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LEASE OF A LINEN-WEAVING WORKSHOP
IN PANOPOLIS

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Lease of a Linen-weaving Workshop in Panopolis

Among the still unpublished papyri in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin, there is a small number of documents from Panopolis: a declaration to a *Praeses* concerning textiles, for instance; two tax receipts of the type published in *P.Panop.* 19; and the lease of a weaving workshop presented here.¹ This lease clearly belongs with *P.Panop.* edited by L.C. Youtie, D. Hagedorn and H.C. Youtie, which first appeared as three articles in this journal²: the lessee is Aurelios Pasnos, son of Alopex who, with various members of his family, is well known from that collection. In their commentary on *P.Panop.* 8.5, the editors make reference to this document, of which Skeat had sent them a transcription.³

There are a number of points of particular interest. First, although leases of workshops are well attested,⁴ we do not have one of an actual linen-weaving workshop (the precise term ἐργαστήριον λινουφικόν is attested in only one other papyrus). Secondly, this is now the earliest example of a lease of indefinite tenure (πρὸς ὄν βουλευθῆς χρόνον - 1.7). Thirdly, the location of the workshop in the Παρεμβολή τῶν Χριστιανῶν (1.10) provides an intriguing expression. The noun πῆγμα - two πήγματα are leased with the workshop (1.11;16) - and verb ἐναφίημι (1.19), are also unusual words. And one might mention too, the first consular dating in the papyri for Arbitio and Lollianus (1.21-2).

¹ These and some other pieces in the Chester Beatty will form part of a volume I am preparing of Dublin papyri, consisting mostly of Roman and Byzantine material from the Library of Trinity College.

The following abbreviations will be used in this article:

Calderini, "Ricerche" = S. Calderini, "Ricerche sull'industria e il commercio dei tessuti in Egitto", *Aegyptus* 26 (1946) 13-83.

Calderini, *Dizionario* = A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano* (Cairo 1935 -).

Gignac = F. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milan 1976-1981).

Müller, *Misthosis* = H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko - ägyptischen Papyri* (Köln 1985).

Wipszycka, *Industrie Textile* = E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* (Warsaw 1965).

² "Urkunden aus Panopolis I", *ZPE* 7(1971)1-40; "Documents from Panopolis II", *ZPE* 8 (1971) 207-234; "Urkunden aus Panopolis III", *ZPE* 10 (1973) 101-170.

³ I am grateful to Mr. Skeat for releasing the document to me, and to the Director of the Chester Beatty for permission to publish.

⁴ See, for example, the lists in A. Berger, "Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes in den gräko - ägyptischen Papyri", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 29 (1913) 408; O. Montevicchi, "Dai papiri inediti della raccolta Milanese", *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 287-290 (supplemented in *La papirologia* [Turin 1973] 218); R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in The Light of the Papyri 332BC-640AD* (ed. 2 Warsaw 1955) 364-5; I.F. Fikhman, *Egypt between Two Epochs. Artisans and Artisanal Work from the 4th to the Middle of the 7th Century* (Moscow 1965, in Russian) 48-56; Müller, *Misthosis* 345-361.

The papyrus is well preserved, with only a slight tear down the middle which deprives us of a few letters in the last five lines. The end of the final line cannot be read. There is no margin at the top; effectively none on the right hand side; a small one of about 1 to 1.5 centimetres on the left hand side; and a larger one at the bottom of some 4.5 to 5 centimetres. The writing is along the fibres and there is nothing on the back.⁵

