

JOHN C. SHELTON

MORE OSTRACA FROM THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

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## More Ostraca from the Fitzwilliam Museum

This article concludes my edition of Greek ostraca in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, cf. *ZPE* 80 (1990) 221-238 and 81 (1990) 267-269. Three of the texts, nos. 6, 10 and 11, probably come from the Oxyrhynchite nome, the others certainly or presumably from Thebes.

As before, I owe the opportunity to study these pieces and publish them here to the courtesy of Dr. David Gill.

### 1. Receipt for στέφανος

Inv. GR. P. 521

8 x 4 cm

2nd cent. BC (?)

The charges called στέφανος were in origin presumably free-will contributions to finance crowns presented to royalty and other high personages on special occasions,<sup>1</sup> but in Ptolemaic papyri they generally appear as taxes without any perceptibly voluntary aspects, and connection with a special occasion is rarely visible.<sup>2</sup> The receipt published below presents a novel problem of interpretation in that the στέφανος is said to be τῆς χρέας τοῦ θ' (ἔτους) (l. 5). Of itself this could mean 'to meet the needs of the 9th year,' but comparable texts have in the position of τῆς χρέας the name of some particular group which was subject to the tax: κάτοικοι (WO 330, 353, 701, 1311 = O.Leid. 20, 1512; O.Tait 113, P47; P.Vars. ostr. 50, SB XVI 12348; κληροῦχοι (P.Teb. I 101, WO 1528), πη( ) (O.Tait 112), γεωργοί (so named only in P.Teb. I 95.9, but payments by the tenants of Crown land are common). If χρέα here is parallel, it means 'office, branch of service' (*WB* s.v. 3) and the reference is to hunters (l. 3).

Payments of crown tax from catoecs on the occasion of their entrance into that group are known;<sup>3</sup> and a similar requirement from hunters, at least from those in the army,<sup>4</sup> would not be very surprising. In view of the usual connection of στέφανος with land there could be an implication that the payer held a κλῆρος: apparently not otherwise attested of hunters, but again plausible enough.

Another possibility is raised by WO 1530. The occupation of the payer in that receipt is not stated, but the collector writes ἀπέχω παρὰ σοῦ τὸ ἰ γινόμενόν μοι ἀρχικυληγηῶι εἰς στεφάνιον ἰ

<sup>1</sup> 1 WO I 295-299; Préaux, *Economie royale* 394-5. Rulers aside, crowns of honour were decreed by cities and other organizations to their benefactors (e.g., SB III 7246, V 8853-55, 8867, 8929; cf. in general Daremberg-Saglio III s.v. corona, esp. cols. 1532ff); but the only private person yet known for whom a στέφανος appears to have been collected in the manner of a tax is one Noumenios (O.Tait 201, 202, 256; WO 1360; P.Fay. 14). Noumenios, *Pros.Ptol.* IV 10092, is identified tentatively as the συγγενῆς καὶ ἐπιστολαγράφος of *I.Philae* I 19C; see Mooren, *Aulic Titulature* 0269 for further bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> P.Teb. I 61(b). 254 note; P.Berl.Leihg. I pp. 313ff. There was a στέφανος on animals in Syria and Phoenicia by 260 BC (COP 21.9 = Scholl, *Corpus* 3 I 9); it is attested as a land tax in Egypt by 243 (P.Teb. III (1) 746). P.Teb I, III, IV and BGU VIII contain many mentions of στέφανος in money and in kind; the amount due from royal tenants at Kerkeosiris was 1/2 artab of wheat per arura (P.Teb. IV 1128 introd.). In 41 BC crown tax is spoken of as an irregular charge as opposed to the γνήσια βασιλικά in COP 76.26-28: τοῖς κατὰ καιροῦς ἰ καὶ περιστάσεις ἰσταμένοις ἐν τοῖς νομοῖς ἰ στεφάποις (*sic*). For the Roman *aurum coronarium* see A. K. Bowman in *BASP* 4 (1967) 59ff.

<sup>3</sup> J. Lesquier, *Institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Paris, 1911) 223. The amount in kind may have been 2 artabs of wheat per arura, P.Berl. Leihg. I p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. Raïos-Chouliara, "La chasse et les animaux sauvages," *Anagennesis* 1 (1981) 45-88 and 267-293 at p. 50 n. 14; *Pros.Ptol.* II 4419ff.

τοῦ ν (ἔτους) (2-5). Wilcken interpreted this as a gratification for the chief hunter himself;<sup>5</sup> and if that is right the payment here could be similar. I think, though, that the wording of WO 1530 is also compatible with the view that the ἀρχικυνηγός was required to collect crown tax from the men in his charge and then turn it over to the government: the procedure would be comparable to that in WO 320, where payment for a royal crown is made to the representatives of a πρὸς τῆ συντάξει.

