

A VILLAGE, ITS PEOPLE, AND THEIR TEXTS:
EUHEMERIA AND THE BEGINNING OF ROMAN RULE IN EGYPT

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

2017

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Final word count: 68,918

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The names of classical authors and the titles of their works are abbreviated as in Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A. & Eidinow, E. (edd. 2012), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Fourth Edition) (Oxford).

The following abbreviations are used for the titles of standard reference works:

- Barrington Talbert, R.J.A. (ed. 2000), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton).
- BL Preisigke, F. et al. (edd. 1922-), *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (Berlin-Leiden).
- Dizionario Calderini, A. & Daris, S. (edd. 1973), *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell’Egitto greco-romano* (Second Edition) (Milan).
- LSJ Liddell, H.G., Scott, R., Jones, H.S. & McKenzie R. (edd. 1968), *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Ninth Edition) (Oxford).
- WB Preisigke, F. et al. (edd. 1925-), *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden: Mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Ausschriften, Ostraka, Mumienbilder usw. aus Ägypten* (Berlin).

ABSTRACT

The village Euhemeria, located in the Fayum region of Egypt, preserved a corpus of documents on papyri and ostraca from the first century of Roman rule (30 BCE – 68 CE). This thesis studies those documents as a group for the first time, and uses them to examine the question of how this small, rural settlement responded to the arrival of the Roman Empire. The question of how Euhemeria's documents made their way from Egypt to collections around the world is addressed, and the interrelations between the texts are explored. New groups of texts within the evidence, based around individuals and families, are identified and used to underpin an analysis of various aspects of life in Euhemeria. The documents are a particularly rich source of information about agriculture, the local economy, and social relations between the villagers. They also show the emergence of a prosperous new socio-economic group within the village, who seized the opportunities offered by the change of regime from Ptolemaic kingdom to Roman province. Overall, the thesis concludes that, while the village itself was typical of its time and place, the collection of documents that it left to posterity is unique. A detailed examination of that evidence therefore provides a valuable complementary perspective to previous studies on early Roman Egypt.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I must acknowledge the John Rylands Research Institute, which granted the funding for my doctoral studies, and provided a stimulating and collegial atmosphere in a beautiful building, where I was encouraged and enabled to share my research. The Institute's generosity also enabled me to attend various conferences to develop my research, for which I owe a debt of gratitude.

This project would not have been possible without the guidance of my supervisor Dr Roberta Mazza. It was her passion for papyri that first inspired my own work in this field, and she has been a constant source of ideas, energy, criticism (usually constructive), and encouragement throughout. I am very grateful to her.

Thanks are also due to the other members of my supervisory panel, Prof. Peter Pormann and Dr Polly Low, who gave thorough and helpful feedback on much of the work here. I would also like to acknowledge the support and advice of many of the members of staff in the department of Classics and Ancient History, especially Dr Ruth Morello for kind words at a low moment.

I benefitted immensely from training to read papyri at the American Society of Papyrologists' summer institute 2014 at Princeton University, and am grateful to the Society and to Princeton for their generous stipend, which made my attendance possible. Thanks go to the organiser Prof. AnneMarie Luijendijk, the instructors Prof. Jean-Luc Fournet and Dr Nikolaos Gonis, and to all of the wonderful friends that I made in America, for their parts in a memorable summer.

I am very grateful to Dr Marci Freedman for proofreading parts of the thesis, and to the other PhD students in the department – especially Julene Abad Del Vecchio, Kat Mawford, and Eleni Danou – for their moral support and good humour. My friends and colleagues Leo Mitchell, Francesco Camagni, and Benedict Kent made the last weeks bearable, and I have found their hard work and resilience inspiring throughout.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents and to Ross, for their unwavering belief in me.

THE AUTHOR

William Mundy was educated at the Manchester Grammar School and at Jesus College Oxford, where he read English Literature. He began postgraduate studies in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Manchester in 2012, and became the first doctoral student of the John Rylands Research Institute in 2013. He has spoken at conferences in Manchester, Padua, Leuven, and Barcelona, and attended workshops at the Universities of Newcastle, Durham, and Edinburgh.

INTRODUCTION

The topic of this thesis is the documentary texts – on papyri and ostraca – produced in the Egyptian village of Euhemeria between the annexation of Egypt to the Roman Empire in 30 BCE and the end of the reign of Nero in 68 CE. This corpus of material has never been considered as a whole before, and the major contribution to knowledge offered by this thesis is the collection and analysis of a diverse body of evidence, which shows many different aspects of life in an Egyptian village during the first century of Roman rule.

Previous scholarly work on Euhemeria in the early Roman period has focused almost exclusively on a set of thirty-three petitions from the village, and it was out of an encounter with these petitions from Euhemeria that this thesis grew. They were the first papyri that I ever saw, during a session for master's students of ancient history at the John Rylands Library in late 2012. Although I had no frame of reference at the time, I was struck by the beauty of the documents: the fine quality of the papyrus, the remarkable preservation of the sheets, the vividness of the ink, and the distinct personalities evident in the scrawled handwritings. Even more striking than their aesthetic appeal, though, was the sensation of holding (through protective glass covers, of course) objects which had been made and used by ancient people. The fact that each papyrus bore a unique text, and that the texts described in such detail the daily lives of ordinary subjects of the Roman Empire made them irresistible: I wrote my master's dissertation on the petitions in the summer of 2013.

The kindling of my interest in papyri was fortuitously timed: the same year saw the formation of the John Rylands Research Institute, an ongoing collaboration between the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Manchester and the John Rylands Library, with the stated aim to open up the special collections of the Library to new research. I was fortunate enough to be awarded the Institute's first PhD scholarship, in Greek papyrology, commencing in the autumn of 2013: this thesis is the result of that scholarship. For my part, I participated in the ongoing process to image the Rylands papyrus collection, and readers of this thesis are able to consult high quality photographs of all of the Rylands papyri discussed here on the University of Manchester's online image database Luna, accompanied by up-to-date metadata

provided by me based on the results of my research.¹ I initially proposed a project based solely on the petitions, but over time this work expanded to embrace other papyri and ostraca relating to the village of Euhemeria, including material in various collections in Europe and North America. Around half of this evidence, though, is in the John Rylands Library, with one additional papyrus in the Manchester Museum. This unusual concentration of material in a single city means that Manchester has been the ideal place to pursue this topic of investigation.

At first glance, Euhemeria does not seem the most exciting of places. It sat a short distance from the southern shore of Lake Moeris in the Arsinoite nome of Egypt, an area corresponding to the modern Fayum region. This region occupied a large natural depression to the west of Egypt's main artery the Nile, and was a relative backwater even in ancient times: the nome's metropolis Ptolemais Euergetis was a day's travel away on foot, while Alexandria, the megalopolis of Egypt, was more than three hundred and fifty kilometres to the north.² Euhemeria was situated on right bank of the so-called 'canal of Psinaletis', roughly equivalent in its course to the modern Bahr el-Nazla, which connected the village to the rest of the country.³ This canal delivered Nile water, and with it the possibility of life, to Euhemeria, having passed through the ancient sites of Polydeukia and Theadelphia to the south-east, and continued on towards Philoteris and Dionysias to the north-west.⁴

The village was founded, along with practically all of the settlements of the north and west Fayum, during the reign of Ptolemy II ('Philadelphos'), who undertook a massive programme to drain Lake Moeris and reclaim land for agricultural purposes in the mid-third century BCE.⁵ It flourished for approximately six centuries, before being abandoned in the middle of the fourth century CE, either because of the encroachment of the desert from the west, or because the canals that supplied its

¹ Luna database: <https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet>

² On distances and travel times between regions of Egypt, see Adams (2007), esp. 44: '... the journey time from Alexandria to the Arsinoite nome was 5 days'.

³ For the location of Euhemeria, see Barrington 75 D2; *Dizionario* II, 184-8. On the canal networks of the area, both ancient and modern, see France (1999), 177ff.

⁴ Derda (2006), 14-23 has a discussion of the topography of the sites of the Arsinoite nome, with a useful map at p. 21.

⁵ On the draining of the lake and the reclamation of farm land, see Thompson (1999), 107-13.

water failed.⁶ For as long as it was occupied, Euhemeria seems to have been a sizeable village of a few thousand people, sitting somewhere on the spectrum of κῶμοι between the large transportation and trading hubs like Karanis and the ‘one-donkey towns’ of a few dozen inhabitants in the more remote parts of the region.⁷ It was apparently less important than its neighbour Theadelphia, which acted as the chief village of a further subdivision within the meris called the toparchy.⁸ Euhemeria had its own temple, and may have had its own record office (γραφεῖον), both of which indicate a certain prosperity and significance.⁹ Otherwise, though, it was an unremarkable place, which would almost certainly have slipped into oblivion, had it not yielded the papyri and ostraca which form the basis of this study.

The evidence for the first century of Roman rule in Euhemeria – discussed in more detail in chapters 1 and 2 – consists of sixty-three core texts (fourteen ostraca and forty-nine papyri), supplemented by a further three ostraca and five papyri with previously unknown provenance, which I have associated with the village on the basis of textual analysis, giving a total of seventy-one texts.¹⁰ This is a relatively compact corpus, but because the early Roman period is generally poorly attested in the papyrological evidence, it is actually one of the largest collections of texts from an Arsinoite village in the timeframe under investigation: only Tebtynis, with around 130 texts, boasts more early Roman documentation. While that village has been studied extensively by other scholars, Euhemeria has received comparatively little attention to date.

The first extended study of Euhemeria was made by the Belgian papyrologist Hohlwein in a long journal article based on the papyrological evidence then

⁶ The theory that the collapse of the water supply destroyed the villages of the Themistou *meris* is discussed in detail by Römer (2013). For an older discussion, giving desertification as the reason for the abandonment of villages in other parts of the nome, see van Minnen (1995).

⁷ Tacoma (2012), 123.

⁸ P.Fay. 81, a receipt (Theadelphia, 5 August 115 CE) refers to ‘the toparchy of Theadelphia and the other villages’ (lines 4-5: τοπαρχ(ία)ς Θεαδελεφεί(α)ς καὶ ἄλλων | [κωμῶν]). Cf. Sharp (1999), 162 n. 15.

⁹ The temple is discussed in chapter 1. Possible evidence for the *grapheion* comes from P.Fay. 97, a receipt for a share of an inheritance, issued by ‘the one in charge of the *grapheion* of Euhemeria’ (lines 46-7: διὰ . . . πρὸς) | [τῷ Εὐ]η(μερείας) γρ[αφείῳ]), although the reading is heavily restored and rather doubtful.

¹⁰ There are also thirteen *descripta* (papyri described in published volumes, in this case P.Fay., but not yet edited in full) with confirmed provenance in Euhemeria (30 BCE – 68 CE), which I draw on in the course of this study but do not count towards the corpus. These are discussed in chapter 1.

available.¹¹ Hohlwein addressed several topics to which I have returned in this thesis, including a focus on the agricultural and economic activities of the village that are prominent in the papyri. However, his aim in writing was to produce an introductory overview of the village; this broad and generalising intention, combined with the long timeframe of his investigation (early third century BCE to late third century CE), left him little space for textual analysis. As a result, he generally restated information drawn from the first editions of the papyri. In contrast, I have put fresh examination of the texts at the centre of this enquiry, meaning that I am able to provide a deeper analysis, and to offer new information about the village in places.

The second sustained treatment was carried out by France, a doctoral student at Leuven; this project dealt with Euhemeria alongside the neighbouring settlement Theadelphia.¹² France's project aimed to gather all known information about the two villages, and gave equal weight throughout to archaeological and papyrological evidence. The thesis contains numerous useful lists, for example the catalogue of village officials (chapter 5); I have drawn on these resources to a certain extent in my own research. The thesis as a whole, though, consists principally of a collection of data, with analysis taking second place. It should also be noted that Theadelphia, a larger settlement, and one which furnished more evidence in total, receives much more attention than Euhemeria from France. The studies by Hohlwein and France are the only ones dedicated to the evidence from Euhemeria, and neither of them focuses on the village in the early Roman period. This thesis therefore fills a gap in the existing literature on this topic, and provides a different approach that complements and challenges the existing scholarship.

Agricultural villages like Euhemeria were the archetypal settlements of Egypt throughout all of its history until the twentieth century. As a result, work directed towards the understanding of the village context is a fruitful strand of research into Egypt in general and Roman Egypt in particular, when these villages reached their zenith. The documents from villages, particularly those in the Arsinoite nome, provide a useful counterpoint to the abundant evidence from the larger, urban centres

¹¹ Hohlwein (1949).

¹² France (1999).

found elsewhere in Egypt, most notably the many thousands of papyri from Oxyrhynchos. An important early example of research focusing on a single Arsinoite village, and a model for certain parts of this thesis, is Crawford's examination of Kerkeosiris based on its texts of the Ptolemaic period.¹³ Crawford's decision to consider all available documentation for a single village synoptically was described at the time as 'a now unavoidable requirement in the development of our discipline.'¹⁴ A number of Italian articles dedicated to particular villages followed, all tending to adopt a similar approach; these mined the papyrological sources from each village for information about its location, administration, population, and economic activities.¹⁵ Such village studies have since become mainstay of papyrology, but few have focused on the very earliest Roman period, due in part to the general lack of papyri of this period mentioned already. As a result, our knowledge of life in the smaller settlements of Egypt during a transitional moment in history remains somewhat lacking. My thesis aims to go some way towards addressing this shortcoming.

The choice of a rural village as the locus for this enquiry means that certain aspects of life in Roman Egypt are particularly prevalent in what follows in the body of the thesis. Most of the documents from Euhemeria, regardless of their genre, have some connection to agricultural activities. The corpus encompasses petitions, receipts, instructions, letters, lease applications, accounts, and other genres, but with few exceptions the people involved and the activities described relate to farming, the use of domestic animals, or agricultural production of some variety. The fact that Euhemeria produced this range of documentation relating to a single thematic subject means that our corpus offers an unusually rich view of agriculture in the early Roman period, which I will exploit in this thesis. Rural activities are not the only subject of the documentation, though. A significant number of the documents tell us about the relationship between this particular village and the administration of the Roman Empire. This evidence – including documents related to the census, the

¹³ Crawford (1971). She used the papyrological sources to illuminate the history and layout of Kerkeosiris, the agricultural and economic activities undertaken there, and the people of the village, as well as some work on the interrelations between the Greek and Egyptian elements of the population.

¹⁴ Daris (1976), 321: '... una ormai imprescindibile esigenza nella sistemazione dei nostri studi.'

¹⁵ E.g. Casanova (1975) on Theadelphia.

assessment and payment of taxes, compulsory services, and the judicial process – mean that it is possible to see in Euhemeria how the apparatus of the Roman state permeated a remote Egyptian village almost as soon as the country was annexed.

There are, however, certain limitations to the focus on a single settlement. The small sample of tax-receipts from Euhemeria, for example, cannot be used in a meaningful way to investigate overarching historical questions about the nature of taxation in Roman Egypt: larger studies embracing much broader corpora of evidence are required to answer such questions.¹⁶ As a result, the aim of this thesis is more modest: I have concentrated on an attempt to understand a single community better, looking particularly for evidence describing the daily lives, interpersonal relationships, economic activities, and relationship to the Roman state of the villagers, in other words a ‘view from below’ of life in an Egyptian village under Roman rule.¹⁷

There is a view, very ancient in origin but tenacious and persistent, that Egypt is somehow unique and stands apart from all other regions of the world.¹⁸ In the early twentieth century, there was a sense that the unprecedented views of Greek and Roman Egypt gained from the papyri could not extend to the rest of the ancient world: Wilcken coined the term *Sonderstellung* (‘special place’) to describe this quality of the evidence.¹⁹ Most papyrologists would now reject the notion that Egypt was ‘a world apart’ from the rest of antiquity.²⁰ In the first of a well-known pair of essays, Lewis argued that Egypt experienced a clear and significant break with its Greek (i.e. Ptolemaic) past at the moment of the Roman annexation; thereafter, it increasingly derived its character from its interactions with the rest of the Roman political, economic and cultural world.²¹ He built on this point in the second essay, by arguing that Egypt’s ‘Romanity’ made it comparable to other provinces of the Empire, despite its apparent idiosyncrasies.²² Despite Lewis’ hopeful vision of a

¹⁶ See for example Bagnall and Frier’s (1994) large-scale work on demography, drawing on a comprehensive view of documents relating to the census in Roman Egypt.

¹⁷ The phrase is borrowed from Lewis (1983), 1.

¹⁸ See Hdt. 2.35. on the incomparable nature of Egypt.

¹⁹ W.Chrest. (1912), p. xv.

²⁰ E.g. Bagnall (1995), 2: ‘We shall see repeatedly that this view is bankrupt.’

²¹ Lewis (1970).

²² Lewis (1984).

‘growing consensus’ that would integrate Egypt with the rest of the Roman Empire, though, there remain some branches of the study of the ancient world which are reluctant to embrace Egyptian evidence, or even to acknowledge its value.²³

This issue is germane to this thesis: if life in Egypt really was irreconcilably different from life everywhere else in the Roman Empire, then a study like this one, focusing on a single Egyptian village and its documentation, can have interest only as a curiosity. However, I subscribe to the view that Egypt was unusual only with regard to the quantity and quality of the evidence that it preserved, and that a single Egyptian village can tell us something about life as it must have been lived in many thousands of similar settlements ranging across the Roman Empire, the local rhythms and customs dictated by Egypt’s peculiar geography and long history notwithstanding. The finds of papyri, ostraca and other forms of everyday writing from many regions outside Egypt confirm, in my opinion, that Egypt was not such an oddity after all.²⁴ Indeed, it is probable that we would find similar evidence, complete with evidence of local quirks, in all regions, if only every climate was as conducive as Egypt’s to the preservation of writing materials. Whilst this does not automatically mean that a given item or corpus of Egyptian evidence has anything definitive to tell us about the rest of the ancient world, it does mean that investigations like this thesis, which centre on papyrological evidence, can be used to illustrate or imagine what life was like both within and beyond Egypt, and should not be dismissed as coming from ‘an alien ecosystem’.²⁵

The annexation of Egypt to the Roman Empire was undoubtedly a significant event in both ancient and world history.²⁶ The question of how many changes to the administration of Egypt the Romans made in the aftermath of their arrival, and the impact of those changes on the life of the province, have accordingly been the subject of a number of academic works. Geraci was among the first scholars to

²³ See Keenan’s (2009) article on the subject, esp. 180: ‘... papyrological evidence tends to be disdained as unimportant or – much worse – irrelevant.’

²⁴ Forms of everyday writing from across the eastern Mediterranean are presented in Bagnall (2011); cf. the Vindolanda tablets (T.Vindol. I-IV), amongst many other examples.

²⁵ Bagnall (2011), 140.

²⁶ For an overview of the events in the aftermath of the Roman conquest, and a collection of bibliography on the very early Roman period, see Herklotz (2012).

examine the formation of the Roman province Aegyptus.²⁷ He considered that, after an initial period of upheaval, by the middle of the first century Egypt had essentially been brought into line with the other areas under Roman control. This view was reiterated by Bowman and Rathbone in an article on the governing strategy of the Romans in Egypt.²⁸ They found that after their arrival, the Romans took steps to create a system that mirrored their favoured model of municipal government, with much of the burden of administration and governance transferred to a newly-created 'Hellenic landowning elite'.²⁹ This was done in much the same way as it had been following the annexation of other Hellenistic kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean.

Two more recent studies, though, have questioned the extent to which the year 30 BCE marked an absolute break with Egypt's past, and have argued that certain features that have been considered as Roman novelties, such as the poll-tax, had their roots in Ptolemaic practice.³⁰ The debate continues, and is no doubt prolonged by the shortage of documents from the early Roman period.³¹ This thesis cannot solve this dilemma, but it can offer a detailed and sustained view of a village during this period of flux and transition, when processes that would later be transformative, such as the introduction of the liturgical system, were just beginning to get underway in Egypt.³² In this respect, the case study of Euhemeria that this thesis presents complements broader studies of developments in Egypt in the first century of Roman rule.

In any investigation examining a single settlement on the basis of papyrological evidence, it is crucial to acknowledge the role that accident and chance play in our access to the documentation and, by extension, in our view of the place in question. In a pair of articles on the villages Apias and Heraklia, Hobson demonstrated that, because all of the documents relating to the villages came from other settlements, particularly from the more important site of Soknopaiou Nesos, only certain aspects

²⁷ Geraci (1983).

²⁸ Bowman & Rathbone (1992).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 108.

³⁰ Capponi (2005); Monson (2012).

³¹ Rathbone (2013), 88.

³² For the gradual introduction of the liturgical system, which passed the responsibility for various administrative tasks such as tax-collection to qualifying Egyptians, see the introduction to Lewis (1997 [1982]).

of Apias and Heraklia were visible to the modern historian.³³ If the documentation that these villages generated had been preserved, we would no doubt have a very different view of life in these particular places. The same caveat applies to the documents that this thesis considers. Our corpus of evidence represents only a small sample of the documentation that would have been produced in the village, and many of the documents were preserved by accident rather than design in the abandoned rubble of the village's structures.³⁴ Therefore, while we have a relatively large data set for Euhemeria compared to other settlements in the vicinity, those data provide only a snapshot of Euhemeria at a particular historical moment, and do not tell us the whole story. The arbitrary pattern of survival of Euhemeria's documents does have an advantage, though. It means that, while the village itself was typical of its time, our view of it is absolutely unique. In its own way, then, Euhemeria gives us an unprecedented perspective on the lives of ordinary people in an Egyptian village, adjusting to the realities of Roman imperial rule during a moment of historical transition. For this reason, Euhemeria, its people, and their texts are all deserving of our attention.

³³ Hobson (1982) on Apias; *eadem* (1985) on Heraklia.

³⁴ We know that the houses at Qasr el-Banat which yielded the most papyri were those into which rubbish was thrown before the structures were abandoned: it was the presence of rubbish, including papyri, which allowed the protective layer of *afsh* to form in the houses, preserving their contents: cf. P.Fay., p. 44: 'Our chief finds however, whether of papyri or miscellaneous antiquities, were in those houses which had an *afsh* layer at or near the bottom covered by débris for the most part from the house itself.'

Roadmap

The thesis has a two-part structure. The first, shorter part treats the papyri and ostraca from Euhemeria primarily as archaeological objects, and accordingly places them within their broader context: where archaeological data is available, this is specified, and where it is not, techniques derived from museum archaeology are used to establish connections between various documents in the corpus. The first part of the thesis also dismantles an established archive (the petitions from Euhemeria), and proposes some new sets of texts ('dossiers') that are used as analytical tools in the second part.

The second part of the thesis analyses the texts supported by the papyri and ostraca. It mines these texts for the rich information that they contain about the people of the village, their daily activities, and their relationship to the Roman state. The four chapters in this part are divided thematically, with each addressing a different aspect of life in the village: agriculture, taxation, work, and conflict. Certain types of evidence are specific to a single chapter (for example, the tax-receipts are discussed only in chapter 4), whereas others appear across numerous chapters due to the depth of information that they contain: this applies particularly to the petitions, which are the longest and most detailed source of evidence in the corpus, and which will reappear throughout the thesis.

Part 1: Texts

Chapter 1: Assembling the corpus

The first chapter presents the corpus of evidence for Euhemeria in the period 30 BCE to 68 CE, and traces the paths taken by the different documents from Egypt to their various current homes around the world. The evidence falls into two broad categories: material excavated during a single recorded archaeological mission, and material subsequently purchased on the antiquities market. We have some, albeit limited, information about the archaeological contexts of the items in the first category, which I will present in the first section of the chapter. The purchased texts are much harder to place within their larger contexts, due to the loss of information consequent to their passage through the hands of multiple dealers and collectors. I

will therefore briefly describe the workings of the antiquities market, before going on to outline the acquisition circumstances of the two major collections containing documents in the corpus, the British Museum in London and my home institution, the John Rylands Library in Manchester.

Chapter 2: Archives and dossiers

Following on from the first chapter, the second proposes some new ways in which we can ‘recontextualise’ the material from Euhemeria and better understand the texts in relation to one another. It deals first with the largest group of interrelated texts from the village, the petitions from Euhemeria. I question the longstanding scholarly belief that these petitions were an archive belonging to the village *archephodos*, proposing instead that we should consider them as a dossier with more diverse contents than has previously been recognised. Using some new evidence on the sheets themselves, I associate certain other Rylands papyri with the petitions, including another small ‘archive’ of letters for which I propose a new provenance in Euhemeria. Following a brief discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of prosopographical analysis, some further dossiers amongst the documents in the corpus are outlined, which are analysed in more detail in later chapters.

Part 2: Analysis

Chapter 3: The lay of the land

The third chapter marks the start of the analytical section of the thesis. It gives an overview of Euhemeria with a focus on agriculture, the central and defining activity undertaken by the villagers. The chapter begins by analysing the dossier of texts associated with the family of Asklepiades, who were involved in various activities connected to farming. This leads on to a discussion of leasing and tenancy as important aspects of the social and economic makeup of the village. The different categories of land attested in Euhemeria are considered, and I explore how typical these were for the early Roman period. Particular attention is paid to the large estates owned by absentee landlords, which are well attested in our material, and to the

farmsteads that formed part of those estates. Some agricultural accounts related to a sizeable farming operation are analysed, and I argue that they derive from the context of a large estate. Finally, I discuss the strategies used by landowners of differing social statuses for managing their properties. Primary sources for this topic include the ‘archive’ of letters from a landowner to his manager Aphrodisios, whose provenance in Euhemeria was established in chapter 2.

Chapter 4: Death and taxes

Having discussed the agricultural resources of the village, the fourth chapter focuses on how those resources were exploited by the Roman administration. It begins with an analysis of a small dossier of texts related to Euhemeria’s village scribe Herakleides. The history of the village scribe office will be discussed, along with his core responsibilities (registration of the land and population, assessment of taxation, and nomination for compulsory services). The numerous tax-receipts in our corpus are presented and discussed, with comments on their significance for our understanding of taxation in the early Roman period. The final section of the chapter discusses the village scribe’s unique status within the village, as an outsider closely associated with the Roman state.

Chapter 5: Working together

The phenomenon of voluntary associations formed by the villagers of Euhemeria is at the centre of the fifth chapter. After an introductory section describing the structure and purpose of these associations, I present a dossier of papyri and ostraca associated with a scribe called Maron. These ostraca concern the day-to-day workings of a group of animal owners in the village, who I argue hired out their animals to paying customers, with Maron acting as the secretary who co-ordinated their activities. This dossier offers a complimentary view to the main source of information about first century associations, the ‘guild ordinances’ from Tebtynis. In the last section of the chapter, I discuss another text in our corpus, which attests an association of weavers in Euhemeria. I use this document to confirm that associations in the villages of Roman Egypt had social as well as economic

functions, and that associations acted to exert a degree of social control over their members, a point which links to the final chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 6: Dispute resolution

The sixth chapter returns to the petitions from Euhemeria, and investigates the evidence contained within them for tensions between different sections of the village population. After discussing the problematic nature of petitions as sources, I outline some of the most common grievances reported, and the opposing groups within the village that emerge from the texts. A case study of illicit grazing (the most common complaint in the petitions) is discussed, and evidence for repeat offending and disputes over compensation is presented. The second section argues that the ultimate goal of petitioning by villagers in Roman Egypt was not always the involvement of the Roman judicial authorities. Rather, I will argue that villagers sometimes used petitions as threats or bargaining chips in processes of informal dispute resolution conducted in ‘the shadow of the law’.

PART 1: TEXTS

CHAPTER 1: Assembling the corpus

The first chapter of the thesis aims to answer two basic research questions: what is the textual evidence from Euhemeria in the period under investigation (30 BCE to 68 CE), and how did this evidence make its way from Egypt to the various collections around the world where it now resides? The reason for investigating the provenance of the material derives from the view that papyri are archaeological artefacts like any other surviving piece of ancient material culture.³⁵ As such, our understanding of them is improved by greater knowledge of the contexts in which they were produced and used.³⁶

The basic methodology used to establish the evidence for Euhemeria in the early Roman period was simple: I searched the online papyrological databases (specifically the Papyrological Navigator, Trismegistos Texts, and the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis) using the location parameter ‘Euhemeria’ and the date parameters ‘after 30 BCE’ and ‘before 69 CE’. The resulting lists of papyri were collated and then cross-checked against the indices of the printed volumes of papyri and of the *Sammelbuch* to ensure that no texts had been overlooked. The first sweep turned up sixty texts, supplemented by three documents with ‘loose’ dates in the first century CE, giving a total of sixty-three items.³⁷ In chapter 2 I will propose eight further texts (three ostraca and five papyri) that do not have secure provenance in Euhemeria, but which I consider to have come from the village; these are not discussed in this chapter.

³⁵ For confirmation of this view, see the manifesto laid out by Bagnall (ed. 2009) in the introduction to the *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (p. xvii): ‘Papyrology is a discipline concerned with the recovery and exploitation of ancient artifacts bearing writing and of the textual material preserved on such artifacts.’

³⁶ On the interconnections between archaeology, papyrology, and history, see Rathbone (1994), who noted that ‘much material is already available for putting the social history of Greek and Roman Egypt in its physical setting, without which it is not properly comprehensible’ (p. 143). Cf. Van Minnen (1994), who proposed new techniques for marrying archaeological data with papyrological interpretation of documentation from Karanis.

³⁷ A ‘loose’ date means that the papyrus was judged by its editor to belong to the first century CE, but does not contain any specific dates within its text. The three texts with loose dates in the corpus are: O.Fay. 45; P.Alex. 15; and P.Ryl. II 124.

The sixty-three core texts fall into two broad categories: twenty-two pieces uncovered during the official excavation at Qasr el-Banat (the site of ancient Euhemeria) in 1898-9; and forty-one items acquired on the Egyptian antiquities market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For the excavated texts – those retrieved and subsequently published by Grenfell and Hunt – we have some limited data about find-spots and archaeological context. We also know how these texts came to be housed in their various present locations because the ‘afterlives’ of ostraca and papyri belonging to the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) are relatively well-documented.³⁸ These texts are dealt with in the first section of the chapter. The story of the purchased material is more complicated, and is dealt with in the second section. Since we lack precise information about where this material was found, we have instead to rely on other sources of information – specifically editorial comments and archival records – in order to understand the route it took from Egypt to the rest of the world.

Excavated material

Recorded archaeology

The only documented archaeological mission to Qasr el-Banat was undertaken by the English papyrologists Grenfell and Hunt in the winter of 1898-9, under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF).³⁹ The site was prospected in March 1896, having been recommended to Grenfell and Hunt by Hogarth – their partner in their first Fayum dig in the winter of 1895-6 – in terms which suggested that it was then largely unspoilt.⁴⁰ However, certain delays – specifically Grenfell and Hunt’s commitment to excavate at Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchos) in the winter of 1896-7, and their spell in Oxford writing up their findings in the winter of 1897-8 – meant that

³⁸ The Graeco-Roman branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund carried out excavations in various parts of Egypt between 1896 and 1914. The story of the Fund’s foundation and evolution is related in Turner (2007 [1982]), an article first written to celebrate the centenary of the institution. The Fund changed its name to the Egypt Exploration Society in 1919, but I will refer to it as the EEF throughout.

³⁹ The following summary is based on Grenfell & Hunt’s (1899) own archaeological reports, submitted to the membership of the EEF, and on their more detailed treatment of the same subject in P.Fay. (pp. 43-50). Further synoptic work has since been done by Davoli (1998), ch. 14 (pp. 295-8), and by France (1999), 46-8.

⁴⁰ In a letter to the treasurer of the EEF H.A. Grüber [= EES Inv. III k 139, quoted by Montserrat (1996), 169], Hogarth wrote: ‘... I advise you most strongly to let Grenfell work there next season at Medinet Mahdi or Qasr el Banat or both. Both mounds are almost virgin & evidently full of papyrus’.

the excavation at Qasr el-Banat did not actually take place for two further seasons. Upon arrival, Grenfell and Hunt characterised the site at Qasr el-Banat as a series of ‘low, undulating mounds [...] intersected by sandy hollows’ covering about a quarter of a square mile (c. 65 hectares).⁴¹ The team that they had assembled began work on 9 December 1898 and spent four weeks excavating the village, and a further two weeks on the cemetery, located at a short distance from the village to the south-west.⁴² Thereafter (around the end of January 1899) they moved on to excavate at Harit (ancient Theadelphia), which was found to be more productive of both papyri and material archaeology.⁴³

No subsequent missions to Qasr el-Banat have been documented. It is possible that a dig permitted by the Egyptian government took place in 1982, but further details about this mission are yet to come to light.⁴⁴ Scholars have visited the site in the course of their research during the later twentieth century, and some have recorded their observations.⁴⁵ These reveal that some important features of the village observed by Grenfell and Hunt, including the cemetery and ancient canals, have since been obliterated by the advance of the surrounding modern settlements.⁴⁶ One estimate suggests that as much as two thirds of the site charted during the EEF dig had disappeared by 1955.⁴⁷ Despite this catastrophic damage to the site, certain ancient structures are still visible at Qasr el-Banat today: among these are two circular (*tholos*) bathhouses, one located towards the north of the site, the other to the south-east.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Grenfell & Hunt (1899), 9; cf. P.Fay., p. 43.

⁴² Cf. Grenfell & Hunt (1899), 8-10; P.Fay., pp. 43f.

⁴³ See France (1999), 93-107 for a summary of the later expeditions of Rubensohn (February-March 1902), Lefebvre (1908) and Breccia (1912-13) at Harit. All three were disappointed in their quests for significant papyrological finds, suggesting that Grenfell and Hunt had emptied the site comprehensively.

⁴⁴ Cf. Davoli (1998), 297, n. 525: ‘È probabile che oltre agli scavi di Grenfell e Hunt, gli unici editi, vi siano stati altri scavi regolari effettuati dall’Ispettorato locale.’

⁴⁵ E.g. France (1999), 115-9. He described the modern site as giving ‘a desolate impression’ (p. 115).

⁴⁶ Davoli (2012), 156 notes that the site had already been razed ‘by the end of the 1930s’.

⁴⁷ Cf. France (1999) 115. He calculated that the site had shrunk from around 65 hectares in 1899 (reported at P.Fay., p. 21) to fewer than 20 hectares in 1955 (based on RAF aerial photograph 2344 F22 Nr. 0074).

⁴⁸ Cf. Rowlandson (ed. 1998), 322 item 254: ‘The floor of a circular bath at the site of Euhemeria was seen in 1989 by several of the contributors to this volume’. The site as it currently stands (August 2017) can be viewed using Google Maps satellite photography: the nearest settlement which can be searched for is Ezbet Salem Gad, and the *kom* of Qasr el-Banat is visible immediately to the north-west of that village.

Publication and distribution of material

During the course of their work in the Fayum, Grenfell and Hunt (and Hogarth in 1895-6) excavated five different sites in total.⁴⁹ Around 140 papyri and 50 ostraca recovered from these sites were published by the trio in *Fayum Towns and their Papyri* (P.Fay.) in 1901.⁵⁰ This material includes fourteen ostraca and eight papyri from Euhemeria with dates between 30 BCE and 68 CE.

Ostraca

The fourteen ostraca listed below were sent – like all of the ostraca excavated by Grenfell and Hunt from the Fayum – to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and are now kept in the Papyrology Rooms at the Sackler Library.⁵¹

Table 1.1: Ostraca published in P.Fay.

Text	Genre	Date	Present location
O.Fay. 2	Tax receipt	13 May 23 BCE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 3	Tax receipt	23 July 3 BCE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 4	Tax receipt	6 May 24 CE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 7	Receipt for payment	12 October 4 CE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 8	Receipt for payment	17 March 6 BCE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 10	Tax receipt	55-68 CE	Oxford: Sackler Library

⁴⁹ The villages excavated by Hogarth and Grenfell (1895-6) were Kom Aushim (ancient Karanis) [TM Geo 1008] and Kom el-Atl (Bakchias) [TM Geo 392] in the north-east of the Fayum. Grenfell and Hunt moved from Qasr el-Banat (Euhemeria) to Batn el-Harit (Theadelphia) [TM Geo 2349] and Wadfa (Philoteris) [TM Geo 1780] in 1899.

⁵⁰ France (1999), 48 with n. 20 avers that Grenfell and Hunt discovered many more pieces than this during their sojourn in the Fayum. He reports information given to him by R.A. Coles stating that hundreds of pieces from the EEF campaign remain undescribed and unpublished in boxes at the Sackler Library in Oxford.

⁵¹ Coles (1974) found that one of these ostraca (O.Fay. 47) was missing in March 1974; I can verify that Dr Daniela Colomo was unable to locate the piece upon request in November 2015.

Text	Genre	Date	Present location
O.Fay. 14	Delivery instruction	1 September 1 CE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 15	Delivery instruction	c. 1 CE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 16	Delivery instruction	c. 1 CE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 17	Delivery instruction	14 May 35 CE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 18	Delivery instruction (?)	Early first century CE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 45	Message (?)	First century CE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 47	Tax receipt	Early first century CE	Oxford: Sackler Library
O.Fay. 49	Tax receipt	5 October 19 CE	Oxford: Sackler Library

Grenfell and Hunt remarked that Qasr el-Banat was unusually productive of ostraca, and that ‘few days passed without three or four turning up’.⁵² The pair acknowledged, though, that this was not evidence of increased ostraca usage in Euhemeria, but rather of more careful excavation by their teams at Qasr el-Banat.⁵³ A large haul of around seventy ostraca was discovered in a trove in an oven in one of the village’s ruined houses, but probably did not contain any of the items in our corpus.⁵⁴ There are almost no further details about the spots from which ostraca were discovered at Qasr el-Banat, although we do know that O.Fay. 3, 7, and 16 were found together, which may suggest a connection between these texts.⁵⁵

⁵² Grenfell & Hunt (1899), 10; cf. P.Fay., p. 46.

⁵³ Cf. P.Fay., p. 317: ‘Our excavations at Kasr el Banât and Harît (and more recently at Tebtunis) showed that plenty of ostraca were forthcoming if only a systematic search for them was made.’

⁵⁴ P.Fay., pp. 43f. The papyri in the oven included O.Fay. 41-3, all texts of the early fourth century CE.

⁵⁵ Cf. P.Fay., p. 324: ‘This ostrakon [O.Fay. 16] was found with 3 and 7.’

Papyri

The post-excavation story of the early Roman papyri discovered by Grenfell and Hunt at Qasr el-Banat is rather more complicated than the story of the ostraca. The EEF, which funded the papyrologists' excavations, was itself supported by subscriptions from museums, libraries, and other learned institutions across Europe and North America. In 1896 the Fund took a decision, at the instigation of its founder and luminary Amelia Edwards, to distribute objects recovered during its digs to these contributors.⁵⁶ The first distributions were of small, low-value archaeological items such as mud-bricks and *ushabti* figures, but the Fund eventually began distributing papyri from 1900 onwards; items that had been published in *Fayum Towns* were among the first to be allocated to new curators.⁵⁷ This explains why the eight items from our corpus now reside in the diverse locations listed below.

Table 1.2: Papyri published in P.Fay.

Papyrus	Genre	Date	Present location
P.Fay. 25	Certificate for work on embankments	17 August 36 CE	New Haven: Yale University Library (inv. P. CtYBR 1)
P.Fay. 29	Notification of death	7 August 37 CE	Philadelphia: Penn Museum (inv. E 2767)
P.Fay. 43 ⁵⁸	Tax receipt (?)	18 August 28 BCE	London: British Library (inv. Pap. 821)
P.Fay. 46	Tax receipt	29 May 36 CE	Manchester: Manchester Museum (inv. 7221) ⁵⁹

⁵⁶ For the story of the EEF's distributions, see Schork (2008). He quotes Edwards' rationale for offering tangible items to subscribers, as communicated in a memorandum to the Fund's Executive Committee in 1888 (Schork p. 26): 'Our subscribers are the *General Public* and they need to be stimulated by popular means.' The ethical questions behind the distributions, with a focus on material allocated to American institutions, are examined by Johnson (2012).

⁵⁷ Schork (2008), 28. The main part of his article (pp. 28-47) focuses on the disappearance of a single papyrus (P.Fay. 5, a fragment of the *Iliad*), which had been given to the EEF's North American secretary Rev. Dr William Copley Winslow, the only papyrus ever distributed to a private individual.

⁵⁸ This papyrus was later included in P.Lond. III as item 821 descr.

⁵⁹ Donation from EEF to Owens College, 14 December 1903: cf. Manchester Museum Egypt Archive Correspondence (ID 359). I am grateful to Dr Campbell Price for allowing me to view the papyrus and for giving me access to the Museum's archive of correspondence.

Papyrus	Genre	Date	Present location
P.Fay. 47	Receipts for payment (2 texts)	61 and 62 CE	Cairo: Egyptian Museum (inv. CG 10772)
P.Fay. 101	Agricultural accounts	18 BCE	Washington DC: Smithsonian Library (inv. 217851)
P.Fay. 109	Letter	10 BCE or 34 CE	Cairo: Egyptian Museum (inv. CG 10798)
P.Fay. 213 descr.	Receipt for payment of rent	24 July 2 BCE	Cairo: Egyptian Museum (inv. CG 10816)

A note on descripta

The last item in the table above (P.Fay. 213) was not fully edited by Grenfell and Hunt. Rather, it was one of around 220 papyri that were described in *Fayum Towns*. These *descripta* include thirteen other papyri with confirmed provenance in Euhemeria and dates within the scope of this inquiry. Where appropriate, I will mention these texts in the course of the thesis, but – with the exception of P.Fay. 213, which was eventually given a full edition by Daris – I have not included them in the corpus.⁶⁰ This is because, in most cases, no information is currently available beyond the brief descriptions given by the first editors. There may be scope to give these pieces full editions in future, but it was not possible to do this within the duration of my doctoral research.

Table 1.3: P.Fay. descripta from Euhemeria

Text	Genre	Date	Present location
P.Fay. 214	Official communication	37 CE	New York, NY: Columbia University Library (inv. P.Fay. 214)

⁶⁰ P.Fay. 213 descr. = SB XX 14971. Ed. pr. Daris (1988), item 2 (pp. 45f.).

Text	Genre	Date	Present location
P.Fay. 219	Receipt for payment	41-68 CE	Cambridge, MA: Harvard Library (inv. SM 3760)
P.Fay. 226	Taxing account (fragment)	First century CE	Washington DC: Smithsonian Library (inv. 217859)
P.Fay. 230	Official communication (?)	26 CE	Cambridge, MA: Harvard Library (inv. SN 3764)
P.Fay. 231	List of names and payments	17 BCE	Cairo: Egyptian Museum (inv. CG 10822)
P.Fay. 232	Account	First century BCE	London: British Library (inv. Pap. 829)
P.Fay. 233	List of names and payments	18 BCE	London: British Library (inv. Pap. 830)
P.Fay. 234	Account	First century BCE	London: British Library (inv. Pap. 831)
P.Fay. 235	Payment instruction	First century BCE	London: British Library (inv. Pap. 832)
P.Fay. 285	Account	First century BCE	London: British Library (inv. Pap. 1199)
P.Fay. 286	Certificate for work on the embankments	41-54 CE	Cairo: Egyptian Museum (inv. CG 10835)
P.Fay. 298	Taxing list (fragment)	First century CE	Washington DC: Smithsonian Library (inv. 217857)
P.Fay. 299	Census return	30/31 CE	Cambridge, MA: Harvard Library (inv. SM 3765)

Purchased items

Illicit excavations

The pieces published in *Fayum Towns* are the only documents in our corpus with connections to a recorded archaeological excavation. This means that the remaining forty-one papyri in the core of the corpus must have been recovered as a result of accidental finds or during illicit excavations, carried out without official knowledge or documentation.

Grenfell and Hunt knew that parts of the site at Qasr el-Banat had been dug out before their arrival, with particular damage done to the temple and to the better-quality houses.⁶¹ Some of this digging was probably carried out by *sebakhin*, Egyptian farmers in search of the prized fertiliser *sebakh*, a soil-like mixture of crumbled bricks and decaying organic material.⁶² The *sebakhin* had been happening across papyri since as early as 1877, and dealers had been selling the pieces on to interested Europeans and Americans ever since.⁶³ Although Grenfell and Hunt complained bitterly about the damage done to the sites of the Fayum by the diggers, they were not above buying the recovered papyri directly if the price was right.⁶⁴

Alongside accidental finds by the *sebakhin*, we have to acknowledge that much of the material from Euhemeria was probably recovered through systematic campaigns of looting, carried out with the specific intention to find papyri and artefacts for sale to western collectors; this destruction of ancient sites was a well-known problem in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Egypt.⁶⁵ Such illicit excavations certainly took place at Euhemeria, which Grenfell and Hunt noted had been damaged before

⁶¹ Grenfell and Hunt remarked, upon their arrival in December 1899, that: 'Nearly half the site had been dug not very long before our arrival' (P.Fay., p. 43).

⁶² In an unfortunate twist of fate, *sebakh* tends to be found abundantly at sites which also contain papyri, due to the preserving qualities of the fine soil known as *afsh*. For more on *sebakh*, *sebakhin*, and their activities at archaeological sites in the Fayum, see Wilfong (2012), 225. The photographs there, fig. 14.1 and 14.2, show the extent of the damage caused to the site of ancient Karanis.

⁶³ P.Fay., p. 18 mentions a 'new era' for papyrology beginning in this year, when significant finds were made by Egyptians at Medinet el-Fayum (the ancient metropolis of the Arsinoite nome). Cf. Cuvigny (2009), 32.

⁶⁴ P.Fay., p. 20: 'There is unfortunately little doubt that quite half the papyri discovered by natives in the Fayûm since 1877 have perished altogether.' It should be noted that Grenfell and Hunt's own archaeological methods were far from ideal and, motivated as they were primarily by the hunt for papyri, caused considerable damage to the sites and loss of material. On this point, see Cuvigny (2009), 36-8.

⁶⁵ Cf. Cuvigny (2009), 32. For a contemporary account of the plundering of ancient sites, see Hombert (1933).

their arrival, and it is very likely that odd pieces were also recovered here and there in the years after the EEF mission.

There is also a third way in which papyri could have been removed from Qasr el-Banat without proper documentation: the ‘leakage’ of papyri – stolen by dishonest workers at the official digs and then sold to unscrupulous dealers – was common even at missions sanctioned by the EEF.⁶⁶ Although the long-term, highly productive campaign at Oxyrhynchos was particularly susceptible to this problem, the Fayum campaigns were also affected, and it seems likely that the site at Qasr el-Banat could also have been compromised in this way.⁶⁷

The Egyptian antiquities market

The people of Egypt had always known that artefacts related to the long history of their country had commercial value, and a market in Egyptian antiquities had existed for centuries. This market expanded dramatically over the course of the nineteenth century, especially after Egypt became a British protectorate in 1882.⁶⁸ The basic structure of the market was that scholars and collectors – primarily Europeans and North Americans – would visit specialist Egyptian dealers operating out of a few key centres, notably Cairo, Giza, and Luxor, and buy up the antiquities that most interested them. The dealers tended to obscure the details of how they had acquired the pieces, and it is likely that many were brought to them by ordinary Egyptians who had taken them from ancient sites without official permissions from the Egyptian government, as discussed above.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Grenfell complained about this problem in a letter to Grüber in 1906: EES Inv. VI e 8 [quoted by Turner (2007), 20].

⁶⁷ See Hogarth’s article ‘Dead cities of the Fayûm’ (*The Times*, 7 April 1896), reproduced in full in Montserrat (1996), app. 2 (p. 172).

⁶⁸ A portrait of the Egyptian antiquities market during the ‘golden age’ (from the point of view of western collectors) at the turn of the last century is given in Hagen & Ryholt (2016), based on the diaries and correspondence of the Danish Egyptologist H.O. Lange. The workings of the market, with discussion of the different centres and details of individual dealers, are detailed in the first section (pp. 22-163).

⁶⁹ Turner (1968), 51: ‘Any statement about provenance made by a finder or dealer in antiquities is open to suspicion. Such persons are not likely to reveal the source of discovery while the stream is still running, nor possibly to put themselves and other within reach of the law concerning antiquities.’ His statements referred to the contemporary antiquities trade (i.e. the one still carrying on in the 1960s), but his comments apply also to the earlier situation.

The earliest western collectors were mostly wealthy individuals who had the money, interest, and leisure to visit Egypt and satisfy their curiosity for ancient artefacts, or their paid proxies. Slightly later, papyri were also acquired by cartels set up by learned institutions – universities, libraries, and museums – which sought to enrich their collections as the nascent discipline of papyrology grew. The Germans pioneered this idea, with the instigation of the *Deutsches Papyruskartell*, active between 1902 and 1914; a British cartel headed by Bell for the British Museum also operated in the 1920s and 30s.⁷⁰ The overall impression of the market, gained from both contemporary accounts and retrospective analyses, is that it was unregulated and that, in the haste to obtain texts, dealers and collectors alike neglected to ask important questions about the archaeological provenance of the pieces, to the detriment of subsequent scholarship.⁷¹

Museum archaeology

In recent decades, scholars have sought other means to supplement the limited archaeological data available for material acquired on the Egyptian antiquities market. Vandorpe pioneered the use of additional sources – such as the information offered in the prefaces to papyrological editions, and the purchasing records of learned institutions – in an approach which she called museum archaeology.⁷² The following section will attempt to perform a similar analysis on the remaining papyri from our corpus.

Unfortunately, three of the papyri from Euhemeria with dates between 30 BCE and 68 CE were published in editions containing virtually no information about provenance, either because this information was unknown or inaccessible, or because the editors did not regard it as essential. Furthermore, it has not been practical to visit these collections in order to study their acquisition records. For these three texts, then, there is limited scope for the use of museum archaeology.

⁷⁰ On the organisation and operation of papyrus cartels in this period, see Martin (2007).

⁷¹ Cf. Keenan (2009), 66f.

⁷² Vandorpe (1994), esp. 292.

Table 1.4: Papyri without information about provenance

Text	Genre	Date	Present location
P.Alex. 15	Receipt for payment of <i>syntaximon</i>	First century CE	Alexandria: Graeco-Roman Museum (inv. P. 308)
P.Rein. II 106	Loan of money	51/65 CE	Sorbonne: Institute Papyrologique (inv. 2162)
PSI IX 1057	Receipt for compensation	October 32 CE	Alexandria: Graeco-Roman Museum (inv. P. 277)

Thankfully, the bulk of our material comes from two major sources whose origins are rather better-documented: the British Museum in London and the John Rylands Library in Manchester.

John Rylands Library

The John Rylands Library was founded by Enriqueta Tennant Rylands in memory of her late husband John, a cotton merchant and philanthropist. The building was formally inaugurated in October 1899, and opened to the public on New Year’s Day 1900.⁷³ The Library was originally intended to give prominence to Mrs Rylands Nonconformist religious and social interests, but its scope soon broadened to encompass practically all manifestations of the written word. Greek papyri were, at this time, seen as a promising new potential source of religious texts and information about the time of Jesus. Mrs Rylands accordingly determined to obtain papyri for her Library’s collection, and commissioned papyrologists – including Grenfell and Hunt – to purchase papyri directly on her behalf in Egypt.⁷⁴

The bulk of the Rylands collection, though, arrived in Manchester indirectly, having been gathered together by the famous bibliophile James Lindsay, the 26th Earl of

⁷³ The story of the Library’s foundation, and of Enriqueta Rylands’ energetic guidance of the project, is reported in her obituary: Anonymous (1908). A retrospective about Mrs Rylands and her involvement in the history of the Library was published in the Library’s *Bulletin* by Farnie (1989).

⁷⁴ Evidence for some of these sales can be found in Choat (2012), 145; Mazza (2012); 501.

Crawford and Balcarres (Lord Crawford). Crawford travelled through Egypt in 1899, and his correspondence with his librarian John Edmond from this period shows that he bought papyri from dealers as he went.⁷⁵ As well as his own purchases, Lord Crawford expanded his collection with pieces purchased on his behalf by third parties, including (once again) Grenfell and Hunt.⁷⁶ The pair later admitted to Edmond that they had ‘denuded’ the dealers of Cairo and the Fayum of their best pieces shortly before Crawford’s arrival in Egypt.⁷⁷ The pieces Crawford had purchased himself, along with those acquired for him, were brought back to England in early 1900, and kept with the rest of Crawford’s personal manuscript collection, the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, at his family seat at Haigh Hall near Wigan.⁷⁸ The John Rylands Library acquired all of the manuscripts in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* in 1901, when the late Victorian agricultural crisis struck a blow to Lord Crawford’s personal finances and obliged him to sell his collection *in toto* to Mrs Rylands.⁷⁹ Following a short stay in packing cases at her home Longford Hall in Stretford, the papyri and other pieces were eventually brought to the Library on Deansgate, where they have resided ever since.⁸⁰

The first volume of the *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* (P.Ryl. I) was published in 1911, ten years after the acquisition of the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*. However, that volume contained literary, paraliterary, and biblical papyri, rather than documentary texts. All of the papyri from our corpus in the John Rylands Library were published in the second volume of the *Catalogue* (P.Ryl. II).⁸¹ The editors of the second volume noted in the preface that publication had been delayed by ‘the incorporation of fresh texts’, that is, texts acquired after the publication of P.Ryl. I in 1911. Therefore, it is possible that some of the material in our corpus did not come to Manchester via Lord Crawford’s library. However, work

⁷⁵ Choat (2006), 42-4.

⁷⁶ See Choat (2012), esp. 144 with notes 38-9, reporting the correspondence in which Hunt offered to buy up papyri for Lord Crawford in 1899.

⁷⁷ Crawford Muniments: Library Papers 72: [556] 23 April 1899, Hunt to Edmond; quoted by Choat (2006), 43 n. 8.

⁷⁸ See the retrospective of the ‘Bibliotheca Lindesiana’ – written to mark the occasion of its ultimate dissolution, due to ‘the crushing burden of today’s heavy taxation’: Anonymous (1946), 185.

⁷⁹ Cf. the Preface to P.Ryl. I (ed. Hunt 1911): ‘... the present magnificence and special character of the [Rylands] collection were given to it by the purchase, in 1901, of the manuscripts of the Earl of Crawford, consisting of nearly six thousand rolls, tablets, and codices.’

⁸⁰ The sale of the Crawford manuscripts is documented in Mrs Rylands’ obituary: Anonymous (1908), 355.

⁸¹ Edd. Johnson, Martin & Hunt (1915).

is underway to clarify what the ‘fresh texts’ in P.Ryl. II were, and preliminary findings suggest that the Euhemerian pieces were not among them.⁸² Therefore, I have worked to the hypothesis that the Rylands papyri from Euhemeria were part of Lord Crawford’s manuscript collection, whether acquired by the nobleman himself or by his agents, and were already in place in Manchester by 1901. The Rylands pieces in the corpus consist of twenty-nine petitions (one of which is a draft rather than a finished article), which are laid out in the first section of the table below.

Table 1.5: Rylands papyri

P.Ryl. II number	Genre	Date
124	Petition (draft)	First century CE ⁸³
125	Petition	28/29 CE
126	Petition	28/29 CE
127	Petition	September 29 CE
128	Petition	After 13 February 30 CE
129	Petition	After 12 March 30 CE
130	Petition	After 2 October 31 CE
131	Petition	After 12 March 31 CE
132	Petition	10 July 32 CE
133	Petition	November 33 CE
134	Petition	April 34 CE
135	Petition	After 17 April 34 CE
136	Petition	4 May 34 CE
137	Petition	May-June 34 CE
138	Petition	16 July 34 CE
139	Petition	23 July 34 CE
140	Petition	November 36 CE
141	Petition	April-May 37 CE
142	Petition	August 37 CE
143	Petition	After 25 April 38 CE

⁸² See Mazza (2012), 506 for a breakdown of known purchases post-1911, and the likely contents of each.

⁸³ This is the date given in the ed. pr. and reflected in the online databases: cf. P.Ryl. II, p. 119. I would argue for a revised date in the second quarter of the first century CE (26-50 CE), based on its similarities to the other, dated petitions.

P.Ryl. II number	Genre	Date
144	Petition	May-June 38 CE
145	Petition	29 December 38 CE
146	Petition	April 39 CE
147	Petition	May-June 39 CE
148	Petition	14 May 40 CE
149	Petition	September-October 39 CE
150	Petition	19 October 40 CE
151	Petition	17 October 40 CE
152	Petition	4 April 42 CE
94	Guarantee of bail	15-36 CE
166	Offer to lease land	1 December 26 CE
167	Offer to lease a mill	1 September 39 CE
183	Receipt for hay	6 August 16 CE
183a	Receipt for hay	2 September 16 CE

As well as the twenty-nine petitions, the Rylands collection houses five documents in other genres from our corpus, which are listed in the second part of the table. At thirty-four pieces, this is by far the most significant single collection of evidence for early Roman Euhemeria. As discussed in the introduction, the concentration of material in Manchester is one of the reasons behind the conception of this research project.

British Library

The second major collection of sources for early Roman Euhemeria is to be found in London. The London papyri in the corpus were published by Kenyon and Bell in the third volume of *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (P.Lond. III) in 1907.⁸⁴ I reproduce here the editors' comments from the preface relating to the contents of the volume:

⁸⁴ All of the British Museum's Greek papyri were moved to the British Library in 1971, in accordance with the terms of the British Library Act, section 3.1.

‘The present volume of the Catalogue of Papyri deals with the acquisitions made by the Department between the middle of 1895 and the end of 1903. During the greater part of this period, however, nearly all the documents acquired had been previously published [...]. It was not until the purchase of some large collections in 1901 and 1903 that sufficient materials were in hand for the preparation of a third volume of the Catalogue.’

The ‘previously published’ documents included items that were allocated to the British Museum by the EEF following their publication in P.Fay. The Euhemerian tax receipt P.Fay. 43, mentioned in the previous section, was among them, and was recatalogued in P.Lond. III under a new number.⁸⁵ The remaining four items in the British Library must therefore have arrived there as part of the purchases in 1901 and 1903 mentioned in the preface. These ‘large collections’ were probably private ones, similar to the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, but further research in the archives of the British Museum and Library would be required to confirm this, and to establish whether they too came from Lord Crawford’s manuscript collection. In any case, the editors acknowledged in the volume that all of the papyri had, at some point in their history, passed through the hands of Egyptian antiquities dealers, meaning that their precise provenance is now very hard to reconstruct.⁸⁶ The four papyri from our corpus in P.Lond. III are all petitions. Two were given full editions in the volume by Kenyon and Bell, while two were only described. These last had to wait more than eighty years before eventually being published by Sijpesteijn, in 1989 and 1992.

Table 1.6: British Library papyri

P.Lond. III number	Genre	Date
895 (pp. 129f.)	Petition	28-30 CE
1218 (pp. 130f.)	Petition	August 39 CE
891 descr. ⁸⁷	Petition	29-31 CE
894 descr. ⁸⁸	Petition	39-41 CE

⁸⁵ P.Lond. III 821 descr. [= P.Fay. 43], tax receipt (Euhemeria, 18 August 28 BCE).

⁸⁶ Cf. P.Lond. III, pp. v-vi.

⁸⁷ Ed. pr. Sijpesteijn (1992) [= SB XX 15182].

⁸⁸ Ed. pr. Sijpesteijn (1989) [= SB XX 15032].

Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the sixty-three texts that form the core of the corpus from early Roman Euhemerism. These can be consulted in the first part of the appendix ('Core texts'), where I have provided up-to-date versions of all of the texts – based on their first editions and corrections made by subsequent scholars – along with my own translations. I have presented all of the currently known information about the provenance of the documents in order to lay the groundwork for later discussions, in which the interrelations between the texts will be significant.

Table 1.7: Current locations of items with secure provenance

City: Institution	Excavated	Purchased	TOTAL
Alexandria: Graeco-Roman Museum	SB XX 14971	P.Alex. 15 PSI IX 1057	3
Cairo: Egyptian Museum	P.Fay. 47 P.Fay. 109		2
London: British Library	P.Fay. 43	P.Lond. III 895 P.Lond. III 1218 SB XX 15032 SB XX 15182	5
Manchester: John Rylands Library		P.Ryl. II 94 P.Ryl. II 124 P.Ryl. II 125-52 P.Ryl. II 166 P.Ryl. II 167 P.Ryl. II 183 P.Ryl. II 183a	34
Manchester: Manchester Museum	P.Fay. 46		1
New Haven, CT: Yale University Library	P.Fay. 25		1
Oxford: Sackler Library	O.Fay. 2-4 O.Fay. 7-8 O.Fay. 10 O.Fay. 14-18 O.Fay. 45 O.Fay. 47 O.Fay. 49		14
Paris: Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne		P.Rein. II 106	1

City: Institution	Excavated	Purchased	TOTAL
Philadelphia, PA: Penn Museum	P.Fay. 29		1
Washington DC: Smithsonian Library	P.Fay. 101		1
TOTAL	22	41	GRAND TOTAL 63

CHAPTER 2: Archives and dossiers

While the previous chapter established the number and nature of the core texts in the corpus, this chapter looks at the different interconnections between the documents, and the ways in which they can be understood in relation to one another. As noted in the introduction, this kind of synoptic approach to the material from Euhemeria is one of the main aims of this thesis. The study of texts in relation to one another rather than in isolation opens up new possibilities for research, especially when those texts share a common theme or centre around a known individual.⁸⁹

The question of whether a group of texts constitutes an archive or not is relevant to this chapter. An archive, according to the strict definition proposed by Martin, consists only of papyri that were ‘deliberately and systematically collected and organised in antiquity’.⁹⁰ Vanderpe further refined this definition, asserting that an archive was ‘a deliberate collection of papers in antiquity by a single person, family, community, or around an office’, whereas a dossier is ‘a group of texts brought together today concerning a particular person, family, or a particular subject’.⁹¹ More recent scholarship, particularly among scholars at Leuven working on archival reconstruction, has continually emphasised the importance of maintaining this distinction between documents gathered in antiquity (archives) and those reunited through modern scholarship (dossiers).⁹² A key marker of a true archive is that it should be recovered from a single find-spot, as this is strong – although not conclusive – evidence that the documents were collected in antiquity.⁹³

A set of documents from Euhemeria but not in our corpus provides a useful contrast to our material. In their archaeological reports, Grenfell and Hunt noted that Qasr el-

⁸⁹ For a statements of the benefits of studying texts in tandem, see Vanderpe (2009), 216: ‘An archive is bound to be of greater interest than isolated texts, and the possibilities of archival research for any aspect of life in Graeco-Roman Egypt [...] are practically unlimited’.

⁹⁰ Cf. Martin (1994), 570: ‘Nous pourrions ainsi formuler une exigence minimale: les pièces constituant un ensemble archivistique ne peuvent en aucune manière être le fruit d’un conglomérat fortuit, fût-il ancien, ni d’une récolte menée de nos jours à travers des lots distincts; elles doivent, dès l’Antiquité, avoir fait l’objet d’une accumulation et d’un classement délibérés. Si cette double condition n’est pas remplie, on préférera *dossier* à *archives*.’

⁹¹ Vanderpe (2009), 218.

⁹² E.g. Van Beek (2005).

⁹³ Cf. Vanderpe, Clarysse & Verreth (2015), 17: ‘The archaeological context, if known, is crucial. Groups of texts, which seem closely related but were found in different places, should be considered separate archives.’

Banat boasted the remains of one unusually fine house, in the basement of which the papyrologists found a trove of documents.⁹⁴ These turned out to be the archive of Epagathos, an estate manager employed by the Roman army veteran and landowner Lucius Bellienus Gemellus.⁹⁵ The archive consisted of dozens of letters exchanged by Epagathos, Gemellus, and other members of his family during the reigns of Domitian and Trajan. Because they were found in a single, recorded location, and relate to a single family's business interests, these papyri can appropriately be considered as an archive. In contrast, we cannot say with confidence that any of the texts in our corpus form part of an archive, given our poor knowledge of the archaeological provenance of most of the texts from Euhemeria, discussed in chapter 1. This applies even to a major set of texts in our corpus that has been recognised in much previous scholarship as an archive, the petitions from Euhemeria.⁹⁶

In the first section of this chapter, I challenge the longstanding claim that the petitions were the official archive collected by the *archepodos* of the village, arguing that there is insufficient evidence of the involvement of the *archepodos* in their processing to justify this claim. Furthermore, I propose that the petitions are not as homogenous a group as has been supposed, and that they can be better understood when analysed alongside other documents from Euhemeria, rather than in isolation.

In the second section of the chapter, I present the new evidence of serial numbers added to the versos of some of the petitions, as well as to certain other papyri in the Rylands collection; I argue that these numbers indicate that the petitions and new texts can be considered as a broader dossier of texts. In particular, I will focus on another 'archive' of letters, with previously unknown provenance, which I argue can now be associated with Euhemeria and should be considered alongside the rest of our evidence. Finally, I discuss some other previously unidentified small dossiers of

⁹⁴ Cf. Grenfell & Hunt (1899), 9f.; P.Fay., p. 44.

⁹⁵ On this figure, see Hohlwein (1957). More recent work on Gemellus and his manager Epagathos has been carried out by Azzarello (2008, 2014), also in collaboration: Ast & Azzarello (2012).

⁹⁶ The petitions from Euhemeria are included among the archives recorded by Vandorpe, Clarysse & Verreth (2015), 295. Their collection of *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum* was incorporated first into the Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections and now into the online database Trismegistos, where the petitions are catalogued as archive number 187: <http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/187>. Each entry in the printed volume and on the website is accompanied by an overview of scholarship on the archive in question; for the petitions, this was provided by Feucht (2011). Further references in this thesis to archives included in the Trismegistos Archives website will be cited with the abbreviation [TM Arch XX], where XX is the number of the archive.

texts within the corpus. These include dossiers that centre on individuals and families within the village that can be identified prosopographically. I also present a dossier of receipts for hay and use textual analysis to associate a final text with unknown provenance with Euhemeria.

Petitions from Euhemeria

The petitions from Euhemeria consist of thirty-three petitions drafted by the inhabitants of the village during the reigns of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius. Twenty-nine of the petitions are in Manchester, four in London. The distribution of the material between these two collections is significant, because in the second section of the chapter I will discuss further groups of texts that have similarly been divided between these two locations.

