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TWO CUSTOMS-HOUSE RECEIPTS FROM THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

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## TWO CUSTOMS-HOUSE RECEIPTS FROM THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

Over nine hundred customs-house receipts from Roman Egypt have been published, and were the subject of an important study by the late P. J. Sijpesteijn.<sup>1</sup> These documents provide the historian with a corpus of information of immense value. Individually they provide little information, but taken together, they allow a picture of trading patterns and animal use to be developed, making them important to our understanding of transport and trade in Roman Egypt.

We publish here two new texts from the collection of the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>2</sup> They both come from Soknopaiou Nesos (modern Dimê). Text II forms part of a small group of customs-receipts written by the same scribe during the reign of Caracalla (see Appendix). This dossier mirrors the fortunes of the papyri found at Dimê. Following the early finds by excavation, a large number of papyri became available on the antiquities market; the main beneficiaries were the collections of Berlin, Vienna, and London.<sup>3</sup> Apparently the Dimê material in the Bodleian Library derives from the same finds. We may note, for example, that *P. Bodl.* I 61(a) is the lower part of *BGU* III 702 (= *M. Chr.* 333); and that *P. Bodl.* I 23 makes part of a tax archive from Soknopaiou Nesos scattered in various collections. *P. Lond.* III 1266a-c (Appendix nos. 4, 6, 8) also have the same origin. There are also links between the Bodleian custom receipts and three such texts from Berlin. Wilcken, commenting on *P. Grenf.* II 50f (1)-(2) (= Appendix nos. 1-2), wrote: ‘Soeben teilt mir Schubart mit, daß jetzt auch in Berlin Thorzoll-Quittungen sind mit dem Anfang: τετελώνονται (sic)’ (*APF* 2 (1903) 134). These texts may well be *SB* XII 10912, 10913, 10917 (= *P. Berol.* 9757, 9756, 9760) (= App. nos. 5, 7, 12), first published by Z. Borkowski in *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 131-9. According to Borkowski, these three receipts come from the collection Reinhardt, which was acquired by the Berlin Museums in 1897. Borkowski noted that his texts were written in a hand similar to *P. Sok.* 1 and 3, which also had the misspelling τετελώνονται. These texts, now *SB* V 7518 and 7520 (= App. nos. 9, 11),<sup>4</sup> were found during the excavations of the University of Michigan at Dimê in 1931-32.

In form and content, our texts conform largely to the conventions of customs-house receipts.<sup>5</sup> One interesting detail of text I is the inclusion of a brand-mark identifying a camel, which appears only rarely in such receipts. Another feature common to both is that the seals are preserved. The purpose of the seals must have been to verify the authenticity of the receipts, and it seems to have been normal that

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<sup>1</sup> P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Zutphen, 1987); for subsequent texts, see *P. Louvre* I p. 138; those published most recently are *P. Louvre* I 27 (= *P. Cust.* 207), 28 (= *P. Cust.* 316), and 29 (192). Cf. also O.Eleph. DAIK 55-61

<sup>2</sup> We are grateful to the Keeper of the Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library for granting us permission to publish them here. These pieces come from two lots of papyri of various provenances bought by the Bodleian from B. P. Grenfell in 1895 (text II) and 1896 (text I). Several texts of these groups were published in *P. Grenf.* I-II; in fact, as the inventory numbers show, text I belongs with the group of customs receipts published as *P. Grenf.* II 50. Besides the Grenfell papyri, other customs receipts from the Bodleian are *P. Customs* 283, 382, 486, all of which come from Soknopaiou Nesos. We intend to publish another such receipt from the Bodleian separately.

<sup>3</sup> For the early finds of papyri at Dimê and their present whereabouts see *P. Fay.* p. 19; *P. Tebt.* II p. 348; E. A. E. Reymond, ‘Studies in the Late Egyptian Documents preserved in the Johns Rylands Library II. Dimê and its papyri: An introduction’, *BJRL* 48 (1966) 443; *P. Louvre* I p. v. To the collections mentioned in the works cited, add those of the University of Aberdeen (see *P. Aberd.* p. v), and, of course, the Bodleian Library.

