

The Village of Theadelphia in the Second Century AD:  
The Archives of Aphrodisios Son of Philippos,  
and Ptolemaios Son of Diodoros

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Valentina Iannace

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL: Preisigke, F. et al. (edd. 1922-), *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (Berlin-Leiden).

TM: *Trismegistos: An Interdisciplinary Portal of the Ancient world*, available at <https://www.trismegistos.org/>.

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the papyrus documentation from Theadelphia (Fayum) to reassess the socio-administrative history of the village in the second century AD, filling a gap in the current scholarship. The core source is a *corpus* of fifty-two papyri, belonging to the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”. Starting with a papyrological reappraisal of these texts, provided with fresh editions and reeditions, the thesis evaluates their prosopographical, material, and palaeographical connections to rearrange the archives and adopts a comparative approach to their acquisition paths to reconstruct their “biographies”.

Through a historical analysis of the surviving documentary material from second century Theadelphia, the thesis reevaluates the administrative environment of the village and its role in the toparchical system of Fayum. Furthermore, it explores the main administrative institutions of the village: the state office, which was the venue of the *komogrammateus* and the toparch, and the *grapheion*. Since the documents of the two archives at the centre of this thesis are rich in information about the status, familial strategies, and financial and professional positions of middle-upper classes of the village, they provide a glimpse into the social *élites* of Theadelphia in the second century AD.

This thesis demonstrates that Theadelphia acquired prominence over the *meris* of Themistos in the second century AD, as it was the capital of the sixth toparchy and the administrative centre of the area. The reorganisation of the *chora* implemented by the Roman government led to the rise of the village’s middle-upper social classes, who improved their socio-economic status through the performance of liturgical offices and participation in the provincial administration.

## **DECLARATION**

No portion of the work referred to in the 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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## INTRODUCTION

The topic of this thesis is the history of the Egyptian village of Theadelphia (Fayum) in the second century AD, re-evaluated in the light of its papyrological documentation. This work focuses on fifty-two papyri belonging to two interconnected archives, those of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” (AD 88/89-159/160) and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros” (AD 138-162)”, which shed light on the profiles, status, and activities of those men and their involvement in village life. Based on the entire papyrus material from the village dated to the second century AD, this dissertation also contextualises the lives of Aphrodisios, Ptolemaios, and their families by reassessing the socio-administrative history of the village.

My interest in the Theadelphian documentation dated to the second century AD started from a purely papyrological ground. I first developed a strong passion for the papyrus material during my MA studies, when I was captivated by the fascination of inspecting a papyrus, understood as an archaeological piece featuring material and writing peculiarities, and not as a text printed on a volume of editions. My interest in the tricky task of editing papyri aroused the subsequent realisation that there is always room for improvement in the papyrological world. The texts of the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros” caught my attention as they needed some reediting. In some instances, for example *P.Ryl. II 330-332*, only one or two lines had been published. Other editions bore mistakes or entire sentences left unread by their previous editors.

At first my doctoral project, submitted to the University of Manchester to benefit from the stunning Rylands’ papyrus collection, aimed at providing those texts with fresh, full editions and using them to investigate the lives of the archives’ families. However, as I examined those papyri, their connections with other documents coming from the same place and dated to the same period have come to light. Those intertextual links have not only provided clues to the archaeology of the site but have also disclosed their potentiality for reassessing the socio-administrative history of Theadelphia in the second century AD. This led to the necessity of reconsidering the entire papyrus evidence from the village as a basis for this research.

## Scope, Methodology, Limitations

The site of Theadelphia (Kharabet Ihrit)<sup>1</sup> lies about 30 km west of Arsinoe and 7 km south of the lake of Moeris (Birket Qaroun), the largest natural reservoir of the region.<sup>2</sup> It was on the angle of the Bahr Qasr el-Banât, a canal connected to the side branch of the Nile which provided water to the Fayum, the Bahr Yusuf.<sup>3</sup> The village was located in the north-western part of the *meris* of Themistos, one of the three divisions of the region.<sup>4</sup>

The site is now almost a wasteland, not preserving much more than remains of baths and buildings, and rubbish mounds scattered here and there.<sup>5</sup> However, Theadelphia was a small but important agricultural village, and one of the best-attested Fayum villages in the papyrus evidence. Its foundation took place in the Ptolemaic period thanks to a project of land reclamation in the region.<sup>6</sup> The village reached its economic and political acme under Roman domination:<sup>7</sup> in the second century AD, Theadelphia became the capital of the sixth toparchy and, as this thesis will demonstrate, an administrative centre for the entire division of Themistos.<sup>8</sup> The spread of the Antonine plague in AD 166/167 caused depopulation and economic decline,<sup>9</sup> but Theadelphia recovered before the middle of the third century AD thanks to massive investments by large landowners.<sup>10</sup> The economic vitality of the *phrontis* of Aurelius Appianus was the last sunbeam for the village.<sup>11</sup> After the disappearance of large estates, Theadelphia fell into decay. Fourth-century documents blame the lean of the Nile,<sup>12</sup> the inability of locals to keep the water system efficient,<sup>13</sup> and the pressure exerted by neighbouring villages.<sup>14</sup> Whatever the ultimate reasons, Theadelphia became a ἐρημὸς κώμη

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<sup>1</sup> The site of Theadelphia has been named Batn Ihrit, Harit, and Kharabet Ihrit over the time. However, as Batn Ihrit (or Harit) is another place located on the shore of the canal Bahr el-Nazla, the most accurate modern name is Kharabet Ihrit; see Davoli 1998: 279, n. 485.

<sup>2</sup> Coordinates: 29° 20' 48.81'' N 30° 33' 47.88''; see Casanova 1975: 70; France 1999: 14; Römer 2019: 105; TM Geo 2349 and DeChriM database, available at <https://4care-skos.mf.no/4care-sites/52/>.

<sup>3</sup> Römer 2017: 171; Römer 2019: 107.

<sup>4</sup> The *merides* of Heraklides, Themistos, and Polemon were administrative subdivisions of the Fayum, probably named after three homonymous legendary officers, established around BC 259-246/245. In AD 137, the divisions of Themistos and Polemon were merged under the responsibility of one *strategos*. See Derda 2006: 62-83; Kruse 2019: 128.

<sup>5</sup> Davoli 1998: 279, 287-288; Römer 2019: 106.

<sup>6</sup> Sharp 1999: 160; Thompson 1999: 107-109; Davoli 2012: 154.

<sup>7</sup> Rathbone 1990: 108; France 1999: 14.

<sup>8</sup> Jouguet 1911a: 24; France 1999: 166; Derda 2006: 141; Mundy 2017: 13.

<sup>9</sup> Rathbone 1990: 114-119; Bruun 2007: 204-207; Harper 2017: 111-112.

<sup>10</sup> Van Minnen 2019: 265-266.

<sup>11</sup> Rathbone 1991.

<sup>12</sup> Jouguet 1911a: 28; Rathbone 1991: 227.

<sup>13</sup> Boak 1926: 363-364; Breccia 1926: 88; Sharp 1999: 160.

<sup>14</sup> France 1999: 14.

(“deserted village”)<sup>15</sup> and was abandoned by the end of the fourth century due to the failure of the water supply.<sup>16</sup>

Interest in the history of second century Theadelphia is not new, but new is the methodology adopted in this dissertation. Previous scholars followed two parallel routes. On the one hand, their works centred exclusively on the papyrus documentation from the village and took the shape of editions of texts, miscellaneous or grouped on an archival basis.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, a few studies mapping the history of the village throughout its existence or focusing on the analysis of specific aspects, such as taxation and lay of the land, were produced at the end of the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup> These two approaches marked a clear distinction between papyrology and history almost as different and incompatible disciplines. However, I believe that all aspects of the study of the ancient world represent a single, albeit branched, field. By virtue of this belief and as a methodological principle, this thesis merges the papyrological and historical approaches into a unitary study. Therefore, it revises the papyrus material by providing editions and reeditions of most of the documents of the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”, and uses those texts to reassess the socio-administrative history of second century Theadelphia.<sup>19</sup> In so doing, this thesis offers evidence of some phenomena, such as the strengthening of the middle-upper classes and their inclusion in the provincial administration through the liturgical system, which anticipate and explain the political innovations of the third century AD: the formation of the bouletic class and the formal assimilation of all free inhabitants of Egypt into the political life of the Roman Empire following the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

This dissertation cannot and does not pretend to be a complete reconstruction of the events, but a valuable snapshot of the most important institutions of the village and some prominent aspects of social life. This mainly depends on the nature of our sources, as the extant papyri represent a fragmentary sample survived by chance.<sup>20</sup> However, the

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<sup>15</sup> *P.Sakaon* 35, 12.

<sup>16</sup> Rathbone 1997: 17-18.

<sup>17</sup> *P.Col.* II; *BGU IX*; *P.Col.* V; Casanova 1975; Casanova 1979; *P.Soter.*; *BGU XXII*.

<sup>18</sup> France 1999; Sharp 1999.

<sup>19</sup> On the value of ancient archives as the principal sources for the social, administrative, and economic history of Graeco-Roman Egypt, see Bagnall 1980: 97; Bagnall 1995: 40; Rathbone 1994: 136-7; Kehoe 2013; Fournet 2018: 171-173.

<sup>20</sup> As only two ostraca from second century Theadelphia have been published so far (*O.Fay.* 13 and 44), their exclusion as sources used in this dissertation has not affected the results of my research.



quantitative richness of the documentary material from second century Theadelphia, accounting for about 400 papyri, enables a thorough historical analysis, which corroborates the trustworthiness of its results.

A second challenge comes from the unavailability of the material. As some papyri and/or their digital images are inaccessible - the *P.Meyer*, for instance, got destroyed in World War II -, I could not verify their editions or the presence of modern additions like the labels added by Grenfell and Hunt, essential for reconstructing the archival documentation. Therefore, I have sometimes relied on the accuracy of previous editions and the available details of their acquisition paths.

There is a third issue with our sources. Since both archives refer to noticeable families, they could distort the reality as representing only, or mostly, the *élites* of the village. Truly, papyri tend to portray those who could write or pay someone else to do so on their behalf, and thus the upper classes.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the lower classes are by no means absent in the Theadelphian papyrus evidence, nor will they be excluded from this work. An investigation of the administrative registers from the village and the documents written in the local *grapheion* broadens the scope of this dissertation to all strata of the population, shedding light on the social complexity of the village.

The choice to focus on a Fayum village raises a question, still debated by scholars of Roman history: to what extent can Fayumic and, more generally, Egyptian evidence be representative of the Roman Empire? The Fayum had geographical and administrative peculiarities, such as the tripartite system of the *merides*. However, after the Roman annexation of Egypt, Fayum villages became samples of village life in Egypt,<sup>22</sup> and recent studies demonstrate their points of contact with villages located in other regions.<sup>23</sup> This means that village administration, social life, and landholding strategies in Roman Fayum were ordinary to Egypt, and ordinarily adapted to the rules of the Roman government. This thesis will support this view by challenging the rigid dichotomy between landowners and public farmers, traditionally seen as an exceptional feature of the Fayum,<sup>24</sup> and shedding light on administrative and social phenomena that must have been common to every corner of the province. But there is more. As is now widely accepted, the history of Roman Egypt

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<sup>21</sup> Verhoogt 2019: 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> Bagnall 1993a: 110-111.

<sup>23</sup> Langellotti 2020a: 9.

<sup>24</sup> Rowlandson 2007: 180, 189.

is not a *unicum* but part of the broad field of Roman history.<sup>25</sup> Egypt was a Roman province like any other, with its individual characteristics and a unique archaeological treasure (written and not), unparalleled elsewhere in the Roman Empire. As the papyrological heritage is remarkably rich and composite for second century Theadelphia, this thesis relies on documents to investigate the history of the village, its administrative institutions, and its people.

## Roadmap

The thesis has two parts. The first part, including Chapters I, II, and III, aims at assembling the documents on papyrus coming from second century Theadelphia and evaluating their context of discovery. The focus is on the documentary material of the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”. The preliminary assumption is that these papyri have value as a group only if they were connected since antiquity. Hence, an investigation of their connections inquires the label “archive” and sheds light on the “biography” of those papyri. The second part (Chapters IV to VII) is a historical analysis of that papyrus documentation. Chapters IV and V are a window into Theadelphia, and the village administration especially, in the second century AD. Chapters VI and VII are centred on people: the stories of the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos and Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros are glimpses into the social, economic, and administrative life of the village under Roman rule.

This dissertation also includes two appendixes. Appendix I is a study of the documents written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, aiming at identifying them and their scribes. In Appendix II, I have provided a reedition of most of the published documents and a first edition of some unpublished texts of the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”. Papyri are numbered here from 1 to 52. Therefore, the numbers in brackets added to the texts of the archives throughout the thesis refer to my editions/revisions in Appendix II.

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<sup>25</sup> Lewis 1970; Lewis 1984; Bowman-Rathbone 1992: 108; Bagnall 1995: 91-109; Capponi 2005: 25-27; Bagnall 2005: 346-347; Monson 2012: 4-16; Langellotti 2020a: 7-9. For an overview of the debate, see Rathbone 2013.

## Summary of Chapters

### Chapter I. Documentary Papyri from Second Century Theadelphia

The first chapter gives an overview of the documentary papyri from Theadelphia dated to the second century AD. An examination of their chronological distribution and nature reveals that the main bulk of the material dates to the middle of the century, when the village reached its economic and political *floruit*, and is archival. In order to enquire about the acquisition of these documents, the chapter runs through the history of the archaeology at Theadelphia and distinguishes between the material found in official excavations and that plundered by *sebbakhin*. As the documentary papyri from second century Theadelphia were mainly discovered in illegal excavations, the chapter displays the necessity to investigate their archival nature by reconstructing their paths. Therefore, it presents a final scheme on the current locations of Theadelphian documents, to be used as a research ground for exploring the history of the acquisitions of the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”.

### Chapter II. The Archive of Aphrodisios Son of Philippos and Descendants

The second chapter reassembles the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and verifies the validity of the label “archive”, attributed to the corpus of documents since the second decade of the twentieth century. The texts are subject to thorough scrutiny through different approaches. An evaluation of their prosopography and material features leads to a first rearrangement of the group and provides some clues on its places of production and storage, which supports the existence of an original repository. Through the “museum archaeology” method, the chapter investigates the paths of these papyri and reveals that they were mixed up since antiquity. Finally, a comparative approach, aiming at simultaneously evaluating the archival material from second century Theadelphia, shows a significant unitarity between the routes taken by the documents of the archive and those included in the archive of “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”. It opens the way to Chapter III, which presents a definitive reconstruction of the history of these papyri.

### Chapter III. The Archive of Ptolemaios Son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros

The third chapter discusses the reconstruction of the archive of “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros” and challenges the previous literature on the topic through a

prosopographical and material analysis of those documents. As their protagonist wrote almost all of them, the palaeographical approach suggests the existence of a common deposit. The chapter investigates the paths of the papyri through the “museum archaeology” method and compares them to those of the texts belonging to the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants”. It demonstrates that the two archives were probably found by *sebbakin* in the same rubbish mound, in which they were discarded after the fall of their respective keepers.

#### Chapter IV. Theadelphia in the Second Century AD

The fourth chapter, inaugurating the section devoted to the historical analysis of the papyrus documentation, provides an insight into the village in the second century AD and explores the role of Theadelphia in the *meris* of Themistos. Having briefly estimated the size of the settlement and appraised the lay of the land, it outlines the administrative environment of Theadelphia by investigating its key officers. Through a reassessment of the chronology and topography of the sixth toparchy, of which Theadelphia was the capital, the chapter demonstrates that the village served as an administrative centre for the area throughout the second century. An analysis of the nature and the place of production of the so-called “administrative archive” shows that the main administrative centre of both the village and the toparchy was a state office, traceable through the archaeological and papyrus evidence, and belonging to a broader network of administrative bureaux in the nome.

#### Chapter V. The *Grapheion* of Theadelphia

The fifth chapter adds a piece to the reconstruction of the administrative environment of Theadelphia by exploring another important village institution, the *grapheion*, from ca. AD 70 to the end of its existence in the 170s. It begins with discussing its chronology and attempting to identify this institution through archaeological evidence. By examining the written production of the *grapheion* (registered and unregistered documents), its scribal staff and clients, and its relations with other offices of the area, the chapter demonstrates the importance of this institution for the history of second century Theadelphia: the *grapheion* was the main scribal, economic, and social centre of the village, belonged to a wider notarial network scattered across the territory, and also fulfilled administrative duties in collaboration with the state office.

## Chapter VI. The Family of Aphrodisios Son of Philippos: Four Generations of Upper-Class Landowners

The sixth chapter provides a snapshot of the *élites* in second century Theadelphia. Based on the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants”, it draws a picture of the history of a four-generation family, belonging to the privileged social group of the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites” and residing in the village between the end of the first century and the 160s. A preliminary reconstruction of the genealogy of the family opens the door to an investigation of their social, professional, and economic position. Besides showing how the family used mixed marriage and landholding strategies to adapt to different needs and situations, the chapter instances the effects of the settlement of Antinoopolis at the village level. By discussing the evidence for the growth and decline of the family, it writes a diachronic history of the Fayum *élites* throughout the second century AD.

## Chapter VII. Ptolemaios Son of Diodoros Alias Dioskoros: A Diligent Officer in a Word of Administrative Issues

The seventh and last chapter investigates the profile of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros to explore another outcome of the policy of the Roman government on village life, the involvement of villagers in the administrative system through the liturgical system. Having reconstructed Ptolemaios’ genealogy, the chapter reveals how Ptolemaios conquered a high position in the village and the broader administrative panorama of the nome. An analysis of the *penthemeros* reports of the superintendents of the pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia leads to a discussion of the profiles, duties, and organisational features of those liturgists, among whom Ptolemaios held the prominent role of *grammateus*. Through Ptolemaios’ petitions, the chapter offers a glimpse into the fight against corruption and abuse of power by demonstrating a broader value of petitioning as means of control over the administrative system of the province.

## **CHAPTER I. DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI FROM SECOND CENTURY THEADELPHIA**

The main source to explore the history of the village of Theadelphia in the second century AD are the documentary texts written on papyrus. Although this material would deserve to be investigated in its entirety, I will focus on documentary papyri dated to the second century AD. The first aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of this documentation: as we will see, it prevalently dates to the middle of the century and is mostly archival. Beyond the archives already identified by previous scholars, some small dossiers referring to Theadelphian individuals will be set up through prosopographical data. In the second part of this chapter, I will go back over the history of the documents under investigation. For this purpose, I will consider the papyrus finds from the official archaeological missions carried out at the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as the papyri discovered through clandestine excavations and sold on the antiquities market. Finally, I will summarise the current locations of the archival documentation from second century Theadelphia to lay the groundwork for a discussion of the archives of Aphrodisios son of Philippos and Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, which will be handled in detail in the Chapters II and III.

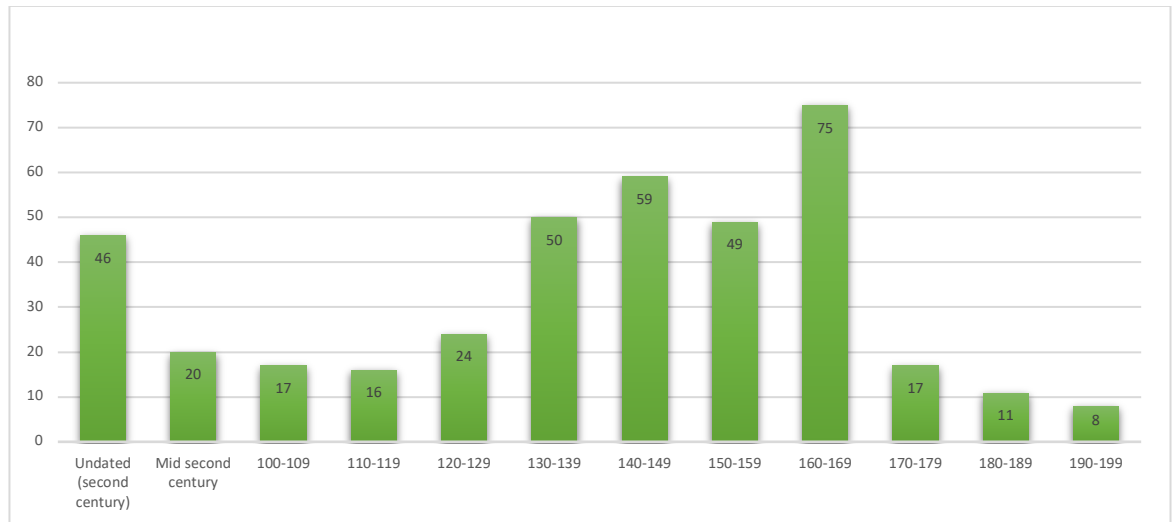
### **1. An Overview of the Documentary Material**

Ca. 400 documentary papyri from Theadelphia dated to the second century AD have come to light so far (Table 1. 1). This represents a huge number in comparison to earlier evidence, amounting to ca. 115 papyri dated to the Ptolemaic period (III-I BC) and ca. 90 dated to the first century AD. Otherwise, due to fortuitous circumstances of discovery, more than 650 papyri date from the third century AD to the period of desertion of Theadelphia in the fourth century AD.

The main bulk of second century papyri was produced in the middle of the century (more than 250 papyri date to 130-169 AD), when the village reached its political and economic peak. Aside from around fifty undated papyri, ca. 60 documents date to 100-129 AD, and only 36 to 170-199 AD. The scarcity of papyri dated to the end of the second century

AD is a common phenomenon for Fayum villages and reflects the effects of the Antonine plague, spreading out from AD 166/167.<sup>26</sup>

Table 1. 1. Papyri from second century Theadelphia



As a foremost trait, the documentation from second century Theadelphia seems mainly archival.<sup>27</sup> According to the most prevalent opinion, an “archive” is a group of documents deliberately kept together and ranked since antiquity.<sup>28</sup> This implies that they should have had precise objectives,<sup>29</sup> and be held by the same person, family, or association of individuals.<sup>30</sup> Based on their keeper, an archive may be official or private.<sup>31</sup> Since loans were usually drafted in the number of two for the ancient notarial practice, an archive must include

<sup>26</sup> France 1999: 340.

<sup>27</sup> Bagnall 1980: 97. I list here, for completeness, other archives from Roman Theadelphia dated to the first, third, and fourth century. The archive of Harthotes and his brother Marsisouchos (BC 20/19-AD 60/61) includes 41 documents, concerning the economic activities of those Theadelphian public farmers; see Casanova 1975; Casanova 1979; Geens 2015c; Claytor-Litinas-Nabney 2016; Claytor-Warga-Smith 2016: 132-144. The 37 Decian *libelli* from Theadelphia, dated to AD 250, are notifications issued to villagers by the members of a committee in charge of verifying that Decius’ order for sacrificing and bringing offerings to the gods was accomplished; see Clarysse 2015: 120-121. The archive of the sheep lessees of Theadelphia is a group of 19 documents spanning from AD 260 to 306, concerning a family who prevalently rented sheep from large landowners; see Geens 2015d: 366-369. The archive of Heroninos, dated to the third century AD, includes some 450 published papyri and even more unpublished texts referring to the activity of Heroninos, the manager of the estate of Aurelius Appianus; see Rathbone 1991; Verreth-Vandorpe 2015. The archive of Aurelius Sakaon, dated to AD 254-343, includes 76 documents concerning a rich individual of Theadelphia and his family; see Jouguet 1911a: 1-46; Paraglossou 1978; Bagnall 1982; Geens 2015b.

<sup>28</sup> Martin 1994: 570.

<sup>29</sup> Pestman 1990: 51.

<sup>30</sup> Vandorpe 2009: 218; Vandorpe-Clarysse-Verreth 2015: 16.

<sup>31</sup> Van Beek 2007: 1038; Vandorpe-Clarysse-Verreth 2015: 18-19.

at least three documents.<sup>32</sup> The archival documentation, examined and selected to be preserved,<sup>33</sup> had to have a common findspot: some usual original depositories were jars and boxes, kept in private houses or offices. Nevertheless, this criterion may be harsh to identify: when papyri belonging to an archive were thrown out into rubbish dumps or reused for mummification, for instance, they were mixed up since antiquity.<sup>34</sup> If a group of texts does not meet all the requirements outlined above, the label “archive” is not applicable and must be replaced by “dossier”. This term designates a set of documents referring to an individual, a family, or a homogeneous group of persons, or unitary in content, and therefore grouped together by modern scholars.<sup>35</sup>

Six archives from second century Theadelphia have been recognised so far, in chronological order:

- The archive of Soterichos and Didymos (AD 65-135): A family archive belonging to Soterichos and his youngest son Didymos, both tenants of land around Theadelphia.<sup>36</sup> It includes 42 certain texts and one of uncertain status: *P.Soter.* 1-28; *P.Turner.* 21; *SB XVI* 12686; *SB XX* 14629; *SB XX* 14630; *SB XX* 15103-15112; *Pap.Cong.* XXIV, pp. 839-843.
- The archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos (AD 88/89-159/160).<sup>37</sup>
- The archive of Heron son of Hermas (AD 105/106-151): It belongs to a two-generation family. The protagonists are Heron son of Hermas, a villager of Theadelphia working as a donkeys’ herdsman, and his son Hermas, who had a metropolitan status. The archive includes 9 documents: four of them refer to Heron (*BASP* 59, pp. 86-87; *P.Col.* X 255; *ZPE* 194, pp. 194-197 n. 1; pp. 197-200 n. 2), and five to Hermas (*P.Col.* X 259; *P.Graux* II 21; *P.Oslo.* II 39; *SB XIV* 12105; *SB XXII* 15611).<sup>38</sup>
- The archive of Heron son of Dioskoros (AD 118-148): A small archive belonging to Heron, son of Dioskoros and grandson of Heraklides, a public farmer in Theadelphia and Euhemeria. It consists of three texts certainly drafted for Heron (*P.Col. inv.* 55a;

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<sup>32</sup> Vandorpe-Clarysse-Verreth 2015: 16.

<sup>33</sup> Orrieux 1985: 41; Martin 1994: 572.

<sup>34</sup> Vandorpe 2009: 219-114.

<sup>35</sup> Vandorpe 2009: 218.

<sup>36</sup> Omar 1979; Omar 1991; Kehoe 1992a: 140-148; Smolders 2015f.

<sup>37</sup> This archive will be analysed in Chapter II.

<sup>38</sup> Claytor-Mirończuk 2015: 193-200; Sells 2022: 85-91; TM Arch 569, available at <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/569.pdf>.



*P.Oslo.* II 36; *SB* IV 7466), and one possibly referring to his parents (*P.Oslo.* III 131).<sup>39</sup>

- The archive of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros (AD 138-162).<sup>40</sup>
- The Administrative archive of Theadelphia (AD 98/117-175/199): The archive, including documents (usually in the form of rolls) produced in an administrative office located in Theadelphia, consists of 93 texts, among which 58 are uncertain.<sup>41</sup>

Besides the archives recognised as such, a prosopographical analysis of the papyrus material from second century Theadelphia reveals further connections among documents. Some of them may be grouped in small dossiers, which I labelled after the name of their protagonists.

- Thaisarion daughter of Heron (AD 116-166): In her earliest attestation, Thaisarion daughter of Heron appears as a landowner in Euhemeria at the beginning of the second century. However, she also owned catoecic land, vineyards, and part of a house in Theadelphia in the 160s.<sup>42</sup> Although Thaisarion is mentioned in several registers from the village, she may only have kept *P.Oslo.* II 28, a sitology receipt issued to her in AD 116.
- Satabous son of Pekysis and Tabous, and grandson of Panesneus (ca. AD 117/126-160): Registered as a taxpayer for the *laographia* in the village in AD 128/129-133, Satabous son of Pekysis was a Theadelphian farmer. He bought a donkey from Mysterion son of Heron in AD 126 and performed five-day works in the canal of

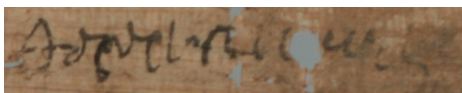
<sup>39</sup> TM Arch 685, available at <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/685.pdf>.

<sup>40</sup> This archive will be analysed in Chapter III.

<sup>41</sup> France 1999: 143-153; Geens 2015a; Kambitsis 2018: v-vi, 1-9; Essler 2021: 293-301. For a broader discussion on the administrative archive, see Chapter IV 4. *The Administrative Archive and the State Office*.

<sup>42</sup> On Thaisarion daughter of Heron, cf. *BGU* II 498, 8 (second century AD); *BGU* IX 1897, col. II 22 (AD 166); *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 3, 17 (AD 164/5); *P.Oslo.* II 28, 6 (AD 116); *SB* XX 14239, 125 (AD 125-175). The reading of the patronymic in *P.Oslo.* II 28, 6, published as Θαισάριον Μ[άρ]ωνος, must be corrected. After the name Thaisarion, two parallel verticals are visible. They are likely part of an *eta*, followed by a gap of one letter and then the sequence -ωνος. Thus, I propose the reading Ἡ[ρ]ωνος (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. *P.Oslo.* II 28, 6 Θαισάριον Ἡ[ρ]ωνος



Psinaletis in AD 145. His son Pekysis was a *pittakiarches* in Theadelphia.<sup>43</sup> The small dossier of Satabous son of Pekysis includes *P.Fay.* 92, a sale of a donkey dated to AD 126, and *SB XVI 12597*, a *penthemeros* receipt issued in AD 145.

- Panesneus son of Horos and Tamarres, grandson of Panesneus (AD 134-145): Our Panesneus, recorded as a taxpayer in Theadelphia in AD 134-5, worked in the canal of Psinaletis in AD 145.<sup>44</sup> A homonymous individual performed many liturgical offices in the village in AD 166-173, but he may be identified with Panesneus son of Horos and grandson of Philadelphos.<sup>45</sup>
- Eudaimon son of Zoilos (AD 141-166): Firstly appearing in an agreement on a dispute related to public land in AD 141/142, he was a public farmer and *pittakiarches* in Theadelphia in the 160s. A Zoilos son of Eudaimon was probably

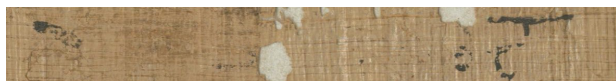
<sup>43</sup> On Satabous son of Pekysis, cf. *BGU IX 1891*, col. VI 166; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 13, col. II 5-6; *P.Col.* II 1 r. 2, col. III 10; *P.Fay.* 92, 8-9; *SB XVI 12597*, 5-7. On his son Pekysis, cf. *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. X 148; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 3, col. IX 176 (where he is recorded as Πακῦσεις Σαταβούτος); *P.Stras.* IX 829 r., col. IV 77.

In two documents, the reading of Satabous' name must be corrected. *BGU IX 1891*, col. VI 166, published as Σαταβούς Πεκύσεως τοῦ Πανε( ) μη(τρὸς) Τ .ωστ( ), may be supplied as Σαταβούς Πεκύσεως τοῦ Πανε(σνέως) μη(τρὸς) Ταβούτ(ος): after the cursive abbreviation μη(τρὸς), there is a *tau* in ligature with *alpha*, followed by a u-shaped *beta*, an open *omicron* and a rounded *upsilon* joining to an upper horizontal stroke; it is likely the horizontal line of a *tau*, extended to mark the abbreviation (Fig. 2). As for *SB XVI 12597*, 7, published as μ[η(τρὸς) -ca.?- ]ωστ( ), I propose the supplement μ[η(τρὸς) Ταβ]ούτ(ος): after the lacuna, the *omicron* is followed by a cursive *upsilon* in the shape of a glass of champagne and a *tau* raised in abbreviation (Fig. 3).

Fig. 2. *BGU IX 1891*, col. VI 166 Σαταβούς Πεκύσεως τοῦ Πανε(σνέως) μη(τρὸς) Ταβούτ(ος)

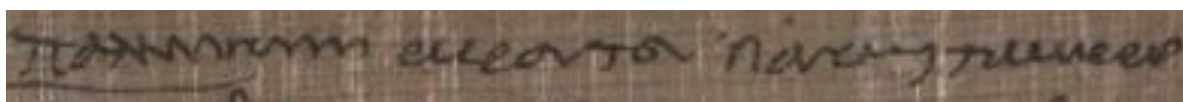


Fig. 3. *SB XVI 12597*, 7 μ[η(τρὸς) Ταβ]ούτ(ος)



<sup>44</sup> On Panesneus son of Horos and grandson of Panesneus, cf. *BGU IX 1891*, col. III 65; *P.Col.* II 1 r. 1a, col. VI 1; *P.Muench.* III 1 108, 6. In *P.Col.* II 1 r. 1a, col. VI 1, published as Πανεσνεὺς Ὁρου τοῦ Πανε(σνέως) μη(τρὸς) Ταμαρριο( ), some readings must be corrected: the abbreviation of μη(τρὸς) is written, as usual, as μη(τρὸς), while the abbreviation of the matronymic may be supplied as Ταμαρριο(ς) (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. *P.Col.* II 1 r. 1a, col. VI 1 Πανεσνεὺς Ὁρου τοῦ Πανε(σνέως) μη(τρὸς) Ταμαρριο(ς)



<sup>45</sup> On Panesneus son of Horos and grandson of Philadelphos, see Chapter IV 2. *Administrative System.*

his son, as he was a *pittakion* member and *pittakiarches* in the second half of the second century as well.<sup>46</sup>

- Didyme alias Matriona, daughter of Asklepiades son of Philadelphos (147-166): This woman is attested as a taxpayer for taxes assessed on private land at Theadelphia.<sup>47</sup> Didyme alias Matriona owned a medium estate consisting of some independent plots in the village,<sup>48</sup> which she leased out to three local farmers. Her dossier includes three receipts for land rent spanning from AD 147 to 159: *PSI VIII 923*; *P.Giss. I 29*; and *P.Fay. 99*.
- Horion son of Kastor and Taonnophris, grandson of Orsenouphis (AD 147/148-160): Horion son of Kastor was a public farmer and *pittakiarches* at Theadelphia in the second half of the second century.<sup>49</sup> His small dossier includes *P.Flor. I 18*, a lease of land dated to AD 147/148, and *SB XIV 12199*, a petition dated to AD 155, reporting an assault by two donkey-drivers. Our Horion might be identified with a homonymous individual acting as the *kyrios* of Thasis daughter of Mysthes in two census declarations from Theadelphia dated to AD 161, *SB XVIII 13293* and *13294*.

To sum up, in this section I have presented an overview of the documentation from second century Theadelphia. After illustrating the chronological distribution of those papyri, I have discussed some connections between the texts, which enabled us to set up archives and dossiers of documents. As the next step, I will retrace the history of the excavations on the village's site, in order to investigate how the papyrus material from Theadelphia has been scattered among different university libraries and museums in recent times.

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<sup>46</sup> On Eudaimon son of Zoilos, cf. *BGU XXII 2908 v.*, col. II 10; *P.Berl.Leihg. II 39 v.*, col. I 92; *P.Col. V 1 v. 2*, col. II 29; *P.Col. V 1 v. 4*, col. IV 78; *P.Iand. IV 56 v.*, 12; *P.Stras. VIII 789 v.*, col. II 1; *SB XVIII 13995*, 1-2; see Hagedorn 1986: 94-95 n. 1. On Zoilos son of Eudaimon, cf. *BGU IX 1897a*, col. IV 92; *XXII 2908 v.* 11; *P.Col. V 1 v. 2*, col. III 36; *P.Col. V 1 v. 4*, col. VI 99; *P.Col. V 1 v. 6*, col. VI 76; *P.Ross.Georg. V 53*, col. II 16; *P.Stras. VIII 791*, fr. B r., col. II 16; see Kambitsis 2018: 106 n. 11.

<sup>47</sup> See Jouguet 1911a: 23; *P.Col. V 1*: p. 16 n. 17. On Didyme alias Matriona, cf. *BGU IX 1897a*, col. III 59; 65; 69; probably *P.Col. V 1 v. 1b*, col. I 17; *P.Col. V 1 v. 6*, col. VII 96; *P.Fay. 99*, 1-2; *P.Giss. I 29*, 1; *PSI VIII 923*, 1. In *BGU IX 1897a*, col. III 59, 65, and 69, published as Διδύμη ἢ καὶ Ματρῶνα Ἄσκ( ), the patronymic may be supplied as Ἄσκ(ληπιάδου).

<sup>48</sup> *BGU IX 1897a*, col. III 59, 65, and 69, records different plots of land belonging to Didyme alias Matriona, of 3 ¼, 6, and 3 arouras respectively.

<sup>49</sup> On Horion son of Kastor, cf. *BGU XXII 2907*, col. II 2; 2908 r. 13; perhaps *P.Berl.Leihg. II 39 v.*, col. V 166; *P.Col. V 1 v. 3*, col. VII 145; *P.Flor. I 18*, 1; *SB XIV 12199*, 4.

## 2. Official Excavations, Visitors, and *Sebbakhin* at Theadelphia

The site of Theadelphia has long been a subject of interest. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, some excavation campaigns were supported financially and intellectually by the academic community. However, the official missions encountered an obstacle in the uncontrolled activity of the diggers for antiquities, called *sebbakhin*. This name refers to farmers (*fellahin*) in search of *sebbakh*, a Nilotic mud rich in nitrates and potassium, used as a fertiliser or for the production of bricks and gunpowder.<sup>50</sup> *Sebbakhin*'s illicit activity began in the 1830s.<sup>51</sup> This means that the site of Theadelphia had already been raided when the team headed by Grenfell and Hunt arrived: the place looked like a muddle of ash, rubbish, and houses filled with sand.<sup>52</sup> Over the years, the excavations at Theadelphia have been carried out on two parallel but incompatible tracks, the legal and the illegal one. In the following, I provide a summary of the official excavations of the site. This will later allow us to identify the artifacts discovered during the official archaeological missions and to distinguish them from the papyri smuggled by clandestine diggers for antiquities.

### I. The first excavation campaign: Grenfell and Hunt, 1898-1899

The site of Theadelphia was discovered almost by accident. Our story begins with the ambition, never proposed before, of exploring ancient Graeco-Roman towns. In the winter of 1895-1896 Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, commissioned by the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF), arrived at the ruins of ancient Bacchias (Kom el-Atl), in the north-west region of the Fayum. Encouraged by an earlier visit by the Egyptologist F. Petrie, they had planned to start their excavation season with that promising site.<sup>53</sup> However, due to an unforeseen delay, their excavations began on 9 December 1898.<sup>54</sup> Grenfell and Hunt spent about four weeks on the site of Euhemeria (Qasr el-Banat) and two weeks in the cemetery of the village.<sup>55</sup> At that time, they unintentionally discovered the site of Theadelphia, halfway between Qasr el-Banat and Polydeukia (Gebâla), and included it in the excavation plans. "Toward the end of January probably, we shall move to Hereet (i. e. Theadelphia), a site 2 miles S.E. of this (Euhemeria)... Hereet however, being about the same size as Qasr el Banât,

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<sup>50</sup> Davoli 2008: 107-108.

<sup>51</sup> Cuvigny 2009: 32.

<sup>52</sup> *P.Fay.*: p. 51.

<sup>53</sup> *P.Fay.*: p. 20.

<sup>54</sup> *P.Fay.*: p. 21, 43.

<sup>55</sup> France 1999: 46-54.

will occupy us for at least a month or six weeks”, Grenfell wrote in a letter of 21 December 1898.<sup>56</sup> On 20 January 1899 the encampment was moved to Theadelphia.<sup>57</sup> The team spent six weeks on the site: for three weeks they dug out the cemetery, before focusing on the site of the village.<sup>58</sup>

## II. The second excavation campaign: Otto Rubensohn, 1902

The second excavation campaign at Theadelphia, undertaken on behalf of the Generalverwaltung der Berliner Königlichen Museen, was headed by Otto Rubensohn.<sup>59</sup> It began on 9 February 1902 and lasted just one month.<sup>60</sup> The mission aimed at recovering papyrus material on the site of Theadelphia and, at a later stage, at Tebtynis. Nevertheless, it ended in failure. According to the inventories of the papyrological collection of Berlin, only 13 papyri were discovered during that excavation, but Rubensohn’s diary demonstrates that the mission produced a larger number of manuscripts.<sup>61</sup>

## III. The visit of Pierre Jouguet, 1902

In the same 1902, attracted by the allure of the village, Jouguet made a journey *in situ*: on that occasion, he could perceive the state of abandonment of the place and its bad preservation.<sup>62</sup> Nine years later, the edition of some papyri from Theadelphia came to light.<sup>63</sup> It included 59 texts from the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, acquired during the previous excavation campaigns.<sup>64</sup> Most of them belonged to the archive of Aurelius Sakaon, one of the most important villagers of Theadelphia in the third-fourth century AD.<sup>65</sup>

## IV. The third excavation campaign: M. Gustave Lefebvre, 1908

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. *DIST.* 15. 09 a-d. The documents related to the excavation mission to Theadelphia of 1898-99 have been digitised on <http://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/excavations/1898-99-theadelphia-faiyum>.

<sup>57</sup> *P.Fay.*: p. 54-55.

<sup>58</sup> *P.Fay.*: p. 51.

<sup>59</sup> Rubensohn 1905: 1.

<sup>60</sup> Rubensohn’s diary, translated by France for his doctoral dissertation, represents a captivating source of information about his feelings during the excavation as well as some practical details. For instance, we are well informed on Rubensohn’s travel. The team reached Kharabet Ihrit at 12:30 PM on Sunday 9 February and left the site in the morning of Sunday 9 March; see France 1999: 71-73.

<sup>61</sup> The papyrological finds reported in the diary of Rubensohn are listed and dated in France’s work. These data do not correspond to the inventory numbers given to the collection of Berlin; see France 1999: 90-91.

<sup>62</sup> Bernard 1981: 3-4.

<sup>63</sup> Jouguet 1911a: 6-25.

<sup>64</sup> Jouguet 1911a: ix-xi; Paraglossou 1978: ix.

<sup>65</sup> Jouguet 1911a: 25-34; Geens 2015b.

The slow but captivating spread of documents coming from the Fayum aroused collective interest in the region. Among the visitors of Theadelphia was M. Gustave Lefebvre, who had published two inscriptions from the village.<sup>66</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, Lefebvre was chief inspector of the Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte. This society, established in 1858 to protect the cultural heritage of Egypt, was directed by M. Gaston Maspero, who granted Lefebvre authorization for further topographical research. Lefebvre’s mission was accomplished in December 1908 to locate the remains of the temple of Pnepheros. Apparently, the plan was successful.<sup>67</sup> However, as the real temple was only discovered four years later, the building found by Lefebvre was likely a warehouse attached to the temple and housing a wine mill.<sup>68</sup>

#### V. The fourth excavation campaign: Evaristo Breccia, 1912-1913

The mission headed by Evaristo Breccia, who followed the footsteps of Lefebvre, led to the definitive discovery of the temple of Pnepheros. The aim of the mission, however, was different. Since 1904, Breccia had been the director of the Greek-Roman museum of Alexandria, which dealt with classic antiquities in Egypt.<sup>69</sup> In 1912 Breccia obtained permission from the Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte to excavate the site for the search for papyri. After the accidental discovery of the door and the inscribed propylon of the temple, excavation was almost entirely devoted to the temple.<sup>70</sup> Breccia was only occasionally able to dig the areas to north and south of the temple, where he gathered some archaeological artifacts,<sup>71</sup> and only tiny fragments of papyrus. Disappointed with the lack of manuscripts, Breccia planned to revisit the site the following winter.<sup>72</sup> But, as World War One broke out, his intention never came true.

#### VI. The visit of S. Yeivin, perhaps 1920s

In 1930, S. Yeivin published an article on the system of water supply provided to Fayum villages by Ptolemy II. In that paper, he discussed the discovery of some special structures for the distribution of water in Philadelphia, Theadelphia, Bacchias, and Dionysias.<sup>73</sup> That

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<sup>66</sup> Lefebvre 1910: 162-166.

<sup>67</sup> Lefebvre 1910: 162-172.

<sup>68</sup> Breccia 1926: 89.

<sup>69</sup> Donadoni 1997: 77.

<sup>70</sup> Breccia 1915: 181.

<sup>71</sup> Breccia 1915: 123-131.

<sup>72</sup> Breccia 1914: 45.

<sup>73</sup> Yeivin 1930: 27-31.

those ancient sites had been visited in person is explicitly noticed. However, as Yeivin did not offer any relevant information about his trip to the Fayum, we can only speculate. As no organisation involved nor official project is mentioned, Yeivin probably visited Theadelphia *sua sponte* in the second decade of the twentieth century.

#### VII. P. Davoli and the Italian archaeological mission in Egypt, 1993-2002

After publishing her doctoral thesis on the ancient site of Bakchias in 1996, P. Davoli decided to investigate the archaeological sites of some Fayum villages.<sup>74</sup> During an archaeological mission in Egypt jointly organised by the Universities of Bologna and Lecce,<sup>75</sup> she could personally analyse the sites of some Hellenistic and Roman settlements in the Fayum. Her visit to Theadelphia was part of this project, which produced a rich monography on the urban archaeology of Fayum villages.<sup>76</sup>

#### VIII. C. E. Römer and the Fayoum Survey Project, 1999-2006

In 1993, D. Rathbone launched the Fayoum Survey Project, aiming at mapping out the archaeological sites of the Fayum.<sup>77</sup> The earlier research, which took place from 1995 to 1998, focused on the division of Polemon.<sup>78</sup> From 1999 to 2006 the survey, carried out by a joint mission of the universities of Cologne and Oxford under the supervision of C. E. Römer, was reserved for the division of Themistos.<sup>79</sup> In that context, the site of Theadelphia was mapped out and its archaeological remains examined. The results of the survey have been recently published in a work in two volumes focusing on the *meris* of Themistos.<sup>80</sup>

### 3. Finding of papyri: Legal and Illegal Acquisitions

In the following, I will reconstruct the history of the documents from second century Theadelphia. As the official missions at Theadelphia did not yield the hoped-for quantity of manuscripts, only a few of them are regularly tracked. Most papyri from the village were found during illegal excavation on the site. A discussion of the difficulties of reconstructing

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<sup>74</sup> Davoli 1998: 9-11.

<sup>75</sup> Bitelli-Capasso-Davoli-Pernigotti-Vittuari 2003: 3-4.

<sup>76</sup> Davoli 1998; Davoli 2012.

<sup>77</sup> Rathbone 1996: 50-56.

<sup>78</sup> Rathbone 1997: 7.

<sup>79</sup> Römer 2019: vii.

<sup>80</sup> Römer 2019: 105-172.

the paths of the papyrus material in a such context will lead to the necessity of evaluating the routes of the archival documentation from second century Theadelphia as a whole.

The first excavation at Theadelphia was the most prolific one in terms of discovery of papyri. After all, Grenfell and Hunt were aware of the greed of the *sebbakhin* depleting the archaeological sites and struggled to grab as many papyri as possible in the short period they had been allowed to dig.<sup>81</sup> The manuscripts discovered during the mission of Grenfell and Hunt are:

- about 400 Greek papyri, of which 109 have been published in *P.Fay.* The place of discovery of a few of them has been exactly located (Table 1. 2).
- 1 Latin papyrus, which is a fragment of a literary text: *P.Fay.* 10.
- 8 Demotic papyri, included in the Cairo collection: *P.Cairo* dem. 31263-31266, 31269, 50011, 50015, 50017.
- 80 ostraca, of which 20 have been published in *P.Fay.*: *O.Fay.* 9, 11-13, 19, 20, 23-33, 44, 46, 48.
- 1 limestone inscription: *I.Fay.* 122.

Table 1. 2. Papyri found by Grenfell and Hunt with known findspot

Papyrus	Type	Content	Date	Findspot
<i>P.Fay.</i> 11	Documentary	Petition of Demetrius	BC 116	Houses near the temple
<i>P.Fay.</i> 12	Documentary	Petition of Theotimus	BC 103-4	Houses near the temple
<i>P.Fay.</i> 14	Documentary	Notice from tax collectors	BC 124	Houses near the temple
<i>P.Fay.</i> 16	Documentary	Order for payment	BC 80-51	Houses near the temple
<i>P.Fay.</i> 44	Documentary	Receipt for Mason's tax	BC 6	Houses near the temple
<i>SB</i> XXIV 16323	Documentary	Letter	AD 249- 268	Houses in the central and western parts of the site <sup>82</sup>
<i>P.Fay.</i> 133	Documentary	Letter	AD 260	Houses in the central and western parts of the site <sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Davoli 2008: 113-114.

<sup>82</sup> Rathbone 2008: 18.

<sup>83</sup> Rathbone 2008: 18.



Through a vast trading network, those papyri have been dispersed worldwide. While the Demotic papyri remained in Cairo, along with many Fayum papyri,<sup>84</sup> the Greek texts were delivered to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and then split up. Some unpublished papyri are still in Oxford, in the “Yellow Box” P.Fay.Ined.Dep. 3435 and in the “Fayum Towns left-over”-archive.<sup>85</sup> The unpublished ones were otherwise distributed to many institutions, as it is recorded in the correspondence concerning the papyri found in 1898-1899<sup>86</sup> and the list of their current locations.<sup>87</sup>

Manuscripts found during the second excavation campaign are approximatively registered in Rubensohn’s diary. They are not numbered, but France was able to identify 13 of them in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.<sup>88</sup> Of these, four papyri were certainly discovered at Theadelphia (Table 1. 3).

Table 1. 3. Papyri found by Rubensohn<sup>89</sup>

Papyrus	Type	Content	Date	Findspot
P.Berol. inv. 9809 ( <i>r.</i> = <i>BKT</i> II 52-53; <i>v.</i> = <i>BGU</i> IV 1030)	Literary/ Documentary	Plato, <i>Commentary on Phaedrus</i> 265? / Private Letter	AD II/ AD 225-75	House 3 <sup>90</sup>
P.Berol. inv. 9810 ( <i>BKT</i> V 2)	Literary	Alcaeus	AD II	Unknown

<sup>84</sup> *P.Fay.* 6, 11, 21, 24, 26, 34-7, 39, 47, 47a-52a, 54, 56, 57, 61, 62, 66, 69, 70, 73, 74, 79, 82-5, 90, 91, 95-100, 102, 104, 107-9, 114, 121-31, 139, 141-4, 152, 160-3, 198-207, 209, 210, 212, 213, 215, 220, 221, 223, 224, 231, 237, 238, 240-242, 244, 278-84, 286-90, 294, 300-3, 305, 309, 311, 312, 318, 319, 323, 326-8, 330, 332, 334, 337, 339-40, 342, 344-6. See *DIST.* 18.02b; Coles 1974: 42-7.

<sup>85</sup> France 1999: 48.

<sup>86</sup> The archive documents about the mission of Grenfell and Hunt have been digitised on <http://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/excavations/1898-99-theadelphia-faiyum>, with reference numbers from *DIST.* 15.09 to *DIST.* 22.25. Noteworthy are a letter of 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1900, presenting the distribution of 370 papyri (*DIST.* 18.01b, c), and a list of 269 documents, divided into Greek Papyri (G. P.) and Fayum Towns Papyri (F. T. P.), written in November 1900 (*DIST.* 18.02a, b).

<sup>87</sup> Coles 1974: 42-47.

<sup>88</sup> France 1999: 90-91.

<sup>89</sup> I have excluded from the table some unpublished papyri found by Rubensohn, as their provenance is unknown: P.Berol. inv. 9826, 9828-9832, 9834-9836.

<sup>90</sup> The digging works in the House 3 started on February 25<sup>th</sup>. The building, perhaps a hall for the cult of the emperor, had a great artistic and archaeological value: it preserved five frescos, representing some gods and a young man holding a vexillum. In the House 3 Rubensohn found many papyri, among which only P.Berol. inv. 9809 is recognisable. On this, see Rubensohn 1905: 10; France 1999: 77-83.

P.Berol. inv. 9827 ( <i>P.Berl.Monte</i> 11)	Documentary	Receipt for the payment for the rent of the <i>ousia</i> of Germanicus	5 April, AD 202	Unknown
P.Berol. inv. 9833 ( <i>BGU</i> IV 1029)	Documentary	Receipt	AD 188-9	Unknown

The third excavation campaign was less productive than the previous ones. Lefebvre found:

- 9 inscribed jar stoppers
- 2 limestone inscriptions
- 1 ostrakon preserving a tax receipt: *SB* I 1441<sup>91</sup>
- 3 Greek papyri (Table 1. 4)

Table 1. 4. Papyri found by Lefebvre

Papyrus	Type	Content	Date	Findspot
<i>SB</i> I 5217 <sup>92</sup>	Documentary	<i>Epikrisis</i> declaration	AD 148	Unknown
<i>SB</i> I 5218 <sup>93</sup>	Documentary	Private letter	AD 156	Unknown
<i>SB</i> I 5807 <sup>94</sup>	Documentary	Private letter	AD III	Among the ruins of a house

Finally, the fourth mission produced one published papyrus belonging to the archive of Heroninos (*PSI* VIII 930),<sup>95</sup> as well as some interesting artifacts:

- 13 (or 14) inscriptions, found by digging the temple of Pnereferos: *I.Fay.* 107 (= *SB* III 6252), 108 (= *SB* III 6253), 109 (= *SB* III 6254), 114 (= *SB* III 6236), 120 (= *SB* III 6935), 125 (= *SB* III 6936), 126 (= *SB* III 6938), 127 (= *SB* III 6939), 128 (= *SB* III 6940), 129 (= *SB* III 6937), 3 demotic inscriptions, and 1 unpublished Ptolemaic inscription.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Lefebvre 1912: 201-202.

<sup>92</sup> Lefebvre 1912: 196-198.

<sup>93</sup> Lefebvre 1912: 198-201.

<sup>94</sup> Lefebvre 1910: 170.

<sup>95</sup> It is mentioned in a letter of 1913 addressed from Breccia to Comparetti; see Morelli-Pintaudi 1983 vol. I: 216 n. 99.

<sup>96</sup> Breccia 1926: 100.

- Some untraceable ostraca and papyrus fragments.<sup>97</sup>

To sum up, few papyri were found during official excavations at Theadelphia, and the findspot of even fewer texts is known. They are manuscripts of the Ptolemaic period, discovered around the temple, and two documents dating to the third century AD and belonging to the archive of Heroninos, which were probably found in the houses located in the central and western part of the site.<sup>98</sup> Papyri from second century Theadelphia were mostly found in illicit diggings and smuggled.

Alongside the official excavation campaigns, another flow of searches for antiquities was undertaken privately by the native Egyptians. Motivated by the increasing economic value of archaeological finds, the *sebbakhîn* carried out their own excavations.<sup>99</sup> It was a long-running activity. During their visit to Cairo, Grenfell and Hunt were able to ascertain that a large number of Fayum papyri had been available on the stands of local markets since 1894.<sup>100</sup> This illegal “gold rush”, as well as the harsh climatic conditions of the place, caused the desolation of archaeological sites in the Fayum,<sup>101</sup> described in the reports of the official excavations.<sup>102</sup> Despite the ban on the unauthorised removal of ancient artifacts from Egypt, approved in 1835 by Mohabad Ali, clandestine trade in Egypt was legal until 1912. In that year, the government issued Law no. 14, which prescribed that the artifacts found in Egypt were state property.<sup>103</sup> However, this law only applied at a national level to antiquities discovered in or after 1912. In other words, the illicit trade in objects of earlier discovery remained unrestricted, and non-Egyptian buyers were not affected by the 1912 law at all.<sup>104</sup> A further attempt to limit the traffic of Egyptian antiquities was made with Law no. 215 of 1951, effective for both natives and foreigners.<sup>105</sup>

The activity of *sebbakhin* and the clandestine trade in artifacts arouse remarkable problems for scholars. Firstly, it is extremely hard to find information about illegal acquisitions of papyri.<sup>106</sup> If lucky, we might know the year of acquisition, the seller, and the

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<sup>97</sup> Breccia 1926: 124, 130.

<sup>98</sup> Rathbone 2008: 18.

<sup>99</sup> Wilfong 2012: 225.

<sup>100</sup> *P.Fay.*: pp. 18-19.

<sup>101</sup> Breccia 1957: 64.

<sup>102</sup> Grenfell-Hunt 1898-1899: 8; Rubensohn 1905: 1; Lefebvre 1910: 167; Breccia 1918: 91-118.

<sup>103</sup> Davoli 2008: 102-103.

<sup>104</sup> Verhoogt 2017: 9.

<sup>105</sup> Davoli 2008: 103.

<sup>106</sup> Cuvigny 2009: 49.

buyer who brokered for institutions. Secondly, the activity of *sebbakhin* sometimes led to the dispersion of papyri belonging to the same archive;<sup>107</sup> this means that our investigation of ancient history based on archival documentation may be partial because the reconstruction of archives itself could be fragmentary. Last but not least, our comprehension and classification of archival material may be distorted by the absence of proper records of findspots and archaeological contexts. For instance, the administrative documents from second century Theadelphia have always been classified as an official archive, also because they were acquired as a homogeneous group. However, the reports of Friedrich Zucker, the representative of the Königlichen Museen of Berlin in Egypt, depict a different scenario: the first lot of papyri attributed to this archive, bought by Ali Abdelhaj in Gizeh in 1909, also included other pieces, such as petitions and three literary texts.<sup>108</sup>

To conclude, the details of illegal finds of papyri, when they exist, are always obscure. Sometimes they look like mere traditions, faithful or fictitious, which must be evaluated in the absence of other sources. This is the case, for example, of the tale of the discovery of the bulk of the papyri belonging to the archive of Heroninos: according to the words of some Egyptian diggers, they would have found those documents in a box only after the departure of Grenfell and Hunt.<sup>109</sup> Despite the lack of information about illicit excavations, reliance on reports from individuals directly involved in the purchase of papyri on the black market, as well as a comparative analysis of the institutions currently housing those artifacts, may provide insight into their history. Therefore, in the last section, I will present an outline of the current locations of the documents from second century Theadelphia not belonging to the archives of Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and Ptolamaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros. This overview is useful to better evaluate the archives under investigation in the next chapters.

#### 4. Distribution of the Archival Material from Second Century Theadelphia

The archival documentation from second century Theadelphia has largely been affected by the side effects of the illicit excavations and trade in artifacts from Egypt. As the papyri

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<sup>107</sup> Keenan 2009: 59-78.

<sup>108</sup> Essler 2021: 293-301.

<sup>109</sup> Rathbone 1991: 6.

belonging to ancient archives were not recognised as interconnected texts, they were split up and sold in different lots to different buyers. The dramatic consequence is that the Theadelphia archives have been scattered in many collections worldwide. I here present an overview of the current locations of the papyri belonging to the archives from second century Theadelphia (Table 1. 5). I have also included the documents of the above-identified dossiers and those of the archive of Harthotes and Marsisouchos, dated to the first century AD, as their paths have some analogies with those of the archives of the subsequent century. Instead, the reconstruction of the history of the archives of Aphrodisios son of Philippos and Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros will be treated separately in Chapters II and III.

Table 1. 5. Current locations of the archival documentation from second century Theadelphia

Archive or dossier	Papyri (publications)	Location (inventory numbers)
Harthotes and Marsisouchos <sup>110</sup>	<i>BASP</i> 53 (2016) pp. 94-99 n. 1; pp. 99-104 n. 2; pp. 104-108 n. 3; pp. 109-117 n. 4; <i>BASP</i> 53 (2016) pp. 132-135 n. 3; <i>GRBS</i> 55 (2015) p. 649; <i>P.Mich.</i> XII 654; XII 655; <i>P.Mich.</i> inv. 4298; 4319; 4406a; 4415c; 4421a; 4430c; 4437c; 4438f; 4437b + 4438g + 4436c; 4444h + 4443a; <i>SB</i> VI 9560; <i>SB</i> XX 14098 + <i>P.Mich.</i> inv. 3483; <i>SB</i> XX 14099; <i>XXII</i> 15761; <i>XXII</i> 15759	Ann Arbor, Michigan University Library P. 931; 970; 3269; 3483; 3510; 4187; 4220; 4280; 4298; 4299; 4319; 4343; 4344 + 4436g; 4346 + 4446f; 4406a; 4415c; 4421a; 4430c; 4437b + 4438g + 4436c; 4437c; 4438f; 4444h + 4443a; <i>P.Cornell</i> I 5
	<i>P.Merton</i> I 8; 9	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library inv. unknown
	<i>P.Gen.</i> II 89	Geneva, Bibliothèque P.gr. 212
	<i>P.Mil.</i> I 4-12; <i>P.Mil.</i> II 43; <i>SB</i> XIV 11279	Milan, Università Cattolica <i>P.Med.</i> 52, 281. The inventory numbers of <i>P.Mil.</i> I 4-12 are unknown
	<i>BASP</i> 53 (2016), pp. 136-141 n. 4	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library P. CtYBR 340

<sup>110</sup> For an updated list of the papyri belonging to the archive of Harthotes and Marsisouchos, see Claytor-Litinas-Nabney 2016: 117-119; Claytor-Warga-Smith 2016: 132-141.

	<i>P.Col.</i> VIII 209; X 249; <i>SB</i> XX 14440	New York, Columbia University P. 6; 7; 8
	<i>P.Oslo.</i> II 32	Oslo, University Library P. 436
	<i>P.Princ.</i> II 23; 40	Princeton, University Library AM 8909; 8911
Soterichos and Didymos	<i>P.Soter.</i> 1-24, 26-28; <i>P.Turner</i> 21; <i>SB</i> XX 14629; <i>SB</i> XX 14630; <i>SB</i> XX 15103-15112; <i>Pap.Cong.</i> XXIV, pp. 839-843	Cairo, Egyptian Museum SR 3049/1-23, 58-59, 124, 202; SR 3732/2, 5, 18-22, 24, 27-29, 61, 75
	<i>P.Soter.</i> 25	Leiden, Papyrological Institute <i>P.Warren.</i> 9
	<i>SB</i> XVI 12686	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale P. gr. 314/383
Heron son of Hermas	<i>BASP</i> 59 (2022), pp. 86-87; <i>SB</i> XIV 12105; XXII 15611; <i>ZPE</i> 194 (2015), pp. 194-197 n. 1; pp. 197-200 n. 2	Ann Arbor, Michigan University Library P. 778-780, 829, 1330
	<i>P.Col.</i> X 255; 259	New York, Columbia University P. 16, 17
	<i>P.Oslo.</i> II 39	Oslo, University Library P. 456
	<i>P.Graux</i> II 21	Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de Papyrologie 893
Heron son of Dioskoros	<i>P.Col.</i> inv. 55a	New York, Columbia University P. 55 a
	<i>P.Oslo.</i> II 36; III 131	Oslo, University Library P. 440, 455
	<i>SB</i> IV 7466	Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de Papyrologie 318
Administrative archive <sup>111</sup>	<i>BGU</i> IX 1893; 1895 + 1894, 1897 + 1896 + 1897a, 1899; <i>BGU</i> IX, p. v [11653 v.] descr.; p. v [11654 v.] descr.; p. vi [11657] descr.; p. vi [11658] descr.; p. vi [11660] descr.; p. vi [11670] descr.; XXII 2905 + XXII p. 149-158; <i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> I 1;	Berlin, Staatliche Museen P. 11535 v., 11537, 11538, 11540 r., 11540 v., 11541 v., 11542, 11543, 11544 v., 11545 a-b v., 11546, 11548, 11549, 11550 r., 11555 v., 11557, 11558, 11559, 11561 v., 11562 v., 11651, 11652 v. + 21476 v. + 25110 fr. a-c v.,

<sup>111</sup> I have here included only texts certainly belonging to the archive. Some other uncertain texts are in the collections of Jena, Manchester, Oslo, and Princeton; see Geens 2015a: 39.

2 v.; 3; 4 v. [a-b]; 5; 6; 11; 14; 17; 22; 25; 26; 27; <i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> II 31; 36; 38; 39 v.; 41; 44; 45	11650 r., 11653 v., 11654 v., 11655 v. + 11656 v., 11657, 11658, 11660, 11669 v., 11670
<i>SB XVIII</i> 13289	Cairo, Egyptian Museum SR 3049 / 73
<i>Pap. Congr. XXVIII.</i> Abstracts p. 81 [r.] descr.; <i>Pap. Congr. XXVIII.</i> Abstracts p. 81 [v. 1] descr.; <i>Pap. Congr. XXVIII.</i> Abstracts p. 81 [v. 2] descr.	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana P.Flor. inv. 19655 r., 19655 v. [1], 19655 v. [2]
<i>SB III</i> 7198; XXIV 16329; 16330; 16331	Ghent, University Library Pap. 4, 17a v., 17e v., 41 r.
<i>P.Graux III</i> p. 3	Groningen, University Library 71 v.
<i>P.Col.</i> II 1 r. (6); V 1 v. (1a); (1b); (2); (3); (4); (5) <sup>112</sup> ; (6)	New York, Columbia University P. 1 r. (6), 1 v. (1a), 1 v. (1b), 1 v. (2), 1 v. (3), 1 v. (4), 1 v. (5), 1 v. (6)
<i>Pap. Congr. XVIII</i> 2 p. 49-53; <i>P.Graux IV</i> 31	Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de Papyrologie 2007 v. + 2008 v., 2009 v.
<i>P.Stras.</i> I 55; IV 218; VI 511; 551; 552; VII 632 r.; VIII 788; 789; 790; 791a; IX 807; 828; 829; 830; 846 v.; 847; 848; 852; 867; 874; 891 r.; 891 v.; 892 r.; 892 v.	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale P. gr. 1515; 1946 r.; 1948; 2456; 2460; 2464; 2465; 2467a r.; 2471 r.; 2471 v.; 2477a; 2492b r. + 2514 r.; 2492a; 2492b v. + 2514 v.; 2495 v.; 2496; 2499; 2502 r.; 2502 v.; 2510; Wiss. Ges. gr. 28 v.; 31; 88 v. The inventory number of <i>P.Stras.</i> I 55 is unknown

## 5. Conclusion

Excavations at Theadelphia have yielded more than 350 papyri from the second century AD, a large number compared to earlier texts. They were mainly written around the middle of the century: as we will see, the village was at the height of its administrative prominence and economic prosperity at that time. The decrease in papyri dated to the end of the century

<sup>112</sup> Republished by Hagedorn 2005: 143.

reflects the crisis experienced by the Fayum villages after the spread of the Antonine plague. Many papyri from second century Theadelphia have been grouped into archives and dossiers. The definition of “archive” itself implies the reconstruction of the archaeological contexts of discovery. However, the paths of our papyri are rather unclear. As they were mostly purchased on the antiquities market, where they had been mixed with other unrelated documents, a method of investigating their histories relies on evaluating the routes of the whole documentation from second century Theadelphia. In the following chapters, I will focus on the archives of Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, and discuss their paths by resorting to the overall distribution framework provided in this section.



## CHAPTER II. THE ARCHIVE OF APHRODISIOS SON OF PHILIPPOS, AND DESCENDANTS

The so-called archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos and descendants” is a group of Greek documentary papyri spanning from AD 88/89 to 159/160,<sup>113</sup> attributable to four generations of a family of *catoeci* of Theadelphia. This chapter aims at verifying the validity of the label “archive”, assigned to those documents. To this end, I will use multiple approaches. First, I will base on a prosopographical and material analysis to evaluate the most evident connections between the documents. Second, I will track back their acquisition and discuss the similarities of their paths with those of some contemporary papyri. A comparative approach on the distribution between institutions, applied to the entire archival documentation coming from second century Theadelphia, will produce the most fascinating results on the history of the papyri of the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos: although those texts were mixed up since antiquity, there is reason to believe that they had a common findspot. In conclusion, I will present a final layout of the archive: it may be further subdivided into four dossiers according to the content of these documents and the purposes of their preservation.

### 1. Reconstructing the Archive

The composition of the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos and descendants” was progressively built on a prosopographical basis exclusively. As new editions of papyri came to light, their connections with the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos were notified. The main nucleus of texts, identified by Meyer in his edition of papyri of the *Neutestamentliches Seminar* collection in Berlin, consisted of 7 documents, *P.Meyer* 5-10 and *SB* IV 7393.<sup>114</sup> This layout was reposed for long time,<sup>115</sup> even though other papyri had been related to the family of the archive in the meantime. Below, I provide a chronologically ordered scheme of the prosopographical connections established between the texts of the archive over the years:

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<sup>113</sup> Meyer first named the archive after Aphrodisios (II) son of Philippos, the main and best-attested character of the family, and this title remained unchanged in the subsequent studies; see *P.Mey.*: pp. 28-31. On Aphrodisios II see Stemma 1 in Chapter VI 1. *Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy*.

<sup>114</sup> *P.Mey.*: 28-31.

<sup>115</sup> According to Montevocchi and Canducci, the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos included *P.Meyer* 5-10 and *SB* IV 7393 only; see Montevocchi 1988: 254 n. 41; Canducci 1990: 218.

- In the edition of *P.Ryl. II* (1915), some papyri were connected with the family of Aphrodisios: *P.Ryl. II* 202a, mentioning an individual called Philippos, and *P.Ryl. II* 324 and 332, referring to Aphrodisios son of Philippos. Also, it was pointed out that *P.Ryl. II* 330-2 had strong connections as they had been drawn up by the same scribe.<sup>116</sup>
- In 1916, Meyer also noticed that the character named Aphrodisios in *P.Meyer* 33 was probably a member of the family of the archive, and some other family members appeared in *BGU IX* 1896-1897a, *P.Ryl. II* 111a, 202a, 331.<sup>117</sup>
- In 1917, the editor of *PSI V* 458 highlighted some textual analogies between *PSI V* 458 and *P.Ryl. II* 98a.<sup>118</sup>
- In the reedition of *P.Ryl. II* 98a (= *Sel.Pap. II* 351), the full name Φιλίππ[πρω] Ἀφροδισίου] was supplied at l. 1 of this document.<sup>119</sup>
- In the edition of *P.Stras. IV* 203, Schwartz referred this papyrus to the family of the archive based on the mention of a certain Aphrodisios. He also classified *P.Meyer* 5-10, *P.Ryl. II* 202a, 324, and 332 as a coherent group of texts.<sup>120</sup>
- In 1975, Youtie noticed the mention of another member of the family, Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, in *P.Ryl. II* 330, *PSI V* 463 and *SB XVIII* 13091.<sup>121</sup>
- In 1999, France considered *P.Ryl. II* 202a, a receipt issued from the *sitologi* of Theadelphia, as a document possibly belonging to the administrative archive of the village.<sup>122</sup>
- In 2004, Smolders included *SB XXII* 15336, a census declaration submitted by Aphrodisios son of Philippos, in the archive.<sup>123</sup>
- A final layout of the archive was arranged by R. Smolders in the context of a re-classification of the archival material from the Fayum, which produced the *Trismegistos Archives* database and the statutory work *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum*. According to Smolders, the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos and descendants” consists of 17 certain documents (*P.Meyer* 5-10; *P.Ryl. II* 98a, 192a,

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<sup>116</sup> *P.Ryl. II*: 273 and 405.

<sup>117</sup> *P.Mey.*: p. 30 n. 5; p. 31 n. 7.

<sup>118</sup> *PSI V*: p. 34.

<sup>119</sup> *Sel.Pap. II*: 418-419.

<sup>120</sup> *P.Stras. IV*: p. 36.

<sup>121</sup> Youtie (b) 1975: 258-259.

<sup>122</sup> France 1999: 151.

<sup>123</sup> Smolders 2004a: 239-240.

202a, 324, 330, 332; *PSI* V 458, 463; *SB* IV 7393; *SB* XVIII 13091; *SB* XXII 15336) and three uncertain texts (*P.Meyer* 33; *P.Stras.* IV 203; *SB* VI 9093).<sup>124</sup>

- In the first edition of *P.Col. inv.* 122, Claytor related other seven documents to the members of the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos: *CUA* H.H. 1. 02; *P.Col. inv.* 122; *P.Col. inv.* 159a; *P.Corn.* 40; *P.Mich. inv.* 142; *SB* XIV 11616 and 12135.<sup>125</sup> In particular, *CUA* H.H. 1. 02 preserves two drafts of *SB* XXII 15336, *P.Corn.* 40 refers to Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, *P.Col. inv.* 159a to Sarapias, the second wife of Aphrodisios II, while all the other papyri pertain to Aphrodisios II son of Philippos.<sup>126</sup>

## 2. Archive or Dossier?

Starting from the earliest studies of the texts related to the family of Aphrodisios, those documents have been unanimously considered an archive. The definition of “archive” is rather problematic though. As any group of documents is the result of reconstruction by modern scholars, the borderline between archives and dossiers is usually very thin.<sup>127</sup> Thus, any categorisation might not reflect the reality of the documentation.<sup>128</sup> To trustworthily reconstruct an ancient archive, historians and papyrologists have developed some helpful approaches. The most straightforward key lies in the prosopographical data, which enable us to identify an individual, or a cluster of individuals, and their interests.<sup>129</sup> A textual analysis of the documents, evaluating their layout, language, and content, may also reveal connections between the single components of a group of texts.<sup>130</sup> However, it must not be forgotten that papyri are archaeological objects: this means that, in order to investigate their nature, one must analyse their context of discovery and the history of their acquisition.<sup>131</sup> About the latter point, K. Vandorpe first developed the so-called “museum archaeology” approach, which enquires about the dates and methods of acquisition of papyri by museums

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<sup>124</sup> Smolders 2015a: 64.

<sup>125</sup> Claytor 2021: 348-349 n. 4, 5 and 6.

<sup>126</sup> On the members of the family archive, see below Chapter VI 1. *Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy*.

<sup>127</sup> Verhoogt 2012: 509. On the definitions of “archive” and “dossier”, see Chapter I 1. *An Overview of the Documentary Material*.

<sup>128</sup> Jördens 2001: 256-264.

<sup>129</sup> Bagnall 1995: 40-41.

<sup>130</sup> Fournet 2018: 172.

<sup>131</sup> Van Minnen 1994: 229-234; Cuvigny 2009: 43; Fournet 2018: 177-180.

and institutions.<sup>132</sup> By applying the approaches presented above, I have reassessed the composition of this group of documents to verify whether they can reasonably be labelled as an archive.

The prosopographical evidence leads to rejecting the connections with some papyri and including some new documents in the family archive. Firstly, *P.Ryl.* II 111a, *P.Ryl.* II 331, and *PSI V* 463 are unrelated to the family: no connections are attested with Pasion son of Aphrodisios son of Heron, mentioned in *P.Ryl.* II 111a, 15-16; the creditor of *P.Ryl.* II 331, Aphrodisios alias Kastor, cannot be identified with our Aphrodisios; and, as I will show, Athenarion daughter of Heraklides, the petitioner of *PSI V* 463, was not a family member.<sup>133</sup> Secondly, as the identity of Aphrodisios in *P.Stras.* IV 203 and *P.Meyer* 33 cannot be verified, the status of those papyri remains uncertain. Thirdly, *P.Ryl.* II 192a may only be related to the archive: although the receipt mentions Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, it was issued to Zois daughter of Sarapion, who is unrelated to the family.<sup>134</sup> Also, it preserves on the *verso* an administrative text, an account of payments for the *naubion*, probably drawn up by the *praktores* of the village.

Finally, the connections with other texts may come to light. Based on prosopography, I have added two other papyri to the group of documents referring to our family: *P.Fay.* 81,<sup>135</sup> a receipt of *sitologia* of AD 115 issued to the above-mentioned Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, and *P.Oslo.* III 131,<sup>136</sup> an advance sale of AD 118 in which the creditor is Athenarion's brother, Leonides son of Herodes.<sup>137</sup>

An analysis of the documents' materiality may reveal further connections between some of the documents of the archive. Similarities in the form, syntax, handwriting, and content have led to the identification of some homogeneous groups of texts:

- *P.Ryl.* II 98a and *PSI V* 458 are the only applications for grant of hunting-rights known so far. They are both addressed to Philippos IV in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of the emperor Antoninus Pius (AD 154-155) and structured in the form of *hypomnemata*.<sup>138</sup> As they

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<sup>132</sup> Vandorpe 1994: 291-294; Vandorpe 2009: 228-229.

<sup>133</sup> On *P.Ryl.* II 331, see my forthcoming article. On the identification of Athenarion daughter of Heraklides, see Chapter VI 1. *Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy*.

<sup>134</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 192a *recto* and *verso* (no. 23).

<sup>135</sup> *P.Fay.* 81 (no. 6).

<sup>136</sup> *P.Oslo.* III 131 (no. 7).

<sup>137</sup> On Leonides son of Herodes, see Chapter VI 1. *Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy*.

<sup>138</sup> Montevicchi 1988: 217-219.

share the same phraseology<sup>139</sup> and handwriting,<sup>140</sup> they were likely produced in the same scribal environment, the *grapheion* of Theadelphia.

- Based on their content, *SB XXII 15336* and *CUA H. H. 1 02* were likely kept by the same individual. *SB XXII 15336* is the final version of a census declaration, of which two drafts are preserved in *CUA H. H. 1 02 recto* and *verso*. Even though the drafts are different in many aspects from the text of *SB XXII 15336*, both documents register the properties of the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos for the census-year AD 131.
- All the contracts related to the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos were written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia:<sup>141</sup> *P.Corn.* 40; *P.Meyer* 5; 7; 33; *P.Oslo.* III 131; *P.Ryl.* II 324; 330; 332; *P.Stras.* IV 203; *SB VI 9093*. Although all of them are fragmentary, they fit into the usual structure of the contracts registered in the *grapheion*. *P.Meyer* 33, which was published as a *descriptum* and then got lost, may be connected to the same scribal environment since it included a sentence mentioning a *hypographeus*.<sup>142</sup>

To sum up, a prosopographical analysis of the documents of the archive has led to a first rearrangement of this material: *P.Ryl.* II 111a, *P.Ryl.* II 331, and *PSI V 463* have been excluded from the group of papyri as unrelated to the family, while some family members have been recognised in *P.Fay.* 81 and *P.Oslo.* III 131. The textual and material features of those documents have revealed that some census declarations were likely kept together (*SB XXII 15336* and *CUA H. H. 1 02*) and some documents were produced in the same scribal environment, the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, which will be deeply investigated in Chapter V. However, this analysis has not established whether the documents related to Aphrodisios son of Philippos had a common findspot, which is the essential criterion for determining the existence of an archive. Therefore, in the following section, I will apply the “museum archaeology” method to identify the original deposit in which those texts were preserved.

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<sup>139</sup> The body of the texts begins with the sentence βούλομαι ἐπιχωρηθῆναι παρ’ ὑμῶν θηρεύειν καὶ ἀγριεύειν, followed by the place and the object of the request, i.e. ἐν τῷ προκειμένῳ δρυμῷ πάν ὄρνεον.

<sup>140</sup> See Appendix I 2. *Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia*.

<sup>141</sup> On the contracts registered in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, see Chapter V 2. *Production of the Grapheion*.

<sup>142</sup> On the role of the *hypographeis* in the *grapheion*, see Chapter V 3. 3. *Hypographeis*.

All our papyri but *P.Fay.* 81 were acquired on the antiquities market and scattered in many collections. Thus, the reports of the official excavations are not useful to track back their history. As for the purchase of illicitly excavated papyri, we rely mainly on the descriptions given by their editors and the records of the institutions where they are kept. They provide a few details of the papyri's acquisition, through which one can still get an overview:

- *P.Fay.* 81 is the only document with certain provenance, as it comes from the first archaeological mission at Theadelphia. It is preserved in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Philadelphia, with inventory number E 2790. This collection includes a composite group of Fayum papyri, inventoried from E 2767 to 2774 and from E 2776 to E 2792, and sent to Philadelphia in 1901/1902.<sup>143</sup> Among twelve papyri from Theadelphia belonging to this collection,<sup>144</sup> two had some stronger connections. I refer to *P.Fay.* 53 and 81, two tax receipts dated to AD 111 and 115 respectively and inventoried as E 2789 and E 2790. As on their *verso* Grenfell and Hunt added the subsequent numbers Θ 397 (*P.Fay.* 81) and 398 (*P.Fay.* 53) during the excavations,<sup>145</sup> those papyri had been likely found together. Therefore, they were not kept with the papyri of the archive of Aphrodisios since *P.Fay.* 53 is unrelated to the family of the archive.
- *P.Meyer* 5-10 and 33 were bought via C. Schmidt from the dealer Sheikh Ali Abd el-Haj el Gabri in Gizeh in the spring/summer of 1912.<sup>146</sup> They became part of the collection *Neutestamentliches Seminar*, set up by A. Deissmann in Berlin and including 45 pieces.<sup>147</sup> The entire collection is no longer available, as it was destroyed in World War Two.
- In 1912, around 36 papyri of the lot acquired by Schmidt were sold to the J. Rylands Library at the price of £ 185 and entered Manchester on 4 September of the same year.<sup>148</sup> Those documents may represent the “fresh texts” encompassed at the last

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<sup>143</sup> On this, see *A history of the acquisition of papyri and related written material in the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, available online at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/ppenn/paphist.htm>.

<sup>144</sup> *P.Fay.* 22, 53, 58, 59, 65, 77, 81, 86, 88, 310, 349, and 359.

<sup>145</sup> Digital images available at [https://www.penn.museum/collections/object\\_images.php?irn=76325](https://www.penn.museum/collections/object_images.php?irn=76325) and <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/76326>. The letter Θ was used to label the papyri from Theadelphia, E for those from Euhemeria, and B for those from Bakchias; see O'Connell 2007: 815.

<sup>146</sup> The exact period of this purchase is uncertain. Meyer dated it to the summer of 1912, while in a letter of A. Deissmann to J. Moulton it was dated to the spring of the same year. See *P.Mey.*: p. iii; MA Mou II 68.

<sup>147</sup> *P.Mey.*: p. iii.

<sup>148</sup> Mazza 2012: 501-506.

minute in the second volume of the *P.Ryl.*, which delayed its publication.<sup>149</sup> Although that lot is hardly retraceable, it likely included *P.Ryl.* II 98a, 202a, 324, 330, 332. In an appendix of that volume, the editors stated that *P.Ryl.* II 98a, 202a, 324, and 332 were bought together.<sup>150</sup> Based on the inventory number of *P.Ryl.* II 330, it probably came from the same purchase.

- *SB IV 7393* is kept in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung of Berlin with inventory number 11644. This collection began to include papyri from Fayum in 1884, thanks to the intervention of the consul H. Travers.<sup>151</sup> As *P.Berol. inv.* 11652, republished as *P.Graux III 30 I*, was bought in 1912 from the dealer Sheikh Ali Abd el-Haj el Gabri, *SB IV 7393* might come from the same purchase.<sup>152</sup>
- Little is known about the acquisition of *PSI V 458*. In the introduction of the *PSI*, Vitelli explained that the Florentine papyri came from the Italian official missions in Egypt or were purchased from local dealers and farmers.<sup>153</sup> Since only one third-century papyrus was found during the Italian campaign at Theadelphia, headed by E. Breccia,<sup>154</sup> *PSI V 458* should come from clandestine trade in antiquities. The year of their acquisition may be guessed thanks to another archive from Theadelphia, that of the *Decian libelli*, which had the same fate as our group of documents: the *libelli* for the prosecution of Decius were scattered between the collections of Berlin, Manchester, and Florence in 1912 and published in *P.Meyer, P.Ryl. II* and *PSI V*, exactly like our papyri.<sup>155</sup>
- *P.Stras. IV 203*, inventoried as *P.gr. 438*, is part of the papyrus collection of Strasbourg, including approximately 5200 papyri and mostly set up before World War One.<sup>156</sup> Based on the early inventory number of our papyrus, *P.Stras. IV 203* was likely acquired in or before 1901, as the collection already accounted for 2000 papyri at the end of 1901.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> *P.Ryl. II*: p. v.

<sup>150</sup> *P.Ryl. II*: p. 423 n. 98a.

<sup>151</sup> Brashear 2001: 152.

<sup>152</sup> Smolders 2015a: 60 n. 3 and 4.

<sup>153</sup> *PSI I*: p. v.

<sup>154</sup> See Chapter I 3. *Finding of papyri: Legal and Illegal Acquisitions.*

<sup>155</sup> *P.Hamb. I*: 214-215 n. 61; Smolders 2015a: 60 n. 4.

<sup>156</sup> On the collection, see the concerned page on the website of BNU, available online at <https://www.bnu.fr/fr/services-et-collections/nos-collections/le-patrimoine-antique-et-archeologique>.

<sup>157</sup> See TM Collections 322.

- P.Mich. inv. 142 is part of a lot of papyri bought by Grenfell and Kelsey in Egypt in 1920 for the University of Michigan, which were delivered from Oxford in October of the same year.<sup>158</sup>
- *P.Corn.* 40 is part of the collection of Greek papyri of the Cornell University, which were transferred to the library of the University of Michigan in 1972. It was purchased in 1921 from the British Museum via H. I. Bell through F. W. Kelsey, Professor at the University of Michigan.<sup>159</sup>
- *SB XXII 15336* (= P.Graux inv. 937) is part of a lot of 53 papyri named “lot Foucart I d” (inv. 894 to 946), which was purchased by G. Foucart and included in the collection of the *Papyrus Graux* in the Sorbonne.<sup>160</sup> The whole collection was set up between 1921 and 1925 with the funds of C. Graux (9.000 francs in 1922-1923, and 2.000 in 1924-1925), on behalf of the fourth section of the *École pratique des Hautes Études*.<sup>161</sup>
- *P.Oslo.* III 131 was bought by the dealer M. Nahman in 1923 through the Anglo-American consortium managed by Bell in the British Museum and was the packet V, division C no. 19, according to Bell’s second report, July 1923.<sup>162</sup>
- P.Col. inv. 122 and 159a were purchased by the Columbia University under the direction of W. L. Westermann in 1924, in the context of the distribution of papyri directed by Bell.<sup>163</sup>
- *CUA H.H.* 1. 02 is part of a collection of papyri of the Catholic University of America, which was acquired by H. Hyvernât in Egypt in the first two decades of 1900.<sup>164</sup> More precise information about the acquisition of *CUA H.H.* 1. 02 is not available.

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<sup>158</sup> Verhoogt 2017: 6-7. On The acquisition of P.Mich. inv. 142, see also the APIS database at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-4985/142R>, and the inventory of papyri bought in October 1920 at <https://apps.lib.umich.edu/papyrus-collection/inventory-papyri-1920>.

<sup>159</sup> *P.Corn.*: pp. iii-v.

<sup>160</sup> See the description of the Collection Graux on the website of *EPHE*, available at <https://www.ephe.psl.eu/bibliotheques/collections-patrimoniales/collections-de-papyrus-collection-graux-et-collection-weill>.

<sup>161</sup> On the collection of the Papyrus Graux, see *EPHE. Annuaire 1924-1925*: 83; *EPHE. Annuaire 1925-1926*: 106; *EPHE. Annuaire 1931-1932*: 3-19; *P.Graux II*: p. 7.

<sup>162</sup> On the acquisition of *P.Oslo.* III 131, see the description of the papyrus in the OPES database at [https://ub-baser.uio.no/opes/record/131?q=standard\\_designation+contains+131](https://ub-baser.uio.no/opes/record/131?q=standard_designation+contains+131).

<sup>163</sup> On the acquisition of *P.Col.* inv 122, see Claytor 2021: 348. *P.Col.* inv. 159a was part of the same purchase, as *P.Col.* inv. 164 was also acquired in 1924; see Bergamasco 2006: 207. On the formation of the Columbia papyrus collection, see *P.Col.* VIII: p. 7.

<sup>164</sup> Gonis 2016a: 119.



- *SB XVIII 13091* (= *P.Princ.* III 125) is part of the collection of the Princeton Papyri. In the catalogue of the Princeton collection, it is labelled as a “gift of Robert Garrett, class of 1897”.<sup>165</sup> Between 1924 and 1930 Garrett had set up a private collection of some 750 papyri bought in Egypt through Bell, which were preserved in the Firestone Library of Princeton from 1942. *SB XVIII 13091*, inventoried as GD 7626, belongs to the Garret Deposit.<sup>166</sup>
- *SB XIV 11616* and *12135*, catalogued as *P.Med. inv. 209* and *166* respectively, are part of the papyri collection of the Università Cattolica in Milan, initially consisting of 12 papyri acquired before 1928.<sup>167</sup> Information about the subsequent purchases is very scant.<sup>168</sup> According to Claytor, *SB XIV 11616* and *12135* were bought in the 1920s, since some other papyri from Theadelphia, belonging to the archive of Harthotes, were also scattered between Milan and the American collections in the same period.<sup>169</sup>
- *SB VI 9093*, belonging to the collection of the Indiana University Papyri, was bought by V. B. Schuman in Egypt in 1929 for the Latin Department of the University.<sup>170</sup> The papyrus, which had not been inventoried in Bloomington, is no longer available in the library for unknown reasons.

This analysis has partially illustrated the routes of the papyri included in the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos. It has produced a few results. Firstly, *P.Fay.* 81 did not have the same findspot as the documents of the archive, as it was found with *P.Fay.* 53, which is unrelated to our family. Secondly, since *P.Ryl.* II 98a, 202a, 324, and 332 were purchased in the same lot of papyri, the inclusion of *P.Ryl.* II 202a in the administrative archive of Theadelphia, proposed by France,<sup>171</sup> may be refused. And thirdly, some homogeneous

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<sup>165</sup> See <https://dpul.princeton.edu/papyri/catalog/st74ct97r>.

<sup>166</sup> On the papyri collection of Princeton, see TM Collections 291 and *A Descriptive inventory of Princeton Papyri collections* at <https://library.princeton.edu/libraries/firestone/rbsc/aids/papyri/papyri2015.htm>.

<sup>167</sup> Claytor-Litinas-Nabney 2016: 80.

<sup>168</sup> On the website of the Università Cattolica, the following description of the collection of papyri is given: “La collezione di papiri (identificati con la sigla P.Med. = Papyri Mediolanenses) si è costituita in momenti diversi del secolo scorso. Al primo nucleo di 12 esemplari se ne aggiunsero altri 300 circa provenienti dalla donazione Castelli. Gli acquisti successivi hanno incrementato la collezione fino all'attuale migliaio di pezzi, tutti di provenienza egiziana, per la maggior parte scritti in greco e in piccola parte in ieratico e copto”; see <https://biblioteche.unicatt.it/milano-collezioni-speciali-papiri>.

<sup>169</sup> Claytor 2021: 349 n. 4 and 6. On the dispersion of the papyri of the archive of Harthotes, see Geens 2015c: 158; Claytor-Litinas-Nabney 2016: 80-81.

<sup>170</sup> Schuman 1948: 110.

<sup>171</sup> France 1999: 151.

groups of documents have been recognised. The largest bulk of documents (*P.Mey.*, *P.Ryl.*, *PSI*, and *SB IV 7393*), dismembered between the collections of Berlin, Manchester, and Florence in 1912, seems to have been acquired together as a group. Another interconnected set of papyri includes the documents purchased by the overseas institutions through the Anglo-American consortium, responsible for most of the acquisitions of the 1920s.

However, the identification of a common findspot for our documents is questioned by the composite nature of the lots of papyri distributed between the acquiring institutions. None of those lots consisted of the documents of our archive only. For instance, the lot purchased by Deissmann, set up in the *Neutestamentliches Seminar* collection of Berlin, also included some unrelated papyri, belonging to the third-century group of the Decian *libelli* (*P.Mey.* 15-17). As for the collection of Manchester, based on the inventory numbers, *P.Ryl.* II 331 was likely acquired together with *P.Ryl.* II 330 and 332, but it is unrelated to the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.<sup>172</sup> Moreover, the acquisition of some papyri commonly included in the archive remains uncertain. This is especially true for *P.Stras.* IV 203, *SB VI 9093*, and *SB XXII 15336*, kept in Strasbourg, in the Indiana University and in the Sorbonne. They are the only pieces in their respective collections to be related to the archive. Finally, among the papyri of the archive discovered through illicit excavations, *P.Stras.* IV 203 is the only text to have been dispatched already in 1901, while the others were purchased on the black market from 1912 onwards.

To conclude, the “museum archaeology” approach has not led to a resolute answer on the history of the documents related to the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos. As these were mostly discovered during illegal excavations, they are scattered in several collections and dispersed worldwide (Table 2. 1). The most evident result is that most Theadelphia papyri have been mixed up since antiquity: pieces referring to different individuals were sold together as coherent groups to many institutions. Thus, in the next section, I will contextualise the history of our archive through a broader study of the coeval archival documentation from Theadelphia. This will be essential to clarify the routes taken by our documents and set up a definitive picture of the so-called archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

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<sup>172</sup> See my forthcoming article on *P.Ryl.* II 324, 330-331.

Table 2. 1. Current locations and acquisition years of the papyri related to the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos”

Collection	Inventory numbers	Papyri	Year of acquisition
Ann Arbor, Michigan University Library	P.Cornell I 37; P.Mich. inv. 142	<i>P.Corn.</i> 40; P.Mich. inv. 142	1920, 1921
Berlin, Neutestamentliches Seminar	Unknown	<i>P.Meyer</i> 5-10; 33	1912
Berlin, Staatliche Museen	P.Berol. inv. 11644	<i>SB</i> IV 7393	1912
Bloomington, Indiana University	Unknown	<i>SB</i> VI 9093	1928
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	18014; 13876	<i>PSI</i> V 458; 463	1912
Manchester, J. Rylands Library	98a; 192a; 202a; 324; 330; 332	<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 98a, 192a, 202a, 324, 330, 332	1912
Milan, Università Cattolica	P.Med. inv. 209; 166	<i>SB</i> XIV 11616; 12135	1920s
New York, Columbia University	P.Col. inv. 122; 159a	P.Col. inv. 122; 159a	1924
Oslo, University Library	440	<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 131	1923
Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de papyrologie	937	<i>SB</i> XXII 15336	1921-1925
Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania	E 2790	<i>P.Fay.</i> 81	1899
Princeton, University Library	GD 7626	<i>SB</i> XVIII 13091	1924-1930
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale	P. gr. 438	<i>P.Stras.</i> IV 203	1901

### 3. Archival Documentation from Theadelphia: A Comparative Approach

As the research on the ways of acquisition of the papyri of our concern has not provided univocal results, the archaeological context of their finding remains obscure and the definition “archive” problematic. Hence, in this section, I will use a comparative approach to reconstruct the history of our archive. Since the dispersion in many collections is a trait common to all Theadelphian archives, I will broaden the research field to the entire

archival documentation from Theadelphia dated to the end of the first and second century AD. After reconstructing the paths of the Theadelphian papyri, I will frame the texts of the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos in this wider context, to identify and discuss the stages of their distribution to institutions in modern times.

The comparative approach, here adopted, aims at evaluating simultaneously the paths of the papyri belonging to Theadelphian archives dated to the first and second century AD (Table 2. 2).

Table 2. 2. A synoptical view of the distribution of the documents belonging to Theadelphian archives<sup>173</sup>

Collection	Archive of Harthotes and Marsisouchos	Archive of Soterichos and Didymos	Archive of Heron son of Hermas	Archive of Aprodiosios son of Philippos	Archive of Heron son of Dioskoros	Archive of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros	Administrative archive
Ann Arbor, Michigan Univ. Libr.	22	None	4	2	None	4	None
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Neuestamentliches Seminar	None	None	None	8	None	None	34
Florence, Bibl. Med. Laur., Istituto Papirologico	None	None	None	2	None	6	3
Geneva, Bibl.	1	None	None	None	None	1	None

<sup>173</sup> In the table, I have included the papyri certainly belonging to the administrative archive. However, further connections can be established between the administrative texts and other Theadelphian archives, since other documents possibly belonging to the administrative archive are kept in Manchester, Oslo, and Princeton.

Milan, Università Cattolica	2	None	None	2	None	None	None
New York, Columbia Univ.	4	None	2	1	1	4	8
Oslo, Univ. Libr.	1	None	1	1	2	4	None
Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de papyrologi e	none	None	1	1	1	None	3
Princeton, Univ. Libr.	2	None	None	1	None	None	None
Strasbourg , Bibl. Nationale	none	1	None	1	None	None	25

It has produced two interesting results. Firstly, the documents belonging to the Theadelphia archives were mostly split up between a few recurrent collections. For instance, the collections of Michigan, New York, and Oslo hold papyri included in the archives of Harthotes and Marsisouchos, Heron son of Hermas, Aprodiosios son of Philippos, and Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros.

Secondly, the above-listed institutions acquired papyri belonging to different Theadelphia archives in the same period. All the papyri kept in Berlin were purchased in 1912.<sup>174</sup> The Florentine collection acquired the papyri of both Aphrodisios' and Ptolemaios' archives between 1912 and 1925; based on the inventory numbers of the documents of the administrative archive, they might have been acquired in the same period. The papyri kept in Geneva were bought in 1921, those in Milan in the 1920s, presumably before 1928.<sup>175</sup> The Michigan collection acquired the papyri of the archives of Aphrodisios and Ptolemaios in 1920, those of the archive of Heron in 1922/1923, and those of the archive of Harthotes

<sup>174</sup> On the German acquisition of the rolls belonging to the administrative archive, see Geens 2015a: 34.

<sup>175</sup> On the acquisition of the documents of the archive of Harthotes, see Claytor-Litinas-Nabney 2016: 80.

mainly in 1925.<sup>176</sup> The Columbia University acquired the documents from the Theadelphia archives in a couple of years: those of the archive of Heron son of Hermas in 1922-23,<sup>177</sup> those of the archive of Ptolemaios in 1923 and those of the archive of Aphrodisios in 1924. All papyri belonging to the Theadelphia archives were purchased by the University of Oslo through the Anglo-American consortium in 1923; all those kept in the Institut de papyrologie of the Sorbonne are part of the *P.Graux*, set up in 1921-1925. The Princeton collection acquired one papyrus of the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos in 1924-1930, and those of the archive of Harthotes in 1921-1928. The setting of the collection of Strasbourg is more uncertain: the papyri belonging to the archives of Aphrodisios and Soterichos could have been purchased by 1901, and those belonging to the administrative archive were probably acquired through the Deutsches Papyruskartell, to which the University of Strasbourg joined since 1903.<sup>178</sup>

This analysis has shown that the documents belonging to the Theadelphia archives took parallel routes. This is especially evident for the papyri belonging to American collections. They were likely discovered before World War One but remained on sale on the black market for a long time, also because the war slowed down the antiquities trade; finally, they were acquired in 1920-1930 through the Anglo-American consortium.<sup>179</sup> Because of the system through which papyri were distributed among the consortium's partners,<sup>180</sup> the Theadelphia papyri kept in the collections of Michigan, New York, Princeton, and Oslo shared a destiny: different lots likely reflecting ancient archives were purchased on the antiquities market in Egypt, collected in the British Museum, and then distributed haphazardly throughout the world.

As concerns the earlier acquisitions, they were purchased in lots including unrelated documents because the archival material from Theadelphia was blended in several moments. The first moment lies in the discovery of papyri. The *sebbakhin* grabbed artifacts here and

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<sup>176</sup> Among the documents of the archive of Harthotes, *P.Mich.* XII 654 and *P.Mich. inv.* 931 were purchased in 1922 and *P.Mich. inv.* 4187 in 1926.

<sup>177</sup> See Claytor-Mirończuk 2015: 193 n. 2.

<sup>178</sup> On the papyrus collection of Strasbourg, see *TM Collections* 322.

<sup>179</sup> The Anglo-American consortium was established in 1920 on the initiative of the Professor of the University of Michigan F. W. Kelsey, who had built collaborative relationships with the English papyrologists, and was funded by the British Museum and the universities of Michigan, Columbia, Cornell, Princeton, Yale, and Wisconsin; see Verhoogt 2017: 6-8.

<sup>180</sup> The distribution of papyri bought in Egypt for the consortium was arranged by H. I. Bell in the British Museum. Since he allocated lots to be delivered to the consortium's institutions according to their fundings, papyri with the same provenance were split up among different collections; see Verhoogt 2017: 8.

there, causing the dispersion of texts that could have been anciently kept together. Second, the sale. At the beginning of the twentieth century, coherent groups of documents had already been dispersed among various dealers, to whom they had arrived from different hands. Local sellers, for their part, put up for sale heterogeneous lots, which comprised papyri of recent discovery as well as unsold older material. Therefore, Western buyers came across composite lots, which were already the result of an arbitrary grouping. The third moment of the split of archival documents was their distribution that, as we have seen, was arranged with an unscientific method.

To conclude, due to the patterns of the distribution of the archival documentation from Theadelphia outlined above, the existence of original findspots is very probable. A look at the distribution scheme of the Theadelphian documents revealed that an evident element of unity lies, above all, in the relationships between the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos and that of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros. As their documents followed the same paths, I postpone the definitive reconstruction of their biography to the next chapter.<sup>181</sup> For now, it is enough to point out that most documents referring to the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos were probably kept in the same deposit, the family's house, and therefore constituted a proper archive. However, due to illegal excavations of *sebbakhin*, they were scattered among the Egyptian sellers and mixed with documents belonging to other archives of the village. This explains the intricate paths of Theadelphian documents and the composite nature of the collections to which they belong.

#### 4. Final Layout of the Texts: A Conclusion

The archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos is a group of documents referring to four generations of a family residing in Theadelphia between the end of the first century and the second century AD. It was originally kept together by the family, probably in their house in the village, and passed down from generation to generation. The family preserved this material to carry out their daily activities: important documents were retained as a written testimony for economic and family matters. In the case of a legal dispute, they would have been incontrovertible proof of the facts.

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<sup>181</sup> See Chapter III 3. *Two Archives and One Findspot?*

The archive includes twenty-one certain documents. Alongside these, I have labelled three texts as uncertain because their findspot and/or prosopographical data cannot be verified, and four papyri as related because they mention some members of the family but were not preserved together with the documents of the archive (Table 2. 3). Finally, three papyri, previously linked to the documents of the archive on prosopographical or palaeographical grounds, are unrelated to the archive (*P.Ryl.* II 111a, *P.Ryl.* II 331, and *PSI* V 463).

Table 2. 3. The archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants”

Papyrus	No. in Appendix II	Content	Date (AD)	Status
<i>P.Stras.</i> IV 203	1	<i>Datio in solutum</i>	88/89	Uncertain
<i>P.Meyer</i> 7	2	Advance sale of black beans	95	Certain
<i>P.Meyer</i> 5	3	Loan of money	98-117	Certain
<i>P.Corn.</i> 40	4	Sale of land	26 November 105	Certain
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 202a	5	Sitology receipt	18 September 108	Certain
<i>P.Fay.</i> 81	6	Receipt for payment in kind	5 August 115	Related
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 131	7	Loan of money and wheat	17 January 118	Related
<i>P.Meyer</i> 6	8	Official letter including a petition	12 January 125	Certain
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 330	9	Loan	14 April 130	Certain
<i>CUA</i> H.H. 1. 02	10	Census declaration	131/132	Certain
<i>SB</i> XXII 15336	11	Census declaration	133	Certain
<i>P.Col.</i> inv. 122	12	Receipt for the revenue of the 1-and-2% toll	20 July 134	Certain
<i>SB</i> XIV 12135	13	Notification of submission of an account of revenues from the 1-and-2% toll	30 August 134	Certain
<i>SB</i> XIV 11616	14	Notation of payment for the revenue of the 1-and-2% toll	Ca. AD 134	Related
<i>P.Mich.</i> inv. 142	15	Receipt for dues for sheep	15 July 136-138	Certain



<i>SB VI 9093</i>	16	Sale of a donkey	29 September 138	Uncertain
<i>P.Ryl. II 332</i>	17	Loan	19 September 139	Certain
<i>P.Ryl. II 324</i>	18	Agreement of deposit	28 November 139	Certain
<i>P.Meyer 10</i>	19	Receipt for tax payment	24 November 144	Certain
<i>SB XVIII 13091</i>	20	Receipt for tax payment	1 January 146	Certain
<i>P.Meyer 9</i>	21	Census declaration	8 July 147	Certain
<i>P.Meyer 8</i>	22	Petition	16 August 151	Certain
<i>P.Ryl. II 192a</i>	23	Receipt for tax payment	18 June 152	Related
<i>P.Ryl. II 98a</i>	24	Application for grant of hunting- rights	154/155	Certain
<i>PSI V 458</i>	25	Application for grant of hunting- rights	26 April - 25 May 155	Certain
<i>P.Col. inv. 159a</i>	26	Draft of a census declaration	159/160	Certain
<i>SB IV 7393</i>	27	Request for δημοσίωσις of a <i>cheirographon</i>	(After) 161	Certain
<i>P.Meyer 33</i>	28	Loan	AD II	Uncertain

Based on the content and purpose for preservation of these documents, they can be further divided into dossiers. The first dossier includes agreements, loans, and sales, concerning the economic businesses of the family. They were kept as memoranda for debt repayment, or sale receipts (Table 2. 4). The second dossier consists of administrative documents, such as tax receipts or census declarations, preserved as proof of the discharge of duties towards the state (Table 2. 5). The third dossier is composed of three papyri concerning the family's private affairs, which shed light on internal disputes. They were retained as legal evidence in case of judicial proceedings (Table 2. 6). Finally, the fourth dossier includes documents pertaining to the liturgical offices performed by two members of the family: as we will see, Aphrodisios II was superintendent of the 1-and-2% toll of the gate of Dionysias, and his son Philippos IV was superintendent of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia (Table 2. 7).<sup>182</sup>

<sup>182</sup> See Chapter VI 2. *Evidence of Growth: Social Status, Wealth, and Liturgies.*

Table 2. 4. Contracts

Papyrus	Content	Date (AD)
<i>P.Stras.</i> IV 203	<i>Datio in solutum</i>	88/89
<i>P.Meyer</i> 7	Advance sale of black beans	95
<i>P.Meyer</i> 5	Loan of money	98-117
<i>P.Corn.</i> 40	Sale of land	26 November 105
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 131	Loan of money and wheat	17 January 118
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 330	Loan	14 April 130
<i>SB</i> VI 9093	Sale of a donkey	29 September 138
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 332	Loan	19 September 139
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 324	Agreement of deposit	28 November 139
<i>P.Meyer</i> 33	Loan	AD II

Table 2. 5. Administrative documents

Papyrus	Content	Date (AD)
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 202 a	Sitology receipt	18 September 108
<i>P.Fay.</i> 81	Receipt for payment in kind	5 August 115
<i>CUA</i> H.H. 1. 02	Census declaration	131/132
<i>SB</i> XXII 15336	Census declaration	133
<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 142	Receipt for dues for sheep	15 July 136-138
<i>P.Meyer</i> 10	Receipt for tax payment	24 November 144
<i>SB</i> XVIII 13091	Receipt for tax payment	1 January 146
<i>P.Meyer</i> 9	Census declaration	8 July 147
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 192a	Receipt for tax payment	18 June 152
<i>P.Col. inv.</i> 159a	Draft of a census declaration	159/160

Table 2. 6. Papyri concerning private matters

Papyrus	Content	Date (AD)
<i>P.Meyer</i> 6	Official letter including a petition	12 January 125

<i>P.Meyer</i> 8	Petition	16 August 151
<i>SB</i> IV 7393	Request for δημοσίωσις of a <i>cheirographon</i>	(After) 161

Table 2. 7. Documents concerning liturgical offices

Papyrus	Content	Date (AD)
P.Col. inv. 122	Receipt for the revenue of the 1-and-2% toll	20 July 134
<i>SB</i> XIV 12135	Notification of submission of an account of revenues from the 1-and-2% toll	30 August 134
<i>SB</i> XIV 11616	Notation of payment for the revenue of the 1-and-2% toll	Ca. 134
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 98a	Application for grant of hunting-rights	154/155
<i>PSI</i> V 458	Application for grant of hunting-rights	26 April - 25 May 155

## CHAPTER III. THE ARCHIVE OF PTOLEMAIOS SON OF DIODOROS ALIAS DIOSKOROS

The so-called archive of “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros” is a group of Greek papyri referring to their keeper Ptolemaios, who resided at Theadelphia in the second century AD. This chapter aims at discussing the composition of the archive first, and then proposing a reconstruction of the archaeological context in which the papyri belonging to both the archives of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros and Aphrodisios son of Philippos were discovered. The documents of the archive of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros are related to three different sides of the life of this individual: his liturgical office as a superintendent of pastures and marshes, his judicial proceedings against different administrative officers of the Fayum, and his private activities in the village of Theadelphia. Based on this distinction, the archive will be further divided into three dossiers, initially all kept in the private house of Ptolemaios but preserved for different purposes.