Table 2.1: Petitions from Euhemeria

Text	Date	Present location
P.Ryl. II 124	26-50 CE (?)	Manchester: John Rylands Library (inv. Gr. 124)
P.Ryl. II 125-52 (= 28 texts)	28-42 CE	Manchester: John Rylands Library (inv. Gr. 125-52)
P.Lond. III 895	28-30 CE	London: British Library (inv. Pap. 895)
P.Lond. III 1218	August 39 CE	London: British Library (inv. Pap. 1218)
SB XX 15032 ⁹⁷	39-41 CE	London: British Library (inv. Pap. 894)
SB XX 15182 ⁹⁸	29-31 CE	London: British Library (inv. Pap. 891)

Some scholarship on the petitions has considered an additional pair of documents – in Strasbourg and Oslo – to be members of the same group.⁹⁹ Preisigke was the first

⁹⁷ First published as P.Lond. III 894 descr. Ed. pr. Sijpesteijn (1989).

⁹⁸ First published as P.Lond. III 891 descr. Ed. pr. Sijpesteijn (1992).

to propose this link when editing the Strasbourg petition; his theory was later taken up by Eitrem in his edition of the Oslo papyrus.¹⁰⁰ The Strasbourg and Oslo petitions are written in the same hand, and bear a passing resemblance – in terms of structure and language - to the Euhemerian pieces. However, petitions are highly formulaic texts, so diplomatic and textual similarities alone are not sufficient to confirm their provenance in Euhemeria.¹⁰¹ Similarly, the fact that the two pieces were written in the same hand as one another does not prove a connection to the Euhemerian examples, as the hand does not correspond to any of those responsible for the Rylands and London petitions. In fact, neither the Oslo nor the Strasbourg petition refers at any point to Euhemeria. Furthermore, the Oslo petition names suspects who are ‘from Philadelphia’ (ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας), and explicitly invokes an official (ἐπιστάτης) of Philadelphia in the request formula; as a result, I consider it much more likely that the Strasbourg and Oslo petitions come from Philadelphia than from Euhemeria, and do not consider them as part of this group.¹⁰²

The ‘*archepodos* archive’

I reproduce below part of the introduction given by the first editors to the petitions from Euhemeria.¹⁰³

‘The large group of petitions next printed was purchased together, and was doubtless the result of a find by *sebakhin* in the mounds of Qasr el Banât (Euhemeria), perhaps actually, owing to the nature of their contents, in the débris of the *archepodus*’ office.’

As was established in the previous chapter, this claim is rather suspect because there is no secure archaeological data for the petitions from Euhemeria, which were not

⁹⁹ P.Oslo III 123 (unknown provenance, 12 November 22 CE); P.Stras. II 118 (unknown provenance, 12 November 22 CE).

¹⁰⁰ Preisigke’s comments: P.Stras. II, p. 69; Eitrem’s repetition: P.Oslo, p. 182.

¹⁰¹ On the formulaic structure of petitions, see Kelly (2011), 45-9. An exhaustive treatment of the stock words and phrases deployed in petitions can be found in the doctoral thesis of Mascellari (2005).

¹⁰² P.Oslo III 123. Suspects from Philadelphia: lines 19-20; *epistatēs* of Philadelphia: lines 28-9. The editor (pp. 182f.) argued that ‘no doubt [the petition] was written at Euhemeria with the rest of the group, for here all those persons complaining of assault, robberies, damages to crops, etc., resided’. This is a *non sequitur*, though, because there are dozens of examples of petitions submitted by people from all over the Arsinoite nome detailing similar complaints.

¹⁰³ P.Ryl. II, p. 117.

recovered during the EEF excavation at Qasr el-Banat. In fact, we are specifically told in the *addenda et corrigenda* to P.Lond. III that the petitions in London belonged ‘to a group of petitions of which the rest were bought by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, and are now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester’.¹⁰⁴ It is curious, given this information, that Hunt was so vague about his involvement in the acquisition of the petitions in P.Ryl. II. However, there are other instances where Hunt seems to have deliberately obscured his role in obtaining papyri, for unclear reasons.¹⁰⁵ In any case, we simply do not know whether the petitions were dug up from the ruins of the village together or separately, on a single occasion or over a long period of time. Nevertheless, the statement of the first editors set a precedent for considering the petitions from Euhemeria as an archive collected and stored by the village *archephodos*: the petitions are sometimes referred to informally as the ‘*archephodos* archive’, and numerous scholars have repeated versions of the first edition’s assessment of the documents over the years.¹⁰⁶ The following section will outline the *archephodos* role in order to investigate the validity of this view.

The origins of the *archephodos* office were certainly Ptolemaic, although the role is hardly encountered in papyri before the Roman period, and what references do exist are brief and unilluminating.¹⁰⁷ As his title suggests, the *archephodos* was in charge of groups of ἑφοδοί (literally ‘wayfarers’), who are usually understood to have been a kind of informal police force, patrolling the streets of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.¹⁰⁸ The involvement of the *archephodos* in the maintenance of law and order is most strongly shown in the genre of documents called summonses. These were short messages sent by senior judicial officials to agents at the village level, ordering them to round up named suspects and present them for a hearing, usually at the nome

¹⁰⁴ P.Lond. III, p. viii: ‘Pages 129, 130, Papp. 895, 1218.’ Hunt was indirectly involved in the preparation of P.Lond. III (according to Kenyon’s introduction, p. vi), so we have no reason to doubt the truth of the statement.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Choat (2012), 147, with reference to the provenance of the Hermopolis Rees papyri: ‘Other possibilities would seem to require Hunt to have been simultaneously amnesiac and highly mindful of the provenance of papyri’.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Horn (1922), 491; Lindsay (1963), 135; Lewis (1983), 77; Sijpesteijn (1989, 1992); Alston (1995), 92; France (1999), 136; Grünwald (2004), 28; Kelly (2011), 42.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Lewis (1997 [1982]), 15: entry for ‘ἀρχεφοδεία, ἀρχέφοδος’. The Ptolemaic evidence is: P.Tebt. I 90, col. i line 1, a fragmentary account (Tebtynis, early first century BCE); BGU VIII 1808, account (Herakleopolite, 52/51 BCE); BGU VIII 1855, petition (Herakleopolite, 64-44 BCE). To these, add now P.IFAO II 4 (Arsinoite, 26 January 106 BCE).

¹⁰⁸ On the *ephodoi* in the Ptolemaic era, see Bauschatz (2013), 148f. with note 115.

metropolis.¹⁰⁹ The following table shows that the *archepodos* was the most frequent recipient of this kind of document in our period.¹¹⁰

Table 2.2: *Summonses (Arsinoite nome, first century CE)*

Text	Provenance	Date	From: <i>role</i> (name)	To: <i>role</i> (name)
SB XIV 11264	? (Arsinoite)	20 February 6 BCE	<i>epistatēs</i> (?) (Artemidoros)	<i>archiphylakitēs</i> ¹¹¹
SB XX 15130	Tebtynis	First century CE (early)	<i>toparchēs</i> (Artemidoros)	<i>archepodos</i> (Paes)
SB XVIII 13172	Kaine	Reign of Domitian (88- 96 CE)	<i>stratēgos</i>	<i>presbyteroi</i> , <i>archepodos</i> and ἄλλοι δημόσιοι
BGU XI 2016	Ptolemais Euergetis	First century CE (late)	?	<i>hēgoumenos</i> and <i>archepodos</i> (of Philadelphia)
P.Tebt. II 290 ¹¹²	Tebtynis	First century CE (late)	<i>stratēgos</i>	<i>epistatēs</i>
P.Yale I 62	Tebtynis	First century CE	?	<i>hēgoumenoi</i> and <i>archepodos</i>
SB VI 9630	? (Arsinoite)	First century CE	?	<i>hēgoumenos</i> and <i>archepodos</i>
P.Aberd. 60	Soknopaiou Nesos	First/second century CE	?	<i>kōmarches</i>

¹⁰⁹ On summonses as a genre, and the reasons for abandoning the former categorisation ‘orders to arrest’, see Gagos & Sijpesteijn (1996). On the *archepodos* as recipient, see pp. 79f. The *archepodos* was eventually replaced in his capacity of rounding up suspects by the *kōmarchēs* at some point in the mid-third century CE.

¹¹⁰ Based upon Bülow-Jacobsen (1986), 95-7, with the inclusion of additional material since published. The table arranges the examples from the Arsinoite nome in approximate chronological order (absolute precision is impossible because the date was routinely omitted from texts of this genre).

¹¹¹ It is possible that the scribe of this text wrote *archiphylakitēs* as a mistake for *archepodos* in the address, as the text refers later to *ephodoi* who were sent to assist the recipient in detaining suspects (lines 5-8): τούτων δὲ | χάριν πεπόμφαμεν τοὺς | ἐφόδους σχεθισομένους | μέχρι οὐ συνεξορμήσωσιν (‘For this reason, we have sent the *ephodoi* to detain (the two suspects) until such time as they can set out together.’)

¹¹² This a rare example of a sealed papyrus from the first century. The clay seal, with the legend ‘The *stratēgos* summons you’ (ὁ στρατηγός σε καλεῖ), can be seen in the photographs of the papyrus available online at the UC Berkeley Library website, accessible via Papyri.info.

Summonses are very closely related to the petitions from Euhemeria, where we also find the *archepodos* being ordered to round up suspects and deliver them to judicial authorities. The following example from our corpus illustrates the way in which the *archepodos* was typically invoked in the petitions.

P.Ryl. II 136, petition (4 May 34 CE)

Γαίωι Ἐρρίωι Π[ρ]ίσκωι ἐπιστάτῃ φυλ(ακιδῶν)
παρὰ Πάπου τοῦ Πάπου. τῶι Παχῶν
μηγί τ[ο]ῦ κ (ἔτους) [Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
λογοποιουμένου μου πρὸς Ἀγγερίμ-
5 φ[ι]γ κα[ι] τὴν τούτου γυναῖκα Θεναπύγι-
ν θυλουρον τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐημερίας
τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος ὑπὲρ ὧν
ἤροσάν μου ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας λησ-
τρικο τρόπωι ποτηρίων κασει-
10 δερίων καὶ κελλίβατος καὶ ἄλλων
σκευῶν καὶ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) ξ ὕβριν μοι συν-
εστήσαται οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν.
ἀξιῶι γραφῆνα[ι τ]ῶι τῆς κόμης
ἀρχεφόδ(ω) καταστήσαι ἐπὶ σὲ
15 πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέξοδ(ον).
εὐ(τύ)χ(ει).

(hand 2) ἀρχ(εφόδω)· ἔκπεμψ(ον).

(hand 1) (ἔτους) κ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Παχῶν θ.

(verso)

20 (hand 2) ἀρχ(εφόδω) Εὐημε(ρίας).

6. 1. θυρουρον 8-9. 1. λησ|τρικῶ 9-10. 1. κασει|τερίων 11-12. 1. συν|εστήσατο
13. 1. ἀξιῶ

‘To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Papos son of Papos. In the month of Pachon of the 20th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, while I was talking to Anchorimphis the porter from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris* and his wife Senephonychis about the tin cups, table, other utensils, and 60 silver drachmas which they had stolen from my house like bandits, he had a go at me with extraordinary violence. I ask you to write to the *archepodos* of the village to cause them to appear before you with a view to forthcoming punishment. Farewell. (hand 2) To the *archepodos*: send them up. (hand 1) Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pachon 9.

(verso) (hand 2) To the *archepodos* of Euhemeria.’

The petitioner Papos invokes the *archepodos* in the request formula (‘I ask you to write to the *archepodos*...’). However, the fact that the petitioner wanted the addressee to send instructions to the *archepodos* does not necessarily mean that the addressee did so, and in fact the same formula is found in petitions from outside Euhemeria.¹¹³ Therefore, invocations of the *archepodos* in petitioners’ requests cannot be used to posit a link between the documents and the *archepodos* of Euhemeria.

Papos submitted his petition to a figure in authority – in this case the overseer of the guards (ἐπιστάτης φυλακιδῶν) Priscus, based in the nome metropolis. In this case, we know that Priscus responded to Papos’ complaint, because he added a subscription (in a second hand) to the bottom of the original petition. This subscription contains the second mention of the *archepodos* in the document, an instruction ordering him to ‘send up’ the accused parties, reminiscent of the language of the orders to arrest discussed above. Again, though, the fact that the authority Priscus issued this instruction does not necessarily mean that the *archepodos* of the village ever received it. It is quite possible, for instance, that it languished in a pile of paperwork in the office of the *epistatēs*.

The final attestation of the *archepodos* in this petition comes in the address, added by someone in the office of the *epistatēs* Priscus to the verso of the papyrus. The presence of this address tells us that Priscus intended for the document to be

¹¹³ E.g. P.Mich. V 229 (5 January 48 CE); Tebtynis, P.Bon. 20 (Tebtynis, 69/70 CE).

delivered back to Euhemeria so that the *archepodos* could receive his instructions. This is perhaps the strongest evidence for the involvement of the *archepodos* in the processing of this petition. However, even in this case, there is no certainty that the document ever found its way back to the *archepodos* in Euhemeria.

If each of the petitions from Euhemeria contained all three of these signs of the *archepodos*' involvement in the processing of the petition (request, subscription, and address), then the hypothesis that the group was an archive maintained by the *archepodos* would be plausible. The following table, though, shows that relatively few of the petitions contain all three of these signs.

Table 2.3: Attestations of the archepodos in the petitions from Euhemeria

Text	Date	Request (lines)	Subscription (lines)	Address
P.Ryl. II 127	September 29 CE	19-23		
P.Lond. III 895	28-30 CE	-	-	- ¹¹⁴
SB XX 15182	29-31 CE	18-19	21	-
P.Ryl. II 132	10 July 32 CE	16-18	19	Verso
P.Ryl. II 135	17 April 34 CE	13-17		
P.Ryl. II 136	4 May 34 CE	13-15	17	Verso
P.Ryl. II 139	23 July 34 CE	17-24		
P.Ryl. II 142	August 37 CE	22-5		
P.Ryl. II 145	29 Dec. 38 CE	18-20 ¹¹⁵	21	Verso
P.Ryl. II 148	14 May 40 CE	24-8		
P.Ryl. II 151	17 October 40 CE	17-18	19	Verso

¹¹⁴ This papyrus, which is badly mutilated and of which only the upper portion survives, might have contained an address to the *archepodos* on the verso: however, only the word Εὐημερεία(ς) is legible.

¹¹⁵ ἀξιῶ γράφ(ειν) | τῆ τῆς Ταυρίνου ἀρχ(εφόδω) οὗ καὶ κα(ταγίνονται) | ἐκπέμψ(αι) τοὺς ἐγκαλ(ουμένους). The address on the verso is likewise directed 'to the *archepodos* of Taurinou'. Taurinou kome [TM Geo 2276] was a hamlet near Euhemeria; it is likely, but not certain, that the two settlements shared officials. Cf. France (1999), 137 and 172.

Text	Date	Request (lines)	Subscription (lines)	Address
P.Ryl. II 150	19 October 40 CE	13-15	16	Verso
SB XX 15032	39-41 CE	11-15	-	Verso
P.Ryl. II 152	4 April 42 CE	16-17	19	Verso

As the table shows, the *archepodos* is mentioned in, at most, fourteen of the petitions from Euhemeria. Nevertheless, the evidence of these fourteen texts has been taken as proof that the *archepodos* of the village was the ultimate recipient of, and archive keeper for, all thirty-three of the petitions from Euhemeria.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, even in the minority of the petitions that do attest the *archepodos*, we simply cannot know whether they ever found their way back to Euhemeria. This seriously problematises the case for viewing this group as an archive collected and stored by the *archepodos*.

Another objection to the idea that all of the petitions passed through the same trajectory – from petitioner in Euhemeria, to authority in the nome capital, and then back to the *archepodos* in Euhemeria – is the evidence that not all of the petitions were processed in the same way. As the table above shows, endorsed petitions generally also carry addresses on the versos, and vice versa. However, two petitions in the group buck this trend. SB XX 15032 has an address to the *archepodos* on the verso, but no subscription. This means that, although the petition was received by its addressee – the *epistatēs* Gaius Iulius Pholos – and was meant to be forwarded on to Euhemeria by his office, Pholos forgot to add a subscription containing his instructions for the *archepodos*. Conversely, SB XX 15182 was subscribed by the *epistatēs* Sarapion, but has no address on the verso. The papyrus is more or less intact, so there is no possibility that the address is simply lost in a lacuna. This seems to indicate that, although the petition was read and endorsed by Sarapion, it never left his office to go back to Euhemeria. The seeming differences in the

¹¹⁶ Bryen (2013), 303 n. 57 is alone among the scholars in observing that, because P.Ryl. II 145 lacks an endorsement and re-address to the *archepodos*, the case for considering it as part of an ‘*archepodos* archive’ is weak. However, even he does not explicitly make the same case for the other documents in the group.

processing of these two petitions are further evidence that the petitions group as a whole is not as unified as has been supposed.

In sum, this examination of the petitions from Euhemeria has made the case to abandon the use of the phrase ‘*archephodos* archive’ to describe these documents, because they are neither an archive in the strict sense of the word, nor – in all likelihood – the possession of the *archephodos* of Euhemeria. Since these texts are, nevertheless, clearly related by virtue of all belonging to the same genre, it is more fitting to think of them in terms of a dossier. In fact, once we abandon the rigid model of the archive, some of the more puzzling aspects of the group’s composition (such as the evidence that some of the texts passed further through the judicial process than others), as well as the fact that the group is scattered between two different collections, become less problematic.

Reconfiguring the corpus

Having dismantled the idea of the ‘*archephodos* archive’, the next section of the chapter will propose ways in which we might reintegrate the petitions from Euhemeria with other items from our corpus.

Verso numbers

Carrying out the research for this project in Manchester allowed me to spend time examining the sheets of the papyri themselves. In doing so, I noticed that eighteen of the petitions from Euhemeria have small modern (i.e. Arabic) numbers written on their versos, a fact which has not been noted in previous scholarship on the texts.

Table 2.4: Verso numbers on petitions

Text	Verso number	Genre	Date
P.Ryl. II 125	12	Petition	28/29 CE
P.Ryl. II 126	7	Petition	28/29 CE

Text	Verso number	Genre	Date
P.Ryl. II 127	13	Petition	September 29 CE
P.Ryl. II 129	1	Petition	After 12 March 30 CE
P.Ryl. II 130	9	Petition	After 2 October 31 CE
P.Ryl. II 131	20	Petition	After 12 March 31 CE
P.Ryl. II 132	3	Petition	10 July 32 CE
P.Ryl. II 138	14	Petition	16 July 34 CE
P.Ryl. II 139	7 (redup.)	Petition	23 July 34 CE
P.Ryl. II 141	6	Petition	April-May 37 CE
P.Ryl. II 143	18	Petition	After 25 April 38 CE
P.Ryl. II 144	17	Petition	May-June 38 CE
P.Ryl. II 145	17 (redup.)	Petition	29 December 38 CE
P.Ryl. II 146	15	Petition	April 39 CE
P.Ryl. II 147	11	Petition	May-June 39 CE
P.Ryl. II 148	4	Petition	14 May 40 CE
P.Ryl. II 149	19	Petition	Sep.-Oct. 39 CE
P.Ryl. II 150	2	Petition	19 October 40 CE

The addition of numbers to the versos (and the rectos) of papyri by archaeologists and papyrologists was not uncommon in the past. For example, during the 1898-9 campaign described in chapter 1, Grenfell and Hunt labelled documents from Qasr el-Banat with E (for Euhemeria), items from Kom el-Atl with B (for Bakchias), and those from Batn el-Harit with Θ (for Theadelphia).¹¹⁷ Several of the ‘E numbers’ can be seen on the versos of items in our corpus.¹¹⁸ Similar numbers beginning with T (for Tebtynis) were added to documents unearthed by the pair during a dig at Umm

¹¹⁷ Cf. O’Connell (2007), 815.

¹¹⁸ E.g. P.Fay. 47 (E 227); P.Fay. 219 descr. (E. 144); P.Fay. 230 descr. (E142). I was unable to check the papyrus at Manchester Museum (P.Fay. 46) for its E number, as the papyrus is currently glued to a cardboard backing, which made it impossible to see the verso.

el-Baragat in the winter of 1899-1900, sponsored by Phoebe Hearst for the University of California.¹¹⁹ Whether the numbers were added in the field, in order to maintain a record of which pieces had been found at which site, or used to organise the papyri before their shipment out of Egypt is not yet known.¹²⁰

As discussed already, though, the Rylands petitions were not excavated by Grenfell and Hunt, but were purchased by the pair on the antiquities market. This means that they were either discovered accidentally or dug up illicitly (see chapter 1), so the numbers are unlikely to have been added in the field. There is a possibility that the numbers were added by an archivist at the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* or at the John Rylands Library, but these explanations seem doubtful because the verso numbering does not correspond in any way to the order in which the papyri were eventually catalogued and published.¹²¹ The most likely explanation, then, is that the numbers were added by the dealers who sold the papyri, perhaps to indicate that they were to be sold as a lot, or by Grenfell and Hunt after purchase.

As the table above shows, the numbers form an almost complete sequence from 1 to 20, with the numbers 7 and 17 being reduplicated. After further investigation of the first century papyri in the Rylands collection, the four missing numbers were found on the backs of the following documents.

Table 2.5: Verso numbers on other documents

Text	Verso number	Genre	Date
P.Ryl. II 167 (a)	5	Application to lease a mill	1 September 39 CE
P.Ryl. II 167 (b)	8	Application to lease a mill (copy)	1 September 39 CE
P.Ryl. II 183a	10	Receipt for hay	2 September 16 CE
P.Ryl. II 229	16	Letter	20 February 38 CE

¹¹⁹ On these numbers, and their importance for recontextualising the famous ‘illustrated herbal’ papyrus from Tebtynis, see Hanson (2001).

¹²⁰ Cf. Ryholt (2013), 233-5.

¹²¹ John Hodgson, the keeper of manuscripts at the John Rylands Library, who is preparing a doctoral thesis on the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, has told me in conversation that he does not recognise the handwriting of the verso numbers as belonging to Lord Crawford or to his librarian John Edmond, and that he is not aware of other instances when either of these figures wrote on their papyri.

Although the precise nature of the verso numbers is not yet clear, the continuous sequence of numbers indicates that the eighteen petitions and four new texts were considered to form a coherent group by somebody with access to more information than we possess today. This is further evidence that the petitions should no longer be considered as a neatly-defined archive, but rather as part of a larger and more diverse dossier of texts. In the next section of the chapter, I will focus on the four new texts with verso numbers in order to shed light on the makeup of this new dossier.

P.Ryl. II 167

The first two of these papyri hold copies of the same text, an application to lease a mill in Euhemeria, P.Ryl. II 167 (1 September 39 CE). A palaeographical comparison reveals that P.Ryl. II 167 is written in the same scribal hand as several of the petitions, which confirms the connection between the petitions and the new texts with verso numbers.¹²² The text published in P.Ryl. II and available on the online databases is 167 (a); the copy (b) is almost identical, with some minor variation in the resolution of abbreviations.¹²³ The main difference between the two texts is that the description of the applicant Seras, found in (a), is missing from (b).¹²⁴ This is the only duplicate document in our corpus, although other duplicate leases and lease applications of the first century are attested.¹²⁵ P.Ryl. II 167 is analysed in more detail chapter 3 of the thesis.

P.Ryl. II 183a

The second papyrus bearing a verso number is a receipt for hay, P.Ryl. II 183a. The receipt records the delivery of one thousand bundles (δέσμοι) of hay by a pair of brothers to Ptolemaios, the keeper of some donkeys.

¹²² E.g. P.Ryl. II 125, 126, 127, 128.

¹²³ A collation of the two texts is given at P.Ryl. II, p. 200.

¹²⁴ P.Ryl. II 167a.32-4: Σεραῖς ὡς (ἐτῶν) με οὐλή δακ(τύλω) μικ(ρῶ) χι(ρὸς) ἀρ(ιστεράς). | (ἔτους) δ Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικ(οῦ) | μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ Σεβαστῆ γ.

¹²⁵ See the tables in Nielsen (2000), 189-210. Other examples: P.Mich. XII 633 (Tebtynis, c. 30 CE); P.Amh. II 86 (Hermopolis, 78 CE).

P.Ryl. II 183a, receipt for hay (2 September 16 CE)

Πτολεμαῖος Λεωνίδου προστάτης
ὄνηλασίου ὄνων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)
Ἀφροδισίωι καὶ Πετερμουθίωι ἀμφοτέροις
Ἀσκληπιάδο(υ) χα(ίρειν). ἀπέχω παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπὸ λόγου
5 ἀγορασμοῦ χόρτου γενή(ματος) β (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ χόρτ[ο]υ διμνώου
δέσμας χιλίας, (γίνονται) χόρτ(ου) δέ(σμαι) Α. ἔγραψεν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Μάρων γραμματεὺς) αὐτοῦ διὰ
τὸ βραδύτερ[ο]ν [αὐ]τὸν γράφειν.
10 (ἔτους) γ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, μη(νὸς) Σεβαστοῦ ε.
(hand 2) Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέχω.

6. 1. διμναίου 9. 1. γράφειν

‘Ptolemaios son of Leonidas, overseer of stabling for the donkeys of Apollonios son of Alexandros, to Aphrodisios and Petermouthion, both sons of Asklepiades, greetings. I have received from you, from the purchasing account of hay from the produce of year 2 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, one thousand bundles of two-mina hay. Total: 1,000 bundles of hay. Maron, his scribe, wrote for him, because of his slow writing. Year 3, Tiberius Caesar Augustus, month Sebastos, day 5. (hand 2) I, Ptolemaios, have received them.’

P.Ryl. II 183a is very similar to another text in our corpus, its companion piece P.Ryl. II 183, although it should be noted that P.Ryl. II 183 does not carry a verso number. The two texts are written in the same hand and dated to subsequent months of the same year. The wording of the two documents is almost identical, and both describe the hay with the rare adjective διμναῖος (‘worth two *minai*’). Although P.Ryl. II 183 was issued by a certain Anchorimphis, he was a keeper of animals employed by Apollonios son of Alexandros, already attested as the employer of Ptolemaios in P.Ryl. II 183a.

P.Ryl. II 183, receipt for hay (6 August 16 CE)

Ἀνχορίμφις Ἡρακλείδου προστάτης ἰδίων ὄνων
Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισπουδαστοῦ Ἀφροδισίῳ
καὶ Πετερμουθίῳ τῶν δυοῖν Ἀσκληπιάδου χαίρειν. ἀπέχω
παρ' ὑμῶν τὰς ἐπεσταλμένας μοι δοθῆναι

- 5 διὰ χρηματισμοῦ Εὐημέρου καὶ Φιλοξένου γενή(ματος)
πρώτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
χόρτου διμνώου δέσμας χιλίας ἐν Εὐημερί[α]
ἐν μηνὶ Μεσορῆ τοῦ β (ἔτους), (γίνονται) χό(ρτου) δέ(σμαι) Α.
(ἔτους) β Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορῆ ιγ.
- 10 ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Μάρων γραμματεὺς κτηνοτρόφω(ν) Εὐη(μερίας)
διὰ τὸ μὴ ἰδέναί αὐτὸν γράμματα.

7. 1. διμναίου 11. 1. εἰδέναί

‘Anchorimphis son of Herakleides, overseer of the private donkeys of Apollonios son of Alexandros, the *epispoudastēs*, to Aphrodisios and Petermouthion, the two sons of Asklepiades, greetings. I have received from you the thousand bundles of two-mina hay from the produce of the first year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, that you were required to give to me on the orders of Euhemeros and Philoxenos, in Euhemeria in the month of Mesore, equals 1,000 bundles of hay. Year 2 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mesore 13. Maron, secretary of the animal-rearers of Euhemeria wrote for him because he does not know his letters.’

I associate a third text, P.Lond. III 892, with the two receipts already described. Like the Rylands receipts, it was issued during the harvest season of 16 CE and records receipt of one thousand bundles of hay. P.Lond. III 892 exhibits very similar form and structure to the Rylands papyri, although the sheet itself is somewhat longer and narrower.¹²⁶ On the basis of these similarities, I propose that P.Lond. III 892 belongs to the same dossier of hay receipts, and consider it to be an additional piece of evidence from Euhemeria: it has previously been listed under an unknown

¹²⁶ Dimensions of P.Ryl. II 183: 11.5 x 10 cm. P.Ryl. II 183a: 12.5 x 11.3 cm. P.Lond. III 892: 21.6 x 7.6 cm.

provenance.¹²⁷ I have made some textual amendments based on an examination of the receipt that bring the text even more closely in line with the Rylands examples. The first of these is the reading of the name Aphrodisios as one of the recipients of the receipt in line 2, mirroring the presence of the same name in the Rylands receipts. The second is the reading of the names Philoxenos and Euhemerios, people attested in P.Ryl. II 183, in lines 4 and 5.

P.Lond. III 892, receipt for hay (August-September 16 CE)

[-ca.?-]ωφικς Φαυ[-ca.?-]
 [Αφροδισί]ωι καὶ τῶι ἀ[δελφῶι(?)]
 χ(αίρειν). ἀ[πέχ]ωι παρ' ὑμῶν ἄς
 ὠφίλεται Φιλῶξέν[ωι και Εὐ-]
 5 ημέρωι ἀπὸ λόγου ἀπ[ὸ τοῦ]
 γενήματος β (ἔτους) Τιβερίου [Καίσαρος]
 Σεβαστοῦ χόρτου δέσ-
 μας χιλίας (γίνονται) χόρ(του) [. . ἔγρα-]
 ψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Γε[-ca.?-]
 10 Ἀκήου[ς] διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδ[έναι]
 αὐτὸν γράμ<μ>ατα.
 (ἔτους) γ Τιβερίου Καίσα[α]ρ[ος]
 μηνὸς Σεβαστ[οῦ -ca.?-]
 2. [- ca.?-]ωι ed. pr. 3. 1. ἀπέχω 4. 1. ὀφείλεται; φιλωῖ Ξατ[-ca.?-] ed. pr.
 13. 1. μηνὸς

‘(Name lost) son of Faustus (?) ... to Aphrodisios (?) and his brother, greetings. I have received from you one thousand bundles of hay, from the account of the harvest of the 2nd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, equals [1,000 bundles] of hay, which are owed to Philoxenos and Euhemerios. Geson of Hakes wrote for him because he does not know his letters. Year 3 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, day XX of the month Sebastos.’

¹²⁷ Cf. P.Lond. III, p. 168: ‘No locality is specified.’ I note also that this papyrus’ serial number in the London catalogue (892) sits alongside numerous other items from Euhemeria: 891 descr. (petition, republished as SB XX 15182), 893 descr. (one of the letters from Ammonios to Aphrodisios, discussed below), 894 descr. (petition, republished as SB XX 15032), and 895 (petition).

The apparent relationship between P.Lond. III 892 and the Rylands receipts is further evidence in favour of an emerging connection between the London and Manchester collections, already noted with regard to their shared ownership of the petitions from Euhemeria. I am convinced that Grenfell and Hunt knew more about many of the texts in both P.Lond. III and P.Ryl. II than is recorded in the editions. For example, a correction to P.Lond. III 892 – altering δραχ|μὰς in lines 7-8 to δέσ|μὰς, and thus bringing the text in line with P.Ryl. II 183 and 183a – was submitted by Grenfell and Hunt in a letter to Preisigke.¹²⁸ This suggests that Grenfell or Hunt had recognised that the London receipt was related to the Manchester examples, even though neither of them acknowledged the connection in writing.

We can consider these three receipts for hay as a small dossier in their own right. The evidence of the verso number on P.Ryl. II 183a also connects this subset of texts to the larger dossier containing the petitions and leases mentioned already. The receipts are analysed in more detail in chapter 3 of the thesis, and their connection to the animal-rearers of Euhemeria is discussed in chapter 5.

Table 2.6: Receipts for hay

Text	Genre	Date
P.Ryl. II 183	Receipt for hay	6 August 16 CE
P.Ryl. II 183a	Receipt for hay	2 September 16 CE
P.Lond. III 892	Receipt for hay	August-September 16 CE

P.Ryl. II 229

The last of the four new texts bearing verso numbers is a letter sent by a landowner to his manager Aphrodisios. This letter is one of four sent by Ammonios to Aphrodisios: three of the letters are in the Rylands collection, while the fourth is in the British Library, another example of the shared ownership by these two institutions of interconnected material within our corpus.

¹²⁸ Cf. BL I, p. 286 ‘G & H briefl(ich)’.

Text	Genre	Date
P.Ryl. II 229	Letter	20 February 38 CE
P.Lond. III 893 descr.	Letter	22 July 40 CE
P.Ryl. II 231	Letter	18 October 40 CE
P.Ryl. II 230	Letter	2 November 40 CE

The London papyrus was partially described in P.Lond. III, and eventually given a full edition alongside its companions in P.Ryl. II.¹²⁹ Previous scholars have considered the four letters to form a discrete archive of their own.¹³⁰ On the basis of the verso number on P.Ryl. II 229, I now argue that this ‘archive’ – like the petitions from Euhemeria – is actually part of a larger and more diverse dossier of texts. The strong connection of the other texts in the dossier to Euhemeria means that we can now locate the source of these four letters, which have previously lacked a provenance, in the same village.¹³¹

In summary, I argue that the petitions from Euhemeria are not an archive, but part of a larger dossier of texts that also incorporates other genres of text. I have constructed this dossier on the understanding that the verso numbers added to several of its texts denote a connection between those documents, and have added further texts to the dossier due to their textual and prosopographical connections to the documents with verso numbers.

Prosopography

In the following section, I propose some more subsets of texts within the corpus, established on the basis of prosopographical identifications. These are useful tools when it comes to analysing the documents, as we learn more about the people of the village when we see them taking different roles and engaging in different activities across multiple texts. There are, however, considerable problems encountered when

¹²⁹ P.Ryl. II (p. 381).

¹³⁰ Cf. Vanderpe, Clarysse & Verreth (2015), 58 [TM Arch 517]. This view was followed by both Olsson (1925), 79-85 and White (1986) in their commentary on the letters.

¹³¹ Cf. Verreth (2012), 1: ‘... further indications as to where Ammonios and Aphrodisios were living, are lacking.’

attempting to make secure identifications of individuals in the papyri.¹³² The most immediately striking of these problems is the relatively small pool of given names in circulation in the villages of Roman Egypt, an issue further compounded by the tendency among scribes to spell the same name in different ways.¹³³ A hidden problem is the fact that the people of Greek and Roman Egypt could, and often did, go by more than one name, depending on the circumstance in which they found themselves.¹³⁴ The use of nicknames and shortened names (e.g. Asklas for Asklepiades) is well known, but the case of double names also alerts us to the fact that the same person could use an Egyptian name in one social context and a Greek name in another, or even two different Greek names.¹³⁵ With these issues in mind, I have only ventured to identify individuals in cases where the same name appears alongside other corroborating data (such as a specific office or profession) in more than one text. I have also looked for common themes that unite the texts in the proposed dossiers.

Dossier of the family of Asklepiades

The name Asklepiades appears in three documents in our corpus. All three have verso numbers, as discussed above. The documents therefore form a dossier concerning Asklepiades' family, and from information in the texts we can establish that the family consisted of the father Asklepiades, and his three sons Aphrodisios, Petermouthion, and Kastor.

¹³² This subject was the topic of a conference in Padua in the summer of 2015 at which I presented a paper on prosopographical identifications within Euhemeria. A version of the paper was published in a special edition of *Aegyptus* devoted to the proceedings of the conference: Mundy (2015).

¹³³ See the comments on the perils of prosopography made by Husselman in the introduction to P.Mich. V (pp. 14-22), with reference to documents from Tebtynis.

¹³⁴ Hobson (1989), 159: 'Context and purpose then play an important role in determining what manifestation of a person's name is used in a document.'

¹³⁵ The context-dependent adoption of Greek names by Egyptians who joined the Ptolemaic army was studied by Clarysse (1985). On the use of Greek-Greek double names in the Roman period, see Broux (2015), who consider this to have been a phenomenon limited to the elites of Roman Egypt.

Table 2.7: Dossier of the family of Asklepiades

Text	Genre	Date	Reason for inclusion
P.Ryl. II 167 (a & b)	Offer to lease a mill	1 September 39 CE	Submitted to Kastor son of Asklepiades
P.Ryl. II 183	Receipt for hay	6 August 16 CE	Issued to Aphrodisios and Petermouthion, sons of Asklepiades
P.Ryl. II 183a	Receipt for hay	2 September 16 CE	Issued to Aphrodisios and Petermouthion, sons of Asklepiades

As the texts show, the family was engaged in various different activities in the village, including the leasing out of property and the supply of agricultural produce on a reasonably large scale. This family business is discussed in more detail in chapter 3. We also know that Aphrodisios son of Asklepiades became involved with an association of weavers in the village, as he is attested in the capacity of the secretary of the weavers in P.Ryl. II 94 (15-36 CE): this text is analysed in chapter 5.

Dossier of Herakleides the village scribe

The name Herakleides appears in four texts in our corpus. However, in two of those instances we are told that the Herakleides in question was the ‘village scribe’ (κωμογραμματεύς) of Euhemeria. Since both texts were produced within a year of one another, we can be certain that these two documents relate to the same person.

Table 2.8: Dossier of Herakleides

Text	Genre	Date	Reason for inclusion
P.Fay. 46	Receipt for bath-tax	29 May 36 CE	Discovered alongside P.Fay. 29

Text	Genre	Date	Reason for inclusion
P.Fay. 25	Certificate for work on the embankments	17 August 36 CE	Issued by Herakleides the village scribe
P.Fay. 29	Notification of death	7 August 37 CE	Submitted to Herakleides the village scribe

In their archaeological reports Grenfell and Hunt noted that, mixed in among the houses of Euhemeria, there were some rows of between five and ten small chambers (between 1 and 2.5 m² in area) sunk into the ground beneath the level of the street.¹³⁶ These little spaces were accessed from above – probably by wooden trapdoors – and several of them contained papyri and other archaeological objects.¹³⁷ These were probably used as granaries or storage bins by the people of the village.¹³⁸ One of these chambers contained P.Fay. 29, along with P.Fay. 46, a bath-tax receipt produced in the same year.¹³⁹ Therefore, although P.Fay. 46 does not mention Herakleides, it can reasonably be considered to be part of the same dossier. Grenfell and Hunt reported that the same storage bin also contained another ‘twenty-five documents of the time of Tiberius and Claudius’.¹⁴⁰ This is a tantalising clue, and it is tempting to believe that much of the other material in our corpus might also have been recovered from this same storage bin, but the editors gave no further details about what the twenty-five texts were, and so the full extent of this dossier of texts remains uncertain. The dossier of Herakleides is dealt with in more detail in chapter 4.

¹³⁶ Cf. Grenfell & Hunt (1899), 9.

¹³⁷ Römer and her collaborators (2004) saw similar structures at Wadfa (Philoteris), and were reminded of the storage bins at Qasr el-Banat (p. 290 n. 49).

¹³⁸ Cf. Davoli (1998), 296: ‘... probabilmente facevano parte di un magazzino o di un granaio.’

¹³⁹ P.Fay. 36, receipt for bath-tax (29 May 36 CE).

¹⁴⁰ Grenfell & Hunt (1899), 9. A similar comment appears at P.Fay., p. 44, although there it is modified to refer to ‘Julio-Claudian’ texts more broadly.

Dossier of Maron the scribe

Like Herakleides, Maron was a very common name for villagers in Roman Egypt, and is attested in seven of the texts in our corpus. However, in four of these cases, the name Maron is accompanied by the professional designation ‘scribe’ (γραμματεύς). The presence of this professional title, as well as the fact that all of the texts were produced in the first two decades of the century, means that we can be confident that all of the documents refer to the same Maron.

Table 2.9: Dossier of Maron

Text	Genre	Date	Reason for inclusion
O.Fay. 14	Delivery instruction	9 June 1 CE	Sent to Maron the scribe of the animal-rearers
O.Fay. 15	Delivery instruction	c. 1 CE	Sent to Maron the scribe of the animal-rearers
P.Ryl. II 183	Receipt for hay	6 August 16 CE	Written by Maron the scribe of the animal-rearers
P.Ryl. II 183a	Receipt for hay	2 September 16 CE	Written by Maron the scribe

The delivery instructions O.Fay. 14 and 15 can be connected on the basis of textual comparison to the final three documents in the corpus that this thesis considers.¹⁴¹ Like many of the texts discussed already in this chapter, these ostraca have until now been catalogued with unknown or insecure provenances, but I propose that they can be firmly situated within Euhemeria: these ostraca are discussed further in chapter 5.

¹⁴¹ O.Lund. 1, delivery instruction (11 August 19 CE); O.Deiss. 81 delivery instruction (20 August 23 CE); SB VI 9150, delivery instruction (27/28 CE).

Conclusions

The first two chapters, which constitute the first part of the thesis, I have established the textual evidence for Euhemeria in the early Roman period. I have explained the methodology used to identify the sources, and have discussed the importance of attempting to trace their provenance in order to understand better how the texts relate to one another. I have argued that the ‘archive’ of petitions within the corpus is actually not an archive, but a set of texts of a similar genre that has been associated by modern scholars, more properly described as a dossier. I have further argued that this dossier also includes texts of other genres, including letters and receipts. Textual and prosopographical analysis of the corpus has identified further dossiers of texts, which will be used as springboards for the discussions in the analytical chapters of the thesis, which follow in the second part.

Part 2: Analysis

CHAPTER 3: The lay of the land

Agriculture was the fundamental activity of ancient Egypt, and remained the largest and most important sector of the country's economy until the twentieth century.¹⁴² The majority of villagers in places like Euhemeria devoted the greater part of their time and effort to exploiting the land directly or making use of its produce in a variety of supporting industries.¹⁴³ All land in Egypt was not the same, though, nor was each plot of land owned or worked in the same way by the same kind of people for the same reasons. This chapter of the thesis therefore focuses on the types of land in evidence in Euhemeria during the first century of Roman rule, and the social and economic statuses of the people involved in their cultivation.

There are several sources within our corpus for investigating these topics, first among which is the dossier of the family of Asklepiades, outlined in chapter 2. These documents show a family engaging in numerous distinct but related agricultural activities, including leasing out a mill, and supplying what seems to be a large standing order of hay to various people involved in the care of donkeys. A further document shows that Aphrodisios, one of the sons of the family, was involved in a professional association of weavers. The variety of these activities suggest that the family perceived and exploited certain opportunities – such as the expansion of private land and leasing under the new Roman administration – in order to improve their financial and social position.

Other documents from Euhemeria confirm that private land became an important category in the village during the early decades of the first century CE, and the second part of the chapter discusses this evidence, with particular attention paid to the private estates (οὐσῖαι) and associated farmsteads (ἐποικία) that sprung up during this period. These are particularly well-attested in Euhemeria, due to the high

¹⁴² The agricultural history of Egypt was the subject of a special volume of the *Proceedings of the British Academy* in 1999 (PBA XCVI). The introductory essay (Bowman & Rogan 1999) charts the development of agricultural practices, and the place of agriculture within the country's economy, from the Pharaonic period to the twentieth century.

¹⁴³ For general overviews of farming techniques and activities in Roman Egypt, see: Lewis (1983), ch 6 (pp. 107-133); Bowman (1986), 98-106.

concentration of petitions – a genre in which petitioners tend to specify plots of land that served to employ and house local people – in our corpus.

The last set of documents discussed in this chapter relate to the way in which the new estates – both large ones acquired wholesale by wealthy absentee landowners, and smaller ones gathered together by more ordinary local people – were managed and run on a day-to-day basis. The documents include a large set of agricultural accounts which I argue stem from a large estate – an unusual document for the first century – and the small dossier of letters from the landowner Ammonios to his manager Aphrodisios.

The family of Asklepiades

I begin with an examination of the dossier of texts connected to the family of Asklepiades, as outlined in chapter 2. These texts, which have not previously been recognised as related, show a family engaging in various different agricultural activities in the early part of the first century.

Text	Genre	Date	Reason for inclusion
P.Ryl. II 183	Receipt for hay	6 August 16 CE	Issued to Aphrodisios and Petermouthion, sons of Asklepiades
P.Ryl. II 183a	Receipt for hay	2 September 16 CE	Issued to Aphrodisios and Petermouthion, sons of Asklepiades
P.Lond. III 892	Receipt for hay	August-September 16 CE	Textual similarities to P.Ryl. II 183 and 183a
P.Ryl. II 167 (a & b)	Offer to lease a mill	1 September 39 CE	Submitted to Kastor son of Asklepiades

As discussed in chapter 2, the receipts for hay in the Rylands collection are accompanied by a companion piece in the British Library, in which I have restored the names of Aphrodisios ‘and his brother’ as the recipients.¹⁴⁴ The Rylands receipts show that Aphrodisios and his brother Petermouthion regularly supplied quantities of ‘one thousand bundles of two-mina hay’ to men who looked after donkeys in Euhemeria.¹⁴⁵ The name and occupation of the issuer of the London receipt are lost, so we cannot know for what purpose he needed his hay, although it is likely that he too planned to use it as fodder for animals under his care.¹⁴⁶ One thousand bundles or sheaves is a sizeable quantity, especially given that the same amount was supplied three times in the course of two months. It is possible that the brothers produced all of the hay themselves on land owned by the family; more likely, they acted as traders, buying up agricultural produce from local farmers and selling it on to customers. There is further evidence of buying and selling of agricultural produce in the ostraca from Euhemeria, for example in the following receipt issued following payment for a quantity of wine.

O.Fay. 7, receipt of payment for wine (12 October 4 CE)

Αφροδίσιος Μυσθαῖτι Ὀρσενούφ(ιος)
χα(ίρειν). ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ τῆ<v> τιμὴν τῶν
δύο κελ(αμίων) τοῦ οἴν(ου) γενη(μάτων) δευτέρ-
ου καὶ τριακοστοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος
5 ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὴν) μίαν, (γίνεται) (δραχμὴ) α. (ἔτους) λδ
Καίσαρος, Φαῶφι ιε.
πλήλης.

3. 1. κερ(αμίων) 5. 1. ἀργυ(ρίου) 7. 1. πλήρης

‘Aphrodisios to Mysthas son of Orsenouphis, greetings. I have received from you, as the price of two jars of wine of the vintage of the thirty-second year

¹⁴⁴ P.Lond. III 892.2: [Αφροδισί]οι καὶ τῶι ἀ[δελφῶι].

¹⁴⁵ Cf. P.Ryl. II 183.7: χόρτου διμνωου (1. διμναίου) δέσμας χιλίας; P.Ryl. II 183a.6-7. The word διμνωου was untranslated by the first editors, but is a contracted form of διμναῖος (‘worth two minas’). The same adjective is used to describe hay in other texts: P.Mich. I (Zen.) 131 fr. 2.12, accounts (Philadelphia, 256/255 BCE); P.Tebt. III.ii 843-17-20, receipts (Tebtynis, January-February 152 BCE); O.Fay. 20.3, receipt for hay (Theadelphia, early first century CE).

¹⁴⁶ On the recipients of these receipts, see chapter 5.

of Caesar, one silver drachma, equals 1 drachma. Year 34 of Caesar, Phaophi 15. Paid in full.'

Although the trader here is also called Aphrodisios, in the absence of further prosopographical data it is not possible to identify him with Aphrodisios son of Asklepiades.

As well as supplying agricultural produce, the family of Asklepiades had another stream of income: Asklepiades was the owner of a mill in Euhemeria that he leased out to tenants, as shown by the following lease application.

P.Ryl. II 167, offer to lease a mill (1 September 39 CE)

Κάσ[τ]ορι Ἀσκληπιάδου
παρὰ Σεραῖτος τοῦ Σεραπίωνος.
βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι σὺν τῇ
γυναικί μου Ταπεθεῦτι Φιλοξέ(νου)
5 εἰς ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο(ς) τετάρτο(υ) (ἔτους) Γαίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
τὸ ὑπάρχον Ἀσκληπιάδη
Πτολεμαίου ἐν Εὐημερείᾳ
10 μυλαῖον ἐνεργὸν ἐν ᾧ μύλοι
Θηβαικοὶ τρεῖς σὺν κώπαις
καὶ τραπέζαις καὶ ὄλμοι δύο
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρηστήρια καὶ τὰ
ὄντα ὑπερὰ φόρου τοῦ παντὸ(ς)
15 κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκα-
τὸν ἐξήκοντα καὶ θαλλῶν
κατ' ἔτος ἄρτων ἡμιαρταβίου
καὶ ἀλέκτορος, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ
τοῦ μυλαίου δημοσίων
20 τοῦ πελωγικοῦ ὄντων πρὸ(ς)
σὲ τὸν Κά\σ/τορα τοῦ δὲ ὑποκιμ(ένου)
καὶ τετάρτης ἀρτοπωλῶν

ὄντων πρὸς ἐμέ. τὸν δὲ
 κατ' ἔτος φόρον ἀποδώσω ἀεὶ
 25 διὰ τετραμήνου τὸ αἰροῦν
 ἔμμηνα, καὶ μετὰ τὸν
 χρόνον παραδώσω
 τὸ μυλαῖον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ
 ἐκ τῆς τρεῖψεως, ἐὰν φαί-
 30 νηται ἐπὶ τούτοις μισθ(ῶσαι).
 εὐτύχ(ει).
 Σεραῖς ὡς (ἐτῶν) με οὐλή δακ(τύλω) μικ(ρῶ) χει(ρὸς) ἀρ(ιστεράς).
 (ἔτους) δ Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικ(οῦ)
 μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ Σεβαστῆ γ.

21. 1. ὑποκειμ(ένου) 27. 1. παραδώσω 29. 1. τρίψεως 32. 1. χει(ρὸς)

‘To Kastor son of Asklepiades, from Seras son of Sarapion. Along with my wife Tapeteus, daughter of Philoxenos, I wish to lease, for two years from the month Sebastos of the current fourth year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the working mill belonging to Asklepiades son of Ptolemaios in Euhemeria – in which there are three Theban millstones with their spokes and nether stones, two mortars, as well as other equipment including pestles – for a total annual rent of one hundred and sixty silver drachmas, plus half an artaba of loaves and a cockerel each year as gifts. The public charges on the mill and the millers’ tax will be payable by you, Kastor, while the reserve and the quarter tax on bakers will be payable by me. I will always pay the annual rent in quarterly instalments, in the proper amount, and after the lease expires I will return the mill and all the things in it, as left by wear and tear, if it seems good to you to lease it on these terms. Farewell. Seras, about 45 years old, with a scar on the little finger of his left hand. Year 4 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, on the 3rd *dies Augusta* of the month Sebastos.’

This document takes the form of an offer or application to lease (ὑπόμνημα), as denoted by the application Seras’ use of the standard phrase ‘I wish to lease...’ (βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι). This type of document was an innovation of the early

Roman period, and gradually came to replace the witnessed agreement document (συγγραφή) that was more common under the Ptolemies.¹⁴⁷ It is unusual to find a husband and wife submitting a lease application jointly, as Seas and Tapeteus do here. Women are frequently attested in papyri as landowners in their own right, and there are numerous examples of sales and cessions of land enacted by women, but I have not located parallel examples of leases taken out jointly by a man and a woman.¹⁴⁸ Similarly odd is the fact that, although the mill in question is described as belonging to the head of the family Asklepiades, the application is directed to one of his sons, Kastor. If the father was still alive, as the description of the mill suggests, we would expect the applicant to write to him directly. Therefore it seems likely that Kastor acted as an agent for his father; perhaps Asklepiades was getting older and allowing his sons to manage aspects of his affairs for him.

Seras' application stipulates that he would pay one hundred and sixty drachmas *per annum* for the rental of the mill, which would be paid in quarterly payments of forty drachmas each. The rent was to be supplemented by the provision of a 'gift' (θαλλός) for the lessor, consisting of half an artaba of loaves of bread and a cockerel. The payment of the *thallos* was a common feature of lease transactions, and may have had its origins in a traditional Egyptian religious dimension to such agreements.¹⁴⁹ Recorded *thalloi* in leases are often foodstuffs: quantities of bread are most common, but animals such as fowl and piglets are occasionally found too.¹⁵⁰

The mill apparently also encompassed a bakery where milled flour could be turned into bread; the combination of the two enterprises in a single premises was quite common in Egypt.¹⁵¹ The costs associated with the bakery were to be paid by the lessee Seras, but the bulk of the costs of the mill – including the state taxes and millers' tax – were to be paid by the lessor Kastor, a deal which seems to be favourable to the tenant rather than the owner.

¹⁴⁷ On the format and development of lease documents in the Roman period, see Keenan, Manning & Yiftach-Firanko (edd. 2014), 343-5.

¹⁴⁸ On women as property owners, see Hobson (1983). For examples of sales and cessions of land with women as parties, see Rowlandson (1996), 263f. (specifically on the Oxyrhynchite situation); and Rowlandson (1998), ch. 5 items 162-8 (pp. 221-31). For an overview of the few known female tenants in the papyri from Tebtynis, see Rowlandson (1999), 154f.

¹⁴⁹ Eitrem (1937), 41-5 contains an overview of the nature and origin of the *thallos* payment. Cf. Perpillou-Thomas (1995).

¹⁵⁰ Standard *thallos* = 1 artaba of loaves: P.Athens 14, lease of land (Philadelphia, 30 October 22 CE); SB XIV 11279 [= P.Mil. Congr. XIV, p. 64], lease of land (Theadelphia, 16 September 44 CE).

¹⁵¹ Cf. C.Pap.Hengstl item 148.

P.Ryl. II 167 exists in two copies, called (a) and (b) by the first editors. The reasons for this duplication relate to the process of leasing: the numerous duplicates in the archive of the *grapheion* (writing and record office staffed by professional scribes) of Tebtynis indicate that it was normal practice to draw up two copies of contracts – under which heading lease applications fall – with one copy meant for the lessor, the other for the lessee.¹⁵² Similarly, we know that the tenant-farmer Soterichos, who was active in Theadelphia towards the end of the first century, kept copies of his lease agreements in his archive.¹⁵³

The lease of Asklepiades' mill is very similar to another lease application in our corpus, but this time the object of the lease is a plot of land in Euhemeria. This piece is illustrative of the important role that agricultural tenancy played in the economy of Egypt.

P.Ryl. II 166, application to lease land (1 December 26 CE)

Γαίωι Ἰουλίωι Ἀμαράντωι
 [π]αρά Ὀρσενούφιου πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου τῶν
 ἀπὸ Εὐημερίας τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος. βούλομαι
 μισθώσασθαι εἰς ἔτη ἕξ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 5 τ[ρ]ισκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 [ἀ]πὸ τ[ῶ]ν ὑπαρχόντων Γαίωι Ἰουλίωι Ἀλεξάνδρου
 . . σβ. . . .ς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην ἐδαφῶν
 [κλ]ῆρον ἀρούρας τρεῖς ἐπεὶ τοῦ πέμπτου γούου ὧν
 γείτονες νότου Εὐάνδρου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐδά-
 10 φη βορ<ρ>ᾶ δημοσίας λιβὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐάνδρου
 ἐδάφη ἀπηλιώτου γύης δημοσίς ἀνὰ μέσον
 οὔσης δ[ι]ώρυγος, ἐφ' ᾧ τελέσω ἐκφόριον καθ' ἔτος
 ἐκάστη[ς] ἀρο[ύρης] σὺν ἧ λήμνομαι σπερμάτω(ν)
 πυροῦ δρ[ό]μου ἀρτάβην μίαν πυροῦ ἀρτάβας

¹⁵² Cf. P.Mich. V, p. 5. On *grapheia* more generally, see Cockle (1984), 112. Rowlandson (1999), 141 table 7.1 shows that leases represented between 20 and 33% of the contracts drawn up and registered at the *grapheion* of Tebtynis in any particular month, according to figures derived from the *grapheion's* lists of abstracts: P.Mich. II 123 (45/46 CE).

¹⁵³ E.g. P.Soter. 2, lease of a vineyard (Theadelphia, 18 August 71 CE), on which see Keenan, Manning & Yiftach-Firanko (edd. 2014), 379 item 7.3.4.

- 15 ἐξ ἡμίσι[ι]αν μέτρῳ δρόμῳ τῷ πρὸς τριάκον-
τα τρεῖς ἕκτον χαλκῷ ἔπαιτον καὶ προσμετρού-
[με]να ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν ἀρτάβα[ι]ς ἀρτάβας δύο
[κ]αὶ τριῶν παντὸς καθ' ἔτος θαλλὸν ἀρτάβην μίαν καὶ
ἀλέκτορα ἓνα. τὰ δὲ γεωργ[ι]κὰ ἔργα πάντα ἄ[ξ]ω
20 καὶ ἐπιτελέσω καθ' ἔτ[ος,] τὰ δὲ καθ' ἔτος ἐκφόρια
ἀποδώσω ἀεὶ τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ ἐν τῇ κώ-
μη νέα καθαλὰ τῆς μετρήσεως γεινομέ-
νης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐκ δικαίου, καὶ πάντα ποιήσω
καὶ τελέσω ἀκλούθως τοῖς ἕως τοῦ δω-
25 δεκάτου ἔτους [Τ]ι[β]ερί[ο]υ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
τ[ε]τελεσμένοις, καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παρα-
δώσω τὸν κ[λ]ῆρον καθα[ρ]ὸν ἀπὸ χέρσου
ἀγρώστεως δίσης πάσης, ἐὰν φαίνεται
[ἐ]πὶ τούτοις μισθώσασθαι. εὐτύχει.
- 30 (hand 2) Γαίος Ἰούλιος Ἀμαρ[ά]ντου συγχωρῶ ἐπὶ τοῖς
προκειμένοις. (ἔτους) ιγ [Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Χοίακ ε.

6. 1. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ 8. 1. τρεῖς; 1. ἐπὶ 10. 1. δημοσία 11. 1. γύη; 1. δημοσία 12. 1.
κατ' 14. 1. ἀρτάβη; 1. μιᾶ 15. 1. ἡμίσι[ει]αν 16. 1. τρεῖς 18. 1. κατ' 20. 1.
κατ'; 1. κατ' 22. 1. καθαρά 23. 1. ποιήσω 24. 1. ἀκολούθως 28. 1. δείσης
30. 1. συγχωρῶ

‘To Gaius Iulius Amarantos, from Orsenouphis, *presbyteros* of Aphrodisios, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. I wish to rent, for six years from the current thirteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, a plot of three arouras within the fifth parcel, from the fields belonging to Gaius Iulius Alexandros ... near the same village – of which the neighbours are: to the south, the fields of Euandros son of Ptolemaios; to the north, public lands; to the west, more fields of the same Euandros; and to the east, a public parcel which is on the other side of an irrigation ditch. For this, I will pay an annual rent in kind on each aroura of six-and-a-half artabas of wheat according to the bronze *epaiton dromos*-measure, equivalent to thirty-

three and one sixth (*choinikes*), along with the one *dromos*-artaba of wheat seeds which I will receive, as well as two artabas in additional charges per one hundred artabas, and one extra artaba and a cockerel as a gift each year. I will carry out and complete all the farm work each year, and will always hand over the rent – in fresh, clean crops, based on a measurement carried out in all fairness by me – in the month of Pauni in the village, and I will do and pay everything in conformity with the regulations put in place since the twelfth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus. After the lease expires, I will return the plot free from dry land, coarse grass and all manure, if it seems good to you to lease it on these terms. Farewell. (hand 2) I, Gaius Iulius Amarantos, agree to the lease on the preceding conditions. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiach 5.’

The plot in question belonged to a landowner called Gaius Iulius Alexandros, but the application was directed towards a certain Gaius Iulius Amarantos. Judging by his name, Amarantos was probably a freedman of Alexandros, who was retained as a manager by his former master after liberation.¹⁵⁴ Alexandros either died or sold part of his land not long after this lease was drawn up: his fields within the village are mentioned as part of the estate of the empress dowager Livia in one of the petitions from Euhemeria.¹⁵⁵ The plot itself is quite large, consisting of three arouras (0.825 hectares), and it is described as lying ‘within the fifth parcel’. This suggests that there was some formal division of Euhemeria’s land into parcels (*gyai*), presumably for administrative purposes.¹⁵⁶ We find references in other documents from Euhemeria to the first, seventh, and eightieth (or hundredth) parcels in the village, but the precise locations of these parcels are unknown.¹⁵⁷

The description of the location of the plot of land confirms that the general picture of the lay of the land in Roman Egypt – a patchwork of different categories of land, held by the state, absentee landowners, and private individuals – holds true for

¹⁵⁴ See the editor Fuk’s comments at C.Pap.Jud. II 420a. On the role of slaves and freedmen in the management of agricultural land, see Rowlandon (1996), 205.

¹⁵⁵ P.Ryl. II 126.7-8 (28/29 CE). On *ousiai*, and on Alexandros himself, see below.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. W.Chr. 232 [=P.Tebt. I 82], a register of temple land (Magdola, 3 May 115 BCE), wherein the temple land of the village is listed by numbered *gyai*.

¹⁵⁷ 5th = P.Ryl. II 142.14; 7th = P.Ryl. II 143.15; 80th/100th = SB XX 15182.12f. The numeral π (80) was crossed out by the scribe and replaced with ρ (100).

Euhemeria.¹⁵⁸ Here we find the lands of Alexandros bordered by state land to the north and east, and by other private fields, belonging to a certain Euandros, to the south and west. Euandros, like Alexandros, is known as a landowner in the village from other documents.¹⁵⁹ We are told that a ditch (διῶρυξ) ran between Alexandros' fields and the public land. This serves to remind us of the importance of irrigation in Egyptian agriculture: well-maintained canals were vital to ensuring that water, diverted from the Nile to the Fayum depression via the canal now called the Bahr Yussuf, reached the outlying parts of the Arsinoite nome. This detail also reminds us that the fields of various plots were not hedged or fenced off from one another, but separated only by these irrigation ditches.¹⁶⁰ This open landscape led to frequent cases of incursions by sheep into fields of crops, as discussed in chapter 6.

The second half of the document concerns the terms of the lease. The lessee Orsenouphis offers a rent in kind (ἐκφόριον) of six-and-a-half artabas of wheat per aroura (nineteen-and-a-half artabas in total) *per annum*, over the six years of the lease. The wheat was to be measured against an official measure at the village granary, the so-called ἔπατον measure.¹⁶¹ This is a difference from the lease of the mill, where the rent was to be paid in cash, and was called a φόρος. The following table presents a sample of comparable land leases from the first century.

Table 3.1: Sample of land leases from the Arsinoite nome (first century CE)

Text	Provenance	Date	Size of plot	Lease	Rent
P.Mich. V 348	Tebtynis	21 May 26 CE	40 <i>arourai</i> (catoecic)	4 years	35 art. wheat + 5 art. barley <i>per ann.</i>
SB VI 9110 ¹⁶²	Tebtynis	15 September 26 CE	26 <i>arourai</i> (catoecic)	1 year	105 art. wheat + ? art. barley <i>per ann.</i>

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Rowlandson (1996), 97: 'Public and private land throughout the Roman period were physically closely interwoven. A plot of *basilike ge* was as likely to be adjoined by private landholdings as by other parcels of public land. This was no doubt the result of the process of piecemeal confiscation and reassignment which had taken place, for one reason or another, since early in the Ptolemaic period.'

¹⁵⁹ P.Ryl. II 132.10-11 (10 July 32 CE); P.Ryl. II 133.1 (November 33 CE). On Euandros, see below.

¹⁶⁰ On canals and ditches as the boundaries of plots of land, see Bonneau (1993), 13-18 and Blouin (2014), 130-2.

¹⁶¹ The *epaiton* measure is also found in Theadelphia: cf. P.Fay. 81.13, *sitologos* receipt (Theadelphia, 115 CE). On this unit of measurement, see Schuman (1975). For a discussion of the many different measures employed in Egypt, see Mair (2010), 186-9.

¹⁶² Ed. pr. Husselman (1950), item 2 (pp. 73-7).

Text	Provenance	Date	Size of plot	Lease	Rent
SB XVI 12539 ¹⁶³	Tebtynis	22 September 26 CE	4 <i>arourai</i> (catoecic)	4 years	Year 1 = 0; Year 2 = 56 art. wheat (inc. 3 art. seed/ar.); Year 3 = 28 art. any crop; Year 4 = 56 art. wheat (inc. 3 art. seed/ar.)
P.Ryl. II 166	Euhemeria	1 December 26 CE	3 <i>arourai</i>	6 years	6.5 art. (inc. 1 art. seeds); additional charges = 2/100 art.
P.Wisc. II 52	Karanis	4 October 32 CE	? <i>arourai</i>	3 years	40 art. (inc. 1 art. seed/ar.) <i>per ann.</i>

As the table shows, rents could vary greatly from lease to lease, with the lowest rate being a single artaba of produce per aroura farmed, and the highest alternating between seven and fourteen *per annum*. This variation does not seem to be connected to the type of land in question, though, as the highest and lowest rents were both paid on catoecic plots. As well as the flat rate of rent, Orsenouphis promised to pay back the artaba of seed that he expected to receive from the lessor, a standard stipulation in lease agreements. Rather more unusually, Orsenouphis also had to pay back certain ‘additional charges’ (προσμετρούμενα), amounting to two percent of the total yield. This was probably a catch-all term for the various small costs – related to the threshing, transportation, weighing, and storage of the crop – that fell to growers.¹⁶⁴ This papyrus is the earliest to record *prosmetroumena* that I have been able to locate. The *thallos* is here, as in the mill lease, a cockerel,

¹⁶³ Ed. pr. Jenkins (1982).

¹⁶⁴ See Capponi (2005), 162f. with examples.

indicating that the presentation of this particular animal was perhaps a local custom.¹⁶⁵

The final section of the application (lines 19-29) details what Orsenouphis would actually do while he was in possession of the land. He had three main obligations: to perform all of the necessary farm work, to pay the rent on time and in full, and to return the plot in good condition at the end of his tenure: the first of these stipulations is peculiar to leases of the Arsinoite nome, whereas the other two are found in documents from across Egypt.¹⁶⁶ Amarantos apparently accepted Orsenouphis' offer, as we can see from the subscription that he added to the end of the document in his own hand. By adding his consent in writing, Amarantos effectively transformed the document from an application into a legally-binding contract.¹⁶⁷ The presence of Amarantos' second hand indicates that this is the original copy of the application, so it is likely that this papyrus was returned to the applicant Orsenouphis at Euhemeria and survived because he retained it.