<sup>4</sup> First published in A. E. Boak (ed.), *Soknopaiou Nesos. The University of Michigan Excavations at Dimê in 1931-32* (Ann Arbor, 1935) 25-28.

<sup>5</sup> See *P. Customs* pp. 8ff. for a description of document conventions.

these documents bore them, unless they were specifically stated to be χωρὶς χαρακτῆρος.<sup>6</sup> If receipts were issued at the point of departure, before delivery of goods, and then checked upon return, the presence of a seal would prevent a second use of the document. A careful monitoring of the process is demonstrated by the inclusion of not only the name or portrait of the emperor, and often the regnal year, but also of the place of issue and tax levied, and is a good indication of tight bureaucratic control over transport and trade.

Text II refers to the export of grain. This commodity is commonly exported from the Fayum through Soknopaiou Nesos.<sup>7</sup> It is likely that the destination of the loads was the Small Oasis in the Western Desert. The Small Oasis was not self-sufficient and relied upon the Nile Valley and Fayum for food.<sup>8</sup> Other commodities may have been destined for, or in the direction of, Alexandria. Sijpesteijn holds that an important desert route existed between the Fayum and Alexandria, which began at Soknopaiou Nesos.<sup>9</sup> This has been doubted on the grounds that transport by river was cheaper, but unfairly so. Milestones in the desert were found by Flinders Petrie, and evidence from camel sales suggests that markets existed between the Fayum and Alexandria.<sup>10</sup> Grain would almost certainly have been taken to harbours in or near the Fayum, Ptolemais Hormou or Kerke; but, for reasons of time, and in order to avoid additional labour charges, it may have been as easy to transport other types of goods by land to Alexandria in certain cases.<sup>11</sup> We should remember also that, if markets existed between the Fayum and Alexandria, not every one of these had ready access to a navigable stream, and direct transport overland would then be necessary. It is likely also that an independent trader, rather than placing his goods in the hands of transporters, would think it better to travel himself, thus cutting costs and enabling him to trade at his destination and return with goods for sale.

In text I the transported item is a camel. The import and export of animals as items of trade is attested in 51 customs-house receipts (including our text); camels are traded in 23 of these. Of the total number of attestations, 30 are from Soknopaiou Nesos, making almost 60% of the total. The remaining attestations are split up variously between seven other villages (12% in unknown villages), Bakchias having the most of these (6, or 12%). The sample size is not large enough to be statistically valid, but the impression given is that Soknopaiou Nesos was the principal station for the import and export of animals. Both import and export seem to have been important, with roughly 35% and 46% respectively (20% unknown).<sup>12</sup> This is significant, since there seems to have been an animal market in Soknopaiou

<sup>6</sup> On sealing practices, see K. Vandorpe, 'Seals in and on the papyri of Egypt', *BCH Supp.* 29 (1997) 253. (We have not been able to see *Breaking the Seal of Secrecy: Sealing Practices in Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt based on Greek, Demotic and Latin Papyrological Evidence* (Leiden, 1995), by the same author). See also *P. Louvre* I pp. 141-2.

<sup>7</sup> For an analysis of foodstuffs carried through the customs-houses, see W. Habermann, 'Statistische Daten-analyse an den Zolldokumenten des Arsinoites aus römischer Zeit', in H.-J. Drexhage, J. Stünkes, *Migratio et Commutatio. Studien zur alten Geschichte und derem Nachleben, Festschrift Thomas Pekáry* (St. Katharinen, 1989) 157-75. On animal load capacities, see W. Habermann, 'Statistische Datenanalyse an den Zolldokumenten des Arsinoites aus römischer Zeit II', *MBAH* 9 (1990) 50-94. See further C.E.P. Adams, *Aspects of Transport in Roman Egypt 30 BC - AD 300*, unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis (1996), forthcoming Oxford Classical Monograph.

<sup>8</sup> See G. Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte à l'Époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs* (Cairo, 1987) 284ff.

