

Ostracologica

Nikolaos Gonis*

Abstract: The first three parts of this miscellany have their origins in the *Nachlass* of J.G. Tait (and partly of A.S. Hunt): editions and a series of critical notes. Other critical notes on O.Deissmann, dubious abbreviations and names occupy the other four parts.

Keywords: ElKab, J.G. Tait, A.S. Hunt, Memnonia, Pakerkeësis, O.Berl., O.Deissmann, O.Heid.

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1. The ‘lost’ Bodleian ostraca from ElKab

‘Les premiers documents grecs provenant de notre site furent des ostraca que A.H. Sayce avait achetés sur place au début de ce siècle. Nous avons accepté cette provenance pour nos n^{os} 204 et 205, mais le doute subsiste pour 205’ (O.ElKab, p. 20); ‘nous n’avons pas pu retrouver à l’Ashmolean Museum les huit ostraca d’ElKab dont fait mention Mrs J. Crowfoot P[ay]ne chez J. Quaegebeur [*Pap. Congr. XVI*], 5[2]8, n. 7.¹’ (O.ElKab, pp. 20–21, n. 44).

O.ElKab 204 and 205 are re-editions of O.Bodl. II 408 and 1145 respectively. For O.Bodl. 1145 = O.ElKab 205, ed. pr. records ‘El Kab(?)’ as the provenance. The re-edition notes that the name Ἀρκίνας is arrested in several ostraca from ElKab, and refers to O.ElKab 142.1 n., where this same text (given as 204) is mentioned as well as some Demotic ostraca.

The name Ἀρκίνας occurs in a few other Bodleian ostraca reported lost in the 1950s, which are presumably the same as those mentioned above.

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¹ ‘A letter from Mrs. J. Crowfoot Payne (8.2.1976) states that “The Bodleian collection includes 8 ostraca from el Kab, all of which were given by Sayce.” (The Bodleian ostraca were transferred to the Ashmolean Museum in 1946.)

At the end of O.Bodl. II, pp. 433–4, there is an addendum with nos. 2583–2588. Préaux wrote:

‘Sont rangés ici quelques ostraca que je n’avais trouvés ni dans les copies de Tait, ni en place à l’Ashmolean Museum. En collationnant les photographies que l’Ashmolean Museum a bien voulu mettre à ma disposition, j’en ai découvert les photographies, à la fin de la correction des épreuves.’

The inv. nos. of these six ostraca are Bodl. Gr. Inscr. 329, 342–344, 346–347. Préaux noted: ‘Les taux sont de Thèbes. La formule est insolite. Les ostraca suivants concernent le même personne.’ The name of this person is Πῦρις Ἀρκῖνις. The taxes are the *laographia*, the *chomatikon* and the *balaneutikon*. There is nothing particularly Theban about these taxes; only the *balaneutikon* has not been attested in other ostraca from Elkab. More importantly, the formula is typical of Elkab: see *O.Elkab*, pp. 30–33. The colour of the shards also suits this provenance.² They were all assigned to the first century. Tait placed O.Bodl. 408 in the reign of Augustus, and O.Bodl. 1145 in that of Tiberius; in the notes to O.Elkab 204 and 205, dates under Claudius were also considered.

Tait had transcribed these texts on two sheets glued onto the end of his notebook entitled ‘Ptolemaic’,³ which contains his transcripts of O.Bodl. I. On the (blank) back of the second sheet Tait added a revised text of inv. no. 1036 = O.Bodl. II 1847. In the top margin of the sheet there is a note in Préaux’s hand, of the kind found in every notebook: ‘copié’. This makes her statement that she did not find these ostraca ‘dans les copies de Tait’ curious, but the editions suggest that no use was made of them. It would also appear that Préaux did not see the originals, given the absence of the usual ‘vu’.

Tait thought that ‘the reign is more likely to be that of Tiberius than Augustus. I conjecture that they are from El-Kab, from the resemblance to 2890 = SB 1085 and 2893, which also contains the name Ἀρκῖνις’. He later added, ‘cf. O.Strasb. 44’.⁴

² See *O.Elkab*, pp. 29–30.

³ Tait’s notebooks are kept in the Papyrology Rooms, Sackler Library, Oxford.

⁴ Tait suggested that O.Stras. 44 came from Edfu on the basis of the formula (BL II.2 147), but it has since become known this formula is also attested at Elkab; see F. Reiter, *P.Köln IX*, pp. 136–7. The name Pambekis, which occurs in O.Stras. 44 and O.Bodl. 1145 = O.Elkab 205, is common at Edfu. The group under discussion had also been thought to come from Edfu; see W. Clarysse, *Pap. Congr. XVII* (1984), vol. iii, p. 1152: ‘O.Bodl. 2583–2587: dossier of Piuris son of Harkinis, no doubt from Edfou’.

Tait's readings differ from those of Préaux in a few places, which is understandable, since Préaux worked from photographs. I append the novelties, verified against the originals.⁵

O.Bodl. 2583. At the end of l. 2, the edition has *ƒ c*, i.e., (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον), but Tait read = L η, i.e., (δυώβολον) (ἔτους) η. If the 8th year is of Tiberius, the date will be 24 September 21.



O.Bodl. 2584. In l. 2, the printed text has . . . ατικ(οῦ) (δραχμ) . . . Tait in his third revision read ὑπ(ἐρ) | ἐρετικ(οῦ) (δρ.) α, adducing O.Stras. I 44 (see BL II.1 27), 'ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐρετικ(οῦ) oder ἐρετικ(ῶν)' (the correction stems from Tait and was checked by Viereck on the original). Would this be a payment for oarsmen in the imperial fleet (*remiges*)? The date, year 4, Payni 26, may correspond to 20 June 18.

O.Bodl. 2585. Tait read the number of the day of the month in l. 3 as κ̄β̄ (dots only in the edition). Phamenoth 22, Year 7 Tiberius = 18 March 21.

⁵ I checked the originals on two occasions, several years apart; my thanks to Helen Whitehouse and Liam McNamara for having been so accommodating. The images are published with permission of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

O.Bodl. 2586. The edition only prints the prescript followed by a series of dots. Tait read the whole text; the ink has faded but his readings seem more or less secure. I reproduce his transcript with the addition of some dots.



Πύρις Ἀρκίνις τέλ(ους)
 ς (ἔτους) (δραχμάς) δ. (ἔτους) ς, Παχω(v) κθ.

2 ς[⊥] δL ςπαχ^ο

Tait added: 'τέλος probably = χειρωνάζιον?' Cf. O.Bodl. 2587, a receipt for 4 drachmas paid for τέλος of Year 7 in Pachon of the same year, or O.Bodl. 1145 = O.Elkab 205. The date may be 11 June 20.

O.Bodl. 2587. For the lacuna in l. 2, Tait suggested ὁ ἀν(τός) or ὁμοίως or ἄλλας. Supplementary payments are not attested in any other receipt from Elkab, but in view of the formulas attested in ostraca from Edfu, the first two options seem more likely. The date may correspond to 20 May 21.



O.Bodl. 2588. In l. 2, Tait read L] δ; the date may be 25 April 18. Tait also transcribed Bodl. Gr. Inscr. 348 as follows:

] . . . [.] [. . . .] . .
] Μεσορῆ λ.

This inventory number corresponds to O.Bodl. I 404, published as a description: ‘Seven lines, indistinct; first (?) century B.C.’. But this does not match the actual Bodl. Gr. Inscr. 348.



2. An ostracon from the Memnonia in Copenhagen

The last of the notebooks that J.G. Tait used for his work on papyri and ostraca⁶ contains a transcript of an ostracon kept in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen. There is no information on how this came to his knowledge; he read it from a photograph, and recorded a date, 24.6.30. The Glyptotek acquired it through Valdemar Schmidt, who had bought it in Egypt in 1894.⁷

The text is a receipt from the Memnonia of familiar type. The first four lines record two payments made within six months, one for λαογραφία, and the other for χωματικόν. These lines are in the same hand as two other composite receipts from this area, O.Deiss. 22⁸ (62) and O.Erem. 8 = SB XVIII 13186 (66). A fifth line was written close to the lower edge of the ostracon, possibly by a different hand, but its reading is very uncertain.

