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P.HAUN. III 58: CARANIS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

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While working on P.Col. VIII 242, perhaps the latest surviving document relating to Caranis, see *Acts of the XXth International Congress of Papyrology* (forthcoming), I found my attention inevitably drawn to P.Haun. 58 of 15 May AD 439, certainly the latest dated document from Caranis.

This is clearly a sworn declaration about water rights, but because of the writer's bad drafting and the unusual vocabulary the exact purport of it remains mysterious. Dr Bülow-Jacobsen in his introduction on P.Haun. III p. 62 summed up his latest interpretation succinctly:

'With some differences from the interpretations hitherto proposed<sup>1</sup> I summarize the contents of the document as follows: 17 men write a document which is described as a χείρ or, on the back, as an ἀπόδειξις to the elders, deacons and other inhabitants of Karanis. The purpose of the document, which is written by the village scribe at Karanis, is (1) to prohibit the villagers from taking water at a place called Thanasamen, (2) to prohibit them from taking possession of the fields in front of Thanasamen, (3) to warn them that anyone found taking water at Thanasamen will be treated with physical violence, and (4) to make sure that no one disturbs the herdsman who grazes the cattle on their pastures.'

Apart from minor alterations I have only two suggestions to make which may lead to improvement of this understanding of the document. The first relates to the prescript. The first ten of the seventeen names are followed by patronymics. It seems to me that these are the persons who swear the oath 'by Almighty God and the Victory of the masters of the world Theodosius and Valentinian, the eternal Augusti'. The linking καίς continue and the next two names are still in the nominative, but they have no patronymic and they are followed by the title πρεσβυτέροις in the dative, which I would translate as 'priests', rather than 'elders'; once more the linking καίς continue with five names in the nominative, without patronymics, followed by διακόνοις in the dative. The prescript then closes with καὶ (τοῖς) λοιποῖς μικροῖς καὶ μεγάλοις τῶν ἀπὸ κόμης Καρανίδος, χ(αίρειν); see below 7 n. for the addition and the reading of χ(αίρειν). My suggestion here is that the ten men swear their oath primarily to the two priests and the five deacons and secondly to the whole population of Caranis. If so, the drafting should be corrected by deleting the superfluous καί before the name of the first priest and by changing all the names of the priests and deacons into the dative case, except of course for Ἰσάκ and Ἀχῆμ, which are indeclinable. This means also that the status designation Αὐρήλιοι, with which the prescript begins applies only to the ten oath-takers; the priests and deacons, who have no patronymics, also have no status designation, as is commonly the case, see J.G. Keenan, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 287, n. 155, 'Omission of gentilicium, for example, was standard (though not invariable) where churchmen were concerned'; cf. 298, para. c, 299 and n.192; idem, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 249. As an instance of an exception in which Aurelius does appear as the status indication of a deacon we can cite P.Abinn. 55.2-3 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἡρωνο[ς] διάκω[ν]ος.

<sup>1</sup> The first publication was by A. Bülow-Jacobsen and S. Ebbesen in CIMA (= *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin*) 6 (Copenhagen, 1971) 207-211, with Plate. The ed.pr. was discussed and improved in some respects by D. Bonneau, *Hommages à la Mémoire de Serge Sauneron* ii 3-23, with Plate. P.Haun. III 58 took Bonneau's work into consideration. A version of the text has appeared as SB XIV 11357 and it has been the subject of an article by Dr Bülow-Jacobsen in the *Carlsbergfondet Årsskrift* 1983, pp. 28-34, with colour plate (reduced) and Danish translation, but no text.

My second suggestion is that the letter group *κατινον*, taken hitherto as a masculine version of the Modern Greek word *κάτι*, ‘something, anything’, represents a transliteration of the Latin word *catinus* ‘basin’, and refers to an irrigation basin or to a device used for irrigation, see 13 n. This has the advantage that *συνκλάσομεν* (14) then refers to the demolition of such arrangements and not to personal violence. It is extremely improbable that the member of the staff of the *praeses* who witnessed the document (19-21) would have countenanced a declaration of such an intent.

