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GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH *manus 1. 4*

THE
TEBTUNIS PAPYRI

EDITED BY

BERNARD P. GRENFELL, D.LITT., M.A.

HON. LITT.D. DUBLIN; HON. PH.D. KOENIGSBERG; FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND

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WITH NINE PLATES

LONDON

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PREFACE

THE papyri which form the subject of the present volume were found by us in the winter of 1899-1900 at Úmm el Baragát (the ancient Tebtunis) in the south of the Fayûm, when we were excavating for the University of California with funds generously provided by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst. Brief accounts of the excavations have appeared in the *Athenæum*, 1900, pp. 600-1, and the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, I. pp. 376-8. The large collection of papyri which we then obtained falls into three parts: (1) those from the cartonnage of mummies, which belong to the third or second centuries B. C.; (2) those from the mummies of crocodiles, which with a few exceptions belong to the end of the second or to the early part of the first century B. C.; (3) those found in the ruins of the town, which nearly all belong to the first three centuries of the Christian era. The present volume deals only with the second division (with the addition of a few late Ptolemaic documents from the third), and includes practically the whole of it; for though there are still some small crocodile-mummies containing papyri which have not yet been opened, it is unlikely that they will produce any well-preserved documents of importance.

The Fayûm was the nome of the crocodile-god Sobk, who under various forms and names was worshipped in every village that could boast a temple of its own. In the Ptolemaic period, even after the extensive reclamations from Lake Moeris, crocodiles must have still frequented the district in great numbers, and a pond or small lake full of the sacred animals was no doubt a common feature of the local shrines. An interesting account of the sacred crocodiles of the great

material were wrapped once or several times round the mummy inside the cloth, to which the outer layer was often glued; and a roll or two would frequently be inserted in the throat or other cavities. It is natural that papyrus under these conditions, having been placed inside the mummy, was even more liable to decay than that used in the cartonnage of ordinary Ptolemaic burials, which is outside thick cloth wrappings and is generally protected from contact with the soil by a sarcophagus; and much of what was found was too damaged to have any value, while except in the case of a few of the best mummified crocodiles, even the papyrus that has survived is as a rule extremely fragile. Nevertheless, after making all deductions, the balance of well-preserved papyri is very considerable; and by a happy chance only a small proportion was written in demotic, though large demotic rolls were occasionally buried beside the crocodiles, these being, with the exception of a few pots, the only other antiquities found in their tombs.

The most remarkable characteristic of the Greek papyri from crocodile-mummies is their great size. For enfolding crocodiles three or four metres in length small documents were useless, though they were employed as padding, in which case they had often not been unrolled or were hastily crushed together. For the outer layers the papyri used consisted of large unfolded rolls, and documents of 100 or 200 lines are quite common, while some are much larger still. It is unfortunate that none of these longer texts is of a literary character; but the paucity of classical fragments, which are only four in number, is compensated for by the wealth of new information which is provided regarding the internal history of Egypt under the later Ptolemies. The earliest papyri date from the reign of Epiphanes (nos. 8 and 176), but both of these were found together with much later documents, and the practice of employing papyrus in mummifying crocodiles does not seem to have sprung up, as far as the Tebtunis cemetery is concerned, until nearly the end of the second century B.C.; for documents of Philometor's or even of the earlier part of Euergetes II's reign are very scarce. The bulk of the collection falls within the period from 120 to 90 B.C., but the reign of Neos Dionysus is fairly well represented, the

temple of Sobk at Crocodilopolis, the capital of the nome, is given by Strabo, who came to the Fayûm soon after the Roman conquest, and of whose visit a curious anticipation is to be found in a papyrus of the present series (no. 33) dealing with the preparations for the reception of a much earlier Roman tourist. The later Ptolemaic and early Roman period was that in which the practice of mummifying and burying sacred animals was at its height, and the cemetery of the sacred crocodiles of Crocodilopolis itself was found at Hawâra in 1888 by Prof. Flinders Petrie. These, however, yielded no antiquities of importance, and the crocodile-mummy as a source of manuscripts was not known until we accidentally discovered this new method of obtaining them at Ûmm el Baragât. The tombs of the large Ptolemaic necropolis adjoining the town proved in many instances to contain only crocodiles, and on Jan. 16, 1900—a day which was otherwise memorable for producing twenty-three early Ptolemaic mummies with papyrus cartonnage—one of our workmen, disgusted at finding a row of crocodiles where he expected sarcophagi, broke one of them in pieces and disclosed the surprising fact that the creature was wrapped in sheets of papyrus. As may be imagined, after this find we dug out all the crocodile-tombs in the cemetery; and in the next few weeks several thousands of these animals were unearthed, of which a small proportion (about 2 per cent.) contained papyri. The pits were all quite shallow, rarely exceeding a metre in depth, and the crocodiles were sometimes buried singly, but often in groups of five or ten or even more, and with their heads pointing generally to the north. To the votaries of Sobk the mummification of his sacred animal must have been a labour of love, for besides quantities of the full-grown specimens, tiny crocodile-mummies were found, in addition to numerous sham ones, which had the shape of a crocodile, but contained only a bone or some eggs, or sometimes merely a figure of a crocodile in stone or wood. The ordinary system employed was to stuff the mummy with reeds and sticks, which were covered with layers of cloth, generally arranged in the check pattern with diminishing squares, which is characteristic of Graeco-Roman mummification. When papyrus was used, sheets of this

material were wrapped once or several times round the mummy inside the cloth, to which the outer layer was often glued; and a roll or two would frequently be inserted in the throat or other cavities. It is natural that papyrus under these conditions, having been placed inside the mummy, was even more liable to decay than that used in the cartonnage of ordinary Ptolemaic burials, which is outside thick cloth wrappings and is generally protected from contact with the soil by a sarcophagus; and much of what was found was too damaged to have any value, while except in the case of a few of the best mummified crocodiles, even the papyrus that has survived is as a rule extremely fragile. Nevertheless, after making all deductions, the balance of well-preserved papyri is very considerable; and by a happy chance only a small proportion was written in demotic, though large demotic rolls were occasionally buried beside the crocodiles, these being, with the exception of a few pots, the only other antiquities found in their tombs.

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latest date found being in the year B. C. 56 (no. 202), when that monarch was for a time in exile. There is no reason to think that any of the undated documents are later than the middle of the first century B. C. One very large group from two of the best tombs consists of documents from the bureau of Menches, who from about B. C. 120-111 held the office of komogrammateus or government scribe at Kerkeosiris, at which village nearly all the crocodile-papyri, though found in the necropolis of Tebtunis, seem to have been written. The highly organized system of government elaborated by the Ptolemies encouraged the production of official documents to an extent which even the bureaucracy of modern Egypt can scarcely rival, and the komogrammateus being one of the principal mediums of communication, hardly any collection of official papers would be likely to afford a more detailed and instructive picture of the working of the administration than the selection of papyri from Menches' office which chance has preserved for us. They include a copy of a most important series of decrees (no. 5), many letters to and from his official superiors and others on a variety of subjects, and numerous reports, of which no. 61 is the most elaborate and interesting. The details regarding the ownership, cultivation, and taxation of land, whether belonging to the crown, the temples, or the military settlers, with all of which the komogrammateus was intimately concerned, are extraordinarily full, and throw much light upon the methods of administering the royal estates, which formed a large proportion of the whole area of land under cultivation, and upon the later development of the military colony in the Fayûm, of which the foundation and early history were revealed by the Petrie Papyri. Another large group of papyri which are for the most part closely connected with each other belongs to the period from B. C. 100-50. These are with few exceptions private documents, either contracts or accounts, and stand in complete contrast to the Menches group, but have a special value owing to the extreme rarity hitherto of first century B. C. papyri. Amongst these we may signalize one of unique interest, a complete marriage-contract (no. 104).

The Tebtunis papyri reached England in May, 1900, but during

the rest of that year the editing of *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* and the *Amherst Papyri* left us no time for other work. We were anxious however not to postpone indefinitely the commencement of the publication of so valuable a collection, and the claims of the papyri from the crocodile-mummies seemed the most urgent. Since there was no prospect of our being able to edit them adequately for some years if we could devote to them only the scanty remainder of time available after finishing our annual volumes for the Egypt Exploration Fund, we proposed to Mrs. Hearst and to the Committee of the Fund that the publication of this volume should be undertaken jointly by them, so that copies might be supplied to subscribers to the Graeco-Roman Branch of the Fund, who would, we thought, have every reason to be satisfied with obtaining this important selection of texts. The scheme was approved by both parties, and in consequence this book is at once the first of the Graeco-Roman Archaeological series in the publications of the University of California and the annual volume of the Graeco-Roman Branch for 1900-1, and also (on account of its exceptional length) for 1901-2. This circumstance will explain the existence of two title-pages in the copies sent to the subscribers to the Graeco-Roman Branch.

The task of deciphering and editing in less than a year so large and so difficult a series of texts as the present has not been light, and though we have supplemented our translations by a more elaborate commentary than usual, we are fully conscious of the many problems which have been left unexplained, especially those caused by the use of new technical expressions. We have, however, been fortunate in obtaining the collaboration of Mr. J. Gilbert Smyly, who studied some of the papyri at Dublin during the winter of 1900-1, and later spent two months working with us at Oxford, and has since been in constant communication with us. His skill in decipherment and interpretation is heightened as regards the present series by his intimate knowledge of the unpublished Petrie Papyri which are in process of being edited by him and Dr. Mahaffy, and which they have kindly allowed us to use; and in particular he has contributed largely towards the unravelling of

the complicated arithmetical and geometrical calculations to be found in the section dealing with the land-survey. In editing the classical fragments Prof. F. Blass has, as usual, rendered us great assistance ; and we have also to thank Mr. F. Ll. Griffith and Prof. W. Spiegelberg for help on several points where a comparison with demotic documents was necessary, and Mr. J. G. Milne and Mr. G. F. Hill for similar help with regard to questions of numismatics.

The rest of the Tebtunis collection supplies material for at least two more volumes, with the publication of which the Egypt Exploration Fund will not be associated. We hope to issue Part II, containing an account of the excavations and miscellaneous antiquities and the papyri of the Roman period, within two years. The Roman documents have already, to a considerable extent, been deciphered by Dr. E. J. Goodspeed, of Chicago University, who will collaborate with us in their publication. Part III, containing the earlier Ptolemaic papyri from the cartonnage of mummies, will be issued as soon as the pressure of our other work permits ; but since the cartonnage has first to be separated and the number of Greek papyri to be expected is extremely large, some time must necessarily elapse before we can hope to complete the whole series.

In conclusion we have to express our thanks to Mrs. Hearst for the munificence to which archaeologists owe the discovery of this great collection, and to her and the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund for their consent to our proposal for the joint issue of this volume, which alone has rendered possible the speedy publication of probably the most important section of the Tebtunis papyri.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

OXFORD,

May, 1902.

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CLASSIFICATION OF PAPYRI ACCORDING TO CROCODILES

For purposes of dating it is often a matter of importance to know which documents came from the same crocodile-mummy. We accordingly give a list of the papyri arranged according to the crocodiles which produced them. The following groups of crocodiles found together in the same tomb should also be noted, since it is clear from several cases, where one papyrus has been used in two mummies, that the crocodiles found in one tomb had been mummified together. These are (*a*) crocodiles 1 and 19, (*b*) crocodiles 7, 9, and 28, (*c*) crocodiles 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 27, (*d*) crocodiles 10 and 22, (*e*) crocodiles 18, 24, and 29. The Menches papyri come from groups (*b*) and (*c*) and from crocodile 23, and most of the first century B. C. papyri from groups (*a*) and (*e*).

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 26. 4.
 27. 5, 7, 13, 15-7, 19, 26-7, 30, 34-5, 40, 44, 53, 58, 62-3, 69, 71, 82-5, 87-9, 91, 94-5, 132, 141, 144-5, 150, 161, 169-71, 199, 216-9, 232-7.
 28. 1, 14, 28, 43, 68, 72, 112, 123, 147, 155, 174, 203-5, 211-5, 239, 256.
 29. 100, 102, 104, 105, 109, 175, 186, 200-2, 257.
 30. 6, 176.
 31. 130.

Of the papyri not included in the foregoing list, 42, 136, and 137 were found in the town of Umm el Baragât, and 59 in the ruins of a building in the cemetery.

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE literary texts contained in the following pages are printed as they stand in the originals, except for division of words, addition of capital initials in proper names, occasional expansion of abbreviations, and supplements, where possible, of lacunae. In the case of Pap. 1 only, an exact transcription has been given together with a reconstruction in modern form. Additions or corrections by the same hand as that of the body of the manuscript are in small thin type, those by a second hand in thick type.

Non-literary texts are printed in modern style with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; an index of the latter will be found on p. 642. Additions and corrections are commonly incorporated in the text and their occurrence is recorded in the critical notes; but where special considerations made this method inconvenient, alterations in the original have been reproduced, later hands being distinguished, as in the case of the literary texts, by thick type. Faults of orthography, &c., are corrected where they seemed likely to give rise to any difficulty. Iota adscript is printed wherever it was written, and has also been preferred, in view of the usual practice of Ptolemaic scribes, to iota subscript in expanding abbreviated words and supplementing lacunae. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol, angular brackets < > the mistaken omission in the original of the letters enclosed; double square brackets [[]] mean that the letters within them have been deleted in the original, braces { }, that the letters so enclosed, though actually written, should be omitted. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted. Dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered uncertain.

Heavy arabic numerals refer to the texts of the present volume; ordinary

ditto to lines; small Roman numerals to columns. The numbers to the left, immediately below the title of each text, are those given to the crocodiles and the several papyri obtained from them; e. g. in Pap. 1, 28·5 means crocodile 28, papyrus 5. A table of the texts arranged according to the crocodiles from which they were derived is given on p. xvi.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are substantially the same as those adopted by Wilcken in *Archiv*, I. i. pp. 25-8, viz. :—

- P. Alex. = Papyrus Ptolématiques du Musée d'Alexandrie, by G. Botti, in the 'Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie,' No. 2, pp. 65 sqq.
- P. Amh. I and II = The Amherst Papyri (Greek), Vols. I and II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- Archiv* = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
- B. G. U. = Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.
- P. Brit. Mus. I and II = Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I and II, by F. G. Kenyon.
- C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.
- P. Cairo = Greek Papyri in the Cairo (late Gizeh) Museum (Catalogue by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt in the press).
- P. Fay. Towns = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.
- P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, by J. Nicole.
- P. Grenf. I = Greek Papyri, Series I. An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell.
- P. Grenf. II = Greek Papyri, Series II. New Classical Fragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Leyden = Papyri Graeci Musei antiquarii publici Lugduni-Batavi, by C. Leemans.
- P. Oxy. I and II = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I and II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Par. = Les Papyrus Grecs du Musée du Louvre (Notices et Extraits, tome xviii. 2), by W. Brunet de Presle et E. Egger.
- P. Petrie I and II = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Parts I and II, by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.
- Rev. Laws = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with an Introduction by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.
- P. Tor. = Papyri Graeci Regii Taurinensis Musei Aegyptii, by A. Peyron.
- Wilcken *Ost.* = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.

I. LITERARY FRAGMENTS.

I. FRAGMENT OF AN ANTHOLOGY.

28.5.

30.5 x 49 cm.

About B. C. 100. PLATE I.

OF the four literary papyri obtained from the crocodile-mummies of Tebtunis, three are fragments of anthologies. The three, however, in reality reduce themselves to two, for the extracts contained in the present papyrus are all (with one exception) found in a more fragmentary condition in 2, which was written by the same scribe; see the introduction to that papyrus. The extracts are here contained in a single broad column of writing, which does not fill up more than three-fourths of the depth of the papyrus, and is complete in itself so far as it goes. It is preceded by another short column, giving a copy of the commencement of the decrees of Euergetes II (5). The handwriting, which is the same in the two columns, is a well-formed semi-uncial, with occasional lapses into cursive forms. The papyrus, like the other documents from this crocodile, dates from the close of the second century B. C.

The excerpts show much variety in character. The first two, which are the longest, are lyrical, and perhaps older than those which follow. Lines 1-4 appear to be an address by Helen to her husband Menelaus, who had brought her back from Troy, but was now in his turn deserting her. If so, however, the writer was following a tradition which has not otherwise survived, for Menelaus and Helen after the fall of Troy are elsewhere represented as having lived together in harmony at Sparta. The metre of the piece seems to be a cretic system composed of two parts, δ φανείς—πάτραν and $\nu\tilde{\nu}$ δέ—'Αγαμέμνονι, which with a few slight changes may be made to correspond completely.

This is followed (ll. 5-11) by an elaborate description of a woodland solitude, frequented only by singing birds and humming bees, the latter being distinguished by an extraordinary accumulation of epithets. The metre of

this extract is a mixture of Anacreontics and Ionici a minore. Next come three couplets describing various aspects of love, (a) the obstinacy of love (ll. 12-3), (b) its fickleness (ll. 13-4), (c) the power of wine to excite the passions (ll. 15-6). One line in each of the first two couplets is an iambic trimeter, while it is uncertain whether the other line was originally iambic or not. The metre of the third couplet, if indeed it be metrical at all, is quite different; but it is disfigured by lacunae. The last of the excerpts is certainly prose, and represents a debauchee on his death-bed giving instructions for his bones to be burnt and pounded, and then used as a remedy for sufferers from similar excesses. The phraseology of these later extracts indicates their Alexandrian origin, e.g. θέλετε for βούλεσθε in l. 13, and πάλι in l. 14 (cf. 2. (a) 16).

On the *verso* of the papyrus are some short lists of names, a column of figures, &c., written at different times and in different hands. Among this ephemeral writing appear the first few words of the second of the literary pieces on the *recto* ξουθα δ ενγυφων ορνεα διεφε.

In the reconstruction and interpretation of this and the following new literary fragments we are, as usual, much indebted to the assistance of Professor Blass. We give first an exact transliteration of the original, and then a reproduction in modern form.

ωφανησχαρμαμοιφιλονοτεμηγαπασοτεδορατιπολεμοπανφρυγων
πολιεπορθεισμονατααμακομισαιθελωλεχαπαλινεισπατραννυ
δεμουναμαφισαλοχοναρτοργεαπεισηνδαναιδηνλοχοσεμολενησ
ενεκαπαιδαταναγαμεμονιλεαρτεμιστονοσφαγιοναγαμεμονι

- 5 ξουθαδενγυφωνορνεαδιεφετανερημονδριοσακροσεπικ[.]ωσι
πιτυοσημενεμινυριζετιττυβισζενημενεμινυριζετιττυβιζε
κελαγονπαντομιγηκαιταμεναρχετοτ[. . .]ελλενταδεσιγαν
ταδεβωστευοντοτορηλαλευσιφωναισφιερημοσδεναπαισ
μαλλοσανταμβεθαχωπιθαναδεργατιδεσλιμπορσωποξουθοπτεροι
10 μελισσαιθαιμναιθερεοσεριθολιποκεντροιβαρναχισπηλουργοι
δυσερωτεσασκεπειστογλυκυνεκταρμελιτορρυτοιαρη[.]υσι

- ερωτανουνητεουντεςαγνοειθοτιπυρανακαιομενον
ελαιωθελετεκ[.]μισαι ερωτοςψυχηνκαιλαμπαδιον
υπανεμ[.]ενανηφθη[.]ποτεδεπαλικοιμιζεται
15 πινοντ[.]οτουμ[.]σμεθακαιουκετιφρονουμεν

οδερωμεπ[. . .]ναισταισ[.] . τει . [. . . .] :σκατακεκαυεν
 φιλοπυγιστηστ[. .] αποθησκων[.] :τοτοισγνωριμοιο
καικοφατε
 κατακαυσατετασ[.] ταριαμουκαικατα[. . . .] :νατοισταεμπυγιαπονουσι
 επιπασθηθωσφ[. .] μακον

1-6. Traces here of effaced writing. 14. αν in ανεμ[corr. from .ομ. 15. ον
 in φρονουμεν corr. from ν. 19. After]μακον, at a distance of about three letters, an
 erasure.

1-4 = 2. (a) verso 8-14.

*Ω φανείς χάρμα μοι φίλον, δε μ' ἠγάπας, δε δόρατι πολεμίῳ τὰν Φρυγῶν
 πόλιν ἐπύρθεις, μόνα τὰμὰ κομίσαι θέλων λέχεα πάλιν εἰς πάτραν· νῦν
 δὲ μούναν μ' ἀφείς ἄλοχον, ἄστοργ', ἀπεις, ἦν Δαναϊδᾶν λόχος ἔμολεν, ἧς
 ἔνεκα παῖδα τὰν ἄγαμον εἶλ' Ἄρτεμις, {τὸ} σφάγιον Ἀγαμέμνονι;

'O sweet delight didst thou seem to me, when thou lovedst me, when with hostile
 spear thou didst sack the Phrygians' city, desiring to take me only as thy spouse back to thy
 native land; but now, heartless one, wilt thou depart, leaving me a lonely wife, for whom
 went out the band of the Danaids, for whose sake Artemis carried off the unwed maid,
 Agamemnon's victim?'

3. ἦν . . . ἔμολεν: the use of the simple accusative with ἔμολεν is unsatisfactory in this
 context, and perhaps a preposition has dropped out. There would be room for two
 or three more letters in the corresponding part of the line in the second copy (2. (a)
 verso 12).

4. ἄγαμον: so 2. (a) 13; Ἀγαμέμνον was brought in by the Ἀγαμέμνονι at the end of the
 line. Both copies have τὸν σφάγιον Ἀγαμέμνονι. The metrical scheme appears to require
 the omission of the article.

5-11. (8-11 = 2. (a) recto, (b) recto, (c) verso).

5 ξουθὰ δ' ἐγγύφων' ὄρνεα δι' ἐφετᾶν (?) ἐρῆμον δριός ἀκροῖς ἐπὶ κ[λ]ῶσι
 πίτυος ἤμεν' ἐμινύριζ' ἐτιτύβιζεν
 κέλαδον παντομιγῆ, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀρχετο τᾶ δ' ἐμ]ελλεν τὰ δ' ἐστῖα
 τὰ δ' ἐβῶστρει, τῷ δ' ὄρη λαλεῦσι φωναῖς, φιλέρημος δὲ νάπαισιν
 λάλος ἀνταμείβειτ' ἀχώ πιθαναὶ δ' ἐργάτιδες σιμπορῶσσοποι ξουθόπτεροι
 10 μέλισσαι θαμιναὶ θέρεος ἔριθοι λιπύκεντροι βαρναχεῖς πηλουργοὶ
 δυσέρωτες ἀσκεπεῖς τὸ γλυκὺ νέκταρ μελιτόρρυτον ἀρῆ]ο]υσιν.

'The brown birds singing hard by through the wood deserted of commanders, perched
 on the topmost branches of a pine, chirped and twittered in mingled chorus, some
 beginning, others pausing, others silent, others in full song; then the hills speak with voices,
 and chattering Echo, lover of solitude, answers in the dells; the willing busy bees, blunt-

faced and dusky-winged, summer's thronging toilers, who leave their sting behind, deep-toned, workers in clay, full of eagerness, unsheltered, draw out the sweet nectar, honey-laden.'

5. δι' ἐφετᾶν ἐρήμον δριός: ἐφέτης occurs in Aeschylus, *Persae* 80; it seems however very unsatisfactory here, though this may be partially due to the separation of the passage from its context. διεπέτετ' ἀν' ἐρήμον δριός ἄκροισ (τ') (Blass) would improve the sense, if not the metre. Lines 5-6 may be scanned as two Anacreontics (the initial syllable of the first being absent), followed by three Ionici a minore, of which the two latter have resolved final syllables, and an Anacreontic (| μύνηριζ' ἐπιτύβιζεν). The scansion of the remainder presents no difficulty.

As remarked in the introduction, the opening words ξουθα δ ἐγγύφων ορνεα διεφε have been copied out again on the *verso* of the papyrus.

8. τὰ δ' ἐβώστρει: this seems a fairly certain correction of the τα δ εβωστρευοντο of the papyrus. 2. (a) *recto* 4 apparently reads εβωστρευονταν, while 2. (c) *verso* 1 perhaps had βωστρειν; cf. notes *ad loc.*

τότ' ὄρη λαλεῦσι: Blass suggests τότ' ὄρειλάλοισι, with no punctuation after ἐβώστρει.

νάπαισιω: the addition of the syllable -ω is necessary for the metre. Probably the original copy had νάπαισιω, ω being here represented by the μ of μάλλος. λαλος and αλλος would be barely distinguishable in the hands of this period.

10. λιπόκεντροι: cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 91 C ὥσπερ μέλιττα τὸ κέντρον ἐγκαταλείπων.

πηλουργοί: the allusion appears to be to the habit of some bees of making holes in the ground. There is also a variety (found in Egypt) which builds cells of mud against stones in sheltered situations; and such bees might also be well described as πηλουργοί.

12-3 = 2. (a) *verso* 1-2.

ἐρῶντα νουθετοῦντες ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι
πῦρ ἀνακαίμενον ἐλαίῳ θέλετε κ[οι]μίσαι.

'In admonishing a lover you are ignorant that you are seeking to quench a smouldering fire with oil.'

12-3. The second line of the couplet, as Blass points out, can be converted into an iambic trimeter by the transposition ἀνακαίμενον πῦρ θέλετ' ἐλαίῳ κομίσαι. But it is perhaps best not to disturb the order of the original. The mixture of iambic trimeters with other measures is found in the choruses of the Attic dramatists. It is, moreover, to be observed that πῦρ ἀνακαίμενον can be scanned as the second half of a pentameter, which appears in conjunction with iambs in the metre known as the iambelegus. Cf. the next couplet.

13. The blank space left in the papyrus after κ[οι]μίσαι indicates that another excerpt commences with the next word.

13-4 = 2. (a) *verso* 3-4.

ἐρῶντος ψυχὴ καὶ λαμπάδιον ὑπ' ἀνέμου
ποτὲ μὲν ἀνήφθη ποτὲ δὲ πάλι κοιμίζεται.

'A lover's spirit, as a torch fanned by the wind, is now ablaze, and now again dies away.'

13-4. The idea emphasized in this couplet is the fitfulness of passion, which is not inaptly compared to a torch in the wind, one moment flaring up fiercely, and another, almost extinguished.

The couplet, like the preceding, is composed of an iambic trimeter and another line which is not, but which can be converted into an iambic trimeter without much difficulty, e. g. ψυχὴ τ' ἐρώτος λαμπάδιον θ' ὑπὸ πνοῆς. But the safer course is to leave the line as it stands.

15-6 = 2. (a) *verso* 5-7.

πίνοντ[ες . . . (?)π]ότου μ[εμεθύ]σμεθα κούκέτι φρονούμεν
ὁ δ' ἔρωτος ἐμὲ π[υρ]ραϊσ ταις [.] . τει . [. . . α]ῖς κατακέκλευεν.

'We are drunk with drinking and no longer in our senses, and love has consumed me with . . . that are like fire.'

The point of these two lines is obscured by the lacunae. Love however is again the subject, and the thought may be simply of the power of wine to excite the passions. The connexion between wine and love is a common enough theme; cf. e. g. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 749. In the corresponding passage 2. (a) *verso* 5 there is space for one or two more letters between πίνοντες and ποτου than seems possible here. The letter before του seems to be either ο or σ.

Whether this couplet is verse or prose is doubtful. It is noticeable that the scansion of the last six syllables in each line is identical, and that at the beginning πίνοντ[ες] is metrically equivalent to ὁ δ' ἔρωτος ἐμέ. This would be a strange coincidence, if accidental.

17-9.

φιλοπυγιστῆς τ[ις] ἀποθνήσκων [ἐνετε]λα]το τοῖς γνωρίμοις,
κατακάυσατε τὰ δ[ι]στάρια μου καὶ κατὰ[ξ]ατε] καὶ κόψατε [ἵ]να τοῖς τὰ
ἐμπύγια πονοῦσι
ἐπιπασθῆ ὡς φ[άρ]μακον.

'Paedico quidam moriturus amicis haec praecepit: combusta ossa mea perfringite et conterite, ut ex clune laborantibus medicamen adhibeantur.'

This there can be no doubt is sheer prose.

2. FRAGMENTS OF AN ANTHOLOGY.

23·4.

15·2 × 11·8 cm. (Frag. a).

About B. C. 100.

The following fragments belong to another copy of the anthology from which the preceding excerpts were derived. Both sides of the papyrus have been utilized. On the *recto* are (1) a partially erased copy of the second extract of 1 (Frag. a), (2) on a small fragment a few letters from another copy of the same extract (Frag. b), and (3) part of a contract dated in the reign of Cleopatra

Euergetis and Ptolemy Alexander (Frag. *d*), all being by the same hand as the two columns of that papyrus. On the *verso* the anthology appears for the third time, but here it is at greater length. Almost all that is contained in 1 is represented besides a good deal that is not found there. Parts of three columns at least remain; and there are smaller fragments which may belong to another column or columns. We print the text of the *verso* of three separate fragments; the rest are too insignificant to be worth reproducing. The whole papyrus is much decayed, and the ink in parts is very faint. Fragments (*a*) and (*c*) comprise (among other pieces) the extracts copied in 1. Fragment (*d*) appears to contain part of a dialogue, which may, as Blass suggests, come from a mime; but the sense is hardly recoverable.

The handwriting of the *verso* is a rather small cursive, with, in fragment (*d*) at least, frequent abbreviations. It is, however, practically certain that this copy and the others were all written by the same scribe. The connecting link is provided by the contract on the *recto*, which was begun in a semi-uncial hand and continued in a cursive approximating to that of the *verso*. As to the relations of 1 and 2 *recto* and *verso*, probably the copies were made at different times from one original, and are independent of each other. 2 *verso* shows the best text, though it is by no means free from corruptions. 1 and 2 *recto* are careless, and were perhaps only written for practice or amusement.

Frag. (*a*). *recto*.

[ξουθα δ ενγυ]φων ορνεα δι εφεταν ερημον δριος
 [ακροισ επι] κλωσι πιτυος ημενε εμινυριζε
 [τιττυβιζεν κελ]αγον π[α]ντομιγη και τα μεν
 [18 letters τα] δ εβωστρ[.]ευονταγο
 5 [. λαλευ]σ[ι] φωναις φ]ιλερημος δε ναπαις
 [μαλλος ανταμβεθ αχωι πιθαναι δ] εργατιδε[ς
 [λιμοπροσωποι ξουθοπτ]εροι μελισσαι
 [θαμναι θερεος εριθοι λι]ποκεντροι{s} βα[ρυ

Frag. (*a*) *verso*.

Col. i.

[ερωντα κουθετουν]τες α[γ]νο[ε]ιθ οτι πυρ ανα
 [καιομενον ελαιω θε]λετε κοιμισαι
 [ερωντος ψυχην και] λαμπαδιον υπ ανεμου
 [α]λλο

- [ποτε μεν ανηφθη ποτ]ε δε παλι κοιμιζεται
 5 [πινοντες ο]του μεμεθυσμεθα και
 [ουκετι φρονουμεν ο] δε ερω(ς) εμε πυριναις
 [ταις] κατακεκαυκεν
- [ω φανης χαρμα μοι φιλο]ν οτε μ ηγαπαις οτε
 [δορατι πολεμιοι ταν] Φ[ρυγων πολι]ν
 10 [επορθεις μονα ταμα κομισαι θελων] λεχεα
 [παλιν εις πατραν νυν] δε [μουναν μ α]φισ αλοχον
 [αστοργε απεις η]ν Δανα[ιδαν λο]χος εμολεν
 [ης ενεκα παιδα ταν] αγαμον ιλ[ε Α]ρτεμις {τον}
 [σφαγιον Αγαμεμνο]νι
- 15 [.]πλου^{αλλο}ν μ εδερες
 [.]ννουσιν παλι συρι παλι μ εδερε

Col. ii.

καε . [.]ειν[
 αυτο το πυρ [
 ωφελο]ν ηρα[
 γη περιε[
 5 ωφελεσ ηδ[
 παιαν μ[.] . [
 αλιεν βαλει[
 νηται
 χαλκεμβολ εν[
 10 εις Αλεξανδρα]ν
 ου δυν[α]μαι δυν[
 ii. 5. Second ε of ωφελεσ corr.

Frag. (b) recto.

] τιτ[τυβι]zen
 βωσ]τρευ]ον

αντα]ββεθ [αχαι
μελισσαι θαμίναι

Frag. (c) verso.

[. . .]ιν τ[
[α]νταμβε[θ α]χω [λιπο
ξ[ο]υθοπτ[εροι] μελισσαι
κ[ε]ν[τρο]ι [βα]ρουα[χεις]
5 [ασ]κεπε[ι]ς το γλυκυ
[. .]σκυπ . υκελ . [
αγεπα[. .]ν[
η καταλ . [
ανανεπ[
10 [. .]λι . . . [
.

2. μ of [α]νταμβε[θ above the line.

Frag. (d) verso.

[.]ν . [
[.]ρονπ . [
[.] . . κε[. .] . [
[.]πω κυρια τ[.] . [
5 [.]ν φίλων
[.]ς μη σχειν ετ[
[.] . [.] . . . ακις μονοκ[ο]μ[τ
[.] . ν μενε[.]ια[.]εσ
[.]π]αρακυψον ικετω Κλευπατ[ρα
10 [.] . ιν . τωναπηλιτριωμεν δοκ[
[.] . τα μεταπεσιν αδύνατον) μη μου τ[
πυ[.] περιπεπλευκας μετα [
κ . υ () . . εκαιαπλι () αριχ ()
ερω μαινομαι καταγμαι εμ[
15 κρο(υσον) τας θυρα(s) μη μεγα φωνι τ . [
.

εξαναστατουμαι και π . [

 δος μοι τον τριβω(να) και β . γ . ε . [

 κυριε καθευδεις κα[. .] . . . [

 εγω δε στρεφομαι και . . . [

 20 μεθυων ερχεται ο μεγα . . [

 ο κελεης σου γεμι καλι και [

18. δ of καθευδεις corr.
corr. from a second η (?).

21. Below the line an erased paragraphus.

σ of κελεης

(a) *recto* 1-8 = l. 5-10. The papyrus had already been used before this copy was made, the original writing having been washed off. These lines also appear to have been themselves purposely erased in parts. There is nothing legible below l. 8, but there are traces of effaced writing, which more probably represent the original document than the continuation of the anthology. In that case this copy came to an abrupt end at l. 8 or in the middle of l. 9. The same thing has happened with regard to the contract on the *recto* of fragment (d); six lines of this were written and then erased, a fresh start being made a little lower down.

4-5. The copyist appears to have been particularly careless in these two lines. It does not seem possible to get αρχετο τα δ εμελλεν τα δ εστιγα τα into the lacuna at the beginning of l. 4, while, if ο at the end is the first letter of ορη, there is not enough to fill the corresponding lacuna in l. 5. In εβωστρέουσαν, there is a space between ρ and ε in which there are traces of ink; but these may come from the document originally written on this side of the papyrus. The doubtful α has been corrected, perhaps from ο. The ν may possibly be ι.

verso i. 1-7 = l. 12-6.

3. [α]λλο above the line marks the beginning of a fresh excerpt; so too l. 15 below.

8-14 = l. 1-4.

ii. 3. ηρα[: οτ κρα[.

(c) 1-5 = l. 8-11. This piece of papyrus is adhering to another, and is too fragile to be separated, so we do not know what the *recto* contains.

1. Supposing this line to have been of about the same length as those following, and that it contained no abbreviations, we should have expected it to commence with τωσ ορη (l. 8). The fifth letter is, however, almost certainly ν, and the sixth most probably τ; and preceding the ν is what appears to be ι with a horizontal stroke immediately above it. βωσ|ρευ|ουτ[ο, the reading in l. 8, is not possible.

(d) On the *recto* of this fragment is the contract referred to above.

1-4. The spaces between these lines are rather broad, and they were very probably divided by paragraphi.

5-6. The spacing indicates that there was a paragraphus between these two lines.

7. Probably παλλακεις, but the vestiges are too scanty for certainty.

9. Κλευπατ[ρα : the vestiges do not suit the τ very well, but the reading is just possible.

12. The α of μετα is an angular dash above the τ; so too that of μετα in l. 15.

3. EPIGRAMS.

1-3.

21.5 x 13.4 cm. Early first century B. C. PLATE II.

A fragment from a collection of Alexandrian epigrams. Parts of thirty-one lines are preserved, being the right-hand half of a single rather short column, in which are included four distinct elegiac poems on miscellaneous subjects. Of these one at least, the second (ll. 13-20), appears in the Anthology, and is a poem by Alcaeus of Messene on a statue of the pancratiast Cleitomachus of Thebes, erected by his father Hermocrates (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 588, *Anth. Plan.* iv. 2. 5; cf. Pausan. vi. 15). Alcaeus Messenius is known to have flourished at the beginning of the second century B. C., so that this MS. is separated from the author by an interval of not more than about a century. There is, however, only one considerable variant from the ordinary text, *βραχείουας* for *ἐπωμίδας* in l. 17, and this does not affect the sense. At the end of the same line the papyrus has the correct reading *παλαίους* for *παλεύους*, the reading of the Codex Palatinus. The other three epigrams do not seem to be extant. The subject of the first is a picture representing the death of Phaethon after his fatal attempt to drive the chariot of the sun, with the broken chariot and his mourning sisters; cf. Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 314, sqq. Possibly this epigram is also by Alcaeus of Messene, as there is no sign of a name between it and the next. But if the name of the author of the succeeding poem was a short one no part of it would have been preserved; and the spacing of the lines does not afford a trustworthy clue. The third epigram (ll. 22-25) was written upon some literary work by a poet whose name ended in -ippus, probably Poseidippus or Hegesippus. The fourth (ll. 27 sqq.) is upon the well-worn theme of the Spartan woman killing her son who had fled from battle (cf. *Anth. Pal.* ii. 23, vii. 230, 433, 531, ix. 61, 397) by a writer the termination of whose name was apparently -ιαδου, perhaps Asclepiades or, less probably, Philiadas.

The papyrus is written in a good-sized, rather irregular and uncultivated uncial hand, without punctuation or other signs. A few alterations have been introduced apparently by the original scribe, while in the margin opposite l. 18 is an illegible word in a smaller and perhaps different handwriting. The crocodile which produced this fragment is comparatively late in date, belonging to the same group as the crocodiles numbered 18, 19, 24 and 29, the papyri from which were for the most part written in the reigns of Ptolemy Alexander and Neos Dionysus; cf. 103. introd.

On the *verso* are beginnings of a few lines written in a large hand, probably an account.

-]ραῖ Διβηθριδες οικτρα[ι]
 Ηριδανου τα]ισδε παρ ηιοσιν
]τος αφ αρματος εντεα θ ιππων
]ε λθαρη θ(ρ)αυστα κλιθεντα κονι^{ει}
 5 Φαε]θων ου εδαισατο σαρκα κεραυνο[[⁵ν]]
 [αψ Τπεριον]ιδα χρυσειον οικον ιδιν
 φθιμεν]ον κλαυθονται αδελφον
 στ]ηθεα πλησσομεναι
]ν αιθαλοεν πυρ
 10]ον ηλθον εδος
] ζωιοσι γαρ ικελα τευξεν^ε
] τεχναιοσι φιλαις
 [οιον ορης ω ξεινε το χαλκε]ον ικονα λημα
 [Κλειτομαχου τοια]ν Ελλας εσιδε βιαν
 15 [αρτι γαρ αιματοεν]τα χερων απελυετο πυγμας
 [εντεα και γοργωι] μαρνατο παγκρατιωι
 [το τριτον ουκ εκονισ]σε βραχειονας αλλα παλαισας
 [απτως τους τρισσους Ιστμοθεν ιλε πονους^v
 [μουνος δ Ελληνων το]δ εχει γερας επταπυλοι δε
 20 [Θηβαι και γενετωρ ε]στεφεθ Ερμοκρατας
 ι]ππου
] Μουσαι φιλαι εστι το γραμμα
 [ρεια δ αριγνωτον τ]ων επεων σοφηι
 [- μ - δε το]ν ανδρα και εστι [μ]οι ωσπερ αδελ]φος
 25 [συμπαντων τε φιλος τω]ν καλ επισταμεν[ω]ν
 ? Ασκληπ]ιδαδου
 υι]ον απο τρισσων ενα ματηρ
 ου]δ υποδεξαμενα
 τρεσσα]ντα τομω διεπαξε σιδαρωι
 30] . ε Λακαινα γυνα
]νπε [.] . γων

5. ρ of κερανος corr. 12. ι of φιλας corr. from λ. 29. After σιδαρων traces of three or four effaced or erased letters.

3. θ ιππων: the letters θ and ι are extremely doubtful, being very blurred and faint.

7. ι. κλαύσονται.

13. ικονα is a mistake for (ε)ικόνι.

17. εκοισ}σε βραχειονας: ἐκόνισσεν ἐπωμίδας Cod. Pal.

παλαισας: παλεύσας, the reading of the Cod. Pal., has generally been corrected to παλαίσας, which is confirmed by the papyrus.

18. Ι]στροθεν: l. Ἴσθμόθεν.

20. Ερμοκρατας: Ἐρμοκράτης vulg.

29. τρεσσα]βτα: cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 531. 1 and Plutarch, *Ages.* 30 τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καταδειλιάσασιν οὗς αὐτοὶ τρέσαντας ὀνομάζουσι.

4. HOMER, *Iliad*, Book II.

26.1. Frag. (a) 11.3 × 11.2 cm. Late second century B. C. PLATE II.

Fragments of five columns of a papyrus containing the second book of the *Iliad*, written in a round uncial hand resembling that of the Louvre Hyperides papyrus. A is formed with a loop in the left-hand corner as in the British Museum papyrus of Hyperides' oration against Philippides. Two cursively written documents belonging to the end of the second century B. C. were found in the same crocodile as these Homer fragments, which can be assigned with confidence to the same period.

The part of the book covered by the fragments is from ll. 95–210, but this is in an extremely imperfect condition. Many of the pieces preserved are stained nearly black, and all are extremely fragile.

An interesting feature of the papyrus, especially on account of its early date, is the occurrence of several critical signs, such as the obelus (ll. 124, 133, 197), the διπλή περιεστιγμένη (l. 156), the αντίσιγμα (l. 204), and the asterisk with the obelus (note on l. 141), besides a stroke marking the beginning of sections. A high stop is occasionally found. Iota adscript is sometimes omitted. The text of the papyrus is a fairly good one, and does not differ much from that of the later MSS. A hitherto unknown variant occurs in l. 132 (cf. also note on l. 137), and it is noteworthy that in l. 133 the reading of Aristarchus is corrected into that of the vulgate. The corrupt line 206 is omitted, as in most later MSS. Line 185 was omitted by mistake and inserted in the margin at the bottom. In the margin between ll. 200 and 201 is a β, marking the second hundred in the scribe's text, which up to this point

must have corresponded very closely, perhaps exactly, in the matter of lines with the later MSS., though much stress must not be laid on the exactness of the correspondence, for the papyrus scribes were not very precise in marking the hundreds; cf. e. g. the long Oxyrhynchus Homer (P. Oxy. II. 223).

The restorations of the lacunae are from the text of La Roche. A facsimile of Cols. iv and v is given on Plate II.

Col. i.

