oxy. 1106, to protect a village from the attacks of neighbours; and in 1680, apparently to bring an offender before the court. In all cases, then, the duties are those of a messenger or agent, whereas 1679 is addressed to the local authorities, presumably the κοινόν of πρωτοκωμήται, instructing them to send (not to bring or to order others to send) two persons to the court. It is therefore not to be classed with the other three documents, but is a letter, probably (l. 8) from a member of the officium of the praeses, to the local authorities, delivered by a singularis, to whom in all probability a commonitorium had also been sent instructing him to perform the commission. Both 67282 and 1680 have the words ἐκδέδωκα τὸ ἴσον, and neither has the subscription legi, which appears in Oxy. 1106. Oxy. 1106, on the contrary, lacks the words ἐκδέδωκα τὸ ἴσον. We may therefore conclude that it is an original, retained by the singularis, and that in addition to this original a duplicate was also given to each agent, to be handed over by him to the local authorities as his warrant and in token that he had performed the duty entrusted to him.

It would appear from **1679** that in the case of letters to the local authorities also the messenger carried a duplicate. It is natural to suppose that the original signed letter would be handed by him to the local authorities, the duplicate retained; but since **1679**, certainly an  $\tilde{l}\sigma\sigma\nu$ , was found at Kôm Ishgau, it, and not the original, must have been given to the  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\kappa\omega\mu\hat{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$ . That **1679** is itself the  $\tilde{l}\sigma\sigma\nu$ , and that the phrase does not refer to a different copy is shown firstly by the analogy of 67282 and **1680**, and secondly by the absence of the official legi. It is to be noted that the subscription of the singularis and the specification of the persons are in the same hand.

Though l. I is incomplete, a reference to the δικαστήριον is certain. If  $\pi$ aρa was written in l. I the construction of the sentence must have been something like:—τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους (οτ τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα πρόσωπα) ἀμελήσαντας] ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ παρ[ὰ τὰ ταχθέντα?] καὶ κελευσθέντα παρὰ κτλ. παρεῖναι σπουδάσατε κτλ. παραστῆσαι. But even if αμελησαντας be supposed rather than (e.g.) οφειλοντας we should still expect κατά rather than  $\pi$ aρά in this position.

Whether both persons were required as defendants or were opposed parties is not clear; the fact that one is a  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\kappa\omega\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\eta$ s and the other apparently a woman and certainly a private person may favour the latter supposition, but it seems strange that the plaintiff also should be compelled to make his appearance. See, however, Cair. Masp. i. 67026, 13,  $\mu\epsilon\rho\sigma$   $\epsilon\kappa\dot{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu$   $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nu$ ; perhaps Mitteis's note, Grundzige, p. 41, note 2, requires modification.

The hand suggests the first half of the sixth century as the date, and the Apollos concerned may be the father of Dioscorus. If indeed the name in the endorsement is that of the  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\kappa\omega\mu\eta\tau\eta$ s this cannot be the case, assuming the correctness of the name  $\Delta i \sigma v$ ; but  $\Delta i \sigma$  may be a blunder for  $\Delta i \sigma \kappa \delta \rho \sigma v$ . The occurrence of 'Iov $\sigma\tau i \nu i \sigma v \sigma \sigma$  among the names of the praeses points to the reign of Justinian; but this is not perhaps a necessary inference. It is to be noted that the praeses bears the title tribunus notariorum praetorianorum sacri palatii.

76

εν τω δικαστηριω...[

κ, κελευσθεντα παρα της εξουσιας

το κυριο μο το λαμπρο/ τριβουνο\ νοταρ/
πραιτωριανο το θειου παλατιο κ, αρχον/

5 τη[ς] Θηβαιων επαρχειας Φλί Μηνα
Ιουστινιανος Δημοσθενους Ιωαννο\
Θωμα παρειναι σπουδασατε δεχομί
της ταξεως τα γραμματα παραστησί
κ[,] παραδουναι Μεγαλω σιγγο\λαρ/

10 τω κ, εις τουτο αποσταλεντι οπως
τ[α] κεκελευσμενα εις περας αχθη

(2nd hand) Εισιν δε

Απολλως πρωτοκομητή απο Αφροδιτή Μαρ[ι]αμ Ταριστο<sup>υ</sup> απο Τζυ

15 Φλί Μεγας σιγγουλαρ/ εκδεδωκα το ϊσον

Addressed, along the fibres:—
(3rd hand?) ] . . . . . . .

 $A\pi o^{\lambda} \Delta \iota \bar{o} \delta / M\epsilon \gamma a\lambda o^{\lambda} \sigma[\iota] \gamma \gamma \delta$ . [

I. After δικαστηριω we should expect something like κατα τα  $\tau \alpha \chi \theta \epsilon \nu \tau a$ ; but though the traces are very slight, they are inconsistent with  $\kappa \alpha \tau [a]$ . The last trace visible is a long downstroke, and  $\tau \alpha \rho [a]$  is strongly suggested, but it gives a sense contrary to that required; see the introduction.

3-4. τριβουνον . . . παλατιον: for the tribuni et notarii see Cod. Theod. vi. tit. 10; Cassiodorus, Var. i. 4, xi. 18, 20; Pauly, s.v. 'notarius'; Walter, Gesch. des röm. Rechts, 3rd ed., p. 541; Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'notarius'; etc. The notarii praetoriani were notaries who served under the praefecti praetorii; the addition to the title of the words 'sacri palatii' seems to be new, but in BGU. iii. 958 (f) we hear of a τριβοῦνος καὶ νοτάριος τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγού[στων. In Cair. Masp. iii. 67321, where

6. Ιουστινιανους: sic.

14.  $T\zeta v$ : an apparently unknown place-name near Aphrodito. It is hardly possible to read it as  $\tau \bar{s} = \tau \hat{\eta} s \ a \hat{v} \tau \hat{\eta} s$ .

## PAPYRUS 1680.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1659. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 1 ft.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  6 in. In an irregular sloping rather hasty cursive hand, across the fibres; dark papyrus. Probably nearly half the breadth is lost. At the foot a blank space of 4 in. The papyrus was folded from the bottom upwards; a slight trace at the foot suggests that there was a seal there.

AS already stated in the introduction to 1679 (q. v.), this document is a commonitorium. It is too imperfect to be understood except very generally, but clearly relates to offenders who are to be brought before the court. Whether the offenders in question are natives of Aphrodito

or have committed some offence against the inhabitants is not clear. The document is an ioov or duplicate, not the original (signed) commonitorium.

]των τους αυτους μοναστι[κ/]Ινον νομον φροντιστης δε πραγματων ? μοναστ]ηριω διακειμενων κατα τον Ανταιοπολιτην ]ηφιο\ του και Ου\ν/σιου προσπορευομενο\ απο [νομον ?  $\kappa\omega\mu\eta$ ] τις εστιν μια του Ανταιοπολιτο\ οια πληθος 5 ? κ]αι επελθοντος κτηματι διαφεροντι μεν διακ ειμενων περι την αυτην κωμην Αφροδιτη[5] ]νοντι και τουτο σπουδασαν . . [.] . ρει κατα πολ[ιν?] ης επληξεν και μαρτυρας της καταρρησεως ] και προς ταυτα διαλαλεία προηλ $\theta$ εν  $\beta$ ουλομενη 10 ]. ιν και της αληθείας καταλημψεί και προς τε τρείς Αφ]ροδιτης της κωμης οια δη εις ραθυμιαν αναπεσον ελιρηνικα σαλευεσθαι δικαια οθεν εγγεγραπται [ auαλιτησεως της ταξεως οπερ δεχομενος διαβηθι παίρα το δικαστηριον αυτον τε τον ως αρχηγον 15 ]α και μεντοι τους τα πρωτα φεροντας κωμης πεισομένος μετέξεταζειν σα ? την μ]εν πασαν εν τοις τοποις καταλαμβανομενην  $\theta$ ειαν και την προσκαρτερουσαν τω ]θειαν και τουτο γαρ η ταξις εζητησεν 20 ] κινδυνευσης εις ζωνην και εις εκδεδ]ωκα το ϊσον το κομμονιτωριο\+ [υποστασιν σου?

- 1. Doubtful, because the letter before the  $\tau ovs$  of autous looks more like  $\tau$  than v, but the other letters are very probable.
- 2. ]γον: τον αυ]τον seems impossible; ο is practically certain. φροντιστης: ον corrected from ισ: the writer began to write φριστης by inadvertence.
- 3. μοναστηριω: if this is right, probably this word is to be corrected by the addition, or διακειμενων by the deletion, of ν.
- 5. κωμη τις εστιν μια: cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67019, I, μία τις κώμη; etc. Perhaps [κωμης Αφροδιτης ητις κωμη]?
  - 10. διαλαλεια: see 1674, 45, note.
- 11.  $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma$ : the last  $\sigma$  is quite uncertain, but it is not clear what else can be intended.  $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\epsilon\iota$  would also be a possible reading of the letters. The last  $\sigma$ , though not certain, is probable.
  - 13.  $\sigma a \lambda \epsilon v \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$ : the second  $\epsilon$  corrected from  $\theta$ .
- 14. a]ιτησεως: perhaps, if we can regard έγγέγραπται as equivalent to simple γέγραπται, [σοι τουτο το (οι το παρον) γραμμα (οι κομμονιτωριον) εξ a]ιτησεως; cf. Cair. Masp. 67282, 4 f., έδέησεν

- τόδε σοι γενέσθαι τὸ τῆς τάξεως γ[ρ]άμμα, ὅπερ δεχόμενος, κτλ. Perhaps, however, the supplement suggested is too short; see l. 22, where, if a name preceded εκδεδωκα, a considerably longer lacuna is indicated.
- 15.  $\tau\epsilon \tau o\nu \omega s$ : probably the  $\tau\epsilon$  is answered by the  $\kappa ai$  of l. 16, the sense being 'both him who [was shown] to be the ringleader and those', etc.
  - 19, 20. Perhaps in both  $a\lambda\eta$ ] $\theta\epsilon\iota a\nu$ .
- 20.  $\epsilon \zeta \eta \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$ :  $\xi$  was written, but as a stroke has been drawn through the lower portion of the letter it has probably been corrected to  $\zeta$ ; a lacuna below the top of the letter makes it impossible to see if any further alteration of form was made.  $\sigma$  seems to be a correction from  $\theta$ .
  - 21. ζωνην : Ι. ζωήν.
  - 22. For υποστασιν cf. 1338, 33, etc.

κομμονιτωριου: more like κομμυνιτωριο`, and the u-spelling is known even in Latin (see the new *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v.), but probably the o is merely badly formed.

### PAPYRUS 1681.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1649. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $9\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a flowing sloping cursive hand, across the fibres. Folded from bottom to top.

THIS document at first sight suggests a petition, as it is a complaint of the illegalities of a recently appointed  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \circ \kappa \omega \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \eta s$ ; but its form and phrasing make it certain that it is a letter, probably from an official. It is addressed to Apollos,  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \circ \kappa \omega \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \eta s$ ; and from this fact is inferred its provenance. In Cair. Masp. i. 67005, 14, 16, 20 a Senouthes is accused by a native of Aphrodito of acts of oppression, and he may be the same person, but he is not there described as  $\pi \rho \omega \tau \circ \kappa \omega \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \eta s$  (unless, as seems not impossible,  $[\pi \rho \omega \tau \circ \kappa \omega \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \eta] s \dot{\upsilon} \pi \alpha \rho \chi [\omega \nu]$  can be read in l. 15).

十

τη υμ]ων εξουσια και τη ταξει ως Σενουθις ο πρωην κατασταθεις πρωτοκωμητης ]. υοι επι τη κωμη πη μεν αδικων πη δε αρπαζων και αποφερων ]ιος και καταξιωση σου η θαυμασιοτης τουτον αποδιωξαι του πραγματος ? καταστ]ησαι εις τοπον αυτου οφειλοντα την χρειαν ταυτην ]σαι επει αις οιδεν ο κυριος και καταφερεται ενταυθα και πολλα ? δα]ν[ε]ια και χρεωστει ‡,

Addressed, along the fibres:-

 $\times$  τω  $\theta$ αυμ $^{)}$  Απολλωτ[ι $\times$ ]  $\times$   $\times$  πρωτοκωμ $^{-}$  π/ Τα[

1. At the beginning must have come some verb meaning 'I inform'

τη ταξει: the local τάξιs, the bureau of the πρωτοκωμῆται. This may have been called  $\dot{\eta}$  κωμητικ $\dot{\eta}$  τάξιs, just as we hear of the πολιτικ $\dot{\eta}$ ,  $\dot{\eta}$ γεμονικ $\dot{\eta}$ , and δουκικ $\dot{\eta}$  τάξιs.

 $\Sigma \epsilon \nu o \nu \theta \iota s$ :  $\iota$  is a correction from  $\eta$ .

5

4. The meaning will be 'and set somebody else in his place to  $(\partial \phi \epsilon i \lambda o \nu \tau a)$  discharge this duty' (i. e. the  $\pi \rho \omega \tau o \kappa \omega \mu \eta \tau i a$ ). For  $\kappa a \tau a \sigma \tau \eta \sigma a \iota$  see l. 1. The trace before  $\eta$  suggests  $\tau$ .

5.  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota$  as: if as is right we must take this as  $= \epsilon \pi \iota$  as, and

perhaps assume the accidental omission of a noun going with als after κυριος, but this is not satisfactory. ως is impossible.

- 6.  $\delta a \nu \epsilon \iota a$ : over the a are two short strokes, possibly intended as dots over the  $\iota$ , but possibly accidental.
- 7. The crosses after  $A\pi\omega\lambda\lambda\omega\tau\iota$  are not certain but probable, and seem intended merely to fill up the space to be occupied by the cord and seal. This address is in a formal, large, upright script of an entirely different type from that used in the letter itself, so that it is impossible to say whether it is by the same hand.

## PAPYRUS 1682.—Middle of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1738. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times$  11 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. In a flowing cursive hand of official type, across the fibres; papyrus stained dark brown in places. Probably folded from the bottom upwards and then perhaps once from each side towards the middle; but the address on the verso occupies both the left (recto) and the central fold.

Letter to Dioscorus from a person, probably an official, in the company of 'the lord Menas', no doubt the pagarch. He has apparently received a complaint from Dioscorus that a certain shepherd has been molesting his (Dioscorus's) tenants, and he writes that he has ordered

the shepherd to desist. Possibly the incident is to be connected with the events recorded in Cair. Masp. i. 67002, i, 13-18; 1677, 12-15.

77

+ τα γραμματα της σης αδελφοτητος εδεξαμην μελλων εξορμησαι και απελθειν εις Μουνκρηκιν μετα το λαμπρς κυριου Μηνα και επετρεψα τω ποιμενι κατα τυχην ευρεθεντι εγγυς μου μη οχλησαι τοις γεωργοις σου +

Addressed, along the fibres:-

[ + τω δεσ]ποτί μου Φλί Διοσκορω πρωτοκωμί

- 1. For  $\pi$  or  $\pi/$  at the head of letters of the Byzantine period, see P. Iand. 23, 1, note.
- 3. Μουνκρηκιν: from Cair. Masp. ii. 67155, 8 (where the name is spelt Μουνκρήχις) it appears that this village was in the Antaeopolite nome. The place also occurs in 1684, 1, and probably in 1683, 3; also in 1602 (τειογπέρμές).
- 4 f. τοις γεωργοις σου: cf. 1677, 20, τ]οις έμοις ανθρώποις οί
- 6. In a different style of script from the recto; see note on 1681, 7. The reading of the earlier part is very doubtful; there seem to be traces of ink between  $\mu a^{\nu}$  and  $\Phi \lambda i$ ; perhaps  $\kappa [\nu o/l]$ ?

### PAPYRUS 1683.—Middle of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1771. Acquired in 1907. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 9\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a sloping easy cursive hand, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards and perhaps once from each side to the middle; the left fold is lost. The address on the verso is on the left (recto) fold only, which was originally the centre fold, but it probably extended to the lost one also.

ANOTHER letter from a companion of the pagarch Menas. The recipient has perhaps sent in a petition ( $\lambda i \beta \epsilon \lambda \lambda o \iota$ , see note on l. 1), and the writer, who is with Menas, tells him to come at once that he may have the case decided.

ο]υς σους εδεξατο ο λαμπροτατος κυριος Μηνας παραυτα ουν [? προς ημας κατα]λαβε ϊνα απαλλαξαι το πραγμα σο πριν τον μη κατελθειν [? ημας εις Μουνκ]ρηκιν εν αβακείον ποιησατε πεμψαι ημιν εις λογον των ]
Addressed, along the fibres:—

Addressed, along the fibres:—  $5 \cdots \mu$ 

I. o]vs: the vs is doubtful, but  $\sigma ovs$  requires a word so ending. We may perhaps read  $[+\tau ovs \lambda \iota \beta \epsilon \lambda \lambda o]vs \sigma ovs$ .

2. καταλα $\beta$ ε: 'come', as in Cair. Masp. i. 67060, 6-7 and many other passages.

ϊνα απαλλαξαι: perhaps a verb governing ἀπαλλάξαι (δύνηται or δυνώμεθα) has been omitted.

3. αβακειον: l. ἀβάκιαν.

5. In the usual, upright script of addresses.

#### PAPYRUS 1684.—Middle of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1779. Acquired in 1907. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 4 in. x 1 ft. 0 in. Probably in the same hand as 1682, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards and possibly from each side towards the middle; but the address on the verso occupies the middle and left (recto) folds.

ANOTHER letter from one of the officials of the pagarch Menas. It is addressed to the πρωτοκωμήτης Apollos, probably (from the date indicated both by the hand and the mention of Menas) the Apollos son of John, who was a colleague of Dioscorus, rather than the latter's father. Reference is made to a certain Demosthenes, described as ἐνδοξότατος, who, if Maspero's view that the last of a series of names was the true name is right (as it no doubt is), cannot be identified with the praeses Thomas mentioned in 1679, but who was clearly an official of rank. The name Demosthenes seems to have been rather popular at this time. Not only was it borne by the praeses Thomas but it was also one of the names of the praeses Dioscorus, who occurs in Cair. Masp. iii. 67281.

- + επειδη ο ενδοξοτατος Δημοσθενης κατελαβεν Μουνκρηκεως δια την εμβολην και πολλην επιξις γεγονεν και δια το το ηναγκασθην ο λαμπροτατος κυριος Μηνας κατηλθεν εις τους ορμους εν ευφροσυνω ειμι ταυτην την επιστολην γραψας αιτων ϋμας προ διαφαυματος
- 5 πεμψαι εως Χειλιώ παρά τους [....]ο $^{v}$ [..]παρ... φατω[.....] των πεμφθεντων σπαθαριον.[

Addressed, along the fibres:-

+ . . . . . . [Απο]λλωτι πρωτηκωμή

- 1. Μουνκρηκεωs: l. Μουνκρήκιν. Or perhaps  $\langle \epsilon \omega s \rangle$  Μουνκρήκεωs.
  - 2. πολλην: l. πολλή. ηναγκασθην: l. ηναγκάσθη.
  - 3. κατηλθεν: *l*. κατελθείν.
- $\epsilon \nu$   $\epsilon \nu \phi \rho \rho \sigma \nu \nu \omega$   $\epsilon \iota \mu \iota$ : the sense is perhaps 'I have a good opportunity' or merely 'I am glad'. In either case  $\gamma \rho a \psi a \omega$  should strictly be either  $\gamma \rho a \psi a \omega$  or  $\gamma \rho a \phi \omega \nu$ , more probably the former.
  - 4. διαφαυματος: 'dawn'; from διαφαύσκω.
  - 5. Χειλιω: οτ Χειλκο.

 $\tau\omega\nu$ : corr. from  $\tau\sigma\nu$ . Possibly ].  $[\tau]\omega\nu$  should rather be read, as the space between the supposed  $\tau$  and the (original)  $\sigma$  is somewhat large.

6.  $\pi \epsilon \mu \phi \theta \epsilon \nu \tau \omega \nu$ : ω corrected from υ.

 $\sigma\pi a\theta a\rho\iota\sigma\nu$ : it is not certain whether this word also has been corrected, but a trace of ink above the  $\sigma$  suggests that it has. For the *spatharii* see Maspero, *Org. militaire*, p. 85, note 5. It is uncertain whether this line was the last.

7. πρωτηκωμς: 1. πρωτοκωμ(ήτη). This address is in the usual upright script, quite different from that of the recto.

## PAPYRUS 1685.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1783 recto. Recto of 1672, q.v. In a neat regular hand of minuscule type, across the fibres; the ink has greatly faded. Folded from the bottom upwards and possibly also at right angles to this folding; but this may have been after the verso was used.

I T is, as already explained in the introduction to 1672, not certain that this papyrus is correctly classed among those from Aphrodito, but the hands and the appearance of the papyrus suggest

this provenance. The present letter is clearly from one official to another, and its subject is the tax assessment of a certain Eustochia. She is assessed at 6 solidi, but apparently an attempt has been made to collect from her more than this sum. The recipient is instructed not to demand more than the 6 solidi.

β ουκ εταγη το ονομα Ευστοχιας Ϊωαννου εις την εχθε[σιν των δημοσιων]
 ει μη εξ νομισματα . . . [. . . .]ης και του ονοματος[ς
 ων ελαβετο απο δικρητου απο ονοματος Ϊωαννίου
 ει μη τα αυτα εξ νομισματα και ως λεγει ανετρεψε [
 συκ οφιλεις ουν απαιτησαι ει μη τα αυτα εξ νομισ[ματα καθϋπεγραψα τουτοις μου τοις γραμμασιν δεσπο[τα ?
 επεστειλα

Verso: illegible address, along the fibres.

- 1. For the phrase  $\xi\chi\theta\epsilon\sigma\omega$  (  $\xi\kappa\theta\epsilon\sigma\omega$ )  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\delta\eta\mu\sigma\sigma\hat{\omega}\nu$ , the sense of which is uncertain, see 1672, 10. Just possibly it might mean here nothing more than 'statement', *i.e.* the taxing list. The meaning will then be that Eustochia was entered in this at 6 solidi; and the item in 1672 might be explained as expenses in connexion with the preparation of the list.
- 2. The traces after  $\nu o \mu \iota \sigma \mu o \tau a$  are so much faded as to be almost illegible. The letter before the lacuna is probably  $\epsilon$  followed by  $\iota$  or  $\rho$ .
- 3. δικρητου: 1. δεκρήτου. For this word see 1674, 45, note. Here the reference is probably to the decree of a court. Possibly this passage contains an allusion to a legal decision regarding certain property of Eustochia, perhaps inherited from her father John (ἀπὸ δυόματος Ἰωάννου).
- 6. γραμμασιν δεσποτα: it is not certain that a letter followed ι, but there is a space and possibly a faint trace of a letter. Perhaps a letter has been washed out. δεσποτα is a doubtful reading.

#### 4. Sales and Leases.

## PAPYRUS 1686.—7 Nov., A. D. 565.

Inv. No. 1549. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 1 ft. 6 in. x 1 ft. 0 in. X 1 ft. 0 in. X 1 ft. o in. X 1

THE next section is that of sales and leases, in which, as in the Cairo collection, leases are far better represented than sales. Of the latter the present document is the only example. It is a sale by Dioscorus, and written by his own hand, of three arouras of waterless land to the monastery of Zminos in the Panopolite nome. They are sold not for a price paid direct to Dioscorus but in consideration of the payment by the monastery on his behalf of the ἀστικὴ συντέλεια on fourteen arouras of arable land in the village of Phthla. It is interesting to find that (if the wording of the document can be trusted) this συντέλεια included κανόνος τῆς παριούσης τρισκ(αι)δεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος παντοίων χρυσικῶν τίτλων κ(αὶ) διαγραφῶν κ(αὶ) τῆς ἐμβολῆς ὡσαύτως τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίονος) καὶ προσθήκης αὐτῆς καὶ ναύλων καὶ παντοίων ἀνα[λ]ωμάτων. It appears therefore that the ἀστικά, which are generally explained as communal taxes for the expenses of Antaeopolis (see Gelzer, Αrchiv, v, p. 362 f.; Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 222), were divided into classes like the state taxes. The διαγραφαί were perhaps poll-taxes (see vol. iv, p. 168 f.), and if so, payable by Dioscorus, not on the land directly but as a landholder in the village of Phthla; the χρυσικοὶ τίτλοι may therefore be specially the taxes on landed

property; and there was also an embola, with various additions.  $\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\dot{\eta}$  may however be used here of a tax-payment generally.

Two other explanations might perhaps be given. It might be suggested that the ἀστική συντέλεια (possibly to be distinguished from ἀστικά simply) was not a tax for the communal needs of Antaeopolis but a payment by Phthla of its proportion of the general tax-quota of Antaeopolis and its ἐνορία. Or again, it is not wholly impossible that the document is inexactly worded, and that the embola, etc., are to be separated from the ἀστική συντέλεια. Neither of these explanations seems at all likely. That the ἀστικά included corn is shown by Cair. Masp. ii. 67139, ii, v., 13.

The συντέλεια is, we learn, ὀνόματος ᾿Απολλῶτος Διοσκόρου τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός; i.e. the land had been inherited from Apollos, and it was still in his name (probably under the heading κληρονόμοι ᾿Απολλῶτος; cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67109) that it was entered in the taxing list.

It is to be noticed that a lease by the monastery of Zminos, dated in 564 or 565, was also written by the hand of Dioscorus, Cair. Masp. ii. 67170, 67171.

#### $+ \chi \mu \gamma //$

🗜 βασιλειας του θειστατου ημων δεσποτό Φλα Ιουστινιανου του αιωνιό Αυγουστου Αυτοκρατορος ετους τριακοστό εννατό μετα την ϋπατειαν Φλα Βασιλειου του ενδοξοτα ετος εικοστό τριτό Αθυρ //ια// ϊνδικτιονος τεσσαρεσκιδεκατης Φλα, Διοσκορος Απολλωτος απο Αφροδιτης της κωμης το Ανταιοπολ νομο τω δικαιω το ευαγους μοναστηριο Ζμινος του διακειμενο περι την περαιαν της Πανοσπολεως δια το ευλα $βεστ^{a}$   $\ddot{I}ωαννο προεστω^{τ}$ και του κατα καιρον εσομενό το αυτό μον χαιρ / ομολογω δια ταυτης μου 10 της εγγραφού ασφαλείας πρασέως πεπρακεύαι υμίν και παρα κεχωρηκεναι απο του νυν επι τον αει εξης απαντα και διηνεκη χρονον τας ϋπαρχουσας μοι αρουρας τρεις ανϋδρό γης διακειμενας εν τη νοτινη πεδιαδι της αυτης κωμης Αφροδιτης εν κληρω Ϊεραδος εν τω μεγαλω γεωργιω του αυτό ευαγους μοναστηριό Ζμινος 15 ακολουθως ταις κατ' αγρον εκεινον γειτνιαις αυτων εκ τετραγωνο\  $\frown$ κυκλωθεν προς τω σε το ευαγες μοναστηριον ητοι τος ϋφ ϋμας αει διοικουντας ηγουμενους τουτων κρατειν προς τον διασταλμον το

4. εικοστου τριτου: the year was really the 24th; cf. 1692 (a), 3, and note. Such inaccuracies in giving the post-consulate of Basilius are common. For a mistake of the opposite kind (7th for 6th), by which the year after the consulship is taken as the second of the post-consulate, see Cair. Masp. i. 67108, 2 and Maspero's note.

7. Zμινος: see Cair. Masp. ii. 67170, 67171, dated in 564 or 565. There too John is the προεστώς. In 1690 (A. D. 527) Dioscorus's father Apollos leases land from this mouastery.

9.  $\tau ov \dots \epsilon \sigma o \mu \epsilon \nu ov : \pi \rho o \epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \tau os$  is understood; 'through John,  $\pi \rho o \epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} s$  of the said monastery, or whoever shall at the time be  $\pi \rho o \epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} s$ '. The intention is to make it clear that the agreement is binding on the monastery to perpetuity, not merely on the present generation of monks.

15. κατ' αγρον: the dash is inserted to separate the words.

The mark at the end of the line is simply to fill up the space. It seems to be distinct from the line (v) over o.

16. κυκλωθεν: Ι. κυκλόθεν.

17.  $\delta \iota a \sigma \tau a \lambda \mu o \nu$ : in the Greek documents of vol. iv this word means the order for the payment of a tax, whether regular or extraordinary, and so at times the actual articles delivered (1387, 5); but in the Greek-Coptic documents 1552 ff. it clearly denotes an assessment. This or something similar is probably the sense here—'according to the assessment contained in the official codex' (i. e. the land-register). Strictly indeed, since  $\pi \rho \delta s \ \tau \delta \nu \ \delta \iota a \sigma \tau a \lambda \mu \delta \nu$  goes with  $\kappa \rho a \tau \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu$ , it ought to refer not to the assessment but to the evidence of ownership; and this inference might be supported by the fact that ll. 18–20 refer to the payment to be made; but, in the first place, a codex already in existence could hardly furnish evidence of the present ownership of a piece

δημοσιο κωτικος και αποκρινασθαι την αυτων συντελειαν προς την απογραφην της γεναμή κατ αυτων μετρησεως Ϊωαννό του της λογιας 20 μνημης  $απ^{o}γενομ^{\epsilon}$   $σχ^{o}$  και κηνσιτορος η και προς οιαν ουν εικος  $εσομ^{\epsilon}$ μετρησιν εν τω Ανταιοπολ ει ουτω τυχοι και κυριευειν και δεσποζειν δια παντος της τουτων νομης και δεσποτειας ϋπερ της ϋπερ εμο νυν δοθησομένης παρα σου αστικής συντελείας κατά το επιβαλλον μοι μερος ονοματος Απολλωτος Διοσκορό του εμό πατρος ϋπερ κανονος της παρίουσης τρισκιδεκατης ϊνδικτιονος παντοιων χρυσικων τιτλων κ, διαγραφων κ, της εμβολης ωσαυτως της τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατης ϊνδικ/ και προσθηκης αυτης και ναυλων και παντοιων ανα $[\lambda]$ ωματων της  $\hat{v}$ ποκ/ των κτηματων μ[o]υ  $[\tau]$ ων οντων εν τω πεδιώ Πιαρσε κωμης  $\overline{\Phi\theta\lambda a}$  των μετενεχ $\theta$ εισων εις την ειρημενην κωμ $[\eta]$ ν Αφροδιτην 30 τελουσων ύπερ αρουρων δεκατεσσαρων πλεω η ελαττον καθαρας σποριμης γης συνϊοντων εις χρυσο νομισματα τεσσαρα ασταθμή και σιτο κανονος αρταβας δεκαοκτω και εξειναι τω προειρημ $^{\epsilon}$ ς ευαγει μοναστηρ/ τας προκ/ αρ $\bar{o}$ ρας εχειν και εξειν μετα της σεσυρομή αυταις συντελειας προς κωτικα και χρησα $[\sigma]\theta a[\iota]$  τα $^{\nu}$ ται $[\varsigma]$ παντι τροπω ω΄ αν βουληθειης δεσποτικω δικαιω ακωλυτως και ανεμποδιστω[ς] 35 υπ ουδενος το συνολον των τε εμων κληρονομων η συγκληρονομων και των εκ γενους μοι ανηκοντων η αγχιστευοντ[ων και τον] επελευσομενον εις σε περι των προειρημενων αρουρων εγω [εκστησ]ω ϊδιοις μ[ου] αναλωμασι και δαπανημασι και βεβαιωσω σοι παση βεβαιωσει απ' παντος και δια παντος του επελευσομενου σοι παντι καιρω επαναγκες ει δε και ητ τον φροντίζω της βεβαίωσεως διπλασίως το προκείμενον τίμημα αποδώσω

μετα και το διαφεροντος και αναλωματος προς τω βεβαιαν ειναι και ϊσχυραν

of land now sold; and secondly Cair. Masp. i. 67097, r., 38-42 shows that the codex was drawn up by John and did contain an assessment for purposes of taxation (cf. 1. 33 below, where  $\pi \rho \delta s$ κώ $\langle \delta \rangle$ ικα seems to go with σεσυρομένης rather than with έχειν καὶ έξειν). We there read καὶ εἰσφέρειν τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ συντέλειαν . . . . πρὰς τ[ὴν ἀπο]γραφὴν (this is no doubt the right reading) τοῦ [δη]μοσίου κώδικος [τ]οῦ τῆς λογίας μ[ν]ήμης 'Ιωάννου κτλ.; and it is to be noticed that there also this clause is followed by a further reference to the payment of taxes, καὶ . . . ἀπακρίνασθαί σε τὰ πανταῖα τούταυ βάρη διηνεκῶς πρὸς τὴν ανηνεχθείσαν κατά ταθ αθτοθ κτήματας ταθ αθτοθ σοφωτάτου ανδρός (μέτρησιν?). The codex doubtless contained more than the mere assessment of tax liability, and the μέτρησις referred to may have formed part of it. It seems likely, in view of the evidence of 1552 ff. and the sense of διαστέλλω, that διασταλμάς has special reference to the assessment for taxation, and the difference between the first and the second clause here and in 67097 is probably that the first refers to the rate at which the class of land in question was assessed and the second to the actual dimensions of the piece sold. From the two could be calculated the taxes payable.

18. κωτικός: Ι. κώδικός.

20.  $\eta$  και κτλ.: 'or in accordance with any survey that may hereafter be made in the Antaeopolite nome'. Note that the survey (and therefore probably the assessment) was made for the whole nome at once, not for a single village; cf. 1674, 34, note.

27.  $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\kappa\eta s$  aut $\eta s$ : this refers to the embola only. For  $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\kappa\alpha s$  see 1674, 26, 54, and see too the  $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota a$  of 1660, 9. Note that the gold-taxes were paid in the indiction after that for which they were due, the embola in the indiction itself; the embola for the 13th indiction had clearly already been paid.

ῦποκ/: such seems to be the reading, but ὑποκ(ειμένης) (going with συντελείας in l. 23) is an inappropriate word (it was the κτήματα, not the συντέλεια, which ὑπέκειτο), and ἐπικ(ειμένης) would rather be expected. Perhaps ῦποκ/ was a slip of the pen.

28.  $\Pi \iota a \varrho \sigma \epsilon$ : see 1689, 13; 1702, 3; Cair. Masp. ii. 67128, 28; 67134, 4. Only in the third of these places is the  $\varrho$  inserted

29. μετενεχθεισων: sic, though the word goes with κτημάτων. Probably Dioscorus fell into the feminine owing to the coming ἀρουρῶν. This passage apparently means that though situated in Phthla this land had been annexed (for purposes of taxation?) to Aphrodito. This can hardly be analogous to the earlier ἐπιμερισμός of land (Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 293–295; Chrest. 355–358).

31.  $a\sigma\tau a\theta\mu(a)$ : unweighed, *i.e.* at their face value only. Cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67096, 15.

32.  $\tau as \pi \rho o \kappa (\epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \nu as)$  apovpas: i.e. the arourae sold in ll. 10–12, not those mentioned in l. 30.

33.  $\sigma\epsilon\sigma\nu\rho\sigma\mu(\epsilon\nu\eta s)$ : apparently an incorrect perfect of  $\sigma\acute{\nu}\rho\omega$  in the sense of 'attached'.

ταυτην την πρασιν πανταχο<sup>ν</sup> προκομιζομενην επι [π]αση[ς αρχης ηνπερ εξεδομην σοι προς] ασφαλειαν μεθ' ϋπογραφς εμης και συνηθων μαρτυρώ[ν και επερωτηθεις] ωμολογησα # Φλ<sup>α</sup> Διοσκορος Απ[ολλ]ώτος [ο] προγε[γ]ρα[μμενος εθεμην ταυτην]

45 [τη]ν πρ[ασ]ιν καμ [ω]μολ[ογ]ησα [ επι τη προτεταγμενη τιμη ως προκ/ + (2nd hand) Ανρηλιος Ορ. [ μαρτυρω]
τη πρασει ακουσας παρα το<sup>ν</sup> θεμενου +

42. The readings at the end are very doubtful. The small traces before the lacuna strongly suggest  $\epsilon \pi \iota \pi a \sigma \eta s$ , for which see Cair. Masp. ii. 67151, 55, though the letters must be rather cramped, and  $a \sigma \phi a \lambda \epsilon \iota a \nu$  in l. 43 points to  $\eta \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \xi \epsilon \delta o \mu \eta \nu \sigma o \iota \pi \rho o s$ ; but if this was written the letters must have been much compressed, and after  $a \rho \chi \eta s$  we should expect  $\kappa a \iota \epsilon \xi o \nu \sigma \iota a s$ , for

which there is certainly no room in addition to the rest. It is perhaps just possible that Dioscorus actually wrote  $\epsilon \pi \iota \pi \alpha \sigma \eta s$   $\alpha \rho \chi \eta s \kappa \alpha \iota \epsilon \xi o \nu \sigma \iota \alpha s \pi \rho o s$ .

43.  $\ddot{v}\pi \sigma \gamma \rho a \phi s$ : for this method of writing  $\phi \eta$  see 1674, 92, note. Here  $\ddot{\eta}$  is almost entirely lost in a lacuna.  $\mu a \rho \tau v \rho \omega v$ : there is actually only one witness.

### PAPYRUS 1687.—15 Dec., A. D. 523.

Inv. No. 1645. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a sloping straggling cursive hand, along the fibres. The papyrus is rubbed in places, and was folded from right to left.

THE following document, though placed among the leases, is not actually a lease, but, like 1766 and 1772, an acknowledgement of a debt for rent. It is addressed to the  $\delta\eta\mu\dot{o}\sigma\cos\lambda\dot{o}\gamma$ , from which we must conclude that the land in question was communal land, leased to a private person. The acknowledgement is by a person named Anuphius; the rent in arrear is due from Anna daughter of Cornelius. Perhaps therefore Anuphius had taken over the land, either by sub-lease from Anna or on her death; or he may have been her surety when she took up the lease, and therefore liable to pay the rent on her failure to do so. The  $\delta\eta\mu\dot{o}\sigma\omega$   $\lambda\dot{o}\gamma$  is represented by the *riparius* Apollos. As the communal land can hardly have fallen under his special competence he was perhaps acting merely as a representative of the  $\kappa\omega\nu\dot{o}\nu$  of village officials; for it is to be noticed that the *riparius* here, as in several of the Cairo documents, is a village official and therefore different from the nome *riparii* of 1648.

χμγ΄ς
[+υπατ]ειας Φλ΄ Μαξιμο` το` λαμπροτατου
Χοιακ //ιθ// δευτερας ινδικ/
[τω] δημοσιω λογω δια του ευδοκιμ΄ς
5 [Απολ]λωτος ριπαριου κωμης Αφροδιτη[ς του]
[Ανται]οπολιτου νομο` π/ Αυρηλιο` Ανοφίο` Ωρου [εκ μ]ητρος Ταναθης απο της Ŝ κωμης χαιρ//

5.  $A\pi o\lambda \lambda \omega \tau os$ : cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67091, I (A. D. 528); ii. 67143, r., 26; 67147, v., 3. In Maspero's vol. iii this riparius occurs in the series of documents contained in 67328 (A. D. 521); and 67281 (n. d.), where he appears as the son of Isaac, is his appointment to the office. Besides the dates mentioned he was riparius in 535 (iii. 67296) and in 538 (ii. 67252; Flor. iii. 284).

In Cair. Masp. iii. 67300 (A.D. 526) an Apollos son of Isaac appears as  $\beta o\eta \theta \delta s$  of Aphrodito.

<sup>6.</sup>  $\Omega pov$ : very faint, and possibly the traces so read are not really ink at all; but there is hardly room for the name in 1. 7 and the traces are quite consistent with the reading.

<sup>7.</sup> Ταναθης: apparently corrected from Ταναλλης.

[ομολ]ογω οφιλειν ύμιν και χρεωστειν [απο] λοιπαδος εκφοριων Αννας Κορνηλιο\

- 10 [προ]σαπαξ σιτο αρταβας δεκαοκτω και [ιψι] εν γι/ σ Τ ιη ίφ/ α και ταυτας αποδωσω [υμιν] εν [τ]ω καιρω της συν<sup>κο</sup>/ μελλουσης [τριτ]ης ινδικ/ τω μετρω Δανιηλιο<sup>ν</sup> [του] ευλαβ/ πρεσβ/ χωρις τινος αντιλογιας
- 15 [η υπ]ε[ρ]θεσ[ε]ως επαναγκες παντοιας μο<sup>ν</sup> ευποριας
  [? ενεχ]ομ[ενης] ὑπο της ὑμων αρετης μεχρι
  [λυσ]εω[ς] του προ<sup>κ</sup>/ χρεους και επερωτηθ'ς ωμολ/ + + P
  [(2nd hand) Αυρηλιο]ς Ανουφιο<sup>ν</sup> Ωρο<sup>ν</sup> ο προκ/ συμφονη μοι
  [ως προ]κ/ Αυρηλιος Ϊωαννης Κορνηλιο<sup>ν</sup> αξιοθεις
- [εγραψα] υπερ αυτου γαρματα μοι ειτοτος
   [(3rd hand) Αυρηλι]ος Ιωαννης Ερμαύως μαρ
   [τυρω] τη ωφιλη (4th hand) ‡ Φλ΄ς Θεοτεκνος Ψαίου
   [αποπραιποσ]ιτου μαρτυρω τη σενγραφη ακόσας παρα
   [του θεμενου]

11.  $\iota \phi \iota \epsilon \nu \gamma \iota / \sigma / \tau \iota \eta \iota \phi / \alpha$ : the last figure looks more like  $\delta$  than  $\alpha$ , but  $\alpha$  is not impossible, and  $\epsilon \nu$  seems fairly certain; moreover, if Maspero's reckoning of the  $\iota \phi \iota$  measure as the fourth of an artaba in Cair. Masp. ii, p. 25 is correct, we should not expect any higher number than 3. The measure occurs frequently in Cair. Masp. ii. 67138; 67139; and also in ii. 67129, 19, a passage analogous to the present one; in i. 67055, r., ii, 15, for  $\mu / \iota \phi \iota / \iota$  is to be read  $\mu (\epsilon \tau \rho \phi) \iota \phi \iota (\phi)$ , as is shown by iii. 67308, 3f.  $(\tau \hat{\varphi} \sigma \hat{\varphi} \iota \phi \iota \phi \nu \hat{\varphi} \tau \rho \phi)$ . For the  $\iota \phi \iota$  or  $\iota \delta \iota \phi$  is introduction.

14.  $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta(\nu\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu)$ : before  $\pi$  is an  $\epsilon$ . The scribe either began to write  $\epsilon\nu\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\sigma\nu$  in full and then, changing his mind, inserted the stroke after  $\beta$ , without deleting the  $\epsilon$ , or was about to repeat  $\epsilon\nu\lambda\alpha\beta$ / and discovered his mistake.

- 18. Ανουφιου: Ι. Ανούφιος.
- 20. γαρματα μοι ειτοτος: λ. γράμματα μή είδότος.
- 21. Ephavos: the v corrected from  $\tau$  (the witness was about

to write  $E\rho\mu\alpha\tau\sigma s$ ); or possibly the  $\tau$  is not altered to v but merely deleted or changed to a line for overwritten '' ( $a^-$ ). This signature is in large very clumsy uncials,

23.  $a\pi\sigma\pi\rho a\pi\sigma\sigma v rov$ : this is rather a large supplement, but the space is more than in ll. 1-20 and this witness writes a compressed hand. The supplement is certain from Cair. Masp. ii. 67127, 23; 67128, 35; etc. The meaning is 'formerly praepositus'. There is no need to correct to  $a\pi\sigma$   $\pi\rho a\pi\sigma\sigma v \tau \omega v$  as Maspero proposes (67127, 23); as he himself now remarks (iii. 67296, 3, note), the addition of  $d\pi o$  to a word as = 'ex' is a Coptic habit; cf. Crum, P. Rylands Copt. p. 146, note 3. This praepositus may possibly have been a praepositus limitis, as he is called Flavius; cf. Maspero, Org. militaire, p. 101 f.

σενγραφη: l. συγγραφ $\hat{\eta}$ ; cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67128, 36, where the same witness writes σεγγροφη.  $I_8^2$  in. below this line are traces of ink, which are no doubt part of the scribal signature.

### PAPYRUS 1688.—24 Dec., A. D. 523.

Inv. No. 1781. Acquired in 1907. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $5\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a sloping medium-sized cursive hand, along the fibres. Papyrus rubbed down the middle and on the right; folded from right to left.

**L**EASE by a son of Dioscorus's grandfather, probably his father Apollos ( $A\pi o\lambda \lambda \omega \tau \iota$  suits the lacuna in l. 5 better than  $B\eta \sigma a\rho\iota\omega\nu\iota$ , his uncle's name), for one year, at Aphrodito. The land was under water at the time the contract was concluded.

[+υπατειας Φλί] Μαξιμου του λαμπροτατου Χοιακ/ κη// της δευτερας ινδικ/

2. Xotak/: with a stroke through the downstroke of  $\kappa$ , as though for abbreviation.

3. Very likely [Αυρ/ Φοιβαμ]μων.

7.  $\chi\rho\sigma\nu$ :  $\ell$ .  $\chi\rho\dot{\sigma}\nu\sigma\nu$ . In punctuating, a comma is to be inserted after this. For  $\sigma\pi\sigma\rho\hat{a}s$ ,  $\kappa\sigma\rho\pi\hat{\omega}\nu$ , etc., thus used absolutely, see 1697, 4; Cair. Masp. i. 67101, 11 (where probably  $\kappa\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\rho\rho as$  is to be read); 67105, 14; 67106, 10; 67112, 9. The meaning is apparently that the year for which the land is leased is that of the sowing of the 3rd indiction, i.e. the lease would come into force as soon as the inundation of that indiction had subsided sufficiently for farming operations to be commenced; ef. Cair. Masp. i. 67116, 3, where ef is inserted. This construction (to which a less exact parallel is to be found in 1648, 10; BGU.

1092, 10; etc.) does not occur in leases of more than one year, where  $d\pi \delta$  or  $\lambda o \gamma \iota \zeta \delta \mu e \nu o \nu d\pi \delta$  is used. It is to be noticed that the present contract of lease is made nearly a year in advance; cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, p. 66 f.

9. εν ταξει: cf. 1691, 10; Cair. Masp. i. 67087, 19, εν όδηπορίας τάξει, which Maspero explains as 'classé comme lieu de passage'. No doubt a genitive follows here.

10. Τχατιτος: a τόπος called Χάδιτος occurs several times in 1419 (see index to vol. iv), and Χάτιδος is no doubt to be read in Flor. iii. 279, 9, 16.

#### PAPYRUS 1689.—13 June, A.D. 527.

Inv. No. 1644. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a sloping rather narrow cursive hand, along the fibres. Papyrus dark in colour and on the left and in some other places stained dark brown; folded from right to left.

THE lessor here is a senator, no doubt of Antaeopolis, and since the land leased is situated in the village of Phthla, is 'waterless', and is called  $\Pi\iota\alpha\langle g\rangle$  Σαραπάμμωνος, the lease is no doubt to be connected with Cair. Masp. i. 67113; Flor. iii. 281, where also the land is at Phthla, is waterless, is called Σαραπάμωνος (sic), and belongs to a senator of Antaeopolis. Hence Il. 3 and 5 here are restored after those documents, and [λεγομενα]ς (or [λεγομί  $\Pi\iota\alpha]g$ ?) is perhaps to be read in 67113, 9. Flor. 281, 10 f. has  $\hat{\epsilon}\nu$   $\tau\hat{\varphi}$  καλουμέν $(\varphi)$  Σ.

The duration of the lease is fixed in an unusual way. It is to last 'as long as my tenancy of the holding of the most honourable Megas continues'. From l. 14 it is probable that the land leased adjoined this holding; presumably therefore the lessee found it convenient to cultivate the two together, and for this reason secured the insertion of the clause in question. The rent is payable in wheat and [barley]. Though the land was at Phthla the lease was probably drawn up either at Aphrodito or at Antaeopolis.

[ + μετα την υπατειαν] Φλαυΐου Ολυβριου του ενδοξοτατου  $[\Pi a] \ddot{v} v \ // \iota \theta /\!/ \ \epsilon \kappa \tau \eta s \ \ddot{v} \delta \iota \kappa \tau \iota o v o s$   $[\Phi \lambda/ \Pi a v o \lambda \beta \iota \omega \ (?) \ \tau \omega \ \lambda a \mu] \pi \rho o \tau a \tau \omega \ \kappa a \iota \ a \iota \delta \epsilon \sigma \iota \mu \omega \ \pi o \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon v o \mu \epsilon \nu \omega$ 

3.  $\Pi a \nu o \lambda \beta \iota \omega$ : so Flor. 281. Maspero reads  $[\Phi \lambda] \ldots [\lambda a]$ . Perhaps  $\Pi a \nu o [\lambda \beta (\iota \omega)]$  is the true reading.

[της Ανταιοπολί υι]ω του της μεγαλοπρεπους μνημης 5 [Ιωαννου πο]λιτευσαμενου Αυρηλιος Ισακος εκ πατρος [.....ο]υ εκ μητρος Ελισαβετ ποιμην απο κωμης [Αφροδιτ]ης του Ανταιοπολιτου νομου χαιρί ομολογω [εκουσιω]ς και αυθαιρετως μεμισθωσθαι παρα της σης [? λαμπρο]τητος προς ον γεωργω χρονον το γεωργιον 10 [του ευδο]κιμωτατου Μεγαλου υϊο\ του της μακαριας [?και λαμπροτατ]η[ς μν]ημης Διου τας υπαρχουσας αυτη [? επτα αρουρας] ανύδρου γης διακ/ εν πεδιαδι κωμης [Φθλα εν πεδιω Π]ιασε λεγομενας Πια Σαραπαμ\μ/ωνος [....  $\pi$ ου  $\pi$ [ρ]οκειμενου κτηματος ε $\phi$  ω με 15 [ταυτας καταθ]ειναι εν οι\ς/ βουλομαι γενημασιν ϊδιοις μου [αναλωμασι κ]αι διδοναι τον φορον απο καρπων της [ευτυχως εσομ]ενης συν Θεω εβδομης ϊνδ/ και του εξης χρονου [.... επ α]ποτακτω εν τελειω και αβροχικω ο μη ειη [?των αυτων επ]τα αρουρων σιτου αρταβας δεκα και 20 [? κριθων αρτ]αβας δεκα μετρω σω φορικω αναμφ/ [η μισθωσις κυ]ρια και βεβαια και επερ $\theta$ /ς ωμολογς  $\Phi$ [(2nd hand) + Αυρηλίος Ισα]κ ο προκ μεμισθωμαί ως προκ// Θωμας  $[\ldots, \pi_{\rho}]$ εσβ// απο κωμης Θμονεχθη αξιωθεις [εγραψα υπερ αυτο]\ γραμματα μη ειδοτος 🗜 25 (+ 3rd hand?) ]. δι εμου Ψατου εγραφη...

λαμπροτητος: cf. Cair. Masp. 67113, 8. Or perhaps [σεβασμιο]τητος or [θαυμασιο]τητος, which suit the space rather better. χρουον: corr. from χρουων; or perhaps o merely rewritten.
 υἴο\: corr. from νἴω.

The supplement is perhaps rather too large.
 υπαρχουσος: a was written at the beginning but has probably

υπαρχουσοs: a was written at the beginning but has probably been corrected.

αυτη: i. e.  $\tau_{\hat{\eta}}^{\hat{\eta}}$   $\delta \eta \lambda a \mu \pi \rho \delta \tau \eta \tau \iota$ . The papyrus is stained reddish brown after this, and it is not clear whether anything more was written.

12. επτα: see l. 19.

13. For the supplement cf. 1686, 28.

Σαραπαμμωνος: ω corrected from o. For the original omission of the second  $\mu$  see Cair. Masp. 67113, 9; Flor. 281, 11.

14. Probably [ $\epsilon \xi \, a\pi \eta \lambda \iota \omega \tau \sigma v$ ] (Hunt), which suits the space; cf. 1691, 12; 1693, 12.

 $\epsilon \phi \omega \kappa \tau \lambda$ .: cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67109, 32–37. At the beginning of l. 16 there is not room for χερσι και as in the Cairo lease.

18. At the beginning perhaps ωσαντωs, or διηνεκωs (which however is to be expected rather in sales). επ is from Cair. Masp. i. 67105, 22; 67106, 17; 67107, 13; 67109, 36. A comparison of all these passages shows that ϵπ is right (not ϵ.g. ϵν ϵποτάκτω, sϵ. σίτω) and that the sense is 'as rent' (for ϵποτακτοs see Mitteis, Chrest. 134, 15, note). It is probable from this that ϵντϵλϵιω is to be read as ϵν τϵλϵιω, not, with Maspero, as a single

word [so too Maspero now reads in iii. 67300, 13; 67301, 26]; and this is rendered certain by 1695, 11. Maspero (Cair. Masp. i, p. 168) translates  $\hat{\alpha}\beta\rho\rho\chi\iota\kappa\hat{\phi}$  by non humide, remarking 'il est possible que certains fermiers peu scrupuleux aient mouillé le grain, pour que l'eau absorbée augmentât le poids', but the formula  $\delta \mu\hat{\eta}$   $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta$ , which seems like an invocation against some natural calamity rather than against the lessee's dishonesty, suggests another interpretation, which is favoured by the formula seen in 1770 (see also 1771, 6, note), and probably confirmed by PSI. i. 77, 23, namely that the phrase means that the rent is to be paid whether the land is properly irrigated  $(\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\hat{\iota}\phi)$  or not  $(\hat{\alpha}\beta\rho\rho\chi\iota\kappa\hat{\phi})$ .

 $\mu\eta$ : corr. from  $\mu\omega$ .

19.  $\tau\omega\nu$  aut $\omega\nu$ : or  $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\tau\omega\nu$ .

20. κριθων: cf. 1693, 11; and so too in 1771, 2, where see the note. Flor. 281, however, has ἀράκου.

21.  $\beta \epsilon \beta a \iota a$ :  $\epsilon$  corr. from a.

23. απο: a correction, perhaps from ορ(μωμενος).

 $\Theta$ μονεχ $\theta$ η: cf. 1668, 7, note.

24. The supplement is large for the space, but it is difficult to see what else can have been written.

25. The hand is of a quite different type from that used in the body of the document; cf. 1661, 29, note. At the end is perhaps shorthand; but the characters look like  $\tau^{\alpha}\kappa_{\beta}$  followed by a circle enclosing  $\overline{\rho\rho}$ .

## PAPYRUS 1690.—29 Aug., A. D. 527.

Inv. No. 1739. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. × about  $10\frac{1}{4}$  in. (two fragments, not continuous). In an irregular inelegant but rapid cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

A LEASE of a  $\gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma \iota \sigma \nu$  for a year by the monastery of Zminos (see 1686) to Apollos the father of Dioscorus. The specification of its situation is unfortunately mutilated.

[+μ]ε[τ]α την υπατειαν Φλ[/ Ο]λυμβριο<sup>ν</sup> τ[ου ενδο]ξοτατο<sup>ν</sup> Θωθ ā// εκτης ινδικ/ [τω κοιν]ώ των ευλάβε[στατ]ών μοναχ[ων και ?] ερημειτων το` αγιο` μοναστηριο` Ζ[μιν]ος δια το<sup>ν</sup> θεοσ[ε]βεστατ[ο]` Απα Ψαιο[υ προεστω]τος το<sup>ν</sup> αυτο<sup>ν</sup> αγιο` μοναστηριο` δια τ[ο<sup>ν</sup>] ευλαβεστατο<sup>ν</sup> Σενο<sup>ν</sup>θο<sup>ν</sup> συνμοναζον[τος] διοικητο<sup>ν</sup> π/ Αὐρηλιο<sup>ν</sup>

- 5 Απολλωτος Διοσκορο<sup>ν</sup> πρωτοκωμη[του κω]μης Αφροδιτης το` Ανταιο πολιτο<sup>ν</sup> νομου χαιρ/ς ομολογω μεμ[ισθ]ωσθαι παρα της υμων θεοσεβειας προς μονον τον παροντα ενιαυτον κ[αρπων] της συν Θεω μελλουσης εβδομης ινδικ/ το υπο το ευαγες μ[οναστηρ]ιον γεωργιον προ πολλο<sup>ν</sup> και αμνυμονευτο<sup>ν</sup> χρονο<sup>ν</sup> το<sup>ν</sup> οργανο<sup>ν</sup> [.....]ς προτερον το<sup>ν</sup> της μακαριας
- 10 μνημης Πακο<sup>ν</sup>τος Πολείτος Πανο[πολίτου? .]οιδο[. . ε]νδοξοτα[τ . .]μιο[. . .] [.] . . [. .] το<sup>ν</sup> διακειμενο<sup>ν</sup> επ[ι π]εδ[ιαδι . . . . .]ερ[. . . ? κλη]ρω[

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

]. τική του αγιου μοναστηριου Ζμ[ινος

1.  $\bar{a}$ : the line is long and bent in the middle.

2. κοινω: so in Cair. Masp. ii. 67170; 67171, and what remains of the letter here is consistent with  $\omega$ ; but above the s of  $Z[\mu\nu\nu]os$  in l. 3 is what looks like the end of a downstroke. Possibly therefore  $[\tau\omega \ \delta\iota\kappa]\alpha![\omega]$  should be read; but there seems no room for  $\omega$  in that case.

ερημειτων: cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67003, 4; 67096, 14, 29. ων is not enough to fill the lacuna, so that και is conjecturally supplied; but the writing is very uneven, and it is just possible that nothing else has been written.

- 4.  $\Sigma \epsilon \nu o \upsilon \theta o \upsilon$ : the  $\sigma$  is very doubtful.
- 7. καρπων: cf. 1688, 7, note.
- 9. αμνυμονευτου: 1. άμνημονεύτου.

opyavov: probably an instance of the curious but not infrequent use of this word as = a field or piece of land under

cultivation; cf. 1741, 5, note; Cair. Masp. i. 67087, 6; and particularly iii. 67307, 4, 8; see also 1765, 7; 1808, 2, where  $\mu\eta\chi\alpha\nu\dot{\eta}$  is used in the same sense. If this is the sense here the meaning may be that the  $\gamma\epsilon\dot{\omega}\rho\gamma\iota\nu\nu$  formerly formed part of the  $\ddot{o}\rho\gamma\alpha\nu\rho\nu$  in question.

10.  $\epsilon\nu\delta\delta\rho\sigma\tau$  ...: the letters visible suggest some such reading after  $\Pi a\nu o [\pi o \lambda \iota \tau \sigma \upsilon as \kappa] a \tau o [\upsilon \tau \eta s \epsilon] \nu \delta o \rho o \tau o [\tau \eta s] \mu \nu [\eta \mu \eta s]$ , but this seems impossible;  $\kappa] a \iota$  cannot be read, and  $\delta$  is certain; moreover, though  $\mu \nu [$  is possible, there is not room in the lacuna for  $\eta \mu \eta s$ .

12. ].  $\tau \kappa \eta$ : the letter before  $\tau$  does not look like either  $\omega$  or o ( $\mu \kappa \sigma \theta \omega \tau \kappa \eta$ ). It is most like  $\eta$  or  $\nu$ . This endorsement, though larger and more upright, may well be in the same hand as the recto.

# PAPYRUS 1691.—8 March, A. D. 532.

Inv. No. 1662. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $9\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 8\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a clear sloping cursive with a thin pen, along the fibres. Papyrus stained very dark in places; folded from right to left. In one or two places the writing is over earlier writing which has been washed out; but the document as a whole does not seem to be a palimpsest. In other places the writing has been touched up with darker ink.

THIS is a lease by Apollos the father of Dioscorus of part of a walled  $\chi \omega \rho \eta \mu a$  used as an  $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi a \nu \lambda \iota s$ . The latter word seems in Cair. Masp. i. 67109, 23, 26, 30; 67110, 25 to mean a farm-house with its buildings, but this is not quite certain, and in any case the lessee, who was a  $\chi a \lambda \kappa \sigma r \nu \pi s$ , may not have meant to use the building for the same purpose as Apollos. The rent is 3,000 talents a year.

#### χμγ

 $\mu$  μετ[α] την υπατειαν Φλαουιων Ορεστο $\nu$  και Λαμπαδιο $\nu$  των ενδο[ξ]οτατων Φαμενωθ // $\nu$ β// δεκατης ινδικ/

Αυρηλίω Απολλωτί Διοσκορο\ Ψιμανωβετ' απο κωμης
5 Αφροδίτης του Ανταιοπολίτου νομου Αυρηλίος Κυριακός
Ανδρεου μητρος Μαρίας χαλκότυπος από της αυτης κωμης
Αφροδίτης χαιρείν ομολογω μεμισθωσθαί παρά σου
προς ου βουλέσθαι χρονού από σημέρου είς το εξης χρονο\
το υπαρχού σοι ολοκληρού γονικού μέρος από του

10 [ο]λοκληρο" χωρηματος εν ταξει επαυλεως περιτετιχισ μενο` νεοντα εις λιβα συν παντι τω ενοντι δικαιω προς τα γονικα σο δικαιωματα εξ απηλιωτο" της εμης οικητικης οικιας καθως οι γονεις σο" νεμεται συν αιρούντι το` εκεισε κοινο" φρεατος και ετερων χρηστηριων

[διακ]ειμενί επι της αυτης κωμης Αφροδιτης επι ρυμης
 [τη]ς οικιας του γεροντος Ψιμανωβετ' του σου προγωνου
 [ε]φ ω με τουτο εχειν εις πασαν μου χρειαν προς ο αν βουλομαι
 [χρη]σιν και διδοναι σοι λογω ενοικειου κατ' εκαστον ενιαντον
 [αρ]γυριον ταλαντα τρισχειλια αναμφιλογως η μισθωσί

20 κυρια και βεβαια κ, επερωτη $^{\theta}$  ωμολογησα PPP (2nd hand) Αυρηλιος Κ[υ]ριακος Ανδρεου ο προκ// μεμισθωμαι ως προκ//

Endorsed, along the fibres :-

(1st hand) . αι Κυριακου Ανδρεου χαλ[κοτυπου]

2. This is the second post-consulate, as the indiction is the 10th. *Cf.* 1720, where the first 12th indiction after the consulship of Basilius is given in the same way.

 $\epsilon \nu \delta o \xi o \tau o \tau \omega \nu$ : there is no trace of the  $\xi$ , and it is possible that it has not been written.

8. βουλεσθαι: 1. βούλεσθε, though the singular is required. το εξης χρονολ: 1. τὸν έξῆς χρόνον.

11. νεοντα: l. νεύοντος (or νεῦον agreeing with μέρος). But perhaps the cross-stroke of ε is meant also to serve as ν.

12. δικαιωματα: 'title-deeds'; cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67167, 35, where it means 'legal papers' generally, and P. Mon. i. 4, 18. Here it probably refers to deeds relating to the acquisition of the property by the father or ancestor of Apollos rather than to those concerning the inheritance by Apollos (wills, etc.).

 $\epsilon \xi$ :  $\epsilon$  corr. from  $\kappa$ .

13. νεμεται: sic. ἐνέμοντο is meant, as νέμονται would imply that the parents of Apollos were still alive, and we know from

P. Flor. iii. 280 that his father was dead in A. D. 514.

14. συν αιρουντι: σύν τῷ αίραῦντι μέρει would be expected.

16. the oikias: this is probably not to be taken as implying that the street was called by this name; the meaning will rather be 'the street in which the house is situated'. Presumably it had no regular name and the description is given to identify it.

rov γεροντοs: this may imply that Psimanobet was still alive, but the inference is not necessary, as appears from 1693. 6 f.

 $\pi \rho o \gamma \langle a \rangle \nu o v$ : 'grandfather'.

17. ο αν βουλομαι: Ι. ην αν βούλωμαι.

19. ταλαντα τρισχειλια: for the various values of the talent in the Late Byzantine period see Maspero on Cair. Masp. ii. 67163.

21. This line must have been slightly indented, as nothing is wanted before Κυριακος, which begins under the υ of κυριακ.

22. . a: hardly  $\kappa ai$ .  $\mu i (\sigma \theta \omega \sigma is)$  seems impossible.

## PAPYRUS 1692.—A. D. 555 and 556.

Inv. No. 1551. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 11\frac{3}{8} in. × 1 ft. 7\frac{1}{2} in. In a medium-sized sloping compressed cursive hand, along the fibres. The papyrus is stained very dark in places, particularly on the left, and at the extreme left and in some other places is much rubbed; folded perpendicularly, apparently from left to right.

N this papyrus are united two separate leases, both by the same hand, and both between the same parties. The lessor is the well-known Dioscorus, the lessee George son of Psaeus, a shepherd from Psinabla, for which village see the introduction to 1653. Each lease is for a year and is of the same property, though in b a third  $\kappa \tau \hat{\eta} \mu a$  is added to the two leased in a. The junction between two  $\kappa o \lambda \lambda \hat{\eta} \mu a \tau a$  comes near, but not quite at, the end of the lines of a; from which it is certain that the papyrus formed a single sheet before the documents were written and was not formed by pasting the second lease on to the first. It thus appears that when the lease was concluded the intention was that it should continue for more than a single year, though in accordance with a common custom (see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, p. 90 ff.) the agreement was actually for a year only. The roll, therefore, instead of being cut into sheets of the size required for a single lease was left intact, the first lease being written at the beginning. At the end of the year the lessee brought it to the lessor, and a second lease, for a further year, was added. How many leases the roll eventually contained cannot of course be said; it seems likely, however, from the regular edge on the left at the bottom corner, which looks as if the papyrus had been cut, not torn or eaten away, that a was the first document to be written on the roll.

In supplying the missing portion of l, 2 of b it has been assumed that this renewal of the lease would be drawn up about the same time of year as the previous lease, but this is not certain, and  $oy\delta o\eta$  in particular must be regarded as a doubtful reading.

(a) 3 May, A. D. 555.

4

χμγ

2 [‡ βασιλειας του θειοτατου ημω]ν [δ]εσποτό Φλ΄ς Ιουστινιανου του αιωνιό Αυγουστού [Αυ]τοκρατορος
3 [ετους εικοστου ενατου] με[τ]α την υ[πατει]αν Φλ΄ς Β[α]σιλειό το[υ] ε[ν]δοξότατό ετους τρισκαιδεκατου

 $[\Pi a]$ χων //ογδ[ο]η αρξο[μεν]ης  $\bar{\tau}$ ε $\bar{\tau}$ αρτης  $\hat{\iota}$ νδικτιο[ν]ος

3.  $\tau \rho \iota \sigma \kappa a \delta \epsilon \kappa a \tau o v$ : to agree with the indiction this should be the 14th year of the post-consulate; cf. 1686, 4, note; Cair. Masp. i. 67095. The post-consulate is more likely to be wrong than the indiction; moreover, since it seems clear that the lease would be renewed in the following year, and  $\delta$  was dated in the 15th year of the post-consulate and the 5th indiction (l. 7), A. D. 555 seems assured as the date of the present document.

4. aρξομενηs: the ξ is very curiously made, looking more like οι, but the reading is assured by Cair. Masp. ii. 67158, 2; 67162, 3. The natural meaning is that on the 8th of Pachon the 4th indiction had not yet begun but was just about to begin. That this is not necessarily the sense of the phrase is however shown by Cair. Masp. 67162, 3, Παχὼν εἰκ[ἀs έβδόμη δ]εντέραs ἰνδικ(τίονοs) ἀρξομένηs, as compared with 1. 20 ff. of the same document, ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον καὶ <math>π[ρο]γεγρ[αμ]μέ(νηs) ἡμέροs, ἡτιs

έστὶν εἰκὰ[s έ]βδό[μη τῆ]s παρούσηs δευ[τέρ]as [ἰνδ]ικ(τίονοs). In 67158, on the contrary, where ἀρξομένης occurs in the dating clause, the date is referred to in l. 26 f. as ήτις ἐστὶν τρίτη τοῦ [Παχών μηνὸς τῆς] ἀρξομένης κατ' Αίγυπτίους δευτέρας ἐπινεμήσεως; and here, therefore, we may take it that the indiction had not actually begun. So too in the present document εἰσιούσηs in l. 10 may imply that the indiction had not actually begun on the 8th, though the uncertainty of the reading in 1.9 (see note) makes this not absolutely certain. In any case the indiction cannot have begun much later than the 8th. These papyri from Aphrodito and Antinoopolis furnish many examples of the commencement of the indiction in Pachon. The earliest of them is 67153 (12 Pachon, Antinoopolis), but in the Arab period we have an instance (1413, 339) of the commencement before 11 Pachon. Still earlier instances are 5 Pachon (Lond. iii. 1083, p. 249, Hermopolis) and even 2 Pachon (Oxy. i. 140,

- 5 [Φλα]υϊω Διοσκορω υϊω του τη[ς] μακαριας μνημης Απ[ο]λλωτος Διοσκορου τω θ̞α[υ]μασι[ωτατω]
- 6 [απ]ο κωμης Α[φ]ροδιτης του Αντ[αιο]πολιτου νομο\ + Αυρ[η]λιος Γεωργιος εκ πατρος Ψαΐο Φα[ρο]ουτος
- 7 [ $\epsilon \kappa$  μη] $\tau \rho$ [os ?  $\Theta$ ] $\epsilon$ ονοης απο κωμης  $\Psi$ ιναβλα του Πανο[ $\pi$ ]ολιτου νομο\ ποιμην τυγχαν[ $\omega$ ] $\nu$
- 8 [ων των κ]ληρονομων Ψαϊό Βησιο[υ] απο της Ŝ [κ]ωμή Ψιναβλα χαιρ' ομολογω εκουσιως και α[υθ]αι[ρ]ετή
- 9 [μεμισθ]ωσθαι παρα της σης θαυμασιοτητ[ος πρ]ος ενιαυσιαιον χρονον καρπων των <math>ν[υν ον]
- 10 [των? της] συν Θεω εισϊουσης τεταρτης ϊνδή τ[αν]παρχοντα σοι πατρώα βοσκηματα του τε  $\gamma[εωρ]$ γιδ
- ΙΙ [ολοκλη]ρο αρουρων οσων εστιν μετα παντος αυτω[ν] το δικαιο καλουμενο Πιαρ, Παλλ..
- 12 [? απο Ακα]ν $\theta$ ωνος του μακαριτό Ηλιόπολ[ιτ]ευσαμενο[υ] και το $^{v}$  ολοκληρό γεωργιό λεγομενό [.] . με
- 13 [....]ν αυτό των αρουρων κατα τα ορια των κληρονομων του της ενδοξο[τ] μνημί Κο . . . το
- 14 [.....] δ[ια]κειμενο[υ] εν τη νοτινη πεδι[α]δι της  $\hat{S}$  κωμή Αφροδ/ λεγομενη  $\hat{I}$ εραδος Ανανειας
- 15 [. . . . ] . . [. . . .] ος ποιμένος εκ νοτο ψιλ[.] ·  $\mu$ πων εφ ω  $\mu$ ε τα προκ/ βοσκηματά των ολων
- 16 [a]ρ[ου]ρων [τω]ν δυο γεωργιων μετα παντος αυτων τ[ο] δικαιδ κατ[α τ]α ορια εχείν  $\ddot{v}\pi$  εμε εις βοσκην
- 17 και εις κ[α]τανομην των εμων θρεμματων και διδοναι σοι λογω φορδ ητοι [μ]ισθδ ετησιας νομης
- 18 χρ[υσ]ο κερατια δεκαοκτω χρυσοικω σταθμή της Ŝ κωμή Αφροδ/ η μισθωτικ/ ομολογια κυρια
- 19 [εσται] κ[αι β]ε[β]αια εφ ϋπο[γρ]αφ/ το ῦπερ εμο ϋπο[γρ]αφοντος και των εξης συνηθων επιμαρτυρ\ουν/τ[ω]ν
- 20 [.....] και εφ απ[α]ντα επερωτηθεις ωμ[ο]λογησα  $\mathbf{P}$  (2nd hand) Αυρηλιος Γεωργιος Ψαιου ποιμεν

Oxyrhynchus), but this is doubtful; see Grenfell and Hunt's note ad loc. In the Antaeopolite nome we have an  $d\rho\chi\hat{\eta}$  on 13 Pachon (Lond. iii. 1007 c, p. 264). A list (which however is not quite complete and contains several misprints in the references) is given in Hohmann, Zur Chron. d. Papyrusurkunden, p. 40 f. The fact that the early instances of  $d\rho\chi\hat{y}$ (except the doubtful Oxy. 140) seem to come from the Thebaid and the late ones of τέλει from the Fayum and neighbourhood suggests the conjecture that the indiction did not begin on the same day throughout Egypt but was separately fixed for each province, the Thebaid having an earlier commencement than Arcadia. This conjecture can only be tested by a detailed examination of all the extant indiction dates, for which this catalogue is not the place. (It may be noted that a possible but unlikely instance of a late commencement in the Thebaid is Lond. iii. 778, p. 279; see note there.)

- 6. Papoorros: a quite conjectural reading, taken from the monastery of this name (vol. iv, index). The second o is very doubtful.
  - \$\hat{S}: αὐτῆς.
- 9. καρπων των νυν: for καρπων see 1688, 7, note; the lease was to begin from the present harvest. For the conjectural (and very doubtful) reading νυν οντων see P. Giss. i. 56, 4 f., ἀπὸ καρπῶν τῶν νῦν ὅντων ἐν ἀγροῖς τῆς σὺν Θ(εῷ) εἰσιούσης ἐνδεκάτης l. καὶ αὐτῆς. There seems no room for the whole of οντων here, though ν[υν ο] γ. is just possible; but then της would be too little in l. 10.
- 11.  $\Pi_{ia}$   $\Omega_{a}$   $\Omega_{a}$

- 12. [aπο Ακα]νθωνος: rather long for the space; but Ακανθωνος alone would be too short. For 'Ακανθών see Cair. Masp. ii. 67139, iii, r., 6, where, as it is associated with Psinabla, it may be in the Panopolite nome rather than in that of Antaeopolis, as Maspero describes it in the index. Πιας means 'field'; hence the name of the holding was 'the field of Pall— of Acanthon the late Heliopolite'.
  - [.] .  $\mu\epsilon$ : or [.] .  $\gamma\epsilon$ .
- 13. [....]ν αυτο : probably [οσω]ν. It is not possible to read [εξ απη]λιωτο (or νοτο); and b, 10 shows that των κληρονόμων goes with γεωργίου, not with dρουρων.
- 14. Îεραδος Ανανειος: a κληρος Ίεραδος occurs in 1686, 13-14; 1694, 9, but the patronymic is not there added.
- 15.  $\psi i\lambda$  . .  $\mu\pi\omega\nu$ :  $\psi$  has been corrected from  $\phi$ ; or, less probably, altered to  $\phi$ . It is impossible to read either  $\psi i\lambda\omega\nu$   $\tau\sigma\pi\omega\nu$  or  $\psi i\lambda\sigma\tau\sigma\pi\omega\nu$ . The likeliest reading is  $\psi i\lambda a\mu\pi\langle\epsilon\lambda\rangle\dot{\omega}\nu$ , the  $\alpha$  being written rather large or not close after the  $\lambda$ .
- 18. χρυσοῖκω: l. χρυσοχοικῷ. For the χρυσοχοικὸς σταθμός see Reil, Beiträge z. Kenntnis d. Gewerbes im hell. Äg. p. 54.
- 19.  $\tau\omega\nu$  εξης συνηθων επιμαρτυρουντων: as a matter of fact there is only one witness, but the phrase is merely a variation of a stereotyped formula. At the beginning of l. 20 several supplements are possible. αυτη is too little; τη μισθωσει οτ τη ομολογια are possible, but hardly required after  $\dot{\eta}$  μισθωτικ $(\dot{\eta})$  όμολογία of l. 18; υπερ εμου, though rather short, is not unlikely; or προσωπων, spread out somewhat, might do.
- 20. Γεωργιος: corr. from Γεωργης.

- 21 [aπο] Ψινα $\beta$ [λα ο] προκ/ μεμι[σ]θωμαι ως προκ/ Διοσκορος Iωσηφιου πρεσβ//
- 22 [αξιωθεις] εγραψα υπερ αυτου γραματα μη ε[ιδ]ωτος  $\mathbf{P}$  (3rd hand) Αυρηλιο[ς] Φοιβαμ[μ]ων
- 23  $\dot{\Lambda}$  . [. . . .] μαρτυρω τη μισθωσει ακο $^{v}$ σας παρα το $^{v}$  θεμενο $^{\wedge}$
- 24 (1st hand) + δι εμου Ερμ $\bar{a}$ ωτος νομ[ι]κου εγραφ/ shorthand
  - (b) 3 May (?), A. D. 556.
  - Ι βασιλείας το θειστατο η[μ]ων δεσποτο Φλί β[α]σιλεί[ου του αιωνίου Αυγουστου Αυτοκρατορος ετους τριακοστου μετα την]
  - 2 ύπατειαν Φλή Βασιλειδ το[υ] ενδοξοτατδ ετο[υ]ς πεντεκαι[δεκατου ? Παχων ογδοη αρξομενης πεμπτης ινδικτιονος]
  - 3 Φλαυῖω Διοσκορω υϊω του της μακαρ[ια]ς μνημης Α[πολλωτος Διοσκορου τω θαυμασιωτατω απο κωμης]
- 4 Αφροδιτης το Ανταιοπολιτου νομο\  $\pi$ / Αυρη[λιο] Γεωργιου ε[κ πατρος Ψαιου Φαροουτος εκ μητρος Θεονοης θυγατρος]
- 5 Ερμη Βατρητος Διο απο κωμή Ψιναβλ[α] του Πανοπο[λιτου νομου ποιμην χαιρ' ομολογω εκουσιως και αυθαιρετως]
- 6 μεμισθωσθαι παρα της σης θαυμασιοτ[η]τος προς ενι[αυσιαιού χρονον καρπων των νυν οντων της συν Θεω εισιουσης]
- 7 πεμπτης ινδικτιονος τα ϋπαρχον[τ]α σοι πατρώ[α βοσκηματα του τε γεωργιου]
- 8 ολοκληρο αρουρων οσων εστιν  $\mu$ [ετα] παντος α[υτων του δικαιου καλουμένου  $\overline{\Pi}$ ιας  $\overline{\Pi}$ αλλ . . . ? απο Ακανθωνος]
- 9 το μακαριτο Ηλιο πολιτευσαμενο [και του] ολοκληρ[ου γεωργιου λεγομενου ... με .... ν αυτου των αρουρων]
- 10 κατα τα ορι[α] λεγω δη το γεωργιο τω[ν κλ]ηρονομή [του της ενδ/ μνημή Κο...του διακ/ εν τη νοτινη πεδιαδι της  $\hat{S}$ ]
- 11 κωμης  $\mathbf{A}\phi[\rho]$ οδιτης λεγομενη  $\mathbf{\ddot{I}}$ ερ $[\mathbf{a}$ δος  $\mathbf{A}\nu]$ ανειας  $[\ldots\ldots$ ος ποιμένος εκ νότου ψιλ . . μπων και μεμισ $\theta$ ωμαι]
- 12 ομοιως παρα σο' και το ολοκληρον βο[σκημα] της κατα[
- 13 κατα κελευσιν το σο<sup>υ</sup> πατρος Απολλω[το]ς διακειμεν[ον

αρουρων]

- 14 δεκα Νεας  $\overline{\Phi οννεως}$  λεγομεν[ης? Α] $\theta$ ανασιας ε $\phi$  [ω με τα προκ/ βοσκ/ μετα παντος αυτων του δικαιου εχειν υπ εμε]
  - 21.  $[a\pi a]$ : there is not room for  $a\pi a \kappa \omega \mu i$ .
  - 22. γραματα : sic.

ειδωτος: τος is a correction, apparently from ιης (ειδυιης?).
23. A.[...]: the letter after a has a long tail, so perhaps

23. A. [...]: the letter after a has a long tail, so perhaps  $A\phi[\theta a \nu i \bar{\sigma}]$ .

24. Some of the forms of letters make it probable that this is the same hand as the body of the document, but the writing is rounder and less compressed; cf. 1661, 29, note.

(b)

1. Βασιλειου: sic, by a slip of the pen.

4.  $\theta vyarpas$ : Theonoe's father is not mentioned in a, but the name at the beginning of l. 5 must be his.

- 5. There is not room in the lacuna for the clause about the heirs of Psaeus.
- 7. In the lacuna there must have been some words not in the corresponding passage of a.
- 10. It is difficult to see what could be omitted here except the patronymic of Co... tus, but if the words were written as in a they would occupy too much space for the size of the lacuna. Hence the abbreviations supplied.
- 11. και μεμισθωμα: here begins a clause not in a. On this occasion the lessee has leased an additional tract of pasture.
- 14. Νεας Φοννεως λεγομενης Αθανασίας: α πεδιάς (?) called Φόνεως occurs in Cair. Masp. ii. 67143, r., 37; 67147, ii, 1, α τοποθεσία Φόνεως probably in 1697, 7, α τόπος 'Αθανασίας in Cair. Masp. ii. 67128, 17; 67129, 13, and α [κτημα] 'Αθανασίας in Cair. Masp.

- 15 εις βοσκ[η]ν κ[α]ι εις κατανομην τ[ων] εμών  $\theta$ ρ[εμματων και διδοναι σοι λογω φορου ητοι μισ $\theta$ ον ετησιας]
- 16 νομης των ειρημενων τριων κτηματων αρίουρων οσων εισιν
- 17 νομισμα[τ]ος χρυσοχοί[κ]ω σταθμή της αυτης κωμ[ης Αφροδιτης η μισθωτικ/ ομολογια κυρια εσται και βεβαια]
- 19 επερωτηθεις ωμολογησα  $\mathbf{P}$  (2nd hand) + Αυρηλίος  $\mathbf{\Gamma}$ [εωργίος Ψαίου ποιμην]
- 20  $\,$  απο κωμης  $\,\Psi$ ινα $\,$ βλα ο προγεγρα $\,$ [μμενος μεμι $\,\sigma heta$ ωμαι ως προκ $/\,$
- 21 αξιωθεις εγραψα ϋπερ αυτ $[\bar{o}]$  γραμματ[a μη ειδοτος + (3rd hand) . . . . . . . μαρτυρω]
- 22 τη μισθωσει ακουσας παρα Γεωργ[ιου
- 23 (4th hand) μαρτυρω τη μισ $\theta$ ωσει ακ[o]υσας παρα  $[\Gamma \epsilon$ ωργιου
- 24 (5th hand) Αβρααμιο μαρτυρω τη μισθωσει ακουσας παρα [Γεωργιου
- 25 (6th hand) μαρτυρω τη μισhetaωσει ακουσας παρα Γεωργιου//
- (1st hand) + δι εμο[υ Ερμαυωτος νομικου εγρα $\phi$ /]

16. νομισματος (not quite certain) in l. 17 suggests a fraction in this line, e.g. διμοιρον, but that would make the rent less than that for only two of the κτήματα in α.

19. The person who subscribes for the lessee is not the same as in a. Possibly the mother's name was added, as there is room for more than is given in the text.

## PAPYRUS 1693.—Early 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1620. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. In an irregular sloping cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus rather light in colour. Folded from right to left.

THE latter part of an acknowledgement of a lease of land to Victor son of Hermauos by a lessor whose name is lost. There are several points of interest, which are commented on in the notes. The rent is two artabas of wheat and two of barley per aroura (cf. 1771, 2, note). The hand points to the earlier part of the sixth century as the date. The subscriber Theotecnus occurs in 517 (P. Flor. iii. 281), 521 (Cair. Masp. iii. 67328), 523 (1687), 535 (Cair. Masp. iii. 67296), 544 (Cair. Masp. ii. 67127), and 547 (Cair. Masp. ii. 67128).

λογιζομενον απο καρπων της]
συν Θεω μελλίς τριτης ινδικ/ κ[α]ι [αυ]τ[ης]
τας [υ]παρχουσας σοι γονικας αρουρας
τας ουσας εν κληρ/ Ταχηπεστατε καλουμενας

4.  $Ta\chi\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$ : for this name see Cair. Masp. i. 67100, 14. Here  $\nu$  for  $\pi$  and  $\gamma$  for the last  $\tau$  might more easily be read, but since the hand of this document is a bad one, and Maspero does not mark either letter as doubtful, it seems better to follow his reading. The beginning of the word is doubtful. Maspero

reads  $T_q$  with a note 'ou  $T_{\chi\eta\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon}$ '. Here the first letter, which is very thick, looks like  $\gamma$ , and it is not certain that there is an a. Possibly  $\tau$  (the Coptic feminine article) was written and then deleted.

- 5 Κασινλά ανυδρους συν παντι τω δικαιω κατα τα ορια κατα κοινωνιαν προς τους κληρονμή του γερ[ο]ντος Σουρουτος Χαρισιου υπερ το αλλου ημισους μερους εφ ω με ταυτας γεωργησαι και παρεξω σοι τον φορον εκαστης αρουρης κατ ετος
- 10 πρ[ο]ς αναμετρησιν του σχοινιο` σιτο` αρταβας δυο κριθων αρταβας δυο τω εμω μετρω δηλαδη τας προκ/ αρουρας εκ βορρα των εμων αρουρων κ, απο της μεγαλης μου αμαρας εις απηλιωτην εως του οριο` Σαλατωκε κατα τα παλαια και αρχαια
- 15 ορια της δε αβροχο' ανευ φορο' αναμφ/ η μισθς κυρια κ, βεβαια κ, επερ/ (2nd hand) + Αυρηλιος Βικτωρ Ερμά' ωτος ο προκ/ μεμ[ι]σθωμαι ως προκ/ Φλζ Θεοτεκνος Ψαιο' αποπραιπ[οσ]ιτο' αξιωθις εγραψα ϋπερ α'το' γραμμα τα μη ειδοτ[ο]ς

Mutilated endorsement, along the fibres.

- 6. κληρουμ(ους): sic.
- 7. γερουτος: cf. 1691, 16.

υπερ του αλλου ημισους μερους: it is not quite clear what this means. The natural interpretation would be that the κοινωνία applied only to half of the property leased, but probably the meaning rather is that the whole property (of which half is now leased) was held in equal shares, half by the present lessee and half by the heirs of Sourous.

10. προς αναμετρησιν του σχοινιου: cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67104, 12, and Waszyński, Bodenpacht, p. 76, with the papyri there referred to. The present passage, taken with 67104, 12 and others, shows that Waszyński is wrong in correcting to σχοινίφ, as Maspero also holds. τοῦ (cf. Flor. 281, 16) makes this additionally certain. In the instances referred to by Waszyński the phrase comes with the specification of the area; in the Aphrodito leases with the agreement concerning the rent. This is due to the fact that the area is not specified; the ἀναμέτρησις was presumably to follow—' I will pay you the yearly rent for each aroura in accordance with the measurement'.

12.  $\delta\eta\lambda\alpha\delta\eta$  kth.: this passage, perhaps inserted as an afterthought, has nothing to do with the agreement as to rent, but is

intended to specify more exactly the land leased. As no dimensions are given or (presumably) were yet known the lessee wishes to make it clear what land he is agreeing to cultivate.

13. της μεγαλης μου αμαρας: this was a private canal of the lessee; cf. P. Flor. i. 50, 106, ποι[η]σαι έαυτοῖς ἀμάραν ἀπὸ ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων, ib. 108, διὰ ἰδίων αὐτῶν ἀμαρῶν.

14. Σαλατωκε: the same name as the Σαρατωκε of vol. iv (see index of τόποι there).

15.  $\tau\eta s$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\alpha\beta\rho\rho\chi\rho\nu$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ : *i.e.* such portions of the land as were not reached by the inundation were to be free of rent. This passage illustrates the difference between  $\ddot{\alpha}\beta\rho\rho\chi\rho s$  and  $\ddot{\alpha}\nu\nu\delta\rho\rho s$ . All the land was  $\ddot{\alpha}\nu\nu\delta\rho\rho s$  (l. 5); consequently that word means not land which was not reached by the inundation but land from which the inundation had receded, land not  $\dot{\epsilon}\phi'\,\ddot{\nu}\delta\omega\rho$ . Maspero, however, Cair. Masp. i. 67113, 10, note, gives a different explanation.

16.  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho (\omega \tau \eta \theta \epsilon \iota s)$ : sc.  $\dot{\omega} \mu o \lambda \dot{\sigma} \gamma \eta \sigma a$ ; cf. 1695, 20; 1696, 16; 1701, 8; Cair. Masp. i. 67115, 18; and perhaps 67106, 22 It does not seem necessary, with Maspero, to suppose that  $\dot{\omega} \mu o \lambda \dot{\sigma} \gamma \eta \sigma a$  has been forgotten; the phrase is abbreviated,  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho /$  standing for the whole.

17. Өеотекиоs: cf. 1687, 23, note.

# PAPYRUS 1694.—First half of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1643. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 10½ in. × 7½ in. Written in a small sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. The papyrus is stained a very dark reddish brown, and the script in places can only be read by holding the document obliquely against the light (cf. P. Strassb. i. 40). In certain lights the ink appears of a dull greenish grey colour. Folded from right to left.

THIS lease of land for one year by Besarion son of Dioscorus, no doubt the uncle of the poet (another person of the same name is known, Cair. Masp. i. 67114, 5, but 1705, where the

poet's uncle is shown in connexion with the 'New Church', makes it almost certain that he is the person here intended), to two persons is of the kind called by Waszyński (Bodenpacht, x, p. 148 ff.) Teilpacht (= métayage), i. e. instead of the ordinary arrangement by which the tenant pays a fixed rent, he agrees to divide the crop with the landlord in a certain proportion, usually, as here, with special provisions as to additional payments on one or both sides and the cost of necessary work in connexion with the land. In the present document, which is an interesting example of its class, the following provisions are made:—

- (1) The cultivation of the land is to be carried out by the tenants at their own expense and with their own animals  $(\kappa \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \eta)$ ;
- (2) the seed (for the main crop? see note on 1. 13) is to be supplied by the landlord, but the tenants are to supply the grass seed. Each party is to take from the common produce (no doubt before the division) an amount of seed equal to that which he supplied for sowing;
- (3) the crops are to be divided in equal shares between landlord and tenants, a transaction expressed with charming frankness in the words εἰς ἡμᾶς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν καμάτων εἴς σε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκφορίων;
- (4) before the division of the produce the landlord is to receive half an aroura of hay, perhaps (see note on l. 19) in return for his defraying the expenses of mowing;
- (5) in addition to half the produce the tenants are to pay to the landlord as his perquisite (possibly a συνήθεια) 50 cheeses and 6 κολοβά of λαψάνη;
  - (6) the expense of building folds for the flocks is to be defrayed jointly by landlord and tenants;
- (7) the hire of the ὄργανον (probably a sakīyah or wheel for raising water) and other expenses (connected with its working?) are to be defrayed jointly;
- (8) the tenants agree (see note on 1. 26) to carry the produce and chaff of the landlord from his threshing-floor to that of the village.

It will be seen that the landlord has considerably the best of the bargain; but the position of the tenants is far better than in many leases of this kind in the Late Byzantine period. Thus in Lond. i. 113. 3 and 4 (pp. 207, 208) the tenants receive only a quarter of the pulse crop and a sixth of the hay, besides being liable (in 4) to an additional payment. In BGU. i. 308 (= Mitteis, Chrest. 278) the tenants receive a third of the pulse and a sixth of the hay and are again liable to an additional payment. In Grenf. i. 58 the tenant receives a fifth of the produce and I solidus less 6 carats (Grenfell takes the money as paid by the tenant for rent, but this is clearly wrong; cf. too Waszyński, pp. 154, 157). The comparatively favourable position of the tenants in the present lease is very likely not an isolated phenomenon but to some extent typical; for many pieces of evidence seem to indicate in Aphrodito, a village enjoying the right of autopragia and largely composed of small owners, a higher degree of prosperity than was usual at this time in Egypt.

The  $\gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\iota\nu\nu$  here leased is described as  $\epsilon\kappa\mu\iota\sigma\theta\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$   $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}$   $\sigma\nu\nu$   $\tau\hat{\eta}$   $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\dot{\alpha}$   $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\hat{\eta}$   $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\dot{\alpha}$ . Probably what is meant is that the land had been leased to the church but that the lease had now expired; but the wording may perhaps suggest that this is a kind of sub-lease and that the lessees, by arrangement with the church, have negotiated it direct with the landlord, the church resigning its own lease in their favour. It is indeed just possible that  $\tau\eta$   $\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\eta$   $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$  is to be corrected to the genitive; see 1705. In that case the document is a sub-lease of land leased to Besarion by the church.

As regards the date, it seems likely that the document was written fairly early in the century. Besarion the son of Dioscorus occurs in 1699, dated in A.D. 520; in Cair. Masp. i. 67103 (unless this is the other Besarion; see above), dated A.D. 526; and in 67124, which, as the protocometes Charisius occurs and Apollos is not yet protocometes (he was protocometes in A.D. 514; see Ferrari, Pap. ined. 3, 6 = P. Flor. iii. 280), may probably be placed early in the century. He also occurs in 67107, a document which, dated in the 4th indiction, is placed by Maspero in 540, Justin being supplied by him as the consul; but it seems rather more likely that 526, the consulship of Olybrius, or 525, that of Philoxenus (Philoxenus is thus mentioned without Probus in 67103), is the true date, for Besarion is not certainly known to occur later than 526, was very likely (from the fact that he was protocometes before his brother Apollos, 67124) the elder brother, and since he plays so little part in these family papers of his nephew Dioscorus may perhaps have died fairly early in the century. The earlier date for 67107 is moreover decidedly favoured by the hand, which is of a type characteristic of the dated documents of the period circ. 520-circ. 535. The 11th indiction of the present document is probably therefore either A.D. 517-518 or 532-533, and the hand agrees with such a dating.

Α[υρ]ηλιοι Μαθιας Ποννιτος και Ϊβεις Απολλωτος αμφοτεροι απ[ο] κωμης Αφροδιτης του Ανταιοπολιτου νομου Α[υρ]ηλιω Βησαριωνι Διοσκορος απο της δ κωμης χαιρειν τρος μονον τον παροντα ενιαυτον καρπων της συν Θεω ενδεκατης ινδικ/ το εκμισθωθεν παρα σου τη αγια καινη εκκλησια γεωργιον αρουρων οσων διακειμενς επι πεδιου τη[ς αυ]της κωμης Αφροδιτης εν κληρ/ Ϊεραδος συν λακκω και δεξαμενη και φυτοις και φοινιξι κ, παντι δικαιω κατα τα ορια εφ ω ημας τουτ[ο] γεωργησαι και την πασαν γεωργικην εργασιαν π[οιη]σασθαι εκ των ιδιων μου αναλωματων κ, κτηνων ακα[τ]αφρονητώς και αμελειας συνκλισωμεν δε τος παντος της δε σπερμοβολιας παρα σος διδοναι και λαμβανεις εκ του κοινου ανιεί [τ]ης δε σπερμοβολιας του χορτου διδομενης παρ ημων

1. Only a few letters of this line remain. Above the  $\iota$  of Πουριτοs is a  $\kappa$ , and above oλ of Απολλωτοs may be  $]\alpha\iota$   $\lambda[$ .

5. αλλεληγγυης: 1. άλληλεγγύης.

8. αρουρων οσων: an abbreviation of the full phrase, ὅσων ἐστίν.
10. δεξαμενη: cf. 1769, 5. What is meant is probably a watertank. The same word may have occurred in Cair. Masp. i. 67104, 7, and certainly occurs in iii. 67300, 8.

12.  $\mu ov$ : a slip of the pen for  $\eta \mu \omega v$ , due to the use of a stereotyped formula.

13. αμελειας: ες. ἄνευ ἀμελείας.

συνκλισωμεν δε κτλ.: this passage relating to the cultivation is by no means clear, owing to the confused construction. Probably we are to read  $\sigma \nu \langle \gamma \rangle \kappa \lambda \langle \epsilon \rangle$ ίσ $\langle \alpha \rangle \mu \epsilon \nu \delta \hat{\epsilon}$  τοῦ παντύς, τῆς  $\langle \mu \hat{\epsilon} \nu \rangle$  σπερμοβολίας  $\langle \tau \sigma \hat{\nu} \rangle$ .... $\rangle$  παρά σου διδο $\langle \mu \hat{\epsilon} \nu \eta s \rangle$ . συγκλείσομεν κτλ. appears to mean 'we will co-operate in everything', a seemingly unprecedented use of συγκλείω. The provision as to seed means that the landlord is to supply the seed for one

(or several) of the crops, the tenants that for grass, but each party is afterwards to receive an equivalent amount of seed from the produce, which is, as provided below, to be divided equally between landlord and tenants; i.e. in addition to his fixed quota of the produce each party is to take, before the division, as much seed as he had himself supplied at the time of sowing. A similar provision is to be seen in Lond. i. 113, 3 and 4 (pp. 208, 209; see also Wilcken, Gött. gel. Anzeigen, 1894, pp. 747, 748); BGU. iii. 840. As the tenants supply seed for grass, we should expect the crop or crops for which seed was supplied by the landlord to be specified also, and hence we may perhaps assume that something has been accidentally omitted after  $\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\sigma\beta\delta\lambda$ ias in l. 14; but it is possible that as the hay was a crop of minor importance and the other the main one it was thought unnecessary to specify it.

15. avie: cobscure. The reading is almost certain. If it is a part of ἀνίημι sense and construction are alike puzzling,

και  $\lambda \alpha \mu \beta \alpha \nu \omega \mu \epsilon \nu$  εκ το κοινο κ<sub>ι</sub> το καιρο γεναμενο το περιγιγνο μενον παντοιων γενηματων και χερων εις ημας και σο μερισθησεται κατα το ημισυ εις ημας μεν υπερ των καματων εις σε δε υπερ των εκφοριων εχειν δε σε εκ το κοινο 20 προ μερισμου χορτου προς πασας κοπας αρουρης ημισυ παρεξωμεν σοι τυρους ξηρους καλους μεγαλους γεουχικους πεντηκοντα κ, λαψανης κολοβα εξ παρεχομεν δε εκ το κοινό την τιμην τας μανδρας των ποιμνιων αναμφ/ η μισθί κυρια κι βεβαια κι επερώτη $\theta$  ώ/ το $\theta$  δε μισθο $\theta$  το $\theta$  ξυλινο 25 οργανο κ, τα αναλωματα διδομένα εκ το κοινο ποιησωμέν δε την μεν φοραν το γεουχι[κ]ο σο μερους γενηματος κ τα αχυρα εως της κωμης κ) της αλωνίας εκ της σης αλωνίας + (2nd hand) Αρηλίος Μα $\theta$ [ει]ας Ποννίτος ο  $\pi[\rho \circ \kappa] // \mu \epsilon \mu i \sigma \theta \omega \mu \alpha i \omega s \pi \rho \circ \kappa // (3rd hand) + Αυρηλί$ ος . . . βαις [Απο]λλωτ[ο]ς [ο] προκ/ μεμισθωμαρ ως 30  $\pi[\rho \circ \kappa] // A[\nu] \rho \eta[\lambda \iota \circ \Phi \circ \iota] \beta \alpha \mu \mu \omega [\nu]$ Endorsed, along the fibres:-(4th hand) Απολωτος

16. του καιρου: i.e. the time of harvest; cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67104. 10.

χερων: labour, as opposed to raw material (seeds).
 σου: l. σε.

18.  $\eta\mu\alpha s$ : corrected from  $v\mu\alpha s$ . For this formula regarding the division cf. Oxy. vi. 913, 13-16. A still closer parallel is P. Flor. iii. 282, 28 f.  $\mu\epsilon\rho(\alpha s)$   $\hat{\epsilon}\nu$   $\hat{\nu}\pi\hat{\epsilon}\rho$   $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\kappa\alpha[\mu\hat{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$  (this is no doubt to be read)  $\kappa\alpha\hat{\epsilon}$   $\mu\hat{\epsilon}\rho(\alpha s)$   $\hat{\epsilon}\nu$   $\hat{\nu}\pi\hat{\epsilon}\rho$   $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$   $\hat{\epsilon}\kappa\phi\rho\rho\hat{\epsilon}\omega[\nu]$ .

19.  $\epsilon \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$   $\delta \epsilon$   $\sigma \epsilon$   $\kappa \tau \lambda$ .: the landlord is to have, as an additional perquisite, half an aroura of hay; hay was frequently measured, no doubt before the harvest, by arouras.  $\pi \rho \delta s$   $\pi \delta \sigma as$   $\kappa \sigma \pi \delta s$  is not quite clear. In Lond. i. 113. 3 and 4 referred to above the landlord is to bear the cost of the mowing. Is the meaning here that he is to do the same and to receive the extra hay as an equivalent? Or is it rather that 'on every mowing' he is to receive this amount of hay in addition to his share of the total crop? As the lease is for a year only and it seems unlikely there would be two crops of grass in the year,  $\kappa \sigma \pi \eta$ , used in the plural, may here denote the crop of each field.

21. παρεξωμεν σοι κτλ.: a further payment by the tenants, over and above the landlord's half share in the produce. Such additional payments, whether in money or in kind, are common in leases of this class. For cheeses as part of the additional payment see 1695, 24; Cair. Masp. i. 67107; iii. 67300 (which, however, are not métayage); 1698, 4 (probably); Lond. i. 113. 4. In 67300 the number is the same as here.

22.  $\lambda a \psi a \nu \eta s$  κολοβα  $\epsilon \xi$ : cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67107, 18, where probably we should read τυρους  $\pi [\epsilon \nu \tau \eta \kappa a \nu \tau a]$  (or, if this is too long,  $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon$ ) κ,  $\lambda a \psi a \nu \eta \eta s$  κολοβα  $\epsilon \xi$ ; iii. 67300, 15 ( $\lambda \epsilon \psi \dot{a} \nu \eta s$ ); 1695, 24 ( $\lambda \epsilon \psi \dot{a} \nu \eta s$ ); 1698, 4 (where the word is spelt with the  $\mu$ ,  $\lambda a \mu \psi \dot{a} \nu \eta s$ ); and 1771, 10 ( $\lambda \epsilon \psi \dot{a} \nu \eta s$ ). Forcellini defines lapsana as 'genus quoddam oleris seu cymae silvestris', Stephanus as 'olus agreste edule', L. and S. as 'charlock'. Pliny, N. H. xx. 37, says 'inter silvestres brassicas et lapsana est'. Since,

however, it is taken as rent the herb must apparently have been cultivated on occasion. It was regarded as poor fare (Pliny, N. H. xix. 41), and from Crum, Cat. of Coptic MSS. in the B. M. p. 56,  $7\kappa\bar{\epsilon}$ ,  $r\kappa\bar{\epsilon}$  and several passages in literary sources seems to have been eaten specially by monks. Other instances of the word in papyri, etc., are Crum, Coptic Ostraca, no. 210, p. 58; P. Petr. iii. 53 (m), 9, p. 152.

παρεχομεν: the ο corr. from ω.

23. τας μανδρας: λ. τῶν μανδρῶν (or τῆς μάνδρας). Apparently temporary sheepfolds are meant, which were to be erected at the joint cost of the landlord and the tenants.

24. ω/: ὡμολογήσαμεν. What follows was added as an afterthought.

26.  $\tau a \alpha \chi v p a$ : perhaps the tax in kind (Waszyński, Boden-pacht, p. 120 f.), payable in this case by the landlord but to be delivered for him by the tenants. If  $\epsilon \kappa$  in l. 27 is right the landlord's half of the corn was threshed on his own threshing-floor, and perhaps the corn and chaff to be conveyed from there to the village threshing-floor were merely that portion of the produce required for the corn- and chaff-taxes.

27.  $\epsilon \kappa$ :  $\kappa$  is not certain, and there is room for a letter after it, but as an upstroke is visible  $\kappa$  is a probable reading, and if it is right the word can hardly be anything but  $\epsilon \kappa$ .

Aρηλιος: sic.

O

29. ...  $\beta ais$ : unless two letters were written and then crossed out, the name is not the same as in 1. 2.

μεμισθωμαρ: sic.

30. Aupylios: the traces are too indistinct to be sure whether this is a new hand (a witness) or the same (subscriber for the second lessee).

31. At the beginning  $\mu[\iota\sigma]\theta[\omega r\iota]\kappa/$  might be read, and  $!\beta\alpha[\iota]s$  is not impossible before  $A\pi \iota \lambda\omega \tau \iota s$ , but the traces are really too faint for any confident reading.

V.

## PAPYRUS 1695.—A. D. 531 (?).

Inv. No. 1668. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $9\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 7\frac{5}{8}$  in. Written in a hasty much sloping cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus stained a very dark brown in the middle, where the ink is discoloured as in **1694**. Folded from right to left.

Though a date is assigned above to this lease, it is placed among the undated documents, because the date is conjectural only. This date is derived from Cair. Masp. iii. 67300 (A.D. 526), an acknowledgement of a lease for three years to Victor son of Papnuth(i)us of a  $\kappa\tau\eta\mu\alpha$  in the  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho$ 0 of  $\overline{\Pi\iota\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau0}$  (this name is a correction;  $O\nu\epsilon\sigma\omega\tau$ 0 was written first). As the name of the  $\kappa\tau\eta\mu\alpha$  is the same as here, as the lease is similar to the present one in several of its formulae, and as the lessors are  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 0 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 1 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 2 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 3 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 4 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 4 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 4 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 5 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 6 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 6 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 6 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 6 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 7 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 8 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 9 set  $\tau\alpha\imath$ 9

The provision as to rent payments is of a somewhat unusual kind. The lessee, in lieu of rent, is to pay the taxes, both in corn and money, to which the  $\kappa\tau\eta\mu\alpha$  is liable, presumably for each of the five years during which the lease continues, though the endorsement mentions only the canon of the 10th indiction. The document, with 1676 and 1686, is thus an illustration of the crushing burden of the taxes at this period. As an additional payment 26 artabas of wheat and, for the pastures, 12 litrae of wool are to be paid to the owners, and at the end the lessee undertakes also to pay 70 cheeses and an uncertain quantity of  $\lambda\alpha\psi\alpha\nu\eta$ . Similar but not identical provisions are to be seen in Cair. Masp. 67300.

 $\pi$ ερι την αυτην [κω]μ[ν χ]αιρ// ομ[ο]λογ[ω εκουσ]ι[ως]και αυθαι[ρ]ετως μεμισθωσθαι παρ ύμων προς πεντα  $\epsilon \tau \eta$  χρονον λογιζ/ απο καρπων συν<sup>θ</sup> δ $\epsilon$ κατης ινδι<sup>μ</sup>/ και αυτης το κτημα το[ν] ευγενεστατί Σιβυλλας και Ηραειδος 5 θυγατραις Μουσαιο" Συριωνος το απογενομενο συντελεστο" το διακειμενί επι της προς λιβα μερεσι της αυτης κωμης κληρου Πιας, Πετο συν λακκοις πηγαιο τε και αναβολικου και μονη και φ[υ]τοις και φοινιξι και δικαιω παντι εντος κ[αι] εκτος κατα τα ορια εφ ω με τουτο γεωργησαι 10  $\epsilon$ κ των ι $[\delta]$ ιων μο\ ζωω $[\nu]$  και γεωργων και αντι των εκφοριων ετοιμω[ς] εχω εν τελειω και αβροχικω ο μη είη παρασχείν τα ενελκομενα είς αυτω τω κτηματι εν σιτω και χρυσικοις και αλλων και  $\epsilon$ ις  $\tau$ [0]ν λογον αυταις ταις γ $\epsilon$ ουχαις  $\epsilon$ κτος την συντ $\epsilon$ λ $\epsilon$ ιαν 15 εν ανώ δ[ο]σει και λ[ι]ψ διδοναι αυταις σιτου αρταβα[ς] εικοσι εξ μετρω το ενδοξί κομί Αμμωνιο

και υπερ [βο]σκηματων διδοναι αυταις εραιας καθαρας πεπλιμ[εν]ας λιτρας δωδεκα ακωλυτως δε εχω λαβειν [υδ]ωρ απο των υδρευματων εις ξενας αρουρας

20 ανευ  $\mu$ ι $[\sigma\theta$ ου  $\eta$ ]  $\mu$ ι $\sigma\theta$ ωσις δισσην ομοτυπον και επερ/ (2nd hand) Αυρηλιος Ψαχω[ς Βικτ]ορος ο προκ/ μεμισθωμαι ως προκ/ Αυρηλιος

4. τον: l. τῶν; or possibly the scribe wrote του. ω is impossible.

5. θυγατραις: sic; so too Cair. Masp. 67300, 2. συντελεστου: cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67105, 9, note.

6. της: l. τοις. For τὰ πρὸς λίβα μέρη cf. the divisions ή δυτική and ή ἀνατολική in Arab times (vol. iv).

7. Iliao Ileto: cf. 1419, 215, 613, 1078, 1254. A place called Πετο, apparently of some importance, occurs frequently in Cair. Masp. ii. 67138, 67139. From 67138, ii, v., 19; 67139, ii, v., 14 it appears that there was a monastery there. Cf. below,

πηγαιου τε και αναβολικου: Ι. πηγαίφ τε καὶ ἀναβολικῷ, i.e. apparently one pond supplied by a spring and one supplied by a sakīyah. 67300 mentions merely a λάκκος and a δεξαμένη. Probably the latter is the ἀναβολικὸς λάκκος.

8. μονη: cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67097, r., 2; 67099, 9; 67107, 10. In all these cases the μονή, which was no doubt a dwelling for the people employed on the estate, is named along with the λάκκος.

11. εν τελειω: see 1689, 18, note.

12. ενελκομενα: much more like ενεγκομενα, but 67300 has ενελκ[ο]μενα δημοσίου χρυσικού κ(αί) της σιτοπομπίας έμβολης καί ναύλου, and ἐνέλκω is the likelier verb; cf. 1676, 34 and note. In τελειω also (l. 11) the λ is made with a very short stroke. But possibly  $\gamma$  was written by a slip of the pen.

12-13. L. είς αὐτὸ τὸ κτῆμα.

αλλων: Ι. ἄλλοις.

14. αυταις ταις γεουχαις: Ι. αὐτῶν τῶν γεούχων. την συντελειαν: Ι. της συντελείας.

15. εν ανω δοσει: 'as an extra payment'.

 $\lambda[\iota]\psi$ : this obscure reading is taken from 1696, verso, 19, where  $\lambda i \psi$ , a certain reading, seems to occur in a similar context, though unfortunately too little remains for any certainty. Here  $\lambda$  and  $\psi$  are practically certain and the space suits  $\iota$ .

autais: corr. from autais.

16. Αμμωνίου: no doubt the Ammonius of Cair. Masp. ii. 67138-67140. It is to be noted that Ammonius owned an estate at Peto, where the estate here leased was situated. Hence it would be natural to use his measure as a standard. The same measure is specified in 67300; it is there described as μέτρφ φορικώ.

17. βοσκηματων: the estate apparently included sheep pastures. εραιας: λ. έρέας; a regular mis-spelling in the Aphrodito papyri. In 67300, instead of fleeces, one gold tremis is to be paid for the pastures.

 $\kappa \alpha \theta \alpha \rho \alpha s$ :  $\kappa$  is a correction, perhaps from s.

18. πεπλιμενας: Ι. πεπλυμένας.

ακωλυτως κτλ.: that this does not mean, as from this context alone might be thought, that the tenant was to have the right to draw water for the land here leased from canals leading to other farms is shown by 67300, 16 f.,  $\dot{a}\kappa\omega[\lambda\dot{v}\tau]\omega s$   $\delta[\dot{\epsilon}]\,\dot{\epsilon}\chi\omega\,\dot{\lambda}a\beta\dot{\epsilon}[\hat{\iota}]\nu$ ὖδωρ [ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείσε] λάκκ[ο]υ καὶ δεξαμ[ένης] εἰς τ[àς ξ]ένας καὶ συνη[μμ]ένας [a]ρούρ[as τ][a]αὐτ[a] τόπ[a] αὐτ[a] τόπ[a] ανευ [a][a]0[a], from which it appears that he is to be allowed to take water from the ύδρεύματα of this estate to land held by him of other landlords.

 $\delta \epsilon \epsilon \chi \omega$ : the scribe began to write  $\delta \epsilon \chi \omega$  but altered  $\chi$  to  $\epsilon$ .

19. υδρευματων: δ is apparently a correction from τ.

20. η μισθωσις δισσην: sic; cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67105, 24-25, where probably  $\eta \mu \iota \sigma \theta i \delta i [\sigma \sigma] \eta \nu \mid [\sigma \mu \sigma \tau \upsilon] \pi \sigma \nu$  is to be read.

 $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho(\omega \tau \eta \theta \epsilon \iota s \omega \mu o \lambda o \gamma \eta \sigma a)$ : cf. 1693, 16, note.

21. Ψαχως: perhaps the Ψαχώς ἀπὸ Πετό who occurs several times in Cair. Masp. ii. 67138, 67139. There is not much room for Birt]opos, but this writer compresses his letters more than Ιωανν[ης Αβ]ρααμιο αξι[ω]θεις εγραψα υπερ αυτό γραμματα μη ειδ[οτ] (3rd hand?) . .] .  $\eta'$  της εμβ[ολ]ης συν να[υ]λοις και το χρυσι<sup>κ</sup> και αλλί . [. . . . .] δωσω δε κ[αι τυ]ρους εβδ[ομη]κοντα και λεψ[ανη]ς 25 κολ[ο]βα [? εξ . . . . .] . ος Ιωαννης [. . . . . .] . οστό (1st hand?) + δι [εμου . . . .] . εγραφ[η + ] Endorsed, along the fibres:—

the scribe of the document itself, and the name is certain from the endorsement.