The text below is further unusual in that the formula used is not that of a bank or a granary, but indicates a collector of some other type; so also WO 320, 1530 and O.Tait 134. The formula is most commonly employed for money taxes (WO I p. 61), rarely for those in grain (*ibid.* p. 97). The ostrakon breaks off before one can tell which is meant here.

- 1 Ἀμμώνιος Ἡρακλείδη
  - 2 χαί(ρειν). ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ Πα-
  - 3 μώνθου τοῦ θηρευτοῦ
  - 4 εἰς τὸν λόγον τοῦ στεφά(νου)
  - 5 τῆς χρέας τοῦ θ (ἔτους)
- breaks off

'Ammonius to Heraclides, greeting. I have from you, on behalf of the hunter Pamonthes for the account of the crown of the trade for year ...'

- 3 This appears to be the first occurrence of the form θηρευτής since SB I 4369(b). For words meaning 'hunter' in the papyri cf. Raïos-Chouliara p. 51 n. 17, and for other Ptolemaic hunters *Pros.Ptol.* 4419ff.

## 2. Botched Granary Receipt

Inv. GR. P. 488

9.5 x 5 cm

3 July, 112 BC

This text contains an error which hinders closer interpretation: after μεγάλη in l. 2 the scribe has omitted at least an abbreviation for θησαυρόν and the year for which the payment was made. If these items are all that are missing the receipt falls into Packman's 'Group One: Receipts with No Tax Phrase'.<sup>6</sup> But it is possible that the omission was more extensive: θησαυρόν can also be followed by ὑπὲρ τοῦ τόπου, εἰς τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ ποστοῦ ἔτους ὑπὲρ τοῦ τόπου, or εἰς τὸ fraction of an artab. Any one of these could have been meant here, and the oversight may have been so serious as to cause the scribe to break off the text before it was finished. The lack of a

<sup>5</sup> WO I p. 295. Wilcken's interpretation is based partly on the diminutive στεφάνιον: Was der "Kranz" für den König ist ... das ist das "Kränzchen" für den gewöhnlichen Sterblichen. This distinction is probably too subtle: the crown for Noumenios (above, n.1) was also a στέφανος, as were the crowns awarded to public benefactors and to victorious athletes; on the other hand, the normal receipt WO 701 may well have στεφ[ά(νιον)] rather than στεφ[α(νικόν)], which does not seem to be attested unambiguously till the second century AD (Bowman, *BASP* 4 p. 60). Στεφάνιον as 'reward', though, as Wilcken points out, is clear in UPZ I 64.12.

<sup>6</sup> Zola M. Packman, *The Taxes in Grain in Ptolemaic Egypt* (New Haven and Toronto 1968 = ASP IV) p. 16.

signature is no sign of this, as signatures are regularly omitted at this period;<sup>7</sup> but the amount paid, here given only in words, was normally repeated in figures.

- 1 ἔτους ε Παῶνι ιζ με(μέτρηκεν) εἰς  
 2 τὸν ἐν Διὸς πό(λει) τῆι μεγάλῃι  
 3 (θη(σαυρόν) ) ἼΑντανδρος Θεογέ(νους) πυροῦ  
 4 πέντε

'Year 5, Payni 17. Antandros, son of Theogenes, has paid five (artabs) of wheat at the granary in Diospolis Magna.'

3 For the rare name ἼΑντανδρος cf. BGU IV 1134.6 and SB I 1686.4 (*Pros.Ptol.* 1839 = 4333).

3-4 πυροῦ πέντε: the omission of the word ἀρτάβας is normal; cf. *ZPE* 20 (1976) 127 n.6.

### 3. Bank Receipt

Inv. GR. P. 451

10 x 8.5 cm

ca. 140-131 BC

It is unfortunate that this receipt should be damaged and hard to read, for it appears to deal with an interesting transaction, the sale of surplus material from the military camp at Thebes. No similar text is known to me,<sup>8</sup> but the sale itself would presumably have been comparable to the auctions of royal property recorded for example in UPZ II 218-223.<sup>9</sup>

The object of sale is lost at the beginning of line 3. Whatever it was, it had been used, or at any rate acquired, for the construction of ὀργάνων ἢ ἐλτικῶν (4-5). Ὀργανα καταπελτικά is a known collocation for 'catapult' (*LSJ*, s.v. καταπαλτικός): that would suit context and script.<sup>10</sup> -α]γελτικῶν or a compound, however, would also do. Those would presumably be signalling devices.<sup>11</sup> Κελτικῶν is palaeographically excluded.

