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A Ptolemaic Lease Contract:  
P.Monts. Roca inv. no. 381 + 569 + 578 + 649\*  
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P.Monts. Roca inv. 381 + 569 + 578 + 649	Plates I–IV	15.5 x 13.2 cm; 13.7 x 22.6 cm; 13.6 x 7 cm; 23.9 x 37 cm
Dec. 9, 148 BC		Hephaistias, Ars. nome

This collection of fragments belonging to a single Greek document measures together approximately 30 x 27.5 cm. After serving its original purpose as a so-called *hexamartyros syggraphê*<sup>1</sup> the papyrus was apparently used for the production of mummy cartonnage. This observation is supported especially by the polychrome traces on the back of inv. 649, the fragment that is the largest and contains most of the left hand margin of the document. Written along the upper margin of the papyrus sheet in a very small and almost illegible script one finds a copy of the text of the document, the so-called *scriptura interior*, that was signed by the witnesses and then was rolled up. Below this comes the *scriptura exterior* that was to be left visible after the *scriptura interior* of the *hexamartyros syggraphê* had been rolled up.<sup>2</sup>

The document is dated to the 34<sup>th</sup> year of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra II, Hathyr 12. Using the conversion tables produced by T.C. Skeat, the precise date turns out to be 9.xii.148 BC.<sup>3</sup> The priests mentioned are:<sup>4</sup>

Priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies:	<i>Κἰλκλῆς</i> (Kalliklês), son of <i>Τυωκράτης</i> (Diokratês or Theokratês)
<i>Athlophoros</i> of Berenike Euergetis:	<i>Ἔργονοῦ</i> (Ergonoê), daughter of Anaxandros
<i>Kanephoros</i> of Arsinoe Philadelphos:	<i>Ἀσκληπίης</i> (Asklêpias), daughter of Ptolemaios
Priestess of Arsinoe Philopator:	[A]pollonia, daughter of Isokratês

Clarysse and van der Veken give as the sole attestation of this set of priests *P.Cair. II 31179*.<sup>5</sup> This papyrus from Montserrat offers some important new data in addition to the information already given by Clarysse and van der Veken.<sup>6</sup>

\* We want to express our sincere gratitude to the Benedictine community of the Abbey of Montserrat for allowing us to publish this piece here, especially to Father Pius Tragan, who always received us at the monastery with generosity. We also sincerely thank our colleague Brian P. Muhs for polishing our English text.

<sup>1</sup> For this type of document, see H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats*. Handbuch d. Altertumswissenschaft, X.5.2 (Munich 1978) 57–73.

<sup>2</sup> Both texts are virtually the same. In the transcript of the *scriptura interior* we include in parentheses the line number of the *scriptura exterior* corresponding to the text in the interior. In the notes to the text we use the same procedure.

<sup>3</sup> T.C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*. Münch.Beitr., 39 (Munich 1969<sup>2</sup>); see also the website [http://aegyptologie.online-resourcen.de/Ptolemaic\\_Kings](http://aegyptologie.online-resourcen.de/Ptolemaic_Kings).

<sup>4</sup> For the various priests referred to in lines 2–5, see W. Clarysse and G. van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXIV (Leiden 1983) 30–31, n. 143.

**Analysis of the *scriptura exterior*:**

1–5: Dating formula of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra II, indication of various priesthoods filled by various priests;

5–6: Indication of date [12 Artemisios = 12 Hathyr] and place [the village of Hephaistias in the Arsinoite nome];

6–7: Opening of the document (a lease of land) presenting a description of the two parties concerned: 1. Herakleides, son of Nikanor, for a certain Euboulos, member of the King's inner circle and owner of a *dorea* near Hephaistias; 2. Petosouchos, son of Phramenis, inhabitant of Arsinoe;

8–11: Indication of the term of the contract (1 year) and of the amount of land involved: 15.25 arouras of wheat land, split up into 2 plots, (1) of 11 arouras at a rent of 4 art. / ar., and (2) of 4.25 arouras at a rent of 5.6666 art. / ar.;

11–13: Obligations in case of normal irrigation: Petosouchos takes care of sowing at his own expense; he will also pay the rent in full, even if he quits the lease early;

13–17: Warranty of the lessors (Herakleides, respectively the representatives of Euboulos) that in case of failure to meet with their obligations they will pay a penalty of 20 talents and the damages, while the lease will not be terminated;

18–19: Clauses concerning date of paying the rent, the place of delivery [Hephaistias], the quality of the wheat to be handed over and who is bearing the cost;

19–24: Provision for the case that Petosouchos does not provide any wheat for payment of rent: he shall pay a penalty of 1000 drachmas per artaba, or the highest market price at Hephaistias;

24–27: The normal *praxis*- and *kyria*-clauses.

27–30: Listing of the six witnesses: 1. Pamênis, a priest; 2. N.N. and 3. Diodoros (both Persians) and 4. Kallias (a Thracian), all three members of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cavalry regiment under the command of Aratos and holders of a plot of 100 arouras; 5. Dorotheos; and 6. Ptolemaios, both members of a cavalry regiment and Macedonians; keeper of the contract is Pamênis;

31–32: Subscription by Ptolemaios;

33–34: Subscription by Petosouchos;

34: Subscription by Pamênis,

35: Resumé of most essential data of the document

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<sup>5</sup> *P.Cair.dem.* II 31179 = F. de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques* (Cairo 1972) 63; see now also *P.Köln* IV 187, also featuring the patronymic as Anaxandros instead of Alexandros presented by our text.

<sup>6</sup> For leases of land in general, cf. D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (Diss. Munich 1967). See in particular p. 27 for the rate of the rent; pp. 80–81, 92–93 for a list of penalties to be paid by whomsoever (lessor or lessee) breaks the contract; and pp. 185–190 for a list of 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC leases from the Fayum.