### 1. Papyri of the Archive, and Other Related Documents

As the documents of the archive of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros are scattered in several collections, they have been re-assembled in various steps. A first nucleus of the archive, including fourteen documents (*P.Mich.* III 174; *P.Oslo.* III 89, 90, 91; *P.Wisc.* I 33-37; *PSI* III 160; VII 735, 737, 806; XIII 1323), was grouped by Sijpesteijn in the first volume of *The Wisconsin papyri* (1967). However, some connections between the documents of the archive had been already noticed before this setting, whereas other ones have been recently identified:

- In the first edition of *PSI* VII 737 (1925), the sender of this petition was identified with the same Ptolemaios son of Diodoros appearing in *PSI* VII 735.
- In 1967, Sijpesteijn noticed some prosopographical connections between the documents of the archive and three other papyri belonging to different collections: *P.Hamb.* I 10, a petition of a certain Herais daughter of Dioskoros, who reported the murder of the brother of a certain Ptolemaios; the above-mentioned *PSI* VII 737; and *PSI* VIII 877, a receipt for lease of land issued by a

Diodoros son of Ptolemaios, identified as the son of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros.<sup>183</sup>

- In the commentary of *P.Mich.* XI 617 (1971), Shelton included *P.Leit.* 14 and *P.Mich.* XI 617 in the archive, as they both mention Ptolemaios son of Diodoros.<sup>184</sup>
- In the first edition of *SB* XIV 12087 (1976), Youtie connected this papyrus with other documents of the archive.<sup>185</sup>
- In the first edition of *SB* XX 14311, an application for lease of land issued by Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, Lapin added this document to the archive.<sup>186</sup>
- In 1999, France highlighted that *P.Oslo.* III 89-91, *PSI* III 160, and VII 735, *penthemeros* reports of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, were bought through some papyrologists in London. Based on the distribution of those papyri, which is parallel to that of the administrative documents from Theadelphia, he proposed their inclusion in the administrative archive.<sup>187</sup>
- In the first edition of *SB* XX 14401, Whitehorne presented an updated list of the papyri of the archive, in which he included this petition issued by Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros.<sup>188</sup>
- An arrangement of the archive, including nineteen certain documents and one uncertain text, was presented by Smolders in 2015. He added *P.Mich.* XI 617 and *P.Wisc.* I 31 to the group previously set up by Sijpesteijn, as they are two petitions against the *agialophylax* Apollonios, who is the same defendant of other complaints of the archive, *P.Wisc.* I 34 and 35. Moreover, Smolders excluded *P.Hamb.* I 10 and *PSI* VIII 877 from the archive and considered the inclusion of *SB* XX 14311 as uncertain.<sup>189</sup>
- In the first edition of *P.Col. inv.* 28, a petition drafted by Ptolemaios son of Diodoros on behalf of the three children of Aklepiades son of Pamphilos, Yiftach included this document in the archive. Furthermore, he established some

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<sup>183</sup> *P.Wisc.* I: p. 120.

<sup>184</sup> *P.Mich.* XI: p. 53 n. 1.

<sup>185</sup> Youtie (a) 1976: 134.

<sup>186</sup> Lapin 1991: 153.

<sup>187</sup> France 1999: 151.

<sup>188</sup> Whitehorne 1991: 250-251.

<sup>189</sup> Smolders 2015e: 330-333.

connections with *PSI XVII 1689*, a draft of a petition referring to the same judicial case as *P.Col. inv. 28*.<sup>190</sup>

- Claytor has recently attributed to the archive two unpublished papyri of the Columbia collection, in which Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros is mentioned: *P.Col. inv. 29*, a list of superintendents appointed in the year AD 165/166, and *P.Col. inv. 34b*, a *penthemeros* report of the superintendents of pastures and marshes.<sup>191</sup>

In addition to the documents listed above, multiple connections between the archive and some administrative rolls from second century Theadelphia have been pointed out over the years. Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros was identified in some entries of those registers:

- In 1967, Sijpesteijn noticed that Ptolemaios son of Diodoros was recorded in *BGU IX 1892*, col. II 60; 1896 *r.*, col. XII 271; *P.Berl.Leihg I 4 v.*, col. I 5-6; *P.Col. V 1 v. 2*, col. XIII 193; *P.Col. V 1 v. 3*, col. II 39, *P.Mil. II 65*, 12; and Dioskoros son of Ptolemaios in *BGU II 429*, 6; *IX 1893*, col. XVII 578; 1896 *r.*, col. X 232; *P. Col. II r. 6*, col. IV, 13.
- In a paper discussing the date of *P.Lond. III 1170*, L. C. Youtie pointed out the presence of a Ptolemaios son of Diodoros among the taxpayers from Theadelphia mentioned in this register and identified him with the protagonist of the archive.<sup>192</sup>

Before retracing the history of the archive, I am going to evaluate the connections between the documents referred to Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros on a prosopographical basis. As anticipated, Smolders excluded two papyri from his list of documents belonging to the archive, *P.Hamb. I 10* and *PSI VIII 877*, and showed his perplexities on the inclusion of *SB XX 14311*, as it was acquired later than the bulk of the archive.<sup>193</sup> *P.Hamb. I 10* is a complaint to the δεκαδάρχης from Herais daughter of Dioskoros, a rich owner of a house in Theadelphia also attested as a landowner in AD 144-172.<sup>194</sup> She denounced a theft ending up with the murder of two men, a certain Ptolemaios

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<sup>190</sup> Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 195-217.

<sup>191</sup> Claytor 2021: 349 n. 5.

<sup>192</sup> Youtie (b) 1974: 158.

<sup>193</sup> Smolders 2015e: 331.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. *BGU IX 1897*, col. IV 79; 1988, col. V 98; *P.Lond. III 1170*, *r.* col. XVII 680.

and his brother Dioskoros,<sup>195</sup> identified by Sijpesteijn with the homonymous members of the family of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros.<sup>196</sup> However, as it seems that our Ptolemaios did not have a brother named Dioskoros, the inclusion of *P.Hamb.* I 10 in the archive is unconvincing.<sup>197</sup> *PSI VIII 877* is a receipt of lease of some plots of land dated to AD 152, according to which a certain Diodoros son of Ptolemaios received the rent in kind (*ekphorion*) from the farmer Heron.<sup>198</sup> The document is unrelated to the archive for onomastic inconsistency.<sup>199</sup> As for *SB XX 14311*, it was certainly part of the archive, for two reasons. As I will shortly show, it was acquired in the same year as other documents of the archive and had been likely stored with the other texts of Ptolemaios in his private house, as it is written in his personal handwriting.

It is worth, here, investigating whether the above-mentioned entries in the administrative registers from second century Theadelphia record real members of the family of our Ptolemaios or unrelated homonymous people. In so doing, I have taken various prosopographical factors into consideration. For Ptolemaios, I have relied on onomastics: as Ptolemaios' father, Diodoros alias Dioskoros, was usually called Diodoros when mentioned with one name only, Ptolemaios son of Dioskoros cannot be identified with the keeper of our archive.<sup>200</sup> Subsequently, the entries in *P.Berl.Leihg* I 4, v. col. I 5-6, *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col.

<sup>195</sup> The beginning of the *narratio* of *P.Hamb.* I 10 is slightly unclear. Ptolemaios is just presented as ἀδελφ[ὸν] ἐπικεκλημένον Πτολεμαῖον. Thus, he might either be the brother of Dioskoros, who is mentioned immediately before, or the sibling of the petitioner Herais. Since Herais introduced Dioskoros as her *phrontistes* (ἡ φροντιστ[τ]ήν μου Διόσκορον) but did not specify that Ptolemaios was her brother, in my opinion she referred to Dioskoros' brother.

<sup>196</sup> *P.Wisc.* I: pp. 120-121.

<sup>197</sup> See Chapter VII 1. *Ptolemaios Son of Diodoros Alias Dioskoros, and His Family: Genealogy and Socio-Economic Status*.

<sup>198</sup> *PSI VIII 877*, 6 has been published as παρασο( ) ὄντ[ων] δαν( ) σπερμ( ). Based on the digital image of the papyrus, I propose the supplement παρὰ σοι ὄντ[ων τ]ῶν σπερμ(άτων). After the sequence σο- a wavy vertical line is more likely a long *iota* than a sinusoid to mark an abbreviation. Immediately after the lacuna, there are traces of a large letter, open at the top and in ligature with the subsequent *ny*, which is more likely an *omega* than the sequence δα- (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. *PSI VIII 877*, 6 παρὰ σοι ὄντ[ων τ]ῶν σπερμ(άτων)



<sup>199</sup> Sijpesteijn identified the Diodoros appearing in *PSI VIII 877* as a younger son of Ptolemaios; see *P.Wisc.* I: p. 121. However, a second son of Ptolemaios is unattested; see Youtie (a) 1976: 135. Also, since in AD 152 Ptolemaios' older son was still a minor, a hypothetical second son of Ptolemaios could have not been an adult able to lease a plot of land at that time.

<sup>200</sup> See Chapter VII 1. *Ptolemaios Son of Diodoros Alias Dioskoros, and His Family: Genealogy and Socio-Economic Status*.

XIII 193, and *P.Mil.* II 65, 12, which mention a Ptolemaios son of Dioskoros, do not refer to our man. Concerning Ptolemaios' son, Dioskoros alias Heron, born around the middle of the second century, I have verified the consistency of documents based on his estimated lifetime:

- *BGU IX* 1893, col. XVII 578, a register dated to AD 149, mentions a Dioskoros son of Ptolemaios. However, the identification with the son of our Ptolemaios is unlikely since Dioskoros alias Heron was not yet of taxable age at that time.<sup>201</sup>
- *BGU IX* 1896, *r.* is a register of payments for taxes on vineyards and garden land dated to ca. AD 166. At col. X line 232, a Dioskoros son of Ptolemaios is recorded as the former owner of a vineyard, previously belonging to a Thaubarion daughter of Heraklides. This Dioskoros cannot be identified with a member of our family for many reasons. Firstly, as our Dioskoros alias Heron was about 22 years old in AD 166, it is unlikely that he had obtained a plot of land and sold it again by that year.<sup>202</sup> Secondly, the individual mentioned in *BGU IX* 1896 could have had familial bonds with Thaubarion daughter of Heraklides, but this woman, attested as a landowner in Theadelphia,<sup>203</sup> seems unrelated to our Dioskoros. And thirdly, the entry in *BGU IX* 1896, *r.* col. XII 271 is entirely reserved for our family, as it records both Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros and his sister. Since Ptolemaios' son is absent in that line, it is improbable that he was included elsewhere in *BGU IX* 1896.
- *P. Col.* II *r.* 6, col. IV 13 is a list of taxpayers of AD 157, including a Dioskoros son of Ptolemaios. Like in *BGU IX* 1893, col. XVII 578, this individual is not a member of the family as the son of our Ptolemaios was still a minor in that year.

As a result of this prosopographical analysis, I have proved that some entries in the administrative registers of Theadelphia, previously referred to members of our family, mention people unrelated to the archive (Table 3. 1).

Table 3. 1. Administrative registers related to the family of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros

Entries in the administrative registers	Mentioned people	Connections to the family of the archive
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<sup>201</sup> Youtie (a) 1976: 135.

<sup>202</sup> Youtie (a) 1976: 135.

<sup>203</sup> Cf. *BGU IX* 1896, *r.* XII 266; *BGU IX* 1897a, col. IV 101; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 3, col. II 10; *P.Coll.Youtie* I 29, v. 2-3; *SB XX* 14239, 94.



<i>BGU</i> II 429, 6	Dioskoros son of Ptolemaios	Unclear
<i>BGU</i> IX 1892, col. II 60	Ptolemaios son of Diodoros	Related
<i>BGU</i> IX 1893, col. XVII 578	Dioskoros son of Ptolemaios	Unrelated
<i>BGU</i> IX 1896, r. col. X 232	Dioskoros son of Ptolemaios	Unrelated
<i>BGU</i> IX 1896, r. col. XII 271	Ptolemaios son of Diodoros	Related
<i>P. Berl. Leihg</i> I 4, v. col. I 5-6	Ptolemaios son of Dioskoros	Unrelated
<i>P. Col.</i> II, r. 6, col. IV 13	Dioskoros son of Ptolemaios	Unrelated
<i>P. Col.</i> V 1 v. 2, col. XIII 193	Ptolemaios son of Dioskoros	Unrelated
<i>P. Col.</i> V 1 v. 3, col. II 39	Ptolemaios son of Diodoros	Related
<i>P. Lond.</i> III 1170, col. XVIII 720	Ptolemaios son of Diodoros	Related
<i>P. Mil.</i> II 65, 12	Ptolemaios son of Dioskoros	Unrelated

## 2. History of the Archive

The documents referring to Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros have been usually classified as an archive.<sup>204</sup> A different opinion was expressed by France, who connected some pieces of the group (*P. Oslo.* III 89-91, *PSI* III 160, and *PSI* VII 735) to the administrative archive of Theadelphia. Therefore, in this section, I will test the validity of the label “archive”. Through a palaeographical analysis of the documents, I will demonstrate that these were mostly drawn up by Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros. A study of their material features, on the other hand, will show that the whole group of texts was originally kept by Ptolemaios, and thus represent a proper archive.<sup>205</sup> Finally, these results will be checked through the “museum archaeology” approach, which will shed light on the phases of acquisition of our papyri.

<sup>204</sup> On the definition of archive, see Chapter II 2. *Archive or Dossier?*

<sup>205</sup> See Chapter VII 2. 4. *Paperwork: The Penthemeros Reports.*

A palaeographical analysis of the papers referred to Ptolemaios must start from his personal signature, which is found in many texts of the archive.<sup>206</sup> It shows a faster and a slower version of the same hand,<sup>207</sup> a rounded cursive distinguished by the shape of five letters: a *delta* with the top of the last oblique line curved and extended to the upper left, an oval-shaped *omicron*, a *lambda* tilted to the left, a *pi* rounded on the top, and a *tau* with the base of the vertical curved to the left. Ptolemaios' handwriting is attested in all *penthemeros* reports, the petitions and his private documents, except *P.Oslo.* III 89, *P.Oslo.* III 90, *P.Wisc.* I 31, and *P.Wisc.* I 35.<sup>208</sup>

As for the material features of Ptolemaios' documentation, since some papyri share significant similarities, they were likely produced and preserved in the same environment. First of all, the dark colour of the sheet and the ink of *P.Wisc.* I 36 corresponds to those of *P.Col.* inv. 34b, *P.Wisc.* I 37 and *SB* XX 14311. *P.Oslo.* III 89 and 90, two *penthemeros* reports accounting for 18-22 and 23-27 October 138 AD respectively, share the same pinkish colour and an identical format measuring 25 x 7 cm, and were thus cut from the same roll. Furthermore, the damages of those documents are in a symmetrical position, and the same

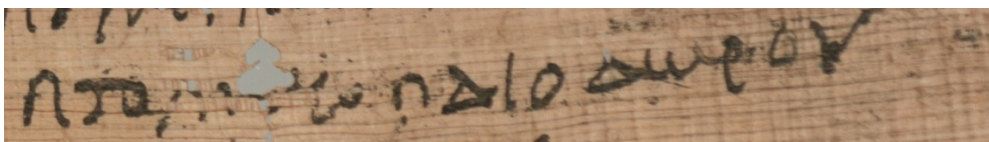
<sup>206</sup> *P.Col.* inv. 34b (no. 43); *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44); *P.Oslo.* III 89-91 (nos. 29, 30, 46); *PSI* III 160 (no. 47); *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42).

<sup>207</sup> The clearest attestation of the faster version of Ptolemaios' signature is in *PSI* III 160, a *penthemeros* report of the *epiteretai* of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia of AD 149, that of the slower version in *SB* XIV 12087, a petition dated to AD 162 (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6. The signature of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros in *PSI* III 160 and *SB* XIV 12087



*PSI* III 160, 18 Πτολεμαῖος Διοδώρου



*SB* XIV 12087, fr. b 6 Πτολεμαῖος Διοδώρου

<sup>208</sup> Ptolemaios hand is attested in two main versions. The faster version is found in most of the *penthemeros* reports (*P.Col.* inv. 34b; *P.Leit.* 14; *P.Oslo.* III 91 r.; *PSI* III 160; VII 735), a census declaration (*P.Wisc.* I 36), and an account for payments in kind (*P.Oslo.* III 91 v.). The slower and more calligraphic version of Ptolemaios' hand is attested in most petitions (*P.Col.* inv. 28; *P.Mich.* III 174; XI 617; *PSI* VII 737; 806; XIII 1323; *P.Wisc.* I 33; 34; *SB* XIV 12087; XX 14401), a *penthemeros* report (*P.Wisc.* I 37), and two private documents (*P.Col.* inv. 29; *SB* XX 14311). The handwriting of *P.Oslo.* III 89 and 90 might be attributed to another superintendent of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, that of *P.Wisc.* I 31 and 35 to well-trained professional scribes. On the identification of Ptolemaios' hand in the documents of the archive, see Whitehorne 1991: 151; Kelly 2011: 133; Smolders 2015e: 332; Mascellari 2016a: 372 n. 29; Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 195; Dolganov 2021: 358.

occurs in P.Col. inv. 34b and *P.Leit.* 14, *penthemeros* reports accounting for 18-22 and 23-27 September 148 AD respectively.<sup>209</sup> These material similarities suggest that the two groups of documents (*P.Oslo.* III 89 and 90; and P.Col. inv. 34b and *P.Leit.* 14) had been stored in the same repository on top of each other and therefore broke in the same way. Since they were written by Ptolemaios in person like the rest of his documents, the most convincing scenario is that all the *penthemeros* reports, petitions, and private documents were kept by the protagonist of the archive in his own house.

The study of the palaeography and the material aspects has provided two significant results. It has endorsed the identification of the whole group of documents as the archive of Ptolemaios and explained the reason why some papers of personal interest, such as petitions and private texts, were mixed with others concerning a professional sphere (Ptolemaios' liturgical office). Through this analysis, a plausible findspot has been recognised in the house of Ptolemaios, where he kept texts related to family or work matters. Nonetheless, the view of our documents as an archive could be weakened by their tangled distribution. As all of them were purchased on the antiquities market and scattered among several collections worldwide (Table 3. 2), the reconstruction of their paths is essential to verify the existence of a common findspot. On the acquisition of those papyri, the following details are registered:

- The Florentine papyri included in the archive of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros are split up between the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (*PSI* III 160; VII 735; 737; 806) and the Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli (*PSI* XIII 1323; XVII 1689).<sup>210</sup> The formation of these collections is mostly unclear, but the acquisition of our documents may be gathered through their inventory numbers. *PSI* III 160 (inv. 13791) was purchased by Pistelli in Egypt before 1914,<sup>211</sup> whereas *PSI* VII 735 (inv. 13939) and 737 (inv. 13941) are part of a lot of papyri gifted to the Florentine Institute by Capovilla in 1922,<sup>212</sup> which had been perhaps bought several years earlier. As the inventory numbers of *PSI* III 160, VII 735, and 737 are close to that of *PSI* V 463 (inv. 13876), likely acquired in 1912,<sup>213</sup> these papyri could come from

<sup>209</sup> See the introduction to *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29); *P.Oslo.* III 90 (no. 30); P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43); *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44).

<sup>210</sup> A list of the locations of *PSI* 1-1452 was filed in Crisci 1970: 89-95.

<sup>211</sup> *PSI* III: p. v.

<sup>212</sup> *PSI* VII: pp. v, 1.

<sup>213</sup> The path of *PSI* V 463 could be the same as *PSI* V 458; on this Chapter II 2. *Archive or Dossier?*

the same purchase. The other papyri published in *PSI VII*, not belonging to the donation by Capovilla, were older pieces of the fund of the “Papiri della Società Italiana”, acquired in Egypt by Pistelli, Farina, and Gentili over the years.<sup>214</sup> Since the inventory number of *PSI VII* 806 (inv. 18732) is not far from that of *PSI V* 458 (inv. 18014), it might have been purchased in 1912.<sup>215</sup> Scarcer information is available on the acquisition of the papyri kept at the Istituto Papirologico, *PSI XIII* 1323 and *PSI XVII* 1689, inventoried as 2467 and 1695 respectively. *PSI XIII* 1323 is close for inventory to *PSI VII* 783 (inv. 2460), and thus acquired before 1925. My impression is that those papyri came to Florence in the initial stages of the formation of the papyrus collection, and therefore long before their publication. As a similar scenario, the inventory numbers assigned to the papyri found in the excavation of Hermopolis in 1903 form a very large series ranging from inv. 323 to 4335.<sup>216</sup>

- *P.Mich.* III 174 (inv. 147), XI 617 (inv. 282), and *SB XX* 14401 (= *P.Mich.* inv. 255) are part of the papyrus collection of the Michigan University. They all belong to a consistent lot of papyri (*P.Mich.* inv. 1-534) acquired by Grenfell and Kelsey in Egypt in March/April 1920.<sup>217</sup>
- *P.Wisc.* I 31 and 33-37 are part of a collection of 83 papyri, preserved in the Department of Rare Books in the Memorial Library of the University of Wisconsin. They were purchased at the price of \$ 500 by William L. Westermann through Grenfell and Kelsey in March/April 1920.<sup>218</sup>
- *SB XIV* 12087 is composed of two papyrus fragments belonging to separate collections: *P.Mich.* inv. 160 is part of the lot acquired by Grenfell and Kelsey in March/April 1920; *P.Oslo.* II 18 (inv. 311) was purchased by Eitrem in the same year.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> *PSI VII*: p. v.

<sup>215</sup> On the purchase of *PSI V* 458, see Chapter II 2. *Archive or Dossier?*

<sup>216</sup> A catalogue of the papyri found during the Italian excavation of Hermopolis was published in López García-Messeri 2019: 49-65.

<sup>217</sup> Whitehorne 1991: 250; Verhoogt 2017: 6-7; see also the APIS database and the inventory of papyri purchased by Grenfell and Kelsey in Egypt, which was prepared by Hunt in October 1920 and is available at <https://apps.lib.umich.edu/files/libraries/papyrology/acqreports/Inventory%20of%20Papyri%20Oct%201920.pdf>.

<sup>218</sup> *P.Wisc.* I: p. ix.

<sup>219</sup> See the APIS and OPES databases; Youtie (a) 1976: 131.

- *P.Leit.* 14, kept in the Bibliothèque of Genève, is part of a lot of 40 papyri purchased in 1921 through the British Museum, which was among the funders of the Anglo-American cartel under the direction of H. I. Bell.<sup>220</sup>
- *P.Oslo.* III 89-91 were purchased from the Egyptian dealer Nahman through the Anglo-American consortium in 1923 and sent to Oslo by Bell in Packet V division C (nos. 80, 82, and 83) in the same year.<sup>221</sup>
- *SB XX 14311* (= P.Col. inv. 15) and P.Col. inv. 28, 29, and 34b belong to the Papyrus Collection, Rare Book, and Manuscript Library of the Columbia University.<sup>222</sup> The dawns of the formation of this collection date back to 1923, when Westermann began to gather papyrus material.<sup>223</sup> All four papyri of the archive were acquired in that year. Smolders argued that *SB XX 14311* was purchased in 1925, and thus some years after the distribution of the main bulk of the archive,<sup>224</sup> but his reconstruction is inaccurate. *SB XX 14311* was acquired from Nahman in 1923 and sent to Columbia in the same year as a part of Packet IV (no. 6).<sup>225</sup> P.Col. inv. 28 and 29 were bought through the consortium from Nahman in 1923 and sent by Bell in Packet V division C (nos. 84 and 147 respectively).<sup>226</sup> As for P.Col. inv. 34b, it is not uniquely recognisable from the acquisition reports,<sup>227</sup> but for inventory number it belonged to the purchase of 1923 as well.<sup>228</sup>

Table 3. 2. Current locations and the years of acquisition of the papyri of the archive of “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”

Collection	Inventory numbers	Papyri	Year of acquisition
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<sup>220</sup> Smolders 2015e: 330.

<sup>221</sup> See H.I. Bell, “Second report on papyri sent by Nahman: July 1923,” Sep. 3, 1923.

<sup>222</sup> Lapin 1991: 153.

<sup>223</sup> On the contribution of Westermann to the formation of the papyrus collection in the Columbia University, see *P.Col.* VIII: pp. 7-8.

<sup>224</sup> Smolders 2015e: 330-331.

<sup>225</sup> See H. I. Bell, “First report on papyri sent by Nahman: July 1923,” July 20, 1923, available at <https://apps.lib.umich.edu/papyrus-collection/first-report-papyri-sent-nahman-july-1923>.

<sup>226</sup> See Bell’s second report of papyri sent by Nahman, and the letter from Kenyon to Kelsey, 8<sup>th</sup> October 1923, where Bell’s allocation of those papyri between the institutions of the consortium is enclosed. I thank Monica Tsuneishi, the Papyrology Collection Manager at the University of Michigan, for kindly providing me with those acquisition reports.

<sup>227</sup> According to the descriptions of papyri provided by Bell in his second report of 1923, P.Col. inv. 34b might be Packet V, division C, no. 102.

<sup>228</sup> For example, the immediately subsequent P.Col. inv. 35 was sent in 1923 too, as part of Packet V, division C no. 51. Similarly, P.Col. inv. 39a was the Packet IV no. 19 in Bell’s first report of 1923; see Claytor-Bagnall 2020: 173-175.

Ann Arbor, Michigan University Library	P.Mich. inv. 147; 160; 255; 282	<i>P.Mich.</i> III 174; XI 617; <i>SB</i> XX 14401; P.Mich. inv. 160	1920
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	P.Flor. inv. 13791; 13939; 13941; 18732	<i>PSI</i> III 160; VII 735; 737; 806	1912
Florence, Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli	<i>PSI</i> inv. 1695; 2467	<i>PSI</i> XIII 1323; XVII 1689	Before 1925
Geneva, Bibliothèque	P. gr. 229	<i>P.Leit.</i> 14	1921
Madison, Wisconsin State University	P.Wisc. inv. 24; 25; 26; 37; 38; 43	<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 31; 33-37	1920
New York, Columbia University	P.Col. inv. 15; 28; 29; 34b	<i>SB</i> XX 14311; P.Col. inv. 28; 29; 34b	1923
Oslo, University Library	P. 311; 451; 452; 472r	<i>P.Oslo.</i> II 18; III 89-91	1923

To summarise, as is shown by the parallel paths of the papyri related to Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, these texts are a proper archive. They were acquired in two main phases. Most Florentine papyri were bought in 1912; the acquisition of *PSI* XIII 1323 and *PSI* XVII 1689 is unclear, but their low inventory numbers suggest that they were purchased approximately in the same period as the others. The papyri dispatched to the US, Oslo, and Geneva were bought by Grenfell and Kelsey in Egypt or through the Anglo-American consortium in 1920-1923.<sup>229</sup> Overall, the “museum archaeology” approach shows a uniformity in the distribution of those documents across the institutions that participated in the consortium. Instead, the papyri kept in Florence took a different route, which is similar to that of the Florentine papyri of the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos. Like them, the Florentine texts related to Ptolemaios were probably purchased on the black market, mixed with various archival documentation, before the other pieces of the archive.

### 3. Two Archives and One Findspot?

<sup>229</sup> Vandorpe-Clarysse-Verreth 2015: 29-30.

As it has been anticipated in the previous section, the distribution of the documents belonging to the archives of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros and Aphrodisios son of Philippos is largely corresponding. The similarities between the two groups of papyri concern not only most of their collections but also their stages of acquisition. The paths of some papyri, furthermore, are perfectly matching (Table 3. 3).

Table 3. 3. An overview of the distribution of the archives of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros and Aphrodisios son of Philippos

Year of acquisition	Collection	Archive of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros	Archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos
1912	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	<i>PSI</i> III 160; VII 735; 737; 806	<i>PSI</i> V 458; 463
1920	Ann Arbor, Michigan University Library	P.Mich. inv. 160; <i>P.Mich.</i> III 174; XI 617; <i>SB</i> XX 14401	P.Mich. inv. 142
1923	Oslo, University Library	<i>P.Oslo.</i> II 18; III 89-91	<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 131
1923-1924	New York, Columbia University	<i>SB</i> XX 14311; P.Col. inv. 28; 29; 34b	P.Col. inv. 122; 159a

The documents of the two archives held in Michigan and Oslo came from the same purchases.<sup>230</sup> Also, it is certain that they were discovered in the same findspot, as P.Mich. inv. 160 and *P.Oslo.* II 18 are joining pieces of the same papyrus.<sup>231</sup> Instead, the lots of papyri acquired by the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana of Florence cannot be identified. However, the inventory numbers of the Florentine papyri of our archives form two numerical series: the first series includes P.Flor. inv. 13791, 13876, 13939, and 13941, while the second one comprises P.Flor. inv. 18014 and 18732. Thus, those two groups of documents were likely purchased in two different lots. The papyri of the Columbia collection, finally, were acquired in two subsequent years: those of the archive of Ptolemaios came to New York in 1923, and those of the archive of Aphrodisios in 1924.

The similarities between the paths of the archives of Ptolemaios and Aphrodisios are so strong that their documents seem to have come out simultaneously on the black market; this

<sup>230</sup> On the first lot of papyri bought by the University of Michigan, see Verhoogt 2017: 6-7. On the identification of a lot of papyri purchased by Eitrem in Oslo in 1923, see above.

<sup>231</sup> *SB* XIV 12087 (no. 51).

would suggest that they were discovered as a group in the same findspot. Admittedly, the primary deposits of the two archives were the private houses of their keepers. Nevertheless, it is possible that at some time the two groups of texts ended up being mixed in a secondary deposit, where they could have been found by *sebbakhin*. As none of the papyri of the archives was reused on the back for an unrelated text,<sup>232</sup> it is unlikely that those documents were voluntarily preserved in an office as second-hand papers. Their last repository, therefore, could have more likely been a rubbish dump.<sup>233</sup>

This scenario might be paralleled by the dispersion of the texts belonging to the archive of Heroninos, which were thrown out in a dump together with the documents of the archive of Aurelius Sakaon.<sup>234</sup> D. Rathbone located the findspot of those documents in the central and the western part of the site of Theadelphia.<sup>235</sup> According to Grenfell and Hunt, many well-preserved buildings stood up in this area, but they had been almost emptied by the *sebbakhin* before their arrival.<sup>236</sup> As the papyri belonging to our archives were exclusively found through illicit excavations, that part of the site is the most probable location for their finding. Although it is not explicitly noticed in the archaeological reports, the first excavation of the central and the western part of the site led to the discovery of two papyri belonging to the archive of Heroninos (*P.Fay.* 133 and *SB XXIV 16323*),<sup>237</sup> as well as some documents dated to the second century AD. This is suggested by the analysis of the papyrus collection in Cairo, which includes *P.Fay.* 133 with the inventory number CG 10795. Since this number is very close to the inventory numbers of some papyri of second century AD, found by Grenfell and Hunt and held in Cairo as well,<sup>238</sup> the whole group was likely discovered in the same area of the site.

To conclude, our two archives were initially kept separate in their keepers' houses but were likely found together by abusive diggers for antiquities. This means that these documents were discarded when they became useless for their previous holders. In the

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<sup>232</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 192a (no. 23) has an administrative account on the *verso*, but it does not belong to the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos; see Chapter II 2. *Archive or Dossier? P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46) has on the back a register written by Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros in person; see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive.*

<sup>233</sup> According to the most recent archaeological mission at Theadelphia, “the main site presents itself today as a large plain scattered here and there with holes dug by the *sebbakhin*”; see Römer 2019: 106.

<sup>234</sup> On the discovery of the archive, see Rathbone 1991: 6; Verreth-Vandorpe 2015: 171.

<sup>235</sup> Rathbone 2008: 18-22.

<sup>236</sup> *P.Fay.*: p. 52.

<sup>237</sup> Rathbone 2008: 18.

<sup>238</sup> Some papyri from second century Theadelphia inventoried closely to *P.Fay.* 133 (CG 10795) are *P.Fay.* 95 (CG 10788); 96 (CG 10789); 99 (CG 10792); 100 (CG 10793); 107 (CG 10796).



ancient world, papyri turned into meaningless objects for many causes. However, our two archives became rubbish for an historical reason. In the documentation from second century Theadelphia, there is no certain attestation of the last keepers of the archives, Philippos IV and Ptolemaios II, after AD 166/167. This date is significant, as it marks the spread of the Antonine plague, which caused a drastic decline in population.<sup>239</sup> Not only may the latest keepers of the two archive have been victims of that pandemic, but also, as I will demonstrate in Chapters VI and VII, future generations of their families were not interested in the village of Theadelphia anymore. This explains why the private documents of the respective families, no longer worthy of being preserved, were thrown out in a rubbish dump.

#### 4. Final Layout of the Archive: A Conclusion

The archive of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros includes texts referring to different businesses carried out by this individual in Theadelphia between AD 138 and 165/166. These documents were written by Ptolemaios and likely kept in his private house in the village, where he resided.<sup>240</sup> Based on the above-presented analysis, I provide the final layout of the papyri included in the archive of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros. They are twenty-three certain texts and one related petition (Table 3. 4). *P.Hamb.* I 10 and *PSI* VIII 877 are unrelated to the archive for prosopographical reasons.

Table 3. 4. The archive of “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”

Papyrus	No. in Appendix II	Content	Date (AD)	Status
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 89	29	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	23 October 138	Certain
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 90	30	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	28 October 138	Certain
<i>PSI</i> VII 735	31	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	22 November 138	Certain
<i>P.Mich.</i> III 174	32	Petition	Before 3 November 144	Certain
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 34	33	Petition	3 November 144	Certain
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 35	34	Petition (duplicate of <i>P.Wisc.</i> I 34)	144	Certain

<sup>239</sup> Rathbone 1990: 114.

<sup>240</sup> An explicit attestation of this house is in *P.Wisc.* I 36 (no. 36).

<i>P.Mich.</i> XI 617	35	Petition	145	Certain
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 36	36	Census declaration	9 July 147	Certain
<i>PSI</i> XVII 1689	37	Petition (Draft of P.Col. inv. 28)	Before September-October, 147	Related
P.Col. inv. 28	38	Petition	September-October 147	Certain
<i>SB</i> XX 14401	39	Petition	Before 19 October 147	Certain
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 33	40	Petition	After 19 October 147	Certain
<i>PSI</i> XIII 1323	41	Petition	147-8	Certain
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 37	42	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	3 September 148	Certain
P.Col. inv. 34b	43	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	23 September 148	Certain
<i>P.Leit.</i> 14	44	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	28 September 148	Certain
<i>SB</i> XX 14311	45	Lease of land	148/149	Certain
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 91	46	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	27 March 149	Certain
<i>PSI</i> III 160	47	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	27 March 149	Certain
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 31	48	Petition	20 May 149	Certain
<i>PSI</i> VII 737	49	Petition	149	Certain
<i>PSI</i> VII 806	50	Petition	January-February 158	Certain
<i>SB</i> XIV 12087	51	Petition	February-March 162	Certain
P.Col. inv. 29	52	Excerpt for the appointment of the <i>epiteretai</i>	165/166	Certain

As the papyri of the archive fall into three coherent thematic aspects, I have further divided them into three dossiers. The first dossier includes eight *penthemeros* reports of the ἐπιτηρηταὶ νομῶν καὶ δρυμῶν, issued by Ptolemaios during his two appointments as a superintendent of pastures and marshes in AD 138 and 148/149 (Table 3. 5). They were personally preserved by Ptolemaios to fill out monthly reports since he handled the production of paperwork on behalf of all the *epiteretai*.<sup>241</sup> The second dossier includes twelve petitions, written by Ptolamaios against various administrative officers of the nome (Table 3. 6). In addition to four (or five) original petitions, sent to and endorsed by the concerned

<sup>241</sup> On the role of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros among the superintendents of pastures and marshes, see Chapter VII 2. 5. *Ptolemaios and His Colleagues: Organisational Features of the Board of Superintendents of Pastures and Marshes*.

officers, the archive also includes drafts and copies.<sup>242</sup> While the first ones demonstrate that, to be persuasive and conform to legal models, petitioners could sift and polish their texts many times, multiple copies were needed for administrative practices of archiving or forwarding to different officers.<sup>243</sup> Finally, the third dossier includes three uneven documents concerning Ptolemaios' private life: a census declaration, a lease of land, and a copy of a public notice of the *strategos* for the liturgical appointment of the *epiteretai* (Table 3. 7).

Table 3. 5. *Penthemeros* reports

Papyrus	Content	Date (AD)
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 89	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	23 October 138
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 90	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	28 October 138
<i>PSI</i> VII 735	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	22 November 138
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 37	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	3 September 148
P.Col. inv. 34b	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	23 September 148
<i>P.Leit.</i> 14	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	28 September 148
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 91	<i>Penthemeros</i> report	27 March 149
<i>PSI</i> III 160	<i>Penthemeros</i> report (duplicate of <i>P.Oslo.</i> III 91)	149

Table 3. 6. Petitions

Papyrus	Content	Date (AD)
<i>P.Mich.</i> III 174	Petition (original)	Before 3 November 144
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 34	Petition	3 November 144

<sup>242</sup> Three petitions of the archive are certainly original documents: *P.Mich.* III 174 (no. 32) and *SB* XX 14401 (no. 39) include the reply of the addressee, *P.Wisc.* I 33 (no. 40) preserves the subscription of the staff of the addressee. *PSI* VII 806 (no. 50) might be an original petition too, as it bears the date, but it is written in two different hands. *P.Wisc.* I 31 (no. 48), 35 (no. 34) and *SB* XIV 12087 (no. 51) are copies of petitions, while P.Col. inv. 28 (no. 38), *P.Mich.* XI 617 (no. 35) and *PSI* XIII 1323 (no. 41) are drafts. *P.Wisc.* I 34 (no. 33) and *PSI* VII 737 (no. 49) have an uncertain status: the former text might either be an original or a copy, and the latter one includes Ptolemaios' signature but is undated; on the nature of Ptolemaios' petitions, cf. Smolders 2015e: 332-333; Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 195; Dolganov 2021: 355, 358 n. 1; 363; Mascellari 2021: 73-211 (table of petitions dated to BC 30-AD 300).

<sup>243</sup> Mascellari 2021: 32-34. On the writing of petitions by professional scribes, see Kelly 2011: 41-45.

<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 35	Petition (duplicate of <i>P.Wisc.</i> I 34)	144
<i>P.Mich.</i> XI 617	Petition (draft)	145
<i>PSI</i> VII 737	Petition	144-162
<i>P.Col. inv.</i> 28	Petition (draft)	September-October 147
<i>SB</i> XX 14401	Petition (original)	Before 19 October 147
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 33	Petition (original)	After 19 October 147
<i>PSI</i> XIII 1323	Petition (draft)	147-8
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 31	Petition (copy)	20 May 149
<i>PSI</i> VII 806	Petition (original)	January-February 158
<i>SB</i> XIV 12087	Petition (copy)	February-March 162

Table 3. 7. Private documents

Papyrus	Content	Date (AD)
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 36	Census declaration	9 July 147
<i>SB</i> XX 14311	Lease of land	148/149
<i>P.Col. inv.</i> 29	Excerpt for the appointment of the <i>epiteretai</i>	165/166

## CHAPTER IV. THEADELPHIA IN THE SECOND CENTURY AD

In the second century AD, Theadelphia was not so different from other Fayum villages. It was a small village, hosting a few housing units and some major public buildings, and surrounded by arable land, which represented the main economic resource. However, at that time, Theadelphia had a prominent position in the administrative environment of the *meris* of Themistos. It was the capital of the sixth toparchy and relied on a large cluster of administrative officers, as shown by a list of public officers with police tasks (*demosioi*) of AD 166/167, which numbers sixty-nine units.<sup>244</sup>

This chapter aims at exploring the administrative structure of Theadelphia in the second century AD. To provide a preliminary overview of the settlement, I will first discuss different population estimations and outline the land disposition of the village. Then, by investigating the main administrative officers of Theadelphia (*komogrammateus*, *presbyteroi*, *sitologi*, *praktoreis*, and *epiteretai*), I will present an overview of the village administration. An analysis of some administrative documents will lead to re-evaluating the chronology of the sixth toparchy and defining its geographical boundaries. Finally, by considering the papyrological documentation belonging to the so-called “Administrative archive of Theadelphia” (TM Arch 247), I will explore the state office in which those administrative papyri were produced, and its connections with the toparch and the village scribe.

### 1. Estimating the Settlement Size: Population and Land

This section provides an overview of the population and land of the village in the second century AD in order to lay the groundwork for the following discussion. First, by comparing the results of the papyri-based approaches previously used by scholars to those of two archaeology-based approaches, I will propose an acceptable demographical estimate. Then, I will outline the main land categories of second century Theadelphia and their use.

Over the years, different estimates of the population of Theadelphia have been given based on the papyrus evidence. Five fiscal registers dated to AD 128-135 set an average of

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<sup>244</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 6. Here, there appear twelve village elders (*presbyteroi*), three chief guards (*archephodoi*), four runners (*epitrechontes*), three chiefs of police (*nomophylakes*), twenty night-guards (*nyktophylakes*), twelve guards (*phylakes*), eleven field guards (*pediophylakes*), and four guardians of the peace (*eirenophylakes*). On *demosioi*, see Mascellari 2020: 20-21.

650 people liable for the poll-tax, namely adult males aged 14-60.<sup>245</sup> To calculate the total population, including women and men of non-taxable age, various factors of multiplication were applied (3.5, 3.1, and 2.909), leading to an overall of 2.275,<sup>246</sup> 2.015,<sup>247</sup> or 1891 individuals.<sup>248</sup> However, these figures exclude people registered elsewhere and settling in Theadelphia or exempt from the poll-tax. As the outsiders living in the village were plausibly a sixth of the total,<sup>249</sup> scholars agreed with an overall estimate of the settlement of 2300 people around AD 130.<sup>250</sup> In the second half of the second century, a higher number of taxpayers is registered (around 700):<sup>251</sup> as a result, ca. 2600 people lived in Theadelphia around AD 160.<sup>252</sup>

Let us now adopt an archaeological approach. This mainly takes into consideration two factors, the size of the site<sup>253</sup> and the number of facilities settled in the village.<sup>254</sup> By multiplying the size of the site of Theadelphia (overall 30 ha)<sup>255</sup> by an approximate constant of 150 inhabitants per ha,<sup>256</sup> one would estimate around 4500 villagers. This high figure, however, wrongly assumes that the whole surface of the site was covered by residential buildings. As for the second factor used in the archaeology-based approach, Theadelphia disposed of a medium range of facilities (a *grapheion*, a state office, a local granary,<sup>257</sup> a

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<sup>245</sup> *P.Col.* II 1 r. 2, an annual bank statement dated to AD 128/129, likely includes 680 payers for the poll tax. P.Laur. inv. 19655, an unpublished register of taxpayers, lists 655 and 638 payers for the *magdophylakia* in AD 130/131 and 131/132 respectively. P.Graux inv. 2009, a fragment of a fiscal roll drawn by the *praktores argyrikon* in AD 132/133, should have listed about 650 taxpayers. *BGU IX* 1891 and *P.Col.* II 1 r. 1a-b, registers of payments for the *laographia* and other taxes for AD 133/134 and 134/135, should have included about 630 and 620 taxpayers respectively. See *BGU IX*: pp. 2-5; Kambitsis 1988: 49-50; France 1999: 223-226.

<sup>246</sup> Hobson 1985: 219-220.

<sup>247</sup> Rathbone applied a multiplication factor of 3.1 to 750 taxpayers, estimated by the editors of *P.Col.* II 1 r. 1a-b and 2 on an average of 11-12 names per column. However, as *BGU IX* 1891 shows that in AD 134/135 the taxpayers were less than 700, an estimation of 10 names per column seems more likely. See *P.Col.* II: pp. 40-41; Rathbone 1990: 133-134; France 1999: 224 n. 8.

<sup>248</sup> Bagnall-Frier 2004: 103 n. 35.

<sup>249</sup> According to the surviving documentation, around 15 percent of the clients of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia were outsiders, see Chapter V 3. 4. The *Grapheion's* Clients.

<sup>250</sup> Sharp 1999: 164.

<sup>251</sup> The editors of *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, a register of tax balances dated to AD 159/160, estimated from 685 to 750 taxpayers; see *P.Col.* V: pp. 37-38.

<sup>252</sup> Bagnall 1985: 294-296; France 1999: 225.

<sup>253</sup> On the variety of factors considered in estimating the population size according to the archaeological approach, see Zorn 1994: 32-34.

<sup>254</sup> Mueller-Lee 2004: 64-66.

<sup>255</sup> The size of the site of Theadelphia has been measured at 500 x 500 or 500 x 650 m., and thus 25 or 32.5 ha; see Davoli 1998: 279; Römer 2019: 106.

<sup>256</sup> On the constant of 150 inhabitants per ha, see Mueller-Lee 2005: 62-63.

<sup>257</sup> The  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\text{E}\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$  is attested in *SB XIV* 11279, r. 22, and *P.Mil.* I 8, 14 and 29, two contracts dated to AD 44 and 47/48 respectively. In *SB XIV* 11279, r. 22 the reading  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$   $\text{K}\alpha\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$  has been corrected in  $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$   $\text{E}\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$  by France; see France 1999: 211.

bank,<sup>258</sup> a cemetery, and several bathhouses, mills,<sup>259</sup> vineries, and oil-manufactories<sup>260</sup>), and, as we will see below, many officers. According to the so-called method of linear regression used by Mueller and Lee for Ptolemaic settlements,<sup>261</sup> one would estimate a higher total of around 2700 people.

In conclusion, by taking into consideration both the papyrological and archaeological methods of estimation of the population, a suitable number of Theadelphia people would be around 2300-2400 inhabitants at the beginning of the second century and 2600-2700 in the second half of the century. No direct evidence for the effects of the Antonine plague on Theadelphia villagers is available.<sup>262</sup> It is possible that due to this pandemic, which spread in Egypt from AD 166/167, the population of the village dropped to some extent,<sup>263</sup> but it had completely recovered by the beginning of the third century.<sup>264</sup>

As it was common for all Fayum villages, Theadelphia had an agriculture-based economy. This mainly depended on the geographical position of the settlement, established in the middle of an arable area rather than on the borders of the desert.<sup>265</sup> Four land categories are attested in second century Theadelphia: public land (δημοσία γῆ), private land (ἰδιωτικὴ γῆ), temple land (ἱερὰ γῆ), and ousiac land (οὐσιακὴ γῆ). Their extent is debated. A report of the *komogrammateus* dated to AD 158/159 registers that more than 5283 arouras were arable land belonging to the *dioikesis*, the main financial department collecting taxes and rents on land, with about 3,035 arouras of public land and just over 2,247.98 arouras of

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<sup>258</sup> Cf. *P.Col.* II 1 r. 2.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. *BGU* IV 1067; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 36; *P.Gen.* III 138.

<sup>260</sup> Cf. *P.Fay.* 95; 96; *SB* XVI 12518.

<sup>261</sup> This method assigns numeric coefficients to twelve facilities. Nine of them were certainly present in Roman Theadelphia: village scribe, village elders, policemen, public bank, grain collector, superintendents, local grain store, and baths. On the application of the method, see Mueller-Lee 2005: 62-66.

<sup>262</sup> *SB* XXVI 16675, a list of public farmers including the taxes owed by them dated to AD 161-210, has been interpreted as a proof of demographic decline due to the plague as it mentions large groups of people who had died and had to be replaced; see Sharp 1999: 185-187.

<sup>263</sup> Some severe consequences of the Antonine plague are attested in the villages of Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos, where the population was reduced by one-third; see Hobson 1984: 106 n. 37; Rathbone 1990: 114-119 and 133.

<sup>264</sup> Rathbone 1990: 114-119.

<sup>265</sup> Davoli 2011: 72.

private land.<sup>266</sup> Also, this register includes some small plots of temple land, with 62.75 arouras categorised as public land and 3 arouras as private land.<sup>267</sup>

A singular category of state land included imperial estates (*ousiai*).<sup>268</sup> As they consisted of various plots, scattered across neighbouring villages,<sup>269</sup> it is hard to define their extension and geographical boundaries. Ousiatic land in Theadelphia, estimated from 1000 to 2400 arouras,<sup>270</sup> belonged to at least twelve imperial estates in the second century (Table 4. 1).

Table 4. 1. Imperial estates in second century Theadelphia<sup>271</sup>

Imperial estate	Composition	Papyrus evidence
Ἀντωνιανὴ οὐσία <sup>272</sup>	30 ar. of grain land	<i>P.Col.</i> V 1 v. 4, col. VI 105; col. VII 126; col. VI 109; col. VII 126; col. VIII 134
	Grazing land	<i>BGU IX</i> 1895, col. IX 100
	Vineyards and gardens	<i>BGU IX</i> 1895, col. XIII 156
	Over 34 ar. of <i>drymos</i>	<i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> II 31, col. II 23
	40 ar. belonging to the <i>pittakia</i>	<i>BGU XXII</i> 2905, col. X 3 <sup>273</sup>
Γερμανικιανὴ οὐσία <sup>274</sup>	Over 47 ar. of arable land and grazing land	<i>BGU IX</i> 1894 col. X 111; <i>P.Col.</i> V 1 v. 1a, col. III 45; <i>PSI Laur. inv.</i> 19655; <sup>275</sup> <i>SB XIV</i> 12063, 33, 40; 12676, 4, 5, 7

<sup>266</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 5. A similar figure of 5023 arouras of land under the *dioikesis* is given by *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 32, a register of AD 164/165.

<sup>267</sup> The temple land, formerly owned by the priesthood associated to the temples, was confiscated under Augustus. Then, it was acquired by private landowners or managed as public land; see Monson 2012: 131-132.

<sup>268</sup> In the Julio-Claudian period, the *ousiai* were awarded to the members of the imperial family or Romans loyal to the emperor. After their death, the imperial estates were usually bought at auction by wealthy landowners. However, due to the increasing corruption, since AD 69 they were included in the public land, and the collection of their revenues was assigned to a special department of the imperial treasury, the *ousiakos logos*. See Paraglossou 1978: 7-11; Kehoe 1992b: 92; Rowlandson 1996: 55; Monson 2012: 94.

<sup>269</sup> Since the *ousiai* were enlarged through the acquisition of new land by different landowners, their territory is typically dispersed; see Hohlwein 1949: 81.

<sup>270</sup> Cf. Bagnall 1985: 294; Rathbone 1990: 133; France 1999: 313; Sharp 1999: 161 n. 10; Monson 2012: 104.

<sup>271</sup> I have updated and/or modified the overview of imperial estates provided by France 1999: 312-317.

<sup>272</sup> *TM Geo* 208; Paraglossou 1978: 20-21.

<sup>273</sup> Kambitsis 2018: 43.

<sup>274</sup> *TM Geo* 710; Paraglossou 1978: 17-18.

<sup>275</sup> France 1999: 316 n. 88.



Διονυσοδωριανή ούσία <sup>276</sup>	Over 20.5 ar. of grain land, vineyards, garden land, pastures, and marshes belonging to the <i>pittakia</i>	<i>BGU IX 1894; XXII 2905; P.Berl.Leihg. I 1; 4; 13; P.Col. V 1 v. 1a; P.Col. V 1 v. 4; PSI Laur. inv. 19655;<sup>277</sup> <i>P.Stras. VI 551; 584, 7</i></i>
Δορυφοριανή ούσία <sup>278</sup>	Over 22 ar. of land	<i>SB VI 9205; XIV 11657</i>
Καμηλιανή ούσία <sup>279</sup>	Unknown	<i>BGU IX 1898, col. XVII 358</i>
Λουριανή ούσία <sup>280</sup>	At least 11.73 ar. of arable land	<i>BGU IX 1893; SB XIV 11657, col. II 21; col. III 52; col. IV 60; col. IV 64; 12063, 39</i>
Μαικηνατιανή ούσία <sup>281</sup>	At least 38 ar. of vineyards and garden land	<i>BGU IX 1894; 1895; P.Berl.Leihg. I 1; P.Col. V 1 v. 1a; SB XIV 11657, r. II 18; 12063, 34, 41; SB XVI 12676</i>
Μηνατιανή ούσία <sup>282</sup>	Over 2.5 ar. of grain land, garden land, and vineyards	<i>BGU IX 1894, col. XIV 171-172; P.Berl.Leihg. I 1 v., col. II 17; P.Col. V 1 v. 1a; P.Col. V 1 v. 4, col. X 177; P.Gent inv. 17e recto;<sup>283</sup> <i>PSI Laur. inv. 19655;<sup>284</sup> <i>P.Stras. VI 551, 3</i></i></i>
Παλλαντιανή ούσία <sup>285</sup>	Unknown	<i>BGU IX 1894; PSI Laur. inv. 19655<sup>286</sup></i>
Σενεκανή ούσία <sup>287</sup>	Around 56.5 ar.	<i>BGU IX 1894; P.Berl.Leihg. I 1; P.Col. V 1 v. 1a; PSI Laur. inv. 19655;<sup>288</sup> <i>SB XIV 11657; 12063, 8-9; 15-17; 21; 42-43; SB XVI 12676</i></i>
	50 ar. belonging to the <i>pittakia</i>	<i>BGU XXII 2905, col. III 3<sup>289</sup></i>
Σεουηριανή ούσία <sup>290</sup>	Grain land, vineyards, and garden land	<i>BGU IX 1894; P.Berl.Leihg. I 1; II 33; 37; P.Col. V 1 v. 1a; P.Col. V 1 v. 4; PSI Laur.</i>

<sup>276</sup> TM Geo 570; Paraglossou 1978: 19.

<sup>277</sup> France 1999: 315 n. 79.

<sup>278</sup> TM Geo 591; Paraglossou 1978: 23.

<sup>279</sup> Paraglossou 1978: 21.

<sup>280</sup> TM Geo 1266; Paraglossou 1978: 16.

<sup>281</sup> TM Geo 1282; Paraglossou 1978: 15-16.

<sup>282</sup> TM Geo 1348; Paraglossou 1978: 25-26.

<sup>283</sup> France 1999: 315 n. 76.

<sup>284</sup> France 1999: 315 n. 76.

<sup>285</sup> TM Geo 1571; Paraglossou 1978: 23-24.

<sup>286</sup> Attested with the name of its former owners Iucundus and Khresimos. On the mention of this *ousia* in *PSI Laur. inv. 19655*, see France 1999: 316 n. 97.

<sup>287</sup> TM Geo 2118; Paraglossou 1978: 24-25.

<sup>288</sup> France 1999: 314 n. 74.

<sup>289</sup> Kambitsis 2018: 27.

<sup>290</sup> TM Geo 2129; Paraglossou 1978: 25.

		inv. 19655; <sup>291</sup> <i>P.Stras.</i> VI 551; 584; VIII 790; <i>SB XIV</i> 11657
	25 ar. belonging to the <i>pittakion</i> of Heron son of Petesouchos <sup>292</sup>	<i>BGU XXII</i> 2906, col. II 4-5; <i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> II 33, col. II 20-21
	at least 20.5 arouras belonged to other <i>pittakia</i> <sup>293</sup>	<i>BGU XXII</i> 2905; 2906; <i>P.Col.</i> V 1 v. 4; <i>P.Stras.</i> VIII 790
Χαρμιανή οὐσία <sup>294</sup>	Arable and grazing land	<i>BGU IX</i> 1893; 1894; <i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> I 1; <i>P.Col.</i> V I v. 1a; <i>PSI Laur.</i> inv. 19655. <sup>295</sup>

To sum up, in the mid-second century the arable land at Theadelphia was around 7000 arouras (ca. 20 ha).<sup>296</sup> It was mostly sown at wheat, barley, and lentils, which represented the basic diet in Roman Egypt,<sup>297</sup> but other vegetables were also grown in the village: beans, chickling, garlic, mustard, and the κινάρϊων (a vegetable similar to the artichoke).<sup>298</sup> About 550 arouras (8 percent) were occupied by vineyards and garden land.<sup>299</sup> Viticulture was one of the most important economic activities in second century Theadelphia,<sup>300</sup> but it required a continuous water supply.<sup>301</sup> The papyrus evidence demonstrates that, starting around the 140s, the village suffered from a lack of water (*abrochia*).<sup>302</sup> As Theadelphia was far from the largest natural basin of the region, the lake of Moeris (Birket Qaroun), this issue had always been at risk,<sup>303</sup> but administrative corruption may have exacerbated it.<sup>304</sup> In Chapter VI, I will show how Theadelphian landowners tackled this problem by adopting mixed landholding strategies on both public and private land.<sup>305</sup>

<sup>291</sup> France 1999: 314 n. 66.

<sup>292</sup> Kambitsis 2018: 85.

<sup>293</sup> France 1999: 314; Kambitsis 2018: 11-90.

<sup>294</sup> *TM Geo* 503; Paraglossou 1978: 23-24.

<sup>295</sup> France 1999: 317 n. 99.

<sup>296</sup> The land extent is calculated by adding some 1000 arouras of land in *epimerismos* to public and private land; see France 1999: 309; Sharp 1999: 161; Römer 2019: 137. On the process of *ἐπιμερισμός*, though which the state assigned some plots of public land to the corporation of public farmers of the closest villages to deal with the insufficiency of local farmers and keep the land productive, see Rowlandson 1996: 90 n. 58; Monson 2012: 149-150; Rowlandson 2007: 192.

<sup>297</sup> Lewis 1983: 116.

<sup>298</sup> France 1999: 326-329.

<sup>299</sup> Sharp 1999: 161; France 1999: 373-390; Rathbone 2007b: 703.

<sup>300</sup> Sharp 1999: 175-185; van Minnen 2019: 265-266.

<sup>301</sup> Bowman 1996: 103.

<sup>302</sup> The main evidence are four petitions of the archive of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros against the *agialophylax* Apollonios; see Chapter VII 3. 1. *The Petitions of the Archive: Addressees, Language, and Matters*.

<sup>303</sup> On the irrigation system of the Fayum and its problems, see Adams 2019: 234-243.

<sup>304</sup> Dolganov 2021: 367-368.

<sup>305</sup> See Chapter VI 3. *Evidence of Decline: From Landownership to Leasing Land*.

## 2. Administrative System

After the annexation of Egypt, the Roman government preserved the pre-existing administrative structures of Fayum villages and strengthened the position of the local communities.<sup>306</sup> The result of this program was the development of the liturgical system,<sup>307</sup> according to which some male wealthy villagers, aged from fourteen to seventy and selected by income (*poros*), were appointed to perform compulsory administrative tasks at a local level.<sup>308</sup> It has been long thought they were not paid, but worked freely for their community; however, it is plausible that many liturgists in the first and the second century were salaried.<sup>309</sup>

The administrative system of Theadelphia followed a pattern widespread in Fayum villages in the Roman period. The head of the system was a *komogrammateus*, chosen from outside and supported by a board of village elders (*presbyteroi*), while everyday activities were run by a board of liturgists. They were mainly in charge of collecting taxes in kind and money, but many kinds of supervisors worked on a liturgical basis.<sup>310</sup> Thus, in the following, I will give a sketch of the principal administrative officers of second century Theadelphia.

Since AD 136, the *komogrammateus* (village scribe) performed a compulsory office. Serving outside his hometown as a precautional measure to avoid corruption, he had responsibility for one or more villages.<sup>311</sup> His main duties pertained to three different areas. Firstly, he had to keep a census of land, animals, properties, and population, to maintain fiscal and social control over the province: the witness is a plethora of declarations of birth,

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<sup>306</sup> Bowman-Rathbone 1992: 125-126; Monson 2012: 209.

<sup>307</sup> A decisive moment in the development of the liturgical system was the attribution of the tax collection to liturgists under Trajan; see Thomas 1983: 39; Derda 2019: 62; Monson 2019: 158-159; Bagnall 2021: 54.

<sup>308</sup> Lewis 1997: 70-75; Capponi 2005: 69-71.

<sup>309</sup> Rathbone 2013: 84.

<sup>310</sup> Jördens 2012a: 59.

<sup>311</sup> The papyrus evidence demonstrates the existence of some *komogrammateiai* encompassing more than one village: Nilopolis and Soknopaiou Nesos; Bakchias, Hephaistias, and *pedion* of Herakleia; Kaminoi and Kerkesephis; Theogonis and Kerkeosiris; Apollonopolis and Psinteo; Kalliphanous Epoikion, Pterophorou Epoikion and Lotou Epoikion; Talei and Ibion Eikosipentarouron; Tebtynis and Kerkeesis; Samareia and Boukolos alias Tristomon; Lysimachis and Kynopolis; Athenas Kome and Anoubias; Lagis and Trikomia. See Derda 2006: 159-166.

death, census and *epikrisis*.<sup>312</sup> Secondly, he had to inspect the state land and monitor the production and transport of grain to the granaries (*thesauroi*).<sup>313</sup> Finally, he had to present lists of eligible candidates for liturgies to the *strategos* or the *epistrategos* of the nome.<sup>314</sup>

Ten *komogrammateis* of Theadelphia may be identified through the extant documents for the period under investigation (Table 4. 2).

Table 4. 2. The *komogrammateis* attested in Theadelphia in the second century AD<sup>315</sup>

Date (AD)	Papyrus evidence	<i>Komogrammateis</i>
98-117	<i>P.Jand.</i> III 31, 1	Sarapion
104-105	<i>P.Heid.</i> IV 298, 1; <i>P.Lond.</i> III 1221, 1	Akousilaos (substitute)
143-146	<i>P.Hamb.</i> I 9, 5	Prinkipios?
146	<i>P.Hamb.</i> I 9, 24	Kare...
146-147	<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 18, 3; <i>P.Wisc.</i> I 36, 3	Heras
Ca. 150	<i>SB XX</i> 14239, 2	Pand()
Ca. 157	<i>BGU IX</i> 1895, 39	...anth()
158-159; 161-162	<i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> I 5, 1; <i>P.Meyer</i> 4, 3	Ploution
163-164	<i>P.Princ.</i> III 128, 7-8	Sarapion
After 163-164	<i>P.Princ.</i> III 128, 2	Heron

It has been argued that, in the Roman period, the *komogrammateia* was a three-year office.<sup>316</sup> The view is however challenged by Theadelphian papyri, which witness the direct succession of village scribes for roughly fifteen years around the middle of the second century (AD 143-147, 157-159, 161-164). The only *komogrammateus* probably serving a three-year term was Ploution (AD 158-162); in two cases, the appointment seems to have lasted a year (Sarapion in AD 163-164) or even less (Kare... in AD 146). This suggests that, like the Ptolemaic *komogrammateus*,<sup>317</sup> the Roman one performed an annual but renewable office too.

<sup>312</sup> Capponi 2005: 45.

<sup>313</sup> Kruse 2019: 130.

<sup>314</sup> Jördens 2012a: 59.

<sup>315</sup> I have added a new profile, Kare..., *komogrammateus* in AD 146 (*P.Hamb.* I 9, 24), to the list presented by France 1999: 192-193.

<sup>316</sup> Lewis 1997: 35; Derda 2006: 147-149; Jördens 2012a: 59.

<sup>317</sup> Capponi 2005: 45.

The *presbyteroi* (village elders) of Theadelphia are attested in five documents, spanning from 144 to 183 (Table 4. 3).<sup>318</sup> Their attestations seem to reflect their increase in importance in the second half of the second century. At that time, the duties of the village elders were extremely varied: they had to manage the public land and the irrigation system and collect some taxes,<sup>319</sup> but they also acted as mediators in judicial disputes and policemen to ensure local security.<sup>320</sup> Village elders assisted the *komogrammateus* in performing his tasks<sup>321</sup> and could replace him in his absence.<sup>322</sup>

Table 4. 3. The *presbyteroi* attested in Theadelphia in the second century AD<sup>323</sup>

Date (AD)	Papyrus evidence	Number of village elders	Names of village elders
144	<i>SB XVI 12522</i>	2 and some other anonymous village elders	Neon son of Demokrates Petheteus son of Deios
161	<i>P.Meyer 4</i>	4	Zoilos son of Polydeukes, <sup>324</sup> Onnophris son of Soulis, <sup>325</sup> Souchion son of Charmos, Aretion son of Nason <sup>326</sup>

<sup>318</sup> Some elders without further classification are mentioned in *SB XXII 15485*, an application to lease royal land dated to the beginning of the II century. For the most recent edition of this papyrus, see Hagedorn 1993: 54-57.

<sup>319</sup> Capponi 2005: 46.

<sup>320</sup> Giliberti 1991: 193-196; Capponi 2005: 46; Mascellari 2020: 21 n. 5; Strassi 2020: 72-76.

<sup>321</sup> By the end of the first century, or the beginning of the second century, *presbyteroi* performed a *komogrammateus*' duty, namely the compilation of lists of liturgists. This could have meant a transition of their role toward a liturgical office, but the evidence is so far inconclusive; see Derda 2006: 168-174; Kruse 2019: 130; Strassi 2020: 68-77. Anyhow, *P.Meyer 4*, a letter to the *limnastes* dated to 161 AD, shows that the village scribe and the village elders fully collaborated in the administration of Theadelphia in the second half of the second century.

<sup>322</sup> Some elders are explicitly said to act as substitutes for the *komogrammateia* in *SB XVI 12522*, 7 διαδεχομένων τὰ κατὰ τὴν κω(μογραμματαίαν), a writing exercise written before AD 144; see Hagedorn 1981: 172. Also, *SB X 10614*, col. II 56-58, a request for seed distribution dated to AD 166/167, is signed by a *presbyteros* serving in place of the *komogrammateus*.

<sup>323</sup> In his list of Theadelphian *presbyteroi*, France also included a Chairemon son of Iemouthes, who was responsible for the collection of a tax in *P.Fay.* 39; see France 1999: 195-196. However, he has been omitted in this table since no evidence confirms that he was a *presbyteros*.

<sup>324</sup> A Zoilos son of Polydeukes was a public farmer and *pittakiarches* in the second half of the second century; cf. *BGU XXII 2905*, col. III 24; col. XVI 5; 12; 14; col. XVII 9; 2908, col. II 11; *P.Col. V 1 v. 2*, col. III 38; *P.Col. V 1 v. 4*, col. V 85; *PSI VII 793*, col. III 17. See Borrelli 2017: 63-64 n. 17.

<sup>325</sup> An Onnophris son of Soulis was a taxpayer, public farmer, and *pittakiarches*, mentioned in *BGU XXII 2905*, col. VII 1; 2909, col. III, 14; 2913, col. I 21; *P.Col. V 1 v. 2*, col. XI 135; *P.Col. V 1 v. 3*, col. VIII 163; *P.Stras.* IX 891, v. 3; *PSI VII 793*, col. V 47. See Borrelli 2017: 67 n. 47.

<sup>326</sup> This well-attested villager was also a *plerotes* and *pittakiarches* in Theadelphia in AD 155-180; cf. *BGU XX 2908*, v. col. I 2; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4 r., col. VI 12; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4 v., col. VI 11; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 39, v. col. III 136; *P.Col. V 1 v. 3*, col. IX 180; *P.Col. V 1 v. 4*, col. I 11; *P.Princ.* II

166/167	<i>P.Berl.Leihg. I 6</i>	12	Dioskoros son of Heron son of Dioskoros, <sup>327</sup> Theon son of Nilos, Eirenaios son of Ptolemaios, <sup>328</sup> Heraklas son of Chairas, Mysthes son of Apollo( ), Aphrod(isios?) son of Horion, <sup>329</sup> Panesneus son of Horos, <sup>330</sup> Ischyriion son of Herakl(), Mysthes son of Heron son of Paas, <sup>331</sup> Didy(?) son of Chrysippos, Peteus son of Heron, <sup>332</sup> Phaesis son of Horos <sup>333</sup>
167	<i>P.Berl.Leihg. II 27</i>	11 (elders of the field), 1 <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>presbyteroi</i>	Mystharion son of Heraklides, <sup>334</sup> Pnepheros son of Satabous, <sup>335</sup> Mysthes son of Alexion, <sup>336</sup>

35; *SB* XXIV 16329, col. I 4; 16330, col. I 8. The *plerotai* were a liturgical board in charge of managing the state land and collecting land taxes; see France 1998: 142.

<sup>327</sup> Dioskoros son of Heron and grandson of Dioskoros was a public farmer and *pittakiarches* at Theadelphia; on him, see *P.Oslo*. III 91 *recto* and *verso* (no. 46), n. *verso* 1.

<sup>328</sup> This public farmer was recorded in a list of seed loans of wheat and barley of ca. AD 160, *P.Col.* V, v. 2 col. IV 60.

<sup>329</sup> Aphrodisios son of Horion is attested as a taxpayer in Theadelphia in AD 134/135 and 155; cf. *P.Col.* II 1 r. 1b, col. IV 13; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 3, col. IX 174. In AD 161-180, he was a *pittakiarches*; cf. *BGU* XXII 2908, col. I 9; *PSI* VII 793, col. II 6; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 4, col. II 19. See Borrelli 2017: 62 n. 6.

<sup>330</sup> Panesneus son of Horos is attested as a *presbyteros* in AD 166/167 and 173. As in AD 167 he acted as the *grammateus* of the *presbyteroi*, he might be the *boethos* of the *praktotes* attested in AD 160 and the *boethos* of the *georgoi* attested in AD 161. For his connections with the public farmers of the village, he may be identified with Panesneus son of Horos and grandson of Philadelphos, a public farmer in the second half of the second century. On him, cf. *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 3, col. III 19; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 6, 9; II 27, 17; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, col. III 50; perhaps *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. XI 155; *P.Fay.* 34, r. 2; *P.Stras.* I 55, 3; *PSI* VII 793, col. VI 62. See also *P.Col.* V: pp. 58-59 n. 50; Borrelli 2017: 69 n. 62.

<sup>331</sup> He might be the stepson of Horion, attested as a public farmer in Theadelphia attested in AD 160-181; cf. *BGU* XXII 2905, col. V 5; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. VIII 115; *PSI* VII 793, col. V 42. A Mysthes son of Heron is also found as a *sungeorgos* in *BGU* XII 2907, col. I 5; 2908, r. 8.

<sup>332</sup> Peteus son of Heron was a public farmer in AD 155-165; cf. *BGU* XII 2905, col. IX 7; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. XIII 189; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 3, col. III 67; *SB* XXIV 16329, col. II 29. See France 1998: 140 n. 29.

<sup>333</sup> He was a *pittakiarches* in the second half of the second century; cf. *BGU* XXII 2905, col. XX 1; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 33, col. II 2.

<sup>334</sup> Mystharion son of Heraklides was a public farmer and *pittakiarches* in AD 155-160 (cf. *BGU* XXII 2905, col. VI 1; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 22, 11; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. VIII 118; col. IX 127), and in AD 166/167 he was appointed as a *nomophylax* (*P.Berl.Leihg.* I 6, col. II 37).

<sup>335</sup> A homonymous individual worked in the canal of Archelais in AD 157, but the identification is improbable; cf. *SB* XVI 13056, 6.

<sup>336</sup> He might be the father of Mysthes and Apollonios, public farmers and *pittakiarchai* in the 160s, cf. *BGU* XXII 2905, col. III 10; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. IX 128; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 4, col. I 2.

			Chairemon son of Eudaimon, <sup>337</sup> Chairas son of Apollonios, <sup>338</sup> Zoilos son of Apion, <sup>339</sup> Harpalos son of Didymos, <sup>340</sup> Marcus son of Sarapion, Heron son of Ptollas, Petermouthis son of Chares, <sup>341</sup> Harpalos son of Mysthes Panesneus son of Horos ( <i>grammateus</i> )
173	<i>P.Stras.</i> I 55	2 and some other anonymous village elders	Panesneus son of Horos, Heron son of Phasis <sup>342</sup>
183	<i>P.Fay.</i> 39	8 and some other anonymous village elders	Kastor son of Kastor, <sup>343</sup> Horion son of Chairemon, <sup>344</sup> Heron apator with mother Dydime, Nikandros son of Horigenes, Isas son of Melanas, Dioskoros son of Heron, Petesouchos son of Dioskoros, <sup>345</sup> Mallais son of Pnepheros

<sup>337</sup> He is attested as a landowner and public farmer in Theadelphia and Euhemeria in AD 164-166; cf. *BGU IX* 1897a, col. III 76; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 3, col. I 22.

<sup>338</sup> He was a *pittakiarches* around AD 160; cf. *BGU XXII* 2905, col. XXI 1; *SB XXIV* 16331, 1.

<sup>339</sup> Recorded in a list of donkeys' owners of AD 150-160, in AD 160-180 he was registered as a public farmer and a *pittakion* member; cf. *BGU XXII* 2909, col. V 8; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 41, fr. b 22; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. III 39; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 4, col. IV 72.

<sup>340</sup> He was a *pittakion* member and *pittakiarches* around the middle of the second century AD; cf. *BGU XXII* 2909, col. III 6; *P.Stras.* IX 829, r. col. IV 95.

<sup>341</sup> He may be identified with a *georgos* mentioned in a register of ca. AD 170; cf. *BGU IX* 1900, col. IV 79.

<sup>342</sup> He was a taxpayer and public farmer in Theadelphia, attested from AD 134 to 165; cf. *BGU IX* 1891, 56; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 3, col. X 186; *SB XXIV* 16329, col. I 17. See France 1998: 140 n. 17.

<sup>343</sup> Two homonymous landowners are recorded in a list of payments of AD 149, Kastor alias Neilos son of Kastor and Sarapammon alias Kastor son of Kastor; cf. *BGU IX* 1893, col. IX 271; col. XX 694. For his profile, our Kastor is more likely identifiable with Kastor alias Neilos, a *pittakion* member also recorded in a list of eligible candidates for liturgical offices dated AD 160; cf. *BGU XXII* 2905, col. VII 5; 2909, col. III 19; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 39, v. col. I 93; *P.Stras.* IX 891, v. 7. Furthermore, he was probably one of the three *praktoreis argyrikon* attested around AD 173 (*BGU XI* 2067, 5); see Kambitsis 2018: 91 n. 4.

<sup>344</sup> He was a landowner attested as a taxpayer for the *naubion* in ca. AD 166; cf. *BGU IX* 1897a, col. IV 90.

<sup>345</sup> He was a public farmer and *pittakion* member in the village in the 160s-170s; cf. *BGU IX* 1900, col. II 37; *XXII* 2905, col. XX 10; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. XII 176; *P.Stras.* IX 829, 7.

Since AD 118, or perhaps AD 91, the office of village elders was liturgical and required a minimum *poros* of 400 or 500 drachmas.<sup>346</sup> It had a one-year term,<sup>347</sup> but village elders could hold this position more than once: so, Dioskoros son of Heron was *presbyteros* in AD 166/167 and 183,<sup>348</sup> and Panesneus son of Horos in AD 166-167 and 173.<sup>349</sup>

The village elders belonged to the middle class of the community, who derived moderate wealth from the land economy, as they were mostly public farmers and *pittakiarchai*. Some of them fulfilled different liturgical offices during their lifetime. For instance, Aretion son of Nason, *presbyteros* in AD 161, was also a *plerotes* in the same period;<sup>350</sup> Mystharion son of Heraklides, *presbyteros* in AD 167, had been a *nomophylax* in AD 166;<sup>351</sup> and Kastor son of Kastor, *presbyteros* in AD 183, had likely been a *praktor argyrikon* ten years earlier.<sup>352</sup> Moreover, five village elders appointed in AD 166/167 had been nominated as eligible liturgists already in AD 160, but it is unknown if for the same *presbytereia* or other liturgical offices.<sup>353</sup>

In the Roman period, the *sitologi* (granary officials) had to collect the state grain due for every type of arable land and ensure its transport to granaries, as well as to provide the public farmers with the grain seeds from the state supply.<sup>354</sup> The first certain evidence of the liturgical character of this office dates to AD 117-127,<sup>355</sup> even though some earlier

<sup>346</sup> Lewis 1997: 43, 110.

<sup>347</sup> Strassi 2020: 74.

<sup>348</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 6, col. I 3; *P.Fay.* 39, 9.

<sup>349</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 6, col. I 9; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 27, 17; *P.Stras.* I 55, 3.

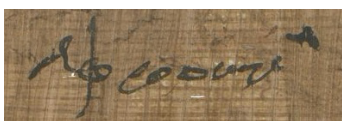
<sup>350</sup> *SB XXIV* 16630, col. I 8.

<sup>351</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 6, col. II 37.

<sup>352</sup> *BGU XI* 2067, 5.

<sup>353</sup> Aphrodisios son of Horion, Zoilos son of Apion, Pnepheros son of Satabous, Eirenaios son of Ptolemaios, and Heron son of Phasis; cf. *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 39 v., col. III 132; col. IV 149; 153; 157; col. V 182. Based on the digital image of *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 39 v., the reading Ἀφροδ( ) Ὠρω(υ) at col. III 132 should be corrected. As two letters are visible after *rho* of the patronymic, likely a cursive *iota* in ligature with the previous letter and a bowl-shaped *omega* raised to mark the abbreviation (Fig. 7), I propose the supplement Ἀφροδ(ισίου) Ὠρίω(υος).

Fig. 7. *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 39, v. col. III 132 Ἀφροδ(ισίου) Ὠρίω(υος)



<sup>354</sup> Capponi 2005: 130; Jördens 2012a: 59; Derda 2019: 65.

<sup>355</sup> *SB VI* 9050; see Lewis 1997: 45 s. v. *σιτολογία*; Cowey 2000: 241.



documents may date it back to the first century.<sup>356</sup> Eighteen *sitologi* are attested in the papyri from second century Theadelphia (Table 4. 4).

Table 4. 4. The *sitologi* attested in Theadelphia in the second century AD<sup>357</sup>

Date (AD)	Papyrus evidence	<i>Sitologi</i>
100-199	<i>SB XVIII 14015</i>	Ptollas
108	<i>P.Ryl. II 202a</i>	Apollonios
115	<i>P.Fay. 81</i>	Didymos
116	<i>P.Oslo. II 28</i>	Sarapion
141	<i>P.Princ. III 121</i>	Theon (candidate)
127/128 or 148/149	<i>BGU IX 1898</i> <sup>358</sup>	Heron son of Deios (ex- <i>sitologos</i> ) Papos son of Didymos (ex- <i>sitologos</i> ) Ptolemaios son of Asklatarion Epimachos
150	<i>P.Berl.Leihg. II 38</i>	Charesios son of Atarias (ex- <i>sitologos</i> )
163	<i>SB III 7198</i>	Heron Kastor Ptolemaios
164	<i>SB XXII 15861</i>	Aphrodisios
164-165	<i>P.Berl.Leihg. I 4 recto; P.Berl.Leihg. I 25</i>	Horigenes
165	<i>P.Berl.Leihg. I 1</i>	Heron
167-168	<i>P.Berl.Leihg. I 11; P.Berl.Leihg. II 27</i>	Heron
200	<i>SB XIV 12120</i>	Papos son of Eutyches <sup>359</sup>

In second century Theadelphia, at least three *sitologi* were appointed annually.<sup>360</sup> They were likely chosen among villagers who had strong relations with the community: Ptollas, for example, belonged to the voluntary association of fishermen (*alieis*).<sup>361</sup> As a part of their job, the *sitologi* had to draft receipts for tax payments and send monthly reports to the *strategos* and the *basilikos grammateus* of the nome.<sup>362</sup> Among the extant documentation from Theadelphia, there are also two reports which account for revenues for less than a

<sup>356</sup> Capponi 2005: 73-74.

<sup>357</sup> The list is from France 1999: 196-197.

<sup>358</sup> On the date of *BGU IX 1898*, see France 2000: 97.

<sup>359</sup> Papos son of Eutyches is perhaps attested as a lessee of land in ca. AD 170; cf. *BGU IX 1900*, col. IV 79.

<sup>360</sup> France 1999: 198.

<sup>361</sup> *SB XVIII 14015*.

<sup>362</sup> A monthly report from the *sitologi* is *P.Berl.Leihg. I 1*; see Kruse 2019: 130.

month,<sup>363</sup> but they are probably the surviving parts of monthly accounts, now fragmentary. To fulfil their duties, the *sitologi* were supported by assistants (*boethoi*). In an oath of AD 198, a *boethos* of the *sitologi*, Soterichos alias Marianos son of Demokrates and grandson of Apion, swore to convert to money a sum in kind received by the collectors of the crown-tax (*praktores stephanikon*).<sup>364</sup> The papyrus may reveal a financial issue of the village around the end of the second century: as the crown-tax was usually paid in money, it is possible that the *praktores* had to accept payments in kind due to unavailability of cash.

The *praktores* (tax collectors), appointed with a minimum *poros* of 600 drachmas, fulfilled a three-year office.<sup>365</sup> The *praktores argyrikon* gathered taxes in money: mainly the capitation taxes<sup>366</sup> and land taxes,<sup>367</sup> but also duties on activities under the state monopoly<sup>368</sup> and some other miscellaneous taxes.<sup>369</sup> The *praktores sitikon* otherwise collected taxes in kind on private land.<sup>370</sup> The *praktores stephanikon*, finally, had a special duty, the collection of the crown-tax to be given to the imperial family as an honorary gift (*stephanikon*).<sup>371</sup> An

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<sup>363</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 11 reports some grain revenues for five days (2-6 August 168), and *P.Fay.* 86a for a ten-day period (25 June-4 July of an unknown year).

<sup>364</sup> *SB X* 10293; see Coles 1966: 131-132.

<sup>365</sup> Lewis 1997: 42-43; Jördens 2012a: 59; Kruse 2019: 130.

<sup>366</sup> I provide an overview of the capitation taxes attested in second century Theadelphia. *Laographia*: the poll-tax at 40 dr. or 45 dr. 2 obols, or 20 dr. at a levied rate. *Suntaximon*: an equivalent of the poll-tax at a fixed rate of 44 dr. 6 chalci. *Phylakia*: a tax for guards, at a variable rate. *Desmophylakia*: a tax for the guards of local prisons, at a variable rate. *Magdofulakia*: a tax for the guards of the watchtower, at a variable rate. *Potamophylakia*: a tax for the navy of river-guards, at a variable rate. *Dapane diplon*: a variable tax for travel expenses of guards sent to fight for their military base. *Uike*: the pig-tax, at a rate of 1 dr. 1 ob. in the Arsinoites from AD 20 to 134-135. On these taxes, see Wallace 1938: 122-127; 143-154; Monson 2014: 152-160.

<sup>367</sup> I list here the land taxes in money attested in second century Theadelphia. *Geometria ampelou*: a tax on vineyards, at 50 dr. per aroura. *Geometria paradisiou*: a tax on garden-land, at 25 dr. per ar. *Eparourion*: a tax on garden land and vineyards, rating 2000 drachmas of copper or silver 6 dr. 4 ob. per ar. *Naubion katoikon* and *naubion enafesion*: taxes for maintenance of dams and canals owed by the owners of catoecic and released land, rating at 100 and 150 dr. per ar. respectively. *Oktadrachmos spondes Dionysiou*: a tax on vineland at a fixed rate of 8 dr. plus 3 ob. for additional expenses. See Wallace 1938: 52, 56-59, 62-63; Meadows-Shipton 2001: 151.

<sup>368</sup> Some duties on activities monopolised by the state are attested in second century Theadelphia: the *elaia*, a tax on olive trees, and the *zutikon*, the beer-tax; cf. *P.Fay.* 55; *P.Oslo.* II 29.

<sup>369</sup> Miscellaneous taxes attested in second century Theadelphia are the *epistatikon iereon*, a tax collected from priests and aiming at supporting the offices of the Idiologus and the High-Priest (*P.Lond.* III 1235); the *merismos aporou*, an assessment for the wealthiest villagers to pay the tax on behalf of their evaders (*BGU XV* 2540; *P.Graux* II 20), and the *cheirismos Hermou*, a tax for the granary of Hermeum (*SB XXII* 15331); see Wallace 1938: 252-253; 292; Sayed 1987: 133-134.

<sup>370</sup> *P.Fay.* 318; *P.Fuad.I.Univ.* 35.

<sup>371</sup> Bowman 1967: 59-62; Jördens 2012a: 61.

explicit attestation of them is in the above-mentioned oath of AD 198,<sup>372</sup> but indirect evidence lies in a coeval register of taxpayers for the *stephanikon*.<sup>373</sup>

According to the prevalent opinion, the *praktoreis*' office became liturgical under the reign of Trajan.<sup>374</sup> However, as pointed out by Rathbone, a complaint of the *strategos* of AD 139 about his inability to keep control over some privileged people, who were performing the *praktoreia* and other public offices, could suggest that those services had a non-liturgical nature at that time.<sup>375</sup> Like the *sitologi*, the *praktoreis* had to report their activity to the *strategos* and the *basilikos grammateus* through accounts, to be compiled on a monthly basis.<sup>376</sup> Many *praktoreis* are attested in Theadelphia over the second century AD (Table 4. 5).

Table 4. 5. The *praktoreis* attested in Theadelphia in the second century AD<sup>377</sup>

Date (AD)	Papyrus evidence	<i>Praktoreis</i>	Category
105/106-110/111	<i>P.Fay.</i> 56; <i>P.Fay.</i> 53	Flavius Heliodoros, Arabion	<i>Praktoreis argyrikon</i>
111	<i>PSI VIII</i> 885	Arabion, Herodes	<i>Praktoreis argyrikon</i>
120	<i>P.Fuad.I.Univ.</i> 35	Petesouchos, Papos, and others anonymous <i>praktoreis</i>	<i>Praktoreis sitikon</i>
127-130	<i>P.Stras.</i> VIII 724; <i>SB XXII</i> 15331	Didymos, Dioskoros, and other anonymous <i>praktoreis</i>	<i>Praktoreis argyrikon</i>
134	<i>BGU IX</i> 1891; <i>P.Col.</i> II 1 r. 1a	Heron son of Neilos, Heron son of Hakes	<i>Praktoreis argyrikon</i>
136-138	<i>P.Fay.</i> 55; <i>P.Graux</i> II 20	Heron and other anonymous <i>praktoreis</i>	<i>Praktoreis argyrikon</i>
141	<i>P.Princ.</i> II 44	Didymos and other anonymous <i>praktoreis</i>	<i>Praktoreis argyrikon</i>
146	<i>SB XVIII</i> 13091 <sup>378</sup>	Zoilos and other anonymous <i>praktoreis</i>	<i>Praktoreis argyrikon</i>
150-151	<i>P.Fay.</i> 35	...on son of Chairemon	Unclear
151-153	<i>SB XX</i> 14633	Kasion and other anonymous <i>praktoreis</i>	<i>Praktoreis argyrikon</i>
152	<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 192a	Osis and other anonymous <i>praktoreis</i>	<i>Praktoreis argyrikon</i>

<sup>372</sup> *SB X* 10293.

<sup>373</sup> *P.Hamb.* IV 274.

<sup>374</sup> Lewis 1997:42 s.v. *πρακτορεία*; Capponi 2005: 72.

<sup>375</sup> *BGU III* 747; Rathbone 2013: 85.

<sup>376</sup> Kruse 2019: 130.

<sup>377</sup> I have added the *praktoreis argyrikon* mentioned in *P.Princ.* II 44 and in *P.Fay.* 318, published in the *descripta*, to the list presented by France 1999: 194-195.

<sup>378</sup> In my reedition of *SB XVIII* 13091, I have corrected the name of the *praktor*, previously read as Zosimos, in Zoilos; see *SB XVIII* 13091 (no. 20) n. 3.

154/155-156	<i>BGU XV 2540</i>	Heron and other anonymous <i>praktōres</i>	<i>Praktōres argyrikon</i>
155	<i>SB XX 14633</i>	Demet(rios) and other anonymous <i>praktōres</i>	<i>Praktōres argyrikon</i>
165	<i>P.Berl.Leihg. I 4 r</i>	Pasion	Unclear
167	<i>P.Ryl.Gr. 2 p. 254</i>	Diodoros (?) and other anonymous <i>praktōres</i>	<i>Praktōres argyrikon</i>
167	<i>P.Oslo. II 29</i>	Memnon (?) son of Didymos	<i>Praktōres argyrikon</i>
171	<i>SB XVI 12500</i>	Isidoros son of Nikandros	<i>Praktōres argyrikon</i>
Ca. 173	<i>BGU XI 2067</i>	Tourbon son of Mysthes, Dioskoros son of Maron, and Kastor son of Kastor	<i>Praktōres argyrikon</i>
176/177	<i>P.Lond. III 1235</i>	Ptol() and other anonymous <i>praktōres</i>	<i>Praktōres argyrikon</i>
184	<i>P.Fay. 318</i>	Satyros	<i>Praktōres sitikon</i>
186	<i>P.Fay. 51</i>	Antonios and other anonymous <i>praktōres</i>	<i>Praktōres argyrikon</i>
198	<i>SB X 10293</i>	Chariton and other anonymous <i>praktōres</i>	<i>Praktōres stephanikon</i>

As shown in the table, the number of different *praktōres* was unbalanced: the *praktōres argyrikon* considerably outnumbered the *praktōres sitikon*, possibly due to the higher amount of money taxes.

A specific duty was assigned to the *grammateis* (secretaries) of the *praktōres*, attested in two Theadelphia documents in the second century AD. An account of tax payments of AD 172 records a secretary of the *praktōres* named Diogenes,<sup>379</sup> while the *grammateus* Papos is mentioned in a receipt for a payment made to the *praktōres sitikon* Petesouchos and Papos in AD 120.<sup>380</sup> The latter document sheds light on the profiles of those secretaries: as Papos is mentioned twice, as a *praktor* and as a secretary of the *praktōres*,<sup>381</sup> the *grammateis* of the *praktōres* were likely tax collectors themselves, who had to produce paperwork for the liturgical board.<sup>382</sup> It is possible that this bureaucratic task fell on those of them who were literate.<sup>383</sup>

<sup>379</sup> *BGU IX 1898*, col. XVIII 357.

<sup>380</sup> *P.Fuad.I.Univ.* 35, 6.

<sup>381</sup> *P.Fuad.I.Univ.* 35, 4-6 διέγρα(αψε) Πετεςούχου καὶ Πάπῳ| πράκ(τορσι) σιτικ(ῶν) Θεαδ(ελφείας) καὶ ἄλλῶ(ν) κωμ(ῶν) |διὰ Πάπῳ γρ(αμματέως) πρακτόρων (or γρ(αμματέως) πρακτορίας or γρ(αμματέως) πρακ(τορίας) σιτικ(ῶν); see the supplement proposed by Kruse in Benaissa-Delattre-Gonis-Kaltsas-Kruse-Papathomas 2010: 220.

<sup>382</sup> This point will be further developed in Chapter VII 2. 5. *Ptolemaios and His Colleagues: Organisational Features of the Board of Superintendents of Pastures and Marshes.*

<sup>383</sup> Some papyri demonstrate that at least some *praktōres* had to be literate. In AD 171-175 two *praktōres argyrikon* from Karanis personally wrote four tax registers. Later, in AD 222-235, an

Finally, the administrative system of Roman Fayum included the *epiteretai* (superintendents), whose title applied to different functions. In general, the *epiteretai* had to manage the lease of state properties, supervise the state monopolies, and collect the concerning rents and taxes.<sup>384</sup> Their office lasted from one to four years.<sup>385</sup> It possibly became liturgical by the mid-second century, but its nature is still debated.<sup>386</sup> At Theadelphia, the *epiteretai* are attested at earliest in AD 111/112,<sup>387</sup> and until ca. AD 166 (Table 4. 6).<sup>388</sup>

Table 4. 6. The *epiteretai* attested in Theadelphia in the second century AD

<i>Epiteretai</i>	Area of oversight	Date (AD)	Papyrus evidence
ἐπιτηρητῆς γενηματογραφουμένων (ὑπαρχόντων)	Revenues from confiscated properties	159/160	<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 117
		Ca. 166	<i>BGU IX</i> 1896; 1897 <sup>389</sup>
ἐπιτηρητῆς νομῶν καὶ δρυμῶν <sup>390</sup>	Revenues from pastures and marshes	138-139	<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 89; 90; <i>PSI VII</i> 735
		148-149	<i>P.Col. inv.</i> 34b; <i>P.Leit.</i> 14; <i>P.Oslo.</i> III 91; <i>PSI III</i> 160; <i>P.Wisc.</i> I 37
		154-155	<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 98a; <i>PSI V</i> 458
ἐπιτηρητῆς πλίνθου νομοῦ	Bricks' production in the nome	111/112	<i>P.Fay.</i> 36
ἐπιτηρητῆς πορθμείου	Collection of the ferry tax	160	<i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> II 39 verso

As well as the *epiteretai* related to specific areas of oversight, three generical superintendents are attested in second century Theadelphia. A receipt for property taxes

individual refused his appointment as a *praktor* claiming to be illiterate (*SB IV* 7375). On them, see Lewis 1997: 42; Geens 2015e: 374; Vandorpe-van Beselaere 2015: 389.

<sup>384</sup> Wallace 1938: 308-309.

<sup>385</sup> Oertel 1917: 243.

<sup>386</sup> Lewis 1997: 28; Reiter 2004: 192-198, 277-284; Rathbone 2007a: 490-491. The earliest attestation of the ἐπιτήρησις as a liturgical office is in *SB XIV* 12504, col. I and dates to AD 136; see Stroppa 2017: 35 n. 6.

<sup>387</sup> *P.Fay.* 36.

<sup>388</sup> A list complete of the *epiteretai* of second century Theadelphia is in France 1999: 191.

<sup>389</sup> Both the editions of *BGU IX* 1896, col. II 47 [ἐ]πιτηρητῆς γενήμ(ατος) and *BGU IX* 1897, col. VIII 159, ἐπι(τηρητῆς) γενή(ματος) must be revised. As ἐπιτηρητῆς γενήματος are not attested elsewhere, they are likely supervisors of revenues from confiscated property. Therefore, I propose the supplements *BGU IX* 1896, col. II 47 [ἐ]πιτηρητῆς γενημ(ατογραφουμένων) and *BGU IX* 1897, col. VIII 159 ἐπι(τηρητῆς) γενη(ματογραφουμένων). For this kind of abbreviation, cf. e.g. *P.Fay.* 23, col. I 14 ἐπι(τηρητῆς) γε[v]η(ματογραφουμένων) Καρ(ανίδος).

<sup>390</sup> The profiles and the duties of the ἐπιτηρητῆς νομῶν καὶ δρυμῶν will be broadly investigated later; see Chapter VII 2. *Ptolemaios the Liturgist: The Epiteretai of Pastures and Marshes of Theadelphia.*

dated to AD 144 was drawn up by a Galates alias Didymos, who, based on his task, may be identified as one of the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὑπαρχόντων.<sup>391</sup> This board of officers possibly included the ἐπιτηρηταὶ γεννηματογραφομένων (ὑπαρχόντων) listed above. In a papyrus dated to AD 194/195, the *grammateus* of the village farmers acknowledged to the *epiteretes* Eudaimon son of Theogeiton to have received a money sum for the revenues from state and ousiac land.<sup>392</sup> According to his office, this superintendent likely belonged to the ἐπιτηρηταὶ δημοσίας καὶ οὔσιακῆς γῆς, attested once in a document from Oxyrhynchus.<sup>393</sup> Finally, in AD 121 the *epiteretes* Ischyras signed a repayment of a debt drafted in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia on behalf of its notary, whose docket is absent in the document.<sup>394</sup> It is my suspicion that Ischyras belonged to the superintendents of the *metropolis'* *grapheion* (ἐπιτηρηταὶ γραφείου μητροπόλεως). Although they mainly worked in the nome capital,<sup>395</sup> there is evidence of their connections to the Fayum villages.<sup>396</sup> The profiles of these officers are obscure, but our papyrus illustrates that they could validate the registration of contracts in the villages' *grapheia* exactly like the notaries.<sup>397</sup>

### 3. The Sixth Toparchy

At the beginning of the second century AD, toparchies became the basis of *sitologia* in the Fayum.<sup>398</sup> They were internal subdivisions of the nome headed by *toparchai*, introduced to regulate the collection of the grain to be sent from Alexandria to Rome.<sup>399</sup> In the second century, Theadelphia was the capital of the sixth toparchy, possibly for its importance at the administrative level. The prominence of the settlement, witnessed by its name of dynastic

<sup>391</sup> *P.Meyer* 10 (no. 19), 5 εἰς τὰ καθ(ήκοντα) περιγι(νόμενα) ὑπ(αρχόντων).

<sup>392</sup> *SB* XX 14283.

<sup>393</sup> *P.Oxy.* LX 4067, 10-11; see Lewis 1997: 29.

<sup>394</sup> *P.Athen.* 29, 32 Ἴσχυρᾶς ἐπιτηρητῆς σεσημ(είωμαι).

<sup>395</sup> For instance, *P.Stras.* VI 585, a sale of a house from Hermopolis dated to AD 153, was signed by an unknown *epiteretes* likely to be an ἐπιτηρητῆς γραφείου μητροπόλεως.

<sup>396</sup> In *P.Fay.* 23, 25, a list of people qualified for offices from second century Theadelphia, a ἐπιτηρητῆς γραφείου μητροπόλεως is mentioned. *BGU* VII 1607 is a receipt from second century Philadelphia issued to Lucius Pupius Saturninus, a superintendent of the *metropolis'* *grapheion*.

<sup>397</sup> On the duties of the notaries of the *grapheion*, see Chapter V 2. *Production of the Grapheion*.

<sup>398</sup> In the Ptolemaic period, toparchies were smaller administrative units of the nome, attested until AD 69/70. In the second century AD, six toparchies are attested in the *merides* of Themistos and Polemon: Dionysias, Theadelphia, Herakleia, Mouchis, Philagris (Hamuli), and Tebtynis; see Derda, 2006: 119-129; Derda 2019: 61.

<sup>399</sup> Derda 2006: 145-146.

origin, may have depended on its location: as it lay on the angle of the canal Bahr Qasr el-Banât, it was in the best place to measure variations in the flood level.<sup>400</sup> In what follows, I am going to investigate the chronology and geography of the sixth toparchy, and more broadly of the toparchic system in the Fayum.

The sixth toparchy is explicitly attested in AD 115-161.<sup>401</sup> However, as the earliest certain attestation of a toparchy in the Fayum dates to AD 111,<sup>402</sup> Derda argued that the toparchic system was probably set up before AD 111.<sup>403</sup> In support of this hypothesis, there is evidence that the sixth toparchy already existed in the first decade of the second century. I refer to *P.Ryl. II 202a*, a receipt of *sitologia* drawn up in AD 108. It demonstrates that the *sitologi* of Theadelphia also had competence on other villages at that time, as they were labelled as “the associate *sitologi* of Theadelphia and other villages”.<sup>404</sup> Since the same title is found in another receipt explicitly referring to the toparchy,<sup>405</sup> the villages mentioned in *P.Ryl. II 202a* were likely the settlements belonging to the toparchy. As a result, the sixth toparchy was established by AD 108, and the toparchic system in the Fayum was introduced some years earlier than previously thought.

According to scholars, the use of toparchies as the basis of *sitologia* was just a short-lived attempt, aiming at the administrative organisation of the Fayum, and from AD 128/129 the area of competence of the *sitologi* reverted back to the village.<sup>406</sup> However, several documents from Theadelphia suggest that the *sitologi* of the village kept on supervising the revenues from the entire toparchy even after AD 129:

- *P.Stras. IX 828* (AD 146): Account of a *sitologus*, recording grain revenues from the villages of Euhemeria, Polydeukia and Argeas;
- *BGU IX 1893* (AD 149): Report of revenues collected by the *sitologi* of Berenikis Aigialou;
- *P.Berl.Leihg. I 4* (ca. AD 150-165): On the *recto*, there is an account of grain revenues; on the *verso*, a list of lessees of state land. Both registers were drawn up

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<sup>400</sup> Römer 2019: 107.

<sup>401</sup> *P.Fay.* 81 (no. 6); *P.Meyer* 4. The former document witnesses the role of Theadelphia as the capital of the toparchy, the latter one records the number of the toparchy of Theadelphia; see Derda 2006: 123-126.

<sup>402</sup> *SPP XXII* 94.

<sup>403</sup> Derda 2006: 140.

<sup>404</sup> See *P.Ryl. II 202a* (no. 5), 5-6 οἱ μέτοχοι(οι) σι[το]λ(όγοι) [Θεα]δ(ελφίας) | καὶ ἄλλων κω(μῶν).

<sup>405</sup> *P.Fay.* 81, 4-5 [καὶ μ(έτοχοι) σιτολ(όγοι)] τοπαρχ(ίας) Θεαδελφεί(ας) καὶ ἄλλων | [κωμῶν].

<sup>406</sup> Derda 2006: 139-140.

by the *sitologi* and concerned land in Theadelphia and other villages: Dionysias, Euhemeria, Polydeukia, Sethrempais, Pelousion, Argeas, Archelais;

- *BGU IX 1895* (AD 158-159): Tax register; col. V presents some allowances in grain to the *sitologi* of five villages: Apias, Archelais, Herakleia, Polydeukia and Pyrreia;
- *P.Fay. 86a* (AD 161-169): Account of the *sitologi* including revenues from Polydeukia;
- *P.Berl.Leihg. I 1* (AD 165): Account of the *sitologi* recording payments in kind from Archelais, Polydeukia, Philagris, Autodike, Euhemeria, Boubastos, Polydeukia, and Argeas;
- *P.Fay. 86* (ca. AD 165):<sup>407</sup> Account of a *sitologus* written in Theadelphia and recording payments from Theadelphia, Euhemeria, Polydeukia, Dionysias, Philagris, Philoteris, Autodike, Oxyryncha, and other two unknown villages;
- *SB X 10614* (AD 167): Order to the *sitologi* of Theadelphia for distributing state seeds in Argeas, and the villages of Kaminoi and Kerkesephis, to which some land of Argeas had been assigned.<sup>408</sup>

According to these documents, the sixth toparchy survived at least until AD 167, and so was extant after AD 161, which is in theory the date of the last explicit attestation of toparchies in the Fayum. As the toparchic system was also an administrative unit for the *praktoreia*,<sup>409</sup> the disappearance of the sixth toparchy may be investigated through some papyri concerning the *praktores sitikon* of the village. They demonstrate that in AD 120 the activity of the *praktores sitikon* of Theadelphia extended over other neighbouring villages,<sup>410</sup> while in AD 184 they had competence on the village exclusively.<sup>411</sup> This might make AD 184 the *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the sixth toparchy.

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<sup>407</sup> The document is dated to the second century AD. However, as the *verso* has a receipt dated to AD 201 (*P.Fay.* 64), the account on the *recto* may be dated to ca. AD 165 by comparison to *P.Berl.Leihg. I 1* and 4 and by assuming that the texts of the two sides of the papyrus were drawn up approximately thirty years apart, as was usual.

<sup>408</sup> France 1999: 172.

<sup>409</sup> *PSI XII 1236*, 6-7, a papyrus of AD 128 from the village of Philagris, mentions a *praktor argyrikon* working at the level of the toparchy and not of the village. See also France 1999: 166, 198; Derda 2016: 133; Kruse 2019: 124.

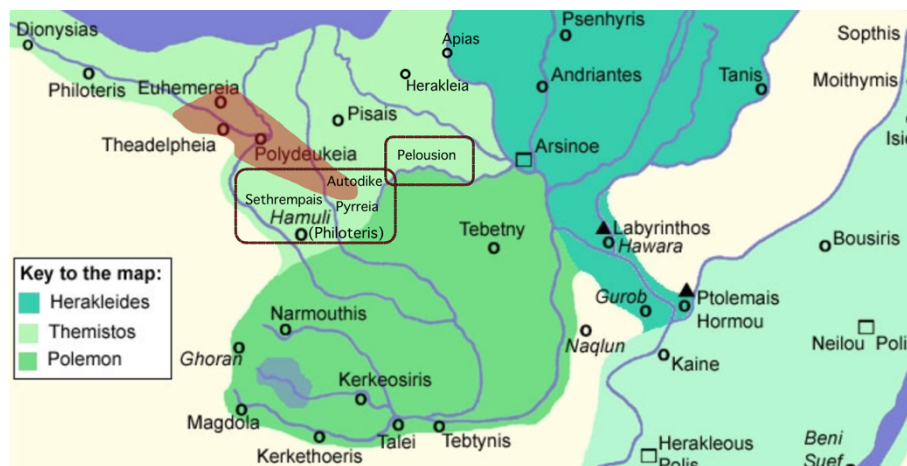
<sup>410</sup> *P.Fuad.I.Univ.* 35, 5 πράκ(τορσι) σιτικ(ῶν) Θεαδ(ελφείας) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) κωμ(ῶν).

<sup>411</sup> *P.Fay.* 318, 1-3, published in the *descripta* only, has Σάτυρος πράκτωρ σιτικῶν κώμης Θεαδελφείας. The digital image is available at <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/Fayum-colour/300dpi/P.Fay.318.jpg>.



Let us now define the boundaries of the sixth toparchy. In the *sitologia* documents discussed above, plenty of villages, even some lying outside the division of Themistos, are mentioned. Evidently, not all of them belonged to the sixth toparchy.<sup>412</sup> Three accounts of *sitologia*, in my opinion, clarify the picture of the toparchies in the *merides* of Themistos and Polemon in the second half of the second century AD.<sup>413</sup> In those registers, the public farmers of Archelais, Argeas, Autodike, Euhemeria, and Polydeukia paid some land taxes through the farmers of Theadelphia. Also, payments from Oxyryncha were mediated by officers of Theadelphia and Sethrempais, and those from Pelousion by the public farmers of Sethrempais. On the other hand, payments from Dionysias, Philagris, Philoteris, and Sethrempais were made independently from administrative officers of other villages. As this seems to reflect the reality of the toparchies in the second century,<sup>414</sup> the above-mentioned villages depending on Theadelphia likely belonged to the sixth toparchy (Map 1).<sup>415</sup>

Map 1. The sixth toparchy in the second century AD<sup>416</sup>



<sup>412</sup> For instance, Herakleia was the capital of another toparchy, to which Apias likely belonged; Boubastos is very far from Theadelphia and thus unlikely to belong to the sixth toparchy.

<sup>413</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 1 *recto* and *verso*; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4; *P.Fay.* 86.

<sup>414</sup> The toparchies of Dionysias and Philagris are attested in the second century AD, that of Philoteris in the third century; see Derda 2006: 123-126.

<sup>415</sup> France's reconstruction of the topography of the sixth toparchy was based on two criteria: geographical proximity and connections between villages. However, he took aspects unrelated to the toparchic context (*e.g.* the existence of shared *grapheia*) as decisive evidence, and included in the sixth toparchy Archelais, Argeas, Taurinos, Sethrempais, Euhemeria, and Polydeukia; see France 1999: 171-173. I have demonstrated that Sethrempais was administratively independent from Theadelphia. Since Taurinos is unattested in administrative documents from second century Theadelphia, I excluded it from the map, even though it could belong to the sixth toparchy as it was close to Euhemeria.

<sup>416</sup> Map from the Fayum Project, to which I have added few villages and a draw of the sixth toparchy. The emptied rectangles are the areas in which Autodike, Pyrreia and Pelousion were approximately located, the red area represents the sixth toparchy according to my reconstruction. Archelais and Argeas were close to Theadelphia, but their exact location is unknown.

#### 4. The Administrative Archive and the State Office

First-hand source of the administrative system of Theadelphia and the sixth toparchy is the so-called “administrative archive of Theadelphia”, an impressive corpus of papyri dated to ca. AD 125-180.<sup>417</sup> The archive certainly includes thirty-five documents, distinguishable in two main groups: earlier texts dated to ca. AD 125-140 and written on the *recto*, and later ones dated to ca. AD 155-180 and written on the *verso* of the rolls belonging to the older group.<sup>418</sup>

The nature of the administrative archive has been largely debated. At first, it was interpreted as the paperwork of the *komogrammateus* produced in a state office of Theadelphia.<sup>419</sup> Later on, Kortenbeutel attributed the archive to the toparch based on the role of Theadelphia in the toparchy.<sup>420</sup> This view fitted with the content of the texts themselves - mainly registers of the *sitologi* and the *praktoreis*, subject to the toparch - and the heading of *BGU IX 1894* (τοπαρχικὸς <λόγος> λημμάτων ‘toparchy account of receipts’), and was thus accepted by scholars.<sup>421</sup> However, alongside the *Gnomon* of the *Idios Logos*,<sup>422</sup> some of the latest papyri, previously attributed to the toparch, do not seem to pertain to a toparchic context but relate to administrative areas falling under the responsibility of the *komogrammateus*.<sup>423</sup> They are a report of a village scribe dated to AD 158-159, written on the *recto* with blank *verso*;<sup>424</sup> a list of liturgical officers dated to AD 166-167, written on the *recto* with blank *verso*;<sup>425</sup> a list of owners of donkeys and eligible candidates for liturgy dated to AD 160-180;<sup>426</sup> and a list of eligible candidates for liturgy and owners of donkeys and vineyards dated to AD 150-160, drafted on the *verso* of a papyrus bearing two census receipts dated AD 147 on the *recto*.<sup>427</sup> Although these registers show that the “administrative archive of Theadelphia” included texts concerning both the toparch and the *komogrammateus*, their relations remain unclear. In the following, I will investigate the nature of this corpus of

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<sup>417</sup> Geens 2015a: 35.

<sup>418</sup> France 1999: 144.

<sup>419</sup> Westermann and Keyes argued that this archive was kept in the Theadelphian branch office of the *bibliothēke demosion*; see *P.Col.* II: p. xi.

<sup>420</sup> *BGU IX*: p. vi.