Chester Beatty I
Panopolis

10.5 x 24.5 cms

3rd September A.D. 355

(1st hand)	Ἀὐρηλίῳ Παλοῦτι λινούφῳ ἀπὸ Πανὸς πόλεως παρ' Ἀὐρηλ(ίου) Πασνωτὸς Ἀλώπηκος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. μεμίσθωμαι 5 παρὰ σοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Θῶθ τῆς ἐνεστώσης ὑπατείας πρὸς ὃν βουλευθῆς χρόνον μέρος ἡμισυ ἐργαστηρίου λινουφικοῦ ὄντος ἐν τῇ 10 Παρεμβολῇ τῶν Χρηστιανῶν, σὺν πύγμασι δυσὶ καὶ ἐξαρτίαις αὐτῶν, καὶ τελέσω σοι ὑπὲρ μὲν ἐνοικίου τοῦ μέρους ἡμίσιους ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δια- 15 κόσια, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐνοικίου τῶν πυγμάτων δύο ὑφαίνων λίνα δέκα, σοῦ παρέχοντος τὰ λίνα. μεθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐναφήσω σοι ὡς παρείληφα, 20 καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς) ὠμολόγ(ησα). ὑπατείας Ἀρβητίωνος καὶ Λολλιανοῦ Θῶθ ε.	cf. Tafel I
(2nd hand)	Παλοῦς ὁ προκ[εῖμ](ενος) ἐμίσθωσα ὡς πρόκειται. ἔγρ[α]ψα ὑπὲρ 25 αὐτοῦ γράμμα τὰ μὴ [ε]ιδ[ό]τος ἀξιωθεὶς Ἀὐρηλίῳ[ς] Θεόδωρος ἀπὸ Πανὸς πόλεως	

81. ἡμισυ 101. Χρηστιανῶν 111. πύγμασι 161. πηγμάτων 211. Ἀρβιτίωνος

⁵ No inventory number has been assigned to the papyrus.

Translation

To Aurelios Palous linen-weaver from Panopolis, from Aurelios Pasnos, son of Alopex, from the same town. I have leased from you from the present month of Thoth in the current consulship, for as long as you are willing, a half part of a linen-weaving workshop, which is located in the Fort of the Christians, along with two loom-frames(?) and their appliances; and I shall pay you as rent, on the one hand for the half part, two hundred silver talents, and as rent on the other hand for the two loom-frames(?) (I shall pay you) by weaving ten linen items, with you providing the raw material. After that time I shall surrender (the workshop and looms) to you just as I received them, and on being asked the formal question I gave my assent. The consulship of Arbitio and Lollianos Thoth 5.

I the aforementioned Palous have made the lease as aforesaid. On request I Aurelios Theodoros from Panopolis wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.

Commentary

1-3 Aurelios Palous is not known from other documents, but Aurelios Pasnos, son of Alopex, is mentioned in eleven of the published Panopolis papyri (*P.Panop.* 5; 7; 8; 9; 14; 17; 18; 19 ix [b]; 19 x [b]; 29; 30). Although he clearly has interests in the textile industry (see *P.Panop.* 17; 18; 19 ix [b]), he does not here call himself λινούφορος, and when he claims and wins exemption from a liturgy (the κτηναρχία), he does so on the basis of old age rather than profession (*P.Panop.* 29.6; 30.2. On the exemption of weavers see in particular *P.Phil.* 1 intro; N. Lewis, "Exemption from Liturgy in Roman Egypt", *Actes du Xe Congrès International de Papyrologues* [Warsaw 1964] 76-8). In the 4th century the age of exemption may have been sixty (*P.Leit.* 4; N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* [Florence 1982] 94-5). As *P.Panop.* 29 and 30 are dated to 332, in 355, the date of the present document, Aurelios Pasnos should be at least eighty three years old: even if he did not know his age exactly, or had exaggerated it on purpose, he still must have lived to a very advanced age.