The process of leasing in Euhemeria is attested from another perspective in a further document from our corpus. It is a receipt for rent, which had been paid by two farmers on a plot in the village belonging to a certain Apollonios.

SB XX 14971, receipt for payment of rent (24 July 2 BCE)

Ἀπολλώνιο[ς] ὄρω καὶ . . . φωτι
γεω<ρ>γοῖς χαίρε<ι>ν· ἀπέχω παρ' ὑ-
μῶν τὰ ἐκφόρια τοῦ ὀγτόυ
καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ἅφ' ὧν γε-
5 ω<ρ>γεῖτε ὑπ' ἐμὲ περὶ Εὐημέριαν
καὶ οὐθὲν ὑμῶν ἐγκαλῶ.
(ἔτους) κη Ἐπε<ι>φ λ.

3. I. ὀγδόου 6. I. ὑμῖν; I. ἐγκαλῶ

¹⁶⁵ The only other leases to offer cockerels as *thalloi* all come from second-century Tebtynis: e.g. P.Kron. 34 (135 CE); P.Mil. Vogl. VI 288 (155 CE); SB XIV 11720 (170 CE).

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Rowlandson (1999), 143 n. 15.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Keenan, Manning & Yiftach-Firanko (edd. 2014), 344f. on the use of signatures to validate 'ephemeral arrangements' such as short term leases, in contrast to the witnessed contracts drawn up for more substantial contracts such as sales. Cf. Muhs (2005), who argues that the Roman requirement that leases and similar contracts be subscribed in Greek contributed to the demise of the use of the Demotic language.

‘Apollonios to Horos and (name lost), farmers, greetings. I have received from you the rent in kind for the (fields) which you farm for me near Euhemeria for the twenty-eighth year, and I require nothing further from you. Year 28, Epeiph 30.’

As in P.Ryl. II 166, the rents to Apollonios were payable in kind (ἐκφόρια), rather than in cash; they were accordingly handed over in late Epeiph (July), towards the end of the harvest season when the crops were available. This lease was taken out by two men acting together; although this struck the first editor as unusual, it was in fact quite a common practice.¹⁶⁸ Their joint enterprise could be a sign that the two lessees were brothers, but leasing of property in tandem with a friend or trusted neighbour was a sensible strategy in order to spread the risk of meeting the required payments.¹⁶⁹

Categories of land in Euhemeria

Agricultural tenancy, of the kind attested in the previous two documents, was a very ancient tradition in Egypt.¹⁷⁰ Although the tradition of ἀτουργία (working one’s own land) persisted throughout the country’s history, in many circumstances it was more practical and convenient for the owners of land to find tenants to farm it on their behalf. Tenant farmers were thus a large and prominent group in the villages of Roman Egypt, and are accordingly well represented in our evidence.

The system of land classification used in Roman Egypt has been the study of numerous works of scholarship, and so will not be rehearsed here in detail.¹⁷¹ These large-scale studies, embracing evidence from a range of sites, help to understand how land was categorised and taxed by the state. Our evidence, from a single settlement within a constrained period of time, provides a different focus. It allows us to examine the role of individual farmers within the broader picture, and I will use

¹⁶⁸ Daris (1988), 46: ‘... il solo tratto di un certo interesse della ricevuta può essere individuato nella presenza di una coppia di affittuari’.

¹⁶⁹ On joint leases, see Lewis (1983), 116: ‘Most of the land of all categories [...] was cultivated under leases and subleases taken by tenant-farmers, either individually or in partnerships.’

¹⁷⁰ See Manning (2003), 54 for comments on the situation inherited by the Ptolemaic rulers upon their assumption of power.

¹⁷¹ See the foundational study by Wallace (1938), ch. 1 (pp. 1-10), since expanded and commented upon by: Rathbone (1993), 82-6; Rowlandson (1996), ch. 2 (pp. 27-69); Capponi (2005), ch. 8 (pp. 97-121); Monson (2012), pp. 93-6.

the evidence to argue that the tenant-farmers of Euhemeria were not an undifferentiated group of peasants or serfs tied to single plots of land, but rather were economic agents who were able, to some extent, to choose how they used their labour in order to support themselves and their families.

The Romans inherited a comprehensive system of land classification from the Ptolemies. This distinguished between three major categories of land: royal land, which generated revenue for the state; private land, which provided income to private owners; and sacred land, which supported Egypt's ancient and powerful temple complexes.¹⁷² There is general agreement that the proportion of private land was rather low under the Ptolemies, and the most significant private tracts were of cleruchic and catoecic land.¹⁷³ Cleruchic land was originally awarded to lot-holders (κληροῦχοι), veterans of the conquering Hellenic army, in order to attract them to Egypt and consolidate the Greek cultural presence in the kingdom.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, catoecic land was originally held exclusively by military settlers (κάτοικοι). Catoecic land seems to have existed in larger plots than cleruchic land, and the *katoikoi* were, at least initially, a more prestigious group than the *klērouchoi*.¹⁷⁵ These two types of land were, in the Ptolemaic period, passed down through the generations of the holders' families, although there are signs that by the time of the Roman annexation they had in fact become alienable.¹⁷⁶ A single plot of catoecic land is attested in one of the petitions, in which the petitioner complained that a store of anise that he was keeping in some catoecic fields was raided and threshed out without his knowledge.¹⁷⁷

The largest and most important Ptolemaic category of land was royal land (γῆ βασιλική), revenue from which went directly to the crown. This was farmed

¹⁷² For a more detailed portrait of the landholding situation under the Ptolemies, see Manning (2003), esp. ch. 4 on the Arsinoite nome.

¹⁷³ Finley (1985 [1973]), 28 did not believe that there was a market in private land at all in Ptolemaic Egypt. However, newer scholarship, based in part upon re-examination of the papyrological evidence, has found that there was at least a 'quasi-private' market in operation before the Roman annexation: cf. Manning (2003), 11ff.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Rathbone (1993), 84.

¹⁷⁵ The *katoikoi* paid lower rates of tax on their holdings, according to Rowlandson (1996), 29. See also Capponi (2005), 92ff. on the privileged census status of the *katoikoi*, and arguments for and against the existence of a *numerus clausus* of 6,475 members.

¹⁷⁶ Rowlandson (1996), 29: '... after the initial phase these kleruchic holdings were not in practice taken back by the Crown, but developed progressively wider *de facto* rights of inheritance and alienation.'

¹⁷⁷ P.Ryl. II 148. 15-21 (14 May 40 CE): ἐπιβαλόντες | τινὲς ληστρικῶι | τρόπωι χρησάμενοι | εἰ<ς> ἦν ἔχωι (l. ἔχω) θήκην | ἀννήσου ἐν τοῖς | κατοικικ(οῖς) | ἐδάφε(σι) ἐράβδισαν γόμους | κ.

exclusively by tenants, who were characterised in early scholarship as very low status and essentially tied to their plots in service of a centralised economy, although this view has now begun to be questioned.¹⁷⁸ Following the arrival of the Romans, the old royal land passed to the new administration, and was renamed as public land (γῆ δημοσία). The change of terminology was perhaps made in order to bring the Egyptian situation in line with the concept of *ager publicus* (land devoted to providing *tributum soli* for Rome) found in other provinces.¹⁷⁹ Royal land, although it decreased in prevalence, did not disappear altogether, though: in Euhemeria, we find a ‘royal’ farmer called Dikaios attested in the reign of Gaius, and there are numerous other examples of royal farmers from other villages in the early- to mid-first century CE.¹⁸⁰

Related to, but distinct from, royal land, was the category of revenue land (γῆ προσοδική). This had existed since Ptolemaic times, when it was a subcategory of royal land, but the precise difference between the two forms is not yet fully understood.¹⁸¹ One argument posits that prosodic land was farmed by tenants who were in arrears and taxed at a higher rate than normal, but this is unconfirmed.¹⁸² Although the category persisted into the Roman period, it is only sparsely attested, and seems to disappear altogether after the second century CE. The two examples of prosodic land from the Euhemerian petitions are therefore rare and valuable examples from the early Roman period.¹⁸³ The important Ptolemaic category of sacred land, too, seems to have decreased in importance very quickly after the arrival of the Romans, and is not found at all in the evidence from Euhemeria.

Despite the change in terminology, public land was leased out just as royal land had been. The system of tenancy was advantageous for the Romans because, while any

¹⁷⁸ The view was proposed by Rostovtzeff (1926), in his digression on the Ptolemaic management of Egypt's economy (pp. 255-64). For refinements to this picture, see now Rowlandson (2003); Manning (2005).

¹⁷⁹ Rathbone (1993), 85f. The term δημόσιον ἔδαφος (more usually found in the plural: δημοσία ἐδάφη) which is common in papyri of the early Roman period is perhaps a direct translation of *ager publicus*.

¹⁸⁰ Dikaios (βασιλικὸς γεωργός): P.Lond. III 1218.3-5 (August 39 CE). Contemporary examples: P.Princ. II 23, petition (Theadelphia, after 13 April 13 CE); P.Mert. I 11, petition (Philadelphia, 39/40 CE); P.Ryl. II 171, application to lease land (Herakleia, 56/57 CE).

¹⁸¹ Hübner (1990), 32-4 has a summary of previous scholarship.

¹⁸² Wallace (1938), 3f. Cf. Monson (2012), 103.

¹⁸³ SB XX 15182 (29-31 CE), farmer = Chairemon. P.Ryl. II 142 (August 37 CE), farmer = Herakleios.

surplus in productivity benefited the state, the costs of upkeep fell to the farmer.¹⁸⁴ Numerous tenant-farmers of public land are found in the petitions from Euhemeria, several of whom complained that their crops had been grazed down by errant sheep; this would clearly have been a significant problem for public farmers whose livelihoods depended on delivery of a certain quantity of crops to the state at the end of the agricultural year.¹⁸⁵

Although public land remained a significant category, especially in the Arsinoite nome, the key development of the first century of Roman rule was the dramatic expansion of the proportion of private land.¹⁸⁶ We begin to find significant numbers of private land sales occurring in papyri during Augustus' early reign, showing that an open market for private sales was quickly established.¹⁸⁷ Much of this newly-available land consisted of unproductive tracts (γῆ ὑπόλογος) that were sold at low prices in order to encourage private buyers, probably ordinary villagers, to bring them back into cultivation.¹⁸⁸ No doubt this provided a welcome opportunity for entrepreneurial villagers in places like Euhemeria, who would have capitalised on the new availability of land and associated facilities in order to build portfolios of property: I believe that the family of Asklepiades discussed in the first section of the chapter probably belonged to this emergent group.

The most prominent category of private land in our period, though, was that possessed by elite landowners. Land belonging to Roman citizens, Alexandrians, and residents of the nome *mētropoleis* is prominent in the evidence from Euhemeria. For example, we learn from one of the petitions that the *stratēgos* Dionysodoros was a landowner in Euhemeria.¹⁸⁹ In holding this land, located in the nome in which he served, Dionysodoros was actually in contravention of regulations governing his

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Geens (2013), 2 on the contemporary archive of the public farmer Harthotes [TM Arch 99], who seems to have been financially worse off during the periods in which he served the state. For an introduction to the archive, see also Casanova (1975, 1979).

¹⁸⁵ P.Ryl. II 137 (May-June 34 CE), farmer's name unknown; P.Ryll. II 143 (after 25 April 38 CE), where the farmer is a certain Heraklas; P.Ryl. II 149 (September-October 39 CE), where the farmer is Petheus. On the menace of illicit grazing, see chapter 6.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Bowman (2013), 277: 'It is likely that the proportion of public land in various categories was greater in the Arsinoite than in other nomes, perhaps approaching 50 per cent.'

¹⁸⁷ Earliest private land sale: BGU II 543 (Haueris, 13 January 27 BCE).

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Rowlandson (1996), 48f. Previously unproductive land was made more attractive to potential buyers because it was exempted from taxes (ἀτέλεια) for three years after purchase.

¹⁸⁹ P.Ryl. II 129.1-4: Διονυσοδώρωι στρατηγῶι | Ἀρσινοεῖτου | παρὰ Ψοσναῦτος τοῦ Κεσθῶρου | γεωργοῦ σου ἰδίων ('To Dionysodoros, *stratēgos* of the Arsinoite nome, from Psansnos son of Kesthoros, a farmer of your own fields.')

behaviour in office, which were put in place to minimise the possibility of partiality.¹⁹⁰ Occupying a similar stratum of society to Dionysodoros were the landowners attested in P.Ryl. II 166, discussed already. The exact identity of Gaius Iulius Alexandros, whose land Orsenouphis applied to lease in P.Ryl. II 166, is unknown, although identifications with various members of the Egyptian elite have been proposed.¹⁹¹ His possession of the *tria nomina* shows that he was a Roman citizen, which at this time was synonymous with high social status.¹⁹² Likewise, Euandros son of Ptolemaios, whose plots bordered on those of Alexandros, must have been a very high status individual; he is recorded as a priest of the cult of Tiberius, probably residing in Alexandria.¹⁹³ Theon son of Theon, attested in another of the petitions as the owner of a κτήσις (a rare term in this period, but probably a synonym for a large estate), may also have belonged to this class of landowners, but the limited information about him and his property in the relevant document does not allow for certainty.¹⁹⁴

As well as tracts of arable land, investors could acquire gardens (κῆποι), areas devoted to growing fruits and vegetables. These were generally smaller than the fields for cereal crops, clustered around the villages, and were intensively irrigated due to the demands of the produce grown there.¹⁹⁵ In Euhemeria this produce was primarily olives and legumes; vines, although common in neighbouring Theadelphia, seem to have been rare in the village, and were perhaps not suited to its topography or soil.¹⁹⁶ A garden with an olive-grove owned by a private landowner called

¹⁹⁰ The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (§70) prohibited *stratēgoi* from owning land in the nomes that they governed in order to limit possible conflicts of interest and corruption: cf. Capponi (2005), 44. It is possible that the clause was not part of the original Augustan code, but was added later in response to problems caused by landowning *stratēgoi* like Dionysodoros.

¹⁹¹ Rostovtzeff (1926), 268 believed that Alexandros was a member of the ‘Jewish royal family’ (i.e. the son of Herod I and Mariamne), but Fuks (C.Pap.Jud. II, p. 200 no. 420) points out that that the son of Herod was already dead by 7 BCE, whereas C. Iulius Alexandros was still alive and in possession of land in Euhemeria in 26 CE, as seen in P.Ryl. II 166. Fuks preferred to identify the Euhemerian landowner with Alexander the alabarch, the *epitropos* (‘steward’) of Antonia Minor in Egypt, on whom see Joseph. *AJ* XIX 5.1 [= Whiston 276].

¹⁹² Cf. Salway (1994) on names as markers of social status within the Roman empire.

¹⁹³ Priest: P.Ryl. II 133.1-2 (November 33 CE). Land: P.Ryl. II 166.8-12 (1 December 26 CE), on which see above.

¹⁹⁴ P.Ryl. II 145 (29 December 38 CE). For possible identifications of Theon, see: Rostovtzeff (1926), 268; Capponi (2002), 184 n. 31.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Rathbone (1991), 186. Blouin (2014), 154-6 has a discussion of garden land in the Delta.

¹⁹⁶ SB XXVI 16569 (4 September 62 CE?) is a lease for a vineyard that the editor attributed to Euhemeria: cf. Dry (1999). I have doubts about this attribution: although the editor read the beginning of the word Εὐημερία in line 2, in my opinion (based on the photograph of the papyrus available on the Columbia APIS website) the reading is uncertain and should be dotted. There is no other tangible

Thermoutharion is attested in one of the petitions, submitted by the gardener (κηπουρός) Paes employed to look after the plot.¹⁹⁷ Thermoutharion is one of only two female landowners attested in Euhemeria, but research on landholding patterns in other Arsinoite settlements has found that women usually constituted a significant proportion of the number of landowners.¹⁹⁸ The Greek name of Thermoutharion’s father Lykarion may be a further indication that she too was a high status member of society, like the aforementioned Dionysodoros, Alexandros, Euandros, and Theon.

As well as her garden, Thermoutharion is attested as the owner of a farmstead (ἐποίκιον) near Euhemeria.¹⁹⁹ It is probable that she purchased the farmstead from another set of private owners, a pair of brothers called Publius and Gaius Petronii; this confirms that the *epoikia* were private entities that could be bought and sold, rather than ‘natural’ settlements that had grown up over time.²⁰⁰ Three farmsteads (ἐπουκία) are attested in our evidence, all identified by informal toponyms; a fourth farmstead near Euhemeria is attested for the second century and may also have been in existence during our period.²⁰¹

Table 3.2: Farmstead (epoikia) near Euhemeria

<i>Epoikion</i>	Text	Genre	Date	Other information
Ληνοῦ	P.Ryl. II 137	Petition	May-June 24 CE	

connection to Euhemeria within the text. Furthermore, the vineyard in question was located near Theadelphia (line 8), not Euhemeria. The date of the text is also dubious; for these reasons I have excluded the text from the corpus.

¹⁹⁷ P.Ryl. II 152.

¹⁹⁸ The second female landowner in Euhemeria was the unnamed mother of Onnophris: P.Ryl. II 126 (28/29 CE). On female landowners in general, see Rowlandson (1998), 218-21. Hobson (1983) studied the landholding patterns in Soknopaiou Nesos and Karanis diachronically, and concluded that around a third of landowners in the two villages were women, and that they owned as much as a quarter of the land.

¹⁹⁹ P.Ryl. II 146.5-7: ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐημέρεια(ν) | ἐπουκίῳ λεγομένῳ Ἀμμίνῳ | Θερμουθαρίου τῆς Λυκαρίωνο(ς).

²⁰⁰ The petitioner of P.Ryl. II 127 (September 29 CE) described himself as living ἐν τοῖς ἀμμίνοις ἐπουκίῳ Ποπλίου | καὶ Γαίου Πετρωνίων. Hohlwein (1949), 75 believed that this was simply the Amminon *epoikion* of Thermoutharion, but Parássoglou (1978), 67 n. 9 argued that the two places were distinct. The adjective ἀμμίνοις (line 4) could be read as a substantive: ‘the sandy areas of the *epoikion*’. However, the word ἀμμίνος and its cognates appear only a handful of times in Roman papyri from the Arsinoite nome, and in two cases (P.Ryl. II 146, mentioned already, and P.Fay. 38, a notice from a centurion probably of the second century) it refers with certainty to the Amminon *epoikion*. As a result, I side with Hohlwein. For a possible identification of Publius Petronius, see Bagnall (1985a), 92.

²⁰¹ *Dama epoikion*: P.Fay. 24, declaration by an *archepodos* (Euhemeria, 27 October 158 CE). A discussion of the *epoikia* (‘hameaux’) of Euhemeria can be found in Hohlwein (1949), 75-8).

<i>Epoikion</i>	Text	Genre	Date	Other information
Probably Ἄμμινον ('Sandy')	P.Ryl. II 127	Petition	September 29 CE	Owners: Publius & Gaius Petronius
Δρομέως ('Runner')	P.Ryl. II 126	Petition	28/29 CE	
Δρομέως ('Runner')	P.Ryl. II 138	Petition	16 July 34 CE	Former owner: Falcidius
Ἄμμινον ('Sandy')	P.Ryl. II 146	Petition	April 39 CE	Owner: Thermoutharion

The *epoikia* were small settlements located on the peripheries of villages, out among the fields. Although they could be quite sizeable, *epoikia* lacked their own administrative identities, being subordinate to the nearby villages in that respect.²⁰² Farmsteads served as hubs to house farm workers, and also contained facilities for the storage and processing of agricultural produce.²⁰³ For example, the Lenou *epoikion* in Euhemeria contained a threshing and drying space that was used by villagers and inhabitants of the farmstead alike.²⁰⁴ Elsewhere, we see that domestic and commercial spaces existed side-by-side in the *epoikia*, sometimes even within the same structure: Semtheus' house in the Amminon *epoikion* is described as adjoining a beer-shop, through which some robbers tunnelled into his property.²⁰⁵ The private status of *epoikia* alluded to above was known to be the case in later centuries, when they served as component parts of large estates like the Appianus estate in the third century Arsinoite nome, or the Apion estate in the Late Antique Oxyrhynchite nome.²⁰⁶ The evidence from Euhemeria confirms that this was also

²⁰² Cf. Hohlwein (1949), 75-8.

²⁰³ Cf. Parássoglou (1978), 55f.; Capponi (2005), 110.

²⁰⁴ P.Ryl. II 139.7-10: τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν ποιουμένου οὗ εἶχον | σεχνίου καὶ ψυγμοῦ πρὸς | τῆι Ληνῶι λεγομένη ('When I was making an inspection of the threshing floor and drying room that I own near the (place) called 'the Winepress' ...'). The Lenou *epoikion* is also attested in P.Ryl. II 137 (May-June 34 CE).

²⁰⁵ P.Ryl. II 127.10-13 (September 29 CE): ἐπιβαλόντες | τινὲς ληστικῶι τρόπῳι ὑπόρου|ξαν διὰ τοῦ ζυτοπωλίου τὸ ἀπὸ | βορρᾶ τείχος τοῦ οἴκου ('... some people, having broken in like bandits, dug under the north wall of my house from the beer-shop').

²⁰⁶ For *epoikia* in the third century, see Rathbone (1991), 31ff. with illustration at p. 32. On the nature of Late Antique *epoikia*, see: Mazza (2001), 79; Hickey (2012), 25-7.

true in the early Roman period: in one petition, we are told explicitly that the Dromeos *epoikion* belonged to the large estate (οὐσία) of the emperor Claudius and the children of Drusus and Livilla.²⁰⁷

After state land, the *ousiai* are the single most frequently attested category of land in Euhemeria.²⁰⁸ Indeed, evidence from the village has been one of the most important sources of information about this type of property in Roman Egypt.²⁰⁹ They were generally owned by members of the upper echelons of society, and in this respect closely resembled δωρεαί, grace and favour ‘gift estates’ granted by the Ptolemaic monarchs to close associates.²¹⁰ The earliest scholarship on *ousiai* saw in them a more or less direct continuation of the *dōreai*, whereby Augustus took possession of Cleopatra’s royal patrimony and distributed it among his friends and allies.²¹¹ In contrast, Parássoglou proposed that the *ousiai* were in fact private properties, purchased by wealthy members of the Roman elite as investments when the market in Egypt was opened up.²¹² More recently, though, the pendulum has swung back in favour of the older view, that the *ousiai* were ultimately the property of the emperor and were given to their holders at his discretion.²¹³

Table 3.3: Large estates (*ousiai*) in Euhemeria

Text	Date	Owner of <i>ousia</i>
P.Ryl. II 126	28/29 CE	Livia
P.Ryl. II 134	April 34 CE	Tiberius (formerly Germanicus)
P.Ryl. II 138	16 July 34 CE	Claudius & the children of Drusus and Livilla

²⁰⁷ P.Ryl. II 138 (16 July 34 CE).

²⁰⁸ Cf. Hohlwein (1949), 81: ‘... les terres englobées dans les grandes domaines, οὐσία, figurent en nombre imposant.’

²⁰⁹ The petitions from Euhemeria figure prominently in the analysis of Parássoglou (1978). See the numerous items with provenance in Euhemeria in appendix 2 (pp. 69-83), and the long entries for the Rylands papyri in the *index locorum* (p. 108) and for Euhemeria in the general index (p. 112).

²¹⁰ The standard reference work on Ptolemaic *dōreai* is Rostovtzeff (1922), ch. 5 (pp. 42-55); cf. Parássoglou (1978), 5.

²¹¹ E.g. Wallace (1938), 1.

²¹² Parássoglou (1978), 5ff.

²¹³ Rathbone (1993), 102f.; Rowlandson (1996), 56. The arguments advanced in favour of this position are: first, that the *ousiai* tended to be small plots of land in marginal locations (such as Euhemeria) that would have been unattractive to wealthy Romans looking to invest in land; and second, that where we do see changes in the ownership of *ousiai*, these seem to be reallocations made by the emperor, rather than sales or bequests made by the owners. Pace Capponi (2005), 108.

Text	Date	Owner of <i>ousia</i>
P.Ryl. II 140	November 36 CE	Antonia Minor ²¹⁴
P.Ryl. II 148	14 May 40 CE	Gaius; Claudius
SB XX 15032 ²¹⁵	39-41 CE	D. Valerius Asiaticus

All of the names in the table belong to members of the imperial household, with the exception of Asiaticus, who was a Roman senator and *consul suffectus* in 35 CE.²¹⁶ This tells us that the owners of properties designated as *ousiai* were not necessarily members of the emperor's *familia*.²¹⁷ Another Roman senator, M. Aponius Saturninus, is also attested as a landowner in Euhemeria in our period.²¹⁸ Although the word οὐσία is not used in the documents to describe his holdings, I argue because of his status that we should think of his lands as belonging to the same classification as those already discussed.²¹⁹

Table 3.4: Properties of M. Aponius Saturninus in Euhemeria

Text	Date	Owner of estate
P.Ryl. II 131	After 12 March 31 CE	M. Aponius Saturninus
P.Ryl. II 135	After 17 April 34 CE	M. Aponius Saturninus

The main economic function of an *ousia* was to generate income for its owner in order to maintain his or her elite social status.²²⁰ In order to facilitate this basic function, the *ousiai* were exempted from some taxes, which in turn made it easier for their owners to recruit tenant farmers.²²¹ If willing tenants could not be found, there

²¹⁴ The estate of Antonia Minor is also attested in P.Ryl. II 141 (April-May 37 CE), but the word *ousia* is omitted from the text.

²¹⁵ Ed. pr. Sijpesteijn (1989).

²¹⁶ PIR¹, p. 352 s.n. Valerius. Cf. Sijpesteijn (1989), 194.

²¹⁷ Cf. Parássoglou (1978), 65-7. He attempted to distinguish between 'imperial' and 'non-imperial' *ousiai* in his study, but this is not necessarily a helpful distinction, as all *ousiai*, regardless of the rank of the owner, seem to have taken the same form and to have been administered in the same way: cf. Capponi (2002), 181.

²¹⁸ Cf. Mitthoff (2002), 252 item 446: 'Mit Μᾶρκος Σατορνῖλος ist jedoch unzweifelhaft der Senator M. Aponius Saturninus gemeint.'

²¹⁹ Monson (2012), 96 argues that there were many changes in the designations of land after the Roman conquest, and 'it is probably fruitless' to search for legal distinctions between the different plots of privately owned land.

²²⁰ This is the thesis of Kehoe (1992), expressed for example at p. 7. He uses the example of Pliny the Younger as a model of an elite figure who acted as a 'hands-off' landowner in Egypt.

²²¹ Rowlandson (1996), 57; *contra* Capponi (2005), 111.

is some indication that the managers of *ousiai* were able to compel locals to farm the land, a form of indentured labour. This practice was eventually explicitly forbidden, in the edict of Tiberius Iulius Alexandros issued towards the end of Nero's reign.²²² Despite this, we should not fall into the trap of assuming that those who farmed the *ousiai* were downtrodden peasants with no agency to alter their situations. In fact, close reading of the texts from Euhemeria reveals that many of the farmers in the village defy simple categorisations. For example, two men who laboured on the estate of Antonia Minor supplemented their income from that work by leasing plots of public land in addition.²²³ One of those men, Aunes, also possessed his own plot of land in the village, meaning that he divided his time between three different modes of employment.²²⁴ The canny combination of several streams of income was one way in which the ordinary people of Roman Egypt avoided becoming dependent upon a single employer.²²⁵ As we have already seen in the example of the family of Asklepiades, some early Roman tenants seem to have behaved entrepreneurially, amassing portfolios of leases, some of which they farmed themselves, others which they sublet to tenants of their own, taking a share of the crops as rent.²²⁶

Managing property

It is practically certain that none of the illustrious landowners discussed in the previous section of the chapter ever visited Euhemeria; indeed, the senators Asiaticus and Saturninus would have required express permission from the emperor himself to set foot on Egyptian soil.²²⁷ Consequently, many estates in Roman Egypt were administered behalf of their owners by managers. We know, for example, that

²²² A partial copy of the edict survives on papyrus (BGU VII 1563, Philadelphia, second century CE), with the relevant passage at lines 26-37.

²²³ P.Ryl. II 140 (November 36 CE), where the farmer is called Aunes. P.Ryl. II 141 (April-May 37 CE), where the farmer is Petermouthis.

²²⁴ P.Ryl. II 140.1-7: [Γ]αίωι Ἐρρίωι Πρεῖσκωι | ἐπιστάτη φυλακειτῶν | παρὰ Αὐνήου π[οῦ Ἀν-] χορίμφιος τῶν ἀ[π'] Εὐημερίας δημοσίου γεωργ[οῦ] | γεωργοῦντος δέ μου καὶ | οὐσίας Ἀντωνίας Δρούσου ('To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Aunes son of Anchorimphis, from Euhemeria, a public farmer, working my own (land) as well as the estate of Antonia wife of Drusus.')

²²⁵ Rowlandson (1996), 101 remarks that, in the second century Oxyrhynchite, the private landowners had become sufficiently powerful to restrict the ability of farmers to avoid this kind of dependency.

²²⁶ The archive of Soterichos provides an example of a tenant who leased multiple plots of land in and around Theadelphia at the end of the first century; his son Didymos continued the family business into the second century. On this archive [TM Arch 226], and on Soterichos' business strategy, see the introduction to P.Soter. (pp. 17-45).

²²⁷ Senators barred from Egypt by Augustus: Dio 51.17.1. Germanicus chastised by Tiberius for entering Egypt without permission: Tac. *Ann.* 2.59.

Antonia Minor’s Oxyrhynchite estate was administered for her by a certain Cerinthus, who signed off on a declaration of sheep on the *ousia* in a strange quasi-Greek subscription, perhaps indicating that he was a Latin speaker sent out by the great lady from her household in Italy.²²⁸

In Euhemeria we find evidence that the senator Saturninus’ holdings were run for him by a man, probably a slave, called Sophos.²²⁹ In another of the petitions, we find a reference to a slave or freedman called Klados, who is connected to the *ousia* of Livilla and was perhaps also employed as a manager.²³⁰ These estate managers were usually called *προεστῶτες*, and we find several figures attested by this title in the documentation from Euhemeria.²³¹

Table 3.5: Estate managers (proestōtes) in Euhemeria

Text	Date	<i>Proestōs</i>	Owner of property
P.Ryl. II 132	10 July 32 CE	Theon	Euandros son of Ptolemaios
P.Ryl. II 138	16 July 34 CE	Sotas	Claudius & the children of Livilla
P.Ryl. II 145	29 December 38 CE	Diktas	Theon son of Theon
P.Ryl. II 148	14 May 40 CE	Chairemon	Gaius; Claudius

The main duties of estate managers in the early Roman period were to lease out land to tenants, collect revenues, and ensure the maintenance of the land, animals, and buildings under their remit.²³² Several of these aspects of the managerial role are attested in a set of agricultural accounts in our corpus, P.Fay. 101 (probably dated to

²²⁸ P.Oxy. II 244.15-17, declaration of livestock (Oxyrhynchite, 2 February 23 CE): (hand 2) Ξερι[γτηρ] Αντωνιαε · Δρυσι · σερ(υς) | epid[e]doca · anno · viiii · Tib(erii) | Caesaris Aug(usti) · Mechir · djε · ρετ(αυο). Cf. Rowlandson (1998), 43 item 17: ‘Sheep of Antonia’.

²²⁹ P.Ryl. II 150.1-3 (19 October 40 CE): Γαίωι Ιουλίου Φόλω ἐπ(ιστάτ)η φυλακιδῶ(ν), | παρὰ Σόφου Μάρκου Σα[τορνί]λου. The ed. pr. thought that Sophos was the son of Saturninus (P.Ryl. II, p. 149), but the genitive here denotes employment rather than a familial relationship: cf. Mitthoff (2002), 252 item 446: ‘Der Namenszusatz im Genitiv bezeichnet hier also nicht den Vater, sondern den Dienstgaber.’

²³⁰ P.Ryl. II 127.26-7: παρὰ Κλάδου Λιβίας | Δρούσου Καίσαρος.

²³¹ For a breakdown of different titles for managers, see: Kehoe (1992), 20f.: ‘The *προεστῶς* was in all likelihood in origin an administrator on a purely private estate.’

²³² Cf. Capponi (2005), 108-10.

18 BCE).²³³ The papyrus, the largest and longest in the corpus, contains five separate accounts, detailing the income and expenditure of a single farm during the busy harvest season. Parássoglou thought that these may actually have been compiled by the *proestōs* of an *ousia*, which would make them unique for the first century; the diversity of activities recorded, as well as the apparently considerable size of the farm, make this a distinct possibility.²³⁴

The extent of the farm's holdings are not listed, but we can tell that it was a sizeable concern: the first entry tells us that it required the services of thirty-seven plough-teams in a single month.²³⁵ Likewise, fifty-three colt-loads were required to transport the wheat produced in the same month off the property.²³⁶ Several different crops were grown on the estate: payments are recorded for the transportation charges (φόρετρα) on five colt-loads of cumin and five donkey-loads of lentils.²³⁷ As well as these crops, we find references to payments in safflower in the accounts.²³⁸

The accounts record payments to numerous workers who were employed to bring in the harvest, including winnowers and threshers.²³⁹ It is likely that these were seasonal workers recruited from the surrounding countryside.²⁴⁰ However, the estate also seems to have had a standing workforce that it was able to send out to other nearby farms: several entries detail these worker loans, and it seems from these entries that the workers returned to the farm with payments in kind of the crops that they had helped to harvest: in one entry, we learn that twenty-six workers were sent to the nearby *klēros* (i.e. cleruchic holding) of Petheus, where they helped to harvest some wheat.²⁴¹

²³³ P.Fay. 101 (18 BCE?). The papyrus was discovered tied up in a bundle with three others (P.Fay. 232-4 descr.), one of which was written in the same hand: cf. P.Fay., p. 243. None of these *descripta* has yet been published, so they are not discussed in further detail here.

²³⁴ Parássoglou (1978), 54 n. 24. He cites the republication of the accounts by Johnson (1936), 174ff., rather than the original in P.Fay.

²³⁵ P.Fay. 101 recto column 1, line 2: ζευγῶν λζ.

²³⁶ Recto column 1, line 6: πολήων νγ.

²³⁷ Cumin: recto column 1.13-14; lentils: recto column 1.17.

²³⁸ E.g. recto column 2.2.

²³⁹ Winnowers: recto column 1, line 4: λικμηταί. Threshers: recto column 1, line 5: ρατωκῶποι. This word is a *hapax legomenon*: the WB defines it as a thresher ('Drescher'), perhaps derived from ῥάβδος + κόπτειν.

²⁴⁰ This was common practice: cf. Lewis (1983), 122.

²⁴¹ P.Fay. 101 (recto col. 2.16-3.3): ἄλ(λος) λόγος. κλήρος Πεταῦτος | β ἐργάται θ, γ η, | ὄμο(ίως) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλήρος (l. κλήρω) | (column 3) ρατωκῶποι θ, | (γίνονται) ἐργά(ται) κς, | ἀνά (πυροῦ) (δέκατον), (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) β □ (δέκατον) ('Another account. The plot of Petheus. On

As well as people to harvest the crops, the estate also hired armed guards to watch over them once they had been brought in.²⁴² This reminds us that crops were valuable commodities, and that a store of them could be a tempting target for thieves; we find numerous examples of crops that were stolen from fields in the petitions from Euhemeria.²⁴³ The estate in P.Fay. 101 did not only deal in crops, though: one of the accounts records cash payments, both incoming, raised by the sale of the farm's produce, and outgoing, paid to workers as wages.²⁴⁴ This confirms that the Egyptian rural economy was thoroughly monetised by the early Roman period, and provides us with some hard data about commodity prices in Euhemeria in our period.²⁴⁵

The overall impression gained from the accounts is of a large and multifaceted farming enterprise, participating in numerous different agricultural activities. Our corpus also provides a complimentary set of evidence, detailing the management of what was probably a much smaller farm in the village: it is the dossier of letters from Ammonios to Aphrodisios, which I associated with Euhemeria in chapter 2.

Table 3.6: Dossier of letters from Ammonios to Aphrodisios

Text	Genre	Date (chron. order)
P.Ryl. II 229	Letter	20 February 38 CE (1)
P.Lond. III 893 descr. ²⁴⁶	Letter	22 July 40 CE (2)
P.Ryl. II 231	Letter	18 October 40 CE (3)
P.Ryl. II 230	Letter	2 November 40 CE (4)

The dossier reveals a few pertinent details about the landowner Ammonios: the following letter, for example, tells us that the plot of land that Aphrodisios administered for him – which I argue was located in Euhemeria – was not his only holding.

the 2nd of the month, 9 workers; 8 on the 3rd. Similarly, on the same plot, |9 threshers. Total: 26 workers, at a rate of one tenth of an artaba = 2 ½ + one tenth artabas of wheat.)

²⁴² Recto column 1, line 18: μαχαροφόροι.

²⁴³ E.g. P.Ryl. II 142 (August 37 CE); P.Ryl. II 148 (14 May 40 CE).

²⁴⁴ P.Fay. 101 verso column 1.

²⁴⁵ On the money economy in Roman Egypt, cf. Bowman (1986), 90f.

²⁴⁶ A full edition of this papyrus was given at P.Ryl. II, p. 381.

P.Lond. III 893 *descriptum*, letter (22 July 40 CE)

καὶ ἄρτων ἀρτάβ(ας) τέσσαρε(ς) □ σὺν σεαυτ(ῶ) □
[-ca.?-] ἔνεγκον.

Ἀ[μμ]ώνιος Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ φιλ(τάτῳ) χα(ίρειν).

Διομ[ή]δης ὁ Φόλου λέγει μὴ μετα-

5 δεδωκέν[α]ι [σ]ε αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ Σεράτος, διὸ
καλῶς π[οιή]σεις ἐξαυτῆ(ς) πέμψας μοι τὸν
μικρόν, καὶ ἔλθῃ εἰς Βούβαστον τῆ δ,

ἐπεὶ τρυγῶ ἐκεῖ, ἢ ἐστι(ν) Αἴγυπ(τίων) κ, καὶ
ἀγόρασόν μοι ὀψάρια τῆ η καὶ ἔνεγκο(ν)

10 . . . εἰς Βερενικίδ(α) Αἰγι(αλοῦ) τῆ ι ἢ ἐστι κς·
τρυγῶ ἐκεῖ, ἔρχου. Ζηνόδ[ο]το(ς)

[π]ολλὰ κατηγορήσεν ἐπὶ Φόλῳ

ὥς μὴ τὰ ὑπὸ σ[οῦ] εἰρημένα γ[.].

γ. . . . ι. . . . ω() ποιη() πέμψαι μ[ο]ι

15 διὰ τινος τῷ(ν) φυλάκ(ων) τὸν μικρόν.

ἀσπάζο(ν) Θέρμιον. ἀπαίτησον χεῖραν (δραχμῶν) μ

καὶ (δραχμὰς) ς ἐπομ(ένας) καὶ τὸ λοιπ(ὸν) τὰ ὀφειλόμε(να).

ἔρρωσθε. δ (ἔτους) μη(νός) Δρουσιέ(ως) κη.

7. 1. μικρόν 11. 1. τρυγῶ 13. 1. μὴ 15. 1. μικρόν 16. 1. χεῖρα

‘Ammonios to my dearest Aphrodisios, greetings. Diomedes, the son of Pholos, says that you haven’t told him anything about Seras, so you would do well to send the child to me straight away. Go to Boubastos on the 4th – which is the 20th according to the Egyptian calendar – since I will be gathering the crop there. Also, buy me some fish-pickles on the 8th and bring them to Berenikis Aigialou on the 10th – which is the 26th. I will be gathering the crop, so come. Zenodotos has made many accusations before Pholos about the things that you didn’t say (?) . . . Send the child to me via one of the guards. Give my best to Thermion. Collect the loan of 40 drachmas and the 6 drachmas in interest, and the rest of what we are owed. Goodbye. Year 4, 28th of the month Drousieus [= Epeiph]. (*Post scriptum*) Bring four artabas of loaves with you too.’

Ammonios informed Aphrodisios that he would be ‘gathering the crop’ (τρυγῶ) in other plots located in Boubastos and Berenikis Aigialou, which we must assume he also owned.²⁴⁷ The ownership of several plots of land scattered across the nome, some farmed by the owners, others leased to tenants, and still others managed on behalf of the owners by agents, fits with the picture established already in this chapter. However, while Ammonios was certainly not a subsistence farmer, there is no indication either that he was a member of the elite group who owned *ousiai* in Euhemeria. He seems to have belonged, like the family of Asklepiades, to a middle stratum of society with some assets and an eye to capitalise on the transformations taking place under the new Roman administration of the land.

Throughout the letters, Ammonios refers to Aphrodisios as an ἐπιστάτης.²⁴⁸ In the first century, virtually all instances of this word in the papyri refer to the ἐπιστάτης φυλακιδῶν (‘overseer of the guards), an official concerned with maintaining law and order, often found as the addressee of petitions.²⁴⁹ Aphrodisios cannot have been the *epistatēs phylakitōn*, though, because we have securely dated references to the holders of that office in the period 37-40 CE (when the letters were written), and there was only ever one *epistatēs phylakitōn* in post at a time.²⁵⁰ Therefore, when applied to Aphrodisios the word ἐπιστάτης must mean overseer or manager, even though the more common word for an estate manager in the first century was προεστῶς, as discussed above.

The tone of the letters is friendly, and it seems that the relationship between the Ammonios and Aphrodisios was a warm one.²⁵¹ Nevertheless, there is a clear employer-employee relationship, and the bulk of the letters consist of commands and instructions from Ammonios to Aphrodisios. The tasks outlined included basic farmwork, such as the care of animals (specifically pigs and calves), and it seems

²⁴⁷ Boubastos was located near Philadelphia at the north-eastern edge the Arsinoite nome: Barrington 75 E2; Dizionario II 59; TM Geo 463. Berenikis Aigialou is as yet unsited: Dizionario II 42; TM Geo 429.

²⁴⁸ E.g. P.Ryl. II 229.25 (verso): Ἀφροδισίῳ ἐπιστάτη.

²⁴⁹ E.g. P.NYU II 3 (Arsinoite, 5 CE); P.Princ. II 23 (Theadelphia, after 13 April 13 CE); P.Tebt. II 476 (Tebtynis, 27 December 30 CE).

²⁵⁰ Known *epistatai phylakitōn*: Athenodoros, in post August 37 CE (P.Ryl. II 142) – April 39 CE (P.Ryl. II 146); C. Iulius Pholos, in post May-June 39 CE (P.Ryl. II 147) – 17 October 40 CE (P.Ryl. II 151); T. Claudius Philoxenos, in post 4 April 42 CE (P.Ryl. II 152).

²⁵¹ Aphrodisios is addressed as ‘dearest’ (φίλτατος) in each of the letters.

that Aphrodisios was required to perform some of this work himself.²⁵² Aphrodisios was assisted in these tasks by his wife Thermion and perhaps by his children (τὰ παιδία σου), who are referred to in several of the letters.²⁵³ Ammonios calls Thermion Aphrodisios' 'wife' (γυνή) in one of his letters, but his 'sister' (ἀδελφή) in another.²⁵⁴ If we can read the word ἀδελφή literally, Thermion was then Aphrodisios' sister as well as his wife, making this the only acknowledged example of the common Egyptian practice of consanguineous marriage in the documents of our corpus.²⁵⁵

As well as feeding and mucking out animals, Aphrodisios was required to obtain necessary supplies for the farm, including fodder for the animals and a 'paste made from bitter vetch'.²⁵⁶ This last item is rather odd, and its use in the agricultural context is unclear: perhaps it was used as pigswill, although pigs generally eat scraps; a medical application may also be possible, whether to treat the pigs or for Ammonios himself.²⁵⁷

We know that Ammonios had some arable land, as Ammonios referred to a store of wheat that needed to be moved 'because of the inundation'.²⁵⁸ Perhaps the Nile flood was unusually high that year, and was threatening to submerge one of the granaries used by the farm. The fact that several of the letters refer to the baking of loaves also tells us that the farm had facilities for turning the wheat into bread, which could be stored and moved more easily.²⁵⁹ Likewise, the farm was able to produce pickled

²⁵² Cf. P.Ryl. II 229.16-20: παρακάλεσον οὖν τὴν γυναῖκά | σου τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις ἵνα ἐπιμελῆ|ται τῶν χοιριδίων· | ἐπιμελοῦ δὲ | καὶ τοῦ μόσχου ('Ask your wife on my behalf to look after the piglets, and make sure you take care of the calf'). Looking after animals like pigs, which often lived in the courtyards of the houses inhabited by people, was a job considered appropriate for women: cf. P.Mich. II 203 (Karanis, early second century CE), in which a soldier writes to his mother and asks her to look after some pigs for him.

²⁵³ E.g. P.Ryl. II 230.12.

²⁵⁴ Wife: P.Ryl. II 229.17. Sister: P.Ryl. 230.12.

²⁵⁵ On brother-sister marriage in Roman Egypt, see Rowlandson & Takahashi (2009), who disagree with the conclusion of Hübner (2007) that 'brother-sister' marriages were often between adopted rather than full siblings. On the elasticity of the terminology of 'brothers' and 'sisters' in papyri, see Arzt-Grabner (2002), although his article has a focus on Egypt after Christianisation.

²⁵⁶ Fodder: τροφή τῶν χοιριδίων (P.Ryl. II 229.12). Paste: τὸ ζμῆμα ἀπο τοῦ ὀρόβου (P.Ryl. II 130.8-9).

²⁵⁷ Vetch seeds that had been boiled and mashed were recommended by a Hippocratic author for the treatment of infected wounds: Hippoc. *Epid.* 5.15.

²⁵⁸ P.Ryl. II 231.7-9: τὸν πυρὸν τὸν ἐν | τῷ θησαυρῶι μεταβαλοῦ | δι[ὰ] τὴν βροχὴν τὸν πάντα ('Move the wheat in the store-house, all of it, because of the inundation').

²⁵⁹ E.g. P.Ryl. II 229.9-10; P.Ryl. II (p. 381).1-2.

olives and fish.²⁶⁰ As well as overseeing production of these commodities, a large part of Aphrodisios' role was co-ordinating their transportation around the nome. In each of the letters, Ammonios asks Aphrodisios to send loaves or pickles to him, presumably because they were needed on one of Ammonios' other properties, or because he wanted to sell them at market. Ammonios apparently did not possess animals that could carry out this transportation: in one letter we learn that he arranged to hire a donkey from an animal-rearer (προβατοκτηνοτρόφος).²⁶¹ This was common practice for smallholders, and even for the administrators of large estates, who did not wish to incur the year-round expense of maintaining their own animals.²⁶²

The final aspect of Aphrodisios' role as manager evident in these letters is his involvement in his employer's financial transactions. He was instructed to borrow money as needed, and to keep accounts of Ammonios' credit.²⁶³ Aphrodisios was also told to collect certain debts (ὀφειλόμενα) that were owed to the farm, including a loan with interest that Ammonios had made.²⁶⁴ These small-scale financial transactions may have included rents that were owed to Ammonios by tenants to whom he leased parts of his property. Otherwise, they may indicate that Ammonios fulfilled the role of a money-lender in the local community, providing both an essential local service and an additional stream of income for this entrepreneurial individual.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ Pickled olives: P.Ryl. II 231.3-5: τὴν ἐλ<αί>αν μοι | ταπειχέσας πέμψας | μοι φάσιν ('... once you have pickled the olives for me, let me know'). Pickled fish (ὄψαριον): P.Ryl. II 229.14.

²⁶¹ P.Ryl. II 229.3-4: ἔγραψα ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Ἡράκλειον | τὸν π[ρ]οβατοκτηνοτρόφον ἵνα δοί (l. δῶ) σοι ὄνον ('I wrote a letter to Herakleios the animal-rearer, telling him to send you a donkey').

²⁶² Cf. Rathbone (1991), 73f. on the temporary hiring of donkeys on the third century Appianus estate. For more detail on the animal-rearers of Euhemeria, the transportation of agricultural produce, and the economics of keeping animals in the villages of Roman Egypt, see chapter 5.

²⁶³ P.Ryl. II 229.12-16: περὶ δὲ τῆς τροφῆς τῶν χοιριδίων | καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ χόρτου πρόχρησον ἕως οὗ παραγένωμαι, | δοκῶ γὰρ συναιρόμενος πρὸς σέ | λογάριον ('Regarding the food for the pigs and the remainder of the price of the hay, borrow it until I get back, and I will settle the account with you then.')

²⁶⁴ P.Ryl. II (p. 381).16-17: ἀπαίτησον χειρὰν (l. χεῖρα) (δραχμῶν) μ | καὶ (δραχμᾶς) ζ ἔπομ(ένας) καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ('Collect the loan of 40 drachmas and the 6 drachmas in interest, and the rest of our debts.')

²⁶⁵ On lending and borrowing and their importance in the village community, see chapter 6.

Conclusions

In this chapter, the importance of agriculture and its centrality to the economy of Euhemeria have been discussed. The evidence of the dossier of the family of Asklepiades showed that certain individuals within the community maximised their incomes by engaging in a range of activities related to agriculture, including trading in agricultural produce and the letting of facilities such as mills for profit. Leasing and tenancy, although ancient practices in Egypt, became even more widespread during the early Roman period, when large quantities of land previously owned by the state were released to a private market. Our evidence confirms that entrepreneurial individuals took advantage of this situation by working their own plots of land, while others made careers out of letting and subletting portions of land. Some farmers of the village combined work on numerous plots of land, while others hired themselves out on a temporary basis to major landowners. This point is important, as it shows that the villagers during this period were not tied to single plots of land or bound to particular landlords – as many Egyptian peasants would be in later periods – but could make independent decisions about how best to use their labour.

The first century saw the emergence of a new category of land in Egypt, the large estates or *ousiai*, which are particularly well-attested in the evidence from Euhemeria. So too are the farmsteads that were created in order to house workers on these estates, and the evidence from Euhemeria confirms the private nature of these *epoikia*, as well as offering some information about the facilities and structures found therein. The estates and associated *epoikia* were generally managed on behalf of their absentee owners by local managers, and the set of agricultural accounts in our corpus – which I argue came from the context of an *ousia* – shows many of the day-to-day activities involved in the administration of one such estate, a view that is not found in other documents of the first century. In contrast, the letters sent by a rather more humble landowner to his agent show that it was not only distant elite figures who owned property in the village: quite ordinary people too were active in amassing scattered plots of land and co-ordinating their management through employees. While the evidence discussed in this chapter generally supports existing knowledge about the classification of land, tenancy, and estate management, it serves

to offer a new perspective on these topics and how they manifested in a particular settlement in the early Roman period.

CHAPTER 4: Death and taxes

In this chapter, I analyse the role of the village scribe in the transition from the Ptolemaic to the Roman regime. This analysis will begin with a small dossier of three papyri related to a man called Herakleides. As discussed in chapter 2, these texts inform us that Herakleides was in post for the year 36/37 CE as the ‘village scribe’ (κωμογραμματεύς) of Euhemeria. The village scribe had been a feature of the Egyptian administrative landscape since Ptolemaic times. He was the state’s administrative representative at the level of the village (κώμη), and as such served a range of functions in the administration of the village.²⁶⁶

The primary duty of the *kōmogrammateus* never changed, from the institution of the role under the Ptolemies until the disappearance of the office in the fourth century.²⁶⁷ This was to maintain accurate and up-to-date records of the people living in the village, and of the land that they possessed (the cadastre).²⁶⁸ The village scribe had to compile reports summarising these records, which were submitted to his administrative superiors the ‘royal scribe’ (βασιλικογραμματεύς) and *stratēgos* in the nome capital; these were used to calculate the taxation burden to be imposed on each village.

As well as the administration of the land and the assessment of taxation, the Ptolemaic *kōmogrammateus* performed various secondary roles, similarly concerned with ensuring good agricultural yields and the resulting steady stream of income for the state.²⁶⁹ Most prominent among these was the maintenance of the irrigation system, which delivered water from the Nile to the fields of even the remotest villages. Several of these secondary functions were retained by the Roman holders of the office, as we will see in the evidence from Euhemeria. The Romans introduced

²⁶⁶ Evidence for the Ptolemaic *kōmogrammateus* revolves mainly around the archive of Menches [TM Arch 140], in post at Kerkeosiris towards the end of the second century BCE. On these texts, see the monograph by Verhoogt (1998). From the analysis it seems that Menches was ambitious and well-connected, making use of his office’s access to senior members of the administration.

²⁶⁷ The last attestation of the role is in CPR VII 18, a receipt for tax grain (Hermopolis, 367/379/394 CE).

²⁶⁸ Wallace (1938), 6-10. Cf. P.Count II, p. 29.

²⁶⁹ Secondary roles included the distribution of seed, the registration of animals and produce, and the allocation of monopolies. For an exhaustive treatment of the duties and functions of the Ptolemaic *kōmogrammateus*, still relevant in large part to the early Roman evidence, see Criscuolo (1978), 53-90.

systemic changes to the administration of the province throughout the first century CE, and, like many important administrative posts, the *kōmogrammateia* became a state liturgy at some point around 70 CE.²⁷⁰ The evidence upon which I will focus in this chapter, which dates from before this change, therefore offers an interesting perspective on a role in transition.²⁷¹

The Herakleides dossier

As established in chapter 2, the dossier of Herakleides consists of three documents from our corpus.²⁷² These documents relate to three of the key aspects of the village scribe's role: the assessment and collection of taxes; the maintenance of the irrigation system, through a system of sessions of compulsory labour (*corvées*); and the accurate recording of the village population. These aspects reflect the administration's twin aims of maximising revenue and exercising ideological control over the population, as I will demonstrate in the following analysis.

Corvées

Across Egypt, agricultural villages like Euhemeria depended on the annual Nile flood to water their crops. The floodwater was carefully controlled using an elaborate system of canals, dikes, and irrigation channels, to ensure that as much water as possible was diverted onto the fields.²⁷³ In the Arsinoite nome, the irrigation system was even more important than elsewhere in the country, as the entire depression received its water via man-made channels running off from the Nile

²⁷⁰ Cf. Lewis (1997 [1982]), 35 s.v. *κωμογραμματεία*.

²⁷¹ The best studied Roman village scribe is Petaus, who served in Ptolemais Hormou in the late second century CE. His archive [TM Arch 182] was studied by the editors of P.Petaus, the introduction to which is informative about how the nature of the *kōmogrammateia* changed over the course of the Roman period. Petaus was illiterate, and so entirely reliant on assistants to discharge his duties, a situation that was apparently problematic for the Roman authorities: cf. Youtie (1966) and (1973).

²⁷² P.Fay. 25, certificate for work on the embankments (17 August 37 CE); P.Fay. 29, notification of death (7 August 37 CE). Those two papyri are connected to Herakleides on prosopographical grounds. The third document, the receipt for bath-tax P.Fay. 46 (29 May 36 CE), was recovered from the same findspot as P.Fay. 29.

²⁷³ For discussion of techniques used for the management of water in the Mendesian nome, see Blouin (2012) 130-2.

valley.²⁷⁴ Since state revenues depended in large part upon taxation linked to the productivity of the agricultural land, the maintenance of the irrigation system was a key priority for the rulers of Egypt. Consequently, a regime of compulsory labour on the canals and dikes had been introduced by the Ptolemies.²⁷⁵ Workers were conscripted to clear the ditches of any obstructions, and to reinforce the embankments. They were compensated for their time by the royal government, but this payment was abolished under the Romans, when the work became compulsory.²⁷⁶ The *kōmogrammateus* was integral to the running of this regime: it was his responsibility to furnish the authorities, namely his superiors the *basilikogrammateus* and *stratēgos*, with lists of men who were eligible to carry out the work (γραφὰ ἀνδρῶν).²⁷⁷ One of the *descripta* published in P.Fay. is connected to this duty: it is an official communication addressed to the village scribe, instructing him to return a list of those eligible for work on the dikes to the sender, whose name is omitted.²⁷⁸ From the date of the papyrus, we can calculate that this message was in fact intended for Herakleides, who was in post at the time, and so this document too can be considered part of the Herakleides dossier. The papyrus, currently in New York, has been photographed, but awaits full publication.²⁷⁹

Having been conscripted, the men were set to work and, after discharging their duty, their work was recorded in a certificate of proof issued by the *kōmogrammateus*.²⁸⁰ Certificates for work on the embankments are commonly referred to in the scholarly literature as ‘five day’ (πενθήμερος) certificates, as the system of compulsory labour

²⁷⁴ On the irrigation of the Arsinoite nome, see Thompson (1999); her discussion focuses on Ptolemaic evidence, but the general points about the geography and hydrology of the region are applicable to our period.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Wallace (1938), 143.

²⁷⁶ Cf. Capponi (2005), 75f.

²⁷⁷ We should assume that the men listed were drawn from the men of poll-tax paying age (fourteen to sixty-two years old). An example of a contemporary γραφή ἀνδρῶν: P.Gen. II 91 [= SB VI 9224] (Philadelphia, 50/51 CE), submitted by a village scribe to the *stratēgos* Ammonios.

²⁷⁸ P.Fay. 214 descr., an official instruction directed towards the village scribe of Euhemeria (May-June 37 CE). I reproduce the first editors’ description (P.Fay., p. 302) here: ‘Message to the κωμογραμματεὺς of Euhemeria telling him to give the bearer a list of χωματερολάβοι. Dated in the first year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Pauni (A.D. 37).’

²⁷⁹ Columbia University Library (inv. P.Fay. 214); see the Columbia APIS website for the photograph. I had hoped to produce an edition of the papyrus, but was unable to decipher the dating formula satisfactorily. My reading of the first lines supports the editors’ description: κωμογρα(αμματεῖ) Εὐήμερ(είας), χ(αίρειν). τὴν τάξι[ν] [τῶ]ν | χωματερολαβῶν δώσεις [τῶ] ἀναδ[ι]δ(όντι) | σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον (‘To the village scribe of Euhemeria, greetings. You are to give a list of those who took up work on the embankments to the person who delivers this letter to you.’)

²⁸⁰ See Lewis (1959) for a discussion of the format of the certificates. There is an unpublished example of a *pentēmeros* certificate from Euhemeria, P.Fay. 286 descr. This certificate was issued during the reign of Claudius, so cannot be part of the Herakleides dossier.

was rationalised to require five days of work from each nominated man in around 45 CE.²⁸¹ Some scholars have argued that the *penthēmeros* duty was created as an alternative for those who wished to avoid paying a capitation tax called the ‘dike-tax’ (χωματικόν).²⁸² Others have advanced an opposite explanation, namely that the *chōmatikon* was introduced as a commuted cash payment (*adaeratio*) for those who were unwilling to spend five days clearing ditches and shoring up dikes.²⁸³ In either case, it is clear that the onus for keeping the precious water flowing to the fields was placed on the villagers themselves, rather than on the state.

The following document from the Herakleides dossier is an interesting example of a document which, at first sight, bears a strong resemblance to the *penthēmeros* certificates of the following decade, but which is in fact different from them in important ways, a fact which has not been noticed in previous scholarship.

P.Fay. 25, certificate for work on the embankments (17 August 36 CE)

παρ(ὰ) Ἡρακλείδ(ου) κωμογρ(αμματέως)
 Εὐήμερ(είας) Θεμίστο(υ) μερίδ(ος).
 εἰσὶν ὃ ἐν ἔργωι γεγονότ(ες)
 ἐν τῇ Μαγαείδι ἐπὶ τῷ {χώ(ματι)}
 5 χώματι τῆς Ἰωσσίδο(ς)
 ἀπὸ μη(νός) Μεσορῆ \κδ/ τοῦ ἐνεσ-
 τῶτο(ς) κβ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρο(ς)
 Σεβαστο(ῦ), ὃν τὸ κατ’ ἄνδ(ρα).
 Ὀρσενοῦφ(ις) Πουάρ(εως) Ὀξ(υρύγχων),
 10 Στοτουῆ(τις) Πεναῦτο(ς),
 Στοτουῆ(τις) Σελεουᾶ(τος),
 (γίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) γ.
 (ἔτους) κβ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
 [Σ]εβαστο(ῦ), Μεσ[ο]ρῆ κδ.

²⁸¹ Cf. Lewis (1997 [1982]), 51 s.v. χωματικὰ ἔργα. Earliest evidence: P.Bon. 31 (Tebtynis, 44/45 CE). Other early examples which explicitly refer to the duty as *penthēmeros*: P.Princ. II 40 (Theadelphia, 16 July 49 CE); P.Lond. II 165 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 1 August 49 CE).

²⁸² Foraboschi (1970). Cf. Capponi (2005), 75f.

²⁸³ Kenyon in P.Lond. II, p. 103. See also the comments of Wallace (1938), 140-3, who thought that Arsinoite villagers had both to pay the tax and to do the labour.

3. 1. oi

‘From Herakleides, village scribe of Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. These are the men who turned up to work in Magais on the Iossidos dike starting on the 24th of the month of Mesore of the current 22nd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, listed man by man: Orsenouphis son of Pouaris, from Oxyrhyncha; Stotoetis son of Penaus; Stotoetis son of Seleouas; 3 men in total. Year 22 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mesore 24.’

The document does record labour on the embankments, but is not a certificate issued to the men in question following a five day stint. Rather, it is a record, drawn up on the same day as the work was carried out, and presumably issued to a higher administrative official, rather than to the men themselves. The scribe, possibly Herakleides himself, did not include an addressee at the top of the document, but it was probably intended for the *stratēgos* or *basilikogrammateus*, the village scribe’s key administrative contacts.

There is no indication in this text that the men in question had been conscripted to carry out the ditch clearance. Rather, they are described as men who ‘turned up to work’ (ἐν ἔργῳι γεγονότες); this could refer as well to paid labour as to a corvée, which would indicate that, in this period at least, the administration augmented the numbers of those conscripted to clear the canals with paid workers.²⁸⁴ The presence in this text of a man called Orsenouphis from Oxyrhyncha (line 9) may be further evidence that the men listed in this papyrus were paid workers, perhaps even people who made a living as peripatetic labourers, rather than villagers who were liable for the corvée.²⁸⁵

The census

Although the oversight of the system of corvées was clearly important to the Roman administration, it was not the primary duty of the village scribe. His most important role, which was unchanged since the instigation of the village scribe office under the

²⁸⁴ Blouin (2012), 134 (with notes 97 and 98) finds a similar combination of conscripted workers with paid labourers in the second century Mendesian nome.

²⁸⁵ The precise location of Oxyrhyncha within the Arsinoite is unknown, but Clarysse (2007), 74f. (with map at p. 81) suggests that the village was located towards the south of the nome, near Kerkeosiris [TM Geo 1057] in the Polemon *meris*, i.e. some 25-30 km to the south of Euhemeria.

Ptolemies, was to register the people of his village. The periodic counting of the people was a very ancient aspect of Egyptian society, and there is evidence that some form of census had been taking place in Egypt since as early as the New Kingdom.²⁸⁶ The Ptolemaic government also carried out periodic counts of the population, and the system of registration infrastructure (including the system of *kōmai* and *topoi* as administrative units) was in place before the arrival of the Romans.²⁸⁷ However, it is clear that the scale and organisation of the Roman census were something quite new in Egypt. The census took place periodically, perhaps at seven years intervals under Augustus, before eventually settling into a regular pattern of fourteen-year intervals from the time of Tiberius onwards.²⁸⁸ The cycle of fourteen years was settled on in order to catch all males who reached the age of majority (at fourteen years old); they were liable until they turned sixty-two. The men of the Arsinoite nome paid a very high rate of poll-tax compared to other parts of Egypt: forty drachmas for villagers, twenty for ‘privileged’ *mētropolitai*.²⁸⁹

In order to obtain the census, the state required the heads of all households to submit a written declaration (*ἀπογραφή κατ' οἰκίαν*), detailing the people who lived in the household and any property that they possessed. Early Roman examples are scarce, but the extant examples do prove that such declarations were routinely submitted to the village scribe.²⁹⁰ One unpublished example from Euhemeria records ‘persons ἐπιξένης’.²⁹¹ This expression indicates people who had moved away from their places of census registration (*ἴδια*) to find work.²⁹² The existence of such a class of people in Euhemeria is another example – along with the ditch-digger Orsenouphis of Oxyrhyncha mentioned in P.Fay. 25 above – of the mobility of the population in this period.

As well as collecting the data from the census returns and declarations, the village scribe was required to keep the information in the taxing list up-to-date. He did this

²⁸⁶ See P.Count II, p. 13 for bibliography on the Pharaonic ‘census’.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Capponi (2005), ch. 4 esp. pp. 84-9.

²⁸⁸ On the beginnings of the census, see Bagnall (1991). He argued there that the census was operational as early as c. 12 CE but did not settle into the pattern of fourteen-yearly cycles until 19 CE. In a newer article, Claytor & Bagnall (2015) published a new declaration from Theadelphia, dated to 3 BCE (P.Mich.inv. 4406a), and argued that the Romans were moving away from an ‘ad hoc’ system based on Ptolemaic precedents as early as 11/10 BCE (p. 644).

²⁸⁹ See Rathbone (1993), 87.

²⁹⁰ E.g. SB XX 14440 (Theadelphia, 22 January 11 CE?). Ed. pr. Bagnall (1991), 260-5.

²⁹¹ P.Fay. 299 descr.

²⁹² On the term *epi xenēs*, see Calderini (1954). He gives a list of other attestations at 20f.

by requiring heads of houses to notify him in writing whenever a relative was born or died.²⁹³ This practice is attested in the next document from the Herakleides dossier.