(4th hand?) ] Ψακωτος Βικτορος κτημίς Πιας, Πετο

23. Here is added, as an afterthought, a further provision regarding the lease. The hand is probably different both from that of the subscriber John and from that of the scribe. The character before  $\tau\eta s$ , which looks like 4 (the symbol for  $\frac{1}{8}$ ) with a line through it, is apparently here a symbol for  $i\pi\ell\rho$ .  $\delta\omega\sigma]\phi$  may have come before it, though there seems hardly to be room. The object of the clause about the taxes is apparently to make it clear that the *embola* is to include  $\nu\alpha\hat{v}\lambda o\nu$ ; cf. the passage from 67300 quoted in the note on l. 12.

24.  $[\ldots]$ : perhaps  $\tau[\epsilon \lambda \epsilon \sigma \mu i]$ ?

 $\tau\nu\rho\sigma\nu s$ : cf. 1694, 21 and note there. In 67300 the number is 50.

 $\lambda \epsilon \psi a \nu \eta s$ : cf. 1694, 22 and note. The spelling with  $\epsilon$  is found in 67300, 15 and 1771, 10. In l. 25 no letter of  $\kappa o \lambda o \beta a$  is much more than a guess, but the reading must be right.

25.  $\epsilon \xi$ : in 67300, where the cheeses number 50, 4 κολοβά of  $\lambda a \psi \acute{a} \nu \eta$  are to be paid. Hence, with 70 cheeses here, 6 κολοβά seem likely.

] .0s  $1\omega a\nu\nu\eta s$ : or possibly  $\tau$ ] $\eta s$   $\mu a\nu\nu\eta s$ , but  $\iota\omega$  is more probable than  $\mu$ .

26. καν ι//: i.e. κανόνος δεκάτης (ἰνδικτίονος).

καν<sup>ς</sup> ι//

## PAPYRUS 1696.—First half of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1742. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 9 in. × 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (including the fragment stuck on to the back—see below—11½ in. × 5½ in.). In a tall, laterally compressed, sloping cursive, along the fibres; papyrus dark.

An imperfect lease of land to a lessee named Isaac. The lessors are addressed in the plural and may therefore be the heirs of some one, or the  $\delta\eta\mu\dot{\delta}\sigma\iota\sigma_{\delta}$   $\delta\dot{\gamma}\rho\sigma_{\delta}$ , or a monastery. The only point of much interest is the relation of the two amounts in ll. 14, 15; see the note there. The date (see note on l. 18) is more likely to be early than late in the century.

To the back of this lease is stuck a strip from another lease. The paste or other glutinous matter used is still visible where, by the disappearance of part of each piece of papyrus, the two do not overlap, and it is clear that they were stuck together in antiquity. Why this was done is not obvious; possibly one, the lease having expired, was used to strengthen or to repair the other. This lease at the back (written along the fibres) was of land by Apollos to a number of persons for three years. As the missing portion may exist in some other collection the beginnings of all the lines are here communicated:— $^{\rm I}$  +  $\mu\epsilon\tau$ [ $\alpha$   $\tau\eta\nu$   $\nu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ ;  $^{\rm 2}$   $\Phi$ [ (indented);  $^{\rm 3}$   $^{\rm 3}$   $^{\rm 4}$   $^{\rm 4}$   $^{\rm 4}$   $^{\rm 5}$   $^{\rm 6}$   $^{\rm 4}$   $^{\rm 4}$   $^{\rm 6}$   $^{\rm 6}$   $^{\rm 7}$   $^{\rm 7}$   $^{\rm 8}$   $^{\rm 8}$   $^{\rm 8}$   $^{\rm 9}$   $^{\rm 9}$   $^{\rm 9}$   $^{\rm 9}$   $^{\rm 9}$  (indented);  $^{\rm 9}$   $^{$ 

ειδοτος . . [;  $^{29}$   $\mathbf{P}$  εγρα[ $\phi$ /. L. 29 is in the same hand as the body of the document, ll. 23(probably)–28 in different hands, but it is not easy on the basis of so small a portion of each line to distinguish the hands exactly. Endorsed, along the fibres:—] Βικτορος Ερμ[α] [ω]τος κα[ι] . . . ωνος (not Συριωνος) Ψαιο<sup>ν</sup> . . [

[. . .]  $\pi$ ερι την αυτη[ν κωμην Αφροδιτην χαιρ// ομο] [λογ]ω μεμισθωσθ[αι παρ υμων προς ..... λογιζομε][νον] απο καρπων συν Θ[εω....ινδικ/ και αυτης την] $\sigma vv$ [υπ]αρχουσαν υμιν ολ[οκληρον 5 [ $\tau o$ ] is  $\epsilon \nu$  auths  $\phi o \iota \nu \iota \xi [\iota \ \kappa a \iota \ \phi \upsilon \tau o \iota s]$ ? και [?  $\alpha\pi$ ]οθηκης και παντι δι[καιω διακειμενην εν τη . . . . .]  $[\pi\epsilon]\delta\iota \alpha \delta\iota$  της αυτης κωμ[ης Αφροδιτης κληρου? [...] Îσακιου εν τοπο $\theta$ ε[σια κατα [τα] εκεισε κοινα παλαια [ο]ρ[ια? 10  $\tau \circ v = [\pi] \rho \circ \kappa / \tau \circ \pi \circ v = \sigma \rho \circ \tau \in \rho[\circ s]$  $\epsilon \phi \omega \mu \epsilon \tau \eta \nu \pi a \sigma a \nu \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma [\iota \kappa \eta \nu \epsilon \rho \gamma a \sigma \iota a \nu \pi o \iota \eta \sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota]$ εκ των ϊδιων μο αναλ[ωμ]ατ[ων και κτηνων  $\kappa_1$  διδοναι υμιν τον φορον επ  $\alpha\pi[$ οτακτω κα $\theta$  εκαστον ενιαυτον?] σιτο αρταβας επτα τω υμω[ν μετρω εν τελειω και αβροχικω] 15 ο μη ειη σιτου αρταβας εξ τω.[  $η \mu \iota \sigma \theta \rangle \kappa_{i} \epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \omega \tau \eta \delta \rangle$  (2nd hand)  $\Gamma \sigma \alpha \kappa \sigma \circ O$ . [ ο προκ/ μεμισθωμαι ως προκ/

I. Perhaps κωμην χαιρ// εκουσιως και αυθαιρετως ομο], but there is no other instance in the Aphrodito leases of the adverbs preceding ομολογω. For <math>περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην in this position cf. 1695, I.

16.  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \omega \tau \eta \theta (\epsilon \iota s \omega \mu o \lambda o \gamma \eta \sigma a)$ : cf. 1693, 16, note.

<sup>4.</sup> The feminine  $v\pi a \rho \chi o v\sigma a v$  precludes the restoration  $\gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma \iota o v$  or  $\kappa \tau \eta \mu a$ . Neither  $\gamma \eta v$  nor  $\gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma \iota a v$  seems probable, and perhaps the most likely reading is  $a \rho o v \rho a v$  but one would gather from the lease as a whole that a bigger holding than one of a single aroura was in question. Hardly  $\epsilon \pi a u \lambda \iota v$ ? Perhaps  $[\tau \eta v v \pi] a \rho \chi o v \sigma a v$  should be read, as  $v \pi$  is rather little for the space; but  $\tau \eta v v \pi$  seems too much.

<sup>5.</sup> aυτης: sic.

каг фитог : cf. 1694, 10; 1695, 8; etc.

<sup>6.</sup>  $\alpha\pi \sigma\theta\eta\kappa\eta\kappa$ : hardly  $\chi\sigma\rho\tau\sigma\theta\eta\kappa\eta\kappa$ , for the space is hardly enough for  $\chi\sigma\rho\tau$ , whereas it is too much for  $\tau$  alone ( $\chi\sigma\rho$  being written in l. 5); and moreover in that case the top-stroke of  $\tau$  should be visible,  $\sigma$  not being close to the edge of the papyrus. The word should of course be in the dative.

<sup>7.</sup> κληρου: or λεγομενη....as in 1692 (a), 14. In any case it seems likely that 1σακιου is a patronymic, the preceding name being divided between ll. 7 and 8; otherwise the supplement in l. 7 would be too short.

<sup>8.</sup> Îσακιου: the second ι is corrected from κ. τοποθεσια: cf. 1697, 7; Cair. Masp. ii. 67162, 9; 67238, 8.

<sup>9.</sup> Perhaps  $[\tau \bar{o}]$  ekeise koivā  $\pi a \lambda a i \bar{o}$ ; but the a in epta, l. 14, is made similarly.

<sup>10.</sup> τοπου ον: doubtful.

<sup>11</sup> f. For the supplements cf. 1694, 11 f.; Cair. Masp. i. 67107, 11-13.

<sup>13.</sup>  $\kappa(ai)$  διδοναι: there has been some confusion between the  $\kappa$  and the first δ.

 $<sup>\</sup>epsilon \pi$   $a\pi \circ \tau a\kappa \tau \omega$ : cf. 1689, 18, note. The  $a\pi$  is however doubtful. For  $\kappa a\theta$   $\epsilon \kappa a\sigma \tau o\nu$   $\epsilon \nu \iota a \upsilon \tau o\nu$  see Cair. Masp. i. 67107, 14. 15. The supplement in l. 14 seems assured by  $o \mu \eta \epsilon \iota \eta$  here. The present line can hardly be a mere blundering repetition of l. 14. Possibly a different measure is indicated here-7 artabas by the landlords' measure being equal to 6 by that of some other person. Such a ratio of 6:7 between the δοχικόν and δρόμος measures (probably 36:42 choenices) is shown by Grenfell and Hunt, P. Teb. i, p. 232 f.; cf. Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. lxviii. It would be interesting if it could be inferred from this passage that these measures or measures corresponding to them were still in use at Aphrodito, but the evidence is not sufficient for certainty; and it seems more likely that, as suggested by Prof. Hunt and Sir Frederic Kenyon, the 6 artabas are payable in case the land is unirrigated. In 1770 and P. Grenf. i. 56 indeed the difference is much greater than here, but since the rent was sometimes payable ἐν τελείφ καὶ ἀβροχικφ̂, a reduction by 1 artaba only is not impossible. If this explanation be accepted we may very likely read τω a[υτω μετρω and should probably insert εν before αβροχικω; on the other explanation  $\tau \omega$   $\epsilon [\mu \omega \mu \epsilon \tau \rho \omega \text{ is possible.}]$ 

(1st hand)  $\mathbf{P} \in \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \eta$   $\delta \iota \in \mu o^{\nu} A \beta \rho a [\alpha \mu \iota o \nu]$  Illegible endorsement, along the fibres.

18. Αβρασμου: Cair. Masp. i. 67112; ii. 67252; 67259 are all written by a person or persons of this name, in the first case described as the son of Apollos. Very possibly the present notary is the same, but it is impossible to test this, as none of the Cairo documents is given in facsimile. 67112 is addressed

to Apollos the father of Dioscorus; 67252 is dated A. D. 538. If this scribe is the same, the date of the lease will probably fall in the first half of the century; the hand suggests a fairly early date.

## PAPYRUS 1697.—First half of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1735. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $5\frac{5}{8}$  in. × about  $4\frac{1}{4}$  in.; two fragments, not continuous. In a sloping cursive hand of medium size, along the fibres; dark papyrus.

A LEASE of land for a year. The traces at the top, which make the reading  $\Delta \iota ο \sigma κ \delta \rho o \nu$  probable, suggest that the lessor (or lessee) is Apollos, and this is somewhat supported by the mention of the  $\tau o \pi o \theta \epsilon \sigma i \alpha$  Φόνεωs, since 1692 (δ), 13 f. (now too Flor. iii. 342) shows that Apollos possessed land there. The hand points to a date fairly early in the century.

[? Απολλωτι Διο]σκορο<sup>[ν]</sup> α[πο] κ[ω]μ[ης Α]φρ[οδ]μτ[η]ς
[του Ανταιοπολιτ]ου νομου χαιρ/ [ομο]λογω
[μεμισθωσθαι] παρα σο` προς ε[νιαυ]σιον χρονον
[κατασπορας γ]ε[ν]ηματος συν Θε[ω μελ]λί εκτης
5 [ινδι"/ τας υπαρ]χουσας σοι ολ[οκ/] αρουρας διακει
[μενας εν πεδ]ιαδι της αυτης κω[μη]ς Αφροδιτης
[κληρου....]. ΄ς τοποθεσια Φ[ον]εως οσων
[? εστι συν δικαιοι]ς πασι κατα τα ορι[α περ]ιελθουσας
[εις σε παρα των] σων γονεων κ[αι δ]ιαφορων
10 [.....]οντα σοι δικαια [...]ρας εφ ω με
[ταυτας γεωργ]ησαι και παρεξ[ω] τον φορον
[επ αποτακτω χ]ρυσο` νομισμ[α ε]ν παρα

4. κατασπορας γενηματος; cf. 1688, 7, note. For κατασπορας instead of σπορας see Cair. Masp. i. 67101, 11.

6. The supplement is rather short.  $\tau\eta$  is not usually inserted, but it occurs in Cair. Masp. i. 67099, 7 and is perhaps to be supplied here.

7. κληρου: or λεγομί; cf. 1696, 7, note. τοποθεσια: cf. 1696, 8, note. Φονεως: cf. 1692 (b), 14 and note.

οσων εστι: we should expect οσαι εισι after αρουρας, but the

phrase is probably a recollection of the usual construction where  $\tau o \ \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma \iota o \nu$  or a similar phrase has preceded.

10. Difficult. After  $\delta\iota a\phi o\rho\omega\nu$  we should expect  $\pi\rho o\sigma\omega\pi\omega\nu$ , and  $o\nu\tau a\sigma o\iota$  suggests  $v\pi a\rho\chi]o\nu\tau a$  (for  $\iota \pi a\rho\chi o\iota\sigma as$ ), which would fill the lacuna; but the relation of  $\delta\iota\kappa a\iota a$  (which was suggested by Prof. Hunt) to the rest of the sentence is obscure, and it is difficult to see what [...] $\rho as$  is;  $\delta\iota\kappa a\iota \omega$  [ $\pi$ ] $\rho a\sigma(\epsilon\omega s)$  or [ $a\gamma o$ ] $\rho a\sigma(\iota as)$  seems unlikely, especially after 1.8 f.

12. επ αποτακτω: or perhaps υπερ αυτων.

[κερ/....χρυσ]οχοϊ $^{κ}/$  και αρ[.] καθαρο $^{λ}$  κοκκο $^{ν}$ 

13. χρυσοχοϊκ(ω): sc. σταθμ $\hat{\varphi}$ .
  $a\rho[.]$ : hardly  $a\rho[\tau(a\beta as)]$ , as this should come after the grain.
14. Perhaps ]  $\tau \varphi$  κτλ.; but the whole reading is extremely

doubtful. For the occurrence of αναμφιλογως in this position cf. Cair. Masp. i. 67100, 21; 67109, 40.

## PAPYRUS 1698.—Middle of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1698. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $6 \text{ in.} \times 8\frac{3}{4} \text{ in.}$  In a compressed sloping cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus bleached to a light brown in the upper part and rubbed in places. Folded from right to left. There are four small unplaced fragments.

In the segmentable that this lease is so imperfect, as its formulae seem to have differed a good deal from those in the other leases from Aphrodito. The chief difference is in the clause at the end by which it is provided that if either party breaks the agreement he shall be liable to a money-fine. The landlord too is forbidden (l. 7) to eject the tenants from their tenure. The fact that both parties are bound to the agreement under pain of a fine suggests that this may be an instance of métayage (see 1694, introduction), in which case the wheat and barley mentioned in l. 2 would be an additional payment by the tenants; but it is equally possible that though both parties agreed to contribute something to the cultivation the tenants were to pay a fixed rent instead of dividing the produce with the landlord. In either case the cheeses (?) and  $\lambda \alpha \psi \acute{a}\nu \eta$  (l. 4) were certainly an extra payment, as in 1694 and 1695. In l. 3 there seems to be a mention of monasteries (in the plural), and it is possible that these are the lessors, but l. 5, though the sense is not very clear, makes against this. The lessees are apparently the heirs of Psimanobet son of Cyrus, a person who occurs in Cair. Masp. ii. 67150. Among the witnesses is the poet Dioscorus.

] . χες [? δ]ε τα λειψανα των απ[ο]θνησκοντων εξ ϋμων δ]ια τ[η]ς ημων αμαξης και των ημων ζωων μεν πρε

3.  $a\pi a$ : very likely "A $\pi a$  with a saint's name; but as  $\mu o \nu a \sigma \tau \eta \rho \iota a$  is in the plural the reading may be  $a\pi a [\nu \tau a]$ . If  $\nu o \nu \theta o \nu$  (which is very doubtful) is correct, the former is perhaps the more probable, and  $\mu o \nu a \sigma \tau \eta \rho \iota a \nu$  may even be a clerical error for  $\mu o \nu a \sigma \tau \eta \rho \iota a \nu$ , in which case the reference may be to a measure).

παρα ει: the letters ει are very probable, but there is not room for παρα[σχ]ει[ν δε]. παραδωσαμεν δε is quite impossible.

4. Tupaus: cf. 1694, 21 and note.

λαμψανης: corrected from λαμψανας. Cf. 1694, 22 and note.

5. The traces suit  $\pi a \rho = \sqrt{\epsilon s}$ , but this seems an unlikely reading here.  $\ddot{\nu} \mu \omega \nu$  perhaps corr. to or from  $\eta \mu \omega \nu$ .

aμαξηs: corrected from aμαξαs.

 $\eta\mu\omega\nu$  (second): the  $\eta$  corrected from  $\epsilon$  ( $\epsilon\mu\omega\nu$ ).

ζωων: after this there is a space and so too in the corresponding position in ll. 7–9. The reason is that the junction of two κολλήματα comes here and the edges are not smoothly joined.

] ημα[ς] εκβαλειν εκ της γεωργιας των ειρημενών αρουρών
]ειν μισθωταις ει δε συμβαιη τινα εξ ημών παραβηναι τα
το] μ[η] εμμενών του μερους τω εμμενοντι δωσειν χρυσ .

[και επερ ωμολ/]
(2nd hand) κ]ληρονομοί Ψιμανωβετ Κυρου Φισκιού
ο]ί προκ/ μεμισθωμαι ως π[ρ]οκ
(3rd hand) μ]α[ρ]τυρώ ως προκ/ (4th hand) Φλζ Διοσκορος Απ[ο]λλωτος μαρτυρ[ω ως] προκ/

8. ]  $\epsilon i \nu$ : a verb meaning 'to transfer' or 'to lease', perhaps with allows before it.

 $\tau a$ : at the beginning of 1. 9 supply  $\pi \rho ο \kappa ε ι \rho \eta \mu \epsilon \nu a$  or something similar.

9. το μη εμμενων του μερους: or perhaps του μη εμμενωντου  $(=\vec{\epsilon}\mu\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\nu\sigma\tau\sigma s)$  μερους, but the letter before ou looks more like  $\sigma$  than  $\tau$ , and perhaps  $\sigma\sigma$  was inadvertently inserted. In any

case the construction is confused; but the meaning is clear.  $\chi\rho\nu\sigma$ ..: no doubt  $\chi\rho\nu\sigma\sigma\nu$ , but the traces are confused at the end.

10. Something like και μηδεν ηττον ακον is to be supplied before εμμειναι.

12 f. In very clumsy uncertain uncials.

13. μεμισθωμαι: λ. μεμισθώμεθα.

## 5. Loans and Receipts.

## PAPYRUS 1699.—11 Aug., A. D. 520.

Inv. No. 1647. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a compressed slightly sloping cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus much rubbed. Folded from right to left.

NE of the documents from Aphrodito is certainly an actual contract of loan. The present one is an acknowledgement by Besarion, the uncle of Dioscorus, of a debt of wheat incurred by his father Dioscorus and his uncle Hermauos. It is not a mere assumption of liability for the payment of this debt, for the wheat is said to be owing  $\dot{v}\pi\dot{e}\rho$   $\dot{a}v\alpha\kappa\omega\mu\dot{e}\delta\eta\dot{s}$   $\tauo[\hat{v}$   $\pi\rhoo]\tau\dot{e}\rho\sigma\nu$   $\chi\epsilon\nu\rho\sigma\gamma\rho\dot{a}\phi\sigma\nu$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ .; i. e. apparently Besarion and his brother (Apollos, as the endorsement shows) had previously undertaken the liability. Besarion now gives the creditor a further bond for the payment. The reason apparently is that he owes, besides the forty artabas of the earlier debt, an additional six artabas; and he now gives a single bond for the total debt, receiving back the earlier one. The endorsement mentions both Besarion and Apollos, but Apollos does not occur as associated with his brother in the extant portion of the document; possibly the mention of him in the endorsement is due to a confusion with the earlier bond.

<sup>1.</sup> This year was actually a double consulship, Vitalianus and name of one consul; see e.g. Cair. Masp. ii. 67125, dated in the consulship of Philoxenus, without mention of Probus.

12 [το]ς αιτο, ἀὑ[τα]βας εξ λ[ι, ο]ὑὸ, ἀῖ[, βο] ħε και ταπας
12 [το]ς αιτο, ἀὑ[τα]βας εξ λ[ι, ο]ὑὸ, ἀῖ[, βο] ħε και ταπας
13 βοθεντων ὑοι μ[α]ὑ[···]ἐντο· [··] λὸσφέκ
14 βεντος αοι μάὑ απιων μεδιοντ[ων] αιτο, κ' Εὐπαο, ωτος θειο, ἡο, μδ[ο]ς ħλὶὑ[ος Χ]ὑεῷ[α]ἰλ
15 Χὸεορς το, ἡακἀὐιστατο, ἡο, μ[ατδο]ἐ ∇ιοακοδο, λελοαπητενό, ἀοι μαὸ επο, απιο, πμεὸ ἰόη
16 Χὸεορς το, ἡακἀὐιστατο, ἡο, μ[ατδο]ἐ ∇ιοακοδο, λειδολύαφο, ἡεταξη κ' [το]ἡ επο, αφεγφο, λειδολύαφο, ἡεταξη κ' [το]ἡ επο, αφεγφο, λειδολύαφο, ἡεταξη κ' [το]ἡ επο, αφεγφο, απο μεταξη κ' [το]ἡ επο, αφεγφο, λειδολύαφο, ἡεταξη κ' [το]ἡ επο, αφεγφο, απο μεταξη κ' [το]ἡ επο, αφεγφο, απο μεταξη κ' [το]ἡ επο, απο μεταξη κ' [το]ἡ επο μεταξη κ' [τ

Endorsed, along the fibres:—
(2nd hand?)  $\star$   $B\eta\sigma\alpha\rho\iota\omega\nu$ os  $\kappa_0$   $A\pi\sigma\lambda\lambda\omega\tau$ os

7. του προτερου: there seems hardly room for so much in the lacuna, but the letters vary greatly in size, some being much compressed, and the reading (rather than  $e.g. \epsilon | \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu$ ) is supported by the parallel passage in P. Grenf. ii. 89, 2 f., όμολογῶ ἀφείλειν καὶ χρεωστείν . . . ὑπὲρ ἀνακομιδῆς τοῦ προτέρου μου γραμματίου. The editors there suggest that the debtor, 'on the repayment of part of some previous debt, had the old bond returned to him, and now made a fresh one for the balance'. ἀνακομιδή refers in the same way to the recovery of a bond in Oxy. viii. II30, 19, οὐκ ἐξέσ ⟨εσ⟩θαί μοι λέγειν δεδω[κ]έναι τι ἐκ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου χρέους χωρὶς ἐγγραφοῦς ἐντάγιον (sic) ἡ οὖν ἀποχῆ⟨ς⟩ ὑ πρὸ ἀνακωμιτῆς καὶ λητρώσε[ος] τοῦδέ μου γραμματίου.

8. μεταξυ: after this σου has been inadvertently omitted.

13.  $\lambda o \gamma[a^{\lambda} a \pi o] \delta o \sigma[\epsilon \omega s]$ : or perhaps  $\lambda o \gamma[o v] \delta o \sigma[\epsilon \omega s]$ ,  $\sigma$  and v filling the lacuna (which is rather small for  $\sigma^{\lambda} a \pi a$ ), as they might do if written fairly large. Or possibly  $\lambda o \gamma[o v] \delta a \sigma[\epsilon \omega v] \delta a \delta \epsilon v \tau \omega v$   $\mu o \iota \pi[a] \rho[a \sigma o^{\lambda}] \epsilon v \tau a \iota [\omega v]$  may be the reading. This would indeed be a probable reading but for the difficulty of explaining  $\gamma \rho a - \phi \epsilon v \tau o s$ . The 6 artabas in l. 15 may then be the interest on these  $\delta \delta \sigma e s c$ .

16. \*: perhaps merely a variation of the cross, but more probably =  $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho \delta \gamma \rho a \phi o \nu$ .  $\chi$  ( $\chi \iota$ ) would rather be expected (cf. 1774, 17), but  $\chi$  with a horizontal stroke seems a quite possible abbreviation.

# PAPYRUS 1700.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1660. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  9 in. In a compressed sloping cursive hand, with a thick pen, across the fibres; ink of a reddish brown colour, in many places of nearly the same tint as the papyrus. Folded from the bottom upwards.

AN acknowledgement by a certain Victor of a debt of uncertain character and amount. It is not quite clear whether this is an actual loan, but since nothing is said as to the pre-existence of the debt it seems possible that it was created by the present document. In 1. 9 the debtor apparently undertakes to pay two carats if he fails to settle the debt. This makes it probable that the debt itself was for goods, not for money, as the two carats are not stated to be additional to the debt (a penalty for default) and were therefore presumably in lieu of it. Hence, since the debtor was an  $\partial_\mu \pi \epsilon \lambda \sigma \nu \rho \gamma \delta s$ , it is possible that the document is an undertaking to supply wine, and it may even be of the nature of a sale in advance.

]τοσβάω απο της Αναιοπολιτων εκ μητρ/ Αμάσιας [Αυρηλιος Βικτωρ αμπελου]ργος απο κωμης Αφροδιτης χαιρειν

I. It is not quite clear whether this was the first line. Through the  $\omega$  of ] $ro\sigma\beta\alpha\omega$  comes a long downstroke, crossed by an oblique stroke; but no previous line seems to be required by the sense and the blank space above this line is wider than is usual

between the other lines. Probably therefore the downstroke is part of a cross or of some heading like the usual  $\chi\mu\gamma$ .

]τοσβαω: the dotted letters are all but certain. Αναιοπολιτων: l. Ανταιοπολιτών.

[ομολογω χρεωστειν τη ση α]δελφωτητι εν καθαρω και αναμφιβολω  $[o\phi\epsilon i\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota\dots]$  και ταυ]τα  $[[\dots[\dots]]$  ετοιμως εχω παρασχείν τη ση 5 [αδελφοτητι ? εν τω μηνι Παχω]ν της παρουσης πεντεκαιδεκατης ϊνδ/ [.....]ατας εις την Αντιου διχα πασης αντιλογιας και εις σην [ασφαλειαν π]εποιημαι τουτο το ασφαλες ως προ"/ Αυρηλιος Βικτωρ αμπελουρ? [ο προγεγραμ]μή στοιχει μοι τουτο το ασ $\phi[a]$ λες ως προ $^{\kappa}/$  εγραφη Μεχειρ κδ  $[\iota\nu\delta/\iota\epsilon]$  και  $[\iota\nu\delta]$  ταυτα  $[\delta\omega]$  σοι παρέξω δυο κέρατια  $[\iota\nu\delta]$  χρυσω  $[\iota\nu\delta]$  . . . . Βικτωρ 10 [στοιχει μοι] (2nd hand) Αυρηλίος  $\Pi[a]$ νως  $\Pi[o]$ νιτος ποι[μην] μαρτυρω ως προκ/

Endorsed, along the fibres:—

(3rd hand?) ] . . . Αυρ/ Βικτωρ

- 3. There seems hardly room, judging from ll. 5, 7, 8 for και οφειλειν.
- 5. εν τω μηνι Παχων: this is what we should expect; the letter after the lacuna looks rather more like  $\eta$  than  $\nu$ , but Mesoply (which would suit a sale of wine; see 1764, 2, note) would not be in the same indiction as a document written in Mecheir (1, 8). Above the beginning of 1.6, however, are visible two downstrokes which seem difficult to reconcile with the reading given.
- "νδ/: for this triple dotting of ι cf. vol. iv, p. xlv. Another instance occurs in 1673, 156.
- 6. Αντίου: l. 'Αντ(ο)ίου. We should perhaps read a lyras before eus (v is quite possible); but the word, from ll. 4 and 9, must be neuter (\(\tau\hat{v}\tau\). In any case the passage probably contains a stipulation that the debtor is to deliver the goods at the creditor's house in Antaeopolis.
  - 7.  $a\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda o\nu\rho\gamma(os)$ : the  $\rho$  and  $\gamma$  seem certain; in l. 2 the  $\gamma$  looks

- more like  $\tau$ , but  $\rho$  is practically certain. Thus  $a\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda o\nu\rho\gamma os$  may be regarded as right, though the beginning of the word here looks more like  $a\pi$   $(a\pi \delta ... o i\rho \gamma \omega \nu)$  than  $a\mu$ .
- 9. The supplement is rather large, and possibly the indiction was not inserted; but that would make the supplement too small if και ει μη is right.
- $A \nu \rho \dots$ : it seems hardly possible to reconcile the characters with  $\eta \lambda \iota \sigma s$ , though  $\Lambda \nu \rho$  is certain. The easiest reading is  $\sigma \tau \rho \omega$ ; but ηλιω is perhaps just possible. This is apparently the same hand as the preceding; Victor has signed again to signify his acceptance of the additional clause καὶ εἰ μὴ κτλ.
  - 10. Πονιτος: or perhaps Πωιτος.
- 11.  $[\mu\eta\nu]$ : the space is as large as in ll. 7-10, but the witness writes such a clumsy sprawling hand that it is unlikely he got more than  $\mu\eta\nu$  into it.

## PAPYRUS **1701**.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1650. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $6\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 11\frac{7}{8}$  in. In an easy flowing cursive hand, across the fibres. The papyrus is a light brown on the right, a darker brown on the left, the edge of the two colours being a sharp, straight line, though there is only a single κόλλημα. Folded from the bottom upwards.

RECEIPT from the count Flavius Theodore through his  $\pi a \hat{i} s$  (no doubt a domestic slave) to a wine-dealer of Aphrodito for three solidi less six carats on account of wine owed by the dealer. Though the receipt is given to the dealer and the money is described as  $\pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha} \sigma \sigma v$  it is also said to be παρὰ διαφόρων ὀνομάτων, and the receipt further states that a part of it was received from two shepherds, to whom a receipt cancelling the debt has been given. The explanation of this apparent discrepancy is no doubt that the dealer, instead of paying the money himself, instructed some of his own debtors to pay over to Theodore (or rather to his  $\pi a \hat{i} s$  Ariston) sums owing by them to himself. Ariston thereupon gave them a receipt discharging them of their liability to the wine merchant and now issues to the latter a receipt for the whole sum. As the debt was for wine (οἴνου τοῦ χρεωστηθέντος, not τιμής) the money is perhaps paid in lieu of wine, the dealer being unable to fulfil his contract for the supply of the full amount of wine.

 $\mathbf{P}$  Φλαο[υιος Θε]οδωρος ο [μ]ε[γα]λ[ο] $\pi$ [ρ]ε $\pi$ εστατος κομες δ[ι] ε[μου Αριστωνος Φοιβαμμωνος] [Αυ]ρηλιω Ηρακλειω Παο"ομθο" οινοπρατη απο Αφροδ/ χαιρ/ (απεσχον) παρα  $σο^v$  απο  $λογο^v$  οινο $^v$  το $^v$  χρεωστηθεντος ημιν παρα  $σο^v$  χρυσο $^v$  νομισ[ματα τρια παρα]κερατια εξ χρυσοχοϊ\*/ της αυτης κωμης παρα διαφορων ονοματων [και?] 5 εκ τουτων απεδεξαμην παρα Φηο τος και Ανουφιου ποιμενων χρυσου νομισμα[τα δυο]  $\kappa_1$  την ακυρωσιαν τουτων αυτοις δεδωκα  $\gamma \iota / \chi \rho / \nu$ ,  $\gamma \pi / \varsigma \kappa_1$  εις ση $[\nu \alpha \sigma] \phi \dot{\alpha} \dot{\lambda} [\epsilon] \iota [a] \nu$ 

πεποιημαι τουτο το ασφαλές των προκ/ τριω νομισματών μεθ υπογρ/ του υπέρ  $\epsilon \mu o^{\nu} \ \nu \pi o \gamma \rho / \ \kappa_{0} \ \epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \omega \tau \eta^{\theta} / \Theta \omega \theta \ / / \kappa \beta / / \ \tau \epsilon \tau a \rho \tau \eta s \ \iota \nu \delta \iota^{\kappa} / \ (2nd hand) \ \ \ \Phi \iota \iota \sigma \tau [\omega \nu] \ \Phi \iota \iota \beta a \mu \mu \omega \nu \sigma s$ παις του μεγαλοπρ $^{\epsilon}$ , κομ' Θεοδωρο ο προκ/ στοιχει μοι το το ασφαλες 10 των προκειμές τριων νομισματων παρα κερατια εξ χρυσοχί κωμί Αφροδιτ[6]

ως προκ/  $\mathbf{P}$  Φλί Φοιβαμμων Δωραντινοο $\mathbf{v}$  ο ορδιναρί της ηγεμονι $\mathbf{v}$  ταξέως εγραψα υπερ αυτό ειποντος μοι κατα προσωπον γραμματα μη ειδοτος

(1st hand)  $\mathbf{P} \epsilon \gamma \rho a \phi \eta \delta \iota \epsilon \mu o^{\nu} A \beta \rho a a \mu \iota o^{\nu} a \pi o \sigma \chi[o] \lambda / c$ 

Endorsed, along the fibres:—

15 (3rd hand) ]... τωρ/ απα Θεοδωρο ∠ Ηρακλει[ō] [

2. Παουομθου: the ομ is not certain; a circular stroke which passes partly through the letters and confuses them is probably part of  $\lambda$  in l. 1 (with, perhaps, the downstroke of  $\rho$ ).

χρυσοχοϊκ(ω) : sc. σταθμφ̂.

kai: there is room for a good deal more than this, but the ends of lines are irregular and no more seems required. Possibly a particle followed.

5.  $a\pi\epsilon\delta\epsilon\xi a\mu\eta\nu$ :  $\eta\nu$  apparently a correction.

νομισματα δυσ: that this rather than (e.g.) νομισμα [εν π/ $\kappa \epsilon \rho / \beta$ ] was the reading seems to be proved by  $\tau o \dot{\nu} \tau \omega \nu$  in 1. 6.

6. ακυρωσιαν: sic; perhaps a mere slip of the pen but possibly a variant for ἀκύρωσις.

 $\delta \epsilon \delta \omega \kappa a$ : the second  $\delta$  corr. from a.

7.  $\pi \rho o \kappa (\epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \nu \omega \nu)$ : the o is a mere dot.

τριω: sic.

8. επερωτηθ(εις ωμολογησα): cf. 1693, 16, note.

10.  $\chi \rho \nu \sigma \sigma \chi i \kappa \omega \mu^i$ : the  $\chi i$  and  $\kappa$  are run into one another.

11. Δωραντινοου: presumably a native of Antinoopolis; the old names had persisted there. This ordinarius, attached to the τάξις of the praeses, was apparently not one of the military officials so called (see Maspero, Org. militaire, p. 106).

12. ειποντος μαι: probably 'at his bidding'; of. Cair. Masp. ii.

14. απο σχολ(αστικων): 'formerly scholasticus'. Between this line and l. 13 a long line is drawn.

15. απα: απο is hardly possible, but "Απα Θεόδωρος seems an unlikely name for the comes.

# PAPYRUS 1702.—First half of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1776. Acquired in 1907. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  11 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a rough cursive hand, across the fibres; coarse papyrus. Probably folded from the bottom upwards.

THOUGH this receipt is for rent of land at Phthla, it is no doubt, as stated above, from Aphrodito, since it was given to Apollos, the father of Dioscorus, or rather to his son Menas acting as his agent. The rent is for land in the  $\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}\rho$ os of Piaḥse, where Apollos, and after him Dioscorus, farmed land; cf. 1686, 28, note. In Cair. Masp. ii. 67134; 67135 the receipts for rent in this  $\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma$  are issued to Apollos or his heirs by Cyrus, a senator of Antaeopolis, or his sons, whereas the present receipt is from Colluthus, a scriniarius; but it is not of course certain that the same parcel of land is in question, and in any case the ownership of the land may have passed from Colluthus to Cyrus. In that case, the present document will be of earlier date than the Cairo receipts. It is noteworthy that the agent of Colluthus, who actually issues the receipt, though a λογόφορος, cannot write; cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67136, where an ἀπαιτητής is unable to sign his own name. Possibly, however, all that is meant is that these 5

7

persons could not write Greek. Even so, they were not very well qualified for the positions they held.

- + Φλαυιος Κολλουθος σκρινίο δι εμου Απολλ[ω]τ[ο]ς λογοφορος Απολλωτι
  Διοσκορο δι/ Μηνα υιος αυτό χιρ/ο εδεξαμην και επληρωθην παρα σ[ο]ς τον φορον
  των υπο τε αρουρων κληρου Πιασε πεδιου κωμης Φθλα καλουμεναι Λεμλιμ Ανται[ο]υ
  εν τε σιτω κο κριθαις ακολουθως τη μισθωσει υπερ γενηματος εκτης ινδικ/ εκ πληρ[ους]
  κ[α]ι εις σην ασφαλ[ε]ιαν πεποιημαι ταυτ[ην την πληρωτικ/ α]ποχ[η]ν ως προκ/
- 6 (2nd hand) 🗗 Φλαυιος Κολλο<sup>ν</sup>θος σκριν δι εμο Απολλωτος λο[γοφορου στοιχει] μι ως προκ/ Αυρηλιος Απολλως
  - $\ddot{\Pi}$ ωση $\phi$ ιο $^{v}$  αξιω $\theta$ εις εγρα $\psi$ α  $\ddot{v}$ περ αυτο $^{v}$  γραμμα[τα μη ειδοτος + ]
- 1. λογοφορου: the reversed form (φορολόγος) of this word, which no doubt means a collector of land-rents, as ἐνοικιολόγος of house-rents, occurs in Cair. Masp. iii. 67327, 22.
- Μηνα: this son of Apollos is also mentioned in Cair. Masp.
   67319, 16, where Dioscorus speaks of him as ἀδελφοῦ μου.
   χιρ/ς: λ. χ⟨α⟩ίρειν.
- 3. τε: sic, apparently; l. σε. καλουμεναι: sic?
- 6. μ: l. μοι; but the reading is doubtful. Απολλως: the reading, though not quite certain, is very probable; cf. too Cair. Masp. ii. 67141, v, v., 8 f.

## PAPYRUS 1703.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1666. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 4½ in. × 11 in. In an easy flowing cursive hand, across the fibres. Papyrus stained dark red in places; folded from the bottom upwards and perhaps three times from left to right.

I is not perhaps absolutely certain that this document really belongs to the Kôm Ishgau collection. Its colour strongly suggests that it does, and a John occurs several times in the Kôm Ishgau texts as  $i\pi o\delta \epsilon \kappa \tau \eta_s$  of Aphrodito; but the name is too common to found much on, and neither Philadelphus nor Astragolius occurs in the collection. In Flor. iii. 291, 4 f., a text from Aphrodito, there occurs however a Taurinus described as  $\sigma \iota \gamma \gamma \sigma \iota \lambda \sigma \iota \tau \eta s$   $\dot{\gamma} \gamma \epsilon \mu \sigma \iota \iota \tau \dot{\gamma} s$   $\dot{\gamma} \kappa \iota \iota \iota \tau \dot{\gamma} s$   $\dot{\gamma} \kappa \iota \iota$  is therefore hardly doubtful that Kôm Ishgau is the provenance.

The document is a receipt from Astragolius (the name, which does not occur in the index to any published collection of papyri, seems certain) for one solidus less  $3\frac{1}{4}$  carats  $i\pi i\rho \tau o\hat{v}$   $\sigma\pi o\rho \langle \tau \rangle o\hat{v}$  hov  $\tau o\hat{v}$   $\kappa\nu\rho iov$   $\Phi\iota\lambda\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi ov$ . The money was sent from the  $i\pi i\nu$  Taurinus through the  $i\pi o\delta\epsilon\kappa\tau\eta$ s John. Philadelphus was no doubt an official, perhaps belonging to the  $\tau a\xi\iota s$  of the Dux or praeses. For sportula see Cair. Masp. i. 67031. It is not impossible that the present document is in the nature of a tax receipt, in which case it should go in section 1.

+ εν ν° παρα κερατια τρια τεταρτον χρυσοϊκω ελαβον ὑπερ του σπορδουλο του κυριο Φιλαδελφο δια ἷωαννο ϋποδεκτου πεμφθεν μοι παρα το κυριο Ταυρινο του εξπελλευτο Αστραγολιος επιδεδωκα ‡

Endorsed, along the fibres :-

5 (2nd hand) [+]  $\epsilon \nu \tau \alpha \gamma \iota / \Phi \iota \lambda \alpha \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi / \delta /$  Αστραγολιο  $\nu^{o}$  α  $\pi / \gamma \delta / \Psi$ 

3. εξπελλευτου: cf. Gelzer, Archiv, v, p. 354.

<sup>1.</sup> χρυσο(χο)ϊκω: sc.  $σταθμ<math>\hat{φ}$ , as often.

<sup>2.</sup> σπορδουλου: Ι. σπορτούλου.

## PAPYRUS 1704.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1765. Acquired in 1907. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau) (?). 10½ in. × 3 in. In a small cursive hand, in ink of light colour, along the fibres.

In the case of this receipt again it is not quite beyond doubt that it comes from Kôm Ishgau; but one person (see note on l. 3) may probably be identified with a man who occurs in a document from Aphrodito, and the formulae resemble those of the other Aphrodito receipts. The document is a receipt from the  $\delta \iota o \iota \kappa \eta \tau \dot{\eta}$ s of a monastery to the sons of a certain Phoebammon for the rent of land, written by the  $\delta \iota o \iota \kappa \eta \tau \dot{\eta}$ s himself.

 $\pi\rho\circ\epsilon\sigma\tau$ \  $\tau\bar{\circ}$   $\alpha\gamma\iota[\bar{\circ}]$   $\mu\circ\nu\alpha[\sigma\tau]$ \ δ/ εμο Φλί Αρτεμιδω[ρο Σ]ιμ διοικητή του αυτή μοναστή τοις υιοις του μακαριο 5 Φοιβαμ[ $\mu$ ]ωνος εδεξα $\mu$ \  $\kappa[_{1}]$ επληρωθην παρ υμων το φορο των υφ υμας αρουρων κληρ/ Πια Βηρεις κα[ν]ονος πεμπτης ινδ/ 10 εκ πληρους και εις σην ασφαλειαν πε[πο]ιημαι ταυτην την πληρωτικ/ αποχην ως προκ/ Φλί Αρτεμιδωρος Σιμί 15 [σ]τιχει μοι η πληρωτι"/  $[a]\pi \circ \chi \eta \omega \circ [\pi]\rho \circ \kappa /$ 

3. διοικητ(ου): the διοικητής was a regular official of monasteries. This same person probably occurs in Cair. Masp. i. 67088, 10, 17. There indeed he is described as δεσποινικὸς διοικητής τής κώμης, a title now explained by iii. 67283, from which it appears that the village had placed itself under the protection of the

Empress, the δεσποινικός διοικητής being thus her agent; but the name was hardly so common at this period that we need assume him to be different. He may have been διοικητής of a monastery before being διοικητής of the village or have held both offices concurrently.

#### 6. Miscellaneous.

# PAPYRUS 1705.—First half of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1665. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $4\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 7\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a sloping cursive hand, growing large at the end of the lines, along the fibres; papyrus rubbed in places, and elsewhere stained reddish brown, ink black but in some lights appearing of a greyish tint (cf. 1694, 1695, 1706). Folded from right to left.

THIS is a contract of partnership between Besarion, the uncle of Dioscorus, and a certain Victor. The two parties agree to cultivate jointly for two years 'the γεώργιον of the holy

There are no other contracts of partnership for the cultivation of land among the Kôm Ishgau documents, but Cair. Masp. ii. 67158-67160 from Antinoopolis are contracts of this kind between tradespeople.

Endorsed, along the fibres:—
Βησαριων]ος και Βικτορο[ς

6. προαιρεσαμην: sic; l. προαιρέσει.
12. Traces remain of l. 13, but hardly enough for any certain reading. The line probably began with  $\tau[0]^-$ , but after this  $\sigma \iota \tau o^{\nu}$ 

seems impossible. The traces suggest . . 7:[o]v.

14. This endorsement may perhaps be by the original scribe, but this is not certain.

## PAPYRUS 1706.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1736. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $8\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{5}{8}$  in. In an upright regular cursive hand of somewhat minuscule type, across the fibres. The ink has turned to a silvery colour (cf. 1694, 1695, 1705). Apparently folded from the top downwards.

In spite of its imperfection and obscurity this document seems worth publishing because of its difference from the other documents of the collection. In form it is a receipt for wages, but

]πακωριδι απο της Λυκων

[ειος απο Αφροδιτης εδεξαμην παρα σο\
υπερ] μισθου Πετρου του ύϊου σου χρ/ κερ/ τρεια

]. π[.]... των ποιησωσι σοι αυτω

5 τ]ρεια κερ/ και μετα πο εμε διδαξαι τον αυτ
αυ]τον ακριβως και αναλαβω τα αλλα
]. ποιησαντος μου ασφαλειαν δια τινος
]. [.] επι τουτο γαρ εθεμην σοι τουτο απαρ
Φαμε]νωθ κα ϊνδ/ ϊε ΕΕΕ
10 στοιχει] μοι τουτο το ολογραφ/ χειρι εμη ως προκ/ συμφ/
Endorsed, along the fibres:—
(2nd hand) ]. Πετρου του υϊου μδ

I. ]πακωριδι: or perhaps A]πα Κωριδι. The last letter might also (less probably) be  $\eta$ ; there seems hardly room for either  $[\bar{o}]$  or [s] between it and  $a\pi o$ ; moreover it is possible, as ]ειος occurs in l. 2, that the person here is the one addressed, and this name will then be in the dative. But we should expect a patronymic in both places.

4.  $\pi[.] \dots \tau \omega \nu$ :  $\pi[.] \tau \rho i \tau \omega \nu$  is a possible reading.

ποιησωσι σοι: very doubtful. Possibly ποιησωσθαι (= ποιήσασθαι) is to be read, but this is palaeographically difficult.

6. autor: ] vior is equally possible. This line is perhaps part of a stipulation that the master is to receive a further sum when the teaching is completed.

II. Below this, at the bottom of the preserved portion of the papyrus, is the end of a line, followed closely by a short line, in the hand of Dioscorus. The first line appears to read ] παροντ.....; the second is αννουαλια ληγαδα, i.e. annualia legata. What is meant is not quite clear; perhaps the annual delegatio?

#### II. Antinoopolis.

## PAPYRUS 1707.—5 Oct., A.D. 566.

Inv. No. 1548. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau.  $4\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times$  2 ft.  $10\frac{3}{8}$  in. In a handsome flowing cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus dark and light alternately. Folded from right to left.

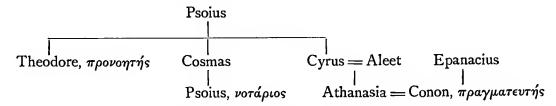
THOUGH it seems best to place the documents from Antinoopolis in a special section, their connexion with those relating to Aphrodito being a fortuitous one, they come, like the

latter, from Kôm Ishgau. We have not indeed in all cases explicit proof of this such as is afforded by the occurrence in some of them of the handwriting of Dioscorus; but it may be assumed with practical certainty as regards all except perhaps 1715. In this catalogue they are arranged according to subject; and first are placed those concerned with legal disputes and arbitrations.

The present document is similar in character to P. Lond. iii. 992 (p. 253) = Mitteis, Chrest. 365. It is a compromissum, i.e. an agreement by parties in dispute to submit their differences to arbitration. The present agreement is described (l. 2) as τὴν τῶν κομπρομίσσων ἀσφάλειαν, 992 as την όμολογίαν τοῦ κομπρομίσσου. (992 is probably not, as taken in the catalogue, from Antinoopolis, but from Hermopolis; cf. Maspero, Org. militaire, p. 142; [Ephov], Maspero's suggestion, suits the space better than [Αντινοου].) The parties involved in the dispute here concerned occur also in Cair. Masp. ii. 67161. In that document, dated a week before the present one, Athanasia, the wife of Conon, who is therefore clearly identical with the Athanasia of this agreement, grants Dioscorus power of attorney to represent her in the dispute with  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\delta\omega[\rho]$ ov υξὸν  $[\Psi]$ οίου τὸν ἐμὸν  $\theta$ εῖον πρὸς πατρὸ $[\varsigma]$  ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἡμίσεως μέρους [ϵ]κ πατρώμς μ[ου]κληρο[ $\nu(o\mu i\alpha s)$ ?]. It is a natural inference that the dispute here is the same as in 67161; but there are some difficulties. In the first place, if Dioscorus was Athanasia's representative, why does he not occur here? why is she here represented not by him but by her husband? The explanation may probably be that Dioscorus, as her representative, had met the opposing parties and arranged with them to submit the case to arbitration; but Athanasia, as one of the principals, was required to be a party to the compromissum and was, for that transaction only, represented by her husband. That the case is really the same and that Dioscorus was still Athanasia's legal representative is probably confirmed by the discovery of the document among Dioscorus's papers. For since the names of Theodore and Psoius come first it may be assumed that it was the one (of two duplicates) given to Athanasia (see 1713, introduction), and thus it was natural enough that it should have come into the possession of Dioscorus, acting on her behalf. Secondly, in 67161 Athanasia is called the daughter of the late Cyrus, and Theodore the son of Psoius is described as her uncle  $\pi\rho\delta$   $\sigma$   $\sigma$  Now in the present document Theodore is accompanied by his nephew Psoius son of Cosmas. The word ἀδελφιδός might refer to a sister's son; but since the young man bears the same name as the father of Theodore, and it was very customary to give a child the name of his paternal grandfather, it is almost certain that his father Cosmas was the brother of Theodore and therefore of Cyrus the father of Athanasia. Since the dispute in 67161 concerns the half share of the inheritance of Athanasia's father, it is natural to suppose, as Maspero suggests, that Theodore was the executor; and if we find him associated with a nephew, we should rather expect that nephew to be the brother of Athanasia, the dispute then being between the two co-heirs as to the division of the inheritance. But, as we have seen, Athanasia was the daughter of Cyrus, Psoius the son of Cosmas; and it is difficult to see what connexion a cousin, not Theodore's son, could have in a dispute between Athanasia and her uncle concerning her share. A possible explanation is that either Κύρου or Κοσμα is an error of the scribe. Or again Cyrus and Cosmas may conceivably be the same person, Κῦρος ὁ καὶ Κοσμας, though it seems unlikely that in both cases only one name, and that in each case a different one, should be mentioned; or Cyrus may have left his property by half shares to his daughter and his nephew; or, lastly, since Psoius is described as a νοτάριος, it is possible that

his connexion with the case was a professional one. Athanasia's complaint against her uncle may have been one of improper administration or actual appropriation of the property and she may have accused him of procuring the assistance of his nephew as a notary.

If either of the last suppositions is correct the table of relationship will be as follows:-



In conclusion, attention may be drawn to the remarkable length of the lines in this document. The writing extends across no less than seven (rather narrow) κολλήματα.

- ‡ [βασιλειας του θ]εμοτατ[ō] ημ[ων δεσ]ποτου Φλ΄, Ιο[υσ]τι[νου τ]ō αιωνιου Α[υ]γο[υσ]τ[ου] Αυτοκρατορος ετ[ους] πρωτου Φαωφι ογδοη ϊνδικτιονος πεντεκαιδεκατης εν Αντινοουπ[ολ]ει τη λαμπροτατη
- 2 [ταυτην] την των κομπρομισσων ασφαλειαν τιθενται και ποιουνται προς αλληλους εκοντες και πεπεισμενοι [α]νευ παντος δολ[ο]υ και φοβου και β[ι]ας και απατης κ[αι] αναγκης και πε[ρι]γραφης πασης εκ μεν τ[ο]υ ενος μερους
- 3 Αυρηλιοι Θεοδωρος υϊος Ψοϊου προνοητης και ο τουτου αδελφιδος Ψοϊος υϊος Κοσμα νοταριος εκ δε θατερο<sup>ν</sup> Αυρηλιος Κονων υϊος Επανακιου πραγματευτης ποιουμενος τους λογους και κυριως πραττων ϋπερ Αθανασι[ας]
- 4 της ευγε[ν]εστατης αυτου γαμετης οι τρεις ορμωμενοι μεν απο της Λυκοπολιτων τανυν δε διαγοντες επι ταυτης της Αντινοεων και ομολογουσιν αλληλοις περι των υποτεταγμενων αμφισβητησεως κινηθεισης
- 5 μεταξυ των μερων περι φανερων κεφαλαιων ανηκοντων αυτοις εδοξεν αυτοις διαιτη χρησασθαι και ειλαντο κατα κοινην συναινεσιν Κωνσταντινον και Îωαννην τους σοφωτατους σχολαστικο[υς]
- 6 και συνηγορους φορο<sup>υ</sup> Θηβαϊδος ανδρας το<sup>υ</sup> δικαιο<sup>υ</sup> αντιποιουμενους κατα τουτο τοινυν ομολογουσιν οι αφ εκατερου μερους ομνυντες την αγιαν και ομοουσιον Τριαδα και την νικην και διαμονην το<sup>υ</sup> καλλινικου ημων
- 7 δεσποτ[ο]υ Φλί Γουστινου του αιωνιου Αυγουστο<sup>υ</sup> Αυτοκρατορος απανταν προς τους προειρημενους σοφωτατους ανδρας εντος ημερων τεσσαρων ψηφιζομενων απο της σημερον και προγεγραμμενης ημερας ητις εστιν Φαω[φι]
- 8 ογδοη της παρουσης πεντεκαιδεκατης ϊνδικτιονος και παραθεσθαι αυτο[ι]ς τα προσοντα αυτοις τά πρόσοντα άυτοις δικαιωματα και στοιχε[ι]ν κ[α]ι πειθεσθαι τοις παρ αυτων ορισθησομενοις ητοι κριθησομεν[οις]

5.  $\phi$ ανερων: =  $\tau$ ινῶν, as often in Byzantine Greek.

Κωνσταντινον και  $\hat{l}$ ωαννην: in both names the final  $\nu$  is spread out with a flourish in order to fill up space. This shows (though the ink and hand are the same as in the rest of the document) that blanks were left at first and the names inserted later.

8. The dashes over the second τα προσουτα αυτοις are a sign of deletion.

δικαιωματα: cf. 1691, 12 and the references in the note there.

<sup>3.</sup> Επανακιου: the  $\epsilon$  is certain, and that it is not a slip of the pen is shown by Cair. Masp. 67161, 4; but the name recalls the "Aπα Nάκιος of Lond. iii. 1032 (p. 283).

σχολαστικους και συνηγορους φορου Θηβαΐδος: cf. Lond. iii. 992, 13 (p. 253), τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτάτους σχολαστικοὺς φόρου Θηβαΐδος; Cair. Masp. iii. 67312, 7; and see Collinet in Revue de Philologie, xxxvi (1912), p. 132 f., who quotes Latin instances of the phrase advocatus, etc., fori N.

9  $\epsilon \cdot \sigma \cdot \eta[\ldots] \ldots a \nu \tau \omega \nu [\ldots] \epsilon \cdot [.] \kappa[.] \epsilon \cdot \eta \mu \epsilon[\tau] \epsilon[\rho]$ 

Verso (along the fibres):—

Remains of 4 (or possibly only 3) mutilated lines, in a different hand, and perhaps not referring to the document on the recto. L. 2 (1?) reads ]...την βουλησιν Φ. [

The occurrence in these instances of the word in the sense of *deeds* makes it almost certain that here too the reference is to the production of actual documents, not, e.g., to legal arguments. If, as supposed in the introduction, the dispute is about an inheritance, the most obvious documents would be the will with,

The occurrence in these instances of the word in the sense of deeds makes it almost certain that here too the reference is to documents also which might have a bearing on the case.

ορισθησομενοις ητοι κριθησομενοις: probably, especially in view of the ήτοι, synonyms, rather than technical terms expressing different kinds of decision.

## PAPYRUS 1708.—May-13 Nov., A. D. 567 (?).

Inv. No. 1756 recto. Acquired in 1907. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau. Continuous portion 9 ft. 11½ in. x 1 ft. Hand B of Dioscorus, across the fibres; papyrus dark brown in colour. Folded from the bottom upwards, but this may be only the final folding, after the verso had been used.

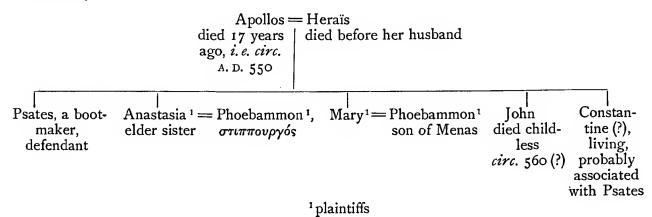
THIS document is (exclusive of registers) not only the longest in the present volume but the longest of all the Aphrodito papyri except Cair. Masp. ii. 67151 (307 lines as against 265 here). Except for the earlier part, which is fragmentary, it is exceptionally well preserved, and its contents are of considerable interest; moreover there is on the verso a valuable, though unfortunately much mutilated, marriage contract (1711). The present document is an arbitration in a family dispute concerning an inheritance. As it is written by Dioscorus he may well have been himself the arbitrator, though he may of course have written the document for some one else (but see 1709, introduction). In that case, however, it seems likely, from the many corrections (the document is a draft only) and also perhaps from the characteristic style, that the wording is his own.

The beginning of the document is fragmentary, but the names of the parties can be gathered, with one exception, from subsequent allusions. The mutilation of the early part is the more to be regretted because it makes it impossible to fix an exact date. If ἔτους δευτέρου in l. 6 refers to the regnal year, which, owing to the position, is unfortunately doubtful (see note on l. 3), the date can be fixed, by comparison with l. 4, πρώτης ἐπινεμήσεως, as between May and 13 Nov. A. D. 567; for it seems almost certain that the 1st indiction referred to is the current one. If however the second year is not the regnal year or not the current one, the date will fall between May, 567 and May, 568. That the 1st indiction is the one beginning in 567 is certain from the known date of Dioscorus's residence at Antinoopolis.

The style of the document is, as we should expect, not always very clear; and moreover certain details which would throw light on the case are passed over tacitly. The parties too, in their pleadings, do not always answer one another directly but raise new points. Thus the rather complicated dispute is by no means easy to follow, and a detailed discussion and final settlement of the issues involved must be left to jurists. It will however be of assistance to

the reader to summarize the pleadings and judgement. The more difficult questions are separately discussed in the notes; references to the lines of the document are given throughout.

The defendant in the case is a certain Psates, the eldest son of Apollos, probably (see note on 1. 7) associated with his younger brother; the plaintiffs are his sisters with their husbands (l. 216,  $\tau o \dot{\tau} \tau o \dot{\tau} \tau a \dot{\tau} \tau a \dot{\tau}$  is probably due to the inclusion of the brothers-in-law). The following is the family tree:—



### I. Case of the plaintiffs, put by Phoebammon the husband of Anastasia:—

(ll. 27-42) Apollos died after Herais, leaving to the children all his own and his wife's property, but Psates, being the eldest brother, deprived us of the inheritance, and took to his own uses all the rent and πρόστεγα [l. 40, note] of the houses; (ll. 42-53) this although he had promised me when I married his sister that immediately after the solemnization of the marriage he would hand over all her share of household utensils inherited from her parents and also my share, in right of my wife, of the house-property to live in—which indeed, together with the ἀντίπροικα πρὸ γάμων μίξεως [see l. 115, note] which he had agreed to give me in addition [ἐπιδοῦναι], was the very reason why I was anxious to marry his sister [!], as I had no house; but up to the present he has given us nothing of all this, though we have grown weary first of demands and then of reproaches; (ll. 53-56) for he alleges that Apollos died owing money [which, we are to understand, though Phoebammon does not say so, Psates has paid; cf. l. 59 f., etc.] and that he (Psates) has also spent other large sums out of the profits of his own business on his maintenance [εἰs τὰ καθ' ἐαυτόν must refer to Apollos; see the translation in the note], an account of which he has not yet rendered.

#### II. Case of the defendant:—

(ll. 57-69) I spent large sums on the payment of my father's debts and on his maintenance, and also on his funeral and that of our brother John; and even yet I owe much money to certain notable persons for the προτέλεια owing them by my father on his death. [It is not clear what this προτέλεια was. Some light is thrown on it by l. 227, λόγφ προτελείας ἐργοχείρου. From this it may have been a prepayment on account of goods ordered but never delivered.] (The arbitrator: Psates submitted the account of this, amounting to 38 s. 4 c. [see note on l. 69].) (ll. 69-73) Moreover, after my father's death I spent some money on the maintenance of my brothers and sisters, who had no income except what was derived from the business, and were maintained by me. (ll. 74-79) As for the houses, there are no complete ones, but only

parts, one part of one house having belonged to our mother and two parts [of another house to our father. These were ruinous, and I myself [re]built the walls at great expense. (ll. 79-87) Our mother Heraïs died in the 2nd year of the office of Apion [see note on l. 79], 17 years ago, leaving a son still an infant for whose fostering I paid. Our father died in the 2nd year of Marcianus, having lost his sight during the office of Horion; (ll. 88-103) [after his blindness] he lived with his brothers-in-law; but having acquired skill as a bootmaker and begun to earn money at my trade, finding that he was neglected, I took him to my own house during the office of Conon and maintained him myself, and not only him but my brothers; and my sisters I gave in marriage at my own expense; and now after such kindnesses received from me they slander me, hoping to get still more from me. (103-109) I tried hard to induce them to settle accounts with me, so that on their settling my claims for the expenses I had incurred for them they might receive their share of the inheritance, but they (ll. 109-114) As for Phoebammon's saying that he lives for rent in another's house, his account of the matter is not correct: I gave him quarters in one of the houses, but the others turned him out, hoping to get an equal share for themselves without paying their debts. (ll. 114-126) As for what he said about the ἰσόπροικα, he agreed to pay [to me an unspecified sum] by way of donatio propter nuptias for my sister, but he actually paid only I solidus, and later, after the marriage [ἄμα ταύτη διάγων, l. 118], as he was in want owing to his being prevented by illness from plying his trade, they asked for the solidus back; whereupon I gave him [it and also] the ἰσόπροικα agreed upon and received from him a written receipt specifying the articles. (ll. 126-139. At this point I, the arbitrator, for proof of this, asked for the receipt, which Psates gave me; it specified various χαλκώματα weighing 12 litrae and clothing to the weight of 37 litrae, and shows in fact, under the hand of Anastasia and Phoebammon, by mutual consent, the receipt of the ισόπροικα agreed on, specified in detail, and also the repayment of the έδνον [i.e. the 1 s. donatio propter nuptias].)

III. Answer of the plaintiffs:-

(ll. 140-144) We did not really receive the articles in full as stated in the receipt, for we gave Psates the receipt on trust.

IV. Case of the defendant continued:--

(ll. 144–154) I gave the plaintiffs maintenance every year from our father's death, to the extent of 44 artabas of wheat, 1 s. for oil (besides that given ἐκ διαπράσεως [l. 148, note]), and 1 s. for household expenses (Note by the arbitrator: I did not allow him the cost of clothing, which I took as remuneration for their services in the business), so that the share of each for maintenance amounts to 5 artabas and 7 carats for household expenses and oil [for this difficult passage see note on ll. 152–154].

V. Answer of the plaintiffs:—

(ll. 154-162) The defendant gave us (?) a written undertaking at the request of our [deceased] brother [see note on l. 155] that he would not claim against us for maintenance after our brother's death. There are 10 years for which he can claim, and when these 10 are deducted from the 17 years since our father's [sc. mother's?] death 7 are left [what the plaintiffs actually say is 'when the 7 are deducted from the 17, 10 are left']. (ll. 162-184) Psates has collected the rents for the houses. The small house has been let for  $1\frac{1}{2}$ s. since Anastasia's marriage, 4 years ago. That is in all 6 s.; and for the 2 months which have elapsed since

Mary's marriage the rent is 6 c. Total 6 s. 6 c. The other house has been let since our father's [sc. mother's?] death, 17 years ago, at a rent of 12 c. Total 204 c. = 8 s. 12 c. The total amount of rent is therefore  $14\frac{1}{2}$  s. [sc.  $14\frac{3}{4}$  s.]. (ll. 184 a, b. Note by the arbitrator: Psates also claims repayment of the cost of the nursing of his youngest brother for 2 years, paid by him.)

#### VI. Award of the arbitrator:

(ll. 185-193) The question of the building of the house [see note on l. 187] is to be gone into by experienced architects along with the neighbours who have built, and the cost of wages and other expenses and of the bricks or stone to be estimated. The cost is then to be defrayed out of the rent. (ll. 193-200) As regards the articles of Anastasia's ἀντίπροικον, which Phoebammon alleges he has not received in full, Anastasia, in agreement with him and on the understanding that she will recover her έδνον [see note on l. 196], agrees to surrender for the general division both the articles of the ισόπροικον and the money [the 1 s. donatio propter nuptias] received by her and her husband for their maintenance; all these to be divided equally among the heirs. (ll. 200-205) So too Psates is to hand over whatever he has received from his parents for the general division. The houses too are to be divided equally and also whatever may be left from the rent after the payment of the cost of building. (ll. 205-207) Again the cost of the funerals of their father and brother is to be paid in equal shares in accordance with a declaration of the amount by Psates on oath. (ll. 207-212) As regards their maintenance since the office of Conon [see note on 1. 208], Psates is to render them an account of the cost from their father's blindness to the date of the agreement not to make further claims on them; (ll. 212-215) and if he supplied them with clothing he is not to claim for this, since it is to be taken as an equivalent for their services in the business; (ll. 216-224) but if he gave them no clothing at all the third part of their liability, whatever it prove to be, in respect of the maintenance supplied them by Psates is to be excused them; for while on the one hand Psates, being a poor man, cannot be expected to supply them with complete maintenance, yet on the other it is not fair that they should serve him for nothing. (ll. 224-231) If the debts to the distinguished persons shown in the account submitted by Psates are confirmed by the creditors themselves, swearing on the Gospels that these moneys were due to them from Apollos at his death and that the debt was discharged by Psates only, (ll. 231-243) then the plaintiffs shall pay Psates their due share of the debt; and to make payment easier for them (he too having paid the debts not in a lump sum but by instalments) the amounts shall be deducted from their respective shares in the whole inheritance after prior deduction of Psates' share. (ll. 243-248) Then the plaintiffs shall be entitled to demand of Psates an adequate oath in whatever church they wish that he has kept back no part whatever of the parental estate. (Il. 248-253) As regards the fostering of their young brother after their mother's death, Psates is not entitled to claim more than the half of this, for he was appointed by his parents the guardian of his brother; (ll. 253-259) but since he maintained his father he may claim half the cost of his brother's fostering, the amount to be proved by oath in a church on the part of the nurse or of reputable neighbours who know the facts. (11. 259-263 a) After the oaths of the plaintiffs and defendant the former shall abide by the arbitration and not appeal to us again (?); and they are to pay the  $\theta\eta\lambda\dot{a}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau a$  out of the undivided estate. (Il. 263-265) To these provisions the parties have given their assent [in the presence of?] the honourable δημόται N. and N.

In conclusion attention may be called to the occasional accents and punctuation marks. The purpose of the latter is in one or two cases not very clear.

(a)  $[+ βασιλείας και υπατείας του θλε[ι]οτατο<math>^{v}$  ημων δεσποτο $^{v}$ [Φλαουιου Ιουστινου του αιωνιου Αυγουστ]ο" Αυτοκρατορος της ? παρουσης | πρωτης επινεμησεως 5 (c) Φλ [..]. [... ετους δευτερο $^{v}$  με[.....] διαλαβωv.[...] Ψατο[υ] του νιου Απολλωτος εκ μ[ητρος Ηρα]ε[ι]δος του και  $\tau \nu \gamma \chi a \nu o [\nu] \tau [o] s a \pi^o \tau a \nu \tau \eta s \tau \eta s A \nu \tau \iota \nu o \epsilon \omega \nu \pi o \lambda \epsilon \omega s$  $\pi o \iota o [v] \mu [\epsilon \nu o v] \quad \mu \epsilon \nu \quad \tau o v \circ \lambda o \gamma o v \circ [v \pi \epsilon \rho \quad \tau \epsilon \quad \epsilon \alpha v \tau o v ?]$ και  $v^{\pi}$  το  $\delta \epsilon [v\tau] \epsilon [\rho] o^{\nu}$   $K[\omega] v \sigma \tau \alpha [\nu] \tau [\iota \nu o \nu \tau o \nu \tau o v ?]$ 10 (d) αφηλικός δ. [ εναγομενου παρα Φοιβ[αμμωνος υιου στιππουργου ανδρος Αναστασιας της μειζονος αυτου αδελφς και Φοιβαμμωνος ετερο υϊο Μηνα ανδρο[ς] 15 (e) Μαριας τη[ς α]λλης  $\mu[\iota]$ κρης αυτου αδελ $\phi$ ς αιτη $\theta$ εις

3. The respective position of fragments b and c is very puzzling, and the small fragment united to c which contains, on the recto, ll. 5 and 6, l. 7, top of Ψ and του υΐου A[, and the traces read as avo[v][ in 1. 8, and, on the verso, the ends of 11. 5-10, and that at the end (recto ε[ι]δος του και) may both be wrongly placed. Both the horizontal fibres on the verso, however, and the perpendicular fibres on the recto favour the present position of the first fragment, and the traces in Il. 7 and 8 of 1708 suit the readings given. Hence it is probable that the fragment is in its right position; and though there are difficulties in the reading given of the recto of the second fragment the letters visible on the verso probably confirm the present position. Again, Φλί, followed in the next line by  $\epsilon \tau o \nu s$   $\delta \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \rho o^{\nu}$ , suggests that c should follow a immediately, the reading being Φλί [[ουσ]τ[ινου του αιωνιου Αυγουστ]ου Αυτοκρατορος | ετους δευτερου; but the fragments containing  $\mu\epsilon$  and  $\delta\iota a\lambda a\beta\omega\nu$ , which were only placed when the document was in type, rule this out, since there is no day of the month.  $\mu \in [\text{might indeed suggest } M \in [\sigma \circ \rho \eta \times \iota \nu \delta / a], \text{ but it}$ seems very unlikely that the body of the document would not begin on a fresh line; and moreover fragment b contains on the verso the words +τον γαμικον (see note on 1711, 4), and the line which begins with them had a blank space above and below it, which, with the analogy of 1710, suggests that we have in b the beginning of the marriage contract, commencing with a general reflection on marriage; and since fragment a contained the date, and c begins the legal part of the document, the natural position for b is between a and c. It is therefore best to place the fragments in their present order, and  $\phi_{N}$  may be part of the name of the arbitrator. If he was, as suggested in the introduction, Dioscorus himself, we may read  $\phi_{N}$  [ $\Delta$ ] [ $c_{0}\sigma_{0}$ , which is quite consistent with the traces. The sense of erous  $\delta\epsilon_{v\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu}$  is uncertain. In spite of its position it may very likely refer to the regnal year of Justin (we may suppose, e.g., a reading like  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  rov  $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\sigma\nu$ s] erous  $\delta\epsilon_{v\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu}$ ; or, less likely, it is to be compared with the dates found in 1. 79 ff.

7.  $\Psi a \tau o v \tau o v$ : apart from the uncertainty in the position of the first constituent fragment of frag. c, the reading here given of this line raises a difficulty, as  $\tau o v$  would not be expected before  $v \tilde{v} o v$ , but though the reading  $\Psi a \tau o v$  cannot be regarded as beyond doubt it is highly probable, and the traces are spread over too wide a space to read  $\Psi a \tau o v$  without the  $\tau o v$ . The readings in II. Io and II and consequently the supplement in I. 9 are very doubtful, but it seems probable that Psates appeared both for himself and for his brother, since  $\pi o \iota o \iota v \mu \dot{e} v \tau o \dot{v} s$   $\lambda \dot{\phi} \gamma o v s$  at all events may be taken as certain, and obviously suggests such an interpretation. If  $\delta \epsilon [v \tau] \epsilon [\rho] o v$  is right  $(\alpha \delta \epsilon [\lambda] \phi o v$  cannot be read),  $\alpha \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi o v$  has been accidentally omitted.

12. εναγομενου: sc. Ψάτου, who was the defendant.

14. αδελφς: cf. 1674, 92, note.

(e)

παρ αυτων κατακολουντίων το μεταξυ αυτων?] εξεταζαι πραγμα προς ου το θειον διασαφηση μο[ι] αμφιβαλλομενων προς αλληλους περ[ι] της πατρωας και μητρωας κληρονομιας επι τ[.....]

(f)

Φοιβαμμων 20 ο και ανηρ Αναστασιας το προσωπον και την χωραν των [.....]των απυτελων του τε Φοιβαμμωνος ετερ[ου] και  $[? \tau \omega]$ ν  $[? \gamma \alpha \mu \epsilon \tau \omega \nu \quad \alpha \nu \tau \omega \nu \quad \pi \rho]$ οαφηγη $\theta \epsilon \nu \tau \omega \nu$ και εναγοντων επεχω $[ν \delta ε]$  κ[α]ι την ταξιν του διωκοντος παντος τουτων μερους συνευδοκουντ[05] 25 και συνεστωτος ταις ϋπ αυτου λαλουμεναις δικαιολ[ογι] και προλογιζων κατα πρωτην ταξιν εφασκεν τον πατερα τουτων παντων Απολλων ονοματι απολειτουργησαντα τον εαυτου βιον μετα θανατον της παντων το[υτ]ων μητρος Ηραϊδος της τουτου προ 30 τελευσασης και καταλειψαντα ημιν παντα τα διηνεγκοντα αυτω τε και μητρι τουτων πραγματ[α]  $απ^{\nu}$  μειζονος εως βρ[α]χεος εντιμού τ[ε] και ατιμού ειδο[υς] πασης της ϋπαρχουσης αυτοις κληρονομιας προειρημενον Ψατην τον ημετερον αδελφον ως 35 μειζονα οντα ημων αφαιρεισθαι πασαν την πατρωαν και μητρωαν κληρονομιαν και αποστερησαι ημας τους [ϋπο] δεεστερους αυτο $^{v}$  αδελφους ου μην αλλα και αυθεντησαι εκμισ $\theta[\omega]$ τας γονικας ημων οικιας και ενοικολογησαι ταυτας

και οικειωσασθαι εαυτω τα προστεγα μη ευπορωτερως

17.  $\epsilon \xi \epsilon \tau a \zeta a$ : the retention of the  $\zeta$  in the agrist of verbs in  $-\zeta \omega$  is common at this period.

 $o^{\nu}$ : sic, apparently. What is meant is  $\pi \rho \delta s \delta$ .

20. Traces are seen of the tops of letters on frag. e and the bottoms of letters on frag. f. It is probable, but not certain, that only one line is involved.

26. δικαιολογιοις: there is not room in the lacuna for the whole of oyiais unless, as not infrequently at the end of lines (cf. l. 38), part was written above. But perhaps δικαιολογι/ was written. For the word see ll. 186, 262; 1709, 16; Mon. 6, 54; 14, 35.

28. τον: ν corr. from ν.

40

29. απολειτουργησοντα: this has no reference to the burden of liturgies as Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 355, note 3, takes it; it is simply a picturesque synonym for τελευτήσοντα. This word and καταλείψωντα in l. 31 should be in the infinitive, as the sentence lacks a principal verb.

37. υπο: this remained when the first transcript was made; a piece of papyrus has disappeared subsequently.

38. αυθεντησαι εκμισθωσαντα: 'took under his authority and leased'; εκμισθωσαι is a not wholly impossible but a less likely reading.

39. oikias: corrected from oikeias.

ενοικολογησαι ταυτας: 'collected the rent for these'. The word is a variant form of ἐνοικιολογέω, for which see e.g. P. Far. 22, 19; cf. P. Oxy. vii. 1038, 13, note (Hunt).

40. προστεγα: the reading may be regarded as certain, though the downstroke of the γ is so long as naturally to suggest τ. No doubt the correct form was πρόσστεγα (from πρός + στέγη). The fact that the word follows ἐνοικολογῆσαι suggests that the sense is not quite identical with ἐνοίκιον. In l. 42 στεγανόμια (see Archiv, i, p. 298, col. i, l. 6, p. 309; Du Cange, s. v. στεγονόμιον; the word occurs also in Cair. Masp. iii. 67312, 62), which certainly refers to rent, may be synonymous with πρόστεγα here, but this is not necessarily so, and it is at least possible to take οἰκειώσασθαι κτλ. as not a mere synonym of ἐνοικολογῆσαι and, consequently, πρόστεγα as a payment distinct from ἐνοίκιον; possibly a single payment on taking up the lease? But the point may simply be that Psates not only collected the rent (ἐνοικολογῆσαι) but, when collected, appropriated it to his own use (οἰκειώσασθαι ἐαυτῷ τὰ πρόστεγα).

μη ευπορωτερωs κτλ.: an ungrammatical sentence, the meaning of which appears to be, 'although we should not have been

εχοντας τό ζην εαυτοις περ[ι]ποιησασθαι ειγε τα μαλιστα στεγανομια παρασχειν καιτοι συνταξαμενος μοι ο προλεχθεις Ψατης ηνικα εγημον την αυτου αδελφην ευθεως μετα τους επιτελεσθεντας γαμους το παν μερος αυτης των τε οικοσκευων

- 45 απαντων ονοματος πατρος τε και μητρος αποδοθηναι εκ πληρου[ς] και προσεπι το τοις ετι γε το επιβαλλον μοι  $\ddot{u}$ περ της εμης γυναικος μερος των ειρημες οικηματων εις οικησιν διο και εσπευσα εκτοτε συναφθηναι τη αυτο αδελφ παρα το μη εχειν με οικιαν και δι οσα συνεθετο επιδουναι
- 50 μοι αντιπροικα προ γαμο<sup>ν</sup> μιξεως και εως αρτι κεκμηκαμε[ν] αυτον παρακαλουντες ειτα και δυσφμουντες ουκ' ηνεσχετο ημιν εκδουναι ουδεν εκ τουτων ουδε μην απ<sup>ν</sup> πατρωας και μητρωας κληρονομιας φασκων τον πατερα ημων κεχρεωστηκοτα προ θανατο<sup>ν</sup> και ετερα πολλα
- 55 καταδαπανασθαί εις τα καθ εαυτον εκ του ϊδικο<sup>ν</sup> αυτο<sup>ν</sup> εργοχειρο<sup>ν</sup> ων την αποδειξιν εως νυν ημιν ουκ' εδηλωσεν αντ'ακουσας δε ταυτα Ψατης ο παρων και φευγων ερωτηθεις παρ εμο<sup>ν</sup> δι ην αιτιαν ανεχεται τα πατρωα παρα
- κατασχειν εαυτω μονω εφασκεν πολλα δεδωκεναι
  60 εις τα πατρωα αυτων χρεα και εις αναλωματα των
  της απ'τροφς δαπανηματων το κοινου αυτων πατρος
  και φανερα τε διαφορα εις προσφοραν αυτου και περιστολην
  λογω κηδειας του αυτου σωματιο και ωσαυτως το σωματιο
  το ατεκνου τετελευτηκοτος αλλο αυτων αδελφο
- 65 Ϊωαννο<sup>ν</sup> ονοματι και εως νυν κεχρεωσ[τ]ηκε[ν]αι φανεροις λαμπροις προσωποις πολλα ϋπερ προτελειας χρεωστουμ<sup>ε</sup>ς αυτοις παρα του αυτων πατρος απ<sup>ο</sup>θνησκοντος ων την γνωσιν προεφερεν περιεχουσαν νομισματα τριακοντα οκτω και κερατια τεσσαρα α<sup>ν</sup> τινα λεγων απ<sup>ο</sup>δεδωκεναι
- 70 μετα την τελευτην το αυτων πατρος καθ ην τε φανεροποι οια δη αποθρεψαμενος τους ειρημ $^{\epsilon}$ ς αδελφους αυτο $^{\tau}$

able to procure for ourselves a more affluent existence' (than his?—'than we have already' would surely be an absurd statement; or perhaps 'although we should not have had enough to live comfortably on') 'if he had given us all the rents'.

41.  $\tau\delta \zeta\eta\nu$ : the dash is apparently intended to separate the words.

42. δ: here again the dot is perhaps inserted to mark the separation from ω. Above the σ of κωιτω are an upright stroke and a dot (|.). It is not clear what, if any, significance these have.

48. συναφθηναι:  $\theta$  corrected from  $\tau$ .

50. αντιπροικα: see l. 115, note.

κεκμηκαμεν: a doubtful reading. The difficulty in reconciling the traces with the letters  $\kappa\mu$  may however probably be

due to the cramping of the letters at the end of the line. The letters  $a\mu\epsilon$  are extremely faint.

54. κεχρεωστηκοτα κτλ.: 'was in debt before his death, and many other expenses were incurred on his personal needs out of his (Psates') own earnings'.

62. φανερα: in the sense of τινά, as so often in Byzantine Greek.

69.  $a^{\nu}$   $\tau \iota \nu a$ : if this is right  $(a^{\nu}$   $\tau \iota \nu a)$ , the meaning will be, 'adding that he paid certain other sums after their father's death'. But  $\dot{\alpha}\tau \iota \nu a$  (=  $\ddot{a}\tau \iota \nu a$ ) is possible, in which case the meaning is, '38 s., and 4 c. which he said he paid'. But this is less likely, on several grounds.

70. καθ ην τε φανεροποιει: with  $\eta \nu$  we must understand γνωστν.

προσοδο<sup>υ</sup> κτηματων μη ϋπαρχουσης τουτοις ει μη εκ μισθο φησιν και μονο<sup>υ</sup> το<sup>υ</sup> α<sup>υ</sup>το<sup>υ</sup> εργοχειρο<sup>υ</sup> ετρεφοντο γαρ παρ εμο<sup>υ</sup> διολο ου μην αλλα κ[α]ι οσα λεγουσιν οικηματα εχειν πατρωα και της μεν μητρος ημων μερος εκ μιας και μονης οικιας του δε πατρος ετερα δυο μερη και ταυτα εσαθρωθησαν εγω αυτος ανηνεωσα οικοδομησας τους τοιχους πολλα εις το<sup>υ</sup>το<sup>υ</sup>ς καταδαπανωσας επι γαρ το<sup>υ</sup> δευτερο<sup>υ</sup> ετους της

74. ooa: hardly anything of the oo remains, a small piece of papyrus having been lost since the first transcript was made.

79. επι γαρ του δευτερου ετους: this and the following dates are of considerable interest. They at first sight suggest the existence at Antinoopolis of a local system of dating by eponymous civic magistrates; though in the absence of such dates in the dating clauses of contracts from Antinoopolis it would be necessary to conclude that the system was unofficial or at most confined to purely civic purposes (such as the proceedings of the senate, etc.). This suggestion, however, is probably to be rejected. The verb πράττοντος unfortunately gives little help. Were it the specific word denoting the exercise of the office in question, the title of the official would have to be taken as  $\pi \rho \acute{a} κ \tau \omega \rho$ ; and  $\pi \rho \acute{a} κ \tau \omega \rho$ seems a very unlikely title for an eponymous city magistrate. Now in Cair. Masp. ii. 67166, 8 f. occur the words τῷ ἐνδοξ(στάτῳ) ἀραβάρχη πράττουτι τὴν ἀρχ(ὴν) ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ᾿Αντι(νοέων) πόλ(εως), where πράττω is used in the sense of exercising a function; and the word is used absolutely, as here, in 1674, 92, of the Dux Athanasius. Probably, therefore, in the present instances the verb is to be taken in the same general sense. την ταξιαρχικήν έξουσίαν in 1. 87 is more definite; but the meaning of ταξίαρχος (apart from the military sense, which is not appropriate here) is uncertain. There is indeed no reason for denying that there may have been at Antinoopolis an important magistrate called ταξίαρχος or ταξιάρχης; but other considerations point to a different explanation, which seems more probable. In the first place, such dates are by no means unknown at this period; e.g. Cair. Masp. i. 67002, ii, I, ἐπὶ τῆς π[ρ]οηγησαμένης ἀρχῆς τοῦ ένδοξ(ο)τ(άτου) Κύρου ρεφερενδαρίου, 22, έπὶ τοῦ ένδοξ(ο)τ(άτου) πάλιν ρεφερενδαρίου, iii, 9, επί της πρώτης ύμων εθαρχείας; Beaugé 2, 15,  $\epsilon \pi i \ \tau \hat{\eta} s \ \hat{a} \rho \chi(\hat{\eta} s)$  'A $\theta a \nu a \sigma i a \nu$ . In the last two cases the reference is to the Dux Athanasius, and Maspero (P. Beaugé, p. 15) takes Cyrus the referendarius also as a Dux, which, though not perhaps beyond doubt, is certainly a most probable conclusion. Is then the reference here to persons holding the office of Dux? The first person, it is to be noted, is called Apion; and since the 2nd year of his  $d\rho\chi\dot{\eta}$  was 17 years before 567 (?), the date of this document, he must have entered on it about 549. Now it is known that Flavius Apion, so prominent in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, had been Dux of the Thebaid (see Gelzer, Studien, p. 32, who is no doubt right in identifying the Fl. Apion of Oxy. i. 130 with the person named in Oxy. 133 ff.). In Oxy. i. 130, n.d. he is called πατρικίφ καὶ δαυκὶ τῆς Θηβαίων χώρας. In the other documents, of which the earliest, 133, is dated 19 Oct., A.D. 550, he is not called Dux. In 134, dated in 569, this is no doubt due to the fact that he was no longer Dux. The writer of 130 states that his cattle died ἐπὶ της παρελθούσης ένδεκάτης ίνδ(ικτίονος) καὶ της παρελθούσης δεκάτης. He was therefore writing not earlier than the 12th indiction. Now a 12th indiction fell in the year 548-549, when, as we have seen, the Apion here mentioned was probably in office. This gives at least some ground for identifying our Apion with the Fl. Apion of Oxyrhynchus; and if this inference be accepted the date of the latter's tenure of office is fixed. If, as is likely enough, the 17 years of l. 81 are a rough reckoning, Apion may well have entered on bis office as early as 548, and his second year would then be 549. If he had only two years of office, he would in that case have ceased to be Dux in October, 550, which would account for the omission of the title in Oxy. 133. Gelzer indeed thinks that he might quite well have been addressed merely by his honorary title, but it is certainly more probable that had be been Dux this title would have been inserted. The identification of the other dates is unfortunately much more uncertain, especially as there is clearly an error in the papyrus. In II. 79-84 we are told that the mother died (before her husband, Il. 29-31) in the 2nd year of Apion, 17 years ago, and the father in the 2nd year of Marcianus, i. e., even if Apion had only two years and Marcianus was his immediate successor, at least two years later. But in ll. 160 f., 173 f. the time since the father's death is reckoned as 17 years. Apollos, we are told here, became blind ἐπὶ Ὁρίωνος τοῦ προηγησαμένου ἔναγκος τὴν ταξιαρχικήν τότε επέχοντος εξουσίαν. προηγησαμένου refers to a predecessor in an office, and properly to the immediate predecessor (Wilcken, Archiv, iv, pp. 226-227). The sense here might be, 'who was in office lately (i. e. not long before 567), and at that time (i. e. when Apollos became blind) held the authority of taxiarch'; and this would tend to show that the office by which the dates are reckoned is not that of Dux; for προηγησαμένου έναγκος is most naturally taken as referring to a Dux; cf. Cair. Masp. 67002, ii, 1, quoted above. But the immediate predecessor of Athanasius, now Dux, was apparently Cyrus, not Marcianus, and as will appear presently, Horion was not the immediate predecessor of Marcianus, being followed by Conon. Whether therefore προηγησαμένου refers to the office of Dux, held recently, or to the office of taxiarch, it cannot imply an immediate predecessor. Probably the meaning is, 'who had recently (i.e. before the 2nd year of Marcianus, when Apollos died) been in office, holding the authority of taxiarch'. The awkward method of expression, naturally suggesting two different offices, is quite in accordance with the style of Dioscorus. But why ταξιαρχικήν, why not δουκικήν, if Horion was Dux? It is to be noted that Dioscorus does not say that he was taxiarch, but merely that he held the ταξιαρχικήν έξουσίαν. It is conceivable that as head of the (ducal) τάξις the Dux might be thus referred to; or again the phrase may be used in a military sense. ταξίαρχος or ταξιάρχης was used for the Latin primipilus, a title which would certainly not be applied to the Dux; but at a later period it seems to have been employed loosely (see the quotations in Du Cange, s. v.), and the archangel Michael was called ταξιάρχης, which implies a high rank. It would be like Dioscorus to employ the vaguer term ταξιαρχικός instead of the more definite δουκικός. Assuming, then, that the office was that of Dux, Horion may be

80 αρχης Απιωνος του ενδοξοτατο πρατιτοντος η μητηρ εασασα γαλακτοτροφουμενον τον αδελφον μο ημων Ηραϊς ετελευτησεν ως ειναι δεκαεπτα ετη  $\mathbf{a}\pi^{\mathrm{o}}$ τα θηλασματα παρεχων της τελευτης αυτης μεχρι της δευρο και επι το δευτερο ετους Μαρκιανου του ενδοξη τηνικαυτα πρατιτοντος ο πατηρ ημων Απολλως απεβιωσατο ετυφλωθη δε 85 ο άυτος ητοι της ορασεως υστερηθεις εξησθενηκως διολου και απρακτος γεγονεν επι Οριωνος του προηγησαμενο εναγκος την ταξιαρχικην τοτε επεχοντος εξουσιαν συνευρεθη τοις γυναικαδελφοις αυτο παρ αυτοις τρεφομ εμου δε εργαζομενο την το τζαγκαριο τεχνην 90 μισθιο ταξει και ταυτης ευθεως επιλαβομενος της εμπειριας εξης και μισθους κτησαμενος εργοχειρο" ϋστερον εγκακηθεντα και θλιβεντα τον εμον πατερα αηδως τρεφομενον παρα το των ανελαβον αυτον κατ' οικον και εθρεψα εξ ϊδιων μου πονων και 95 ϊδρωτων ου μην εκεινον, ως χρεωστων εποιησα αλλα και τους αλλους μο $^{v}$  αδελφους τον τε θανόντα και ζοντα και τας νυν κατ εμου παρουσας αδελφας εκδεδωκως γαμισκεσθαι καταδαπανησας αμα εις τα τας γαμικων λογω αναλωματων ετερα τινα και μετα τας 100 τοσαυτας εν απασι εις αυτους αποδεδειγμενας εμας

taken as a successor of Fl. Apion, i.e. later than about 550unless, that is, Apollos became blind before his wife's death; but the narrative seems to imply that this preceded his blindness. Psates removed him to his own house ἐπὶ Κόνωνος (l. 94); it seems clear that he was then blind. Thus Conon must come between Horion and Marcianus. Now in l. 154 ff. the plaintiffs assert that Psates had given their (deceased, l. 212) brother an undertaking that he would not claim for their ἀποτροφή after his death (see note on l. 157), while for 10 years he could claim; and they add that when 'the 7 years' are deducted from the 17 years since their father's (sc. mother's?) death only 10 are left. The statement is confused; but what seems to follow is that there were 10 years, ending with their brother's death, for which Psates had the right to render an account, and 7 since the death for which he had no right. If so, and the reckoning were from their mother's death, this would fix the death of their brother John about 560; and since Apollos probably died before John, we get the succession: Apion, circ. 548-550; Horion, 550 (?)-(?); Conon, (?)-before 558; Marcianus, before 558-(?). [Horion must of course be distinguished from the Horion of Justinian's 13th edict, unless that person had a 2nd term of office, which seems unlikely, as the fact would probably be indicated. It might indeed be suggested that this mention of a Horion, after 550 and before 560, makes in favour of Zachariä von Lingenthal's date 553-554 for the edict as against 538-539, favoured by Gelzer, Studien, p. 21 ff., in which case a John must be inserted between Apion and Horion; but Gelzer's arguments seem conclusive.] It must be confessed

that all these conclusions are very doubtful, and if in particular it be supposed that the error in dating is as regards the mother's, and not the father's, death, the whole combination falls to the ground.

82.  $\tau a$   $\theta \eta \lambda a \sigma \mu a \tau a$   $\pi a \rho \epsilon \chi \omega \nu$ : these words are inserted without any construction. They do not mean, as might be thought from their position, that Psates had paid the  $\theta \eta \lambda a \sigma \mu a \tau a$  for 17 years; ll. 184 a, b, together with ll. 257 and 263 a, show that the period was only 2 years. Probably the present clause is a continuation of the addition to l. 81, and should have read  $\pi a \rho \epsilon \chi a \nu \tau a \theta \eta \lambda a \sigma \mu a \tau a$ .

85. ο ἀντος: the dot is perhaps accidental, but may be intended to separate ο from αυτος.

88. συνευρεθη: before this sc. καί, the meaning being apparently that Apollos was taken into the house of his brothers-in-law after, and in consequence of, his blindness.

90.  $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\iota\upsilon\upsilon$   $\tau a\xi\epsilon\iota$ : the following sentence, which states that Psates, as soon as he had acquired experience in the trade, began to earn wages, seems to imply a contrast between the  $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\iota\upsilon\upsilon$   $\tau a\xi\iota$  and the receiving of  $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\upsilon$ , and may therefore suggest that  $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  means a paid apprentice; but possibly  $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\upsilon\iota$  may refer to the pay received for work done as his own master, in which case the contrast is between working as a servant and working on his own account. The dot after  $\tau a\xi\epsilon\iota$  is a punctuation mark.

95 f. ου μην ... και: 'and not only him, as I was bound to do, but also'. The comma is in the MS., but is perhaps accidental.

λειτουργιας αντιπιπτουσι νυν τη εμη φιλαδελφια και εμε αποβδελυτουσι ετερα προσεπι τουτοις ζητουντες προς εμε απολαμβανειν και απεκαμον βουλομενος αυτους απελλογαριζειν ητοι λογισμους προς εμε εκθεσθαι περι παντων των ϋπερ αυτων δοθεντων παρ εμο ευλογως και αναλωθεντων οπως απολογησονται εικοτως και απολαμβανουσι

ωσαυτως τα εκ γονεων ημιν κοινως καταλελειμμε πραγματα ουκ' ηνεσχοντο και επειδηπερ εφη Φοιβαμμῶ 110 ως εν αλλοτρια μενει οικια επ ενοικειω ουκ' αληθες εδιδαξεν εκδεδωκα αυτω τοπον κατοικησεως εκ της μιας οικιας οι λοιποι αδελφοι εισιν οι εξ εκεινου αυτον αποδιωξαντες φασκοντες και αυτοι τοιουτον εξειν η και το μερος αυτων ανευ χρεων αποδοσεως και καθως 115 ελαλει περι των ϊσοπροικων συνεθετο επιδουναι λογω

101.  $a\nu \tau \iota \pi \tau \sigma \nu \sigma \iota \nu \nu \nu$ : the first  $\nu$  of  $\nu \nu \nu$  is corrected, but it is doubtful whether anything more was done than to rewrite a badly formed letter. Very likely a  $\nu$  is meant to be added to  $a\nu \tau \iota \pi \iota \pi \tau \sigma \nu \sigma \iota$ .

103 f. απεκαμον κτλ.: 'I grew tired of urging them.'

109. ουκ' ηνεσχοντο: before this sc. ἀλλ'. The omission of conjunctions is frequent in Dioscorus.

110. επ ενοικειω: the curved stroke over ν is perhaps intended to show that the word is ενοικειω, not εν οικειω.

113. αποδιωξαντες: διω is apparently a correction. τοιουτον: ι corrected from υ (for τουτο).

115. ισοπροικών: these references to the ισόπροικα are interesting for the marriage law of the sixth century. This passage clearly refers back to something said by Phoebammon. Now Phoebammon does not mention the ἰσόπροικα, but he does say (1. 49 f.) δι' όσα συνέθετο ἐπιδοῦναί μοι ἀντίπροικα πρὸ γάμου μίξεως. This shows that ἀντίπροικα and ἰσόπροικα were synonyms; cf. ll. 194, 197 f., τοῦ ἀντιπροίκου—κακείνο τὸ ἰσόπροικον. Again, the  $\pi\rho\delta$  γάμου μίξεως of l. 50 connects with the λόγω της  $\pi\rho\delta$  γάμου δωρεâs here. But in l. 49 f. Phoebammon asserts that Psates covenanted to pay him the ἀντίπροικα, whereas here Psates seems at first sight to declare that Phoebammon covenanted to pay him the ἰσόπροικα by way of Anastasia's πρὸ γάμου δωρεά; and the inconsistency is rendered more striking by the use of practically the same words in both places—δι' όσα συνέθετο επιδουναί μοι αντίπροικα πρό γάμου μίξεως, συνέθετο επιδουναι λόγω της προ γάμου δωρεας. The explanation cannot be that συνέθετο κτλ. here is a rough quotation of Phoebammon's words, the subject of the verb being Psates, for what follows shows clearly that the payment was to be made by Phoebammon. According to Mitteis (Grundzüge, p. 228 f.) the phrase  $\dot{\eta}$   $\pi\rho\delta$ γάμου δωρεά, which is the Greek term for the Latin donatio propter nuptias, is an equivalent of ἰσόπροικον, being no doubt a more technical expression; and the ἰσόπροικον or donatio propter nuptias was a gift by husband to wife. How then could Phoebammon assert that Psates had agreed to pay it to him, and that this was one of the reasons why he married Anastasia? And why, on the other hand, should Phoebammon, according to Psates, agree to pay it, not to Anastasia, but to Psates? for that so much of it as was paid went to the latter is clear from what follows. A satisfactory explanation can be obtained if we suppose a slight difference of meaning between donatio propter nuptias and ισόπροικον or αντίπροικον. Mitteis (Grundzüge, p. 229) has suggested, on the evidence of Cair. Masp. i. 67006 verso, that ἔδνα 'eigentlich ein besonderer Teil der πρὸ γάμου δωρεά wäre, der in besonderem Mass für die Person der Fran bestimmt ist'. Now in 1. 117 here Psates says that Phoebammon has paid for the donatio propter nuptias only 1 solidus: and in ll. 136, περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἔδνου αὖθις ἀναδόσεως, 196, είς την ανάπαλιν τοῦ έδνου αὐτης άνακομιδήν, we have a reference to this sum of money. In both places the έδνον (note the singular instead of plural, and on the other hand the plural ισόπροικα, except in l. 198, for the more usual singular) is contrasted with the Ισόπροικα. Hence, contrary to what Mitteis says, έδνον should be a synonym for donatio propter nuptias, and both terms are in some way to be distinguished from λσόπροικον. This is confirmed by 1711, 19 f., των σων γαμικών έδνων ήτοι πρὸ γάμου δωρ(ε)ων; and cf. Naber, Archiv, iii, p. 20. In 1711, as here, the έδνα are a sum of money, and so too in Cair. Masp. 67006 verso. On the other hand the lσόπροικον is here specially associated with  $\epsilon i \delta \eta$ ;  $\epsilon f$ . ll. 124 ff., 193 f.  $(\pi \epsilon \rho)$   $\delta \nu$   $\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \epsilon \iota \epsilon i \delta \hat{\omega} \nu$ 'Αναστασίας τοῦ ἀντιπροίκου), 198 (τὸ ἰσόπροικον τῶν εἰδῶν). So too elsewhere  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\nu a$  seems to exclude  $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\delta\eta:-1712$ , 13,  $\mu\dot{\eta}$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\dot{\iota}$ σκευών ἡ εἰδών μὴ περὶ ἔδνων; Cair. Masp. ii. 67154, 1., 18 f., μὴ  $\pi$ ερὶ ἔδνων . . . μὴ  $\pi$ ερὶ σκευῶν ἡ εἰδῶν; Flor. 93 = Mitteis, Chrest. 297, 17 f., μήτε περί γάμου συναφείας και τούτου έδνων και προικώων καὶ ἀναλω[μ]άτων γάμου μήτε μὴν περὶ σκευῶν συνεισηνεγμένων άλλήλοις. In Cair. Masp. i. 67088, 14 (where probably εν ωρα  $\gamma a[\mu]o^{\nu}$  is to be read) the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\nu a$  seem to consist of land: but it is possible that this land was not itself the έδνα, but was hypothecated as security for the ¿δνα; and in any case land is to be distinguished from είδη (chattels). It seems possible, therefore, that at this period the έδνον, at all events in popular usage, was a name given to a part only of the lσόπροικον and consisted of money, or at times land, but not of chattels. λσόπροικον is then the wider, ¿δνον or donatio propter nuptias the narrower term.

της προ γαμου δωρεας της αδελφης μου Αναστασιας και ει μη εν νομισμα ουκ' εξεδωκεν ϋστερον δεηθεις της αναγκαιας τροφς ητοι σιταρχιας αμα ταυτη διαγων αυθις εμε απητησαν το εν νομισμα ειρηκως τοτε μη εχειν 120 πορον ευζωϊας παρα το εν αεργεια νοσό γεγενησθαι αυτον μηδεν επικτησαμενον εν τω κατ εκεινο καιρο χρονω και ουτως τα δεδογμενα μεταξυ ημων δεδοσθαι παρ  $\epsilon \mu o^{\nu} \ \nu^{\pi}$  αυτης ϊσοπροικα προδεδωκα αυτω  $\epsilon \iota \lambda \eta \phi \omega^{s}$ παρ αυτο απ τοτε και συγγραφον περι των συντεταγμενων ασφαλειαν περιεχουσαν τα ειδη εγγεγραμμενα αυτη ως συνεθεμην δουναι και προς αληθη διακρισιν επεζητησα της εγω ο ακουσ τησδε της υποθεσεως την γεναμενην των συντεταγμενων ειδων ασφαλειαν προετεινεν μοι ο αυτος Ψατης τινα περιεχουσαν μεν χαλκωματων διαφορων ειδη ολκης λιτρων δωδεκα καμπανισθεντων φησιν 130 και εσθηματων ολκης λιτρων τριακοντα επτα φανερα ειδη ϊνα μη μηκυνω τον λογον δηλοι η το των γνωσις

ειδη ϊνα μη μηκυνω τον λογον δηλοι η το<sup>υ</sup>των γνωσις
εκ της εκεινης ποιηθεισης χειρογραφιας παρα Αναστασιας
αυτης ανδρος
και Φοιβαμμωνος μετα συναινεσεως αλληλων
και εκ το<sup>υ</sup>το<sup>υ</sup> το αψευδες της των συντεταγμενων ϊσοπροικώ
135 απ<sup>ο</sup>δοσεως εφανη εναποδεικτως δια Ψατου το φευγοντο<sup>ς</sup>

The question now arises why the donatio propter nuptias was given to the brother rather than to the wife, and why the ισόπροικον was given by the wife's guardian to the husband, and not by the husband to the wife. As regards the first point, Wilcken (Archiv, iv, p. 474f., v, p. 186ff.) has shown that it was a not unusual practice for έδνα to be given to the parents or guardian of the bride; and the present instance might be explained as a case in point, Phoebammon having agreed to give a εδνον to Psates. This is not impossible, but l. 196, where reference is made to  $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu \, \dot{a} \nu \dot{a} \pi a \lambda \iota \nu \, \tau o \hat{v} \, \ddot{\epsilon} \delta \nu \sigma v \, a \, \dot{v} \, \tau \, \dot{\eta} \, s \, (i.e. \, \dot{A} \nu a \sigma \tau a \sigma \dot{\iota} a s)$ ανακομιδήν, and where ll. 194, 198 show clearly that the έδνον is here, as in the other cases, distinct from the lσόπροικου, makes against it. The following is a not improbable explanation of the transaction, but it cannot be regarded as certain: - Phoebammon should normally have paid the whole ἰσόπροικον, including the έδνον, but since he was in poor circumstances Psates agreed to pay the είδη of the ἰσόπροικον himself to Anastasia (Phoebammon, 1. 50, says μω, but he no doubt regarded the property of Anastasia as held by him in common with her). On the other hand Phoebammon agreed to pay the έδνον to Psates. The arrangement was very possibly temporary only; the ἔδνον may have been intended to indemnify Psates for the Ισ-όπροικον pending a proposed repayment by Phoebammon of the cost of the είδη, or possibly it was meant as a deposit pending a final settlement of the claims, on the one side, of Psates for repayment of the cost of his sisters' and brother's  $d\pi \sigma \tau \rho \phi \phi \eta$ , and, on the other, of his sisters and brother for the payment of their shares of their parents' estate. As it happened, however, Phoebammon being in distress, Psates, according to his own account, repaid the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\nu \rho \nu$  and also paid the  $l\sigma\delta\pi\rho\rho\iota\kappa\rho\nu$ ; but the plaintiffs deny the truth of this assertion, and Psates does not seek to disprove their statement. In l. 122 the perfect  $\tau \dot{\alpha} \delta \epsilon \delta \sigma \gamma \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \alpha \dots \dot{\alpha} \pi \sigma \delta \langle i \rangle \delta \sigma \sigma \theta a$  seems to confirm Phoebammon's assertion that Psates had before the marriage agreed to pay the  $l\sigma\delta\pi\rho\iota\kappa\rho\nu$ . In conclusion, it is to be noted that the donatio propter nuptias is still called  $\dot{\eta} \pi \rho \dot{\alpha} \gamma \dot{\alpha} \mu \rho \nu \dot{\alpha} \rho \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\alpha}$ . Justinian (Inst. ii. 7) had ordered the name to be altered from donatio ante nuptias to donatio propter nuptias, but it is natural that the Greek equivalent should persist in popular usage even after this. In the Basilica (e. g. Bas. xxix. 2, 5) the more correct form  $\dot{\eta} \delta \iota \dot{\alpha} \tau \dot{\alpha} \nu \gamma \dot{\alpha} \mu \rho \nu \delta \omega \rho \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\alpha}$  is found.

119. απητησαν... ειρηκως: this confusion in the number is due to the fact that both made the request, but that the inability to work applied only to Phoebammon.

121 f. εν τω κατ εκεινο καιρου χρονω: it is not necessary to suppose a miswriting of ἐκείνον καιρόν; the phrase seems to be κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ, 'about that period'.

122.  $a\pi o \delta \epsilon \delta o \sigma \theta a : \epsilon \operatorname{corr.from} \iota$ . As a matter of fact  $a\pi o \delta i \delta o \sigma \theta a \iota$  is the word required.

127. ακουσ τησδε: Dioscorus at first wrote ακουστησδε.

130. καμπανισθεντων: 'weighed'.

φανερα ειδη: going with εσθηματων.

132.  $\pi o \iota \eta \theta \epsilon \iota \sigma \eta s$ :  $\pi o \iota \eta \theta$  is a correction. The original letters were completely washed out.

135. εναποδεικτως: 'clearly'.

ου μην αλλα και περι της το $^{v}$  εδνο $^{v}$  αυθις αναδοσεω $^{s}$ της ϋπ αυτου παλιν γεγενημενης Αναστασια και Φοιβαμμωνι τω ταυτης ανδρι δί εγγραφο αυτων αποδειξεως μετα συναινεσεως αλληλων ωσαυτως 140 αντεπιπτο<sup>ν</sup>ν δε προς ταυτα οι ειρημ<sup>ε</sup>, και διωκοντες εφασαν το των προονομασθεντων ολων σκευων πληρες μηδεπω ειληφεναι ακολόθως τη εγγραφ εκδοθειση παρ αυτων Ψατη ασφαλεια ενπιστευσαντες αντικαθϊσταμενος δε τουτοις αυτω εις ταυτην ως εφασαν 145 ο ειρημές και εναγομενος Ψατης εφασκεν σιταρχιαν πεποιηκεναι τοις ειρημές και διωκουσι καθ εκαστον ετος αφ ης ετελευτησεν ο πατηρ αυτων σιτου μεν αρταβας εισαγειν προς το εκ διαπρασεώς διδομενον τεσσαρακοντα τεσσαρας [[και]] ελαιου ενος νομισματος και λογω αναλωματων ητοι δαπανηματων της οικιας νομισμα περι δε βεστιό ουκ' ελογισθη αυτω 150 αλλο <del>εν</del> ητοι λειτο<sup>υ</sup>ργιας του ακροατο παρ εμοι ανθ ων και αυτοι υποτακτικώς εργοχειρών εποιησαν αυτώ απαξαπλως ϊνα εκαστος τουτων λαχη εις μοιραν αυτου σιταρχ $^\epsilon$ ιας λογω ητοι αποτρο $^\phi$ ς σιτο $^v$  αρτα $^$ ας π $^\epsilon$ ντ $^\epsilon$  και χρυσ $^{\bar 0}$ κερατια επτα  $v^{\pi}$  δαπανης οικιας και ελαιοv εφασαν οι εναγον 155 ως ϊκανην ημιν εξεθετο ασφαλειαν γεναμες υπ ημων τω αδελφ ημων εφ ω μη δυνασθαι επιζητειν προς ημας περι απο τροφης αφ ης ετελευτησεν εκεινος και ηυρε $\theta$ ησαν

140. αντεπιπτουν: sic; corrected from αντιπιπτων.

147. αυτων: corr. from αυτο<sup>υ</sup>. εισαγειν: a later addition.

148. τεσσαρακοντα: the first a corr. from ε.

προς το εκ διαπρασεως διδομενον: the meaning is not quite clear. In Cair. Masp. ii. 67158, 14, διάπρασις is used of sale by retailers (though other instances show that this was not necessarily its meaning); does the present passage refer to profits on Psates' business? In that case there is no connexion with  $\epsilon$ λαίου; the sale was the sale of boots, and the money must have been given to the plaintiffs by a kind of profit-sharing, over and above their maintenance or wages.

150.  $\epsilon \nu$ : the space is probably due to the fact that Dioscorus wrote  $\epsilon \nu os$  and later washed out os, but no certain traces of previous writing are visible at present.

περι δε κτλ.: cf. l. 212 ff. The meaning of this interjected sentence (which, to judge from l. 212 ff., extends to  $a \dot{c} \tau \dot{\varphi}$ , l. 151) is that the clothing supplied by Psates to the plaintiffs was taken by the arbitrator as remuneration for their work, and was therefore not reckoned to the  $\dot{a} \pi \sigma \tau \rho o \dot{\varphi} \dot{\eta}$  for which Psates was entitled to claim compensation. See l. 213, note. The supply of clothing was usual in cases of apprenticeship (see Westermann, The Apprentice System in Roman Egypt, Class. Phil. 1914, p. 311), and the position of the brothers of Psates perhaps partook of the nature of an apprenticeship.

151. λειτουργιας: Ι. λειταυργιών.

152-154. The connexion of this clause with what goes before is

quite obscure. It is natural to take va as used in the sense of  $\delta \sigma \tau \epsilon$  (Jannaris, Hist. Gr. Grammar, §§ 1756 f., 1758 f., 1951), as in 1. 171, and to explain what follows as the share of each person in the total amounts specified in ll. 147–150; but whatever the number of persons (it is not clear whether husband and wife were reckoned as one or as two) and whatever the length of time involved (it is not quite certain that the sums in ll. 147–150 were the annual amounts, as seems more probable, and not rather the total amounts, which is perhaps suggested by the insertion of  $\epsilon l\sigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma \epsilon \iota \nu$ ), no manipulation of 5 and 7 can be made to yield totals of 44 and 48. In l. 154  $\epsilon \pi \tau a$  is a correction, but  $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon$  in l. 153 does not seem to be so.

155. From l. 209 ff. it appears that the brother referred to was the deceased brother (John), and that the  $d\sigma\phi\dot{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota a$  was made at his request (perhaps in consequence of a bequest by him to Psates?). The meaning of the present line may therefore be 'he gave us an adequate contract of security (made) on our behalf with our brother' or 'he gave us, etc., made on our hehalf for (i. e. at the request of) our brother'. In the latter case  $i\pi(\epsilon\rho)$   $i\mu\hat{\mu}\hat{\nu}\nu$  is otiose. That  $\nu^{\pi}$  does not stand for  $i\nu\pi\delta$  ('made by us with our brother') is clear not only from l. 209 ff., but from other passages in this document where  $\nu^{\pi}$  is clearly  $i\pi\epsilon\rho$ .

