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TWO DECLARATIONS OF UNINUNDATED LAND REREAD

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## TWO DECLARATIONS OF UNINUNDATED LAND REREAD

BGU I 198

Karanis

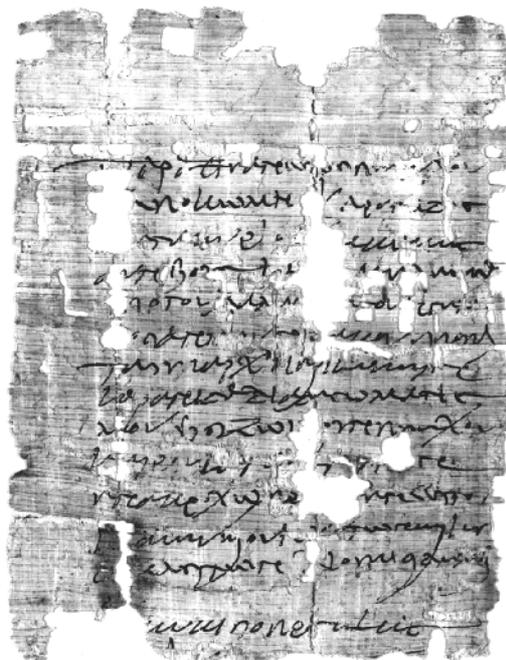
8.5 x 12 cm

163

This text was the second of this kind to be published. Two corrections have been registered in the *Berichtigungsliste*, but there remain several points that invite discussion. The most serious problems relate to whether this declaration had an addressee, and the amount of land that was registered. A photograph indicated that the published text was capable of further improvement; subsequently, the original at Berlin was also examined. A new edition<sup>1</sup> is given below.<sup>2</sup>

For this type of document see the recent study of W. Habermann, 'Aspekte des Bewässerungswesens im kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten I: Die „Erklärungen für nicht überflutetes Land“ (Abrochia-Deklarationen)' in K. Ruffing, B. Tenger (eds.), *Miscellanea oeconomica. Studien zur antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Harald Winkel zum 65. Geburtstag* (Pharos IX: 1997) 213-83 (hereafter Habermann), who offers a consolidated list on pp. 223-6; add now POxy LXV 4488 (c. 245).<sup>3</sup>

παρὰ Θεανῶτος Πετεσοῦχου  
 ἀπὸ κώμη[ς] Καρανίδος  
 μετὰ κυρίου Κ[α]μβύκεως  
 Αὐνείους. κα[τὰ] τὰ κελευθ[ι] (έντα)  
 5 ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμ[προτάτ]ου ἡγεμό-  
 γος Ἄννιου Κοιρ[ι]ακοῦ ἀπογρ(άφομαι)  
 τὰς ὑπαρχ(ούσας) περὶ κώμην  
 Καρανίδα, διὰ δὲ σωματι-  
 μοῦ εἰς Ζωιδοῦν Πετεσοῦχου,  
 10 κλήρου κ[α]τοικ[ι] (ικου) ἧ γ' ἰ' ε' οὐδ[α]ν  
 ἐν ἀβρόχῳ πρ[ὸς] τὸ ἐνεστὸς  
 γ' Ἀῤρηλίου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων  
 Σεβακτῶν. διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι.  
 (vac.)  
 Κ[αμ]βυκίς ὁ προγ(εγραμμένος) ὡς L κς  
 15 [1-2]... [ c. 8 ]... [



6 l. Κυριακοῦ 10 (ἀρούρης) 12 (ἔτος) 13 l. ἐπιδίδωμι 14 (ἔτων)

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Gabriella Messeri-Savorelli for her help with this text. My thanks are also due to Dr G. Poethke for providing access to the papyrus (4.8.1997), and for giving me permission to reproduce the photograph here.

<sup>2</sup> I have not generally noted cases where letters were bracketed in the ed. pr., but should simply be dotted.

<sup>3</sup> The date of this text does not survive. The editor's 'c. 244/5' relies on the dating of POxy XLII 3046 to 244/5 by the ed. pr. That text dates from Year 2 of Philippi, which converts to 244/5. But all dated texts of this kind come from the first half of the Julian year, see below note to l. 12, and apparently for this reason POxy 3046 has tacitly been redated to 245 by G. M. Parássoglou, *CE* 62 (1987) 211 (adopted by Habermann 226). Both POxy 3046 and 4488 were submitted following the orders of Aurelius Antoninus, (*procurator*) πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεις. Inasmuch as this personage has not turned up in any text with a date other than 245, and the only years of the 240s that have so far produced such declarations are 240 and 245, I would be inclined to place POxy 4488 in the early months of 245.

