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Ten Dike Certificates from Tebtunis

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TEN DIKE CERTIFICATES FROM TEBTUNIS*

The documents presented here are the best preserved of the dike certificates described as *P. Teb.* 641-674. All attest to the performance of the standard five days' corvée at various canals in or near Tebtunis with the exception of No. 8 where a *κελευσθεισαν θ ἔτει β πενθήμερον* is mentioned (see note *ad loc.*). We have departed from the original order of the documents set by the editors of *P. Teb.* II and have substituted a chronological arrangement.

For recent discussions and bibliography of penthemeral certificates and the dike corvée see *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XII; N. Lewis, *Chr. d'Eg.* 34, 1959, pp. 285-288; Claire Préaux, *Chr. d'Eg.* 39, 1964, pp. 120-125; *P. Sorb.* 59, introduction and notes; Bonneau, *Atti XI Congresso*, 1966, p. 390, n. 5.

1

P. Teb. 646 descr.

6.5 x 7.3 cm.

113 A.D.

Ἔτους ις Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα
Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ.
εἴργ(ασται) ἐφ' ἡμ(έρας) ε ὑπὲρ χω(ματικῶν)
ἐργω(ν) τοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) ις (ἔτους)
(2nd hand) ἐν τῇ ὀρωῇ Παῦ(νι) ἰθ κ̄γ Τεπτύνεω(ς)
Ζωίλος Ζωίλου τοῦ Ἀρμύσιος
μ(ητρὸς) Ταορσενούρεως.
(3rd hand) Σωκρ() κ(ατασπορεὺς) σεση(μείωμαι).

4. ὀρωῇ

Year 16 of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus. Work done for five days on the dike works for the same year 16 at the desert canal, Payni 19-23, on behalf of Tebtunis, by Zoilus, son of Zoilus and Taorsenouphis, grandson of Harmiusis. Signed by me Sokr(), katasporeus.

1. Year 16 of Trajan: 112/3 A.D.

4. Payni 19-23: June 13-17, 113 A.D.

Τεπτύνεω(ς): "on behalf of Tebtunis" (i.e., as part of the quota of labor owed collectively by the inhabitants of Tebtunis) rather than "in" or "of Tebtunis." See O. M. Pearl, *Aegyptus* 31, 1951, pp. 225-227; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* 4, 1908, pp. 145 f.; *WGdz.*, p. 335.

*The papyri published here are housed in the General Library of the University of California at Berkeley. The writers would like to express their gratitude to the staff of Rare Books and Special Collections, and particularly, to Mrs. Leslie Clarke and her able assistant, Ginny Roeker.

5-6. Ζωῖλος: presumably a brother of the] . [. . .]ς Ζωῖλου το(ῦ) Ἀρμύσι(ος) / (μητρὸς) Ταορσενο(ύφεως) of the fragmentary *P. Teb.* 663 descr. lines 6-7, of the same year and days as the present text. Their father, Zoilus son of Harmiusis, is probably to be identified with the creditor of *P. Teb.* 388 (98 A.D.), and perhaps also with the πράκτωρ λαογραφίας κώμης Τεβτύνεως of 391.2 (99 A.D.).

7. κ(ατασπορεύς): this abbreviation can also be read in 663. Accordingly, these two certificates replace *P. Mil. Vogl.* 92 = *SB* 9266a (133 A.D.) as containing the earliest explicit references to this official in dike certificates.

2

P. Teb. 650 descr.

6.0 x 6.5 cm.

158 A.D.

Ἔτους κ̄Α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντων(ίνου)
 Σεβ(αστοῦ) Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς. (2nd hand) εἶργ(ασται)
 ὑπ(ἐρ) χω(ματικῶν)
 ἔργ(ων) τοῦ α(ἰτοῦ) κ̄Α (ἔτους) Παχ(ῶν) ιη κ̄β
 (3rd hand) ἐν τῇ Ἑρμοῖθ(ου) Τεπτ(ύνεως)
 Εὐδαίμων Πρωτᾶ τοῦ Ὀρσενούφεως.
 (4th hand) Σαραπ() σεσημ(είωμαι).

