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THREE LONDON PAPYRI FROM HERMOPOLIS

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Three London Papyri from Hermopolis¹

The following papyri are published together because they concern the same man, Achilleus son of Sabourion, who is also known from other texts, viz. P. Strasb. 184 (mid-second century A.D.; a sale of wood) and P. Ryl. II 153 (Pius; a will). In the latter Aline daughter of Sarapion (see the first text published below) also occurs. The three London papyri have been described in P. Lond. III, p. lxx.

(1) P. Lond. III 1268 descr.: receipts of sitologi (A.D. 158/9)²

A fairly common kind of text from the Hermopolite nome. For direct parallels see, e.g., P. Laur. II 21 (Domitian) and P. Ryl. II 200 (111/2) and the references given there. In the first text in col. II Achilleus son of Sabourion makes tax payments in kind on behalf of two women, one Taumesis daughter of Inarous and Aline daughter of Sarapion, his niece. The first column is too mutilated to reveal its contents for certain. It would be difficult to squeeze in a text that runs like the first one in col. II in the first three or four lines of col. I. If the lines were very long, Τέρτον in l. 2 may in fact be the second village for which a payment has been made (cf. col. II 5). Cf. Tafel X

Col. I

→ τ]οῦ κυρίου
]ω Τέρτον
] λ()) ὑπ(έρ) ἐλ(λείματος)
] space of 1.5 cm
 5 (m. 2)] Ἀλίνης
 πα]ραδότης
]//

 6 πα]ραδότης: corr. ex πα]ραδοτου

2]ω: either ἄν]ω or κάτ]ω; see col. II 3 and 5, where the name of the village is also preceded by the name of the toparchy. If, as seems likely, we are dealing with the toparchy of Πατρῆ here as well, the village may be any one of the Τέρτον's mentioned in M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite* (Missoula 1979), p. 375.

3 The first part of the line was deleted by two parentheses.

- ἐλ(λείματος): an arrear payment, which also occurs in the second column (ll. 4 and 6).

5 For Ἀλίνη see the note on ll. 5-6 of column II.

¹ We wish to thank Mr. T.S. Pattie for his kind permission to publish these texts here. We also wish to thank D. Martinez for correcting our English.

² Damaged piece of papyrus measuring 16.5 x 11.2 cm and regularly cut at the top and at part of the right side. Above col. I there is a margin of ca. 2.3 cm, above col. II one of ca. 2.5 cm. The back is blank.

- 6 πα]ραδότης: any compound adjective ending in -παράδοτος will do as well as the simple παράδοτος. But neither this nor, e.g., πατροπαράδοτος seem to occur elsewhere in papyri. That we are here dealing with such an adjective is suggested by the correction made by the scribe. He was not certain whether (-)παραδότου was the correct feminine form and changed it to (-)παραδότης.

Col. II

- (m. 3) προσκ(εκόμικεν) ἐπὶ θησ(αυρὸν) σιτολ(όγων) μη(τροπόλεως) γενή(ματος) κβ (ἔτους)
 Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου κολ(λήματος) ρ̄μ̄η
 Πατρῆ (ἄνω) Ἄρεως Ἀχιλ(λεὺς) Σαβουρίω(νος) ὑπ(ἐρ) Ταυμήσιο(ς)
 Ἰναρωοῦτ(ος) δοχ(ικῶ) μία (ἥμισυ) (τρίτον), (γίνεται) δοχ(ικῶ) α (ἥμισυ) (τρίτον),
 ἐλ(λείμματος) ὑπ(ἐρ) τῆ(ς) (αὐτῆς)
- 5 δοχ(ικῶ) (ἔκτον), (γίνεται) δοχ(ικῶ) (ἔκτον), Περὶ Π(όλιν) κά(τω) Θύνεως ὑπ(ἐρ)
 Ἄλίνη(ς)
 Σαραπ(ίωνος) δοχ(ικῶ) δύο (τρίτον) (ὄγδοον) (τεσσαρακοστόγδοον), (γίνεται)
 δοχ(ικῶ) β (τρίτον) (ὄγδοον) (τεσσαρακοστόγδοον), ἐλ(λείμματος)
 ὑπ(ἐρ) τ(ῆς) (αὐτῆς) δοχ(ικῶ) μία (ἔκτον) (τετρακαικιστόν), (γίνεται) α μία (ἔκτον)
 (τετρακαικιστόν).
- (m. 4) προσκ(εκόμικεν) ἐπὶ θησ(αυρὸν) σιτ[ολ(όγων)] μη(τροπόλεως)
 [γεν]ή(ματος) κβ (ἔτους) Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος
- 10 [τοῦ κυρίου κολ(λήματος)] ἡ [Περὶ] Π(όλιν) κάτ[ω]
 - - - - -
 4 l. μίαν 7 l. μίαν