- 95 [τετρηχει δ αγορη υπο δε στεναχιζετο γ]αια
 [λαων ιζοντων ομαδος δ ην εννεα δε σφε]ας
 [κηρυκες βοωντες ερητυον ει ποτ αυ]της
 [σχοιατ ακουσειαν δε διο]τρεφ[ε]ων [βασιληω]ν·
 [σπουδηι δ εξετο λαος] ερητυθεν [δ]ε καθ εδρας
 100 [παυσαμενοι κλαγγης] ανα δε κρειων Αγαμεμνω]ν
 [εστη σκηπτρον εχων το μεν] Ηφαιστος καμε τευχων·
 [Ηφαιστος μεν δωκε Δι Κρονιωνι α]γαξ[τ]ι
 [αυταρ αρα Ζευς δωκε διακτορωι Αργ]ειφοντ[ηι
 [Ερμειας δε αναξ δωκεν Πελοπι πληξ]ιππ[ωι
 105 [αυταρ ο αυτε Πελοψ δωκ Ατρει ποιμε]νι λαων
 [Ατρευς δε θνησκων ελιπεν πολυαρ]νι Θυ[εστ]ηι
 [αυταρ ο αυτε Θυεστ Αγαμεμνονι λει]πε φορηναι
 [πολλησιν νησοισι και Αργει παντι ανασσειν]
 109 [τωι ο γ ερεισαμενος επε Αργειοισι μετηυδ]α

2 lines lost.

- 112 [σχετλιος ος πριν μεν μοι υπεσχετο και κατε]νευσ[ε]ν
 [Ιλιον εκπερσαντ ευτειχεον απονεεσθαι]
 [νυν δε κακην απατην βουλευσα]το και με κε[λευει
 115 [δυσκλεα Αργος ικεσθαι επει πολυ]ν ωλεσα λ[αον

Col. ii.

- 121 απρηκτον [πολ]εμον πολε[μ]ειν ηδε μαχεσθαι
 ανδρασι παυρ[ο]τεροισι [τελος δ ο]ν πω τι πεφανται
 ει περ γαρ κ εβ[ε]λοιμεν Αχαιοι τε] Τρωες τε
 — ορκια πιστα τα[μ]οντες αριθμη]θημεναι αμφω

- 125 Τρωας μεν λεξ[ασθαι εφεστιοι ο]σσοι εασιν
 ημεις δ εσ δε[καδας διακοσμηθειμ]εν Αχαιοι
 Τρωων δ ανδ[ρα εκαστον ελοιμε]θα οιοχοευειν.
 πολλαι κεν δε[καδες δευοιατο] οιοχοοιο
 τοσσον εγω [φημι πλεας εμμ]εναι υιας Αχαιων
- 130 [Τ]ρωων οι [ν]αιου[σι κατα πτολι]ν αλλ επικουροι
 [π]ολλεω[ν εκ πολιων εγχεσπ]αλο[ι α]νδρες εασιν
 [οι] με κεπ[.] και ουκ ειωσ εθελο]ντα
- [Ιλιο]ν εκπε[ρσαι ευ ναιομενον πτολιεθ]ρον
 [ενν]εα δη β[εβασι Διος μεγαλου ενιαυτοι]
- 135 [και δ]η δ[ουρα σεσηπε νεων και σπαρτα λ]ελυντα[ι
 πεδ[ι
 [αι δε που ημετεραι τ αλοχοι και νηπια τεκνα]
 [ειατ ενι μεγαροις ποτι]δεγ[μεν] [
- . . . λ[
- [αυτως ακρααντον ου εινε]κα δευρ ι]κομεσ[θ]α
 [αλλ αγεθ ως αν εγω ειπ]ω πει[θω]μεθα παντες
- 140 [φενγωμεν συν νηysi φιλη]ν ες [π]ατριδα γαιαν * —
 [ου γαρ ετι Τροην αιρησομ]εν ευρυαγυιαν
 [ως φατο τοισι δε θυμον] ενι στ[η]θεσσιν ο[ρι]νε
 [πασι μετα πληθυν οσο]ι ου βουλης [επακουσαν
 [κινηθη δ αγορη ως κυματ]α μακρ[α θαλασσης
- 145 [ποντου Ικαριοιο τα μεν τ ευ]ρος τε νο[τος τε
 [ωρορ επαιξας πατρος Διος εκ] νεφε[λων

Col. iii.

- 147 / ως δ οτε [κινησηι ζεφυρος βαθυ ληιον ελθων
 λαβρο[ς επαιγιζων] επι τ η]μυει ασταχυεσσιν
 ως τα[ν πασ αγορη κι]νηθη τοι [δ αλαλητωι
 150 νηας επ ε]σσευοντο ποδων δ υ[πενερθε κοινη
 [ι]στατ αιερομενη τοι δ αλ(λ)η]λοισ[ι κε]λ[ευον
 απτεσ[θ]αι νηων ηδ ελκεμεν εις] α[λλα διαν
 ουρους τ [εξ]εκαθαιρ[ον αυτη δ ουρανον ικεν
 οικαδε ιεμενων υπο [δ ηρ]εον ερμα[τα νηων
 155 ενθα κ[ε]ν Αργε[ιοισιν υπερμορα] νο[σ]τος ε[τυχηθη

ηχη ως ὅτε κυμα πολυφλοισβοιο θαλασσης
 210 [αιγι]αλω[ι μεγαλωι βρεμεται σμαραγει δε τε ποντος

124. The obelus in the margin indicates that this line was to be athetized, as was also stated by Aristonicus; cf. ll. 133 and 197.

132. οἱ με μέγα πλάζουσι is the reading of the MSS. The particle *κε* is not wanted here, but unless *κ* is divided from *επ*, or *κε* from *π*, it is not easy to see how the line is to be restored.

133. The MSS. all have ἴλιου, while Aristarchus read ἴλιον, which seems to have been the original reading of the papyrus. Above the *ν* is what looks like a V-shaped *ν*, which is different from the ordinary form of *ν* found elsewhere in the fragments, and is probably due to a second hand. The obelus is placed against this line (and probably the three preceding ones), and Aristonicus stated that they were athetized.

137. ποτιδέγμεναι ἄμμι δὲ ἔργον is the reading of the MSS., but we cannot reconcile the traces after ποτιδεγ[μεν] with *αι αμμι*, or with *νιαις* (Ἀχαιῶν), a variant found in *Rhet. Gr.* III. 86. 15.

141. The asterisk and obelus in the margin refer to the corresponding line in the next column, of which the lower half is lost. This, judging by the spacing, should be ll. 165 or 166. Line 166, *ὅς ἔφατ' οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη* is essential, but ll. 163-5 recur soon afterwards in ll. 179-81, and of l. 164 it is stated by the scholiast A. *ἀθετείται καὶ ἀστερίσκος παράκειται ὅτι οἰκείως λέγεται ρπ*. Probably therefore the combination of the asterisk and obelus, which indicates that the line in question had been wrongly interpolated from another passage, refers to l. 164. The difficulty with regard to the spacing may be explained by supposing that a new line had been inserted between ll. 157 and 164, or in other ways.

147. The stroke against this line apparently indicates the commencement of the simile; cf. ll. 198 and 207, both of which start a fresh section. This explanation of the stroke is not, however, always suitable where it is found in other Homeric papyri, e.g. P. Oxy. II. 223.

156. Only the top stroke and the upper dot of the διπλῆ περιστεγγιμένη against this line are preserved; but Aristonicus states that Zenodotus read εἰ μὴ Ἀθηναίη λαοσσόος ἦλθ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου and omitted ll. 157-68, and the διπλῆ περιστεγγιμένη was specially employed to mark the μεταγραφαί of Zenodotus (cf. Dindorf, *Schol. in Il.* I. p. xlv). There may well have been διπλαῖ περιστεγγιμέναι against the following lines also.

177. Probably *Ελεην* was written twice by mistake.

184. *κατω* in the margin (perhaps in a different hand) means that l. 185 which is omitted was inserted in the margin at the bottom. Cf. P. Oxy. II. 223. 125.

197. Lines 193-7 were athetized according to Aristonicus. For the obelus cf. ll. 124 and 133.

200. β̄ is placed in the margin midway between ll. 200 and 201, so it is not certain to which of the two it refers, but more probably it refers to l. 200. Cf. introd.

204. The antisigma against this line probably means merely that it was out of place; cf. a grammarian quoted by Dindorf, *Schol. in Il.* I. p. xlv τὸ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἀντίσιγμα πρὸς τοὺς ἐνῆλλαγμένους τόπους καὶ μὴ συνήθεον. The ancient critics wished to place ll. 203-5 after l. 192; see Schol. A. (Aristonicus) on *Il.* ii. 192 (τὸ ἀντίσιγμα), ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων ἔδει τετάχθαι τοὺς ἐξῆς παρεστιγγιμένους τρεῖς στίχους (ll. 203-5). If, as is possible, the writer of the papyrus wished to indicate by an antisigma opposite l. 204 and σιγμαί opposite l. 192

that l. 204 ought to be transferred, his method of employing the antisigma was exactly contrary to that of Aristonicus, who placed the antisigma against the line in its right position. From the inconsistent explanations of the antisigma by ancient grammarians it is clear that scribes differed as to their use of it.

205. The corrupt line which follows this in some of our MSS., *σκήπτρον τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας ἵνα σφίσι βασιλεύῃ*, is omitted by the papyrus.

II. ROYAL ORDINANCES.

5. DECREES OF EUERGETES II.

27.3 verso.

29 X 217 cm.

B.C. 118. PLATE III (Col. ix).

To the contemporary documents of primary importance for the internal history of the Ptolemaic period, such as the Revenue Papyrus and the Rosetta stone, must now be added a long and most valuable series of decrees (*προστάγματα*) issued by Euergetes II and the two Cleopatras, the 'sister' and the 'wife,' in his fifty-second year, copied in the office of the komogrammateus at Kerkeosiris, probably by that official himself, upon the back of a document giving a list of holders of temple and cleruchic land (62).

Out of the ten columns of writing giving the texts of no less than forty-six different decrees marked off from each other by paragraphi, only one (Col. v) is hopelessly mutilated. The rest are in a good or fair state of preservation, and it rarely happens that the lacunae are too large for the sense of a decree to be recoverable, while many of the ordinances are quite complete. The writing as far as l. 133 is a medium-sized flowing cursive. Lines 134-46 are in a different and less cursive hand by a very uneducated scribe, who obviously did not give satisfaction; for after a considerable blank space following Col. vi the original writer resumed from the point where he had himself left off, repeating ll. 134-46 in ll. 147-66, and continuing to the end. The only difference between the second portion written by him and the first is that in the earlier part he made the first line of each new decree project by one or two letters, while in the later part the beginnings of the lines are even. It is clear from the introductory words of the decrees that we have the actual beginning, and at the end too the papyrus is probably complete, for the writing on the *verso* is in the opposite direction to that

on the *recto*, of the first column of which the ends of lines remain. It is possible that there was one more column, but unlikely, for the papyrus has all the appearance of having been already cut down when it was used for writing on the *verso*. Abbreviations are occasionally found. The last four columns offer hardly any difficulties of decipherment, except those for which the scribe is responsible owing to his practice of writing in the same way α and λ, δ and θ, τ and υ, ου and α, and often γ and λ, or γ and τ. The first six columns are less easy owing to the papyrus being in parts stained a deep brown colour. A more serious obstacle to the interpretation is the carelessness of the copy. In common with most of the documents drawn up in the office of Menches, comprising the majority of the official documents in this volume, a reckless disregard of elementary rules, especially concerning cases, is frequently shown, and very little respect is paid to correct construction; while words or even whole lines are sometimes omitted (see notes on ll. 1-7 and 79), and several obvious slips are left uncorrected (notes on ll. 100, 225 and 233). Lastly, the extremely compressed and highly technical character of the phraseology necessarily increases the obscurity on points which are not illustrated from other sources. Some of these difficulties might be explained by the hypothesis that the decrees are abstracts containing the pith of the originals with the explanatory details omitted. But the beginning is in the form of a regular proclamation, and is not introduced by the vague phrase βασιλέων προσταζάντων (found e.g. in 7), which seems to have been the ordinary formula for quoting a πρόσταγμα not in its actual words.

Many of the decrees are of the nature of indulgences (φιλόθροπα) or remissions of penalties or arrears; and the first one proclaims a general amnesty for all except the most serious forms of crime up to Pharmouthi 9 of the fifty-second year, the earliest date at which these decrees can have been issued. It is curious that in the famous lawsuit of Hermias against the Choachytæ in the fifty-fourth year, which is recorded in P. Tor. 1, the advocate of the defendants appeals (vii. 13, sqq.) to a decree of amnesty for offences up to Thoth 19 of the fifty-third year, describing it in terms which nearly correspond with the language of the first section, *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν μεγίστων βασιλέων ἀπολελυκότων τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν πάντας αἰτιῶν πασῶν τῶν ἕως Θωὸθ ιθ τοῦ νγ (ἔτους), καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγγραφὰς ἀνεπιλήπτους εἶναι καὶ τὴν κράτησιν καὶ κυρείαν τῆς οἰκίας βεβαίαν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀρον καθίστασθαι ἀπὸ τε τῶν αἰτῶν φιλανθρώπων, καὶ ἔτι κ.τ.λ.* The interval of more than five months between the two dates prevents us from identifying the φιλόθροπα referred to in P. Tor. 1 with the present series of decrees, and it is more probable that the *προστάγματα* there referred to were supplementary of the present document, amongst other things extending

the period of amnesty for another five months. Parts of yet another series of *φιλόανθρωπα* issued about this time are found in 124; but these, which have marked resemblances to some of those in 5, seem to be later than 5 or P. Tor. 1.

The ordinances range over a great variety of topics, touching all classes of the king's subjects, and are of the most comprehensive character, from important constitutional innovations such as the decree defining the jurisdictions of the Greek and native judges (ll. 207-20) down to trivial regulations such as that remitting the penalties incurred by those persons who had failed to provide material for strengthening the sides of dykes (ll. 198-9). Those decrees which are not indulgences of various kinds are to a large extent prohibitions, and it is not difficult to infer what were the principal abuses and problems at the period when Euergetes II issued this series of reforms. Chief of these was the treatment of the people by the officials, a subject which constantly recurs in different shapes. How far the corruption and oppression which prevailed was really due to the character of the officials themselves, how far to the system under which they were appointed, and which the king does not seem to have tried to alter (notes on ll. 19-21), is uncertain. But nothing could surpass in equity the provisions and safeguards which are found in these decrees for securing the person and property of the tax-payer. It is in connexion with the use of false measures by the officials to defraud the tax-payers that the threat of a death-penalty occurs which seems so abrupt a contrast to the mild character of most of the regulations, though no doubt the penalties were severe for disobedience of other prohibitions, especially those accompanied by the phrase *παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ*.

It is to the credit of Euergetes II that he faced and went far to solve the difficult problem which most of his predecessors had been unable or unwilling to attempt, the fusion of the heterogeneous nationalities of his subjects into one community with comparatively equal rights; and his desire to redress the inequality between Greeks and Egyptians by favouring the latter without offending the susceptibilities of the former or injuring his own position is well illustrated by his regulations about the *chrematistae* and *laocritae* (ll. 207-20), where the king's wish to make a substantial concession to his Egyptian-speaking subjects is nicely balanced by his anxiety for his own revenues. The two most important sections of the natives, the priests and the soldiery, are the subject of favours, especially the former; but the king does not forget that the basis of his rule rested mainly on his Greek army, whether mercenaries or settlers; the *κληροῦχοι*, chiefly Greek soldiers who had received or inherited farms from the Crown, are frequently mentioned, and it is significant that the *στρατευόμενοι*

*Ἕλληνες are placed at the head of a list of classes specially exempt from having persons quartered upon them.

Another problem which clearly was engaging the serious attention of the king was the pacification of the districts which had lately revolted; and some of the most interesting provisions are concerned with that subject (ll. 147-54). The proper administration of the Crown land and Crown monopolies also naturally find an important place in a series of decrees in which financial questions play a great part.

It is impossible to turn from this really excellent list of reforms introduced by Euergetes II himself to the stories about him which pass for history without feeling that there is a very marked discrepancy. As Mahaffy has well pointed out (*Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 385, sqq.), the contemporary evidence of this reign does not in the least justify the abuse which has been heaped upon Euergetes II by his detractors, from Polybius down to M. Revillout, and which reaches its highest pitch in the melodramatic narrative of Justin. The new evidence as to his reign afforded by the present volume is still more in his favour. The problem is largely one of chronology, for if it can be shown that the actions attributed to him by historians did not take place at the times which they mention, there is good reason for doubting whether they took place at all. The question of his supposed assassination of the rightful heir to the throne, a young son of Philometor generally identified with Eupator, is discussed on p. 554, and the doubt attaching to that story extends to many others.

Col. i.

[Βασιλεὺς] Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ ἀδελφή
[καὶ βασίλισσ]α Κλεοπάτρα ἡ γυνὴ [ἀ]φιᾶσει τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆν
[βασιλῆαν π]άντας ἀγνοημάτων ἀμαρτημ[άτ]ων [ἐ]ν-
[κλημάτων (καταγνοσμάτων)] αἰτ[ι]ῶν πασῶν τῶν ἕως θ τοῦ Φαρμοῦ(θι)
τοῦ] νβ (ἔτους)

5 [π]λῆν τ[ῶν φόν]ους ἐκουσίους καὶ ἱεροσυλίας ἐνεχομ[ένων].

προσ τετ[ά]χασι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνακεχωρηκότας διὰ τὸ ἐνέχεσθαι
[λ]ῆαις καὶ ἑτέρα(ι)ς αἰτίαις καταπορευομένων εἰς [τὰς ἰδίας ἐρ-
[γ]άσεσθαι π[ρ]ὸς αἷς καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν ἐργασίαις καὶ
[τὰ] ἔτι ὑπάρ[χοντα] ἄπρατα ἀπὸ τῶν διατα[ξ].

[—]

10 [ἀ]φιᾶσει δὲ π[ἀ]ν[τας] τῶν ὀφ[ειλ]ομένων τ[ι]. τοὺς

[αὐτο]ὺς χρόνους πρὸς τε τὴν σιτικὴν μίσθωσιν καὶ ἀργυρικὴν π[ρο]σοδον
 πλὴν
 τῶν μεμισθωμένων εἰς τὸ πατρικὸν [ὑπέ]ρ ὧν δ[ι]εγγύ(η)μα
 ὑπάρχει.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τ[ο]ὺς ὀφείλοντας τι ὥστ' εἰς τὸ κα[.] . [.] . [.] . α τὴν . . [.]
 15 καὶ τὴν β (ἀρτάβην) καὶ τὸ φυλακιτικὸν καὶ τὸ ναύβι[ον] καὶ τὰς τὰ[.] .
 καὶ τὸ ἐπα-
 να[.] . ια καὶ τὸ χα[.] . .]τικὸν μέχρι τοῦ νβ [(ἔτους)] τῶν . [. . . .] τοῦ
 αὐ(τοῦ) χρόν[ου].

[ὁμοίως δὲ] κ[αὶ τῶν] παραγραφ(ομένων) πρὸς τῆ[ν] ἀπ[ό]μοιραν [ἀμπε]λιτικῆς
 [γῆς καὶ παραδ(είσων) καὶ] τάλ(λα) τὰ[.] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .]
 ἀφειᾶσ(ι) δὲ [καὶ το]ὺς ὀφείλον(τας) στρα(τηγούς) . [.] . τεπε[
 20 ἐκ τοῦ παραδ(εδομένου) αὐτοῖς τιμῆς !
 [ε]α[?] τῶν ἀλλω[ν]
 [τ]ὰ λοιπὰ [τῆ]ς τιμῆ[ς] [[.] . ιτ] ἕως [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] χρόνου.
 []
 [προσ τετάχα]σι δὲ καὶ τ[ο]ὺς
 [.]ων ἐρευνη[σ]αν ἐρ[.] . [. . .] . . [. . .]
 [.] μ[ε]τ[α]ξὺ τῶν φυλάκων . [

3. η of αμαρτη COIT. 5. ην of [π]λην COIT. 1. φόνους. α of ιεροσυλίας COIT. 6.
 ανακεχωρη over erasure.

Col. ii.

25 μηδὲ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι ἐὰν μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν δρ[ο]μων
 [ἐ]πὶ τῆς ἐξαιρέ(σε)ως εὐρ[ε]σ[κ]ηι τι τῶν μὴ τετελωνημέν[ων]
 ἢ τῶν ἀπορρήτων, τ[αὐ]τα δὲ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν διοικητήν.
 [ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἀ[ν]απορευομένους] ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὴν
 [ἀ]γούσαν περὶ ὁδὸν παραγε[.]] καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν
 30 [τ]αινιω[ν] ἐπὶ τ[ὰ]ς ταιν[ί]ας μηδὲ ἀπαι[τεῖ]ν μηδὲ πράσσειν
 [τι κα]θ' ὅ[υ]ν[τιν]οὺν τρόπον ἐκτ[ὸ]ς τῶν καθηκόντων λελεῖσθαι
 [.] . [. . .]
 []
 [ὁμοίως δὲ περ]ὶ τῶν εἰσαγ[ό]ντων διὰ τοῦ ξενικοῦ ἐμπορίου

[17 letters] . . [ἐπ' α]ύτης τῆς πύλης ἢ ἐπί-
35 ληψις [γινέσθω.]

προσ τετάχα[σι] δὲ κ[αί] τοῦ[s] κεκληρουχημένους πάντας καὶ τοὺς
τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ἐν ἀφέσει γῆν ἔχόντων
[π]άντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβεβηκότητας ἐπὶ τὴν βα[σιλικήν] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
[τ]οὺς τὴν πλείω γῆν ἔχοντας τῆς καθηκούσης ἀποβά-
40 τας ὧν ἔχουσι πλει(όν)ων ἀπάντων καὶ προσαγγείλαν-
τας ἐα[υ]τοῦς καὶ παραδόντ[ας] ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκφόριον ἀπολύ-
εσθαι τῶν ἔως τοῦ να (ἔτους) χρόνων κ[15 letters
κρατεῖν κυ[ρ]ίως.

[τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλέκ[τους] καὶ μαχ(ίμους) [[καί]] (δεκαρούρους) καὶ (ἑπταρούρους)
κ[αί] τοὺς το]ύ-
45 [τ]ων ἡ[γου]μέν[ους] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς φερομ[ένους] ἐν τῇ συντ[άξει]
[καὶ τοὺς] να[υκ]ληρομαχ(ίμους) καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πολ[.]
[κρατεῖ]ν ὧν κατεσχῆκασι κλή[ρων] ἔως τοῦ [νβ (ἔτους) ἀκατηγο-
[ρήτου]ς καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτους ὄντας.

[]
[ἀφει]ᾶσει δὲ π[άν]τ[ας] καὶ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου λειτουργ[ι]κοῦ []
[]

30. δ of μηδε corr. from τ. 31. l. τελείσθαι. 37. l. ἔχοντας.

Col. iii.

50 [προσ]τετάχασι δὲ κ[αί] τὴν ἱερ]ὰν γῆν καὶ τ[ὰς ἄ]λλας ἱερ[ὰς] προσόδους
[τ]ὰς ὑπαρχούσας τοῖς ἱεροῖς [.] μένιν [κυρί]ως, λ[ήμψε]σθαι δὲ
[κα]ὶ τὰς ἀπομοίρας ἃς ἐλάμβαν[ον] ἐκ τε τ[ῶν κ]τημάτων καὶ τῶν
[π]αραδεί(σων) καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα χρήματα
[]
ἢ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ βα[σιλικοῦ] εἰς τὰς συντ[άξι]ς τῶν ἱερ[ῶν] καὶ τὰλλα τὰ
συνκεκρεμένα
55 [ἔ]ως [το]ῦ να (ἔτους) ἀπ[ο]διδόναι εὐτάκτως (ὡς) ἐ[π]ὶ τῶν ἄλλων, {ων}
καὶ μηθει[ν]ι
[ἐ]ξείν[αι] λαμβάνειν τι ἐκ τούτων.
[]

μ[η]θ[έ]να δὲ] παραιρῆσθαι μ[η]θὲν τῶν ἀνιερωμένων τοῖς θεοῖς [μ]ετὰ βί[α]ς
 μηδὲ [πειθ]ανάγκην [π]ροσάγειν τοῖς προσετηκόσι τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων,
 ἦιτοι κώ[μας] ἦι γὰς ἦι ἄλλας ἱερὰς προσόδους] μ[η]δὲ] κ[οι]νων[ικὰ] μ[η]δὲ
 στεφά[νους] μ[η]δὲ τὰ ἀρ[τ]α[β]εία]

60 λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῶν ἀνιερωμένων τοῖς θεοῖς μ[η]δὲ τὰς ἱερὰς (ἀρούρας)
 σκε[υ]άζειν

παρε[υ]ρ[έ]σι μ[η]δεμιᾶ, ἔαν δὲ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων . . . δ[ι]οικεῖσθαι.

ἀφειᾶσ[ι] δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἱερ[εῖ]ς τῶν
 ὀφει[λ]ομένων πρὸς τε τὰ ἐπιστατικὰ καὶ τὰς προστιμῆ[σεις] τῶν
 ὀθονίων ἕως τοῦ ν (ἔτους).

65 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐκ τοῖς ἱεροῖς γέ[ρ]α καὶ προφητεῖα[ι]ς καὶ
 γραμματείας) καὶ ἀλλ[α]ς

λει[τουρ]γίας) τῶν ὀφειλομένων ἐν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ ἐνίοις καιροῖς
 ἀπητημέν[α]ς [καρ-
 πείας ἕως τοῦ ν (ἔτους).

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς πλείονας καρπεῖα[ι]ς ἐξηγηγεμένους ἕως τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ]
 χ[ρό]νου τῶν ἐπιτίμων.

70 ὡσαύτως δὲ κ[αὶ] τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐλάσσοσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ Ἰσιείοις καὶ ἰβίω(ν)
 τρ[ο]φαῖς) κ[αὶ] ἱερακείοις)

καὶ Ἀνουβιείοις [καὶ] τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς παραπλήσιοι τῶν παραπλη[η]σίω
 πρ[ο]σ[ε]υ[χ]οῦς ἕως τοῦ [α]ὐτοῦ χρόνου.

τοὺς [δ]ὲ κρατοῦντας [τ]ῶν τοιούτων ἱερῶν καὶ α[ι] . . .] μ[ε]νους τὰ ἐκ τῶν
 ἀνιερωμέ-

ν[ω]ν ἐδαφῶν [καὶ] τῶν ἄλλων προσόδων καὶ ὑποσκευά[σ]ω[ν] τ[α]ς καὶ ἀ[π]ο-
 75 [.]ν ἔτεσιν ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν τ[.]ν τοῖς θεοῖς . . .]ατα καὶ
 [.] . . υ () . . [. . .] . τη ὑπα[.] τοῖς ἐδάφεσι.

52. s of τας corr. ω of κ[τ]ημάτων corr. from α.
 the line. 54. l. συγκεκριμένα. 65. l. ἐν.
 73. l. ἀνιερωμένων.

53. Second α of πα[ρ]αδει(σων) above
 66. ε of ἐπι is covered by ε of ἐνοῖς.

Col. iv.

[προστε]τάχασι δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ Ἄπιος καὶ Μνήσιος ζητεῖν
 ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ)

[ώ]ς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποτεθεωμένων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν
 ζῶ(ω)ν τὰ ὑποκείμενα [[τὰς ἡγορασμένας προφητείας καὶ γέρα καὶ γραμ-
 ματείας) εἰς τὰ ἱερά [έκ] τῶν]]

80 τὰς ἡγορασμένας προφητείας καὶ γέρα καὶ γραμματείας) εἰς τὰ ἱερά ἐκ τῶν
 ἱερῶν προσόδων [ῶ]ν

τ[ά]ς τιμὰς τεταγμένοι εἰσὶ μένειν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κυρίως, ταύτας δὲ [μ]ὴ
 ἐξ[εῖ]ναι

[τοῖ]ς ἱερεῦσι {μὴ} παραχωρῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις.

πρ[ο]στετάχισιν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀσύλων τύπων μ[η]θένα [έκοπᾶν]
 μήτε ἀποβιάζεσθαι παρευρέσι μηιδεμιῶ.

85 καὶ [έ]π[ι] προσπέπτει τοὺς πρὸς ταῖς σιτολο(γίαις) καὶ ἀντιγραφεῖαις) μῖζοσι
 μέ[τ]ροις [πα]ρὰ τὰ εὖσ(ταθμα)

ἐν ἐκάστῳ νομῶ ἀποδεδε[γμῆ]να χα(λκᾶ) . . . μέτροις . . . ε . [στα]θμ[ᾶ]σθαι
 τῶν

εἰς τὸ βα(σιλικὸν) καθηκόντων [κ]αὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τοὺς γεω(ργοὺς) μὴ τ[. .]ς
 χ . . [. .]ας ἀ[ί]τ[ε]ῖσθαι

[π]ροστετάχασι [[καὶ]] τοὺς στ[ρ]α(τηγοὺς) καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πρ(σόδων) καὶ
 τοὺς βα(σιλικούς) γραμματεῖς) τὰς στάθμας τῶν μ[έ]τρων

[ἀ]πὸ τοῦ βελτίστου ποιέσθαι παρόντων τῶν κατὰ τ[ά]ς πρ(σόδους) τῶν
 [.] () καὶ τῶν [ε]ρ[έ]ων

90 καὶ τῶν κληρούχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὴν ἐν ἀφέσει (γῆ)ν ἔχόντων
 χα(λκ)

καὶ μὴ πλείον ἔχειν τῶν εἰς τὰ παραπτώματα ἐ[π]ικεχωρημένω[ν] . . . ε . .
 [.] β, τοὺς δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιούντας θαν[ά]τωι ῥ[η]μιούσθαι.

προστετάχασι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γεω(ργοῦντας) κα[[ε]]τὰ τὴν χώραν γ[ῆ]ν ἀ]μπε-
 λίτιν [ῆ]ι παραδείσους

ἂς ἀν καταφυτ[έ]νσωσι ἐν τῇ κατακεκλ[υ]σμένη καὶ κεχερ[σ]ωμένη{s}

95 ἀπὸ τοῦ νγ (ἔτους) ἕως τοῦ νζ (ἔτους) ἀτελεῖς ἀφεῖναι ἀφ' οὗ ἀν ἀ[ύ]τὰς
 καταφυτεύσωσι ἐφ' ἔτη ε

κ[α]ὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ς (ἔτους) εἰς ἄλλα τρία ἔλασσον τοῦ καθήκοντος πράσσειν
 τῶι τετάρτωι

ἐτ[ε]ι, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ θ (ἔτους) πάντας τελεῖν καθὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι [οἱ] τὴν
 [σπ]οριμον κεκτημένοι, τοῖς

δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ χώρα πρὸς τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆ(ς) χά(ρα)ς προσδοῦναι
 ἀ[λλ]α (ἔτη) γ.

προσ τετάχασι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡγορασκότας ἐκ τοῦ βα(σιλικοῦ) οἰκ[ί]α]ς ἢ
 ἀμπελῶνας ἢ παραδείσο[υ]ς
 100 ἢ ἄλλα σταθα ἢ πλοῖα ἢ ἄλλο τι καθ' ὅ{υ}ντιν οὖν τρόπον μ[έν]ειν κυρίως,
 καὶ τὰς
 οἰ[κ]ίας μὴ ἐπισταθμεύεσθαι.

[ὁμοίω]ς δὲ καὶ τὰς γεγυυίας [πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς σ]ιτικὰς μισθώσεις μένειν
 [κυρίως εἰ]λήφασ[ι 17 letters] γ.

77. l. Μημίος. 79. τας . . . των bracketed. 81. l. τεταγμένοι. 83. l. προστετάχασιν.
 85. και before αντιγρ(αφείαις) corr. from αν. 94. εν of κατακεκ[υ]σμενη above the line.
 99. l. ἡγορακότας : the word is above the line.

Col. v.

εθε[.]ι[	40 letters	]ς
105 βα(σιλ) ἀ μη[	30 "	]μα . [. .]
λελειμ[μεν	27 "	]κατ[. .]α
ζη[τ]εῖν τ[	25 "	εἰς ἀ]λλα τ[ρ]α
τάσσεσθα[ι	26 "	]αις μετ[ὰ] δὲ
ταῦτα τὰ καθ[ή]κοντα	19 "	] . ιουτας κ[ατ]α-
110 λείψουσι ἦν ἕως τ[οῦ] . . (ἔτους) 10	"	κατεσχ[ή]κασι [τ]οὺς δὲ τὴν
ιδιόκτητον καὶ τ[ὴν] ἱερὰν καὶ τ[ὴν] κληρουχικ[ή]ν καὶ τ[ὴν] ἄλλην		
τὴν ἐν ἀφέσει λ[	27 letters	] . ωται
ἀπολυομένους α . [	28 "	] καὶ ἐπιγρ(αφῆς)
καὶ τῶν ἄλλω[ν	27 "	]τη ν
115 [.]η [το]ῦς τελούν[τας	31 "	]δε
τοῦ νη (ἔτους) ὄσα κ[	28 "	] . [ . . . . ] . ε
ἐξ αὐτῆς συγ[	28 "	] . . . [ . . ]α
διδόναι ὧν κα[	35 "	]ται
ἐξεῖναι δὲ καὶ τ[	35 "] . .
120 καὶ βαλανεία α[	35 "] . .
ἀπὸ τοῦ νγ (ἔτους) ε[	33 "	]ν

ἐν τισιν [	40 letters]
μένιν [	38 „	]αι
καὶ τοῦς [
125 κ[

two or three lines lost.

Col. vi.

- 128 [.]κε . . α . [.] τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη
 [.]ε . κεφ[α]λαίου ωνην ἀντιγράφ) τὰς αἰτήσεις
 130 [.]κε . . . τόπω βασιλικ) γραμματ) ἐν ἡμέραις . . .
 [.]ου[. . .] τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη τ . .
 [.]α[. . .] ἀπολύεσθαι τῶν ἐξακο-
 λουθο[ύντων αὐ]τ[οῖς προσ]τίμων.

2nd hand προστε[τάχασι δὲ κα]ὶ τοὺς κυρίους τῶν κατεσπασμ[ένων]

- 135 καὶ ἐμ[πεπυρισμέν]ων οἰκιῶν ἐὰν οἰκ[ο](δο)μεῖν εἰς τὰ [ὑπ]οκε-
 μενα μέ[τρα· ἐπιχωρ]ήσ[αι δὲ] καὶ τ[οῖς] ἰδί[α] . υ . [. τ]ῶν
 κ(ωμῶν) ἕως [. τὰς ἰδί[α]ς καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀνοικ[ο]δομεῖν
 ἕως ὑ[ψο]υς π(ηχῶν) ι πλην τ[ῶν] ἐ(κ) Πανῶ(ν) πόλ[ε]ως. μηθένα δὲ
 λα[γεύε]μ[εν] [παρ]ὰ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ τῶν ὑποτελῶν καὶ τ[ῶν]
 140 ἐπιπεπλ[εγμ]ένων ταῖς π[ρο]σδόμοις καὶ μελισσοργῶν καὶ
 τῶν ἀλλ[ω]ν ὥστε τοῖ(ς) στ[ρατη]γοῖς καὶ ἐπιτοῦταις τῶν φυλακῶν
 ἢ ἀρχιφυλακ[ίταις] ἢ οἰκ[ονο]μοῖς ἢ τ[ῶν] παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 τοῖς {τοῖς} πρὸς τὴν πραγματείας καθ' ὄντινον τρόπον
 μηδὲ τ[οῖς] στρατη(γ)οῦς μηδὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ χρεῶν τετα(γ)-
 145 μ[υ]ένους καὶ τοὺς τοῦ[τοις] ὑποτετα(γ)μένοις κα[ὶ] τοὺς ἄλλους
 πάντας τὴν (ἐν) ἀρετῇ [κε]μένην βασιλικὴν γῆ(ν) παραιρεῖσθαι τῶν
 γεω(ργῶν)

141. l. ἐπιστάταις.

142. l. τοῖς for τῶν.

143. l. ταῖς for τὴν.

145. l. ὑποτεταγμένους.

Col. vii.

1st hand προστετάχασι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κυρίους τῶν
κατε[σπ]ασμένων καὶ ἐμπεπυρισμένων
οἰκιῶν ἑὰν οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκείμενα
150 μέτρα.

ἐπιχωρήσαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίᾳ ε[. τῶ]ν
κωμῶν τ[ὸ]ν αὐτὸν τρόπον [ἕως] τὰς ἰδίας
καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀνοικοδομεῖν ἕως ὑψους πηχῶν ι πλὴν τῶν
ἐκ Πανῶν πόλεως.

155 μηθένα δὲ λογεύειν μηθὲν παρὰ τῶν γεω(ργῶν)
καὶ τῶν ὑποτελῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιπεπλε-
γμένων ταῖς προσδόοις καὶ μελίσσουργῶν
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὥστε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς
καὶ ἐπιστάταις τῶν φυ(λακικῶν) ἢ ἀρχιφυ(λακίταις) ἢ οἰκονόμοις ἢ τοῖς
160 παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς ταῖς
πραγματέα(ι)ς καθ' ὄντιν οὖν τρόπον.

μηδὲ τοὺς στρα(τηγούς) καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ χρεῶν τετα-
γμένους [[καὶ τοὺς κειμένην βα(σιλικὴν) γῆν]] καὶ τοὺς
τούτοις ὑποτεταγμένους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους

165 πάντας τὴν ἐν ἀρετῇ κειμένην βα(σιλικὴν) γῆν
παραρῆσθαι τῶν γεω(ργῶν) μηδὲ ἐπὶ ἐγλογῇ
γεωργεῖν.

ἀνεπιστάθμους [δ'] εἰν[αι] καὶ τοὺς στρατευ-
ομένους Ἑλληνας [καὶ τοῦ]ς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς

170 γεω(ργοῦντας) βα(σιλικὴν) γῆν καὶ τοὺς [.]ς καὶ τοὺς ποκίφους
καὶ τανυφά[ντας πάντ]ας καὶ τοὺς ὑοφορβούς
καὶ χηνοβ(ασκοῦς) κ[αὶ]ς καὶ ἐλαιουργοὺς καὶ
κικιουργοὺς καὶ με[λίσσουργο]ὺς καὶ ζυτοποιοὺς

155. ε of μηθεν corr. 156. Second ε των corr. 159. Final ε of επισταταις corr.
162. In μηδε above the line δ corr. from τ. 163. και . . . γην in brackets. 167. The
scribe first wrote γεω, and then, to prevent confusion with γεω(ργων) in the previous line,
added ωργειν. 170. l. ποκίφους.

Col. viii.

τοὺς τελούοντας τὰ καθήκοντα) εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν) ἐκάστων αὐτῶν)
 175 οἰκίας μιᾶς ἐν ᾗ αὐτὸς καταγίνεται,
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν δοσίων μὴ πλείον ἐπι-
 σταθμεύεσθαι τοῦ ἡμίσιου.

προσπετάχασιν δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς) καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους τοὺς πρὸς ταῖς πραγματείας ἔλκειν
 180 τινὰς τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ
 εἰς λειτουργίας ἰδίας μηδὲ κτήνη αὐτῶν
 * ἐπαρετεῖν ἐπὶ τι τῶν ἰδίων μηδὲ
 ἐπιρίπτειν μύσχους μηδὲ ἱερεῖα τρέφειν
 μηδὲ χήνας μηδὲ ὄρνιθας μηδὲ οἰνικά
 185 ἢ σιτικά γενήματα) ἐπιρίπτειν τιμῆς μὴδ' εἰς
 ἀν{ν}ανεώσεις μηδὲ συναναγκάζειν ἔργα
 δωρεὰν συντελεῖν παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾶ.

ἀφιάσει δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυλακίτας) τῶν
 παραγραφομένων πρὸς τὰς βασιλικὰς ἐπισκοπείας καὶ
 190 πρὸς ἃ καταπρέβονται γενήματα) καὶ τῶν παρα-
 δεδομένων αὐτοῖς πρὸς ὀφειλήματα) καὶ πρὸς ἄλλας
 αἰτίας καὶ διαπεπρακτόων ἕως τοῦ ν (ἔτους).

ἀπολύσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς μὴ παραδεδωκότας εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν)
 τιμῆς τὰ ἐκ τῆς κληρουχικῆς καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς
 195 καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐλαικᾶ φορτί(α ἕως τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, καὶ
 τοὺς μὴ παρεστακότας τὰ{ι} πορεία πρὸς τὴν
 σύνκλητον τῶν ἐξακολουθούντων. ὡσαύτως

δὲ καὶ τοὺς μὴ παραγεωχότας ἐπὶ τὰ χῶματα
 τὴν καλαμείαν καὶ τὰς κουφείας.]

200 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς βασιλικούς) γεω(ργούς) καὶ τοῦ[ς ἱερεῖς] καὶ τοὺς
 (ἄλλους)

τοὺς τὴν ἐν ἀφέσει γῆν ἔχ[οντας καὶ] μὴ
 καταπεφ(υτ)ευκότας τὰς καθη[κούσας . .]

174. l. ἑκάστον. 180. κα of κατοικούντων corr. 182. ων of ιδίων corr. from ai.
 192. πεφ of διαπεπρακτόων corr. l. διαπεπρακτόων. 193. δε above the line. 195. αυτου
 above the line.

* ἐπαρετεῖν - Wilcken (Anchiv. 3. p. 225) προποιοῖ ἐπὶ παρευρέειν = ἐγγυρ

Col. ix. Plate III.

ἕως τοῦ να (ἔτους) τῶν ἐξακολουθούτων προστέμων,
τὴν δὲ φυτεῖαν ποιεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νβ (ἔτους).

205 καὶ τοὺς κεκοφύτας τῶν ἰδίων ξύλα παρὰ (τὰ) ἐκ(κ)είμενα
προστάγματα.

προσ τετάχασι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κρινομένων Αἰ[ί]γυπτίων
πρὸς Ἑλληνας καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν [π]ρὸς τοὺς
Αἰγυπτίους ἢ Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς Ἑλληνας γενῶν πάντων
210 πλὴν τῶν γεω(ργούτων) βασιλικῆν γῆν καὶ τῶν ὑποτελῶν καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιπεπλεγμένων ταῖς προσόδοις τοὺς
μὲν καθ' Ἑλληνικὰ σύμβολα συνηλλαχότας
Ἑλλησιν Αἰγυπτίους ὑπέχειν καὶ λαμβάνειν
τὸ δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν χρηματιστῶν. ὅσοι δὲ Ἑλληνες
215 ὄντες συγγραφόμενοι κατ' Αἰγύπτια συναλλάγματα
ὑπέχειν τὸ δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν λαοκριτῶν κατὰ τοὺς
τῆς χώρας νόμους. τὰς δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς τοὺς
αὐτοὺς (Αἰγυπτίους) κρίσεις μὴ ἐπισπᾶσθαι τοὺς χρηματιστὰς)
ἀλλ' εἴαν [[κριν]] διεξάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν λαοκριτῶν κατὰ τοὺς
220 τῆς χώρας νόμους.