λινούφορος ἄπὸ Πανὸς πόλεως: Panopolis was well known for linen-working: εἶτα Λύκων πόλις καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πανῶν πόλις, λινουργῶν καὶ λιθουργῶν κατοικία παλαιά (Strabo 17.1.41 C813). On linen-weaving see T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Leipzig 1913) 97-8; and especially Wipszycka, *Industrie textile* 104 ff. (further bibliography on weavers and weaving in *BGU XV*, 2471 intro.). For lists of λινούφοροι see Calderini, "Ricerche" 53-5; *BGU XV*, 2471.4 comm. Linen-workers are so well represented in *P.Berl. Bork.*, that interesting list of premises in Panopolis (see Tableau III, p. 44-5), that one might almost expect there to be a linen factories quarter, ἄμφοδον Λινυφείων, as there was, for instance, at Arsinoe (S. Daris, "I quartieri di Arsinoe in età romana", *Aegyptus* 61 [1981] 147) and Karanis (*SB VII*, 9554, 2c 32 [147 AD]). Although the city was divided into districts, they seem just to have been numbered; and among the known street names, none reflects a concentration of linen-workers (see Calderini, *Dizionario* 4.2, p. 42-4). The weavers of Panopolis were organized into a guild (γραμματεὺς λινούφων - *P.Berl. Bork.* IX, 7), as, for instance, at Socnopaiou Nesos (*P.Grenf.* II, 43.9-10 [92 AD]), Theadelphia (*P.Fay.* p. 54 [109 AD]), Euhemeria (*P.Ryl.* II, 94.1 [1st century AD]), Philadelphia (*BGU VII*, 1564 [138AD]; *P.Phil.* 10 = *BGU VII*, 1572 [139 AD]), Arsinoe (*P.Klein Form.* 108.3-4 [6th century AD]), Aphrodito (*P.Cairo Masp.* II, 67147.3 [Byzantine]), and no doubt elsewhere.

- 6 Leases mostly start at the beginning of the Egyptian year, 1st Thoth: see Müller, *Misthosis* 180-181.
- 7 πρὸς ὄν βουληθῆς χρόνον: One would expect πρὸς ὄν ἂν βουληθῆς χρόνον. These leases of indefinite tenure are well known, and studied: see S. Waszynski, *Die Bodenpacht. Agrargeschichtliche Papyrusstudien I Die Privatpacht* (Leipzig, Berlin 1905) 92-4; H. Comfort, "Late Byzantine Land-leases ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον βούλει", *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 80-8; Müller, *Misthosis* 187 ff. The most common term is ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον βούλει but there are obvious variations, such as πρὸς ὄν ἂν βουληθείη χρόνον (*P.Alex.* 32.6 [5th century AD]); ἐπὶ χρόνον ὅσον βούλει (*SB I*, 4481 [486 AD]); πρὸς ὄν βούλει χρόνον (*P.Flor.* III, 283 [536 AD]); ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον βουληθείη (*BGU II*, 364 [553 AD]). For a rare use of the aorist subjunctive, see *P.Lond.* III, 1003 p. 259 (562 AD) - ἐφ' [ῶ]σον ἔαν βουληθῆς χρόνον. The earliest dated example of an indefinite lease is that of a house in 382 AD (*SB IV*, 7445), but it does not use this terminology: instead, where it deals with the return of the leased property (l.18-19 in the present document), the lessee says: καὶ ὁπ[ό]ταν β[ου]ληθῆ[ι]ς παρ[α]δώσ[ω] σοι τ]ὴν αὐτὴν οἰκίαν (l. 17-18). *SB VIII*, 9931, which does use the phrase ἐφ' ὄν βούλει χρόνον, was dated by its editor to 330 AD, but D. Hagedorn, "Bemerkungen zu Urkunden III", *ZPE* 5 (1970) 85-7 showed that this was incorrect, and dated it conclusively to 405 AD. This has remained until now the earliest example for the lease of a building. The earliest land-lease of indefinite tenure is 397 AD (*PSI I*, 34). The present document, then, is some forty years before this, but it would not be surprising to find yet earlier examples. In *P.Panop.* 12.4 (337 AD) we have []λομαι χρόνον, pointing to the possibility of [ἐφ' ὅσον βού]λομαι χρόνον. That the length of tenure should be at the discretion of the lessee is, the editors admit, unlikely, but βούλομαι as a mistake for βούλει is not very convincing either. Although it is a very uncertain line of text, it does at least raise the possibility of a lease of indefinite tenure in 337 AD. *P.Ryl.* II, 172.29-33 (208 AD) is an interesting document in this connection: "as long as there is no higher offer, the lease will continue secured to you". This is in effect an indefinite lease, so the concept certainly goes back earlier than the 4th century.
- 8 ἦμισυν: The letter -v appears, or is absent, with great irregularity in the papyri: See Gignac I, 111-119. For examples of ἦμισυν, Gignac I, 253-4; 264; 270. The scribe made an error in the writing of ἦμισυν. After ημ- he seems to have skipped straight to the end of the word and written an upsilon, and even begun the next letter or two, before he realized his mistake. His writing of iota through the upsilon is clear, but the sigma also seems to be written over something. The final upsilon is quite clear, and the last letter is almost certainly v.
- 8-9 ἐργαστήριον λινουφικόν: There are various terms for workshops in the textile industry: ἱστουργεῖον, λινουφεῖον, λινυφαντεῖον, γραφεῖον, ἐργαστήριον ὑφαντικόν / γερδιακόν / ἐριοραβδιστικόν (Calderini, "Ricerche" 34-7; Wipszycka, *Industrie textile*, s.v. index des termes techniques). The only other reference in the papyri, however, specifically to an ἐργαστήριον λινουφικόν comes from the Nephros archive - *P.Neph.* 48.10-11 (4th century A.D.). The document concerns the sale of a house with (ἔχουσαν) a workshop or workroom (ἐργασ]τήριον ἥτε κέλλαν), two other rooms, and a small linen-weaving workshop in which there is a staircase: μικρὸν λινυφικὸν ἐργαστήριον[ν ἐν] ᾧ πησσός. On the rarely explicit relationship between a workshop and a dwelling, see G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Paris 1983) 84-6. It is perhaps not altogether clear whether the workshop of Aurelios Palous is entirely independent of the dwelling place, or is just a room or rooms in the house set aside specifically for weaving. The former situation was probably not common. Looms and their appliances were relatively simple, cheap, easy to move and could be set up virtually anywhere. ἐργαστήρια