(ll. 1-5) 'Delivered to the granary of the sitologi of the metropolis from the harvest of the 22nd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, page 148, from the village of Areos in Upper Patre by Achilles son of Sabourion on behalf of Taumesis daughter of Inaruous: one 1/2 1/3 (artaba) measured with the receiving (measure), = 1 1/2 1/3 (artaba) measured with the receiving (measure), and for arrears on behalf of the same woman 1/6 (artaba) measured with the receiving (measure), = 1/6 (artaba) measured with the receiving (measure)'.

- 1 προσκ(εκόμικεν): this, and not προσβ(έβληκεν) as found in earlier editions of receipts of sitologi (see, e.g., BGU IV 1089, 1, 11, 26 and P. Ryl. II 200, 1), is the correct reading of the abbreviation according to P. Laur. II 21, 1n. In our papyrus the abbreviation mark is a curved stroke, which we have hesitatingly interpreted as kappa rather than beta.
- μη(τροπόλεως): in P. Ryl. II 200, 9, με() in θησ(αυροῦ) σιτολ(όγων) · με(μέτρηκε) (so ed.) should rather be interpreted as μη(τροπόλεως) and be linked to the preceding.
- 3 Πατρῆ (ἄνω) Ἄρεως: what we have interpreted as a symbol for ἄνω looks like ± (or rather a wide V turned 45° to the right with a + on top). The same symbol occurs in P. Ryl. II 200, 2 and 10 (see the app.crit.) and P. Flor. III 386, 31 and 387, 4, 46, 54, 65, 73, 77 and 80 (as far as we can tell from the plates in the ed.princ. and *Aegyptus* 68, 1988, after p. 56),

where the editors also interpreted it as ἄνω. The only alternative would be to interpret it as κάτω, but this is ruled out by two considerations. First, in line 5 κάτω - if that is the correct reading of the abbreviation there - looks much different (cf. also P. Flor. III 386-388 [late-first and early-second century A.D.] and P. Laur. II 21). Second, the village of Ἄρεως was in the toparchy of Πατρῆ ἄνω; see Drew-Bear, *op.cit.*, p. 70. The symbol seems thus far confined to texts from the Hermopolite nome.

The payment here is made to the granary of the metropolis, Hermopolis, although the village of Ἄρεως had its own public granary. See P. Oxy. XVII 2119 (A.D. 219).