Recto →

*Scriptura interior*

- 1 (1) [Βασιλευόντων Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῶν Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶ[ν Ἐπιφαν]ῶν  
ἔτ[ρους τε]τάρτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ, ἐφ' [ιερ]έ[ως Καλλικλέους τοῦ Διοκρίτου Ἀλεξάν-]
- 2 (2) [δρου καὶ θεῶν Σω]τήρων καὶ θεῶν Ἀδ[ελφῶν] καὶ θεῶν Ε[ύερ]γετ[ῶν] καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατό[ρων καὶ]  
θεῶν Ἐπι[φανῶ]ν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος κ[αὶ θε]ῶν Φιλ[ομητόρων, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης]
- 3 (4) [Εὐεργέτιδος Ἐργονόης] τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου, κληφ[όρου Ἀ]ρ[σινό]ης Φι[λαδ]έλφου Ἀσκληπιάδ[ος τῆς]  
Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀσ[κλη]πιάδ[ου ἱ]ερε[ίας Ἀρσινόης φιλοπάτορος Ἀπολ-]
- 4 (5) [λωνίας τῆς Ἴσοκρ]άτους μηνὸς Ἄρτεμισίου δωδεκάτη[ι] [Ἄθῦρ δωδεκάτη] ἐν Ἡφαιστῖαδι τοῦ  
Ἀ[ρσινό]ίτου νομοῦ. [Ἐμίθω]σεν Ἡρακλεῖδ[ης Νικάνορος]
- 5 (7) [τοῦ προεστηκότος τῆ]ς Εὐβούλου τῶν πρώτων φίλων δωρεᾶς Πετοσοῦχαι Φραμήνιος  
Ἀ[ρσινό]ιότη[ι] γεργῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σημ[αινομένης δωρεᾶς γῆς ἀρούρας δέκα]
- 6 (8) [πέντε τέταρτον πρὸ]ς τὸ τέταρτον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἐκφορίου τὴν ἄρουραν ἐκάστην ἀρούρας  
μὲν δέκα μί[αν πυρῶν ἀρταβ]ῶν [τεσσάρων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς]
- 7 (11) [ἀρούρας τέσσαρας] τέταρτον πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν πέντε δίμοιρον [ἀκι]νδύν[ων] παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ  
ἀνυπο[λόγ]ων πάσης φθορᾶ[ς βρεχείσης δὲ τ]ῆς γῆς ταύτης [κατασπειράτω]
- 8 (12) [τὴν γῆν Πετοσοῦχο]ς τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν σπέρματα ἑαυτ[ῶν] π[α]ρέχων καθαρὰ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ  
[κατασ]πειρή[ι] τὴν γῆν ἢ σπείρ[α]ς λίπη τὴν μίσθωσιν,] πλήρη τὰ ἐκφόρ[ια ἀποτεισάτω.]
- 9 (13) [κατασπαρέισης δὲ] τῆς γῆς ταύτης βεβαιούτωσαν Ἡρακλείδης κα[ὶ] οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου  
Πετοσοῦ[χαι] κ[αὶ] τοῖς παρὰ [Πετοσοῦχου τὴν μί]σθωσ[ιν καὶ] τὴν γῆν ἕαν[. . . . .]
- 10 (14) [. . . . .] ἐπὶ τὸν [συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον· ἐὰ]ν δὲ μὴ βεβαιοῖ καθῶς προγέγραπται  
ἀποτεισάτω ὁ προγ[ε]γ[ραμ]μένος Ἡρακλείδης ἢ οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου συμβεβαιοῦντες]
- 11 (16) [Πετοσοῦχαι ἐ]πίτιμον χαλκοῦ τάλαντα εἴκοσι καὶ τὸ βλά[βος καὶ] μῆθ[έν] ἥσον ἢ μί[σθωσις ἢ]δε  
κυρία ἔστ[ω] καὶ ἐξέστω Πετοσοῦ[χαι] ἀ[ντε]ξάγειν [τὸν εἰσβια-]
- 12 (18) [ζόμενον εἰς τὴ]ν γῆν ταύτην ἀνυπεθύνω[ι παντὸ]ς ἐπιτίμου>. Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως  
π[α]ρα[δότ]ωι Πετοσοῦχος Ἡρακλείδη ἢ τ[οῖς] <sup>[παρ' Εὐβούλου]</sup> [. . . . .].α παραθεσ[. . . . .]
- 13 (20?) . . . . . [ . . . ] εἶδε ες . . β[α] . [ . . . ] . . . . . τοῖς παρ' Εὐβούλου οὗ ἂν [συν]τάσ[σωσι]ν  
πυρῶν νέον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολον καὶ καταστήσαν-
- 14 (22) [τες] εἰς Ἡφαιστῖαδα εἰς τ[ . . . ]ν ἀπο . . . . . . . . . . ν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν· ἢ[ς δ'] ἂν ἀρτάβης  
μ[ὴ] ἀπο[δ]ῶι, [ἀποτεισάτω παραχρῆμα ὁ Πετοσοῦχο]ς χ[αλ]κοῦ δρα-
- 15 (24) [χμᾶς χιλίας] εἰ τῆ[ν] ἐσομένην πλείστη[ν] τιμ[ὴν] ἐν τ[ῆ]ι ἐν Ἡφαι[στ]ι[α]δι ἀ[γορᾶ]. Ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις  
ἔστωι Ἡρακλείδη καὶ [τοῖς παρ' Εὐβούλου πράσσουσιν ἐκ τε Πετοσοῦχου]
- 16 (26) [αὐτοῦ] καὶ ἐκ τῶ[ν] ὑπαρχόντων αὐτ[ῶν] πάντ[ων] κατὰ [τὸ διάγραμ]μα καὶ τοὺς νόμους. Ἡ  
συγγραφὴ κυρία.[ Μάρτυρες Παμῆνις ἱερεὺς . . . . . σουχου [. . . . . ρος,]
- 17 (27) [Διόδωρο]ς οἱ δύο Πέρσαι, Καλλίας Θραῖξ, οἱ τρεῖς τῶν Ἀράτου τῆς] δευτέρας ἵππα[ρ]χίας  
ἐκατονταροῦροι, Δωρόθεος, Πτολεμαῖος οἱ δύο τῆς <numeral> ἵππαρχίας]
- 18 (29) [Μακεδόν]ες τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. [Συγγραφοῦλαξ Παμῆνις ἱερεὺς]