An approximate date is given by the banker Herakleides, for whom the earliest attestation is Mecheir 140 (WO 1515) and the latest 15 November 126 (SB XVI 12349). The use of his name in

<sup>7</sup> Packman p. 53. The date is determinable because receipts for payments εἰς τὸν ἐν Διὸς πόλει τῆι μεγάλῃι θησαυρόν are found only from 164 to 88 BC, and in this time span the only regnal year 5 is that of Cleopatra III with Ptolemy IX, 113-112 BC. The date would not be affected by identifying the queen as Cleopatra II instead of Cleopatra III.

<sup>8</sup> There are receipts for sales of land for the ἴδιος λόγος, BGU III 992 and P.Haun. I 11 (cf. P. R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and-Roman Idios Logos*, Toronto 1970, 7ff.), but these are far more complex than the ostrakon.

<sup>9</sup> The principal study is by M. Talamanca in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* Ser. 8, vol. VII.2 (1955) 38-104; see most recently P.Köln VI 268 with commentary. Cf. also land cessions such as P.Teb. IV 1101 and the references there.

<sup>10</sup> For the construction of catapults see John G. Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World* (London, 1978) 99-132 with K. D. White, *Greek and Roman Technology* (London, 1984) 217-219.

<sup>11</sup> The standard work is W. Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums* (Leipzig 1913, reprint Hildesheim - New York 1972); cf. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* VI 171ff. The watchtowers discussed and illustrated by R. S. Bagnall in *CE* 57 (1982) 125-8 (cf. also Clarysse and Sijpesteijn in *AncSoc* 19, 1988, 71-96; Zitterkopf and Sidebotham, *JEA* 75, 1989, 180-189) may be relevant, but ὄργανα should mean some type of equipment rather than the towers themselves.

line 2 shows that the text was written before 130, if the pattern observed in his other receipts held true here as well.<sup>12</sup>

The ostrakon contains the earliest specific reference to a *χάραξ* at Thebes (as opposed to a *τειχος* or *φρούριον* at the Memnonia), though of course military presence in the area is attested well before this.<sup>13</sup> It is presumably this camp that gave its name to one of the quarters of the city under the Romans.

It is natural to ask oneself whether the ostrakon should be directly connected with the dynastic struggles of this period and/or (the end of?) the revolt of Harsiesis,<sup>14</sup> but the text provides no answer.

|    |                        |   |
|----|------------------------|---|
| 1  | ]                      | ι̅ τ̅ε(τακται) ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Διὸς πό(λει) τῆι      |
| 2  | [με(γάληι) τρά(πεζαν)] | ἐφ' ἧς Ἡρακλείδης ἀπὸ τιμῆς                     |
| 3  | ]                      | ς δοθέντος ἐκ τῶν ἐν Διὸς πό(λει) τῆι με(γάληι) |
| 4  | ]                      | εἰς κατασκευὴν ὀργάνων                          |
| 5  | ]                      | ελτικῶν τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν                     |
| 6  | [τοῦ]                  | αὐτόθι χάρακος, ἀπενεχθέν(τος) δὲ πρὸς          |
| 7  | ]                      | απερου καὶ τὸν ἦ( ) κατὰ κοινὸν                 |
| 8  | ]                      | μιου (τάλαντα) δ, γείνεται χαλκοῦ τάλαντα       |
| 9  |                        | τέσσερα.  |
| 10 |                        | (τάλαντα) δ Ἡρακλείδης τρα(πεζίτης)             |

'(Year, month) 15. (So-and-so) has paid to the bank in charge of Herakleides at Diospolis Magna 4 talents, makes four copper talents, for ... which was given from the ... at Diospolis Magna for the construction of (catapults? signalling devices?) for the use of the local camp and was carried away to NN and NN in common. 4 talents. Herakleides, banker.'

3 The lacuna should contain some object or collective noun with a genitive in sigma. Theoretically one could also connect the sigma with what follows, restoring προ]σ- or εἰ]σδοθέντος, but that would leave very little room for another word first.

6 [τοῦ]: or [τῆς], but cf. P.Köln IV 186.3.