Year 21 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius. Work done on the dike works for the same year 21, Pachon 18-22, at the canal of Hermoithes, on behalf of Tebtunis, by Eudaimon, son of Protas, grandson of Orsenouphis. Signed by me Sarap().

1. Year 21 of Antoninus Pius: 157/8 A.D.

4. Pachon 18-22: May 13-17, 158 A.D.

5. Ἑρμοῖθ(ου): also found in *P. Teb.* 649-54 and 657 descr. (No. 5 below). For the location of this canal, running from Tebtunis by Magdola, see A. E. Samuel, *BASP* 2, 1964-65, pp. 105-107.

3

P. Teb. 647 descr.

7.5 x 8.7 cm.

159 A.D.

Ἔτους κ̄β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβ[οῦς]. (2nd hand) εἶργ(ασται)
 ὑπὲρ χω(ματικῶν)
 τοῦ αἰτοῦ κβ (ἔτους) Παῦ(νι) λ̄ ἕως Ἐπίφ δ̄
 ἐν ὄρωῃ Πολ(έμωνος) Τεβτύ(νεως)
 (3rd hand) Ἑρμῆς
 ἀπάτωρ μη(τρὸς) Ταφορ().

Year 22 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius. Work done on the dikes for the same year 22, Payni 30-Epeiph 4, at the desert canal of Polemon, on behalf of Tebtunis, by Hermes, bastard son of his mother Taphor().

1. Year 22 of Antoninus Pius: 158/9 A.D.
4. Payni 30-Epeiph 4: June 24-28, 159 A.D.
5. ὀρινη Πολ(έμωνος): cf. *P. Bon.* 31, *P. Oslo Inv.* 1020 (*P. Lugd.-Bat.* XII, p. 37), and below, No. 7. The Bahr Gharaq according to *P. Teb.* II, p. 392.

4

P.Teb. 656 descr.

6.5 x 8.0 cm.

163 A.D.

Ἔτους δ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείου
 Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ.
 εἶργ(ασται) ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικῶν) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ)
 δ (ἔτους) (2nd hand) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀφ' ἰά̄ ἔω(ς)
 ἰε̄ ἐν τ(ῆ) Φολ(ήμεως) Τεβ(τύνεως) Φιλούμενο(ς)
 δοῦλ(ος) Νεμεσᾶ.

Year 4 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus. Work done on the dikes for the same year 4, Sebastus 11-15, at the canal of Pholemis, on behalf of Tebtunis, by Philoumenos, slave of Nemesas.

1. Year 4 of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus: 163/4 A.D.
- 5-6. Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀφ' ἰά̄ ἔω(ς) ἰε̄: September 9-13, 163 A.D. Sebastus = Thoth. ἀφ' ἰά̄: but ἀπὸ ἰα in *P. Mil. Vogl.* 91 cited in *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XII, p. 6, n. 5b. On the varying treatment of words before *sigla* cf. *P. Ryl.* 225.51 note.
7. Φολ(ήμεως): cf. *SB* 5124; *P. Ryl.* 211.7 note; 212; *P. Fay.* 287 descr.; Hohlwein, *JJP* 3, 1949, p. 79; Pearl, *Aegyptus* 31, 1951, p. 225, n. 2.
8. δοῦλ(ος): slaves often labored on the dikes: *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XII, p. 9 and the list given pp. 24-38. Cf. below, Nos. 9 and 10.

5

P.Teb. 657 descr.

6.7 x 7.0 cm.

166 A.D.

Ἔτους ς̄ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείου
 Σεβ(αστοῦ) καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου
 Σεβ(αστοῦ). εἶργ(ασται) ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικῶν)
 το(ῦ) ς̄ (ἔτους) Μεσορῆ
 αἔως ἐν τῆ Ἑρμοίθο(υ) Τεπ(τύνεως)
 (2nd hand) Ἡρακλ() Ὀννώ(φριος)
 το(ῦ) Ὀρσήους
 (μητρὸς) Τα[.]...