<sup>9</sup> *P. Customs* p. 45.

<sup>10</sup> For milestones, see M. S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie, A Life in Archaeology* (London, 1985) 123; on animal sales, see A. Jördens, 'Sozialstrukturen im Arbeitstierhandel des kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten', *Tyche* 10 (1995) 63. Camel sales were made at Terenuthis in the Prosopite nome, which suggests a trading link. Another sale is made at Mareotis. It is extremely unlikely that animals were transported to these areas by river, so that there was a desert route is clear.

<sup>11</sup> For similar arguments with regard to Roman Italy, see R. Laurence, 'Land transport in Roman Italy: costs, practice and the economy', in C.J. Smith, H. Parkins (eds.), *Trade and Traders in the Ancient World* (London, 1998) 129-48.

<sup>12</sup> Trade in animals will be considered in more detail in Adams' forthcoming monograph (see above, n. 7). See also Jördens, *art. cit.*

Nesos, and possibly in Kerkesoucha, which was administratively linked to the village of Karanis.<sup>13</sup> The location of animal markets at, or close by, villages situated at the beginning and end of important transport routes is interesting to note—a response to demand for transport animals by those persons transporting goods.

Customs-house receipts can also be used to establish a pattern of animal use in the Fayum more generally. An analysis of the full corpus shows that camels were much more widely used in the west of the Fayum than the east, where donkeys were the preferred transport animal. Clearly camels were physiologically more suited to desert travel and less so to working in the highly irrigated Fayum basin, with its correspondingly damp soil. We could expect, therefore, to find them concentrated near the Western desert. Due to the survival of a number of large customs registers from Soknopaiou Nesos, we have more information concerning customs dues from this village than any other. It seems unsafe, given the survival pattern of evidence, to suggest that Soknopaiou Nesos was more important in terms of trade than other villages, although its geographical position certainly favoured trade.

Both texts are written along the fibres. Neither carries any writing on the back.

## I

Ms. Gr. class. g 20 (P)

7.8 x 6.8 cm

29 April 210

τετ[ελ(ώνηται)] δ[ιὰ] πύ(λης) C[o]κνο(παίου) νήσου λι(μένος) Μέμ-  
 φε[ως] αν υης ικάγων κάμηλ(ον)  
 θήλιαν μέλαινα ἄ ἔχουσαν  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὄνου ὦ καὶ  
 5 ἐπ[ὶ] τοῦ χίλος δεξιοῦ ῡ.  
 (ἔτους) ιη// Παχὼν τετράδι, δ̄.  
 (seal) πύλης C]οκνοπ[α]ίου Νή[σου]

Tafel III

2 l. εικάγων 3 l. θήλιαν μέλαιναν 4 l. ὄμου? 5 l. χείλους

‘Paid through the gate of Soknopaiou Nesos the tax for the harbour of Memphis by ...n...ues, importing a camel, female, black, 1, having on the right shoulder (?) Y and on the right lip (or side of the jaw?) Y. Year 18, Pachon fourth, 4.’

(Seal) ‘... gate of Soknopaiou Nesos ...’

1-2 λι(μένος) Μέμφε[ως]. For this tax, see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton, 1938) 260ff.; J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Part 2: The Roman Epistrategos* (Köln / Opladen, 1982) 23; *P. Customs* pp. 20, 22-23.

2 αν υης. We have not been able to match this with any of the names recorded in the papyrological onomastica. Of the first letter, only a trace on the upper right remains; of the third, only a tiny low trace is visible. ικάγων (l. εικάγων). Cf. *P. Customs* p. 40.

4 ὄνου. This perhaps represents ὄμου. o in place of ω is a common phonetic spelling, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i.276-7; but the interchange of μ and ν is rare, cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* 119. For ὄμω used with reference to animals see LSJ s.v. 2; but we have found no example of this use in a papyrus. Another possibility has been suggested to us by Prof. D. Hagedorn: ‘Der Schreiber wollte eigentlich μηροῦ schreiben, aber weil er immer mit so vielen Eseln zu tun hatte, schrieb er versehentlich ὄνου’.