ÆIN 833

12.5 × 8.2 cm

29 May & 1 December 62

διαγέγρα(φεν) Μονκορής Π . . . [ὑπ(ἐρ) λαο(γραφίας)
Μεμνο(νείων) η (ἔτους) (δραχμάς) ις. (ἔτους) η Νέρωνος
τοῦ κυρίου, Παυνη δ. ὄμο(ίως)

4 Χοι(ακ) ε ὑπ(ἐρ) χω(ματικοῦ) (δραχμάς) γ (ἡμιωβέλιον),
αἱ κ(αθαραὶ) (δραχμαὶ) β (πεντώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).
(vac.)

c. 12 letters

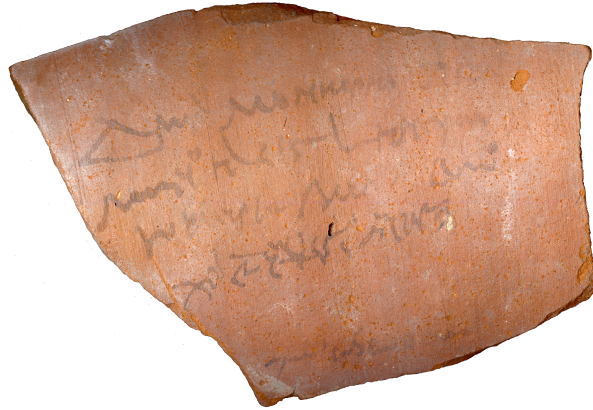
1 δτ-ρ^α 2 μεμν^οηζιςL 3 ομο 4 χο^ενπχω(γ^σαικ)β^σ

Monkores son of P— paid 16 drachmas for poll-tax for the Memnonia of the 8th year. Year 8 of Nero the lord, Payni 4. Likewise, Choiak 5, for dyke-tax, 3 dr. ½ obol, net 2 dr. 5½ ob. . . .

⁶ Cf. *ZPE* 150 (2004) 194; *ZPE* 156 (2006) 197.

⁷ Information provided by Tine Bagh, to whom I am grateful for images and permission to publish the ostracon.

⁸ The name of the taxpayer was read as Πμουτίων, which is unique, and certainly wrong; I wonder if it is Παμοντκαμη(τις), with αμον written in *Verschleifung*.



1–2 Μονκορής. The name is typical of the West bank. The only exception is the grandfather of a member of a *dekania* in O.Bodl. II 1893.3, which is Theban (on the provenance, see N. Kruit's arguments in BL IX 405, reinforced by the assignment of O.Stras. I 283 to Thebes by P. Heilporn, O.Stras. II, p. 52, n. 132).

Π [. Tait tentatively suggested Παμώ(νθου), but nothing can be made out on the scan.

2 (δραχμὰς) ις. 16 drachmas is now considered to be the annual rate for poll-tax in the Memnonia; see O.Stras. II, p. 85f.

3 Πανγι δ. Tait read Παν(νι) ιδ = 8 June.

3–4 Choiak 5 falls in year 9 of Nero, but this is not indicated: nothing is visible after ὄμο(ίως) in l. 3, unless this is totally lost to abrasion. The new year would normally have been mentioned; to limit examples to contemporary receipts from this area, see O.ROM II 82.5 (50), O.Wilck. 366.7 (52), O.Cair. 64.3 (53), O.Heid. 152.6 (53), O.Deiss. 21.5 (54), O.Deiss. 22.3 (62), O.Heid. 157.7 (67). We find the same kind of omission as here in O.Wilck. 1378 = O.Petr.Mus. 244.7 (43), O.Heid. 41.5 (75), O.Wilck. 444.5 (76).

4 χω(ματικοῦ) is rather clumsily written here and in O.Deiss. 22.4 and 5, so that the editor stated that 'χ^ο steht nicht da'. However, to judge from the plate (Taf. IV), the reading is inescapable. The abbreviation is made differently in O.Erem. 8 (I was able to check an image, kindly supplied by Rodney Ast).

3 dr. ½ ob. = 2 dr. 5½ ob. is a standard rate for an instalment of the dyke-tax; cf. e.g. O.Cair. 64.3 and O.Deiss. 21.6, where only the net sum

is given, and especially O.Deiss. 22.5–6, which attests the same sums as the Carlsberg ostracon.⁹ See further F. Reiter, *P.Köln IX 376*, introd. (p. 143).

5 Tait made two alternative readings but neither can be verified:] .μωγθ() τραπ() κ . . ιδ, and ὄμοι(ως) Τυβι κδ (δρ.) δ. This may refer to a supplementary payment, though the blank space that separates this line from the rest may suggest that it is not related. It is less likely that this is the beginning of another receipt (cf. O.Erem. 8), since nothing seems to have been lost at the foot.

3. O.Berl., Hunt, Tait, and some trifles

In his copy of O.Brüssel-Berlin, at the top of the first page, A.S. Hunt pencilled: ‘annotated partly by Tait’.¹⁰ There are marginalia in Hunt’s hand on almost every page of this small book without any reference to Tait, so that it is unclear what stems from information supplied by Tait¹¹ and what is Hunt’s own observations. Tait sent numerous corrections to texts published in this volume to F. Bilabel, which appeared in BL II.1 10–12.¹² Almost all of them coincide with marginalia in Hunt’s book. These are mostly informed conjectures; no checks of originals are reported, though we know that Viereck examined Berlin ostraca on behalf of Tait (see BL II.1 4). The majority of Tait’s suggestions were later con-

⁹ An implication of the reading of the name of the tax in O.Deiss. 22 is that we obtain two payments that total 11 dr. ½ ob. (gross), which exceed the usual amount paid for dyke tax, i.e., 7 dr. ½ ob. (gross). Such excess payments are not rarely attested in this area (see O.Theb. pp. 119–20, O.Petr. 99 n., O.Cair. 98.4 n., O.Heid. 49.2 n.), but most of them come from the reign of Trajan. (In his remarks on O.Deissmann sent to P.M. Meyer on 17.4.1923, Tait wrote: ‘There are ... a few ostraca from Memnonia in which payments [for dyke tax] are made in excess of the normal amount; I do not know why.’; see G. Nachtergaele, ‘En marge des ostraca de la Bibliothèque Bodléenne. Lettres de John G. Tait à Paul Meyer et de Harold I. Bell à Claire Préaux’, *CE* 84 [2009] 288.)

¹⁰ Now in the Sackler Library, Oxford (shelfmark: 303 V. 44). Hunt’s own remarks must be mostly his reactions to Viereck’s commentary; they are sometimes scathing, even rude.

¹¹ Some of these notes also appear in a letter of Tait to H.I. Bell dated 6.10.23.

¹² Bilabel, who had explained Tait’s contributions in the preface, did not attribute them to Tait except when a suggestion is more uncertain than others, introduced by ‘T. vermutet ...’; their authorship, however, should not be in doubt. This point was missed in the re-edition of the Brussels ostraca (O.Brux.), which ascribed these corrections to Bilabel.

firmed¹³ or can be verified now that images of the Berlin ostraca are available on line.

Not everything pencilled on Hunt's copy corresponds to entries in the *Berichtigungsliste*; taking these marginalia as a starting point, I discuss below three ostraca whose reading and interpretation can be advanced.