‘From Theano, daughter of Petesouchos, from the village of Karanis, with K[a]mbukis, son of Aunes, as guardian. In accordance with the orders of Annius Syriacus, the most splendid prefect, I register the 1/3 1/16 aroura of a katoikic allotment which belong (to me) at the village of Karanis, but are registered to Zoidous, daughter of Petesouchos, as being uninundated for the current third year of Aurelius and Verus, the lords Augusti. Wherefore I submit (this return).

‘I K[a]mbukis, the aforesaid, of around 26 years of age...’

- 1 The declaration has no address to an official; for a list of declarations without addressees, which are a minority, see Habermann 236 n. 75; PStras IX 834 (190) should perhaps be added to his list, but the edition does not report on whether the papyrus is broken away at the top. One could think that such texts were drafts, or copies kept by the declarants; a similar view has been advanced with relation to census returns without addressees, cf. R. S. Bagnall, *CÉ* 69 (1994) 120, R. Duttonhöfer, *BASP* 34 (1997) 57. But as regards abrochia declarations it seems that no general rule can be worked out. At least one of them probably did not stay with the declarant. POxy VIII 1113.ii (203) bears no address, but has every appearance of a document that made its way into a government office: it forms part of a composite roll, and, as I was able to see on a photograph, the declarant added his subscription in his own hand (not reported in the edition). We know that these declarations were prepared in more than one copy, and the declarant presumably retained one.<sup>4</sup> Some of these copies, perhaps those destined to be retained by the declarant, may have lacked an address; and in some cases the official who dealt with these declarations—most are addressed to komogrammateis—kept an unaddressed one. In view of the level of literacy of some of these officials, this should not cause much surprise.  
Θεανῶτος Πετεσούχου. The activities of this woman are recorded in two other Berlin papyri: BGU I 291 (= *W.Chr.* 364), of c. 171, a petition to an epistrategus concerning a dispute over the ownership of land (or produce) confiscated and sold, in which she figures as the owner of half-an-aroura of an olive grove near Psenarpsenesis (a location very close to Karanis); and BGU II 520, of 172, a contract of deposit, where she appears to have given 300(?) drachmas to a certain Theon (in line 2 of that text Θεαν[ῶ]τ[ι] is as likely as the editor’s Θεαν[οῦ]τ[ι]). On women owning property see D. Hobson, ‘Women as property owners in Roman Egypt’, *TAPA* 113 (1983) 311ff.; J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996) 152ff.; also the section on ‘Women and agricultural land’ in J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt. A Sourcebook* (1998) 218ff. Abrochia declarations submitted by women are listed in Habermann 239 n. 95.
- 3 Κ[α]μβύκεως: [Π]ακύβεως ed. pr. (See also 14.) I owe the reading to Professor Messeri. All that remains of the first letter is a short high oblique rising upwards from left to right. This can best be explained as the upper arm of kappa. In line 14, where the same name appears, the surviving traces would also admit the top of kappa. The name Καμβουκικ is not attested elsewhere, but is apparently the same as Καμβουχικ or Χαμβουχικ, which respectively occur in PMich V 257.3 and 2 (Tebtunis; AD 30). It is of course perfectly possible that the name was Κεμβουκικ.
- 4 κα[τὰ] τὰ κελευθ[έντα]: κα[θῶς] ἐκελεύεθ[η] ed. pr. I assume that the abbreviation sign, which should have been added after theta, has been lost in the break.
- 6 Κοιρ[ι]ακοῦ (I. Κυριακοῦ): [ ]ακου ed. pr., Κυρ[ι]ακοῦ BL I 26. M. Annius Syriacus has not appeared in any Egyptian text since the latest update of his papyrological occurrences, viz. G. Bastianini, ‘Il prefetto d’Egitto (30 a.C. – 297 d.C.): Addenda (1973-1985)’, *ANRW* 10.1 (1988) 510. As far as I can see, there appears to be no record of Syriacus’ career outside Egypt.
- 7 τὰς ὑπαρχ(ούσας) περὶ κώμην. We would expect μοι to have followed after the participle; but μοι has been omitted also in PMich VI 368.7 (170).
- 9 Ζωῖδοῦν. Cf. BL I 26 (ed. pr. had Ζωῖ[λ]οῦν). Her patronymic is the same as Theano’s, but there is no way of telling whether the two women were sisters.
- 10 κ[α]τοικ[ι] (ικουῦ) ἧ γ’ ἰς: κ[α]τ[οικικοῦ] ed. pr. There are some difficulties here. (i) In κ[α]τοικ[ι] (ικουῦ) the dotted kappa may just be an abbreviation sign added after iota. (ii) Instead of γ’, γ is also possible. γ’ of course sits oddly with τὰς ὑπαρχ(ούσας) in line 7, but so also does γ’ with the ensuing οὐδ[α]ν (see next note). The scribe possibly wrote τὰς ὑπαρχ(ούσας) reproducing a formulaic phrase, without realising that the land to be registered amounted to less than one aroura. When that became clear, he continued with the correct grammar, but did not change what he had written before. For declarations concerning very small plots of land, see Habermann 250f.
- 10-11 οὐδ[α]ν ἐν ἀβρόχῳ: ν[ῶ]ν ἐν ἀβρόχῳ ed. pr. The new reading is by Prof. D. Hagedorn, and brings this text in line with several other returns which have οὐσας ἐν ἀβρόχῳ at this point: SB XIV 11912.11 (163), OSlo II 26a.i.11, ii.15 (163/4), BGU XV 2488.5 (164?, cf. Habermann 223 n. 44), PMich VI 366.9 (168), 367.14 (168/9), 368.11 (170), BGU XIII 2233.13 (c. 190); or ἡβροχηκυῖα (vel sim.); only PGrenf II 56 (= *W.Chr.* 226).11 (163) gives ἡβροχηκέναι. PRyl