<sup>13</sup> On Kerkesoucha and Karanis, see H. Geremek, *Karanis. Communauté rurale de l’Égypte romaine au II-III siècle de notre ère* (Warszawa, 1969) 15-7. On the possibility that there was an animal market, see J. Schwartz, ‘De quelques villages du nome Arsinoïte à l’époque romaine’, *CRIPEL* 10 (1988) 142; commentary to *P. Stras.* VI 504 (106); P. J. Sijpesteijn, ‘Ἐπίμουχοι: a non-existing locality’, *Anagennesis* 3 (1983) 145-46; commentary to *CPR* VI 2; O. Montevecchi, ‘Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell’Egitto greco-romano III. I contratti di compra-vendita. a) Compra-vendite di schiavi e di animali’, *Aegyptus* 19 (1939) 38; Jördens, *art. cit.* p. 48.

5 χίλος (l. χείλους). Also here there are two phonetic interchanges involved: ι for ει (also in lines 2 and 3), cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* 189-90, and ο for ου (unaccented), cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* 212; but we would not rule out a morphological error (nominative for genitive). LSJ *s.v.* χείλος 2 cite X. *Eq.* 6.8 as an example of the word used for horses. For a camel branded εις τὸ χεῖλόνιν, see *P. Oxy.* XLI 2998.8-9 (late third century), with the discussion of the *ed. pr.* (J. F. Callender, *BASP* 7 (1970) 7-8). Schnebel has pointed out that brands were commonly made on the shoulder (with leg) or on the jaw (*Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* [München, 1925] 334). Callender discounts the etymological possibility that the brand was on the lip. For camel brands, see the list in *P. Vindob. Worp* 9 (between pp. 92 and 93), supplemented in Jördens, *art. cit.* (above, n. 10) 83 n. 239; add *SB XVI* 12752.10-11 (12-14) (the brand-mark must have stood in the lacuna at the start of line 11), *P. Lond.* III 1124a = *P. Customs* add. lines 2 (the lacuna at the end of the line must have carried away the brand-mark), 4, 6-7. On the practice of branding in the ancient world, see C.P. Jones 'Stigmata: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity', *JRS* 78 (1988) 139-55, esp. 151. Our text is the second papyrus to mention this term (and the only one in this form), and more importantly only one of two customs-house documents to mention identifying brands on animals imported or exported for sale, although *P. Customs* 452 mentions a donkey with a scar (οὐλή) on its right shoulder (perhaps from having a brand mark removed?). The detailed description of the camel here is in line with the view that these animals were themselves the transported items (*P. Yale I* 75-76 introd.).

6 ιη. This should be Year 18 of Severus, Caracalla, and Geta; see below, Appendix. (The text is dated to 'A.D. 180' in *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford VI* (Oxford, 1924) p. xxi. This dating implies reading the year figure as κ (29.iv.180 falls in Year 20 of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus), but this, we believe, is an impossible reading.)

*Seal.* Except for the loss of part of its left-hand side, the grey-coloured clay seal has been preserved in a fairly good state. Two figures facing one another are depicted: one of a mature, bearded man facing right, and the other of a youth facing left. Comparison with the very similar seal of *SB V* 7828 (= Boak, *Soknopaïou Nesos* no. 11, pl. XIII), of 22.x.210 (for the date, see *BL IX* 249), indicates that they represent Septimius Severus and Geta. The bust of Caracalla should have stood to the left of Severus, on the now broken off part of the seal. That in these seals the figure depicted to the right of Severus is of Geta is suggested by the seal of *SB VI* 9234 (15.vi.212; the revised dating to 180/212, recorded in *BL IX* 255, should be abandoned), see E. M. Husselman, 'Two customs house receipts from Egypt', *TAPA* 82 (1951) 166. Part of the inscription is also visible. It is hard to restore the original wording. Clues are offered by the inscription of the seal of *SB V* 7822, which has [δ]ιὰ πύλης Κοκνοπα[ί]ου followed by the date; that of *SB V* 7825, which has ρ' καὶ ν' πύλης [; or the one of *P. Lond.* III 1266c, which has Λ κγ πύλης Κοκνοπαίου Νήσου. (Boak's suggestion to restore 'ρ' καὶ ν' πύλης C]οκνο[παίου on the analogy of [*SB V* 7825]' in the inscription of *SB V* 7828 is impossible, since the text concerns a different customs duty, the tax for the harbour of Memphis.)