#### 4. Receipt for τέλος ταφῆς

Inv. E. 284-1891

12 x 9 cm

12 May, AD 177

Burial tax at Thebes has been discussed in detail by Bénédicte Verbeeck and Guy Wagner in *ZPE* 81 (1990) 290-295, to which the reader is referred for bibliography and parallel texts. Receipts for the tax are known from (probably) 108 to 192 AD and can be divided into two classes, those issued by agents of the clothiers' tax and those from officials of the temple granary.<sup>15</sup> These

<sup>12</sup> See R. Bogaert, "Liste chronologique des banquiers royaux thébains 255-84 avant J.C.," *ZPE* 75 (1988) 115-138, at 126-7. Add now O.Ash.Shel. 3.

<sup>13</sup> J. K. Winnicki, Ptolemäerarmee in Thebais (*Arch.Filol.* 38, 1978) 51ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. L. Koenen, "Θεοῖσιν ἐχθρός; Ein einheimischer Gegenkönig in Ägypten (132/1<sup>a</sup>)", *CE* 34 (1959) 103-112.

<sup>15</sup> *τελώναι* and *ἐπιτηρηταὶ* τέλος ἱματιοπωλῶν versus *τελώναι* and *ἐπιτηρηταὶ* θησαυροῦ ἱερῶν. From the list and analysis in *ZPE* 81 (1990) 292-3 I deduct no. 3, O.Tait 1070, which there is no adequate reason to connect with τέλος ταφῆς.

two groups of receivers apparently functioned simultaneously,<sup>16</sup> the first collecting two drachmas and the second only one. This suggests to my mind that there were two distinct taxes of the same name; but the lower rate has been attested only three times, so generalizations are risky. Verbeeck and Wagner, using the same evidence, concluded that only a single tax was involved.

The two-drachma charge is several times said to have been levied on ὀθόνια, burial shrouds; whether it was collected from the merchants or the bereaved is still moot.<sup>17</sup> If the tax collected by the θησαυρός ἱερῶν was in fact different, then the other principal known business of the θησαυρός at this period, the collection of βαλανευτικόν, suggests a connection with water: cleansing the body or libations for the dead, perhaps.<sup>18</sup> However this may be, the charges are so rarely met with as to suggest that there were forms of interment available on which τέλος ταφῆς was not due, and that these were the ones commonly used.

This text was mentioned by E. A. Wallis Budge in *A Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge 1893) p. 124, no. 425: "Red terra-cotta ostrakon, inscribed with seven lines of Greek. Karnak. 5 1/8 in."

- 1 Ψενεμοῦν(ις) καὶ (μέτοχοι) τελ(ῶναι) ἑθ(ασυροῦ) ἱε(ρῶν) Διὸ(ς) πόλ(εως) Πανῶ  
 Ψεν-  
 2 μώνθου. ἔσχ(ομεν) ὑπὲρ ταφῆς μιᾶ(ς)  
 3 τὸ καθῆκον τέλος. (ἔτους) ιζ  
 4 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
 5 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Λουκίου  
 6 Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου τῶν κυρίων  
 7 Σεβαστῶν, Παχῶ(ν) κγ̄.

2 ὑπὲρ corr. from ὑπ(ὲρ)

7 κγ corr. from κβ

<sup>16</sup> Cf. for year 9 of Marcus Aurelius and Verus O.Tait 1073 and O.Cair. GPW 91 with WO 658; for year 12 of Antoninus Pius WO 1062 and 1585 plus Nachtrag with O.Tait A45.

<sup>17</sup> Collection by τελῶναι ἱματιοπῶλων or ἐπιτηρηταὶ τέλους ἱματιοπῶλων certainly suggests that the tax payers should be ἱματιοπῶλαι, and the payer in the ostrakon published by Verbeeck and Wagner is in fact described as such. On the other hand, the trade could have been stated there simply to distinguish the man from someone else of the same name. Against the idea of a trade tax stands WO 1463, in which a woman pays for her husband's burial. One can of course imagine that she too was in the cloth trade, but on the simplest view she paid as the person who ordered the mummy. Some receipts record payments for two or three burials at once. Wilcken felt that this too spoke for a trade tax (WO I 305-6), but multiple deaths in a single family were probably commoner in antiquity than today, see P.Lugd-Bat XIX p. 163.

<sup>18</sup> For the uses of water in the cult of the dead cf. e.g. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil* (Paris 1964) 278ff; Bataille's treatment of the χοαχύται in *Les Memnonia* 246ff; Robert A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (Leiden 1981) esp. 124ff; Warren Dawson, "Making a Mummy", *JEA* 13 (1927) 40-49.