<sup>421</sup> France: 1999: 143, 166; Geens 2015a: 35.

<sup>422</sup> *BGU V 1210*. Schubart attributed it to the clerk’s office; see *BGU V*: p. 3.

<sup>423</sup> For an updated list of all papyri, certain and uncertain, attributed to the administrative archive of Theadelphia, see Geens 2015a: 39.

<sup>424</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 5.

<sup>425</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 6.

<sup>426</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 39 *verso*.

<sup>427</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 41.

documents, by detecting its office of production through the papyrological and archaeological evidence. Also, I will demonstrate that the main feature of this office was the reuse of paper, drawn from its archive or imported from other bureaux of the Fayum.

Since texts pertaining to the toparchic system and the *komogrammateia* coexist in the administrative archive, they were likely drawn up in the same office at Theadelphia. Therefore, in order to explain the nature of those documents, it is vital to investigate their place of production. No evidence for the office of the toparch is available, but two papyri from Theadelphia shed light on the temporary workplace of the *komogrammateus* in the village. A collective payment of a tax on horses dated to AD 143-146 mentions two members of the staff of the village scribe: Sotas son of Ptolemaios, *mechanarios* of the *komogrammateus*,<sup>428</sup> and his assistant (*boethos*) Maximos. As they worked for four years, under two subsequent *komogrammateis* (Prinkipios and Kare...),<sup>429</sup> they were not assistants personally hired by the village scribe and moving with him from village to village but rather belonged to the permanent scribal staff of a state office in the village.<sup>430</sup> In a report written after AD 163/164, the *komogrammateus* explicitly stated that he had drawn on an earlier report drafted by his predecessor.<sup>431</sup> This shows that the reports of the *komogrammateus* were stored in the state office and preserved even after the end of his term for future officers.

Let us now draw a conclusion on the debate on the administrative archive of Theadelphia, outlined at the beginning of this section. As demonstrated by the papyri discussed above, in second century Theadelphia a state office with permanent scribal staff and an archive of stored papers was used as a workplace by village scribes.<sup>432</sup> When the village was elevated to the capital of the sixth toparchy, this office also became the venue of the toparch. Thus, the documents of both the toparch and the *komogrammateus* were produced and kept in the state office of the village over the second century, and this would

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<sup>428</sup> This man is also attested in a purchase of a horse of AD 143; see Reiter 1995: 96-97.

<sup>429</sup> Derda 2006: 151.

<sup>430</sup> Kruse 2019: 130-131.

<sup>431</sup> *P.Princ.* III 128, 5-7 δηλώ τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμέν-[νους τ]ετ[ά]χθαι διὰ τῆς μεταβληθείσης | [ . . . . ὕ]πὸ τοῦ πρὸ ἐμοῦ κωμογρ(αμματέως) Σαρα-[πίω]νος “I report that the following were appointed there according to the report registered by my predecessor Sarapion”.

<sup>432</sup> The existence of state offices in the Fayum villages is further demonstrated by the so-called archive of Petaus, a group of around 140 papyri referred to Petaus son of Petaus, *komogrammateus* of Ptolemais Hormou and some surrounding villages in AD 184-187; see Hagedorn-Hagedorn-Youtie-Youtie 1969: 17-21; Geens-Broux 2015: 285. Since Petaus was from Karanis but the texts of the archive were found in Ptolemais Hormou, they were the administrative documents concerning Petaus’ *komogrammateia* kept in the state office of the village. However, the commonly accepted label “archive of Petaus” distorts the reality of the archaeology, as it gives the perception of a personal archive kept privately by Petaus.

explain the coexistence of the two groups of texts in the “administrative archive”. What follows is an attempt to track down the state office of Theadelphia and highlight its main features.

The presence of a public office on the site of Theadelphia was already detected during the first archaeological mission. In 1898-1899, Grenfell and Hunt unearthed an interesting building complex from a rubbish mound in the north-eastern corner of the site: a building yielded “a surprisingly large number of papyri, practically all of the second century AD”,<sup>433</sup> and another one nearby preserved no texts but had a stone door, witnessing the ancient importance of that place. For these features, this structure was identified as a “local archive”.<sup>434</sup> In my opinion, it is now possible to prove that it was the state office of the village because some second century texts found there belong to the “administrative archive of Theadelphia”.<sup>435</sup> We know that the bulk of the archive was found by *sebbakhin* before the first excavation at Theadelphia, appeared on the black market from 1909, and got dispersed between several collections over the years.<sup>436</sup> However, this does not exclude that other documents of the archive could have been found at a later stage. It seems that the above-mentioned *P.Fay.* 86 and 86a, two accounts of the *sitologi* dated to the 160s, discovered during the first mission at Theadelphia and published in 1900, were part of the “Administrative archive”. As their layout, language and content are the same as those of two Berlin papyri belonging to the archive (*P.Berl.Leihg.* I 1 and 4),<sup>437</sup> *P.Fay.* 86 and 86a were likely produced in a toparchic context and kept in the state office. Further support for this hypothesis comes from an analysis of the labels added by Grenfell and Hunt on the back of the Fayum papyri.<sup>438</sup> As *P.Fay.* 86 was labelled as Θ 214, it could have been found together with four other administrative documents, which bear close numbers:

- *P.Fay.* 42a (Θ 221), an account of the *praktōres argyrikon* of the late second century AD;
- *P.Fay.* 34 (Θ 238), a delegation of tax collecting dated to AD 161;

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<sup>433</sup> Grenfell-Hunt 1898-1899: 12.

<sup>434</sup> Grenfell-Hunt-Hogarth 1900: 52.

<sup>435</sup> On this, see also Rathbone 2008: 19.

<sup>436</sup> Geens 2015a: 35; Essler 2021: 293-301.

<sup>437</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 1, *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4, and *P.Fay.* 86 start recording the receipts of the relative year on the account of the *dioikēsis* (συνήχθησαν εἰσδοχῆς διοικήσεως) and register payments in kind from different villages of the area. *P.Fay.* 86a is fragmentary but fits the same structure.

<sup>438</sup> Due to the unavailability of the digital images of some Fayum papyri, I could not verify all their labels.

- *P.Fay.* 77 (Θ 250), a *penthemeros* receipts for work on the embankments dated to AD 147;
- *P.Fay.* 339 (Θ 256), bearing on the *recto* a list of payment in kind on land, probably made to the *sitologi* of the village in the second century AD, and on the *verso* another administrative account.

If so, all these texts may have been part of that “large number of papyri” discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in a Theadelphia bureau, and that building may be now identified as the state office of the village.

The main feature of the documents from the state office was the reuse of the back of old rolls, a practice found throughout the administrative environment of Roman Fayum.<sup>439</sup> As shown by the content of the “administrative archive of Theadelphia”, some reused papers were old rolls concerning the *komogrammateia* and preserved in the office’s archive. However, the office also imported reusable papyri from other bureaux of the nome. The evidence for this is some texts belonging to the administrative archive, which can be attributed neither to the village scribe of Theadelphia nor to a toparchic context. They demonstrate that several rolls were imported from bureaux in Arsinoe,<sup>440</sup> Herakleia,<sup>441</sup> and Euhemeria,<sup>442</sup> and, more interestingly, from the *grapheion* of the latter village.<sup>443</sup> These texts shed light on the bureaucratic network of the Fayum and reveal the existence of strong administrative connections between Theadelphia and Euhemeria.

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<sup>439</sup> Some relevant parallels are *P.Petaus* 123-127, the *verso* of which was reused or preserved as a reusable material in the state bureau, and the threshold papyri of Karanis, presenting different texts on both sides. See Claytor 2014d: 162; Geens-Broux 2015: 286.

<sup>440</sup> *P.Col.* II 1 *r.* 5 is a list of donkey-drivers written in the nome capital in AD 136-150; its *verso* has *P.Col.* V 1 *v.* 5, an abstract of leases of government properties drawn up in AD 153-162 and belonging to the administrative archive of Theadelphia; see Geens 2015a: 36-37. Also, a *tomos sunkollesimos* of receipts, composed of *P.Berl.Frisk.* 1, *P.Col.* II *r.* 4, *P.Graux* III 30, *BGU* XIII 2270-2271 and *SB* XVI 13060, was compiled in the public bank of Arsinoe and later sent to the administrative archive of Theadelphia for its reuse; see Geens 2015f: 420-422.

<sup>441</sup> A register of money transfers to the bank and payments for land taxes dated to ca. AD 150 (*P.Berl.Leihg.* II 38) was drawn up on the back of an account of arrears of land taxes from Herakleia of AD 142/143 (*P.Berl.Leihg.* II 37).

<sup>442</sup> An alphabetical list of taxpayers including payments in wheat, barley, and lentils, dated to AD 157 and written in Euhemeria for prosopographical reasons (*P.Col.* II 1 *r.* 6), was imported and reused in Theadelphia within a few years: in ca. 160-161, its *verso* was used to draft a list of money taxes and an account of *sitologia* (*P.Col.* II 1 *v.* 6).

<sup>443</sup> A list of land tenants of the second half of the second century, likely belonging to the archive (*P.Stras.* IX 852), was written on the back of an *eiromenon* drawn up in the *grapheion* of Euhemeria (*P.Stras.* IX 807). On this, see also Chapter V 4. 2. *Outside the Village: The Grapheion and Other Writing Offices in the Division of Themistos.*

To sum up, I have proved the existence of an administrative state office located at Theadelphia in the second century AD. Based on the attribution of some texts found by Grenfell and Hunt to the “administrative archive of Theadelphia”, the state office has been identified with an important building, discovered in the first archaeological mission in the north-eastern corner of the site. This bureau was originally meant as a place for the production and preservation of texts related to the administration of the village, which fell under the *komogrammateus*’ oversight. Later, when Theadelphia became the capital of the toparchy, the office also became the venue of the *toparches*, and old rolls kept in its archive were reused for the toparch’s documents. Consequently, the state office of Theadelphia had a double function: it was the main centre of the administration of both the village and the entire toparchy.

## 5. A Small Village at the Centre of the Division’s Administration: A Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the administrative environment of second century Theadelphia. It was the settlement of 2300-2700 people in the course of the second century AD. Agriculture, the main economic activity, was carried out on overall 7000 arouras of arable land, used for grain crops, viticulture, and cultivation of orchards. Despite its small size, Theadelphia disposed of a large administrative network: I have detected and discussed a cluster of ten *komogrammateis*, thirty *presbyteroi*, eighteen *sitologi*, and at least twenty-nine *praktoreis*, operating in the village in the second century AD. Furthermore, seven different boards of superintendents of state monopolies are attested, the ἐπιτηρηταὶ γεννηματογραφουμένων (ὑπαρχόντων), the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὑπαρχόντων, the ἐπιτηρηταὶ πορθμείου, the ἐπιτηρηταὶ πλίνθου νομοῦ, the ἐπιτηρηταὶ δημοσίας καὶ οὐσιακῆς γῆς, the ἐπιτηρηταὶ γραφείου μητροπόλεως, and the ἐπιτηρηταὶ νομῶν καὶ δρυμῶν, who were the largest group and whose profiles will be broadly analysed in Chapter VII.

These impressive numbers depend on the administrative prominence of Theadelphia in the division of Themistos as the capital of the sixth toparchy. Through some documents of the *sitologi* and the *praktoreis*, who worked at a toparchic level, I have demonstrated that the sixth toparchy, explicitly attested in AD 115-161 only, was active as an administrative basis for the *sitologia* and the *praktoreia* from AD 108 to 167 at least and lost this function before AD 184. It included no less than five villages, Archelais, Argeas, Autodike, Euhemeria, and

Polydeukia, where the collection of taxes was managed and supervised by Theadelphian officers. From a broader perspective, this discussion led to a re-evaluation and expansion of the chronology of the toparchic system in the second-century Fayum.

As the last part of this chapter, I have discussed the so-called “administrative archive of Theadelphia” and revealed its office of production. This corpus included documents concerning both the *komogrammateia* of the village and the administration of the sixth toparchy. They were all produced and held in a state office in the village, which was at first the workplace of the village scribe and then an office shared by the *komogrammateus* and the toparch. The state office was the main centre of the administration at Theadelphia, but not the only one. In the next chapter, I will add a piece to the administrative framework of the village by investigating another important office, of which the administrative function has been ignored so far, the *grapheion* of Theadelphia.

## CHAPTER V. THE *GRAPHEION* OF THEADELPHIA

As we saw in Chapter IV, the main administrative centre in second century Theadelphia was the state office of the village, workplace of the *komogrammateus* and the toparch. In this chapter, I will complete the reconstruction of the administrative environment of Theadelphia in the Roman period by exploring the *grapheion* (writing office) of the village. As I will demonstrate, it was the principal centre of writing in the village and part of a broader notarial network,<sup>444</sup> set up by the government to keep control of the economy of the province.<sup>445</sup>

The *grapheion* of Theadelphia was a long-lasting institution, attested from the late Ptolemaic period to the end of the second century AD,<sup>446</sup> but my research will be limited to the period spanning from the late first century to the late second century (ca. AD 70-170), when the writing office reached the acme of its activity.<sup>447</sup> I will start my investigation tracking down the *grapheion* of Theadelphia through the analysis of the papyrological and archaeological evidence. In the second section, I will identify the documentation written in the *grapheion* (registered contracts and other deeds), which will be used as a source for the subsequent socio-administrative analysis. Later, by focusing on the scribal staff and the clients of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, I will highlight its role as a centre of social aggregation in the village. Finally, I will explore the function of the *grapheion* in the administrative context of the village and its connections with the writing offices of some

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<sup>444</sup> The *grapheia*, mainly attested in the larger Fayum villages (Tebtynis and Kerkesoucha Orous, Bakchias, Theadelphia, Philadelphia, Karanis, Soknopaiou Nesos, Herakleia, Ptolemais Arabon, Talei and Theogonis), were also located in the Oxyrhynchite, in Ptolemais Euergetis, Hermopolis Magna, Alexandria, and Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis. On these, see Pierce 1968: 68-73; Hobson 1985: 104-108; Jördens 2005: 46-48; Bagnall-Worp 2011: 240-253; Langellotti 2015: 118; Claytor 2018: 326-331; Langellotti, 2020a: 43-48; Langellotti 2020b: 94-95.

<sup>445</sup> The Roman writing offices had frequent contacts with the main state archives in Arsinoe and Alexandria. At first, all documents produced in the *grapheion* had to be sent to the public record-office of Arsinoe (*bibliotheke demosion logon*). Starting from AD 67-68, the *grapheion*'s registers and documents related to landed property were sent to the Registry of Real Property (*bibliotheke enkteseon*), while the *bibliotheke demosion logon* received copies of the public documents, the originals of which were preserved in the "Library in the Patrika" in Alexandria. The private documents written in the *grapheion* had to be sent to the *katalogeion*, a writing office of legal judgments located in Alexandria, where they were validated by the chief justice (*archidikastes*), through a practice called *demosiosis*. Afterwards, originals were deposited in the "Library of Hadrian", and copies available for consultation and reproduction in the *Nanaion*. On the state archives, see Pierce 1968: 71-78; Cockle 1984: 110-117; Burkhalter 1990: 192-194, 199-208; Kruse 2019: 126-127.

<sup>446</sup> The earliest evidence of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia in the Ptolemaic period is *P.Würzb.* 6, a six-witness certificate of repayment of a debt; see Claytor 2014c: 51.

<sup>447</sup> Wolff 1978: 18-23; Yiftach-Firanko 2009: 549-550.



neighbouring villages to define the importance of this institution in the administrative and notarial network of the nome.

## 1. On the Trail of the *Grapheion*

The main sources on the *grapheion* of Theadelphia in the first and second century AD are papyri, through which the chronological boundaries of its activity may be defined. Archaeological evidence is scarce but, read in the light of the papyri, can help us locate this structure in the plan of the village. In the following, I will investigate the chronology and topography of the local *grapheion* by combining information provided by some Theadelphian documents and the archaeological reports on the site. Based on two tax registers dated to the late 150s, I will also discuss the amount due for the rent of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia.

In the early Roman period, the *grapheion* of Theadelphia is explicitly mentioned in eighteen documents spanning from AD 71 to 161. Nine contracts preserve the notarial docket, in which the office is recalled as the place of production of those documents.<sup>448</sup> Two

<sup>448</sup> *P.Soter.* 2, 47-48 (AD 71); *P.Soter.* 5, r. 50-51 (AD 94/95); *P.Oxf.* 10, 46 (AD 98-102); *P.Soter.* 22, r. 37-38 (AD 103); *P.Soter.* 25, r. 42-43 (AD 109); *P.Fay.* 92, r. 31 (AD 126); *SB XXII* 15637, 25 (AD 130); *P.Turner* 21, 30 (AD 131); *SB IV* 7466, 27 (AD 147). In the notarial docket of *P.Soter.* 2, 47-48, the *grapheion* is implicitly mentioned through the formula ἐ[ν]τέτακ(ται), specific to the contracts registered in the writing offices. Based on the digital images of *P.Soter.* 25, *P.Fay.* 92, and *P.Turner* 21, their editions should be corrected in some points. In *P.Soter.* 25, r. 43, published as ἀναγγέγρα(πται) διὰ τοῦ ἐν Θεαδ(ελφεία) γραφεί[ο]υ, the verb is abridgedly written through three letters: since a cursive *alpha* is in ligature with a *gamma* drafted as a horizontal line and a rounded *rho*, I read ἀ(ναγέ)γγρ(απται) (Fig. 8). In *P.Fay.* 92, r. 31, published as ἐντέτακ(ται) δι(ὰ) το(ῦ) ἐν Θ(εαδελφεία) γρ(αφείου), the final word is written in full as γρᾶφείου (Fig. 9). Finally, *P.Turner* 21, 30 has been published as ἐντέτακ(ται) δι(ὰ) τ(οῦ) ἐ(ν) Θ(εαδελφεία) γρᾶφείου, but the verb is abbreviated as ἐντέτακ(ται) through a u-shaped *kappa* written to the upper right (Fig. 9).

Fig. 8. *P.Soter.* 25, r. 43 ἀ(ναγέ)γγρ(απται) διὰ τοῦ ἐν Θεαδ(ελφεία) γραφεί[ο]υ

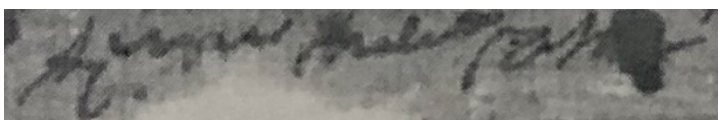
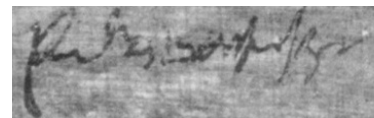


Fig. 9. *P.Fay.* 92, r. 31 ἐντέτακ(ται) δι(ὰ) τ(οῦ) ἐν Θ(εαδελφεία) γρᾶφείου and *P.Turner* 21, 30 ἐντέτακ(ται) δι(ὰ) τ(οῦ) ἐν Θ(εαδελφεία) γρᾶφείου



extant documents mention the *grapheion* of Theadelphia as the office through/by which they had been drafted: an oath dated to AD 154,<sup>449</sup> and a census declaration dated to AD 161.<sup>450</sup> The *grapheion* is recalled as the office of registration of earlier documents in three contracts dating from AD 103 to 121,<sup>451</sup> and as the office through which the personal details of the declarants were verified and recorded in a sworn declaration dated to AD 161.<sup>452</sup> The writing office is also mentioned in a notification dated to AD 129, provided with a request to the keepers of the *bibliotheke enkteseon* for authorization to conclude a property sale (*epistalma*).<sup>453</sup> Finally, two Theadelphian tax accounts dated to AD 157-159/160 record the rent (φόρος) due for the running of the local *grapheion*,<sup>454</sup> which was conceded by the state authorities (probably the *strategos* and the *basilikos grammateus*) to the highest bidder through lease.<sup>455</sup>

These registers shed light on the annual rent for the *grapheion*. One of them records a sum of 400 drachmas (plus 26 drachmas for additional fees), to be paid through a bank payment.<sup>456</sup> In the other account, the rent for the writing office is registered twice: a payment

<sup>449</sup> *P.Athen.* 35, 25 [ἐγράφη δ]ιὰ [γρα]φείου Θ[ε]αδελφείας.

<sup>450</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 16a, 15-16 ἐγρά(φη) δι(ὰ) γρα(φείου) τῆς| [κ]ώ(μης), deciphered by Claytor via PN on papyri.info. Although unspecified, the concerned *grapheion* was likely that of Theadelphia as the document is glued into a *tomos sunkollesimos* of census declarations of Theadelphian inhabitants (*P.Berl.Leihg.* I 16a-e).

<sup>451</sup> *P.Soter.* 22 is a repayment of a loan dated to AD 103, which mentions “an agreement executed through the same *grapheion*” (18-19 καθ’ ὁμολογίαν τὴν διὰ τοῦ |αὐ(τοῦ) γραφείου τ[ε]λ[ε]ιωθεῖ[σ]αν). Similar statements are found in *SB XII* 10924, 11-12, a copy of a marriage agreement dated to AD 114, and *P.Athen.* 29, 13, a repayment of a loan dated to AD 121.

<sup>452</sup> *P.Meyer* 4, 26 εἰκονισθ(έντες) δι(ὰ) γρα(φείου) Θεαδελ(φείας); the personal details of the declarants of this document were explicitly recorded through the *grapheion* of Theadelphia. In the contractual documentation, εἰκονίζεῖν means “to add a physical description”; see Depauw 2011: 190-193.

<sup>453</sup> *P.Fay.* 31, 19-22 διὸ προσ-|αγγέλλωι (1. προσ-|αγγέλλω) ὅπως ἐπισταλῆι τῷ τὸ |γραφείου Θεαδελφείας συνχρημα-|[τί]ζειν μοι ὡς καθήκει “I therefore give notice, in order that instructions may be sent to the director of the record office of Theadelphia, duly to join me in the transaction of the business”; for this translation, cf. *P.Fay.*: pp. 141-142. According to the edict of the prefect Mettius Rufus of AD 89, the notaries of the writing offices could draft mortgages on and sale of properties only after receiving an *epistalma*, an authorization from the *bibliophylakoi* of the *bibliotheke enkteseon*; see Lerouxel 2012: 964-966.

<sup>454</sup> *BGU IX* 1894, col. IX 95; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, col. III 43; col. VI 94.

<sup>455</sup> Wolff 1978: 18-23; Cockle 1894: 112; Langellotti 2020a: 43-44; Langellotti 2020b: 96.

<sup>456</sup> *BGU IX* 1894, col. IX 95-97 φόρου γραφείου Θεαδελ(φείας) καὶ Ἀρχελαΐδ(ος) | β τό(μου) κολ(λήματος) λη (δραχμαὶ) υ προ(σδιαγραφομένων) (δραχμαὶ) κς (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) υκς | τρα(πέζης) Μεχ(εῖρ). In the first edition, *BGU IX* 1894, col. IX 97 was published as τρα( ) μεχ( ) without solving the abbreviations. As in contemporary Theadelphian financial registers, the abbreviation τρα( ) usually stands for τρα(πέζης) and is followed by the month of payment (cf. *BGU IX* 1896, col. IV 79; 1897, col. II 31; 1897a, col. II 48), I propose to solve the abbreviations as τρα(πέζης) Μεχ(εῖρ). Although bank payments (*diagraphai*) are not explicitly attested in the case of

of 266 drachmas and 4 obols (plus 17 drachmas and 2 obols for additional fees) was recorded in the account of Mesore of AD 160, while a sum of 67 drachmas (plus 4 drachmas and 5 obols for additional fees) represented an arrear from AD 159.<sup>457</sup> In my opinion, all these sums were different instalments due for the annual lease of the *grapheion*.<sup>458</sup> The rate of 400 drachmas, specifically related to the month of Mecheir, seems too high to be a monthly instalment:<sup>459</sup> since Mecheir was the sixth month of the Egyptian calendar, it likely represented a six-month rate paid at that time. Accordingly, the sum of 67 drachmas would be the arrear of a monthly instalment of AD 159, and that of 266 drachmas and 4 obols an instalment due for the last four months of the year (May-August) and thus included in the account of Mesore (July-August). In support of this hypothesis, the amounts of money registered in the Theadelphian accounts are consistent if we set the monthly rent of the *grapheion* at 66.5 dr. 1 ob. plus 4 dr. 2 ob. for additional fees.<sup>460</sup> Based on this monthly price, the annual rent for the *grapheion* of Theadelphia in AD 157-160 should rate at 800 drachmas plus 52 dr. for additional fees.<sup>461</sup>

Since the management of Roman *grapheia* was a state concession, the writing offices were set up in the private houses of the successful bidders and their location could vary.<sup>462</sup> As I will show later, in the second century AD at least two *grapheia* were established at Theadelphia, one active until approximately the 140s and another during the following fifteen years at least.<sup>463</sup>

The first writing office may be identified through archaeological evidence. Roman *grapheia* were small offices of one or two rooms used for writing and storing the notary's

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Theadelphia, this supplement shows that the rent of the village *grapheion* had to be paid through the local bank.

<sup>457</sup> *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, col. III 42-43; col. VI 94-95.

<sup>458</sup> According to the editors of *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, the annual rent for the *grapheion* of Theadelphia was 400 drachmas (*BGU IX* 1894, col. IX 95-97), while the sums accounted in *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, col. III 42-43 and col. VI 94-95 were the rates for eight and two months respectively; see *P.Col.* V: pp. 56-57 n. 42.

<sup>459</sup> By comparison, the *grapheion* of Tebtynis was leased at an average of 173 drachmas per month, that of Karanis at 100 dr. per month; see Claytor 2014c: 62.

<sup>460</sup> A rent of 66.5 dr. 1 ob. per month, approximated at 67 dr. in *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, col. VI 94-95, is at 266 dr. 4 ob. per four months and 400 dr. per sixth months, exactly as they are in *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, col. III 42-43 and *BGU IX* 1894, col. IX 96. As the additional fees for the fourth and sixth months (at 17 dr. 2 ob. and 26 dr. respectively) are calculated on a basis of 4 dr. 2 ob. per month, the amount of 4 dr. 5 ob. recorded in *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, col. VI 94-95 was an approximation.

<sup>461</sup> To compare, the *grapheion* of Tebtynis was leased at around 2000 dr. per year, that of Karanis at 1200 dr., and that of Soknopaiou Nesos at 288 dr.; see Claytor 2014c: 62.

<sup>462</sup> Husselman 1950: 77; Langellotti 2020a: 44.

<sup>463</sup> On this, see Chapter V 3. 1. *Notaries*.

accounts.<sup>464</sup> As private houses, they were architecturally unremarkable,<sup>465</sup> but should have been marked out by the presence of little spaces for the storage of administrative documentation. Interesting information comes from the reports of the second excavation of Theadelphia in 1902. In the centre of the site close to the so-called “Säulenhaus”, Rubensohn found a badly preserved house of the Roman period “with niches and a window, yielding some mostly blank papyri”.<sup>466</sup> The finding of unused writing material and the presence of niches in the walls, serving as cabinets,<sup>467</sup> might identify this house as a possible venue of the first writing office. The current state of the site seems to support this identification. As at present the central area of the site preserves pieces of limestone and remains of plastered floors and walls (labelled as N-T in Map 2),<sup>468</sup> it was likely a quarter reserved for houses and/or public buildings, and thus a suitable location for a *grapheion*.

Less is known about the later writing office. The above-mentioned tax account of AD 157, recording the rent for the *grapheion* of Theadelphia and Archelais,<sup>469</sup> shows that it belonged to the imperial estate of Marcus Antonius Pallas,<sup>470</sup> and was shared with the neighbouring village of Archelais<sup>471</sup> but located in the larger village of Theadelphia.<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>464</sup> As registers and *tomoi sunkollesimoi* were not preserved in the *grapheia* but sent to the state archives, scholars argued that the writing offices did not need large spaces and consisted of a room in a private house; see Husselman 1970: 226; van Beek 2015: 219. However, the *nomographos* could also have set up in a different room a small archive to store the financial documentation of the *grapheion*, such as the accounts of expenses. This might be confirmed by a register of the *grapheion* of Karanis, found on the threshold of a door connecting two rooms, the so-called rooms D and E in the house 5026: on this, see Claytor 2014c: 83-84.

<sup>465</sup> Daris 1997: 177.

<sup>466</sup> The scarce data available on this structure have been reported by France, who labelled this house with the letter “c”; France 1999: 74-75.

<sup>467</sup> Rubensohn 1905: 3.

<sup>468</sup> Römer 2019: 137.

<sup>469</sup> *BGU IX 1894*, col. IX 93-95 οὐσιῶν Οὐεσπ(ασιανῶ) | Πάλλαντ(ος) (πρότερον) Ἰουκούνδ(ου) καὶ Χρησί(μου) | φόρου γραφείου Θεαδελ(φείας) καὶ Ἀρχελαίδ(ος) “among the imperial estates of Vespasianus, of the *ousia* of Pallas, formerly belonging to Iucundus and Khresimos, the rent for the *grapheion* of Theadelphia and Archelais”.

<sup>470</sup> On the imperial estate of Marcus Antonius Pallas, see TM Geo 1571 and Chapter IV 1. *Estimating the Settlement Size: Population and Land*.

<sup>471</sup> According to the papyrus evidence, the village of Archelais was in the same area as Apias, Argeas, Polydeukia, Sethrempais, and Theadelphia; see TM Geo 290. As the *grapheion* of Theadelphia is associated with Archelais only in *BGU IX 1894*, col. IX 93-95, the two villages possibly shared the writing office for a limited period.

<sup>472</sup> Youtie (b) 1983: 52 n. 7.

Map. 2. The plan of Theadelphia<sup>473</sup>



To sum up, the *grapheion* of Theadelphia is explicitly attested until the 160s. Even though this institution was active in the village until ca. AD 170,<sup>474</sup> it started declining in the late 160s, when a document issued by the village elders of Theadelphia was drafted in a notarial office in the nome capital and not in the *grapheion* of the village as before.<sup>475</sup> The *grapheion* had certainly disappeared by AD 193:<sup>476</sup> in that year, a Theadelphian inhabitant resorted to professional scribes working in Arsinoe because the writing office of the village was no longer available.<sup>477</sup> In the second century, the *grapheion* was set in two private houses, belonging to the heads of the writing offices. Through the archaeological reports on

<sup>473</sup> The map is from Römer 2019: 154.

<sup>474</sup> The latest document written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia is P.Mich. inv. 6802, an unpublished contract dated to AD 170; see Chapter V 2. *Production of the Grapheion*.

<sup>475</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 27 is a receipt for the supply of seeds dated to AD 167. As the personal details of some senders were written through a *nomikos*, a legal expert usually attested in nome capitals, the papyrus was likely written in a notarial office in Arsinoe. On the *nomikos*, see Claytor 2018: 329.

<sup>476</sup> In AD 181-190 the few surviving writing offices were subject to the authority of a nome-wide manager, attested as “the representative of the *grapheia* of both the metropolis and the villages of the three *merides*”. The rural *grapheia* disappeared by the mid-third century and the notarial institutions were centralised in the nome capital; see Claytor 2018: 326-328; Claytor 2020a: 323-324.

<sup>477</sup> *SB IV 7469* is a petition from Theadelphia written in AD 193 in a notarial office as it preserves the statement εικονισθ(εις) φαμ(ένου) μη ιδ(έναι) γρ(άμματα), specific to those bureaux (l. 13). However, since the *grapheion* of Theadelphia is not mentioned in the formula, as was instead customary in earlier documents drawn up in the writing office of the village (cf. *P.Meyer* 4, 26 εικονισθ(έντες) δι(ὰ) γρα(φείου) Θξαδελ(φείας)), *SB IV 7469* was likely drafted outside Theadelphia, perhaps in a notarial office in Arsinoe, and later moved to the village.

Theadelphia, I have identified the first writing office in a residence with niches, standing in the central area of the site until the beginning of the twentieth century, where some mostly blank papyri were found. The later writing office, undetectable through the archaeological evidence, was part of an imperial estate at Theadelphia but served the village of Archelais as well.

## 2. Production of the *Grapheion*

First-hand sources on the *grapheion* of Theadelphia are the documents drafted in that office. To lay the groundwork for the following discussion, I will analyse the products of the writing office from ca. AD 70 to 170. As I will show, these are mainly registered contracts, but also different kinds of documents were drawn up by the scribes of the writing office and issued to its clients. They demonstrate the importance of the *grapheion* for the economy of Theadelphia: it was the only office in charge of promoting and regulating economic transactions concluded in the village and its surroundings.

To record and account for their business, the heads of the writing offices had to compile three types of registers and send them to the state archives in the nome capital and Alexandria: the *eiromena*, chronological lists of abstracts of contracts; the *anagraphai*, indexes of abstracts recording titles and payments in a one-line entry; and composite rolls (τόμοι συγκολλήσιμοι), in which the original contracts or their exact copies were pasted together.<sup>478</sup> No *eiromena* or *anagraphai* from the *grapheion* of Theadelphia are attested so far,<sup>479</sup> but two contracts bearing a column number, specific to composite rolls, were likely part of *tomoi sunkollesimoi* produced in the *grapheion*.<sup>480</sup>

In the Roman period, the main task of the *grapheion* was the registration of contracts.<sup>481</sup> Forty-nine official contracts were registered in the writing office of Theadelphia from AD 69 to 170.<sup>482</sup> As they were public documents (δημόσιοι χρηματισμοί), they had to follow a

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<sup>478</sup> Pierce 1968: 70; Husselman 1970: 224-226; van Beek 2015: 218-219; Langellotti 2020a: 36-41.

<sup>479</sup> Two *eiromena* found in Theadelphia have been published, *P.Stras.* IX 807 and *P.Fay.* 344 r., but they were produced in Euhemeria and Polydeukia respectively and then moved to Theadelphia.

<sup>480</sup> *P.Soter.* 7; *P.Turner* 21.

<sup>481</sup> Claytor 2018: 321; Langellotti 2020b: 95.

<sup>482</sup> For a list of the contracts registered in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, see Table 8 in Appendix I. A few other contracts, written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia from the beginning to the half of the

formal structure.<sup>483</sup> Three elements provided legal validity: date, subscriptions, and notarial docket.<sup>484</sup> After the date and place of registration, the body of the contract was usually in the *homologia* form and explained the clauses of the agreement. The subscriptions of the contractor parties (*hypographai*), which could repeat the terms of the agreement or be more synthetic, were followed by the registration of the notary (the docket).<sup>485</sup> Since the contracts registered in each *grapheion* developed layouts, syntax, and formulas specific to the scribes of the writing office, I provide an overview of the *homologia*-contracts registered in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia.

i) Heading: date (ἔτους + number + emperor + month + day) and place of registration (i. e. ἐν Θεαδελφείᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ).

ii) Body of the text:

- Main verb in an objective form: ὁμολογεῖ/ὁμολογοῦσι(v);
- First party of the agreement in the nominative: ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα + personal details (e.g., Πέρσης/Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς or Περσίνη, or domicile) + age + signalment;
- Second party of the agreement in the dative: τῷ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα + personal details (as above) + age + signalment;
- Infinitive sentence defining the object of the agreement: e.g. ἔχειν for loans, πεπρακέναι for sales, ἐπικεχωρηκέναι for subleases;<sup>486</sup>
- Statement of fines for the infraction of the terms of the agreement;
- Introduction of the *hypographeus*: ὑπογραφεὺς τῶν ὁμολογούντων + ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα + age + signalment.

iii) Subscription of the first party:

- Subject: ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα + personal details (as above) + age + signalment;
- Main verb in a subjective form: ὁμολογῶ/ ὁμολογοῦμεν;
- Infinitive sentence defining the object of the agreement, usually repeating the phraseology and words of the body of the contract.

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first century AD, will not be analysed in this study: *PSI* 1 36a (AD 11-13); *P.Mil.* I 7 (AD 38); *SB* XIV 11279 (AD 44); *P.Mil.* I 8 (AD 48); *P.Col. inv.* 131 (AD 58, see Yiftach-Firanko 2010: 267-282).

<sup>483</sup> The structure of Roman contracts is very different from that of the Ptolemaic and Augustan ones. On the late Ptolemaic double document, see Torallas Tovar-Worp 2010: 763; Claytor 2014b: 95-96; on the Augustan ones, see Claytor-Litinas-Nabney 2016: 93.

<sup>484</sup> Langellotti 2020a: 36.

<sup>485</sup> Haighton 2010: 31-32; Langellotti 2015: 119; Claytor-Litinas-Nabney 2016: 93.

<sup>486</sup> On the types of contracts registered in the *grapheion*, see Claytor 2014c: 100-108; on the structure specific to donkey sales, see Claytor 2015: 202.

iv) Subscription of the second party: as above (iii).

v) Notarial docket: date and registration in the *grapheion* (ἀναγέγραπται/ἐντέτακται διὰ τοῦ ἐν Θεαδελφείᾳ γραφείου). Unlike elsewhere in the Fayum, the notarial dockets written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia never record the notary's name.

The official contracts registered in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia had distinctive material features. Firstly, they were usually drawn up by multiple scribes: the notary in person wrote the docket<sup>487</sup> and sometimes the body of the contract (otherwise drafted by an assistant),<sup>488</sup> whereas the subscriptions were added by the contracting parties themselves or by professional scribes on their behalf (*hypographeis*).<sup>489</sup> Secondly, a graphic peculiarity specific to the scribes of the *grapheion* and attested in AD 82-144 was a *paragraphos* (—), drawn over the beginning words of the first subscription to mark the transition from the previous section.<sup>490</sup>

Besides registering official contracts, the writing office of Theadelphia also fulfilled more general scribal functions for the inhabitants of the area.<sup>491</sup> Each individual could ask the *grapheion*'s scribes to write their documents for a fee (*grammatikon*).<sup>492</sup> It was at a variable rate (from less than 1.5 drachmas to 8) according to the production costs of the required documents.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> As the registration by the notary provided the contracts with an official value, the *nomographoi* had to write their statements personally; see Langellotti 2020a: 36.

<sup>488</sup> Kronion, the notary of the *grapheion* of Tebtynis, wrote some drafts of contracts and the bodies of other contracts in his handwriting; see Toepel 1973: 28; van Beek 2015: 217.

<sup>489</sup> On the scribal staff of the *grapheion*, see Chapter V 3. *People of the Grapheion*.

<sup>490</sup> *P.Athen.* 23, 26; *P.Fay.* 92, r. 20; *P.Flor.* I 20, 37; *P.Cair.Gad* 10, r. 11; *P.Meyer* 5 (no. 3), r. 7; *P.Oxf.* 10, r. 32; *P.Princ.* II 34, 24; *P.Ryl.* II 331, 26; *P.Soter.* 5, r. 35; 6, 18; 22, r. 27; 25, r. 29; 27, 27; *P.Turner* 21, 25; *SB* VI 9291; XIV 12105, 28; On this feature, see also Gad 2016:119-120 n. 11.

<sup>491</sup> Van Beek 2015: 218; Claytor 2018: 323; Langellotti 2020b: 95.

<sup>492</sup> The *grammatikon* is not explicitly attested among the extant documents written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia. However, a note added on the top of a *grapheion* contract dated to AD 116 probably recorded a debt of 30 drachmas for the writing fee; cf. *P.Mich. inv.* 779, 1 ὀφ(είλημα) λ. On this, see Claytor-Mirończuk 2015: 196 n. 1.

<sup>493</sup> The production costs of documents written in the *grapheia* depended on their format, the number of copies needed, and language, as bilingual text required the intervention of more than one scribe; see Yiftach-Firanko 2015: 169-170.



Twenty-one unregistered deeds were written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia from AD 87 to 161.<sup>494</sup> They are contracts in the form of *cheirographa* or *hypomnemata*,<sup>495</sup> oaths and sworn declarations (*cheirographia*), applications for state concessions, and petitions.<sup>496</sup> However, some unexpected papyri, such as *kat'oikian apographai* and declarations of birth and death, were also produced in the writing office.<sup>497</sup> As those documents were addressed to the *komogrammateus* for administrative purposes, they shed light on the administrative function of the writing office in the village, an aspect that will be discussed later.<sup>498</sup>

The relation between the registered contracts and the contracts in a cheirographic or hypomnematic form is unclear. Although the latter ones could acquire “inherent legal validity” if produced in a *grapheion* and signed by a notary,<sup>499</sup> those written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia do not preserve any notarial statement. Thus, they did not equal the legally valid registered contracts, but were additional documentation eventually produced as a means of security for one of the parties. This is proved by their content. Four published leases of land in the hypomnematic form were drafted in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia.<sup>500</sup> As they are all documents of *misthosis* in the form of offers of a lease,<sup>501</sup> they accompanied, rather than substituted, the registered contracts, which sanctioned the acceptance of the agreement through both parties’ subscriptions. The same is true for a job agreement of a Theadelphian herdsman written in the *grapheion* as a *cheirographon*.<sup>502</sup> Since it was written from the viewpoint of the employee in the absence of the other party,<sup>503</sup> it was a warranty document for the worker, probably drafted after the registration of the official labour contract.

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<sup>494</sup> For a list of unregistered documents written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, see Table 9 in Appendix I.

<sup>495</sup> *Cheirographa* were contracts in the form of letters, with the address “X to Y, greetings”; *hypomnemata* were contracts with the address “to Y from X”. The contracts of *μισθωσις* belonged to the latter group as they had a hypomnematic form; see Montevicchi 1988: 198, 214-221.

<sup>496</sup> On the professional scribes who wrote the petitions, see Kelly 2011: 44-45; Claytor 2018: 323; Langellotti 2020a: 35; Langellotti 2020b: 95.

<sup>497</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 16a; *P.Fay.* 28; *P.Lond.* III 1221; *P.Ryl.* II 105.

<sup>498</sup> See Chapter V 4. 1. *Inside the Village: The Grapheion and the Administration.*

<sup>499</sup> Langellotti 2020b: 99-100. A relevant example is *P.Mich.* V 266, a conveyance of a vineyard in the form of *cheirographon* dated to AD 38: the phrase ἡ χεὶρ ἦδε κυρία ἔστω “the note of hand is valid” (l. 18) explicitly states that this document acquired legal validity as it had been written in the *grapheion* of Tebtynis; see Langellotti 2015: 120-121.

<sup>500</sup> *P.Athen.* 16; *P.Heid.* IV 329; *P.Soter.* 3; 4.

<sup>501</sup> Montevicchi 1988: 214-215.

<sup>502</sup> *P.Col.* X 255.

<sup>503</sup> As the employer was an Alexandrian landowner in the village, it is unlikely that he attended the writing of the *cheirographon*. This is confirmed by the fact that the staff of the *grapheion* only provided an identification of the employee; cf. *P.Col.* X 255, 21.

To conclude, the *grapheion* of Theadelphia was the main centre for the writing of documents and the only economic bureau of the village.<sup>504</sup> As an office of registration of contracts, it tracked the economic transactions of the area and forwarded periodical reports to the central archives.<sup>505</sup> As the *grapheion* also executed different writing services for its clients, it promoted the economy of the area by providing security in all phases of the stipulation of an agreement. This is demonstrated by some private deeds concerning economic transactions (contracts in the cheirographic and hypomnematic form, bids for state concessions), written in the writing office on request as warranty documents for the contractors. The *grapheion*'s contracts are mostly loans of various sums of money (from 28 to 240 drachmas),<sup>506</sup> leases of small plots of public land,<sup>507</sup> sales of larger allotments of catoecic land,<sup>508</sup> and purchases of pack animals (donkeys and horses).<sup>509</sup> They witness that the economy of the village in the second century AD was based on three main aspects: moneylending, landownership, and agriculture.

For its importance as an economic centre, the *grapheion* of Theadelphia was one of the most popular institutions of the village. In the following section, I will hence explore its value as a centre of social interaction, by investigating the relationships between scribes and clients.

### 3. People of the *Grapheion*

In the first and second century AD, many people gravitated around the *grapheion* of Theadelphia. Alongside its clients, who are explicitly attested in the papyri, a hidden component was the professional scribes working in the writing office, sometimes known by their hands only.<sup>510</sup> This section aims at exploring the activity of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia by investigating the people connected with this office. For this purpose, I will

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<sup>504</sup> Claytor 2014a: 202; Langellotti 2020b: 99-100.

<sup>505</sup> Kruse 2019: 132.

<sup>506</sup> *P.Athen.* 29; *P.Meyer* 5 (no. 3); *P.Mich. inv. 779* (published in Claytor-Mirończuk 2015:194-197); *inv. 1330* (published in Sells 2022: 85-91); *P.Oslo.* II 39; III 131; *P.Ryl.* II 175; 331; *P.Soter.* 22; *SB XXII* 15611.

<sup>507</sup> *P.Cair.Gad* 10; *P.Flor.* I 20; *P.Meyer* 12; *P.Turner* 21.

<sup>508</sup> *P.Athen.* 16; *P.Cair.Gad* 9; *P.Corn.* 40; *P.Heid.* IV 329; *P.Iand.* III 30; *P.Narm.* 2006 6. As in *P.Corn.* 40 (no. 4), a sum of 3500 drachmas is given for some catoecic land, the document was likely a cession of a large estate.

<sup>509</sup> *P.Fay.* 92; *P.Prag.* I 40; *P.Soter.* 27; *PSI IX* 1031; *SB VI* 9093.

<sup>510</sup> On the importance of palaeographical analysis for prosopographical studies, see Ast 2018: 27-29.

first try to identify its professional staff (notaries, assistants, and *hypographeis*) through the papyrological and palaeographical evidence. Having discussed the main features of this scribal group, I will turn to a survey of the *grapheion*'s clients in order to provide insights into the social history of Theadelphia. On a broader perspective, by revealing the socio-professional connections between the scribes and the clients of the *grapheion*, this study will lead to defining the social importance of this institution for village life.

### 3. 1. Notaries

The head of a writing office was called *nomographos* or ὁ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ “the person who is in charge of the *grapheion*”. These titles refer to the same officer and demonstrate his double role as notary and manager of the writing office.<sup>511</sup>

As the documents from Theadelphia explicitly attest only one *nomographos* in the 150s, Ammonios,<sup>512</sup> the following discussion of the notaries of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia will be developed on a palaeographical ground. After quantifying the notaries through the surviving notarial docket, I will make their chronological succession more precise by identifying their handwritings in the bodies of the contracts registered in the writing office.

The palaeographical evaluation of the notarial docket of Theadelphian contracts provides interesting results: a first handwriting is attested from AD 71 to 103,<sup>513</sup> a second one from AD 109 to 131,<sup>514</sup> while the docket in *SB* IV 7466, dated to AD 147, is attributable to another scribe.<sup>515</sup> At this point, the analysis of the body of the contracts written in the *grapheion* leads to better defining the timespan of the activity of these three notaries.

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<sup>511</sup> See Boak in the introduction of *P.Mich.* V pp. 1-2.

<sup>512</sup> *P.Fay.* 28; *P.Ryl.* II 88.

<sup>513</sup> The notarial docket in *P.Soter.* 2, *P.Soter.* 5, *P.Oxf.* 10, and *P.Soter.* 22 are in the same handwriting, a rapid cursive distinguished by the stretching of the eyelets of *alpha*, *delta*, and *phi*. Notable sequences are the stylised writing of *διά*, the rounded shape of *phi* in one line, and that of the diphthong *epsilon-iota* (Fig. 10).

<sup>514</sup> The docket in *P.Soter.* 25, r. 43 (AD 109), *P.Fay.* 92 (AD 126) and *P.Turner* 21 (AD 131) are written in the same handwriting (Fig. 8 and 9 above), which is faster and more irregular than that attested in the period AD 71-103, and may be thus attributed to a subsequent notary. As this notary is found from AD 109 to 131, also the docket of *SB* XXII 15637, dated to AD 130, was likely written by him (Fig. 11).

<sup>515</sup> The notarial docket in *SB* IV 7466 is badly preserved and only partially legible, but features *omicron* drafted as a small dot (Fig. 12). As this shape of *omicron* is not attested in the earlier notarial docket, *SB* IV 7466 was registered by another notary. In support of this hypothesis, the text of *SB* IV 7466 is different from the earlier Theadelphian contracts and may reveal that the notary of the *grapheion* and his staff had changed: the docket ἐ[ν]τῆ[ρ]ακ[τα]ὶ διὰ] γραφείου (l. 27), unexpectedly

In a labour contract dated to AD 98-102,<sup>516</sup> the first notary wrote not only the docket (l. 46) but also, more slowly, the body of the contract (ll. 1-31).<sup>517</sup> As this slower version of his hand appears in the bodies of three other contracts spanning from 71 to 94 AD, this analysis confirms that this unknown notary, from here onwards N1, leased the *grapheion* for roughly 32 years (ca. AD 71-103).<sup>518</sup>

The second notary is also unknown, so I will call him N2. His cursive handwriting, as it appears in his notarial docket in *P.Soter. 25* (Fig. 8 above), is attested in the first lines of *P.Mich. inv. 779*, a copy or a draft of a repayment of a loan dated AD 116.<sup>519</sup> As this document was entirely written by the same scribe, who started writing rapidly and slowed down in the following text, it provides an example of a slower version of the hand of N2. When looking at the coeval papyrus evidence from the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, this slow version may be identified in many other documents.<sup>520</sup> According to the dates of those contracts, N2 replaced N1 as the manager of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia immediately after N1's last attestation and carried out that activity for about 34 years (ca. AD 105-139). However, some papyri show that N2 had even earlier connections with the writing office of the village. As his hand is attested in two contracts written before AD 105,<sup>521</sup> his apprenticeship probably took place in the *grapheion*.<sup>522</sup> Also, since the official contracts produced under N1 and N2 both feature the insertion of a *paragraphos* between the body and the subscriptions,<sup>523</sup> N2 had possibly been trained by the former notary. For these

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added before and not after the subscription, omits the place of registration of the contract, unlike the other extant notarial dockets.

<sup>516</sup> *P.Oxf. 10*; on the date of this papyrus, see Azzarello 2008: 182 n. 20.

<sup>517</sup> The editor of *P.Oxf. 10* argued that the hand of the notary's statement corresponds to that of the body of the contract, and this is palaeographically compelling; see *P.Oxf.*: pp. 38-44.

<sup>518</sup> The hand of N1 is H2 in the classification of the handwritings of the contracts from the *grapheion* of Theadelphia; see Appendix I 2. *Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia*. It is attested in *P.Oxf. 10*, *P.Soter. 2*, *P.Soter. 5*, and *SB VI 9291*.

<sup>519</sup> Claytor-Mirończuk 2015: 194-197.

<sup>520</sup> The handwriting of N2 corresponds to H4 in Appendix I 2. Plenty of documents, dating from AD 96 to 139, were written by this scribe: *P.Iand. IV 52*, *P.Mich. inv. 131*, *P.Lond. III 1221*, *P.Mich. inv. 1330*, *P.Corn. 40* (no. 4), *P.Heid. IV 329*, *P.Iand. III 30*, *P.Soter. 25*, *P.Mich. inv. 779*, *P.Fay. 92*, *P.Soter. 27*, *SB XIV 12105*, *P.Ryl. II 330* (no. 9), *P.Turner 21*, *P.Col. X 255*, *P.Fay. 107*, *P.Ryl. II 331*, *P.Athen. 16*, *P.Ryl. II 332* (no. 17).

<sup>521</sup> *P.Iand. IV 52* and *P.Mich. inv. 131*, dated to AD 96 and 102 respectively.

<sup>522</sup> The speculation that the scribal apprenticeship of N2 took place in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia is supported by *P.Athen. 23*, a contract written by another *grapheion*'s scribe in AD 82. As the handwriting of N2 is very similar to that of the scribe of *P.Athen. 23*, they both had been likely trained in the same environment.

<sup>523</sup> See Chapter V 2. *Production of the Grapheion*.

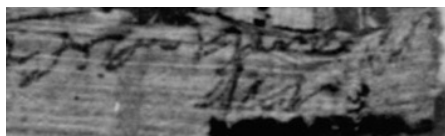
reasons, my impression is that N2 was the son of N1, and that the *grapheion* of Theadelphia was run by members of the same family between the 70s and the 140s.<sup>524</sup>

The third notary, whose hand is attested in a fragmentary docket dated to AD 147,<sup>525</sup> may be identified with the *nomographos* Ammonios, who explicitly wrote two Theadelphian documents in the 150s.<sup>526</sup> Since his handwriting may be found in some papyri from AD 146 to 161, Ammonios managed the *grapheion* of Theadelphia for at least 15 years, almost until the end of its existence.<sup>527</sup>

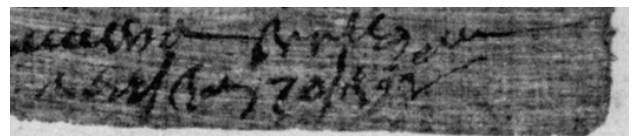
Fig. 10. The hand of N1: the notarial dockets in *P.Soter. 2*, *P.Soter. 5*, *P.Oxf. 10*, *P.Soter. 22*



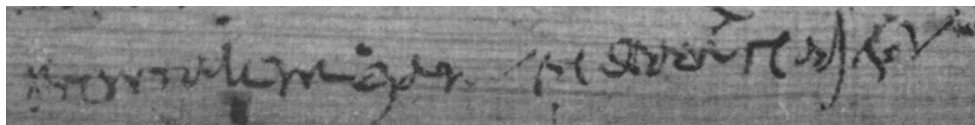
*P.Soter. 2*, 47-49 ἐ[ν]τέτακ(ται) ἀντί(γραφον) μισθ(ώσεως), (ἔτους) ...



*P.Soter. 5*, r. 50-51  
ἀναγέ(γραπται) διὰ τοῦ [ἐν Θεαδελ-]φεία γρα(φείου)

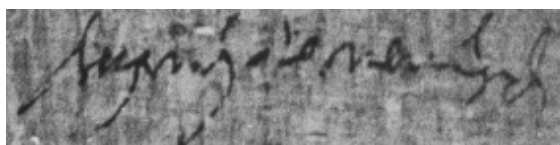


*P.Soter. 22*, r. 37-38  
ἐν(τά)κ(ται) διὰ τοῦ [ἐν Θεα]δελφεία γραφείου



*P.Oxf. 10*, 46 ἐντέτακτε διὰ τοῦ ἐν Θεαδελ(φεία) γραφείου

Fig. 11. The hand of N2: the notarial docket in *SB XXII 15637*



*SB XXII 15637*, 25 ἀναγέ(ραπται) δι(ὰ) το(ῦ) ἐν Θεαδελ(φεία) γρα(φείου)

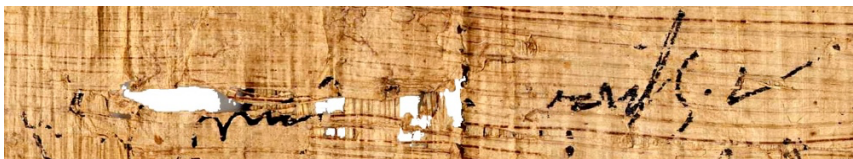
<sup>524</sup> Close kin often succeeded each other in the management of *grapheia*: at Tebtynis, for instance, Kronion replaced his father Apion in the role of *nomographos* in the first century AD, and Achilleus succeeded his grandfather Apollonios alias Lourios as the notary of the same *grapheion* in the second century AD. Therefore, the management of a writing office had a hereditary nature and was reserved for the wealthiest families of the village; see Husselman 1970: 223-224; Claytor 2013: 79-80; Langellotti 2020a: 43-44.

<sup>525</sup> *SB IV 7466*.

<sup>526</sup> *P.Fay. 28*, a declaration of birth from Theadelphia dated to AD 150/1, and *P.Ryl. II 88*, an oath of Diogas, appointed as a guard in the village of Archelais, dated to AD 156.

<sup>527</sup> The handwriting of the notary Ammonios corresponds to H7 in Appendix I 2. It is attested in many documents spanning from AD 146 to 161: *P.Oslo. II 39*, *P.Mich. inv. 977*, *SB IV 7466*, *P.Oslo. III 132*, *P.Fay. 28*, *P.Athen. 35*, *P.Ryl. II 98a* (no. 24), *P.Berl.Leihg. I 22*, *PSI V 458* (no. 25), *SB XIV 12199*, *P.Ryl. II 88*, *P.Mich. inv. 3860a*, *P.Berl.Leihg. II 40*, *SB IV 7393* (no. 27).

Fig. 12. The hand of Ammonios: the notarial docket in SB IV 7466



SB IV 7466, 27 ἐ[ν]τέτακ[ται διὰ] γραφείου

### 3. 2. Auxiliary Personnel

In order to fulfil their duties, the notaries of the *grapheion* could hire professional scribes as assistants.<sup>528</sup> As they are usually anonymous in the papyri,<sup>529</sup> I have identified them based on palaeographical evidence. In my distinction of the handwritings appearing in the bodies of the contracts registered in the writing office of the village, five hands not belonging to notaries (H1, H3, H5, H6, and H8) may be attributed to professional scribes working in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia.<sup>530</sup> Based on these data, I am going to investigate the auxiliary personnel of the notaries of the village.

It is unclear how many assistants worked in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia per year.<sup>531</sup> As none of these scribes is attested beyond two years in a row, they were likely employed for short periods. However, they could be hired in the writing office more than once: for instance, the scribe H6 was employed in the *grapheion* in AD 133, and later again in AD 139-141 and AD 144-146.<sup>532</sup> Since he started working in the *grapheion* under the notary N2 and was hired again by the notary Ammonios, he demonstrates that professional scribes could be employed as assistants of subsequent notaries. This possibly reflects a social situation: in a Fayum village, the few literate individuals trained in the writing of the *grapheion* documents could work as professional scribes over their entire lives.

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<sup>528</sup> Some specific assistants were sometimes employed in the *grapheion* of Tebtynis, the night clerks (νοκτογράφοι) and the scribes able to write Demotic; see Toepel 1973: 22-24; Langellotti 2020b: 97.

<sup>529</sup> Toepel 1973: 29. One assistant working in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia might be named, Her..., the scribe of an official contract dated to AD 134; cf. *PSI IX* 1031, 26.

<sup>530</sup> For a classification of the handwritings of the contracts from the *grapheion* of Theadelphia; see Appendix I 2. *Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia*.

<sup>531</sup> At Tebtynis, two professional scribes worked for the notary at the same time, as suggested by two contracts written by two different assistants on 19 February 52 AD (*P.Mich.* V 333 and its duplicate *P.Mich.* V 334); see Toepel 1973: 29.

<sup>532</sup> Cf. *P.Oslo.* II 39; *P.Prag.* I 40; *P.Princ.* II 34; *P.Ryl.* II 324 (no. 18); *SB XXII* 15611.

Sometimes, professional scribes could gain high positions in the *grapheion*. A relevant example is that of the scribe labelled as H1, who likely compiled a *tomos sunkollesimos* on behalf of the current notary N1 in AD 91.<sup>533</sup> This would suggest that, as the notary N1 and the scribe H1 collaborated in accomplishing the administrative tasks of the *grapheion* in AD 91, they were partners in the management of the writing office at that time.<sup>534</sup>

To conclude, the most plausible scenario is that notaries occasionally hired some professional scribes as co-workers if they were personally unable to satisfy the clients' demand for written documentation.<sup>535</sup> This implies that the assistants must have been literate villagers, promptly available to work for the notary when it was required. According to the lack of labour contracts of the scribes of the *grapheion* in the extant papyrus documentation, they were likely hired through an informal agreement to work by the notary himself, an entrepreneur able to choose and manage his staff personally.<sup>536</sup>

### 3. 3. *Hypographeis*

To accept the terms of a contract, the contracting parties had to add their subscriptions. If contractors were illiterate, their literate relatives or friends, or some professional scribes could sign the documents on their behalf. In the contractual documentation, these substitute subscribers are called *hypographeis*.<sup>537</sup> Since they were responsible for subscriptions, which had legal value in contracts, they were supposed to be recognisable. Therefore, unlike other scribes, the *hypographeis* were never anonymous: their names, patronymics, and personal details are sometimes preserved.<sup>538</sup> Fourteen *hypographeis* appear in the contracts registered in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia (Table 5. 1).

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<sup>533</sup> *P.Soter. 7* is a receipt dated to AD 91 and belonging to a *tomos sunkollesimos* as it preserves the number of a column on the top of the papyrus. Since not only the body of the document but also the column number are in the hand of H1, this scribe likely compiled the entire register.

<sup>534</sup> The partnership of the notary N1 and the scribe H1 in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia could be compared to that of Kronion and his partner Eutucheides in the *grapheion* of Tebtynis. On them, see Langellotti 2020a: 51.

<sup>535</sup> Toepel 1973: 23; Langellotti 2020b: 104-105.

<sup>536</sup> The state was not involved in the employment of the professional scribes working in the Roman *grapheia*, and the notaries managed all the practicalities concerning the writing offices; see Langellotti 2020a: 48.

<sup>537</sup> Youtie (a) 1975a: 101-108; Youtie (a) 1975b: 207-210; Claytor 2014a: 199-202.

<sup>538</sup> Youtie (a) 1975b: 209-210.

Table 5. 1. The *hypographeis* in the contracts registered in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia

<i>Hypographeus</i>	Date of birth (AD)	Date of attestation (AD)	Papyrus evidence
Nikandros son of Isidoros	Unknown	71	<i>P.Soter.</i> 2, 41-43
... son of Phanios	Unknown	71	<i>P.Soter.</i> 2, 46-47
Phronton son of Papos	Ca. 42	82	<i>P.Athen.</i> 23, 24-25
Sarapion son of Theogiton	Unknown	88	<i>P.Soter.</i> 6, 26-29
Lykarion son of Heraklides	Unknown	94	<i>P.Soter.</i> 5, 41-43 <sup>539</sup>
... son of ...anos	Unknown	94	<i>P.Soter.</i> 5, 45-47
Heron son of Heraklides	Ca. 45-49	98-102	<i>P.Oxf.</i> 10, 30-31 <sup>540</sup>
Heraklides son of Sotherichos	Unknown	Around 107/108	<i>P.Meyer</i> 5 (no. 3), r. 17-18; <i>P.Narm.</i> 6, 10-11 <sup>541</sup>
Horion son of Horion <sup>542</sup>	Ca. 81	109	<i>P.Soter.</i> 25, 27-29

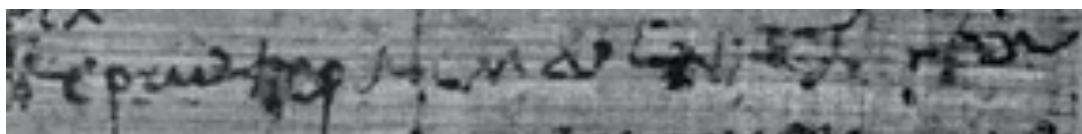
<sup>539</sup> *P.Soter.* 5, 42, published as [αὐτο]ῦ Καρίων Ἡρακ[λε]ίδου, should be corrected according to the palaeographical evidence. After the gap, traces of two letters are visible, the round upper stroke of *upsilon*, and an oblique line descending to the right probably belonging to a *lambda* (see Figure 13). As afterwards there remain another *upsilon* and the sequence -καριων, I read [αὐτο]ῦ Λυκαρίων Ἡρακ[λε]ίδου. In support of this reading, the name Karion is very rare (with 6 attestations only) in comparison to Lykarion, attested 89 times; see TM 3893 and 7001.

Fig. 13. *P.Soter.* 5, 41 [αὐτο]ῦ Λυκαρίων Ἡρακ[λε]ίδου



<sup>540</sup> Based on the digital image, the edition of *P.Oxf.* 10, 31 Ἡρων Ἡρακλείδου ὥς (ἐτῶν) νγ ἀπὸ Θεαδελφείας should be revalued. The particle ὥς is absent in the text, and the reading ἀπὸ Θεαδελφείας is palaeographically unconvincing. After the age, there is an *omicron* with an upper cursive *upsilon* drafted as a horizontal line, likely the abbreviation οὐ(λή). Afterwards, an *alpha* is followed by an illegible letter, the sequence -τικ- with *kappa* written above the line, and δε-; I read this words ἀντικ(νημίω) δε(ξιῶ). Thus, I propose the supplement Ἡρων Ἡρακλείδου (ἐτῶν) νγ οὐ(λή) ἀντικ(νημίω) δε(ξιῶ) (see Fig. 14).

Fig. 14. *P.Oxf.* 10, 31 Ἡρων Ἡρακλείδου (ἐτῶν) νγ οὐ(λή) ἀντικ(νημίω) δε(ξιῶ)



<sup>541</sup> Heraklides son of Soterichos might be the same scribe named Ἡρακλᾶ[ς - ca. 7 -] χου in *P.Narm.* 6, 10-11; see *P.Meyer.* 5 (no. 3), n. 17-18.

<sup>542</sup> Horion son of Horion might also be the taxpayer registered in a list of payers of taxes to the *praktoreis argyrikon* dated to AD 134: in this case, he would be the nephew of an Akousilaos and his mother would be Apollo...; cf. *BGU* IX 1891, col. XIV 445.



Ision son of Her...	Unknown	109	<i>P.Soter.</i> 25, 40-41
Ptolemaios	Unknown	121	<i>P.Athen.</i> 29, 28-29
Heraklides son of Heraklides <sup>543</sup>	Unknown	126	<i>P.Fay.</i> 92, 28-30
Dorion son of Dorion <sup>544</sup>	Ca. 86-88/89	126-147	<i>P.Soter.</i> 27, 25-26; <i>P.Turner.</i> 21, 29-30; <i>P.Cair.Gad</i> 10, r. 19-20; <sup>545</sup> <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 331, 24-25; <i>SB IV</i> 7466, 25-26
Sarapion son of Theon <sup>546</sup>	Unknown	After 130	<i>SB XXII</i> 15637, 22-24

These *hypographeis*, attested in AD 71-147, were inhabitants of Theadelphia aged from 28 to 61.<sup>547</sup> Since they seem unrelated to the parties of the contracts, most of them were likely professional scribes. Exceptions are two *hypographeis* with unexpert handwritings, the so-called *bradeos graphontes*:<sup>548</sup> a ... son of Phanios was probably a relative or a friend of the woman for whom he subscribed a contract,<sup>549</sup> while a Ptolemaios was the creditor in person, who wrote for himself and his sister (Fig. 15).<sup>550</sup>

A still debated point is whether the professional *hypographeis* worked in the *grapheion* or were engaged by the contractors themselves.<sup>551</sup> The documentation from the writing office of Theadelphia does not provide a resolute answer. However, as the *hypographeus* Dorion son of Dorion fulfilled the task for unrelated villagers and is attested in five contracts

<sup>543</sup> Heraklides son of Heraklides could be identified with a landowner appearing in some tax registers from ca. AD 158 to 180 (*BGU IX* 1895, col. IV 55; 1899, I 19; *PSI VII* 793, col. IV 32), and the brother of Ptolemaios son of Heraklides, the *epiteretes* of the marsh of Theadelphia mentioned in *PSI V* 458; see *PSI V* 458 (no. 25), n. 2.

<sup>544</sup> In my forthcoming article on *P.Ryl.* II 324, 330-331, I have proposed some supplements to *P.Cair.Gad* 10, r. 19-20, *P.Soter.* 27, 25-26, and *SB IV* 7466, 25-26.

<sup>545</sup> Based on other attestations of Aretas son of Tesenouphis, the most probable date of *P.Cair.Gad* 10 is the 16<sup>th</sup> year of the emperor Hadrianus, that is AD 131-132; see *Gad* 2016: 114.

<sup>546</sup> An homonymous individual is mentioned in a list of eligible officers (*P.Fay.* 23, r. 8), but, as the papyrus is vaguely dated to the second century and the papponymic and the personal details of Sarapion son of Theon are unknown, this identification cannot be confirmed.

<sup>547</sup> The *hypographeis* of Theadelphia with known ages are 28, 40, and 53 years old; moreover, Dorion son of Dorion appears as a *hypographeus* from the age of ca. 40 to 61. This picture is similar to that emerging from the *grapheion* of Tebtynis, the *hypographeis* associated with which are mainly aged from 30 to 50; see Toepel 1973: 58; Langellotti 2020a: 52.

<sup>548</sup> Youtie (a) 1971: 249-253.

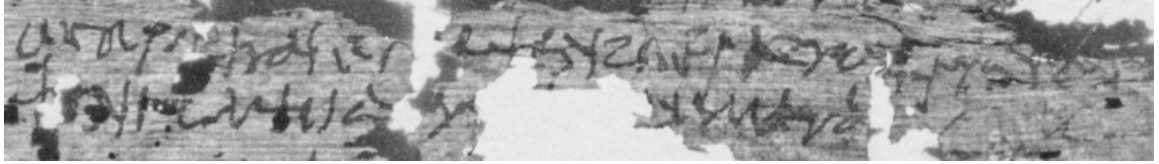
<sup>549</sup> *P.Soter.* 2, 46-47.

<sup>550</sup> *P.Athen.* 29, 28-29.

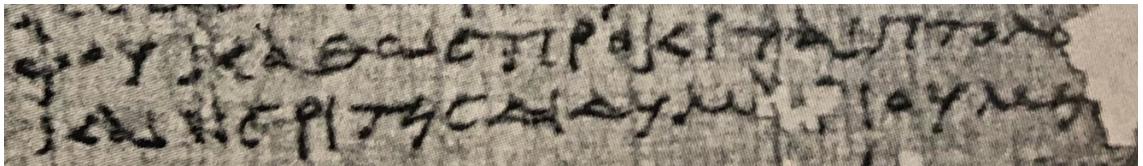
<sup>551</sup> Toepel 1973: 27; Claytor 2014a: 199 n. 3.

spanning from AD 126 to 147, he was likely part of the *grapheion*'s staff, at least occasionally, in the first half of the second century.<sup>552</sup>

Fig. 15. The *bradeos graphontes* in *P.Soter. 2* and *P.Athen. 29*.



*P.Soter. 2*, 46-47 ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν . . . | Φανί[ο]υ μὴ ἰδ[ό]τ[ων] [γρ]άμματα.



*P.Athen. 29*, 28-29 Πτολε[μαῖος ἔγραψα] | καὶ περὶ τῆς Διδυμαρίου μὴ [εἰδυίας γράμματα.]

### 3. 4. The *Grapheion*'s Clients

Many clients of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia are mentioned in the documents written in that office. Their picture cannot be complete because of the casual and fragmentary nature of the papyrus evidence. Nevertheless, by comparing the results of a prosopographical survey of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia with data available from other writing offices of Roman Fayum, one may get a realistic overview of the *grapheia*'s clients. In what follows, I will analyse the gender, age, provenance, social class, and profession of the clients of the *grapheion*, to demonstrate that, as this institution was frequented by the entire population, it was one of the main centres of village life.

On a sample of sixty-eight documents written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia or copies of them where clients are identifiable,<sup>553</sup> I counted a total of 127 clients. Their gender distribution, as expected, is unbalanced in favour of men.<sup>554</sup> Female participation in the

<sup>552</sup> On the *hypographeus* Dorion son of Dorion, see my forthcoming article on *P.Ryl. II 324*, 330-331. Another *hypographeus* probably worked in the *grapheion* of Karanis from AD 99 to 129, Heron son of Satyros; see Claytor 2014a: 199-202.

<sup>553</sup> Copies of contracts registered in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia in the second century AD are *PSI VI 697*, *SB XII 10924*, and *SB XXII 15388*.

<sup>554</sup> The clients of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia are 106 men (83 percent) versus 22 women (17 percent). These numbers are consistent with evidence from three registers of abstracts of AD 42, 45/46, and 46/47 from the *grapheion* of Tebtynis, in which the percentage of women is 11, 14.6, and 17.1 respectively; see Langellotti 2020a: 64.

contractual economy was very scarce and usually concerned transactions related to landownership.<sup>555</sup> As a result of the Roman policy of promotion of the guardianship on women,<sup>556</sup> they always acted through their *kyrioi*, who were mainly their husbands.<sup>557</sup>

The *grapheion*'s clients were people of all ages (from 20 to 72),<sup>558</sup> mostly residing in Theadelphia (85.8 percent).<sup>559</sup> However, the writing office was also at the service of people coming from some neighbouring villages (Berenikis Thesmophorou, Euhemeria, and Sethrempais),<sup>560</sup> and of citizens of Arsinoe who carried out economic businesses at Theadelphia.<sup>561</sup>

People who attended the *grapheion* had heterogeneous statuses and occupations. As foreseen in the contractual documents, many of them were qualified as "Persians of the Epigone",<sup>562</sup> a fictitious ethnic defining a status in-between Egyptians and Hellenes.<sup>563</sup> As shown by the archival documentation produced in the *grapheion*,<sup>564</sup> the writing office of Theadelphia served all strata of the population: people from both the low-mid classes (*e.g.*

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<sup>555</sup> For cessions or leases of land from female owners, cf. *P.Athen.* 16; *P.Corn.* 40 (no. 4); *P.Heid.* IV 329; *P.Narm.* 6; *P.Soter.* 2; *P.Soter.* 3. For sales of animals, cf. *P.Soter.* 27; *PSI* IX 1031. A similar situation is attested in the contracts from the *grapheia* of Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtynis; see Hobson 1983: 314-315; Langellotti 2020a: 65.

<sup>556</sup> Langellotti 2020a: 67.

<sup>557</sup> The women's guardians attested in documents written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia are 8 husbands, 4 sons, 3 unspecified relatives, 1 nephew, 1 brother, 1 son-in-law; in four cases the kinship between the woman and her guardian cannot be determined.

<sup>558</sup> The average age of the clients of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia is 30. The absence of people younger than 20 seems to confirm the view that this was the minimum age to conclude any economic transaction; on this, see Langellotti 2020a: 61.

<sup>559</sup> The people's provenance was usually not recorded in the official contracts of the *grapheion*; see Yiftach 2010: 271. As it was specified for individuals registered in the *metropolis* or other villages exclusively, the clients of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia with unspecified provenance were likely inhabitants of the village.

<sup>560</sup> Cf. *P.Athen.* 35; *P.Oxf.* 10; *P.Ryl.* II 105; 331.

<sup>561</sup> *Metropolitai* are frequently attested in Theadelphian contracts over the second century (11.8 percent), and their usage of the local *grapheion* reached a peak in ca. AD 130-150.

<sup>562</sup> Among 24 papyri bearing the designation "Persian of the Epigone", there are 8 leases, 7 loans, 4 agreements of deposit, 2 sales, 1 labour contract, and 1 marriage contract; the remaining contracts are hard to identify. A similar picture resulted from the analysis of the production of the *grapheion* of Tebtynis; see Langellotti 2020a: 80-81.

<sup>563</sup> Vandorpe 2008: 103; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 184-191; Lerouxel 2016: 70-72.

<sup>564</sup> Many documents written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia were part of private archives: eleven texts belonging to the archive of Soterichos and Didymos (*P.Soter.* 1-7, 22, 25, 27; *P.Turner* 21); thirteen texts of the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos (*P.Corn.* 40; *P.Meyer* 5; 7; 33; *P.Oslo.* III 131; *P.Ryl.* II 98a; 324; 330; 332; *P.Stras.* IV 203; *PSI* V 458; *SB* IV 7393; VI 9093); a labour contract belonging to the Euhemerian archive of Epagathos, manager of the estate of Lucius Bellenus Gemellus (*P.Oxf.* 10), six documents of the archive of Heron son of Hermas (*P.Col.* X 255; *P.Mich.* inv. 779; 1330; *P.Oslo.* II 39; *SB* XIV 12105; *SB* XXII 15611), and two texts of the archive of Heron son of Dioskoros (*P.Oslo.* III 131 and *SB* IV 7466). On these archives, see TM Arch 569; 685; Claytor-Mirończuk 2015: 193-194; Smolders 2015b: 132-136; Smolders 2015f: 379-380.

Soterichos and Heron son of Hermas) and the *élite* of the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites” (e.g. the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos) alike attended the *grapheion*.

As well as individual villagers, some boards of liturgical officers and the voluntary associations of Theadelphia also relied on the scribes of the writing office. This is demonstrated by two documents drafted in the *grapheion* between AD 153/154 and 173: an oath of three fishermen (*alieis*) to the *strategos*,<sup>565</sup> and a sworn declaration of the *komogrammateus* and four village elders.<sup>566</sup>

To summarise, in this section I have investigated the activity of the *grapheion* of the Theadelphia in the second century AD to highlight its importance as a centre of social aggregation. On the one hand, I have detected the scribal staff and recognised three notaries, five assistants, and twelve professional scribes working as *hypographeis*. On the other, I analysed the clients of the writing office: people of all genders, provenances, and socio-economic classes frequented the *grapheion*, but mostly young adult men from the village. As the scribes working in the *grapheion* were usually villagers of Theadelphia themselves, their connections with the inhabitants of the area went beyond the professional relationship worker-client. Proof of this comes, for instance, from the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos and descendants”: as two official contracts, drafted nine years apart for two different members of the family, were written by the same scribe of the *grapheion*,<sup>567</sup> it is likely that the family resorted to that scribe as they trusted him as well as that bureau.<sup>568</sup>

#### 4. The *Grapheion* of Theadelphia in a Wider Administrative and Notarial Context

As demonstrated above, the *grapheion* was a public office at the service of the village, releasing whatever documents the villagers needed to carry out their activities in a highly bureaucratic system. In the following, I will explore the network of relationships of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia inside and outside the village to demonstrate that its business was not independent of the administrative network of the nome but was part of it.

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<sup>565</sup> *P.Athen.* 35.

<sup>566</sup> *P.Meyer* 4.

<sup>567</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 330 (no. 9) and 332 (no. 17).

<sup>568</sup> Cf. Youtie (a) 1975b: 219-220; Claytor 2014a: 202; Langellotti 2020a: 51.

First, by examining the connections of the writing office with the bureau of the village scribe, I will investigate to what extent the *grapheion* was involved in the administration of the village. In the second part, I will expand my research to the entire nome and analyse the relations existing between the *grapheion* of Theadelphia and the writing offices of some neighbouring villages (Polydeukia and Sethrempais, Magais, and Euhemeria) to shed light on the notarial network of the Fayum.

#### 4. 1. Inside the Village: The *Grapheion* and the Administrative Network

The *grapheion* of Theadelphia had professional connections with the bureau of the *komogrammateus*, the main centre of the administration of Theadelphia. It has been noticed that the *nomographos* probably shared with the *komogrammateus* the contracts registered in the *grapheion*, or abstracts of them, because the village scribe needed this material to fill out registers of people and properties.<sup>569</sup> However, the papyrus evidence from second century Theadelphia sheds light on other aspects of the professional relationships between the two offices. First, as demonstrated by two declarations of birth and death written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia,<sup>570</sup> its scribes could write administrative documents addressed to the *komogrammateus* and essential for updating the records of the village population. Second, two census declarations drafted through the scribal staff of the *grapheion*<sup>571</sup> demonstrate that this office was also involved in the running of the rural censuses.<sup>572</sup>

From AD 33/34, the census was run in fourteen-year cycles: after the edict of the *Praefectus Aegypti* was issued, the officials responsible visited each village of the *chora* for a limited timeframe to oversee the census; in those periods, villagers had to personally register themselves and their households through census declarations.<sup>573</sup> It has been generically pointed out that the census declarations were drafted by professional scribes,<sup>574</sup>

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<sup>569</sup> Toepel 1973: 61; Langellotti 2020a: 47.

<sup>570</sup> *P.Fay.* 28 is a notice of birth dated to AD 150/151, written by the notary Ammonios on behalf of two citizens of Arsinoe; *P.Ryl.* II 105 is a notification of death drafted in AD 136 by a scribe of the writing office of Theadelphia on behalf of a woman of Sethrempais.

<sup>571</sup> *P.Lond.* III 1221 is a census declaration written by the notary N2 (H4 in Appendix I 2. *Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia*) in AD 104/105; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 16a is a census declaration dated to AD 161 and written through the *grapheion* of Theadelphia.

<sup>572</sup> As a parallel, *P.Mich.* III 178 is a census declaration written in AD 119 by Heras, the *nomographos* of the *grapheion* of Bakchias, for Horos son of Horos, a public farmer and land tenant in the village; see Smolders 2015d: 176-180.

<sup>573</sup> Montevecchi 1976: 72; Bagnall-Frier 1994: 11-18; Derda 2019: 63-64.

<sup>574</sup> Bagnall-Frier 1994: 18.

but the documentation from Theadelphia provides further insight into their profiles. As the census declarations were usually written by the *grammateis* and *boethoi* of the *komogrammateus*<sup>575</sup> but scribes of the *grapheion* could also fulfil this task,<sup>576</sup> I believe that the professional scribes of the village - just a few individuals - were employed in both the *grapheion* and the state office.

Strong support for this hypothesis comes from an interesting papyrus written on both sides: a fragment from an index of payments for the poll tax and other capitation taxes dated to AD 130 and belonging to the administrative archive,<sup>577</sup> the back of which was reused by the staff of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia to write the draft of a contract dated to AD 131-137.<sup>578</sup> The two texts, drawn up within a few years of each other, show that the administrative bureau of the village had regular contacts with the *grapheion*, with which it shared reusable papyri. It is likely that the supply of papyrus in the two offices was managed by their scribal staff.<sup>579</sup> If so, the *grapheion* and the administrative office of Theadelphia could easily have shared writing material, as this was provided by the individuals that both hired as professional scribes.

#### 4. 2. Outside the Village: The *Grapheion* and Other Writing Offices in the Division of Themistos

In the period spanning from the late first century to the second century AD, the *grapheion* of Theadelphia was part of a larger notarial network. In the division of Themistos, it included at least seven *grapheia*, located at Dionysias, Euhemeria, Theadelphia, Polydeukia, Magais, Herakleia, and Apias.<sup>580</sup> Evidence for the relationships between the

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<sup>575</sup> See Chapter IV 4. *The Administrative Archive and the State Office*.

<sup>576</sup> The hands attested in the census declarations usually appear in the official contracts registered in the writing offices too; see Bagnall-Frier 1994: 18.

<sup>577</sup> *P.Cair.Gad* 4; see Gad 2016: 49-63.

<sup>578</sup> *P.Cair.Gad* 9; see Gad 2016: 100-112.

<sup>579</sup> As it was the *nomographos* who provided the *grapheion*'s supply of papyrus rolls, it is likely that in the administrative offices too the scribes themselves managed the provision of writing items; see Langellotti 2020a: 41-43.

<sup>580</sup> On the *grapheion* of Dionysias, cf. *P.Lond.* II 289; 293. On that of Philagris, cf. On that of Herakleia, cf. *BGU* I 277; XI 2046; 2049; *Chr.Mitt.* 159; 160; 237; *P.Amh.* II 111; *P.Flor.* III 302; *P.Lond.* II 308; *P.Louvre* II 113; *P.Prag.* I 31; *P.Ryl.* II 155; *P.Stras.* VI 582; VIII 746; *Stud.Pal.* XXII 45; 46. On that of Apias, cf. *P.Mert.* III 120; *P.Meyer* 13.

notaries of these writing offices is scarce.<sup>581</sup> However, some documents produced in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia reveal the existence of ties with the writing offices of Polydeukia and Sethrempais, Magais, and Euhemeria. In the following, I will explore those relationships to shed further light on the notarial environment of the division of Themistos.

At the end of the first century AD, the village of Polydeukia had its own *grapheion*, which served the neighbouring village of Sethrempais as well.<sup>582</sup> A vital source on it is a fragment of an *eiromenon* dated to AD 88-96, where the full name of the *grapheion* of Polydeukia and Sethrempais is recorded.<sup>583</sup> Three extant official contracts were registered in this writing office: a sale of a calf dated to AD 81-95,<sup>584</sup> a receipt for sale of grazing rights dated to AD 95,<sup>585</sup> and a sale of beans dated to the same year.<sup>586</sup> They seem to witness the existence of a short-lived writing office, established around AD 95.

As one of those contracts and the *eiromenon* were discovered in the village of Theadelphia,<sup>587</sup> the *grapheion* of Polydeukia was somehow connected with that of Theadelphia. More is revealed by a palaeographical analysis of these contracts. The hand of the notary of the *grapheion* of Polydeukia, who likely wrote the aforesaid *eiromenon*, is also attested in a contract registered in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia in AD 82.<sup>588</sup> This would suggest that this notary, trained as a scribe in the writing office of Theadelphia, leased the concession for the *grapheion* of Polydeukia around AD 95, and then moved back to his village bringing with him the above-mentioned register.

To conclude, the *grapheion* of Polydeukia was established for a brief period around AD 95 (for 7-8 years at most), perhaps to satisfy a larger request for rural control, advanced by the Roman government.<sup>589</sup> In the second century AD, after the disappearance of the writing

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<sup>581</sup> The *grapheion* of Soknopaiou Nesos had strong connections with that of Herakleia, and the writing office of Tebtynis was linked to that of Talei and Theogonis; see Hobson 1985: 104-106; Langellotti 2020b: 97 n. 23.

<sup>582</sup> Polydeukia, located in the division of Themistos east of Theadelphia, is rather underrepresented in the papyrus evidence: sixty-one published texts were written or found in Polydeukia, and most of them date to the third century AD. Sethrempais was located south of Polydeukia, and is the place of provenance of eight published papyri. On these villages, see TM Geo 1887; 2122; Römer 2019: 100.

<sup>583</sup> *P.Fay.* 344, r. 1 γραφί(σ) Πολυδευκ(είας) καὶ Σεθρενπάει; see Claytor 2013: 87-118.

<sup>584</sup> *SB XXIV* 16314.

<sup>585</sup> *BGU XV* 2551.

<sup>586</sup> *P.Meyer* 7 (no. 2).

<sup>587</sup> *P.Fay.* 344 r.; *P.Meyer* 7 (no. 2).

<sup>588</sup> *P.Athen.* 23. On the identification of the hand of the scribe of *P.Fay.* 344 r. in *P.Athen.* 23, see Claytor 2013: 87.

<sup>589</sup> The largest number of *grapheia* in the Fayum is attested at the end of the first century AD, when villages experienced a higher bureaucratisation; see Yiftach-Firanko 2009: 549-550.

office of Polydeukia and Sethrempais, the inhabitants of those villages resorted to the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, as suggested by a notification of death issued by a woman from Sethrempais, which was drafted by a scribe of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia in AD 136.<sup>590</sup>

The writing office of the village of Magais, located south of Euhemeria and Hermou Polis,<sup>591</sup> is recalled in a repayment of a loan written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia in AD 133.<sup>592</sup> As the writing office of Magais is attested in the above-mentioned papyrus only, it was possibly active for a limited period in the 120s and 130s, but its connections with the *grapheion* of Theadelphia are unclear.

Finally, the village of Euhemeria had its own writing office. Mentioned once in the late Ptolemaic period,<sup>593</sup> it is attested as a long-lasting institution from AD 39 to 158,<sup>594</sup> but a *nomographos* named Eudaimon son of Heron also appears in a tax register from Euhemeria dated AD 165.<sup>595</sup> Nine notaries of the *grapheion* of Euhemeria are mentioned by name (Table 5. 2).

Table 5. 2. The notaries of the *grapheion* of Euhemeria

Notary	Papyrus	Date (AD)	Content
Ptolemaios son of Didymos	<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 147, 3-5	39	Petition to the chief of police
...	<i>P.Fay.</i> 97, r. 46	78	Receipt for a share of an inheritance
Heraklides	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 289, 39	91	Contract of purchase of a house
Heron	<i>P.Fay.</i> 91, 46	99	Contract for labour in an oil-press
Heraklides	<i>P.Hamb.</i> I 64, 32	104	Contract of <i>misthosis</i> of land
Heron	<i>P.Fay.</i> 98, r. 28	123	Receipt for the rent of a house
Didymos	<i>P.Oslo.</i> II 36, 15 <sup>596</sup>	145	Contract for building a mud wall around a palm-grove
Sa...s	<i>P.Fay.</i> 24, 19	158	Oath concerning an edict
Eudaimon son of Heron	<i>P.Stras.</i> IX 866, col. II 13	165	Tax-register

<sup>590</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 105. The hand of *P.Ryl.* II 105 corresponds to H6 in Appendix I 2. *Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia.*

<sup>591</sup> TM Geo 1283; Mueller 2006: 206 n. 54.

<sup>592</sup> *P.Sel.Warga.* 5, 15-16; see Warga 1994: 79-80.

<sup>593</sup> *P.Fay.* 240 descr., a loan of radish seed dated to BC 74, published by Claytor 2014b: 101-107.

<sup>594</sup> *P.Fay.* 97, r. 46-47 and *P.Fay.* 24, 19.

<sup>595</sup> *P.Stras.* IX 866, col. II 13.

<sup>596</sup> On the reedition of ll. 15-16, see Hagedorn 1997: 223-224.



According to the extant documentation, the *grapheia* of Euhemeria and Theadelphia were independent of each other but, as they belonged to the notarial net of the division of Themistos, they had collaborative relations. These are evident, for instance, in a labour contract written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia in AD 98-102 for an inhabitant of Euhemeria,<sup>597</sup> and a *cheirographon* of a Theadelphian villager probably drafted in the *grapheion* of Euhemeria.<sup>598</sup> The documents highlight the economic ties existing between the two villages: Theadelphian inhabitants registered in the *grapheion* of Euhemeria contracts concerning their businesses in that village, and *vice versa*.<sup>599</sup> However, the writing office of Euhemeria had contacts with the administrative environment of Theadelphia, too. An *eiromenon* written by the *nomographos* of Euhemeria in AD 98-117,<sup>600</sup> later imported in Theadelphia and reused on the back to compile a list of tenants of land,<sup>601</sup> proves that the scribal staff of the *grapheion* of Euhemeria shared writing material with the state office of Theadelphia, according to a practice common to the administrative bureaux of the Fayum.<sup>602</sup>

To sum up, I have demonstrated that the *grapheion* was part of the administrative environment of Theadelphia, but its contacts branched out beyond the village. The administrative function of the *grapheion* in the village is evident in the collaborative relationships between the writing office and the office of the village scribe. As the *grapheion* was the writing centre of all the documentation required, the scribes of this office could fulfil the production of paperwork related to some administrative duties of the *komogrammateus*, such as the running of the census and the registration of the rural population and their properties. Moreover, since the scribes working in the writing offices were able to write documents specific to the office of the *komogrammateus*, the two offices likely hired the same professional scribes, through whom they could easily share papyrus rolls.

At a wider level, the *grapheion* of Theadelphia belonged to the notarial network of the division of Themistos (Map 3) and had contacts with the writing offices of some villages

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<sup>597</sup> *P.Oxf.* 10. This contract was written for Epagathos, the estate manager of Lucius Bellienus Gemellus, and kept in his private archive in Euhemeria; see Smolders 2015b: 133.

<sup>598</sup> *P.Oslo.* II 36. As the notary of the *grapheion* of Euhemeria added his statement to describe the first party of this contract, the document was probably written in that writing office.

<sup>599</sup> A relevant parallel is the relationship between the *grapheia* of Herakleia and Soknopaiou Nesos. Although Soknopaiou Nesos had a *grapheion*, its inhabitants are frequently attested in transactions registered in the writing office of Herakleia because they were landowners or had other businesses in that village. See Hobson 1984: 101-102; Hobson 1985: 104-110; Daris 2007: 90.

<sup>600</sup> *P.Stras.* IX 807.

<sup>601</sup> *P.Stras.* IX 852.

<sup>602</sup> The state office of Theadelphia imported reusable rolls from the scribal environments of the whole nome; on this, see Chapter IV 4. *The Administrative Archive and the State Office*.

nearby. In particular, the *grapheion* of Polydeukia was likely established by a scribe trained in Theadelphia, while the *grapheion* of Euhemeria had professional relations not only with the writing office of Theadelphia but also with the state office of the village, to which it exported blank paper.

Map. 3. The notarial network of the division of Themistos in the second century AD<sup>603</sup>



## 5. Relevance of the *Grapheion* of Theadelphia: A Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated the *grapheion* of Theadelphia in the first-second century AD to draft a broader economic and social picture of the village and better sketch its administrative environment. The *grapheion* of Theadelphia was an important institution between the end of the first century and the first half of the second century, when the village held a prominent administrative role in the Fayoum. Active until the 170s, the writing office disappeared before AD 193. Since the late first century, it was headed by three *nomographoi*, assisted by a staff of professional scribes: the first notary (N1) managed the writing office in ca. AD 71-103, his successor (N2) in ca. AD 105-139, and the notary Ammonios from AD 139-146 to the 160s.

The *grapheion* had a threefold value in the village. First, it was the main centre of production of written documentation: a group of sixty-nine papyri was written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, mainly registered contracts, but also *cheirographa*,

<sup>603</sup> The map is from Römer 2019. Here I have marked only the *grapheia* attested for a long period in the second century AD.

*hypomnemata*, oaths, sworn declarations, petitions, declarations of census, birth, and death. Second, it was a centre of social aggregation and village life, open to anyone from the village and elsewhere. Third, it was part of the administrative environment of the village. Not only did the *grapheion* collaborate with the state office headed by the *komogrammateus* in the production of paperwork needed to control the population and their properties (e.g., census declarations, notifications of birth and death), but the two offices also shared professional scribes and writing material. Furthermore, the writing office of Theadelphia was part of a larger notarial network, distributed across the whole territory of the Fayum to control and promote the economy of the region. Evidence survives on its connections with other *grapheia* of the division of Themistos: the writing office of Polydeukia and Sethrempais was set up by a Theadelphian scribe for a brief time; that of Euhemeria, independent of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, nevertheless had professional connections with the administrative bureau of the village.

To conclude, this study highlighted the economic, social, and administrative relevance of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia in the village and the entire nome. The writing office was likely the most frequented centre of Theadelphia. At the basis of the popularity of the *grapheion* was a relationship of trust between the staff of the writing office and the whole Theadelphian community, to which those professional scribes belonged. Sociology of Fayum villagers is nevertheless hard to detect, as the papyrus evidence mostly witnesses the practicalities of village life at the expense of the interpersonal bonds, an equally fundamental component of life in Roman Egypt. Hence, in the next section (Chapters VI and VII) I will focus on specific people to investigate their profiles, statuses, relational ties, and professional positions through the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”.

## CHAPTER VI. THE FAMILY OF APHRODISIOS SON OF PHILIPPOS: FOUR GENERATIONS OF UPPER-CLASS LANDOWNERS

The main features of the history of second-century Egypt were an administrative and economic reorganization in the wake of continuity with the pre-existent Ptolemaic structures,<sup>604</sup> and an ideological and cultural re-foundation. One might think of the Hellenizing policy of Emperor Hadrian, which changed the topography of the province through the creation of Antinoopolis, the fourth Greek city of Egypt.<sup>605</sup> Fellow-protagonists of this history were not only the high-ranking officers of Alexandria, but also the upper-class inhabitants of more peripheral centres, such as the *metropolis* and villages in the Fayum. The so-called archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos and descendants” is one of the first-hand sources on the social *élite* in the *chora*, the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites”.<sup>606</sup> As it belonged to four generations of a family active at Theadelphia between the end of the first century and the ‘60s of the second century AD, it gives a glimpse into village life in the seventy years encompassed between the reign of Domitianus and that of Antoninus Pius. Due to the variety of its documents, the archive provides insight into the professional lives, the economic activities, and the private affairs of the family, and shows to what extent their familial and economic strategies adapted to the socio-political changes affecting the entire region.

This chapter aims at investigating the history of the family, an unrivaled example of the life of the upper-class villagers in the Fayum in the second century AD. As it will be

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<sup>604</sup> Capponi 2005: 25; Rathbone 2013: 84-85; Bagnall 2021: 53. A different view is supported by Monson, who interpreted the reliance on the upper-class villagers for the administration of the *chora* through the liturgical system as “one of the quintessential features of Roman imperialism”; Monson 2012: 236.

<sup>605</sup> Malouta 2009a: 82-83; Jördens 2012b: 253; Bagnall 2021: 48-49.

<sup>606</sup> Only seven members of the family are explicitly assigned to the group of the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites”: Aphrodisios II in *CUA* H. H. 1 2 *recto*; *P.Meyer* 8 (no. 22); *SB* XXII 15336; Didymarion and Apion in *CUA* H. H. 1 2 *verso* and *SB* XXII 15336; Philippos IV in *SB* IV 7393 (no. 27); Chares, Didymos and Atarios in *P.Meyer* 9 (no. 21). However, nineteen individuals must have belonged to this category according to its hereditary nature: Philippos I, Aphrodisios I, Philippos II, Philippos III, Heraklia, Charition I, Atarios, Tertia, Didymos, Herois, Athenarion II, Ptolemaeus, Didymarion, Apion, Chairemon, Dionysarion, Dionysios, Ka... (the mother of Dionysarion), Charition II. Some women have been wrongly assigned to the group by Canducci: Sarapias and Nike did not belong to the 6,475; the status of Charition/Theodotes and Didyme is uncertain as no information about their mothers is available; cf. Canducci 1991: 134 n. 114, 138 n. 142, 176 n. 409 and 194 n. 537. On the hereditary character of the membership to the group, see Canducci 1990: 227-228; Broux 2013a: 147.

demonstrated, the family went through three phases: they experienced economic growth until the beginning of the second century; in the first half of the second century, they reached a socio-economic *floruit*; finally, in the 160s the last generation of the family suffered an economic crisis which resulted in the family's decline. Therefore, after a preliminary reconstruction of the family's genealogy, I will explore the rise and fall of the family. This will lead to broader discussions of some socio-historical aspects of second-century Fayum, such as the administrative function of the *élite* of the 6,475, the socio-demographical results of the foundation of Antinoopolis in the villages of the *chora*, and some landholding strategies at Theadelphia that may challenge the largely accepted view of the originality of the Fayum.

The following investigation will base not only on the papyri of the archive, ranging from AD 88/89 to 161, but also on some administrative documents from second century Theadelphia. Since this papyrus material is plentiful and often difficult to interpret, it is worth here summarising the documents' distribution by character (Table 6. 1). In chronological order, the keepers of the archive were Aphrodisios I, Philippos III, Aphrodisios II, and Philippos IV.<sup>607</sup> Also, I have merged the documents related to Athenarion I with the rest of the archive, as she married Philippos III.

Table 6. 1. Distribution of the papyri related to the family of the archive of "Aphrodisios son of Philippos and descendants"

Individual	Life span (AD)	Documents kept by them	Mentions in the papyrus evidence
Philippos I			<i>P.Mey.</i> 7, r. 7
Philippos II	34-42 - †?		<i>BASP</i> 50 89; <i>BGU</i> IX 1897, col. I 9; <i>P.Fay.</i> 344 recto; <i>PSI</i> VI 697
Aphrodisios I	41 - †?	<i>P.Mey.</i> 7; <i>P.Stras.</i> IV 203	<i>CUA</i> H. H. 1 02, r. 4; v. 1, 4; <i>P.Fay.</i> 81; <i>P.Mey.</i> 5; 7, r. 6; 9; <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 202a; <i>P.Stras.</i> IV 203, 5, 12; <i>SB</i> XXII 15336, 3
Philippos III	72 - † 121-125	<i>P.Mey.</i> 5; <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 202a	<i>CUA</i> H. H. 1 02, r. 4; v. 1, 4; <i>P.Corn.</i> 40; <i>P.Fay.</i> 81; <i>P.Mey.</i> 5; 6; <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 202a; <i>SB</i> IV 7393; XXII 15336, 3

<sup>607</sup> Smolders presented an incomplete stemma of the family but recognised the same individuals as the keepers of the archive; see Smolders 2015a: 60.

Athenarion I	73-77 - †?	<i>P.Corn.</i> 40; <i>P.Fay.</i> 81; <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 330; <i>SB</i> XVIII 13091	<i>CUA</i> H. H. 1 02, r. 14; <i>BGU</i> IX 1896, col. XIV 314; <sup>608</sup> 1897, col. II 28; <sup>609</sup> <i>P.Corn.</i> 40; <i>P.Fay.</i> 81; <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 192a; 330; <i>SB</i> XVIII 13091; XXII 15336, 4, 11
Leonides	68 - †?	<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 131	<i>P.Corn.</i> 40; <i>P.Oslo.</i> III 131
Charition I	Ca. 60s - †?		<i>P.Mey.</i> 9
Atarios			<i>P.Mey.</i> 9
Chares	84 - †		<i>P.Mey.</i> 9
Herois	106 - †		<i>BGU</i> IX 1986, col. V 112; 1897, col. I 13; <i>P.Mey.</i> 9
Ptolemaios	? - † before 150		<i>BGU</i> IX 1896, col. XV 349; 1898, col. IX 189; <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 202a
Aphrodisios II	94-103 - †?	<i>P.Mey.</i> 6; <i>P.Mey.</i> 9; <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 324; 332; <i>SB</i> VI 9093; XVIII 13091; XXII 15336	<i>BGU</i> IX 1898, VII 146; 1899, col. II 37; XXII 2905, col. XII 9; col. XVI 13; XXII 2909, col. III 33; <i>CUA</i> H. H. 1 02, r. 4, 9; v. 1, 4; <i>P.Col.</i> V I v. 6, col. II 16; <i>P.Mey.</i> 6; 8; 9; <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 98a; 202a; 324; 332; <i>PSI</i> V 458; <i>SB</i> IV 7393; VI 9093; XVIII 13091; XXII 15336, 3, 5, 7
Sarapias	? † after 165/166		<i>BGU</i> IX 1896, col. XIII 303; col. XIV 313-314; 1897, col. I 9; 1899, col. II 35; XXII 2911, 2; <sup>610</sup> <i>CUA</i> H. H. 1 02, r. 5, 7, 14; <i>P.Mey.</i> 8; <i>SB</i> XXII 15336, 4, 11
Didymarion	? - † 131/132		<i>BGU</i> IX 1986, col. XV 342-344; <i>CUA</i> H. H. 1 02, r. 12; v. 6; <i>P.Mey.</i> 8; <i>SB</i> XXII 15336, 9
Philippos IV	126/127 - †?	<i>P.Mey.</i> 8; 9; 10; <i>P.Ryl.</i> II 98a; <i>PSI</i> V 458; <i>SB</i> IV 7393	<i>BGU</i> IX 1896, col. XV 342-344; XXII 2905, col. XII 9; col. XVI 13; XXII 2909, col. III 33; 2911, 2; <i>CUA</i> H. H. 1 02, r. 12-13; v. 1, 6;

<sup>608</sup> On the mention of Athenarion I in *BGU* IX 1896, XIV 314, see Youtie (b) 1975: 258-259.

<sup>609</sup> On the supplement Ἀθηνάριος(ν) πρεσβ(υτέρα) [Ἡρώ]δ(ου) in *BGU* IX 1897, see Youtie (b) 1975: 258.

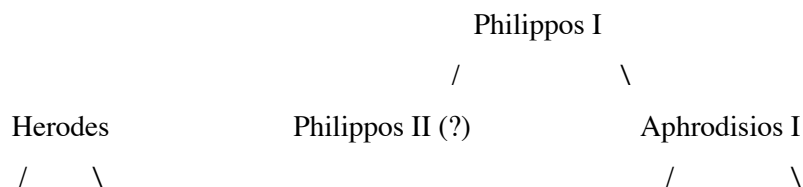
<sup>610</sup> On the identification of Sarapias daughter of Philippos as the nephew of Aphrodisios, see Kambitsis 2018: 134 n. 2.

			<i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> I 4, v. col. X 4; I 14, 16-17; <i>P.Col.</i> V 1 v. 2, col. XVII 246; <i>PSI</i> VII 793, col. VII 74; <i>P.Stras.</i> IX 830, 5; 847, 4; <i>SB</i> XXII 15336, 10
Charition II	125/126 - †?		<i>BGU</i> IX 1896, col. II 42; XXII 2910, col. II 10; <i>CUA</i> H. H. 1 02, r. 13; v. 1, 6; <i>P.Mey.</i> 8; 9; <i>SB</i> XXII 15336, 11; XX 14239, 27

## 1. Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy

To lay the groundwork for the following discussion, I will untie the tangled net of the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos first. The reconstruction of the genealogy of the four generations attested by the documents of the archive sheds light on an interesting social pattern, running in the family from generation to generation: recurring to marriage strategies. As the 6,475 were granted the fiscal privilege of paying the poll tax at the levied rate of 20 drachmas instead of 40,<sup>611</sup> their main interest was preserving their membership to this class over time.<sup>612</sup> Therefore, while piecing together the family's genealogy, I will discuss their conservative marriage strategies, which aimed at accumulating properties without compromising their status. To make the reading of this section easier, I first present my updated stemma of the family.

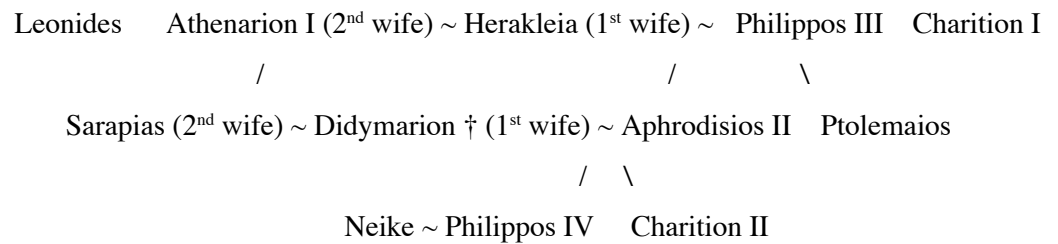
### Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos<sup>613</sup>



<sup>611</sup> Wallace 1938: 109-134.

<sup>612</sup> Canducci 1990: 244.

<sup>613</sup> This stemma of the family differs from the previous ones mainly about three individuals: Philippos I is here the founder of the family, Sarapias is the wife of Aphrodisios II, and Athenarion daughter of Heraklides is a villager external to the family. On the earlier stemmas of the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos, see Meyer 1916: 31; Canducci 1990: 247, stemma 9; Smolders 2015a: 64.



Our story starts with Philippos I, the earliest member of the family, documented in our evidence simply as the father of Aphrodisios I.<sup>614</sup> It is unclear whether the man had other sons too. If so, another son of Philippos I may be a Philippos II, more or less of the same age as Aphrodisios I, attested in a register of contracts from the *grapheion* of Polydeukia and Sethrempais dated to ca. AD 95.<sup>615</sup> It says that this Philippos was born in AD 34-42 and had a scar on his right eyebrow, and illustrates his activity as a lender of money and purchaser of crops.<sup>616</sup> The same Philippos son of Philippos was perhaps the former owner of around 4 arouras of private land mentioned in a division of properties probably dated to the first half of the second century,<sup>617</sup> and the father of another Aphrodisios, appearing in a register of tax payments of AD 165/166.<sup>618</sup> However, as no documents explicitly suggest the brotherhood of Aphrodisios I and Philippos II, the hypothesis presented above cannot be confirmed.

Aphrodisios I was born in ca. AD 41 and was identified by a scar on his left eyebrow.<sup>619</sup> The extant documents are mostly sources on his activity as a borrower of money in AD 88/89-95.<sup>620</sup> Documents become richer of information concerning Philippos III, son of Aphrodisios I. Born around AD 72 and died sometime in AD 121-125,<sup>621</sup> Philippos III was

<sup>614</sup> *P.Meyer* 7 (no. 2), r. 7.

<sup>615</sup> *P.Fay.* 344 *recto*, 4, 37, 39, 42, and 45. On this register, see Chapter V 4. 2. *Outside the Village: The Grapheion and Other Writing Offices in the Division of Themistos*.

<sup>616</sup> On Philippos son of Philippos, see Claytor 2013: 86.

<sup>617</sup> *PSI* VI 697, 5. The document, attributed generically to the second century AD from the editor, might be dated to the first half of the century based on the prosopographical evidence. Heraklides son of Aphrodisios, who is mentioned in *PSI* VI 697, 2, might be the father of Dios in *P.Col.* II 1 r. 1a, col. II 13, a register of tax payments to the *praktōres argyrikon* of AD 134-135. The other villager appearing in *PSI* VI 697, 2, Seuthes son of Papos, could be the individual mentioned in *BGU* IX 1896, col. II 42; 1897, col. V 101; *SB* XX 14239, 28, and registered in *BGU* IX 1898, col. X 199, which is dated to the first half of the second century; cf. France 2000: 101.

<sup>618</sup> *BGU* IX 1897, col. I 9 Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) Φιλίπ(που) τοῦ Φιλίπ(που) πρὸς(ς) Σαραπ(ιάδα) Φιλίπ(που). In this register, an Aphrodisios is the former taxpayer of the *oktadrachmos spondes Dionysiou*, subsequently charged on Sarapias daughter of Philippos III. This may imply a kinship between this Aphrodisios and his father Philippos son of Philippos with the family of the archive.

<sup>619</sup> *P.Meyer* 7 (no. 2), r. 6-7.