- Ἀχιλ(λεὺς) Σαβουρίω(νος): he appears also in the following texts and in the two other Hermopolitan texts mentioned in the introduction. The name Σαβουρίων is frequent in the Hermopolite nome.
- Ταυμήσιο(ς): this woman's name has occurred once before in a text likewise from the Hermopolite nome, P. Flor. I 81, 3 (A.D. 103).
- 4 Ἰναρωῦτο(ς): or Ἰναρωῦτο(ς).
- δοχ(ικῶ): scil. μέτρο. Likewise the scribe leaves out (πυροῦ ?) ἀρτάβη before the following figure.
- 5 Περὶ Π(όλιν) κά(τω) Θύνεως: although κά(τω) is difficult, it is the most acceptable reading here. It is possibly ἄ(νω), but there is too much ink for just an alpha. In our opinion the loop above the iota of the preceding word represents pi. At the bottom the loop turns to the right and might well be interpreted as a kappa. The abbreviation is indicated by a slightly raised and curtailed alpha. The whole resembles κά(τω) in P. Laur. II 21 but not ἄνω in l. 3 here. The village of Θύνεως was however in the toparchy of Περὶ Πόλιν ἄνω; see Drew-Bear, *op.cit.*, p. 120. Nevertheless, it was presumably on the borderline between the toparchies of Περὶ Πόλιν ἄνω and κάτω.
- 5-6 Ἀλίνη(ς) Σαραπ(ίωνος) was the niece of Achilleus son of Sabourion (see P. Ryl. II 153). Achilleus' father was the brother of Aline's mother. For (another?) Aline, daughter of Sarapion from the Hermopolite nome, see P. Lond. 934 of A.D. 214-217 (*Tyche* 1, 1986, pp. 7-8). Ἀλίνη is a common Hermopolitan name.

(2) P. Lond. III 1269 a descr.: tax receipts (A.D. 157-158)³

Receipts for χωματικόν, λαογραφία and γερδιακόν are common. For the Hermopolite nome however this and the following specimens are almost unique (but see P. Ryl. II 193 of A.D. 132-135 and the unpublished tax receipts among the fragments of P. Lond. 947). As is usual in tax receipts, some of the payments are a few months overdue.

The tax payments in this papyrus are for Batrachos, a slave of Achilleus son of Sabourion, sometimes by the slave himself, sometimes by the owner on behalf of the slave. The explanation for the variation seems to be that the slave was entitled to pay his own weavers' tax, but not his capitation and dyke taxes. These are always credited to the owner in this document. Curiously

³ Rectangular piece of papyrus measuring 18.8 x 13.5 cm and regularly cut at all sides. There is a sheet-join ca. 2 cm from the left edge. Above col. I there is a margin of ca. 2 cm, underneath col. II one of ca. 3 cm. The back is blank.

enough the word δραχμάς or δραχμαί is left out by the scribes in the receipts for tax payments by the slave, but not in the payments by the owner on behalf of the slave. *Pecunia olet?*

For capitation taxes paid by slaves see P. Thmouis, p. 36, note 7, I. Biezuńska-Małowist, *BASP* 22 (1985), pp. 7-12, J.A. Straus, *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), pp. 880-881 and 882, note 252 for references to χωματικόν paid by slaves. Among papyri Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 217 and PSI X 1146 may be singled out as especially informative on the tax liabilities of slaves and, consequently, freedmen. In l. 13 Achilleus pays 8 drachmas for λαογραφία on behalf of Batrachos, and this may represent the total liability for this particular tax for year 21. This suggests that Achilleus belonged to the privileged class of the *metropolitai* of Hermopolis, who only paid 8 drachmas. Slaves and freedmen of *metropolitai* enjoyed the same privileges as their masters or former masters (cf. PSI X 1146, 11-12: οἱ δοῦλοι λαογραφοῦνται ὡς οἱ δεσπότες).

In ll. 16-21 three receipts are summarized in a single statement. Presumably the scribe copied the first two items from separate receipts, like the one published here as no. 3. Cf. Tafel XIa

Col. I

- κα (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου Ἀδριανοῦ κ̅ῗ Dec. 19, 157
 πόλ(εως) λιβ(ός) χωμ(ατικοῦ) κ (ἔτους) Ἀχιλ(λεὺς) Σαβ(ουρίωνος)
 ὑπ(έρ) Βατράχ(ου) δούλ(ου) Ἀχιλ(λέως)
 5 (δραχμάς) ἕξ (τετρώβολον), (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) ς (τετρώβολον).
 space of ca. 1 cm
 (m. 2) κ[α (ἔτους)] Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
 [τ]οῦ κυρίου Φαρμο(ῦθι) ᾗ γερδίων March 29, 158
 [π]ρώτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ (ἔτους)
 [Β]άτραχος δο(ῦλος) Ἀχιλ(λέως) [ἔ]πτὰ ὀβολ(όν), (γίνονται) ζ –.
 10 [] δι(ὰ) Ἀσκ(λ)
 space of ca. 0.5 cm
 (m. 1) κα (ἔτους) [Ἀντ]ωνίνου Καίσαρος
 [τοῦ κυρίου] Παῦνι τ̅ᾶ June 5, 158
 [πόλ(εως) λιβ(ός) ὑπ(έρ)] λαο(γραφίας) κα (ἔτους) Ἀχιλ(λεὺς)
 [Σαβ(ουρίωνος)] ὑπ(έρ) Βατράχ(ου) δούλ(ου)