P.Fay. 29, notification of death (7 August 37 CE)

Ἡρακλείδῃ κωμογραμμ[α(τεῖ)]
Εὐημερίας
παρὰ Μύσθου τοῦ Πενε-
ουήρεως τῶν ἀπ[ὸ Εὐ]η-
5 μερίας τῆ[ς] Θεμίστου
μερίδ[ο]ς. ὁ ἀδ[ε]λ(φός) Πενεοῦρις
Πενεούρεως λαογραφού-
μενος περ[ὶ τ]ῆ[ν] προκιμέ-
νην κόμην τετελεύτη-
10 κεν ἐν τῷ Μεσ[ο]ρῆ μην[ί]
τοῦ πρώτο[υ] (ἔτους) Γαίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ. δι[ὸ] ἐ[π]ιδί-
δημί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνη[μ]α
15 ὅπως ταγήι τοῦ[το τὸ] ὄν[ο]μα
ἐν τῇ τῶν [τετ]ελευτη-
κότων τάξ[ει κατὰ] τὸ ἔ[θ]ος.
[Μύσθης Πενεούρεως]
ὡς (ἐτῶν) μβ οὐ[λ(ῆ)] πήχ(ει) δεξιῶ
20 υ. . ω
(ἔτους) α Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ, Μεσ[ο]ρῆ.ιδ.

(hand 2) (ἔτους) [α]
Γα[ί]ου Καίσαρος
25 [Σ]εβαστοῦ Γερμανικ[ο]ῦ,
Μεσορῆ ιδ.

²⁹³ Cf Bagnall & Frier (1994), 27. The earliest known example of a death notification is P.Oxy. IV 826 descr. (2/3 CE).

8-9. I. προκειμέ|νην 13-14. I. ἐπιδί|δωμί

‘To Herakleides, village scribe of Euhemeria, from Mysthas son of Peneouris, from Euhemeria in the Themistou meris. My brother Peneouris son of Peneouris, registered for the poll-tax living near the aforesaid village, died in the month of Mesore of the first year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. As a result, I submit this notice to you so that his name may be put on the list of the deceased, according to custom. Mysthas son of Peneouris, about 42 years old, with a scar on his right forearm. Year 1 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Mesore 14. (hand 2) ... Year 1 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Mesore 14.’

P.Fay. 29 is a typical example of a notification of death in terms of both its diplomatics and its content.²⁹⁴ Death notifications had to be submitted both to the village scribe (as P.Fay. 29 was) and the *basilikogrammateus* in the nome capital. We know this from a first century notification of death which exists in duplicate; although the copy is badly damaged, it is clear that the exemplar was meant for the village scribe, the copy for the royal scribe.²⁹⁵

Taxation in Euhemeria

As the preceding analysis of the documents in the Herakleides dossier has shown, the village scribe was the key official who recorded data on the people of the village and supplied those data to the state administration. The main use for this information was the calculation of the tax liabilities of the village as a whole, as well as of the individual inhabitants. The following section of the chapter will discuss the numerous tax receipts from Euhemeria in the first century of Roman rule, beginning with the poll-tax, before moving on to a range of subsidiary taxes which were exacted alongside it.

²⁹⁴ The standard format of a death notification was established by Montevicchi (1946). Compare the list of examples contemporary with our material at Youtie (1976), 56.

²⁹⁵ SB XIV 11586 (Philadelphia, June-July 47 CE). Copy: SB XIV 11587.

The poll-tax (*laographia*)

There has been considerable academic debate over the extent to which the Roman poll-tax carried on existing Ptolemaic institutions, versus the extent to which it represented something innovative.²⁹⁶ Although the matter is not settled, there is general agreement that the Roman poll-tax had a new, ideological dimension, quite distinct from its Ptolemaic predecessor: it was a powerful symbol of Egypt's subjection to her new Roman masters.²⁹⁷ It is also generally agreed that the Roman state used the census and poll-tax as part of their social re-organization of the province. Under the new set-up, the population of Egypt was divided into a hierarchy of social statuses, their privilege reflected in the amount of poll-tax that their members paid. Those at the top were either exempted (Roman and Alexandrian citizens) or taxed at a reduced rate (the *mētropolitai*).²⁹⁸ Those at the bottom, embracing virtually everyone else in the province, paid the full rate, a situation which sent a clear message about their place in the new social order. The creation of fiscally and socially privileged groups can be seen as an important part of the Roman process of municipalisation, which aimed where possible to devolve local government onto local elites, whose co-operation was ensured by offering them an elevated position in the new society.²⁹⁹

The centrality of the poll-tax in the lives of ordinary villagers is made apparent in a petition from Theadelphia, contemporary with our material.³⁰⁰ The petitioner, a public farmer called Marsisouchos, complained to the *basilikogrammateus* that he was being harassed by the scribe Soterichos, who worked in the office of the *kōmogrammateus*. He claimed that Soterichos had trumped up 'some charge related to the accounts' (τίς | ποτε τῶν λόγων, lines 16-17), presumably a charge of delinquency in poll-tax payments, and used this as a pretext to have Marsisouchos

²⁹⁶ See Wallace (1938), 418 with notes 1-4 for a summary of the early stage of the debate. Wallace's own position was that the Romans adapted the Ptolemaic system, rather than creating something dramatically new. On the other hand, Lewis (1970), 6f. perceived considerable Roman innovations. This view held sway until quite recently, when Capponi (2005) and Monson (2012) both argued that the Augustan evidence indicates that, at least in the first years following annexation, the Romans preserved much of the Ptolemaic taxation infrastructure.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Rathbone (1993), 86; Bagnall & Frier (1994), 30.

²⁹⁸ On questions of status difference with regard to the poll-tax, see Monson (2012), 262-72.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Bowman & Rathbone (1992).

³⁰⁰ P.Col. VIII 209 (Theadelphia, 11 October 3 CE). Ed. pr. Keyes (1928) [= SB VI 7376]. The petition exists in duplicate, with the copy being in two fragments: P.Mert. I 8 (which corresponds more or less to lines 1-24 of P.Col. VIII 209); and P.Mil. II 43 (= lines 33-44). See Daris (1965) for collation of the texts and analysis of their contents.

detained by the village tax-collector and guard.³⁰¹ This petition highlights how important payment of the poll-tax was for ensuring a quiet life in Roman Egypt. The mere allegation of delinquency led to disastrous consequences for Marsisouchos, who was left out of pocket by the experience, having been forced to hand over security in the form of a cloak to gain his freedom from detention. In addition, his livelihood was disrupted because he was obstructed from working his land by Soterichos.³⁰² Marsisouchos' story reminds us how important the physical evidence of tax-payment was. His request formula, at the end of the petition, emphasises his need to recover his tax receipts, which had been taken away by Soterichos, leaving him unable to prove that he had paid his dues:

‘Since Soterichos still has with him my receipt(s)³⁰³ for the poll-tax for the last six years, I ask you to order Soterichos to appear before you, so that he will receive orders to stop harassing me and to give back to me what he is keeping of mine, in order that none of the public revenues will be lost’.³⁰⁴

The next three documents from our corpus are tax receipts like those that Marsisouchos was so keen to recover. Though generally unexceptional in their form and content, these pieces of documentation were of vital significance to the villagers who received them, as Marsisouchos' story shows, and I analyse them on this basis.

The first of the three receipts is for a payment of an unspecified nature, but which is very likely to have been the poll-tax due to the amount of the payment, which was a monthly instalment of twelve drachmas.³⁰⁵

P.Fay. 43 receipt for poll-tax (?) (18 August 28 BCE?)

³⁰¹ Cf. Keyes (1928), 25.

³⁰² P.Col. VIII 209.27-35: ὁ | δ' αὐτὸς Σωτήριχος ἀπη|νέγκατό μου ἰμάτιον καὶ ἐ|νεπόδισέν με ἐν τοῖς κατὰ | τὴν κατασπορὰν ὧν <γ> εωρ|γωί (l. γεωρ|γῶ) δημο[σ]ίῳν ἐδαφῶν, | τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπιγοντος (l. ἐπείγοντος), ὥσ|τε βλάβος μοι οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐ|πακλουθῖν (l. ἐ|πακολουθεῖν) ('The same Soterichos took away my cloak and blocked me in my attempts to carry out the sowing of the public fields which I farm, even though it was getting late in the season, so that no small harm has been done to me.')

³⁰³ P.Col. VIII 209.36-7 has σύμ|βολον (singular), but P.Mil. II 43.4 has σύμβολα (plural), which seems more likely to me, unless we imagine that Marsisouchos kept a single sheet onto which six successive tax receipts were copied or pasted.

³⁰⁴ Lines 35-44: ἐπι (l. ἐπει) οὖν ὁ Σωτήριχος ἐχι (l. ἔχει) μου παρ' ἑατῶι (l. ἐαυτῶι) σύμ|βολον λαογραφείας ἐτῶν ἕξ, | ἀξιῶι (l. ἀξιῶ) συντάξαι καταστήσαι | τὸν Σωτήριχον ἐπὶ σέ, ὅπως | δ<ι>αστολὰς λάβηι ἀπέχεσθαί | μου, ἐπαναγκασθῆι δὲ | ἀποδοῦναί μοι ἅ ἐχι (l. ἔχει) μου, | ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν δημοσίῳν δ<ι>απέσηι.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Rathbone (1993), 88 with n. 19.

Ἀρπαησιώ(ν) Νήλος Ἄκρο(υσιλάφ) Ἀκ(ουσιλάου) χα(ίρειν).
διαγεγρ(άφηκας) ιβ (δραχμῶν) τοῦ β (ἔτους)
(unintelligible) ιβ χα(λκοῦ). (ἔτους) β, Μεσο(ρή) κδ.

(hand 2) Νεῖλος συνεπηκλ[ού-]

5 θηκα.
(ἔτους) β, Μεσορή κδ.

4. 1. συνεπηκολούθηκα.

‘Harpaesion (also known as) Neilos, to Akousilaos son of Akousilaos, greetings. You have paid 12 drachmas in year 2 ... 12 bronze drachmas. Year 2, Mesore 24. (hand 2) I, Neilos, was present for the transaction. Year 2, Mesore 24.’

The Romans introduced new terminology to describe their poll-tax, based around the word *λαογραφία* (‘registration of the people’).³⁰⁶ The use of *λαογραφία* and its cognates for the poll-tax is evident in P.Fay. 29 (discussed above), where the notifier used a participle from the verb *λαογραφέω* (lines 7-9) to describe his deceased brother as having been ‘registered for the poll-tax’ in their home village.³⁰⁷

The Ptolemaic capitation charge, which was the precursor to the Roman *laographia*, had commonly been referred to as the *σύνταξις* (literally ‘contribution’). This charge differed in some important ways from its Roman replacement: most notably, it was paid by all Egyptians, both men and women.³⁰⁸ The use of the word *syntaxis* to describe capitation charges was supposedly abandoned, in order to avoid confusion, after 30 BCE. However, there are numerous examples of official documents from the Arsinoite nome that continued to refer to a *syntaxis* in the Roman period: one such example comes from Augustan Theadelphia, in which the declarant registers himself to pay a tax which he calls the *syntaxis*.³⁰⁹ It is possible that this word does not refer to the poll-tax, but rather to one of the raft of other financial transactions which the

³⁰⁶ Lewis (1970), 6: ‘... it is a simple fact that the poll tax called *laographia* was a Roman innovation.’

³⁰⁷ Parts of the verb *λαογραφέω* are also found in contemporary receipts, e.g. P.Merton I 9.6 (Theadelphia, January 12 CE); P.Gen. III 137.4 (Philadelphia, 8 December 50 CE).

³⁰⁸ For a thorough overview of the Ptolemaic practices of registration and capitation taxes, see P.Count. II, pp. 39-59.

³⁰⁹ P.Grenf. I 45 [= Chr.W. 200a] (Theadelphia, 28 January 19 BCE), lines 6-8: ἀπογράφομαι | ἐματων (I. ἐμαυτὸν) εἰς τὸ ια (ἔτος) Καίσα(ρος) | τελῶν σύνταξιν.

word σύνταξις could signify.³¹⁰ However, the phrasing of the declaration is clearly reminiscent of standard poll-tax declarations, and seems to show that the people of the Arsinoite nome continued to use the familiar terminology of the Ptolemaic period to describe the new Roman tax.³¹¹ On the basis of this parallel, I argue that the *syntaxis* receipt from our corpus should be seen as another attestation of the Roman poll-tax

O.Fay. 47, receipt for *syntaxis* (25 BCE-25 CE?)

Φαρμο(ῦθι) θ, Τούθης Ἀφοῦς ὑπ(ἐρ)
ἐκλόγο[υ τῆς συ]ντάξεως
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς) δ.

‘Pharmouthi 9. Touthes son of Aphous, for payment of the *syntaxis*, 4 silver drachmas.’

The small amount received (four drachmas) marks this out as the record of payment of a single instalment, rather than the total amount.

Syntaximon

Alongside λαογραφία and σύνταξις, we also find the word συντάξιμον used in early Roman tax receipts. Scholars in the first part of the twentieth century believed that the *syntaximon* was simply another designation for the poll-tax.³¹² However, the payment most commonly attested in *syntaximon* receipts is forty-four drachmas and two/six *chalkoi*.³¹³ This odd amount, somewhat higher than the usual flat rate of forty drachmas due for the poll-tax in the Arsinoite nome, confirms that the *syntaximon* was the name given to the payment of the *laographia* plus certain

³¹⁰ Monson (2014), 213-16 makes the argument that the word σύνταξις did not necessarily denote the capitation charge in the Ptolemaic evidence, as it could also denote everything from temple subsidies to official salaries; his points might also be applied to Roman documentation.

³¹¹ Cf. Rathbone (1993), 87 and 88 with n. 17 and 18.

³¹² Cf. Keyes (1931), 264 n.7. He cites Wilcken, and Kenyon (P.Lond. II, p. vii), as early proponents of this view.

³¹³ Ibid. for a list of comparable receipts with amounts paid.

additional administrative charges.³¹⁴ This theory is borne out by the following document from Euhemeria.

P.Alex. 15, receipt for *syntaximon*

(recto, column 1)

- [(ἔτους)] Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
[-ca.?-] ιθ μετὰ λόγον τῆς λ
[δια(γέ)γρα(φεν) διὰ -ca.?-] Ἡρακλῆς Πισάιτ(ος)
[συνταξ(ίμου) τοῦ αὐτοῦ -ca.?-] (ἔτους) Εὐημ(ερίας)
5 [ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς τεσσαράκ]οντα τέσσαρες
[ἡμιωβ(έλιον) χ(αλκοῦς) β, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μδ (ἡμιωβέλιον)] χ(αλκοῦς) β
ύικ(ῆς) α (ὀβολός).
- [(ἔτους) -ca.?-]υ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
[-ca.?-] Νε(οῦ) Σεβαστοῦ κδ δια(γέ)γρα(φεν)
[διὰ -ca.?- Ἡρακλ]ῆς Πισάειτο(ς) συνταξ(ίμου)
10 [τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) -ca.?- Εὐη]μ(ερίας) ἀργυρίου (δραχμᾶς)
ὀκτώι (δραχμᾶς) η
[Χοίακ . . (δραχμᾶς) τέσσαρ]ες (δραχμᾶς) δ Τῦβι κη (δραχμᾶς) ὀκτώι
[(δραχμᾶς) η Μεχειρ . . (δραχμᾶς)] τέσσαρες (δραχμᾶς) δ μηνός
[Φαμενώθ -ca.?-] (δραχμᾶς) τέσσαρες (δραχμᾶς) δ Φαρμο(ῦθι)
[. . (δραχμᾶς) τέσσαρες (δραχμᾶς) δ] Παχών κε (δραχμᾶς)
τέσσαρες (δραχμᾶς) δ
15 [-ca.?- Π]αχών λ (δραχμᾶς) τέσσαρες (δραχμᾶς) δ
[Παῦνι . . (δραχμᾶς) τέσσαρ]ες (δραχμᾶς) δ
[(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μδ (ἡμιωβέλιον)] χ(αλκοῦς) β ύικ(ῆς) α (ὀβολός).

³¹⁴ Wallace (1938), 123. These charges varied from place to place, but the ‘salt charge’ (άλικῆ) was a common addition. Cf. Rathbone (1993), 88.

ro 1.5. 1. τέσσαρας 1.10. 1. ὀκτῶ 1.11. 1. ὀκτῶ 1.12. 1. τέσσαρας 1.13. 1. τέσσαρας
1.14. 1. τέσσαρας; 1. τέσσαρας 1.15. 1. τέσσαρας 1.16. 1. [τέσσαρ]ας

‘Year of Caesar Augustus, (month) 19, after the account of the 30 (?).

Herakles son of Pisais paid, through the agency of (name lost), forty-four silver drachmas [and two bronze hemiobols] for the *syntaximon* for the same year at Euhemeria, [equals 44 drachmas and 2 bronze hemiobols,] plus one obol for the pig-tax.

Year XX of Caesar Augustus, Neos Sebastos [= Hathyr] 24. Herakles son of Pisais paid, through the agency of (name lost), eight silver drachmas for the *syntaximon* at Euhemeria = 8 drachmas; on Choiach (date), four drachmas = 4 drachmas; on Tybi 28, eight drachmas = 8 drachmas; on Mecheir (date), four drachmas = 4 drachmas; in the month of Phamenoth, four drachmas = 4 drachmas; in Pharmouthi, four drachmas = 4 drachmas; on Pachon 25, four drachmas = 4 drachmas; on Pachon 30, four drachmas = 4 drachmas; in Pauni, four drachmas = 4 drachmas. [Total: 44 drachmas and] 2 bronze hemiobols, plus 1 obol for the pig-tax.’

The last phrase of each section of the receipt (‘plus one obol for the pig-tax’) makes explicit that the *syntaximon* was payment of the poll-tax plus other local charges.³¹⁵ In Euhemeria, the charges bundled with the *laographia* to form the *syntaximon* are likely to have included the bath-tax, which I will discuss in the following section.

Other taxes

Bath-tax (balaneutikon)

Bathing was a central aspect of life in Euhemeria, and the village sported two bath-houses by the time it was abandoned in the fourth century.³¹⁶ Four receipts in our corpus reveal that at least one of these must have been a ‘public bath’, maintained

³¹⁵ The pig-tax is also attested in a contemporary receipt: P.Fay. 230 descr. (Theadelphia, April-May 26 CE). This suggests that the exaction of this particular charge may have been a habit of the western Arsinoite nome.

³¹⁶ See the section on the archaeology of the village in chapter 1. Cf. the draft petition P.Ryl. II 124, which recounts an assault carried out on the petitioner’s wife and mother-in-law at a bath-house by a gang of other women.

via a charge called the ‘bath-tax’ (βαλανευτικόν).³¹⁷ The four Euhemerian pieces are arranged alongside comparable material from other parts of the Arsinoite nome in the table below.³¹⁸

Table 4.1: Receipts for bath-tax (Arsinoite nome, first century CE)

Text	Provenance	Date	Tax-payer	Payment	Name of tax
O.Fay. 2	Euhemeria	23 May 23 BCE	Heras (f.)	14 obols	τέλος βαλανευτικόν
O.Mich. I 120	Karanis	7 May 3 BCE	Palaomis	1 drachma	βαλανευτικόν
O.Fay. 3	Euhemeria	23 July 3 BCE	Sambathion; Dystheon	18 obols total	τέλος βαλανευτικόν
O.Mich. II 750	Karanis	12 May 1 CE	Papees; Apis	1 dr. (each)	ὑπὲρ βαλανείου
O.Deiss. 75	Arsinoites	4-5 CE	Mysthas	3 obols	τέλος βαλανευτικόν
O.Fay. 4	Euhemeria	6 May 24 CE	Menches	4 drachmas	τέλος βαλανευτικόν
SB XX 14383 ³¹⁹	Philoteris	7 May 29 CE	Tanesneus (f.)	2 drachmas	βαλανευτικόν
O.Fay. 5	Philoteris	19 August 34 CE	Hermias	? obols	βαλανευτικόν
P.Fay. 46	Euhemeria	29 May 36 CE	Anchouphis	5 obols	βαλανευτικόν
P.Mich. V 234	Tebtynis	16 June 38 CE	Taorseus (f.)	1 drachma	ὑπὲρ βαλανείου

³¹⁷ Cf. Wallace (1938), 155: ‘When the Romans took over the administration of Egypt they established public baths supported by taxation. [Such baths] did exist in the Fayûm, certainly at Euhemeria and Caranis and probably at Theadelphia and Tebtynis.’ The money paid for the bath-tax was used to maintain the baths and perhaps other public amenities used by all villagers: cf. Bagnall & Sijpesteijn (1977).

³¹⁸ There is a large number of comparable receipts for bath-tax on ostraca from mid- to late-first century CE Thebes (O.Bodl. II 463-513). By far the most common payment for the βαλανευτικόν there is a single obol.

³¹⁹ An ostracon. Ed. pr. Sijpesteijn (1987).

Text	Provenance	Date	Tax-payer	Payment	Name of tax
P.Mil. I 12 (lines 1-8)	Theadelphia	20 April 53 CE	Aunes	2 dr. 3 obols	ὑπὲρ βαλανείου

The *balaneutikon* was a capitation charge exacted from all villagers, rather than a fee charged per visit to the baths. Female villagers (their names marked with f. in the table above) as well as males were liable for payment, as the first of the receipts from Euhemeria shows.

O.Fay. 2, receipt for bath-tax (23 May 23 BCE)

(ἔτους) ζ, Παχῶν ιη, δι(έγραψεν)

Ἡρᾶς χήρα μήτηρ Ἡρωνος

τέλ(ους) βαλαν(ανευτικοῦ) Εὐημερ(είας) δι(ὰ) Ἡρωνος ἐπὶ λ(όγου)

ὀβολ(οῦς) δέκα τέσσ<σ>αρες, (γίνονται) (ὀβολοὶ) ιδ. (hand 2) Ἡρων σεση-

5 με<ί>ωμαι.

‘Year 7, Pachon 18. Heras, a widow, the mother of Heron, has paid fourteen obols into the account through the agency of Heron, for bath-tax at Euhemeria, equals 14 obols. (hand 2) I, Heron, have signed it.’

Bath-tax receipts were highly formulaic, as the next piece from Euhemeria demonstrates. This ostrakon was issued twenty years after the first, but exhibits almost identical phrasing and layout:

O.Fay. 3, receipt for bath-tax (23 July 3 BCE)

ἔτους κζ Καίσαρος, Ἐπειφ κη,

δι(έγραψαν) Σαμβαθέ(ων) καὶ Δυσθέω(ν)

τέλ(ους) βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) Εὐη(μερείας) χα(λκοῦ) ὀβ(ολοῦς) δέκα

ὀκτώι, (γίνονται) ιη.

4. 1. ὀκτώ

‘Year 27 of Caesar, Epeiph 28. Sambathion and Dystheon have paid eighteen bronze obols for bath-tax at Euhemeria, equals 18.’

The third receipt (O.Fay. 4) was issued twenty years later still, yet is still very similar in its form and content:

O.Fay. 4, receipt for bath-tax (6 May 24 CE)

(ἔτους).ι Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,
Παχῶ(ν) ια, διαγέ(γραφε) Μενχ(ῆς) Πάτρων(ος)
τέλ(ους) βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) Εὐ(ημερείας) ἐπὶ λό(γου) (δραχμάς) τέσσαρας,
(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.

‘Year 10 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pachon 11. Menches son of Patron has paid four drachmas into the account for bath-tax at Euhemeria, equals 4 drachmas.’

In O.Fay. 4, the amount of bath-tax payable seems to have increased to four drachmas, up from fourteen and eighteen obols in O.Fay. 2 and 3 respectively. Perhaps the rate of bath-tax was increased during the intervening period. More likely, the first two receipts record the payment of single instalments, whereas O.Fay. 4 records payment of the total, or a lump sum of several instalments.

The last bath-tax receipt from Euhemeria (P.Fay. 46) is rather different from the others.³²⁰ First and foremost, it is supported by a papyrus rather than an ostrakon, a trend which is also reflected in the other later bath-tax receipts in the table of comparison above.

P.Fay. 46, receipt for bath-tax (29 May 36 CE)

(ἔτους) κβ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,
Παῦνι δ, δι(έγραψεν) Ἀγχοῦ(φισ) Κάστωρος
προδ() βαλαν(ανευτικοῦ) Εὐ(ημερείας) ἐπὶ λ(όγου)
ὀβολ(οὺς) πέντε, (γίνονται) (ὀβολοὶ) ε.

5 (hand 2) Ἡρᾶς σεσημίομαι.

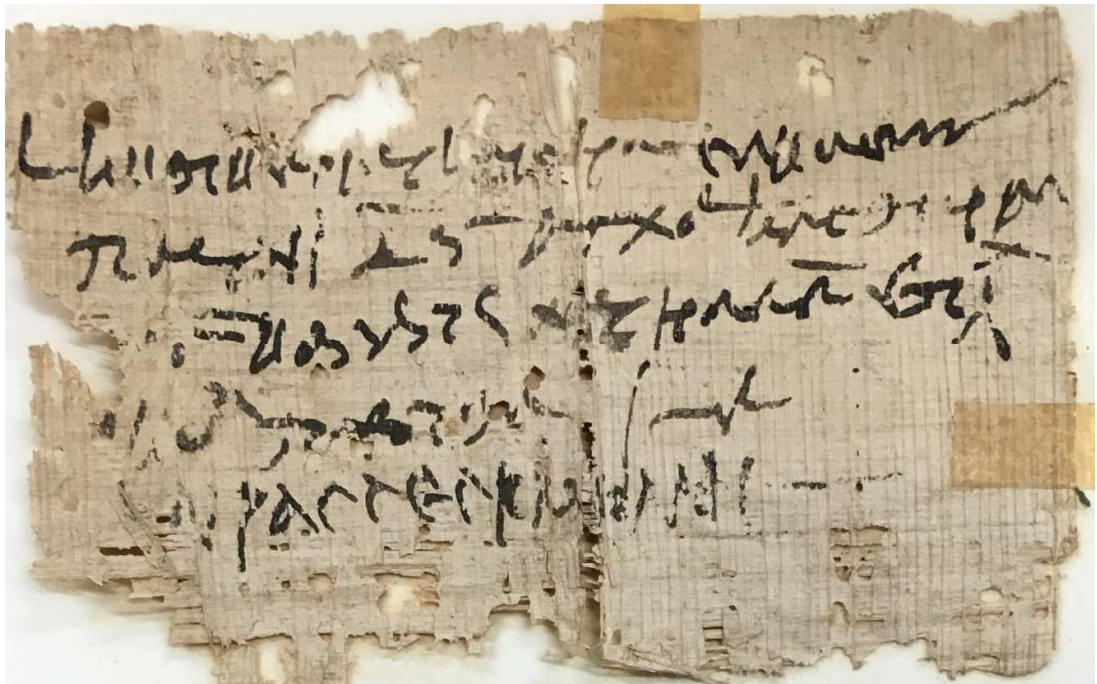
5. 1. σεσημείωμαι

³²⁰ This is the only papyrus from the Fayum in the Manchester Museum collection. It was part of a donation from the EEF to Owens College Museum (now simply the Manchester Museum), made on 14 December 1903: cf. Manchester Museum Egypt Archive Correspondence, ID 359.

‘Year 22 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pauni 4. Anchouphis son of Kastor has paid five obols into the account for bath (tax) at Euhemeria, equals 5 obols. (hand 2) I, Heras, have signed it.’

I am unconvinced by the reading $\pi\rho\omicron\delta$ () at the beginning of line 3, which was supplied without explanation by Preisigke.³²¹ The first editors simply dotted the letters, and ruled out the possibility that they represented an abbreviated form of $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.³²² However, on the strength of all the parallels, that is what is required at this point in the text. As the photograph below shows, the papyrus is damaged at the critical point, but I would not absolutely reject a reading of $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, based on what remains.³²³

Image: P.Fay. 46 (my own)



³²¹ BL I, p. 130.

³²² P.Fay., p. 170: ‘The word at the beginning is probably part of the name of the tax; but it is not an abbreviation of $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.’

³²³ I am grateful to Dr Campbell Price for giving me permission to view the receipt, as well as the other papyri in the Museum.

P.Fay. 46, like O.Fay. 2, was signed in a second hand with the verb *σεσημείωμαι* ('I have signed/approved it').³²⁴ Fuks believed that the bath-tax receipts from Euhemeria were issued by a bank (*τράπεζα*) in the village; according to this interpretation, these signatures would be marks added by bankers, acknowledging deposit of the payments.³²⁵ While there is evidence that village banks could and did act as collection points for various taxes, there is no concrete evidence that such an institution existed in Euhemeria in the first century.³²⁶ In my opinion, it is much more likely that Heron and Heras, the men who signed our bath-tax receipts, were tax-collectors (*πράκτορες*).

Under the Ptolemies, tax-farmers (*τελῶναι*) bid for contracts to collect taxes for the state, guaranteeing to deliver certain sums each year, but hired *praktōres* did the actual collection of the money ('door-knocking').³²⁷ The collection of taxes was eventually taken out of private hands by the Romans, and a liturgical *πρακτορεία* is attested from the early second century CE onwards.³²⁸ However, our evidence comes from the early first century, when most of the system of liturgies was not yet in place. At this time, it seems that *praktōres* were entrepreneurs who collected taxes for profit.³²⁹

A *praktōr* who conforms to this image is attested in one of the documents from Euhemeria.³³⁰ In the petition, submitted to a centurion called Gaius Trebius Iustus, the petitioner Petermouthis complained that he had been assaulted and robbed of his money belt (*ζώνη*) by two shepherds. From the address, we learn that Petermouthis was 'a public farmer and collector of public taxes, as well as a farmer on the estate of

³²⁴ The same verb is encountered in various other officially-endorsed documents of the period, e.g. P.Coll.Youtie 18, a receipt for pasture tax (Kerkeosiris, 5 June 7 BCE); BGU XIII 2306, a customs receipt (Soknopaiou Nesos, 5 Jan 51 CE); BGU III 748 col. i and ii, a pair of receipts for payment of sales tax (Arsinoite, 1 June 61 CE). It is regularly encountered in *penthēmeros* certificates, on which see above.

³²⁵ C.Pap.Jud. II 409 (p. 178) [= O.Fay. 3].

³²⁶ Cf. Capponi (2005), 166f with n. 71. Unlike today, banks in Roman Egypt were not primarily credit lending facilities, but rather secure locations where villagers and the state could store cash: on early Roman banks, see Clarysse & Vandorpe (2007).

³²⁷ Wallace (1938), 28f. on Ptolemaic *praktōres*. Cf. Lewis (1970), 141f.

³²⁸ Cf. Lewis (1997 [1982]), 42 s.v. *πρακτορεία*. First evidence: PSI I 56 (Hermopolis, January-February 107 CE).

³²⁹ The best documented *praktōr* of the period is Nemesion, who operated in Philadelphia, ca 30-60 CE. His archive [TM Arch 149] has been studied by Hanson (1989). She describes Nemesion as: '... a respectable man of business who understands how to manipulate to his own advantage the political and social system currently existing in his village, his district, and his country – now a satellite of Rome' (p. 440).

³³⁰ P.Ryl. II 141, petition (April-May 37 CE).

Antonia wife of Drusus'.³³¹ Alongside his farming obligations, Petermouthis collected 'public taxes' (τὰ δημόσια) on the side. Even if he was only 'hired muscle' used to pick up cash payments from other villagers, this position apparently put him in touch with members of a higher echelon of society, such as the centurion Iustus, who we would not ordinarily expect to have an interest in the affairs of an Egyptian farmer. Petermouthis ended his petition with an unusual formula: he asked Iustus to take action, '... so that none of the public revenues will be lost'.³³² The implication of the phrase is that the state suffers when its representatives at the village level are injured. The formula might also be read as a veiled threat: perhaps Petermouthis was suggesting that he would neglect to carry out his tax-collection if his dispute with the shepherds went unheeded by the authorities. In either case, Petermouthis' decision to use this formula indicates that an effective way to attract the attention of the state was to suggest that the tax revenues might stop flowing in.³³³ The Romans preferred to govern in a hands-off manner, but only so long as the people were quiescent and their taxes were paid on time.

Army supply tax (anabolikon)

Having dealt with the bath-tax, the next sections will cover two further taxes attested in our corpus of evidence from Euhemeria. The following ostrakon furnishes a rare attestation of a tax called the ἀναβολικόν.

O.Fay. 49, receipt for *anabolikon* (5 October 19 CE?)

ἔτους ἕκτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶφι ζ, δι(έγραψε) εἰς βι-
 ου . . . γνωγον Θωναρίμφης
 (δραχμὰς) ἑκατόν, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ρ, καὶ τιμῆς
 5 ἀναβολικ(οῦ) ε (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) τη.

³³¹ Lines 5-8: δημοσίου γεωργοῦ | καὶ πράκτορος δημοσίων | γεωργοῦντος δὲ καὶ Ἀγρωγίας | Δρούσου.

³³² Lines 24-5: ... ἴν<α> μηδὲν τῶν | δημοσίων διαπέση. The same formula occurs in P.Col. VIII 209.43-4 (see above), and in P.Wash.Univ. II 77.36-7 (Oxyrhynchos, October-November 21 BCE). Both were submitted by public farmers.

³³³ For the rhetorical strategies employed by petitioners, see Chapter XX of this thesis.

‘The sixth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Phaophi 7. Thonarimphes has paid one hundred drachmas into the ... equals 100 drachmas, and for the value of the *anabolikon* for year 5, 18 drachmas.’

From the few pieces of evidence available for this tax, scholars have hypothesised that it was paid by all inhabitants of Egypt to cover the export of certain items (mainly glass, papyrus, flax, and hemp) to other parts of the empire, particularly the city of Rome itself; this interpretation, though, is far from certain.³³⁴ There are only four attestations of the tax before 270 CE, and the dearth of evidence contributes to the obscurity of the tax.³³⁵ The patchy attestations do seem to indicate that the *anabolikon* was not a regular impost. Wallace argued that it was levied only when the state needed to raise extra income in order to supply the legions for a campaign: in this regard, it could be seen as a counterpart to the *annona*, the collection of wheat to supply the army stationed in Egypt itself.³³⁶ Because it was universal, it is possible that the *anabolikon* was collected as part of the *syntaximon* in the years when it was raised. This would place its collection within the remit of the *kōmogrammateus*.

Brewer’s tax (parazytopoia)

The last tax found among the receipts from Euhemeria is one levied on the production and sale of beer. Beer-drinking was strongly associated with Egypt, and beer taxes are therefore common in the papyrological evidence. A tax called the ζυτηρά, paid by those who took out leases to brew beer under the Ptolemaic monopoly scheme, had existed in Egypt for centuries before the Roman conquest.³³⁷ However, the *zytēra* continued to be paid even after the arrival of the Romans, when the monopolies were abolished; the purpose of this Roman iteration of the tax is rather unclear.³³⁸ One argument states that the Romans made the tax sumptuary, but

³³⁴ For other attestations of the *anabolikon*, see Lewis (1942), 70-5.

³³⁵ Cf. Sheridan (1999), 211f. She concludes that this early iteration of the tax was probably different from the most frequently-attested Late Antique iteration, which she believes was a tax in kind paid in linen.

³³⁶ Cf. Wallace (1938), 214-9. He thought that O.Fay. 49 related to an instance of the *anabolikon* imposed to pay for Germanicus’ planned invasion of Armenia in 18 CE.

³³⁷ Earliest evidence: P.Cair.Zen. II 59176, list of daily expenditures (Philadelphia, June-July 255 BCE).

³³⁸ Cf. Nelson (1976), 121. An early Roman example: O.Fay. 9 (Theadelphia, late first century BCE).

since everyone in Egypt was assumed to drink beer, the *zytēra* was eventually bundled into the *syntaximon*, at least in certain parts of Egypt.³³⁹

The tax attested in two documents from Euhemeria was not the *zytēra*, though, but rather a ‘brewers’ tax’ (παραζυτοποιία).³⁴⁰ The name implies that this was a trade tax, payable only by those who brewed beer. However, both receipts refer to payments ‘on each man’ (κατ’ ἄνδρα), which phrasing reveals that the *parazytopoiia* was in fact a capitation charge like those already discussed. Both documents come from the reign of Nero, and a beer-tax is not attested in Euhemeria before this date. The first of the two attestations is an ostrakon, like most of the tax receipts that we have encountered in this chapter.

O.Fay. 10, receipt for brewers’ tax (55-68 CE?)

[(ἔτους) . . . Ν]έρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
[Σεβαστο]ῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορο(ς),
[Φαμε]νῶ(θ) δ, Κοπίθων καὶ Σάτυ(ρος)
[παραζ]υτοπ(οία)ς κατ’ ἄνδ(ρα) Εὐημ(ερείας)
5 [ἀργ]υρίου (δραχμὰς) τέσσ]αρες, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.

‘Year XX of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator,
Phamenoth 4. Kopithon and Satyros, for the brewers’ tax on each man of
Euhemeria, four silver drachmas, equals 4 drachmas.’

From this receipt, we learn that the amount payable for the *parazytopoiia* was four drachmas, although we cannot tell from this single ‘snapshot’ whether Kopithon and Satyros were paying a single instalment or their entire year’s total. I think that the latter is more likely, as a monthly payment of four drachmas would equal the poll-tax, which was a far more significant impost.

The second document related to the brewers’ tax (P.Fay. 47) is rather unusual: it is the only papyrus in our corpus that supports texts drawn up on separate occasions. The first text clearly attests a payment of the *parazytopoiia*.

³³⁹ Cf. Hanson (1982), 49 n. 6. The evidence presented is a single papyrus supporting three separate receipts for beer-tax on the verso (Philadelphia, 67-71 CE) [= SB XVI 12332].

³⁴⁰ The first editors of these texts read the name of the tax as ζυτοποιία (P.Fay., p. 170), but the full name was later restored (BL VIII 317) on the basis of Gallazzi’s editorial comments at O.Tebt.Pad., pp. 49f. The *parazytopoiia* is attested only in the two documents from Euhemeria.

P.Fay. 47 (i), receipt for brewers' tax (9 February 61 CE)

ἔτους ζ Νέρωνος Κλαυδί(ου)
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος, Μεχ(εῖρ) α, δι(έγραψε)
Πετεσοῦχο(ς) Ὀρσενούφεως

5 ὑ(πὲρ) παραζυτοπ(οῖας) κατ' ἄνδ(ρα) ζυτοπ()
Εὐημ(ερείας) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)
ἐπὶ λόγο(υ) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρες, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ,
καὶ τῆ ιε ὁμοί(ως) ἐπὶ λ(όγου) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρ(ας),
(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.

7. 1. τέσσαρας

'Year 7 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus
Imperator, Mecheir 1. Petesouchos son of Orsenouphis has paid four
drachmas into the account for the brewers' tax on each man of Euhemeria for
the same year, equals 4 drachmas, and on the 15th he likewise paid into the
account four drachmas, equals 4 drachmas.'

Here, we see that Petesouchos made two payments of four drachmas in the same month. Why he did so is unclear, especially if four drachmas was the yearly, rather than the monthly, rate for the *parazytopoia*. Perhaps he was in arrears, or else building up credit. The second text, written at the bottom the same sheet but, in my opinion, in a different hand, records two further payments by the same Petesouchos in different (non-consecutive) months of the following year.

P.Fay. 47 (ii), receipt for brewers' tax (?) (26 June 62 CE)

10 ἔτους η [Νέ]ρων[ο]ς Κ[λ]αυδ[ίου]
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Ἀθῦρ [. .]
δι(έγραψε) Πετεσοῦχος Ὀρσενο(ύφεως) ἀπὸ τιμῆ(ς)
ζύτου ἐπὶ λόγο(υ) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) η,
'Ἐπ<ε>ἰφ β, ἄλλας (δραχμὰς) τέσσα[ρας], (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.]

13. 1. ὀκτώ

‘Year 8 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus

Germanicus, Hathyr ... Petesouchos son of Orsenouphis has paid eight drachmas into the account for the price of beer, equals 8 drachmas, and on Epeiph 2, another four drachmas, equals 4 drachmas.’

Whereas receipt (i) called the tax *parazytopoiia*, receipt (ii) simply says that the payments are ‘for the price of beer’ (ἀπὸ τιμῆς ζύτου). This phrase usually indicates that a payment in kind has been commuted into money (*adaeratio*), but since receipt (i) also records a cash payment, I do not think that that is the case here. Perhaps the *parazytopoiia* was phased out at some point in 62 CE, explaining the different phrasing: it is never attested again in the papyri. However, it is also possible that the tax was unique to Euhemeria, in which case its existence may indicate that villages had some say in the schedule of taxes that they paid, although further study is required to confirm this.

In summary, taxation was as much of an inevitability for Egyptians as it is for us. The nine tax receipts which I have discussed in this chapter show the variety of different taxes that were paid by the villagers of Euhemeria, and remind us that the taxation of its subjects was one of the many ways in which Rome profited from its empire. Although these receipts are not especially remarkable when taken in isolation, when taken together and placed within their broader context, their significance and interest emerge. I have argued that the receipt for the *syntaxis* and the receipt for the *syntaximon* are in fact both attestations of different aspects of the Roman poll-tax, usually called the *laographia*. The *syntaxis* receipt shows continuity with pre-Roman antecedents, because it preserves the terminology used to describe the Ptolemaic capitation charge. The *syntaximon* receipt, on the other hand, represents something new: the combination of the *laographia* with numerous other taxes and administrative costs, which could vary from place to place.

It is possible that the bath-tax, attested by the four receipts in our corpus, comprised one of the elements of the *syntaximon* in Euhemeria; if true, this would connect the bath-tax to the figure of the *kōmogrammateus* in Euhemeria (and thus, indirectly, to the dossier of Herakleides). The *praktōres* who collected the bath-tax occupied a transitional stage between the freelance tax-collectors of the Ptolemaic era and the

liturgical *praktores* who emerged in the early second century CE. The receipt for *anabolikon* from Euhemeria is the earliest evidence for the payment of this extraordinary tax in Egypt. If the hypothesis that the *anabolikon* was used to raise funds for military campaigns across the empire holds true, then O.Fay. 10 should serve as a reminder that even a small village like Euhemeria was connected to events taking place in the wider Roman world, and that political and military decisions taken in Rome had ramifications in the Arsinoite *chōra*. Finally, the tax called the *parazytopoia* is found nowhere outside our corpus. Therefore, the two receipts recording its collection in Euhemeria might be evidence that, to a certain extent, the village was allowed to decide its own idiosyncratic schedule of taxes. This theory would probably be found to be true for each village of Roman Egypt, if only they had all preserved as many tax receipts on ostraca as did Euhemeria.

Representative of the state

After the preceding analysis of the evidence provided by the village's tax receipts, I will now return to the figure of the village scribe. As we have seen in the previous sections, this officer was closely linked to the assessment and collection of taxes. This gave him a unique status as the representative of the Roman state within the Egyptian village. The separation of the *kōmogrammateus* from his fellow villagers was compounded by the fact that an office-holder could not serve in his own place of origin (ἴδια), but was required to move to another village for the duration of his tenure.³⁴¹ This rule was presumably enforced in order to avoid corruption, and to prevent the shortfalls in tax revenue that would surely have resulted if villagers had been allowed to assess the taxation of their friends and families. Therefore, although they were themselves Egyptians, village scribes like Herakleides were also in a sense outsiders, transplanted into small communities to serve the ends of the Roman state. This must surely have influenced the way that they were viewed by the inhabitants of the villages where they served. On the one hand, their association with the poll-tax might have made them unpopular with certain sections of the populace. On the other,

³⁴¹ Cf. Derda (2006), 149f. Although unusual for village officials, this practice was in fact quite normal for other important administrators. For example, Smolders (2005) presents the case of a first century *basilikogrammateus* called Chairemon, who came originally from the Arsinoite but served in the Thebaid.

though, they might have derived some status and influence from their connection to the ruling regime.

The following piece of evidence shows that village scribes were important and influential figures within their adopted communities. It is a petition to an unknown official, composed in Karanis during the reign of Claudius.³⁴² In the first part of his narrative, the petitioner (whose name and status are lost) describes how two of his donkeys were stolen from their stable in Karanis. He reported the theft to the *archepodos* of Karanis, and together they tracked the donkeys (and the thieves) to the nearby village of Bakchias. I reproduce the second part of the narrative here.

P.Mich. VI 421, petition (Karanis, 41-54 CE)

ὁ δὲ τῆς Βακχιάδος ἀρχέ-
φοδος Πασίων καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ ἐκόλυ-
σαν ἡμᾶς ἤδη μελλόντων τοὺς αἰτίους κα-
ταλαμβάνειν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς· κατε[ί]χοσαν ἐμέ
τε καὶ τὸν τῆς Καρανίδος ἀρχέφοδον καὶ τὰ μὲν
20 ὕδατα κατεάξαντες καὶ τὰς κράνους ἀφαρπά-
σαντες ἐν συνοχῇ ἐποίησαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς
ἕως μὴ δυνασθῶμεν συνλαβεῖν τοὺς αἰτίους.
ἔπειτα ἀπενεγκάμενοι ἡμῶν σαγὰς δύο καὶ τοὺς
ἄρτους καὶ μηλωτὴν καὶ χλωκτὰ δύο καὶ καδί-
25 κισάν με πληγαῖς καὶ εἰπὼν ὁ κωμογραμματεὺς καὶ <οἱ>
πρεσβύτεροι ἀνήγκασαν ἡμᾶς ἀπολυθῆναι.

24-5. 1. κατήκισάν 25. 1. εἰπόντες 26. 1. ἠνάγκασαν

‘But Pasion, who is the *archepodos* of Bakchias, and the guards from the customs house there held us back just as we were about to catch the guilty parties red-handed. They grabbed me and the *archepodos* of Karanis, and, having smashed our water-jars and taken away our walking-sticks, they put us in a cell for three days, until there was no possibility that we could catch up with the suspects. Then, having taken away two of our pack-saddles, our loaves, a sheepskin, and two (feed-bags?), they beat me, until the

³⁴² P.Mich. VI 421 (Karanis, 41-54 CE).

kōmogrammateus and the *presbyteroi* spoke up and forced them to release us.’

According to this version of events, the *archephodos* Pasion abused his power, and acted without good reason to prevent the petitioner from apprehending the thieves and recovering his stolen property. The claim that Pasion robbed and beat his prisoners (one of whom was a colleague) further emphasises the sense that he was corrupt, and acting outside his proper remit. This apparent miscarriage of justice was stopped only by the village elders (πρεσβύτεροι) and the village scribe, who confronted the *archephodos* and ordered him to release his prisoners. Since *presbyteroi* had no legal jurisdiction – their influence derived from their status as honoured members of the community – their intervention in this situation can have placed only moral pressure on Pasion to do the right thing. I suspect that the petitioner’s freedom was actually secured by the presence of the village scribe, whose status as an official representative of the state could not be ignored by Pasion. It is even possible, although we have no concrete evidence for it, that early Roman village scribes retained some of the judicial functions of their Ptolemaic predecessors, meaning that the village scribe of Bakchias had the authority to intervene in a case of wrongful detention.³⁴³

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have used a small dossier of texts associated with the village scribe of Euhemeria to explore the larger role of this figure within the village community, and by extension the ways in which the Roman administration exerted its authority on this particular village community. I have documented the village scribe’s role in organising corvées, which benefited the state by promoting a well-maintained irrigation system. The evidence for this topic in our corpus revealed that corvée workers were accompanied by paid labourers in this period, and that some of these workers came from other villages in search of this work. The primary function of the village scribe in registering the population and administering their taxation burden was covered in the second part of the chapter. I have shown that, despite a continuity of terminology with the Ptolemaic capitation tax, the poll-tax in Euhemeria was

³⁴³ On the Ptolemaic village scribe’s judiciary functions, see Criscuolo (1978), 81-9.

something different to what had come before. I have also suggested that the taxes bundled together with the poll-tax to form the *syntaximon* payment may have varied from village to village, and that the schedule of taxes exacted in this period therefore varied across Egypt. Having covered the topics of (notifications of) death and taxes, the inevitable burdens imposed by the Romans on villagers in a subject province, the next chapter will move on to evaluate ways in which the people of Euhemeria found ways to work together and consolidate their social and economic lives separately from the Roman state.

CHAPTER 5: Working together

This chapter investigates the evidence from Euhemeria for groups of people in the village who formed voluntary associations to their mutual economic and social advantage. Previous scholarship on this topic in early Roman Egypt has focused on the extant regulations of some voluntary associations from the village of Tebtynis. These regulations, discussed in the first part of this chapter, tell us a great deal about how the members of the associations in Tebtynis conceived of their relationship to one another, as well as how those relationships impacted on their economic and social lives. However, they tell us very little about the day-to-day workings of the associations themselves.

In the second part of the chapter, I present a dossier of ostraca from Euhemeria that goes some way towards addressing this gap in the evidence. The dossier consists of four items excavated by Grenfell and Hunt with firm provenance in Euhemeria, augmented by three ostraca purchased on the antiquities market, which I associate with the village on the basis of prosopographical information and textual similarities. I argue that these ostraca are delivery instructions circulated between members of an association of animal owners (κτηνοτρόφοι), and were used to co-ordinate the transportation of agricultural produce around the village for paying customers who lacked their own pack animals.

In the last section of the chapter, I return to the ideology that lay behind the formation of associations in Egypt, and use the example of a further document from our corpus, drawn up by members of an association of Euhemeria's weavers, to argue that the conviviality and trust that the Tebtynis regulations sought to enforce did not always correspond to the reality of working together with one's peers.

Voluntary associations in Egypt

Groups of people who adhered to a particular religious cult, or who shared an occupation, were common across the ancient world, and are often encountered in the papyrological evidence. They are usually referred to in the papyri by the Greek terms κοινόν, σύνοδος, συνεργασία, and πλῆθος, but could also simply be known by the

name of their profession in the plural, e.g. ‘the weavers of Euhemeria’.³⁴⁴ Although some scholars have seen these groups as equivalent to the Latin *collegia* found in the western Roman Empire, the Egyptian examples probably represent the fusion of an indigenous tradition of collective activity within certain industries with the religious and social elements of the *σύνοδοι* found across the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean.³⁴⁵

In some respects, ancient associations bore a passing resemblance to medieval guilds, and scholarship on the topic, especially from the earlier part of the twentieth century, tended to refer to them by that name.³⁴⁶ This analogy was refuted by Finley, who stated in no uncertain terms that ‘there were no guilds’ in antiquity, largely because he did not find any evidence that the ancient associations wielded economic or political influence comparable to their medieval counterparts.³⁴⁷ Finley’s view was challenged by Van Minnen, who believed that ancient professional groups, specifically those of skilled craftsmen in Roman Egypt, were ‘economic actors’ in their own right, as well as social venues for their members.³⁴⁸ Van Minnen, though, appreciated certain differences between the ancient and medieval institutions, specifically that an ancient guild was ‘defined by its members’ rather than a permanent institution, and ‘did not necessarily include all professional workers in a specific craft’.³⁴⁹ In recognition of these differences, new terminology was sought by Kloppenborg in his collection of essays on social and economic groups in the ancient world: he settled on the term ‘voluntary associations’, which reflects the fact that the groups were often spontaneously formed without state intervention, and could embrace religious, economic, and social functions simultaneously.³⁵⁰

Voluntary associations probably existed in every village of the Arsinoite nome in the first century CE, but our evidence for that period is dominated by a series of

³⁴⁴ Cf. Venticinque (2010), 277. The weavers of Euhemeria are attested in P.Ryl. II 94 (15-36 CE), discussed in the third section of this chapter.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Préaux (1948); Taubenschlag (1959). For evidence of Pharaonic associations, see Gibbs (2011), 291f.

³⁴⁶ E.g. Boak (1937), title: ‘The organization of guilds in Greco-Roman Egypt’.

³⁴⁷ Finley (1985 [1973]), 138.

³⁴⁸ Van Minnen (1987), with explicit statement of opposition to Finley at p. 31.

³⁴⁹ Van Minnen (1987). Definition: 48f. n. 59; (lack of) exclusivity: 51.

³⁵⁰ Kloppenborg (1996). For discussion of terminology, see pp. 1f.

regulations – that is, contracts detailing the accepted rules of membership endorsed by the members – drawn up at the *grapheion* of Tebtynis.³⁵¹ These were discovered among the papers in the archive of Kronion, the *grapheion* administrator (νομογράφος) of Tebtynis in the first half of the first century CE.³⁵² The following table lists the regulations, along with some lists of association members that were probably drafted prior to the writing up of other regulations at the *grapheion*.

Table 5.1: Documents related to associations in the Tebtynis grapheion archive

Text	Genre	Provenance	Date	Association
P.Mich. V 243	Regulations	Tebtynis	14-37 CE	? ³⁵³
P.Mich. V 244	Regulations	Tebtynis	26 August 43 CE	κοινόν of <i>apolysimoi</i>
P.Mich. V 245	Regulations	Tebtynis	18 August 47 CE	κοινόν of salt merchants
P.Mich. V 248	List of 9 members	Tebtynis	45-7 CE	?
P.Mich. V 246	Regulations	Tebtynis	43-49 CE (?)	σύνοδος of Harpocrates
P.Mich. V 247	List of 16 members	Tebtynis	Early first century CE	?

The largest of the associations in Tebtynis was apparently the *koinon* of the ἀπολύσιμοι, which consisted of twenty-four members: we know the number because the members endorsed their regulations by adding their signatures to the bottom of the document.³⁵⁴ This is at the larger end of the typical scale for such associations,

³⁵¹ The most important pieces of evidence, the regulations P.Mich. 243-8 are discussed in detail by Boak (1937), and again by the same scholar in P.Mich. V, pp. 90-6.

³⁵² On the archive of Kronion [TM Arch 93], see the introductions to P.Mich. II and V, and the summary of later scholarship gathered by Van Beek (2013), later republished in Vandorpe, Clarysse & Verreth (2015), 215-21.

³⁵³ It is possible that the anonymous association of P.Mich. V 243 was of animal-rearers (προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι), as one of the regulations stipulates that members had to give a present to a fellow member who acquired new sheep or cattle, which would have been an occasion for celebration among those who made their living from trading in animals: cf. Boak (1937), 215; P.Mich. V, p. 92; Gibbs (2011), 39.

³⁵⁴ P.Mich. V 244. The signatures of the *apolysimoi* form the three columns in the bottom half of the document, visible on the photograph available on the University of Michigan website.

which usually had between ten and twenty-five members.³⁵⁵ There is debate about the nature of the *apolysimoi*: Preisigke thought that they were veterans of the Roman army, who were allocated plots of land and exempted from taxes on those properties; Boak, on the other hand, believed that they were workers on estates owned by members of the imperial family, who were exempted from certain public service such as the *corvées* discussed in the previous chapter.³⁵⁶ The latter view is more persuasive because certain members of the association are too young to have been veterans.

The associations attested in the Tebtynis regulations centred around a principal figure or ‘president’, who could be called the *προστάτης* (P.Mich. V 243), *ἡγούμενος* (P.Mich. 244), *ἐπιμελητής* (P.Mich. 245), or a combination of these titles.³⁵⁷ All of these presidents carried out more or less the same functions, which included organising the monthly social events that brought the members together, calling business meetings related to their shared occupation, collecting fees and – in the case of the *apolysimoi* – tax payments from members, and taking responsibility for seizing pledges from members who were in default on their fees and other payments. In the Tebtynis regulations, the presidents acted alone at the heads of their associations, and were probably also responsible for any administration and paperwork.³⁵⁸ However, in other places and centuries it was more common for the president to be assisted in the bureaucratic aspects of an association by a ‘secretary’ or ‘scribe’ called the *γραμματεὺς*.³⁵⁹

Why did these associations come together? The regulations of the salt merchants (P.Mich. V. 245) imply that only members of the association were permitted to sell salt in Tebtynis and the surrounding area, suggesting that one of the aims of this society was to corner the local market. All members were allowed to sell salt in Tebtynis itself, while individual members were assigned by lot the rights to sell salt

³⁵⁵ Cf. Venticinque (2010), 278. In Italy, *collegia* could be much larger, e.g. the *collegium* of carpenters at Ostia, which had more than 300 members in the second century CE: CIL XIV 4569.

³⁵⁶ Argument for veterans: WB s.v. *ἀπολυσιμότης*. Argument for estate workers: P.Mich. V, p. 101f. Venticinque (2011), 279 n. 16 erroneously cites Boak as a proponent of the veterans theory, which he endorses (*ibid.*, 277 n. 10).

³⁵⁷ San Nicolò (1972 [1913]), 6-7 calls the main official the ‘Hauptperson’. Cf. P.Mich., p. 102: ‘There is no real distinction, however, between these titles.’

³⁵⁸ On the administrative function of presidents, see San Nicolò (1972 [1913]), 41.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Boak (1937), 214. Examples of *grammateis* of groups with common professions (expressed in the genitive plural) can be found in the *grapheion* accounts P.Mich. II 123 (45/46 CE) and 124 (46-9 CE), e.g. Heraklas the secretary of the fishermen (123 col. 14.37).

and gypsum in one of the orbiting villages (e.g. Orseus in Kerkeesis, Harmiysis in Tristomos).³⁶⁰ The regulations forbade members from selling salt to outside traders individually, but allowed such sales to be made collectively (κοινῶς), which further supports the idea that this particular association was formed in order to create beneficial economic conditions for the whole group.³⁶¹ Likewise, the members agreed minimum prices at which they would sell salt in their concessions, and fines that would be imposed on members who sold at lower prices, ensuring that no member could undercut another.³⁶² These regulations, with their emphasis on concessions, prices, and a closed market, give the impression that the association of the salt merchants was formed for primarily economic reasons. However, it may be the case that the salt merchants did not represent a ‘typical’ association: the important nature of the salt trade – the production of salt was a Ptolemaic monopoly, and the trade was regulated again in later centuries – may explain the economic focus of the conditions outlined in this text.³⁶³

Economic factors were certainly not the sole driving force behind the formation of associations.³⁶⁴ Even in P.Mich. V 245 there is evidence that socialising and commensality were an important part of the salt merchants’ activities: towards the end of the document, we are told that ‘they shall drink together regularly, on the 25th of each month’.³⁶⁵ These social aspects were an important part of the groups’ identities and activities, and it may be the case that the associations were designed to provide a ‘more accessible social and civic forum’ for non-elite members of society, who were excluded from the top-tier institutions like the gymnasium.³⁶⁶ The social networks that bound together the members of the associations in Tebtynis also provided economic benefits, meaning that the social and economic sides of these groups cannot easily be disentangled. These mixed benefits included the creation of a forum for the exchange of information, expertise, and resources connected to the

³⁶⁰ P.Mich. V 245.9-21.

³⁶¹ P.Mich. V 245.26-31.

³⁶² P.Mich. V 245.21-6.

³⁶³ On the Ptolemaic salt monopoly, see Wallace (1938), 183f. Gibbs (2011), 296 questions the typicality of the salt merchants’ association.

³⁶⁴ Cf. Bowman (1986), 111, who finds that: ‘... social activities and obligations played an equally important role’ in the formation of associations.

³⁶⁵ P.Mich. V 245.34: πίονται κατὰ μῆνας ἀεὶ τῆ κε.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Muhs (2001), 19.

members' shared profession; the social aspects of the associations also fostered trust between members.³⁶⁷

The κτηνοτρόφοι of Euhemeria

In the next section of the chapter I will present a dossier of texts from Euhemeria that provides a useful complement to the regulations from Tebtynis. While those documents show the way that associations conceived of themselves, and the benefits and obligations that fell to the individual members, the Euhemerian evidence sheds light on the actual workings of an association in practice.

The association in question was that of the κτηνοτρόφοι (literally 'animal-rearers') of Euhemeria. Animals were vital to the life of the villages of Roman Egypt: pigs were raised for meat, and often lived alongside their owners in the courtyards of shared houses; chicken were kept for their meat and for their eggs; sheep and goats provided milk and cheese for consumption (cows were rare), and their wool was used by Egypt's large and important textile industry.³⁶⁸ Large animals like oxen were used to plough fields and drive irrigation machinery.³⁶⁹ Perhaps most importantly of all, donkeys were used for all kinds of land transportation, and were much better suited to the bumpy and boggy terrain of the Arsinoite nome, criss-crossed by canals and ditches that made wagons impractical.³⁷⁰

Sales of donkeys are quite common in papyrological evidence, and prices in the second century varied between 160 and 250 drachmas for an adult animal.³⁷¹ This put them beyond the reach of most of the villagers in places like Euhemeria.³⁷²

However, those villagers still required the use of donkeys from time to time, in order

³⁶⁷ This is the main argument of Gibbs (2011). See esp. pp. 307-8: '... it is evident that trade associations provided their members with economic, religious, and societal benefits, while also offering an identity in the civic context of the province as a whole.'

³⁶⁸ See Lewis (1983), 130-3 on domestic animals.

³⁶⁹ Cf Bowman (1986) 102f. On irrigation machinery more generally, see Tacoma (1998), 123.

³⁷⁰ Bagnall (1985b), 5.

³⁷¹ Johnson (1936), 230f. In a contemporary sale document (P.Koeln I 54, Krokodilopolis, 16 April 4 BCE), an adult male donkey cost 40 drachmas. Other examples, which lack prices, include: P.Louvre I 13 (Soknoapious Nesos, 7 February 29 CE); PSI XX 6 (Tebtynis, July 41 CE); P.Louvre I 14 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 12 October 44 CE); SB XVI 13073 (Nilopolis, 3 December 51 CE); P.Bingen 61 (Tebtynis, February-March 56 CE).

³⁷² Lewis (1983), 130 calculates that a donkey was equivalent to 'two to four months wages of a hired hand'. See also Scheidel (2010), 427-33 for the use of the price of donkeys (among other commodities in an ancient 'consumption basket') as a measure for calculating the value of wages in the second century.

to perform various tasks associated with agricultural work, such as the delivery of rents in kind to state granaries at harvest time. This provided an opportunity for those who were able to afford to keep a donkey: they could lease their animal out to people who required its services on a temporary basis. I argue that this kind of arrangement was the genesis of the association of the *ktēnotrophoi* of Euhemeria. These were not the people who were charged with looking after the animals on a day-to-day basis, but rather the people who owned them.³⁷³ These men must have found it convenient to band together as a group, perhaps in order to pool their donkeys, allowing them to take on more customers.

Terminology

The terminology in papyri relating to animals and the people who made their living from them should be considered carefully, as it has not received enough attention. In the following discussion we will encounter the terms πρόβατον and κτήνος. The primary meaning of πρόβατον is ‘sheep’, but its semantic field also embraces other four-legged animals.³⁷⁴ The same is true of κτήνος, which corresponds roughly to the English ‘domestic animal’, and can refer in different contexts to oxen, sheep, horses, and mules.³⁷⁵

The flexibility of the terminology means that apparent distinctions in the papyri between those called *ktēnotrophoi*, and those called *probatoktēnotrophoi*, are illusory. This is illustrated by the attestations of the word προβατοκτηνοτρόφος in our corpus. In two instances, the word is used to describe figures who have allowed sheep under their care to graze down other people’s crops.³⁷⁶ In these circumstances, it seems that there is a clear relationship between the word προβατοκτηνοτρόφος and the animal the sheep. However, in a third attestation, the person designated as a προβατοκτηνοτρόφος has no apparent connection to sheep: rather, we are told that he supplied a donkey to the landowner Ammonios, discussed already in chapter 3.

³⁷³ Cf. Bowman (1986), 111, who observes that associations in antiquity tended to be made up of people of a slightly higher social level: ‘... in Marxist terminology, they were composed of the owners of the means of production, not of the workers’.

³⁷⁴ WB s.v. πρόβατον: ‘Schaf’. Cf. LSJ s.v. πρόβατον: ‘all four-footed cattle’.

³⁷⁵ LSJ s.v. κτήνος 2.

³⁷⁶ P.Ryl. II 131.16-24, where the *probatoktēnotrophos* is named Hamiysis. P.Ryl. II 143.11-15, where the *probatoktēnotrophos* is Seras.

P.Ryl. II 229 (recto), letter (20 February 28 CE)

Ἀμμώνιος Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ
φιλάτῳ χαίρειν.
ἔγραψα ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Ἡράκλῃ(ον)
τὸν π[ρ]οβατοκτη(νοτρόφον) ἵνα δοῖ σοι ὄνον,
5 καὶ Ὡφελίῳ ἐνετειλάμην
ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς δοῖ ἑτέραν καὶ τοὺς
ἄρτους μοι πέμψη. ἐπεὶ οὖν
ἔπεμψάς μοι (ἀρτάβας) γ ἐρωτῶ σε
ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου εὐθέως μοι
10 πέ[μ]ψαι τὰς ἄλλας (ἀρτάβας) γ καὶ τὸ
ὄψάριον, ἐπεὶ ἐν πλοίῳ εἰμί.
περὶ δὲ τῆς τροφῆς τῶν χοιριδίων(v)
καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ) τῆς τιμῆς(ς) τοῦ χόρτου πρό-
χρησον ἕως οὗ παραγένωμαι,
15 δοκῶ γὰρ συναιρόμενος πρὸς σὲ
λογάριον. παρεδεξάμην σοι πάντα.
παρακάλεσον οὖν τὴν γυναῖκά
σου τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις ἵνα ἐπιμελῆ-
ται τῶν χοιριδίων· ἐπιμελοῦ δὲ
20 καὶ τοῦ μόσχου. πάντω(ς) δέ, Ἀφροδίσιε,
τοὺς ἄρτους μοι πέμψον καὶ τὸ ὄψάριον,
ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς γράψον μοι τίτι
δῶ εἰς τὸν χόρτο(v) καὶ εἰς τροφή(v) ἄλλας (δραχμὰς) κ.
ἔρρω(σο). (ἔτους) β Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ(ῶ) Μεχ(εῖρ) κς.

4. 1. δῶ 6. 1. δῶ

‘Ammonios to my dearest Aphrodisios, greetings. I wrote a letter to Herakleios the animal-rearer, telling him to send you a donkey, and I instructed –elion that he should also send another one himself, and that he should send the loaves to me. Since you have sent me only 3 artabas, I ask you at all costs to send me the other 3 artabas and the fish-pickle immediately, since I am on a boat. Regarding the food for the pigs and the

remainder of the price of the hay, borrow it until I get back, and I will settle the account with you then. I have explained all that needs doing to you, so ask your wife on my behalf to look after the piglets, and make sure you take care of the calf. Whatever else you do, Aphrodisios, send me the loaves and the fish-pickle! If you would, write to me (saying) to whom I should give the other 20 drachmas for hay and fodder. Goodbye.