157. αφ ης ετελευτησεν εκεινος: this evidently refers to the brother, not to the father. The brother perhaps made the request just hefore his death. What follows (l. 159 ff.) is confusedly worded. We should expect 'when the ten years (already.)

αλλα δεκα ετη ύπερ ων οφειλει την ζητησιν προς αυτους θεσθαι και εκλογιστιαν ϋφεξηρημενων ουν των επτα 160 ενιαυτων απο των δεκαεπτα ενιαυτων της τελευτης το αποιχομενο\ αυτων πατρος γινονται μονα τα ειρημενα και επειδη λεγουσιν τα ενοικια λελη $\phi heta$ αι παρα  $\overline{\Psi \alpha \tau o^{v}}$  αφ  $o^{v}$  χρονο $^{v}$  εγημεν Αναστασια προεληλυθασιν ηδη ετη τεσσαρα δεχομενου ως λεγουσιν ανα νομισματα δυο εκαστου 165 ετους ηριθμενα παροντων απαντων εν τω πανσεπτω οικω του αγιου ευαγγελιστου της πολεως ταυτης Απα Μαρκο επι Ϊωαννου του ευδοκ/ νοταριου \$ μεγαλου τινος απο Πανοσπολεως ηυρεθησαν οκτω νομισματα και αφ ο εγαμισκετο Μαρια  $au\omega$  ανδρι  $\eta$  αλλη αυτων αδελ $\phi$  μηνες δύο διεληλυ $\theta$ ασιν 170 της μικρας οικιας αυτων δεδομένης  $v^{\pi}$  ενοικειο $^{v}$ ενος ημισους νομισματιο $^{v}$  ϊνα ώσιν  $v^{\pi}$  των δυο μηνώ γινωνται ουτως η μεν πρωτη ενοικειου λογω κερατια εξ οικια απο κερατιων δωδεκα εκαστου ετους απο της τελευτης του πατρος ετη δεκαεπτα γινωνται κερατια διακοσια τεσσαρα 175 τα καθαρα νομισματα οκτω και κερατια δωδεκα ευσταθμα  $\eta$  δε δευτερα νομισματα  $\overline{\epsilon \xi}$  ευστα $\theta$ μα και κερατια  $\overline{\epsilon \xi}$   $v^\pi$  των τεσσαρων ετων αφ ου εγαμισκετο Αναστασια έτι δε κ  $v^{\pi}$  των δυο μηνων αφ  $o^{\nu}$  η Μαρια και αυτη εις γαμον δεδοται γινωνται κερατια τα παντα εκατον πεντηκοντα μονα

180 τα καθαρα νομισματα  $\overline{\epsilon\xi}$  τριακοντα γαρ  $\overline{\epsilon\xi}$  κερατια καθ ετος ειωθεν δεξασθαι ο ειρημες Ψατης τουτ εστιν υπερ τεσσαρων not seem worth while to call attention. known) are deducted from the seventeen, the result is seven',

instead of seven being deducted to yield ten. The difficulty as to the seventeen years has been already commented on in the note to 1.79. In 1. 208 ff. the arbitrator decides that the plaintiffs are to pay for their maintenance for the time from their father's blindness to the making of the ἀσφάλεια, though in l. 208 Ορίωνος (the date of the blindness) has been altered to Kóvovos (the date of the father's removal to Psates' house). The arbitrator therefore did not reckon from the father's death but from his incapacity, and this seems to indicate that τοῦ . . . πατρός in l. 160 f. and τοῦ πατρός in l. 174 are slips for τῆς μητρός. But even so there is a discrepancy (in the plaintiffs' favour) between their own admission and the arbitrator's award, for they reckon from their (mother's) death, he from their father's blindness or his removal by Psates. This may be because they were not at first dependent on their brother, but were maintained by their father or their uncles, the 'ten years' of 1. 158 including therefore some time for which Psates was not entitled to claim. This is perhaps the reason for the alteration in 1, 208; for 11, 92-97 may imply that Psates did not begin to maintain his brothers and sisters till after his father's removal to his house; they were perhaps at first with the latter at their uncles' house. In l. 145 ff. Psates only claims to have maintained them since his father's death.

161. γινονται: the letters γινο have been written over again with darker ink. So too in several other cases, to which it does

162. ετη: perhaps a correction. Dioscorus may inadvertently have written επτα.

επειδη κτλ.: all this passage, to l. 184, is very awkwardly expressed. The facts are that there were two houses, one of which was let at 12 carats per annum for 17 years = 204 c. = 8 s. 12 c., the other at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  s. for 4 years + 2 months = 6 s. + 6 c. The total was therefore 14 s. 18 c. This is incorrectly given in l. 184 as  $14\frac{1}{2}$  s., Dioscorus having overlooked the 6 c. for 2 months (a subsequent insertion in I. 180). The sum of 2 s. per annum for 4 years in 1. 164 is of course the total amount of rent on both houses.

164.  $\eta \delta \eta$ : a later addition.

165. ηριθμενα: λ. ήριθμημένα.

167. ευδο<sup>κ</sup>/: εὐδοκίμου.

168. οκτω: possibly a correction, but perhaps merely a re-

169. αυτων: corr. from αυτης.

171. wa: in the sense of  $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$ ; cf. note on ll. 152~154.

177. ετων: the space after this is due to something having been washed out.  $a\phi$  is written over part of the erasure.

έτι: the dot is in the MS.

179. μονα: a later addition.

181. τουτ εστιν κτλ.: this passage may perhaps be paraphrased: 'that is to say, the reckoning should be for four years ενιαυτων και δυο μηνων ωφειλεν ειναι ως φασιν οι εναγοντες εξ οψεως αυτο συνκατατιθεμενο αυτοις οπως εσονται

184 υπερ ενοικειου λογου νομισματα δεκατεσσαρα ημισυ μονα

184 a ζητει δε ο αύτος Ψατης τα δεδομενα παρ αυτο $^{v}$   $^{v\pi}$  του τιτθηνωθηναι τον μικρ/ αυτο $^{v}$  αδελφ/ ορφανο

184 δ επι διετη χρουον

185  $\mathbf P$  και τουτων ουτω $^{s}$  λεχ $\theta$ εντων και αντιλεχ $\theta$ εντων παρ εκατερο $^{v}$ 

μερους απειποντων τας δικαιολογιας αμφοτ ερων των μερων τελος εδοξεν την μεν οικοδομην της οικιας ϋπ εμπειρων οικοδομων μετα των συνγειτονων οικοδομησαντων σκοπηθηναι και δοκιμασθηναι

190 το τι καταλαμβανει εις μισθους οικοδομων και εργατ $\bar{\omega}$  και αναλωματων και ωμοπλινθων η και λιθων απαξ

απλως εκ παντος μερους ψηφισθηναι την οικοδομην και κουφισθηναι εκ το ενοικειο και περι ων λεγει ειδων

Αναστασιας του προικου ως φησι Φοιβαμμων μηπω το πληρες 195 κεκομισθαι απαξ συναινει αυτω και συνπειθεται Αναστασια εις την αναπαλιν του εδνου αυτης ανακομιδην οπερ εις κοινην αυτων μετ αλληλων διατροφην απεδεξαντο οφειλει κακεινο το ϊσοπροικον των ειδων ως προδεδηλωται εις κοινον δασμον αγαγεσθαι και εξ ϊσομοιριας ϋπαρχθηναι τοις κληρονομοις

200 απασι ϊνα μη ειη αδικον και εαν τοιουτο τι εσχεν και ο αυτος
Ψατης τουτο<sup>ν</sup> το<sup>ν</sup> τροπο<sup>ν</sup> επενεγκειν εις κοινον μερισμον
τα δε οικηματα διαιρεθηναι εξ ϊσομοιριας και ει τι ϋπο
λειφθησεται εκ των ενοικειων το<sup>ν</sup>των παλιν μετα την απ<sup>ν</sup>πληρωσι
των της οικοδομης το<sup>ν</sup>των αναλωματων εξ ϊσης μοιρας αυτε
205 τουτοις ϋπαρχθηναι 'το δε της περιστολης ενταφίον του τε

πατρωου σωματιου και του αποθανοντος αδελφου εξ ϊσομοιριας

and two months according to the plaintiffs, and this is agreed on by them (all the parties) after inspection (of the documents?), so that', etc.; but the sense given to  $\dot{\epsilon}\xi \ \ddot{\delta}\psi\epsilon\omega s \ a\dot{v}\tau o\hat{v} \ \sigma v \nu \kappa a \tau a \tau \iota \theta \epsilon \mu \acute{e}\nu o v$  is not beyond doubt.

183.  $o\pi\omega s$ : also used for  $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$ ; Januaris, *Hist. Gr. Grammar*, §§ 1756, 1951.

187. oικοδομην: as Psates spoke of having built the walls of the house (l. 78 f.), this is perhaps a reference not to future building, to be estimated for, but to Psates' building, the architects being required to reckon the cost of this so that the heirs could pay their share. Psates had possibly not kept an account. Or δοκιμασθῆναι may refer to the auditing of accounts. But the context makes it more probable that the reference is to building in the future.

194. Φοιβαμμων • μηπ ω: the purpose of the dots is not clear; they may be accidental.

196. εις την κτλ.: the I solidus deposited by Phoebammon

with Psates was part of the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\nu\rho\nu$  (see note on l. 115), but  $\delta\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ . seems to refer to this, and shows that they had received the solidus back already, as is mentioned also in l. 136 f. Probably  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\nu\rho\nu$  refers to the whole  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\nu\rho\nu$ , and  $\tilde{\delta}\pi\epsilon\rho$  is not to be connected with it, the translation being: 'what they received, etc., and the  $l\sigma\delta\pi\rho\rho\iota\kappa\rho\nu$  are to be brought to the general division'. In that case the meaning of the present clause would seem to be that Anastasia agrees to give up to be divided what she has actually received, on the understanding that she will receive again in the division the full amount of her  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\nu\rho\nu$ .

199. ισομοιριαs: the final s is a correction.

200.  $a\pi a\sigma\iota$   $i\nu a$ : a correction. At the beginning Dioscorus probably wrote  $\iota\nu a$ , omitting  $a\pi a\sigma\iota$ .

202. ΰπο: a correction.

206. αδελφου: αδ and just possibly the whole word is a correction.

προς ο αποδείξη Ψατης ενωμοτως ωσαυτως επιγνωσθηναι κοινως και περι της αποτροφς των εναγοντων Κονονος

αυτων απο Οριωνος οφειλει Ψατης λογιζασθαι αυτοις

αφ ο' ϋστερηθη ο πατηρ της ορασεως εως οτε εξεγενετο
παρ αυτο' ως εφασαν η ομολογια περι του μηκετι δυνασθαι
τον Ψατην επιζητειν προς αυτο'ς περι αποτροφης χαριν
κατα την αιτησιν το' αυτων μακαριτο' αδελφο' ει δε και
βεστια εποιει αυτοις απ' τοτε επι τω μη ζητηθηναι τα περι
βεστιο' παρα Ψατο' προς αυτους αντι των κοπων της

215 αφηλικοτητος αυτων λειτουργιας τε και ϋποταγης ει δε ουκ' ενεδυσατο τουτος η ταυτας παντελως απο τοτε μεχρι της δευρο ωφειλεν το τριτον μερος εκ της καταλαμβανοσης μοιρας αυτους της φανησομενης ποσοτητος προς

τα διωμολογηθεντα παρα Ψατο<sup>ν</sup> πεποιησθαι εις αποτροφην

220 αυτων ετησιαν εκκρουσθηναι κουφισθηναι αδυνατως εχει ως ορά το δικαιον πενιχρος ων και επιδιφριος και απτημων ο ειρημες Ψατης τα δυο μερη τουτοις προσχαριζασθαι ητοι το της διατροφης επιχρειον και το βεστιο ουτε και αυτους δωρεαν αυτω λειτουργησαι εχρην ει δε και το χρεος φανειη

225 της' εμφανισθεισης ημιν' γνωσεως παρα Ψατο<sup>ν</sup> βεβαιουμενον παρα των χρεωστουμενων μεγαλων προσωπων παρα το<sup>ν</sup> αυτο<sup>ν</sup> πατρος ως εφη θνησκοντος λογω προτελειας εργοχειρο<sup>ν</sup> εκαστο<sup>ν</sup> τουτων ενωμοτως θεμενο<sup>ν</sup> ορκον επανω των σεπτων μεγαλιων ως εχρεωστει ταυτα ημιν Απολλως μονος προ θανατο

230 και μετα θανατον και ουδεν εκ το των ημιν εδοθη των χρεων παρ α το αλλα Ψατης εστιν ο πληρωσας ημας ϋπερ αυτό ευδηλον ϋπαρχει προσηκειν τους εναγοντας τα εν συστασει γινομενα το ρκου των δανιστων χρεα διδοναι και χορηγησαι [? αυτ α τω ειρημες Ψατη δι εγγραφο ομολογιας αυτων επι

208. των εναγοντων goes of course with αυτων. Κονονος is a correction for Οριωνος (deleted by the strokes underneath), which is curious, since it was during Horion's term of office, not Conon's, that Apollos became blind (l. 86); but see note on l. 157; the reference to the blindness should no doubt have been corrected when the alteration was made here.

λογιζασθαι: sic.

210. εφασαν: corr. from φασιν.

213.  $a\pi o \ \tau o \tau \epsilon$ : the natural interpretation of  $\tau \circ \tau \epsilon$  is 'the time at which the agreement was made'; but the agreement was that Psates should not claim for maintenance of any kind after his brother's death, and perhaps therefore  $\tau \circ \tau \epsilon$  refers to the time of the father's blinduess. But possibly clothing is not included in the idea of  $a\pi \circ \tau \circ \phi \circ \tau$  (it is excluded by the arbitrator in l. 150 f.); and l. 216 f. favours the former interpretation.

218. ποσοτητος: η corr. from ο. 220. ετησιαν: α corr. from ο.

222. προσχαριζασθαι: sic.

223. aurous: corr. from aurous by writing the u through the upper part of the  $\iota$ .

224. λειτουργησαι: λει is a correction.

225.  $\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\nu\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\eta s$ : the first part of the word is a correction.

229. μεγαλιων: 'gospels'.

233. τουρκου: l. τοῦ ὅρκου. The o<sup>v</sup> is a correction. ἐν συστάσει apparently goes with this—'at the time the oath is taken'.

234 f.  $\epsilon \pi \iota \pi \rho o \theta \epsilon \sigma \mu \iota a \iota s$ : 'by instalments'? What follows seems to mean 'taking into consideration ( $\epsilon \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \nu \eta s$ ) the length of time which has elapsed since the death of their late father'; the relevance is not quite clear, but the implication is perhaps that the length of time had enabled Psates to spread the repayment of the debts over a long period, paying year by year, and it is therefore fairer (ll. 241–243) that the plaintiffs should repay him gradually.

235	$[\pi]$ ρο $ heta$ εσμιαις κειμενης της ποσοτητος το $^{ t v}$ γεναμενο $^{ t v}$ κατ αρι $ heta$ μον
	χρονου της τελευτης του μακαριτου αυτων πατρος επι τω
	δυνασθαι αυτους εκ του καθολιγο απολογησασθαι αυτω
	το ει τι προς ανηλογιαν των μερων καταλαμβανει εκαστος εις
	οικειον και μονον μερος μετα το ϋπεξαιρεθηναι εκ το <sup>υ</sup> των ολων
240	προ παντων το μερος Ψατου και αυτό του φευγοντος κατα την των
	παντων ανηλογιαν ϊνα ευκολωτερως εχωσιν την απ <sup>ο</sup> δοσιν <sup>περ</sup>
	κα $ heta$ α και αυτος ουκ $\ddot{ ext{u}}\phi$ εν ε $\phi$ απα $\xi$ το $^{ ext{v}}$ το τοις ο $\phi$ ειλο $\mu$ ενοις
	εποιησεν ειτα και εξειναι τουτοις απαιτησαι Ψατην ϊκανον
	ορκον εν αγιοις οῖς βουλωνται Θεο" οικοις ως ουδεν απεκρυψατο
245	τουτοις εκ πατρωας και μητρωας κληρονομιας α $\phi$ οιο $^v$ δη $\pi$ οτε
	ειδους και αφ ης ουσης λημψεως καθα την δοσιν απητησεν
	τουτους ϋπερ των γονεων προς πασαν ϋστερον απαλλαγην
	τελειαν και σβεσιν δικης και περι της των θρεπτηριων
	$ au_0$ του ορφανικο $^{ au}$ παιδιο $^{ au}$ και αδελ $\phi$ αυτων α $\phi$ ου χρονο $^{ au}$ ετελευτα
250	Ηραϊς η το $^{ extstyle  u}$ των μητηρ ως ενα $^{ extstyle  u}$ ουκ $^{ extstyle  u}$ οφειλει λα $^{ extstyle  u}$ ειν
	$\mathbf{v}^{\pi}$ τουτων $\mathbf{\epsilon}$ ι μη την τουτων ημισ $\mathbf{\epsilon}$ ιαν μοιρ $\mathbf{a}$ ν κα $\mathbf{ heta}$ α και $\mathbf{a}^{\mathbf{v}}$ τος
	εγρα $\phi \over \eta$ παρα των γονεων οφειλει ανα $ heta$ ρεψαι τον ϊδιον α $^{ extstyle  u}$ τ $ar{ extstyle 0}$
	αδελφον και αναξαι τουτον τη δεουση ηλικια πλην επειδη
	τον πατερα εθρεψεν εξησθενηκοτα οφειλει αρκεσθηναι
255	τη ημισ $\epsilon$ ια μοιρα των παρ αυτο $^{ ext{v}}$ δο $ heta$ εντων εις ανατρο $\phi$ ν
	του ορφανικο <sup>υ</sup> αυτων αδελφ νηπιο <sup>υ</sup> οντος και αποδειξαι
	ταυτα δια της τροφο <sup>υ</sup> του παιδιο <sup>υ</sup> η και γνωριμων γειτονων <sup>ακριβως το<sup>υτο</sup> ωστε</sup>
	επισταμενων ενωμοτως εν αγιοις Θεο <sup>ν</sup> οικοις τας ομολογιας
	εκθεσθαι καθα επιστανται την επι τουτοις αληθειαν ειτα
260	μετα τον ϋποτελεσ $ heta$ ησομενον ϋπο τουτων και ϋπο $\Psi$ ατ $ar{ extsf{o}}$
	ορκον επησυχαζειν τους εναγοντας τη εφ εκαστω
262	κεφαλαιω δικαιολοχι[α] κ[αι $\mu$ ]η εκ $\theta$ ε. ο $^v$ ημιν προ $eta$ ι $eta$ α $ heta$ αι
262 a	και επιδουναι τα θρεπτηρια τω ειρημενω Ψατη υ <sup>π</sup> το παιδιο ολιγον εκ το καθολιγ
263 KG	θ <sup>ε</sup> ετος επι γαρ τουτοις τοις ειρημ <sup>ε</sup> ς απασι οι αφ εκατερ μερους
263 a	τη μοιρα εις ο[σα ?] ετη [εως] ης εξαφεστηκεν ηλικιας ητοι δύο ετων τα θηλασματα
237. ex • th	ne s is curiously formed. Probably Dioscorus began 248 and there is nothing for this to go wit

237.  $\epsilon \kappa$ : the  $\epsilon$  is curiously formed. Probably Dioscorus began to write  $\epsilon \sigma$ .

καθολιγου: l. καθολικοῦ. The reference is to the undivided inheritance; the plaintiffs were to pay their respective shares of their father's debts out of this, but after deduction from it of Psates' portion of the inheritance.

238. ανηλογιαν: cf. l. 241; **1869**, 14; Cair. Masp. ii. 67151, 89, ανηλογοῦσον. These instances seem to be due rather to a local dialectal form than to mere clerical errors.

εκαστος: ε corr. from ν.

246.  $\kappa a \theta a$ : the second a seems to be a correction; but not improbably a has been erroneously altered to  $\epsilon$ .

247.  $\tau\omega\nu$ :  $\tau$  corr. from a ( $a\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ ).

248.  $\tau \eta s$ : there is nothing for this to go with.

250.  $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ : the second  $\eta$  corrected, apparently from  $\rho$  ( $\mu\eta\tau\rho\sigma\sigma$ ).

258. oµoloyias: a correction.

262. εκ  $\theta$ ε. ου: it is not possible to read εκ νεου οτ εκ  $\delta$ ευτερου οτ εκ τουτου.

262  $\alpha$ , 263  $\alpha$ . These lines, with the inserted words at the beginning of l. 263, go together, and are to be inserted between ll. 262 and 263. The original text runs from ll. 262 to 263, and then to 264, 265.  $\delta\lambda(\gamma o\nu \epsilon\kappa \tau o\hat{\nu} \kappa a\theta o\lambda\iota(\kappa)o\hat{\nu} \kappa a\theta' \epsilon \tau os$  seems to mean that the payment is to be made by yearly instalments out of the undivided income.

263 a.  $\tau\eta$ : very doubtful; there is perhaps more than one letter before  $\eta$ .

264 συνς[υ]δο[κ...]...ε.. ητς.... τοις αιδεσιμωτατοις και
 265 θαυμασι[ω]τατοις δημοταις Σαλςεινος Επαφροδιτος..
 Ψ
 Verso (along the fibres), at the bottom of the roll:—
 ιππος Μεμνων

ora  $\epsilon \tau \eta$ : doubtful; if correct, the sense is 'and to pay in addition to the said Psates, a little each year from the undivided inheritance in proportion (?), for as many years (as elapsed) until the age at which he was weaned, namely two years, the cost of nursing the child'.  $\tau \dot{\alpha} \theta \eta \lambda \dot{\alpha} \sigma \mu a \tau a$  is redundant.  $o[\kappa \tau \omega]$ , which would mean that the payments are to be spread over 8 years, is too much for the space.

υιος Εππεπ......

264.  $\sigma u \nu \epsilon v \partial o \kappa \dots$ : if  $\eta \sigma a \nu$  had been written part of it would probably be visible after the lacuna, but the remains do not very well suit as or  $\nu$ 

265. δημοταις: just possibly a relic of the original tribe- and deme-organization of Antinoopolis ('demesmen'), but this is not very likely; cf. 1678, 7, note. These were presumably witnesses,

but it does not seem possible in l. 264 to read επι μαρτυσι.

Σαλεεινος: a curious name. The  $\sigma$  and first  $\epsilon$  are doubtful, the  $\lambda$  probable; the other letters are certain. Σαλνεινος seems a more likely name, but a stroke projecting upwards to the right after  $\lambda$  appears to belong to this line rather than to the preceding one. What follows Επαφροδιτος is probably a tachygraphic symbol or symbols.

266 f. This endorsement is obscure, and it may be doubted whether the writing on the left has any reference to the document on the recto, and is not rather a memorandum. The letters  $\iota m \pi o$  seem almost certain.  $a \pi^0$  Korwros may refer to the document on the recto.

## PAPYRUS 1709.—Before circa A. D. 570(?).

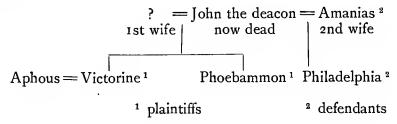
Inv. No. 1728 recto + Inv. No. 1745 recto. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau. 1728 measures 1 ft.  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in. × 1 ft.; 1745 fragmentary, width 1 ft. Hand A of Dioscorus, across the fibres; but the first  $\kappa \acute{o}\lambda \lambda \eta \mu \alpha$  (which was therefore from the first the outside one of the roll) is attached in the reverse way, verso inwards, so that the writing is along the fibres. Folded from the top downwards; but this may have been only the second folding, after the verso had been used. On the verso poems of Dioscorus (1818).

THOUGH this catalogue is one of Greek papyri it seems advisable to include the following Coptic document for the reason that it belongs to the Aphrodito collection and refers to a family already made known to us by a Greek contract of the same collection, Cair. Masp. i. 67006 verso. The transcript and translation are due to the kindness of Sir Herbert Thompson. In the commentary those notes due to him are marked by his initials.

That 1728 and 1745 refer to the same transaction is certain; and it is a natural inference that they were originally parts of the same roll. Against this supposition might be urged the fact that whereas 1728 is fairly well preserved 1745 is extremely fragmentary; and since it was usual to roll or fold documents from the bottom upwards, and the outer portion of a roll is likely to be more fragmentary than the inner part, the actual state of preservation makes against the connexion of the two papyri. In this case, however, the verso was subsequently used by Dioscorus to receive some of his 'poems'; and since these were written on the upper part of the roll, leaving the lower part blank, it is natural that he should have folded the papyrus, after writing the verses, from the top downwards, thus keeping the verses in the inner and more protected part of

the papyrus. Now it is clear from the worm-holes in 1728 that this papyrus was actually so folded; and the last worm-hole of 1728 seems to correspond fairly in shape with the first of 1745. Thus the other arguments in favour of identity—the contents of the recto, the identity of hand, the use of the verso in both cases for Dioscorus's compositions—are actually reinforced by the format of the document. It should be added that 1728 and 1745 are certainly not continuous; how much is lost is uncertain, but the Coptic text seems to indicate a considerable lacuna.

As already said, the document concerns the same family as Cair. Masp. i. 67006 verso. The parties are as follows:—



The details of the pleadings are very obscure owing to mutilation, and the arbitrator's judgement is entirely lost. This arbitrator may well have been Dioscorus himself since the document is in his hand; and the supposition is supported by the evidence of Cair. Masp. 67006 verso. That document is the marriage settlement of Victorine, drawn up during her father's lifetime, and therefore prior to the present arbitration, in which John is described as dead. It is written on the verso of a petition in the hand of Dioscorus. It may be taken as practically certain that the recto would be used first; and since we have already seen (1674, introduction) that the petitions in this collection were all written during Dioscorus's residence at Antinoopolis and that this residence probably fell entirely within the dates 566 and 573, the marriage contract must have been written on the verso later than the summer of 566, the earliest date at which the draft of a petition on the recto can have been written. In line 101 'the coming 15th indiction' is mentioned. The contract was therefore written in a 14th indiction. A 14th indiction ended in 566, and Dioscorus did not leave Aphrodito till after the beginning of the 15th indiction; consequently the marriage contract in question cannot (as indeed we should expect from its being written on the verso) be the original contract, but must be a later copy. This is borne out by the blunders in the text; see Maspero's addenda (pp. 201, 202) to 11. 12, 85, 119 and particularly vol. ii, p. 198, where he conjectures, no doubt rightly, that the obscure αλλοδευσο-

δερουσιον of l. 81 is an unintelligent copying of a corrected original which read αλλοδευσορουσιον, i.e. ἄλλο δὲ δευσορούσιον. The papyrus belonged to Dioscorus; why should he copy on to it, or have copied (for the hand of the verso seems not to be his), a marriage contract drawn up at least some time before and relating to persons with whom he had no connexion? This question, obscure while we had only 67006, is answered by the present document. The dispute concerns, among other things, Victorine's marriage settlement. If Dioscorus was arbitrator he would of course wish to know the terms of this; what more natural than that he should order one of his clerks to take a copy of it? The clerk was apparently a very imperfect Greek scholar and probably copied in a hurry (cf. Maspero's remark on the hand, p. 22); but it is possible that many of the crimes against the Greek language which the document contains may have existed in the original. The present document shows that the parties were Copts.

According to the plaintiffs, their step-sister Philadelphia and step-mother Amanias, in disregard of their father's will, which provided for an equal division of all the property between his three children, have appropriated it all. The term used is  $\sigma\kappa\epsilon i\eta$ , which clearly refers to movable property only; and obviously real property could not be seized in this way or 'carried off'. The remaining details are obscure; but it seems probable that the articles intended for Victorine's dowry or some of them had been appropriated by Philadelphia (l. 95 ff.). This furnishes some indication as to the date of Cair. Masp. 67006 verso. For the reasons stated, the date of the present document must fall between 566 and 573. If Victorine's dowry had been seized by Philadelphia it could hardly have been paid to her in full; and this consideration indicates for the present document a date not very long after the original marriage contract. Consequently the 14th indiction in which that was written is likely to have been the year 565-566; and the date of the arbitration may be placed not later than about 570.

For convenience of reference the lines of the two papyri have been numbered continuously.

Inv. No. 1728 recto.]

f ната месітіас тропон аісшти соуповесіс і пфшв. пфоіванишн пошв ипвинторин[н] | тесесшие йще йманаргос їшовинис пальню[и] | папопропонтыи йнні еттаїну  $\overline{n}$ папетфи[мос] | (5)  $\overline{n}$ патрівіос аваласіос ελαιδέ[μ] ολβ[ε] | τελεωμε φιγασεγφια. τεπταμαπος  $\overline{n}$ σι | πεγειωτ  $\overline{n}$ πτεμαερ $\overline{n}$ τε  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμενοί  $\overline{n}$ τενταμεν διολεοιι  $\cdot$  ετρν-| επιπ μελόπρ τυμιελεδηλ χλυνδνισγεί | (10)  $\underline{u}$ τιοι δ $\underline{u}$ ολελύνινετις  $\underline{u}$ ολπι, σλιτοφοι εκ $\dot{v}[i]$  | κοτοιδοττίστου μισλοτομιά. εξι παδοι δημά $\dot{v}[o\,;]$  | δημιδελειοχ $\dot{y}$ εί ναι ετραεζεταζε  $\underline{u}$ μελ- $|\delta m p$ . ετολατιφιράyε. εδοά αλm ελσικαζες $\Theta \dot{v}[i]$  | τημιελεδηλ. ετρητ $\underline{d}$ προσθε $\cdot$  ετερεπαθείς | (15) πατοαβοϊ  $\dot{a}$ .. εβολ πορήτε αϊσωτ $\overline{a}$  εροογ | καταπεγαικαιολοσία  $\overline{nu}uelebhl \cdot elfmu[e] \mid ue uelomp$ фограниями жен тириндобии[н] | деястие йте  $\overline{n}$ ίως λημητικ παιλιών ο  $\overline{n}$ τες  $\overline{u}$  ωρίως εγίλωφιβλλε κηφίλως  $\overline{\lambda}$  ελφ $\overline{u}$  (20) τως ερε μτελιτεόςμε μόδιτε εξετρίμε τελ-ς τους. δρείσε, ελών μπος. Σε σορι μες-μελή Theor.  $\underline{u}$  unestate  $\underline{u}$  example  $\underline{u}$  example  $\underline{u}$  in  $\underline{u}$  and  $\underline{u}$  energy  $\underline{u}$  in  $\underline{u}$  example  $\underline{u}$  examp πεχαγ χ[ε] τεπαδοστηγτη τη πτεκληρ[ο]-<math>|(25) ποιεία τη ππετηείωτ τη πθε φως εάπου τ φευώμρ[ε] |ипорин · купер упон · иудоеитне итнье | итесттори · историте · устанетот · ег еру-тол ей альафол ролунсемс. Адхоос еш | таральми жеттэ реичтиве. Сев еиелернү |(30) петепиїне тнр $\overline{q}$  · теінехече етречна $\overline{q}q$  |(30) почон  $\overline{n}$   $\overline{q}$   $\overline{q}$  натачацитоние <u>и</u>дос че фіуччеуфіч т<u>и</u>дестача, часту- бе, еснели, ерытта, таленол, ппоүнаап | [. . . с. 13] . атоме опптрепсшти | (35) [. . с. 23 . .] · аппохоγ | [. . . .

<sup>5.</sup> NATPIRIOC: i.e. the Dux. This is the Dux who was in office in 567. There is nothing in the present passage to show whether he was still in office.

<sup>7-8.</sup> Austriac: it seems likely, in view of the probable age of her daughter, that Amanias was already the wife of John when 67006 verso was drawn up. Hence the 'late wife' mentioned in l. I there may be John's first wife; but the bridegroom's father Victor had also lost his wife (l. 20), so that this is not certain.

<sup>11.</sup> map[o]: there is little doubt as to ap; mah is not possible (H. T.).

<sup>13.</sup> AIRAZECOA[1]: the & is written above the o and can

hardly be ε. For the unusual form cf. l. 79 εμφαπισσαι (H. T.).
16. Σικαιολουια: cf. 1708, 26, note.

<sup>23.</sup> auaρ[τε]: perhaps preferably auaρ[ε] from consideration of space. This rare Sahidic form occurs in ll. 32-33, 44; in l. 23 it is certainly auaρτε (H. T.).

<sup>27</sup> f. εĥαμογ: this future form recurs in l. 75 † απωψ, l. 76 † ακατηγτη, l. 82 εĥαμογ, and l. 119 εĥαωπο (H. T.).

<sup>29.</sup>  $\sigma \in p$  energephy: such I take to be probably the correct division: but the meaning of  $\sigma \in p$  is unknown; possibly a form of  $\sigma \omega \lambda$ , 'collect, bring together' (H. T.).

Inv. No. 1745 recto.]

```
[\cdots] <u>uolymbė</u>[\sigma\cdotsu] e ue uolikė i uolikė
                          ифі[уч]уєуфіч - єсі йчс . дряі цдніс йиє[скелн ;]
                          тироу \cdot єврпкаюнома7\epsilon · \overline{n}пеіхос · пеіхос . [. .]
                         <u>и</u>иеиларлаял ичс тньол. «Лю лестиетьет». <u>и</u>ні
(40) итантайс. стилан бени, сарууан. эль срав
                        [. .] . с . понт [с. 6] те фограниеми . ниринториин
                         [....]cxe \delta \underline{u} i.e....[...]
                         [\cdots] is denerally about and utoot ecompose [\cdots]
(42) [\cdot \cdot \cdot]_{\perp} \cdot \cdot \cdot \circ_{\lambda} upa \dot{\sigma} \cdot \delta_{\epsilon} unize. Eums isomber. \sigma \cdot [\cdot]
                          [.....] xe[a]t[en]maay taah nai enanpoir[oon]
                                                                                                                   ]δώ\psi. τετσ\overline{\text{mobut uconse u\'o}}
                                                                                                                                             Il odmóze yu queòd
                                                                                                                                                                                                                          ] прогноо
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   ]. ипо
 (50)
                                                                                                                                                                                                                           · éuu uois
                                                                                                                                                                                                                 ] . et · lentacw
                                                                                                                                                                                                                           ]άλ. ετισωδεά
                                                                                                                                                                            κε λεγεις ηπε . πε . . . .
                                                                                                                                                        900c · Tec . . . . . [ . . . . ]
  (55)
                                                                                                                                                        Jenedoce. datolcia y · [· · ·]
                                                                                                                                         ] urod duleduog umoue
                                                                                                                                                             јенрір звепіоумеї ете
                                                                                                                                                                      ] · σρ · μιοά σε με σά σε
 (60)
                                                                                                                                                                                ] . . . . . . . . . . . . шоот
                                                                                                                                                                            ] · · · · · · · us
                          [\dots] is the second of the se
                          [\cdots] eyeloedoc. \piouou \pi \epsilon \cdot p\underline{b}\delta[\cdots]
 (65) [\ldots] a \underline{\mathbf{w}}[\ldots] \underline{\mathbf{w}}[\ldots] \underline{\mathbf{w}}[\ldots]
                         [tīne əz[. . . .]
                          \beta[\text{irto}]pinh [..]. \epsilon. \lambdan napan\lambda[.....]
                           епащот [. . . .] . еп . епенеиот ща . [. . . . . .]
                           тефшин птн . . а . . арар пршее [. . . . . .]
```

36.  $\simeq \omega p \in a$ : the mention of Philadelphia makes it doubtful whether this refers, as one would naturally take it, to the  $\pi \rho \delta$   $\gamma \acute{a}\mu o \upsilon \delta \omega \rho \epsilon \acute{a}$  of Victorine. It is not quite clear who is speaking here. The mention of Philadelphia (l. 37) seems to rule her out. Phoebammon and Victorine are also named in l. 41, but the passage is probably a quotation ('he says'). 'Our father' here points, Philadelphia being ruled out, to either Victorine or Phoebammon. Lines 46 and 47 seem to contradict one another,

for the speaker in 46 should be a woman, in 47 a man. Perhaps 'my' is a mistake; or possibly the speakers are Phoebammon and Victorine pleading jointly; cf. l. 15 ff. Then l. 46 would refer to Victorine, l. 47 to Phoebammon.

60-61. These lines probably form one line only (H. T.).

66-69. These lines are uncertain, their latter portions forming a separate fragment, which may be misplaced here (H. T.).

- πεεδε συμένου (20) είν εδηγικίον μυγος τπουλ μφιγου[εγφιο σ]δεν εδο<u>ν</u>ς εδου πετο διολ σουν μυποσυ<u>μ</u>ι <u>μ</u>ικγηδουσσος ο<u>μ</u>υτρε συνή εξουν συνή εξουν συνή εξουν συνή εξουν συνή εξουν συνή εξουν συμένου συνή εξουν συμένου εξουν συμένου εξουν συμένου εξουν εξο
- επφν[μ]ιεθνι μψ[···]λ ελπνριλδ[ιν] χέψη

  μελειωι · διολεό[μ···]··[··]··[· Φ]οιρνπτώμ

  μενειωι · διολεό[μ···]···[··]···[· Φ]οιρνπτώμ

  φνιντηλιμ · να ερι γννλ · νιζητιε · εντελε

  μενεικό · μ[πτν] μτμ φνιστη γννλ · να ολιέ
- υφιγσσεγφίν [··] επολωμεδ<u>ά</u> σε εφογ δ<u>υ</u> εσοολ κατσολώ<u>υ</u>. <u>υ</u>ποσε<u>νι</u> τολφολγσολ σε μεπειπ. σοος εφσσολ. ετρελυω<sup>π</sup>. μετίμκ<sup>φ</sup> ερεδευ τε[σ] τος ελαώ μστος μόμις σε[σ] ··[·]·· μσητεκσικός. <u>υ</u>τελμογις σιόολτ
- μφγαλ[ιος μ]έ τε μεσ] μην μῶε. μςτε. ηνυουδομομιση μαζαδιν[ς] μσινκόὐος μμςτισμομ τομτείμα. μῶε ολτεέρος. μολ ηνι σε. με μτομιδε μαλγος μῶε εκειμου μαιμεκσικός σε έπθαλι μας ολ. μ

  (82) με το σε τε μεσικού το σε έπθαν με το σε τε μεσικού το σε τε τε μεσικού το σε τε πεσικού το σε τε πεσικού το σε τε πεσικού το σε τε τε πεσικού το σε τε πεσικο
- μαι δοολ[
   μαιφιγή[σεγ]φ[ισ
   [μ]ογγολθος μεμε · [
   [μηλρος · μεσμεριώ[
   σε σλω
   (λι · μπολ με · σλω
   πμ[·]μ · μπε · μ · · [
   σε σλω
- инчивой и так и так весте. По тенуньонот [oc] и тен по тенуньонот [oc] и тен по тенуньон тенуньон тенуньон тенуньон тенуньон тенун тену

71. Antwhe: the initial letter, probably a, written over  $\epsilon$  (H. T.).

74. caner: here again the speaker is difficult to determine, but he seems to be distinct from the parties in litigation.

80. HARTERAIROC: the document is too fragmentary to decide what part in the dispute the Defensor played, though from 1. 86 he appears to have published the will, and it may therefore be a mere coincidence that he is mentioned also in 67006 verso, 75 f., apparently as guaranteeing the agreement; but on the whole it seems likely that the same person is referred to in both places. Whether he was concerned in his official capacity or merely as a friend of the family is not clear; but the first supposition is the more likely from Oxy. i. 129 (= Mitteis, Chrest. 296), where a libellus repudii is sent by a father-in-law

to his son-in-law through the Defensor; cf. Mitteis, Hermes, xxxiv, p. 105.

81. The filling up of the lacuna here, though probable, is not certain, as there is no sign of the tail of the p which one would expect (H. T.).

86. єщатт: 1. єщат (Н. Т.).

88. RAIAMONOC THICKNOM: this title is new. There can hardly be a doubt as to the correctness of the reading. Mr. Crum writes that he has recently found in Coptic ostraca two instances of  $\sigma i \gamma \nu \sigma \nu$  as = 'prison', presumably the origin of the Arabic sijn in the same sense. This will probably be the meaning of the word here; Paul held a charge in connexion with the prisons.

92. The decipherment of the name is due to Mr. H. I. Bell (H. T.).

```
тачтаач най тирч понтч патамаачие пуват
     [и]уі, чсынчинаноуойы. итой. чараші итос. нчинер
     [. . . . . . .]nε αστ[. . . . φιλ]ασελ[φια . .] . poc na"
     unuecca [..]... ingio .. whe cam .....
     есттіре. є ттори тр . [·] йлекстие. ичи те илебес
                                      ]λ μεδιγλεις
     2007. 9c · [
(110)
                                      ] · d . биштьер
     [\overline{n}]TACW[
                                     ebtooy Tees.
                                      miae net
          прогнооп n \in [.] . . . [
           ] metogramoy zin[
(115)
           ] ппеткім · «п мппещ · . [
           ]... προςτεγυνωσις ειη[
                   Вінторінн Асацю [
           moc.
           ] · co · [· · · ·]u · πε εμνωμό [
(120)
                        пр]оікооп [
              ] пе • ететп [
              ] nnentagtaag nac [
              В интп • мптшелеет п[
              ] птачптнүтп ерраї ерос [
                ]rammei eic ane . . . oc . [
```

#### TRANSLATION.

1728.] 
After the manner of an Arbitration (κατὰ μεσιπείας τρόπον):—I have listened to the argument (ὑπόθεσις) of the case of Phoebammon the Weak(?) and Victorine his sister, the children of the late (μακάριος) John the deacon (διάκων), the ex-superintendent (ἀποπρονοητῶν) of the honoured house of the illustrious (πανεύφημος) (5) patrician (πατρίκιος) Athanasius, who are at law with their sister Philadelphia, their father's daughter by his second wife Amanias; they having requested (αἰτεῖν) me with an oath jointly to listen to their case between them; and they have appealed (παρακαλεῖν) (10) to me by a common agreement (συναίνεσις), and they have informed me also of a compromise (κομπρόμισσον) which they have arranged, (viz.) to come to me at my door (?), urging (ἐνοχλεῖν) me to inquire into (ἐξετάζειν) their case, which they are disputing about (ἀμφιβάλλειν) and with regard to which they are in litigation (δικάζεσθαι), according as the Lord (15) shall teach me the way (?) out of it.

I have listened to them according to (κατά) their pleadings (δικαιολογία) against one another, their case being of this nature, (viz.) Phoebammon (+μέν) and Victorine his sister, the children of John the deacon (δ.) by his first wife are disputing (ἀμφιβάλλειν) with Philadelphia (20) the daughter of the second wife, she being their sister on the father's side. They say that she has carried off all the property (σκεύη) of our (sic) father, she has appropriated them, with her mother,

even unto his house; they have appropriated it; they have said 'We will eject you (plur.) from the inheritance ( $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\rho\nu\rho\mu\dot{}(a)$ ) (25) of your father', just as if we were the children of a whore ( $\pi\delta\rho\nu\eta$ ), and yet ( $\kappa\alphai\pi\epsilon\rho$ ) we are the legitimate ( $\alpha\dot{}\theta\dot{}\epsilon\nu\tau\eta$ s) children of his first wife; and our father went down to death with an unwritten will ( $\dot{\epsilon}\xi$   $\dot{a}\gamma\rho\dot{}a\phi\rho\nu$   $\beta\rho\nu\lambda\dot{}\eta\sigma\epsilon\omega$ s). He declared before witnesses ( $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\dot{}\nu$ )  $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\dot{}\nu\rho\omega\nu$ ) saying, 'Let my children . . . . for themselves; (30) all that is mine I bid ( $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\dot{}\nu\epsilon\nu$ ) them divide it among them in third parts according to ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{}a$ ) my poor estate (lit. poverty).' But Philadelphia and her mother they have appropriated that property ( $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\dot{}\nu\eta$ ) till now; they have not let us . . . . . when we heard (35) . . . . . we rejected . . . .

1745.] ..... a gift  $(\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\dot{a})$  from (?) our father ..... to Philadelphia, he .... in her (it?) all the [property], he also making an inventory (?) (-ονομάζειν) piece by piece (είδος) of all the things which he had given her; and also his share of a house (40) which he had bought (?), as he had no other house besides it; and he says . . . . . . . Phoebammon and Victorine . . . . to me (?) of (?) their share  $(\mu \epsilon \rho \sigma s)$  . . . . for  $(\gamma \acute{a} \rho)$  his documents  $(\chi \acute{a} \rho \tau \eta s)$  are in her hand, she having appropriated [them] (45) . . . . . I (?) hoped (ἐλπίζειν) to obtain the gift (δωρεά, marriage portion?) ..... [my?] mother gave me for my dowry (προικφού) ...... my (sic) first wife separated [it] ..... (50) ..... (55) ..... to his loss as regards the property (οὐσία) ..... in his great illness ....... (60) ...... whose name is Kaloionistus; he makes .... but  $(\delta \epsilon)$  only  $(\mu \delta \nu o \nu)$  Eleutherus (?) .... (65) .... a number of men .... (70) after his death; all the property  $(\sigma \kappa \epsilon \acute{\nu} \eta)$  which was part of his poor estate (lit. poverty) ..... we compensating them ourselves, (viz.) the three heirs, causing the mother of Philadelphia to oppose us, as my daughter Sabek (?) . . . . comes (?) to full age (ἡλικία καλῶς) (75) and takes her part (lit. does her work) with you (plur.), I will not divide anything; nor will I suffer you (plur.) to take anything. I have sought the maintenance (σύστασις) of the commands (κέλευσις) of the unwritten will (ἄγραφος βούλησις) of their father ..... publish (ἐμφανίζεσθαι) ...... for a witness (μαρτυρία) that he (80) . . . . the General Defensor (?) (παντέκδικος) of their city of Siout; there being some witnesses(?) in it that his(?) father said, when he was about to die, that they should divide his property among them according to  $(\kappa \alpha \tau \acute{a})$  one-third portions, but  $(\delta \acute{\epsilon})$  they should (?) give (?) 1 nothing to Philadelphia ..... but ( $\delta\epsilon$ ) it is published in (85) [the presence of?] those witnesses (μαρτύρων ἐκείνων) by the Defensor (ἔκδικος), saying, 'What is given to her? or a share (μέροs) of what?' These are the witnesses: Paul the son of Azarias, the deacon (διάκονος) of Prisons (?) (σίγνον), and Mena the son of Flavius (?) and Mena the son of Sie (sic), the exsuperintendent  $(a\pi \sigma \pi \rho o \nu o \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu)$ , (90) and .... the son of .... and Constantine the son of Cyrus the honey-merchant, all of them being ... and Colluthus ...... (95) ..... especially (μάλιστα) because . . . . the men (?) of the mountain (? necropolis) were in need (-χρεία), all the men; but Victorine she is crying out 'Pay me my dowry (προικφον) and let me take(?) these things; if the inheritance  $(\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\circ\nu\circ\mu\iota\alpha)$  is thine (fem.) (100).... which are these: twelve artabas of wheat and all that he gave me in it, that which belonged to my mother, except the allowance (χορηγία) which he appointed (συντάσσειν) in the dowry (προικφον) to be given (105) to me. She also defamed (κακολογείν) him (and) he turned me out of it, although (καίπερ) . . . . . ..... (115) of the first marriage (?) (πρωτόγαμος) .... immovables and .... according  $(\pi\rho\acute{o}s)$  to their list  $(\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota s)$  ....; but Victorine she .... saying, 'if he shall live .... dowry .....'

1 Reading + for T.

## PAPYRUS 1710.—Circa A. D. 565-573.

Inv. No. 1737 A recto. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau.  $8\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{7}{8}$  in. In a free sloping rather compressed cursive hand, across the fibres. Probably folded from the bottom upwards. On the verso, along the fibres, remains of 4 lines of hexameter verse in the hand of Dioscorus, with one added lower down.

Mariage contracts of the sixth century are so rare that it is worth while to publish the following fragment in spite of its imperfection. The extant parallels are Cair. Masp. i. 67006 verso and CPR. 30 = Mitteis, Chrest. 290 (Wiener Denkschriften, xxxvii, p. 170, App. 768 is a mere scrap). Besides the present one this volume adds one other, 1711. All these papyri are unfortunately much mutilated at the beginning, and the present document, preserving part of the first 17 lines, is of some interest. That it is a marriage contract can hardly be doubted, for though in the contract proper nothing remains which in itself points to a marriage, the words  $\delta \gamma \delta \mu \rho s$  in 1. 4 may be taken as indicating the character of the document. The point of chief interest in the contract is the opening formula, which perhaps (see note on Il. 4–6) contained a general reflection on the nature of the marriage-bond. The bridegroom was a singularis, possibly in the ducal  $\tau \delta \xi \iota s$ , perhaps accompanied by his mother; the name of the bride was Theodora. The document, not being in Dioscorus's hand, may have been written before his removal to Antinoopolis; the terminus a quo is therefore the accession of Justin.

[Flor. iii. 294, published since the above was written, is certainly a contract of marriage, and it seems not impossible that it may be part of the same document as 1710. The bride was apparently called Theodora (Il. 37, 95), as here; she was accompanied by her brothers, but it is unfortunately impossible to say whether this was the case with our Theodora. Her husband was probably called Colluthus (I. 76), and in I. 2 f. he is connected with the ducal τάξις. Α σιγγουλάριος τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονι[κῆς τάξεως is mentioned in I. 35, evidently a different person, as δουκικῆς is certain in I. 3; but Colluthus may also have been a singularis. Here also (see I. 16) one of the other parties may have belonged to a τάξις. Flor. 294 was very likely a parallel document to 1711, which it certainly resembles in its formulae, and from which portions of it can be restored. This resemblance makes 'Αντ[ινόου in I. 24 (see Vitelli's note on p. x) more likely than Aντ[αίου; the mention of another nome in I. 72 proves nothing.]

```
+ Βασιλείας και υ[πατείας του θειοτατού ημων δεσπότου Φλαυίου] 

Γουστίνου του αιω[νίου Αυγούστου Αυτοκρατόρος έτους x....] 

εννεακαιδεκατή ιν[δι*]/ [ εν Αντί/ πολεί τη λαμπροτατή] 

+ ο γαμός εκ[ 

5 αγαθοίς πολ[ 

ηγούμενης της του δί] ταυτήν]
```

4-6. These lines seem to be a kind of introduction or preamble to the contract proper. Lines 4 and 5 are written as above printed, with blank spaces after  $\gamma a\mu os$  and  $a\gamma a\theta os$ , and it may be conjectured that the lines were thus spaced throughout, to mark them off from the rest. This suggests that they may have contained some general reflection on marriage; something like  $\delta \gamma a\mu os \epsilon \kappa \left[\Theta \epsilon o \hat{v} a\tau v \ldots \hat{\epsilon} \pi^{2}\right] d\gamma a\theta o \hat{s} \pi o \lambda \left[\lambda o \hat{s} \ldots \right]$  seems con-

ceivable. In 1. 6 ήγουμένης is perhaps to be compared with CPR. 30, 1, though in that case the interpretation given to the word by Wessely in his translation (cf. the supplement in Mitteis, Chrest. 290) must be rejected. We may perhaps read (immediately after πολ[λοις) something like της δεσποινης ημων της θεστοκου Μαριος] ηγουμένης της τουδ[ε του γαμου (e.g.) συζυγιος (οτ γαμικου συμβολαιου (e.g.) τελειωσεως).

την εγγραφον ομολ[ογιαν εκοντες και πεπεισμ[ενοι ανευ παντος δολου και φοβου και βιας και] απατης και αναγκης κ[αι πασης συναρπαγης ποιουνται και τιθενται] 10 προς εαυτους εκ με[ν του ενος μερους Φλ/ σιγγουλαριος τησός [της......ταξεως απο ταυτης της] λαμπρας Αντινοεων π[ολεως μετα? της] μητρος αυτό της και σ[υνευδοκουσης? και Αυρηλια] Θεοδωρα θυγατη[ρ Πυθιοδωρου πωμ[αριτου? της αυτης σεμνη[ς ταξεως? αδει...ς μετ[α] των απ[ο?

10. If Flor. 294 really belongs to this document we must read Κολλουθας.

11.  $\tau a \xi \epsilon \omega s$ : cf. 1714, 13; Cair. Masp. i. 67023, 4-5; and particularly P. Graz in Archiv, ii, p. 183.  $\tau \hat{\eta} \sigma \delta \epsilon$ , if rightly read, means  $\kappa a \tau \hat{\alpha} \theta \eta \beta a \hat{\delta} \delta a$ . If Colluthus is the bridegroom the officium of the Dux must be meant.

13. Probably part of a statement that the *singularis* (the bridegroom) was accompanied by his mother; his father was then possibly dead.

15. Possibly Pythiodorus is Theodora's grandfather. If so,

we require more than her father's name in l. 14, and the reading may have been  $\tau ov \tau \eta s \mu a \kappa a \rho \iota a s \mu \nu \mu \mu \eta s \dots \nu \iota \nu v v$ . But if Flor. 294 belongs to this document Pythiodorus may be one of her brothers; see however l. 17, note.

16.  $\tau \alpha \xi \epsilon \omega s$ : for  $\sigma \epsilon \mu \nu \delta s$  applied to the  $\tau \dot{\alpha} \xi \iota s$  see Cair. Masp. i. 67019, 2 f.,  $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\epsilon} [\pi \iota] \chi \dot{\omega} \rho \iota \omega \nu \sigma \epsilon \mu \nu \dot{\eta} \nu \eta \dot{\alpha} \dot{\epsilon} [\tau \iota] \kappa \dot{\eta} \nu \tau \dot{\alpha} \dot{\xi} \iota \nu$ . But possibly  $\pi a \rho \theta \epsilon \nu \epsilon \iota a s$  should be read; cf. 1711, 17-18,  $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu \sigma \dot{\eta} \nu \sigma \epsilon \mu \nu \dot{\eta} \nu \kappa a \dot{\alpha} \dot{\alpha} \sigma \dot{\mu} a \dot{\eta} \eta \sigma \rho \theta \epsilon \nu \epsilon \dot{\mu} a \nu$ .

17.  $\tau\omega\nu$   $a\pi[a: \text{ or perhaps } \tau\omega\nu$   $a\nu[\tau\eta s \ a\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omega\nu]$ ?

# PAPYRUS 1711.—A. D. 566-573.

Inv. No. 1756 verso. Acquired in 1907. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau. Verso of 1708; this contract extends from the top of the roll to line 57 of 1708. In a crabbed, much flourished, sloping cursive hand, a good deal compressed, along the fibres; lines very close together; papyrus much rubbed in the earlier portion.

THE mutilation of this document is regrettable, as it is of considerable interest; but its imperfection is to a large extent repaired by the fortunate survival of a draft of the main portion of it. This draft, which is at Cairo, is no. 67310 in vol. iii of Maspero's catalogue. That it is a draft is clear not only from the corrections and additions but also from the fact that the date, names, and subscriptions are not inserted. It may disprove a conjecture previously made by the present editor, that 1711, which, being all in one hand, is clearly not an original, was a copy made for Dioscorus to be used in some law-suit or arbitration, in which Dioscorus was perhaps arbitrator or the advocate of one of the parties. That the copy was made for Dioscorus is clear from its having been written on the back of a document in his hand, which, as it was found at Kôm Ishgau, must have been taken with him on his return to his native village. Cair. Masp. 67310 also belongs to his papers, having been found at Kôm Ishgau; and, since the draft occupies both sides of the papyrus, it cannot have been bought by him for scribbling paper like (probably) some of the documents included among the Aphrodito Papyri, but must have been written for him by one of his clerks. What then is the relation of the two documents to

each other? At first the idea suggested itself that 1711 was copied for Dioscorus from an actual contract with a view to forming a model for a similar contract which Dioscorus, as a notary, had been called upon to prepare, and that 67310 was a draft, based on 1711, for that contract. (As it is not said by M. Maspero to be in the hand of Dioscorus it must in any case have been written by one of his clerks, not by Dioscorus himself.) This idea, however, seems to be disproved by a comparison of the two documents. Almost without exception the additions made to 67310 above the line are here found incorporated into the document; and though, if there were only one or two such cases, it would be possible to explain them as inadvertent omissions by the clerk, corrected on revising his draft, they are as a matter of fact too numerous for this. The conclusive evidence, however, is to be found in 11. 66-68 of 1711, which are an evident afterthought, and which are not found in 67310. Consequently the latter was prior to 1711; and from this it follows that the completed document was drawn up in the office of Dioscorus, 67310 being the first draft of it. If, therefore, Dioscorus (through a clerk) was himself responsible for the contract, it becomes less likely that the copy was made for use by him in a law-suit; though that is of course not impossible, it is more likely that a copy was taken for purposes of reference at the time when the agreement was concluded.

The portion of the contract found in 67310 is that represented in 1711 by lines 15-65. In this portion the agreement between the two MSS. is, with a few exceptions, word for word, except for the introduction into 1711 of the modifications necessitated by the insertion of the names of the parties. Before the portion found in 67310 come the date, the preamble, and the names of the parties; after it are the additional clause already referred to and the subscriptions of Horuonchius and his sureties. The fortunate discovery of a draft of the document not only supplies the supplements for the numerous lacunae in 1711 but has enabled the editor to place a number of fragments too small for identification without this assistance. Joined together they help to make up the larger numbered fragments. 67310 also makes possible or verifies the reading of several passages where the traces here are too slight or too uncertain for any certain reading unsupported by external testimony; and the present editor is much indebted to M. Maspero for the opportunity of seeing his proof.

The document is a marriage contract between Fl. Horuonchius son of Philip, a soldier of the numerus of Antinoopolis, and Scholasticia daughter of Theodore. The rarity of marriage contracts of the Byzantine age makes it peculiarly valuable; and it derives an additional interest from the peculiarity of its form. It is not, formally, a contract for marriage, but a contract for the payment of the donatio propter nuptias, which is here identified with the έδνα, as apparently in 1708 (see note on l. 115 there); and it was drawn up after the consummation of the marriage. It is not, however, a mere bond for the payment of the money, but includes specific and indeed elaborate undertakings for the behaviour of both parties to the marriage, and it is called a γαμικὸν συμβόλαιον, so that it may properly be regarded as a marriage contract, though of a special kind. Maspero remarks that 'il a été rédigé après la consommation du mariage, comme s'il y avait là un souvenir de l'ancien "mariage d'essai"; but it may be doubted whether, even granting the existence of 'marriage on trial' as a regular institution in the Graeco-Roman period (see Mitteis, Grundzige, p. 200 ff.), any sort of survival or reminiscence of so primitive an institution can be assumed for the Christian period. The phrases used in ll. 15–17 are essentially those of the full legal marriage. Probably therefore Maspero's suggestion must be set aside; we must

suppose that for some reason, in certain cases, the drawing up of the marriage contract was deferred till after the marriage; or that a second contract, with special reference to the *donatio* propter nuptias, was then drawn up. See also 1725.

The amount of the donatio propter nuptias is 6 solidi less 36 carats; its payment is not promised for any special time but at the will of the bride  $(\delta\pi\delta\tau a\nu\ \beta\sigma\nu\lambda\eta\theta\hat{\eta}s)$ , and is guaranteed by three sureties, one of whom is a woman, while the other two are soldiers of the numerus of Antinoopolis. The mutual undertakings by husband and wife are curious and interesting. The husband undertakes to maintain and clothe his wife in a manner befitting his station, not to affront or repudiate her except for misconduct, which must be proved by three or more credible free men, and not to abandon her. In subsequent passages he further undertakes not to invite to the house any unsuitable  $(a\nu\alpha\kappa\delta\lambda\sigma\nu\theta\sigma)$  person, not to dine in her presence with any one except by her consent, and not to take any other wife. The penalty for any breach of these undertakings is to be the payment of 18 solidi, i.e. three times the amount of the donatio propter nuptias. On the other hand the wife undertakes to obey, love, and tend her husband; breach of her engagement is subjected to the same penalty as in the husband's case.

As regards date, this must fall after Dioscorus's arrival at Antinoopolis in 566 and before his return to Aphrodito. In view of the dates of other Antinoopolite documents in the collection it is not likely to be much, if any, later than 570.

In this transcript supplements certified by 67130 are printed in thicker type, those words which Maspero marks as doubtful being dotted; but it must be remembered that several words read in the present document could hardly have been deciphered, at least with any confidence, without the help of the draft; for not only are the earlier fragments and some other portions of the contract very much rubbed, but the lines are so close together and the writing so much flourished that it is often almost impossible to tell to which of two lines any particular stroke belongs.

(a)	+ βασιλειας και υπατει[ας του θειοτατου ημων δεσποτου Φλή Ιουστινου του αιωνιου] Αυγουστου Αυτοκρ[ατορος ετους	
	[	
(6)	Blank space. + τον γαμικον [	
	Blank space.	
; (c)		•

4. For the respective positions of fragments b and c see 1708, 3, note. As regards the reading here, one naturally thinks of  $\tau[\sigma \pi a \rho] o \nu \gamma a \mu \iota \kappa o \nu [\sigma \nu \mu \beta o \lambda a \iota o \nu]$ , but this seems impossible, and  $\sigma \nu \mu \beta o \lambda a \iota o \nu$  in 1. 10 is probably the first mention of the contract. Here there is not room for  $o \pi a \rho$  between the stroke visible to the right of the cross and  $o \nu$ ; moreover, on a close examination, this stroke is seen to terminate below the upper edge of the fragment, and to be without any horizontal stroke or any ligature connecting it with the following letter. Consequently it may

be regarded as merely the top of a letter in the following line, and as the slight trace following, though not much like the downstroke of  $\tau$ , is not irreconcilable with it,  $\tau o \nu$  can be read; were the first stroke taken as  $\tau$ , the space would be too wide for this reading. This, in connexion with other considerations (the analogy of 1710 and the space above and below), makes it probable that we have here a general reflection on marriage. A small fragment containing only  $a]\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda o\iota[s]$  may come either before or after  $\epsilon$ .

	μετ εγγυητώ[ν μου των και εξης υπογραφοντων] εκαστος και [· · · ·] τως το ε[πι τοις εξης] δηλουμενοις συμφωνοις εν τω δ[ημοσιω? γαμικον]
10	συμβολαιον εφ αις $\pi[\epsilon]$ ριεχει διαστολ[αις] απασαις και [ ]
	λυτων απο ταυτη[ς τ]ης [Αντινοεων πολεως?]
	]
15	(d) ] $[0, 1, 1]$
20	είι τω Θεω δοξειεν και γνη]σιων τεκνων σπορα και την σην σεμνην και εγγραφ[ον] ασφαλη παρθενειαν ευρων διηκορευσα οθεν εις ταυτην ηκω την εγγραφ[ον] εδνων ητοι προ γαμού δωρων των συμπεφωνημενων και συναρεσαντων
	μεταξυ εμου και σο και των [σων] σ[εμνων] γονε[ω]ν χρυσο νομ[ισμ\] δεσποτικ[ων]
	δοκιμων εξ εκα[στ]ο παρα κε[ρατια εξ] ζυγω και σταθ[μω Αντινοου γι/ χρ/ νο δεσπ
25	[της εμης μετ]ριοτητος και εν μηδενι καταφρονησαι σο [μητε]  [της εμης μετ]ριοτητος και εν μηδενι καταφρονησαι σο [μητε]  [της εμης μετ]ριοτητος και εν μηδενι καταφρονησαι σο [μητε]

8. Perhaps είς τ[ην εκτισιν του προστίμου? For εκαστος perhaps εκαστου. It does not seem possible to read εκουσίως και αυθαιρείτως, and the reading τως το ε[πι is very doubtful.

11. λυτων: αυτων seems hardly possible.

απο ταυτης της: one naturally expects Αντινοέων πολέως, which ought to be the first mention of the city; but the first mention of it was only in connexion with the numerus, so that ταυτης κτλ. is not unnatural here. The traces after the lacuna are too faint for certainty.

- 15. Cair. Masp. 67310 begins πρώην κατὰ φιλικὴν καὶ εἰρηνικὴν διάθεσιν συνηρμοσάμην ἐμαυτὸν κατ᾽ ἔκδοσιν νομίμου γάμου, but here, in spite of the apparent  $μ_0$ , it is hardly possible to read συνηρμοσαμην before εμαυτον, and νομιμου γαμου is out of the question before επι. κατ εκδοσιν is on a detached fragment, but it is difficult to see where else it could be placed, and the ends of two upstrokes on the recto suit this position.
- 17. The  $\epsilon$  is very doubtful, but the initial letters of lines are usually formed in an exaggerated way in this document, and the reading (taken from 67310) suits the size of the lacuna perfectly.
- 19 f.  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\sigma\omega\nu$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ .: here the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\nu a$  are clearly identified with the *donatio propter nuptias*; see 1708, 115, note. Here too, as in 1708, the  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\nu a$  are a sum of money.

20. δωρων: sic; 67310 has δωρων, where the ε was clearly an

afterthought. If the present document or that of which it is a copy was copied from that (see introduction) the clerk may probably have overlooked the overwritten  $\epsilon$ .

21. και των σων σεμνων γονεων: this does not occur in 67310. σεμνων (suggested by Prof. Hunt) suits the one trace really distinguishable and the space.

22-24. The supplements from 67310, except that there the sum, being from the first written in an abbreviated form, is not repeated, as presumably it was in this case.

23. ζυγ(ω) και: 67310 has ζ, S.

24. υπερθεσεωs: some of the traces suit this reading (which should be right from 67310), but if it is right the letters must be greatly spread out.

26. In 67310 there is nothing between  $\iota \delta \iota \kappa \omega s$  and  $\kappa \alpha \iota \ o \mu o \lambda o \gamma \omega$ . The position of the fragment containing  $\tau \eta$   $\sigma \eta$  and  $\epsilon \pi \iota \tau$  is not quite certain, though it suits both recto and verso well. If it is correctly placed and the reading is right we must suppose that the clerk began to write  $\tau \eta$   $\sigma \eta$   $\kappa o \sigma \mu \iota o \tau \eta \tau \iota$ , but found he was mistaken and forgot to delete  $\tau \eta$   $\sigma \eta$ .

27.  $\gamma\nu\eta\sigma\iota\omega s$ : the  $\eta$  is more like  $\kappa$ . Possibly the clerk has misread the  $\eta$  of his model as  $\kappa$ .

28. συνμετριων: Maspero explains, no doubt rightly, as 'les gens de même condition'.

30 [εκβαγ]ειν σε εκ του έπου σηνοικεωτίο[η] μαθέκτος γ[ολ]ο μόδ[λιας] κάτ [σιαχρας πραξεως και αφπατικής αταξίας αμο]ο[είχθ] μουμένης [-]

(f) ελε[υ]θερ[ω]ν και μηδαμως αποστηναι με της σης [κοιτης μη]δ ετερας δραμείν αταξίας η ασελγίας μεντοί και αυτης της σης κοσμιστητος

35 υπακουουσης μοι και φυλαττουσης μοι πασαν ευνοιαν και ειλικρινη στοργην εν πασι καλοις και οφελιμοις εργοι[ς] τε κ[αι λογοι]ς και υποταττομε μοι τροποις απασιν ατε δη ανηκει απασαί[ς ευγενεσταταις γυναιξιν] ενδεικνυσθα[ι] ε[ι]ς το[υ]ς ε[αυτων ευμοιρους και φιλαιτατους ανδ]ρας διχα υβρεω[ς και αψικοριας και οιας δηποτε κ]αταφρον[ησε]ως

40 [αλλ ο]ικ[ουρα]ν διολου εινα[ι και φιλαν]δρου περι εμε γενεσθ[α]ι σε ακολου[θως] τη παρ εμ[ου δε]ιχθησομενη σοι αγαθη και σωφρονι προαιρεσει και ει συμβαιη μοι ποτε καιρω η χρονω καταφρουησαι σο<sup>[ν]</sup> κατα τον προαφηγηθεντα τροπον η εκβαλειν σε χωρις ευλογου αιτιας ως προγεγραπται ετοιμως εχω εγω ο προγεγραμμενο[ς]

45 σος ανηρ Ωρουωγχις π[α]ρ[ασχ]εί[ν τ]η ση κοσμιοτητι λογω ποινης της αυτης καταφρονησεως χρυσο νομισματα δεκαοκτω εργω και δυναμει απαιτουμενα και . ενος εξελθειν με εκ του . . . σε χωρεις αντιλογιας και κρισεως και δικης και πασης αφορμης και μεμψεως και παντοιας νομιμο παραγραφης και ευρεσιλογιας ενεχομενης

50 και σου της προαφηγηθεισης μου νυμφης και γαμετης Σχολαστικ[ιας] τω αυτω ισω μεντοι προστιμω ει και εμου κ[ατα]φρονεσαις επι τοι[ς] προτεταγμενοις συ[μ]φωνοι[ς] εφ οις και αμ . [.] . [. .] . ος προσομολογω εγω ο σος γαμετης μη συγκαλεσαι τινα ανακολουθον κατ οικον επι σε μητε συμποσιαζε[ιν] εγγ[υς σ]ο μετ εταιρων η [οι]κειων η

55 μεθ ετερου τιν[ος] σου μη βουλομενης την αυτ[ω]ν καταστασιν και εις ασφαλειαν εκατερό μερους και του φιλαλληλου συνοικεσι[ου] εθεμην το[υτο] το της συζυγι]ας συμφωνον ητοι γαμικον συμβολαιον κυριον ον και βεβα[ι]ον πανταχου επιφερομενον και επερωτηθεις εκων και πεπεισμενος ωμολογησα μη φοβω μη

60 δολω μη βια και απατη μητε αναγκη συνελαυνομενος και υπο γεγραμμενον εξεδομην σοι προς ασφαλειαν και προς παντα

32. τριων η πλεον αξιοπιστων ονδρων: cf. P. Eleph.  $\mathbf{I} = \mathbf{Mitteis}$ , Chrest. 283, where also the charge is to be proved εναντίον ἀνδρών τοιών.

παγανων ουτων και πολιτικων:  $\tilde{\eta}$  is probably meant rather than καί. Maspero rightly explains as 'les habitants de la campagne  $(\pi \hat{\alpha} \gamma o s)$  et ceux de la ville  $(\pi \delta \lambda s)$ '.

34.  $\delta\rho a\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ : it is curious to use the simple verb transitively, but Maspero's proof has . . . . .  $\nu$ , which exactly suits the length of  $\delta\rho a\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ , and it seems certain that nothing was written here after  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho as$ .

34. μέντοι: μέντοι similarly begins a clause in 1796, 10; cf. too P. Oxy. iii. 531, 19 (Hunt); Flor. iii. 384, 13; etc.

35. μοι (first): according to Maspero's reading, 67310 has μου.

39. αψικοριας: 67310 αψικωριας.

40. οικουραν: Maspero says, of 67310, 18: 'Peut-être οικουραν,

mais l'a est plus probable.'

45. τη ση κοσμιστητι: the characters are confused (there has perhaps been a correction), but the reading is probably right.

50.  $\sum \chi o \lambda a \sigma \tau i \kappa i a s$ : from 1. 72, where the ending seems certain. 52.  $a\mu$ . [.]. [..]. os: the letters marked as visible, except the first, had long downstrokes. Maspero's proof has ] $\tau$ . s, and  $\tau$  is not impossible here before os.  $a\mu \epsilon [\tau a \nu o \eta] \tau os$  can hardly be read.

60 f. υπογεγραμμενον εξεδομην σοι: ' I have given it to you with my signature.'

και προς εκαστον αυτων των ενπεριεχομενων αυτω κεφαλαιων και επι τη του προστιμό αποδοσει ει ουτω τυχοι ϋποθεμενος σοι παντα τα νυν οντα και εσομενα μοι πραγματα ενεχυρου λογω και υποθηκης δικαιω καθαπερ εκ δικης απελυσα 65 προσομολογω αυτε εγω ο  $[\pi]$ ρ[ογεγ]ρ[(γαμετ]ης Ωρουωγχις μη δυνασθαι μηποτε καιρω η χρονω ενεγκειν αλλοδαπας γυναικας επανω της εμης ελευθερας ει δε τουτο πραξω επιδωσω το αυτο προστιμον Φλ' Ωρουωγχις Φιλιππο καθοσιωμ $^{\epsilon}$ ( στρατιωτης αριθμο Αντι/ και οστιαριος απο της αυτης πολέ μετ εγγυητων μο των και εξης υπογραφοντων 70 εκαστο ενεχομενου τη ιδια υπογραφη εθεμην τουτο το γαμικον μο συμβολαιον σοι τη προειρημένη Σχολαστικια Θεοδωρό εμη γαμετη νυμφη εις χρυσο νομισμί εξ παρα κερατια τριακοντα εξ και ταυτα αποδωσω σοι οποταν βουληθης και ποιησω παντα τα συνταχθεντα εν τω αυτω γαμικω συμβολαιω κατα την δυναμιν εκαστο κεφαλαιου και αποδωσω 75 το προειρημένον προστιμον ει υπερβησωμαι ταυτα τα εγγεγραμμένα ως προκ/ + Αυρηλία Μαρία θυγατηρ Μηνα τη ευγενεστάς απο της Αντι/ εγγυωμαι τον προγεγραμμε Ωρουωγχιον Φιλιππο στρατιωτην και οστιαριον αριθμο Αντι/ εις χρυσο νομισμ<sup>α</sup>ς εξ παρα κερατια τριακοντα εξ και αποδωσω 80 ει συμβαιη αυτον παραφρονειν τον προειρημενον γαμικον συμβολαιον και τα εν αυτω περιεχομενα αναμφιβολως ως προκ/ Αυρηλιος Αντωνιος Βικτορος απο Αντι/ ανηρ της προγεγρα/ Μαριας αξιωθεις εγραψα υπ αυτης παρουσης και ειπουσης μοι κατα προσωπον γραμματα μη ειδυιης + Φλαυιος Κωνσταντινος Ιωσηφιου στρατιωτή \$ δαμναριος εγγυωμαι τον προγεγραμμες  $\Omega$ ρουωγκιον  $\Phi$ ιλιππο στρατιωτς και οστιαριον 85 αριθμό Αντι/ εις χρυσό νομισμί εξ παρα κερατια τριακοντα εξ και αποδωσω ει συμβαιη αυτον παραφρονειν το προειρημή γαμικον συμβολαιον και τα αυτω περιεχομενα αναμφιβολως ως προκ/ Φλ/ Χριστοδωρος Ιωαννου στρατιωτή και αδιουτορ/ εγραψα ϋπερ αυτό γραμμή μη ειδοτος + Φλαυιος Φοιβαμμων Αλεξανδρο πρωτης αριθμή Αντι/ εγγυωμαι τον προγεγρα/ 90 Ωρουωγκιν Φιλιππο στρατιωτην και οστιαριον αριθμου Αντι/ εις χρ/ νομισμή εξ παρα κερατια τριακοντα εξ και αποδωσω ει συμβαιη αυτον παραφρονειν το προειρημ€ γαμικον συμβολαιον και

65. δικαιω: here the Cairo draft ends. After δικαιω, ωμολογησ was written there and immediately crossed out. 11. 66–68 here are an afterthought.

66. There does not seem room for  $\sigma$ os after  $\pi \rho \sigma \gamma \epsilon \gamma \rho (a\mu \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s)$ .

69. σστιαρισς: the Latin ostiarius. This is not a specifically military title, but Horuonchius may have exercised his functions as porter in connexion with his military calling, e.g. have been ostiarius of the military head-quarters or of the Dux. It is, however, not unusual at this period to find soldiers as traders or in some other civil capacity (Maspero, Org. militaire, p. 56 ff.); and, though in 1. 78 f., etc., ἀριθμαῦ is placed after ἀστιάριων, that may be merely an abbreviated way of expressing the facts; here it is to be noted that Horuonchius himself carefully separates the στρατιάστης from the ἀστιάριως, and it is therefore probable that the latter is his civil capacity.

73.  $vv\mu\phi\eta$ : v apparently corr. from  $\epsilon$ . 77.  $\tau\eta$ : sc.  $\hat{\eta}$ ; but possibly the original signature had really  $\tau ov$  ( $\epsilon vy\epsilon v\epsilon \sigma \tau a \tau ov$ ).

80. τον: sic.

84.  $\delta a\mu\nu a\rho\iota os$ : obscure.  $\delta ov\kappa \nu a\rho\iota os$  (=  $\delta ov\kappa \eta\nu \acute a\rho\iota os$ ; see Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, s. v. ducenarius) seems quite impossible as a reading of the characters, but it may be intended; a badly written  $\delta ov\kappa \eta\nu a\rho\iota os$  or  $\delta ov\kappa \nu a\rho\iota os$  (note that this is a subscription, not part of the document itself) might well be read by a careless clerk as  $\delta a\mu\nu a\rho\iota os$ . The reading is certain except the second letter, which might also (less likely) be  $\omega$ .

88. αυτω: εν accidentally omitted.

90.  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\eta s$ : obscure. Here again the reading seems certain except the first letter, which might be  $\mu$  or just possibly  $\tau$ . Is it a slip for  $\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\tau\iota\dot{\omega}\tau\eta s$ ?

95

τα εν αυτω περιεχομενα αναμφιβολως ως προκ/ Αυρηλιος Φοιβαμμων Ϊσιδωρου νοτ<sup>α</sup>ς απο Αντι/ αξιωθεις εγραψα υπερ αυτο - γραμμς μη ειδοτος παροντος και ειποντος μοι κατα προσωπον +

## PAPYRUS 1712.—15 July, A.D. 569.

Inv. No. 1734. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau.  $10\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{1}{8}$  in. In a small sloping semi-uncial hand resembling that of Dioscorus, but probably not his; many of the  $\nu$ 's are of the Coptic type. Writing along the fibres; papyrus very dark in colour. Folded from right to left.

ONTRACTS of divorce, unlike marriage contracts, are well represented among papyri of the Late Byzantine period. From Aphrodito we have Cair. Masp. i. 67121; from Antinoopolis Cair. Masp. ii. 67153 (dupl. 67253); 67154 recto; 67155; Flor. i. 93 = Mitteis, Chrest. 297 (dupl. 1713); and the present document; from Oxyrhynchus, in a different style, Oxy. i. 129 = Mitteis, Chrest. 296; and there are several documents of the Early Byzantine period which furnish parallels in several respects. The style of these Antinoopolite documents and that from Aphrodito is fairly constant, and the present one adds nothing of moment to the information afforded by the others. The provision at the end relating to the wife's confinement is of some interest. The husband is described as a  $\pi o \lambda \nu \kappa \omega \pi i \tau \eta s$ , i.e. a member of the crew of a state galley, perhaps that of the praeses.

As there are no signatures, the document is presumably a draft, no doubt drawn up, like 1713, in the office of Dioscorus.

[+ β]ασ[ι]λειας και υπατειας του θειστατου ημων δεσποτου Φλαυϊου Ιουστινου του αιω [ν]ιου Αυγουστου Αυτοκρατορος ετους τεταρτου Επειφ εικας πρωτη τριτης ϊνδικ/

\$\begin{align\*} \P \epsilon \text{Αντινοου πολει τη λαμπροτατη} \end{align\*}\$

ταυτην τιθεμεθα και ποιουμεθα προς εαυτους την εγγραφον διαλυσιν ητοι διαισι'ν'
δισσην ομοτυπον γραφεισαν εκ μεν του ενος μερους Αυρηλιος Μαθιας ύϊος
Φοιβαμμονος εκ μητρος Ελενης πολυκωπιτης εκ δε θατερου μερους Αυρηλια Κυρα
θυγατηρ Ϊωαννου εκ μητρος Τανοης αμφοτεροι ορμωμενοι απο της Αντινοεων πολε
ομολογουμεν αλληλοις τα ύποτεταγμενα επειδη πρωην συνηφθημεν αλληλοις προς
εννομου και βιου κοινωνιαν επι χρυσταις ελπισιν και τεκνων σποραις νυν δε διαφορας
10 ημιν γενομενης εκ σκαιου δαιμονος απεζυγημε'ν' προς αλληλους κατα τουτο εις ταυτην
εληλυθαμεν [π]ρος εαυτους την εγγραφον διαλυσιν ομολογουμεν και ομολογει εκαστον

<sup>4.</sup>  $\delta\iota a\iota\sigma\iota v$ : cf. 1713,  $8=\mathrm{Flor.}$  i. 93 (Mitteis, Chrest. 297), 5,  $\delta\iota a\iota\sigma\epsilon\omega s$ . The word is not a miswriting of  $\delta\iota a\iota\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota s$ , as Vitelli and Mitteis take it, but, as correctly explained by Maspero, Cair. Masp. ii. 67153, 17, note, a variant form of  $\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\iota s$ , divorce. So too Justinian, Nov. 74 (= Teubner ed. 94), 5, has the form  $\delta\iota a\iota\sigma\iota s$  for  $\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\iota s$ . See Sophocles, s. vv.  $\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\iota s$ ,  $\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\iota s$ . Here the second  $\iota$  is corr. from v.

<sup>6.</sup> πολυκωπιτης: a rower or sailor in the state galley (πολύκωπου). This is the word which occurs in Cair. Masp. i. 67058, vii, 11 (Add.); ii. 67136, 16 (see Preisigke, B.-L.).

<sup>8.</sup>  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \eta$ : corr. from  $\epsilon \pi \iota \delta \eta$ .

<sup>9.</sup> εννομου: l. either εννομον γάμον οτ εννόμου γάμου (with κοινωνίαν); from 1713, 15 f., perhaps more probably the latter. The l is a later addition, in the margin.

χρυσταιs: sic, apparently; the v is altered from the correct η.

σποραις: corr. from σπορας.

II.  $\epsilon \lambda \eta \lambda \nu \theta a \mu \epsilon \nu$ : or  $\epsilon \lambda \eta \lambda \eta \theta a \mu \epsilon \nu$  (sic). The  $\nu$  is confused, and may very possibly have been altered to  $\eta$ .

προσωπον απ[ε]ιληφεναι τα ϊδια εκ πληρους μηδενα λογον εχειν μηδε εξειν προς αλληλου\ς' μη περι σκευων η ειδων μη περι εδνων μη περι συνβιωσεως μη περι αλλου οιουδηποτε πραγματος το συνολον μικρου η μεγαλου εγγραφου η αγραφου νοηθεντος η μη νοηθεντος 15 εις νουν ελθοντος η μη ελθοντος ενταγεντος η μη ενταγεντος και μη εγκαλειν αλληλοις μ[η]τε εγκαλεσειν πωποτε μη εν δικαστηριω οιωδηποτε η εκτος δικαστηριου δια το απαξαπ [λως] ημας απηλλαχθαι και πεπληρωσθαι και διαλελυσθαι προς αλληλους εξειναι δε [εκατε]ρω ημων ετερω γαμω προσομειλειν ει βουληθειη ακωλυτως και ανεμποδιστ'ως/ [και α]νεγκλυτως και επι τουτοις πασι εκατερον μερος επωμοσαντο τον φρικωδεστατον 20 [ορκο]ν εμμειναι πασι τοις εγγεγραμμενοις και κατα μηδενα τροπον παραβηναι [και ει] τις εξ ημώ[ν π]αραβηναι τα εγγεγραμμενα ομολογει το παραβαινον μερος [τω ε]μμενον[τι μ]ερει λογου προστιμου χρυσου νομισματια δύο εργω και δυναμει [aπα]ιτουμεν[a κα]ι καταβαλλ[o]μενα μετα του και ουτως ερρωσθαι ταυτην την [δια]λυσιν δια [πα]ντος ηνπερ εθεμεθα προς αλληλους κυριαν ουσαν και 25  $[\beta \epsilon] \beta \alpha i \alpha \nu$  και  $[\epsilon i \varsigma \pi] \alpha \nu \tau \alpha$  επερωτηθεν $[\tau \epsilon \varsigma]$  ωμολ// εδοξεν δε  $[\kappa \alpha i \mu \epsilon] \tau \alpha \xi \nu$  ημω $[\nu]$ [?  $\sigma \tau \iota \epsilon$ ] $\iota \sigma \omega \theta \epsilon \iota [\eta$ ? και  $\tau \epsilon \chi \theta$ ] $\epsilon \iota \eta$  το  $\beta \rho \epsilon \phi$ os το  $\tau [\eta s \pi \rho]$ ογεγραμμένης  $K[\upsilon \rho]$ as  $\epsilon \pi \iota \tau \omega$  τον  $[\pi \rho]$ ο [γεγρ]αμμεν[ον Μαθ]εια'ν' πολυκωπιτην δουναι ύπερ αναλωματος της αυτης λοχειας

[αυτη]ς χρυσο[υ ? κερατια]  $\bar{\epsilon}\xi$  διχα κρισεως και δικης και λαβειν τον πατερα αυτου το μικρον

16. μητε: apparently altered from μηδε.
εγκαλεσειν: the second ε is a correction, probably from η.
απαξαπλως: this reading is due to Prof. Hunt. There is not room to divide απαξα|πλως, though the trace read as π is by no means clear and might be a stain on the papyrus.

17. απηλλαχθαι: χ apparently a correction. διαλέλυσθαι: αι corr. from ε.

[? παιδ]ιον \$,

18. προσομειλειν: the first ει corr. from η.
 19. ανεγκλυτως: sic; the v altered from η; cf. χρυσταις, l. 9. επωμοσαντο: ε corr. from v.

20. εγγεγραμμεναιs: the second ε corr. from ρ.

21. παραβηναι: a confusion of the two constructions εἴ τις παραβαίη and εἰ συμβαίη τινὰ παραβῆναι.

το: α apparently a correction, but perhaps merely rewritten. 22. λαγου: Ι. λόγφ.

δυναμει: δ corr. from  $\lambda$ , the writer having begun to write  $\lambda$ ογω. 23. ερρωσθαι: corr. from ερωσθαι.

26. The earlier supplements are highly conjectural, but the  $\iota$  at the beginning is almost certain, and the following characters strongly suggest  $\sigma\omega\theta\epsilon\iota$ , the  $\omega$  perhaps corrected from  $\sigma$ .

Kupas: the  $\kappa$  has a long downstroke, which is however usual with  $\kappa$  in this document; but it is just possible that Tavans was written by error. The letter before s is however more like a than n.

28. κερατια: 6 carats seems more likely than 6 solidi. 29. παιδιον: or βρεφιαν.

# PAPYRUS 1713.—5 Oct., A. D. 569.

Inv. No. 1664. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau. 8\frac{3}{4} in. × 9 in. Hand B of Dioscorus, along the fibres; papyrus much damaged. Folded from right to left.

THIS contract is a duplicate of Flor. i. 93 = Mitteis, Chrest. 297, with which it agrees with remarkable closeness. Curiously enough, especially in view of the close agreement elsewhere, there is a difference of date, Flor. 93 being dated on 8 Thoth and the present copy on 8 Phaophi. This is probably due to a mere slip of the pen in one of the copies. Another difference between the two documents is at once more explicable and more significant. In the present one the name of the husband comes first and that of the wife second; in Flor. 93 the order is reversed. This is not likely to be accidental, and probably implies that the present copy was that intended for

the wife, Flor. 93 that intended for the husband. (It may be remarked in passing that as Flor. 93 may probably [see Flor. iii, p. x, Add. to 294, 24] have been, and 1713 was certainly, found at Kôm Ishgau, and Flor. 93 has no subscriptions, both documents are presumably drafts from which the clerk was to make the fair copies for the two parties.) For a similar difference in arrangement see the duplicates Cair. Masp. ii. 67153, 67253; and for the possible legal significance of the fact see P. Mon. i. 7, 6, note.

The fact that the present document is in Dioscorus's hand suggests that Flor. 93 may also be due to him.

#### $[\chi\mu\gamma?]$

- ₽ β[α]σιλειας και ὑπατειας του θει[οτ]ατο` ημων δεσπ°ς Φλαυϊο Ιουστινου του αιωνιο' Αυγ°ς Αυτοκρατορος ετους τεταρτο Φαωφι ογδοη της τριτης ϊνδ°/ εν Αντι°/πολει
- τη λαμπρ[o]τατη
- + ταυτην τιθενται και ποιουνται προς αλληλους την αντισυγγραφον κοινην ομολογιαν της δισσης ομοτυπου γραφεισης αποζυγης και διαισεως τουτε του ρ[επο]υδιου εκ μεν του ενος μερους Αυρηλιος
- 10 Θεοδώρος υΐος Γεωργιο" εκ μητρος Νοινίας μισθιος μαγκιψ ορμώμενος απο ταυτ[ης] της καλλ[ιπ]ολ Αντινοεῶ εκ δε θατερου μερους Αυρηλία [Α]μαρεσία θ[υγατ]ηρ Προουτος του πραγματευτ[ο]" εκ μητρος Φανείας ορμ[ω]μένη κ, αυτη απο της αυτης πο[λ]εως αλλη[λο]ις τα εφε[ξης] επι λεξέως
- 15 ουτως πρωην σ[υ]νηφθημε[ν α]λληλοις προς γαμον κα[ι]
  βι[ου κοι]νωνιαν επι χρησται[ς ελπισι] κ[αι] τεκνων γνη[σι]ω[ν]
  αγαθη σπορα οιομενοι με το αλλ[η]λω[ν εκτ]ελεσαι [ειρηνικ]ον
  σεμνον συνοικεσιον εφ ολον τον της εξ αμφοιν [ζωης] χρονον
  εκ τε των εναντιων ουκ' ισμεν ποθεν παρα προσ[δ]οκιαν
- 20 εκ σκαιο<sup>ν</sup> πονηρο<sup>ν</sup> δαιμονος πεπονθαμεν επεμβρισαντος ημας το<sup>ν</sup> απ αλληλων χωρι[σθηναι] κατα τουτο εις το παρον ρε[πο]υδιον εληλ[υθαμ]εν [τοινυν] ομ[ο]λο[γ]ο<sup>[ν]</sup>ντες μηδενα λογον εχειν μητε εξ[ειν] π[ρος αλληλους] απεντε[υ]θ[εν] ηδη το λοιπο̄ περ[ι οι]ουὸηποτε πρ[αγματος εγγραφ]ου η αγραφο<sup>ν</sup> α[κρ]ιτο<sup>ν</sup> η κεκριμμενο̄<sup>[ν]</sup>
- 25 μητε περι γαμο' συνα[φειας και τουτου] ε[δ]νων και π[ρ]ο[ι]κ[ο]ων και αναλωματ[ων γαμου μητε μην περι σκευων συνεισηνεγμενων]
- 1. According to Preisigke, B.-L. i, p. 147, Flor. 93 has at the top  $[\chi]\mu\gamma$   $\theta\gamma''$  (=  $\theta\varsigma$ , i.e.  $\varsigma\theta$ ?). Here too above 1.2 are traces of something having been written, but they are too small for any certain reading. It would be possible to reconcile them with  $+\chi[\mu\gamma] \varsigma[\theta]$  (or  $\theta]\varsigma$ ).
  - 4. Φαωφι: Flor. 93 Θοθ (sic). Αντι<sup>ο</sup>/: i.e. 'Αντι(νο)ό(υ).
  - 8. διαισεως: see note on 1712, 4.

τουτε: 1. τοῦδε. In Flor. 93, 5 Vitelli reads τουτου. Possibly there also τουτε should be read.

17.  $\mu\epsilon \tau o$ : o is a much easier reading than a, though it is not perhaps so certain as the editor at first supposed (see Preisigke, B.-L. i, p. 147). We may therefore read  $\mu\epsilon\langle\nu\rangle$   $\tau \delta$ . In Flor. 93,

- 11, where Vitelli read  $\mu\epsilon\tau a$ , he now states that o is 'sicher nicht da, doch ist der Buchstabe hinter  $\mu\epsilon\tau$  nicht zu entziffern' (Preisigke,  $\ell$ . c.).
- 19.  $\tau\epsilon$ :  $\ell$ .  $\delta\epsilon$ , as Vitelli takes it, corresponding to  $\mu\epsilon\langle\nu\rangle$ . Mitteis, however, reads  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\tau\epsilon$ .
- 25. προικοων: there seems hardly room in the lacuna after  $\kappa$  for  $\omega$ . προικων may even have been written.
- 26-29. The number of letters in the supplements to these lines varies considerably, but the hand is irregular, now straggling and now compressed, so that there seems no reason to suppose a variation in the phrasing from Flor. 93, which in the previous portion the present document follows with remarkable closeness.

αλληλοις [παρ αλληλων μητε περι αλλου τινος πωποτε πραγματος] το συνο[λον αλλα και παραχωρω εγω απεντευθεν ο προγεγραμμενος] Θεοδωρ[ος τοις κοινοις γενομενοις μετ αλληλων μεχρι της δευρο τεκνοις] 30 αμα τω ε[ν γαστρι βρεφει κτλ.

PAPYRUS 1714.—14 March, A. D. 570.

Inv. No. 1729. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau. 2 ft.  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft. Hand B of Dioscorus, across the fibres, except in the first  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$ , which was therefore the outside one; papyrus stained dark and in bad condition. Folded from the top downwards.

In form this is a lease by a son of the notorious Menas to a sailor from the Antaeopolite nome of a ship of 300 artabas burden for four years; but as no rent is mentioned and the lessee undertakes to discharge any commission entrusted to him by the owner and to carry his goods, even if this necessitates his leaving the country (?—see note on 1. 42), it is possible the agreement is less a lease than a contract of service. It may, however, be that the lessee's agreement to serve the lessor is in lieu of rent and that when not engaged in executing the lessor's commissions he was at liberty to work for himself. The description of the vessel is of some interest. It is described as ἐνοκηνος, and the lessee intends to live in it (1. 36). An interesting feature of the document is the very elaborate heading, in which it is perhaps not fanciful to recognize the working of Dioscorus's flowery temperament.

χμη θ<sup>ς</sup>/
Θεου χαρις
Θεος ηγου
ο Θς μεθ ημω
εν παντι καιρω ςθ
Ι // Χ // Θ // Υ // Σ
Γης Χς Θς Θυ Τς Σω<sup>τ</sup>
γι/ ν° ε 9 ιβ ζ/

₽ Βασιλειας και ϋπατειας του θειοτατο ημων δεσπος Φλαυιου
 Τουστινου του αιωνιου Αυγουστου Αυτοκρατορος ετους πεμπτο Φαμενωθ οκτωκαιδεκατη τριτης ϊνδικο// εν Αντιο/πολει τη λαμπροτατη + Φλαυϊω Θεοδωρω υϊω του λαμπροτατου και περιβλεπτου κυριου Μηνα σκρινιαριου της κατα Θηβαϊδα λαμπρας δουκικης ταξεως

6. For the various questions connected with  $IX\Theta Y\Sigma$  and other symbolic abbreviations see Dölger,  $IX\Theta Y\Sigma$ , Rom, 1910, etc.

5

8.  $\gamma\iota(\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota)$   $\nu\circ(\mu\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha)$   $\epsilon$  ( $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$ )  $\iota\beta$   $\zeta(\nu\gamma\omega)$ : this can hardly be the rent, and it seems too big a charge for legal expenses in connexion with the agreement. The  $\beta$  is doubtful, and the carat-sign is a simple stroke as in Arab times.

13. Μηνα: it is hardly doubtful that this is the Menas σκρινιά-

pios who was pagarch of Antaeopolis. The omission of the title pagarch here may perhaps imply that he no longer held the office. His successor was probably Colluthus (Cair. Masp. i. 67005, 19; 67120, v. (B), especially l. 16 (F); Maspero, P. Beaugé, p. 16, note), who was in office when Callinicus succeeded Athanasius as Dux.

τω λαμπροτατω εξκεπτορι της αυτης ταξεως ορμωμενω απο της Ανταιοπολιτων εφ ης και γεουχουντι 15 παρ εμου παροντος Αυρη[λ]ι[ο]υ Πεκυσιου υΐου Κολλουθου του ευλαβεστατου πρεσβυτερο εκ μητρος Παρθενοπης Πασιο[υ] ορμωμε[νου] απ[ο] κωμης  $[.]\epsilon \cdot \epsilon[.]$ ος του Ανταιοπολιτο $^{v}$  νομο $^{v}$  ευρεθεντος δε ενταυθα επι τ[αυτης της] καλλιπολεως Αντινοεων παρεχοντος δε υπογραφεα 20  $v^\pi$  αυτου και μαρτυρας τους εξης  $\ddot{v}$ πογραφοντας τη παρο $^v$ σα μισθωτική ομολογία επί τοις εξης δηλουμένοις συμφωνοίς τε και ομολογημ $a[\sigma]$  $i\nu$  εφ [ai]ς περιέχει διαστολαίς απασαίς χαιρείν Ομολογω εγω ο προγεγραμμενος Πεκυσις ναυτης δια τα[υ]της μο εγγρα $\phi$ [ου] ασφαλείας της μισθωτικής ομολογίας εκουσίως και αυθαιρετως μεμισθωσθαι παρα της υμων  $\lambda[a]$ μπροτητ[o]ς επι 25 τετραετη χρονον λογιζομενον απο της συν Θεω εισϊουσης νεομηνιας του εξη[ς] ε[σ]ομενου μηνος Φαρμουθι της παρουσης τριτης επινεμησεως και αυτης και το $^{v}$  εξης χρονου κα $\theta$  ετος μεχρι περαιωσεως του αυτου τετραετους χρονου το υπαρχον υμιν 30 και διαφερον πλοιον σκαφιδιον αγωγης αρταβων τριακοσιων πλεω η ελατιτον συν ϊστω και κερατι και αρμενω και σχοινιοις διαφοροις και αγκυρα ητοι μονοβολω ενι ενσκηνον απο ψια $\theta$ ιων χαλατριω[ν] φικοπη $\delta$ [αλον]  $\sigma \epsilon [\sigma]$ ανιδωμ $\epsilon$ νον απο  $\pi[\rho \nu \mu] \nu \eta \varsigma εις πρωραν συν τη λοιπη παση ενο<math>^{v}$ ση αυτω  $\dot{v}$ λη ητοι  $[\xi]$ υλω  $\mu[\epsilon \tau a]$  παντος αυτου του δικαιο $^{v}$  και της καθολο $^{v}$  δια 35  $[. \ . \ .]$ [as?] εφ ω με τουτο εχειν  $\ddot{v}\pi$  εμε εις οικησιν τε και  $\phi$ ι[.]ασιαν της εμης ναυτικης εμπειριας και εμπλειν εν α $^{v}$ τω ακολουθως τη  $\ddot{v}$ με[τ]ε[ρ]α κελευσει εφ ην δ αν βουλεσθε εργασιαν και γομον των [δ]ε ϋμετερων παντοιων πραγματώ 40 [την κο]μιδην ποιησασθαι εν πασαις ϋμων χρειαις εξυπηρετώ [υμιν και υ]πουργων ϋμιν αοκνως και ακαταγνωστως [? καν δεη] με απίεναι επ αλλοδαπην γην ετερων χρειας

14. εξκεπτορι: cf. P. Hamb. i. 23, 4; Cair. Masp. iii. 67312, 5, and the notes there by P. M. Meyer and Maspero.

17. Hactor: this suits the traces, but they are too small for certainty.

18. . . . . . os: the third letter had a perpendicular stroke not rising appreciably above the line, and might therefore be  $\iota$ ; between  $\epsilon$  and o is a horizontal line, so that the fifth letter may have been  $\tau$  or  $\gamma$ .

20. παρουσα: sic.

32. μονοβολω: probably this is not a mere synonym for ἄγκυρα, as we should expect after ἤτοι, but specifies the kind of anchor. Does it mean one-fluked?

ενσκηνον: this does not mean that the boat was decked as opposed to an open boat (that is expressed by  $\sigma$ εσανιδωμένον), but refers to an awning or cover placed over the deck. The boat in P. Mon. i. 4 is described as ἄσκηνον (l. 11), which the editors translate 'ohne Zeltdach'.

33. ψιαθιων χαλατριων: the latter is the word χαλάδριον (a variant is χαράδριον), carpet or mat. ψιαθίων is perhaps an adjective here, and the whole phrase will mean 'mats of rushes'.

φικοπηδαλον: so too in Mon. 4, II. Wenger and Heisenberg translate 'mit einem Seetangsteuerruder', connecting with φῦκος, but it is not clear what sort of rudder this could be. Heisenberg also suggests 'ein Schiff mit einem πήδαλον von der Gestalt des Fisches φύκης'.

σεσανιδωμενον κτλ.: cf. Mon. 4, II f., σεσανιδωμέν[ο]ν ἀπὸ πρώρας μέχρι πρύμνης.

35 f. Possibly  $\delta\iota a | [\kappa o \nu] \iota [as]$ ?

37.  $\phi\iota[.]a\sigma\iota a\nu$ : the  $\iota$  is very probable, the  $a\sigma$  seems certain. Can the word be taken as  $\phi\iota\tau a\sigma\iota a\nu = \phi\iota\iota\tau a\sigma\iota a\nu$ ? Such a formation from  $\phi\iota\iota\tau a\omega$  in the sense of 'practice', 'exercise' seems possible.

39.  $\gamma o\mu o\nu$ : this, compared with l. 30, probably marks a distinction in meaning between  $\gamma \delta \mu os$  and  $\dot{a}\gamma \omega \gamma \dot{\eta}$ :  $\gamma \delta \mu os$  the cargo, the actual load,  $\dot{a}\gamma \omega \gamma \dot{\eta}$  the burden, the potential load. Cf. Mon. 4, 10, note.

41.  $v\mu\nu$   $\kappa a\iota$ : one would expect rather  $\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa a\iota$ , but this seems too little for the space.

42. The supplement (in place of και μη, with εκτελουντα in l. 43) was suggested by Prof. Hunt, who pointed out that καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσασθαι ἀόκνως was hardly consistent with the original

[.....] και τουτο ποιησασθαι αοκνως μετα γνωμης

]ους παρ ουρον μετα

α]ποκ[α]ταστησαι [υ]μιν διχα Θεδ

[βιας ? ανευ οιασδηποτ]ε ραδιουργιας και απενεγκειν  $\ddot{v}$ μιν

των υμ]ε[τ]ε[ρων] πραγματων γινομενα

μ]εθ'  $\ddot{v}$ γιους της πιστεως

πρ]αγμασιν εμπιστευθησονες

παν]τοιως απαξαπλως

]τομενος αναποδικ

reading. But on the other hand  $\epsilon \tau \epsilon \rho \omega \nu \chi \rho \epsilon las$ , suggesting a clause prohibiting the lessee from undertaking commissions for other persons, is rather in favour of the other restoration. Possibly, however, something like 'supplying the needs of others' (i. e. supplying them with goods on behalf of Theodore) may have occurred.

43. γνωμης: after this probably έκούσης or χρηστής (Cair. Masp. i.

67097, v. (D), 36) or something similar.

46. βuas: cf. Oxy. i. 144 (= Mitteis, Chrest. 343), 11, and for the legal significance Mitteis, Grundzüge, p. 260.

51 f. αναποδικτωs: perhaps 'without specification', the opposite of ἐναποδείκτωs, which is not a possible reading here. There is a small detached fragment of the document, the position of which is uncertain. It reads ] . λων και  $\tau$ [ (or  $\tau$ [).

## PAPYRUS 1715.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1683 recto. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  6 in. In a small compressed slightly sloping cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus of light colour. Probably folded from right to left. On the verso are traces, in a small cursive hand, across the fibres, of a document which from its arrangement may have been an account.

Lesse is a native of Alexandria. The lesse is a 'tenancy at will' (cf., for house property, Berger, Zeitschr. f. Vergl. Rechtsw. xxix, p. 370 f.), the rent being 300 myriads of silver per month. For these enormous sums in the terms of the old coinage see Wessely, Ein Altersindizium im Philogelos (Sitzungsber. d. Phil.-Hist. Kl. d. Kais. Ak. d. Wiss., Wien, Bd. 149, Abh. v), and, more recently, Maspero's introduction to Cair. Masp. ii. 67163. Payment of the rent monthly is rare; Berger (l. c. p. 371, note 185) cites only one instance. The house was situated in the 4th  $\gamma \rho \acute{a}\mu\mu a$  and 4th  $\pi \lambda \iota \nu \theta \epsilon \hat{a}o\nu$ ; it is interesting to find this method of topographical nomenclature still in use, but street names are used as well.

Neither recto nor verso shows any connexion with Dioscorus, the colour of the papyrus is lighter than is the case with most of the documents from Kôm Ishgau, and the hand shows no resemblance to any of those known to us in these documents and may indeed well be of considerably earlier date than the period of Dioscorus's residence at Antinoopolis. It seems likely therefore that this papyrus does not belong to the Kôm Ishgau find; but in that case it was probably found not at Antinoopolis itself but elsewhere, e.g. at Hermopolis.

των θειω οφφικιών [ Αυρηλιος Ιωαννης] Σαλαμα μητρος Ευφημ[ιας ορμωμενος μεν απο] Αλεξανδρειας καταμεν[ων δε εν τη αυτη Αντινοεω]ν ομολογω εκουσιως και αυ $\theta$ [αι]ρετω[ς μεμισ] $\theta$ ω[ $\sigma\theta$ ] $\theta$ ι  $\pi$ [α]ρα  $\sigma$ ου 5  $\epsilon \phi$  ον  $\epsilon a \nu$  βουλη[ $\theta$ ]ης χρ[ονον λογιζ]ομ $\epsilon \nu$ ον απο του οντος μηνος Παχων της παρού[σης . . δ]εκατή[ς ι]νδικ[τ]ιονος την ύπαρχουσαν σοι οικ[ιαν ολοκ]ληρον διστεγον οιας εστιν διαθεσεως συν χρησ[τηρι]οις πασι διακειμενην  $\epsilon \pi \iota \ \tau \eta s \ \text{αυτηs} \ \text{Αντινο} \epsilon \omega \ \epsilon \nu \ \tau \omega \ \delta \ \gamma \rho / \ \pi \lambda \iota \nu^{\theta} \ \delta \ \epsilon \pi \iota \ \rho \upsilon \mu \eta s$ Αψα ενοικειου του προς αλληλους συμπεφωνημενου εκαστου μηνος αργυριου μυριαδων τριακοσιων  $\gamma \iota^-$  μυρ/  $\tau$  οπερ ε[ν]οικειον κατα μηνα [ε]καστον ανϋπερθετως σοι παρεξω και μεθ ον βουλει χρονον παραδωσω σοι την αυτην οικιαν συν ταις εφεστω 15 σαις θυραις δυσι χωρις θυριδων ως παρειληφα η μισθωσις κυρια και β[ε]βαια και επερ// ωμολ// (2nd hand) Αυρηλιος Ϊωαννης Σαλαμα ο  $\pi \rho o^{\mu} / / \mu \epsilon \mu i \sigma \theta \omega \mu \alpha i$ [κ]αι αποδω[σω] το ενοικείον και πειθομαι πασι [τοις εγγεγραμμενοις

1.  $\theta \epsilon \iota \omega$ : l.  $\theta \epsilon \iota \omega \nu$ . No doubt this is part of the description of the lessor.

10. A $\psi a$ : such seems to be the reading. 14 f.  $\sigma u \nu \tau a \iota s \kappa \tau \lambda$ .: cf. Berger, l. c. p. 400 f. 15.  $\theta\nu\rho\iota\delta\omega\nu$ : this seems to be the reading. The meaning is perhaps that the doors were in open work, the panels not filled in.

## PAPYRUS 1716.—A. D. 570 (?).

Inv. No. 1651. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau.  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{3}{8}$  in. Hand B of Dioscorus, smaller than usual, along the fibres. Folded perpendicularly to the script, probably from right to left.

THIS is a loan of money possessing some points of interest. The amount is probably 2 nominal solidi actually worth 20 carats each, the actual sum being therefore 40 carats; and this sum is secured on 73 jars of wine deposited with the creditor. If the interpretation adopted in the note to 1. 7 is correct, the 73 jars were not quite equal in value to the full amount of the debt, and power of distraint against the debtor's whole estate to make up the amount is therefore granted. The loan is without interest. If X[oiak is right in 1. 2 the date is A. D. 570.

]  $\mu\eta[\nu\omega\nu \ x \ \lambdaογιζομενων απο της προγεγραμ ?]$  [?  $\mu\epsilon\nu\eta$ ς  $\eta\mu$ ]ερας  $\eta\tau$ ις  $[\epsilon\sigma]\tau$ ιν  $\tau$ ο $[\nu]$   $\mu$ [ $\eta$ ]νος  $\chi$ [οιακ . . . . . .]

<sup>1-3.</sup> The supplements are due to a suggestion of Prof. Hunt's as to the earlier part of l. 2, but the unusual τοῦ μηνὸς Χοιὰκ x makes them not quite certain.

[? της παρ]ο"σης τετ[α]ρτης ϊν $^\delta$  ατοκι π[α]ρϊο"σ[ης] δε τ[η]ς προκ/ προθ]εσμιας ει μη αποδοι[η]ν ύμιν τα ειρημ $^{\epsilon}$ ς κερατια [τεσσαρα]κοντα αδ[ει]αν σοι δι<br/>δωμι εκποιησαι τα παρ `υ'μιν 5  $\epsilon 
u$ ] αποθετω  $[\tau]$ ο̄ οινο $^{
u}$  αγγια  $\epsilon eta$ δομηκοντα τρια τ εσσερακοντα αγγια του ενος νομισματος παρα [κερ/ τεσσαρα] ζυ/ Αντιο/ διχα πασης αμφιβολιας κ, δικης κ, κρισεως κ, οιασδηληστε ευρεσιλογί υποκειμενων ύμιν εις τότο και [εις τα προκει] $\mu^{\epsilon}$  παντα παντων των οντων μοι και εσομή πραγ $\mu^{\tau}$ ή εις α]ποπληρωσιν κ, αναπληρωσιν των αυτων τεσσαρακº/ [κερατιων] και εφ απασι τοις κυρ/ τότοις μεθ ϋπογραφ/ εμης ερ $\omega^{\tau}$  ωμολ $^{\circ}$  +[(2nd hand) + Αυρηλιο]ς Ανατολος Ερμιου απο Ερμουπολ/ ο προγεγρ/ ]..... και αποδωσώ ως προκ/ (3rd hand) Φλ[/ Α]ντονινος ρ]ητωρ απο Πανος ευρηθεις εν Αντι/ μαρτυρω τω γραμ\$ 15 [ακουσας] παρα του θυμενου + (4th hand)  $\del{poseq}$  Πετρος νίος Μο $^{v}$ σαι $\ddot{o}$  μαρ/ τω γραμμ) ακουσας [παρα του  $\theta$ εμ]ενο $^{v}$  + (1st hand) ρε . . . ινατορια τετελεσμε[v(  $\delta$ ]/  $\Delta$ ιοσκορ $_{v}$ . . . ]. . . ρεδεγεντί κ, μαι .

4.  $\pi\rho o\theta \epsilon \sigma \mu as$ : nothing more than this seems required, but later lines show that more must have been written.

5. τεσσαρακοντα: cf. l. II. It is difficult to see what else can have been written, though ll. 10 and 17 would seem to indicate a larger space. But a space of 6-8 letters suits ll. 9, 12, 13, 16. εκποιησαι: perhaps in the sense of sell.

6. At the beginning perhaps αποκειμενα or something similar (οντα if the space is suitable; see note on 1. 5).

row: this would not be expected, but the space seems too small for anything else. Perhaps  $[\nu\epsilon]\bar{\rho}$  is possible.

7. Probably this line contains a statement of the rate at which the jars of wine were to be reckoned. 40 were to be taken as equivalent to 1 s. less x c. As the total net debt was 40 c. probably the nominal amount was 2 s.; each therefore worth only 20 c. Hence the supplement in 1. 8. But if 40 jars were equivalent to only 20 c. the total number of jars deposited, 73, was inadequate to cover the debt of 40 c. Hence the debtor's goods were liable to distraint  $\epsilon ls$   $\delta l l l mom \lambda l mom \nu \kappa \tau \lambda$ . (l. 11). The present line is probably not to be taken as implying that the creditor was bound to sell the jars at the rate specified, but merely means that this was the rate at which the equivalence of the deposit to the debt was to be reckoned; the debtor making

default, the creditor might sell the wine at whatever price he could obtain.

- 9. Here again the space only, not the sense, requires more than αισσδη]ποτε; but perhaps yet another (short) word was added to the three preserved in the previous line.
  - 13. Ανατολος: *Ι*. Ανατόλιος.
  - 15.  $\epsilon \nu$ :  $\epsilon$  corr. from  $\eta$ .
- 16. θυμενου: sic.
- 17.  $\theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma \nu + :$  the subscription which follows is a good illustration of what was said in the note to 1661, 29. The subscription, being in the hand of Dioscorus (besides the occurrence of the name this is supported by the form of one or two letters), was written by the scribe of the document, but is in a hand of quite different character. The whole subscription is obscure; the first word looks like  $\rho \epsilon \beta \epsilon \kappa \iota \nu \alpha \tau \rho \rho a$ . Both the ending (oria) of this and the word  $\rho \epsilon \delta \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \nu \tau i$  (redigenti?) in 1. 18 suggest a Latin sentence, but  $\tau \epsilon \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \sigma \mu \epsilon \nu i$  is clearly Greek, and the word before it can hardly be any known Latin word. What follows  $\mu a \iota$  is perhaps entirely shorthand. The  $\tau$  at the beginning of 1. 18 is apparently part of an elaborate monogram or decorative design; the actual writing probably begins with  $\rho \epsilon \delta \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \nu \tau i$ .