O.Berl. 21. This receipt for *akrodrya*, dated 18 October 2, was excavated by Rubensohn at Elephantine but was thought to have been issued at Thebes on the basis of what was read in l. 2, τέτακ(ται) ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Δι(ὸς) πό(λει) τῆ μεγά(λη) τρά(πεζαν). The editor assumed that the payer, whose name is typical of Elephantine, possessed land at Thebes and paid tax there. Hunt noted: 'not very likely that an inhabitant of Eleph(antine) w(oul)d have garden land at Thebes. Curious too that the formula is as W. Ost. 2, from Eleph(antine), but has no parallel in Augustan ost(raca) from Thebes'.¹⁴

O.Wilck. 2 = O.Leid. 175.2–3 (13), to which Hunt refers, has τέτακται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Συή(νη) | τρά(πεζαν); cf. also SB V 7584.3 (15) or BGU XX 2849.4 (18), published more recently. The online image of the Berlin ostrakon shows that Δι(ὸς) πό(λει) τῆ μεγά(λη) is not there; it is hard to see how Viereck arrived at this reading.¹⁵ Συή(νη) is what is written. Everything now comes into place.¹⁶

¹³ One example will suffice. Tait's conjecture for the regnal year in O.Berl. 64, recorded in BL II.1 11 (and before that on Hunt's copy), was confirmed on the original by P. Heilporn, O.Stras. II, p. 163 n. 551.

¹⁴ R. Bogaert, 'Banques et banquiers à Thèbes à l'époque romaine', *ZPE* 57 (1984) 269 (= *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca* 175 n. 239), had pointed out the peculiar character of this receipt ('Bien qu'il soit daté de l'année 32 du règne d'Auguste, il porte une formule purement ptolémaïque.'). but did not comment on the provenance.

¹⁵ It is ironical that the only reference to Diospolis in this publication was not recognized: cf. O.Bru. 3.

¹⁶ There remains an aberration, BGU VI 1376, reportedly found at Elephantine but issued at Diospolis Magna (to judge from the image, the reading of the name of the town is secure, in spite of the doubts of the editor). Nevertheless, we should not rule out the possibility that the information on the finding place is wrong. It is worth noting that in his 'Memorandum on Ostraca published in B.G.U. VI', sent to P.M. Meyer with a letter dated 12.7.23, Tait wrote: 'I do not know how to explain the discovery of this ostrakon at Elephantine; but cf. O. Brüss. 21'; see Nachtergaele (above, n. 9) 301. It would appear that Tait did not seriously suspect the text of O.Berl. 21 at this time. It is of little importance whether Hunt's annotation reflects his own views or Tait's, but Hunt would hardly have been the one to adduce formulas in ostraca from Thebes.

O.Berl. 43. There is nothing recorded in BL for this ostrakon, but Hunt's copy of the book contains some interesting marginalia. The first three lines were edited thus:

Ταύρων πρά(κτωρ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Χά(ρακος).
 Φθουμῶ(νθης) Πετελω() διὰ χ(ειρὸς)
 ὕπ(ερ) γεω(μετρίας) ιβ (ἔτους)

The nominative Φθουμῶ(νθης) was corrected to Φθουμῶ(νθη). The name that follows is curious, and the editor notes: 'Πετελ^ω, nicht Πετεχ^ω': 'Πετεμενῶ(φιος)?', added Hunt in the margin. διὰ χ(ειρὸς) was also put in doubt; 'ἔσχον? διέγραψας?', Hunt wrote.

All other receipts issued by Tauron¹⁷ use the formula ἔσχ(ον) ὕπ(ερ) + *tax*, and ἔσχ(ον) is what should be read here; sigma is very quickly written, as is common in this word (ἔχ(ω) was read in O.Stras. I 236.1). The letter before epsilon may be read as phi, which adds weight to the revised reading of the name. We should probably read Πετεμενῶφ(ιος), though this is not a common way of writing this name: phi is not expected after raised omega.¹⁸

¹⁷ See O.Stras. II, p. 354; add no. 11 in T. Hickey, 'Ostraca Upsaliensia (Part I)', *APF* 56 (2010) 269.

¹⁸ The reading of this name has often given difficulty; cf. O.Stras. II, p. 368 n. 94. There are few problematic cases in this volume. In O.Brux. 3.2, *ed. pr.* read Πετοῶφιο(ς), retained in the new edition but with the addition of a dot under the omega; Tait, BL II.1 11, proposed Πετεμενῶφιο(ς), which found support by D. Hagedorn, *Tyche* 22 (2007) 44, and Heilporn, O.Stras. II, p. 367 n. 90 (ignore the entry in BL XII 294). For O.Berl. 50.2, Tait suggested Πετεμενῶφιο(ς) instead of Πεῶφιο(ς). In O.Berl. 70.3, Viereck read Σενπετεμε . . . φι, but mentioned Σενπετεμενῶφι as a possibility in the note, which was later confirmed; see BL IX 378. In O.Berl. 75.4, Tait proposed Πετε(μενῶφιος) Φθουμῶ(νθου) in place of Πετεφθουμῶ(νθης); only Πετε seems to have been written, but the correction finds support from the pattern of the other entries in this *dekania*-list (incumbent of the post, father, grandfather); for this kind of abbreviation see below, note on SB XII 10900. Tait suggested reading Πετεφ(ίβιος) instead of Πετεφ(θουμῶνθου) in l. 3; Πετεφ(ίβιος) would be an *unicum*, though the name is attested in other forms and in Demotic (TM Nam 7929). Should we read Πετεμενῶφ(ιος), with μενω written in *Verschleifung*? A consequence of these revisions is that there will be no other instances of the name Πετεφθουμῶνθης in Greek texts, though its Demotic equivalent is attested (TM Nam 23113). Nevertheless, F. Reiter observes that this would be the only example of an unmarked abbreviation in this text, and that the man in l. 6 can be the son of Onnophris in l. 5 only if we keep Viereck's reading.

The name of the month was only partly read, Μ . . (); Viereck's note queries whether it is Μεσο(ρή). The image shows this to be the only possible reading, in which case the date to 18 August 149 is confirmed.

O.Berl. 62. The payment in this Theban granary receipt of 166 is made in the name of Τσονεόντιο(ς) | . . ρου (ll. 4–5); Viereck noted, 'WO II 599 kommt der Name Τσονεσόντις vor'. Hunt underlined both names, and added in the margins: 'sh(oul)d be -εσό-'; 'Ωρου?'. Neither suggestion is among those in BL II.1. BL VI 205 credits J. Quaegebeur with the correction Τσονεσόντιο(ς), but he only pointed out the correct form of the name.¹⁹ The image shows that the scribe did not omit the sigma but slurred it; the combination εο would otherwise have an unnatural appearance. The other suggestion, Ωρου, cannot be confirmed; the ostracon seems to have Καρού(ριος).

4. O.Deissmann and O.Heidelberg

The origin of the bulk of the ostraca in the collection of A. Deissmann was described as follows (Vorwort, p. iv):

'Die erste Erwerbung fand im Jahre 1904 statt; sie enthielt fast ausschließlich Scherben aus Theben und Hermonthis, ebenso wie die gleichzeitig erworbene Sammlung der Heidelberger Universitäts-Bibliothek.'

In view of the acquisition history, it is no small wonder that texts in one collection have sister pieces in the other, though not all links were previously known. Thus the archive of the sons of Petemarsnuphis from Pakerkeësis is now divided between the two collections (a list in O.Heid., pp. 35–36). The two texts with the closest affinities to each other are O.Heid. 33 and **O.Deiss. 23**, which record virtually the same tax payments and dates (all in 62). The problem is the name of the taxpayer, read as Ψενπεγπῶπις Πε<τε>μαρσνο(ύφιος) in O.Deiss. 23.2, and as Ψενπῆρῶθης Μαρσνοῦφιος in O.Heid. 33.2. Ψενπεγπῶπις is not a name known otherwise; the reading was influenced from the demotic Psen-p-neb(?)-hotep in l. 1. Either there are two different sons of Petemarsnuphis or we have the same name in different transliteration, which would further imply that O.Heid. 33 'durch die (korrektere?) O.Deiss. 23 ersetzt werden sollte'

¹⁹ 'Le nom propre Tsonesontis', *CE* 46 (1971) 159: 'Τσονεοντις (*Namenbuch* 449) à lire Τσονεσοντις.'

