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VARIA PAPHYROLOGICA III

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## VARIA PAPHYROLOGICA III\*

### (1) More σύμμαχος-Papyri

In ZPE 92,1992,219ff. A. Jördens publishes five papyri which in one way or another mention a(n) (ἀρχι)σύμμαχος. On pp. 230f. she updates the appendices added to her article on symmachoi published in ZPE 66, 1986, 105ff. From the IVth century A.D. onwards (ἀρχι)σύμμαχοι appear with a certain regularity and more will become known as more (late) Byzantine papyri are published (cf., e.g., P.Oxy. LVIII 3932,11n.; LIX 4002,5-6n.). The following two papyri may add some new σύμμαχοι to the ones already known.

a) **P.Mich. inv. no. 3425.** 10.5 x 4.5 cm. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. The papyrus is regularly cut off at the top, the bottom, and the right side. There are small free margins at the top and at the bottom. The papyrus was once rolled up (probably from the right to the left). Several vertical folds are still visible. Provenance unknown. VIth/VIIth century A.D.

Μηνᾶς τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ·

Tafel XV

δὸς τῷ συμμαχῶ ὑ(πὲρ) ἰζ οἴνου ἀσκαλε· ( ) δύο

μόνα καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) τῆς ἰζ πλὴν τούτου τοῦ

4     πιττακίου ὑ(πὲρ) οἴνου οὐκ ἔγραψα μηδὲ ποιήσης ἀπόκρισιν.

Translation:

Menas to his brother Alexander. Give the symmachos on account of the 17th two - - - of wine only and regarding the 17th I did not write anything concerning the wine except the present note and, please, do not send an answer.

Menas orders his brother Alexander to provide an unnamed symmachos with two measures of wine on account of the 17th of a not mentioned month. At the same time he informs Alexander that the present text is the only message which he wrote concerning the wine of the 17th and that he does not expect an answer from Alexander.

Alexander does not need to be a physical brother of Menas (cf. R.W. Daniel, BASP 16,1979,37ff.). On the other hand, the two men seem to have been of a not too different social level in view of the manner in which Menas formulates his request in line 4. Alexander knows of which month Menas is speaking (i.e. the month in which this πιττάκιον was written and reached him. For that reason the text did not need to be dated) and the symmachos to whom wine has to be given (note the use of the article and the absence of the symmachos' name). It does not become clear in what relationship this symmachos stands to Menas (and/or Alexander). Probably the symmachos referred to was in the service of Menas. From the present text it does not necessarily follow that symmachoi were paid monthly (the 17th of a certain month may have marked a special occasion). A. Jördens, locc. cit., lists 10 (ἀρχι)σύμμαχοι named Menas but not a single

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\* Continued from ZPE 81, 1980, 245ff. I wish to thank Ludwig Koenen who gave me permission to publish all these Michigan papyri in the present article. He and Dr Trajanos Gagos, who takes care of the papyrus collection of the University of Michigan, housed in room 807 of the Hatcher Graduate Library, made my last stay in Ann Arbor (September/October 1992) not only extremely successful but also pleasant!

one called Alexandros. It is, however, not certain that either Menas or Alexander were (ἀρχι)-σύμμαχοι.

ἀσκαλε ( ) in line 2 poses a problem! It is clear that in the present text it has to have the meaning "container". One is immediately reminded of the measure Ἀσκαλώνιον (cf. R.M. Fleischer, Measures and Containers in Greek and Roman Egypt, unpubl. PhD New York 1956, no. 22, p. 41) but it is impossible to read that measure here. I must avow that D. Hagedorn is correct when he writes to me that ασκαλεξ is the easiest reading palaeographically (comparing αλεξ in Ἀλεξάνδρῳ in line 1). Hesitantly Hagedorn proposes to read ἀσκ(οὺς) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείους). Unfortunately, no parallel for this expression can be adduced and it should be noted that there is no mark of abbreviation after ασκ. Personally I thought of ἀσκάλει(ον) = ἀσκάλι(ον) = ἀσκάρι(ον) = a deminutive of ἀσκός ("skin made into a bag, wineskin") built with the help of the suffix -άριον (cf. L.R. Palmer, A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri, London 1946, 88). However, I cannot produce a parallel either!

b) **P.Mich. inv. no. 4253.** 31.9 x 7 cm. On both sides the text runs along the fibers. The papyrus, horizontally folded in the middle, is rather regularly cut off at all sides. At the bottom nearly 8 cm. have been left free. Provenance unknown. Vth/VIth century A.D.

	+	βρέουιον μισθοῦ	
		συμμ(ά)χ(ων) μερίδ(ος) Φιβ	
		ἀρχισυμμ(ά)χ(ου) γ̄ ἕξαμ(ήνου)	
4		β̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)· οὐ(τως)·	
		Ἰούστῳ συμμ(ά)χ(ῳ)	νό(μισμα) α
		Θεοδώρῳ συμμ(ά)χ(ῳ)	νό(μισμα) α
		approx. 2 cm. left free	
(2nd Hd)	†	γί(νεται) ἰδ(ιωτικῶ ζυγῶ) νομιτ(ευόμενα)	
8		νομίσματα	
		δύο, γί(νεται) ἰδ(ιωτικῶ ζυγῶ) νο(μίσματα) β̄ μό(να)·	
		approx. 1.5 cm. left free	
(3rd hd)		γί(νεται) ἰδ(ιωτικῶ ζυγῶ) νομίσματ(α) δύο,	
		νο(μίσματα) β̄ μ[ό(να)]	paraphe
verso: 12		] Φιβ μισθ(οῦ?)	traces // β̄ [i]νδ(ικτίωνος) νο(μίσματα) β̄.

Translation:

† Memorandum of the wages of symmachoi of the jurisdiction of Phib, the archisymmachos, for the 3rd period of six months, 2nd indiction. As follows: to Justos, symmachos, 1 nomisma; to Theodoros, symmachos, 1 nomisma. (2nd hd) † Total on the private standard two nomismata of current coinage, total on the private standard 2 nomismata only. (3rd hd) Total on the private standard two nomismata, 2 nomismata only.

We are dealing with a wage account for two symmachoi (who perhaps sign this document themselves) who serve in a district for which the archisymmachos Phib is responsible. For a 3rd period of six months (they, therefore, serve already longer under Phib) each symmachos receives 1 nomisma.

Notes:

1 βρέουιον: cf. P.Wash. II 97 introduction.

- 2 μερίδ(ος): μερίς has in the present text the meaning “circumscribed area” (cf. below **3a** for the usual meaning of μερίς in late Byzantine times).
- 2-3 A. Jördens, *loc.citt.*, cites 5 persons called Φίβ, two of whom are ἀρχισύμμαχοι. Neither seems to be identical with the Phib in the present text.
- 3 γ̄: we are dealing with a numeral as the little horizontal stroke above this letter indicates. In my opinion it can only be connected with ἔξαμ(ήνου), i.e. the two symmachoi are being paid for the 3rd period of six months (cf. N. Lewis, *BASP* 4, 1967, 15f.) they are in the service of Phib. This 3rd period of six months can naturally not be the third period of the 2nd indiction. This 3rd payment is made in the course of the 2nd indiction.
- 5-6 A. Jördens, *loc.citt.*, lists 2 Ἰουστοι and 3 Θεόδωροι as (ἀρχι)σύμμαχοι. Identity cannot be established.
- 11 γί(νεται) is not written at the beginning of this line.
- 12 This line, written on the lower part of the papyrus in regard to the main text, is mutilated and rather vaguely preserved.

## (2) Receipt for a Weaver

**P.Mich. inv. no. 3473.** 6.8 x 5.5 cm. The text runs against the fibers. The other side, reinforced by a piece of papyrus glued upon it, is blank. The papyrus, marred by several small holes, is rather regularly cut off at all sides. At the top there is a free margin of 0.5 to 1 cm. Philadelphia. IVth century A.D.