must have been mostly very small establishments, and indeed most weaving was probably done in private dwellings (Wipszycka, *Industrie textile* 53-6). The few clear examples of more substantial weaving establishments, especially with reference to *P.Giss.* 12, are discussed by Wipszycka, *Industrie textile* 81ff. In the present case we cannot really be sure of what size we are talking about. Aurelios Pasnos leases half the ἐργαστήριον along with two πήγματα (which I take to be loom-frames: see below 1.11 comm.): one assumes, although not with complete safety, that the workshop as a whole could contain four πήγματα (we are not told how Aurelios Pasnos intends to operate two of them). Although Aurelios Palous seems just about on the point of breaking into bigger business (according to Wipszycka's definition - *Industrie textile* 81), the operation does not appear extensive, and perhaps hardly needs a separate workshop. In *Stud. Pal.* XX, 53 (246 AD) a weaver rents two thirds of a house, and is allowed to set up three looms (four if he produces work for himself), but undertakes to weave only ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι.

- 10 Παρεμβολή τῶν Χριστιανῶν: The 'Fort (or Camp) of the Christians' is a curious and interesting expression. The word χριστιανός does not occur very often in the papyri (only five documents cited by the Ibycus), and certainly never in this context. Παρεμβολή, on the other hand, is common, both as an operational military camp, and as a district or place name (see *P.Hamb.* I, 2.3 comm.). The districts of Oxyrhynchus called ἄμφοδον Λυκίων / Ἰππέων / Ἄνω Παρεμβολῆς are well known and documented: see H. Rink, *Straßen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus* (Gießen 1924) 39 ff. Similarly at Arsinoe there was an ἄμφοδον Ἀπολλωνίου Παρεμβολῆς, or sometimes just ἄμφοδον Παρεμβολῆς (Calderini *Dizionario* 1.2, p. 152). Also at Arsinoe, and Syene, there was a Fort Street, λαύρα Παρεμβολῆς (Calderini, *Dizionario* 4.1, p. 54). There was a village (κώμη) called Parembolē in the Aphroditopolite nome, and a χωρίον or ἐποίκιον Παρεμβολῆς in the Arsinoite nome, division of Polemon (Calderini, *Dizionario* 4.1, p. 53-4). At Alexandria, Bell suggested that the suburb of Nicopolis (also called Juliopolis - on which see A.E. Hanson "Juliopolis, Nicopolis and the Roman camp", *ZPE* 37 [1980] 249-254) and the Roman camp located nearby, might have been synonymous, or that at any rate 'Nicopolis' referred to the whole area in which the camp was situated (*P.Lond.* VI, 1914.15 comm.). This may be how the writer of *P.Lond.* VI, 1914 saw it, but in fact, it now seems clear that these were two quite distinct areas, one called Nicopolis/Juliopolis, the other called Parembolē (or possibly 'The Parembolē') - see *SB XVI*, 12632.38-9 (35 AD): κατ' ἀνδ(ρα) τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδ(ρείᾳ) καὶ Ἰουλιοπόλ(ει) κ(αὶ) Παρεμβολῆι. The Roman camp was located in (and probably gave its name to) the latter, as we know from the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or. 28.19): *legio II Traiana* was stationed at Parembolē. In his list of Melitian clergy submitted to Alexander (Athan., *Apol. c. Arian* 71), Melitius names among the Alexandrian members, Μακάριος πρεσβύτερος τῆς Παρεμβολῆς. Clearly he cannot mean that Makarios was priest of the Roman camp: Makarios was, rather, his representative in the district called the Parembolē.