I presume that the ten persons first mentioned constitute a board of prominent inhabitants or officials representing the village of Caranis, a sort of *κοινὸν τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος*, cf. P.Neph. 19.2 n. Then of course the main question to be answered is why such an oath needed to be sworn primarily to this set of priests and deacons. The most obvious possibility is that the land called *κλήρων* (9) was church land in the charge of these clergy. The implication would then be that some villagers had been diverting water from a source which should have been reserved for the church lands at Thanasamen and had even been claiming other rights over the lands. This document represents an agreement that the claims are to be abandoned for the future and any such irrigation arrangements are to be demolished by the village authorities without incurring any blame or liability.

The fact that the document was subscribed and witnessed by a *numerarius* on the staff of the *praeses Arcadiae* may reasonably be taken to indicate that the agreement had implications for the finances of the province, see 20 n. This vague conclusion is hard to clarify without more evidence: it may simply be a matter of resolving disputes which affected the yield of the land, or, if my view is right, it may be that liability for taxes on the church lands had to be firmly separated from the village responsibilities.

I am very grateful to Dr Bülow-Jacobsen for his generosity in supplying me with a very clear photograph and in giving me excellent opportunity and facilities to examine the original in Copenhagen.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τὸ ις' καὶ Φλ(αουίου) Φαύ(γου)ς(του)  
 τοῦ λαμπροτάτων, Παχῶν κ τῆς ἐβδόμης ἰνδ(κτί)ωνος. Αὐρήλιοι Τιμώ-  
 θεος Παπέει καὶ Ψαμμαῦ Πεκυσίου καὶ Οὐενάφριος Λεωνίδου καὶ Ἀτήσιος Παύ-  
 λου καὶ Καλαῶνις Ἰσίωνος καὶ Ὀλ Λήειν καὶ Οὐενάφριος Καμβέ καὶ Σερῆ-  
 5 νος Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Παπνούθιος Ἀμάει καὶ Ὀλ Ἥρωνος {καὶ} Ἀφροῦς καὶ Σεραπίων,  
 πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ Παειηοῦς καὶ Καβίνος καὶ Ἰσάκ καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀσῆμ, δια-  
 κόνιοις, καὶ (τοῖς) λοιποῖς μικροῖς καὶ μεγάλοις τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος, χ(αίρειν.).  
 μηδὶς τῆς κώμης ἐξουσεύει ἀναλαβί(ν) νεϊρῶν εἰς τὸ Θανεσαμὴν μηδέ  
 10 τινα τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἐξουσεύει κλήρων τῶν ἐμπροστὰ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 Θανεσαμὴν. διὰ τοῦτω πεποιήμεθα τήνδε τὴν χίρα, ὁμνύοντες  
 θεὸν παντοκράτωρ(α) καὶ νίκην τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 Θεοδοσίου (καὶ) Οὐαλεντι(νι)ανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούτων, εἴ τί τινα εὐρήσκο-  
 μεν κατινον τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Καρανίδος ἀναλαμβάνον(τα) νεϊρῶν  
 εἰς Θανεσαμὴν καὶ συνκλάσομεν αὐτούς, οὐκ ἔχομεν μέψιν  
 15 παρά τινα τῆς κώμης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτω πεποιήμεθα τήνδε τὴν χίρα  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ συμφωνεῖ ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος  
 Σερῆνος γραμματεοῦς τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν  
 παρόντων ἀγραμμάτων καὶ μαρτυρῶ. καὶ ὁ βόσχον εἰς τὰς μο-

νάς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ ἐξαρχῆς μηδὶς ἔρθῃ ἀπάνω εὐτοῦ. (m.2) Φλ(άουϊος) Ἰωάννης,  
 20 νουμεράριος τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς τάξεως ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας, παρήμην  
 καὶ μαρτυρῶ. (vac.)

Back: ἀπ]όδε(ι)ξεις τῶν ἀπὸ κόμης Καρανίδος εἰς  
 Θανεσαμήν.