διέγρ(αψε) Ζωίλωφ Μάρω-  
 νι καὶ τοῖς λοιπ(οῖς) γερδί(οις)  
 κόμης Φιλαδελ(φίας)  
 4 Νομισιανῶς δοῦλος  
 Νεμεσιανῶν (δραχμὰς) ιβ̄.  
 (2nd hd) ὁμοίως ἄλλας Πάυνι μη-  
 νῖ (δραχμὰς) ἦ.

1-2 Μάρωνος

Translation:

Paid to Zoilos, son of Maron, and the remaining weavers of the village of Philadelphia by Nomisianos, slave of Nemesianos, 12 dr(achmas). (*2nd hd*) Likewise for the month Payni another 8 dr(achmas).

The above text is complete. It testifies that Nomisianos, a slave of Nemesianos, made two payments (one of 8 drachmas for the month Payni and one of 12 drachmas for an unmentioned [the preceding month Pachon?] month) probably in connection with his profession as a weaver (cf. I. Biežuńska-Małowist, *L'esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Seconde partie: Période romaine*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1977, 73ff. for slaves employed as weavers). The receipt which does not give many details must have been in the hands of Nomisianos (or his master) who brought it with him when he made his second payment. Neither the weaver Zoilos, son of Maron, nor Nomisianos (the name is new. Cf., however, the proper name Νομισ(σ)ιανός), slave of Nemesianos, is known from other published texts. For the textile industry in Egypt, see E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1965; eandem, *JJP* 16-17, 1971, 117ff. Cf. also J.G. Keenan, *Pastoralism in Roman Egypt*, *BASP* 26, 1989, 175ff.

Philadelphia has always been a village where the textile industry flourished. One is reminded of PSI IV 341 (cf. PLBat. 21, p. 55 and p.139) but several other texts attest this industry as well (cf. A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano V*, Milano 1987, 77f.; A.E. Hanson, *Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Arabes, and Ioudaioi* - - -, in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society*, Chicago 1992, 133ff.).

### (3) The Holy Church of God at Hermupolis

In Byzantion 39,1969,180ff. E. Wipszycka published a Berlin papyrus (= now SB XII 10805) which regards the ἀγία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία at Hermupolis and dealt with the small archive of 13 papyri (not listed in O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia*<sup>2</sup>, Milano 1988, 247ff. or 575ff. It is not to be excluded that also SB XII 10809 belongs to this archive. For corrections to the texts of this archive, see, besides the BL, J. Gascou, *Les grands domaines* - - -, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9, Paris 1985, 76ff.) which mention this church (cf. eandem, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 10, Bruxelles 1972, esp. pp. 143f.). In the papyrus collection of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, I came across two more receipts which belong to the same archive.

a) **P.Mich. inv. no. 3276.** 6.2 x 9.3 cm. The text runs against the fibers. The other side is blank. The papyrus is rather regularly cut off at all sides. Approximately 2 cm. have been left free at the bottom. Hermupolis. Middle of the VIIth century A.D.

† ἡ ἀγία(α) τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλη(η)σία Ἑρμ(ου)π(ό)λεως  
 δ(ι) ἐμ(ο)ῦ Κολλούθου προνοητοῦ μερίδ(ος)  
 Ἑρμ(ου)π(ό)λεως Κολλούθου χορτο-  
 4 πώλ(η)· δέδωκ(ες) (ὑπὲρ) ἐκφορ(ίου)  
 καρπῶ(ν) δωδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)  
 χρυσοῦ κεράτια ἑπτὰ  
 ἡμι(σ), γί(νεται) κ(εράτια) ζL. ἐγρ(άφη) Θῶ[θ]  
 8 ς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἰβ. † Κολλοῦθ[ος]  
 προνοητῆς) στοιχεῖ μοι †.

2 Κολλούθου: the 2nd ου perhaps ex corr.      3 Κολλούθω

#### Translation:

† The holy church of God at Hermupolis through me, Kolluthos, administrator of the share of Hermupolis, to Kolluthos, hay-dealer. You have paid for the rent of the crops of the twelfth indiction seven and a half keratia of gold, total 7 1/2 ker. Written on Thoth 6 of the 12th indiction. † I, Kolluthos, administrator, agree. †

#### Notes:

- 1 The papyrus has: <sup>δ</sup>τ. In P.Lond. III 1072 A-D (pp. 274f.; all in the same hand and also from Kolluthos) the scribe writes τ(ο)ῦ.
- 2-3 Cf. lines 8-9. The pronotees Kolluthos is known from several other texts belonging to this archive: P.Lond. III 1072 A-D (pp. 274f.); V 1784, 1785; SB XII 10805 (cf. also the next text).
- 2 For the meaning of μερίς at this time, see J. Gascou, loc.cit., 40ff.

3-4 χορτοπόλ(η): the word χορτοπόλης (cf. L. Casarico, *Stud. Pap.* 22, 1983, 23ff.; H.J. Drexhage, *Münstersche Beiträge zur ant. Handelsgeschichte* 10, 1991, 1ff.) occurs here for the second time in the papyri. P.Lond. III 1177,254 (p. 180) is the other instance.

7-8 Θὼ(θ)ς: September 3/4.

b) **P.Mich. inv. no. 3405.** 8.1 x 9.3 cm. The text runs against the fibers. On the other side, upside down in relation to the text on the other side and written along the fibers, six vague lines of an account (line 2: δ(ιὰ) τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) *vacat* amount; line 3: (ὑπὲρ) Γεωργί(ου) *vacat* amount). The papyrus is regularly cut off at all sides. Free margins: above: over 1 cm.; left: over 1 cm.; below: approximately 2.5 cm. Hermupolis. Middle of the VIIth century A.D.

+

ἡ ἁγί(α) τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ ἐκκλη(ησία) Ἑρμ(ου)π(όλεως)  
 δι' ἐμ(ο)ῦ Κολλούθ(ου) νο(ταρίου) (καὶ) ἀπαιτ(ητοῦ)  
 τῶν χρυσικ(ῶν) Ἑρμ(ου)π(όλεως) Δανιηλίου  
 4 γεωργ(ῶ)· δέδωκ(ες) ἀπὸ χρυσικ(ῶν)  
 δημο(σίων) ἕκτης ἰνδικτίωνος κεράτια  
 εἴκοσι τρία, γί(νεται) κεράτια κγ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας)  
 ζυγ(ῶ). ἐγρ(άφη) Π(α)χ(ῶν)ς ἰνδικτίωνος)ς. † Κολλοῦθ(ος)  
 8 ρ( ) στοι(χεῖ) parape  
 3 Δανιηλίω

Translation:

The holy church of God<sup>+</sup> at Hermupolis through me, Kolluthos, notary and collector of taxes in gold of Hermupolis to Danielios, farmer. You have paid of the taxes in gold of the sixth indiction twenty-three carats, total 23 c(arats) according to the Alexandrian standard. Written on Pachon 6 of the 6th indiction. † I, Kolluthos, - - -, agree.