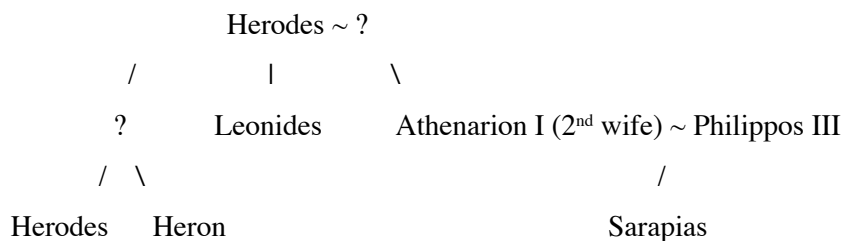
<sup>620</sup> *P.Stras.* IV 203 (no. 1); *P.Meyer* 7 (no. 2).

<sup>621</sup> *P.Corn.* 40 (no. 4), 9-10; *P.Meyer* 6 (no. 8). See also Smolders 2015a: 61-64.



a landowner in the village,<sup>622</sup> and a member of the group of the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites”. At the end of the first century AD, he married a woman from his social class, Herakleia daughter of Heraklides,<sup>623</sup> and they had two sons, Aphrodisios II and Ptolemaios. It is obscure whether Herakleia died or divorced her husband, but before AD 105 Philippos III remarried Athenarion I, the elder daughter of Herodes, who gave birth to a daughter, Sarapias.<sup>624</sup> As this woman did not belong to the group of the 6,475 but was a member of a well-off family of the village (see stemma 2), her marriage with Philippos III represented a strategy to unify the two families for economic interests: ever since, their properties were indissolubly merged, and Athenarion I managed Philippos III’s land also after his death.<sup>625</sup>

Stemma 2. The family of Athenarion I<sup>626</sup>



To ensure the continuity of the membership to the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites”, Charition I, sister of Philippos III, married Atarios son of Dionysios, an important man of the village belonging to the same *élite*. Around AD 84, the two spouses gave birth to Chares.<sup>627</sup> However, the union of Charition I and Atarios did not last forever: after AD 84, for unknown reasons Atarios remarried another woman from the 6,475, Tertia daughter of Didymos, and they birthed a daughter, Herois. In order to prevent the dispersion of the familial property, the family followed a well-known close-kin marriage strategy: Chares

<sup>622</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 202a (no. 5).

<sup>623</sup> The name of this woman may be supplied in *SB* XXII 15336 (no. 11), 3.

<sup>624</sup> Cf. *CUA* H. H. 1 02 *recto* (no. 10), 7; *P.Corn.* 40 (no. 4); *SB* XXII 15336 (no. 11), 4, 11.

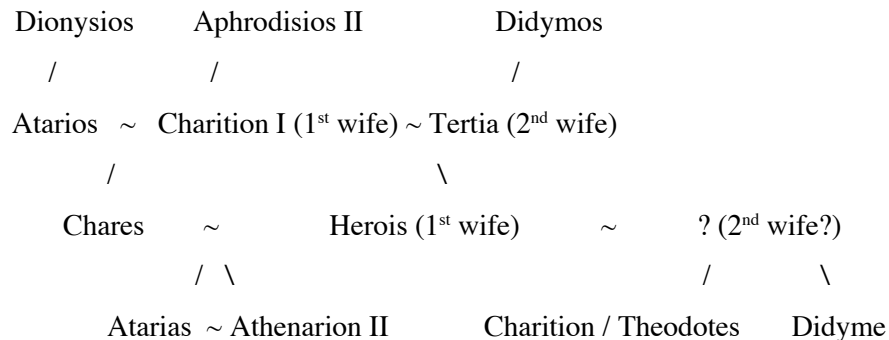
<sup>625</sup> A long-lasting involvement of Athenarion I in the management of the properties of our family is shown by *P.Fay.* 81 (no. 6), a receipt of AD 105 in which Athenarion I paid the taxes for *sitologia* for her husband’s land, and *SB* XVIII 13091 (no. 20), a receipt of AD 146 in which the woman paid some land taxes to the *praktōres* also on behalf of her stepson Aphrodisios II.

<sup>626</sup> The reconstruction of the family of Athenarion I follows *P.Corn.* 40 (no. 4) and *P.Oslo.* III 131 (no. 7).

<sup>627</sup> On the reconstruction of the birth date of Chares, son of Atarios, see *P.Meyer* 9 (no. 21), n. 6.

married his stepsister Herois, and they had two children, Atarias and Athenarion II (see Stemma 3).<sup>628</sup>

Stemma 3. The family of Charition I<sup>629</sup>



Philippos III's had at least two sons. Very little is known about Ptolemaios. Landowner in the village, he was a minor in AD 108 and thus slightly younger than his brother Aphrodisios II.<sup>630</sup> Ptolemaios died before AD 127/128 or 148/149, as in a register dating to one of those years another individual paid some land taxes owed by him.<sup>631</sup> Aphrodisios II, the older son of Philippos III, is the protagonist of the archive. He was born in AD 98-103 based on most documents of the archive,<sup>632</sup> or in AD 94 according to a receipt of *sitologia* of AD 108.<sup>633</sup> Liturgist at Theadelphia,<sup>634</sup> Aphrodisios II reached the highest social position in the family, as he was awarded the citizenship in Antinoopolis.<sup>635</sup> Like his father, he married twice. His first wife, Didymarion daughter of Apion, was one of the 6,475 and gave birth to two sons, Philippos IV and his sister Charition II (see Stemma 4). In AD 131/132

<sup>628</sup> Ideologically, a union between half-siblings from the father was not labelled as an incest, as it did not cross the limits of uterine parenthood, which had to remain inviolate and asexual according to the Solonian laws; see Rowlandson-Takahashi 2009: 107-109.

<sup>629</sup> The stemma, presented by Meyer, follows *P.Meyer* 9 (no. 21), a census declaration dated to AD 147; see *P.Mey.*: p. 31. Charition alias Theodotes and Didyme were the illegitimate offspring of Chares or children born from a second wife.

<sup>630</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 202a (no. 5).

<sup>631</sup> *BGU* IX 1898, col. IX 189. It dates to the twelfth year of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius; see France 2000: 97.

<sup>632</sup> *CUA* H. H. 1. 02 (no. 10); *P.Ryl.* II 332 (no. 17); 324 (no. 18); *SB* VI 9093 (no. 16); *SB* XXII 15336 (no. 11).

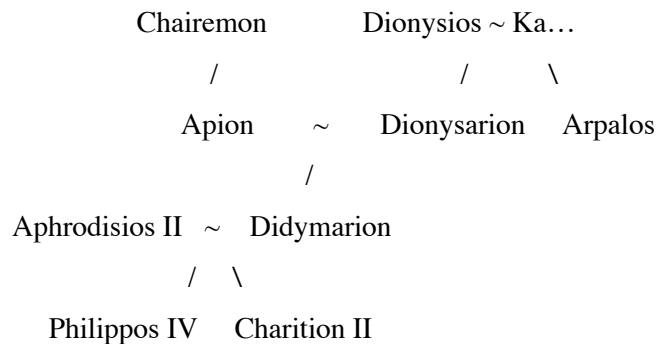
<sup>633</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 202a (no. 5). As in the receipt Aphrodisios II appears as a taxpayer, he must have been already of adult age by AD 108.

<sup>634</sup> On the liturgical offices performed by Aphrodisios II, see below Chapter IV 2. *Evidence of Growth: Social Status, Wealth, and Liturgies.*

<sup>635</sup> On this, see below Chapter IV 2. *Evidence of Growth: Social Status, Wealth, and Liturgies.*

Didymarion died,<sup>636</sup> and Aphrodisios II followed a marriage pattern usual in his family and married his stepsister Sarapias.<sup>637</sup> However, as I will demonstrate later, this marriage aimed at bringing together the properties belonging to the respective families in a new branch of the family, which would have inherited the Antinoite citizenship.<sup>638</sup> This strategy led to undesired consequences for Philippos IV and Charition II, as Sarapias will become the legitimate owner of most of the familial properties.

Stemma 4. The family of Didymarion<sup>639</sup>



Philippos IV was born around AD 126-127,<sup>640</sup> and took part in the administration of Theadelphia by performing liturgical offices in the village.<sup>641</sup> In a historical period of progressive municipalization, the family attempted to a further social leap by establishing familial connections with the Alexandrian *élites*. Thus, Philippos IV broke the usual

<sup>636</sup> In a draft of a census declaration dated to AD 131/132 Didymarion was alive and in a one-year later declaration was dead; cf. *CUA H. H. 1 02 recto* (no. 10) and *SB XXII 15336* (no. 11). On the date of the death of Didymarion, see the introduction to *CUA H.H. 1. 02 recto* and *verso* (no. 10).

<sup>637</sup> *P.Meyer* 8 (no. 22). As Sarapias is attested with the double name Sarapias alias Athenarion in *P.Meyer* 9 (no. 21), she was identified by Smolders as Athenarion daughter of Heraklides; see Smolders 2015a: 64. However, this hypothesis is disproved by the papyrus evidence. Firstly, Athenarion daughter of Heraklides is always called by her name, without any reference to the name Sarapias; cf. *BGU IX 1896*, col. VI 126; *BGU IX 1897*, col. II 28; *P.Ryl.* II 192a (no. 23); *PSI V 463*. Secondly, in two administrative registers from Theadelphia Athenarion daughter of Heraklides and Sarapias daughter of Philippos are listed with different names in separate entries: Athenarion appears in *BGU IX 1896*, col. VI 126; 1897, col. II 28, while Sarapias in *BGU IX 1896*, col. XIII 303; 1897, col. I 9. Thirdly, the reconstruction of the name Sarapias alias Athenarion in *P.Meyer* 8 depends exclusively on the supplement Σαρα[πιάδι τῆ καὶ Ἀ-|θηναρίῳ proposed by the editor at ll. 8-9. It is therefore possible that Meyer's integration was based on a misreading of the desinence of the name Athenarion, and the correct supplement could have been Σαρα[πιάδι μητρὸς Ἀ-]|θηναρίου.

<sup>638</sup> See below, Chapter VI 4. 1. *A Case of Father-Son Conflict Related to Marriage Policies?*

<sup>639</sup> The genealogy of Didymarion follows *SB XXII 15336*, 9; on the profile of her uncle Arpalos, cf. *BGU IX 1897*, col. II 36.

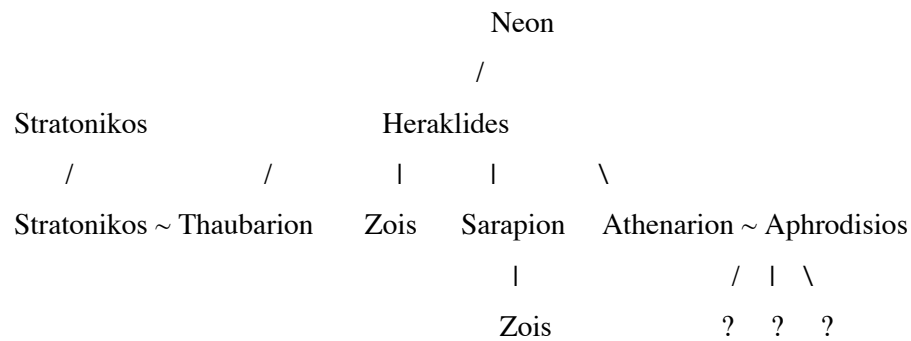
<sup>640</sup> *SB XXII 15336* (no. 11), 10; *CUA H. H. 1. 02 recto* (no. 10), 10.

<sup>641</sup> On the liturgical offices performed by Philippos IV, see below Chapter VI 2. *Evidence of Growth: Social Status, Wealth, and Liturgies.*

marriage patterns of the 6,475 and by AD 147 married Nike, the freedwoman of an Alexandrian citizen.<sup>642</sup> However, because of his father's strategy, Philippos IV fell into economic troubles and never regained the previous wealth.<sup>643</sup>

One last individual to be discussed is a woman, Athenarion daughter of Heraklides. Although Smolders related her to the family of the archive, a real kinship with the family is not explicitly attested in the papyrus evidence.<sup>644</sup> Athenarion daughter of Heraklides was a member of a family of landowners widely attested in the Theadelphia documentation (Stemma 5), which built professional relationships with our family through some landholding strategies that will be investigated later.<sup>645</sup>

Stemma 5. The family of Athenarion daughter of Heraklides<sup>646</sup>



To conclude, I have reconstructed the family's genealogy based on the documents of the archive: some further members have been connected to the family, such as Ptolemaios and perhaps Philippos II, while Athenarion daughter of Heraklides has been excluded from

<sup>642</sup> *SB* IV 7393 (no. 27).

<sup>643</sup> See below, Chapter VI 4. 2. *Socio-Economic Fall of the Family*.

<sup>644</sup> The inclusion of Athenarion daughter of Heraklides in the family was based on *PSI* V 463, a petition dated to AD 158/160, in which Athenarion daughter of Heraklides brought a trial against her husband Aphrodisios, guilty of robbing her of some goods from the paternal heritage. Smolders identified this woman with Sarapias and her husband with Aphrodisios II, but this identification has now been dismantled; cf. n. 637.

<sup>645</sup> Athenarion daughter of Heraklides was a lessee of land from Athenarion I daughter of Herodes, and thus fiscally responsible on her behalf. In *P.Ryl.* II 192a (no. 23), a receipt of land taxes of AD 152, Athenarion daughter of Heraklides was charged the *naubion katoikon* due by Athenarion I; in *BGU* IX 1897, col. II 28, a register of AD 165/166, Athenarion daughter of Heraklides paid the *oktadrachmia spondes Dionysiou* on behalf of Athenarion I daughter of Herodes.

<sup>646</sup> The reconstruction of the family is based on *BGU* IX 1896, col. II 26-27; col. VIII 189; col. X 235; col. XII 264; *BGU* XXII 2911, 4; *P.Ryl.* II 192a (no. 23). Since in *P.Ryl.* II 192a Athenarion daughter of Heraklides paid some land taxes on behalf of Zois daughter of Sarapion, the two women were likely relatives. A kinship with Thaubarion daughter of Heraklides, son of Neon, is suggested by *BGU* IX 1896, col. X 235-236: here, the land taxes for two plots formerly belonging to Thaubarion and Athenarion respectively are recorded in two subsequent entries.

the family. The analysis has also highlighted two key moments in the history of the family. Until the middle of the second century, they enhanced their socio-economic position through marriage policies aimed at preserving their membership to the group of the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites” and accumulating properties. The marriage pattern was always the same. The first marriage was arranged between two members of the 6,475, who would have bequeathed their social position to their sons. This ensured that the direct agnatic line of the family belonged to the *élite* of the 6,475 by descent. As remarriages were a possibility of enrichment, a second wife would have to be wealthy regardless of her social position.

In the second half of the second century AD, the family’s interest shifted to Antinoopolis, and the last generation, residing in Theadelphia, went through a period of decline.<sup>647</sup> No trace of the family is available in the Theadelphian papyri after the spread of the Antonine plague in AD 166/167, which probably claimed victims also in our family. Not only are our sources silent from the ‘70s onwards, but also the archival documentation of the family was probably discarded as useless: sad but firm evidence of the end of our family’s prosperity.<sup>648</sup>

## 2. Evidence of Growth: Social Status, Wealth, and Liturgies

From its annexation to the Empire, Egypt was ruled by absent emperors.<sup>649</sup> To maintain order and ensure the functioning of the province, the Roman government relied on the upper class of Fayum. By analysing the onomastic of the family, their properties in Arsinoe and Theadelphia, and the performance of liturgical jobs in the village, in what follows I will investigate the socio-economic growth of the group of the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites” in the first half of the second century AD. This growth was mostly due to the development of the liturgical system, through which the administration of the villages was entrusted to their *élites*. However, a further boost came from the foundation of Antinoopolis, as its settlers were chosen among the 6,475 because they well represented the Greek character of the city.

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<sup>647</sup> A similar situation is attested for a family of Tebtynis, that of Heraklides alias Valerius (TM ArchID 192). Initially belonging to the 6,475, they lost interest in their status in the Arsinoites after being granted citizenship in Antinoopolis; see Broux 2019: 399-401.

<sup>648</sup> For a reconstruction of the discard of the archival documentation of our family, see Chapter III 3. *Two Archives and One Findspot?*

<sup>649</sup> Bagnall 2021: 49.

As anticipated above, the family of the archive was part of the social *élite* of the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites”.<sup>650</sup> Even though this title probably originated from the fictitious number of a some Ptolemaic military settlers in the nome, it points out the Graecity of the group.<sup>651</sup> The status of the 6,475 as Greeks of Egypt was recognised by the government after the Roman annexation of the country.<sup>652</sup> However, this group gained importance in the first half of the second century AD, when, as we will see below, they were involved in the administrative system of the villages.

My impression is that, for the advantages given by the membership to the Fayum *élite*, the 6,475 aimed at being easily recognisable as members of that group by name. The onomastic analysis of the family, indeed, reveals that they were above all concerned about highlighting their status by remarking the Hellenised character proper of the 6,475. All the main individuals had Greek names, running in families according to a diffused pattern.<sup>653</sup> As was usual for the Fayum inhabitants, the family was prone to adopt names of religious origin,<sup>654</sup> but what matters is that the bulk of the theophoric names refers to the Greek tradition.<sup>655</sup> An interesting onomastic case in the family seems to show the “professional privileges” of the 6,475: the Latin name Tertia was given to the daughter of Didymus, a man belonging to the 6,475. This female name evidently does not point to a Roman family settling in Egypt.<sup>656</sup> Possibly, Tertia’s father became a Roman citizen for special merits in the administrative environment of Alexandria.<sup>657</sup> If so, he had been likely employed in the administration based on his membership to the *élite* of the 6,475.

In order to foster the creation of a landowning *élite* in the Fayum, the Roman government encouraged a gradual privatization of land from the first century AD.<sup>658</sup> The upper classes of

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<sup>650</sup> On the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites”, see Plaumann 1920: 176-183; Zahrt 1988: 669-706; Canducci 1990: 211-255; Canducci 1991: 121-216; Vandorpe 2012: 263; Broux 2013a: 144.

<sup>651</sup> Bowman-Rathbone 1992: 121.

<sup>652</sup> Bagnall 1997: 9-10.

<sup>653</sup> Rowlandson 2004: 156.

<sup>654</sup> Langellotti 2020a: 78.

<sup>655</sup> Athenarion, Aphrodisios, Dionysarion, Dionysios, Heraklides, and Heron. On these names, see TM Nam 1743, 2169, 2801, 2811, 3380, 4550.

<sup>656</sup> Tertia is an isolated case of a Latin name in the family, given to the daughter of an individual with a Greek name. The Romans living in Egypt had all Latin names and kept on being identified through the distinctive *duo* or *tria nomina*; see Vandorpe 2012: 262.

<sup>657</sup> Before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, Roman citizenship was awarded for military value or impressive qualities in the administrative jobs. The former possibility is unlikely as Didymus is unattested as a veteran. Moreover, cadets tended to assume Latin names as soon as they entered the army, whereas Didymus preserved his previous name; see Alston 1995: 64-65.

<sup>658</sup> Rathbone 2013: 81. The privatisation of land in the Roman period was not an immediate process. Hadrian’s Edict of AD 117 led to the privatisation of some parcels of public land, but its results were

the *chora* gained economic prosperity through landownership, which will be investigated in the next section. As shown by the money loans belonging to the archive, many family members had a large amount of cash available.<sup>659</sup> They owned movable and immovable properties in the nome capital, where some of them were registered,<sup>660</sup> and in Theadelphia: houses, animals, and slaves, too.

Main evidence of the familiar dwellings in the nome capital are the declarations of properties (*kat'oikian apografai*).<sup>661</sup> Five census declarations of the family survived by chance: *CUA H.H. 1 02 recto* (no. 10), *CUA H.H. 1 02 verso* (no. 10), *SB XXII 15336*, *P.Meyer 9* (no. 21), and *P.Col. inv. 159a* (no. 26). They were drawn up for three subsequent census years (AD 131, 145, and 159), and illustrate that our family owned at least two houses in Arsinoe (Table 6. 2).

Table 6. 2. The houses of the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos

House	Owner	Residents	Source	Date (AD)
1/8 of a house in the quarter Dionysion Topon	Aphrodisios II and Sarapias	Aphrodisios II, Sarapias, Didymarion, Philippos IV, and Charition II	<i>CUA H.H. 1 02 r.</i>	Ca. 131
			<i>SB XXII 15336</i>	133
1/12 of a house in the quarter of Moeris	Philippos IV and Charition	Unknown	<i>CUA H.H. 1 02 v.</i>	Ca. 131
1/8 of a house in the Macedonians' quarter	Unknown	Chares son of Charition I, Herois, Atarias, Athenarion III,	<i>P.Meyer 9</i>	147

softened by multiple episodes of confiscations of private land, which became state land, *e.g.* the state appropriation of the Jews land after the Jewish Revolt in AD 115-117; cf. Rowlandson 2007: 179-180.

<sup>659</sup> Canducci 1990: 239. Availability of cash is attested for both the sons of Herodes, Leonides and Athenarion I, whose wealth must have been hereditary, and for the successive heads of our family, Aphrodisios I, Philippos II, Philippos III, and his son Aphrodisios II; cf. *P.Fay.* 344 *recto*; *P.Meyer* 5 (no. 3); *P.Oslo.* III 131 (no. 7); *P.Ryl.* II 324 (no. 18); 330 (no. 9); 332 (no. 17); *P.Stras.* IV 203 (no. 1).

<sup>660</sup> Despite mostly settling in the village of Theadelphia, some members of our family had their fiscal domicile in two quarters of Arsinoe: Aphrodisios II was registered in the quarter Dionysiou Topon, and his wife Didymarion in the quarter Apolloniou Hierakiou. On these quarters of Arsinoe, see TM Geo 257 and 569.

<sup>661</sup> Submitted according to the fourteen-year census cycle attested from AD 33/34 up to 257/258, census declarations had two substantial purposes. Firstly, they were vital for taxation, as they led to a distinction between people liable to full taxes and those provided with fiscal privileges; secondly, they were an instrument of social control. See Hombert-Préaux 1952: 47-48; Bagnall-Frier 1994: 26-30.

		Charition/Theodotes, Didyme, an unknown individual and the four slaves of Aphrodisios		
1/2 of a house in the quarter of Moeris	Sarapias	Unknown	P.Col. inv. 159a	Ca. 159

According to the documents of the archive, the family also acquired pack animals and livestock to carry out their land business.<sup>662</sup> As shown by a receipt of payment of 187 dr. 3 ob. for the φόρος προβάτων, the rent for the sheep belonging to the state,<sup>663</sup> in AD 136-138 Aphrodisios II leased a large flock of sheep in the *ousia* of Germanicus. In AD 138, the same man purchased a donkey foal for the price, high if compared with other donkey sales, of 364 drachmas of copper.<sup>664</sup>

Possession of slaves marked usually the Hellenised upper classes of Egypt.<sup>665</sup> The family of the archive owned four female slaves with their offspring, used as domestic staff.<sup>666</sup> They were perceived as material goods, exactly like properties and houses.<sup>667</sup>

For the Roman government, the main value of the upper classes in the *chora* was their employability in the administration of the region. The creation of the liturgical system, already outlined above, served specifically this purpose.<sup>668</sup> As liturgists were chosen based on their financial means, most of them belonged to the wealthiest stratum of villagers, the metropolitan *élites* and the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites”. According to the documents of the archive, at least two members of our family played an active role in the administrative system of Theadelphia and, more broadly, the Fayum as liturgical officers. In ca. AD 134-

<sup>662</sup> In the ancient world, camels and donkeys were used for transportation to the village threshing-floors and granaries, and livestock for breeding; see Lewis 1983: 123-124, 130-132; Bagnall 1985: 5-6.

<sup>663</sup> P.Mich. inv. 142 (no. 15). On the φόρος προβάτων, see M. El-Abbadi 1992: 205-211; Kruse 1998: 150 n. 17; Langellotti 2012: 36; Gonis 2016b: 418.

<sup>664</sup> SB VI 9093. This document has been long interpreted as a camel’s sale. However, in my reedition of the text, I guess that the object of the purchase was more likely a donkey; see SB VI 9093 (no. 16).

<sup>665</sup> Langellotti 2020a: 126.

<sup>666</sup> Dalby 1979: 257; Rathbone 1991: 89-91; Bagnall-Frier 1994: 49; Bowman 1996: 130-131.

<sup>667</sup> This is clearly suggested by a passage of *P.Meyer* 8 (no. 22), in which slaves, properties, and houses were all grouped in the same category: *P.Meyer* 8, 5-8 κατά δὲ [τοὺς νόμους ἐλάχομεν] | τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ οἰκόπεδα καὶ δουρικὰ σώματα τέσσερα καὶ τ[ὰ τούτων ἔγγο-]να καὶ ἀπόθετα ἅπα[ντα] “according to the laws, we received properties and houses and four slaves and their offspring and everything was stored up”.

<sup>668</sup> See Chapter IV 2. *Administrative System*.



136, Aphrodisios II was a superintendent of the 1-and-2% toll gate at Dionysias,<sup>669</sup> and then, likely before AD 139, he became a *sitoparalempetes*,<sup>670</sup> a collaborator of the *sitologus* in charge of receiving corn-dues.<sup>671</sup> Philippos IV was appointed as a superintendent of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia twice, in AD 148/149 and 154/155.<sup>672</sup> In both terms, he had an office task consisting in managing the applications for the hunting rights on the marsh land of Theadelphia.<sup>673</sup> The liturgies performed by Aphrodisios II and his son Philippos IV were all first-rate and accessible to the richest only:<sup>674</sup> the office of the *sitoparalempetes* probably required a minimum *poros* of 700-800 drachmas like that of the *sitologus*,<sup>675</sup> while the superintendency of state monopolies in the Fayum needed a *poros* of 500 drachmas up to 1.5 talent.<sup>676</sup> It is also possible that the office of superintendent had a hereditary character, as both our individuals were appointed as *epiteretai* over the course of twenty years.

Some administrative jobs in the cities and villages required at least the basics of literacy.<sup>677</sup> Literacy in the Graeco-Roman world was a complex aspect, pointing to literacy in Greek<sup>678</sup> and branching out in several levels, from the ability to write only a few words to writing proficiency.<sup>679</sup> The family archive illustrates that its male protagonists were able to write in Greek. In *P.Meyer* 5 (no. 3), r. 19-20, Philippos III added his subscription in his own handwriting.<sup>680</sup> It is obscure to what extent he was confident with writing since the document is unavailable for a palaeographical evaluation of his hand, but Philippos III could

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<sup>669</sup> P.Col. inv. 122 (no. 12); P.Mich. inv. 142 (no. 15); *SB* XIV 11616 (no. 14); 12135 (no. 13). On the office of Aphrodisios II as a superintendent of the 1-and-2% toll gate at Dionysias, see Claytor 2021: 349-350.

<sup>670</sup> *P.Meyer* 8 (no. 22). As in this petition of AD 151 only the office of *sitoparalempetes* is mentioned, it was likely the last liturgical office performed by Aphrodisios II before obtaining Antinoite citizenship.

<sup>671</sup> Lewis 1997: 39-40; Reggiani 2017: 63.

<sup>672</sup> On Philippos IV's office of AD 148/149, cf. *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), *P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46), *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), and *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42); on that of AD 154/155, cf. *P.Ryl.* II 98a (no. 24) and *PSI* V 458 (no. 25).

<sup>673</sup> On the role of Philippos IV among the superintendents of pastures and marshes, see Chapter VII 2. 5. *Ptolemaios and His Colleagues: Organisational Features of the Board of Superintendents of Pastures and Marshes.*

<sup>674</sup> Johnson 1936: 609; Abd-el-Ghany 1990: 108-109.

<sup>675</sup> Lewis 1997: 458 s. v. “σιτολογία, σιτολόγος”.

<sup>676</sup> Lewis 1997: 28 s. v. “ἐπιτήρησις, ἐπιτηρητής”.

<sup>677</sup> Harris 1991: 273-280; Benaissa 2012: 530-532; Clarysse 2019: 307-308; Torallas Tovar-Vierros 2019: 492.

<sup>678</sup> Literacy in Greek did not imply illiteracy in Egyptian, but also literacy in Egyptian was scarce; see Kraus 2000: 330-333; Ripat 2020: 132-134.

<sup>679</sup> Expertise in writing was usually typical of workers in the highest professional environments; see Criboire 1996: 10; Benaissa-Remijsen 2019: 383-384.

<sup>680</sup> On the distinction of the handwritings appearing in *P.Meyer* 5, see *P.Mey.*: p. 32.

at least scrawl the subscription's formula without making use of a professional scribe. The handwriting of Aphrodisios II, attested in a note of payment for the 1-and-2% toll of the gate of Dionysias,<sup>681</sup> is a regular cursive with ligatures and abbreviations, attributable to an expert writer (Fig. 16). Also Philippos IV, who wrote the subscription in *P.Meyer* 8 (no. 22) and his signature in P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43) and *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), was skilled in writing, as shown by his rapid and fluent hand (Fig. 17). It is worthwhile to notice that, even if many individuals of the archive were literate, they still relied on the professional scribes of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia to draft their documents.<sup>682</sup> This was the norm,<sup>683</sup> due to the role of the *grapheion* as a record office. Only contracts written in the *grapheion* and following a well-defined structure were official and only scribes with specific training in the office knew how to master the required technical formulary.<sup>684</sup>

Fig. 16. The handwriting of Aphrodisios II in *SB XIV* 11616

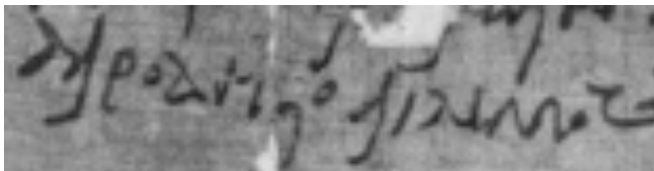
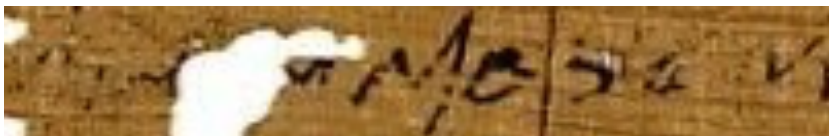


Fig. 17. The handwriting of Philippos IV in *P.Leit.* 14



The socio-economic position of the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites” was particularly enhanced under the reign of Hadrian (AD 117-138), who carried out a policy aimed at bringing out the Hellenised component of Egypt. During his visit to the province in AD 130, Hadrian commemorated the death of his lover Antinoos with the foundation of Antinoopolis, which became the fourth Greek *polis* in Roman Egypt.<sup>685</sup> Antinoopolis' citizens were chosen

<sup>681</sup> *SB XIV* 11616 (no. 14).

<sup>682</sup> The contractual documents belonging to the archive were all produced in the writing office of the village; see above, Chapter II 2. *Archive or Dossier?*

<sup>683</sup> Torallas Tovar-Vierros 2019: 488.

<sup>684</sup> On the layout of the *grapheion* contracts, see Chapter V 2. *Production of the Grapheion*.

<sup>685</sup> Jördens 2012b: 253; Derda 2019: 54; Bagnall 2021: 48. On the Greek structure of the city, see Bowman-Rathbone 1992: 119-120; Malouta 2009a: 81-83; Bagnall 2021: 54.

in the *élite* of the 6,475<sup>686</sup> and granted several privileges, such as the exemption from the poll tax and the liturgical appointments outside the city, and the right of ἐπιγαμία with Egyptians without their children losing citizenship.<sup>687</sup> The choice of new settlers of Antinoopolis fell on this group for several reasons. Of course, the 6,475 represented the best candidates to populate a city of great prestige for their socio-economic position.<sup>688</sup> However, the strength of this *élite* lay in their Greekness. As illustrated above, the 6,475 perceived themselves as Greeks and underlined it. Therefore, on this ideological basis, they were selected for a city conceived as a symbol of Greece in Egypt.<sup>689</sup>

A member of our family was awarded citizenship in Antinoopolis, Aphrodisios II. His settlement in the city was not instant. As at least until AD 137 Aphrodisios II was engaged in some liturgies, his relocation to Antinoopolis likely took some time to become effective. He possibly moved to the city around AD 138/139 since in the documents of that period he was identified specifically as an Antinoite citizen.<sup>690</sup> As we will see later, the selection of Aphrodisios II as one of the citizens of Antinoopolis will upset the familial schemes, causing the decline of the last generation of the family.

To conclude, I have shown how the family of the archive, registered in the lists of the *metropolitai* and belonging to the social *élite* of the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites”, acquired importance in the first half of the second century in the village and outside. Through an analysis of the family’s identity and assets, I have outlined the main traits of the 6,475: Greekness and wealth. The first element was valorised after AD 130, when it played a key role in the choice of the 6,475 as settlers of Antinoopolis. Wealth gave better results at the level of the village. The family of the archive was extensively involved in the administrative system of Theadelphia since they met the access condition to liturgies, economic prosperity. Appointed many times for liturgical offices, the members of the family were part of those village officeholders who derived their wealth from landownership, as I will shortly illustrate.

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<sup>686</sup> Bowman-Rathbone 1992: 127; Vandorpe 2012: 264. For a list of citizens of Antinoopolis in AD 130-161, see Malouta 2009a: 92-93.

<sup>687</sup> Hoogendijk-van Minnen 1987: 71-74; Zahrt 1988: 688-697; Malouta 2009a: 82-83; Scheuble-Reiter - Bussi 2019: 293.

<sup>688</sup> Bowman-Rathbone 1992: 127.

<sup>689</sup> Malouta 2009a: 82.

<sup>690</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 324 (no. 18), *P.Ryl.* II 332 (no. 17), *SB VI* 9093 (no. 16).

### 3. Evidence of Decline: From Landownership to Leasing Land

In Roman Fayum, wealth came from landownership.<sup>691</sup> The documents of the archive expressly attribute land properties to almost all members of the family, but to what extent were they landowners? In this section, by analysing the land tenure of the family over the course of the second century, I will show that the first half of the century was a period of growth in landownership, while in the second half the family faced economic problems due to the loss of private land. Also, I will discuss two landholding strategies implemented by absentee landowners, the reliance on women as land managers and the leasing of land. At a later stage, I will demonstrate that also in the Fayum, like in other regions of Egypt, the possession of private land and the leasing of state land were complementary strategies, and not mutually exclusive aspects of land distribution.

The first step toward this study is quantifying land tenure. In the table below, I summarised the distribution of the land in the family by using financial registers, tax receipts, and seed loans as a source (Table 6. 3).<sup>692</sup>

Table 6. 3. Distribution of land in the family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos<sup>693</sup>

People	Papyrus evidence	Date (AD)	Land tax (in kind and money), or seed loans	Land extent (in arouras) with the type of land
Philippos III	<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 202a	108	8 1/3 1/12 artabas of wheat for the μοναρταβία κατοίκων	Ca. 8.5 ar. of catoecic land

<sup>691</sup> Bowman 1996: 98-101; Kehoe 2010: 310-311.

<sup>692</sup> Some administrative registers explicitly record the size of the plots. Other papyri, such as fiscal registers and receipts, give the amounts of payments in money or kind for taxes on land. However, they may be converted in land extent through some equivalences per aroura. The ἀπόμοιρα ἀμπελώνος (for vineyards) was at 3000 drachmas of copper or 10 dr. of silver; the ἀπόμοιρα παραδείσου (for garden land) was at 1500 drachmas of copper or 5 dr. of silver; the ναύβιον κατοίκων (for maintenance of dams and canals, paid on catoecic land) was at 100 drachmas; the ναύβιον ἐναφασίων (for maintenance of dams and canals, paid on released land) was at 150 drachmas; the ἐπαρούριον (for both garden land and vineyards) was at 2000 drachmas of copper or 6 dr. 4 obols of silver; the μοναρταβία κατοίκων (for catoecic land) was at 1 artaba of wheat. Finally, farmers of public land received grain seeds from the state at the rate of one artaba per aroura. On the taxes listed above, see Wallace 1938: 53-61; France 2000: 93; Monson 2007: 11; Bowman-Wilson 2013: 247. On advance loans of seeds from the government, see the commentary to *P.Coll.Youtie* I 26: pp. 232-235.

<sup>693</sup> Some notes on the criteria followed to compile the table. The date of *BGU* IX 1899 to AD 164/165 follows France 2000: 101. Both the categories of “vineyard in culture” and “unproductive reed-beds” refer to vineland, and correspond to τρυγωμένον and καλαμείας appearing in *BGU* IX 1896 and 1899; see France 2000: 94.

Athenarion I and Philippos III	<i>P.Fay.</i> 81 <sup>694</sup>	115	22 and 1/2 artabas of wheat for the μοναρταβία κατοίκων	22.5 ar. of catoecic land
Athenarion I	<i>SB XVIII</i> 13091	146	2440 dr. of copper for the ἀπόμοιρα ἀμπελώνος	0.8 ar. of vineyards
			120 dr. of copper for the ναύβιον ἐναφείων	0.8 ar. of released land
			1625 dr. of copper for the ἐπαρούριον	Ca. 0.8 ar. of vineyards
	<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 192a	152	1,[...] dr. of copper for the ναύβιον κατοίκων	At least 10 arouras catoecic land
	<i>BGU IX</i> 1896, col. XIV 314	165/166	None	9.25 ar. of catoecic land
Herois	<i>BGU IX</i> 1896, col. V 112	165/166	None	0.5 ar. of vineyards in culture
			1500 dr. of copper for the ἀπόμοιρα ἀμπελώνος	0.5 ar. of vineyards
			75 dr. for the ναύβιον ἐναφείων	0.5 ar. of released land
			1000 dr. of copper for the ἐπαρούριον	0.5 ar. of vineyards
	<i>BGU IX</i> 1896, col. VI 125	165/166	None	Ca. 0.7 ar. of unproductive reed-beds
Aphrodisios II	<i>SB XVIII</i> 13091	146	1440 dr. of copper for the ἀπόμοιρα ἀμπελώνος	0.48 ar. of vineyards
			200 dr. of copper for the ἀπόμοιρα παραδείσου	Ca. 0.14 ar. of garden land
			105 dr. of copper for the ναύβιον ἐναφείων	0.7 ar. of catoecic land
			1400 dr. of copper for the ἐπαρούριον	0.7 ar. of vineyards and garden land
Ptolemaios	<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 202a	108	2 1/2 1/8 artabas of wheat for the μοναρταβία κατοίκων	ca. 2.5 ar. of catoecic land
Dionysarion	<i>BGU IX</i> 1896, col. V 119	165/166	None	Ca. 0.35 ar. of vineyards
			1035 dr. of copper for the ἀπόμοιρα ἀμπελώνος	Ca. 0.35 ar. of vineyards
			55 dr. for the ναύβιον ἐναφείων	Ca. 0.35 ar. of released land
			670 dr. of copper for the ἐπαρούριον	Ca. 0.35 ar. of vineyards
Didymarion	<i>BGU IX</i> 1896, col. XV 342-344 (referring to land formerly belonging to Didymarion, inherited by	Before 165/166	None	0.375 ar. of vineyards, of which 0.3125 ar. of vineyards in culture and 0.0625 ar. of palm-grove land
			1125 dr. of copper for the ἀπόμοιρα ἀμπελώνος	0.375 ar. of vineyards
			60 dr. of copper for the ναύβιον ἐναφείων	0.4 ar. of released land

<sup>694</sup> On the correct reading of *P.Fay.* 81 (no. 6), 6-7, see Smolders 2004b: 220.

	Philippos IV) <sup>695</sup>		750 dr. of copper for the ἐπαρούριον	0.375 ar. of vineyards
Sarapias	BGU XXII 2911, 2	Ca. 164/165	7 and 9/24 artabas of wheat for the μοναρταβία κατοίκων	7.375 ar. of catoecic land
	BGU IX 1899, col. II 35-36	164/165	None	Ca. 1.7 ar. of vineyards in culture, (lost number) ar. of unproductive reed-beds
	BGU IX 1896, col. XIII 303-308	165/166	None	3.375 ar. of vineyards, of which ca. 2.95 ar. of vineyards in culture, 0.25 ar. of unproductive reed-beds, ca. 0.17 ar. sown at thyme; ca. 0.6 ar. of unproductive reed-beds
	BGU IX 1896, col. XIV 313	165/166	1500 dr. of copper for the ἀπόμοιρα παραδείσου	1 ar. of garden land
150 dr. of copper for the ναύβιον ἐναφεσίων			1 ar. of released land	
1000 dr. of copper for the ἐπαρούριον			0.5 ar. of garden land	
Philippos IV	P.Berl.Leihg. I 14, 17	138-180	None	1.5 ar. of irrigated land
	P.Col. V 1 v. 2, col. XVII 246-247	Ca. 160	Over 7 artabas of wheat for seed loan	over 7 arouras of public land
	P.Stras. IX 830, col. I 5-6	160-161	None	4 ar. of public land, jointly owned by Philippos IV and Apollonios son of Heron <sup>696</sup>
	BGU XXII 2905, col. XII 9-10; col. XVI 13	160-180	None	9 arouras of public land; 3 arouras in the <i>pittakion</i> of Heraklides son of Heraklides; 2 arouras in the <i>pittakion</i> of Satyros son of Sabinus
	P.Berl.Leihg. I 4 v., col. X 4	165	144 and 3/4 artabas for rent of public land	Ca. 48 ar. of public land, based on an average rent of 3 artabas per aroura

<sup>695</sup> BGU IX 1896, XV 342 Φίλιππος Ἀφροδεσίου (πρότερον) Διδυμαρίου Ἀπίωνος. On the meaning of πρότερον, see France 2000: 100-103.

<sup>696</sup> P.Stras. IX 830 is likely a list of *pittakion* members, similar to PSI VII 793; see Borrelli 2017: 56. Apollonios son of Heron, who is mentioned as a co-owner of land with Philippos IV, was a public farmer: after appearing in two lists of substitutions for public farmers of the village of Lagis (BGU XIII 2250, 31; P.Berl.Leihg. I 7, col. II 35), he is mentioned as a lessee of land in Theadelphia and Euhemeria (P.Berl.Leihg. I 3, col. III 17-18), and a member of the *pittakion* of Heron son of Aniketos (P.Graux IV 31, col. III 1-11).

	BGU IX 1896, col. XV 342-344 (referring to land inherited from Didymarion)	165/166	None	0.375 ar. of vineyards, of which 0.3125 ar. of vineyards in culture and 0.0625 ar. of palm-grove land
			1125 dr. of copper for the ἀπόμοιρα ἀμπελῶνος	0.375 ar. of vineyards
			60 dr. of copper for the ναύβιον ἐναφεσίων	0.4 ar. of catoecic land
			750 dr. of copper for the ἐπαρούριον	0.375 ar. of vineyards
Charition II	BGU XXII 2910, col. II 10	138-161	None	2.75 ar. of private land
	BGU IX 1896, col. II 42 (paid by Apia daughter of Horion through Aphrodisios on behalf of Charition II)	165/166	None	5.5 ar. of catoecic land

As a result of the process of privatisation of land supported by the Roman government and the adoption of marriage strategies, the family of the archive reached the pinnacle of private landownership at the beginning of the second century. Through the marriage of Philippos III and Athenarion I, their land heritages were merged into a larger property of 22.5 arouras.<sup>697</sup> Given that one aroura corresponded to 2,756 square meters,<sup>698</sup> these numbers are not particularly impressive.<sup>699</sup> In the first half of the second century, the family of the archive owned modest plots of land, sufficing to provide them not only with a basic livelihood but also with a surplus.<sup>700</sup> Accordingly, the family enjoyed some self-sufficiency. For instance, in AD 136-138 Aphrodisios II rented a large flock of sheep to produce milk and wool for personal usage.<sup>701</sup> The land of our family consisted of disjoint parcels, reserved for different crops: we mainly encounter plots sown with wheat, but also vineyards, garden land with palm-groves, and small allotments producing thyme.<sup>702</sup>

<sup>697</sup> *P.Fay.* 81 (no. 6); *P.Ryl.* II 192a (no. 23); 202a (no. 5).

<sup>698</sup> Bagnall 2011: 185-186.

<sup>699</sup> The total extent of arable land in second century Theadelphia was ca. 7000 arouras with 8 percent of vineyards; see Chapter IV 1. *Estimating the Settlement Size: Population and Land.*

<sup>700</sup> Bowman 1996: 101.

<sup>701</sup> *P.Mich. inv.* 142 (no. 15). On the worth of sheep, see Lewis 1983: 131-132.

<sup>702</sup> The fragmentation of plots of land, typical of Roman Fayum, was first and foremost the effect of the system of partible inheritance; see Rowlandson 1996: 171; Kehoe 2010: 311.

The documents of the archive shed light on two strategies adopted by the family to maintain their land productive, the reliance on women and the leasing to Theadelphia villagers. As shown in the table above, women in our family played a prominent role in the possession of land, especially vineyards.<sup>703</sup> Female landownership mainly resulted from socio-legislative phenomena, such as inheritance schemes<sup>704</sup> and the dowries-giving.<sup>705</sup> An interesting and widespread trend in Roman Fayum consisted in voluntary cession of land to the women of the family through transfer of property or marital gifts.<sup>706</sup> It has been largely noticed that this aimed at tax benefits, as women were exempt from paying some land taxes and liturgical obligations.<sup>707</sup> However, another reason for property transfers in favour of women may be gathered from the events concerning the last two generations of the family, which will be discussed later. For absentee landowners, the family women could represent more dependable land managers than the village *phrontistai*. After Aphrodisios II moved to Antinoopolis, his second wife Sarapias remained at Theadelphia, where she is attested until AD 165/166,<sup>708</sup> to administer her husband's land.

Leasing out private land was convenient for landowners to obtain economic security. First, it ensured uninterrupted productivity of the land; second, it transferred the risk and strain associated with land management to the tenants; third, it avoided the dispersion of funds for labour costs.<sup>709</sup> From the tenants' perspective, leasing in private land was more expensive than state land,<sup>710</sup> and imposed several obligations, such as paying land taxes on

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<sup>703</sup> On female landownership, see Pomeroy 1981: 305; Hobson 1983: 311-321; Rowlandson 1996: s. v. "women".

<sup>704</sup> As in Roman Egypt all sons took part in the inheritance schemes regardless of their gender, Sarapias inherited land formerly belonging to her father Philippos; cf. *BGU IX* 1896, col. XIII 303-306 (here Sarapias was likely taxed for land from her father's inheritance since her mother Athenarion I appear as a taxpayer for her own land in col. XIII 303-306); col. XIV 313; 1899, col. II 35-36; XXII 2911, 2. Also, since parents bequeathed their own properties individually, Philippos IV and Charition II received their mother heritage half each. On inheritance rules, see Rowlandson 1996: 141; Huebner 2013: 50-51; Abdel Motaal 2019: 10.

<sup>705</sup> In Roman Egypt all daughters were provided with a dowry. Before marrying Philippos III, Athenarion I already owned at least 10 arouras on her own, and thus that land was likely her marital dowry. On dowries, see Rowlandson 1996: 139; Abdel Motaal 2019: 10.

<sup>706</sup> Before marriage, wealthy men made a *donatio ante nuptias*, which became part of the dowry of their betrothed; see Goody 1990: 417. After the marriage, gifts between the spouses were banned and allowed on special occasions only, such as birthdays or festivals; see Gardner 1986: 69-75.

<sup>707</sup> Johnson 1936: 28; Hobson 1983: 312.

<sup>708</sup> Cf. *BGU IX* 1896, col. XIII 303-308; col. XIV 313; 1899, col. II 35-36; XXII 2911, 2

<sup>709</sup> Kehoe 1992a: 126-139; Rowlandson 1996: 228.

<sup>710</sup> Around the middle of the second century, rents for private land were overall priced at around 9 artabas per aroura; see France 1999: 399.



behalf of the landowner. However, private land was more fruitful, as it was usually subject to more intensive cultivation with a crop rotation system.<sup>711</sup>

According to a receipt for payments for the *naubion katoikon* and *enaphesion*, in AD 152 Athenarion I daughter of Herodes leased out a large plot of around 11 arouras to an inhabitant of Theadelphia, Athenarion daughter of Heraklides.<sup>712</sup> This woman paid a large sum of money (around 1850 drachmas) for her catoecic land and made tax payments for almost 25 arouras of land belonging to five other people: accordingly, she was a landowner who also leased private land from multiple villagers.<sup>713</sup> It is worthwhile, here, to dwell briefly on the economic activity of the family of Athenarion daughter of Heraklides, as they are an example of lessees from absentee landowners in the Fayum. Among the upper-class villagers of Theadelphia,<sup>714</sup> the sons of Heraklides son (or stepson) of Neon owned small plots of private land.<sup>715</sup> However, they were interested in both leasing in and out private land, as well as leasing in state land, as measures to achieve a well-off lifestyle.<sup>716</sup> Given the large involvement of the family of Athenarion daughter of Heraklides in the agricultural lay of the village, they represented villagers reliable in the management of the absentee landowners' plots.

Since the 160s, documents point out a loss of private land and subsequent leasing of public land as a strategy to solve economic issues. At that time, Philippos IV was a member

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<sup>711</sup> France 1999: 338.

<sup>712</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 192a (no. 23).

<sup>713</sup> Leasing in different plots of land could be a strategy to gain economic security by differentiating the sources of income and deal with the risky agricultural condition of Theadelphia, which could have suffered from insufficient irrigation (*abrochia*); see Kehoe 2010: 311.

<sup>714</sup> Sarapion son of Heraklides performed liturgical offices in the village. He is attested as a *gyarches*, a land supervisor working at the level of the toparchy, in *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 41, 9; see *P.Berl.Leihg.* II: p. 117, 120 n. 1; Malouta 2009b: 127-128 n. 17. Moreover, he was probably a *chomatepimeletes* (dike supervisor), as suggested by *SB XXIV 16331*, 3; see France 1998: 144 n. 3.

<sup>715</sup> On private land belonging to Zois daughter of Sarapion, cf. *BGU IX 1896*, col. III 57-58; 1897a, 7; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 36, col. I 9-13; *SB XX 14239*, 77 (here registered as Ζωῆς Σαραπίων(ος)). On private land belonging to Zois daughter of Heraklides, cf. *BGU IX 1899*, 65; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 12, 29; *P.Dubl.* 13, 1-2. On private land belonging to Thaubarion daughter of Heraklides, cf. *BGU IX 1896*, col. VIII 180-184; col. X 235; 1897a, col. IV 102; *BGU XXII 2911*, 3; *SB XX 14239*, 94.

<sup>716</sup> Athenarion daughter of Heraklides leased private land from Athenarion I daughter of Herodes (*P.Ryl.* II 192a (no. 23)). Her nephew Zois daughter of Sarapion also leased land from Thermoutarion daughter of Horigenes, as she was partially responsible for the payment of the *oktadrachmia* tax on her behalf (*BGU IX 1897*, col. V 90). Thaubarion daughter of Heraklides is attested as a lessor of land, also through her sons (*BGU IX 1896*, col. II 26-27; col. XII 264). Moreover, Sarapion son of Heraklides, is attested as a tenant of public land (*P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. XVI 235) and a member of the *pittakion* of Chairas son of Apollonios; cf. *BGU XXII 2905*, 5 (on the identification of Sarapion son of Heraklides, see Kambitsis 2018: 76 col. II n. 5); *SB XXIV 16331*, 3.

of the *pittakia* of Pekysis son of Pnepheros and Pnepheros son of Maron.<sup>717</sup> The *pittakia*, typical of second century Theadelphia, were plots of state and ousiac land distributed between the state farmers (δημόσιοι γεωργοί), recruited on a voluntary basis or by lot.<sup>718</sup> Each *pittakion* was headed by its lessee, the *pittakiarches*. He was fiscally responsible for the entire *pittakion* but subleased parcels from his plot to two up to seven συγγεωργοί, charged for the tax payment on that land.<sup>719</sup>

Besides participating in the *pittakion* system of Theadelphia, Philippos IV also leased public land outside the village, as is shown by an interesting papyrus. In *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4 v., col. X 4, an account of the *sitologi* of Theadelphia dated to ca. AD 165, Philippos IV was recorded as the taxpayer of 144 3/4 artabas of wheat and thus the lessee of a consistent plot of around 50 arouras of public land.<sup>720</sup> What is striking is that, even though at first glance *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4 v. could be connected to a *pittakion* context, there is no evident clue on the nature of this register as a *pittakion* document.<sup>721</sup> The amount of public land related to Philippos IV in *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4 v. is much higher than his *pittakion* land, recorded in the rolls dated to the 160s.<sup>722</sup> Also, a *pittakion* measured 80 arouras to the maximum and the larger plots were leased by the *pittakiarchai*,<sup>723</sup> but Philippos IV was never at the head of a *pittakion*.<sup>724</sup> Therefore, the *verso* of our document likely registered leases of state land external to Theadelphia. A broader analysis of the papyrus confirms this interpretation. On the *recto* there is a register of the *sitologi* reporting grain revenues from Theadelphia and other villages in the sixth toparchy,<sup>725</sup> and the list of lessees drawn on the back likely referred to land included in the whole area of the sixth toparchy, too. In this list, indeed, the tenants of public land at Theadelphia are distinguished from the others through the statement Θε(αδελφείας) δη(μοσίων), added after their names. It is not a coincidence that the entry

<sup>717</sup> *BGU XXII 2905*, col. XII 9; col. XVI 13; *BGU XXII 2909*, col. III 33; *P.Stras.* IX 830, col. I 5; *PSI VII 793*, col. VII 74. See also Kambitsis 2018: 181 n. 52.

<sup>718</sup> See *P.Col.* V: pp. 144-155; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I: pp. 208-212; Kambitsis 1988: 49-53.

<sup>719</sup> France 1999: 343-344.

<sup>720</sup> Although the rent in kind due for the state land (ἐκφόριον) was at a variable rate depending on the condition of the plot, the average was around 3 artabas per aroura for land sown at wheat; see Rowlandson 1996: 71-80; Rowlandson 1999: 148; Rowlandson 2007: 181-182; Monson 2007: 9.

<sup>721</sup> France speculated that *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4 v. registered some *pittakion* members, such as Mystharion son of Heraklides, based on the interpretation of the sequence πο(), added after his name, as an abbreviation for πιττακιάρχης. However, this interpretation of πο() is unconvincing because it is unattested. Also, only in col. IX 11 Horion son of Maron is specified to own public land through the *pittakion*: this means that all other individuals leased public land outside the *pittakion* system. On France's interpretation of *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4 v., see France 1999: 348.

<sup>722</sup> *BGU XXII 2905*, col. XII 9-10; col. XVI 13; *P.Stras.* IX 830, col. I 5-6.

<sup>723</sup> France 1999: 344.

<sup>724</sup> On this, see Chapter VI 4. 2. *Socio-Economic Fall of the Family*.

<sup>725</sup> See Chapter IV 3. *The Sixth Toparchy*.

referring to Philippos IV omits this specification, thus qualifying him as a tenant of land located outside the village.

According to scholars, in the Roman Fayum, also due to the small percentage of private land compared to state land, public farmers did not own private land, unlike for example the Oxyrhynchite nome.<sup>726</sup> However, the case of Philippos IV illustrates a more complex scenario, as this landowner was also involved in leasing state land at Theadelphia and the neighbouring villages in a period of economic trouble. This demonstrates that landholding strategies were adapted to singular situations and weakens the view of the originality of the Fayum, usually understood as the main reason for its economic prosperity.

To conclude, the family of the archive gained economic wealth in the first half of the second century, when they owned modest allotments of land in the village. To ensure the productivity of land, absentee landowners relied on the family women residing in Theadelphia, while landowners living in the village leased out plots of land to local inhabitants, such as Athenarion daughter of Heraklides. Over four generations, they adopted different landholding strategies to achieve well-off life standards. At first, they exploited their private land, mainly farmed at wheat and wine. From the 160s, in a period of decline that will be shortly discussed, Philippos IV also leased state land. This analysis challenged the view that the Fayum public farmers did not own private land, by demonstrating that a Theadelphian landowner was also a state land lessee.

#### 4. The Trial of AD 151 and the Decline of the Family: Theadelphia and Antinoopolis

I have previously shown that in the second half of the second century the family of the archive went through a conspicuous loss of land and properties. In the following, I will first illustrate that the main breakpoint in the family wealth was a father-son controversy that erupted in a legal trial in AD 151. Based on the papyrus evidence, I will explore the causes of this conflict and outline its outcomes. By reconstructing the strategies adopted after the foundation of Antinoopolis in AD 130, I will demonstrate that Aphrodisios II's interest in the new city provoked the economic decline of the last generation of the family at Theadelphia.

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<sup>726</sup> Rowlandson 2007: 180, 189; van Minnen 2019: 260.

#### 4. 1. A Case of Father-Son Conflict Related to Marriage Policies?

In ca. AD 151, Philippos IV and his sister Charition II drew a complaint against their father Aphrodisios II, who had taken over the properties formerly belonging to his first wife Didymarion and intended to transfer all his heritage to his second wife Sarapias.<sup>727</sup> Since the result of this action would have been the exclusion of Aphrodisios II's sons from heritage,<sup>728</sup> they now required the intervention of the authorities to reobtain their maternal inheritance.<sup>729</sup> Since the plan of Aphrodisios II is unexpected as it would have disrupted the continuity of his household,<sup>730</sup> in the following I will base on the papyrus evidence to investigate the background of the petition of AD 151. The analysis will demonstrate that a family conflict originated from the irreconcilability of the intentions of two men: a father planning to create a new, more powerful branch of the family in Antinoopolis, and a son concerned with preserving land and wealth at Theadelphia.

When before AD 138/139 Aphrodisios II was chosen as a settler of Antinoopolis, new issues and possibilities arose. At Theadelphia, the family's land risked a decline in productivity in Aphrodisios' absence since his wife Didymarion was dead and their sons were still minors. Thus, Aphrodisios II gathered the familial heritage in his hands by taking possession also of Didymarion's properties.<sup>731</sup> The acquisition of the Antinoite citizenship was a great opportunity of social advancement. However, as it did not apply to Aphrodisios' children,<sup>732</sup> the man married his stepsister Sarapias to create a new household of citizens in

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<sup>727</sup> *P.Meyer* 8 (no. 22).

<sup>728</sup> *P.Mey.*: p. 50.

<sup>729</sup> It has been argued that, when Aphrodisios II took possession of Didymarion's heritage, Philippos IV and Charition II did not bring any legal action against their father because they were still minors at that time; see Lewis 2001: 27. However, as Philippos IV became fourteen years old in AD 138-141 and thus long before the date of the petition, we may assume the existence of a tacit agreement between the parties on the temporary transfer of all properties to Aphrodisios II.

<sup>730</sup> Main aim of families in Roman Egypt was ensuring the continuity of their household in order to enjoy inheritance rights. This is shown by *Gnomon* §27, according to which the heritage of a sixty-years old Roman man without a wife and children was confiscated by the *fiscus*; on this, see Thoma 2016: 146 n. 15. Therefore, a common strategy to remedy the lack of descendants was adoption; see Huebner 2007: 33-40; Remijnsen-Clarysse 2008: 56.

<sup>731</sup> *P.Meyer* 8 (no. 22). That Aphrodisios II became the owner of properties belonging to his former wife is also shown by *CUA* H. H. 1 02 *verso* and *P.Meyer* 9 (no. 21), two subsequent census declarations dated to AD 131/132 and 147 respectively. In AD 131/132 Didymarion bequeathed her sons also some slaves, who in AD 147 were registered as Aphrodisios' properties.

<sup>732</sup> It seems that only the sons born after an individual had become a Antinoite citizen inherited citizenship; see Malouta 2009a: 87.

Antinoopolis.<sup>733</sup> Aphrodisios's union represented the first break in the conservative marriage strategies adopted by the family until then.<sup>734</sup> On the same ground, Philippos IV married a woman of different status to establish some relationships with the *élites* of Alexandria.

The main source on Philippos IV's marriage is *SB IV 7393*, a request to the *archidikastes* dated after AD 161 for the validation of a *cheirographon* issued in AD 147: through this document, Philippos IV requested to officialise the ransom of his wife Nike, a former slave of an Alexandrian citizen.<sup>735</sup> As Nike would have inherited her *patronus*'s status after manumission,<sup>736</sup> this marriage would have enhanced the social position of the family. The strategy implemented by Philippos was clearly ambitious and status-oriented,<sup>737</sup> but represented a twofold economic risk for Aphrodisios II's family. As a freedwoman, Nike had moral duties and obligations in terms of inheritance towards her patron.<sup>738</sup> As an individual external to the family, she could have benefited her agnates at the expense of the family of Aphrodisios II. Therefore, Nike's access to and management of familial properties required limitations. The strategy of Aphrodisios II to gain security from the danger represented by an Alexandrian freedwoman, at this point, is clear: he planned to deprive his sons of the heritage by transferring it to his second wife Sarapias.

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<sup>733</sup> Sarapias did not belong to the "6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites", but her Egyptian status did not compromise the Antinoite citizenship of her offspring because Aphrodisios II enjoyed the right of *ἐπιγαμία*; on this, see Hoogendijk-van Minnen 1987: 71-74; Malouta 2009a: 82-83.

<sup>734</sup> See above, Chapter VI 1. *Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy*.

<sup>735</sup> Marriages between freeborn and freedwomen are underrepresented in papyrus documentation but not legally forbidden. They represented the last chance of procreation in contexts of lack of free females: with the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* (BCE 18) and the *lex Papia Poppaea nuptialis* (AD 9), Augustus encouraged the *ingenui* not belonging to the senatorial class to marry freedwomen due to the scarcity of upper-class women, and the same strategy was used by soldiers in the army. Also, freedwomen often married their former owners after a formal manumission. See McGinn 2004: 200; Vandorpe-Waebens 2010: 429-431; Perry 2013: 43-53.

<sup>736</sup> Scheuble-Reiter-Bussi 2019: 296.

<sup>737</sup> Although Alexandrian citizenship was mainly hereditary, *P.Lond.* II 260 attests that a *catoecus* acquired it by merit. If Philippos had become an Alexandrian citizen, he would have enjoyed full exemption from the poll tax and the possibility of aspiring to Roman citizenship; see Canducci 1990: 228; Venit 2012: 104. The text of *SB IV 7393* (no. 27) depicts Philippos IV as a social climber: the title of *catoecus* of the 6475 Hellenes in the Arsinoites, at first added in the heading as was usual in the documents to authorities, was then deleted as dysfunctional for the purpose of underlining the social connections with the Alexandrians (ll. 3-5).

<sup>738</sup> Freedmen were obliged to *obsequium*, *reverentia* and *pietas* for their patrons, who would have inherited half of their properties after their death; cf. Mouritsen 2011: 51-65; Perry 2013: 83-88; DiBacco 2017: 4. Also, on the enduring bond existing between ex-slave and ex-owner, see Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005: 107-126; on the *macula servitutis* of freedmen, see Vermote 2016.

## 4. 2. Socio-Economic Fall of the Family

The trial of AD 151 had ambiguous outcomes. Some documents seem to illustrate that the sons of Aphrodisios II reobtained their mother's inheritance, but an unpublished papyrus of the archive gives another view. By following the paths of the properties belonging separately to Didymarion's heritage and Aphrodisios II, I will demonstrate that the strategy of Aphrodisios II led to the fall of the agnatic line of his family, residing at Theadelphia, in favour of the new branch enjoying the Antinoite citizenship.

First, how much was Didymarion's heritage worth? It is described in *P.Meyer* 8 (no. 22), 6-7 as τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ οἰκόπεδα καὶ δουλικά σώματα τέσσερα καὶ τ[ὰ τούτων ἔγγονα καὶ ἀπόθετα ἄπα[ντα]. While τὰ ὑπάρχοντα indicates the plots of land in the village of Theadelphia,<sup>739</sup> the four slaves with their offspring were identified in two census declarations of the archive.<sup>740</sup> More interesting are the οἰκόπεδα: the term probably refers to a house in the quarter of Moeris registered in a census declaration dated to AD 131/132 as a property of Philippos IV and Charition II by maternal inheritance.<sup>741</sup>

Documents demonstrate that, to preserve the familial wealth as economic support for the new household of Antinoite citizens, Aphrodisios II managed to transfer it to his second wife Sarapias.<sup>742</sup> According to some financial registers from Theadelphia dated to the 160s, Philippos IV and Charition II retook possession of part, if not all, of land formerly belonging to Didymarion.<sup>743</sup> Nonetheless, as seen above, their maternal heritage was larger. No later traces of the four slaves and their offspring are preserved in the papyrus documentation. However, in a draft of the census declaration of AD 159/160,<sup>744</sup> Sarapias was likely

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<sup>739</sup> *BGU* IX 1896, 342-344.

<sup>740</sup> *CUA* H. H. 1 02 (no. 10) verso; *P.Meyer* 9 (no. 21). According to these documents, the four slaves were an unknown woman with her three children, Pasion alias Eutuches, Arpalos alias Nikephoros, and Herois; an unknown slave; Isidora alias Hediste with her child Aphrodous alias Parinos; and a fourth unknown slave.

<sup>741</sup> *CUA* H. H. 1 02 verso (no. 10), 2-3.

<sup>742</sup> There is no evidence of the new branch of Aphrodisios II in the papyrus documentation from Antinoopolis, but this might depend on the scarcity of papyri from the city: about thirty documents from second century Antinoopolis have been published so far.

<sup>743</sup> Based on *BGU* IX 1896, col. XV 342-344 and *BGU* IX 1897, 35, in which Philippos appeared as the owner of land formerly belonging to his mother and paid the *oktadrachmias spondes Dionysiou* on her behalf, Lewis argued that Aphrodisios II's sons won the trial; see Lewis 2001: 25-27. In support of this reconstruction, also Charition II was registered as the owner of private land from maternal inheritance in the second half of the second century; cf. *BGU* IX 1896, col. II 42; XXII 2910, col. II 10; *SB* XX 14239, 27.

<sup>744</sup> *P.Col. inv.* 159a (no. 26). It is unclear whether Philippos IV, acting in the document as the *kyrios* of Sarapias, was a co-owner of the property in the quarter of Moeris.

registered as the owner of the house in Arsinoe that Didymarion had bequeathed to her sons. This shows that the trial of AD 151 was not fully successful: it ended with a distribution of Didymarion's heritage between her sons and Sarapias. On the other hand, Aphrodisios's properties were massively transferred to his second wife, as suggested by two Theadelphia financial registers dated to AD 165/166, where the woman was recorded as a taxpayer for land formerly belonging to her husband.<sup>745</sup>

The strategy implemented by Aphrodisios II had a deep impact on the lives of Philippos IV and Charition II, who only inherited small plots of land from their mother. Through the administrative registers from Theadelphia dated to the second half of the second century, we can follow the events concerning the last generation of the family. As anticipated, Philippos IV took new measures to counterbalance the loss of private land. Around AD 165, he leased a large allotment of public land outside Theadelphia.<sup>746</sup> According to his latest attestations as a *pittakion* member in the 160s, he also attempted to regain economic and social security by entering the professional association of the state farmers of the village.<sup>747</sup> Seemingly, this strategy provided him with some support but did not bring him back to his previous wealth.<sup>748</sup> Finally, with the spread of the Antonine plague, the branch of the family residing in Theadelphia fell definitely.

To sum up, to enjoy the prestige of the settlement in Antinoopolis, Aphrodisios II created a new household of Antinoite citizens and implemented a series of socio-economic strategies aimed at ensuring their wealth. This was detrimental to his first family in Theadelphia, which is no longer attested after the spread of the Antonine Plague in AD 166/167. According to the prevalent opinion, the pandemic provoked a significant demographical decline in the village, as well as an economic arrest.<sup>749</sup> However, the familial events presented above

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<sup>745</sup> *BGU* IX 1896, col. 303-309; 1899, col. II 35-37. The entry in *BGU* IX 1896, col. 303-309 also records other two people, Zois daughter of Sparta and Heras son of Chrysas, as fiscally responsible of that plot after Aphrodisios II and before Sarapias. However, because they had no kinship with our family, they likely were villagers who had leased that land.

<sup>746</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4 v., col. X 4.

<sup>747</sup> The membership to the association of the state farmers guaranteed participation in the distribution of public land and allowed to contribute to some extent to the administrative life of the village. See Rowlandson 2007: 187-193; Kruse 2020: 87-91.

<sup>748</sup> The *pittakion* members could be promoted to the position of *pittakiarchai*, but Philippos IV likely never became a *pittakiarches* himself as he was a *sungeorgos* still in *P.Stras.* IX 830, col. I 5; *PSI* VII 793, col. VII 74. Like for *P.Stras.* IX 830, it is obscure whether *PSI* VII 793 was a list of *pittakiarchai* or *pittakion* members. Although some individuals there registered are attested as *pittakiarchai* in other documents, the fact that many others never became *pittakiarchai* supports the latter hypothesis. On *PSI* VII 793, see Borrelli 2017: 53-70.

<sup>749</sup> France 1999: 340-341; Sharp 1999: 185-189.

suggest that, due to outwards migrations, a phase of depopulation at Theadelphia could have occurred before the outbreak of the plague: some upper-class villagers moved to Antinoopolis, and the same phenomenon must have taken place in the other Fayum villages where the *élite* of the 6,475 resided.

## 5. Rise and Fall of the Family in the Second Century AD: A Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated the history of the family of the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants”, upper-class villagers belonging to the *élite* of the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoite”, to analyse how they adapted to the political changes in Egypt in the second century AD. In the first section, I have reconstructed the family’s genealogy and highlighted their conservative marriage patterns, aimed first at ensuring a continuative membership to the social group and then at expanding the family wealth.

After rebuilding the family’s genealogy, I have demonstrated that the family experienced socio-economic growth in the first half of the second century AD and a decline in the following decades. As they owned many movable and immovable properties in Arsinoe and Theadelphia, they could be appointed for liturgical offices and therefore contribute to the village administration. The membership to the 6,475, also stressed through the choice of Greek names, provided not only fiscal privileges. As a member of that social *élite*, Aphrodisios II gained a possibility of social advancement after AD 130, when he was chosen as a settler of Antinoopolis. His interest in enjoying the status of Antinoite citizen was the main cause of the decline of the last generation of the family in the second half of the second century AD. By discussing some papyri of the archive and some administrative registers from Theadelphia, I have proved that Aphrodisios II excluded the agnatic line of his family from the inheritance schemes to convey the family properties in a new household of citizens of Antinoopolis. From a historical perspective, the settlement of Antinoopolis may have led to a phase of depopulation of the village earlier than the large demographical decrease resulting from the spread of the Antonine Plague.

Evidence of growth and decline also comes from the analysis of the family’s land tenure. In the first half of the second century, our family owned at Theadelphia modest plots, mostly wheat fields and vineyards, from which they could derive a well-off lifestyle. For land management, they relied on the family members settling in the village, mostly women, and local peasants as tenants. In the 160s, in a period of economic decrease due to the loss



of the inheritance rights on the bulk of the family properties, Philippos IV leased state land in Theadelphia and outside. The case of a landowner turning to public land to face economic difficulties showed that also in the Fayum, like other nomes, villagers could adopt mixed landholding strategies and associate small plots privately owned to land leased from the state.

To sum up, the family of the archive belonged to that category of absentee landowners relying on peasants as land tenants, which is widely attested in the tax registers from Theadelphia dated to the second half of the second century. As it has been recently noticed by P. van Minnen, they were consistent in number and successful in the application of economic strategies also on small plots of land, so that they were able to guarantee economic prosperity even in the second century. This happened, and it is useful to remark on it here, before that Aurelius Appianus acquired and merged those small allotments in the large estate managed by Heroninos.<sup>750</sup>

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<sup>750</sup> Van Minnen 2019: 265-266.

## CHAPTER VII. PTOLEMAIOS SON OF DIODOROS ALIAS DIOSKOROS: A DILIGENT OFFICER IN A WORLD OF ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES

With the annexation of Egypt, the Roman government acquired a province that, for the quality of its land and the fruitfulness of its economic activities, became the treasury of the empire.<sup>751</sup> In order to preserve the richness of that region, the state managed to improve and order the pre-existent administrative system. For this purpose, it set up the liturgical system, the effectiveness of which derived from the involvement of villagers,<sup>752</sup> and implemented anti-corruption measures, such as the directive that the highest officials (*strategoi*, *basilikoi grammateis*, and *komogrammateis*) served outside their own villages.<sup>753</sup> The so-called archive of “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros” sheds light on the administrative innovations introduced by the Roman government: it shows to what extent the Egyptian inhabitants of the second-century Fayum were involved in the administration of the region and how they “cooperated” with the state authorities to ensure its functioning. The protagonist and keeper of the archival documentation was Ptolemaios,<sup>754</sup> a man active in Theadelphia in ca. AD 112-167. As I will demonstrate in the following discussion, despite his modest origin, Ptolemaios became an important officer of the village and, through his fight against corruption in the administrative environment of the Arsinoites, was involved in relevant matters concerning the whole nome.

In this chapter, I will use the documents of the archive and some administrative papyri from second century Theadelphia (Table 7. 1) to investigate the history of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, and provide a glimpse into the life of the inhabitants of the *chora* in the second century AD. After reconstructing Ptolemaios’ genealogy and background, I will focus on his appointments as a superintendent (*epiteretes*) of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia to demonstrate that he acted as the *grammateus* of this board of liturgists. By exploring the organisational features of the *epiteretai* of pastures and marshes, I will extensively discuss the institution and structure of the liturgical groups in the Roman Fayum. In the last part of the chapter, by analysing the petitions written by Ptolemaios, I will explain the reason for his prolific recourse to the practice of petitioning and highlight that

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<sup>751</sup> Derda 2019: 55-57; Bagnall 2021: 121-124.

<sup>752</sup> Bagnall 2021: 54.

<sup>753</sup> Derda 2019: 63.

<sup>754</sup> See Chapter III 4. *Final Layout of the Archive: A Conclusion*.

petitions on administrative topics were useful means for the state to control the administrative network of Egypt.

Table 7. 1. Distribution of the papyri related to the family of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros

Individual	Life span (AD)	Documents kept by them	Mentions in the papyrus evidence
Petesouchos	Unknown		<i>BGU IX 1895</i> , col. II 12; <i>P.Wisc. I 36</i> , 6
Ptolemaios I	Unknown		<i>BGU IX 1893</i> , col. XV 510
Diodoros alias Dioskoros	? - † After 157		<i>BGU IX 1895</i> , col. II 12
Isidora	Unknown		<i>BGU IX 1893</i> , col. XV 510; <i>P.Wisc. I 36</i> , 6
Sambathion	? - † After 157		<i>BGU IX 1896</i> , r. col. XII 274; <sup>755</sup> <i>P.Col. V 1 v. 6</i> , col. VII 95; <i>P.Wisc. I 36</i> , 5
Ptolemaios II	112 - † around 167	<i>P.Col. inv. 28</i> ; 29; 34b; <i>P.Leit. 14</i> ; <i>P.Mich. III 174</i> ; XI 617; <i>P.Oslo. III 89-91</i> ; <i>PSI III 160</i> ; VII 735; 737; 806; XIII 1323; <i>P.Wisc. I 33-37</i> ; <i>SB XIV 12087</i> ; XX 14311; 14401	<i>P.Col. inv. 28</i> , 7; inv. 29, 3; inv. 34b, 3, 15; <i>BGU IX 1892</i> , col. II 60; <i>BGU IX 1896</i> , r. col. XII 271; <i>P.Col. V 1 v. 3</i> , col. II 39; <i>P.Leit. 14</i> , 3, 16; <i>P.Lond. III 1170</i> , r. col. XVIII 720; <i>P.Mich. III 174</i> , 2, 23; XI 617, 2; <i>P.Oslo. III 89</i> , 28; III 90, 17; III 91, col. I 3, 21, col. II 24, 41; <i>PSI III 160</i> , 2, 18; VII 735, 3; 737, 17; 806, 3; XIII 1323, 2; <i>P.Wisc. I 33</i> , 2, 10; 34, 3; 35, col. I 4; 36, 7-837, 3, 16; <i>SB XIV 12087</i> , fr. A 2, 5, 8, fr. B 6; XX 14331, 3; 14401, 2
Anoubiaine alias Achillis	Unknown		<i>P.Col. inv. 28</i> , 4-5; <i>P.Wisc. I 36</i> , 16-17
Asklepiades	Unknown		<i>P.Col. inv. 28</i> , 5

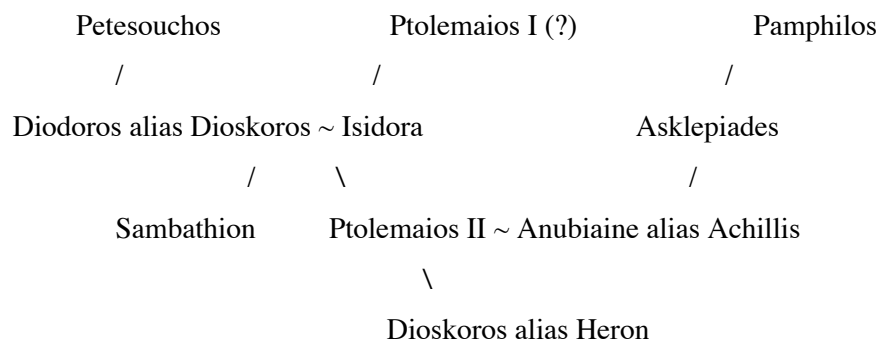
<sup>755</sup> The patronymic of Sambathion in *BGU IX 1896*, r. col. XII 274, published as ν(αυβίου(?)) εἰς Χαιρή(μονα) Ἀχιλλέω(ς) κ(ατ)οί(κων) (ἄρουραι) η σϞ καὶ Σαμβάθιο(ν) Διοδ( ) κ(ατ)οί(κων) (ἄρουραι) β, may be resolved as Διοδ(ώρου).

Pamphilos	Unknown		P.Col. inv. 28, 5
Dioskoros alias Heron	144 - † ?		BGU II 429, 6; P.Wisc. I 36, 17-18

## 1. Ptolemaios Son of Diodoros Alias Dioskoros, and His Family: Genealogy and Socio-Economic Status

The main character of the archive is Ptolemaios II, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, whose official role and relevance for the administrative system of Theadelphia in the second century AD will be detected in the following discussion. This introduction aims at reconstructing the familial background of Ptolemaios and his social position. Although Theadelphian documents provide scant information about Ptolemaios II's family, they allow us to piece together and explore his genealogy (Stemma 6). By underlying Ptolemaios' ability to fulfil administrative duties in the village and build advantageous connections with exponents of the Alexandrian class, I will demonstrate how even the Egyptians residing in the *chora*, who did not belong to any social *élite*, could acquire an important position in the Fayum villages and outside.

### Stemma 6. The family of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros<sup>756</sup>



<sup>756</sup> I have rebuilt the family stemma based on all the extant documentation. Two different versions of the stemma of the family were presented in *P.Wisc. I*: pp. 120-121 and Smolders 2015e: 333. The earlier family stemma included some people unrelated to the family: a Dioskoros as the brother of Ptolemaios II, a Ptolemaios (III) as the son of this Dioskoros, and a further Diodoros as the second son of Ptolemaios II. In his reconstruction of the family archive, Smolders rightly excluded those individuals. I have added to the family stemma proposed by Smolders two new profiles, Ptolemaios I and Heron.

In the papyrus evidence published so far, little information is available about Ptolemaios II's ancestors. Ptolemaios II's grandfather from the paternal agnatic line, and father of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, was Petesouchos.<sup>757</sup> Although the subsequent branches of the family will all adopt Greek names,<sup>758</sup> his Egyptian name reveals that the family belonged to the category of highly Hellenised Egyptians, fully integrated into the cultural environment of Roman Egypt and often involved in the administration of Fayum villages. The profiles of Ptolemaios II's parents are much clearer. His father Diodoros alias Dioskoros was a landowner at Theadelphia.<sup>759</sup> As he was usually recorded as Diodoros only in the documents from the village,<sup>760</sup> the individual found in some registers as Ptolemaios son of Dioskoros

<sup>757</sup> *BGU IX 1895*, col. II 12; *P.Wisc.* I 36 (no. 36), 6. Based on the digital image of the papyrus, *BGU IX 1895*, col. II 12, published as Διοδώρου . . . Διοσκόρου Σουχ( ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) . . . [β δ' κδ'], should be corrected (see Fig. 18). After Διοδώρου, there is a gap of ca. one letter, followed by *omicron-epsilon*, traces of καί, and the sequence διοσκ-; thus, the supplement Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκ(όρου) may be proposed. The patronymic of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, read as Σουχ( ), is more likely [Π]εξεσοῦχ(ου). Although *py* is illegible, there are some traces of the sequence *epsilon-tau-epsilon*: after an upper trace belonging to an *epsilon*, a u-shaped *tau* is in ligature with a cursive *epsilon*, attached to the following *sigma*. Also, the first letter after the symbol for (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) is likely a *delta*, as its shape resembles that of the following cancelled *delta*. In conclusion, I propose to read *BGU IX 1895*, col. II 12 as Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκ(όρου) [Π]εξεσοῦχ(ου) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ [ . . β δ' κδ' ].

Fig. 18. *BGU IX 1895*, col. II 12 Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκ(όρου) [Π]εξεσοῦχ(ου) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ [ . . β δ' κδ' ]



<sup>758</sup> From the generation of Ptolemaios onward, one finds all Greek names: Achillis, Anoubiaina, Asklepiades, Diodoros, Dioskoros, Heron, Isidora, Pamphilos, Ptolemaios, Sambathion, Sokrates, Soterichos, and Dioskourides. Several of them are moreover theophoric, cf. TM Nam 889; 2372; 2821; 3380; 3451; 21165.

<sup>759</sup> *BGU IX 1895*, col. II 12.

<sup>760</sup> This is suggested by two details emerging from the papyrus documentation. Firstly, Ptolemaios II usually subscribed the *penthemeros* reports of the superintendents of pastures and marshes as Πτολεμαῖος Διοδώρου; cf. *P.Col. inv.* 34b (no. 43), 15; *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), 17-18; *P.Mich.* III 174 (no. 32), 23; *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29), 28; *P.Oslo.* III 90 (no. 30), 17; *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), 18; *PSI* VII 737 (no. 49), 17; *P.Wisc.* I 33 (no. 40), 26; 37, 16; *SB XIV* 12087 (no. 51), fr. B 6. The only exception is *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31), 3, where Ptolemaios II is defined as Ptolemaios son of Dioskoros. Secondly, both Ptolemaios II and Sambathion were always recorded as the sons of Diodoros in the administrative registers from the village; for Ptolemaios cf. *BGU IX* 1892, col. II 60; *BGU IX* 1896, r. col. XII 271; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. XII 183; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 3, col. II 39; for Sambathion, cf. *BGU IX* 1896, r. col. XII 274; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 6, col. VII 95. *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. XII 183 has been published as Πτολ[ . . . ] . . . ρου Ἀθ(ὺρ) η (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ, but I propose the supplement Πτολ[εμαῖος] Διοδώρου: after the lacuna, in which the ending letters of the name Πτολ[εμαῖος] are lost, the name Διοδώρου is clearly legible (Fig. 19)

Fig. 19. *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. XII 183 Πτολ[εμαῖος] Διοδώρου Ἀθ(ὺρ) η (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ

cannot be identified with Ptolemaios II of the family archive.<sup>761</sup> Ptolemaios II's mother, Isidora, is mostly unknown. However, based on her uncommon name<sup>762</sup> and the onomastic trend to name children after their grandparents,<sup>763</sup> she might be identified with Isidora daughter of Ptolemaios, a landowner at Theadelphia and in the neighbouring village of Berenikis Aigialou.<sup>764</sup> Ptolemaios II had a sister, Sambathion. She owned at least two arouras of catoecic land and a house in Theadelphia, which had become the residence of her brother and his family,<sup>765</sup> and some unspecified immovables at Apias.<sup>766</sup>

The protagonist of the archive, Ptolemaios II was born around AD 112.<sup>767</sup> It has long been erroneously assumed that he was a veteran,<sup>768</sup> but he had a “normal” social status and



<sup>761</sup> A Ptolemaios son of Dioskoros is attested as a taxpayer and public farmer in Theadelphia in ca. AD 134-165; cf. *BGU IX* 1891, col. VI 171; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4, v. col. I 5-6; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. XIII 193; and *P.Mil.* II 65, 12. However, he was a different villager, as shown by a register where his full name is recorded: *BGU IX* 1891, col. VI 171, Πτολεμαίος Διοσκ(όρου) το(ῦ) Πτολ(εμαίου) μη(τρὸς) Τεφερω(τ)ος).

<sup>762</sup> The name of Ptolemaios' mother is attested in *P.Wisc.* I 36 (no. 36), 6. Only thirteen women named Isidora are attested in the published papyri from second century Theadelphia.

<sup>763</sup> Rowlandson 2004: 156.

<sup>764</sup> *BGU IX* 1893, col. XV 510-511; *BGU IX* 1897, col. V 101. The reading of *BGU IX* 1893, col. XV 510, published as Ἰσιδώρα Πτολεμαίου διὰ Ὠρεί(ωνος) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β δ' must be revalued. As in the abbreviation Ὠρεί(ωνος) a raised bowl-shaped *omega* is visible above *iota*, it should be corrected in Ὠρείω(νος) (see Fig. 20).

Fig. 20. *BGU IX* 1893, col. XV 510 Ἰσιδώρα Πτολεμαίου διὰ Ὠρείω(νος)



<sup>765</sup> *BGU IX* 1896, r. col. XII 274; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 6, col. VII 95; *P.Wisc.* I 36 (no. 36). In *P.Col.* V 1 v. 6, col. VII 95 Sambathion was registered as a taxpayer for the μερισμοῦ κριοῦ for the year AD 157/158. The μερισμοῦ ἔργων κριοῦ, or μερισμοῦ κριοῦ exclusively, was a tax for public works on canals similar to the *naubion*, owed by landowners; see Wallace 138: 163-164; *P.Col.* V: pp. 251-255 n. 91.

<sup>766</sup> *P.Wisc.* I 36 (no. 36).

<sup>767</sup> In *P.Wisc.* I 36 (no. 36), a census declaration dated to AD 147, Ptolemaios II was registered as a 35-year-old man.

<sup>768</sup> The assumption was due to an incorrect supplement of *P.Wisc.* I 33 (no. 40), 2-3 as [παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσ[ι]νοίτου οὐε[τ]ρα][νῶν. τοῦ ἀγαφορίου, proposed in *P.Wisc.* I: p. 119-122 and accepted by Reiter 2004: 194; Bryen-Wypustek 2009: 541; and recently Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 203-204 n. 10. It was refused by Hagedorn 1976: 158-159; Sängler 2008: 230-231; and Dolganov 2021: 374. Dolganov's reading of ll. 2-3 as [παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρ-σ[ι]νοίτου. οὐ ἐπ[ι]δ[ε]-[[δωκα ἀγαφορίου] is compelling on palaeographical and syntactical basis.

thus was not exempt from nor privileged in the payment for the capitation taxes.<sup>769</sup> Despite his low social origin, Ptolemaios received a high-level education: able to personally write his documentation,<sup>770</sup> he became an expert in writing.<sup>771</sup> His petitions, impressive for their almost literary tone and unusual lexicon,<sup>772</sup> demonstrate that he had likely received an education in rhetoric.<sup>773</sup> As was common for literate Egyptians, Ptolemaios II achieved an upper social position in the village,<sup>774</sup> where he was appointed for liturgical offices at least three times over 27 years. In AD 138, at the age of around 26, he performed his first term as a supervisor of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia, and ten years later a second term for the same office.<sup>775</sup> Moreover, two unpublished texts of the archive reveal a third and presumably last nomination as an *epiteretes* in AD 165/166.<sup>776</sup> In all probabilities, Ptolemaios II died not long after his last liturgical assignment: his latest appearance in the tax registers of the village dates to around AD 166.<sup>777</sup>

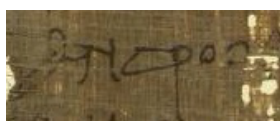
Ptolemaios II married Anubiaine alias Achillis, an Alexandrian citizen enjoying status, law, and tax privileges,<sup>778</sup> and in AD 144 gave birth to a son, Dioskoros alias Heron.<sup>779</sup> As

<sup>769</sup> In *BGU IX* 1892, col. II 60, a list of payments of tax arrears of AD 134, Ptolemaios II was charged the full rate of 44 drachmas for the poll tax (*laographia*) of AD 132/133, plus the fixed price for guard taxes (the *μαγδοφυλακία* and the *δεσμοφυλακία*). As the full rate of the poll tax in the Arsinoite nome was 40 drachmas, the additional 4 drachmas were charged for the *prodiagrophomena* and the *symbolikon*; see Wallace 1938: 121-126.

<sup>770</sup> All documents of the archive, except *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29) and 90 (no. 30) and *P.Wisc.* I 31 (no. 48) and 35 (no. 34), are written in Ptolemaios' hand; see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>771</sup> This is suggested by the frequent use of the dieresis over *iota* and *upsilon* and the presence of some peculiar ligatures in chancery style in Ptolemaios' papers. As a nice example of ligature in chancery style, see the shape of *delta-rho* in *P.Mich.* III 174 (no. 32), 12 ἀνδρός (Fig. 21).

Fig. 21. *P.Mich.* III 174, 12 ἀνδρός



<sup>772</sup> See below, Chapter VII 3. 1. *The Petitions of the Archive: Addressees, Language, and Matters*.

<sup>773</sup> Dolganov 2022: 358.

<sup>774</sup> On the value of literacy as a means of social mobility, see Ripat 2020: 122-128.

<sup>775</sup> *P.Col. inv.* 34b (no. 43); *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44); *P.Oslo.* III 89-91 (nos. 29, 30, 46); *PSI* III 160 (no. 47); VII 735 (no. 31); *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42).

<sup>776</sup> *P.Col. inv.* 29 (no. 52) is a nomination of *epiteretai* dated to AD 165/166. *P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46) *verso* is a daily account of payments in kind datable to the same period and probably drawn up by Ptolemaios during his last term as a liturgical officer.

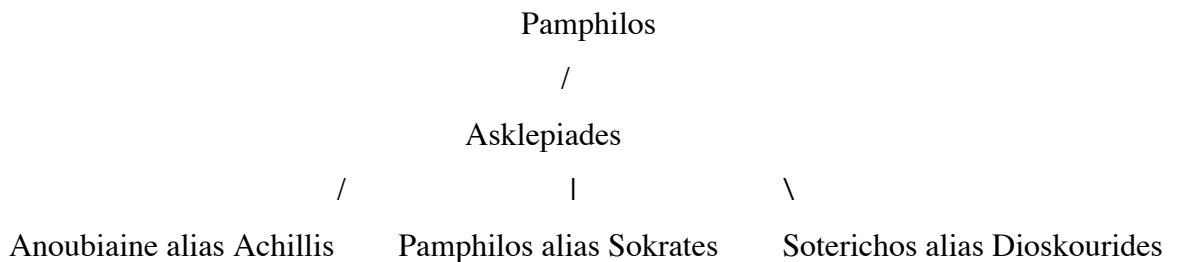
<sup>777</sup> *BGU IX* 1896, r. col. XII 271.

<sup>778</sup> Alexandrian citizens were exempt from the poll tax and liturgical appointments, had privileges in criminal law, and could aspire to be granted Roman citizenship; see Delia 1991: 39-46; Rowlandson-Harker 2004: 82; Venit 2012: 104; Jördens 2012b: 252-253.

<sup>779</sup> The birth date of Diskoros alias Heron may be reconstructed through *P.Wisc.* I 36 (no. 36), 18, a census declaration of AD 147 where he was registered as aged 3.

Anubiaines' family (Stemma 7) is unattested in the financial documentation from Theadelphia, they likely resided in Alexandria. Nevertheless, the woman's brother Pamphilos alias Sokrates had economic interests in the village as he was a *misthotes* of the *drymos* of Theadelphia in AD 149.<sup>780</sup> Marriages between Alexandrian women and well-off Egyptians of the *chora*, widely attested in the papyrus documentation, usually reflected an economic interest.<sup>781</sup> Similarly, the union between Anoubiaine alias Achillis and Ptolemaios II resulted from a marriage policy. According to P.Col. inv. 28, in AD 119/120 the woman's family faced financial troubles, which led them to borrow a large sum of money (3500 drachmas) from a Kapitolinos son of Diodoros, and until AD 147 risked the confiscation of their properties due to the legal action brought, after the death of Kapitolinos, by his brother and heir Ptolemaios.<sup>782</sup> In such a difficult situation, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros could have been a good ally for the Alexandrian family: he was a faithful friend of Asklepiades' sons and had gained a high position in the administrative environment of Theadelphia.<sup>783</sup>

Stemma 7. The family of Anoubiaine alias Achillis<sup>784</sup>



The youngest member of the family, Dioskoros alias Heron, is almost absent in the papyrological documentation from Theadelphia. According to a petition of AD 162, he left the village in AD 155/156, at the age of twelve or thirteen.<sup>785</sup> Let us analyse the *narratio* of

<sup>780</sup> *P.Wisc.* I 31 (no. 48), *r.* col. I 11-12.

<sup>781</sup> The most illustrative example comes from the third century Theadelphian archive of Heroninos: Diodora, daughter of the Alexandrian citizen Aurelius Appianus, married a wealthy landowner with normal social status, to accumulate landholdings and deal with their management; see Rathbone 1991: 51-53.

<sup>782</sup> Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 206-210.

<sup>783</sup> Before the marriage with Anoubiaine alias Achillis, presumably celebrated in AD 143/144, Ptolemaios had been appointed as a liturgist at least once in the village. Also, he had already established contacts with the higher officers of the nome as his petitions, addressed to them, date from AD 144; see Chapter VII 3. 1. *The Petitions of the Archive: Addressees, Language, and Matters.*

<sup>784</sup> The family stemma has been reconstructed based on P.Col. inv. 28 (no. 38), a petition recently published by Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 195-217.

<sup>785</sup> *SB XIV* 12087 (no. 51), 10-12.



the document (Il. 10-12): υἱὸν ἔχω, κύ-ριε, τέλειον. οὗτος ἀπὸ 19 (ἔτους) Αἰλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐχωρίσθη καὶ οὔτε κοινόβιός μοι ἐγένετο οὔτε ἐν τῇ κώ-μῃ συννομιτεύεται “I have a son, my lord, who is full-grown. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> year of Aelius Antoninus he has been separated from me, and neither has he shared my life nor is he associated with anyone in the village.”<sup>786</sup> As Ptolemaios knew that his son was alive and had become an adult, it is unlikely that Dioskoros alias Heron was kidnapped; more likely, he had to face an agreed separation from his father.<sup>787</sup> He did not come back to Theadelphia before AD 162, as suggested by Ptolemaios’s statement that his son had no relationships with the inhabitants of that village. What is mostly obscure is the cause of that separation. Some clues detectable in Ptolemaios’ petitions provide a possible answer. In many of them Ptolemaios argued that the socio-administrative environment of Theadelphia, to which he belonged, was dangerous and corrupted.<sup>788</sup> Thus, Dioskoros alias Heron was likely transferred away with his mother, who is likewise unattested in the documentation from the village after AD 149, as a protective measure.<sup>789</sup>

To sum up, the archive of Ptolemaios II, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, mainly revolves around its protagonist. Despite his modest origin, since the ‘30s of the second century AD Ptolemaios became one of the most important inhabitants of Theadelphia. His high socio-economic position, deriving from a moderate hereditary wealth, was enhanced by his capability of building familial relationships with the Alexandrian *élites* and professional connections with the highest officers of the province. Many details suggest that the family of Ptolemaios was well-off. Firstly, the appointment for the superintendency of pastures and marshes required a minimum annual *poros* of 500 drachmas or 1.5 talents.<sup>790</sup> As Ptolemaios II performed that liturgy at least three times, he likely retained lifelong modest

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<sup>786</sup> Translation by Youtie (a) 1976: 138.

<sup>787</sup> It is plausible that, in case of kidnapping or sudden disappearance, Ptolemaios II would have resorted to the police bodies, as was usual in those situations. Cf. for instance, *P.Gen.* I 17, a petition from Theadelphia dated to AD 207, in which a woman resorted to the village officers to look for her missing husband; see Mascellari 2020: 28-29.

<sup>788</sup> In some petitions of AD 147, Ptolemaios claimed to be the victim of such harassment that he was in danger of death (*P.Wisc.* I 33 (no. 40), 13-15) and denounced usury and abuses from Ptolemaios son of Pappos and his henchmen (*SB XX* 14401 (no. 39); *PSI XIII* 1323 (no. 41)). On Ptolemaios’ petitions, see below Chapter VII 3. 1. *The Petitions of the Archive: Addressees, Language, and Matters.*

<sup>789</sup> Not by chance, in *SB XIV* 12087 (no. 51) Ptolemaios did not mention his son’s name: this might evince Ptolemaios’ intention to keep Dioskoros alias Heron safe, away from the socio-administrative issues of the village.

<sup>790</sup> Lewis 1997: 28.

financial prosperity.<sup>791</sup> Secondly, in AD 148/149 he leased 7 aruras of catoecic land, or probably a whole estate measuring 14 aruras, for a rent of 14 artabas plus the grain taxes in levied on that land.<sup>792</sup> he seemingly had some cash available to lease land and the financial means required to manage medium-sized plots. Thirdly, his sister Sambathion owned some properties in the villages of Theadelphia and Apias. And finally, most of the family members were small landowners in the village (Table 7. 2).

Even though Ptolemaios II acquired a high position in Theadelphia, his son moved off from the village. Also, the names of the family's members disappear from the local documentation dated to the obscure period following the burst of the Antonine plague. Thus, after Ptolemaios II's death and the spread of the plague in the Fayum, his papers were thrown away in a rubbish dump; accordingly, they had become useless as his family was no longer involved in the administrative and economic life of Theadelphia.

Table 7. 2. Distribution of land in the family of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros<sup>793</sup>

People	Sources	Date (AD)	Land tax	Land extent
Diodoros alias Dioskoros	<i>BGU IX 1895, col. II 12</i>	Ca. 157	4 artabas of wheat	4 ar.
Isidora	<i>BGU IX 1893, col. XV 510</i>	149	2 1/4 artabas of wheat	2.25 ar. of private land
Sambathion	<i>BGU IX 1896, r. col. XII 274</i>	Ca. 166	None	2 ar. of private land
Ptolemaios II	<i>BGU IX 1896, r. col. XII 271</i>	Ca. 166	None	1 ar. of vineyards in culture
			3000 dr. of copper for the ἀπόμοιρα ἀμπελῶνος	1 ar. of vineyards
			150 dr. of copper for the ναύβιον ἐναφεσίων	1 ar. of vineyards

<sup>791</sup> Kelly 2011: 133-134; Mascellari 2021: 1271-1272.

<sup>792</sup> *SB XX 14311* (no. 45); see Lapin 1991: 157.

<sup>793</sup> In the table, I have reconstructed the amount of land individually owned by some members of the family through a conversion of the mentioned land taxes to land extent. For an overview of the system of taxation on land per aroura, see Chapter VI 3. *Evidence of Decline: From Landownership to Leasing Land.*

			2000 drachmas for the ἐπαρούριον	1 ar. of vineyards
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## 2. Ptolemaios the Liturgist: The *Epiteretai* of Pastures and Marshes of Theadelphia

At the beginning of the Roman domination in Egypt, the government encouraged the creation of a network of liturgists to entrust rural communities with administrative duties in the villages.<sup>794</sup> Even though we have gained deep knowledge of many liturgical offices,<sup>795</sup> the organisational system of the different groups of liturgists is still partially obscure. As the archive of “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros” provides insights on the same officers in the same place in a defined period (138-149), I will use it as a source to investigate the features of the superintendents (*epiteretai*) of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, liturgists performing a one-year but renewable office,<sup>796</sup> attested in AD 138-173 in the villages of Theadelphia and Polydeukia only.<sup>797</sup>

Having clarified the topographical layout of the marshy area, I will focus on the liturgy of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, and investigate their appointment, duties, written production, and internal organisation. This study will shed light on some historical and administrative features of second-century Fayum. By comparing the duties of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia to those of other *epiteretai* attested elsewhere in the Fayum, I will discuss the drying up of the marsh of Theadelphia in the ‘70s of the second century AD. Also, by detecting the position of Ptolemaios among his colleagues, I will point out that the main feature of the board of the superintendents of pastures and marshes was an internal

<sup>794</sup> Kruse 2019: 134. On the liturgical system, see especially Oertel 1917; Lewis 1997.

<sup>795</sup> Derda 2019: 61-63.

<sup>796</sup> Both the main characters of our archives, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros and Philippos son of Aphrodisios (Philippos IV of the stemma family provided in Chapter VI), performed the superintendency of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia more than once. Ptolemaios was *epiteretes* of pastures and marshes in AD 138 and 148-149; cf. P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43); *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44); *P.Oslo.* III 89-91 (nos. 29, 30, 46); *PSI* III 160 (no. 47); VII 735 (no. 31); *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42). Philippos IV, after performing this liturgy with his colleague Ptolemaios in the mandate of AD 148-149, was appointed again for this liturgy in AD 154-155; cf. P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43); *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44); *P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46); *P.Ryl.* II 98a (no. 24); *PSI* III 160 (no. 47); V 458 (no. 25); *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42).

<sup>797</sup> The earliest attestation is in *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29), the latest one in *SB* XIV 11613.

distribution of tasks reflecting the liturgists' individual aptitudes. This will lead to a broader discussion of the development of the liturgical system in the Roman Fayum, which will demonstrate that the government, while forcing local *élites* to contribute to village administration through liturgical appointment, left them a certain level of organisational autonomy.

## 2. 1. The *drymoi* of Theadelphia and Polydeukia

The *drymoi* (marshes) were thickets in marshy areas, usually located on the edges of the land flooded by the Nile, which disappeared in the fourth century AD due to the diffuse drying up of the region.<sup>798</sup> Based on the papyrological evidence, many *drymoi* have been localised throughout the Fayum.<sup>799</sup> One of the more widely attested marshes in the Fayum was that of the village of Theadelphia. According to three Theadelphian registers spanning from AD 157 to ca. 170, in the second half of the second century the pastures and marshes extended for about 1.800 arouras, with ca. 1000 ar. reserved for the *drymoi*.<sup>800</sup> However, the path of the *drymos* of Theadelphia and its connection with the marsh of the neighbouring village of Polydeukia are still unclear. Thus, I am going to clarify those topographical issues and explore the hybrid system developed by the state to administer the domain marshland in the second century AD.

In the papyrological documentation, the marshland of Theadelphia is attested either through the singular form *drymos* or the plural *drymoi*. All *penthemeros* reports of the archive are issued by some officers called ἐπιτηρητὰι νομῶν καὶ δρυμῶν Θεαδελφίας καὶ

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<sup>798</sup> Bonneau 1983: 4-5; Blouin 2014: 135.

<sup>799</sup> At least eight *drymoi* have been located alongside those of Theadelphia and Polydeukia: the “*drymos* of Theos” in Tebtynis (TM Geo 602); the *drymoi* of Tebetny and Kerkeesis in the *meris* of Polemon (TM Geo 53108 and 56805), which were under the jurisdiction of Tebtynis; the *drymos* of Hiera Nesos (TM Geo 589); the *drymos* of Philadelphia (TM Geo 600); the *drymos* of Psyon (TM Geo 603), possibly under the jurisdiction of Soknopaiou Nesos; the so-called “*drymos* of the Persians” under the jurisdiction of the same village (TM Geo 599); the *drymos* of Tamauis; and the *drymos* Arabon (TM Geo 596), under the jurisdiction of Soknopaiou Nesos. The “*drymos* of D.ela of Petronios” (TM Geo 12560) is still unlocated in the Fayum.

<sup>800</sup> The village land occupied by pastures and marshes under the *dioikesis* was of at least 963 arouras; cf. *BGU IX 1894* (AD 157), col. I 8-9; col. I 12; col. II 23; *P.Col. V v. 1a* (ca. AD 160), col. II 29; col. II 33; *BGU XI 1900* (dated by France 1999: 304 to ca. AD 170), col. VIII 154. However, *BGU IX 1894* also provides other figures of the marshland and pastures of Theadelphia: around 1550 arouras of temple land and under the *dioikesis* (*BGU IX 1894*, col. VI 59-68) and 297 arouras belonging to the *ousiac* land (*BGU IX 1984*, col. IX 102-103); see France 1999: 305-309.

Πολυδευκίας; in this title, the term δρυμός is usually in the plural form.<sup>801</sup> On the other hand, the marsh of Theadelphia was always designated with the singular form δρυμός in documents referring only to the marshland of that village.<sup>802</sup> At first glance, one might suspect that the designation “superintendents of pastures and marshes” was a standard official title, and the plural terms *nomoi* and *drymoi* had no numerical value. However, two applications for hunting rights demonstrate that the plural form was not a standard element of the title of such liturgists since in their address the same title is ἐπιτηρητὰι νομῶν καὶ δρυμοῦ κώμης Θεαδελφίας.<sup>803</sup> Also, the plural term *drymoi* is likewise attested in a non-formulaic context,<sup>804</sup> and thus conveyed a specific plural meaning. As a result, the alternation between the singular and the plural form of the term *drymos*, attested in the papyrus evidence, reflected a geographical reality: although multiple marshes were located within the administrative boundaries of the villages of Theadelphia and the neighbouring Polydeukia, only one of them was labelled as the *drymos* of Theadelphia.<sup>805</sup> A recent survey of the site led to localising the marshes in the area: the *drymos* of Theadelphia probably extended from the village to the south of Theoxenis,<sup>806</sup> the *drymos* subject to the jurisdiction

<sup>801</sup> Cf. *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), 8; *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29), 16; 90 (no. 30), 8-9; 91 (no. 45), col. I 7, col. II 28; *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42), 7. In *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), 5 the reading δρυμοῦ seems correct, but it might be a mistake of the scribe. The first editors of *P.Leit.* 14, *P.Oslo.* III 89 and 90, erroneously read the singular form δρυμοῦ instead of δρυμῶν; on my reeditions of those texts, see *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29); *P.Oslo.* III 90 (no. 30); *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44).

<sup>802</sup> *P.Athen.* 35, 7; *P.Mich.* XI 617 (no. 35), 2-3; *P.Mil.* I 6, 8; *P.Ryl.* II 98a (no. 24), 2-3; *PSI* V 458 (no. 25), 3-4; *P.Wisc.* I 31 (no. 48), r. col. I 12; 34, 4; 35, 5-6.

<sup>803</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 98a (no. 24), 2-3; *PSI* V 458 (no. 25), 3-4.

<sup>804</sup> *P.Giss.univ.* I 12, 13-14, a contract of *misthosis* from Theadelphia dated to AD 87/88. Lines 13-14 were published as ὡς μὲν δρυμοῦ Θεαδελφ[είας κ(αὶ)] | Πολυδευκεί(ας) δραγμαὶ [- ca. 9 -], but, based on the digital image of the document, the reading δρυμοῦ should be corrected in δρυμῶν. The last letter of the word is likely an *omega*, with the last line extended upwards as a sinusoid: this was a common shape of the ending sequence *omega-nu* in the words at the genitive plural (Fig. 22).

Fig. 22. *P.Giss.univ.* I 12, 13 δρυμῶν



<sup>805</sup> Similarly, the *drymoi* of Tebetny and Kerkeesis in the *meris* of Polemon were geographically separate but subject to the same administrative officers. This is demonstrated by the use of the singular term *drymos* in connection to the marsh of Tebetny or Kerkeesis only, and the plural *drymoi* when referring to the marshes of Tebetny and Kerkeesis together; cf. *P.Bour.* 42, r. col. II 39; col. IX 223; col. X 256; *P.Kron.* 42, 11-12; 62, 5; *P.Mil.Vogl.* III 181, 12-13 (duplicate of *P.Kron.* 42); *P.Sijp.* 42c, 3-4; 42d, 3-4; *SB* XX 14307, 5.

<sup>806</sup> Bonneau had localised the *drymos* of Theadelphia based on *P.Mil.* I 6, an application to the tax farmer (*ekleptor*) of the *ousia* of Julia Augusta dated to 26 AD; see Bonneau 1982: 188-190. Here Harthotes requested to be granted the right for gathering papyrus and reeds from the marsh from the village of Philoteris, in the north-west of the Fayum between Euhemeria and Dionysias, to Theoxenis,

of Theadelphia and Polydeukia was east to the main canal of the village, the Bahr Qasr el-Banât, and some other marshes lay north to the village (Map 4).<sup>807</sup>

Map 4. The geomorphological map of the *meris* of Themistos<sup>808</sup>



The *drymos* of Theadelphia represented an important economic resource for the village. It was the venue of many activities: fishing, hunting, and catching waterfowls, as well as gathering papyrus and reeds to produce mats for commercial purposes.<sup>809</sup> For their worth, in the Ptolemaic period the Fayum *drymoi* had been categorised as imperial domain land, subject to the state monopoly.<sup>810</sup>

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approximately located in the south of the division of Themistos. This area, however, did not represent the path of the *drymos* of Theadelphia, see Römer 2019: 109. On the village of Theoxenis, see TM Geo 2386; Berkes-Haug 2016: 202-203. On the village of Philoteris, see TM Geo 1780; Römer-Brosch-el-Muhammad-Bailey-Kirby-Obbink 2004: 281; Römer 2019: 215-258.