Confusion between the camp itself and The Parembolē and perhaps Nicopolis, is evident in *P.Lond.* VI, 1914, Callistus' famous letter about the sufferings of the Melitians in Alexandria just before the Council of Tyre. Isaac bishop of Letopolis comes to Heraiscus of Alexandria, and wants to dine with him ἐν τῇ Παρεμβολῆι (1.7-8. I accept the arguments of H. Hauben, "On the Melitians in *P.London* VI (*P.Jews*) 1914: the Problem of Papas Heraiscus", *Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Papyrology* [Chicago 1981] 447-456, that Heraiscus was the bishop of Alexandria). At this stage Heraiscus is not under arrest, and it would be difficult to conceive of a reason why he should be dining in the Roman camp: he is clearly dining at his home in The Parembolē. Athanasius' supporters get some troops from the

camp itself and try to seal off The Parembole in order to arrest the Melitians (l.8-11). Melitian sympathizers in The Parembole however, hide them there. When the troops cannot find them, they beat up four other Melitians entering The Parembole and throw them out of Nicopolis (l.11-15). Here (and in l.19) it may be that Callistus in his confusion is equating Nicopolis with The Parembole. The troops then go on to seize five more Melitians whom they lock up in the camp until morning when the *praepositus* orders them to be thrown out of Nicopolis (l.15-19). Heraclides is abused for taking in Melitians and then Ammon, who lives in The Parembole and also receives Melitians, is locked up in the camp and ordered not to accept monks into his house (l.19-23).

We do hear of a *παρεμβολή* at Panopolis in *P.Panop.* 8.5 (338 AD), where the editors take it as a military camp. If this is so, their further suggestion that it might refer to the same place as the *Παρεμβολή τῶν Χριστιανῶν* of the present document, seems improbable: they may be the same place, but in view of the name and the presence of a linen-weaving workshop, it seems unlikely to have been a camp currently occupied by Roman troops. What exactly it was however, is not self-evident. Perhaps the easiest explanation is that it refers to a clearly definable part of Panopolis, where there was a fort, now no longer functioning as such, in which the Christians had tended to settle and form a sort of Christian quarter. Forts are, of course, very obvious topographical features and easily lend themselves to the formation of place-names. There are, for instance, some three thousand place-names in Ireland constituted from the words *lis*, *rath*, *dun* and *cahair*, all meaning 'fort': see P.W. Joyce, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* Vol. 1 (Dublin 1869) 245-264. One of the most interesting in the present context is a place called Rathnarovanagh, which means 'fort of the Romans' (see Joyce above, vol. 2 [Dublin 1875] 122). These Romans may have been Italian pilgrims or possibly early Christians, living together in a *rath*, just like the Christians perhaps at Panopolis in their *παρεμβολή*. It is also possible, however, that the *παρεμβολή* at Panopolis had nothing to do with an old fort, but was rather a purpose-built enclosure allowing the Christians to keep themselves largely isolated, or even allowing the other inhabitants of Panopolis to force the Christians to form a sort of ghetto. Lastly, in view of the heavy Christian interest in The Parembole at Alexandria, as evidenced by the priest Makarios, by *P.Lond.* VI, 1914 and recently by *P.Neph.* 8.19; and now also in view of this Christian *παρεμβολή* at Panopolis, the suspicion arises that the word *παρεμβολή* may have had some special significance or meaning for Christians, now lost to us.