Notes:

- 1 This text does not start (as usual) with a cross. Above Θ(εο)ῦ there is a small cross like in, e.g., P.Lond. V 1783 (cf. J. Gascou, *loc.cit.*, 77).
- 2 νο(ταρίου): very doubtfully read but it is certain that Kolluthos had another function besides that of ἀπαιτητής (cf. R. Palme, *Das Amt des ἀπαιτητής in Ägypten*, MPER XX, Wien 1989). E. Wipszycka, *Byzantion* 39, 1969, 184 assumes that Kolluthos προνοητής, to date only attested in texts from the 12th indiction, and Kolluthos who appears as ἀπαιτητής in SB XII 10805 of a 1st indiction and as νοτάριος καὶ ἀπαιτητής (cf. Menas νοτάριος καὶ ἀπαιτητής in P.Lond. V 1783 and Menas ἀπαιτητής in SPP III 272) in the present text of a sixth indiction are one and the same person. She is probably right (cf. P.Lond. V 1782 where there is a question of a Senuthios προνοητής μερίδος τῶν χρυσικῶν Ἑρμουπόλεως). It would imply that Kolluthos remained in function as ἀπαιτητής at least during 10 different indictions and possibly during 12 different indictions.
- 3 χρυσικ(ῶν): cf. χρυσικ(ῶν) δημο(σίων) in lines 4-5. Cf. J. Gascou, *loc.cit.*, 16, footnote 86. P.Lond.V 1782 (a fifth indiction is mentioned) is directed to the heirs of a Danielios from Hermupolis. The two Danielioi may be identical. I believe that the ἄββας Δανιήλιος mentioned in P.Lond. III 1060 (pp. 273f.) is a different person.
- 7 Π(α)χ(ῶν)ς: May 1.  
 For the way ἰνδικτίωνος) (the papyrus has: ῥ) is written, see SPP VIII pp. 231f. The little dash probably represents a diaeresis.

- 8 ρ ( ): a reading πρε( ), i.e. πρε(σβύτερος) is not to be excluded although one expects νοτάριος καὶ ἀπαιτητής (cf. P.Lond. V 1783,2 versus 6). In SPP III 271 A 3 the original editor read: - - - ἐμοῦ Γεωργίου πρ(εσβυτέρου) - - -. J. Gascou, loc.cit., 178 does not resolve πρ( ).

#### (4) Two Sitologos Receipts

The following two papyri represent a well known type of document (cf., e.g., BGU XIII 2299-2303; CPR VIII 12 introduction). Both have, however, a point of special interest.

a) **P.Mich. inv. no. 4181.** 11.6 x 7.9 cm. The text runs against the fibers. The other side is blank. The papyrus of a very fine quality is rather regularly cut off at all sides. Free margins: at the top: 2 cm.; at the bottom: 3.5 cm.; at the left: 1.5 cm. Tebtynis.

Ἔτους β̄ Ἀὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου  
 Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου  
 [Σ]εβαστοῦ Εὐσ[ε]βοῦς Φαμενώθ̄ κ̄α. March 17, A.D. 139  
 4 Ὀρσενούφιδι [κ]αὶ μέτοχοι(ι) σιτολόγο(ι)  
 κόμης Τεβτ(ύνεως) μεμετρήμεθα  
 ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων τοῦ διεληλυ-  
 θότος ἔτους εἰς Πρωτᾶν Ἡρώ-  
 8 δου ἐπιπλώου γενομένου  
 [ναυκ]λ[ή]ρου] χειρισμοῦ Νέας  
 [Πόλεως πυροῦ] μέ[τρω]ι δημ[ο-]  
 σίωι ξυστῶι ἀρτάβας ἑπτὰ  
 12 ἡμεσὺ ὄγδοον, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ζζγ.

12 ἡμισυ

Translation:

Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Phamenoth 21. We, Orsenuphis and partners, sitologoi of the village of Tebtynis, have had measured to us from the produces of the past year to the credit of Protas, son of Herodes, supercargo, former shipper of the administration of Neapolis, seven and a half and an eighth artabs of wheat by smoothed public measure, total 7 1/2 1/8 art.

The interest of this text lies in the fact that Protas, son of Herodes (not known from other texts published to date), was a former shipper of the grain administration at Neapolis and is now supercargo. On ἐπιπλῶοι, see P.J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 95, 1993, 127-129. ναύκληροι χειρισμοῦ Νέας Πόλεως can be found in the following texts: P.Giss. Univ. 6,51,12-13; SB XIV 11272,28-29; P.Oxy. X 1259,2-3; XVII 2125,2-3.39; P.Strasb. IV 202,4; SPP XX 32,3-4.26-27.

The sitologos Orsenuphis has not yet appeared in an other text.

Note the use of the *iota adscriptum* in lines 10 and 11.

b) **P.Mich. inv. no. 4302.** 6.4 x 6.5 cm. The text runs against the fibers. The other side is blank. The coarse papyrus is regularly cut/broken (at the bottom) off at all sides. Several horizontal folds are still visible. Free margins: at the top and at the left side: approximately 1 cm. Philadelphia.

Ἔτους ζ' Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου  
 Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνα[κος]

Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικ[οῦ]  
 4 Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου Παῦνι κῆ. June 17, A.D. 198  
 Ἑρμείνος Οὐαλε[ρί]ου καὶ Νεῖλος  
 Δημέου καὶ μέτοχοι(οι) σιτολ(όγοι) κώμ[ης]  
 Φιλαδελ(φίας) μεμετρήμεθα  
 8 μέτ(ρφ) δη(μοσίφ) ξυστ(ῶ) ἔπαιτον  
 ἀπὸ γενή(ματος) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ς (ἔτους) εἰς Πασί-  
 ψημιν Σοκοπετ( ) δι(ὰ) Σοκ[  
 - - - - -

## Translation:

Year 6 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus maximus, Payni 23. We, Herminos, son of Valerius, and Neilos, son of Demeas, and partners, sitologoi of the village of Philadelphia, have had measured to us by smoothed public measure - - - from the produce of the same 6th year to the credit of Pasipsemis, son of Sokopet( ), through Sok[ - - -.

The titulature which the emperor Septimius Severus bears in the present papyrus appears here for the first time in the papyri and requests some comment. In the *Vita Severi* (16,1-4) of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* we read that Septimius Severus received, after he had conquered the Parthian capital Ctesiphon, the title Parthicus. According to the same source Severus' son Caracalla was for the same reason and at the same occasion nominated Augustus and his other son, Geta, Caesar. Neither Cassius Dio (75,9) nor Herodianus (3,9,12) mention the acceptance of the title Parthicus nor the nomination of Severus' sons (cf. P. Kneissel, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser*, *Hypomnemata* 23, Göttingen 1969, 142ff.). In several papyri, dated to the 6th regnal year of Septimius Severus (A.D. 197/8), Caracalla appears as co-ruler (cf. P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales - - -*, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 2, Bruxelles 1964, 95ff.). Caracalla was Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus since June 2, A.D. 198 (cf. *Der Kleine Pauly* sub Caracalla. For that reason P.IFAO I 35 has to be dated to A.D. 198). 15 days was, however, too short a period for the notice of the nomination of Caracalla to reach the village of Philadelphia in the Fayum (cf. J.R. Rea, *ZPE* 9, 1972, 1ff.). In any case, Severus did not receive the title Parthicus at the same time Caracalla was nominated Augustus!

## Notes:

5-6 These two sitologoi do not appear in any other text published to date.

8 ἔπαιτον: cf. CdE 50, 1975, 278ff.

9-10 The proper name Πασιψημης is relatively seldom attested (cf. P.Diog. 40,7; P.Erl. 49,14; P.Mich. V 246,1; SB XII 10887,9,13,14,25). A name starting with the letters σοκοπετ is unknown to me.