The *probatoktēnotrophos* Herakleios in this papyrus has no apparent connection to sheep. The editors, perhaps in recognition of this fact, translated the word *προβατοκτηνοτρόφος* in this papyrus as ‘herdsman’. There is, however, a problem with this choice: the word ‘herdsman’ implies that Herakleios was involved only in the day-to-day supervision of the animals under his care. The letter, however, makes clear that Herakleios was not simply a donkey-driver: he was a supplier of animals, to whom villagers could apply in order to obtain the short-term use of an animal.

I argue that there was a tangible difference between those, like Herakleios, who owned and bred animals on the one hand, and those who were hired to look after or handle those animals on the other. This difference has not been sufficiently acknowledged in previous scholarship, and the use of the rather vague term ‘herdsman’ for a *προβατοκτηνοτρόφος* or *κτηνοτρόφος* disguises the fact that these people fulfilled a different role, and occupied a different socio-economic level, to the shepherds and donkey-drivers attested by the words *ποιμήν* and *ὄνηλάτης*.³⁷⁷

One contemporary document, in which a petitioner accused a *probatoktēnotrophos* called Bendetis of assaulting him, having withheld pay and allowances (*μετρήματα καὶ ὄψωνία*), shows that the *probatoktēnotrophoi* were not simply itinerant shepherds: they could be employers, and it is possible that the petitioner – whose occupation is lost – was even a shepherd that Bendetis had hired.³⁷⁸ Further proof that *probatoktēnotrophoi* engaged in business activities comes from another first century document, in which a *probatoktēnotrophos* named Apollonios applied to

³⁷⁷ The numerous petitions complaining about illicit grazing by sheep tend to call the men who were supposed to be looking after them *ποιμένες*: e.g. P.Lond. II 445 (Bakchias, 14-19 CE); P.Oslo II 123 (unknown provenance, 12 November 22 CE), and many of the petitions from Euhemeria: P.Ryl. II 132, 147, 152, etc. On these documents, see chapter 6.

³⁷⁸ P.Mich. V 228, petition (Tebtynis, 24 November 47 CE).

lease a plot of land, stating that he required it ‘for pasture’ (εις κατανέμησιν).³⁷⁹ This shows a *probatoktēnotrophos* with the resources to take out leases of land in order to provide for the animals in which he was invested, and further runs against the idea that these figures were simple shepherds.

In the preceding discussion, I have established that, although the terminology used to describe those who worked with animals in the villages of early Roman Egypt is slippery, it is possible to discern a distinction in occupation and in social status between men who owned and bred animals for profit, and those who simply dealt with them on a day-to-day basis. These clarifications are important for the following discussion, which centres on the evidence for the association of *ktēnotrophoi* of Euhemeria.

Papyri

The first two documents in our corpus that relate to the *ktēnotrophoi* of Euhemeria are two of the receipts for hay issued to the sons of Asklepiades, as discussed in chapter 3.

P.Ryl. II 183, receipt for hay (6 August 16 CE)

Ἀνχορίνφιδι Ἡρακλείδου προστάτης ἰδίων ὄνων
Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου(υ) ἐπισπουδαστοῦ Ἀφροδ(ισίω)
καὶ Πετερμουθίωφι τοῖ(ς) δυσὶ Ἀσκληπ(ιάδου) χα(ίρειν). ἀπέχω
παρ’ ὑμῶν τὰς ἐπεσταλμένας μοι δοθῆναι
5 διὰ χρηματισμοῦ Εὐημέρου καὶ Φιλοξένου γενή(ματος)
πρώτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
χόρτου διμνώου δέσμας χιλίας ἐν Εὐημερί[α]
ἐν μηνὶ Μεσορῆ τοῦ β (ἔτους), (γίνονται) χό(ρτου) δέ(σμαι) Α.
(ἔτους) β Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορῆ ιγ.
10 ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Μάρων γραμματεὺς) κτηνοτρόφω(ν) Εὐη(μερίας)
διὰ τὸ μὴ ἰδέναί αὐτὸν γράμματα.

³⁷⁹ P.Iand. III 26a.3-4 (Theadelphia, late first century CE). For the noun κατανέμησις, cf. P.Ryl. II 141.16.

7. 1. διμναίου 11. 1. εἰδέναι

‘Anchorimphis son of Herakleides, overseer of the private donkeys of Apollonios son of Alexandros, the *epispoudastēs*, to Aphrodisios and Petermouthion, the two sons of Asklepiades, greetings. I have received from you the thousand bundles of two-mina hay from the produce of the first year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, that you were required to give to me on the orders of Euhemeros and Philoxenos, in Euhemeria in the month of Mesore, equals 1,000 bundles of hay. Year 2 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mesore 13. Maron, secretary of the animal-rearers of Euhemeria wrote for him because he does not know his letters.’

As we saw in the first section of the chapter, voluntary associations of this period typically consisted of a membership that was overseen by a president and administered by a secretary: Maron’s subscription to this document identifies him as the secretary of the animal-rearers of Euhemeria. The second receipt was written a month later by the same Maron, as a comparison of the handwriting in the two documents confirms: although the text in P.Ryl. II 183 is much more cramped than that in P.Ryl. II 183a, due to an erasure of six lines of text at the top of the sheet, the hands are the same.

P.Ryl. II 183a, receipt for hay (2 September 16 CE)

Πτολεμαῖος Λεωνίδου προστάτης
ὄνηλασίου ὄνων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)
Ἀφροδισίωι καὶ Πετερμουθίωι ἀμφοτέροις
Ἀσκληπιάδο(υ) χα(ίρειν). ἀπέχω παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀπὸ λόγου
5 ἀγορασμοῦ χόρτου γενή(ματος) β (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ χόρτ[ο]υ διμνώου
δέσμας χιλίας, (γίνονται) χόρτ(ου) δέ(σμαι) Α. ἔγραψεν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Μάρων γραμματεὺς αὐτοῦ διὰ
τὸ βραδύτερ[ο]υ [αὐ]τὸν γράφιν.
10 (ἔτους) γ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, μη(νός) Σεβαστοῦ ε.
(hand 2) Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέχω.

6. 1. διμναίου 9. 1. γράφειν

‘Ptolemaios son of Leonidas, overseer of stabling for the donkeys of Apollonios son of Alexandros, to Aphrodisios and Petermouthion, both sons of Asklepiades, greetings. I have received from you, from the purchasing account of hay from the produce of year 2 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, one thousand bundles of two-mina hay. Total: 1,000 bundles of hay. Maron, his scribe, wrote for him, because of his slow writing. Year 3, Tiberius Caesar Augustus, month Sebastos, day 5. (hand 2) I, Ptolemaios, have received them.’

Although Maron described himself in this document simply as Ptolemaios’ scribe (γραμματεὺς αὐτοῦ), we are dealing with the same individual. The change in phrasing may relate to the fact that, unlike Anchorimphis, Ptolemaios was able to write a basic level of Greek: he added his own signature to the bottom of the document in what the first editors called ‘rude uncials’. Perhaps Maron’s subscription served to acknowledge Ptolemaios’ own (minimal) involvement in the production of the text.³⁸⁰

Both Anchorimphis and Ptolemaios were overseers or managers (προστάται) of donkeys belonging to a figure called Apollonios son of Alexandros. The connection to donkeys explains the involvement of Maron (the secretary of the animal-rearers) in the production of the texts. Although Anchorimphis is described as being in charge ‘of the private donkeys of Apollonios’, while Ptolemaios was in charge ‘of the stabling of the donkeys of Apollonios’, it seems clear that the two jobs were equivalent, as the men ordered identical quantities of hay (1,000 bundles) from Aphrodisios and Petermouthion, and phrased their receipts in virtually identical terms.³⁸¹

Another individual employed to manage animals belonging to an absentee owner is attested in a contemporary petition.³⁸² In that text, the petitioner Kallistratos was a

³⁸⁰ P.Ryl. II 183a.11: (hand 2) Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέχω. Ptolemaios’ uncertain penmanship can be seen in the photograph of the papyrus available on Luna. The formula used by Maron to describe Anchorimphis shows that he was completely unable to write Greek (P.Ryl. II 183.10-11). On the social spectrum of people in the papyri designated as ‘illiterate’ (ἀγράμματος), see Youtie (1971).

³⁸¹ On the identical nature of the job descriptions, see P.Ryl. II, p. 226.

³⁸² P.NYU II 3 [= SB VI 9150], petition (Arsinoite nome, 5 CE). Ed. pr. Wolfe (1952).

manager of animals (προεστῶς κτηνῶν) on the *ousia* of Livia and Germanicus.³⁸³ Kallistratos submitted his petition against an *onēlatēs* (whose name is lost), who he had taken on to look after some of the estate's donkeys and to carry out 'all the duties of a donkey-driver', an agreement which the donkey-driver had failed to uphold.³⁸⁴ This text confirms that there was a difference in status between individuals (like Kallistratos) charged with the welfare of animals and with putting them to profitable work, and the people hired to deal with the animals on a daily basis. Kallistratos' main complaint against the donkey-driver was that he had neglected the donkeys, even beating one so badly that it died, with the result that they were unable to be hired out and were 'standing idle' (ἀργοὶ), meaning a loss of income for Kallistratos and ultimately for his employers in the imperial *familia*.³⁸⁵

I envisage Kallistratos as performing a similar role to Ptolemais and Anchorimphis in the hay receipts. The employer of Anchorimphis and Ptolemaios, though, was not the owner of an estate. Rather, he bore a rather unusual official title, ἐπισπουδαστής. The *epispoudastēs* was the official in charge of the transportation of state tax grain, a very important office in Greek and Roman Egypt.³⁸⁶ He is more frequently found in documents of the Ptolemaic period, where he oversees the safe transportation (ἐπισπουδασμός) of grain from the centres of production across the *chōra* down the Nile to Alexandria.³⁸⁷ One of the Ptolemaic documents is an official order for payments to men sailing on ships under the command of a certain Pamphilos, who has been 'put in charge of the transportation of grain'.³⁸⁸ That text confirms that the *epispoudastēs* had requisitioning powers to meet his targets, and Thompson has argued that, where we find the terms *epispoudasmos* and *epispoudastēs* in papyri,

³⁸³ Another part of an *ousia* shared by Livia and Germanicus is attested in P.Lond. II 445 (Bakchias, 14-19 CE).

³⁸⁴ P.NYU II 3.13-14: καὶ ἐκ[τ]ελ[ε]ῖν [σ]ύνπαντα | ὅσα καθήκει ὀνηλάτη.

³⁸⁵ P.NYU II 3.22-39.

³⁸⁶ Cf. WB s.v. ἐπισπουδαστής: 'der Beamte, welcher für ἐπισπουδασμός πυροῦ zu sorgen hat.'

³⁸⁷ Ptolemaic evidence for *epispoudastai*: SB XVI 12287 [= P.Stras. II 93], an administrative letter relating to grain transport (unknown, 214 BCE), on which see Clarysse (1976), 195; P.Coll. Youtie 1, a petition to the *stratēgos* (Arsinoites, 109 BCE); P.Koeln VIII 346, an account (Arsinoites, late second century BCE); P.Tebt. III 1083 descr., an account of pigeons (Tebtynis, second century BCE). On the logistics of the Ptolemaic grain supply, see Thompson (1983), esp. p. 75 on the *epispoudastēs*.

³⁸⁸ Chr.W 159 [= P.Grenf. II 23], an order for payment (Latopolite, 1 June 108 BCE), lines 17-20: τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν συνπλεόντων | Παμφίλωι τῶι παρ' ἡμ[ῶν] προκεχειρισμένωι ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπισπουδασμὸν τοῦ πυροῦ πλοίων δύο χρημάτιζε κατὰ μῆνα, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν | χρόνον περι τὸ προκείμενον ἡ, ἐκάσ[τ]οι τοῦ μη(νός) (τάλαντα) η, Γ, (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) κε. (translation acc. Vinson (1998): 'To those men who sailed on the two ships with Pamphilos, who we put in charge of the transportation of grain, pay each month, for however much time the aforesaid journey may take, 8 talents, 3 [thousand drachmas] and 25 artabai of wheat').

they denote state requisitioning of resources and manpower for the grain supply.³⁸⁹ I believe that state involvement is also evident in P.Ryl. II 183, showing a continuity of practice in the early Roman period.³⁹⁰ This state involvement is implied by the fact that Aphrodisios and Petermouthion were required to supply hay to Anchorimphis ‘on the orders of Euhemeros and Philoxenos’.³⁹¹ I propose that the same Euhemeros and Philoxenos are also attested in the third receipt for hay that I associated with the family of Asklepiades dossier in chapter 2.³⁹²

Ostraca

We can characterise the hay receipts as outgoing documents that were produced by Maron himself on behalf of members of his association. Our corpus also includes a pair of incoming documents that were submitted to Maron in his capacity as the administrator of the *ktēnotrophoi*. These are ostraca, discovered by Grenfell and Hunt during their excavation at Euhemeria and now housed in the Sackler Library in Oxford. Unlike the hay receipts discussed above, which seem to relate to the transportation of tax grain, the ostraca are concerned with the private side of the *ktēnotrophoi* business. The texts that I give below are revised editions. I will justify my new readings in the following analysis.

O.Fay. 14, delivery instruction (9 June 1 CE)

Μάρω(νι) γρ(αμματεῖ) κτη(νοτρόφων), μέρισον Πετεσούχ(ω)

Σισοίτος ὑπ(ὸ) κριθ(ήν) ὄνον ἕνα [εἰς] θη(σαυρὸν)

Πετῶτος Ξενίου. (ἔτους) λ Καίσαρος, Παῦ(νι) ιε.

(hand 2) Ἀπολ(λόνιος) σεση(μείωμα) Παῦ(νι) ιε.

2. BL II.1 13 (P.Meyer, p. 202)

³⁸⁹ Thompson (1983), 75: ‘Here however state involvement extends to the shipment of grain which suggests some form of requisitioning.’

³⁹⁰ In fact, *epispoudastai* are attested in only one other papyrus of the Roman era, a fragmentary account for the supply of a *praetorium* in northern Sinai: CPR XXIII 19 (Gerra, third/fourth century CE). Given the much later date of this text, and the fact that the *epispoudastai* in it are concerned with military supplies rather than the shipment of grain, I argue P.Ryl. II 183 and 183a are the last attestations of the *epispoudastēs* in his original role, making them noteworthy as items from the early Roman period demonstrating continuity with the Ptolemaic past.

³⁹¹ P.Ryl. II 183.5: διὰ χρηματισμοῦ Εὐημέρου καὶ Φιλοξένου.

³⁹² P.Lond. III 892 (August-September 16 CE). I restored the names Philoxenos and Euhemeros in lines 2-3.

‘To Maron, secretary of the animal-rearers: deliver to Petesouchos son of Sisois one donkey laden with barley at the store-house of Petheus son of Xenias. Year 30 of Caesar, Pauni 15. (hand 2) I, Apollonios, have signed it, Pauni 15.’

O.Fay. 15, delivery instruction (1 CE?)

Μάρω(νι) γρ(αμματεῖ) κτη(νοτρόφων), μέρισον
Ἡρακλή(φ) ὑπ(ὸ) ῥαφάνινο(ν) ὄνο(υς)
β [εἰς] θη(σαυρὸν) Ἀντιγόνου.

3. BL II.1 13 (P.Meyer, p. 202)

‘To Maron, secretary of the animal-rearers: deliver to Herakles 2 donkeys laden with radishes at the store-house of Antigonos.’

From these two examples, we can outline the following typical features of these documents.

- (1) a personal name in the dative
- (2) the imperative μέρισον (‘allocate, make available’) ³⁹³
- (3) another personal name in the dative
- (4) ὑπὸ followed by a cereal or vegetable in the accusative (‘laden with’) ³⁹⁴
- (5) a number of donkeys
- (6) an abbreviated form of the word θησαυρός
- (7) a personal name in the genitive

Optional features include the office of the addressee, a name in the genitive following the word θησαυρός, and the date. As we will see, there are several other

³⁹³ WB s.v. μερίζω: ‘teile zu; stelle zur Verfügung’.

³⁹⁴ On this construction, which may derive from the influence of the Egyptian language, see Erman (1893), 479.

ostraca that exhibit these key textual features, and which can accordingly be associated with this group.

My interpretation is that these were documents addressed to the figures named in part (1), who was instructed to ‘make available’ (2) to another person (3) the number of donkeys (5) carrying the specified load (4) to a private granary (6) identified by the name of its owner (7).

Other readings of these texts – which like many documents on ostraca are highly abbreviated – have been suggested, as I will discuss in the following analysis. However, I find that the above interpretation, which is slightly different from all previous readings, makes the best sense of the elements in the text.

The first editors of O.Fay. 14 and 15 placed them in a dossier alongside other ostraca recovered from Qasr el-Banat, including O.Fay. 16 and 17.³⁹⁵ These documents share most if not all of the key textual features outlined above.

O.Fay. 16, delivery instruction (early first century CE)

Ἀλιονω(ι) μέρισον Ναντι-
τω . ι() ὑπ(ὸ) κνη(κον) [ῶ]νο(υς) β
καὶ ὑπ(ὸ) ὄροβον ὄνο(υς) β
[εἰς] θη(σαυρὸν) (vacat).

‘To Alionos (?): deliver to Nantitos (?) 2 donkeys laden with safflower and 2 donkeys laden with vetch at the store-house of ... (symbol).’

O.Fay. 17, delivery instruction (14 May 35 CE)

Ἀπολλωνίω γραμ(ματεῖ) ὄνων, μέρισον Φάσι[τ]ι
Ἡλιοδώρου ὑπὸ λαχανοσπέρμον ὄνους δύο
εἰς θησαυρὸν Λιβύλλης διὰ Πεθβῶς
Πάτρωγος (symbol). (ἔτους) κα Τιβερίου Καίσαρος,
5 Παχῶ(ν) ιθ.

3. 1. εἰς

³⁹⁵ Cf. P.Fay., p. 324f.

‘To Apollonios, secretary of the donkeys: deliver to Pasos son of Heliodoros two donkeys laden with vegetable seed at the store-house of Libylla, through the agency of Pethbos son of Patron (symbol). Year 21 of Tiberius Caesar, Pachon 19.’

The texts clearly conform closely to the pattern set by O.Fay. 14 and 15, but there are certain key differences. O.Fay. 16 was badly abraded when it was first transcribed, and having consulted the ostrakon in person I can confirm that it is now more or less illegible. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that the word γραμματεῖ or an abbreviation of it was never present in line 1. Although it is possible that Alionos (the name is very doubtfully read) was the secretary of the *ktēnotrophoi*, this fact is not reflected in the text. A similar problem affects O.Fay. 17: there, the recipient Apollonios is described as the ‘secretary of the donkeys’ (γραμματεὺς ὄνων). We might interpret this as a mangled synonym for γραμματεὺς κτηνοτρόφων, based on the assumption that ὀνηλάται (‘donkey-drivers’) were comparable to our κτηνοτρόφοι.³⁹⁶ However, as established earlier in the chapter, the *onēlatai* and the *ktēnotrophoi* were not interchangeable groups, and it is perhaps more likely that, by 35 CE when this ostrakon was written, the association of κτηνοτρόφοι had ceased to exist in the form attested by the earlier documents.

Grenfell and Hunt believed, mistakenly, that all four of these ostraca were ‘orders for payment’, comparable to two Ptolemaic papyri from Bakchias.³⁹⁷ Those were orders submitted by the secretaries of associations of farmers and animal-rearers to the *sitologos* of the village, the official in charge of the state granaries: I reproduce one below.

P.Fay. 18b, order for payment (Bakchias, first century BCE)

Ὀννώφρεις γραμματεὺς
κτηνοτρόφω[v] Βακχι-
άδος Ἀκουσιλάωι σιτο-

³⁹⁶ The first editors seem to have thought along similar lines, as they tried (unsuccessfully) to read the word ὀνηλ(ατῶν) in O.Fay. 17: cf. P.Fay., p. 234.

³⁹⁷ P.Fay. 18a and 18b (Bakchias, first century BCE). Cf. P. Fay., p. 318: ‘[The ostraca group] presents considerable resemblance to [P.Fay. 18a and b].’

5 λόγῳ τῆς ἀ[ὐ]τῆς χαί-
 ρειν.
 μέτρ(ησον) . . να. [. . .]
 [. . .]. φόρ[ε]τρον . . εκτ. [. . .]
 [. . .]. στου Συριακοῦ πυροῦ
 [ἀρτάβας] τ[έσσ]αρα[ς], (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ.
 (ἔτους) κα, Θ(ὠθ) ιζ.

‘Onnophris, secretary of the animal-rearers of Bakchias, to Akousilaos, the *sitologos* of the same (village), greetings. Measure out ... for transportation charges ... four artabas of Syriac wheat, equals 4 artabas. Year 21, 17 Thoth.’

The orders requested that the *sitologos* ‘measure out’ (μέτρησον) some quantities of wheat to members of the farmers’ and animal-rearers’ associations.³⁹⁸ This wheat was probably payment for services rendered by the members of the associations in delivering tax grain to the state granary at Ptolemais Hormou, the harbour of the Arsinoite nome.

On the strength of these parallels, Grenfell and Hunt believed that the Euhemerian ostraca under discussion were also outgoing documents, written by the secretaries of certain associations and sent by them to *sitologoi*, despite the fact that there is no mention of the *sitologos* in any of the ostraca.³⁹⁹ This influenced their decipherment of the ostraca, where they read the first element (1 in my breakdown) as containing the names of the secretaries in the nominative; I have corrected this in my renditions of the texts.⁴⁰⁰

Grenfell and Hunt’s mistaken reading of the ostraca remained unchallenged until some new texts, exhibiting virtually identical form and structure, came to light in the course of the twentieth century.

³⁹⁸ We can compare O.Fay. 18, another delivery instruction on an ostrakon in our corpus, which was addressed to Heliodoros, the secretary of the farmers: Ἡλιοδώρω γραμματεῖ γεωργ(ῶν) κτλ.

³⁹⁹ P.Fay., p. 318: ‘...though it is not stated in the ostraca to which official they were addressed, the analogy of the papyri is in favour of supposing that they were sent to the *sitologos*.’

⁴⁰⁰ E.g. O.Fay. 14.1: Μάρω(ν) γραμματεὺς κτη(νοτρόφων) ed. pr.

Table 5.2: Delivery instructions with previously unknown provenance

Text	Genre	Date	Provenance	Reason for inclusion
O. Lund. 1	Delivery instruction	11 August 19 CE	Euhemeria (?)	Addressed to Maron, γραμματεὺς
O.Deiss. 81	Delivery instruction	20 August 24 CE	Euhemeria (?)	Textual similarities to O.Fay. 14, 15
SB VI 9112	Delivery instruction	27/28 CE	Euhemeria (?)	Textual similarities to O.Fay. 14, 15

Unlike the Oxford ostraca, these items have no archaeological data, having been purchased on the Egyptian antiquities market. I summarise here the little that we do know about the acquisition circumstances of these pieces.

The Deissmann ostraca (including O.Deiss. 81) were, as their name indicates, the private collection of the noted philologist and New Testament scholar Gustav Adolf Deissmann. Deissmann collected papyri and ostraca for the collections of his home institution in Heidelberg and other places – including the John Rylands Library in Manchester – in the earliest part of the twentieth-century.⁴⁰¹ He obtained these pieces largely through the mediation of Carl Schmidt, a field agent who navigated the Egyptian market on his behalf. It was Schmidt who bought the 92 ‘Deissmann ostraca’ – eventually published by Meyer in *Griechische Texte aus Ägypten* (P.Meyer) – in a series of purchases between 1904 and 1912.⁴⁰² It was at one time believed that the Deissmann ostraca were lost or destroyed during the Second World War, but we now know that they were sent out of Germany before the outbreak of the War, to a new home in Sydney’s Nicholson Museum, where they reside today.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ See Mazza (2012) for more on the story of Deissmann’s contribution to the Rylands papyri.

⁴⁰² Cf. P.Meyer, p. iiif.

⁴⁰³ Gerber (2011) relates the story of how the collection was secured for Sydney by Deissmann’s one-time student Samuel Angus, and was delivered to the city by the same man in October 1936, shortly before Deissmann’s death.

A similar small, private collection of ostraca was purchased by the English papyrologist Theodore Skeat during a trip to Luxor in November 1933; Skeat chose sixteen ostraca ‘out of a large boxful containing several hundreds’ of other pieces that was offered to him by an unnamed Egyptian dealer.⁴⁰⁴ The entire collection (including the text later published by Youtie as SB VI 9112) was donated to the University of Michigan in March 1949, and now forms part of that institution’s important papyrological holdings.⁴⁰⁵

The last of the three ostraca to be published (O.Lund. 1) has a rather more mysterious provenance. The University of Lund in Sweden did not even know that it had a collection of ostraca until a box containing thirty-two pot sherds was discovered in the 1970s; the ostraca were wrapped in newspaper dated to 1939, but further clues to their origins were missing.⁴⁰⁶

Because they were purchased on the antiquities market, none of the editors of the three ostraca gave them a definitive provenance in Euhemeria, although all three of them (i.e. Meyer, Youtie, and Tsiparis) made educated guesses in that direction, based on the similarities of their texts to the Oxford ostraca.⁴⁰⁷ Tsiparis was the most confident of the three, probably because the Lund ostrakon was addressed to a *grammateus* called Maron.

O.Lund. 1, delivery instruction (11 August 19 CE)

Μάρωνι γρα(μματεῖ) μέρι(σον) Ἴημούθη Ἴμού-
 θου ὑπ(ὸ) ὄρυβ(ον) ὄνο(v) ἕνα καὶ ὑπ(ὸ) φακὸ(v)
 ὄνο(v) ἕνα [εἰς] θ(ησαυρὸν) Καλλιστράτο(v) δι(ὰ) Πες-
 {σ}κονούρ(ιος) (symbol). (ἔτους) ε Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
 5 Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορῆ η.

‘To Maron, secretary: deliver to Imouthes son of Imouthes one donkey laden with vetch and one donkey laden with lentils at the store-house

⁴⁰⁴ Skeat’s own account of the purchase, reported by Youtie (1950), 99.

⁴⁰⁵ O.Skeat 2 = SB VI 9112. Ed. pr. Youtie (1950), item 2 (pp. 102f.)

⁴⁰⁶ O.Lund., p. 3. The editor of the volume Tsiparis speculated that the pieces could have been in Lund since as early as the 1920s, but admitted that this was a matter of guesswork: ‘Über die Frage, wann und wie die Sammlung nach Schweden bzw. Lund gekommen ist, lassen sich nur Vermutungen anstellen.’

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. P.Meyer, p. 200; Youtie (1950), 102; O.Lund., p. 8.

of Kallistratos, through the agency of Peskonouris (symbol). Year 5 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mesore 15.’

We can now confidently place this ostrakon alongside O.Fay. 14 and 15 and the receipts for hay in a dossier of texts relating to Maron, making him one of the best-attested individuals in our whole corpus. The text also indicates that Maron was in office as the secretary of the *ktēnotrophoi* for almost twenty years, showing that this association was a longstanding presence in the village. The other ostraca, although addressed to different *grammateis*, clearly conform to the same type of document, and rightly belong in the dossier of texts related to Euhemeria’s *ktēnotrophoi*. We can use the presence of the word μέρισον, which is found nowhere else in the papyri, to confirm that these texts all came from Euhemeria.

O.Deiss. 81, delivery instruction (20 August 24 CE)

Εἰσίῳνι γρα(μματεῖ) μέρισον
᾿Ωρωι Ἡρακλ(είδου) ὑπ(ὸ) λαχανό(σπερμον)
ὄνον ἕνα ἀρτά(βης) μιᾶς
ἡμίους (symbol) βετερ() [εἰς]
5 ἠ(σαυρὸν) Φίλας Εἰσήου.
(ἔτους) ι Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορή
κζ.

6. 1. Ἴσειου

‘To Ision, secretary: deliver to Horos son of Herakleides one donkey laden with one-and-a-half artabas of vegetable seed ... at the store-house of the temple of Isis of Philae. Year 10 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mesore 27.’

Although the reference to the temple of Isis of Philae might imply that this document came from outside Euhemeria – that famous Isieion being found in Upper Egypt – the reference here is surely to a branch temple located in the Arsinoite nome.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. P.Meyer, p. 202 with argument for an Arsinoite branch temple (‘Filiatempel’).

SB VI 9112, delivery instruction (27/28 CE)

Ἡρᾶτι γραμματεῖ μέρισον Πετε-
σούχ(ω) Μαρσι(σούχου) Κορνηρίου
Ἀτικοῦ ὑ(πὸ) (πυρὸν) ὄνους δεκα-
δύο [εἰς] θη(σαυρὸν) Πετεσούχ(ου). (ἔτους) ἰδ

5 [Τιβερίω]ν Καίσαρος.

‘To Heras, secretary: deliver to Petesouchos son of Marsisouchos, an employee of Cornelius Atticus, twelve donkeys laden with wheat (at the store-house of Petesouchos. Year 14 of Tiberius Caesar.’

Youtie believed that Cornelius Atticus was the name of Petesouchos’ grandfather, but the name implies that he was a Roman citizen. However, we would not expect a Roman to surrender his privileges by marrying an Egyptian woman, which the Egyptian names of his supposed son and grandson suggest was the case here.⁴⁰⁹ Préaux thought instead that the name of Atticus in the genitive implied ownership of the donkeys.⁴¹⁰ However, it is more likely that Cornelius was the employer of Petesouchos. We have already seen examples in other texts in our corpus where an apparent patronymic actually denotes an employment relationship: for example, the petitioner Sophos was once thought to be the son of Marcus Aponius Saturninus, but it is now clear that he was a slave or freedman manager employed by the senator to manage his estate in Euhemeria.⁴¹¹

In their editions, the editors of the three new ostraca offered slightly different models for how these texts should be interpreted. Meyer recognised that the ostraca were incoming documents – that is, ones addressed to the secretaries rather than written by them – and so distinguished them from the transportation receipts on papyrus that Grenfell and Hunt had identified as parallels.⁴¹² However, like Grenfell and Hunt,

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. Youtie (1950), 103 note to line 2-3.

⁴¹⁰ Préaux (1952), 293: cf. BL V 108.

⁴¹¹ P.Ryl. II 150 (19 October 40 CE). Compare also the figure Harpaesis son of Inaroys in P.Lond. III 895.3-5: Ἀρπαῆσις | Νααραῦτος τοῦ | Οὐήριος. The first editors thought that the name Virius was a papponymic (i.e. Virius was the father of Inaroys and the grandfather of Harpaesis), but I propose that Virius was the employer of Harpaesis.

⁴¹² P.Meyer, p. 202 n. 1: ‘Die Scherben haben daher nichts mit [P.Fay. 18a and b] zu tun, wie dies Grenfell-Hunt annahmen.’

Meyer believed that the ostraca related to the transportation of tax grain, and identified the figure Horos in the Deissmann ostrakon as a governmental shipping agent (ναύκληρος) in his commentary, although there was no textual justification for doing so.⁴¹³

The putative relation of the ostraca to state grain transportation was correctly doubted by Youtie in his edition of the Michigan ostrakon. His major contribution to the interpretation of the texts was the realisation that all of the *thēsauroi* mentioned in the ostraca were privately owned, rather than belonging to the state, and therefore could not be connected to the provision of tax grain to the Roman administration.⁴¹⁴ Instead, these documents record private transactions, carried out by the *ktēnotrophoi* on behalf of paying customers. I tabulate the relevant data from the texts here.

Table 5.3: Delivery instructions comparison

Text	Date	Addressee	Customer	Consignment	Destination
O.Fay. 14	9 June 1 CE	Maron γραμματεὺς κτηνοτρόφων	Petesouchos son of Sisois	1 load of barley	Store-house of Petheus
O.Fay. 15	c. 1 CE	Maron γραμματεὺς κτηνοτρόφων	Herakleos	2 loads of radishes	Store-house of Antigonos
O.Lund. 1	11 August 19 CE	Maron γραμματεὺς	Imouthes son of Imouthes	1 load of vetch, 1 load of lentils	Store-house of Kallistratos
O.Deiss. 81	20 August 24 CE	Ision γραμματεὺς	Horos son of Herakleides	1 load of vegetable seed	Store-house of the temple of Isis of Philae

⁴¹³ P.Meyer, p. 202: 'Ision wird von einem (nicht genannten) vorgesetzten Beamten angewiesen, dem Horos, zweifellos einem Naukleros-Agenten, einen Esel für den Transport von 1 ½ Artaben Gemüsesamen (λαχανόσπερμον) zu stellen.'

⁴¹⁴ Youtie (1950), 102: 'Meyer, in commenting on Ostr. Mey. 81, relates these ostraca to the transportation of government grain, but the orders mention only private granaries and are, for that reason, much more likely to concern deliveries made by the guilds in the regular course of private business.' A slight exception is the granary of the branch temple of Isis mentioned in O.Deiss. 81.5.

Text	Date	Addressee	Customer	Consignment	Destination
SB VI 9112	27/28 CE	Heras γραμματεὺς	Petesouchos son of Marsisouchos grandson of Cornelius Atticus	12 loads of wheat	Store-house of Petesouchos
O.Fay. 17	14 May 35 CE	Apollonios γραμματεὺς ὄνων	Phasis son of Heliodoros	2 loads of vegetable seed	Store-house of Libylla (= Livilla)
O.Fay. 16	Early first century CE	Alionos (= Apollonios?)	Nantitos (?)	2 loads of safflower, 2 loads of lentils	-

As these tables show, the store-houses apparently belonged to private individuals, whose names appear in the genitive after the word *θησαυρός*.⁴¹⁵ Notice that in SB VI 9112, the name of the customer and the name of the owner of the store-house are the same (Petesouchos). This may indicate that the customer possessed his own storage-space, to which he asked the *ktēnotrophoi* to deliver his goods.⁴¹⁶ The store-house of Libylla (O.Fay. 17) surely refers to a store-house on the estate (οὐσία) of Claudia Livilla, the wife of Drusus, in Euhemeria.⁴¹⁷ An *ousia* would be likely to have its own storage facilities, and may even have leased some of them out to paying customers; otherwise, it may be that the customer Phasis worked on the *ousia*, and was having goods delivered there as part of his job.

⁴¹⁵ The store-house of the temple of Isis in O.Deiss. 81 is an exception. The name of the store-house in O.Fay. 16 is missing, but might have been intended to be written in the large gap after *θη(σαυρόν)* on line 4.

⁴¹⁶ In her study of the granaries of Karanis, Husselman (1952), 70 noted that the town, which was admittedly larger than Euhemeria, supported seventeen separate granaries, although several of these may have been branches of the state *θησαυρός κόμης*. She also found that the largest of these structures, building C123, contained many large silos for grain but also an 'infinite number of small bins' (p. 72), apparently hired out to private individuals for the storage of various crops and vegetables.

⁴¹⁷ See Hagedorn (1980), 103f. for the name change from Livilla to Libylla in a different document, BGU I 277 (Arsinoite, mid-second century CE). For the estates of Livilla and her children in Euhemeria, see Parássoglou (1978), 73 and the petitions P.Ryl. II 127 and 138.

I argue that these ostraca attest something akin to a courier service: the customers stipulated the amount of goods that they wanted and where they wanted them delivered, and the *ktēnotrophoi* (specifically, the secretary) co-ordinated the orders and sent the donkeys, with drivers, to collect the relevant goods and deliver them to the correct place. The ostraca could have been sent directly to the secretary by customers; otherwise they must have been redirected to him by another official within the association, who was the first point of contact for the customers.⁴¹⁸ The second scenario is more likely, because the formulaic and abbreviated nature of the documents suggests that they were produced internally, by someone versed in the workings of the operation and aware of precisely what information needed to be included. Perhaps the instructions were sent to the secretary by the president of the association: the signature in a second hand at the bottom of one ostrakon strikes me as an example of an order emanating from a senior member of the association, validating the instructions contained within the text.⁴¹⁹ If this interpretation of the signature is correct, then we can identify the president of the *ktēnotrophoi* in 1 CE as Apollonios, with Maron acting as his secretary.

In two of the ostraca, there is an extra clause not found in the other texts: it is the preposition *διὰ*, followed by a personal name in the genitive, and comes immediately after the name of the store-house to which the goods were to be delivered.⁴²⁰ These clauses must surely specify the names of the *onēlatai* who were to be hired by the *ktēnotrophoi* to carry out the deliveries, with the word *διὰ* here meaning ‘through the agency of’. This is further evidence of a hierarchy of roles within this association, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

The logistical organisation of the *ktēnotrophoi* operation may also be reflected in the unusual symbols carried by several of the ostraca, always appearing at the end of the document, or immediately before the dating formula.⁴²¹ Gallazzi thought that the symbols were marks added by the secretary to show that the instruction had been

⁴¹⁸ Cf. O.Lund., p. 9: ‘... die Anweisung eines Mitglieds einer Eselbesitzer-Genossenschaft an den Sekretär derselben’.

⁴¹⁹ Signature: O.Fay. 14.4: Ἀπολ(λόνιος) σεση(μείωμα). Cf. O.Fay. 18.3-4: Ἰσχυρᾶς | σεση(μείωμα).

⁴²⁰ O.Fay. 14.3-4: διὰ Πεθβῶς | Πάτρωγος; O.Lund. 1.3-4: διὰ Πεσ|σκονούρ(τος).

⁴²¹ E.g. O.Fay. 16.4, 17.4, O.Lund. 1.4.

carried out.⁴²² If correct, this strengthens my hypothesis that these ostraca were internal documents, circulated between members of the association.

Groups of animal-owners continue to be attested in Euhemeria after our period, with a cluster of evidence relating to the *probatoktēnotrophoi* of the village in the mid-second century CE.⁴²³ However, this association was not formed by its members on their own terms, but was mandated by the state in order to facilitate the collection of taxes from the large numbers of people involved in the care of sheep.⁴²⁴ Similarly, we find groups of δημόσιοι κτηνοτρόφοι attested in the second century, but these figures were owners of animals whose donkeys were pressed into the service of the state for the transportation of tax grain.⁴²⁵ The second century examples show how the introduction of the liturgical system over the course of the first century eventually came to restrict and control the activities of the population. In contrast, the early Roman evidence in our corpus, coming from a period before the liturgical system was fully implemented, shows us animal-rearers who banded together freely to their mutual social and economic advantage quite independently of the Roman state.

The weavers of Euhemeria

As the first section of this chapter showed, evidence from Tebtynis has provided practically all of our information about associations in the first part of the first century in Egypt. This one-sided picture is redressed to some extent by the Euhemerian ostraca discussed in the previous section, which provide a different perspective from another part of the Arsinoite nome. Our corpus includes a further

⁴²² Gallazzi (1982), 574. BL VIII 522 calls the symbols ‘checkmarks’ (‘Kontrollzeichen’).

⁴²³ E.g. P.Hamb. I 34, declaration of sheep and goats (Euhemeria, January-February 160 CE); P.Wisc. II 83, receipt for rental of sheep (Euhemeria, 158-62 CE); SB XX 14100, receipt of rent (Euhemeria, 13 May 170 CE).

⁴²⁴ Kruse (1998), 146, in his analysis of P.Hamb. I 34 [= SB XIV 1613], suggested that these groups were so frequently attested in Euhemeria because the rearing of animals was a particularly important aspect of the village’s economy: ‘Die Berufsvereinigung der *probatoktenotrophoi* dieses arsinoitischen Dorfes besaß mithin eine beträchtliche Größe, und man wird daraus wohl schließen dürfen, daß die Schafhaltung einen sehr wichtigen Wirtschaftszweig von Euhemereia darstellte.’

⁴²⁵ Cf. Adams (2007), 173f.

document relating to the operation of another association active in Euhemeria in the early Roman period, that of the village's weavers.

The papyrus, like the hay receipts mentioned above, contains a prosopographical link to the family of Asklepiades. This confirms that the members of this family, specifically Aphrodisios son of Asklepiades, were engaged in numerous different economic activities during this period: here we learn that, simultaneously with his involvement in the supply of agricultural produce, Aphrodisios acted as the secretary of the weavers of Euhemeria.

P.Ryl. II 94, guarantee of bail (15-36 CE)

Ἡρακλῆς Πετεσοῦχ(ου) ἡγούμενος γερδίων
Εὐημερίας καὶ Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) Ἀσκληπιάδου
γραμματεὺς τῶν αὐτῶν γερδίων
Ἦρωνι χειριστῆ Σώτου ἐξηγητοῦ χα(ίρειν).
5 ὁμολογοῦ[μ]εν ἐγγεγυῆσ{σ}θαι
παρὰ σοῦ Ἀφ[ε]ῦν Ἀφεῦτος καὶ Ἀρπα-
γάθην Ὀρσε[ν]ούφιον καὶ Ἡρᾶν Ὀρσεν(ούφιος)
καὶ Μέλαν[α] Ἐργέως καὶ Ἡρακλῆν
Ἀπολλωνι<ου> τοὺς πέντε γερδίους
10 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Εὐημερίας
καὶ ἐπάνανκον παραστήσει<ν> σοι αὐτοῦ<ς>
ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν ἐρῆ ἐκδικοῦντες τὰ διὰ
τοῦ ὑπομνήματος Πανινούτιος τοῦ
Ἀφροδισίου ἐρι(ουργοῦ). Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) ὁ προγεγραμμέ-
15 νος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτο<ῦ> Ἡρακλήου διὰ
τ[ὸ] μὴ ξιδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα. (ἔτους)
[. . . Τιβερ]ί[ο]ν Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Ἐπειφ ιη.

4. l. χειριστῆ 5. l. ὁμολογοῦμεν; l. ἐγγεγυῆσθαι 7. l. Ὀρσενούφιος 11. l.
ἐπάνανκον 12. l. αἰρῆ

‘Herakles son of Petesouchos, president of the weavers of Euhemeria, and
Aphrodisios son of Asklepiades, secretary of the same weavers, to Heron,

assistant to Sotas the *exēgētēs*, greetings. We agree that we have received Apheus son of Apheus, Harpagathes son of Orsenouphis, Heras son of Orsenouphis, Melanas son of Herieus, and Herakles son of Apollonios from you on bail, all five being weavers from the same Euhemeria. (We agree that) we are obliged to present them before you whenever you ask, to answer the charges contained in the petition of Paninoutis, the wool-worker of Aphrodisios. I, the aforesaid Aphrodisios, have written for Herakles because he does not know his letters. Year XX of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Epeiph 18.’

In contrast with the Tebtynis regulations, this document confirms that the weavers of Euhemeria were administered by a president (ἡγούμενος) called Herakles and a secretary (γραμματεὺς) called Aphrodisios, working in tandem. Interestingly, Herakles was illiterate: Aphrodisios wrote this document for him, as his subscription to the main text reveals. As well as these two officials, the association consisted of at least five members, named on lines 6-9. There were probably more members of this particular association: we know that in neighbouring Theadelphia the associations of weavers in the early second century was sufficiently large and prosperous to have a dedicated dining-hall (δειπνητήριον), used for the commensal aspects of the association as outlined at the start of the chapter.⁴²⁶

In the papyrus from Euhemeria, we learn that a certain Paninoutis submitted a petition (ὑπόμνημα) against the five named weavers to the *exēgētēs*, and that as a result of his petition the five had been detained by that official. The document states that Herakles and Aphrodisios stood bail for these five men – for what amount, we are not told – on condition that they guarantee the appearance of the weavers before the *exēgētēs* at a forthcoming hearing. Paninoutis’ decision to petition the *exēgētēs* seems unusual, because that was an official normally associated with disputes over inheritance and especially connected to the affairs of the residents of the nome *mētropoleis*, rather than the villagers.⁴²⁷ The *exēgētēs* is attested as the recipient of other first century petitions, though, and while some of those documents relate to inheritances, others concern a dispute over access to water and illicit grazing, so it

⁴²⁶ I.Fay. VI, dedication of a dining-hall (Theadelphia, 109 CE). Cf. P.Fay., p. 54.

⁴²⁷ Cf. Hagedorn (2007), 199.

seems that complaints of all kinds could be directed towards the *exēgētēs* in our period.⁴²⁸

The nature of Paninoutis' petition against the weavers is obscure. The first editors gave his occupation as 'wool-worker' (ἐριουργός), but the abbreviation in line 14 could also be resolved as 'wool-seller' (ἐριοπώλης). If Paninoutis was a wool-seller, then perhaps the weavers had failed to deliver on a contract with him. If, on the other hand, he was a wool-worker, it is possible that he was himself a member of the weavers' association. There certainly seems to be some connection between Paninoutis and Aphrodisios the secretary, as lines 12-14 of the text show (τὰ διὰ | τοῦ ὑπομνήματος Πανινούτιος τοῦ | Ἀφροδισίου ἐριουργοῦ). The first editors thought that the name Aphrodisios in line 14 was a patronymic, and that the father was unrelated to the secretary Aphrodisios mentioned in line 2.⁴²⁹ However, none of the other seven patronymics in the text is expressed with an intervening article (on the pattern τις ὁ τινος). Furthermore, in his subscription Aphrodisios described himself as 'the aforesaid Aphrodisios' (Ἀφροδίσιος ὁ προγεγραμμέ|νος), a phrase which serves no purpose if two separate men called Aphrodisios are mentioned in the text. As a result, I think that the secretary Aphrodisios was the employer, rather than the father, of Paninoutis.⁴³⁰

This new reading means that Paninoutis' complaint against the weavers runs directly against the ethos of voluntary associations. As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, the regulations from Tebtynis stipulated both economic and social obligations that were meant to bind the association together. Those regulations also emphasised the collective responsibility of the members towards one another, and the idea that members should support their fellows in times of need. Members of the anonymous association and of the *apolysimoi* were required to attend the funerals of deceased colleagues and of their family members, and fined for failure to do so.⁴³¹ Similar regulations were put in place to prevent the members from jeopardising the

⁴²⁸ Inheritance disputes: P.Ryl. II 118, petition (Arsinoite, 16/15 BCE); P.Mich. V 232 (Tebtynis, 29 November 36 CE). Irrigation dispute: P.Merton I 11 (Philadelphia, 39/40 CE). Illicit grazing complaint: P.Ryl. II 149 (Euhemeria, September-October 39 CE).

⁴²⁹ They translated: 'the claims stated in the petition of Paninoutis son of Aphrodisios.'

⁴³⁰ Compare the example of Virius the 'grandfather' (actually the employer) of Harpaesis in P.Lond. III 895, where the definite article also intervenes between the two names. Cf. Mitthoff (2002), 252 item 446: 'Der Namenszusatz im Genitiv bezeichnet hier also nicht den Vater, sondern den Dienstgeber.'

⁴³¹ Anonymous association: P.Mich. V 243.9-12. *Apolysimoi*: P.Mich. V 244.16-18.

trust and collaboration within the group: for example, the members of the anonymous association were discouraged from behaving in a drunk and disorderly fashion, and from pushing and shoving during the monthly dinners.⁴³²

Most relevant to P.Ryl. II 94, if a member of the anonymous association was taken into custody over a debt, his colleagues were obliged to pay his bail, on the understanding that he would pay this sum back within a stipulated time.⁴³³ It seems that the weavers named in our document were bailed out by their president and secretary under a similar scheme. As well as such regulations stipulating positive action in aid of colleagues, members of associations were prevented from plotting against their fellows – presumably meaning trying to undercut them in business – and from prosecuting or accusing them in a court of law.⁴³⁴ The fact that Paninoutis submitted a petition to an official of the Roman administration against men who might have been his colleagues, and with whom he certainly had some kind of working relationship, runs directly against the spirit of harmony that this regulation was supposed to enshrine.

There is evidence from elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean that members of associations tried to avoid this kind of conflict within their ranks, where possible. The following regulation of a cult association, inscribed at Athens in the second century, shows that there were internal mechanisms in place in order to resolve disputes between members.

⁴³² P.Mich. V 243.3: ἐὰν δέ τις ἐκπαροινήσει ζημιούσθω ὃ ἐὰν τῶι κοινῶι δόξει ('If a member behaves like a drunken idiot, let him be fined whatever the association decides.')

⁴³³ P.Mich. V 243.8-9: ἐὰν τις πρὸς ἰδιωτικ(όν) | παραδοθῆ, ἐγγυάσθωσαν αὐτὸν ἕως ἄργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) ἑκατὸν πρὸς ἡμέρ(ας) λ, ἐν αἷς ἀπευλυτήσῃ τοὺς ἄνδρας ('If a member is detained over a private debt, let (his colleagues) stand bail for him up to the amount of one hundred drachmas for thirty days, after which time the member will pay them back'). The verb for stand bail is ἐγγυάω: cf. P.Ryl. II 94.5.

⁴³⁴ E.g. P.Mich. V 243.7-8: ἐὰν τις τοῦ ἑτέρου κατηγορήσῃ ἢ διαβολὴν ποιήσῃται, ζημι(ούσθω) (δραχμᾶς) η. ἐὰν τις τὸν ἕτερον ὑπονομεύσῃ ἢ οἰκοφθορήσῃ, ζημι(ούσθω) (δραχμᾶς) ζ ('If one member prosecutes another, or makes an accusation against him, let him be fined 8 drachmas. If one member plots against another or corrupts his home [i.e. commits adultery with his wife?], let him be fined 60 drachmas.')

IG II² 1368, regulations of an association of Iobakchoi (Athens, before 178 CE)

ἐὰν δέ τις ἄχρι πληγῶν ἔλθῃ, ἀπογραφέστω
85 ὁ πληγείς πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα ἢ τὸν ἀνθιερέα,
ὁ δὲ ἐπάνανκες ἀγορὰν ἀγέτω, καὶ ψή-
φῳ οἱ ἰόβακχοι κρεινέτωσαν προηγου-
μένου τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ προστειμάσθω
πρὸς χρόνον μὴ εἰσελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν δό-
90 ξη καὶ ἀργυρίου μέχρι (δηγ.) κε’.

‘If one member goes as far as punching another, let the person who was punched make a complaint before the priest or the vice-priest, and let (the priest) necessarily convene a meeting. Then the Iobakchoi will decide the case by a vote, with the priest presiding. Let (the puncher) be penalised by not being allowed to enter (the clubhouse) for as long as seems appropriate, and (with a fine) of up to twenty-five silver denarii.’

This example suggests that the Iobakchoi saw their association as an alternative venue for dispute resolution, and one that was in fact preferable to the official judicial channels of the Roman state. We have already seen that, at Tebtynis too, members of associations were punished for prosecuting one another in (Roman) courts.

Arnaoutoglou read the Athenian text, and the related clauses in the Tebtynis regulations, as evidence that associations in the eastern Mediterranean had internalised ‘social norms and values’ from the Roman state, and that they ‘were used to exercise disciplinary power over misbehaving members’ in order to relieve the burden of the Roman administration.⁴³⁵ In support of this view, one could point to the fact that Apynchis acted as collector and guarantor of all tax payments for the salt merchants of first century Tebtynis, or the fact that the ‘associations’ of public farmers (δημόσιοι γεωργοί) of the same period existed simply in order to make the

⁴³⁵ Arnaoutoglou (2002), 42f.

collection of rents on state land easier, and do not seem to have provided any benefits to the members.⁴³⁶

However, trade associations in the Egyptian villages of the early first century were neither founded nor controlled by the government, but were rather voluntary entities, which existed only as a consequence of the contracts that their members agreed.

Most importantly, the constituent members could not be compelled by the state to do anything that they had not willingly voted for and agreed to in their regulations.⁴³⁷

As a result of this, I read the stipulations about internal dispute resolution and the social control of members as evidence that these associations were autonomous and preferred, where possible, to handle the affairs of the membership on their own terms, without involving the Roman state.

Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the evidence from Euhemeria that shows certain members of the village population working together in voluntary associations. The texts from our corpus inform us about the existence of two associations in the village, one of weavers, and one of animal owners, who hired out their donkeys to paying customers to transport agricultural produce around the region. The ostraca and papyri related to the animal owners' association provide a new perspective on professional associations in the first century, and so enhance our view of these organisations, which has previously depended on the evidence of association regulations drawn up at the *grapheion* of Tebtynis. Similarly, the guarantee of bail from Euhemeria showed that the members of the association were obliged to support their fellows in need – as the regulations from Tebtynis indicated. A new reading of the relationship between the weavers and their opponent Paninoutis, though, may show that there was a breakdown of trust within the weavers from Euhemeria, which led to the involvement of the Roman authorities in a dispute. The theme of dispute resolution, and the idea that the people of the Egyptian *chōra* had multiple strategies

⁴³⁶ Collective tax payment at Tebtynis: τοῦ αὐτοῦ | Ἀπύνηχος εἰσάγοντος τὰ δημόσια τῆς αὐτῆς ἐργασίας | ἅπαντα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἰσιοντος (l. εἰσιόντος) ἔτους ('... with the same Apynchis paying in all of the public taxes of the association for the forthcoming twentieth year'). Cf. Muhs (2001), 3: 'Collective payment of taxes apparently began in the Roman period as a convenience for the professional guilds, but it proved to be convenient for the government as well to tax professions collectively, so that membership in professional guilds became obligatory in the Byzantine period.'

⁴³⁷ Cf. P.Mich. V, p. 95 on the contracts, and p. 101 on the self-determined nature of the associations.

for interacting with Roman law and administration, is at the centre of the next and final chapter of this thesis, on petitioning.

CHAPTER 6: Dispute resolution

In this chapter, I return to the topic of the petitions from Euhemeria. At thirty-three items, the petitions are the largest single genre of texts in our corpus.⁴³⁸ This high proportion is due partly to the accident of survival – we need not assume that the people of Euhemeria were any more litigious than the people of neighbouring villages – but petitions in general are one of the most common genres of Roman papyri, as various counts of their prevalence indicate.⁴³⁹ While other first century collections of papyri also contain significant numbers of interrelated petitions dealing with similar themes to the Euhemerian examples, these other groups do not represent such a sizeable chunk of the available documentation from their places of origin.⁴⁴⁰ Therefore, in giving an analysis of the village of Euhemeria in the early Roman period, it is essential to address this large and fascinating set of documents.

The petitions from Euhemeria have been studied by previous scholars using diverse methodologies. Early overviews of Roman Egypt mined the narrative sections of the petitions for the anecdotes and local colour that they provide.⁴⁴¹ Later, more focused enquiries attempted to draw conclusions about the nature and prevalence of crime in Roman Egypt, based on the information contained in the petitions.⁴⁴² This kind of sociological approach to the texts has recently reappeared in Grünewald's monograph on Roman banditry.⁴⁴³ Such enquiries, though, have tended to take at face value the statements made by the petitioners in their narratives; this is a problematic approach because, as we will see in this chapter, petitions are not neutral statements of objective facts.

⁴³⁸ On the wider significance of the petitions from Euhemeria, see Kelly (2011), 66: 'The Euhemeria *archephodos* archive contains the largest single find of petitions for the whole Roman period, yielding many times more petitions than any archive from the second or third centuries.' The group is large enough to be cited by Bryen (2013) as one of the 'clumps' of data with the potential to distort analysis of the prevalence and spread of petitioning in this period (p. 36).

⁴³⁹ See for example tables 1, 2 & 3 in Bryen (2013), 37. The aggregate of these different counts suggests that petitions account for 8.62% of all published papyrus documents from the first century.

⁴⁴⁰ For a list of the nineteen petitions contained within the archive of Kronion, the holder of the concession for the *grapheion* at Tebtynis in the mid-first century, see van Beek (2013). This group is also briefly described by Kelly (2011), 43f. with reference also to Bastianini & Gallazzi (1990), 255ff.

⁴⁴¹ E.g. Lindsay (1963), esp. 135: 'The papyri give us a rich picture of the petty troubles and embroilings of village life. We cannot do better than begin with the large batch of complaints from the village of Euhemeria'.

⁴⁴² E.g. Lewis (1983), 77.

⁴⁴³ Grünewald (2004), 27-31.

More recent scholarship on petitioning has acknowledged the problematic nature of petitions as sources for history.⁴⁴⁴ In particular, Bryen has argued that Roman Egyptian petitioners constructed ‘fictions’ in their texts that were meant to be ‘rhetorically effective’, which is to say that they were designed primarily in order to influence their intended audiences, rather than to portray the events described accurately.⁴⁴⁵ In this chapter, I heed these warnings about petitions as a source and focus accordingly on the themes of social tension and dispute resolution, for which I believe that petitions represent a useful source of evidence.

These issues are relevant to the wider scope of this thesis, because I am interested in evaluating the ways in which the people of Euhemeria adapted to the arrival of the Roman administration. Petitions as a genre tended to be submitted by what Kelly calls the ‘middle strata’ of society, which I equate with some of the groups we have encountered in previous chapters, who saw opportunities for advancement under the new Roman regime.⁴⁴⁶ This idea will be developed over the course of this chapter.

The process of petitioning

An awareness of the process by which petitions were drawn up, and the role that they played in the judicial system of Roman Egypt, can help to mitigate some of the problematic aspects of the genre. There was no formal, state-organised police service in antiquity, although various bodies did perform policing functions, and both the Ptolemaic and Roman armies served to maintain law and order to some extent.⁴⁴⁷ The onus of reporting crimes and transgressions therefore lay with the individual men and women who saw themselves as the victims in such situations. The writing of petitions was common to all parts of Egypt throughout the period of Roman occupation, and had a long precedent under Ptolemaic rule.⁴⁴⁸

The question of how litigious Egyptians were is one which has attracted debate ever since Tacitus described Egypt as *insciam legum*, and Egypt has been characterised as

⁴⁴⁴ E.g. Kelly (2011), 38: ‘Nor is it the case that the documents on which this study rests are somewhat “problematic”. They are much, much worse than that.’

⁴⁴⁵ Bryen (2008), 182.

⁴⁴⁶ Kelly (2011), 124 with note 2 (which quotes John Crook): ‘They have a little property and are concerned about its disposition and the taxes on it, and about loans and dykes and local violence.’

⁴⁴⁷ On policing in the Roman period, see Bagnall (1977).

⁴⁴⁸ Ptolemaic petitioning is described at length in Bauschatz (2013), ch. 4 (pp. 160-218), with examples of significant archives.

both ‘ignorant of laws’ and overly litigious.⁴⁴⁹ It is true that the large number of petitions, court proceedings and related documents from Egypt allows us to glimpse the sometimes petty and protracted use of the legal system in this particular ancient context.⁴⁵⁰ However, since we lack a comparable volume of documentation from other parts of the Roman Empire, we simply do not know how typical or exceptional Egypt was in this regard. It is also important to bear in mind that petitioning and litigation were ‘separate albeit related practices’, and a petition did not always request or initiate legal action.⁴⁵¹ This point will be significant later in this chapter, as I argue that petitions were sometimes used to put pressure on opponents in pre-existing disputes, by accusing them publicly of further offences.

The basic process for someone who wanted to complain about a wrong was to set down the details of the offence in writing, in a petition that conformed to certain diplomatic and formulaic conventions.⁴⁵² It is likely that petitioners who were literate in Greek produced their own documents. However, the majority of Egyptians could not write Greek, and so relied on professional scribes to draft their documents for them.⁴⁵³ Hopkins has argued that the necessity of producing documentation in Greek in order to engage with the Roman justice system was a driving force behind the spread of Greek literacy and the increase in numbers of scribes trained to produce documentation in Greek rather than Demotic.⁴⁵⁴

Some professional scribes worked in *grapheia*, village writing and record offices, where documents were produced for a fee.⁴⁵⁵ Most, though worked for hire in the public places of the towns and villages.⁴⁵⁶ The result of most petitioners’ reliance on

⁴⁴⁹ Tac., *Hist.* 1.11.

⁴⁵⁰ An example of a particularly drawn-out set of petitions relating to one family feud is found in the archive of Satabous [TM Arch 151] of Soknopaiou Nesos in the first half of the first century: cf. Kelly (2011), 1-6 with previous scholarship recalled in footnote 1.

⁴⁵¹ Kelly (2011), 87.

⁴⁵² On the usual structure of a petition, see Kelly (2011), 45-9. Kelly uses P.Ryl. II 134 and 143 as models, demonstrating the typicality of the Euhemerian evidence.

⁴⁵³ On the history of Egyptian scribes producing Greek documentation, see Clarysse (1993), esp. 187 n. 5, with reference to the increasing dominance of Greek among the temple scribes of Medinet Madi in the late first and early second centuries.

⁴⁵⁴ Hopkins (1991), 137: ‘Subjects wrote petitions, and did so in amazing numbers. They learnt the language of the conquerors in order to borrow the conquerors’ power, and to help protect themselves from exploitation.’

⁴⁵⁵ Our information about the practices of village *grapheia* comes mostly from the archive of Kronion, who was in charge of the concession at Tebtynis in the mid-first century CE [TM Arch 93]. On the operation of the *grapheion*, see the introductions to P.Mich. II and V. For general observations about the functions of *grapheia*, see Pierce (1968), and more recent articles by Muhs (2005, 2010).

⁴⁵⁶ Lewis (1983), ‘There in the street ... is where most of the villagers’ paper work was done.’

professional scribes is that petitions tend to adhere closely to established norms in terms of their layout and wording.⁴⁵⁷ This results in the highly formulaic nature of the petitions that come down to us, with a repertoire of stock phrases appearing repeatedly in petitions across settlements and over time.⁴⁵⁸

An example of the formulaic nature of the petitions from Euhemeria comes in the requests that form the last structural element of the documents (excluding optional elements such as dates and signatures). Across all thirty-three petitions from Euhemeria, we find only six variations in the request formula. In the first type, the addressee is asked to order an investigation to be made into the petitioner's complaint.⁴⁵⁹ The second type is closely related, but here the recipient is asked to instruct the *archepodos* in particular to make an investigation.⁴⁶⁰ The third type asks that the recipient summon the accused parties before him for a hearing.⁴⁶¹ Similarly, in the fourth type, the recipient is asked specifically to order to *archepodos* of the village to round up the suspects and bring them in for a hearing.⁴⁶² Between them these four formulae, with minor variations in wording, are found in thirty-one of the petitions.

As well as incorporating numerous *topoi*, there is evidence that petitions were routinely drafted and redrafted before completion, and in undergoing these processes of revision they became even more standardised.⁴⁶³ Among the Euhemerian petitions we find one example of a draft petition, P.Ryl. II 124.⁴⁶⁴ This document lacks an address, despite the top margin of the papyrus being more or less intact, suggesting that it was never intended to be sent out. Furthermore, the text overruns onto the verso of the sheet in a seemingly haphazard way, which no other petition in the group does. This petition is the only one in the group that appears to have been

⁴⁵⁷ On scribal conventions in petitions, see Kelly (2011), 45f.: 'Scribes working in organized establishments like the Tebtynis *grapheion* would have presumably learnt such conventions from previously completed petitions, specimens of which would have been at hand. It is also possible that scribes used templates to write petitions...'

⁴⁵⁸ On formulae, see the doctoral thesis of Mascellari (2005), which devotes a section to each of the diplomatic elements of a petition, with numerous examples.

⁴⁵⁹ E.g. P.Ryl. II 134.19-21: διὸ ἀξιῶ γράψαι | ἀναζητήσαι ὑπὲρ | τοῦ μέρους.

⁴⁶⁰ E.g. P.Ryl. II 142.22-5: διὸ ἀξιῶ γράψαι τῷ | τῆς κόμη(ς) ἀρχεφόδ(ῳ) | ἀναζητήσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ | μέρους.

⁴⁶¹ E.g. P.Ryl. II 126.23-5: διὸ ἀξιῶ ἀχθῆναι τὸν | ἐγκαλούμεν[ο(ν)] ἐπὶ σὲ πρ[ὸς] | τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέξοδ(ον).

⁴⁶² E.g. P.Ryl. II 136.13-15: ἀξιῶ γραφήναι[ι τ]ῷ τῆς κόμη(ς) | ἀρχεφόδ(ῳ) καταστήσαι ἐπὶ σὲ | πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέξοδ(ον).

⁴⁶³ On the drafting process in petitions, see Luiselli (2009), with associated evidence.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. Rowlandson (ed. 1998), 322 item 254, who calls it 'a rough and ungrammatical draft'.

written using a brush rather than a pen, which may again be symptomatic of rough work rather than a finished version.⁴⁶⁵

Once a petition had been drafted, it was submitted to an official of the judicial administration or other local authority figure. The choice of which authority to petition was influenced by the jurisdiction of the person in question – that is, his competence to actually do something about the complaint – but also by his social status and network of connections. This is why we find high-status people who were ostensibly outside the legal framework of Egypt among those who received petitions in this period; petitions from Euhemeria are addressed, for example, to a centurion and to a priest of the cult of Tiberius.⁴⁶⁶ Some petitioners hedged their bets, producing multiple petitions with the same content but addressed to different officials.⁴⁶⁷

In the case of local officials – who were the usual choice of addressee – the petition was probably delivered by hand to the authority in question, or to someone in their office or entourage.⁴⁶⁸ There was no limit to the number of petitions that could be submitted about the same offence. In a petition contemporary to our material, we learn that the petitioner Dionysios submitted multiple petitions against the shepherds who had damaged parts of the *ousia* that he managed.⁴⁶⁹

This kind of barrage of petitions was perhaps a response to the inefficiencies of the system. The overlapping and convoluted nature of jurisdiction within the legal system in Roman Egypt must have resulted in huge numbers of stalled and failed

⁴⁶⁵ On the significance of the choice of writing implement, see Tait (1988), esp. 480: ‘The few examples that we have of Greek written with a rush pen [i.e. a ‘short-stiff brush’, *ibid.* 477] are all either certainly or plausibly the work of writers from an Egyptian background, who normally write in demotic, but for a particular purpose find that they have to write in Greek.’ Cf. Clarysse (1993), 189f.

⁴⁶⁶ Centurion, C. Trebius Iustus: P.Ryl. II 141 (April-May 37 CE). Priest, C. Iulius Asklas: P.Ryl. II 149 (September-October 39 CE).