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Habermann 229, commenting on the formula <(name of komogrammateus) ἔχων τούτου τὸ ἕκον εἰς ἐξέτασιν or ἄχρη ἐξετάσεως>: ‘Wir können vermuten, daß dem Deklaranten eines der von ihm angefertigten ἕκα ... als (Einreichungs-)Quittung diente’. It is worth noting that property declarations were prepared in several copies too, see A.M. Harmon, *YCS* 4 (1934) 160f.

- IV 596.22 (204) has ἐν ἀβρόχῳ, but what preceded it is lost in lacuna (note also that in that text line 20 is written in a different hand from line 21, which belongs to the pre-drafted part of the document, see below, n. 6). The phrase seems peculiar to texts from the Arsinoite nome. The supplemented οὐσακ ἐν ἀβρόχῳ in POslo III 100.10 (164), which is probably of Oxyrhynchite origin, is no more than a possibility; Oxyrhynchite declarations, but of later date, offer ἦν ἔχῳ ἄβροχον (*vel sim.*).
- 12 The third year of Aurelius and Verus was 162/3. The declaration was probably submitted between January and July of 163, since no such document is known to have been filed before January or after July (see Habermann 259f.).
- 13 διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι (l. -μι). The use of this formulaic phrase seems to be restricted to Arsinoite declarations.
- 14 Κ[αμ]βυκτις: [Πα]κὺβτις ed. pr. See above 3 n.  
ὁ προγ(εγγραμμένος) ὥς: ὁ προκ(είμενος) ed. pr. For the sequence cf. BGU I 237.18 (164/5), PMilVogl III 195.10 (163-66). For the concept of age rounding in Roman Egypt see the literature cited in PHeid VII 399.6 n.; also W. Scheidel, ‘What’s in an age? A comparative view of bias in the census returns of Roman Egypt’, *BASP* 33 (1996) 25ff., and N. Kruit, ‘Age reckoning in Hellenistic Egypt’, in A. M. F. W. Verhoogt, S. P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (PLBat 30: 1998) 37ff.
- 15 [1-2] . . . [ . . . . . ]φ[ ed. pr. At this point we would expect ἐπιδέδωκα; ἐπι]ιδέ[δωκα might just be possible. But the first trace, the upper part of a tall upright joining a short riser at top left, has no match with any of the iotas in the rest of the text. The editor’s φ is not impossible, but is hard to account for. [ἀπεγρά]φ[η would not be out of context, but the space before the alleged φ is too narrow to allow this (the editor’s estimate of the length of the break is unduly generous)—unless of course it was written in *ekthesis*, which I think unlikely.  
Some minor corrections on two other texts may be appended here. (i) PGrenf II 56 (= *W.Chr.* 226).14 as published has ἐπέδωκα; on the original (kept in the Bodleian Library at Oxford) I read ἐπ[ε]ίδωκα, a version of ἐπιδέδωκα, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 242 (‘omission of full reduplication’) with examples. (ii) In POslo II 26a.ii.22f. in place of ἐπιδ[ί]δω[μι], which finds no parallel among texts of this kind (the indicative ἐπιδίδωμι is usually found at the end of the main body of a declaration, see above 13 n., but is generally not used in subscriptions), read ἐπιδ[έ]δω[κα].