1 ὑπατιαν; 1. ὑπατεῖαν τοῦ δεσπότη; φλ/ 2 1. λαμπροτάτου 2-3 1. Τιμόθεος 4 ἰσι-  
 ωνος 5 ἰσιδωρος; 1. Ἀπφοῦτι, Σέραπιωνι 6 1. Παιηοῦτι, Καβίνω; ἰσακ; 1. Σωκράτει  
 7 χ̄ 8 1. μηδεῖς, ἀναλαβεῖν νηρόν, τό (or τήν?) 9 1. τις 10 1. τοῦτο, χεῖρα  
 11 1. παντοκράτορα 12 1. αἰώνιων 12-13 1. εὐρίσκομεν 13 1. νηρόν 14  
 1. συγκλάσομεν 15 1. τινος (or τινι?), τοῦτο, χεῖρα 16 1. πρὸς ἡμῶν (or ὑμῶν?)  
 ἀσφάλειαν, συμφωνεῖ, πρόκειται 17 1. γραμματεῦς; ὑπερ 18 1. βόσκων 19 1.  
 μηδεῖς ἔλθῃ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ; φλ/ 22 1. ἀπόδειξις

‘After the consulship of our master Theodosius for the sixteenth time and of Flavius Faustus, *uir clarissimus*, Pachon 20th of the seventh indiction. The Aurelii Timotheus son of Papeis, and Psammay son of Pecysius, and Ouenaphrius son of Leonides, and Atesius son of Paulus, and Calaonis son of Ision, and Ol son of Leein, and Ouenaphrius son of Sambe, and Serenus son of Isidorus, and Parnuthius son of Amäis, and Ol son of Heron, to Apphus and Serapion, priests, and to Päieius and Sabinus and Isaac and Socrates and Asem, deacons, and to the rest, young and old, of the people from the village of Caranis, greetings. Nobody from the village shall have the authority to draw water at Thanesamen, nor shall any from the same village have authority over the allotments in front of the same Thanesamen. For this reason we have made this cheirograph, swearing by Almighty God and the Victory of the masters of the world Theodosius and Valentinian, the eternal Augusti, that if we find any basin of the same village of Caranis drawing any water (whatsoever ?) at Thanesamen and we smash them, we incur no blame from any person from the village, and for this reason we have made this cheirograph for our (?) security and we are in agreement as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Serenus, secretary of the same village, wrote on behalf of them in their presence because they are illiterate, and I act as witness. And he who has been pasturing his flock at their dwellings (?) from the beginning — no man shall come upon him.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Flavius Ioannes, *numerarius* of the praesidial staff of the province of Arcadia was present and I act as witness.’

Back: (1st hand?) ‘Certificate of the people from Caranis in regard to Thanesamen.’

1-2 For the consulship see R.S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 413, cf. 411.  
 τὸ ις' καὶ Φλ(αουίου) Φάυ{γου}ς(του) τοῦ λαμπροτάτων (l. -του). After τὸ ις' P.Haun. III 58 gives [ ] καὶ Φάυ{γου}ς(του) τοῦ λαμπροτάτων, cf. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 226, who have much the same, except that in place of the passage in double brackets they simply explain that something seemed to have been washed out at this point. To me the washing out looks accidental. It has produced a largish and very rounded patch, which looks more as if a large drop of liquid fell vertically onto the surface. Under the microscope the faded remains in that area seemed to me fully consistent with the expected καὶ φλ/, καί in the very narrow form, with alpha almost completely suppressed, which is usual in this document. The placing of the diamond brackets is a matter of taste, but it seems more natural to add the missing syllable at the end of the first line. The garbling of Faustus's name may be

connected with the omission of the usual τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου after the name of Theodosius.