Col. II

- 15 (δραχμάς) η (προσ)δια(γραφομένων) (τετρώβολον). ἀμ(φοδογραμματεὺς) πόλ(εως)
 δι(ὰ) Ἀχ(ιλλ)
 space of ca. 1 cm
 (m. 3) κα (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Παῦνι κ̅ῗ June 20, 158
 γερδ(ίων) πρώτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ (ἔτους) Βάτραχος
 δούλ(ος) Ἀχιλλέως ἑπτὰ ὀβόλους δύο, (γίνονται) ζ =
 δι(ὰ) Ἑρμείν(ου). κβ (ἔτους) Φαῶφι ᾗ γερδ(ίων) κα (ἔτους) ὁ (αὐτὸς) τρεῖς τε-
 Sept. 30, 158

- 20 τρώβολον, (γίνονται) γ (τετρώβολον) δι(ά) τοῦ (αὐτοῦ). κβ (ἔτους) Ἰθὺρ ἱγ
 γερδ(ίων) κα (ἔτους) Nov. 9, 158
 ὁ (αὐτὸς) τρε[ι]ς τετρώβολον, (γίνονται) γ (τετρώβολον) δι(ά) τοῦ (αὐτοῦ).
 space of ca. 0.5 cm
- (m. 4) κβ (ἔτους) Ἰαντωνίνου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου Ἰαδριανοῦ κζ πόλ(εως) λιβ(ὸς) Dec. 22, 158
 χωμ(ατικῶ) κα (ἔτους) Ἰαχιλ(λεὺς) Σαβ(ουρίωνος) ὑπ(ἐρ) Βατράχ(ου)
 25 δούλ(ου) (δραχμάς) ἔξ (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) χ(αλκοῦς) β, (γίνονται)
 (δραχμαὶ) ς (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον) χ(αλκοῦς) β.

(ll. 1-10) 'The 21st year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Hadrianos 23, for the West City quarter: Achilles son of Sabourion (paid) for Batrachos, slave of Achilles, for the dyke tax of the 20th year six drachmas ob. 4, = 6 dr. ob. 4.

The 21st year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pharmouthi 3: Batrachos, slave of Achilles, (paid) for the weavers' tax of the twenty-first year seven (drachmas) and one obol, = 7 ob. 1. (Signed) X through the intermediary of Ask1'.