<sup>807</sup> Römer 2019: 109. The marshes located north of Theadelphia were the “large *drymos*” and the “small *drymos*” mentioned in *P.Lond.* III 1170, v. 302, 454-454, 457, 512.

<sup>808</sup> From Römer 2019: 398.

<sup>809</sup> *P.Mil.* I 6; *P.Ryl.* II 89a (no. 24); *PSI* V 458 (no. 25). See also Lewis 1983: 68; Hagedorn-Reiter 2001: 199-200; Reiter 2004: 193.

<sup>810</sup> Cf. *P.Tebt.* I: pp. 48-50 n. 170; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 31. The management of the *drymoi* of the Fayum was economically profitable even when they had dried up. Those marshy areas experienced three main phases: initially covered by water, and so productive for fishing and catching aquatic animals, in an intermediate phase they were mostly used for pastures. In the last phase, they were equivalent to other types of arable land as completely dried up; see Bonneau 1983: 6-12.

The Roman government made three changes in the administration of the *drymoi*. First, some marshes became private land.<sup>811</sup> Second, a mixed system of tenancy of the domain marshes was developed. The state preferred leasing out to private individuals, usually owning plots of land located near the marshes;<sup>812</sup> however, in the absence of bidders, it could cede the rights for hunting and fishing in the marshes to privates<sup>813</sup> or hire fishermen and hunters as employees.<sup>814</sup> Fishermen in the state marshes had to turn over to the superintendents of pastures and marshes their activities' proceeds to receive half of them as a salary.<sup>815</sup> Since the proceeds from hunting and fishing in the marshes, depending on a range of hardly predictable natural conditions, were not a secure economic source,<sup>816</sup> probably in September 148 AD the state officialised the contracts of cession of the rights for fishing and hunting in the Fayum *drymoi* to the priests.<sup>817</sup> Acting as middlemen, they sold them to fishermen for a φόρος usually more expensive than the taxes they had to pay to the authorities.<sup>818</sup> Under this hybrid system, the state ensured to never be at a loss by receiving double income, which resulted from both the taxes on marshland and the proceeds from the activities carried out in the *drymoi*.<sup>819</sup> Finally, as a third and mayor innovation in the management of marshes, the Roman government introduced the superintendents (*epiteretai*) of pastures and marshes, whose liturgical office will be explored below.

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<sup>811</sup> As a result of the privatisation of the marshland, the office of the *epiteretai* of pastures and marshes completely disappeared by the end of the third century; see Lewis 1997: 28.

<sup>812</sup> Adams 2013: 276-277. Ptolemaios is attested as a *misthotes* of the *drymos* of Theadelphia in *P.Mich.* XI 617 (no. 35), 2; *P.Wisc.* I 34 (no. 33), 3-4; *P.Wisc.* I 35 (no. 34), col. I 4-6; his brother-in-law Pamphilos alias Sokrates was also a lessee of the marshland of Teadelphia, according to *P.Wisc.* I 31 (no. 48), r. col. I 11-12.

<sup>813</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 98a (no. 24) and *PSI* V 458 (no. 25).

<sup>814</sup> In Roman Egypt, fishermen represented a lower-class *collegium*, whose members usually had family ties, or were organised in *societates*, namely companies including both fishermen and investors. Due to heavy taxation imposed on fishermen, they also performed land works to gain economic security; see Besta 1921: 71; Bekker-Nielsen 2010: 194; Marzano 2018: 445.

<sup>815</sup> Cf. *P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46) and *PSI* III 160 (no. 47); see Jouguet 1911b: 422-424 n. 6; Johnson 1936: 378.

<sup>816</sup> Reiter 2004: 197-198.

<sup>817</sup> The introduction of the priestly contracts at Theadelphia happened before 22 September 148 AD, when the supervision of them is first mentioned as a duty of the superintendents of pastures and marshes; see *P.Col. inv.* 34b (no. 43). The priestly tax for pastureland is recorded in *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, col. II 29, a register of taxes in money from the village dated to AD 160.

<sup>818</sup> In *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), 19-22, a *penthemeros* report of AD 149, a subscriber named Onesimos noticed that he had supervised the document. As this individual explicitly stated that he had rights towards both the fishermen and the *epiteretai*, he must have been a priest who had taken over the management of the *drymoi*; see *PSI* III: p. 13 n. 19.

<sup>819</sup> Reiter 2004: 198.

## 2. 2. Profiles and Appointment of the Superintendents of Pastures and Marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia

First of all, who were the superintendents of pastures and marshes and how were they appointed? In the documents of the archive and two applications for fishing and hunting rights from second century Theadelphia,<sup>820</sup> many superintendents are mentioned by name,<sup>821</sup> and some others hide under the expression “and associate superintendents” (καὶ μέτοχοι ἐπιτηρηταί). Predictably, since the main requirement for selection as superintendents was a minimum *poros* of 500 drachmas or 1.5 talents,<sup>822</sup> most of the *epiteretai* attested in our archives belonged to the landowning *élite* of the village.<sup>823</sup> Neither special status,<sup>824</sup> nor Theadelphian provenance was required,<sup>825</sup> but the leaseholders of the marshland of

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<sup>820</sup> P.Col. inv. 29 (no. 52); 34b (no. 43); *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44); *P.Oslo.* III 89-91 (nos. 29, 30, 46); *P.Ryl.* II 98a (no. 24); *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42); *PSI* III 160 (no. 47); V 458 (no. 25); VII 735 (no. 31).

<sup>821</sup> Ten superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia appear in the *penthemeros* reports dated to AD 138, and seven in the documents dated to AD 148/149.

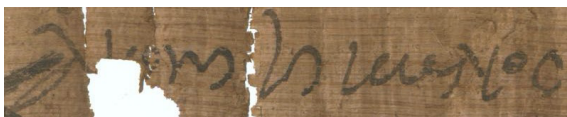
<sup>822</sup> Lewis 1997: 28.

<sup>823</sup> Many superintendents of pastures and marshes are attested as landowners in the village: Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros; Philippos son of Aphrodisios; Ptolemaios son of Eudaimon; Sarapion son of Sabinus; Didymos son of Didymos; Didymos son of Heraklides; Sarapion son of Petermouthis; Philippos son of Herakleios; and Heraklides son of Heraklides. Gaius Longinus Priscus had a career in the army and then turned to the goldsmith's industry in Euhemeria; on him, see *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29), n. 8-10. Several superintendents attested in our papyri have not been identified. This is unsurprising: since their office took place in Theadelphia and Polydeukia, some *epiteretai* might have resided in Polydeukia, and the second-century papyri from Polydeukia are extremely scarce (only six documents from second century Polydeukia have been published so far).

<sup>824</sup> Individuals belonging to the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoite”, Roman citizens, as well as Egyptians not belonging to any special category, such as our Ptolemaios, are attested as superintendents of pastures and marshes; see *P.Wisc.* I: p. 134 n. 6.

<sup>825</sup> Cf. *BGU* IX 1900; XIII 2251; *SB* XIV 11613. *BGU* XIII 2251 is a nomination of liturgists datable to ca. AD 157 on prosopographical basis, where a *metropolites* and farmer at Euhemeria was appointed for the superintendence of marshes of Theadelphia. His name, read as Ἄβουϛ Ἰσίωνοϛ (l. 4), is more likely Ἄκοῦϛ as the first vertical of the letter is taller than the second one, while in u-shaped *beta* both verticals had the same height (Fig. 23). Akous son of Ision is attested in *P.Col.* II 1 r. 6, col. IV 2, a register of *sitologia* dated to ca. AD 157 and coming from Euhemeria. *SB* XIV 11613 is a liturgical announcement dated to AD 173, in which an individual from Talei was appointed as a substitute for the superintendence at Theadelphia. Finally, according to *BGU* IX 1900, col. VIII 154-155, a land register from Theadelphia dated to ca. AD 170, the supervision on an estate of pastureland in the village was carried out by the *epiteretai* of Philagris. On the date of this register, see France 1999: 304.

Fig. 23. *BGU* XIII 2251, 4 Ἄκοῦϛ Ἰσίωνοϛ





Theadelphia were seemingly privileged candidates as they had familiarity with the management of the *drymoi*.<sup>826</sup>

Although elsewhere in the Fayum the collection of taxes related to the *drymoi* was up to the nomarch,<sup>827</sup> the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia represented a nome institution subject to the *strategos*,<sup>828</sup> who was in charge of their appointment.<sup>829</sup> It seems that, after the unification of the *merides* of Themistos and Polemon, all *epiteretai* were appointed generically as a group.<sup>830</sup> This is suggested by an unpublished document belonging to the papers of Ptolemaios, an excerpt from an announcement of the *strategos* including a list of appointed *epiteretai* in the divisions of Themistos and Polemon in AD 165/166.<sup>831</sup> The matter of the notice was generically defined  $\pi]ερ]ι\ τ\hat{\omega}ν\ \acute{\epsilon}πιτ]ηρητ(\hat{\omega}ν)$ , and, in the following list, all *epiteretai* were recorded without any reference to their specific category. This omission might be meaningless, if the writer of this document only copied some details relevant to him, or imply a peculiarity of the *epiteretai*'s appointment. Should the latter be the case, as I believe,<sup>832</sup> we could gather that the *strategos* elected the superintendents of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon as a group, but the *epiteretai*'s subdivision by area of competence was arranged later, possibly by the *komogrammateis* based on the villages' needs. Support for this comes from a liturgical announcement dated to AD 173, stating that a "superintendent of the pastures of marsh and animals of the village of Theadelphia" was to be replaced by Didymos son of Maron, an individual from the village of Talei.<sup>833</sup> As this specific  $\acute{\epsilon}πιτ]ήρησις$  is unattested at Talei,

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<sup>826</sup> Dolganov 2021: 357.

<sup>827</sup> In the early Roman period, the nomarch was usually a former *strategos*, with limited or no administrative involvement, who leased the responsibility for the collection of some taxes to ease the financial burden of the state. His figure did not replace the *strategos*, who remained the main officer in charge of taxation at the level of the nome. On the taxes subject to the nomarch, see Reiter 2004: 100-262.

<sup>828</sup> There is no explicit connection between the nomarch and the *epiteretai* of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia; see Reiter 2004: 192. Moreover, it is unclear why the collection of some taxes fell at the same time on a *misthotes* such as the nomarch and the *epiteretai* appointed by the state; see Rathbone 2007a: 491.

<sup>829</sup> On the procedure of appointment of liturgists, see Stroppa 2017: 26-29.

<sup>830</sup> Before AD 137 the *epiteretai* were differentiated by area of oversight since their nomination. This is suggested by SB XIV 12504, col. I, a liturgical announcement from the *strategos* concerning the appointment of *epiteretai* dated to AD 135, in which their area of superintendence is immediately specified (ll. 6-7).

<sup>831</sup> P.Col. inv. 29 (no. 52).

<sup>832</sup> Although P.Col. inv. 29 (no. 52) could be an abridged version of the original liturgical announcement, it is unlikely that the writer did not copy such an important detail as the category of the appointed *epiteretai*.

<sup>833</sup> SB XIV 11613.

Didymos had been likely proposed as a superintendent candidate and subsequently appointed to fill a vacancy in another village.

### 2. 3. Varying Duties: Evidence of the Drying Up of the Village Marshes?

The main source of the duties of the superintendents of pastures and marshes is their official titulature, recorded in the administrative documents from the village. Until 3 September 148 AD, our superintendents were labelled as “superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia” (ἐπιτηρηταὶ νομῶν καὶ δρυμῶν Θεαδελφίας καὶ Πολυδευκίας):<sup>834</sup> according to this title, they had to supervise the activities carried out in the marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, keep account of their revenues, and grant the rights for hunting, fishing, or cutting aquatic plants. Moreover, the *epiteretai* had jurisdiction over some land qualified as “pastures”. The association of two different categories of land, the pastureland and the marshland, likely depended on the geomorphological features of the *drymoi* of Theadelphia and Polydeukia: when drying up, the marshes of the villages became land suitable for livestock grazing, and therefore “pastures”.<sup>835</sup>

A very long title is attested since 22 September 148 AD: “superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, and of priestly contracts accounted under imperial leases, and of the other aquatic revenue devolving (thereto), and fishery” (ἐπιτηρηταὶ νομῶν καὶ δρυμῶν Θεαδελφίας καὶ Πολυδευκίας καὶ ἱερατικῶν ὀνῶν ἐν οὐσιακοῖς μισθωταῖς λογιζομένων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὑδατικῆς προσόδου ἥς καὶ ὑποπέιπται καὶ θήρας ἰχθύας).<sup>836</sup> It demonstrates that new duties were assigned to the *epiteretai* around the middle of the second century,<sup>837</sup> namely the collection of taxes from the priests who had leased the rights for fishing and hunting in the *drymoi*, and the superintendence of revenues from fishing and other unspecified activities in the marshes.

In their latest attestation, dated to 7 August 173 AD, the superintendents appeared as “superintendents of the pastures of marsh and animals of the village of Theadelphia” (ἐπιτη(ρητοῦ) νομ(ῶν) δρυμοῦ καὶ ζῴ(ων) κόμ(ης) Θεαδελ(φείας)).<sup>838</sup> The term ζῴ(ων) is

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<sup>834</sup> *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42), 6-7.

<sup>835</sup> Bonneau 1983: 9-10. That the pastures of Theadelphia were categorised as land connected to the marsh is further demonstrated by the existence of a joint rent for pastureland and marshland; cf. *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, col. II 27 φό[ρ]ου νομ(ῶν) καὶ δρυμ(ῶν). An equivalent rent was the οὐσ(ίας) φόρο(υ) νομῶν καὶ θήρα(ς) ἰχ(θύας) mentioned in *BGU IX* 1984, col. IX 102.

<sup>836</sup> *P.Col. inv.* 34b (no. 43).

<sup>837</sup> Abd-el-Ghany 1990: 110.

<sup>838</sup> *SB XIV* 11613, 4-5. The reading ζῴ(ων), firstly proposed in Sijpesteijn-Worp 1977: 216, has been accepted in the last reedition of the document in Stroppa 2017: 56-60. Previously, the sequence had been edited as ζυ(τηράς); see Hagedorn 1987: 82.

unclear in this context: as generic for “animals”, it might refer to either the livestock grazing in the marshy areas or the wild fauna of the marshland. However, since the mention of the *nomoi* in the title referred to the superintendence of the pasturage of domestic livestock, ζῶ(ων) probably indicated the usual inspection of hunting and fishing activities, and thus was equivalent to θήρας ἰχθύας, attested in the earlier title.<sup>839</sup> The title of AD 173 is particularly interesting, as the absence of the connective καί between νομ(ῶν) and the following δρυμοῦ might reflect a change in the conditions of the village marshes, which could have dried up and become land suitable only for pasturage before that year. This is confirmed by a register of lessees of state land from Theadelphia dated to ca. AD 170, where there is no mention of marshes, but the land earlier defined as νομῶν καὶ δρυμῶν is recorded as νομῶν καὶ ἄλλων.<sup>840</sup>

To summarise, the *epiteretai* of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia were liturgists specific to those villages, exclusively mentioned in the documentation from second century Theadelphia. Their appointment was up to the *strategos* and was not limited to Theadelphian villagers but open to candidates from the whole nome. Interestingly, the superintendents of pastures and marshes had to offer many services, which in other Fayum villages were distributed between different liturgists.<sup>841</sup> For instance, the “superintendents of pastures” (ἐπιτηρηταὶ νομῶν) of the division of Heraklides fulfilled the collection of taxes on the livestock grazing on state land,<sup>842</sup> whereas the “superintendents of the fishing tax” (ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἰχθυηρᾶς), attested elsewhere in Egypt in the second century AD, dealt exclusively with the fishery in the *drymoi* and its revenues.<sup>843</sup> The unification of these duties

<sup>839</sup> This interpretation of the term ζῶ(ων) is supported by *PSI* III 222, a complaint for missed payment for hunting taxes coming from the Herakleopolites and dated approximately to the end of the third century AD, where the claimer is defined as μισθωτῆς ἀγρίων θήρας ζῶων καὶ ὀρνέων.

<sup>840</sup> *BGU* IX 1900, col. VIII 154.

<sup>841</sup> Lewis 1963: 29.

<sup>842</sup> The superintendents of pastures are attested in the *meris* of Heraklides, in the villages of Philoteris (*BGU* II 478-480), Soknopaiou Nesos (*Chr. Wilck.* 355; *P. Aberd.* 45; *SB* XVIII 13177), and Patsontis near Karanis (*SB* XXII 15788). Their attestation at Tebtynis and Kerkesoucha Orous in the *meris* of Polemon, based on *P. Fouad.* 17, v. 9-13 τῶν δύο ἐπιτηρη-|τῶν σὺν ἑτέρω[v] (l. ἑτέροις) | ν(ομῶν(?)) Τεπτόνεω[ς] καὶ Κερκεσοῦχω[v] | Ὀρους, is uncertain. As after ἑτέρω- at l. 10 there is no room for another letter, the *nu* at the beginning of l. 11, interpreted as the abbreviation of ν(ομῶν), was possibly the final *nu* of the word written at the end of the previous line. I thus propose to read τῶν δύο ἐπιτηρη-|τῶν σὺν ἑτέρω-|ν (l. ἑτέροις) Τεπτόνεω[ς] καὶ Κερκεσοῦχω[v] | Ὀρους.

<sup>843</sup> The ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἰχθυηρᾶς of Tebetny and Kerkeesis (*BGU* II 485, 8-10; *P. Fay.* 42a, v. 1-2; *P. Tebt.* II 359, 5) might correspond to the ἐπιτηρηταὶ θήρας ἰχθύα[ς] of the *meris* of Polemon attested in *BGU* XV 2468. A similar office was performed by the unspecified superintendent of Hephaistias mentioned in a report on the θήρας ἰχθύας addressed to the *strategos* of the division of Heraklides (*P. Hamb.* I 6), and the ἐπιτηρηταὶ ἰχθύος of the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. e.g. *P. Oxy.* XLVI 3268.

likely reflected the various stages of the marshland of Theadelphia, as the unflooded marshy areas of the village were exploited as pasture land. It seems that in the 170s the marshes of Theadelphia dried up. The reasons are easily understandable: in the 140s there had been episodes of lack of water supply,<sup>844</sup> and the spread of the Antonine Plague aggravated an ongoing dramatic situation.

## 2. 4. Paperwork: The *Penthemeros* Reports

As a result of their superintendence on pastures and marshes, the *epiteretai* produced three different types of documents: the *penthemeros* reports (accounting for five days), the monthly reports, and the annual ones. The extant documentation from the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia includes eight *penthemeros* reports only (Table 7. 3).

Table 7. 3. *Penthemeros* reports of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia

Papyrus	Status	Date	Accounting period (AD)	Result	Proceeds
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 89	Copy	23 Oct. 138	18-22 Oct. 138	Positive	141 dr.
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 90	Copy	28 Oct. 138	23-27 Oct. 138	Positive	215 dr.
<i>PSI</i> VII 735	Copy	22 Nov. 138	17-21 Nov. 138	Positive	81 dr.
<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 37	Uncertain	3 Sept. 148	29 Aug. -2 Sept. 148	Positive	Illegible
P.Col. inv. 34b	Original	23 Sept. 148	18-22 Sept. 148	Negative	None
<i>P.Leit.</i> 14	Original	28 Sept. 148	23-27 Sept. 148	Negative	None
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 91	Draft	27 Mar. 149	22-26 Mar. 149	Positive	160 dr. 14 ob.
<i>PSI</i> III 160	Copy	27 Mar. 149	22-26 Mar. 149	Positive	160 dr. 14 ob.

The *penthemeros* reports followed a standardised scheme and were structured in four sections:

<sup>844</sup> Cf. the petitions of Ptolemaios against the *aigialophylax* in Chapter VII 3. 1. *The Petitions of the Archive: Addressees, Language, and Matters.*

- The address, presenting the recipient(s) in the dative and the sender(s), recorded through παρά plus the genitive;
- the body of the text, consisting in a statement that introduced the results of the inspection. In case of a positive result, it started with the clause λόγος τῶν περιγεγονότων, followed by the object of the account,<sup>845</sup> and the specification of the accounting period (e.g. ἀπὸ X ἕως Y “from X to Y” + month + year). In case of a negative result, it started with the statement δηλοῦμεν μηδὲν περιγεγονέναι, followed by the mention of the inspection (ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως) and the specification of the accounting period as above.
- the day-by-day account, with the revenues from the sale of the fish caught in the *drymoi*.<sup>846</sup> In case of a positive result, it was introduced by the formula ἔστι δέ and ended with the calculation of the total; these two elements were otherwise absent.
- the subscription of the superintendent(s) in their own hands.

As most of the *penthemeros* reports of the archive have the same dimensions (ca. 20 x 10 cm), the superintendents of pastures and marshes likely cut their papers from rolls with standard measures. In order to compile monthly and annual accounts, they kept copies of five-day and monthly reports.<sup>847</sup> *P.Oslo*. III 91 is likely a draft preserved by the *epiteretai* to compile a monthly report as it has two copies of the same *penthemeros* report addressed to the *strategos*, written in two columns on the same sheet of papyrus. Another copy of the same report is in *PSI* III 160, addressed to the *basilikos grammateus*. This illustrates that a large administrative network had to control the activities carried out in the marshes: copies of the *penthemeros* reports were sent to the *strategos* and the royal scribe of the *nomos*, and possibly to the *komogrammateus* of the village, even though this is unattested.<sup>848</sup> Moreover, as usual for official administrative records, a copy of the *penthemeros* reports had to be deposited at the *bibliotheke demosion logon* in Arsinoe. The *penthemeros* reports of the archive dated to AD 138 are first-hand sources of this procedure.<sup>849</sup> The *epiteretai* in person

<sup>845</sup> After the statement λόγος τῶν περιγεγονότων, the full formula is ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως ἀπὸ θήρας ἰχθύας; cf. *P.Oslo*. III 91 (no. 46), col. I 12-13; col. II 32-34; *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), 9-10; *P.Wisc*. I 37 (no. 42), 9-10. However, in the *penthemeros* reports of AD 138 ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως is omitted as they have ἀπὸ θήρας ἰχθύας only; cf. *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29), 19; 90 (no. 30), 11; *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31), 11.

<sup>846</sup> Johnson 1936: 378; Reiter 2004: 197.

<sup>847</sup> Abd-el-Ghany 1990: 109-110.

<sup>848</sup> *P.Oslo*. II: p. 93; Abd-el-Ghany 1990: 108 n. 9.

<sup>849</sup> *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29); *P.Oslo*. III 90 (no. 30); *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31).

wrote two copies to be sent to the public archive in the nome capital:<sup>850</sup> one of them was consigned, the other was subscribed by the *bibliophylax* and returned to the superintendents as a deposit receipt.

## 2. 5. Ptolemaios and His Colleagues: Organisational Features of the Board of Superintendents of Pastures and Marshes

The *penthemeros* reports of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia represent the largest corpus of documents concerning a group of liturgists in a specific period (AD 138-173). Based on them, I will explore the work connections between the *epiteretai* and define to what extent the state was involved in their organisation. By focusing on the main features of the superintendents of pastures and marshes, I will highlight that the organisational principle of all liturgical boards in second-century Fayum was an autonomous distribution of tasks among officers, who were perceived as peers by the state and themselves.

As explicitly shown by the documents of our archives, different duties were distributed between the *epiteretai* of pastures and marshes. For instance, a specific task consisting in the inspection of fisheries accounts was assigned to Leontas son of Leontis, defined as a superintendent of fishermen (ἐπιτηρητὴς ἀλιέων) in *P.Leit.* 14, 21.<sup>851</sup> Other two tasks may be gathered through the analysis of the *penthemeros* reports of the archive. They show that the *epiteretai* mentioned in the addresses were not a fixed group, but could change at five-day intervals, and diverse superintendents could sign the reports on their behalf.<sup>852</sup> Based on the differences between the *epiteretai* mentioned exclusively in the address and those subscribing the reports, we might identify two groups of superintendents of pastures and marshes with different duties. As the first group was unable to sign the reports, they were likely engaged in the fieldwork to inspect the activities carried out in the *drymoi* of

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<sup>850</sup> The handwriting of *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29) and *P.Oslo.* III 90 (no. 30) should belong to an *epiteretes* of pastures and marshes, possibly Ptolemaios son of Eudaimon, the first superintendent mentioned in the address. *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31) was written by our Ptolemaios.

<sup>851</sup> Lewis 1963: 30.

<sup>852</sup> Cf., in particular, *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29) and 90 (no. 30), where Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros was not mentioned in the address but signed the documents, and *P.Col. inv.* 34b (no. 43) and *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), preserving the signature of Didymos son of Sarapion, an *epiteretes* unattested in the address.

Theadelphia and Polydeukia. The second group, who attended to the writing of the reports and could sign them, probably had secretarial tasks, consisting of the drafting of *penthmeros*, monthly and annual reports.

It is unlikely that this division of tasks implied a hierarchical organisation of the group: given that the *penthmeros* reports only mention some representatives of the entire team, the corporation was based on a principle of equality.<sup>853</sup> However, Ptolemaios seems to have had a heading position,<sup>854</sup> as he was always mentioned first in the address,<sup>855</sup> and his subscription was required to authorise the reports.<sup>856</sup> Scholars argued that the *epiteretai* alternated in five-day work shifts, and the documents of the archive witnessed the shifts falling on Ptolemaios by chance.<sup>857</sup> Nevertheless, since Ptolemaios's record and subscription precede the others' also in two groups of subsequent *penthmeros* reports,<sup>858</sup> Ptolemaios' apparent predominance in papyri is not mere coincidence but may have depended on his specific duty. A palaeographical evaluation of the *penthmeros* reports is useful to identify Ptolemaios' role. As his hand is attested in most of the corpus,<sup>859</sup> he likely had to fulfil the most important bureaucratic task, the production of paperwork for the group and the circulation of this material. Therefore, even though not explicitly defined as such, Ptolemaios was the *grammateus* of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia. Like other chores, this office was carried out by the most suitable *epiteretes*, and Ptolemaios had been likely trained for this duty precisely because of his literacy and expertise in writing.

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<sup>853</sup> As peers, the *epiteretai* shared every responsibility for their liturgical office; see *P.Wisc.* I: pp. 133-134. An illustrative example is given by the case of Leontas son of Leontis. Even though he underlined to be in charge of inspecting the fisheries accounts (*P.Leit.* 14, 21), he was mentioned in the addresses of all *penthmeros* reports as a superintendent of pastures and marshes only; cf. *P.Col. inv.* 34b (no. 43), 5; *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), 6; *P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46), col. I 5 and col. II 26; *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), 4; *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42), 6.

<sup>854</sup> Smolders 2015e: 331.

<sup>855</sup> When Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros is mentioned in the address of the *penthmeros* reports, his name always appears in the first position; cf. *P.Col. inv.* 34b (no. 43); *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44); *P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46); *PSI* III 160 (no. 47); VII 735 (no. 31); *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42).

<sup>856</sup> All *penthmeros* reports in the archive were subscribed by Ptolemaios. In the original reports, his subscription was followed by the signatures of the other superintendents (*P.Col. inv.* 34b; *P.Leit.* 14); in the copies, his signature was sufficient for validating documents (*P.Oslo.* III 89-90; *PSI* III 160). This is clearly shown by the copies of *penthmeros* reports submitted to the *bibliophylax* Apollonios in AD 138: while *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29) and 90 (no. 30) were written by one of the *epiteretai* and authorised by Ptolemaios through his signature, in *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31) Ptolemaios' signature was not required as he had written the document on his own.

<sup>857</sup> *P.Oslo.* III: p. 90; *P.Leit.*: p. 29-30.

<sup>858</sup> *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29) and 90 (no. 30), accounting for 18-27 October 138 AD, and *P.Col. inv.* 34b (no. 43) and *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), accounting for 18-27 September 148 AD.

<sup>859</sup> See Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive.*

All groups of liturgists had their own *grammateus*. Papyri from second century Theadelphia attest *grammateis* of the *komogrammateis*, *presbyteroi*, *praktores*, and possibly *sitologi*.<sup>860</sup> The profile of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros illustrates that the *grammateis* of liturgists were not specialists appointed by the *strategos* with the specific role of secretaries at the service of the liturgical groups. On the contrary, they were ordinary officers who either volunteered or were chosen by their associates as scribes and bookkeepers for their writing skills.<sup>861</sup> However, the *grammateis* acted as unofficial leaders in a peers' corporation: our Ptolemaios dealt not only with the production of paperwork but also with its submission to the administrative bureaux of the nome capital.<sup>862</sup> For his duties and voluntary assignment, the *grammateus* of the liturgists finds his closest parallel in the scribe of the voluntary associations (*collegia*), other groups of equals to some extent involved in the villages' life and administration.<sup>863</sup> A brief historical outline of this profile. The *grammateus* of the voluntary associations is attested since the Ptolemaic period as a secretary responsible for drafting the concerned documents.<sup>864</sup> Again with this duty, in the early Roman period he was usually accompanied by a president of the association (*hegoumenos*), chosen by the group and handling administrative matters.<sup>865</sup> When the official position of president disappeared around the mid-first century AD,<sup>866</sup> his organisational duties were distributed between the *grammateus* and other authoritative members of the *collegium*, the elders.<sup>867</sup> Similarly, in second-century Fayum the *grammateus* of the liturgical groups had scribal and managerial tasks too, such as submitting the liturgists' reports and accounts to the administrative officers of the nome.

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<sup>860</sup> On the *grammateis* of the *komogrammateis*, cf. *C.Pap.Gr.* II 1 34, 22; *P.Wisc.* I 36 (no. 36), 19. On those of the *praktores*, cf. *BGU IX* 1898, col. XVIII 357; *P.Fuad.I.Univ.* 35, 6. Panesneus son of Horos, *grammateus* of the *presbyteroi*, is mentioned in *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 27, and Isidoros, who was perhaps the *grammateus* of the *sitologi*, in *P.Stras.* IX 847, col. I 22, col. II 26.

<sup>861</sup> Cf. the case of Papos, *grammateus* of the *praktores* in *P.Fuad.I.Univ.* 35 in Chapter IV 2. *Administrative System*.

<sup>862</sup> Since Ptolemaios added his signature to validate *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29) and 90 (no. 30), which had to be submitted to the *bibliophylax* of the *bibliotheke demosion logon* in Arsinoe, it is likely that he managed the circulation of the documentation of the superintendents of pastures and marshes.

<sup>863</sup> Langellotti 2016: 128; Paganini 2020: 41-42. In second century Theadelphia, some *grammateis* of the voluntary association of the public farmers are attested in *BGU IX* 1896, col. IX 194; 1897, col. VIII 146; *SB XX* 14283, 1-2; XXII 15485, 5-6.

<sup>864</sup> On the structural evolution of the voluntary association of the state farmers from the Ptolemaic to the Roman period, see Kruse 2020: 83-89.

<sup>865</sup> San Nicolò 1972: 6-7, 41; Langellotti 2016: 117.

<sup>866</sup> After the first century AD, the *hegoumenos* is sporadically attested until the third century AD, perhaps in unordinary situations in which he had been elected for special needs; see Strassi 2020: 69-70; Kruse 2020: 88-89.

<sup>867</sup> On the administrative duties of the elders of the professional associations, see Langellotti 2016: 117.



To conclude, I have demonstrated that an internal division of tasks, unmonitored by the state, took place among the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, and likely all liturgical groups. The table provided below outlines the specific duties of some *epiteretai* of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia (Table 7. 4). The liturgists enjoyed a high level of organisational autonomy, particularly evident in the voluntary assignment of the *grammateia* to one of them. This feature suggests a similarity between liturgical groups and voluntary associations in the second century AD. Liturgists were "forced" into office through a liturgical appointment and subject to the control of the central authorities, but the organisation of the liturgical boards was flexible and completely up to their members, like in voluntary associations. Furthermore, in both groups a literate individual assumed the position of *grammateus* on his own initiative and managed the paperwork and its circulation as first among equals.

Table 7. 4. Distribution of tasks among the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia<sup>868</sup>

<i>Epiteretes</i>	Task	Term (AD)	Papyrus sources
Didymos son of Sarapion	Office work	148	P.Col. inv. 34b; <i>P.Leit.</i> 14
Heraklides son of Heraklides	Fieldwork	148	P.Col. inv. 34b; <i>P.Leit.</i> 14
Leontas son of Leontis	Office work (Inspection of fisheries accounts)	148	<i>P.Leit.</i> 14
Lucius Apolinarius	Fieldwork (?)	148	<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 37
Philippos son of Aphrodisios	Office work	148	P.Col. inv. 34b; <i>P.Leit.</i> 14
	Office work (Inspection of the applications for hunting rights)	154/155	<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 98 a; <i>PSI</i> V 458
Philippos son of Herakleios	Office work	148/149	P.Col. inv. 34b; <i>P.Leit.</i> 14
	Office work ( <i>Grammateus</i> )	138	<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 89; 90; <i>PSI</i> VII 735

<sup>868</sup> To detect the individual duties of the superintendents of pastures and marshes, I have used the *penthmeros* reports of the archive of "Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros" and two applications for grant of hunting-rights belonging to the archive of "Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants" (*P.Ryl.* II 98a (no. 24) and *PSI* V 458 (no. 25)). In the reports I have distinguished between the liturgists only mentioned in the address and those also appearing as subscribers, and attributed the former group to a field work, and the latter one to an office work.

Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros		148/149	<i>P.Col. inv. 34b; P.Leit. 14; P.Oslo. III 91; PSI III 160; P.Wisc. I 37</i>
Ptolemaios son of Heraklides	Office work (Inspection of the applications for hunting rights)	154/155	<i>P.Ryl. II 98 a; PSI V 458</i>

### 3. Ptolemaios the Petitioner: Fighting Abuses in the Administrative Environment

Petitioning is a widely attested process in Roman Egypt, aiming at multiple purposes. Firstly, it was the main way to activate the judicial body responsible for resolving disputes. Secondly, petitions related to episodes of criminality - which endangered public safety and required an immediate police intervention - were meant as official police reports to ascertain events or ask for authorisation for further investigations and actions.<sup>869</sup> Thirdly, the submission of petitions aimed not only at initiating a legal trial but also at exercising psychological pressure on the accused parties and find an informal solution on controversial matters.<sup>870</sup> However, petitioning was a complex practice, valuable for the claimer and the state authorities too.

In what follows, I will discuss the purpose of petitioning for Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros. By analysing the language and matters of twelve petitions belonging to the archive, I will demonstrate that Ptolemaios mainly used the petitioning system to fight cases of power abuse and corruption, increasingly frequent in the second century AD, in order to correctly fulfil his liturgical office. More generally, this discussion will reveal a subtle value of petitions: they enabled the state to control the administrative system of the province. For their nature as texts written by literates or professional scribes for a fee, petitions were means adoptable by a limited cluster of individuals, belonging to the upper strata of the population and holding official positions in the villages – the only people who, by advancing their claims, could intervene on the administrative network of Egypt.<sup>871</sup>

<sup>869</sup> Mascellari 2020: 22-34.

<sup>870</sup> Kelly 2011: 87, 276-286; Mundy 2017: 179-189.

<sup>871</sup> Kelly 2011: 34-35.

### 3. 1. The Petitions of the Archive: Addressees, Language, and Matters

The petitions of the archive are the largest group of petitions from second century Theadelphia,<sup>872</sup> all drafted by the same individual, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, over the course of twenty years (AD 144-162).<sup>873</sup> They become of particular interest if compared to similar texts from second century Theadelphia, from which they differ for addressees, language, and content. Addressed to the highest administrative officers of the province and the nome (the *praefectus*, the *strategos*, the *epistrategos*, and the assistant of the imperial *procurator*) and written with rhetoric consciousness and literary finesse,<sup>874</sup> Ptolemaios' petitions marked out by long elaborate preambles of *captatio benevolentiae*,<sup>875</sup> singular syntactical constructions, and a peculiar "creative" vocabulary.<sup>876</sup> Moreover, as they did not report little local crimes but episodes of mismanagement concerning higher authorities of the nome, they gained importance in the administrative context of the whole province.<sup>877</sup> What follows is a synopsis of the matters of Ptolemaios' petitions, which will lay the groundwork for a later discussion of their purpose.

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<sup>872</sup> Beyond the archive, thirteen petitions come from second century Theadelphia, mostly dating to the second half of the century: *BGU* XI 2067; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 40; *P.Fay.* 107; *P.Gen.* II 109 v.; *P.Hamb.* I 10; *P.Meyer* 8 (no. 22); *P.Oslo.* II 22; *PSI* V 463; VIII 883; *SB* IV 7469; XIV 12199; XVI 12500; 12521. Also, *P.Bodl.* I 61 f r., *P.Lond.* III 1279, *P.Münch.* III 73, and *SB* XII 11008 were likely drafted in the village.

<sup>873</sup> All but *P.Wisc.* I 31 and 35 are in Ptolemaios' handwriting, which is attested in two main variations, also connected to the format of the papyri. Most of the petitions are in a hand regular and legible, but also fluent and not avoiding the use of ligatures (*P.Mich.* III 174; XI 617; *PSI* XIII 1323; *P.Wisc.* I 31; 33; *SB* XIV 12087; XX 14401). The petitions were written on large papyri with an almost squared format, with a broad lower margin reserved for the officers' signatures (*P.Mich.* III 174; XI 617; *P.Wisc.* I 33; *SB* XIV 12087; XX 14401). One document has a rectangular format, with the horizontal side about twice as large as the vertical one, in which the script runs horizontally filling up the entire space (*PSI* XIII 1323). A more irregular version of Ptolemaios' hand is found in four petitions drawn on sheets narrow and tall, measuring 20-28 cm in height and 11-15 cm in width, the layout of which is similar to that of the above-described *penthemeros* reports of the superintendents of pastures and marshes (*P.Col. inv.* 28; *PSI* VII 737; 806; *P.Wisc.* I 34).

<sup>874</sup> Whitehorne described Ptolemaios' petitions as texts with "ponderous quasi-literary tone, with frequent use of unusual vocabulary, and a characteristic fondness of asyndeton"; see Whitehorne 1991: 251. An example of the influence of rhetoric models on the text of Ptolemaios' petitions is in the pleonastic couple βία-αὐθαδία, aimed at accusing more heavily the opponent; see Mascellari 2016b: 510-511.

<sup>875</sup> *P.Mich.* III 174 (no. 32), 2-3; *P.Wisc.* I 33 (no. 40), 10-13; *PSI* XIII 1323 (no. 41), 3-4; *SB* XIV 12087 (no. 51), 9-20; XX 14401 (no. 39), 3-6; see Mascellari 2021: 311-313.

<sup>876</sup> Instances of unusual vocabulary are the terms "hatred of evil" (μισοπονηρία), see Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 213-214.

<sup>877</sup> Petitions on less relevant local crimes were unlikely personally delivered by the petitioners to the central authorities; see Mascellari 2021: 37. As shown by *SB* XIV 12087 (no. 51), 5-6, Ptolemaios went to Alexandria in September-October AD 147, when the *praefectus Aegypti* stayed in the capital, and deposited three petitions in that occasion (*P.Col. inv.* 28; *P.Wisc.* I 33; *SB* XX 14401); see Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 212-213; Dolganov 2021: 364. Since Ptolemaios did not entrust his petitions

Four petitions of the archive concerned issues in the water distribution at Theadelphia during Ptolemaios' tenancy of the village's *drymos* (AD 144-147).<sup>878</sup> As Ptolemaios claimed, before the fall of AD 144 he was assaulted and robbed from a certain Ammonios alias Kaboi, acting on behalf of Isidoros son of Mareis, one of the sailor-divers (ναυτοκολυμβηταί) of the village.<sup>879</sup> Those public officers managed the water supply as subordinates to the cultivation inspectors (*kataspoireis*) and the shore-guard (*aigialophylax*).<sup>880</sup> Ptolemaios' prosecution against Isidoros, as his subsequent petitions make clear, was a pretext to report the maladministration of the *aigialophylax* Apollonios, unable (or unwilling) to adequately supply water to the marshland of Theadelphia.<sup>881</sup> Afterwards, Apollonios was sentenced to pay the annual rent of the *drymos*,<sup>882</sup> but no improvements were made to the irrigation of Theadelphia. In September AD 147, a complaint against the same officer was submitted to the assistant of the *procurator* Eirenaios<sup>883</sup> by Pamphilos alias Sokrates, the brother-in-law of Ptolemaios and a tenant of the imperial *drymos* of Theadelphia.<sup>884</sup>

In addition to the lack of water supply in the village marsh, Ptolemaios also faced problems in fulfilling the superintendence of pastures and marshes. According to a fragmentary petition datable to AD 148/149,<sup>885</sup> an unknown individual refrained from paying the annual rent for the rights on the imperial marsh to the *epiteretai*.<sup>886</sup> Even though the

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to strangers but went to submit them in person in Alexandria, he must have been aware of the value of those documents.

<sup>878</sup> *P.Mich.* III 174 (no. 32); XI 617 (no. 35); *P.Wisc.* I 34 (no. 33); 35 (no. 34).

<sup>879</sup> *P.Mich.* III 174 (no. 32).

<sup>880</sup> On the office of *aigialophylax*, see Bonneau 1993: 240-244. As in *P.Meyer* 4 the “supervisor of irrigation works” (*limnastes*) is related to the sixth toparchy, the *aigialophylax*, his superior, could have been connected to the toparchic system as well. See Derda 2003: 41.

<sup>881</sup> *P.Mich.* XI 617 (no. 35); *P.Wisc.* I 34 (no. 33); 35 (no. 34). As in *P.Mich.* XI 617, 7 Ptolemaios stated that the Nile flood had been excellent, Apollonios was voluntarily hindering sufficient irrigation of Theadelphian land, perhaps for issues in managing the water supply. Ptolemaios was certainly aware of those problems if he did not summon his adversary to the court but only threatened to do so; see Mascellari 2021: 1282-1283.

<sup>882</sup> *P.Wisc.* I 31 (no. 48); see Dolganov 2021: 368.

<sup>883</sup> The *procuratores* (ἐπίτροποι) were administrative officers of equestrian rank appointed by the emperor. As in the Roman period the *epistrategi* held the title of *procuratores*, those figures were often confused; see Speidel 2019: 577; Mascellari 2021: 243-244. Eirenaios, *procurator* in AD 148/149, did not perform a flawless office as he was later accused of failure to collect the debt of the financial officers (*epimeletai*); on him, cf. *BGU* XIX 2762 v.; *P.Cair.Mich.* II 12 b; *P.Meyer* 3; *P.Stras.* V 342.

<sup>884</sup> *P.Wisc.* I 31 (no. 48).

<sup>885</sup> *PSI* VII 737 (no. 49). The papyrus, dated to AD 144-162, might be referred to Ptolemaios' second term as an *epiteretes* in AD 148/149.

<sup>886</sup> The involvement of the superintendents of pastures and marshes seems to be contradicted by the ending clause of the petition, where Ptolemaios stated to have submitted it as he had been personally wronged by his opponent; cf. *PSI* VII 737 (no. 49), 15-16 ταῦτ[α] δὲ ποιῶ ἀδικηθ[ε]ν[ε]ς ὑπ' ἀβ[ι]τοῦ.

reasons for this are not clarified from the surviving text, the reference to the quantity of fish caught and the association of fishermen of Theadelphia and some neighbouring villages suggests that the petitioner denounced illicit fishery.<sup>887</sup> Seemingly, the defendant had engaged fishermen for unauthorised fishing and quickly got rid of the illegal revenues from the *drymos* through local fish sellers.<sup>888</sup>

In the same period, Ptolemaios brought legal trials against the *komostrategos* Sarapammon and a certain Ptolemaios son of Pappos.<sup>889</sup> Before 8 September AD 147, Ptolemaios reported to the *praefectus* that he had been mishandled by Sarapammon, a former *komogrammateus* in the Herakleopolite nome who, after being banished from the region, became *komostrategos* in the Arsinoites.<sup>890</sup> As Ptolemaios' request to alert the *strategos* of the Herakleopolite had not been satisfied and Sarapammon had not attended to court, at the end of October our petitioner renewed his accusations with another petition, enclosing a copy of the previous one and the concerned *subscriptio* of the *praefectus*.<sup>891</sup> Similarly, in mid-October 147 AD, Ptolemaios submitted to the *epistrategos* a petition against Ptolemaios son of Pappos, accused of behaving as a usurer and resorting to violence through a gang of slaves.<sup>892</sup> Here and elsewhere, Pappos is attested as a former gymnasiarch in the Arsinoites.<sup>893</sup> His son Ptolemaios is otherwise unknown, but our petitioner convincingly reports his crimes:<sup>894</sup> guilty of lending money and charging exorbitant interests, Ptolemaios son of Pappos was unpunishable as the adjudicating court consisted of his allies. As a reply to Ptolemaios' petition, on 19 October 147 AD, the *epistrategos* advised the petitioner to write to the *strategos* of the *meris* of Heraklides. Ptolemaios' petition to the *strategos* is not preserved, but our writer likely sent it and no legal action against Ptolemaios son of Pappos

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However, not only is the sentence a common *topos* in the fictitious language of petitions, but Ptolemaios also had responsibility for the *epiteretai*'s accounts of revenues and thus his office had been hampered by his adversary's crimes. On Ptolemaios' position among the superintendents of pastures and marshes, see Chapter VII 2. 5. *Ptolemaios and His Colleagues: Organisational Features of the Board of Superintendents of Pastures and Marshes*.

<sup>887</sup> Mascellari 2021: 684.

<sup>888</sup> *PSI* VII 737 (no. 49), 7-10. Ptolemaios said that also the fishermen of Dionysias and Berenikis Thesmophorou performed some work for his adversary.

<sup>889</sup> *SB* XX 14401 (no. 39) and *PSI* XIII 1323 (no. 41); see Dolganov 2021: 363-369.

<sup>890</sup> *P.Wisc.* I 33 (no. 40); see Dolganov 2021: 354-361.

<sup>891</sup> *P.Wisc.* I 33 (no. 40).

<sup>892</sup> *SB* XX 14401 (no. 39). See Whitehorne 1991: 251; Hagedorn 2014: 196-198.

<sup>893</sup> Pappos is mentioned as a gymnasiarch in two papyri dated to AD 113, *P.Lond.* III 1177, col. II 17 and *SB* XXVI 16652, col. II 17, and as a former gymnasiarch in *BGU* III 852, 3; XIII 2238, 3-4; *PSI* XIII 1323 (no. 41), 2; *SB* XX 14401 (no. 39), 7.

<sup>894</sup> *SB* XX 14401 (no. 39), 8-9 ἀϋθάδης τῷ τρόπῳ κ[αὶ βί]αιος, δανιστικὸν βίον ζῶων καὶ πράσσων ἀνόσια| πάλ[τα] ἀπειρημένα. On the corrections to the first edition of the papyrus, see Hagedorn 2014: 196-198.

was taken since the archive includes a later petition on the same matter addressed to the *praefectus*.<sup>895</sup> This text, dated to AD 147/148, is a draft or a partial copy of a petition,<sup>896</sup> repeating abridgedly but with similar terminology the same accusations against Ptolemaios son of Pappos.<sup>897</sup>

Ten years later, in AD 158, Ptolemaios delivered a *parangelia* to the *strategos* to summon Agathinos,<sup>898</sup> an officer of the *merides* of Themistos and Polemon.<sup>899</sup> The document is incomplete, but the indictment against Agathinos probably hides an accusation for idleness (or corruption) against the former gymnasiarch Dorion.<sup>900</sup> Finally, in AD 161/162 Ptolemaios obtained legal protection from the harassments of some village officers concerning a financial matter: the *praktōres argyrikon* demanded from Ptolemaios the payment for the poll tax graving on his son, who nevertheless had been separated from our petitioner for years.<sup>901</sup> Additionally, he included an excerpt from a ten-year earlier report of proceedings as relevant evidence for the case.

### 3. 2. Petitioning as a Means of Control Over the Administrative System

For their peculiarity, the petitions written by Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros have always caught the interest of scholars, who advanced different speculations on the profile of our petitioner. In the following, I will assess the role of Ptolemaios as a petitions' writer and the main purpose of his unceasing intention of denouncing administrative irregularities at the nome level. This will lead to a broader discussion of the advantages taken by the state authorities from "normal" petitioners, whose personal experiences could be valuable in ensuring the functioning of the administrative engine of the province.

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<sup>895</sup> *PSI* XIII 1323 (no. 41).

<sup>896</sup> Mascellari 2021: 120.

<sup>897</sup> Hagedorn 2014: 197.

<sup>898</sup> The *παράγγελιαι* were a specific category of petitions, usually submitted to the *strategos*, aimed at convening the opponents to court; see Foti Talamanca 1979: 79-100; Mascellari 2021: 888-889.

<sup>899</sup> *PSI* VII 806 (no. 50).

<sup>900</sup> *PSI* VII 806 (no. 50), 5-6. The surviving text does not clarify how Dorion was expected to intervene and why he did not do it. This individual might also be mentioned in *SB* XVI 12493, col. IX 11 a register of land in *episkepsis* from Euhemeria dated around the end of the II century.

<sup>901</sup> *SB* XIV 12087 (no. 51).

As Ptolemaios used elaborate language, specifically referable to a legal sphere and implying rhetoric expertise, at first glance one might suspect that he worked as a professional petitioner.<sup>902</sup> In Fayum villages, professional scribes trained in the petition-writing usually belonged to the *grapheia* staff,<sup>903</sup> or might give service in public buildings attached to police offices.<sup>904</sup> However, this hypothesis seems unconvincing since Ptolemaios wrote his own and his relatives' petitions exclusively,<sup>905</sup> and had no connections with the notarial office of Theadelphia<sup>906</sup> or other public scribal environments. Furthermore, his language is more creative than that of the professional petitioners, who tended to stagnantly repeat expressions as they resorted to handbooks, templates, and repertoires of formulas.<sup>907</sup> Similarly, there is no proof that Ptolemaios was a lawyer, even though he mastered the legal vocabulary and was expert in the legal procedures.<sup>908</sup> He was a "common" petitioner, with uncommon education and not too hidden goals.<sup>909</sup> To understand them, it is vital to consider Ptolemaios' background and position in the village.

Despite belonging to a family of Egyptians without any special social position, Ptolemaios probably learned rhetoric in Alexandria,<sup>910</sup> where he could establish relationships with a family of Alexandrian citizens, later strengthened by a marital union.<sup>911</sup> It is quite probable that Ptolemaios aspired to be granted an upper social position like his wife. Although Alexandrian citizenship was awarded on a hereditary basis, it could be acquired for special merits in the administration.<sup>912</sup> For this purpose, Ptolemaios fulfilled multiple

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<sup>902</sup> This assumption is implicitly hidden under Dolganov's judgment "Ptolemaios was no ordinary petitioner but someone who had received specialised training for legal practice"; see Dolganov 2021: 358.

<sup>903</sup> See Chapter V 2. *Production of the Grapheion*.

<sup>904</sup> Mascellari 2020: 34-35.

<sup>905</sup> P.Col. inv. 28 (no. 38) is a petition dated to AD 147, written by Ptolemaios on behalf of his wife and her two brothers; see Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 195.

<sup>906</sup> According to the palaeographical evidence, Ptolemaios preferred writing his documents on his own rather than relying on the scribes of the *grapheion*.

<sup>907</sup> Mascellari 2021: 6-8, 29-30.

<sup>908</sup> Dolganov 2021: 358; Mascellari 2021: 1284.

<sup>909</sup> Scholars have prevalently interpreted the large group of petitions written by Ptolemaios as the product of the pen of a greedy writer of petitions with a quarrelsome attitude; see Kelly 2011: 268-269; Smolders 2015e: 332.

<sup>910</sup> The most prestigious schools of rhetoric were available in Alexandria and a few cities outside Egypt, such as Beirut; see Criore 2011: 332-334, Benaissa 2012: 535-536.

<sup>911</sup> Besides marrying Anoubiaine alias Achillis, Ptolemaios had strong relations with her brothers as well. This is suggested by P.Col. inv. 28 (no. 38), a petition submitted by the three sons of Asklepiades son of Pamphilos and written by Ptolemaios, in which he is presented as a friend of all three instead of Anoubiaine's husband; see Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 211-212.

<sup>912</sup> Venit 2012: 104-105.

liturgical terms and managed to do it well,<sup>913</sup> by fighting the episodes of corruption and abuse of power that could hinder his work as a superintendent of pastures and marshes. The denunciation of misdeeds in the administrative sphere and the diligent performance of liturgical duties could improve the *curriculum* of an Egyptian officer planning to achieve upper titles and offices.

In second-century Fayum, claims against officers working at the level of the village or the nome were not uncommon.<sup>914</sup> In these cases, the petitioners were often individuals holding high offices in the province,<sup>915</sup> but their position did not influence the legal results of their quarrels.<sup>916</sup> Ptolemaios' petitions provide a roundup of bad administrative officers: the *agialophylax*, the *komostrategos*, the *katasporeis*, the *praktores argyrikon*, the *gymnasiarchoi* and their offspring, who likely held some administrative office too. In particular, the accusations against the *agialophylax* Apollonios and the *komostrategos* Sarapammon served for a legal inquiry into the office of their leader Theon, *strategos* of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon.<sup>917</sup> This demonstrates a wider value of petitioning as a means of controlling the administrative system of Egypt: when informed by petitions about the efficiency of the administrative body, the state could intervene on potential issues arising from the misconduct of its officers.

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<sup>913</sup> Ptolemaios' intention to draw the attention of the highest authorities of the province to his excellent performance of administrative offices is explicit in his latest petition. In *SB XIV 12087* (no. 51), fr. A 16 Ptolemaios stresses to deserve protection from the *praktores argyrikon* of Theadelphia as "they admit that I meet my own public obligations faultlessly" (λέγουσι γάρ με τὰ ἴδ[ι]ά μου δημόσια ἐκτίλειν ἀμέμπτως).

<sup>914</sup> Cf. e.g. *BGU II 515*; *III 983*; *P.Fouad. 26*; *P.Graux II 26*; *P.Lips. II 145*; *146*; *P.Lond. II 342*; *P.Mich. VI 425*; *P.Mil.Vogl. IV 222*; *P.Rein. I 47*; *SB VI 9105*; *9340*; *XIV 11904*; *XVI 12678*; *12685*; *XXIV 16252*.

<sup>915</sup> The petitioner of *SB XIV 16252*, for instance, underlined his contribution as a veteran of the army before explaining the matter of his claim. The writer of *P.Fouad. 26* likely performed administrative offices as he was a *metropolites*. Two petitioners from second century Karanis had high status and position in the village: Gemellus alias Horion had been awarded citizenship in Antinoopolis and was a representative of the public farmers, and Sokrates son of Sarapion was a *praktor argyrikon* in the village. On these individuals see Kelly 2011: 136-144; Smolders 2015c: 143-149; Geens 2015e: 373-378.

<sup>916</sup> So Kelly 2011: 143-166; Mascellari 2021: 1271-1272. A different view was proposed by Bryen-Wypustek, who noticed on Gemellus and Ptolemaios that "as scions of politically privileged individuals, both these men were treated carefully and responded to quickly by high officials"; see Bryen-Wypustek 2009: 541-542.

<sup>917</sup> As recently demonstrated by Dolganov, when the prefect Petronius Honoratus initiated legal proceedings against Theon to convict him of corruption and maladministration, Ptolemaios submitted his claims against the *strategos*' subordinates as evidence relevant for his prosecution; see Dolganov 2021: 361-365. Similarly, the petitions against Ptolemaios son of Pappos indirectly accused the *strategos* of corruption; cf. *PSI XIII 1323* (no. 41); *SB XX 14401* (no. 39).



To conclude, by analysing the corpus of petitions of the archive, I have shown how Ptolemaios used them to denounce episodes of abuse of power and corruption in the administrative environment of second-century Fayum. This practice was most valuable to the state authorities, whose main goal was keeping order in the province. As the episodes of abuse of power and corruption were widespread throughout the country and there were no bodies specifically assigned to monitor them,<sup>918</sup> the state could rely on petitions of private individuals to control the administrative system. This collective value of petitioning is confirmed by the nature of the Egyptian legal system, overall free and open to everyone: petitioners could inquire about similar legal precedents,<sup>919</sup> investigate the background of their adversaries,<sup>920</sup> apply to any authority was believed to be appropriate for the subject of the dispute,<sup>921</sup> and elaborate texts as they pleased, as long as they conformed to the official structure of petitions.<sup>922</sup>

#### 4. An Egyptian Villager Among Liturgical Duties and Petitioning: A Conclusion

The main purpose of this chapter has been to investigate the history of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros as an example of an Egyptian villager able to acquire a high position in Theadelphia and relevance in the Fayum by adapting to the administrative innovations introduced in Egypt by the Roman government. In the first section, by piecing together the genealogy of the protagonist of the archive, I have reconstructed his background: even belonging to a family of modest rank and wealth, Ptolemaios received an upper education in Alexandria, where he built relationships with the *élites* of the capital.

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<sup>918</sup> In Roman Egypt, there was no real police department. Some village bodies, such as the *epistatai ton phylakiton*, the *archiphylakitai*, the *phylakes*, the *archephodoi*, the *demosioi*, the *presbyteroi*, and the *hegoumenoi*, had to crack down on crime, but their power was limited. They usually intervened in situations of immediate danger to give first aid or ascertain facts to be later presented to higher officers. Also, the local police had no authority in the neighbouring villages and needed special authorisations from the *strategos* to burst into private houses and do in-depth investigations. On police bodies, see Kelly 2011: 26; Fisher-Bovet - Sängner 2019: 175-177; Mascellari 2019; Mascellari 2020.

<sup>919</sup> The official reports of proceedings (*commentarii*) were available in the public archives for a free consultation from lawyers and petitioners. Copies could also be made for a fee. See Kelly 2011: 40-41.

<sup>920</sup> For example, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros inquired into the past of Sarapammon (*P.Wisc.* I 33 (no. 40), 15-19) and Ptolemaios son of Pappos (*SB* XX 14401(no. 39)).

<sup>921</sup> Kelly 2011: 79-86.

<sup>922</sup> Mascellari 2021: 28-30.

In the subsequent sections, I have evaluated Ptolemaios' position at the level of the village and the nome. Ptolemaios was involved in the administration of Theadelphia, as he held liturgical offices at least three times in his lifetime. Through the analysis of his papers concerning the office as a superintendent of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, I have identified Ptolemaios as the *grammateus* of this board, in charge of producing its written documentation and dealing with its circulation in the bureaucratic network of Roman Egypt. By comparing the liturgical clusters and the voluntary associations in the second century AD, I have demonstrated that the state did not intervene in the organisation of the liturgical groups, and their members autonomously assumed different tasks according to their individual aptitudes. Finally, an investigation of the petitions of the archive, aiming at fighting the corruption of the high officers in the region to perform liturgical duties correctly, revealed Ptolemaios' role and aspirations in the administrative environment of the Fayum. This shed light on the value of the petitioning system in Roman Egypt for the state authorities: its effectiveness in monitoring the functioning of the administrative machinery of the province.

## CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has examined the documentary papyri from second century Theadelphia, with a focus on the texts of the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”, to reassess the socio-administrative history of this Fayumic village in the second century AD. Through a twofold method, which mixed the papyrological and historical approaches, it has obtained multidisciplinary results. On the one hand, it has provided a new arrangement of the archives by presenting fresh editions and reeditions of some forty texts and reconstructing their “biographies”. On the other, it has revealed the administrative prominence of Theadelphia over the region and shown how the reorganisation of the *chora* promoted by the Roman government led to the rise of the village’s middle-upper social class.

The first part of this thesis, centred on a reappraisal of the papyrus material from the village dated to the second century AD (ca. 400 documents) and a thorough investigation of the two archives, has strengthened our understanding of the archival material from Roman Egypt and the history of official and illegal excavations in the Fayum.

By browsing the entire documentation from second century Theadelphia, I have illustrated that it mostly dates around the central decades of the century: this chronological data mirrors a politico-economic reality, as the village reached its acme in the middle of the second century AD. Previous scholars grouped most of the papyri from second century Theadelphia into archives, to which I have added some dossiers on a proposographical ground. However, as the documentation from the village was mainly found during illicit excavations and thus lacks adequate archaeological records, this thesis has jointly explored the paths of the second-century material previously classified as archival to reconstruct its discovery and trade.

This thesis has updated and corrected previous scholarship on the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”. An investigation of the proposographical evidence, the materiality of documents (layout, syntax, handwriting), and their acquisition paths has helped us rearrange the archives definitively. The archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” (AD 88/89-159/160) includes twenty-one certain documents, alongside three uncertain and four related texts; that of “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros” (AD 138-162) consists of twenty-three certain texts and one related document.

A comparison between the routes of the two archives at the centre of this work - a new approach to remedy the difficulties aroused by an uncertain context of discovery - has revealed how those papyri, currently dispersed in several collections worldwide, have been split up since antiquity. Because of an intricate story, involving *sebbakhin*, Egyptian dealers, and Western buyers, interested in the economic and textual value of papyri more than in their nature as archaeological objects, our archives ended up sharing the same fate: the papers of those Theadelphian families, at first kept in their private houses in the village, were likely found together in a rubbish dump during unauthorised excavations before the official campaigns began.

Through a careful analysis of the Theadelphian documentation, this thesis has reassessed the administrative system of the village and the geopolitical panorama of the *meris* of Themistos in the second century AD. Despite its small size, Theadelphia was an important village. As the capital of the sixth toparchy, it disposed of a large administrative board and served as an administrative centre for the area. This thesis has contributed to previous knowledge of the toparchical system in the Fayum, by demonstrating that the sixth toparchy was at the basis of the grain collection in at least AD 108-167, longer than previously thought, and encompassed no less than five villages nearby Theadelphia (Archelais, Argeas, Autodike, Euhemeria, and Polydeukia). A reappraisal of the nature and the place of production of the so-called “administrative archive” has brought to light the existence of a core administrative centre in the village: the workplace of the *komogrammateus* and the toparch was a state office, which maintained collaborative relationships with a wider network of administrative offices in the Fayum. Overall, the case of Theadelphia, a small settlement far from Arsinoe, is clear evidence of the complex administrative system of the *chora*, where villages contributed to the political life of the entire region.

A systematic study of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia from the late first century AD to its disappearance between the 170s and AD 193 - here conducted for the first time and mainly on a palaeographical ground - has enriched our knowledge of the notarial network of the Fayum. The thesis has enlarged the scope of the production of writing offices and explained the correlations between registered contracts and contracts in a cheirographic and hypomnematic form. By attributing to the scribal staff of the *grapheion* some deeds, such as declarations of census, birth, and death, I have proved a previously undetected administrative function of *grapheia*, which provides a more complex picture of the peripheral notarial

system in the Roman period. An investigation of the relationships between the *grapheion* of Theadelphia and the writing offices of some neighbouring villages has revealed close links with the *grapheia* of Polydeukia and Euhemeria and led to a reconfiguration of the notarial network of the division of Themistos in the second century AD.

Theadelphia was not only its institutions but also its people. Who were the Theadelphian inhabitants? How did they interact with the village and the new provincial order established by the Roman government? By reconstructing the histories of two Theadelphian families based on the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”, this thesis has demonstrated the socio-economic growth of the middle-upper class of the *chora* in the second century AD.

The family of Aphrodisios has shown how the old *élites* of the Fayum, the “6,475 Greeks of the Arsinoites”, consolidated their position through mixed conjugal and landholding strategies. They stood out from the crowd for Hellenisation, wealth, and literacy but were fully integrated into the local community, and as such interacted with the village institutions. By discussing the family land tenure, I have provided a new explanation for female landownership, a widespread phenomenon in Theadelphia and the Roman Fayum: for absentee landowners, family women could be more dependable land managers than *phrontistai*. The thesis has also challenged the traditional view of the originality of the Fayum as based on a sharp distinction between landowners and public farmers. Evidence of a more complicated scenario comes from the history of Philippos IV, who, albeit owning some private land, leased state land too in a period of economic troubles. The familial vicissitudes of Aphrodisios II, who transferred his interest and resources from Theadelphia to Antinoopolis after having been chosen as an Antinoite settler, have demonstrated that the foundation of this Greek city had a multifaceted outcome in the *chora*: while enhancing the social standing of some of the 6,475, it deprived the Fayum villages of those who represented their administrative and economic backbones.

The history of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, on the other hand, has instanced how the development of the liturgical system, promoted by the Roman government since the reign of Traian, led to the emergence of new *élites* in Fayum villages. Despite not belonging to any privileged social class by descent, Ptolemaios seized the performance of liturgical offices and participation in the provincial administration as opportunities for social advancement. An in-depth analysis of the *penthemeros* reports of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia has broadened our knowledge of the

profiles, appointment, and duties of those liturgists and, more generally, the compulsory offices in Roman Egypt. The main feature of liturgical clusters was an organisational autonomy, comparable to that of voluntary associations. Based on their individual aptitudes, liturgists were entrusted with different tasks; one of them, like our Ptolemaios, voluntarily assumed the position of *grammateus* to deal with the production and distribution of the group's paperwork. Ptolemaios was not only an officer but also a fighter against administrative abuses. By investigating Ptolemaios' petitions, I have demonstrated that petitioning against high-ranking officers was a means of detecting irregularities in the administration and controlling the province.

Overall, the reappraisal of the archival documents has pointed out the highlights of a diachronic history of the village. Until the 130s, the village went through economic and administrative growth and saw the strengthening of the pre-existing upper classes, to which the family of our Aphrodisios belonged. Between the 130s and the 160s, the village experienced a phase of expansion. The rural *élites* opened up to the rest of the province by participating in the settlement of Antinoopolis and building relationships with the Alexandrians: Philippos IV married the freedwoman of an Alexandrian patron, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros took a citizen of Alexandria as his spouse. Existing documents are punctual witnesses until the crisis of the 160s, when the Antonine plague spread and the marshes of Theadelphia, one of the most important resources in the village, dried up. Here we trace our families for the last time, as our sources are afterward silent.

At the end of this long journey through the surviving documents of second century Theadelphia, we know much more about the village, its inhabitants, and how they interacted with the village institutions in a time of expansion but also of crisis. The picture we obtained by this study might be biased or distorted by the extant papyri, which could have overrepresented the middle-upper strata of the population. Moreover, some gaps in the knowledge of the decades after the spread of the plague cannot be filled: the remaining documentation does not allow us to touch by hand the beginnings of the formation of the large estate of Aurelius Appianus, that we encounter at the peak of its productivity in the third century AD. Nevertheless, the overall picture and history of expansion obtained through close analysis of evidence is clear.

This investigation has highlighted the administrative prominence of Theadelphia over the region but has not addressed whether this reflected the position of all capitals of the toparchies or was a fortunate exception. Not only is the papyrus evidence on the toparchical

system in the second century very scarce. A detailed comparison to contemporary villages of the *chora* has been beyond the scope of this dissertation, but it would be necessary in order to frame the history of second century Theadelphia in a broader context and fully assess the “typicality” of this village in the socio-administrative panorama of the region.

Nonetheless, these limitations do not weaken the results of this study, as it clings to numerous and solid sources. By relying on documentary papyri as texts and artifacts, this thesis has demonstrated the importance of a small village, the strength of which lay in a well-structured administrative system and the contribution of local *élites*.

## APPENDIX I. Papyrus Evidence From the *Grapheion* of Theadelphia

### 1. Documents Written in the *Grapheion*

Forty-nine official contracts registered in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia have been identified on the basis of their formal structure and textual features (Table 8).

Table 8. Contracts registered in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia from the end of the first century to the second century

Contract	Date (AD)	Content
<i>P.Soter.</i> 1	69	Lease of vineyard (μίσθωσις)
<i>P.Soter.</i> 2	71	Lease of vineyard (μίσθωσις)
<i>P.Mil.</i> II 57	74	Loan of money
<i>P.Athen.</i> 23	82	Purchase with a payment in advance
<i>P.Athen.</i> 28	86	Agreement of deposit
<i>P.Soter.</i> 6	88	Receipt for rent
<i>P.Stras.</i> IV 203 (no. 1)	88/89	Datio in solutum
<i>P.Soter.</i> 7	91	Receipt for rent paid in advance
<i>SB</i> VI 9291	93	Agreement of deposit
<i>P.Soter.</i> 5	94	Sublease of public land
<i>P.Meyer</i> 7 (no. 2)	95	Advance sale of black beans
<i>P.Iand.</i> IV 52	96	Division of property
<i>P.Oxf.</i> 10	98-102	Labour contract (παραμονή)
<i>P.Meyer</i> 5 (no. 3)	98-117	Loan of money
<i>P.Meyer</i> 33 (no. 28)	100-199	Loan
<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 131	102	Contract related to land (unpublished)
<i>P.Soter.</i> 22	103	Repayment of a loan
<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 1330	105	Loan of money
<i>P.Corn.</i> 40 (no. 4)	105	Sale of land
<i>P.Narm.</i> 6	107	Cession of catoecic land (παραχώρησις)
<i>P.Soter.</i> 25	109	Agreement for payment of arrears
<i>P.Meyer</i> 12	115	Sublease of public land
<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 779	116	Receipt for repayment of a loan
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 131 (no. 7)	118	Loan of money



<i>P.Athen.</i> 29	121	Repayment of a loan
<i>P.Fay.</i> 92	126	Sale of a donkey
<i>P.Soter.</i> 27	126	Purchase of part of a donkey
<i>P.Flor.</i> I 20	127	Sublease of public land
<i>SB XIV</i> 12105	129	Agreement of deposit
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 330 (no. 9)	130	Loan (ὄμολογία)
<i>SB XXII</i> 15637	130	Purchase of a fallen tree
<i>P.Turner</i> 21	131	Cession of public land
<i>P.Cair.Gad</i> 10	131-132	Sublease of public land
<i>P.Cair.Gad</i> 9	131-137	Sale of land (draft)
<i>SB XXII</i> 15611	133	Receipt for repayment of a loan
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 331	134	Loan of money
<i>PSI IX</i> 1031	134	Sale of a mare
<i>SB VI</i> 9093 (no. 16)	138	Sale of a donkey
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 332 (no. 17)	139	Loan
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 324 (no. 18)	139	Agreement of deposit
<i>P.Prag.</i> I 40	141	Sale of a horse
<i>P.Princ.</i> II 34	144	Receipt for repayment of a loan
<i>P.Oslo.</i> II 39	146	Loan of money
<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 977	146	Contract (unpublished)
<i>SB IV</i> 7466	147	Purchase with a payment in advance
<i>P.Oslo.</i> III 132	147-156	Loan of money
<i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> I 22	155	Lease of land of the <i>pittakion</i>
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 175	168	Loan of money
<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 6802	170	Contract (unpublished)

To identify unregistered documents written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia (Table 9), I have relied on a palaeographical comparison. After analysing the palaeography of the official contracts presented above, I have identified the hands of eight scribes belonging to the staff of the *grapheion*.<sup>923</sup> Then, I have isolated the documents from the village written by those professional scribes, as they were likely written in the writing office.

Table 9. Unregistered documents written in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia

<sup>923</sup> See Appendix I 2. *The Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia*.

Papyrus	Date	Content
<i>P.Soter.</i> 4	87	Lease of a date orchard (μίσθωσις)
<i>P.Soter.</i> 3	89/90	Lease of vineyard and farmland (μίσθωσις)
<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1221	104/105	Census declaration
<i>P.Heid.</i> IV 329	105/106	Lease of catoecic land (μίσθωσις)
<i>P.Iand.</i> III 30	105/106	Oath on surety about some leased land
<i>P.Col.</i> X 255	131	Contract for transport of fertiliser ( <i>cheirographon</i> )
<i>P.Fay.</i> 107	133	Petition
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 105	136	Notification of death (from Sethrempais)
<i>P.Athen.</i> 16	138/139	Lease of catoecic land (μίσθωσις)
<i>P.Fay.</i> 345	139/140	Lease of land ( <i>hypomnema</i> ) (unpublished)
<i>P.Fay.</i> 28	150/151	Declaration of birth
<i>P.Athen.</i> 35	153/154	Oath of three fishermen hired to work in the <i>drymos</i>
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 98a (no. 24)	154/155	Application for grant of hunting-rights (μίσθωσις)
<i>PSI</i> V 458 (no. 25)	155	Application for grant of hunting-rights (μίσθωσις)
<i>SB</i> XIV 12199	155	Petition
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 88	156	Oath (from Archelais) for the appointment as a guard
<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 3860a	156	Declaration (unpublished)
<i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> II 40	158-160	Petition
<i>P.Berl.Leihg.</i> I 16a	161	Census declaration
<i>P.Meyer</i> 4	161	Sworn declaration ( <i>cheirographia</i> )
<i>SB</i> IV 7393 (no. 27)	(After) 161	Petition

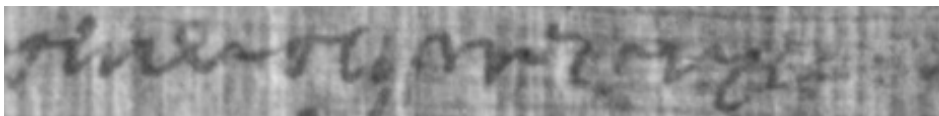
## 2. Handwritings of the Scribes of the *Grapheion* of Theadelphia

Based on a palaeographical analysis of the contracts produced in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia between the end of the first century and the 160s of the second century AD,

eight professional scribes have been distinguished. In the following list, I present the notable features of their handwritings and the documents written by these scribes:

H1 (AD 69-91): A regular cursive slightly tilted to the right, with small letters. Notable letters are the capital *mu* in ὁμολογεῖ/ὁμολογοῦσι, a rounded small *rho*, and square *delta* and *sigma* (Fig. 24). It is attested in three registered contracts and two contracts in the form of *hypomnemata*: *P.Soter.* 1 (AD 69), *P.Athen.* 28 (AD 86), *P.Soter.* 3 (AD 88/89), *P.Soter.* 4 (AD 87), and *P.Soter.* 7 (AD 91).<sup>924</sup> A phonetic specificity of this scribe is a frequent iotacism of the diphthong *epsilon-iota*.<sup>925</sup>

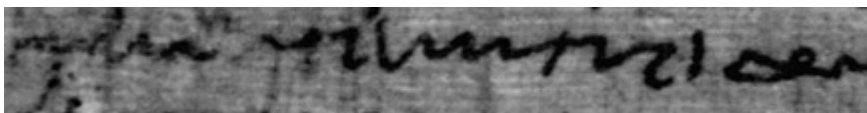
Fig. 24. Notable letters and sequences of H1



*P.Soter.* 1, 3 τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος



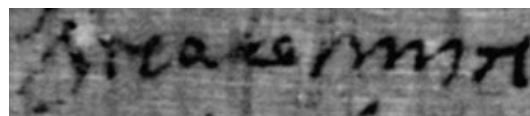
*P.Athen.* 28, 4 τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδ(ος)



*P.Soter.* 7, 4 τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος



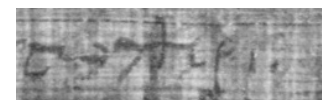
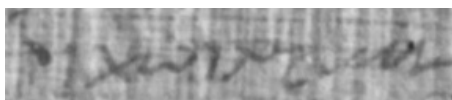
*P.Athen.* 28, 5 ὁμολογ(εῖ)



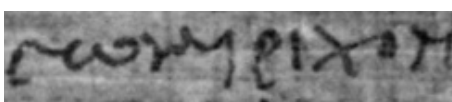
*P.Soter.* 7, 5 ὁμολογοῦσιν



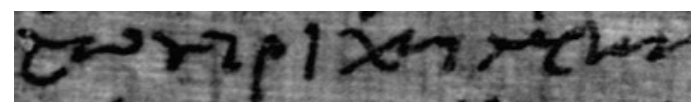
*P.Soter.* 1, 5-6 Σωτη-|ρίχου Λύκου



*P.Soter.* 4, 2 Σωτηρίχου



*P.Soter.* 3, 38 Σωτήριχον



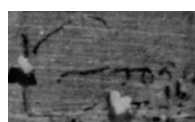
*P.Soter.* 7, 10 Σωτηρίχου Λύκου

<sup>924</sup> The first editor already noticed that *P.Soter.* 3 and 4 are in the same handwriting; see Omar 1979: 63, 72.

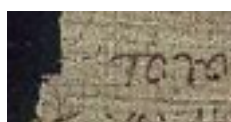
<sup>925</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Athen.* 28, 11 χιρὸς (l. χειρὸς); *P.Soter.* 1, 12 μέρι (l. μέρει); *P.Soter.* 4, 40 ἔχισ (l. ἔχεις); *P.Soter.* 7, 15 ἔχι (l. ἔχει).

H2 (from AD 72 to 98-102): An elegant small cursive, belonging to the notary N1 and similar to H1. Notable letters are a tiny *delta*, a sharp *eta*, a u-shaped rounded *kappa*, a V-shaped *upsilon*, and a *phi* with an open circle. It is attested in four official contracts: *P.Soter.* 2 (AD 72), *SB VI 9291* (AD 93), *P.Soter.* 5 (AD 94), and *P.Oxf.* 10 (AD 98-102) (Fig. 25).

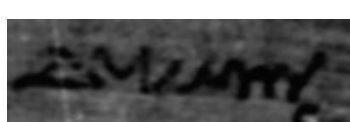
Fig. 25. Notable sequences of H2



*P.Soter.* 5, r. 1 ἔτους



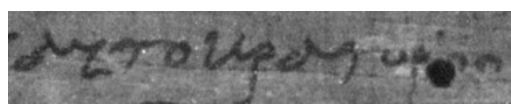
*SB VI 9291*, 1 ἔτους



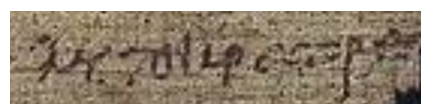
*P.Soter.* 5, r. 1 δεκάτου



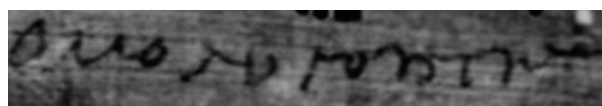
*SB VI 9291*, 1 δεκάτου



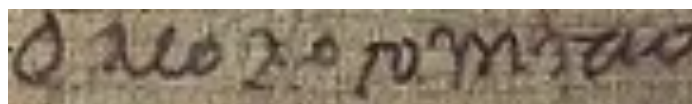
*P.Soter.* 2, 1 Αὐτοκράτορος



*SB VI 9291*, 1 Αὐτοκράτορος



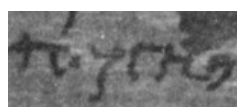
*P.Soter.* 5, r. 27 ὁμολογούντα



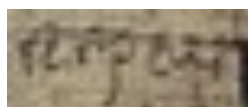
*SB VI 9291*, 1 ὁμολογούντων



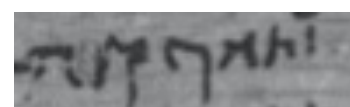
*P.Oxf.* 10, 4 ὁμολογο(ῦσιν)



*P.Soter.* 2, 5 Πέρση



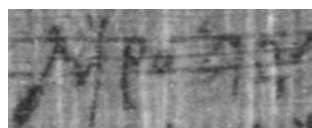
*SB VI 9291*, 11 Πέρσαι



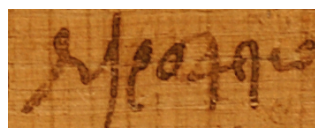
*P.Oxf.* 10, 9 Περσίνη

H3 (AD 88/89): A stylised irregular cursive, marked out by narrow and tall letters. It is attested in two contracts: *P.Soter.* 6 (AD 88), and *P.Stras.* IV 203 (AD 88/89) (Fig. 26).

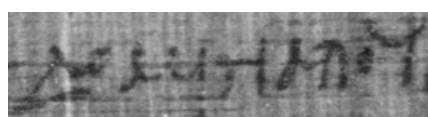
Fig. 26. Notable sequences of H3



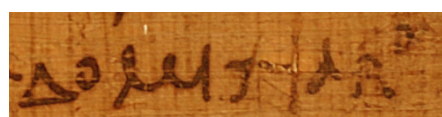
*P.Soter.* 6, 7 Ἀφροδισίου



*P.Stras.* IV 203, 5 Ἀφροδισίω



*P.Soter.* 6, 2 Δομτιανοῦ



*P.Stras.* IV 203, Δομτιανοῦ

H4 (AD 96-139): The most frequently attested handwriting in the documents produced in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, belonging to the notary N2. Since it appears in a very long period in slightly different versions, the features of this hand have been discussed in detail.

H4a: A very elegant and well-trained hand, attested at earliest in *P.Iand.* IV 52, a contract registered in AD 96. Many notable letters may be noticed: *alpha* with a stretched circle; *beta* with a long and thin upper budge and a shorter sharp lower budge; a very large *delta*, with the last stroke extended to the left; *eta* usually shaped as a lowercase “h”; an elegant slow *nu*; *omicron* in a triangular shape at the beginning of ὁμολογεῖ/ὁμολογοῦσιν or round and small inside a word; *rho* in two shapes, short and rounded or tall with a long sinusoidal vertical; a tiny *sigma*; a distinctive *upsilon* in the shape of a glass of champagne (Fig. 27). This hand is found in six official contracts and three *hypomnemata*: *P.Iand.* IV 52 (AD 96), *P.Mich.* inv. 1330 (AD 105), *P.Heid.* IV 329 (AD 105/106), *P.Fay.* 92 (AD 126), *SB XIV* 12105 (AD 129), *P.Turner* 21 (AD 131), *P.Col.* X 255 (AD 131), *P.Athen.* 16 (AD 138/139), and *P.Ryl.* II 332 (AD 139).

H4b: A calligraphic version of this hand (Fig. 28) is attested in four registered contracts, an oath, a petition and a census declaration: *P.Corn.* 40 (AD 105), *P.Lond.* III 1221 (AD 105), *P.Iand.* III 30 (AD 105/106), *P.Soter.* 25 (AD 109), *P.Ryl.* II 330 (AD 130), perhaps *P.Fay.* 107 (AD 133), and *P.Ryl.* II 331 (AD 134).

H4c: Finally, an extremely rapid version of the hand of our scribe has been recognised in the beginning lines of *P.Mich.* inv. 779, which are more cursive than the rest of the text, written in H4a. This cursive version (H4c) is characterised by a h-shaped *eta*, a u-shaped *kappa*, and a curved *upsilon*, and is attested in three registered contracts: *P.Mich.* inv. 131 (AD 102), *P.Mich.* inv. 779 (AD 116), *P.Soter.* 27 (AD 126) (Fig. 29).

Fig. 27. Notable sequences of H4a

a) ἔτους



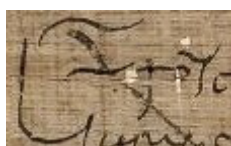
*P.Iand.* IV 52, 1



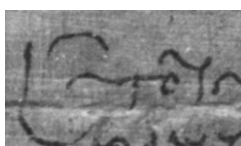
*P.Mich.* inv. 1330, 1



*P.Fay.* 92, 1



*SB XIV* 12105, 1



*P.Turner.* 21, 1



*P.Ryl.* II 332, 1

b) ὁμολογεῖ/ὁμολογοῦσιν



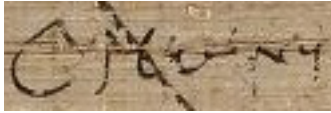
*P.Iand. IV 52, 4*



*P.Mich. inv. 1330, 5*



*P.Fay. 92, 5*

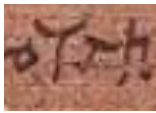


*SB XIV 12105, 6*

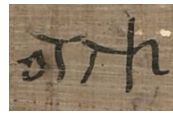


*P.Ryl. II 332, 4*

c) οὐλή



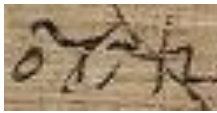
*P.Iand. IV 52, 7*



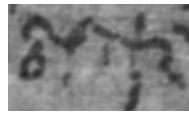
*P.Mich. inv. 1330, 9*



*P.Fay. 92, 7*



*SB XIV 12105*

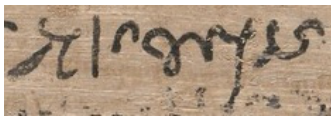


*P.Turner. 21, 6*

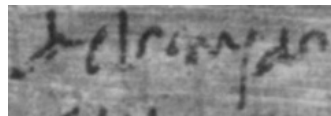


*P.Ryl. II 332, 7*

d) ἀριστεράς



*P.Fay. 92, 8*

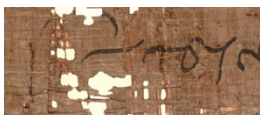


*P.Turner. 21, 8*

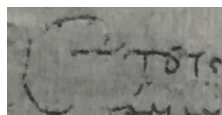


*P.Ryl. II 332, 6*

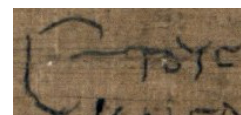
Fig. 28. Notable sequences of H4b: ἔτους, ὁμολογεῖ/ὁμολογοῦσιν, and οὐλή



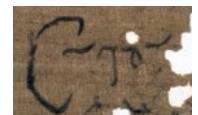
*P.Corn. 40, 1*



*P.Soter. 25, 1*



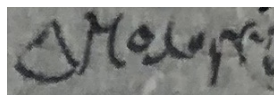
*P.Ryl. II 330, 1*



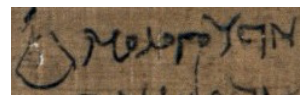
*P.Ryl. II 331, 1*



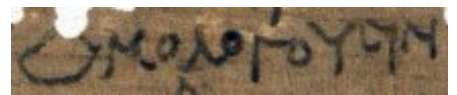
*P.Corn. 40, 4*



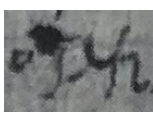
*P.Soter. 25, 4*



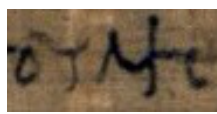
*P.Ryl. II 330, 5*



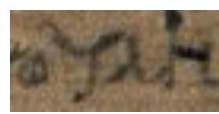
*P.Ryl. II 331, 4*



*P.Soter. 25, 9*

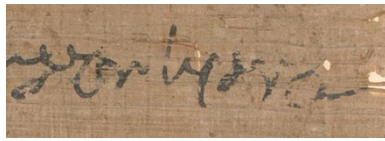


*P.Ryl. II 330, 7*



*P.Ryl. II 331, 8*

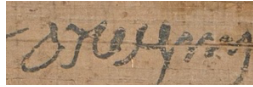
Fig. 29. Notable sequences of H4c



P.Mich. inv. 131, 1 Αὐτοκράτορος



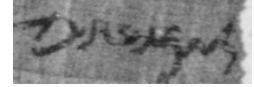
P.Mich. inv. 779, 1 Αὐτοκράτορος



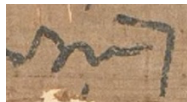
P.Mich. inv. 131, 5 ὁμολογεῖ



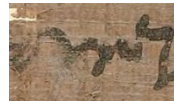
P.Mich. inv. 779, 5 ὁμολογεῖ



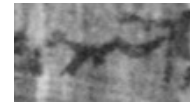
P.Soter. 27, 5 ὁμολογεῖ



P.Mich. inv. 131, 6 οὐλή



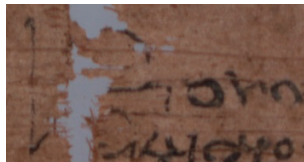
P.Mich. inv. 779, 9 οὐλή



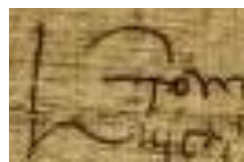
P.Soter. 27, 13 οὐλή

H5 (AD 118-127): A small, rounded cursive, recognisable by the stylised *epsilon* in ἔτους (see Fig. 30). It is attested in two contracts only: *P.Oslo. II 131* (AD 118), *P.Flor. I 20* (AD 127).

Fig. 30. Notable sequences of H5



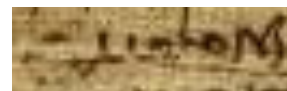
P.Oslo. II 131, 1 ἔτους



P.Flor. I 20, 1 ἔτους



P.Oslo. II 131, 6-7 ὁμο-|λογοῦσι

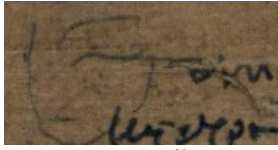


P.Flor. I 20, 6 ὁμολογεῖ

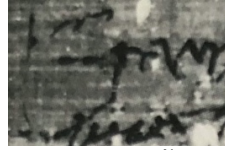
H6 (AD 133-146): A fast, messy, and irregular handwriting, tilted to the right and full of ligatures, especially in the diphthongs with *iota*. Distinctive sequences are ὡς ἐτῶν and οὐλή (Fig. 31). It is attested five contracts, a *hypomnema*, and a declaration of death from Sethrempais: *SB XXII 15611* (AD 133), *P.Ryl. II 105* (AD 136), *P.Ryl. II 324* (AD 139), *P.Fay. 345* (AD 139/140), *P.Prag. I 40* (AD 141), *P.Princ. II 34* (AD 144), and *P.Oslo. II 39* (AD 146).

Fig. 31. Notable sequences of H6

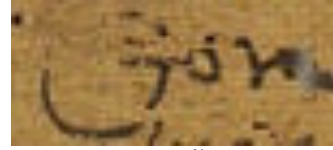
a) ἔτους



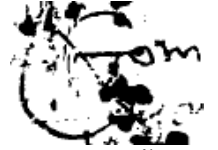
*P.Ryl.* II 324, 1 ἔτους



*P.Prag.* I 40, 1 ἔτους



*P.Princ.* II 34, 1 ἔτους

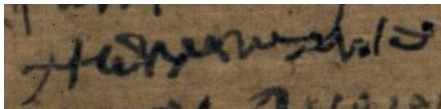


*P.Oslo.* II 39, 1 ἔτους

b) τῆς Θεμιστου μερίδος



*SB XXII* 15611, 4

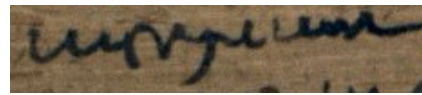


*P.Ryl.* II 324, 6

c) ὡς ἐτῶν



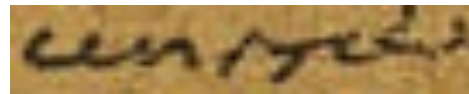
*SB XXII* 15611, 6



*P.Ryl.* II 324, 9

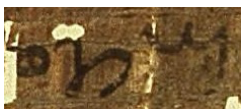


*P.Prag.* I 40, 8

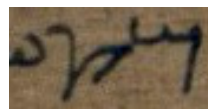


*P.Princ.* II 34, 8

d) οὐλή



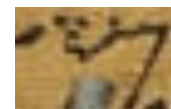
*SB XXII* 15611, 10



*P.Ryl.* II 324, 10



*P.Prag.* I 40, 9



*P.Princ.* II 34, 9



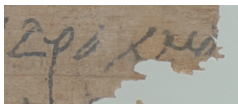
*P.Oslo.* II 39, 10

H7 (AD 146-161): The handwriting of the notary Ammonios is a regular cursive, straight or tilted to the right. In its slower version (H7a), it is distinguished by the shape of many letters: *delta* with the last stroke extended to the left and curled at the end; a short *eta* in the shape of a capital “H”; *nu* in two shapes, rapid as a capital “M” or slow as a capital “N”; and a tall *rho* (see Fig. 32). It is attested in four official contracts, two oaths, and an application for grant of hunting-rights: *P.Oslo.* II 39 (AD 146), perhaps *P.Mich. inv.* 977 (AD 146) and *SB IV* 7466 (AD 147), *P.Oslo.* III 132 (AD 147-156), *P.Athen.* 35 (AD 154), *P.Ryl.* II 98a (AD 154/155), *P.Ryl.* II 88 (AD 156).

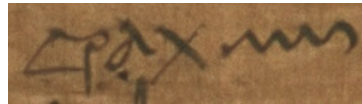


A calligraphic version of the same hand (H7b) is recognisable for the distinctive rounded *epsilon* in ἔτους, which is the same as that at the beginning of the registered contracts (Fig. 33). It features the following notable letters: *iota*, which is sinusoidal in the ligature *epsilon-iota* or very long in the ligature *sigma-iota*; *kappa* with peculiar flourishes at the edges of the lines; a distinctive very long *rho*; and a V-shaped *upsilon* (Fig. 34). This version is attested in one registered contract, three petitions, an unpublished declaration, an application for grant of hunting-rights and a declaration of birth: *P.Fay.* 28 (AD 150/151), *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 22 (AD 155), *PSI* V 458 (AD 155), *SB* XIV 12199 (AD 155), perhaps *P.Mich. inv.* 3860a (AD 156), *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 40 (AD 158-160), *SB* IV 7393 (after AD 161).

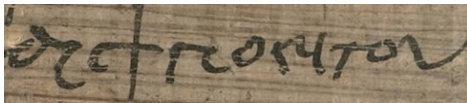
Fig. 32. Notable sequences of H7a



*P.Oslo.* III 132, 10 δραχμὰς



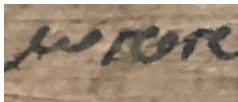
*P.Fay.* 34, r. 13 δραχμὰς



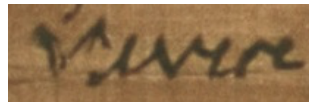
*P.Mich. inv.* 977, 6 Ἀρσινότου



*P.Oslo.* III 132, 2 Ἀδριανοῦ



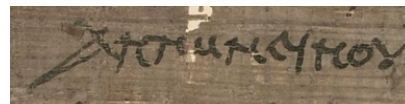
*P.Ryl.* II 98a, 10 μόνον



*P.Fay.* 34, r. 8 ὑμῶν



*P.Oslo.* II 39, 3 Ἀντωνίνου



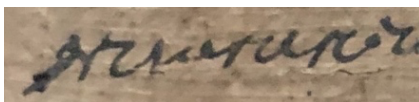
*P.Mich. inv.* 977, 3 Ἀντωνεῖνου



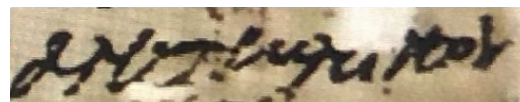
*SB* IV 7466, 2 Ἀντωνίνου



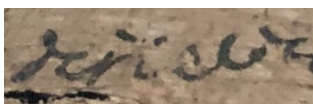
*P.Athen.* 35, 9 Ἀντωνίνου



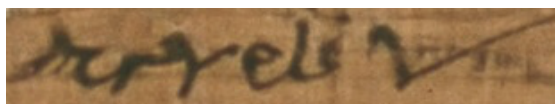
*P.Ryl.* II 98a, 11 Ἀντωνίνου



*P.Ryl.* II 88, 10 Ἀντωνίνου

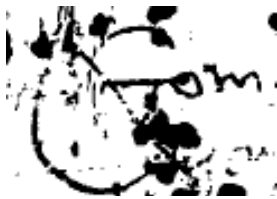


*P.Ryl.* II 98a, 12 ἀργυρίου

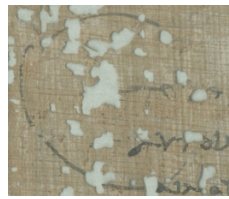


*P.Fay.* 34, r. 12 ἀργυρίου

Fig. 33. A comparison between H7a and H7b



*P.Oslo. II 39, 1* ζτους



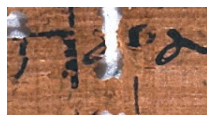
*P.Berl.Leihg. I 22, 1* ζτους

Fig. 34. Notable sequences of H7b

a) παρά



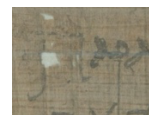
*P.Fay. 28, 3*



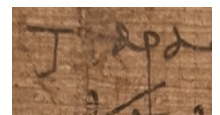
*PSI V 458, 5*



*SB XIV 12199, 4*

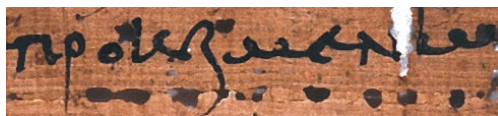


*P.Berl.Leihg. II 40, 3*



*SB IV 7393, 2*

b) Other sequences



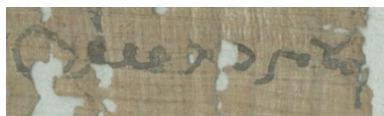
*PSI V 458, 10* προκειμένω



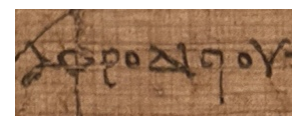
*P.Fay. 28, 2* γραμματεῦσι



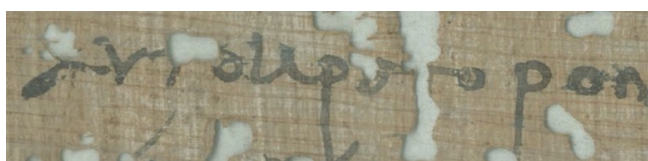
*PSI V 458, 17* ἀπόδοσιν



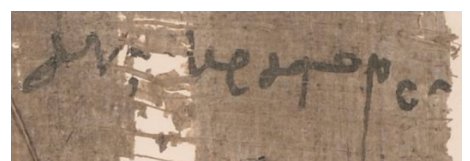
*P.Berl.Leihg. I 22, 6* ὁμολογοῦσι



*SB IV 7393, 2* Ἀφροδισίου



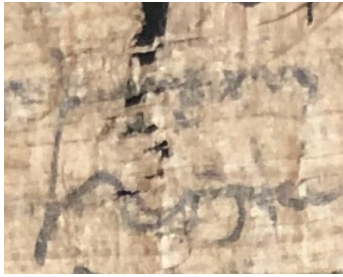
*P.Berl.Leihg. I 22, 2* Αὐτοκράτορος



*P.Mich. inv. 3860a, 8* Αὐτοκράτορος

H8 (AD 168-170): The latest handwriting referable to a scribe of the *grapheion* of Theadelphia, fast and messy. Marked out by the singular shape of *epsilon* in ζτους (Fig. 35), it is attested in two official contracts and a receipt: *P.Ryl. II 175* (AD 168), and *P.Mich. inv. 6802* (AD 170).

Fig. 35. The shape of *epsilon* in ζτους in H8



*P.Ryl. II 175*, 1 ζτους



*P.Mich. inv. 6802*, 1 ζτους

## APPENDIX II. Texts

This appendix pieces together the texts belonging or related to the archives of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” (nos. 1-28) and “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros” (nos. 29-52), disposed in chronological order. I have provided the first edition of some unpublished papyri and proposed a reedition of most of the published papyri. Of some recently published papyri, I have presented a translation of their most updated edition, which is mine unless otherwise specified.

The details on the acquisition of the papyri included in this Appendix have been illustrated and discussed in Chapter II 2. *Archive or Dossier?* And Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

### A. The archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants”

#### 1. *P.Stras. IV 203*

TM 16960

6.2 x 6.3 cm

AD 88/89

*P.Stras. IV 203*, kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Strasbourg, is a fragmentary loan dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the emperor Domitianus. It presents thirteen lines of writing along the fibres on the *recto*; the *verso* is blank. The handwriting is a professional cursive, characterised by irregular and sharp lines, also attested in *P.Soter. 6*.<sup>926</sup>

Firstly published by J. Schwartz in 1963, the document was included in the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos because of the mention of a certain Aphrodisios as the creditor of the agreement. The homonymy is insufficient to confirm the identification with Aphrodisios I of the family archive,<sup>927</sup> which is nevertheless likely as our Aphrodisios I also appears as a creditor in *P.Meyer 7* (no. 2), a similar contemporary contract from Theadelphia.

The document is incomplete and only records a loan of a half and a tenth artabas of vegetable seed. However, as the loan had two objects (cf. ll. 4-5 τὴν ἀμφο[τ]έρων ἀπόδωσιν

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<sup>926</sup> For a palaeographical analysis, see the hand of the scribe H3 in Appendix I 2. *Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia*.

<sup>927</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

ποησάσθ(ω)| [ό] Ὀρσενούφεις), the document was likely a loan of money with an advance payment of one, a half, and a tenth artabas of vegetable seed.<sup>928</sup>

In this reedition of the document, I have corrected some readings and proposed new supplements to lines 1-2.

— — — — —  
 λ[αχα]γοσπέριμου νέ[ο]υ κα[θα]ροῦ [ἀδό-]  
 [λ]ου ἀρ[τ]άβης μι[α]ς ἡμίσεως δεκάτου  
 μέ[τ]ρω[ι] δρόμωι τετραχυνίκωι ὦ[ν]  
 καὶ τὴν ἀμφο[τ]έρων ἀπόδοσιν ποησάσθ(ω)  
 5 [ό] Ὀρσενούφεις τῶι Ἀφροδισίωι ἐν μη-  
 νὶ Παῦνι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ὀγδώου ἔτους  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ  
 Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ Γερμανικοῦ ἄνευ πάσης  
 ὑπ[ε]ρθέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογείας —  
 10 [ἐ]ὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι καθ' ἃ γέγραπται ἀπο-  
 [τ]ισάτωι παραχρῆ<μα> μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ  
 [τ]όκων γεινομένης τῶι Ἀφροδισίω τῆς  
 [πρ]ά[ξε]ω[ς] ἔκ[τ]ε τ[ο]ῦ Ὀρσενούφεως  
 — — — — —

1 [. . . . .]. [. . . . .]. [. . . . .]. [. . . . .]. *ed. pr.*                      2 [.]ο[.] *ed. pr.* ; ἀρ[τ]άβης corr. ex ἀρ[τ]άβας ; (ὀγδός) ἐκκαίδεκάτης *ed. pr.*                      3 μέ[τ]ρω *ed. pr.* ; 1. τετραχυνίκωι : τετραχυνίκωι *ed. pr.*                      4 ἀμφο[τ]έρων *ed. pr.* ; 1. ἀπόδοσιν ; ποησασθ pap. : 1. ποιησάσθ(ω)                      5 1. Ὀρσενούφεις : Ὀρσενούφεις *ed. pr.* ; τῶι *ed. pr.*                      6 1. ὀγδῶου                      7 δομιτιαν<sup>ο</sup> pap.                      8 [Σ]εβαστ[ο]ῦ *ed. pr.*                      9 ὑπ[ε]ρθέσεως *ed. pr.* ; εὐρησιλογείας *ed. pr.*                      10 1. ἀποδῶ ; καθ(ὰ) *ed. pr.*                      10-11 1. ἀπο-|[τ]ισάτω                      12 τόκωγ *ed. pr.*                      14 [πρ]ά[ξε]ω[ς] *ed. pr.* ; το]ῦ *ed. pr.*

“...One and a half and one tenth artabas of new, clean, and unadulterated vegetable seed by the four-choinix dromos measure. And Orsenouphis shall pay Aphrodisios back in the month Pauni of the present eight year of the emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, without any delay or subterfuge. And if he does not make payments in

<sup>928</sup> Cf. *P.Oslo*. III 131, a loan of money with an advance payment for wheat from Theadelphia dated to AD 118.

accordance with the prescribed terms, he shall pay immediately the price increased by half with interest, with Aphrodisios retaining the right of execution upon Orsenouphis...”

2. ἡμίσους: The reading of the abbreviation (ὀγδόης), proposed in the *editio princeps* of the papyrus, is unlikely for palaeographical reasons. After μ[ι]ᾶς, there is a vertical line joining perpendicularly to the horizontal line of the previous *sigma*. Afterward, a second vertical followed by a horizontal trace is visible. The two verticals probably belong to an *eta*, as the same shape of *eta* is also attested in *P.Oslo*. III 131 (no. 7), 23-24, a loan drafted in the *grapheion* of Theadelphia and dated to AD 118. After *eta*, there is a *mu* and then a vertical line in ligature with the following letter. As the end of the word is likely the sequence -σους, written rapidly with *Verschleifung*, I have proposed the reading ἡμίσους (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. *P.Stras*. IV 203, 2 μ[ι]ᾶς ἡμίσους δεκάτου



3. τετραχυνίκωι: Schwartz edited τετραχινίκωι, but no traces of the sequence *omicron-iota* are visible. After *chi*, there is a letter composed of a curved horizontal stroke linked to a vertical line, likely to be *upsilon* (cf. the shape of *upsilon* in Γερμανικοῦ at l. 9). Therefore, I have read τετραχυνίκωι (Fig. 2). The wrong spelling of the diphthong -οι- as *upsilon* is common in the papyrus documentation of the Roman period.<sup>929</sup>

Fig. 2. *P.Stras*. IV 203, 3 τετραχυνίκωι



3-4: On the phraseology of the sentence, cf. *P.Eirene* III 9, 12-4 μέτρῳ δρόμῳ] τετραχυνείκῳ ὧν κ[αὶ τὴν ἀμφοτέρων ἀπό-]δοσιν ποιησάθω (l. ποιησάσθω) ὁ Ἴηρω[v].

<sup>929</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Col.* VII 178a, 10-11; 179, 14-15; *P.Mich.* XII 634, 13-14; *SB* IV 7466, 11; XXII 15728, 15.

5. ὁ]: A letter is missing at the beginning of line 5. Since after the formula τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ποιησάσθω the name of the debtor is always preceded by the article,<sup>930</sup> I have supplied the article ὁ before Ὀρσενούφεις.

9. At the end of the sentence, a horizontal line marks the conclusion of the section stating the terms of the agreement (Fig. 3). The following section of the text is then reserved for the legal clauses of the agreement. This graphic feature also appears in *P.Stras.* IV 209, 18, a loan of money from Dionysias dated to AD 152.

Fig. 3. *P.Stras.* IV 203, 9 εὐρησιλογείας —



## 2. *P.Meyer* 7

TM 11961

17 x 7 cm

AD 95

*P.Meyer* 7, belonging to the collection *Neutestamentliches Seminar* in Berlin and published in 1916, got destroyed in World War II. It is an advance sale of black beans,<sup>931</sup> sold to Panesneus son of Hatres from Aphrodisios I son of Philippos of the family archive.<sup>932</sup> Drafted in the *grapheion* of Polydeukia and Sethrempais, this contract was dated by Meyer to the reign of Hadrianus.<sup>933</sup> However, Aphrodisios I should have been born in the first half of the first century AD, as his son Philippos III was born in AD 72 according to *P.Corn.* 40 (no. 4). Therefore, I accept the dating, proposed by Schwartz, to AD 95.<sup>934</sup> This date is also supported by the chronology of the other extant attestations of the *grapheion* of Polydeukia and Sethrempais, all dating to the end of the first century AD.<sup>935</sup>

In this reedition, I have corrected some readings at ll. 11 and 33.

<sup>930</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Athen.* 22, 16-19; *P.Eirene* III 9, 13-14; *SB* IV 7466, 11-12.

<sup>931</sup> On the so-called advance sales, cf. Claytor 2022: 1.

<sup>932</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

<sup>933</sup> *P.Mey.*: pp. 46-47.

<sup>934</sup> For the dating of Schwartz, see BL 3: 106.

<sup>935</sup> On the activity of the *grapheion* of Polydeukia and Sethrempais, see Chapter V 4. 2. *Outside the Village: The Grapheion and Other Writing Offices in the Division of Themistos.*

- — — — — — — — — —  
 τεσσαρ[ε]σκαϊδεκάτη Τῦβι ἰδ' ἐν Πολυ-  
 δευκείᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος τοῦ  
 Ἄρσινοίου νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ  
 Πανεσνεὺς Ἄτρείους Πέρσης τῆς  
 5 ἐπιγονῆς ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντ(α)  
 δύο οὐ[λ]ηι χειρὶ ἀριστερᾷ Ἄφροδισίῳ  
 Φιλίππου ὡς ἐτῶν πενήκοντα  
 τεσσάρων οὐλή ὀφρῦει ἀριστερᾷ  
 ἔχιν παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμὴν κυάμο(υ) μέλανο(ς)  
 10 νέου καθαροῦ ἀδόλου ἀρταβῶν  
 τεσσάρων ἡμίσιους μέτρῳ δρόμῳ  
 τετραχοινείῳ, ὧν καὶ τὴν ἀπό-  
 δοσιν ποησάσθω ὁ Πανεσνεὺς τῷ  
 Ἄφροδισίῳ ἐν μηνὶ Σωτηρείῳ  
 15 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τεσσαρεσκαϊδεκάτ(ου)  
 ἔτους ἐπὶ κόμης Σεθρενπάει  
 ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ  
 εὐρη[σ]ιλογίας. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι  
 καθ' ἃ γέγραπται, ἀποτεισάτω παρα-  
 20 χρήμα μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ τόκων,  
 γειν[ο]μένης τῷ Ἄφροδισίῳ τῆς  
 πρά[ξε]ως ἕκ τε τοῦ Πανεσνέως  
 καὶ [ἐκ τ]ῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ  
 πάντ[ω]ν καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης, χωρὶς  
 25 ἄλλω[ν] ὧν ὀφείλει ὁ Πανεσνεὺς  
 τῷ Ἄφροδι[σί]ῳ. ὑπογραφεὺς τοῦ  
 Πανε[σ]νέως Ὠρίων Δωρίωνος  
 ὡς (ἔτων) λα <οὐλή> μετώ(πφ) μέσ(φ) (hd. 2) Πανεσνεὺς  
 Ἄτρείους Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆ(ς)  
 30 ὁμολογῶ ἔχιν παρὰ τοῦ  
 Ἄφροδισίου τιμὴ κυάμ[ο]υ μέλανο(ς)  
 νέου ἀρταβῶν τεσσάρων ἡμί-



σους μέτρῳ δρόμῳ καὶ ἀποδώ-  
σω ἐ[ν] μηνὶ Σωτηρίῳ τοῦ

— — — — —

*verso*

Σεθρενπ[άει].