- 11 σὺν πύγμασι δυσί: It is not at all clear what πῦγμα (for πῆγμα, I assume) means. If the document belonged to an earlier, Roman time, the use of the word ἐνοίκιον (l. 16) as rent for the πῆγματα might give one cause to think that it was some sort of room. But by this stage the difference between ἐνοίκιον and φόρος had disappeared (Müller, *Misthosis* 196-220). πῆγμα occurs only rarely in the papyri, and seems to mean a frame or fitting: for a door, for instance (*P.Oxy.* XVII, 2146.9 [3rd century AD]; *Stud. Pal.* XX, 211.12 [6th/7th century AD]), or for a rudder (*P.Oxy.* VI, 921, intro. [3rd century AD]), or water-screw (*P.Lond.*, III, 1177.176 p. 186 [113 AD]). ἐξαρτία does not give any particular help. It is applied perhaps most frequently to the equipment of boats (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVII, 2136.6;9[291 AD]; XXII, 2347.11 [362 AD]; XLIII, 3111.12 [257 AD]), but to other things also, including a loom (*P.Oxy.* XIV, 1705.7;11;24 [298 AD]). The implication of our text is that it is the πῆγματα which will enable Aurelios Pasnos to weave the λίνα δέκα he undertakes to pay as rent, and I would suggest that πῆγμα must mean something like 'loom-frame'. It is, however, difficult to see what could constitute a loom-frame, as opposed to the loom itself, and it is tempting to think that by extension, πῆγμα just amounts to another word for loom.

On looms, see H. Ling Roth, *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms* (Halifax 1913) 3-24; Calderini, "Ricerche" 24-7; R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* vol. IV (Leiden 1964) 196-224.

14-15 τάλαντα διακόσια: The rent of 200 talents fits well the prices we know for the 4th century. Part of a house in Panopolis is rented for 25 talents in 337 and again in 339; half a house for 30 talents in 338; a house for 90 talents in 345; a basement for 35 talents also in 345; half a house for 150 talents in 351; and now half the present workshop for 200 talents. After this prices rise severely: part of a house is rented in 360 for 6000 talents. For all these prices see R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Scholars Press 1985) 71.