- 3 χωμ(ατικῶ) is certain. We see on the papyrus first a chi, followed by a stylized omega with a stylized mu above it. Cf. the same word written slightly differently in l. 24. In both cases Achilles pays for this tax on behalf of Batrachos. Because the owner is likewise paying the λαογραφία for his slave in l. 13, it is likely that the tax mentioned here and in l. 24 is also a capitation tax. The χωματικόν is one of the taxes discussed by S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton 1938), pp. 140-143, under the general heading of 'capitation taxes'. The rate of the χωματικόν seems to have been 6 drachmas and 4 obols throughout Roman Egypt as it is in the first receipt. We do not know why Achilles pays a trifle less in the fifth receipt.
- All three receipts paid by Achilles on behalf of Batrachos mention the ἄμφοδον where the two of them are registered, the West City quarter of Hermopolis. This supports Wallace's treatment of the χωματικόν as one of the capitation taxes in Roman Egypt.
- 10 Before δι(ά) there is only room for something like ἄμ(φοδογραμματεὺς) πόλ(εως) as in l. 15. In that case the *amphodogrammateus* would be responsible for the collection of at least two taxes in Hermopolis, viz. the capitation tax and the weavers' tax. See the note on l. 15. At any rate it seems likely that Ἰασκ(λ) is the tax collector's representative, as is Ἰαχιλ(λ) in l. 15 and Ἰερμείνου in l. 19 and in P. Lond. III 1269 b 4 published below.
- 15 Between (δραχμάς) η and (τετρώβολον) we have tentatively transcribed (προσ)δια(γραφομένων). We can at least be certain that the *prosdigraphomena* tax, four obols for eight drachmas, is involved. See in general A. Gara, *Prosdigraphomena e circolazione monetaria* (Milano 1976). We have no parallels from the Hermopolite nome. The word προσδιαγραφομένων, if correct here, would be abbreviated with a curved stroke, which should be interpreted as (προσ)-, followed by δια(). Apparently the *prosdigraphomena* are included in the amounts mentioned in ll. 5 and 25 (6 drachmas and up to 4 obols).
- ἄμ(φοδογραμματεὺς): the abbreviation is very short and therefore uncertain, but the same objection may be raised against a personal name. The functions of the *amphodogrammateus* in the metropoleis of Roman Egypt is discussed by P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil*

(Bruxelles 1958), pp. 7-16 and 18. In Hermopolis the *amphodogrammateus* is attested from A.D. 90 until 234 (see P. Hamb. I 60 and the unpublished declaration of birth contained among the fragments of P. Lond. 947). In none of these Hermopolitan texts the *amphodogrammateus* functions as a tax collector.

(3) P. Lond. III 1269 b descr.: tax receipt (A.D. 159)⁴

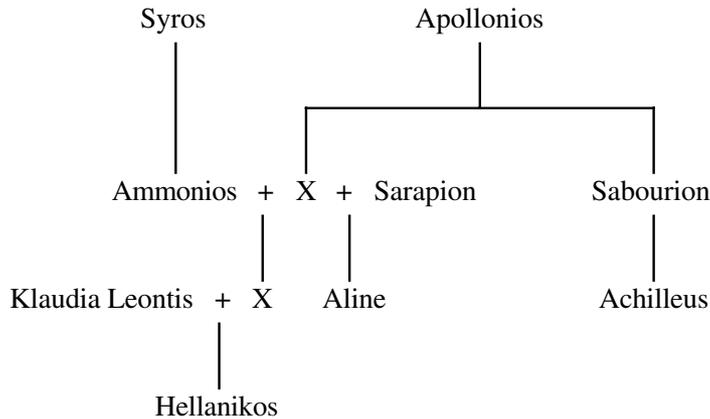
A tax receipt similar to the above. This receipt was issued ten days after the one on the preceding papyrus. Cf. Tafel XIb

→ κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 Τῦβι ἕξ γερδ(ίων) πρώτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ (ἔτους) Jan. 1, 159
 Βάτραχος δοῦλ(ος) Ἀχιλλέως σύνπαντι
 τρεῖς, (γίνονται) γ δι(ὰ) Ἑρμείνο(υ).

‘The 22nd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Tybi 6: Batrachus, slave of Achilleus, (paid) for the weavers’ tax of the twenty-first year three (drachmas) in all, = 3, through the intermediary of Herminus.’

- Ἑρμείνο(υ): the representative of the tax collector, on whom see the note on l. 10 of the second text published above.