προσ τετάχασι δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ξενικῶν
πράκτορας μὴ παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς βασιλικούς) γεω(ργοὺς)
μηδὲ τοὺς ὑποτελεῖς μηδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους
του(ς) κωλυομένους διὰ τῶν προεκκειμένων
225 προσταγμάτων εἰς προβολὴν τέσθαι
[[μη]] παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾶ[[ν]], τὰς δὲ
πράξεις τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι
ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων τῶν μὴ
ἀνειργο{υ}μένων δι(ὰ) τοῦ προσταγματος
230 τούτου.

προσ τετάχασι δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν) γεω(ργῶν) μὴ πωλεῖν
ἕως οἰκίας μιᾶς ἐν ἧ τὴν γεωρ-[[γικα]]

γικὴν κατασκευὴν ἀπεριδεύσαι [[τὰ]]
μηδὲ τὰ κτήνη μηδὲ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν

209. l. Αἰγυπτίους for Ἕλληνας; cf. explanatory note.
προσ τεταχασι above the line. 232. η την cogr. from τ τα.

225. l. θέσθαι.

231. σ of

Col. x.

- 235 γεωργίαν σκεύη μήτε προσάγειν
πρὸς ἱερευτικὴν μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλη
παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾶ, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ
τρόπον μηδὲ λινοφαντεία μηδὲ τῶν
λινύφων καὶ βυσσουργῶν καὶ ἐριουφαντῶν
240 μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραπλησι[ω]ν
παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾶ μηδ' ἄλλους
κτᾶσθαι μηδὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς τε λινο-
φαντικοῖς καὶ βυσσουργικοῖς ἐργαλείοις
πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν ὑποτελῶν κ[αὶ] τῶν
245 βυσσουργῶν, τούτους δὲ χρῆσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς
τοῖς ἱεροῖς πρὸς τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν βασιλέων)
καὶ τὸν στολισμὸν τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν.
μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ πραγμάτων τεταγμένους
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιρίπτειν τοῖς λινύφοις
250 καὶ βυσσουργοῖς καὶ πελποῦφοις ἔργα δωρεὰν
μηδὲ μισθῶν ὑφειμένων.
προσ τετάχασι δὲ μηθένα ἐπαρετεῖν
πλοῖα κατὰ μηδεμίαν παρεύρεσι(ν)
εἰς τὰς ἰδίας χρείας.
255 μηδὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς) μηδὲ τοὺς ἄλλο(υ)ς τοὺς
πρὸς χρεῖαις πάντας τῶν τε βασιλικῶν
καὶ πολιτικῶν καὶ ἱερευτικῶν ἀπαγόμενον
μηθένα πρὸς ἴδιον ὀφείλημα ἢ ἀδίκημα
μηδὲ ἰδίας ἔκθρας ἕνεκεν μηδ' ἐν ταῖς
260 οἰκίαις ἢ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις συνέχειν ἐν εἰρκτήι

παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾶ, ἐὰν δ' ἔν τισειν
 ἐνκαλωσειν ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀποδεδειγμένα
 ἐν ἐκάστοις ἀρχεῖα καὶ λαμβάνειν καὶ ὑπέχειν τὸ δίκαιον
 κατὰ τὰ προστάγματα καὶ τὰ διαγράμματα.

250. l. πεπλύφοις. 259. θ of εκθρας corr. from χ. l. εχθρας.

FRAGMENTS.

Tops of columns.

(a) to Col. v?	(b) to Col. v?	(c)
] βουλομεν[	] τὰς ὑπαρχ[	] αιτ . . . [
] ερ τοῦ η[	] των γεω(ργῶν) [

Bottoms of columns or conclusions of sections.

(d)	(e)	(f)
] . . [	] τας [	] επ[
] ων γεινο[	] ακα[

Middles of columns.

(g) to Col. i?	(h) to Col. i.	(i)	(k) to Col. i?
] ν	] ατ . ντ . [	] εισ[	] των[
traces of 4 more lines			] αλ[
(l) to Col. ii?	(m)	(n)	
] των[	] αι τ[	] κυρισ[
] . . [	] τηισ[

1-9. 'King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra the sister and Queen Cleopatra the wife proclaim an amnesty to all their subjects for errors, crimes, accusations, condemnations and charges of all kinds up to the 9th of Pharmouthi of the 52nd year, except to persons guilty of wilful murder or sacrilege.

And they have decreed that persons who have gone into hiding because they were guilty of theft or subject to other charges shall return to their own homes and resume their former occupations, and their remaining property shall not be sold. . . .

1-7. The restorations of the lacunae in these lines are from another copy of the beginning of these *προστάγματα* as far as *ἦσαν* in l. 8, made by the writer of 1; see p. 1.

The second copy is practically complete so far as it goes, and between *ἐκκλημάτων* and *αἰτιῶν* inserts *καταγνωσμάτων* which has dropped out of the first owing to homoioteleuton; but in other respects it is inferior, *ἐργάσεσθαι* in l. 7 being corrupted into *ισγιεσθαι* and *πρὸς αἷς* being omitted.

3. Cf. 124. 23-4, the extract from P. Tor. 1 quoted in introd., and P. Par. 63. xiii, a letter of Ptolemy Philometor to Dionysius referring to a *φιλάνθρωπον* issued in the 18th year of his reign and beginning *ἀπολελυκότες πάντας* [*πάντας*] *τοὺς ἐνεσχημένους ἐν τισιν ἀγροῦμασιν ἢ ἀμαρτίμασιν ἕως τῆς 18 τοῦ Ἐπειφ.*

4. The amnesty must have been issued not earlier than Pharmouthi 9 of the 52nd year, though how much later, if at all, it is impossible to say (cf. introd.). The mention of Cleopatra II is important, for it has been often supposed that she had retired or died before this date; 43. 1, however, shows that she was still reigning in Athur of the 53rd year, and there is reason to think that she outlived Euergetes, for a demotic contract in the Rylands Library deciphered by Griffith is dated '2nd year, Phaophi 9, of Queen Cleopatra and Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy her child, Philometor Soter.'

6. With this regulation for pacifying the country after disturbances cf. Rosetta Stone, ll. 17-8 *προστάξαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς καταπορευομένους ἐκ τε τῶν μαχίμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀλλότρια φρονησάντων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ταραχὴν καιροῖς κατελθόντας μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων κτήσεων*. Several decrees of Roman praefects ordering persons *ἐπὶ ξένης* to return home are extant; see B. G. U. 159 and 372, and P. Gen. I. 16. For *ἀνεκεχωρηκίας* cf. 24. 34.

7. *λήκας*: spelled *λείκας* by the other scribe (see above), who, however, has *βασιλίαν* in l. 3.

10-3. 'And they remit to all persons the arrears up to the same period in respect of both rents in corn and money taxes, except to hereditary lessees who have given a surety.'

11. For the conjunction of *στικὴ μίσθωσις*, the rent of the Crown lands, and *ἀργυρικὴ πρόσσδος* cf. e.g. P. Amh. II 31. 6.

12. The difference between *οἱ μεμισθωμένοι εἰς τὸ πατρικόν* and the other *γεωργοὶ* lies in the fact that the former class had leased Crown land on a hereditary tenure for an indefinite period, as contrasted with those who had leased it only for a short term of years. It is noteworthy that *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ* often speak of the land as belonging (*ὑπάρχειν*) to them, e.g. 42. 10; and this would be quite a natural expression if the right of cultivating it was handed down from father to son. For *μεμισθωμένων εἰς τὸ πατρικόν* cf. C. I. G. 2694. 21 *ἔχειν εἰς πατρικά*. This reference to the custom called emphyteusis is interesting as helping to bridge over the gap in the evidence between the earlier and later examples of this practice; cf. Müller in *Archiv*, I, pp. 440 sqq., Mitteis, *Zur Geschichte der Erbpacht im Alterthum* (*Abh. d. Kön. Sächs. Gesellsch.* xx. 4. pp. 10 sqq.). That sureties were necessary in the case of leases *εἰς τὸ πατρικόν* is not surprising. For an instance of their being called upon to make good a deficiency cf. 61. (b) 377.

14-6. A remission of the arrears due for various taxes.

14. Perhaps *πρὸς τε*, i.e. *πρὸς τε*, should be read for *τε οὐστ ε*: cf. l. 11, where *πρὸς* is used after *ὀφειλομένων*. The first *τ* is quite certain.

15. *τὴν β (ἀρτάβην)*: cf. 99, where large sums of wheat and money are paid for this tax and the *ἐπιγραφὴ* (note on l. 59). A land-tax of some kind is apparently meant, but it does not occur in the papyri concerning Kerkeosiris, and there is little evidence to show the nature of it. In 99 the payers appear to be cleruchs, but there is no reason to suppose that the 2-artabae tax was confined to them. A comparison with the taxes of 1 artabae

(98. 58), $\frac{2}{3}$ artaba (98. 77), and $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba (81. (δ) 323), leaves little doubt that the 2 artabae are calculated upon the aoura, and perhaps all these taxes ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba to 2 artabae, to which may be added the tax of 1 artaba on the aoura upon *ἑρὰ γῆ* remitted by Epiphanes (Rosetta Stone, l. 30), are different forms of one kind of land-tax, the *ἀρταβεία*; cf. note on l. 59. It is noteworthy that the article before β and the sign for artaba is uniformly in the singular, and possibly τῆν (*διαρταβίαν*) should be read, on the analogy of *διωβελία*.

The *φυλακτικόν* was a tax for maintaining police, and the *ναύβιον* tax was connected with building operations, being a money payment in lieu of personally digging so many *ναύβια*: cf. P. Oxy. II. pp. 296–7, Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 259 sqq., and note on 76. 9.

16. *χωματικόν*, though tempting, was certainly not written, the ο being clear and the lacuna too large for μα.

17–8. A remission of penalties incurred for making false returns in connexion with the *ἀπόμοιρα*, a tax on vineyards and gardens, on which see note on l. 51. The persons pardoned are probably not the officials but the *γεωργοί*, who had to sign a declaration or oath that they had shown all their produce (Rev. Laws xxvii), and the tax-farmers (*ibid.*), who had to sign a similar declaration that they had duly reported the amounts to the government. Cf. ll. 188–92, another section dealing with false returns.

19–21. This much mutilated decree probably refers to a remission of the monetary liabilities incurred by the strategi on taking office. From 9 and 10 we know that Menches, in order to become komogrammateus, had to undertake the management of certain land which had gone out of cultivation, and was responsible for the payment of a heavy rent to the Crown, besides having to make other, and apparently unauthorized, payments to secure the favour of his superiors. Probably all the more important officials had to pay heavily for their posts, a system naturally leading to that oppression of their subordinates and of the tax-payers which ruined Egypt under the later Ptolemies, and which the present series of decrees was designed to alleviate; cf. ll. 162, note, 178 sqq.

22–7. ‘And they have decreed that the (officials of the custom-house) shall not . . . nor seize goods unless they find upon the wharf at the harbours of Alexandria something on which duty has not been paid or of which the importation is forbidden; these they are to bring to the dioecetes.’

23. The correct position of the fragment containing *ων ἐρ . . .* and *ξυ των φυλακων*, though undoubtedly belonging to the bottom of this column, is uncertain. Perhaps it should be placed a little lower down, in which case the column had twenty-six or twenty-seven lines.

26. *ἐξάιρεσις* is used in the sense of a ‘wharf’ by Hyperides *ap. Poll.* 9. 34.

27. For *ἀπόρρητα* in connexion with commerce cf. Ar. *Eq.* 282 *ἐξαγαγών γε τὰπόρρητα*.

διοικητήν: the chief of the finance administration, who had his headquarters at Alexandria. It has been for some time a point of dispute whether there were also local officials of that name. The papyri of the present volume, in which the dioecetes is clearly in most cases the Alexandrian official, and which constantly mention the same person, Irenaeus, on the whole support the view of Revillout and P. Meyer (*Heerwesen*, p. 31)¹, that there was never more than one *διοικητής* at a time in the Ptolemaic period,

¹ The list of *διοικηταί* given by Meyer, *ibid.* p. 54, is far from accurate. The Chrysippus mentioned in P. Grenf. II. 14 (δ) is assigned by him (p. 31) to the 22nd year of Philadelphus on the ground that the *διοικητής* in the 22nd year of Euergetes was Diogenes (Inscr. Gr. Ins. III. 327). A Cairo papyrus (*Archiv.*

against that of Mahaffy (P. Petrie II. p. ix), Grenfell (Rev. Laws, p. 123), and Wilcken (*Ost. I.* p. 493), that there were several. But it is not easy to see how one man could have performed all the functions which devolved upon the *διοικητής*, and in the early Roman period there were *διοικηταί* who were clearly local officials (cf. P. Oxy. II. p. 290); while some of the references to the diocetes in Ptolemaic papyri (e. g. P. Petrie II. 20. ii. 3) are difficult to reconcile with the view that the greatest official in Egypt is meant. It is noticeable regarding Irenaeus that he was strategus of the Arsinoite nome before he became diocetes; cf. 72. 242. His subordinates were *ὑποταγμένοι τῇ διοίκησει* (7. 3).

28-32. 'Likewise persons who travel on foot up the country from Alexandria by the land-route which leads . . . and persons crossing from one tongue of land to another shall have no payment of any kind demanded or exacted from them except the legal duties.'

29-30. *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ταινῶν*: this apparently refers to transport by ferry-boats. The subject of *ἀπαιτεῖν* is 'the officials' understood from the preceding section.

31. *τῶν καθηκόντων τελεῖσθαι*: there were no doubt duties on crossing the frontier of a nome as in the Roman period; cf. Wilcken, *Ost. I.* pp. 354 sqq., and *Fayûm Towns*, pp. 195 sqq.

33-5. 'Likewise in the case of persons importing goods through the foreign mart . . . the seizure is to be made at the custom-house itself.'

The point of this provision probably is that the right of confiscating imported goods on the ground of their not having paid duty or for other reasons had been claimed by various officials not connected with the *πύλη*, and this right was now to be confined to the custom-house officials, about whom regulations had been laid down in ll. 22-7.

36-43. 'And they have decreed that all recipients of grants of land and all holders of temple or other land *ἐν ἀφέσει*, both those who have encroached on the Crown land, and all others who hold more land than that to which they are entitled, shall, on giving up (?) the excess and declaring themselves and paying a year's rent, be released from payments due from them up to the 51st year, and the legal tenure of their holdings is guaranteed to them.'

36-7. For land *ἐν ἀφέσει* cf. ll. 90, 112, 201, 27. 55, 68. 2, and 85. 2. The meaning of this phrase which has hitherto been known only from P. Par. 63. 177 has been the subject of much discussion. Lumbroso's view (*Recherches*, p. 90) that it meant land on which certain taxes had been suppressed gains no support from the instances in the present volume. Revillout alludes to land *ἐν ἀφέσει* more than once in his *Mélanges* but without venturing on an explanation of it. P. Meyer's suggestion (*Heerwesen*, p. 42) that it means land artificially flooded by opening sluices is obviously unsuitable. The new evidence is unfortunately beset with difficulties, and we are unable to offer a satisfactory explanation of the term. Taking *ἄλλη* in l. 37 in an inclusive sense, land *ἐν ἀφέσει* is, we think, divided into (a) *ιερά*, (b) *κληρουκική*, (c) *ἄλλη*, though this conflicts with P. Par. 63, where *ιερά γῆ* is coupled with land *ἐν ἀφέσει* as if it was something distinct, so perhaps land *ἐν ἀφέσει* was limited to *κληρουκική* and *ἄλλη*. What the *ἄλλη* contained is very obscure. Land *ἐν ἀφέσει* is clearly contrasted in 5 with the *βασιλική γῆ* on the one hand (cf. 27. 55) and perhaps with *ιδιόκτητος γῆ* on the other, though the solitary mention of the latter (l. 111)

II, p. 80), however, proves that this Chrysippus was *διοικητής* in the 22nd year of Euergetes. There is nothing whatever to show that Lycomeides (P. Petrie II. p. 19) or Python (*ibid.* no. 46 c) were *διοικηταί*, and the latter was probably a *βασιλευς ἑρασιστής*. To the references to Apollonius should be added Rev. Laws xxxviii. 3, dated in the 27th year of Philadelphus (cf. P. Amh. II. 33. 28).

would be compatible with the view that *ιδιόκτητος γῆ* was *ἐν ἀφέσει*, and it is strange that so little is said in this papyrus about private land, if it was not *ἐν ἀφέσει*. The survey-lists dealing with Kerkeosiris do not help, for that village had no *ιδιόκτητος γῆ* (cf. App. i § 1), and the nature of the *ἄλλη ἐν ἀφέσει* (63. 2) is not specified.

Why were *ιερά* and *κληρουχική γῆ* called land *ἐν ἀφέσει*? Possibly because the Crown had given it up (cf. 99. 7); the ownership of land assigned to cleruchs, though cultivated land was not legally available for this purpose (cf. l. 38, note), originally belonged to the Crown, and in the case of *ιερά γῆ* there is evidence that part of it was a direct gift from the Crown; cf. App. i § 2. Or *ἐν ἀφέσει* may be connected with the *ἀφείσις* mentioned in P. Petrie II. 2. (1) 10 and P. Amh. II. 43. 8 (cf. note on 27. 62), and land *ἐν ἀφέσει* may be land which was subject to an *ἀφείσις*; cf. the parallel phrase *ἐν συγκρίσει* for land subject to a *σύγκρισις* (App. i § 8). The phrase would then mean land of which the crops could not be used by the holders until the *ἀφείσις* had been granted by the government. But it is difficult to see why *ιερά* and *κληρουχική* were more subject to an *ἀφείσις* in this sense than other land, and it is very doubtful whether the technical meaning of land *ἐν ἀφέσει* is to be connected with the other known uses of *ἀφείσις* in Ptolemaic papyri.

κεκληρουχημένοι, or as they are called in l. 90 *κληρούχοι*, at this period was a general term including *κάτοικοι*, *μάχιμοι*, *ἔφοδοι*, *ἐρημοφύλακες*, &c., who had received or inherited grants of land from the Crown; cf. App. i § 3.

38. *καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβεβηκότας . . . καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους* are subdivisions of the holders of land *ἐν ἀφέσει*, not co-ordinated with them; cf. l. 70, note. By the *ἐπιβεβηκότες ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικήν* are meant the cleruchs and others who had received *σπόριμος* instead of *χέρσος* to the detriment of the Crown revenues from *βασιλική γῆ*, and who are frequently mentioned in the papyri of the present volume (cf. 61. (δ) 2-8, 213-46, 79. 47-62 and App. i § 6), generally in connexion with the year's rent which they had to pay according to this decree. In 85. 93 and 95 such land is called *ἀποβιαζομένη*; cf. note *ad loc.* From 73. 31 it appears that some of the *ιερά γῆ* was in the same category as the *κληρουχική* improperly assigned—a fact which explains the mention of the priests here and shows that the tenure of *ιερά γῆ* stood on much the same footing as the *κληρουχική*; cf. note on ll. 36-7. *οἱ τὴν πλείω γῆν ἔχοντες* is illustrated by P. Amh. II. 31, though the land there *περιειλημμένη εἰς φυτεῖαν φοινίκων* became presumably *ιδιόκτητος*, not *ἐν ἀφέσει*. The same contrast between the *ἐπιβεβηκότες* and the *πλείω ἔχοντες* is found in P. Amh. II. 32, where the *στρατευόμενοι* (cf. l. 168, note) were accused of having too much land, but it appeared that they *μὴ ἐπιβεβηκ[ε]ναι μηδὲ πλείονα ἔχειν τῆς παραδειγ[μ]ένης αὐτοῖς*. Cf. also 81, 124. 25-9 and 149.

39. *ἀποβάντας*: if this implies, as seems most natural, that *οἱ τὴν πλείω γῆν ἔχοντες* permanently forfeited the land to which they were not entitled, a distinction must be drawn between them and the *ἐπιβεβηκότες* who had received *σπόριμος* instead of *χέρσος*; for it is clear not only from l. 43 but from numerous instances (cf. the previous note) that on payment of one year's rent the cleruchs were allowed to keep the *σπόριμος* wrongly assigned to them, and sometimes no payment was exacted; cf. p. 555.

41. *ἐναντιοῦ ἐπφόριου*: for the omission of *ἐνός* cf. 61. (δ) 235.

44-8. 'And that the picked forces, and the native soldiers who own ten or seven arourae, and their leaders, and all others placed in that class, and the native marines, and those who . . . , shall have the legal ownership of the lands which they have possessed up to the . . . year, and shall not be subject to accusation or interference.'

44. For the restoration of the lacunae in this line and the next cf. P. Par. 63. 20 sqq. *οἱ παρε[φ]ε[δ]ρ[ε]νοντες ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῶν τ' ἐπιλέκτων καὶ τῶν (ἐπταρούρων) καὶ (πενταρούρων) μαχιμῶν*

καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν φυλακίδων τεταγμένων ναυκληρομαχίων, and ll. 29, 30 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν ταῖς γένει φερομένοις¹. On the ἐπίλεκτοι, who were the picked native troops, see Polyb. v. 82 τοὺς ἐπίλεκτους τοὺς εἰς τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον καθωπλισμένους, and Schubart, *Quaestiones de rebus militaribus*, p. 59. The μάχιμοι, or successors of the old Egyptian soldier-caste, are often mentioned in papyri, and generally, as here, in connexion with their κλήροι. πεντάρουροι μάχιμοι in the third century B.C. occur on the *verso* of P. Petrie II. 39 (e), and a list of them is given in one of the new documents from that collection; and at Cairo there is a fragmentary letter (Inv. no. 10282), dated in the 14th year of Euergetes or Philopator, about certain πεντάρουροι μάχιμοι from the Memphite nome who had crossed over to the Fayûm; cf. also 83. introd. ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι are frequently mentioned in the present volume, there being a large settlement of them at Kerkeosiris; see App. i § 3. δεκάρουροι μάχιμοι are found at Magdola (8L introd.).

45. τοὺς φερομένους ἐν τῇ συντάξει: cf. 60. 26 τῶν φερομένων ἐν τῇ τῶν μαχι(μων) συντάξει, and the passage from P. Par. 63 quoted in the previous note, where γένος takes the place of σύνταξις. Neither word has any special technical sense. An alternative to συντάξει would be στρα(τιωτικῶι), for which cf. P. Par. 63. 103 sqq. οὐκ δλί(γ)ους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικῶι φερομένων καὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν μάλισ ἐχόντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τιθεμένων ἐπίουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν μαχιμων. This passage is misunderstood by Schubart (*ibid.* pp. 62 sqq.), who first identifies οἱ ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικῶι φερόμενοι with οἱ στρατευόμενοι mentioned in another part of the papyrus, and then gives an impossible meaning to στρατευόμενοι (cf. note on l. 168). Probably οἱ ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικῶι φερόμενοι in the Paris papyrus is a general term for soldiers, applying more especially to Greeks, and therefore στρα(τιωτικῶι) is here less probable than συντάξει, both because the native troops are placed first, whereas in the Paris papyrus οἱ ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικῶι precede the μάχιμοι, and because it is not likely that this regulation concerned Greek military colonists, since they were dealt with in ll. 36-43.

47. ἀκατηγορήτου[s]: cf. 61. (δ) 236-8 ἔχειν . . . κλήρ[ο]υ ἀσυκοφαντή[τους] καὶ ἀκατηγορήτους καὶ ἀνεπιλήμ(π)του[s]; and with ἀνεπιλήπτους cf. also the passage from P. Tor. 1 quoted on p. 18. A similar decree occurs in 124. 25-7.

49. 'And they remit to every one the arrears of the work-tax.'

λειτουργικόν occurs in P. Petrie II. 39 (e) among the taxes paid by the military settlers in the Fayûm; cf. 102. 3. From its name it seems to have been a payment in lieu of providing personal service, like the naubion-tax. λειτουργός at this period simply meant a workman, and had no technical sense as at Athens.

50-6. 'And they have decreed that the temple land and other sacred revenues which belong to the temples shall remain assured to them, and that the temples shall receive the tithes which they used to receive from holdings and gardens and other land.

And in like manner the appointed sums or what they received from the Treasury for the pay of the temples and the other sums granted to them up to the 51st year shall be paid to them regularly, as in the case of their other revenues (?), and no one shall be allowed to take anything from these sources of income.'

50. For a specification of the ἱεραὶ πρόσοδοι see 6. 20 sqq.

51. The same threefold classification of the receipts of the temples into (1) the ἱεραὶ πρόσοδοι, (2) the ἀπόμορα, (3) the συντάξεις, is found in the Rosetta stone, ll. 14-5

¹ Our quotations in the present volume from P. Par. 63 are from the revised text of Mahaffy and Smyly in the introduction to the third volume of the Petrie Papyri.

προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τὰς προσόδους τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὰς δεδομένας εἰς αὐτὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν συντάξεις σιτικὰς τε καὶ ἀργυρικὰς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς καθηκούσας ἀπομοίρας τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἀμπελιτίδος γῆς καὶ τῶν παραδείσων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπαρξάντων τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐπὶ χώρας. The distinction drawn between the ἀπόμοιρα and the ordinary ἱεραὶ πρόσοδοι is in both cases marked and is of considerable importance. On the history of that tax of $\frac{1}{8}$ (or in some case $\frac{1}{10}$) upon the produce of vineyards and παραδείσοι see Rev. Laws, pp. 119 sqq., Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 157 sqq. and 615. In the 23rd year of Philadelphus it was transferred from the gods to the deified Arsinoë, i. e. it was really transferred from the temples to the government. In the 4th year of Epiphanes the ἀπόμοιρα was being paid to Arsinoë and the gods Philopatores (P. Petrie II. 46), and if the passage in the Rosetta stone quoted above really implies that the whole ἀπόμοιρα was paid to the temples in the reign of Philopator and continued to be paid to them in the 9th year of Epiphanes, the truth of the statement is open to grave suspicion (Rev. Laws, *l. c.*). It is quite possible, however, that the καθήκουσαι ἀπόμοιραι τοῖς θεοῖς mean only a part of the whole proceeds of the tax, the rest being claimed by the government. Here too, where the question is of paying the tax to the temples, the plural is used, whereas when remitting the penalties incurred by those who had made false returns in connexion with it the sovereigns use the singular (l. 17). It is, we think, clear from the present passage that an important change regarding the tax was enacted by ll. 51-3. Though the conjecture λήμψεσθαι is doubtful because the future infinitive is not usually found after προστετάχασι in these decrees (though cf. l. 8), the use of a different verb in place of μένειν κυρίως and the contrast between ἀσ ἐλάμβανον and τὰς ὑπαρχούσας seem to us to imply that the king was doing much more than continuing the existing state of things. Probably therefore by this decree he restored to the temples the share of the ἀπόμοιρα which they had received at some previous time, i. e. if we may believe the Rosetta stone, in the reigns of Philopator and Epiphanes, but of which they had been deprived at some unknown period prior to the date of this edict. It is even possible that this decree restored the whole of the ἀπόμοιρα to the temples, in which case ἐλάμβανον refers to the time before the 23rd year of Philadelphus. But this is not a *priori* likely; nor, if the king gained nothing from the proceeds of the ἀπόμοιρα, can we so well explain the interest shown by him in ll. 17-8 with regard to false returns concerning it. Moreover the ostraca show that after the 52nd year the ἀπόμοιρα continued to be collected by the government like an ordinary tax, just as it had been in the years immediately preceding; cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* II. nos. 1234 and 1518 with 354 and 1235.

In any case the evidence with regard to the temple revenues supplied by this papyrus affords another argument against Wilcken's later view (*Ost.* II. p. 615; on p. 158 he agrees with the editors of the Revenue papyrus) that the temples never lost the ἀπόμοιρα at all, a hypothesis which has always seemed to us wholly incompatible with the elaborate arrangements introduced by Philadelphus and with the 'unvarying testimony of papyri and ostraca that the ἀπόμοιρα was collected by the government in the same way as the other taxes. The extent to which the Ptolemies, under the pretext of being the most important gods, plundered the temples is well illustrated by ll. 245 sqq.

52. κτήμα is here used in a technical sense, being practically equivalent to ἀμπελών. A similar use of the term occurs in 120. 9 and in one of the new Petrie papyri, a petition accusing certain persons of breaking into a κτήμα and spoiling the grapes.

53. παραδείσων: on the meaning of this word in connexion with the ἀπόμοιρα see Rev. Laws, pp. 94-6, and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 157. When used in a general sense, as here, it included fruit-trees of the most varied kinds.

ὑποκείμενα: this term is often used vaguely in these papyri, meaning 'appointed'; cf. ll. 79, 149, 19. 7, 29. 13, 61. (δ) 354.

53-6. The construction of this sentence, which is partly corrupt, is obscure. ἡ δ is not

satisfactory, and *καὶ δ* cannot be read. An adjective is wanted, and in either case it is necessary to supply a verb to govern *δ* out of the preceding sentence.

54. For *συγκεκριμένα* cf. 61. (δ) 19, 231, 72. 240, 100. 14. In ll. 71-2 of the Canopus Inscription, in which the *τροφή* for the daughters of the priests is *συγκριθησομένη* by the *βουλευταὶ ἱερεῖς* in proportion to the temple revenues, *συ-* in *συγκριθησομένη* seems to imply that the *κρίσις* was the result of a *συμεθρία* of some kind, and in 61. (δ) 231 *συ-* in *συκριθεῖσι* may have the same force (cf. *ibid.* l. 223). But here and in 61. (δ) 19, 72. 240 and 100. 14 *συ-* does not have any collective meaning and *συγκεκριμένα* differs little from *κεκριμένα*. The technical phrase land *ἐν συγκρίσει* means land subject to a decision of the dioecetes; cf. App. i § 8.

55. ἀπ[ο]διδόναι εὐτάκτως: cf. 6. 46-7. The subject of ἀποδιδόναι is people in general, a somewhat abrupt change but quite intelligible in the light of the following regulations. After εὐτάκτως, *ὅς* has dropped out, while the *ων* of ἀλλων seems to have been written twice, unless (προσδδ)ων be read.

57-61. 'No one shall take away by force anything of what has been dedicated to the gods, nor apply forcible persuasion to the superintendents of the sacred revenues, whether derived from villages or land or other temple revenues, nor shall the tax on associations or the crown-tax or the artaba-tax be paid upon what has been dedicated to the gods, nor shall the temple lands be worked on any pretext, but they shall be left to be administered by the priests.'

57. παραρῆσθαι: cf. 6. 35, where the priests complain about the very practice which this regulation was designed to suppress.

μηδὲν τῶν ἀπερωμένων: this is further explained in l. 59 ἦτοι κόμας ἢ γᾶς ἢ ἄλλας ἱερὰς προσόδους, l. 58 which is exegetic of μετὰ βίας being in a parenthesis. If ἦτοι κόμας, κ.τ.λ., is connected with l. 58 the cases must be altered to the genitive, and the repetition of ἱερὰς προσόδους is very awkward. The villages which were ἀπερωμένα are very likely to be identified with the villages ἐν συντάξει which are coupled with those ἐν δωρεᾷ in Rev. Laws xliii. 12. σύνταξις was the term used for contributions from the government to the temples, e. g. in l. 54.

58. [πειθ]ανόγκην: cf. P. Amh. II. 31. 11. Probably it was a euphemism for torture. τοῖς προϊστηκόσι τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων: the temple revenues proper were or ought to have been collected by agents of the priests themselves, not by the government officials (6. 44 sqq.); but cf. 93. introd.

59. ἦτοι κό(μας) ἢ γᾶς: cf. note on l. 57. The plural of γῆ is also found in 6. 31. Instances of lands dedicated to the gods occur in 6. 20 and 63. 18-21.

μη[δὲ] κ[οι]νωμικ(ᾶ) μηδὲ στεφάν(ους): cf. 119. 11-2 ὑπὲρ ἀρταβι(ας) καὶ στεφάνου καὶ κοινωμικ(ῶν), and the receipt for κοινωμικᾶ in 100. 10. The κοινωμικᾶ would seem from the name to be a tax upon κοινωμιαί, 'associations'; cf. the κατὰ μέρος ἴθνη in 6. 24. On the στεφάνος tax see note on 61. (δ) 254 and 93 and 94, and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 295 sqq. There appears to have been much variation in the amounts levied on different pieces of land of the same size; and since the holders of κληρουχικῆ γῆ had to pay the tax the priests were better off than other holders of land ἐν ἀφέσει; cf. 93. 62-3 sqq., where in the list of payments upon ἱερὰ γῆ of the god Petesuchus the στεφάνος is apparently absent, and note on 93. 68.

μηδὲ τὰ ἀρταβι(εία): cf. 119. 11 quoted in the previous note. In other cases of the occurrence of the word it is or may be declined as a feminine singular, e. g. P. Fay. Towns 99. 13 and P. Amh. II. 85. 9. From its use in the Roman period in these two passages and in C. P. R. I. 1. 16 we concluded (notes *ad loc.*) that ἀρταβεία meant a land-tax of one artaba per aroura upon corn land. That it was necessarily *one* artaba to an aroura

is not likely, though such a tax is known from the Rosetta Stone l. 30 to have been imposed upon *λεπὰ γῆ*; for, as we have said in note on l. 15, the *ἀρταβεία* is very likely to be identified with various taxes mentioned in this volume which range from $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba to 2 artabae on the aroura. But we adhere to our opinion that the *ἀρταβεία*, which as is shown by P. Amh. II. 85 and 86 was one of the *γνήσια δημόσια*, was a land-tax upon corn-growing land. The question then arises, what was the relationship of it to the *ἐπιγραφὴ*, which is supposed by Wilcken (*Ost. I.* pp. 195 sqq.) to be the land-tax upon corn-growing land? *ἐπιγραφὴ* occurs below in l. 113 in a passage which, so far as can be judged, shows that some remission of it was made to private land-owners and owners of land *ἐν ἀφέσει*; and in 99 large payments in corn and money for *ἐπιγραφὴ* and the 2-artabae tax (cf. l. 15, note) are met with. 27. 99-100 mentions an *ἐπιγραφὴ* which was to be paid in silver, and in 48. 12 sqq. a special impost of 80 artabae is *ἐπιγεγραμμένη* in connexion with a visit from the king; cf. also 124. 35. It is not likely that in the same papyrus two different names would be used for the same tax, and therefore if *ἀρταβεία* was a regular land-tax upon corn-land, *ἐπιγραφὴ* must have been something different. An examination of Wilcken's arguments for the identification of *ἐπιγραφὴ* with the land-tax in the light of the fresh evidence afforded by the present volume has brought us to the conclusion that his theory of the land-tax, however ingenious, will not stand.

Wilcken groups together as different forms of one land-tax *ἐπιγραφὴ, ὑπὲρ ἀμπελώνων, ὑπὲρ γεωμετρίας, ἐπαρούριων, ὑπὲρ τόπου* and *ὑπὲρ φοινικίωνων* (the *ἀρταβίων* of C. P. R. I. 1. 16 are not discussed). While ready to welcome any suggestion for reducing the gigantic number of nominally different taxes, we cannot accept this arrangement as satisfactory. In the first place there is no general word in the papyri meaning land-tax, the different kinds of land being subject to very different kinds of taxes; there is no real connexion between *ἐπιγραφὴ* and e.g. *ὑπὲρ φοινικίωνων* at all. Secondly, the evidence of 93-4 concerning the *γεωμετρία*, which shows that it was a fixed charge of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba irrespective of the number of arourae taxed, seems to us conclusive in favour of Kenyon's explanation of that tax (*Class. Rev.* xiv. 171) as a charge for the annual survey of the land. Dismissing the taxes which have to do with land other than corn-land or are not of the nature of a land-tax at all, there remain two, *ἐπιγραφὴ* and *ὑπὲρ τόπου*, which may refer to corn-growing land; and those *ὑπὲρ τόπου*, being merely payments on behalf of a toparchy (*Ost. I.* p. 307), afford no information as to the nature of the tax in question. Wilcken's identification of *ἐπιγραφὴ* with the land-tax upon corn land, for which he admits (p. 197) there is no strict proof, is obtained by a method of exclusion. It is known that the government received very large amounts of corn, in which the land-tax must have played an important part. With the exception of a few instances such as the *στέφανος κατοίκων*, in which the name of the special tax is mentioned, tax-receipts for payments in kind do not characterize definitely the nature of the tax, but state either that it was *εἰς τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν* or *ὑπὲρ τόπου* or simply for such and such a year. No other tax but the land-tax would, he thinks, be described in this indefinite way. Not only therefore does he group together as payments of land-tax all the miscellaneous payments of corn for which there is no obvious explanation, but he thinks (p. 205) that practically all other taxes were paid in money, dismissing the exceptions such as the *στέφανος κατοίκων, λατρικῶν* and *λεπτομετρῶν* on the ground that they were paid by the military colonists, who might be specially favoured. This view however is not supported by the evidence of the present volume, which shows (e.g. 93 and 94) that a large number of taxes connected with land were paid in kind and not merely by the military colonists. Moreover, if it is necessary to find a general term for land-tax upon corn-land, there is more reason for selecting the *ἀρταβεία*, which is known to have continued on into the Roman period and to have then been one of the principal *δημόσια*, than the *ἐπιγραφὴ*, which has not yet been found outside the Ptolemaic period. The words *ἐπιγραφὴ* and *ἐπιγράφειν* are, as Wilcken

rightly points out, used in the widest signification with regard to the 'imposition' of burdens, including personal service, as in P. Par. 63, or money payments (*ἀργυρικά ἐπιγραφαί* in l. 62 of the Assouan stele). But the inference we should draw from the whole evidence concerning *ἐπιγραφή*, which, as we have seen, was sometimes paid in money, is that it suits a special imposition, in origin at any rate designed to meet an emergency, much better than a tax the essence of which was according to Wilcken payment in kind. We think too that Wilcken somewhat over-estimates the importance of the land-tax upon corn-growing land. The bulk of the corn received by the government was, we imagine, derived from the rents of the enormous royal domains, i.e. the *σιτική μίσθωσις* which is often coupled with the *ἀργυρική πρόσδος* (cf. note on l. 11 and ll. 102-3). There is not, so far as we can see, any necessity for assuming one big land-tax upon corn-land. The evidence available at present points far more to a large number of taxes on land, of which one, the *ἀραβεία*, seems to approximate to the land-tax of modern times, but was not necessarily more important than some of the others. The only objection to making *ἐπιγραφή* mean a special impost is the frequency of its occurrence (cf. 99. 22 and 24); but the case of the *στέφανος* affords an instance of a tax which had its origin in a particular event becoming an annual, or nearly annual institution, and theoretically at any rate *ἐπιγραφή* was probably an extra burden distinct from the ordinary taxes on land. Cf. also 124. 35 *τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν γενομένας ἐπιγρ(αφὰς) (καὶ) εἰσφορά(ς)*.

60. *σκεύη* ἄξια: cf. l. 74 *ὑποσκευάζ[ο]ντ[α]ς*, which possibly refers back to the present passage. The technical meaning is obscure; perhaps it has something to do with the provision of *σκεύη* or tools for cultivation; cf. ll. 231 sqq.

62-4. 'And they remit to the overseers of the temples and the chief priests and priests the arrears on account of both the tax for overseers and the values of woven cloths up to the 50th year.'

63. *ἐπιστατικά*: a tax called *ἐπιστατικόν* or *ἐπιστατικὸν ἱερέων* is known in the Roman period, the payers of it being generally priests; cf. *Fayûm Towns*, p. 176. This has been usually explained as a payment exacted from the priests for the salary of their *ἐπιστάτης* (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 366), but there are objections to giving *ἐπιστατικόν* that interpretation here. Unless the release from arrears of *ἐπιστατικά* is confined to the *ἀρχιερεῖς* and *ἱερεῖς*—which is a somewhat arbitrary meaning to impose upon the Greek—we must suppose that the *ἐπιστάται* were themselves liable for *ἐπιστατικόν*, and the remission of the arrears of their salary would in any case be a strange kind of *φιλάνθρωπον*. Was the *ἐπιστατικόν* a tax for the privilege of having an *ἐπιστάτης*? That the priestly offices were bought from the government is known from other evidence; cf. note on l. 65. On that view of *ἐπιστατικά* the payment of it by the *ἐπιστάται* would be quite natural, and the remission of arrears upon it a real indulgence. The occurrence of the *ἐπιστατικόν* paid by priests and *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί* along with the *γραμματικόν* in 97 is however somewhat in favour of the established view of *ἐπιστατικὸν ἱερέων*; cf. 97. introd.

προστιμή[σεις τῶν] ὀθονίων: cf. Rosetta stone, ll. 17-8 *τῶν τ' εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν συντελουμένων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς βυσσίνων ὀθονίων ἀπέλυσεν τὰ δύο μέρη*, and l. 29 *ὡσαύτως δὲ (sc. ἀφήκε) καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν μὴ συντελεσμένων εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν βυσσίνων ὀθονίων καὶ τῶν συντελεσμένων τὰ πρὸς τὸν δειγματισμὸν διάφορα ἕως τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων*, and Rev. Laws lxxxvii-civ. The present papyrus thoroughly supports Wilcken's view that the manufacture of fine cloth was a government monopoly like that of oil, and adds some new details. The trades of the *λίνυφαι* and *βυσσοουργοί* were, as is shown by ll. 241-7, carried on in the temples themselves under the direction of the priests and for religious purposes, though the proceeds mainly went to the sovereigns in their capacity as the most important gods.

Hence the necessity for the provision to the government by the temples of a fixed number of *δθμία*, or their value, arrears of which were remitted by Epiphanes (Ros. Inscr. *l. c.*), and by Euergetes II according to the present passage. Besides the *λίνοφοι* and *βυσσοουργοί* we hear of *πόκυφοι* and *τανυφάνται* (ll. 170-1), *ερινφάνται* (l. 239), and *πίπλυφοι* (l. 250). These, too, were no doubt employed in a government monopoly, but whether they, like the *λίνοφοι* and *βυσσοουργοί*, exercised their trade in the temples, is not clear. The *ερινφάνται* and *πίπλυφοι*, who were mentioned are coupled with the *λίνοφοι* and *βυσσοουργοί*, may have done so. But the *πόκυφοι* and *τανυφάνται* more probably did not, for it is hardly likely that the temples would have been able to look after the whole weaving industry, and the division of the Revenue Papyrus dealing with the *δθσηρά* only mentions the priests twice. Probably therefore only the finer processes were in the hands of the priests, especially the *βύσσοσ* manufacture.

65-72. 'Likewise they remit to holders of honourable offices, or of posts as prophet or scribe, or of other sacred offices in the temples, the arrears owed in the temples for the emoluments demanded on certain occasions up to the 50th year.

Likewise they remit the penalties incurred by those who have extorted more (than their due) emoluments up to the same period.

Likewise to holders of such offices in the lesser temples, both shrines of Isis and feeding places of ibises and hawk-shrines and Anubis-shrines and the like, they remit the corresponding arrears and penalties up to the same period.'