Year 6 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus. Work done on the dikes for year 6, Mesore 1-5, at the canal of Hermoithes, on behalf of Tebtunis, by Herakl(), son of Onnophris and Ta . . . , grandson of Orses.

1. Year 6 of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus: 165/6 A.D.
- 5-6. Mesore 1-5: July 25-29, 166 A.D.
- 'Ερμούθo(v): cf. No. 2.5 note.

6


P.Teb. 655 descr.

7.0 x 6.4 cm.

170 A.D.

Ἔτους ι Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ
 Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθ[ι]κοῦ μεγίστου.
 εἰργασται ὑπ(ἐρ) χωματικῶν ι (ἔτους)
 Παῦνι κδ κῆ
 ἐν τ(ῆ) Ἀργαίτιδος Τεπτύνεως Κατ. .ς
 Ἡρακλ() το(ῦ) Ἀπύχ(ιος) (μητρὸς) Ἡρακ().

Year 10 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus. Work done on the dikes for year 10, Payni 24-28, at the canal of Argais, on behalf of Tebtunis, by Kat..s, son of Herakl() and Herak(), grandson of Apynchis.

1. Year 10 of Marcus Aurelius: 169/70 A.D.
- 2-3. The imperial names are so cursive as to render the transcription doubtful in detail.
5. Ἀργαίτιδος: this canal is well attested for the Roman period in certificates from both Bacchias and Tebtunis. Cf. *P. Strassb.* 16, 18, 155, 156, 161-163, 167, 168; *P. Got.* 1; *SB* 9263, 5124. Cf. for the Ptolemaic period *P. Teb.* 86, 150, and 164, especially the editors' remarks on 164.
6. (μητρὸς):  Pap.

7

P.Teb. 648 descr.

4.7 x 6.0 cm.

171 A.D.

This certificate and the following one should be taken together. Both are from the 11th year of Marcus Aurelius. The first one is dated Epeiph 27-Mesore 1. The second certificate is from Mesore 10-14. Both documents were written in one hand and that hand is clearly the same in both cases. Unfortunately the signatures are lacking.

Ἔτους ια Αὐρηλίου
 Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου. εἰργασται ὑπ(ἐρ)
 χωματικῶν ια (ἔτους)

Ἐπειφ κς ἕως Μεσο(ρή) α'
 ἐν τῇ ὀρ(εωῆ) Πολ(έμωνος) Τεβτύ(νεως)
 Σατορνεῖλ(ος) Τυράννου
 Κρονίω(νος) (μητρὸς) Κρονίας.

Year 11 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord. Work done on the dikes for year 11, Epeiph 27-Mesore 1, at the desert canal of Polemon, on behalf of Tebtunis, by Saturnilus, son of Tyrannus and Kronia, grandson of Kronion.

1. Year 11 of Marcus Aurelius: 170/1 A.D.
4. Epeiph 27-Mesore 1: July 21-25, 171 A.D.
5. ὀρ(εωῆ) Πολ(έμωνος): cf. No. 3.5 note 6.
6. Σατορνεῖλ(ος) Τυράννου: this may be the Saturnilus son of Tyrannus known from *P. Teb.* 397 (198 A.D.) where his children Heraklia and Serenus settle a debt contracted by their father, who has since died. Cf. also *P. Teb.* 304.7 (167/8 A.D.).
7. (μητρὸς): 5 Pap.

8

P. Teb. 662 descr.

5.0 x 5.5 cm.

