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A MICHIGAN PAPYRUS RECONSIDERED

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Collecting all papyrological sources for a social and economic history of Theadelphia and Euhemeria, two villages situated in the north-western corner of the Fayum, we did not confine ourselves to the papyri listed by Calderini and Daris¹, in the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri, or in the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis. We took also into account all texts discovered in one of the two villages during the official excavation campaigns, or all texts of which - according to the *sebakhîn* - the finding-place was Batn el-Harît (Theadelphia) or Kasr el-Banât (Euhemeria). Prosopographical research functioned as a third way to trace down texts. As we gradually collected all names and family relations of persons who could with certainty be located in Theadelphia and Euhemeria, it became possible to connect with one of the two villages texts which at first sight did not provide any indication of location, but offered interesting prosopographical material. The content of the texts served as a fourth criterion: topographical information or the use of formulas². The fifth and last manner to complete our search for texts could be called ‘museum archaeology’: from the archives of papyrus collections, it should in some cases be possible to show that a group of texts, which once have been bought together and of which two or three clearly derive from the same village, in fact completely derives from this village.

During our “scanning” of the published Arsinoite papyri, using the prosopographical criterion as a distinguishing argument, our attention was caught by a Michigan papyrus, which was recently published as *P.Mich. XV 714* (Inv. 3315R^o) and 715 (Inv. 3315V^o)³. The papyrus in question, measuring 16.7 on 13 cm, was received from the British Museum in 1926 and contains on its recto a “list of payments in kind”, on its verso a “list of payments in money”. The editor proposed a date in the third or probably the second century AD, but left open the problem of the origin.

P.Mich. XV 714, the recto text, contains two columns, the first of which was too much damaged to deserve publication. The second column reads:

1-5	traces of 5 lines	
6	Διδᾶς Παλᾶ φορέτ(ρου) κ(ατ)οί(κων)	(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α β’
7	Ἐκῦσις ἀπ(άτωρ) μη(τρὸς) Ταμύσθας δη(μοσίας)	(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) δ
8	Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρώδου	κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) δ ιβ
9	Ζωίλος Πτολλᾶ δη(μοσίας)	(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) L
10	φορέτ(ρου) κ(ατ)οί(κων)	(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α ιβ
11	Δίδυμος Ἡρωνος δη(μοσίας)	(πυροῦ) (ἀρταβ) [
12	Ταρονόφρις Χαϊρᾶ [δη](μοσίας)	(πυροῦ) (ἀρταβ) [
13	Ἄροκ . [.]οχις Φαυκῆτο[ς]	
14	Δεῖος traces	
15-17	traces of (at least) three more lines	

A photograph of this papyrus can be found in the edition, plate XIV.

A papyrus with a similar content is *P.Stras. 849* (about AD 165), a κατ’ ἄνδρα account of the σιτολόγοι of Euhemeria, listing day by day payments (most of them in wheat) to the village granary.

* We would like to thank Traianos Gagos for some very useful suggestions on readings in the Michigan papyrus, and Paul-Henri Allieux for providing us with photographs of the Strasbourg texts.

¹ Calderini A. - Daris S., *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell’Egitto greco-romano*, 5 vols., 2 suppl. (Milano, 1935-1996).

² E.g. the formula ἐφ’ ὃν χρόνον μενεῖ τὸ πεδῖον τῆς κόμης ἀδιαίρετον, cfr. D. Hagedorn, ‘Bemerkungen zu verschiedenen Papyrusurkunden’, *JJP* 23 (1993) 49-59.

³ The papyrus in question had already been published before in *Aegyptus* 59(1979), 31-34.

The text, which dates from the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, has been puzzled together out of 19 fragments, all of them bought by the Papyruskartell in 1912⁴; the reconstructed roll has a length of more than one metre and a height of 26.5 cm⁵. On the verso, and upside down to the recto, some quickly made lists of payments can be discerned (see below, p. 208).

The reconstruction of the roll, of which a stroke in the middle is for the greater part lost⁶, is very uncertain. It lists different hands and various abbreviations, which could prove that the text in question had been copied from other lists, maybe the daily reports of the σιτολόγοι.