Even if these speculations are along the right track, though, it remains obscure why officials of the θησαυρός should be the responsible parties. Archaeological remnants might theoretically have given a clue, but the temple granary at Karnak does not appear to have been identified yet. Structures like the 'storehouse' of Psammuthis near the Sacred Lake seem at first sight tempting, but the latest study known to me denies that these were granaries (Claude Traunecker, "Les 'temples hauts' de Basse Époque," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 38, 1987, 147ff. at p. 157); and as he points out, they do not resemble the granary of Amon as discussed by Charles Van Siclen III in *Two Theban Monuments from the reign of Amenhotep II* (San Antonio 1982) 18ff.

'Psenemounis and associate tax farmers of the temple granary at Diospolis to Panas son of Psenmonthes. We have received the appropriate tax for one burial. Year 17 of the Imperatores Caesares Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus the lords Augusti, Pachon 23.'

- 1 Psenemounis was not known before, see the list in *ZPE* 76 (1989) 77ff. Add to the ἐπιτηρηταί there Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ μέτοχοι in year 7 of Vespasian, AD 74-75 (O.Str. 270 with BL II,1 p. 29); and add to the τελῶναι, if the statement in BL II,1 p. 31 is correct, Ἐριοφμόις καὶ μέτοχοι already in year 10 of Nero, AD 63-64 (O.Str. 477).
- 3 τὸ καθήκον τέλος: these receipts often omit the amount charged, presumably because it was standardized. In O.Leid. 144, though, τὸ καθήκον τέλος is followed by the sum collected.

### 5. Receipt for φόρος ἀπότακτος

Inv. GR.P.523

9 x 7 cm

2 June AD 252

The phrase φόρος ἀπότακτος is familiar from land leases, but in the following text it has every appearance of denoting a tax. The closest parallel is WO 1473 with BL II (1) p. 112; cf. also O.Mich. 752, a payment ὑπὲρ ἀποτάκτων (3rd cent. AD). Problematic is whether these charges are identical with the φόρος ἱερὸς ἀπότακτος or φόρος ἱεροῦ ἀποτάκτου which is so far attested only in a series of documents from the reign of Philip the Arabian,<sup>19</sup> and also whether the latter is to be understood as a translation of *sacra delegatio*.<sup>20</sup> ἀπότακτον from earlier periods is found in other connections: on bricks (P.Stras. I 66.8), boats (SPP XXII 183.35-7), priestly dues (P.Amh. II 119.8, P. Fay. 39.15), as a transport fee (P.Berl. Leihg. I 5.5 with introd.).

The receipt follows an unusual formula which R. Bogaert has shown to have been used by tax collectors of various types but not (as had previously been thought) by public banks.<sup>21</sup>

- |   |   |           |
|---|---|-----------|
| 1 | διέγ(ραψεν) Παῦ(νι) ἦ τοῦ β (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡ[μῶν]                       | Tafel XXI |
| 2 | Γάλλων καὶ Οὐολουσιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν Σοφεία Η[                                  |           |
| 3 | ὀνό(ματος) Καμητίς Πεκύσιος Ἀβῶτο(ς) ὑπ(ὲρ) φόρου ἀποτάκ[του]               |           |
| 4 | τοῦ α(ὑτοῦ) β (ἔτους) δραχ(μάς) δύο, (γίν.) (δρ.) β. Διογένης σεση(μείωμα). |           |

'On Payni 8 of year 2 of our lords the Galli (*sic*) and Volusianus, Augusti, Sophia, daughter of NN, paid in the name of Kametis son of Pekysis, grandson of Abos, for the fixed tax for the same 2nd year, two drachmas, = 2 dr. Signed by me, Diogenes.'

- 1-2 The imperial formula with the plural Γάλλων is not precisely paralleled elsewhere in papyri. I presume it is simply an error for τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Γάλλου καὶ Οὐολουσιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν (O.Tait 1635, O.Thebes 125, O.Mich. 156), possibly through the influence of the preceding plurals. There is also some slight chance that the scribe intended to refer to Gallus and Volusianus together as Galli, so P.Köln IV 196.12,19,27, and then changed his mind. A reference to Gallus and Hostilianus is not plausible, as the latter was neither a Gallus, nor living at the time of this text. For the fundamental dates see Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 114-5.

<sup>19</sup> See P. J. Parsons, "Philippus Arabs and Egypt", *JRS* 57 (1967) 134ff. at 136-8 and 140-1; add now O.Leid. 153.

<sup>20</sup> ἀπότακτον = διατύπωσις = *delegatio* if this is not pressing an abbreviation in P.Cair. Isid. 42.6 too far.

<sup>21</sup> "Les reçus d'impôts thébains en argent des II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles," *CE* 55 (1980) 284-305.



- 3 There is a Καμῆτις ὄμ(οίως) Πεκῦσις Ἄβω[τος in O.Tait 1909.5, doubtfully dated to the 2nd century.