65. With this difficult section cf. ll. 80-2, 6. 21 and 34, and 88, a *γραφή* *ιερών και προ[οφ]η-τηών και ημερών λειτουργικών (και) των υπαρχόντων*, P. Brit. Mus. 3. 17 and two wooden tablets at the Louvre (Wilcken, *Ost. I.* p. 65; cf. *ibid.* p. 398). Putting together the evidence of all these passages the relations of the government and the temples on the subject of *καρπείαι* seem to have been as follows. Attached to the *γέρα, προφητείας, &c.* of temples and shrines, were certain revenues or *καρπείαι*, which might be derived from *ιερά γη* belonging to the temple, or from contributions for the service of the temple, such as the five artabae of wheat paid to the crocodile shrine at Kerkeosiris by the *βασιλικοί γεωργοί* (88. 10; cf. 6. 33), or from other sources. The right of holding these lucrative offices had to be bought by the priests for a price from the government, which on certain occasions, i.e. when particularly in want of money, demanded the return of a part, or perhaps all, of the *καρπείαι*. In 6 the priests complain amongst other things that they were not receiving the *καρπείαι* to which they were entitled, and the king issues orders to the officials to see that the customary dues are paid over to them. In ll. 65-7 of the present document he remits the arrears on the *καρπείαι* which had been demanded back from the priests, probably in connexion with the *ἀμξία* about the 40th year (cf. p. 553); and in ll. 68-9 he pardons those priests who, to make up for the exactions of the government upon their own *καρπείαι*, had themselves extorted too much from the tax-payers who contributed the *καρπείαι*. Lines 70-2 merely apply the foregoing regulations to the smaller temples. In ll. 79-83, a passage which unfortunately is very corrupt, the continuance of existing *γέρα, προφητείας, &c.*, which had been paid for by the priests, is guaranteed to them, but they are forbidden to part with these offices to other persons.

66. *λει(τουργίας)*: these are probably to be connected with the *ήμεραι λειτουργικαί λ* which are mentioned so often in 88, and appear to be a burden imposed on the persons who possessed (*κρατείν*, cf. l. 73) part of the shrines; cf. introd. to 88.

70. *ελάσσωσιν ιεροίς*: the temples were divided into three classes, called the first, second and third; see l. 75 of the Canopus Inscr. Kerkeosiris had no temples of the first rank (App. i § 2), but contained several *ελάσσωσα ιερά* (88. 4-31), or, as they are elsewhere

(e.g. 60. 12) called, 'second' temples. Those shrines mentioned in 88 which owned no land at all probably belonged to the third class. The *καί* before 'Ισιείους does not coordinate it with *ἐλάσσοισιν ἱεροῖς* (cf. l. 38, note), for the Isis shrines, &c., were or might be *ἐλάσσοισιν ἱερά*; cf. the next note.

ἰβίω(ν) τρ(οφαίς): cf. 63. 28, where *ἰβίω τροφή* occurs as the name of a 'lesser temple' at Kerkeosiris owning *ἱερά γῆ*. In 88. 53 the same shrine is called *ἰβισοφίω καὶ Ἐρμαιοῖον*, so the sacred ibises were sometimes buried as well as fed there. A few mummies of these animals were found in the crocodile cemetery at Tebtunis from which these papyri came.

73-6. The sense of this regulation is beyond recovery. With *τοὺς κρατοῦντας τῶν τοιοῦτων* (i.e. τῶν ἐλασσόνων) *ἱερῶν* cf. 88, according to which the fifth part of some shrines was possessed (*κρατεῖν*) by the persons who supplied thirty days' work and cultivated the land, if any, belonging to the god. The private ownership of temples was a matter of common occurrence; cf. 14. 17 and the two wooden tablets mentioned in note on l. 65, which are receipts for the purchase of an *ἰβισοφίω* and the *προφητεία* and land attached to it, and *Archiv*, II. p. 139.

77-82. 'And they have decreed that the expenses for the burial of Apis and Mnevis should be demanded from the Crown revenues, as in the case of the deified personages. Likewise in the case of the other sacred animals the sums required (shall be paid by the Crown). (Likewise) those honourable offices and posts as prophet or scribe which have been bought for the temples out of the temple revenues, and of which the prices have been paid, shall remain assured to the temples, but the priests are not permitted to make over these offices to other persons.'

77. Cf. Canopus Inscr. ll. 53-4 *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκβίωσιν αὐτῆς* (sc. Berenice, the daughter of Euergetes I) *νόμιμα καὶ τὴν τοῦ πέθους ὀπίδωσιν ἐπίδωκαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ κηδεμονικῶς καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄ[πει] καὶ Μηνέει εἰθισμένον ἐστὶν γίνεσθαι*, and Rosetta Inscr. ll. 31-2 *τῶν τε Ἄπει καὶ Μνεύει πολλὰ ἐδωρήσατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς ζῴοις τοῖς ἐν Ἀγύπτῳ πολὺν κρεῖσσον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλείων φροντίζων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηκό[των εἰς] αὐτὰ διὰ παντός· τὰ τ' εἰς τὰς τοφὰς καθήκοντα διδοὺς δαψιλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως.*

78. τῶν ἀποτεθεωμένων: the deification of the reigning sovereigns brought them the very material advantage of being able to divert a large proportion of the temple revenues to their own use, e.g. the *ἀπόμοιρα* (note on l. 51); cf. also ll. 245-7, which clearly show the relative importance of the kings and the 'other gods.' In return for this it was customary, as the instances prove, for the Crown to pay the expenses connected with the State funerals.

ἱερῶν ζῴων v: cf. the passage from the Rosetta stone quoted above.

79. τὰ ὑποκείμενα: cf. l. 53, note.

The sentence is probably incomplete, for it is clear from the paragraph after l. 79 that ll. 80-i are not connected with what goes before but constitute a new section of which the introductory words are lost. The fact that *τὰς ἡγορασμένους κ.τ.λ.* is written twice over suggests the following explanation. The archetype from which these decrees were copied probably ran:—

1. θεωμένων, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ζῴων τὰ ὑποκείμενα
2. χρήματα? about thirty letters ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ
3. τὰς ἡγορασμένους προφητείας καὶ γέρα καὶ γρ(αμματείας) εἰς τὰ ἱερά ἐκ τῶν
4. ἱερῶν προσόδων ὡν κ.τ.λ.

The copyist after writing l. 1 omitted l. 2, and wrote l. 3 twice over. Subsequently, when the dittography was noticed, τὰς ἡγορασμένας—ἐκ τῶν where it occurred first was placed in brackets, but the missing line was not inserted. Cf. notes on ll. 100 and 163.

80. On the various offices and their καρτεῖαι see note on l. 65. In the present passage the emphasis lies on the προφητεῖαι, &c., which are the antecedent of ὧν and referred to by ταύτας in l. 81. We may conjecture that some of the priests had failed to pay the τιμαὶ of their offices (cf. notes on ll. 19–21 and 178 sqq.), and that others had sold them (παραχωρεῖν need not imply a cession gratis; cf. 30. introd.). The subject of τεταγμένοι εἰσὶ is the priests, which can easily be supplied from the preceding section; the signification of τάσσεσθαι 'pay' is common in the tax-receipts of the period. If ὧν were connected with προσόδων instead of προφητεῖαι, &c., the following words must be emended into αἱ τιμαὶ τεταγμένοι εἰσὶ, meaning 'the revenues of which the honourable functions have been appointed,' i. e. the priests had applied revenues which were assigned to a definite purpose, e. g. the burial of Apis, to buying profitable offices for themselves. The emphasis in the sentence would then fall upon ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων. But it is very difficult to give τιμαὶ here any other meaning than 'price,' especially when ἡγορασμένας has just preceded; and the order is not in favour of any particular stress being laid upon ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων, while ταύτας in l. 81 must refer to the προφητεῖαι, &c.

83–4. 'And they have decreed that no one is to be dragged away or forcibly ejected from the existing places of asylum.'

On the right of asylum possessed by the temples cf. an inscription found at Ḳaṣr el Banât (*Fayûm Towns*, p. 48), which is a petition to one of the later Ptolemies asking for the concession of the right of asylum on behalf of a newly erected temple. From ll. 7 sqq. of that inscription it appears that the right of sanctuary protected both the priests and persons who took refuge with them. Cf. also P. Par. 10. 13, where a reward is offered for the disclosure of the temple in which a fugitive slave had taken refuge.

85–92. 'And since it sometimes happens that the sitologi and antigraphis use larger measures than the correct bronze measures appointed in each nome . . . in estimating dues to the State, and in consequence the cultivators are made to pay (more than the proper number of choenices?), they have decreed that the strategi and the overseers of the revenues and the basilico-grammateis shall test the measures in the most thorough manner possible in the presence of those concerned in the revenues of . . . and the priests and the cleruchs and other owners of land ἐν ἀπίσει . . . , and the measures must not exceed (the government measure) by more than the two . . . allowed for errors. Those who disobey this decree are punishable with death.'

85. Though we have been unable to restore all the lacunae in this section, the general sense of it is clear enough. Owing to the great variation in the sizes of the different measures in use in Egypt, it was necessary for the government to fix in the case of the different taxes paid in kind which particular measure was to be used in reckoning the payments. Thus in the Revenue Papyrus oil is to be measured by a metretes of 12 choes (xl. 11), wine by a metretes of 8 choes (xxxii. 19), while the artaba to be used in measuring the oil-yielding produce was one of 30 choenices (xxxix. 2). Wilcken is no doubt right (*Ost. I. p. 741*) in asserting that the choenix, and for liquid measures the chous, were fixed. In the present passage, as is shown by the regulation being made applicable to the

sitologi and their clerks (see below), we are concerned with the measurement of corn. Artabae of 40, 30, 29, 26 and 24 choenices were known from documents of the Ptolemaic period, but none of these instances refers to the official measurements of corn. The present volume however supplies evidence to show that the normal official artaba of corn contained 36 choenices, a measure which is known to have existed from the equation of the artaba to $4\frac{1}{2}$ modii (Hultsch, *Script. Metrol.* i, p. 258), and is, we imagine, referred to by εἰς(ταβμα) ἐν ἐκάστῳ νομῷ ἀποδεδειγμένα χα(λκᾶ) μέτρα here, though an artaba of 40 choenices is also found in official documents; cf. 61. (b) 386, note. In 61. (b) 390 the komogrammateus or other official responsible for that document converts the artabae exacted by his predecessors μέτρῳ δρόμου, i. e. measured by the temple-measure, into artabae δοχικῆ μέτρῳ. The δοχικὸν μέτρον was, we think, another name for the official corn-measure (cf. P. Par. 66. 26 πρὸς τοῖς δοχικοῖς μέτροις τῶν θησαυρῶν), and stood in the ratio of 6 to 7 to the dromos-measure. Perhaps the action of the previous komogrammateus in using a larger measure than the official one was an instance of that very practice which this regulation was designed to abolish, the compelling of the tax-payers (γεωργοί in l. 87 is, as often, quite general) to pay more than 36 choenices to an artaba where the tax was levied in corn.

ἀντιγραφείας: by these ἀντιγραφεῖς are meant the 'checking clerks' whose signatures are found upon sitologus-receipts; see P. Amh. II 59 and 60, and notes *ad loc.*, and cf. 80. 12, note.

86. ἀποδεδειγμένα χα(λκᾶ): cf. P. Amh. II. 43. 9-10 μέτρῳ δικαίῳ τῶν πρὸς τὸ βασιλικὸν χαλκῶν μετρήσει καὶ σκντάληι [δικαίῳ].

87. τ[.]χ[.]χ[.]...[.]as: τ[οῦ]ς χοί[νικ]ας is possible, and the mention of χοῖνικες would be quite appropriate (cf. note on l. 85); but some qualifying adjective like καθήκοντας would then be expected.

88. καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων: this office was often combined with that of strategus, e. g. 61. (b) 46 and P. Amh. II. 35. 2; but officials who are ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων simply are found e. g. in P. Amh. II. 31. 2; cf. note on l. 159.

90. κληρούχων: cf. note on l. 36 and App. i § 3.

91. The government allowed the measures used by the sitologi to vary from the royal bronze measures (whether by too much or by too little or by either is not clear) to the extent of two units, which are presumably fractions, such as hundredths of the χοῖνιξ. The vestiges at the end of the line are too slight to give any clue, especially as the important word very likely came in an abbreviated form at the beginning of l. 92.

93-8. 'And they have decreed that the cultivators of vine-land or gardens throughout the country, if they plant them between the 53rd and 57th years in the land which has become flooded or dry, shall be left untaxed for five years dating from the time at which they plant them, and from the sixth year for three years more they shall be required to pay less than the proper amount, payment being made in the fourth year, but from the ninth year onwards they shall all pay the same as the other owners of land in good condition; and that cultivators in the country belonging to Alexandria shall be allowed an extra three years' grace.'

94. δs: the reading is very doubtful, for there is room for another letter before a and the supposed s may be ε.

κατακεκλ[υσ]μένη: cf. 56. 6.

98. It is not made clear whether the extra three years' indulgence granted to the Alexandrians is to be added to the five years of total exemption, or to the three years of partial exemption, granted to the inhabitants of the χώρα. The use of χώρα with reference

to the land owned by the Alexandrians just before. ἡ χώρα is contrasted, as so often, with Alexandria is curious, and is perhaps an error of the scribe.

99-101. 'And they have decreed that those who have bought from the Crown houses or vineyards or gardens or other (holdings?) or boats or anything else whatever shall remain in undisturbed possession, and they shall not have persons quartered in their houses.'

100. σταθα: probably the archetype contained some word like κτήματα (cf. l. 52) at the beginning of a line, but the copyist's eye caught σταθ of ἐπισταθμείεσθαι at the beginning of the line following; cf. l. 163, where he obviously omitted a line, but remedied his mistake in time, and l. 79, where he omitted one line and copied the next twice over. It is not likely that σταθα is a corruption of some verbal adjective like σταθμεντά 'capable of being used as a σταθμός,' for in the Petrie Papyri only οἰκίαι and περίβολα are used for σταθμοί, while in l. 101 only οἰκίαι, and in ll. 175-6 only οἰκίαι and ἄλλα δόσιμα (i. e. buildings), are mentioned. Cf. the next note.

101. ἐπισταθμείεσθαι: σταθμοί or free quarters were assigned to the military colonists in the Fayūm in the third century B. C. as well as to officials, and are often mentioned in the Petrie Papyri; see the series of decrees relating to σταθμοί in *Archiv*, I. pp. 285 sqq., and cf. Schubart, *Quaestiones*, pp. 10 sqq. Paul Meyer's view that the σταθμός was the same as the κλήρος (*Heerwesen*, p. 43) is not worth discussing. Though this passage and ll. 168 sqq. show that the practice of granting σταθμοί continued to prevail in the second century, no mention of them occurs in the numerous papyri relating to the military colonists at Kerkeosiris. The great difficulty in connexion with the σταθμοί is that they were not merely in the towns, as Schubart (*Quaestiones*, p. 13, though with a qualification in a note) considers, but also in the villages, as is indicated by the decrees concerning the σταθμοί of the ἱππεῖς who had been deprived of their κλήροι (Mahaffy, *Archiv*, I. pp. 289-90) and as is shown more clearly by some of the new wills in the forthcoming third volume of the Petrie Papyri.

102-3. A regulation guaranteeing the continuance of existing σιτικαὶ μισθώσεις, or leases of βασιλικὴ γῆ for a rent payable in corn; cf. note on l. 59. For [πρὸς τοὺς γεωργούς] cf. 61. (β) 12.

There is no sign of a new section beginning before l. 119.

106-7. Cf. ll. 96-7.

111. ἰδιόκτητον: this is the only reference in this papyrus to land in private ownership; cf. note on ll. 36-7. The sense of the passage seems to be that holders of private land and of land ἐν ἀφέσει obtained some remission of various kinds of land-taxes. On ἐπιγραφή in l. 113 see note on l. 59.

134-8=147-54. 'And they have decreed that owners of houses which have been pulled down or burnt shall be permitted to rebuild them according to the prescribed measurements.

And that persons who own private houses in the villages shall likewise be allowed to build up their homes to the height of . . . , and rebuild the temples to the height of 10 cubits, except the inhabitants of Panopolis.'

147. The contrast between these two sections lies, we think, in the fact that the first concerns persons who had only half of their houses to themselves, the rest being occupied by the persons quartered upon them (cf. ll. 176-7), while the second refers to persons who controlled the whole of their houses which were therefore 'private.' κύριος is the technical term used in one of the decrees concerning the ἐπίσταθμοι (Mahaffy, *Archiv*, I. p. 287) for

the owners of houses of which half was given to the *ἐπίσταθοι*. The mention of *κῶμαι* in the second section and not in the first must not be taken to imply that the first concerned only the inhabitants of *πόλεις*, for there were *σταθοί* in the villages also; cf. note on l. 100.

148. *κατε[σπ]ασμένων*: sc. by the troops of the king in putting down the revolt of the Thebaid; cf. note on l. 153.

149. *ἐπὶ τὰ* (corrected from *τῶν*): we suspect that the archetype had *ἕως τῶν ὑποκειμένων μέτρων*; cf. l. 135, which has *eis τὰ*, and ll. 137 and 153.

153. On *πῆχυς* cf. note on 13. 13. The exclusion of the inhabitants of Panopolis from the benefits of this decree was no doubt in consequence of their having taken the chief share in a revolt, and most probably this passage is to be connected with Frag. x of the excerpts from Diodorus found in an Escorial MS. (Müller *Frag. Hist. Graec.* II. pp. x-xi) about an insurrection in the Thebaid in which Panopolis played the leading part, being ultimately reduced by the king after a prolonged siege. A difficulty arises, however, as to the date at which that revolt of Panopolis and the Thebaid occurred; for the excerpt from Diodorus places it later than the revolt of Dionysius, but prior to the restoration of Philometor, i. e. between the 11th and 18th years of that king; and it is much more likely that the revolt of Panopolis mentioned here refers to recent events than that in a series of *φιλάνθρωπα* issued thirty-five years after the restoration of Philometor the ancient crimes of the inhabitants of Panopolis were still remembered against them. There is, however, some reason for thinking that the excerpt from Diodorus describing the revolt of Panopolis is misplaced. There is not very much time available for the revolt of the Thebaid, especially as we hear of only one *βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος* in connexion with its suppression, and the period of Euergetes II's sole reign after he had driven out Philometor can only have lasted a few months. We prefer to explain the coincidence of the mention of Panopolis in both passages by holding that the excerptor or Diodorus himself misdated the revolt mentioned in Frag. x, rather than by supposing two revolts of Panopolis. In any case the outbreak indicated by the present passage probably took place either about the 48th year, when it is known, e. g. from P. Cairo 10351 (*Archiv.* I. pp. 59-60), that the Thebaid was in a disturbed condition, or about the 40th year, when there was a general *ἀμφία* which may be connected with the supposed revolt headed by Cleopatra II, though that question is involved in many difficulties (cf. p. 553).

138-43=155-61. 'No one is to collect anything whatever from the cultivators and the tax-payers and the persons connected with the revenues and the honey-workers and the rest for the benefit of the strategi or chiefs of the phylacitae or archiphylacitae or oeconomi or their agents or the other officials.'

156. *ὑποτελών*: cf. ll. 210, 223, and 244, and P. Par. 63. 97 *τοὺς ὑποτελεῖς τῆι τε ἰχθυρῶι καὶ ζυτηρῶι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὤραις*. The word is used in this papyrus with especial reference to those who worked for the government monopolies; cf. 40. 24, where a tax-farmer is called *ὑποτελής*, and on the general question of monopolies see note on l. 170.

ἐπιπλεγμένων ταῖς προσόδοις: cf. l. 211. In both these cases the word is used for persons who are 'woven into' the revenues, i. e. produce them, the reference probably being, as with *ὑποτελών*, to those employed in the government monopolies, such as the *ἐλαιουργοί*. In 6. 39 *ἐπιπλέκειν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς προσόδοις* occurs in the sense of peculating.

157. The special mention of the *μελισσοουργοί* points to the manufacture of honey (the ancient substitute for sugar) on a large scale in Egypt, and to the great importance of the industry to the government. Probably it was a government monopoly like the manufacture of oil; cf. note on l. 170.

159. The difference between the *ἐπιστάτης φυλακῶν* and the *ἀρχιφυλακίτης* lay in the

fact that the former was head of the police of a whole nome, while the latter had only a village under his jurisdiction; cf. 48. 6 and 9, which illustrates the distinction clearly. The ἀρχιφυλακίται and φυλακίται, while performing ordinary police duties and as such often appealed to in cases of violence, e. g. 41, had important financial duties in connexion with the protection and inspection of crops; cf. ll. 188 sqq. and 27, where we find the office of ἀρχιφυλακίτης coupled with that of οἰκονόμος and that the principal function of these officers was the γενηματοφυλακία (27. 4 and 29). The οἰκονόμος, who in the third century B. C. was the chief revenue official in a nome, in the second century sank to a much less prominent position owing to the rise in importance of the epimeletes and the change in the functions of the strategus, who became almost entirely a civil functionary, often combining with his office the post of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων; cf. note on l. 88.

160. τοῖς πρὸς ταῖς πραγματείαις: a general phrase for all government officials, like οἱ τὰ βασιλικὰ πραγματευόμενοι (P. Grenf. II. 37. 4), or οἱ ἐπὶ χρεῶν τεταγμένοι in l. 162; cf. l. 256.

144-6=162-7. 'Neither strategi nor holders of official positions nor their subordinates nor any other persons whatever shall take the richest Crown land from the cultivators by fraud or cultivate it at choice.'

162-7. For land ἐν ἀρετῇ cf. Hesych. ἀρετῆ· ἐν ἀρετῇ ἐστὶν. ἀρετῶσιν ἀρεταίνωσιν, εὐδαιμονώσιν, ἐν ἀρετῇ ἔσιν. The officials were often, perhaps regularly, required, as a condition of holding their posts, to reclaim a certain amount of unproductive land (cf. ll. 19-21, note, and 10. introd.), and this regulation means that they were not to defraud the βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ by making them give up their good land to the officials in exchange for inferior (cf. P. Amh. II. 40), nor to cultivate the best land themselves at their own choice. τὴν ἐν ἀρετῇ κειμένην βασιλικὴν γῆν is the object of both verbs.

163. The writer clearly omitted a line, but noticed his mistake in time; cf. notes on ll. 79 and 100.

168-77. 'The following classes, the Greeks serving in the army, the priests, the cultivators of Crown lands, the . . . , all the wool-weavers and cloth-makers, the swineherds, the gooseherds, and makers of . . . , oil, castor-oil, honey, and beer, who pay the proper sums to the Crown, shall not have persons quartered in the one house in which each of them lives, and in the case of their other buildings which may be used for quarters, not more than half shall be occupied for that purpose.'

168. ἀνεπιστάθμους: cf. notes on ll. 101 and 174.

τοὺς στρατευομένους Ἕλληνας: στρατεύεσθαι here, as in Rev. Laws xxiv. 6 τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ τοῦ[s] κλήρους πεφυτεκότων, is a general term for persons belonging to the army, whether on active service or not. The verb is not infrequently used in the more limited and natural sense of active service, e. g. P. Grenf. I. 21. 3 τὸν μὲν ἵππον ἐφ' οὗ στρατεύομαι. The στρατευόμενοι who occur in P. Par. 63. 175 as having their cattle impressed into the service of the state may well have been serving away from their homes, like the forces mentioned in ll. 20 sqq. of that papyrus whose complaint gave rise to the letter of the dioecetes, though a more general interpretation of στρατευόμενοι is there too possible. It is curious that Schubart, after explaining στρατευόμενοι quite correctly on p. 21 of his *Quaestiones*, is (p. 65) led away by his identification of the στρατευόμενοι in P. Par. 63. 175 with οἱ ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ γένει φερόμενοι in l. 103, and by the fact of their being coupled with the μάχιμοι, to suppose that in the 2nd century B. C. στρατευόμενοι was the technical term for a class of native Egyptian soldiers whose only distinction from the μάχιμοι was that they were called to arms on special occasions, whereas the μάχιμοι were either always under arms or were soldiers in the sense of the κληροῦχοι and κάτοικοι.

This method of explanation by which the same term is made in successive centuries to mean two contradictory things is not to be commended, and nothing could be further from the legitimate meaning of *στρατεύεσθαι*, or, as the present passage shows, more wide of the truth, than to suppose that the *στρατευόμενοι* were distinguished for performing less active service than other soldiers, and that they were native Egyptians; cf. 61. (b) 79, where the expression *Μακεδῶν τῶν στρατευομένων ἐν τοῖς συγγενέσι τῶν κατοίκων ἰππέων* occurs.

Under the general heading of *στρατευόμενοι Ἕλληνες* are, we think, included not only the *κάτοικοι* and members of the *ἐπιγονή* but the *μισθοφόροι*, who received pay instead of an assignment of land and are very likely meant by *τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ φερομένων καὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν μάλιστα ἔχόντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τιθεμένων* in P. Par. 63. 103-5. *Ἕλληνες* is probably to be taken in the widest sense, meaning all non-Egyptian soldiers, whether Macedonians, Cretans, Persians, &c.; cf. the opposition between Greeks and Egyptians in ll. 207-20.

170. *καὶ τοὺς* [. . . .]: there is not room for [*κατοίκου*]*s* or [*κληροῦχου*]*s*, to say nothing of the fact that the *κάτοικοι* are probably included under the *στρατευόμενοι Ἕλληνες*. [*ἀλίαι*]*s* is possible; see below.

The *πόκιφοι* and *ταυφάνται* worked at the government monopoly of the *δόνην*; cf. note on ll. 63 and 249 sqq. The *ἐλαιουργοί* (i. e. makers of sesame oil chiefly) and *κικουργοί* (castor-oil makers) were, as is known from the Revenue Papyrus, also engaged in a government monopoly; and this gives rise to the question, were all the workers mentioned in ll. 170-4 employed in the government monopolies? That the connecting link between them and the basis of their special immunity from *ἐπίσταθμοι* was the importance of their services to the government, which would suffer financially if they were interfered with, there can be little doubt.

The *χρηνοβοσκοί* in l. 172 were, we think, *βασιλικοὶ χρηνοβοσκοί*, and that goose-farming was a government monopoly is by no means improbable. The only document which gives information about *χρηνοβοσκοί* in the Ptolemaic period is P. Petrie II. 10 (1), a petition from the *βασιλικοὶ χρηνοβοσκοί* to the *oconomus* complaining that a demand had been made upon them to supply for the *ξένια* or entertainment of some distinguished person [*τὸ ἡμισυ μέρος . . . τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων χηρῶν . . . τοῖς ἐν τῷ νομῷ χρηνοβοσκοῖς*, whereas they only had the geese of half a *μερίς* under their charge (l. 20 *διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἡμισυ μερίδος*), and therefore it was not fair to expect them to supply half the number of geese which had been imposed upon the whole nome. Not only is that papyrus quite consistent with the view that all *χρηνοβοσκοί* were *βασιλικοί*, but the fact that the *χρηνοβοσκοί* of the nome had, when distinguished people came to the Fayûm, to supply geese is more intelligible on the theory of a monopoly than on the hypothesis that the geese were partly owned by the king, partly by private individuals.

Concerning the status of the *ὑποφορβοί* and *μελισσοουργοί* there is unfortunately no evidence. The former may, however, well have stood in the same position towards the state as the *χρηνοβοσκοί*, who in the present passage immediately succeed them; and the manufacture and sale of honey, as we have already had occasion to point out (note on l. 157), was very likely a monopoly. There remains the question of the *ζυτοποιοί*. On this subject we are somewhat better off, for there are numerous references in papyri and ostraca to the *ζυτηρὰ ὠνή*, which yielded a very large revenue to the government; see P. Par. 67. 10 and P. Par. 63. 97, where the *ὑποτελεῖς* of the *ζυτηρὰ* and *ἰχθυηρὰ* are specially singled out for immunity, as we think, from *γεωργία βασιλική* (cf. note on 61. (b) 33), because their services to the state were already much too profitable to be interfered with. Another document which throws some light on the position of the *ζυτοποιοί* is P. Grenf. II. 39, a series of receipts, covering one year, for a monthly *φόρος* of five talents from two *ζυτοποιοί*. There is little doubt that this *φόρος* was the tax farmed under the name of the *ζυτηρὰ ὠνή*; and in the absence of any particular reason for believing that the beer-

manufacture was a monopoly of the government, the *φόρος* in that papyrus has been explained (P. Grenf. II. p. 65, Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 373) as a tax upon the profits of private beer-manufacturers. But there is not the least difficulty in supposing that the beer-manufacture was a government monopoly, like that of oil. It is true that the position of the *ζυτοποιοί* who appear as paying a *φόρος* is different from that of the *ελαιουργοί* in the Revenue Papyrus who were merely hired to do specified work at a daily wage and a share of the profits (Rev. Laws xlv. 1-12), and had nothing to do with the sale of oil or with the control of the proceeds, and consequently were not subject to a *φόρος* of any kind. But there is no reason to think that every monopoly was arranged on exactly the same principles; and the government may well have preferred in the case of beer to have levied from the *ζυτοποιοί* who worked at the *βασιλικὸν ζυουργεῖον* a direct *φόρος* upon the amount of beer made or sold, rather than adopt the complicated system resorted to in the manufacture of oil. To the objection that we should expect to find more evidence for this monopoly of the beer-manufacture, if it really existed, there is an obvious retort that though there are far more numerous references in papyri to oil than there are to beer, no one could have guessed from the existing evidence that the manufacture of oil was a monopoly, if the Revenue Papyrus had not shown that it was so. In any case it is highly improbable that the government allowed so important an industry as the beer-manufacture clearly was to be carried on without a great deal of control; and even if the *ζυτοποιία* was not technically a monopoly, we suspect that so large a proportion of the profits found its way to the Treasury in the form of licences and *φόρος* that it was as lucrative an industry to the government as those which were actually state monopolies.

The conclusion which we therefore draw from the list in ll. 170-3 is that these were the industries which were the most important financially to the government because the profits of them were monopolized, either absolutely or practically. In one of the two lacunae (ll. 170 or 172) were probably mentioned the fishermen. The *ιχθυηρά* is coupled with the *ζυτηρά* in P. Par. 63 (see above), and as the *ζυτοποιοί* are mentioned here we should expect the fishermen to occur too. Moreover they like the *ζυτοποιοί* had to pay large sums to the state, witness the receipts for the tax called *τετάρτη ἀλιείων*, in which there is one instance of a payment being made *βασιλεῖ* (Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 331).

While acknowledging that a government monopoly of the fishing industry is not *per se* at all unlikely, Wilcken (*ibid.* I. pp. 137 sqq.) decides against such a view of the *τετάρτη ἀλιείων* on the ground that it is sometimes called a *τέλος* and that a tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ on the profits of fishermen is not high enough. But in the case of the oil monopoly the cultivators who grew sesame and croton and sold it to the monopoly-contractors at 8 drachmae an artaba for sesame and 4 drachmae for croton, had to pay a tax in kind (Rev. Laws xxxix. 14 sqq.; in lix. 7 it is called a *τέλος*) amounting nominally to $\frac{1}{4}$ but really to $\frac{1}{2}$ (cf. *Athenæum*, June 27, 1896) upon the value of their produce. Granted a monopoly of the fishing industry, the fishermen would stand in just the same relation to the government as the people who grew sesame and croton. The weak point of Wilcken's objection to the view that the fishing industry was a monopoly is that it proceeds on the assumption that the profits of a monopoly came from the persons who produced the material, whereas by far the greater part of the profits were of course derived from the consumers. The tax on the producers of sesame and croton might very well be called a *τετάρτη* or *πέμπτη*, and it was of comparatively small importance compared with the profits which the government must have made on the sale of the oil; and similarly, if the fishing industry was a monopoly, the *τετάρτη ἀλιείων* was of much less account than the profits of the sale of the fish. So far, therefore, from the existence of a tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ of their produce upon fishermen being an argument *against* their industry being a monopoly, the exact parallelism between their position and that of the producers of sesame and croton is all in favour of the opposite

view; and considering the general probabilities of the case and the evidence from both Herodotus' time and the present day, we prefer to think that the Ptolemies were not behindhand in utilizing to the full so obvious and so valuable a source of revenue. To the list of government monopolies is probably to be added the sale of *ζύμωνα*, of which the price was regulated by the government like that of oil (35. introd.), and perhaps also the *πυρική* (40. 5).

174. *τοὺς τελούοντας τὰ καθήκοντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν* is to be taken in the most general sense, applying to all the different kinds of payments required of the foregoing classes. Similarly *ἀνεπιστάθμους* covers both kinds of *σταθμοί*, the temporary lodgings to government officials (P. Petrie II. p. 28), and the permanent *σταθμοί* given to military colonists, a practice which probably continued in the second century, though we have no details on the subject; cf. note on l. 100. To the *στρατευόμενοι Ἕλληνες*, who might themselves have received *σταθμοί* of the latter sort, the regulation only applied as regards *σταθμοί* of the first kind.

176. *τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν δοσίμων*: strictly this sentence applies only to the other buildings belonging to the classes who had immunity from *ἐπίσταθμοί* as regards one house. But it is highly probable that the classes which were not specially privileged were also liable to give up not more than half their houses to *ἐπίσταθμοί*, for a half was the amount assigned to *ἐπίσταθμοί* by a *πρόσταγμα* of Philadelphus (Mahaffy, *Archiv*, I. p. 287).

178-87. 'And they have decreed that the strategi and the other officials may not compel any of the inhabitants of the country to work for their private service, nor use their cattle for any purpose of their own, nor force them to feed calves and other animals for sacrifice, nor force them to provide geese or birds or wine or corn at a price or on the occasion of renewals, nor oblige them to work without payment on any pretext whatever.'

182. *ἐπαρετεῖν*: cf. l. 252. This regulation, which has to do with the *ξένη* provided for officials, follows naturally upon the regulation concerning the provision of *σταθμοί* for them.

183. *ἐπιρίπτειν* is used apparently as a stronger form of *ἐπιβάλλειν*. It is followed here by an infinitive, *τρέφειν*, but in ll. 184-5 by direct accusatives and in l. 249 by an accusative and dative.

184. *μηδὲ χήνας*: for an illustration of the process *ἐπιρίπτειν χήνας* see P. Petrie II. 10 (1) discussed in note on l. 170, though the demand for geese was probably in that case an authorized one, and this regulation is only directed against illicit impositions by strategi and other officials subordinate to them. The officials of the central administration, e. g. the dioecetes, no doubt had the right of demanding *ξένη* wherever they went, like the king himself (cf. 48. 14). That they claimed this right appears very clearly from P. Grenf. II. 14 (δ), a letter relating to the *ξένη* provided for Chrysis the dioecetes in the 22nd year of Euergetes I, which mentions *λευκομέτωποι, χήνες, ὄρνιθες* and *περιστριδεῖς*, and from P. Cairo 10250 (*Archiv*, I. p. 80), a receipt for 1000 artabae of corn bought for the dioecetes in the 20th year of the same reign. Cf. also 33. 11, and the petition of the priests of Philae (Strack, *Dynastie d. Ptolemäer*, p. 254), written not long before the present papyrus, complaining of the *παρουσία* which they had to provide for the strategi and other officials, and the payments for *παρουσία* or *κοίτη* in 121. 95, 122. 1, 179, 180, 182, 253.

185. *τιμῆς*: 'at a price.' With this abrupt expression cf. *τιμῆς* in l. 194, and perhaps l. 20. Nominally the *ξένη* were bought, like the corn compulsorily supplied to the Roman troops (P. Amh. II. p. 134), but no doubt at less than the proper value. Cf. also the next note.

186. *ἀναρώσεις* is difficult. Not improbably it refers to the presents made to the

government by officials on their terms of office being renewed, for which they recouped themselves by extortions from the γεωργοί. The δσπρια paid by Menches on his reappointment as komogrammateus were perhaps εἰς ἀνανεώσεις (Θ. introd.). If ἀνανεώσεις means 'renewals of office,' it is possible that τιμῆς in l. 185 means 'for the price of their office' (cf. l. 81); but in that case τιμῆς ἔπικεν or εἰς τιμῆν would rather be expected.

188-92. 'And they remit to the guards throughout the country the penalties incurred by making false returns in connexion with the government inspections and the produce which they have lost; and they remit the sums which have been paid them for arrears or for other reasons but which have disappeared, up to the 50th year.'

188. On the importance of the financial duties of the φυλακίται as γεννηματοφύλακες in addition to their services as police see note on l. 159. They inspected the crops and supplied the information which is embodied in the numerous returns of the komogrammateus; cf. 27 and 159. 6, where a γεννηματοφύλαξ appears as antigrapheus to the sitologus. As the present passage indicates, they were responsible for the deficiency when the proper amount of γενήματα was not forthcoming, more particularly from βασιλική γῆ. They also seem to have served the function of πράκτορες or collectors of arrears due to the state.

190. καταπρόβνται: cf. Rev. Laws xxvii. 11, where the tax-farmer of the ἀπίμοιρα has to make a written συγγραφή with the γεωργός that he has entered in the taxing-list the whole amount of the wine paid to him by the γεωργός, καὶ μηθὲν νέησθαι μηδὲ καταπρίεσθαι, and *ibid.* xl. 5, where it is decreed that unless the komarch obtained an ἀποσφράγισμα from the oeconomus and antigrapheus, μὴ προϊέσθω (sc. sesame and croton) ἐκ τῆς κώμης. By καταπρόβνται is meant that the guards had let the produce under their charge be used up without any explanation of the deficiency, i.e. they had probably stolen it; cf. 27. 61.

192. διαπεπρακόντων: if this word is correctly spelled it must come from διαπρίσκειν, which makes no sense. We therefore think that either διαπεπραχόντων or διαπεπραγόντων was intended, and that the perfect participle may have been used intransitively in the sense of 'disappeared'; but διαπεπραγμένων would certainly be expected and should perhaps be read. The sense of διαπεπρακόντων, however it be emended, must correspond to that of καταπρίεσθαι, i.e. the φυλακίται were let off not only the deficiencies of the γενήματα which they could not account for, but also for their peculations of payments of arrears made to them by tax-payers or βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί.

193-7. 'And (they have decreed) that those who have failed to deliver to the Crown at a price the oil-yielding produce from cleruchic or temple or other land up to the same period, and those who have failed to supply transport for the assembly are released from the penalties which they have incurred.'

193-5. These lines refer to γεωργοί who had failed to hand over, whether from negligence in cultivation or from fraud, the proper amount of sesame or croton, the total crop of which, as is known from the Revenue Papyrus, was fixed beforehand for each nome by the government; cf. ll. 200 sqq., a section which is also concerned with failure to grow the proper crops. From l. 194 it appears that oil-producing plants were cultivated in cleruchic, temple and other (ιδιόκτητος?) land. No doubt βασιλική γῆ was used for that purpose too; the absence of any mention of it here is easily explained by the fact that the government controlled the cultivation of it directly, and therefore the cultivators probably had less opportunity of failing to carry out orders. The Revenue Papyrus does not deal with the question how the number of arourae of sesame and croton assigned

to each nome was to be distributed among the different classes of land-owners. The κληροῦχοι seem to have exercised some choice as to whether they would grow oil-producing plants or not (cf. note on l. 202), but how far this applied to sesame and croton is uncertain.

196. πορεία is a general term for means of transport; cf. 112. 72 ναύλου πορείων, 208 πορείαις καὶ ἵπποις, 195 and P. Petrie II. 39 (d). 19. What the σύνκλητος refers to we cannot say. τῶν ἐξακολουθούντων, sc. προστίμων (cf. ll. 132-3 and 203), is governed by ἀπολύσαι.

197-9. 'Likewise that persons who have failed to provide reeds and light material for the embankments (are released from the penalties which they have incurred).'

199. For θρύον and κάλαμος used in connexion with embankments see P. Petrie II. 26 (4) 5, (5) 4, &c. (corrected by Wilcken). One of the new documents from that collection shows that κάλαμοι were employed in the process of strengthening the sides of canals called παραφρυγανισμός. The κουφείαι were no doubt used for the same purpose as the καλαμεία, but what is exactly meant by that term is obscure.

200-4. 'Likewise the cultivators of Crown lands, the priests and other owners of land ἐν ἀφέσει, who have failed to plant the proper number of arourae up to the 51st year, are released from the penalties which they have incurred, but the planting (of the proper number) shall be made from the 52nd year onwards.'

200-1. καὶ τοὺς (ἄλλους) τοὺς τὴν ἐν ἀφέσει: the correction of this passage depends upon the view taken of land ἐν ἀφέσει; cf. ll. 36-7, note. If, as there suggested, it included ἱερά as well as κληρουχική γῆ, to suppose the omission of ἄλλους is the simplest way out of the difficulty. If on the other hand ἱερά γῆ was not ἐν ἀφέσει, it is better to assume that τοὺς was written twice over by mistake; cf. P. Par. 63. 177.