5 read γεωργῶι 12 read παραδότω 15 read ἢ

*Scriptura exterior*

- 1 Βασιλευδ[ντ]ων Πτ[ο]λε[μ]αίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῶν [Πτολεμαίου κα]ὶ Κλεοπάτρας θε[ῶν  
Ἐπιφανῶν] ἔτους τετάρτου [κα]ὶ τρια-
- 2 κοστοῦ, ἐφ' ἱερέως Καλλικ[λέ]ο[υ]ς τοῦ Διοκρί[του Ἀλεξάνδρου κα]ὶ θεῶν Σ[ω]τήρω[ν καὶ θεῶν  
Ἀδε]λφῶν [κα]ὶ θεῶν Εὐερ<sup>χ</sup>[τ]ῶν
- 3 καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατό[ρ]ων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφαν[ῶν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπ]άτορος [καὶ θεῶ]ν Φιλομητόρων,  
ἀθλοφ[ό]ρου Βερε[ν]ίκης
- 4 Εὐεργέτιδος Ἐργον[ό]η[ς τῆ]ς Ἀλεξάνδρου, κ[α]νη[φό]ρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀσκληπιάδος τῆς  
Πτ[ο]λεμαίου
- 5 τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου, ἱερέ[α]ς Ἀρσινόης φιλο[π]άτ[ο]ρο[ς Ἀπο]λλῶ[ν]ιας τῆς [Ἰσοκ]ράτους, μηνὸς  
Ἀρτεμισίου δωδε[κ]ατή
- 6 Ἄθῦρ δωδεκάτη ἐν Ἡφαι[σ]τιάδ[τ]ι τοῦ Ἀρ[τεν]σινο[ί]του νομοῦ. Ἐμισθω[σεν] Ἡρα[κλειδ]ης Νικά-  
7 νορος τοῦ προεστηκότος τ[ῆ]ς Εὐβούλου τῶν <πρώτων> φίλω[ν δωρ]εᾶς Πετοσοῦχω[ι  
Φραμ]ήν[ιο]ς Ἀρσινόιτη γε[ω]ργ[ῶ]ι
- 8 ἀπὸ τῆς σημαινομένη[ς] δωρεᾶς γῆς ἀρούρας [δέκα π]έντε τέταρ[τον πρὸ]ς τὸ τέταρτον κ[α]ὶ  
τριάκ[οσ-]
- 9 τὸν ἔτος ἐκφορίου τὴν ἄρουραν ἐκάστη[ν ἀρ]ούρας [μὲν δέ]κα μίαν πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν τεσσά[ρων], τὰς  
δὲ λοιπὰς
- 10 ἀρούρας τέ<σ>σaras τέταρτον πυρῶν ἀρταβῶ[ν πέν]τε δί[μοιρον ἀ]κινδύν[ω]ν [παντὸς κινδύνου]  
καὶ ἀνυπ[ο]λόγ[ων πάσης]
- 11 φθορᾶς βρεχείσης δὲ τῆς γῆς ταύτης κατασπειράτ[ω] τ[ὴν] γῆν Πετοσοῦχο[ς τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώ]μασι  
σπέ[ρ]μ[ατα ἕαυ-]
- 12 τῶι παρέχων καθαρὰ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ κατασπείρ[η] τὴν γῆν ἢ σ[πείρας λίπη] τ[ὴν μίσθωσιν], πλήρη τὰ  
[ἐ]κφό[ρ]ια ἀπ[ο-]
- 13 τεισάτω· κατασπαρέισ[η] δὲ τῆς γῆς ταύτης βεβ[αιού]τωσαν Ἡρακλειδ[ης καὶ οἱ παρ'] Εὐβούλου  
Πετο-
- 14 σούχωι καὶ τοῖς πα[ρὰ] Πετ[ο]σοῦχο[υ] τῆ[ν μίσθωσιν] καὶ τῆ[ν γῆν] ἕαν . . . . . ἐπὶ τὸν  
συγγεγρα<μ>-
- 15 μένον χρόνον· [ἐὰ]ν δὲ μὴ βεβαιοῖ καθὼς [προγέγραπτ]αὶ ἀπ[ο]τεισάτω ὁ προγεγραμμένος  
Ἡρακ[λειδ]ης
- 16 ἢ οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου [συ]μβεβαιοῦντος Πετοσοῦχω[ι ἐ]πίτιμον {ἐπί[τιμον]} χαλκοῦ τάλαντα εἴκοσι  
κα[ὶ τὸ]
- 17 βλάβος καὶ μηθῆ[ν] ἥσσοι ἢ μίσθωσις ἥδε κ[υρία] ἔστω καὶ ἐξέστω Πετοσοῦχωι ἀν[τε]ξάγ[ειν] τὸν εἰσ-  
18 βαζόμενον εἰς τ[ὴ]ν γ[ῆ]ν ταύτην ἀνυπευθύ[νω]ι π[αντὸς ἐπιτίμου]. Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μ[ίσθω]σεως  
19 π[α]ραδότ[ω]ι Πετ[ο]σοῦχο[ς Ἡρακλειδ]η ἢ τοῖς [παρ'] Εὐβούλου τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐκ[φό]ρια ἐν  
μ[η]-
- 20 νι Π[α]χῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔ[τ]ους καὶ παρα[δότ]ω τὰ γενή[ματ]α ἐν τῇ [αὐτῇ κώμη . . . ]
- 21 . . [ . . . . . ] οἱ γ[ . . . ]ργοὶ Εὐβούλου [οὔ] ἄ[ν] [συντάσ]σωσιν πυρὸν νέον καθ[αρὸν] καὶ  
ἄ[δο]λον . . . . . ]
- 22 [ . . . . . ] . μ[ι] . . . ] τα εἰς Ἡ[φαισ]τιάδ[α . . . . . ]ν ἀπ . . ε.ιγ [ . . . . . ] . ον τοῖς ἰδίοις