⁴⁶⁷ One example of a petition produced in more than one copy, and addressed to multiple recipients, is P.Col. VIII 209 (Theadelphia, 3 CE), a complete petition addressed to a *basilikos grammateus* concerning harassment and theft. The same text (with a section missing) is also found in P.Mert. I 8, corresponding to the first 26 lines of the Columbia papyrus, and P.Mil. II 243 (both Theadelphia, 3 CE), corresponding to lines 33-44. The new, composite text, addressed to an unknown individual named Korax, was discussed by Daris (1965).

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Lewis (2000), 84.

⁴⁶⁹ P.Oslo III 123, petition (unknown provenance, 12 November 22 CE). The petitioner requests that the addressee summon the accused parties ‘so that I do not lose out regarding these matters, about which I have already submitted other petitions’ (lines 32-5: μή | ἐλαττουμένου [μου] | ὑπὲρ ὧν προεπέδωκ[α δι’] | ἐτέρων ὑπομνημάτ[ων]). This papyrus was once thought to belong to the same group as the petitions from Euhemeria; for the reasons why I do not support this view, see chapter 2.

petitions, but the prefect's annual judicial tour of the nomes (*conventus*) provided a final opportunity for petitioners to have their cases heard. One well-known papyrus reveals that during the *conventus*, the prefect was inundated with literally hundreds of petitions every day: during the three days of the *conventus* of one year around 210 CE, the prefect Subatianus Aquila received 1,804 petitions.⁴⁷⁰ Lewis has calculated that Aquila's staff therefore received petitions continuously, at a rate of one per minute, for the entire ten hour working days of the assizes.⁴⁷¹ Aquila's edict was issued in the third century and so perhaps illustrates a different situation to the one in place during the period of this inquiry. However, another prefectural edict of the early second century shows that the *conventus* system was already in place in earlier centuries, and took much the same form.⁴⁷² In the earlier edict, the prefect Mamertinus confirmed that the bulk of adjudication was supposed to be done by the lower courts, and that he intended to skip the *conventus* stops 'beyond Coptos' (that is, in the extreme south of the province) because most cases there had already received verdicts from subordinate courts, and so did not require his attention.⁴⁷³

The result for which most petitioners hoped was to have a subscription added to their petition by the official who received it. A subscription demonstrated that the official in question had read the petition and recognised its merit; it also contained instructions for what was to happen next.⁴⁷⁴ The official could order an enquiry to be made, a suspect to be apprehended and brought before him, damages to be awarded, or for the whole matter to be delegated to another more qualified, and perhaps less busy, judge; this last was the most common outcome.⁴⁷⁵ Those petitions that were subscribed were then kept in official archives: these were probably based in the

⁴⁷⁰ P. Yale I 61, edict of the prefect Subatianus Aquila (Arsinoites, 207-10 CE), lines 3-12. For more on this edict, see Horstkotte (1996).

⁴⁷¹ Lewis (1981), 121.

⁴⁷² P. Ryl. II 74, edict of the prefect Petronius Mamertinus (unknown provenance, 136-7 CE).

⁴⁷³ Ibid., lines 6-9: *πλειόνων τῶν τοῦ διαλογισμοῦ δειομένων* ἤδη τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις τὴν προσήκ[ουσάν] | [διάγν]ωσιν εἰληφότων, νυνεῖ (l. νυνεῖ) δὲ διαλογί[ομαι τὴν] | [Θηβαῖδ]α καὶ τοὺς Ἑπτὰ νομοὺς κατὰ τὴν [συνήθειαν] ('... since most of the cases depending on my *conventus* [there] have already received appropriate settlement from the local courts, I will make the tour of the Thebaid and Heptanomia as usual.')

⁴⁷⁴ On the processing of petitions by judicial authorities see Foti-Talamanca (1979) on provincial courts, and the comprehensive study by Haensch (1994). Kelly (2011), 86-94 summarises Haensch with some additional material.

⁴⁷⁵ E.g., P. Oxy. VII 1032 (Oxyrhynchos, 162 CE), 52-4: *ἐντυχε οὖν τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ* | ὅς ... | *περὶ τοῦ πράγματος διαγνώσει* (‘Delegate it to the very competent *epistrategos*, who will deal with the matter.’)

nome *mētropoleis*, but their precise workings are as yet unknown, and such archives may not been in place in all parts of Egypt throughout the Roman period.⁴⁷⁶

It is clear from the consistency and longevity of the petition form in the papyrological evidence that the basic system described above – of putting complaints down in writing, submitting them to authority, and hoping for the best – remained more or less unchanged as the state’s preferred mode of dealing with conflict and settling disputes throughout the Roman period and on into the Byzantine. In what follows, though, I will argue that the people of Roman Egypt had their own unofficial methods for resolving disputes, and that at least some of our petitions were drafted in order to expedite settlements that were conceived outside the Roman judicial system, negotiated and agreed by the people of the villages themselves.

Petitioning in Euhemeria

Although it is impossible to estimate the population of Euhemeria in the early Roman period accurately, we must imagine a village of perhaps a couple of thousand people at most.⁴⁷⁷ In a settlement of this size, the inhabitants would have been likely to know most of their neighbours, and familiarity often breeds contempt, or at least conflict. Therefore, it is to be expected that at any given time, several of the people of the village would have been engaged in disputes with one another. A neat example of the embroilings of the people of Euhemeria comes in the person of Dikaios son of Chairemon. This man, who was a farmer of a plot of royal land (on which see chapter 3) submitted a petition complaining that his wife had been attacked in their home by another woman.

⁴⁷⁶ On official archives, see Burkhalter (1990), who finds that nome-based repositories for subscribed petitions (βιβλιοθήκαι δημοσίαι) appeared only after 53 CE; see also Anagnostou-Cañas (2000), 758-64.

⁴⁷⁷ In the absence of the census records and tax-payer lists found for other Roman settlements, a scientific estimation of Euhemeria’s population will probably never be possible. Bagnall & Frier (1994), 53-6 with reference to the work of Rathbone (1990) made some estimates about the size of other Arsinoite towns and villages, stating that ‘villages ranged enormously in size, from about 4,000 (e.g. Karanis in the mid-second century A.D.) down to a hundred or so’, concluding that the average village population was between 1,000 and 1,500 people (p. 55 n. 13). Since Euhemeria was a reasonably major local settlement, its population was probably a little higher than this average, but not much.

P.Lond. III 1218, petition (23-28 August 39 CE)

Γαίω Ἰουλίω Φόλω ἐπ[ιστ]ά-
τη φυλακιτῶν
παρὰ Δικαίου τοῦ Χαιρήμονο(ς)
τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐημερείας [βασι]λι-
5 κο[ῦ] γεωρ[γοῦ. τ]ῆι λ τοῦ ἐνεσ-
τῶτος μη[νὸς] Μεσορ[η]
τοῦ γ (ἔτους) Γαίου Καίσαρος Σε[β]α[στοῦ]
Γερμανικοῦ Ἑλενοῦς Τ[ο-]
θέως πρὸς ἣν οὐκ εἶχον
10 ἀπλῶς πρᾶγμα ὕβριν
οὐ [τ]ῆν τύχουσαν τῆ γυ-]
ναικ(ι) μου. [-ca.?-]
εκαλεσατ[. . .]ρ. [-ca.?-]
σεν αυ[. . .]τον. . τ. [-ca.?-]
15 ἔτι δὲ καὶ κατὰ [-ca.?-]
μησεν αὐτῆς ε[. . . .]φι
εκτ[. . .]αν[-ca.?-]
ρη[-ca.?- διὸ ἀξιῶ γράψ]αι
ἀχθ[ῆναι τὴν ἐγκαλου-]
20 μένην ἐπ[ὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν]
δέουσαν ἐπέξοδο[ν].
εὐ[τύχει].

‘To Gaius Iulius Pholos, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Dikaios son of Chairemon, a royal farmer from Euhemeria. On the 30th of the current month of Mesore in the 3rd year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Helenous daughter of Thoteus, with whom I had absolutely no problem, used uncalled-for violence against my wife ... she called ... moreover ... [papyrus is fragmentary]. Therefore I ask you to order that the accused be brought before you for the necessary punishment. Farewell.’

Here Diakaios is at pains to present himself as the innocent party, and to emphasise the irrationality or Helenous’ attack. The phrase ‘with whom I had absolutely no

problem' is in fact a scribal *topos*, appearing in several other petitions of the period.⁴⁷⁸ Indeed, in contrast to his self-presentation in this text, it appears that Dikaios was not a model citizen: in the following year, the manager of an estate submitted a petition against him, accusing him of insulting and aggressive behaviour, and of stealing some money.⁴⁷⁹ Dikaios is therefore attested as both petitioner and accused party, a situation for which I have been unable to find parallels in other texts, and one which illustrates how useful the interrelated set of texts from Euhemeria is in terms of illuminating the social history of Roman Egypt.

Tensions between the people of Euhemeria must have been exacerbated by questions of status and level of integration within the village community.⁴⁸⁰ For example, we find several instances of residents of the village petitioning against the residents of the *epoikia* located on the peripheries. In the following example, the owner of a space for processing and storing crops drafted a petition after discovering that it had been raided; he pointed the finger squarely at the residents of the nearby Lenou *epoikion*.

P.Ryl. II 139, petition (after 23 July 34 CE)

Γαίωι Ἀρρείωι Πρίσκωι
ἐπιστάτηι φυλακιστῶν
παρὰ Ὀρίωινος τοῦ Σουχίωινος
τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐημερείας τῆς Θεμισ-
5 του μερείδος. τῆι κε τοῦ Ἐπειφ
τοῦ ἐνεσ{σ}τῶιτος κ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ τὴν ἐπίσ-
κεψιν ποιουμένου οὗ εἶχον
σεννίου καὶ ψυγμοῦ πρὸς
10 τῆι Ληνῶι λεγονένη εὖρον
τὸν μὲν ψυγμὸν συνεψημένον
καὶ τὸ σέννιον κεκοσκεινευ-

⁴⁷⁸ E.g. SB XX 15077.16-17 (Tebtynis, July-August 45 CE). Ed. pr. Bastianini & Gallazzi (1990), who translated the formula as 'senza avere lui nessuna vertenza contro di me', implying an underlying legal dispute between the petitioner Orsenouphis and the thugs who attacked him in his fields.

⁴⁷⁹ P.Ryl. II 150 (19 October 40 CE).

⁴⁸⁰ On the suspiciousness of members of settled communities like Euhemeria towards outsiders, see McGing (1998) on banditry in Egypt, esp. 173: '... villages often formed very close knit communities, suspicious of strangers'.

μένον και ἡρμένα εἰς λόγον
 πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν ἕξ. ὑπο-
 15 νοῶι οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτω γερονέ-
 ναι ὑπὸ τῶν καταγινομένων
 ἐν τῇ Ληνῶι λεγομένη. διὸ
 ἀξιῶι γράψαι τῶι τῆς κώμης
 ἀρχεφόδῳ ὅπως τὴν ἀ-
 20 ναζήτησιν ποιήσεται
 και τοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτο δια-
 πράξαντες ἀχθῆναι ἐπι-
 σὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέ-
 ξοδον. (hand 2) εὐτύχ(ει).
 25 Ὀρίων Σουχίωνος ἐπιδέδω-
 κα τὸ προκίμεινον ὀπόμνη-
 μα. (ἔτους) κ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπιπ κθ.

5. 1. μερίδος 6. 1. ἐνεστῶτος 10. 1. λεγομένη 12-13. 1. κεκοσκινευ|μένον 14-
 15. 1. ὑπο|νοῶ 15. 1. τοιοῦτο 18. 1. ἀξιῶ; 1. κώμης 26. 1. προκείμενον 26-
 27. 1. ὑπόμνη|μα 28. 1. Ἐπειφ

‘To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Horion son of Souchion, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. On the 25th of Epeiph in the current 20th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, while I was making an inspection of the winnowing space and drying-floor which I have near the place called Lenos, I found that the drying-floor had been swept out and the winnowing space sifted, and (crops) stolen to the amount of six artabas of wheat. I suspect that this sort of thing could only have been done by the people living in the place called Lenos. Therefore I ask you to write to the *archephodos* of the village, so that he may make an investigation, and those who did this thing may be brought before you with a view to forthcoming punishment. (hand 2) Farewell. I, Horion son of Souchion, have submitted the preceding petition. Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Epeiph 29.’

Horion seems to be a good example of a member of the ‘middling strata’ mentioned already as the most likely groups within the villages to petition. He owned a vitally important agricultural facility in the form of the winnowing space (σεννίον) and drying-floor (ψωγγμός), and the fact that he was ‘making an inspection’ of it implies that he did not live or work there, and may also have had other properties or plots of land. He added a signature in his own hand to the petition, indicating that he was somewhat literate in Greek and so certainly not a member of the lowest socio-economic level.

As discussed in chapter 3, Euhemeria was an agricultural hub, and most of the villagers made their living by engaging in some form of farming or related activity. As a result, it is not surprising that petitions like this one detailing threats to the livelihood of the village’s many small-scale farmers are common in our corpus. The greatest of these threats was posed by shepherds who allowed the sheep under their watch to graze on crops belonging to other people. The layout of villages like Euhemeria – with pasture lands interspersed with fields of crops, and with only irrigation ditches to mark out the borders of plots – meant it was easy for sheep to wander accidentally into fields they had no right to be in, and it is possible that some of the cases of illicit grazing were accidental.⁴⁸¹ We have evidence from Euhemeria, though, that some shepherds were repeat offenders. Seras son of Paes is accused of illicit grazing in two separate petitions.⁴⁸²

The prevalence of petitions against shepherds may also be indicative of a general suspicion towards this group of people. Shepherds, by virtue of the nature of their work, spent a great deal of time away from the village centre and, although drawn from the ranks of the villagers, occupied a somewhat liminal position within Egyptian society.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸¹ Cf. Keenan (1989), 191: ‘The problem of damage to crops by livestock is endemic to Egypt at all periods, and is no doubt most prevalent in those agrarian settings where agriculture and animal husbandry are conducted, as in Egypt, side-by-side, and where, as I witnessed last September [i.e. 1988] in the Fayum, animals graze on stubble in fields that are not fenced off from adjacent fields awaiting harvest.’

⁴⁸² P.Ryl. II 143, 147.

⁴⁸³ Ruffini (2008) analysed the social networks evident in Byzantine communities of the Oxyrhynchite nome, and found that their varying levels of integration within the communities meant that they were seen as ‘marginal, combative, and difficult figures’ (p. 11).

Table 6.1: Petitions from Euhemeria about illicit grazing

Text	Date	Damage	Petitioner	Accused
P.Ryl. II 126	28/29 CE	2 arouras wheat ½ arouras barley	Onnophris (farmer, estate of Livia)	Demas son of Psaesis
P.Ryl. II 131	After 12 March 31 CE	5 artabas wheat 9 artabas barley	Mysthas and Pelopion sons of Pelops (farmers of private land)	Harmiysis son of Heras
SB XX 15182	29-31 CE	20 artabas vetch 1 artaba safflower	Chairemon son of Horion (farmer of revenue land)	Orsenouphis Orseus Harmiysis Osis Petesouchos son of Harsytmis
P.Ryl. II 132	10 July 32 CE	26 sheaves (?)	Theon son of Theon (manager, estate of Euandros)	The sons of Eunomios
P.Ryl. II 143	After 25 April 38 CE	2 arouras chickling-seed [= 20 artabas]	Heraklas son of Diodoros (farmer of state land)	Seras son of Paes
P.Ryl. II 147	May-June 39 CE	12 artabas barley	Ptolemaios son of Didymos (<i>nomographos</i> and landowner?)	Dares son of Ptolemaios Seras son of Paes Orseus son of Herakleios

Text	Date	Damage	Petitioner	Accused
P.Ryl. II 149	September- October 39 CE	5 artabas vegetable-seed	Petheus son of Penaus (farmer of state land)	Heras son of Ephonychos Orseus son of Heras Orsenouphis son of Onnophris Ophelion son of Apollonios
P.Ryl. II 152	4 April 42 CE	Entire olive- grove	Paes (gardener, estate of Thermoutharion)	Ophelion Ophelion son of Ophelion Papontos son of Ophelion

As the table shows, the people who complained about their crops being grazed down tended to be tenant farmers, who were dependent on their crops for their rents, private farmers, who made their living from the proceeds of their land, and managers of private estates, who were accountable to their lessors for any shortfalls in productivity. As members of the settled village community, there seems to have existed a degree of tension between these people and the shepherds who are accused in their petitions. Once again, this is consistent with the general view that petitions were submitted by members of the 'middling stata' of Egyptian society.

The eight petitions in the table above mention no other offence, which is to say that the petitioners sought action about only the fact that their crops had been grazed by someone else' sheep or goats. The following example is typical of this type of complaint.

P.Ryl. II 132, petition (10 July 32 CE)

Ἀθηνοδώρῳ ἐπιστά(τη) φυλακ(ιτῶν)
παρὰ Θεωνοῦ Θεώνος
τοῦ προεστῶτος τῶν Εὐάνδ(ρου)
τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἱερέως
5 Τιβερίου Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστο(ῦ).
τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ
ἡ(ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρο(ς)
Σεβαστοῦ ποιουμένου
μ[ο]ν τὴν ἐπίσ[κ]εψιν
10 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῷ Εὐάνδ(ρω)
περὶ Εὐημ(έριαν) ἐδαφῶν εὗρον
τοῦς . [.] υς() τοῦ Εὐνομίου)
ποιμένας κατανενε-
μηκότας δι' ὧν νέμουσι
15 προβάτ(ων) περὶ δράγματα
[. . .] κς. ἀξιῶ γράψαι
τ[ῶ] τ[ῆ]ς κώ(μης) ἀρχε(φόδω) κερ . .
[δε]ξα(). εὐ(τύχει).

(hand 2) ἀρχεφό(δω)· ἔκπεμψο(ν).
20 (ἔτους) ἡ Τιβ(ερίου) Καίσαρο(ς) Σεβαστοῦ)
Ἐπειφ ις.

(verso)

[ἀρχ]εφόδ(ω) Εὐημερ[ί]α[ς].]

‘To Athenodoros, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Theon son of Theon, manager for Euandros son of Ptolemaios, priest of Tiberius Caesar Augustus. In the month of Pauni in the 18th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, while I was making an inspection of the fields belonging to Euandros near Euhemeria, I found that (the sons) of Eunomios, who are shepherds, had grazed down, with the sheep that they own, about 26 sheaves of ... I ask you to order the

archepodos of the village ... Farewell. (hand 2) To the *archepodos*: send them up. Year 18 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Epeiph 16.

(verso) To the *archepodos* of Euhemeria.'

The petitioner Theon stipulated the quantity of his crops had been affected; this was probably done so that there would be a record in writing of the damage done if the culprit ended up having to pay compensation. We know that farmers did receive compensation for lost crops from the following document in our corpus, a receipt for compensation paid by a shepherd to a catoecic farmer in the same year as the petition of Theon.

PSI IX 1057, receipt for compensation (2/17 October 32 CE)

ἔτους ἐν[ν]εακαιδεκάτου Τιβερίου Κ(αί)[σαρος]
Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου κ Φ[αῶφι εἰκ]ο-
στῆ, ἐν Εὐη[μ]ερίᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδ[ος]
τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Ἀξιῶν
5 Μ[ά]ρωνος ὡς ἐτῶν ἐξηκο[ντα]
[ύ]π[ό]σκναιφος οὐλή βραχείονι δεξιῶι
[Α]πύνχει Ἡράτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) ἐξηκ[οντα]δύο
[οὐ]λή καρπῶι δεξιῶι ἔχιν παρ' [αὐτοῦ]
διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου κατὰ μ[έ]ρος ἀργυ(ρίου)
10 δραχμ[ὰς] ἐνενηκονταδύο [(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ρβ]
ἀπὸ τειμῆ[ς] \[χ]λωρῶν/ ἀράκου, ὧν κατέφαγεν
[α]ὐτοῦ τὰ πρόβατα ἐν οἷς ἔνεμεν περὶ
[Φ]ύλαγρίδα κατοικικοῖς ἐδάφ[εσιν ἐκ]
[τ]οῦ Διοσκοῦτος, σπόρου τοῦ ὀκτω [και-]
15 δεκάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Κ(αί)σαρος Σεβασ[τοῦ,]
τειμῆς τῆς ἐσταμένης ἐπὶ τοῦ κ(αι)ρο[ῦ]
τῶν χλωρῶν τῆς φανησομένης
ἐκ σχοινοργίας σχοινίων [-ca.?-]
ἀναμετρ[εῖται] ἀρούρης ἀράκου
20 δεκαε[ννέ]α. βεβαιούτω οὔ [ὁ Α-]
εἰῶν ἐπὶ [το]ύτοις πάση βεβαι[ώ]σει.]

[ὕ]πογραφεῖς τοῦ μὲν ὁμολογ[οῦντος]

— — —

6. l. ὑπόσκνιφος; l. βραχίονι 8. l. ἔχειν 10a. Van Minnen (BL VIII 405): ἀφρων
ed. pr. 11. l. τιμῆς; l. ὄν 16. l. τιμῆς 17. Van Minnen (BL VIII 405): ἀφρων
prev. ed.

‘Year nineteen of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, day 20 of the month Apellaios, (which is) day twenty of the month Phaophi, in Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris* of the Arsinoite nome. Aeion (?) son of Maron, around sixty years old, snub-nosed, with a scar on his right arm, agrees with Apynchis son of Heras, about sixty-two years old with a scar on his right wrist, that he has received from him, hand-to-hand, out of the house, in full, ninety-two silver drachmas, equals 92 drachmas, for the value of the shoots of wild chickling which (Apynchis’) sheep grazed down in the catoecic fields that (Aeion) farms near Philagris, part of the (plot of) Dioskous, sown in year eighteen of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, the price having been set at the time of the emergence of the shoots, based on a survey of the cubits (?) ... He will measure out nineteen arouras of wild-chickling. Let Aeion give his guarantee upon these terms in all security. The underwriters for the agreeing party ... [papyrus breaks off]’

Aeion is described as a farmer of catoecic fields, and we should accordingly read the name of Dioskous here as the owner of a catoecic plot (κλήρος). If Aeion was a tenant of Dioskous, we can understand his distress at losing the quantity of chickling, as it is likely that he owed a proportion of this crop to his landlord as rent.⁴⁸⁴

It is possible to perceive a straightforward connection between the petitions about illicit grazing and the receipt for compensation: the farmers in question suffered an injury and petitioned the authorities about it, who then held a hearing and decided in favour of the farmers, compelling the shepherds to pay compensation. However, two of the petitions related to illicit grazing tell us that the situation was sometimes more complicated than this. The following example, submitted by the manager of an estate

⁴⁸⁴ Compare the rental receipt SB XX 14971 (24 July 2 BCE), discussed in chapter 3.

belonging to the emperor Claudius and his nephews, combines the charge of illicit grazing with another, more serious accusation.

P.Ryl. II 138, petition (16 July 34 CE)

Γαίωι Ἐρρίωι Πρίσκω ἐπιστάτῃ
φυλακιδῶν παρὰ Σώτου
τοῦ Μάρωνος τοῦ προεστῶ-
τος τῶν {τῶν} Τιβ[ε]ρίου καὶ Λιβίας
5 Δρούσου Καίσαρος τέκνων.
Ὅρσηνοῦφιν Ἡρακλήου καὶ Ἡρα-
κλῆς Πτόλλιδου ἐπαφέντος
τὰ ἐατῶν πρόβατα εἰς τὰ
νεώφυτα τῶν ἐλαιῶνων
10 τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας ἐν τῷ
Δρομῖ <κατενέμησαν> φυτὰ ἐλάινα δια-
κώσια ἐν τοῖς πρότερον
Φαλκιδίου, χωρὶς δὲ τού-
του κατέλαβα τοῦτον
15 διὰ νυκτὸς ἠλμένον
ἐξ ὑπερβατῶν εἰς τῷ
τῆς οὐσίας ἐποίκιον Δρο-
μήως λεγόμενον καὶ
ἐσύλησέν μου ἐν τῷ
20 πύργωι ἱκανὰ ἀργαλε<ῖ>α,
ἄμας ε, χωρτοκοπικὰ
ς, ἐρίων σταθμία ιε
καὶ ἕτερα σκεύη, καὶ ἀργυ-
ρίου (δραχμᾶς) σ ἄς ἴχον ἐν τῷ
25 ἐποικίωι εἰς ἀγωρασμὸν
\γενῶν/. διὸ ἀξιῶι ἀκθῆναι
τὸν ἐγκαλούμενον ἐπὶ σὲ
ἵνα τύχῃ τῶν δικαίων.
εὐτύχ(ει).

30 (ἔτους) κ Τιβερίου Καίσαρο(ς) Σεβαστοῦ
Ἐπ<ε>ίφ κβ.

7. 1. ἐπαφέντες 8. 1. ἐαυτῶν 9. 1. νεόφυτα 11-12. 1. δια|κόσια 16. 1. τὸ
18. 1. λεγόμενον 21. 1. χορτοκοπικὰ 24. 1. εἶχον 25. 1. ἀγορασμὸν 26. 1.
ἀξιῶ; 1. ἀχθῆναι 28. 1. τύχῳ

‘To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Sotas son of Maron, manager of the (estates) of Tiberius [i.e. the emperor Claudius] and of the children of Livia Drusi [i.e. Livilla]. Orsenouphis son of Herakleios and Herakles son of Ptollis, having let loose their sheep onto the newly-planted parts of the olive-groves on the same estate, (grazed down) two hundred young olive-trees in the Dromeos *epoikion*, formerly the property of Falcidius. In addition, I caught (Orsenouphis?) having leapt by night from a point of access into the *epoikion* called Dromeos of the estate and attempting to steal certain tools of mine that were in the tower, (namely) 5 rakes, 6 sickles, 15 measures of wool, and other equipment, as well as 200 silver drachmas which I was keeping at the *epoikion* for the purchase of crops. Therefore I ask that the accused be brought before you, so that I may obtain justice. Farewell. Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Epeiph 22.’

The first part of the narrative is like those discussed already: Sotas details the amount of his olive crop that was damaged, and names the shepherds he suspects of the crime. In the second part of the narrative, though, Sotas claims that he caught the shepherd Orsenouphis in the act of robbing tools from his store-room. The fact that the two crimes were committed on separate occasions and not on the same night (as the first editors believed) is indicated by the difficulty of grazing sheep under cover of darkness, and also by the language of the petition itself. The participle used to describe the grazing (ἐπαφέντες) is plural, because Orsenouphis committed this offence along with another shepherd called Herakles, whereas the pronoun and participle describing the thief (τοῦτον and ἡλμμένον) and the verb describing the theft (ἐσύλησεν) are singular, because Orsenouphis carried out the theft alone. It seems that Sotas combined these two charges in order to strengthen the rhetorical force of his petition. It is possible that he had already begun proceedings against the shepherds before the alleged robbery took place. By mentioning the first incident

again in the petition about the second, though, Sotas presented himself as the victim of a sustained series of attacks, which would be harder for the authorities to ignore.⁴⁸⁵

In a similar case, the petitioner Petermouthis complained that he had been assaulted and robbed by two shepherds named Papontos and Apion (or ‘Caper’), whose sheep had previously grazed down his crops without permission.⁴⁸⁶ Petermouthis describes how he got into an argument with the shepherds about unpaid damages for the lost crops, which degenerated into a brawl followed by an opportunistic theft.

P.Ryl. II 141, petition (28 April-25 May 37 CE)

Γαίωι Τρέβιωι Ἰούστωι
ἐκατοντάρχη
παρὰ Πετερμούθιος τοῦ
Ἡρακλήου τῶν ἀπ’ Εὐήμε-
5 ρίας δημοσίου γεωργοῦ
καὶ πράκτορος δημοσίων
γεωργοῦντος δὲ καὶ Ἀγτωνίας
Δρούσου. τῆι β τοῦ ἐν-
εστῶτος μηνὸς Παχῶν
10 τοῦ α (ἔτους) Γαίου Καίσαρος
Αὐτοκράτορος λογοποιο-
ουμένου πρὸς Παπον-
τῶν Ὀρσενούφιος καὶ Ἀπί-
ωνα λεγόμενον Καπαρεῖν
15 ποιμένας ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀφεί-
λουσί μου βλάβους κατα-
νεμήσεως διὰ τῶν ἐατῶν
προβάτων ἔδωκάν μοι
πληγὰς πλείους ἀναιδευ-

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. Bryen (2013), 90 on how petitioners framed their complaints ‘in a chronological sequence’ in order to elicit the maximum response.

⁴⁸⁶ On the name Kapparis and the nickname ‘Caper’, see Sijpesteijn (1991), 66: ‘I suggest that Καπαρεῖς is not a proper name, but that Apion was known locally as κάπαρις = caper (= sourpuss; or did he have a caper-shaped wart?).’

- 20 ὄμενοι μὴ ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ
ἀπώλεσα ἅς εἶχον ἀπὸ τιμ(ῆς)
ὀπίου ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμᾶς) μ καὶ ζώνην.
διὸ ἀξιῶ ἀντιλήψεως
τυχεῖν ἴν<α> μηδὲν τῶν
- 25 δημοσίων διαπέση.
εὐτ[ύ]χ(ει).

16. 1. μοι 17. 1. ἐαυτῶν 20. 1. ἀποδοῦναι 23. 1. ἀξιῶ; 1. ἀντιλήψεως

‘To Gaius Trebius Iustus, centurion, from Petermouthis son of Herakleios from Euhemeria, a public farmer and collector of public taxes, as well as a farmer (on the estate) of Antonia wife of Drusus. On the 2nd of the current month of Pachon in the 1st year of Gaius Caesar Imperator, when I was arguing with the shepherds Papontos son of Orsenouphis and Apion, also known as Kapparis, about what they owe me as damages for grazing by their sheep, they gave me many blows, were shameless enough not to pay, and I lost 40 drachmas which I had on me from the sale of opium and my money belt. Therefore I ask to obtain your assistance, so that none of the public revenues may come up short. Farewell.’

From this document we learn that Petermouthis had already successfully prosecuted the shepherds for grazing his land, and that he had been awarded damages as a result of that prosecution. The Greek word βλάβος (line 16), like the English equivalent ‘damages’, can mean either the harm caused by a crime (‘the damage done’), or the money awarded as compensation for said harm.⁴⁸⁷ In this instance, the context makes clear that it means the latter; Petermouthis was owed a sum of money. Therefore, while the petition was ostensibly occasioned by the assault and robbery that he suffered, I argue that it was also motivated by Petermouthis’ desire to draw official attention to the fact that he had still not received the money he was owed by the accused parties.

⁴⁸⁷ LSJ s.v. βλάβος [= βλάβη]. For the specific, legal sense of the word, compare the common formula τὰ τε βλάβη καὶ δαπανήματα διπλᾶ (‘double damages and expenses’), encountered in numerous contracts from the Kronion archive, e.g. SB VI 9109.8-9. (before 28 August 31 CE); P.Tebt. II 383.41 (11 July 46 CE); P.Mich. V 326.58 (6 April 48 CE).

Here the question of rhetorical strategy comes into play again. Petermouthis emphasises the physical injuries that were done to him by Papontos and Apion, and although he does so in generic terms – ἔδωκάν μοι πλῆγὰς πλείους (‘they gave me many blows’) is a common formula in petitions of the period – the intention is clearly to arouse the sympathies of the recipient of the petition, and to compound the seriousness of the other allegations.⁴⁸⁸ This kind of case, in which the surviving petition presents a single part of a longer and more complex ongoing dispute between petitioner and accused party, forms the basis of the next section of the chapter, in which I develop the idea of ‘the shadow of the law’ and its presence in the petitions from Euhemeria more fully.

‘The shadow of the law’

In his recent monograph on petitioning, Kelly argued that in many cases petitions were not intended to help the petitioner to obtain justice or settle a dispute using the Roman judicial administration.⁴⁸⁹ Rather, they were intended to exert pressure on the accused parties, often in order to achieve a beneficial outcome for the petitioner outside the official system of law and order. In support of this view, Kelly applies the concept of ‘the shadow of the law’ to the analysis of the petitions. This phrase is derived from the title of Mnookin and Kornhauser’s 1979 article on American divorce cases, which discusses the way in which informal negotiations between divorcing couples, and the resulting settlements, are influenced by the outcomes of, and the couple’s knowledge of, previous settlements:

‘Divorcing parents do not bargain over the division of family wealth and custodial prerogatives in a vacuum; they bargain in the shadow of the law. The legal rules governing alimony, child support, marital property, and custody give each parent claims based on what each would get if the case went to trial. In other words, the outcome that the law will impose if no

⁴⁸⁸ The tactic of claiming to have been the victim of physical violence is discussed by Bryen (2008). He traces a connection to the Roman legal concept of *iniuria atrox* (cf. Gaius, Inst. 3.225), which denoted violent attacks in public places as particularly grievous and deserving of harsher penalties than other attacks (p. 198).

⁴⁸⁹ Kelly (2011), ch. 7 (pp. 244-86) on the ‘shadow of the law’.

agreement is reached gives each parent bargaining chips – an endowment of sorts.⁴⁹⁰

When applied to petitions from Roman Egypt, ‘the shadow of the law’ alerts us to the possibility that petitioners were not necessarily aiming to resolve their conflicts using the Roman judicial system. Rather, petitions, and the threat of prosecution that they carried, could be used to force accused parties to bend to the will of the petitioner, and to expedite informal (extra-legal) settlements. Further than this, in certain cases, petitions can be interpreted as products of ongoing disputes between the parties involved, rather than responses to specific crimes and misdemeanours.

The older view was that petitioning was a last resort to which villagers turned only when other avenues, such as private negotiation and third-party mediation, had been exhausted, and is predicated on the assumption that most Egyptians had little faith in the Roman legal system, preferring where possible to make use of traditional, intra-community solutions.⁴⁹¹ One problem with this model is that it assumes that people only used petitions and the legal system in the way that they were designed to be used, namely the protracted and unpredictable way described in the first part of this chapter. In fact, villagers could use the threat of involving the prestigious and ‘omnipresent’ Roman legal system as a tool to intimidate opponents or expedite the resolution of existing disputes, even if they did not really expect their chances of success within that system to be very great. This is another aspect of the ‘shadow of the law’ – the threat of formal legal intervention employed to strengthen an informal bargaining position.

A set of petitions drawn up by a priest and landowner from Soknopaiou Nesos called Aurelius Pakysis illustrates the way in which petitioning could be used to deter an opponent in a dispute, or to force him into accepting a settlement that was more advantageous for the petitioner.⁴⁹² Having discovered that his grain store had been raided, Pakysis identified the culprits – a pair of villagers called Panouphis and

⁴⁹⁰ Mnookin & Kornhauser (1979), quoted by Kelly (2011), 260.

⁴⁹¹ This model is most clearly expressed by Hobson (1993), who states that ‘though the imperial legal system was omnipresent to the little villager as a source of authority and obligation, it is unlikely to have functioned very effectively as a source of protection and a guarantee of his personal rights.’

⁴⁹² On Pakysis and the petitions in his archive [TM Arch 156], see Whitehorne (2003). Although Pakysis’ case is much later than my period (the events took place in 216 CE), the largely unchanging nature of the justice system and the process of petitioning over the course of the Roman period means that the analogy is still helpful.

Pakysis (sic) – and obtained a promise of compensation from them. A few days later, when payment had not materialised, he had not one but four petitions drafted to both the nome *stratēgos* and a Roman centurion, reporting the theft and demanding judicial action.⁴⁹³ However, the evidence of the texts indicates that Pakysis did not actually submit these petitions to the authority figures: all four were discovered, unsubscribed, with reused versos in Pakysis’ own archive. The conclusion is that Pakysis had the documents drafted in order to show them to the grain thieves and to scare them into honouring their previous agreement with him, rather than to initiate proceedings within the legal system of the province.⁴⁹⁴ Petitions, even unsent ones, were evidently powerful artefacts, and the very act of drawing up a petition – which was itself a public act that the accused parties would be likely to find out about – might be enough to result in a settlement that appeased the petitioner without the necessary time and expense of going to law.

The difficulty in detecting the ‘shadow of the law’ lies in the close reading of texts that are highly formulaic; it is difficult to say how much of what is recorded in a petition is particular to the situation described, and how much derives from the scribe’s reliance on a repertoire of stock words and phrases, as discussed in the section on drafting above. In addition to this, petitions are often elliptical, and rarely contain sufficient information to be placed within a larger sequence of events. Some knowledge of the background to the petition and the relationship between the petitioner and the accused party is vital in order to make a convincing argument that the petition in question was more than a stage in the normal judicial process. The fragmentary nature of some of our evidence further complicates the problem, as in the following petition from Euhemeria. Here, the petition was submitted by a landlord against his tenant farmer, but the papyrus breaks off before we learn what the problem between the two men was.

⁴⁹³ The papyri are BGU I 321 and 322 and their duplicates (all Soknoapiou Nesos, 7 April 216 CE).

⁴⁹⁴ Whitehorne (2003), 208: ‘It seems that it was enough for Pakysis to show [the petitions] to Panouphis and the other Pakysis, or perhaps enough just to let them know of the existence of the petitions.’

P.Lond. III 895, petition (28 CE-30 CE)

Σαραπίωνι ἐπιστάτῃ φυλ(ακιτῶν)
παρὰ Πρωτάρχου τοῦ
Πρωτάρχου. Ἄρπαῖσις
Νααραῦτος τοῦ
5 Οὐήριος τῶν ἀπὸ
Εὐημερείας τῆς
Θεμίστου μερίδος
γενόμενος μου γεωρ-
γὸς ἐγκαταλιπὼ[ν]
10 μου τὸν ἀ[γ]ρὸν
κ(αὶ) ἐφελκόμενός[ς] μου
[τ]ῆν ὑπόληψιν

(verso)

Εὐημερεία(ς)

8. 1. γενόμενός 9. 1. ἐγκαταλιπὼν 12. 1. ὑπόληψιν

‘To Sarapion, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Protarchos son of Protarchos. Harpaesis son of Inaroyo, an employee of Virius, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*, who was my farmer, having abandoned my fields and withheld the compensation from me [papyrus breaks off]

(verso) (To the *archephodos*?) of Euhemeria.’

Protarchos complains that Harpaesis has abandoned his fields and owes him some kind of payment (ὑπόληψις), which I have translated as ‘compensation’.⁴⁹⁵ The opening section of this petition thus sets up a situation where Protarchos draws

⁴⁹⁵ LSJ s.v. ὑπόληψις III.3 offers the definition ‘perhaps payment in advance’ citing this papyrus as the lemma, while the WB defines the word as ‘Handgeld’. I propose that the *hypolēpsis* was actually some form of compensation that Harpaesis was required to pay Protarchos for breaking his farming tenancy agreement. The case for this reading is supported by SB XII 10847 (Arsinoite, 5 August 57 CE), which acknowledges receipt of seventy-five drachmas from an absconding tenant, and refers to them as ὑπόληψιν τοῦ προκίμενου | ἀμπελῶνος διὰ τῶ (l. τό) σε ἐκ/βηβεκέναι (l. ἐκβεβηκέναι) (‘... compensation for the aforementioned vineyard, because of your having abandoned it’).

attention to an outstanding debt, and the lack of finite verb in the text as it stands shows that he went on to detail some further offence that Harpaesis had committed against him. It is tempting to see this as an example of a petition drawn up in the ‘shadow of the law’ – whereby Protarchos hoped to incriminate his opponent with an additional charge, in order to force him to pay up the owed money – but the partial nature of the document prevents confidence.

Similarly, in a petition submitted by the estate manager Diktas against one of his former employees, the enmity between the two men is clear, but there is no firm evidence of an ongoing or unresolved dispute between them existing before the events described in the petition. Diktas alleged that his disgruntled former employee returned to the κτήσις where he had worked and caused a scene by assaulting the new brewer Artemidoros and stealing money and clothes from him, before making his escape on a donkey laden with safflower.

P.Ryl. II 145, petition (29 December 38 CE)

Αθηνοδώρῳ ἐπιστά(τη) φυλ(ακιτῶν)
παρὰ Δ[ι]κτᾶτος τοῦ προ-
εστῶτος τῆς Θέωνος
τοῦ Θέωνος προσόδου.
5 Χαιρήμων Μ[ο]σχᾶτος
[γεν]άμενος ζυτοποιὸς
τῆς κτήσεως πλεί-
στας ὕβ[ρει]ς τοῖς παρ’ ἐμοῦ
συντελῶν ἔτι καὶ
10 μὴ ἀρκ[εσ]θεῖς συνλαβῶν
Ἀρτεμίδωρον ὄντα μου
ζυτοποιὸν ἔδωκεν
πληγὰς πλείους εἰς
πᾶν μέρος τοῦ σώματος
15 καὶ ἀφήρπασεν παρ’ αὐτοῦ
ὄνον θήλειαν καὶ σάκκο(ν)
πλήρη κνήκῳ καὶ ἀρ-

γυ(ρίου) μ καὶ ἱμάτια. ἀξιῶ γράφ(ειν)
τῷ τῆς Ταυρίνου ἀρχ(εφόδω) οὔ̄ καὶ κα(ταγίνονται)
20 ἐκπέμψ(αι) τοὺς ἐγκαλ(ουμένους). εὐτ(ύχει).

(hand 2) ἀρχ(εφόδω)· ἔκπεμψο(ν),
Τῷβ(ι) γ
(ἔτους) γ Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμαγικοῦ.

(verso)

ἀρχ(εφόδω) Ταυρεί(νου).

10. 1. συλλαβῶν 17. 1. πλήρη 17. 1. κνήκου 20. 1. ἐγκαλ(ουμένους)

‘To Athenodoros, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Diktas, manager of the estate of Theon son of Theon. Chairemon son of Moschas, formerly the estate’s brewer, not content with his many acts of aggression towards my people, grabbed Artemidoros, my (current) brewer, gave him many blows on every part of his body, and snatched from him a female donkey and a sack full of safflower, as well as 40 silver drachmas and some cloaks. I ask you to write to the *archephodos* of Taurinou, where they live, to send up the accused. Farewell. (hand 2) To the *archephodos*: send them up. Tybi 3, year 3 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus.

(verso) To the *archephodos* of Taurinou.’

Diktas here speaks on behalf of his employees (οἱ παρ’ ἐμοῦ), who are also characterised as having suffered ‘many acts of aggression’ at Chairemon’s hands, and in doing so presents himself as their defender against an outside threat.⁴⁹⁶ But the items that Chairemon is said to have stolen – specifically the money and clothing (ἱμάτια) – are typically found as part of the entitlements of apprenticed workers in this period, and it may be the case that Chairemon was simply taking what he thought was owed by his former employer.⁴⁹⁷ While this serves to remind us of the

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. Bagnall (2007), 186 who perceives ‘vertical ties’ of obligation between Diktas and his employees in this text. Cf. Kelly (2011), 214, who wonders whether the people on the estate were slaves, explaining their lack of agency in a petition relating to a crime against them.

⁴⁹⁷ In the contemporary *paramonē* contract P.Oslo III 141 (Karaniš, 6 October 50 CE), a master weaver promises that his contracted worker will be τρεφο|μένου καὶ ἱματιζομέν[ο]ν (‘fed and clothed’). Similarly, Dr David Ratzan argued, in a conference paper given in Manchester in

one-sided and partisan nature of petitions, there is insufficient evidence to posit a dispute between the two men that this particular petition was supposed to influence.

While the preceding two examples are inconclusive, I argue that clearer evidence of the ‘shadow of the law’ is present in the following petitions. The first concerns a dispute between the petitioner and a married couple, who he claims had previously robbed his house.

P.Ryl. II 136, petition (4 May 34 CE)

Γαίωι Ἐρρίωι Π[ρ]ίσκωι ἐπιστάτῃ φυλ(ακιτῶν)
παρὰ Πάπου τοῦ Πάπου. τῶι Παχῶν
μηνὶ τ[ο]ῦ κ (ἔτους) [Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
λογοποιουμένου μου πρὸς Ἀγχερίμ-
5 φ[ι]γ κα[ί] τὴν τούτου γυναῖκα Θεναπόγγι-
ν θυλουρὸν τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐημερίας
τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος ὑπὲρ ὧν
ἤροσάν μου ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας λησ-
τρικο τρώπῳ ποτηρίων κασει-
10 δερῶν καὶ κελλίβατος καὶ ἄλλων
σκευῶν καὶ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) ξ ὕβριν μοι συν-
εστήσαται οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν.
ἀξιῶι γραφῆνα[ι τ]ῶι τῆς κώμης
ἀρχεφόδ(ω) καταστήσαι ἐπὶ σὲ
15 πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέξοδ(ον).
εὐ(τύ)χ(ει).

(hand 2) ἀρχ(εφόδω)· ἔκπεμψ(ον).

(hand 1) (ἔτους) κ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Παχῶν θ.

(verso)

20 (hand 2) ἀρχ(εφόδω) Εὐημε(ρίας).

September 2014, that the absconding mill-worker Esoeris in P.Ryl. II 128 took wages and clothes that she felt she was entitled to when she returned home to her parents, rather than stealing them as the petition of her employer implies.

6. 1. θυρουρον̄ 8-9. 1. λησ|τρικῶ 9-10. 1. κασσι|τερίνων 11-12. 1. συν|εστήσατο
13. 1. ἀξιῶ

‘To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Papos son of Papos. In the month of Pachon of the 20th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, while I was talking to Anchorimphis the porter from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris* and his wife Senephonychis about the tin cups, table, other utensils, and 60 silver drachmas which they had stolen from my house like bandits, he had a go at me with extraordinary violence. I ask you to write to the *archepodos* of the village to cause them to appear before you with a view to forthcoming punishment. Farewell. (hand 2) To the *archepodos*: send them up. (hand 1) Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pachon 9.

(verso) (hand 2) To the *archepodos* of Euhemeria.’

There is no ambiguity here regarding the fact that Papos believed Anchorimphis and his wife were guilty of the robbery: it is presented in the petition as a simple fact. This petition, however, is precipitated by his claim that they also assaulted him. This was a more serious crime, and may have prompted Papos to decide that he now had a stronger case against Anchorimphis and his wife, explaining why he chose to draft his petition at this point. The use of the verb *λογοποιέω* to describe the conversation between Papos and Anchorimphis is significant: the word is quite typical of mid-first century petitions, and often denotes (failed) negotiations.⁴⁹⁸ Its use here therefore strengthens the argument that Papos was attempting to resolve his dispute with Anchorimphis privately, perhaps simply hoping for the return of his property.⁴⁹⁹ A similar situation is evidence in the next example, which also features the use of the verb *λογοποιέω*.

P.Ryl. II 144, petition (28 May-24 June 38 CE)

Ἀθηνοδώρωι ἐπιστάτη
φυλακειῶν

⁴⁹⁸ E.g., P.Louvre I 1 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 13 CE); P.Mich. V 227-330, all from the Tebtynis *graphieion* archive [TM Arch 93]. Examples from outside the Arsinoite nome include P.Oxy. XIX (Oxyrhynchos, 31 CE). For a parallel to this more confrontational reading of *λογοποιέω*, consider the connotation of the English phrase ‘to have words with someone’.

⁴⁹⁹ On the use of this verb, see Kelly (2011), 253.

- παρὰ Ἰσίωνος δούλου Χ[α]ι-
 ρήμονος ἐξηγητοῦ. τῆ
 5 Σεβαστῆ β τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο(ς)
 μηνὸς Παῦνι τοῦ β (ἔτους) Γαίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανι[κ]ο(ῦ)
 παραγενομένου μου εἰς Εὐη-
 μέρειαν τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδ(ος)
 10 περὶ μετεώρων ἐλ[ογ]οπο-
 ήσαμην πρὸς Ὀννῶφριν
 Σίλβωνος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
 κόμης ὑπὲρ οὗ ἔχω πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἐνεχύρου, ὃς δὲ
 15 ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἄλογον
 ἀηδῖαν μοι ἐπιχειρήσας
 παρεχρήσατό μοι πολλὰ καὶ
 ἄσχημα καὶ ἐνειλούμενός
 μοι ἀπώλεσα πινακείδα
 20 καὶ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) ξ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐτόλ-
 μησεν πθονους μοι ἐπα-
 γαγεῖν αἰτίας τοῦ μὴ ὄν-
 τος. διὸ ἀξιῶ γράψαι ἀκθῆ-
 ναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς
 25 τὴν δέουσαν ἐπέξοδον.
 εὐτύχ(ει).

2. 1. φυλακιδῶν 10-11. 1. ἐλογοποιήσαμην 19. 1. πινακίδα 21. 1. φθόνου (?)
 23-4. 1. ἀχθῆ|ναι

‘To Athenodoros, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Ision, slave of Chairemon the *exēgētēs*. On the 2nd of the current month of Pauni, a *dies Augusta*, in the 2nd year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, having gone to Euhemeria of the Themistou *meris* about some unfinished business, I got into an argument with Onnophris son of Silbon from the village, regarding the pledge which I took from him. But, squaring up to me, he turned on me with some unprovoked unpleasantness, and abused me with many nasty words. After he grabbed

hold of me, I lost my writing tablet and 60 silver drachmas, but still he dared to bring charges of malice against me, which was not the case at all.

Therefore I ask you to write that (Onnophris) be brought before you for the necessary punishment. Farewell.’

Several phrases indicate that there was a pre-existing dispute between the petitioner Ision and the accused party Onnophris. The first is Ision’s reference to μετέωρα (line 10), a word which denotes something ‘up in the air’ and more specifically ‘contracts, transactions, suits in suspense, pending’ or unresolved, a sense also found in two roughly contemporary papyri.⁵⁰⁰ It seems that Ision was caught up in some stalled business with Onnophris, and hoped to resolve the problem by going to visit him.

The reference to the pledge (ἐνέχυρον) that Ision had obtained from Onnophris strengthens this hypothesis. The word ἐνέχυρον denotes a loan of money secured against personal property.⁵⁰¹ We have seen in other chapters that short-term lending and borrowing of this kind between villagers was an important aspect of the village economy, especially in the context of agricultural leases and estate management (see chapter 3).⁵⁰² Our corpus includes a typical loan contract of the period, in which a borrower called Harpaesis borrowed one hundred and eighty drachmas from a lender called Menches.⁵⁰³ The practice of leaving an item of clothing as *enechyron* is attested in a letter from Euhemeria, in which an employer called Pisais orders his employee Herakleios to secure a loan on his behalf, and ‘if necessary, hand over your cloak as a pledge’.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰⁰ LSJ s.v. μετέωρος III.3. Cf. WB s.v. μετέωρος: ‘in der Schwebе befindlich, unerledigt’.

Attestations in papyri: P.Oxy. II 238.1 (Oxyrhynchos, August-September 72 CE); P.Fay. 116.12 (Euhemeria, 2 December 104 CE).

⁵⁰¹ Cf. Kennan, Manning & Yiftach-Firanko (edd. 2014), 249-64 on pledges, esp. p. 252f.: ‘As a rule, [pledges] are household movables. This makes the *enechyron* a security transaction for the emergencies of daily life, and probably also in most cases for short-term needs.’

⁵⁰² On borrowing, see Bowman (1986), 116: ‘There is no doubt that in most cases the loan served simply as a means to tide a family over a bad patch.’ Cf. Kehoe (1992), 153.

⁵⁰³ P.Rein. II 106, loan contract (51/65 CE).

⁵⁰⁴ P.Fay. 109.5-6, letter (10 BCE/34 CE): ἐάν σε δῆ τὸ εἰμάτιον | σου θεῖναι ἐνέχυρον. This letter was found alongside the agricultural accounts P.Fay. 101 (Euhemeria, 28 BCE?), discussed in chapter 3. There, I argued that the accounts were generated by an *ousia* on the basis of the large scale of the farming activities described. If true, and if this letter derives from the same context, then perhaps Herakleios was the manager of the estate and Pisais the absentee owner. The fact that Pisais sealed his letter implies that he was a high status individual: seals are very rare on first century documents, and most examples are found on documents emanating from the office of the *stratēgos*, e.g. P.Tebt. II 290, summons (Tebtynis, late first century CE).

In light of this parallel, I argue that Ision was attempting to collect a debt from Onnophris when the alleged assault in P.Ryl. II 141 took place. Since Ision was a slave owned by the *exēgētēs*, it is likely that he had been sent on this errand by his master. This introduces the dimension of socio-economic status into this petition. While Ision was slave, which placed him below the free Onnophris on the social scale, he was the slave of an important official, and must have enjoyed a level of protection as a result of this connection.⁵⁰⁵ Note also that Onnophris is reported to have taken Ision's writing tablet (πινακίς) from him: perhaps the slave used this as a ledger, and Onnophris took it either as evidence of his debt, or as a symbol of Ision's role as debt-collector, planning to destroy it.⁵⁰⁶ If Onnophris was refusing to pay his debt, it would make sense for Ision to have drawn up the petition, with the added charges of insulting, jostling and theft, in order to try and intimidate him into paying up.

The final part of Ision's narrative which is suggestive of the 'shadow of the law' is his very last comment: he states that Onnophris 'dared to bring charges of malice against me' after their altercation. The phrase ἐπάγω αἰτίαν τινί is commonly attested as 'bring a suit against someone'.⁵⁰⁷ The similar phrasing in our petition suggests that Onnophris had drafted a petition of his own, or perhaps sought some other, informal means of redress against Ision following their clash. In this context, it would make sense for Ision to have drawn up a petition himself, in retaliation. What had begun as an argument over a debt seems to have escalated quickly into suing and countersuing. This strongly suggests two individuals engaged in a kind of arms race against one another, each hoping that the act of drawing up a petition would be sufficient to force his opponent to back down.

Conclusions

The petitions from Euhemeria are the largest and most descriptive group of documents in the corpus considered by this thesis. While they might appear to represent the first stage in a process of engaging with the Roman legal-administrative

⁵⁰⁵ Cf Bryen (2013), 75.

⁵⁰⁶ We may attribute the same motivation to the disappearance of Petermouthis' money-belt (ζώνη), which he claimed was stolen by Papontos and 'Caper' in P.Ryl. II 141.22.

⁵⁰⁷ WB s.v. ἐπάγω 3: 'vorgehen wider jmd'.

system, the examples of petitions that I have presented here show that there were many different ways in which the people of Euhemeria used these texts, and there is no single way to understand the part that these documents played in the resolution of conflict within the village.

The case of illicit grazing showed that some villagers used petitioning in the way that the system was designed to be used: they reported wrongs in order to bring attention to their losses, but did so in terms that pointed towards the payment of compensation as the ultimate goal. The frequency of these complaints in our evidence, as well as the evidence that some shepherds were repeat offenders, highlights a tension between the settled farming community and the local shepherds. This tension may also relate to the social status of the people who had the inclination to write petitions: many of our examples were produced by managers of estates, or by other people with connections to members of the Egyptian elite, who seem to have been both willing and able to have petitions drawn up in the first place, and were perhaps more confident that their complaints would be effective.

With regard to the desired outcome of the petitions, this chapter has argued that we should not always assume that a petition was drawn up in an attempt to engage with the official judicial apparatus of the state. There were informal, and so undocumented, venues for dispute resolution located within the villages themselves, and it is likely that many of those who drafted petitions did so in order to expedite private settlements, rather than in order to engage with the Roman administration on its own terms. Although petitions were composed in the language of the governing power and seem designed to serve the agenda dictated by the rulers of Egypt, the people of the villages nevertheless found ways to turn the system to their own advantage.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has analysed a corpus of sixty-three core texts on papyri and ostraca from Euhemeria, alongside eight additional texts that I have associated with the village, to investigate how the first century of Roman rule affected the lives of the villagers in this particular rural village, tucked away in a distant corner of a far-flung province of the empire.

The thesis has contributed to existing knowledge by gathering all of the texts from early Roman Euhemeria, updating and translating them, and considering them for the first time side-by-side, as a holistic corpus, rather than as isolated individuals or within the bounds of fixed, discrete archives. In terms of tangible outputs, I have instigated the digitisation of all of the Rylands papyri considered by this thesis, and contributed metadata for them based on the findings of my research, so that future scholars will be able to examine and analyse these fascinating texts for themselves.

By dealing with the corpus as a whole, I have been able to contribute new understanding of the documents that constitute it. I have dismantled the idea of the ‘*archephodos* archive’, and argued that the petitions from Euhemeria should instead be seen as a dossier formed by modern scholars. Furthermore, I have shown that around half of the petitions belong to another, broader dossier connected by the evidence of verso numbers. The same evidence was used to provide a provenance for the previously unsourced group of letters to Aphrodisios. Similarly, I have added to our understanding of the hay receipt in London and the ostraca in Sydney, Michigan, and Lund by associating them with Euhemeria, when they previously lacked provenance.

I have identified dossiers within the material which allow us to put names to some of the inhabitants of the village, and show us aspects of their lives and activities that were previously unknown. These dossiers were not assembled for their own sake, though, but provided platforms from which to examine the broader themes of agriculture, bureaucracy, taxation, economics, and social relations within the village. These are important topics in the study of social history, and so this thesis has added nuance to the overall picture of life in early Roman Egypt gained from existing, larger-scale studies.

Throughout the thesis, we have seen evidence that the arrival of the Romans brought significant changes to life in the province. The texts in our corpus have particularly demonstrated the emergence of a new social group within the village, lying somewhere on a spectrum between the elites in the nome metropolis and the subsistence farmers and shepherds, who are scarcely attested in our documents. This group capitalised on the release of private land by the Romans to build portfolios of property and engage in a variety of economic activities: I place the family of Asklepiades in this group, as well as the landowner Ammonios, who we know owned land in two villages as well as Euhemeria.

Land was not the only commodity that marked out members of this ambitious new group: I have also argued that the animal owners who formed the association of the *ktēnotrophoi* can be seen as belonging to the same social milieu. The documents that this association produced in running their enterprise – which I have analysed together for the first time – show a level of economic organisation and a clear social hierarchy, with the president and secretary at the top, and the hired donkey-drivers at the bottom. This hierarchy mirrors the new Roman social order, and in this respect we can see life in the village forming a microcosm for the province as a whole. The new ‘village elite’ evident in our documents was also characterised by literacy: Ammonios wrote his own letters to Aphrodisios; Maron was the secretary of the *ktēnotrophoi* and drafted documents on behalf of his fellow members; and Aphrodisios the son of Asklepiades was the secretary of the weavers of the village. This last fact alerts us to the diverse activities of this emergent group, who seem to have energetically taken up many of the opportunities offered by the new Roman regime.

My focus on the details of the texts at the ‘micro’ level has led to some new observations about the administration of Roman Egypt. For example, the agricultural accounts discussed in chapter 3 are perhaps the earliest example stemming from a large estate, and show the scale of such enterprises in comparison with the typical holdings of the villagers. Similarly, my investigation of the village’s tax receipts revealed that the capitation charges bundled together with the poll-tax in Euhemeria seem to have been different from those at other sites, and included a brewers’ tax unattested elsewhere in the papyri. This may indicate that the village had some degree of control over its schedule of taxes, a situation that would alter our view of

the way Rome exploited the villages of its newest province. I have used the dossier of the village scribe Herakleides in chapter 4 to show how the Roman administration made its presence felt in this small village, so far removed from the centres of power. The documents maintained by Herakleides showed the state's concern with counting and controlling its people, but the detail of the texts revealed that that control was not yet absolute: for example, our evidence includes a precursor to the *penthēmeros* certificates of the later first century, but one that predates the introduction of the liturgy, and may actually show that the workers were paid for their time, rather than conscripted. Overall, the picture gained from this corpus of texts shows a village in transition, moving from the Ptolemaic past into the Roman present, and adjusting to the new realities of the situation.

There have been certain limitations to this study. Although I have tried to introduce relevant parallels from other villages and from later centuries where appropriate, the focus on a single settlement in a single century has meant that the scope of the enquiry has been somewhat limited. For instance, the topic of viticulture, which is amply attested in neighbouring Theadelphia, is barely mentioned in our corpus, and so an important aspect of the economy of the Arsinoite nome has not been considered here. The obvious way to overcome this problem would be to extend the study to embrace other sites, especially the other villages of the western Fayum excavated by Grenfell and Hunt, for which we can combine textual sources with archaeological data.

A second limitation of the study is the fact that certain groups in the documentation are over-represented, while other are notable by their absence. We have already seen that the more prosperous and literate villagers like Maron and Aphrodisios feature heavily in the documentation, as do the estate managers encountered in many of the petitions. On the other hand, the shepherds against whom they petitioned produced no documents of their own, and are always portrayed in a negative light. Indeed, the majority of Euhemerians attested in our documents appear only once, whether as the recipient of a precious tax receipt, for instance, or handing over rent in kind to a landlord. It has only been possible to examine the stories of these people to a very limited extent, despite my initial intention to offer a 'view from below' of Roman Egypt. It is difficult to see how this discrepancy could be remedied, but incorporation of material from Euhemeria written in Demotic could certainly provide

a counterpoint to the evidence in Greek that has formed the basis of this study, and might show a very different aspect of the village.

The final limitation of this study is the problem of assessing the typicality of the Euhemerian evidence. I have presented idiosyncratic aspects of life in Euhemeria that seem to be revealed by the texts in our corpus – such as the existence of the rent-a-donkey service, and some peculiar local taxes – but it is possible that these are simply illusions generated by the accident of survival. If other sites had preserved more papyri and ostraca, or if the workmen who excavated those sites had worked more carefully, or if texts had not been lost, separated, and dispersed around the world, we might see that many of the features that seem to be unique to Euhemeria were widespread or perhaps even universal. I would argue, though, that this is actually the key strength of this study: Euhemeria was not unique, but our collection of its documents is, and as a result this corpus of texts can tell us things about the ancient world that no other set of evidence can. As I argued in the introduction to the thesis, every village in the Roman world would have developed its own strategies for adapting to and dealing with the Roman Empire, but we are lucky enough to see that process in action only in a few places. I hope to have shown that Euhemeria is one of them.

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APPENDIX: Corpus of texts and translations

The following appendix gathers together all of the texts considered by this thesis. These are not full editions, but give the most up-to-date versions of the Greek texts – found by comparing the first editions with later corrections in the *Berichtigungsliste* – accompanied by my own translations. For additional information about the texts, the first editions should be consulted.

The first part of the appendix consists of the sixty-three ‘core texts’, those with confirmed provenance in Euhemeria and dates between 30 BCE and 68 CE. These are subdivided into sections corresponding to those found in chapter 1 of the thesis: excavated material, retrieved by Grenfell and Hunt from Qasr el-Banat in 1898-9 and published in *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*; and items purchased on the Egyptian antiquities market.

Items are listed in the order in which they appear in the *Checklist of Editions*.

Core texts

Excavated material

O.Fay. 2, receipt for bath-tax (23 May 23 BCE)

(ἔτους) ζ, Παχῶν ιη, δι(έγραψεν)
Ἡρᾶς χήρα μήτηρ Ἡρωνος
τέλ(ους) βαλαν(ανευτικοῦ) Εὐήμερ(είας) δι(ὰ) Ἡρωνος ἐπὶ λ(όγου)
ὀβολ(οῦς) δέκα τέσ<σ>αρες, (γίνονται) (ὀβολοὶ) ιδ. (hand 2) Ἡρων σεση-
5 με<ί>ωμαι.

‘Year 7, Pachon 18. Heras, a widow, the mother of Heron, has paid fourteen obols into the account through the agency of Heron, for bath-tax at Euhemeria, equals 14 obols. (hand 2) I, Heron, have signed it.’

O.Fay. 3, receipt for bath-tax (23 July 3 BCE)

[= C.Pap.Jud. II 409]

ἔτους κζ Καίσαρος, Ἐπειφ κη,
δι(έγραψαν) Σαμβαθέ(ων) καὶ Δυσθέω(ν)
τέλ(ους) βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) Εὐη(μερείας) χα(λκοῦ) ὀβ(ολοῦς) δέκα
ὀκτώι, (γίνονται) ιη.

4. 1. ὀκτώ

‘Year 27 of Caesar, Epeiph 28. Sambathion and Dystheon have paid eighteen bronze obols for bath-tax at Euhemeria, equals 18.’

O.Fay. 4, receipt for bath-tax (6 May 24 CE)

(ἔτους) ι Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,
Παχῶ(ν) ια, διαγέ(γραφε) Μενχ(ῆς) Πάτρωνος)
τέλ(ους) βαλ(ανευτικοῦ) Εὐ(ημερείας) ἐπὶ λό(γου) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας,
(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.

‘Year 10 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pachon 11. Menches son of Patron has paid four drachmas into the account for bath-tax at Euhemeria, equals 4 drachmas.’

O.Fay. 7, receipt of payment for wine (12 October 4 CE)

Ἀφροδίσιος Μυσθαῖτι Ὀρσενούφ(ιος)
χα(ίρειν). ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ τή<v> τιμὴν τῶν
δύο κελ(αμίων) τοῦ οἴν(ου) γενη(μάτων) δευτέρ-
ου καὶ τριακοστοῦ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος
5 ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῆν) μίαν, (γίνεται) (δραχμῆ) α. (ἔτους) λδ
Καίσαρος, Φαῶφι ιε.
πλήλης.

3. 1. κερ(αμίων) 5. 1. ἀργυ(ρίου) 7. 1. πλήρης

‘Aphrodisios to Mysthas son of Orsenouphis, greetings. I have received from you, as the price of two jars of wine of the vintage of the thirty-second year of Caesar, one silver drachma, equals 1 drachma. Year 34 of Caesar, Phaophi 15. Paid in full.’

O.Fay. 8 receipt for payment for beer (17 March 6 BCE)

Σαραπίων ζυτο(ποιός) Πετεσούχ(ω)
Σισόιτος κωμάρχ(η) χαίρειν.
ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἐ. . . () ζυτ()
τοῦ κδ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος ἀργυ(ρίου)
5 (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρες, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.
(ἔτους) κδ Καίσαρος,
Φαμε(νὸθ) κα.

‘Sarapion the brewer to Petesouchos son of Sisois, the *komarchēs*, greetings. I have received from you (as payment for beer?) in the 24th year of Caesar, four silver drachmas, equals 4 drachmas. Year 24 of Caesar, Phamenoth 21.’

O.Fay. 10, receipt for brewers’ tax (55-68 CE?)