One small fragment (P.Stras. Gr. 2655C(2) + 2657C(1)) of 10 lines⁷, the lower part of the tenth column of the reconstructed roll, interests us here:

- | | | |
|------|-----|---|
| (1) | 139 | Ζωίλος Πτολλᾶ δη[(μοσίων)] |
| (2) | 140 | φορέτρων κατοίκ(ων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβ) . [|
| (3) | 141 | [Δί]δυμος Ἡρωνος δη(μοσίων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) θ |
| (4) | 142 | [Νί]νναρος Χαϊρᾶ δη(μοσίων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) η |
| (5) | 143 | Ἄρποκρωῦς Φαυώρτεως (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κγ |
| (6) | 144 | Δεῖος Μύσθου (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ς (ἥμισυ) - |
| (7) | 145 | Ἄρπαλος Ἡρωνος (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ς (ἥμισυ) (τρίτον) (ὄγδοον) - |
| (8) | 146 | Ἄρητᾶς Πατᾶ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) η (ἥμισυ) . - |
| (9) | 147 | Ἄρποκρᾶς Κάστορος (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ια ς - |
| (10) | 148 | . [.] . [.] ηνιαίο(υ) δη(μοσίων) [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβη)] α (ἥμισυ) - |



⁴ As we learned from the inventory book of the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg. We thank Paul-Henri Allieux of the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg for permission to consult the inventory.

⁵ Parts of the account were published earlier as individual texts: col. 15, ll. 1-14 and col. 16, ll. 1-15 as *P.Stras.* 771 and ll. 27-45 as *P.Stras.* 787 (= *SB XIV* 11354 R⁰).

⁶ On average a third of each column is missing.

⁷ Ll. 139-148 of the reconstructed roll, listing revenues for Phaophi 14 (?) of an unknown year.

The resemblance between *P.Stras.* 849, ll. 139-144 and *P.Mich.* XV 714, ll. 9-14, is striking. It is obvious that both texts are copies; the cursive *P.Mich.* XV 714 seems to be the original, while the neatly written *P.Stras.* 849 needs not to be corrected, except for ll. 139 and 140 where the gaps can now be supplemented as follows:

- (1) 139 Ζωίλος Πτολλᾶ δη[(μοσίων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) L]
 (2) 140 φορέτρων κατοίκ(ων) (πυροῦ ἀρταβη) α ιβ[

The overlapping lines *P.Mich.* XV 714, ll. 9-15, can be read as follows on the basis of the Strasbourg text:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 9 | Ζωίλος Πτολλᾶ δη(μοσίας) ⁸ | (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) L ⁹ |
| 10 | φορέτ(ρων) κ(ατ)οί(κων) | (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α ιβ |
| 11 | Δίδυμος Ἡρωνος δη(μοσίας) | (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβαί) θ [|
| 12 | Νίνναρος Χαϊρᾶ [δη(μοσίας)] | (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβαί) η [|
| 13 | Ἄροκρ[ω]οῦς Φαυώρτε[ως] | (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβαί) κγ [|
| 14 | Δεῖος Μύσθου [| (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβαί) ς L] |
| 15 | [Ἄρπαλος Ἡρ]ωνος [| (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβαί) ς L γ η] |

How can the Michigan papyrus help us in the reconstruction of *P.Stras.* 849? The five unpublished top lines of column 2 are really illegible¹⁰, and without any doubt correspond to the lost middle section of the tenth column of the Strasbourg text. Some traces in the first column however seem to correspond to what has been considered the lower part of the seventeenth column of *P.Stras.* 849, ll. 303-310 (*P.Stras.* Gr. 2656E), which read¹¹:

- 303 Κε[φάλ]ων []
 304 ὁ α(ὐτὸς) φορ[έτρων]
 305 Ἡρων Δειδ[ᾶ]
 306 Φιλάδελ(φος) Ἴσα []
 307 Ἄρποκρᾶ(ς) Μάρωνος []
 308 Δι[όσ]κορος Τε[] []¹²
 309 ὁ [α]ὐτ[ὸς] φορέτ(ρων) κ(ατοί)[(κων)]
 310 Ψοσνεῦς Ἄροκρω[οῦτος]

In *P.Mich.* XV 714, ll. 11-18¹³, we distinguish

- | | |
|----|--|
| 11 | Κεφάλων Ἡρωνος (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαί) θ ς κδ |
| 12 | [ὁ αὐτὸς] φ[ο]ρέτρων κ(ατ)οί(κων) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαί) δ ιβ |
| 13 | [Ἡρω]ν Διδᾶ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαί) ιδ ιβ |
| 14 | [Φιλάδε]λ[φ]ος Ἴσα (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαί) η ς ιβ |
| 15 | [Ἄρποκρ]ας Μ[άρωνος] (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαί) ζ . . |

⁸ Or δη(μοσίων), as the editors of the Strasbourg text resolved the abbreviation. The final meaning remains the same. With δη(μοσίας), γῆς is omitted, with δη(μοσίων) the omitted word is γεωργῶν.