## PRyl IV 682

Karanis

7.5 x 4.5 cm

202?

This document was included among the descripta of PRyl IV. In spite of the meagre amount of text preserved, several points arouse suspicion, especially when compared with two contemporary declarations from the same region, PAlexGiss 1 (202-4) and PRyl IV 596 (204). Photographs of the two Rylands papyri<sup>5</sup> revealed that the hand of 682 is the same as that responsible for lines 2-15 and 22-23 of 596, an upright elegant cursive, evidently of a professional scribe.<sup>6</sup> It also appeared that a revised edition of 682 would be worthwhile. This is presented below.

The date does not survive. Ed. pr. placed the text in 202-3, presumably on prosopographical grounds. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (*PapFlor* XV: 1987) 35, 125 dated it to 202, on the assumption that the only overlap in office of the strategos Demetrios and the basilikos grammateus Kanopos alias Asklepiades at this period of the year is in 202. This is very probable indeed, but on present evidence we cannot strictly exclude a date in 203. Demetrios is last attested in office on 25.3.202, but apparently we do not hear of his successor, Agathos Daimon, before 21.4.203 (see Bastianini, Whitehorne, *op. cit.* 35); so there is an outside possibility that Demetrios was still in office in the early months of 203—unless BGU II 663, which refers to Agathos Daimon, dates from 26.6.202. The same chronological considerations apply to BGU XI 2022, likewise undated, but addressed to the same officials.<sup>7</sup>

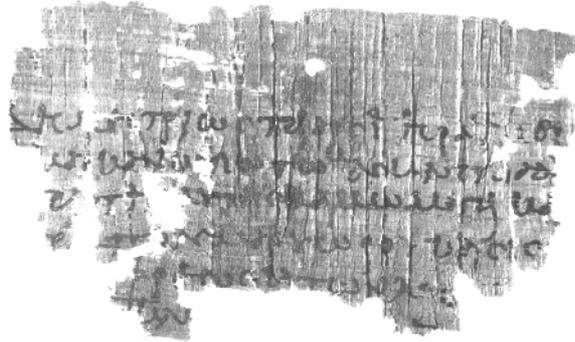
Δημητρίῳ στρατηγῷ Ἄρσινο(οίτου) Ἡρακ(λείδου) μερ[ίδος]  
καὶ Κανώπῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ [βασιλ(ικῷ)]

<sup>5</sup> Supplied by the authorities of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, by courtesy of which the photograph of 682 is reproduced here. I wish to thank Dr P. McNiven and Mr J. Woodhouse for their ready assistance.

<sup>6</sup> The layout of 596 suggests that part of the text was drafted in advance, with the details of the uninundated land added at a later stage. On the practice of pre-drafting documents, see R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115, POxy LIV p. 92; cf. also D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 167 (on *Musterurkunden*).

<sup>7</sup> Bastianini-Whitehorne take the two texts to date from the period February-March. This is eminently possible, given that most of the surviving declarations of this type were submitted in the months of Mecheir and Phamenoth; but it is not entirely certain, since we also possess examples with dates in Pharmouthi and Epeiph, see Habermann 259f.

γρ(αμματεῖ) τῆ[ς] αὐτῆς καὶ κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Καρ[ανίδος]  
 [π]αρὰ Πτολεμαίου Ὁρου καὶ Σισό[ιτος]  
 5 [Ὀννώ]φρεως κ(αὶ) τῶν λοιπῶ[ν συνγεωρ]-  
 [γῶν] ξ κλη[ρουχ(ία)ς] κώ[μη] [ς] Καρανίδος.]