202. The ε of τὰς is very doubtful; τὰ καθήκοντα may be read. The word following, if there was one, must in any case have been abbreviated; perhaps ελα(κά) or φοί(νικας) (v. inf.). καθήκουσας raises the interesting question whether the nature of the crop was prescribed in the case of cultivators of Crown land and land ἐν ἀφέσει, or only the number of the arourae to be sown. This problem has already been discussed in connexion with a third century B.C. papyrus in the Ashmolean Museum by Mahaffy (*Transactions of the Royal Irish Acad.* xxxi. pp. 197 sqq.), and Wilcken (*Archiv*, I. pp. 165-8), the former thinking that the state regulated many crops besides those which produced oil, the latter considering that the areas mentioned in the Ashmolean papyrus are not the whole areas of the different villages, and leaving the question open whether the whole amount of the crops was fixed beforehand by the state. Both scholars, however, have, we think, missed the correct interpretation of the documents on the *recto* through neglecting the important word ἀπολείπουσι (translated by Wilcken 'reserviert,' a most unlikely meaning), which indicates that the figures following it are the sums, not of what had been actually sown, but of what the amount sown fell short of the correct amount. To make the distinction clearer we append the text of the entry dealing with 'Ἀθηνᾶς κώμη, which is the best preserved (A, *recto*, 5-15). 'Ἀθηνᾶς κώμης διὰ Πετοβάστιος (ἀρουραι) ψιλζδ' ἰζ' λ' β', ἀφ' ὧν ἀπολείπουσιν πρὸς τὴν πυροφόρον υζλδ' ἰζ' λ' β' κήκου τ ὀρόβωι ἰ ἀράκωι ρ, / ωιζλδ' ἰζ' λ' β'. ἀνταναιρουμένων δὲ δι πλείω κατέσπαρκεν κριθῆι [ρ] καταλείπονται ψιλζδ' ἰζ' λ' β'. ἀφ' ὧν δεῖ κατασπαρῆναι κήκωι τ ὀρόβωι ἰ πυρῶι [τζλδ' ἰζ' λ' β' ἀράκωι ρ]. 'Athena's village for which Petobastis is responsible (total of the deficiency) 717 $\frac{3}{4}$, divided into a deficiency upon wheat-bearing land of 407 $\frac{3}{4}$ arourae, upon cneus 300 arourae, pulse 10 arourae, aracus 100 arourae, making up 817 $\frac{3}{4}$ arourae, but subtracting the 100 arourae which he has sown with barley in excess (of his instructions),

there remains (a deficiency of) $717 \frac{37}{32}$ arourae, which has to be sown as follows:—cneus 300 arourae, pulse 10, wheat $307 \frac{27}{32}$, aracus 100.' This explanation accounts both for the fact that in these reports the amounts in excess are always a different crop from those which ἀπολείπουσι, and for the fact that the numbers of the arourae *δὲν δεῖ κατασπαρῆναι* correspond to the figures in the amounts which ἀπολείπουσι after the sum in excess has been subtracted sometimes from one (in the case above, from the wheat), sometimes from several items of the deficiency. All that can be inferred from that papyrus therefore is that in the case of certain land, of which the total amount must have been rather large since the deficiencies are not inconsiderable, but which need not be the whole areas of the villages, the crops were fixed beforehand. The crops upon Crown land would most naturally be fixed by the state, and the Ashmolean papyrus gives no indication that other land is meant. If a general term such as (ἀρούρας) is supplied in l. 202, the conjunction of the holders of land *ἐν ἀφίσει* with the βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ in the present passage at first sight suggests that both they and the βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ had no choice about the crops they should grow, especially as καθηκούσας is a term sufficiently comprehensive to include a qualitative as well as quantitative regulation of crops. But the evidence of other papyri in this volume seems to give a conclusive answer in the negative to the supposition that the crops of cleruchic land were decided beforehand by the government. In the survey-lists (61-63) of land *ἐν ἀφίσει* the details of the crops have often been inserted later or altered, showing that they were the result of an ἐπίσκεψις made after the sowing; and the whole tenour of the two leases of a κατοικικὸς κλῆρος (105 and 106) is inconsistent with the idea that the lessor could not make what regulations he chose about the nature of the crops (see especially 105. 23 καὶ ἀναπαύσει Πτολεμαῖος . . . τὸ ἤμισυ γένεσιν οἷ[ς] ἐ[ὰ]ν αἰρήτ[αι] πλὴν ἐλαικῶν φορτίων). If the lessor of a κατοικικὸς κλῆρος could give his lessee permission to grow any kind of light crops with one exception, he must *a fortiori* have been able to grow what he liked himself. How far the crops upon Crown lands were fixed in the later period is not clear. It is remarkable that the numerous papyri in this volume dealing with the cultivation of Crown land frequently refer to land unsown through negligence (e. g. 66. 56), but never to land sown with the wrong kind of crop. The ἀρμόζοντα γένη of 66. 60 need imply no more than that the leases of Crown land, like those of cleruchic (*v. sup.*), contained provisions concerning the proportion to be sown with light crops. The rent of Crown land was fixed independently of the crop (cf. p. 564), and the variation in the crops grown from year to year (cf. the table on p. 562) seems, in spite of the Ashmolean papyrus, to be the result of individual choice rather than of rules laid down by the government. The conclusion which we should therefore draw is that in the later Ptolemaic period at any rate considerable latitude was allowed to the cultivators of Crown land, so that if the present regulation applies to crops in general, καθηκούσας refers only to the number of arourae. But the use of καταπεφυτεύκτας and φυτεῖαν (cf. ll. 94-5) indicates that crops in general are not meant here, but rather some particular kind of tree or plant; e. g. τὰς καθη[κούσας φοί]νικας is possible in l. 202. The cultivation of the tree or plant in question appears to have been controlled by the government whether it was grown on Crown or other land, like that of the oil-producing plants (cf. ll. 193-5), and τὰ καθή[κοντα ἐλα(ικά) may itself be read.

205-6. 'And they remit the penalties incurred by those who have cut down wood on their own property in contravention of the published decrees.'

205. From this regulation it appears that the king controlled the timber of the country, though whether in the form of a tax upon cutting down trees or of a monopoly is uncertain. A ξυλική which brought in a φόρος occurs in 8. 26, but that passage does not refer to Egypt.

207-20. 'And they have decreed in cases of Egyptians who bring actions against Greeks and in cases of Greeks who bring actions against Egyptians, or of Egyptians against Egyptians, with regard to all classes except the cultivators of Crown land and the tax-payers and all others connected with the revenues, that where Egyptians make an agreement with Greeks by contracts written in Greek they shall give and receive satisfaction before the *chrematistae*; but where Greeks make agreements by contracts written in Egyptian they shall give satisfaction before the native judges in accordance with the national laws; and that suits of Egyptians against Egyptians shall not be dragged by the *chrematistae* into their own courts, but they shall allow them to be decided before the native judges in accordance with the national laws.'

207. The general sense of this very important regulation defining the respective jurisdictions of the *chrematistae*, or Greek judges, and the *λαοκρίται*, who were guided by the ancient Egyptian laws, is not difficult, but there are some doubtful points of detail owing to the badness of the Greek. It is clear that the *chrematistae* had tended to concentrate the whole administration of justice in their own hands not only in cases where one or both of the parties were Greeks, but even in those where both parties were Egyptians, of which an example is afforded by P. Tor. 13, an action for recovery of a debt brought by one Egyptian against another in the 34th year of Philometor or Euergetes II (cf. note on l. 221). They had thus encroached upon the jurisdiction of the *laocritae*, who though they are not heard of until the period of the present document (cf. P. Tor. 1. vii. 13 sqq.) had no doubt existed from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. The present regulation was therefore designed to limit the powers of the Greek judges. Out of the three possible combinations, Greeks against Greeks, Greeks against Egyptians or *vice versa* and Egyptians against Egyptians, there is no reference to the first, an omission which is natural since the law on that subject was not changed and such cases would continue to be heard before the *chrematistae*. For the other two contingencies provision is made. Three classes of cases are mentioned in ll. 211-20 to which the three classes in ll. 207-11 are parallel: (1) *τοὺς καθ' Ἑλλ. σύμβ. συνη. Ἑλλησιν Αἰγυπτίους* corresponding to *τῶν κριν. Αἴγ. πρὸς Ἑλλ.*; (2) *δοσι Ἑλληνας ὄντες συνηρ. καθ' Αἴγ. συναλλ.* corresponding to *περὶ τῶν Ἑλλ. τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Αἴγ.*; (3) *τῶν Αἴγ. πρὸς τοὺς αὐτ. Αἴγ.*, which ought to correspond to the remaining class in l. 209, where *Ἑλληνας* is to be altered to *Αἰγυπτίους* (cf. note *ad loc.*). All suits in the third class, i. e. of Egyptians against Egyptians, are, according to ll. 217-20, to be decided by the native judges. Where the two parties to a suit were of different nationalities, and the point at issue turned upon contracts, the regulation is of the nature of a compromise. Probably before the date of this papyrus the party bringing an action was allowed to choose his own court, and the decree enacts that any person who made contracts in a language not his own excluded himself from his own courts. Four cases might arise: (1) the contracts are in Greek; (a) the Greek brings an action against the Egyptian, when he naturally chooses the Greek court; (b) the Egyptian brings an action against the Greek, when by the terms of the decree he must go before the Greek court; (2) the contracts are in Egyptian; (a) the Greek sues the Egyptian, when by the decree he must appear before the Egyptian court; (b) the Egyptian sues the Greek, when he will naturally choose the Egyptian procedure. Cases 1 (a) and 2 (b) are not considered because they would of themselves appear before the proper courts. Nor are suits mentioned in which the two parties were of different nationalities but the point at issue did not depend upon a contract, and it is reasonable to suppose that no alteration in the procedure of such cases was made, i. e. they generally came before the *chrematistae*. It is these officials who are the judges in the famous suit of Hermias, a Greek soldier, against the corporation of Choachytæ (Egyptians) for wrongful occupation, which is

recorded in P. Tor. 1 and took place in the 54th year, or very shortly after the issue of these decrees. Certain classes, however, were excluded altogether from the jurisdiction of the *laocritae*, namely the cultivators of Crown lands and all those connected with the government monopolies (ll. 210-1); and it is not surprising that where the State revenues were concerned the Egyptian judges had no jurisdiction.

209. The words ἡ Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς Ἑλλήνας are superfluous, unless we suppose that *περὶ τῶν κρωομένων Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς Ἑλλήνας* is quite general, and is then subdivided into *καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν [πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἢ Αἰγυπτίων] πρὸς Ἑλλήνας*. But apart from the difficulty that in that case we ought to have either *καὶ Αἰγυπτίων* in l. 209 or ἡ *περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων* in l. 208—which is not very serious since there are other instances in this papyrus (e. g. ll. 158-60) of a change from *καὶ* to ἡ—πρὸς has then to be taken on the first occasion as merely relative, and in the second and third occasions as meaning 'against,' which is awkward; and moreover *καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν [πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους]* balances the preceding clause *περὶ τῶν κρωομένων Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς Ἑλλήνας* quite well. It is much more likely that Ἑλλήνας in l. 209 is an error for Αἰγυπτίους, and that this clause corresponds to ll. 217-20; cf. note on l. 207.

210. τῶν ὑποτελών, κ.τ.λ.: cf. notes on l. 156.

213. ὑπέχειν καὶ λαμβάνειν τὸ δίκαιον is apparently another way of saying *διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι δίκην*, according as the verdict was against or for them. Cf. ll. 216 and 263.

216. τοὺς τῆς χώρας νόμους: the laws inherited from the Pharaohs as contrasted with the πολιτικοὶ νόμοι, or laws introduced by the Ptolemies; cf. P. Tor. 1. vii. 9, and Rev. Laws, p. 91. Even in Roman times the ancient Egyptian laws had not lost their force, though they naturally could be overridden by the praefects; see P. Oxy. II. 237, introd.

218. ἐπισπᾶσθαι: cf. 7. 4.

221-47. 'And they have decreed that collectors of foreign debts must not on any pretext whatever get control over the persons of the cultivators of Crown land or the tax-payers or the others whom the previously issued decrees forbid to be brought up for accusation; but the executions in cases which come before the collectors shall be levied upon the rest of the debtor's property which is not exempted by the following decree.

And they have decreed that in the case of cultivators of Crown land the collectors shall not sell up one house containing their working implements, or their cattle or other equipment necessary for cultivation, nor shall they apply the implements to working temple land or any other on any pretext whatever. And in the same way they shall not sell the cloth-weaving tools of the cloth-weavers and the byssus-makers and the wool-weavers and all persons engaged in similar trades on any pretext whatever; nor shall any other persons take possession of or use the tools required for cloth-weaving or byssus-manufacture than the tax-payers themselves and the byssus-workers, who alone shall use them in the temples themselves for the service of the sovereigns and the vestments of the other gods.'

221. On the functions of *πράκτωρ ξενικῶν* see P. Tor. 13, an account of an action for recovery of a debt brought by one Egyptian against another before the *chrematistae* at Memphis in the 34th year of Philometor or Euergetes II, and therefore prior to these decrees. The *ξενικῶν πράκτωρ* was the official who executed the judgement of the court upon the defendant, who did not appear; and Revillout (*Rev. Égypt.* ii. p. 140) explained *ξενικῶν* there as referring to the Egyptians, comparing the phrase *ξενικοῦ ἀγορανομίου* in P. Tor. 8. 6. But, as we have already pointed out in connexion with P. Oxy. II. 286. 15, where a *ξενικῶν πράκτωρ* is mentioned in A. D. 82, Revillout's explanation is neither in itself at all probable nor consistent with the technical usage of *ξένος* in papyri. It is not in the least likely that the Greeks would have regarded the native Egyptians as foreigners. The

technical expression for them in official language was *λαοί* (e.g. Rev. Laws xlii. 11 and P. Par. 63. 100), and since *βασιλικοί γεωργοί* might be Greeks (cf. 247), it would not be at all appropriate here to suppose that *ξενικῶν* referred exclusively to Egyptians, even if that meaning could be obtained from the word. The Egyptians might well have called the Greeks *ξένοι* in common parlance, but it is hardly possible that this would be recognized by the government in the title of an official; and the same papyrus which mentions the *ξενικῶν ἀγορανομίων* (P. Tor. 8) speaks also of *τῶν παρεπιδημούντων καὶ κατοικούντων ἐν ταύταις* (sc. certain villages, &c. on the west bank in the Coptite nome) *ξένων*, clearly alluding neither to Greeks as contrasted with Egyptians, nor to Egyptians as contrasted with Greeks, but, as often (cf. note on P. Oxy. II. 286. 15) to persons *ἐπὶ ξένης*, i.e. living in a place to which they did not permanently belong. It is with *ξένοι* in this sense that we believe that the *ξενικῶν πράκτωρ* is to be connected. Both P. Oxy. II. 286, in which the two parties to the dispute were clearly living in different places, perhaps in different nomes, and P. Tor. 13, in which one of the parties had disappeared, are quite consistent with this view. But without more evidence concerning the *πράκτορες* of private as contrasted with the *πράκτορες* of official debts (e.g. P. Petr. II. 22. 15 *ὁ πράκτωρ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν προσόδων τεταγμένος*) it is not possible to explain the exact nature of the *ξενικά* or to say why the *πράκτωρ ξενικῶν* is specially mentioned here, if he was different from an ordinary *πράκτωρ* of private debts.

222. *παραλαμβάνειν*: the word is clearly used in a technical sense for the process of executing judgement upon the *person* of a debtor, being contrasted with the execution upon his property which is discussed in ll. 236 sqq.; cf. the regularly recurring formula in loans of the Graeco-Roman period *ἡ πράξις ἔστω ἐκ τοῦ δεδανεισμένου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ πάντων καθάπερ ἐν δίκῃ*, on the legal aspects of which subject see Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, pp. 401 sqq.

223. *ἵπoteλής*: cf. note on l. 156.

225. *εἰς προβολήν*: this term is clearly derived from Attic law, though the meaning is far removed from the technical process called *προβολή*, and the precise signification here cannot without materials for comparison be decided, especially as the verb which follows is corrupt and the functions of the *ξενικῶν πράκτωρ* are far from clear (see above). *θίσθαι* is the easiest emendation; cf. the confusion of *τ* and *θ* in 72. 455 *τιθέστωι ἀγεσθαι* is possible, for *αγ* not infrequently resembles *τ*. But of course the corruption may go much deeper. Both the preceding and the following sections are carelessly written (cf. notes on ll. 209, 233 and 244), and the next sentence is very ambiguously expressed.

227. *τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς*: it is not clear whether *αὐτοῖς* refers to the *πράκτορες* or to the *βασιλικοί γεωργοί* &c., and in either case the use of *ἐν* is curious. If *αὐτοῖς* refers to the *βασιλικοί γεωργοί*, *ἐν* must have the meaning of 'in their houses,' with which may be compared the use in unpublished Petrie papyri of *ἐν* followed by a proper name in the dative, where in classical Greek we should have *ἐν* with the genitive, and of *ἐν* in such phrases as *ἐν τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου* (Rev. Laws xxxviii. 2) *ἐν τοῖς Ἀμεννίως* (12. 3) or *ἐν τῷ Ὀρ[ου]* (27. 27). But it is more probable that *αὐτοῖς* refers to the *πράκτορες*, meaning 'under the jurisdiction of'; cf. the use of *ἐν* in 27. 99, 72. 332, 120. 129, &c.

230. *τούτου* refers, we think, to the following section, which specifies the objects not to be distrained upon. If the whole of the present document could be designated as one *πρόσταγμα*, *τούτου* might be taken in a general sense, but this papyrus is rather a collection of *προστάγματα* than one *πρόσταγμα*.

231. The subject of *πωλεῖν* is apparently *τοὺς τῶν ξενικῶν πράκτορας* supplied from the previous section. If l. 234 were taken quite generally as applying to everybody and not merely to *βασιλικοί γεωργοί*, the subject of *πωλεῖν* might be 'the officials,' as often

elsewhere with the verbs following *προστέταχαι*. But the emphatic manner in which *βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν* is placed at the front of the section, the absence of any definite indication that *τὰ κτήνη μηδὲ τὰ ἄλλα κ.τ.λ.* has a general application (though cf. note on l. 234), and the reference in the preceding section (see note on l. 230), which is concerned with the *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ* and *ὑποτελεῖς*, to this one, make it much more probable that ll. 231-7 refer to the *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ*, just as ll. 237-47 refer to the *ὑποτελεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι*. That being so, there is no necessity for a change of subject at l. 231 as there would be if ll. 232-3 were quite general, for both those classes in ll. 221-30 came under the jurisdiction of the *ξενικῶν πράκτωρ*.

μὴ πωλεῖν ἕως οἰκίας μῆας: this is a very clumsy way of saying that they might sell other things but they must leave one house containing the tools.

233. The corrupt word following *κατασκευήν* must represent a verb meaning 'placed' or 'stored.'

234. *τὰ κτήνη*: from P. Par. 63. 174 sqq. it is known that the cattle belonging to everyone, even to officials like the *strategi*, could at a crisis be pressed into the service of the State, so that there would be nothing surprising in a general regulation forbidding cattle to be sold up. But, as we have said (note on l. 231), the cattle of *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ* are more probably meant here.

235. *μήτε προσάγειν κ.τ.λ.*: this sentence is parallel to ll. 241-5. The tools of the *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ* were to be kept entirely for the cultivation of Crown-land, just as the tools of the *ὑποτελεῖς* were not to be used by other persons. There is hardly room in the lacuna for *βα(σ)λικήν* *μηδὲ* or *πολιτικὴν* *μηδὲ* (cf. ll. 256-7) even if these restorations were as satisfactory on other grounds as *προσάγειν*, which they are not. A small fragment containing the letters *μητε προσ* does not appear in the facsimile.

238. *λινφαντεῖα*: the word might mean apart from the context the places where linen was woven; but if that were the sense here *ἐργαλεῖα* would have to be supplied with the following genitives, and since these manufactures were carried on in the temples, the workshops can hardly have been confiscated.

239. *λυύφων κ.τ.λ.*: cf. note on l. 63.

244. *ὑποτελεῶν*: cf. note on l. 156.

246. The complete subordination of the 'other gods' to the reigning sovereign, expressed in terms which are not without a touch of irony, is an apt illustration of the policy of the Ptolemies towards the national religion. A good many of the material favours which they nominally bestowed upon the temples were under thinly-veiled disguises turned to the profit of the deified monarch. That this was the case with the *ἀπόμοιρα* there can be little doubt (cf. note on l. 51).

248-51. 'And (they have decreed) that no one holding an official position or any one else shall impose labour upon the cloth-weavers and byssus-workers and robe-weavers gratis or at reduced wages.'

249. *ἐπιρίπτειν*: cf. note on l. 183.

250. On the *πέπλυφοι* see note on l. 63.

252-4. 'And they have decreed that no one may appropriate boats for his own use on any pretext whatever.'

252. *ἐπαρτεῖν*: cf. l. 182 and note on ll. 162-7.

255-64. 'And that neither the *strategi* nor any others who are in charge of the Crown, State or sacred interests may arrest any one for a private debt or offence or owing to

a private quarrel and keep him imprisoned in their houses or anywhere else on any pretext whatever; but if they accuse any one, they shall bring him before the magistrates appointed in each nome, and shall receive or give satisfaction in accordance with the decrees and regulations.'

255. This interesting *habeas corpus* edict points to great abuse on the part of the officials; and in fact complaints of persons who have been imprisoned without being brought to trial are not uncommon in Ptolemaic papyri, e. g. P. Petrie II. 19.

256. τῶν τε βασιλικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν καὶ ἱερευτικῶν: the implication is not that officials were divided into three classes according to which of the three departments βασιλικά, πολιτικά or ἱερευτικά they dealt with, but that these three terms sum up the principal functions of officials in general; cf. the description of the chrematistae in e. g. P. Amh. II. 33. 9 as οἱ τὰ βασιλικὰ καὶ προσοδικὰ καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ κρίνοντες. Of course some officials were concerned exclusively with one or the other of the three divisions, but the strategus for instance was concerned with πολιτικά and ἱερευτικά as well as βασιλικά. The technical meaning of πολιτικά here is not clear. Just as βασιλικά imply a βασιλεύς and ἱερευτικά ἱερεῖς, so πολιτικά imply a πολιτεία or πόλις of some sort, if not πολῖται. It is not likely that πολιτικά refers to Alexandria, which was often called ἡ πόλις, or to Alexandria and Ptolemais as the two cities which approximated to πόλις in the technical Attic sense, or to the πόλις, i. e. μητροπόλις, of the nomes; for the ordinary official would have nothing to do with Alexandria or Ptolemais, and there is no reason to think that the inhabitants of μητροπόλις were specially distinguished for government purposes from the inhabitants of κῶμαι. Starting from the use of πολιτικός in the phrase πολιτικοὶ νόμοι (cf. note on l. 216) as opposed to the νόμοι τῆς χώρας, we are inclined to think that πολιτικά here refers particularly to the Greeks, who in relation to the Egyptians occupied a position analogous to that of 'citizens' (cf. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, p. 43), though the term πολῖται is nowhere applied to them. The position of πολιτικῶν between βασιλικῶν and ἱερευτικῶν somewhat favours this hypothesis. Cf. the πολίτευμα of the Cretans in 82. 17.

263. ἀρχεῖα: for the use of this word for a board of magistrates cf. Ar. *Pol.* v. 4. 8. Elsewhere in Ptolemaic papyri (e. g. P. Grenf. II. 19. 13) ἀρχεῖον means the archives.

264. προστάγματα are 'decrees' on any subject, whether of general interest or on points of detail, and were usually issued in the form of letters to all officials (e. g. Rev. Laws xxxvii. 2-9 and 6) or to one official in particular (e. g. Mahaffy, *Archiv.* I. p. 287, P. Amh. II. 33. 28-37). Sometimes, however, as in the present collection of προστάγματα, an address at the beginning was dispensed with.

διαγράμματα are concerned with details, such as prices, and differ from προστάγματα by being incorporated directly in the νόμοι and being subject to frequent revision. Thus Rev. Laws xxxix. 1-12 is a διάγραμμα incorporated into the νόμοι governing the ελαικῆ ὠνή, being concerned with the prices which γεωργοὶ were to receive for the oil-producing plants; cf. *ibid.* liii. 12.

6. DECREE OF EUERGETES II.

30·1.

33 × 40·5 cm.

B.C. 140-39.

The first eleven lines of this papyrus are the conclusion of a letter written by one official to another, authorizing some payment to be made apparently

to a priest. The necessity for this payment is explained by a recent ordinance of the sovereigns, of which a copy is appended, and which is of considerable importance for its information about the condition of the temples at this period.

This ordinance takes the shape of a letter to all the civil officials of the country from the *strategi* downwards, and though called an *ἐπιτολή* (l. 10) is similar in form to other decrees technically known as *προστάγματα*, e. g. Rev. Laws xxxvii. 3 sqq. (cf. note on 5. 264). The occasion of its promulgation was a petition from the priests of a certain temple dedicated to Arsinoë or Berenice (cf. note on l. 17) and the deified Ptolemies from the gods Adelphei to the reigning sovereigns. The situation of the temple is uncertain owing to a lacuna, and there is no more reason for supposing that it was in the Fayûm than elsewhere. Lines 16-40 give the pith of the priests' complaint, that they were being defrauded of their revenues, of which there is a detailed and interesting classification. These were divided into (1) income from *ιερά γῆ* with the land dedicated to the temple by *κληροῦχοι* (ll. 20-1), (2) receipts from the various offices bought for the temple (ll. 21-2), (3) revenues from *οἰσῖαι* (l. 23), (4) receipts from trades, manufactures and salaries, the profits of which were assigned to the different classes of priests by the government (ll. 23-6), (5) sums collected at Alexandria and in the country for 'treasuries, bowls and cups' and for 'the so-called *ἀφροδίσια*' (ll. 26-9), (6) other revenues (ll. 29-30). From ll. 30 sqq. it appears that persons who had leased for a long period lands belonging to the temple, or who had even occupied *ιερά γῆ* without any agreement at all, failed to pay the rents and other dues to the temple, while unauthorized persons were fraudulently setting up *ἀφροδίσια* and collecting profits which ought to belong to the temple, or in other ways embezzling the temple revenues and infringing the rights of the priests.

The commands of the sovereigns follow in ll. 40-9. In accordance with a previous decree regarding the temples, the government officials are bidden to see that the revenues of the priests are not disturbed. No one but the appointed agents of the priests is to collect any of the sacred revenues, and force is to be applied to those who fail to pay the proper dues.

The papyrus is written in a large and handsome semi-uncial hand. The date of the royal ordinance is the 31st year, and only the Macedonian month is given, as commonly happens in documents emanating directly from the king or highest officials until the Macedonian calendar was equated to the Egyptian at some period later than this papyrus and before Mecheir of the 53rd year (25. introd.). Though long employed for revenue purposes in official documents, and nearly always for common usage (cf. Smyly

in *Hermathena*, x. p. 432), the Egyptian calendar did not receive full official sanction until near the end of Euergetes II's reign; and so long as the Macedonian calendar maintained its independent existence a doubt is cast upon all attempts to convert regnal years accurately into years B.C. (cf. P. Amh. II. 42, introd.), except where the revenues were concerned and where the regnal years were therefore calculated on the Egyptian system.

Col. i.

- [25 letters]ι ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν νομιζομένων
 ["]εν τῶι Ὀννώφρει Ἀχοῶπιν Ψενεφθάτος
 ["]νεβνήιος καὶ προφήτην θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν
 ["]ἐπέγουσιν ἀναγκαίους τὰ κατὰ τὴν τῆς
 5 [17 letters καλῶς οὖν] ποιήσεις συντάξας προέσθαι τῶι
 [22 " καὶ] σύμβολα ποιεῖσθαι ὡς καθήκει. ἵνα δὲ
 [25 "]πως καταρτισθῶσι προνοηθεῖς
 [16 " ὑποτετάχα]μεν δὲ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
 [καὶ τῶν βασιλισσῶν παραδεδο]μένης περὶ τῶν ἀνηκόντων
 10 [τοῖς ἱεροῖς κομίζεσθαι ἐ]ντολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὅπως παρακο-
 [λουθήσας τῇ μεγίστηι σπο]υδῇ μηθὲν φροντίδος παραλήψ[η]ις.
 []
 [Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασιλισ]σα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ ἀδελφή καὶ βασίλισσα
 [Κλεοπάτρα ἡ γυνὴ τοῖς στρατη]γοῖς καὶ τοῖς φρουράρχοις καὶ τοῖς
 [ἐπιστάταις τῶν φυλακῶν κ]αὶ ἀρχιφυλακίταις καὶ ἐπιμεληταῖς
 15 [καὶ οἰκονόμοις καὶ βασιλικοῖς γ]ραμματεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς
 [τὰ βασιλικά πραγματευομένοις] χαίρειν. γεγράφασιν ἡμῖν οἱ
 [ἱερεῖς 18 letters]ηι καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ
 [θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φι]λοπατρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν
 [καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος καὶ θεῶν Φι]λομητρῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν
 20 [περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς γῆς σ]ὺν τῇ ὑπὸ τῶν κεκληρουχη-
 [μένων ἀνιερωμένῃ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ] γερῶν καὶ προφητειῶν καὶ
 [γραμματειῶν καὶ]ασσων τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἡγορασ-
 [μένων καρπειῶν καὶ ἀ]π' οὐσιῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα
 [ὑπὲρ τῶν 17 letters ω]ν καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐθνῶν

Col. ii.

25 καὶ ἱεροδούλων ἀπὸ ἐμποριῶν καὶ ἐργασιῶν καὶ μισθῶν
 τασσομένων καὶ τῶν λογευομένων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι
 καὶ ἐπὶ χώραι εἰς θησαυροὺς καὶ φιάλας καὶ ποτήρια ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἀνδρ[ῶ]ν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐπικα-
 λουμένων ἀφροδισίων καὶ καθόλου τῶν πιπτόντων
 30 εἰς ἐπ[. . .]ον ἀναγράφεται πρόσδοον, ἐνίους μισθουμέν[ου]ς
 γὰς τε καὶ ἕτερα ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον, τινὰς δὲ καὶ βιαζο-
 μέν[ου]ς ἀνευ συναλλάξεων μὴ τελεῖν τοὺς καθή-
 [κοντ]ας φόρους μὴδ' ἐκ πλήρους ἀποδιδόναι τὰς τῶν
 [γερω]ν καὶ προφητειῶν καὶ γραμματειῶν καρπέας,
 35 [ἐ]τέρους δὲ παραιρεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν τελουμένων καὶ
 [λο]γευομένων κ[αὶ] καθι]σταμένους ἀνευ τῆς αὐτῶν
 γ[νώμης] ἀφροδισία [. . .]λλον ὑποδέχεσθαι χάριν τοῦ
 λ[ογ]εύειν τὰ καθήκοντα τῇ θεᾷ, ἄλλους δὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν
 ἐπ[ι]λέγειν ἐα[ν]τοὺς ταῖς προσόδοις καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπι-
 40 βάλ[λειν] καὶ οἰκεῖν παρὰ τὸν ἐθισμόν. καθάπερ οὖν καὶ
 πρ[ὸ]τερο[ν] προστετάχαμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηκόντων τοῖς
 ἱερο[ῖς] κομ[ι]ζεσθαι, ἕως αἱ σημαίνεσθαι τῆς θεᾶς πρόσδοοι
 μένωσι, [. . .] ἀκίνητοι καὶ μηθενὶ ἐπιτρέπ[ε]τ[ε] καθ' ὄντινον
 τρόπον πρ[ὸ]σσειν τι τῶν προδεδηλωμένων [μη]δὲ ἀποβιά-
 45 ζεσθαι τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐκκομιζομέν[ου]ς τὰ διασαφού-
 μενα, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἐπαναγκάζετε εὐτάκτω[ς]
 ἕκαστ' ἀποδιδόναι, ὡς ἐκ πλήρους πάντα κ[ο]μιζόμεν[ο]ι
 δύνωνται ἀνεμποδίστως [ἐπι]τελεῖν τὰ νομιζόμενα τοῖς
 θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν τ[έ]κνων.

ἔρρωσθε. (ἔτους) λα Πανήμου ι[]

24. θ of εθων corr.
 50 of νομιζομενα above μ erased.

27. ι. χώρας.

43. του of οντινον corr. from ουν.

48.

ll. 12 sqq. 'King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra the sister and Queen Cleopatra the wife to the strategi, commandants, chiefs of the phylacitae, archiphylacitae, epimeletae, oekonomi, basilico-grammateis and all others in the service of the Crown, greeting. We have received a letter from the priests at . . . of Arsinoë (?) and the gods Adelphi and the gods Euergetae and the gods Philopatores and the gods Epiphaneis and the god Eupator and the gods Philometores and the gods Euergetae concerning the temple land . . . with that which has

been dedicated by the cleruchs, and the profits from the honourable offices and posts as prophet or scribe and . . . which have been bought for the temple, and the proceeds of properties, and the sums which are paid in accordance with decrees for the . . . and the several associations and the sacred slaves from trades and manufactures and salaries, and the sums collected by men and women at Alexandria and in the country for treasuries and bowls and cups, and the proceeds of the so-called aphrodisia, and their revenues in general under whatever head(?) they are registered, stating that certain persons who lease lands and other properties for a long period, and some who even take forcible possession without any contracts, fail to pay the rents due, and do not contribute the full amount of the profits of the honourable offices or posts as prophet or scribe, while others steal the sums paid and collected, and setting up aphrodisia without the authorization of the priests receive . . . for the sake of collecting the dues to the goddess, and others try to mix themselves up with the revenues and lay hands upon them and inhabit the temple contrary to custom. In accordance therefore with our previous ordinance concerning the dues which belong to the temples, so long as the aforesaid revenues of the goddess remain (let them be?) undisturbed, and permit no one under any circumstances to exact payment of any of the above-mentioned revenues or to drive away by force the agents of the priests engaged in collecting them; and compel those who disobey to pay all the sums regularly, in order that the priests may obtain all their receipts in full, and may be able without hindrance to pay the customary offerings to the gods on behalf of us and our children. Good-bye. The 31st year, Panemus 10.

3. $\eta\beta\eta\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$: probably the termination of the name of a god, perhaps $\Sigma\alpha\kappa\eta\beta\eta\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$; cf. the name of the chief deity at Tebtunis, $\Sigma\alpha\kappa\eta\beta\eta\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$.

13-6. With this list of officials in the second century B. C. cf. 5. 158-61, P. Leyden G, and P. Grenf. II. 37. Contrasted with the earlier lists, e. g. Rev. Laws xxxvii. 2-5 and P. Petrie II. 42. (a) 1-4, the principal differences are (1) the change in the position of the oconomus and $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ (cf. note on 5. 159), of whom the first was more, the second less, important in the third century B. C.; (2) the absence in the earlier lists of the epimeletes, who does not play a prominent part, perhaps did not exist, until late in the third century; (3) the absence in the later lists of the nomarchs, toparchs, and antigrapheis, the functions of the nomarch being generally merged in those of the strategus (cf. note on 61. (b) 45), and the antigrapheis in the later period being comparatively unimportant; cf. note on 5. 85.

$\phi\rho\upsilon\rho\alpha\rho\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$: on $\phi\rho\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ see 92. 2, note, and cf. P. Leyden G. 2, where the $\phi\rho\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\rrho\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is found in the same position as here, and Rev. Laws xxxvii. 2, where the $\iota\pi\pi\alpha\rho\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ are mentioned next after the strategus.

14. [$\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\tau\omega\upsilon$]: cf. 5. 159 and note, and P. Leyden G. 3.

15. [$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$]: cf. 5. 159. P. Leyden G. 3 has the $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omega\upsilon$ at this point.

$\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ [$\tau\alpha\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\alpha\ \pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$]: cf. P. Grenf. II. 37. 4.

17. $\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ should be immediately preceded or followed by a place name; cf. Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, Inscr. 103, and a papyrus quoted in P. Grenf. I. p. 24. $\eta\iota$ must be the termination of the name of a female deity to whom the temple in question was primarily dedicated, as is shown by the references to $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ in ll. 38 and 42. A local Egyptian deity is not out of the question, for at Elephantine, for instance, $\chi\rho\upsilon\beta\omega\ \text{Nεβιήθ}$ was associated with the gods Adelphi, &c. (Strack, *ibid.* Inscr. 140), and at Hermonthis Month was associated with Arsinoë and the gods Adelphi, &c. (P. Grenf. I. p. 24). It is, however, much more probable that $\eta\iota$ is a mistake for $\eta\varsigma$ (cf. l. 27, where $\chi\omega\rho\alpha\iota$ is written for $\chi\omega\rho\alpha\varsigma$), and is the termination of Ἀρσινόης (cf. P. Grenf. I. c.) or of Βερενίκης (cf. P. Grenf. I. 17. 12 $\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\iota\ \text{Βερενίκης}$, perhaps the Berenice on whom numerous

honours were conferred by the Canopus Inscr. ll. 54 sqq.), or of 'Αφροδίτης (cf. note on l. 29), with whom both Arsinoë and Berenice were sometimes identified (cf. P. Petrie I. 21. ii. 7, II. 28. ix. 14). It is not at all likely that η is the termination of a place name, for a goddess must have been mentioned in l. 17, and then we should have to suppose that the correct order of words had been disturbed, which is very improbable.

19. θεῶν Φιλομητόρων: the plural is incorrect, since Cleopatra II was included in the θεοὶ Εὐεργέται; cf. P. Grenf. II. 15, Strack, *Dynastie*, Inscr. 103 (a). On Eupator see p. 554.

20. ἱερᾶς γῆς was probably followed by 'Αρσινόης or whatever was the name of the goddess mentioned in l. 17.

For an example of the consecration of land to a temple by κληροῦχοι cf. the 130 arourae dedicated by the ἱερεῖς and μάχμοι under Chomenis to Soknebtunis (63. 18-21), and cf. App. i. § 2.

21. γερῶν κ.τ.λ.: cf. l. 34 and note on 5. 65. ἀπό is very doubtful, for elsewhere γερῶν, &c., depend directly upon καρτεία. Perhaps τῶν τῶν] should be read.

22. Perhaps καὶ λειτουργιῶν π[ασ]σ[ί]ων; cf. 5. 66.

23. ψηφίσματα: probably royal decrees, i. e. προστάγματα, are meant, as in P. Tor. I. vii. 8 κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα, and the sums mentioned in l. 25 refer to the σύνταξις of the temple (μισθῶν) and to profits from trades or manufactures controlled by the temples, such as the byssus manufacture (ἐμποριῶν καὶ ἐργασιῶν, cf. note on 5. 63). ψηφίσματα might also mean resolutions of the priests themselves (e. g. the Canopus and Rosetta Inscriptions are ψηφίσματα¹), and the genitives in l. 24 might depend directly on ψηφίσματα; cf. the συγκριθησομένη τροφή ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἱερέων in Canop. Inscr. l. 71 and note on 5. 54. But the list of revenues given in ll. 20-30 seem to be concerned with the receipts from outside, not with the division of them among the individual priests after they had been received.

24. The earlier part of this line probably contained a reference to the πλῆθος of the priests (cf. Canop. Inscr. l. 24) contrasted with the ἔθνη or different classes of them; cf. Rosetta Inscr. l. 17. A list of τῶν μὴ τελούτων ἱερὰ ἔθνη occurs in one of the new Petrie Papyri.

25. Cf. note on l. 23. It is possible that τασσομένων should be taken with μισθῶν only,

¹ We must protest against the view of Revillout that while the Greek version of the Canopus Inscr. is the original of the demotic, the Greek version of the Rosetta stone is a translation. The whole scheme of the Rosetta Inscr. is exactly parallel to that of the Canopus Inscr. and is thoroughly Greek:—date, ψηφίσματα . . . ἐπειδὴ . . . ἀγαθῆς τύχῃ, ἔδοξεν . . . Of course the long-winded list of complimentary titles given to Epiphanes is borrowed from the traditional Pharaonic titles of kings, and would have seemed unnecessary to Euergetes I, though the beginnings of the use of high-sounding titles are already traceable in the Adule Inscription. But those titles do not prove that the Rosetta stone was first written in demotic, any more than the borrowing of Greek technical terms in the demotic version, e. g. σύνταξις which is transliterated instead of being translated, proves the reverse. A good many of the supposed differences between the Greek and demotic versions of the Rosetta Inscr. will probably disappear when demotic is better understood. For instance, the demotic equivalent of the technical phrase τὰ πρὸς τῶν δερματισμῶν διάφορα (l. 30), which means the differences between the amounts of byssus which the priests ought to have manufactured and the amounts verified as having been received, is translated by Revillout, who did not understand the Greek, *le complément des pièces qu'on avait écrites*; and if the hieroglyphic and demotic versions of λίθων πολυτελῶν in l. 33 really have 'corn' (which makes nonsense), so much the worse for the scribes who were responsible for them.

In any case we agree with Mahaffy (*Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 226-8) that the differences of the Rosetta and Canopus Inscriptions are trifling as compared with the resemblances and fail to justify the hypothesis that one is a translation, the other an original; though we should hardly be prepared to support his contention that the demotic is the earlier version in both cases without much stronger evidence than has yet been adduced. The official version was undoubtedly the Greek.

instead of with τῶν in l. 23, in which case another participle, such as *συνκεκρμένων* (cf. 5. 54), would have to be supplied in l. 24. But the other construction is preferable. The *ιερόδουλοι* may have been to some extent released slaves if, as is very likely, the form of manumission by a nominal sale of the slave to a temple prevailed in Egypt (cf. P. Oxy. I. p. 105, and Mitteis, *Hermes*, xxxiv. p. 104). But probably many of them were connected with the *ἀφροδίσια* (cf. note on l. 29).

26. The mention of sums collected at Alexandria for this temple rather suggests that it was itself at Alexandria.

27. *εἰς θησαυροῦς*: cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* II. 503, a Theban receipt for a payment in money *ὑπὲρ θησαυροῦ* (αυροῦ) *ιερώ(ς)*. Probably this has nothing to do with payments of corn *ὑπὲρ θησαυροῦ* simply (*Ost.* II. nos. 903 and 993); for *θησαυροί* in the present passage are clearly not granaries, though instances of voluntary payments of corn to the temples by officials are found in Strack, *Dynastie*, Inscr. 144 and 145.

28. τὰ, if right, is governed by *εἰς* in the previous line. But the interposition of *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν* is rather awkward, and either τὰ should be altered to τῶν or, perhaps better, *ὑπὸ* to *ἀπὸ*.

29. *ἀφροδισίων*: cf. l. 37. A letter of Philonides to Cleon in the new Petrie Papyrus mentions an *ἀφροδίσιον* that the writer intended to present to the king, perhaps a small portable shrine of Aphrodite. Here, however, the *ἀφροδίσια* are clearly pleasure-resorts dedicated to Aphrodite, the profits of which went to the temple. In ll. 36-8 the priests complain of private persons setting up *ἀφροδίσια* on their own account and thereby diverting the *καθήκοντα τῆι θεῇ* into their own pockets; from which we may infer that *ἀφροδίσια* were a monopoly of this particular temple at any rate, perhaps of the temples in general. There is some reason for thinking that in the Roman period the supply of *ἐταῖραι* was a government monopoly (cf. P. Grenf. II. 41 and *Fayūm Towns*, pp. 149 sqq.). But the nature of the *ἐπιμεριῶν* is still obscure. For *ἀφροδίσια* in the sense found here cf. P. Par. 34. 6, which shows that there was one at the Serapeum, Strabo xvi. 745 *πάσαις δὲ ταῖς Βαβυλωνίαις ἔθος κατὰ τι λόγιον ξένη μίγνυσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίσιον ἀφικομένας . . . τὸ δ' ἀργύριον ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης νομίζεται*, and viii. 378 *τό τε τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν (at Corinth) οὕτω πλούσιον ὑπῆρξεν ὥστε πλείους ἢ χιλίας ἱεροδούλους ἐκέκτητο ἐταῖρας ἃς ἀπετίθεσαν τῇ θεῇ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες*, and Philostratus *Ἐπίστ.* 60 (23) *γυναικὶ καπηλίδι. πάντα με αἰρεῖ τὰ σά, καὶ ὁ λινοῦς χιτῶν ὡς ὁ τῆς Ἰσίδος καὶ τὸ καπηλεῖον ὡς Ἀφροδίσιον*.

30. There seems to be some error here, for a relative is required to be the subject of *ἀναγράφεται*. *ἔ[ερ]ον*, i. e. a mistake for *ἐτέρων*, will not suit.

31. γὰς: for the plural of γῆ cf. 5. 59.

32. *ἄνευ συναλλάξεων*: cf. the land leased *ἄνευ συναλλάξεως* in 61. (δ) 22.

35. *παραιρεῖν*: cf. 5. 166, where the middle is used, for which there is no room here.

36-7. Cf. note on l. 29. The class indicated seems to consist of persons who had made themselves collectors of priestly revenues without authorization and had not paid over the proceeds; cf. ll. 43-5.

38. *τῆι θεῇ*: i. e. Arsinoë or Berenice probably (cf. note on l. 17), the principal deity of the temple in question.

39. *ἐπ[ιπλ]έκειν*: cf. note on 5. 156.

40-3. It is not clear where the dependent clause ends and the principal clause begins. We think the change comes at *ἔως*, because the *σημαινόμεναι πρόσοδοι* of this particular temple are less likely to have been the subject of a previous *πρόσταγμα* than of a general regulation about the rights of temples like 5. 50 sqq. The difficulty is to find a verb for *ἀκίνητοι*, for the traces of the preceding word suggest only *εἰσ[ί]μι*, which is not satisfactory. *προσ τετάχαμεν* might in itself be the main verb (cf. the regular phrase in 5 *προσ τετάχασι*), and then *ἀκίνητοι*, if in the correct case, must be connected with *μίνωσι*, and [*κομ[ι]ζεσθαι*

would be dependent upon *προσπετάχαμεν* instead of upon *ἀνηκόωντων*. If *προσπετάχαμεν* is in the dependent clause and *ἀκίνητοι* is connected with *μένωσι*, then *καί* in l. 43 must be omitted.