23 ἀνηλώμασιν· ἥς δ' ἂν ἀρτάβης μὴ [ἀποδῶι ἀπο]τε[ι]σάτω παραχρ[ῆμα ὁ Πετοσοῦχος χαλ]κοῦ δρα-  
 24 χμάς χιλίας ἢ τὴν ἔσομένην πλείστην [τιμ]ὴν ἐν τῇ ἐν Ἡφα[ιστιάδι ἀγορᾷ. Ἡ δὲ] πρᾶξις  
 25 ἔστωι Ἡρακλείδῃ καὶ τοῖς παρ' Εὐ[βού]λ[ου] πρ[ά]σσο[υ]σιν <ἐκ τε> Πετοσοῦχου [αὐ]τοῦ καὶ  
 26 ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶι [πάντων κατὰ τὸ διά]γραμμα καὶ τοὺς νόμους. Ἡ συγγρα-  
 27 φῆ κυρία. Μάρτυρες Παμῆνις ἱερεῦ[ς] . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ρος, Διόδωρος οἱ δὲ[ο] Πέρσαι, Καλλία[ς]  
 28 Θραῖξ, οἱ[ι] τρεῖς τῶν Ἀράτου τῆς δευτ[έ]ρ[ας] ἰππ[α]ρχίας ἑκατοντάρ[ου]ροῖ, Δωρόθ[ε]ρος,  
 29 Πτο[λ]εμαῖος οἱ δὲ[ο] τῆς <numeral> ἰππα[ρχ]ία[ς] Μ[α]κεδόνες τ]ῆς ἐπιγουνῆς.  
 30 συγγραφοφύλαξ Παμῆνις ἱερεῦ[ς] .  
 31 [Ἡρ]ακλείδης μεμίσθω[κα καθὼς προγ]έγραπται καὶ τέθει-  
 32 [μαι τὴν συγ]γραφὴν παρὰ φα . . νε . θεν . . . [ . . . ] σοῦχου  
 33 (M2) Π[ετ]εσοῦχ[ο]ς μεμίσθωμα κα[θὼς προ]γέγραπται καὶ ποιμαῖ τῆ[ν]  
 34 συγγραφή[ν] . . . ] . [ . . . ] (M3) Παμήνιος . [ . . . . . ] ἀπέχω  
 35 ἰς<sup>-</sup> ἰα μ() δ[ ] . [ . ] . δδ εβ μεμι . . .

12–13 read ἀποτεισάτω 16 read [συ]μβεβαιοῦντες 33 read πεποίημαι 34 read Παμῆνις

Verso ↓ at 180° of the recto text on the right hand side of the papyrus

36 Μί(σθωσις) Ἡρα[κλ]είδου  
 37 Π[ετ]οσοῦχ[ω]ι τῶι  
 38 [γεωρ]γῶι

(*scriptura exterior*)

(1) In the reign of Ptolemy and Kleopatra son and daughter of Ptolemy and Kleopatra, the Gods Epiphaneis, in the thirty-fourth year, Kallikles son of Diokritos being priest of Alexander and the Gods Soteris and the Gods Adelphoi and the Gods Euergetai and the Gods Philopatores and the Gods Epiphaneis, and the God Eupator and the Gods Philometores. And the *athlophoros* of Berenike Euergetis being Ergonoe daughter of Alexander, the *kanephoros* of Arsinoe Philadelphus being Asklepias daughter of Ptolemy (5) son of Asklepiades, the priestess of Arsinoe Philopator being Apollonia daughter of Isokrates, on the twelfth of the month Artemisios, Hathyr the twelfth, in Hephaistias in the Arsinoite nome. Herakleides, son of Nikanor, manager of the estate of Euboulos, one of the first friends, has leased to Petosouchos son of Phramenis, Arsinoite, peasant, from the above mentioned estate, of land fifteen and a quarter arouras for the thirty-fourth year for a rent for each aroura for (a plot of) eleven of them of four artabas of wheat, for the remaining (10) four and a quarter arouras for a rent of five and two-thirds artabas of wheat, guaranteed against every risk and not subject to deduction for damage. When this land has been irrigated Petosouchos shall sow the land at his own expense, supplying to himself pure grain. If he does not sow the land or if he leaves the lease after having sown, he shall pay the whole rent.

And when the land has been sown, Herakleides and Euboulos' representatives must guarantee to Petosouchos and his representatives the lease and the land [and the crops?] for the agreed period of time. (15) If he fails to guarantee the lease as written above, the above mentioned Herakleides or Euboulos' representatives, being partners in the guarantee, shall pay a fine of twenty talents of bronze, and the

damages and this lease must be no less authoritative. And Petosouchos must be allowed to evict in return anyone who forces his way onto the land, without being liable to any penalty. If the lease is confirmed, Petosouchos shall deliver to Herakleides and the representatives of Euboulos the stipulated rent in the month (20) of Pachon of the same year and he must hand over the crop in the same village [---] Euboulos, wherever they order, in new, pure and unadulterated grain ... (transported) to Hephaistias ... at their own expense. And for each artaba which he does not deliver, Petosouchos shall pay immediately a fine of one thousand drachmas of bronze or the highest price that may be (charged) at the market of Hephaistias. (25) Let there be for Herakleides and Euboulos' representatives the right of execution on the person of Petosouchos himself and on all his possessions, as according to the regulation and the laws. This contract is authoritative. Witnesses: Pamênis, priest; NN; Diodoros, both Persians; Kallias, Thracian, all three of them *hekatontarouroi* from the second hipparchy of Aratos; Dorotheos; Ptolemaios, both Macedonians of the Epigone. (30) Keeper of the contract, Pamênis, priest.

I, Herakleides, have leased out in accordance with what is written above and have deposited the contract with NN son of ---souchos

I, Petesouchos, have leased in accordance with what is written above and have signed the contract.

I, Pamênis, have received (the contract in deposit).