### 6. List of Grain

No inv. no. 8.5 x 7.5 cm 3rd cent. AD

Judging from the name Tampemou in l. 1 this is one of the few Greek ostraca yet published from the Oxyrhynchite nome. Others are SB I 1941, 1947-1960, 1962-1964, 1966-1983, 2251-2254, O.Ash.Shel. 50-51, 73-190, 197, and probably items 10 and 11 below.

|    |                       |               |
|----|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1  | Θ]ῶθ ια/ Ταμπεμού     | [8 or 9 Sept. |
| 2  | ] ρ Μακρο( ) (ἀρτ.) δ |               |
| 3  | ]ων                   | δ             |
| 4  | ]ος                   | δ             |
| 5  | ]ώλης Ἐλένου          | δ             |
| 6  | [Πολ]υδεύκης          | δ]            |
| 7  | Ἑρα]κλείδης           | δ             |
| 8  | ]γ Ὀμηρος             | δ             |
| 9  | ]εφιας                | δ             |
| 10 |                       | ]γ            |

breaks off

### 7. Delivery of Donkeys

Inv. GR. P. 499 8 x 7 cm 5 April, 3rd cent. AD

This note is complete in three lines. The closest parallels appear to be O.Tait P457, 458, 461, 475-6 and O.Mich. I 357-359, III 1054. The editors class the Michigan ostraca as 'delivery of donkeys by individuals', and such brief texts will hardly bear a more precise interpretation. A connection with the transport of grain from the repositories to a harbor, as in the slightly more elaborate receipts which have been discussed with bibliography in O.Oslo pp. 38-59, O.Br-Berl. pp. 161-163 and by H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* I 214-215, is on general grounds not unlikely but cannot be proved. O.Mich. 1053 is a comparable text concerning camels.

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| 1 | Ἑρακλᾶς       |
| 2 | ὄνοι ς        |
| 3 | Φαρ(μουῦθι) ι |

'Heraklas, 6 donkeys, Pharmouthi 10.'

- 2 Dependant on the real purpose of this chit there is a chance that ὄνοι here is intended as a measure of grain (usually 3 artabs). The omission of πυροῦ, κριθῆς or the like does not speak against this possibility, as transportation receipts regularly fail to specify the type of grain meant, cf. e.g. O.Mich. 360-363, 365-414.

**8. Money Account**

Inv. GR. P. 536

15 x 10 cm

4th cent. AD

The term μυριάς in this text will refer to denarii (Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 12 n. 2). It indicates a date not earlier than the second half of the fourth century (*ibid.* 45).

|   |   |    |
|---|---|----|
| 1 | [...]                                     |    |
| 2 | ] ενος Ἀγάθου μ(υριάδες) χ                |    |
| 3 | ] ομπος μ(υριάδες) χ Διοσκόρου μ(υριάδες) | μη |
| 4 | ] Διοσκόρου μ(υριάδες)                    | φ  |
| 5 | ] Διοσκόρου μ(υριάδες)                    | ρν |

**9. Three Occupations**

Inv. GR. P. 531

12 x 12 cm

4th(?) cent. AD

The purpose of these three lines is obscure. The hand is large and clear, the use of abbreviations and the fluctuation between genitive and nominative do not speak for a school exercise.

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| 1 | καλκέως     |
| 2 | ἐργάτης     |
| 3 | βαλανέος(ς) |

1 χαλκέως 3 βαλανέως

**10. Grain Receipt**

Inv. GR. P. 537

15 x 16 cm

18 June, 6th cent. AD

This and the following text are written in the same hand on the same type of grayish, strongly ribbed pottery; the two sherds may well have come from a single vessel. The receipt was made out by one Phoibammon and records a payment of unsifted wheat for a 14th indiction. These features are reminiscent of SB I 1971 and 1972, which came from an Oxyrhynchite find part of which, according to the *Archaeological Report* for 1905/06 p. 15, was distributed to the Fitzwilliam Museum. There is consequently a good chance that these texts, like no. 6, come from the Oxyrhynchite nome.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | [...]   |
| 2 | π[ ± 9 ]ίδης πολ(ιτευόμενος) διὰ ...[                                       |
| 3 | Πασίρου καὶ Φ...ων Πωκᾶ ὑπὲρ γε-  |
| 4 | νήματος ἰδ ἰν(δικτίωνος) σί(του) ῥυπ(αροῦ) ἀρτ(άβας) τεσσεράκοντα           |
| 5 | ἡμισυ χ(οίνικας) δ, γί(νονται) σί(του) ῥυπ(αροῦ) (ἀρτ.?) μ(ἡμ.?) χ(οίν.) δ. |

6 δι' ἐμοῦ Φοιβάμμ[ωνος  
7 Παῶνι κδ  
5 ἡμισυ

'... through NN son of Pasiros and NN son of Pokas, for the crop of the 14th indiction, forty and one-half artabas and four choenices of unsifted wheat, makes 40 1/2 art. 4 ch., through me, Phoibammon. Payni 24.'