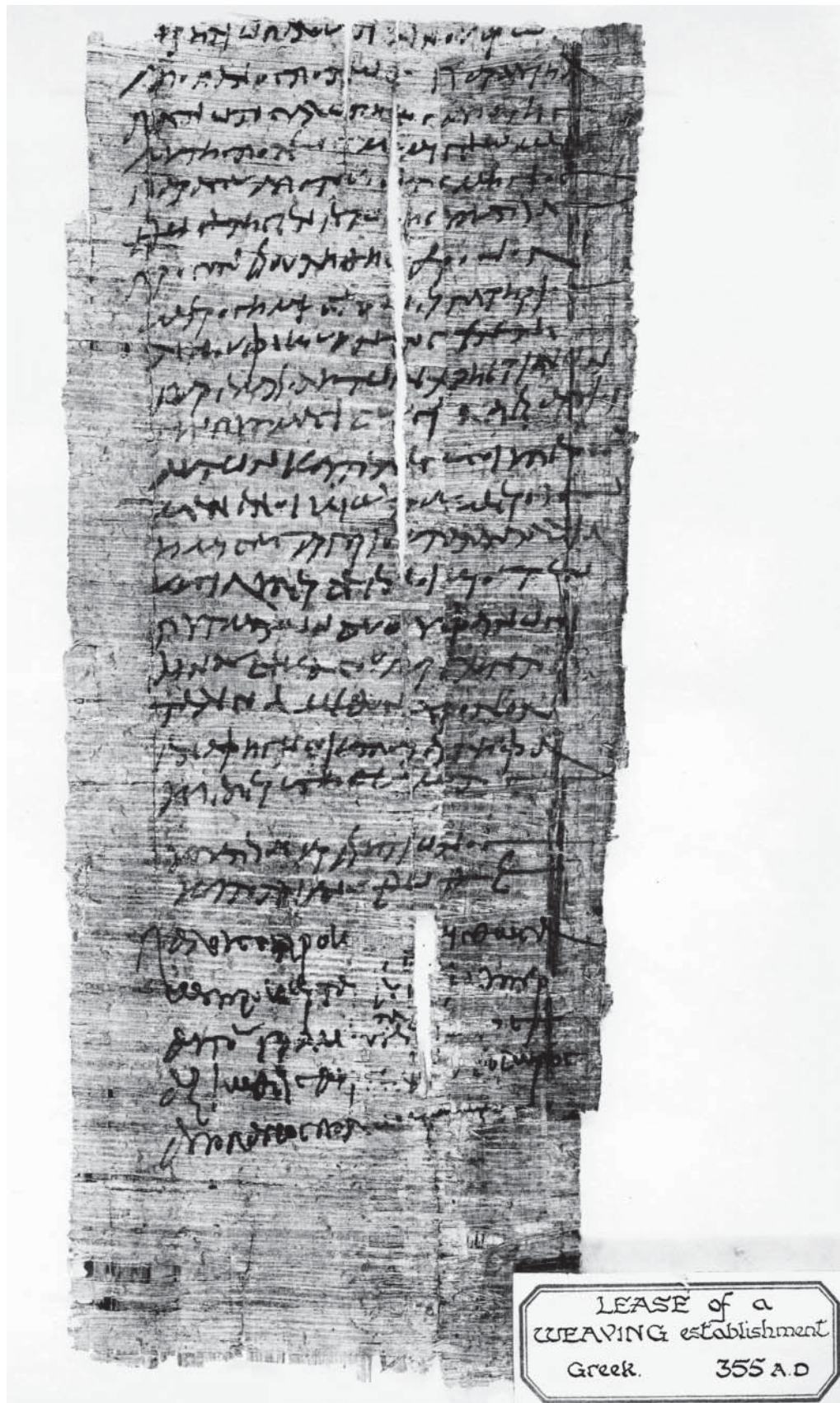
15-18 It is somewhat unusual that two separate rents are charged, one for the ἐργαστήριον and one for the πήγματα. Usually one overall charge is quoted, as in, for instance, *P.Mich. X*, 586 (1st Century AD) where a bakery is leased with Theban millstone, nether millstones, a grinding handle, one mortar, one oven. 80 silver dr. are charged for the whole lot, not one rent for the mill, another for the appliances. Sometimes, of course, there are additional charges - ἐξάριετα, θαλλοί, ἔκτακτα - and as Müller, *Misthosis* 213-4 points out, these are usually in-kind payments related to the object of the lease. The present case appears to be similar: after the rent in money comes the weaving of ten linen cloths. This is obviously related to the lease of the workshop, and more specifically perhaps to the lease of the πήγματα, but it is specified that it is rent not ἐξάριετα.

On the various meanings of λίνον, which here indicates both the raw material and the woven product, see Wipszycka, *Industrie textile* 1-18.

19 ἐναφήσω: ἐναφήμι is a rare verb in the papyri, nowhere else occurring in this way. παραδώσω, or something like it is expected, but ἐναφήσω makes perfectly good sense.

21-2 This is the first attestation in the papyri for the consulship of Flavius Arbitio and Q. Fl. Maesius Egnatius Lollianus. See R.S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta 1987) 244-5. For a summary of their careers, see *PLRE* I, 94-5 (Arbitio); 512-4 (Lollianus).

27 After Πανὸς πόλεως there are traces of ink to the end of the line, but the word or words are quite illegible (perhaps the writer's profession?). The word order of the last sentence is awkward: one would expect NN ἀπὸ NN ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος, but our scribe may just have got lost, or perhaps that was the way they wrote the clause in Panopolis.



Pacht einer Weberwerkstatt (Chester Beatty I)