1 (1) For the regnal formula, see *P.Köln* IV 187.1 and *SB* III 7188.1. The formula never appears to have τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου κτλ., which is sometimes restored by modern editors (cf., e.g., *P.Gen.* II 87.1, *SB* V 7632.1 and XVI 12373.1).

The priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies is attested in Demotic as *Klykls* (Kalliklês), son of *Tywkrt*s. Clarysse and van der Veken (*op.cit.* [n. 4]) transliterate this second name as "Diokratês or Theokratês." We venture to think that "-krt" may also stand for Greek names in "-kritos"; hence we should be dealing, then, with a Greek name Diokritos or Theokritos. Our papyrus in the *scriptura exterior* presents an incomplete and partly doubtful reading of which only the letters *omikron*, *kappa*, *rho*, and *iota* are more or less secure, while a more doubtful reading of *delta* + *iota* seems more attractive than *theta* + *epsilon*; hence we propose to read Διοκρί[του]. This name does not appear in the usual papyrological onomastica nor in W. Pape and G.E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Brunswick 1862–70), but it occurs in P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford 1987) I 135 (an attestation on Rhodes); the *Epigraphical Database of the Packard Humanities Institute* (see <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>) gives an extra attestation from another Greek island, i.e. *I.Cret.* I xxii 4A.7 (III BC).

1–2 (2–3) Compare Kalliklês' eponymous formula with the formula in *P.Dryton* 2 = *P.Grenf.* I 12.4 (150 BC), *P.Lond.* VII 2188.26ff. (148 BC), *P.Köln* IV 187.3ff. (146 BC) and *P.Gen.* II 87.2 (145/4 BC); for the "god Eupator" in particular, see J. Whitehorne, *Cleopatra*s (London-New York 2001) 241 (index) for "Ptolemy Eupator of Egypt."

3–4 (4–5) In *P.Köln* IV 187.7 (146 BC), the father of Ergonoê appears to be Ἀνάξανδρος. We have verified the reading and conclude that somewhere a misunderstanding must be at hand. The *kanephoros* Asklepias, daughter of Ptolemy appears in *P.Cairo* II 31179 (= F. de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques* [Cairo 1972] 63). Asklepias was the *athlophoros* the

preceding year in *P.Meerman*. 3 + P.dem. Wien Kunst. Mus. inv. 3874, ined. Apollonia daughter of Isokrates held the priesthood of Arsinoe Philopator a number of years (Clarysse and van der Veken, *op.cit.* [above, n. 4] nos. 142–145c) as attested by various demotic documents. She is attested in Greek also in *P.Köln* IV 187 (and restored in a lacuna in *SB* XXIV 16054 [145 BC]).

4 (5) In the lacuna at the end of the line in the *scriptura exterior* we restore the name of the Macedonian month corresponding to Hathyr 12 in l. 6 as Ἀρτεμισίου δωδεκᾶτη. Cf. the *scriptura interior*, l. 4. Cf. in general A.E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Munich 1962) 129–130, and the situation in *SB* XVI 12373.5 (158 BC): Audnaios 8 = Epeiph 8.

5 (7) The titulature τῶν πρώτων φίλων appears in l. 5 of the *scriptura interior*. In the *scriptura exterior* there is a lacuna following τῶν φίλ[, but one can hardly think of an inversion of the words into τῶν φίλων πρώτων. To date, an Euboulos "of the first friends" is unknown. He does not appear in the *Pros.Ptol.* nor in L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography*. Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren XXXVII, Nr. 78 (Brussels 1975); id., *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque. Contribution à l'étude des institutions et des classes dirigeantes à l'époque hellénistique*. Stud.Hell. 23 (Louvain 1977). For a later development concerning the title "of the first friends" see J.F. Oates, "Equal in Honor to the First Friends," *BASP* 32 (1995) 13–21.

6–7 (10) For the rent level, cf. Hennig, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) 27.

9–10 (13–14) One would expect here a wording like βεβαιούτωσαν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου Πετοσοῦχῳ καὶ τοῖς παρὰ Πετοσοῦχου τὴν μίσθωσιν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς καρπούς ἐπὶ τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον (cf. parallels such as *BGU* VI 1264.26–27; 1266.33–34; 1267.17; *X* 1943.16–17; 1949.5–6; *XIV* 2383.14; 2384.15; 2390.27; *P.Frankf.* 1, Int. 41–42, Ext. 45–46; 2, Int. 30–31, Ext. 36–37 and *P.Hib.* I 90.16–17; although these Ptolemaic texts are mostly from the Oxyrhynchite or the Herakleopolite nomes, rather than from the Arsinoite). The reading καὶ τὴν γῆν εἰαν[ on the *scriptura interior* seems clear enough, but as parallels are lacking we cannot find an explanation for this; maybe the solution should be found in cancelling the last letters, εἰαν, after which we may carry on with καὶ τοὺς καρπούς, etc.

For Arsinoite land leases featuring a τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον clause, cf. *PSI* X 1098.16–17 (Tebtynis, 51 BC): βεβαιούτω δὲ Ἀρίστων τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις τὴν μί[σθ]ωσιν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον; *P.Tebt.* I 105.29–30 (Tebtynis, 103 BC): βεβαιώτω δὲ Ὀρίων Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μίσθωσιν κα[ὶ] τὰ ἐκ τῆς [γῆς] [γεν]ήματα ἐκκαρπίσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς διηγορευμένοις τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον.