⁹ A small speck of ink at the end of the line probably points to the presence of the beginning of a check mark.

¹⁰ L. 1 can partly be reconstructed: ὁ αὐτὸς --- (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαί) ς κδ.

¹¹ The same succession of the first four names (Kephalon son of Heron - here in lacuna -, Heron son of Didas, Philadelphos son of Isas and Harpokras son of Maron) in ll. 29-32 and 53-56.

¹² The patronymic should be Teboulos, as in ll. 74 and 261 of the same papyrus, where Dioskoros son of Teboulos twice follows Harpokras son of Maron. L. 260 thus has to be corrected into: Διόσκορ]ος etc.

¹³ Given the bad preservation of the papyrus, the numbering of the lines is uncertain.

- 16 --- (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ια [
 17 --- (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ς ιβ
 18 [Ψοσνεῦς Ἀροκρω]οὔτος (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ις

P.Stras. Gr. 2656E thus apparently has to be moved to the bottom of the ninth column, where it can probably be joined with P.Stras. Gr. 2655C(1) of which just some small endings remain (see above, p. 206).

If we assume that the upper section of *P.Stras.* 849 counted on average 15 lines, the lost middle section also 15 and the lower section some 10, between *P.Mich.* XV 714 I.18 and II.9 some 30 lines are missing: 8 in the second column and some 22 in the first. The original length of a column of *P.Mich.* XV 714 will thus have been about 40 lines, as in *P.Stras.* 849. Thus the upper half of the papyrus is preserved, and the actual height has to be doubled to reach the original one. The roll would then measure about 26 cm, comparable with the Strasbourg roll (26.5 cm).

Little can be said about the prosopography of these papyri. Many names occur in *P.Col.* II 6 (AD 157), in a different order.

The verso of our Michigan papyrus, published as *P.Mich.* XV 715, is apparently a πράκτορες document, listing individual people with amounts paid in drachmae (two, four or eight), sometimes with obols. To the left is a margin of 5 cm; traces of the first letters of a fragmentary second column follow. The payments are done for an unknown purpose on the 25th and 26th of an unknown month. The letters θα() sometimes appearing in the left margin probably indicate that the person in question is deceased; this is the case for 4 of the 15 persons listed. The entries are separated by horizontal strokes. The text was dated to the second or third century and its place of origin was left open by the editors.

Checking the document from a prosopographical point of view, we recognise four people among all known villagers of Euhemeria. All of them were attested only once until now in a single text: *P.Stras.* 866 (P.Stras. Gr. 1576V^o + 2667V^o), which is the verso of ... *P.Stras.* 849¹⁴. This time it however does not concern a copy, as the names in question are listed in a different order. But the type of document is the same: a list of payments in drachmae (four, eight, twelve or sixteen) and obols by individuals, on the fourth and fifth of a month, with all entries separated by a horizontal stroke. The margin note θα() is not found in the Strasbourg papyrus.

The four overlapping names, which appear in ll. 9, 11, 12 and 14 of the Michigan document, make it possible to propose some corrections in the Strasbourg document. Let us compare the corresponding passages where a correction is possible:

1.

P.Mich. XV 715, ll. 8-9

Κάστωρ ἀπ(άτωρ) Ταμύσθ[ας] (δραχμαὶ) η
 Σαμβῆς ἀδελφὸς(ς) (μητρὸς) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) (δραχμαὶ) η

P.Stras. 866, l. 26

Σαμβῆς ἀπ(άτωρ) Ταυ . . () [] . . [

corrected:

Σαμβῆς ἀπ(άτωρ) Ταμύσθ[ας]

2.

P.Mich. XV 715, l. 11

Σαραπίων Πίσαιτος τοῦ Ὠρου (δραχμαὶ) η

¹⁴ *SB* XIV 11354V^o was an earlier publication of *P.Stras.* 866, ll. 6-24. Another text on the Verso of *P.Stras.* 849 has been published as *P.Stras.* 850.

P.Stras. 866, l. 6

Σ . . πως Πίσαιτος τοῦ Ὠρου (μητρὸς) . [

corrected:

Σαρραπίω[ν] Πίσαιτος τοῦ Ὠρου (μητρὸς) . [

3.

P.Mich. XV 715, l. 12

Πίσαις Ὠρου τοῦ Ὀφελλίου (δραγμαὶ) η

P.Stras. 866, l. 20

Πίσαϊς Ὠρου τοῦ Ἴσι[

corrected:

Πίσαϊς Ὠρου τοῦ Ὀφελ[λίου

Leuven

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Aspirant Navorsers FWO-Vlaanderen