## EXCURSUS

In sitologoi receipts a fixed part of the formula is: μεμετρήμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων / ἀπὸ γενήματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ/διεληλυθότος ἔτους. When the singular, ἀπὸ γενήματος, is used, all the produces sown, grown, and harvested in a single year are regarded as one whole single harvest. On the other hand, when the plural, ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων, is used, each produce (e.g., wheat, barley, beans, greenfodder, etc.) is taken individually. The choice of ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων or ἀπὸ γενήματος is not determined by whether payment for a current or for a past year is registered (ἀπὸ

τῶν γενημάτων of the current year: e.g., P.Aberd. 32; of the past year: e.g., P.Berl. Leihg. I 25. ἀπὸ γενήματος of the current year: e.g., P.Bas. 9; of the past year: e.g., BGU XI 2026. I have, however, the impression that ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων occurs more often in combination with a current year and appears more often in Ptolemaic times). If in the expression ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων the last word is abbreviated there can nevertheless be no doubt at all about the question how to resolve the abbreviation, since I do not know of any example in which also τῶν has been abbreviated. Problems arise when the last word in the expression ἀπὸ γενήματος is, as often happens, abbreviated. Up till now editors have indiscriminately resolved γενήματος and γενημάτων. Since the evidence proves that with a few exceptions (which will be dealt with below) neither the expression ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος nor the expression ἀπὸ γενημάτων exists, it seems better to resolve γενή(ματος) in the case of an abbreviated ἀπὸ γενή( ) rather than γενη(μάτων). In the following papyri ἀπὸ γενη(μάτων) (*vel simile*) has to be changed to ἀπὸ γενή(ματος) (*vel simile*): BGU VII 1636,2,7,14; XIII 2302,8; P.Cairo Preis. 27,10; P.Kron. 32,6; P.Mert. I 16,5; P.Mil. Vogl. I 28,3,70; III 197 I 7; IV 214 verso 2; 249,7; P.Oxy. XVI 1913,61; XVII 2119,5; P.Panop. Beatty 1,134,396; P.Strasb. V 457,6; VI 516 recto 4; IX 833,8; SB I 1492,1; 1494,1; 1495,3; 1496,2; 1502,2; 5001,7; VI 9129,11; 9223,5; XII 11025,1. Exceptions:

- a) P.Kron. 40,4: see Cl. Gallazzi - P.J. Sijpesteijn, CdE 63, 1988, 364;  
 P.Münch. III 86,8-9: unless one wants to supplement ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων this text is the exception to the rule;  
 P.Oxy. XVI 1946,2: ἀπὸ γενή[ματος] should be supplemented;  
 P.Strasb. V 372,4: ἀπὸ γεν[ήματος] should be supplemented;  
 SPP XXII 119,5: the correct reading of this papyrus is in all probability: ἀπὸ γε[νή]μ(ατος) τοῦ κτλ.;  
 SB VI 9129,11: ἀπὸ [γε]νήματ[ος] should be supplemented.
- b) P.Tebt. III 836,5 and 846,10: in the first of these Ptolemaic texts ἀπὸ τοῦ γενή(ματος) is read; in the second one ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος;  
 P.Zen. Pestman 49,27: the reading ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος in this text which belongs to the Zenon archive seems to be absolutely certain. It should be noted that there is a question of the γένημα of a βαλανεῖον in this text;  
 SB XIV 11430,5: cf. the republication of this text, forthcoming in ZPE.  
 O.Edfou III 460,1: the reading of this line: μεμέτρη(κεν) εἰς θησαυρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος λβ (ἔτους)] does not inspire confidence, since no further qualification of the θησαυρός is given and γενήματος is written in full.

### (5) Reminder of an Unpaid Debt

**P.Mich. inv. no. 3254.** 15 x 13 cm. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. The light-brown papyrus is rather regularly cut off at all sides. At the top 2 to 1 cm. have been left free; at the left 3 to 1 cm; (the further down the more to the left the lines start; Maas' Law!). The lines have a tendency to run upwards towards the right. The last letter in each line is provided with a long (filling) stroke. Inv. no. 3254 was bought by the University of Michigan in a large lot of papyri from the dealer Maurice Nahman in 1925. The inventory assigns it to Karanis, but on what basis it is now impossible to ascertain.

Αὐρήλιος Ὀρίων καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζω) Αὐρηλ[ί]ω Πάρειτ(ι) δι(ὰ) Ἰσιδώρας γυναικ(ός) χαίρειν· 4 παντὸς λόγου συνηρμένου μετὰ	Tafel XV
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τὰς λ[ο]γισθείσας [σοι] τῷ [υ]ἱῷ σου  
 ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ ὄντι ἐφάνης ὀφείλ(ειν)  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν χρόνων τῆς γεωργίας  
 8 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σου μόνας πυρ(οῦ) ἀρτάβ(ας)  
 ἑπτὰ, γί(νονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ζ//, ἕως τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ μέρος' καὶ τὸν φόρον  
 τοῦ διελθόντος ἔτους [ῶ]ν ἐγεώρ-  
 γησάς μου ἀρουρῶν ἅμα τῷ γαμ-  
 12 βρῷ σου Πετεχῶντι κατὰ τὸ  
 ἐπιβάλλον σοι μέρος.  
 (ἔτους) θ/ καὶ ζ'' Μεχειρ ιγ'.

February 7, A.D. 315

(2nd hd)

᾽Ωρίων σεσημ(είωμαι).

5 λ[ο]γισθείσας

## Translation:

Aurelios Horion and however I am styled to Aurelios Pareis through Isidora, his wife, greetings. After the whole account was made up it appeared that besides the artabas set down to the account of your son who is without a father you owed for the period your husband cultivated (our land) only seven artabas of wheat, total 7 art. - (at least) for my share (in it) - and the rent of the past year for my arouras which you cultivate together with your brother in law, Petechon, as far as your share is concerned. Year 9 and 7, Mecheir 13. (2nd hd) I, Horion, have signed.

Half a year later both bills were paid as D. Hagedorn discovered who drew my attention to SB VIII 9881. The text published here is a private, not an official document. When he heard of the death of Pareis, Isidora's husband, Horion wanted to secure his rights and addressed himself to the already dead Pareis through Pareis' wife, Isidora, who is still alive. Horion uses the opportunity to remind Isidora that she still owes him rent for the arouras which she personally rented from him (and tilled together with her brother in law).

## Notes:

- 1-3 These lines were deciphered with the help of D. Hagedorn. For the expression καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω, see H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae I*, Amsterdam 1973, 256. The lease was concluded between Horion (and somebody else. Cf. note to line 9) and Pareis and for that reason Horion addresses Pareis albeit through his wife, because Pareis is already dead. The present papyrus makes it plausible that also in SB VIII 9881,3 the reading Πάριτ(ος) (an alternative reading suggested by H.C. Youtie) is the correct one.
- 4 παντὸς λόγου συνηρμένου: an expression relatively often found in the so-called Heroninos archive (P.Flor. III 372,13-14; P.Laur. III 99 III 9,12,16,18; SB XVI 12526,2) but also in other texts (PSI VII 801,3; VIII 921,8).
- 5 τὰς λ[ο]γισθείσας: sc. ἀρτάβας. A number of artabas was set down to the son of Pareis. The question is why a not specified number of artabas was set down to this son's account. Was it done, because he cultivated the land leased from Horion together with his father (as his mother did together with the brother of her husband)? The deletion of σοι does not provide a clue.
- The reading of λ[ο]γισθείσας is not easy and perhaps μ[ε]ρεισθείσας = μ[ε]ρισθείσας is to be preferred.
- 6 ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ ὄντι: for the expression, see P.Oxy. XXXIV 2713,7-8: - - - ἐν ὀρφ[ανίᾳ] | καθεστῶσης. ὀρφανός has not only the meaning "without parents" but it also means

“fatherless” (cf., e.g., P.Mich. X 525. Cf. also P.Lips. 41,2 = MChrest. 300,2: ἔστιν ἀμοφῶν τοῖν γονέοιν ὀρφανὴ ἢ βοηθ(ουμένη)). The editor of P.Oxy. XXXIV 2713 translates the above cited words not correctly as “already an orphan”. The woman who utters these words does so, however, in connection with the death of her mother. At the moment she pronounced these words she was *fatherless*. Attention should be paid whether ὀρφανός (and kindred words) should be translated as “orphan” or as “fatherless” (cf. also New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity 4, Macquarie University 1987, pp. 162ff.). As far as I am aware of ὀρφανός does not mean “motherless” (cf. Andromache’s prediction of the fate to come for the fatherless Astyanax = Hom. Iliad XXII 477-514).