[ἔτους] . . . Ν]έρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
[Σεβαστο]ῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορο(ς),
[Φαμε]νῶ(θ) δ, Κοπίθων καὶ Σάτυ(ρος)
[παραζ]υτοπ(οίας) κατ’ ἄνδ(ρα) Εὐημ(ερείας)
5 [ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) τέσσ]αρες, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.

‘Year XX of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phamenoth 4. Kopithon and Satyros, for the brewers’ tax on each man of Euhemeria, four silver drachmas, equals 4 drachmas.’

O.Fay. 14, delivery instruction (9 June 1 CE)

Μάρω(νι) γρ(αμματεῖ) κτη(νοτρόφων), μέρισον Πετεσούχ(ω)
Σισοίτος ὑπ(ὸ) κριθ(ήν) ὄνον ἓνα [εἰς] θη(σαυρὸν)
Πετῶτος Ξενίου. (ἔτους) λ Καίσαρος, Παῦ(νι) ιε.

(hand 2) Ἀπολ(λόνιος) σεση(μείωμαι) Παῦ(νι) ιε.

2. BL II.1 13 (P.Meyer, p. 202)

‘To Maron, secretary of the animal-rearers: deliver to Petesouchos son of Sisois one donkey laden with barley at the store-house of Petheus son of Xenias. Year 30 of Caesar, Pauni 15. (hand 2) I, Apollonios, have signed it, Pauni 15.’

O.Fay. 15, delivery instruction (1 CE?)

Μάρω(νι) γρ(αμματεῖ) κτη(νοτρόφων), μέρισον
Ἡρακλή(ω) ὑπ(ὸ) ῥαφάνινο(ν) ὄνο(υς)
β [εἰς] θη(σαυρὸν) Ἀντιγόνου.

3. BL II.1 13 (P.Meyer, p. 202)

‘To Maron, secretary of the animal-rearers: deliver to Herakles 2 donkeys laden with radishes at the store-house of Antigonos.’

O.Fay. 16, delivery instruction (early first century CE)

Ἀλιονω(ι) μέρισον Ναντι-
τω . ι() ὑπ(ὸ) κνη(κον) [ὄ]νο(υς) β
καὶ ὑπ(ὸ) ὄροβον ὄνο(υς) β
[εἰς] θη(σαυρὸν) (vacat).

‘To Alionos (?): deliver to Nantitos (?) 2 donkeys laden with safflower and 2 donkeys laden with vetch at the store-house of ... (symbol).’

O.Fay. 17, delivery instruction (14 May 35 CE)

Ἀπολλωνίω γραμ(ματεῖ) ὄγων, μέρισον Φάσι[τ]ι
Ἡλιοδώρου ὑπὸ λαχανοσπέρμον ὄνους δύο
ἰς θησαυρὸν Λιβύλλης διὰ Πεθβῶς
Πάτρωνος (symbol). (ἔτους) κα Τιβερίου Καίσαρος,
5 Παχῶ(ν) ιθ.

3. 1. εἰς

‘To Apollonios, secretary of the donkeys: deliver to Pasos son of Heliodoros two donkeys laden with vegetable seed at the store-house of Libylla, through the agency of Pethbos son of Patron (symbol). Year 21 of Tiberius Caesar, Pachon 19.’

O.Fay. 18, delivery instruction (early first century CE)

Ἡλιοδώρω γρ(αμματεῖ) γεωργ(ῶν)
Ἀπα[.]μας καὶ Ἄγχο(ρῖμφις) ἀμό(τεροι) Πάσειτος
[εἰς] θη(σαυρὸν) Ἰσί(ου) φακ(οῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ιβ. Ἰσχυρᾶς
σειση(μείωμαι) φακ(οῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ιβ.

3. 1. Ἰσείου 4. 1. σεση(μείωμαι)

‘To Heliodoros, secretary of the farmers: (deliver to) Apa- and Anchorimphis, both sons of Pasis, 12 artabas of lentils at the store-house of the temple of Isis. I, Ischyra, have signed it: 12 artabas of lentils.’

O.Fay. 45, instruction (?) (first century CE)

μη ὄχλει τοὺς
Σαμβᾶτος.

1. 1. ὄχλει

‘Do not disturb the (sons of?) Sambas.’

O.Fay. 47, receipt for *syntaxis* (25 BCE-25 CE?)

Φαρμο(ῦθι) θ, Τούθης Ἀφοῦς ὑπ(έρ)
ἐκλόγο[υ τῆς συ]ντάξεως
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) δ.

‘Pharmouthi 9. Touthes son of Aphous, for payment of the *syntaxis*, 4 silver drachmas.’

O.Fay. 49, receipt for *anabolikon* (5 October 19 CE?)

ἔτους ἕκτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶφι ζ, δι(έγραψε) εἰς βι-
ογ. . . γνωγον Θωναρίμφης
(δραχμὰς) ἑκατόν, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ρ, καὶ τιμῆς
5 ἀναβολικ(οῦ) ε (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ιη.

‘The sixth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Phaophi 7. Thonarimphes has paid one hundred drachmas into the ... equals 100 drachmas, and for the value of the *anabolikon* for year 5, 18 drachmas.’

P.Fay. 25, certificate for work on the embankments (17 August 36 CE)

παρ(ὰ) Ἡρακλείδ(ου) κωμογρ(αμματέως)
Εὐήμερ(είας) Θεμίστο(υ) μερίδ(ος).
εἰσὶν ὑ ἐν ἔργωι γεγονότ(ες)
ἐν τῇ Μαγαείδι ἐπὶ τῷ {χώ(ματι)}
5 χώματι τῆς Ἴωσσίδο(ς)
ἀπὸ μη(νὸς) Μεσορῆ \κδ/ τοῦ ἐνεσ-
τῶτο(ς) κβ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρο(ς)
Σεβαστο(ῦ), ὧν τὸ κατ’ ἀνδ(ρα).

Ὅρσενοῦφ(ις) Πουάρ(εως) Ὁξ(υρύγγων),

10 Στοτουῆ(τις) Πεναῦτο(ς),
Στοτουῆ(τις) Σελευᾶ(τος),
(γίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) γ.

(ἔτους) κβ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
[Σ]εβαστο(ῦ), Μεσ[ο]ρή κδ.

3. 1. οἱ

‘From Herakleides, village scribe of Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. These are the men who turned up to work in Magais on the Iossidos dike starting on the 24th of the month of Mesore of the current 22nd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, listed man by man: Orsenouphis son of Pouaris, from Oxyrhyncha; Stotoetis son of Penaus; Stotoetis son of Seleouas; 3 men in total. Year 22 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mesore 24.’

P.Fay. 29, notification of death (7 August 37 CE)

[= C.Pap.Gr. II 4 = C.Pap. Hengstl 26]

Ἡρακλείδη κωμογραμμ[α(τεῖ)]
Εὐημερίας
παρὰ Μύσθου τοῦ Πενε-
ουήρεως τῶν ἀπ[ὸ Εὐ]η-
5 μερίας τῆ[ς] Θεμίστου
μερίδ[ο]ς. ὁ ἀδ[ε]λ(φός) Πενεοῦρις
Πενεούρεως λαογραφοῦ-
μενος περ[ὶ τ]ῆ[ν] προκίμέ-
νην κόμην τετελεύτη-
10 κεν ἐν τῷ Μεσ[ο]ρῆ μην[ί]
τοῦ πρώτο[υ] (ἔτους) Γαίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ. δι[ὸ] ἐ[π]ιδί-
δημί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνη[μ]α
15 ὅπως ταγῆι τοῦ[το τὸ] ὄν[ο]μα
ἐν τῇ τῶν [τετ]ελευτη-
κότων τάξ[ει κατὰ] τὸ ἔ[θ]ος.
[Μύσθης Πενεούρεως]
ὡς (ἐτῶν) μβ οὐ[λ(ή)] πήχ(ει) δεξιῶ
20 υ. . ω
(ἔτους) α Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ, Μεσ[ο]ρῆ.ιδ.

(hand 2) (ἔτους) [α]
Γα[ί]ο]υ Καίσαρος

25 [Σ]εβαστοῦ Γερμανικ[ο]ῦ,
Μεσορῆ ιδ.

8-9. 1. προκειμέ|νην 13-14. 1. ἐπιδί|δωμί

‘To Herakleides, village scribe of Euhemeria, from Mysthas son of Peneouris, from Euhemeria in the Themistou meris. My brother Peneouris son of Peneouris, registered for the poll-tax living near the aforesaid village, died in the month of Mesore of the first year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. As a result, I submit this notice to you so that his name may be put on the list of the deceased, according to custom. Mysthas son of Peneouris, about 42 years old, with a scar on his right forearm. Year 1 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Mesore 14. (hand 2) ... Year 1 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Mesore 14.’

P.Fay. 43 receipt for poll-tax (?) (18 August 28 BCE?)

Ἀρπαησίω(ν) Νῆλος Ἀκρο(υσιλάω) Ἀκ(ουσιλάου) χα(ίρειν).
διαγεγρ(άφηκας) ιβ (δραχμῶν) τοῦ β (ἔτους)
(unintelligible) ιβ χα(λκοῦ). (ἔτους) β, Μεσο(ρῆ) κδ.

(hand 2) Νεῖλος συνεπηκλ[ού-]

5 θηκα.
(ἔτους) β, Μεσορῆ κδ.

4. 1. συνεπηκολού|θηκα.

‘Harpaesion (also known as) Neilos, to Akousilaos son of Akousilaos, greetings. You have paid 12 drachmas in year 2 ... 12 bronze drachmas. Year 2, Mesore 24. (hand 2) I, Neilos, was present for the transaction. Year 2, Mesore 24.’

P.Fay. 46, receipt for bath-tax (29 May 36 CE)

(ἔτους) κβ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,
Παῦνι δ, δι(έγραψεν) Ἀγχοῦ(φικς) Κάστωρος
προδ() βαλαν(ανευτικοῦ) Εὐήμε(ρείας) ἐπὶ λ(όγου)
ὀβολ(οῦς) πέντε, (γίνονται) (ὀβολοὶ) ε.

5 (hand 2) Ἡρᾶς σεσημίομαι.

5. 1. σεσημείωμα

‘Year 22 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pauni 4. Anchouphis son of Kastor has paid five obols into the account for bath (tax) at Euhemeria, equals 5 obols. (hand 2) I, Heras, have signed it.’

P.Fay. 47

This papyrus supports two texts.

P.Fay. 47 (i), receipt for brewers’ tax (9 February 61 CE)

ἔτους ζ Νέρωνος Κλαυδί(ο)υ
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος, Μεχ(εῖρ) α, δι(έγραψε)
Πετεσοῦχο(ς) Ὀρσενούφεως
5 ὑ(πὲρ) παραζυτοπ(οῖας) κατ’ ἄνδ(ρα) ζυτοπ()
Εὐημ(ερείας) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)
ἐπὶ λόγο(υ) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρες, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ,
καὶ τῆ ιε ὁμοί(ως) ἐπὶ λ(όγου) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρ(ας),
(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.

7. 1. τέσσαρας

‘Year 7 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus
Imperator, Mecheir 1. Petesouchos son of Orsenouphis has paid four
drachmas into the account for the brewers’ tax on each man of Euhemeria for
the same year, equals 4 drachmas, and on the 15th he likewise paid into the
account four drachmas, equals 4 drachmas.’

P.Fay. 47 (ii), receipt for brewers’ tax (?) (26 June 62 CE)

10 ἔτους η [Νέ]ρων[ο]ς Κ[λ]αυδ[ίου]
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Ἄθῆρ [.]
δι(έγραψε) Πετεσοῦχος Ὀρσενο(ύφεως) ἀπὸ τιμῆ(ς)
ζύτου ἐπὶ λόγο(υ) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) η,
Ἐπ<ε>ὶφ β, ἄλλας (δραχμὰς) τέσσα[ρας], (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) δ.]

13. 1. ὀκτώ

‘Year 8 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus
Germanicus, Hathyr ... Petesouchos son of Orsenouphis has paid eight
drachmas into the account for the price of beer, equals 8 drachmas, and
on Epeiph 2, another four drachmas, equals 4 drachmas.’

P.Fay. 101, agricultural accounts (18 BCE?)

(recto, column 1)

- (ἔτους) [. .], Παῦνι κγ.
β[.]. ζευγῶν λζ
ἀ[νὰ] (πυροῦ) (δέκατον), (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) δρό(μω) (ἀρτάβαι) γ □
(πέμπτον).
λικμηταὶ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α □,
5 ῥατωκωποὶ γ´,
φώρεδρον ποληων νγ
ἀν[ὰ] (πυροῦ) ζ´, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ζ □ γ´.
κ[αὶ] ἐκφώριων (πυροῦ) ζ´ (ἀρτάβαι) ρνδ.
καὶ κυμίνου σὺν
10 τοῖς διαφώροις ζ´ (ἀρτάβαι) λγ,
καὶ Πτολ<λ>ᾶτι γραμματιῆς □,
(γίνονται) κυμίνου (ἀρτάβαι) λγ □.
καὶ φώρεδρων ποληων ε
ἀνὰ κυμίνου ζ´, αἶ κυ(μίνου) □ γ´,
15 (γίνονται) το() κυ(μίνου) (ἀρτάβαι) λδ γ´.
καὶ φακοῦ ζ´ (ἀρτάβαι) ιε,
φώρε[δ]ρων ὄνοι ε ἀνὰ ζ´, (γίνονται) □ γ´,
καὶ τοῖς μαχαιρωφόροις

(column 2)

- καὶ Ἀγήνωρι κα (δέκατον),
καὶ κνήκος ζ´ (ἀρτάβαι) ν,
αἶ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ξ, (γίνονται) το() ἐκφώριων
(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) σκθ, καὶ κηπωρῶ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α, (γίνονται)
(ἀρτάβαι) σλ.
5 ἀνθ' ὧν (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) σμζ □,
καταλίπεται (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ιζ □,
καὶ ἀργυρίου (δραχμαὶ) ξ.
ἄλ(λος) λόγος. κνήκων· κη
Τασύτη ἐργάται θ,
10 κθ η, λ ε
Ἐπεὶ α ζ, β δ,
12 (γίνονται) ἐργά(ται) λγ ἀνὰ (πυροῦ) (δέκατον), (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)
γ (πέμπτον) (δέκατον).
13 Ἐπεὶ γ ῥατωκωποὶ η,
δ θ, (γίνονται) ἐργά(ται) ιζ ἀν(ὰ) (πυροῦ) (δέκατον),
15 (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) α □ (πέμπτον).
ἄλ(λος) λόγος. κλήρος Πεταῦτος
β ἐργάται θ, γ η,

ὄμο(ίως) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλῆρος

(column 3)

ῥατωκωποι θ,
(γίνονται) ἐργά(ται) κς,
ἀνά (πυροῦ) (δέκατον), (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) β □ (δέκατον).
(ῶν) κριτωπυρὸν (ἀρτάβη) α,
5 καὶ φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) β,
καὶ κνήκος (ἀρτάβη) α.

(verso, column 1)

λόγος ἀργυρίου.
τοῖς ἐργάταις (δραχμαὶ) ι,
ῥατωκωποὶς κυμίνου (δραχμαὶ) δ,
μαχαιροφόροις (δραχμαὶ) ς,
5 δαπάνης (δραχμαὶ) δ,
ὄμο(ίως) χα(λκοῦ) Αφ, ὄμο(ίως) χα(λκοῦ) τν,
(γίνονται) χα(λκοῦ) Αψν, αἷ (δραχμῆ) α, (γίνονται) το() (δραχμαὶ) κε.
καὶ τιμῆς ζύτου (δραχμαὶ) δ,
(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κθ. καὶ τιμ(ῆς) ἐλαίου χοί(νικος) α (δραχμαὶ) ε.
10 (γίνονται) το() (δραχμαὶ) λδ. (ῶν) τιμ(ῆς) κυμίνου (ἀρτάβης) α (δραχμαὶ) ζ.
καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀφραήσι(ος) (δραχμαὶ) δ,
καὶ ὑπὲρ Μεσθας (δραχμαὶ) δ,
καὶ τιμ(ῆς) κνήκου (ἀρταβῶν) δ (δραχμαὶ) ις, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κδ.
ἀνθ' ῶν (δραχμαὶ) κθ. καταλείπεται (δραχμαὶ) γ.
15 ἄνω· Παῦνι δ ἕως Ἐπειφ ιε.

(column 2)

λό(γος). Μεδρήσιος (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ρν,
κηπωρῶ (ἀρτάβη) α,
κῆν(κου) αἷ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ξ,
φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) ιε,
5 κριθωπυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) δ,
(γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) σλ.

ro 1.6. 1. φόρετρον 1.8. 1. ἐκφόριον 1.10. 1. διαφοροὶς 1.11. 1. γραμματεῖ
1.13. 1. φόρετρον 1.17. 1. φόρετρον 1.18. 1. μαχαιροφόροις 2.3. 1. ἐκφόριον
2.6. 1. καταλείπεται 2.18. 1. κλήρω 3.4. 1. κριθοπυροῦ
vo 1.4. 1. μαχαιροφόροις 1.14. 1. καταλείπονται 2.5. 1. κριθοπυροῦ

‘(recto, column 1) Year ... Pauni 23. 37 plough teams, at a rate of one tenth of an artaba: 3 ½ plus one fifth artabas of wheat, by the *dromos*-measure. Winnowers: 1 and 2/3 artaba of wheat. Threshers: 1/3 artaba. Transport

charges: 53 colt-loads, at a rate of one sixth of an artaba of wheat = $7\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$ artabas*.⁵⁰⁸ Rent, at a rate of 1/6 of an artaba of wheat: 154 artabas. Cumin, including the transport charges at 1/6 of an artaba: 33 artabas; plus the amount for Ptollas the *grammateus*, $\frac{1}{2}$ of an artaba = $33\frac{1}{2}$ artabas of cumin. Transport charges: 5 colt-loads of cumin, at a rate of 1/6 of an artaba of cumin = $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$ artabas of cumin. Total of cumin: 34 and $\frac{1}{3}$ artabas. Lentils, at a rate of 1/6 of an artaba: 15 artabas. Transport charges: 5 donkeys-loads, at a rate of 1/6 of an artaba = $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$ artabas. For the armed guards (column 2) and Agenor: 21 and one tenth artabas. Safflower, at a rate of 1/6 of an artaba: 50 artabas, equivalent to 60 artabas of wheat. Rent: 229 artabas of wheat; plus the amount for the gardener, 1 artaba of wheat = 230 artabas. Beforehand there were $247\frac{1}{2}$ artabas of wheat, leaving $17\frac{1}{2}$ artabas left over, as well as 60 silver drachmas. Another account. Safflower. On the 28th of the month, 9 workers to Tasytes; 8 on the 29th; 5 on the 30th; 7 on the 1st of Epeiph; 4 on the 2nd. Total: 33 workers, at a rate of one tenth of an artaba of wheat = $3 + \text{one fifth} + \text{one tenth}$ artabas of wheat [= 3.7 artabas]. On the 3rd of Epeiph, 8 threshers; 9 on the 4th. Total: 17 workers, at a rate of one tenth of an artaba = $1\frac{1}{2} + \text{one fifth}$ of an artaba [= 1.7 artabas]. Another account. The plot of Petheus. On the 2nd of the month, 9 workers; 8 on the 3rd. Similarly, on the same plot, (column 3) 9 threshers. Total: 26 workers, at a rate of one tenth of an artaba = $2\frac{1}{2} + \text{one tenth}$ artabas of wheat [= 2.6 artabas]. Of these payments: 1 artaba was in wheat and barley; 2 artabas were in lentils; and 1 artaba was in safflower*.

(verso, column 1) Account of money. For workers: 10 drachmas. For cumin threshers: 4 drachmas. For armed guards: 6 drachmas. For expenses: 4 drachmas; as well as 1500 copper drachmas, and another 350 copper drachmas = 1750 copper drachmas, equivalent to 1 silver drachma. Grand total: 25 drachmas*. For the price of beer: 4 drachmas. Grand total: 29 drachmas. For the price of one *choinix* of olive-oil: 5 drachmas. Grand total: 34 drachmas. Against these expenditures: 7 drachmas (were raised) from the sale of 1 artaba of cumin; 4 drachmas (were paid) on behalf of Harpaesis; 4 drachmas (were paid) on behalf of Mesthas; and 16 drachmas (were raised) from the sale of 4 artabas of safflower = 24 drachmas*. Beforehand there were 29 drachmas, leaving 3 drachmas left over*. Summary. From Pauni 4 to Epeiph 15. (column 2) Account. After measurement: 150 artabas of wheat. For the gardener: 1 artaba of safflower. Wheat: 60 artabas. Lentils: 15 artabas. Wheat and barley: 4 artabas. Total: 230 artabas.'

⁵⁰⁸ The figures marked with asterisks in the translation are miscalculations on the part of the scribe.

P.Fay. 109, letter (10 BCE/34 CE)

Πισαίς Ἡρακλήῳ χαίρειν. ὅταν πρὸς ἀνάγκαιν θέλης
παρ' ἐμοῦ χρήσασθαί τι, εὐθύς σε οὐ κρατῶι, καὶ νῦν
παρακληθεὶς τοὺς τρεῖς στατῆρες οὓς εἴρηκέ
σοι Σέλευκος δῶναί μοι ἤδη δὸς Κλέωνι, νομί-
5 σας ὅτι κιχρᾶς μοι αὐτούς, ἐάν σε δῆ τὸ εἰμάτιον
σου θεῖναι ἐνέχυρον, ὅτι συνῆρμαι λόγον τῷ
πατρὶ καὶ λελοιπογράφικέ με καὶ ἀποχὴν
θέλω λαβεῖν. Σέλευκος γάρ μου αὐτούς ὧδε
ἐκκ[έκ]ρουκε λέγων ὅτι συνέστακας ἑαυτῶι.
10 καὶ νῦν παρακληθεὶς νομίσας ὅτι κιχρᾶς μοι
[αὐτούς] μὴ κατάσχης Κλέωνα καὶ συνπροσ-
[γενοῦ Κ]λέωνι, καὶ αἴτησον Σάραν τὰς τοῦ (δραχμάς) ιβ.
[μὴ οὖν ἄ]λλως ποιή[σ]ης.
(ἔτους) κ, Πα(ῦνι) κε.

(verso)

15 Ἡρακλήῳι (seal) (seal).

1. 1. ἀνάγκην 2. 1. κρατῶ 3. 1. στατῆρας 4. 1. δοῦναί 5. Gonis (1997), 140:
δ<έ>η ed. pr.; 1. ἰμάτιόν

‘Pisais to Herakleios, greetings. Whenever, in a pinch, you need something from me, I don’t deny you even for a second, so now I ask you please to give to Kleon the three staters which Seleukos told you to give to me, and think of them as a loan to me; if necessary, hand over your cloak as a pledge. I have settled my account with (his?) father, who has allowed me to remain in arrears, and I want to get a quittance. Seleukos has withheld (the staters) from me, saying that you made an arrangement with him (to pay instead?). So now, since I am asking you to think of it as a loan to me, please don’t keep Kleon waiting and go and meet with him. Also, ask Saras for the 12 drachmas. Please do as I have asked. Year 20, Pauni 25.

(verso) To Herakleios (seals).’

SB XX 14971, receipt for payment of rent (24 July 2 BCE)

Ed. pr. Daris, S. (1988), ‘P.Fayum 212 e 213’, *ZPE* 73: 43-6 (pp. 45f.).

Ἀπολλώνιο[ς] Ὠρω καὶ . . . φωτι
γεω<ρ>γοῖς χαίρε<ι>ν· ἀπέχω παρ' ὑ-
μῶν τὰ ἐκφόρια τοῦ ὀγτόυ
καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ἀφ' ὧν γε-

5 ω<ρ>γεῖτε ὑπ' ἐμὲ περὶ Εὐημέριαν
καὶ οὐθὲν ὑμῶν ἐγκαλῶ.
(ἔτους) κη' Ἐπε<ι>φ λ.

3. 1. ὀγδόου 6. 1. ὑμῶν; 1. ἐγκαλῶ

‘Apollonios to Horos and (name lost), farmers, greetings. I have received from you the rent in kind for the (fields) which you farm for me near Euhemeria for the twenty-eighth year, and I require nothing further from you. Year 28, Epeiph 30.’

Purchased material

P.Alex. 15, receipt for *syntaximon* (first century CE)

(recto, column 1)

- [(ἔτους)] Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
[-ca.?-] ιθ μετὰ λ(όγον) τῆς λ
[δια(γέ)γρα(φεν) διὰ -ca.?-] Ἡρακλῆς Πισάι(ος)
[συνταξ(ίμου) τοῦ αὐτοῦ -ca.?-] (ἔτους) Εὐημ(ερίας)
5 [ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τεσσαράκ]οντα τέσσαρες
[ἡμιωβ(έλιον) χ(αλκοῦς) β, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μδ (ἡμιωβέλιον)] χ(αλκοῦς) β
ὕικ(ῆς) α (ὀβολός).
- [(ἔτους) -ca.?-] υ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
[-ca.?-] Νε(οῦ) Σεβαστοῦ κδ δια(γέ)γρα(φεν)
[διὰ -ca.?- Ἡρακλ]ῆς Πισάειτο(ς) συνταξ(ίμου)
10 [τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) -ca.?- Εὐη]μ(ερίας) ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς)
ὀκτώι (δραχμὰς) η
[Χοίακ . . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρ]ες (δραχμὰς) δ Τῦβι κη (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι
[(δραχμὰς) η Μεχειρ . . (δραχμὰς)] τέσσαρες (δραχμὰς) δ μηνός
[Φαμενώθ -ca.?-] (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρες (δραχμὰς) δ Φαρμο(ῦθι)
[. . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρες (δραχμὰς) δ] Παχών κε (δραχμὰς)
τέσσαρες (δραχμὰς) δ
15 [-ca.?- Π]αχών λ (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρες (δραχμὰς) δ
[Παῦνι . . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρ]ες (δραχμὰς) δ
[(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μδ (ἡμιωβέλιον)] χ(αλκοῦς) β ὕικ(ῆς) α (ὀβολός).

ro 1.5. 1. τέσσαρας 1.10. 1. ὀκτώ 1.11. 1. ὀκτώ 1.12. 1. τέσσαρας 1.13. 1.
τέσσαρας
1.14. 1. τέσσαρας; 1. τέσσαρας 1.15. 1. τέσσαρας 1.16. 1. [τέσσαρ]ας

‘Year of Caesar Augustus, (month) 19, after the account of the 30 (?).
Herakles son of Pisais paid, through the agency of (name lost), forty-four
silver drachmas [and two bronze hemiobols] for the *syntaximon* for the same
year at Euhemeria, [equals 44 drachmas and 2 bronze hemiobols,] plus one
obol for the pig-tax.

Year XX of Caesar Augustus, Neos Sebastos [= Hathyr] 24. Herakles son of
Pisais paid, through the agency of (name lost), eight silver drachmas for the
syntaximon at Euhemeria = 8 drachmas; on Choiach (date), four drachmas =
4 drachmas; on Tybi 28, eight drachmas = 8 drachmas; on Mecheir (date),
four drachmas = 4 drachmas; in the month of Phamenoth, four drachmas = 4
drachmas; in Pharmouthi, four drachmas = 4 drachmas; on Pachon 25, four
drachmas = 4 drachmas; on Pachon 30, four drachmas = 4 drachmas; in

Pauni, four drachmas = 4 drachmas. [Total: 44 drachmas and] 2 bronze hemiobols, plus 1 obol for the pig-tax.’

P.Lond. III 895, petition (28 CE-30 CE)

Σαραπίωνι ἐπιστάτῃ φυλ(ακιτῶν)
παρὰ Πρωτάρχου τοῦ
Πρωτάρχου. Ἄρπαῆσις
Νααραῦτος τοῦ
5 Οὐήριος τῶν ἀπὸ
Εὐημερείας τῆς
Θεμίστου μερίδος
γενόμενος μου γεωρ-
γὸς ἐγκαταλιπῶ[ν]
10 μου τὸν ἀ[γ]ρὸν
κ(αὶ) ἐφελκόμενό[ς] μου
[τ]ῆν ὑπόλημψιν
— — —

(verso)

Εὐημερεία(ς)

8. 1. γενόμενός 9. 1. ἐγκαταλιπὼν 12. 1. ὑπόλημψιν

‘To Sarapion, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Protarchos son of Protarchos. Harpaeis son of Inaroyos, an employee of Virius, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*, who was my farmer, having abandoned my fields and withheld the compensation from me [papyrus breaks off]

(verso) (To the *archephodos*?) of Euhemeria.’

P.Lond. III 1218, petition (23-28 August 39 CE)

Γαίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Φόλῳ ἐπ[ιστ]ά-
τη φυλακιτῶν
παρὰ Δικαίου τοῦ Χαιρήμονο(ς)
τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐημερείας [βασι]λι-
5 κο[ῦ] γεωρ[γοῦ]. τῆι λ τοῦ ἐνεσ-
τῶτος μη[νὸς] Μεσορ[ῆ]
τοῦ γ (ἔτους) Γαίου Καίσαρος Σε[β]α[στοῦ]
Γερμανικοῦ Ἐλενοῦς Τ[ο-]
θέως πρὸς ἣν οὐκ εἶχον

- 10 ἀπλῶς πράγμα ὕβριν
οὐ [τ]ῆν τύ[χουσαν τῆ γυ-]
ναικ(ι) μου. [-ca.?-]
εκαλεσατ[. . .]ρ. [-ca.?-]
σεν αυ[. . .]τον. . τ. [-ca.?-]
- 15 ἔτι δὲ καὶ κατὰ [-ca.?-]
μησεν αὐτῆς ε[. . . .]φι
εκτ[. .]αν[-ca.?-]
ρη[-ca.?- διὸ ἀξιῶ γράψ]αι
ἀχθ[ῆναι τὴν ἐγκαλου-]
20 μένην ἐπ[ὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν]
δέουσαν ἐπέξοδο[v].
εὐ[τύχει].

‘To Gaius Iulius Pholos, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Dikaios son of Chairemon, a royal farmer from Euhemeria. On the 30th of the current month of Mesore in the 3rd year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Helenous daughter of Thoteus, with whom I had absolutely no problem, used uncalled-for violence against my wife ... she called ... moreover ... [papyrus is fragmentary]. Therefore I ask you to order that the accused be brought before you for the necessary punishment. Farewell.’

P.Rein. II 106, loan of money (51 CE/65 CE?)

- [ἔτους δωδεκάτου Κλα]υδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικ[οῦ]
[Αὐτοκράτορος μηνὸς Περιτίου μιᾶ] καὶ εἰκάδει, Χοίαχ κα, ἐν Εὐημερία τῆς
[Θεμίστου μερίδος τοῦ Ἄρσινοεῖτου] νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Ἄρφαῆσις Νααραῦτος
[-ca.?- ὡς ἐτῶν -ca.?-] κοντα ὀκτῶι οὐλήι δακτύλωι
- 5 [-ca.?- χειρὸς -ca.?- Μενχῆι Μεν]χήρους ὡς ἐτῶν πενήκοντα
[-ca.?- οὐλή -ca.?- δεξ]ιωῖ ἔχειν παρ’ αὐτοῦ παραχρήμα
[διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκ(ου) χρήσιν ἀργυρίου δρ]αχμᾶς ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα
[-ca.?- τ]όκον τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν.
[-ca.?- ἀποδότ]ωι ὁ ὁμολογῶν τῶι Μενχῆι
- 10 [-ca.?- ἐν μηνὶ -ca.?-] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δωδεκάτου
[ἔτους Κλαυδίου Καίσαρο]ς Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
[-ca.?- ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέ]σεως καὶ εὐρησι<λογί>ίας, ἐὰν
[δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι καθ’ ἃ γέγρ(απται) ἀποτεισά]τωι <ὁ> ὁμολογῶν τῶι
[Μενχῆι τὸ κεφάλ(αιον) καὶ τὸν τούτ]ου τόκον ὡς ἐκ δραχμ[ῆς μιᾶς]
15 (traces)
4. 1. ὀκτῶ; 1. οὐλή 5. 1. πενήκοντα 9. 1. [ἀποδότ]ω 13. 1. [ἀποτεισά]τω

‘Year twelve of Claudius Caesar Germanicus Imperator, on the twenty-first of the month of Peritios, Choiak 21, in Euhemeria in the Themistou meris of

the Arsinoite nome. Harpaesis son of Inaroys, about XX-eight years old, with a scar on the finger of his ... hand, agrees with Menches son of Menches, about fifty years old, with a scar on his right ... that he has received from him on the spot, hand-to-hand, out of the house, a loan of one hundred and eighty silver drachmas (and the) interest of XX silver drachmas. Let the borrower pay Menches back ... in the month ... of the current twelfth year of Claudius Caesar Germanicus ... without any delay or chicanery; if he does not pay the money back in accordance with the conditions set out above, let the borrower pay to Menches the initial sum, as well as the interest, at a rate of ... [papyrus breaks off]'

P.Ryl. II 94, guarantee of bail (15-36 CE)

[= Sel.Pap. II 255]

Ἡρακλῆς Πετεσοῦχ(ου) ἡγούμενος γερδίων
 Εὐημερίας καὶ Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) Ἀσκληπιάδου
 γραμματεὺς τῶν αὐτῶν γερδίων
 Ἡρωνι χριστῆ Σώτου ἐξηγητοῦ χα(ίρειν).
 5 ὁμολογοῦ[μ]εν ἐγγεγυῆσθαι
 παρὰ σοῦ Ἀφ[ε]ῦν Ἀφεῦτος καὶ Ἄρπα-
 γάθην Ὀρσε[ν]ούφιον καὶ Ἡρᾶν Ὀρσεν(ούφιος)
 καὶ Μέλαν[α] Ἐ[ρ]γέως καὶ Ἡρακλῆν
 Ἀπολλωνι<ου> τοὺς πέντε γερδίους
 10 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Εὐημερίας
 καὶ ἐπάνανκον παραστήσει<ν> σοὶ αὐτοῦ<ς>
 ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν ἐρῆ ἐκδικοῦντες τὰ διὰ
 τοῦ ὑπομνήματος Πανινούτιος τοῦ
 Ἀφροδισίου ἐρι(ουργοῦ). Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) ὁ προγεγραμμέ-
 15 νος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτο<ῦ> Ἡρακλήου διὰ
 τ[ὸ] μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα. (ἔτους)
 [. . Τιβε]ρί[ο]ν Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 Ἐπεὶφ τη.

4. I. χειριστῆ 5. I. ὁμολογοῦμεν; I. ἐγγεγυῆσθαι 7. I. Ὀρσενούφιος 11. I.
 ἐπάνανκον 12. I. αἰρῆ

‘Herakles son of Petesouchos, president of the weavers of Euhemeria, and Aphrodisios son of Asklepiades, secretary of the same weavers, to Heron, assistant to Sotas the *exēgētēs*, greetings. We agree that we have received Apheus son of Apheus, Harpagathes son of Orsenouphis, Heras son of Orsenouphis, Melanas son of Herieus, and Herakles son of Apollonios from you on bail, all five being weavers from the same Euhemeria. (We agree that) we are obliged to present them before you whenever you ask, to

answer the charges contained in the petition of Paninoutis, the wool-worker of Aphrodisios. I, the aforesaid Aphrodisios, have written for Herakles because he does not know his letters. Year XX of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Epeiph 18.'

P.Ryl. II 124, draft of a petition (26-50 CE?)

παρὰ Ἰπάλου τοῦ
Ἀρχίτος δημοσίου
γεοργοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ κώ-
μης Εὐημερίας
5 τῆς Θεμίστου με-
ρίδος. τῆς τοῦ
{του} Τῦβι τῆς γυναι-
κός μου Ἀπλουνοῦ-
τος καὶ ἡ ταύ-
10 τ[ης] μήτηρ Θερ-
τος ἐπελθοῦσα
Εὐδεμονίς
Πρωτάρχου καὶ
Ἐθτυαῖς Πεοῦς
15 καὶ Δεῖος Ἀμμοῦνί(ου)
καὶ Ἡρακλοῦς
ἔδωκαν μὲν
τῆς γυναικί μου
Ἀπλουνοῦτι καὶ
20 τῆς ταύτη<ς> μητρὶ
ἐν τῷ τῆς κώμης
βαλανίῳ πληγὰς
πλείους ἰς πᾶν μέ-
ρος τοῦ σώμα-
25 τος ὥστε αὐτὴν
κατακρινῆ εἶ-
ναι καὶ ἐν τῇ
ἐνπλοκῇ ἀπο-
λέσ{σ}θαι αὐτῆς
30 ἐγώδιον χρυ-
σοῦν τετάρτων
□γ□ τριῶν

(verso)

35 και ψέλων ἀσή-
 μου ὀρκῆς δραχ-
 μῶν δέκα ἕξ καὶ
 σκάφιον χαλκοῦν
 □ . . □ ἄξιον (δραχμῶν) ιβ
 καὶ τῆς Θερμῆς
 τῆς μητρὸς ἐνώ-
 40 διον χρυσοῦν τε-
 τάρτων δύο ἡμί-
 σους καὶ . . [. .]α
 κ. θεντ. . [.] .
 ἦλθαν ὑπὸ [.] .
 45 κύριοι ἐπὶ τὴν
 τοῦ βαλανίου[υ]
 46a ἐπιθέ[ντ. .]
 [.] . . . ρ. [.]
 καὶ Σπαρτᾶ[.] καὶ
 πεμψαν . . .
 50 ρισ . . . ο
 . γ ἐμοὶ τε αγγο-
 γ

ro 3. 1. γεωργοῦ 9. 1. τῆς 10. 1. μητρὸς 10-11. 1. Θερ<μι>τος (?) 21. 1. τῶ
 22. 1. βαλανεῖω 23. 1. εἰς 26. 1. κατακλινη 30. 1. ἐνώτιον
 νο 33. 1. ψέλων 34. 1. ὀρκῆς 38. 1. Θερμίτος 39-40. 1. ἐνώτιον 44. 1. ἦλθον
 46. 1. βαλανείου

‘From Hippialos son of Archis, a public farmer from Euhemeria in the
 Themistou *meris*. On Tybi 6, having bumped into my wife Apollonous and
 her mother Ther<mi>s in the bath-house of the village, Eudaimonis daughter
 of Protarchos, Etthytas daughter of Pees, Dios son of Ammonios, and
 Heraklous gave my wife Apollonous – as well as her mother – many blows to
 every part of her body, with the result that she is bed-ridden, and in the
 scuffle she lost: a gold ear-ring worth three = 3 quarters;

(verso) a bracelet of unstamped metal worth sixteen drachmas; and a bronze bowl
 worth twelve drachmas; and, belonging to her mother Thermis, a gold ear-ring worth
 two-and-a-half quarters . . . they went to those in charge of the bath . . . [papyrus is
 fragmentary]’

P.Ryl. II 125, petition (28/29 CE)

[= Sel.Pap. II 276 = C.Pap. Hengstl 49]

Σεραπίωνι ἐπιστάτῃ φυλακειτῶν
παρὰ Ὀρσενούφιος τοῦ Ἄρπαήσιος
ἡγ[ο]υμένου κόμης Εὐημερίας
τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος. τῷ Μεσορῇ
5 μηνι τοῦ διελη(λυθότος) ἰδ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ ποιουμέ[ν]ου μου κα-
τασπασμὸν τειχαρίων παλαιῶ(ν)
ἐν τοῖς οἰκοπέδο[ι]ς μου διὰ Πε-
τεσοῦχου τοῦ Πετεσοῦχου οἰκοδόμ(ου),
10 καὶ ἐμοῦ χωρισθέντος εἰς ἀπο-
δημίαν βιωτ[ι]κῶν χάριν
εὔρεν ὁ Πετεσοῦχος ἐν τῷ κατασ-
πασμῶι τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρό-
μου ἀποτεθειμένα ἐν πυξι-
15 δίωι ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ις (ἔτους) Καίσαρος
ἐνωτίων χρυσῶ(ν) ζεῦγο(ς) (τετάρτων) δ καὶ
μηνίσκο(ν) χρυσο(ῦν) (τετάρτων) γ καὶ ψελίω(ν)
ἀργυρῶν ζεῦγο(ς) ὀλκῆ(ς) ἀσήμο(υ) (δραχμῶν) ιβ
καὶ ὀρμίσκον ἐν ᾧ ἀργυρᾶ ἄξιο(ν) (δραχμῶν) π
20 καὶ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμάς) ξ, καὶ διαπλανήσας
τοῦ[ς] ὑπ[ο]ουργουῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς
ἀπηνέγκατο παρ' ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῆς
ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς παρθένου·
ἐκκενώσας τὰ προκείμενα
25 ἔριψεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου τὴν
πυξίδα κενήν, ὃς καὶ ὠμολ[ό-]
γησεν τὴν πυξίδα ὡς προ-
φέρεται κενήν. διὸ ἀξιῶι,
ἐὰν φαίνεται, ἀχθῆναι τὸν
30 ἐγκαλούμενο(ν) ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν
ἐσομένη(ν) ἐπέξοδ(ον).
εὐτύχ(ει).
Ὀρσενούφ(ις) (ἐτῶν) ν οὐ(λή) πήχ(ει) ἀρισ(τερῶ).

1. 1. φυλακιτῶν 16. 1. χρυσῶ(ν) 22. 1. ἑαυτὸν 23. 1. ἑαυτοῦ 28. 1. ἀξιῶ 30.
1. ἐγκαλούμενο(ν)

‘To Sarapion, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Orsenouphis son of Harpaesis, leader of the village of Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. In the month of

Mesore of the past 14th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, I was having some old walls on the site of my house demolished by the builder Petesouchos son of Petesouchos, and, while I was away in the country on a trip concerning my business, in the course of the demolition Petesouchos found some things that had been hidden away in a little box by my mother since the 16th year of Caesar: a pair of gold ear-rings worth 4 quarters; a gold necklace worth 3 quarters; a pair of silver bracelets of unstamped metal worth 12 drachmas; a necklace on which was silver (decoration) worth 80 drachmas; and 60 silver drachmas in cash. Having distracted his workers and the members of my household, he carried the box off for himself via his unmarried daughter. Having emptied out the items above, he returned the empty box to my house, whereas he claims that when he got hold of the box it was already empty. Therefore I ask, if it seems good to you, that the accused be brought before you with a view to forthcoming punishment. Farewell. Orsenouphis, 50 years old, with a scar on his left forearm.'

P.Ryl. II 126, petition (28/29 CE)

[Διονυσοδώρ]φι [στρατηγῶι]
 [Ἄρσινοεῖτο]υ [-ca.?-]
 [παρὰ] Ὀνώφ[ρ]εω[ς . . .]
 [. . .]τος τῶν ἀπ' Εὐημ[ερίας]
 5 τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος [γεωρ-]
 γοῦ τῆς Ἰουλίας Σεβ[αστῆς]
 οὐσίας τῶν πρότερον [Γαίου]
 Ἰουλ[ί]ου Ἀλεξάνδρου [ἐδαφ(ῶν).]
 τῶι [ἐ]νεστῶτι μηνι [. . .]
 10 τοῦ ιε (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσα[ρος]
 Σεβαστοῦ Δημᾶς Ψαήσι[ος]
 καταγεινόμενος ἐν τῶι [περὶ]
 τὴν κώμην ἐποικίωι λεγ[ο(μένῳ)]
 Δρομέως ἐπαφείς τὰ ἑατοῦ
 15 πρόβατα καὶ βοῖκὰ κτήνη
 εἰς ἅ γεωργῶ τῆς μη(τρὸς) μ[ο]υ ἐδάφ(η)
 κατενέμησάν μου πυροῦ
 σπόρο(υ) ἄρο(ύρας) β καὶ κριθ(ῆς) ἄρο(ύρης) □
 ἐξ οὗ βλάβος μοι ἐπηκλούθ(ησεν)
 20 οὐκ ὀλίγον. ὁ δὲ ἐγκαλούμ(ενός)
 ἐστίν μετὰ Ἀρπαήσιο(ς) τοῦ
 Ἡρᾶτος χλωροφαγῶν.
 διὸ ἀξιῶ ἀχθῆναι τὸν
 ἐγκαλούμεν[ο(ν)] ἐπὶ σὲ πρ[ὸς]

25 τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέξοδ(ον).
εὐτύχ(ει).
Ὀννῶ(φρις) (ἐτῶν) ν οὐ(λή) δακ(τύλω) μικ(ρω) (χειρὸς) ἀρισ(τερᾶς).

14. 1. ἑαυτοῦ 19. 1. ἐπηκολούθ(ησεν) 20. 1. ἐγκαλούμ(ενός) 24. 1.
ἐγκαλούμενο(ν)

‘To [Dionysodoros], *stratēgos* of the Arsinoite nome, from Onnophris son of (name lost) from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*, farmer on the estate of Iulia Augusta, formerly the lands of Gaius Iulius Alexandros. In the current month of ... in the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Demas son of Psaeis, who dwells in the *epoikion* called Dromeos near the village, having let loose his sheep and flocks of cattle into the fields which I farm for my mother, grazed down 2 arouras of mine sown with wheat and ½ an aroura of barley, as a result of which no small damage has been caused for me. The accused is pasturing (?) with Harpaesis son of Heras. Therefore I ask that the accused be brought before you with a view to forthcoming punishment. Farewell. Onnophris, 50 years old, with a scar on the little finger of his left hand.’

P.Ryl. II 127, petition (15-27 September 29 CE)

Σεραπίωνι ἐπιστάτῃ φυλακειτῶν
παρὰ Σενθεῦτος τοῦ Ἄνουβίωνος τῶ(ν)
ἀπὸ Διονυσιάδος καταγε[ι]νομένο(ν)
ἐν τοῖς ἀμμίνοις ἐποικίου Ποπλίου
5 καὶ Γαίου Πετρωνίων. νυκτὶ τῇ φε-
ρούσῃ εἰς τὴν ιζ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο(ς)
μηρῶ(ς) Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ ις (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ κοιμωμένου μου
ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας οὗ καταγείνομαι οἴ-
10 κου ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ ἐπιβαλόντες
τινὲς ληστρικῶι τρόπῳ ὑπάρυ-
ξαν διὰ τοῦ ζυτοπωλίου τὸ ἀπὸ
βορρᾶ τεῖχος τοῦ οἴκου καὶ ἔνδον
γενόμενοι ἤρσαν τῶν ἐμῶν
15 ὧν τὸ καθ’ ἐν ὑπόκειται, καθυπο-
νοῶ δὲ τοῦτο δια<πε>πρακέναι Πα-
ποντῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ταλεῖ γενόμενο(ν)
ζυτοποιὸν καὶ Φηλικίωνα Παπαῖ-
τος. διὸ ἀξιῶι συντάξαι τῷ τῆ(ς)
20 Εὐημερείας ἀρχεφόδοι ἀναζη-
τῆσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέρους καὶ τοὺς

αἰτίους ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς
τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέξοδ(ον). εὐτύχ(ει).

ἔστιν τὸ καθ' ἑν·

- 25 ἄς εἶχον ἐν γλωσσοκόμῳ ὑπο-
λήμψε(ως) παρὰ Κλάδου Λιβίας
Δρούσου Καίσαρος ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) ρκ,
ἱματίου καταρτισμὸν κρόκη(ς)
καὶ στήμονο(ς) ἄξι(ον) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) η,
30 ξύλινον πυξίδιν ἐν ᾧ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) {(δραχμαὶ)} δ,
ποτήρια κασσιδ(έρρινα) β, ἄμη, πέλυξ,
σκαφεῖον, ζώνη ἐν ᾗ κέρματ(ος) (δραχμαὶ) δ,
λήκυθο(ς) ἐν ᾗ ἐλαίο(υ) χο(ός) □, μάκτρα
ὀψοποι<η>τική, σφυρὶς ἐν ᾗ ἄρτρο(ι) ν,
35 ζεύγ(η) κε.

Σενθ(εῦς) ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ οὐλ(ή) καρπῶ ἀρισ(τερῶ).

1. 1. φυλακιδῶν 19. 1. ἀξιῶ 25. 1. γλωσσοκόμῳ 25-6. 1. ὑπο|λήμψε(ως) 31. 1.
κασσιτ(έρρινα) 32. 1. σκαφεῖον

‘To Sarapion, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Semtheus son of Anoubion, originally from Dionysias but residing in the Sandy *epoikion* of Publius and Gaius Petronii. On the night before the 17th of the current month of Sebastos, while I was sleeping by the door of the house in which I live in the *epoikion*, some people, having broken in like bandits, dug under the north wall of my house from the beer-shop and, once they were inside, carried off my things, of which there is a list below. I suspect that Papontos from Talei, a former brewer, and Phelikion son of Papais have done this. Therefore I ask you to order the *archephodos* of Euhemeria to investigate the matter, and to send those responsible up to you with a view to forthcoming punishment. Farewell. The list is: 120 silver drachmas which I had in a little box, compensation from Klados (the freedman) of Livia wife of Drusus Caesar; a preparation of woof and warp for a cloak worth 18 silver drachmas; a small wooden box in which were 4 silver drachmas; 2 tin drinking cups; a shovel; an axe; a mattock; a money belt in which there were 4 drachmas in copper; a flask in which there was ½ *chous* of olive oil; a cook’s kneading-trough; and a basket in which were 50 loaves in 25 pairs. Semtheus, 30 years old, with a scar on his left wrist.’

P.Ryl. II 128, petition (after 13 February 30 CE)

Σεραπίωνι ἐπιστάτη φυλακ(ιδῶν)
παρὰ Ἀτρήους τοῦ Μ. [. . . -]

5 τος ἐλαιουργοῦ τῶν ἐν
 Εὐημερία τῆς Θεμίστου
 μερίδος Γαίου Ἰουλίου Ἀθην[ο-]
 δώρου καὶ Τιβερίου Καλπ[ο]υρ-
 νίου Τρύφωνος. ἢ παρ' ἐμοὶ
 οὔσα ὑποσύγγραφος Σουῆρις
 10 Ἀρσύθμιος παρεμβάλλου-
 σα ἀλλότρια φρονήσασα
 ἐγκαταλιποῦσα τὸ ἐλαι-
 ούργιον ἀπηλλάγη ψοι-
 χαγωγηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ
 15 πατρὸς αὐτῆς Ἀρσύθμιου(ς)
 ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς 19 τοῦ Με-
 χειρ τοῦ 16 (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, μὴ στο-
 χασαμένος ὧν ὀφείλει μοι
 20 σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ
 κατὰ παραμονήν, καὶ ἦρεν
 ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μου ἱμάτι-
 ον ἄξιον ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) δ καὶ ἄς
 εἶχον εἰς διαγραφὴν τοῦ
 25 φόρου ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμᾶς) μ, βλάβ[ο]ς δέ
 μοι ἐπηκλούθησεν [ο]ὐκ ὀλί-
 γον. διὸ ἀξιῶ ἀχθῆναι
 τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους
 ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομέ(νην)
 30 ἐπέξοδ(ον). εὐτύχ(ει).
 Ἀτρῆ(ς) (ἐτῶν) 35 οὐ(λή) μετώπ(ω) μέσφ.

8. 1. ὑποσύγγραφος 11. ἐγκαταλιποῦσα 12-13. 1. ψυ|χαγωγηθεῖσα 17-18. 1.
 στοχασαμένου 25. 1. ἐπηκλούθησεν 26. 1. ἀξιῶ 27. ἐγκαλουμένους

‘To Sarapion, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Hatres son of M- , olive-presser for Gaius Iulius Athenodoros and Tiberius Calpurnius Tryphon, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. Esoeris daughter of Harsytmis, who is under contract with me as an olive-thrower, having had other ideas, abandoned the olive-press and, led astray by her father Harsytmis, quit as long ago as the 19th of Mecheir of the 16th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus; (in doing so,) he disregarded what he owes me, along with his wife, according to the terms of our contract. Also, she took from my house a cloak worth 4 silver drachmas and 40 silver drachmas which I was keeping for the payment of rent. The trouble that has been caused for me is not inconsiderable. Therefore I ask that the accused be brought before you with a view to forthcoming punishment. Farewell. Hatres, 35 years old, with a scar in the middle of his forehead.’

P.Ryl. II 129, petition (12 March 30 CE)

Διονυσοδώρῳ στρατηγῶι
Ἀρσινοεῖτου
παρὰ Ψοσναῦτος τοῦ Κεσθῶρου
γεωργοῦ σου ἰδίων. νυκτὶ τῆι
5 φερούσηι εἰς τὴν ις τοῦ Φαμενώ(θ)
τοῦ ις (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
ἐπιβαλόντες τινὲς ληστικῶι
τρόπῳ εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν
μοι οἰκίαν ἐν Εὐημερείᾳ
10 καὶ ἔνδον γενάμενοι τῆς
χορτοθήκης μου ἥρο-
σάν μου χόρτου δέσμας
πεντακοσίας. διὸ ἀξιῶι
τὴν ἀναζήτησιν ποιή-
15 σασθαι καὶ τοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτο
διαπράξαντας τυχεῖν
ᾧν προσῆκόν ἐστιν.
εὐτύχει.

13. 1. ἀξιῶ

‘To Dionysodoros, *stratēgos* of the Arsinoite nome, from Psansnos son of Kesthoros, farmer of your own (fields). On the night before the 16th of Phamenoth in the 16th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, some people, having broken like bandits into the house belonging to me in Euhemeria and got inside my hay-loft, carried off five hundred bundles of my hay. Therefore I ask that an investigation be made, and that those who did this should get what is coming to them. Farewell.’

P.Ryl. II 130, petition (after 2 October 31 CE)

Ἀθηνοδώρῳ ἐπιστάτῃ φυλακειτῶν
παρὰ Πρωτάρχου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου.
νυκτὶ τῆι φερούσηι εἰς τὴν δ
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο(ς) μηνὸς Φαῶφ(ι)
5 τοῦ ιη (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
ἐπιβαλόντες τινὲς ληστικῶι
τρόπῳ εἰς τὸν ὑπάρχοντά μοι

- περὶ Εὐημέρειαν τῆς Θεμίστο(υ)
 μερίδος ἐλαιῶνα ἐν τῇ γωνίᾳ
 10 ἐτρύγησαν ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν
 οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐλαίαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ
 πλειστάκι ὡσαύτως ἐτρύ-
 γησαν καὶ ἀπηνέγκαντο.
 διὸ ἀξιῶ, ἐὰν φαίνεται, συν-
 15 τάξει γράψαι ἀναζητῆσαι
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὴν ἐσο-
 μένην ἐπέξοδον.
 εὐτύχ(ει).

1. 1. φυλακιτῶν 14. 1. ἀξιῶ

‘To Athenodoros, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Protarchos son of Ptolemaios. On the night before the 4th of the current month of Phaophi of the 18th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, some people, having broken like bandits into the olive-grove belonging to me near Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*, gathered a not insubstantial number of olives from the trees in the corner; and moreover they gathered more olives and carried them off in the same way on several other occasions. Therefore I ask, if it seems good, that you order somebody to write to investigate the matter, with a view to forthcoming punishment. Farewell.’

P.Ryl. II 131, petition (after 12 March 31 CE)

- Διονυσοδώριω στρατηγ(ῶ)
 Ἀρσινοεΐτου
 παρὰ Μύσθου καὶ Πελο-
 πίωνος ἀμφοτέρων
 5 Πέλοπος τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐη-
 μερείας τῆς Θεμίστου
 μερίδος. τῆι ις τοῦ
 Φαμενώιθ τοῦ ἐνεσ-
 {σ}τῶιτος ιζ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
 10 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ τὴν
 ἐπίσκεψιν ποιουμέ-
 νου μου ὧν γε[ωρ]γοῦ-
 μεν περὶ τὴν προγε-
 γραμ<μ>ένην κώμην Ἀπω-
 15 νίου Μάρκου Σατορνίνου
 ἐδαφῶν εὔραμεν κα-
 τανενημημένον ὃ

20 ἔχομεν ἐν τοῖς ἐδά-
 φ[ε]σι ποιρίνους σπό[ρ]ους
 καὶ κριθὴν ὑπὸ Ἄρμιύ-
 σιος τοῦ Ἡρᾶτος προβα-
 τοκτηνοτρόφου [ύ]πὸ
 τῶν τούτου προβά-
 των ἐπὶ παρόντος
 25 Αὐνήιους τ[ο]ῦ Μίνχους,
 ὥστε βλάβους ἡμῖν ἐ-
 πικλουθηκότος εἰς
 λόγον πυροῦ (ἀρταβῶν) ε καὶ κριθῆς
 (ἀρταβῶν) ἑννέα. διὸ ἀξιῶ
 30 [ἀχθ]ῆναι [αὐτὸν ἐπὶ]
 [σὲ πρὸς] τ[ῆν ἔσομ(ένην)]
 [ἐπέξοδον. εὐτύχει.]

8-9. 1. ἐνε|στῶτος 14. 1. κώμην 16-17. 1. κα|τανενεμημένον 19. 1. πυρίνους
 21-2. 1. προβα|τοκτηνοτρόφου 26-7. 1. ἐ|πηκολουθηκότος 29. 1. ἀξιῶ 30. 1.
 ἀχθῆναι

‘To Dionysodoros, *stratēgos* of the Arsinoite nome, from Mysthas and Pelopion, both sons of Pelops, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. On the 16th of Phamenoth in the current 17th year of Tiberius Caesar of Augustus, while we were making an inspection of the fields of Aponius Marcus Saturninus which we farm near the aforementioned village, we found that the young wheat and barley that we have in the fields had been grazed down by Harmiysis son of Heras, herdsman, (that is to say) by his sheep, with Auneies son of Menches looking on, so that the damage done to us on account of the wheat is 5 artabas and of the barley nine artabas. Therefore I ask that (Harmiysis) be brought before you with a view to forthcoming punishment. Farewell.’

P.Ryl. II 132, petition (10 July 32 CE)

Αθηνοδώρῳ ἐπιστά(τη) φυλακ(ιτῶν)
 παρὰ Θεωνους Θεῶνος
 τοῦ προεστῶτος τῶν Εὐάνδ(ρου)
 τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἱερέως
 5 Τιβερίου Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστο(ῦ).
 τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ
 ιη (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρο(ς)
 Σεβαστοῦ ποιουμένου
 μ[ο]ν τὴν ἐπίσ[κ]εψιν

- 10 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῷ Εὐάνδ(ρω)
περὶ Εὐημ(έριαν) ἑδαφῶν εὖρον
τοῦς . [.] υς() τοῦ Εὐνομί(ου)
ποιμένας κατανενε-
μηκότας δι' ὧν νέμουσι
- 15 προβάτ(ων) περὶ δράγματα
[. . .] κς. ἀξιῶ γράψαι
τ[ῶ τ]ῆς κώ(μης) ἀρχε(φόδω) κερ . .
[δε]ξα(). εὐ(τύχει).
- (hand 2) ἀρχεφό(δω)· ἔκπεμψο(ν).
- 20 (ἔτους) ἡ Τιβ(ερίου) Καίσαρο(ς) Σε(βαστοῦ)
Ἐπειφ ις.

(verso)

[ἀρχ]εφόδ(ω) Εὐημερ[ί]α[ς.]

‘To Athenodoros, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Theon son of Theon, manager for Euandros son of Ptolemaios, priest of Tiberius Caesar Augustus. In the month of Pauni in the 18th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, while I was making an inspection of the fields belonging to Euandros near Euhemeria, I found that (the sons) of Eunomios, who are shepherds, had grazed down, with the sheep that they own, about 26 sheaves of ... I ask you to order the *archephodos* of the village ... Farewell. (hand 2) To the *archephodos*: send them up. Year 18 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Epeiph 16.

(verso) To the *archephodos* of Euhemeria.’

P.Ryl. II 133, petition (14-26 November 33 CE)

- Εὐάνδρω Πτολεμαίου
ιερεῖ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ
παρὰ Πεννεῖτος τοῦ
Νααραῦτος τῶν ἀπ’ Εὐ-
- 5 ημερίας τῆς Θεμίστου
μερίδος. τῆι ις τοῦ
ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸ(ς) Νέου
Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ κ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἐπιβα-
- 10 λῶν Ὀννῶφρις Ὀννώ-
φριος εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον
Ταορβελλεῖους ἔμβλημ(α)
οικοδομήμενον
μετὰ δαπάνης οὐκ ὀ-

- 15 λίγων κεφαλαίων
 ἀργυρικῶν ἀϑάδως
 κατέσπασεν ἀπὸ μέρους,
 ἐξ οὗ κινδυνεύει τῷ
 ὄλῳ ἐξαρθῆνα[ι] καὶ
- 20 τὰ ὑποκείμενα τούτῳ
 ἐδάφη οὐκ ὀλίγα εἰς
 ἄσπορον ἐκτραπῆν[α]ι.
 διὸ ἀξιῶ διαλαβεῖν
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέρους.
- 25 εὐτύχ(ει).

23. 1. ἀξιῶ

‘To Euandros son of Ptolemaios, priest of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, from Penneis son of Inaroy, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. On the 17th of the current month of Neos Sebastos in the 20th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Onnophris son of Onnophris, having attacked the *emblēma* called Taorbelleious, which was built with the expenditure of no small sums of money, selfishly (?) pulled it partially down, as a result of which there is a risk of the whole thing falling apart, and of the numerous fields downstream of it being left unsown. Therefore I ask you to take charge of the situation.’

P.Ryl. II 134, petition (2-25 April 34 CE)

- Γαίῳ Ἐρρίῳ Πρεῖσκῳ
 ἐπιστάτῃ φυλακειτῶν
 παρὰ Ἀγχορί[μ]φ[ι]ος
 τοῦ Ἀγχορίμφιος
- 5 τῶν ἀπ’ Εὐημερίας
 τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδο(ς)
 γεωργοῦ τῆ[ς] Τιβερίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ οὐσία(ς)
 Γερμανικιανῆς.
- 10 τῆι ς τοῦ ἐνεστῶ(τος)
 μηνὸ(ς) Φαρμο(ῦθι)
 κ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ ἐκλέπη μο(υ)
 ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ὕς
- 15 τοκάς ἐπίτοκος
 πυρρόχρους ἀξία
 (δραχμῶν) ἰβ ὑπό τινων

ληστρικῶι τρόπ(ω).
διὸ ἀξιῶι γράψαι
20 ἀναζητῆσαι ὑπὲρ
τοῦ μέρους.
εὐτύχ(ει).

2. 1. φυλακιτῶν 19. 1. ἀξιῶ

‘To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Anchorimphis son of Anchorimphis from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*, farmer on the estate of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, formerly the property of Germanicus. On the 6th of the current month of Pharmouthi in the 20th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, a reddish coloured brood-sow, about to litter and worth 12 drachmas, was stolen from me by some people acting like bandits. Therefore I ask that you write to somebody to investigate the matter. Farewell.’

P.Ryl. II 135, petition (after 17 April 34 CE)

Λυσανία στρατηγοὶ Ἀρσινοεΐτου
παρὰ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ
Ἴρηναίου. τῇ νυκτὶ φερούση
εἰς τὴν κβ τοῦ Φαρμοῦθι τοῦ
5 ἐνεστοτος κ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ ἐπιβαλόντος τινὸς
λιστρικο τρόπο εἰς ἅς γεορ-
γο περεὶ Εὐημέριαν τῆς Θεμίσ-
του μερίτος Μάρκου Ἀπωνίου
10 Σατυρνίου <ἀρούρας> χόρτου ἦραν
διὰ ὄνον χόρτου δέσμας
τριάκον<τ>α ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν δύο.
διὸ δίδωμαι τὸ ὑπόμνημα
ὅπως ἀναζητήσῃ ὁ τῆς
15 κώμης ἀρχήφοδος
καὶ ἀκθῆναι τους αἰ-
δίους ἐπὶ σὲ <πρὸς τὴν δέουσαν ἐπ>έξοδον.
εὐτύχ(ει).

1. 1. στρατηγῶι 5. 1. ἐνεστῶτος 6. 1. ἐπιβαλόντες τινὲς 7. 1. ληστρικῶ 7. 1.
τρόπῳ
7-8. 1. γεωργῶ 8. 1. περὶ 9. 1. μερίδος 11. 1. ὄνων; 1. δέσμας 13. 1. δίδωμι
14. 1. ὅπως 15. 1. ἀρχέφοδος 16. 1. ἀχθῶσι 16-17. 1. οἱ αἴτιοι

‘To Lysanias, *stratēgos* of the Arsinoite nome, from Artemidoros son of Eirenaios. On the night before the 22nd of Pharmouthi in the current 20th year

of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, some people, having broken like bandits into (the arouras) of wheat of Marcus Aponius Saturninus which I farm near Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*, carried off on donkeys thirty bundles of hay from two of the arouras. Therefore I submit this petition so that the *archepodos* of the village will investigate and bring the accused brought before you <for forthcoming> punishment. Farewell.’

P.Ryl. II 136, petition (4 May 34 CE)

Γαίωι Ἐρρίωι Π[ρ]ίσκωι ἐπιστάτῃ φυλ(ακιτῶν)
 παρὰ Πάπου τοῦ Πάπου. τῶι Παχῶν
 μηνὶ τ[ο]ῦ κ (ἔτους) [Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 λογοποιουμένου μου πρὸς Ἀγχερίμ-
 5 φ[ι]γ κα[ῖ] τὴν τούτου γυναῖκα Θεναπύγι-
 ν θυλουρὸν τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐημερίας
 τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος ὑπὲρ ὧν
 ἤροσάν μου ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας λησ-
 τρικο τρόπῳ ποτηρίων κασει-
 10 δερῶν καὶ κελλίβατος καὶ ἄλλων
 σκευῶν καὶ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) ξ ὕβριν μοι συν-
 εστήσαται οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν.
 ἀξιῶι γραφῆνα[ι τ]ῶι τῆς κώμης
 ἀρχεφόδ(ω) καταστήσαι ἐπὶ σὲ
 15 πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέξοδ(ον).
 εὐ(τύ)χ(ει).

(hand 2) ἀρχ(εφόδω)· ἔκπεμψ(ον).

(hand 1) (ἔτους) κ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 Παχῶν θ.

(verso)

20 (hand 2) ἀρχ(εφόδω) Εὐημε(ρίας).