171 A.D.

Ἔτους ἰα Αὐρηλίου
 Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου. εἶργ(ασται) ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικῶν)
 ια' (ἔτους) Μεσο(ρή) ι δ' ἐν τῇ . . .
 τὴν κελ(ευσθεῖσαν) θ (ἔτει) β
 πενθ(ήμερον) Τεπ(τύνεως)
 Κρονίων Ἀρποχ() το(ῦ)
 Κρονίω(νος) (μητρὸς) Ὡ Ταορσ().

Year 11 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord. Work done on the embankments for year 11, Mesore 10-14, at ..., for the second five-day work period required in the ninth year, on behalf of Tebtunis, by Kronion, son of Harpoch() and Taors(), grandson of Kronion.

1. Year 11 of Marcus Aurelius: 170/1 A.D.
 4. Mesore 10-14: August 3-7, 171 A.D.
- The place is not the ὀρ(εωῆ) for which cf. No. 7 written in the same year, fourteen days earlier.
5. τὴν κελ(ευσθεῖσαν) θ (ἔτει) β πενθ(ήμερον): the second five-day work period required in the ninth year (168/9 A.D.).

This is the most natural reading of the text: if right, the two-year delay between the requisition of a second penthemeros and the performance of the work is probably to be explained by assuming that our text is concerned with the making up of arrears. Cf. *P. Lond.* 316a (III, p. 104) and Oertel's comments, *Liturgie*, p. 71 n. 4. The alternative suggested by the *P. Teb.* II editors (p. 332) κελ(ευσ)θ(εῖσαν) β πενθ(ήμερον) does away with the period of delay, but is much less attractive paleographically.

9

P.Teb. 658 descr.

3.5 x 9.0 cm.

204 A.D.

Ἔτους θ' Λο[υ]κίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβ(οῦς)
 Περτίνακος καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου(νου)
 καὶ Πουπλίου
 Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Βρεταννικῶ(ν) μεγίστω(ν)
 Εὐσεβῶ(ν) Σεβαστῶν.
 εἰργ(ασται) ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικῶν) ἔργ(ων) θ (ἔτους)
 (2nd hand) Φαρ(μουῦθι) α ἔω(ς) ε
 εἰς ῥοίς ὕδατ(ος)
 πύλ(ης) ὀρ(εωῆς) Τεπτύνεως
 Δίδυμος δοῦλ(ος) Πακῆβκισ.

4. ῥοεῖς: cf. WB s.v. ῥοίς.

Year 9 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Publius Septimius Geta Britannici Maximi Pii Augusti. Work done on the dike works for year 9, Pharmouthi 1-5, for the streams of water at the desert gate, on behalf of Tebtunis, by Didymus, slave of Pakebkis.

1. Year 9 of Septimius, Caracalla, and Geta: 203/4 A.D.
4. Pharmouthi 1-5: March 27-31, 204 A.D.

10

P.Teb. 661 descr.

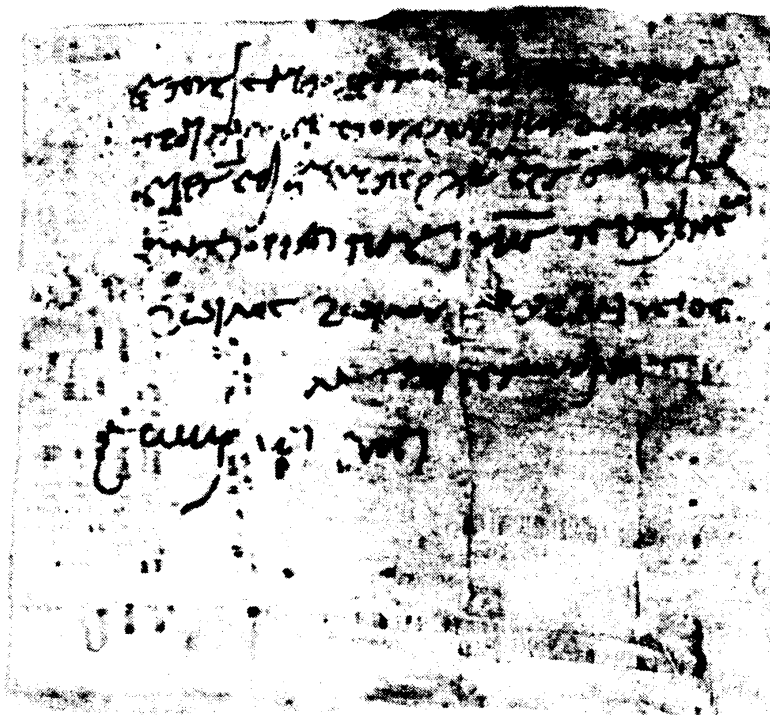
4.2 x 6.7 cm.