- 2 SB 1971 and 1972 both mention a boat belonging to the πολιτευόμενος Dioscurides, so if this text indeed belongs to the same find the lacuna should perhaps be completed as εἰς] | πλ[(οῖον) Διοσκουρ]ίδης, nom. for gen. A ship owner with that name and title appears also in P.Heid. IV 313.14 and 16, but with all due allowance for the uncertainty of palaeographic dating the ostraca are probably too late to refer to the same man. According to the most recent study πολιτευόμενοι, who were usually distinguished from βουλευταί, were members of the curial class (H. Geremek in *Anagennesis* 1 (1981) 231-247.
- 3 Πασίρου is apparently new, but the formation is regular.

### 11. Grain Receipt

Inv. GR. P. 512

9 x 8.5 cm

6th cent. AD

See the introduction to no. 10.

1 ε... [  
2 εμετος[  
3 ιδ' ἰνδικτ[ίωνος  
4 τρῖς τρίτο[ν  
5 δι' ἐμοῦ Φοιβάμμ[ωνος

1 Possibly ἐντά[γιον 4 τρεῖς

### 12-13. Jar Labels

When Wilcken published his study of ostraca he excluded all such writings as were applied to the jars before they had been broken and referred to the owners, content etc. of the vessels while they were still complete (*WO* I p. 4). Such notes have apparently still not been published in any great number: there is a survey by Claude Rapin, "Les Inscriptions économiques de la trésorerie hellénistique d'Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)," *BCH* 107 (1983) 315ff. at 351-356; cf. now also O.Ash.Shel. 195 and 196. The fragments published below come from jars which had been used to hold pistachio nuts and dried fruits. David Gill has been kind enough to write a note on the type of pottery used, see p. 277.

**12. Pistachios**

Inv. GR. P. 532

17 x 12 cm

6th cent. AD

This is evidently the third reference to pistachios in a documentary text from Egypt: the others are P.Laur. IV 184.8 and P.Vindob. Worp 11.14 and 15. To the references given by the editors of those texts add now Suzanne Amigues' Budé edition of Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* with her notes to III,15,3 and IV,4,6 (*Les Belles Lettres*, 1989). Pistachios were connected chiefly with Syria and Mesopotamia, but they are also said to have been grown near Alexandria.

|   |   |                         |           |
|---|---|-------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | ϛ | πιστάκια . [            | Tafel XXI |
| 2 |   | πορφυρο(πώλου ?) κο . [ |           |

1-2 πορφυρο(πώλου) is the only attested expansion that seems likely to be right here. It would be the trade of the jar's owner, whose name will then have been lost in l. 1. The traces after πιστάκια might be the first letter of this name, psi or xi; but it looks more like a talent sign, giving the weight of the pistachios in the jar. P.Laur. 184.4 reads πιστακίου πορφ[υ]ρ(οῦ) but I see no grammatically plausible way of connecting the word in l. 2 with πιστάκια.

**13. Dried Fruits belonging to Menas**

Inv. GR. P. 530

17 x 21 cm

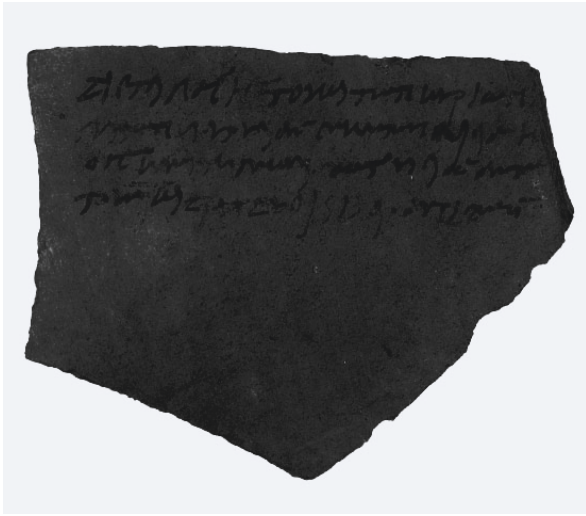
6th cent. AD

|   |  |              |           |
|---|--|--------------|-----------|
| 1 |  | Μηνᾶ . [     | Tafel XXI |
| 2 |  | τραγηματί[ων |           |
| 3 |  | δευτερίων [  |           |