(O.Heid. 33 introd.). On an image²⁰ I read $\psi\epsilon\text{---}\pi\tau\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, which must be a version of Psenptuthes, whose Greek ending is variously spelled with theta or tau, eta or iota. If we read $\Psi\epsilon\nu\pi\tau\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, there are too many strokes for ν ; could it be $\Psi\epsilon\nu\pi\epsilon\gamma\pi\tau\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, another unattested name? But there are superfluous strokes also in the ending of Νέρωνος (Νερώγνου *ed. pr.*) in l. 3. The same holds for O.Heid. 33.3. As the editor observed, ‘Das Ende von Νέρωνος ist sehr verschliffen geschrieben und erweckt den Eindruck von mehr Buchstaben als den transkribierten.’ As for the name of the father, we should probably read Πετμαρσνο(ύφιος) ; the dotted letters are the victims of *Verschleifung*.

O.Deiss. 87 also belongs to the archive; only a partial transcript of the text was given, no doubt because *Verschleifung* is extreme, but it may be read in full with the help of O.Heid. 40–42.²¹

NM36.82

8.5 × 10.6 cm

15 October 76

διέγρα(ψεν) Ψενπτούθης Πετεμαρσνούφ(ιος) [Ψενμώνθ(ου)
 ύπ(ερ) λαογ(ραφίας) Πακερκε(ήσεως) θ (ἔτους) (δραχμάς) ιβ.
 (ἔτους) θ Ούεσπασια[νοῦ

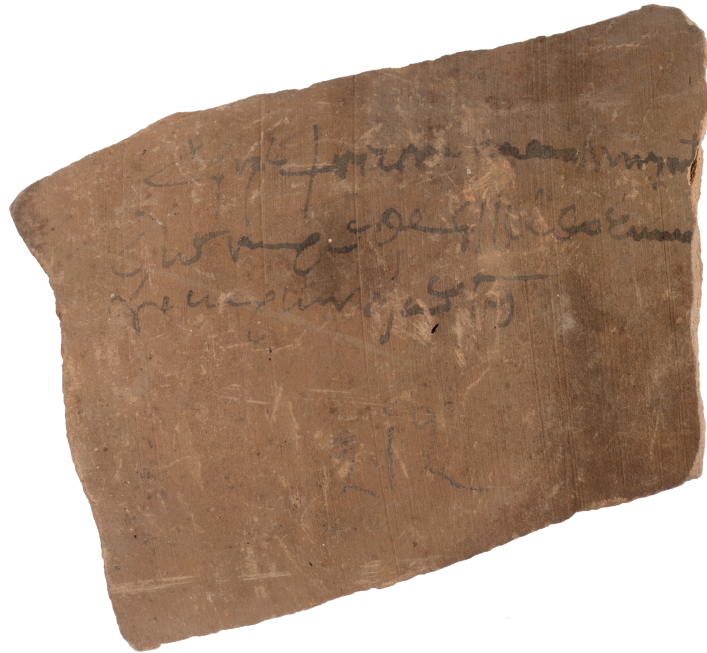
3 τοῦ κυρίου, Φαω(φι) ιη̄.

Psenptuthes son of Petemarsnuphis grandson of Psenmonthes paid 12 drachmas for poll-tax for Pakerkeësis of the 9th year. Year 9 of Vespasian the lord, Phaophi 18.

1 Πετεμαρσνούφ(ιος): $\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha$ and $\nu\upsilon\upsilon$ are written in *Verschleifung*; the tall upright read as ϕ is intersected by a short horizontal that I take as an abbreviation sign. **2** λαογ(ραφίας): it is unclear how many letters the scribe intended to write. Πακερκε(ήσεως): ϵ not transcribed in the other instances of the abbreviation in O.Heid. Ούεσπασια[νοῦ: written so quickly that the position of the bracket is only a guess.

²⁰ <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/?record=ecatalogue.35060>

²¹ <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/?record=ecatalogue.35003>



NM36.82 Nicholson Museum, The University of Sydney²²

Part of the archive is probably also **O.Deiss. 44**,²³ which records ten tax payments made between 29 September 91 and 1 October 92. The first two lines were read as διέγρα(ψεν) Ψενταρῶφης [c.11] | Πετεορσνούφιος ὑπ(ἐρ) τέλ(ους) [. The name in l. 2 should be read as Πετεμαρσνούφιος; a grandson of Petemarsnuphis, and perhaps a son of Psenptuthes. Psentarophis is not known from elsewhere; the name is attested only here but the reading seems good.

The name of the tax is problematic: τέλ(ους) is not a possible reading. The ostrakon seems to have ἐνκ(υκλίου), perhaps followed by καὶ ἄλ(λων) in the lacuna (cf. below, section 5). The payments total 9 dr. 5½ ob. before the deductions; if they all concerned the same taxes, this would be by far the highest amount paid for *enkyklion* and associated charges.²⁴

²² I am grateful to Candace Richards for supplying high-resolution images of this and other ostraca.

²³ <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/?record=ecatalogue.35063>

²⁴ A smaller point: in l. 10 we expect ὁμοίως where ed. has καί; it would be preferable to interpret the writing as a malformed abbreviated ὁμοίως.

O.Deiss. 77, discussed in section 6, is part of the archive of the family of Petemenothis son of Osoroueris (O.Heid. 51–57). Osoroueris the son of Petemenothis probably occurs in O.Heid. 176 (97), as well as in **O.Deiss. 84.1**, where we may read Ὀσορουήρ(ις) Π[ετμενῶφιος(?) in place of Δῶρος Ἡρα(κλείδου) Π[. ²⁵ The first year mentioned in this text should be either of Nerva or of Trajan. ²⁶

The largest of the archives published in O.Heid. is that of Herakles and Senkametis and their descendants (O.Heid. 58–132). All but one of the texts in this group are in Heidelberg (O.Heid. 106 = O.Theb. 89), but there is also one among the Deissmann ostraca. The grain deposit in **O.Deiss. 79.4–5** (185) was made for someone whose name was unread: ὀνό(ματος) | Α . . . το(). On an image I read Σενκαμήτ(ιος) | Ἄβῶτο(ς). ²⁷ With O.Heid. 84 and 112, this is one of the few ostraca that refer to Senkametis and do not mention her grandfather Inaros.

The signature was also not read, Α() Δι(). It belongs to a well-known person, who signed several granary receipts that refer to Senkametis (see O.Heid. 82.6 n.; O.Stras. II, pp. 162–7). I would transcribe Ἄμ(ώνιος) σεση(μείωμα); only alpha and eta are clearly recognisable, with what comes in between written in *Verschleifung*.

Two texts that may have been found together are **O.Heid. 315** (168) and **O.Deiss. 19** (170), both receipts for deliveries of chaff. In O.Heid. 315 the receipt is addressed to Πασήμι | Πετξ() (ll. 2–3); in O.Deiss. 19, one of the two addressees is Πασήμιος(ς) Πεξ. φιος (l. 2), the name of the father no doubt a quickly written version of Πετμενῶφιος (BL II.1 14).

Though they do not seem to have an archival connection, **O.Deiss. 21** and O.Heid. 152 are very similar, a relation that has textual implications. They are both composite tax receipts from the Memnonia, written by the same scribe a few months apart from each other (the last date in O.Heid. 152 is 22.x.53, and the first in O.Deiss. 21 is 28.ii.54). At O.Deiss. 21.5,

²⁵ <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/?record=ecatalogue.34341>. The image also confirms the suggestion to read πλι^θ in l. 2, made in O.Heid. 177 introd.

²⁶ O.Deiss. 76.1–2 (68) Σ.ρ. . . . Πετμῶ(νθου) | Ὀσορουή(ριος) may refer to a member of the same family. The first line is in a bad state, but the editor's readings should probably be retained (I have checked a high-resolution image; a low-resolution one is posted at <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/?record=ecatalogue.34340>).

²⁷ <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/?record=ecatalogue.35465>

we find a payment ὑπ(ἐρ) . . υ() (δραχμὰς) β. The note expressly rules out the obvious: ‘nicht ενκ’²⁸. An image²⁸ shows that the two letters written on the line are εν, while the raised letter may be read as κ: ἐνκ(υκλίου). The closest parallel comes from O.Heid. 152.5 ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐνκ(υκλίου) (δρ.) β.