6 l. οὐλή      8 l. ὄφρῦ      9 l. ἔχειν ; l. τιμὴν      11 δρόμων *ed. pr.*      12 l. τετραχοινίκῳ  
13 l. ποιησάσθω      19 καθὰ *ed. pr.* ; l. ἀποτισάτω      30 l. ἔχειν      31 l. τιμὴν      33 l.  
δρόμων *ed. pr.*

(*recto*) “... fourteenth, Tybi 14<sup>th</sup>, in Polydeukia of the Themistos division of the Arsinoite nome. Panesneus son of Hatres, Persian of the Epigone, aged about forty-two, with a scar on his left hand, acknowledges to Aphrodisios son of Philippos, aged about fifty-four, with a scar on his left eyebrow, that he has received from him the price of four and a half artabas of new, clean, and unadulterated black beans by the four-choenix dromos measure. And Panesneus shall pay Aphrodisios back in the month of Soterios of the current fourteenth year in the village of Sethrempais, without any delay or subterfuge. And if he does not make payments in accordance with the prescribed terms, he shall pay immediately the price increased by half with interest, with Aphrodisios retaining the right of execution upon Panesneus and all his property, as if in accordance with a legal decision - apart from other things that Panesneus owes Aphrodisios. Subscriber of Panesneus Horion son of Dorion, aged about 31, with a scar in the middle of his forehead. (hd. 2) I, Panesneus son of Hatres, Persian of the Epigone, acknowledge that I have received from Aphrodisios the price of four and a half artabas of black beans by the dromos-measure, and I will give it back in the month Soterios of...”

(*verso*) “Sethrempais.”

4. The borrower of *P.Meyer* 7, Panesneus son of Hatres, is unattested in the Theadelphia papyrus documentation of the first and second century AD.

11. δρόμω: The reading δρόμων, published in the first edition, should represent a misinterpretation of the editor, as the four-choenix dromos measure was usually named μέτρῳ δρόμῳ τετραχονίκῳ.<sup>936</sup>

### 3. *P.Meyer 5*

TM 11959

11.5 x 11 cm

AD 98-117

*P.Meyer 5*, published in 1916 and belonging to the *Neutestamentliches Seminar* collection in Berlin, got destroyed in the II World War. Written on both sides, it is a loan of 40 drachmas of silver, plus one and a half artabas of wheat. The creditor is Philippos III son of Aphrodisios of the family archive,<sup>937</sup> the debtors are a certain Dios son of Petearios and his wife, of whom no other information is available.

In this reedition, I have proposed new readings at ll. 14-15 and 20.

*recto*

-----  
ΤῚρ[α]ι[α]νοῦ Κ[αίσαρος του κυρίου ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθ(έσεως)]  
καὶ εὐρησιλογίας· ἐὰν δ[ὲ] μὴ [ἀποδῶσιν καθ' ἃ γέγραπται],  
ἀποτεισάτωισαν παραχρῆμα [μεθ' ἡμιολείας]  
καὶ τόκων τῆς πράξ[ε]ως οὔση[ς τῶι] Φιλίππῳ  
5 ἐκ τε τῶ(ν) ὁμολογοῦντων καὶ ἐκ τῶ(ν) [ὑπ]αρχόντων(ν)  
αὐτοῖς πάντων κ[α]θ' ἄπερ ἐγ δίκης (ἡ) συ(γγρα)φῆ κυρία \(\ᾔς)τ(ω)/

-----  
(hd. 2) Δίος Πετταρίου . [ . ] . [ . ] . . . Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγο-  
νῆς καὶ ἡ γυνή μου Σαρ . . . ια Ἀφροδισίου  
Περσίνη με[τ]ὰ κυρίου ἐμοῦ ἀλλήλων ἐγ-  
10 γῶν ἰς ἕκτ[ισιν] ὁμολογοῦμ[εν] ἔχιν  
παρὰ Φιλίππο[υ τ]ο[ῦ Ἀ]φ[ροδι]σίου χρήσιν ἔν-  
τοκον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰ[ς] τεσσαράκοντα

<sup>936</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Stras.* IV 203 (no. 1), 3; *SB IV* 7466, 10-11; 22-23; *ZPE* 197 (2016): p. 105 n. 1, 3.

<sup>937</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

καὶ τιμὴν διὰ χιρὸς πυροῦ ἀρτάβης μι-  
 ᾶς ἡμίτους μέ[τ]ρω δρόμω τετραχοινί-  
 15 κω καὶ ἀποδώσ[ομ]εν ἐμ μηνὶ Παιοῖνι  
 τοῦ ἐσιώντος [ἔ]τος καθὼς [π]ρόκειται.  
 ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἡρακλείδης Σω-  
 τηρίχου διὰ τὸ μὴ ἰδέναί αὐτοὺς  
 γράμματα. (hd. 3) Φ[ίλιπ]πος Ἀφρο[δ]ει[σ]ίου [γ]εῖκο(νεν)  
 20 <εῖς> μυ ἢ ὁμολογί(α) καθὼς [πρό]κ[ε]ιται].

*verso*

ὁμολ(ογία) Δείου καὶ τῆς γυν(αικὸς) πρὸ(ς) Φίλιππο(ν) δρ(αχμῶν) μ  
 κα[ῖ] πυ(ροῦ) ἀ(ρτάβης) [α λ].

2 καθὰ *ed. pr.*      3 l. ἀποτισάτωσαν      6 l. ἐκ ; σ. φη *ed. pr.* ; \τ/. *ed. pr.*      9-10 l. ἐγγύοι  
 10 l. εἰς ; l. ἔχειν      13 l. χειρὸς      14 δρόμων τετραχουν *ed. pr.*      15 κώ(μης) *ed. pr.* ; l.  
 ἐγ ; l. Παιῶνι      16 l. ἐσιώντος ; l. [π]ρόκειται      18 l. εἰδέναί      19 l. γέγονέν      20  
 l. με : l. μοι *ed. pr.*

(*recto*) “In the [...] year of [the Emperor our lord Traianus, without any delay] or subterfuge. And if they [do not make payments in accordance with the prescribed terms], they shall pay immediately the money [increased by half] with interest, Philippos retaining the right of execution on the acknowledging people, and upon all their property, as if in accordance with a legal decision. This contract shall be valid. (hd. 2) We, Dios son of Petearios, [...] Persian of the Epigone, and my wife Sar... daughter of Aphrodisios, Persian, acting under my guardianship, being sureties for one another for repayment, acknowledge that we have received from Philippos son of Aphrodisios an interest-bearing loan of forty drachmas of silver, plus the worth of one and a half artabas of wheat, from hand to hand, by the four-choinix measure of the village. And we will pay back in the month of Pauni of the forthcoming year as aforesaid. Heraklides son of Soterichos wrote for them since they are illiterate. (hd. 3) I, Philippos son of Aphrodisios, have received the agreement as stated above.”

(*verso*) “Acknowledgement of deposit of 40 drachmas and 1 and a half artabas of wheat made by Dios and his wife to Philippos.”

14-15. δρόμῳ τετραχοινί-|κῶ: In the first edition of the papyrus, Meyer published δρόμων τετραχουν|κώ(μης). However, as the unit of measure (μέτρῳ δρόμῳ τετραχοινίκῳ) is never followed by κώμης in the extant parallels,<sup>938</sup> I have interpreted -κῶ- at line 15 as the ending sequence of the previous word τετραχοινί-|κῶ.

17-18. Ἡρακλείδης Σω-|τηρίχου: Heraklides son of Soterichos could be the same individual appearing as the scribe of *P.Narm. 6*, a cession of land from Theadelphia dated to AD 107/108. Based on the image of *P.Narm. 6*, at line 10 the edition Ἡρακλᾶ[ς - ca.7 -] .χου might be supplied as Ἡρακλε[ίδης Σωτη]ρίχου: the letter before the lacuna could be an *epsilon*, while before the sequence -χου the traces of two verticals, likely *rho* and *iota*, are visible (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. *P.Narm. 6*, 10 Ἡρακλε[ίδης Σωτη]ρίχου



19-20. [γ]εῖκο(νεν) <εῖς> μν: In the first edition of the papyrus, the sequence μν was interpreted as a wrong spelling for the pronoun at the dative μοι. However, the expression γέγονέ μοι is attested only two times, in an ostrakon from the Mons Claudianus (*O.Claud. I 66, 6*) and a papyrus of the third century (*P.Ross.Georg. V 22, 17*). Moreover, in both cases, it appears in the body of the text and not in the subscription. The usual formula for subscriptions in second-century contracts from the Arsinoites is γέγονε εἰς με.<sup>939</sup> Therefore, μν should be a mistake for the accusative με, before which the preposition εἰς is expected.

#### 4. *P.Corn. 40*, 26 Nov. 105 AD<sup>940</sup>

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-1214>

<sup>938</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Amh. II 90*, 11-12; *P.Diog. 26*, 2-3; *P.Lond. II 308*, 13-14.

<sup>939</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Fam.Tebt. 22*, 31-32 Ταμύσθα μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Λυσιμάχου| γέγονε εἰς με ἢ ὁμολογία καθὸς πρόκειται; *P.Mich. III 189*, 34-36 Ταπεκῶσις | [ῶρου μετὰ κυρίου] τοῦ ἀνδρὸς [ῶρου] τοῦ [ῶρου]. γέγον[ε] | [εἰς με ἢ ὁμολογία.

<sup>940</sup> A reedition of *P.Corn. 40* will appear in a separate publication.

“In the ninth year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, on the thirtieth of the month Sebastos, in Theadelphia of the Themistos division of the Arsinoite nome. Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, aged about thirty-two, with her guardian NN, a nephew from her father's family, aged about thirty-three, scar [...] acknowledges to [Philippos, son of NN], aged about thirty-three, scar [...] that neither Athenarion nor her assigns take action ] ... nor in the future will take action against Philippos ...”

### 5. *P.Ryl. II 202a*

TM 12973

11.2 x 5.2 cm

22 Sept. 108 AD

*P.Ryl. II 202a* is a receipt of *sitologia* published in the second volume of the Rylands papyri. Eighteen lines of writing run along the fibres on the *recto*; the *verso* is blank. Part of the upper, left, and right margins are preserved, while the lower margin is lost and the papyrus is broken at the bottom. The handwriting is a professional cursive, full of abbreviations and symbols.

This document is a receipt issued from the *sitologi* of Theadelphia after the land measurement carried out from 21 to 25 Thoth (18 to 22 September) of AD 108. In the surviving text, it registers the payments in wheat due by three Theadelphian villagers, Philippos III son of Aphrodisios, Diodotos alias Ninnaros son of Anoubion, and Ptolemaios, son of the above-mentioned Philippos and brother of Aphrodisios II of our family archive.<sup>941</sup>

In this reedition of the text, I have proposed a redating of the papyrus based on a new reading of the date in l. 4 and corrected some readings in ll. 5-6 and 13-14.

ἔτους ιβ̄ Ἀὐτοκ[ράτορο]ς

Καίσαρος Νέ[ρ]ουα Τ[ραι]ανοῡ

Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακ[ι]κ[ο]ῦ

Θῶθ̄ κᾱ κε. Ἀ[π]ολλώ(νιος)

5 γεγυ(μνασιαρχικῶς) καὶ οἱ μέτοχ(οι) σι[το]λ(όγοι) [Θεα]δ̄(ελφίας)  
καὶ ἄλλων κω(μῶν) μ[ε]μ[ετ]ρή(μεθα) ἀπ[ὸ] τῶν

<sup>941</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

γενη(μάτων) τοῦ διελη(λυθότος) ἐ[νδεκά]του (ἔτους)  
 Φίλιππος Ἀφρο[οδ(ισίου) κ(ατ)]οί(κων)  
 Θεαδ(ελφίας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ὀκτῶ τρίτο(ν) ἰβ´,  
 10 (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) η γ´ ἰβ´, καὶ Δ[ι]όδοτος  
 ὁ καὶ Νίνναρο(ς) Ἄνουβ(ίωνος)  
 κ(ατ)οί(κων) Θεαδ(ελφίας) τρεῖς τρίτον,  
 ἐπιβ(ολῆς) ἥμισυ δωδέκα[τ(ον)],  
 (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) γ (ἥμισυ) γ´ ἰβ´, καὶ Πτολεμα[ῖο(ς)]  
 15 Φίλιπ(που) διὰ Ἀφροδ(ισίου) ἀδελ(φοῦ)  
 κ(ατ)οί(κων) Θεαδ(ελφίας) δύο ἥμισυ  
 ὄγδο(ον), (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β (ἥμισυ) η´ [καὶ]  
 [. . . . .]β( ) κ(ατ)[οί(κων) Θ]ε[αδ(ελφίας) τ]ρεῖς τρι[το(ν)]

1 Αὐτοκρ[άτορο]ς *ed. pr.*      2 Τραιανοῦ *ed. pr.*      3 Δακικοῦ *ed. pr.*      4 Σε[β(αστῆ)].  
*ed. pr.* ; ἀπολλ<sup>ο</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup>      5 γεγυ p<sup>ap.</sup> ; μετο<sup>χ</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup> ; σι[το]<sup>λ</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup> : σιτ(ολόγοι) *ed. pr.* ; [θεα]<sup>δ</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup>  
 : [Θεαδ(ελφίας)] *ed. pr.*      6 ἄλλω(ν) *ed. pr.* ; κ<sup>ο</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup> ; μ[ε]μ[ε]τρη p<sup>ap.</sup> : μ[ε]μετρη(μεθα) *ed.*  
*pr.* ; τῶ<sup>ν</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup> : τ[ῶ](ν) *ed. pr.*      7 γενη p<sup>ap.</sup> ; διελη p<sup>ap.</sup> ; L p<sup>ap.</sup>      8 αφρο[οδ]<sup>δ</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup> ; κοι  
 p<sup>ap.</sup>      9 θεα<sup>δ</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup> ; † p<sup>ap.</sup> : (πυροῦ) *ed. pr.* ; οκτ<sup>ο</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup> ; τριτ<sup>ο</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup>      10 | p<sup>ap.</sup> ; † p<sup>ap.</sup> :  
 (πυροῦ) *ed. pr.* ; ὄγδο p<sup>ap.</sup> ; Διόδοτος *ed. pr.*      11 νινναρο<sup>ο</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup> ; ανουβ<sup>β</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup>      12 κοι p<sup>ap.</sup> ;  
 θεα<sup>δ</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup>      13 επιβ p<sup>ap.</sup> ; δωδεκα[τ] p<sup>ap.</sup> : δωδέκατον *ed. pr.*      14 | p<sup>ap.</sup> ; † p<sup>ap.</sup> : (πυροῦ)  
*ed. pr.* ; ὄγδο p<sup>ap.</sup> ; πτολεμα[ῖο] p<sup>ap.</sup> : Πτολεμ(αῖος) *ed. pr.*      15 φιλι ) p<sup>ap.</sup> ; αφρο<sup>δ</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup> ; αδελ<sup>λ</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup>  
 16 κοι p<sup>ap.</sup> ; θεα<sup>δ</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup>      17 ογδ<sup>ο</sup> p<sup>ap.</sup> | p<sup>ap.</sup> ; † p<sup>ap.</sup> : (πυροῦ) *ed. pr.* ; L p<sup>ap.</sup>      17-18  
 η´[. . . . .]β( ) *ed. pr.*      18 φ[. . .]( ) [. . .] . . . . *ed. pr.*

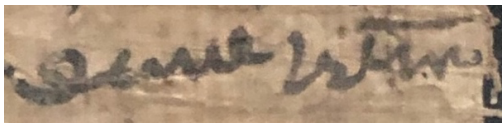
“In the 12<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, from Thoth 21 to 25. We, Apollonios former gymnasiarch and the associate *sitologi* of Theadelphia and the other villages, have had measured to us from the produce of the past eleventh year, by Philippos son of Aphrodisios, for the catoecic land at Theadelphia eight, a third, and 1/12 artabas of wheat, total 8 1/3 1/12 artabas of wheat; and by Diodotos alias Ninnaros, son of Anoubion, for the catoecic land at Theadelphia three and a third (artabas of wheat), for the extra charge a half and a twelfth, total 3 1/2 1/3 1/12 artabas of wheat, and by Ptolemaios son of Philippos, through the brother Aphrodisios, for the catoecic land at Theadelphia two, a half, and an eighth (artabas of wheat), total 2 1/2 1/8 artabas of wheat,

[and by ... son of] ..., for the catoecic land at Theadelphia three and a third (artabas of wheat) ...”

4.  $\overline{\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon}$ : At the end of the date in the heading, the day is provided, as was usual. In the first edition, the beginning of line 4 was edited as  $\Theta\omega\theta\ \kappa\alpha\ \Sigma\epsilon[\beta(\alpha\sigma\tau\eta)]$ . However, the reading  $\Sigma\epsilon[\beta(\alpha\sigma\tau\eta)]$  is not supported by the palaeographical evidence. Between  $\kappa\alpha$  and *epsilon*, there is a letter in ligature with the previous *alpha* with three strokes, a vertical line linked to an oblique ascending to the right, and an oblique stroke descending to the right. Based on the traces, the letter seems a *kappa* rather than a *sigma*; cf. e.g. the shape of *kappa* in l. 6  $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ . Thus, I have proposed the reading  $\kappa\epsilon$  (Fig. 5).

The sequence  $\kappa\alpha\ \kappa\epsilon$  represents the period of the *sitologia* measurements, carried out from 21 to 25 of Thoth. As a parallel for this dating, cf. *BGU* III 988, 4  $\Pi\alpha\delta\upsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\ \lambda$ .

Fig. 5. *P.Ryl.* II 202a, 4  $\overline{\Theta\omega\theta\ \kappa\alpha\ \kappa\epsilon}$



5.  $\sigma\iota[\tau\omicron]\lambda(\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\iota)$ : The reading  $\sigma\iota\tau(\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\iota)$ , presented in the first edition of *P.Ryl.* II 202a, is unconvincing for palaeographical reasons. After the sequence  $\sigma\iota$ - there is a lacuna where around two letters were lost, followed by a horizontal stroke written in the interline, which could be a cursive *lambda* raised to mark an abbreviation (Fig. 6). I have therefore proposed the reading  $\sigma\iota[\tau\omicron]\lambda(\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\iota)$ . This abbreviation is widely attested in the *sitologi*'s receipts from second century Fayum.<sup>942</sup>

Fig. 6. *P.Ryl.* II 202a, 5  $\sigma\iota[\tau\omicron]\lambda(\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\iota)$

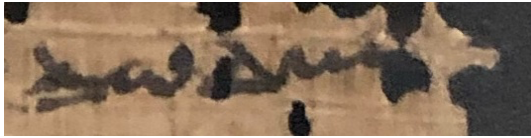


13.  $\delta\omega\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha[\tau(\omicron\nu)]$ : In the first edition of *P.Ryl.* II 202a  $\delta\omega\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$  was edited in full, but, according to the visible traces, the number was written in abbreviation. After the sequence  $\delta\omega\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ -, only a small trace of *alpha* is visible. Above it, there is a lacuna, where a *tau* raised

<sup>942</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Fay.* 86a, 3; *P.Oslo.* II 28, 4; *SB* XXII 15861, 4.

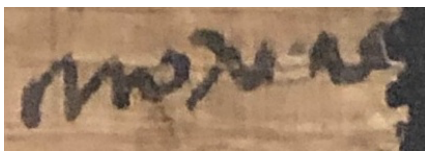
to the upper right should have been lost (Fig. 7). For the abbreviation δωδέκατ(ον) in the papyrus documentation from Roman Fayum, cf. *P.Hamb.* III 208, 7.

Fig. 7. *P.Ryl.* II 202a, 13 δωδέκατ[τ(ον)]



14. Πτολεμα[ῖο(ς)]: The reading Πτολεμ(αῖος), proposed in the first edition of *P.Ryl.* II 202a, should be corrected based on the palaeographical evidence. After the sequence πτολεμ-, there are traces of a rounded letter, likely to be *alpha* (Fig. 8). As the following *iota* and an *omicron* marking the abbreviation could be lost in the lacuna above *alpha*, I have proposed the supplement Πτολεμα[ῖο(ς)]. This is the usual kind of abbreviation attested in most of the Theadelphian financial registers dated to the second century AD.<sup>943</sup>

Fig. 8. *P.Ryl.* II 202a, 14 Πτολεμα[ῖο(ς)]



18. In the last line of the papyrus, only a few traces are visible. After about five missing letters, there is a cursive *beta* written above the line; it likely marks an abbreviation concerning the patronymic of a new taxpayer. Subsequently, a vertical line is followed by a lacuna of about two letters and an *epsilon*. At the end of the line, after a lacuna of three

<sup>943</sup> Cf. *BGU* IX 1892, col. I 2; 1893, col. XX 676; 1899, col. I 5 and 8; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. XI 168; col. XIII 193; col. XIV 201; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 6, col. VIII 113; *SB* XXIV 16329, col. II 38.

The entry of *BGU* IX 1893, col. XX 676 has been published as Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Πτολεμαῖ(ος) ἀμφ(ότεροι) Κάστωρ(ος). However, based on the digital image of the papyrus, the reading Πτολεμαῖ(ος) should be corrected in Πτολεμαῖο(ς). On the top of the vertical of *iota*, an open *omicron* in ligature with the previous letter is visible (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9. *BGU* IX 1893, col. XX 676 Πτολεμαῖο(ς)





missing letters, the sequence -ρειστρι- might be read (Fig. 10). According to those traces, I have supplied κ(ατ)[οί(κων) Θ]ε[αδ(ελφίας) τ]ρεῖς τρι[το(ν)].

Fig. 10. The traces in *P.Ryl.* II 202a, 18



### 6. *P.Fay.* 81

TM 10924

15.2 x 6.6 cm

5 Aug. 115 AD

Image: [http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/pages/index.cfm?so\\_id=4220](http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/pages/index.cfm?so_id=4220)

*P.Fay.* 81 is a receipt for payment in kind issued from the *sitologi* of Theadelphia and published in 1900. Several corrections to the text have been proposed over the years.<sup>944</sup> The papyrus has thirteen lines of writing along the fibres on the *recto*; the *verso* is blank. The document, broken on the left, preserves the upper, right, and lower margins; four vertical fold lines are visible at 1.3, 3, 4.4, and 5.7 cm from the right edge. The handwriting is a rounded cursive full of abbreviations, belonging to a professional scribe.

The recipient is Athenarion I, the elder daughter of Herodes, who is charged for the land taxes owed by Philippos III son of Aphrodisios of the family archive as well.<sup>945</sup> In this reedition, I have corrected some readings and proposed new supplements at ll. 7, 8, 11-13.

[ἔτους ὀκτωκ]αιδεκάτου Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος

[Νέρουα Τ]ραιανοῦ Ἀρίστου Σεβαστοῦ

[Γερμανικοῦ Δακ]ικου μηνὸ(ς) Καισαρείο(υ) ἰβ̄. Δίδυμος

[καὶ (μέτοχοι) σιτολ(όγοι)] τοπαρχ(ίας) Θεαδελφεί(ας) καὶ ἄλλων

5 [κωμῶν με]μετρήμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων

[τοῦ αὐτοῦ] ὀκτωικαιδεκάτου ἔτους Ἀθηνάριο(ν)

<sup>944</sup> BL 2.2.55; BL 8.122; Smolders 2004b: 220.

<sup>945</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

[πρεσβ(υτέρα) Ἡρώ]δ(ου) ἰσὺν τ(αῖς) εἰς Φίλιπ(πον) Ἀφροδ(ισίου)/ Θεαδελφεί(ας)  
κατοί(κων) (πυροῦ) μέτρῳ δημοσί[φ]

[ξυστ(ῶ) ἔπαιτ(ον) ἀρ]τάβας εἴκοσι δύο ἥμισυ

[ . . . . . ] ἐπιβολῆς πυροῦ δύο δῖμοιρον

10 [ . . . . . ]φης πυροῦ ἥμ[ι]συ τρίτον

[ἔκτον (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κς ς'], (γίνονται) τοῦ συ[μ]βό(λου) (πυροῦ  
ἀρτάβαι) κ[ς ς]', καὶ τὰ προ(σ)μ(ετρούμενα).

(hd. 2) [Δίδυμος με]μέτρημ(αι) πυροῦ ἀρτ(άβας) εἴκοσι ἕξ [ἔκ]τον (γίνονται) (πυροῦ  
ἀρτάβαι) κς ς'

(hd. 3) [ . . . . σιτο]λ(όγος) συγμμετρημ(αι) τὰς τοῦ πυρ[οῦ] ἀρτ(άβας) εἴκοσι ἕξ

[ἔκτον, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κς ς', καὶ τὰ προσμ(ετρούμενα).

1 (ἔτους) *ed. pr.*            2 Τραϊανου *par.*            3 [Γερμανικοῦ Δακ]ικοῦ BL 8.122 : [Γερμα]νικοῦ  
*ed. pr.* ; μιν<sup>ο</sup> *par.* ; καισαρει<sup>ο</sup> *par.*            4 μ(έτοχοι) *ed. pr.* ; τοπαρ<sup>χ</sup> *par.* ; θεαδελφει— *par.*            6  
ἐνεστ(ῶτος)] *ed. pr.* ; 1. ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου ; αθηναρί *par.* : Ἀθηνάριο(ν) BL 2.2.55 : Ἀθηναρί(ων) *ed.*  
*pr.*            7 ηρω<sup>δ</sup> *par.* : [ . . . . . ] ι( ) *ed. pr.* ; συντ *par.* : σὺν τ(αῖς) Smolders: συντ( ) *ed. pr.* :  
Συντ(ρεμπαεῖ) BL 8.122 ; φιλι<sup>τ</sup> *par.* : Φιλ( ) *ed. pr.* ; αφρο<sup>δ</sup> *par.* : Ἀφροδ( ) *ed. pr.* ; θεαδελφει—  
*par.* ; κατοί *par.* ; † *par.*            8 [ξυστῶ ἀρ]τάβας *ed. pr.*            9 [ . . . . . ] *ed. pr.* ; 1. δῖμοιρον  
10 [ . . . . . ]φης *ed. pr.*            11 [ἔκτον] *ed. pr.* ; | *par.* ; συμβ<sup>ο</sup> *par.* : πυροῦ *ed. pr.* ; † *par.* :  
(ἀρτάβαι) *ed. pr.* ; προ<sup>μ</sup> *par.*            12 με]μετρη<sup>μ</sup> *par.* ; αρ<sup>τ</sup> *par.* ; ἕξ *ed. pr.* ; | *par.* ; † *par.*            13  
σιτο]<sup>λ</sup> *par.* ; συγμμετρη<sup>μ</sup> *par.* : ]εις μεμέτρημ(αι) *ed. pr.* ; πυροῦ ἔπα[ιτ(ον)] *ed. pr.* ; αρ<sup>τ</sup> *par.* :  
ἀρτ(άβας) *ed. pr.*            14 προσ<sup>μ</sup> : προ(σ)μ(ετρούμενα) *ed. pr.*

“In the eighteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of the month Kaisareios. We, Didymus and the associate *sitologi* of the toparchy of Theadelphia and other villages, have had measured to us from the products of the same eighteenth year, (the following artabas) owed by Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, together with those owed by Philippos son of Aphrodisios: for catocic land at Theadelphia twenty-two and a half artabas of wheat by levelled public measure, for the *epibole* two and two-thirds artabas of wheat, for [...] a half and one third and one sixth artabas of wheat, total 26 and 1/6 artabas of wheat, total for the receipt 26 and 1/6 artabas of wheat, and the additional fees. (hd. 2) I, Didymos, have measured twenty-six and one sixth artabas of wheat, total 26 and 1/6 artabas of wheat. (hd. 3) I, [...], *sitologos*, have jointly measured twenty-six and one sixth artabas of wheat, total 26 and 1/6 artabas of wheat.”

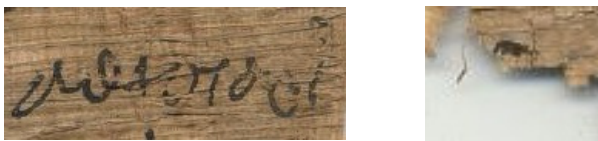
1. ἔτους: The first editor of the document supplied (ἔτους) as a symbol. However, as the word is usually written in full in the heading of the *sitologi* receipts and the letters missing at the beginning of the line are about 9, I have supplied the word ἔτους.

4. (μέτοχοι) σιτολ(όγοι): As about eight letters are missing at the beginning of line 4, (μέτοχοι) should have been completely abbreviated. This kind of abbreviation, drafted as a horizontal line above the last letter of the previous word, is attested in two other receipts of *sitologia* from second century Fayum, *PSI XIV 1407*, 4 and *SB XXII 15707*, 3.

6. [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου ἔτους: The first editor of the document supplied [τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος)] ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου. However, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος is used exclusively when the precise date (day, month, and year) of the measurement is specified, and not after the formula ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων.<sup>946</sup> As the usual formula is [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] plus year, I have proposed the supplement [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου ἔτους.

6-7. Ἀθηνάριο(ν) | [πρεσβ(υτέρα) Ἡρω]ῆ(ου): Eight letters are lost in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 7. After the gap, there is an upper oblique line belonging to a large letter, which is likely a *delta*. The palaeographical evidence allows us to supply the full name of the addressee of the receipt as Ἀθηνάριο(ν) | [πρεσβ(υτέρα) Ἡρω]ῆ(ου) (Fig. 11). The mention of Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, is probable as she was also charged for taxes owed by her husband Philippos III son of Aphrodisios.<sup>947</sup>

Fig. 11. *P.Fay.* 81, 6-7 Ἀθηνάριο(ν) | [πρεσβ(υτέρα) Ἡρω]ῆ(ου)



8. [ξυστ(ῶ) ἔπαιτ(ον)]: As 10-11 letters were likely lost in the lacuna at the beginning of the line, the supplement [ξυστῶ ἀρ]τάβας, proposed by the first editor, should be revalued. According to the extent of the gap, I have therefore supplied [ξυστ(ῶ) ἔπαιτ(ον) ἀρ]τάβας.

<sup>946</sup> Cf. *BGU I 336*, 5-7; *Chr.Wilck.* 357, 3-5; *P.Fay.* 82, 4-7; *P.Lond.* II 217, 9-11, *P.Stras.* IX 833.

<sup>947</sup> For the identification of Philippos son of Aphrodisios, see *BL II 2*: 55.

11. [ἔκτον (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κς ς]: The first editor of the receipt supplied the numeral ἔκτον in the lacuna, according to the total amount of wheat given in the subscriptions of the *sitologi*. Nevertheless, around ten letters are missing at the beginning of l. 11. Thus, I have supplied ἔκτον (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κς ς since the account of the total charge is usually given at the end of the receipts of *sitologia* and before the total for the receipt (*symbolos*).<sup>948</sup>

11. συ[μ]βό(λου): In the first edition, the word after τοῦ was read as πυροῦ. However, the first letter is likely a *sigma* rather than a *pi*, as it includes one vertical line, which is curved to the right (cf. *e.g.* the *sigma* in εἴκοσι at l. 8). Afterwards, an *upsilon* is followed by a faded letter, a u-shaped *beta* and an *omicron* raised to mark an abbreviation (Fig. 12). I have therefore proposed the reading συ[μ]βό(λου), which would indicate the total charge for the receipt.<sup>949</sup>

Fig. 12. *P.Fay.* 81, 11 συ[μ]βό(λου)



13. σιτο]λ(όγος) συγμμέτρημ(αι) τὰς τοῦ πυρ[οῦ] ἀρτ(άβας): Based on the digital image of the document (Fig. 13), I have provided some corrections to the first edition of the beginning of line 13, edited as [- ca. 9 -]εις μμεμέτρημ(αι) πυροῦ ἔπα[ιτ(ον)] ἀρτ(άβας). Before the cursive writing of μμεμέτρημ(αι), three letters are visible. They could be part of the following verb, although the papyrus is broken after those letters and the two flaps of the sheet have therefore been widened. Since the first letter is likely a *sigma*, I have read συγμμέτρημ(αι). This compound is pertinent to our document, as it is attested in the subscription of a *sitologos* in a similar document (*SB* III 7198, 15). Moreover, a horizontal trace of a letter is visible above the *sigma* of συγμμέτρημ(αι): it is probably part of a *lambda* raised to mark the abbreviation and belonging to the word σιτο]λ(όγος).<sup>950</sup> After συγμμέτρημ(αι), the first editor read πυροῦ ἔπα[ιτ(ον)] ἀρτ(άβας), but the first two letters of the sequence are likely *tau-alpha* as their shape is similar to that of the article τὰ in the

<sup>948</sup> Cf. *e.g.* *BGU* I 61, col. I 13; XIII 2301, 18-19; *P.Oslo.* II 28, 12.

<sup>949</sup> Cf. *e.g.* *BGU* III 787, 7; *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 298, 13; *SB* XXII 15732, 15.

<sup>950</sup> On this abbreviation, cf. *e.g.* *P.Gen.* II 110, 7; *P.Mich.* VI 393, 15; *SB* XVI 12683, 6.

following line. They are followed by three extremely rapid letters and a final *upsilon*. Two letters of the subsequent word, partially lost in lacuna, may be read: the first letter is a cursive *pi* similar to that of *πυροῦ* at l. 10, while the second one is an *upsilon*. According to the traces described above, I have proposed the supplement τὰς τοῦ πυρ[οῦ], agreed with the following ἄρτ(άβας).<sup>951</sup>

Fig. 13. *P.Fay.* 81, 13 σιτο]λ(όγος) συγμεμέτρημ(αι) τὰς τοῦ πυρ[οῦ] ἄρτ(άβας)



### 7. *P.Oslo.* III 131

TM 12570

13.2 x 8 cm

17 Jan. 118 AD

Image: <https://ub-media.uio.no/OPES/jpg/440r.jpg>

*P.Oslo.* III 131 is a loan of money and wheat, firstly edited by S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen in 1936. Some corrections at ll. 21-27 were proposed by D. Hagedorn in 2011.<sup>952</sup> The papyrus has twenty-nine lines of writing on the *recto*; the *verso* bears the address in one line. The papyrus is broken at the bottom and partially damaged by internal holes on the right; a *kollesis* is visible at 4.4 cm from the left edge. Some cross-hatching lines were drafted over the text when the terms of the agreement were fulfilled. The handwriting is an expert cursive also attested in *P.Flor.* I 20.<sup>953</sup>

The document is related to the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos, and descendants” as the creditor is Leonides son of Herodes, brother of Athenarion I.<sup>954</sup> In this reedition, I have proposed new readings to ll. 16-17 and 22-24.

*recto*

ἔτους δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτορος

<sup>951</sup> On parallels for this sentence, cf. e.g. *P.Lond.* III 1214a, 8; *PSI* X 1113, 11.

<sup>952</sup> Hagedorn 2011: 298.

<sup>953</sup> For a palaeographical analysis, see the hand of the scribe H5 in Appendix I 2. *Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia.*

<sup>954</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

Καίσαρος Τραιανου Ἄδριανου  
 Σεβαστου, μηνὸς Δύστρου δευ-  
 τέρᾳ καὶ εἰκάδι, Τῦβι κβ̄, ἐν Θεα-  
 5 δελφείᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος  
 τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ὁμο-  
 λογοῦσι Διόσκορο[ο]ς Ἡρακλείδου  
 Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς ἐ[τ]ῶν  
 τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα ἄσημος  
 10 καὶ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Σαρ[α]π[ια]ς  
 Θεῶνος Περσίγῃ ὡς ἐτῶν  
 τεσσαράκοντα πέντε φακὸς  
 χίλι τῷ ἄνωι ἐγ δεξιῶν καὶ  
 οὐλῆι ὑπὲρ ἀστράγαλον [ποδ]ὸς  
 15 ἀριστεροῦ με[τ]ὰ [κυ]ρίου τοῦ  
 προγεγραμμέ[ν]ου αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς(ς),  
 ἀλλήλων ἔγγυοι εἰς ἔκτισιν, τ[ῶ]  
 Λεωνίδῃ Ἡρώδου ὡς ἐτῶν  
 πεντήκοντα οὐλῆι ἀντικνη-  
 20 μίωι δεξιῶι [ἔ]χειν παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 χρήσιν ἔντοκον ἀργυρίου δρα-  
 χμᾶς εἴκοσι κ[αὶ] τιμῆ[ν] διὰ χειρὸς  
 πυροῦ] ἀρτάβης μιᾶς ἡμίσεως  
 δεκάτου μέτ[ρω δ]ρόμῳ τε-  
 25 τραχοινίκωι, ὧ[ν κ]αὶ τὴν ἀμ[φο-  
 τέρ]ων ἀπόδοσιν ποησάσθωσ-  
 [αν] οἱ ὁμολογοῦντες τῷ Λεω-  
 [νίδ]ῃ ἐγ μ[η]νὶ Παῦνι τοῦ ἐ-  
 [νεστῶτος δευτέρου ἔτου]ς

— — — — —

*verso*

30 [(hd. 2) ὁμολ(ογία) Διοσκόρου καὶ τῆς γυν(αικὸς)] π[ρὸ]ς [Λεω]γίδ(ην) Ἡρώδ(ου)  
 (δραχμῶν) κ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) α λ ι´

1 Αὐτοκράτορος Hagedorn : Αὐτοκράτορο-|ς *ed. pr.*      2 τραϊανου pap. ; Ἄδριανου *ed. pr.*      6  
 αρσινοΐτου pap.      7 Διόσκορος *ed. pr.* ; Ἡρακλείδου *ed. pr.*      9 τεσσαράκοντα *ed. pr.*  
 10 γυνή *ed. pr.*      11 Περσίγη *ed. pr.* ; ἐτῶν *ed. pr.*      12 τεσσαράκοντα *ed. pr.* ; φακὸς *ed. pr.*  
 13 1. χεῖλει ; 1. ἄνω ; 1. ἐκ      14 1. οὐλή ; [π]οδὸς *ed. pr.*      15 μετὰ *ed. pr.* ; κ[υ]ρίου *ed. pr.* ;  
 τοῦ *ed. pr.*      16 προγεγραμμένου *ed. pr.* ; Διοσκόρου *ed. pr.* ; ἀνδρο pap. : οἱ δύο *ed. pr.*      17  
 ἔγγυοι *ed. pr.* ; εἰς *ed. pr.*      17-18 ἔκτισιν | Λεωνίδη *ed. pr.*      18 ὡς *ed. pr.*      19 1. οὐλή  
 : οὐλή *ed. pr.*      19-20 ἀντικνη-|μίωι *ed. pr.*      20 ἔχειν *ed. pr.* ; παρ' αὐτοῦ *ed. pr.*      22  
 εἴκοσι[ι ὀ]κτὼ *ed. pr.* ; καὶ *ed. pr.* ; τιμὴν *ed. pr.* ; διὰ *ed. pr.* ; χιρὸς *ed. pr.*      23 ἀρτ[ά]βης *ed.*  
*pr.*      23-24 [δω-]|δεκάτου *ed. pr.*      24 [μέτρῳ *ed. pr.*      24-25 τε-|τραχονίκῳ *ed. pr.*  
 25 ὦ[ν Hagedorn : κῶ(μης) *ed. pr.*      25-26 ἀμφ[ο-|τέρ]ων Hagedorn : ἄλ-|λων *ed. pr.*      26  
 ἀπόδοσιν *ed. pr.*      26-27 1. ποιησάσθωσ-|[αν]      27 ὁμολογούντες *ed. pr.*      27-28 Λε-  
 |[ωνί]δη *ed. pr.*

(*recto*) “In the second year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, on the twenty-second of the month Dystros, Tybi 22<sup>nd</sup>, in Theadelphia of the Themistos division of the Arsinoite nome. Dioskoros son of Herakleides, Persian of the Epigone, aged about forty-nine, without any distinguishing mark, and his wife Sarapias daughter of Theon, Persian, aged about forty-five, with a wart on the right side of her upper lip and a scar above the ankle of her left foot, acting under the guardianship of her abovementioned husband, being sureties for one another for repayment, acknowledge to Leonides son of Herodes, aged about fifty, with a scar on his right calf, that they have received from him a loan, with interest, of 20 silver drachmas, plus the worth of one and a half and one tenth artabas of wheat by the four-choinix dromos measure. And the contracting parties shall pay Leonides back in the month Payni in the present second year ...”

(*verso*) “(hd. 2) Agreement between Dioskoros with his wife and Leonides, son of Herodes, 20 drachmas, one and a half and one tenth artabas of wheat.”

7. Διόσκορος Ἡρακλείδου: Dioskoros son of Heraklides is perhaps the father of Heron son of Dioskoros, the protagonist of an archive including P.Col. inv. 55a; *P.Oslo*. II 36; and *SB IV* 7466.<sup>955</sup>

<sup>955</sup> On the archive of “Heron son of Dioskoros”, see Claytor 2022.

8. *P.Meyer* 6, 12 Jan. 125 AD

“Andronikos priest and *archidikastes*, to the *strategos* of the division of Heraklides of the Arsinoites, greetings. As usual, a copy of the petition that has been submitted should be delivered personally. In the ninth year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Tybi 17<sup>th</sup>. (hd. 2) To Andronikos, warden of the great Sarapis, one of the people maintained in the Museum exempted from taxes, formerly *strategos* of the city and *antexegetes* priest and *archidikastes* and superintendent of the *chrematistai* and other courts, from Heron son of Ischyriion. Appended is a copy of the order issued to me. Philippos son of Aphrodisios to Ptolemaios, banker, greeting. Pay to Heron son of Ischyriion on the thirtieth of the month Pauni of the present year the same sum that I paid in the [...] year of the lord Traianus, 248 drachmas of silver, in total 248 drachmas of silver. In the sixth year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Adrianus Augustus, Choiak twentieth. As this is valid and no repayment has been executed, and Philippos died leaving his son Aphrodisios as his heir, I desire the original application to be publicly registered and I request that, on receiving this document signed by the person sent by me, Ptolemaios son of Epimachos alias Hermios son of Didymos, of the Sosicosmian tribe and of the Althaeon deme, to the effect that the subscription is in the hand of Philippos, they register it together with this application and write to the *strategos* of the division of Heraklides of the Arsinoites that he should send a copy of this application to Aphrodisios in the presence of two friends, so that he may be informed that the order has been publicly registered, and may return to me the payment. (hd. 3) As is fitting. In the ninth year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Adrianus Augustus, Tybi 17<sup>th</sup>. (hd. 4) I have signed.”

9. *P.Ryl.* II 330, 14 Apr. 130 AD<sup>956</sup>

Image:

<https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/ManchesterDev~93~3~23661~245382:Loan>

“In the fourteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, on the ninth of the month of Daisios Pharmouthi, in Theadelphia of the Themistos division of the

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<sup>956</sup> This papyrus was published in the *descripta* of *P.Ryl.* II. A first edition will be presented in my forthcoming article.



Arsinoite nome. Straton son of Heron, registered in the quarter of Apolloniou Parembole, aged about twenty-seven, with a scar on the flat of his right foot, and Sabouris son of Papos, from the aforesaid village, aged about forty-two, with a wart near the right nostril, both of them Persians of the Epigone, mutual sureties] for full repayment, acknowledge to Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, aged about fifty-three, without distinguishing marks, acting under the guardianship of her paternal cousin...”

#### 10. CUA H.H. 1.02 *recto* and *verso*

12 x 12.3 cm

AD 131/132

CUA H.H. 1.02 is an unpublished fragment of papyrus kept at the Catholic University of America, preserving two drafts of two census declarations. It is written on both sides, along the fibres on the *recto* and across the fibres on the *verso*, so that the writing runs parallel to the two faces. The *recto* has fifteen lines of writing, the upper and left margins, as well as three fold lines at 3, 7.3, and 1.12 cm from the left edge. The handwriting, damaged and faded on the right and at the bottom of the papyrus especially, is a professional cursive full of ligatures and abbreviations similar to that of SB XXII 15336 (no. 11).

The text on the *recto* is divided into two sections, separated by a blank space of ca. 1.2 cm. The upper section (Text 1, ll. 1-3) is a census declaration referring to the census-year AD 117. As it does not follow the formulary proper of census declarations and lacks the address, concluding elements, and official subscriptions,<sup>957</sup> it was probably a note on the four residents of an *oikia* in the quarter Bithynon Allon Topon in Arsinoe. Maybe it represents an extract from a census register kept in administrative offices. This text seems unrelated to the following one (Text 2, ll. 4-15), which is a draft of SB XXII 15336 (no. 11), the census declaration of Aphrodisios II of the family archive<sup>958</sup> for the census-year AD 131. The second text, revised many times, presents two types of corrections: the sequences erased by blackening the letters were corrected *in scribendo*,<sup>959</sup> whereas those deleted with a line above

<sup>957</sup> On the form of census returns, see Bagnall-Frier 1994: 20-26.

<sup>958</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

<sup>959</sup> Cf. l. 9. [ἐπ' α], [ἀπεγραψά(μην)], [(ἐτῶν)]; l. 10. [ἐπικεκριμέ-][[νος ἐν κατοίκους], [β (ἔτῃ) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Διογυσί[ου Τόπ(ων)]; l. 11. [ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου)]; l. 12. [τ]ῆς Ἀπίωνος τ[ο]ῦ Χαμρήμ(ονος)].

them were corrected during a subsequent revision of the draft.<sup>960</sup> The declarant registered part of a house in the metropolitan quarter Dionysiou Topon, held in common with his sister Sarapias, and himself, his sister, his wife Didymarion and their sons Philippos IV and Charition II as inhabitants of that property.

The *verso* of the papyrus preserves thirteen lines of writing and the upper and right margins. The handwriting is the same as that on the *recto*. This text is another draft of a census declaration (Text 3). It was written two times in different ways. The first part of the text (ll. 1-3) represents the beginning of a declaration submitted by Philippos IV and Charition II, who acted under the supervision of their father Aphrodisios II as they were still minors and registered part of a property in the quarter of Moeris. It ends *ex abrupto* at line 3; a second version of that census declaration is presented from the following line (ll. 4-15). In this version, Aphrodisios II in person acted as a declarant to record the properties of his sons and four slaves.<sup>961</sup> Two of those slaves appear again in *P.Meyer* 9 (no. 21), a census declaration dated to AD 147, where they belong to Aphrodisios II.

All texts might be dated to AD 131/131. Text 2 is a declaration for the census-year AD 131 and can therefore be dated to the following year. Text 3 is not explicitly dated. However, the reference to the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the emperor Hadrianus fixes AD 117 as a *terminus post quem*, whilst the *terminus ante quem* is AD 139-141 since Aphrodisios's sons, born in 125-127,<sup>962</sup> are here presented as minors. As the three texts were written by the same scribe, it is possible that the two sides of this papyrus presented different declarations drawn up for the same census-year AD 131.

The document is first-hand source for dating the death of Didymarion, the first wife of Aphrodisios II and mother of Philippos IV and Charition II.<sup>963</sup> In text 2 she was likely recalled as the still-alive wife of Aphrodisios II (see below, n. 11-15), while in text 3 the woman, not included in the list of tenants, was probably deceased. According to *CUA* H.H. 1. 02, Didymarion's death may be dated to AD 131/132.

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<sup>960</sup> Cf. l. 8. [τοῦ διεληλυθ(ότος) ις (ἔτους) // κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογ(ραφήν)]; l. 9. [ἀπεγραψά(μην)]; l. 11. [ἄγεγρ(αμμένην) μὴ ἀναγεγρ(αμμέν- ) ἐν ἐπιγεγ(ενημένοις)].

<sup>961</sup> As a pertinent parallel, *SB* XXIV 16014 is a draft of census return written two times, in which the first version of the text is interrupted abruptly to start a new one in the following line. Also in this case, the draft is on the *verso* of a papyrus whose *recto* preserves two unrelated texts; see Duttenhöfer 1997: 70-73.

<sup>962</sup> See Chapter VI 1. *Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy*.

<sup>963</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.



verso

[παρὰ Φιλίπ(που) καὶ Χαρι]τ(ίου) διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφροδ(ισίου) τοῦ Φιλίπ(που) τοῦ Ἀφροδ(ισίου) κατοίκ(ου) τῶν Συοῦ

[ἀναγ(ραφομένου) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου)] Δ[ι]ογυσίου Τόπ(ων) ὑπάρχ(ει) ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Μοήρεως (τρίτον)

[μέρο(ς) (τετάρτου) μέρ(ους) οἰ]κί(ας) καὶ αἰθ(ρίου) καὶ αὐ[λ(ῆς)] . . .

[παρὰ Ἀφροδ(ισίου) το]ῦ Φιλίπ(που) τοῦ Ἀφροδ(ισίου) κ[α]τοίκου τῶν Συοῦ ἀναγ(ραφομένου) καὶ β (ἔτει) ἀπογ(εγραμμένου) \δι' ἑτέρου ὑπομ(νήματος)/ ἐν κ(ατοίκ)οις τε κ[αὶ]

5 [ἀναγ(ραφομένου) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) [Δι]ο[ν]υσίου Τόπ(ων) ὑ[π]άρχ(ει) τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφήλ(ιξί) [μ]ου υἱ[οῖ]ς [τοῦ] κατοί[κο]υ

[τῶν Συοε] Φ[ί]λιπ[π]ον <καὶ> Χαρίτιον μη(τρὸς) Διδυμαρίου Ἀπίωνος τοῦ Χαίρ[η]μ(ονος) θυγ[ατ(ρὸς)]

[κατοίκου ἐπ']ἀμφόδου Μοή(ρεως) (τρίτον) μέρο(ς) (τετάρτου) μέρ(ους) οἰκί(ας) καὶ αὐλ(ῆς) [[ἀδιαιρετ(ου)] <καὶ> τὰ ὑπάρχ-

[οντα αὐτοῖς μ]ητ[ρ]ικὰ δουλ(ικὰ) σώματα ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Διονυσίου Τόπ(ων) [Π]ασίων ὁ καὶ Ε[ὐ-]

[τύχης (ἐτῶν) ε ἄ]ση(μος) καὶ Νικηφ(όρος) (ἐτῶν) δ ἄση(μος) ἀμφοτέ(ροι) μὴ ἀναγ(εγραμμένοι) ἐν ἐπιγεγε[ν]η[μένο]ις

10 [ ± 10 ]β (ἔτους) καὶ [ . ] . . . . . [ . ] . . . . . οἰ . ος τοῦ Διοσκόρου [ . . . . ]

[ ± 15 ]κι . ι (ἐτῶν) . ἄση(μος) ἀναγεγρα(μμέν-) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου)

[ ± 15 ]υ κα[ὶ] τ[ῆ]ν ὁμ[οπ]ά[τ(ριον) κα]ὶ ὁμομήτ(ριον) [ἀδε]λφῆ [

[ ± 42 ] . . . [ . . . ]

recto: 1 αμφο<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; βιθ pap. ; το) pap. ; οικι<sup>-</sup> pap. 2 σοτη pap. ; λ pap. ; L pap. ; αση pap.

; σαρα ) pap. ; λ pap. ; L pap. 3 λ pap. ; L pap. ; αση pap. ; λ pap. ; L pap. ; αμφοτ pap. ;

αναγεγρ<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; επιγεγενη<sup>μ</sup> pap. 4 αφρο<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; φιλι ) pap. ; αφρο<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; Φιλίπ(που) corr. ex

[Ἀφ] 5 το) pap. ; ὁμο) pap. 6 λ pap. ; μερ<sup>ο</sup> pap. ; d pap. ; κοινο<sup>δ</sup> corr. ex. κοινο<sup>δ</sup> [v]'

corr. ex. κοινο[v] ; ἀδιαιρετ pap. ; οικι<sup>-</sup> pap. ; αι<sup>θ</sup> pap. ; α<sup>λ</sup> pap. 7 απογ pap. ; προγ pap. ; ἀδε<sup>λ</sup>

pap. ; σ[α]ρα ) pap. 8 διεληλυ<sup>θ</sup> pap. ; ς pap. ; οικ pap. ; απογ pap. ; ς pap. 9 αμφο<sup>δ</sup> pap. ;

το) pap. ; απεγραψα pap. ; 1. εἰμι ; αφρο<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; προγ pap. ; L pap. 10 L pap. ; οὐ<sup>λ</sup> pap. ;

α[πο]γεγρα ; λ pap. ; αμφο<sup>δ</sup> pap. 10-11 [[ανα-] \ [γεγρ<sup>δ</sup>]] pap. 11 [[αναγεγρ<sup>δ</sup>]] pap. ;

ἐπιγεγεννημ(ένους) ; ς pap. ; οι<sup>κ</sup> pap. ; απογ pap. ; αμφο<sup>δ</sup> pap.      12 αμφοτ pap.      13 [ασ]η pap.  
; [α]ναγεγρς pap. ; L pap. ; αση pap.  
*verso*: 1 Χαρι<sup>τ</sup> pap. ; αφο<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; φιλι ) pap. ; αφο<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; κατοι<sup>κ</sup> pap.      2 το) pap. ; υπαρχ pap.  
; γ' pap.      3 οι|κι<sup>-</sup> pap. ; αι<sup>θ</sup> pap.      4 φιλι ) pap. ; αφο<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; κατοι<sup>κ</sup> pap. ; αναγ pap. ; λ  
pap. ; απογ pap. ; υπο<sup>μ</sup> pap. ; κοις pap.      5 αμφο<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; το) pap. ; υ[π]αρχ pap. ; αφη<sup>λ</sup> pap.  
6 1. Φιλίππω ; 1. Χαριτίω ; μη pap. ; χαι[ρ]η<sup>μ</sup> pap.      7 μση pap. ; γ' pap. ; μερ<sup>ο</sup> pap. ; d pap. ; μερ  
pap. ; οικι<sup>-</sup> pap. ; αυ<sup>λ</sup> pap.      8 δού<sup>λ</sup> pap. ; αμφο<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; το) pap.      9 α]ση pap. ; νικηφ pap. ;  
L pap. ; αση pap. ; αμφοτ pap. ; αναγ pap.      10 L pap.      11 L pap. ; αση pap. ; αναγεγρς pap.

(*recto*) “Quarter Bithynon Allon Topon, a house formerly belonging to ..., Soter..., in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year aged 44, without any distinguishing mark, Sarap( ), in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year aged ..., Heron, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year aged 6, without any distinguishing mark, Dioskoros, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year aged 1, without any distinguishing mark, both not registered in the list of those born since then.

From Aphrodisios son of Philippos son of Aphrodisios, *catoecus* of the 6475, [registered in the quarter] Dionysiou Topon. There belongs to me and the sister from the same father [Sarapias, held in common and equally,] a half of a common and undivided fourth share of a house and court and yard [in the quarter Dionysiou Topon,] in which I register myself and the above-mentioned sister Sarapias and [the following residents] for the [census declaration] of the past 16<sup>th</sup> year ... in which I registered in the census declaration of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the lord Caesar Hadrianus in the same quarter Dionysiou Topon. And I am the above-mentioned Aphrodisios, *catoecus*, aged 32, with a scar on the lower lip, and my wife Didymarion, registered in the census declaration of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year in the quarter Apolloniou Hierakiou, ... , and the sons of both, Charition, aged ... , without any distinguishing mark, [not registered], and ... Philippos, aged 7, without any distinguishing mark, not registered, and [my above-mentioned] sister from the same father Sarapias, whose mother is Athenarion...”

(*verso*) “[From Philippos and Charition] through their father Aphrodisios, son of Philippos, son of Aphrodisios, *catoecus* of the 6475, [registered in the quarter] Dionysiou Topon. There belongs to us in the quarter of Moeris a third [part of a fourth share] of a house and court and yard.

[From Aphrodisios], son of Philippos, son of Aphrodisios, *catoecus* of the 6475, registered and already registered in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year through another memorandum in the *catoeci*, [and registered in the quarter] Dionysiou Topon. There belongs to those minor sons of mine, sons of a *catoecus* [of the 6475], Philippos and Charition, whose mother is Didymarion, daughter of Apion, son of Chairemon, daughter [of a *catoecus*], in the quarter of Moeris a third part of a fourth share of a house and yard and the slaves that belong [to them] by inheritance from their mother in the quarter Dionysiou Topon, Pasion alias [Eutuches, aged 6], without any distinguishing mark, and Nikephoros, aged 4, without any distinguishing mark, both nor registered in the list of those born [...] since the 2<sup>nd</sup> year, and ... son of Dioskoros, [...] and] ... aged ..., without any distinguishing mark, registered in the quarter [...], and his sister from the same father and the same mother...”

*recto*

1. The sequence at the end of the first line is hardly readable due to the cursive handwriting and the damaged status of the papyrus. Based on the remaining traces, I have read, not without uncertainties, *πρότερον*. Usually followed by a name at the genitive, this sequence provides information on the former owner of the property previously mentioned.<sup>964</sup>

2. *Σαραπ( ) β (ἔτει) (ἔτων) λζ*: *Σαραπ( )* might be an abbreviation for the name Sarapias, like at l. 7. However, this woman cannot be identified with Sarapias of the family archive due to an inconsistency of the ages of the two women.

9. *ἔπ' α*: It is possible that the scribe started writing *ἐπ' ἀμφοδου*, and then deleted the three letters of the sequence he had written.

9. *ἀπεγραψά(μην)*: Although the common abbreviation for *ἀπεγραψάμην* was *ἀπεγρ(αψάμην)*,<sup>965</sup> *ἀπεγραψά(μην)* is also attested in *P.Stras.* IV 257, 11.

10. *β (ἔτει)*: The sequence is unclear, but I read *β (ἔτει)* as it resembles the shape of the same sequence in *CUA H. H. 1 02 recto*, 2 and *CUA H. H. 1 02 verso*, 4 (Fig. 14).

<sup>964</sup> Cf. e.g. *BGU* II 536, 11 *ἐτέρ[α]ς οἰκίας καὶ ἀλῆς, πρότερον Πανεφρέμμιος*; *P.Lond.* III 1221, 18-20 *ἐν οἰ-[[κί]α πρότερον Κλαυδίας [[Ἀπο]λιναρίου*; *P.Mich.* V 326, 11-12 *ἐν μιᾷ σφραγεῖ[δι] πρότερον Σαμβάτος τοῦ Ἀκουσιλάου*.

<sup>965</sup> Cf., e.g., *BGU* I 52, 6; *P.Fay.* 27, 13; *P.Grenf.* II 45, 7; *P.Wisc.* II 54, 10.

Fig. 14. The writing of β (ἔτει)



CUA H. H. 1 02, r. 2



CUA H. H. 1 02, r. 10



CUA H. H. 1 02, v. 4

13. ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τ[έκν]α: The sequence is key evidence for dating the death of Didymarion of the family archive. As in the papyrus documentation from Roman Fayum ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τέκνα was used to introduce the offspring of a family exclusively after the registration of both parents,<sup>966</sup> it is likely that Didymarion was still alive when CUA H. H. 1 02 *recto* was drafted and was thus registered after the declarant as his wife in accordance with the usual formulary of census declarations.

13. Χ[αρί]τιον: This sequence is very unclear, as it is partially lost. However, it may be read and supplied through a comparison to CUA H. H. 1 02, v. 6 (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15. The writing of Χαρίτιον



CUA H. H. 1 02, r. 13



CUA H. H. 1 02, v. 6

*verso*

1. Since Aphrodisios II of the family archive appears as a broker for the census declaration, the declarants previously mentioned were probably his sons Philippos IV and Charition II, acting through their father.<sup>967</sup>

<sup>966</sup> Cf. e.g. SB VI 9554 (3), 9-12 κ[αί] ἐἴμι Σισίος ὁ προγεγραμμένος (ἐτῶν) με ἄσημ(ος) | καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου Τεφερῶ[ν] Μύσθου | τοῦ Παποντῶτος μητ(ρὸς) Τεναῦτος (ἐτῶν) λς ἄσημ(ος) | κ[αὶ] τὰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τέκνα.

<sup>967</sup> As parallel cases of minors acting through their fathers in census declarations, cf. BGU II 362, p. 3, 15; P.Stras. IX 834, 1-3; SB XXIV 15932, 3-4.

5. ὕ[π]άρχ(ει): The papyrus is severely damaged, but the traces of the final *chi* are visible and lead to the supplement ὕ[π]άρχ(ει). For this abbreviation, cf. the same sequence in *CUA H.H. 1 02, r. 5*; *CUA H. H. 1 02, v. 2*; and *P.Wisc. I 18, 6* (Fig. 16).

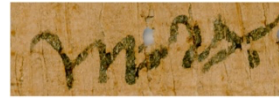
Fig. 16. The writing of ὕπαρχει



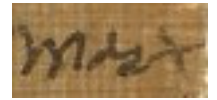
*CUA H.H. 1 02, v. 5*



*CUA H.H. 1 02, r. 5*



*CUA H.H. 1 02, v. 2*



*P.Wisc. I 18, 6*

5. τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφήλιζί μου υἱοῖς: For this sequence, cf. *P.Mich. V 232, 26* and *P.Oxy. IV 716, 12*.

7-8. τὰ ὑπάρχ[ον-][[τα αὐτοῖς μ]ητ[ρ]ικὰ δουλ(ικὰ) σώματα: For this expression, cf. e.g. *P.Mich. V 278, ctr. 2-3*; *323, 7-8*; *326, 7*; *PSI VIII 930dupl., 7-8*.

## 11. *SB XXII 15336*

TM 43184

8.3 x 15.5 cm

AD 133

*SB XXII 15336* is a fragment of a census declaration, kept in the Institut of Papyrology at the Sorbonne as P.Graux inv. 937 and firstly published by R. Bagnall in 1993.<sup>968</sup> The document has been mentioned in some lists of *kat'oikian apografai*;<sup>969</sup> some corrections to the text have been proposed by Sijpesteijn, Smolders, and Hagedorn.<sup>970</sup>

Twelve lines of writing run along the fibres on the *recto*, the *verso* is blank. The papyrus preserves only the right margin and is severely damaged by internal gaps and abrasions across the entire surface. Also, it has not properly been restored at the beginning of ll. 1-4, where a tiny fragment of papyrus does not join directly to the principal one.<sup>971</sup> The

<sup>968</sup> Bagnall 1993: 43-46.

<sup>969</sup> Hombert-Preaux 1952: 173; *P.Brux. I*: p. 52; Bagnall-Frier 1994: 208.

<sup>970</sup> On the corrections to *SB XXII 15336*, see Sijpesteijn 1994: 126-127; Smolders 2004a: 239-240; Hagedorn in *BOEP* 3. 1 (December 19, 2013): 3, available at [https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/5516/1/bullemendpap\\_3.pdf](https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/5516/1/bullemendpap_3.pdf)

<sup>971</sup> Bagnall 1993: 44.



handwriting, a professional cursive with frequent ligatures and abbreviations, is similar to that of *CUA* H. H. 1 02 (no. 10).

This census declaration, dated to AD 133, refers to the normal census-year AD 131/132.<sup>972</sup> The papyrus preserves the initial part of the text, where the declarants, Aphrodisios II and his sister Sarapias present themselves and register a house held in common in the quarter Dionysiou Topon in Ptolemais Euergetis. According to the preserved text, the household includes Aphrodisios II, his sons Philippos IV and Charition II, and Sarapias.

In the first description of this papyrus, Arsinoe was registered as its place of provenance.<sup>973</sup> However, this fragment unlikely belonged to a census register kept in the public archives of the nome capital, as is suggested by its long multi-recipient address.<sup>974</sup> It is more likely that this papyrus was a private document, an original census declaration or a copy (see below, n. 1), found in the village of Theadelphia, where its owner resided.

In this reedition of *SB* XXII 15336, I have reconstructed the address of the document and proposed new supplements to ll. 4-6, and 9-12.

[Πρωτάρχῳ στρα(τηγῳ) Ἄρσι(νοεῖτου) Ἑρακλ(είδου) μερίδος καὶ Ἑρμείῳ βα]σι[λ(ικῶ) γρ]α(μματεῖ) τῆς αὐ[τῆς τῆς μερί]δ[ο]ς [κα]ὶ [Μαρίῳ καὶ Ἡρώ]δη γ[ρα(μματεῦσι) μητροπ(όλεως)]

[καὶ ± 9 ἀμοδοάρχη καὶ τῷ δεῖνι καὶ] Σαραπίῳ[ν] καὶ Π[το]λεμαίῳ λ[αογρά(φοις) ἀμφό]δ(ου) Διονυσίου Τόπ(ων) vac.

[παρὰ Ἀφροδ(ισίου) τοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀφροδ(ισίου) μητρὸς] Ἑρακλ[ε]ίδ[ας] τῆς Ἑρακ[λ]είδ[ου] [κατοί]κου τῶν Σῦοε ἀναγρ[α]φομέ[νου ἐπ' ἀμ]φόδου

[Διονυσίου Τόπ(ων) καὶ τῆς ὁμοπ(ατρίου) ἀδελ(φῆς)] Σαραπι[ά]δος μ[ητρ]ὸς [Ἀ]θηναρίου [πρ]εσβυ[τ(έρας) Ἡ[ρ]ώ]δου προαναγραφομένης ἐπ' ἀμφόδου

5. [ ± 5 μετὰ κυρίου αὐτοῦ Ἀφροδ(ισίου). ὑπάρχει] ἡμῖν κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου (ἥμισυ) μέρ[ο]ς (τετάρτου) μέρους κοινῶ κ[α]ὶ ἀδιαίρετο[ν] οἰ[κ]ίας καὶ αἰθ(ρίου)

[καὶ αὐλ(ῆς) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Διονυσίου τόπ(ων) ἐν ᾧ ἀπογραφόμεθα ἑαυτοῦς τε καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν τοῦ διεληλυθ(ότος) 15 (ἔτους) Αὐτοκράτορος

<sup>972</sup> Bagnall 1993: 43.

<sup>973</sup> Henné 1931: 10.

<sup>974</sup> Long multi-recipient addresses including several officials were unusual in census declarations glued in the *tomoi sunkollesimoi* kept in the *bibliotheke* of Arsinoe; see Bagnall-Frier 1994: 21.



“[To Protarchos, *strategos* of the Heraklides division in the Arsinoites, Ermaios] *basilikos grammateus* of the same quarter, [Marion and] Herodes scribes [of the metropolis, ... *amphodarches*, and N.N.,] Sarapion and Ptolemaios *laographoi* of the quarter Dionysiou Topon. [From Aphrodisios son of Philippos son of Aphrodisios, whose mother] is Herakleia daughter of Heraklides, *catoecus* of the 6475, registered in the quarter [Dionysiou Topon, and the sister from the same father] Sarapias, whose mother is Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, previously registered in the quarter [... acting under the guardianship of the same Aphrodisios. There belongs] to us, held in common and equally a half of a common and undivided fourth share of a house and court [and yard in the quarter Dionysiou Topon, in which] we register ourselves and our relatives for the [census declaration] of the past 16<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor [Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus] in the quarter Dionysiou Topon. And I am the above-mentioned Aphrodisios, scrutinised in the *catoeci*, aged 32, with a scar on the lower lip, also registered in the previous census declaration in the same quarter Dionysiou Topon; and my children, born from my former wife, [who is deceased, Didymarion,] daughter of Apion son of Chairemon, whose mother is Dionysarion, daughter of Dionysios, daughter of a *catoecus*, [registered in the census declaration of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year] in the quarter Apolloniou Hierakiou, Philippos, aged 6, without any distinguishing mark, not registered, [and Charition, aged ... , without any distinguishing mark, not registered, and] my above-mentioned sister from the same father Sarapias, whose mother is Athenarion, [the elder daughter of Herodes, aged ... , registered in the previous census declaration in the] quarter...”

1. Due to the fragmentary status of this papyrus, it is unclear whether it was the original census declaration or a copy. In the first case, official subscriptions in different hands would be expected at the end of the document. In the second one, the formula ἀντίγρα(φον) ἀπογραφῆς or ἀντίγρα(φον) κατ’ οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφῆς), sometimes followed by date or location, would be expected at the beginning. If SB XXII 15336 was a copy, a line, lost above the remaining line 1, should have preserved the formula ἀντίγρα(φον) ἀπογραφῆς.<sup>975</sup>

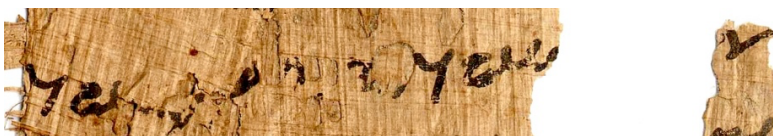
<sup>975</sup> In long declarations extended horizontally, an entire line above the address was usually reserved for the note ἀντίγρα(φον) ἀπογραφῆς or similar formulas; cf. e.g. *P.Ryl.* II 111a, v. 1; *P.Tebt.* II 321, 1; *SB XVIII* 13324, 1.

1-4. The heading of this document, addressed to various officers of the nome, has been supplied according to the common formulary, on which cf. *e.g.* two contemporary Theadelphia census declarations, *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 17 and *P.Meyer* 9 (no. 21).

In AD 133 Protarchos was the *strategos* and Erminos the *basilikos grammateus* of the Arsinoites. At the end of the second line, two secretaries of the metropolis are mentioned, Marion and Herodes; they are also attested in *Cpr.* V 2, 6-8, and *P.Mich.* XI 603, 4. After them, the *laographoi* and the *amphodarches*, mentioned in any order, are expected as addressees. While the name of the *amphodarches* is lost, the *laographoi* of the quarter Dionysiou Topon were likely Sarapion and Ptolemaios, who appear in the same role in *P.Meyer* 9 (no. 21), 2 as well.

3. Ἡρακλ[εῖ]ας τῆς Ἡρακ[λειδ]οῦ: *SB* XXII 15336 is the only document that provides information on the family of the mother of Aphrodisios II.<sup>976</sup> At the beginning of l. 3, after a clear sequence ηρα-, there are traces of four letters and the sequence -ας, which is the end of the word as suggested by the shape of the final *sigma*. The palaeographical evidence leads to the supplement Ἡρακλ[εῖ]ας. After a faded τῆς, the patronymic of the woman begins with Ἡρακ-; then, after the lacuna, traces of *omicron* and an *upsilon* are visible. Therefore, I have supplied Ἡρακλ[εῖ]ας τῆς Ἡρακ[λειδ]οῦ (Fig. 17). As the name of this woman appears in genitive before the recording details of Aphrodisios II, she was likely his mother.

Fig. 17. *SB* XXII 15336, 3 Ἡρακλ[εῖ]ας τῆς Ἡρακ[λειδ]οῦ



5. αἰ̇θ(ρίου): The first editor of *SB* XXII 15336 published αὐλ(ῆς) at the end of l. 5. However, the reading should be corrected in αἰ̇θ(ρίου) based on the palaeographical evidence (Fig. 18). After *alpha*, there remains a trace of a vertical tilted to left and prolonged downward. As in the handwriting of the document the upper-case *upsilon* does not extend downwards and the lower-case *upsilon* is tilted to the right, the letter is more likely *iota* than *upsilon*. Then, there is a letter raised to mark an abbreviation, which may be interpreted as the first stroke of *theta*, the eyelet of which is partially lost.

<sup>976</sup> See Chapter VI 1. *Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy.*

Fig. 18. *SB XXII 15336*, 5 αἰθ(ρίου)



6-7. Αὐτοκράτορος: At the end of l. 6, the first editor published Ἄδριανο[ῦ],<sup>977</sup> but the reading is palaeographically unconvincing (Fig. 19). The second letter after *alpha*, which does not resemble the shape of *delta*, must be interpreted as a lower-case *upsilon* similar to that of αὐτοῦ and Διονυσίου (l. 8), θυγ(ατρὸς) (l. 9), and μ]ου (l. 11). After that, the sequence -τοκ- leads to the reading Αὐτοκράτορος, which enables a new reconstruction of the dating formula below as Αὐτοκράτορος | [Κ(αί)σαρος Τραιαν(οῦ) Ἄδριαν(οῦ) Σεβασ(τοῦ)].<sup>978</sup> The full formula of dating is uncommon in the body of the text of census declaration in reference to the census-year, but is attested, *e.g.*, in *BGU I 53*, 9-11; *P.Heid. IV 298*, 14-16; *P.Lond. III 1221*, 14-17.

Fig. 19. Fig. 18. *SB XXII 15336*, 6 Αὐτοκράτορος



8-11. The last lines of this document are reserved for the registration of the sons of Aphrodisios and his deceased wife Didymarion: Philippos IV (l. 10) and his sister Charition II (l. 11). The reconstruction of these lines has been largely debated by scholars. After the *editio princeps*, in which Ἀπολλωνίου (l. 10) was interpreted as the father of the following τέκνα,<sup>979</sup> Sijpesteijn gathered that Apolloniou Hierakiou was the place of record of the children. Also, by proposing the supplement καὶ τὰ ἀπογεγρα(μμένα) ἐπ' ἀμ]φὸδ(ου) Ἀπολλωνίου Ἱερακίου at l. 10, he made a distinction between τὰ γεγονότ(α) (l. 8) and τὰ ἀπογεγρα(μμένα) τέκνα (l. 10): he understood τὰ γεγονότ(α) as two daughters of Aphrodisios and his wife, and τὰ τέκνα as two sons from the same union, registered in AD 133 in two different quarters.<sup>980</sup> Subsequently, he speculated that in a first moment these sons resided with their mother in the quarter Apolloniou Hierakiou, where they were registered

<sup>977</sup> Bagnall 1993: 45.

<sup>978</sup> Similar abbreviations are attested in *P.Giss.univ. I 14*, 10-11.

<sup>979</sup> Bagnall 1993: 44.

<sup>980</sup> Sijpesteijn 1994: 126.

by the woman, and later moved to their father's house before Aphrodisios submitted his census declaration for that year.<sup>981</sup>

In the light of deeper knowledge of the family, a new reconstruction can be proposed. As Didymarion, the first wife of Aphrodisios II and mother of the mentioned τέκνα, was dead in AD 131/132,<sup>982</sup> and no other descendants from Didymarion and Aphrodisios II are attested in the papyrus documentation, I believe that this census declaration only registered Philippos and Charition as their sons. Philippos was still a minor in AD 133, as he had not yet been registered (μὴ ἀναγεγρα(μμένον)), and the same status should be attributed to his sister, whose details are lost in the lacuna. As a result, it is unlikely that those children had been registered in the quarter Apolloniou Hierakiou, neither in a previous census declaration nor in the same year by their mother. I therefore propose to identify Apolloniou Hierakiou as the place in which Didymarion was recorded in AD 117. By isolating the entire text related to Didymarion (l. 9-10 Διδυμαρίου τῆς Ἀπίωνος ... ἐπ' ἀμ]φρόδ(ου) Ἀπολλωνίου Ἱερακίου), τὰ γεγονότ(α) (l. 8) is agreed with τέκνα (l. 10). The same syntactical order is attested in *P.Mert.* III 105, 7-9 and *P.Mil. Vogl.* III 194a, 8-10.

9. ἀπογεγρα(μμένος) καὶ τοῦ β (ἔτους) κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφή): This supplement follows *CUA H. H.* 1 02 (no. 10), *r.* 10.

## 12. P.Col. inv. 122, 20 July 134 AD<sup>983</sup>

Image: <https://papyri.info/ddbdp/apf;67;351/images>

“Eighteenth year of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Epeiph 26, for the accounting period of Pauni. Aphrodisios, son of Philippos, paid through Stotoetis, superintendent of the 1-and-2% toll of the gate of Dionysias for the eighteenth year, one hundred eighty-four drachmas, three obols, which come to 184 dr., 3 ob.”<sup>984</sup>

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<sup>981</sup> Sijpesteijn 1994: 127.

<sup>982</sup> See the introduction to *CUA H.H.* 1. 02 *recto* and *verso* (no. 10).

<sup>983</sup> The first edition of this receipt has recently been published by W. G. Claytor; see Claytor 2021: 350-351.

<sup>984</sup> Translation by W. G. Claytor; see Claytor 2021: 351.

13. *SB XIV 12135*, 30 Aug. 134 AD<sup>985</sup>

“It has been submitted to the *eklogistes* of the Arsinoites by Aphrodisios son of Philippos and Stotoetis son of Stotoetis, the two superintendents of the 1-and-2% toll of the gate of Dionysias, the account of the revenues from the 5<sup>th</sup> Pharmouthi up to the 5<sup>th</sup> of the epagomenal days of the 18<sup>th</sup> year of Hadrianus Caesar, the lord. I, Apollo..., have signed. Year 19 of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Thoth 2.”

14. *SB XIV 11616*, ca. AD 134<sup>986</sup>

“For the 1-and-2% toll of the gate of Dionysias, through Aphrodisios son of Philippos, two drachmas.”

15. P.Mich. inv. 142

11.5 x 7.8 cm

15 July 137-138 AD

Image: [https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-4985/142R.TIF?lasttype=boolean:lastview=reslist;resnum=1;size=50;sort=apis\\_inv:start=1;subview=detail;view=entry:rgn1=apis\\_inv;q1=142](https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-4985/142R.TIF?lasttype=boolean:lastview=reslist;resnum=1;size=50;sort=apis_inv:start=1;subview=detail;view=entry:rgn1=apis_inv;q1=142)

P.Mich. inv. 142 is an unpublished receipt for rent for sheep. Eleven lines of writing run along the fibres on the *recto*; the *verso* is blank. The papyrus is complete as it presents the upper, left, and right margins, and a tiny part of the lower one. However, the document is severely damaged, especially at the two vertical fold lines (at 3.2 and 5.7 cm from the right edge) and the ink is extremely faded on the right side. The handwriting is a professional cursive extremely confident, as is demonstrated by the ligature *delta-rho* in chancery style (l. 3 Ἄδρια[v]οῦ). The handwriting is the same as in P.Col. inv. 122 (no. 12).<sup>987</sup>

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<sup>985</sup> The first edition, presented in Daris 1976: 66-67, was improved by the supplements proposed by Sijpesteijn and Worp; see Sijpesteijn-Worp 1977: 216.

<sup>986</sup> On the date, see Claytor 2021: 349 n. 6.

<sup>987</sup> Claytor 2021: 350.

P.Mich. inv. 142 belongs to the archive of Aphrodisios son of Philippos, since the recipient of the document is Aphrodisios II of the family archive.<sup>988</sup> He paid the sum of 187 drachmas and 3 obols for the φόρος προβάτων in the *ousia* of Germanicus. The φόρος προβάτων was likely the rent for small livestock leased from the state.<sup>989</sup> The large amount owed by our taxpayer may be compared to the sums of 590 dr. and 552 dr., recorded for the φόρος προβάτων in the *ousia* of Germanicus in *BGU IX* 1894, col. X 112, and *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1a, col. III 45, two registers dated to AD 157 and 160 respectively.

ἔτους κ[.] Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Τραι[ανο]ῦ  
 Ἀδρια[ν]οῦ Σεβαστ[οῦ]  
 Ἐπειφ κ̄ εἰς ἀρίθ(μησιν)  
 5 Παῦνι διέγραψε  
 Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) [Φι]λίππου [φό(ρου)]  
 προβάτ(ων) [τ]οῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)  
 Γερμανικ(ιανῆς) οὐσίας  
 (δρ.) ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα  
 10 ἐπτὰ (τριώβ.), (γίν. δρ.) ρπζ (τριώβ.)  
 [σ(υμβολικὰ)] (τριώβ.)

4 αριθ- pap.      6 αφοδ<sup>δ</sup> pap.      7 προβατ pap. ; L pap.      8 γερμανικ pap.      9  
 5 pap. ; 1. ὀγδοήκοντα      10 / pap. ; 5 pap. ; / pap.      11 6 / pap.

“In the 2(?) year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Epeiph 21, for the accounting period of Pauni. Aphrodisios son of Philippos paid, for dues for sheep on account of the *ousia* of Germanicus for the same year, one hundred-eighty-seven drachmas, 3 obols, total 187 drachmas, 3 obols, for the receipt 3 obols.”

4. κ̄: The reading of the number is uncertain. Two vertical lines, belonging to the first letter, resemble the u-shaped *kappa* in κ[.] (l. 1) and Καίσαρος (l. 2). As for the second letter,

<sup>988</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

<sup>989</sup> M. El-Abadi 1992: 205-211; Kruse 1998: 150 n. 17; Langellotti 2012: 36; Gonis 2016b: 418. According to a different opinion, the φόρος προβάτων was a tax owed by the owners of private flocks for the rights to graze them on state land; see Maehler in the introduction of *BGU IX* 2102, and Sijpesteijn 1990: 253.

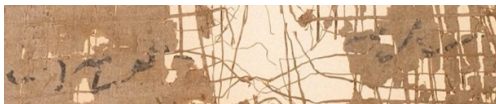


only a horizontal line on the bottom is visible: it is likely the final trace of an *alpha* extended to the right. Above those letters, there is a horizontal line, marking their numerical value.

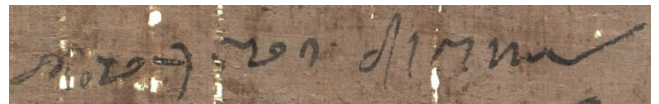
4. ἀρίθ(μησιν): The papyrus is broken immediately after the sequence ἀρίθ-. However, as only two letters could have been lost, the word was likely abbreviated as ἀρίθ(μησιν), as was usual in the papyrus documentation from Roman Fayum; cf. in particular P.Col. inv. 122 (no. 12), 4.

6. Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) [Φι]λίππου: The reading of the name is not immediately clear, due to the internal lacuna and the extremely rapid handwriting. After a curved lower trace, probably belonging to the eyelet of *alpha*, there is a vertical line, likely to be the hasta of *phi*. Then, the sequence -ρο- is followed by a *delta* raised to the upper right and marking an abbreviation. After the lacuna, a horizontal upper line in ligature with the following *iota* is visible, likely -λι-, and an extremely rapid sequence ending with -ου. Therefore, I have read Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) [Φι]λίππου. The reading is supported by a comparison to Ἀφ{ο}ροδίσιος Φιλίππου in P.Col. inv. 122 (no. 12), 5, written by the same scribe as P.Mich. inv. 142 (Fig. 20).

Fig. 20. P.Mich. inv. 142, 6: a comparison to P.Col. inv. 122, 5



P.Mich. inv. 142, 6 Ἀφροδ(ίσιος) [Φι]λίππου



P.Col. inv. 122, 5 Ἀφ{ο}ροδίσιος Φιλίππου

7. [τ]οῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους): The whole section is difficult to read due to diffuse abrasions and the shift of the fibres. Nonetheless, a long vertical line prolonged downwards may be the remaining trace of the ἔτους symbol.

8. Γερμανικ(ιανῆς) οὐσί(ας): The *ousia* of Germanicus was a large estate mainly located in the territory of Euhemeria and Theadelphia,<sup>990</sup> including plots of grazing land and thus charged with the φόρος προβάτων.<sup>991</sup> Although no other connections of our family with this estate are witnessed, in the second century AD the taxes for the φόρος προβάτων for the

<sup>990</sup> See TM Geo 710.

<sup>991</sup> For receipts for payment for φόρος προβάτων in the *ousia* of Germanicus, cf. *BGU* III 810, col. II; XV 2549; *SB* XX 15076; XXII 15241.

estate of Germanicus were collected in Theadelphia. This is clear from *BGU IX 1894*, col. X 111, and *P.Col. V 1*, v. 1a, col. III 44-45, two administrative registers accounting for some money revenues in Theadelphia in AD 157-159 and including taxes for dues for sheep.

11. This line is completely missing, except for a small ink trace at the end. As the total amount of dues for sheep is registered at l. 10, this line should record additional costs, such as the προσδιαγραφόμενα or, more likely, the συμβολικόν. Since the συμβολικόν was mostly priced 3 ob. in the receipts from Roman Fayum,<sup>992</sup> the remaining trace might be the symbol for (τριώβολον). Also, in some documents this additional cost was added alone at the beginning of the last line, sometimes after a small blank space, like should be in *P.Mich. inv. 142*, 11.<sup>993</sup> Thus, I have supplied the line as [σ(υμβολικὰ)] (τριώβ.). As parallels for the shape of [σ(υμβολικὰ)] (τριώβ.), cf. e.g. *BGU XV 2525*, col. II 6; *P.Col. II 1 r. 1a*, col. II 13; *P.Fay. 60*, 7; *P.Lond. II 329*, 9 (Fig. 21).

Fig. 21. The writing of σ(υμβολικὰ) (τριώβολον): a comparison to *P.Mich. inv. 142*, 11



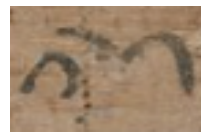
*BGU XV 2525*, col. II 6



*P.Col. II 1 r. 1a*, col. II 13



*P.Fay. 60*, 7



*P.Lond. II 329*, 9



*P.Mich. inv. 142*, 11

## 16. *SB VI 9093*

TM 14106

12 x 7.2 cm

29 Sept. 138 AD

*SB VI 9093* is a sale of a donkey firstly published by Schuman in 1948. The papyrus, formerly kept in the library of Indiana University in Bloomington, is now unavailable. In the *editio princeps* of the document, Schuman interpreted it as the sale of a young camel.<sup>994</sup> However, based on some features of the text and the low price of 346 drachmas of copper,

<sup>992</sup> Youtie (a) 1938: 82 n. 13. Cf. *BGU XV 2525*, col. II 8; *P.Col. II 1, r. 1a*, col. II. 12; *P.Coles. 16*, 5; *P.Fay. 60*, 7; *P.Lond. II 329*, 9; 460, 5; *P.Mil.Vogl. VI 283*; *PSI X 1139*, col. I 7; col. II 12; *P.Tebt. II 305*, 6; 306, 7; 351, 7; 352, 7; 361, 8; *SB III 6951*, col. III 71; VIII 8978, col. I 10; 8980, 10; XVI 12792, 7; 13051, 5; XXII 15342, 8; 15343, 10; *Stud.Pal. XXII 135*, 10; 171, 7; 176, 9.

<sup>993</sup> On the position of the *symbolikon* in the final line of the receipts, cf. *BGU III 788*, 7; *BGU XV 2525*, col. II 8; *P.Mil.Vogl. VI 283*, col. I 10; *P.Tebt. II 361*, 9.

<sup>994</sup> Schuman 1948: 111.

the document recorded more likely the purchase of a young white donkey (see below, n. 15). The buyer is Aphrodisios II of the family archive,<sup>995</sup> the sellers are three members of an unknown Theadelphia family.

Here a reedition of the text, with supplements to ll. 14, 15, and 24, has been proposed. Because of the loss of the original document, the reconstruction is purely conjectural and cannot be verified. However, it is pertinent to the description of the text given by the first editor, as well as to the standards of the sales of pack animals in Roman Fayum.

5           ἐτους δευτέρ[ο]υ Αὐτ[ο]κρ[ά](τορος) Καίσαρο[ς]  
               Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου  
               Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς [μηνός] Φαῶ(φι)  
               δευτέρα ἐν Θεαδελφείᾳ τῆς Θε]μίσ[το]υ  
 10           μερίδος τοῦ Ἀ[ρ]σινοίτ(ου) νο[μοῦ. ὁ]μο-  
               λογοῦσιν Πτολεμ[αῖος] . . . . ὥς] ἐτ(ῶν)  
               τεσσαράκοντα ἑπτὰ ἄ[σημος]  
               καὶ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Θαυβᾶς  
               Φιλήμωνος ὥς ἐτῶν τεσσαρά-  
 15           κοντα ἑπτὰ οὐλὴ μετώπῳ  
               μέσῳ μετὰ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Πεσαί(ος)  
               Ἀφροδισίῳ Φιλίππου Ἀντι-  
               νοεῖ ὥς ἐτῶν τεσσα[ράκο]ντα  
               [οὐ]λὴ χίλιαι τ[ῶ] κάτω ἐκ δεξιῶν]  
 20           πεπρακέναι αὐτ[ῶ]ι ὄνον]  
               πῶλον ἄβολον λευκ[όχρουν]  
               τοῦτ[ο]ν τοι[οῦ]τον ἀναπ[ό]ριφ[ον] [καὶ]  
               ἀπέχιν τοῦς [ὁ]μολογοῦντας  
               παρὰ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου τὴν συν-  
 25           πε[φ]ωνημένην πρὸς ἀλλή-  
               λους τιμὴν χαλκοῦ δραχμᾶς  
               τριακοσία[ς] ἑξήκοντα τέσσαρας  
               παραχρ[ῆ]μα διὰ χ(ειρὸς) ἐξ οἴκ[ου]  
               καὶ βεβαι[ώ]σειν πάση βεβαιώσι]

<sup>995</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

14 [οὐ]λή . . . . . [± 12] *ed. pr.*      15 κάμηλον] *ed. pr.*      17 l. ἀναπ[ό]ρριφ[ον]      18 l.  
ἀπεχειν      24 οὐ . . . . [- ca. 15 -] *ed. pr.*

“In the second year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, on the second of the month Paophi, in Theadelphia of the Themistos division of the Arsinoite nome. Ptolemaios son of . . . , aged about forty-seven, without any distinguishing marks, and his wife Thaubas daughter of Philemon, aged about forty-seven, with a scar in the middle of her forehead, acting under the guardianship of her son Pesais, acknowledge to Aphrosisios son of Philippos, Antinoite, aged about forty, with a scar on the right side of his lower lip, that they have sold to him a white donkey foal that has not shed its first teeth, just as it is, irrevocably, and that the contracting parties have received from Aphrodisios the price agreed upon among themselves, 364 drachmas of copper in cash, from hand to hand, out of the house, and they shall guarantee with every guarantee...”

14. The distinguishing mark of Aphrodisios II son of Philippos, a scar on the right side of his lower lip, has been supplied based on *CUA* H.H. 1. 02 (no. 10), *r.* 10; *P.Ryl.* II 324 (no. 18), 13-14; 332 (no. 17), 12; *SB* XXII 15336 (no. 11), 7. I have supplied the iotacistic form χίλι, according to ἀπέχιν at l. 18.

15. ὄνον]: According to the length of ll. 7-13, line 15 should have included between 19 and 23 letters. Consequently, we should assume from 4 to 8 missing letters after ἀτ[ῶ]. The supplement κάμηλον, proposed by the first editor at the end of l. 15, seems unconvincing for some reasons. Firstly, the adjectives πῶλον ἄβολον λευκ[όχρουν] (l. 16) are attested in relation to donkeys only.<sup>996</sup> Secondly, the price of 346 drachmas of copper (l. 22) is too low for a camel: in the second century AD the cost of a male camel fluctuated between 520 and 800 drachmas.<sup>997</sup> For a male camel that had not shed its first teeth, for example, a certain Ptolemaios paid 600 silver drachmas in AD 136 (*P.Lond.* III 909a), and Stotoetis son of Stotoetis paid 680 drachmas in AD 159-160 (*BGU* II 469). The price of male donkeys in the second century AD is more suitable, as it ranged from 104 to 340 drachmas.<sup>998</sup> As a parallel,

<sup>996</sup> *P.Louvre* I 13, *r.* 10-11; 23-24; Cf. also *P.Athen.* 27, 13-14; *P.Cair.Isid.* 86, 3-4; *P.Mich.* IX 551, 17-19; *PSI Congr.* XX 6, *r.* 16-17; *SB* XVI 13073, 14-16.

<sup>997</sup> Segrè 1922: 128-129.

<sup>998</sup> Segrè 1922: 126-127.

*P.Athen. 27* (AD 150, from Karanis) is a sale of a white foal of donkey ἄβολον, at the price of more than 200 drachmas of copper. Therefore, I have supplied ὄνον.

24. According to the standard formulas specific to sales from the Roman Fayum, I have supplied the infinitive βεβαιῶσειν. It could be followed by the mention of the second party of the contract or the standard expression πάση βεβαιώσει. As the second one, in the iotacistic form,<sup>999</sup> seems to be typical of Theadelphiaian contracts in the first half of the second century AD,<sup>1000</sup> I have supplied πάση βεβαιώσι at the end of the sentence.

17. *P.Ryl. II 332*, 19 Sept. 139 AD<sup>1001</sup>

Image:

<https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/ManchesterDev~93~3~23680~100442:Loan>

“In the third year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, on the twenty-first of Thoth, in Theadelphia of the Themistos division of the Arsinoite nome. Dionysios son of Soterichos, aged about sixty, with a scar on the little finger of his left hand, and his sons Soterichos, aged about thirty, with a scar on the left shin, and Dioskoros, aged about twenty-five, with a scar on the left eyebrow, all three Persians of the Epigone, mutual sureties for full repayment, acknowledge to Aphrodisios son of Philippos of Antinoopolis, aged about thirty-six, with a scar on [the right side of his lower] lip ...”

18. *P.Ryl. II 324*, 28 Nov. 139 AD<sup>1002</sup>

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<sup>999</sup> On the standard structure of donkey sales from Theadelphia, see Claytor 2015: 202.

<sup>1000</sup> Cf. *P.Flor. I 20*, 29-30; *P.Meyer 12*, 28-29; *P.Soter. 27*, 24-25.

<sup>1001</sup> This papyrus was published in the *descripta* of *P.Ryl. II*. A first edition will be presented in my forthcoming article.

<sup>1002</sup> This papyrus was published in the *descripta* of *P.Ryl. II*. A first edition will be presented in my forthcoming article.

Image:

<https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/ManchesterDev~93~3~23692~100434:Agreement-of-Deposit>

“In the third year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, on the sixteenth of the month of Hadrianus, in Theadelphia of the Themistos division of the Arsinoite nome. Heron son of Heron, Persian of the Epigone, aged about thirty-seven, with a scar on the middle of his nose, acknowledges to Aphrodisios son of Philippos, Antinoite, aged about thirty-six, with a scar on the right side of his lower lip, that he has received from him 60 drachmas of silver as a deposit free from any risk, which the acknowledging party will restore to Aphrodisios whenever Aphrodisios chooses, without any delay...”

19. *P.Meyer* 10, 24 Nov. 144 AD

“In the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Hathyr 28, for the accounting period of Phaophi. Philippos son of Aphrodisios has paid, throughout the superintendent Galates alias Didymos, for the surtax for the income from the properties in Theadelphia for the seventh year, 36 drachmas, total 36.”

20. *SB XVIII* 13091

TM 14715

9 x 11 cm

1 Jan. 146 AD

Image: <https://dpul.princeton.edu/papyri/catalog/st74ct97r>

*SB XVIII* 13091 (= *P.Princ.* III 125) is a receipt of payment for garden and vineyard taxes in the village of Theadelphia for the year AD 145. Firstly edited by Johnson and Goodrich in the third volume of Princeton papyri in 1942, it was later republished in the XVIII volume of *SB* with new readings of ll. 5-10 proposed by Sijpesteijn.<sup>1003</sup> The receipt is written in ten lines, running along the fibres on the *recto*; on the *verso* some traces of ink

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<sup>1003</sup> Sijpesteijn 1985: 35-36.

belonging to the address run perpendicularly to the fibres. The document is almost complete; it preserves all margins and only a few internal gaps along the five vertical fold lines, at 2.6, 3.9, 5.9, 7.9, and 9.8 cm from the left edge. The handwriting, a rapid cursive full of abbreviations, may be attributed to a professional scribe.

After Youtie identified the taxpayer at l. 4 as Athenarion I, the elder daughter of Herodes,<sup>1004</sup> SB XVIII 13091 was included in the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos.”<sup>1005</sup> The receipt presents the land taxes owed not only by Athenarion I but also by Aphrodisios II son of Philippos,<sup>1006</sup> whose name had been misread by the previous editor of the papyrus. Therefore, a reedition of the receipt has been presented below. The main supplements are the correction of the *praktor*’s name in l. 3 and the reading of Ἀφροδ(ίσιον) [Φ]ιλίππο(υ) at the beginning of l. 8. Also, I have discussed the shape of some abbreviations and corrected the amount of money due for the garden tax in l. 8, for the additional fees in l. 9, and for the *symbolikon* in ll. 6, 7, and 9. Finally, I have proposed a reading of the text written on the *verso*.

*recto*

ἔτους ἐνάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβασ[το]ῦ Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Τῦβι ζ̄. διέγρα(ψε) δι(ὰ) Ζωίλ(ου) καὶ μετόχ(ων) πρακ(τόρων) ἀργ(υρικῶν)  
 Ἀθηνάριο(ν) πρεσβ(υτέρα) Ἡρώδο(υ) εἰδῶν ὀγδῶου ἔτους  
 5 Θ[εαδ]ε[λ(φίας) ἀμπ(έλου) χα(λκοῦ) Ἐβ(υμ) ναυβ(ίου) ρκ [πρ]ο(σδιαγραφομένων) φιε  
 ἐπ(αρουρίου) Ἀχκ[ε]  
 προ(σδιαγραφομένων) [ρ]κε κ[ολ(λύβου) π] συ(μβολικοῦ) [(ὀβολὸν)] (ἡμιωβέλιον)  
 (ὀκταδράχμου) σπον[δῆς Διονύσ]ου ἀργυρίου  
 δραχμὰς ὀκτῶι (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ἡ προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) (τριώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον)  
 συ(μβολικοῦ) (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον) καὶ ἡ εἰς  
 Ἀφροδ(ίσιον) [Φ]ιλίππο(υ) [εἰ]δῶν ὀγδῶου (ἔτους) ἀμπ(έλου) Ἐβ(υμ) π(αραδείσου) σ  
 ναυβ(ίου) ρε προ(σδιαγραφομένων) τμε ἐπαρο(υρίου) Αὐ προ(σδιαγραφομένων) ρι  
 κ[ολ(λύβου) ξε συ(μβολικοῦ) (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον)  
 10 (ὀκταδράχμου) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) δύο (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) β καὶ  
 προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα).

<sup>1004</sup> Youtie (b) 1975: 258-259.

<sup>1005</sup> Smolders 2015a: 62.

<sup>1006</sup> On Athenarion I, see Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

verso

ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) β

*recto*: 3 διεργς pap ; δι<sup>-</sup> pap. ; ζωι<sup>λ</sup> pap. ; Ζωσί(μου) *ed. pr.* ; μετοχ πρακ αργ<sup>-</sup> pap. 4 αθηναρι<sup>ο</sup>  
πρεσβ pap. ; ηρωδ<sup>ο</sup> pap. : Ἡρώδο(υ) Youtie : Ἡρώδο(ς) *ed. pr.* 5 Θ[εαδ]ελ[φίας] Sijpesteijn  
: [Θεαδελ(φίας)] *ed. pr.* ; αμ<sup>ν</sup> pap. ; χ<sup>α</sup> pap. ; ναυβ pap. : ναυβ(ίου) Sijpesteijn : ναυ(βίου) *ed. pr.* ;  
πρ<sup>ο</sup> pap. : προ(σδιαγραφομένα) Sijpesteijn : [π(ρ)ο(σδιαγραφομένων)] *ed. pr.* ; ε<sup>ν</sup> pap. :  
ἐπ(αρουρίου) Sijpesteijn : γ(ίνονται) *ed. pr.* ; α[χκε] Sijpesteijn : ᾿γ[οε] *ed. pr.* 6 πρ<sup>ο</sup>  
pap. : προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) Sijpesteijn : π[ . . . . ] *ed. pr.* ; κ[ολ(λύβου) π] Sijpesteijn : χ[ . . . . ] *ed.*  
*pr.* ; σϋ pap. : σ(υμβολικόν) Sijpesteijn : . . [ . . . . ] *ed. pr.* ; - / pap. ; η̄ς pap. : (ὀκταδράχμου)  
Sijpesteijn : [ὀκταδράχμου] *ed. pr.* ; ἀργυρίου Sijpesteijn : ἀργύριον *ed. pr.* 7 1. ὀκτώ. ; | ς  
pap. ; πρ<sup>ο</sup> pap. : προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) Sijpesteijn : π(ρ)ο(σδιαγραφομένων) *ed. pr.* ; (τριώβολον)  
(ἡμιωβέλιον) Sijpesteijn : / σχ<sup>β</sup> *ed. pr.* ; σϋ - / pap. 8 αφοδ pap. : ἀρίθ(μῆσιν)  
Sijpesteijn : ἀρί[θ(μῆσιν)] *ed. pr.* ; φιλιππο pap. : [Φ]αμενῶ(θ) Sijpesteijn : Μεσορη *ed. pr.* ; ειδ<sup>ων</sup>  
pap. : [εἰ]δῶ(ν) *ed. pr.* : [ . εἰ]δῶ(ν) Sijpesteijn ; ὀγδού Sijpesteijn : ὀγδού *ed. pr.* ; L pap. : (ἔτους)  
Sijpesteijn : <ἔτους> *ed. pr.* ; αμ<sup>ν</sup> pap. ; ἀμπ(έλου) Sijpesteijn : ἀμπ(έλου) χα(λκοῦ) *ed. pr.* ; ᾿Αυμ  
Sijpesteijn : ᾿Αυμ *ed. pr.* ; πς pap. ; φο *ed. pr.* 9 ναυβ pap. : ναυβ(ίου) Sijpesteijn :  
ν[αυβ(ίου) ϩ ε γίνονται ] *ed. pr.* ; ρε Sijpesteijn : ᾿βρε *ed. pr.* ; πρ<sup>ο</sup> pap. : προ(σδιαγραφόμενα)  
Sijpesteijn : π(ρ)ο(σδιαγραφομένων) *ed. pr.* ; τμε Sijpesteijn : τκ *ed. pr.* ; επαρ<sup>ο</sup> pap. : ἐπαρ(ουρίου)  
*ed. pr.* ; Sijpesteijn ; πρ<sup>ο</sup> pap. : προ(σδιαγραφόμενα) Sijpesteijn : π(ρ)ο(σδιαγραφομένων) *ed. pr.* ; κ<sup>ο</sup>  
pap. : κολ(λύβου) Sijpesteijn : κ[ολ(λύβου)] *ed. pr.* ; σ<sup>-</sup> / pap. : σ(υμ(βολικόν) Sijpesteijn : κή *ed.*  
*pr.* 10 η̄ς αργ<sup>-</sup> ς pap. ; | ς pap. ; προσ<sup>δ</sup> pap.  
*verso*: αργ<sup>-</sup> pap. ; ς pap.

(*recto*) “In the nineteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, Tybi 7. Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, has paid through Zoilos and the associate collectors of taxes in silver for the dues of the eighth year at Theadelphia, for the vineyard tax 2440 (drachmas) of copper, for the *naubion (enafesion)* 120, for the additional fees 515, for the *eparourion* 1625, for the additional fees 125, for exchange 80, for preparing the receipt 1 ½ obols, for the eight-drachma Dionysos libation tax 8 drachmas of silver, total 8 dr., for the additional fees 3 1/2 obols, for preparing the receipt 1 ½ obols; and on the 8<sup>th</sup> on behalf of Aphrodisios son of Philippos for the dues of the eighth year, for the vineyard tax 1440, for the garden tax 200, for the *naubion (enafesion)* 105, for the additional fees 345, for the *eparourion* 1400 drachmas, for the additional fees 110, for

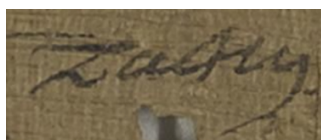


exchange 65, for preparing the receipt 1 ½ obols, for the eight-drachma tax two dr. of silver, total 2 and additional fees.”

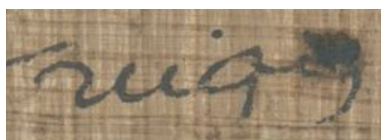
(*verso*) “2 dr. of silver...”

3. Ζωίλ(ου): The name of the *praktor*, previously read as Ζωσί(μου), must be corrected to Ζωίλ(ου) according to the palaeographical evidence. After an *omega* tilted to the right, the vertical line of *iota* is visible. Above it, there is a *lambda* completely adhering to the letters written below: its first oblique stroke joins to the third vertical of *omega*, while its second stroke touches the upper edge of *iota* and is curved in ligature with the following *kappa* (Fig. 22). This shape of Ζωίλ(ου) is also attested in some second-century registers from Theadelphia.<sup>1007</sup>

Fig. 22. The shape of Ζωίλ(ου) in *SB XVIII* 13091, 3: a comparison to *BGU IX* 1891, col. I 21; and 1892, col. I 11



*SB XVIII* 13091, 3 Ζωίλ(ου) καὶ



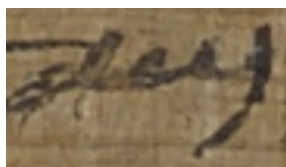
*BGU IX* 1891, col. I 21 Ζωίλ(ου) μη(τρὸς)



*BGU IX* 1891, col. I 11 Ζωίλ(ου) μη(τρὸς)

5. ἀμπ(έλου): The abbreviation is marked through a curved vertical line prolonged downward. The same shape of the abbreviation appears in *BGU XIII* 2290, 8 and *P.NYU II* 36, 6, 10, and 11 (Fig. 23).

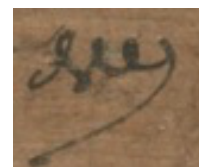
Fig 23. The abbreviation of ἀμπ(έλου)



*SB XVIII* 13091, 5



*BGU XIII* 2290, 8



*P.NYU II* 36, 6

6-7. The amount of the *symbolikon* owed by the first taxpayer is recorded twice, at l. 6 after the list of land taxes and the associate fees, and at the following line after the total sum due for the *oktadrachmos spondes Dionysiou*. A parallel duplication of the tax for preparing

<sup>1007</sup> Cf. e.g. *BGU IX* 1891, col. I 21; and 1892, col. I 11.

the receipt in the same entry is attested in *SB XVI 12325*, 11-13, another receipt for land taxes from second century Fayum.

8. Ἀφροῖ(ίσιον) [Φ]λίππο(υ): As at the beginning of l. 8 the papyrus is rather damaged, the writing is slightly unclear. For this reason, the first editor published ἀρί[θ(μησιν)] Μῆσορη, later corrected in ἀρίθ(μησιν) [Φ]αμενῶ(θ) by Sijpesteijn. According to the remaining traces, however, both readings should be revalued. The letter following the first *alpha* of l. 8 is a cursive *phi*, similar to that of φιε in l. 5. On the lower edge of the subsequent lacuna, there are the traces of two letters: as the bottom of the first letter has a circular shape and the second letter is small and rounded, they are likely *rho-omicron* in ligature (cf. -ρο in προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα) at l. 10). After the gap, the right part of a triangular letter is visible; it seems a large *delta* marking an abbreviation like that in προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα) at l. 10. According to the palaeographical evidence, I have read Ἀφροῖ(ίσιον), and the following word, whose writing is cursive and wavy, as [Φ]λίππο(υ): after the first *iota*, *lambda* and *iota* in ligature look like a *mu*, then a double *pi* with a tiny *omicron* written above the line are recognisable (Fig. 24).

Fig. 24. The writing of Ἀφροῖ(ίσιον) [Φ]λίππο(υ) and some parallel sequences for comparison



l. 8 Ἀφροῖ(ίσιον) [Φ]λίππο(υ)

l. 5 φιε

l. 10 προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα)

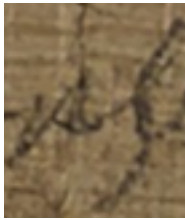
8. πα(ραδείσου) σ: After the amount due for the vineyard tax, there is a *pi* followed by a sinusoidal line and then a letter, which is probably a *sigma* (cf. the final *sigma* in l. 2 Εὐσεβοῦς). As the curved line after *pi* may be interpreted as a cursive *alpha* marking the abbreviation πα(ραδείσου), the following number is 200. As parallels for this abbreviation of πα(ραδείσου), cf. *P.Mich.* VI 384, 5 and *P.Petaus* 124, 4 (Fig. 25).