6. 1. θυρουρὸν 8-9. 1. λησ|τρικῶ 9-10. 1. κασει|τερίνων 11-12. 1. συν|εστήσατο
 13. 1. ἀξιῶ

‘To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Papos son of Papos. In the month of Pachon of the 20th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, while I was talking to Anchorimphis the porter from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris* and his wife Senephonychis about the tin cups, table, other utensils, and 60 silver drachmas which they had stolen from my house like bandits, he had a go at me with extraordinary violence. I ask you to write to the *archepodos* of the village to cause them to appear before you with a view to

forthcoming punishment. Farewell. (hand 2) To the *archepodos*: send them up. (hand 1) Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pachon 9.

(verso) (hand 2) To the *archepodos* of Euhemeria.’

P.Ryl. II 137, petition (27 May-24 June 34 CE)

Γαίωι Ἐρρίωι Πρέισκωι
ἐπιστάτη φυλακειτῶ(ν)
παρὰ Σ. [. . .] . . . αριο()
τοῦ Πα[.] δη-]
5 μοσίου γεωργ[οῦ τῶν]
ἀπ’ Εὐημερίας τῆς
Θεμίσ[του] μερίδος.
τῆ α τοῦ ἐνεστῶ(τος)
μηνὸς Παῦνι τοῦ
10 κ (ἔτους) Τιβ[ε]ρίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ ἐκλέπη
μου ὑπ[ό τ]ινων λησ-
τρικῶ τρόπῳ πυρί-
νων δραγμάτων
15 γόμοι δ[ύ]ο ἀφ’ ὧν ἔχω
ἐν οἷς γεωργῶ περὶ τῆ(ν)
κώμη[ν] δημοσίοις
ἐδάφεσ[ι] πρὸς τῶ
ἐποικίῳ Ληνοῦ λεγο-
20 μένω. διὸ ἀξιῶ γρά-
ψαι ἀν[α]ζητῆσαι
ὑπὲρ το[ῦ μ]έρους.
εὐτύχει.

2. 1. φυλακιτῶ(ν)

‘To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from S- son of Pa-, public farmer, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. On the 1st of the current month of Pauni in the 20th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, two loads of wheat sheaves from those that I keep on the public lands which I farm near the village, on the way to the *epoikion* called Lenou, were stolen from me by some people acting like bandits. Therefore I ask you to write to somebody to investigate the matter. Farewell.’

P.Ryl. II 138, petition (16 July 34 CE)

- Γαίωι Ἐρρίωι Πρίσκω ἐπιστάτῃ
φυλακῖτων παρὰ Σώτου
τοῦ Μάρωνος τοῦ προεστῶ-
τος τῶν {τῶν} Τιβ[ε]ρίου καὶ Λιβίας
5 Δρούσου Καίσαρος τέκνων.
Ὅρσενούφῖς Ἡρακλήου καὶ Ἡρα-
κλῆς Πτόλλιδο[ς] ἐπαφέντος
τὰ ἐατῶν πρόβατα εἰς τὰ
νεόφυτα τῶν ἐλαιῶνων
10 τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας ἐν τῷ
Δρομί <κατενέμησαν> φυτὰ ἐλάινα δια-
κόσια ἐν τοῖς πρότερον
Φαλκιδίου, χωρὶς δὲ τού-
του κατέλαβα τοῦτον
15 διὰ νυκτὸς ἠλμένον
ἐξ ὑπερβατῶν εἰς τῷ
τῆς οὐσίας ἐποίκιον Δρο-
μῆως λεγόμενον καὶ
ἐσύλησέν μου ἐν τῷ
20 πύργωι ἱκανὰ ἀργαλε<ῖ>α,
ἄμας ε, χωρτοκοπικὰ
ς, ἐρίων σταθμία ιε
καὶ ἕτερα σκεύη, καὶ ἀργυ-
ρίου (δραχμὰς) σ ἅς ἴχον ἐν τῷ
25 ἐποικίωι εἰς ἀγορασμὸν
\γενῶν/. διὸ ἀξιῶι ἀκθῆναι
τὸν ἐγκαλούμενον ἐπὶ σὲ
ἵνα τύχωι τῶν δικαίων.
εὐτύχ(ει).
30 (ἔτους) κ Τιβερίου Καίσαρο(ς) Σεβαστοῦ
Ἐπ<ε>ἰφ κβ.

7. 1. ἐπαφέντες 8. 1. ἐαυτῶν 9. 1. νεόφυτα 11-12. 1. δια|κόσια 16. 1. τὸ
18. 1. λεγόμενον 21. 1. χωρτοκοπικὰ 24. 1. εἶχον 25. 1. ἀγορασμὸν 26. 1.
ἀξιῶ; 1. ἀκθῆναι 28. 1. τύχω

‘To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Sotas son of Maron, manager of the (estates) of Tiberius [i.e. the emperor Claudius] and of the children of Livia Drusi [i.e. Livilla]. Orsenouphis son of Herakleios and

Herakles son of Ptollis, having let loose their sheep onto the newly-planted parts of the olive-groves on the same estate, (grazed down) two hundred young olive-trees in the Dromeos *epoikion*, formerly the property of Falcidius. In addition, I caught (Orsenouphis?) having leapt by night from a point of access into the *epoikion* called Dromeos of the estate and attempting to steal certain tools of mine that were in the tower, (namely) 5 rakes, 6 sickles, 15 measures of wool, and other equipment, as well as 200 silver drachmas which I was keeping at the *epoikion* for the purchase of crops. Therefore I ask that the accused be brought before you, so that I may obtain justice. Farewell. Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Epeiph 22.'

P.Ryl. II 139, petition (after 23 July 34 CE)

Γαίωι Ἀρρείωι Πρίσκωι
ἐπιστάτηι φυλακῶν
παρὰ Ὀρίωνος τοῦ Σουχίωινος
τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐημερείας τῆς Θεμισ-
5 του μερείδος. τῆι κε τοῦ Ἐπειφ
τοῦ ἐνεσ{σ}τῶιτος κ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ τὴν ἐπίσ-
κεψιν ποιουμένου οὗ εἶχον
σεννίου καὶ ψυγμοῦ πρὸς
10 τῆι Ληνῶι λεγονένη εὗρον
τὸν μὲν ψυγμὸν συνεψημένον
καὶ τὸ σέννιον κεκοσκεινευ-
μένον καὶ ἡρμένα εἰς λόγον
15 πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν ἕξ. ὑπο-
νοῶι οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτω γεγονέ-
ναι ὑπὸ τῶν καταγινομένων
ἐν τῆι Ληνῶι λεγομένη. διὸ
ἀξιῶι γράψαι τῶι τῆς κώιμης
ἀρχεφώδω ὅπως τὴν ἀ-
20 ναζήτησιν ποιήσῃται
καὶ τοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτο δια-
πράξαντες ἀχθῆναι ἐπὶ
σὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέ-
ξοδον. (hand 2) εὐτύχ(ει).
25 Ὀρίων Σουχίωινος ἐπιδέδω-
κα τὸ προκίμεινον ὀπόμνη-
μα. (ἔτους) κ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπιπ κθ.

5. 1. μερίδος 6. 1. ἐνεστῶτος 10. 1. λεγομένη 12-13. 1. κεκοσκινευ|μένον 14-
 15. 1. ὑπο|νοῶ 15. 1. τοιοῦτο 18. 1. ἀξιῶ; 1. κόμης 26. 1. προκείμενον 26-
 27. 1. ὑπόμνη|μα 28. 1. Ἐπεῖφ

‘To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Horion son of Souchion, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. On the 25th of Epeiph in the current 20th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, while I was making an inspection of the winnowing space and drying-floor which I have near the place called Lenos, I found that the drying-floor had been swept out and the winnowing space sifted, and (crops) stolen to the amount of six artabas of wheat. I suspect that this sort of thing could only have been done by the people living in the place called Lenos. Therefore I ask you to write to the *archephodos* of the village, so that he may make an investigation, and those who did this thing may be brought before you with a view to forthcoming punishment. (hand 2) Farewell. I, Horion son of Souchion, have submitted the preceding petition. Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Epeiph 29.’

P.Ryl. II 140, petition (15-26 November 36 CE)

[Γ]αίωι Ἐρρίωι Πρεῖσκωι
 ἐπιστάτῃ φυλακειτῶν
 παρὰ Αὐνήου[ς] τ[οῦ Ἄν-]
 χορίμφιος τῶν ἀ[π'] Εὐη-
 5 μερίας δημοσίου γεωργ[οῦ]
 γεωργοῦντος δέ μου καὶ
 οὐσίας Ἀντωνίας Δρούσου.
 τῆ ἡ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ[ος] μην(ὸς)
 Νέου Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ κγ (ἔτους)
 10 Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 ἐκλέπη μου δέλφαξ
 πυρρόχρους ἄξιο(ς) (δραχμῶν) ἡ
 ὑπό τινων ληστροικῶι
 τρόπῳ ἐπὶ τῆς θύ-
 15 ρας μου. δι<ὸ> ἀξιῶ γράψαι
 ἀναζητῆσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μέρους. εὐτύχ(ει).
 Αὐνή(ς) (ἐτῶν) λε, οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντίχ(ειρι) ἀρι(στερῶ).

2. 1. φυλακειτῶν

‘To Gaius Errius Priscus, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Aunes son of Anchorimphis, from Euhemeria, a public farmer, working my own land as well as the estate of Antonia wife of Drusus. On the 18th of the current month of Neos Sebastos in the 23rd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, a reddish-

coloured pig worth 8 drachmas was stolen from me by some people acting like bandits on my own doorstep. Therefore I ask (you) to order (somebody) to investigate the matter. Farewell. Aunes, 35 years old, with a scar on his left thumb.'

P.Ryl. II 141, petition (28 April-25 May 37 CE)

Γαίωι Τρέβιωι Ἰούστωι
ἐκατοντάρχη
παρὰ Πετερμούθιος τοῦ
Ἡρακλήου τῶν ἀπ' Εὐημε-
5 ρίας δημοσίου γεωργοῦ
καὶ πράκτορος δημοσίων
γεωργοῦντος δὲ καὶ Ἀγτωνίας
Δρούσου. τῆι β τοῦ ἐν-
εστῶτος μηνὸς Παχῶν
10 τοῦ α (ἔτους) Γαίου Καίσαρος
Αὐτοκράτορος λογοποι-
ουμένου πρὸς Παπον-
τῶν Ὀρσενούφιου καὶ Ἀπί-
ωνα λεγόμενον Καπαρεῖν
15 ποιμένας ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀφεί-
λουσί μου βλάβους κατα-
νεμήσεως διὰ τῶν ἐατῶν
προβάτων ἔδωκάν μοι
πληγὰς πλείους ἀναιδευ-
20 ὅμενοι μὴ ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ
ἀπώλεσα ἃς εἶχον ἀπὸ τιμ(ῆς)
ὀπίου ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμᾶς) μ καὶ ζώνην.
διὸ ἀξιῶι ἀντιλήψεως
τυχεῖν ἴν<α> μηδὲν τῶν
25 δημοσίων διαπέσει.
εὐτ[ύ]χ(ει).

16. 1. μοι 17. 1. ἐαυτῶν 20. 1. ἀποδοῦναι 23. 1. ἀξιῶ; 1. ἀντιλήψεως

'To Gaius Trebius Iustus, centurion, from Petermouthis son of Herakleios from Euhemeria, a public farmer and collector of public taxes, as well as a farmer (on the estate) of Antonia wife of Drusus. On the 2nd of the current month of Pachon in the 1st year of Gaius Caesar Imperator, when I was arguing with the shepherds Papontos son of Orsenouphis and Apion, also known as Kapparis, about what they owe me as damages for grazing by their sheep, they gave me many blows, were shameless enough not to pay, and I

lost 40 drachmas which I had on me from the sale of opium and my money belt. Therefore I ask to obtain your assistance, so that none of the public revenues may come up short. Farewell.'

P.Ryl. II 142, petition (15-28 August 37 CE)

Αθηνοδώρωι ἐπιστάτη
φυλακειτῶν
παρὰ Ἡρακλήου τοῦ Πνε-
φερῶτος π[ρ]οσ[ο]δικ[ο]ῦ
5 γεωργοῦ τῶν ἀ[π'] Εὐη-
μερίας. νυκτὶ τῆ φερο(ύ)-
ση εἰς τὴν κβ τοῦ ἐνε(σ)-
τῶτο(ς) μην[ὸ(ς)] Μεσορῆ
τοῦ α (ἔτους) Γαί[ο]υ Καίσαρος
10 Σεβαστο[ῦ] Γερμανικοῦ
ἐπιβαλόντες τινὲς
ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ εἰς
ὄν ἔχω ἐν οἷς γεωργ(ῶ)
ἐπὶ τοῦ α γύου προσ-
15 οδικοῖς ἐδάφεσι χόρ-
τον τεθηκοποιημένο(ν)
εἰς τὸν λόγον τοῦ
νομάρχου ἰδιοσπορία
δημόσιον, ἤροσαν
20 διὰ ὄνων εἰς λόγο(ν)
δεσχῶ(ν) ἑξακοσίων .
διὸ ἀξιῶ γράψαι τῶ
τῆς κώμη(ς) ἀρχεφόδ(φ)
ἀναζητῆσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ
25 μέρους.
εὐτύχ(ει).

(hand 2) Ἡρακλῆς Πνεφερῶτος
ἐπειδέτωκα τὸ προκειμ-
ενον ὑπόμνημα.

2. 1. φυλακιτῶν 16. 1. τεθηκοποιημένο(ν) 21. 1. δεσμῶν 28. 1. ἐπιδέδωκα
28. 1. τὸ 28-9. 1. προκειμ|ενον 29. 1. ὑπόμνημα

'To Athenodoros, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Herakleios son of Pnepheros, revenue farmer from Euhemeria. On the night before the 22nd of the current month of Mesore in the 1st year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, some people, having fallen like bandits upon the (store of) wheat which I keep on

the revenue fields which I farm in the 1st plot – and which I had set aside by my own labour for the public account of the nomarch – carried off on donkeys the equivalent of six hundred bundles. Therefore I ask you to order the *archephodos* of the village to investigate the matter. Farewell. (hand 2) I, Herakleios son of Pnepheros, have submitted the preceding petition.’

P.Ryl. II 143, petition (after 25 April 38 CE)

Διδύμω Ἱέρακος Ἀλθαιεῖ
τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσειῶι σειτου-
μένων φιλοσόφων ἀτελῶν
στρατηγῶι
5 παρὰ Ἡρακλᾶ τοῦ Διοδώρο(υ)
δημοσίου γεωργοῦ τῶν
ἀπ’ Εὐημερίας τῆς Θεμίστο(υ)
μερίδος. ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαρμο(ῦθι)
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο(ς) β (ἔτους) Γαίου
10 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικο(ῦ)
Σερᾶς Παήους προβατοκτη-
νοτρόφος ἐπαφεις τὰ ἑατοῦ
πρόβατα εἰς ἅ γεωργῶ
περὶ τὴν κώμην δημό-
15 σια ἐδάφη ἐπὶ τοῦ ζ γύου
κατενέμησέν μου ἄρακο-
σπέρμου ἀρούρα(ς) β, ἐξ οὔ
βλάβος μοι ἐπηκλούθησε(ν)
εἰς λόγον (ἀρταβῶν) κ. διὸ ἀξιῶι
20 γράψαι ἀκθῆναι τὸν ἐν-
καλούμενον ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς
τὴν δέουσαν ἐπέξοδ(ον).
εὐτύχ(ει).

2-3. 1. σιτου|μένων 12. 1. ἑαυτοῦ 18. 1. ἐπηκολούθησε(ν) 19. 1. ἀξιῶ 20. 1.
ἀκθῆναι 20-1. 1. ἐγ|καλούμενον

‘To Didymos son of Hierax, Althaiian, one of the philosophers maintained tax-free in the Museum, and *stratēgos*, from Heraklas son of Diodoros, public farmer from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. Ever since Pharmouthi of the current 2nd year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the herdsman Seras son of Paes has been letting his sheep loose on the public fields which I farm near the village on the 7th plot, and has grazed down 2 arouras of chickling-seed of mine, as a result of which I have incurred

damage to the amount of 20 artabas. Therefore I ask you to write that the accused be brought before you for the necessary punishment. Farewell.'

P.Ryl. II 144, petition (28 May-24 June 38 CE)

Αθηνοδώρωι ἐπιστάτῃ
φυλακειτῶν
παρὰ Ἰσίωνος δούλου Χ[α]ι-
ρήμονος ἐξηγητοῦ. τῆ
5 Σεβαστῆ β τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο(ς)
μηνὸς Παῦνι τοῦ β (ἔτους) Γαίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανι[κ]ο(ῦ)
παραγενομένου μου εἰς Εὐη-
μέρειαν τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδ(ος)
10 περὶ μετεώρων ἐλ[ογ]οπο-
ήσαμην πρὸς Ὀννώφριν
Σίλβωνος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
κώμης ὑπὲρ οὗ ἔχω πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐνεχύρου, ὃς δὲ
15 ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἄλογον
ἀηδίαν μοι ἐπιχειρήσας
παρεχρήσατό μοι πολλὰ καὶ
ἄσχημα καὶ ἐνειλούμενός
μοι ἀπώλεσα πινακείδα
20 καὶ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) ξ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐτόλ-
μησεν πθονους μοι ἐπα-
γαγεῖν αἰτίας τοῦ μὴ ὄν-
τος. διὸ ἀξιῶ γράψαι ἀκθῆ-
ναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς
25 τὴν δέουσαν ἐπέξοδον.
εὐτύχ(ει).

2. 1. φυλακειτῶν 10-11. 1. ἐλογοποι|ήσαμην 19. 1. πινακίδα 21. 1. φθόνου (?)
23-4. 1. ἀχθῆ|ναι

'To Athenodoros, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Ision, slave of Chairemon the *exēgētēs*. On the 2nd of the current month of Pauni, a *dies Augusta*, in the 2nd year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, having gone to Euhemeria of the Themistou *meris* about some unfinished business, I got into an argument with Onnophris son of Silbon from the village, regarding the pledge which I took from him. But, squaring up to me, he turned on me with some unprovoked unpleasantness, and abused me with many nasty words. After he grabbed hold of me, I lost my writing tablet and 60 silver drachmas, but still he dared

to bring charges of malice against me, which was not the case at all. Therefore I ask you to write that (Onnophris) be brought before you for the necessary punishment. Farewell.'

P.Ryl. II 145, petition (29 December 38 CE)

Ἀθηνοδώρωι ἐπιστά(τη) φυλ(ακιτῶν)
παρὰ Δ[ι]κτᾶτος τοῦ προ-
εστῶτος τῆς Θέωνος
τοῦ Θέωνος προσόδου.
5 Χαιρήμων Μ[ο]σχᾶτος
[γεν]άμενος ζυτοποιὸς
τῆς κτήσεως πλεί-
στας ὕβ[ρει]ς τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ
συντελῶν ἔτι καὶ
10 μὴ ἀρκ[εσ]θεις συνλαβῶν
Ἀρτεμίδωρον ὄντα μου
ζυτοποιὸν ἔδωκεν
πληγὰς πλείους εἰς
πᾶν μέρος τοῦ σώματος
15 καὶ ἀφήρπασεν παρ' αὐτοῦ
ὄνον θήλειαν καὶ σάκκο(ν)
πλήρη κνήκωι καὶ ἀρ-
γυ(ρίου) μ καὶ ἱμάτια. ἀξιῶ γράφ(ειν)
τῷ τῆς Ταυρίνου ἀρχ(εφόδω) οὗ καὶ κα(ταγίνονται)
20 ἐκπέμψ(αι) τοὺς ἐγκαλ(οιμένους). εὐτ(ύχει).

(hand 2) ἀρχ(εφόδω)· ἐκπεμψο(ν),
Τῦβ(ι) γ
(ἔτους) γ Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμαγικοῦ.

(verso)

ἀρχ(εφόδω) Ταυρεῖ(νου).

10. 1. συλλαβῶν 17. 1. πλήρη 17. 1. κνήκου 20. 1. ἐγκαλ(οιμένους)

'To Athenodoros, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Diktas, manager of the estate of Theon son of Theon. Chairemon son of Moschas, formerly the estate's brewer, not content with his many acts of aggression towards my people, grabbed Artemidoros, my (current) brewer, gave him many blows on every part of his body, and snatched from him a female donkey and a sack full of safflower, as well as 40 silver drachmas and some cloaks. I ask you to write to the *archephodos* of Taurinou, where they live, to send up the accused.

Farewell. (hand 2) To the *archepodos*: send them up. Tybi 3, year 3 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus.

(verso) To the *archepodos* of Taurinou.’

P.Ryl. II 146, petition (10-25 April 39 CE)

Αθηνοδώρωι ἐπιστάτη
φυλακειτῶν
παρὰ Τεσενούφιου τοῦ Πε-
τερμούθιου τῶν καταγεινο-
5 μένων ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐήμερεια(ν)
ἐποικίωι λεγομένῳ Ἀμμίνωι
Θερμουθαρίου τῆς Λυκαρίωνο(ς).
τῆι ἰδ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸ(ς)
Φαρμούθι τοῦ γ (ἔτους) Γαίου Καίσαρος
10 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ἐπι-
βαλόντες τινὲς ληστροικῶι
τρόπῳ εἰς ὃν καταγείνομαι
οἶκον ἐν τῷ προκειμένωι
ἐποικίωι ἐξετόπισάν μου
15 ἐρίων σταθμία δέκα λευ-
κῶν καὶ κρόκης ὁμοίως
σταθμία πέντε καὶ στή-
μονος σταθμία δύο · καθυ-
πονοῶ δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐποι-
20 κίῳ καταγεινομένους.
διὸ ἀξιῶ γράψαι ἀναζη-
τῆσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέρους
πρὸς τὴν δέ/ουσαν ἐπέξοδ(ον).
εὐτύχ(ει).
25 Τεσενούφ(ις) ὡς (ἐτῶν) κη ο(ὐλή) κνήμη ἄρισ(τερᾶ).

2. 1. φυλακιτῶν

‘To Athenodoros, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Tesenouphis son of Petermouthis, one of the residents of the *epoikion* called Amminon near Euhemeria, the property of Thermoutharion daughter of Lykarion. On the 14th of the current month of Pharmouthi in the 3rd year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, some people, having broken like bandits into the house in which I live in the aforementioned *epoikion*, removed ten measures of my white wool, the same having a woof of five measures and a warp of two measures. I suspect the residents of the *epoikion*. Therefore I ask you to write to somebody to investigate the matter, with a view to the necessary

punishment. Farewell. Tesenouphis, about 28 years old, with a scar on his left shin.'

P.Ryl. II 147, petition (27 May-24 June 39 CE)

Γαίωι Ἰουλίῳ Φόλῳ ἐπιστ(άτη)
φυλακειτῶν
παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
Διδύμου νομογράφου
5 Εὐημερείας τῆς Θεμίστου
μερίδος. τῆ α τοῦ ἐνεσ-
τῶτος μηνὸς Παῦνι
τοῦ γ (ἔτους) Γαίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
10 ἐπιβαλόντες Δάρης
Πτολεμαίου καὶ Σεραῖς
Παήους καὶ Ὀρσεῦς Ἡρα-
κλήου λεγόμενος Φέλκις
ποιμένες εἰς τὸν ὑπάρ-
15 χοντά μοι περὶ τὴν
κώμην κληῖρον ἐν τῷ
λιβὶ μέρει ἐπαφεῖκαν
τὰ ἐατῶν πρόβατα
καὶ κατενέμησαν ἀπὸ
20 τῆς ἐν σπόρῳ κρειθῆς
καὶ δραγμάτων εἰς
λόγον κρειθῆς (ἀρταβῶν) ἰβ.
διὸ ἀξιῶ γράψαι
ἀκθῆναι τοὺς ἐγκαλο(υμένους)
25 ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν δέουσ(αν)
ἐπέξοδον.
εὐτύχ(ει).

2. 1. φυλακιτῶν 18. 1. ἐαυτῶν 20. 1. κριθῆς 22. 1. κριθῆς 24. 1. ἀκθῆναι; 1.
ἐγκαλο(υμένους)

'To Gaius Iulius Pholos, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Ptolemaios son of Didymos, *nomographos* of Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. On the 1st of the current month of Pauni in the 3rd year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the shepherds Dares son of Ptolemaios, Seras son of Paes, and Orseus son of Herakleios, also known as Phelkis, having broken into the plot belonging to me near the village on the western side, let their sheep loose and grazed down my newly-planted barley and sheaves of barley, to the amount

of 12 artabas. Therefore I ask you to order the accused to be brought before you for the necessary punishment. Farewell.'

P.Ryl. II 148, petition (14 May 40 CE)

Γαίωι Ἰουλίωι Φόλωι
ἐπιστάτηι φυλακειτῶν
παρὰ Χαιρήμωνος τοῦ
Ἀκουσιλάου τοῦ προεσ-
5 τῶτος τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος
Αὐτοκράτορος Σεβαστοῦ
οὐσίας καὶ τῆς Τιβερίου
Κλαυδίου Γερμανικοῦ
οὐσίας τῶν περὶ Εὐημέρια(ν)
10 τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος.
νυκτὶ τῆι φερούσ<η>ι εἰς τὴν
ἡ τοῦ Παχῶν τοῦ ἐνεσ-
τῶτος δ (ἔτους) Γαίου
Καίσαρος Αὐτοκράτορος
15 Σεβαστοῦ ἐπιβαλόντες
τινὲς ληστικῶι
τρόπωι χρησάμενοι
εἰ<ς> ἦν ἔχωι θήκην
ἀνήσου ἐν τοῖς κατοικικ(οῖς)
20 ἐδάφε(σι) ἐράβδισαν γόμους
κ, ὡς εἰς λόγο(ν) ἀνή(σου) (ἄρταβῶν) ι,
ὥστε μοι οὐκ ὀλίγου
βλάβους ἐπηκλουθηκότος.
διὸ ἀξιῶι γράψαι τῶι
25 τῆς κόμη(ς) ἀρχεφόδωι
ὅπως τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων
ἀναζήτησιν ποιήσῃται
καὶ ἐκπέμψῃ σοι τοὺς αἰτίους.
εὐτύχει.
30 Χαιρήμων Ἀκουσιλάου
ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ προκί-
μενον ὑπόμνημα.
(ἔτους) δ Γαίου Καίσαρος Αὐτοκράτ(ορος)
Σεβαστοῦ Παχῶ(ν) ιθ.

2. 1. φυλακितῶν 18. 1. ἔχω 23. 1. ἐπηκολουθηκότος 24. 1. ἀξιῶ 27. 1. ποιήσῃται

‘To Gaius Iulius Pholos, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Chairemon son of Akousilaos, manager of the estate of Gaius Caesar Emperor Augustus and the estate of Tiberius Claudius Germanicus, both near Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. On the night before the 18th of Pachon of the current 4th year of Gaius Caesar Emperor Augustus, some people, having broken like bandits into the store of anise which I have in the catoecic fields, threshed out 20 loads, equivalent to 10 artabas of anise, so that no small damage has been done to me. Therefore I ask you to write to the *archepodos* of the village so that he will make an investigation of the matter and send those responsible up to you. Farewell. I, Chairemon son of Akousilaos, have submitted the preceding petition. Year 4 of Gaius Caesar Emperor Augustus, Pachon 19.’

P.Ryl. II 149, petition (29 September-28 October 39 CE)

Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ ἀρχιερεῖ Γαίωι
 Ἰουλίωι Ἀσκλαῖ ἐξηγη(τῆ)
 καὶ στρατηγῶι
 5 παρὰ Πεθεῦτος πρεσ-
 βυτέρου τοῦ Πεναῦτος
 δημοσίου γεωργοῦ
 τῶν ἀπὸ Εὐημερείας
 τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος.
 10 τῶι Σωτῆρι μηνὶ τοῦ
 ἐνεστῶτος δ (ἔτους) Γαίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ ἐπαφέντες
 τὰ ἐαυτῶν πρόβατα
 15 Ἡρᾶς Ἀπύγχιος καὶ Ὀρσεῦς
 Ἡρᾶτος καὶ Ὀρσενοῦφισ
 Ὀννώφρις καὶ Ὡφελίων
 Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
 κώμης εἰς <ᾶ> γεωργῶι δημό(σια)
 20 {δημόσια} ἐδάφηι κατενέ-
 μησαν ἀφ’ οὔ εἶχον λαχανοσπ(έρμου)
 σκυβάλου εἰς λόγον (ἀρταβῶν) ε.
 ἀξιῶι καταστ(ῆσαι) αὐτο(ύς) ἐπὶ σὲ
 πρὸς τὴν ἐσομ(ένην) ἐπέξοδον.
 25 εὐ(τύ)χ(ει).

19. 1. γεωργῶ 20. 1. ἐδάφη 23. 1. ἀξιῶ

‘To Gaius Iulius Asklas, high priest of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, *exēgētēs*, and *stratēgos*, from Petheus, *presbyteros* of Penaus and public farmer, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. In the month of Soter of the current 4th year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Heras son of Ephonychos, Orseus son of Heras, Orsenouphis son of Onnophris, and Ophelion son of Apollonios, all from the village, having let their sheep loose in the public fields which I farm, fed them from the husks of the vegetable seed crop which I had, to the amount of 5 artabas. I ask that they be summoned before you with a view to forthcoming punishment. Farewell.’

P.Ryl. II 150, petition (19 October 40 CE)

Γαίωι Ἰουλίω Φόλω ἐπ(ιστάτ)η φυλακितῶ(ν),
 παρὰ Σόφου Μάρκου Σα-
 τορνίλου. Δίκαιος
 Χαιρήμονος τῶν ἀπὸ
 5 Εὐημερείας τῆς
 Θεμίστου μερίδος
 περιγενάμενός με
 ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ὕβρισεν
 οὐ μετρίως καὶ ἑκα-
 10 κολόγησεν πολλὰ καὶ
 ἀ[σ]χήμονα καὶ ἐν τῇ
 ἐμπλοκῇ ἀπώλοντό μο(υ)
 ἀργ(υρίου) μ. ἀξ(ιῶ) γράψ(αι)
 τῶ τῆς κώμ(ης) ἀρχ(εφόδω) κερ() . . α() . .
 15 μηδὲν . . . χ() . . () μ.
 (hand 2) ἀρχ(εφόδω)· ἔκπεμψ(ον).
 (ἔτους) ε Γαίου Καίσαρος Αὐτοκράτορος
 Σεβαστοῦ μη(νός) Σωτῆ(ρος) κβ.

(verso)

ἀρχ(εφόδω) Εὐη(μερίας).

‘To Gaius Iulius Pholos, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Sophos, (slave?) of Marcus [Aponius] Saturninus. Dikaios son of Chairemon, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*, having cornered me in the village, insulted me terribly and said many abusive and horrible things to me, and in the scuffle 40 silver (drachmas) of mine went missing. I ask you to write to the *archephodos* of the village ... [papyrus is fragmentary] (hand 2) To the *archephodos*: send them up. Year 5 of Gaius Caesar Imperator Augustus, 22nd of the month Soter.

(verso) To the *archepodos* of Euhemeria.’

P.Ryl. II 151, petition (17 October 40 CE)

Γαίωι Ἰο[υλίωι Φό]λωι ἐπισ(τάτηι) φυλ(ακιτῶν)
παρὰ Ἡρακλήου τοῦ
Πετερμούθιος τῶν ἀπὸ
Εὐημερεία[ς] τῆ[ς] Θεμίστου]
5 μερίδος. Ἡραῖς γυνὴ
Ἡρακλᾶτος τοῦ Π[. . .]. . .
τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης
εἰσελθῶν εἰς τὴν ὑ[πά]ρχο(υσαν)
ἐν τῇ κώμῃ οἰκ[ίαν]
10 καὶ συνλαβῶν τὴν θυ-
γατέρα μ[ο]υ ἔδ[ωκ]εν
πληγὰς π[λ]είους εἰς πᾶν
μέρος καὶ περιέ[σ]χι-
σεν χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν
15 καὶ ἀπηνέγκατο ἀφ’ ὧν
χειρίζω τοῦ γυμνα[σ]ιάρχ(ου)
ἀργυ(ρίου) ρ. διὸ γρ(άψον) ἀρχ(εφόδω) κ[ε]ρ. α
δεξα().

(hand 2) ἀρχ(εφόδω)· ἔκπεμψον.

20 (ἔτους) ε Γαίου Καίσαρ[ος Α]ὐτοκράτ[ορ]ος Σεβαστ[ο(ῦ)]
Σωτῆ[ρ]ος κ Σεβαστῆ[ς].

(verso)

ἀρχ(εφόδω) Εὐ[ημ(ερείας)].

8. 1. εἰσελθοῦσα 10. 1. συλλαβοῦσα 16. 1. χειρίζω

‘To Gaius Iulius Pholos, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Herakleios son of Petermouthis, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. Herais, the wife of Heraklas son of P- from the village, came into the house belonging to me in the village and, after grabbing hold of my daughter, gave her many blows on every part (of her body), tore off her purple tunic, and carried off 100 silver (drachmas) from the funds of the gymnasiarch, which I administer. Therefore write to the *archepodos* ... (hand 2) To the *archepodos*: send them up. Year 5 of Gaius Caesar Imperator Augustus, Soter 20, a *dies Augusta*.

(verso) To the *archepodos* of Euhemeria.’

P.Ryl. II 152, petition (4 April 42 CE)

Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίω Φιλοξέ(νω)
στρατηγῶι καὶ ἐπιστά(τη) φυλ(ακιτῶν)
παρὰ Παῆτος κηπουροῦ
Θερμουθαρίου. ἐπαφέντε(ς)
5 οἱ ποιμένες Ὀφελίωνος
καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Παποντῶς
καὶ Ὀφελίων τῶν
ἀπὸ Εὐημερίας τῆς
Θεμίστου μερίδος
10 ἃ ἔχουσι πρόβατα εἰς
ἃς ἔχωι νομάς ἐν ἐλαιῶ(νι)
Θερμουθαρίου τῆς Λυκαρίω(νος)
κατενέμησαν καὶ κατέ-
φαγαν καὶ τοῖς ὄλοις ἠφά-
15 νισαν καὶ βλάβος ἐποίη(σαν)
οὐκ ὀλίγον. ἀξιῶι γρά(ψαι)
τῶ ἀρχεφόδω κόμης· καὶ ἐκρα-
νοκόπησαν πλῖστα φυτ(ά).

(hand 2) ἀρχε(φόδω)· ἔκπεμψο(ν).
20 (ἔτους) β Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος Φαρμο(ῦθι) θ.

(verso)

ἀρχ(εφόδω) Εὐημ(ερίας).

11. 1. ἔχω 16. 1. ἀξιῶ 18. 1. πλεῖστα

‘To Tiberius Claudius Philoxenos, *stratēgos* and *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Paes, gardener of Thermoutharion. The shepherds Ophelion and his sons Papontos and Ophelion – all from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris* – having let loose their sheep into the pasture which I have in the olive-grove of Thermoutharion daughter of Lykarion, grazed down, gobbled up and destroyed the entire thing, and did considerable damage. I ask you to write to the *archepodos* of the village ... and they cut the heads off many young plants! (hand 2) To the *archepodos*: send them up. Year 2 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Pharmouthi 9.

(verso) To the *archepodos* of Euhemeria.'

P.Ryl. II 166, application to lease land (1 December 26 CE)

[= C.Pap.Jud. II 420a]

- Γαίωι Ἰουλίωι Ἀμαράντωι
[π]αρά Ὀρσενούφιος πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου τῶν
ἀπὸ Εὐημερίας τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος. βούλομαι
μισθώσασθαι εἰς ἔτη ἕξ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
5 τ[ρ]ισκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
[ἀ]πὸ τ[ῶ]ν ὑπαρχόντων Γαίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου
. . . σβ. . . .ς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην ἐδαφῶν
[κλ]ῆρον ἀρούρας τρεῖς ἐπεὶ τοῦ πέμπτου γούου ὧν
γείτονες νότου Εὐάνδρου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐδά-
10 φη βορ<ρ>ᾶ δημοσίας λιβὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐάνδρου
ἐδάφη ἀπηλιώτου γύης δημοσίς ἀνὰ μέσον
οὔσης δ[ι]ώρυγος, ἐφ' ᾧ τελέσω ἐκφόριον καθ' ἔτος
ἐκάστη[ς] ἀρο[ύρης] σὺν ἧ λήμψομαι σπερμάτω(ν)
πυροῦ δρ[ό]μου ἀρτάβην μίαν πυροῦ ἀρτάβας
15 ἕξ ἡμίσειαν μέτρῳ δρόμῳ τῷ πρὸς τριάκον-
τα τρεῖς ἕκτον χαλκῶ ἔπαιτον καὶ προσμετρού-
[με]να ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν ἀρτάβα[ι]ς ἀρτάβας δύο
[κ]αὶ το[ῦ] παντὸς καθ' ἔτος θαλλὸν ἀρτάβην μίαν καὶ
ἀλέκτορα ἓνα. τὰ δὲ γεωργ[ι]κὰ ἔργα πάντα ἄ[ξ]ω
20 καὶ ἐπιτελέσω καθ' ἔτ[ος], τὰ δὲ καθ' ἔτος ἐκφόρια
ἀποδώσω ἀεὶ τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ ἐν τῇ κώ-
μῃ νέα καθαλὰ τῆς μετρήσεως γεινομέ-
νης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐκ δικαίου, καὶ πάντα ποιήσω
καὶ τελέσω ἀκλούθως τοῖς ἕως τοῦ δω-
25 δεκάτου ἔτους [Τ]ι[β]ερί[ο]υ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
τ[ε]τελεσμένοις, καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παρα-
δώσω τὸν κ[λ]ῆρον καθα[ρ]ὸν ἀπὸ χέρσου
ἀγρώστεως δίσης πάσης, ἐὰν φαίνεται
[ἐ]πὶ τούτοις μισθώσασθαι. εὐτύχει.
- 30 (hand 2) Γαίος Ἰούλιος Ἀμαρ[ά]ντου συνχωρῶ ἐπὶ τοῖς
προκειμένοις. (ἔτους) ιγ [Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Χοίακ ε.

6. I. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ 8. I. τρεῖς; I. ἐπὶ 10. I. δημοσία 11. I. γύη; I. δημοσία 12. I.
κατ' 14. I. ἀρτάβη; I. μιᾶ 15. I. ἡμίσειαν 16. I. τρεῖς 18. I. κατ' 20. I.

κατ’; 1. κατ’ 22. 1. καθαρά 23. 1. ποιήσω 24. 1. ἀκολούθως 28. 1. δείσης
30. 1. συγχωρῶ

‘To Gaius Iulius Amarantos, from Orsenouphis, *presbyteros* of Aphrodisios, from Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris*. I wish to rent, for six years from the current thirteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, a plot of three arouras within the fifth parcel, from the fields belonging to Gaius Iulius Alexandros ... near the same village – of which the neighbours are: to the south, the fields of Euandros son of Ptolemaios; to the north, public lands; to the west, more fields of the same Euandros; and to the east, a public parcel which is on the other side of an irrigation ditch. For this, I will pay an annual rent in kind on each aroura of six-and-a-half artabas of wheat according to the bronze *epaiton dromos*-measure, equivalent to thirty-three and one sixth (*choinikes*), along with the one *dromos*-artaba of wheat seeds which I will receive, as well as two artabas in additional charges per one hundred artabas, and one extra artaba and a cockerel as a gift each year. I will carry out and complete all the farm work each year, and will always hand over the rent – in fresh, clean crops, based on a measurement carried out in all fairness by me – in the month of Pauni in the village, and I will do and pay everything in conformity with the regulations put in place since the twelfth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus. After the lease expires, I will return the plot free from dry land, coarse grass and all manure, if it seems good to you to lease it on these terms. Farewell. (hand 2) I, Gaius Iulius Amarantos, agree to the lease on the preceding conditions. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiach 5.’

P.Ryl. II 167, application to lease a mill (1 September 39 CE)

[= C.Pap. Hengstl 148]

Κάσ[τ]ορι Ἀσκληπιάδου
παρὰ Σεράτος τοῦ Σεραπίωνος.
βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι σὺν τῇ
γυναικί μου Ταπεθεῦτι Φιλοξέ(νου)
5 εἰς ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο(ς) τετάρτο(υ) (ἔτους) Γαίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
τὸ ὑπάρχον Ἀσκληπιάδη
Πτολεμαίου ἐν Εὐημερεία
10 μυλαῖον ἐνεργὸν ἐν ᾧ μύλοι
Θηβαικοὶ τρεῖς σὺν κώπαις
καὶ τραπέζαις καὶ ὄλμοι δύο

15 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρηστήρια καὶ τὰ
 ὄντα ὑπερα φόρου τοῦ παντὸς(ς)
 κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκα-
 τὸν ἐξήκοντα καὶ θαλλῶν
 κατ' ἔτος ἄρτων ἡμιαρταβίου
 καὶ ἀλέκτορος, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ μυλαίου δημοσίων
 20 τοῦ πελώχικοῦ ὄντων πρὸς(ς)
 σὲ τὸν Κά\σ\τορα τοῦ δὲ ὑποκειμ(ένου)
 καὶ τετάρτης ἄρτοπωλῶν
 ὄντων πρὸς ἐμέ. τὸν δὲ
 κατ' ἔτος φόρον ἀποδώσω ἀεὶ
 25 διὰ τετραμήνου τὸ αἰροῦν
 ἔμμηνα, καὶ μετὰ τὸν
 χρόνον παραδώσω
 τὸ μυλαῖον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ
 ἐκ τῆς τρεῖψεως, ἐὰν φαί-
 30 νηται ἐπὶ τούτοις μισθ(ῶσαι).
 εὐτύχ(ει).
 Σεραῖς ὡς (ἐτῶν) με οὐλή δακ(τύλω) μικ(ρῶ) χει(ρὸς) ἀρ(ιστεράς).
 (ἔτους) δ Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικ(οῦ)
 μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ Σεβαστῆ γ.

21. 1. ὑποκειμ(ένου) 27. 1. παραδώσω 29. 1. τρίψεως 32. 1. χει(ρὸς)

‘To Kastor son of Asklepiades, from Seras son of Sarapion. Along with my wife Tapeteus, daughter of Philoxenos, I wish to lease, for two years from the month Sebastos of the current fourth year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the working mill belonging to Asklepiades son of Ptolemaios in Euhemeria – in which there are three Theban millstones with their spokes and nether stones, two mortars, as well as other equipment including pestles – for a total annual rent of one hundred and sixty silver drachmas, plus half an artaba of loaves and a cockerel each year as gifts. The public charges on the mill and the millers’ tax will be payable by you, Kastor, while the reserve and the quarter tax on bakers will be payable by me. I will always pay the annual rent in quarterly instalments, in the proper amount, and after the lease expires I will return the mill and all the things in it, as left by wear and tear, if it seems good to you to lease it on these terms. Farewell. Seras, about 45 years old, with a scar on the little finger of his left hand. Year 4 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, on the 3rd *dies Augusta* of the month Sebastos.’

P.Ryl. II 183, receipt for hay (6 August 16 CE)

- Ανχορίνφινς Ἡρακλείδου προστάτης ἰδίων ὄνων
 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου(υ) ἐπισπουδαστοῦ Ἀφροδ(ισίω)
 καὶ Πετερμουθίωιν ταῖ(ς) δυσὶ Ἀσκληπι(ιάδου) χα(ίρειν). ἀπέχω
 παρ' ὑμῶν τὰς ἐπεσταλμένας μοι δοθῆναι
 5 διὰ χρηματισμοῦ Εὐημέρου καὶ Φιλοξένου γενή(ματος)
 πρώτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 χόρτου διμνώου δέσμας χιλίας ἐν Εὐημερί[α]
 ἐν μηνὶ Μεσορῇ τοῦ β (ἔτους), (γίνονται) χό(ρτου) δέ(σμαι) Α.
 (ἔτους) β Τιβερίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορῇ ιγ.
 10 ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Μάρων γραμματεὺς κτηνοτρόφω(ν) Εὐη(μερίας)
 διὰ τὸ μὴ ιδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα.

7. 1. διμναίου 11. 1. εἰδέναι

‘Anchorimphis son of Herakleides, overseer of the private donkeys of
 Apollonios son of Alexandros, the *episvoudastēs*, to Aphrodisios and
 Petermouthion, the two sons of Asklepiades, greetings. I have received from
 you the thousand bundles of two-mina hay from the produce of the first year
 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, that you were required to give to me on the
 orders of Euhemeros and Philoxenos, in Euhemeria in the month of Mesore,
 equals 1,000 bundles of hay. Year 2 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mesore 13.
 Maron, secretary of the animal-rearers of Euhemeria wrote for him because
 he does not know his letters.’

P.Ryl. II 183a, receipt for hay (2 September 16 CE)

- Πτολεμαῖος Λεωνίδου προστάτης
 ὀνηλασίου ὄνων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)
 Ἀφροδισίω καὶ Πετερμουθίωιν ἀμφοτέροις
 Ἀσκληπιάδου(υ) χα(ίρειν). ἀπέχω παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπὸ λόγου
 5 ἀγορασμοῦ χόρτου γενή(ματος) β (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ χόρτ[ο]υ διμνώου
 δέσμας χιλίας, (γίνονται) χόρτ(ου) δέ(σμαι) Α. ἔγραψεν
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Μάρων γραμματεὺς αὐτοῦ διὰ
 τὸ βραδύτερ[ο]ν [αὐ]τὸν γράφιν.
 10 (ἔτους) γ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, μη(νὸς) Σεβαστοῦ ε.
 (hand 2) Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέχω.

6. 1. διμναίου 9. 1. γράφειν

‘Ptolemaios son of Leonidas, overseer of stabling for the donkeys of
 Apollonios son of Alexandros, to Aphrodisios and Petermouthion, both sons

of Asklepiades, greetings. I have received from you, from the purchasing account of hay from the produce of year 2 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, one thousand bundles of two-mina hay. Total: 1,000 bundles of hay. Maron, his scribe, wrote for him, because of his slow writing. Year 3, Tiberius Caesar Augustus, month Sebastos, day 5. (hand 2) I, Ptolemaios, have received them.'

PSI IX 1057, receipt for compensation (2/17 October 32 CE)

5 ἔτους ἐν[ν]εακαιδεκάτου Τιβερίου Κ(αί)[σαρος]
 Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου κ Φ[αῶφι εἰκ]ο-
 στῆ, ἐν Εὐη[μ]ερίᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδ[ος]
 τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Ἄξειων
 Μ[ά]ρωνος ὡς ἐτῶν ἐξηκο[ντα]
 [ὑ]πόσκνιφος οὐλή βραχείονι δεξιῶι
 [Ἀ]πύνχει Ἡρᾶτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) ἐξηκ[οντα]δύο
 [οὐ]λή καρπῶι δεξιῶι ἔχιν παρ' [αὐτοῦ]
 διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου κατὰ μ[έρος ἀργυ(ρίου)]
 10 δραχμ[ὰς] ἐνενηκονταδύο [(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ρβ]
 ἀπὸ τειμῆ[ς] \[χ]λωρῶν/ ἀράκου, ὧν κατέφαγεν
 [αὐ]τοῦ τὰ πρόβατα ἐν οἷς ἔνεμεν περὶ
 [Φ]ύλαγρίδα κατοικικοῖς ἐδάφ[εσιν ἐκ]
 [τ]οῦ Διοσκοῦτος, σπόρου τοῦ ὀκτω [και-]
 15 δεκάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Κ(αί)σαρος Σεβασ[τοῦ,]
 τειμῆς τῆς ἐσταμένης ἐπὶ τοῦ κ(αι)ροῦ[υ]
 τῶν χλωρῶν τῆς φανησομένης
 ἐκ σχοινοργίας σχοινίων [-ca.?-]
 ἀναμετ[ρ]εῖται ἀρούρης ἀράκου
 20 δεκαε[ννέ]α. βεβαιούτω οὔ [ὁ Ἀ-]
 ξιῶν ἐπὶ [το]ύτοις πάση βεβαι[ώσει].
 [ὑ]πογραφεῖς τοῦ μὲν ὁμολογ[οῦντος]

6. l. ὑπόσκνιφος; l. βραχίονι 8. l. ἔχειν 10a. Van Minnen (BL VIII 405): αῶρων
 ed. pr. 11. l. τιμῆς; l. ὄν 16. l. τιμῆς 17. Van Minnen (BL VIII 405): αῶρων
 prev. ed.

‘Year nineteen of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, day 20 of the month Apellaios, (which is) day twenty of the month Phaophi, in Euhemeria in the Themistou *meris* of the Arsinoite nome. Aeion (?) son of Maron, around sixty years old, snub-nosed, with a scar on his right arm, agrees with Apynchis son of Heras, about sixty-two years old with a scar on his right wrist, that he has received from him, hand-to-hand, out of the house, in full, ninety-two silver drachmas,

equals 92 drachmas, for the value of the shoots of wild chickling which (Apynchis') sheep grazed down in the catoecic fields that (Aeion) farms near Philagris, part of the (plot of) Dioskous, sown in year eighteen of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, the price having been set at the time of the emergence of the shoots, based on a survey of the cubits (?) ... He will measure out nineteen arouras of wild-chickling. Let Aeion give his guarantee upon these terms in all security. The underwriters for the agreeing party ... [papyrus breaks off]'

SB XX 15032, petition (39-41 CE?)

Ed. pr. Sijpesteijn, P.J. (1989), 'Another *ousia* of D. Valerius Asiaticus in Egypt', *ZPE* 79: 39-41.

Γαίωι Ἰου[λίωι Φόλωι]
 ἐπιστάτη[ι φυλακιτῶν]
 παρὰ Μεγχή[ους τοῦ . . . -]
 [ε]ως τῶν ἀ[πὸ Εὐήμερείας]
 5 [γ]εωργοῦ οὐσία[ς Δεκίμου]
 Οὐαλερίου Ἀσια[τικοῦ.]
 τῆι κθ τοῦ Τῦ[βι τοῦ ἐνεσ-]
 τῶτος . [(ἔτους)] Γαίου Κ[αίσαρος]
 Γερμανικοῦ ἐκ[λάπη μου]
 10 χοιρίδιον ἄξιο[ν ἀργυρίου]
 (δραχμῶν) ις. διὸ ἀξ[ιῶ γράψαι]
 τῶι τῆς κώ[μης ἀρχε-]
 φόδωι ὅπως [τὴν ὑπὲρ]
 τοῦ μέρους ἐπι[ζήτησιν]
 15 ποιήσεται. [εὐτύχει.]
 Μεγχή(ς) (ἐτῶν) μ οὐλ(ῆ) [-ca.?-]

(verso)

(hand 2) ἀρχεφεφόδ(ωι)
 Εὐήμερεία(ς).

15. 1. ποιήσεται

'To Gaius Iulius Pholos, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Menches son of (name lost) from Euhemeria, a farmer on the estate of Decimus Valerius Asiaticus. On the 29th of Tybi in the current XX year of Gaius Caesar Germanicus, a piglet worth 16 silver drachmas was stolen from me. I ask you to write to the *archepodos* of the village, so that he will make in investigation into the matter. Farewell. Menches, 40 years old, with a scar [papyrus breaks off]

(verso) (hand 2) To the *archepodos* of Euhemeria.’

SB XX 15182, petition (29-31 CE?)

Ed. pr. Sijpesteijn, P.J. (1992), ‘Petition to the chief of police’, *ZPE* 91: 101-2.

Σεραπίωνι ἐπ[ι]σ[τά]τῃ φυλακῶν
παρὰ Χαιρήμ[ονος τοῦ Ὡ-]
ρίωνος τῶν [ἀπ’ Εὐημερίας]
προσοδικοῦ γεωργοῦ· τῆ]
5 κβ τοῦ Παχῶν τοῦ ι[] (ἔτους)
Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ]
τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν προῖού[μ(ενος)]
ῶν γεωργῶν προσοδικῶν
ἐδαφῶν εὗρον τὸν ἐν τρύ-
10 τῳ ὄροβον . . . με. ὠν[κα-]
τανενεμημ[έ]νον ὑπὸ
προβάτων ἃ γ[έ]μεται] ἐ[πὶ τοῦ]
γίου □π□ ρ Ὀρσενούφιος
καὶ Ὀρσεῦτος καὶ Ἀρμιύσιο(ς)
15 καὶ Ὡσιος καὶ Πετεσούχ(ου)
Ἀρσύθμιος ὥστε βλάβος
γεγονέναι (ἀρταβῶν) κ καὶ κνήκ(ου)
(ἀρτάβης) α· ἀξιῶ γράψ(αι) τῷ τῆ(ς) κώμ(ης)
ἀρχε(φόδω) κερμ() δεξα().
20 εὐτ(ύχει).

(hand 2) ἀρχε(φόδω)· ἔκπ[ε]μ[ψον]. (ἔτους) [ι.]
Τιβερίου Καίσα[ρος Σεβαστοῦ -ca.?- .]

8. 1. γεωργῶ 10. 1. ὄροβον

‘To Sarapion, *epistatēs phylakitōn*, from Chairemon son of Horion from Euhemeria, revenue farmer. On the 22nd of Pachon of the XX year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, as I was making an inspection of the revenue lands which I farm, I found that the vetch on them . . . had been grazed down (since XX days earlier?) by the sheep which are kept upon plot 100 by Orsenouphis, Orseus, Harmiysis, Osis and Petesouchos son of Harsytmis, so that damage was done to 20 artabas as well as to 1 artaba of safflower. I ask you to order the *archepodos* of the village . . . Farewell. (hand 2) To the *archepodos*: send them up. Year XX of Tiberius Caesar Augustus.’

Associated texts

This second part of the appendix collects the eight texts with previously unknown provenance that I have argued in the course of the thesis derive from Euhemeria in the period 30 BCE – 68 CE.

O.Deiss. 81, delivery instruction (20 August 24 CE)

Εἰσίῳνι γρα(μματεῖ) μέρισον
ᾠρωῖ Ἡρακλ(είδου) ὑπ(ὸ) λαχανό(σπερμον)
ὄγον ἕνα ἀρτά(βης) μιᾶς
ἡμίσιους (symbol) βετερ() [εἰς]
5 θη(σαυρὸν) Φίλας Εἰσήου.
(ἔτους) ι Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορή
κζ.

6. 1. Ἴσειου

‘To Ision, secretary: deliver to Horos son of Herakleides one donkey laden with one-and-a-half artabas of vegetable seed ... at the store-house of the temple of Isis of Philae. Year 10 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mesore 27.’

O.Lund. 1, delivery instruction (11 August 19 CE)

Μάρωνι γρα(μματεῖ) μέρι(σον) Ἴημούθη Ἴμού-
θου ὑπ(ὸ) ὄρυβ(ον) ὄνο(ν) ἕνα καὶ ὑπ(ὸ) φακὸ(ν)
ὄνο(ν) ἕνα [εἰς] θη(σαυρὸν) Καλλιστράτο(ν) δι(ὰ) Πες-
{σ}κονούρι(ος) (symbol). (ἔτους) ε Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
5 Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορή η.

‘To Maron, secretary: deliver to Imouthes son of Imouthes one donkey laden with vetch and one donkey laden with lentils at the store-house of Kallistratos, through the agency of Peskonouris (symbol). Year 5 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mesore 15.’

SB VI 9112, delivery instruction (27/28 CE)

Ed. pr. Youtie, H.C. (1950), ‘Greek ostraca from Egypt’, *TAPhA* 81: 102f.

Ἡρᾶτι γρα(μματεῖ) μέρισον Πετε-
σούχ(ω) Μαρσι(σούχου) Κορνηρίου
Ἀτικοῦ ὑ(πὸ) (πυρὸν) ὄνους δεκα-

5 δύο [εἰς] θη(σαυρὸν) Πετεσοῦχ(ου). (ἔτους) ἰδ
[Τιβερίου]ν Καίσαρος.

‘To Heras, secretary: deliver to Petesouchos son of Marsisouchos, an employee of Cornelius Atticus, twelve donkeys laden with wheat (at the store-house of Petesouchos. Year 14 of Tiberius Caesar.’

P.Lond. III 892, receipt for hay (August-September 16 CE)

[-ca.?-]ωφίς Φαυ[-ca.?-]
[Ἀφροδισί]ωι καὶ τῶι ἀ[δελφῶι(?)]
χα(ίρειν). ἀ[πέχ]ωι παρ' ὑμῶν ἄς
5 ὠφίλεται Φιλωξέν[ωι και Εὐ-]
ημέρωι ἀπὸ λόγου ἀπ[ὸ τοῦ]
γενήματος β (ἔτους) Τιβερίου [Καίσαρος]
Σεβαστοῦ χόρτου δέσ-
μας χιλίας (γίνονται) χόρ(του) [. . ἔγρα-]
ψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Γε[-ca.?-]
10 Ἀκήου[ς] διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδ[έναι]
αὐτὸν γράμ<μ>ατα.
(ἔτους) γ Τιβερίου Καίσα[ρ]ος]
μηνὸς Σεβαστ[οῦ -ca.?-]

2. [- ca.?-]ωι ed. pr. 3. 1. ἀπέχω 4. 1. ὀφείλεται; φιλωῖ Ξατ[-ca.?-] ed. pr.
13. 1. μηνὸς

‘(Name lost) son of Faustus (?) ... to Aphrodisios (?) and his brother, greetings. I have received from you one thousand bundles of hay, from the account of the harvest of the 2nd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, equals [1,000 bundles] of hay, which are owed to Philoxenos and Euhemeros. Gesson of Hakes wrote for him because he does not know his letters. Year 3 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, day XX of the month Sebastos.’

P.Lond. III 893 *descriptum*, letter (22 July 40 CE)

Ed. pr. P.Ryl. II (p. 381)

καὶ ἄρτων ἀρτάβ(ας) τέσσαρε(ς) □ σὺν σεαυτ(ῶ) □
[-ca.?-] ἔνεγκον.

Ἀ[μ]ώνιος Ἀφροδισίωι τῶ φιλ(τάτῳ) χα(ίρειν).
Διομ[ή]δης ὁ Φόλου λέγει μὴ μετα-

- 5 δεδωκέν[α]ι [σ]ε αὐτῶι ὑπὲρ Σεράτος, διὸ
καλῶς π[οιή]σεις ἐξαυτῆ(ς) πέμψας μοι τὸν
μεικρόν, καὶ ἔλθε εἰς Βούβαστον τῆ δ,
ἐπεὶ τρυγῶ ἐκεῖ, ἢ ἐστι(ν) Αἴγυπ(τίων) κ, καὶ
ἀγόρασόν μοι ὀψάρια τῆ η καὶ ἔνεγκο(ν)
- 10 . . . ε[ἰς Β]ερενικίδ(α) Αἰγι(αλοῦ) τῆ ι ἢ ἐστι κς·
τρυγῶι ἐκεῖ, ἔρχου. Ζηνόδ[ο]τρο(ς)
[π]ολλὰ κατηγόρησεν ἐπὶ Φόλω
ὥς μῆι τὰ ὑπὸ σ[οῦ] εἰρημένα γ[.].
ν. . . . ι. . . . ω() ποιη() πέμψαι μ[ο]ι
- 15 διά τινος τῶ(ν) φυλάκ(ων) τὸν μεικρόν.
ἀσπάζο(ν) Θέρμιον. ἀπαίτησον χεῖραν (δραχμῶν) μ
καὶ (δραχμὰς) ς ἐπομ(ένας) καὶ τὸ λοιπ(ὸν) τὰ ὀφειλόμε(να).
ἔρρωσθε. δ (ἔτους) μη(νὸς) Δρουσιέ(ως) κη.

7. 1. μικρόν 11. 1. τρυγῶ 13. 1. μῆ 15. 1. μικρόν 16. 1. χεῖρα

‘Ammonios to my dearest Aphrodisios, greetings. Diomedes, the son of Pholos, says that you haven’t told him anything about Seras, so you would do well to send the child to me straight away. Go to Boubastos on the 4th – which is the 20th according to the Egyptian calendar – since I will be gathering the crop there. Also, buy me some fish-pickles on the 8th and bring them to Berenikis Aigialou on the 10th – which is the 26th. I will be gathering the crop, so come. Zenodotos has made many accusations before Pholos about the things that you didn’t say (?) . . . Send the child to me via one of the guards. Give my best to Thermion. Collect the loan of 40 drachmas and the 6 drachmas in interest, and the rest of what we are owed. Goodbye. Year 4, 28th of the month Drousieus [= Epeiph]. (*Post scriptum*) Bring four artabas of loaves with you too.’

P.Ryl. II 229, letter (20 February 28 CE)

- Ἀμμώνιος Ἀφροδισίωι τῶι
φιλότατῶι χαίρειν.
ἔγραψα ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Ἡράκλῃ(ον)
τὸν π[ρ]οβατοκτη(νοτρόφον) ἵνα δοῖ σοι ὄνον,
- 5 καὶ Ἰωφελίωι ἐνετειλάμην
ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς δοῖ ἑτέραν καὶ τοὺς
ἄρτους μοι πέμψη. ἐπεὶ οὖν
ἔπεμψάς μοι (ἀρτάβας) γ ἐρωτῶ σε
ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου εὐθέως μοι
- 10 πέ[μ]ψαι τὰς ἄλλας (ἀρτάβας) γ καὶ τὸ
ὀψάριον, ἐπεὶ ἐν πλοίῳ εἰμί.

15 περὶ δὲ τῆς τροφῆς τῶν χοιριδίων(ν)
 καὶ τοῦ λοιπ(οῦ) τῆς τιμῆ(ς) τοῦ χόρτου πρό-
 χρησον ἕως οὗ παραγένωμαι,
 δοκῶ γὰρ συναιρόμενος πρὸς σὲ
 λογάριον. παρεδεξάμην σοὶ πάντα.
 παρακάλεσον οὖν τὴν γυναῖκά
 σου τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις ἵνα ἐπιμελῆ-
 20 ται τῶν χοιριδίων· ἐπιμελοῦ δὲ
 καὶ τοῦ μόσχου. πάντω(ς) δέ, Ἀφροδίσιε,
 τοὺς ἄρτους μοι πέμψον καὶ τὸ ὀψάριον,
 ἐὰν δὲ θέλης γράψον μοι τίτι
 δῶ εἰς τὸν χόρτο(ν) καὶ εἰς τροφή(ν) ἄλλας (δραχμὰς) κ.
 ἔρρω(σο). (ἔτους) β Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικο(ῦ) Μεχ(εῖρ) κς.

(verso)

25 Ἀφροδίσιω ἐπιστάτη.

4. 1. δῶ 6. 1. δῶ

‘Ammonios to my dearest Aphrodisios, greetings. I wrote a letter to Herakleios the animal-rearer, telling him to send you a donkey, and I instructed —elion that he should also send another one himself, and that he should send the loaves to me. Since you have sent me only 3 artabas, I ask you at all costs to send me the other 3 artabas and the fish-pickle immediately, since I am on a boat. Regarding the food for the pigs and the remainder of the price of the hay, borrow it until I get back, and I will settle the account with you then. I have explained all that needs doing to you, so ask your wife on my behalf to look after the piglets, and make sure you take care of the calf. Whatever else you do, Aphrodisios, send me the loaves and the fish-pickle! If you would, write to me (saying) to whom I should give the other 20 drachmas for hay and fodder. Goodbye.

(verso) To Aphrodisios, agent.’

P.Ryl. II 230, letter (2 October 40 CE)

Ἀμμώνιος Ἀφροδίσιω τῶι
 φιλότατῳ χαίρειν.
 ἐκομισάμην ἐπιστολὴ(ν) περὶ τοῦ
 πέμψαι με ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆ ε.
 5 πέμψω οὖν τοὺς ὄνους τῆι η
 πρὸς σὲ π[ά]ντως. παρακληθ[εῖ]ς
 οὖν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ποιήσον

γενέσθαι μοι τὸ ζῆμα ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ὀρόβ[ο]υ, μὴ [ο]ῦν ἄλλως ποιή[σ]η(ς) μὴ ἵνα
 10 δόξωμέν σε εὐθέως ἠλλάχθαι
 τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἀσπάζου Θέρμιο(ν) τῆ(ν)
 ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὰ παιδιά σο(υ). ἔρρω(σο). (ἔτους) ε μη(νός)
 Νέ(ου) Σεβαστοῦ ς Σεβαστῆι.

(verso)

Ἀφροδισίωι τῷ φι[λ]τ(άτω).

8. 1. σμῆμα 9. 1. ἵνα μὴ

‘Ammonios to my dearest Aphrodisios, greetings. I received your letter about sending to me for the loaves on the 5th, so I shall send the donkeys to you on the 8th in any case. Since you have been asked, do everything you can to get hold of the vetch paste for me. Don’t forget, or we might think that that you have changed the way you feel about us all of a sudden. Give my best to your sister Thermion and your children. Goodbye. Year 5, the 6th of the month of Neos Sebastos, a *dies Augusta*.

(verso) To my dearest Aphrodisios ...’

P.Ryl. II 231, letter (18 October 40 CE)

Ἀμμώνιος Ἀφροδισίωι τῷ φι[λ]τ(άτω)
 χαίρειν.
 τ[οῦ]ς ἄρτους καλῶς ποιήσεις εἰπὼ(ν)
 γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλ<αί>αν μοι
 5 ταρειχεύσας πέμψας
 μοι φάσιν ἵνα πέμψω ἐπὶ
 αὐτούς. τὸν πυρὸν τὸν ἐν
 τῷ θησαυρῷ μεταβαλοῦ
 δι[ὰ] τὴν βροχὴν τὸν πάντα.
 10 ἔρρωσο. ἀσπάζου Θέρμιον
 καὶ τὰ παιδιά σου.
 (ἔτους) ε μη(νός) Σωτῆ(ρος) κα.
 κατὰ σπουδὴν δέ σοι ἔγραψα.

5. 1. ταριχεύσας

‘Ammonios to my dearest Aphrodisios, greetings. Please order the loaves to be baked, and once you have pickled the olives for me, let me know so that I may send for them. Move the wheat in the store-house – all of it – because of

the inundation. Goodbye. Give my best to Thermion and your children. Year 5, the 21st of the month Soter. (*Post scriptum*) I have written to you in haste.'