# PAPYRUS 1717.—About A.D. 560-573.

Inv. Nos. 1785 recto + 1667 recto. Acquired in 1907 and 1906. Antinoopolis: from Kôm Ishgau. Length 3 ft. 0\frac{3}{8} in. In an easy flowing cursive hand, across the fibres; papyrus considerably damaged. Folded from the top downwards. Recto of 1718.

THIS document is made up of four fragments, one forming the right, and the other three the left, side. They were acquired at different times, and the connexion of the three left fragments (Inv. 1785) with that from the right was not recognized until after they had been

mounted and numbered. Even now the middle of the papyrus is missing; but since strips from the sides have been preserved it seems highly probable that the middle strip also survives, perhaps at Cairo or in some European collection.

The document is of interest more for its unusual and extravagant verbosity than for anything else. It is a receipt, called a  $\delta\iota\dot{a}\lambda\nu\sigma\iota s$ , for the repayment of a debt of money. It is given by a woman, accompanied by two other persons, one of whom (see note on 1. 3) was very likely her son while the other may possibly have been her daughter by another husband. Special mention is made of her son, but the loss of the beginning and the uncertainty as to the correct restoration of 1. 18 make it doubtful what part he played in the transaction. Possibly he was the real creditor, but, being under age, was represented by his mother, and hence  $im\epsilon\rho$  is doubtfully restored in 1. 18; but this cannot be regarded as anything but conjectural.

That the document belongs to the papers of Dioscorus is proved by the verso; that it was written at Antinoopolis rather than at Aphrodito is indicated not only by the formulae but by the hand, which resembles other hands in documents from Antinoopolis and is quite unlike the characteristic hands of Aphrodito. Hence the *terminus ante quem* may be placed in A.D. 573, when Dioscorus was back at Aphrodito; and the hand, which indicates a date well on in the sixth century, makes it unlikely that it was written much, if at all, earlier than A.D. 560.

1785 recto. 1667 recto.  $\rho \rho \lambda \sigma \gamma \omega = \gamma \omega \eta \pi \rho \sigma ]$ 

which follows  $\pi \epsilon \rho \nu \gamma \rho a \phi \hat{\eta} s$  in Cair. Masp. ii. 67159, 16, can hardly have occurred here.

<sup>2. . . . . .</sup> ια: see l. 51.

<sup>3.</sup> Calotychus and Theodosia occur below in 1. 53 f., where they sign after the principal party, and where they are described respectively as the son of Stephen and the daughter of John. As the principal party is herself apparently the daughter of Calotychus, the Calotychus here may probably be the son referred to in 11. 12 and 19, named after his maternal grandfather. It is doubtful therefore whether Theodosia is a daughter of —ia, as her father was John; but it is of course possible that Calotychus and Theodosia had the same mother but different fathers. As —ia speaks throughout in the first person, it is however hardly possible to read here  $\tau \epsilon \kappa \nu \omega \nu \alpha \nu ] \tau \eta \varepsilon$ , though that would well suit the space. It is less likely, in view of 11. 12 and 19, that Calotychus and Theodosia were —ia's parents.

<sup>7.</sup> As απεσχηκεναι is a probable supplement, κατά νόμους,

<sup>9.</sup> The short upright stroke after the lacuna suggests  $\nu$  more strongly than any other letter. This would indicate as the reading  $\epsilon \kappa \alpha \tau o ]\nu$ , which would suit the space excellently, but 100 s. is so unusually large a sum that it is perhaps hardly safe to read it on the evidence of a single stroke. If it is correct,  $\delta [\iota a \kappa \sigma \sigma \iota a \; \text{could} \; \text{be} \; \text{read} \; \text{in} \; \text{l.} \; \text{10.}$ 

<sup>10.</sup> Perhaps  $\lambda \circ \gamma \omega$  or  $\upsilon \pi \epsilon \rho$  is to be read before  $\tau ] \eta s$ .

<sup>11.</sup> αποδοσεως: cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67126, 23.

<sup>12.</sup> δυναμει: or perhaps  $\pi \rho o \phi a \sigma \epsilon \iota$ ; but this seems too long.

<sup>13.</sup> συγγραφης: cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67128, 36, where συγγραφή is used of an acknowledgement of debt (but see Maspero's commentary there).

μητε εξε[ιν μη εμε μη τους κλη]ρονομους εμους 15  $[\mu]\eta$   $\delta \iota \alpha \delta [o \chi o \upsilon s \mu \eta \delta \iota \alpha \kappa \alpha \tau o] \chi o \upsilon s \pi \rho o s \sigma \epsilon$ και κλη[ρονομους σους κα]ι διαδοχους και διακατ[οχους μητε περι τη]ς προειρημενης γεναμε μεταξυ η[μων συγγραφης? υπερ?] του προειρημενου μου υΐου μη[τε περι οιουδηπ]οτε πραγματος το συνολον 20 μικρου η [μεγαλου εγγραφου η α]γραφου ακριτου η κεκριμενο νοηθεντ[ος η μη νοηθεντος εις] νουν [ε] $\lambda$ [θο]ντος η μη  $\epsilon \lambda \theta$ [οντος γυμνασ $\theta$ ] $\epsilon$ ντος η μη γυμνασ $\theta$  $\epsilon$ ντος σιωπη[ $\theta$ εντος η μη σιωπη] $\theta$ εντος λεχ $\theta$ εντος  $\eta$   $\mu\eta$   $\lambda\epsilon\chi[\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\sigma s$   $\alpha\chi\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\sigma s$   $\eta]$   $\mu\eta$   $\alpha\chi\theta\epsilon\nu[\tau]\sigma[s]$ 25 και μη [εγκαλειν σοι πωπ]οτε μητε εγκαλεσειν μητε εν [δικαστηριω η επιχωρ]ιω η εν ϋπεροριω μητε εκ[τος δικαστηριου] μη δι εμο[υ] μη δι εντολεως μη δια π[αρενθετου προσω]που ταυτης ενεκεν της αιτ[ιας δια το εμε α]πηλλαχ $\theta$ αι και διαλελυσ $\theta$ αι προς σε [και προς την σην εντ]ελεστεραν ασφαλειαν επωμοσ[αμην την αγιαν και ο]μοουσιο[ν] Τριαδα και την νικ[ην και διαμονην το]υ καλλιν[ι]κο δεσποτο ημων Φ[λαυιο Ιουστινό τό] αιωνιου Αυγουστου Αυτοκ[ρατορος εμμενειν] πασι τοις εγγεγραμμ. 35 και κατα [μηδεν πωποτε παρ]αβηναι ει δε ποτε καιρω [η χρονω συμβαιη μοι] παραβηναι τα εγγεγρα[μμένα και υπεναντ]ιον ταυτης της διαλυσ $[\epsilon \omega \varsigma \epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon \iota \nu \epsilon \phi \omega \epsilon \mu \epsilon] \pi \alpha \rho \alpha [\sigma] \chi [\epsilon \iota \nu] \kappa \alpha \iota . . \epsilon \iota \nu$ σοι λοίγω της τοιαυτης πα]ραβασεως χρυσου εργ]ω και δυναμει 40 νομισ[ματα χ απαιτ[ουμενα και μη]δεν ηττ[ο]ν αρραγη και ασα[λευτον μενειν ταυτ]ην την διαλυσιν δια παν[τος ηνπερ σοι εθ]εμην προς ασφαλειαν κυριαν κ[αι  $\beta \in \beta$ αιαν  $\pi$ αν]ταχου  $\pi$ ρ[ο] $\phi$ [ $\epsilon$ ρο] $\mu$  $\epsilon$ νην 45  $\ddot{\upsilon}ποθε[μενη τη ση θαυμα]σιοτητι εις <math>[π]$ αντα τα προ[γεγραμμενα και ει]ς την απαιτησιν το προστ[ιμο ει ουτω συμβαιη] παντα μου τα ϋπαρχοντα και ϋπ[αρξοντα κινητα] και ακινητα ενεχυρο[υ λογω και υποθηκ]ης δικαιω καθαπερ

18.  $v\pi\epsilon\rho$ : see what was said in the introduction. There is not room for  $avo\mu a\tau\iota$ .

50 εκ δικ[ης και εις τα εγγεγρα]μμενα πα[ν]τα

22. γυμνασθεντος: 'discussed'; cf. Socrates, Hist. Eccl., vi. 7 (Migne, P. G. lxvii, col. 685 C), καὶ τοῦτο γεγύμνασται παρά τε τῶν παλαιστέρων, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ 'Ωριγένους. The same sense occurs in P. Flor. iii. 338, 4 (third cent.).

25. Cf. e.g. P. Mon. i. 7, 57.

first reference.

27 f. Cf. Mon. 7, 59; 14, 71, and see Wenger's note at the last reference.

37 f. Cf. Mon. 7, 68.

38. και . . ειν: if και is rightly read there is not room for  $[\tau\iota\nu]$ ειν. αγειν would suit the space and probably the slight traces, but it seems a very improbable word in the context.

<sup>26.</sup> Cf. Mon. 7, 59 f.; 14, 70, and see Wenger's note at the

 $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho / \omega [\mu o \lambda o \gamma] + (2 \text{nd hand}) A \nu \rho / \dots ] i \alpha \theta \nu \gamma \alpha \tau \eta \rho$  [? Ka $\lambda o$ ]  $\tau \nu \chi \bar{o}$ η προγεγραμ[μενη εθεμην ταυτην] την διαλύσι[ν] και πειθομαι πασι τοι[ς εγγεγραμμενοις ως π]ροκ/ + Καλοτυχος Στεφανου ε[...]..[... και Θεοδοσια θυγα]τηρ Ϊωαννο οι προγεγραμμενοι ]..ν θυγατρι Θ $\epsilon$ ....ου  $]\tau\omega\nu$ 

51. ] $\alpha$ : ] $\rho \alpha$  is also possible.

55

οί εγραψα υπερ αυτης κτλ. 53. It seems probable that there is no change of hand. ε in , 55. Θεοδοσιου (or Θεοδοσια) and Θεοδωρου seem alike hardly

1. 54 however cannot, in view of what follows, be the beginning possible readings.

## PAPYRUS 1718.—Second half of the 6th Century.

Inv. Nos. 1785 verso + 1667 verso. Verso of 1717, q.v. Hand B (with some uncial elements) of Dioscorus, across the fibres; papyrus dark and much rubbed.

HIS important but perplexing text consists of metrological tables and reckonings written down by Dioscorus. The contents are of a somewhat miscellaneous character, but fall into four divisions. To discuss exhaustively the problems raised would exceed the scope of the present work, but it is necessary to indicate some of the difficulties or new conclusions to which the document gives rise; and for this purpose the sections are taken separately, (1) and (2) being however discussed together, as (2) helps to elucidate (1).

## (1), ll. 2-59; (2), ll. 60-69.

The first section is devoted to the establishing of the ratio between various measures, both measures of the same table and measures of different tables, e.g. not only the artaba to the choenix and the modius, but the artaba to the litra and the uncia. The measures dealt with in the first part of the section (ll. 2-57) are the following:  $d\rho \tau d\beta \eta$ , μόδιος κουμουλ( $d\tau$ ος), μόδιος ξυστός, διμάτιον (πέμπτον) μέτρ(ον), διμάτιον (ἔκτον) μέτρ(ον), μέντ, κούμουλον, χοινιξ, ξέστης, (λίτρα), οὐγκία. The method is to take one measure after the other (beginning with the μόδιος ξυστός) and compare it successively with each of the other measures; in each case the ratio is expressed both ways, thus: 'The modius xystus is to the artaba as 3:10. The artaba is to the modius xystus as 10:3'. In the case of a ratio of plurality to unity only the former is expressed; thus the artaba contains 3 modii cumulati, so that the ratio is 3:1, but only the 3 is written, preceded in the one case by  $\epsilon \pi \iota$ ; in the other by  $\pi$ . Before dealing with the terms used to express the proportion it may be remarked that the comparison cannot have been carried out completely; for since there are 11 measures, the possible combinations, if the ratio were expressed only one way, are 55; that is, since it is actually expressed both ways, there would be 110 lines. By the loss of the middle strip of papyrus, a number of lines have been lost; but since the extant or recoverable lines number only 56, this would imply a loss of 54, which is certainly too large. If the modius xystus were compared with all the measures it should occupy (excluding its relation to the modius cumulatus, which comes later) 18 lines (9 double ratios). Actually 12 lines are preserved or recoverable; and this would argue a loss of 6 lines in col. 1. Similarly there should be (again excluding the relation to the modius xystus) 18 lines devoted to the modius cumulatus. Actually 16 are preserved, 2 of which are very imperfect. If, as we probably should do, we count these imperfect lines to the lacuna, that gives for it a space of 4 lines in col. 2; unless, which seems unlikely, something intervened between the last ratio of the modius cumulatus and that of the two kinds of modii. Probably therefore we can infer a loss of not more than 4 lines in col. 1, which would prove the comparison not to have been carried out fully for the modius xystus. Still less can it have been carried out for some of the other measures. This conclusion agrees with the evidence of the recto, which indicates a lacuna of about 1 inch.

The question next arises as to the way in which the proportions are expressed. This can best be illustrated by a comparison of 4 lines, e.g.:—l. 2 (mod. x.: artaba)  $\epsilon \pi \iota : \gamma \pi / \ddot{\iota}$ , l. 3 (artaba: mod. x.)  $\epsilon \pi \iota$  [:]  $\ddot{\iota} \pi / \gamma$ , l. 14 (mod. c.: artaba)  $\pi / \gamma$ , l. 15 (artaba to m. c.)  $\epsilon \pi [\iota]$ :  $\gamma$ . In all cases the measures are separated by the word  $\pi o \sigma$  (or  $\pi^o$ ). This may probably be extended either  $\pi o \sigma \acute{a} \kappa \iota s$ or πόσαι (πόσα). The use of the word ἰσάκις by mathematicians (e.g. Eucl. v. 4) perhaps gives some support to the former; the latter may be supported by P. Rylands i. 27, 38 if we take the whole phrase here as an abbreviation of a longer one, and another analogy is the use of πόσαι in Lond. ii. 265 (p. 259 ff.); and the plural χοίνικες in l. 21 (cf. ll. 10-13) perhaps points in the same direction. But what of  $\epsilon \pi \iota$ : and  $\pi$ /? It is to be noticed that, where both figures are written,  $\epsilon \pi \iota$ : always comes at the beginning, whether the larger or the smaller number is placed first; but where only one is written  $\epsilon \pi \iota$ : is used where the relation is x: I,  $\pi$ / where it is 1:x. The latter fact, by itself, suggests that words expressive of excess and deficiency are intended; and it has therefore been suggested to the editor that ἐπικρατεῖ and παραλείπεται are possible extensions. This does not, however, suit the cases where the ratio is given in full, for as already said  $\epsilon \pi \iota$ : and  $\pi$ /always come in the same order. Moreover  $\epsilon \pi \iota$  is nowhere furnished with a mark of abbreviation unless: serves that purpose.  $\epsilon \pi \iota$ : as an abbreviation of a verb or other word beginning with ¿mi- seems a priori unlikely; and as a matter of fact the evidence of the papyrus suggests that : is to be separated from  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ . That evidence is indeed somewhat difficult to estimate owing to the uncertainty of the reading in many cases. In this, as in most of his compositions, Dioscorus has used an ink of inferior quality which fades in such a way as to make it often difficult to decide whether any particular mark is really ink or a discoloration or fibre of the papyrus. Moreover it so happens that the portions of the papyrus containing the ratios are, if anything, more rubbed or discoloured than the rest. So far as can be determined: follows  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  in almost every case, the only exceptions (if : has not disappeared there) being probably ll. 12 and 40. On the other hand there seems no reason to suppose that it ever follows  $\pi$ / where  $\epsilon\pi\iota:x$  has preceded; but against the conclusion from this that: goes with  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  must be set the fact that in one case certainly (l. 47) and in several cases possibly: follows  $\pi$ / where  $\epsilon \pi \iota : x$  has not preceded. This makes against the connexion of  $\epsilon \pi \iota$  with : and suggests that this symbol is used like the modern:, though in a somewhat different way, to indicate proportion; and this conclusion is supported by the evidence of sections 3 and 4, where: occurs (ll. 71-80) without  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ . If so,  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  is no doubt  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ , and in that case  $\pi$ / must presumably be also a preposition.  $\pi\rho\delta$ s is the general word to express a ratio, but (indeed for that very reason) does not seem a suitable word to express specially the ratio of the smaller to the greater. Since however this difficulty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prof. Hunt rather doubts this, but is unable to suggest an alternative explanation.

arises only in cases where the ratio is abbreviated, and elsewhere  $\pi$ / is used equally in both cases, it is no objection to taking  $\pi$ / as =  $\pi \rho \delta s$ . If indeed  $\lambda \pi^{\nu} \kappa$  is rightly read in 1. 70 the word should rather be  $\pi \sigma \sigma \delta \kappa \iota s$  or  $\pi \delta \sigma \iota \iota$  like  $\pi \sigma \sigma \delta$ ; but it seems a little strange that different abbreviations should be used consistently throughout for the same word, and the reading in 1. 70 is far from certain. In either case we must understand in the abbreviated formula, in the one line 'at a ratio of x [to x]', in the other '[at a ratio of x] to x. It may be added that elsewhere, e.g. in the Akhmim mathematical papyrus and here in section 3,  $\hbar \iota \iota$  is used as a sign not of proportion but of multiplication.

It remains to show the relation of the various measures to each other. As the basis of the calculation, throughout Dioscorus's reckoning, is taken the artaba. Assistance in drawing up the following table is furnished by the second section of the document (II. 60–69), which gives the capacity of the artaba in terms of various lesser measures, these being, in all cases except the mina, which has been compared only with the centumpondium (κεντηνάριον), those whose mutual ratio has been determined in section 1. In the following table the capacity of each measure is given even in cases which involve a fraction (e.g. with a denominator of 5) not expressible by the ordinary fraction system of Greek papyri; but such figures are enclosed in square brackets. The mina is here included, as it occurs in section 2.

```
άρτάβη .
μόδ. κουμ. .
μόδ. ξυστός.
διμ. ε μέτρ.
                         5
6
διμ. 5 μέτρ.
                        10
μέντ .
                        20
κούμουλον .
                        30
                                 10
χοῖνιξ . .
                        48
                        72
                       100
ουγκία . . . . . . 1200
```

This table yields some very startling results. The artaba has 3 or  $3\frac{1}{3}$  modii, but 48 choenices and 72 sextarii. Thus the choenix has  $1\frac{1}{2}$  instead of 2 sextarii, and the modius 24 (or  $21\frac{3}{5}$ ) instead of 16 sextarii. According to metrological authorities the official Ptolemaic artaba =  $4\frac{1}{2}$ Roman modii, containing therefore 36 choenices or 72 sextarii (see Viedebantt, Quaestiones Epiphanianae, p. 91; Hultsch, Metr. Script. ii. 165). But here we have an artaba of only 3 (or  $3\frac{1}{3}$ ) modii which nevertheless contains 48 choenices and only 72 sextarii. On the basis previously mentioned this 48-choen. artaba should contain 6 modii and 96 sextarii. The whole subject of Egyptian and indeed of ancient metrology generally is very confusing, and the authorities, ancient and modern, differ among themselves; but it seems possible to indicate an at least provisional explanation. The difficulty is increased by the fact that not only the artaba but also the other measures differ in different systems, and it does not on the face of it appear what system is here being used. First for the artaba of 48 choenices. No such artaba is known from papyri as in use in Egypt, but Hultsch (Gr. u. röm. Metrologie, ed. 2, p. 625; Archiv, ii, p. 283) has inferred the existence of an artaba (which he calls the 'Ptolemaic' artaba) of 48 choenices. The present document gives further testimony to its existence, and in the sixth century. Again, though the Roman modius contained 16 sextarii, Hultsch works out (Metr.2 p. 631 f.) from a table in Hero's Liber Geeponicus (Heronis Alex. Geom. et Stereom. Reliquiae, ed. Hultsch, Berolini, 1864, pp. 232-234) and other sources a whole series of 'provincial' modii. One of these ('das phönikisch-hebräische Saton oder die syrische Sabitha') contains 22 sextarii; and Hultsch adds, 'Zu seinem vollen Betrage erscheint dieser Modius in der Heronischen Stereometrie; von den Römern wurde er als provinziales Mass zu 213 oder 211 Sextaren geschätzt'; and he adds, 'Das gleiche Mass ist ferner der in der Heronischen Tabelle nächstfolgende Modius von 24 Sextaren, nur dass hier der Betrag nach attischer Norm gesteigert ist'. Here then we have, as in our table, modii of 213 and 24 sextarii. The definition of the two modii in the present document is important, as it probably serves to clear up a divergence between our authorities. One is ξυστός, the other cumulatus. ξυστός means that the corn was level to the rim of the measure, cumulatus that it was heaped up; and according to this distinction two measures of fixed capacity were established. Viedebantt (Quaest. Epiph. p. 91) has called attention to an inconsistency in ancient authorities, some of whom equate the Roman artaba to 3, another to  $3\frac{1}{3}$ , Roman modii. Is this due to a difference in the capacity of the modius, the reference being in the one case to the modius cumulatus, in the other to the modius xystus? It is true that in our table the modius must, as we have seen, be the provincial modius; but it seems likely enough that the same distinction might be made in the Roman modius, and that if an artaba of 48 choenices were taken as the basis of the system the modius would be increased in capacity so as to maintain the same relation of 1:3 (mod. cum.) or 3:10 (mod. xyst.); or, conversely, that if the provincial modius of 24 or 21\frac{3}{5} sextarii were adopted the artaba would be raised to 48 choenices with the same object. This may indeed be the very reason, on the one hand, for the introduction of the provincial modius, or, on the other, for the fixing of the artaba, in these tables or in the authority used by Dioscorus, at 48 choenices. As such an artaba is not known in actual use in Egypt, the second alternative is perhaps the more probable; but we are so rarely able to fix the capacity of an artaba in papyri that too much weight must not be laid on negative testimony. It may be added that in a lease in the new volume of the Cairo catalogue (Cair. Masp. iii. 67303) the tenant agrees to pay a rent of σίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δέκα  $\epsilon \mu \hat{\varphi}$   $\epsilon \xi a \mu \epsilon \tau \rho \varphi$   $\epsilon \kappa a \sigma \tau \eta s$   $a \rho \tau a \beta \langle \eta \rangle s$  (l. 17 f.). If what is meant is an artaba-measure of 6  $\mu \epsilon \tau \rho a$  we may perhaps conclude to the use of the 24-choen artaba in this case. The tenant in question is from Tanyaithis in the nome of Apollonopolis Parva.

As regards the relation of the sextarius to the choenix, Viedebantt (Quaest. Epiph. p. 89; see the Greek authority on p. 59, l. 20) gives the ratio as 1:2; but Hultsch, Metr.<sup>2</sup> p. 625, fixes the Ptolemaic choenix as =  $3 \kappa \sigma r \dot{\nu} \lambda a \iota$  and the Roman sextarius as =  $2 \kappa \sigma r \dot{\nu} \lambda a \iota$ , which yields a ratio of 2:3, as in our papyrus. Thus the relation of 48 choenices and 72 sextarii to the artaba is correct. The divergence from Viedebantt's text is presumably due to adjustment to the size of the 48-choen. artaba and the 24-sext. modius.

Some of the other measures call for discussion. The  $\delta\iota\mu\acute{a}\tau\iota o\nu$  is the double of the  $\mu\acute{a}\tau\iota o\nu$ , for which see Wilcken, Ostr. i, p. 751 f.; Hultsch, Archiv, ii, p. 290. This is the Egyptian m't'3, which was stated by Brugsch to be  $\frac{1}{12}$  artaba and of which another multiple, the  $\tau\rho\iota\mu\acute{a}\tau\iota o\nu$ , was already known. The simple  $\mu\acute{a}\tau\iota o\nu$  occurs in several of Wilcken's ostraca, all of the Roman period. Wilcken had already detected it in the Late Byzantine period in Wessely, Wiener Denkschr. xxxvii (1889), p. 131, App. 69, 6,  $\tau\acute{\varphi}$   $\sigma\acute{\varphi}$   $\mu a\tau\iota a\acute{\iota}\varphi$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\varphi$ ; in the Early Byzantine period it was employed in the Fayum (see below, note on p. 159); and it has now appeared in current use at Aphrodito (Cair. Masp. iii. 67325, where it is abbreviated  $\mu^a$ ). It may also occur in P. Flor. iii.

388, 87, α[..]το ματιο f, but until the context is clearer this is uncertain. Our διμάτιον 5 μέτρ. is  $\frac{1}{6}$  artaba; this confirms the statement of Brugsch that the  $\mu\acute{a}\tau\iota o\nu$  was  $\frac{1}{12}$  artaba. But two kinds of διμάτιον are here mentioned; how are we to explain their names? They are written in the MS. respectively  $\delta \iota \mu \alpha \tau \iota / \epsilon \mu \epsilon \tau \rho / \text{ and } \delta \iota \mu \alpha \tau \iota / \epsilon \mu \epsilon \tau \rho / ;$  and the question must be raised how the latter part of the description is to be extended. Since the second is  $\frac{1}{6}$ , the first  $\frac{1}{5}$  artaba, we cannot explain as  $\xi = (\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon) \mu \epsilon \tau \rho \omega \nu$  or  $\xi = (\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \dot{\alpha} - \mu \epsilon \tau \rho \sigma \nu)$ , which would mean that the one contained 6, and the other 5  $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \tau \rho \alpha$ ; and consequently it is clear that we must read  $\acute{\epsilon} \kappa \tau o \nu$  and πέμπτον μέτρον. Now we already know of a series of measures containing the word μέτρον; see Wilcken, Ostr. i, p. 750 f.; Hultsch, Archiv, ii, p. 290 f., where instances are quoted of τέταρτον, ἔκτον, and ὄγδοον μέτρον as concrete fractions of the artaba. As we also hear (ib.) of a μέτρον έξαχοίνικον and a μέτρον τετραχοίνικον, it is probable, as Hultsch points out, that these μέτρα refer to an artaba of 24 choenices with concrete fractions of 6, 4, and 3 choenices (τέταρτον, ἔκτον, and ὄγδοον). Again, the Oxyrhynchus metrological papyrus (Oxy. i. 9 verso, p. 77, l. 8) states that the artaba contained 10 μέτρα, the μέτρον 4 choenices, the artaba therefore] having 40 choenices. To this artaba Hultsch gives the name (Archiv, ii, p. 293) of δεκάμετρον on the analogy of P. Fay. 90, 14, μέτρφ ένδεκαμέτρφ. If the μέτρον were of a constant capacity, this last measure would be of 44 choenices. It appears then that  $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \tau \rho o \nu$ , in addition to its general sense of 'measure', could mean, firstly, any fraction of an artaba, and secondarily a definite measure, containing 4 choenices,1 and consequently varying in its relation to the artaba according to the capacity of the latter. This suggests that the διμάτιον έκτον μέτρον may have been originally  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the artaba of 24 choenices 1 and that therefore the  $\mu \acute{a}\tau \iota o\nu = 2$  choenices, as Hultsch takes it, Archiv, ii, p. 291. As the 24-choen. artaba would = 3 Roman modii, it might perhaps be suggested that in the present tables the artaba really intended is the 24-choen. artaba, and that the capacity 48 choen. is due to a confusion with the medimnus. But this is an excessively improbable mistake, and we do not know that the  $\mu \acute{a}\tau \iota o \nu$  was not  $\frac{1}{12}$  artaba of any capacity. In that case it would contain 2 choenices when part of the 24-choen. artaba, but 4 when part of that of 48 choenices. Or again, it may have been raised in capacity, either actually, as a concrete measure, or theoretically, to suit a table taking the 48-choen. artaba as its basis. In either case ἔκτον μέτρον means '6th part' (of any artaba) and μέτρον is not the fixed μέτρον of 4 choenices.

A further point arises out of this. An Egyptian measure οἶφι is known, which Hesychius defines as 'οἴφιν (= οἴφιον, Wilcken, Ostr. i, p. 750¹), μέτρον τι τετραχοίνικον Αἰγύπτιον'. Brugsch, Ägyptologie, p. 380 f., gives its capacity as  $\frac{1}{6}$  artaba, which, if the οἶφι were always of 4 choenices, suits the 24-choen. artaba. If Hesychius's statement is true, then μέτρον (as used in the Oxyrhynchus fragment), διμάτιον (on the 24-choen standard), and οἶφι are synonyms, and the οἶφι contains 2 μάτια. Now the οἶφι was at this time still in regular use; see 1687, 11; Cair. Masp. iii. 67308, 3 f., τῷ σῷ ἰφίφ μέτρφ (addressed to Apollos, the father of Dioscorus); and particularly ii. 67138; 67139; iii. 67325. In 67138 and 67139 the οἶφι is not, as we should expect,  $\frac{1}{6}$  but  $\frac{1}{4}$  artaba; this is not indeed quite beyond doubt, as there are lacunae in the account and the arithmetic is rough, but Maspero's conclusion seems all but assured. If then the οἶφι always contained 4 choenices the artaba in question contained only 16 choenices, the smallest capacity yet established, while, since this artaba was equivalent to 3 modii, the modius contains only  $5\frac{1}{3}$  choenices; but that the modius is the Roman modius, not some local measure, is at least

<sup>1</sup> But see the note on p. 159 below.

probable in view of the fact that many of the payments are for taxes. On the other hand, if it was not the capacity but the relation to the artaba that was constant the olique should be  $\frac{1}{6}$  not  $\frac{1}{4}$ artaba. If we assume that this artaba in which taxes are paid and which contains 3 modii is the 24-choen. artaba the  $oi\phi_i$  then reaches a capacity of 6 choenices, which equates it with the τριμάτιον on the 24-choen. standard. This is perhaps the likeliest conclusion; but it still remains a difficulty how the olique came to change both its capacity and its relation to the artaba. Moreover, in 67325 it appears to be  $\frac{1}{5}$  artaba, i.e. it belongs to a decimal standard, which, if it contained 4 choenices, had an artaba of 20 choenices, if it contained 6, an artaba of 30 choenices. The most natural assumption, in view of previous evidence, would be that the  $olimits_{\theta}$  was always  $\frac{1}{6}$  artaba on a duodecimal,  $\frac{1}{5}$  artaba on a decimal, system; but the Cairo documents would rather indicate the proportions  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{5}$ . A possible explanation of the difficulty is that the  $oi\phi\iota$ , taken as  $\frac{1}{6}$ (= διμάτιον) of the official Ptolemaic 36-choen. artaba (see below) so that it = 6 choenices, retained in the popular usage of Aphrodito, unlike the διμάτιον, its capacity rather than its ratio to the artaba. Consequently, when the Romans made the 24-choen. artaba the official artaba, the οίφι, retaining its old capacity of 6 choenices, had to change its ratio to the artaba. The statement of Hesychius may be explained by supposing that either his authorities or the usage of other parts of Egypt retained the ratio rather than the capacity and thus arrived at an oi $\phi_i$  which =  $\frac{1}{6}$  24-choen. artaba = 4 choenices.

We must now return to the διμάτιον πέμπτον μέτρον. As a fraction of the 24-choen. artaba this =  $4\frac{4}{5}$ , as a fraction of the 48-choen artaba  $9\frac{3}{5}$ , choenices. These are unlikely fractions to have been the original capacity. Probably therefore this διμάτιον originally belonged not to a duodecimal but to a decimal system of artabas. Artabas of 40 and 30 choenices are known. If we assume an artaba of 20 choenices, a  $\delta \iota \mu \acute{a} \tau \iota o \nu$  of 4 choenices would be  $\frac{1}{5}$  of this. Adapted to a 40-choen, artaba the  $\delta \iota \mu \acute{a}\tau \iota o \nu$  as  $\frac{1}{5}$  artaba would contain 8 choenices. Thus we should have for the διμάτιον on the decimal scale the same varying capacities of 4 and 8 choenices as on the duodecimal scale; and by adding to the one scale the 30-choen. artaba and to the other the official Ptolemaic 36-choen. artaba we get a further διμάτιον of 6 choenices. It seems therefore a probable conclusion that our διμάτιον πέμπτον μέτρον is a fraction of a decimal artaba adapted to the duodecimal scale. Having been originally  $\frac{1}{5}$  artaba, it retained this ratio to the artaba and had consequently to be increased in capacity; and to mark the distinction between the two διμάτια the descriptions ἔκτον μέτρον and πέμπτον μέτρον were added. It may be observed in conclusion that the rare artaba-fractions  $\frac{1}{5}$  and  $\frac{1}{10}$  of Fay. 101; Teb. ii. 509 are as well adapted to the 30- or (supposed) 20-choen. artaba as to that of 40, which is probably meant in the former document (see Grenfell and Hunt ad loc.). In Cair. Masp. iii. 67325 fractions of  $\frac{1}{5}$  also occur, and indicate that the artaba belongs to the decimal system.  $\frac{1}{5}$  artaba may well be the oi $\phi i$  of 6 choenices, so that the artaba will be one of 30 choenices.

artaba. If the capacity of 4 choenices be there taken for the  $\mu \acute{e}\tau \rho o \nu$ , this would give an artaba of 60 choenices, which is most unlikely. Consequently it seems best to assume a capacity of 2 choenices for the  $\mu \acute{a}\tau \iota o \nu - \mu \acute{e}\tau \rho o \nu$ , which gives an artaba of 30 choenices and must be set against the capacity of 4 choenices given for the  $\mu \acute{e}\tau \rho o \nu$  by the Oxyrhynchus papyrus. This seems to imply that in some parts of Egypt it was the capacity of the  $\mu \acute{a}\tau \iota o \nu$  rather than its relation to the artaba which was constant.

<sup>1</sup> It is indeed possible that the 36-choen, and 30-choen, artabas were the original units of which the μάτιον was the twelfth or tenth part. Thus the original official capacities on the duodecimal scale would be: μάτιον, 3 choenices, διμάτιον, 6 choenices, τριμάτιον, 9 choenices. The capacities of 2, 4, and 6 choenices will then be a later innovation, consequent on making the 24-choen, artaba the official one. It is however to be noted that in Lond. ii. 428 (p. 313 f.) the μάτ(ιον), which is there synonymous with the μέτρον, is, from the arithmetic,  $\frac{1}{15}$ , not  $\frac{1}{12}$ ,

Two other measures, the  $\mu\acute{e}\nu\tau$  and the  $\kappao\acute{\nu}\mu o\nu\lambda o\nu$ , call for notice. Of the first all that can be said is that the data of the present document are at variance with all our information. Hultsch identifies the  $\mu\acute{e}\nu\tau$  as the Egyptian modius of 18 sextarii,  $Metr.^2$  p. 631; cf. pp. 369, 450, and see the excerpt from Epiphanius, Metr. Script. i, p. 262, 11. Our  $\mu\acute{e}\nu\tau$  has only  $3\frac{3}{5}$  sextarii, and however we may manipulate modii and sextarii of various standards it seems impossible to reconcile this with the existing evidence.

The κούμουλον (Lat. cumulus) is new as a special measure; for though κούμουλος οr κούμουλον was used as =  $\mu$ όδιος κουμουλᾶτος the present measure is quite distinct from the modius, standing to the modius cumulatus as I:IO and to the modius xystus as I:9. In an excerpt from Epiphanius, however, published by Viedebantt, Quaest. Epiph. p. 51 ff. we find (p. 52) Σάτον καλεῖται ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραΐδος διαλέκτον . . . ἔστιν ὁ μόδιος κουμουλᾶτος, ἄστε εἶναι τὸ κούμουλον ἦτουν τὸ ὑπερέχημα γινόμενον τοῦ μοδίου τὸ τέταρτον. Here κούμουλον denotes not the modius cumulatus but its excess over the ordinary modius. In our table the m. xystus is to the m. cumulatus as 9:IO and the difference between them is  $I\frac{3}{5}$  choenices, which is precisely the capacity of the κούμουλον. Consequently here also the κούμουλον is the ὑπερέχημα γινόμενον τοῦ μοδίου. The word occurs also in Flor. i. 75 (= Wilcken, Chrest. 433), 21 and in Goodsp. 14, 7 (Vitelli); but there it refers to additional charges in connexion with the transport of corn taxes and not to a definite measure. The present papyrus does not indeed necessarily prove it to have been so; but this is certainly the natural explanation of its appearance here.

In conclusion, the fact that the artaba here contains 48 choenices and the necessity of supposing various adjustments in order to square these tables with existing data render it doubtful how far the whole document can be taken as representing actual practice. Since Dioscorus was a landlord and a tax-payer and had been  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\kappa\omega\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\eta s$ , besides holding other important positions, he must have had practical knowledge of weights and measures; but even practical knowledge does not always prevent rather insubstantial theorizing. Nevertheless we have to remember that our metrological data, fairly abundant in the mass, are very incomplete for any particular period or locality; we know that there were wide variations in local usage; and we are hardly justified in dismissing the evidence of the present document till we have found directly contradictory evidence at Aphrodito itself.

Section 1 ends with two lines (ll. 58, 59) showing the ratio of the mina and the centumpondium, viz. 1:60; hence the centumpondium is equivalent to the talent. From Hultsch, *Metr.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 644, 673 the mina in question should be that of 20 unciae; yet in our table it has 120 unciae.

(3), 11. 71-78.

Line 70 is here omitted, as it is at present insufficiently deciphered to be comprehensible; but it does not seem to have any relation to section 3, and if, as suggested in the note, it relates to the ratio between cleaned and uncleaned wheat, it probably belonged to a distinct section, which perhaps commenced immediately after 1. 69. Section 3 contains directions how to measure the capacity of various objects, viz. a granary, a ship, a canal, a  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\sigma$ s, and a wall; and probably illustrations were given. Unfortunately the bad state of the papyrus, which is here even more

the m. cumulatus as 8, and consequently the m. xystus as  $7\frac{1}{5}$ , choenices, the difference is  $\frac{4}{5}$  choen., whereas a quarter of  $7\frac{1}{5}$  is  $1\frac{4}{5}$ ; but this difficulty does not affect the argument in the text, as Epiphanius is quoted merely to illustrate the sense of  $\kappa o \nu \mu o \nu \lambda o \nu$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The passage from Epiphanius states the difference as a quarter ( $\tau \delta$   $\tau \epsilon \tau a \rho \tau \sigma \nu$ ), i.e., apparently, a quarter of the modius xystus. The modius xystus in our table contained 14 $\frac{2}{5}$  choenices, and a quarter of this is  $3\frac{3}{5}$ , not  $1\frac{3}{5}$ , while, if we refer Epiphanius's remark to the ordinary modius, as we probably should, taking

rubbed and damaged than in the preceding part, renders all the details obscure. It should be added that more can probably be made out by happy conjecture; but the latter part of the lines is practically hopeless. The whole section may be compared with such treatises as Hultsch, Metr. Script. i, pp. 202-205; Heronis Alex. Geom. et Stereom. Rel. p. 188 ff., etc.; and some of the problems in the mathematical papyrus of Akhmim (Mém. de la Miss. Arch. Fr. ix. 1892).

(4), 11. 79-94.

This section deals with measures of length and offers like the others more than one difficulty. In Il. 79, 80 is stated the capacity of the  $\gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\kappa\delta\nu$   $\sigma\chi\sigma\iota\nu\iota\sigma\nu$  in terms of various other measures. In Il. 81–86 is stated the number of cubits contained in various measures, except in I. 82, which gives the number of  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  in the cubit. All these lines seem also to have contained something besides the statement of the capacity, perhaps a ratio of some kind; but hardly anything of this remains. The passage beginning in I. 87 is quite obscure, but was perhaps concerned with the ratio between the two kinds of  $\sigma\chi\sigma\iota\nu\iota\sigma\nu$ . Col. 6 is too imperfect to be intelligible. Possibly the capacity of the  $\sigma\chi\sigma\iota\nu\iota\sigma\nu$  was stated in terms of various measures.

From the portions recoverable the following table can be drawn up:—

```
στάδιον
ίερ. σχοιν.
                                              1\frac{1}{24}
8\frac{1}{3}
γεω. σχοιν. .
                                                         8
                                              163
κάλαμος .
                                                        16
                                133출
                                              333
                                                        32
                                600
                                                                 т8
                                             150
πούς .
                                                       144
                                800
σπιθαμή.
                                             200
                                                       192
λιχάς .
                               1200
                                             300
                                                       576
```

An important datum of this table is the distinction between the  $i\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$  and the  $\gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$  σχοινίου (which had already appeared in Oxy. iv. 669, 3 f., where we can now read  $i\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\iota]κ\acute{o}\nu$  in l. 4) and of both of them from the  $\mathring{a}\mu\mu a$ , with which the σχοινίου has hitherto been identified (see Hultsch,  $Metr.^2$  and Metr. Script. indices, s. vv.  $\mathring{a}\mu\mu a$ , σχοινίου). The  $\mathring{a}\mu\mu a$  has here not 40 but 12  $\pi\acute{\eta}\chi\epsilon\iota$ s, and the two kinds of σχοινίου contain respectively 100 and 96  $\pi\acute{\eta}\chi\epsilon\iota$ s. The relation of the foot to the other measures is calculated from the statement of the papyrus that the  $\gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$  σχοινίου contained 144 feet. The results show that the foot in question is the royal foot,  $\pi$ οὺs  $\beta a\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{o}s$  or  $\Phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\tau a\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota$ os (Hultsch,  $Metr.^2$  p. 612).

Col. 1.]

7.  $\pi^0 \sigma i$ : so written, apparently; cf. Il. 16, 17, 20, 32.

```
[κουμουλ/ ποσ μοδ/ ξυστ]]
                                                                                                                     \epsilon\pi\iota [:] o\beta \pi/\epsilon
           10 [\mu o]\delta/\xi v\sigma \tau \int \pi o\sigma \int \chi o_i v_i v_i
                      [\chi o \iota] \nu \iota^{\kappa} / \pi o [\sigma (\mu)] o \delta / \xi \nu \sigma [\tau (\mu)]
                                                                                                                    \epsilon\pi\iota:\epsilon\;\pi/\;o\beta
                       [\mu o]\delta/\xi[\upsilon\sigma]\tau \pi o\sigma \gamma o[\upsilon]\gamma \kappa \iota as
                                                                                                                     επι τξ
                       [\gamma o \nu \gamma] \kappa[\iota] a[\iota] \pi o \sigma \langle \mu o \delta \rangle \xi \nu \sigma \tau[\langle \cdot \rangle]
                                                                                                                     \pi/\tau\xi
                      [\mu o \delta] / \kappa [o v] \mu o v \lambda / \pi o \sigma \delta \alpha
                                                                                                                     \pi/\gamma
           15 \alpha[-] \pi_0[\sigma] \mu \circ \delta / \kappa \circ \mu \circ [\upsilon] \lambda /
                                                                                                                     \epsilon \pi[\iota] : \gamma
                      [μοδ/] κ[ον]μολ/ π<sup>ν</sup>σ' διματι/ <math>ε μετρ/ επι : β :
                       \delta \iota [\mu \alpha \tau \iota / ] = [\mu \epsilon \tau \rho / ] \pi^{\upsilon} \sigma (\mu \circ \delta / \kappa \circ \mu \circ \upsilon \lambda / \pi / \beta)
                      \mu^{o} [\kappa] \circ \mu_{o} [v] \lambda / \pi_{o} \sigma \langle \lambda \lambda_{i} \tau_{p} \alpha_{s} \rangle
                                                                                                                     \epsilon \pi \iota : \bar{\rho} \pi / \bar{\gamma}
                      \lambda [π]οσί \mu° [κ]ουμολ/
                                                                                                                     \epsilon \pi \iota : \gamma \pi / \bar{\rho}
           20 \mu^{o} κομουλ/ \pi^{o}\sigma χοινι<sup>κ</sup>/
                                                                                                                      €πι: ις
                      \chi[oi]\nu i \kappa \epsilon s \pi^{\upsilon} \mu^{o} \kappa[o\upsilon]\mu \bar{o}\lambda/
                                                                                                                      \pi/:\iota_{5}
Col. 2.]
                 \mu^{\circ} κομουλ[/] \pi^{\circ} ξεστ
                                                                                                                    επι [:] κδ
                       \xi \in [\sigma] \tau (\pi^{\circ} \mu^{\circ} [\kappa] \circ \iota \mu \circ \iota \lambda / \iota
                                                                                                                     \pi[/] \overline{\kappa \delta}
                      \mu^{o} [\kappa] o\mu o\nu \lambda / \pi^{o} \mu \epsilon \nu \tau
                                                                                                                    \epsilon \pi \iota : \kappa \pi / \gamma
           25 μεντ ποσ μο κουμουλ/
                                                                                                                    \epsilon\pi\iota:\gamma\pi/[\kappa]
                      μο κουμουλ/ πο διματι/ ξ μετρ/
                                                                                                                 επι [:] ε π/ γ
                      διματι/ ε πο μοδ/ κουμουλ/
                                                                                                                    \epsilon \pi \iota : \gamma \pi / \bar{\epsilon}
                      \mu[o\delta/] \kappa[o\nu\mu\sigma\nu\lambda/\pi^{\sigma}...]
                                                                                                                     \epsilon\pi\iota:.[
           30 \mu^{o} \xi \nu \sigma[\tau] \int \pi^{[o]} \mu o \delta / \kappa o \nu \mu o^{\nu} \lambda /
                                                                                                                 \epsilon \pi \iota : \theta \, \pi / \, \ddot{\iota}
                      μο[δ/] κουμουλ/ π^{\circ} μ^{\circ} ξυστ
                                                                                                                     \epsilon\pi\iota: \ddot{\iota} \pi/ \theta
                      \delta \iota \mu \alpha [\tau] \iota / \bar{\epsilon} \mu [\epsilon] \tau \rho / [\pi]^{o} \sigma \langle \kappa \sigma \nu \mu \sigma \nu \lambda / \tau \rangle
                      κομουλ/ ποσ διματι/ \bar{\epsilon} με[τ]ρ/
                                                                                                                     \pi/s
                      διματι/ \bar{\varsigma} μετρ[/] \pi^{o} κομου[λ]/
                                                                                                                      \epsilon\pi\iota:[\epsilon]
          35 κο<sup>ν</sup>μουλ[/] \pi<sup>ο</sup> [δι]ματι/ \varsigma μετρ/
                                                                                                                     \pi/:\epsilon
                      διμα[τι/] ε μετρ/ π<sup>[o]</sup> μεντ
                                                                                                                      \epsilon \pi \iota : \delta
                      μεντ πο διμα[τι]/ ε μετρ/
                                                                                                                      \pi/:\delta
```

9.  $\pi/\theta$ :  $\epsilon$  or  $\beta$  could equally well be read, but neither suits any ratio appropriate to the modius xystus;  $\theta$  suits the  $\kappa o \hat{\iota} \mu o \nu \lambda o \nu$ , and hence the restoration.

12. γουγκιας: the ratio suits the uncia, which  $=\frac{1}{12}$  libra  $(\lambda i \tau \rho a)$ , and the traces tend to confirm the reading, but the  $\gamma$  at the beginning is all but certain; it can hardly be regarded, like many apparent characters in this document, as a mere stain on the papyrus. Probably Dioscorus has been misled by the common abbreviation  $\gamma \bar{\rho}$  into thinking that οὐγκία began with a  $\gamma$ .

 $\epsilon \pi \iota \overline{\tau \xi}$ : the sign: has probably, but not quite certainly, been omitted.

18.  $\lambda \lambda \iota r \rho as$ : apparently Dioscorus wrote the symbol (=  $\lambda$ ), and then, recollecting that this was its first occurrence, thought it might be ambiguous and so wrote the word in full, though without cancelling the symbol.

19. : is very doubtful, but the ink has perhaps flaked off.

21. : 15: the : is probable but not certain.

22. The: was possibly not written, as there is not much space between  $\epsilon \pi \iota$  and  $\overline{\kappa \partial}$ .

27.  $\delta\iota\mu\alpha\tau\iota/\bar{\epsilon}$ :  $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho$  is omitted; cf. II. 38, 45. Between  $\bar{\epsilon}$  and  $\pi^0$  is what looks like a trace of ink, which might be meant as an abbreviation or symbol for  $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\sigma\nu$ , but it is probably only a discoloration of the papyrus.

33.  $\pi/5$ : it is very possible that: was written here, for though  $\tau$  is right there seems a trace of ink before it which at first sight suggests  $\iota$  and may therefore be:

35. The: looks certain but is not quite so, as the dots may be respectively the end of / and the turned up right downstroke of  $\pi$ . The same may be said of other places where: is read, or might be read, after  $\pi$ /.

37. Here the: is all but certain.

•		
	διματι/ ε πο ξεστή	$\epsilon\pi\iota: {}_{0}eta \;[\pi]/\;\epsilon$
	ξεστή πο διματι/ ε μετρ/	$\epsilon\pi\iota:\epsilon\left[\pi/ ight]\mathrm{o}eta$
40	$\delta\iota\mu[a\tau]\iota/\bar{\epsilon}$ μετρ[/] $\pi^{\circ}$ χοινικ/	$\epsilon\pi\iota$ $\mu\eta$ $\pi/$ $\epsilon$
•	$\chi^o$ $[\pi]^o$ [διματ]ι $/$ $\bar{\epsilon}$ μετρ $/$	$\epsilon\pi\iota:\epsilon\;[\pi]/\;\mu\eta$
Col. 3.]		
	διματι/ ξ΄ μετρ/ πο χο	$\epsilon\pi\iota:\eta:$
	χο πο διματι∕ ξ μετρ/	$\pi/\eta$
	διματι/ ξ μετρ/ πο λ	$\epsilon\pi\iota:  abla abla abla$
45	<b>λ</b> π° διματι∕ <del>ς</del>	π∕ : เ๊ร 🥇
	διματι/ ϵ μετρ/ πο λ	$\epsilon\pi\iota$ : $\kappa$
	<b>λ</b> πο διματι/ ξ μετρ/	$\pi/:\kappa$
	$\chi^{\circ}$ $\pi^{\circ}$ $\xi \in [\sigma] \dot{\tau}$	$[\epsilon\pi\iota:\gamma\pi\!/]oldsymboleta$
	[ξεστί πο χο	$\epsilon\pi\iota:eta\:\pi/\:\gamma]$
50	$[κουμουλ/ π^o χ^o]$	$\epsilon\pi\iota:\eta\ [\pi/\ \epsilon]$
	$\chi^o$ $\pi^o$ κο $[v\mu]$ ουλ $/$	$\epsilon\pi\iota:\epsilon\ \pi/\ \jmath$
	κουμουλ/ π' ξεστ(	$\epsilon\pi\iota: \ddot{\imath}eta \; \pi/\; \epsilon$
	ξεστ[§] πουμουλ/	$\epsilon\pi\iota:\epsilon\ \pi/\ [\iota]eta$
	μεντ πο λ	$\epsilon\pi\iota$ : $\epsilon$
55	λ π. μεντ	$\pi/$ $\epsilon$
	$a - \sigma \lambda$	$\epsilon\pi\iota$ [:] $ar{ ho}$
	$\lambda \pi^{\circ} \alpha_{\overline{\circ}}$	$\pi \! / \ ar{ ho}$
	$\mu[\nu]$ α $\pi^{\circ}$ κεντηναρ/	$\pi/\xi$
	κε[ν]τηναρ/ πο μνα	$\epsilon\pi\iota$ : $\dot{\xi}$
60	η α— εχει μο ξυστ	γ 6/
	$\eta$ α $\overline{}$ εχει $\mu^o$ κου $\mu$ ō $\dot{\chi}[/]$	γ
	η α - εχει μνα	ï
Col. 4.]		
<b>0</b> 01. <b>4</b> .]	η α <del>_</del> εχει κουμουλα	λ
	η α ο εχει χοινικας	μη
65	$\eta = \frac{1}{2} \epsilon \chi \epsilon i \xi \epsilon \sigma \tau [\S]$	οβ
-3	$\eta = \frac{1}{2} \left[ \epsilon \right] \chi \epsilon i \delta i \mu a \tau i / \epsilon \mu [\epsilon \tau] \rho /$	€
	η α = [ε]χει διματι/ $ε μετρ/$	5
	$η α_{0} = εχει μεντ$	ĸ
	$\eta \alpha - \epsilon \chi \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \nu \iota$ $\eta \alpha - \epsilon \chi \epsilon \iota \lambda$	[ρ]
	1 00 0 - EXCUR	ιμι

40. : has almost certainly not been written, but the ink may have flaked.

43. : may have been written here.

45. : is not certain.

47. : (which is made like >) is here certain.

suggests rather the bottom of  $\beta$ .

59.  $\mu\nu a$ : in this papyrus  $\mu\nu \hat{a}$  seems to be an indeclinable word. It is perhaps written here  $\epsilon\mu\nu a$ .

60.  $\Gamma_0$ : an unusual symbol for  $\frac{1}{3}$ ; cf. 1760, 2, 3. The Akhmîm papyrus (plate ii) has  $\Gamma'$  made in the same way but without the  $\sigma$ .

63. At the end of this line and the next are single dots, apparently intended to separate this column from col. 5.

<sup>44.</sup>  $\overline{\gamma} := \frac{2}{3}$ ; cf, for this symbol, the Akhmîm papyrus passim. The : is not certain before  $c\overline{c}$ .

<sup>50.</sup>  $\eta$ : this must be right, from the arithmetic, but what remains

30 αρτάβ/ ρυπάρ [...]. ι/ κά[θ] επι: λ πο κί...].. άγιος εκ...
θησαυρου μετρησαι το μηκο επι το πλατος π/ έπι το βάθος κε έπι κζ π/...
πλοι[ο]ν μετρησαι τ[η]ν πρυμ[ν]ην επι την πρυμν[η]ν ών τ.... επι την τραν. η...
το μηκος και επι κζ π/ η π/ θ
διω[ρ]υγα μετρησαι το μηκ/ [επι] τ[ο] ΰψος εφε.... και έπ[ι] τ[ο] π[λατ]ος κζ επι λη...
το τοιχον μετρησαι το μηκ/ [επι] τ[ο] ΰψος εφε.... και έπ[ι] τ[ο] π[λατ]ος κζ επι λη...
επ[ει]δη ο στερ/ εσ[τι?] πηχ[ζ] χ χώρει πλινθαρ/ [.]λη ε
το σχοι/ το γεωμ[ετ]ρικ/ εχει πηχζ ςε αμ[μ]ζ η: κ[α]λίαμους ε] ιε βα[σζ ξ]/λβ...
80 πο[δ]ας ερμδ ψιθαμά[ς ε] ρςβ λιχα[δα]ς εστη [πα]λεστας [:] φ[ος]...

70. The lower part of this column is much broader than the upper, being equal to the upper part of col. 4 and col. 5 together. How far it extended to the right is not indeed quite certain, as this portion of the papyrus is so badly rubbed; but small traces of ink are visible far to the right, and it is probable that the lines extended in most cases a good deal beyond the limit at which the transcript ceases. To show that they are not complete ll. 70-72, 74-77, 79, 80 are followed by dots, but it is not possible to estimate how many letters are lost. It is not clear whether col. 6 extended further downwards than col. 5, but some traces at the very end of the roll suggest that it may have reached to the bottom. The present line is as yet obscure, but the traces suggest that it may have dealt with the ratio between uncleaned and cleaned grain. This could not indeed be a constant one, but a general average might perhaps be assumed in practical use; and the (very doubtful) ratio 30:20 seems not unreasonable. Before  $\kappa a[\theta i]$  it is hardly possible to read  $\epsilon ]\pi \iota$ ; the word was clearly abbreviated, as / follows it, and  $\mu o |\delta|$ would be just possible, but makes no sense.  $[a\rho\tau]a\beta$ / is hardly possible. As remarked,  $\lambda \pi^0 \kappa$  is very doubtful (of  $\kappa$  only very little remains); if correct, it seems to show that  $\pi$ / throughout stands for  $\pi \dot{\alpha} \sigma a$  or  $\pi a \sigma \dot{\alpha} \kappa \iota s$  rather than  $\pi \rho \dot{\alpha} s$  (see the introduction); but  $\tau$ is perhaps as likely as  $\pi$ , the faint first stroke being very possibly only a fibre.

71.  $\pi/\epsilon\pi\iota$ :  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  is not possible, and an upstroke visible, with a cross-stroke, suggests  $\pi/$ . Perhaps the curious word  $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\epsilon\pi\iota$  which several times occurs in the contracts is meant.  $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\hat{\iota}$  in this part of the papyrus stands for multiplication, as in the Akhmîm papyrus.

 $\beta a \theta as$ : very uncertain, but  $v \psi as$ , which we should expect, is impossible.

 $\pi/$ : here again  $\pi p \acute{a} \sigma \epsilon \pi \iota$  may be intended, as we should expect the third factor. It seems quite conceivable that Dioscorus would specially mark out the third of three factors by the use of a stronger word: '26 (or 20, see below) multiplied by 27 and (the product) again by ...'; cf. also 1.73. Whether the result was given is doubtful; 1.73 would seem to indicate not. Possibly therefore the line ended with the third figure; but there are traces of ink further to the right. Immediately after  $\pi/$  all ink has disappeared. For  $\kappa \tau$  perhaps  $\kappa$  alone should be read, the apparent  $\tau$  being only stains on the papyrus. In either case it is a little curious that the smaller figure should come first, as the length was mentioned before the breadth, but  $\kappa \zeta$  is certain.

72. This line is very difficult.  $\pi\rho\nu\mu[\nu]\eta\nu$  may be a slip of the pen for  $\pi\rho\omega\rho\alpha\nu$  ( $\pi\rho\nu\mu[\nu]\eta\nu$  or  $\pi\rho\nu\mu[\nu]\alpha\nu$  is certainly a more likely reading than  $\pi\rho\omega\rho\alpha\nu$ ), but it does not seem very satisfactory to

be instructed to multiply the prow by the stern! The meaning might be that we are to measure from prow to stern to get the length ( $\tau \delta \mu \eta \kappa \sigma s$  in l. 73); but it does not require a mathematician to tell us that, and very possibly the second  $\tau \eta \nu \pi \rho \nu \mu \nu \eta \nu$  is a slip of the pen. The last word read is puzzling. It looks like either  $\tau \rho \alpha \pi \eta [\nu]$  or  $\tau \rho \alpha \nu \tau \eta [\nu]$ .  $\tau \rho \alpha \phi [\eta \kappa \alpha$  (in the sense of 'beam') is hardly possible.

74.  $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\tau\sigma$   $\beta\alpha\theta(\sigma s)$ : this reading is doubtful in the extreme, but it is what we should expect, and the trace at the end certainly looks like  $\theta s$ . The  $\kappa$  and  $\theta$  further on are probably figures standing for two of the factors.

76.  $\beta a \theta(as)$ : very doubtful.

77. τοιχου: ν corr. from s.

78. A continuation of 77. The meaning, if the reading is right, is, 'since the cubic capacity is 600 cubits it will take [.]38 bricks', but the dotted letters are very doubtful, particularly the  $\omega$  and  $\rho$ .  $\pi \lambda \iota \nu \theta a \rho(\omega)$  looks more like  $\pi \lambda \iota \nu \theta a \iota \nu$ , but  $\rho$  is not impossible, and  $\pi \lambda \iota \nu \theta a \iota \rho \iota$  is a more likely word than  $\pi \lambda \iota \nu \theta a \iota \rho \iota$ . Ducange cites a form  $\pi \lambda \iota \theta \theta a \iota \rho \iota \iota$ . A lost letter is assumed before  $\lambda \eta$ , where the papyrus is rubbed, because 38 seems too small a number; but perhaps  $\pi \eta \chi \chi [\S] \cdot \chi \omega \rho \epsilon \iota \pi \lambda \iota \nu \theta a \rho(\iota a) \lambda \eta$  should be read.

79.  $a\mu\mu\beta > \eta$ : the  $a\mu\mu$  then contained 12 cubits; and  $a\beta$  rather than  $\mu$  ( $\iota\eta$  is also possible) appears to be the reading in 1. 81. According to Prof. Hunt the same length seems to be shown for the  $a\mu\mu$  in a metrological text in P. Rylands ii. The existing authorities give 40 cubits as the length.

 $\kappa \alpha \lambda a \mu a \nu s \approx 15$ : doubtful. Hardly anything of the  $\iota$  remains, but the very faint trace indicates a straight upstroke. In Oxy. 669, 40 f. the length of the  $\kappa \dot{\alpha} \lambda a \mu o s$  should be between 4 and  $6\frac{3}{3}$  cubits, and the present reading, which gives a length of 6 cubits, suits this.

 $\beta a\sigma(i\lambda\iota\kappa a) \xi(v\lambda a) \overline{\lambda\beta}$ : very doubtful; but  $\lambda$  is fairly probable, and if it is right it is difficult to see what else we can read, as the γεωμετρικὸν σχοινίον did in fact contain 32 ξύλα. For the epithet  $\beta a\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa \acute{o}v$  cf. Oxy. 669, 11.

80.  $\psi \iota \theta a \mu a s$ :  $l. \sigma \pi \iota \theta a \mu a s$ . The reading is due to Prof. Hunt, and was inferred from the  $c\beta$ ; the  $\rho$  is too indistinct to be read on palaeographical grounds alone.

λιχαδαs: for the λιχάs see Oxy. 669, 31, where  $2 \pi \alpha \lambda \alpha \iota \sigma \tau \alpha i = 1 \lambda \iota \chi \acute{a}s$ . As the cubit contained  $6 \pi \alpha \lambda \alpha \iota \sigma \tau \alpha i$ , it contained  $3 \lambda \iota \chi \acute{a}$ δεs. Hence  $\sigma \pi \eta$  is correct here, and the reading suits the traces. Hultsch however (see *Metr. Script.* index, s. vv. λιχάs and διχάs) makes the διχάs, not the λιχάs,  $2 \pi \alpha \lambda \alpha \iota \sigma \tau \alpha i$ , the λιχάs containing 10 δάκτυλαι, so that 1 foot =  $1\frac{3}{5}$  λιχάs. He remarks, however (op. cit. i, pp. ix, 44), that the MSS. confuse λιχάs and διχάs;

```
Col. 5.]
                το αμμα εχει πηχ
                 ο πηχί εχει παλεστί
                 τον \xi[v]λον \epsilon \chi \epsilon i \pi \eta \chi \delta
                 το σταδιον εχει πηχ
         85 το σχοι/ το ιερατι"/ \pi\eta\chi) \bar{\rho}
                το δε γεωμετρι"/ πηχ
                 \sigma \chi o \iota / \epsilon \pi \iota \ \sigma \chi o \iota / \epsilon \phi \ . \ \lambda \upsilon \tau \alpha \ \gamma \iota /
                 σχοι/και αμμ[δ]....[
 Col. 6.
                  δ βηματα [
                      f \sigma \chi o \iota [/] . [
         90
                           \sigma \chi o \iota / . [
                           \sigma \chi o[\iota/]. [
                           \sigma \chi o \iota / . [
                           τα . . . [
```

and perhaps the two words should be interchanged in the texts he prints; or possibly the word  $\delta \iota \chi \acute{a}s$  should be rejected altogether.

81. It is not absolutely certain that the faint traces of ink discernible after this and several of the following lines really form part of these lines, but it seems probable that they do, though in some cases (e.g. l. 85) a blank space clearly followed the figure.

Possibly some sort of ratio was given.

83.  $\tau o \nu$ : sic, apparently; it is not possible to read  $\tau o \beta(a\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa o\nu)$ . The reading  $\xi v\lambda o \nu$  is not certain but the capacity suits it.

87 f. Perhaps a comparison of the two kinds of schoenium, followed by one between the schoenium and the  $a\mu\mu a$ .

89.  $\beta\eta\mu a\tau a$ : the measure so called. 1  $\beta\hat{\eta}\mu a=1\frac{2}{3}\pi\hat{\eta}\chi vs$  (Hultsch,  $Metr.^2$  p. 612).

#### III. THEBES.

# PAPYRUS 1719.—Jan. 26-Feb. 24, A.D. 541 (?).

Inv. No. 1805. Acquired in 1907. Thebes; from Assuân (?).  $7 \text{ in.} \times 6\frac{s}{8} \text{ in.}$  In an open upright cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus of very light colour.

WITH this document we begin the Syene papyri. These are a homogeneous collection, mainly, if not entirely, from the 'muniment room' of a single family and now divided about equally between the British Museum and the Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek at Munich. Those at Munich, which were bought in Egypt by Dr. Zucker, have been published in full, with an elaborate commentary and excellent plates, by Heisenberg and Wenger (P. Mon. i); of the B. M. papyri a description was given by the present editor in Klio, xiii, pp. 160–174. They were bought in Egypt by Mr. R. de Rustafjaell in the winter of 1907 along with other MSS., and the vendors stated that they had been found near Thebes; but subsequent researches showed that the real provenance was the Elephantine island at Assuân. They form part of the

same family archive as the Munich papyri; but unlike them they include a few documents of earlier date, written in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and apparently unconnected with the Syene family. These are here placed in a special section.

Though these papyri come from the neighbourhood of Thebes, they may very likely have been found at Assuân. The statement that the Syene papyri came from Thebes may indeed suggest that these Theban papyri were actually found there and that their incorporation into a collection from Syene led to the erroneous assertion that all were from the neighbourhood of Thebes. This is quite possible; but it is equally possible that they had been taken to Syene on the settlement there of some member of the family to which the other papyri belonged; and some support to this view is given by the present document if the creditor is really a man of Syene (l. 5, note; and cf. too 1846). The hypothesis is further supported by the fact that these papyri are of earlier date than the others; but it cannot be regarded as proved.

All these Theban papyri relate to loans. The present one is a loan of 5 solidi to two persons, probably relatives, named respectively Paam and Paul. The former receives 4 s., which he is to repay in the same month (if  $M\epsilon\chi\epsilon\ell\rho$  is rightly read in l. 1), and the latter 1 s., repayable in Epeiph with interest amounting to 2400 talents. This is an even higher rate than in Cair. Masp. ii. 67163, where see Maspero's introduction. Or the interest may be on the whole sum, in which case  $\alpha\nu\tau\omega\nu$  must be read in l. 12.

The date of the document is not quite certain. The name of Basilius can (in view of the indications furnished by the hand and the date of 1720) probably be recognized in l. 1, and the indiction is the 4th. The consulship of Basilius, A. D. 541, was a 4th indiction; if the year were a post-consulate it would be A. D. 556. In Klio, xiii, p. 161 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν was supplied, on the evidence, as regards space, of l. 7, but some other lines where the supplement is practically certain indicate a shorter space. The size of the letters varies; but in the little which remains of l. 1 the letters are rather more widely spaced than in following lines, and ὑπατείας seems therefore the more probable reading.

```
[+ υπατειας Φλαουιου Βασ]ιλ[ε]ι[ο̄] τ[ο̄ ε]νδοξ[οτατου Με]χ[ε]ιρ [.]

[της] τεταρτης ϊν[δι]κτι/

[Αυρηλιος Πααμ . . . . . ο] ευλαβζ πρζ [της] αγιας ε[κ]κλησιας

[Καστρου ] Παυλος α[π]ο του αυτο` Καστρο`

[? Καστρου Μεμνου]ιων το` Ερμωνθ[ιτ]ο` νομου χαιρειν

[ομολογουμεν εχειν και] χρεωστειν σοι εις [εκ]τισιν και αποδωσιν

[χρυσο` δοκιμο` ε]ι[ς αρι]θμζ νομισματ[ων] πεντε Πααμ μεν

[ο προγεγρζ π]ρεσβζ νομισματα τεσσερ[α] ειληφοτι εν τω Μεχειρ

10 [μηνι της τετ]αρτης ινδικτι/ Παυλο[ς] δε νομισμα εν

[ειληφοτι ε]ν τω Επειφ μηνι αρχ πεμπτης ϊνδικτι/ μετα της
```

the space better than κεφαλαιου.

εις αριθμί: the extension is ἀριθμόν, as shown by 1721, 5, the meaning being simply 'to the number of', 'amounting to'.

<sup>4.</sup> Ka $\sigma\tau\rho\sigma\nu$ : perhaps Ke $\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\omega s$ , as in 1720. As Paul's patronymic is not given he was probably the father, brother, or son of Paam.

<sup>5.</sup> Ζυηνιτης: Συηνιτης cannot be read but is very possibly meant. The word should of course be in the dative.

<sup>8.</sup> δοκιμου: there does not seem room for the whole phrase δοκίμου κεφαλαίου, which occurs in 1721. δοκιμου seems to suit

<sup>9.</sup> ειληφοτι: l. presumably είληφώς, 'who has received'. Hence ειληφοτι is read in l. 11, but it is possible that there the word was correctly written.

[αυτο φιλ]οτιμειας τουτ εστι ταλαντα δισχιλεια τετρακοσια [και εις] μειζονα σο ασφαλειαν ϋποτιθεμεθα σοι εν τα [.....]ς λογω και ϋποθηκη το ϋπαρχον ημιν χειροψελλιο[ν] [χρυσου]ν και ενωτιο` χρυσον πτυχ[ι?]α δυο και ταυτα ειναι [υπο την σ]ην ακωλυτον δεσποτειαν ειναι μεχρι αποδω [σεως κα]ι [σ]υμπληρωσεως τα προκ/ χρεα συν τοκοις [......] και [εις σ]ην ασφαλειαν τ[οτο π]εποιη [μεθα το γραμματιον ...

12. φιλοτιμειας: 'interest'. For this use of the word see

13. εν τα: or εντα. The usual phrase is ένεχύρου λόγφ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίφ but εντα is certain. Apart from εντα, it would be quite possible to read [ενεχυρο] in l. 14. Can ἕνθα be meant?

15. ενωτιου χρυσουν (sic) πτυχια δυο: what is meant is probably two of the pendants so common in ancient ear-rings. Two of these might very well be detached and pledged independently

of the rest of the ear-ring. χρυσουν was very likely written owing to the recollection of a previous χρυσουν. This supports the supplement at the beginning.

16. ειναι is pleonastic.

17. τα προκ/ χρεα: λ. τῶν προκ(ειμένων) χρεῶν.

18. There seems too much room for [aυτων]. τοτο: the line over o is visible.

### PAPYRUS 1720.—3 Feb., A. D. 549.

Inv. No. 1793 recto. Acquired in 1907. Thebes; from Assuân (?).  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a rather small laterally compressed sloping cursive, along the fibres; papyrus of light colour. Folded from right to left. On the verso, in Coptic, a list of articles deposited [as security]; published by H. R. Hall, *Klio*, xiii, p. 173 f.

THIS is a receipt from Aur. Nonna to Aur. Mary for the full price of an ear-ring deposited with her as security for a debt. Evidently the ear-ring was of greater value than the amount of the debt, and Nonna, being unable to redeem it and in need of more money, now sells it to her creditor, receiving in return the balance between its value and the amount of the debt. As this balance amounts to 8 solidi, the ear-ring must have been a costly one—it seems hardly likely that  $\nu o\mu i \sigma \mu a \tau a$  in 1. 15 is a slip of the pen for  $\kappa \epsilon \rho \acute{a}\tau i a$ .

2. This is no doubt the first 12th indiction after the consulship; in the second the year of Justinian would also be given.

4. Trasfirou:  $\Pi a \beta i \nu \sigma v$  would be expected, but the reading seems to be as in the text, both here and in the endorsement. The name is the masculine  $\Sigma a \beta i \nu \sigma$  preceded by the Coptic feminine article  $\tau$ -, which is very curious, but there are instances in the

Syene papyri of names of men beginning with  $\tau$ -; thus  $T\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$  in 1731, 7; 1733, 6 is clearly the name of a man, and  $T\sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau$  was probably another; see 1733, 32; Mon. i. 9, 32; and in several cases of patronymics (e. g. 1724, 37 f.,  $\Delta\iota\sigma\upsilon$   $T\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\eta s$ ) the second name, as it is not preceded by  $\mu\eta\tau\rho\delta s$ , is most naturally taken as that of the father.

θυγατρι Παυλό απο Καστρό Μεμνονι/ του Ερμωνθιτου ν[ο]μό χαιρ/ αντι του ενωτιό χρυσό Ελληνικ/ ζ/ ενος

- 10 ε[μο]υ του οντος παρ[α σ]ο εις λογον ϋπο θηκην ὑπερ φανερ[ο χ]ρεους χρεωστου μενος σοι παρ εμο κατα τότο ομολογω την τουτον τελειαν τιμην αυτοθι απεσχον παρα σο ϋπερ αυτο ατινα
- 15 χρυσου νομισματα οκτω εκων ουν και πεπεισμενος απηλλαχθην προς σε και μηκεττι μηδενα λογον εχειν προ[ς] σε περι το[το]<sup>υ</sup> [α]λλ' εξουσιαν

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

(2nd hand?) [a] $\pi \circ \tau \alpha \gamma \eta \gamma \in \nu \alpha \mu^{\epsilon} \int A[\nu \rho] / No\nu \nu \alpha \eta T \sigma \alpha \beta \iota \qquad \nu[o]^{-}$  [

9.  $\zeta/:=\zeta v y o \hat{v}$ . Έλληνικ $(o\hat{v})$  probably goes with this word, not with χρυσο $\hat{v}$ ; the gold conformed to the Greek ζυγόν, which probably indicates here the ratio of gold and alloy.

10.  $\pi a \rho a \sigma o v$ : the supplement is uncertain. The ear-ring was deposited with Mary, as appears from what follows; but in later times  $\pi a \rho \acute{a}$  with the dative was often used for  $\pi o \rho \acute{a}$  with the genitive (see Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Gramm.* § 1632), and it seems likely that here the opposite confusion has been made.  $\pi a \rho \epsilon \mu o v$ , meaning '[which you had] from me' is possible, and the style of the whole document is so awkward that the ambiguity of the omission of any reference to the whereabouts of the earring is not in itself an objection to this; but probably part of  $\epsilon$  would be visible.

 $\ddot{\upsilon}$ ποθηκην: sic, apparently.

11. φανερου: in the sense of τινός.

χρεωστουμενος: sic.

τουτον : l. τούτου.

14. απεσχον: λ. άπεσχηκέναι.

15 f. εκων . . . πεπεισμενος : λ. έκοῦσα . . . πεπεισμένη.

17.  $\mu\eta\kappa\epsilon\tau\tau\iota$ : sic, apparently.

18. εξουσιαν: the sense was no doubt 'but I give you authority' to keep the said ear-ring'.

19. Νουνα η: Ι. Νόννας της.

 $T\sigma a\beta i$  vov: sic; the space was no doubt occupied by the seal, which has however entirely disappeared. This endorsement may be by the same hand as the rest, as, though it is in a different style, some of its forms resemble those of the recto.

# PAPYRUS 1721.—A. D. 542-543 or 557-558 (?).

Inv. No. 1794. Acquired in 1907. Thebes; from Assuân (?).  $4 \text{ in.} \times 4\frac{1}{2} \text{ in.}$  In a tall laterally compressed sloping cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus of light colour.

AN acknowledgement by a person whose name is lost of a debt of half a solidus as interest on a debt. It is somewhat curious to draw up a special contract for this purpose, as one would expect the interest to be specified in the loan itself; but the liability to interest may have arisen later than the debt, by non-payment at the proper time of a debt not originally liable to interest.

The provenance of this document is a matter of inference only, all names, whether personal or topographical, being lost; but the formulae, the hand, and the colour of the papyrus alike indicate the same origin as the two preceding documents. The 6th indiction mentioned is probably therefore one of the years suggested above.

[ί]νδικτιωνος αναμφιλο
[γως] κ[αι] προς σην ασφαλειαν

[ίσως κα] προς σην ασφαλειαν

[ίσως κα] προς σην ασφαλειαν

[ίσως κα] προς σην ασφαλειαν

4. δοκιμου: corrected, probably from δοκιμου.
 6. χ χρ/: sic.
 ϋπερ: l. ὅπερ.

χρεωστουμενος: sic.
 χρεως: sic.

# IV. Syene. PAPYRUS 1722.—7-15 March, A. D. 573.

Inv. No. 1802. Acquired in 1907. Syene, 2 ft. 10\frac{3}{4} in. × 11\frac{3}{4} in. In a clear compact cursive hand, laterally compressed and inclined to the right, across the fibres; papyrus mostly in good preservation. Probably folded from the bottom upwards.

WITH this papyrus we begin the Syene papyri proper. As already mentioned (1719, introduction) these papyri are connected in the closest possible way with those at Munich; and the two collections must be studied together. The very elaborate and careful commentary which the editors of the Munich documents have added to their edition makes it unnecessary to comment very fully on the London texts, which rather supplement the evidence of those at Munich than add much that is novel. Reference may also be made to the article in *Klio*, xiii, p. 160 ff. already mentioned.

The papyri of this collection have been arranged in order of date, rather than by subjects, as a chronological order better illustrates the succession of ownership and fits in with the Munich texts. The present document is a sale by a person named Jacob and his wife Tsendia to Fl. Jacob, a drummer in the *numerus* of Syene, of a whole house at Syene. The formulae follow the general scheme seen in the other documents of the same class which this collection contains; the house seems different from any of those elsewhere sold, in whole or part; and though it is fairly certain that it must at some date have passed, with the title-deeds, into the possession of Patermuthius and Kako (see 1724, introduction), there are no means, in the documents which have been preserved, of determining the intermediate owners, if any.

Several letters in this document have been written over again. It does not seem worth while to call special attention to these cases.

₽

μετα την υπατειαν του δ[εσποτου ημων? Φλί Ιουστινου] Φαμεν[ω] $\theta$   $\overline{\ddot{\imath}}$ . [τ]η[ς] εκ[τ]η[ς]

Αυρηλιοι ἴακωβ εκ πατρος Παειτος Ρωβην μητρος [
το επιτηδευμα και η το το γαμετη Τσενδια εκ πατρος Σουρτ[ου μ]ητρος Τουωτε
αμφοτεροι καταμενοστες εν Συηνη παρεχοντες υπερ αυτων ϋπογραφεα και
μαρτυρας τους εξης υπογραφοντας Φλαουῖω ἴακωβω υῖω Îσακιου
μητρος Τλο δος τυμπαναρ/ το αριθμου Συηνης και απο Συηνης χαιρειν
Ομολογουμεν εκουσιω και αμετανοητω γνωμη και αδορώ προαιρεσει
και ειλικρινει συνειδησει κατα τηνδε την απλην εγγραφον ασφαλειαν
πεπρακεναι σοι σημερον και καταγεγραφεναι απο του νυν επι τον αει και

- 10 πεπρακεναι σοι σημερον και καταγεγραφεναι απο του νυν επι τον αει και εξης απαντα χρονον την ϋπαρχουσαν ημιν οικιαν εξ ολοκληρο<sup>υ</sup> απο εδαφους εως αερος διακειμενην επι της αυτης Συηνης περι το νοτινον μερος του Φρουριο<sup>υ</sup> και περι λαυραν της παρεμβολης και της οικιας Παπνο<sup>υ</sup>θιο\ Μαυρο<sup>υ</sup> και του καμηλονος της βασταγης των Φιλων ελθο<sup>υ</sup>σαν εις ημ[α]ς απο
- 15 δικαιο<sup>υ</sup> αγορασιας παρα Αβρααμιου και Αλαμμονος υῖων Παυλο Ουρανιο<sup>υ</sup> και εις αυτους απο κληρονομικο<sup>υ</sup> δικαιο<sup>υ</sup> του αναπαυσαμενο\ πατρ[ο]ς αυτων Παυλο\ Ουρανιο<sup>υ</sup> και εις αυτον απο δικαιο<sup>υ</sup> κληρονομιας των γονεων αυτο<sup>υ</sup> εν η τη απαση οικια εν μεν πρωτη στεγη κελλια δυο εν μεν νοτινον μεγα νευον εις βορρα εις το προσπαρακειμενον πυλονα αλλο δε απηλιωτικον νευον εις λιβα εις το
- 20 πυλονα και το υποπεσσιον ητοι τχρηρε εν δε τη δευτερα στεγη συμποσια δυο εν μεν νευον εις βορρα αλλο δε νευον εις λιβα εις το πεσσον μετα και των επανω αυτων δυο συμποσια ασκεπαστα εν τη τριτη στεγη εως αερος και ο πεσσος απο εδαφους εως αερος εισι δε γειτονες αυτης νοτο<sup>ν</sup> ρυμη δημοσια μεθ ην οικια Διο<sup>ν</sup> Ταγαριας βορρα οικια νυν Διο<sup>ν</sup> Ισακιου του και Ποσιου
- 25 απηλιωτο<sup>ν</sup> οικια Πετεροουτος Μαρτυριου και Τηρο<sup>ν</sup> Τηρονος γαμετης αυτο<sup>ν</sup> λιβος ρυμη δημοσια εις ην νευει η αυθεντικη αυτης θυρα απαξαπλως ακολο<sup>ν</sup>θως τη γεγενημενη ημιν περι το<sup>ν</sup>το<sup>ν</sup> πρασει ηνπερ σοι εξεδομεθα σοι εις πλεω τεραν σο<sup>ν</sup> ασφαλειαν η οι εαν ωσι γειτονες παντη παντοθεν καθως ϋπηγορευσαμεν ημεις οι αποδομενοι και ουδεν ημιν ῦπολελειπται απρατον
- I. For this method of dating cf. P. Flor. i. 15, and see the remarks in Klio, xiii, p. 162 f. The cross is on a separate fragment and on the verso of the papyrus. If it really belongs to this document the piece of papyrus in question was the first  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$ , which was always attached to the roll in the reverse way to the others. As regards the reading of the indiction it may be remarked that though the letters read are inferred only from the projecting upstrokes the reading is almost certain because no other word than  $\epsilon \kappa \tau \eta s$  seems to suit the traces. The  $\bar{\iota}$  after  $\Phi a \mu \epsilon \nu \omega \theta$  is probably followed by a second figure.
  - 3. Pωβην: apparently a variant form for Povβήν, Reuben.
- 4. το επιτηδευμα: cf. 1730, 5, ναύτης τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. Here too very possibly ναυτης should be read in l. 3, sailors being the class of civilians most numerously represented in these papyri.

 $T_{\sigma\nu\omega\tau\epsilon}$  :  $T_{\sigma\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon}$  and  $T_{\sigma\nu\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon}$  are also possible readings, but that in the text is the likeliest.

- 5. καταμένου τες: l. καταμένοντες; the reading is certain.
- 7. Thoudos: this is also the name of the mother of Jacob son of Dios-Pasaraei; but the Jacob here must be different, as

his father was Isaac and he is described as a drummer in the numerus.

- απο Συηνης: i.e. Syene was his origo.
- 8.  $O\mu o\lambda o\gamma o\nu \mu e\nu$ : the enlargement of the o seems to be deliberate, to mark the beginning of the document itself.
- 14. καμηλονος κτλ.: cf. Mon. i. 11, 23; 12, 18 f. The latter passage suggests that we ought to read των (ἀπὶ) Φιλων.
- 18.  $\beta oppa$ :  $\beta oppa$  instead of  $\beta oppav$  is not uncommon in these documents; cf. 1. 21 below.
- 19. 70: sic, both times.
- 20.  $\overline{\tau\chi\rho\eta\rho\epsilon}$ : the Demotic hrr; see Klio, xiii, p. 171 f. The word occurs also in Mon. i. 11, 27; 12, 22.
- 21. το πεσσον: πεσσός is masculine and the article is correctly written in l. 23 below.
  - 22. Ι. συμποσίων ἀσκεπάστων.
- 26. αυθεντικη αυτηs: a letter (probably s) has been washed out between these two words.
  - 27. σοι is repeated by mistake.
  - 28. γειτονες: the second ε corr. from ι.

- 30 εν τη προδεδηλουμενη οικια τιμης της προς αλληλους συμπεφωνημενης και συναρεσασης χρυσου δοκιμου νομισματιων παλαιοχαρακτων ευσταθμων δεκαοκτω γι/ χρ/ νο ϊη 9 ήνπερ τελειαν τιμην αυτοθι απεσχηκαμεν παρα σου του ωνουμενου ημεις οι πεπρακοτες εν τη ενεστωση ημερα δια χειρος εις χειρα ημων επι της αυτης Συηνης αριθμω και σταθμω
   35 πληρη προς το εντευθεν σε του ωνουμενού της προδεδηλουμενης οικιας εξ ολοκληρου απο εδαφους εως αερος κυριευειν και δεσποζειν
  - οικιας εξ ολοκληρο<sup>υ</sup> απο εδαφους εως αερος κυριευειν και δεσποζειν και διοικειν και οικονομειν και οικοδομειν και πωλειν και χαριζεσθαι και τεκνοις και εγγονοις διατασσειν και επιτελειν τα περι αυτης τροπω ω εαν αιρη ακωλυτως και ανεμποδιστως και μη εγκαλειν σοι μητ εγκαλεσειν μηθ'
- 40 ετερον τινά των εξ ημων ονοματος εν μηδενι καιρω κατα μηδενα τροπον αφορμη μηδεμια δια το ως προειπομεν απεσχηκεναι ημας παρα σου τελειαν την προγεγραμμενην τιμήν τον δε εγκαλεσοντα σοι η και αντιποιησομενον περι της προδεδηλουμενης οικιας εξ ολοκληρου απο εδαφους εως αερος η μερους αυτης ημεις οι πεπρακοτες αποστησομεν και καθαροποιησομεν
- 45 σοι ίδιοις ημων αναλωμασι και εξεδομεθα σοι τηνδε την πρασιν κυριαν ουσαν και βεβαιαν εφ υπογραφης του υπερ ημων υπογραφοντος και επερ/ρ/ ωμολογησαμεν και απελυσαμεν (2nd hand) ‡ Αυρηλιοι Ιακωβ Παειτος Ρωβην και η τουτου γαμετη Τσενδια Σουρτου οι προκ/ πεπρακαμεν την προκειμενην οικιαν εξ ολο κληρου απο εδαφους εως αερος και απεσχηκαμεν παρα σου την προγεγραμ
- 50 μενην τιμην ε νομισματιοις δεκαοκτω και βεβαιουμεν την πρασιν ως προκ/
  Φλί Φωτις Θαλασιου Αγουσταλι/ λεγί Συηνης αξιωθεις εγραψα ϋπερ αυτων γραμματα μη ειδοτων (3rd hand) \$\beta\$ Αυρηλιος Ιακωβ Ψεννησιου απο Συηνης μαρτηρω (4th hand) \$\beta\$ Φλί Διδυμος Σιλβανού απο βικαρ/ μαρτυρω (5th hand) \$+ Φλί Παπνοθις Διού στρ/ λεγί Συηνης μαρτυρω
- 55 (6th hand) Φλί Ϊωαννης Πααμ στρ/ λεγ, Συηνης μαρτυρω
  (7th hand) Φλί Μακαριος Ισακιου στρ/ λεγ Συηνυς μαρτυρω
  (8th hand) ‡ Φλί Αβρααμ Στεργοριο` απο ακτουαρ/ λεγί Φιλων μαρτυρω
  (9th hand) Φλί Μακαριος Ποσιου στρατιωτης λεγεωνος Συηνης μαρτυρω
  (10th hand) ‡ Φλί Παειων Ψαχωτος στρ/ λεγί Συηνης μαρτυρω

### 60 (1st hand) 🗜 Φλί Αβρααμις Παμητ κεντυρ/ λεγί Συηνης εσωματισα

31. παλαιαχαρακτων: cf. P. Mon. i. 15, 2; 16, 25.

different, but this is probably due to the use of a thinner pen.

60.  $\epsilon\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\alpha$ : for this word see Mon. i. 3, 21, note. This is probably in the same hand as the body of the document, though, as usual in scribal signatures, formed a little differently.

<sup>32.</sup> g: a mark of punctuation. The breathing over  $\eta\nu\pi\epsilon\rho$  is in the MS.

<sup>45.</sup>  $\pi pa\sigma w$ : another instance of  $\pi pa\sigma w$  as = document of sale, for which see Wenger on Mon. 4, 16 ff., against Mitteis, Grundzüge, p. 180.

<sup>47.</sup>  $P\omega\beta\eta\nu$ : the first two letters are written over a deletion.

<sup>48.</sup>  $\tau\eta\nu$ : the last letter looks like  $\mu$  but is probably  $\nu$ ; this writer forms several of his  $\nu$ 's rather like  $\mu$ .

<sup>50.</sup> ε: l. ἐν.

<sup>53.</sup> βικαρ/: probably βικαριανῶν, not βικαρίων; see Wenger, Mon. i. 8, 47, note. The witness there is the same person as in the present case; the hand does indeed appear somewhat

<sup>54.</sup> This witness also occurs in Mon. 8 (l. 44). Atou here is not certain but possible, and the reading is probably confirmed by the hand, as seen in the facsimile of Mon. 8.

<sup>55.</sup>  $\Pi aa\mu$ : the  $\mu$  is very doubtful.

<sup>56.</sup> Συηνυς: sic.

<sup>57.</sup> Στεργοριου: the name Στερκόριος (= Lat. Stercorius) occurs in CIG. iv. 9553, and the present is probably a variant form. The first letter is indeed rather more like  $\epsilon$  than  $\sigma$ , but Έτ- or Έγεργόριος is a very unlikely name.

#### PAPYRUS 1723.—7 Sept., A.D. 577.

Inv. No. 1801. Acquired in 1907. Syene. If the 0.03 in. 0.03 in. 0.04 in. In a square upright cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded perpendicularly to the fibres, perhaps from right to left.

A LOAN of 4 solidi, by a  $\kappa\nu\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\eta\tau\eta$ s whose name is lost and a woman named Anastasia, to Fl. Apa Dius (?), a soldier in the numerus of Syene. The money is not lent in equal shares; the man advances 3 s., the woman 1 s. The debtor pledges in security a quarter of a house; but no attempt is made, so far as appears, to fix the rights of the two creditors in proportion to the amounts lent by them. The possession of the property is given to them pending repayment of the loan; and as nothing is said of interest it is probable that this provision is intended as a substitute for it.

How the deed (and therefore presumably the property) came into the hands of Patermuthius, as we may probably assume that it eventually did, does not appear.

 $[ + \beta a \sigma i \lambda \epsilon i a s \tau ] o^{\nu}$   $\theta \epsilon i o \tau a \tau o v$   $\eta \mu \omega \nu$   $\delta \epsilon \sigma \pi o \tau o v$   $\Phi \lambda s$   $[ o v \sigma \tau i [ \nu ] o^{\nu}$  του  $a i \omega \nu i o v$   $\Delta v \gamma o v \sigma \tau o v$ [Αυτοκρατορος ετους δω]δεκατου τοις μετα την δευτεραν ύπατειαν του αυτου γαληνοτατου ημων 3 [δεσποτου ετους δεκατου] και Φλί Τιβεριου του ευτυχεστατου και φιλανθρωπωτατου ημων  $Ka[\iota]\sigma a\rho os$ [? μεγιστου ευεργετου] ετους τριτου  $\Theta\omega\theta$   $\ddot{i}$ της ενδεκατης ϊνδικ' εν Συηνη '-[Φλαουιος Απα Διος] Κυριακου μητρος Τσαχωτος στρα/ αριθμου Συηνης ]ιου κυβερνητη απο της αυτης Συηνης και Αυρηλια Αναστασια θυγατρι ]ας από της αυτης Συηνιτων χαιρειν ομολογω εσχηκεναι και μητρος [δεδανεισθαι παρ] υμών σημερον εις ϊδιαν μου αναγκαιαν χρειαν παρα σου μεν [..... χρυσου νομ]ισματια τρεια παρα σου δε Αναστασια χρυσου νομισματιον εν 10 [ζυγω Συηνης χρ]υσού δοκιμού νομισματία τέσσερα γι/ χρ/  $\nu^{o}$  δ ζυγω Συηνης [about 14 letters] as και ασφαλειας υπεθεμην υμιν λογω ενεχυρου και [? δικαιω υποθη]κη[ς] το ύπαρχον μοι τεταρτον μερος οικίας της μητρος μου [?τουτ εστι το . . .] . . [ον] μερος απ[ο τ]ης <math>[?αυ]λη[ςσυν] ε[ισο]δω [και] εξοδω και το λιβ[ικον][μερος . . . . . .] . . . . . . [. . . συμπο]σιο[υ εν] δευτερα στεγη κα[ι]15 [..... τ]ριτη στεγη [επ]ανω του συμ[ποσι]ο\ Τααμ [ω]στε τα προδεδηλουμ[ενα] 

1-4. For this dating clause see *Klio*, xiii, p. 162. The supplement in l. 1 is shorter than in succeeding lines, but καὶ ὑπατείαs is not required in view of l. 2. Probably the cross was made very large.

- δεκατου: see Klio, l.c.; Mon. 2, 8 ff., note. φιλανθρωπωτατου: sic.
- 4. The supplement from Mon. 2, 11, τοῦ φιλανθρωποτάτου καὶ εὐτυχεστάτου τρισμεγίστου εὐεργέτου Καίσαρας.
- 5. The name occurs in l. 26, but the reading there is not certain.
- 10.  $\gamma \iota / \text{was}$  probably not written before  $\chi \rho \iota \sigma \sigma \upsilon$ , as it occurs later in the line.
  - $\bar{\delta}$ : the stroke is not actually over the letter but to the right,

and is very short.

- II. We should expect rather και εις υμων ..... και ασφαλειαν, but ασφαλειας is certain, and the small traces before και suggest ας.
- 12. δικαιω υποθηκης: this is very doubtful both for the shortness of the supplement and for the unusual order, but the characters visible suggest  $\kappa\eta$ . The  $\eta$  indeed looks rather like  $\kappa$ /, but  $\eta$  before s is made in the same way elsewhere, e. g. in  $\Sigma v\eta v\eta s$  in 1. 6.
- 13.  $av\lambda\eta s$ : very conjectural, but it suits the space well, the upstroke suggests  $\eta$ , and the minute trace visible before it is consistent with  $\lambda$ .
  - 14.  $\epsilon \nu$ : there is not room for  $\epsilon \nu \tau \eta$ .

[? και υμας αυτοις χ]ρησασθαι αχ[ρ]ι συμπληρώ[σε]ως τω[ν π]ρογεγραμμενων [χρυσου δοκι]μου νομισματια τεσσερα:  $\ddot{\imath}$ [δ[ι]ώ μο\ κ[ινδυ]νω και εις  $\dot{\imath}$ μων [ασφαλειαν π]εποιημαι  $\dot{\imath}$ μιν τουτο το  $\dot{\imath}$ πο $\dot{\rho}$ ηκιμαι[ον γ]ραμματειον κυριο[ν]

20 [και βεβαιον απ]ανταχου πρ[ο]φερομενον μ[ε]θ' ῦπογ[ρα]φης του ὑπερ εμο<sup>υ</sup> [υπογραφοντο]ς και επερωτηθεις κατα πρ[οσ]ωπον ω[μο]λογησα κ, απελυσα **‡** 

- 22 (2nd hand) [+ Φλί Απα Διος Κυ]ρι[ακ]ου μητρος Τσαχω απο Συηνης [ο  $\pi$ ]ροκ/  $\epsilon\theta\epsilon$ μην ταυτην τ[ην]
- 23 [ασφαλειαν τεσσ]ερών νομισματια και στοιχει μοι  $[\pi]$ αντα ως προκ/ Φλί Παυλος  $[\dots, \sigma\tau\rho/\alpha\rho]$ θμ) Συηνης αξιωθεις εγρψα υπερ α $[\nu\tau\sigma]$  γραματα μη ειδοτ $[\sigma]$ ς
- 25 (3rd hand) [+ Φλ΄, Απα Διος] Μάρτιο` ακτουαριος αριθμου Συηνης [μα]ρτυρω η ασφαλεια [ακουσας παρ]α Απα Διος του και θεμενου ειποντος μ[οι] και παρουτος εν δη [μοσιω τοπω] + (4th hand) + Φλ΄, Πατερμουθεις Ϊωαννης στρα/ α[ριθ]μου Συηνης μαρτυρω + (5th hand) [+ Φλ΄, Μηνας?] Διδυμου στρ/ αριθμου Συηνης μα[ρτ]υρω + +

(1st hand?) [+  $\delta\iota$   $\epsilon\mu$ ov Map] $\kappa$ ov A $\pi$ [a]  $\Delta\iota$ o\  $\sigma\tau$ p/  $\alpha$ [p] $\iota\theta\mu^{ov}$   $\Sigma v\eta\nu\eta$ s  $\epsilon$ [ $\sigma$ ] $\omega\mu$ a $\tau\iota\sigma\theta\eta$  +

18. The supplement is rather short, but nothing else is required.

νομισματία τεσσερα:  $\emph{l.}$  νομισματίων τεσσέρων. The dot is in the MS.

22-24. This subscription is in a hand very like that of the body of the document, but there are some features which make it possible to take it as a different hand, and it seems unlikely that Paul wrote the document as well as the subscription, though the former may not actually have been written by Mark, who signs at the foot. Probably however it was.

23. νομισματια: sic.

24. At the beginning  $\Pi aa\mu$  (see Mon. 10, 27) would suit the space, but the hand is not the same as in the Munich document referred to.

εγρψα: sic.

25.  $\Phi\lambda(aovios)$  A $\pi a \Delta ios$  Ma $\rho\tau iov$ : from Mon. 1, 60. The reading here is not certain but suits the traces, and the hand is probably the same. It is therefore curious that in Mon. 1, dated in

A. D. 574, this witness describes himself as ἀπὸ ἀκτουαρίων. The soldier of this name in 1734, 29 is certainly different.

η: Ι. τῆ.

27. Ϊωαννης: Ι. Ἰωάννου.

28.  $M\eta\nu as$ : from Mon. 1, 59. But it is very uncertain whether the hand is really the same.

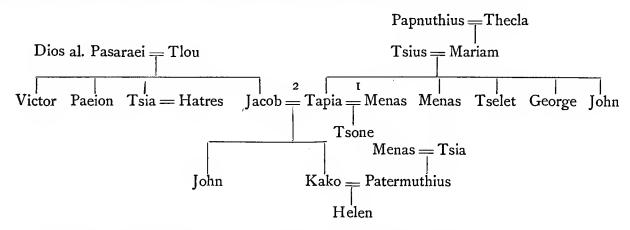
29.  $\text{Mapkov A}\pi a \Delta \omega v$ : in Klio, xiii, p. 169 this name was read as above, and the writer identified with the Mark son of Apa Dius who wrote or was responsible for 1728; 1730; 1731; Mon. 3; 10; 11. Probably however the hand of the present signature is different, and the Mark of the documents referred to is therefore presumably, as taken by Heisenberg and Wenger, a civilian. Hence the remarks in Klio, xiii, p. 168, § 5 must be cancelled. But the hand may very likely (though not certainly) be identical with that of the Fl. Mark son of Apa Dius of 1727, 65; 1729, 46; Mon. 4, 51; 9, 102. It seems likely that Mark actually wrote the document.

## PAPYRUS 1724.—A. D. 578-582.

Inv. No. 1797. Acquired in 1907. Syene. 4 ft.  $9\frac{3}{4}$  in. × 1 ft.  $0\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a large, easy, handsome cursive hand, with many flourishes, particularly at the beginning of the lines, across the fibres. In the subscriptions, and in one or two lines of the document itself, much of the ink has disappeared. In several places the upper layer of fibres (perpendicular) is defective, the under layer (horizontal) being visible. This was the original state of the roll, as the writing goes over these defective places. As the upper part is lost the papyrus was no doubt folded from the bottom upwards.

SALE by two sisters, Tsone and Tsere al. Tsia, daughters of Apa Dius and Rachel, to Patermuthius and his wife Kako, of parts of a house which had formerly belonged to their

great-grandfather.<sup>1</sup> This is the first appearance of the couple Patermuthius and Kako; but it is now unnecessary to say much of them and their family relationships, as reference can be made to Heisenberg's excellent account and genealogy in P. Mon. i, pp. 6–12, where also is summarized all that is known of Tsone and Tsere. It will however be well, for convenience of reference, to repeat the family tree given by Heisenberg, with an addition derived from 1733:—



As pointed out by Heisenberg (p. 11) the John of 1729, a monk, is probably, from Mon. 12 and 13, to be identified as a son of the Patechnumius who was  $\pi\rho\delta\pi\alpha\pi\pi\sigma$ s of the two vendors in the present document. He would therefore be great-uncle (H. 'Oheim') of the sisters. As he was also called Paptsius, whereas the John who in this document acts as guardian of the younger sister has a second name Kattas, the conjecture made in Klio, xiii, p. 166, that the latter was possibly the same as the John of 1729, becomes improbable.

The parts of the house sold are as follows:-

- In the first story a κελλίον.
- 2. In the second story the  $\sigma \nu \mu \pi \delta \sigma \iota \sigma \nu$  above the  $\kappa \epsilon \lambda \lambda \delta \sigma \nu$  just mentioned, a small  $\delta \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha$  above the  $\alpha \delta \theta \rho \iota \sigma \nu$ , and a third part of another small  $\delta \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha$ .
  - 3. A third part of the gateway and other συγκυροῦντα.

The dating clause being lost, the date of the document can be fixed only from the reference to the Emperor.

[και Ιωαν]νης ο και Καττας λεγομ[ενος αυλιζομενος εν τω μοναστηριω]
[Παμπα]νης τανυν δε εν τη [Συηνη ευρεθεις ο και αναδεχομενος]
[την γνωμην] και την πιστιν τ[ης αφηλικος Τσιας? αδελφης της προγεγραμ]
[μενη]ς Τσωνης εκ των αυτ[ων γονεων οι και εξης υπογραφεα παρε]

5 χοντες του υπερ αυτων υπογρ[α]φ[οντα και μαρτυρας τους εξης μαρ] τυρ[ουντα]ς ταυτη τη βεβαια πρασει Αυρηλιω Πατερ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Heisenberg (P. Mon. i, p. 11) says 'Grossvater', but the word is πρόπαππος.

<sup>1-4.</sup> For the supplements see ll. 72-75. There the younger sister is called  $T\sigma\epsilon\rho\eta$ , but in l. 10 f. we find  $T\sigma\iota\alpha s$   $\tau\eta s$   $\kappa(al)$   $T\sigma\epsilon\rho\eta s$   $\lambda\epsilon\gamma o\mu\epsilon\nu\eta s$ . There is not room for all that in l. 3, and as  $T\sigma\iota\alpha s$  is put first in l. 10 it seems likely to have been used here.

<sup>4.</sup> The small traces at the beginning do not suit  $\mu \epsilon \nu \eta s$  very well, and the reading must be doubted.  $\alpha \mu [\epsilon \nu \eta] s$  or perhaps

 $a\mu[\mu\epsilon\nu\eta]s$  could be read, but such a division of the word seems very improbable here, though it occurs in the subscription, ll. 78-79. Possibly  $\tau\eta s$  |  $a\nu\tau\eta s$  was written, but this also does not suit the traces very well.

<sup>6.</sup> Aurantia: the  $\omega$  is a correction, perhaps from a.

μουθιω υΐω Μηνα κ, τη τουτου ευνουστατη συμβιω Αυρηλια Κακω θυγατρι Ϊακωβου εκ μητρος Ταπιας ορμωμενοις απο τη[ς] αυτης Συηνης χαιρ/ ομολογουμεν ημεις οι προγεγραμμε[νοι] 10 Τσωνη και Ϊωαννης υπερ ονοματος Τσιας της κ, Τσερης λεγομενης δια το νεον της ηλικιας δια ταυτης ημων της εγγραφου ωνιακής ασφαλείας εκούντες και πεπεισμενοί ανευ παντος δολου και φοβου και βιας και απατης κ, αναγκης και συναρπαγης και οιασδηποτε κακονοίας και κακ[o]η $\theta$ είας 15 και παντος ελαττωματος και φαυλου διανοηματος και πασης νομιμο" περιγραφης αμα δε ομνυμεν[ο]ι κατα της αγιας και ομοουσιου Τριαδος και νικης και διαμονης των γαληνοτά και τροπαιουχων ημων δεσπος Φλαυϊων Τιβεριου και Αιλιας Αναστασιας των αιωνιων Αυγουστων και Αυτοκρατορων 20 πεπρακεναι υμιν σημερον και καταγεγραφηκεναι νομω πρασεως και αιωνια κατοχη και παντι πληρεστατω δεσποτειας δικαιω το υπαρχον ημιν μερος οικιας απο της οικιας λεγομενης Πατεχνουμιο του προπαππο ημων εν ω τω αυτω μερει οικιας εν μεν πρωτη στεγη κελλιον 25 εν εν τω πυλονι νευον επι βορρα και το επανω αυτο συμποσιον νευον επι βορρα εις την παραδρομιδα του πεσσου εν δευτερα στεγη και το μικρον δωμα επανω του αιθριου νευον επ απηλιωτην εις την μικραν αιθραν και το τριτον μερος ημων απο τ[ο]υ αλλου μικρου δωματος 30 επανωθεν του ακκουβιτου Ιακωβου Πασαραϊτος σου δη πατρος Κακω και σου δη Παθερμουθιου πενθερου και το τριτον μερος απο παντων των συγκυρουντων χρηστηριων του τε προθυρου και πυλονος και πεσσου κ, ημικλιβανου προς την μεχρι νυν κρατησασαν νομην τε και δεσποτειαν γειτονες δε της 35 απασης οικίας αφ ης πεπρακαμέν υμίν το αυτο ημών μερος εισιν ουτως νοτου η οικια Διου Κελωλ βορρα η δημοσια λαυρα εις ην ηνεωκται η αυθεντική κυρα λίβος η οικία  $\Delta \omega^{\nu}$ Τακαρης απηλιωτού η οικια Πατεροούτος οιοι δ' αν ωσι γειτονες παντη παντοθέν εκ τετραγωνο $^{v}$  και τετραπλευρο $^{v}$  καθως 40 υπηγορευσαμεν ημεις οι αποδομενοι εν στοματι τιμης της προς αλληλους συμπεφωνημένης και συναρέσασης επι συμφωνοις απαραβατοις χρυσο νομισματιων δεκα ζυγω Συηνης γι/ χρ/ ν° ϊ ζ $^{v}$ / Συηνς

<sup>11.</sup> λεγομενης: ης corrected from ous.

<sup>12.</sup> εκουντες: sic.

<sup>18.</sup> Φλαυΐων: sic.

<sup>20.</sup> υμιν: υ probably a correction.

<sup>23.</sup> λεγομένης: in l. 77 γενομένης is written, and very possibly λεγομένης here may be a slip of the pen. But the house may have been popularly called οἰκία Πατεχνουμίου.

<sup>28.</sup> aιθραν: apparently used in much the same sense as

αΐθριον.

<sup>37.</sup>  $\kappa\nu\rho a$ : altered from  $\theta\nu\rho a$  (certainly not  $\kappa\nu\rho a$  to  $\theta\nu\rho a$ ), presumably through a misapprehension.

<sup>38.</sup> Takapys: clearly a variant form of Tayapias in 1722, 24.

Πατεροουτος: by the time s was reached the writer's pen was beginning to run dry. Having dipped it in the ink he rewrote the s; in the rest of the line the ink is darker than in the earlier part.

εγκειμενην τελειαν τιμην αυτοθι απεσχηκοτες παρ ϋμων 45 των ωνουμενων δια χειρος εις χειρα ημων αριθμω κ, σταθμω πληρει και βεβαιωσωμεν υμιν την πρασιν παση βεβαιωσει δια παντος και απο παντος του επελευ σομενου ϋμιν κινδυνω ημων και πορω της μετρικης ημων υποστασεως της και ενεχομενης εις αποσοβησιν

50 και καθαροποιησιν ταυτης ημων της παρουσης βεβαιας πρασεως και εφ ω υμας απεντευθεν το<sup>υ</sup> αυτο<sup>υ</sup>, τριτου μερους κυριευειν και δεσποζειν και πωλειν και μετα πωλειν και οικειν και κατοικειν και οικοδομειν και εποικο δομειν κτασθαι χρασθαι παντι αρεσκοντι υμιν τροπω

55 ανεπικωλυτως και ανεμποδιστως τινος των εξ ονο ματος ημων η κατα γενος αγχιστευοντος μη δυνησομενο<sup>υ</sup> καιρω πωποτε η χρονω επιφυηναι ϋμιν η διαιταν καθ' υμων κινησαι δια το ημας δεδεχθαι και πεπλη ρωσθαι της εγκειμενης τιμης ει δε οπερ απει ασθενη

60 σωμεν περι την αποσοβησιν και καθαροποιησιν ταὑτης ημων της βεβαιας πρασεως εφ ω ημας επιγνωναι την εγκειμενην τιμην εν διπλω μετα και του επαναγκες ερρωσθαι την παρουσαν βεβαιαν πρασιν ηνπερ εθεμην υμιν κυριαν ουσαν και βεβαιαν και αρραγη

65 και ασαλευτον και εννομον απανταχου προφερομενην μεθ' υπογραφης το<sup>υ</sup> υπερ ημων υπογραφοντος κ, των εξης μαρτυρουντων και εις τα προγεγραμμενα παντα επερωτηθεντες ουτως εχειν ωμολογησαμεν και απε λυσαμεν \$\mathbf{L}\$ (2nd hand) \$\mathbf{L}\$ Αυρηλια Τσωνη θυγατηρ Ραχηλ εκ πατρος

70 Απα Διου ορμωμενη απο Συηνης μετα και του κυριου αυτης ανδρος Αυρηλιου Ισακιου υιου Κωσταντιου του και συνενουντος και συνευδοκουντος αυτη και Ϊωαννης ο και Καττας λεγομενος αυλιζομενος εν τω μοναστηριω Παμπανης τανυν δε εν τη Συηνη ευρεθεις ο και αναδεχομενος την γνώμην και την πιστιν της αφηλικος

75 Τσερης αδελφης της προκ[ειμ]ε[ν]ης Τσωνης εκ των αυτων γονεων `
πεπρακεναι υμιν σημερον το [υ]παρχον ημιν μερος οικιας απο οικιας
γενομενης Πα΄τε΄χνουμιου τ[ου] πρ[οπαππ]ου ημων και πεσχηκαμεν την τελειαν

44.  $\epsilon \gamma \kappa \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \nu \eta \nu$ : the first  $\nu$  (at which letter the scribe refilled his pen) corrected from  $\lambda$ .

48. μετρικηs: in the same sense as μετρίαs, 'modest'; cf. 1731, 30.

59. απει: Ι. ἀπείη.

60.  $\tau a v \tau \eta s$ : the meaning of the character over v is not clear. The v however is rather small, and perhaps the scribe intended this sign to take its place.

64. ϵθϵμην: l. ϵθϵμϵθα. Perhaps the scribe was using as his model a document in which there was a single vendor.

68. επερωτηθεντες; the scribe first wrote επερωτηθει (for -είς); see the preceding note.

70. του κυριου: a noteworthy instance of a κύριος for a woman at this period; see Wenger's notes on Mon. 1, 3; 7, 8-15.

71. συνενουντος: λ. συναινούντος.

72. Κατταs: in Klio, xiii, p. 166 this was read as Καυμᾶs or Κουττᾶs. The present reading was given by the subsequent discovery of the fragment containing ll. 1-2.

73. Παμπανης: this reading was separately suggested by Dr. Crum, who refers to Amélineau, Géographie de l'Égypte, p. 296 f. for a village of this name, and by M. Jean Maspero. In Klio, xiii, p. 166 Πανιπάνης was read. This and Παταπάτης are equally possible.

74. γνωμην: cf. Mon. i. 14, 12 and Wenger's note.

76. πεπρακεναι: Ι. πεπράκαμεν.

77.  $\pi \epsilon \sigma \chi \eta \kappa a \mu \epsilon \nu$ : sic, apparently; but it is just possible that the initial a was actually written, and that the ink has disappeared.

τιμην εν χρυσου νομισματιοις δεκά και στοιχει ημιν παντα τα εγγεγρ αμμενα ως προκ/ Ιωαννης Αβρααμιου ελαχπρεσβυτερ/ της το Θεου

80 αγιας εκκλησι/ Συηνης [α]ξ[ιω]θεις εγραψα υπερ αυτων εν δημοσιω τοπω γραμματα [μ]η ειδοτων ‡

(3rd hand) P Φλ, Διώψ Αλ[ε]ξανδρ[ου στρ/] αριθμου Σηνης μαρτυρω +

(4th hand) + Φλί Ατρης Πετρου στρ/  $\lambda \epsilon \gamma$ [ί]  $\Sigma[v]$ η[ν]η[ς] και απο βικαρ/ μαρτυρω +

85 (6th hand) 🗜 Φλί Ατρη Μαρ[κ?]ο αγουταλιο αριθμου Συηνης μαρτυρω 🗜

86 (7th hand) 🗜 Φλί Μακαριος νίος Ακ... στρ/ [αριθμί] Συηνης μαρτυρω τη πρασει ακουσας παρα των θεμενων

87 (8th hand)  $\mathbf{P}$  Φλ<sub>1</sub> Μουσαιος Ϊωαννο[υ . . . . αρι] $\theta[\mu]$  Συηνης μαρτυρω

(1st hand) 🗜 δι εμου Θεοφιλου ελα [δια]κο/ εγενετο 🗜

82. Διωψ: a curious name, but this is the likeliest reading.
85. αγαυταλιου: l. αὐγουστάλιος. στατιουαριου, which was suggested in Klio, xiii, p. 167, seems impossible, and, though the present reading is not certain (the first letter is more like σ than a, and it is doubtful whether any ink, completing the loop of a, has disappeared), the other letters strongly favour it.