With this new reading, the account of taxes of ll. 8-9 becomes correct: as the additional fees for the vineyard-tax, the garden-tax, and the *naubion enafesion* were all rated at 1/5,<sup>1008</sup>

<sup>1008</sup> On the assessment of charges in tax receipts, see *P.Ryl.* II 192b, pp. 243-245 n. 9.

the expected sum for the *prosdigraphomena* in l. 9 should be 349 dr. This fits with the approximate rate of 345 dr. recorded in our papyrus.

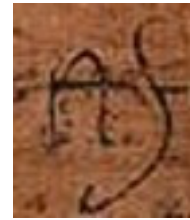
Fig. 25. The writing of πα(ραδείσου)



SB XVIII 13091, 8



P.Mich. VI 384, 5



P.Petaus. 124, 4

9. The sequence at the end of the line, read as *συμβολικόν* by Sijpesteijn, may be corrected in *συμβολικοῦ* (*ὄβολόν*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*) based on the palaeographical evidence. The abbreviation of *symbolikon* is drafted as a rounded *sigma* in ligature with a cursive *upsilon*, like in P.Koeln. II 95, 14 (see below, Fig. 25). After it, the symbols of (*ὄβολόν*) and (*ἡμιωβέλιον*) are written in ligature; this shape is commonly attested in the documents of the Roman period.<sup>1009</sup>

Although the text is partially faded, the same sequence also appears elsewhere in this document: after the amount of the tax for exchange at l. 6 I have supplied *συμβολικοῦ* [(*ὄβολόν*)] (*ἡμιωβέλιον*), and after the additional fees at l. 8 I have read *συμβολικοῦ* (*ὄβολόν*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*) (Fig. 26).

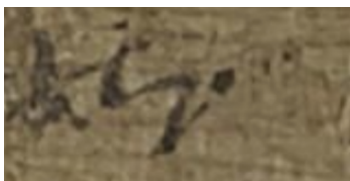
Fig. 26. The writing of *συμβολικοῦ* in l. 6, 7, and 9, and parallels for comparison



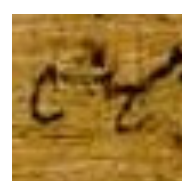
l. 6 *συμβολικοῦ* [(*ὄβολόν*)] (*ἡμιωβέλιον*)



l. 7 *συμβολικοῦ* (*ὄβολόν*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*)



l. 9 *συμβολικοῦ* (*ὄβολόν*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*)



P.Koeln. II 95, 14 *συμβολικοῦ*

<sup>1009</sup> On the shape of (*ὄβολόν*) (*ἡμιωβέλιον*) in ligature, see the table of symbols in P.Sijp. 39 p. 266.

21. *P.Meyer* 9, 8 July 147 AD

“[To Maximos, *strategos* of the Heraklides division of the Arsinoites, to Heraklides,] *basilikos grammateus* of the same division, and to Sabinus and Antoninus, scribes [of the metropolis, and to ...] and to Ptolemaios and Sarapion, *laographoi*, and Apion, [*amphodarch*] of the quarter Dionysiou Topon, [from ...] registered in the First Goose-farm quarter, through the *phrontistes* Aphrodisios son of Philippos. [...] There belongs to me in the Macedonians’ quarter in the metropolis an eighth of house, area and court, in which I register for the house-by-house registration [of the past 9<sup>th</sup> year of the lord Antoninus] Caesar in the quarter Dionysiou Topon, in which [I also registered] in the house-by-house registration of the 16<sup>th</sup> year of the God Adrianus, [the following] inmates, Chares son of Atarios son of Dionysios, whose mother is Charition daughter of Aphrodisios, *catoecus* of the 6,475, over-aged [6]3,<sup>1010</sup> without any distinguishing mark, and [his wife] Herois who is sister on the father’s side, whose mother is Tertia, daughter of the *catoecus* Didymos, registered for the 16<sup>th</sup> year of the God Adrianus [in the same quarter] Dionysiou Topon, aged 41, without any distinguishing mark, and the sons of both, Atarias aged 21, without any distinguishing mark, scrutinised in the *catoeci*, and his wife Athenarion, who is sister [on both her father’s and mother’s side], aged 13, without any distinguishing mark, and Charition alias Theodotes, daughter of Chares, aged 11, without any distinguishing mark, and Didyme, the other daughter [of Chares, aged ..., without any distinguishing mark, and ...] son of Dioskoros, mother Rodous daughter of Dioskoros, scrutinised *idiotas*, subject to the poll-tax, aged 40, without any distinguishing mark, and the slaves of Aphrodisios, [... aged ..., without any distinguishing mark, and her] offspring, Pasion, in other words Eutuches, aged 20, without any distinguishing mark, and Arpalos, in other words Nikephoros, aged 18, without any distinguishing mark, and Herois, aged 8, without any distinguishing mark, [and ..., the other slave, aged ...,] without any distinguishing mark, and Isidora alias Hediste, the other slave, aged 23, without any distinguishing mark, and her offspring Aphrodous alias Parinous, aged 6, without any distinguishing mark, [and ... the other slave, aged ..., without any distinguishing mark, who] have been registered for the 16<sup>th</sup> year by his sons Philippos and Charition. Therefore I submit. Submitted to the *basilikos grammateus* in the 10<sup>th</sup> year of the lord Antoninus Caesar, Epeiph 14. Submitted to the scribes of the city, Epeiph 14.”

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<sup>1010</sup> On the age of Chares, see Bagnall-Frier 1994: 223.

## 22. *P.Meyer* 8, 16 Aug. 151 AD

“To Lucius Trebius Proculus, the most excellent *epistrategos*, from Philippos and Charition, both sons of Aphrodisios son of Philippos, *catoecus* of the 6,475 Greek men in the Arsinoites, acting I, Charition, under the guardianship of my brother Philippos. The mother of us two, Didymarion, died as long ago as the [...] year of the lord Adrianus, leaving us still minors as heirs, and, according to the laws, we received properties and houses and four slaves and their offspring and everything was stored up. Our above-mentioned father Aphrodisios being attached to all, was later united to Sarapias daughter of Athenarion,<sup>1011</sup> and [...] was outrageous in demanding that [...] nothing of his own possession and looking down upon the weakness helpless for us. Having from then until now [claimed] and embezzled everything and pocketed the earnings of the slaves, (now) he arranged that all [be registered] in the name of his wife, though our father had been a liturgical [wheat-] collector and been turned (thereby) into an *aporos*. We, having also become [*aporoι*] through me, Philippos, having also been in liturgical offices, do perforce flee for protection to you, our benefactor, [asking] that our properties be returned to us complete with the [usufruct] of the whole, and the offspring of the slaves, so that we may be helped by you. Farewell. We, Philippos and Charition, both sons of Aphrodisios, have submitted. I, Philippos, have also written on behalf of my sister because she does not know letters. In the 14<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Mesore 23. Year 14, Mesore 23. Apply to me after the sowing.”

## 23. *P.Ryl.* II 192a *recto* and *verso*

TM 12967

13.7 x 8.8 cm

18 June 152 AD

*P.Ryl.* II 192a is a papyrus fragment written on both sides: on the *recto* it presents a receipt issued from the *praktores argyrikon* for payments for the *naubion katoikon* and *enafesion*; on the *verso*, there is an account of payments for the *naubion*. *P.Ryl.* II 192a *recto* was published in 1915 in the second volume of the Rylands papyri, while the text on the *verso* was only presented in the *descripta*. The papyrus has seventeen lines of writing along

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<sup>1011</sup> The translation is based on my supplement Σαρα[πιάδι μητρὸς Ἄ-]θηναρίου at ll. 8-9; see Chapter VI 1. *Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy*.

the fibres on the *recto*; on the *verso* eleven lines of writing were drawn up perpendicularly to the fibres on a small part of the sheet, which should have been the external face of the papyrus after its folding. Rather damaged in the middle especially, the papyrus is completely broken on the lower part. The handwriting on the *recto* is a regular cursive belonging to a professional scribe; that on the *verso* is a different cursive, rapid and irregular, attributable to another scribe, possibly a *praktor* in charge of the collection of the *naubion*.

In the tax receipt on the *recto*, Zois daughter of Sarapion, a Theadelphian landowner in the second half of the second century AD, was charged for payments for land taxes to be paid through her aunt Athenarion daughter of Heraklides.<sup>1012</sup> Under those payments, the *praktors* also registered some taxes owed by other villagers, possibly landowners from whom Athenarion or her nephew had leased some plots: Diodotos alias Ninnaros, son of Anoubion; Sabinos son of Protarchos; Zois daughter of Heraklides; Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes; and Pappion son of Pappion. Diodotos alias Ninnaros son of Anoubion should have had strict relationships with the family of the archive, as appears as a taxpayer together with two members of the family, Philippos III and his son Ptolemaios,<sup>1013</sup> in *P.Ryl.* II 202a (no. 5), a receipt of *sitologia* dated to AD 108.

The account on the *verso* of our document seems unrelated to the text drafted on the *recto*. After the title *γρα(φὴ) ναυβ(ίων)* at l. 1, some instalments in money paid for the *naubion* in the month of Choiak are listed in ten lines. Although the currency of the payments is not specified, they were likely in silver as the sums are too low to be in copper.

In this reedition of *P.Ryl.* II 192a, I have proposed some supplements of the taxpayers' names and the due charges. Firstly, I have corrected the name of the taxpayer mentioned at l. 5 and supplied the names of the individuals registered at ll. 12 and 16. Secondly, I have proposed new readings of the money amounts due for the *naubion katoikon* in l. 9 and 13. Finally, I have presented my edition of the text drafted on the *verso*.

*recto*

ἔτους πεντεκαιδεκάτου Αὐτ[οκράτορος]  
 Καίσαρ[ο]ς Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδρια[νοῦ]  
 Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβ[οῦς]  
 Παῦνι κδ. διέγρα(ψεν) Ὡσι καὶ μετόχ(οις) [πράκ(τορσιν)]  
 5 ἀργυ(ρικῶν) κόμ(ης) Θεαδελ(φίας) Ζοῖς Σαραπίω[νος]

<sup>1012</sup> See Stemma 5. The family of Athenarion daughter of Heraklides.

<sup>1013</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.



;  $\chi^a$  pap. ;  $\overset{\lambda}{\kappa}$  pap. ;  $\bar{\sigma}$  pap. : σ(υμβόλου) *ed. pr.* ; —  $\sigma$  pap.                      8 νινναρ<sup>ο</sup> pap. ; ανουβι<sup>ο</sup> pap.  
9 κοι pap. ;  $\chi^a$  pap. ; ρ[ . ]ε *ed. pr.* ; προ<sup>-</sup> pap. ;  $\overset{\lambda}{\kappa}$  pap. ;  $\bar{\sigma}$  pap. : σ(υμβόλου) *ed. pr.* ; —  $\sigma$  pap.  
10 σαβειν<sup>ο</sup> pap. ; πρωταρχ pap. ; ενα<sup>-</sup> pap. ; προ<sup>ο</sup> pap.                      11  $\overset{\lambda}{\kappa}$  pap. ;  $\bar{\sigma}$  pap. : σ(υμβόλου) *ed. pr.* ; —  $\sigma$  pap.  
12 εἰ[ς . . .] . *ed. pr.* ; ηρακλει<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; κοῖ pap. : κ(ατ)οί(κων) *ed. pr.*                      13  
προ<sup>-</sup> pap. ; λ[ . ] *ed. pr.* ; κ[<sup>λ</sup>ο] pap. ;  $\bar{\sigma}$  pap. : σ(υμβόλου) *ed. pr.* ; —  $\sigma$  pap.                      14 αθηναρι<sup>ο</sup>  
pap. : [Aθ]ηνάριο(v) Smolders 2015a: 62 n. 12 : [Δ]ημάριο(v) *ed. pr.* ; πρεσ<sup>β</sup> pap. ; ηρω<sup>δ</sup> pap. ; κοι  
pap.                      15  $\chi^a$  pap. ; προ pap. : προ(σδιαγραφομένων) *ed. pr.* ;  $\overset{\lambda}{\kappa}$  pap. ;  $\bar{\sigma}$  pap. : σ(υμβόλου) *ed. pr.* ; —  $\sigma$  pap.  
16 κα[ῖ *ed. pr.* ; . . .]ωνα *ed. pr.* ; παππιωνο pap. ; κοι pap. ;  $\chi^a$  pap.                      17  
 $\overset{\lambda}{\kappa}$  pap. ;  $\bar{\sigma}$  pap. : σ(υμβόλου) *ed. pr.* ; —  $\sigma$  pap.  
*verso*:                      1 γρα pap. ; ναυβ pap.                      2 ς pap. ; — pap.                      3 = pap.                      4 — pap.                      5 —  
pap. ; ὅ pap.                      6 — pap.                      7 ς pap. ; — pap. ; ὅ pap.                      8 — pap. ; ὅ pap.                      9 — pap.  
; ὅ pap.                      10 — pap.                      11 ς pap.

(*recto*) “In the fifteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pauni 24. Zois daughter of Sarapion has paid to Osis and the associate collectors of taxes in silver of the village of Theadelphia, through Athenarion daughter of Heraklides, for the *naubion katoikon* 1,8[.]5 (drachmas) of copper, for the additional fees 185 (dr.) of copper, for exchange 35, for preparing the receipt 1 ½ ob.; on behalf of Diodotos alias Ninnaros, son of Anoubion, for the *naubion katoikon* 165 (dr.) of copper, for the additional fees 20, for exchange 5, for preparing the receipt 1 ½ ob.; on behalf of Sabinos son of Protarchos for the *naubion enafesion* 600 (dr.), for the additional fees 120, for exchange 15, for preparing the receipt 1 ½ ob.; on behalf of Zois daughter of Heraklides for the *naubion katoikon* [...] (dr.) of copper, for the additional fees 35, for exchange 10, for preparing the receipt 1 ½ ob.; on behalf of Athenarion, the elder daughter of Herodes, for the *naubion katoikon* 1,[...] (dr.) of copper, for the additional fees 110, for exchange 20, for preparing the receipt 1 ½ ob.; and on behalf of Pappion son of Pappion, for the *naubion katoikon* 300 (dr.) of copper, for the additional fees 30, for exchange 10, for preparing the receipt 1 ½ ob. ...”

(*verso*) “List of (payments for) the *naubion* of Choiak: dr. 4 ob. 23; ob. 11; ob. 2; ob. 10 ½; ob. 14; dr. 4 ob. 1 ½; ob. 10 ½; ob. 10 ½; ob. 13; dr. 4 ...”

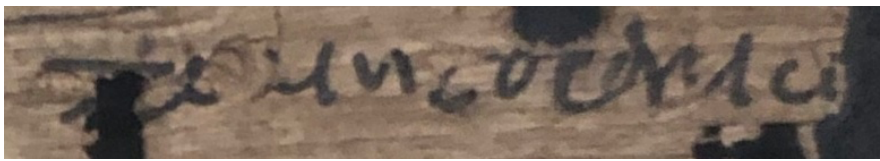
5. Ζωὶς Σαραπίω[νος]: The first letter of the taxpayer’s name, read as *tau* in the first edition of the papyrus, is partially lost in the gap. However, some traces are still visible: an



upper horizontal line, an oblique descending to the left, and part of a lower horizontal line. Based on the palaeographical evidence, the letter is more likely a *zeta* (Fig. 27).

Zois daughter of Sarapion is attested as a landowner in Theadelphia in several tax registers from the village dated to the second half of the second century (around AD 166-169/170).<sup>1014</sup> She might be also identified with the tenant Zoidous daughter of Sarapion, attested in *BGU XXII 2910*, col. III 8, a register of arrears on land properties dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius.

Fig. 27. *P.Ryl. II 192a*, 5 Ζωὶς Σαραπίω[νος]



7. αὐ . ε: After the tiny lacuna, a small trace joining to the lower part of the following *epsilon* is visible. The *prodiagrophomena* and the *kollubos* accompanying this payment are rated at 185 and 35 dr. of copper respectively. As the rates for the additional fees and the charge for exchange were usually fixed at around 1/10 and 1/60 respectively,<sup>1015</sup> the amount for the *naubion katoikon* should be between 1,805 and 1,845 drachmas. However, based on the palaeographical evidence, only αὐκε, αὐλε, and αὐμε are possible; hence, the missing sum was 1,825, 1,835, or 1,845 drachmas of copper.

7. σ(υμβολικοῦ): In the *editio princeps* of *P.Ryl. II 192a*, the abbreviation σ() was interpreted as σ(υμβόλου). However, it refers undoubtedly to the *symbolikon*, the charge due for the receipt, which was usually added after the charge for the exchange of copper into silver (*kollubos*); cf. e.g. *P.Gen. III 140*, 5, 9; *P.Rain.Cent. 61*, 4; *SB XXII 15852*, 8-9.

9. ρξε: In the first edition, the amount for the *naubion katoikon* owed by Diodotos alias Ninnaros, son of Anoubion, was read ρ[ . ]ε. However, on the lower edge of the lacuna after *rho*, there is a vertical trace belonging to the letter lost in the gap, which should have been narrow and tall (Fig. 27). According to the usual rules of charge, the possible amount is 155-

<sup>1014</sup> *BGU IX 1896*, col. III 57; 1897, col. III 54 and col. V 90; 1897a, col. I 7; and *P.Berl.Leihg. II 36*, col. I 9.

<sup>1015</sup> On the rules for assessment of those charges, see *P.Ryl. II 192*, pp. 240-241 n. 10; 192b, pp. 243-244 n. 9.

195;<sup>1016</sup> therefore, I have proposed the reading ρξε (165 drachmas), which is supported by the palaeographical evidence (Fig. 28).

Fig. 28. *P.Ryl.* II 192a, 9 ρξε



10. A Sabinos son of Protarchos is attested as the father of a Theadelphia villager in *BGU* IX 1897, col. VII 138, a list of taxpayers of the *oktadrachmos spondes Dionysiou* dated to AD 166. The name of his son has been edited as Πτολέμα but was likely Πτολεμα(ῖος). Ptolemaios son of Sabinos, appointed as a *nomophylax* in AD 166/167 (*P.Berl.Leihg.* I 6, col. II 45), was a landowner in the village in the second half of the second century AD (*BGU* IX 1899, col. 18). He is perhaps mentioned in *P.Jand.* IV 55, a second century list of names with unknown provenance, and *P.Lond.* III 1179, fr. D 97, a register of contracts from the Arsinoites dated to ca. AD 146/147.

12. Ζω]ῖδ(α) Ἡρακλείδ(ου): The first name of the individual mentioned in l. 12 is almost completely lost in the lacuna. Nevertheless, on the right edge of the gap there is a vertical line, likely to be *iota*. Above it, a horizontal trace belonging to a letter written in the interline is visible; this may be part of a *delta* raised to the upper right to mark an abbreviation. Given that about three letters are missing in the lacuna and the first of them is the final *sigma* of the preposition εἰς, the name Ζω]ῖδ(α) Ἡρακλείδ(ου) may be supplied according to the palaeographical evidence (Fig. 29).

Zois daughter of Heraklides appears as a landowner of catoecic land, vineyards, and garden land in the 170s-180s,<sup>1017</sup> according to two registers of payments for land taxes (*BGU* IX 1899, col. IV 65-66, and *P.Dubl.* I 13, 1-2), and a report of *episkepsis*, the inspection on land carried out after the flood to categorise the allotments based on their level of inundation (*P.Berl.Leihg.* I 14, col. II 29).<sup>1018</sup> The supplement of the name Ζω]ῖδ(α) in *P.Ryl.* II 192a,

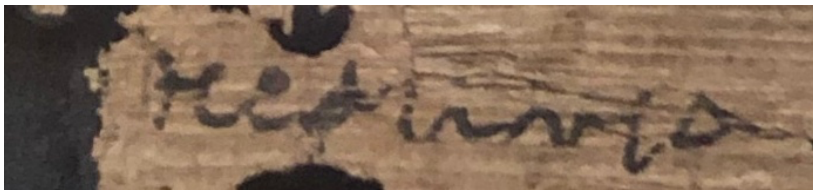
<sup>1016</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 192a, p. 242 n. 9.

<sup>1017</sup> On Zois daughter of Heraklides, see also Kambitsis 2018: 129 n. 8.

<sup>1018</sup> Derda 2019: 68.

12 is further supported by two tax registers from Theadelphia of the second century AD, which demonstrate the existence of familial relationships between Zoīs daughter of Heraklides and Zoīs daughter of Sarapion, the taxpayer of our receipt.<sup>1019</sup> In *BGU IX 1897*, col. III 54 Zoīs daughter of Sarapion is registered as the person in charge of paying the *oktadrachmos spondes Dionysiou* tax on behalf of Zoīs daughter of Heraklides.<sup>1020</sup> The abbreviation of the first name in the entry, published as Ζωῖς Ἡρακλ( ) πρὸς Ζωῖ[δ]α Σαραπίωνος, may be thus solved as Ζωῖς Ἡρακλ(εῖδου). If we assume that Zoīs daughter of Sarapion was registered in the above-mentioned *BGU XXII 2910* with the name Zoidous, both Zoīs daughter of Sarapion and Zoīs daughter of Heraklides would be registered in relation to the same plot of land *BGU XXII 2910*, col. III 10.<sup>1021</sup>

Fig. 29. *P.Ryl. II 192a*, 12 Ζωῖ[δ]α Ἡρακλεῖδου



12-13. The amounts due for the *naubion katoikon* and the *prosdigraphomena* recorded in ll. 12-13 are lost but may be supplied based on the palaeographical evidence and according to the usual tax rules.<sup>1022</sup> After προ(σδιαγραφομένων) at the beginning of l. 13, there is a trace probably belonging to a *lambda*, and then a large gap in which one letter is missing. As the additional fees were accounted in multiples of five, the number must have been 35; this led to the supplement λ[ε]. According to the amounts of the additional fees and the charge on the exchange, rated at 35 and 10 drachmas respectively, the estimated sum for the *naubion katoikon* was around 350 drachmas of copper.

16. Παπ[π]ίωνα Παππίωνο(ς): The first name of this individual is only partially preserved. In the lacuna, seven letters are missing. On the right of the gap and before the sequence -ωνα, there are two horizontal traces belonging to the lower part of two letters. By comparison to the writing of Παππίωνο(ς), they seem the linking strokes of *pi* and *iota* (Fig.

<sup>1019</sup> See Stemma 5. The family of Athenarion daughter of Heraklides.

<sup>1020</sup> On the meaning of πρὸς in *BGU IX 1897*, see Smolders 2004a: 239.

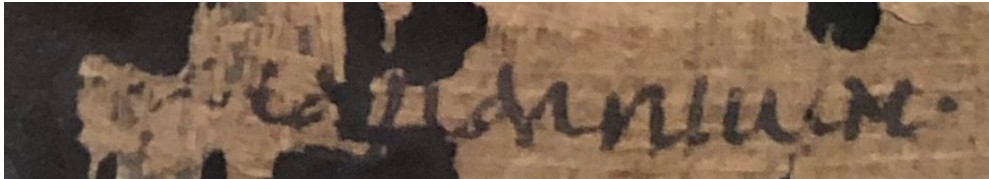
<sup>1021</sup> Kambitsis 2018: 129 n. 8 and 10.

<sup>1022</sup> On the arrangement of charges in tax receipts, see the commentary to *P.Ryl. II 192*, pp. 240-241 n. 10; 192b, pp. 243-244 n. 9.

30). As the supplement κα[ὶ εἰς is needed in the lacuna, three letters of the name must have been lost. Therefore, I supplied Παπ]πίωνα Παππίωνο(ς).

A Theadelphia villager named Pappion son of Pappion is attested as a farmer in *P.Fay.* 339 *recto*, a list of payments in kind on land properties dated to the second century and published in the *descripta* exclusively.

Fig. 30. *P.Ryl.* II 192a, 16 Παπ]πίωνα Παππίωνο(ς)



#### 24. *P.Ryl.* II 98a

TM 13011

12.1 x 7 cm

AD 154/155

*P.Ryl.* II 98a is an application for grant of hunting-rights, firstly published in the second volume of the *P.Ryl.* in 1915. A few new readings were proposed in the reedition of the document as *Sel.Pap.* II 351.<sup>1023</sup> The papyrus has seventeen lines of writing along the fibres on the *recto*; the *verso* is blank. The document is almost complete in the upper part, and severely damaged only in the upper margin and ll. 1-2. The handwriting is a fast cursive also attested in many other documents dated from AD 146 to 161.<sup>1024</sup>

In the reedition of the text presented below, some corrections at ll. 1-3 and 13 have been proposed.

Φιλίπ[πῳ Ἀφροδ(ισίου) καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ Ἑρακ(λείδου)]

καὶ μετ[όχ(οις)] ἐπ[ι]τη[ρ]ητ(αῖς) νομῶν [καὶ]

δρυμοῦ κόμης Θεαδ[ε]λφείας

παρὰ Ἑρῶνος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου

5 ἀναγρα(φομένου) ἐπ' ἀμφόδο(υ) Κιλίκων κυνηγο(ῦ)

<sup>1023</sup> *Sel.Pap.* II: pp. 418-419.

<sup>1024</sup> For a palaeographical analysis, see the hand of the scribe H7a in Appendix I 2. *Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia.*

Πέρσου τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. βούλομαι  
 ἐπιχωρηθῆναι παρ' ὑμῶν θη-  
 ρεύειν καὶ ἀγριεύειν ἐν τῷ προκ(ειμένῳ)  
 δρυμῷ πᾶν ὄργ[εο]γ ἐπὶ γῆς  
 10 πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἱη (ἔτος)  
 Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 φόρου τοῦ παντὸς ἀργυρίου δραχμ(ῶν)  
 τεσσαράκον\τα/ καὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ποιή-  
 σομαι ἐν μηνὶ Φαρμουῦθι τοῦ  
 15 αὐτοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους, ἕξω δὲ  
 σὺν ἐμαυτῷ ἐργάτας δύο, ἐὰν φα(ίνηται)  
 ἐπιχω(ρήσαι).

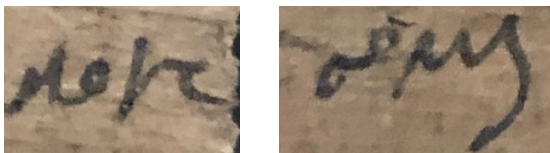
1 Φιλίπ[πῳ Ἀφροδισίου] *Sel.Pap.* II 351 : Φιλίπ[πῳ -ca.?- ] *ed. pr.*      2 μετ[όχ(οις)] *Sel.Pap.* II  
 351 : Μελλ[. . .] *ed. pr.* ; επ[ι]τη[ρ]ητ *pap.*      2-3 νομῶν | δρυμοῦ *ed. pr.*      3 Θεαδ[ε]λφείας  
*ed. pr.*      4 παρὰ *ed. pr.*      5 αναργ *pap.* ; αμφοδ<sup>ο</sup> *pap.* ; κυνηγ<sup>ο</sup> *pap.*      6 βούλομαι *ed.*  
*pr.*      8 προ<sup>κ</sup> *pap.*      10 ς *pap.*      12 δραχ<sup>μ</sup> *pap.*      13 τεσσαρακον *corr. ex. τεσσαρακοτ*  
 : τεσσαράκοντα *ed. pr.*      13-14 1. ποιή-|σομαι : ποιή-|σομαι *ed. pr.*      16 φς *pap.* : φαί(νηται)  
*ed. pr.*      17 επιχ<sup>ο</sup> *pap.*

“To Philippos son of Aphrodisios and Ptolemaios son of Heraklides, and the associate superintendents of pastures and marsh of the village of Theadelphia, from Heron son of Apollonios, registered in the Cilician quarter, a huntsman, and a Persian of the Epigone. I desire to be granted a permit by you for hunting and catching in the aforesaid marsh every bird therein, only for the present 18<sup>th</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, at a total rent of forty drachmas of silver which I will pay in the month Pharmouthi of the said present year, and I shall have with me two assistants if you consent to the concession.”

1. [Πτολεμαίῳ Ἡρακ(λείδου)]: The name of the second superintendent, Ptolemaios son of Heraklides, has been supplied based on *PSI V 458*, 1-2, another application for grant of hunting-rights in the marsh of Theadelphia dated to the same year AD 155 and addressed to the same couple of *epiteterai*. On the identification of this individual, see the reedition of *PSI V 458* (no. 25), n. 2.

13-14. ποιή-|σομαι: The word has been published as ποιή-|σομαι in the first edition of the document. However, as the vertical line after *omicron* is not *iota* but part of *eta* (Fig. 31), I have read ποιή-|σομαι.

Fig. 31. *P.Ryl.* II 98a, 13-14 ποιή-|σομαι



16. φα(ίνηται): The term, previously edited as φαί(νηται), should be revalued according to the palaeographical evidence. After *phi*, traces of a sinusoidal line likely to be a cursive *alpha* are visible (Fig. 32). Therefore, I have supplied φα(ίνηται). As a parallel for this shape of abbreviation, cf. *P.Amh.* II 91, 24.

Fig. 32. *P.Ryl.* II 98a, 16 φα(ίνηται)



## 25. *PSI* V 458

TM 13781

17.4 x 8 cm

26 Apr. - 25 May 155 AD

Image: <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/PSI%20V%20458%20r.jpg>

*PSI* V 458 is an application for grant of hunting-rights, firstly published in 1917. The papyrus has twenty-three lines of writing along the fibres on the *recto*; the *verso* is blank. The document presents the upper, left, and right margins but is broken at the bottom and damaged at ll. 1, 3-4, 9-13, and 19-20. The handwriting, elegant and calligraphic, belonged to a professional scribe.<sup>1025</sup>

In this reedition of the document, I have proposed new supplements at ll. 11, 19-20.

<sup>1025</sup> For a palaeographical analysis, see the hand of the scribe H7b in Appendix I 2. *Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia.*

- Φιλίππῳ Ἀ[φροδισίου] καὶ  
 Πτολεμαίῳ[ι] Ἡρακλείδου  
 κα[ὶ] μετόχοις ἐπιτηρητ(αίς)  
 δρυμοῦ κώμης Θεαδελ(φείας)  
 5 παρὰ Ὀρσίσιος ἀπάτορος  
 μ[η]τρὸς Ταψουψίτεως.  
 βούλομαι ἐπιχωρηθῆναι  
 παρ' <ύ>μῶν θηρεύειν καὶ  
 ἀγριεύειν πᾶν ὄρνεον ἐν  
 10 τῷ προκειμένῳ δρυμῶι  
 τ[ῶν] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μην[ὸς]  
 [Π]αχῶν ἕξ[ς] μην[ὸς] Καί-  
 [σ]αρείου ἐπαγομένων πέμ-  
 πτης τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἡ (ἔτους)  
 15 φόρου ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν  
 τριάκοντα δύο, ὧν καὶ  
 τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ποιήσ[ο]μαι  
 μηνὶ Παῦνι καὶ Μεσορῆι  
 ἐξ ἴσου ἐὰ[ν] φ[α]ίν(ηται) μισθ(ῶσαι)  
 20 Ὀρ[σ]ιήσιος ὧς (ἐτών) μ, οὐλ(ῆ) γό(νατι) δεξι(ῶ)  
 [(ἔτους)] ἡ Ἀὐτοκρά[το]ρος Καίσαρος  
 [Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδρ]ιανοῦ [Ἀντω-]  
 [νίνου ± 18 ]

— — — — —

1 Ἀ[φροδισίου] *ed. pr.*      2 Ἡρακλείδου *ed. pr.*      3 καὶ *ed. pr.* ; μετόχοις *ed. pr.* ; ἐπιτηρητ  
 pap.      4 δρυμοῦ *ed. pr.* ; θεαδελ<sup>λ</sup> pap. : Θεαδ[ε]λ(φείας) *ed. pr.*      7 ἐπιχωρηθῆναι *ed. pr.*  
 10 τῷ *ed. pr.*      11 [.] *ed. pr.* ; ἐνεστῶτος *ed. pr.*      12 [Πα]χῶν *ed. pr.*      13-14. πέμ-  
 |πτης *ed. pr.*      14 τοῦ *ed. pr.* ; ἐνεστῶτος *ed. pr.* ; ς pap.      16 τριακονταδύο *ed. pr.*      17  
 1. ποιήσομαι      18 1. Μεσορῆ      19 ε[. . . .] ( ) μ . ( ) *ed. pr.* ; φ[α]ίν<sup>ν</sup> pap. ; μισθ<sup>θ</sup> pap.  
 20 Ὀρ[σ]ιή[σ]ιος *ed. pr.* ; ὧς *ed. pr.* ; L pap. ; μζ *ed. pr.* ; οὐλ<sup>λ</sup> pap. ; γ<sup>ο</sup> pap. ; δεξι pap. ; ο(ὐλή) δεξι( )  
 ) [.] *ed. pr.*      21 ἡ *ed. pr.* ; Ἀὐτοκρά[το]ρος *ed. pr.*

“To Philippos son of Aphrodisios and Ptolemaios son of Heraklides and the associate superintendents of the marsh of the village of Theadelphia, from Harsiesis, from an unknown father, whose mother is Tapsoupsitis. I desire to be granted a permit by you for hunting and catching every bird in the aforesaid marsh from the present month Pachon until the fifth of the epagomenal days of the month Kaisareios of the present 18<sup>th</sup> year, at a rent of thirty-two drachmas of silver. And I will make payment in the months Pauni and Mesore in equal instalments, if it appears good to lease. Harsiesis, aged about 40, with a scar on his right knee. In the 18<sup>th</sup> year of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus...”

2. Ptolemaios son of Heraklides: This superintendent of pastures and marshes is also attested in some Theadelphian documents spanning from AD 149 to 166. He is probably registered as a landowner in the village in three financial rolls dated to AD 166.<sup>1026</sup> Perhaps our Ptolemaios might be identified with a homonymous individual appearing together with his brother Heraklides in *BGU IX* 1893, col. XX 676, a register dated to AD 149 and drawn up by the *sitologi* of Berenikis Aigialou, where two individuals named Ptolemaios and Heraklides are recorded as the sons of a Kastor alias Heraklides. If so, then, these brothers are also mentioned in *P.Col.* V 1 v. 1b, col. II 35, a register of garden and vineyard taxes dated to ca. AD 160.

Possible evidence of Ptolemaios’ activity as a lessee of public marshland lies in the above-mentioned *P.Col.* V 1, v. 6 col. VIII 113, where our *epiteretes* is charged for payment of 32 drachmas in AD 157/158. Based on the average rent for public *nomai* of 18 drachmas,<sup>1027</sup> he would have leased around 2 arouras of marshland.

11. τ[ὠν]: As a horizontal trace likely belonging to a *tau* is visible before the lacuna (Fig. 33) and the article τὠν is expected in this context,<sup>1028</sup> I have supplied τ[ὠν]. Since one letter is missing in the gap, the final *nu* was likely drafted as a curved vertical line like in ἐπαγομένων at l. 13.

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<sup>1026</sup> *BGU IX* 1896, col. V 102; *BGU IX* 1897, col. VII 133; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 6, col. VIII 113. In *BGU IX* 1896, col. V 102 and *BGU IX* 1897, col. VII 133, he is mentioned as Πτολέμα Ἡρακλείδου. However, Πτολέμα was likely an abbreviation for Πτολεμα(ῖος); see *P.Ryl.* II 192a (no. 23) *recto*, n. 10.

<sup>1027</sup> Langelotti 2020: 173.

<sup>1028</sup> As parallels, cf. *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), 13 τὠν ἀπὸ κς ἕως λ τοῦ Θῶθ μη(νός); *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), 10-11 τὠν ἀπὸ κς ἕως λ τοῦ Φαμε(νῶθ) μηνός(ς); *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42), 10-11 τὠν ἀπὸ ε ἕως [ι] τοῦ Θῶθ μηνός.



Fig. 33. *PSI V 458*, 11 τ[ὠν] ἀπὸ



19. φ[α]ίγ(ηται) μισθ(ῶσαι): The line, partially left unread in the *editio princeps*, is slightly faded. On the bottom of the lacuna, a long vertical line belonging to a *phy* is visible. Afterward, there is an *iota* followed by a curved horizontal line raised in the interline, possibly a *nu*, and by the sequence μισθ- (Fig. 34). I have therefore read φ[α]ίγ(ηται) μισθ(ῶσαι). The abbreviation of φ[α]ίγ(ηται), with a cursive *nu* raised to the upper right of *iota*, is also attested in *P.Stras.* IV 218, 23. For the abbreviation μισθ(ῶσαι), cf. *BGU XI* 2124, 12; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 45, 12; *P.Mich.* V 244, r. II 40; *SB XIV* 11718, 23; *SB XVI* 13005, 27.

Fig. 34. *PSI V 458*, 19 φ[α]ίγ(ηται) μισθ(ῶσαι)



## 26. P.Col. inv. 159a

110 x 95 cm

AD 159

Image: <https://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p949/images>

P.Col. inv. 159a is an unpublished fragment of a census declaration kept in the Columbia University Library. Written along the fibres on the *recto*, the papyrus is blank on the *verso*. It preserves only the right margin and is severely damaged and faded across the sheet. The surviving thirteen lines of writing belonged to the upper part of the body of the text, while the address and the official subscriptions are both missing. The handwriting of this document is a rapid cursive intended to be easily readable, featured by *eta* as a capital “H”, *rho* with an extremely prolonged vertical line, and a large V-shaped *upsilon*.

The declarant is Sarapias daughter of Philippos III, here acting under the legal supervision of her stepson Philippos IV, and the document may be therefore related to the

family archive.<sup>1029</sup> It may be dated to the census-year AD 159 based on the formula θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνείνου (see below, n. 11-12). The provenance is unknown, but the address to the *strategos* of the Arsinoites, the mention of the quarter of Moeris, and the sequence ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει (l. 8), attested only in the census declarations of the nome capital,<sup>1030</sup> demonstrate that this papyrus had to be submitted to the official archives in Arsinoe.<sup>1031</sup> However, it could have been found in Theadelphia, where the declarant and her guardian lived in the second century.<sup>1032</sup>

The papyrus is a draft of a census declaration, as is suggested by several details. First of all, there are some omissions of letters (l. 1 [Ἄρποκρα]τ<ί>ω[νι; l. 6 Ἄ]φροδισ<ί>ου; l. 7 ἡμε<ί>ν) and corrections (l. 6 τ[οῦ] \ὠν/; l. 7 μοι). Secondly, Ἄρσινο-|[εἴτο]ν (ll. 6-7) is written in full but *iota* is crossed out by a horizontal line as usual in the abbreviation Ἄρσι(νοείτου). Moreover, there are some syntactical inconsistencies. In particular, after the usual formula ὑπάρχ[ι], the scribe seems to have written two different personal pronouns, μοι and ἡμε<ί>ν. This oddity could reflect the background of this document and shed light on a controversy concerning Didymarion's inheritance. Whereas μοι would define Sarapias as the only owner of the house in the quarter of Moeris, the pronoun ἡμε<ί>ν would demonstrate that half of the property was shared and held in common by Sarapias and her *kyrios* Philippos IV.<sup>1033</sup>

[Ἄρποκρα]τ<ί>ω[νι στρα(τηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοείτου)]  
 [Θεμίστου καὶ Π]ο[λ]έ[μ]ω[ν]ος μ]ε[ρ]ί[δ]ω[ν]  
 [καὶ] επερ[ . . ] ἀμφ[ό]δου [ . . ] . .  
 [παρ]ὰ Σαραπιάδος Φιλίππου μετὰ  
 5 [κυρί]ο[ν] τοῦ συγγεν[οῦ]ς Φιλίππου  
 [τοῦ Ἄ]φροδισ<ί>ου τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄρσινο-  
 [εἴτο]ν νομοῦ. ὑπάρχ[ι] μοι ἡμε<ί>ν  
 [ἐξ ἴσο]ν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει ἐπ' ἀμφοδ(ου)  
 [Μοή(ρεως) . . . .]ν μ[έ]ρος οἰκίας πα[τρ]ικ[ῆ]ς  
 10 [ἐν ᾧ ἀπ]ογράφο[μ]αί ε[ἶ]ς τὴν τοῦ διε-

<sup>1029</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

<sup>1030</sup> Cf. *BGU* VII 1581, 9-10; *P.Meyer* 9 (no. 21), 4; *SB* X 10759, 4.

<sup>1031</sup> Bagnall-Frier 1994: 21.

<sup>1032</sup> See Chapter VI 1. *Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy*.

<sup>1033</sup> See Chapter VI 4. *The Trial of AD 151 and the Decline of the Family: Theadelphia and Antinoopolis*.

[ληλυθό]τος κγ. ἔτ[ου]ς θεοῦ [Α]ἰλί[ο]υ  
 [Ἄντ]ωνεῖν[ου] κατ' οἰκ[ίαν]  
 [ἀπογραφ[ή]ν [ ± 10]

— — — — —

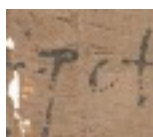
6 τ\ὠν/ corr. ex τ[[οῦ]]

“To Arpokration, *strategos* of the Arsinoites of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, and [...] of the quarter of [...]. From Sarapias daughter of Philippos, under the guardianship of her relative Philippos son of Aphrodisios, of those from the Arsinoite nome. There belongs in common to me/us in the metropolis, in the quarter of Moeris, a [...] share of a paternal house, in which I register for the house-by-house registration of the past 23<sup>rd</sup> year of the God Aelius Antoninus...”

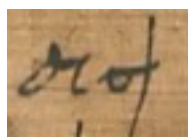
1-3 These lines represent the address of the census declaration. Based on the remaining traces, it possibly included two officers, the *strategos* and another unidentifiable individual related to a quarter in Arsinoe. Arpokration is attested as the *strategos* of the division of Themistos around AD 159-161, mostly as the addressee of some census declarations from an administrative roll of Theadelphia.<sup>1034</sup>

6-7. Ἄρσινο-|[εῖτο]ν: The unusual writing of the name of the nome deserves some explanation. The first *iota* is crossed perpendicularly by a horizontal line, a graphic feature that is usually attested in the abbreviation Ἄρσι(νοῖτου) (Fig. 35). However, since the full term should be supplied at ll. 6-7, it is possible that the scribe intended to abbreviate the word first, but then wrote it in full.

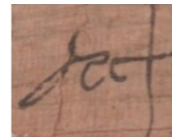
Fig. 35. The abbreviation Ἄρσι(νοῖτου): some examples



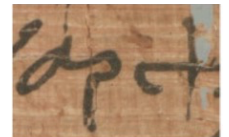
P.Col. inv. 159a, 6



P.Gen. II 1 27, 4



P.Oslo. III 118, 2



SB XIV 12017, 4

<sup>1034</sup> Whitehorne-Bastianini 2006: 43. Cf. *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 16b-e; *P.Sel.Warga.* 3-4; *SB XVIII* 13289.

7. ὑπάρχ[ι] μοι ἡμε<ι>ν: The sequence is syntactically unclear. The pronoun μοι seems to have been rewritten over a word erased by scraping, of which the trace of a vertical line remains after *mu*. After μοι, the sequence ημεν is visible: by assuming the omission of *iota* also found elsewhere in the text (l. 1 [Ἄρποκρα]τ<ι>φ[νι; l. 6 Ἄ]φροδισ<ι>ου), it should be a mistake for the personal pronoun ἡμε<ι>ν.

The sentence might reveal a co-ownership of the house registered in this census declaration. Usually, in declarations filed by women under the guardianship of a *kyrios*, those women appear as the only owners of the recorded properties, and the *kyrioi* acted exclusively as their legal supervisors.<sup>1035</sup> However, in this document, the alternation between μοι and ἡμε<ι>ν may be illustrative of a dispute between Sarapias and Philippos IV concerning the house here registered, over which both individuals could have had property rights.

8. [ἐξ ἴσο]ν: The integration follows the common formulary of declarations of properties belonging to more than one individual. Although the full sequence is usually κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου, the writing of ἐξ ἴσου without the previous adverb κοινῶς is also attested in *SB XVIII* 13747, 10.

9. Μοή(ρεως): Although the name of the quarter is lost, it should have been of only three letters and was thus likely registered in abbreviation. I have supplied the name of Μοή(ρεως) in the form in which it is usually abbreviated, according to *CUA H. H.* 1 02 (no. 10) *verso*. As in this census declaration Philippos IV and Charition II are presented as the owners of a third of a house in the quarter of Moeris (ll. 2-3), it is likely that *P.Col. inv.* 159a referred to the same property.

11-12. Since the declarants in this document are Sarapias and Philippos IV of the family archive, this declaration might refer either to the census-years AD 145 or 159. Even though the reading of the number in the date is uncertain, the imperial formula θεοῦ [Α]ἰλί[ο]ν [Ἄντ]ωνεῖ[ο]ν, which may be read and partially supplied, is decisive for dating the document to AD 159. The dating sequences θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἄντωνεῖνου or just θεοῦ

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<sup>1035</sup> Cf. e.g. *BGU I* 154, 2-5; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 15, 4-6; *P.Ryl.* II 111a, v. 4-8.

Ἄντωνείνου are usually attested in the census declaration of AD 161,<sup>1036</sup> while in the earlier census declarations the dating formula was Ἄντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.<sup>1037</sup>

## 27. SB IV 7393

TM 14016

12 x 12.5 cm

After AD 161

SB IV 7393 is the draft of a request to the *archidikastes* to make legally valid through δημοσίως a *cheirographon* concerning the ransom of a freedwoman. This papyrus was firstly published in 1920,<sup>1038</sup> and subsequently republished as SB IV 7393 in 1931.<sup>1039</sup> Drafted on the *recto* exclusively, the text has fourteen lines of writing. It presents frequent erasures at ll. 3-5 and 9 and has been corrected by the same writer of the body of the document. The handwriting, calligraphic and formal, belonged to an expert writer.<sup>1040</sup>

The sender of the document is Philippos II son of Aphrodisios of the family archive.<sup>1041</sup> As for the content of the text, no similar documents are attested so far. Also, the other few attestations of the word προκτητρία referred to land ownership (BGU II 619, 12; P.Oxy. I 78, 21-22; XIV 1702, 13), while in our document it concerned ownership of slaves.

This reedition of the document aims at making its text clearer and meaningful. I have interpreted προκτητρία as the feminine form of προκτήτωρ at the dative: the term refers to Helene, the woman mentioned at l. 10 as the previous owner of the freedwoman Nike. Moreover, I have interpreted προεθῆν, published in the first edition at 9, as a mistake for προεθέ<μη>v.

Ἰουλίῳ Κέλσῳ ἱερεῖ καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆι  
παρὰ Φιλίππου Ἀφροδισίου τοῦ Φιλίππου  
κατοικοῦντος ἐν Ἀρσινοεῖτη\ ἀνδρῶν

<sup>1036</sup> Cf. e.g. BGU I 57, r. col. I 14; XIII 2221, col. I 9; SB XVIII 13294, 11.

<sup>1037</sup> Cf. e.g. BGU I 51, 14-15; P.Tebt. II 321, 10; P.Worp. 20, 9. SB VI 9954 (5), 9-10, dated to AD 161, seems to represent an exception to that usage. However, as the papyrus is extremely fragmentary, the sequence Ἄν]τ-[ωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κ]υρίου is mostly supplied in the lacuna and cannot be checked.

<sup>1038</sup> Plaumann 1920: 176-183.

<sup>1039</sup> SB IV: pp. 52-53.

<sup>1040</sup> For a palaeographical analysis, see the hand of the scribe H7b in Appendix I 2. *Handwritings of the Scribes of the Grapheion of Theadelphia*.

<sup>1041</sup> See Stemma 1. The family of Aphrodisios son of Philippos.

5 Ἑλλήνων [ἑξακισχειλίων τετρακοσίων  
 ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε] βουλόμενος/ [δι' ἐ-  
 μοῦ] δημ[οσιῶν] ἡ γυνή μου Νείκη  
 ἀπελε[υθέρ]α Φ[ανί]ου Φανίου τοῦ Ἀλεξά[νδ(ρου)]  
 Εἰρηνοφυ[λακε]ίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαιέως χ[ι]ρό-  
 γραφον προεθέ<μη>ν τῇ προκτητρία[σ αὐτῆς]  
 10 Ἑλένη ἀπελευθέρᾳ Σαμβίου Χαιρήμονος  
 ὑπὸ Λεωνίδου Σιμώνος Σεβαστείου τοῦ καὶ  
 Ἀπολλωνιέ[ω]ς τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτει θεοῦ  
 [Αἰ]λίου Ἀντων[εῖ]νου ἐπαγομένων περί

— — — — —

1 ἰουλιῶν pap.            3 corr. ex. κατοίκου [τῶν] : κατοικοῦντες *ed. pr.* : corr. ex κατοικου\ντος/ *ed. pr.* ; corr. ex κατοικου\ν[των] *ed. pr.* ; Ἀρσινοεῖτη *ed. pr.*            4 1. ἑξακισχιλίων : ἑξακισχειλίων *ed. pr.*  
 5 corr. ex βουλομεν[η]            5-6 δι' ἐ-|μοῦ *ed. pr.*            7 Φανίο(?)υ *ed. pr.* ;  
 Ἀλεξά[νδρου] *ed. pr.*            9 προεθῆν *ed. pr.* ; προκτητρία *ed. pr.* ; [ααιτρ] *ed. pr.*            10  
 ἀπελευθέρᾳ *ed. pr.*            11 ὑπο pap. ; Σιμώνος *ed. pr.*            13 Ἐπαγομένων *ed. pr.*

“To Iulius Celsus, priest and *archidikastes*, from Philippos son of Aphrodisios son of Philippos, dwelling in the Arsinoites, of the Greek men. Since I wish to register my wife Neikes, freedwoman of [Phanios] son of Phanios son of Alexander, from the phyle of Eirenophylakeia and the Althaeian deme, I displayed a copy to her previous owner Helene, freedwoman of Sambios son of Chairemon, from Leonides son of Simon of the Sebasteion alias Apollonieos in the tenth year of the God Aelius Antoninus, the epagomenal days...”

1. Iulius Celsus appears here as a priest and *archidikastes*. A homonymous individual was a *centurio* in two ostraca coming from the mons Claudianus and dated to the beginning of the second century AD (*O.Claud.* I 76 and 77).

7. Ἀλεξά[νδ(ρου)]: It is likely that the name Alexandros was written in abbreviation, as only two letters are missing in the lacuna at the end of line 7, and there is no trace of the vertical of *rho*, which would otherwise be visible on the lower edge of the gap.

28. *P.Meyer* 33, second century AD

“Aphrodisios... Subscriber for the acknowledging party...”

B. The archive of “Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros”

29. *P.Oslo*. III 89

TM 12578

25 x 7 cm

23 Oct. 138 AD

*P.Oslo*. III 89 is a penthemeros report of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia for the period 21-25 of Phaophi 138 AD, firstly published by Eitrem and Amundsen in 1936. The papyrus has thirty-one lines of writing along the fibres on the *recto*, while the *verso* is blank. The papyrus is complete as it preserves all margins, but it is very damaged and thus illegible in several parts. At the beginning of ll. 1-7, the ink has completely disappeared, while it is severely faded at ll. 8-22. Moreover, ll. 23-24 are almost completely lost in the gaps. Three hands may be distinguished in the text. The handwriting of the first scribe, a professional cursive with some ligatures, is similar to that of *P.Oslo*. III 90 (no. 30). At the end of the report, after the subscription of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros and the date written in his own hand (ll. 28-30),<sup>1042</sup> a third hand belonged to the βιβλιοφύλαξ Apollonios, who declared to have received the document (ll. 30-31).

This document is addressed to Aelius Numisianus, *strategos* of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon in AD 138-142.<sup>1043</sup> It belongs, in conjunction with *P.Oslo*. III 90 (no. 30) and *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31), to a homogeneous group of copies of penthemeros reports delivered to the public archive in Arsinoe (βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων) and subscribed by the head of the archive.

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<sup>1042</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1043</sup> Whitehorne-Bastianini 2006: 39-40.

In this reedition of the text, I have proposed a few corrections based on the digital image of the papyrus, and amended δρυ]μοῦ to δρυ]μῶν at l. 16.<sup>1044</sup>

- [Αἰλίῳ Νου]μισιανῶ  
[στρα(τηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου) Θ]εμίστου  
[καὶ] Π[ολέμω]νος μερίδων  
[παρὰ] Π[το]λεμαίου  
5 [τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος] καὶ Γαίου  
[Λόγγου τοῦ Διοσκ]όρου καὶ Σα-  
[ραπίωνος τοῦ] Σαβίνου  
κα[ὶ] Γα[ίου Λογγ]ίγου Κέ-  
λερος [καὶ Γα]ίου Λογγί-  
10 νου Π[ρεῖς]κου ἑτέρου  
καὶ Διδύ[μου] τοῦ Διδύμου  
καὶ [Δ]ιδύ[μου] τοῦ Ἡρακλεί-  
δου κα[ὶ Σ]αβίνου Σου-  
χίωνος καὶ μετόχων  
15 ἐπιτηρητῶν νομῶν  
κα[ὶ] δρυ]μῶν Θεαδελφείας  
καὶ Π[ολ]υδευκείας.  
λό[γος] τῶν περιγεγονό-  
των ἀπὸ θήρας ἰχθύας  
20 [τῶν ἀ]πὸ κᾶ̄ ἕως κῆ̄  
[τοῦ Φ]αῶφι μηνὸς τοῦ [β] (ἔτους)  
Ἄν[των]ε[ίου Καίσαρ]ος  
τ[οῦ] κ[υ]ρίου. ἔστ[ι] δὲ  
[κ]ᾶ̄ [(δραχμαὶ) . . (τετρώβολον)] κ[β] (δραχμαὶ) . (διώβολον)]  
25 κᾶ̄ [(δραχμαὶ) .] γ (ὀβολὸς) [κ]ᾶ̄ (δραχμαὶ) μζ (ὀβολὸς)  
κῆ̄ [(δραχμαὶ)] λε (τετρώβολον),  
(γίνονται) [τῆ(ς) π]ενθ(ημέρου) (δραχμαὶ) ρμα.  
(hd. 2) Π[το]λε(μαῖος) Διοδώρου ἐπιδέδωκα.  
(ἔτους) [β] Ἄν[τωνίου] Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου

<sup>1044</sup> For a discussion of the meaning of the plural form δρυμῶν, see Chapter VII 2. 1. *The drymoi of Theadelphia and Polydeukia*.



30 Φαῶφι κξ̄ (hd. 3) Ἀπολλώ(νιος) βιβλιοφύλ(αξ)  
ἔσχον τούτου τὸ ἴσον.

2 στρατ(ηγῶ) *ed. pr.*      5 γαίου pap.      9 [γα]ίου pap.      16 δρυ]μοῦ *ed. pr.*      19  
ἴχθυσας pap.      21 ς pap.      22 Ἀντων[ε]ίνου *ed. pr.*      23 τ[οῦ κυρ]ίτου *ed. pr.*      25 —  
pap. ; ς pap. ; — pap.      26 ς pap. ; / pap.      27 | pap. ; π]εν<sup>θ</sup> pap. : π]ενθ(ημερίας) *ed. pr.* ; ς  
pap.      29 L pap.      30 ἀπολλ<sup>ω</sup> pap. ; βιβλιοφ<sup>υ</sup> pap.      31 ἴσον. pap.

“To Aelius Numisianus, *strategos* of the Arsinoites, of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, from Ptolemaios son of Eudaimon, Gaius Longus son of Dioskoros, Sarapion son of Sabinus, Gaius Longinus Celer, the other Gaius Longinus Priscus, Didymos son of Didymos, Didymos son of Heraklides, Sabinus son of Souchion, and the associate superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia. Account of the revenues over the inspection period in question concerning the fishing from the 21<sup>st</sup> up to the 25<sup>th</sup> of the month of Phaophi of the present 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar, the lord. As follows: 21<sup>st</sup> dr. (?) ob. 4; 22<sup>nd</sup> dr. (?) ob. 2; 23<sup>rd</sup> dr. (?) 3 ob. 1; 24<sup>th</sup> dr. 47 ob. 1; 25<sup>th</sup> dr. 35 ob. 4. Total of the penthemeros account: dr. 141. (hd. 2) I, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros, have submitted it. Year 2<sup>nd</sup> of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Phaophi 26. (hd. 3) I, Apollonios, custodian of the archive, have received a duplicate of this.”

4-5. Π[το]λεμαίου | [τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος]: The superintendent Ptolemaios son of Eudaimon also appears in *P.Oslo.* III 90 (no. 30), 3-4 and *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31), 4. He might be identified with the grandfather of a certain Ptolemaios son of Ptolemaios, mentioned in *P.Col.* V 1 v. 3, col. III 68, an alphabetical register of payments for tax in money from Theadelphia dated to AD 155.

5-6. Γαίου | [Λόγγου τοῦ Διοσκ]όρου: This *epiteretes* is found in the same group of liturgists also in *P.Oslo.* III 90 (no. 30), 4. Possibly, he might be identified with the Gaios son of Dioskoros listed in *P.Col. inv.* 29 (no. 52), 7 as a citizen of Arsinoe and state farmer around Theadelphia.

6-7. Σα-[ραπίωνος τοῦ] Σαβίνου: Sarapion son of Sabinus, here mentioned as a superintendent of pastures and marshes, is also attested as a taxpayer in Theadelphia in *P.Col.* V 1 v. 3, col. VIII 161, a financial register of AD 155. A homonymous individual was

summoned with his brother Harphaesis in an arrest warrant addressed to the *archepodos* from second century Theadelphia (*SB XVIII* 14014, 1-2), but the identification with our Sarapion is uncertain.

8-10. Γα[ί]ου Λογγ[ί]νου Κέ-|λερος [καὶ Γα]ί]ου Λογγί-|νου Π[ρ]είσ]κου: The same couple of superintendents of pastures and marshes is found in *PSI VII* 735 (no. 31), 6-7. Gaius Longinus Celer is unattested elsewhere. The second individual likely appears as one of the senders of an application for lease of goldsmith's industry of AD 128 from Euhemeria (*Chr. Wilck.* 318, 3). As he is defined as ἀπολύσιμος ἀπὸ στρατείας in *Chr. Wilck.* 318, 3-4, he had previously been in the army.

11. Διδύ[μου] τοῦ Διδύμου: Didymos son of Didymos is a well-attested individual active in Theadelphia in AD 138-180, also attested as an *epiteretes* in *P.Oslo.* III 90 (no. 30), 5 and *P.Col. inv.* 29 (no. 52), 9. In the latter document, he is registered as a *metropolitēs* and a farmer around Euhemeria. He was a member of the *pittakion* of Aretion son of Nason in the second half of the second century (*BGU XXI* 2908, v. col. I 4) and a *pittakiarchēs* (*P.Col.* V 1 v. 4, col. III 56), also recorded as a landowner in two financial accounts (*BGU IX* 1895, col. II 21; 1898, col. XII 255),<sup>1045</sup> and a register of taxes paid by the *metropolitai* (*P.Col.* V 1 v. 1b, col. I 21).

12-13. [Δ]ιδύ[μου] τοῦ Ἡρακλεί-|δου: This superintendent, also attested in *P.Oslo.* III 90 (no. 30), 7, is registered as the owner of more than 10 arouras of private land in *BGU IX* 1893, col. XII 406, a roll of AD 149 from Theadelphia, presenting a report of the *sitologi* of the neighbouring village of Βερνικὸς Αἰγιαλοῦ on the daily income from taxes on wheat, barley, and beans.

13-14. Σαβίνου Σου-|χίωνος: Sabinus son of Souchion is also mentioned as a superintendent of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia in *PSI VII* 735 (no. 31), 5.

16. δρυ]μῶν: The word, published as δρυ]μοῦ, should be corrected in δρυ]μῶν according to the palaeographical evidence. The traces belonging to three letters are visible.

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<sup>1045</sup> On the date of *BGU IX* 1898, see France 2000: 97.

The first letter is likely a *mu* joining to the following letter, which, albeit faded, is a large letter with two open circles, likely an *omega*. The last letter, in ligature with the previous one and slightly raised to the upper right, is not V-shaped as an *upsilon* but is composed of three oblique lines like *nu*. Therefore, I have supplied  $\delta\rho\nu\mu\omega\gamma$ ; for a parallel, cf. the shape of  $-\mu\omega\nu$  in l. 15  $\nu\omega\mu\omega\nu$  (Fig. 36).

Fig. 36. *P.Oslo*. III 89, 16  $\delta\rho\nu\mu\omega\gamma$ : a comparison to l. 15  $\nu\omega\mu\omega\nu$



27.  $[\tau\eta(\zeta) \pi]\epsilon\nu\theta(\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu)$ : The supplement of the abbreviation  $\tau\eta(\zeta)$  is based on the parallel sentence in *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31), 16.

### 30. *P.Oslo*. III 90

TM 12579

25 x 7 cm

28 Oct. 138 AD

*P.Oslo*. III 90 is a penthemeros report of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia for the period 26-30 Phaophi of AD 138, directly following *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29). The papyrus, written along the fibres on the *recto* only, has twenty-one lines of handwriting. All margins are preserved, and the lower one is very large. The papyrus is severely damaged. As the gaps on the surface have the same position as those in *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29), *P.Oslo*. III 89 and 90 were likely kept together and preserved on each other. Furthermore, as they have the same format and colour but are not part of a *tomos sunkollesimos*, they seem to have been cut from the same roll and therefore to come from the same scribal environment. This is confirmed by the palaeographical evidence. The handwriting of the first scribe is the same as the first hand in *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29), the second hand belonged to Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros (ll. 17-19), and the third scribe was the custodian Apollonios (ll. 19-21).

The report shows many similarities with *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29) and *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31): they are all addressed to the *strategos* Aelius Numisianus, and were delivered to

Apollonios, the βιβλιοφύλαξ of the βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων in Arsinoe (on him, see the introduction to *P.Oslo*. III 89).

This reedition of the document proposes new readings at ll. 6 and 8-9.

- Αἰλίῳ Νουμισιανῶ στρα(τηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου)  
 Θεμίστ(ου) καὶ Πολέμ(ωνος) μερίδων  
 παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Εὐδαί-  
 μονος καὶ Γαίου Λόγγου τοῦ Διοσκόρου  
 5 καὶ Διδύμου τοῦ Δι[δ]ύμου καὶ  
 Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Πε[τ]ερμ[ού]θεως  
 καὶ Διδύμου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου  
 καὶ μετόχων ἐπιτη(ρητῶν) νομῶν καὶ δρυ-  
 μῶν Θεαδελφείας καὶ Πολυδευκ(είας).  
 10 λόγος τῶν περιγεγονότων  
 ἀπὸ θήρας ἰχθύας ἀπὸ κς̄ ἕως  
 λ̄ τοῦ Φαῶφι μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ(ος)  
 β (ἔτους) Ἄντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος τοῦ  
 κυρίου. ἔστι δὲ κς̄ (δραχμαὶ) μη (πεντώβολον)  
 15 κ[ζ̄] (δραχμαὶ) λς̄ (ὀβολὸς) α κῆ (δραχμαὶ) μδ (ὀβολοὶ) ια  
 κῆ (δραχμαὶ) μη (ὀβολοὶ) κδ λ̄ (δραχμαὶ) λβ (ὀβολὸς) α  
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) σιε. (hd. 2) Πτολεμαῖος Διοδώρ[ου]  
 ἐπιδέδωκα. (ἔτους) β Ἄντωνίῳ Καίσαρος  
 [τοῦ] κυρ[ί]ου Ἀθ[ύ]ρ ᾱ. (hd. 3) Ἀπ[ο]λλώνι[ο]ς  
 20 βιβλιοφύλαξ ἔσχον τούτου  
 τ[ὸ] ἴσον.

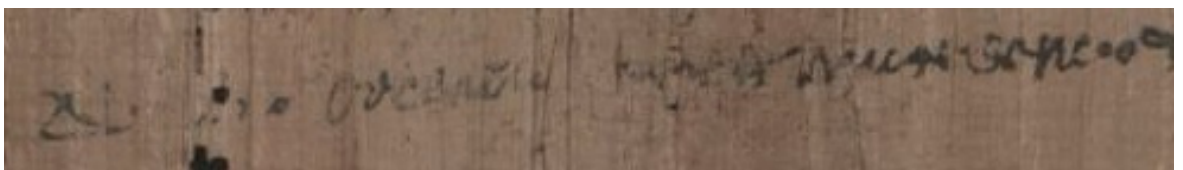
- 1 στρ<sup>ς</sup> pap. ; αρσι<sup>-</sup> pap.      2 θεμιστ pap. ; πολέ<sup>μ</sup> pap. ; μερίδων *ed. pr.*      4 γαίου pap. ;  
 διοσκορο<sup>ν</sup> pap.      6 τοῦ Πα[τ]ερμ[ού]θιος *ed. pr.*      8 μετοχ<sup>ο</sup> pap. ; επιτη<sup>-</sup> pap.      8-9 δρ  
 corr. ex δα : δρυ-|μοῦ *ed. pr.*      9 πολυδευ<sup>κ</sup> pap.      10 λόγος *ed. pr.*      12 ενεστῶ<sup>τ</sup> pap :  
 ἐνεστῶ(τος) *ed. pr.*      13 ς pap.      14 ς pap. ; <sup>ρ</sup> pap.      15 ς pap. ; — pap. ; (ὀβολοὶ) γ *ed. pr.*  
 ; ς pap. ; — pap.      16 ς pap. ; — pap. ; ς pap. ; — pap.      17 | pap. ; ς pap.      18 L pap.  
 19 κυρίου *ed. pr.*      21 ἴσον pap.

“To Aelius Numisianus, *strategos* of the Arsinoites, of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, from Ptolemaios son of Eudaimon, Gaius Longus son of Dioskoros, Didymos son of Didymos, Sarapion son of Petermouthis, Didymos son of Heraklides, and the associate superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia. Account of the revenues over the inspection period in question concerning fishing from the 26<sup>th</sup> up to the 30<sup>th</sup> of the month of Phaophi of the present 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar, the lord. As follows: 26<sup>th</sup> dr. 48 ob. 5; 27<sup>th</sup> dr. 36 ob. 1; 28<sup>th</sup> dr. 44 ob. 11; 29<sup>th</sup> dr. 48 ob. 24; 30<sup>th</sup> dr. 32 ob. 1. Total: dr. 215. (hd. 2) I, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros, have submitted it. Year 2<sup>nd</sup> of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Athyr 1. (hd. 3) I, Apollonios, custodian of the archive, have received a duplicate of this.”

3-7. Five superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia are mentioned in the address of the document. Four of them (Ptolemaios son of Eudaimon, Gaius Longus son of Dioskoros, Didymos son of Didymos, and Didymos son of Heraklides) are also attested in *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29) and *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31), while Ptolemaios son of Eudaimon appears only in the latter document. On the identification of these individuals, see above the commentary to *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29), n. 4-5, 5-6, 11, and 12-13.

6. Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Π[ε]τ[ε]ρμ[ο]ύθ[ε]ως: Sarapion son of Petermouthis is also attested as a landowner, state farmer, and member of the *pittakion* of Heron son of Petesouchos in three administrative registers from Theadelphia dated to AD 155-165.<sup>1046</sup> His son Dionysios is mentioned in a *pittakion* register of payments in kind dated to AD 160-180, *P.Col.* V 1 v. 4, col. V 83, published as Διο[νύ]σιος(ς) Σαραπίωνος [ . . . ] . . . θ πων Θε(αδελφείας) προσ<ό>δ(ου). Based on the digital image of the papyrus, the entry may be supplied as Διο[νύ]σιος(ς) Σαραπίωνος Π[ε]τ[ε]ρμ[ο]ύθ(εως) ἀπὸ τῶν Θε(αδελφείας) προσ<ό>δ(ου) (Fig. 37).

Fig. 37. *P.Col.* V 1 v. 4, col. V 83 Διο[νύ]σιος(ς) Σαραπίωνος Π[ε]τ[ε]ρμ[ο]ύθ(εως) ἀπὸ τῶν Θε(αδελφείας) προσ<ό>δ(ου)



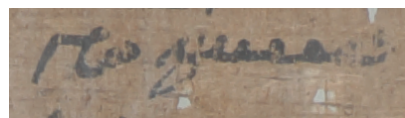
<sup>1046</sup> *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4, v. col. V 15-16; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 33, col. II 24; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 3, col. V 111.

8-9.  $\delta\rho\nu\text{-}\mu\omega\upsilon$ : Based on the palaeographical evidence, the reading  $\delta\rho\nu\text{-}\mu\omega\upsilon$ , proposed in the *editio princeps* at ll. 8-9, should be corrected as  $\delta\rho\nu\text{-}\mu\omega\upsilon$ . At the beginning of l. 9, *mu* is in ligature with a wavy sequence of two letters, likely *omega* and *nu* drafted as a sinusoidal line as was usual in the papyrus documentation from Roman Fayum. The reading is supported by a comparison to  $\nu\omega\mu\omega\nu$  at l. 8 (Fig. 38).

Fig. 38. *P.Oslo*. III 90, 8-9  $\delta\rho\nu\text{-}\mu\omega\upsilon$ : a comparison to  $\nu\omega\mu\omega\nu$  at l. 8



l. 8-9  $\delta\rho\nu\text{-}\mu\omega\upsilon$



l. 8  $\nu\omega\mu\omega\nu$

### 31. *PSI VII 735*

TM 13788

16.4 x 7.3 cm

22 Nov. 138 AD

Image: <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/PSI%20VII%20735%20r.jpg>

*PSI VII 735* is a penthemeros report of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia for the period 21-25 Athyr of AD 138. The papyrus is written along the fibres on the *recto*; the back is blank. Almost complete, it has nineteen lines of handwriting. All margins are preserved; a narrow vertical lacuna runs in the middle of ll. 1-8 and some gaps are in the lower part of the sheet. Two handwritings are distinguishable: the first hand is that of Ptolemaios son of Didodoros alias Dioskoros (ll. 1-18),<sup>1047</sup> the second one belonged to Apollonios, the *boethos* of the public archive in Arsinoe (ll. 18-19).

Like *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29) and 90 (no. 30), this report is addressed to the *strategos* Aelius Numisianus. An Apollonios signs the document at ll. 18-19: although presented here as a *boethos*, he was undoubtedly the same individual qualified as a *bibliophylax* in *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29), 30 and 90 (no. 30), 19-20, because the subscriptions of all three documents share the same handwriting and text. However, the meaning of *boethos* is here unclear. It probably refers to the assistant of the  $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\ \delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\nu$ , since Apollonios,

<sup>1047</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

attested with a higher position one month earlier, likely still worked as a member of the administrative staff the public archive of the nome capital.

- Αἰλίῳ Νομισιανῶ στρα(τηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου)  
 Θεμίστ(ου) κ[α]ὶ Πολέμ(ωνος) μερίδων  
 παρὰ Πτολεμ(αίου) Διοσκ[ό]ρ[ο]υ καὶ  
 Πτολεμα[ίου] Εὐδαίμονος  
 5 καὶ Σαβεῖνου Σουχίωνος καὶ  
 Γαί[ο]υ Λογγεῖ(ου) Κέλερος καὶ Γαίου  
 Λογγεῖνου Πρεῖσκου καὶ με-  
 τόχ(ων) ἐπιτη(ρητῶν) νομῶν καὶ δρυμ[ῶν]  
 Θεαδελφείας καὶ Πολυδευκείας.  
 10 [λ]όγος τῶν περιγεγονότων  
 ἀπὸ θήρας ἰχθύας τῶν ἀ<πὸ> κα  
 ἕως κῆ τοῦ Ἄθῆρ μηνὸς  
 τοῦ β (ἔτους) Ἄντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου. ἔστι δέ. κᾶ (δραχμαὶ) ιε (διώβολον),  
 15 κβ̄ (δραχμαὶ) ιδ (τριώβολον), κγ̄ (δραχμαὶ) ιζ (τετρώβολον), κδ̄ (δραχμαὶ) κβ,  
 κῆ (δραχμαὶ) ια (τριώβολον) (γίνονται) τῆ(ς) πενθ(ημέρου) (δραχμαὶ) πα.  
 (ἔτους) β Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου,  
 Ἄθῆρ κζ̄. (hd. 2) Ἀπολλώνιος βοη-  
 θὸς ἔσχογ τούτου τὸ ἴσον.

1 Νομισιανῶ *ed. pr.* ; στρς *pap.* : στρα(τηγῶ) *ed. pr.* ; αρσῖ *pap.*      2 θεμιστ *pap.* ; κ[(αὶ)] *ed. pr.*  
 ; πολε<sup>m</sup> *pap.* : Πολέ[μ(ωνος)] *ed. pr.* ; μ]ερίδων *ed. pr.*      3 πτολε<sup>m</sup> *pap.* : Πτολεμ(αίου) *ed. pr.* ;  
 Διοσκ[όρου] κ(αὶ) *ed. pr.*      5 κ(αὶ) *ed. pr.* ; τοῦ Χίωνος κ(αὶ) *ed. pr.*      6 γαίου *pap.* ;  
 λογγεῖ<sup>v</sup> *pap.* : Λογγεῖ(νου) *ed. pr.* ; κ(αὶ) *ed. pr.*      7 κ(αὶ) *ed. pr.*      7-8 μετοχ *pap.* ; επιτῆ *pap.*  
 8 κ(αὶ) δρυ[μοῦ] *ed. pr.*      9 κ(αὶ) Πολυδευκείας *ed. pr.*      11 ἀπὸ *ed. pr.* ; ἰχθυασ *pap.*      13  
 ς *pap.* ; Κ(αί)σαρος *ed. pr.*      14 ς *pap.* ; = *pap.*      15 ς *pap.* ; / *pap.* ; ς *pap.* ; / *pap.* ; ς *pap.*  
 ; — *pap.*      16 ς *pap.* ; / *pap.* ; | *pap.* ; τη *pap.* ; πεν<sup>θ</sup> *pap.* : πενθ(ημερίας) *ed. pr.* ; ς *pap.*      17  
 L *pap.* ; Κ(αί)σαρος *ed. pr.*      19 ἴσον *pap.*

“To Aelius Numisianus, *strategos* of the Arsinoites, of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, from Ptolemaios son of Dioskoros, Ptolemaios son of Eudaimon, Sabinus son of

Souchion, Gaius Longinus Celer, Gaius Longinus Priscus, and the associate superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia. Account of the revenues over the inspection period in question concerning fishing from the 21<sup>st</sup> up to the 25<sup>th</sup> of the month of Athyr of the present 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar, the lord. As follows: 21<sup>st</sup> dr. 15 ob. 2; 22<sup>nd</sup> dr. 14 ob. 3; 23<sup>rd</sup> dr. 17 ob. 4; 24<sup>th</sup> dr. 22; 25<sup>th</sup> dr. 11 ob. 3. Total of the penthemeros account: dr. 81. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Athyr 26. (hd. 2) I, Apollonios, assistant, have received a duplicate of this.”

4-7. This group of *epiteretai* of pastures and marshes is also attested in *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29) and 90 (no. 30). On Ptolemaios son of Eudaimon, see *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29) n. 4-5; on Sabinus son of Souchion, see below n. 5; on Gaius Longinus Celer and Gaius Longinus Priscus, see *P.Oslo*. III 89 (n. 29), n. 8-10.

5. Σαβείνου Σουχίωτος: Based on the digital image of the papyrus, the reading τῶ Χίωτος, proposed in the *editio princeps* of the document, should be corrected in Σουχίωτος. The first letter looks like a horizontal trace; as it may be compared to the upper line of the initial letter of Σαβείνου, it is likely a *sigma* (Fig. 39).

The new reading allows us to identify this superintendent of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia with the homonymous liturgist found in *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29), 13-14.

Fig. 39. *PSI VII 735*, 5 Σουχίωτος



6. Λογγεῖ(ου): Even though the name was previously published as Λογγεῖ(ου), it may be corrected in Λογγεῖ(ου) according to the palaeographical evidence: after the sinusoidal line belonging to the diphthong *epsilon-iota*, there is a letter raised to the upper right to mark the abbreviation. Since this letter consists of two vertical lines connected by an upper horizontal, it is likely to be a *nu* (Fig. 40).

Fig. 40. *PSI VII 735*, 6 Λογγεῖ(ου)





32. *P.Mich.* III 174, before the fall of AD 144<sup>1048</sup>

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/api/image/apis/X-1449/147R.TIF/full/large/0/native.jpg>

“To Lucius Valerius Proculus, prefect of Egypt. From Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, an inhabitant of the Arsinoite nome. Since your inbred kindness, my lord prefect, extends to all, I too ask to share it. There is in the nome a certain class of men who are called sailordivers. These, being public officers and in the service of the water administration and in attendance on the shore-guards and cultivation inspectors for the time being, are therefore relieved of all poll taxes and all public services and are also fed at the public expense; and accordingly they are absolutely forbidden to take up any other employment. One of these, a certain Isidoros, son of Mareis, a man of very bold and reckless character who, by means of suborned agents, counterfeits royal leases for the sake of extortion and gain—as I shall prove also on the day of trial—made an attack on me through one of his suborned agents, a certain Ammonios, surnamed Kaboi, a culpable fellow who had been proscribed on account of his lawless life. Notwithstanding that I am a lessee of domain land who paid considerable revenues to the imperial treasury and offered considerable security for the lease, he refused to let me enjoy my lease and even excluded me from my house and insulted me until he extorted money from me. I have therefore had recourse to you, the helper of all, and beg you, since you have for the present renounced your visit to the nome, to give orders for a letter to be written to the *strategos* of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon to hear me against him, since I can bring proofs on the spot concerning my being insulted and subjected to extortion, so that I may be able to live unmolested in my home during the most happy times of our exalted emperor, and your delightful prefecture, and may obtain relief. Farewell. (hd. 2) I, Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros, have presented the petition, as aforesaid. (hd. 3) The *strategos* of the nome will do what is proper. (hd. 4) Return it.”<sup>1049</sup>

33. *P.Wisc.* I 34

TM 13710

27.7 x 14.6 cm

3 Nov. 144 AD

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<sup>1048</sup> On the date of *P.Mich.* III 174, see Dolganov 2021: 357-358 n. 10. A reedition of the text will be proposed by A. Dolganov in a forthcoming article.

<sup>1049</sup> Translation by A. Verhoogt; see Verhoogt 2017: 126.

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-5410>

*P.Wisc.* I 34 is a composite document, including a petition and a letter, firstly published by Sijpesteijn in 1967. The papyrus has twenty-eight lines of writing on the *recto*, and a few traces of a deleted text on the *verso*. It preserves all margins, but the bottom of the left section of the sheet is broken. Two handwritings may be discerned. The first one (ll. 1-16) is the well-trained cursive of the petitioner, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros.<sup>1050</sup> The second one (ll. 17- 28) is a smaller and faster professional hand, belonging to the addressee Aelius Heraclitus, the assistant of the *procurator usiacus*, who added a letter containing his answer at the end of the petition.

In this petition, Ptolemaios complained of the inefficiency of the shore-guard (*agialophylax*) Apollonios, who did not supply the amount of water necessary for the maintenance of the *drymos*. The document, preserved in two copies (*P.Wisc.* I 34 and 35), is similar in content to *P.Wisc.* I 31 (no. 48) and *P.Mich* XI 617 (no. 35), two other petitions against the same individual, repeatedly accused of neglecting the water supply: Ptolemaios aimed at pressuring the adversary through persisting petitioning against him.<sup>1051</sup>

In this reedition of *P.Wisc.* I 34, I have provided new readings of the corrections and abbreviations in the text (ll. 11, 15, 18, 26, and 28) and supplied the text at ll. 9 and 15.

Αἰλίῳ Ἡρακλείτῳ βοηθῷ Αἰλίου Ἐγλέκτου  
ἐπιτρόπου τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος  
παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου  
μισθωτοῦ δρυμοῦ κώμης Θεαδελφείας. τῶν  
5 συνήθων ὑδάτων δεόντων κατελθεῖν  
εἰς τὸν προκιμένον δρυμὸν ἕως πλήσθη, μέχ<ρι>  
νῦν οὐκ ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύει ἀποξηρανθῆ-  
ν[α]ι, ὅθεν ἀξιῶ σε ἐπιστῖλαι τῷ αἰγιαλοφύλακι  
ἐ[ρ]αοτᾶσε, ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀμέλῳ τις γένηται τῶν ὑδά-  
10 [τ]ῶν καὶ μὴ πλήσθη καθὼς ἔθος ἐστί, οὐ μό-  
νον τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτι βλάβος ἐπακολουθῆ, τοῦ [[γὰρ]]  
[δρυμοῦ μισ]θωθέντος ἀλλὰ ἔτη τρία ἄφορος

<sup>1050</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1051</sup> Kelly 2011: 280-281.

- [γίνεται]. ἀξιῶ οὖν, κύρ[ι]ε, φανερόν [τ]ῷ αἰγιαλοφύλα-  
 [κι ποιήσα]ι, ἵν' ἐὰν ἔνε[κ]α ἀμελίας βλάβος τι γένηται,  
 15 [ἔχιν μ]ὲ [πρὸς αὐτὸν [τὸ]ν] λόγον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρατίσ-  
 [του ἐπ]ιτρόπου. (ἔτους) η // Ἄθῆρ ζ̄.  
 [(hd. 2) -ca.?- ]. Αἴλιος Ἡράκ(λειτος) Ἀπολλωνίῳ αἰγιαλοφύλακ(ι)  
 [τῷ] φιλτάτῳ χαί(ρην). οὐ προσεδόκησα καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
 [δρυ]μοῦ ἀξιωθήσεσθαι, ἵνα παράσχη αὐτῷ  
 20 [τὰ α]ὐτάρκη ὕδατα ὡς ὁ μισθωτῆς αὐτοῦ  
 [Πτολε]μαῖος ἠξίωσεν. ἀκόλουθον γὰρ ἦν  
 [τῇ ἐ]πιμελείᾳ σου [κ]αὶ τούτου πρὶν ἀξ[ι]ῶσαί τινα  
 [φρον]τίσαι. εἰ δέ τ[ι μ]έχ[ρι] νῦν ἐμποδὼν ἐγένετο  
 [ἢ ἄλλο] τι τῶν μάλλ[ό]ν σοι δοκούντων ἐπείγειν, ὑπέρ-  
 25 [θε]σιγ πληρώσει τοῦ δρυμοῦ παρέσχεν ἀλλὰ  
 [καὶ νῦν], ἀδελφέ, φρόντισον, ὥστε τὰ συνήθη ὕδατα  
 [αὐτῷ] παρασχεθῆναι. ἐρρώσθαί σε εὔχομ(αι) φίλτατε.  
 [(ἔτους) η Ἄντων(ίνου) // Ἄθῆρ ζ̄.

6 μέχρι *ed. pr.*            7 εσχεν corr. ex σσχεν            8 οθεν corr. ex οοεν ; 1. ἐπιστεῖλαι : ἐπιστεῖλαι  
*ed. pr.*            9 1. ἐρωτήσαι : γ[ράμ]ματα {σε} *ed. pr.* ; 1. ἀμέλειά            10-11 μό-[ν]ον *ed. pr.*  
 11 1. ἔτει ; 1. ἐπακολουθεῖ ; γὰρ *ed. pr.*            14 1. ἀμελείας            15 1. [ἔχει]ν ; [ . . . . . ] μ]ὲ πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν [ἔχι]ν *ed. pr.*            16 L pap.            17 ηρ<sup>κ</sup> pap. ; αἰγιαλοφυλα<sup>κ</sup> pap.            18 χ<sup>ς</sup> pap. :  
 χ[αίρει]ν *ed. pr.*            19 1. ἀξιωθήσεσθαι            20 αὐτ[οῦ] *ed. pr.*            24 ἄλλ]ο *ed. pr.*            24-  
 25 ὑπέρ-[θεσι]ν τῇ *ed. pr.*            26 συνήθη *ed. pr.*            27 ευχο<sup>μ</sup> pap. : εὔχο(μαι) *ed. pr.*            28  
 Ἄντω(νίνου) Ἄθῆρ *ed. pr.*

“To Aelius Heraclitus, assistant of Aelius Eklektos, *procurator* of Caesar the lord, from Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, leaseholder of the marsh of the village of Theadelphia. Although the usual amount of water should flow to the above-mentioned marsh, until it is filled, it has not so far received it, but is in danger of drying out. Therefore, I request you to send a letter to the shore-guard to ask that, if neglect of water-supply occurs and it is not filled in the usual manner, the consequence will not only be damage for next year, as the marsh has after all been leased, but it will be without yield for three years. I therefore request you, lord, to make it clear to the shore-guard, in order that, if damage arises from neglect, I have remedy against him with the egregious procurator. Year 8, the 7th Hathyr.

(hd. 2) Aelius Heraclitus to Apollonius, shore-guard, my most beloved, greetings. I had not expected that a petition would reach me concerning the marsh for you to supply the adequate amount of water as Ptolemaios, the leaseholder thereof has requested me. For it was indeed appropriate to your diligence to [take care] of this before somebody asked. But if something was presenting an impediment up until now, [or something else] that seemed to you to be more pressing caused a delay in the filling of the marsh, take care [now at least], brother, that the usual amount of water is provided to it. I pray that you are in good health, my most beloved. Year 8 of Antoninus, Hathyr 7.”

9. ἐ[ρ]αοτᾶσε: Based on the palaeographical evidence, the reading γ[ράμ]ματα {σε}, published in the first edition of the document,<sup>1052</sup> should be corrected as ἐ[ρ]αοτᾶσε. At the beginning of the line, there is a curved line belonging to an *epsilon*. Afterward, a small gap of one missing letter is followed by a horizontal curved line, likely to be part of *alpha* and followed by an *omicron*. Next, the sequence -τα may be read (Fig. 41). The supplement ἐ[ρ]αοτᾶσε is supported by *P.Wisc.* I 35, a duplicate of *P.Wisc.* I 34; for the interpretation of the word, see the commentary to *P.Wisc.* I 35 (no. 33), 11.

Fig. 41. *P.Wisc.* I 34, 9 ἐ[ρ]αοτᾶσε



11. [[γὰρ]]: Above the slightly abraded writing of γὰρ, three dots are visible (Fig. 42). As they were written in the same ink as the letters below, they were probably used to delete the sequence γὰρ. In Greek papyri a dot added above a letter was a common type of erasure.<sup>1053</sup>

Fig. 42. *P.Wisc.* I 34, 11 [[γὰρ]]

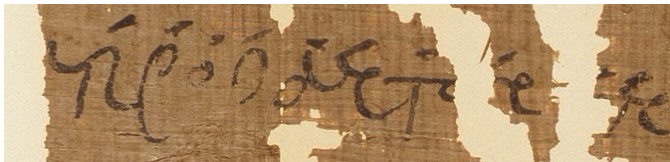


<sup>1052</sup> *P.Wisc.* I: p. 124.

<sup>1053</sup> Turner 1984: 224; Wilcken 2010: 56.

15. [ἔχιν μ]ἔ [πρὸς αὐτὸν [τὸ]ν]: Based on the palaeographical analysis of the digital image of *P.Wisc.* I 34, the beginning of line 15, published as [ . . . . . μ]ἔ πρὸς αὐτὸν [ἔχιν]ν, should be revalued in some aspects. Firstly, in the lacuna on the left edge, ca. 5 letters are missing. Secondly, the gap after αὐτὸν is very tiny, including 2 letters at most. Thirdly, the whole sequence πρὸς αὐτὸν [..]ν was deleted through many dots added above the letters (for this type of correction, see the commentary to 11. [γὰρ]) (Fig. 43). Thus, by comparison to the copy of this petition and in compliance with its syntactical order (*P.Wisc.* I 35, col. I 19 ἔχιν μὲ λόγον), I have supplied [ἔχιν μ]ἔ [πρὸς αὐτὸν [τὸ]ν], with the article agreed with the subsequent λόγον.

Fig. 43. *P.Wisc.* I 34, 15 [ἔχιν μ]ἔ [πρὸς αὐτὸν [τὸ]ν]



18. χ[αίρει]ν: Although the greetings formula, proper of epistolary documents, was read in full as χ[αίρει]ν, it seems to be in abbreviation χαί(ρην). A long vertical line, similar to that of the cursive writing of καί (l. 18), is indeed visible on the lower edge of the gap. For a palaeographical comparison, see *PSI* VI 692, r. 2 and *P.Wisc.* I 31, v. 4 (Fig. 44).

Fig. 44. *P.Wisc.* I 34, 18 χαί(ρην)



*P.Wisc.* I 34, 18



*PSI* VI 692, r. 2



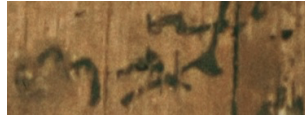
*P.Wisc.* I 31, v. 4

27. εὐχομ(αι): As usual, the *formula valetudinis* was added at the end of the letter. The reading of the sentence, published as ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχο(μαι), is inaccurate, as a *mu* is visible above *omicron* in the abbreviation εὐχομ(αι). As parallels for this abbreviation, cf. *P.Fay.* 344, v. 4 and *BGU* XI 2060, 7 (Fig. 45).

Fig. 45. *P.Wisc.* I 34, 27 εὐχομ(αι)



*P.Wisc.* I 34, 27



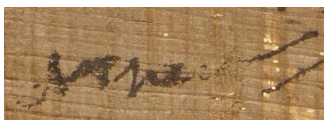
*P.Fay.* 344, v. 4



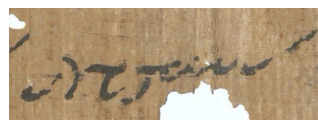
*BGU XI* 2060, 7

28. Ἄντων(ίνου): The name of the emperor, erroneously read as Ἄντω(ίνου) by Sijpesteijn, is abbreviated as Ἄντων(ίνου), because a very cursive *nu* is also legible. For this shape of abbreviation, see *BGU XIII* 2298, 2 and *Stud.Pal.* XXII 159, 2 (Fig. 46).

Fig. 46. *P.Wisc.* I 34, 28 Ἄντων(ίνου)



*P.Wisc.* I 34, 28



*BGU XIII* 2298, 2



*Stud.Pal.* XXII 159, 2

### 34. *P.Wisc.* I 35

TM 13711

13.9 x 21.9 cm

After 3 Nov. 144 AD

*P.Wisc.* I 35, published by Sijpesteijn in 1967, is a copy of *P.Wisc.* I 34 (no. 33), which includes a petition of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros and a letter. The papyrus is written along the fibres on the *recto* only; the *verso* is blank. It has thirty-nine lines of writing, arranged in two columns (Col. I = ll. 1-20; Col. II = ll. 21-39), with an intercolumn of ca. 1.7 cm. The papyrus is almost complete as it preserves all margins. A *kollesis* at 7 cm from the left edge is visible. The handwriting is expert, rounded, and slow, similar to the literary hands of the Roman period, even in the use of apices at the end of hastas.<sup>1054</sup>

The document is not the exact copy of *P.Wisc.* I 34 (no. 33). The main differences concern phonetic aspects (l. 7-8 προκειμέ-|νον; l. 10-11 ἐπιστεῖ-|λαι; l. 13 ἐστίν; l. 16 γέινεται; l. 18 ἀμελείας; l. 25 ἀξιωθήσασθαι; l. 33 ἐπίγιν), and abbreviations (l. 23 χαίρειν; l. 37 εὔχ(ομαι)). Moreover, some words have been changed from the original text (l. 8-9 σή-|μερον instead of νῦν; l. 34 προσχεῖν instead of παρέσχεν), and there are omissions and additions (l. 25 ἴν<α> ; l. 33 τῆ).

<sup>1054</sup> Cavallo 2011: 112.

In this reedition of *P.Wisc. I 35*, I have revalued the text and proposed a new reading of 1. 11.

Col. I

ἀντίγραφον ἀξιώσεως.  
Αἰλίωι Ἡρακλείτῳ βοηθῷ Αἰλίου  
Ἐγλέκτου ἐπιτρόπου τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος  
παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ  
5 Διοσκόρου μισθωτοῦ δρυμοῦ κώμης  
Θεαδελφ[ε]ίας. τῶν συνήθων ὑδάτων  
δεόντων κατελθεῖν εἰς τὸν προκειμέ-  
νον δρυμὸν ἕως πλήσθη, μέχρι σή-  
μερον οὐκ ἔσχευ, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύει ἀπο-  
10 ξηρανθῆναι, ὅθεν ἀξιῶ σε ἐπιστεῖ-  
λαι τῷ αἰγιαλοφ[ύ]λακι ἐραοτάσε ὅτι,  
ἐὰν ἀμελία τις γ[έν]ηται τῶν ὑδάτων  
καὶ μὴ πλήσ[θη] καθὼς ἔθος ἐστίν,  
οὐ μόνον τῷ ἐξ[ῆ]ς ἔτι βλά[βο]ς ἐπακο-  
15 λουθί, τοῦ γὰρ δρυμοῦ μισθωθέντος  
ἀλλὰ ἔτη τρία ἀφορο[ς] γίνεταί. ἀξιῶ  
οὖν, κύριε, φανερόν τῷ αἰγιαλοφύλακι  
ποιῆσαι, ἵνα, ἐὰν ἔνεκα ἀμελείας βλάβος  
τι γένηται, ἔχιν μὲ λόγον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρατίσ-  
20 του ἐπιστρατήγου. (ἔτους) η̄ // Ἀθῶρ ζ̄.

Col. II

ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστάλματος.  
Αἴλιος Ἡράκλιτος Ἀπολλωνίῳ  
αἰγιαλοφύλακι τῷ φιλότατῳ χαίρειν.  
οὐ προσεδόκησα καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
25 δρυμοῦ ἀξιωθήσασθαι, ἵνα<α> παρά-  
σχη αὐτῷ τὰ αὐτάρκη ὑδάτα ὥς  
ὁ μισθωτῆς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος  
ἠξίωσεν. ἀκόλουθον γὰρ ἦν

τῆ ἐπιμελείᾳ σου καὶ τούτου πρὶν  
 30 ἀξιῶσαί τινα φροντίσαι. εἰ δὲ τι  
 μέχρι νῦν ἐνποδῶν ἐγένετο  
 ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν μᾶλλον σοι δοκούν-  
 των ἐπίγιν, ὑπέρθεσιν τῆ πληρώ-  
 σι τοῦ δρυμοῦ προσχεῖν ἀλλὰ  
 35 καὶ νῦν, ἀδελφέ, φρόντισον ὅσ-  
 τε τὰ συνήθη ὕδατα αὐτῷ παρασ-  
 χεθῆναι. ἐρρώσθαί σε εὐχ(ομαι) φίλτατε.  
 (ἔτους) ἠ̄ // Ἀθὺρ ζ̄.

7-8 προκιμέ- νον <i>ed. pr.</i>	11 l. ἐρωτήσαι : γράμματα {σε} <i>ed. pr.</i>	12 l. ἀμέλειά	14 l.
ἔτει	14-15 l. ἐπακο- λουθεῖ	18 ἴνα <i>pap.</i>	19 l. ἔχειν
Ἡράκλειτος <i>ed. pr.</i>	25 l. ἀξιωθήσεσθαι	33 l. ἐπέγειν : ἐπίγειν <i>ed. pr.</i>	22
34 l. πληρώσει	34 l. παρέσχεν	38 L <i>pap.</i>	33-

For the translation, see *P.Wisc.* I 34 (no. 33).

11. ἐρασιῶσε: The word at the end of the line, published as γράμματα {σε}, is palaeographically unconvincing. As the first letter looks like a curved vertical with a horizontal line that joins to the following *rho*, the beginning of the word is probably ερ- (for the shape of *epsilon-rho*, see Fig. 47). Between ερ- and -τασε, two letters partially faded are visible, likely *alpha* and *omicron*. As for the following σε, it has been previously interpreted as a mistake. However, if σε had been an unmeaningful addition, it would have been deleted in *P.Wisc.* I 34 (no. 33) and not copied in *P.Wisc.* I 35. Thus, I have considered σε as a part of the sentence rather than a scribal error.

The reading ερασιῶσε is meaningless and should be the wrong spelling of another term. Since in the language of the papyri *omega* was interchangeable with *alpha* and *omicron*,<sup>1055</sup> and *epsilon* usually corresponded to the diphthong *alpha-iota*,<sup>1056</sup> ερασιῶσε may be a mistake for the infinitive ἐρωτήσαι. The word, only attested in three papyri of the Roman period,<sup>1057</sup> was unusual and this would explain the unfamiliarity of the scribe with its spelling. Further

<sup>1055</sup> Gignac 1976: 275-277 and 288-289.

<sup>1056</sup> Gignac 1976: 191-193.

<sup>1057</sup> *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 26; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2996, 35; *SB* XXVI 16608, 6-7.

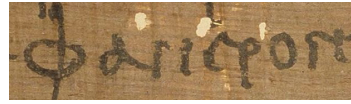


support for this reconstruction comes from the common phraseology of the petitions in the Roman period: the expression ἀξιῶ σε ἐπιστεῖλαι was usually followed by the dative of person and the infinitive.<sup>1058</sup>

Fig. 47. The shape of *epsilon-rho* in *P.Wisc. I 35*



l. 11 ἐραστᾶσε



l. 17 φανερὸν



l. 24 περὶ

### 35. *P.Mich. XI 617*, fall of AD 145<sup>1059</sup>

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/api/image/apis/X-1650/282R.TIF/full/large/0/native.jpg>

“To [Theon], *strategos* of the Themistou and Polemonos Merides of the Arsinoite nome, from Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros also called Dioskoros, lessee of the marsh belonging to the imperial domain land in the neighborhood village of Theadelphia and of other properties. I approached the shore-guard Apollonios and the district *katasporeus* many times and had many confrontations with him (the shore-guard) when he was in the village, (requesting) that they supply the customary and sufficient water to the aforesaid marsh while the Nile was still at its height and before the water should go into the fields; but up to now I have been put off by them and they have refused to supply (the water), although the most sacred Nile has brought an excellent flood and ought to benefit the entire nome. The marsh therefore remains up to today in the greatest need; for the water coming from run-off was of no great quantity and was without gonos, and had received nothing of metra. As I can find no rest because of this, I request that a duplicate of this communication be delivered to the shore-guard and to Tyrannos, the *katasporeus* of the district, by one of the assistants of your office, in order that the marsh may be filled or they may know that if indeed any damage results from this cause they will be called to account before the most illustrious prefect and his excellency the procurator; for once the aforesaid marsh has dried down to the ground and

<sup>1058</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Fam.Tebt.* 43, r. col. II 23-25 ἀξιῶ σε ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ | τῆς Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου | στρατηγῷ πέμψαι.

<sup>1059</sup> On the date of *P.Mich. XI 617*, see Dolganov 2021: 357-358 n. 10. A reedition of the text will be proposed by A. Dolganov in a forthcoming article.

the gonos and metrai have been reduced, damage will result not to this year's rent only, but there will result damage for the next three years, till the marsh receives gonos and metrai for growth. I retain my claims against the shore-guard concerning the . . . injunction about the marsh for the past eighth year, for trial before his excellency the *epistrategos*.”<sup>1060</sup>

### 36. *P.Wisc. I 36*

TM 13712

21.1 x 17.5 cm

9 July 147 AD

*P.Wisc. I 36* is a census declaration from Theadelphia dated to 9 July 147 AD, firstly published by Sijpesteijn in 1967. Twenty lines of writing run along the fibres on the *recto*; the back of the papyrus has a few traces seemingly unrelated to the text on the *recto*. The document is almost complete, as it preserves all margins, but many tiny holes are scattered mainly on the left side of the sheet. Five vertical fold lines are visible at 1.5, 3.7, 6.3, 10, and 14 cm from the right edge. The first handwriting is the well-trained cursive of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros (ll. 1-18);<sup>1061</sup> a second hand, appearing in the subscription and the date at the end of the document (ll. 19-20), should belong to Heras, the *komogrammateus* of Theadelphia in AD 146-147,<sup>1062</sup> or to his secretary Dios.

The declarant is Sambathion daughter of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, acting under the guardianship of her brother Ptolemaios. She registered a house in the village, the residents of which were her brother Ptolemaios, his wife Anoubiaine alias Achillis, and their son Heron alias Dioskoros. Therefore, this document represents the main source on the household of the protagonist of the archive.<sup>1063</sup>

In the reedition of the text presented below, I have corrected the subscription of the *komogrammateus* at l. 19 by adding the abbreviation γρ(αμματέως), which had been omitted in the *editio princeps*.

Θέωνι στρατηγῷ Ἀρσι(νοΐτου) Θεμίστ(ου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδ(ων)

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<sup>1060</sup> Translation by Shelton; see *P.Mich.* XI: p. 53.

<sup>1061</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1062</sup> See Table 4. 2. The *komogrammateis* attested in Theadelphia in the second century AD.

<sup>1063</sup> On the family of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter VII 1. *Ptolemaios Son of Diodoros Alias Dioskoros, and His Family: Genealogy and Socio-Economic Status*.

- καὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ βασι(λικῶ) γραμματεῖ Θεμιστ(ου) μερίδ(ος)  
καὶ Ἡρᾶ κω[μ]ωγράφ(αμματεῖ) Θεαδελφείας καὶ Ἡρωνι καὶ Σατα-  
βοῦτι καὶ μετόχ(οις) λαογράφοις τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) κώμης
- 5 παρὰ Σαμβαθίου τῆς Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσ-  
κόρου τοῦ Πετεσούχου μη(τρὸς) Ἰσιδώρας τῶν ἀπὸ  
κώμης Θεαδελφείας μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πτο-  
λεμαίου ἀπογεγραμμένης καὶ ἐπὶ κώμης Ἀπιάδος.  
[ὕ]πάρχει μοι κ[α]ὶ ἐν τῇ προκειμένη κώμῃ Θεαδελφεία
- 10 ἀγοραστὴ οἰκία, ἐν ἣ ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὴν τοῦ  
διεληλυθότος θ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφὴν ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμένης  
κώμης Θεαδελφείας τὸν προγεγραμμένον μου  
ὀμοπάτριον καὶ ὀμομήτριον ἀδελφὸν Πτολεμαῖον
- 15 (ἐτῶν) λε κ[α]ὶ τὸν τούτου υἱὸν γενάμενον αὐτῷ  
ἐκ τῆς συνούσης \καὶ προούσης/ αὐτῷ γυναικὸς Ἀνουβιαίνης  
τῆς καὶ Ἀχιλίδος ἀστῆς Διόσκορον τὸν καὶ Ἡρω-  
να (ἐτῶν) γ. δι[ὸ] ἐπιδίδωμι τὴν ἀπογραφὴν.  
(hd. 2) Ἡρᾶς κωμωγράφ(αμματεὺς) Θεαδελ(φείας) δι(ὰ) Δίου γραμματέως) ἔσχο(ν) τὸ  
ἴσον. (ἔτους) ι Ἀντωνίνου
- 20 Κ[αί]σ[α]ρος τοῦ κυρ[ίου] Ἐπειφ ιε̅.

1 αρσῖ pap. ; θεμιστ<sup>τ</sup> pap. ; πο<sup>λ</sup> pap. ; μεριδ pap.      2 βασῖ pap. ; γρ<sup>ς</sup> pap. ; θεμιστ<sup>τ</sup> pap. ; μεριδ pap.  
3 κω[μ]ωγράφ pap. : l. κω[μ]ωγράφ(αμματεῖ)      4 μετο<sup>χ</sup> pap. ; αυτ pap.      5 Σαμβαθίου BL 7.100  
: Σαμ . . . μου *ed. pr.*      6 μη pap.      9 l. προκειμένη      11ς pap.      12 l. προκειμένης  
15 L pap. ; λε BL 10.114 : κε *ed. pr.*      17 l. Ἀχιλλίδος      18 L pap. ; γ *ed. pr.* : or [ι]γ BL  
10.114      19 κωμογράφ pap. : l. κωμογράφ(αμματεὺς) ; θεαδ<sup>λ</sup>ε δυ pap. ; γρ<sup>ς</sup> pap. ; εσχ<sup>ο</sup> pap. : ἔσχ<sup>ο</sup>/ν  
*ed. pr.* ; L pap.

“To Theon, *strategos* of the Arsinoites, of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, to Artemidoros, *basilikos grammateus* of the division of Themistos, to Heras, *komogrammateus* of Theadelphia, and Heron and Satabus and the associate *laographoi* of the same village, from Sambathion, daughter of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, the son of Petesuchos, her mother being Isidora from the people of the village of Theadelphia, her guardian being Ptolemaios, registered also in the village of Alias. I own in the aforesaid

village of Theadelphia a bought house, in which I declare for the property return of the past 9<sup>th</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar, the lord, in the aforesaid village of Theadelphia my above-registered brother from the same father and mother, Ptolemaios, 35 years old, and his son, born to him from his present wife, living with him, Anubiaine alias Achillis, citizen, Dioskoros alias Heron, 3 years old. Therefore I submit the property return. I, Heras, *komogrammateus* of Theadelphia, have received a copy through the secretary Dios. In the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar, the lord, Epeiph 15<sup>th</sup>.

19. γρ(αμματέως): After Δίου the sequence γρ-, followed by a sinusoidal line, is visible; thus, I have supplied the abbreviation γρ(αμματέως) (Fig. 48 below). It refers to Dios, acting as a secretary of the *komogrammateus* Heron.

19. ἔσχο(v): On this shape of the abbreviation, cf. *e.g. P.Prag.* I 22, 12; *SB XII* 11070, 1; 11072, 1; 11073, 1.

Fig. 48. *P.Wisc.* I 36, 19 δι(ὰ) Δίου γρ(αμματέως) ἔσχο(v) τὸ ἴσον



37. *PSI XVII* 1689, before Sept. - Oct. 147 AD<sup>1064</sup>

Image: <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/PSI%20XVII%201689%20recto.jpg>

“... our father borrowed from Kapitolinos son of Diodoros a sum of money, of which he provided triple interest while he was alive, and after his death he continued to provide for a further time [...] failing to mention [...] his brother heir [...] norms [...] acknowledging that neither the instalments [...] nor what [was repaid] of the sum, [to] steal our properties [...] with a false document. So if you [consider it appropriate] to order [...] that we [become

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<sup>1064</sup> On supplements to the text, see Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 207-208.

accountable...], and the adversary [does not appear], [...] he shall be commanded [to appear] at your sacred and inviolable court [and ...], so that we may be benefitted. Farewell.

38. P.Col. inv. 28, Sept. - Oct. 147 AD<sup>1065</sup>

“To Publius Calvisius Patrophilus, *vir egregius, iuridicus*, from Pamphilos alias Sokrates and Soterichos alias Dioskourides and Anoubiaine alias Achillis, all three children of Asklepiades, son of Pamphilos, of the Sosikosmian tribe and Althaeian deme, through their dispatched friend Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros. Since we are young and, standing in need of your exceeding hatred-of-evil, our lord, we have sent you this petition reporting the events from the beginning. For when he was still alive, our afore-mentioned father borrowed from Kapitolinos son of Diodoros three thousand and five hundred drachmas already in the fourth year of the deified Hadrian, and later, in the ninth year, the same father returned out of the principal 1,700 drachmas and the interest of the entire principal in full, so that out of the 3,500 drachmas he (Kapitolinos) was still owed 1,800 drachmas. And after that, as long as he was still alive, our said father continued making payments on account of the interest bit by bit. And after he had died, in the twentieth year, we too have regularly paid until now in as much as it was possible. Since, then, the aforesaid Kapitolinos was also long dead, leaving as heir his brother Ptolemaios, we continued to make payments to that person in the same manner as well, so that what our father has paid back on account of the interest of the aforementioned 1,800 drachmas, and what we have paid on the same debt, totals on account of interest 4,900 drachmas and more. But Ptolemaios reckons fraudulently, and [not acknowledging the payment that was discharged in the ninth year?] of the deified Hadrian ...”<sup>1066</sup>

39. SB XX 14401, 19 Oct. 147 AD<sup>1067</sup>

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-1602>

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<sup>1065</sup> The first edition of this papyrus has been published by U. Yiftach; see Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 196-198.

<sup>1066</sup> Translation by U. Yiftach; see Yiftach-Firanko 2020: 198.

<sup>1067</sup> Translation by Hagedorn 1991: 253-254; Dolganov 2021: 369. A reedition of the text will be proposed by A. Dolganov in a forthcoming article.