## II

Ms. Gr. class. g 14 (P)

7 x 7.6 cm

4 July 211

τετελώνονται διὰ πύλης  
 Κοκνοπαίου ρ' καὶ ν'  
 Εἰρηνᾶς ἐξ(άγων) πυρὸν  
 ἐπὶ καμή(λοις) τρεισί, πώ-  
 5 λοις δυσί. (ἔτους) ιθ' // Ἐπεὶ φ  
 δεκάτη, ι.

Tafel III

seal

1. 1. τετελώνονται 3 εξ' 4 καμη' 1. τρισί

'Paid through the gate of Soknopaïou (Nesos) the 3% tax by Eirenas, exporting grain on three camels, two foals. Year 19, Epeiph tenth, 10.'

- 1 τετελώνονται (1. 1. τετελώνεται). It is not common to have the full verb, cf. *P. Customs* pp. 8ff. See also below, Appendix.
- 2 ρ' καὶ ν'. On this tax see Wallace, *op. cit.* 268ff.; *P. Customs* pp. 23ff. The numerals ρ and ν represent (ἐκατοστή) and (πεντηκοστή) respectively, see *P. Customs* p. 23.
- 3 Εἰρηνᾶς. Another transporter named Εἰρηνᾶς appears in *P. Customs* 524 (II/III) exporting palm-fibre ropes on one donkey from Soknopaïou Nesos. We cannot tell whether these two individuals were one and the same. ἐξ(άγων). For the way the abbreviation is made here, see *P. Heid.* IV 316.4 n.
- 4 πώλοις δυσί. Sijpesteijn has shown that 'in no customs-house document can it be deduced that πῶλοι means young donkeys' (*P. Customs* p. 52). This is certainly the case here, as camels seem to have been the preferred transport animal

in Soknopaiou Nesos, see above. The normal load for a camel was 6 artabas, see Habermann, *loc. cit.* (n. 6). Load size often varied, however, according to the distance travelled, terrain covered, and the condition of the animal, see O. M. Pearl, 'Varia Papyrologica', *TAPA* 71 (1940) 381.

5 (ἔτους) ιθ. This is presumably year 19 of Severus and sons; see below, Appendix.

*Seal.* A large part of the magenta coloured clay seal is preserved, but its surface is badly rubbed. Two figures may be made out, but the damage is too extensive to allow a positive identification to be made. It is likely, however, that the seal is the same as in the contemporary Appendix nos. 1-2. No writing is discernible.

## Appendix

Our second text forms part of a small dossier of thirteen customs-receipts from Soknopaiou Nesos sharing the same phonetic spelling, τετελώνονται, and spanning a period of six years (see table below). Nos. 1-4, 6, 8-9, 11 and 13 are written in the same hand; this may also be the case with nos. 5, 7, 12.<sup>14</sup> The scribe's name is not recorded, but he could be described as the 'iotacistic scribe'. Only no. 10 is clearly in a different hand; we could perhaps explain this by suggesting that two men were working in the same office and made the same error.

We are inclined to believe that these texts come from the reign of Caracalla, rather than of M. Aurelius and Commodus.<sup>15</sup> For this, we rely on two points: Boak's observation that in *SB* V 7818 (no. 9) year 24 is 'probably of the twenty-fourth year of Caracalla than of Commodus, to judge from the level in which [*SB* V 7818-20] were found' (*Soknopaiou Nesos* 26 n. l. 8); and the omission of the emperor(s)'s name(s) from the date clauses of all the texts that preserve one. The latter point is admittedly not devoid of difficulty, however. Schwartz has pointed out that the emperor's name is not included in customs-house receipts after 180 (*P. Alex. Giss.* 21ff.); this is the current *communis opinio*, see *P. Customs* pp. 71ff. But we should perhaps be more circumspect, insofar as 'omission of the reigning rulers' name is attested sporadically in the first century and a half of the empire', see *P. Col.* X 261.5 n. with examples.