- 2 ἰνδ{/}ι<κτί>ωνος. The writer first wrote an oblique stroke after delta to indicate an abbreviation of ἰνδικτίωνος. Having changed his mind and begun to write it out in full he skipped from the second iota to the third leaving out a syllable.
- 4 Καλαῶνις Ἰσίωνος. Καλάων {ις} Ἰσίωνος P.Haun. III 58, which is based on P.Ross. Georg. III 57.9-10 Γεώργιος υἱ(ὸς) Καλάων[ο]ς. This is the only other trace of such a name. It seems probable that the damage which removed omicron in P.Ross. Georg. has also removed an iota, the narrowest of letters, and that P.Ross. Georg. should be corrected to agree with P.Haun., as Καλαών[ιο]ς, rather than the reverse.
- 5-6 {καὶ} Ἀφροῦς καὶ Σεραπίων (I. Ἀφροῦτι, Σεραπίωνι), πρεσβυτέροις, ‘to Apphus and Serapion, priests’. For this significant exclusion see introd. Note that the previous translations transpose πρεσβυτέροις to the end (P.Haun. III), or leave twelve persons addressing priests with five addressing deacons and the rest (Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Âge), or change all the persons into the nominative and have them make a declaration to nobody in particular (Bonneau, *Hommages ... Sauneron*).
- 5-7 The priests and deacons have no status designation and no patronymics, unlike the ten Aurelii before them, see introd.
- 7 <τοῖς> λοιποῖς μικροῖς καὶ μεγάλοις. Cf. P.Ness. III 165.8, and especially P.Neph. 12.16-17 ἀπάξομαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ μονακτηρίῳ πᾶσι (I. πάντα), μικροὺς καὶ μεγάλους. The article seems necessary. Cf. P.Oxy. LIX 4005.10 n. on ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου, which is a commonplace in the Old and New Testaments.
- χ(αίρειν). The note to P.Haun. III 58.7 specifically rejects this reading, but in spite of the palaeographical difficulty, which is mostly caused by the damage, it seems the likeliest explanation. One way of viewing the ductus of chi plus abbreviation stroke would be that the writer looped the cap of the sigma up to the left to come down again into the first stroke of chi, the one from top left to bottom right, and then began the second stroke from the bottom left, actually touching the bottom of the sigma at this point. Having reached the top right of the second stroke of the chi he looped that back and round to produce a horizontal emerging from somewhere near the crossing of the chi. This horizontal is putative because the horizontal fibres are removed here. Whether this is right or not, χ(αίρειν) gives the most satisfactory text. Bonneau’s theory that this was a xi representing the number sixty, the number of the inhabitants of the village, is both far-fetched and palaeographically unlikely. It seems to involve using the riser and crossbar of epsilon, the last letter of the next line, as the most characteristic parts of xi.
- 8 ἐξουσεύει, cf. 9. ἐξουσεύω, evidently from ἐξουσία, occurs only in this document.
- νειρών (= νηρόν), cf. 13. On νηρόν = νεαρόν (sc. ὕδωρ) for ‘water’, see M. Sirivianou in P.Oxy. LVI 3865.35 n. This is the earliest fixed date for the word, which is the origin of Modern Greek νερό, ‘water’.
- εἰς τὸ (= τό) Θανεαμήν. Neuter here, the place is feminine in 9-10, τῆς ἀϋτῆς Θανεαμήν, where in spite of the dots this reading seemed practically certain under the microscope. The fluctuation in gender probably represents thoughts moving between κόμη and ἐποίκιον. Since it is not known from elsewhere it was probably small.

- 9 κλήρων. This has probably nothing to do with the ancient cleruchic land. In the third century Heroninus archive it seems to be used to mean ‘open field’, contrasted with κτήμα, ‘walled enclosure’, see D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism* 16, 232, 236-7.

ἐμπροτά. The oxytone accent, which is that of all previous editions, depends on recognizing this as a stage towards Modern Greek μπροτά, which is favoured by νειρών (8, 13) = νηρόν = Modern Greek νερό. It could be argued that here it is still a version of ἔμπροθεν, with three not unparalleled symptoms of phonetic pronunciation: 1. Tau for theta (F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 92 para.b 2a); 2. Alpha for epsilon in an unaccented syllable (op.cit. 283); 3. Loss of final nasal (op.cit. 111-112).

On the local sense of ἔμπροθεν see the note to P.Gron. 9.10f.: add P.Lond. V 1674.73 (ἔμπροθεν τῶν ἀγίων), P.Sakaon 32 (= P.Thead. 14).30, P.Vat. Aphrod. 25 fr. c.2, (cf. fr. A 9, reading ἐμπρὸς τῆς [?]). The word occurs much more frequently in variants of οἱ ἔμπροθεν χρόνοι.

τῆς ἀυτῆς. On the reading see above 8 n.