- 8 I owe the reading μόνας πυρ(οῦ) to D. Hagedorn.  
 9 εἰς τὸ κατ’ ἐμὲ μέρος: Horion speaks for himself with this interlinear addition. It looks as if Pareis leased the land in question from Horion and (at least) one other person.  
 10-11 ἐγεώργησας: this does not imply that Isidora does no longer cultivate Horion’s aruras. The past tense refers to the year A.D. 313/4.  
 12-13 κατὰ - - - μέρος: this seems to imply that Petechon had already paid his share. In lines 7-8 of SB VIII 9881 the scribe mixes in my opinion two constructions up. He should either have written τὸ ἐπιβάλλον σοι μέρος or τὸ κατὰ σὲ μέρος.  
 14 For the date, see R.S. Bagnall - K.A. Worp, Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt, BASP Supplements 2, Missoula 1979, 37ff.

#### (6) Antiurios, Son of Abus, Again

a) **P.Mich. inv. no. 3662a.** 11.8 x 14.5 cm. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. The light-brown papyrus is regularly cut off at the top and at the left side. At the top 3 cm. have been left free; at the left side 3 to 3.5 cm. Between lines 5 and 6 are approximately 4.5 cm. left free. Karanis. Tafel XV

	Παῦνι θ'. κατέβαλαν κομητῶν	June 3, A.D. 342
	Καρανίδος διὰ Ἀντιουρίου καὶ Ἀβοῦ	
	ὑπὲρ ἑκκαίδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ἀχύρ(ου) λίτρας	
4	διακοσίας τεσσαράκοντα,	
	(γίνονται) λί(τραί) σμ μόνας. (2nd hd) Ὁρίων σεσ(ημείωμαί).	
	[Month, Day.] κατέβαλαν κομ[ητῶν]	
	[Καρανίδος] διὰ Ἀντιουρίο[υ καὶ Ἀβοῦ]	
8	[ὑπὲρ καιδε]κάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ἀχ[ύρ(ου) λί(τρας)]	
	- - - - -	

Translation (lines 1-5):

Payni 9. Paid for the account of villagers of Karanis through Antiurios and Abus for the sixteenth indiction, two hundred forty pounds of chaff, that is, 240 lbs. only. (2nd hd) I, Horion, have signed.

b) **P.Mich. inv. no. 3662b.** 8.5 x 8.5 cm. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. The light-brown papyrus is rather regularly cut off at all sides. At the top over 1,5 to over 2 cm. have been left free; at the left side approximately 1.5 cm. At the right side the last letter of each line is prolonged so as to reach the right border. Karanis. Tafel XV

Ἄθῦρ ιη. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἀντιοῦρις  
 ὑπὲρ κωμητῶν Καρανίδος  
 ἑβδόμης ἰνδικτίονος  
 4 κρέως χυρίου λί(τρας) εἴκοσι τρῖς  
 λί(τραι) κγ. Οὐράνιο(ς) σε(σημεῖωμα).

November 14, A.D. 348

4 χοιρείου; τρεῖς

## Translation:

Hathyr 18. Antiuris delivered for the account of villagers of Karanis for the seventh indiction, twenty-three pounds of pork meat, 23 lbs. I, Uranios, have signed.

These two papyri, written by different hands, do not add much to our knowledge regarding deliveries in kind in fourth century Karanis. The most exhaustive and important treatment of this kind of receipts is from the pen of R.S. Bagnall (P.Col. VII pp. 65ff.). All the persons mentioned in these new Michigan papyri were already known. Several similar deliveries are also already known to us. The main reason to publish these texts here is to draw attention to the fact that there are still quite a few unpublished papyri in the Michigan papyrus collection pertaining to the history of fourth century Karanis.

## Notes:

- a) 1 κατέβαλαν: also in line 6. Cf. B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, Athens 1973, § 317(2).  
 a) 2 Antiuri(o)s, son of Abus and Allus, is very well known from several receipts and other texts from IVth century Karanis (cf. also line 7 and text b): P.Cairo Isid.; P.Col. VII; P.Mich. XII; P.NYU, and SB X. In this receipt Antiurios pays together with his father Abus. Most similar receipts are issued to one person only but see, e.g., O.Mich. 215 and P.Col. VII 154,7-8 which are issued to two persons.  
 a) 4 For no obvious reason over 1 cm. was left free between τεσ and σαρακοντα.  
 b) 5 Neither (γίνονται) nor χοιρείου are written in this line.  
 The whole receipt is written by one and the same hand.  
 σε(σημεῖωμα): σε is written very cursively !

## ADDENDUM

**P.Mich. inv. no. 5170.** 12.5 x 7.5 cm. The text consists of two pieces. It runs against the fibers. The other side is blank. Three vertical and three horizontal folds are still visible. At the top (over 1.5 cm. have been left free) and left side (also over 1.5 cm. have been left free) the papyrus is rather regularly cut off. At the bottom over 6 cm. have been left free. Karanis.

Tafel XVI

July 29, A.D. 334

Μεσορή ε΄. παρ(ήνεγκεν) Μῶρ[ο]ς  
 Σαραπίωνος ὑπὲρ ὀγδό[ης]  
 ἰνδικτίονος κωμ(ητῶν) Καρα[νί-]  
 4 δος πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας  
 πέντε [δ]ίμυρον, (ἀρτάβα) εὼ μ[όν(ας)].  
 (2nd hd) Ἰσίδωρ[ος σ]εση(μείωμα).

5 [δ]ίμοιρον

## Translation:

Mesore 5. Moros, son of Sarapion, delivered for the account of villagers of Karanis for the eighth indiction, five and two thirds artabas of clean wheat,  $5 \frac{2}{3}$  art. only. (2nd hd) I, Isidoros, have signed.

A similar receipt to the two preceding ones. This time the tax-payer, Moros, son of Sarapion, is not yet known from another papyrus published to date. He may be the brother of Aion, son of Sarapion who is known from a number of similar receipts (cf., e.g., P.NYU 11 issued by the same Isidoros. Cf. also P.NYU 11a).

## Note:

6 σ]εση(μείωμα) (cf. P.NYU 11a,19 and 33) seems more likely than ἐμετρ]ησά(μην) (cf. P.NYU 11,4 and 8).

## (7) Another Document of the Anastasia Archive

Flavia Anastasia is a well known landowner at Oxyrhynchos attested in several documents from the end of the VIth century A.D. (cf. O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia*<sup>2</sup>, Milano 1988, 260, no. 88; J. Gasco, loc.cit., lff.). The following incomplete papyrus undoubtedly belongs to the Anastasia archive.

**P.Mich. inv. no. 4037.** 7.7 x 8.5 cm. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. The light-brown papyrus is broken off at the top and at the bottom; it is regularly cut off at the right and left sides. Oxyrhynchos. End of the VIth century A.D.

- - - - -  
 καὶ Φοιβ[ά]μμων κλαουικ(ουλάριος)  
 καὶ Φοιβάμμων  
 δήμιος παρὰ σοῦ  
 4 τοῦ αἰδεσίμου Ἀναστασίου  
 χαρτουλάριου τῆς  
 ἐνδοξοτάτης ἰλλουστρίας  
 Ἀναστασίας [..] ἡμῶν  
 8 traces of one more line  
 - - - - -

1 κλαουικ(ουλάριος)

## Translation:

- - - and Phoibammon, *clavicularius*, and Phoibammon, public executioner, from you, venerable Anastasios, *chartularius* of the most esteemed, illustrious Anastasia - - -

## Notes:

- 1 At least one other person preceded the first line preserved.  
κλαουικ(ουλάριος) = a jailer (cf. S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*<sup>2</sup>, Barcelona 1991, 55).
- 3 The word δήμιος occurs to date in the papyri only in SB I 2254,2 = O.Ashm. Shelton 51,3 (cf. P.Oxy. XVI 2050 for a similar text), also in connection with *clavicularii* (line 3). F. Preisigke, WB s.v. writes: "Beamter unbekannter Art"; LSJ<sup>9</sup> give for δήμιος the meaning "public executioner" and "public physician" (in the Supplement οἱ δάμιοι are "magistrates at Dreros"). Since the word occurs in connection with a jailer, it seems likely that Phoibam-

mon 2 is an executioner. It would be very interesting to know whether he was in the service of Anastasia. In view of the attitudes of landowners in the late Byzantine period this seems rather a likely supposition.