‘To Demetrios, strategos of the Arsinoite (nome), division of Herakleides, and to Kanopos alias Asklepiades, [basilikos] grammateus of the same (division), and to the komogrammateus of Karanis, from Ptolemaios, son of Horos, and Sisois, son of Onnophris, and the other [fellow tenant farmers] of the 60th cleruchy of the village [of Karanis]. ...’

1-3 The same officials are the addressees of BGU I 139 (= *W.Chr.* 225) and PHamb I 11, both of 202; cf. also BGU XI 2022.

1 Ἡρακ(λείδου) μερ[ίδος]: Ἡρακ(λείδου) μερίδος Ἄρσι[νοί(του)] ed. pr.

3 Καρ[ανίδος]: Καρ[ανί(δος)] ed. pr. The space seems sufficient for the unabbreviated form.

4-5 In the ed. pr. 4-5 run [π]αρὰ Πτολεμαίου Ὁρου καὶ Σισό[ιτος] | φρεως κ(αὶ) τῶν λοιπῶ[ν]. My restorations are modelled on PRyl IV 596, which was filed in 204 παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Πανεφρέμειως καὶ Σισό[ιτος] Ὀννώφρεως καὶ | τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) συνγεωργ(ῶν) ξ κληρουχ(ία)ς | κώμης Καρανίδος (lines 8-11); this text concerns uninundated land at Kerkesoucha, a village in the vicinity of Karanis, which the declarants were obliged to cultivate as *epibole*. We may also compare PAlexGiss 1.3-4, which has a slightly different wording: παρὰ Καβείνου Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) | δη(μοσίων) γεωργ(ῶν) κώ(μης) Καρα(νίδος) τ[ ] κλη(ρουχία)ς. For such declarations submitted by δημόσιοι γεωργοί see Habermann 239 with n. 99.

[PRyl 596.10 as edited has συνγεωργ(ούντων) δ κληρουχ(ία)ς. But the active participle of *συγγεωργεῖν* occurs only in Ptolemaic texts, while there are several instances of *συνγεωργοί* (always in this spelling) in texts of the Roman period, mainly from the Fayum: *Prose sur pierre* nos. 49.16f. *et passim* (5 BC), 40.3 (67/96), PSI IX 1043.20 (103), PStras VI 568.7 (138-47), PBerlLeihg I 22.12 (155), II 44.6, 15 (157/8) (the word is damaged in PAlex 11.8, of 98-138). The photograph also indicates that the number of the kleruchy should be read as ξ.]

6 [γῶν] ξ κλη[ρουχ(ία)ς] κώ[μη] [ς] Καρανίδος: ἀπογραφόμεθ]α κατ[ὰ τὰ] κελευσθέντα ed. pr. The reading of the numeral is not certain. What survives is a mere trace at mid-height with a high horizontal above it. One might think of a different numeral and the supralinear stroke that is commonly added above figures, but ξ receives support from PRyl IV 596.10 (as revised above, 4-5 n.). For the construction cf. the examples cited above, and PAberd 50.1 (202-4) (cf. PRyl IV 596.10 n., which anticipates the correction in Habermann 239 n. 99).<sup>8</sup> For the 94 klerouchies at Karanis, see O. M. Pearl, *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (1974) 325ff., PCollYoutie I 63.

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<sup>8</sup> This declaration was submitted following the orders of Claudius Diognetus, *procurator Augustorum*. Its editor tentatively assigned it to 202; this was tacitly corrected to 197-203 in PMich VI 366 introd., while C. Préaux, *CE* 38 (1963) 121 n. 2 suggested a 197-204 date, on the assumption that Diognetus' tenure of office spanned this seven-year period. But although he is attested as *proc. Aug.* διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην on 24.5.197, there is no evidence that his duties at that time encompassed the monitoring of the ἐπίσκεψις. As is now generally accepted, this did not become his responsibility before 202, see G. M. Parássoglou, *CE* 62 (1987) 212f. For this reason the date of PAberd 50 in Parássoglou's list (this item is no. 38 on p. 210) is 202-4, and it is by this date that one should abide until more evidence becomes available. None of the proposed datings for PAberd 50 has been recorded in the BL (in Habermann's list one still finds the 197-204 date).