- 10-12 On this and other oath formulas of the reign see K.A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 207-8, esp. 208, para. c.
- 12 εἴ τί τινα. All previous versions have deleted the τι as a dittography, but perhaps it may be referred forward to νειρών (13), ‘... if we find any basin ... drawing any water (whatsoever?)’.
- 13 κατῖνον. All previous versions take this as related to Modern Greek κάτι, ‘something’, and indeed Du Cange, *Glossarium ... Infimae Graecitatis* col. 622 records κάτινος ‘aliquis’, from an anonymous medieval poem on the marriage of Theseus, but with this sense τινα . . . κατῖνον would be exceptionally pleonastic and ‘anyone’ raises the difficulty, discussed especially by Bonneau (6 n.4, 20-22), that the document seems to be giving legal authority to private persons to use violence against others.

My suggestion is that it may be a transliteration of Latin *catinus*, ‘basin’, and refer to some irrigation feature or device. The word does not appear in Greek dictionaries, but Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5.120, discussing the Latin word, says, ‘... *Siculi dicunt κάτινον ubi assa ponebant*’, ‘... the Sicilians call κάτινος (a dish) in which they used to place roast meats’. The accent on κάτινον and the conflict of tenses look odd, but there is no doubt that Varro intended the Greek word to be a reflection of the Latin and even to afford an origin for it.

Besides ‘dish’, *catinus* means a natural hollow in rocks (Plin., *NH* 34.125), and the collecting chamber of a force pump, called in Latin the *Ctesibica machina* (Vitruv. 10.7.1-4; cf. RE XI col. 2076 §4), see Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary* s.v. II A, B, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. 2, 4; cf. J.P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* 123-5 (Vitruv. loc.cit.); 301-325 (the force pump), esp. 323-5 (applications). It would be rather nice to find that the force pump, invented in Alexandria, was in use in rural Egypt for the violation of water rights, but I doubt if this evidence is good enough to justify such a guess. The Greek name for a force pump was cíφων according to Oleson, 304-5, cf. 20. There are no certain references to it in papyri. Some cíφωνες mentioned in P.Lond. III 1177.129 (p. 184) have been interpreted as pumps, but Oleson rejects that meaning there in favour of ‘pipes’ or ‘siphons’ (155, cf. 302-3, 304), because the price of eight drachmas for more than one of them is too little for the engineering craftsmanship which they would require. D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism* 222, has

suggested that the διαβήτης in P.Laur. I 14.A 18, ‘may possibly have been a Ctesibian pump’, but this is unlikely since the payment there is to an οἰκοδόμος, a builder, not an engineer. The two relevant references to διαβήτης come from Hero, *Pneum.* I 29, where it seems to be the usual bent tube which acts as a siphon, see the illustration in W. Schmidt's edition (Teubn.) vol.i p.139, at the places marked δεξ, cf. μνξ, and from Columella 3.10.2, where he says that the food of a plant is drawn up through its stalk *ueluti sifone, quem diabeten vocant mechanici*.

Perhaps here κατῖνος is more likely to mean a hollow excavated to collect water or a tank built for the same purpose.