12–14 (18–23) The corresponding passages in both texts are difficult to reconcile. The *scriptura interior* has:

Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως π[α]ρα[δότη]ωι Πετοσοῦχος Ἡρ[ακλειδης ἢ] τ[οῖς]<sup>[παρ'</sup>  
 Εὐβούλου] [. . . . .] .α παραθεσ . . . . . | . . . . . [ . . ] . . . . . εἶδε ες . . βα . [ . ] . . . . .  
 . . . . . τοῖς παρ' Εὐβ[ού]λου οὗ ἂν [συν]τάσ[σως]ιν πυρὸ[ν] νέον καθαρόν καὶ ἄδολον καὶ  
 καταστήσαν|τες] εἰς Ἡφαιστῖ[δά] εἰς τ[ . ]ν ἄπο . . . . . . . . . . . ν τοῖς ἰδίῳις  
 ἀνηλώμασιν·

while the *exterior* has:

Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μ[ισθώσεως | π[α]ραδότῳ Π[ε]τ[ο]σοῦχ[ο]ς Ἡρακλείδῃ ἢ τοῖς [παρ'  
Εὐ]βούλ[ου τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐκ]φόρια ἐ[ν μ]ηνί Π[α]χῶν] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔ[τ]ους καὶ  
παρα[δότῳ τὰ γενή]ματα ἐν τῇ [αὐτῇ κώμῃ . . . ] | . . . [ . . . . . ] οἱ γ[ . . . ]ργοὶ  
Εὐβούλου οὔ ἂν συντάσσωσιν πυρὸν νέον καθ[αρὸν] καὶ ἄ[δο]λον . . . . . [ . . . . .  
. . . . ] . μ[ . . . ] . τα εἰς Ἡ[φαισ]τιάδ[α . . . . ]ν ἀπ . . ε.ιγ [ . . . . . ] . ον τοῖς ἰδίοις |  
ἀνηλώμασιν·

For the general wording of the text compare:

*P. Yale* I 51.22–24 (cf. ll. 10–11):

ἀποδιδότῳσαν δὲ [Ἄγα]θοκλῆς καὶ [Ἡρακλῆς Πε]τεβεντήτει κατ' ἔτος τὰ ἐκφόρια ἐπὶ  
τέλους τοῦ ἐκάστου ἔτους ἢ ὅ]ταν ἡ ἄφεις τοῦ γενήματος δοθῆι πυρὸν [νέον καθαρὸν καὶ  
ἄδολον μέτρῳ δικαίῳ μετρήσει δικαίαι καὶ καταστ]ήσαντες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀ[νη]λώμασιν εἰς  
Κερ[κεσοῦχα οὔ ἂν Πε]τεβεντήτει συντάσση καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἀποδῶσι τὸν πυρὸν] καθὰ  
προγέγραπται ἀποτεισάτωσαν [Ἄγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Πε]τεβεντήτει ἐκάστης  
ἀρτάβης ἧς ἂν μὴ ἀποδῶσι χαλκοῦ ν]ομ[ίσ]ματ[ο]ς δρ]αχμᾶς

*P. Amh.* II 44.29–34 (cf. ll. 9–11):

οὔ ἂν Πύρρος συντάσση c ? πυρὸν νέον ἄδολον καθαρὸν ἀπὸ [παντὸς c ? ]  
[ c ? ]ωι μετρήσει δικ[αίαι c ? ]  
[ c ? ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγραπται ἀποτεισάτω] παραχρῆμα ε . [ c ? ]  
[ c ? ] τὴν ἐσομέν[ην πλείστην]  
[τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τιμὴν c ? ἢ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω] Πύρρωι τῷ [κατὰ τὴν]  
[συγγραφὴν πράσσουντι παρά τε c ? καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχό]ντων αὐτῷ [ι πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ  
δίκης·

*PSI X* 1098.20–26:

βεβαιουμέ[νης] δὲ τῆς μ[ισθώσεως] μὴθὲν παρασυγγραφοῦντος ἀποδότησαν αὐτοὶ οἱ  
μεμ[ισθωμένοι] Ἀρίστῳ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐκφορίων ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ δευ[τέρου] ἔ[τ]ους  
καταστήσαντες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν εἰς τὴν π[ρ]ογεγρ[αμ]μένην [κώ]μην Τεβτῦνειν οὔ  
ἔαν Ἀρίστῳ συντάσση πυρὸν νέον κ[αθ]αρὸν καὶ ἄδολον ἀπὸ πάντων, μ[έ]τρῳ τῷ  
τῆς κώμης τετραχοινίκῳ δ[ρόμ]ῳ μετρήσει δικαίᾳ

*P. Tebt.* I 105.39–42:

τὸ δὲ διασεσαφημένον ἐκφόριον κατ' ἔτο[ς ἀ]ποδότη Πτολεμαῖος Ὀρίωνι ἢ τοῖς παρ'  
α[ὐ]τοῦ ἐν μ[ηνί] Παῦνι ἀποδιδούς πυρὸν νέον κ[αθ]αρὸν ἄδολον ἀπὸ πάντων μέτρῳ  
ἑξαχοινίκῳ δρόμου τοῦ ἐν τῇ προγεγρ[αμ]μένῃ κώμῃ Σουχιείου μετρήσει δικαίαι  
καταστήσας εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πρὸς Ὀρίωνα οὔ ἂν συντάσση ἐ[ν] τῇ αὐτ[ῇ] κώμῃ τοῖς]  
ἰδ[ίο]ις ἀνηλώμασιν.



*P.Tebt.* I 106.26–29:

καὶ τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος παραδειξάτω ἅ καὶ παρείληφεν καθαρὰ [ἀπὸ θρύου καλάμο]ν ἀγρώστεως τῆς {α} ἄλλης δείσης, τὰ τε κατ' ἔτος ἐκφόρια ἀποδότη [Πτολεμαῖος Μάρωνι c. 5 ἐν μηνὶ Π]αῦνι ἐν τῇ σημαινομένῃ κώμῃ οὗ ἂν Μάρων [συντάσσει c. 15] νποιοῦν καὶ λόγον μέτρῳ τῶι πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ [τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ Σουχιείου].

On the basis of these parallel texts one expects in our text a wording like οὗ ἂν συντάσσωσιν πυρὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον μέτρῳ δικαίῳ μετρήσει δικαίαι καὶ καταστήσαντες εἰς Ἡφαιστιάδα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν.

13 (19–20) According to ll. 19–20 of the *scriptura exterior*, the *scriptura interior* should read ἐκφόρια ἐν μηνὶ Παχῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους καὶ παραδότη τὰ γενήματα ἐν τῇ. But since there is a line written above the text, it may be assumed that the scribe first forgot and afterwards inserted part of this text.