86. Aκ...: the reading is doubtful, but Ισακων (1722, 56) seems impossible; moreover the hand is almost certainly different.

88. διακο(ναν): the reading is given by 1733, 73, where the hand is clearly identical with that of the present contract.

#### PAPYRUS 1725.—6 March, A. D. 580.

Inv. No. 1799. Acquired in 1907. Syene.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a compact, upright cursive, along the fibres; papyrus rubbed in the middle. Folded from right to left. Beginning of P. Mon. 3.

BEING the upper part of Mon. 3, this fragment was published with that document; but it seems advisable, for the sake of completeness, to repeat it here. For the continuation reference must be made to the Munich volume.

The document is an acknowledgement of a debt. The opening formula,  $\delta\mu o\lambda o\gamma\hat{\omega}$ ...  $\xi\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$  καὶ  $\chi\rho\epsilon\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$ , rather suggests a loan, but l. 12,  $\dot{\upsilon}$ ]π $\dot{\epsilon}\rho$  το $\dot{\upsilon}$  συμπεφωνημένου, shows that the debt is in respect of an agreement. The debtor is the husband of the creditor; and this fact suggests that the debt is for the donatio propter nuptias. The same view of its nature is now taken by M. J. Maspero in his introduction to Cair. Masp. iii. 67310; and the reading at the beginning of l. 13 (except σου, inserted for reasons of space) is due to his suggestion there. The present editor had previously conjectured, on the strength of 1711, 20,  $\sigma[\iota\iota$  προ  $\gamma$ αμου  $\delta\omega$ ρου]; but 67310 shows that  $\delta\omega$ ρων in 1711 is a mistake for  $\delta\omega$ ρεων, and the apparent  $\sigma$  is more probably  $\gamma$ , smudged at the foot.

₽ βα[σι]λειας και [υπα]τειας του θειοτατου ημων δεσποτου κα[ι] μεγιστου ε[υε]ργετου Φλαυϊου Τιβεριου Νεου Κων στυτινου το[υ] αιωνιου Αυγουστου Αυτοκρατορος ετους

1-4. Here Tiberius's reign is reckoned from his accession, and the reign coincides with the post-consulate. In 1726, as in Lond. iii. 774 (p. 280), the more usual method is followed of

dating from his proclamation as Caesar. 2-3. Κωνστντινο<sup>5</sup>: sic.

Φαμενωθ δεκατη της τρισκαιδεκατης ϊνδ/ εν Συηνη /--5 Αυρηλιος Ϊακώβ εκ πατρος Κωσταντιο εκ μητρος Μαριας να[υ]της απο Σ[υ]ηνης Αυρηλια Μαριαμ θυγατρι Αλλ[αμονος? μητρ]ος Ταπιας ορμωμενη απο της αυτ[ης Συηνης ? τη] μου συν Θεω συμβιω 10 χαιρειν ομ[ολογω εγω ο πρ]ογεγραμμενος Ϊακωβ δια ταυτης μ[ου της εγγρα]φου ασφαλειας εχειν και χρε[ωστειν σοι υ]περ του συμπεφωνημενο γ[αμικου σου εδνου] χρυσου δοκιμου νομισ μα[τια τρια ζυγω Συηνη]ς γι/ χρ/ νο γ ζ/ Συηνης απερ 15 τα [? προκειμενα χρυσ]ου νομισματια τρεια ζυγω κτλ. (Mon. 3)]

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

+ γρ/ γενομ/ π/ Ϊακωβου Κωστα[ντιου κτλ.

4. δεκατη: a trace at the end suggests that δεκατης may have been written. In Mon. i, p. 47 ths was omitted by an oversight on the part of the present editor.

8. Aλλαμονος: the reading is probable as the two λ's are almost

9. τη μου . . . συμβιω: the order is curious, but the reading seems indicated by the remains. For  $\mu \sigma \nu$  perhaps  $\epsilon | \mu \sigma \nu$ .

#### PAPYRUS 1726.—A. D. 581.

Inv. No. 1803 A. Acquired in 1907. Syene. Fragments, none of which contains a complete line. In a large rather sprawling hand, across the fibres. Beginning of P. Mon. 4.

ERE again the text has already been published in the Munich volume along with that of the document to which it belongs; but as some further readings have since then been arrived at it seems advisable to include it in this catalogue. The document is the sale of a boat.

του αιωνιου Αυγουστου και Αυτοκρ]ατορος ετους εβδομου

[υπατειας του αυτου ε]υσεβεστ[ατου ημω]ν δεσποτο<sup>ν</sup> ετους τριτο<sup>ν</sup>νδικτ]ιονος <math>ε[ν Συ]η[ν]η

5 [+ Φλί Πατερμουθιος εκ πατ]ρος Μηνα το [0] και λεγομενο [0] Βηννε [μητρος .... στρατιωτης τειρων αριθ]μο Συηνης και από της αυτης[Συηνης ορμωμένος ο και εξης υ]πογραφέα παρέχω[ν] τον υπέρ αυτου

[υπογραφοντα και μαρτυρας κτλ.  $] \dots \eta[.]$ 

τηδε τη ωνιακη ασφ]αλεια

Αυρηλιω Μηνα υϊω

6. It seems likely that the mother's name was stated, though the supplement given by Heisenberg and Wenger disregards it. The space is larger by at least 4 letters than in the previous line, where besides the cross and the mark of abbreviation after  $\Phi\lambda$ we have 19 letters, or 1. 7, where we have 24. If therefore the

mother's name was a short one there is room for it; or στρατιώτης may have been abbreviated.

8-9. Heisenberg and Wenger read [υπογραφούτα και μαρτύρας τους εξης κατ επιτροπην αυτου] | [προσμαρτυρουντας τηδε τη ωνιακη  $a\sigma\phi$ ] aleia. The  $\eta$  visible at the end of 1. 8 suggests  $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\rho\sigma\pi\eta\nu$ , 10 [Παυλου μητρος Σουσαννας απο Ομβων ορμωμενω κ]αι τη τουτου σ[υ]μβιω ]... $\lambda$ .  $\iota o[v] \in \kappa \mu[\eta \tau] \rho[o]$  Pax $\eta \lambda \alpha \pi o O \mu \beta \omega v$ [χαιρειν ομολ]ογω εγω ο προγεγραμ[μ]ενος Πατερμουθιος  $[εκων και πεπεισμένος α]νευ πάντος δολ[ο]<sup>ν</sup> κ[αι] <math>φ[ο]βο^ν$  κ[αι κτλ.

but though the letter before it may well be  $\pi$  the rest of the word is hard to reconcile with the traces. In mounting, the fragment containing ll. 9 and 10 was placed above that containing

10. Heisenberg and Wenger read [Παυλου . . απο Ομβων ορμωμενω και .....], but the mother's name (which, as well as the

father's, is got from Mon. 5 recto) may probably have been inserted.

13. For the continuation of the formula see, e.g., 1727, 23 f.; but Mon. 4, I and 2, which follow this line immediately, show that the formula was here even more wordy than usual.

#### PAPYRUS 1727.—A. D. 583-584.

Inv. No. 1796. Acquired in 1907. Syene. About 3 ft.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{3}{8}$  in. Fragmentary at the top. In an upright, open, rather broken cursive hand, across the fibres; papyrus of good quality. Folded from the bottom upwards. See Klio, xiii, p. 170 f.

THIS document belongs in the main to the class called by Mitteis, Grundzüge, p. 246, Elterliche Teilung (c). The parties are the Patermuthius and Kako who occur so often in these papyri, and the agreement refers to the disposition of their property after the death of one or both of them. It provides that in case of the death of either the survivor shall inherit all the property, real and personal, of the deceased, whether acquired by inheritance  $(a\pi \delta \gamma o\nu \epsilon \omega \nu \delta \iota a\delta o\chi \hat{\eta}s)$ , purchase (ἀπὸ ἀγορασιαστικοῦ δικαίου), or personal effort (ἀπὸ ἱδρώτων καμάτων), their children having no claim on any of it during the survivor's lifetime; and that after the death of both parties the whole of the property shall be divided equally among the children, no child being favoured at the expense of the others. Disinheritance and a fine of 12 solidi is the penalty for any attempt on the part of the children or any other person to dispute or set aside the agreement. The formulae partake of the character of those usual in wills. The syntax of the document is very uncertain. Dots are inserted in several places, apparently for punctuation.

[ + βασ]ιλείας του θειοτ[ατου ημων δεσ]ποτο<sup>ν</sup> Φλαυϊο<sup>ν</sup> <math>[Tι]βεριο<sup>ν</sup> Μαυρικίου του αιωνιου Α[υγουστου και] Αυτοκρατορος ετους δευ[τερου  $\epsilon \nu \sum \nu \eta \nu \eta$ 

Αυρηλιοι Πατερμουθις υίος Μηνα μητρος Τσίας μ[αυτης απο Συηνης και] Τκακω η τουτου συμβιος θυ[γατ]ηρ Ϊακωβο[ν] μητρος Ταπι[ας] 5 [ορμωμενη απο Συηνης οι κα]ι εξης υπογραφεα παρεχοντες [τον υπερ αυ]των υπογραφοντα και μαρτυρας τους εξης κατ επιτρο

but 1731, of 20 Sept. in the same year, reverts to the earlier order. In P. Lond. 1326 B ined., of the Emperor's first year, we find Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου.

<sup>1.</sup> Τιβεριου Μαυρικιου: the order of these names varies in be drawn. Thus 1730, of 22 Aug., A.D. 585, has Μαυρικίου first; dating clauses of Maurice. It is characteristic of the earlier years (down to about 585-586) to place Τιβερίου first, as here, and of the later years to reverse the order, but no rigid line can

[πην κα]ι [α]ιτησιν και αξιωσιν μαρτυρουντας τηδε τη ομολογια χαιρειν επειδηπερ συνζευχθημεν αλληλοις εις γαμον κοινωνιαν

- 10 ου την τυχουσαν αναπαυσιν και θαλψιν ενδεικνυμενοι αλληλοις αναπαυοντες και θαλποντες και δουλευοντες και υπακουοντες και υποταττοντες απλως εν μηδενι παρεπικρινοντες αλλα εν υποταγη παση τοινυν ευλαβου μενοι μηποτε παρα προσδοκιαν ημων τινα εξ ημων
- 15 τελει του βιο<sup>ν</sup> χρησαμενον και των ενταυθα του κοσμου επαναχωρησαι πραγματων και ευρεθειη τον ζωντα υστερου μενον παρα των αμφοιν ημων τεκνων οθεν νοοντες φρονουντες λογισμους εχοντες ερρωμενας τας διανοιας τας φρενας απαθεις τας αισθησεις υγιεις επι ποδων
- 20 βαδιζοντες επ αγοραις παρερχομενοι εις ταυτην την εγγραφον ομολογιαν δι ης ομολογουμεν ημεις οι προ γεγραμμενοι εκοντες και πεπειμενοι διχα παντος δολου και φοβου και βιας και απατης και αναγκης και συναρπαγης και κολακιας και μηχανης και κακοηθειας και ελαττω
- 25 ματος παντος δις τρις βουλευσαμενοι ως ειη μεν ημας ζωντας και υγιαινοντας εναπολαυειν χρησομεθα παντων των επαν δε παρασταιη τω των ολων δεσποτη Χριστω οπερ απειη τινα: εξ ημων τελει του βιο<sup>ν</sup> χρησασθαι εφ ω τον ζωντα
- 30 εχειν και κατεχειν παντων των καταλειφθησομενων πραγματων υπο το<sup>υ</sup> τετελευτηκοτος τα περιελθοντα εις αυτον απο γονεων διαδοχης και απο αγορασιαστικο<sup>υ</sup> δικαιο\ και απο ϊδρωτων καματων εν τε οικιαις και χρυσοις και αργυροις και χαλκοις και οριχαλκοις και εσθημασι και υφασμασι και παντοις λεπτοις
- 35 ειδεσι απο μεγαλο\ ειδους μεχρι ελαχιστο τινος και τουτων

9. συνζευχθημεν: sic.

γαμον: Ι. γάμων οτ γάμου.

- 12. υποταττοντές: ατ perhaps a correction.
- 13.  $\pi a \rho \epsilon \pi \iota \kappa \rho \iota \nu \rho \nu \tau \epsilon s$ : the first  $\epsilon$  is much more like a, but probably it is an  $\epsilon$  and not an a, for the  $\epsilon$  of  $\epsilon \pi \iota$  in l. 55, which is certain, is formed in a very similar way.
- ευλαβουμενοι κτλ.: cf. the preamble in Cair. Masp. ii. 67151, particularly l. 36 f. But there the more natural ὑπαναχωρῆσαι is used instead of ἐπαναχωρῆσαι, as here.
- 17. τεκνων: τεκ is written over a deletion. The original letters were washed out.
- νοοντες: *l.* νοοῦντες. What follows finds several analogies in Cair. Masp. 67151.
- 18. Punctuate φρονοῦντες λογισμούς, ἔχοντες ἐρρωμένας τὰς διανοίας; unless ερρωμένας is an error for ερρωμένους, in which case ἔχοντες will govern λογισμούς, but the other interpretation is favoured by Lond. i. 77 (p. 232 ff.) = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 319, 11 and Mon. 8, 8.
- 20.  $\epsilon \pi$  ayopais: Cair. Masp. 67151, 30; Lond. 77, 12 have  $\epsilon \pi$  ayopas, but here the at seems certain.  $\pi o \rho \epsilon \rho \chi \delta \mu \epsilon \nu o t$ , in spite of the succeeding space (which is perhaps not intentional), must go

- with είς ταύτην κτλ. It should of course be παρερχόμεθα.
  - 22. πεπειμένοι: sic.
- 26. χρησομεθα: a very confused construction. It should be καὶ χρήσασθαι. The dot is no doubt intended to show that the reading is χρησόμεθα πάντων and not χρησόμεθ' ἀπάντων.
- 29. τινα: the dot is probably intended to separate the two yowels.
- 30.  $\kappa a \tau \epsilon \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$ : not  $\mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$  as the genitive construction might suggest, though the  $\kappa$  looks rather like a large  $\mu$ .  $\kappa$  is formed similarly in several cases in this document.
- 31. τα περιελθουτα: *l.* τῶν περιελθόντων to agree with πραγμάτων.
- 32. αγορασιαστικου: cf. Mon. 4, 16. The present instance probably shows that the word there is correctly written and not a scribal error, as Heisenberg is inclined to believe.
- 33.  $\kappa a \mu a \tau \omega \nu$ : perhaps genitive after  $i \delta \rho \omega \tau \omega \nu$ ; but possibly  $\kappa o i$  has been accidentally omitted.  $\epsilon \nu$  is written over a deletion. Traces of  $\bar{\imath}$  are visible; possibly the scribe began to repeat  $\bar{\imath} \delta \rho \omega \tau \omega \nu$ .
  - 34.  $\pi a \nu \tau o is$ : l. probably  $\pi a \nu \tau o i o is$  (not  $\pi \hat{a} \sigma i$ ).

κατακυριευειν και δεσποζειν και διοικειν και οικειν και φιλοκαλειν και εξ αυτων τρεφεσθαι και ϊματιζαι και κηδευσαι και εκτελεσαι τας προσφορας του αποθανοντος μηδενος των τεκνων ημων δυνομενου μητε δυνησομενου επελευσασθαι τω ζωντι

- 40 η εγκαλειν η λογοθετησαι η κωλυομενο<sup>ν</sup> αχρι τελευτης αυτο<sup>\</sup> και μετα την τελευτην εφ<sup>'</sup> ω απαντα τα υφ ημων καταλειφθησο μενα πραγματα σταλησεται εις τα κοινα ημων τεκνα εξ<sup>'</sup> ισομοιριας και μη διαφοραν τεκνω παρα τεκνον ποιησασθαι και ει οφθειην χρεωστων ο τετελευτηκως η και χρεωστο<sup>ν</sup>μενος εφ ω την
- 45 πασαν δοσολημψιαν ποιησασθαι υπερ αυτο αχρι τελευτης αυτο και μετα την τελευτην παν το πακτον επαναδραμειν εις τα αυτα κοινα ημων τεκνα ει δε τις εθελησειεν εκ των τεκνων ημων η αλλος επελευσασθαι τω ζωντι η αθετησαι η παραβηναι η παρασαλευσαι ταυτην ημων την αλληλομολογιαν
- 50 η διαιταν κινειν εφ ω τον επελευσομενον πρωτον μεν αλλο τριον και ακληρον εσεσθαι της παντοιας υποστασεως του επιχειρουντος πάραβαινειν επειτα επιγινωσκει λογω προστιμο<sup>υ</sup> χρυσου νομισματα δωδεκα εργω και δυναμει απαιτο<sup>υ</sup>μενα εκ της υποστασεως το παραβαινοντος μετα και του μεν ισχυειν κατα
- 55 των εγγεγραμμενων αλλα ερρωσθαι αυτα επι το παντει √ και προσεπι τουτοις πασι επωμοσαμεθα τον θειον και σεβασμιον ορκον το<sup>ν</sup> παντοκρατορος Θεο<sup>ν</sup> και της νικης και διαμονης των γαληνοτατων ημων δεσποτων μη παραβάινειν τα προδεδηλουμενα διαστολα και προς ημων ασφαλειαν ταυτην εξεδομεθα την αλληλομολογιαν
- 60 κυριαν ουσαν και βεβαιαν κ<sub>1</sub> εννομον απανταχου προφερομενην μεθ υπογραφης το υπερ ημων υπογραφ/ κ<sub>1</sub> των εξης μαρτυρουντων και επερωτί ωμολογησαμεν + (2nd hand) \$\begin{align\*} \P Αυρηλιος Πατερμουθις υϊος Μηνα μητρος Τσιας ναυτης απο Συηνης και η τουτο<sup>ν</sup> συμβιος Αυρηλια Τκακω θυγατηρ Ϊακωβου μητρος Ταπιας ορμωμενοι εν Συηνη οι προκ/ εθεμην την παρουσαν αλληλ'ομολογιαν
- 65 και στοιχει ημιν παντα τα εγγεγραμμενα ως προκ/ Φλί Μαρκος Απα  $\Delta$ ιο $^{v}$  στρ/ αρι $\theta\mu^{o-}$

<sup>37.</sup> ιματιζαι: sic; cf. 1729, 27, note.

<sup>38.</sup>  $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\phi\rho\rho\alpha$ s: for this word see Wenger's note on Mon. 8, 5.

<sup>39.</sup> δυνομενου: a not uncommon form at this time for δυναμένου; see Heisenberg's note on Mon. 13, 52, and add to his reference Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Gramm.* §§ 774, 937, etc. §

<sup>40.</sup> κωλυομενου: Ι. κωλύειν.

<sup>41–42.</sup> ε $\phi$  ω... σταλησεται: a confusion of the two constructions ε $\phi$ ,  $\dot{\phi}$ ... σταληναι and the indicative σταλήσεται.

<sup>43.</sup> οφθειην: Ι. ὀφθείη.

<sup>45.</sup> δοσολημψιαν: 'giving and receiving'; i.e. the surviving party shall collect all assets and discharge all liabilities.

<sup>46.</sup> πακτον: pactum. It generally means 'rent'; in Oxy. i. 138, 27, 44 it refers to a salary; but in the present case the meaning seems rather to be 'interest'; i.e. the interest of any outstanding debts shall come in due course to the children.

<sup>50.</sup> επελευσομενον: the last ν is a correction, perhaps from υ.

<sup>51.</sup> υποστασεως: υπ written over a deletion. τοῦ ἐπιχειροῦντος

παραβαίνειν is perhaps due to a confusion with the following clause (ἀπαιτούμενα κτλ.); what is intended is that the offender shall be ἄκληρος in the inheritance of Patermuthius and Kako, but the passage may be correct if ὑποστάσεως means the offender's share in the inheritance.

<sup>52.</sup> επιγινωσκει: Ι. ἐπιγινώσκειν.

<sup>54.</sup> του  $\mu$ εν: after this l. ( $\mu$  $\dot{\eta}$ ). Or perhaps  $\mu$ έν was miswritten for  $\mu$  $\dot{\eta}$ .

<sup>55.</sup> εγγεγραμμενων: εγ corr. from προ.

eπι το παντει  $\sqrt{:}$  l. ἐπὶ τῷ παντί, with a mark to fill in the line? το παντει is a practically certain reading, but as the letters are cramped together it is curious that the scribe should have had to resort to a filling-in mark. Perhaps the mark is inserted less with that object than as a sign of punctuation, at the end of the sentence.

<sup>64.</sup>  $a\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda' o\mu o\lambda o\gamma \iota a\nu$ : the first part is corrected. The scribe seems originally to have written  $a\lambda\lambda\lambda\eta$  by inadvertence.

```
Συηνης αξιωθεις εγραψα υπερ αυτων παροντων και ειποντων μοι γραμματα
     μη ειδοτων \mathbf{P} (3rd hand) Φ
     Φλαυίος Κυρος Ιωανου κεντυριων αριθμίς Συηνης μαρτυρω 🗜
     (4th hand) 🗜 Φλ, Ιωαννης Πατερμουθιου απο βικαρ/ αριθμου Σηυνης μαρτυρω 🗜
70 (5th hand) + Θεοφιλος \epsilon \lambda^{o} / \delta i \alpha \kappa^{o} / \mu \alpha \rho \tau \nu \rho \omega τη ομολογία αιτηθείς παρά των θεμένων
     (6th hand) 🗜 Φλί Ατρης Βικτωρ στρ<sup>α</sup>/ αριθμό Συηνης μαρτυρω
     (7th hand) 🗜 Φλί Ϊωαννης Κολουθος κεντηριων αριθμου Συηνης μαρτυρω
     (Ist hand) + δι εμο Αλλαμονος Πετρο απο βικ/ εγράφη +
Endorsed, along the fibres:-
    (8th hand?) + αλληλομολογι/. [...]τι Πατερμ\bar{\theta}ι\bar{\theta}ι\bar{\theta} [και Τκακω +] + +
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66.  $\epsilon \gamma \rho a \psi a^* \nu \pi \epsilon \rho$ : the dot seems intended to separate the the reading seems to be  $B \iota \kappa \tau \omega \rho^a \sigma \tau \rho$ . No doubt, however, it is vowels rather than to go over v.

ειποντων μοι: cf. 1701, 12, note.

67. Φ: no more was written. Probably this is the same hand as in 1. 68, the witness having begun to write here and been directed by Allamon to start a new line.

69. Σηυνης: sic, or, less likely, Συηυνης.

70.  $\epsilon \lambda^{\circ}$  if the character above  $\lambda$  is really meant for  $\circ$  read  $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda(\dot{a}\chi\iota\sigma\tau)o(s).$ 

71. Birtwo  $\sigma\tau\rho^{\alpha}/:$  the  $\alpha$  is written over the  $\sigma$  of  $\sigma\tau\rho/$  so that

merely misplaced. It is so written also in 1729, 50; Mon. 3, 19; 4, 52 (see the facsimiles).

73. It is almost, but not absolutely, certain that Allamon was the writer of the body of the document. This is supported by 1729, which is certainly in the same hand as the present

74. . [...] $\tau_i$ : the first letter might be  $\nu$ . Before  $\tau_i$  projects a long stroke to the right, suggesting either e or a sign of abbreviation (/).  $\mu[\epsilon \tau a]\xi v$  is quite impossible.

#### PAPYRUS 1728.—8 March, A. D. 584 or 585.

Inv. No. 1792. Acquired in 1907. Syene. I ft.  $o_8^3$  in.  $\times$  7 in. In a small upright cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus much rubbed in places. Folded from right to left.

THIS is one of a series of agreements or arbitrations between John son of Jacob and the other members of the family concerning the inheritance left by his father, for which see Heisenberg's introduction to Mon. i and the various documents contained in that volume. The relation of the present agreement, which is between John and his sister Kako, to the others is not clear, though the boat and possibly the house here mentioned are referred to in Mon. 7, which precedes this in date. The house may, however, be different, as in Mon. 7 John expressly abandons all claim to the μέρος οἰκίας. The tenor of the present document is obscured in details by mutilation, but the general sense is clear. John abandons all his claims touching the matters in dispute except to certain deeds (γραμματεία), a house, and part of a boat. As the ξύλα and ἱστάριον are mentioned, it appears that the halves of the boat mentioned in Mon. 7 were 'real', not 'ideal' halvesa curious system of divided ownership.

There is an inconsistency in the dating clause between indiction and regnal year. As it is equally difficult to imagine a scribe writing the third year five months before it began or the second indiction nine months after the third had begun, there is nothing to choose a priori between correcting the one and correcting the other. Since John is here called a tiro and is known to have been a soldier on 23 June, 583 (Mon. 7), 584 is perhaps a more likely date than 585; but no great confidence can be placed in this argument.

[+ βα]σιλειας του θε[ιο]τατο κα[ι] ευσεβ[εσ]τατου ημων δεσ[πο]τ[ου]
[Φλς Μα]υρικιου Τιβε[ρ]ιου του αιωνιου Α[υ]γουστου Αυτοκρατορος
[και] μεγιστου ευεργετου ετους τριτου Φαμενωθ δωδεκατη
[τ]ης δευτερας ϊνδικ/ εν Συηνη >

5 [Φλ/] Ιωάννης νιος Ιακωβο μητρος Ταπιας στρ/ τειρων λεγι[ων]ος
 [Σνη]νη[ς +] Αυρηλια Κακω ίδια μο ομογνησια αδελφη
 [ορμ]ω[μεν]η απο της αυτης Συηνης ¾ φιλονεικειας γεναμενης
 [μετ]αξυ ημών χαριν κοινωνιμαιων πραγματων εδοξεν ημιν
 [...]εσ[...]σαι μοι ορκομοσιας των αγιων ευκτηριων κ, τουτο ... ας

[...]...[...]αν κατα τουτο ομολογω μηκετι μηδενά λογον προς [σ]ε
 [εχ]ιν [κοιν]ονομιαιων πραγματων παρεξ των γραμματειών
 [...]ν[...]οντων κ, της οικιας κ, των ξυλων το[υ] πλοιου
 [ασ]φ[αλ]ειαν περι τουτου κατα τουτο ομολογώ ομνυων

[κατ]α τ[η]ς ομοουσιου Τριαδος μη εξειναι μοι ποτε κηρ[ω]
 [πραγ]ματών ει δε δοξειεν ημιν εναγειν σοι μηδεν μεν
 [ωφελη]σει παρεξει δε λογω προστιμου παραβασεως
 [χ]ρυσου ν[ομ]ισματα τρεια ζυγω Συηνης εργω και δυναμει

20 [απ]αιτουμενα εκ της εμης ϋποστασεως και εις σην ασφ[αλ]ειαν [εθ]εμην την ασφαλειαν κυριαν ουσαν και βεβαιαν μεθ υπο [γρ]αφης του ὑπερ εμου ὑπογραφοντος και επερωτηθεις [ω]μολογησα ‡ (2nd hand) Φλ΄ς Ιωαννης υιος Τακωβου ο προγε [γρ]αμμες εθεμην την αμεριμνειαν κ, στοιχ[ει] μοι

25 [πα]ντα τα εγγεγραμμενα ως προ"/ + Θεοφιλο[ς] Παει[ον]ος
 [ελα] διακο/ αιτηθεις εγραψα ϋπερ αυτου γραμμας μ[η ει]δοτος
 (3rd hand) [+] Φιβ υιος Φαυστσαν ανακνωτιν.... αι
 [εν] τιμοσιω μαρτηρος

(4th hand?) +  $\delta \iota \epsilon \mu o \nu Ma \rho \kappa o \Lambda \pi a \Delta \iota o \nu \epsilon \gamma \rho /$ 

6.  $\Sigma \nu \eta \nu \eta s$  +: the cross is supplied because the space is too large for s only. But perhaps a blank space was left.

10. ]αν: οτ ]ων.

προς  $\sigma \epsilon \in \chi_{\ell}\nu$ : due to a suggestion by Prof. Hunt; but  $[\sigma]\epsilon$  is very doubtful. For the omission of  $\tau \omega \nu$  before κοινονομιαιών cf. l. 8.

11. κοινονομιαιων: sic, apparently.

13.  $\langle \eta \tau \eta \sigma as :$  probably the construction is ungrammatical;  $\langle \eta \tau \eta \sigma as :$  brobably the genitive absolute, referring to Kako, not in the nominative, referring to John, the meaning being 'since you have asked me for a written security concerning this, I herewith agree', etc. Hence the reading  $\epsilon \gamma \gamma \rho a \phi o \nu$ , which, though fairly likely, is not certain. There seems to be a stroke through  $\phi$ , as though for abbreviation.

15. ποτε: l. μήποτε; but the reading which follows is very doubtful.

16. την αυτην κληρονομιαν: apparently altered from της αυτης κληρονομίας.

18. ωφελησει: σει is a very doubtful reading; ν does not appear to have been written, but both ώφελήσειν and παρέξειν must be read.

23 ff. The subscriptions are in paler ink than the body of the document.

27. The hand of this witness is exceptionally bad.

Φιβ υιος: ΟΓ Φιβηος, i. e. Φίβιος.

Φαυστσαν: l. Φαυστου, taking αν as accidentally written twice

ανακνωτιν: perhaps for ἀναγνώστης, but what follows can hardly be read as εκκλησιας. The form ανακνωτιν cannot be regarded as impossible in the case of a witness clearly ignorant of Greek.

28. εν τιμοσιω μαρτηρος: Ι. έν δημοσίω μαρτυρώ.

29. Though described as the 4th hand, this may possibly be the 1st, i. e. that which wrote the document, but it is very difficult to decide. The hand is certainly different in formation from that of the document, but this is not in itself a decisive objection (see note on 1661, 29). If all the documents signed by this Mark (1725 + Mon. 3; 1730; 1731; Mon. 10; 11) could be taken with certainty as either in different hands or in the same hand the question would be easier to decide; for in the one case it would be clear that Mark did not always write his

#### PAPYRUS 1729.—12 March, A. D. 584.

Inv. No. 1787. Acquired in 1907. Syene. 2 ft.  $10\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft. 1 in. At the foot  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. blank papyrus. In the same hand as 1727, across the fibres; papyrus of not very good quality, and the ink seems to have run in places, as though the surface had been wet when the document was written; perhaps therefore a palimpsest, but this is unlikely as there seems to be no trace of previous writing. Folded from the bottom upwards.

HIS document is of a somewhat mixed character. In part it is a declaration made with a view to forestalling expected legal proceedings by a third party; but in part it is of the same character as Mon. 8, which Wenger describes as a 'Schenkung auf den Todesfall'. John, a monk of Syene, for whom see the introduction to 1724, has recently (πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, which, however, must not be taken too literally; see Mon. i, p. 7) sold to Jacob, the father of Kako and father-in-law of Patermuthius, certain house property. The price he has received, not from Jacob, but from Patermuthius and Kako; probably therefore the sale took place very shortly before Jacob's death, and his daughter and son-in-law obtained the property in question by themselves paying the price for it in lieu of Jacob. John states that the money he received for the property has been spent by him for expenses incurred owing to illness; and now that he is destitute he has been maintained and looked after by Patermuthius. Having therefore heard that the sons of Constantius (for whom see Heisenberg, Mon. i, p. 11; Bell, Klio, xiii, p. 166) intend, after his death, to make a claim against Patermuthius (i.e. probably for the property sold by John to Jacob), he declares, under oath, that he has not given or sold anything to Patermuthius (and therefore has no claims on him), but that on the contrary he is indebted to him for his maintenance. Finally, he proceeds to convey to Patermuthius the reversion of whatever property he may leave at his death.

A curious feature of the document is that it was originally addressed to some other person than Patermuthius. Various pieces of evidence (see l. 9 and notes on ll. 7 and 16) combine to show that this person was Tapia, the wife of Jacob.

The property to which reference is here made may be that referred to in Mon. 12, 30; 13, 26. The grammar of the document is throughout erratic in the extreme, and the constructions so confused as to make the sense in several places far from clear. In the text corrections are marked by thicker type.

+ βασιλείας του θειστατου ημων δεσποτο" Φλαυϊο" Τιβεριό Μαυρικίου του αιωνίου Αυγουστου και Αυτοκρ[ατ]ορος ετους δευτερο" Φαμενωθ εκτη και δεκατη της δευτερας ϊνδ/ Ϊωαννης υϊος Πατεχνουμιο" ελαχιστος μοναζων απο της Συηνης ορμωμενος ο και εξης υπογραφεα παρεχων τον υπερ αυτου

documents himself, and in the other it would be a little improbable that in all the documents preserved he should have employed a deputy, and that in each case the same person. Unfortunately, however, it is hardly possible to settle the matter with complete certainty. In some cases the hands, at first sight, appear very different, e.g. Mon. 10 and 11, while Mon. 10 may

well be the same hand as 1728 and 1730; but there are certain forms common to all the documents; and, since the same writer may easily vary the style of hand according to the length of the document, it is perhaps a little unsafe to assume a difference of hands.

υπογραφοντα και μαρτυρας τους εξης μαρτυρουντας τηδε τη ομολογια Αυρηλιω Πατερμόθιω υίω Μηνατος ναυτη· απο της αυτης χαιρειν επειδηπερ προ ολιγων Συηνης ορμωμενω ημερων επραθην  $\llbracket \sigma ο \iota \ \kappa \alpha \iota \rrbracket \ \tau \omega \ \mu \alpha \kappa \alpha \rho \iota \omega \tau \alpha \tau \omega \ \sigma o^{\nu} \ \llbracket \alpha [\nu \delta] \rho \iota \rrbracket \ I \alpha \kappa \omega \beta \omega \ \tau \alpha$ 10 υπαρχοντα μοι μερη οικηματων εξ εγγραφο πρασεως και της τουτων τιμης εσχηκα παρ υμων προς την δυναμιν της παρ εμο\ πρασεως την τουτων τιμην και ανηλωσα εις τας αναγκαιας μου χρειας και συνεβη με ενπεσω εις νοσον εδεηθην πολλα αναλωματα και ουχ εχω τον 15 επιμελουμενον μοι μηδε τον διαθρεψαντα με ει μη σε τον προγεγραμμενον Πατερμόθιν αναπαυοντα μοι και θαλποντα μοι και δουλευοντα μοι και την πασαν μου ζωαρκη χρειαν απλως εν μηδενι λυπουντα με μητε \ε'ν λογω μητε εν εργοις ουδεν δη που αλλα και πολλα δαπανηματα οικοθέν σου ανηλωσας μοι έν τω 20 νυν ή εγονοτι λιμω ωστε ουκ εχω στοματι ουτε ϊκανη τη γλωσση μου αφηγησασθαι το καθ εκαστον των πολλων παρα σο ευποιηματών το δεσποτο ικανου οντος τας ϊσας αμοιβας αποδουναι σοι τοινυν ηκουσα παρα τινος ως οι υιοι Κωσταντιο μελετησαι τινα κατα σου ως μετα την εμην τελευτην εναγειν σοι ομολογω ομνυων το περιβεβλημενον μοι σχημα οτι ουδεν μοι χρεωστουσσι**ν ο<sup>υ</sup>τ**ε δεδωμεν σοι τι ποτε η πιπρασκειν σοι τινι συναλλαγματι αλλα οικοθεν σου θρεψασθαι μοι και ϊματιζαι και την πασαν μοι ζωαρκη

7.  $\Pi a \tau \epsilon \rho \mu o \nu \theta \iota \omega$ :  $\theta \iota \omega$  is in lighter ink, and might therefore be part of the original text; but the lightness of colour may be due only to the pen having begun to run dry, and it is clear that the original name was that of a woman. The  $\omega$  of  $\Lambda \nu \rho \eta \lambda \iota \omega$  and following  $\pi$  are corrections from a and  $\tau$  respectively;  $\tau$  suits  $T[a\pi\iota a]$ . The space after  $o\rho \mu \omega \mu \epsilon \nu \omega$  in 1. 8 is perhaps due to the fact that the correction was not quite as long as the original text. 8.  $\pi \rho \sigma \cdot o\lambda \iota \gamma \omega \nu$ : the dot separates the two vowels;  $\epsilon f \cdot \nu \alpha \nu \tau \eta \cdot a\pi \sigma$ 

8.  $\pi \rho o^*$  ολιγων: the dot separates the two vowels;  $\epsilon f$ . ναυτη απο in 1. 7.

9.  $a\nu \delta \rho \iota$ : a probable reading in any case, and it is confirmed by  $\sigma o \iota$   $\kappa a \iota$  earlier in the line.

10. οικηματων: corr. from -τα.

11.  $\epsilon \sigma \chi \eta \kappa a$ : a letter apparently washed out after this. It looks like  $\mu$  ( $\epsilon \sigma \chi \eta \kappa a \mu \epsilon \nu$ ?).

νμων: the reference is probably to Patermuthius and Kako jointly (originally Tapia and Jacob?).

12.  $\gamma \epsilon \nu a \mu \epsilon \nu \eta s$ : the word which followed has been completely washed out. It was no doubt  $\nu \mu \nu$ .

την τουτων τιμην: the previous της τουτων τιμης, besides being grammatically incorrect, is otiose. Possibly some other construction was in the scribe's mind when he wrote that; it seems hardly likely that it goes with  $\hat{\epsilon}\xi$ , 'in accordance with the written document of sale and their price (therein specified)'.

13.  $\epsilon\nu\pi\epsilon\sigma\omega$ : sic. Perhaps the scribe was copying from a rough draft and misread  $\iota\nu$  as  $\omega$ . But the whole construction is confused. What was in the scribe's mind was probably  $\epsilon\nu\pi\epsilon\sigma\delta\nu\tau a$   $\epsilon \ell s \nu \delta\sigma\sigma o \delta\epsilon\eta\theta\eta\nu a$ , rather than  $\epsilon\nu\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\hat{\nu}$ ... κοὶ  $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\eta\theta\eta\nu$ .

15. διαθρεψαντα: l. probably διαθρέψοντα.

 $\tau o \nu$ : corr. from  $\tau \eta \nu$ . The participles in the following lines are all corrected from the feminine forms.

16. Πατερμουθιν: the original name was shorter than this and

ended with  $\nu$ ; again  $[Ta\pi\iota a]\nu$  is suggested.

 $\theta a \lambda \pi o \nu \tau a$ : perhaps the scribe has inadvertently rewritten the  $\nu$  of the original feminine participle.

17. χρειαν: after this a word like διδοντα has been accidentally omitted.

18. λυπουντα: the ν of λυπουσαν has not been deleted.

μητε εν: or perhaps μηδε in both cases; but the correct μητε seems quite possible. For this formula cf. Mon. 8, 3 f.

δη που: doubtful; very likely δη πουν was incorrectly written.

19.  $\mu o i^* \epsilon \nu$ : the dot is to separate the vowels; cf. 1. 8, note.

22. του δεσποτου κτλ. '(only) the Lord being able to repay you' (Hunt).

τοινυν: note that this begins a sentence; cf. μέντοι in 1711, 34, and note there.

23. μελετησαι: a confusion seems to have been made between two constructions, ήκουσα ... μελετήσαι and ήκουσα ... ώς ... μελετώσι.

25. το περιβεβλημενον μοι σχημα: cf. Byz. Zeitschr. xxii, p. 393 f.

χρεωστουσσιν ουτε: corr. from χρεωστουσα ουτε, σιν being written over αου without the original σ being deleted and ου being added above. χρεωστοῦσα was the feminine participle, referring to Tapia; χρεωστουσιν must be due to a misconception on the part of the scribe, who thought that the reference was to the sons of Constantius, whereas it is really to the person addressed, i.e., in the corrected form of the document, to Patermuthius. Read therefore χρεωστεῖs.

27. θρεψασθα:  $\theta$  corr. from  $\tau$  (or perhaps vice versa). The subject to θρέψασθαι and  $i\mu\alpha\tau$ ίζαι (sic) is  $\sigma\epsilon$  understood.  $\mu\omega$  should of course be  $\mu\epsilon$ .

μο χρειαν και ου παυομαι ομολογησω τας χαριτας σου ενωπιον του Θεω και τοις ανθρωποις καν ου\κ ε $/\chi$ ω τας αμοι $\beta$ ας σο $^{v}$  ανταμει 30  $\psi$ ασ $\theta$ αι σοι αλλα ομολογησω οτι το περιελ $\theta$ ον εις εμε μερος οικιας απο δικαιας κληρονομιας Μαριας της μακαριας της μου αδελφης ουκ ελαβον ουτε τι ποτε εσχον υπερ τιμης αυτο αλλα τη αυθεντια εσχαν μελετω ζητησαι λαβειν παρ αυτων το αιρουν μοι μερος οικιας και διδοναι λογω προστιμο<sup>ν</sup> χρυσο νομισματα εξ εργω και δυναμει 35 απαιτουμενα εκ της αυτων υποστασεως μετα και το μηδεν μη δυνασθαι κινησαι τι ποτε κατα σου οι αυτοι οι αλλοι ξενοι τε και οικειοι εν δικαστηριω η εκτος δικαστηριο η διαιταν κινειν κατα σο $^{\text{u}}$  δια το ως ανω πολλακις ειρηται και επωμοσαμην οτι μηδεν δεδω κεναι σοι αλλα οικοθεν σου θρεψαι κ[αι ι]ματιζαι και την πασαν μου ζωαρκη χρειαν 40 και τουτο φανεροποιησω κελευω μετα την εμην εξοδον οσα εχω ελαχιστα πραγματα εχειν και ϊδιοποιησασθαι και μηδενος  $[\epsilon]\xi[\epsilon\sigma]$ ται λα $\beta\epsilon$ ιν τι ποτε παρα σο $^{v}$  και  $\pi$ ρος σην ασφαλειαν ταυτη $\mathbf{v}$  εξεδομην την ομολογιαν κυριαν ο $^{\mathrm{v}}$ σαν και βεβαιαν κ<sub>1</sub> εννομον απανταχό προφερομενη[ν μ]εθ υπογρ/ το [υπ]ερ εμό υπογρ/ κ<sub>1</sub> επερωτίωμολογησα + (2nd hand) 🗜 Ϊωαννης υιος Πατεχνουμιο\ ελαχιστος μοναζων απο Συηνης 45 ο προγεγραμμενος εθεμην την ομολογιαν [και σ]τοιχει μοι π[αν]τα [τ]α εγγ[εγ]ραμμενα ως προκ/  $\Phi$ λί Μαρκος  $\dot{A}$ πα  $\Delta$ ιο  $\sigma$ τρ/ αριθμου  $\dot{\Sigma}$ υηνης αιτηθείς εγραψα  $\dot{v}$ περ αυτου γραμ ματα μη ειδοτος παροντος κ, ειποντος μ[οι] εν δημοσιω τοπω + (3rd hand) Φλί Κυρος Ϊωανου κεντυρ/ αριθμί Συηνης μαρτυρω + (4th hand) +  $\Theta \epsilon o \phi i \lambda o s$   $\Pi a \epsilon i o \nu o s$   $\epsilon \lambda^a / \delta i a \kappa / a \ddot{i} \tau \eta \theta \epsilon i s$   $\mu a \rho \tau \nu \rho \omega$ 50 (5th hand) Φλί Ατρης Βικτωρ  $\sigma \tau \rho^a / \alpha \rho \iota \theta \mu \sigma^\nu \Sigma \nu \eta \nu \eta \varsigma \mu \alpha \rho \tau \nu \rho \omega$ (6th hand) 🗜 Φλ, Ϊωαννης Κολουθος κεντηριων αριθμου Συηνης μαρτυρω (7th hand) + Φλή Ισακ Ιακωβ κεντυρ/ αριθμου Συηνης μαρτυρω +

(1st hand) +  $\delta \iota \in \mu \bar{\rho}$  Allamovos  $\Pi \in \tau \rho \bar{\rho}$  eypa $\phi \eta$  +

ϊματιζαι: sic. ζ for ξ in the aorist of verbs in -ζω is not uncommon in papyri of this period; cf. Mon. I, 43, where ἀρμόζαι, as remarked by the editors, seems to suit the character better than ἀρμόξαι. The present form occurs also in 1727, 37.

28. γοειαν: here again a word meaning 'give' or 'supply' is

28.  $\chi \rho \epsilon \iota a \nu$ : here again a word meaning 'give' or 'supply' is omitted.

- 29. του: corr. from τω. But Θεω has not been corrected.
- 30.  $\mu\epsilon\rho\sigma$ : the scribe began to write  $\epsilon$  instead of  $\mu$ .
- 31. The man: corr. from auths.

would seem to imply something more than a mere private act of revenge on John's part; they should indicate that the sons of Constantius were in some way bound by the agreement with Jacob not to dispute the sale; possibly therefore they were associated with John in the sale, but either because they held they had not received their share of the price, or because the purchaser's death seemed likely to give an opportunity for annulling the transaction, had determined to dispute Patermuthius's possession.

- 32. εσχον: possibly merely rewritten.
- 35. υποστασεως: something has been washed out after this.
- 36.  $\omega$  autor  $\omega$ : in both cases  $\omega$  is probably written for  $\mathring{\eta}$ . The dot is to separate the vowels.

ξενοι: ξ apparently corr. from ε.

- 39.  $\sigma oi$ : the scribe perhaps began to write  $a(v \tau ois)$ .
- 40. κελευω: before this l. (καί); or l. κελεύων.
- 41.  $\epsilon \xi \epsilon \sigma \tau a \iota$ : the ungrammatical construction is, in this document, no objection to this reading, which suits the space and is supported by a faint trace suggesting  $\xi$ .
  - 42. ταυτην: corr. from ταυτα.
  - 50. Βικτωρ στρ<sup>α</sup>: cf. 1727, 71, note.
  - 53. See 1727, 73, note.

### PAPYRUS 1730.—22 Aug., A. D. 585.

Inv. No. 1790. Acquired in 1907. Syene. Ift. 7\frac{3}{4}\text{in.} \times Ift. I in. In a rather small not very regular cursive hand, across the fibres; papyrus in good condition. Folded from the bottom upwards. Facsimile, with transcript, in New Pal. Soc., Series i, pl. 128; and see also the Corrigenda to the Series.

In this document John, the brother-in-law of Patermuthius, surrenders certain house property to his sister and brother-in-law. Jacob, his father, now deceased, had received, along with his brothers, a house belonging to his mother (John's grandmother) Tlou, who made it over to them on condition that they should jointly maintain her so long as she should live. By Jacob's death, his share of the house and also his share of the liability for his mother's maintenance fell to Kako and John jointly. The latter, being unable to pay his share of the maintenance expenses, now transfers to Patermuthius and Kako his share of both the house and the maintenance.

- $\mathbf{P}$  βασιλείας το θειοτατού και ευσεβεστατού ημών δεσπότου Φλαυϊο Μαυρικίου Τίβεριο του αιώνιο Αυγούστο Αυτοκρατόρος και μεγίστου ευεργετό ετους τεταρτού Μεσορή  $\mathbf{κ}\theta$  της τεταρτης ϊνδικτίονος εν Σύηνη  $\mathbf{z}$ 
  - Φλαυϊος Ϊωαννης εκ πατρος Ιακωβο\ στρατιωτης αριθμο\ Συηνης ορμωμενος απο της αυτης
- 5 ναυτης το επιτηδευμα ο· κ<sub>)</sub> εξης υπογραφεα παρεχων τον υπερ αυτον υπογραφοντα και
- 6 μαρτυρας τους εξης προσμαρτυρουντας τηδε τη βεβαια ομολογια Φλαυϊω Πατερμουθιω υϊω Μηνα
- 7 στρ/ αριhetaμου Ελεφαντινης ορμωμενω δε εν Συηνη κ $_{
  m i}$  τη τουτου συμhetaιω Αυρηλια  $\overline{
  m T}$ κακω  $\overline{
  m i}$ δια μου ομογνησια
- 10 αχρι της αυτης τελευτης αμα των εξ αυτης γεννηθεντων υϊων ύπερ ονοματος του αναπαυσαμενου ημων πατρος Ιακωβο<sup>ν</sup> εν δε τω παροντι καιρω ϋπομνησθεις παρ αυτης ϋπερ του μερους μου αναλωματος τε και δαπανηματος κ, τροφης ουκ' εδυνηθην τουτο απολογεισθαι δια την συνεχομενην μοι ασθενείαν παρακλησεις πολλας προσενηνοχα ύμιν δεξασθαι παρ εμοι το λαχον μοι μερος οικιας αυτης και χρεια αυτης χωρηγηθεντος
- 15 παρ ύμων πασης της καθημερινης τροφης εζητησατε ουν λαβειν ασφαλειαν υπερ εμου περι τουτου κατα τουτο ηκω εις ταυτην την εγγραφον ομολογιαν δι ης ομολογω αποτεταχθαι

<sup>5.</sup>  $av\tau ov$ : sic; the scribe was perhaps copying from another document in which more than one person was concerned and in which  $av\tau ov$  was written for  $av \tau ov$ .

<sup>8.</sup>  $\pi \alpha \tau \eta \rho$ : a correction. As the first letter of the original word was certainly 7, the scribe probably wrote  $\ddot{a} \kappa \omega \beta$ , omitting  $\pi \alpha \tau \tau \rho$ .

<sup>13.</sup>  $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\epsilon\nu\eta\nu\sigma\chi\alpha$ :  $\pi\rho$  is a correction, but perhaps the scribe

merely rewrote a badly formed letter.

εμοι: l. ἐμοῦ.

χρεία αυτης χωρηγηθεντος: l. χρείας αὐτῆς, χορηγηθησόμενης, taking the latter with πάσης κτλ.

<sup>16.</sup> ομολογιαν: a correction, very likely from ασφαλειαν, which the scribe may have deleted because of the previous occurrence of the word in l. 15.

ύμιν το μερος αυτης οικιας  $\kappa_0$  οικοσκευοι σύλησι αντι του προειρημενό αναλωματος και δαπανηματος αυτης και μηκετι μηδενα λογον εχω προς ύμας περι τουτου δια το εμε ουτω δεδοχ $\theta$ αι και κατα παρακλησιν εμην συνεταξατε τουτο ποιησαι και μη εγκαλειν ύμιν μητε

- 20 εγκαλεσειν μηδ' ετερον τινα των εξ εμο $^{v}$  ονοματος εν τω νυν και εν μηδενι καιρω κατα μηδενα τροπον αφορμην η' μεθοδον η' ευρεσιλογιαν ει δε βουληθειην εγκαλειν ύμιν ενεκεν τουτου
- 22 εφ ω εμε διδοναι λογω καταδικης χρυσου ογγιαν μιαν εργω κ $_{0}$  δυναμει απαιτουμενα εκ της εμης
- 23 ὑποστασεως  $κ_0$  εις ὑμων ασφαλειαν εθεμην την παρουσαν ομολογιαν της παραχωρησεως κυριαν ο $^{0}$ σαν και βεβαιαν και εννομον απανταχου προφερομενην μεθ' ὑπογραφης
- 25 του ὑπερ εμο $^{v}$  ὑπογραφοντος κ $_{0}$  επερωτη $\theta$ εις κατα προσωπον ωμολογησα και απελυσα +
- 26 (2nd hand) + Ιωαννης Ιακωβ ο  $\pi \rho o^{\kappa} / \epsilon \theta \epsilon \mu \eta \nu$  τουτην την ομολογιαν  $\kappa_0$  στοιχει μοι παντα ως  $\pi \rho o^{\kappa} / +$
- 27 Φλ/ Μηνας Αβρααμιο $^{v}$  στρ/ Συηνης αξιωθεις εγραψα  $\ddot{v}$ περ αυτου γραμματα μη ειδοτος + +
- 28 (3rd hand) + Φλί Απα Διος Ιωαννου Συηνης μαρτυρω + (4th hand) + Φλ/ Κολουθος Βικτωρ στρ/ Συη
- 29 νης μαρτυρω + (5th hand) Φλ, Μουσαιος Βικτορος στρ/ αριθμου Συηνης μαρτυρω +
- 30 (? 6th hand) + δι εμου Μαρκο<sup>ν</sup> Απα Διο<sup>ν</sup> εγραφη + Endorsed, along the fibres:—

(1st hand?) + ομολογι/ γεναμ/ ἴωαννου ἴακωβο\ ναυτ, απο Συηνης προς Πατερμουθιον κη Τκακω συμβ[ιον]

17. οικοσκευοι σύλησι: obscure and clearly corrupt. In the corrigenda to the New Pal. Soc., Series i, the above reading is suggested, οικοσκευοι being then miswritten for οἰκοσκεύη (an adjective) and σύλησις being taken as = furniture, apparatus. It must be confessed, however, that this explanation does not inspire much confidence. In particular, the dot over u suggests that the letter is the first of the word; and the sense given to σύλησις is very much strained. Possibly therefore we should read οικοσκευοις υλησι, explaining as οἰκοσκεύης υλησι, the ι being a mere blunder; but even this is a difficult supposition, for the insertion of ι is inexplicable and υλη as = furniture is a new use, though a more natural one for this word than for σύλησις.

του προειρημένου: υπρ perhaps a correction.

21. τροπον: an η is probably to be supplied after this.

22. καταδικης: cf. 1795, 11, note.

ογγιαν: not ογκιαν as in New Pal. Soc. i. 128.

απαιτουμένα: l. ἀπαιτουμένην; cf. 1731, 29.

26. τουτην: sic.

27. στρ/: the reading is not quite certain. It looks as if τιρ/

(= τείρων) had been badly corrected into στρ/.

αυτου: corr. from αυτης.

28. ἰωαννου: corr. from ἰωαννης.

30. See 1728, 29, note.

# PAPYRUS 1731.—20 Sept., A. D. 585.

Inv. No. 1800. Acquired in 1907. Syene. 2 ft.  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. × 1 ft.  $0\frac{7}{8}$  in. Written in a neat, compressed upright cursive hand, across the fibres; papyrus well preserved; above the text, which begins at the extreme top of the second  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$ , is a blank space (first  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$ ) of  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in.; there is no trace of the protocol. Folded from the bottom upwards. Text and reduced facsimile in R. de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt*, London, 1909, p. 87 f. (plate xxxviii).

RECEIPT from Aur. Tsone to her mother Tapia (the mother, by her second husband, of John and Kako) for 4 solidi. Tapia had been at first married to a certain Menas and had by him

one daughter, the Tsone of this document. Shortly after Tsone's birth Tapia and her husband were divorced ( $\partial \pi \epsilon \chi \omega \rho i \sigma \theta \eta s$ ; the word does not of itself show which party was active in procuring the divorce, which may indeed have been by mutual consent). According to Tsone's story, 4 solidi were given by Menas to Tapia at the time of the divorce to defray the expense of bringing up Tsone, who must therefore have been taken by Tapia; but Tapia apparently turned her daughter adrift ( $\partial \kappa \beta \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon \partial \sigma a \nu v i \pi o \sigma \sigma v$ ), perhaps at the time of her second marriage. Later, Tsone instituted proceedings against her mother for the 4 solidi, alleging that since she had not been brought up by her mother, as arranged, but by her father, to whom she evidently went when turned out by her mother, she was entitled to the money. Tapia, on the other hand, declared that the money had been given her in repayment of her dowry at the time of the divorce (see note on 1.18). The matter was presumably submitted to arbitration, though no doubt the words in 1.18 f. might refer merely to a private discussion; and the upshot was that Tapia agreed to repay the 4 solidi to Tsone. The present document is Tsone's formal acknowledgement of the receipt and of her abandonment of all claims on Tapia.

🗜 βασιλείας του θειστατο ημων δεσποτου Φλαυίου Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου το αιωνίου Αυγουστου Αυτοκρατορος και μεγιστου ευεργετο\ ετους τεταρτου και ϋπατειας του αυτου δεσποτου ημων ετους δευτερου  $\Theta \omega \kappa \kappa \gamma$ της τεταρτης ϊνδικτιονος εν Συηνη « Αυρηλια Τσωνη θυγατηρ Μηνα εκ μητρος Ταπιας μοναχη ορμωμενη απο Συηνης 5 η' και εξης ύπογραφεα παρεχουσα τον ῦπερ αυτης ῦπογραφοντα και μαρτυρας τους εξης κατ' επιτροπην αυτης και αιτησιν προσμαρτυρουντας ταυτη τη παρουση ομολογια της αμεριμνειας Αυρηλία Ταπιά θυγατρι Τσιο εκ μητρος Μαριαμ ανευ κυριου αυτη ανδρος χρηματιζουσα ίδια μου μητρι ορμωμενη απο της αυτης Συηνης χαιρειν επειδηπερ πρωην ο μακαριος μου πατηρ Μηνας εσχεν σε ΙΟ εις νομιμου γαμου κοινωνιαν και μετα την γεννησιν μου ετι νεας ουσης κατα διαβουλικην και σατανικην ενεργειαν απεχωρισθης απ αυτου δεδωκοτος δε σοι του προειρημενου μου πατρος Μηνα χρυσου νομισματια τεσσερα και μετα το προβεβηκεναι με τη εννομω ηλικια επεξηλθον σοι εναγουσα ενεκα των αυτων τεσσαρων νομισματων λεγουσα ταυτα σοι δοθηναι περι της 15  $\epsilon \kappa$  παιδιας  $\theta \eta \nu$  αναγκαιας  $\mu o^{\nu}$  τροφης δια το ουν τράφηναι  $\mu \epsilon$   $\ddot{\nu} \pi o$  του πατρος μου εκβληθεισαν δε ϋπο σου γενομενης και κολλασθαι ετερω ανδρι ταυτα επεξηλθον σοι ζητουσα λαβειν' σοι δε αμφιβαλεις λεγουσα ειναι

<sup>3.</sup> erous  $\delta \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu$  : for this consular date see Mon. 10, 1-4, note.

Θωκ: sic.

<sup>5.</sup>  $\eta^*$ : the dot is probably intended to mark off  $\dot{\eta}$  as a separate word.

<sup>8.</sup> αυτη: l. αὐτῆς.

<sup>10.</sup> νομιμου: νομ probably a correction, perhaps from  $\gamma a\mu$ , the scribe having begun to write  $\gamma a\mu ov$ .

<sup>11.</sup> διαβουλικην: l. διαβολικήν. For the whole phrase cf. the similar formulae in 1712, 10; 1713 (= Flor. i. 93), 20; Cair. Masp. i. 67121, 9; ii. 67153, 11 f.; 67154, 9.

 $<sup>\</sup>delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa$ οτος κτλ.: the constructions in the section beginning here are very confused; the first clause is in the genitive absolute, the next in the infinitive construction.

<sup>12.</sup> το: corr. from τω.

<sup>14.</sup>  $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota$ : in the sense of  $\nu \pi \epsilon \rho$ .

<sup>15.</sup> παιδιας: αι a correction.

 $<sup>\</sup>theta\eta\nu$ : corrupt; possibly a miscopying of a  $\delta\dot{\eta}$  in the rough draft.

<sup>16.</sup>  $\epsilon \kappa \beta \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon \iota \sigma a \nu \kappa \tau \lambda$ : the sense of this extraordinarily confused sentence is 'and (owing to the fact that) I was cast out by you and you married another husband'; probably, therefore, Tsone was turned adrift by her mother on the latter's remarriage. The whole clause being governed by  $\delta \iota \dot{\alpha} \tau \dot{\sigma}$ ,  $\epsilon \kappa \beta \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon \iota \sigma a \nu \gamma \epsilon \nu \sigma \mu \epsilon \nu \eta s$  is to be corrected to  $\epsilon \kappa \beta \lambda \eta \tau \sigma \nu \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$ , and  $\sigma \epsilon$  must be inserted with  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha} \sigma \theta a \iota$ .

<sup>17.</sup> σοι (second): *l*. σύ.

 $a\mu\phi\iota\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota s$ : apparently a confusion on the part of the scribe between  $d\mu\phi\iota\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota s$  and  $d\mu\phi\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon s$ , in the sense of 'dispute'. This is preferable to taking it as an adjective  $=d\mu\phi\iota\beta\alpha\lambda\eta s$ .

τα αυτα τεσσερα νομισματα ῦπερ απολυσεως μου και προικος και πολλων λεχθεντων και αντιλεχθεντων και δοκιμασθεντων ϋστερον δε εδοξεν ωστε εμε τα αυτα τεσσερα νομισματα δεξασθαι δια το ως προειρηται ανατραφηναι με ϋπο το<sup>υ</sup> προειρημενου μου πατρος και εφ ω εμε μη δεξασθαι μητε λαβειν ϋπερ σου μητε εναγείν σοι η' τοις κληρονομοίς σου εν τω νυν και εν μηδενί καιρω κατα μηδενα τροπον αφορμη μηδεμια οθεν εληλυθα εις ταυτην την εγγραφον αμεριμνειαν εξ ης ομολογω μηκετι μηδενα λογον εχειν προς σε μητε προς τους μετα σε κληρονομους 25 μητε εναγειν μητε εγκαλειν η. διαιταν κινησαι κατα σου ταυτης ενεκεν της ῦποθεσεως και μητε δουναι μητε λαβειν θπερ σου μητε αλλος τις θπερ ονοματος μο\ επελευσεσθαι σοι η τοις κληρονομοις σολ η τεκνοις η' εγγονοις σού ει δε συμβαιη με κατα σου επεξελθειν εν τινι καιρω η τοις κληρονομοις σου περι οιουδηποτε πραγματος εφ ω εμε παρασχειν λογω προστιμο\ παραβασεως χρυσο ογγιαν μιαν εργω και δυναμει απαιτουμενα εκ της 30 εμης μετρικης ύποστασεως και μηδεν ϊσχυειν κατα των εγγεγραμμενων ταυτη τη παρουση ομολογια της αμεριμνειας αλλα προς τω ακοντα εμμενειν αυτη ως εν δημο σιω αρχειω γεγενημενη δια το εμοι αναγκης μη επικειμενης η απατης η δολου τινος αλλα δια το εμε ουτω δεδοχθαι και πεπληρωσθαι τα προγεγραμμενα νομισματια τεσσερα και ταυτα εκθεσθαι σοι την εγγραφον ασφαλειαν ητις κυρια εσται και βεβαια και αρραγη και ασαλευτον και εννομον απανταχο προφερομενην και εμφανιζομενην μεθ' ῦπο γραφης του ϋπερ εμου υπογραφοντος κατα παρακλησιν εμην και αξιωσιν και των εξης μαρτυρουντων και επερωτηθείσα κατα προσωπον ταυθ ουτως καλως εχείν ποιείν ωμολογησα και απελύσα  $\mathbf{P}$  (2nd hand)  $\mathbf{P}$  Αυρηλία Τσώνη  $\theta$ ηκατηρ Μηνάς μητρος Ταπιας

39 μοναχή απο Συηνής η προκ/ εθεμέν ταυτα την ομολογιαν και στοιχει ημιν παν

40 τα τα ενγεγραμενων ως προκ/ Φλί Ϊωαννις Αβρααμιου ακτουαρης αριθμου Συηνης αξιωθις εγραψα ηπερ αυτης γραματα μη ειδηειης ‡ (3rd hand) ‡ Παθερμουθις Σερηνου ελαχ, πρεσβ, Συηνης μαρτυρω ‡

(5th hand) 🗜 Φλί Παειων Διου στρ<sup>α</sup>/ αριθμο<sup>ν</sup> Συηνης μαρτυρω +

(5th hand)  $\mathbf{F}$   $\mathbf{\Phi}\mathbf{A}$ ) Hatiwe  $\Delta \mathbf{i}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{v}$   $\Delta \mathbf{r}\mathbf{o}^{*}$ / apidho  $\Delta \mathbf{v}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{v}\mathbf{v}\mathbf{v}\mathbf{v}$ 

45 (6th hand) 🗜 Ισακός Ταείονος αρχιδιακό/ της αγίας Μαρίας Συηνης μαρτυρω (7th hand) 🗜 Παπνουθίς Αιών διακό/ εκκλί Συηνης μαρτυρω 🗜

18. απολυσεως μου και προικος: the meaning is by no means clear if μου refers to Tsone. προικός might mean that Tapia maintained that the money was intended for Tsone's dowry, and that consequently, as she had not married, it could not be demanded; but in that case what does ἀπολύσεως mean? 'Decease' is unlikely, as the mother would bardly maintain that the money was given her for the expenses of a possible funeral. 'Departure', meaning that the money was forfeited because of Tsone's leaving her mother, does not combine well with  $\pi \rho \sigma i \kappa \delta s$ ; and moreover Tsone contends that her mother turned her out. No doubt, therefore, as suggested by Flower, Light of Egypt, p. 89, nov refers to Tapia, the whole clause being a quotation from her defence. ἀπόλυσιs is therefore her separation from her husband. She declared that the money was her προίξ, which, on the divorce, became repayable to her.

21.  $\epsilon \phi \omega \ldots \sigma \sigma v$ : the intention of this clause is not evident, as there has been no question of Tsone acting on behalf of  $(\delta \pi \epsilon \rho)$  her mother. Is  $\ddot{v}\pi \epsilon \rho$  a mistake for  $\pi a \rho a$ ? Possibly how-

ever, in view of 1. 26, the meaning is that all responsibility on either side is at an end; Tsone is not to be regarded as acting on her mother's behalf in any transaction she may engage in. The first letter of  $\ddot{v}\pi\epsilon\rho$  may be a correction.

24.  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ : corr. from  $\epsilon\chi\omega$ .

26.  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$ : the scribe probably wrote at first  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \sigma \theta a \iota$ . 27.  $\sigma a v^* \epsilon \iota$ : a letter (possibly  $\eta^*$ ) has been washed out after  $\sigma a v$ , and  $\epsilon \iota$  is perhaps a correction.

28. σου: ου perhaps a correction.

29. απαιτουμένα: l. ἀπαιτουμένην.

30. μετρικης: cf. 1724, 48.

34. ταυτα: l. ταύτην.

 $a\rho\rho\alpha\gamma\eta$ : from this point the scribe changes into the accusative.

38. θηκατηρ: Ι. θυγάτηρ.

39. Ι. έθέμην ταύτην.

40. Ι. έγγεγραμμένο, Ἰωάννης, ἀκτουάριος.

46. Aton: a doubtful reading, but more likely than Apon. For the name of the introduction to 1652.

(8th hand) + Φλί Διοσκυρος Ιωανου κεντυρ/ αριθμί Συηνης μαρτυρω (9th hand) +  $\Phi \lambda \in \text{Ermias } \ddot{\text{I}} \omega \alpha \nu \nu \eta = \sigma \tau \rho^a / \alpha \rho \iota \theta \mu \text{ ou } \Sigma \iota \eta \nu \eta = \mu \alpha \rho \tau \iota \rho \omega + \mu \alpha \rho \tau \iota \rho \omega$ 

(? 1st hand) +  $\delta \iota \in \mu o^{\nu} \quad Ma\rho \kappa o^{\nu} \quad A\pi a \quad \Delta \iota o \nu \in \gamma \rho a \phi \eta \quad \mathcal{P}$ 

Endorsed, across the fibres:—

50 (10th hand?) + ομολογι/ αμεριμνεια γεναμ/  $\pi$ / Τσωνης θυγατρος Μηνα μοναχης απο  $\Sigma v \eta v \eta s$ προς Ταπιαν

5 I την μητερα

49. This is almost certainly the same hand as the body of the document; and if, as is not impossible, though it is difficult to be sure, the latter is in the same hand as 1728 and 1730, those documents also were written by Mark himself; see note on 1728, 29.

50 f. αμεριμνεια: sic. Though written across the fibres, these lines are parallel to the κόλλημα-joints; they are written on the first and outer  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$ , the fibres of which are, as usual, at right angles to the others.

#### PAPYRUS 1732.—16 Aug., A. D. 586 (?).

Inv. No. 1791. Acquired in 1907. Syene.  $5\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{3}{4}$  in. In an upright open cursive hand, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards. See Klio, xiii, pp. 165, 170.

ONTRACT of surety, by which a certain Jacob, a sailor of Syene, undertakes to be responsible for the appearance of two persons named Psano and Sanmoou at an arbitration by Mark the λογιώτατος δικαστής and for their acceptance of the award. As the person addressed is Patermuthius, it is to be presumed that the dispute involved was with him. Whether the case was connected with the disputes regarding the inheritance of his father-in-law Jacob does not appear; but as the Mark in question may well be the σχολαστικός Mark who was the arbitrator in Mon. 6, dated in 583, it seems not unlikely that the 5th indiction referred to in the dating clause was that which began in 586.

There seems no reason to assume, with Heisenberg (P. Mon. i, p. 10), that Psano and Sanmoou were under age; Jacob is merely their surety.

The document, though not badly written, is extremely illiterate in style. Dius son of Papnuthius signs as the scribe, but probably did not write the document himself.

- 🗜 Αυρηλιος Ϊακωβ υΐος Απα Διου ναυτης απο Συηνης +  $\Phi$ λαυΐω Παθερμο<sup>ν</sup>θιω υϊω Μηνα στρ/ αριθμου Φιλων ναυτης απο της αυτης Συηνης χαιρειν ομολογω εγω ο προγεγραμμενος εγγυασθαι και αναδεδεχθαι τον Ψανο και Σανμοου ωσδε παρασκευσαι εις διαιταν τω ευδοκι[μ]ωτατω Μαρκω τω λογιωτατω δικαστην
- 5 ωσδε αγροασθαι και στερξαι και εμμειναι τα ορισθησομενα ει δε μη στερξαι

<sup>2.</sup>  $\sigma\tau\rho$ /: the scribe perhaps began to write  $\sigma\nu\eta\nu\eta s$ .

<sup>4.</sup> ωσδε: l. ωστε. This seems more probable than ως δή. παρασκευσαι: 1. παρασκευάσαι. Apparently αὐτούς is to be understood; or the passive may be meant. The sense is that Psano and Sanmoou are to present themselves at the arbitration by Mark.

Μαρκω: the word looks like Μρκω, but probably the connecting line between  $\mu$  and  $\rho$  is intended to serve as a; and so too in δικαστην. Cf. note on 1. 7.

<sup>5</sup> f. l. ώστε (cf. note on l. 4) ἀκροᾶσθαι, τοις άρισθησομένοις, στέρξειαν καὶ έμμείνειαν τοῖς κριτηρίαις, τὰν έγγυητήν.

και εμμειναι τα κριτηρια εφ ω εμε του εγγυητου παρασχειν υπερ παραβασιας χρυσου νομισματα τρεια ζυγω Συηνης κατα πραγμα πραγμα και εισην ασφ/πεποιημαι την παρουσαν εγγυητικήν ασφ μεθ υπογραφής του υπερε εμου υπογραφ/

- 9 και των εξης μαρτυρ/ και περωτηθείς ομολογ + (2nd hand)  $\mathbf{P}$  Φλ/ Πραιποσιτος υιος Θεοδορου στρ/ αριθμου
- 10 Συηνης μαρτυρω + (3rd hand) δι  $\epsilon$ μο $^{\nu}$  Διο $^{\nu}$  Πα $\pi$ νο $^{\nu}$ θιο $^{\nu}$   $\epsilon$ γρα $\phi$ η/  $\epsilon$ γ $\phi$ /  $\mu$  $^{\eta}$  Μ $\epsilon$ σορη κγ  $\hat{\imath}\nu$ δ/  $\epsilon$

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

(1st hand?) +  $\epsilon \gamma \gamma \upsilon \eta \tau \iota \kappa / \delta$   $\alpha \sigma \phi / \gamma \epsilon \upsilon \alpha \mu / \delta$   $1 \alpha \kappa \omega \beta$   $\omega \varepsilon \delta$   $\alpha \omega \delta$   $\alpha \omega$   $\alpha \omega \delta$   $\alpha \omega$   $\alpha \omega$ 

7. κατα πραγμα πραγμα: *l.* κατὰ πρᾶγμα, the second word being accidentally repeated. The sense is not clear. Is it an equivalent for the usual ἔργφ καὶ δυνάμει ἀπαιταύμενα, πρᾶγμα meaning 'exaction', 'recovery', like πρᾶξις? Or was the phrase perhaps written, by a mental confusion on the part of the ignorant scribe, for παραχρῆμα? The first ω of κατα is hardly formed at all, so that the word looks like κτα. So too in μαρτυρ/ in l. 9. εισην: *l.* εἰς σὴν.

9. I.  $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \omega \tau \eta \theta \epsilon is$ . Or perhaps  $\pi \epsilon \rho \omega \tau \eta \theta s$   $\omega \mu \rho \lambda a \gamma + \text{ should be read.}$ 

 $P \Phi \lambda / \kappa \tau \lambda$ : this subscription is written in ink of reddish colour, which however in 1. 10 has been written over with black ink. The subscription of Dius is in black ink, but probably written with a different pen from the body of the document.

#### PAPYRUS 1733.—6 March, A. D. 594.

Inv. No. 1798. Acquired in 1907. Syene. 3 ft. 5\frac{3}{4} in. x 1 ft. 1 in. In a sloping cursive hand, across the fibres. Probably folded from the bottom upwards.

THIS sale of house property raises a difficult question in connexion with Mon. 9. In the present document, dated in 594, Tapia, the mother-in-law of Patermuthius, sells to a soldier of Syene named Apa Dius half a dining-room ( $\sigma\nu\mu\pi\delta\sigma\iota\nu\nu$ ) and a quarter of an  $\mathring{a}\mathring{\eta}\rho$  or unroofed apartment, with a corresponding share in the appurtenances. The dining-room is in the second story, the  $\mathring{a}\mathring{\eta}\rho$  in the fourth story, being above the bedroom ( $\mathring{a}\kappa\kappa\nu\mathring{b}\mu\iota\nu\nu$ ) which is over the dining-room. The dining-room faces north, looking towards  $\mathring{\tau}\mathring{v}$   $\pi\mathring{v}\mathring{u}$   $\mathring{v}$   $\mathring{v}$ 

Now in Mon. 9, dated in 585, we find Tapia selling house property to her son-in-law Patermuthius and her daughter Kako. Some of it does not here concern us, but among it occurs half a dining-room in the house of my mother, facing northwards  $\epsilon is \tau \delta \nu \pi \epsilon \sigma \sigma \delta \nu$ , and in the second story (in the text a comma should no doubt be placed after  $\pi \epsilon \sigma \sigma \delta \nu$ , l. 33), and the vendor's share in a  $\delta \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha$  in the fourth story above the bedroom of Talephantis. The house is

situated in the southern division of the  $\Phi \rho o \acute{\nu} \rho \iota o \nu$  and in the  $\lambda a \acute{\nu} \rho \alpha$  of St. Victor; and the vendor acquired the property, as regards a quarter (of the dining-room), by inheritance from her mother, and as regards another quarter, by purchase from her brother George; how she acquired her share of the  $\delta \hat{\omega} \mu \alpha$  is not stated. Finally, it appears that the other half of the dining-room belonged to her brothers Menas and Tselet.

If the two documents are compared it can hardly be doubted that the same property is concerned in both. How then does it come about that nine years after selling this property to Patermuthius and Kako Tapia resells it to a stranger? and that eventually the property did come to Patermuthius and Kako, as, from the presence of this document among their papers, it must have done? It would hardly be profitable to discuss the numerous possibilities; it is sufficient to note the facts above stated.

+ εν ο[ν]οματι [του κυριου και δεσποτου Ιησου Χριστου του Θεου και σωτηρος] ημων βασιλεια[ς του θειοτατου ημων δεσποτου Φλ]αυϊου Μαυρι[κιου Τιβεριου] του αιωνιου Αυγο[υ]στο[υ και] Αυτοκρατορος ετους δωδεκατ[ου και υπατειας] της αυτων γαληνοτητος ετους ενδεκατου Φαμενωθ ι ι[νδικ/ $\overline{\iota\beta}$ ]

εν Συηνη

- Η Αυρηλία Ταπία θυγατηρ Τσίου μητρος Μαρίας χηρε[υ]ουσ[α] ορμωμενη από Συηνης η και εξης υπογραφέα παρέχουσα τον ϋπ[ερ αυτης] ϋπογραφοντα και μαρτυρας τους εξης μαρτυρουντας τηδε τη [βεβαία] και εννομω πρασει Φλαυϊω Απά Διω υϊω Σουρουτός στ[ρατιωτη]
- 10 α[ρ]ιθμου Συηνης χαιρειν ομολογω εγω η προγεγραμμε[νη Ταπια] δια ταυτης μου της εγγραφου ασφαλειας εκουσα και πεπεισ[μενη] ανευ παντος δολου και φοβου και βιας και απ[α]της και αναγκης κ[α]ι συναρπαγης και διχα οιασδηποτε κακονοιας και κακοηθειας και παντος φαυλου διανοηματος αλλα εκουσιω και αμετανοητω γνωμη
- 15 και αδολω προαιρεσει και ειλικρινει συνειδησει κατα τηνδε την απλην εγγραφον ασφαλειαν πεπρακεναι σοι σημερον και καταγεγρα φηκεναι απο του νυν επι τον αει και εξης απαντα χρονον το ϋπαρχον μοι και επιβαλλον ημισυ μερος απο του συμποσιου του εν τη δευτερα στεγη και το τεταρτον μερος απο του αερος επανω του ακουβιτου του οντος
- 20 επανω του συμποσιου του και αδιαιρετου οντος μοι και των αδελφων μου Μηνα και Τσελετ και το μερος μου απο παντων των χρηστηριων του τε προθυρου κ[α]ι πυλονος και πεσσου και παραδρομιδος και κλιβανιου συν εισοδω και εξοδω και ανοδω και καθοδω της αυτης οικιας διακειμενης επι της αυτης Συηνης περι το νοτινον μερος του Φρουριου
- 25 και περι λαυραν του αγιου αθλοφορου Απα Βικτορος μαρτυρος ελθον εις εμε το αυτο ημισυ μερος συμποσιου και το τεταρτον μερος

<sup>1.</sup> Of the letters read at the beginning only a very little remains. The restoration is taken from Mon. 14.

<sup>2.</sup> Mon. 14 has  $\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\acute{a}\tau\upsilon\upsilon$  καὶ  $\epsilon\grave{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{a}\tau\upsilon\upsilon$ , but there is not room for all that here.

<sup>3.</sup> και Αυτοκρατορος: there seems to be no trace of και, and Mon. 14 omits it, as is the more usual practice; but the space seems to require it, and it occurs in (e.g.) 1729 and Mon. 9.

<sup>4.</sup> αυτων: so too in Mon. 14, 4.

<sup>17.</sup>  $\nu\nu\nu$ : the purpose of the apostrophe is not clear; perhaps merely to separate  $\nu\nu\nu$  from  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ .

<sup>20.</sup> των: corr. from τον.

<sup>21.</sup> To  $\epsilon \lambda \epsilon \tau$ : both here and in l. 32 the last letter might equally well be  $\gamma$ , but in the facsimile of Mon. 9 the  $\tau$  is certain.

απο του δωματος ουτως τεταρτον μεν μερος απο του συμποσιου και το ογδοον μερος απο κληρονομιας της μητρος μου Μαριας το δε αλλο τεταρτον μερος και το ογδοον μερος απο των προδεδηλουμ. 30 τοπων καθως ανωτερω ειρηται απο δικαιας αγορασιας εξ εγγραφου ωνιακης παρα Γεωργιου του εμου αδελφου κοινων οντων και αδιαιρετων εις τε εμε και τους αδελφους μου Μηνα και Τσελετ και εις αυτην την προγεγραμμενην Μαριαμ' απο δικαια[ς] κληρονομιας των γονεων αυτης Παπνουθιου και Θεκλας προς την δυναμιν του 35 κληρου αυτων γειτονες δε της απασης οικιας νοτου οικια Θεκλα και Διου Κελωλιου βορρα του αγιου τοπου Απα Βικτορος μαρτυρος και εις ην νευει η αυθεντικη αυτης θυρα α $\pi$ ο του ρυμιου μεheta ην του αυτου αγιου τοπου λιβος η αυλη Γουνθου Μακαριου απηλιωτου του αυτου τοπου του αγιου Απα Βικτορος η οι εαν ωσει γειτονες παντη παντοθεν καθως ϋπηγορευσα και ουδεν εμοι ϋπολελειπται απρατον απο του αυτου ημισους μερους του συμποσιου του εν δευτερα στεγη νευοντος εις βορρα εις το πλατος του πεσσου και το τεταρτον μερος απο του δωματος εως αερος συμ μερει απαντων χρηστηριων κατ αναλογιαν μου τιμης της προς αλληλους συμπεφωνημένης και συναρέσασης χρυσου νομισματα τρεια ζυγω Συηνης γι/ χρ/ ν° γ ζ/ Συην, ηνπερ τελειαν τιμην αυτοθι απεσχηκεναι με παρα σου του ωνουμενου εγω ο πεπρακως δια χειρος εις χειρα μου εξ οικου σου αριθμω και σταθμω πληρη προς τω σε απεντευθεν του ωνουμενου του προδεδηλουμενου 50 ημισους μερους του συμποσιού του και αδιαιρέτου οντός του εν τη δευτερα στεγη και το τεταρτον μερος απο του δωματος εως αερος συν πασι τοις χρηστηριοις αμα των αλλων συμμετοχων ημων κυριευειν και δεσποζειν και διοικειν και οικονομειν και οικοδο μειν και πωλειν και χαριζεσθαι και τεκνοις και εγγονοις διατασσειν 55 ω εαν αιρησhetaαι τροπω ακωλυτως και ανεμποδιστως και μη εγκαλειν σοι μητε' εγκαλεσειν μη $\theta$ ' ετερον τινα των εξ εμου ονοματος εν μηδενι καιρω κατα μηδενα τροπον αφορμη μηδεμια δια το ως προειπον απεσχηκεναι με παρα σου τελειαν την προγεγραμμενην τιμην τον δε εγκαλεσοντα σοι η και αντιποιησομενον

27.  $\mu \epsilon \rho as$ : the scribe began to write  $a(\pi a)$ .

not perhaps very strong where a document of this period is concerned.

Θεκλα: sic.

36.  $\tau \circ \pi a v$ :  $\tau$  corr. from a; the scribe began to write  $A(\pi a B \iota \kappa \tau \circ \rho a s)$ .

37.  $\epsilon\iota s \eta \nu$ : something (most likely  $\lambda a \nu \rho a$  or  $\rho \nu \mu \eta$ ) has probably been omitted.

39. εαν: ε added later.

47. ο πεπρακως: l. ή πεπρακυία; the contract was probably modelled on one in which the vendor was a man. Cf. 1. 62.

49. του ωνουμενου: Ι. τον ωνούμενον.

προδεδηλαυμενου: δεδη is apparently a correction.

55.  $\alpha \iota \rho \eta \sigma \theta \alpha \iota : l. \alpha \iota \rho \tilde{\eta} \sigma \theta \epsilon$ , for  $\alpha \iota \rho \tilde{\eta}$ .

<sup>31.</sup> ωνιακης: l. after this (ἀσφαλείας).

<sup>33.</sup> και εις αυτην κτλ.: this does not go with καινῶν ἄντων κτλ., but with ἐλθόν in l. 26. The dot after Μαριαμ is not a mark of punctuation but is inserted because the word has a non-Greek form. Μαριάμ is of course merely a variant of Μαρία.

<sup>35.</sup>  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\sigma\nu$ : for the meaning of this word see Wenger's note on Mon. 9, 61. The  $a\partial\tau\hat{\sigma}\nu$  here, which seems clearly to refer to Papnuthius and Thecla, probably rules out Wenger's suggestion that an 'Erbschein' is meant, as in that case the word should be  $a\partial\tau\hat{\eta}s$ , referring to Mary. Clearly the  $\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma$  was a document proceeding from Papnuthius and Thecla; and we can only suppose either an 'Erbteilungsurkunde' or a will. Wenger's argument against the latter, that it is expressed by  $\delta\iota a\theta\hat{\eta}\kappa\eta$ , is

- 60 περι του προδεδηλουμενου ημισους μερους απο του συμποσιου και το τεταρτον μερος απο του δωματος συμ μερει χρηστηριοις κατ αναλογιαν εγω ο πεπρακως εκστησω και καθαροποιησω σοι ιδιοις μου αναλωμασι και δαπανημασι ει δε μη δυνηθειην εφ ω εμε καταβαλλειν σοι την προγεγραμμές τιμην εν διπλη
- 65 ποσοτητι και προς σην ασφ/ πεποιημαι σοι ταυτην την πράσιν κυριαν ουσαν και βεβαιαν και εννομον απανταχου προφερομενην μεθ' υπογραφ/ του ϋπερ εμου ϋπογραφοντος και των εξης μαρτυρουντων και επερωτηθεισας ωμολογησα και απελυσα + (2nd hand) \$\mathbb{P}\$ Αυρηλια Ταπια θυγατηρ Τσιου μητρος Μαριας η προγεγραμμενη πε
- 70 πρακα το ημισυ μερος τους συμποσιου και το τεταρτον μερος αερος επανω του ακουβιτου και απεσχον παρα σου την εγκειμενην τιμην εν νομισματιοις τρεισι και βεβαιω σοι την πρασιν παση βεβαιωσει ως προκ/ Θε[ο]φίλος ελα/ διακο/ αξιωθεις εγραψα υπερ αυτης γραμμας μη ειδυϊης + (3rd hand) \$\bar{\psi}\$ Κομες ελάχ πρεσβ/ Συηνης μ[α]ρ[τυ]ρ[ω] +
- - (7th hand)  $\not\models$  Apa Ïωση $\phi$  Apa Διος διακ $^{\circ}$ / Συηνης μαρτυρω +
  - (8th hand) 🗗 Φλ/ Διος Ψάχει απο βικαρ/ αριθμου Συηνης μαρτυρω +
- 80 (9th hand) +  $\Phi \lambda i$  Ermias  $\hat{I}_{\omega a \nu \nu \eta s} \sigma \tau \rho^a / a \rho i \theta \mu o \nu \Sigma i \eta \nu \eta s \mu a \rho \tau \nu \rho \omega$

(10th hand) + δι εμου Φλί Λαζαρο\ Πετρο\ αδιουτί αριθμου Συηνης εγενετο P

61. l. τοῦ τετάρτου μέρους and χρηστηρίων.
68. επερωτηθεισας: sic.
69-74. In the same hand as 1724.
70. τους: sic.

73. αξιωθεις: just possibly corr. from αιτηθεις.

76. Συνης: sic.

78. Aπa Διος: sic.

# PAPYRUS 1734.—Late 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1795. Acquired in 1907. Syene. Fragmentary; continuous part 11 in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $o_{\frac{1}{4}}^{\frac{1}{4}}$  in. In a small sloping cursive hand, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards.

A MUCH mutilated sale of a  $\sigma\nu\mu\pi\delta\sigma\iota\nu\nu$ . The vendor is a woman named Taeit, the purchaser is uncertain. If the protocol fragment found with the document belongs to it, the property was sold to Patermuthius and Kako, whose names occur on the back of that fragment; but as the purchaser is throughout the document addressed in the singular this is doubtful, though no doubt the use of  $\sigma\iota\iota$  cannot be taken as a certain proof. There is no internal evidence to determine the date.

Two lines of a protocol of 'Byzantine' type.  $]\lambda \cdot \sigma o^{\nu} \kappa[$ και] την τελει[αν τ]ιμην απεσχον παρα σο $^{v}$  το $^{v}$  ω[νου] 5 [μενου δια χειρος σου εις] χειρα εμίου] εξ οικον σον αριθμω και σταθμω <math>πλ[ηρη και] [βεβαιωσω σοι παση βεβαιωσει δια παντος απο παντο]ς το επελευσομ[ενου σοι] κτασθαι χρασθαι παντι ω αν αιρη τροπω ακωλυτως τε και ανεμποδιστως μηδενος αλλου προσωπου ανηκοντος μοι κατα γενος η τεκνων η εγγονων δυνησομενου επελευ  $\sigma[a]\sigma\theta$ αι  $\sigma$ οι  $[\eta]$   $\epsilon[\nu a \gamma]\epsilon[\iota \nu]$   $\eta$   $\epsilon \gamma \kappa a \lambda \epsilon i [\nu]$   $\eta$   $\delta$ ιαιταν κινησαι κατα  $\sigma$ ο $^{\nu}$  ταυτης  $\epsilon \nu \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \nu$  της αιτιας ? a]ırıas . . . [. . . . . . . . ] . . . . [ 10 η αντιποιησομένο τον δε  $\epsilon[\pi\epsilon]$ λευσομένον σοι η αντιποιησ[ομένον εκστησω]και καθαροποιησω ϊδιοις μο<sup>ν</sup> αναλωμασι προς τω δε σε απεντ[ευθεν κυριευειν και]  $\delta[\epsilon]\sigma[\pi\circ\zeta]\epsilon[\iota\nu \ \tau]\circ^{\nu} \ \pi\rho\circ\epsilon[\iota]\rho\eta[\mu]\epsilon[\nu]\circ^{\nu} \ \sigma\nu\mu\pi\circ\sigma\iota\circ^{\nu} \ \kappa\alpha\iota \ [$  $[\ldots]\lambda[.]$  .  $[\ldots]\epsilon_1\ldots\pi a\rho[\ldots]\lambda[.\ldots\dots$   $\delta\epsilon\delta_0[\chi\theta a\iota]$ κυριως εχουση πεπρακεναι σοι το προγεγραμμενον συμποσιον και απεσχηκεναι παρα σου την το $^{v}$ το $^{v}$  τιμην εν χρυσο $^{v}$  νομισμασιν τρεισι κ $_{0}$  ταυτην εκθεσθαι σοί την πρασιν προς ασφαλειαν κυριαν και βεβαιαν μεθ ϋπογραφης το υπερ εμου υπογραφοντος και των εξης μαρτυρουντων κι επερωτηθεισα κατα προσωπον ωμολογησα δηλον δε οτι και το αιρουν μοι μερος απο των κοινωνιμαιων τοπων απο θεμελειων αχρι το αέρος και ουτως επερωτη $\theta$ εισα ωμολογησα (2nd hand)  $\mathbf{P}$  Αυρηλία Ταείτ  $\Delta$ ιο ακ[/?] η προκ/ πεπρακά το μέρος μο $^{[v]}$  της οικί[as] της τιμης νομισματία τρια και στοιχει μοι παντα τα ενγεγραμμενα ως προκ/ Φλί Αβρααμ Παυλου αγουσταλί λεγί Συηνης αξιωθεις [εγ]ρ[a]ψ[a]  $\ddot{v}περ$  αντ[η]ς γρ[αμμα]τα μη ειδηειης  $\ref{p}$ (3rd hand) +  $A \ldots \epsilon \lambda a_1 \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta / \epsilon \kappa \kappa \lambda \nu \sigma \iota \alpha s \Sigma \nu \eta \nu \eta s \mu \alpha \rho \tau \nu \rho \omega$ (4th hand) 🗜 Πασμητ Τυραννου διακ/ εκκ/ Συηνης μαρτυρω

(5th hand)  $\mathbf{P}$   $\Phi \lambda \mathbf{i}$  Euloyios  $\mathbf{A} \lambda \lambda \mathbf{a} \mu \omega [vos] \kappa [\epsilon v]_{\mathbf{I}} [v\rho] \lambda \epsilon \gamma \mathbf{i}$   $\mathbf{\Sigma} v \eta v \eta \mathbf{s} \mu \mathbf{a} \rho \tau v \rho \omega$ 

3. It would be possible to read  $av]\lambda \eta s \ o^{\nu} \kappa [$  or  $av]\lambda \eta \ \sigma o^{\nu} \kappa [ai.$  In ll. 13, 15 only a  $\sigma v \mu \pi \delta \sigma \iota o \nu$  is mentioned, but  $a v \lambda \dot{\eta} \ \sigma o v$  might be mentioned in the specification of the position of the  $\sigma v \mu \pi \delta \sigma \iota o v$ .

5.  $\delta\iota\alpha$   $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\sigma$ s  $\sigma\sigma\nu$ : usually only  $\delta\iota\dot{\alpha}$   $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\dot{\alpha}$ s, but sometimes, e.g. Mon. 4, 23, the pronoun is inserted. Here it seems required, because, though the fragments of this line are placed in the frame too far to the right, the space, without  $\sigma\sigma\nu$ , would be rather small as compared with that indicated in the next line (where, however, the first letter visible is under the  $\theta$  of  $a\rho\iota\theta\mu\omega$ ).

6. βεβαίωσω σοι: it is usual to add την προσίν, but here there seems no room. The present may be used, as in 1733, 72. After δια παντος, και is sometimes inserted and sometimes omitted. Here considerations of space make it better to omit it. In Mon. 9, 71; 11, 43 f. we find ἀπὸ παντὸς διὰ παντός.

9. The reading (which is got from 1781, 25; cf. Mon. 11, 55) is inferred only from very small traces; but these favour it strongly and do not suit η δικην or η επιφυηναι or η εναγειν alone. διαιταν itself is not a certain reading; for though διαιταν κινησαι is

a regular phrase (e.g. 1724, 57 f.; 1727, 50; 1731, 25; Mon. 11, 55; 14, 67 f., 82), and the traces on the line suit it, before the character read as  $\tau$  is an upstroke which suggests  $\eta$  (rather than long  $\iota$ ). Perhaps there has been a correction.

18. δηλον δε κτλ.: this is an afterthought.

19.  $\tau o \pi \omega \nu$ :  $\pi \omega \nu$  is smeared so as to be almost illegible. Perhaps it was intended to delete the whole word, but as the earlier part of  $\theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \omega \nu$  is also smeared, though to a less extent, this seems unlikely.

20. ακ/: ακ seems clear, and perhaps Dius was an actuarius.

21. της οικιας της: οικιας is very doubtful.

25. A . . . . . : the traces would perhaps suit  $A\mu\epsilon\psi[\iota\sigma s]$ , but this is an unlikely name for a sixth century Copt.

εκκλυσιας: Ι. ἐκκλησίας.

26.  $\Pi \alpha \sigma \mu \eta \tau$ : or possibly  $\Pi \omega \mu \eta \tau$ .

27. For this witness see Mon. 8, 45. The ink here is very faint, and the words  $A\lambda\lambda a\mu\omega\nu\sigma s$  and  $\kappa\epsilon\nu\tau\nu\rho/$  could not be read without the help of the Munich document.

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(6th hand) \mathbf{P} \Phi \lambda \mathbf{i} \Delta \log \Pi a u \lambda o u \sigma \tau \rho / \lambda \epsilon y \Sigma u \eta v \eta s \mu a \rho \tau u \rho \omega
                       (7th hand) Φλί Απα Διος Μαρτιο\ στρ/ λεγί Συηνης μαρτυρω
30 (8th hand) $\mathbf{P} \Phi \left( \text{\text{\frac{1}{3}}} \omega \text{\text{\text{\text{\frac{1}{3}}}} \omega \text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\texi}\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\texi}\text{\text{\text{\texi}\text{\texi}\text{\text{\texi}\tint{\text{\texi}\text{\text{\text{\texit{\text{\text{\text{\
                                                                          (9th hand) \not\models \delta \iota \in \mu \circ \nu \land \beta \rho \circ \mu \land \Delta \iota \circ \land \varepsilon \vee \rho \circ \phi \eta
Endorsed across the fibres (at the back of the protocol):—
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                ... προς Πατερμο θιν S
                                                                                                                                                                                                      (10th hand)
 32
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         Τκακωτ
 33
         29. Perhaps, but not certainly, different from the person
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    λεγεωνη Σηνης: sic.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             31. This seems clearly not the hand of the document itself,
 so called in 1723, 25; Mon. 1, 60.
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    and the ink is of a different (brown) colour.
          30. Ανθερίο: sic. Not Ανθεμίο.
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### PAPYRUS 1735.—Late 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1803 B. Acquired in 1907. Babylon (?); from Assuân (?). Fragmentary; continuous portion 1 ft.  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a loose, upright, irregular cursive hand, across the fibres; papyrus much rubbed. Folded from the bottom upwards. See *Klio*, xiii, p. 167 f.

If the conjectural extension of  $Ba^-$  or  $Ba_0$  as  $Ba\beta\nu\lambda\hat{\omega}\nu$ s is correct (and it is not easy to see what else can be intended), this document has a special interest from having been written at Babylon, the fortress at the head of the Delta whose fall before 'Amr led to the loss of Egypt to the Byzantine Empire. It is in this case important to observe that, contrary to what we might have expected, there was only one numerus stationed at this important post; for had there been more than one the subscribers would not have called themselves soldiers of 'the numerus of Babylon', but would have added some distinguishing epithet to the numerus.

As there is no mention of Syene in the mutilated remains of the document it is not absolutely certain that it comes from Assuân; but since it is difficult otherwise to account for its presence among the Syene papyri it seems probable that, though written at Ba(bylon), it either related to a house at Syene or was taken to Syene by the purchaser. Prof. Heisenberg has referred to Oxy. ix. 1190, where recruits are ordered to be sent to Babylon. These particular recruits may however have been intended for service outside Egypt or in the Delta; and though it is not impossible that new recruits, even when intended for service in Upper Egypt, were sometimes required to present themselves for inspection at Babylon, it is not necessary to invoke this supposition to explain the hypothetical presence of a resident of Syene at that place. Patermuthius, for example, was by profession a sailor; and it is quite possible that he or some other native of Syene may have made a purchase of house property during a temporary stay at Babylon.

A fragment in **1851** seems from the hand to belong to this document, and this supposition is supported by the contents, which read  $\tau o \pi$ ] $\epsilon \mu \pi \tau o \nu \mu \epsilon \rho o \tau \eta s o \lambda o \kappa \lambda \eta \rho o \nu \rho \iota \kappa \iota a \tau \eta s [|T\rho] \iota a \delta o s \kappa a \iota \tau o \nu \dots [$ .

For a discussion of the various problems regarding the fortress of Babylon, see A. J. Butler, Babylon of Egypt, Oxford, 1914.

αυθαιρετω βουλ]ησει και αδολω πρ[οαιρεσει ε]κουσα και πεπεισμενη παντι πληρεστατω [δεσποτειας δικαιω ] . . . . . στεγη [ 5 [συν]αρεσασης χρυσου νομισματιων δεσποτικων δοκιμων παρ[α] κε[ρατια  $[\dot{r},\dot{r}] \in \delta$   $[\dot{r},\dot{r}] \in \delta$   $[\dot{r}] \in \delta$   $[\dot{r}]$  $[\sigma\eta]$ μερον το προκειμενον πεμπτον μερος οικιας και καταγεγρα $\phi$ ηκα και παραδεδωκ[a][σοι την].... και την δεσποτείαν αναφαιρέτον και αναμφισβητητον και πασαν αυτοτελη εξουσιαν επι το διηνεκες ως προδεδηλωται ωστε σε τον ωνουμενον και κληρονομους σους [και] διαδοχούς και διακατοχούς τουτο κρατείν και κυριέ[υ]έ[ιν] κ[αι τ] $\eta$ [ν] δ[εσ] $\pi$ οτείαν έχει[ν] κ[αι] μεταπωλείν χαρισασθαι εκμισθούν σ[υ]νοικιαζείν καταλλαττείν κατατιθ[εσ]θαί επι κ[λ]ηρονομους διαδοχους η διακατοχους επι τον εξης απ[α]ντα χρονον εξουσιας μο[ι]  $ο^{\nu}$ κ ουση[s] τη πεπρακ[ν]ειη μητε τοις εμοις κληρονομοις οικειοις τε και ξενοις εναγείν σοι η εγκαλείν σοι η ολως επελευσασ $\theta$ αι σοι τουτου ενεκέν του προκείμενου πεμπτο $^{v}$ 15 με[ρους ? η περι] αλλου ο[ιουδηποτε και] τον σοι <math>[ε]π[ε]λευσομενον εγω αυτη η π[επ]ρακυια  $\ddot{\imath}$ διοις μου  $\ddot{a}$ μαλωμασι $\dot{\nu}$  αποσ $eta\eta[\sigma]_{0}[\mu]$  $\ddot{a}$  $\dot{\mu}$  και καhetaαροποιησω σοι  $\dot{\tau}$ αυ $\dot{\tau}$ η $\dot{\nu}$   $\dot{\tau}$ [η $\dot{\nu}$ ]  $\dot{\tau}$ ρ $\dot{a}$ σ $[\iota\nu]$  $\epsilon \nu$  παν $[\tau]$ ι κα $[\iota]$ ρω και  $\chi$ [ρονω και την] κρ $[\alpha \tau]$ ησιν φυλαττείν σοι δια παντος η επιγνωναι σοι τιμην την προγεγρ/ εν διπλω και τα βλαβη και τα δαπανηματα εις τε βελτιώσιν και εις δικην και προς ασφαλειαν σην εθεμην την πρασιν κυρ/ και  $\beta$ ε $\beta$ 5 και ε $\pi$ [ερ/ ωμολ/] 20 (2nd hand) 🗜 Αυρηλία Ταρσε η προκ/ εθεμην την πρασίν του πεμπτου μέρος οικία[ς παρεί] ληφυια παρα σου το τελο[ς] και τιμημα εν χρυσου νομισματιοις τρισιν και

βεβαιωσω την πρασιν παση' βεβαιωσει και στοιχει μοι παντα τα εγγραμμή ως προκ/

και ειπουσης μοι γραμματα μη ειδυειης 🗜 (3rd hand) Φλ/ Ϊακωβ Ιωαννου Φαρ αριθμου Βα-/

Φλί Βικτωρ Ϊωαννοί στρ/ αριθμί Βα- αξιωθεις εγραψα υπερ αυτης παρουσης

- 1. A preceding fragment, which contains portions of 3 lines, seems to belong to this document, but it is too much rubbed for any continuous transcription. There are also a few small fragments which seem more likely to belong to 1735 than to 1726.
  - 3. στεγη: very doubtful.
- 5.  $\pi a \rho a \kappa \epsilon \rho a \tau a$ : the number of solidi, which, as we learn from 1. 21, was three, should be given here, but  $\tau \rho \iota \omega \nu$  seems impossible and  $a \rho$  all but certain. On the other hand there is not room for  $[\tau \epsilon \sigma \sigma] a \rho [\omega \nu]$ . The letter before  $a \rho$ , though very uncertain, may well be  $\pi$ , and the two very small traces after it are at least consistent with  $\kappa \epsilon$ . Probably, therefore, the scribe has accidentally omitted the number.
- 8. The traces before  $\kappa a\iota$  are really too small for any certain reading;  $\kappa \rho a\tau \eta \sigma \iota \nu$ ,  $\kappa \nu \rho \epsilon \iota a\nu$ , and  $a\nu \theta \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \iota a\nu$  are none of them suggested.
- II. συνοικιαζειν: the a is certain, though its insertion may be erroneous. The sense seems to be to enlarge the house by adding new constructions to it.
- κατατιθεσθαι: the usual word is καταλείπειν οr καταλιμπάνειν, but both seem impossible here, and κατατιθεσθαι, though not certain, is suggested by the remains.

- 13. The readings at the beginning are very doubtful.
- 15. oιονδηποτε: this is rather suggested by the trace at the beginning, which looks like o.
- 16.  $\alpha\pi\sigma\sigma\beta\eta\sigma\sigma\mu\alpha$ : the word should be  $\partial \pi\sigma\sigma\sigma\beta\eta\sigma\omega$ , but the letter after  $\sigma$  seems clearly  $\beta$ , and the traces extend too far for  $\alpha\pi\sigma\sigma\langle\sigma\rangle\beta\eta[\sigma\omega]$ ; moreover they rather favour the reading given. Probably, therefore, the scribe has confused the two words.
- 17. την κρατησιν: the faint traces visible seem to favour this reading.  $\phi$ υλαττειν should be  $\phi$ υλάξω.
- 18. βελτιωσιν: this does not refer, as the context might suggest, to a legal operation, but to repairs to the house. This is proved by P. Par. 21, 50 (in l. 51 read εls τίκην = δίκην); 21 bis, 27; P. Jomard ap. P. Par., p. 258, l. 15.
  - 20. μερος: sic.
- 21.  $\tau o \tau \epsilon \lambda o s_{\bullet} \kappa a \iota \tau \iota \mu \eta \mu a$ : the reading is probable, though not certain. The reference is apparently to the price, but it is not clear why the words  $\tau \epsilon \lambda o s$  and  $\tau \iota \mu \eta \mu a$  are employed.
  - 22. εγγραμμς: sic.
- 24. The subscription which begins here is in a hand very similar to the last, but it is probably not the same. All these subscriptions appear very similar in hand, but the traces are too

25  $a\xi[\iota]\omega[\theta_{\varsigma}]$  εχ[ρα]ψα [υπ]ερ αυτης παρουσης και ειπουσης μοι γραμματα μη ειδοτος (4th hand) Φλ $\varsigma$  . . . . . . αριθμου Βα<sup>[']</sup> μαρτυρω τη πρασιν ακουσας παρα της θεμενη[ς] + (5th hand) . . . . . ου . . . . . . [? αριθμ]ου Βα[' μαρτυρω (6th hand?)  $\varphi$  δι εμου Θεοδοσιου Απολλωνιου νομικ/ Βα $\varsigma$  εγραφη  $\varphi$ 

faint for any very exact comparison. It is to be noticed that this subscriber also says that he has written on behalf of Tarse. Presumably this is due to confusion, the writer having copied the preceding subscription.

 $\Phi a \rho$ : we should expect here not a name but  $\sigma \tau \rho (\alpha \tau \iota \acute{\omega} \tau \eta s)$  or some military title, and  $\Phi a \rho$  is not a likely name; but it is difficult to see what far- could be. Fartor seems very impro-

bable in the context. The reading seems certain, and  $\sigma\tau\rho/$  is quite impossible.

26. προσιν: sic.

27. Bal': the two strokes at the end are connected, like our modern  $\nu$ . Possibly Ba $\beta$ ' can be read.

29. Just possibly the notary wrote the body of the document, though the subscription is in a much more sloping hand than it.

# PAPYRUS 1736.—25 Feb., A. D. 611.

Inv. No. 1788. Acquired in 1907. Syene. If  $t \times 4\frac{7}{8}$  in. In a small, cramped, sloping, very cursive hand, along the fibres; ink of a brown tint. Folded from right to left; when acquired, inside a split bamboo (?) stem.

IOAN by Aur. John, a sailor, to Patermuthius and Kako of four solidi, repayable at the will of the creditor, and at an annual interest of  $8\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. The document is remarkable for the great cursiveness of the hand, in which it is, like 1737, exceptional among documents of this period. The document is in the hand of the person who subscribes for the borrowers.

- + βασιλ[ειας του θειο]τα[τδ] κ, γαλη[νοτατο]υ κ, θεοστεφους ημων δ[εσποτ]ου Φλ, Ηρακλειου του [αι]ωνιο Αυγουστου Αυτοκρατορ[ος] ετους πρωτο Φ[αμ]ενωθ α ϊνδ/ ιδ Φλ, Πατερ[μο]υθις Μηνα στρ/ αριθμε Ελεφ/ ναυτης 5 απο Συηνη[ς και] η τουτος συμβιος Αυρηλια Κακο θυγατηρ Ι[α]κωβο + Αυρηλιω Ιωαννη Πιτυρων[ο]ς ναυτη απο της αυτης Συηνης χαιρ/ ομολογ[ου]μεν εξ αληλεγγυης δια ταν της μου τη[ς] εγγραφο ασφαλείας εσχηκεναι κ, 10 δεδανεισθαι παρα σου σημερον εις αναγκραν ημ χρειαν χρυσου νομισματα τεσσερα ζυγω Συηνης γι/ χρ/ νο δ ζ/ Συηνε απερ ετοιμως εχομεν
- 1. The invocation will have preceded. In the Syene documents of the reign of Maurice this followed the Christ formula, but under Heraclius the Trinitarian formula may very likely have been substituted; see Bell, A dating clause under Heraclius in Byz. Zeitschr. xxii, p. 395 ff., particularly p. 400.
- 3.  $\bar{a}$ : this is formed without lifting the pen, the downstroke of a being turned upwards and then continued as the horizontal

stroke.

8. αληλεγγυης: sic.

9. μου: sic; it should be ήμῶν.

10.  $avayk(a\iota)av \eta\mu(\omega v)$ : or perhaps  $avayksat\eta v$  (sic, for  $dvayka\iota o \tau d\tau \eta v$ ); but very likely  $\mu o v$  was first written and then altered to  $\eta \mu$ .

 $\pi a \rho a \sigma \chi \epsilon [i \nu \ \sigma] o i \ o \pi o \tau a \nu \ \beta o \nu \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon i \eta s \ \tau o \nu \tau \ \epsilon \sigma \tau i \nu$ καθ εκ[αστο]ν ενιαυτον χρ[υ]σου τριμησιονΙ 5  $\epsilon \nu$  ζυγώ  $\Sigma[v]$ ηνης απο της προγεγρ/ ημερας ϊδιω ημων κινδυνω κ, πορω της ημων υποστα σεως ιδικώς κι γενικώς νομω ενεχυρο χωρις τιν[0]ς αντιλογιας  $κ_1$  εις ασφ/ σην πεποι  $\eta\mu\epsilon\theta$ α ουν  $\tau[\eta\nu]$  αλληλ, ασφ/ κυρ/ κ,  $\beta\epsilon$  απανταχ, προφ/ 20  $\mu\epsilon\theta$   $\nu\pi[o]\gamma\rho/\tau[o\nu]$   $\nu\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\eta\mu\omega\nu$   $\nu\pi\circ\gamma\rho/\kappa$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\rho/\omega\mu\circ\lambda\circ\gamma\eta$  $\sigma$ αμεν κ, [α] $\pi$ ελ[υσς] Φλς Παθερμουθις Μηνα  $\sigma \tau \rho / \alpha \rho \iota \theta [\ ]$   $\epsilon \nu \ [\tau \eta] \ Ελεφ / και η τουτου συμβιος$ Av[ρ]ηλ[ι]α Κακο $^{^{\prime}}$  θυγατηρ  $\ddot{I}$ ακω $\beta$  οι προ γεγραμμενοι στοιχει ημιν η ασφαλεια 25 των τεσσαρων νομισματιων ζυγω Συηνης ως προκ/ 🗜 Φλί Διος Βασιλειδου απο ακτουαρ/ αριθμου Συη[ν]ης αξιωθεις εγραψα ϋπερ αυτων [γ]ραμματα μη ειδοτων + (2nd hand) +  $\sum \tau \rho \alpha$ .  $\psi \circ s = [\delta] \iota \alpha \kappa / \mu \alpha \rho \tau \nu \rho \omega'$ 30 (3rd hand) +  $\Phi \lambda // I \omega \alpha \nu \eta S K \alpha \epsilon \iota \tau O S \sigma \tau \rho^{\alpha} / \alpha \rho \iota \theta \mu^{O}$  $[\Sigma v]\eta \nu \eta s$  μαρ $[\tau v]\rho \omega$  + (4th hand) Φλί Βικτορος [I]  $\omega a \nu \nu o v \sigma \tau \rho [/] a [\rho] \iota \theta \mu [o v \Sigma v \eta \nu \eta] s$  $[\mu]$ αρτυρ $\omega$  [+] (1st hand)  $+\delta[\iota/$ 

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

35 (5th hand)  $[+a\sigma\phi]/$  Πατερμουθιον Μηνα και Κακδ γαμή αυτή . . .  $+ \nu^{\rm lol}$  δ ζ/ Συηνή

13 f. rour  $\epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \nu \kappa \tau \lambda$ .: this clearly does not mean that the loan was to be repaid at the rate of one tremissis ( $=\frac{1}{3}$  solidus) a year, for it is repayable at will; the tremissis is apparently the interest. This gives a rate of  $8\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. per annum.

19. our  $\tau\eta\nu$ : a very doubtful reading, but it suits the traces better than  $\tau a \nu \tau \eta \nu$  or  $\tau \eta \nu$   $\epsilon \gamma \gamma \rho /$ , and there is hardly room for  $\tau \eta \nu \tau [\rho o s]$ , which the traces visible rather suggest. If the reading is correct,  $a\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda/=a\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\nu\sigma\nu$ .

22.  $a\rho\iota\theta(\mu o\nu)$   $\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\eta$   $E\lambda\epsilon\varphi(a\nu\tau\iota\nu\eta)$ : the phrase is unusual, and the reading very uncertain, but it seems hardly possible to read  $a\rho\iota\theta\mu o\nu$ , which, moreover, would not fill the space, and

the traces suggest  $\epsilon \nu$ .  $\tau \eta$  is read after this because something is required in the lacuna. Perhaps  $\nu \eta \sigma$  may have been written.

- 23. Kako': sic; perhaps not really meant for Kakov, for the stroke may be merely an apostrophe, as in l. 5; but it seems to be written Kako on the verso.
  - 29. Στρα. ψος: Στρατηγιος does not seem possible.
- 30. Kaeitos: ei $\tau$  is probably meant, but the top-stroke of  $\tau$  is attached to the  $\iota$ , so that the combination looks like etos or eios.
- 34.  $+\delta[\iota/:]$  read after this something like  $\epsilon\mu\nu\nu$  PAS  $\Delta\iota\nu\nu$  Basiletion and aktovap/  $\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$ , since the subscription in ll. 21–28, written by Dius, is in the same hand as the body of the document.

# PAPYRUS 1737.—9 Feb., A. D. 613.

Inv. No. 1789. Acquired in 1907. Syene. 1 ft. 0\frac{1}{4} in. \times 5\frac{1}{4} in. Written in a very uneven cursive hand, with ink of poor quality, along the fibres. Folded from right to left. When acquired, tied to a strip of wood.

A SECOND loan, between the same parties as the last, except that Kako is not here mentioned. It may be that she had died in the interval, but this is not of course a necessary

inference. In this transaction, unlike the first, Patermuthius gives security for the repayment of the loan, which is for  $3\frac{1}{3}$  solidi, with interest at the rate of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum.

The document, like the last, is in a hand extremely difficult to decipher, though in this case the difficulty is due less to the cursiveness than to the badness of the writing. It is unlikely that the document is, as suggested in *Klio*, xiii, p. 169, in the same hand as **1736**. It is the latest in date of all the Syene papyri.

 $[\ldots, \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{$  $\delta \epsilon \sigma \pi [o\tau] \bar{\phi} \Phi \lambda [^a H \rho] \alpha \kappa \lambda \epsilon \iota [ov του] αιω [vioυ Αυγ] ου στου και [A] υτοκρατορος$  $ετους [τ]ριτο [[Με]] [Μ]εχειρ ιε <math>\ddot{ι}ν^{\delta}/πρω[τ]ης$ Φλ'  $\Pi[a]$ τερμου $\theta[\iota]$ ς  $Mη[\nu]a$   $[\sigma]$ τρ/ aριθμς Ελεφ/ ν[aν]της απ[ο Σ]νηνης + Αυρηλ[ιω Ιωα]ννη Πιτυρωνο[ς] ναυτηαπο της Συηνη[ς] χαιρ/ + [ομολο]γω εγω Πατερμουθις δια ταυτης μου της εγγραφο ασφ[α]λειας εσχηκεναι και δεδανεισ  $\theta$ αι παρα σου σημερον εί[s] α]ναγκαιαν μ $\bar{o}$  χρειαν χρυσο $^{v}$ νομιματα τρεια τριτον ζυγω Συηνης γι/ χρ/ νο γ γ' ζ/ Συην 10 και ταυτα συν $^{\theta}$  ετοιμως εχώ παρασχειν σοι οποταν  $\beta$ ο λη  $\theta$ ειης μετα τη[ς] τουτων [ $\epsilon$ ]πικερδειας εκαστου νομισμ[ατο]ς κατα μηνα  $\chi \rho[v] \sigma o v$  κερατι $[o]^v$  τεταρτον απο της προγεγρ/ ημερας χωρις τινος αντιλογι[ας] ϋποθεμην δε σοι λογω ενε χυρο οριχαλκώδη συνγεινονται λειτρας 15 λ κδί τω χαριστι[ω]ν εμό και καταν . . . . . περιεχον λ ρ <math>ε[φ ω] τε ταυτα ειναι υπο την σην εξουσι[α]ν αχρι α $[\pi]$ οδοσεως και συμπληρωσεω[s]

- 1. For the opening formula see 1736, 1, note. The style of Heraclius was clearly different from that in 1736, but it is not clear what preceded  $?\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau a]\tau(o\nu)$ . The traces visible do not suit any part of  $\beta a\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota as$ . They might, however, be read as  $\theta\epsilon]\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon[\phi a\nu s$  without much difficulty. There is no trace of  $\eta\mu\omega\nu$  having been written at the end of the line, but the ink may possibly have flaked off.
- 3. The scribe apparently wrote  $\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\rho$ , and then crossed out the first  $\mu\epsilon$ . This is to be inferred from the facts (1) that the visible  $\mu\epsilon$  has a stroke through it, (2) that what seems a second  $\epsilon$  precedes  $\chi$  and is separated by a lacuna from  $\mu\epsilon$ .
- 6.  $l. \tau \eta s$  (a $llow \tau \eta s$ ) Su $llow \eta s$ . After the lacuna following the cross the characters are like  $\gamma \omega$ , but if this is right  $o\mu o\lambda o$  must have been much cramped, and, cursive as this hand is, it is not unlikely that the word was miswritten, a letter or letters being omitted. The lacuna should however be a little larger than at present, the two portions of the papyrus having been placed rather too close together in mounting.

Πατερμουθις: the first three letters (which are badly formed) have been rewritten, with a very thin pen, under the line.

8.  $a\nu a\gamma\kappa a\iota a\nu$   $\mu o\nu$ : here again, as in 1736, 10 (see note there), there is a doubt as to the reading.  $a\nu$  seems clear, but  $\mu \bar{a}$  is extremely doubtful, and it is quite likely that  $\eta\mu$  (for  $\dot{\eta}\mu\hat{a}\nu$ ) was written, as read in 1736. Perhaps this document was founded on that.

9.  $\nu o \mu \mu a \tau a$ : sic, apparently; but the  $\mu a$  is all run together,

٧.

and perhaps this blotted portion contains the  $\sigma$  as well.

13. ὕπαθεμην: l. ὑπεθεμην; but the latter part is very doubtful, and υπαθετερν should perhaps be read.

14. αριχαλκωδη συνγεινανται: if the reading is correct the meaning must be 'articles of copper, amounting to ' $24\frac{1}{2}$  litrae (in weight). The reading accords well with the traces, and the chief reason for doubting it is the novelty of the word  $\partial \rho_1 \chi \alpha \lambda \kappa \omega \delta \eta s$  and the construction.

 $\lambda \epsilon_{i\tau\rho as}$ : if this is right,  $\lambda$  is superfluous in 1. 15.

15. χαριστίων εμου: the reading, which, if correct, is for χαριστίων ἐμοῦ, is doubtful, though suggested by the traces; or χαριστίω (perhaps χαριστίω) may be read. χαριστίων is mentioned by Simplicius, in Arist. Phys. vii. 5 (ed. Diels, Berlin, 1895, p. 1110, l. 3 f.), τὰ σταθμιστικὸν (var. lect. σταθμικὰν) ἄργαναν τὸν καλαύμενον χαριστίωνα; it was invented by Archimedes. The word σταθμιστικάν implies a weighing-machine, but the context and the remark attributed to Archimedes (cf. also Tzetzes, Hist. 2, 130) 'πᾶ βῶ, καὶ χαριστίωνι τὰν γᾶν κινήσω πᾶσαν;' points rather to a machine for lifting. But there may have been in later times a weighing-machine (a steelyard?) called χαριστίων.

16.  $\lambda\iota(\tau\rho\alpha s)$   $\rho$   $\epsilon\phi$   $\omega$ : written  $\rho\epsilon$  with a space following, so that  $\rho\epsilon$  (= 105) is in itself the likeliest reading; but in that case there can hardly be room in the lacuna for  $\epsilon\phi$   $\omega$ , which the context requires.

17.  $\epsilon \xi$ ou $\sigma$ ia $\nu$ : the  $\xi$  is made in a very unusual way, being a straight upstroke inclined slightly to the right, followed by

του εγκειμενού χρ[υ]σου ενεχερω ειρ.... και εις ασφ/ πεποιημαι [τ]ουτο το γραμή κυρ/ς κη βεβς 20 απαντ προφ/ και επερ/ [ω]μολογησα + (2nd hand) Φλς Κολλο υθος Αλεξανδρος κητρου αριθμου Σηνης μαρτυρω + (3rd hand) ‡ Φλ/ Θεω δωσιος Απα Δειο στρ/ αριθμ ου Σϋηνης μαρτηρω ‡ (4th hand) Φλ/ 25 Φαυστινος Παχυμιου στρ/ αριθμου Σηηνης μαρτυρω + (1st hand) + δια εμδ Διου Θ....

Endorsed, along the fibres:—
(5th hand) [+ ασ]φ/ Πατερμοθιο Μηνα ναυτί απο Συηνης

γι/ χρ/ ν. γ γ' ζ/ Συηνης

a long downstroke, curving at the top from the left and straight below.

18. ενεχερω: apparently for ένεχύρω.

20 f.  $Ko\lambda\lambda o|\nu\theta os$ : this curious division is no doubt due to the fact that the inexpert writer, on writing o, found that he had no room left for  $\nu$ . But  $o\lambda\lambda o$  is only a doubtful reading.

21. Αλεξανδρος: Ι. 'Αλεξάνδρου.

κητρου: hardly κευτρου, but probably κευτυρίων is meant.

22. Σηνης: sic.

23. Δειο: sic.

24. Σΰηνης: ΰ corr. from ,η.

27.  $\Theta[a]\lambda a\sigma i \phi$  is perhaps just possible but not likely, though  $\Theta[a]\lambda$  is an easy reading.

28. Not in the same hand as the endorsement of 1736.

#### V. Miscellaneous.

### I. Taxation.

# PAPYRUS 1738.—19 Sept., A. D. 710(?) or 680(?).

Inv. No. 1720 A. Acquired in 1906. Oxyrhynchus (?).  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $3\frac{7}{8}$  in. In a small neat minuscule hand, along the fibres. Papyrus folded from the bottom upwards; round the first two or three folds is wound a strand of papyrus, which still bears the clay seal. The upper part of the papyrus was folded over this lower part, and the marks made by the seal on successive folds can still be traced. Between this and the text is a space of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. The seal, which is grey in colour, bears an indistinct device, perhaps of two human figures facing each other.

NDER this general heading are collected papyri from various localities. The provenance of many is uncertain; of those which can be identified the majority come from Hermopolis or the Hermopolite nome, but a certain number are from Oxyrhynchus. The papyri in this part are arranged by subject; and the present section contains documents relating to taxation, beginning with a series of tax-receipts. These are mostly of one or other of the types common at this period, which can be studied in Wessely's valuable collection *Griechische Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats* (Studien zur Pal. u. Papyrusk. iii + viii), here referred to as UKF.

First are placed two receipts for more than one money-tax. The present one is for land-tax ( $\delta\eta\mu\delta\sigma\iota a$ ), poll-tax ( $\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$ ), and  $\delta\alpha\pi\delta\nu\eta$ , for which see the introduction to **1419**. It is to be noted that land- and poll-tax are described as part of the canon, but that  $\delta\alpha\pi\delta\nu\eta$  is not. The former two are paid for the 8th indiction, the last possibly (see note on l. 3) for the 7th-9th indictions. It is therefore noteworthy that the total amount is only  $\frac{1}{4}$  s.

The receipt follows the formula:—Date;  $\delta \sigma \chi o \nu$ ;  $\delta \iota \dot{\alpha}$ ; N. N.;  $\dot{\alpha}\pi \dot{\alpha}$ ; tax; year for which payable; amount; date again (?); scribal signature. For receipts of similar, though not in all points identical, arrangement see Wessely, UKF. 697; 699 ff. The  $\dot{\alpha}\pi \dot{\alpha}$  may very likely mean that the payment is only part of the year's quota, though this is not perhaps a necessary inference. In this case, however, it is probable that the payment is really an instalment; for whereas Menas here pays only  $\frac{1}{4}$  s. for land-tax, poll-tax, and  $\delta \alpha \pi \dot{\alpha} \nu \eta$ , we find him in 1744 and possibly in 1749 paying 1s. for poll-tax alone. The same Menas may also occur in 1743; 1751; and 1864.

$$+ \Theta^{\omega} / \kappa \beta \ \iota^{\delta} / \theta \ \epsilon \sigma \chi \ \delta / \ M \eta \nu a \ \Sigma a \rho a \pi^{a} \ \sigma \tau \rho^{-} \ a \pi o \\ \delta \eta \mu o \sigma \iota^{\omega} \ S \ \delta \iota a \gamma \rho^{a} / \kappa a \nu \omega \nu^{o} \ o \gamma \delta o \eta \ \iota^{\delta} / \ S \ \delta^{\pi} / \\ \iota \nu^{\delta} / \ \zeta \ [\eta] \ \theta \ a \rho^{\theta} \ \nu^{o} \ \delta / \ \tau \varsigma \ \tau [\nu \theta \ ? \ \dots \ ] \ A \theta a \nu a \sigma \iota^{o} / \ \sigma \tau [o \iota]^{\chi} .$$

1.  $\Sigma a \rho a \pi^a$ : as the line above has a loop at the beginning, suggesting a, the name is probably rather  $\Sigma a \rho a \pi \hat{a} \mu \mu \omega v \sigma s$  (or  $\Sigma a \rho a \pi \hat{a}$ ) than  $\Sigma a \rho a \pi \hat{a} \omega v \sigma s$ .

 $\sigma\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\iota\omega\tau\sigma\nu)$ : 'soldiers' occur several times in vol. iv under Arab rule. What is meant is of course not soldiers of the expeditionary army, who were Mohammedans, but, probably, soldiers in the service of the local officials, gendarmes.

2. αγδοη: Ι. ἀγδόης.

3.  $\zeta[\eta]\theta$ : or  $\zeta[\epsilon^{\omega}]\theta$ ;  $\zeta S\theta$  is not likely, as the tax-payer would hardly pay the  $\delta a\pi \acute{a}\nu \eta$  for the 9th before that for the 8th indiction, though it is possible that in the assessment for the latter he was not required to pay  $\delta a\pi \acute{a}\nu \eta$ . But neither  $\zeta$  nor  $\theta$  is a certain reading.

 $\tau \zeta$   $\tau$ [: this is very puzzling. Two such numbers (the reading  $\tau \zeta$  is practically certain) naturally suggest the eras of Oxyrhynchus. To the year 390 of the earlier era corresponds the year 359 of the later, and hence the supplement. These figures

correspond to the year A.D. 713. But the indiction is the 9th, which, in this indiction-period, is the year 710-711. It is of course possible that the scribe has miscalculated the years of Oxyrhynchus, and since he is more likely to have made a mistake there than in the indiction we can, in case these eras are granted, unhesitatingly decide for A. D. 710 as the year; but it is an unsatisfactory conclusion. It is perhaps just possible but very unlikely that the character following  $\tau c$ , though separated from it by a short space, and though more like  $\tau$ , may be read as 5. This might be the year 396 of the era of Diocletian which = A. D. 680, in which a 9th indiction began. There is certainly no symbol for  $\tilde{\epsilon}\tau \sigma \nu s$  before  $\tau \zeta$ , but this is not perhaps a decisive objection to the interpretation of the number as a date, and it is difficult to see what else it can be. Below the lacuna is a downstroke, and it is possible to read  $[\theta] = [\theta] + [\theta] + [\theta] = [\theta] + [\theta] + [\theta] = [\theta] + [\theta]$ probably in the same hand as the body of the document.

### PAPYRUS 1739.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1687 A verso. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{5}{8}$  in. In a small, sloping minuscule hand, along the fibres. Below the text,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. blank papyrus. Folded from the bottom upwards, but there are also indications of a folding from right to left, and the other may have been the first folding, after the document on the recto was written.

RECEIPT for land-tax (δημόσια) and poll-tax (διαγραφή). The payment is made by the brothers (or brother) of Abba Justus, a notary; and this method of indicating the payment suggests that it was made on behalf of Justus by his brothers as his agents.

The papyrus is a piece cut from a letter. The latter is written in a small sloping practised hand of official type, which may date from the Arab period, but is possibly earlier. It reads ]  $a\pi o$   $\tau \eta s$   $a\rho \chi \eta s$   $\epsilon \omega s$   $\tau \eta s$   $v\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho as$   $\kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v\sigma \eta$   $\delta \epsilon [$  ] ] ]  $\epsilon \rho ov$   $\tau a$   $\tau \iota \mu \iota a$   $\ddot{\iota} \chi v \eta$   $\tau ov$   $\theta \epsilon o\phi v \lambda a \kappa \tau o^v \mu o^v \delta [\epsilon \sigma \pi o \tau ov$  (last line).

3.  $\chi^{\omega}$   $\delta'$ : obscure. The natural interpretation is  $\chi \omega \rho is \tau \epsilon \tau \delta \rho \tau \sigma v$ , meaning that  $\frac{1}{4}$  c. (or a quarter of the whole sum?) was deducted, either for deficiency in the weight value of the coins or by way of commission, but this is very uncertain. UKF. 1197 can

hardly be quoted in support, even if we read, with Wessely,  $\chi\omega\rho(is) \tau(o\hat{v})$  rather than, e.g.,  $\epsilon\hat{\iota}(s) \chi(\acute{o})\rho\tau(o\nu)$ , since the document is not a tax-receipt.

### PAPYRUS 1740.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1632 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{1}{8}$  in. In an irregular, rather contorted cursive hand, across the fibres. Probably folded once in the middle (from right to left), and perhaps also from bottom to top.

FTER the receipts for two or more taxes come those for payments of single taxes, and first those for  $\delta\eta\mu\delta\sigma\iota\alpha$ , which may mean, in these cases, either the public taxes as a whole or the land-tax in particular. The present receipt is of an unusual form, seen also in 1758; 1759; 1760; UKF. 297; 298; Lond. iii. 1310 (p. 250). It is to be noticed that all of these, with the possible exceptions of 1760 (where the last line is imperfectly read) and UKF. 298 (where the conclusion is lost), are issued by  $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\tauo\lambda\epsilon\hat{\iota}s$ . The word  $\delta\nuo\mu\alpha$  at the beginning refers to the person whose taxpayment it was, to whom it was entered in the official register,  $\delta\iota\alpha$  to the person who actually made the payment; and it is worthy of notice that in all the receipts of this form (UKF. 298 has lost the portion of the receipt in question but was probably no exception) the payment is made through some other person or persons than the  $\delta\nuo\mu\alpha$  concerned. The present document was issued by the same  $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\tauo\lambda\epsilon\dot{\nu}s$ , to the same person, and written by the same clerk, as Lond. 1310 (the two receipts there are in the same hand, not in two different hands, as stated in the description on p. lxxii). The  $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\tauo\lambda\epsilon\dot{\nu}s$  perhaps recurs in 1758, but this document seems later than that.

χμ.Υ + δεδωκεν ονομ/ Νονα Ολημπιοδωρό δι/ Βασιλειδό απαι/ της Ελευθερας εις λογον δημοσιων πρωτης ινδικτιονος χρυσου κερατια τεσσαρα γι/ χρ/ κ/ δ μονας ‡ Φοιβαμμων διαστολευς δι/ εμού Βικτωρος απαιτ, συμφ/ ‡‡‡

2. Ολημπιοδωρου: sic. The same is to be read in Lond. 1310. aπαι/: ἀπαιτητοῦ if the reading is right, but it is very doubtful. επει/ may also be read, which might perhaps be for ἐπικειμένου; υπερ is hardly possible.

Ελευθεραs: presumably a name, but whether the name of a person or (e.g.) of a monastery is not clear.

3. μονας: sic; so too in Lond. 1310.

διαστολευς: see P. Lips. 90, 2, note. Perhaps the word is

rather to be connected with διαστέλλω, διαστολή in the sense of 'assess', 'assessment', or 'requisition', for which see vol. iv, index.

4.  $\epsilon\mu o \dot{\nu}$ : in the two receipts in Lond. 1310 Victor writes  $\epsilon\mu \bar{\nu}$  with the stroke pointing upwards as here. Here however he has written the  $\nu$  as well.

 $a\pi a u \tau_1$ : the same (instead of  $a\pi \epsilon \gamma \rho$ ) is to be read in Lond. 1310.

### PAPYRUS 1741.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1694 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 3$  in. In a small, neat, regular minuscule, across the fibres.

RECEIPT for  $7\frac{1}{4}$  solidi paid through (or by; see note on l. 1) a ζυγοστάτης. The fact that a ζυγοστάτης is in question rather suggests that the money represents taxes collected by him, with which the contrast between the  $1\frac{1}{4}$ s. paid for  $i\delta\iota\kappa\grave{a}$   $\delta\nu\acute{o}\mu\alpha\tau a$  and the 6 s. paid for other purposes accords well; but see the notes.

- 1. δέδωκεν καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν. If therefore  $\delta(\iota\acute{a})$  is rightly inserted the name of the actual tax-payer does not occur, unless it came in the lost portion, below. Possibly however  $\delta(\iota\acute{a})$  is an error, the construction being a confusion of δέδωκεν καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν Αββᾶς Φοιβάμμων and ἐδόθη καὶ ἐπληρώθη διὰ ΄Α. Φ.
  - ζυ<sup>γ</sup>: ζυγοστάτου.
- 4. ἶδικῶν ὀνομάτων. The fact that the word is in the plural may indicate that δημόσια is used in the more general sense, covering the special taxes, ὀνόματα being taken in the sense of 'persons', so that this payment will be for poll-tax; but it may refer only to land held in various parcels. In the latter case ὄνομα is used in the same way as in 1740.
- 5. ορ<sup>γ</sup>: ὅργων; or ὀργάνων, but the former is favoured, for the Arab period and in the present context, by 1419, 1329 ff.; cf. 1631, col. 2, 2 (?), col. 5, 3, and also P. Copt. Ryl. 149, where, however, the word is abbreviated, as here. It seems likely, from the last instance, and from the juxtaposition with a place-name, that the word is not to be connected, as by Du Cange, with ἔργον, but is a late variant of ὅργανον in the sense of machine for irriga-

tion. It is possible, as suggested in the note to 1419, 1329, that there was a tax (presumably a branch of the land-tax) on such machines; but in 1690, 9; Cair. Masp. i. 67087, 6; iii. 67307, 4 őpyavov is used in the transferred sense of a field under cultivation, and the same sense is clearly to be attributed to μηχανή in 1765, 7; 1808, 2; cf. P. land. i. 63, 3, with Spiess's note; PSI. i. 77, 14-20, ολόκληρον μηχανήν καλουμένην της μητρός Γερμανοῦ, ἐξηρτισμένην πάση ξυλική ἐξαρτία καὶ σιδηρώμασιν, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου όλοκλήρου λάκκου καὶ ὑδρεύματος καὶ κυκλεύματος καὶ κηπίου καὶ μηχανικών ὀργάνων καὶ φυτών παντοίων καὶ τών  $\sigma v \nu \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho [\gamma o] v \mu \epsilon \nu \omega \nu a \dot{v} \tau \hat{\eta} \dot{a} \rho o v \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ , is an excellent illustration of the process by which the transference of meaning was effected (a similar instance now too in Flor. iii. 325). Hence it seems likely that in all these cases in which  $\delta\rho\gamma\omega\nu$  or  $\delta\rho^{\gamma}$  is followed by place-names and connected with the payment of a tax the word is really used in the transferred, not the original, sense. There might, however, still be a tax on irrigating machines, and 1631, col. 2, 2, where opy[ occurs, may be a case in point.

# PAPYRUS 1742.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1699 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 8\frac{1}{8}$  in. In an upright minuscule hand, in rather faded ink, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards.

THERE is nothing of special note in this receipt, which is for  $1\frac{1}{2}$ s. for  $\delta\eta\mu\delta\sigma\iota\nu$ . The word is here in the singular, in accordance with a usage common in Coptic but not usual in Greek; other peculiarities show that the clerk was more at home with the Coptic than with the Greek language.

 $+ Xωρ^{ου} Ταχοι § δημοσιου ζ ιδ/ δ/ κλληρονομου Φοιβ ζικος αρθ νο ας εν ημισυ μ΄ Φαμθ δ ιδ/ ζ Αθανασε στοχι +$ 

1. Χωρου: the ov (and so too that in κλληρονομου) in a monogram. For the name see vol. iv, index of persons, s. v. Χώρος and perhaps Χωλός, Χολ, Χόλος; and index of places (b), s. v.

Χώρου.

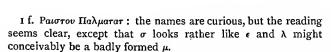
ζικος: probably = ζυγοστάτης (1. -του), which in Coptic was regularly corrupted to ζγνος or ζηνος.

### PAPYRUS 1743.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1719 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown (but see below).  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a sloping, rather inexpert minuscule hand, along the fibres. Papyrus folded from the bottom upwards; round the first two folds was wound a strand of papyrus, which was then sealed; the impression of the seal remains on other folds above. The seal, grey in colour, bears an indistinct device. At the bottom is what looks like a crocodile, and the device above this may possibly be two birds' (ibis?) heads with beaks, with a cross between them.

RECEIPT for  $\frac{1}{2}$ s. for  $\delta\eta\mu\delta\sigma\iota\alpha$ . Apparently the purpose for which the money is raised is specified, but the sense is not very clear. The soldier Abba Menas of 1. 5 may be the same person as in 1738 and other receipts, in which case the provenance is perhaps Oxyrhynchus (see 1738, introduction, and 1. 3, note).

+ Επιφ κε ιδ/ ι εσχο δ/ Ραιστου
Παλματατ απο δημοσιῶ
εννατης ι/ αρθ νο ζ ημεσε μ/
ξο υποδοχ τυλ και στικ /
5 τασθ δθ/ δ/ Αββ - Μηνα στρ -



3.  $\eta\mu\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$ : sic, unless it is  $\eta\mu\nu\sigma\epsilon$ .

 $\mu/:=\mu$ όνον.

4 f. These lines seem to specify the purpose for which the

money is raised. Extend here probably  $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho$  της  $\dot{\nu}\pi$ οδοχής τυλαρίων καὶ στι $\langle\chi\rangle$ αρίων.

5.  $\tau a \sigma^{\theta}$ : obscure. If  $\theta$  is a slip of the pen for  $\kappa$  (which cannot be read), we may extend  $\tau as$  (l.  $\tau o$ ) καὶ δαπανηθείσαs (l.  $-\theta \epsilon \nu$ ) διά (δαπανηθείσαs is more likely than δοθείσαs in the context).

### PAPYRUS 1744.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1638 B. Acquired in 1906. Oxyrhynchus (?).  $5\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{8}$  in. In a sloping minuscule hand, along the fibres. Between the receipt and the subscription is a space of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. and below the subscription one of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. Folded from the bottom upwards; the successive marks made by the seal are visible on the upper part, but the seal itself has disappeared.

 $A^{\text{FTER}}$  δημόσια come the receipts for poll-tax, variously called διαγραφή or ἀνδρισμός. The only reason for assigning the present document to Oxyrhynchus is that the tax-payer is the same as in 1738, which there is some reason for connecting with that city.

$$+ A \theta^{\nu} / \iota \eta \ \iota^{\delta} / \zeta \ \epsilon \sigma \chi \ \delta / M \eta \nu a$$
 $\Sigma a \rho a \pi^- \ \sigma \tau \rho^- \ a \pi o \ \delta \iota a \gamma \rho^ \kappa a \nu^{\omega} \ \epsilon \kappa \tau \eta s \ \iota^{\delta} / \ a \rho \theta \ \nu^{o} \ a \ \epsilon \nu \ \mu /$ 
 $. \delta \iota / B \iota \kappa / \ \sigma \tau o \iota^{\chi} +$ 

4. The meaning of the symbol before δι/ is not clear. It is not a cross, and looks like an ι with an apostrophe above it.

#### PAPYRUS 1745.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1725 B verso. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown; perhaps Hermopolis.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{8}$  in. In a very regular rounded minuscule hand, across the fibres. Folded from right to left, but this folding probably has reference only to the document on the recto.

RECEIPT for poll-tax, given to a puscarius. The payment, in view of the  $d\pi \delta$ , may be an instalment only; cf. 1738, introduction. The papyrus is a piece cut from a document of uncertain character. Portions of four lines of this, written in a bold, flowing cursive across the fibres, remain on the recto. The last which is extant reads  $]\pi o \lambda \iota \tau \omega \nu + \Phi[\lambda]$ . This rules out Oxyrhynchus and suggests Hermopolis as the provenance.

> + Επιφ ia ιν<sup>δ</sup>/ iβ εσχ<sup>ο</sup> δ/ Ζαχαρι<sup>α</sup>φουσκ<sup>a</sup>/ απο αν<sup>δ</sup> [δ]εκατης  $\iota[\nu]^{\delta}$ / -  $a 
> ho^{\theta} - \nu^{o} - \gamma' - \tau 
> ho$ ιτον το - - - - Κολλου $^{\theta} - \upsilon \pi^{ov}$ (2nd hand) + Iyvatio[s  $\sigma$ ] $\tau o \iota^{\chi}$  +

2. φουσκα/: φουσκαρίου, puscarius; see San Nicolò, Vereinswesen, i, p. 76 f.; Reil, Gewerbe, 1696, 1918. Prof. Hunt and κ, where δ/ could be supplied, it may possibly be τὸ καὶ mentions that in a medical text to be published in P. Oxy. xi one δαπανηθέν διά. This, however, seems less likely. recipe is headed φούσκας καθαρσίου.

3.  $\tau \circ S \delta^{\theta}/: \tau \circ \kappa \alpha i \delta \circ \theta \in \mathcal{V};$  or, as there is a lacuna between  $\delta^{\theta}/$ 

### PAPYRUS 1746.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1699 A verso. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a sloping minuscule hand, along the fibres.

**D** ECEIPT for  $\frac{1}{3}$  s. for poll-tax. On the recto are remains of another document, written across the fibres, which has apparently been washed off.

 $+\dot{\mu}$   $\Pi^{\chi}$  ι ιν $^{\delta}/$  ιγ  $\delta/$  Απολλω υι $^{o}/$  Πετρε  $\Pi$ ακε  $\delta$  αν $^{\delta}$  $ιγ ιν^{\delta}/χρ^{v} αρ^{\theta} γ΄ τριτ^{v} Παυλου ν^{\tau} εγρ' +$ (2nd hand)  $+ I \epsilon \rho \epsilon^{\mu} \sigma \tau \eta \chi \epsilon$ 

2.  $\epsilon \gamma \rho(a \psi a)$ : for this cf. 1747, 3; 1748, 4. Paul then wrote the document, and Jeremias is merely an official who countersigns. The latter's signature is in exceedingly clumsy and uncertain looks more like a line over the word  $(\overline{1ep\epsilon})$ .

uncials, showing that he had little acquaintance with the art of writing. The  $\mu$  (suggested by Prof. Hunt) is very doubtful and

## PAPYRUS 1747.—6th-7th Century.

Inv. No. 1653 A recto (?). Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a rather large, clumsy cursive hand of minuscule type, across the fibres. Apparently folded from the bottom upwards. Recto (?) of 1867.

HIS and the two following receipts for poll-tax follow a different scheme from the preceding, L beginning with ἔσχον instead of the date. In this and 1748 ἔσχον is followed by παρά σου or  $\pi \alpha \rho^2 \dot{\nu} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$  and the date comes at the end of the receipt; in 1749  $\delta \iota \dot{\alpha}$  without  $\sigma o \nu$  takes the place of  $\pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha}$  and the date is omitted.

There being only one  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu a$ , it is not easy to decide which side of the papyrus is the recto. A comparison of the surfaces suggests that that on which the present receipt is written is the recto, and the other side the verso; but the fact that this document is complete, whereas 1867 seems to have lost something on the right and possibly at the foot, makes this doubtful.

> +εσχο παρα σου Παμουν Οννοφ Τιτοϊ 🗶 ανδ θ ινδ/ χρυσου νομτί εν  $\gamma \iota / \alpha \rho^{\theta} \alpha \Phi^{\omega} / \iota \delta \iota \nu \delta / \theta + \Pi \iota \nu^{\tau} \epsilon \gamma \rho \alpha \psi \alpha +$ (2nd hand) P  $\beta \iota \kappa \tau \omega \rho \sigma \tau \eta \chi \epsilon +$

- 1. Οννοφ: so written because there was not otherwise room to get in the word in this line. ov is apparently a monogram. 2. νομ<sup>τ</sup> : νομίσματα, incorrectly for νόμισμα.
- 3. Πιν<sup>τ</sup>: Πινουτίων, or the Coptic form, Πινουτε.
- 4. Here again the official countersigns; the writer of the receipt is his clerk, who is more skilled with his pen than he.

#### PAPYRUS **1748**.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1653 B verso. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. 2 in.  $\times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a small, neat minuscule hand, across the fibres; papyrus of light colour. On the recto are four lines, imperfect at the beginning, of a Coptic document, written across the fibres in a sloping cursive hand. The papyrus has been strengthened on the verso by pasting a strip of papyrus along the lower edge, which was somewhat broken, perhaps by the folding of the document in its original form.

THIS receipt is given to two monks, the second being, it is worth noting, the son of the first. It is written by a clerk named Musaeus and countersigned by three officials.