210 A.D.

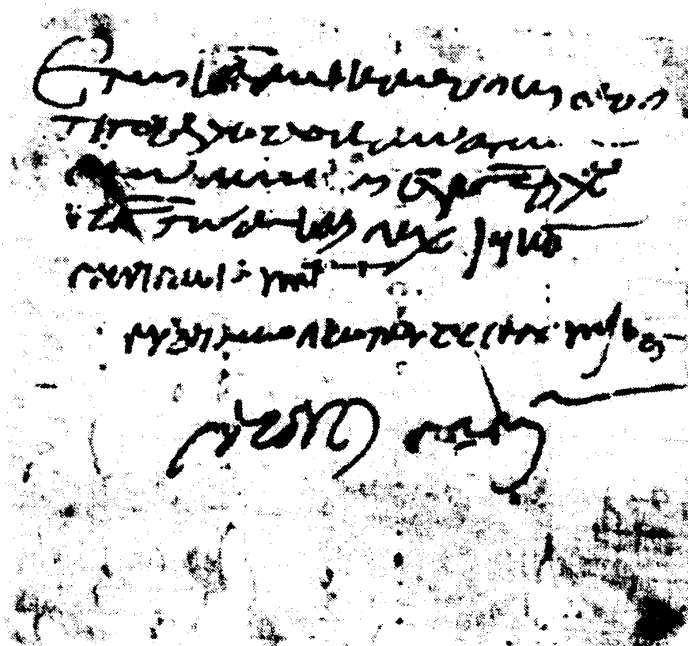
Ἔτους ιη Λουκίου Σε[πτι]μίου Σεουήρου
 Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος καὶ Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς
 καὶ Πουβλίου Σ[ε]πτιμίου Γέτα Σεβαστῶν.
 (2nd hand) εἰργ(ασται) ὑπ(έρ) χω(ματικῶν)
 ιη (ἔτους) Παῦ(νι) κα ἔως κε
 εἰς τή(ν) Ἀργαίτ(ιδος) διώ(ρυγα)
 (3rd hand) Δίδυ(μος) δοῦλ(ος) Ἴερα() Παβῆκισ.

Year 18 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius and Publius Septimius Geta Augusti. Work done on the dikes for year 18, Payni 21-25, at the canal of Argais, on behalf of Tebtunis, by Didymus, slave of Hiera(), son of Pabekis.