In this context, the date of no. 5, throws up particular problems. The text bears a seal; the editor, Z. Borkowski, described it thus: 'It shows two busts facing each other, one on the left is smaller and beardless, that on the right, bearded, is only partly preserved' (*JJP* 16-17 (1971) 139). What is visible on the seal of no. 2 fits that description: two busts in profile, facing, the one on the left beardless, that on the right mostly damaged, but possibly bearded. The colour also matches. Borkowski, like the editors of 2, thought of M. Aurelius and Commodus. We are unable to suggest an identification on the basis of the physical characteristics of the figures. If we accept that they represent M. Aurelius and Commodus, we have three texts (nos. 1-3) of 179 (Year 19) with dating formulas which omit the emperors' names. This, as we have seen, is against the current view. But although there can always be room for exceptions, especially when the dates involved are so close to the putative *terminus*, the inscription of the seal seems to point to a later date. The inscription is in two rows. Borkowski read Λ ι 'Αντων[ίνου καὶ Κομμόδου ...] Καϊάρα[ων], but this formula is never attested with M. Aurelius and Commodus. Instead, we could think of 'Αντων[ίνου καὶ Γέτα] Καϊάρα[ων]. Although an exact parallel is lacking, we may compare the short formula ἔτους χ Σεουήρου καὶ 'Αντωνίνου καὶ Γέτα Καϊάραων, which occurs in a number of texts.<sup>16</sup> The year figure in the inscription of the seal may be ιθ (the joint reign of

<sup>14</sup> We have seen the originals of nos. 1-4, 6, 8, and the published photographs of 9 and 11. A photograph of no. 13 was kindly checked against those of 9 and 11 by Dr P. Heilporn (Ann Arbor); to him our thanks. For nos. 5, 7, 12 we rely on the palaeographic descriptions in the *ed. pr.*; 5 and 7 are said to be by the same hand, but the editor makes no such statement concerning 12.

<sup>15</sup> For our nos. 4-12, which we date to 212-217, Sijpesteijn gives dates 180-185.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *P. Ryl.* II 170.5, *PSI* X 1147.10 (202/3), *W. Chr.* 247.4-5, *PSI* I 32.6-7 (208), *P. Diog.* 3.3-4 (209). Compare also the seal inscription of another text of this group, *SB* XII 10912 (= no. 7), which has Λ κβ 'Αντ[ωνίνου], evidently a dating by Caracalla (alone).

Caracalla and Geta began in ‘Year 19’), unless  $\iota$  is a misreading for  $\kappa$ .<sup>17</sup> However, the year figure and dating clause of the seal inscription do not agree with the date of the text. Sijpesteijn read the year number in the text as 21 (*P. Customs* p. 156 = *BL IX 271*);<sup>18</sup> accordingly, the date of the text should be 18 May 213. But at that date Geta was long since dead. We could think that the customs house used an old seal, which is not without parallel.<sup>19</sup> What is more discomfoting is that by that time Geta’s *damnatio memoriae* had already been put into effect, and there is evidence that on 15 June 212 the customs house at Karanis was using a seal which was altered as a result of the *damnatio*.<sup>20</sup> If *SB XII 10917* does date from 213, it might be that the personnel of the customs house at Soknopaiou Nesos were negligent, or even that the measures following the *damnatio* had been relaxed.