- 4-5 The same Anastasios, *chartularius* (this word is absent from S. Daris, op.cit.) appears in SB VI 9368 where at the beginning of line 6 χαρτουλαρίου can now be supplemented.
- 7 ]ὸ: [ἀπ]ὸ or [ὑπ]ὸ? Neither praeposition seems to make sense here. It looks as if several persons receive something from the *chartularius* Anastasios.

### (8) μισθῶ εἰς ἔτη x βροχᾶς x

**P.Mich. inv. no. 4032.** 16 x 5 cm. The text runs along the fibers. On the other side (against the fibers) faint traces of several lines of an unidentifiable text (perhaps a list). The light-brown papyrus is rather regularly broken off at all sides. At the top over 2 cm. are left free; at the left side 3 cm. Oxyrhynchos. IInd century A.D.

<p>ἐμίσθωσεν Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Διονύσιος καὶ ὡς χρημα-          τίζει Ἰάσωνι Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Παποντῶτος μητρὸς          Πτολέμας τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγο(νῆς)          4 εἰς ἔτη δύο βροχᾶς δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τετάρτου</p>	<p>Tafel XVI</p>
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#### Translation:

Tiberius Julius Dionysios and however he is styled has leased to Jason, son of Apollonios, grandson of Papontos, his mother being Ptolema, of the people of the city of Oxyrhynchos, Persian of the epigone, for two years, two inundations from the current (.)4th year - - -

Only the upper part of a lease of an unknown number of aruras for two years has been preserved. It has to be dated to a 4th, a 14th(less likely: cf. F.Th. Gignac, A Grammar II, Milano 1981,202f.) or a 24th year of an unknown emperor. Cf., e.g., P.Oxy. L 3591 for an example of how the present text could have continued. Neither the lessor nor the lessee (cf. Cde 40, 1965, 355 for literature on Persians of the epigone) are known from another text published to date. Tiberius Julius Dionysios, to judge by his name, probably belonged to the class of Greco-Egyptians who received Roman citizenship through service in the Roman army. Dionysia, daughter of Apollonios, granddaughter of Papontos (P.Oxy. XIV 1725,11 of A.D. 229) is probably a relative (a sister ?) of the lessor. The interesting, although well known, feature of this text is the expression εἰς ἔτη δύο βροχᾶς δύο (cf. P.Oxy. II 280,5;III 593 = SB XII 10780,6-7; XIV 1686,5; XLIX 3488,5-6 [cf. 3489,4-5]). The expression βροχή (cf. D. Bonneau, Le fisc et le Nil, Paris 1971, 73,75,81) seems to be characteristic of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Other similar expressions are: εἰς ἔτη πέντε καρποὺς πέντε (e.g., P.Laur. III 72,9 + note) and εἰς ἔτη ᾗ σπορὰς ᾗ (e.g., P.Aberd. 183,1; BGU I 39,6; 227,5). All three words combined can be found in PSI I 30,2-3: εἰς ἔτη ἕξ - - - βροχᾶς σπόρους καὶ καρποὺς ἕξ.

### (9) Two New Measures

a) **P.Mich. inv. no. 4291.** 13.5 x 8 cm. On both sides the text runs along the fibers. The yellowish papyrus is regularly cut off at the left side (there is a free margin of approximately 1 cm.) and at the right side. One horizontal and several vertical folds are still visible. Oxyrhynchos. VIth century A.D.



b) **P.Mich. inv. no. 3365.** 10.5 x 10.5 cm. The text runs against the fibers. The other side is blank. The light-brown papyrus, marred by smaller and larger holes, is rather regularly cut off at all sides. The papyrus was once rolled up from the top towards the the bottom (several vertical folds are still visible). Arsinoite nome (Kieratu). VIth century A.D.

† Κυρικῶ ὑποδέκτ(η) Κιεράτου

Tafel XVI

Θεόδωρος ὑποδέκτ(ης) δ(ιὰ) Μηνᾶ

ἰατρῶ σίτου σάκ(κους) τέσσερας πρ(ὸς) β

4 μέτρ(ω) τῆς οὐσ(ίας) τῶ(ν) εἴκοσι γί(νονται) ἀρτάβ(αι)

ἐννέα ἡμισυ δωδέκ(ατον) ῥυπαρ(οὶ) σάκ(κοι) δ

ὀμ(οῦ) θ<ιβ μ(όναι). Μεσορῆ ιγ τεσσαρασκα-

δεκάτης ἰν(δικτίωνος), ιδ ἰν(δικτίωνος) parphe

3 ἰατροῦ

#### Translation:

† To Kyrikos, receiver of Kieratu, Theodoros, receiver, through Menas, physician, four sacks of wheat of 2 1/4 art. each with the measure of the estate of the twenty makes nine and a half and a twelfth artabas, 4 uncleaned sacks make together 9 1/2 1/12 only. Mesore 13 of the fourteenth indiction, 14th indiction.

In line 4 appears the “measure of the estate of the twenty” for the first time. We do not know what/who the twenty are. The use of the article seems to indicate that we are dealing with a well know group of 20. It is possible that the village Εἴκοσι = Ἴβιὼν Εἴκοσιπενταρούρων (cf. A. Calderini - S. Daris, Dizionario III.1, Milano 1978, 10f.) is meant. Since we do not know anything about this measure, we cannot establish how 9 artabas can become 9 1/2 1/12 artabas (cf. P.Mil. Vogl. IV 212 IV recto, 20-21n.). Was 1/2 1/12 artaba the loss when the wheat was cleaned?

A σάκκος normally contained three artabas (cf. P.NYU 17,13n.). In O.Mich. inv. no. 9933 (published by H.C. Youtie in ZPE 21, 1976, 18 = Scriptiunculae Posteriores I, Bonn 1981, 288 = SB XIV 11562) a σάκκος of four artabas is attested. My original reading was πρ(ὸς) ἀ(ρτάβας) δ but Hagedorn convinced me of the reading adopted in the text (he confers P.Gron. 8: 1 σάκκος contains 2 1/2 1/30 artabas).

#### Notes:

- 1 We come seldom across the proper name Κυρικός, a spelling of the more often attested form Κυριακός (cf. ZPE 77, 1989, 185ff.).  
Κιεράτου: read by D.Hagedorn. Cf. A.Calderini-S.Daris, Dizionario III.2, Milano 1980, 118.
- 2 The same Theodoros may appear in P.Aberd. 34,2 and SPP III 954,2.
- 3 For a list of ἰατροί, see CPR XIII pp. 89ff.
- 5 ῥυπαρ(οί): cf. A. Gara, Prosdigraphomena e circolazione monetaria, Milano 1976. In view of the place of the adjective it is less likely that we have to connect ῥυπαρ( ) with ἀρτάβαι in line 4.
- 6 ὀμ(οῦ) seems, in view of the curved form of the element placed above the “little circle”, a more likely reading than (ἀρτάβαι).  
Μεσορῆ ιγ: August 6.
- 6-7 For this acc.masc./fem. of fourteenth which is occasionally used, see F.Th. Gignac, A Grammar II, Milano 1981, 203.
- 7 The intricate design at the end of this line in which perhaps individual letters may be recognised probably serves as a kind of signature.