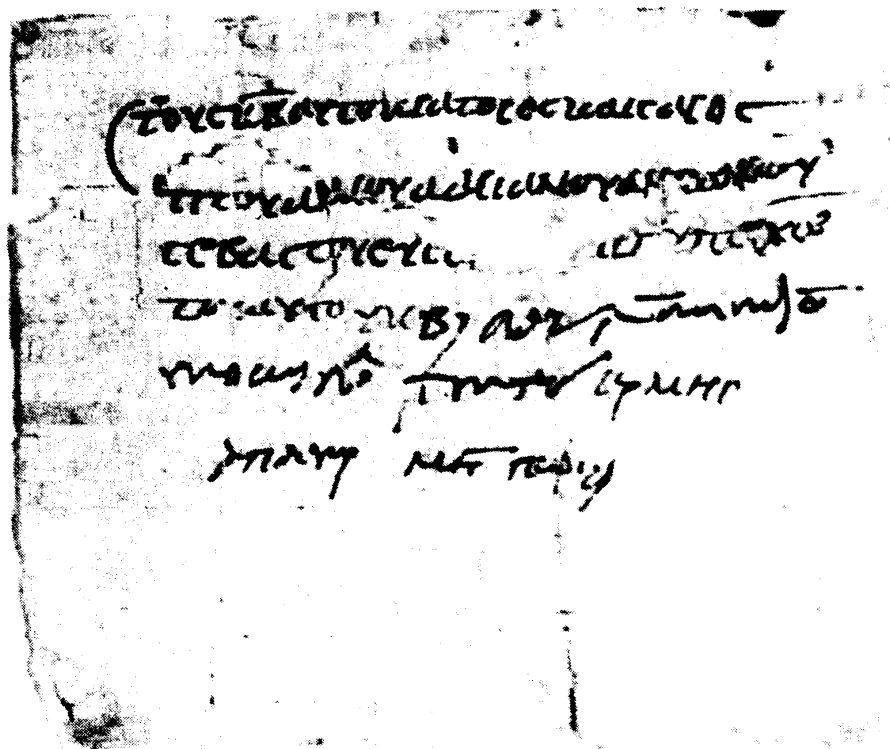
1. Year 18 of Septimius, Caracalla, and Geta: 209/10 A.D.
5. Payni 21-25: June 15-19, 210 A.D.
6. εἰς τή(ν) Ἀργαίτ(ιδος) διώ(ρυγα): the name of the canal is written very fast, with much Verschleifung; but the tau before διώ(ρυγα) is clear and, if that is right, Ἀργαίτ(ιδος) seems unavoidable. For the Ἀργαίτ(ιδος) διώρξ cf. No. 6.5 note.



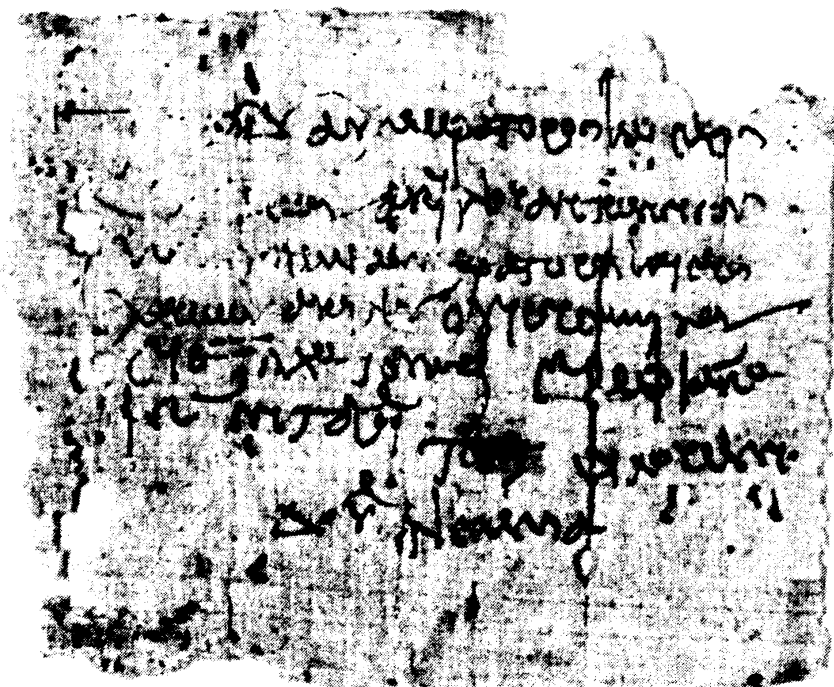
1. P.Teb. 646 descr.