45. The revenues of the priests, as appears from this passage, ought to have been collected by the priests themselves or their agents, not by the government officials; cf. the discussion of the *ἀπόμοιρα*, which was always collected by the government after it had been transferred to Arsinoë (note on 5. 51). The officials however seem to have been in the habit of collecting the rents of *ιερά γῆ* at a date subsequent to this edict; cf. 93. introd.

7. DECREE OF SOTER II.

27.1.

15.8 × 16.1 cm.

B.C. 114.

An extract from a decree, or series of decrees like 5, issued in the third year of Cleopatra III and Soter II. The sovereigns ordain that charges brought against officials directly subordinate to the central finance administration (*διοίκησις*) were not to be decided by any of the ordinary judges but were to be referred to the chief of that administration, the *διοικητής*. This regulation does not affect the ordinary officials concerned with the revenues, against whom complaints continued to be brought before the *chrematistae* as before (cf. 29 and P. Amh. II. 33), but concerned the inspectors sent about the *nomes* by the *dioecetes* and perhaps by the *ἐκλογιστής*, such as the writers of 28.

Βασιλέων προσταξάν[των] μηθένα τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν
κριτηρίων καὶ τῶν ἀλλ[λων] τῶν πρὸς χρείαις
δέχεσθαι ἐγκλήματα κατὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμέων
τῆι διοικήσει μηδ' ἐπισπᾶν μηδ' ἄλλοις ἐπι-
5 τρέπειν κατ' αὐτοὺς διεξάγειν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιδεδο-
μένα κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν
ἐνεστηκότα ἀνα[π]έμπειν ἐπ' Εἰρηναῖον τὸν
συγγενεῖ καὶ διοικ[η]τήν.

(ἔτους) γ Φαμενώθ κγ.

8. 1. συγγενῆ.

'The sovereigns decree that neither any one who exercises judicial functions nor any of the other officials shall receive complaints against subordinates of the finance administration nor shall force them to appear nor allow others to decide their case; but they shall send the complaints made against them and the state of the matter concerning them to Irenaeus, the king's cousin and *dioecetes*. The 3rd year, Phamenoth 23.'

F

1. *βασιλέων προσταζάντων*: this formula appears to be used in cases where the following decree is not quoted in its exact words, whether because it was extracted from a series or because the construction is altered to *oratio obliqua*. Cf. Mahaffy, *Archiv*, I. p. 286, P. Amh. II. 29. 20, Strack, *Dynastie*, Inscr. 130.

5. *δεξάγειω*: cf. 5. 219, 8. 11 and the use of *δεξαγωγή* in 14. 6 and 16.

7. *Ειρηναίον*: cf. 27. 3. On the position of the *διοικητής* see note on 5. 27.

III. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

8. TAXES IN LESBOS, THRACE, AND LYCIA.

23.13 *recto*.

23.3 x 20.5 *cm.*

About B. C. 201. PLATE IV.

In this document is contained a series of drafts of letters written to different officials and containing directions concerning the collection of the foreign revenues of Egypt. The letters are arranged chronologically under the days of the month; two are dated on the 15th, and probably four on the 24th, but owing to the loss of the beginnings of the lines at the end of the column it is difficult to distinguish the commencement in every case. Of those written on the 15th the first (ll. 6-11) is addressed to Aphrodisius, who is directed to furnish information with regard to the receipt of the taxes which had been collected in Lesbos and Thrace, and to send certain persons with a view to an investigation which was to be held. The second (ll. 12-3) is addressed to Callimedes, and is obscure on account of the abbreviations.

Two of those written on the 24th are addressed to Nicostratus; in the first (ll. 15-8) he is told that information has been received to the effect that the sale of the money-taxes in Lycia for the 4th year had yielded an increase of 6 talents 1312 drachmae 4 obols. Line 18 is somewhat obscure; it seems most natural to suppose that *ἐπηνεκέναι* is the perfect infinitive of *ἐπανήμι*, which is regularly used as the antithesis of *ἐπιτελεῖν*, and that the sentence implies that the revenue had diminished for the rest of the time. If this be the meaning however, the use of *καί* instead of *δέ* and its position in the sentence are very strange. It seems impossible to make sense of the words on the supposition that *ἐπηνεκέναι* comes from *ἐπαινεῖν*.

That the second letter (ll. 19-23) is also addressed to Nicostratus is indicated by the introductory word ἄλλη. The fact that most of these letters mention foreign countries by name justifies us in supposing that the customs duties, with which this letter deals, were those levied at Alexandria on imported goods. It is not improbable indeed that the whole series forms part of the correspondence of the dioecetes; for no other person could have given instructions so definite upon sources of revenue of such importance. It was reported that the sale of the contract for farming the customs duties had fallen off by 2 talents 1366 drachmae, and Nicostratus is directed to furnish a table giving the amount of wine which had been imported in each year since the 16th of the preceding reign, in order that the deficiency (ἀφεύρεμα) might be met. This meaning of ἀφεύρεμα is established by P. Par. 62. iii. 11 ἐὰν δέ τινες τῶν κατασχόντων τὰς ὠνὰς μὴ διεγγυήσωσιν ἐν τῷ ὀρισμένῳ χρόνῳ, ἐπαναπραθήσονται αὐτῶν αἱ ὠνὰι καὶ ἐῖάν τι ἀφεύρεμα γένηται, πραχθήσονται παραχρήμα. But in the present case there is no reference to the exaction of the deficiency from the first contractor, and it is not clear what use was to be made of the γραφή τοῦ εἰσηγμένου οἴνου. Another letter probably began at l. 24, but unfortunately the beginnings of the lines from this point to the end of the papyrus are torn away, and the difficulty of interpretation is increased by the uncertainty as to the proper expansion of the abbreviated word at the end of l. 24. It is doubtful whether we should there read πεπραχέναι or πεπρακέναι or πεπράχθαι; διαφωνεῖν (l. 25) is used by Polybius of accounts which do not balance, but it seems better in this place to interpret the word in the sense in which it is used by Diodorus, xvi. 3 γέγραφε βίβλους ὀκτῶ πρὸς ταῖς πενήκοντα, ἐξ ὧν πέντε διαφωνοῦσι; cf. P. Petrie II. 13. (3) 4 τὸ δ' ἐπιλοιπον (sc. τοῦ τεύχους) φέρεται ὥστε κινδυνεύει πεσόντος αὐτοῦ διαφωνήσαι τι τῶν σωμάτων. The writer, then, states that he has been informed that the revenue from corn and property had not been collected (or, perhaps, that the contract for its collection had not been sold) or had come to nothing; he proceeds to direct his correspondent to take care that the revenue derived from these sources and from wood, &c., be not utterly destroyed, and to report to him the steps taken to secure this end. The last letter (ll. 29-33) refers to two persons, Zethus and another, who had undertaken to farm the purple in Lycia for a period of five years; it was reported that they had collected yearly 1 talent 1800 drachmae of silver.

There are fragments of three more columns of similar extracts (two on a detached fragment which does not join the body of the document); but they are too much damaged to be of any use. The writing is in a well formed semi-uncial hand of medium size; it is somewhat crowded, and full of abbreviations. Here and there are short notes written in a very minute cursive

which run in the opposite direction and seem to have no relation to the main document. On the *verso* is a receipt from Menches (11).

On palaeographical grounds we should assign this document to the end of the 3rd cent. B.C., and this date is confirmed if we compare the relations of Egypt with foreign nations as indicated in the papyrus with the history of the period. The anxiety displayed as to the due receipt of revenues from Lesbos and Thrace, the falling off in the customs or the difficulty experienced in finding contractors willing to farm them, and the impending danger of losing some sources of income altogether, clearly indicate that the foreign power of Egypt was waning and that her commerce was imperilled. In 202 B.C. Philip of Macedon commenced operations against the Egyptian possessions in Thrace and the Hellespont, and in the following year he set out with a great fleet to ravage the islands and the coast of Asia Minor. At this time the Egyptian fleet had become so weak that it was unable to protect her outlying dependencies, and since she could not obtain any effective help even from Rhodes, she was reduced to the necessity of making an appeal to Rome. Hence it may be regarded as certain that the 4th year mentioned in our papyrus is the 4th year of Epiphanes, 202-1 B.C. The survival of this document for so long a period in the office of the komogrammateus is remarkable. With the exception of 176, also written in the reign of Epiphanes, none of the other papyri from the crocodile-mummies is certainly earlier than the reign of Euergetes II, though 32, 79 and 99 probably belong to that of Philometor.

Col. i.

[. . .]αχιω[. . . .]. ειλημ[
 αλει[. .]οτου γρα() επιδε[δω]κότος
 όφειλ[. .] 'Εψιβ (τριώβολον) εις . [.] . . .
 (δραχμάς) 'Βω[. δ]πως και τα λαϊπα) . [.] .

5 [] ιε

'Αφροδισίωι. χρημάτων και σίτου
 και των άλλων φύρων) των υπαρχάντων
 εν τοις κατά Λέσβον και Θράικην
 τόποις διασάφη(σον) εί μετείληφεν.

10 και του 'Ηρακλείτου και των γραμματέων)
 από(τειλον) όπως διεξαχθήι.

Καλλιμήδει. π() αν() και συναπό(τειλον) τους

ἀπὸ Κα(ρίας?).

κδ

- 15 Νικοστράτωι. γέγρα(φε) τὴν εἰς τὸ δ (ἔτος) διάπρα(σιν)
τῶν κατὰ Λυκίαν ἀργυρικῶν προσόδων
ἐπιτετακέναι (τάλαντα) 5 Ἄτιβ (τετράβολον),
ἐπηνεκέναι καὶ εἰς τ[δ] λοιπόν.
ἀλ[λ]η. διαφυλλίου οὐ γέγρα(φεν) ἀφευρηκέναι
- 20 [τ]ὴν ὄνην (τάλαντα) β Ἄτξς γραφῆν
[ἀ]πρό(τειλον) ἀπὸ τοῦ ις (ἔτους) τοῦ εἰσηγμέ(νου)
[δι]ὰ τῶν π[. .] . τῶν οἴνου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν
[ὦ]ς ἀντί(τεθ)ῆι πρὸς τὸ ἀφεύρεμα.
[.] σ[ι]του γέγρα(φε) μὴ πεπρα(χέναι)
- 25 [καὶ χρημ]άτων, ἧ διαπεφωνηκέναι.
[τούτων κ]αὶ τῆς ξυλικῆς καὶ
[τῆς . . .] ης φό(ρος) ὅπως μὴ καταλυθῆι
[καὶ διασ]άφη(σον) τὴν γενομένην οἰκονο(μίαν).
[.] τωι. κατὰ Ζῆθον καὶ . . [.] . . ην
- 30 [τοῦ]ς ἐγλαβόντας τὴν κατὰ Λυκίαν
[πο]ρφυρικὴν εἰς (ἔτη) 6 οὐδ' ἐγράφη
πρᾶξαι τὸν φόρον κατ' ἐν[ια]υτὸν
[ἀργ]υρίου (τάλαντον) α Ἄω καὶ τὸν τοῦ δ (ἔτους)

8. The reference to the taxes levied in Lesbos implies that the influence of Egypt in that island was much greater than has been supposed. Niese for instance, *Gesch. der griech. und maked. Staaten*, pp. 357, 406, considers that Lesbos was practically free and merely recognized the suzerainty of Egypt in the time of Philopator: 'Auch Lesbos, im übrigen frei, erkannte seine Oberherrlichkeit an.' Much more than this is implied by the fact that a Lesbian inscription (Strack, *Dynastie*, Inscr. 68) is dated in the reign of Philopator: βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ Βερενίκῃς, βίῳν Εὐεργετῶν, ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ, ἐπὶ πρυτάνιος Ἀρχία, ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Πρωτέων. That the power of Egypt in Lesbos was real and continued till the reign of Epiphanes is proved by this papyrus; cf. Mahaffy, *Hist. of Egypt. The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 142.

11. δεξαχθῆι: cf. 7. 5.

15. διάπρα(σιν): cf. P. Oxy. I. 44. 4. διαπράσεως τῶν τελωνικῶν.

22. Possibly π[ω]λητῶν.

26. ξυλικῆς: cf. 5. 205.

9. APPLICATION BY MENCHES FOR THE POST OF KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

8.3.

29.5 x 11.4 cm.

B.C. 119.

The three following papyri deal with the re-appointment of Menches to the post of komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. On Pachon 6 in the 51st year, four months before the date of his re-appointment, he promises, in the event of his being selected, to pay at the village 50 artabae of wheat and 50 artabae of pulse of various kinds; and a certain Dorion undertakes to pay for his part 50 artabae of wheat and 10 of pulse. The wheat promised by Menches may have been the payment which he was required to make each year to the Crown for his office (cf. 10. 4 and 5. 19-21, note); but since the pulse and the payments made by Dorion are not normal, it is more probable that the whole amount paid by him and Dorion in the 51st year were extraordinary expenses connected with his application to be retained in office. It is not impossible that these promises were a bribe offered by Menches to his superiors in the village in order to conciliate their good will and secure their favourable intervention with the dioecetes; in this connexion we may note the significant omission of the name of the person to whom the document is addressed: no one but Menches and Dorion is compromised by it. On the 3rd of Mesore in the same year Menches received the official notification of the renewal of his office (10). In the third papyrus of the series (11) Menches acknowledges that he has received from Dorion certain quantities of wheat and pulse, which represent not only the amount promised by the latter in 9, but also that offered by Menches, together with one additional artaba of *πασπερμείον*. Besides this Dorion agrees to pay Menches each year 50 artabae of wheat, beginning with the 52nd year; the amount to be paid and the time at which the payments were to commence correspond exactly to those imposed upon Menches in the terms of his appointment. The precise relationship between Dorion and Menches and the bond which united them are unknown; but it is not unlikely that the transaction is a case of a practice shortly afterwards forbidden by a royal *πρόσταγμα* (5. 184-6), *μηδὲ οἰνικὰ ἢ σιτικὰ γενήματα ἐπρόπτειν τιμῆς μηδ' εἰς ἀνανεώσεις* (cf. 5. 19-21). The officials were in the habit of requiring their dependents to pay the costs of their offices and the expenses incurred in canvassing for their renewal; in return for this they probably extended their protection (*σκέπη*, cf. 40. 9) to the victims of their extortion. That the practice was common and the burden oppressive may be deduced from the necessity of prohibiting it by a *πρόσταγμα*; that the advantages to be gained from this official protection were both great and

indispensable is shown by 34 and 40. It was on similar terms that Hiero, according to Polyb. i. 16, retained the kingdom of Syracuse: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἱέρων ὑποστείλας ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων σκέπην, καὶ χορηγῶν αἰεὶ τοῦτοις εἰς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευε τῶν Συρακουσίων.

Παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμογραμμα-
ματέως Κερκεοσί[ρ]εως.
κατασταθεὶς πρὸς [τ]ῆι προ-
υπαρχούσῃ[ι] μοι κωμογραμ-
5 ματείας δώσω{γ} ἐν τῆι
κώμῃ πυροῦ μὲν [[[ἀρτάβας]]]
ἀρ[τ]άβας ν
[καὶ ὀσπρίων ἀρτάβας ν,
ὄν φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) κ,
10 ἐρεγμοῦ ι,
πίσου ι,
πασπέρμης γ,
σινάπεως γ,
εὔστρας α,
/ ν, / (ἀρτάβαι) ρ.
15 (ἔτους) να Παχῶν γ.
καὶ Δωρίων (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ν,
ὀσπρίων ι, ἐρεγμοῦ γ, πίσου (γ), πα(σπέρμης) γ,
σινά(πεως) α, / ι, / ξ.

4. 1. κωμογραμματεῖαι.

'From Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. On being appointed to the post of komogrammateus previously held by me I will pay at the village 50 artabae of wheat and 50 artabae of pulse, namely 20 artabae of lentils, 10 of bruised beans, 10 of peas, 6 of mixed seeds, 3 of mustard, 1 of parched pulse, total 50; total 100 artabae. The 51st year, Pachon 6. And Dorion will pay 50 artabae of wheat and 10 of pulse, namely 3 of bruised beans, 3 of peas, 3 of mixed seeds, 1 of mustard, total 10; total 60.'

13. εὔστρα or εἰστρα according to the lexica was a kind of corn; cf. e. g. Etym. Mag. ἀμφίκανστις: ἡ ὀρεινὴ κριθή, ἣν ἡμεῖς εἰστραν καλοῦμεν, Hesych. εἰστρα'... ὁ στάχυς ὅταν μῆπω κίπειρος ὦν ἀποφλογισθῆ. Here however it is clearly pulse in some shape.

10. APPOINTMENT OF MENCHES.

23.1.

15.5 x 29.6 cm.

B.C. 119. PLATE V.

In this papyrus Asclepiades, who was probably the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, informs Marres, the topogrammateus and perhaps identical with the Marres in 75 (cf. 41. introd.), of the appointment of Menches by the dioecetes to the post of komogrammateus. Menches is required to reclaim 10 arourae of the land which was reported to have gone out of cultivation, at a rent of 5 artabae for each aroura (cf. 75. 30-31). This rent is rather high when compared with that usually paid by βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί (cf. 84 and 85), and in most cases when land was reclaimed a lower rate or complete exemption for a time was permitted (cf. 81. (b) 59, &c.). But in the case of Menches the 50 artabae should be regarded as a fee for the privilege of holding office; cf. 9. introd., and note on 5. 186. It is evident from the preceding papyrus that Menches was komogrammateus in Pachon of the 51st year, and hence this document is merely a renewal of his appointment. He drew up the κατὰ φύλλον list of the 7th year of the next reign, but was succeeded in that year by Petesuchus, who seems to have entered office by Mecheir; cf. 77. introd. Thus the length of his second tenure of office was a little more than nine years. The duration of his first period is uncertain, for the earliest mention of Menches is in 9.

From 75. 30 it appears that in the 5th year of Soter II Menches reclaimed 10 more arourae for which he paid the common rent of $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae to the aroura. The same papyrus also mentions reclamations by the basilico-grammateus and topogrammateus (ll. 32-3), and shows that in the same year Menches received a grant of 20 arourae of unproductive land, of which he seems to have become the owner; cf. 85 and App. i. § 3.

The writing is across the fibres, as commonly happens in Ptolemaic letters, and is a fine example of the official hand of this period.

Ἀσκληπιάδης Μαρρεῖ χαίρειν. Μεγχῆ τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικητοῦ
καθεσταμένῳ πρὸς τῆν κωμογραμματεῖαν Κερκεοσίρεως ἐφ' ὧν κατεργᾶται
τοῖς ἰδίῳι ἀνηλώμασιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναφερομένης περὶ τὴν κώμην
ἐν ὑπολόγῳ γῆς (ἀρούρας) δέκα (ἀρταβῶν) πενήκοντα, ἃς καὶ παραδώσει
5 ἀπὸ τοῦ νβ (ἔτους) εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ πλήρους ἢ τὰ
ἀπολείψοντα
ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου μετρήσει, μετά[δ]ος τὰ τῆς χρείας γράμματα καὶ φρόντισον

ὡς τὰ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἐκπληρωθήσεται.

ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) να Μεσορή γ.

On the verso

τοπογραμματοεῖ)

Μαρρεῖ.

'Asclepiades to Marres, greeting. Menches having been appointed komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris by the dioecetes on the understanding that he shall cultivate at his own expense 10 arourae of the land in the neighbourhood of the village which has been reported as unproductive at a rent of 50 artabae, which he shall pay annually from the 52nd year to the Crown in full or shall measure out the deficiency from his private means, give to him the papers of his office and take care that the terms of his agreement are fulfilled. Good-bye. The 51st year, Mesore 3. (Addressed) To Marres, topogrammateus.'

4. On γῆ ἐν ὑπολόγῃ see 61. (δ) 110-247, 74, 75 and App. i. § 9.

11. RECEIPT FROM MENCHES TO DORION.

23.13 verso.

23.3 × 20.5 cm.

B.C. 119.

The first ten lines of this document are an acknowledgement by Menches stating that he had received from Dorion in the 51st year 100 artabae of wheat and 61 artabae of σπρια. This is followed (ll. 11-8) by a statement of further payments of corn owed by Dorion for the 52nd year onwards. The concluding sentence (ll. 18-9) reverts to the earlier subject. On the nature of these payments see 9. introd.

In the margin at the top of the papyrus are a line and a half of numbers, followed by Ἀπολλωνίωι {ε}καθεσταμένω, perhaps the beginning of a letter to the strategus; cf. 9. 3 and 48. 33. On the recto is 8, which is eighty years older.

Μεγχῆς Πετεσοῦχου κωμογραμματοεῦς
 Κερκεοσίρειωσ τῆς Π[ολ]έμωνωσ μερῆδωσ
 τοῦ Ἀρσινόιτω Δωρίωνι Εἰρηναίωι [
 τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων). ὁμολογῶι παρα(με)μετρηῆ[σθαι
 5 παρὰ σοῦ ἐν μὲν τῶι να (ἔτει) [πυροῦ
 ἀρτάβωσ ἑκατὸν μέτρωι δοχικῶ[ι] καὶ [μετρήσει]
 δικαίωι, (πυρὸν) νῆον ἄδωλον κεκοσκιενεμένον,
 καὶ φακοῦ ὁμῶωσ (ἀρτάβωσ) κ, ἐρεγμοῦ [ιγ, πίσω ιγ,
 πασπερμείωι ι, σινάπεωσ δ, εὔστρωσ α,
 10 / ὀσπρίων ξα, (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβωι) ρ.

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νβ (ἔτους) κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν μετρήσεις)
 (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ν καθαρὰς κ[εκοσκινευμένας
 καὶ μέτρῳ δοχικῶι μετρήσει) δικαίαι
 καθότι προέγραπται [ἀνευ δίκης
 15 καὶ κρίσεως καὶ πάσης] ἢ τὰ προκεί-
 μενα διπλᾶ ἢι τ[ιμὴν ἐκάστης ἀρτάβης
 χαλκοῦ (δραχμᾶς) 'B καὶ [ἱερὰς θεοῖς
 Εὐ{γ}εργέταις [. ἢ ἀποχῆ
 ἔστωι κυρ[λ]α πα[ν]ταχ[ῆ ἐπιφερομένη.

1. γου of πετεσουχου above the line. 5. εν μεν τωι above κατ ενιαυτον απο του, which is enclosed in round brackets. 7. ι. π[ι]ων. 10. π of οσπριων corr.

'Menches son of Petesuchus, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon in the Arsinoite nome, to Dorion son of Eirenaeus, one of the "first friends." I acknowledge that I have had measured out to me by you in the 51st year 100 artabae of wheat on the δοχικόν standard, justly measured, the wheat being new, free from adulteration and sifted, and in like manner 20 artabae of lentils, 13 of bruised beans, 13 of peas, 10 of mixed seeds, 4 of mustard, 1 of parched pulse, total 61 of pulse, 100 of wheat. And from the 52nd year you shall pay me each year 50 artabae of wheat, pure and sifted, on the δοχικόν standard, justly measured as is above-written, without lawsuit or judgement or (question) of any kind, or twice the aforesaid amount or the price at the rate of 2000 drachmae for each artaba, and . . . drachmae consecrated to the gods Euergetae. Let this receipt be valid wherever produced.'

3. If there is nothing lost after Εἰρηναίου it would appear that Dorion belonged to the πρώτοι φίλοι, a title which is held by officials as high as strategi (P. Amh. II. 35. 1). There seems to be hardly room for [τοῦ παρά followed by an abbreviated proper name.

6. μέτρῳ δοχικῶι: probably the official corn measure containing 36 choenices; cf. notes on 5. 85 and 61. (b) 386, and P. Amh. II. 43. 9-10.

8-9. For the restoration of the lacunae cf. 9. 10 sqq.

11. It is necessary to suppose that ἐνιαυτόν was followed by a verb in the future for the payments referring to the 52nd year onwards had not yet been made; cf. 9. introd. The lines are somewhat irregular in length.

15. After πάσης some word like ἀντιλογίας is required, but this seems too long; it may however have been abbreviated.

16-7. Instead of the usual ἡμῶν the penalty in the event of non-payment at the proper time was apparently twice the debt. The value of each artaba of wheat is fixed at 2000 drachmae, which is not higher than the normal price at this period in the case of penalties; cf. 105. 46, note, and p. 584.

18. Cf. ἱερὰς βασιλεῦσι ἀργυρίου) (δραχμᾶς) P. Grenf. I. 27. iii. 4, &c.

12. TWO LETTERS FROM MENCHES.

17.11.

Height 30 cm.

B.C. 118.

Drafts of two letters written by Menches to Herodes and Ammonius, both of whom are addressed as ἀδελφός. If ἀδελφός is to be taken literally here and in 55. 1—and there seems no reason why it should not—Menches had at least four brothers, the third being Polemon, who is described as his brother in the petition to Euergetes II (48. 4), and himself addresses Menches as ἀδελφός in a letter (19. 1) written in the 3rd year of Soter II, when Polemon was probably ἐπιστάτης (cf. 15. 7 and 17. introd.), and the fourth Musaeus (55. 1), of whom no further particulars are known. It is noticeable that the formula σουτοῦ ἐπιμελούμενος ἐν ὑγιαίνῃς (ll. 12 and 26), which indicates familiarity between the correspondents, occurs also in 19; cf. 20. 10 and 55. 9. Probably Herodes and Ammonius also held minor official posts, but what they were we do not hear.

The two letters refer to the same facts, and, though the second bears no date, were most probably dispatched at the same time, or at most within one day of each other (cf. ll. 8, 13 and 23). In the first Menches informs Herodes that he had received a notice to join the basilico-grammateus for the purpose of a survey of the village (Kerkeosiris no doubt), but that he had asked for a delay of three days; and in connexion with this he begs Herodes to do something for him, but the nature of the request is obscured by lacunae. In the second letter he asks his brother to send on Dionysius with a περιφορά, apparently a surveying instrument of some kind (note on l. 17), and to instruct this man to delay the survey till Menches had finished some pressing business which did not allow him to go himself immediately.

The second column of this papyrus contains a taxing-list (97) dated in the same year, but by a different hand.

Col. i.

[Μεγ]χῆς Ἡρώδει τῷ ἀδελφῷ [χαίρε]ιν
 [κα]ὶ ἐρρῶσθαι. γέινωσκε Ἀμμώνιον τὸν
 [. . .] παρ' ἡμῶν ὄν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμεννέως
 [τοῦ βασιλικοῦ] γραμματέως γεγράφως ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ συνέχεσθαι
 5 [Ἄρω]τρεῖον τὸν τοῦ Πετεαρφρέλους [[συνέχεσθαι]]
 [ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ] γραμματέως χάριν τῆς εὐθυμετρίας τῆς κάμης) καὶ
 [τοῦ] σχοι(νισμοῦ), καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ γεγράφηκεν συμμελογειν

[αὐτοῖ]ς. ἡξίωκα ἐπισχῖν μοι ἕως τῆς κα.
 [ὀπότ]’ οὖν ἐὰν λάβ[η]ς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἕως
 10 [.]σ . [. . .]ας τὸν Ἀρωτεῖον ἐπιτε-
 . . . ν [. . .]εσ[. . .]τα καὶ παρτιδισ
 αι ἀν[τιλ]ογείαι, τὰ ἄλλα σαυτοῦ ἐπιμε(λόμενος)
 ἴν’ ὑγ(ι)αίνης. ἔρρω[σ]ο. (ἔτους) νβ Μεσο(ρή) ιη.

Μεγχῆς Ἀμμωνίω τῶι ἀδελφῶι

15 πολλὰ χαίρει[ν]. ἐκομισάμην τὸ παρὰ σοῦ γρ(αφὲν) ἐπισ(τόλιον)
 δι’ οὗ διεσάφισ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τοῦ . . ολισ-
 σου. περιφορὰν δὲ δὸς Διονυσίωι χά{ι}ρι
 τῆς εὐθυμετρίας καὶ ὅτι συμμίσειν
 ἅμα ἡμέρα, ἐπὶ οὐ καὶ σὺ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ἐν ἧ
 20 ἔσμεν ἀσχολί(αι) καὶ διότι ἐν τῇι τ[ο]ῦ στρα(τηγού)
 ἔσμεν φύλακῆι (?), παρακεκληκῶς δὲ τὸν
 Διονύσιον ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοῦ με ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἀσχολίας γενέσθαι τῇι κ]α. ἀποδέχομαι δὲ τὰ
 παρὰ σοῦ λίαν [[λια]], καὶ ὑπερευχαριστῶι παρηγγέ(λθαι)
 25 Ἀθεμμεῖ τῶι [. . .] () ἀναβῆναι. καὶ σὺ περὶ ὧν ἐὰν
 [βούλ]ηι διασάφισον, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα χα{ι}ριεῖ σαυτοῦ ἐπιμε(λόμενος).

3-4. l. ὄντα . . . γεγραφότα. 8. κ of ἡξίωκα corr. from σ.

‘Menches to his brother Herodes, greeting and good health. You must know that Ammonius our late agent (?), being in the office of Amenneus the basilico-grammateus, has written to us concerning the detention of Aroteus the son of Petearphres by the basilico-grammateus for the survey of the village and the measurements; and he has written to me too to join them. I have asked him to wait for me till the 21st. So soon therefore as you receive this letter . . . , and for the rest take care of your health. Good-bye. The 52nd year, Mesore 18.’

‘Menches to his brother Ammonius, many greetings. I have received the note written by you in which you inform me among other things about . . . Give the turn-table (?) to Dionysius for the survey, and tell him to join them at daybreak; for you know how busy I am, and that I am in attendance upon the strategus. Bid Dionysius wait till I have finished with this work on the 21st. I accept completely your views, and am over-joyed that Athemmeus the . . . has been instructed to go up. Let me know in your turn anything that you want, and for the rest please take care of yourself.’

3. Perhaps [γενό(μενον)] παρ’ ἡμῶν. With ἐν τοῖς Ἀμηνείωις cf. 27. 27 ἐν τῶι Ὁρ[ου].

5. συνίεσθαι has been deleted by a line drawn above the letters.

11. παρτιδισ here and . . . ολισσου in l. 16 are perhaps parts of proper names.

17. *περιφοράν*: the word has here a sense unknown to the lexica, for it clearly signifies something concrete which was used in surveying.

18. *ἴτι συμμίσγειν*: the construction is awkward, and the meaning not very clear. We have supposed that *ἴτι συμμίσγειν* represents the instructions which Menches wished to be given to Dionysius, the infinitive being loosely connected with *ἴτι*, and *ἴτι* indicating the oratio obliqua. Apparently what Menches wanted was that Dionysius should be sent at once in his place to the basilico-grammateus, but should not begin the survey until he himself arrived.

19. The repetition of the negative is awkward and probably a mistake, unless *οὐ καὶ σὺ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς—φ(υλακῆ)* is interrogative.

21. *φ(υλακῆ)*: the expansion of the abbreviation is uncertain. If *φ(υλακῆ)* is right the word is here used in an uncommon sense. *φ(υλακίδι)* is a possible alternative, though we do not elsewhere hear of *φυλακίδες* in the service of the strategē.

24. The copyist appears to have begun to write *λίαν* a second time and then erased it; but the erasure was not very thorough, the *λ* being practically untouched.

13. LETTER OF MENCHES TO PTOLEMAEUS.

27.25 verso.

30.3 × 41 cm.

B. C. 114.

A letter from Menches to Ptolemaeus, probably the strategus (note on l. 2), giving an account of some damage which had been done to a dyke near Kerkeosiris through the earth being carried away surreptitiously by certain persons for their own use, whereby the embankment was in danger of breaking. The letter is only a rough draft, as is shown by the numerous corrections and interlinear additions, some of which are very difficult to decipher owing to the extremely cursive character of the handwriting.

Immediately to the right of the letter is a list of names, followed by a column containing two short accounts. All these are written on the *verso* of a sheet of papyrus which is joined to another sheet having the *recto* side uppermost and containing a taxing-list of payments of rent in lentils by βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ headed "Ἔτους γ, παρὰ Μεγχείου κωμογρ(αμματέως) Κερκεοσί(ρεως) κατ' ἄνδρα τοῦ μεμετρημένου φακοῦ εἰς τὴν μίσ(θωσιν) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους. Παχῶν κγ, Φαῆσεις Πετοσίριος ζ'ίβ' (cf. 97. 1). The amounts range from 1½ to 11½ artabae.

On the *verso* of this taxing-list is another written in the reverse direction in a very cursive hand, probably by Menches. Of the first column only a few letters from the ends of lines remain; the second is complete and begins εἰς θε() (cf. 93. 2, note), Παχῶ(ν) θ, *Ωρος Μικίωνος (cf. 93. 48) η, Μαρήης Πετοσί(ριος) (cf. 84. 40) γ, / ια, followed by other payments of wheat and lentils on different days. The payers appear to be βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί, e. g. Φραμήνις Πετοσίριος (cf. 84. 23), and the

amounts range from $\frac{3}{4}$ of an artaba to 10 artabae. This is followed by three columns of another taxing-list, also written by Menches probably, on the *recto* of the letter to Ptolemaeus; the names have a stroke against them (cf. 93), and the strokes of the first column cross the junction of the *selides*. Apparently the papyrus originally began with the taxing-list headed *ἔτους γ*. Then the *verso* of it was used by Menches for another list, the writing beginning at the original end of the roll, and proceeding in the reverse direction to that on the *recto*. On reaching the original beginning and requiring more space, he gummed on a blank sheet, naturally using the *recto* side first; the *verso*, which precedes the *ἔτους γ* document, was subsequently utilized for the rough copy of the letter and the two small accounts.

The first column and a half of the second taxing-list on the *verso* has no heading and consists of a long list of persons who have against their names either βα, i. e. βασιλικῆς (sc. γῆς), or the symbol for 7 arourae, i. e. ἑπταρουρικῶ κλήρου, or both, and pay $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ artaba, e. g. Ὀυνῶφρις Πετειαρψενή(σιος) βα(σιλικῆς) γ' (cf. 84. 51), Πετοσίρις Ἀρκοίφιος βα(σιλικῆς) γ' (cf. 84. 19), Ὀρος Θοτορταίου (ἑπταρουρικῶ) Λ (cf. 63. 151), Ἀρσύμις Πετοσίριος (ἑπταρουρικῶ) Λ (cf. 61. (a) 74), Τεῶς μικρός Πετεχῶντος βα(σιλικῆς) Λ, Ἀρῶτης Ἀμεννέως βα(σιλικῆς) γ', (ἑπταρουρικῶ) Λ; cf. 97. introd. Towards the end of the second column is a heading κγ (i. e. the 23rd of some month) ἐν θη(σαυρώι, cf. 91. 14), followed by Ἀπολλώνιος Πτο(λεμαίου) ἐφο(δικῶ) β (cf. 63. 131), Δημήτριος Ἡρα(κλειδου) α (cf. 63. 114), Πᾶσις Σοκονόπιος (ἑπταρουρικῶ) Λ (cf. 63. 185), Ἀπύγχις Ποῶριος (ἑπταρουρικῶ) Λ (cf. 63. 170), Λύκος Ζωπυρίωνος βα(σιλικῆς) Λ (cf. 84. 105), Πετῶς Μαρρέλους βα(σιλικῆς) Λ, (ἑπταρουρικῶ) Λ, / α (cf. 84. 21). / εΛ. This is succeeded by another heading, εἰς τὸ Σουχιεῖον (cf. 88. 7, note), followed by Πετοσίρις Ὀρος (πυροῦ) γ', Πευκέστης βα(σιλικῆς) (πυροῦ) γ', and Μαρρή(ς) Καλατύτιος (ἑπταρουρικῶ) (πυροῦ) Λ, and in the third column by thirteen more payments ranging from 1 to $\frac{1}{3}$ artaba, the whole being added up at the end as / ζς' μεταθο() ζ'β'.

Μεγχῆς κα(μο)γρα(μματεὺς) Κερκ(εο)σί(ρεως) τῆς Πο(λέμωνος) με(ρίδος)
 Πτολεμαίω χα(βρειν). τῆι ις
 τοῦ Ἐπειφ τοῦ γ (ἔτους) ἐφοδεύοντός μου
 σὺν Ὀρωι κα(μάρχηι) καὶ Πατάνι καὶ
 5 ἄλλοις πρεσ(βυτέροις) τῶν γεω(ργῶν) [[τὰ ἐν]] περὶ τὴν
 κόμην χωματικὰ ἔργα .: θει. χθη() πρὸς . . . οὐ
 [[ἐν τῷ θε(μιστου) λεγο(μένω) περιχώ(ματι)]]
 καὶ γενομένων κατὰ τὸν ἐξαγωγὸν τῆν ἐπιβο(λήν)
 [[.]]
 τοῦ Σοκνεβτύνι(ος) θε[ο]ῦ μεγάλου

^{ὄντων . . .}
^{ἀνά μέσον οὐσῆς τῶν περὶ τῆ[ν] κώ(μην) [[γῆς]] πεδίων}
 περ[ι]χώ(ματος) [[έν τῶι]] εὐρομέν τινας
^{τοῦ Λέοντος τῶν ἐκ Βε(ρενικίδος) Θε(σμοφόρου) κα(τοίκων) ἰσ(πέων)}
 10 τῶν παρὰ Φιλοναύ(του) [[έκ . . . αντας]] ὑπαρχότας
^{. . . του δε . . μέρος τοῦ δεδη(λωμένου) εξαγωγῶ}
 [[έκ τ[οῦ] αὐ[τοῦ] χώματος τοῦ δεδη(λωμένου) εξαγα(γού)]]
 . . [. . τ]ῶν χα(μάτων) τοῦ [[δεδη(λωμένου)]] λεγο(μένου) Θεμίστου περιχώ-
 (ματος)
 εἶ[ς] σχοινία ὀκτώ και τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
^{κότας τοῦ}
 χοῦν ἀναβεβλη εἰς τὰ σημαινόμενου) Φιλοναύ(του)
 15 κλή(ρου) χώματα. πάραυτα δὲ συμψήσαντες
 ἀπὸ τῶν προγεγραμμένων) ἕνα
^{καμιν}
 . [. .]ε ἐπεδῶ Πολέμωνι τῶι διεξάγοντι τὰ κατ[ὰ] τῆ[ν] ἐπισ(τατελαν)
 τ[ῆς] κ[ά]μης) . . καταστῆ(σαι) ἐπὶ σὲ τοὺς δε[. .] . ανους
 [.] . ρ[.]τηκέμαι. διδ ἀναφέρω ἴν' ἐὰν φαίνη(ται)
^{πρὸ πάντων τοῦ . . . υ()}
 20 [.]τ . . [.] . [.]ηιέτι τὰ μὲν χώ(ματα) ἀσφαλισθῆ[[.]ναι
 [.] . [.] . () τ[.] .) . χώ(ματος) ἐπιβα(λ), τὸν δὲ Φιλοναύ(την) και τοὺς
 [.] τοῦ χώ(ματος) κατασταθέντας
 [τυ]χεῖν τῆ[ς] ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιπλήξεως
 τῶν τ . . [. .]ατων.

3. *os* of εφοδευοντος corr. from *ων*. 5. *των* corr. from *γε*^m. 6. *κ* of *κωμην* corr.
 9. *ευρομεν* corr. from *ευρον*. *ων* of *οντων* corr. from *ης* (?) *των* before *περι* corr. from *της*.
 11. *εξαγωγου* over the line corr. 12. *χω* of *περιχω*^m corr. from *θεσογο(πιδα)*. 13.
των corr. from *των*. *απ* corr. from *τ* . . 14. *τα* corr. 15. *πα* of *παραυτα* corr.
συμ of *συμψησαντες* corr. from *επι*.

4 Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon, to Ptolemaeus, greeting. On the 16th of Epeiph of the third year as I was inspecting, in company with Horus the komarch and Patanis and other elders of the cultivators, the embankment works near the village, when we came along the drain . . . the banking up of the surrounding dyke of the great god Soknebtunis, the lands near the village being situated between, we found that certain persons in the employ of Philonautes son of Leon, one of the catoecic cavalry-soldiers at Berenicis Thesmophori, had dug away part of the aforesaid drain, (undermining) the mounds of the surrounding dyke called that of Themistes for the length of eight schoenia, and had heaped the earth from it on to the mounds of the holding of the said Philonautes. Whereupon we immediately seized one of the above-mentioned persons and sent a message to Polemon who is performing the duties of epistates of the village, asking him to bring the offenders before you . . . I send this report therefore in order that you

may, if you please (give instructions), first of all that the mounds are made secure . . . and that Philonantes and his agents . . . may appear before you and receive the punishment which they deserve for their (offences).'

2. Πτολεμαίωι: that the strategus at this period was Ptolemaeus appears from 15. 15, dated a few days later than this papyrus. The person addressed here is obviously above the epistates, and a comparison of l. 17 with 15. 14-5 is in favour of identifying the Ptolemaeus here with the strategus. The difficulty that in l. 1 Menches puts his own name first may be explained by supposing either that the document actually sent was worded more ceremoniously, or that we have here a rather extreme example of the irregularities with regard to the opening formula which are found in other official letters of this volume; cf. 22. introd.

5. The erasure of *τά* is an error.

7. *έξαγωγόν*: cf. P. Petrie II. 4 (11), a letter from Alexander to Cleon about an *έξαγωγός* leading from two villages to a third, the immediate completion of which was necessary to prevent the land from becoming *κατάβροχος*. The distinction between an *έξαγωγός* and a *διώρυξ* has nothing to do with size, but lies in the fact that the former was intended to let the water *off*, and was therefore necessarily some distance below the ground level, while the latter was primarily intended to let water *in*, and therefore if it was banked up might be higher than the level of the surrounding ground. In the present case the bank of the *έξαγωγός* was flanked by the *περίχωμα* (cf. note on l. 9) of Themistes, and the agents of Philonantes had descended into the *έξαγωγός* and cut away earth from underneath the *περίχωμα*, thereby rendering it liable to fall, in which case the water inside the *περίχωμα* would run off into the *έξαγωγός* prematurely. The proceedings recorded in this papyrus took place on Epeiph 16, i. e. August 2, after the corn harvest (which was somewhat later in ancient times than now) was finished and when the Nile flood was at its height. In the Ptolemaic period, when water was much more plentiful in the Fayûm than at present, it is likely that portions of the district were regularly inundated in the summer instead of being irrigated by channels.

τήν έπιβολήν is perhaps governed by *πρός*, but it is difficult to see what the word following *πρός* can be. The corrections are so complicated here that it would not be surprising if the writer had lost the thread of his construction. *έπιβολή* is found in P. Petrie I. 23 in the phrase *εις έπιβολήν παλαιού χώματος*, i. e. the strengthening of an old embankment, and is there rather the process than the result of the process of banking up.

8. *Σοκρεβτήνιος*: 'Sebek lord of Tunis' was the principal deity of Tebtunis, but had no temple at Kerkeosiris, though owning land there; cf. App. i. § 2.