- 15 παρά τινα, as in ed.pr. and Bonneau, is the reading of the original. By inadvertence it was corrected to παρά τινος, which is intended, in the text of P.Haun. III 58.15.
- 16 πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσφάλειαν. Read either πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀσφάλειαν, cf. P.Lond. V 1727.59 πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀσφάλειαν ταύτην ἐξεδόμεθα τὴν ἀλληλομολογίαν, where it seems to mean ‘for our mutual security’, or possibly πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀσφάλειαν, see P.Strasb. VI 520.4, VII 640.4 (both acknowledgements of receipt), P.Monac. I 9.87 (contract of sale). The text shows a certain ambivalence. It begins with an assurance that no one from the village has water rights or other rights over the κλήροι, which one might take to give an guarantee to the clergymen, but then the village authorities show some anxiety in case there is retaliation if irrigation features are destroyed and they on their side clearly hope for a guarantee that they will not be liable to blame.
- 16-17 P.Haun. III 58.16-17n. rejects the identification of the village scribe with Aurelius Serenus son of Isidorus in 4-5. However, if the first ten men are a board of Caraniots representing the village, as I now suggest, it is possible that the scribe is one of them, although there is no way of deciding.
- 17 γραμματεοῦς (l. -τεύς). Cf. F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 230-231.
- 18-19 This sententious afterthought, with its hanging nominative, has almost a biblical ring, although I can find no precise biblical parallels. It may give the concession to one herdsman or shepherd, but the singular looks like a generalizing one, giving it to all who had enjoyed customary rights of pasture.
- εἰς τὰς μονὰς αὐτῶν. It was suggested by T. Larsen, see ed.pr. p. 209, that μονάς may be a mistake for νομάς, ‘pastures’, by metathesis, cf. F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 314-5. This may be attractive at first sight, but it looks as if the concession would refer to animals casually grazing along the verges and on waste ground, and not to authority for them to trespass on the open fields (κλήρων 9, see n.), which are supposed to be protected by this agreement. It might be argued that νομαί implies some more elaborate arrangements for grazing, cf. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 342-9. ‘Dwellings’, possibly with a monastic implication, is still a possibility, if my suggestion that the lands are church lands is right.
- 19 ἀπὸ ἐξαρχῆς. In medieval manuscripts ἐξ ἀρχῆς is sometimes found written as one word, as is stated in H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus* s.v. ἀρχή (Vol. ii col. 2109D). LSJ s.v. ἐξαρχῆς simply gives a cross reference to ἀρχή. This passage is interesting as corroboration that the phrase became so much thought of as a single unit, like ἐφεξῆς or ἐξαιτίας, that it could attract another preposition before it.
- ἔρθῃ (= ἔλθῃ). There is a possibility, if not a probability, that this form represents a future rather than a subjunctive, see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 289.



ἀπάνω εὐτοῦ (= ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ). Cf. Gignac i 283, for alpha replacing epsilon in an unaccented syllable, and i 234 for εὐτοῦ. For the phrase and the threat envisaged see G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. ἐπάνω, citing *Apophth. Patr.* (M.65.196A) ἡλθόν ποτε ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ τρεῖς λήτται. Cf. P.Lond. V 1711 (= FIRA III No.18).66-8 μὴ δύνῃσθαι . . . ἐνεγκεῖν ἀλλοδαπὰς γυναῖκας ἐπάνω τῆς ἐμῆς ἐλευθέρας.

20 νομεράριος τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς τάξεως ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας. For references to νομεράριος in the papyri see S. Daris, *Il Lessico Latino*<sup>2</sup> 75 s.v., cf. ἀπονουμεράριος, p. 29; add P.Wash. Univ. II 88.7 ἀπὸ νομερ[αρίων]. These *numerarii* served on the staffs of the provincial governors as financial officers, see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 594 for a summary, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile* 74 and n. 5. For their involvement with taxes down to the village level cf. P.Cair. Masp. III 67323 with G. Rouillard, *L'administration* 91, n.2. The presence of such a functionary as witness strongly indicates that the agreement was of interest to the imperial finances. One might guess that it was a matter of tax liability. If the lands were church lands, the provincial government would need to make a careful separation of the liabilities of the church and of the villagers. Church lands remained liable to tax, but there were some fiscal privileges which the clergy were entitled to, see Jones, op.cit. i 118, ii 907, 912, E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques de l'église en Égypte* 35, J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen* 203-4, 210. The government also had to take measures to prevent disputes of this kind from reducing the yield of the land and in that way reducing the government's income from tax.

22 ἀπ]όδε(ι)ξει(ς) (= ἀπόδειξις). δέξει(ς) ed.pr., ἀπ]όδειξις P.Haun. III 58. Under the microscope I was unable to see any sign of the first iota, although there seems to be no doubt that ἀπόδειξις was intended. For reduction of εἰ to epsilon see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 257-9, esp. 259 para. e, citing P.Ant. II 107.2 ἀπ[ό]δεξι(ν) (l. ἀπόδειξι(ν)), i 140, citing P.Cair. Masp. III 67286.9 (not 8) ἀπότεκξι(ν) for ἀπόδειξι(ν).

εἰς Θανεσαμῆν. In 14 this phrase means 'at Thanesamen', cf. 8 εἰς τὸ (= τὸ) Θανεσαμῆν, but here 'in regard to Thanesamen' seems better, see LSJ s.v. εἰς IV.2.