“To Publius Marcus (sic) Crispus. *vir egregius, epistrategus*, from Ptolemaeus son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros of those from the Arsinoite. Worst of all offences in life is for free men to be beaten and outraged, particularly by cheap slaves or indeed by those who work for hire. This is worse than utter insolence. Although we have often wanted to get legal satisfaction, lord, we are at a loss because of being far from justice here. One of these men is Ptolemaeus, son of a certain Pappus ex-gymnasiarch, from the same Arsinoite nome, reckless in his conduct and violent, leading the life of a moneylender and committing every impious and forbidden act, by demanding interest at the rate of a stater per mina per month by virtue of the power he has in the nome, in disregard of the prefects' decisions and the ordinances of the emperors. I too among those against whom he has committed the same act. And he exacts interest at a stater per mina per month by descending into the villages with a gang and committing very many acts of outrage against the men he lights upon. Accordingly having likewise committed groundless acts of outrage against me too, lord, via those under him. And if I should ever wish to petition the *strategos* concerning his violence, this man brings along his fellow officeholders to the headquarters of the *strategos* and these are the people who sit on his *consilium* when he gives judgment. As a result of this we are not getting legal satisfaction. And I shall lay evidence how having made a loan in one village, by successively getting three and a half obols as interest at a stater per mina per month, he is collecting annually half as much again. You will also find from others that he has got eight times the capital from someone else in a few years, although it is forbidden for anyone to exact more interest than the sum of the capital over the whole period of the loan. Accordingly since such persons ought to meet with a deterrent, I have had recourse to you the benefactor of all, that in the most gracious times of our lord Antoninus (I may be able) to remain in my place of residence and that you may order written instructions to be sent to the strategus of the meris of Heraklides so that I may be kept free from threats and acts of outrage by Ptolemaeus, and that the interest (which) I have paid in excess of a drachma per mina per month be credited for me against the principal, and if it is apparent that I owe him anything after this, I shall undertake to repay him in a reasonable manner. And that for proof of the aforementioned matters the strategus give orders for a certain Aphrodisius and Zoilus, who are in his pay, to be brought before him, along with those who are innocent of the exaction of interest, taking surety from them for your investigation, and as a result of this that person's private intrigue will be made apparent, in order that I may be benefitted by you. Farewell.

(hd. 2) Year 11, Phaophi 21. Make application to the strategus. (hd. 3) Deliver to the petitioner.”<sup>1068</sup>

40. *P.Wisc.* I 33, after 19 Oct. AD 147<sup>1069</sup>

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-5409>

“To Marcus Petronius Honoratus, prefect of Egypt. From Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, of the inhabitants of the Arsinoite nome. Of all injustices in life, the most shameful is for free men to be subjected to wanton violence. For this reason I seek refuge with you, my Lord, with the intention also of revealing the manner of this violence. A certain Sarapammon from the Herakleopolite nome who is serving as a *komostrategos* under Theon, the *strategos* of the two districts, mishandled me in such a way that I was in danger of death. Accordingly, I investigated his background and previous life and discovered that he was formerly a village scribe who happened to be banished by the illustrious Mamertinus amid numerous charges ... .. and yet, although such things are forbidden, entered the public service. Please be aware that he exercises the function of *komostrategos*—that is, he administers—while allowing villagers of despicable character to beat, smite and flog free men. Since such matters require retribution during your most liberal governorship, I ask, if it may please you, to write to the *strategos* of the Herakleides district to take sufficient security so that Sarapammon comes to your sacred assize and I may be avenged to the highest degree.” Copy of the *subscriptio*. “Having delivered summons on Sarapammon, petition me when I hold judicial proceedings regarding the matters concerning/against the *strategos*. Year 11, 10th of Thoth (September 8, 147). Farewell. (hd. 2) [Year] 11, [month, day] ... you have ... has been indicated in a *subscriptio*. (hd. 3) Deliver the petition.”<sup>1070</sup>

41. *PSI XIII* 1323

TM 13873

15.6 x 9.7 cm

AD 147/148

Image: <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/PSI%20XIII%201323%20r.jpg>

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<sup>1068</sup> Translation by Whitehorne corrected based on the corrections to the text proposed by Hagedorn; see Whitehorne 1991: 253-254; Hagedorn 2014: 196-198.

<sup>1069</sup> For a reedition of this petition, see Dolganov 2021: 374-376.

<sup>1070</sup> Translation by A. Dolganov; see Dolganov 2021: 377.

*PSI XIII 1323* is a petition addressed to Marcus Petronius Honoratus, prefect of Egypt in AD 147-148.<sup>1071</sup> The document was firstly published in 1956; supplements to ll. 5-6 were proposed by Hagedorn and Whitehorne.<sup>1072</sup> Ten lines of writing are visible on the *recto*, the *verso* is blank. The papyrus presents part of all margins, although it is severely damaged in the middle and the lower section. A *kollesis* at 9.8 cm from the left edge is visible. The handwriting is the expert cursive belonging to the petitioner Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros.<sup>1073</sup>

As this petition lacks the subscription and date, it is likely a draft. The adversary of Ptolemaios is the same as in *SB XX 14401* (no. 39): a certain Ptolemaios, son of the ex-gymnasiarch Pappos, is accused of behaving as a usurer and roughly extorting money.

In this reedition of the text, I have corrected some readings and proposed new supplements of ll. 9-10.

[Μ]άρκῳ Πετρωνίῳ Ὀνωράτῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου  
 παρ[ὰ] Πτολεμαίου Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄρ-  
 σιν[ο]εῖτου. τῆς σῆς ἐπάρ[χου] δικαίου μισοπονηρίας δεόμενος  
 κατέφυγον ἐπὶ σε τὸν πάν[των] εὐεργέτην. Πτολεμαῖός τις [[καὶ]]  
 5 υἱὸς Πάππου γεγυμνασιαρχηκότο[ς] τοῦ νομοῦ δανιστικὸν  
 βίον ζῶν ἀθάδης τῷ τρ[όπῳ καὶ] βίαιος διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν  
 ἀρχοντικὸν εἶναι καὶ πράγ[ματα ἐπι]τηδεύει ἀπ[η]ρ[τισ]μ[έ]να ἐπ[ὶ] το-  
 σοῦτ[ον] ὥστε πράκτορας ὑφ' ἑαυτ[ῶ] ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς κόμαις συγ[αρ-]  
 [π]αζ[ό]μεναις καὶ μετ' ὕβρ[εως] αὐθ[αδ]ῶς προσειέν[αι]  
 10 τοῖς [χ]ρεώσταις.

1 [Μά]ρκῳ *ed. pr.* ; Πετρωνίῳ *ed. pr.*      2 Διοδώρου *ed. pr.*      3 δ]ικαίου *ed. pr.*      4  
 πάν[των] *ed. pr.* ; [[. . .]] *ed. pr.*      5 υἱὸς *par.* ; γεγυμνασιαρχηκότο[ς] Hagedorn :  
 γεγυμνασιαρχηκῶ[ς] *ed. pr.* ; τοῦ νομοῦ *ed. pr.* ; 1. δανειστικὸν      6 τρ[όπῳ καὶ] Whitehorne 1991  
 : ἔθ[ει(?) καὶ] *ed. pr.*      7 ἐπι]τηδέ<ύ>ων *ed. pr.* ; ἀπ[η]ρ[τισ]μ[έ]να *ed. pr.*      8-9 συ[ -  
 ca.?- ] | [ . ]αζ[ . . χα]λεπῶς *ed. pr.* ; 1. μεθ'      9 1. προσιέναι : προσερέξ[ιδει] *ed. pr.*

<sup>1071</sup> Bastianini 1975: 290-291.

<sup>1072</sup> Hagedorn 1990: 280; Whitehorne 1991: 255.

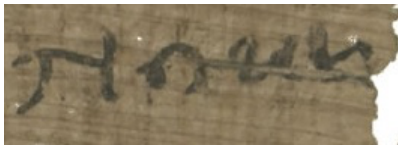
<sup>1073</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.



“To Marcus Petronius Honoratus, prefect of Egypt, from Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, an inhabitant of the Arsinoites. Begging the hatred of wrongdoers of you, fair prefect, I took refuge with you, the benefactor of all. A certain Ptolemaios, son of Pappos, former gymnasiarch of the nome, leading the life of a moneylender, reckless in his conduct and violent, showing to be an archon, even pursues actions to such extent to have the *praktōres* under his power in the robbed villages and to stubbornly approach debtors with insolence.”

4. [καῖ]: At the end of the line, three letters were deleted as they were crossed out with a horizontal stroke. The first letter is likely a round cursive *kappa*. It seems to be followed by the diphthong *alpha-iota* in ligature, the vertical lines of which are still visible (Fig. 49). The mistake might result from the influence of the fixed expression *τις καὶ*, which was common in the documentation of the Roman period.<sup>1074</sup>

Fig. 49. *PSI XIII 1323*, 4 *τις [καῖ]*



7. ἐπι]ιτηδεύει: The reading ἐπι]ιτηδέ<ύ>ων, published in the *editio princeps*, is unconvincing for palaeographical and syntactical reasons. After δε-, traces of a cursive *upsilon* similar to that in εὐεργέτην (l. 4) are visible. They are followed by vertical traces belonging to two letters, connected in ligature through a horizontal line. I have read them as *epsilon-iota* in ligature rather than *omega-nu*, and therefore supplied ἐπι]ιτηδεύει (Fig. 50). The verb should represent the main verb of the sentence, which would be otherwise missing.

Fig. 50. *PSI XIII 1323*, 7 ἐπι]ιτηδεύει



<sup>1074</sup> Cf. e.g. *BGU I 340*, 14; *P.Rein. I 47*, 5; *SB XVI 12549*, 7.

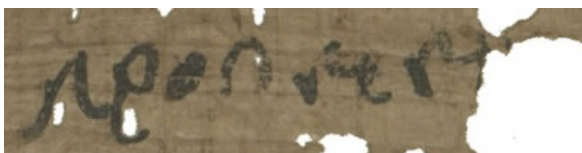
8-9. συγ[αρ-][π]αζ[ό]μεναις: Based on the palaeographical evidence, I have supplied συγ[αρ-][π]αζ[ό]μεναις at ll. 8-9. At the end of the line, after the sequence συγ-, two letters are missing. At the beginning of l. 9, a letter is lost, and then the sequence -αζ- is legible before a gap. The following text, edited as χα]λεπῶς, may be corrected as ]μεναις. The first letter after the lacuna may be either a *lambda* or a *mu*, the letter after *epsilon* is more likely *nu* than *pi*, which is usually rounded on the top, and the letter before *sigma* resembles the shape of *iota* in κώμαις at l. 8 (Fig. 51). Therefore, I have supplied συγ[αρ-][π]αζ[ό]μεναις, which would be agreed with the previous noun ταῖς κώμαις.

Fig. 51. *PSI XIII 1323*, 8-9 συγ[αρ-][π]αζ[ό]μεναις



9. προσειέν[αι]: The reading προσερέξ[δει], proposed in the first edition of the papyrus, is unattested elsewhere and not supported by the palaeographical evidence (Fig. 52). After the sequence προσε-, there is a small vertical line, which is more likely *iota* in ligature with the previous *epsilon* (cf. the shape of *epsilon-iota* in l. 8 ἔ]χεν) than a *rho*, usually taller than our letter. As *iota* is followed by *epsilon* and a trace of *nu*, I have proposed the supplement προσειέν[αι], a common mistake for προσιέναι. The verb is sometimes attested in the petitions of the Roman period and fits perfectly with the following τοῖς [χ]ρεώσταις (l. 10) as it requires the dative.<sup>1075</sup>

Fig. 52. *PSI XIII 1323*, 9 προσειέν[αι]



<sup>1075</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Berl.Frisk.* 3, 7; *P.Erl.* 36, 7.

*P.Wisc. I 37* is a penthemeros report of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia for the period 1-5 Thoth (from 29 August to 2 September) of AD 148. After the publication of the *editio princeps* in the first volume of the Wisconsin Papyri, new supplements at ll. 8-10 were proposed by D. Hagedorn.<sup>1076</sup>

The papyrus, written along the fibres on the *recto* only, has seventeen lines of writing. It is complete, as it preserves all margins, but the writing is severely faded at ll. 13-17. Two vertical fold lines are visible at around 2.3 and 4.7 cm from the right side respectively, and a *kollesis* at 1 cm from the right edge. The first handwriting (ll. 1-16) is a calligraphic version of the hand of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros.<sup>1077</sup> The second hand, of which only a few letters are visible at l. 17, should belong to another superintendent, who added his subscription at the end of the document.

The document accounts for the revenues from fishing in the *drymoi* of Theadelphia and Polydeukia. The date is illegible but is likely the 12<sup>th</sup> year of the emperor Antoninus Pius, because most of the *epiteretai* mentioned in the address of this papyrus are attested in the other penthemeros reports dated to AD 148/149.<sup>1078</sup> The numbers of the accounting days of the report, which range from α to ε (1-5), had been misread as ζ to ι (6-10). Therefore, in this reedition of the text, new readings of the dates and the subscriptions have been proposed (ll. 13-17).

Θέωνι στρα(τηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοΐτου) Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμων(ος)

vac. μερίδων

παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Διοδώρου [το]ῦ κ[αὶ] Διο-  
σκόρου καὶ Φιλίππου Ἀφροδι[σίου] καὶ Λουκίου

5 Ἀπολιγαρίου καὶ Φιλίπ[πο]υ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ  
Λεωντᾶ Λεωντέως καὶ μετόχ(ων) ἐπιτηρη(τῶν)  
νομῶν καὶ δρυμῶν Θεαδελφείας καὶ Πο-  
λυδευκίας. λόγος τῶν περιγε[γονό]των  
ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρ[ήσε]ως ἀπὸ

<sup>1076</sup> Hagedorn 1967: 159.

<sup>1077</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1078</sup> P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43); *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44); *P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46); *PSI* III 160 (no. 47).

- 10 θήρας ἰχθύας τῶν ἀπὸ  $\bar{\alpha}$  ἕως [ε] τοῦ  
 Θῶθ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἰβ (ἕτους) Ἀντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος [τ]οῦ κυρίου. [ἔστι δὲ·]  
 $\bar{\alpha}$  (δραχμαὶ) ἰθ [(ὀβολοὶ) . .], [β (δραχμαὶ) . . (ὀβολοὶ) . .],  
 $\bar{\gamma}$  [(δραχμαὶ) . . (ὀβολοὶ) . ., δ (δραχμαὶ) . . (ὀβολοὶ) . .],  
 15  $\bar{\epsilon}$  [(δραχμαὶ) . . (ὀβολοὶ) . ., (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) . . .].  
 [Πτολεμαῖ]ος Διο[δώρου ἐπιδέδοκ]α  
 [(hd. 2) ±10 ἐπιδέδοκ[α].

1 στρς par. : στρ(ατηγῶ) *ed. pr.* ; αρσι par. ; πολεμων par. : Πολέμων(ος) *ed. pr.* 3 τοῦ *ed. pr.*  
 4 Ἀφροδι[σίου] *ed. pr.* ; καὶ *ed. pr.* 5 Φιλίπ[που] *ed. pr.* ; καὶ *ed. pr.* 6 l. Λεόντεως  
 ; επιτηρη par. 7 καὶ *ed. pr.* 10 ἰχθυσ par. : l. ἰχθύων *ed. pr.* ; ς *ed. pr.* ; [ι] *ed. pr.*  
 11 τοῦ *ed. pr.* ; [ἐνεστῶτος] *ed. pr.* ; ἰβ (ἕτους) *ed. pr.* ; Ἀ[ν]τωνίνου *ed. pr.* 12 τοῦ *ed. pr.* ;  
 κυρίου *ed. pr.* 13 ς Traces *ed. pr.* ; ς par. 14 η Traces *ed. pr.* 15 ι Traces  
*ed. pr.* 16-17 Traces [ -ca.?- Πτολε]μαῖ-|ος *ed. pr.* 17 Διο[δώρου] *ed. pr.* ; ἐπιδέδοκ  
*ed. pr.* ; (ἕτους) [ιβ Ἀντωνίνου] *ed. pr.* 18 [Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου] *ed. pr.* 19 Θῶθ ια.  
*ed. pr.*

“To Theon, *strategos* of the Arsinoites, of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, from Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, Philippos son of Aphrodisios, Lucius Apolinarius, Philippos son of Heraklides, Leontas son of Leontis, and the associate superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia. Account of the revenues over the inspection period in question concerning fishing from the 1<sup>st</sup> up to the 5<sup>th</sup> of the month of Thoth of the present [12<sup>th</sup> year] of Antoninus Caesar, the lord. [As follows]: 1<sup>st</sup> dr. 19 [ ob. ...]; [2<sup>nd</sup> dr. ... ob. ...]; 3<sup>rd</sup> [dr. ... ob. ....]; 4<sup>th</sup> dr. ... ob. ....]; 5<sup>th</sup> [dr. ... ob. ....]. I, Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros have submitted it. [...] have submitted it.”

4. Φιλίππου Ἀφροδι[σίου]: Philippos IV of the family of the archive of “Aphrodisios son of Philippos and descendants”<sup>1079</sup> is mentioned as a superintendent of pastures and marshes also in P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43), 4; *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), 4; *P.Ryl.* II 98a (no. 24), 1; *PSI* V 458 (no. 25), 1.

<sup>1079</sup> On the family of the archive, see Chapter VI 1. *Piecing Together the Family's Genealogy.*

4-5. Λουκίου | Ἀπολιναρίου: The profile of this *epiteretes* is unknown. The identification with a homonymous individual, appearing as a *prytanikos* of Antinoopolis in a protocol about the marriage between people with citizenship in Antinoopolis and Egyptians of AD 161 (*Chr.Wilck.* 27, 16-17), is not supported by further evidence.

5. Φίλιπ[που] Ἡρακλείδου: The reading of the name Heraklidos, proposed in the *editio princeps*, is correct. Nevertheless, this patronymic might be a mistake for Ἡρακλείου. Philippos son of Herakleios (either spelled with the diphthong *epsilon-iota* or with *eta*), is indeed attested as a superintendent of pastures and marshes in P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43), 4 and 18; *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), 5 and 20. He is also registered as a taxpayer in *BGU IX* 1898, col. XI 229. The entry of this tax roll, edited as Φίλιππος Ἡρακλείδο(υ), might be corrected as Φίλιππος Ἡρακ[λ]ήο(υ): the letter before *omicron* is more likely the second vertical of *eta* than a *delta* (Fig. 53).

Fig. 53. *BGU IX* 1898, col. XI 229 Φίλιππος Ἡρακ[λ]ήο(υ).



6. Λεωντᾶ Λεώντεως: This superintendent of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia is also attested in P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43), 5; *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), 6; *P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46), col. I 5; col. II 26; *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), 4.

#### 43. P.Col. inv. 34b

20.4 x 10.2 cm

23 Sept. 148 AD

Image: <https://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p428/images>

P.Col. inv. 34b is an unpublished penthemeros report of the *epiteterai* of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia. The papyrus has nineteen lines of handwriting along the fibres on the *recto*; the *verso* is blank. A small part of the upper margin is preserved, while the other margins are almost complete. Three vertical fold lines are visible at ca. 2, 5, and 8.3 cm from the left edge. The main handwriting, severely faded especially at ll. 6-10,

is the rapid cursive slightly tilted to the right and full of ligatures of the same scribe of *PSI* VII 735 (no. 31), identified with Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros (ll. 1-16).<sup>1080</sup> At the end of the document, the signatures of other *epiteterai* are added in their personal handwriting.

P.Col. inv. 34b is addressed to Theon, *strategos* of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon in AD 145/146-149.<sup>1081</sup> It accounts for the period 21-25 Thoth (23-27 Sept.) of AD 148 and directly precedes *P.Leit.* 14.

[Θέωνι] στρα(τηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου) [Θεμίστ(ου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος)]  
 vac.                    μ[ερί]δων  
 παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Διοδ[ώ]ρου τ[οῦ καὶ Δ]ιο[σκ(όρου)]  
 καὶ Φιλίππου Ἀφροδισ[ίου] καὶ Φί[λ]ίπ[που] Ἡ[ρ]α[κ(λείου)]  
 5 καὶ Ἡρακ[λ]εῖδ(ου) Ἡρακ(λείδου) καὶ Λεον[τ]ῆ [Λεο]γ[τέως]  
 καὶ μετ[όχ(ων)] ἐπιτηρητ(ῶν) ν[ομ]ῶ[ν] καὶ δρυμ(ῶν) Θεαδ(ελφείας)]  
 καὶ Πολυδευκείας καὶ ἱ[ε]ρατ[ικῶν ὠνῶν]  
 ἐν οὐσιακοῖς μισθωταῖς [καὶ τῆς ἄλλης]  
 ὑδατικῆς προσόδου ἢ καὶ ὑ[ποπίπτει]  
 10 καὶ θή[ρ]ας ἰχθύας τ[ῶν] ἀπ[ὸ] κα ἔ[ω]ς κε]  
 τοῦ Θωθ μ[ην]ῶς τ[οῦ] ἐνεστ[ῶ]τος ἢ [(ἔτους)]  
 Ἀντωνί[ου] Καίσαρ[ος] τ[οῦ] κ[υρίου].  
 δηλοῦμ[ε]ν μηδὲν περιγεγ[ο]ν[έναι].  
 κα Ἐρμῆς κβ Ἐρμῆς κγ Ἐρμῆς  
 15 κδ Ἐρμῆς κε Ἐρμῆς. Πτολεμαῖος Δ[ιο]δ[ώ]ρου]  
 ἐπιδέδωκα καθὼς πρόκ(εῖται). (hd. 2) Φίλ[ιππος] Ἀφ[ροδισίου]  
 ἐπ[ι]δέδωκα καθὼς πρόκ(εῖται). (hd. 3) [Φίλ]ίπ[πος]  
 Ἡ[ρ]ακλήου ἐπιδέδωκα καθὼς πρόκ(εῖται).  
 (hd. 4) [Δί]δυμος Σαραπίωνος ἐπιδέδωκα.

1 στρ<sup>ρ</sup> pap. ; αρσι pap.                    5 ηρακ[λ]ει<sup>δ</sup> ; ηρα<sup>κ</sup> pap.                    6 επιτηρη<sup>τ</sup> pap.                    16 προ<sup>κ</sup> pap.    17  
 1. πρόκ(εῖται)                    18 προ<sup>κ</sup> pap.

<sup>1080</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1081</sup> Whitehorne-Bastianini 2006: 40-41.

“To Theon, *strategos* of the Arsinoite, of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, from Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, Philippos son of Aphrodisios, Philippos son of Herakleios, Herakleides son of Herakleides, Leontas son of Leontis, and the associate superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, and of priestly contracts accounted under imperial leases, and of the other aquatic revenue devolving (thereto), and of fishery from the 21<sup>st</sup> up to the 25<sup>th</sup> of the month Thoth of the current 12<sup>th</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar, the lord. We depose that nothing has accrued. 21<sup>st</sup> nothing, 22<sup>nd</sup> nothing, 23<sup>rd</sup> nothing, 24<sup>th</sup> nothing, 25<sup>th</sup> nothing. I, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros, have submitted as aforesaid. (hd. 2) I, Philippos son of Aphrodisios, have submitted as aforesaid. (hd. 3) I, Philippos son of Herakleios, have submitted as aforesaid. (hd. 4) I, Didymos son of Sarapion, have submitted.”

4. Φιλίπ[που] Ἡ[ρα]κ(λείου): Philippos son of Herakleios is one of the *epiteterai* of pastures and marshes appointed in AD 148-149, also attested in *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), 5, 20; *P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46), 6; *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), 3; *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42), 5. On him, see *P.Wisc.* I 37 (no. 42) n. 5.

5. Ἡρακλείδ(ου) Ἡρακ(λείδου): Heraklides son of Heraklides, also found as a superintendent of pastures and marshes in *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), 5-6, might be identified with the grandson of Tourbon, who is attested in the administrative registers of Theadelphia as the former owner of a vineyard and a *pittakiarches* in AD 161-180.<sup>1082</sup> He might be also identified with the homonymous individual who paid the tax for trade in AD 155/156 in *P.Fay.* 58.

10-3: The phraseology of these sentences, which introduce the day-by-day account of the revenues from fishing, is unusual. In the case of negative account, the penthemeros reports usually have δηλοῦμεν μηδὲν περιγεγονέναι ἐκ τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως τῶν ἀπὸ X ἕως Y and the date; cf. *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44), 12-16. On the other hand, the text of *P.Col. inv.* 34b starts *ex abrupto* with the registration of the five-day period (l. 10 τ[ῶν] ἀπ[ὸ] κα[ὶ] ἕ[ως] [κε]), and the statement δηλοῦμι[εν] μηδὲν περιγεγογ[έναι] is postponed at the end of the sentence (l. 13). Thus, it seems that the sequence δηλοῦμεν μηδὲν περιγεγονέναι ἐκ τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως had been first omitted by mistake, and then partially added *in*

<sup>1082</sup> *BGU* IX 1896, col. XI 247; XIII 293; *BGU* IX 1899, col. I 19; col. V 97; *BGU* XXII 2905, col. XII 10; col. XIII 3; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 6, col. V 60; *PSI* VII 793, col. IV 33.

*scribendo*. Despite the syntactical inconsistency, this penthemeros report was likely submitted to the *strategos* as it preserves the authentic signatures of the superintendents of pastures and marshes.

14. Ἑρμῆς: The name Hermes, which was used in the account after the day to indicate a negative result, refers to Hermes, the god of the trade.<sup>1083</sup> The expression means that, although the business had been regularly carried on, transactions were all unsuccessful.<sup>1084</sup> Usually attested in financial documents, mostly from second-century Arsinoites,<sup>1085</sup> Ἑρμῆς only appears in two subsequent penthemeros reports of the *epiteterai* of pastures and marshes, P.Col. inv. 34b and *P.Leit.* 14 (no. 44).

#### 44. *P.Leit.* 14

TM 11613

20 x 8.8 cm

28 Sept. 148 AD

Image: <http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/imageZoom/?iip=bgeiip/papyrus/pgen229-ri.ptif>

*P.Leit.* 14, kept in the Bibliothèque in Geneva as P. Gr. 229, is a penthemeros report from the *epiteterai* of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia for the period 26-30 Thoth of AD 148. The *editio princeps* was presented in *Leitourgia Papyri*<sup>1086</sup> and later republished as *SB VIII 10206*. Some supplements were subsequently proposed by Hagedorn, Lewis, and Reiter.<sup>1087</sup> The papyrus has twenty-three lines of writing on the *recto* only. It preserves all margins except the right one and is rather fragmentary in the upper part. As *P.Leit.* 14 is broken in the same parts as P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43), they were likely preserved together on each other by their keeper. Several hands may be recognized in the text. The first handwriting is that of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros (ll. 1-18).<sup>1088</sup> Then, the signatures of many superintendents were added at ll. 17-23.<sup>1089</sup> After the subscription of Ptolemaios son

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<sup>1083</sup> *P.Leit.*: p. 31 n. 15-16.

<sup>1084</sup> Clauson 1928: 374-275.

<sup>1085</sup> Cf. e.g. *Cpr.* XV 31, r. col. II 6; col. III 9; *P.Berl.Leihg.* II 43, fr. B 6; *P.Wisc.* II 80, col. III 72; 83; col. V 164.

<sup>1086</sup> *P.Leit.*: pp. 29-31.

<sup>1087</sup> Hagedorn 1967: 159; Lewis 1971: 23-24; Reiter 2004: 195-196.

<sup>1088</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1089</sup> Smolders 2015e: 331.



of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, a second hand (l. 19), faster than the others and characterised by the distinctive shape of *phi*, belonged to Philippos IV son of Aphrodisios of the Theadelphian family archive. A third hand (l. 20), notably messier than the others, belonged to Philippos son of Herakleios, while the fourth one (l. 21), slower and less expert than the others, to Didymos son of Sarapion. Finally at l. 22-23, a fifth smaller hand is attested in the subscription of Leontas son of Leontios, who, being illiterate, signed through a certain Hermodoros. Therefore, this document is the original report, submitted to the *strategos* from the *epiteretai*.

In this reedition of the text, I have corrected the text published in the *editio princeps* by presenting new readings of ll. 3-4 and 8-9.

- Θέωνι [σ]τρ[α(τηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου) Θεμίστ(ου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος)]  
 vac. [μερίδων]  
 παρὰ Πτολεμ[αί]ο[υ Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ]  
 Διοσκόρου κ[αὶ] Φίλ[ίππου Ἀφροδισίου]  
 5 καὶ Φιλίππου Ἡρακλείου [καὶ Ἡρακλείδ(ου)]  
 Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Λεοντᾶ Λεο[ντέως]  
 καὶ μετόχ(ων) ἐπιτη(ρητῶν) νομ[ῶν καὶ]  
 [δρ]υμῶν Θεαδελφίας καὶ Πολυ[δευκίας καὶ]  
 [ίε]ρα[τ]ικῶν ὄνων ἐν οὐσια[κ(οῖς) μισθ(ωταῖς)]  
 10 λογιζομένων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὑδ[ατικῆς]  
 προσόδου ἧς καὶ ὑποπέπτει καὶ θήρα[ς]  
 ἰχθύας. δηλοῦμεν μηδὲν περιγεγονέ-  
 ναὶ ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως  
 τῶν ἀπὸ κ̄ ἕως λ̄ τοῦ Θῶθ μην[ός]  
 15 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιβ̄ (ἕτους) Ἀντωνίνου  
 Κα[ίσα]ρος τοῦ κυρίου· κ̄ Ἑρμῆς κ̄ Ἑρμῆς  
 κῆ [Ἑ]ρμῆς κῆ Ἑ[ρ]μῆς λ̄ Ἑρμῆς. Π[το]λ[ε]μαῖο[ς]  
 Διοδώρου ἐπιδέδωκ(α) καθ(ὼς) πρόκ(εῖται).  
 (hd. 2) Φίλιππος Ἀφροδισί[ο]υ ἐπιδέδ[ω]κα καθ(ὼς) πρόκ(εῖται).  
 20 (hd. 3) Φίλιππος Ἡρακλήου ἐπιδέδωκα καθὼς πρόκ(εῖται).  
 (hd. 4) Δίδυμος Σαραπίωνος ἐπιδέδωκ[α].  
 (hd. 5) Λεοντᾶς Λ[εό]ντ(εως) ἐπιτη(ρητῆς) ἀλιέων διὰ Ἑρμοδώρου  
 ἐπιδέδωκα.

1 Θέωνι *ed. pr.* ; [στρατηγῶ Ἀρσινοίτου Θεμίστου] *ed. pr.*      2 [-ca.?- καὶ] Πολέμ[ωνος μερίδων] *ed. pr.*      3 παρὰ *ed. pr.* ; Πτολ[εμαί]ου *ed. pr.* ; [Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκ(όρου)] *ed. pr.*      4 καὶ Φιλίππου Ἡρακλείδ[ου καὶ Φιλίππου] *ed. pr.*      5 Ἡρακλείδ[ου] *ed. pr.*      6 Λεό[ντεως] : Λεό[ντος] Lewis      7 καὶ *ed. pr.* ; μετοχ pap: μετόχ(ων) *ed. pr.* ; επιτηρη pap.      8 [δρ]υμοῦ *ed. pr.*      9 οὐσια[κ](οῖς) μισθ( ) *ed. pr.*      10 λογιζομένων *ed. pr.* ; τῆς *ed. pr.* ; ἄλλης *ed. pr.* ; ὑδ[ατικῆς] *ed. pr.*      11 προσόδου *ed. pr.* ; 1. ἦ ; 1. ὑποπίπτει ; καὶ *ed. pr.* ; θήρα[ς] *ed. pr.*      12 ἰχθύας *ed. pr.*      12-13 περιγεγονέ-|ναι *ed. pr.*      13 ἐκ *ed. pr.*      14 μη(νός) *ed. pr.*      15 ς pap. ; Ἀντωνείνου *ed. pr.*      16 Καίσαρος *ed. pr.* ; κς *ed. pr.* ; Ἑρμῆς *ed. pr.* ; κς *ed. pr.*      17 κη *ed. pr.* ; Ἑρμῆς *ed. pr.* ; Ἑρμῆς *ed. pr.* ; Ἑρμῆς *ed. pr.* ; Πτολεμαῖο[ς] *ed. pr.*      18 Διοδώρου *ed. pr.* ; ἐπιδεδωκ pap. ; κα<sup>θ</sup> pap. : καθ(ὼς) *ed. pr.* ; προκ pap.      19 Φίλι[ππ]ος *ed. pr.* ; Ἀφροδισίου *ed. pr.* ; ἐπιδέδ[ω]κα *ed. pr.* ; κα<sup>θ</sup> pap. : καθ(ὼς) *ed. pr.* ; π[ρο]κ<sup>ς</sup> : πρόκ(εῖται) *ed. pr.*      20 Ἡρακλήου *ed. pr.* ; προκ<sup>ς</sup> pap.      21 Δίδυμος *ed. pr.* ; Σαραπίωνος *ed. pr.*      22 λ[εο]γτ pap. : Λεόντεως Hagedorn : Λέοντος *ed. pr.* ; επιτη pap. ; Ἑρμοδ . . . [ . ] *ed. pr.*

“To Theon, *strategos* of the Arsinoites, of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, from Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, Philippos son of Aphrodisios, Philippos son of Herakleios, Heraklides son of Heraklides, Leontas son of Leontis, and the associate superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, and of priestly contracts accounted under imperial leases, and of the other aquatic revenue devolving (thereto), and of fishery. We depose that nothing has accrued from the aforementioned superintendency in the period from the 26<sup>th</sup> up to the 30<sup>th</sup> of the month Thoth in the current 12<sup>th</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. 26<sup>th</sup> nothing, 27<sup>th</sup> nothing, 28<sup>th</sup> nothing, 29<sup>th</sup> nothing, 30<sup>th</sup> nothing. I, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros, have submitted (this report) as aforesaid. (hd. 2) I, Philippos son of Aphrodisios, have submitted as aforesaid. (hd. 3) I, Philippos son of Herakleios, have submitted as aforesaid. (hd. 4) I, Didymos son of Sarapion, have submitted. (hd. 5) I, Leontas son of Leontios, superintendent of fishermen, have submitted through Hermodoros.”

4. Φι[λίππου Ἀφροδισίου]: The name of Philippos son of Aphrodisios, whose signature follows directly that of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros (l. 19), has been supplied also in the address after that of the protagonist of the archive. The supplement is supported by a comparison to the other penthemeros reports of AD 148-149, in which Philippos son of Aphrodisios is always mentioned after Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros; cf.

P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43), 4; *P.Oslo*. III 91 (no. 46), col. I 4-5; col. II 4-5; *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), 3; *P.Wisc*. I 37 (no. 42), 4.

4-5. Ἡρακλείδ(ου)] Ἡρακλῆίδου: The patronymic Ἡρακλῆίδου, mentioned at the beginning of line 5, enables us to supply the name of the *epiteretes* Heraklides, who is listed in the same position in P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43), 5. On this individual, see *P.Wisc*. I 37 (no. 42), n. 5.

5-6. On Philippos son of Herakleios, see *P.Wisc*. I 37 (no. 42), n. 5; on Heraklides son of Heraklides, see P.Col. inv. 34b (no. 43), n. 5.

9. ἐν οὐσια[κ](οῖς) μισθ(ωταῖς): For a parallel of this expression, cf. *P.Oslo*. III 91 (no. 46), 9.

13. ἀπό: The preposition before τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως, previously read as ἐκ, should be corrected to ἀπό based on the palaeographical evidence. The bottom of the eyelet and the curved oblique line of *alpha* are visible. Then, there are a fast triangular *pi* and a small *omicron* (Fig. 54).

The correction is further supported by the papyrological evidence, as in the parallel penthemeros reports from the Fayum the usual sentence is ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως.<sup>1090</sup>

Fig. 54. *P.Leit*. 14, 13 ἀπό



22. Λ[εο]γτ(έως): Although the handwriting at the beginning of l. 22 is severely faded, two letters may be read before ἐπιτη(ρητής), a fast round *nu* and a *tau*, of which only the horizontal line is still visible. The remaining letters suggest that the patronymic, whose correct spelling is Λεοντέως according to *P.Wisc*. I 37 (no. 42), 6,<sup>1091</sup> was written in abbreviation Λεοντ(έως) like in *P.Oslo*. III 91 (no. 46), 5 and 26. Since none of the other

<sup>1090</sup> Cf. *BGU* II 478, 8-10; *P.Bingen*. 70, fr. C 6-7; *P.Fouad*. 17, 17-18; *P.Freib*. IV 60, 22-23.

<sup>1091</sup> Hagedorn 1967: 159.

names in the subscriptions are abbreviated, Lewis discarded the possibility of an abbreviation in that position.<sup>1092</sup> However, as each superintendent added his own subscription, there is no universal rule on their signatures. It is thus probable that the patronymic of Leon son of Leontis was drawn up in abbreviation like the following term ἐπιτη(ρητής).

#### 45. SB XX 14311

TM 10560

20.6 x 10 cm

AD 148/149

Image: <https://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;20;14311/images>

SB XX 14311 is a lease of land firstly published by Lapin in 1991. The papyrus has twenty-nine lines of writing running along the fibres on the *recto*;<sup>1093</sup> the *verso* is blank. Although the document preserves part of all margins, it lacks the lower-left quarter and is severely damaged on the right side. Two different hands may be recognised. The first one, appearing in the main body of the document (ll. 1-26), is a well-trained cursive, similar to that of *P.Wisc.* I 36 (no. 36) and thus identifiable with the hand of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros.<sup>1094</sup> A second handwriting, larger than the first one, probably belonged to the addressee or to someone who signed the document on his behalf (l. 27). Finally, the date in ll. 27-28 was added in a third hand, more cursive than the others.

The document is a contract of *misthosis* in the form of a *hypomnema*<sup>1095</sup> addressed to Chaireas son of Isidoros, former *kosmetes* and gymnasiarch, who appears also in a contract dated to the late second century from the Fayum.<sup>1096</sup> The lender is Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, who leased five arouras of land in the village of Argeas, and other two aruras in that of Apias.

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<sup>1092</sup> Lewis 1971: 23-24.

<sup>1093</sup> In the first edition of SB XX 14311, Lapin numbered 28 lines of writing as he did not notice some traces of ink belonging to two letters on the left edge of line 26, under the term χόπτου (l. 25). Cf. Lapin 1991: 153-4.

<sup>1094</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1095</sup> On the contracts in the hypomnematic form, see Chapter V 2. *Production of the Grapheion*.

<sup>1096</sup> Lapin 1991: 155 n. 1-2.

In the reedition presented below, I have provided new supplements to the final lines of the document (ll. 17-28) and dated the document to the 12<sup>th</sup> year of the emperor Antoninus Pius (AD 148/149).

Χαιρέα Ισιδώρου τῶν κεκοσμητευ-  
κότων καὶ γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων  
παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Διοδώ[ρο]υ τοῦ καὶ Διοσ-  
κόρου. βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι παρὰ <σοῦ>  
5 τὰς ὑπαρχούσας σοι περὶ κώμ[ην] Ἀργιάδα  
κλήρου κατοικικοῦ ἀρούρας πέντε καὶ  
περὶ κώμην Ἀπιάδα κλήρου κατοικικοῦ  
ἀρούρας δύο πάσας οὔσας κοινὰς  
καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν δεκα-  
10 τεσσάρων ἢ ὅσαι ἐὰν ᾦσι, ἐκφορίου τοῦ  
παντὸς τῶν ὄλων ἀρουρῶν ἀρτα-  
βῶν δεκατεσσάρων καθαρῶν ἀπὸ  
παντὸς εἴδους, τῆς ἀρταβ[ι]άς τῶν  
ὄλων οὔσης πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν Πτολε-  
15 μαῖον, καὶ ἐπιτελείσω τὰ γεωρ[γ]ικὰ  
ἔργα πάντ[α] ὅσα καθήκει τοῖς δεῦσι [και-]  
[ροῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν]εστῶτος ιβ̄ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου  
[Καίσαρο(ς) τοῦ κυρίου], καὶ τὸ ἐκφόριον [ἀποδ]ώ-  
[σω ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι ἐφ’] ἄλλω μέ[τρ]ω τε[ε]τρα-  
20 [χοινίκῳ πυροῦ νέο]υ καθαροῦ καὶ ἀδό-  
[λου κατ’ ἔτος], καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον  
[παραδώσω τὸ] ἔδαφος <καθαρὸν> ἀπὸ θρύου καὶ  
[καλάμου δείσ]ης πάσης, ἐὰν [φα]ί[ν]η-  
[ται μισθώσασ]θαι, τὸ μὲν ἡμι[σ]υ μέρος]  
25 [ἀπὸ ἀναπαύματος] χόρτου [[καὶ]] τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν μέ-  
[ρος ἀπὸ καλάμ]ης.  
(hd. 2) Χαιρέας] μεμί[σθωκα] ὧς πρόκ[ε]ιται). (hd. 3) <(ἔτους)> ιβ̄  
[Ἀντωνί]νου [Καί]σαρος τ[ο]ῦ κυρίου  
[ ± 7].

8 οὔσας *ed. pr.* ; κοινὰς *ed. pr.*      9 ἀρουρῶν *ed. pr.*      11 ὅλων *ed. pr.*      11-12 ἀρτα-|βῶν  
*ed. pr.*      12 καθαρῶν *ed. pr.*      13 1. ἀρταβιαίας      15 1. ἐπιτελέσω      16 ἐκ τοῦ *ed. pr.*  
17 [ἰ]δ[ίου] . . . . .]εντος [.] . . . . . ντων *ed. pr.* ; L pap.      18 [- ca. 15 -] *ed. pr.* ; ἀποδώσ]ω  
*ed. pr.*      19 κατ' ἔτος] *ed. pr.* ; ἐφ' ἄλω *ed. pr.* ; [μέτ]ρ[ω] *ed. pr.*      19-20 τ[ε]τρα-[χοινίκο  
νέο]ν *ed. pr.* ; καθαρὸν *ed. pr.* ; ἄδολ[ο]ν *ed. pr.*      21 [ἐν κόμη . . . . .] *ed. pr.*      22 καὶ *ed.*  
*pr.*      24 [- ca. 12 - ] σοι . . . . . ] [-ca.?- ] *ed. pr.*      25 [- ca. 14 -] τουκαι . . . . . ορ . . . . . ω *ed. pr.*  
26 [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] *ed. pr.* ; (ἔτους) ιγ *ed. pr.*      27 [Ἀντ]ονείνου [Καί]σαρος τ[ο]ῦ κυρίου *ed. pr.*  
28 1. Ἀντωνίνου ; [-ca.?- ] *ed. pr.*

“To Chaireas son of Isidoros, one of the former *kosmetai* and former gymnasiarchs, from Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros. I wish to lease from you the five arouras which belong to you near the village of Argeas from a catoecic allotment and the two arouras which belong to you near the village of Apias from a catoecic allotment, all being (held) in common and undivided from the fourteen arouras or however many there may be, the rent as a whole for all the arouras being fourteen artabas free from every tax, the artaba tax for all the arouras being paid by me, Ptolemaios. And I shall perform all the appropriate farm operations at the suitable times, from the present 12<sup>th</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar, the lord. And [I shall pay] the rent [in the month of Pauni] on the threshing floor, measured by the four-choinix measure, [of wheat new,] clean, and pure yearly. And after the term, [I will return to you the] plot clean of rush and [reed and] every [filth], the half part lying fallow in the grass and the remaining part after the stubble harvest. (hd. 2) [I, Chaireas] have leased as stated above. (hd. 3) Year 12 of Antoninus Caesar the Lord [...].”

16-17. τοῖς δέουσι [και-|ροῖς]: In the *editio princeps* of SB XX 14311, after the fixed expression ἔργα πάντα ὅσα καθήκει, Lapin read ἐκ τοῦ| [ἰ]δ[ίου] (ll. 16-17). The reading is however unconvincing on a palaeographical basis. At the end of the line, the traces of ten letters are visible. After a vertical belonging to the first letter, a small *omicron* is followed by another vertical, likely *iota*, and then a *sigma* (Fig. 55). Thus, I have read the article τοῖς, which leads to the supplement of the formula τοῖς δέουσι [και-|ροῖς].<sup>1097</sup>

Fig. 55. SB XX 14311, 16 τοῖς δέουσι

<sup>1097</sup> On the expression ἔργα πάντα ὅσα καθήκει τοῖς δέουσι καιροῖς, cf. e.g. BGU I 237, 15-16; P.Flor. I 16, v. 17-18.



19. The supplement at the beginning of l. 19 [ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι κατ' ἔτος], proposed by Lapin,<sup>1098</sup> should be revalued. While the statement of the month of payment is probable, the sequence κατ' ἔτος in this position is never attested and therefore unlikely. Κατ' ἔτος is usually found before ἐκφόριον/ἐκφόρια,<sup>1099</sup> or in between ἀποδώσω/ἀποδώσωμεν and the month.<sup>1100</sup> Thus, I have supplied ἀποδ]ώ-|[σω ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι ἐφ'] ἄλω at ll. 18-19.

20. Since ca. 15 letters are missing in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 20, the supplement τ[ε]τρα-|[χοινίκῳ νέο]ν, proposed by Lapin, is unacceptable. Moreover, the reading ]ν καθαρὸν, published by Lapin,<sup>1101</sup> is incorrect: on the edge of the papyrus, an *upsilon* in ligature with the following *kappa* is visible. Also, the letter after the sequence καθαρο- is another *upsilon* rather than a *nu*, because the first line of this letter descends to the right, and not to the left as that of *nu*. Thus, the two terms remaining at the beginning of the line are at the genitive and cannot be related to the accusative ἐκφόριο[ν (l. 18). Since the adjectives νέος, καθαρός, and ἄδολος are usually attested together in reference to wheat,<sup>1102</sup> especially when it is specified that the ἐκφόριον will be paid in wheat,<sup>1103</sup> I have supplied πυροῦ νέο]ν καθαρῶ καὶ ἄδο-|[λου (ll. 20-21).

21. At the beginning of l. 11, Lapin supplied [ἐν κόμῃ . . . . .]. However, the reference to the place of collection of the ἐκφόριον is unfitting in this position, as it usually followed the indication of the month.<sup>1104</sup> Thus, I have supplied ἄδο-|[λου κατ' ἔτος].<sup>1105</sup>

<sup>1098</sup> Lapin 1991: 159 n. 19.

<sup>1099</sup> Cf. e.g. *BGU* II 661, 17 and *P.Mich.* III 184, 16.

<sup>1100</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Coll.Youtie* I 27, 26; *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 63, 29; III 140, 29-30.

<sup>1101</sup> Lapin 1991: 154.

<sup>1102</sup> Cf. e.g. *Chr.Wilck.* 192, 13-14 φόρου τοῦ παντὸς| πυροῦ νέου καθαρῶ ἄδολου.

<sup>1103</sup> Cf. *BGU* XI 2040, 4-8; *Chr.Wilck.* 356, 16; *P.Kron.* 41, 9-12.

<sup>1104</sup> Cf. e.g. *P.Mich.* III 184, 16-7 ἐκφόρια ἀποδώσω ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι ἐν τῇ| κόμῃ νέα καθαρὰ ἄδολα ἄκριθα.

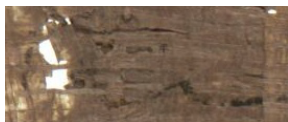
<sup>1105</sup> Cf. e.g. in *P.Kron.* 34, 29-30 καὶ τὰ [ἐκφό]ρια [ἀπ]οδῶ[σ]ω ἐν [μ]ην[ι] Παῦν[ι] νέα] καθ[α]ρὰ ἄδο[λ]α [κα-]θ' ἔτος.

23-4. ἐὰν [φα]ί[ν]η-[ται μισθώσασ]θαι: The usual final clause of leases is ἐὰν φαίνεται μισθῶσαι, but the passive μισθώσασθαι is also attested in the papyrus documentation of the Roman period.<sup>1106</sup>

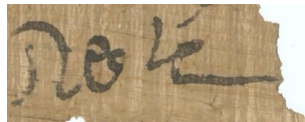
24-6. τὸ μὲν ἡμι[σ]υ μέρος] | [ἀπὸ ἀναπαύματος] χόρτου [[καὶ] τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν μέρ-|ρος ἀπὸ καλάμ]ης: According to the usual layout of Roman leases, in the last two lines of the main text Ptolemaios likely defined the state in which he would have returned the plot after the expiry of the lease. As parallels for the supplement, cf. e.g. *P.Cair.Isid.* 99, 23-24; *P.Diog.* 26, 8-9; *P.Mich.* XVIII 791, 18-19; *P.Phil.* 14, 23-25; *SB XVI* 12983, fr. b 4-6.

27. The line presents the subscription of Chaireas. After the gap following the sequence μεμ-, in which I have proposed the supplement μεμί[σ]θωκα], there are traces of ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). The abbreviation πρόκ(εῖται) marked through the horizontal extension of the last line of *kappa* is commonly attested in the papyrus documents of the Roman period (Fig. 56).

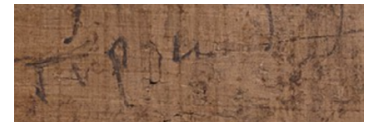
Fig. 56. *SB XX* 14311, 16 πρόκ(εῖται): a comparison to other papyri



*SB XX* 14331



*BGU I* 77



*P.Princ.* III 177

27. ιβ: At the end of the line, the numeral of the year is partially legible. After *iota*, there is a trace on the lower-left edge of a tiny hole in the papyrus. As it seems to be the linking point between a vertical and a horizontal line, both lost in the gap, the trace might belong to a u-shaped *beta* (cf. the shape of *beta* in 13. ἀρταβ[ι]άς; see Fig. 57), with a horizontal line above.

Fig. 57. *SB XX* 14311, 27 ιβ: a comparison to beta in ἀρταβ[ι]άς (l. 13)



ιβ at l. 27



β at l. 13

<sup>1106</sup> Cf. e.g. *BGU IV* 1018, 26; *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 19, 39-40; *P.Graux II* 21, 19-20; *P.Louvre II* 113, fr. b 3-4.



#### 46. *P.Oslo. III 91 recto and verso*

TM 12580

20.1 x 16 cm

27 Mar. 149 AD

*P.Oslo. III 91* has two different texts, on the *recto* and *verso*, unrelated to each other. The *recto*, edited by Eitrem and Amundsem in 1931, has a penthemeros report of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, addressed to the *strategos* and covering the period 26-30 Phamenoth of AD 149. On the *verso*, the papyrus has an unpublished daily account of payments in kind. The papyrus is rather fragmentary, with several gaps laying on the surface. Four vertical fold lines are visible at a regular distance, at ca. 3.8, 8.8, 13, and 17 cm from the right edge. The text on the *recto*, extremely faded on the right especially, is distributed in two columns: the first column includes ll. 1-21, and the second one ll. 22-41. The writing on the *verso* is arranged in two columns too, with ll. 1-27 belonging to the first column and ll. 28-30 to the second one. The handwriting on the *recto* may be attributed to Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros; the text on the back is a faster version of Ptolemaios' handwriting, similar to *P.Wisc. I 36* (no. 36) and recognizable for the peculiar shape of *delta*, *eta* as a capital "h", and a tall and narrow *theta*.<sup>1107</sup>

*P.Oslo. III 91 recto* is a draft presenting two copies of the same penthemeros report written by the same scribe,<sup>1108</sup> probably preserved to fill in a monthly account.<sup>1109</sup> *P.Oslo. III 91 verso* is a draft of a daybook of payments in wheat and barley. The nature of this document as a draft is suggested by the presence of some corrections in the text (ll. 5 and 7), the layout of the text, unevenly distributed between two columns, and the absence of a number on the top of the two columns. The document refers to the days 28 and 29 of an unknown month and year. However, it may be dated to ca. AD 160-166/167, as the taxpayers recorded in the list are mostly attested in documents from the village dated to the 160s. There is no explicit indication of the provenance, but the palaeographical and prosopographical evidence suggests that the account was written in Theadelphia, where the papyrus was found. The nature of payments is not specified, but since the mentioned individuals are usually attested as public farmers and *pittakion* members, the daily instalments were probably related to public land. This text may be related to Ptolemaios' third appointment as an *epiteretes*, which

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<sup>1107</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1108</sup> *P.Oslo. III*: p. 94.

<sup>1109</sup> On the paperwork of the superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, see Chapter VII 2. 4. *Paperwork: The Penthemeros Reports*.

took place in AD 165/166 according to P.Col. inv. 29 (no. 52). Interestingly, although the superintendents of pastures and marshes usually collected money taxes, *P.Oslo. III 91 verso* has an account of payments in kind.

In this reedition of the document, I have corrected some readings of text on the *recto* and presented my edition of the text on the *verso*.

*recto*

Col. I

- [Θέω]γι στρα(τηγῶ) Ἄ[ρ]σι(νοίτου) Θεμ[ί]σ[του]  
[καὶ] Πολέμωνο[ς] μερίδων  
[παρ]ὰ Πτολεμαίου Διοδώρου  
[τοῦ κ]αὶ Διοσκ[ό]ρου καὶ Φιλίππου  
5 [Ἄ]φροδισί[ο]υ καὶ Λεοντᾶ Λεοντ(έως)  
[καὶ Φ]ιλίππου Ἡρακ(λείου) καὶ μετόχ(ων) ἐπιτηρητῶν  
[νομ]ῶν καὶ δρυμῶν Θεαδελφε(ίας)  
[καὶ Πο]λυδευκίας καὶ ἱερατικῶν  
[ὠνῶν] ἐν οὐσιακοῖς μισθωτ(αῖς) καὶ τῆς  
10 [ἄ]λλης ὑ]δατικῆς προσόδου {ς}, ἥ καὶ  
[ὑποπί]πτει, καὶ θήρας ἰχθ(ύας). λόγος τῶν  
[περιγεγ]ονότων ἀπὸ τῆς προκιμένης  
[ἐπιτηρή]σεως ἀπὸ θήρας ἰχθ(ύας) τῶν ἀπὸ  
[κς ἔω]ς λ̄ τοῦ Φαμεν[ὼ]θ [μη]γὸς τοῦ  
15 [ἐνεστ]ῶτος ιβ (ἔτους) Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυ-  
[ρίου.] ἔστι δὲ·  
[κς (δραγμαὶ) κβ] (ὀβολοὶ) κς κς [(δραγμαὶ) λς] (ὀβολοὶ) α  
[κη (δραγμαὶ) λς] (ὀβολοὶ) ιγ κθ [(δραγμαὶ) κη] (ὀβολοὶ) ιβ  
[λ (δραγμαὶ) κη] (ὀβολοὶ) κα, (γίνονται) [τῆς πενθ(ημέρου) (δραγμαὶ) ρξ] (ὀβολοὶ) ιδ,  
20 [ἐξ ὧν ἀ]λιεῦσι [ὑπὲρ μισθῶν (δραγμαὶ) π (ὀβολοὶ) ζ, λοιπ(ὸν)]  
[(δραγμαὶ) π (ὀβολοὶ) ζ.] Π[τολεμαῖος Διοδώρου ἐπιδέδωκα.]
- — — — —

Col. II

Θέωνι στ[ρ]α(τηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου) Θεμ[ί]σ[του] καὶ  
Πολέμωνος [μερίδω]ν

- παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Διοδώρου
- 25 τ[ο]ῦ κ[α]ὶ Δ[ιοσκ]όρ[ο]υ καὶ Φιλίππου  
 [Ἀ]φροδίσιου [καὶ] Λεοντᾶ Λεόντ(εως)  
 καὶ μετόχ(ων) ἐπιτηρητ(ῶν) νομῶν  
 καὶ δρυμῶν Θεαδελφ[εία]ς καὶ Πολυδ(ευκίας)  
 καὶ ἰ[ερα]τικῶν ὀ[ν]ῶν ἐ[ν] οὐσιασμοῖς
- 30 μισθωτ(αῖς) καὶ τῆς [ἄλλης ὕδα]τικῆς  
 προσόδο[ου], ἢ καὶ [ὑποπίπ]τει, καὶ θήρ(α)ς  
 ἰχθ(ύας). λό[γ]ος τῶ[ν περιγεγονότ]ων ἀπὸ [τ]ῆς  
 προκιμένης ἐπ[ιτηρήσε]ως ἀπὸ θήρ[ας]  
 ἰχθ(ύας) τῶν ἀπὸ [κς ἕως λ τ]οῦ Φαμ[ενὸ]θ
- 35 μηνὸς τοῦ [ἐ]ν[εστώτος] ἰβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου]  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου[ν. ἔστι δὲ·]  
 κς̄ (δραχμαὶ) κβ (ὄβολοὶ) κς [κζ (δραχμαὶ) λς (ὄβολος) α]  
 κῆ̄ [(δραχμαὶ)] λς (ὄβολοὶ) ιγ [κθ (δραχμαὶ) κη (ὄβολοὶ) ιβ]  
 [λ (δραχμαὶ)] κη (ὄβολοὶ) κα, [γ(ίνονται) τῆς πενθ(ημέρου) (δραχμαὶ) ρξ (ὄβολοὶ) ιδ,]
- 40 [ἐξ ὧν] ἀλι[ε]ῦσι ὑ[πὲρ] μισθῶν (δραχμαὶ) π (ὄβολοὶ) ζ, λοιπ(όν)]  
 [(δραχμαὶ) π (ὄβολοὶ)] ζ. Πτολ[εμαῖος Διοδώρου] ἐπιδέδωκα.]

*verso*

Col. I

- κη [θ]᾽ ἡ' Διόσκορος Ἡ[ρ]ωνος το(ῦ)  
 Διοσκόρου κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) πδ δ' ἡ'  
 Ἀφροδίσι(ος) Δωρίων(ος) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κδ (ἥμισυ)  
 Πετεεῦς Πανεσνέ<ω>ς ψωμ(ίων) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) οθ
- 5 Ἡρακλᾶς Χαιρᾶ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ογ (ἥμισυ) δ'  
 Χάρης Διδᾶ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) λδ . κ.  
 Ζωὶς Ἡρωνος (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κζ .  
 Φιλάδελφος Σωκράτ(ους) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κα
- 10 Πάτρων Σαραπ(ίωνος) [(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ι]α  
 Πτολεμαῖ[ο]ς [ . ]ων( ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κθ κδ'  
 διὰ Χαιρήμ(ονος) βᾶ . . . . (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κς κδ'  
 (γίνονται) τῆς ἡμ(έρας) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) τκε (ἥμισυ) δ ἡ'

- 15 vac. κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) πδ [δ'] η'  
κθ Ἑρων Διδύμο[υ] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) μζ κδ'  
Ἄπο[λ]λώνιος Διδύμ[ου] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) λα ζ' κδ'  
Ἑρω[ν] Κάσ[τ]ορος (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιε (ἥμισυ)  
Ἄφ[ρο]δί[σιος ...] . . (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιζ η'
- 20 [ . . . . . ] . λ . [ . ] . α (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) . .

Traces of 7 lines

Col. II

- 28 [ . . . ]  
[Ἀγ]χίλι[ς] Νε[ . . . . ]ς (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) λα  
. . [ . ] . φν Δ[ . . . . . ] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) . ι

*recto*: 1 στρς αρσ̄ pap. ; Θεμ[ί]στ[του καὶ] *ed. pr.* 2 Πολέμωνος *ed. pr.* ; μερίδων *ed. pr.* 3  
Διοδώρου *ed. pr.* 4 Διοσκόρου *ed. pr.* 5 [Ἀ]φροδισίου *ed. pr.* ; λεον<sup>τ</sup> pap. : Λέοντ(ος) *ed.*  
*pr.* 6 ηρακ pap. : Ἑρακ(λ) *ed. pr.* ; μετοχ pap. ; επι<sup>τ</sup> pap. 7 θεαδελφε<sup>ν</sup> pap. 9  
μισθ<sup>τ</sup> pap. 11 ιχ<sup>θ</sup> pap. 12 τῆς *ed. pr.* 13 θήρας *ed. pr.* 14 Φαμεν[ὼ]θ  
*ed. pr.* 15 ς pap. ; Καίσαρος *ed. pr.* 17 κ]δ *ed. pr.* ; — pap. ; — pap. 18 —  
pap. ; — pap. ; ιβ *ed. pr.* 19 | pap. : γ(ίνονται) *ed. pr.* ; πενθ(ημερίας) *ed. pr.* ; — pap.  
22 στρς pap. 24 Πτολεμαίου *ed. pr.* ; Διοδώρου τοῦ *ed. pr.* 25 καὶ *ed. pr.* ; Φιλίππου *ed.*  
*pr.* 26 λεοντ pap. : Λέοντ(ος) *ed. pr.* 27 μετοχ pap. : μετόχ(ων) *ed. pr.* ; επιτηρη<sup>τ</sup> pap. :  
ἐπιτηρ[ητ(ῶν)] *ed. pr.* ; νομῶν *ed. pr.* 28 δρυμῶν *ed. pr.* ; Θεαδελφ[εία]ς *ed. pr.* ; πολυδ pap.  
29 καὶ *ed. pr.* ; ἱερατικῶν *ed. pr.* ; ἐν *ed. pr.* ; οὔσιακοῖς *ed. pr.* 30 μισθ<sup>φ</sup> pap. 31 θηρς  
pap. ; θήρα(ς) *ed. pr.* 32 λό[γ]ος *ed. pr.* 34 ιχ<sup>θ</sup> pap. 37 ς pap. ; κδ *ed. pr.* ; — pap.  
38 — pap. 39 πενθ(ημερίας) *ed. pr.* ; — pap. ; κδ *ed. pr.*

*verso*: 1 τ<sup>ο</sup> pap. 2 κρι<sup>θ</sup> pap. ; — pap. 3 αφροδισι<sup>ο</sup> pap. ; δωριω<sup>ν</sup> pap. ; † pap. ; \ pap. 4  
ψω<sup>μ</sup> pap. ; † pap. 5 η corr. ex χ ; † pap. ; \ pap. 6 † pap. 7 ζ corr. ex α 8 σωκρα<sup>τ</sup> pap.  
10 σαρα<sup>λ</sup> pap. 12 χαιρη<sup>μ</sup> pap. 14 / pap. ; η<sup>μ</sup> pap. ; † pap. 15 κρι<sup>θ</sup> pap. ; — pap. 16  
† pap. 17 † pap. 18 † pap. ; \ pap. 19 † pap. 24 † pap. 25 † pap.

(*recto*) “(Col. I) To Theon, *strategos* of the Arsinoites, of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, from Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, Philippos son of Aphrodisios, Leontas son of Leontis, Philippos son of Herakleios, and the associate superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, and of priestly

contracts accounted under imperial leases, and of the other aquatic revenue devolving (thereto), and of fishery. Account of revenues from the abovementioned inspection concerning fishing from the 26<sup>th</sup> up to the 30<sup>th</sup> of the month of Phamenoth of the present 12<sup>th</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar, the lord. As follows: 26<sup>th</sup> dr. 22 ob. 26; 27<sup>th</sup> dr. 36 ob. 1; 28<sup>th</sup> dr. 36 ob. 13; 29<sup>th</sup> dr. 28 ob. 12; 30<sup>th</sup> dr. 28 ob. 21. Total of the penthemeros account: dr. 160 ob. 14, among which to the fishermen for the hire dr. 80 ob. 7, remaining dr. 80 ob. 7. I, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros, have submitted it.” (Col. II has an identical copy of the text of col. I)

(*verso*) “(Col. I) (Day) 28. Dioskoros son of Heron, son of Dioskoros, 84 1/4 1/8 artabas of barley; Aphrodisios son of Dorion, 24 1/2 artabas of wheat; Peteeus son of Panesneus, 79 artabas of wheat for bread; Heraklas son of Chairas, 73 1/2 1/4 artabas of wheat; Chares son of Didas, 34 ... artabas of wheat; Zois daughter of Heron, 27 ... artabas of wheat; Philadelphos son of Sokrates, 21 artabas of wheat; Patron son of Sarapion, 11 artabas of wheat; Ptolemaios son of ..., 29 1/24 artabas of wheat; through Chairemon ..., 26 1/24 artabas of wheat. Total of the day: 325 1/2 1/4 1/8 artabas of wheat, 84 1/4 1/8 artabas of barley. (Day) 29. Heron son of Didymos, 47 1/24 artabas of wheat; Apollonios son of Didymos, 31 1/6 1/24 artabas of wheat; Heron son of Kastor, 15 1/2 artabas of wheat; Aphrodisios ..., 17 1/8 artabas of wheat ... (Col. II) Anchilis ..., 31 artabas of wheat ...”

*recto*

6. Φιλίππου Ἡρακ(λείου): The only difference between the two copies of the text concerns Philippos son of Herakleios, who is mentioned in the first column and omitted in the second one. This difference seems to be unmeaningful: as Philippos son of Herakleios appears among the *epiteretai* in *PSI* III 160 (no. 47), 3, which is a copy of *P.Oslo*. III 91 addressed to the royal scribe, it is unlikely that his liturgical office had expired, and his name had been omitted in the second column for this reason. Since *P.Oslo*. III 91 is a draft, Philippos son of Herakleios had probably been erroneously left out from the address of the second column.

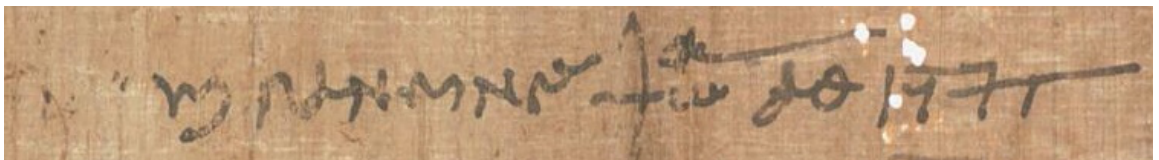
*verso*

1. Dioskoros son of Heron and grandson of Dioskoros was a *presbyteros* of Theadelphia in AD 166/167 (*P.Berl.Leihg*. I 6, col. I 1) and AD 183 (*P.Fay*. 39, 9, 25). He was also a public farmer in the village according to an account of seed loans dated to ca. AD 160 (*P.Col*. V 1, v. 2 col. VI 47), a *pittakiarches* (*BGU* XXII 2909, col. II 21-22), and a tenant of ousiac

land according to a register of payments in money dated to AD 160/161 (*P.Col.* V 1, v. 6 col. VI 78).

4. Peteeus son of Panesneus is also registered in *P.Col.* V 1, v. 2 col. XIII 187, an alphabetical account of seed loans from Theadelphia dated to ca. AD 160. Based on the digital image of the papyrus, the entry, published as [Π . . .] υς Πανεσνέω(ς(?)) ψωλ( ) Ἄθ(ῶρ) ιη̄ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ, should be corrected in some points (Fig. 58). At the beginning of the line, three letters have disappeared. As the column is reserved for the names starting with *pi* and a small trace of ink and the upper line of an *epsilon* are visible before *upsilon*, the personal name of the taxpayer may be supplied as [Πετ]εξεῦς. After the patronymic of the taxpayer, the letter written above *omega* in the sequence ψω-, previously read as a *lambda*, is more likely a *mu* similar to that raised in the abbreviation Πτολεμ(αίου) in *P.Col.* V 1, v. 2 col. XIII 185. Therefore, I propose to read the line as [Πετ]εξεῦς Πανεσνέω(ς) ψωμ(ίον) Ἄθ(ῶρ) ιη̄ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ.

Fig. 58. *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. XIII 187 [Πετ]εξεῦς Πανεσνέω(ς) ψωμ(ίον) Ἄθ(ῶρ) ιη̄ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ



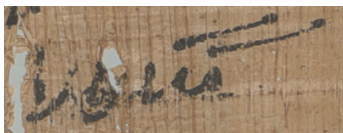
5. Heraklas son of Chairas appears as a village elder of Theadelphia in a list of liturgists of AD 166/167 (*P.Berl.Leihg.* I 6, col. I 6), a public farmer in some financial registers dated to the 160s (*P.Berl.Leihg.* I 4, v. col. IX 19; *P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. IV 60), and a member of the *pittakion* of Heron son of Ison in *P.Graux* IV 31.<sup>1110</sup> He might also be the taxpayer mentioned as Η[ . . .]ς Χαίρᾱ in *BGU* XXII 2913, col. I 13, an account of taxes in money of the second century AD.

6. Chares son of Didas was the grandson of Iason according to *BGU* IX 1891, col. VII 218. Mentioned in a list dated to AD 160 (*P.Berl.Leihg.* II 39 v., col. VI 193), he appears as a taxpayer in *BGU* XXII 2913, col. I 3, 18, 27, col. II 5, an account of taxes in money dated to the second century AD.

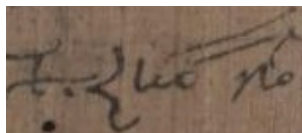
<sup>1110</sup> Kambitsis 2018: 193 n. 22.

11. κδ': On the rounded shape of *delta*, cf. e.g. *P.Col.* V 1, v. 4 col. II 20 (Fig. 59).

Fig. 59. The shape of *delta* in the fraction κδ'



*P.Oslo.* III 91, v. 11 κθ κδ'



*P.Col.* V 1, v. 4 col. II 20 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ξ κδ' Πολ(υδευκείας)

16. Heron son of Didymos was a public farmer (*P.Col.* V 1 v. 2, col. V 74), a member of the *pittakion* of Heron son of Phaseis (*P.Graux* IV 31),<sup>1111</sup> and a taxpayer in Theadelphia in the second half of the second century (*BGU* IX 1898, col. IV 78).

17. Apollonios son of Didymos, registered in a list from Theadelphia dated to AD 160 (*P.Berl.Leihg.* II 39 v., col. III 129), was a taxpayer in the village (*BGU* XXII 2913, col. I 11). He is also mentioned in *P.Stras.* IX 849, col. XI 17, an account of *sitologia* from Euhemeria dated to ca. AD 165.

37. κβ: The sum of drachmas of the 26<sup>th</sup> day, previously read as κδ, is more likely κβ, with a rapid u-shaped *beta*, of which the second vertical is in ligature with the following oboloi-symbol (Fig. 60). This supplement, in conjunction with the reading (ὀβολοὶ) κα at ll. 19 and 39, gives consistency to the account, which would otherwise be incorrect.

Fig. 60. *P.Oslo.* III 91, r. 37 κβ



47. *PSI* III 160

TM 13752

19.6 x 10.9 cm

27 Mar. 149 AD

Image: <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/PSI%20III%20160%20r.jpg>

<sup>1111</sup> Kambitsis 2018: 191-192 n. 17.

*PSI* III 160 is a duplicate of *P.Oslo*. III 91 (no. 46), addressed to the *basilikos grammateus*. The papyrus is written along the fibres, the back is unwritten. It presents all margins, but the left and the lower ones are fragmentary. Twenty-four lines of handwriting are preserved. They are partially damaged by many small gaps scattered across the surface. The handwriting, similar to *P.Oslo*. III 91, is that of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros.<sup>1112</sup>

As this document is a copy of *P.Oslo*. III 91, it records the revenues for the same period (22-26 March 149 AD). Unlike the other penthemeros report, however, *PSI* III 160 is the original sent to the royal scribe, as is suggested by the presence of the date at the end of the document (ll. 23-24). An interesting element is the subscription of a certain Onesimos, added in his slow handwriting before the date (ll. 19-22). The role of this individual, not specified in the text, is unclear: he owned the rights towards *alieis* and *epiteretai* and acted as a supervisor of the penthemeros report. Accordingly, Onesimos was likely an individual external to the corporations of fishermen and superintendents, perhaps one of the priests, who contracted out the rights of fishing and hunting in the marshes to the fishermen.<sup>1113</sup>

In this reedition of the text, I have proposed some readings of the text at ll. 6-7, which had been left partially unread, and corrected the sums of the fishing revenues accounted at ll. 14-16.

Ἄρτ[εμ]ιδώρω βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου) Θεμιστροῦ μερίδος  
παρὰ Πτολεμαίου Διοδώρου [τοῦ κ]αὶ Διοσκ(όρου)  
καὶ Φιλίπ(που) Ἀφροδεισίου καὶ Φιλίπ(που) Ἡρακ(λείου)  
καὶ Λεοντᾶ Λεοντέως καὶ μετόχ(ων) ἐπιτ[η]ρητῶν  
5 [νο]μῶν καὶ δρυμοῦ Θεαδελ(φείας) καὶ [Πο]λυδ(ευκείας)  
καὶ ἱερατικῶν ὀγῶν ἐν οὐσιακοῖς  
μ[ι]σθωταῖς καὶ τῆς ἄλλη<ς> ὕδατικῆς [π]ροσόδ(ου)  
[ῆ] καὶ ὑποπίπτει καὶ θήρας ἰχθύας.  
λόγος τῶν [π]εριγεγογ[ό]τ[ων] ἀπὸ τῆς προκ(ειμένης)  
10 [ἐ]πιτηρήσεως ἀπὸ θήρας ἰχθύα(ς) τῶν ἀπὸ  
κς̄ ἕως λ̄ τοῦ Φαμ(ενὼ)θ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος)  
ιβ̄ (ἔτους) Ἀγτωνίνου Καίσαρος το[ῦ] κυρίου ·

<sup>1112</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1113</sup> See the commentary to *PSI* III: p. 13 n. 19.



vac. ἐστὶ δέ·

κ̄ξ̄ (δραγμαὶ) κ̄β̄ (ὀβολοὶ) κ̄ς̄ κ̄ζ̄ (δραγμαὶ) λ̄ς̄ (ὀβολὸς) α

15 [κ]̄η̄ (δραγμαὶ) λ̄ς̄ (ὀβολοὶ) ιγ̄ κ̄θ̄ (δραγμαὶ) κ̄η̄ (ὀβολοὶ) ιβ̄

λ̄ (δραγμαὶ) κ̄η̄ (ὀβολοὶ) κᾱ (γίνονται) τῆς̄ πενθ̄(ημέρου) (δραγμαὶ) ρ̄ξ̄ (ὀβολοὶ) ιδ̄

ἐξ̄ ὧν̄ ἀλειεῦσι ὑπὲρ̄ μισθῶν (δραγμαὶ) π̄ (ὀβολοὶ) ζ̄, λοιπ(ὸν)

[(δραγμαὶ)] π̄ (ὀβολοὶ) ζ̄. Πτολεμαῖος̄ Διοδώροῡ ἐπιδέδωκα.

(hd. 2) Ὀγήσιμος̄ ἐπηκολούθησα,

20 μένοντός̄ μοι τοῦ̄ λόγου

περὶ̄ ὧν̄ ἔχω̄ πρὸς̄ ἀλιεῖς̄ δ<ι>κ[α-]

ίωγ̄ καὶ̄ ἐπιτηρητάς̄.

(hd. 1) [(ἔτους) ιβ̄ Ἄντ]ωνίνοῡ Καίσαρος̄ τοῦ̄ κυρίοῡ

[Φαρμοῦ]θ(ι) ᾱ.

1 βασι<sup>λ</sup> γρς̄ αρσ̄ι pap. ; Θεμίστου ed. pr.      2 παρὰ ed. pr. ; διοσ̄<sup>κ</sup> pap.      3 φιλι<sup>λ</sup> pap. : Φιλίπ(που)  
ed. pr. ; φιλι<sup>λ</sup> pap. ; ηρακ pap. : Ἡρακ(λείδου) BL 5.122 : Ἡρωνος ed. pr.      4 BL 5.122 : Λέοντος  
ed. pr. ; μετοχ pap. ; ἐπιτ[η]ρητῶν ed. pr.      5 [νο]μῶν BL 2.2.137 : . . . .ων ed. pr. ; 1. δρυμῶν :  
δρυμοῦ ed. pr. ; θεαδῆ<sup>λ</sup> pap. ; πολυδ pap.      6 . . . ed. pr. ; ἱερατικῶν ed. pr. ; . . . . ed. pr.      7  
μ[ . . . ] . . . .οις ed. pr. ; τῆς ed. pr. ; ἄλλη<ς> ed. pr. ; ὑδατικῆς ed. pr. ; [π]ροσῶ<sup>δ</sup> pap. : [π]ροσόδ(ου)  
ed. pr.      8 [ὠς(?) κ]αὶ ed. pr.      9 λόγος ed. pr. ; [π]εριγεγονό[τ]ων BL 2.2.137 : [ . ] . . . .ων  
ed. pr. ; πρῶ<sup>κ</sup> pap.      10 θήρ(ας) ed. pr. ; ιχθυς pap. : ἰχθύ(ας) ed. pr.      11 κς̄ BL 2.2.137 : κε ed.  
pr. ; ἔως ed. pr. ; τοῦ ed. pr. ; φαμθ pap. : Φαμε(νὸθ) ed. pr. ; μηνὸ(ς) ed. pr. ; τοῦ ed. pr. ; εγχεστ pap.  
: ἐνεστ(ῶτος) ed. pr.      12 ς̄ pap. ; Ἄντωνίνου ed. pr. ; Καίσαρος ed. pr. ; κυρίου ed. pr.      14  
[κ]ς̄ ed. pr. ; ς̄ pap. ; κδ ed. pr. ; — pap. : κθ ed. pr. ; ς̄ pap. ; — pap.      15 ς̄ pap. ; — pap. :  
(ὀβολοὶ) γ ed. pr. ; ς̄ pap. ; — pap.      16 ς̄ pap. ; — pap. ; | pap. ; πεν<sup>θ</sup> pap. : πενθ̄(ημέρου) BL  
9.312; cf. 2.2.137 : ἐπι(τηρησίσεως) ed. pr. ; ς̄ pap. ; — pap.      17 1. ἀλειεῦσι: ἀλειεῦσι ed. pr. ;  
ὑπὲρ̄ μισθῶν BL 2.2.137 : . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . α . . . . ed. pr. ; ς̄ pap. ; — pap. ; λοι<sup>λ</sup> pap. : λοιπ( ) ed. pr.  
18 — pap. ; Διοδώρου ed. pr. ; ἐπιδέδωκα ed. pr.      20 μένοντός ed. pr.      21 ἀλιεῖς ed. pr.  
24 [φαρμοῦ]θ pap.

“To Artemidoros, *basilikos grammateus* of the Arsinoites, of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, from Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, Philippos son of Aphrodisios, Philippos son of Herakleios, Leontas son of Leontis, and the associate superintendents of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia, and of priestly contracts accounted under imperial leases, and of the other aquatic revenue devolving

(thereto), and of fishery. Account of the revenues from the abovementioned inspection concerning fishing from the 26<sup>th</sup> up to the 30<sup>th</sup> of the month of Phamenoth of the present 12<sup>th</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar, the lord. As follows: 26<sup>th</sup> dr. 22 ob. 26; 27<sup>th</sup> dr. 36 ob. 1; 28<sup>th</sup> dr. 36 ob. 13; 29<sup>th</sup> dr. 28 ob. 12; 30<sup>th</sup> dr. 28 ob. 21. Total of the penthemeros account: dr. 160 ob. 14, among which to the fishermen for the hire dr. 80 ob. 7, remaining dr. 80 ob. 7. I, Ptolemaios son of Diodoros, have submitted it. (hd. 2) I, Onesimos, have supervised, remaining to me the account for the rights that I have towards fishermen and superintendents. (hd. 1) Year 12 of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pharmouthi 1.”

11. Φαμ(ενὸ)θ: As parallels for this abbreviation in the Roman period, cf. *BGU* III 724, 4; *P.Bingen* 111, v. col. V 92; *P.Flor.* III 321, 4; *SB* VI 9199, col. II 17.

14-16: The account of revenues from fishing has been corrected according to *P.Oslo.* III 91 (no. 46), col. I 17-18; col. II 37-39.

48. *P.Wisc.* I 31, 20 May 149 AD<sup>1114</sup>

Image: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-5407>

(*recto*) “...That he] has checked [the water] in such a way, that not only he, but also the village does not have what is necessary and I have let you know, that you make this clear to Apollonios, in order that he knows it for once. Let him supply the usual amount of water to all the imperial estates right willingly. Report everything concerning these to the *egregius* procurator, at last year, too, a yearly rent for that brushwood was fixed by the *egregius* procurator. I pray that you are in good health. The year 11 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the 30<sup>th</sup> Thoth. A copy of that which has been sent was forwarded to Apollonios, the shore-guard, with the following contents. To Apollonios, the shore-guard. A copy of that which has been sent by Epithumetos, assistant of Irenaios, procurator of Caesar, the lord, in connection with the request of Pamphilos, alias Sokrates, the leaseholder of brushwood in the vicinity of the village of Theadelphia, who complains about you, because you do not supply him with the usual amount of water, about which he claims to have written to you, I have attached below, in order that you know, because he

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<sup>1114</sup> A reedition of *P.Wisc.* I 31 will be presented by A. Dolganov in a forthcoming article.

wished that it should also become clear to you through me what he has sent, and that you see to it that the usual amount of water is supplied. Year 11 of Antoninus Caesar, the lord, the 3rd Phaophi. And Ephithumetos was sent word as follows. The message sent by you because of the request of Pamphilos, alias Sokrates ;, leaseholder of the brushwood in the vicinity of the village of Theadelphia. I have made clear to Apollonios, the shore-guard, as is written below. Year 11 of Antoninus Caesar, the lord, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Phaophi. And below was attached a copy of the above.”

(*verso*) “So far the letter from the person raising objection. Added to this was a reply from Apollonios, the shore-guard. To Theon, strategus of the Arsinoite nome, of the merides of Themistos and Polemon, Apollonios, the shore-guard, to his most beloved, greetings. Letter. Below was attached the copy of the letter from the person raising objection. So far also the (copies) of that which was sent to Apollonios and that which was sent to the person raising objections. Year 12 of Antoninos Caesar, the lord, the 25<sup>th</sup> Pachon in Theadelphia of the Themistos (division).”<sup>1115</sup>

49. *PSI VII 737*, AD 149<sup>1116</sup>

Image: <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/PSI%20VII%20737%20r.jpg>

“... That he hunted ... from Thoth ..., and stole a lot of fish, till it is time that the rent ... A proof of this (comes) from the fishermen of the village, from those of the nome, from the fishermen of Dionysias and Berenikis Thesmophorou, who hunted a lot of fish for him, and besides this from the vendors who purchased the fish, and from the accounts of the scribe Horion, through which everything will be clear to you ... so that the loan and the annual rents are fully satisfied ... I do this having been wronged by him. Farewell. I, the abovementioned Ptolemaios son of Diodoros, have submitted.”

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<sup>1115</sup> Translation by Sijpesteijn; see *P.Wisc.* I: pp. 112-113.

<sup>1116</sup>A reedition of *PSI VII 737* will be presented by A. Dolganov in a forthcoming article. On the date, see Dolganov 2021: 357-358 n. 10.

50. *PSI VII 806*

TM 13795

8.5 x 20.2 cm

26 Jan. - 24 Feb. 158 AD

Image: <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/PSI%20VII%20806%20r.jpg>

*PSI VII 806* is a fragmentary petition, firstly published in 1925. The papyrus has twenty-six lines of writing on the *recto*; the *verso* is blank. It presents the upper, lower, and left margins; the right side of the sheet, on the other hand, is completely broken. The handwriting is an elegant semi-cursive version of Ptolemaios' hand.<sup>1117</sup> Probably from the end of l. 20, the text was written by a second scribe with a faster and messier hand.<sup>1118</sup>

The document is a petition to Eudoros, *strategos* of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon in ca. AD 158-160.<sup>1119</sup> It was sent by Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, identified by Broux in 2013,<sup>1120</sup> to summon to court an Agathinos, who was perhaps in the staff of the *grapheion*. No explicit details are given of the crimes committed by this individual, which had been collected in an account left in the hands of the former gymnasiarch Dorion as evidence of Agathinos' misleading behaviour. As the beginning of the petition suggests, Dorion had also been previously summoned but the action against him had not yet begun. Due to the delay in obtaining a trial, Ptolemaios turned to the *strategos* of the nome to speed up the legal procedure.

As in the *editio princeps* lines 21-24 had been left unread due to the material damages of the papyrus, I have here presented a first reading of lines 21-24 and proposed some other supplements to the text.

Εὐδώρω [στρα(τηγῶ) Ἄρσι(νοίτου) Θεμ(ίστου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος)]  
 μερ[ίδ]ων  
 παρὰ Πτ[ολεμαίου]υ Δ[ιοδώρου]  
 τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου ἀπὸ το[ῦ Ἄρσινοεῖ-]  
 5 τος. ἔνεκεν οὗ πεποίητ[αι ± 7 ]  
 Δωρίων γεγυμνασιαρχη[κῶς ± 5 ]  
 βούλομαι μαρτυρίαγ .[ ±5 παραγ-]  
 γεῖλαι Ἀγαθείνω [τῶ τὸ γρα(φεῖον(?)) ἀσχολου-]

<sup>1117</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1118</sup> On the identification of a second hand, see also Mascellari 2021: 895.

<sup>1119</sup> Whitehorne-Bastianini 2006: 42.

<sup>1120</sup> Broux 2013b: 207 n. 746.

- μένω Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος]  
 10 μερίδων. διὸ ἐπ[ιδίδωμι καὶ]  
 ἀξιῶ τούτου τὸ ἴσ[ον δι' ὑπηρε-]  
 του μεταδοθ[ῆναι τῷ Ἀγα-]  
 θείνῳ ἵν' εἰδῆ π[αρέσσεσθαι]  
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἰε[ρώτατον τοῦ ἡ-]  
 15 γεμόνος βῆμα [ὅπου ἐὰν τὸν τοῦ]  
 νομοῦ διαλογισμ[ὸν ἢ δικαιοδοσίαν]  
 ποιῆται καὶ προσ[καρτερήσιν μέ-]  
 χρι οὐ<sup>δ</sup> ἐκβιβασθ[ῆ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν]  
 ἐπιζητούμενα ἀ[ρκουμένου μου]  
 20 τῆδε τῆ διαστ[ολῆ, . . . . . (hd. 2) μέ-]  
 γοντος [δ]έ μο[ι τοῦ λόγου πρὸς]  
 τὸν Ἀγαθε[ῖνον περὶ ᾧ<sup>ν</sup> ἔχω δικαίων]  
 πάντων [καὶ ὥσ]τε [φανερὰν γενέσ-]  
 θαι σοι τῆ<sup>ν</sup> τοῦ] ἐγκ[εκληκότου ἐπη-]  
 25 ρείαν. (ἔτους) κα Ἀγτω[νίνου Καίσαρος]  
 τοῦ κυρίου, Μεχεῖρ .

3 Δ[ιοδώρου] Broux : Δ[ -ca.?- ] *ed. pr.*      4 τ[ -ca.?- ] *ed. pr.*      4-5 l. Ἀρσινοί-]του      10  
 ἐ[πιδίδωμι] *ed. pr.*      11 ἴσ[ον] pap.      13 ἵν' pap.      14 ἰε[ρώτατον] pap.      15 [οὔ  
*ed. pr.*      20 διαστ[ολῆ -ca.?- ] *ed. pr.*      21-24 Traces 4 lines *ed. pr.*      25 L pap.  
 26 κυρίου *ed. pr.* ; [ -ca.?- ] *ed. pr.*

“To Eudoros, *strategos* of the Arsinoites, of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, from Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, from the Arsinoites. Since it was not done ... Dorion former gymnasiarch, I desire a testimony to be referred to Agathinos, the administrator of the *grapheion* of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon. Therefore I submit (a petition) and request that a duplicate of this is transmitted to Agathinos through an assistant so that he knows that he may be present in the sacred court of the prefect, wherever the assizes of the nome and judgment shall be held, and remain in attendance until my requests against him are fulfilled since I am satisfied with the present statement, ... (hd. 2) and I keep an account of all my claims against Agathinos, so that the injury of the defendant will be clear to you. Year 21 of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mecheir...”

4-5. ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖ-]του: The same introduction of the petitioner is attested in *P.Wisc.* I 33 (no. 40), 2.

15. [ὅπου: The supplement proposed in the first edition is [οὐ ἐὰν τὸν τοῦ]. Nevertheless, οὐ is never attested in similar sentences, in which the usual formula is ὅπου ἐὰν τὸν τοῦ νομοῦ διαλογισμὸν ἢ δικαιοδοσίαν ποιῆται.<sup>1121</sup> Therefore, I have supplied [ὅπου ἐὰν τὸν τοῦ].

20-23. As these lines are particularly faded and damaged, the first editor of *PSI VII 806* left them unread. I have therefore proposed a reading of the text based on the digital image of the papyrus. At the beginning of l. 21, there are traces of 6 letters, which I deciphered as the sequence -γογτος. Then, after the lacuna, a horizontal trace, possibly belonging to *epsilon*, and two letters are visible: the first one is likely a large *mu*, while the second one is round and may be *omicron*. The text of l. 22 is clearer; 7 letters are preserved before the lacuna and 4 letters after it. The first letter of the line is likely a *tau*, slightly curved at the bottom of the vertical line, and followed by an *omicron* and possibly a *nu*, of which only a tiny trace is visible. The subsequent sequence, αγαθ[, can be easily read. After the lacuna of l. 22, an *epsilon* is followed by two letters in ligature, a *rho* with the upper circle open to the left and an *iota*, and then a curved line likely belonging to the beginning of an *omega*. At line 23, the sequence παντ- is followed by two unreadable letters. Based on the palaeographical evidence of lines 21-23, I have supplied the sentence μέ-]|γογτος [δ]έ μοι τοῦ λόγου πρὸς]| τὸν Ἀγαθε[ῖνον π]ερὶ ὧ[ν ἔχω δικαίων]| πάντων (Fig. 61).<sup>1122</sup>

Fig. 61. *PSI VII 806*, 20-23 μέ-]|γογτος [δ]έ μοι τοῦ λόγου πρὸς]| τὸν Ἀγαθε[ῖνον π]ερὶ ὧ[ν ἔχω δικαίων]| πάντων



<sup>1121</sup> Cf. *Chr.Mitt.* 52, 19-20; *P.Mil.Vogl.* III 129,15-16; *P.Ross.Georg.* II 27, 5-6; *SB V* 7870, 18-20.

<sup>1122</sup> As parallels for this supplement, cf. *Chr.Mitt.* 52, 20-21 μένοντός μου τοῦ λόγου περὶ ὧν ἔχω πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγγράπτων δικαίων πάντων; *P.Flor.* I 68, fr. 2 17-18 μένοντός μοι τοῦ λόγου περὶ ὧν ἔχω δικαίων| [πρὸς σε; *P.Ryl.* II 116, 19-21 λόγου μοι| φυλασσομένου περὶ ὧν ἔχω δικαίων| πάντων.

23-25. The beginning of line 24 is extremely damaged. The first trace might belong to a large, rounded letter crossed by a horizontal stroke, which I read as a *theta*, followed by the upper traces of what could be *alpha* and *iota*; I therefore supplied φανεράν γενέσ-]θαι.<sup>1123</sup> The subsequent word, in which only a final *iota* is clearly readable, is likely σοι, followed by the upper traces of two letters. After a lacuna of approximately 4 letters, the sequence ἐγκ- is visible. According to the palaeographical evidence, I have supplied [φανεράν γενέσ-]θαι σοι τῆ[ν τοῦ] ἐγκ[εκληκότου ἐπη-]ρείαν at ll. 23-25 (Fig. 62).<sup>1124</sup>

Fig. 62. *PSI VII 806*, 23-25 [φανεράν γενέσ-]θαι σοι τῆ[ν τοῦ] ἐγκ[εκληκότου ἐπη-]ρείαν



26. Μεχεῖρ : The date of the document is only partially preserved. After Μεχεῖρ, two traces belonging to the same letter are visible on the right edge of the papyrus. As they look like a colon, they might be the initial traces of *zeta* or *eta*.

#### 51. *SB XIV 12087*, Feb./Mar. 162 AD<sup>1125</sup>

Images: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/api/image/apis/X-1486/160R.TIF/full/large/0/native.jpg> ; <https://ub-media.uio.no/OPES/jpg/311r.jpg>

(Fr. A: P.Mich. inv. 160) “To Harpokration, *strategos* of the Themistos and Polemon divisions of the Arsinoite nome, from Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, of the village of Theadelphia. I have appended a copy of the petition that I submitted to the most excellent *epistrategos*, Vedius Faustus, and of his sacred subscription which I received for transmission to you, and of the prefect's judgment that I obtained concerning a like matter,

<sup>1123</sup> For this expression, cf. e.g. *BGU I 195*, 35-36 φανεράν γενέσθαι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τὴν ἐ-π' ἀμ[φο]τέρ[ο]ις ἀλήθειαν.

<sup>1124</sup> As a parallel for this sentence, cf. *P.Stras. IV 226*, 12-13 φανεράν γε[ . . . . . τῆ]ν τῶν ἐγκε-| κληκότων ἐπηρείαν.

<sup>1125</sup> A reedition of the text will be presented by A. Dolganov in a forthcoming article.

so that I may be free of harassment. The copy follows: To Vedius Faustus, the most excellent *epistrategos*, from Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, a resident of the Arsinoite nome. Having gone down to Alexandria with the intention of submitting to you, my lord, a petition in which my request is set out, and not having found you at the moment, I submitted it to the most excellent *iuridicus*, Herennius Philotas, and he referred me to you, and having appended the petition, I beg to obtain your assistance, so that I may be helped. Farewell. The petition follows: To Herennius Philotas, the most excellent *iuridicus*, from Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, a resident of the Arsinoite nome. Since all violence has been eradicated under the rule of the most illustrious prefect and your administration of justice, I myself petition you because I am an object of injustice and violence. The matter is such: I have a son, my lord, who is full-grown. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> year of Aelius Antoninus he has been separated from me, and neither has he shared my life nor is he associated with anyone in the village. But the collectors of money taxes, contrary to what has been forbidden, demand of me the poll tax for him, although all the prefects have ordered that no one is to have excessive demands made on him. These men, contemptuous of the orders, use violence to extort money from me to such an extent that I am harassed by them in the sowing season and the winter. Wherefore, I have fled to you so that I may obtain justice, and if it seems best to your Genius, order that instructions be written to the *strategos* of the division, Harpokration, to guard me from harassment. For they admit that I meet my own public obligations faultlessly. Farewell. I, Ptolemaios, have submitted this petition. (Subscription of *iuridicus*): Year 2, Hadrianos 13. Petition the most excellent *epistrategos*. Return to the petitioner. I, Ptolemaios, have submitted this petition. (Subscription of *epistrategos*): Year 2, Tybi 16. The *strategos* will do whatever is within his jurisdiction. Return to the petitioner. Copy of minutes: Year 15 of Antoninus Caesar our lord, Phamenoth 5. When Petechon had been summoned to the court, Petepeithes, son of Nephtheron, intervened and said: "He agreed to be held back so that he could produce his son in Alexandria straightway to swear, concerning the post of agent that he holds in Sendypai (= Sethrempais), if he stole anything . . ."

(Fr. B: *P.Oslo*. II 18) "Concerning these matters, Kanopos, son of Dorion, advocate assisting Petepeithes, said: "I affirm that there has been no such agreement. Our contention is simple: your son was my client's agent; he stole certain things; produce him." Munatius said: "I understand nothing of what you are saying. For even if that one (the son) were taken as a murderer, his father ought not to be held responsible." Kanopos, son of Dorion, advocate, said: "Let him state on oath that he did not agree to produce his son." Munatius said: "Why do you hold this man illegally and bring him into court and demand an oath from



him?" I, Ptolemaios, have submitted this petition. Year 2 of Aelius Antoninus and Aelius Verus, Caesars, our lords, Phamenoth."<sup>1126</sup>

52. P.Col. inv. 29

21 x 14.5 cm

AD 165/166

Image: <https://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p423/images>

P.Col. inv. 29 is an unpublished excerpt from a public notice of the *strategos* on the liturgical appointment of the *epiteterai*. Twenty-three lines of writing run along the fibres on the *recto*; the back has traces of four or five lines. All margins except the upper one are preserved, but the text is complete as the first line is the heading of the document (see below, n. 1). The papyrus is severely damaged, and the writing is faded especially on the right half of the sheet. As the handwriting is a professional cursive with frequent ligatures and abbreviations, similar to the slower version of the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros,<sup>1127</sup> this document was written by Ptolemaios himself.

The text is undated but may be dated to AD 165/166 through the reference to Heliodoros, *strategos* of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon from the end of AD 164 to 166 (l. 1).<sup>1128</sup> As it is suggested by the absence of the date, the area of oversight of the appointed superintendents, and other sections typical of liturgical nominations,<sup>1129</sup> this document was probably an imperfect copy of the *strategos*' announcement, only including the details the most relevant for the writer. It presents a list of the names and places of the provenance of twenty-one individuals. No sorting criteria are followed, neither by alphabetical order nor by geographical subdivision. Since the category of the nominated *epiteterai* is not specified, the list likely included all the superintendents appointed in the divisions of Themistos and Polemon in AD 165/166 regardless of their specific areas of supervision.

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<sup>1126</sup> Translation by Youtie (a) 1976: 137-138.

<sup>1127</sup> On the handwriting of Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, see Chapter III 2. *History of the Archive*.

<sup>1128</sup> Whitehorne-Bastianini 2006: 43.

<sup>1129</sup> In particular, the missing parts are the reference to the nomination of eligible liturgists, the order of engagement of the office, and the signature of the *strategos*. On those sections, see Stroppa 2017: 20-24.

- [ἐκ τοῦ] προγράμματος Ἡλιοδώρου στρα(τηγοῦ) Θεμίστου καὶ Πολ(έμωνος)  
μερίδω(ν) [π]ερὶ τῶν ἐπιτηρητ(ῶν)  
[Μά]ρων Μάρωνος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἀπὸ Φιλαδ[ε]λ(φίας)  
[Πτ]ολεμαῖος Εὐδαίμωνος ἀπὸ Ταμείων  
[Π]τολεμαῖος Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου ἀπὸ Θε[αδελφί]ας  
5 [ . . . . ] .ς Ἀσκλά ἀπὸ Φιλαγρίδος  
[Γ]αῖος Κορνήλιος Καπίτ[ων]ος γεο(ῦ)χ(ος) περὶ Εὐημέρ[ια]ν  
[Γά]ιος Διοσκόρου ἀπὸ Μ[α]κεδ(όνων) καὶ γεο(ῦ)χ(ος) [π]ερὶ Θ[εαδέ]λ(φίαν)  
[ . . . . . ] εἰο(ς) Ἡρωνος τοῦ Κρονώου ἀπὸ Τ[ε]π[υ]ν[ε]φ[ι]ς  
[Δίδυμ(ος)] Διδύμου ἀπὸ Μ[ακ]εδ(όνων) γεο[ῦ]χ(ος) περὶ Εὐημέριαν  
10 Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Γε[ρ]μανός γεο(ῦ)χ(ος) ἐν Εὐ[ημ]ερία  
[Πτο]λεμ[αῖ]ος ὁ καλούμενος Κέ[λε]ρ γεοῦχ(ος) περὶ Θ[εαδ]έλ(φίαν)  
Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Παμ[μ]ένης τοῦ . . . . . γεοῦχ(ος) . . . . . ( )  
Φάσις Φασίωνος [ . ] .νίου [γ]εο(ῦ)χ(ος) [ . . . . ] . . . . . ( )  
Σαραπᾶς Εὐρήμο(νος) γε[οῦ]χ(ος) περὶ Εὐ[ημ]ερία[ν]  
15 Ποῦλλιος Φιλαδέλ(φου) [γε]οῦχ(ος) [ἐ]ν Διογυσιά[δι]  
Δημήτριος Μύστου ἐν ἀριθμῶ [ . . . . . ] α[δ]έλφ[ι] . . .  
Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Σα[τουρ]νίλος? γεοῦχ(ος) περὶ . . [ . . . ]  
Τρύφων ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Σώτου τοῦ Ἡρωνος ἀπογραφόμε(νος) ἐν Ἀ-  
πόλ(λωνος) πόλ(εως) προαπογραφόμε(νος) ἐν Ἡρ(ακλεία) μητρ(ος) Θ[ε]λ( ) τῆς  
καὶ Τ[α]φυν(ῆς) τῆς Φ[ι]ο[ν] . . μ( ) γεο(ῦ)χ(ος) περὶ . [ . . ]  
20 Γαῖος Λοκρῆτις Κέλερ γεοῦχ(ος) [πε]ρὶ Εὐημέριαν καὶ Πολυδευκεῖαν  
Λουκ[ιαν]ός Ἰουλιανός γεο(ῦ)χ(ος) περὶ Ἀρσινόην  
Ἄμα[ . . . . . ] . . ο[ . . . . . ] . . . . . ο[ . ]σεως γεο(ῦ)χ(ος) ἐν . . [ . . ] ( )  
Μ[ά]ρκ[ος] Ἀ[ρπ]οκρατίωνος γεοῦχ(ος) [π]ερὶ . . [ . . . . . ]

- 1 στρα<sup>s</sup> par. ; πο<sup>l</sup> par. ; μερίδ<sup>o</sup> par. ; επιτηρη<sup>t</sup> par.                      2 φιλαδ[ε]λ<sup>l</sup> par.                      6 γεο<sup>z</sup> par.                      7  
μ[α]κεδ<sup>o</sup> par ; γεο<sup>z</sup> par ; θε[αδελφί]α<sup>l</sup> par.                      8 [ . . . . . ] εἰο<sup>o</sup> par.                      9 διδυ<sup>m</sup> par. ; μ[ακ]εδ<sup>o</sup> par.  
10 γαῖος par ; ἰούλιος par ; γεο<sup>z</sup> par.                      11 γεο<sup>u</sup> par.                      12 γεο<sup>u</sup> par.                      13 l. Πασίωνος ;  
[γ]εο<sup>z</sup> par.                      14 ευρημο par. ; γε[οῦ]χ<sup>z</sup> par.                      15 l. Ποῦλλος ; φιλαδέλ par. ; [γε]ο<sup>u</sup>χ par.  
17 γαῖος par. ; γ[ε]ο<sup>u</sup> par.                      18 απογραφο<sup>m</sup> par.                      18-19 α-|πο<sup>l</sup> par.                      19 πο<sup>l</sup> par. ;  
προαπογραφο<sup>m</sup> par. ; η<sup>p</sup> par. ; μη<sup>t</sup> par. ; τ[α]φυν<sup>v</sup> par. ; γεο<sup>z</sup> par.                      20 γαῖος par. ; γεο<sup>z</sup> par.  
21 γεο<sup>z</sup> par.                      22 γεο<sup>z</sup> par.                      23 γεοῦ<sup>z</sup> par.

“From the public declaration of Heliodoros, *strategos* of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon, about the *epiteterai*.

Maron, son of Maron, son of Ptolemaios, from Philadelphia; Ptolemaios, son of Eudaimon, from the quarter of Tameia; Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, from Theadelphia; [...] son of Asklas, from Philagris; Gaius Cornelius son of Capito, landowner around Euhemeria; Gaius, son of Dioskoros, from the Macedonians’ quarter, landowner around Theadelphia; [...] son of Heron, son of Kronion, from Tebtynis; Didymos, son of Didymos, from the Macedonians’ quarter, landowner around Euhemeria; Gaius Iulius Germanus, landowner in Euhemeria; Ptolemaios also called Celer, landowner around Theadelphia; Sarapion alias Pammenes, son of [...], landowner [...]; Phasis, son of Phasion, son of [...], landowner [...]; Sarapas, son of Euremon, landowner around Euhemeria; Poullos, son of Philadelphos, landowner in Dionysias; Demetrios, son of Mystos, in the group of [...]; Gaius Iulius Saturnilus (?), landowner around [...]; Tryphon alias Herakles, son of Sotos, son of Heron [...], from Amyntaios, [...] previously registered in Herakleia, whose mother is [...] alias Taphaunes, daughter of [...], landowner around [...]; Gaius Lokretis Celer, landowner around Euhemeria and Polydeukia; Lucianus Iulianus, landowner around Arsinoe; Ama... [...], landowner in [...]; Marcus, son of Arpokraton, landowner around ...”

1. The first line of the text is the heading of this document, an excerpt from a liturgical announcement (πρόγραμμα) of the *strategos* on the appointment of the *epiteterai*.<sup>1130</sup> The sentence is atypical and does not follow the common phraseology. On the left edge of the papyrus there is a horizontal trace, possibly part of an *upsilon*, followed by the sequence προγράμματος Ἡλιοδώρου. The term προγράμματος is usually attested in two expressions: διὰ προγράμματος, which is found in the public notices of the emperor and the prefect of Egypt,<sup>1131</sup> or ἀντίγρα(φον) προγράμματος, to be supplied with the abbreviation according to the number of the missing letters. However, both supplements are unlikely for palaeographical reasons, as the little trace remaining after the lacuna does not seem the last line of *alpha*, which usually descends to the right in the sequence -απ- (see *e.g.* the shape of *alpha* in 1. 3 ἀπὸ). Also, in the copies of liturgical announcements the name of the *strategos* is required in the nominative.<sup>1132</sup> Based on the syntax of the sentence, the most likely supplement is [ἐκ τοῦ] προγράμματος, followed by the name of the *strategos* in the

<sup>1130</sup> On the technical meaning of ἐκ προγρα(μμάτων), see Stroppa 2017: 15-16.

<sup>1131</sup> Stroppa 2004: 177-185.

<sup>1132</sup> Stroppa 2017: 17; cf. *P.Mil.Vogl.* inv. 777, 4 (Stroppa 2017: 43-46); *SB XVI* 12504, col. I 2; col. II 2.

genitive.<sup>1133</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that the common expression for excerpts from public declarations of the *strategos* is ἐκ προγρα(μμάτων), with the term in the genitive plural.<sup>1134</sup>

At the end of the sentence, the matter of the excerpt is noticed. Even in this case, the definition of the liturgical assignment as περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηρητ(ῶν) is uncommon. Usually, the sentence required the *nomen agentis* of the liturgist, or the liturgical office was defined with εἰς + accusative/infinitive noun.<sup>1135</sup> For the sequence πρόγραμμα + περὶ to define the object of the notice, cf. *P.Harr.* I 62, 2; *SB XVI* 12724, 4; *W.Chr.* 258, col. IX 5.

2. [Μά]ρων Μάρωνος: This individual might be identified with a Maron son of Maron who appears in *BGU VII* 1620, 26, a list of names of the first half of the second century from Philadelphia.

3. [Πτ]ολεμαῖος Εὐδαίμωνος: Ptolemaios son of Eudaimon, here probably registered as a resident of the quarter of Tameia in Ptolemais Euergetis, is also attested as a superintendent of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia in AD 138.<sup>1136</sup> The identification is confirmed by the appearance, in the following lines, of other *epiteretai* of pastures and marshes appointed in the same year: Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros (l. 4), Gaius Longus son of Dioskoros (l. 7), and Didymos son of Didymos (l. 9).

4. [Π]τολεμαῖος Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου ἀπὸ Θε[αδελ]φίας: Our Ptolemaios son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros is attested as a superintendent of pastures and marshes of Theadelphia and Polydeukia in AD 138 and AD 148/149.<sup>1137</sup>

6. [Γ]άιος Κορνήλιος Καπίτων(ος): In our document, Gaius Cornelius son of Capito is a landowner around Euhemeria. He might be identified with a homonymous individual, who appears as a landowner of Karanis in a tax register from the village dated to AD 172 (*P.Mich.* IV 223, r. LXXI 2157), as his land properties might have been scattered in many villages.

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<sup>1133</sup> This expression, attested in two circulars, *P.Bacch.* 25 verso, 3, and *P.Sakaon* 30, 11-12, is uncommon for liturgical announcements.

<sup>1134</sup> Cf. *P.Leit.* 11, 1-2; *SB XIV* 11613, 1-2.

<sup>1135</sup> Stroppa 2017: 19-20.

<sup>1136</sup> *P.Oslo.* III 89 (no. 29), 4-5; 90 (no. 30), 3-4; *PSI VII* 735 (no. 31), 4.

<sup>1137</sup> See Chapter VII 2. *Ptolemaios the Liturgist: The Epiteretai of Pastures and Marshes of Theadelphia.*

7. [Γάι]ος Διοσκόρου: This individual might be the same superintendent of pastures and marshes mentioned in *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29), 5-6 and *P.Oslo*. III 90 (no. 30), 4 with the name of Gaius Longus son of Dioskoros.

8. [. . . .]εἰο(ς) Ἡρωνος τοῦ Κρονίου: The first name registered in the entry cannot be supplied. However, Heron son of Kronion could be the broker appearing in a receipt of payment from Tebtynis dated to AD 161 (*P.Bastianini* 20, 4).

9. [Δίδυμ(ος)] Διδύμ(ου): Didymos son of Didymos may be the same *epiteretes* appearing in *P.Oslo*. III 89 (no. 29), 11, *P.Oslo*. III 90 (no. 30), 5, and maybe in *BGU IX* 1895, col. II 21, [. . . .]υ Δ[ι]δύμου τοῦ [. . . .] . ζ, where the supplement [Διδύμο]υ Δ[ι]δύμου may be proposed.

10. Γάιος Ἰούλιος Γερμανῶ[ς]: A homonymous individual is attested as the buyer of a plot of land around the village of Onion Koite, in the division of Heraklides, in a second-century sale from Soknopaiou Nesos (*Stud.Pal.* XXII 79, 9-10).

17. Γάιος Ἰούλιος Σα[τουρ(νῖλος)]: Gaius Iulius Saturnilos might be identified with a homonymous individual attested in Karanis from AD 145 to 175.<sup>1138</sup>

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<sup>1138</sup> *BGU I* 300, 13; *P.Bodl.* I 139, 10; *P.Mich.* III 169, col. I 2; *SB VI* 9427, 4-5.

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