In the *scriptura exterior*, l. 20, two different months could possibly be restored, Pachon or Pauni. Moreover the month should be the harvest month. For the wheat harvest in Roman Egypt (late Pharmouthi [= April] – early Pauni [= June]) see P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden 1994<sup>2</sup>) 316–317. Here, however, we are in Ptolemaic Egypt, and that at a moment when Hathyr 12 is December 9<sup>th</sup>, rather than November 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> (in a Roman leap year). Consequently, all Egyptian calendar data in this text fall approximately one month later in Roman Egypt. It follows that a supposed harvest date in P[auni] would fall effectively in Epeiph, i.e. during the rise of the Nile: not a particularly apt season for collecting harvests etc. Accordingly, the month name most likely to be restored in this Ptolemaic text is that of Π[αχῶν], which equals Pauni in Roman Egypt.

15 (25) There is a gap in the text of the *scriptura exterior* l. 25 of ca. 1 cm between the words καὶ and τοῖς.

17 (27) A Diodoros, Πέρσης, appears in *BGU VI* 1254.1, a complaint sent to the κωμογραμματεὺς of the village of Hephaistias in 154/3 or 143/2 BC. (cf. *Pros.Ptol.* II 2778, p. 106). He belonged to the second hipparchy (a cavalry unit) under the command of Ἄρω [ . . . ] καὶ Λύκωνος. The reading of Ἄρω [ . . . ] should most probably be taken as a misreading for Ἀράτ[ου], alpha and omega being often very similar in Ptolemaic hands.

No doubt, the first of these two commanders (cf. *Pros.Ptol.* II 1858, p. 8) must be identical with the Aratos mentioned in our text. There is an Aratos in the *Pros.Ptol.* II 1850 (p. 7), who seems to be an eponymous officer in *P.Tebt.* III.2 971.21 (150 BC).

On military personnel, see F. Übel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemaeern*, (Berlin 1968), and for the foreign ethnics (Thracians, Persians, Macedonians *tês epigonês*) see C.A. La'da, "Foreign Ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt," in *Pros.Ptol X* (2002) 87ff. (Thracians) 229ff. (Persians; our Diodorus is La'da's # E 1984 on p. 232), and 201ff. (*Makedônes tês epigonês*).

Ext. 32, 34 One might expect συγγραφῆν κυρίαν, as in other examples of the formula found while searching the *DDBDP* for τέθειμα (cf. the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Fayumic texts *BGU VI* 1271.14; *P.Meyer* 2.5; *P.Oslo* III 140.5; *P.Tebt.* I 105.61; III.1 818.30; *P.Würzb.* 6 Ext. 39; *SB VIII* 9679.3; XVI 12372.22), but this does not seem to fit the traces.

One expects the name of the συγγραφοφύλαξ Pamênis, but the traces seem to belong to a name starting with Φ-, perhaps followed by a mother's name Θενπετοσοῦχος.

Ext. 35 We think that in this line at least the elements ια, δ[ ], δd and εβ refer to elements, in particular numerals, mentioned already earlier in the preceding contract. The numerals ια (= 11) and δd (= 4.25) may be taken to refer to the number of arourae in each of the two plots of land referred to, while the first *delta* (= 4), must be, then, the rent paid for the first plot at four artabae per aroura, and the letters εβ (= 5 2/3) indicate the amount of rent for the second plot of land. The first numeral, however, ις̄ (= 16) is a mystery; as we do not see what this refers to (a σφραγίς numeral is not mentioned in the text itself) the function of the μ( ) is equally uncertain (it is unlikely to represent an abbreviation of μισθός) and the last word is not fully readable. While we cannot come further than reading μεμ . . . , we think that this must be a perfect form of the verb μισθόω. As we are at the end of the *scriptura exterior*, at this place the whole function of such summary of some important elements in the lease raises questions; such a summary, after all, may be expected rather on the verso of the text. Maybe these indications served as an aide-mémoire for the scribe who had to devise phrasings for the whole contract, i.e. the *scriptura interior* and, after that, the *scriptura exterior*?