9. *περ[ι]χώ(ματος)*: the word is used in two senses in these papyri: (1) as here, for *χώματα* which surround an area of land as distinct from *χώματα* which run in one direction; cf. P. Par. 66, where a distinction is made between *χώματα* (ll. 50-6) and *περιχώματα* (ll. 57-65); and (2), by a natural extension, for the area of land surrounded by a *περίχωμα*, a sense frequently found in the survey lists (84 and 85) where the land is arranged according to the different *περιχώματα*, which sometimes are numbered, e. g. 84. 66, sometimes have special names like the *περίχωμα* of Themistes here (cf. 84. 140). A *περίχωμα* in the first sense is made up of several *χώματα*; hence in l. 12 we find the *χώματα* of a *περίχωμα* running parallel for some distance to the *έξαγωγός*.

ανά μέσον: it is clear from numerous instances in these papyri (cf. 84. 205, 106. 11, &c.) that *τών . . . πεδίων* is not dependent upon *ανά μέσον*, and that the meaning is that the *πεδία* were between the *περίχωμα* and something else, presumably the *έξαγωγός*.

10. Berenice *Θεσμοφόρου* was in the neighbourhood of Kerkeosiris, apparently on the west; cf. note on 17. 5.

κα(τοίκων) ἰσ(πέων): cf. App. i. § 3.

13. *σχοινία*: a schoenion was the side of an aroura and consisted of 100 *πήχεις*, of which two kinds at least were in use, measuring, according to Hultsch, *Metrologie*, pp. 356 sqq., 525 and 450 millimetres. The whole distance of the damaged part of the *περίχωμα* was therefore from 360 to 420 metres long.

15. *συμψήσαντες*: for this curious use of *συμψάω* in the sense of arresting cf. 48. 31. In LXX Jer. xxxi. 33 it means 'take away,' *συνεψήσθη χαρμωσύνη καὶ εὐφροσύνη ἐκ τῆς Μωαβεΐτιδος*; cf. Iamblichus *ap. Suidas s.v. βιαζομένους δὲ τοὺς κολυμβητὰς συμψήσας ὁ ποταμὸς ἔφερε κάτω*.

17. *Πολέμων*: probably Menches' brother; cf. 17. introd. The phrase *διεξάγοντι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστανίαν* does not imply that he was acting as deputy for the real *ἐπιστάτης*; cf. 15. 7, note.

14. LETTER OF MENCHES TO HORUS.

28.2.

30.5 x 16 cm.

B.C. 114.

A letter from Menches to Horus, who is more probably the basilicogrammateus (cf. 27. 27) than the komarch (cf. 13. 4, 48. 3), in answer to a letter from him, concerning the appearance for trial of a certain Heras accused of murder, and the seizure of Heras' property. In the present document Menches replies that he had given notice to the accused—who, it may be noted, had not been arrested in spite of the gravity of the charges against him—and supplies the information required with reference to his property.

Μεγχῆς κωμογραμματεὺς Κερκεοσίρεως
 τῆς Π(ολέμωνος) με(ρίδος) Ὁρωὶ χαίρειν. ἔγραψας ἡμῖν
 Ἑρᾶν Πετάλου τῶν ἐκ τῆς κόμης
 εὐθνομένῳ δὲ φόνῳ καὶ ἄλλαις αἰτία(ι)ς
 5 παραγγεῖλαι ἀπαντᾶν ἐν ἡμέραι(ς) τρισὶν
 πρὸς τὴν περὶ τούτων ἔσομένην διε-
 ξαγωγὴν, μέχρι δὲ τοῦ τὸ προκείμενον
 ἐπὶ τέλος ἀχθῆναι ἀναγραφάμενος
 αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα συντάξαι θεῖναι
 10 ἐν πίστει παραθεῖς τὰ τε μ[έτ]ρ[α] καὶ γει-
 τνίας καὶ ἀξίας ἀνενεγκεῖν εὐσήμως.
 τῷ οὖν σημαινομένῳ Ἑρᾶτι
 παρηγγελκότες ἐνώπι[ον] τῆ[ι] ἰδ
 τοῦ ὑποκειμένου μηνὸς ἐν Πτολεμαί-

G

- 15 [δι] Εὐεργέτιδι ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν [τ]ῶν
 [π]ροκειμένῳ διεξαγωγῆν,
 ὑπάρχειν δὲ τούτῳ 5' μέ(ρος) τοῦ ὄντος
 ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Διοσκ[ο]ρ(εί)ου
 [ο]ῦ γείτ(ονες) νό(του) καὶ λι(βός) περίστασις κώμης βορρᾶ καὶ
 20 [ἀ]πη(λιώτου) διῶρι(ξ), ἀξί(ας) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ χα(λκοῦ) (ταλάντου) α.
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) δ Φαῶφι ιδ.

3. l. Ἡράτι.

13. es of παρηγγελκοτες corr. from ι.

16. l. [π]ροκειμένων.

'Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon, to Horus, greeting. You wrote to me that I was to give notice to Heras son of Petalus, an inhabitant of the village, who is arraigned for murder and other offences to appear in three days' time for the decision to be made concerning these charges, and that until the matter was concluded I was to make a list of his property and arrange for it to be placed in bond, and was to send a report stating the measurements, adjoining areas and values of it in detail. Accordingly I gave notice in person to the said Heras on the 14th of the current month at Ptolemais Energetis that he was to appear for the decision upon the aforesaid charges, and I report that he owns the sixth part of the shrine of the Dioscuri in the village, of which the adjacent areas are on the south and west the free space round the village, on the north and east a canal, and of which the total value is one talent of copper. Good-bye. The 4th year, Phaophi 14.'

1. Menches puts his own name first though writing to an official above him in rank; cf. 22. introd.

14. Ptolemais Energetis, which was now the chief town in the Fayûm, was probably identical with Ptolemais Harbour, and situated at Illahûn by the great dyke at the entrance to the province; cf. 92. 4-7, note.

18. On the ownership exercised by private persons over temples and shrines see note on 5. 73-6 and 88. introd. It is curious that the list of *τερά* at Kerkeosiris in 88 omits this shrine of the Dioscuri.

15. TWO LETTERS OF MENCHES TO HORUS.

27-17 verso.

30.2 x 18 cm.

B.C. 114.

Rough drafts of two letters from Menches to Horus, probably the basilicogrammateus (cf. 14. introd.). The first, written on Mesore 2, describes a disturbance in the village and an attack upon the epistates by two persons, of whom one had been captured and sent to prison, the other had escaped. The second letter, which was written shortly after the first (on Mesore 3 if, as is most probable, it is referred to in 16. 4), apparently describes the complaint made by the epistates. The offenders—or rather the one who was at large—gave

more trouble, for Menches in another letter (10) calls attention to a fresh insult to the epistates.

The drafts of the letters are written upon the *verso* of the papyrus, the *recto* being blank; but probably this piece was originally part of a larger document, so that it is hardly so serious an exception to Wilcken's rule about *recto* and *verso* (*Hermes*, xxii. p. 489) as e. g. 41; cf. p. 143.

Col. i.

Ἦρωι χαίρειν. τῆι α τοῦ ὑπο-
 κειμένου μηνὸς ὥσει περὶ ὄραν
 ια [[κραυγῆς]] θορύβου γενομένου
 ἐν τῆι κώ(μη) καὶ ἡμῶν συνεκ-
 5 πηδησάντων κατέλαβον{ον}
 ὄχλον τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώ(μης) ἐπιβε-
 βοηθηκῶτων Πολέμωνι τῶι
 διεξά(γοντι) τὰ κα(τὰ) τὴν ἐπισ(τατεῖαν) τῆς κώ(μης). πυν-
 θανομέν{ομεν}ων δ' ἡμῶν
 10 ἔφησαν Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ τὸν τού-
 του υἱὸν Μάρωνα ἐπιτεθεῖσθαι τῶι
 Πολέμωνι, τὸν μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρον
 ἐξηγμένον, τοῦ δὲ Μάρωνος ἐν ἔρκτει
 γεγυότων, καὶ τοῦτον καθεσ-
 15 τάσθαι ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίων τὸν συ(γ)γενῆ) καὶ στρα(τηγὸν)
 τῆι α. καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπελά-
 βομεν διασαφῆσαι ἵ[ν' εἰ]δῆς.

ἔρω(σο). (ἔτους) γ Μεσορῆ β.

Ἄλληι.

20 Ἦρωι χαίρειν. μετὰ τὸ προσαν[ενεγκεῖν]
 [[διὰ τῆς πρὸ ταύτης]] ἐπισ(τολῆς) περὶ τῶν [κατ' Ἀπολλόδωρον
 ὡς ἦν ἐξηγμένος ἐξ [ῆ]ς ἐπεπ[οιῆκει σὺν τῶι υἱῶι
 αὐτοῦ Μάρωνι Πολέμωνι] τῶι διεξά(γοντι) τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπισ(τατεῖαν)
 ἐπιθέσεως

Col. ii.

25 τῆι οὖν β ὥσει περὶ ὄραν
 ι δ' σημαίνδμενος

32 γραψ[ι].
 [[αυτο].

G 2

ἐπιστάτης	καὶ ταῖ καλῶς
περὶ τε τῶν [.	35 ἔχειν [ὑπελάβομεν
Ἀπολλοδώρου	διασαφῆσαι
30 τῆς κά(μης) [. [
αὐτὸν [.	

13. l. ἐρκτηί. 14. γουστῶν over νομενοι, which is crossed through. 20. μετα το προσ. over τυγχάνω προσαν[ενηνοχως σοι (cf. 16. 2-3), which is enclosed in round brackets. 21. δια . . . ταυτης enclosed in round brackets. 25. ουν over the line.

1-18. 'To Horus, greeting. On the 1st of the current month at about the eleventh hour a disturbance occurred in the village, and on running out we found a crowd of the villagers who had come to the assistance of Polemon, who is performing the duties of epistates of the village. When we inquired into the matter, they informed us that Apollodorus and his son Maron had assaulted Polemon; that Apollodorus had escaped, but Maron had been put in prison; and that the latter had appeared before Ptolemaeus the king's cousin and strategus on the 1st. We thought it well to notify the matter for your information. Good-bye. The 3rd year, Mesore 2.'

2. περὶ ὄραν ια: about five o'clock in the afternoon.

7. That τῶν διεξίγοντι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστατείαν is a mere variation of ἐπιστάτης is shown by l. 26 ὁ σημαι[όμενος] ἐπιστάτης; cf. 16. 6 and 13.

28. Perhaps τῶν [κατὰ (cf. 16. 5); or else a participle such as ἐξαγη(οχότων) with ἐκ in l. 29.

16. LETTER FROM MENCHES TO HORUS.

27-16 verso.

30 x 18.3 cm.

B.C. 114.

Copy of another letter from Menches to Horus, relating further offences committed by Apollodorus (cf. 15), who had entered the house of Petesuchus son of the epistates Polemon and stolen some money. This letter was written very soon after the two documents in 15, to one of which there is apparently a reference in l. 4. At the end is the copy of a note from Horus.

The writing as in 15 is on the verso of the papyrus. On the recto is part of a taxing-list, containing one incomplete and two complete columns of a list of ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι, whose names are known from 61-8; in col. iii is / να ἀν(ὰ) ∟ (ἀρτάβαι) κε∟, 'total 51 persons at $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba each, making $25\frac{1}{2}$ artabae.' The payments perhaps refer to the γεωμετρία, which was a fixed charge of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba; cf. 93 and note on 5. 59.

Μεγχιῆς κα(μο)γρα(αμματεὺς) Κερκεοσίβρεως) Ὀρωί
χαίρειν. {τυγχαιρειν} τυγχάνωι

προσανενηνοχώ(ς) σοι δι' ἐτέρας
 ἐπιστολῆς) τῆι γ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου μηνῶς
 5 περὶ τῶν κατὰ Πολέμονα τῶν
 διεξάγοντα) τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστατείαν
 αὐτῆς), ὡς ἦν ὑβρισμένος οὐ μετρίως
 ὑπὸ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ (τοῦ) τούτου υἱοῦ.
 οἱ σημαίν(όμεν)οι οὐ λήγοντες τῆι [εἰς
 10 αὐτοὺς ἀθάδια χρώμενοι τῆι [. .
 {αυ}τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς Μεσορῆ ἐπὶ
 τὴν Περ[ε]σοῦχου υἱοῦ [τ]οῦ
 Πολέμονος τοῦ ἐπιστάτου οἰκίαν
 ἐν μαχαίρη καὶ [12 letters
 15 μετὰ σκυλμοῦ κ["]
 μέσην τὴν π . ["]
 αὐτ[ο]ῦ ποιησα["]
 ου προ[.]. τῆσαι εἰ["]
 αὐτοῦ ἀργυρίου) (δραχμὰς) η, [περὶ ὧν ἐπέδωκεν
 20 ὁ Πετεςούχος τῆ]ν ὑποκειμένην
 προσαγγελλ(αν). καλῶς ἔ[χειν ὑπελάβομεν
 προσανεγκαι ἔν] [εἰδήσις.
 οἷς καθήκει). προνοήσατε) ὡς αὐτοὶ κατασ[ταθέντες τύχωσι
 τῆς ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιπ[λήξεως].

3. First ε of *eteras* corr. 8. και τουτου υιου over του ανδρος in an erasure. 11. αυ
 of second αυτου corr. from μη. 14. First ε of μαχαρηι corr. from ρ. 15. μετα
 σκυλμου over μεθ υβρεως in an erasure. 17. αυτου corr. from τουτ[ο]υ.

'Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, to Horus, greeting. I reported to you in another letter on the 3rd of the current month the case of Polemon who is performing the duties of epistates of the village, how he was grossly insulted by Apollodorus and his son. These persons persisting in their violent behaviour on the . . of the same month Mesore broke into the house of Petesuchus the son of Polemon the epistates armed with a sword and . . . (carried off) eight drachmae of silver; regarding which Petesuchus has handed in the following statement. Therefore I thought it well to report the matter for your information.'

'To whom it concerns. See that they are made to appear and receive suitable punishment.'

9. οἱ σημαίν(όμεν)οι: the plural is not strictly accurate, for the son was captured

on the previous occasion (15. 13) and sent to prison, and it is not likely that he had been let free so soon. This copy is very carelessly written throughout.

11. ἐπί: a participle such as ἐλθόντες is required for the construction, but there is no room for it here.

14. With ἐν χαίρει compare 1 Cor. iv. 21 ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς. This construction has generally been regarded as 'an after effect of the Hebrew א.' Even Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. Ed. p. 120, while protesting against this theory, considers that with Paul it is a loose construction of the moment conformed to the following locative ἐν ἀγάπῃ πνεύματι τε πραύτητος, but facilitated by his knowledge of the Greek Bible; and that in all the passages of the LXX in which the construction occurs the ἐν is a mechanical imitation of the Hebrew participle. Here, however, we have an instance of its use in an original Greek document, free from all suspicion of Semitic influence. Cf. 41. 5, 45. 17, 46. 15, and P. Par. 11. recto 4, where ἐν χαίραις is no doubt to be restored.

20. τῆν ὑποκειμένην: cf. 38. 9. In that document the προσαγγελία actually follows. The omission of it here is due to the letter being only a copy.

23-4. These two lines are a copy of a note appended to the letter of Menches by Horus in forwarding it to the proper quarter; cf. 40. 23-6, 43. 44-5, and P. Par. 36. 23. By οἱ καθήκει the chrematistae are probably meant; cf. 44. 23-5.

17. LETTER FROM POLEMON TO MENCHES.

27·8.

14·5 X 11·3 cm.

B.C. 114.

A letter from Polemon to Menches announcing an approaching visit of the epimeletes and warning Menches to get his accounts into good order. Cf. 18, which was written on a similar occasion and is couched in almost identical phraseology.

Two other letters (19 and 20) written by a Polemon to Menches are preserved, and probably the writer of all four was the same person and is to be identified as the brother of Menches and epistates of Kerkeosiris. There can be no doubt that the Polemon in 19, who addresses Menches as 'brother,' and in 20, which concludes with the same familiar formula, was the Polemon brother of Menches referred to in 43. 4. Since this Polemon occupied some official position, he may well be identical with the writer of 17 and 18, which are clearly by the same person, his office being that of epistates, which is shown by 15 and 16 to have been held by a Polemon in the 3rd year. A complication, however, arises in 21, where two persons named Polemon appear; and there is a possibility that one of them is the Polemon of 17 and 18, and the other the Polemon of 19 and 20. But though the handwriting of these four letters varies considerably there is a sufficient general resemblance to assist the theory of identity in the writers. There is also a marked similarity in the hands of 20 and 21;

and we therefore prefer to suppose that the whole series was written by a single person. Who the second Polemon in 21 was there is nothing to show; it is of course possible that he and not the brother of Menches was the epistates mentioned in 15 and 16. There was a toparch also called Polemon at this time (48. 6).

Πολέμων. Μεγχεί χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ
 διέγνωσται τὸν ἐπιμελητὴν
 παραγίνεσθαι ἀμ' ἡμέραι τῆι ιε εἰς
 Βερενικίδα τῆι δὲ ις παράγειν
 5 τὴν κώμην εἰς Θεογο{γο}νίδα, στόχασαι
 ὡς πάντα τὰ ἐνοφειλόμενα περὶ τὴν
 κώμην ἐν μέτρῳ ἔσται ὄπως
 μὴ ἐπικατασχῶν αὐτὸν εἰς δα-
 πάνας ἐμπέσης οὐκ ὀλίγας.
 10 ἔρω(σο). (ἔτους) γ Παύ(νι) ια.

On the verso

κα(μο)γρ(αμματεῖ) Μεγχεί.

'Polemon to Menches, greeting. As it is decided that the epimeletes should proceed at daybreak on the 15th to Berenicis and on the 16th pass by the village on the way to Thegonis, endeavour to have all arrears owing from the neighbourhood in order, so that you may not detain him and thus incur no little expense. Good-bye. The 3rd year, Pauni 11. (Addressed) To Menches, komogrammateus.'

5. τὴν κώμην: sc. Kerkeosiris, which was therefore situated between Berenicis and Thegonis. Cf. 84. 7, 151 and 222, whence it appears that Thegonis was situated to the south-east of Kerkeosiris; Berenicis (= Berenicis Θεομοφόρου, 13. 10, &c.) should therefore be on the west, and this is the direction indicated by 84. 189 and 152. Of other villages in the immediate vicinity Ibion Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων was to the north-west of Kerkeosiris (84. 193, 151 and 173), Tali apparently to the east (151); the geographical relation of Tebtunis is not stated. 92 seems to show that the site of Kerkeosiris was in the Gharak basin (cf. note on ll. 4-7 *ad loc.*), and we are inclined notwithstanding the distance from Tebtunis to identify Kerkeosiris with the modern Gharak. In that case it was quite close to Magdola, now known to be Medinet Nehâs (cf. 80. introd.), and the presence among the crocodile-papyri of Kerkeosiris of papers relating to Magdola thus finds a natural explanation. Tali may then have been at Taltt (cf. *Fayûm Towns*, p. 14), and Ibion is perhaps to be placed at Medinet Mâdi; though the fact that in the Roman period Tali and Ibion had a single komogrammateus (B. G. U. 91. 3-4) would suggest that they were closer together than this.

18. LETTER FROM POLEMON TO MENCHES.

8-1.

21.5 x 11 cm.

B.C. 114.

This letter from Polemon to Menches is very similar in form and substance to 17. The date is not preserved, but is almost certainly the 3rd year; for in the 4th year Apollonius was epistates (38. 6), while in the 53rd year of Euergetes II the office was held by Demetrius (43. 9); moreover the *προσάγγελμα* mentioned in l. 12 is perhaps the same as that referred to in 19. 11, written in the 3rd year.

Πολέμων Μεγχεί χαίρειν.
 ἐπεὶ παραγεινόμεθα
 ἀμ' ἡμέραι τῆι κθ
 φρόντισον ὡς πάντα [τ]ὰ
 5 ἐνοφειλόμενα ἐαυτῶι
 καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς
 ἐμ μέτρῳ ἔσται τῆι
 αὐτῆι. σὺ [δὲ] συν-
 εφορμήσεις εἰς Βερενικί[δα]
 10 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγεγρα[φ]αίς κα[ὶ]
 ὡς οὐκ ἐκπ[η]σαι [τ]ὸ
 προσάγγελμα [
 ἔ]ρρωσο. (ἔτους) γ

2. παραγεινομεθα corr. from παραγεινομεθα.

11. *es* is written through a paragraphus.

'Polemon to Menches, greeting. Since we are coming at dawn on the 29th, see that all the debts due to you and to the cultivators are in order on that day. You will set out for Berenice with me with regard to the matter about which you wrote to me and in order that the report may not . . .'

12. *προσάγγελμα*: cf. 19. 11. It may have been similar to the *προσάγγελμα τῆς βιβρυγμένης* (sc. γῆς) in 71; cf. 24. 31.

19. LETTER FROM POLEMON TO MENCHES.

27.7.

24 x 13.5 cm.

B.C. 114.

A letter from Polemon to Menches, who is here called his 'brother' (cf. 43. 4 and introd. to 17), asking him to hasten the collection of the taxes. At the top is a docket in a different hand, consisting of ε^λ followed by a date, such as is frequently found on official correspondence in this volume, e. g. 27. 1, 84, 30. 1. The dates in the dockets being often a day or two later than those of the letters, it is probable that ε^λ means *ἐλαβον* or *ἐλάβομεν*, the first person referring to the recipient of the letter; cf. the docket on the *verso* of P. Petrie II. 12 (1), (*ἔτους*) 5 Χοίαχ θ ἐκομίσαμεν.

ἐλ(άβομεν) (ἔτους) γ Παχ(ὸν) [. .].

2nd hand Πολέμων Μεγχεί τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. ἐκομισά-
μεθα τὰ παρὰ σοῦ ἡμῖν γραφέντα καὶ
ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐσήμαινες πέμψαι γεωργῶν
5 ἀπροσδέητοί ἐσμεν. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδου
ἐπιτετακτός τὰ πράγματα καὶ προσαγειοχότος
ἐκτός τῶν ὑποκε[ιμ]ένων ἄλλας (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) Ἄ
χωρὶς ἀργυρίου βεβουλήμεθα σπεύσαι.
ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν σημαίνεις κομογραμματέων
10 μόλις ἕως τῆς κε χωρισθήσονται. σὺ δὲ
ὀρθῶς ποιήσεις τὸ προσάγγελμα μὴ ἐλατ-
τώσας παρὰ τὸ πρῶτον ὅπως εὐπροσω-
πῶμεν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις χαριῆι κατατα-
χῆσας τὰ τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς. ἐπιμελόμενος δὲ
15 καὶ σαυτοῦ [ἴν' ὑ]γιαίνης,
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) γ Παχὸν ιθ.

On the *verso*

Μεγχεί.

'Received in the 3rd year, Pachon . .

Polemon to Menches his brother, greeting. I received what you wrote to me, and as for the cultivators whom you said you were sending, I do not require them. Asclepiades has pressed on matters and has imposed in addition to the proper amount 1000 artabae of wheat more, besides money, so I am anxious to make haste. Regarding the komogrammateis whom you mention, they will hardly depart until the 25th. You will be right in not diminishing the report compared with the first one,

in order that we may make a good show, and for the rest please hurry on the collection of taxes. Take care of yourself so as to remain in good health. Good-bye. The 3rd year, Pachon 19. (Addressed) To Menches.'

5. Ἀσκληπιάδου: probably *δ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων*; cf. 27. 98.

7. ὑποκε[μ]ένων: the amount prescribed, as contrasted with the extra sums; cf. 5. 53, note.

9. Departures of the komogrammateis for Alexandria are frequently mentioned in this volume; cf. 26. 4, 28. 7, 58. 44.

20. LETTER FROM POLEMON TO MENCHES.

12-1.

28.7 x 15.5 cm.

B.C. 113.

A letter from Polemon (cf. 17. introd.) to Menches, informing him that he had sent a certain Arachthes to act as his substitute until he could come himself, and asking Menches to pay Arachthes every attention.

Πολέμων Μενχεῖ χαιρεῖ[ν] καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι.
 πεπόμεφ(α)με[ν] Ἀράχθην σὺν τοῖς
 κωμογραμματεῖσι ἐσόμενον
 μέχρι τοῦ με παραγενέσθαι. χαιρεῖ
 5 σὺν σοὶ αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγὼν καὶ προ-
 στατῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσαγωγῶν
 μηθὲν ἀνευ σοῦ ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐὰν
 λογάρια ἀπαιτῶνται ἰκανωθῆ-
 ναὶ σε μέχρι τοῦ με παρα-
 10 γενέσθαι]. καὶ σαντοῦ δ' ἐπ(ιμελόμενος) ἴν' ὑ(γιαίνης),
 ἔρρα(σο). (ἔτους) δ' Φαμε(νὸθ) ιβ.

On the verso

Μενχεῖ.

6. 1. αὐτοῦ? 8. First *a* of ἀπαιτῶνται corr. from *ε*. *ικ* of ἰκανωθῆναι corr. from *κε*.

'Polemon to Menches, greeting and good health. I have sent Arachthes to be with the komogrammateis until I come. You will do me a favour by personally introducing him and looking after them (him?), and in regard to the additions to the revenue letting him do nothing without your assistance, and if accounts are demanded consider that you have full powers until my arrival. Take care of yourself so as to remain in good health. Good-bye. The 4th year, Phamenoth 12. (Addressed) To Menches.'

21. LETTER FROM POLEMON TO POLEMON.

12-2.

22 x 10 cm.

B.C. 115.

A letter from Polemon, probably the epistates of Kerkeosiris (cf. 17. introd.), to another official of the same name, informing the latter that a collector had been instructed to suspend operations at Kerkeosiris for the present. How this fact exactly affected the person addressed is somewhat obscure; cf. note on l. 7. The identity of this second Polemon is uncertain; the fact that he was concerned with *γενήματα* is not of much assistance, as this was a function common to many official positions. It is possible that he was the Πολέμων ὁ καὶ Περεισοῦχος who succeeded Menches as komogrammateus (29. 2), and who is addressed by the second name only in 53, or he may have been the toparch who occurs in 48. 6.

Πολέμων Πολέμωνι χαίρειν.
 γέγραφα Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ τῷ
 πράκτορι ἐπισχεῖν τὰ περὶ
 Κερκεοσίριν ἕως ἂν παρα-
 5 γένηται εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ
 Ἀριστιππον αὐτῷ ἀνθομολο-
 γήσεσθαι. σὺ οὖν μὴ δῶς
 νῶτον μηδενί, οὐδὲ γὰρ
 ἔχεις σήμερον γένημα.
 10 ἔὰν δέ σοι κόπους παρέχη
 συνανάβαινε αὐτῷ.
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) γ Χοῖ(ακ) δ.

On the verso

Πολέμωνι.

'Polemon to Polemon, greeting. I have written to Artemidorus the collector to stop work at Kerkeosiris until he proceeds to the city, and that Aristippus will come to an understanding with him. Do not therefore run away from anybody, for at present you have no produce. If he gives you trouble go up with him. Good-bye. The 3rd year, Choiak 4. (Addressed) To Polemon.'

6. Ἀριστιππον: an Aristippus was πρὸς τῇ συντάξει τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων in the 5th year (31. 6), and may have been identical with the Aristippus here, who seems to have resided at the metropolis. But this is quite conjectural.

7-9. The meaning of this sentence is not clear. *δοῦναι νότον* is ordinarily equivalent to *terga dare*, 'to flee from'; and this sense would be quite in place here if the writer could be supposed to mean that as the *πράκτωρ* had stopped work the absence of *γενήματα* need cause the addressee, who had to make some payment, no immediate alarm. But then *ὅτι οὐκ* would be expected instead of *οὐδέ γάρ*. *οὐδέ γάρ* would be intelligible if *δῆς νότον* had here the sense of 'turning one's back upon' in English; i. e. Polemon was to avoid giving offence since he had no *γενήματα* himself, and the *πράκτωρ* who would supply the deficiency was inactive.

22. LETTER FROM TAOS TO MENCHES.

14.8.

25 X 12.5 cm.

B.C. 112.

The Greek in which Taos the komarch and the elders address Menches is so corrupt and ungrammatical that it is very difficult to ascertain the meaning of their letter. The substance seems to be as follows:—Apunchis had an interview with Menches, in consequence of which Taos came to an agreement with the komogrammateus on some questions connected with the land, on which they had differed in opinion. Taos and the elders accordingly applied to Kotys for seed; he, however, refused to supply the seed, and referred them to the *φυλακίτης*. They then sent Apunchis a second time, and requested Menches to write to them and to send the *φυλακίτης* to them under arrest if he continued to oppose the distribution of the seed.

The form of the address and salutation here indicates that the position of komarch was superior to that of komogrammateus; so also in P. Petrie II. 42 the komarchs take precedence of the komogrammateus:—*Κλέανδρος οἰκονόμοις, νομάρχαις, βασιλικοῖς γραμματεῦσι, φυλακίταις, μυριαρούροις, κωμάρχαις, κωμογραμματεῦσι χαίρειν*. But in 48 the komarch Horus and the *πρεσβύτεροι* address Menches, as if he were a superior, and in his letters to officials, whether drafts or not, Menches habitually puts his own name first even where they were much superior to him in rank; cf. 13. 2, 14. 1, 142. The order of the names in the salutation is therefore not always a sure guide for determining rank, since it is complicated by the degree of familiarity between the correspondents. The most formal kind of address in the Ptolemaic period, employed for instance in petitions to the king such as 43, takes the shape '*Πτολεμαίῳ Σαραπίων*,' omitting *χαίρειν*; this corresponds to 'Sir.' Less formal is *Πτολεμαίῳ παρὰ Σαραπίωνος χαίρειν*, i. e. 'Dear Sir.' Where the two persons are on familiar terms, or as a rule where the writer is of superior rank, the formula is *Σαραπίων Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν*. As Mahaffy has well pointed out (*Athenæum*, Aug. 1895),

εὐτύχει is normally employed when the dative comes first and the writer is inferior in dignity, *ἔρρωσο* when the nominative precedes. There are a few apparent exceptions, e. g. P. Grenf. I. 11. ii. 5, where *ἔρρωσο* is found at the end of a petition to some official; but, with the proviso mentioned above that the fact of the nominative coming first is compatible with superiority of rank resting with the person in the dative, the canon holds good of the papyri in the present volume. Early in the second century A.D. *ἔρρωσθαι εὐχομαι* and *ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι* make their appearance, at first as variants for *ἔρρωσο*; but *ἔρρωσθαι σε εὐχομαι* tends to supersede the other formulae, and in the fourth century often takes the place of *εὐτύχει*.

The papyrus is broken across the middle of l. 12, and the position of the fragments of this line, except of the first word, is uncertain. The writing is an irregular and clumsy cursive, but the pauses in the sense are indicated by blank spaces, marked by full stops in the following copy.

Ταῶς κωμάρχης καὶ οἱ πρεσβ[ύ]τεροι
 Μεγχεί χαίρειν. τῆι κ τοῦ Φαῶφι
 συντετευχότος σοι Ἀπύ(γ)χι(ο)ς περὶ ὧν
 σοι διεστάμην περὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ[.]ς
 5 καὶ διὰ σέ τὰ πλείστα συνκátαινος
 ἐγενόμην. πεπομφότες τῆι κα
 ἐπὶ τὰ σπέρματα τοῦ δὲ Κότυος
 μὴ βεβουλημένον ἀποδοῦναι τὰ σπέρμα-
 τα ἀναβαλλόμενος εἰς τὸν φυλακίτην
 10 ἔτι καὶ νῦν πεπόμφαμεν πάλιν τὸν
 [Ἀπύγχι]ν. γράψον ἡμῖν {ἡμῖν}
 τίς ἀδικεῖ. εἰ δὲ [.]ε
 δμν[ύ]ομεν τοὺς θεοὺς εἴ μὴν μετρήσ[αι
 Κό[τ]υος τὰ ἐκφόριά σου ἀπολέγον-
 15 τοῖς αὐτόν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ φυλ(α)κίτου
 ἐάν τε διάξῃ{σθε} [[περὶ τοιοῦ]]
 ἀντ[ί]ποιούμενος περὶ τῶν σπερμάτων
 δέσμ[ιο]ν αὐτὸν ἐξαπόστειλον
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
 20 ——— ἔρρωσ(ο). (ἔτους) 5 Φαῶ(φι) κα.
 προσταυως

On the *verso*

[[ἐπὶ τῶν]]

ἐπὶ τῶν γεωργῶν τα . [. .] .

and at right angles

Μεγχεί.

9. 1. ἀναβαλλομένου.

'Taos, komarch, and the elders of the cultivators to Menches, greeting. On the 20th of Phaophi Apunchis met you about the matters on which we had a dispute concerning the land, and for your sake I came to an agreement on most points. Accordingly we sent on the 21st for the seed, but Kotys refused to pay it, referring the matter to the inspector, whereupon we have now sent Apunchis again. Tell us who is at fault. . . . As for the inspector, if he still continues to oppose the payment of the seed, send him to us under arrest. Good-bye. The 6th year, Phaophi 21.'

9. On the functions of the φυλακίτης in connexion with the crops cf. 27 and note on 5. 159.

23. LETTER FROM MARRES TO MENCHES.

14.3.

17 × 15.7 cm.

About B.C. 119 or 114.

This letter is a complaint from Marres, the topogrammateus (cf. 41. introd.), to Menches, regarding the latter's conduct towards Melas, a relative of the writer or under his protection (cf. 40. 11). Melas had in consequence of the supposed injustice been obliged to appeal to Demetrius son of Niboítas (a βασιλικὸς γεωργός, cf. 85. 96); and Marres regarded this as a slight to himself. He therefore requested Menches to alter his attitude, which he assumes to be the result of ignorance.

Μαρρῆς Μεγχεί χαίρειν. Μέλανος τοῦ
οἰκείου ἡμῶν μεταδεδοκός ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν
ἀπέφαινεν ἡδίκησθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ Δημητρίου
τῶι τοῦ Νιβοίτου ἠναγκάσθαι διαβαλεῖν, καθ' ἣ-
5 περβολὴν βεβαρυνμένοι ἐπὶ τῷ {σε} μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς
ἐπισημασίας αὐτὸν τετευχέναι προσδε-
ῆσθαι δὲ καὶ Δημητρίου οὐκ ὀρθῶς κρίνομεν
πέπρακταί σοι μὴ ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν προεδρίας
πεφροντικέναι ἀπροσδέητον ἐτέρων γενέσθαι.

10 διδὸ καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλῶς ποιήσεις φιλοτιμώ-
 τερον προθυμηθεὶς ἵνα τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν [. . . .]
 διορθώσῃ μετακαλέσας ἐκ τῶν προηγηθέντων.
 εἰ δέ τινα ἔξει[s] πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγον σὺν αὐτῷ
 σύντυχῃ ἡμῖν.

15 ἔρρωσο.

On the *verso*

κω(μο)γγραμματεῖ) Μεγχιῆι.

1. η of μεγχιη corr. from α. 7. δε corr.

'Marres to Menches, greeting. My kinsman Melas has appealed to me concerning an alleged injury from you obliging him to complain to Demetrius son of Niboitas. I am excessively vexed that he should have gained no special consideration from you on my account and should therefore have asked assistance from Demetrius; and I consider that you have acted badly in not having been careful that he should be independent of others owing to my superior rank. I shall therefore be glad if you will even now endeavour more earnestly to correct your behaviour towards him, abandoning your previous state of ignorance. If you have any grievance against him apply together with him to me. Good-bye. (Addressed) To Menches, komogrammateus.'

5. The superfluous *σε* is due to the writer having altered the construction as he proceeded. He at first intended to say 'because you did not give him any consideration,' and then changed his mind and made Melas the subject of the sentence.

24. REPORT CONCERNING PECULATIONS OF OFFICIALS.

17.3 *verso*.

31 x 88.5 cm.

B.C. 117.

The following document is written upon the *verso* of a comprehensive survey of land at Kerkeosiris (80). It is a copy, in Menches' handwriting, of an indictment of certain officials from various villages of the three *μερίδες* of the nome by an unnamed person; but owing to mutilation and the extreme badness of the Greek it is very difficult to follow. The complaint is addressed to some superior in the financial department, perhaps the epimeletes or *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων* or some official in the office of the dioecetes; l. 11 shows that he was not the strategus. The status of the persons accused is also obscure. They were primarily concerned in some way with the crops; but this function could be combined with the tenure of other posts such as those of *oconomus*, *sitologus*,

komarch and toparch (ll. 60 sqq.). Lines 67-8 rather suggest that they were *ἐπιστάται*. The *ἐπιστάται* of villages however do not seem to have had any particular connexion with cultivation (though cf. 21. introd.), and the *ἐπιστάτης φυλακιδῶν* was, so far as known, an official of the nome (cf. 43. 5-6); moreover the passage in question in its present condition is too obscure to afford a sound basis for a conclusion. From l. 72, again, it might be argued that the persons concerned were komogrammateis, a hypothesis which would accord very well with the actions attributed both to them and their accuser. But the combination of the office of komogrammateus with those e.g. of toparch or topogrammateus does not seem likely; and l. 72 may very well refer to ll. 66-7 (cf. also note on that passage). More probably the delinquents were *ἀρχιφυλακῖται* or *φυλακῖται*, for the main point of the charge here brought against them is that they had made false returns and been guilty of peculation with regard to the *σπόρος*, and it is in just such a connexion that the *φυλακῖται* appear in one of the edicts of Euergetes II (5. 188 sqq.). The corruption and incompetence of these particular officials is further exemplified in 27. The present volume supplies instances of the *ἀρχιφυλακιτεία* being held in conjunction with other posts; cf. 27. 29, 43. 9-10.

Four columns of the document are preserved, but of the first of these the latter halves of the lines are lost, and no connected sense is obtainable. This was preceded by at least one column, possibly several. In Column ii the officials in question are described as having disobeyed an order to attend at an inspection of some land, and as subsequently having withdrawn to the Heracleopolite nome in order to embarrass the writer and prevent his interference with their plans. After a short interval they were induced to return; and finding that they would probably be convicted of fraud they tried to suppress the false returns which they had previously made and to substitute correct totals, but without giving details, thereby causing fresh delay and injury to the revenue. The last column contains a list of the delinquents, who were twelve in number, four from each of the three divisions of the nome. Two are described as priests, and they all came from different villages. Appended to this is a short note containing the decision of the superior official upon the case. It is too much mutilated for complete comprehension, but the conjunction of the significant words *ὑπάρχοντα* and *εἰσπράσσειν* in l. 97 indicates that the complainant was considered to have proved his case, and that the culprits' peculations were made good by the confiscation of their property. The direction that returns of their possessions were to be sent in (*ἀναγραφῆσθαι* . . . l. 97) sufficiently accounts for Menches' concern in the case (cf. 14. 8, and 78), without supposing him to have been the actual author of the accusation.



Col. i.

ἐλα[σ]σόνων ἐκφορίων ἀπὸ τῆς ενα[
 τοῦ νομοῦ ἐφ' ἧς καὶ ἱκανὰ κεφάλαια [
 ἀμπέλου τῆς ἐν σιτικῇ μισθώσει α[
 ωσθαι τοῦ τοιοῦτου μὴ ὄντος μέχρι γ[
 5 κα[λ] μῆδαμῶς ὀπτανομένων υπ[
 [το]ῦ Ἀφροδιτοπολίτου ἀποχωρησαν[τ
 κα[λ] τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιβαλλόντων [
 διεπέμπομεθα μεταγαγόμενοι καὶ τ[
 . . . μῆδὲ . . .] ἀπλῶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβ[αλ
 10 συ[ντε]τριφέναι εἰς ὕστερον ὅποτε δ[
 στρα[τη]γοῦ κατήλθον συστάντες [
 καὶ εἰς τὸ λογιστήριον παραγενομέ[νων
 γράμματα συνταξαμένων δὲ κα[
 ὑπερτιθεμένου τοῦ χρόνου συνθ[
 15 τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιβαλλούσης το[τ]
 ἐπιβολῆς ἐκπληρώσαντες διξ[
 [. . .] . . . αἰ. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτ[ει
 [πί]πτοντος περὶ τὸν Χοίαχ μῆνα [
 [. . .] . . . τ[ε] ἰκ[α] . . .] ἰτον πράγματος λογοῦ[
 20 [.] . . . [. . .] . . . s ἐν τῷ νομῷ . . . [
 [.] . . .]ανοι τοῦ ἔργου α[
 [. . .] . . . ἐτοῖμοι μηδεμιᾶς ἀναβολῆς
 [. . .] . . . εἰς ἑτέρας ἐπιγνώσεως καὶ τοῦ [
 [. . .] τοῦ Χοίαχ εἰς τινὰ κώ[μη]ν [
 ἀπέχουσαν ἀπὸ

8. Second a of μεταγαγοντες COGT.

Col. ii.

25 [τ]ῆς μητροπόλεως στάδια δύο ὅπως ἐπισκέψῃται ταύτην, οὐδ' οὕτως
 ὑπήκουσαν οἰόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἐν τῇ Κροκοδίλων πῶλει ἱερῶι γράψειν ἀνευ
 ἐπισκέψεως. πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἐν τοῦτοις ἀπροφασίστους αὐτοὺς καταστήσαι
 ὑπηκούσαμεν καὶ πρόγραμμα ἐξεθήκαμεν παραγείνεσθαι εἰς τὸ λογιστήριον)
 τῇ α τοῦ Τύβι ὅπως καταταχθῇ τὰ τῆς πραγματείας ἐν τ[ῶ]ι [δ]έοντι
 30 καιρῶι. οἱ δὲ συννοήσαντες [[ε]] τὸν ἐγβησόμενον κίνδυνον ἐκ [τ]οῦ προσ-

H

[ε]βρευκέναι ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς [[εν]] κατὰ τὰ προσαγγέλματα τῆς²⁶ βεβρεγμένης
 [κα]ῖ [ν]ομίζειν ἀνα(φ)θείρεσθαι τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν διεσκευασμένων} α, οὗτος
 λήγοντες τῆς ἀγνοίας, διαλαμβάνοντες εἰς ἀπραξίαν ἡμᾶς περιστήσειν
 ὅποτε δὴ ἐνάρξασθαι, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὸν Ἡρακλε[[ι]]σοπολίτην· καὶ διότι
 35 δι' ἄλλων προσανεηνόχαμεν μάλισ διὰ τε τοῦ στρατηγ[ο]ῦ καὶ χρη-
 ματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐναρχομένου τ[οῦ Με]χεῖρ α. [. . .]λύθησαν
 ἐλε(γ)χθέντες ἐν τ[. . .]β[. . .]ρ[. . .]διν[. . .] α τῆ[s] ἀφόρου
 πεπ[. . .]