```
+ \epsilon \sigma \chi^{o} παρ υμων Απολλω ψαλ<sup>τ</sup> S Δαυειτ υι<sup>o</sup> αυ<sup>τ</sup> οι μοναζ<sup>τ</sup>/
απο αν<sup>δ</sup> ε ιν<sup>δο</sup>/ χρυσ<sup>ου</sup> αριθμι<sup>ω</sup> δυο γι/ αρ<sup>θ</sup> ν<sup>o</sup> δυο Φ<sup>ω</sup>/ ιδ ι<sup>δ</sup>/ ε + (2nd hand) + Σερνη στοιχι + (3rd hand) Ηλιας στοι<sup>χ</sup> + (4th hand) \not Βικτωρ στοιχε[ι] (1st hand) Μουσαι<sup>ου</sup> \epsilon \gamma \rho^{a}/+

1. ψαλ<sup>τ</sup>: ψάλτου? Cf. 1430, 112, where also the word is 2. αριθμιω(ν): l. ἀρίθμια. abbreviated. 3. Σερνη: οτ Σερνει.
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#### PAPYRUS 1749.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1719 B. Acquired in 1906. Possibly Oxyrhynchus.  $2\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{8}$  in. In a small much sloping minuscule, along the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards; round the first three folds is wound a strand of papyrus, which bears the grey clay seal; the impression of the seal visible above. The seal is too much broken for any device to be recognized.

I is at least possible that the Apa Menas, soldier, to whom this receipt was issued was the same person as the Menas son of Sarapammon, soldier, of 1738 and 1744. In favour of this supposition may be noticed the fact that he here pays 1 s. for poll-tax, the same amount as in 1744, and that the receipt is issued by Victor, as in that document. It is, indeed, not absolutely certain that this is the same Victor; for though the hand, allowing for a different pen, and ink of a different tint, may well be the same, the arrangement of the receipt is different, and the tax is here called  $d\nu \delta \rho \iota \sigma \mu \delta s$ , there  $\delta \iota \alpha \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \eta$ ; but on the whole it is probable that the hand is identical. For the connexion of these receipts with Oxyrhynchus see 1738, 3, note; and for an Apa Menas, soldier, see 1743; a soldier called Menas, brother of Luke, pays  $\delta \alpha \pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \eta$  in 1751; 1864.

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+ εσχ δ<sup>τ</sup>/ Απα Μηνα στρ απο [αν]δρισμο<sup>ν</sup> πρωτης ινδ<sup>ο</sup>/ αρ<sup>θ</sup> ν<sup>ο</sup> α εν το $ λογισ<sup>θ</sup> αυ<sup>τ</sup> & μισ<sup>θ</sup> αυ<sup>τ</sup> κ<sup>τ</sup>/ κελευσι/ + Βικτωρ στοι<sup>χ</sup> +
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1.  $\delta^r/$ : the insertion of  $\tau$  is probably a slip;  $\tau o \hat{v}$  is not here required. Cf. 1752, 1.

3 f.  $\tau o(\kappa a)$   $\lambda o \gamma u \sigma \theta(\epsilon v)$   $a v \tau(a)$   $(v \pi \epsilon \rho)$   $\mu u \sigma \theta(v v)$   $a v (\tau o v)$   $\kappa(a) \tau(a)$   $\kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \sigma \iota(v)$ : this must mean either that after he had paid the money it was paid back to him for his wages or, more probably,

that no money passed at all; he was assessed at I s. for poll-tax, and the wages due to him amounted to the same sum, and consequently his tax quota was struck off the register as paid, a receipt being issued for the nominal payment.

#### PAPYRUS 1750.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1640. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $4\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{7}{8}$  in. In a round regular minuscule, across the fibres; papyrus considerably rubbed. Probably folded from the bottom upwards.

THIS receipt differs from the preceding ones in being addressed, not to an individual but to a community. The others are the receipts issued by the local tax-collectors to the single tax-payers. When the taxes had been paid individually the total quota of the village or other unit was paid to the proper authority, pagarch or other official, and a receipt issued to the community as a whole.

+ δεδωκα/ οι απο Πκεμω δ/ Κυριακο\  $\ddot{\text{Γερ}}$ /  $\ddot{\text{ξ}}$  ανδρισμον πρω[της ινδ/]  $\ddot{\text{ξ}}$  ονο ιβ νομισμα ε[π]τα κερα/ οκτω γι/ [ν]ο ζ  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  η μο/ εγρ  $\ddot{\text{Λ}}$ θ[ν]ρ/  $\ddot{\text{α}}$  ινδ α + Φλ. Φοιβ δ/ εμου Σενουθιο\ ντ εξεδθ/ το ενταγιν  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  ε  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  νομισμ δενουθιο\ νοτ εξ επιτροπ/  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  α  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  α  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  α  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  α  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  α  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  εδροδρ  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  α  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  εδροδρ  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  α  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  εδροδρ  $\ddot{\text{γ}}$  εδροδρ

1.  $\Pi \kappa \epsilon \mu \omega$ : this place-name is apparently unknown.

 $\tilde{1}\epsilon\rho(\eta\mu\alpha)$ : possibly  $i\epsilon\rho\epsilon\dot{\nu}s$ , which is sometimes used even of Christian priests; cf. P. Ryl. Copt. 177, 1, and B. M. Copt. 1031, 1, with Crum's notes; and there are several other instances.

2.  $ο\dot{\nu}^{\circ}$ :  $\dot{\delta}\nu o\mu \dot{\alpha}\tau \omega\nu$ . As the amount is 7 s. 8 c. the rate is less than I s. per  $\ddot{\delta}\nu o\mu a$ . Possibly therefore this is for one  $\kappa a\tau a\beta o\lambda\dot{\gamma}$  only. If the date is rightly read this is very probable, as the whole tax for the indiction would hardly be paid so early.

 $v^{0} \zeta \neq \eta$ : the carat-sign is, as usual at this period, a simple stroke.

 $\epsilon\gamma\rho$  A $\theta\nu\rho/$ : the reading is not certain, for there is no trace of a stroke through the  $\rho$  of  $\epsilon\gamma\rho$ , where it would be expected, and there is certainly one through the next  $\rho$ , where it is not required. But the individual letters seem almost certain, and  $\nu^{\delta}$  a, which is beyond doubt, indicates that the day of the month must have

preceded; moreover the reading seems to be the same in I. 5.

- 3. Φλ': the dot is in the MS.
- 4. This and the following line are much rubbed. Another payment is here made, but it is not clear if it is a further instalment of poll-tax or a different tax. If the very doubtful reading  $\tau\eta s \ av\tau(\eta s) \ a$  before  $u^\delta$  is correct the likelihood of a different tax is strengthened, and the fact that the second payment was apparently made on the same day as the first makes in the same direction.
  - 6. περιβ<sup>λ</sup>: περιβλέπτου.
- 7. ομου κτλ.: this amount is obviously not the sum of the two previous payments but must be an additional payment of some kind.  $\delta\mu$ οῦ therefore does not, as often, denote a total but seems to mean 'at the same time'.

#### PAPYRUS 1751.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1720 B verso. Acquired in 1906. Possibly Oxyrhynchus.  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times$   $2\frac{5}{8}$  in. In a small sloping minuscule hand, along the fibres. On the recto are faint traces of writing, also in a small minuscule hand, along the fibres.

THE next two receipts are for  $\delta \alpha \pi \acute{a} \nu \eta$ , the third of the three taxes which we so often find associated. In this one the payment is for  $\frac{1}{24} + \frac{1}{48}$  s. only, but  $\mathring{a}\pi \acute{o}$  may possibly indicate that this is merely a part of the total quota; cf. 1738, introduction. The name of the tax-payer may perhaps connect the document with Oxyrhynchus; see 1738; 1864.

$$+ \Phi a \rho \mu^{\theta} \mu'_{0} \kappa_{7} \iota^{\delta} / \iota \dot{\alpha} \epsilon \sigma \chi^{o} \delta / M \eta \nu^{a}$$

$$a \delta^{\epsilon} / \Lambda o \dot{\nu} \kappa a \alpha \pi o \delta \alpha \pi^{-} \iota \alpha \iota^{\delta} /$$

$$a \rho^{\theta} \nu^{o} \kappa \delta' \mu \eta' \epsilon \iota \kappa o \sigma \iota \tau o \tau^{\alpha}$$

$$\sigma a \rho a \kappa o \sigma o \gamma^{\delta} + \dot{1} \omega a \nu \nu \eta s$$

$$5 \qquad \nu o^{\tau} \sigma \tau o \iota^{\chi} +$$

1.  $\mu_s$ :  $\mu_{\eta\nu}$  is; but it is very unusual to insert the word here. 3 f. εικοσιτοτ<sup>α</sup> σαρακοσαγδ: these words are apparently attempts at είκοσιτέταρτον τεσσαρακονταόγδοον. The last o of εικοσιτοτ<sup>α</sup> seems clear. The clerk evidently thought, when beginning l. 4, that he had written  $\tau\epsilon\sigma$  in the previous line; but he had not done so.

### PAPYRUS 1752.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1725 C. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown (but see note on 1. 4).  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a small sloping minuscule hand, along the fibres. Below the text a blank space of 2 in.

ERE the receipt is certainly for one καταβολή only. The amount is  $2\frac{5}{12}$  s., which is a good deal for one instalment of this not very important tax. But of course it is quite possible that Theodore paid his year's quota in one καταβολή; the καταβολαί are no doubt rather the payments of the community than (in each case) those of the individual tax-payer.

- 1.  $\delta(\iota a) \tau(ov)$ : the  $\tau ov$  is not required; cf. 1749, 1.
- 2.  $\Sigma a \beta a vo(v)$ :  $\Sigma a \beta \epsilon \iota v^o$  would be expected, but though a is a not quite certain reading,  $\epsilon \iota$  seems impossible.
  - κ<sup>α</sup>/: καταβολη̂ς.
- $\iota\gamma$ : the  $\iota$  is curved and the  $\gamma$  made with a long downstroke, so that the letters look like  $\sigma\tau$ , the whole being like  $\sigma\tau a\rho^{\theta}$ ; but the number of the indiction is required here, and the receipt was

issued in the 15th indiction. The payment was therefore two

- 4.  $\tau a (\kappa a \iota) \delta(a) \theta(\epsilon \nu \tau a)$  Μηνα  $\sigma \tau \rho a (\tau \iota \omega \tau \eta)$ : just possibly the Menas,  $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota \omega \tau \eta s$ , of 1738; etc. If so, this document may be from Oxyrhynchus; see 1738, 3, note.
  - 5. Just possibly in a different hand from the body of the receipt.

# PAPYRUS 1753.—6th—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1676 A. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $2\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a rather small artificially formed cursive hand, across the fibres; papyrus light in colour but in some places stained very dark, and brittle. Folded from the bottom upwards.

In this document, which probably dates from before the Arab conquest, we have a receipt for  $\epsilon i \mu \acute{e} \nu \acute{\mu} \acute{e} \iota \iota \iota$ . This (cf. 1660, 9) is no doubt something in the nature of, perhaps identical with, the  $\sigma \nu \nu \acute{\eta} \theta \epsilon \iota \iota \iota$  of which we not infrequently hear at this period, i. e. a payment to officials additional to the regular taxes. In this case the receipt, which is for 5 s. 6 c., is given to the  $\beta \circ \eta \theta \circ s$  of

a village and is issued by the pagarch. Probably therefore the payment is a communal one, the  $\beta o\eta\theta \delta s$  paying over the money in the name of the village. We have seen a  $\beta o\eta\theta \delta s$  as tax-collector for the pagarch in 1665; 1666; cf. 1660, introduction.

It is to be noticed that the pagarch is called  $\mathring{a}\rho\chi\omega\nu$   $\kappa\alpha \mathring{i}$   $\pi \acute{a}\gamma a\rho\chi os$ . The word  $\mathring{a}\rho\chi\omega\nu$  was one of the equivalents of praeses (e.g. 1663, 1; Cair. Masp. i. 67030, 1), and it is possible that in this case John was both praeses of the Thebaid and pagarch of Hermopolis; but this is not perhaps a necessary inference.  $\mathring{a}\rho\chi\omega\nu$  was probably used also in a more general sense, as simply 'magistrate'; e.g. in Cair. Masp. 67024, r., 6, where there seems no reason to refer  $\mathring{a}\rho\chi\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  to the praeses in particular.

+

- $+ \Phi \lambda$  Ιωαννης συν Θ<sup>ε</sup> αρχοντος κ<sub>ι</sub> παγαρχί Ερμοπολ/ τω θαυμ<sup>α</sup> Ζαχαρια βοηθ[ί] κωμί Σιναλαβη δεδωκες
- 2 απο της ευμ $^\epsilon$ ς της S κωμ $^\epsilon$ ς τεσσαρεσκ $^\epsilon$ ς δεκατης  $^\epsilon$ ινδ $^\prime$ χρυσο[v] νομισματια πεντε και κερατια εξ $^\epsilon$ γι $^\prime$ ν $^o$ ε κ $^\prime$ ς  $^\epsilon$ ς  $^\epsilon$ γρ $^\prime$
- 3 Επειφ δ ιδ ινδ/+ (2nd hand)  $\gamma \iota^-$  νομή πεντε κε/ εξ Φλή Ιωαννης . . [. . .] . . δι εμου Φοιβαμμωνος τρακτευτή

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

ν° ε κ/ 5

1.  $\sigma vv$  is a certain reading, but above the  $\sigma$  something seems to have been added which looks like  $\kappa$ / or  $\eta$ . It can hardly have been the intention to alter v to  $\eta$ .

αρχουτος: Ι. ἄρχων.

Σιναλαβη: two villages of this name are known in the Hermopolite nome; see BGU. ii. 553 B, iii, 4, 5.

δεδωκες: l. δέδωκας; cf. Jannaris, Hist. Gr. Gramm. § 798. 2.  $a\pi o$ : the o is not clear; the cross-stroke of  $\pi$  and the  $\tau$  were made without lifting the pen, and possibly o was never written.

S: αὐτῆς.

3. lwappys. After this  $\pi ayap\chi os$  or  $\pi ayap\chi gs$  (for the latter form cf. e. g. Lond. iii. 1075, 10, p. 282) can hardly be read; the traces would suit  $K[vp\iota a]x[ov]$ .

τρακτευτ(αν): for the τρακτευταί, tractatores, see Gelzer, Studien, p. 45. Those are the τρακτευταί of the eparchies; the pagarch's τρακτευταί occur e.g. in 1660, 22; Cair. Masp. i. 67057, ii, 26; in 67058, iii, 3, the sum of 5 s. is paid to a τρακτευτής for συνήθειαι.

#### PAPYRUS 1754.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1654. Acquired in 1906. Babylon.  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a rapid, laterally compressed, sloping minuscule hand, across the fibres.

THIS receipt is of some interest. It is probably a customs receipt issued by the customs officials of Babylon. Unfortunately there are obscurities and difficulties in the document which somewhat diminish its value. The recipient of the receipt is from  $^{\circ}A\gamma$ iou  $\Sigma$ ou $\rho$ o $\hat{\nu}\tau$ os; if this is a monastery he is presumably a monk, but it may be a village name.

+ Αβδερ $^-$  \$ Καθατας τελων $^\chi \nu^\chi$  Βαβ $^\upsilon$  εσχ $^a/$  π $^a/$  υμων Τζαμουλ απο Αγι $^{ov}$ 

1. Αβδερ-: Αβδερααμαν, 'Abd al-Rahmān.

Καθατας τελων<sup>χ</sup>ν<sup>χ</sup>: Καθατας does not look like a name, whether Arabic or Coptic, but most of the letters seem certain. The first a indeed is not beyond doubt;  $a\sigma$  could be read instead, as there is a stroke too many. For καθατας τελων<sup>χ</sup>ν<sup>χ</sup> might be read καθαταστε μον<sup>χ</sup>ν<sup>χ</sup>, but  $\mu$  is unlikely, an Arab would hardly occur as a monk, and καθαταστε is even more

puzzling than  $\kappa a\theta a\tau as$ . Is it conceivable that the clerk intended  $(\kappa ai) \langle ai \rangle \kappa a\tau a \tau a \tau \epsilon \lambda \omega \nu(\iota) \kappa(a)$ ? If  $\kappa a\theta a\tau as$  is really a name,  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \omega \nu^{\chi} \nu^{\chi}$  may probably be read  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \omega \nu(\kappa)(ai)$ ; for everything favours the supposition that this is a customs receipt.

 $\epsilon \sigma \chi^a /$ :  $\epsilon \sigma \chi \alpha \mu \epsilon \nu$ .  $\nu \mu \omega \nu$ :  $\ell$ .  $\sigma \nu \omega$ .

 $\Sigma_{ov\rho^{ov}}$   $\tau\eta\nu$   $\delta\epsilon\kappa/$   $\mu o\iota\rho^ \alpha\lambda i\kappa$   $\kappa^{\theta}/$   $\rho\kappa\tau$   $\tau^{\lambda}$   $\nu^{o}$   $\alpha\delta\acute{\gamma}$   $\mu^{o}$   $\mu^{\eta}$   $\Upsilon^{v}$   $\iota\zeta$   $\iota\nu^{\delta}$   $\tau^{\delta}+\nu^{o}$   $\alpha\delta\acute{\gamma}$ 

2.  $\delta \epsilon \kappa / \mu o \iota \rho^-$ :  $\delta \epsilon \kappa \acute{a} \tau \eta \nu \mu o \acute{i} \rho a \nu$ .  $a \lambda \iota \kappa \kappa^{\theta} / :$  or  $a \dot{\lambda} \dot{\lambda}$  (there is a dot over  $\lambda$ , which may be accidental)  $\kappa \kappa^{\theta} / .$  In the former case we may probably extend  $\dot{a} \lambda \iota \kappa \dot{a} \nu$  (salted goods)  $\kappa \dot{a} \lambda \lambda a \theta a$ ; in the latter  $\dot{a} \lambda \dot{o} s \kappa \dot{a} \lambda \lambda a \theta a$ .

 $\tau^{\lambda}$ :  $\tau$ έλος. Or is it  $\tau$ έλους, gen. after δεκάτην μοῦραν? It seems more probable that it is in a sort of apposition to that; the duty was  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the value.

# PAPYRUS 1755.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1634 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $9\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a small upright artificially formed cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus of rather poor quality. Below the text is a blank space of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in.

AFTER the receipts for money taxes come those for payments in kind. The following three receipts not only form a series but are clearly connected very closely with the series Lond. iii. 1152, 996, and 995 (pp. 247-249). They are apparently, in form, not actual receipts for the payment but certificates that the payment had been entered among the receipts in the register; but they would of course serve the same purpose as a receipt. It seems likely from the fact that the payments are in most cases from more than one person, and from the endorsement of 1756 (see note there), that they were issued to the person who delivered over the wheat or to the collector, not to the individual tax-payers. In the present case the certificate is written by the official who issues it and signs at the foot; but in the others, except 1757, the signature is probably in a different hand from the certificate itself. 1755, 1756, and 1757 record payments by the same persons, and of the same amounts, for the 3rd, 4th, and 5th indictions, and it is not unlikely that these were successive years.

+ ελημματισθη εν τη μεγαλη χειρογ[ρ]αφεια κανονος τριτης ινδ/ δ/ blank το υποτεταγμ<sup>ε</sup>ς μετρον δημοσιο σι<u>τ</u>ο καθ[αρου] συν ναυλοις και εκατοσταις και πασι α[να]λωμ[ασι]

5 ου— Προτελιος Σιπουλαι/ Τ ς Παλλης Σερηνο\ Τ γκδ Κοριννος Πτολομαιο Τ δκδ

2.  $\delta(ia)$ : the name has never been inserted. So too in Lond. 1152 and 1757. Presumably the clerk did not know who had made the entry; or it may be, particularly as in 1756 and Lond. 996 the name or word following  $\delta(ia)$  is a later insertion, that the certificate was written before the entry was actually made in the register, the clerk intending to fill in the name of the person making the entry later, but sometimes forgetting to do so. In either case the name following  $\delta ia$  need not be the same as that in the clerk's signature at the foot, and when the name is not filled in after  $\delta ia$  we may take it that if the entry had

already been made the clerk who made it was not the same as the one who issued the certificate. Hence the note on 1152, 4 requires modification. In 995,  $12 + \lfloor \delta_i \rfloor \epsilon \mu \rho \nu \prod_{e \neq p} [ov \epsilon \gamma \rho a \phi) + + \rfloor + 1$  is probably to be read, so that there the entry was made by the clerk who issued the certificate.

6.  $\Sigma i\pi o \nu \lambda o \iota / z$ : the name is clearest in 1756. Here the latter part of it is confused, and there seems to be a letter between  $\lambda$  and  $\alpha \iota$ . Probably something was crossed out. Is  $\Sigma \eta \pi^{o \nu}$  in UKF. 1229 an abbreviation of the same name?

Φοιβαμμή Φιλοξενο\ T  $\overline{\gamma}$   $\overline{\iota}\overline{\beta}$ 10  $\int$  σι T ζ( $\iota\beta$ // μονοι + Παυλος συν  $\overline{\Theta}\omega$  διαστολευς εγρ

11. διαστολευς εγρ( $a\psi a$ ): very doubtful, but  $\beta o \eta^{\theta}$  λογιστηρ/, as in 1756 and 1757, is impossible.

# PAPYRUS 1756.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1634B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $6\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a hand very similar to that of 1755, along the fibres; papyrus of coarse quality. Folded from right to left.

+ ελημ[μα]τισθη εν τη μεγαλη
χειρογραφεια κανονος
τεταρτης ινδ/ δ/ (2nd hand?) το` λογιστηριο`
5 (1st hand) το υποτεταγμενον μετρον δημοσιο`
σιτο καθαρο` συν ναυλοις και
εκατο[σ]ταις και πασι αναλωμασι

Προτελιος Σιπουλαι/ Τς
10 Παλλης Σερηνο\ Τ γκδ
Κοριννος Πτολομαιο\ Τ δκδ
Φοιβαμμ, Φιλοξενδ Τ γιβ
/ Τζιβ/
(2nd hand?) + Αφους συνθ, βοηθ
λογιστηρ/ επιδεδωκ/

Endorsed, along the fibres:—
+λημή Φοι/ Γεωργιο

 $T \subseteq \beta//$ 

- 1. The undeciphered characters (if they are characters) are no doubt the number of the voucher; cf. 1757; Lond. 1152; and probably Lond. 996 (after the cross; the published text ignores the trace).
- 4. του λογιστηριου: perhaps not really a different hand but added later by the same hand with a different pen and different ink. τὸ λογιστήριον apparently means the staff of the λογιστήριον; possibly more than one clerk had been employed to make the necessary entries.
  - συνθ): σὺν Θεῷ.

15. επιδεδωκ(a): not εκδεδωκ(a).

16. It is noteworthy that the name is one which does not occur on the recto. Probably therefore this Phoebammon was either the captain of the ship which conveyed the wheat or (more probably, in view of the smallness of the amount) the person (perhaps a collector) in whose name it was transmitted. The names on the recto will be those of the tax-payers,  $\lambda\eta\mu$ s suggests the word  $\lambda\eta\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\mu$ s in the sense of 'voucher' or 'receipt';  $\lambda\eta\mu\mu$ a seems less likely. The endorsement may be in the hand of Aphous.

## PAPYRUS 1757.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1726 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. 6 in. × 43/4 in. In a small, upright cursive hand of the same type as those of 1755 and 1756, along the fibres. Probably folded from right to left.

```
+\lambda\theta
  + ελημμί εν τη μεγαλη χειρογραφεια
     κανονος πεμπτης ϊνδ/ blank
     ταβελλι/ το υποτεταγμή μετρου δημοσι/
 5 σιτου καθί συν ναυλ/ και εκατί και παντοι/ αναλ-
              + Προτελ/ Σιπουλ/
                                             T \ \overline{\gamma} [\kappa \delta]
                Παλλης Σερηνο
                                            Τ δ κδ
                Κ[οριν]νος Πτολομαιου
                Φοιβαμμί Φιλοξενο
                                            T(\gamma \iota \beta)
                      / ομο σιτ Τζζιβ
10
                      + Τριβουνος \betaοη^{\theta}) \lambda[ογισ]τηριο
                                            ε[πιδ]εδωκα+
```

5.  $a\nu a\lambda^-$ : the word looks like  $a\nu a\lambda \eta$ . 6. Προτελ/: the end is confused and has probably been corrected.

8. Πτολομαιου: or very likely Πτολομαιος (sic). 11. Τριβουνος: here used as a name, like Πραιπόσιτος (1732, 9;

# PAPYRUS 1758.—First half of 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1639. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{3}{4}$  in. In an upright rather narrow cursive hand, along the fibres. Below the text a blank space of 4 in.

THOUGH this receipt is for a money payment, it may rightly be placed among receipts for taxes in kind, for the tax involved, the annona, is properly of that class, though it could be, and in this case is, compounded for by a money payment; see Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 361. The amount in the present document is only half a carat. The hand slightly recalls those seen in some of the Aphrodito financial documents of the 6th century, and the receipt may therefore come from that district; but there is no further evidence for this supposition, except perhaps that the papyrus is, like so many of the papyri from Kôm Ishgau, rather dark. If the διαστολεύς who issued this receipt is the same as in 1740 the Kôm Ishgau origin can almost certainly be ruled out; but the hand of 1740 seems obviously later than that of 1758. On receipts of this form see the introduction to 1740.

$$+$$
 δεδωκεν ον $^-$  Σιλβανος Σεκ . . [. .] δ/ το $^{\nu}$  μοναστηριο $^{\nu}$ 

 $\delta(\omega)$ : this is probable, rather than (e.g.)  $[v\pi o]\delta(\epsilon\kappa\tau ov)$ , Σεκ . . . : Σεκουνδου? But the traces do not favour this, and because, in the first place, the latter would leave hardly any room for the completion of the name beginning Σεκ, and, secondly,

<sup>1.</sup> Σιλβανος: sic, apparently. κ is a quite uncertain reading. Σεουηρου is impossible.

Αμα Αννας εις λογον δημοσιών αννωνων και κανο[ν]ικων πρώτης ζίνδ/] χρυσο' κερατιό δια εμο' Πετρο' απαιτ[ς σ]υμφ/ + + +

all the other receipts of this form are for payments through a third party. The monastery then acted as intermediary for Silvanus; and very possibly the latter was a *colonus* of the

monastery, who made his tax-payments through it, as his patron.

# PAPYRUS 1759.—6th-7th Century.

Inv. No. 1691. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $4\frac{1}{8}$  in. × 11 in. In a rather large uneven upright cursive hand, in very black ink, across the fibres; papyrus of poor quality. Probably folded from the bottom upwards.

R ECEIPT for two payments of wheat for the *embola*, together amounting to 116 artabas.

- [+] δεδωκεν ονομή Καπίη Ερμινος δ/ το θαυμή Ιωαννο, προνουτο, εις γ[ολον] εμβογις κανονος πρωτης ινδικτίονος σιτο, ρύμαρο, χωρις ναυγ/ω[ν] και λομό[ν] αρταβ[ας] πεντηκοντα όποιως αρταβας εξυκοντα εξ λι οπό σιτ, θ ρις χωρ/ ναυγ/ λομό + + + + Ανοφις διαστολεύς συμφ/ (2nd hand) + Κύριακος διαστολεύς συμφ/ + + +
- I.  $Ka\pi i j$ : perhaps  $Ka\pi i \tau \omega \nu$  is the likeliest extension, but others are possible.  $E\rho\mu\nu\sigma s$  (sic) is a quite possible reading, but is not certain.
- 2.  $\rho\nu\pi\alpha\rho\sigma\nu$ : very doubtful, but the traces are much confused by marks due to the folding of the papyrus before the ink was dry, and the reading does not seem impossible.  $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\sigma$  cannot be read

ναυλ/ων και γομου: very doubtful. If the reading is correct the clerk completed ναυλων in spite of the fact that he had inserted a mark of abbreviation. γομου is not only a likely word

in itself, but is supported by l. 3, where, however, the characters look more like  $\gamma \rho \mu a$ , and  $\kappa a i$  or the symbol (S) seems not to have been written. Here  $\nu a \nu \lambda / \ldots \kappa a \tau o \ldots$  may be read, and neither here nor in l. 3 can the reading after  $\nu a \nu \lambda /$  be regarded with confidence.

4. It is probable that the signature of Anuphius is in the same hand as the receipt, and it is not impossible that that of Cyriacus is the same. If so, the receipt must be a copy, but on the whole the hand of the second signature seems different from the first; it is rather easier and less crabbed in its forms.

# PAPYRUS 1760.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1632 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{1}{8}$  in. In an uneven upright cursive hand, in ink of a brownish tint, across the fibres. On the right some lines of writing, at right angles to the lines of the present document, were imperfectly washed out before the receipt was written. Probably folded from the bottom upwards.

R ECEIPT for  $1\frac{1}{3}$  artaba of wheat for the *embola* of the 3rd indiction. The form is the same as in the two preceding receipts, but the receipt is apparently issued, not, like

them, by a  $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\tau$ o $\lambda\epsilon\dot{\nu}$ s, but by a  $\beta\circ\eta\theta\dot{\nu}$ s. It is, however, conceivable that the latter may be the  $\beta\circ\eta\theta\dot{\nu}$ s of a  $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\tau$ o $\lambda\epsilon\dot{\nu}$ s.

- 1 + δεδωκεν ονομή κτης Ευσεβι/ δ/ Ηραιδος και Αναστασι/ αδελ/ εις λογον εμβολ/ αννονών και κανονικ/
- 2 τρ[ι]της ϊνδ/ σ[ι]τ[ο] καθαρ/ συν ναυλ·/ και πασι/ αναλωμασι/ αρταβην μιαν τριτον γι/ σιτ T α  $\Gamma$  καθ Ψαφο . . θ, βοηθ, . ε . .  $\nu$  συμφ/ σι T α  $\Gamma$  της δ' κ . . .
- 1. κτηί Ευσέβι/: l. κτήματος Εὐσέβείας. Εὐσέβεια looks like the name of a monastery (cf. Mετανοίας in Lond. iii. 996, 3, p. 248), but is possibly merely a name given to the κτήμα.

  2. ναυλ'/: the dot is in the MS.
- $F: \frac{1}{3}$ ; cf. 1718, 60, and note.
- 3.  $\kappa \dots$ : not  $\kappa \alpha \tau \sigma \beta(\sigma \lambda \hat{\eta} s)$ , which moreover would not be appropriate here.

## PAPYRUS 1761.—6th Century (?).

Inv. No. 1675. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome (?). 11 in. × 7 in. In an upright cursive hand of medium size, on both sides of the papyrus, recto along, verso across, the fibres. Probably therefore a leaf of a book.

HIS section may be concluded with some accounts and registers. In dealing with documents of this class, particularly when they are imperfect, it is often not easy to draw the line between official and private accounts; and in this particular case it is by no means clear that the register should be placed here rather than among private accounts. It may refer to some large estate, belonging to the comes Pales; but since his name is preceded by διά it is perhaps better to take him as an official connected in some way with the financial administration. The character It consists of a list of names, mostly preceded by  $\kappa \tau_1$  (to of the account is also a little obscure. be discussed presently) and followed by two columns containing amounts of corn. The first column is preceded by  $d\pi \delta$ , the second is throughout half the amount of the first; and at the foot only the second column is added up. The constant ratio of the second sum to the first makes it unlikely that the account is one of arrears in the corn-tax, for in that case it would hardly be the case that every tax-payer would be in arrear to the same amount. It may represent an instalment, or a remission of taxation (or, in case it is a private account, of rent) in consequence of a bad harvest, or an assignment of half the quota to some particular purpose; but without further evidence it would hardly be profitable to debate the various possibilities.

The next question is as to  $\kappa\tau_0$ . Above the sign of abbreviation is usually a dot or short stroke which may stand for  $\eta$ ; but it is not absolutely certain that the second letter is not  $\lambda$  rather than  $\tau$ . In the one case we must read  $\kappa\tau\eta\mu\alpha$ , in the other either  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\sigma$  or  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\sigma\nu\delta\mu\sigma\iota$ ;  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\sigma$  seems the more likely of the two. But the letter certainly looks more like  $\tau$  than  $\lambda$ , and this is confirmed when we compare the  $\kappa\lambda\lambda$  of ll. 19 and 21 with it. Probably therefore  $\kappa\tau\eta\mu\alpha$  is the correct reading and extension.

Recto and verso correspond almost exactly, and it is therefore unnecessary to print both. The headings do however differ somewhat, and both are given in the transcript. Several words

and letters on each page are doubtful, but in almost all cases a comparison of one page with the other makes the readings certain.

The mention of  $\Theta \hat{v} \nu s$ , which is known as a village in the Hermopolite nome (see *e. g.* Lond. iii. 1012, pp. 265–267 and the references given on Lond. iii, p. 268, foot), taken with the known provenance of other paper of this collection, indicates that nome as the place of origin, but it is of course possible that there were villages of the same name in other nomes.

Recto.]

[εν]ταγι/ το υποτεταγμ) μετρ/[S εκατοστίς  $\kappa_1$  πασι αναλ $^a$ / δ/ το μεγαλ/ κομ $^\epsilon$ ίς Πα[λ]ο Αμμωνι/ κτ; Ταυρινό Επιφ./ απο Τριδ  $T \mid \nu \zeta$ T 281 κτ; Αμμ; απο τριβουν; απο Τιδί 7 λε κτ, Θεοδοτό  $a\pi o T o$ κτ; του S ο Βεικ'/  $a\pi o T \gamma \langle \prime \rangle$ T as 81 κτ, του S απο Τκς γιβ  $T i \gamma \overline{\gamma} \overline{q}$ κτ' Υπερεχιας απο Τπ 10 κτ; Αυρηλιας λ"  $\alpha \pi o T \kappa \theta \int \gamma \kappa \delta$  $T i\delta \int \overline{\gamma i\beta \mu \eta}$ κτ, Καλλι/ Ζηνοδοτ απο Τκδδ/ Τιβ Ϋ κτ; Αρτεμιδωρα λ/ απο Τ λδ T L T 581 κτ) τη)  $\hat{v}$  Βεικ/  $a\pi T a$ κτι Σεκουντιλλ/  $[\alpha \pi o \ T \ \iota \theta] \overline{\delta \kappa [\delta]}$  $[T] \theta \sqrt{\eta \mu \eta}$ 15 ὖ των θειων μον[αζ/  $a \pi_0 T \beta$ 7 a κτὶ Δαβροθί μεγαλ/  $\alpha\pi$   $T \eta \delta'$ 7 δ ü απο Τ ε κτ, Θεοδοτό TBS Ϊωαννίς Ερμίς σχολ/ απο Τιη  $T \theta$ απο κτ; Αδρ/ κλλ/ ὖ των γηδ/ Θυν  $a\pi o T \eta$  $T \delta$ 20 απο κτ, Ευδοκι/ ὖ Αρταβουρ  $a\pi o T a$ T 5

- 2. αναλ /: sic, apparently. The word is ἀναλώμασι, as appears from 1. 23.
- τό: in three other places in this account (viz. Ταυρινό, l. 4; Θεοδοτό, l. 6; Θεοδοτό, l. 17) a dot takes the place of the usual straight or curved line over o to express v. A dot is also used as a sign of abbreviation, e. g. Επι $\phi$ '/, l. 4; Αμμ'), l. 5.
  - 4. Επιφανίου.
- 5. απο τριβουν(ων): the reading, doubtful if this line is taken alone, is confirmed by the corresponding entry on the verso.
- 7.  $\tau o v \ S \ \hat{v}$ :  $\tau o v \ a \dot{v} \tau o \hat{v} \ i \pi \dot{e} \rho$ . Beix'/ is presumably for Birtwoos. For  $\hat{v}$  or  $\hat{v}$  the verso has throughout a v with a stroke through the left side, the origin of the symbol  $\mathcal{K}$  or  $\mathcal{S}$ .
- 9.  $\Upsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \chi \iota \alpha s$ : or  $\Upsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \chi \iota \alpha s$ . The reading here is doubtful,  $\rho$  looking more like  $\tau$ , and on the verso the reading seems at first sight to be  $\Upsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \epsilon \epsilon \iota \iota \lambda \iota \lambda \iota \mu \pi /$  (=  $\lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \eta s$ , which is a curious order; cf. ll. 10, 12, 16); but the  $\rho$  in  $E \rho \mu \bar{\nu}$  of the verso (= recto, l. 18) is also made just like  $\iota$ , so that probably we can read  $\Upsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \chi \iota \epsilon /$ , and here  $\rho$  is not impossible. But of course the clerk may have misread a  $\Upsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \chi \iota \alpha s$  or  $\Upsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \chi \iota \alpha s$  of the accounts or other documents from which he was compiling this register as  $\Upsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \epsilon \chi \iota \alpha s$  or  $\Upsilon \pi \epsilon \tau \epsilon \chi \iota \alpha s$ .

- 10. Αυρηλίας  $\lambda(\alpha\mu\pi\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta s?)$ : Αὐρηλία is a strange name alone, but the reading is quite certain on the verso, where  $\lambda \approx$  is omitted.
- II. Καλλι/ς: Καλλινίκου, not Καλλινίκου καί—if, at least, the entry is correctly written on the verso, for there the flourish is omitted; and cf. the flourish after the mark of abbreviation in l. 14.
  - 13. τη: της αὐτης.
    - $a\pi$ : sic; so too in ll. 16, 21.
- 16.  $\Delta a\beta \rho o\theta \hat{s}$ : the earlier letters here are doubtful, but on the verso the reading seems clear  $(\Delta a\beta \rho/\mu\epsilon\lambda/)$  except for the initial letter.  $\Delta \omega \rho o\theta \hat{s}$  is impossible in both cases unless we assume that the clerk has accidentally made a minim too many. Is it possible he has misread  $\Delta \omega \rho o\theta \hat{s}$  as  $\Delta a\beta \rho o\theta \hat{s}$ ?  $\mu \epsilon \gamma a\lambda/$  (which looks like  $\mu \epsilon a\lambda/$ , the  $\gamma$  and a being run together) is no doubt  $\mu \epsilon \gamma a\lambda o\pi \rho \epsilon \pi \epsilon \sigma \tau a \sigma \tau o\nu$ . For the  $\mu \epsilon \lambda/$  of the verso of l. 24.
  - Ερμί: Ἑρμοῦ, as the verso shows.
- 19. Θυν': no doubt Θύνεως. Αδρ/κλλ/ may stand for 'Αδριανοῦ κληρονόμων, but we should expect the reverse order.
- 20. The verso has  $\kappa\tau_1$  Eudokias  $\lambda \geq (=\lambda a\mu\pi\rho\sigma\tau\acute{a}\tau\eta s)$ . Without the verso, where the  $\beta$  is plain, one would naturally read  $A\rho\tau a\theta o\nu\rho$  here

21. d: a variant form of the symbol  $7 = \frac{2}{3}$ , for which see 1718, 44, note.

22. Read by the help of the verso, where this line is preserved entire. It is there followed by a further line, of which, however,

too little remains for any reading.

23. ναυλ(οις): doubtful. What follows looks like χασαρ/. It might perhaps be read  $\kappa/(=\kappa a l)$  απαρ/  $(= a \pi a \rho \gamma \nu \rho \iota \sigma \mu o i s)$ .

24. μελ/: sic; for μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου.

## PAPYRUS 1762.—6th-7th Century.

Inv. No. 1619 recto. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $11\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a somewhat sloping, inelegant cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus of poor quality. On the verso, along the fibres, is an illegible document, perhaps in part modern scribblings.

THOUGH this account is of little interest in itself, the occurrence of some church and monastery names and one or two minor points make it worth publishing. What the account is, and whether official or private, does not appear, but it is more likely to be official in character. The church names do not seem to justify its attribution to any particular locality; but it may be noted that none of them occurs in B. M. Copt. 1100, from Hermopolis, and that one of the churches was situated 'by the river'. Many of the entries have been crossed out.

```
+ γνωσζ χρ°/ συν Θω ιθ ου =

/ δ/ [[Φιλοξενο Ματρινο δ/]] Σερηνο πρ°/ ν° ā

/ δ/ [[του μοναστηρ/ Αβα]] Μαικρ/ δηλ/ α κερ/..
δ/ [[κλ' [[ερακιωνος]] δηλ/ κερ/ ιθ ζ'

δ/ [[του αιδεσιμο Παυλο αδελφ/]] κερ/ηζ
δ/ κλ' blank
δ/ [[Κυρου νοταρ/]] δηλ/ κερ/ ιβ
δ/ Γεωργιο Σανιακαθιο κερ/ κςζδ'
δ/ Μηνα νοταρ/ κυρα Ν'ο'ννης κερ/ βζ'

δ/ Καλιο ϊατρου κερ/...
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1.  $\chi \rho^{\circ}/: \chi \rho(\nu \sigma) \circ (\hat{v}).$ 

 $\overline{i\theta}$ : perhaps meant for  $l(\nu\delta\iota\kappa\tau io\nu os)$   $\overline{\theta}$ .

2. πρ°/: προνοητοῦ.

3. Μαικρ/: Μακαρ(ιου) seems hardly possible. It is probable

that the whole line should have been struck out, and so in other cases, except perhaps 1. 2.

 $\delta \eta \lambda / a$ : obscure; hardly referring to the *delegatio*? The overwritten sum of carats probably belongs to 1. 2.

```
δ/ Βικτορος διακχ Ελλαδιο νο α κερ/ ιβ
δ/ το ξενοδοχιο Αολλο κερ/ τ δ/
δ/ Σαμοηλιο Κ της γαμετς αυτο κερ/ κα
δ/ [[Αμα Ταραν]] νο α ιδικ/
[[και Κ ναυλ/ εμβολ/ μυρ/]] ψν
δ/ της αγιας εκκλ/ Μαρτυρ/ κερ/ γ
δ/ της μονης Αβα Φιλοξενο κερ/ κες δ/
[[δ/ Απα Ισακ Μακ/]] νο γ// ιδ/
δ/ [[της αγιας εκκλ/ παρα ποταμο]]
20 νο β κερ/ ιζ
```

- 11. διακχ: apparently merely διακόνου, but possibly διακόνου ὑπέρ. In the former case Ἑλλαδίου is perhaps the father's name, placed exceptionally after the description, but 'Αγίου 'Ελλαδίου (a church) may be meant.
- 14. ιδικ': probably ιδικφ̂ (ζυγφ̂), the same as ιδιωτικφ̂, for which see P. Mon. 1, 53, note.
  - 15. μυρ/: μυριάδες; i.e. 4,500,000 denarii.

- 18. Μακ(αριου): apparently a correction.
   ιδ/: ἰδικῷ.
- 19.  $\pi a \rho a \pi \sigma \tau a \mu \bar{\sigma}$ : as the use of the prepositions at this period was erratic it is not necessary to suppose that the line over  $\sigma$  is for  $\nu$  instead of, as usual, for  $\nu$ . But possibly  $\pi a \rho a \pi \sigma \tau a \mu i \sigma \nu$  was intended

### PAPYRUS 1763.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1715 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance uncertain; see below.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a small sloping minuscule hand, along the fibres on the recto and across them on the verso, except l. 25. The writing on the verso is the reverse way up to that on the recto, and the papyrus was probably therefore a roll.

THIS account is again of no interest in itself but is worth publishing because it contains a list of place-names. It is unfortunately hardly possible to identify the provenance with certainty. For the Arsinoite nome Grenfell and Hunt's Appendix ii to P. Teb. ii gives a practically complete list of place-names, and the most useful lists of place-names outside the Fayum for our purpose are Wessely's indices to his *Studien* x and to his UKF. None of these sources furnishes a great number of coincidences with the present list. Several such coincidences are with place-names in the Fayum, but in view of the extent of our topographical knowledge of the Fayum the fact that there are not more makes it doubtful whether the account can be from there. The Hermopolite nome also offers several, and as our knowledge of its topography is much more limited, and it is certainly the provenance of several papyri in this collection, it is a not unlikely source. But the account may of course be from some little known district.

The village names on the recto are followed by sums of money and these by the words  $\dot{a}\phi'$   $\dot{a}\nu$ , followed, in most but not in all cases, by further sums. The account may therefore be an assessment, with notes of money already paid, or, more probably, an account of arrears, recording the amount due and the arrears, if any, outstanding. The account on the verso is different, though it refers to the same locality.

#### Verso.]

- 3.  $\S$  A $\mu\mu\omega\nu$ : the symbol before A $\mu\mu\omega\nu$  is probably not  $\kappa\alpha i$  but merely a flourish to mark the beginning of the list. "A $\mu\mu\omega\nu\sigma$ s is known as a place-name in the Arsinoite nome. May $\delta\hat{\omega}\lambda a$  is known there and in the Heracleopolite (Wessely, Stud. x. 200; 204), Hermopolite (May $\delta\hat{\omega}\lambda a$  Mi $\rho\eta$ ), and Oxyrhynchite (Oxy. iv. 740, 43) nomes.
- 4.  $A\pi a$ : a curious name for a village, but the reading is certain.
- 5. Νείλ : Νείλου πόλις is known as a village in the Arsinoite nome, but the line suggests rather Νείλάμμωνος.
  - Ακανθῶνος, known in the Arsinoite nome.
    - $\delta s$ : corr. from  $\epsilon$ .
- 7. Barous: cf. perhaps Baroas, in the Hermopolite nome, Wessely, Stud. x. 45, 3.
  - $v^{\circ}$  a  $\xi$ : a probably a correction.
  - 8. Bepovik<sup> $\eta$ </sup>/: the same as Bepevikis in the Arsinoite nome?
- $\Pi\rho\alpha\kappa^-$ /:  $\Pi\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon$  is known in the Arsinoite nome, RKT. 254, 5, but here  $\Pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau(\rho\rho\sigmas$ ?) is rather suggested; cf. l. 19. ln RKT. 254, however, Krall marks the  $\epsilon$  as doubtful.
- 9. Παλλαδ(ιου): probably the same name (not necessarily the same place) as Παλλατίου in the Hermopolite nome, Wessely, Stud. x. 45. 4.
  - 10. Πδ Μαγδ: probably Πεδιάδος (or Πεδίου) Μαγδώλων.

- 12.  $\Theta u v^T$ : possibly  $\Theta u \nu i \tau o v$ , which would indicate a nome in the neighbourhood of This, but this is unlikely.
- 13.  $\Sigma_{i\gamma\kappa}/:$  a doubtful reading. The traces are very faint, and no money seems to be entered, so that this item was perhaps washed out. The name occurs below as  $\Sigma_{i\gamma\kappa}^{\epsilon}/$ , which may be  $\Sigma_{i\gamma\kappa}$  fractions or  $\Sigma_{i\gamma\kappa}$  fraction in the Hermopolite nome.  $\Sigma_{i\gamma\kappa}$  () is also a village in the Oxyrhynchite nome, Oxy. iii. 515, 2, 6; 517, 6; cf. Oxy. x. 1285, 65, whence it appears that the full name was  $\Sigma_{i\gamma\kappa}$  έφα.
  - κ/α: κεράτιον έν?
- 15.  $\text{Ko}\mu^- \text{A}\pi^{\lambda}$ : cf.  $\text{Ko}\mu()$  or  $\text{Ko}\lambda()$  in the Arsinoite nome, and  $\text{Ko}\mu a$  in the Heracleopolite nome (Wessely, Stud. x, p. 167; cf. Hib. 56, 6, note) and possibly in the Oxyrhynchite nome (Oxy. i. 142, I; but this is probably the Heracleopolite village; cf. Oxy. 150, 1).
- 16.  $\nu^o$  a: what follows looks like  $\iota\epsilon$ ; perhaps  $\nu^o$  a  $[\epsilon]$  But elsewhere amounts less than a solidus are given as fractions, not in carats.
  - $A\mu\mu^{\omega}$ : this looks more like  $A\mu\mu^{\eta}$ .
  - ς: a correction.
- 17.  $\Sigma \epsilon \sigma \iota L/$ : cf.  $\Sigma \epsilon \sigma \iota ($  ) in the Hermopolite nome, Wessely, Stud. x. 32, 8; perhaps too  $\Sigma \epsilon \sigma \upsilon \mu \beta \hat{\omega} \theta \iota s$  (e. g. P. Cair. Preis. 47, 8), and  $\Sigma \epsilon \sigma \epsilon \mu \beta \hat{\upsilon} \theta \iota s$  (e. g. 1866), in the same.

From bottom to top:-

$$25 \quad ]\omega\nu \, \, \varsigma \, \dot{\gamma} \, \, \nu^{\circ} \, \, \phi \varsigma \zeta \zeta \, \, \dot{\eta} \, \, \stackrel{\tau_{\rho}^{a\gamma} \, \delta_{i}a\nu^{-}}{\mu^{\circ} \, \, \nu^{a} \, \, \kappa \varsigma \, \delta'} \, \qquad \gamma \iota / \, \nu^{\circ} \, \, \chi \xi \gamma \zeta \, \dot{\gamma} \, \kappa \dot{\delta} \, \qquad {}^{\perp}_{\pi} \, \, \nu^{\circ} \, \, \phi [$$

22.  $\tau^-\mu^-$ : perhaps  $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mu a \rho \tau \hat{\nu} \rho \omega \nu$ , but the overwritten lines do not seem quite consistent with this. The same place may be meant in 1. 24.

23.  $\nu^{\circ} \beta$ :  $\beta$  corr. from a; or vice versa.

25. This line is obscure. διαν is perhaps διανομών. For requisitions (διαναμαί) of δέρματα τράγεια see 1416, 41 ff.

### 2. Sales and Leases.

### PAPYRUS 1764.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1622. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{8}$  in. In a regular upright cursive hand, in ink of a brown tint, along the fibres; subscription and notarial signature in black ink and in sloping hands. Folded from right to left.

In this section the first place may be assigned to sales, of which there is only one deserving of publication. The present document, though only the latter portion is preserved, is of some interest, being evidently a sale of wine in advance by a number of persons in partnership, represented by a single member of the firm. For the reason doubtless that the other partners are absent the document is couched throughout in the first person singular, the representative speaking in his own name. All that remains of the contract is the undertaking to supply the wine at the proper time and the guarantee of its quality. A document of a somewhat similar kind, for which see the introduction to 1774, is Lond. iii. 999 (p. 270); and a  $\gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \epsilon \hat{i} \rho \nu$  more closely resembling this had preceded Cair. Masp. ii. 67168, which is a receipt by the purchaser for the due delivery of wine bought in advance. The present document cannot be part of Lond. 999, nor can it be the  $\gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \epsilon \hat{i} \rho \nu$  referred to in Cair. Masp. 67168, as that was issued by two persons named Menas and John. That 1764 is a genuine sale and not a document of the same class as 1774 (assuming that that is not really a sale) seems probable from the wording.

2. οινου ρυσεως κτλ.: an expression analogous to καρπῶν τῆς... lνδικτίονος in the case of corn; cf. 1648, 10, note; but as the vintage fell in Mesore (Lond. ii. 390, 3, p. 332; iii. 1001, 18, p. 271; Strassb. i. 1, 8) it is a little strange to find it coupled with a month 'in the present 13th indiction'. No doubt the missing context would have explained the bearing of the phrase. For an

analogous phrase but without the puzzling allusion to a month in the preceding indiction see Lond. 1001, 18.

3. αναδεχομενος: very doubtful; but probably αναδεχομαι has been corr. to αναδεχομενος.

4. καλλανην και παραμονην: 'goodness and durability'. For παραμονή in this sense cf. Athenaeus 30 E, τον (sc. οίνον) προs

5 του Τυβι μηνος και ειγε ευρεθειη εν αυτω οξη ηγουν φαυλα εμε ταυτα αλλαξαι και τα ϊσα σοι παρασχειν εν πρωτιω οινω κυρ/ το γραμμή απλ/ γραφ/ και επερ/ ωμολ/ (2nd hand) το κοινον των προγεγρ/ ονοματίω)ν στοιχει ημιν τουτο το γραμματιον 10 ως προκ/ Παπνοθιος εγραψα Κ αυτων αποντων

(3rd hand) δι εμο Μαρκου εξεδοθ

παραμονὴν ἐπιτήδειον. The guarantee is only till the end of Tubi, i. e. for five months; in Lond. 999 (where read εωs for επι in l. 12) the guarantee extends to the end of Phamenoth, two months longer.

5.  $o\xi\eta$ : probably, in view of  $\phi a\hat{v}\lambda a$  and  $\tau a\hat{v}\tau a$  (the reference is probably to the measures of wine, e. g.  $\mu \epsilon \tau \rho a$ ), this is to be taken as an irregular form of the plural, for  $\delta \xi \epsilon a$ , rather than as a mis-

spelling of δξύ. Cf. Lond. 999, II-I3, καὶ εἰ εὐρεθείη ὄξας ἡ ἀπαίητος [. . . .] τοῦ οἴνου ἔως Φαμενὼθ μηνὸς καὶ αὐταῦ [. . . .]ς ἐπὶ τῷ με ἀλλάξαι σοι ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐν καλῷ [οἴν $\varphi$  κτλ.

7. πρωτιω: apparently an adjective, πρωτείος, 'of the first quality'. Perhaps it was a trade term.

12. In a much sloping and rather illegible hand, of a very artificial kind.  $\delta\iota$  is preceded by a flourish.

# PAPYRUS 1765.—June 25-July 24 (?), A. D. 554.

Inv. No. 1631. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a neat, regular, sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Papyrus folded perpendicularly to the fibres, but it is uncertain in which direction.

Lease of land in the Hermopolite nome to a priest and sub-deacon. The papyrus is only a fragment, imperfect on both sides, but the general character of the lease can be discovered from what remains. It is uncertain how much is lost on each side, for though the supplement in the first part of 1. I is certain as regards the words used it cannot be decided whether the cross formed part of the line or stood outside and whether  $\Phi\lambda\alphao\acute{u}os$  was or was not written in full. Consequently it seems better not to attempt much restoration, especially as the general sense is for the most part clear. The lease is for two years.

+

[+μετα την υπατειαν Φλζ Βασι]λειου του ενδοξοτατο ετους τρεισ[κα]ιδεκατο[υ] Επ[ειφ
? θαυμασ]ιωτατω υιω Σιλβανου και κληρονομοις των . . . [
Ερμουπ]ολιτων π/ + Βικτορος το ευλαβεστατο πρεσβυτερο κ[αι
εκ μητ]ρ[ο]ς Μαριας ϋποδιακονο αμφοτερων γεωργων ορμ[ωμενων?
εκουσιως και α]υθαιρετως μεμισθωσθαι παρ ϋμων επι διετη χρ[ονον
της εισ]ιουσης τεταρτης ϊνδ/ και αυτης την υπαρχουσαν υμ[ιν

5

6.  $\tau\epsilon\tau a \rho \tau \eta s$  ind(untions): whatever the reading of the month in l. I (and  $\mathbf{E}\pi[\epsilon\iota\phi]$  is probable), and whatever period in the 4th indiction is reckoned from, the contract was concluded at least six months before the commencement of the tenancy, for the 4th indiction did not begin till A. D. 555; cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, p. 66 f. The commencement is very possibly  $a \pi \delta \kappa a \rho \pi \hat{a} \nu$ .

<sup>2.</sup> των: or Θωμ; but it seems impossible to read Θωμα.

<sup>3.</sup>  $\pi(a\rho a)$  +: the character after  $\pi/$  seems to be a cross.  $\pi/$   $A\nu\rho/$  seems quite out of the question.

 $<sup>\</sup>kappa ai$ : the  $\kappa$  is quite uncertain but v[iov seems impossible, and probably therefore Victor's patronymic was not given. Line 4 shows that there was a second lessee.

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]ρον διακειμενην εν περιχωματι Σενασι εν τη μηχανη . [
? υπο την παραφυλακην] των απο κωμης Ιβιωνος Σεσυμβυθεως του Ερμο[πολιτου
] δια των κληρονομων Ϊωαννη Πανουφιό βορρα γη δη[μοσια?
]τος του ευλαβεστατό Ερμινου απηλιωτου οδος λιβο[ς

σ]ιτου αρταβων δυο ονπερ φορου [

μ]ετρησω [εν] Ε[π]ε[ι]φ [μ]ηνι κατ ε[τος

] . . ε[. . . . . . .]ιος μο[υ?
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7. ]  $\rho o \nu$ : very possibly  $a \nu \upsilon \delta$ ]  $\rho o \nu$ .

περιχωματι: for this word, which denotes the dyke surrounding the land of a village or other unit (Wilcken translates Ringdamm'), and so, as here, the land so enclosed, see Wilcken, *Chrest.* 341, 4 f.

 $\epsilon \nu$  τη μηχανη: for μηχανή as denoting a field or piece of arable land see the note on 1741, 5.

- 8. υπο την παραφυλακην: cf. 1769, 8-9, and note.
- 9. Ϊωαννη: 1. Ἰωάννου.

γη δημοσια: if this is correct we have a notable instance of

the occurrence of  $\delta\eta\mu\sigma\sigma\dot{a}$   $\gamma\hat{\eta}$  in the sixth century; see Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 311, 312.

- 11. Before this comes a phrase like εἰς σποράν οτ εἰς σπορὰν καὶ κατάθεσιν (Lond. iii. 1012, 35, p. 267). For αιρωμαι λ. αἰρώμεθα; cf. the singular below, ll. 13, 14.
- 12. σιτου: doubtful; the characters are more like ]ηλαυ.
- 13.  $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\sigma\omega$ : there is not room for  $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\sigma\omega[\mu\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\nu]$ .  $\eta$  is apparently a correction.
  - 14. μου: sic, apparently. Before it possibly (]ωο[ι]s?

# PAPYRUS 1766.—14 (?) Jan., A. D. 559.

Inv. No. 1682. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome. 6 in. × 8\frac{3}{4} in. In a regular upright cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

LIKE 1687 and 1772, this document, though placed in this section, is not actually a lease but an undertaking to pay within a certain time arrears of rent owing on a lease. The land is at Nagogis (see note on l. 3) in the Hermopolite nome, and the lessee is the same person who in Lond. iii. 1006 (p. 261) leases  $1\frac{1}{4}$  aroura of land at the same village. The landlord there is however a different person. Both documents, though written by different scribes, who write good and practised hands, are extremely ungrammatical. The present landlord recurs, with a different tenant, in 1872, a document from the same village and showing, though again by a different scribe, the same jumble of cases and genders as 1766 and Lond. 1006.

μετα την υπα[τειαν Φλαυι]ου Βασιλειου του ενδοξωτατου ετους επτακαι δεκατη Τυβι ε[ννεα(?)και]δεκατη εβδομης ινδικτιωνος ζ ινδ/ Αυρηλιος Κολλ[ουθος Κυρ]ακου εξης υπογραφοντος απο κωμης Ναγωγε ως του Ερμου[πολιτου ν]ομου Φλαυιου Γεωργιω υιω του της

1-2. επτακαιδεκατη: sic; so too in Lond. 1006, πεντηκαιδεκατη, and in 1872, εβδο[μ]η. The indiction being the 7th, the year should be the 18th. The mistake is comprehensible, so soon after the beginning of the consular year.

- 2. εννεακαιδεκατη: rather more likely than επτακαιδεκατη as being a letter longer.
  - 3. The restoration from l. 14 and Lond. 1006.
- Nαγωγεωs: in Lond. 1006 Νατωλεωs was read. Grenfell and Hunt (*Archiv*, iv, p. 559) suggest Nαγώλεωs or Νατώλεωs, and  $\gamma$  does indeed seem more likely than  $\tau$ ; but a comparison of these

three instances of the word and of that in 1872, and of all the  $\lambda$ 's in the three documents makes it practically certain that  $\lambda$  also is to be corrected to  $\gamma$ ; otherwise we should have to suppose that in each of the four cases  $\lambda$  had a form different from that used in any other place where the letter occurs, which seems very unlikely. Moreover the letter is just like the form of  $\gamma$  seen in several places in these documents. Nayâyıs can therefore be regarded, with practical certainty, as the true form. [This is now confirmed by P. Flor. iii. 388, 105.]

4. Φλανιου: l. Φλανίφ. This person occurs in Lond. iii. 1020,

- 5 μακαριας μενημ[ης Σι]λβανου τω θαυμασιωτατου απο της Ερμο`
  πολιτων χαιρειν ομολ[ο]γω εγω ο προγεγραμμενος δια ταυτης μου της
  εγγραφου ασφαλειας οφιλειν σοι και χρεωστω τοις σοι ευδοκιμησεως
  υπερ λοιπατος των εκφοριον αρουρων υπ εμου γεωργιου παρα σου
  χρυσου κεφαλαιου νομισματια δεσποδικον δοκιμον εν παρα κερατια
- 10 εξ ζυγω Ερμουπολεως γι/ χρ/ ν° α π/ κ/ 5 και τουτο ετοιμως εχω παρασχειν σοι τω νευμηνια του εσιοντος μηνος Επειφ της ευτηχουσης συν Θεω οκτωεις ινδικτιωνος ατοκει ανυπερθετως και χωρις πασης αντιλογιας παρελθουσης δε της προθεσμιας ει μοι

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

 $+\mu$ ελλ/ υποθηκ/ γενς Κολλουθος Κυρακ/

2 (p. 272)—unless that is another person of the same name. That document is probably to be dated in the 6th rather than the 7th century. In 1872 (A. D. 548) he is Aurelius, and his father is not alluded to as dead.

5. μενημης : sic.

7. λ. χρεωστείν τῆ σῆ εὐδοκιμήσει.

8. λ. λοιπάδος; ἐκφορίων; and probably ⟨τοῦ⟩ ὑπ' ἐμὲ γεωργίου. πορά σου is perhaps due to a confusion with some phrase like μεμισθωμένου μοι παρά σου.

### [απο κ/ Ναγωγεως]

9. Ι. νομισμάτιον δεσποτικόν.

ΙΙ. Ι. τη νεομηνία; είσιόντος; εὐτυχούσης.

12. Ι. ὀγδόης; ἀτοκί.

13. The lessee no doubt went on to say that if he failed in his payment the landlord would have the right of distraint, perhaps with a fine.

14.  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda/$ :  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha$ ? The sense might conceivably be 'a contingent hypothecation'. This hand is apparently the same as that on the recto.

## PAPYRUS 1767.—1-25 Jan. or 27-31 Dec., A.D. 561.

Inv. No. 1690. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $3\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 9\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a medium-sized cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left or perhaps from both sides inwards, probably only three times.

ONLY the beginning of this lease is preserved, and all details of the lease itself are lost, but the document is worth publishing not only for the place-names it contains but also because of its juristic interest, the lessee being vouched for by two guarantors.

- + ς μετα την υπατειαν Φλαυί[ου Βασιλειου] του ενδο[ξο]τατό ετους εικοστου  $\text{T}[\upsilon\beta\iota\ldots\iota]\nu\delta^{\bullet}/$
- Ε΄ Φλαυίω Φαύστω τω [ευδοκι]μωτατώ υίω του της μακαριας μνημης Βικτορος [α]πο της Ερμουπολίτων π/ Αυρηλιου
   Φοιβαμμωνος Μαθείας μητρος Σωφίας αμπελουργος απο εποί κειου Βασιλείου πεδίων κωμης Ισιδωρου του Ερμουπολίτο νομου τουτον εγγυωμενου και αναδεχομενου επι τη συνθεσει ταυτης της μισθωτικης ομολογίας ϊδίω αυτων κινδυνω και πασης αυτων της υποστασεως Βικτορος Μαθείου πρεσβυτερου και Πεευτος Φιβίου διακονου απο του αυτου εποικείου ομολογί
- 2. Τυβι: Π[αχων is possible but less likely. The indiction or after the 6th of Tubi.
   7. λ. ἐγγυωμένων καὶ ἀναδεχομένων.

εκουσιως κ[αι αυθαιρετως μεμισθωσθαι παρα σου κτλ.

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

+ ή Μισθωτικ[η ομολογια Space of 5 in.

Χ 🎗 Βικτορος πρ[εσβυτερου?

12. M is presumably right, but it is very curiously formed. It consists of a large bag-shaped loop with a small cross in the middle and curved strokes interlacing the two sides.

In 1.13, a space seems to have come between the  $\rho$  and  $\epsilon$  of  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta v \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma v$ .

## PAPYRUS 1768.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1684. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $8\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times$  5 in. In a small sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

A LEASE of house property at Hermopolis, at the will of the landlord. The property consists of two ἐξέδραι and perhaps (see l. 6, note) one καμάρα and an ἀχυροθήκη (presumably for the storage of chaff to be used as fuel) in a house situated in the Western division of the Fort and in the street of Pakouk. The yearly rent is 6 carats. For the various questions connected with leases of house property see Berger's detailed Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes in den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri in the Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss. xxix, pp. 321-415.

ινδι/ τας υπαρ[χου]σας αυτη εξεδρας δυο ολο κληρους μιας μεν ενδοτερον της αλλης την μεν εξωθεν νευ[ο]υσαν εις βορραν επι την αιθραν την δε εσωθεν νευουσαν εις απηλιωτην μετα το 5 μερους αυτων του φρεατος και της αυλης και το δωματος και καμαραν μιαν εν τω καταγαιω νευουσαν εις απηλιωτην και την αχυροθηκην και παντοιών χρηστηριων και δικαιων απο οικιας διακειμένης επι ταυτης της Ερμου 10 πολιτων επ αμφοδου Φρουριου Λιβος εν ρυμη Πακουκ νευουσης εις βορραν προς χρησιν εμην και οικησιν ενοικειό τουτων κατ ετος κερατιων εξ $\overline{\gamma}$ ιν κερ/ 5'' οπερ ενοικειον αποδωσω σοι προς ληξιν 15 εκαστό ετους ανυπερθετως κατα μιμησιν των αλλων ενοικων και οποταν βουληθης

2.  $\mu$ ias: l.  $\mu$ iav.  $\epsilon \nu \delta \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu \tau \eta s$  a $\lambda \lambda \eta s$ : one room was inside the other—unless indeed we read  $\mu$ ias  $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu$   $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \delta \dot{\sigma} \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu \tau \dot{\eta} s$   $\langle \delta \dot{\epsilon} \rangle$  ä $\lambda \lambda \eta s$   $\langle \tilde{\epsilon} \xi \omega \theta \epsilon \nu \rangle$ , but this is unnecessary.

3. aιθραν: cf. 1724, 28.

6. καμάραι are often found ἐν τῷ καταγοίῳ; cf. Berger, op. cit. p. 361, notes 138, 140. Possibly και . . . αχυροθηκην should have come before μετα τō κτλ.; but it is perhaps more likely that καμαραν and αχυροθηκην should be in the genitive after μέρους.

16. των αλλων ενοικων: i. e. the other tenants of the same house.

εχειν παραδωσω σοι τους αυτους τοπους συν θυραις εν τη αυτη [οικια] ως π[αρ]ειληφα η μισθωσις κυρια και β[εβαια κ]αι επ[ερ/] ωμολ/ + (2nd hand) Αυρή Ηλιας

10 Πκυλιου ο π[ροκ/ μ]εμισθωμαι ως προκ/ + + Αυρηλιος Ερμ[. . . . Μ]ηνα α[π]ο Ερ/ αξιωθεις εγραψα υπ[ερ αυτου γραμ]ματ[α] μη ειδοτος + (3rd hand) + Αυρηλιος Γωαννο Μην[α απο Ερ/ μαρτυρω τ]η μισθωσει ακουσ[α]ς π[/ τ]ο θεμενου + (4th hand) + [Αυρηλιος] Φοιβαμμων Αγαθο

25 [απο Ερ/] μαρτ[υρω τη μισθωσ]ει ακουσας παρα το θεμς

Endorsed, along the fibres:—

(5th hand) ] Πκυλιου γεωργί απο Ερ/ί

 $\chi \epsilon \nu o \iota \kappa / \kappa \epsilon [\rho / 5]$ 

There must then have been in all at least three tenants in the whole house; and probably this clause shows that the whole house belonged to the same landlord. For *ĕνοικοs* in this connexion see Berger, *op. cit.* p. 342.

17. τοπους: for τόπος as a room or other part of a house see

Berger, op. cit. pp.  $343^{78}$ , 359.

26. This line, of which only very slight traces remain, contained the notarial signature.

27.  $\gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma(\sigma v)$ : or  $\Gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma(i\sigma v)$ .

## PAPYRUS 1769.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1693. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  8 in. In a small compressed cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded perpendicularly to the writing, perhaps from right to left.

A first sight it might be doubted whether this fragment is from a sale or a lease. In favour of the first supposition it might be urged that the tenure created by the contract is to date certainly from a specified day and probably from the date of the contract, a provision which is unusual in leases, and also that the present owner's title to the property is indicated  $(\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\theta)\tilde{\nu}$   $\tilde{\epsilon}$   $\tilde{\kappa}$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ .), which is also exceptional. That the document is a lease is, however, rendered practically certain by the fact that it is addressed to the owner of the property; for sales are regularly addressed by the vendor to the purchaser  $(\delta\mu\delta\lambda\gamma)$   $\tilde{\mu}$   $\tilde{\mu}$ 

The present lease is of a vineyard; it is to be particularly compared with Cair. Masp. i. 67104 and Hamb. i. 23.

[.....] είκας της π[α]ρούσης δεύτερας ινδ/ καρπων της συν Θεω εισιούσης [ au
hoιτης  $\iota
u\delta/$ ] και αυτης το αιρουν και επιetaαλλον σοι μερος απο ολοκληρ $ar{
ho}$  χωριου αμ [πελικου αρ]ουρων οσων εστιν συν διαφοροις φυτοις και φοινιξι και ελαωσει και καλαμια  $[\epsilon \lambda heta o 
u \epsilon i]$ ς σ $\epsilon$  απο δικαιου αγορασιας παρα  $\hat{1}$ σακιου Σαραπιωνος απο της S πολεως  $5 \ [\delta\iota \ \epsilon \gamma \gamma \rho a] \phi \bar{o} \ \pi \rho a \sigma \epsilon \omega s \ a κολουθω s τη αυτης δυναμεί συν λακκοίς δυσί και δεξαμένη και$ [ξυλινοι]ς οργανοις δυσι εξηρτισμενοις και παντι δικαιω κατα κοινωνειαν της ευγενεστατης [. . . . . .]ας Σαραπιωνος εις τα ῦπολοιπα μερη εις συμπληρωσιν του ολοκληρου [χωριου] αμπελικου μετα παντος αυτου του δικαιο\ διακειμενο θπο την παραφυλα [κην τω]ν απο κωμης Μαγδωλων Μιρη του Ερμουπολιτου νομου προς ῦδροπαροχειαν 10 ].. ων αυτων και μισθο βουκολων

1. Before this must be supplied something like ομολογω εκου-

σιως και αυθαιρετως μεμισθωσθαι παρα σου επι . . . ετη χρονον λογιζομενον απο της σημερον ημερας ητις εστιν μηνος . . . . ] εικας. For καρπῶν κτλ. see 1648, 10, note.

3.  $\epsilon \lambda a \omega \sigma \epsilon \iota : l. \dot{\epsilon} \lambda a \hat{\omega} \sigma \iota \ (= \dot{\epsilon} \lambda a \iota \hat{\omega} \sigma \iota)$ . One would expect olivetrees rather than olive-yards, but the word is not unnatural, since the vineyard may have contained several distinct plantations of olives; and cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67170, 21.

καλαμια: for the close association of reed-beds with vineyards see Grenfell and Hunt on Oxy. iv. 729, 3, and the documents there referred to; cf. too Hamb. 23, 27. The vineyard in Cair. Masp. 67104 did not contain a καλαμία.

aυτης: this refers to πράσεως.

δεξαμενη: cf. note on 1694, 10.

6. ξυλινοις: this suits the space and agrees exactly with the phrase in Cair. Masp. ii. 67151, 118, [ξυλ]ίνων δργάνων έξηρτισμένων; Hamb. 23, 19, ξυλίνφ ὀρ[γά]νφ ἐξηρτισμένφ; etc.

7. [.....]as: probably a sister and co-heir of the Isaac

from whom the lessor bought his share.

8-9. παραφυλακην: cf. 1765, 8; Lond. iii. 1012, 30 (p. 266); 1037, 6 (p. 275); Cair. Masp. ii. 67151, 111; etc. Here πρός ύδροπαροχείαν seems to go with this phrase.

10. και μισθου βουκολων: probably this is in connexion with the supply of water; cf. Oxy. iv. 729, 16; Hamb. 23, 24.

# PAPYRUS 1770.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1656. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $10\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a sloping, rather straggling cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

**T**EASE of  $1\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8} + ?$  aroura of land for five years. The name of the lessor or lessors is lost; that of the lessee is just possibly Apa Menas. The lessee comes from the village of Enseu, and the land may have been situated there, though perhaps in that case της αὐτης κώμης would have been written in 1. 8. The provision as to rent in 11. 11 and 12 is of some interest; see note there. Besides the rent proper the lessee is to make further payments in kind.

> απο κω[μης Ενσευ του Ερμουπολιτου νομου ομολογω] εγω ο προχ[εγραμ]μενος [Μην]ας γεωρ[γος εκουσιως] και αυθαι[ρετω]ς μεμ[ισ]θωσθα[ι παρ υμων] επι πεν[ταετη] χρονον λογιζομεν[ον απο καρπων της] συν Θεω εισιουσης δωδεκατης ινδ/ τ[ην υπαρχουσαν]

2. Myvas: as is a quite possible reading, and there seems just room for  $M\eta\nu$  in the lacuna; the endorsement seems to have  $A\pi a$  $M\eta\nu as$ . In l. 21 M is suggested by the traces.

3. παρ υμων: the supplement is short as compared with that in several lines, and possibly the names were added; but that,

on the other hand, would give too long a supplement, and it must be remembered that lines did not always end at the same point and that letters were frequently spread out or compressed towards the end of a line.