No.	Reference	<i>P. Customs</i> Reference	Date	Regnal Year
1	<i>P. Grenf. II 50f (1)</i> <sup>21</sup>	350	28.5.211	19
2	<i>P. Grenf. II 50f (2)</i>	351	19.6.211	19
3	Bodl. Ms. Gr. class. g 14 (P)	n. a.	4.7.211	19
4	<i>P. Lond. III 1266b</i>	279	24.4.212	20
5	<i>SB XII 10917</i>	276	18.5.213	21
6	<i>P. Lond. III 1266a</i>	289	9.7.214	22
7	<i>SB XII 10912</i> <sup>22</sup>	294	11.4.215	23
8	<i>P. Lond. III 1266c</i>	295	25.5.215	23
9	<i>SB V 7818</i> <sup>23</sup>	300	25.8.216	24
10	<i>SB V 7819</i>	302	25.8.216	24
11	<i>SB V 7820</i>	301	25.8.216	24
12	<i>SB XII 10913</i>	308	30.6.217 <sup>24</sup>	25
13	<i>SB VI 9233</i> <sup>25</sup>	501	early III	s.d.

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<sup>17</sup> This has already been suggested by L. Koenen, ‘Zur Datierung dreier Berliner Torzollquittungen’, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 143, but on different grounds.

<sup>18</sup> The indication of the year is anomalous: <<ἔτους)> κ̄ā. Sijpesteijn makes no mention of his correction in his list of customs receipts (p. 116), where one still finds the old dating (by Koenen, *ibid.*), ‘18.5.180/181’.

<sup>19</sup> See *P. Customs* p. 72 n. 3. We have come across two further examples of such conflicting dates: *SPP XXII 12* (= *P. Customs* 210), which is dated to Epeiph 12, Year 12 of Antoninus Pius (7.vii.149), while the seal inscription dates from Year 11; and *SB XII 10912* (= no. 7), which is dated to Year 23, whereas the inscription of the seal is dated to Year 22 (above, n. 18).

<sup>20</sup> See above our commentary on the seal of text II; also P. Mertens, ‘La *damnatio memoriae* de Géta dans les papyrus’, in *Hommages à L. Herrmann (Coll. Latomus 44: Brussels, 1960) 544*.

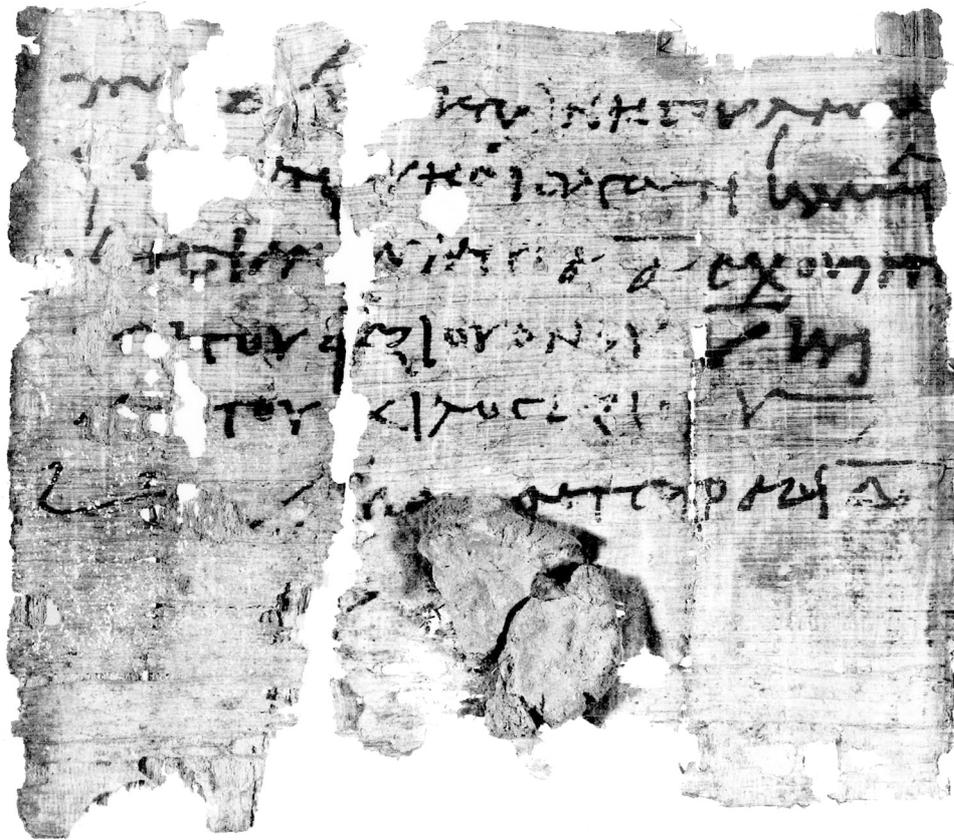
<sup>21</sup> Panouphis, who turns up in this text, also appears in nos. 4, 5, and (as Phanouphis) 6.