2. P.Teb. 650 descr.



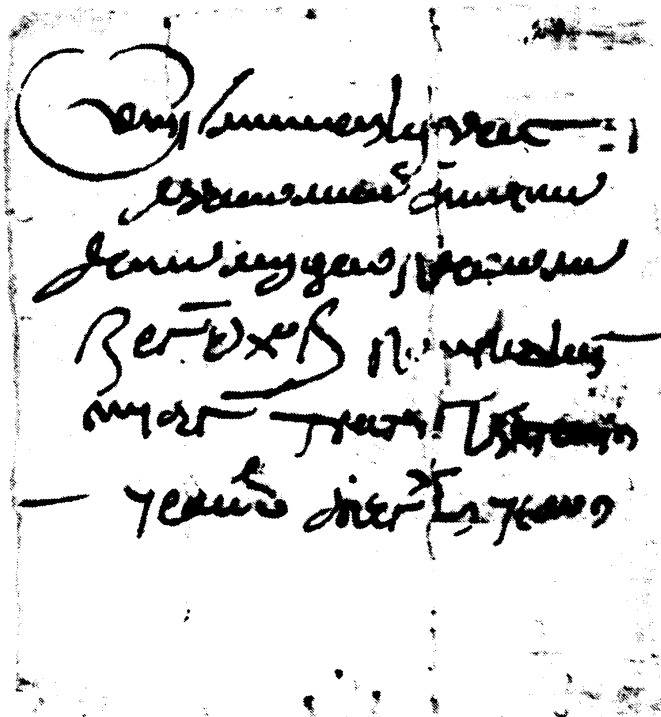
3. P.Teb. 647 descr.



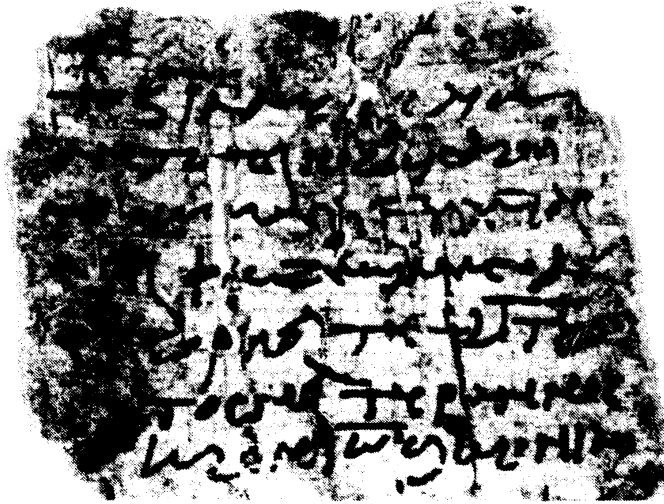
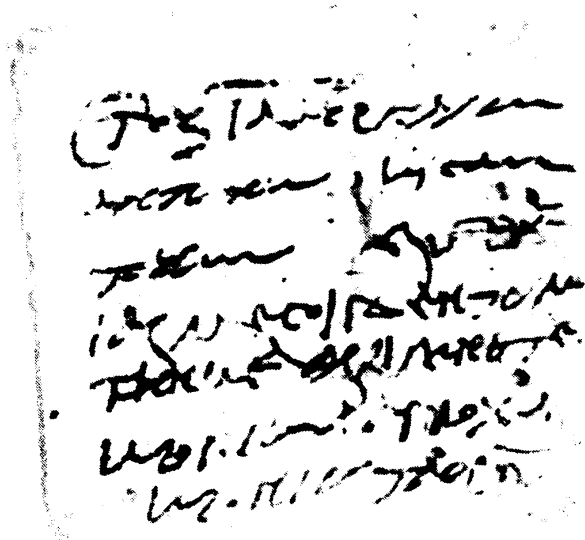
4. P.Teb. 656 descr.



5. P.Teb. 657 descr.



6. P.Teb. 655 descr.

7. *P.Teb.* 648 descr.8. *P.Teb.* 662 descr.

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9. P.Teb. 658 descr.

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10. P.Teb. 661 descr.