```
υμιν αρουραν μιαν ημισυ ογδο[ον
     πλεω ελαττον ανϋδρον
                              διακειμ[ενην εν τοπω?]
     καλουμενω \overline{\Gamma . . \xi_{ia}} εν πεδιοις κωμ[ης
    εις σποραν και καταθεσιν καρπων [ων αν αιρωμαι]
10 εκαστης αρουρης γεωμέτριας \phi[ορου κα\theta εκαστον?]
    ενιαυτον τω συμβροχω σιτου αρτα[β
                                              και τω αβροχω]
    το μη ειη του τριτου μερους του προει[ρημενου φορου ονπερ]
    φορον νεον καθαρον κεκοσκι[νευμενον μετρω]
    Αθηναιω αποδωσω και μετρησω [υμιν εν μηνι
15 και αποκαταστησω τον αυτον φορο[ν εις τον οικον υμων]
    εν Ερμουπολει ϊδιοις μου ζωοις [και αναλωμασιν]
    εν καιρω της αποδοσεως τω[ν] δη[μοσιων και
    μιαν αξιαν αργυριου ταλαντών χε[ιλιων?
    και τυρα ευαρεστα εικοσι και . [
20 και αχυρου σιτινους αρταρας δ[υο? η μισ\thetaωσις κυρια]
    και βεβαια και επερ/ ωμολ/ Αυρί Μ[ηνας
    μεμισθωμαι ως προκ/ Αυρί Θω[μας?
                                                  αξιωθεις
    εγραψα υπερ αυτου γραμματα μη ε[ιδοτος + (2nd hand)
    απο Ερ/ μαρτυρω τη μισθωσει ακουσας πα[ρα του θεμενου + (3rd hand)
25 απο Ερ[\mu]^{ov} μαρτυρω τη μισθωσει ακουσας \pi[αρα του θεμενου + (4th hand)
    Αμμωνίου [a]πο Ερμοπ/ μαρτυρω τη μισ	hetaωσεως ακ[ουσας παρα του 	hetaεμενου + ]
    (5th hand) + δι \epsilon \mu \alpha^{\nu} Μηνά συμβολαιογράφ/ ΡΡΡ \chi . [
```

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

(6th hand?) ]. Απα Μηνας γεωργος απο κωμίς Ενσευ του Ερμουπολ/

7. τοπω: οτ γεωργιω οτ κληρω.

8.  $\Gamma$ ..  $\xi \iota a$ : on the line the traces before a suggest  $\nu$  rather than  $\xi \iota$ , but confused with the  $\kappa$  of  $\kappa a \tau a \theta \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu$  in 1. 9 is a curving downstroke, ending in a loop to the left and just below the first of the two strokes visible here. This makes  $\xi$  probable, and the following stroke, in that case, is doubtless  $\iota$ . The first letter may be  $\sigma$ .

9. At the end of this line we should expect  $\phi o \rho o v$ , but  $\phi$  in l. 10 seems to be the beginning of that word, and apparently in this case it was placed after, not before  $\epsilon \kappa a \sigma \tau \eta s \kappa \tau \lambda$ ; it does not seem likely that that phrase goes with  $\kappa a \rho \pi \hat{\omega} v$ , meaning that each aroura (as a matter of fact there is only one and a fraction) might be sown with any crop the lessee chose.

10. γεωμετριαs: an abbreviation of the kind of phrase seen in P. Lips. 19, 17, φόρου εκάστης [ἀ]ρούρης τῆς ἐν σπόρω ἐκ κεωμετ ρίας (sic) φανησομένης. Oxy. iii. 499 has a contrary provision, φόρου εκάστης ἀρούρης μη δεμιᾶς γεωμετρίας γενομένης. In Oxy. i. 102 the phrase ἐκ γεωμετρίας is placed in a different position, after the specification of the area. Here ἐκ was perhaps accidentally omitted; but this supposition is hardly a necessary one.

11 f. This is a provision that if the land is properly irrigated the full rent shall be paid, but that if the inundation fails to reach it  $(\tau \delta \ \mu \eta \ \epsilon' i \eta)$  only a third of the rent is to be paid; cf. note on 1689, 18. There is a similar provision in Grenf. i. 56 and 57, also from the Hermopolite nome. In the former half the amount of  $\phi \delta \rho \sigma s$  is to be paid when the irrigation fails; in 57 the details are lost.

12.  $\tau o$ : for  $\delta$ , as not infrequently.

14. We may probably supply either  $\Pi avvi$  or  $E\pi\epsilon_i \phi$ ; cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, p. 104 f. But possibly, in view of l. 17, the month was not mentioned.

15. Supplement from Lond. iii. 1012, 42 (p. 267). If, as is quite likely, the  $\hat{\nu}\mu\hat{\nu}\nu$  of l. 6 is honorific and only one lessor is involved,  $\sigma\sigma\nu$  should probably be read here rather than  $\nu\mu\omega\nu$ . In l. 13  $\sigma\omega$  (or  $\nu\mu\omega\nu$ ) is possible after  $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\omega$  (Lond. 1012, 40).

18 ff. Here are specified certain additional payments in kind. 20. σιτινους: i.e. the measure was the same as that used for wheat.

αρταρας: a slip of the pen for ἀρτάβας.

δυο: this suits the space better, and is in itself more likely, than δεκα or δωδεκα.

21. The signature is in the same hand as the body of the document. Evidently the notary's clerk signed for the lessee. This proves that in this case the notary did not himself write the document.

22.  $\Theta\omega[\mu\alpha s: \text{ or possibly }\Theta_{\vec{s}}[\delta\delta...]$ 

μισθωσεως: sic.

27.  $\chi$ .[: perhaps  $\chi\mu[\gamma]$ , or possibly shorthand, or a mere lourish.

28.  $A\pi a M\eta\nu as$ :  $M\eta\nu as$  is quite possible and can be read in l. 2, and the  $a\pi$  suggests  $A\pi a$ , which might no doubt be omitted on occasion, as in l. 2. The second a is however a very doubtful reading.

## PAPYRUS 1771.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1685. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  8 in. In a sloping even cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

Lease of land at Thotis in the Hermopolite nome. The lease was for more than one year; the rent was payable half in wheat and half in barley, and in addition the tenant agrees to pay a  $\sigma v v \eta \theta \epsilon u a$  in kind.

 $\epsilon \nu$ ] το $\pi[\omega]$  Που . [. . . . . . ] και καταλεί[. . .] . ἰα[

φορο<sup>[ν]</sup> του[του?] κ[α]τ ετος σιτοκριθου κατα το ημισυ αρταβ[ων καθως περ[ιε]χει και η παλαια μισθωσις των προ εμου γεωρ[γων

και Απιωνος [τ]ων Τωρανιου ονπερ φορον νεον καθαρον κεκ[οσκινευμενον]

5 αποδωσω [και] μετρησω τω υμετερω προνοητη τω παραλη[μπτικω υμων μετρω] Αθηναιω [και]ρω συγκομιδης εκαστου ετους ανύπερθετως ε[ν τω συμβροχω και αβροχω και] αποκαταστησ[ω] αυτον τον φορον εις τον ύμετερον θησαυρ[ον ϊδιοις μου ζω[οι]ς και αναλωμασι παρεξω δε κατ ετος λογω συνηθ[ειας

εν αξιον χρ[υ]σο $^{v}$  κερατιου ενος ημισεως και τυρον ευαρεστον [εν

- 10 σταχυων δεματα εικοσι και λεψανης αγγεια δυο κ[α]ι γαλακτος χ[οας? η μισ] θωσις κυρι[α] και βεβαια και επε/ ωμολ/ + Αυρ, Ανου[φ]ιος Ε... [ μεμισθωμαι] ως προκ/ Αυρ/ [Α]πολλως Φοιβαμμωνος υπε/ αξιωθεις ε[γ]ραψα υπερ α[υτου γραμματα μη ειδοτος]
- 13 (2nd hand) + Φλίς Σερηνος Χριστοδωρου απο Ερμουπ<sup>ο</sup>ς μαρτυρω τη μισθωσει ακ[ουσας παρα του θεμενου]
- 14 (3rd hand) + Αυρηλίος Λεοντίου Κυριακώ από Ερμουπ $^{\circ}$ ς μαρτυρώ τη μί $[\sigma\theta$ ωσει ακουσας παρα του  $\theta$ εμενου]
- 15 (4th hand) Αυρί Ισακος Ασκληπιαδό απο Ερ/ μαρτυρω τ[η μισθωσει ακουσας]

2. τουτου: perhaps referring to a γεώργιον previously mentioned. Or τουτων, referring to the arouras, might be read.

σιτοκριθου κατα το ημισυ: i.e. half wheat and half barley. The same proportion probably occurs in 1772. In Oxy. iii. 590 we find the amount of barley double that of wheat (6 to 3). Similar rents are found in Spain; e.g. in a document of A.D. 1549 from Avila in the British Museum mention is made of an annual charge payable to the monastery of the Encarnacion of 'treinta y seis fanegas de pan mitad trigo y cevada [l. cebada]' (Add. MS. 38653 A, f. 57 f.), a phrase which recalls the present one.

5. παραλημπτικω: cf. Oxy. i. 101, 41; vi. 910, 34; vii. 1040, 18. 6. ανύπερθετωs: the stroke over the v is instead of the usual dots; cf. ύμετερον in l. 7.

 $\epsilon \nu \tau \omega \sigma \nu \mu \beta \rho \rho \chi \omega \kappa \alpha \alpha \beta \rho \rho \chi \omega$ : from PS1. iii. 188, 9 (and cf. BGU. iii. 900, 4), which gives us the Hermopolite formula. The Oxyrhynchite formula is  $\epsilon \pi i \tau' \dot{\epsilon} \mu \beta \rho \delta \chi \omega \kappa \alpha \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\alpha} \beta \rho \delta \chi \omega$  (see PSI. i. 77, 23); and at Aphrodito we find  $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \epsilon \hbar \epsilon i \omega \kappa \alpha \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\alpha} \beta \rho \rho \chi \kappa \omega$ ; see note on 1689, 18. The supplement here is indeed rather long, but it seems certain;  $\epsilon [\nu \mu \eta \nu \iota \ldots \iota$  is not required after  $\kappa \alpha \iota \rho \hat{\omega} \sigma \nu \gamma \kappa \sigma \mu \iota \delta \hat{\eta} s$ .

7. αυτον τον φορον: possibly a slip of the pen for τον αυτον φορον; cf. 1770, 15. But 1774, 12 f. has the same order as here.

ύμετερον: before this a letter, probably either  $\sigma(ov)$  or  $\theta(\eta\sigma av\rho ov)$ , has been washed out. At the end  $\epsilon \nu$  Ερμουπολει is possible, but the  $\theta \eta \sigma av\rho \delta s$  is perhaps more likely to have been in the village.

10. δεματα: doubtful but likely.

 $\lambda \epsilon \psi a \nu \eta s$ : =  $\lambda a \psi \acute{a} \nu \eta s$ ; cf. 1694, 22, note; and also 1695, 24, where the spelling is  $\lambda \epsilon \psi \acute{a} \nu \eta s$ , as here. In the other instances, however, it is measured by  $\kappa o \lambda o \beta \acute{a}$ .

 $\gamma \alpha \lambda \alpha \kappa \tau os$ : a doubtful reading. In the eighth-century Aphrodito texts milk is measured by xestae, but here  $\chi$  is certain.

11. Probably the subscription of Anuphius was written for him by the clerk who wrote the document. The hand seems to be the same, though it is a little smaller and more compressed. Cf. 1770.

- 12.  $\upsilon \pi \epsilon / :$  probably  $\upsilon \pi \langle \eta \rangle \rho \epsilon \tau \eta s$ .
- 14. Κυριακω: sic.

παρα του  $\theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \nu o^{\nu}$   $\mathbf{f}$ (5th hand) +  $\delta \iota \ \epsilon [\mu]^{o\nu}$  Παλωτος  $\epsilon \gamma \rho \alpha \phi [\eta + ]$ Endorsed, along the fibres:—
(6th hand?)  $\gamma \epsilon ] \omega \rho \gamma$  απο  $\kappa \omega \mu$  Θοτέως του Ερ/

17. Παλωτος: Απολλωτος does not seem possible, or we might take it that the notary wrote the document himself. This subprove that the notary did not himself write the document.

#### PAPYRUS 1772.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1718. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome. 10\frac{1}{4}\text{ in. } \times 5\frac{1}{4}\text{ in. } In a small sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Papyrus much rubbed. Presumably (in view of the position of the endorsement) folded from right to left.

IKE 1687 and 1766, this is an acknowledgement of a debt for rent. The rent, which is for the 10th and 11th indictions, amounts to three artabas each of wheat and barley, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  artaba of vegetable seed. It seems likely, therefore, the arrears being for two indictions, that it was a rent of three artabas of  $\sigma\iota\tau\delta\kappa\rho\iota\theta\sigma\nu$  κατὰ τὸ ημισυ (1771, 2) per annum, with a  $\sigma\iota\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\iota$  of  $\frac{1}{6}$  artaba vegetable seed. The arrears may indeed be for only part of the full rent, but the proportions are probably right.

?  $\Pi a \chi \omega \nu$ ]  $\epsilon[\iota] \kappa a s \ a \rho \chi [\eta \ \tau \eta s]$ [δωδεκατης ινδικτιονο]ς [+ Aυρηλιος Ανανίας Π] απνουθιο μητρος[ 10 letters γεωργο]ς απο κωμης Τερτον [Κανας το Ερμουπολι]του νομου Αυρηλια 16 letters ]ανο τη ευγενεστατη απο της Ερμουπολιτων χαιρειν ομολογ[ω] οφειλειν σοι και χρεωστειν ϋπερ εκφοριων του υπ εμε υμετερό ημιαρουρου σποριμης 10 γης καρπων δεκατης και ενδεκατης των [α]ρτιως παρελθουσων δυο ϊνδικτιονων κεφαλαιου σιτου αρταβας σιτου αρταβας τρεις και κριθης αρταβας τρεις και λαχανο σπερμο αρταβης τριτον  $\gamma \iota / \sigma \iota \tau$   $\vartheta = \gamma$  και κρ  $\vartheta = \gamma$ 15 [και λ]αχί 🖯 🧓 Γ΄ ασπερ αποδωσω σοι τω Επειφ

 $T\epsilon\rho\tau\sigma\nu$ , but this one seems to be new.

<sup>1.</sup> Παχων: cf. l. 15, which proves that the month must be either Παχων or Παυνι; for Παχων cf. 1692, 4, note.

<sup>3.</sup> Avapuas: see l. 25. But the reading there is not certain.

4f. Teorov Kavas: see the endorsement. There were severa

<sup>4</sup>f. Teprov Kavas: see the endorsement. There were several village names in the Hermopolite nome beginning with the word

<sup>12.</sup> σιτου αρταβας was accidentally repeated—unless in the first place σῖτος means 'corn' in general and in the second 'wheat' in particular; cf. 1663, 26, note.

[μ]ηνι της παρουσης δωδεκατης ινδικτιονο[ς] χωρις τινος αντιλογιας και υπερθεσεως εν γενημ[α]σι νεοις καθαροις κεκοσκι νευμενοις μετρω Αθηναιω και αποκατα

- 20 στησω αυτα[ς] εις οικον σου εν Ερμουπολει ιδιοις μου ζ[ωοις] παρεξω δε σοι και παραντο.
   . [υ]ποκειμεν[ω]ν σοι εις τουτο το χρεος [παν]των των εμ[ων] πραγματων καθαπερ ε[κ δικη]ς το γραμ[ματειον] κυριον κ[αι βεβαιον]
- 25 και [επε]ρ/ ωμολ/ + (2nd hand) Αυρ[ηλι]ος Αναν[ι]ας [Παπνουθιου] [γεωργος πεποιημαι του]το το γραμματειον + Αυρηλιο[ς] Θεοφιλος Ευλογιου απο Ερ/ αξι[ωθεις] εγρ[αψα υπε]ρ αυ[τ]ου γραμματα μη ε[ιδοτος +] (3rd hand) [+] Αυρη[λιο]ς Ω...[.....απο] Ερ/ μ[αρτυρω]
- 30 [τω γραμματειω ακουσας] π[α]ρ[α] τ[ο] θεμενον τω γρ[α]μ μα[τειω α]κουσας παρα του θεμενου τω γρ[α]μ (5th hand) Αυρ[η]λιος Γεωργιος Αρτεμιδωρο απο [Ε]ρ/ μαρτυρω τω γραμματειω ακ[ο]υσας
- 35 παρα το θεμενο . . .

...... εμου Πε ......

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

(1st hand?) [+ γραμμή Ανανία Παπν]ουθιο γεωργή απο κωμή Τερτον Κανας του Ερ/ [ι S] μα ι/ σι  $\frac{1}{2}$  [γ] και κρ/  $\frac{1}{2}$  γ και λαχή  $\frac{1}{2}$  [γ]

21 f.  $\pi a \rho a \nu \tau o \dots$ : it seems hardly possible to read  $\pi a \rho a \mu \nu \theta \iota - [a\nu]$  (in the sense of 'interest').

25.  $\omega\mu$ o $\lambda(o\gamma\eta\sigma a)$  +: the rest is in ink of different colour, with a reddish tint.

26. +: perhaps only a line —. The traces of ink do not suggest letters (e.g. ως προκ/).

30. The reading of this line is extremely doubtful. The characters read as  $\theta\epsilon$  look like  $\chi$ , but probably the upstroke of  $\epsilon$  was begun below the line.  $\pi$ ,  $\tau$ , and  $\theta$  are moreover very near together for  $\pi[a]\rho[a]$   $\tau[ov]$ ; but the certain letters favour the reading given.

35.  $\theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma \nu$ : what follows is probably only a flourish, perhaps

combined with the cross.

36, 37. These lines are obscure. The second is certainly the notary's signature, but it is not clear whether 36 is part of it or even if it is in the same hand. The hand of 37 is not like that of the body of the document but is in the artificial script only used for notarial signatures. Before  $\epsilon\mu\nu\nu$  it is doubtful if  $\delta\iota$  can be read.  $\Pi\epsilon\tau\rho^{\sigma\nu}$ . .  $\sigma\nu\mu\beta$  can perhaps be read. The line under the signature is in the MS.

38. (δεκατής) (και) (ενδικατης) ι(νδικτιονος): extremely doubtful. There is no clear trace of anything between  $E\rho$ / and the characters read as ια; but ια ι/ is a not unlikely reading and if so ι S is required, as the rent was for both indictions.

## 3. Acknowledgements of Debt.

#### PAPYRUS 1773.—11 Apr., A. D. 454.

Inv. No. 1688. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a rather large upright cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

ATED papyri of the fifth century, particularly from other localities than Oxyrhynchus, are at present so rare that it seems worth while to publish this in spite of its mutilation, and a facsimile of it will, it is hoped, be given in the next Atlas of Facsimiles. The document is an acknowledgement of a debt of 50,000 talents (see note on l. 10), the price of 100 cnidia of wine.

3.  $a\eta$ ..  $\epsilon av$ : the letter before o had a horizontal top-stroke  $(\tau$  or  $\pi$ ); that after  $\eta$  may be  $\tau$ .

- 4.  $\pi a \rho a \lambda \eta \mu \tau \eta s$   $\tau \omega \nu$   $\sigma \iota \tau$  . . .  $\gamma \gamma \omega \nu$ : the traces strongly suggest  $\pi a \rho a \lambda \eta \mu \tau \eta s$ , but the word following  $\tau \omega \nu$  is difficult. For  $\sigma \iota \tau$ ,  $\sigma \eta$  or  $\sigma \iota \gamma$  may be read; the beginning might be  $\sigma \iota \gamma \nu$ , and  $\sigma \iota \tau \eta$  is a quite easy reading, but neither  $\sigma \iota \tau \eta \rho \epsilon \sigma \iota \omega \nu$  nor  $\sigma \iota \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon \omega \nu$  is possible. The two  $\gamma$ 's before  $\omega \nu$  are very probable, though  $\rho \gamma \omega \nu$  is not impossible.
- 6. There is not room for  $[\tau\eta s \ \hat{S} \ E\rho\mu\sigma\upsilon\pi\sigma\partial\iota\tau]\omega\nu$ . Probably  $\omega\nu$  is the end of a noun denoting a class of officials, military or civil.
  - 8. λαμπρατητι: rather long, but cf. ll. 5 and 9.
  - 9. Here no doubt  $\epsilon\omega\nu\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$  or some similar word or words is

to be read.

- 10. If, as seems likely, αργυρι]ου is rightly read before ταλαντα, the meaning should be 'five myriads of talents', i.e. 50,000 talents. Myriads are generally used to reckon denarii or drachmae, not talents, but see PSI. i. 43, 5, where the same locution (ἀργυρίου τάλαντα μυριάδας πέντε καὶ χείλια) occurs. Maspero, Cair. Masp. ii, p. 123, takes the talent in this connexion as equivalent 'soit au petit denier de la myriade, soit à la myriade elle-même'; the first supposition seems the more natural; cf. 1800, 3, note.
- 12. Possibly  $\tau a v \tau ] \eta v \tau \eta [v]$ , but it is difficult in that case to see what followed, as there is not room for  $a \sigma \phi a \lambda \epsilon_i a v$ .

#### PAPYRUS 1774.—I March, A. D. 570.

Inv. No. 1714 A. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $6\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 7\frac{1}{8}$  in. In an upright formal cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

THIS document is of the same type as Lond. ii. 390 (р. 332); iii. 999 (р. 270); 1001 (ib.); Strassb. i. 1; Flor. iii. 314. In form these are all acknowledgements of the receipt v.

of (apparently) the price of an article (in all cases except the present one and Flor. 314, wine; in Lond. 1001 with corn as well), which the recipient undertakes to deliver  $(\dot{a}\pi o\delta \dot{\omega}\sigma \omega)$  later; but in none of the cases is the price specified. Preisigke, therefore, in his introduction to Strassb. 1, takes the type not as a sale in advance, as it at first appears, but as 'eine Begleichung von Schuld durch Naturallieferung'; and he adds, in reference to the particular document edited by him, 'Der Gläubiger legt im voraus seine Hand auf die Weinernte des kommenden Jahres in Höhe von 500 Knidien, um seine (Zins-?) Forderung an Tabesis zu befriedigen'. This may be the correct explanation, but it is not by any means beyond question; cf. Wenger in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1907, p. 316, who thinks the obvious theory of a sale in advance not impossible; Viereck in Berl. Ph. Woch. 1908, p. 138, who favours a loan; and Berger, Strafklauseln, p. 145, who, without referring to Strassb. 1, takes Lond. 999 and 1001 as 'Lieferungskäufe'. A conceivable but not very likely interpretation is perhaps to take these documents as loans in kind at a fixed valuation, translating 'I have received from you at the price agreed on x measures of wine, which I will repay', etc.; i.e. the value of the article was fixed in advance, so that in case of failure to repay it the debtor could pay the value in cash. It seems at all events better to place this document in the present section than in the preceding one. Here the article to be supplied is vegetable seed, the amount 4 artabas. The sense of the missing conclusion can be recovered from Lond. 999 and 1001, where in case of failure to fulfil the contract the debtor agrees to pay a sum of money as the price.

A similar kind of transaction (perhaps in this case a true sale in advance) is 1656, q. v.; it is to be noted that Flor. 314 also, published since 1656 was printed off, concerns  $\kappa o \hat{v} \phi \alpha$ . A sale in advance seems to be at the bottom of Oxy. x. 1281 (A. D. 21), in which a certain Harpaësis acknowledges that δεδάνισμαι την τειμην των έκατον λίνων Σινυραιτικών σαμκαμυκώ[ν], τας του  $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\rho(\nu\rho\dot{\iota}o\nu)$  ( $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\dot{\alpha}s$ )  $\tau$   $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\dot{\iota}o\nu$ , and agrees to repay the sum on certain conditions; see the editors' commentary. If 1656 and Oxy. 1281 are to be classed with 1774, etc., the latter may probably be taken as sales in advance.

 $[+\beta a \sigma i \lambda \epsilon i]$ ας και υπατείας του  $\theta \epsilon$ ιοτατού ημών  $\delta \epsilon \sigma \pi$ οτού  $\Phi \lambda \zeta$ [Ιουστι]νου του αιωνιου Αυγουστου Αυτοκρατορος ετους [πεμπτου] Φαμενωθ πεμπτη τριτης ινδικτιονος [Αυρηλιος Ι]ερημιας Ενωχ μητρος Θαησιας από κωμης 5 [..... τ]ου Ερμουπολιτου νομου + Αυρηλιω Γεωργιω [..... ο]υ τω θαυμασιωτατω απο της Ερμου[πο]λιτων [χαιρειν ο]μολογω εσχηκεναι και πεπληρωσ $\theta$ αι παρα σου [της τελεια]ς τιμης λαχανοσπερμού αρταβων τεσσαρων  $\gamma \nu / \lambda \alpha \chi$  [  $\delta$  ον  $\delta$  10 αποδωσω σοι τω Επειφ μηνι της συν Θεω εισιουσης τεταρτης ινδικτιονος εν λαχανοσπερμω νεω καθαρω κεκοσ κινευμενω μετρω Αhetaηναιω και α $\pi$ οκαταστη $\sigma$ ω αυτον

<sup>4.</sup> Something was perhaps written over the line at the

<sup>8.</sup> της τελειας: for τελειας cf. Lond. 999, 6; 1001, 10; Strassb.

<sup>1, 6.</sup> της προς αλληλους συμπεφωνημένης τέλειας τιμης would,

from these analogies, be expected, but the space will not allow of any longer word than τελειας.

<sup>9.</sup> Probably ονπερ προκειμένον or a similar word.

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

 $\mathbf{x} \gamma \epsilon \nu o \mu^{\epsilon} \mathbf{x} / \mathbf{I} \epsilon [\rho] \eta \mu i o \nu \mathbf{E} \nu \omega \chi \dots [$ 

17. \*: as no noun precedes  $\gamma \epsilon \nu o \mu \epsilon (\nu)$ , this must itself be a noun, not a mere cross, unless a word has been accidentally omitted. Probably, therefore, it is to be read  $\chi \iota (\rho \delta \gamma \rho a \phi o \nu)$ ; cf. 1699, 16,

and note. This endorsement may well be in the same hand as the recto, though with a thinner pen.

Ιερημιου: sic, apparently.

#### PAPYRUS 1775.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1780. Acquired in 1907. Hermopolis.  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 7\frac{1}{2}$  in. In an uneven sloping cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus dark and in places much rubbed.

THIS document seems to be an undertaking, apparently by a woman (l. 10), to pay 2 solidi less 12 carats, part of a total debt of 8 solidi less 48 carats. Owing to the mutilation of the document it is not clear whether the rest of the debt (which was repayable by instalments) had already been paid.

Ερμινο μητρος Ευφημιας εγγυωμενου και αναδεχομενο[υ με?
ασφαλειας ϊδιω αυτου κινδυνώ και της αυτο υποστασεως Ερμιν[ου?
Αυρηλιω Στεφανώ. [...]λονος απο Ερ// επει επρ[ιαμην παρα σου νομισ]ματιών οκτω παρα κερατια τεσσερακοντα οκτω και ουκετ[ι
κα]ταβολαις νυν ομολογώ ετοιμώς εχείν παρασχείν σοι τί[
νομισματια δυο π]αρα κερατια δωδεκα [ε]ν τω Παχων μηνι κατ. [
παρε]ξω σοι τα αυτα νομισματ[ι]α δυο παρα κερατια δωδ[εκα
παρασ]χείν νομισματα δυο παρα κερατια δωδεκα ετο[ιμως εχω

- - 2. κινδυνω: ΟΓ κινδυνου (sic).
- .[..]λονος: not Απολλονος.

 $\epsilon\pi\rho\iota a\mu\eta\nu$   $\pi a\mu a$   $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ : this seems a likely reading in view of the context. If it is correct, the debt is for the price of goods

purchased but not yet fully paid for.

- 4. ουκετι: very doubtful, but quite possible.
- 5. καταβολαις: the loan was repayable by instalments; cf. 1776, 2, note.

 $\pi[: \nu \text{ could be read, and } \nu \circ \mu \iota \sigma \mu \sigma \iota \iota \iota \text{ then suggests itself;}$  but the indications are that rather more is lost than this would allow for. Moreover a letter may have preceded this;  $[a]\pi[o (\text{perhaps } a\pi \ [a\nu\tau\omega\nu) \text{ is a not unlikely reading, } i.e. 'I will pay you, of the whole sum, 2 solidi.'$ 

6.  $\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\omega$ : corr. from  $[o]\kappa\tau\omega$ . The traces indeed suit an alteration from  $[\epsilon]\nu$   $\tau\omega$  to  $[o]\kappa\tau\omega$ , but l. 4 shows that the solidus was worth 18 carats, and in l. 8  $o\kappa\tau\omega$  does not occur. No doubt  $o\kappa\tau\omega$  was written here through a recollection of the total sum in l. 4.

7. νομισματ[ι]α: οτ νομισματα, as in 1. 8.

8.  $\pi a \rho a \sigma \chi \epsilon \iota \nu$ : very doubtful. The meaning apparently is, and if I should be unable to pay you the 2 s. less 12 c. I am ready to . . . '

10

] . α των παρελθοντων χρονων χωρις οιασδη[ποτε] . . . . . . . . . [? Ερμι]νου η [π]ροκ/ στοιχει μοι την [προκ/ ασφαλειαν 2 lines, too much rubbed for decipherment.

οιασδη[ποτε: probably αντιλογιας or υπερθεσεως.
 την: sic, apparently. It is quite possible that this subscription is in the same hand as the body of the document.

### PAPYRUS 1776.—6th-7th Century.

Inv. No. 1695 A. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft. In a cramped upright cursive hand, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards.

In this acknowledgement of a debt we meet with the church of Hermopolis, with which 1782 and the following receipts are concerned. The debt acknowledged is one of 12 carats to the church for arrears on the  $\partial \pi \delta \delta \epsilon \iota \xi \iota s$  of Phoebammon son of Epiphanius.  $\partial \pi \delta \delta \epsilon \iota \xi \iota s$  should be a receipt; and the meaning may be that John had received money for the church from Phoebammon, to whom he had issued a receipt, but had not yet paid over 12 carats of it. The most interesting feature of the document is the apparent reference to a soldier (bucellarius?) in the service of the church.

- 1 + τω κυρή Βικτορι στρατι/ της αγι/ εκκλ/ Ερμουπή Ϊωαννης Σερ/ εχω και χρεωστω αποκροτή
- 2 αποδειξ/ Φοι/ Επιφανειο` χρυσου κερ/ δωδεκα γι/ κ/ ιβ και αποδωσω ϊσω εξημερ/ και προς σην ασφαλειαν πεπ[οι]
- $ημαι ταυτην την ασφαλειαν των κερ/ <math>\delta[ω]\delta$ εκ[α] ως προκ[/] εγρ/  $\Phi$  ...  $\delta$  ...  $\sigma[vμ]\phi/+++$

1.  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\iota(\omega\tau\eta)$ : the reading is probable, but it is a little curious to find soldiers in the service of the church; cf. however 1783, 5, note. Presumably they were intended for the defence of the church and its property in the anarchic conditions of the period, like the bucellarii (Maspero, Org. militaire, pp. 66-68) of the high officials and great landowners.

 $\Sigma \epsilon \rho /$ : probably  $\Sigma \epsilon \rho \dot{\eta} \nu \sigma v$ . The characters indeed look more

like  $\Sigma \epsilon \iota /$ , but cf.  $\kappa \epsilon \rho /$  in l. 2, where the  $\rho$  is made in exactly the same way.

αποκροτ(ωs): cf. P. Grenf. ii. 89, 3; 90, 6; UKF. 133, 2; 427, 2; Flor. iii. 343, 3.

2. ἴσω εξημερ/: ἴσφ έξημέρει, 'in six equal payments'?

3.  $\Phi \dots \mathfrak{s}$ : the most likely reading is  $\Phi[a]\rho\mu\mathfrak{s}$ .

### 4. Receipts.

## PAPYRUS 1777.—7 Sept., A. D. 434.

Inv. No. 1624. Acquired in 1906. Oxyrhynchus.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{1}{6}$  in. In a flourished upright cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

LIKE 1773, this very imperfect document is worth publishing mainly on account of its date. A facsimile of it will probably be given in the next Atlas. It is a receipt, probably for either five or fifty (either seems more likely than a higher sum) fleeces.

[μετα την υπατ]ε[ια]ν το δεσποτο ημων Θεοδοσιο αιωνιο Αυγουστο [και Φλαυιου Μαξι]μο το λαμπρο Θωθ ι''
]ων Πανβηκιο απο κωμης Ταμπετι του
[Οξυρυγχιτου νο]μο Αφυγγιω πρεσβυτερω καθολικης
[? εκκλησιας . . . .]ερους απο της λαμπρας Οξ[υρ]υγχιτων
[πολεως χαιρει]ν ομολογω εσχηκεν[αι] παρα σου ε[ν]τευθεν

] δια Χειρος υπερ τη]ς συμπεφώ[ν]ημενης και ἀρέ[σ]ἀσ[ης] μὸν  $\pi$ έ· [

Or [το ιδ' και Φλ; Μαξι]μο<sup>υ</sup>.

3. Ταμπετι: this village occurs fairly often in the Oxyrhynchus papyri. That it was in the Oxyrhynchite nome is proved by e.g. Oxy. vi. 895, 5; 997; 998.

7. The supplement is doubtful because rather long. Perhaps

 $a\pi o$  is to be read for  $v\pi \epsilon \rho$ .

aperarys:  $\sigma v \nu a p e \sigma a \sigma \eta s$  seems impossible. The whole reading is doubtful, but likely.

8.  $\epsilon \rho \epsilon as$ : it is just possible that this may be the end of a word (in  $-a\iota a$ ) in the genitive, but much more likely that it is  $\epsilon \rho \epsilon as$ , 'fleeces'.

#### PAPYRUS 1778.—5th-6th Century.

Inv. No. 1623. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $7\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in. In a medium-sized cursive hand, along the fibres. Papyrus folded from right to left.

RECEIPT from a smith for supplies of fire-wood and iron.

Χοιακ' ιδ'
εσχ' Πιτυρους
χαλκευς ξυλων
κεντηναρ/ ιη
5 και σιδηρου αργου
μο κγ'
και το α' εσχ'
ξυλων κεντ' κη
και σιδηρ/ αργου

ομο<sup>υ</sup> ξυλων κεντηναρ/ μ<del>ς</del>

5. apyou: 'unwrought', i.e. iron in its raw state as first smelted from the ore. For the working of iron in Egypt see 1369, introduction.

6. μ°: doubtful. μ° or m° (1668, 26-28) generally stands for modii, but it seems unlikely that this measure would be used for iron, which in the Aphrodito papyri in vol. iv is reckoned by κεντηνάρια. Hesychius has μολβίς στάθμιον τι έπταμναῖον and μολυβδίς στάθμιον τι έπταμναῖον. οἱ δὲ μολβίς; but it is doubtful

if this can be the measure.  $\ddot{a}\lambda\lambda as$  and  $\ddot{a}\lambda\lambda a\iota$  in II. 14, 14 a, if correctly read, by their gender rather support the conjecture, but it is possible that in the one case  $a\lambda\lambda a'$  and in the other  $a\lambda\lambda a$  should be read rather than  $a\lambda\lambda as$  and  $a\lambda\lambda a\iota$ .

7.  $\tau o \ a'$ : this should be  $\tau o \ a \dot{v} \tau o \dot{v}$ , but the construction is not quite clear. Probably the writer means 'the same date'.

9. apyou: corr. from apyup(tov).

12. μ5: corr. from ν5.

και σιδηρ/ μ° ξα 14 και αλλας μ° γ Δ./ 14 α αλλαι μ° Β 15 ομου μ° ξε Δ./

#### PAPYRUS 1779.—6th-7th Century.

Inv. No. 1696 A verso. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  6 in. In a broken inelegant cursive hand, along the fibres. The two folds visible, which are at right angles to the fibres of the recto, are probably those of the original document, but the document was perhaps folded subsequently from right to left.

RECEIPT for 4 artabas of wheat paid as rent of the 13th indiction. The document is all in one hand, and is written on the verso of a small scrap cut from a longer document. Of this document the ends of three lines with a small trace of a fourth remain. The writing, a large easy sloping cursive, is across the fibres, and mention is made of  $\sigma\pi\circ\rho\acute{\mu}\eta$ s  $\gamma\hat{\eta}$ s.

```
+ δεδωκ/ S επλ<sup>θ</sup>S \Phiαυειστος A\rho[...] \chi εκφορ/ \tau^{\bar{o}} αρουρ<sup>ω</sup> ενκαρπ, τρισκαιδεκατης \ddot{i}\nu^{\delta}// τουτ εσ τιν σιτο\ αρταβον τεσσαρα δοκι<sup>ω</sup> \gamma \iota \iota / \sigma \iota / \alpha \rho^{\tau} / \delta δοκι<sup>ω</sup>/ \mu^{-} εγρ<sup>α</sup>/ E\pi\epsilon\iota \phi \hat{i}α \ddot{i}\nu^{\delta}// \iota \gamma + Kολλ^{\theta}/ I\sigma ακι^{ου} στοιχει 5 μοι \dot{\eta} αποδεξ/ + δια Φοιβαμμων μισ\thetaS0 υπεγραψα +
```

```
1. \delta \epsilon \delta \omega \kappa (\epsilon \nu) (και) \epsilon \pi \lambda (\eta \rho \omega) \theta(\eta) \delta(\iota a): a confusion of the active and passive constructions.

Aρ[..]: perhaps A\rho[\omega \nu]?

2. \tau^{\bar{o}}: l. \tau \hat{\omega}(\nu).

3. \delta \delta \kappa \iota^{\omega}: presumably \delta \delta \chi^{\bar{\iota}} \kappa \hat{\omega} (\mu \epsilon \tau \rho \phi) or \delta \delta \chi \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu agreeing with ammon signs for him, as his deputy. For \mu i \sigma \theta \iota \omega s cf. 1782, 6.
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## PAPYRUS 1780.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1722 A. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $4\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$  6 in. In an upright cursive hand of medium size, along the fibres; papyrus very much rubbed and the script illegible in places.

R ECEIPT for  $\frac{5}{6}$  artaba of wheat, rent of land in the Hermopolite nome. The receipt is issued by a woman, who has apparently written the whole herself.

 $+\pi^{a}/\!/\Theta$ εοδωρας της ευγενεστατης θυγατρ[ος] Απολλωτος απο της Ερμουπολιτω[ν πολεω]ς

```
Ανδρεά Γεωργ, απο κ[ωμη]ς Ινεξ...[...]
του Ερμουπολιτου νομ[ου] εδεξαμη[ν] κ[α]ι
5 επληρωθην παρα σο[ν] ϋπερ των εκφοριώ//
των υπο σε μο αρουρών σιτου αρταβη[ς]
ημισυ τριτον μετρ/ δη[μο]σι[ω] γι/ σι[τς] - [ο μο//
εγρα/ Επειφ ιη ε ινδ/ + Θεοδωρας Απολώ[τος]
στοχ[ς] η αποδειξ/ ως [προκ/]
```

3.  $I\nu\epsilon\xi$ ....:  $I\nu$  is probable,  $\epsilon\xi$  all but certain, though it is perhaps just possible to read  $\epsilon\lambda$ .

7.  $\mu^{0}//$ :  $\mu$ όνον, but the traces are very indistinct. 8. Απολωτος: very doubtful.

#### PAPYRUS 1781.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1676 B. Acquired in 1906. Perhaps from the Hermopolite nome.  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times$  11 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a small cursive hand, across the fibres; papyrus stained very dark. Folded from the bottom upwards and perhaps once in the middle from right to left.

RECEIPT for 5 solidi less 6 (?) carats each, as rent for land. Perhaps only one of the parties is named (Victor being only the deputy of George; but  $\delta'$  is not certain and  $\pi'$  possible, in which case Victor will be the landlord or his representative, and George the tenant), and it is not certain whether this is the landlord or the tenant. As regards locality, the colour of the papyrus suggests Kôm Ishgau as the provenance, but there is no other evidence to bear this out, and the one place-name perhaps suggests the Hermopolite nome; see note on l. 1.

+ δ΄ Βικτωρ προνοητ[ου.]..ρ/

‡ Γεωργιο<sup>ν</sup> απο Καλαντιωνος εδεξ[αμ]η[ν πα]ρα [σου] απο των εκφοριων καρπων της παρουσης ογδοης ϊνδικτιονος χρ[ν]σου νομισματια πεντε παρα κ[ερ]ατια εξ εκαστον χωρ[ις] παραμ[νθιας] γι/ χρ/ ν° ε π/ κ/ δ χωρ/ παραμ[νθς ? μο]νς εγραφ/ Αθυρ ιδ η ϊνδ/ και [π]ρος σην ασφαλειαν τουτο σοι πεπο[ιη]

4 [μαι] το ενταγιον τουτο [ως] πρ[ο]κ/ 5 ....

1. Καλαντίωνος: possibly to be identified with Κολωτίωνος ἐποίκιον in the Hermopolite nome, P. Amh. 101, 8, but a is certain here ( $\nu$  practically so), and  $\omega$  is not marked as doubtful in Amh. 101.

 $\delta(\iota a)$  Βικτωρ $\langle os \rangle$  προνοητου: this is apparently meant to be inserted after Καλαντιώνος. Its nearness to the cross suggests that it is not a separate line (the landlord's name) but an afterthought.

2.  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$   $\epsilon\xi$ : in l. 3  $\kappa/\delta$  seems clear, and  $\epsilon\xi$  here might be  $\epsilon\rho/$ ; but the traces before it suggest the reading given rather than  $\kappa[\epsilon\rho/\tau]\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\rho/$ .  $\delta$  in l. 3 may therefore be a slip of the pen.

ποραμυθίαs: probable (though the traces are very slight) from l. 3, where however the ending is lost. The word is perhaps used in its not uncommon sense of 'interest'. The rent was payable on the crops of the current indiction, which really means (see 1648, 10, note) for the rent of the previous one, and we may suppose that interest was charged for the intervening months. But possibly παραμυθία is here an extra 'consideration', like συνήθεια; cf. 1785, 5, note.

4. Touro: repeated by mistake. What follows this line seems to be merely flourishes, with a cross.

#### PAPYRUS 1782.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1716 A. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{7}{8}$  in. In a medium-sized, upright minuscule hand, across the fibres; ink of a brown colour.

THE following receipts form a series, and belong to the same set as Lond. iii. 1060, 1072 A-D (pp. 273-275). They are receipts issued by officials of the church of Hermopolis (probably, it is to be inferred, the principal church of the city) for payments of rent in cash. The present one is issued by Senuthius,  $\pi \rho \rho \nu \rho \eta \tau \dot{\eta}$ s of the district of Hermopolis (see note on l. 1), and is all written in one hand by his clerk, who represents him. 1783 is issued by Menas, a notary and collector, represented by Theodosius, who signs for him; Lond. 1060 by Theodosius, collector for the district of Hermopolis; all the others by Colluthus, who holds the same position as Senuthius here.

> +η αγι/ του Θεου εκκλησι/ Ερμ" δ/ Σενουθιο προ μερ/ τω'ν' χρυσικ/ Ερμ'' τοι ς' κλ/ Δανιηλιο απο <math>Ερμ'' δεδωκ νομισ $\mu^{\tau}$ , πεντε ευστ<sup>θ</sup>,  $\gamma \iota / \chi \rho / \nu^{\circ}$  ε ευστ<sup>θ</sup>,  $\mu^{\circ}$  Σενουθιο  $\pi \rho^o / \sigma \tau \sigma \iota \chi \langle \eta | \pi \alpha \rho \sigma \sigma \alpha | \alpha \pi \sigma \delta \epsilon \iota \xi / \omega \rangle \pi \rho \sigma \kappa / \delta \iota \epsilon \mu \bar{\sigma} \Theta \epsilon [\sigma] \delta [\sigma] \sigma \iota \sigma^{[\upsilon]}$ 5 μισθιο αυτου στοιχί η αποδειξ/ +

1. προ: προνοητοῦ.

μερ/: μερίδος; cf. 1784; 1785; Lond. 1060; 1072. Whatfollows must be τῶν χρυσικῶν. This is presumably the full title, προνοητής μερίδος τῶν χρυσικῶν Ἑρμουπόλεως. It may be conjectured that the management of the church's estates was divided into departments, (A) χρυσικό, (B) σιτικό, each of these being subdivided into local districts. Thus Senuthius was προνοητής of the district Hermopolis in the department A. Against this explanation is perhaps to be set the fact that elsewhere, except in Lond. 1060, τῶν χρυσικῶν is omitted; but possibly it could be taken for granted in a receipt for a money payment. All these receipts are for money, not for corn.

- 2.  $\tau\omega\nu$ : or  $\tau\omega^{\omega}$ , the clerk having begun to write  $\tau\omega\nu$  and, changing his mind, altered it to  $\tau^{\omega}$  without deleting the first  $\omega$ .
  - κλ/: κληρονόμοις.
- 3.  $a\pi^{o}$ : suggested by Prof. Hunt. It is curious to write the word like this, but the end of a stroke before  $\pi$  rather suggests a, and a preposition is wanted here.
  - 5. Θεοδοσιου: doubtful. The hand is different from that of 1783.
  - 6. μισθιου: apparently a hired clerk.

## PAPYRUS 1783,—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1716 B. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{5}{8}$  in. In an upright cursive hand of minuscule type, with a thick pen, across the fibres. The ink, which is of a brown tint, is smeared in several places. Perhaps folded from the top downwards.

> +η αγι/ του Θυ εκκλ/ Ερμουπολ/ δι εμο Μηνα νοταρ/ S απαιτητό τω αδελ/ Αββα Παχαριω δεδωκ/ απο του πακτί καρπ, πεμπτης ινδ/

4. a: perhaps rather to be read as  $\mu(\delta \nu a)$ ; but possibly the

2. Παχαριω: not Παχωμιω. It is not quite certain that the clerk meant to write α και εδοθ and changed to τα και δοθ without

τα και δοθ(εντα): the money was subsequently paid to Menas

traces after o are really ink at all.

Μηνα στρατή Κ΄ κερατιο" μή εγραφ/ Φωφ/ κθ ινδ/ ε
Μηνα νοταρ/ S απαιτητο` στοιχει μοι ως πρ/
+ Θεοδοσιος εγραφ/ δ/ εμ/
ομοι/ κερ/ δυο μή γι/ κ/ β μή` +

the soldier. This may possibly be the Menas of 1738; 1743 (Abba Menas); 1744; 1749 (Apa Menas); 1751; 1864; but this is very unlikely, as the hands of the present series of documents suggest an earlier date for them, and moreover there is some reason for connecting the other series with Oxyrhynchus; see 1738, 3, note.

5. κερατιου  $\mu_3$ : if κερατιου is right, which it seems to be, it is curious, as the sum was  $5\frac{1}{2}$ c. Perhaps  $\mu_3$  is  $\mu_1\sigma\theta_0\hat{\nu}$ , though its position suggests the usual  $\mu\delta\nu$ a. If so, κεράτιον  $\mu_1\sigma\theta_0\hat{\nu}$  may

possibly be a term for a soldier's pay (cf. our 'tithing-penny', 'ward-penny', etc.); but this is not very plausible. Menas may have been a soldier in the service of the church (cf. 1776, I, note).

 $\Phi\omega\phi$ : or, less likely,  $\Phi\alpha\mu$ '.

7.  $\epsilon\mu$ : very doubtful; the characters after  $\delta/$  look more like  $\epsilon\rho/$  or  $\epsilon\iota/$ .

8. In black ink and with a thinner pen. The hand may be different.  $\mu_i^{\ \ \ } = \mu \acute{o} \nu a$ .

#### PAPYRUS 1784.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1703. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  7 in. In a rather clumsy cursive hand, across the fibres; the same hand as in 1785 and Lond. 1060 and 1072, but the use of different pens has given a superficial difference of appearance to the documents. The three successive receipts here were written with different pens and ink; ll. 1-4 (A) with a thinner pen than the others and in black ink, ll. 5-7 (B) with a thick pen and in ink of a very light brown, in places almost grey, colour, ll. 8-9 (C) with a pen slightly thinner than B but somewhat thicker than A, and in black ink less dark than A. Apparently folded from the top downwards.

```
+ η αγι/ του Θου εκκλη Ερμη δ/ εμο[υ Κολλ]ουθο πρ/ μεριδ/ Ερμη τω κυρω/ Λεοντιω δεδ[ωκ/ Κ ε]κφορ/ καρπω δωδεκατης ινδ// χρυσου κερατια εικοσι τ[ρ]ια [γι/] κ/ κγ Αλεί εγρ/ Επειφ κγ ινδ/ ιβ+Κολλουθου πρ/ στοιχεί [το ε]νταγ[ιον]
5 + ομοι/ του αυτ, Μεσορη χ[ρ]υσου κερατια τεσσερακουτα εξ γι/ κ/ μς Αλεί εγρ/ [Μεσορη] δ ινδ// ιβ+Κολλουθο πρω/ στοιχεί [+]
+ ομοι/ του αυτί Μεσορ[η χρ]υσοί κερατια εικοσι τρια γι/ κ/ κγ Αλεί] εγρα/ Μεσ[ο]ρ[η . . ινδ//] ιβ+Κολλουθο[ω] πρω/ στοιχεί +
```

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

10 + ενταγι/της εκκλ/

καρπ, ϊβ ϊνδ//

1.  $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\delta(os)$ : for this word see 1782, 1, note.

4. το ενταγιον: cf. Lond. 1060, 8.

8. Μεσορη: or perhaps Μεσσορ[η (sic).

10. This is in the hand of Colluthus and in the same ink as B.

### PAPYRUS 1785.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1782 B. Acquired in 1907. Hermopolis.  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{3}{8}$  in. In the same hand as **1784** but a good deal smaller. Folded from the top downwards. There are traces in three successive places apparently of a seal, which has however disappeared. Under the text a blank space of  $1\frac{7}{8}$  in.

v.

 $+\eta \ \alpha \gamma \iota / \tau^{ov} \ \Theta^{ov} \ \epsilon \kappa \kappa \lambda / 5 \ E \rho \mu^{\pi} 5 \ \delta / \epsilon \mu^{ov} 5 \ Ko \lambda \lambda \bar{o} \theta \bar{o}$  $\pi \rho / \mu \epsilon \rho i \delta / E \rho \mu^{\pi} + E \nu \sigma \epsilon \beta i \bar{\rho} \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma \delta$  $\delta \epsilon \delta \omega \kappa / \chi \epsilon \kappa \phi o \rho / \kappa \alpha \rho \pi^{\omega} \delta \omega \delta \epsilon \kappa [\alpha \tau] \eta[s]$ ι<sup>νδ</sup>/ χρυσο κερατια εικοσι τρ[ια] $[\gamma\iota/\kappa/\kappa\gamma] \ \mathrm{A}\lambda^{\epsilon}$ ,  $\Gamma\epsilon\omega\rho/\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\mu$ ,  $\epsilon\gamma\rho/\mathrm{M}\epsilon\sigma[o]\rho[\eta]$  $\gamma$  ινδ/ ι $\beta$  + Κολλου $\theta$ ο  $\pi \rho$ / στοιχει μοι

but if it is correct the extension is probably Γεωργίω παραμυθίας, i. e. 'to George, for his gratuity'. In this case we may compare Greek equivalent of the Latin solatium.

5.  $\Gamma \epsilon \omega \rho / \pi a \rho a \mu_{\delta}$ : the reading of the first word is not certain, 1783, 4 f. For  $\pi a \rho a \mu \nu \theta' a$  in this sense cf. 1452, 12, and note. Maspero (in Rev. d. ét. grecques, xxv, p. 222) explains it as the

#### 5. Letters.

### PAPYRUS 1786.—5th Century.

Inv. No. 1637. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown; possibly the Fayum. 1 ft.  $o_2^1$  in.  $\times$  $4\frac{1}{8}$  in. In a fair-sized cursive hand, along the fibres; the lines become nearer together towards the foot. Papyrus a good deal damaged. Apparently folded from left to right, perhaps also once from bottom to top.

THE sense of this letter is in many places by no means easy to discover, owing partly to the badness of the writer's Greek and partly to difficulties of decipherment; but several of the mistakes in spelling are of phonological interest. The letter is from a servant to his master and is apparently a justification of the writer for a misinterpretation of his instructions with regard to a certain 'son of Apa Nacius'.

> + τω δεσποτη μο\ τω μεγαλω πρεπεστατω και ενδοξωτατω στρδηλατο\ Κυριλλω παρα το<sup>ν</sup> εσο<sup>λ</sup> δο<sup>ν</sup>λο<sup>ν</sup> Αλωτ[ος απο?]χορ Καμινων εγεγραφκει ε[ις?] τω εσων μεγεθος περι το υί[ου] Απα Νακιο' οτι προσεσχον αυτον εις τω πιττακιον σο\ μη εασης

- 1.  $\pi(a\rho a)$ : cf. 1682, 1, note.
- 4. στρδηλατου: Ι. στρατηλάτη.
- 5. εσου: l. σοῦ. σός has the form ἐσός in ll. 7 and 13 also; in ll. 9 (the preposition, not the adjective) and 29 the  $\epsilon$  is omitted. For the insertion of  $\epsilon$  cf. PSI. iii. 207, 6.
- Αλωτος απο χορ(ιου): χοριου is probably intended, but the last letter looks more like  $\iota$  than  $\rho$ . Ká $\mu\nu$ o $\iota$  in the Arsinoite nome is perhaps meant.
- 6. εγεγραφκει: sic, apparently. It is not possible to read εγεγραφκείν, but the context seems to require that the word should be in the first person (not in the third, agreeing with rò
- $\epsilon \sigma \langle \dot{o} \rangle \nu \ \mu \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \epsilon \theta o s$ ). Hence  $\epsilon [\iota s]$  (rather than  $\epsilon [\mu o \iota]$ ) is read. The whole passage is probably to be translated 'I had written to your lordship with reference to the son of Apa Nacius that I had detained him according to your instructions, "Do not let any one pass . . ." And behold, Eulysus (?) brought an answer in the name of your lordship saying that your instructions do not refer to the son of Apa Nacius.'
  - 7. εσων: 1. σόν. μεγεθος corr. from μεγεθον.
  - υιου: cf. l. 13.
- 8. Απα Νακιου: for this name cf. Lond. iii. 1032, 4 (p. 283); and see too 1707, 3, note.

- τιναν παρελθ[ι]ν αυτώ ει . .
   ηδη κ[.]ασθη και ειδού Ευλυσο<sup>ν</sup> εφερεν αποκρισιν επ ονωμα
   τος το<sup>ν</sup> εσο\ μεγεθο[ς] οτι ο υιος
   Απα Νακιο\ εις το πιττακιον
- 15 αλώτρ εστιν και τω ολοκω τινι τω γινα . . ε δο<sup>ν</sup>ναι εις την δοσιν Ευλυσο\ λογιδεται και ειδο\ εβαλεν τω ολοκω τινι αυτο\ εβαλεν αυτων
- 20 εις τ[η]ν απεδησιν θελον απε δησειν αυτον αλλον εναν και εδητησεν απελθιν απο της κομης και ο<sup>ν</sup>κ αιασα αυτον εκτος το<sup>ν</sup> εμο΄ δεσποτο΄ οιδεν
- 25 γαρ τω μεγεθοσο\ οτι ου θελο τιναν ευκιστα μο\ ει μη τους εμος αδελφους και εγραφες μοι δι αυτον εποιησα ος εκελευσ σεν ει ση εξουσια δ[εσ]ποτα +

Addressed:—

30 +τω εμω δεσπή το μεγαλοπρε[πή στρατή] Κυριλλω

10. Not aut  $\omega$   $\epsilon \iota \mu \eta$ , for there is a letter between aut  $\omega$  and  $\epsilon \iota$ , but aut  $\omega \iota \omega \iota \omega \iota$  (sic)  $\epsilon \iota \mu \eta$  would be possible.

11. Ευλυσου: a curious name, but it is difficult to see what word it could be, and a name is required here. The reading, here and in l. 17, is certain.

12 f. ονωμοτος: τος corr. from το\.

15. αλωτρ: sic, apparently; ωτ is written in a sort of monogram, the top-stroke being placed over the last upstroke of ω. Probably it = ἀλλότριος; i.e. the πιττάκιον did not concern him. τω ολοκωτινι: l. τὸν ὁλοκόττινον.

16. γινα..ε: this looks most like γινωιτε; but that seems hardly a possible (Coptic) name.

17. λογίδεται: λ. λογίζεται. For this dialectal form cf. έδήτησεν, below; ἀσπάδετ(αι), PSI. iii. 212, 3; σπουδάδεις, Oxy. vii. 1069, 10; etc.

18 f. An Egyptian form of expression: ' and behold, he paid

his solidus, he paid it to the tax-collection (?)

20. απεδησιν: Ι. ἀπαίτησιν.

21. evav: l. eva; cf. tivav in 11. 10, 26.

22. εδητησεν: λ. εζήτησεν; 'and he asked leave to depart from the village, and I did not allow him without my lord's permission.'

24.  $oidev \, \kappa\tau\lambda$ : the intention is perhaps to justify the writer's action: 'your lordship knows that I do not wish to have any one near me except my brothers', i. e. I detained him not for personal reasons but because I thought that was your wish.

25. τω μεγεθασοῦ: Ι. τὰ μέγεθός σου.

29.  $\epsilon\iota$ :  $\ell$ .  $\dot{\eta}$ . The idea underlying this disconnected passage is perhaps 'you had written to me (to this effect) by them '(?-i.  $\epsilon$ . the writer's brothers? they may have brought the  $\pi\iota\tau\tau\dot{\alpha}\kappa\iota\nu$  mentioned in 1. 9), 'and 1 only did what your lordship ordered me to do.'

## PAPYRUS 1787.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1681 recto. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. 1 ft.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  8 in. In a large practised hand of official type, across the fibres. Papyrus discoloured on the left side and ink often faded. Recto of **1906**.

O imperfect is this long letter, having lost beginning and end and the right side, that no consecutive sense can be made out of it, but even what remains is of sufficient interest

to justify its publication. There is a question of taxes, but the tone of the letter generally suits a private rather than an official communication. In view of the hand it may be conjectured that it is from a functionary of some kind, whether from a public official or a person in private employment cannot be decided. There is nothing to indicate the place of origin. Possibly the name  $A\sigma\tau\rho\alpha(\gamma\delta\lambda\iota\sigma s)$  suits Aphrodito or the neighbourhood best; but this is very uncertain evidence, and nothing else connects the papyrus with the Kôm Ishgau find.

```
[.....] ..... τος ..... καταπλευσαι αυτο δια τ[αχους?
    [? μηνυσ]εως οτι ϊδου εμηνυθη ημιν οτι κατορθωσ[
     [? μελλο]μεν ζητησαι τα δημοσια ῦμων μηδεν [
    [.... την στεραιαν [
 5 \quad [\dots] φ παρ αυτου των \delta \eta [\mu]οσιων απ εμης υπο[\sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \epsilon \omega s]?
    . [....] θητε μητε φοβηθητε επι τω γεναμ[ενω
     παντα πραξαι ει παρίσταται εις τοπον γαρ κ[α]τορθ[ωσεως?
    [...] πης και ως λεγεις λεγω επιφθανουσιν [
    [ο] γαρ κοινος δεσποτης πολλα παρηγγειλεν [
10 [.] Κυριλ[λ . . .]η [τα] \epsilon[\nu]αντια λοιπον . [
     συν Θε\dot{\omega} επιφθανει \δε' και ο ιλίλουστριος?
     και Πλουτινος ο κατα τον μακ[α]ρ[ιον?
    μετα του πρακτ[ο]ρ[ο]ς ταυτα δε παντα α[
    τω κυριω Παυλω `τω γνησιω μου δε[σποτ]η' λαλησαι υμι[ν
15 τα δε γραμματα των δεσπ[οτων μου
     παρα του κο[ινου] δεσποτου νομισας απ...[
     εκ[ι]νος γαρ ως οιδεν ο Θεος παρηγγειλεν μ[οι
     σ[οι?] δουναι και καταφιλησαι τους ποδας [
    ...τ.ς ειπειν ουν αυτοις κελευσατε και περι τω[ν
20 στιτ...ριος την κελευσιν αυτων δεδωκα [
     \dots [I]ωανν[ο] και λυσας επι εμου ανεγνο [
    [...]ησιν ειπεν μοι οτι κελευσον και ως ευρ[
    τα γραμματα τω κουρατορι και ανεχωρη\σα' και ηγ[γειλα?
    [. .] ταυτα γραφω προς Κυνων και Αστρα ο μεγ[αλοπρεπεστατος?
25 [\epsilon]πειδη δε μεγαλη κινησις εγενετο εν τ[
    [.] . . . . . . . . . . . . \sigma = \mu \eta \nu \nu \sigma \epsilon [\omega]  \sigma = \nu \alpha \mu \epsilon \nu \eta
```

<sup>1.</sup> δια ταχους: cf. 1353, 26.

<sup>4.</sup>  $\eta$ : this was read in the original transcript and was not marked as doubtful, but not enough is now visible for the letter to be identified. Probably a piece of the papyrus has disappeared subsequently.

στεραιαν: Ι. στερεάν.

<sup>5.</sup>  $\delta\eta\mu o\sigma\iota\omega\nu$ : very doubtful. Something has perhaps been written above the line.

<sup>11.</sup> Θεώ: so written in the MS.

<sup>13.</sup> a[: or ô[.

<sup>16.</sup> κοινου: ημ[ων] is almost equally possible.

aπ . . [: perhaps aπai[, i.e. part of ἀποιτείν.

<sup>20.</sup> στιτ...ριος: not στατιωναριος and hardly στιτ...προς την.
21. ονεγνο: just possibly ανεγνω, but o is more likely than ω.

και: κ corr. from ω? But the reading is by no means clear.
 ανεχωρησα: η corr. from α.

<sup>24.</sup>  $\pi\rho$ os  $K\nu\nu\omega\nu$ : Prof. Hunt prefers  $\pi\rho$ ook $\nu\nu$  $\hat{\omega}\nu$ , comparing e.g. 1791, 10; but, though this is in itself the most obvious reading, the context ( $\delta$  in the nominative after  $A\sigma\tau\dot{\rho}^{\alpha}$  and ll. 25, 26, which do not seem to be part of any concluding formula) is rather against it.

 $A \sigma \tau \rho^{\alpha}$ : perhaps ' $A \sigma \tau \rho \alpha \gamma \delta \lambda \iota \sigma s$ ; cf. 1703, 4.

### PAPYRUS 1788.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1636. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown; possibly Aphrodito.  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $9\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a sloping laterally compressed cursive hand of official type, across the fibres.

It seems not unlikely that this letter ought really to have been placed with the Aphrodito letters. There is indeed nothing in the appearance of the papyrus to suggest this, but in 1.8 the writer refers to a sum of money he has received from Hadrianus; and the name recalls the Hadrianus who occurs fairly often in connexion with the financial administration in the Aphrodito documents; see 1671, 5, and note. There is, however, reason (loc. cit.) to place the documents mentioning Hadrianus fairly early in the century, and the hand of the present letter suggests a later date than that. This letter may well be of an official character.

 $\pi/$ 

η σ]η [α]δε[λ]φοτης ως οτι ηλθεν προς εμε η γυνη η εχουσα το ? ου]σα μοι ϊνα λαβω αυτο καταξιωσον ουν γραψαι μοι επι ? λ]αβω κερμα και παρασχώ [? αυτ]η και αναλαβω παρ αυτης ]ν καθως δε ηλθεν προς έμε Φοιβαμμων εδηλωσα Ταυρινω πα]ρεκαλεσεν ημας λεγων οτι μετα τον Θεον ουδενα εχω ει μη σε π]αρακαλεσαι τον νουμεραριον υπερ αυτου και γραψαι αυτω ] εδεξαμην δε παρα Αδριανο αργυρ/ ταλ/ πεντακισχειλια και

Verso, along the fibres:-

] εν καταξιωσον ουν γραψαι μοι το επισταλμα αυτων ϊνα μη λη $\theta$ η

Across the fibres:-

5

10 (2nd hand)

₽

Αμονι Ακο $^{\upsilon}\theta$ ιμι $\omega$  . αγλ' [ χαμομυλον

3.  $ov\sigma a$ : probably the end of a participle agreeing with  $\gamma vv\eta$ . The sense is probably 'The woman who has the ... came to me, asking me to take it.' Line 4,  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\mu a$ , suggests that  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\mu a$  is the word following  $\tau o$ . Is the writer a tax-collector and the subject of this part of the letter a question regarding the receipt of a payment in the old (nominally) silver coinage?

9.  $\lambda\eta\theta\eta$ : as this seems to be the end of the letter  $\lambda\eta\sigma\theta\hat{\eta}$  is probably meant.

10-12. The bearing of these lines and their connexion with the letter are obscure.

12. χαμομυλον: l. probably χαμόμηλον = χαμαίμηλον.

## PAPYRUS 1789.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1629 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times$  10 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a practised, sloping cursive hand, across the fibres. Probably folded from top to bottom and then (three times?) from right to left or left to right.

THIS is apparently a letter to a wife or (less probably) a sister. It deals entirely with private affairs, but owing to the loss of the right side the details are obscure.

προ μεν παντων πολλα προσαγορεύω την σην μητρικ[ην και Θεκλαν την εμην αδελφην καθως είπον σοι οτι  $\lambda$ ]

2. σοι: σ corr. from υ (υμιν).

Κολλο<sup>υ</sup>θο<sup>υ</sup> θελησον δεξασθαι αυτο και ει μεν δεδωκες τ[α ευ και καλως ει δε μηγε εασον α<sup>υ</sup>τα εως της εορτης ϊνα πωλησω α<sup>υ</sup>τα [ 5 φασιν περι της μητρος μο<sup>υ</sup> και [[της μη]] το<sup>υ</sup> αδελφο<sup>υ</sup> μο<sup>υ</sup> μαθω Addressed, along the fibres:— + επιδί τη γλυκυτατη μ[ου

3.  $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon s$ : l.  $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha s$ . This seems more likely than  $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon$   $\sigma\tau[$ , especially in view of l. 4. For  $-\epsilon s$  in the first aorist and perfect see Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Gramm.* § 798 f. The sense is apparently, 'If you have given the . . . to . . ., well and good; but if not, leave them till the festival.'

4. καλωs: an ω seems to be written above the α.

εασον: ε corr. from a (?).
εορτης: ο corr. from ρ.
φασιν: φ apparently corr. from ε

5.  $\phi a \sigma i \nu$ :  $\phi$  apparently corr. from  $\tau$ .

6.  $\epsilon \pi \imath \delta j$ :  $\epsilon \pi i \delta o s$ . This address is in a different style of script from the recto and perhaps by a different hand.

### PAPYRUS 1790.—5th-6th Century.

Inv. No. 1773. Acquired in 1907. Provenance unknown. 9 in.  $\times 4^{\frac{1}{2}}$  in. In a small compact cursive hand, across the fibres. Apparently folded from the top downwards.

THE interest of this letter is mainly palaeographical, the hand being of a somewhat uncommon type. τ, with a very high stroke on the left and a much lower one to the right, is specially characteristic. On the whole 5th-6th cent. seems a likelier date than sixth simply. A facsimile will be given in the Atlas to vol. vi. Besides its palaeographical interest the fragment has a further value as containing a rare word.

```
Την σην ανδριαν οτει συν Θεω καταλαμβαν[ω πεπ]οιηνται μοι αφ ου γρα ελυσεν με ο φαγ[
]σαι τεινι αλλα μα τον παντοκρατορα Θ[εον ]υσου και συν Θεω ερχομενος Διδας Σ. [
] το δερμοτοιλον πανυ καλον και θα[υμασιον? ] καταξιωσονται αυτοι λαβιν μοι τ[
]ων πενται μικρον προσεασαι λ[
] εν αυτο κ, αποσστειλον μοι αυτο δια τ[αχους? ]... των αδελφων αυτου των μο[ναχων? ] οξοιβ]αμμωνος του μαγισστορος πρ[
] δεσποτα πολλας γαρ χαριτας σ[ου? ] κατασ]τασις του μηκετι... η . σσθαι [
] φανερων χρον[ων] εν Αλεξανδ[ρεια ]ς τους δε απορους ... λους κ, φυγ[
```

2.  $a\phi$  ov  $\gamma\rho a$ : it would be possible to read  $a\phi o\gamma\gamma\rho a$ , but this makes no sense, and v is more likely than  $\gamma$ . Probably what is meant is either  $d\phi'$  ov  $\gamma d\rho$  or  $d\phi'$  ov  $\gamma \rho a$ —, the last word being inadvertently left unfinished. The first seems the likelier explanation.

5. δερμοτοιλον: l. δερμότυλον. The word occurs in Palladius, Hist. Laus. (Migne, Patr. Gr. xxxiv, col. 1244 B; Robinson, Texts and Studies, vol. vi ed. Butler, ii, p. 149), καὶ μετὰ τὸ νύψασθαι δερμοτύλφ ἐπαναπαύσασθαι (Butler ἐπαναπαίγια) ῥιφέντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐδάφουs. It is in Migne translated by pelliculam; the

Latin version called by Butler Lat. I renders by *pellitam plumam*. Sophocles s.v. leaves the meaning doubtful.

6. αυτοι: ι perhaps corr. from s.

7. πενται: l. πέντε. A letter washed out after this.

8. αποσστείλον: for the spelling cf. μαγισστοροs in l. 10 and the infinitive in l. 12.

δια ταχους: cf. 1787, 1, note.

10. μαγισστοροs: a form μαγίστωρ occurs as well as μαγίστηρ, which is the more common in papyri.

11. σου: or σ[οι.

]εν λ[...]. ναλλα κ, αλλα τα ουδ . [ 15 ] . . [. . . .]τεια του φλενερημο . [ ]  $\tau\omega\nu$  [ $\phi$ ] $\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$   $\alpha\nu$ [

suggests  $\dot{v}\pi a ] \tau \epsilon i q$ , and  $\phi \lambda$  might then be taken as  $\Phi \lambda (aviov)$ , but

16. The reading of the individual letters, except those dotted, Ενέρημο. does not suggest the name of any known consul; Heris certain, but the division of them is by no means clear. \(\tau\)ea menericus (A.D. 465) is too far removed from the text to be

### PAPYRUS 1791.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1731. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis or Oxyrhynchus.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. In a flowing, easy, sloping cursive hand, across the fibres, with a rather fine pen.

GOOD deal of this letter remains, but as the papyrus appears to have been very broad, nearly half of each line is probably lost, and it is difficult to get much consecutive sense from the remains. The writer is perhaps explaining the reason for his inability to come to [Hermopolis?] for the present; and he asks his correspondents (Sarapion is addressed alone in l. 10, but the writer elsewhere uses the plural) to urge the ordinarius either to come or to write to him. If the reading  $E\rho[\mu ov^{\pi}]$  on the verso is correct the papyrus will have come from Hermopolis, and the reason for the writer's inability to visit his correspondents may be that he has business at Oxyrhynchus; but it is very doubtful, and if it is given up the provenance is likely to be Oxyrhynchus.

```
+ \tau \alpha γραμματα της αδελφικης υμω[\nu \dots ]ς δια\thetaεσεως δεδ[ωκεν
        ωστε με σημαναι ειη δε ως εχω τα \pi[a]ιδια [. . . . .]ε . \thetaην[αι? .] . [. .] ε\piι . [
        την κατεπιγουσαν τουτο προ της εμης [?τε και] Ηρακλει[a]ς \phi[
        ως της α'των εξουσιας την Ηρακλείαν] ω . . [. . . .]ης καταλαβειν [
    5 την εμην παρουσιαν ει γαρ σημανω προτερον κατα την Οξυρυγχι[των πολιν?
        ευλογως ολιγωρησαι χρη ουν ως και αυτη συνορα ελθειν με εις [
        επι Οξυρυγχον τοτε αυτα προπεμψαι ει δε και ορθον με[λ]λει η αντ[η] . [
        τα αυτοθι καταλαβειν συν Θεω και αυτα κατω καταλαμβανομεν [
        των ενταυθα εξελθειν εαν ο Θεος συνελθη μοι και απαλλαξη τ[
      υμας προσκυνω κυριε δε Σαραπιων νυν ο λογος μοι ουκ [
             τον ευδοκιμή ορδιναρ/ οχλησατε η ελθειν η γραψαι μοι αποκρισιν . . [
Addressed on the verso, along the fibres:-
       (2nd hand?) [\tau\omega \ \theta av]\mu \dot{a}\sigma \tau \dot{\omega} \ \kappa a\iota \ \epsilon v \delta o \kappa [\iota]\dot{\mu}^{\iota} \ldots [\ldots \tau] \eta \dot{s} \ \dot{E} \rho [\mu o v^{\pi}?] + \pi / \ \Sigma a\mu \beta a
                πρωτο[κωμητου?]
```

1.  $v\mu\omega[v....]s$ :  $v\mu\epsilon[\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha]s$  seems too short, and the trace read as ω, though not certain, does not suit any part of υμετερας.

2. ]ε . θηναι: [παιδ]ευθην[αι gives too short a supplement, and the letter after  $\epsilon$  is more like  $\iota$  or  $\rho$  than v.

3. Hpakheuas: very doubtful; the ei, which is on a detached piece of fibre, seems too far from the  $\lambda$ , and in l. 4, from which the reading is taken, ear is a good deal for the space.

4.  $\kappa a \tau a \lambda a \beta \epsilon \iota \nu$ : the  $\beta$ , here and in 1. 8 (twice), is formed in

a very curious way, a straight downstroke being first written, then looped to the left, the loop ending in a straight horizontal stroke which passes through the downstroke. The whole is like a d with a ligature from the top of the loop.

11. Thus indented in the MS. This line is perhaps a postscript.

12. This address is in a different type of script from the recto, but it may still be the same hand.

### PAPYRUS 1792.—5th or 6th Century.

Inv. No. 1767. Acquired in 1907. Provenance unknown.  $9\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{3}{4}$  in. In an upright fair-sized cursive hand, along the fibres; subscription in a more cursive, sloping hand. Probably folded from right to left.

LATIN letters are so rare among published papyri that the present one is worth publishing in spite of its imperfect preservation; and a facsimile will be given with vol. vi. The letter is from a certain Eulogius, who apparently describes himself as *epitropos*, and it is clearly addressed to an ecclesiastic. Its subject is a little obscure; but it appears to be a complaint by Eulogius of some injury done by a third party, presumably a dependent of the ecclesiastic, to one of his *coloni*. If *pretium* is right in 1. 10 he seems to ask for compensation, and requests his correspondent, if the offender denies the offence, to write to him again.

How much is lost is not easy to determine. The supplement adopted in 1. 13 would give a lacuna of 10 letters; but though this supplement probably gives the general sense it cannot be regarded as much guide to the actual number of letters, and some of the other lines seem to indicate a rather larger lacuna.

As regards date, the material for comparison is so scanty that it is impossible to speak with any certainty. Sir Frederic Kenyon dated the letter, doubtfully, as sixth century; Mr. Ellis H. Minns suggests fifth. Of the two dates the latter is perhaps slightly the more likely, but neither can be more than tentative. The hand seems later than that of the Strassburg letter (P. lat. Argent. 1) published by Bresslau (Archiv, iii, p. 168 ff.), which is usually dated in the fourth century. Mr. Minns points out that some of the forms of letters resemble those seen in PSI. ii. 142, which the editor dates in the 3rd-4th century.

```
dilec]to fratri Merța

] Eulo[gi]us ep[i]tropoș
] sanctitatem tuam et
]..eum dominus et
]. filius saluator nester plu
[rimos annos?]..d[.]re dignetur uotum me
[um ] domine omnibus bonis pre
[cor ]. dolo colonum meum qui sub
]. qui puellam tradedi tunc
[tem tuam ].rendum [[est]] conplere
```

- 1. Merta: if, as seems likely, this is the beginning of a name, Merca- or Mercu- would rather be expected; but c is always made with a stroke extended upwards to the right, whereas this letter is made in just the same way as t; moreover, though a is not absolutely certain, a seems out of the question, and the letter is formed very similarly to the a of moram in 1. 12, or the last a of sanctita in 1. 10. The reading may therefore be taken as all but certain.
- 2. epitropos: the reading, though not certain, is probable. The word is simply transliterated from the Greek.
- 4. ].. eum. The trace before e suggests m (meum), but the word can hardly go with what follows, as, though the s is a little doubtful, dominum does not seem possible. Moreover dominus probably goes with saluator nester in 1. 5. We may conjecture

something like dominus et dei altissimi filius. The letter before filius is not, however, obviously an i, though i is not impossible. Over the trace before eum is the end of an upstroke (c, e, o, o, s).

5. nester: l. noster.

plurimos annos: the supplement suggested by Mr. Gilson. If it is right the infinitive which appears to occur before dignetur is perhaps a verb meaning something like 'preserve' (cu]st[o]d[i]re is possible; cf. l. 17), and the whole of ll. 3-6, down to dignetur, will form one sentence. A full stop is then to be placed after dignetur, and uotum begins a new sentence, also (to judge from 1. 7) of a complimentary character. The real gist of the letter begins in l. 8.

9. tradedi tunc: 1. tradidit tunc. But u is not certain, and perhaps tradedit.nc is to be read.

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nulla]m moram uel contradicti
[onem si uero] contradicere uoluerit rescri
[bere ]rit sanctitatis tuae ipse

15 ]. (2nd hand) Opțiņem cum domin[o]

..[..]. dei omnipotes

p[lurimos] aṇṇọs constodire

dignetur

15. Optinem: just possibly optineam, which, if the reading in e text is correct, is presumably meant; but the word must be abted in view of dignetur in l. 18.

16. omnipotes: such seems to be the reading. The last ter can hardly be n, unless it is made in a very unnatural way. dei (a doubtful reading) is correct omnipote(nti)s is to be

read.

17. plurimos annos: doubtful, but supported by l. 5 f., and this line in turn supports custodire in l. 6.

constodire: l. custodire. The reading was arrived at by Mr. Minns.

#### 6. Miscellaneous Documents.

#### PAPYRUS 1793.—I Dec., A. D. 472.

Inv. No. 1635. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $9\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{3}{4}$  in. In a sloping cramped cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

CONTRACT of surety, which, though of a common type, contains some unusual features. A CONTRACT of surery, which, along to a community of the  $\kappa \epsilon \phi a \lambda \dot{\eta}$ . Aur. Banus guarantees to Fl. Andrew that certain Aur. David of the village of Akis in the Hermopolite nome shall remain on his holding nd ἀποκρίνασθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοσίων τῆς αὐτοῦ κ[ε]φαλῆς ἑκάστου μερι[σ]μοῦ; in case of default, he fails to produce the defaulter, he undertakes to pay the δημόσια of his κεφαλή himself. That  $\phi = \phi = \phi = 0$  is here used in a sense corresponding to that of the Latin caput, the unit for personal exation as iugum for the taxation of real property, is an obvious conclusion, and the papyrus may erhaps be regarded as settling the question whether the capitatio humana of Diocletian's financial ystem was introduced into Egypt, which Seeck (Zeitschr. f. Social- und Wirtschaftsgesch. iv, 295; cf. ib. p. 284) answered in the negative; see Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 221; Chrest. 390. t is, however, possible that the caput here may refer to a poll-tax substituted for the Roman capi*tio*, the possibility of which is admitted by Seeck; or it may conceivably, though not probably, e used in the sense of ὄνομα, i. e. all taxes, personal or on property, falling to the share of David; ut the burden of proof may be held to rest upon those who would question the identity of εφαλή and caput. For other instances see Oxy. x. 1331, ὑπὲρ συντερίας (l. συντελείας) τῆς aιφαλη̂s (sic); **1807**, 3–5.

The warranty being given to a person not described as an official, it may be assumed that lavid is the *colonus* of a landowner, probably an  $\epsilon va\pi \delta \gamma \rho a \phi o s$  (see Gelzer, *Studien*, . 85 f.).

χμη μετα [τη]ν ϋπατεια[ν] Φλί Λεωνος του αιωνιο" Αυγουστο" το δ' και Προβινιανου του λπρ/ Χοιακ ε ϊ// ϊνδικ/

Προβινισνου: the name is usually given as Probianus.
 λπρ/: λαμπροτάτου. There is no trace of the αμ.

"//: the indiction was the 11th, but it does not seem possible to read  $\bar{\imath}a$ .

Φλαυϊω Ανδ[ρ]εα τω λαμπρ/ υϊω τ[ο]υ της περιβλεπτου 5 μνημ[η]ς Σερηνου δ[ια] Φοιβαμμωνος βοηθου

π/ Αυρ/ Βανου Πινουτιωνος μητρ/ Μαριας απο κωμης Ακεως [τ]ου Ερμουπολιτου νομου ομολογω ομνυς τον δε παντο κρατορα Θεον και την ευσεβειαν και νικην των δεσποτων ημών Φλ, Λεοντος και Ανθεμιού των αιωνιων Αυγουστων [κ]αι εμφανειας Αυρηλιον Δαυειδ Σιφιου απο της αυτης κωμης επι το αυτον παραμειναι τη κωμη και αποκρινασθαι υπερ των δημοσιων της αυτου κ[ε]φαλης εκαστου μερι[σ]μου απο του νυν επι τον εξης απαντα χρονον και μη απολε[ιπ]εσθαι ει δε απολειφθειη και μη παραστησω εγω αυτος οικοθεν υ[π]ερ

[α]υτου αποδωσω τα δημοσια της αυτου κεφαλης μουα κιν
[δυ]νω ιδ[ι]ω και παση[ς] τη[ς] εμης υποστασ[εως] εαν δε μη [? απο]
[διδωμ]ι ενοχο[ς ει]ην τω θει[ω ορκω] και τω περι [του]
[το]ν κινδυνω και [επερ/] ωμολ) (2nd hand?) Αυρ/ Β[αν]ος [Πιν]ουτιων[ος ο]

20 [προγεγρ/] επωμο[σα τον θ]ει[ο]ν [ορκον και] [?παραστ]ησω ω[ς προκ/?]

[ εγραψ]α υπερ αυτίου γραμματα μη ειδοτος

[. . . . . . . . ] . . . . [

4. And  $\rho \epsilon a$ : there has been some correction at the end.

6. Bayov: for the name cf. UKF. 1025, also probably from Hermopolis.

7. Areas: the a is very doubtful but possible, and the name is known in the Hermopolite nome, e.g. Wessely, *Studien*, x. 99, 3; 190, 5; 192, 8.

δε: Ι. τε.

9.  $A\nu\theta\epsilon\mu\omega\nu$ : the end is confused. There has perhaps been a correction.

II.  $\Sigma\iota\phi\iota\sigma\nu$ : or  $\Xi\iota\phi\iota\sigma^{\nu}$ , as the upstroke of the letter is extended above the horizontal stroke; but this is the case several times with  $\sigma$  in this document, and the stroke does not seem to go high

enough for  $\epsilon$ .

12.  $\tau_0$ : sic, apparently, rather than  $\tau_{\omega}$ .

16.  $\mu o \nu a$ : the reading is uncertain at the end; probably ov has been corrected to a. The meaning is apparently that Banus is responsible, under this agreement, for David's caput only.

17 f. αποδιδωμι: the present would hardly be expected, but the trace visible before ενοχοs is a straight unattached downstroke, which cannot possibly be part of ω and suggests ι.

19. There is no very evident difference in hand between the subscription and the body of the document, and it is quite possible that both are in the same hand.

## PAPYRUS 1794.—21 June, A. D. 487.

Inv. No. 1673. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $8\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{3}{8}$  in. In a small, sloping, rather flourished cursive hand, along the fibres; ink of light colour, which has grown very faint in places. Apparently folded from right to left.

ONTRACTS of partnership are not so common among papyri as many other classes of documents, and it is regrettable that the following two are both imperfect, though, as 1794 has lost the conclusion and 1795 the beginning, a combination of the two gives us a fairly good idea of the structure of such documents. Other Byzantine examples are Cair. Masp. ii. 67158, 67159, which are, however, from Antinoopolis, of a later date, and couched

n a more elaborate style than the present one. 1794 is from Hermopolis and concerns a partnership between fruiterers. Here these tradesmen are called δπωρῶναι; in Oxy. vi. 980; viii. 1133, 7 the word is δπωροπώλης, and ὡραιοπώλης also occurs (e.g. Lond. iii. 1028, 7, p. 277); put probably all these words denote the same class of tradesman. On the other hand καρπώνης, o judge from Lond. 1028, 1, is a tradesman of a different kind, perhaps a wholesale middleman; n Lond. iii. 974 (p. 115 f.) the word is applied to a liturgical official.

μετα την υπατειαν Φλ΄ς Λογγ[ι]νο<sup>ν</sup> του λαμπροτη Παυνι κζ

αι ινδικ/
Αυρηλιοι Ισιδωρος Ασκληπιαδο` μ΄ς Θεκλας

και Δωροθεος Φοιβαμμω[ν]ος μ΄ς Θεκλας αμφο
τεροι οπωρωνη από της Ερμοπολιτων αλληλοις
+ ομολογουμεν ετοιμως εχε[ι]ν κοινωνειν αλληλοις
ε[ι]ς την προειρημενην τεχνην ωπωρωνην
[π]ρος ενιαυσιαιον χρονον λογιζομενον

10 α[πο τη]ς προγεγραμμενης σημερον ημερας
της παρουσης ενδεκατης ϊνδ/ επί κοινω λημ
ματι και αναλωμ[α]τι και ουτω ημας παρασχειν
κ[ο]ινως τα . [. . . .] . ια αναλωματα της αυτης τεχνης

15 κ[αι] μετα τη[ν αποδο]σ[ιν?] των φορ[ω]ν καὶ των ανα λωματων [.....]αστων [....]. ησο  $\cdot$  ε . θηλη[.....] εως [.....] κατα το

Endorsed, along the fibres:—

(2nd hand?) ομολί Ισιδωρου Ασκληπιαδού και Δωροθέου Φοιβ[αμμωνος]

6. οπωρωνη: λ. οπωρώναι.

11.  $\delta\iota\dot{\xi}\epsilon\omega s$ : rather more like  $\delta\circ\delta\dot{\xi}\epsilon\omega s$ , but, though a form  $\delta\circ\dot{\xi}\iota s$  for  $\delta\circ\dot{\xi}a$  is recorded (see L. and S. s.v.), it is difficult to see what sense it could have in the context; and moreover the word seems to occur only in Democritus.  $\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\dot{\xi}\epsilon\omega s$  does not occur elsewhere in this connexion, but, as Dr. Crönert remarks in a private letter, it has a certain appropriateness, 'denn die Indiktion wird ja von den Behörden "gezeigt" ( $\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\nu\tau a\iota$ )' He adds 'Dass das Wort sonst noch nicht vorkommt, kann  $\ddot{o}rtliche$  Gründe haben, indem z. B. denkbar ist, dass es in Hermupolis nur kurze Zeit in Gebrauch war'.

13. ουτω: not certain but probable. επι τω cannot be read.

14. The undeciphered word is not a [vayk]ata.

15.  $a\pi o \partial o \sigma w$ : the particular word is very doubtful, but it probably represents the sense correctly. There is not room for  $a\pi o\pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega |\sigma|_{L^{2}}$ .

 $\phi o \rho \omega \nu$ : no doubt the rent for the premises. So too in P. Amh. ii. 94 (= Wilcken, *Chrest*. 347), 8-11, a partnership in the cultivation of land (A. D. 208).

16. At the end very possibly  $\eta\sigma o\mu\epsilon p$ ; but then what is  $\theta\eta\lambda\eta$ -in l. 17?

18. This is in a large artificial script, so that it is really impossible to be certain that it is different from the hand of the recto.

## PAPYRUS 1795.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1633. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 7\frac{1}{4}$  in. In a sloping cursive hand, fairly large in the earlier part but diminishing in size towards the end, along the fibres. Folded from right to left.

Like 1794, this contract of partnership is from Hermopolis, and its formulae may probably be taken as giving the gist of the missing conclusion of 1794. Owing to the loss of its earlier part it is impossible to say what was the trade of the partners.

]αν τα τω[ν ? ]ρων παρασ[

τω]ν λοιπων α[ναλωματων?

ητο[. . . . . ] . καταμερεισθην[αι? . . . . .]αξ . [. . . . .]

5 τὰι · [· · · · ] μ]ερὸς και μη κρηψά[σθαι ] · [·] εἰς ἀλ[λ]ηλὸ[ν]ς κα[ι] π[ρο]δὲςδηλωμενης ημερας και ει καταγνωσθειη τις εξ ημων ως λαθα κομισαμενος τινα και μη φανερωση

10 τω ε[τ]ερω παρεξει τω εμμενοντι και μη καταγνωσθεντι λογου [κα]ταδικης χρυσο νομισματια δυο η ομολογια κυρα και [βε]βαια δισση γραφιση ομοτυπος και επερ/ ωμολ/ Α[υρ/] . . . ας Βικτωρος και Πετρος Κουνθω οι προ / εθεμεθα τ[ην] ομ[ολο]γιαν της κοινωνειας και πειθομεθα πασι της ενγεγρ/

15  $\psi$ [s  $\pi$ ]ρ[ο"/ A]νρ/ Απολλώς Προ"/ απο + 0 ξ/ς εγραψα υπερ αυτών γραμμ [μη ειδοτ]ων (2nd hand) [? Ανρ/] Φ[οιβ]αμμ[ω]ν Αλ . . . χου απο Ερ/ μαρτυρω τη ομολογια ακ[ουσα]ς παρ[α τω]ν θεμενών  $\mathfrak P$  (3rd hand)  $\mathfrak P$  Αυρηλιος Ερμογενης Κυρον απο Ερμουπ[ολε]ώς [μαρτυρ]ω τη ομολογια ακουσας  $\pi$ [αρ]α των θεμενώ[ν]

Endorsed, along the fibres:-

(5th hand?) ].  $\kappa \alpha \nu \prod_{\epsilon} [\tau] \rho o[\nu] \alpha \pi o E \rho //$ 

- 1. Something like κατα κοινωνι]αν τα τω[ν ... αναλωματα is conceivable.
- 4.  $\eta \tau o[$ : perhaps  $\eta \tau oi$ ; but of course  $\eta \tau o[v \text{ or } \eta \tau \omega[v \text{ are equally possible.}]$ 
  - 5. μερος: cf. Amh. ii. 94 (= Wilcken, Chrest. 347), 10. κρηψασθαι: l. κρύψασθαι.

aλληλαυs: doubtful, but suggested by the traces.

6. There is a similar provision in Cair. Masp. 67159, 34-36, 41-44.

προς συμπληρωσεως: l. πρὸ σ.; cf. Cair. Masp. 67159, 42.

- 8.  $\pi \rho o \delta \epsilon \delta \eta \lambda \omega \mu \epsilon \nu \eta s$ : the traces at the beginning are certainly not consistent with  $\pi \rho a$  alone, seeming to be rather  $\pi[\rho] a \sigma \tau$ ; but  $\delta \epsilon$  is clearly a correction, probably from  $\epsilon$  alone, and presumably the clerk has omitted to alter the preceding letters. He may have begun to write  $\pi \rho o \sigma \tau \epsilon \tau a \gamma \mu \epsilon \nu \eta s$ .
  - λαθα: l. λάθρα.
  - λαγαυ: l. λόγφ.

καταδικηs: for the use of this word as 'Konventionalstrafe' see 1730, 22; Grenf. ii. 87, 29; cf. Berger, Strafklauseln, p. 10.

κυρα: κῦρος was a common form for κύριος at this period.

- 13. There is apparently no change of hand. The first name may be  $K[\sigma\sigma\mu]as$ .  $Kou\nu\theta\omega$  probably =  $\Gamma ou\nu\theta ou$ : cf. 1738, 38.
  - 14. της (second): 1. τοῖς.
- 15.  $\Pi \rho \sigma^{\kappa}/\alpha \pi \sigma + O \xi/\mathfrak{l}$ : doubtful, as  $\pi \rho \sigma^{\kappa}/$  suggests  $\pi \rho \sigma \kappa (\epsilon i \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s)$ , which would not be expected here, and the insertion of a cross between  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{\sigma}$  and  $O \xi (\nu \rho \dot{\nu} \gamma \chi \omega \nu)$  is strange, but the reading is an easy one as far as the characters go, and a name like  $\Pi \rho \dot{\sigma} \kappa \lambda \sigma \nu$  is likely enough.  $O \xi$  is much more likely than  $E \rho$ .
- 18. ομολογια: the reading of most of the dotted letters is very doubtful.
- 19. The significance of this line is obscure, nor is it clear whether it is in a different hand from l. 18. It perhaps contains a correction of l. 11, raising the fine for infringement of the agreement to 3 solidi.
- 20. It is not clear that the hand is different from 1. 19, but there must be a change of hand either here or in 1. 19, as the witness in 1. 17 f. can hardly be the notary. The word at the end is obscure.

### PAPYRUS 1796.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1627. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis. 8 in. × 11½ in. In a sloping very straggling cursive hand, along the fibres. Papyrus much damaged. Folded at right angles to the fibres, perhaps from right to left.

THE mutilation of this document and certain peculiarities in its provisions render its classification a little difficult. According to the interpretation given to l. 11, and particularly to the (it must be confessed, doubtful) τούτων there, either of two different explanations is possible. form the document is an undertaking by one person to cultivate the land of a second for one year; and if the τούτων of l. 11 be referred to the ζώων of l. 8, there is no need to go beyond the form. The contractor undertakes to plough, etc. (see note on l. 5), and irrigate the land with his own animals, but the immediate ploughing is excepted from the contract (ἐκτὸς τοῦ νῦν σχίσματος). He is paid wages for the work (but see below), and in addition receives 12 solidi for the hire of his animals, two already paid and the remainder to be paid later. Further he undertakes to lend, without wages, his two camels with their driver for twelve days. Finally, in an additional clause, it is stated that the work is to begin from the 1st of Mesore, a curiously early date (l. 17, note). The party so binding himself is then clearly not a mere labourer, but a contractor, himself employing labour. Thus we can get no light from other contracts concerning the engagement of labourers or agents (for the Byzantine period Oxy. viii. 1122, A.D. 407; i. 140, A.D. 550; Strassb. i. 40, A. D. 569; Grenf. ii. 87, A. D. 602; Hernals I = Preisigke, Sammelbuch, 4503, A. D. 606; Oxy. i. 138, A.D. 610-611; Hernals 11 = Sammelbuch, 4490, 7th cent.; BGU. i. 310, Arab period; Wiener Denkschr. xxxvii, p. 143, App. 325; 144, App. 328; 151, App. 467; 157, App. 536).

If, on the other hand, we refer τούτων to the ἀρούρας of l. 8, for which there is, at first sight, a good deal to be said (see note on 1. 11), it appears that the contractor is himself the owner of the land which he now contracts to cultivate for hire and has leased it to the other party; and it becomes necessary to find some explanation of this curious proceeding. A possible one is that this document concerns one of those transactions by which under cover of a fictitious legal transfer the relation of patronage was established. The landowner 'leases' his land to a patron and undertakes to cultivate it for him; that is, he transfers the land in return for protection, becoming a colonus adscripticius. The objection to this is that the agreement is apparently (see l. 4 f., note) for a year only. It is indeed possible that a nominal time limit might be resorted to in order the more effectually to cover up the real nature of the (illegal) transaction; and a constitution of Leo and Anthemius (A. D. 468) does definitely recognize leases as one of the illicit means of creating patronage:- 'id, quod huius rei gratia geritur sub praetextu donationis vel venditionis seu conductionis aut cuiuslibet alterius contractus, nullam habeat firmitatem' (Cod. Fust. 11, 54, 1); cf. Justinian, in Cod. Fust. 11, 48, 22 (A.D. 531), 'Cum scimus nostro iure nullum praeiudicium generari cuidam circa condicionem neque ex confessionibus neque ex scriptura nisi etiam ex aliis argumentis aliquid accesserit incrementum, sancimus solam conductionem (conditionem UK) vel aliam quamcumque scripturam ad hoc minime sufficere nec adscripticiam Nevertheless, interesting as it would be to find in this document condicionem cuidam inferre.' a deed of such a kind, the explanation cannot be put forward except very tentatively. If for  $\chi\acute{a}\rho\iota\nu$  we can in ll. 6 and 8 read  $\chi\omega\rho\acute{i}s$  (which suits the trace at the end of l. 6 rather better than  $\nu$  but is not favoured by those in l. 8) the probability of  $\tauo\acute{\nu}\tau\omega\nu$  referring to  $\zeta\acute{\varphi}a$  would be increased; and possibly the end of l. 14 may mean something like 'if you do the work yourself', though the space seems insufficient. In that case an equivalent for the loan of the camels may have been provided for earlier in the contract in the shape of a proportion of the crop; the document may even be a lease on the  $m\acute{e}tayer$  system.

[? ov] $\tau \omega \circ$  [ about 15 letters ]ov. [ [..] $\pi$ . o $\sigma$ [ about 14 letters ]..  $\nu\sigma\eta$ [.] $\sigma\epsilon\nu$ . [......] $\lambda\epsilon\nu$ ...[ [..].  $\tau \iota$ . [ about 12 letters  $\tau \eta s$ ] ν $\ddot{\nu}$ ν ληξο[ν $\sigma \eta s$ ....]  $\iota \nu \delta \iota^{\kappa} /$  [  $[\pi]$ αρεχοντος  $[\ldots, \sigma\pi$ ερματων  $[\ldots, \sigma]$ .  $[\cdot, \sigma]$ ην  $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\alpha\gamma\eta\nu$   $\epsilon\nu\circ\varsigma$   $\epsilon[\nu\iota\alpha\upsilon]\tau\circ[\upsilon$   $\kappa]\alpha\rho\pi\bar{\circ}$   $\tau\omega\nu$   $\hat{\mathsf{S}}$   $\alpha\rho[\circ\upsilon\rho\omega\nu]$   $\delta\eta\lambda[\circ]\nu\circ\tau\iota$   $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $[\tau]\omega$   $\mu\epsilon$   $\sigma\chi[\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha]\iota$ και ανασχεισαι τας π[ρο]ειρημενας αρουρα[ς] δια των εμων ζωων χ[αρι]ν  $\mu$ ισθων ως προγεγ[ρα]πται εκτος το νυν σχ[ι]σματος το και οντος  $\alpha$ κ[...α]ρο ν ρων και ποτισαι ε[με τας αυ]τας αρουρας δια [τ]ων εμων ζωων χα[ριν μι]σ 10 σεως του προγεγ[ραμμ]ενό ενιαυτό μεντοι με[τ]εχομένος παρ[α] σο ύπερ φορο $^{\nu}$  τουτω[ $^{\nu}$  χ]ρυσου νομισματια δωδεκα ακολο $^{\nu}\theta$ ως [τ]η γενομενη σοι παρ εμου μισθωσει εντευθεν δε εδεξαμην παρα σου χρυσου νομισματι[α] δυο απο το προκειμενο φορο τω[ν ν]ομισμ[ατιων] δωδεκα λοι $\pi[a]$  . . . . .  $\sigma$ ε χρυσο $^{\imath}$  νομισματι[a] δεκα ε! . .  $\mu$ α[ . . . . . ]15 ουδεν ηττον παρασ[χ]ειν σοι τους εμους καμηλους δυο μετα του καμή λαριο $^{v}$  αυτων επι ημερών δωδεκα εις εργασιών και . . . λεμ $^{v}$   $\tau[\omega]$ ν αυτών αρ $[o]^{v}$ ρ $[\omega v]$ 

2. [..] $\pi$ . o $\sigma$ [: not [..]  $\pi \rho a \sigma$ [. v] $\pi o$  or a] $\pi o$  is possible.

] ..  $v\sigma\eta[.]\sigma\epsilon\nu$ . [: possibly no letter was written between  $\eta$  and  $\sigma$ , and in that case one naturally thinks, especially in view of 1. 3, of the reading  $\tau\eta s$   $\pi a]\rho ov\sigma\eta s$   $\epsilon\nu\gamma[\epsilon\gamma\rho a\mu\mu\epsilon\nu\eta s$   $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho as$   $\eta\tau is$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\nu$   $\mu\eta\nu os$   $\tau\sigma\nu$   $\delta\epsilon\nu os$   $\kappa$   $\tau\eta s]$   $\nu\bar{\nu}\nu$   $\lambda\eta\xi\sigma[\nu\sigma\eta s$   $\kappa]$   $\iota\nu\delta\iota^{\kappa}/;$  but though the first letter visible might be  $\rho$  that which follows it does not look much like  $\sigma$ , and the traces on the next piece of papyrus  $(\lambda\epsilon\iota$ ..) are hard to reconcile with the reading. In 1. 3 neither  $[\eta\tau\iota s$  [ nor  $\epsilon]\sigma\tau\iota\nu$  [ can be read at the beginning.

4 f. Here apparently is a stipulation as to the provision of seed-corn by one of the parties, but it is not possible to be certain which. In  $1.5 \ \ell\nu\partial s \ \ell\nu\iota\alpha\nu\tau\sigma\hat{v}$  (if the latter word is correctly read) comes in rather curiously. If it goes with  $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\sigma\hat{v}$  the absence of  $\tau\sigma\hat{v}$  might be taken as implying that the lease is for more than one year, the meaning being 'one year's crop' (out of several). This would remove the difficulty noticed in the introduction as to the lease being only for a year; but 1. 9f. certainly suggests this, and the present passage is too much mutilated to build much on.

5 f. σχεισαι και ανασχεισαι: ὑποσχίζειν and ὑποσχισμός occur as terms for ploughing or some similar agricultural operation (Lond. iii. 1170 verso, 305–307, p. 200; Amh. 91, 11; Fay. 112, 3; etc.); but σχίζειν and ἀνασχίζειν are apparently new in this connexion. There is presumably some difference of sense between the two words, but either might quite well refer to ploughing. Possibly there is a reference to a double ploughing (ἀνα-), or to ploughing and then harrowing.

7. i.e. the terms of the agreement do not cover the ploughing just proceeding.

10. μεντοι: beginning a new clause, as in 1711, 34.

II. τουτων: the traces suit this or (less probably, because of the space)  $\tau o v \tau o [v, \text{ and if } \tau o v \dots [\dots]$  be read it is difficult to see what word sufficiently short could have occurred. It is natural to refer τούτων to the arourae, but it may also refer to the ζώων of l. 8. Apart from other considerations the first explanation seems the more likely, as φόρου would more naturally refer to land than to ζφα (but φόρος can mean 'hire' as well as 'rent'; cf. Lond. i. 131 recto, 267, p. 177, φόρου άμάξης; Οχy. vii. 1035, 14; etc.) and (a stronger argument) when the contractor was undertaking work of this kind we should hardly expect him to receive hire for his animals additional to the wage for his labour. It is indeed possible, since the amount of  $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\circ\iota$  is not specified, that the φόρος τῶν ζώων was equivalent to μισθοί; but this seems unnatural, and the ώς προγέγραπται of l. 9 may imply that the amount of  $\mu \iota \sigma \theta \circ i$  had been specified earlier in the document. Moreover γενομένη in l. 12 clearly refers to a lease already concluded, and a separate contract would more naturally be made for a lease of land than for the hire of animals necessary to the work here contracted for.

14.  $\epsilon\iota ... \mu a[$ : the  $oid \delta i \eta \tau \tau \sigma v$  of l. 15 suggests here  $\epsilon\iota d \epsilon \mu \eta .....\eta$  but the traces do not suit this, and the earlier part of the line rather implies some such sense as 'and the remaining 10 solidi I am to receive at the end of the year.' But see the introduction.

του: apparently corr. from των.

ημερων : l. ἡμέρας.

και: after this presumably a synonym of  $\epsilon \rho \gamma \alpha \sigma l \alpha \nu$ ; hence the (very uncertain) reading at the end of the line; but neither  $\epsilon \pi \iota \mu \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \alpha \nu$  nor  $\phi \iota \lambda \delta \alpha \lambda \iota \alpha \nu$  seems possible, and for και και is possible, though  $\kappa \alpha \rho \pi \omega \nu$  can hardly be read.

χωρις μισθων η ομολογια κ[ν]ρια και βεβαια και ε[π]ερ/ ωμο[λ/ δ]ηλαδη αρχη . . . . . . . εργασια[s] των  $\bar{S}$  αρο $^{v}$ ρων απ[ο] νο $^{v}$ μηνιας το $^{v}$  εξης μη[ν]ος Μεσορη . . . . . . . . . . . . .

- 19 (2nd hand)  $\mathbf{P}$  Φοιβαμμων Πεβητο[ς . . .]ωνος ο προκ// εθεμην ταυτην της ομολογιαν ως προκ// Αυρ[. . . . .]ης
- 20 Ισακιου αξιωθις εκραψα  $\gamma$ [ρα]μματα μ[η] ειδοτος + (3rd hand) Αυρηλίος Ιω[α]ννης Βασιλειδου απο Ερ[μοπ]ολ/
- 21 μαρτυρω τη ομολογια ακουσας παρα των θεμενων (4th hand) Αυρηλιος Βικτωρ Ταυριν[ου απο Ερ]/
- 22 μαρτυρω τη ομολογια ακου[σα]ς  $\pi$ [αρ]α των  $\theta$ εμενων 23 (5th hand) +[δι] εμου Σιλβανου ἰωσηφιο . . . .

its full height.

19. της: Ι. τήν.

20.  $\epsilon \kappa \rho a \psi a \gamma \rho a \mu \mu a \tau a$ : there is certainly not room for  $\rho a \psi a \nu \pi \epsilon \rho a \nu \tau \sigma v$  between  $\epsilon \kappa$  and  $\mu \mu a \tau a$ , which are certain, and, as the traces suit the reading given, it seems clear that  $\nu \pi \epsilon \rho a \nu \tau \sigma v$  was accidentally omitted.

 $Ε_{\rho\mu\nu\nu\pi\nu\lambda}(\epsilon\omega s)$ : there seems hardly room for  $\mu\bar{\nu}$ , and perhaps a letter was omitted.

23. Σιλβανου: the dotted letters are all extremely doubtful.

#### PAPYRUS 1797.—12 (?) July, A. D. 546 (?).

Inv. No. 1626 A. Acquired in 1906. Oxyrhynchus.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{7}{8}$  in. In a medium-sized cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded at right angles to the fibres, perhaps from right to left. A strip of the papyrus, extending from top to bottom of the fragment, near the right side, has been so much rubbed as to be for the most part illegible.

THIS document is placed at the end of the contracts because its classification is uncertain. Its interpretation depends on the supplement in l. 10.  $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\rho$ ] $\omega\sigma\theta$ aι is possible, though rather long, and the document would then be a receipt; but  $a\pi\delta$   $\nu\epsilon\omega\mu\eta\nu$ ias  $\kappa\tau\lambda$ . is not easily reconcilable with this.  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\nu$ ] $a\sigma\theta$ aι, also possible (the letter after the lacuna looks more like a than  $\omega$ ) and of the right length, would make it a contract of surety; but there is apparently no analogy for joining  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi$   $\epsilon\nu$ aι with  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\nu$ a $\sigma\theta$ aι in this way, though it seems a quite possible variation of the common  $a\nu$ a $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon\chi\theta$ aι. The contract may be of a more complex or less common type than either a receipt or a contract of surety. It is addressed to a scholasticus by a singularis of the  $\tau$ a $\xi$ is of the praeses of Arcadia. For the date see the note on l. 1.

[?+μετα την υπατειαν Φλί Βασι]λιο" του ενδοξοτατο Επειφ ιη [ινδικτιον]ος ί'' εν Οξυρυγχί πολει

I. The date is only conjectural, for very little of the  $\lambda$  remains. The trace does however suggest  $\lambda$ , and is not easily reconcilable with a letter in the name of any other consul whose term of office suits the hand. A date earlier in the century is indeed possible, and  $\Delta\nu\theta\epsilon|\mu\nu\nu$  could perhaps be read. The year after the consulship of Florentius and Anthemius, A.D. 516, was

a 10th indiction for the second half; but if both consuls were named  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\epsilon\nu\delta\delta\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omega\nu$  should have been written, and moreover there seems no room for both names. Hence the date after the consulship of Basilius may be regarded as fairly probable; but of course it is possible that Anthemius was named alone.

	[ ] ώνι τω ελλογιμωτατω σχολαστ[ι]κω τη[ς?]
	[ νιω τ]ο της μεγαλοπρεπους μνημης Ποταμμώ[νο]ς
5	[γεουχουντι ενταυθα τ]η λαμπρα και λαμπροτατη Οξυρυγχιτω[ν]
	[πολει ]ε[ι]ος Καλλινικου σιγγουλαριος της ηγεμο
	[νικης ταξεως της Αρκα]δων επαρχιας εξης ῦπογραφων
	[ σ]υνπαρόση τη ση σοφια επι της αυ[τη]ς
	[ παρειληφεναι π[α]ρα της
10	
	[ της πα]ρουσης δεκατης ινδικτιονος απ[ο] των
	[ ]ει δε κ[.]ερ[.]ων επι της αυτης πολεως

3.  $\tau\eta s$ : at the beginning of l. 4 we may perhaps read  $\Theta\eta\beta a\iota\delta os$  (or  $A\rho\kappa a\delta\iota as$ ); cf. 1707, 5 f. and references there; but there  $\phi\delta\rho ov\ \Theta\eta\beta a\iota\delta os$  is used, not  $\tau\eta s\ \Theta\eta\beta a\iota\delta os$ .

4. Ποταμμωνος: for this form cf. BGU. ii. 411, 1 and Crönert,

Stud. zur Pal. u. Pap. ii, p. 42.

Or εν ταυτη τ]η.

9. At the beginning perhaps πολεως; or (less likely) ταξεως.

#### PAPYRUS 1798.—19 Sept., A. D. 470.

Inv. No. 1625. Acquired in 1906. Oxyrhynchus.  $3\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{7}{8}$  in. In a rather large flourished cursive hand, across the fibres. Folded from the top downwards.

RDER for a payment to the donkey-drivers of the ὀξὺς δρόμος (cursus velox), which the use of the Oxyrhynchite eras shows to be that of Oxyrhynchus. This is not of course the same as in Oxy. i. 138 or 140, which refers to those of private individuals, but is probably the cursus velox of the state postal service, mentioned in Flor. i. 39, 7; Oxy. vi. 900. In the last document also (dat. A. D. 322) the donkey-drivers of the cursus velox are mentioned. The present order is imperfect on the right, and 1. 2, which contains the details of the payment, is as yet imperfectly read.

κυρια λαμπρ<sup>δ</sup> παρασχου [το] [το]

I. κυρια λαμπρό: this suggests κυρία λαμπρότης (hardly κυρία λαμπρότητι), as κυρία does not seem likely to be a name, but it is a little curious, in that case, that no name is given, and the phrase itself is strange. Was it intended to add more? Perhaps, however, as the sender was known to the recipient, it was unnecessary to specify. The phrase will then correspond to our 'By order', or the German 'Die Direktion', and if the order was given direct to the recipient it would not be necessary to insert his name.

2. Ι. τοις ονηλάταις του όξέως δρόμου υπέρ λόγου.

οδιων: supplied, exempli gratia, from Grenf. ii. 14 (b), 4, where the editors read [ $\delta$ ] $\delta\iota\sigma$ , in the sense of  $\epsilon$  $\phi$  $\delta\delta\iota\sigma$ , but where

Wilcken (Archiv, iv, p.  $541^2$ ; cf. Chrest. 411, 4, note) conjectured  $\ddot{a}\gamma\rho\iota a$ . The present passage, where a word presumably of the same sense as  $\dot{\epsilon}\phi\delta\delta\iota a$  begins with  $\delta\delta$  ( $\delta$  is not complete but almost certain), gives some support to Grenfell and Hunt's reading; but L. and S. cite a Homer scholiast who explains  $\delta\delta\alpha\hat{\iota}a$  as  $=\dot{\epsilon}\phi\delta\delta\iota a$ , which might possibly point to a use of  $\delta\delta\alpha\hat{\iota}a$  in that sense in later Greek.

3. o ... opos: the two o's are all but certain. The letter after the first, which has a long upstroke, is most like  $\iota$  or  $\kappa$ .

 $\pi \rho^{o}/:$  obscure.  $\pi v \rho^{o}/$  is not possible.  $o ... o \rho o \sigma \tau v \rho^{o}/$  could be read, though  $\pi$  is more likely than  $\tau v$ .

∟ ρμζ ριτ Θωθ κβ θ ινδή σεσημιωμαι σιτου [
 ∫ Ιωσηφ πρου/ Τεβρη/

5. Teβρη/: presumably a name, but it is not known as a village name in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

#### PAPYRUS 1799.—5th (?) Century.

Inv. No. 1692. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{3}{4}$  in. In an upright cursive hand, on a composite piece of papyrus, the fibres being horizontal above and vertical below.

RDER from Marcellinus to his brother Nilamon (sic) to pay to 'the labourer' 85 myriads.

2.  $\chi^{\epsilon}$ : probably  $\chi \dot{\epsilon}(\rho \epsilon \iota \nu)$ , i.e.  $\chi \dot{\alpha} \dot{\iota} \rho \epsilon \iota \nu$ .

#### PAPYRUS 1800.—5th-6th Century.

Inv. No. 1678 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown (see however note on 1. 3).  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times$   $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. In an upright cursive hand, along the fibres. Perhaps folded once in the middle (from right to left) and then again twice from right to left.

THE following three documents form a series. They are all orders from the count Anatolius for the payment of various sums of money, 1800 addressed to Phoebammon and the other two to Hermapollon; and 1800 and 1801 both date from the 8th indiction. The body of each is probably in the same hand; the signature of Anatolius is certainly identical in all three. Anatolius may very likely be the person of that name who in Lond. iii. 1073 (p. 251) is described as Count of Arcadia; for though the hand of that letter seems at first sight a little later than that of 1800–1802 it may perhaps not be so.

π/ Ανατολιου κομή Φοιβαμμωνι παρασχου ῦ σκ/ των καμμή αργυριου ταλ<sup>†</sup> μυριαδας δυο οκτακισχειλια τετρακοσια

2. σκ/των καμμξ: καμμξ, if rightly read, may be καμηλιτῶν or καμηλαρίων, but the extension of σκ/ is doubtful; perhaps σκευῶν.

3.  $\tau a \lambda (a \nu \tau a)$ : it is to be noted that in l. 4 this word is omitted. If the omission is not accidental, this would tend to prove that  $\tau a \lambda a \nu \tau a$  here means denarii, i.e. drachmae (cf. 1773, 10, note), though it may be a synonym for  $\mu \nu \rho \iota a \delta a s$ . But it is certainly

more natural to suppose the meaning to be '2 myriads of talents' than '2 myriads (= talents)'. See however 1808, 4, note. As 1773 and PSI. i. 43 referred to in 1773, 10, note are both from the Hermopolite nome the method of reckoning may be one peculiar to that nome, and in that case the present series of documents will also come from there.

μ' η ινδ/ (2nd hand) + εσημιωσαμην αργυριού μυριαδα\ς' 5 δυο οκτακισχειλία τετρακ[οσ]ια ——

4. μ': μόνα.

### PAPYRUS 1801.—5th-6th Century.

Inv. No. 1677. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown (see however 1800).  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times$  1 ft.  $0\frac{5}{8}$  in. Probably the same hand as 1800 but larger, along the fibres. Probably folded once in the middle from right to left and then once again in the same direction.

π/ Ανατολιου κομή Ερμαπολλωνι παρασχου εις ευσεβ/ αργυριου ταλαντα μυρια μο' η ινδι/ (2nd hand) εσ[η]μιωσαμην αργυριου ταλαντα μυρια \

2. ευσεβ/: the conclusion is uncertain. If it is correct likely, as this would probably be expressed by the dative) we may think of either εὐσέβειαν (alms-giving?) or (less Εὐσέβιον.

### PAPYRUS 1802.—5th-6th Century.

Inv. No. 1679 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown (see however **1800**). 2½ in. × 1 ft. o½ in. Same hand as **1801**, across the fibres. Papyrus much damaged. Probably folded from left to right.

π/ Ανατολι[ο]υ κ[ομί] Ερμαπ[ο]λλωνι παρασχ[ου Α]δριανω αργυριου [τ]αλαντα μυρια μ[ον' . ιν]δί (2nd hand) + εσημιωσαμην αργυρ[ι]ο<sup>ν</sup> ταλαντα μυρια

### PAPYRUS 1803.—6th Century.

- Inv. No. 1725 D. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $9\frac{3}{8}$  in. In a fair-sized upright cursive hand, across the fibres. The papyrus is a strip from the edge of another document, and just below the present text, towards the left side, are the ends of a few lines, written along the fibres.
- RDER from a bishop (unless ἐπίσκοπος is a secular official) to a παραλ[ημπτής] for a payment of 2 artabas of wheat.

Ηρακλαμμων επισκ°/

Βασιλειδη παραλ[ημπτη]

παρασχ $\bar{o}$  Ιωαννη σιτ $\bar{o}$  αρτα $\beta$ ας δυο γι/ σιτ $\bar{o}$   $\beta$  μονας Θω[ $\theta$ (2nd hand)  $+ H\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda/\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa'\sigma\nu\mu\phi/\sigma\iota$ 

#### PAPYRUS 1804.—6th Century.

Inv. No. 1717 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{1}{8}$  in. In a fair-sized upright cursive hand, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards, but there are also traces of a folding from right to left; perhaps the other side of the papyrus was also used for writing which was later washed off.

RDER from a tribune for the payment of 5,000 talents of silver for the rent of an  $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi av\lambda\iota s$ for the 10th indiction. The order is signed by Demeas, who, as his name certainly does not occur at the top of the document, must be the tribune's representative.

> $\pi/$  [I] $\omega\beta$   $\tau\rho\iota\beta$ Ανδρεα Γεω[ργι]ο[υ] παρασχου απο του οινη[κιου?] της επαυλεως υπερ της δεκατης ινδικ[τιονος] αργυριο ταλαντα πεντακισχιλια 5 μον'' γι/ αρ/ Α΄, ε Παΰνι κε ινδικ/ [ι] (2nd hand)  $\not\vdash \Delta \eta \mu \epsilon \alpha s \sigma \nu \mu \phi / \alpha \rho \gamma \nu \rho \iota \sigma^{\nu} \tau \alpha \lambda \alpha \nu \tau \alpha \pi \epsilon \nu [\tau \alpha]$ κισχειλια μον' ϊνδ/ ϊ Παΰνι κε +

to ot is somewhat strange.

7. The stroke under the text is in the MS.

### PAPYRUS 1805.—5th-6th Century.

Inv. No. 1687 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. 2 in. x 108 in. In a large straggling broken cursive, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards and perhaps once in the middle from right to left.

RDER to pay to a  $\beta$ on $\theta$ ós for a  $\delta$ n $\eta$ pé $\tau$  $\eta$ s 15 artabas of wheat.

+[....]ς Σιλβανο παραλημπτη αργ' μετρησον Ασ[κλη]πιαδη

I. Σιλβανο: l. Σιλβαν $\hat{\varphi}$  or Σιλβανο $\langle \hat{v} \rangle$ ; but the dative seems the likelier, as the name of the recipient should be given, and παραλημπτη, which, though not a certain reading, cannot be read παραλημπτης, requires a preceding dative. Possibly, however, the preceding name, though it apparently ends in s should be in

the dative and this the patronymic.

αργ(υριου): this would not be expected in the context, but it is strongly suggested by the traces, and σιτου or an abbreviation is quite impossible.

<sup>1.</sup>  $\tau \rho \iota \beta$ :  $\tau \rho \iota \beta \circ i \nu \circ i$  is common enough, but the corruption of  $\epsilon$ see Maspero, Org. militaire, pp. 88-99. 2. οινηκιου: 1. ἐνοικίου? This is certainly suggested by the

βοη $\theta[\omega]$  εις λογον του υπηρ $\epsilon[\tau o]$ υ σιτου αρταβας δεκαπεντε  $\theta$  ιε μον' απο καρπων τεσσαρεσκ $\epsilon[ai\delta e]$ κ' και πεντεκαίδεκ ινδ'' Μεσορη κ της  $\hat{S}$  ιε ινδ'' (2nd hand?) ερρωσ $\theta$ αι σε ευχ'———

#### PAPYRUS 1806.—Arab Period.

Inv. No. 1705. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  6 in. In a good-sized upright rather square minuscule hand, along the fibres.

ORDER from Demetrius,  $i\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\tau\eta$ s, to a baker for the payment to him of one loaf of siligobread.

 μαγκ<sup>π</sup>/: μάγκιπι. παρ<sup>χ</sup>: παράσχου.

2. υπηρε(σιαs): *i.e.* for my service; the man was a ὑπηρέτηs, and the bread was to be paid him by way of salary or perquisite.

 $\chi a \rho a \gamma \mu (\eta \nu)$ : a form  $\chi a \rho a \gamma \mu \dot{\eta}$  is cited by Sophocles as =  $\chi \dot{a} \rho a \gamma \mu a$ . The meaning here is no doubt 'loaf'.

4.  $\epsilon\gamma\rho/$ : after this are flourishes, like three  $\lambda$ 's with horizontal strokes above and below.