**(10) Extract from a Tax-Register**

This heavily mutilated papyrus is published here because it is similar to BGU XII 2165, 2166, 2169; P.Lond. III 995, 996, 1152 (pp. 247ff.); V 1755-1757, and P.Strasb. V 396. Cf. J. Gascou, *Tyche* 1, 1986, 97ff.; J. Gascou - P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 97, 1993, 116ff.

**P.Mich. inv. no. 3667.** 14 x 11 cm. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. The light-brown papyrus is partly regularly cut off at the left and the right but irregularly broken off at the top and the bottom. Approximately 1 cm. is left free at the left. Hermupolite nome. VIIIth century A.D.

† λημ[ματίσθη ἐν μεγάλ]η χ[ει]ρογραφ[ία]  
 κανόνος [ καιδεκάτης ἰνδικ]τίονος εἰς πλ(οῖον)  
 τῆς Μετανοίας δι(ὰ) Χριστοφόρου ταβελλίονος  
 4 τὸ ὑποτεταγμέν(ον) μέτρον δημοσι(οῦ) σίτου  
 καθαροῦ σὺν ναύλ(οις) καὶ ἑκατοσταῖς καὶ πᾶσι  
 ἀναλώμα(σι)· οὕτως·  
 μζ Φοιβάμ[μων Π]απνούθι(ος) (ἀρτάβην) α  
 8 [ἀ]φ' (ῶν) Ἰάσων [ ] τὸ (ἥμισυ)  
 ] ο [ ] ο]υ τὸ (ἥμισυ)

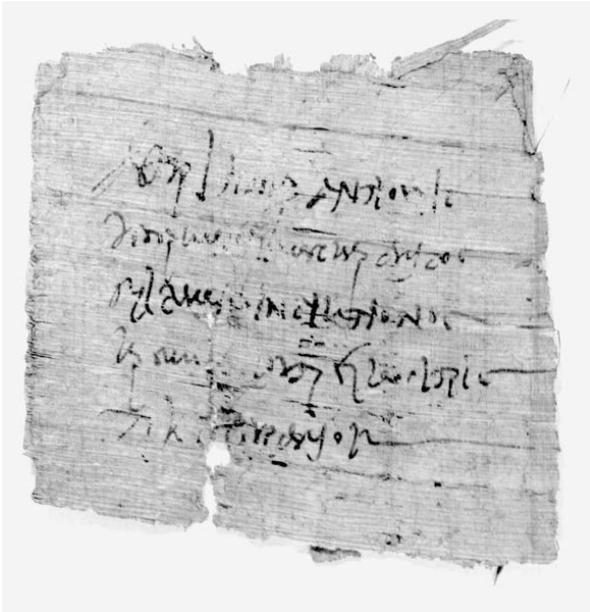
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## Translation:

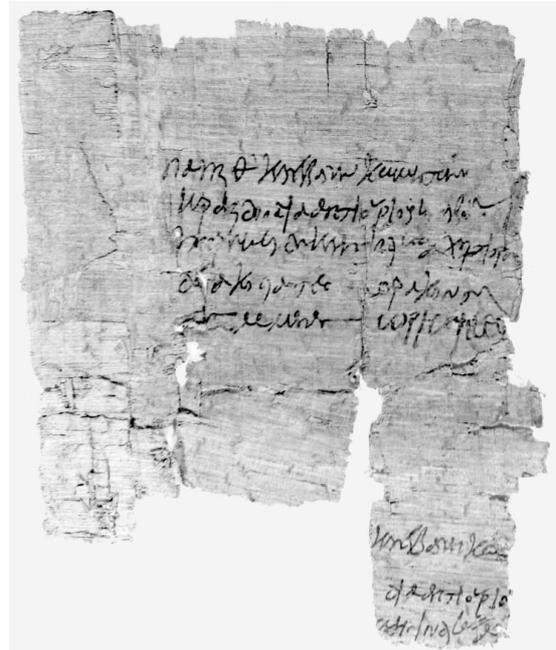
† Has been registered in the great register of the annual charge of the - - and tenth indiction for the ship of (the monastery of) Metanoia through Christophoros, *tabellio*, the below mentioned quantity of pure public grain together with the freight-costs and the 1 0/0 payments and all expenses. As follows: Phoibammon, son of Papnuthis, 1 art. Thereof Iason, son of N.N., (has paid) half; N.N., son of N.N., (has paid) half. - -

## Notes:

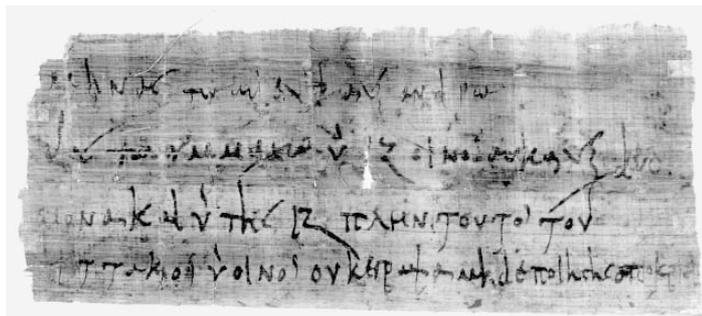
- 2 In view of the available space τρι(σ)καιδεκάτης seems to most likely supplement although πεντεκαιδεκάτης is not totally to be excluded.
- 2-3 For the ship(s) of the monastery of Metanoia, see R. Rémondon, *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra* V, Milano 1971, 769ff. (cf. also *ZPE* 93, 1992, 150).
- 3 The *tabellio* (cf. S. Daris, *op.cit.*, 109) Christophoros is not known from another text published to date.
- 7 μζ: these two letters may have been added in a different ink and/or by a different hand. They are placed somewhat higher than the rest of this line. Their meaning escapes me: are they the number of the voucher or a further qualification (e.g., μ(εῖ)ζ(ων) *vel simile*) of Phoibammon, son of Papnuthis, who is not known from another text published to date?  
 Π]απνούθι(ος) or Π]απνουθί(ου).
- 8 [ἀ]φ' (ῶν): there certainly is a trace of ink in front of ῖ; but the reading is doubtful although 1/2 + 1/2 = 1! Cf. BGU XII 2166,8n.  
 At least the signature of Christophoros († δι' ἐμοῦ Χριστοφόρου ἐγράφ(η)) followed below this line.