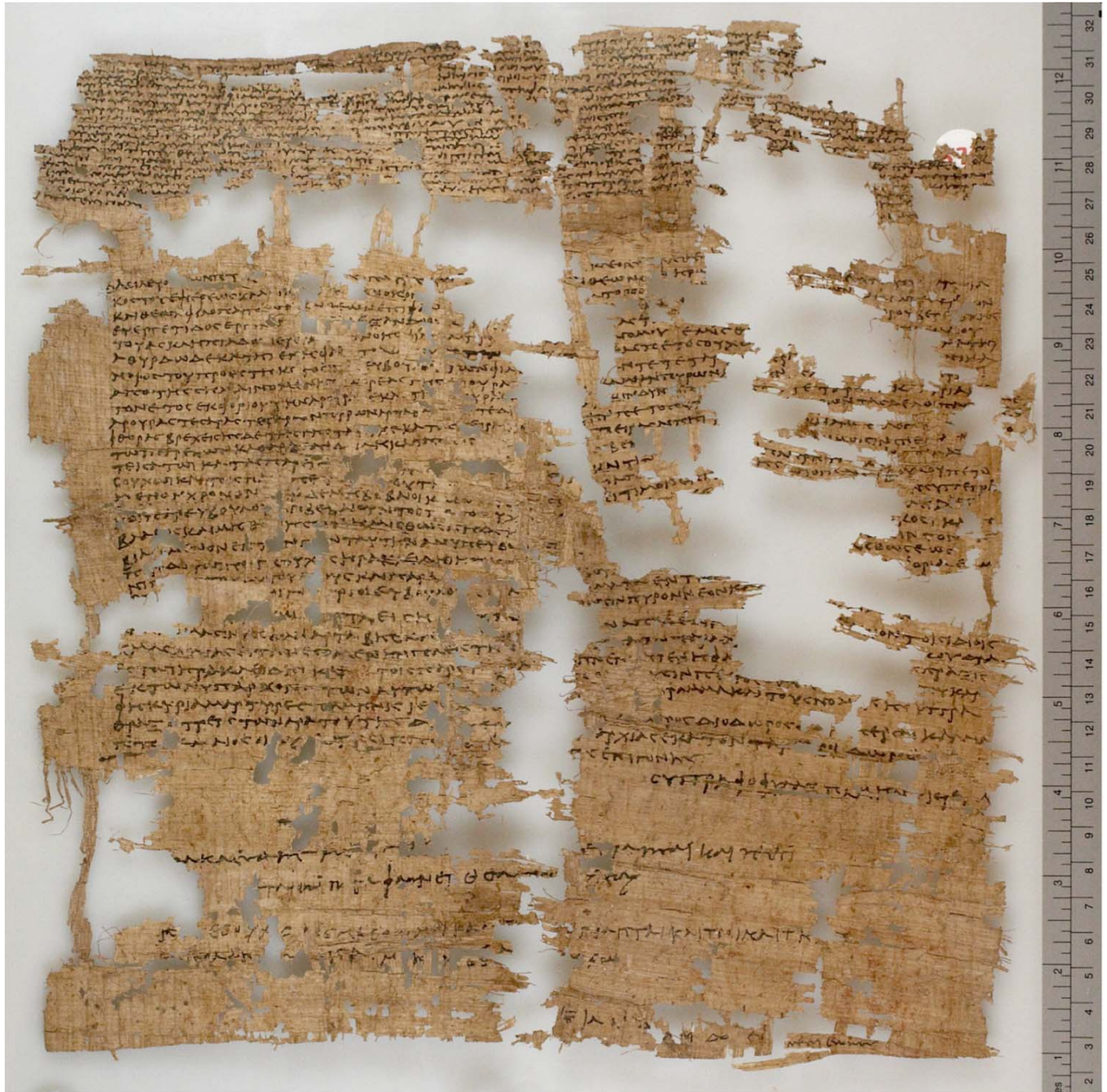
Pl. I



Pl. II

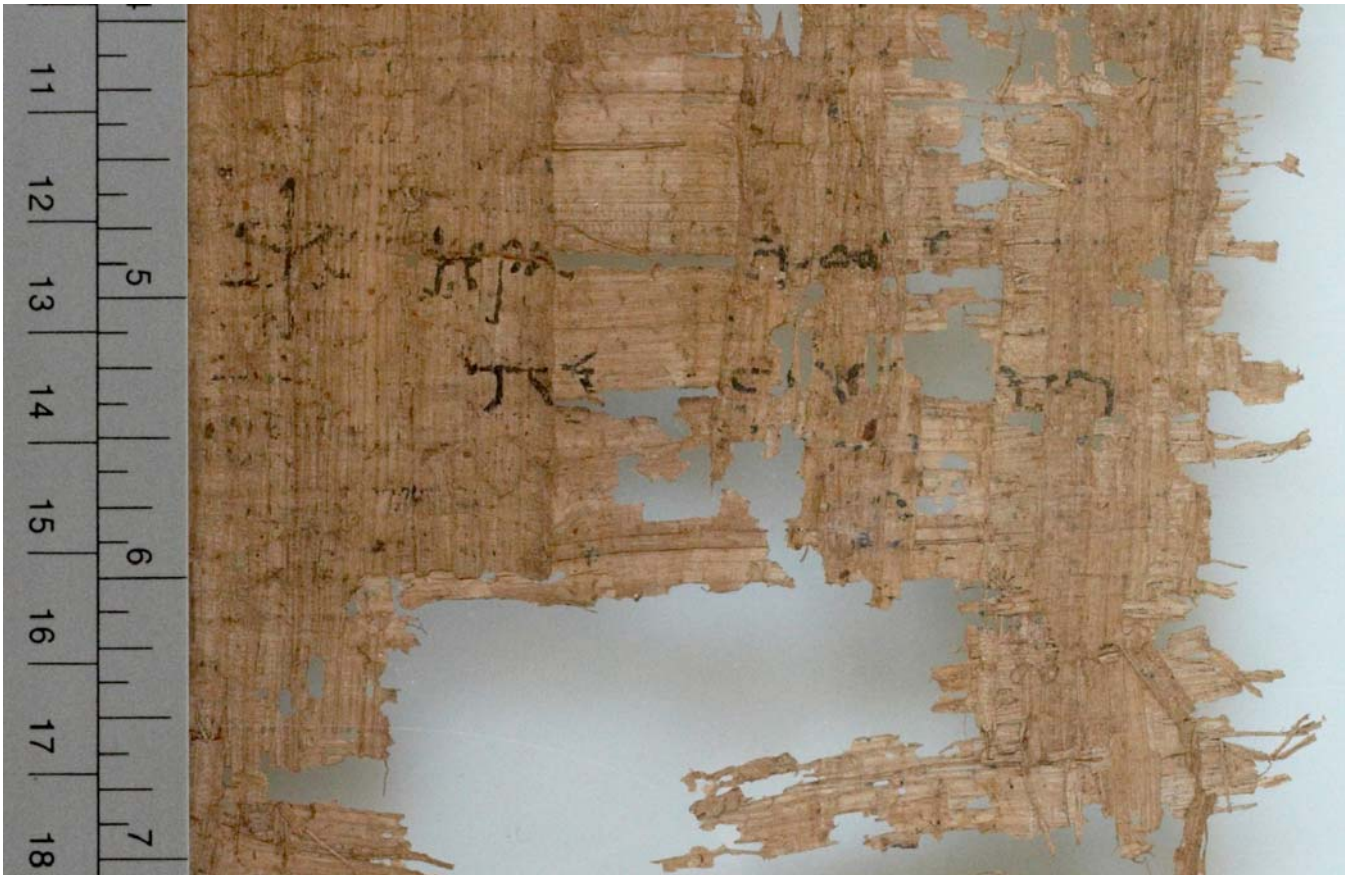
Plates I-II





Pl. III

Plate III



Pl. IV