The last line of O.Deiss. 21 is restored after BL II.1 15 as follows:²⁹

[ὁμοί(ως) . . ὑπ(ἐρ) χωμ(ατικοῦ) (δρ.) γ ς ὁμοί(ως) κη³⁰ ὑπ(ἐρ)
χωμ(ατικοῦ) (δρ.) β ς.

O.Heid. 152.6 runs ὁμοί(ως) ὑπ(ἐρ) βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) (δρ.) β, ὁμοί(ως) ἰδ (ἔτους) Φαῶφι κε ὑπ(ἐρ) χωμ(ατικοῦ) (δρ.) β ς. Thus in O.Deiss. 21.6 supply βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) (δρ.) β in place of χωμ(ατικοῦ) (δρ.) ς.

5. Abbreviations, ghost taxes, ‘and others’

The tax farmer in **O.Deiss. 77** (Thebes; 92) has an extraordinary title and collects an extraordinary tax: Ἀρχίας τελ(ώνης) ρ' καὶ(?) ι^κ (l. 1); ἀπέχω τὸ ι κ^λ τοῦ ια (ἔτους) (l. 3). The tax is discussed in a lengthy note by Wallace,³¹ which however should be disregarded: reality is more banal. As an online image shows, Archias is a τελ(ώνης) θη(σαυροῦ) ἰε(ρῶν), and the tax paid is τὸ βαλ(ανευτικόν).³² This is the first reference to a τελώνης of the temple granary at Thebes in year 11 Domitian = 91/92; only the ἐπιτηρηταί of the year were previously attested. As Shelton has observed, ‘in general τελῶναι and ἐπιτηρηταί do not appear in texts of the same year’, but ‘exceptions are known’, and these include year 10 = 90/91.³³ Archias may be the same as the τελώνης(?) in office in 99/100; probably a different Archias is the one attested in y. 13 Hadrian = 128/9.³⁴

Wallace associated the putative ι κ^λ with the tax in O.Theb. 40.3 (Memn.; 139), but we now know that he had been anticipated by Tait, who

²⁸ <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/?record=ecatalogue.34937>

²⁹ This goes back to a letter of Tait to Meyer; see Nachtergaele (above, n. 9) 287.




³⁰ This is the original reading, changed to κη in BL II.1; but eta is the only viable option, though there is one stroke too many.



³¹ Sh.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (1938) 450, n. 91.

³² <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/?record=ecatalogue.35002>

³³ J.C. Shelton, ‘List of τελῶναι and ἐπιτηρηταί of the Temple Granary at Thebes’, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 77 and n. 2.

³⁴ On the analogy of O.Bodl. II 703, Shelton, loc. cit. 80, conjectured that Archias occurs in O.Camb. 60.1, where Tait read . . χ. . . ; in fact, it is possible to read Ἀρχίας on the original.

is responsible for the reading of the passage in BL II.1 35: ἐνκ(υκλίου) κλ().³⁵ The ostrakon has ; of the dotted kappa only the top is clearly visible, with lambda written above it. Tait encountered the same tax and abbreviation in another ostrakon from Memnonia but in a different collection, and opted for a different interpretation: O.Camb. 40.3 (135) ἐνκ(υκλίου) κ(αὶ) ἄλλ(ων); the last two words are represented as .³⁶ The same tax and abbreviation occur in O.Heid. 228.3  and 7 (Memn.; 152), but the editor adopted an agnostic approach.³⁷ The phrase ἐνκυκλίου καὶ ἄλλων is written unambiguously in O.Petr.Mus. 244.3 (Memn.; 43) and O.Deiss. 23.6 (Pakerkeësis; 62).

This expression is not found only with the *enkyklion*. Tait again read λαογρα(φίας) κ(αὶ) ἄλλ(ων) () in O.Camb. 39.3 (Memn.; 133). κ(αὶ) ἄλλ(λων) ( ostr.) should be read in **O.Heid. 212.3** (Memn.; 136), where ed. prints λαο(γραφίας) <καὶ> βαλ(ανευτικοῦ); but payments for both poll- and bath tax together are not found in receipts from the West Bank.³⁸ As shown by O.Lund 5.3 (Memn.; 137), ἄλλων stands for ἄλλων μερισμῶν. This type of abbreviation seems to have been a peculiarity of scribes who worked at the Memnonia in mid second century.

6. Various Names, etc.

O.Ashm.Shelton 225. The third line of this fragmentary name list was not transcribed; on the plate I read Πατσέβθ(ις) Πρε[; one Πατσέβθ(ις) Πρεμ-τ(ώτου) occurs in P.Aberd. 93.4. The origin of the ostrakon is no doubt the West Bank.

O.Berl. 61. The second deposit in this granary receipt of 153 is made in the name of Τεκ . . . () | ἀδελφοῦ (ll. 4–5). Viereck in a note tentatively suggested Τεκώιο(ς), a name not known from elsewhere. The image shows that we should read Τεκώσιο(ς), a common name, followed by ἀδελφῆ(ς) in the next line.

³⁵ In his letter to Meyer, mentioned above, n. 9 (p. 291 of the article).

³⁶ I am grateful to Ben Henry for the drawings of the Cambridge ostraca, made on the basis of the originals.

³⁷ Heilporn, O.Stras. II, p. 362, n. 20, who placed the text in the Memnonia, favours reading κ(αὶ) ἄλλ(ων).

³⁸ Heilporn, O.Stras. II, p. 85, n. 92, has already proposed to read λαογ(ραφίας) καὶ ἄλλ(ων) instead of λαογ(ραφίας) καὶ βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) in O.Theb. 53.3 (Memn.; 160).

The name of the signatory was given as . . . δ() (l. 6); this is Μηνόδ(ωρος), who appears in several granary receipts between 144 and 155 (see O.Petr.Mus. 365.8 n.). The sequence οδ is written very quickly here and in a few other ostraca (Tait normally dotted these letters), but the reading is hardly in doubt.

O.Bodl. II 493. The payer in this Theban poll-tax receipt of 71 is Φατρῆς Ὅσορουή(ριος) (l. 1). There is something else written after it, not transcribed in the edition:



This is ὁμοίως, signifying homonymy. Tait noted the presence of the sign and its meaning when he revised his transcript, but the addition, made in pencil, was not carried by Préaux into the printed text. The implications of this ὁμοίως are puzzling. At first sight, the grandfather of Phatres would have been named Osoroueris, like his father. But it is hard to believe that this Phatres was someone other than Phatres son of Osoroueris grandson of Phatres; father and son appear in numerous ostraca of this date, and together in O.Brux. 11 (74).³⁹ Most references to Phatres do not mention his grandfather's name; an exception is O.Bodl. II 671 (68) Φατρῆ(τι) Ὅσορουή(ριος) Φατρῆ(ους). Does ὁμοίως in O.Bodl. 493 look back to Φατρῆ(ους) and not to Ὅσορουή(ριος)? This would be an inappropriate use of ὁμοίως, though more attractive than the alternative, which would produce another Phatres son of another Osoroueris who lived in Thebes at the same time as the other two.

O.Bodl. II 1893. The transcript of l. 9 is incomplete; after Πετεχεσπ(ο-χράτης) Ψενεγο(ύφιος), add μη(τρὸς) Σενφαή(ριος). This had been read by Tait; the omission in the printed text may be due to the fact that l. 8 ends μη(τρὸς) Σενφ(αήριος).

O.Deiss. 50. At Thebes in 162, grain was deposited ὀ(νόματος) Ἐριέως | Πουέ(ριος) Ψέστους (ll. 4–5). The last two names are unusual. Inspection of an image⁴⁰ is instructive; here are ll. 4–5:

³⁹ See O.Bodl. II 684.2 n. and 1123.2 n.; O.Stras. II, p. 42 n. 74. Osoroueris son of Phatres is *Death and Taxes* no. 22 (additions in O.Leid. 79.1 n.); his son Phatres is absent from this listing.