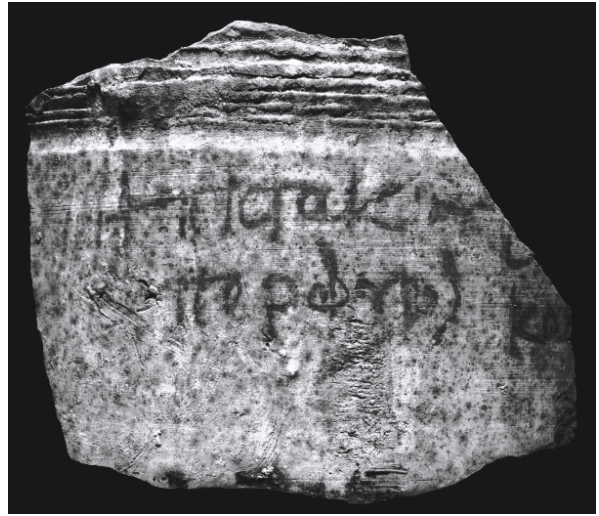
2-3 'second-class tidbits'. I presume the genitive depends on a now-lost statement of weight or measure.

Trier

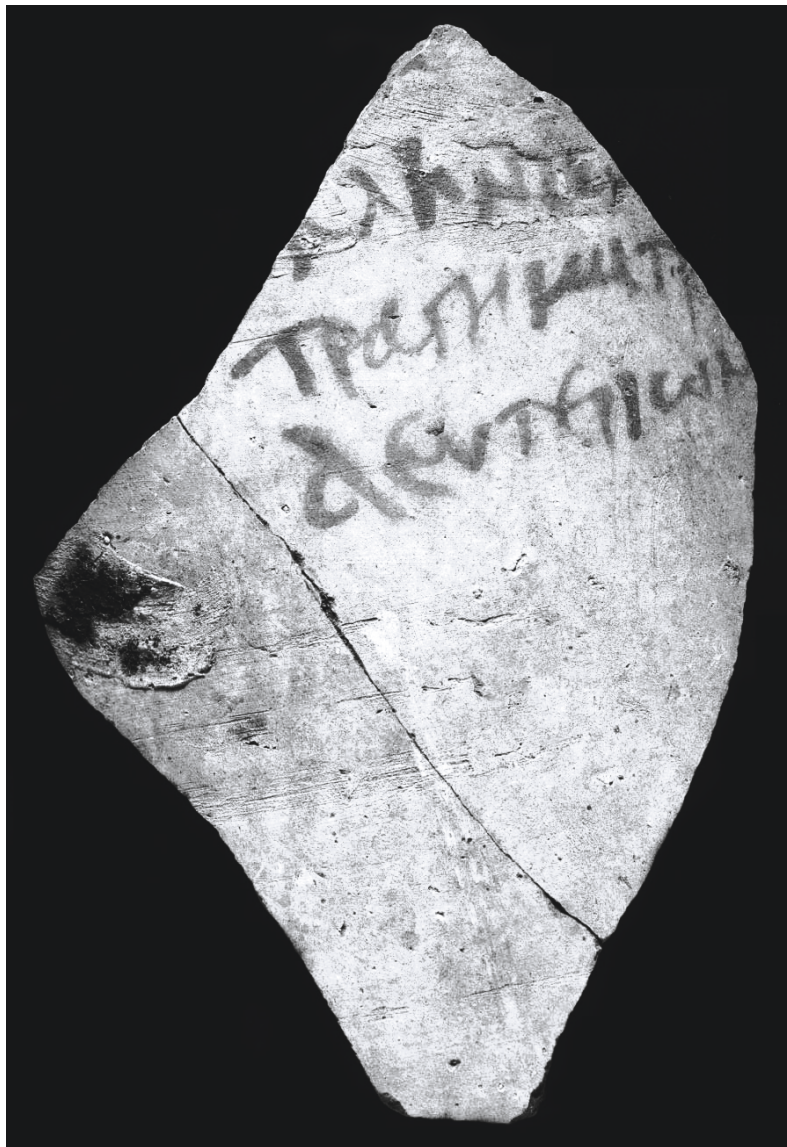
John C. Shelton



Nr. 5



Nr. 12



Nr. 13

Topfbeschriftungen, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge:  
Nr. 5 (Inv. GR. P. 523), Nr. 12 (Inv. GR. P. 532), Nr. 13 (Inv. GR. P. 530)