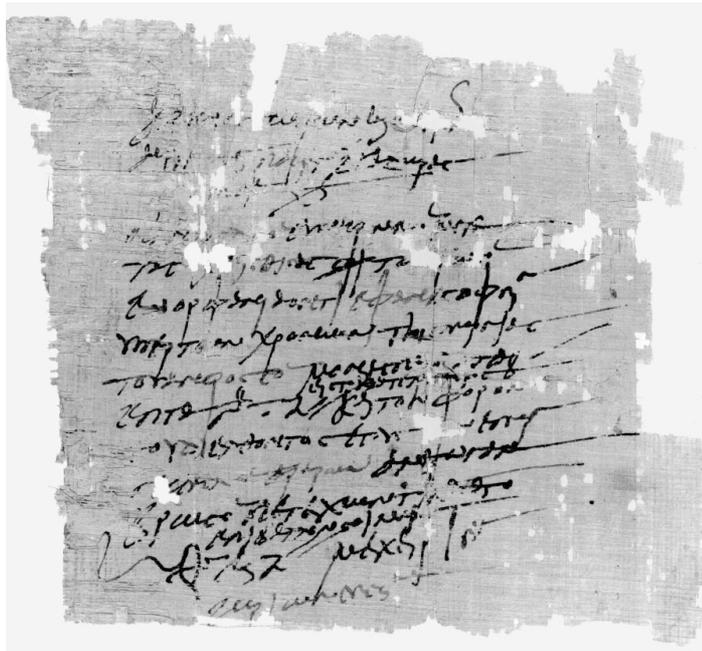
P.Mich. Inv. 3662b



P.Mich. Inv. 3662a



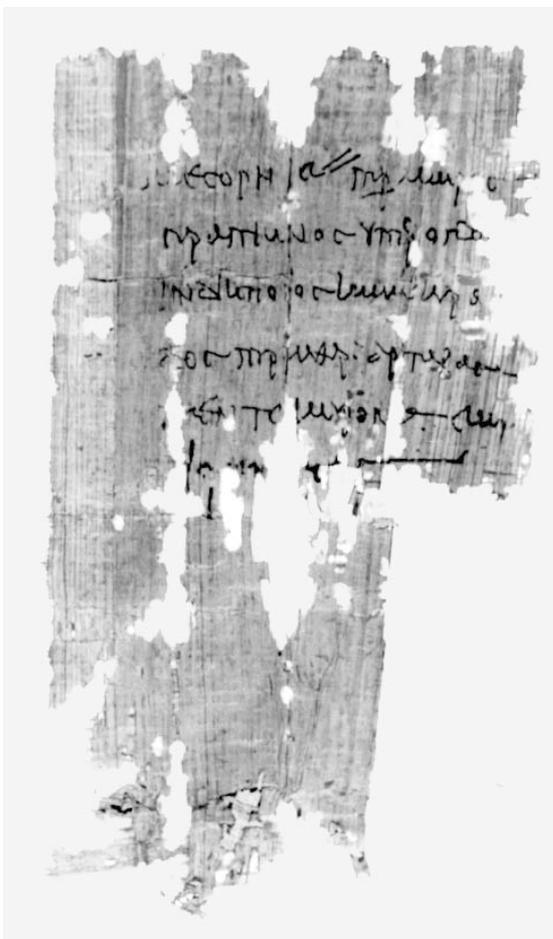
P.Mich. Inv. 3425



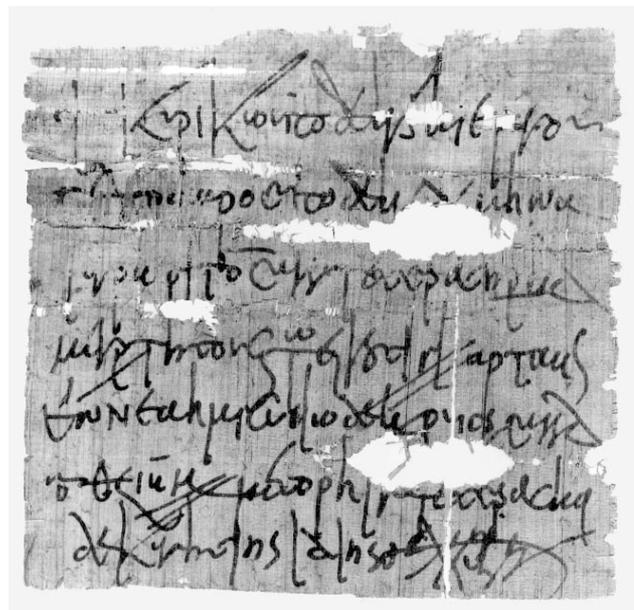
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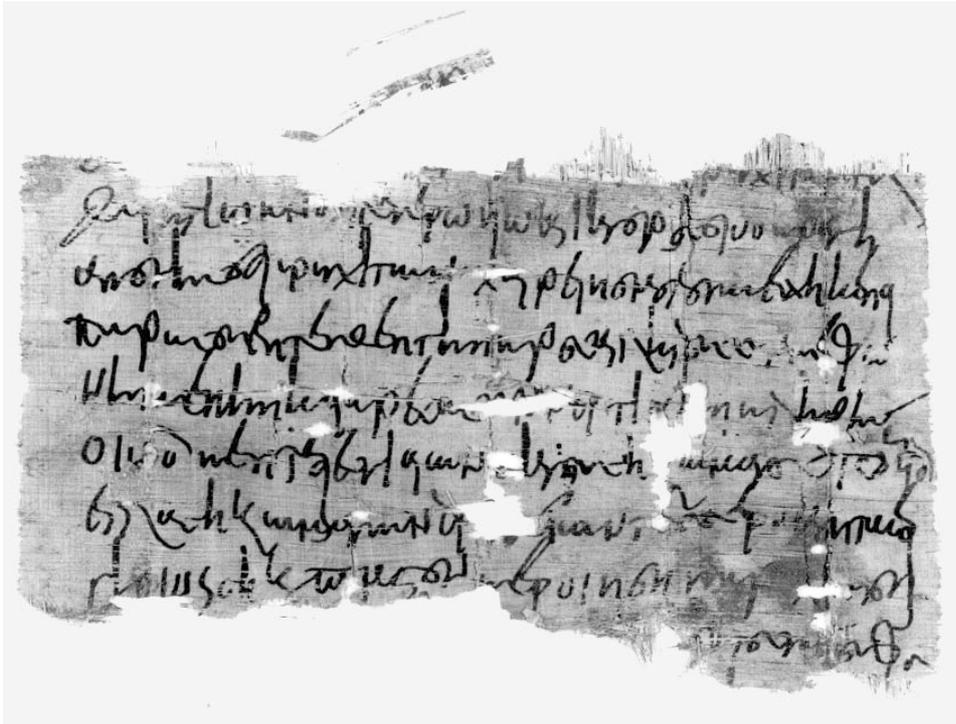
P.Mich. Inv. 4032



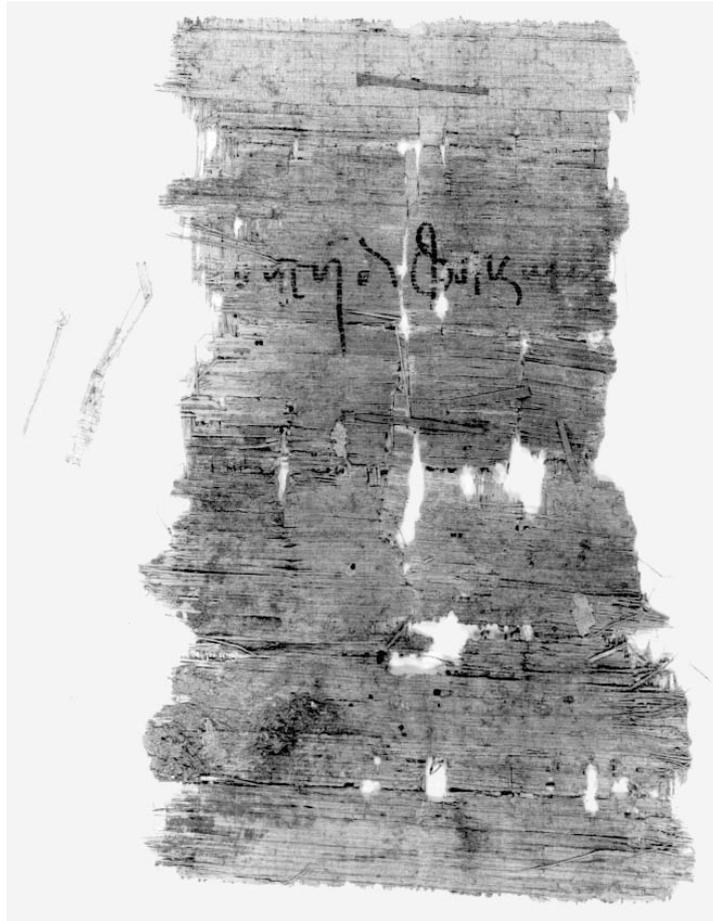
P.Mich. Inv. 5170



P.Mich. Inv. 3365



P.Mich. Inv. 4291 recto



P.Mich. Inv. 4291 verso