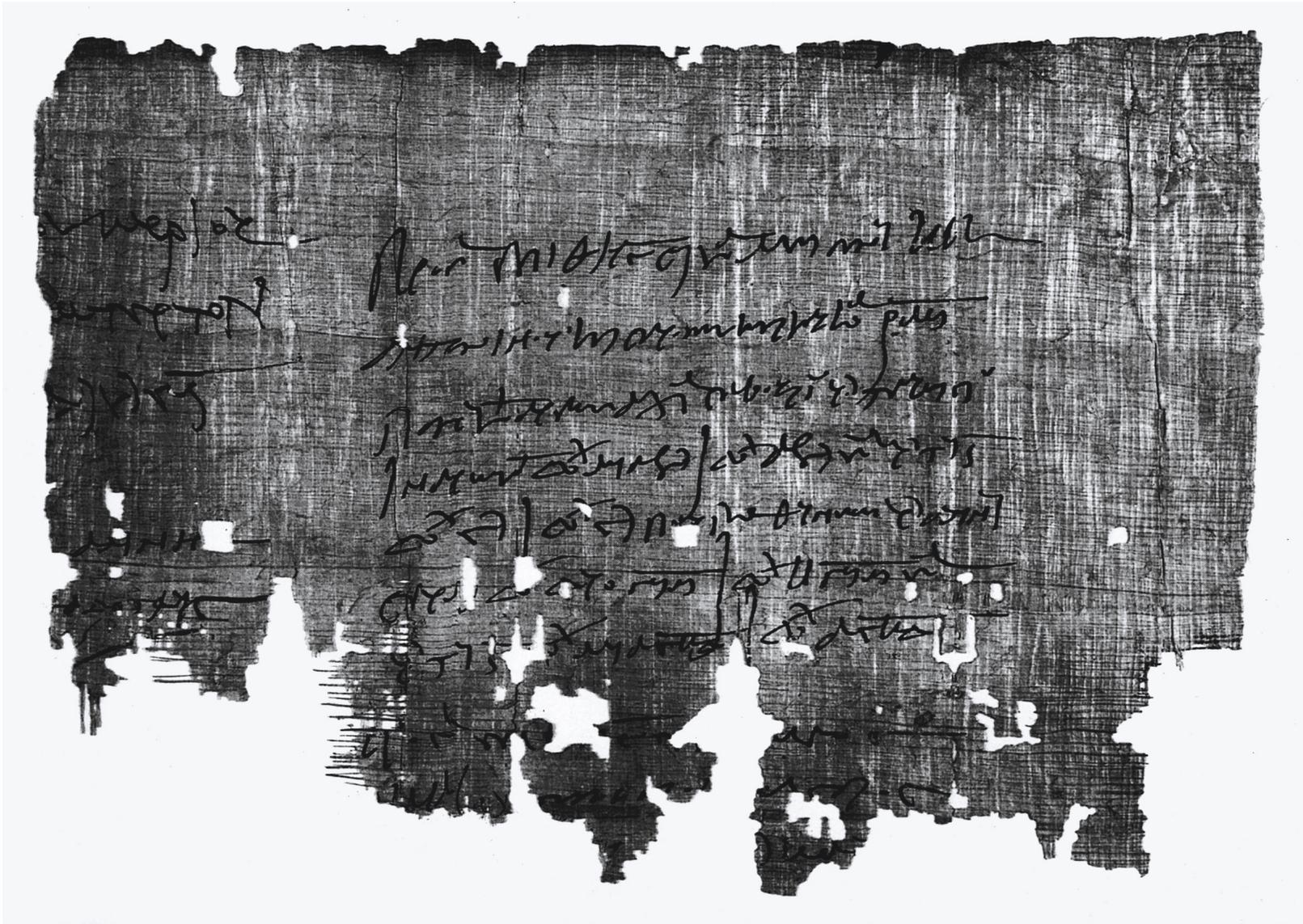
In conclusion we append a genealogical tree of the family as can be reconstructed from P. Ryl. II 153 and the texts published above.



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⁴ Rectangular piece of papyrus measuring 10.4 x 7.7 cm and regularly cut at all sides. Four vertical folds are still visible. At the top there is a margin of 1 cm and at the bottom one of 3.5 cm. The back is blank.



Sitologenquittung (P.Lond. III 1268)



a)



b)

a), b) Steuerquittungen: a) P.Lond. III 1269a, b) P.Lond. III 1269b