⁴⁰ <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/?record=ecatalogue.35656>



NM36.45 (detail) Nicholson Museum, The University of Sydney

The ostracon does not have ὀ(νόματος) but $\bar{\alpha}$, corrected from something else (ϵ according to *ed. pr.*). At the beginning of l. 5 there is Πετεχεσπ(ο-χράτου), written in the usual way; this is followed by an abbreviated δι(ά), not Ψ, and then εσμι/ and a curious sign. The deposit is made for the heirs⁴¹ of Herieus son of Petechespochrates, a person known from several ostraca.⁴² O.Bodl. II 1443.3–4 (159), is particularly relevant: $\bar{\alpha}$ Ἐριέως Πετεχεσπ(οχράτου) διὰ | Ἐσμίνιο(ς) Ἐσμίνιο(ς). The curious sign must be an idiosyncratic way of writing ὁμοίως. In short, I propose that the passage in question should be read as follows:

$\bar{\alpha}$ Ἐριέως | Πετεχεσπ(οχράτου) δι(ὰ) Ἐσμί(νιος) ὁμ(οίως)

O.Lund 24. The text of this *dekania*-list was substantially improved by C. Gallazzi, *BibO* 39 (1982) 578 (= BL VIII 524) on the basis of a poor reproduction; the image now available on line allows some further progress:

8 ⤴ Καμήτιο(ς) ὄρου Ψενμί(νιος)
 Ψένμι(νιος) Καμήτιο(ς)
 Ψεν . . . ο(ς) ἀδελ(φός)

8 ⤴ Καμήτιο(ς): ⤴ Καμ . . . ο() BL VIII 524: Φιλαμίνιος *ed. pr.* ὄρου: Μ . ο() *ed. pr.*
 9 Καμήτιο(ς): Καμ . . . ο() BL VIII 524: Ἀμίνιος *ed. pr.* 10 Ψεν . . . ο(ς) ἀδελ(φός);
 Ψε . . . *ed. pr.*

A Kametis son of Horos grandson of Psenminis is *Death and Taxes* no. 53, recorded in Thebes between 90/91 and 101 (the sign ⤴ = δεκανός speaks for an origin in the East Bank). It is unclear whether Psenminis is his son, since υἱός is used for other ‘sons’ in the list (ll. 3, 5).

In l. 2 we find Περμῶμις Παχώ(μιος) Γάεινος; the reading of Γάεινος was questioned but is probably right, though the last letter is a suprascript

⁴¹ See J.C. Shelton, ‘The Sign $\bar{\alpha}$, and Other Remarks on Theban Ostraca’, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 127–35; on p. 130 n. 20, Shelton points out that διὰ was occasionally misread for ψ.

⁴² Herieus is last attested as alive on 16.11.143 (O.Bodl. II 1006); $\bar{\alpha}$ first on 16.7.154 (O.Bodl. II 1430).

ο = -ο(ς). Παχώ(μιος), however, is wrong: read Πετεχω(). A Permamios son of Petechonsis is listed in *Death and Taxes* no. 151, attested in 148–151. If the identification of Kametis holds, this must be a different Permamios.

O.Lyon inv. 806.⁴³ Two deposits of large quantities of grain were made in Thebes in the summer of 165 in the name of Apollonios son of Theon grandson of Apollonios—in l. 3, read Ἀπολλω(νίου) (απολλω^o ostr.), not Ἀπολλω[-]. This sequence of three Greek names is rare in texts from this area; the names and the quantities of grain, suggestive of sizeable landed properties, indicate a member of the (local?) elite.

The first deposit is made through an intermediary: δ(ιὰ) Φαμνίου(ν) τοῦ καὶ Πετεχώντο(ς) Παση(μίου) (l. 3). For the second, the picture is less clear; line 6 ends ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ ἀπτοῦ . . . , with an ‘abréviation (?) non lue à la fin de la ligne’, noted in the apparatus. The text reads ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) διὰ γεωργοῦ τοῦ (αὐτοῦ): the second deposit was made through the same farmer as the first. Thus line 3 must have started διὰ γεωργοῦ); the first visible trace belongs to the abbreviation stroke or to γ.

More difficult is the signature, Φασῆ σ(εσημεῖωμαι) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ο (l. 5); I read φλση and nothing else after it: Φλ() σ(εσημεῖωμαι). I cannot find this signature among other documents of this date; only much later (192–202) do we find a certain Φιλ() (see O.Stras. II, p. 166f.).

O.Minor E 5. The name of the grandfather of one of the members of this *dekania*-list was transcribed as Κλεο() (l. 12); ‘Perhaps Κλεο(πάτος), but if so this is the only Greek name in the list.’ As the online image shows, the writing of this name is virtually identical with the second part of a female name in ll. 4 and 6:

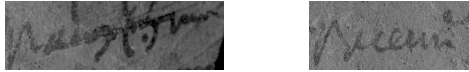
12, Κλεο()  4, Σενκαλήο(υς)  6, Σενκαλήο(υς) 

I suggest reading Σενκαλέο(υς) and Καλέο(υς): α is hardly visible in this fast writing, but is there, in the scribe’s gentle lifting of the pen. The genitive ending -έους instead of -ήους is not common at this time, but has Ptolemaic parallels.

O.Wilck. 419 & 432. Much of the evidence on first-century Hermonthis comes from the archive of Kametis son of Peteharpres and Tasemis, grandson of Amphiomis. Two texts mention his maternal grandfather:

⁴³ D. Agut-Labordère, G. Gorre, P. Kossmann, ‘Un ostracon démotique et deux ostraca grecs du Muséum d’histoire naturelle de Lyon’, *ZPE* 189 (2014) 205–17, at 206–8.

O.Wilck. 419.2 (68) Παώντιος, and 432.2 (72) Παώντιο(ς); the alternative readings Παμόντιος and Παμόντιο(ς) are offered in BL II.1 59 and 61. Here are the relevant parts of the two ostraca:



© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Scan: Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P 1627 & P 1623)

In the first passage, *ιος* is not correct; the letter after *τ* is *κ*. In the other, the suprascript letter could be *κ* or *ω*. Thus we have a name that starts Παμοντκ. Παμοντκαμήτιος would be an easy thought, but what follows *κ* in O.Wilck. 419.2, though quickly written, discourages me from reading it. I would be happier with the name doubtfully read in O.Amst. 73.2 as Παμοντκύσιο(ς), a variant of the commoner Παμοντεκύσιος. The fact that the name was common is implied by the abbreviation used in O.Heid. 323.2 Παμοντκ(). The same abbreviation, with *κ* raised but linked to *τ*, occurs in O.Bodl. II 1881.5, where Tait read Παμωντκ(ύσιος) even if there is no clear trace of *ε* (I have seen a photograph). In sum, I propose to read Παμοντκύσιο(ς) in O.Wilck. 419.2 and Παμοντκ(ύσιος) in 432.2.

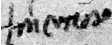
O.Wilck. 779 records several grain deposits at Hermonthis in 86/7. The first of them was made by Πετεπτου () (l. 1); Viereck suggested reading Πενπ[τ]ούθ(), ‘wohl verschrieben für Ψενπτοῦθις’ (BL II.1 77). Examination of the image indicates that sigma may be read instead of the first pi, which results in Σενπτούθ(), a name attested in O.Heid. 169.1 (Memn.; 82); see further the editor’s note ad loc.

O.Wilck. 799. At Thebes in 105, a grain deposit was made through an intermediary, διὰ Πούμμι πρε(σ)β(υτέρου) Τοννω (l. 4); a further deposit was made διὰ Πούμμιο(ς) | ν(εωτέρου) ἀδελφ(οῦ) (ll. 5–6). The names of the two brothers are remarkable (BL II.1 78 offers no improvement), and even more so that of their father. On the online image, I read Παύμμι(ος) πρεσβ(υτέρου) ὄμ(οίως) Ὀννω(φρίου) in l. 4, and Παύμμιο(ς) in l. 5. Father and sons have the same name, which is not unusual; cf. O.Bodl. II 928.3, 1791.1, 1849.5, 1871.3, etc. The name Παύμι(ο)ς (TM Nam 11386) is not otherwise attested in Thebes.