### PAPYRUS 1807.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1670. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $7\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 9\frac{3}{8}$  in. In a large cursive hand of minuscule type, in ink of a reddish tint. The papyrus is a piece from the beginning of the roll, about two-thirds of it being from the first  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu \alpha$ , and the writing, which is parallel to the length of the roll, is across the fibres on the first  $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \eta \mu \alpha$  and along them on the second. Apparently folded from right to left.

ACCOUNT of money 'given to the brethren' (monks?), and, as we learn from the endorsement, sent to the city. It is of some interest, but contains several obscurities. The person or persons making the payments may belong to the  $o\dot{v}\sigma\dot{i}\alpha$  of a monastery.

$$+ \mathring{\lambda}^{\gamma} \chi \rho \nu \sigma \iota / \delta o \theta^{\epsilon} \S$$
 τοις αδελφ/φ/
Επειφ α  $\iota \nu \delta \cdot / / \epsilon$ 
 $\swarrow$  αστικ/ κεφ/  $\nu^{o}$  λζ  $\mathring{\lambda}$   $\S$  S κ/  $\varsigma$ 
ομοι/  $\swarrow$  κωμ $\S$  Ερμηταρ/ κεφ/  $\nu^{o}$  η  $\S$  σιμ $\mathring{\S}$  α ποι·/  $\nu^{o}$  η  $\S$  κ/  $\theta$ 

- 3. Apparently  $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho$   $\dot{a}\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\dot{\omega}\nu$   $\kappa\dot{\epsilon}\phi a\lambda\dot{\omega}\nu$ . For  $\dot{a}\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\dot{a}$  see the introduction to 1686, and for  $\kappa\dot{\epsilon}\phi a\lambda\dot{\eta}$  as the unit of taxation 1793, introduction.
- $\Dresign{\uplambda}{l}$  : this suggests  $\lambda i\tau\rho a\iota$  , but in that case one would expect the article to be mentioned.
- S  $\kappa$ /: the  $\frac{1}{2}$ -symbol in this line and l. 5 is made very large. The smaller symbol of similar shape, then, here and in following

lines, must be that for  $\kappa n l$ , but it is curious that in II. 4 and 6 it should be inserted between the sums of solidi and carats and that here the carat sum should be divided from that of solidi by  $\$  J. Perhaps, therefore,  $\kappa$ / does not stand for  $\kappa \epsilon \rho \acute{\alpha} \tau \iota a$ ; but I. 4 makes that extension likely.

4. (υπερ) κωμ(ητικων) Ερμηταρ(ιου) κεφ(αλων): the ἐποίκιου Ἑρμιταρίου occurs in P. Cair. Preis. 29, 21 (A. D. 231-2); 30, 30, etc.

(4th cent.), in the Hermopolite nome. As  $\kappa\omega\mu\beta$  here probably stands for  $\kappa\omega\mu\eta\tau\iota\kappa\hat{\omega}\nu$ , not  $\kappa\omega\mu\eta\tau$ , it does not necessarily follow that  ${}^{\star}E\rho\mu\iota\tau\hat{\alpha}\rho\iota\omega\nu$  was now a village; but this is quite possible, as it may have grown in importance since the third century, though the opposite tendency is the more usual in the Byzantine period.

 $\sigma\iota\mu\hat{\imath}$ : obscure. It is perhaps just possible to read  $\sigma\iota\nu\hat{\imath}$ , in which case the word might probably be extended  $\sigma\iota\nu\delta\acute{o}\nu\iota\sigma\nu$ ;  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\sigma\pi\iota$  would require a measure after it.

 $\pi \sigma \iota'$ : perhaps  $\pi \sigma \iota \epsilon \hat{i}$ , i. e. the  $\Gamma \sigma \iota \mu \hat{i}$  made the sum up to 8s. 9c. If this interpretation is correct,  $\kappa$ / can hardly be anything but  $\kappa \epsilon \rho \acute{\alpha} \iota \iota a$ ; but l. 5, where  $\pi \sigma \iota'$ / follows 20 s. and precedes  $\Gamma 9\frac{1}{2}$  s., and where there is no other entry to be added to or deducted from the 20 s., throws doubt on this extension of  $\pi \sigma \iota'$ /. Possibly the 20 s. there were below par and should have been followed by  $\pi / \kappa / \iota \beta$ .

5.  $Kov\sigma\sigma^{\omega}_{i}$ : this is presumably  $Kov\sigma\sigma\hat{\omega}v$ , *i. e.* the village  $Ko\hat{v}\sigma\sigma\alpha u$  in the Hermopolite nome, for which see P. Giss. 13, 21, note; but it is curious that it is placed before  $\kappa\epsilon\phi/$  if, as one would suppose, the meaning is 'for the *adaeratio* of *capita* from Cusae'; and  $\hat{\alpha}\pi\alpha\rho\gamma\nu\rho i\sigma\mu\hat{o}s$   $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\hat{\lambda}\hat{\omega}v$  is itself an unexpected phrase.

From this passage it would appear that Έρμιτάριον was near Κοῦσσαι.

6 and 8. δ/: more like a/, which might be  $d\pi a \rho \gamma \nu \rho \iota \sigma \mu \delta s$ , but  $\ell \nu \tau a \gamma \ell \omega \nu$  or  $\gamma \rho a \mu \mu \dot{a} \tau \omega \nu$  would not be expected after that word, whereas  $\delta \iota \dot{a}$  is natural in the context.

7. απολυτή: uncertain. None of the possible extensions gives a sufficiently obvious sense to be regarded as certain. In Cair. Masp. iii. 67312, a will, money is left εἶς [τ]ε ἀνάρρησιν (ἰ. ἀνάρρησιν) αἰχμαλώτων καὶ εἰς ἐτέρας εὐσεβεῖς διαδόσεις; and it is conceivable that here ἀπολυτρώσεως, i. e. redemption of captives (or, perhaps more likely, manumission of slaves, Hunt) may be meant.

8. χαρτ<sup>λ</sup>ς: χαρτουλαρίου.

9. προσγραφής (? — οτ προσγραφόμενα = προσδιαγραφόμενα? but with corn we should expect προσμετρούμενα) ἀπαιτήσεως (?) τῶν διακειμένων (οτ διακόνων?) έξ ὀνόματος Χριστοδ(ώρου?). εχ¬ is obscure; hardly ἐχομένον, meaning ' of standard quality'?

11.  $A\mu\mu^-$  Kλ/: perhaps " $A\mu\mu\omega\nu$ os Κλαυδίου, but " $A\mu\mu$ a Κλ( seems more probable.

 $\mathbf{E}\pi\iota\phi$ : very doubtful; rather more like [M]  $\epsilon\sigma$ .

## PAPYRUS 1808.—7th Century.

Inv. No. 1621. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 8\frac{5}{8}$  in. In a medium-sized upright minuscule hand with uncial elements, across the fibres. Probably folded from the top downwards.

It is not quite clear how this document should be classed. At first sight it suggests an account, but as only a single sum or rather pair of sums, wheat and money, are in question, it is perhaps rather a statement of payments due, probably (l. 3) for wages. But the loss of the right side and of at least two or three letters from the left side and the obscurity of 1. 3 render the interpretation somewhat doubtful. The document has, however, some interesting features.

δ]/ Απολλω πρ
$$^{o}$$
/ Νικης Στεφανω ποταμίς και τοις ετερρ $/$  . . ρ $//$  εργα[τ $^{\circ}$ ]ημ $^{\circ}$  Νικης εν τη μηχ $^{\circ}$  καλουμ $^{\circ}$  Πατνηα επι της  $\bar{5}$  ινδ $^{\prime\prime}$  γεωργουμ $^{\circ}$  δ $/$  . [

1.  $\pi \rho^o$ /: προεστώτος, προνοητοῦ, οτ προστάτου. If Νίκης is, as it may be, the name of a monastery (cf. Μετανοίας as a monastery name in Lond. iii. 996, p. 248; and see l. 2, note, below), the first or second are the most likely.

ποταμί : either ποταμίτη or Ποτάμμωνος.

... $\rho$ //:  $\gamma a \rho$ // (which can hardly be for  $a\gamma \gamma a \rho \epsilon v \tau a \hat{i} s$ ) is the likeliest reading. It could also be read in l. 4; see note there.

2. ] $\eta\mu$ i: perhaps  $\epsilon\rho$ ] $\eta\mu(\iota\tau\hat{\omega}\nu)$ ; cf. 1690, 2. If so, Nikηs is certainly a monastery.

Πατνηα: all after  $\pi$  is a correction. For  $\mu\eta\chi$ αναί with names

Μ]αξιμου μειζ/ λογή μισ<sup>θ</sup>. ερ ν ασει/ ρξτ εξ/ κουφιζ/ ὖ του παλιλ/ ακκ/ ν ασει/ [
] ς ιθ και σιτο ὑ θ — δ και αρ/ ¾ ,ασ εξ ων εδοθ ωρ// πρωην νο β π/ θ λοιπ, ν α ς [ιε 5 σιτου αρ]ταβας τεσσαρας και αρ/ ¾ χιλιας διακοσιας γι/ χρ/ ιδ// νο β δ/ π/ κερ/ ι και σιτ θ — δ . [
6 Παυ] νι ιθ ινδ// εκτης + (2nd hand) γι/ χρ/ ιδ/ ζυγή νομισματια δυο τεταρτον παρα κερ/ δεκα [

αρταβας τεσσαρας και αργυρ/ μυριαδί χιλιας διακοσια[ς

7

cf. Lond. iii. 776, 8 (p. 278); Oxy. i. 192; 194; etc. For  $\epsilon \nu \tau \hat{\eta}$   $\mu \eta \chi \alpha \nu \hat{\eta}$  cf. 1765, 7 and note.

3. Most of this line is obscure.  $\epsilon \xi /$  might be for  $\epsilon \xi \hat{\eta} \hat{r}$ , but that word does not fit into the context very well.  $\dot{v}$  is no doubt  $i\pi \epsilon \rho$ .  $\mu \epsilon \iota \zeta /$  is of course  $\mu \epsilon \iota \zeta / \epsilon \rho o v$  (or  $\mu \epsilon \iota \zeta / \epsilon o v$ ).

4.  $a\rho/\Re$ : ἀργυρίου μυριάδαs. That the symbol, in spite of its form, which rather suggests τάλαντα, stands for μυριάδαs is shown by l. γ. This perhaps gives some support to the explanation of τάλαντα in 1773, 10; 1800, 3 as a synonym for μυριάs, for if that were the case it would be natural to use the symbol for τάλαντον as a symbol for μυριάs also. Lines 5 and 6 give a

valuable equivalence of silver and gold standards. 1,200 myriads or 12,000,000 denarii =  $2\frac{1}{4}$ s. less 10 c. = 1 s. 20 c. Thus 1 c. standard value =  $27\frac{31}{11}$  myriads.

ωρ//: obscure; very possibly the same word as in l. I before εργατι; γαρ// is a possible reading. If not, perhaps  $^{\circ}Ωρφ$ .

 $v^{\circ}\beta\pi/\theta \lambda o \iota \pi$ )  $v a q \iota \epsilon$ : if the reading is right  $\lambda o \iota \pi(a)$  does not refer to the remainder when the 2s. less 9c. paid out are deducted from the 1,200 myriads but to the remainder when 9c. are deducted from 2s.

5. χρ/ ιδ": χρύσου ιδικώ (ζυγώ), as l. 6 shows.

# DESCRIPTIONS.

- 1809. Inv. No. 1521. Acquired in 1906. Herculaneum (P. Herc. 1042). Fragments of Epicurus, Περὶ Φύσεως, bk. xi; in seven frames. Presented by H.M. King Edward VII.
- 1810. Inv. No. 1522. Acquired in 1906. Herculaneum (P. Herc. 1462). Charred and unopened papyrus roll. *Presented by H.M. King Edward VII*.
- 1811. Inv. No. 1545. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $7 \text{ in.} \times 7\frac{1}{8} \text{ in.}$  3rd cent. In a broad slightly sloping uncial hand, along the fibres. Apparently no accents or breathings. One column, complete at top and bottom but imperfect on the left, to the extent of two letters in the lower lines and an increasing number in the upper ones, containing Homer, *Iliad*, bk. xxii, ll. 449-474.
- 1812. Inv. No. 1568 C. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 2\frac{1}{2}$  in. Early 3rd cent. In a small neat regular cursive hand; papyrus rather light in colour. Part of a leaf of a papyrus codex (no complete line) containing iambic lines, apparently from an unknown tragedy. The lines are written continuously, like prose, the end of each being marked by double dashes. Accents and breathings are somewhat freely used, apparently inserted by the original scribe. The passage (on both pages) is probably part of a messenger's speech.
- 1813. Inv. No. 1707. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 2\frac{1}{4}$  in. 2nd cent. (?). In a small uncial hand somewhat inclining to the cursive, along the fibres. No accents or breathings. Much mutilated. Portion of a column, containing small portions of iambic lines, unidentified and probably from a lost play, which seems likely to be a tragedy rather than a comedy. 28 lines can be traced, but there may have been others on a small, much rubbed projecting piece of papyrus at the bottom.
- 1814. Inv. No. 1546. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. Three literary prose fragments, viz.:—
- A.  $4 \text{ in.} \times 4\frac{3}{8} \text{ in.}$  2nd cent. In a small, neat uncial hand, along the fibres. There are no accents or breathings. Portions of 3 columns, all imperfect at the foot and col. 3 at the top; col. 2 is practically complete in width; of col. 1 only the ends, of col. 3 only the beginnings, of lines are preserved. Width of margin  $\frac{1}{4} \frac{3}{8}$  in. Fragment of an oration or orations; the subject of col. 2 is apparently a case of  $\frac{\partial \pi}{\partial r} \kappa \pi \rho \nu \xi$  is. 35 lines.
- B.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. 2nd cent. In a small, regular, rounded uncial hand, along the fibres. No accents or breathings. Portions of 3 columns, imperfect at the foot; col. 2 is complete in width; of col. 1 only the ends of lines are preserved; col. 3 is represented only by a few single letters. Width of margin  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iv. 2. 1-4. In cols. 1 and 2 there are 56 lines.
  - C.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $2\frac{3}{4}$  in. 3rd cent. In a medium-sized, sloping, rather irregular uncial hand inclining

to the cursive. No accents or breathings. Imperfect leaf of a papyrus codex, written on both sides. Demosthenes, De Fals. Leg. 4-7, 12-13. 50 lines.

- 1815. Inv. No. 1778 verso. Acquired in 1907. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{1}{8}$  in. 2nd cent. In an upright regular uncial hand of medium size inclining to the cursive, across the fibres. No accents or breathings. Remains of 7 imperfect lines of a prose literary work, rhetorical or narrative.
- 1816. Inv. No. 1605. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. Three small literary fragments, viz.:—
- A.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 1\frac{1}{8}$  in. 2nd cent. In a small upright semi-cursive hand, across the fibres; on the verso of the papyrus. Apparently no accents or breathings, except perhaps 1 circumflex. On the recto, along the fibres, are small portions of 8 lines of a document of uncertain character, in a very small sloping cursive hand, followed by  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. of blank papyrus. Narrow strip, in very bad preservation, of a column of an unidentified prose work. 34 lines.
- B.  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 2\frac{5}{8}$  in. 2nd cent. In a broad open upright uncial hand, across the fibres; on the verso of the papyrus. Some accents. The recto is blank except for two characters, belonging to different columns. Portions of 13 unidentified hexameter lines.
- C. 2 in.  $\times \frac{7}{8}$  in. 1st-2nd cent. In a clear upright regular uncial hand, along the fibres. No accents or breathings. Portions of 10 lines of a prose work, probably rhetorical, perhaps relating to a murder case  $(\tau]_0\hat{v}$   $\phi\delta[\nu ov$ ;  $\kappa]_{\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}}$   $\tau o\hat{v}$   $\phi\delta[\nu \epsilon \omega s]$ .
- 1817. Inv. No. 1552. Acquired in 1906. From Kôm Ishgau. 11\frac{3}{4} in. × 1 ft. 3\frac{3}{8} in. Second half of 6th cent. Hand A of Dioscorus, carefully written, fairly large and sloping, along the fibres. Some marks of quantity. Papyrus stained dark brown down the middle, elsewhere light brown in colour; ink of a brown tint. Folded from right to left. Encomiastic poems by Dioscorus addressed to Romanus. Of the first, in iambics, only the ends of lines (17) are preserved; the second (20 lines), in hexameters, is practically perfect, and is in the form of an acrostic on the name Romanus.
- 1818. Inv. Nos. 1728 verso + 1745 verso. Verso of 1709, q.v. In hands A and B of Dioscorus, along the fibres. Papyrus very fragmentary, rubbed, and much stained. Compositions in verse and (apparently) prose by Dioscorus. The poems include one acrostic, and both iambics and hexameters occur.
- 1819. Inv. No. 1733. Acquired in 1906. From Kôm Ishgau.  $8\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times 2\frac{5}{8}$  in. Second half of 6th cent. Hand A of Dioscorus, but with a considerable cursive element, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards. Epithalamium, probably to Callinicus, by Dioscorus; the missing left side of Cair. Masp. ii. 67180. 24 lines; on the verso, along the fibres, small traces of 5 (?) more lines.
- **1820**. Inv. No. 1737 A verso. Verso of **1710**, q. v. In hand A of Dioscorus, with cursive intermixture, along the fibres. Beginnings of 4 hexameter lines by Dioscorus, with a supplementary one added below.
- 1821. Inv. No. 1727 verso. Verso of 1674, q.v. Hand A of Dioscorus, along the fibres. Greek-Coptic glossary, arranged by subjects; in a bad state of preservation.

- 1822. Inv. No. 1609 A. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $7 \text{ in.} \times 3\frac{7}{8} \text{ in.}$  In a broken upright cursive hand, along the fibres. Perhaps folded from right to left. Worm-eaten, and imperfect on the left and at the foot. Duplicate of 1648.
- 1823. Inv. No. 1612. Acquired in 1906. Nilopolis (l. 1, Νειλοπολίτου).  $8\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{8}$  in. 4th cent. In a practised somewhat sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Very imperfect, being a strip from the middle of the papyrus. Document of uncertain character, but apparently a return or report by an ἐπιμελ(ητὴς) σίτου to the of Nilopolis, followed by a list, now lost (l. 17, Ἐστι δ[έ). The following are the most noteworthy phrases:—l. 4, δ]ημοσίων πλοίων διαφερόντων τ[; l. 6, πλο]ίων εἰς ἄπερ ἡ ἐμβολὴ ἐγένετο; l. 7, οὐγκίας  $\bar{\gamma}$  γρ(άμματα) β; l. 9, ] μολιβῆ σφραγίζει; l. 11, ἀγγῖον ὀστράκινον εν καὶ γλωτίκομον; l. 12, ἀγγῖον] ὀστράκινον εν καὶ γλωτόκομ[ον; l. 14, τοῖς δημοσίοις ὁρίοις (horrea) τῆζς) Νέας Πόλ[εως; l. 16, ? σα]κκοφόρων, ἡ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν [τῷ κτλ. The name Φλαονίου Φιλαγρίου occurs. 17 lines.
- 1825. Inv. No. 1763. Acquired in 1907. Panopolis (?).  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{2}$  in. 4th cent. In a large upright rounded cursive hand, along the fibres. Small fragment from the upper part of a document of somewhat uncertain character, perhaps an official letter, beginning with two lines of Latin writing. Mention is made of naute ex ciuitat(e) Panopo[litarum?) and of an  $\epsilon \rho \gamma \alpha \sigma \tau \dot{\gamma} \rho \iota \nu \nu$ . 8 lines.
- 1826. Inv. No. 1617 A. Acquired in 1906. Perhaps Hermopolis.  $5\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{5}{8}$  in. 4th cent. In a large flowing upright cursive hand, along the fibres. Very imperfect. Folded from right to left. Letter, probably official, to  $?\tau\iota\mu\iota\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau]$   $\mathring{\omega}$  δελφ $\mathring{\omega}\iota$  Εὐλογίωι from ? Ἰσ] $\mathring{\delta}$ δωρος Ὁλνμπιόδωρος Ἑρμαπόλλων | ] δθονίον. If Ἑρμαπόλλων is to be taken as a patronymic (which is not very likely, as the papyrus seems complete on the right), Olympiodorus may be the same as in P. Flor. i. 71, 388. Before δθονίον is perhaps to be read ἐπιμελητής, ἀπαιτητής, οr διαδότης; but δθονίων would in that case be expected. The letter is too incomplete to give much indication as to its subject; perhaps the dispatch of wheat (σῖτον occurs in 1. 5). The writer apparently announces his coming (l. 4, ἀπ]αντῶμεν π[ρ]ὸς σὲ μετὰ τῶν). ἐν τῷ ὅρ[μ] $\mathring{\omega}$  εὐρεθῆναι occurs. 8 lines.
- 1827. Inv. No. 1730. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $5\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 9\frac{7}{8}$  in. Early 4th cent. In a small neat regular cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded at right angles to the fibres. Very imperfect. Application from an inhabitant of a village in the Hermopolite nome to the strategus, enclosing a copy of a petition to  $\tau \hat{\varphi}$  δι]ασημοτάτ $\varphi$  ήγουμέν $\varphi$  Θηβαίδος, apparently with reference to the imposition upon him of duties for which he has passed the age ( $\nu \hat{\nu} \nu$  δè  $\pi \rho \hat{\rho}$ s  $\tau \hat{\eta}$  προσούσ $\eta$  μοι τοῦ γήρως ἀδυνα[μία and ἀνόχλητον ὑπαρχθηναι τοῖς μὲν ἀπαξ γεγηρακόσι). As land and crops are mentioned the service is probably the cultivation of unproductive royal land;

- cf. l. 11, ? τοῖς] τῆς κώμης προσειέναι ἄρρεσι γεωργίας ὑπολόγου βασ[ιλικῆς (cf. P. Oxy. iv. 721, 4). Lines 17 and 18 may also be noted:—ἐ]πικειμένων αὐτοῖ[ς το]ῖς τῆς κώμης δημοσίοις[, and ? τ]ούτους (not αὐτούς) ἀντιποιεῖσθ[αι] τῆς ἰδίας γῆς τῶν κα. [. At the top the strategus has written in a sprawling cursive hand six lines (too much rubbed for continuous decipherment) addressed to a person whose name is mutilated, presumably with reference to the application. 20 lines.
- 1828. Inv. No. 1606. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{3}{4}$  in. Dated in or after the consulship of Modestus and Arintheus (here gen. 'A $\rho\nu\theta\epsilon\omega$ s) [= A.D. 372]. In a rough cursive hand, along the fibres. Very imperfect, having lost the left side, and much damaged. Document of somewhat uncertain character, but apparently a petition, with an extract from the report of a law-case before the praeses Fl. Eutychius. There is a question of a  $\pi\rho\alpha\chi\rho\epsiloni\alpha$ , and of a collection by the officium (l. 17,  $id\alpha \tau\epsiloni\alpha\theta\alpha\iota$   $id\alpha \tau\hat{\eta}$ )  $id\alpha \tau\hat{\eta}$   $id\alpha \tau\hat{\eta}$   $id\alpha \tau\hat{\eta}$ . Fl. Eutychius was praeses of the Thebaid in 373 (P. Lips. i. 34 verso). 22 lines. [Insert here 1911.]
- 1829. Inv. No. 1713 B. Acquired in 1906. Perhaps Hermopolis.  $6\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in. 4th cent. In a rather narrow sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Very imperfect. Petition from Aur. Dorotheus to Aur. Mall——, apparently in a case of assault. The word  $\hat{\rho}\iota\psi o\kappa\iota\nu\delta\hat{v}[\nu]\omega s$  occurs, and the phrase  $\pi\rho\nu\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu o\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\eta s$   $\tau\hat{\eta}[s]$   $\beta o\nu\lambda\hat{\eta}s$   $\hat{v}\pi\dot{o}\ldots$  is also to be noted. 16 lines. On the verso slight remains of what may be an account.
- 1830. Inv. No. 1615 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $5\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{4}$  in. Late 4th cent. In a neat upright cursive hand, along the fibres. Probably folded from right to left. Fragment of a petition in a case of robbery with violence ( $^5$  εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν κακούργων [ $^6$  με καὶ ὅλα τὰ σκεύη μου ἀφ[εῖλον?  $^7$  γυμνόν με ἀφῆκαν, τὸ δὲ [). The names, and the title of the official to whom the petition was addressed, are all lost. Lines 10 and 11 are to be noted:

  εν τῆ ἀληπτηρία ( $^{l}$ . ἀλειπτηρία = ἀλειπτηρίω?) με κατέκ[λεισαν, and ἡμέρας ἔχω κατάκλιστος [. 16 lines and an endorsement, only very partially legible.
- 1831. Inv. No. 1769 B recto. Acquired in 1907. Provenance unknown.  $4\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{1}{4}$  in. 4th cent. In a rapid uneven sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left. Small fragment. Letter or (more probably) petition. The text reads:—\(^1\tau\theta\) δεσπ]ότη μου 'Αθανασίωι. \(^2] 'Αντίοχος. \(^3\theta\). \(^1\text{μος δ ἀπὸ ἀθλητῶν ὁ ἀναδιδοὺς \(^4\theta\). \(^1\text{μοτα}\) (probably not ὑπομν]ήματα, but γρά]μματα is possible) ἐντετυχηκῶς τῷ δεσπότη μου \(^5\theta\). \(^1\text{μον καὶ παραθέμενος τὰ ἐαυτοῦ \(^1\text{ξ...}\).
- 1832. Inv. No. 1609 B. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{5}{8}$  in. 4th cent. In an upright regular cursive hand with comparatively little linking of letters, along the fibres; wormeaten. Folded from right to left. Fragment from the left side of a lease of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  arouras of land in the Hermopolite nome for [x years] from  $\tau \hat{\eta} \hat{s}$  |  $\dot{a} \gamma \hat{\iota} \alpha \hat{s} = \hat{\epsilon} \kappa \kappa \lambda \eta \sigma \hat{\iota} \alpha \hat{s} = \tau \hat{\eta} \hat{s}$  E[ $\rho \mu o \nu \pi \hat{o} \lambda \epsilon \omega \hat{s}$ , at a yearly rent of  $[.]2\frac{1}{2}$  solidi less [x] carats, for the cultivation of whatever crops the tenant chooses. 14 lines, and a mutilated endorsement.
- 1833. Inv. No. 1616 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{5}{8}$  in. 4th cent. In an upright cursive hand with little linking of letters and written with a thin pen, along the fibres. Folded from right to left. Fragment of a lease, with provisions as to payments by the landlord and tenant respectively. The rent probably includes 6 artabas of . . . . and 4 of

 $r\pi\rho\epsilon o\nu$  mentioned at the beginning. Lines 2 (middle)-9:— $\sigma[o]\hat{v}$  τοῦ γεούχου παρέ $^3$ χοντος τὰς καταμὰς (doubtful) καὶ ὑπὲρ χ[λ]ωροφαγίας  $^4$ χόρτου χλωροῦ ἀρούρας εἴκοσι ἡ κ καὶ τὸ ἀρκοῦν  $^5$  τῆς εδρίας (= pulse, connected with χεδροπά? it can hardly = κεδρίας in this context), ἐμοῦ τοῦ ᾿Αβρ[α]α-ου παρέχοντος  $^6$  ὑπὲρ ἐπιγ[ε]νήματ[ος] (see Waszyński, Bodenpacht, p. 124; P. Rylands ii. 154, ε, note)  $\pi[.]$ .  $\iota \alpha[.]$ .  $\alpha$  χρυσίου  $^7$  νομισμ[ά]τια δύο γί(νεται)  $\nu$ 0//β//,  $[\tau]$  $\hat{\eta}$ ς τε ἐπιμελίας  $^8$  καὶ γον $\hat{\eta}$ ς (?) καὶ  $\iota$ 0  $\iota$ 0  $\iota$ 1  $\iota$ 2  $\iota$ 2  $\iota$ 3  $\iota$ 4  $\iota$ 5  $\iota$ 6  $\iota$ 6  $\iota$ 7  $\iota$ 7  $\iota$ 9  $\iota$ 8  $\iota$ 9  $\iota$ 9  $\iota$ 9  $\iota$ 9  $\iota$ 9  $\iota$ 9 lines.

- 1834. Inv. No. 1769 B verso. Verso of 1831, q.v. 4th cent. In a small hasty cursive and, across the fibres. Probably complete. Short account headed  $\dot{v}(\pi \epsilon \rho)$   $\tau \hat{\eta} s$  Meyáληs (a personal ame? cf. Méyas, 1679). The first portion consists of three payments of 200, 170, and 166 yriads of denarii (\* î) respectively, with the total; the second, also of three entries, which is receded by οὖτωs, is headed δεδώκασι ἐντάγιον. 10 lines.
- 1835. Inv. No. 1617 C. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $5\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. 4th cent. 1 a clear practised upright cursive hand, across the fibres; at the foot three lines in a rougher oping cursive. Probably folded from right to left. Fragment from the bottom of a column of 1 account in money. 9 lines.
- 1836. Inv. No. 1615 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. × 4 in. 4th cent. 1 a practised rather open cursive hand, along the fibres. Imperfect, having lost the earlier part, 1d considerably damaged. Letter on private affairs. There is a reference to τὸν συνάρχοντά ου (?). The last 10 lines read:— $^8$  τῷδε (or  $^-$ τῷ δὲ) ἀπολογήση ὑπ' ὅρκου  $^9$  αὐτὰ ταῦτα. Δέομαι  $^{\epsilon}$  σου,  $^{10}$  κύριέ μου, τὰ παρὰ σεαυτ[ο]ῦ πρᾶ<sup>11</sup>ξαι εἰς τὸ τὸν Σαραπίωνα  $^{12}$  ἀπολυθῆν[αι] τοῦ καιρ[ο]ῦ  $^{\frac{\pi\rhoo\sigma}{\epsilon}}$  ἐχρων αὐτοῦ κ[αὶ . . .] . [[εἰ[ . . .]ω[.]]]  $^{14}$  τοῖς ἡμῶν [πρ]άγμασι σχολά $^{15}$ ζειν θαρσῶν γάρ οι ὄ[τ]ι ποιή $^{16}$ σεις ἔγραψά σοι. Ἐρρῶσθαμ́ [σ]ε εὖχομ(αι),  $^{17}$  κύριέ μου. 17 lines, and a small ace of an address.
- 1837. Inv. No. 1713 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{8}$  in. 4th cent. In Interest the fibres (probably on the verso of the sheet, though the other side is blank) in small cramped cursive hand. Very imperfect. Letter on private affairs. The names of the riter and recipient are lost, and it is impossible to recover a consecutive sense. Nothing of such interest remains except the name  $\Pi \rho \iota \nu \gamma \iota \pi \iota \circ \nu$  (l. 8, ]  $O \dot{\nu} \rho a \nu \iota \circ \nu$  delay  $\partial \rho \circ \nu$   $\partial \rho \circ \nu$  make  $\partial \rho \circ \nu$  interest remains except the name  $\partial \rho \circ \nu$  (l. 8, 1)  $\partial \rho \circ \rho \circ \nu$  delay  $\partial \rho \circ \nu$  interest remains except the name  $\partial \rho \circ \nu$  (l. 8, 1)  $\partial \rho \circ \rho \circ \nu$  delay  $\partial \rho \circ \nu$  in  $\partial \rho \circ \nu$  delay  $\partial \rho \circ \nu$  in  $\partial \rho \circ \nu$  delay  $\partial \rho \circ \nu$
- 1838. Inv. No. 1663. Acquired in 1906. The hand and colour of the papyrus point to lôm Ishgau as the provenance. If the official in  $\times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in. 6th cent. In a hand similar to those in the phrodito accounts, on dark reddish brown papyrus, a good deal rubbed. Writing on both sides, it he recto along, on the verso across, the fibres. On the recto are at least two distinct accounts, it first (7 lines) headed  $\epsilon i\sigma\pi\rho\alpha\xi(us)$   $\sigma i\tau(ov)$ . [...]  $i\nu\delta(\iota\kappa\tau io\nu os)$ , and apparently consisting of names tax-payers, followed by amounts of wheat, the second (10 lines?) a money account of uncertain laracter, in two sections. On the verso, the reverse way up, are two tall columns of a money account, the first giving sums in solidi with deductions in [carats], the second, apparently connued in a short additional column, sums in carats. The second has apparently no connexion ith the first. To the left of col. 1 at the top are traces of what seems to be a heading, perhaps

ending in ind(iktions). Lines 4-7 of col. I:— $^4\nu^{\circ}$  κζ  $\pi/\rho\iota\theta$  ( $^5\nu$  κθ  $\pi/\rho\kappa$ 5  $^6\nu$  κθ  $\pi/\rho\kappa$ ζ( $^7\nu$  κε  $\pi/\rho\iota\alpha$ 5); ll. 4-7 of col. 2:— $^4\kappa/\rho\circ\theta$   $\iota\beta$ 5  $\kappa/\rho\mu\theta$ 6  $\kappa/\sigma\iota$ 6  $\beta/7$   $\kappa/\rho\circ\gamma$   $\iota\beta$ .

1839. Inv. No. 1648. Acquired in 1906. Probably from Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 5\frac{5}{8} in. × 7\frac{1}{4} in. First half of 6th cent. In a rough upright cursive hand with few ligatures, across the fibres; papyrus, particularly on the verso, stained very dark brown. Folded from the bottom upwards. Imperfect on both sides. Letter to a person referred to as ὑμετέρα ἀδελφότη[τι, apparently complaining of exactions from the writer's tenants. The first three lines read ] οὐδέποτε ὑστέρησα δοῦναι τὰ δημόσιά μ[ου . . . | . . . οἱ γε]ωργοί μου παρὰ τῶν αἰδαισίμων ἀπαιτητῶν [ | ]τατο ἐμὲ πέμψαι τὰ ἐντάγια αὐτῆ ἀπαιτη[. 10 lines, and an illegible address.

1840. Inv. No. 1747. Acquired in 1906. Perhaps (from the colour and hand) from Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 6 in. ×  $7\frac{5}{8}$  in. 6th cent. In a flowing sloping cursive hand, across the fibres. Perhaps folded from the bottom upwards and from left to right. Imperfect on the right, and rubbed. Letter; it is uncertain whether private or official. Lines 4 and 5 read  $^4\pi \epsilon \mu \psi \alpha \tau \epsilon$  συντόμως ὅπως θεραπευθη τὸ καθ ὑμ[ᾶς . . .  $^5$  καὶ χρῶμαι τῆ μωρία ὑμῶν . . . . [. 7 lines.

1841. Inv. No. 1764. Acquired in 1907. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau).  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{1}{8}$  in. 10 Sept., A. D. 536. In a compressed sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Papyrus light in colour. Folded from right to left. Nearly complete but so much damaged that much of the document is illegible. Acknowledgement of a lease on the métayer system (cf. 1694, introduction), addressed by the lessor to the lessee, contrary to the usual Byzantine practice (cf. Waszyński, Bodenpacht, p. 36); other examples are Cair. Masp. i. 67107; Flor. iii. 384 (but this is a lease of a bath, not of land). The text of the more legible portions follows, but several of the readings given are very doubtful:—1 🗜 Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αυίου) Βελισαρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτ[άτο]υ, 2 Θῶθ //  $i\gamma$  //  $i\epsilon$  //  $i\nu\delta$ (ικτίονος).  $^3$  Αὐρηλ[ί]α  $\Theta$ [. . .] $\mu$ όη (not  $\Theta$ εονόη) Πόννιτ[ο]ς Πιρίωνος  $^4$  προ . [.] $\delta$  . [. .] $\delta$  . . . ρ . a . . Αψρηλι . [. . ] .  $^5$  'Απολλώς ἀπ[δ] κώμη[ς] 'Αφροδίτης τοῦ 'Α[ν]ταιο  $^6$ πολίτου νομ[οῦ] Αὐρηλ[ί] $_{\psi}$ Φοι[β]άμμωνι Τριαδέ[λ]φου ἀπ[ὸ τῆς (αὐτῆς) κ]ώμης Αφ[ροδίτ]ης χ[α]ίρ(ειν).  $^8$ Μεμί[σ]θωκά σοι πρ[ὸς] μόν[ον  $\tau$ ]ον  $\pi \alpha [\rho \acute{o} \nu \tau] \alpha$   $^{9}$   $\acute{e} \nu \iota α \nu \tau [\grave{o}] \nu$ ,  $\kappa \alpha \rho \pi \hat{\omega} \nu$   $\sigma [\grave{v}] \nu$   $\Theta \epsilon \hat{\omega}$   $\mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda (o \acute{v} \sigma \eta s)$   $\pi \rho \acute{\omega} \tau \eta s$   $[\grave{i} \nu] \delta \iota \kappa (\tau \acute{\iota} o \nu o s)$ ,  $^{10}$   $\tau \grave{o}$   $\mathring{v} \pi \acute{a} \rho \chi o \nu$   $\mu o \iota$   $\tau \rho [\acute{\iota} \tau] o \nu$  $μέρος ἀπὸ τοῦ 11 ὁλοκλήρου κτήματος καλ[ου]μένου πρότερον <math>\Pi[...]$  (perhaps  $\Pi[ιρίωνος]$  or  $\Pi[ιρίω]^{12}νος$ ?) [12-15 (middle) Specification of the position and appurtenances (ίβεως σὺν is visible in l. 12 and  $\phi \dot{\nu} \tau o \iota s$  at the beginning of l. 14), probably followed by a clause somewhat similar to that in 1693, 6-8, though κατὰ κοινωνίαν cannot be recognized anywhere and does not seem required in view of what follows. The text continues in the middle of l. 15 ]  $\dot{v}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho \tau_0\hat{v}$   $\dot{a}\lambda\lambda\sigma v \delta \iota\mu[\sigma(\rho\sigma v)]^{16} \mu\dot{\epsilon}\rho\sigma[v]$ s  $[τοῦ καὶ?] ἀγορασθ[έν]τος παρὰ σοῦ παρὰ <math>T...[...]^{17}$  έ[μοῦ?] άδελφοῦ τοῦ καὶ β[ε]βαιο[ῦ]ντος (?) $\dot{\epsilon}\phi$   $\dot{\phi}$   $\sigma\epsilon^{-18}\tau[o]\hat{v}[\tau]o$   $a\dot{v}\tau[o]v\rho\gamma\hat{\eta}\sigma a\iota$  (the earlier part of the word is very doubtful but more probable than  $\gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma \hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha i)$ ,  $\tau \hat{\eta} s$  δè  $\sigma \pi \epsilon \rho \mu o \beta o \lambda i as δi è <math>\rho o \rho i \delta i$  διδομέν $[\eta s]$  εἰ δè ὁ Θεὸς ὅλ $[o] \nu$  (?)  $\hat{\eta}$   $\mu$   $\epsilon$  $\rho$ os  $\lambda$  $\iota$  $\mu\nu$  $\dot{\alpha}$  $\sigma\eta$  (?) . . .  $^{20}$  . [...] $\nu$  . . . .  $\alpha$  $\tau$  $\rho\nu$ ,  $\kappa$  $\alpha$  $\hat{\iota}$   $\tau$ 0 $\hat{\upsilon}$   $\kappa$  $\alpha$  $\iota$ [ $\rho$ ]0 $\hat{\upsilon}$   $\gamma$  $\epsilon$  $\nu$  $\rho$ [ $\mu$ ] $\epsilon$  $\nu$ 0 $\upsilon$   $\tau$  $\hat{\rho}$   $[\pi]$  $\epsilon$  $\rho$  $\iota$  $^{21}$  $\gamma$  $\iota$  $\gamma$  $\nu$ 0 $\mu$ [ $\epsilon$  $\nu$ 0 $\nu$ ] παντοίων [γ] $\epsilon[\nu]$ ημάτων [κα] $\hat{i}$  [χ $\epsilon$ ρῶν]. αλ.  $\hat{i}$  (the  $\mu$  seems certain or  $\hat{\epsilon}$ ] $\phi$  άλω νίας might be read) κ(aì) . [. .] . . . ς εἰς ἡμ[âς] μερισθήσετ[a]ι κατὰ τὸ ἡμισυ  $^{23}$  εἰς ἐμὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκφορίων εἰς σὲ δὲ  $\dot{\upsilon}$ π $\dot{\epsilon}$ ρ  $^{24}$   $\tau$  $\hat{\omega}$ ν  $\dot{\epsilon}$ κφορίων (sic), εἰ δέ,  $\hat{\delta}$  μ $\hat{\eta}$  εἴη, ἄβρ[ο]χος  $\hat{\eta}$   $\hat{\eta}$   $\tau$  . . (hardly  $\gamma\hat{\eta}$ )  $^{25}$  κ(αὶ) μ $\hat{\eta}$  μέρ[ο]ς λιμνασθ $\hat{\eta}$ ναι well suit either κτήματος or ἀρουρῶν) εἰ]σπληρῶσαι τὰ δημ[ό]σια  $^{27}$  σίτου τε [κα]ὶ χρ(υσίου) [.] . κ[. . . . (perhaps  $[\sigma \dot{v}]_{\nu} \kappa[(a\dot{v}) \tau o \hat{v}] \nu a\dot{v} \lambda o v \dots [...] \sigma i o v$ . Only slight traces of the remainder, including the scribal signature, remain. 33 lines, with only partially legible endorsement, along the fibres.

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- 1842. Inv. No. 1680. Acquired in 1906. Perhaps Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 8½ in. × 4 in. First half of 6th cent. (in or after a consulship, Phaophi 15 of the 5th indiction). In a tall laterally compressed cursive hand, along the fibres. Very imperfect, having lost the conclusion and the left side (at least half the width). Acknowledgement by the lessee of a lease of 9 arouras of arable land (apparently part of an estate of 80 arouras; cf. l. 8, ]. η ἀρουρῶν ὀγδοήκοντα; l. 12, ὀlyδοήκοντα), probably for more than one year. The lessor is the son of Phileas. The name of the village is lost, but the hand rather recalls those of the Kôm Ishgau documents. A διαστολεύς is mentioned; and l. 9, το]ῦ περιπάτου εἰς τὰς ἄλλας, is to be noted. 20 lines.
- 1843. Inv. No. 1748 A. Acquired in 1906. Kôm Ishgau.  $1\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{1}{8}$  in. Middle of the 6th cent. Hand B of Dioscorus, across the fibres. Small fragment from a lease, perhaps the subscription. See also 1845. 4 imperfect lines.
- 1844. Inv. No. 1740. Acquired in 1906. Aphrodito (Kôm Ishgau). 1 ft. 1 in in x 7 in. Early 6th cent. Various hands, across the fibres. Papyrus stained very dark in places. Folded from the bottom upwards. Imperfect, having lost the whole of the contract itself and the left half of the portion preserved. Conclusion, containing only the signatures, of a bond for payment of 24 solidi undertaken by 12 persons of [Aphrodito]. All 12 signatures are preserved, each person being responsible for 2 solidi. The general form of subscription, subject to individual modifications, is: N. N. δφείλω καὶ χρεωστῶ χρυσοῦ νομίσματα δύο εὖσταθμα καὶ ἀποδώσω ὡς πρόκ(ειται). The following names are preserved:—Αὐρ|ήλιος Χαρίσιος Ἑρμανῶτος (see Cair. Masp. i, index; occurs in A. D. 506 and 524); Αὐρήλιος Ῥωμανὸς Ἰσάκου (Cair. Masp. i. 67058, viii, 2, n. d.); Αὐρ(ήλιος) ᾿Απολλὼς Διοσκόρου συντελεστής (the father of Dioscorus); Φοιβάμμων Ψενθαησίου (Cair. Masp. ii. 67139, ii, v., 4, n. d.); Ἰωάννης Βησκούτος διάκ(ονος) (Cair. Masp. i. 67001, 39, A. D. 514, where probably Βησκουϊτος should be read). There are two witnesses, the first Φλαύιος [—]ος καὶ ῥιπάριος, the second ᾿Αδριαν]ὸς ᾿Αβρααμίου στρ(ατιώτης) ἀριθμοῦ ᾿Ανταίου (Flor. iii. 280, 12, A. D. 514; Cair. Masp. i, ii, index; 1671, 5). The scribe was Ἰσακίου νομικ(οῦ) (who wrote also Cair. Masp. i. 67001, A. D. 514, etc.; see index to i and ii). 21 lines.
- 1845. Inv. No. 1748 E. Acquired in 1906. Kôm Ishgau.  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{5}{8}$  in. Middle of 6th cent. Hand B of Dioscorus, across the fibres; dark papyrus. Small fragment of a document of uncertain character; perhaps part of 1843. 4 imperfect lines.
- 1846. Inv. No. 1804. Acquired in 1907. From Assuân. Second half of 6th cent. In a clear upright cursive hand of medium size, along the fibres; papyrus of light colour. Verso blank, hence no doubt a roll. Seven fragments of an account. No complete line is preserved, but from the remains it seems not unlikely that the account was a list of articles pawned. The lines begin  $\pi(a\rho\grave{a})$  N. N., and at the ends of lines are sums of money. One fragment contains a line ending ].  $\kappa \nu \pi \acute{a}\rho \iota \sigma \sigma \circ (i \pi \grave{e}\rho) \nu o(\mu \iota \sigma \mu \acute{a}\tau \omega \nu) \varsigma$ . At the beginning of one line, however, are the words  $[\pi(a\rho\grave{a})\dots] \acute{\phi}\iota \sigma \iota (i \pi \grave{e}\rho) \circ i \nu \sigma \iota$ , which seem rather to imply an account of receipts. At least parts of the document were in Coptic, though the hand is of Greek type. Both the contents and the colour of the papyrus seem to connect the document with the Theban papyri (1719–1721) but  $\zeta(\nu\gamma\hat{\varphi}) \Sigma \nu \acute{\eta}\nu [\eta s$  occurs. The name  $\Pi \rho \alpha \iota \pi \acute{o}\sigma [\iota] \tau \sigma s$  (see 1732, 9) occurs.
- 1847. Inv. No. 1806. Acquired in 1907. From Assuân. 6th cent. In an open, widely-spaced, uneducated cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus light in colour and of poor quality.

Verso blank, hence no doubt a roll. Twelve small fragments of an account, which, from what remains, seems to relate to a pawnbroker's business. The following words are to be noted in this connexion:  $-\chi \epsilon \iota \rho o \psi \hat{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda [\iota o \nu]$  (several times);  $\dot{\nu} \pi (\hat{\epsilon} \rho) \tau o \langle \hat{\nu} \rangle \langle \cdot (=\frac{2}{3}) \delta \lambda o \kappa (o \tau \tau \dot{\nu} v o \nu)$ ;  $\dot{\epsilon} \nu ] \epsilon \chi \dot{\nu} \rho (o \nu) \mu \alpha \nu \nu [$ ;  $\dot{\alpha} \dot{\phi}$  ( $\dot{b} \nu$ ?)  $\dot{\epsilon} \chi \epsilon \iota \tau \nu [$ ;  $\kappa \alpha \dot{\iota} \chi \epsilon \iota \rho o (\psi \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \iota o \nu$ ?) a. Perhaps from Thebes (see **1846**).

- 1848. Inv. No. 1809. Acquired in 1907. From Assuân. 6th cent. In an upright, open cursive hand, along the fibres. Verso blank, hence probably a roll. Four fragments of an account very similar to 1847, possibly the same, but the ink is of somewhat different colour, and the hand is hardly identical.
- 1849. Inv. No. 1807. Acquired in 1907. Syene. 7 (?) June, A.D. 583. Seven fragments from the earlier part of Mon. 6. Published there, p. 61.
- **1850.** Inv. No. 1808. Acquired in 1907. Six miscellaneous fragments of Syene papyri. Three fragments, in an upright, rather square, cursive hand, along the fibres, seem to come from a single document, of uncertain character. One of the parties was a  $\sigma$ ] $\tau \rho \alpha (\tau \iota \omega \tau \eta s) \tau \epsilon \iota \rho(\omega \nu) \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota \theta [\mu o \hat{\nu}]$   $\Sigma \nu \dot{\eta} \nu \eta s$  (?). The other fragments are from the foot of documents, and contain subscriptions. Among others are  $M \eta \nu \hat{\alpha} \langle s \rangle \Pi \rho \alpha \iota \tau \delta \sigma \iota \tau \sigma s$  (sic)  $\dot{\alpha} \nu \alpha \gamma \nu \omega \sigma \tau \eta s$ ,  $A \dot{\nu} \rho (\dot{\eta} \lambda \iota \sigma s) \dot{\sigma} \alpha \kappa \Lambda \dot{\epsilon} \omega \nu$ ,  $\Pi \alpha \hat{\nu} \lambda \sigma s \Omega \alpha \tau \dot{\epsilon} \nu \beta \tau \theta \iota \sigma s$ , and a  $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \dot{\nu} \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma s \tau \dot{\eta} s \dot{\alpha} \gamma \iota \alpha s$ .
- **1851.** Inv. No. 1810. Acquired in 1907. Twelve miscellaneous fragments of Syene papyri. One fragment probably belongs to **1735**; see the introduction to that papyrus. Another is from a freight-contract  $(\tau \hat{\eta} \nu \pi \alpha \rho o \hat{\nu} \sigma a \nu \nu a \nu \lambda \omega \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\eta} \nu \kappa \nu \rho (a \nu \kappa \tau \lambda.)$ ; and a third is part of the endorsement to a contract, and reads ] εἰς Πατερμούθι(ο)ν +.
- 1852. Inv. No. 1811. Acquired in 1907. Seven miscellaneous fragments of Syene papyri. One, in a rough, coarse hand, along the fibres, is apparently part of a loan. Another contains the word καλαφάτου and the name Ταλεφάντις (see Mon. 9, 34).
- 1853. Inv. No. 1812. Acquired in 1907. Five small miscellaneous fragments of Syene papyri, containing nothing of importance. One seems to be part of an account, perhaps connected with the series 1846–1848.
- 1854. Inv. No. 1813. Acquired in 1907. Ten miscellaneous fragments of Syene papyri. The greater part of all of them is blank; possibly from accounts, but one, which has  $\chi\mu\gamma$  +, is no doubt from the top of a contract.
- 1855. Inv. No. 1814. Acquired in 1907. Twelve fragments of Syene papyri. Ten (of which six and four join to form two larger fragments) come from the beginning of Mon. 15 and read as follows:—

Fragms. 1-6:-

- $1 = [+ μετα τη]ν \ddot{v}πατειαν του δεσποτου ημων του δεσποτου ημων <math>(sic)$  [Φ]λλί Αναστ[ασ]ιον του αιωνιο[ν]
- 2 [Αυγουστ]ο<sup>[ν]</sup> και Ρουφου του λαμπροτατου Παχων  $\bar{a}$   $\varepsilon$  της  $\bar{a}$   $\varepsilon$  [ιν]δικτ $\bar{\iota}$   $\epsilon$ ν Συηνη  $\varepsilon$
- 3 [Αυρηλια Θελπωρι]νη εκ π[ατρος] Μαρκου μ[ητ]ρος Κυριακης ανευ κ[υρι]ου ανδρος πραγματευουσ[α]
- ]ρ.. αμενου (apparently not υπογεγ]ραμμενου) μετα συνα[ινουντ]ος αυτη του και υπ[ο]
- 5 [γραφοντος?

Fragms. 7-10:-

- 6 ]..... απο ακτουαριων [
- 7 στρ]ατιωτη λεγεωνος Συηνης και απο της [αυτης Σ]υηνης ο[ρμωμενω. The date is April 26, A. D. 493. Note that the 2nd indiction had not yet begun at Syene (cf. 1692, 4, note). The remaining two fragments, one of which is from the foot of a πιττάκ(ιον) written δι ἐμοῦ Μάρκου Ἦπα Δίου, are of no importance.
- 1856. Inv. No. 1815. Acquired in 1907. Fifteen small miscellaneous fragments of Syene papyri. The following name may be noted:—? ἐκ πατρὸς] Πασείας ἐκ μητρό[s.
- 1857. Inv. No. 1816. Acquired in 1907. Eighteen small miscellaneous fragments of Syene papyri. Two are from the earlier part of Mon. 8, and are published there, p. 92. In (a), I read probably vyies  $\tau o \sigma[ov]$ .
- 1858. Inv. No. 1817. Acquired in 1907. Twenty-three small miscellaneous fragments of Syene papyri, containing nothing of importance.
- 1859. Inv. No. 1818. Acquired in 1907. Thirty-four small miscellaneous fragments of Syene papyri, containing nothing of importance.
- 1860. Inv. No. 1819. Acquired in 1907. Two endorsements to Syene papyri. One may be that of Mon. 7 and is published there, p. 78.
- 1861. Inv. No. 1820. Acquired in 1907. Many small scraps of Syene papyri, none containing more than a few letters. Three frames; in the last are pieces of the ancient string found with some of the rolls.
- 1863. Inv. No. 1694 B. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $6 \text{ in.} \times 8\frac{1}{8} \text{ in.}$  Arab period. In a very small minuscule hand, along the fibres. Complete but somewhat rubbed; the text occupies only a small part of the papyrus, with 4 in. blank papyrus below it. Folded from right to left. Tax-receipt, somewhat obscure, but apparently for  $\frac{1}{2}$ s. paid for  $\delta\eta\mu\delta\sigma\iota\alpha$  for the 10th indiction by Collouthe and Horus son of Horsiesius, and perhaps for poll-tax  $(\partial\nu\delta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\delta s)$  by Abou Phoebam(m)on of Hermopolis. The receipt is apparently issued by Apa Marcus. 3 lines.
- 1864. Inv. No. 1630 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown; just possibly Oxyrhynchus (see 1751, introd.).  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{4}$  in. Arab period. In a small sloping minuscule hand,

- along the fibres. Complete but damaged. Folded from right to left. Tax-receipt, probably for  $\delta a\pi \acute{a}\nu \eta$ , to the same tax-payer as in **1751**. The text reads:—¹ +  $M(\eta\nu\delta)$   $M\epsilon\sigmao(\rho\mathring{\eta})$   $\kappa\eta$   $\mathring{\iota}(\nu)\delta(\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}o\nu\delta)$   $\iota$  . ( $\iota a$ ,  $\iota \beta$ , or  $\iota \delta$  are all possible).  ${}^{*}E[\sigma]\chi(o\nu)$   $\delta(\iota\grave{a})$   $M\eta\nu(\hat{a})$   ${}^{2}$   $\sigma\tau\rho a(\tau\iota\acute{\omega}\tau o\nu)$   $\mathring{a}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phio(\hat{v})$   $\Lambda o\nu\kappa\hat{a}$   $\mathring{a}\pi\grave{o}$   $\mathring{o}a\pi(\acute{a}\nu\eta s)$   ${}^{3}$   $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa(\acute{a})\tau(\eta s)$   $\mathring{\iota}(\nu)\delta(\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}o\nu os)$   $\mathring{a}\rho\iota\theta(\mu\acute{\iota}o\nu)$   $\nu o(\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu a\tau os)$   $\mathring{\gamma}$   $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau o(\nu)$   $\rlap{P}$ .  ${}^{4}$  +  $\Delta\iota\acute{o}\sigma\kappa o\rho os$   $\sigma\tau o\iota\chi(\epsilon\grave{\iota})$  . . . + .
- 1865. Inv. No. 1725 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $5\frac{7}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{8}$  in. 6th cent. In a good-sized clear rounded cursive hand, across the fibres. Below the text a blank space of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in., exclusive of the first fold  $(\frac{3}{8}$  in.), which has not been unfolded. Imperfect, having lost the right half. Folded from the bottom upwards. Receipt (in the form +  $\int \delta \epsilon \delta \omega \kappa / \kappa \tau \lambda$ .) for 3 (given by the endorsement) artabas of wheat  $\mu \epsilon \tau \rho(\omega)$  'A $\theta \eta \nu(\alpha i \omega)$  for the [embola] of the 1st indiction, paid by the heirs of An—. Issued by a pagarch through Pcylius, a  $\tau \rho \alpha \kappa \tau \epsilon \nu \tau \dot{\gamma}$ s. 6 lines.
- 1866. Inv. No. 1641 A. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times$   $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. 5th cent. In an upright tall cursive hand, on both sides of the papyrus, recto along, verso across, the fibres. Almost complete but with worm-holes. List (recto 2 lines separated by a blank space, verso 3 lines) of persons, for an uncertain purpose, signed (in 2 lines and in a small cursive hand) by Έρμογένουν βοηθ(οῦ) μητρὸς.... Τhe persons are:—Θεοδόσιος Σόϊτος μητρὸς.... ἀπὸ κώμης Σεσε[μ]βύθεως (dotted letters very doubtful); Σαβίνου [α]ρου ἀπὸ κώμης] Φηῦ; Πασῖρις Αλητος μητρὸς Θαησίας ἀπὸ κώμης Αρεως; Ἡράκλειος Πιτύρωνος μη[τρ]ὸς Μαρίας ἀπὸ κώμης Αρεως; Φοιβάμμων Σερήνου μη[τρὸς] Θαησίας ἀπὸ κώμης Αρεως. Σεσεμβῦθις (or Ἰβίων Σεσεμβύθεως) and Αρεως are known in the Hermopolite nome (Αρεως also in the Arsinoite); Φηῦ may be the Φαῦ of P. Giss. i. 56, 2, 10 (Hermopolite). Dr. H. Hepding and Prof. Kalbfleisch, who have kindly looked at the Giessen papyrus, write that though Φηῦ is not impossible there Φαῦ is more probable; but both spellings may represent the same word.
- 1867. Inv. No. 1653 A verso (?). Verso (?) of 1747, q. v. 6th-7th cent. In a neat regular upright cursive hand of Greek minuscule type but using the Coptic letters, across the fibres. Not quite perfect on the right and perhaps wanting the lower part. List of names, for an unspecified purpose. In spite of the Greek hand the document is probably to be regarded as Coptic rather than Greek. 12 lines.
- 1868. Inv. No. 1700. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{1}{8}$  in. 6th cent. In a rounded, slightly sloping cursive hand, along the fibres, in rather faded ink. Complete. Probably folded from right to left. List of persons, including several clergy, for an unspecified purpose. There are several deletions. 25 lines.
- 1869. Inv. No. 1701. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. I ft.  $1\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 7\frac{7}{8}$  in. 6th cent. In an upright rather cramped cursive hand, along the fibres. Imperfect on the right and much damaged. Account, of which three columns, the last imperfect, remain, headed  $+ \sigma \hat{v}\nu$   $\Theta(\epsilon\hat{\phi})$   $\epsilon \tilde{t}\sigma\pi\rho\alpha\xi\iota s$   $\Pi\alpha\chi\acute{\omega}\nu$ , and consisting of a list of persons, with payments in carats. The names are mostly of a well-known type, but  $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu$  and  $\chi\acute{\omega}\omega\rho$  may be noted. A  $\tau\acute{o}\pi(os)$   $\Lambda\beta\beta\hat{a}$   $M\alpha\kappa\alpha(\rho\acute{o}v)$  occurs. On the verso, which is mostly blank, is one entry, perhaps in the same hand as the recto, across the fibres but the reverse way up to the recto, headed  $+ \lambda\acute{o}(\gamma os) \mu\iota\sigma\theta(o\hat{v}) \beta o\eta\theta(o\hat{v})$  ( $\dot{v}\pi\grave{\epsilon}\rho$ )  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\tau^{ov}(=\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\tau\tau\sigma\nu\rho\gamma\hat{\omega}\nu$ ?); and the ends of a lost column, the reverse way up, are also visible at the side.

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- 1870. Inv. No. 1706. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $4\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in. Arab period. In a small neat minuscule hand, on both sides of the papyrus, and probably therefore a leaf of a codex; red ink. Papyrus of light colour. Fragment of a taxing-list. Little besides figures remains, but the headings of several successive columns are preserved, and read:—recto:— $\iota \kappa/\beta o^{\lambda}$  (10th  $\kappa a \tau a \beta o \lambda \acute{\eta}$ ?);  $\pi \acute{\alpha} \kappa \tau(o \nu) \iota'$  (interest on the 10th  $\kappa a \tau a \beta o \lambda \acute{\eta}$ ?);  $\pi \lambda \epsilon (ious)$  (surplus);  $\tau \iota(\mu \mathring{\eta} s) \dot{\epsilon} \mu \beta o \lambda (\mathring{\eta} s)$  (adaeratio for the embola?);  $\xi \acute{\epsilon}(\nu \omega \nu)$  o\dot{\dot{\sigma}} o\dot{\dot{\sigma}} \dot{\chi} \eta)? \eta \lambda \lambda \lambda \lambda \hat{\gamma}); \text{Verso} \cdot \lambda \text{podo} \lambda \hat{\gamma} \rangle?) \eta \lambda \lambda \lambda \lambda \hat{\gamma}); \text{Verso} \cdot \lambda \lambda \lambda \hat{\gamma} \rangle?) \text{verso} \cdot \lambda \lambda \lambda \hat{\gamma} \hat{\gamma} \rangle \lambda \lambda \lambda \hat{\gamma} \rangle \rangle \lambda \lambda \lambda \hat{\gamma} \rangle \rangle \lambda \lambda \lambda \lambda \hat{\gamma} \rangle \rangle \lambda \lambda \lambda \hat{\gamma} \rangle \rangle \lambda \lambda \lambda \lambda \lambda \lambda \hat{\gamma} \rangle \rangle \lambda \lam
- 1871. Inv. No. 1672. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. 6th cent. In a small clear cursive hand, along the fibres. Probably folded from right to left. Small fragment, imperfect at the top, bottom, and left side, of a sale. No names or details are preserved, but the name of the thing sold was apparently neuter (l. 4] καὶ τοῦτο νέμεσθαι καὶ ἐκμισθοῦν καὶ καρποῦσθαι; cf. however l. 6, τῆς βεβαιώσεως ταύτης τῆς; perhaps therefore τοῦτο refers to a μέρος, but probably ταύτης τῆς was followed by πράσεως οι ὁμολογίας), and mention is made of τῆς αὐτῆς τιμῆς τῶν κερατίων τριῶν. A fine is to be paid in case of any breach of the agreement by the vendor (ll. 8 and 9, ἄκυρος ἔστω καὶ προσαποτίσομεν, and ἐ]πιτίμ[ο]ν λόγφ ὡς ἴδιον χρέος καὶ τῆν), but the amount is lost. 9 lines, and small traces of a 10th. On the verso are the beginnings of the four last lines of a Coptic document, written across the fibres.
- 1872. Inv. No. 1689. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $5\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times$  7 in. 4 Nov., A. D. 548. In a small very neat and regular cursive hand, not the same as that of 1766, though the document has the same grammatical peculiarities; writing along the fibres. Papyrus much darkened in the lower part. Folded at right angles to the fibres. Imperfect, having lost the latter half. Acknowledgement of a lease of house-property, the lessee apparently taking over some fittings which are valued (l. 12 f.); the rent seems to be payable in kind. The text, which was not sufficiently deciphered at the time the texts were being arranged to be included among them, reads:—1 χμγ. 2 🗜 Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου 3 ἔτους ἑβδό[μ]η, 'Αθῦρ η, δωδεκάτης ἐνδ(ικτίονος). 4 Αὐρηλίω Γεωργίω υἱώ Σιλβανοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς 5 Ερμουπολιτών πα(ρὰ) Αὐρηλίου Πκύλις Κοπρεούτος 6 μητρός "Αννας ἀπὸ κώμης Ναγώγεως τοῦ Ερμου"πολίτου νομοῦ. 'Ομολογῶ [έ]κουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως 8 μεμισθῶσθαι παρὰ σοῦ ἐφ' [δ]ν ἐὰν βουληθῆς χρόνον 9 λογιζόμεν[ον] ἀπὸ της σήμε[ρ]ον καὶ προγεγραμμένης  $^{10}$  [ήμέρας ήτις έ]στὶν  $^{\epsilon}$ Αθῦρ ὀγδ[όη]ς της παρούσης δωδεκάτης  $^{11}$  ἐνδικ(τίονος) κα[ὲ αὐτῆ]ς τὰς ὑπαρχ[ο]ὑσας σοι οἰκήδια ( $\ell$ . οἰκίδια) μεγάλα  $^{12}$  εν (or  $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ ?) σὺν τ $\hat{\omega}$  [. . . ..]λικα...ς ἀθανάτου (?—if correct, probably used in the same sense as in P. Strassb. 30, 6, 19; etc.) ἀξίων τιμης 13 χρυσ(οῦ) κ[ερ(άτια) ? δεκάπ]εντε εὖσ(τα)θμα, ἐνοικίου δὲ τοῦ 14 [μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων συμπεφων]ημένης καὶ συναρεσά[σης] 15 [about 17 letters κατ' έν]ιαυτὸν τυροὺς 16 [about 22 letters [τατη]μεγάλα τυρ[...] (τυρὰ? cf. 1770, 19; 1771, 9) 17 [about 22 letters]. αὖτε (?) <math>γί(νεται) ἐνοικ(ίου) τυρο[ὑς]. . . . For the lessor see 1766.
- 1873. Inv. No. 1674. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{1}{4}$  in. [1]5th year after the consulship of [Basilius, 4th or 5th] indiction [= A. D. 556]. In a fair-sized regular sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Probably folded from right to left. Fragment from the right top corner of an acknowledgement, addressed to a person described as  $\theta av / \mu a\sigma \iota \omega \tau \acute{a}\tau \psi$ , of Hermopolis, by a  $\gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma \acute{o}s$  from a village whose name is lost, of a lease of land for 2 years. The tenant is to have the right to sow what crops he chooses, and the rent, which is apparently payable whether

the inundation reaches the land or not, is 19 carats (φόρου τη̂s αὐτη̂s | [γη̂s ἐν τῷ συμβρόχψ καὶ ἀ]βρόχψ [cf. 1771, 6, note] χρυσοῦ κεράτια δεκαεννέα). II lines, and slight traces of a 12th.

- 1874. Inv. No. 1724. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis. 6 in.  $\times 5\frac{3}{4}$  in. 3rd Mesore, 3rd year of Fl. [Phocas or Heraclius, 9th or 2nd] indiction [= 27 July, A. D. 605 or 613]. In a much sloping cursive hand, along the fibres; papyrus dark. Folded from right to left. Fragment from the right top corner of an acknowledgement of a lease of a house at Hermopolis for 10 years (ἐφ' ον ἐὰν διακα]τέχω, ἤτο[ι] ἐπὶ δεκαετῆ, χρόνον; cf. 1877). The opening formula reads [+ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ζ]ωοποιοῦ Τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ νἱοῦ | [καὶ ἀγίον πνεύματος, βασιλεία]ς τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλ(ανίου) | [Ν. τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Αὐ]τοκράτορος ἔτους τρίτου Μεσορὴ τρίτῃ | [ἰνδικ(τίονος) x ἐν Ἑρμου]πόλει τῆς Θηβαΐδος +. Lines 12–14 read:—... ἀπὸ θ]εμελίων μέχρι τῶν ὑπερώων |...] καὶ καθιζο ?⟩τηρίω καὶ ἀριστητηρ(ίω) |...] καὶ καταγαίω καὶ καμηλῶνι. 15 lines.
- 1875. Inv. No. 1714 B. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{3}{8}$  in. Dated in the reign of Heraclius and the 4th indiction [= A. D. 615–616 or, less likely, 630–631]. In a clear upright widely spaced cursive hand, along the fibres. Small fragment from the beginning of a document addressed to —ulius son of Christodorus, of Hermopolis, from a person (whose mother was Aphthonia) resident there but not a native of the city, acknowledging a lease for 1 year. All further details are lost. The opening formula reads:—[+ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀγί]ας καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Τριάδος πατρὸς [καὶ νίοῦ καὶ ἀγίον πνεύματος, βασιλείας] [τοῦ θειοτάτον? ἡμῶν] δεσπότον Φλανίον Ἡρακλείον τ[οῦ αἰωνίον Αὐγούστον Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτονς] [x, . . . . τ]ετάρτη, τετάρτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἐν Ἑρμουπό[λει τῆς Θηβαΐδος +]. 7 lines, and very small traces of an 8th.
- 1876. Inv. No. 1626 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{8}$  in. 5th (?) cent. In an upright cursive hand, along the fibres. Probably folded from right to left. Fragment from the left side of a document of uncertain character, but probably a lease. One party was  $\Phi\lambda(\alpha \acute{\nu}\iota os)$  'A $\pi\iota$ [, apparently a court official (l. 2,  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\nu}ov$ , perhaps but not necessarily miswritten for  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\nu}ov$ ); and  $\gamma\epsilonov\chiουν\iota\iota$   $\epsilon\nu[\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta\alpha$  in l. 2 recalls the Fl. Apion documents from Oxyrhynchus; but the hand suggests an earlier date than theirs, and in them  $\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta\alpha$  is preceded by  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ . Boundaries are specified. The name 'A $\pi\alpha$  Na $\kappa\acute{\nu}ov$  occurs in the endorsement. 10 lines, small traces of an 11th, and endorsement, along the fibres.
- 1877. Inv. No. 1717 B. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 6\frac{3}{8}$  in. 6th cent. In a straggling cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left. Imperfect, having lost the beginning and the latter half. Acknowledgement of a lease. Lines 2–10 read:—2 Ομολογοῦμεν έκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως μεμισθῶ $\langle \sigma \rangle$ θαι  $^3$ παρὰ σοῦ ἐφ' δ $\langle v \rangle$  ἐὰν διακατέχομεν χρόνον (εf. 1874) λογιζόμε $\langle v \rangle$   $^4$  ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἤτις ἐστὶν Μεσορὴ  $^5$  τεσσαρασκαιδεκάτη (εἰε) τῆς παρούσης τρίτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος)  $^6$  [τὸ] ὑπάρχον σοι δίμοιρον μέρον (εἰε?) ἀπὸ ὁλοκλήρον  $^7$  μα[υ]λισ[τ]ηρίον (?—in the sense of πορνοβοσκεῖον? The reading is not certain but is strongly suggested by the traces) οἴας ἐστὶν διαθέσεως μετὰ παντὸς  $^8$  αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ φρέατος καὶ πάσης  $^9$  [τ]ῆς αὐτοῦ περ[ι]βολῆς τε καὶ περιοχῆς  $^{10}$  [διακειμένου ἐν ταύτη τῆ] Ἑρμονπολιτῶν. Judging from the endorsement, one of the parties seems to have been called Αὐ]ρηλίου Ψακᾶ Κολλούθο[ν]. 10 lines, small traces of an 11th, and endorsement, along the fibres.
  - 1878. Inv. No. 1722 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{3}{4}$  in. 6th

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cent. In a sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left. Fragment of an acknowledgement of a lease for 5 years, from the crops of the coming 8th indiction, of 1 aroura of arable land, ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν δύο κατὰ κοινωνίαν ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀδελφῶν. The endorsement mentions ἀνο]υφίου (?) Ἑλλῶτο[s. 6 lines, small traces of a 7th, and endorsement, along the fibres.

- 1879. Inv. No. 1737 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown; possibly Kôm Ishgau.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{7}{8}$  in. 6th cent. In a small compressed cursive hand with many uncial forms, along the fibres; papyrus stained a dark brown. Probably folded at right angles to the fibres, but it is uncertain in which direction. Fragment from the right side of a document of somewhat uncertain character, but probably a lease of land. In the earlier part the landlord's title to the land seems to be given (l. 7, κατὰ δ]ύναμιν τῆς διαθήκης). After this the boundaries are specified; among them occur ] τήδια (not γήδια) τοῦ ἀγίου εὐκτηρίου; βορρᾶ ἀμάρας τῆς δεξαμένης; and . . τ]ήδια τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικ(ός). From the last three lines it seems likely that the lease was on the métayer system:—14 . .] διδομένης ἐξ ἴσου; 15 . . (?) μεριζομ]ένου τοῦ περιγιγνομένου; 16 . . . (?) ἡμῖν μ]ὲ[ν ὑπ]ὲρ κατασπ[ορᾶ]ς (?). The name Βησνατητ (cf. 1419, 705, 746; 1420, 34) is to be noted. The land is probably held in common with Σαβεῦ καὶ Μαρίας καὶ Εὐδοξίας. 16 lines.
- 1880. Inv. No. 1629 B. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{7}{8}$  in. After A. D. 593 (the document begins with the Trinitarian formula). In a compressed sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left. Fragment from the right top corner of an acknowledgement of a lease of land, beginning  $\mathring{a}\pi\mathring{o}$  καρπ $\mathring{a}v$ . All the details of the lease are lost, but it was for more than one year and there was apparently more than one aroura. The lessee is probably  $\mathring{A}\mathring{v}\rho\eta\mathring{\lambda}$ [ίου  $\mathring{\Pi}\iota\sigma\rho\alpha\mathring{\eta}\mathring{\lambda}$   $\mathring{v}i\hat{o}\mathring{v}$   $\mathring{\Pi}a\mathring{v}\mathring{\lambda}ov$ , apparently from  $\mathring{\kappa}\omega\mathring{\mu}$ ] $\mathring{\eta}s$   $\mathring{I}\mathring{\beta}\acute{\iota}ovos$   $\mathring{\Pi}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mathring{a}\phi\theta\iota$  (see Lond. iii. 1171, 59, p. 179)  $\mathring{\tau}o\mathring{v}$   $\mathring{E}\rho\mathring{\mu}(ov)\pi(o\mathring{\lambda}\acute{\tau}ov)$ . 9 lines.
- 1881. Inv. No. 1638 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. 3\frac{5}{8} in. × 7\frac{3}{8} in. 6th cent. In a small irregular sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Papyrus probably folded from right to left. Imperfect at top, bottom, and left side. Document of uncertain character, but apparently either one of the same class as 1774 or an ordinary sale in advance. The details, owing partly to difficulties of decipherment and partly to the erratic orthography and syntax, are mostly obscure, but the goods to be delivered are apparently, in part at least, wine, payable at the vintage in Mesore (ll. 1-2, καὶ ταῦτα ἐτοίμως ἔχω παρασχεῖν σοι | ²... καιρῷ τρύ]γης τῷ Μεσορὴ μηνεὶ τρίτης ἰνδικτίωνος); and probably the goodness of the wine is guaranteed till Mecheir (l. 4, ]ς (ἀναδεχόμενο]ς?) ἔως Μεχεὶρ μηνεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἰνδικ(τίονος) ἀνυπερθέτως). In case of failure to supply the goods 2 solidi are perhaps to be paid, but the context is obscure (ll. 4-6, εἰ δὲ| ὅ...? παρασ]χεῖν σοι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκατὸν οἴν(ον) ἐπὶ τῷ μοι (sic) παρασχεῖν σοι | ⁶... νο]μισμάτια δύο πάραυτα ἐμοὶ ὡς (ἐ)νκαλôντι (sic) ἑτοίμως ἔχω). Line 3, ].. ἑτοίμως [ἔ]χω αποδω (? ?—sc. ἀποδοῦναι) σοι τῶν αὐτῶν οἴν[ον σ]ὺν κολοκύνθον, is to be noted. In l. 7 the words προτολημα (meaning ?) ἐν καὶ σταφυλα (/. σταφυλαί?) are noteworthy. 8 lines, and small traces of a 9th.
- 1882. Inv. No. 1695 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. × 6 in. 6th cent. In an easy flowing cursive hand, across the fibres. Probably folded from the bottom upwards. Fragment from the right side of an acknowledgement by Damianus,  $\pi \rho \alpha \gamma \mu \alpha \tau \epsilon \nu \tau \dot{\eta} s$ , of a loan of 30 [solidi]. The phrase  $\kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \pi \rho \alpha \gamma \mu \alpha \tau \epsilon \nu \tau \iota \kappa \dot{\eta} \nu$  | . . . is to be noted. 5 lines, and small traces of 2 more.

- 1883. Inv. No. 1618. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  11 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. 6th cent. In a fairly large rough cursive hand, across the fibres. Probably folded at right angles to the fibres. Complete but much rubbed. Receipt, in very illiterate Greek, probably issued by the Flavii Paeonius and Marinus, for two payments, which seem of  $45\frac{1}{2}$  and  $65\frac{1}{2}$  artabas [of corn] respectively, though the sum is apparently given as  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\rho \iota \int (10\frac{1}{2})$  art.); the total of corn is preceded by  $\bar{\alpha} + \bar{\iota} \bar{\beta}$  (12 talents or myriads of silver?—\* should =  $\delta \eta \nu \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota \alpha$ , but a sum of only 12 denarii at this period is not credible). 5 lines.
- 1884. Inv. No. 1630 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times 2\frac{3}{4}$  in. 7th cent. In an uneven minuscule hand, across the fibres. Folded from bottom to top. Imperfect on the left side. Receipt for 9 carats, rent of land for the present 15th indiction, issued to Pebes son of George; the landlord's name is lost. 5 lines.
- 1886. Inv. No. 1628. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. 4½ in. × 7½ in. 6th cent. In a medium-sized cursive hand, along the fibres. Probably folded from right to left. Imperfect at top and bottom and (probably) on both sides, and much damaged. Letter or report, apparently on the transport and sale of corn. The most noteworthy phrases are ἐκάστης ἀρτάβης μυριάδας τεσσεράκουτα; πέπρακεν δὲ ἐπτακαιδεκάτου [; ὑ]πὲρ λόγου ναύλου ἐκάστης ἀρτάβης μυριάδας δώδεκα. 12 lines.
- 1887. Inv. No. 1679 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown; perhaps Hermopolis.  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in. × 11 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. 6th cent. In a small upright cursive hand, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards and then probably once from right to left. Private letter to  $\tau \hat{\varphi}$  δεσπότη μου καὶ θεοσεβεστάτ $\varphi$  'Απα Έρμοδώρ $\varphi$  πρεσβ(υτέρ $\varphi$ ), from his 'son' Aphous (πρὸς τὸν ἐσὸν τοῦλος καὶ υῖὸς (MS. νῖος) 'Αφοῦς, apparently for παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου κτλ.), asking him to send τρῖς ἀρτάβης (sic) κριθο̂ν εἰς τὴν σπερμοβολίαν. The name Έρμόδωρος rather suggests Hermopolis as the provenance. On the verso, almost obliterated address, of which only τῷ δεσπότη μον is now legible, along the fibres. 4 long lines, besides the heading χμγ// and the valedictory formula, which reads, in 4 short lines, ἐρ[ρῶ]σ[θαί σε] | ε[ἔ]χομαι | πολλοῖς | χρόνοις.
- 1888. Inv. No. 1748 D. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{3}{4}$  in. 6th cent. In a rough clumsy cursive hand, across the fibres; coarse papyrus. Imperfect, having lost the right half. Letter on private affairs. No consecutive sense can be recovered. 7 lines.
- 1889. Inv. No. 1758. Acquired in 1907. Provenance unknown.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{3}{4}$  in. 6th cent. In an upright regular rather square cursive hand, on both sides of the papyrus, recto across, verso along, the fibres; the writing on the verso is the opposite way up to that on the recto. Folded from the bottom upwards. Imperfect on both sides and at top and bottom. Apparently a letter, partly on private affairs but largely on military topics, in illiterate Greek. The following

passages are the most noteworthy:—Recto, ll. 6-7, 6...] .. τίρονες ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρία, ἐλπίδομε[ν (sc. ἐλπίζομεν; cf. 1786, 17, note) ... 7...] ρογευομένου . Ἐλπίδο εἰς τὼν ἄγιον (?) Γεου[. ..; ll. 12–15, 12...? β]ίοτον ἑκάστη ἀγραρία, λέγο δὴ μία ἐλ[πὶς ... ? 13...? ἀκολο]υθήσιν δὲ τὰ σίγνα, μῖνε ἐν ᾿Αλεξ[ανδρεία ? . . . 14...? Πατ]ρόκλου τοῦ ρογάτορος ὅτι μ[ . . . 15...? ὁλ]οκόττινα, κα[ὶ] νῦν ἐὰν οἶδεν μ . . . [. . .; verso, ll. 3-7, 3...]ονο κάπιτα (sc. ὄνω(ν) κάπιτα?) ἡμộν, λέγο δὴ ἀπὸ δ[η]μ[οσίων . . ? 4... τῶ]ν κερκητόρων (circitorum) τοῦν πρότων 'ἔος τῷν [ . . . ΄ περκ . [ . . . 5...]αύσιος εἰς λόγον ἀναλόματος πολλ[ . . . 6...] κύραν καὶ ᾿Αρκαδίαν καὶ οὐραντίαν [ . . . 7...] νῦν καὶ τώτε διὰ αὐτῆς καὶ Θωδότη[ς (sc. Θεοδότης) . . . In l. 10 of the verso the writer speaks of τὴν μητέραν μου ᾿Αγάθ[ην. 27 lines.

- 1890. Inv. No. 1721. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $5 \text{ in.} \times 4\frac{3}{4} \text{ in.}$  7th cent. In a flowing, sloping cursive hand, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards. Very imperfect, the beginning and left side being lost. Letter on private affairs. Little light is thrown on the subject by what remains. The following passages may be noted:—] $\eta \sigma \epsilon \nu \epsilon i[s] \tau \delta \dot{\alpha} \nu [a] \tau o \lambda \iota \kappa \delta \nu$ ;  $\dot{\epsilon} n \dot{\epsilon} \tau \delta \nu \delta \epsilon \sigma n \delta \tau \eta \nu \mu o \nu \gamma \epsilon \gamma \rho \delta \phi \eta \kappa \alpha'$ ;  $\dot{\epsilon} i s n \delta \delta a s \tau o \hat{\nu} \delta \epsilon \sigma n \delta \tau o (\nu) | [\mu o \nu. 11 lines, and slight traces of a 12th.$
- 1891. Inv. No. 1777. Acquired in 1907. Provenance unknown.  $7 \text{ in.} \times 3\frac{7}{8} \text{ in.}$  7th-8th cent. In a flowing, sloping cursive hand very similar to that of the Aphrodito letters in vol. iv, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards. Imperfect, only the left side being preserved. Letter, apparently to more than one person. Μηνᾶς καὶ Ασμο[ are mentioned. No consecutive sense can be recovered. There is an allusion to τῶν μικρῶν δοκαρίω[ν. 9 lines.
- 1892. Inv. No. 1678 A. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $3 \text{ in.} \times 9\frac{1}{2} \text{ in.}$  7th-8th cent. In a flowing, sloping cursive hand of the same type as in 1891, across the fibres. Folded from the bottom upwards. Conclusion of a letter. The text reads:—\(^1\delta\)\(\lambda\)\(\pi\)\(\
- 1893. Inv. No. 1671. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. Two fragments, in very similar, perhaps identical, hands, but apparently from different documents, as frag. A, which comes from near the left side, whereas frag. B contains the ends of lines, does not suit the readings required by B.
- A.  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times 1\frac{1}{2}$  in. 5th cent.; dated in the consulship of two Flavii and in a 4th indiction. In a very much flourished cursive hand, along the fibres. Small scrap of a document of uncertain character, from a city ( $[\pi]\phi\lambda\epsilon\omega_s$ , l. 4), and apparently containing an oath (l. 6,  $[\tau\delta]\nu$   $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\sigma\kappa[\rho\acute{a}\tau\sigma\rho\alpha]$   $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$ ); perhaps therefore a sale or a contract of surety. 11 lines.

- ποιήσωνται ἀμέμπτως  $^{15}$ ... ἐν δημοσίω τό]πω ἐκτὸς ἁγίων περιβόλων (cf. P. Strassb. i. 46 ff.)  $^{16}$ ...].. πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιζητου $^{17}$ [μένοις . . . ἐνεχ]ύρου λόγω καὶ δικαίω ὑποθήκης. After this, in blacker ink than the body of the document, is the subscription, and then, after a space, the notary's signature; but the first line of the subscription is in ink of a similar colour (though not perhaps the same ink) to that used in the body of the document. The subscription shows that the other πρωτοκωμήτης was Αὐρήλιον Περγάμιον Ἦπος. 22 lines.
- 1894. Inv. No. 1641 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown; perhaps, from the colour of the papyrus, from Kôm Ishgau, in which case it is probably from Antinoopolis, but the hand looks earlier than the other Antinoopolite documents from Kôm Ishgau.  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in. × 6 in. Early 6th cent. In a large, slightly sloping, rounded cursive hand, across the fibres; papyrus dark brown in colour. Small fragment from the left side of a will. It contains only subscriptions; as these are all in a single hand, the document was a copy. A priest and a deacon of the καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας occur. 6 lines.
- 1895. Inv. No. 1748 C. Acquired in 1906. Oxyrhynchus.  $3 \text{ in.} \times 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ in.}$  Dated after the consulship of [Theodosius] for the 14th time and Fl. Max[imus (= A. D. 434). In an upright rather large cursive hand, along the fibres. Scrap from the left top corner of a document of uncertain character. Besides the date and [O]  $\xi \nu \rho \nu \gamma \chi \iota [\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \text{ nothing of interest remains except the word } 5 \text{ lines.}$  [This is part of 1777; see Addenda.]
- 1897. Inv. No. 1704. Acquired in 1906. Provenance uncertain; possibly Antinoopolis (l. 7, ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Αντι [, but the reading is not certain, and one party may have been from Antinoopolis and the other from some other place).  $4\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 5\frac{5}{8}$  in. Dated in Hathyr of the 7th year, the 6th year after the consulship, of [Fl.] Mauricius Tiberius [ = 28 Oct.—26 Nov., A.D. 588]. In a small sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded from right to left. Fragment from the left top corner of a document addressed to  $\Phi \lambda a \nu i \omega M a \nu i \omega \tau i \omega T i \omega$
- 1898. Inv. No. 1669. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis.  $6\frac{7}{8}$  in. × 10 in. (in the lower part the breadth is only  $4\frac{7}{8}$  in.). Dated in the [reign and consulship] of the Emperor Fl. Mauricius Novus Tiberius, in the 13th indiction  $(\tau\rho)$  i.  $\tau\rho$  i.  $\tau\rho$  would not be legible without external evidence, but as there is no religious invocation at the beginning the date cannot be later than A. D. 594). In a sloping flowing cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded apparently from

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right to left. Imperfect on the left and at the foot. Agreement between Andronicus, διάκονος καὶ ἰατρός, of Hermopolis, and Aur. George, relating to land, apparently conveyed to Andronicus by George and the former's sister Thaumasia (l. 5, ἐπε]ὶ ἐξεχώρησέν μοι ἡ σὴ ἀδελφότης μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀδελφῆς Θαυμασίης); it seems to have been acquired by them from Cyriacus son of Apollos, and there is a question of a παλαιοῦ λάκκου, apparently held in shares (l. 7, το[ῦ] λοιποῦ μέρους τοῦ αὐτοῦ παλαιοῦ λάκκ[ου]). The document is very likely a reconveyance or surrender of the land by Andronicus. 14 lines.

- 1899. Inv. No. 1652. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolite nome.  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in.  $\times 4\frac{3}{8}$  in. 18 July, A. D. 600. In a small sloping laterally compressed cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded at right angles to the fibres. Beginning of a document of uncertain character. The text reads:—  $1+2[+\tilde{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\nu\delta\mu\alpha\tau\iota]$  τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ/  $3[καὶ\ σωτῆρο]ς ἡμῶν, βασιλείας τοῦ θειστάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστ(άτου) <math>4[ἡμῶν\ δεσπότο]ν$  Φλ(αυίου) Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου  $5[Aὖ-γούστου\ Αὐτο]κράτορος ἔτους ὀκτοκαιδεκάτω (sic), Ἐπεὶφ κδ, δ ἰνδ(ικτίονος). <math>6[+Aὐρήλιος]$  Κυριακὸς νἱὸς Κολλούθου ἐκ μητρὸς 7[........ἀπὸ] κώμης Τανεμώεως (cf. UKF. 989; 1049; 1050; Lips. i. 99, ii. 15, where Τενεμώεως is presumably another form of the name) τοῦ Ἑρμουπολίτου 8[νομοῦ+τῶ] ε[ἐνσ]εβεστ[άτ]ψ ἀββᾶ Ἰσακίω πρ (προεστῶτι?)  $3[about\ 10]$  letters 3πὸ κώ]μης Τιτκώεως τοῦ 3π [αὐτοῦ νομοῦ . . . .
- 1900. Inv. No. 1748 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown; possibly Hermopolis.  $2\frac{5}{8}$  in.  $\times 3\frac{1}{8}$  in. Second half of the 6th cent. In a compressed, sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded at right angles to the fibres. Fragment from the top left corner of a document of uncertain character. The text reads:—1+ Βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατεία[ς κτλ.  $^2$  τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Α[ὑτοκράτορος κτλ.  $^3$  + Τῷ δικαίῳ τοῦ εὐαγ[οῦς μοναστηρίου κτλ.  $^4$  διακειμένου κατ[ὰ κτλ.  $^5$  Λιβὸς ἐν ρύμη λεγ[ομένη κτλ.
- 1901. Inv. No. 1696 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{8}$  in. 6th cent. In a small clear slightly sloping cursive hand, across the fibres. Folded at right angles to the fibres. Small fragment of a document of uncertain character. Lines 2 and 3 read  $\pi a \nu \tau a \chi o \nu$   $\pi \rho o \phi \epsilon \rho o \mu \epsilon \nu \eta \nu$   $\epsilon \pi \lambda$   $\pi a \sigma \eta s$   $\pi a \rho o \nu \delta \rho \kappa \rho \nu$   $\delta \rho \nu$   $\delta \rho \kappa \rho \nu$   $\delta \rho \kappa \rho \nu$   $\delta \rho \kappa \rho \nu$   $\delta \rho \nu$
- 1902. Inv. No. 1657. Acquired in 1906. Antinoopolis; from Kôm Ishgau.  $6\frac{3}{8}$  in. ×  $11\frac{7}{8}$  in. Recto. 6th cent. In a large flowing upright cursive hand, across the fibres. Conclusion, having lost the end, of an agreement. The text is:— ὁμολογίαν διὰ παντὸς, ἤνπερ ἡμῖν ἐθέμεθα ²πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, κυρίαν οὖσαν καὶ βεβαίαν ³πανταχοῦ προφερομένην, ὑποθέμενοι ⁴ ἀλλήλοι[s] εἰς [ἄπ]αντα τὰ προγεγραμμένα ⁵ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπαίτησιν τοῦ προστίμο[v] εἰ οὖτω ⁶ τύχοι πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπάρξοντα † πράγματα κινητά τε καὶ ἀκίνητα καὶ αὐτοκίνητα.

Verso. A. d. 566–573. In a hasty sloping cursive hand, along the fibres; additions, here marked by thicker type, in hand B of Dioscorus. Conclusion of an agreement of uncertain character. The last clause reads:—καὶ ἐνορκῶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ κριτὴν καὶ δικαστὴν ἀμετ[α] θέτως ταύτας ἀεὶ παραφυλάξαι ἀρραγεῖς ἀπαραβάτους (corr. from -τως) καὶ ἀσαλεύτους ἐν παντὶ | χρόνω καιρῷ καθὰ προ.. μον + συγκεκροτημένας βεβαίω παντὶ καὶ νομίμω τρόπω καὶ ἀποφατικῷ ὡς [ἐκ] | διαλαλίας ἀρχόντων μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτων) κῷτα δὲ | συνϊστανομένας (1st hand) ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου. For the formula cf. Cair. Masp. ii. 67151, 197 ff.; and see Byz. Zeitschr. xxii, p. 394 ²; but it should not there have been quoted as an example of an oath formula.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lines, and 3 additional lines.

- 1903. Inv. No. 1766. Acquired in 1907. Provenance unknown.  $11\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  6 in. 6th cent. In a small sloping cursive hand, along the fibres. Small portion of a lengthy document in two columns, only the ends and beginnings of lines being preserved. Too little remains to determine the character of the document. The space between the columns has been filled by a forger with fictitious writing, so as to produce the appearance of a continuous text. 51 (?) lines. On the verso, in a small cursive hand across the fibres, are scanty remains of an account.
- **1904**. Inv. No. 1655. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times 5$  in. 5th or early 6th cent. In a large upright cursive hand, along the fibres; on the verso (3 lines) also along the fibres; papyrus of coarse quality. Account; the lines on the verso, though apparently in the same hand, are probably unconnected with the entries on the recto, which are described as for the I I th indiction. The entries on the recto are:—¹ Λό(γος) 'Ανινά (?) ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ια, δι(ὰ) Δ[, ² ἔχις ἀπὸ τοῦ βρεβίου ενω[ (or ἐν ῷ ?), ³ ἔχις ὑπὲρ ναύλον σακ/ [, ⁴[. .]ιριδινα [, ⁵ μακαρικα σαλκα (obscure;the reading seems certain; probably μακαρικα = Μεγαρικά; see Pape, Wörterb. d. gr. Eigenn.3 s. v. Μαγαρικοί; σαλκα is perhaps connected with the word σαλκας which occurs in Aët. Βιβλ. Ίατρ. Venetiis, 1534, p. 10, 5, έλαίου σαλκά; 16, χρώνται δὲ καὶ τῷ σαλκҫ αί γυναῖκες εἰς τὰς κεφαλάς άλείφουσαι αὐτάς; but Crönert suggests rather a connexion with salsacia, salsicia [see Loewe, Corpus Gloss. Lat. iii, p. 185, 27] or \*salca [cf. salgama, salgamarius] and refers to Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxi. 41 (87), xxxvii. 37 (118) for sal Megaricus ['servandis carnibus aptior acer et siccus, ut Megaricus']. This supports his explanation) a[, <sup>6</sup> ὑπὲρ ναύλον φακτοναρίου (factionarii) [, <sup>7</sup> καὶ καμηλάσια (charges for carriage by camel) καὶ ἀνάλομ[α ποταμοῦ?, <sup>8</sup> ἀνάλομα ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ (sic)  $διώρυκ[ος, <math>^9$   $τοῦ νο(μισματίου) ένός, κ(ερατίου) (ἤμισυ) (ὄγδοον), γί(νεται) κ/ε δ΄. [, <math>^{10}$  ὑπὲρ 'Ιουδαεικοῦ  $\kappa$ [. 13 lines.
- 1905. Inv. No. 1726 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. 6th–7th cent. In an upright cursive hand, along the fibres. Imperfect at the foot. Account headed λόγ(ος) λημμάτων κερατί(ων) κβζ  $\overline{\delta}$ . The entries include ἀνάλωμ(α) (ὑπὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) ἀλός, (ὑπὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) κιαθίων (ℓ. κυαθίων), (ὑπὲρ) τιμῆς κουβίτ[ου?] (hardly = ἀκκούβιτον? see Sophocles, s. v. κούβιτον; the price is  $3\frac{3}{4}$  c.); (ὑπὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) μαχερίου (ℓ. μαχαιρίου; price I c.); (ὑπὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) σφριδίων (ℓ. σφυριδίων?); (ὑπὲρ) τοῦ μιλιαρίου (price 3 c.). 10 lines.
- 1906. Inv. No. 1681 verso. Verso of 1787, q.v. In a large upright cursive hand across the fibres. Remains of 3 columns of an account, probably private, of corn (wheat and barley) and  $\delta \xi$ (os?). Little that is continuous remains; the following items may be noted:—.... τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ; εἰς γραφ(ὴν) τῶν ζῷων μου κρ(ιθῶν) (ἀρτάβαι) ε; εἰς συμπλήρ(ωσιν) τ[ῶ(ν)] δημοσ(ίων) κρ(ιθῶν) (ἀρτάβη) α Γ΄ (=  $\frac{1}{3}$ ); εἰς τὸ μοναστήρ(ιον) Ορυρ/ κρ(ι)θ(ῶν) (ἀρτάβαι) ε; and κρ(ι)θ(ῶν) (ἀρτάβαι) τζ μάτ(ια?) γ. 30 lines.
- 1907. Inv. No. 1702. Acquired in 1906. Hermopolis. I ft. I in.  $\times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. 7th cent. In an irregular, hasty minuscule hand, along the fibres, on the back of an illegible protocol of 'Byzantine' type. Practically complete but ink much faded. Account headed  $+ \Sigma \hat{\nu}\nu \Theta(\epsilon \hat{\omega}) \lambda \acute{\sigma} \gamma(\sigma s) \lambda \eta \mu \mu (\acute{\sigma} \tau \omega \nu) \tau \hat{\eta}(s) o \mathring{\sigma} \acute{\sigma} ((as) \tau o \hat{\nu} \kappa \nu \rho (\acute{\sigma} \nu)) \Lambda \delta \rho_i a \nu o \hat{\nu} \kappa [\acute{\sigma}] \mu [(\iota \tau \sigma s ?)]$ . Among the entries are:— $\delta(\iota \hat{\alpha}) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma(\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \hat{\eta}(s) \lambda \alpha \chi \alpha(\nu \iota \hat{\alpha} s)$  'Eρμουπόλ( $\epsilon \omega s$ ) ( $\dot{\nu} \tau \hat{\epsilon} \rho$ ) χρυ( $\sigma \iota \lambda \kappa (\hat{\omega} \nu ?)$ ;  $\delta(\iota \hat{\alpha}) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \hat{\omega}(\nu) \lambda \epsilon \alpha \rho \nu (\rho \hat{\omega} \nu)$  ( $\delta(\iota \hat{\alpha}) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \hat{\omega}(\nu) \lambda \epsilon \alpha \rho \nu (\rho \hat{\omega} \nu)$  ( $\delta(\iota \hat{\alpha}) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \hat{\omega}(\nu) \lambda \epsilon \alpha \rho \nu (\rho \hat{\omega} \nu)$  ( $\delta(\iota \hat{\alpha}) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \hat{\omega}(\nu) \lambda \epsilon \alpha \rho \nu (\rho \hat{\omega} \nu)$  ( $\delta(\iota \hat{\alpha}) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \hat{\omega}(\nu) \lambda \epsilon \alpha \rho \nu (\rho \hat{\omega} \nu)$  ( $\delta(\iota \hat{\alpha}) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \hat{\omega}(\nu) \lambda \epsilon \alpha \rho \nu (\rho \hat{\omega} \nu)$  ( $\delta(\iota \hat{\alpha}) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \hat{\omega}(\nu) \lambda \epsilon \alpha \rho \nu (\rho \hat{\omega} \nu)$  ( $\delta(\iota \hat{\alpha}) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \hat{\omega}(\nu) \lambda \epsilon \alpha \rho \nu (\rho \hat{\omega} \nu)$  ( $\delta(\iota \hat{\alpha}) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau (\hat{\omega} \nu) \tau \hat{\omega}(\nu) \lambda \epsilon \alpha \rho \nu (\rho \hat{\omega} \nu)$

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ἀπαργ(υρισμοῦ) σί(του) ἀρτ(αβῶν) οβ (more like οη) τοῦ ϊβ νο(μίσματα)  $\varsigma$  (καὶ) σί(του) ἀρτ(άβαι) μγ (i.e. out of a quota of 115 artabas 72 were compounded for by a money payment at the rate of 1 s. per 12 artabas = 6 s. and 43 were paid in kind); δ(ιὰ) τ(ῶν) γεωργ(ῶν) ᾿Αδελφίου ἀπὸ σί(του) ἀρτ(αβῶν) πβζ δοκ(ικῷ ?) (ὑπὲρ) ἀπαργ(υρισμοῦ) σί(του) ἀρτ(αβῶν) ξ τοῦ ιε νο(μίσματα) δ (καὶ) σί(του) ἀρτ(άβαι) κβζ; (ὑπὲρ) ਬωμαρίου τόπ(ου) Νέου ἀρί()θ(μια) νο(μίσματα) δ, νο(μίσματα) γ (κεράτια) η. 22 lines.

- 1908. Inv. No. 1553. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown.  $9\frac{3}{8}$  in. × 1 ft. Byzantine period. Papyrus of poor quality. Document or documents in shorthand. Written on both sides of the papyrus. As the two κολλήματα of which the sheet is composed are placed with the fibres at right angles it is difficult to say which side is verso and which recto; but probably the recto is the side which bears the largest amount of writing. In that case the writing on the recto was across the fibres of the inner κόλλημα, and the sheet was folded at right angles to the length of the roll. 20 lines, with some interlineations.
- 1909. Inv. No. 1786. Acquired in 1907. Provenance unknown.  $5 \text{ in.} \times 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ in.}$  Leather binding of a papyrus codex. The upper cover has an incised geometrical pattern, round the panels of which is a stitching of thin flat leather bands; the pattern itself is divided into two panels by a similar stitching. The stitching also appears on the lower cover, which is otherwise plain. The leather has been backed with papyrus, the few letters on which appear to be of the 7th century.
- 1910. Inv. No. 1520. Four detached seals; it is not known from what papyri they come. All are in brown clay; the devices are:—(a) a helmeted head turned to the right; (b) apparently a similar but not identical head; (c) a similar but not identical head; (d) indistinct, apparently a decorative pattern.
- 1911. Inv. No. 1782 A. Acquired in 1907. Heracleopolis.  $2\frac{3}{6}$  in. × 4 in. Early 4th cent. In a small neat cursive hand, along the fibres. Folded at right angles to the fibres, perhaps from right to left. Beginning of a petition to the exactores of Heracleopolis. This is an early instance of more than one exactor in a πόλις; see Wilcken, Grundzüge, p. 229. The text reads:—  $^{1}$  Αὐρηλίοις Δωροθέφ καὶ Τούρβωνι,  $^{2}$  ἐξάκ(τορσι) Ἡρακλεοπόλ(εως),  $^{3}$  παρ[ὰ Α]ὐρηλίας Σάρρας Ἰσὰκ ἀπὸ τῆς  $^{4}$  αὐτῆ[ς] πόλεως. Ὁρᾶτε τοῖς εὐσεβέ  $^{5}$ σιν ὑμῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὴν περὶ τὰς  $^{6}$  only small traces. [This document should have been described after 1828 but was accidentally omitted.]



# TABLE OF PAPYRI

## IN ORDER OF INVENTORY NUMBERS.

(N.B.—Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods are reserved for vol. vi, and the inventory numbers of these papyri are followed by the reference 'vol. vi'. 'Vol. iv' means that the document in question has already been published in vol. iv. The numbers of papyri presented by the Egypt Exploration Fund are followed by the reference to the collection in which they were published or described.)

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1520	1910	1569-1604	Vol. vi	1632 A	1760
1521	1809	1605 A-C	1818	1632 B	1740
1522	1810	1606	1828	1633	1795
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1528	P. Oxy. iii. 489	1610	1649	1638 A	1881
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1531	P. Oxy. iv. 654	1612	1823	1640	1750
1532	P. Oxy. iv. 668 and 657	1613	1652	1641 A	1866
1533	P. Oxy. iv. 659 and 662	1614	1658	1641 в	1894
1534	P. Oxy. iv. 686	1615 A	1836	1642	1662
1535	P. Oxy. iv. 687	1615 в	1830	1643	1694
1536	P. Oxy. iv. 688	1616 A	1656	1644	1689
1537	P. Oxy. iv. 713	1616 в	1833	1645	1687
1538	P. Oxy. iv. 714	1617 A	1826	1646	1677
1539	P. Oxy. iv. 727	1617 в	Vol. vi	1647	1899
1540	P. Oxy. iv. 729	1617 C	1835	1648	1839
1541	P. Oxy. iv. 742	1618	1883	1649	1681
1542	P. Oxy. iv. 784	1619	1762	1650	1701
1543	P. Oxy. iv. 818	1620	1693	1651	1716
1544	P. Oxy. iv. 832	1621	1808	1652	1899
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1550	1663	1626 в	1876	1656	1770
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the sixth century the common ending -ιs is the late and modern Greek contraction of -ιos (gen. -ίου), not the earlier personal ending -ιs (gen. -εωs). To mark the distinction and prevent misunderstanding such forms are here accented, as in modern Greek, as they would be if the ending were -ιοs, without regard to the quantity of the final syllable.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A different person from Apollos, son of Dioscorus and father of Fl. Dioscorus.

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## (a) EMPERORS

[Emperors who occur as consuls before Justin II must be looked for in (b).]

Diocletian and Maximian as Augusti with Constantius and Galerius as Caesars (1 March, A. D. 292—1 May, A. D. 305): οἱ δεσπόται ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες (A. D. 298), 1647, 3-5 ἐξόμνυμι τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ κτλ. (as above) τύχην, 1647, 9-11 Leo (7 Feb. A. D. 457—3 Feb. A. D. 474) and

Leo (7 Feb. A. D. 457—3 Feb. A. D. 474) and Anthemius (12 Apr. A. D. 467—11 July, A. D. 472):

όμνὺς τόν (τ)ε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Φλαυίου Λέοντος καὶ 'Ανθεμίου τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων (Α. D. 472), 1793, 7-9 Justinian (1 Apr. A.D. 527—13 Nov. A.D. 565):

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαυίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος (Α. D. 553), 1661, 1-2

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Justin as Emperor with Tiberius as Caesar (Dec. A.D. 574—5 Oct. A.D. 578):

[βασιλείας τ]οῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαυίου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου [Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους δω]δεκάτου τοῦς μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν ὑπατείαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ γαληνοτάτου ἡμῶν [δεσπότου ἔτους δεκάτου] καὶ Φλαυίου Τιβερίου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου καὶ φιλανθρωπωτάτου (sic) ἡμῶν Καίσαρος [? μεγίστου εὐεργέτου] (A.D. 577), 1723, 1-4

Tiberius II (26 Sep. A.D. 578—14 Aug. A.D. 582):

βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαυίου Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνστ(α)ντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτορος (Α. D. 580), 1725, 1-3

...τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ]άτορος ἔτους x [ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ ε]ὐσε $\beta$ εστ[άτου ἡμῶ]ν δεσπότου ἔτους x—4 (A.D. 581), 1726, 1–2

όμνύμενοι κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος καὶ νίκης καὶ διαμονῆς τῶν γαληνοτάτων καὶ τροπαιούχων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλαυίων Τιβερίου καὶ Αἰλίας 'Αναστασίας τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων καὶ Αὐτοκρατόρων (π. d.), 1724, 16-19

Maurice (13 Aug. A.D. 582—27 Nov. A.D. 602):

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαυίου Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος (Α. D. 583–584), 1727, 1–2; (Α. D. 584), 1729, 1–2; (Α. D. 584 or 585), 1728, 1–3; (Α. D. 585), 1730, 1–2 βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαυίου Τιβερίου

Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτορος καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου ἔτους x καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν ἔτους <math>x—2 (A. D. 585), 1731, 1–3

Fl. Mauricius Tiberius (A. D. 588), 1897

Fl. Mauricius Novus Tiberius (A. D. 594), 1898

ἐν ὁ[ν]όματι [τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος] ἡμῶν, βασιλεία[ς τοῦ θειστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλ]αυίου Μαυρι[κίου Τιβερίου] τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγο[ύ]στο[υ καὶ] Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους x [καὶ ὑπατείας] τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος ἔτους x—1 (Α.D. 594),1733, 1-3

έν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν, βασιλείας τοῦ θειστάτου καὶ εὖσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαυίου Μαυρικίου Τι-βερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτορος (Α.Β. 600), 1899, 2-5

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Phocas (23 Nov. A. D. 602—5 Oct. A. D. 610): Phocas or Heraclius:

[ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζ]ωοποιοῦ Τρίάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ [καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, βασιλεία]ς τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλ(αυίου) [...τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Αὐ]τοκράτορος (Α. D. 605 οτ 613), 1874

Heraclius (5 Oct. A.D. 610—? 11 Feb. A.D. 641):

βασιλ[είας τοῦ θειο]τά[του] καὶ γαλη[νοτάτο]υ καὶ θεοστεφοῦς ἡμῶν δ[εσπότ]ου Φλαυίου Ἡρακλείου τοῦ [αἰ]ωνίου Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτορ[ος] (Α. D. 611), 1736, 1–3

[ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγί]ας καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Τριάδος πατρὸς [καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος, βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου? ἡμῶν] δεσπότου Φλαυίου Ἡρακλείου τ[οῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτορος] (Α. D. 615-616 or 630-631), 1875

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βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατεία[ς . . .] τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου Α[ὐτοκράτορος, 1900, 1-2

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- δ δεσπότης ήμῶν βασιλεύς, **1676**, 70; βασιλεύς (without article), **1677**, 45
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#### (b) CONSULSHIPS

[Imperial consulships after Justinian must be looked for in (a).]

ύπατείας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ δ΄ καὶ Φλαυίου Σαλλουστίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρετωρίου (sic) (Λ. D. 363), 1651, 1–3

Ų.,

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Δομιτίου Μοδέστου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Φλαυίου ᾿Αρινθέου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου στρατηλάτου (Α. D. 373), 1648, 1-2;

- 1849, 1-3 (Δομετίου); 1650, 5 f.; 1828 (gen. Αρινθέως)
- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ ιδ΄ καὶ Φλανίου Μαξίμου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου (A.D. 434), 1777, 1-2 (see Addenda)
- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίων Βινκομάλου καὶ Ὁπιλίωνος τῶν λαμπροτάτων (Α. D. 454), 1773, 1-2
- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλανίου Λέωνος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ δ΄ καὶ Προβινιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου (Α.  $\mathbf{D}$ . 472), 1793, 2-3
- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλανίου Τροκουνδίου (sic) τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου (A. D. 483), 1896, 1
- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Λογγίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου (Α. D. 487), 1794, 2
- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Φλαυίων ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Ῥούφου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου (Α. D. 493), 1855, 1-2
- ύπατείας Φλαυίου Οὐιταλιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου (Α. D. 520), 1699, 1
- ύπατείας Φλαυίου Μαξίμου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου (Α.D. 523), 1687, 2; 1688, 1
- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Ὀλυβρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου (Α. D. 527), 1689, Ι; 1690, Ι (Ολυμβρ.)
- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίων 'Ορέστου καὶ Λαμπαδίου τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων (Α. D. 532), 1691, 2
- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Βελισαρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου (Α. D. 536), 1841, 1

- [ $\mathring{v}\pi a \tau \epsilon \acute{u} a s \Phi \lambda a v \acute{u} v Ba \sigma ] \iota \lambda [\epsilon] \acute{u} v [o \mathring{v} \epsilon] v \delta o \acute{e} [o \tau \acute{u} \tau o v]$  (A. D. 541), 1719, I
- [? μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Βασι]λίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου . . . [ἰνδικτίον]ος ι' (Α. D. 546), 1797, 1
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- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου . . . τῆς δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος (Α.D. 549), 1720, 1-3
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 \times = \delta ηνάρια, 1834
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S = \frac{1}{6} \tau o v s, 1655, 5
S' = \frac{v}{\epsilon} \tau o v_S, 1655, 9
S = \kappa a i, 1654, 2, 7, 12, 15; etc.
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9 \text{ (MSS. /)} = \kappa \epsilon \rho \acute{a} \tau \iota o \nu, 1714, 8; 1750, 2, 5, 8; 1808,
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\Re = \mu \nu \rho \iota \acute{a} \delta \epsilon s, 1808, 4, 5
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 \chi = \chi \alpha i \rho \epsilon \nu, 1728, 7
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                                                                                       \overline{\mu q} = \frac{1}{48}, 1653, 1; 1761, 10, 14
( \ge \frac{1}{2}, 1663, 26, 29)
( = \frac{1}{2}, 1665, 3; \text{ etc.}
                                                                                       :, expressing proportion, 1718, passim
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\Gamma' = \frac{1}{3}, 1761, 21
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F = \frac{1}{3}, 1760, 2, 3
                                                                                       \chi \mu \gamma //, uncertain, 1677, 1; 1686, 1
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### (b) ABBREVIATIONS

The most obvious abbreviations, consisting only of the omission of a few letters at the end of a word, are not included. In the case of an abbreviation occurring for different cases of a word the nominative is here given.]

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\bar{a} = d\rho \gamma v \rho iov, 1883
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    \beta \epsilon = \beta \epsilon \beta a i a \nu, 1736, 19
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     \beta \epsilon \beta = \beta \epsilon \beta \alpha (\alpha \nu, 1735, 19); etc.
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  d\kappa/= d\kappa \tau o v a \rho i o v (?), 1734, 20
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 \dot{a}\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda_{1}=\dot{a}\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\epsilon\gamma\gamma\nu\sigma\nu, 1736, 19
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   \gamma \epsilon \nu \nu \alpha \iota / = \gamma \epsilon \nu \nu \alpha \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \nu \nu, 1670, 16
  a\nu a\lambda^- = d\nu a\lambda \omega \mu a\sigma \iota, 1757, 5
                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   \gamma \iota / = \gamma i \nu \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota, 1661, 13; 1662, 14; etc.
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                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   \gamma \rho_1 = \gamma \rho \dot{\alpha} \mu \mu \alpha \tau \alpha, 1649, 23
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\alpha\pi\alpha\iota\tau_1=\dot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota\tau\eta\tau\circ\hat{v},\ 1740,\ 4
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#### (b) LATIN WORDS

[Latin words which occur only in a Greek form are included, but without the references, which must be looked for under (a).

† before a Greek form means that it is a derivative of the Latin word.]

accubitum, ἀκκούβιτον, κούβιτον (?) actuarius, ἀκτουάριος adiutor, ἀδιούτωρ agraria, ἀγραρία annona, ἀννώνη annualis, ἀννουάλιος annus, 1792, [6?], 17(?) Augustalis, αὐγουστάλιος Augustus, Αὔγουστος (Index 3 a)

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