<sup>22</sup> The transporter Θεσενοῦφης might be the same as the Θεσνῦφης of no. 8.

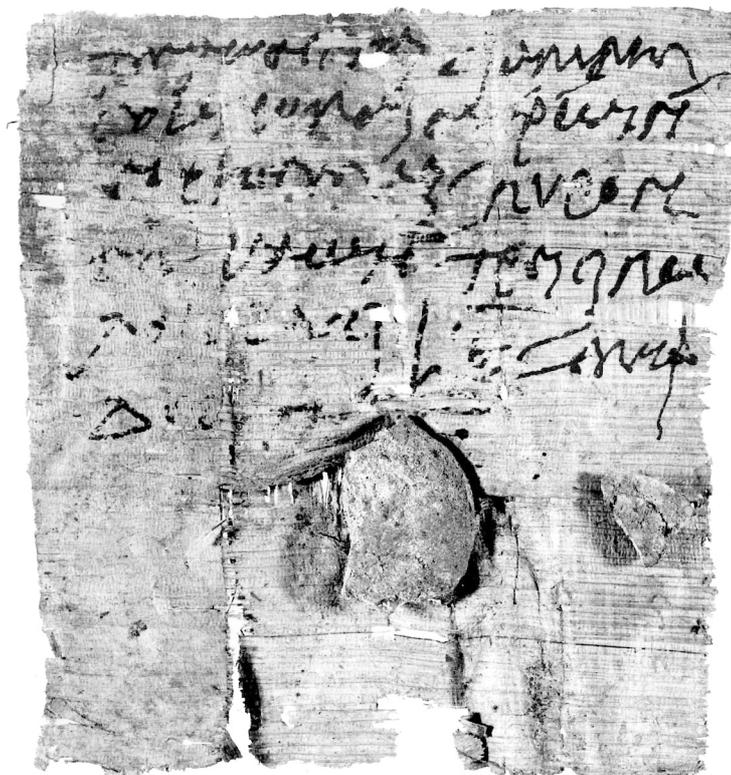
<sup>23</sup> The transporter Neilos also appears in no. 11.

<sup>24</sup> This is one of the latest dated customs receipts from Soknopaiou Nesos, although it may be that *P. Customs* 389-90 are later, cf. K.A. Worp, ‘Zur Datierung einiger Torzollquittungen aus Soknopaiou Nesos’, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 156. Sijpesteijn’s dating to 185 (*P. Customs* p. 159 = *BL IX 271*) is ill-founded, cf. D.W. Rathbone, ‘The dates of the recognition in Egypt of the emperors from Caracalla to Diocletianus’, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 105-6.

<sup>25</sup> Alone from the other texts, this has the introductory verb in the form of *τελωνιται*. The transporter is Sotas. A Sotas appears in several receipts from Soknopaiou Nesos dating from 163 until at least 219, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 7 (1970) 46, L. Koenen, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 234, *P. Customs* p. 38 (no. 228) — one of them is no. 12. The name is an *Allerweltsname*, and the examples span an extraordinarily long period; it is hard to tell whether we are dealing with the same individual in every case (for a less agnostic view, see Koenen, *ibid.*).



Ms. Gr. class. g 20 (P), Bodleian Library, Oxford



Ms. Gr. class. g 14 (P), Bodleian Library, Oxford  
C. E. P. Adams – N. Gonis, pp. 213–218