O.Wilck. 832. At Thebes in 131, grain was deposited in the name of Σενμούθιο(ς) Πικῶτο(ς) .ελο.μη.() (ll. 3–4). As the image shows, the

unread name is Πετοβάσθιο(ς). A Psenchonsis son of Pikos grandson of Petobasthis is attested in Thebes in 149 (O.Wilck. 639).

O.Wilck. 903. In this Theban granary receipt of 158, a deposit was made in the name of Πι χ. .το() Πικῶ[τος] | τοῦ κ(αὶ) Σενχώ(νσιος) (ll. 4–5). This is Wilcken’s reading, but throws up a peculiar issue: a man with a female alias. Perhaps this underlies Viereck’s decision not to resolve the last name when he proposed Πιτεχῶτο(ς) Πικῶ[τος] | τοῦ κ(αὶ) Σεγχω() (BL II.1 83). The image allows for a smoother sequence to be obtained: Πετεχῶτο(ς) Πικῶ|το(ς) μ(ητρὸς) (μs ostr.) Σενχώ(νσιος).

PSI III 269. This receipt of *laographia* from the Memnonia was issued by two *praktore*s represented διὰ Ψενσενποή|ριο(ς) Πασήμιο(ς) Ψενπασήμιο(ς) (ll. 2–3) I quote from the current version of the text in DDbDP, which goes back to BL II.1 25 but with one change: the first name in BL ends –βιο(ς). The passage is discussed in O.Heid. 212.2 n. with n. 50, and β is considered a misprint for ρ. Ψενσενπ(οήριος) β(ο)ηθ(οῦ) in O.Heid. 212.2 is closely comparable to Ψενσεν() βοηθ(οῦ) in O.Cair. 74.4; the two ostraca are written in part by the same hand. The online image of PSI III 269 shows that it was written by the same scribe as the other two ostraca, and that the intermediary is likewise described as ψενσενπ^o | βοη^o, i.e., Ψενσενπ(οήριος) βοηθ(οῦ). The name is abbreviated in the same fashion in O.Theb. 40.2, where Tait, BL II.1 35, had read Ψενσενπαο(); this receipt too is the work of the same scribe, and has  at this point. Here as well as in O.Cair. 74.4 and O.Heid. 212.2, we should read Ψενσενπ(οήριος).

To return to PSI III 269, βοηθ(οῦ) is followed by the reference to the taxpayer, to be read as Πασήμιο(ς) (l. –μει) Ψενμῶ(νθου) Πασήμιο(ς); for the writing of Ψενμῶ(νθου) (or –μῶνθ(ου), depending on how one interprets the *Verschleifung*), cf. O.Cair. 74.2; cf. also Σενμῶ(νθου) in O.Lund 5.2 (with BL IX 387), which is also written in the same hand and has the taxpayer’s name in the genitive.

PSI VIII 995 is another receipt from the Memnonia, issued by the *praktor* Pamonthes son of Pamonthes in 131: in l. 1, for Παμμόνθ(ης) read Παμῶνθ(ης) (ὁμοίως); the abbreviation for ὁμοίως, a long horizontal, is written after the name in every other instance but was not transcribed everywhere (it is present also in O.Bodl. II 537.1, though not reported in the edition; O.Ont. Mus. I 22.1 is now corrected in the online version).

The name of the taxpayer was read as Π () Ψεν ιο(ς) (l. 3). I propose Σεγμῶνθ(ου) Ψενμῶνθ(ου) Ἀτρήο(υς), though with reservations about my reading of the first name.

The name of the tax was also unread: ὑπ(ὲρ) () ιε (ἔτους) (l. 4); the amount paid was 2½ ob. This is probably ἐνκ(υκλίου). Very small sums are paid for this tax in two other receipts from this area, viz. O.Cair. 57 (111) and O.Cair. 58 (114) (1 ob. 2 ch. and 2 ob. 2 ch. respectively).

PSI VIII 998. This *dekania*-list from the West Bank carries the distinction of attesting a name not found elsewhere, and in fact three times, borne by members of the same family: Ψενμοντεαπολ(λωνίου), Ψενμοντεαπολ(λώνιος), [Ψ]ενμοντεαπολ(λώνιος) (ll. 2, 6, 7). However, this remarkable hybrid of Egyptian and Greek theophoric names is only a ghost. The writing is most clear in l. 6, where I read Ψενμοντπαπλ(ήνιος); the other two instances should be revised accordingly. The name Psenmontpahlenis became known only recently thanks to a number of Heidelberg ostraca; see O.Heid. 159.1 n.

A brother of the last two is listed in l. 5; his name was presented as Κ . . . ριο(ς). Two letters are lost after Κ, and ου can be made out before ρ: I suggest reading Κ[αρ]ούριο(ς).

SB I 5348. A number of corrections to this *dekania*-list from Thebes have already been proposed; an image⁴⁴ allows for further refinement. Thus in l. 7, for Ἀμε(νῶθου) (after BL II.1 22; entirely conjectural), read Ἀπολ(); on l. 8, for]ιμος Πεμω() read Πο]ριεῦθ(ου) Πικῶ(τος).

The date is given as around 118 in BL II.1 22, but this is too specific for a text of this kind. A son of Pasemis son of Neilon occurs in l. 6; Pasemis is known from O.Bodl. II 1643 (96/97) and 1925.

SB XII 10900. One of the persons in this *dekania*-list is said to be a son of Πετε(χώνσιος) Πετεχώ(νσιος) (l. 8). As the on-line image shows, the first name is abbreviated as πετε̄, an abbreviation also found in l. 4, where the editor read Πετε(μενῶφιος); we should read Πετε(μενῶφιος) in l. 8 too.

The person in l. 4 is Petemenophis son of Pekysis grandson of Phatres, known from a number of ostraca of the late second century; see O.Petr.

⁴⁴ <https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/323270>

Mus. 215.1–2 n., 382.3 n.⁴⁵ In O.Petr.Mus. 215.1 and 216.2 his name is given as Πετε with no abbreviation sign; we have πετε̄ here (and in O.Leid. 313.6, if the reference is to the same person), which shows that this is not a name that starts Πετεχ-. When abbreviation is drastic, the word should be presumed common.

SB XII 10901. In l. 3, for Πεχυ() Τλ[read Πεχύτη[ς.

In his note to lines 6–9 of this text, the editor wrote (*JJP* 16–17 (1971), p. 104): ‘Ich bin nicht ganz sicher, ob es sich am Ende dieser Zeilen um eine zweite Spalte handelt, oder aber diese Zahlen von einer früheren Beschriftung herrühren.’ There are no ‘Zahlen’ in the transcript, but only (δραγμαὶ) . . . opposite l. 8. An infrared photograph has since become available (<<http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/ostr/images/ostrgiss-inv484-ir>>), and shows that the scribe wrote (δρ.) ιβ in l. 6, and (δρ.) β (δίχαλκον) in l. 7 (I owe the last reading to F. Reiter); no figure can be read in l. 8.

SB XXIV 15950. This text, assigned broadly to the Theban area and to the second/third century, comes from the West Bank and is probably not later than the mid second century. In l. 5, *ed. pr.* prints () παπίας. What was not deciphered is πλ, a common abbreviation of the name Πλήνις, typical of the West Bank; read Πλ(ήνις) Παπίας.

Wien, I. f. Klass. Arch. inv. 1046.⁴⁶ This is a copy of a granary receipt of 101. The deposit was made διὰ Ἰλήρις Πεκύσ(ιος) Περουσί(ου) (l. 5). Ἰλήρις, dubiously equated to Ἰλάριος, is a curious name; the editor noted: ‘Wenn man statt λ, was leicht möglich ist, ein α liest, ist man mit dem unbezeugten (und nicht leicht akzeptablen) Namen Ιαηρις konfrontiert. *Lectio difficilior praeferenda?*’. α is indeed preferable to λ, but the tall letter before it is not iota but phi: read Φάηρις (l. Φαήριος).

⁴⁵ For other examples, cf. O.Deiss. 27.2 with BL II.1 15 (confirmed on an image), O.Wilck. 1586.2 (discussed at the end of the article), etc. The abbreviation πετε̄ is more common, and has often remained unresolved in editions.

⁴⁶ H. Harrauer, ‘Die griechischen Ostraka des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Wien’, in: L. Dollhofer et al. (edd.), *Altmodische Archäologie. Festschrift für Friedrich Brein* (Wien 2000) = *Forum Archaeologiae* 14/III/2000; on-line version at <<http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0300/14harr.htm>>. I was able to consult a good digital image kindly supplied by Prof. Marion Meyer.

The ostrakon comes from Thebes, as the sigle for δεκανός at l. 5 and the names indicate. The month date was read as Πᾶντι ιζ̄ (l. 4), but the ostrakon has Ἐπ[ε]ιφ; the new date is 11 July 101.

7. Abbreviated trifles

O.Ont.Mus. II 149 is a receipt for *laographia* issued by a *praktor argyrikon* of the Memnonia. It ‘lacks all mention of the emperor’s name, contrary to usual custom in the second century’; what is more unusual is that the date clause makes not mention of the regnal year. In l. 5, we find κ(αὶ) προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) Παχων κθ. προσδιαγραφόμενα have no place in texts from the West Bank, yet they occupy the place where the year would have stood. The plate (labelled ‘150’ in error) shows that there are two oblique strokes before Παχων, of the kind often found after year numbers; what was read as κ(αὶ) is either beta or kappa⁴⁷ and must be the year number, even though there is no year-symbol before it. What was read as ια, year 11, is written in a similar way in l. 3; β or κ may be read there too. Year 20 would be of M. Aurelius, less likely of Severus and sons; year 2 would be of Severus. The date would correspond to 24 May 180 or 194.

O.Oslo 1. Despite the attention this salt-tax receipt has received, a very minor textual point still calls for comment. The apparatus reproduces the symbols used in the text; for line 7, the editor recorded * α / α, transcribed as (δραχμῆν) α γίνεται α. ‘What’s the good of this’, wrote Hunt on his copy of the book (now in the Sackler Library, Oxford). ‘It shows that the transcript is wrong; (γίν.) not γ(ίν.)’, pencilled another hand, recognizable as J.C. Shelton’s, under Hunt’s note. Shelton made no mention of this small discrepancy when he published a short note on this text; this was accompanied by a photograph, which confirms his interpretation.⁴⁸

O.Oslo 27. This text, assigned to the sixth century, was called a ‘Receipt for Land-Tax’. The first line was read as follows:

ᾶ φ(όρων) μερ(ισμοῦ) [Θανουφίου] Ἰωνᾶ γνωστήρ(ος)

⁴⁷ I am grateful to Fabian Reiter for helping me focus my thoughts on this.

⁴⁸ ‘A Note on O.Oslo 1’, *ZPE* 73 (1988) 204, with Taf. Ib.

The reference to a γνωστήρ places the document in the area of Hermopolis,⁴⁹ which has yielded very few ostraca other than those from Bawit. Another feature of this region can be detected in what was read as φ(όρων), abbreviated as φ; on the basis of pl. IVb, I read:

ᾠ φ(υλῆς) μερ(ίδος?) [Ἄνουφίου] Ἰωνᾶ γνωστήρ(ος)

Numbered φυλαί (α was corrected from γ) are known exclusively from Hermopolite documents.⁵⁰ This may be a φυλή of a village rather than of the city itself. γνωστήρες listed with members of village φυλαί occur in P.Lond. V 1673.241 and SB XXII 15598v.16 (the case of PUG II 71.9 is uncertain). As for μερ(ίδος?), cf. CPR V 26.475, 604 λόγος Βίτωρ γνωστήρ ὑπ(έρ) α μέρ(ους) κώμης Σκαρ. A φυλή, which was a fiscal unit, would have been divided into smaller units, called μερίδες or μέρη, each under a γνωστήρ, a tax collector.

O.Petr.Mus. 304. In the first edition of the text as O.Petr. 99, an additional tax payment was introduced with ἄλ(λας) in l. 7. The ostrakon was later shown to come from Hermonthis, where ἄλλας would be out of place, so that ὀμ(οίως) was suggested instead (BL IX 397). The re-edition opted for ἄλ(λαι), which would be good for Thebes but not for Hermonthis. The image in the CD-ROM shows a tiny omicron with a long horizontal above it: ὀμ(οίως).⁵¹

O.Wilck. 444 is a receipt issued at Hermonthis in 76 to Ψενσεντιθοῆς Πιβούχιος | λαογ(ραφίας) (ll. 1–2). The absence of ὑπέρ before the name of the tax is unexpected, but the online image shows that it is present: πιβουχίος, i.e., Πιβούχιος ὑ(πέρ).

O.Wilck. 1217. This illiterate receipt for wheat was issued by Παῆρις νεώτ(ερος) | Πεκῶσις καὶ βοι(θοὶ) σίτ(ου) | ἀποτέκτης (ll. 2–4; sim. 9–10). These misspelled βοηθοί are curious; I reproduce clippings of ll. 3 and 9:



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⁴⁹ On this official, see L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden* (2017) 149–55.

⁵⁰ See A. Papaconstantinou, ‘Conversions monétaires byzantines (P.Vindob. G 1265)’, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 94; cf. also BGU XVII 2723, after BL XII 28f.

⁵¹ Likewise, restore ὀμ(οίως) instead of ἄλ(λαι) in O.Petr.Mus. 214.4 (Memn.; 169–76).

The scribe uses two forms of kappa in writing καί, and kappa should be read instead of beta: read κοτ, i.e., κοι(νωνοί.) Cf. e.g. P.Col. VII 148.1–2 (340) καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) | ἀποδέκται σίτου πόλεως. The date must be some time in the first half of the fourth century (III or early IV after BL II.1 96).

The receipt is addressed to Πλήνις Α . . ω . . (ll. 1–2). The second name is Ἰαλαβω, l. Ἰαλαβῶνος. The name Plenis points to the West Bank.

O.Wilck. 1300. The meaning of a sign printed before lines 1, 3, and 4 of this text was not clear at the time of its publication. Χ(άρακος) occurs in a similar position in l. 6. The online image shows that Ἰαγο(ρῶν) is to be read in all three cases; the shape of αγ is the familiar one (ϝ), but o is tiny, linked with the second ‘prong’ of the sigle (damaged in l. 1).

Finally, Πατεήσι[ο(ς)] seems preferable to Πατεμί(νιος) in l. 2.

O.Wilck. 1586. This Theban tax receipt of 153 was issued to Πετε() Φθουμῶ(νθου) π(ρεσβυτέρου) Φθουμῶ(νθου). BL II.1 122 records Tait’s suggestion to read (δεύτερον) instead of π(ρεσβυτέρου). Wilcken’s reading was later reinstated (BL IX 417), but the photograph published in B. Palme, *Das Amt des Apaitetes*, Tafel 11a, shows that Tait was right, though with an error probably introduced by the copyist: read (δευτέρου), not (δεύτερον). The scribe did not write a clear beta but •, the symbol for $\frac{2}{3}$, which occasionally serves this purpose; cf. e.g. O.Cair. 135.3. δεύτερος indicates the second of two or three sons of the same name.⁵²

⁵² P.J. Sijpesteijn, ‘The meaning of ὁ δεῖνα (δεύτερος)’, *ZPE* 68 (1987) 138–41. Tait, O.Camb.70.5 n., remarked that this ‘second’ ‘was the second of three brothers bearing the same name; it may be relevant that (δεύτερος) can be represented by the symbol for $\frac{2}{3}$.’