τυγχάνουσι. καὶ περὶ τὴν ια τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς εἰς τὸ λογιστήριον
 παραβεβλήκησαν ἔκ τε τῆς πλείστης προεδρείας ἤδη πρὸς τῷ συ[. . .]
 40 κλειεσφι ταύτης οὔσης ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐπεσκέμμεθα κωμῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων
 ἐν προσδοκίαι ὄντων περιέσεσθαι παρὰ τὸν ἐπίδεδομένον ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 σπόρον, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Θέωνος τοῦ] προκεχειρισμένου ἐπὶ τὴν γεωμετρίαν
 τῶν ἀμπελῶνων καὶ παραδείσων ἀποδόντος ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπεσταλμῆνου
 περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν π[ρονο]σούμενοι ἀκολουθῶσ ταις δεδομέναι[s] δι' α[ύ-
 45 τῶν διαστολα(ῖ)ς ἐκτ[. . .]αι προσκαλέσμενοι [. . .]
 καὶ περ[ῖ] ἐκάσ[του] ὄσα] ἤρμοζεν ὑποδείξαντες παρακαλέσαμεν ἐα[ι]τούς
 [κ]ατ' αὐτ[ῶν]] ἐπιδοῦναι ἀνελύσαμεν ὡς ἐξορμήσου[ν]τες
 [. . .] τῷ Θ[έωνι] 15 letters]του κατ' [αὐτ]ῶν καταρτίσομεθα
 αὐ[τῶν] καὶ [19 ,,] οὐτη[. . .] τῶν δὲ σταλέν[των]

26. η of τη COG. ε of πολεῖ COG. from ι.

27. υ of ἀπροφασιστους COG. from ε.

32. ι. [ν]ομίζοντες.

33. γ of ἀγνοίας added above the line.

36. ι. -εληλύθησαν?

40. θ of ἐπεσκέμμεθα COG. from ν. ι. ἐν ἐπεσκέμμεθα οἱ τῶν ἐπεσκέμμένων.

41. Second

ι of προσδοκίαι and ο of ὄντων COG. from ν.

46. ι. παρακαλέσαμεν.

49. The letter

before οὐτη[COG.

Col. iii.

50 διαφόρων εἰσαγωγῆ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὅπου εἰκόσ ἐστὶν διαλάμβανον ἑαυτοῖ[s]
 συνιστοροῦντες τὰ πλήθη τῶν ὑποστελλομένων καθότι προσπ[έ]πτα[κ]ε[ν]
 ἀπο(κε)χωρηκέναι τῆι ιβ αὐτὸν τὸν ἐπικεφαλαίου σπόρον ἐπιδόντες, τὰς δὲ
 κατ' ἄνδρα γραφὰς οὐδαμῶς προέμενοι ἵνα καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τοῦ συμφέροντος διαπρασσομένους ἐμποδοστα-
 55 τήσαντες ὑπὸ διασκορπισμῶν τὰ τῆς φορολογίας ἀγάγωσιν, τοῦ
 ἀκμαιοτάτου καιροῦ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τῶν γεννημάτων ἐνεστηκότος.
 ἔξεστι δὲ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦς ἔτι πρότερον μ[ο]χθηρὰν ἀγωγὴν συν-[[. . .]]
 ιδεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὑποδικνυμένων καὶ ὡς ἀλλοῖον τὸ κατ' αὐτοῦς ἐστὶν



τῆς διὰ τῶν νυνὶ παρὰ σοῦ γεγραμμένω[ν περὶ] τοῦ εἵδους γεινομένης
 60 φροντίδα ἵνα ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἐπίμονοι ὑπ[άρχω]σιν. τῶν γὰρ πλεί(σ)των
 αὐτῶν ἄνευ διοικητικῶν χρημα[τισμῶν κα]θ'εσταμένων
 καὶ ἐνίων μὲν αὐτοῦς ἐνειληκτότων οἰκονομ[ίαις] καὶ τοπαρχίαις
 καὶ σιτολογίαις καὶ κομμαρχίαις καὶ ἑτέραις χρεῖαις ἀντιθέταις τῆς
 καθ' ἑαυτοῦς ἀσχολία(ς), ἑτέρων δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦς [υἱο]υς β(ν)τες παντελῶς
 65 νεωτέρους ὅτε δὲ καὶ τύχοι καὶ εἰς ἄλλον ὀνόμ[α]τα τὰς χρεῖας μετερασ[
 κτότων, ἄλλων δὲ πρὸς τοπογραμματοεῖαις ὄντ[ων] καὶ ἐπικρατούν-
 των κομογραμματοεῖαις) ἐπὶ τὸ ἐλάχιστον δύο ἐν ἐκάσῃ μερίδι] τὰς
 ὑποδε-

δραμημέ[να]ι[ς] ἐπι[σ]τατεῖαις κατακεχωρηκτότων]οις
 [κα]ὶ ἐγίοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν παρὰ τὰ περὶ τῶν . [. . . . προστετα]γμένα
 70 [. . .] κλήροις ἐχόντων . [. . .] χάριν καὶ καταπε[ρ]] εἰς
 [τ]ῆν ἐμφάνειαν ἐρχομένων διὰ τὸ περιτ[τ] . πα[ρ]] τὸ λυσιτελές
 [τι]βημέν[ο]υς πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐπιβάλ[λ]οντα ταῖς κ[ο]μογραμματοεῖαις)
 ἐξ[ε]ν] εἰν καὶ ἐν ἀν[έ]σει γεγόντας ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς ἀρχῆς α[ὐ]τῶν βούλονται
 ἀφόβω[ς] . . .] ἀπεπρᾶχθαι δικαίαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἑαυτοῖς τ[τ] . [.] . κοντες

50. 1. ὑπερ . . . διελάμβανον.
 αὐτῶν . . . διαπρασσομένοις.

60. 1. φροντίδος.
 1. ἄλλα.

67. 1. ὑποδεδραμημέ[νας] ἐπι[σ]τατεῖαις.

54. Second ο of συμφεροντος corr. from α 1. ὑπ'

58. Above υποδικνυμενων the figures ρξαγβ have been

64. 1. β(ν)τας.

65. δ of δε corr. from σε.

72. τ of παντα corr. from π? First

α of επιβαλ[λ] corr. from ο.

Col. iv.

75 μὴ τετολμήκασ[ι] καθότι πρόκειται ὑποστῆναι ὥστ' ἂν ἐξ ὧν ὑπογράφουσι
 ἀφει[δ]ῶς ἑαυτοῖς . [. . .] κεχρημένων καὶ μηδὲν τῆς προσεσχηκίας
 αὐτ[ο]ῖς κακαλογίας μ[η]δὲ νοῆσαι δυναμένων ἐὰν φαίνηται
 διαλημφθῆσεσ[θαι] περὶ αὐτῶν καθότι [ἀ]ν δοκιμῆσης.

(ἔτους) νγ Φα[μεν]ῶθ κς.

80 τῆς Ἑρα(κλείδου) μερίδος).

Ψεναρψενήσεως· Πτολεμαῖς Φανήσιος ἱερέυς.

Ψενύρωος· ἕτερος Πτολεμαῖος Ἀσκληπιάδου.

Τάνεωος· Πτο[λ]εμαῖος Τεῶτος.

Νίλου π[ό]λεωος· Ἰμούθης δε καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης.

85

/ δ.

H 2

Θεμίστου μερ(ίδ)ος.

Ἄ[ρ]σινότης· ιοα() χρη() εἰς Ἀρυώτην.

Μαγαίδος· Ἄ[μ]μώνιος δε καὶ Ἀτείς. Ἄνδρομαχίδος· Κρά[τ]ων.

Ἐρμού πόλεως· ἄλλος Κράτων. Φιλαγρ[ίδο]ς· Παᾶπις.

90

/ δ.

Πολέμωνος με(ρίδος). Πετερμούθις Πετερμούθιος ἱερεύς.

Ἄριστάρχου· Φαράτης Πετεσούχου. Δικαί[ου Νή(σου)] Πάνθηρ Φραμήνιος.

Μέμφεως· Ἀλέξανδρος Σοκα[]

[/ δ.

95 [ἐ]γδοθήτωι ἤδη ὅπως εκ . ε . . . [. τὰ ὑπ]άρχοντα
αὐτοῖς α [.]φθῆι τοῖς δὲ π[.]ρ[.] . . . [.] ἀντίγρ(αφον)
ἀναγρ[α]ψαμεν . . . οὖν τὰ ὑπάρχοντ' αὐτοῖς [.] εἰσπράσσειν
κα[θ]ήκουσαν ταυτων ἐπὶ τη[.]σαντας
π[.] ὅπως λάβωσι τοὺς τ[.] αἰ]σχροῶ

100 κ[

77. 1. κακολογίας.

78. 1. δοκιμάσης.

98. 1. τούτων?

24-46. ' . . . to a village two stades distant from the metropolis in order to inspect this, still they did not obey, supposing that the record would be made in the temple at Crocodilopolis without inspection. In order therefore to leave them in this matter also without excuse we obeyed the order, and published a proclamation for an assembly at the finance-office on Tubi 1 in order that the business might be quickly concluded at the proper time. Thereupon observing the danger that would result from the fact that I had attended to business in the matter of the reports of the irrigated land and thinking that their plans were being frustrated, they came to their senses, and supposing that they would bring me to a standstill at the commencement they retired to the Heracleopolite nome. Owing to my giving information through the officials, they were with difficulty by means of the strategi and chrematistae and others induced to return at the beginning of Mecheir, having been convicted . . . About the 11th of the same month they came over to the finance-office, and since on account of the prolonged attendance . . . there was a general expectation that the result would not agree with their return of the amount of crop, Theon, the official appointed for the survey of vineyards and gardens, having in the meanwhile delivered to me (a report) and having sent concerning the state of affairs with him, being anxious in accordance with the memoranda given by them . . . we gave suitable information about each and summoned. . . . '

50-73. ' And in this they probably intended, reckoning up together the amounts of what had been concealed on various occasions, to go off on the 12th having reported the actual total quantity of crop, but failing to issue the lists of individual items, in order that by this obstruction in addition to their other acts of damage they might produce the dispersal of this revenue, the most favourable time for the delivery of the produce having



arrived. From this statement may be seen their nefarious conduct on previous occasions, and how much at variance their behaviour is with the anxiety shown in your present letter with regard to this tax, that they should remain stationary at their posts. The majority of them have been appointed without the cognizance of the dioecetes, and some have wormed themselves into positions of oeconomus, toparch, sitologus, komarch, and other offices inconsistent with their own work, others have transferred their duties to their sons who are quite young men and sometimes to other persons altogether, others are engaged in the duties of topogrammateus and control at least two komogrammateis in each division, and have handed over the posts of epistatae into which they have crept to . . . or some of their brothers contrary to the decrees . . . being brought to light because being careless of what is expedient they do anything rather than the duties of a komogrammateus, and becoming remiss. . . .

25. *μητροπόλιος*: i. e. Ptolemais Euergetis; cf. 92. 4-7, note.

26. *γράψω*: the subject is the unnamed person who was to make the *ἐπίσκεψις*.

28. *ἰπηκούσαμεν*: it would not be safe to infer from the repetition of this verb (cf. l. 26) that the writer of the document was of the same status as the persons whom he was accusing.

31. For a specimen of a *προσάγγελμα τῆς βεβρηγμένης* see 71.

34. *ἐνάρξασθαι*: the infinitive is apparently due to the influence of *διαλαμβάνοντες*.

35. *διὰ τε κ.τ.λ.* is apparently explanatory of *δι' ἄλλων*.

39-40. The word between *ταῖς* and *ταύτης* seems to be corrupt. Perhaps *συγκλεισμένοι* was meant, but this gives no clear sense.

47. *ἐπιδοῦναι*: the letters *ἐπιδου* are contained on a detached fragment, the correct position of which is very uncertain.

52. *ἀπο(κε)χωρηκέναι* is apparently an error for *ἀποχωρήσειν* or *ἀποχωρήσαι*, depending on *διελάμβανον*.

65. *εἰς ἄλλον κ.τ.λ.*: this may be emended either to *ἄλλα ὀνόματα* or *ἄλλο{ν} ὄνομα τὰ τῆς*. The participle after *χρείας* appears also to be corrupt. There is perhaps nothing lost after the doubtful *σ* at the end of the line.

66-7. This passage is capable of two interpretations. *ἐπικρατούντων κ.τ.λ.* may be connected with *ἄλλων . . . ἔν[ων]* and mean that those who had become topogrammateis controlled in that capacity at least two komogrammateis, which would be an interesting statement of the relations between the two offices; or with the reading *κωμογρα(αμματεῶν)* and a comma after *ἐν[ων]* the sense may be that several of the accused persons—six or more if *ἐν ἐκάστη μερίδι* is right—had obtained the post of komogrammateus. The latter explanation would of course be incompatible with the supposition that the officials against whom this indictment was directed were all komogrammateis; cf. introd.

74. *δικαι* seems to be corrupt; the first *ι* is doubtful, being more like *ο*. *δὲ καί* cannot be read.

87. This line is obscure; the abbreviation after *Ἀρωάης* apparently consists of *ι* followed by another letter, resembling *ο* more than anything else, over which is a (written *∟*).

92. *Δικαί(ου Νή(σου))*: cf. P. Petrie II. 28 viii. 6, &c.

100. There would be room for one or two more lines below this one. To the right of the column is a broad blank space, showing that the document ended here.

25. PART OF AN OFFICIAL LETTER, ETC.

17-12.

28 x 18.8 cm.

B. C. 117.

The contents of this papyrus are of a miscellaneous and not very intelligible character. The first seven lines are the end of an official letter continued from a previous column of which there are traces in the left hand margin. Mention is made of a journey by river to be taken by the person addressed (ll. 1-2), who, from the tone of the concluding sentence which is a warning to take sides with the cause of expediency, may be inferred to have been of inferior rank to the writer. The main point of interest lies in the date, which shows that the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars had already been equated by Mecheir of the 53rd year of Euergetes II (cf. 6. introd.).

The rest of the column is a series of extracts copied apparently for the sake of practice in a small and at its best semi-uncial hand; but the writing becomes more cursive as it proceeds. Lines 8-11 are, but for the slips of *ι* for *ε* in *πῖρῐ* and *α* for *ε* in *παρᾱθήσεται*, a faithful copy of the end of the letter in the upper part of the column. The next ten lines are not improbably taken from the preceding part of the letter; but they are extremely obscure and do not seem to be a continuous extract, though there is a reference in ll. 20-1 to what has preceded in ll. 11-2. In any case there can be no doubt that the copy is a very inaccurate representation of the original. This is followed at a short interval by the first few words of 92, below which are the names of two persons who may have figured in some taxing-list.

On the *verso* are two short lists of names.

ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν μηδὲ περὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον
κατάπλουν γενέσθαι διελκυσμόν. τοῦ γὰρ
τρόπου τούτου [δ]ιαφυλαχθέντος οὔτε
τῶν χρησίμων παρεθήσεται τι οὐδὲ ὑμῖς
5 δόξετε προφανῶς συναθίστασθαι τῆι
ἐτέρων ἀντὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος σπουδῆι.

ἔρρωσο. ἔτους νγ Ξαν(δικοῦ) ἰς Μεχεῖρ ἰς.

2nd hand ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν μηδὲ πῖρῐ τὸν ὑμέτερον κατάπλουν γενέσθαι
διελκυσμόν. τοῦ γὰρ τρόπου τούτου διαφυλαχθέντος οὔτε τῶν χρησίμων
10 παρᾱθήσεται τι οὐδὲ ὑμῖς δόξετε προφανῶς συναθίστασθαι τῆι
ἐτέρων ἀντὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος σπουδῆι.

δε [τὰ δ]υνάμενα προσγενέσθαι προαναλαβόντες διὰ τῆς κατὰ φύλλον
 καὶ ἡ[μί]ν ἐπιδοῦναι καὶ ὡς ἔν τι παραδώσιν ὑπαρξόντων τῶν
 ἐξελεγχέντων ὑμᾶς, ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθ(ε)
 15 γεγονότων πρὸς ταῖς τοπογρ(αμματεῖαις) ἢ ἄλλαις χρεῖαις ἐπιτηδειπτα-
 χη() να
 ἀντὶ τῶν με εὐδοκιμουμένων ἀνεστραμμένως
 δαινεκθέντες διὰ προγράμματα τοῦ πρῶ()
 καὶ διὰ τίνος καὶ ἀπὸ ποίου ἐπιδείγματος
 πεποίηκεν καὶ εἰ ἐπ' ἀναδοχαῖς τοῦ σημηου
 (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)
 20 [[δ]] ἐκ τῶν ἐπιδοθησομένων
 κατὰ φύλλον.
 τῆς μὴ φρουρουμένης μηδ' οὐσης ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου
 ποταμοῦ
 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πύρρου (ἄρουραι ?)
 25 [Δ]ημη[τρί]ου Ἐρμίου

8. l. περί. 10. l. παρεθήσεται. 14. l. ἐξελεγχόντων. 16. l. μή. 17.
 l. διενεχθέντες. 18. ειγμ in επιδείγματος corr. 19 l. σημαυομένου ? 21. After
 φυλλον are signs of an erasure. 23. After ποταμου a long erasure.

1. τῶν seems to be wrong. There is a blank space between τῶν and μεγίστοις, which
 may indicate an omission. Possibly this is only a copy of the original letter, and the
 copyist could not read the first part of the word.

14-5. These two lines are peculiarly unintelligible. υμᾶς is perhaps for ὑμεῖς, and the
 words at the end of l. 15 may be meant for ἐπιτηδεί(ων) (ε)π(ι)ταχή(σατε) (τ)να. But the
 sentence appears to be incomplete.

18. A new extract seems to begin with this line.

19. Above the η of πεποίηκεν is what appears to be a large θ, to which we can
 attach no meaning.

20. The sign for πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι above the erasure is faint, and was perhaps partially
 expunged.

26. CORRESPONDENCE OF HORUS.

27·27.

30·8 x 26·4 cm.

B. C. 114.

A copy of two letters, which have no clear connexion with each other.
 The first is from Horus, the basilico-grammateus, directing the topogrammateis

and komogrammateis of the nome to join the persons who were to take part in 'the downward voyage'; cf. 28. 14, 58. 44, &c. The second, dated one day later, is addressed to Horus and was written, as is shown by the fair copy preserved in 142, by Menches, bringing to the knowledge of the former the fact that the cultivators of the royal domains at Kerkeosiris had struck work and taken sanctuary in a temple. The reason for this action on the part of the cultivators is not given. For the responsibility of the basilico-grammateus in connexion with the cultivation of βασιλική γῆ cf. 61. (δ) 36, 40 and 197; in the last of these passages a basilico-grammateus appears as reporting that certain cultivators were overworked, and he may have been afraid of a strike on their part such as is recorded here. The second column of this papyrus contains a report (71) drawn up by Menches of the amounts of land irrigated and sown up to Phaophi 20 in the 4th year of Soter II—the same date as the second letter in Col. i. With this is connected a list, written on the *verso*, of owners of unwatered land with the acreage and the amounts in artabae which were due upon it; cf. note on 71. 8–9.

Col. i.

Ἦρος τοῖς τοπογραμματοῦσι καὶ κο(μο)γγραμματοῦσι χ[αίρ]ειν.
 ὡς ἂν ἀναγνῶτε τὴν ἐν[ολήν]
 συμμείσχετε τεταγμένο[ι]ς
 πρὸς τὸν κατάπλου ἀκολου-
 5 θως οἷς γέγραφεν Εἰρηναῖος [δ] συγγε(ν)ῆς
 καὶ διοικη(τῆς). ἀπεστάλκαμεν
 δὲ τούτων χάριν τοὺς τὰ γράμματα
 ἐπιδικνύοντας. τοῦ γρ() με()
 καὶ ποιήσειν ἀκολουθως.
 10 (ἔτους) δ Φαῶφ(ι) ιθ.

Ἦρωι χαίρειν. ὄντι μοι ἐν
 {ἐν} Πτολεμαίδει Εὐ{γ}εργέτιδι πρὸς
 πῆι ἐπιδόσει τῶν ἐπαιτω-
 μένων λόγων προσέπεσεν ἡμῖν
 15 πε[ρ]ὶ τοῦ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς κώμης
 [β]ασιλικοῦς γεωργοῦς ἐγκαταλεί-
 [πο]ντας τὴν ἐπικειμένην
 ἀσχολίαν ἀνακ[ε]χωρηκέναι

ἐπὶ τὸ [έν Ν]αρμοῦθι ἱερὸν
 20 τῆι 19 τοῦ ὑποκειμένου
 μηνός. καλῶς ἔχει[ν οὖν
 ὑπέλαβον [[δι]] προσανει[εγκεῖν
 ὅπως εἰδῆς.

ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) δ Φαῶφι κ.

9. και written over a paragraphus. 13. 1. τῆι. 14. ημιν written above μοι, which is crossed through. 15. πε[ρ]ι του written above another [περι του, which is crossed through. 23. οπως written above ιν, which is crossed through.

'Horus to the topogrammateis and komogrammateis, greeting. So soon as you read this order join those who have been directed to take part in the voyage down, in accordance with the letter of Irenaeus the king's cousin and dioecetes. We have sent for this purpose the letter-bearers. Give heed to the letter (?) and act accordingly. The 4th year, Phaophi 19.

To Horus, greeting. When I was at Ptolemais Euergetis for the delivery of the accounts which were required, I happened to hear that the cultivators of royal land at the village had left their prescribed occupation and retired to the temple at Narmouthis on the 19th of the month below written. I therefore considered it right to announce the fact for your information. Good-bye. The 4th year, Phaophi 20.'

3. συμμείσατε: cf. 12. 7.

8. Perhaps τοῦ γρ(άμματος) οἱ γρ(αφέντος) με(λήσειν), the infinitives being for imperatives. τοῖς could be read for τοῦ.

11-4. ἐν Πτολεμαίδει Εὐεργέτιδι κ.τ.λ.: cf. 38. 2 and 92. 4-7, note. It is improbable on account of the dates of the two letters that the absence of Menches at Ptolemais is to be connected with the foregoing letter from Horus.

13. The mistake of π for τ in πῆι is evidently due to careless writing; the two letters are often very similar, and sometimes hardly distinguishable in the cursive hands of this period. Cf. 58. 34, note.

15. τῆς κόμης: sc. Kerkeosiris.

27. CORRESPONDENCE OF THE DIOECETES.

27.31.

30 x 86 cm.

B.C. 113.

This lengthy document consists of two parts which are distinct from each other, though connected in so far as both refer to the delinquencies of officials. The first three columns are concerned with Hermias, who was ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in the fourth year of Soter II (cf. note on l. 18) and to whom was directed the long letter from the office of the dioecetes Irenaeus

contained in Cols. ii and iii. Hermias had already incurred censure for carelessness in the management of the crops and the choice of inefficient subordinates, but had failed to effect any improvement. He is here given a final warning, and is ordered to take certain definite steps with a view to reform. Lists were in the first place to be obtained from the komogrammateis of such 'στρατευόμενοι and other inhabitants' as were suitable to undertake the protection of the crops, and from these lists the γενηματοφύλακες were in future to be selected. From the persons so appointed and from the φυλακίται of the various villages declarations on oath were to be taken that their duties should be faithfully discharged; and similar declarations were required from the ἀρχιφυλακίται, as well as, apparently, from the βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς and Hermias himself. Two copies of each set of declarations are ordered to be made, one of which was to be lodged at the royal bank, and the other sent to the dioecetes. The land affected by all these regulations was primarily royal domains (cf. ll. 54-5).

A copy of the letter to Hermias was sent by the dioecetes to Asclepiades who occupied a similar official position (cf. l. 98 and note on l. 18), telling the latter to consider himself equally affected by its provisions. Copies of both letters were, further, forwarded to Horus the basilico-grammateus (cf. l. 27), who in his turn sent a circular letter containing a copy of the whole correspondence to the topogrammateis and komogrammateis of the nome, directing them to furnish lists of persons fit for the post of γενηματοφύλαξ in accordance with the orders of the dioecetes.

The fourth column of the papyrus is in the same hand as those preceding, but on a separate sheet which has been joined on. That it was sent to Menches separately is probable from the fact that at the top is a fresh note by him recording its receipt. It relates to an official named Protarchus who had allowed the payments in kind for ἐπιγραφή—a tax upon land, levied apparently on special occasions (cf. 5. 59, note)—in his district to fall into arrear; and on being summoned by Asclepiades to pay up in money what was owing had gone off to Alexandria, hoping that in the general confusion that would result from his absence his own shortcomings might be overlooked. The dioecetes therefore directed that he should be ordered to return, and if compliance was refused that his property should be confiscated.

The history of this document is precisely similar to that of the preceding one. The dioecetes first wrote to Apollonius, the official who had brought to his notice the facts of the case, giving general instructions as to what was to be done. He then forwarded a copy of the letter to Asclepiades, and at the same time dispatched copies of the two letters to Horus, who sent round

to the komogrammateis of the nome a copy of the correspondence and asked for information about the property of Protarchus.

Col. i.

ἐλ(άβομεν) (ἔτους) δ Μεχείρ ι.

2nd hand Ὡρος τοῖς τοπογραμματοῦσι καὶ [κω]μογραμματοῦσι χαίρειν.
 τῆς παρ' Εἰρηναίου τοῦ συγγεν[οῦ]ς {ι} καὶ διοικητοῦ ἐπιστολῆς
 περὶ τῶν ἐπισπασθησομένων] εἰς τὰς γεννημ[α]τοφυλακίας
 5 ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται. τῶν οὖν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡ[μᾶ]ς τόποις
 πίστει καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ δι[α]φ[ε]ρ[όν]των καὶ ἐν π[ε]ρι[στά]σει
 κειμένων πέμψεθ' ἡμῖν τὰς κατ' ἄνδρα γραφάς, παρακει-
 μένων οὐ ἕκαστος ἔχ[ε]ι κλήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων, ὅπως τὰλλα οἰκονομηθῆι καθὰ παρεπέσταλται.

10 ἔρωσθε. (ἔτους) δ Μεχείρ ι.
 Εἰρηναῖος Ὡρωι χ[αί]ρειν. τῆς πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην ἐπιστολῆς
 ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκει[τ]αι. ἐπιδοὺς οὖν [αὐτ]ῶι τὴν γραφὴν
 τῶν δ[υ]ναμένων] ἐπισπασθῆνα[ι] εἰς τὰς γεννηματοφυ-
 λακίας τὴν ἐπιβ[α]λλουσαν προσφέρου σπουδὴν ἵνα τὰλλα
 15 γένητ' ἀκολούθως τοῖς ὑποδεδειγμένοις, ὡς τοῦ περὶ τῶν
 ἐν τούτοις παροραθ[η]σόμενου λόγου κ[α]ὶ πρὸς σὲ συσταθησομένου.

(ἔτους) δ Περιτίου κγ Χοίαχ κγ.
 Ἀσκληπιάδει. τῆς πρὸς Ἑρμῖαν τ[ὸ]ν ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων
 τῆς κα[.] . . μερῆ[.]] ἐπιστ[ολ]ῆς ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται.
 20 ὡς [οὖν καὶ] σοὶ τῶ[ν] αὐτῶν] διαστολῶν δεδομένων
 φρόντι[σον] ὅπως κ[.] . . [. . .]ν πρὸς ταῖς οἰκονομίαις καὶ ἀρχι-
 φυλακε[τ]είαις προχειρι[σθῶ]σιν ἀξιόλογοι, καὶ τῶν κατ[ὰ] τὴν
 τήρησιν τῶν καρπῶν κατ[ὰ] τ[ὸ]ν ὑποδεικνύμενον τρόπον οἰκο-
 νομηθέντων καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τῶν καθηκόντων
 25 εἰσπράξεως πρωιμώτερον γεννηθει[ση]ς μηθὲν εἰς ὀφείλημα
 ἐκπέσηι.

5. l. ἡ[μᾶ]ς.

16. l. παροραθησομένων.

18. π of προσόδων corr. from ε.

Col. ii.

Ἑρμῖαι Ἀρνελάτου τοῦ ἐν τῶι Ὡρ[ου] βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως.
 ὑποτάξας ἡμῖν ἃ ἐγεγράφην σοι καταχωρίσας καὶ τὰ πρὸς

Θεόδοτον τὸν πρὸς τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ καὶ ἀρχιφυλακτείαῖ δι' ὧν
 30 ἐδηλοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μεταπεμφθέντων εἰς κοινὸν
 συνέδριον τῶν κατὰ κώμην δεκανῶν τῶν φυλακτικῶν
 ληφθῆναι μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἃς ὑπετίθετο χειρο-
 γραφίας ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπετείων γεννημάτων
 τη[ρ]ήσεως, θαυμάζειν καὶ λείαν ἐπήρχετο εἰ τὰ πάνδεινα
 35 πεπονηθῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ συσταθέντος πρὸς σέ διαλογισμοῦ χάριν τοῦ
 μὴ προνοηθῆναι ἐν δέοντι καιρῷ μήτε τῆς τῶν χλωρῶν
 καὶ τ[ῶ]ν ἄλλων ἐπισπῶρων ἐγδιοικήσεως μηδὲ τῆς τῶν
 γεννημάτων φυλακίας ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρὸς ταῖς οἰκονομίαις
 καὶ ἀρχιφυλακτείαῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀξιολόγοις χρῆσθαι πᾶσι δὲ
 40 κακοῖς καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίοις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ διαμένει
 οὐδαμῶς τὰ παρὰ τὸ δέ[ι]ον κεχειρισμένα διωρθωμένους.
 πλη[ν] ἴσθι μὲν ἔγκλητος ὑπάρχων ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν διαλαβὼν
 μηδεμιᾶς τεύξεσθαι συνγνώμης ὀλιγορηθέντος τινὸς
 ἵνα μὲν πρὸς ταῖς προειρημέναις χρεῖαις εὐθετοὶ κατασταθῶσιν
 45 προ . . λ[ι]πτη . [.]αι, ταξά[με]νος δὲ [τ]ὴν ἀδιαλίπτως προσφερο-
 μ[έ]νην σ[π]ο[υ]δὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀνήκουσιν εἰς] τῆν τῆς φορολογίας
 ἐπα[ύ]ξεισιν καὶ παρὰ τῶ[ν] κωμογραμ[μ]ατέων ἐπιλαβὼν
 τὴν γραφὴν τῶν δυναμ[έ]ων ἐπι[σ]π[ασθ]ῆναι εἰς τὰς γενη-
 ματοφυλακίας ἀπὸ τε τ[ῶ]ν στρατευομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 50 τῶν τόπους κατ[ο]ικούντων καὶ ἐν περιστάσει κειμένων
 καὶ πίστει καὶ ἀσφαλ[ε]ῖαι διαφερόντων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους
 καταστήσας πρὸς ταῖς κατὰ κώμην καὶ παρὰ μὲν τούτων

42. γ of εγκλητος above ν.

Col. iii.

καὶ τῶν ἐν ἐκάστη φυλ[α]κ[ι]τῶν λα[β]ῶν χειρογραφίας ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ
 δισσὰς
 ἐπὶ τοῦ βελτίστου προστήσεσ[θαι] τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ μηθένα τῶν γεωρ-
 γούντων τὴν
 55 βασιλικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἀφέσει [γῆν] ἐφάψεσθαι τῶν χλωρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἐπισπῶρων πλην τῶν εἰς [τὰς] τροφὰς τῶν γεωργικῶν κτηνῶν ἃ καὶ μετὰ

τῶν κωμογραμματέων π[ροσ]χορηγηθήσεται καὶ τῶν ἐγδιοικηθησομ[ένων]
 ὧν αἱ τειμαὶ καὶ τούτων αἱ ἀσφάλ[ε]ιαι δο[θεῖσαι] κατατεθήσονται ἐπὶ [τ]ῶν
 τραπέζ[ων]
 πρὸς τὰ καθήκοντα εἰς τὸ βα[σιλικὸν] ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς προεγδεδομ[ένοις]
 χρηματισμοῖ[ς]
 60 φροντίζειν ὅπως καὶ τὰλ[λα γέν]ηται κατὰ θερείαν ἐξ ὑγιούς, παρακομ[ί]-
 ζειν δὲ
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποδεδειγμένους [τόπου]ς καὶ μηθὲν τούτων καταπρήσ[ε]σθαι ἀλλὰ
 ἐπὰν καὶ {περὶ} τὸ περὶ τῆς [ἀφέσε]ως πρόγραμμα ἐκτεθῆι ἐὰν μὴ πάντ[ων]
 ὧν δέον ἐστὶ παραδοθέντ[ων καὶ] τῶν ἐφελκομένων πρὸς τοὺς ἐμ[π]ροσθεν
 χρόνους
 ἐκπληρωθέντων ἐπισ[τ]. . . . , πα[ρὰ] τε ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν πρὸς ταῖ[ς] . . . οἰκο-
 ν[ο]μίαις
 65 τεταγμένων καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθὲν ὀφ[εῖ]λειν τὸν
 ἐπὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν ἐπιγενη[μ]άτων παραγινόμενον μηδὲ πρ[ὸ]ς ἄλλα
 ἐγκλήματα
 ἢ αἰτίας εἶναι κατόχιμα, προ[νο]εῖσθαι δὲ ἵνα πάντες [ὅπως] τάχιστα
 ἀποδώσι
 τὰ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν γινόμενα, παρὰ δὲ τῶν πρὸς ταῖς ἀρχιφ[υ]λ[ακ]ι[α]ίαις
 προνοηθήσεται ὡς κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτελεσθήσεται, μίαν μὲν καταθοῦ
 70 ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης τὴν δ' ἐτέραν πέμψας ἡμῖν στόχασαι ὅπως
 καὶ ἐν ταῖς κόμαις ἐκτεθῆι προγράμματα δηλοῦντα μηδένα ἐπαφίνα
 κτήνη εἰς τὴν ἐσπαρμένην χόρτωι καὶ τοῖς παρ[α]πλησίοις γενή[μασι]
 μηδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισπύρων ἐφάπτεσθαι ἄνευ τοῦ δοῦναι τὴν
 ἀσφάλειαν καθότι πρόκειται, τῶν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιησόντων τά τε
 75 κτήνη ὑπὸ στέρεσιν ἀχθήσεται πρὸς τὰ ἐκφόρια. καὶ μάλιστα ἐπα-
 γρύπνησον ὡς τῆς πάντων εἰσπράξεως πρωιμώτερον συστα-
 θέσης οὐ συμβήσεται σοι τοῖς ὁμοίοις περιπίπτειν, καθόλου δ' ἐν-
 θυμηθεῖς ἡλίκην συμβάλλεται ἢ περὶ τὰ ὑποδείκνυμει[α] προσοχή
 τοῖς πράγμασι ῥοπήν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἤγησαι τοῦ μηθὲν ἀπ[λ]ῶς τῶ[ν]
 80 χρησίμων παραλειφθῆναι, αἰεὶ δὲ τινος ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον προσεπινοουμένου
 ἕκαστα χωρῆσαι κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν πρόθεσιν. οὔτε γὰρ βίαν οὐθ' ἐτέραν
 ἠνδηποτοῦν πρόφασιν προσδέξομεθα, ἢ δ' εἰσπραξις τῶν προεθησομένων
 παρὰ σοῦ κατὰ κράτος ἔσται. ἦι δ' ἂν ἡμέραι κομίση τὴν ἐπιστ[ο]λὴν
 διασάφησον.

58. τουτ of τουτων above the line. 63. First ο of χρονους above the line. 66. Above the λ of εγκληματα is an η, and ματα is written below the line; i. e. the word was originally abbreviated, and then written out in full; cf. note on l. 63. 79. l. τó for του. 83. ι of ηι above the line.

Col. iv.

1st hand ἐλ(άβομεν) (ἔτους) δ Μ[εχειρ ι]δ.

85 2nd hand Ὡρος τοῖς τοπογραμ[μ]ατ[ε]υσι^{κωμο} χαίρειν. τῆ[s] παρ' Εἰρη[ν]αίου τοῦ συγγ[ε]νοῦς καὶ διοικητοῦ ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκ[ε]ιται.

[ἀναγ]ραψάμ[ε]νοι οὖν [τὰ ὑπά]ρχοντα ἐν τοῖς καθ' ὑμᾶς τῆ[σ]τοις τῶι [Π]ρωτάρχωι πέμ[ψ]εθ' ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦ τῆν ἐντολὴν ἐπιδ[ε]ικνύ-
τος τὴν γραφὴν [.] ἔχουσιν ὅπως τὰλλα ἐπιτελεσθῆ

90 ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς [ἐπεσταλ]μένοις. ἔρρωσθε. (ἔτους) δ Μεχ(εῖρ) ι. Εἰρηναῖος Ὡρωι χαίρειν. τῆ]ς πρὸς Ἀ[σκληπ]ιάδην ἐπιστολῆς ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκ[ε]ιται. [φρόν]τισον [οὖν ὅπως] γένητ' ἀκολουθῶς.

[(ἔτους) δ Δύστρο]υ κα Τύβι κα.

Ἀσκληπιάδ[ε]ι. τῆς πρὸς Ἀπολλ[ών]ιον ἐπιστολῆς ἀντίγραφον

95 ὑπόκειται. προσέδρευσα[ν οὖν ὅπως γένητ' ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς] προ[σ]-
επεσταλμένοις.

Ἀπολλωνίωι. ἀνέγνωμεν [οἱ]α γράφεις περὶ τῶν [κατ]ὰ

Πρωτάρχ[ου] δν τρόπον συγ[γ]ραμ[μ]ατ[ε]υσι^{κωμο} ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν
προσόδων ενσυγ. εἰ[.] . γ[.] .]ος τὸ ἐν αὐτῶι ὀφειλόμενον πρὸς τὴν

100 ἐπιγραφὴν ἀπὸ ἀργυρίου [κατ]α[τ]ιθ[ε]ναι καὶ εὐκοσμότερον ἐν τῆ
ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίαι παρακατε μενος μέχρι ἀν ἑαυτῶι λόγον δοῦς
προνοηθῆι τὰ τῆς διαγωγῆς τῶν χρημάτων, ἀντὶ

τοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσ[α]ι δι . . . εἰς τὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατάπλου
ἐπεποίητο, ὅπως τ[ο]ῦ πρ[ο]σ[α]ρ[χ]οῦ πολλὴν διατροπὴν παρ-

105 εσχημένου ἐν τῆι [τ]ῶν λοιπῶν τῶν πρὸς τὸ εἶδος ὀφει-

λομένων πρακτορεῖαι [ἀν]ε[π]ιστρέφ[η]τος περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν

γένηται. ἵνα μὲν οὐ[δ]ν διὰ προγράμματος προσκληθῆι καὶ ἐὰν

μὴ ἀπαντήσῃ εἰς τ[.] . [.] ἐκθεματισθῆι συντετάχαμεν

τοῖς πρὸς τοῦτοις καθὰ πρ[ο]σ[α]ρ[χ]οῦ κ[α]τ' Ἀσκληπιάδ[ε]ι προσπε-

110 φωνήκαμεν [. . .] . [. . τ]ὰ [ὑ]πάρχοντα αὐτῶι πρὸς τὰ ἐν

αὐτῶι ὀφειλόμενα]ωι.

Cols. i-iii.

'Received in the 4th year, Mecheir 10.

Horus to the topogrammateis and komogrammateis, greeting. Appended is a copy of the letter from Irenaeus, the king's cousin and dioecetes, concerning the persons to be made to undertake the custody of the crops. You will therefore send us the lists of individuals in your district who are conspicuous for honesty and steadiness and live in the neighbourhood, with a statement of the extent of their several holdings and other property, so that the other arrangements may be made in accordance with the instructions. Good-bye. The 4th year, Mecheir 10.

Irenaeus to Horus, greeting. Appended is a copy of the letter to Asclepiades. Give him therefore a list of persons who can be made to undertake the custody of the crops, and apply due zeal to the end that the other requirements may be carried out in accordance with the directions, understanding that you too will be held responsible for any neglect in this matter. The 4th year, Peritius 23, Choiak 23.

To Asclepiades. Appended is a copy of the letter to Hermias, the overseer of the revenues . . . Regarding therefore the same instructions as issued to yourself also, take care that persons of repute are appointed to the posts of oeconomus and archiphylacites; and that the protection of the crops be managed in the manner directed, and the collection of dues for the treasury take place more punctually, and so no debts be incurred.

To Hermias, through (?) Harneltotes who is in the office of Horus (?) the basilicogrammateus. Having given me instructions for my letter to you, and having also specified what was written to Theodotus, the official discharging the duties of oeconomus and archiphylacites, in which it was stated to be necessary that the decani of the police in the villages should be summoned to a general meeting, and that declarations on oath by the sovereigns as suggested by him should be taken with the approval of Theodotus concerning the protection of the annual crops, he began to be much astonished that after the severest treatment at the inquiry instituted against you for not having provided at the proper time for the collection of the green stuffs and the other second crops, nor for the custody of the produce, and for not even using men of repute for the offices of oeconomus and archiphylacites, but without exception evil and worthless persons, you still continue in the same miserable course with no improvement whatever in your improper procedure. But be sure that you are liable to accusation; and, before it is too late, believing that you will receive no pardon for any neglect, see that suitable persons are appointed to the aforesaid offices, and display unremitting zeal in what tends to increase the revenue; and procure from the komogrammateis the list of those who can be made to undertake the custody of the produce from those in the army and the other inhabitants of the district who are living in the neighbourhood and are conspicuous for honesty and steadiness, and appoint those fit to the posts in the villages; take from them and the phylacitae in each village two declarations upon oath by the sovereigns that they will provide in the best possible manner for the guardianship; and will allow none of the cultivators of Crown land or land *ἐν ἀπέσει* to touch the green stuffs and the other second crops except those intended for the fodder of the animals used in agriculture, which shall be supplied with the approval of the komogrammateis, and except amounts to be collected for which the prices and securities shall be paid and deposited at the banks to meet the dues to the treasury in accordance with the regulations previously issued; and will take care that all else is rightly done in the summer, and will convey the produce to the appointed places, and let nothing go until the proclamation concerning the release of crops is published, and unless everything has been duly delivered and the demands for previous years paid up. Similar declarations are (secondly) to be made by you or those set in charge of . . . and from the basilicogrammateis, that those coming to receive the surplus produce are not in

debt, and that there is no lien upon it for other charges or causes, and that care is being taken in order that all may pay the treasury dues as soon as possible; and (thirdly) by the holders of posts as archiphylacitae, that they will take care that this is accomplished in the manner aforesaid. Then deposit one copy of the declarations at the royal bank, and send the other to us; and make it your aim that proclamations are published in the villages to the effect that no one shall let loose animals upon land sown with grass and similar produce, or shall touch the other second crops without giving security as set forth above, and that the animals of those who disobey shall be confiscated to meet the rents. Above all be vigilant that the collection of all revenues be carried out more punctually and that it may not again occur to you to be involved in similar difficulties. In general consider how great an impulse attention to the matters indicated gives to business, and deem it an essential that there should be no lapse in anything that is expedient, and that by the continual invention of further improvements everything should proceed according to the method prescribed by us. For we will not accept as an excuse either force or anything else whatever, and any losses will be rigorously exacted from you. Whichever day you receive this letter give notice of the fact.'

5-8. Cf. ll. 49-51, where the class from which the *γενηματοφύλακες* were to be taken is more precisely specified.

18. The supplement τ[ῆς πρὸς Ἑρμῖα]ν seems to be necessary, for the letters]τ[.]ν are certain, and there is no room in the lacuna between τ and ν for a broader letter than ο. Moreover a mention of Hermias is required either here or in l. 19, where it cannot well be obtained. The difficulty is that in l. 98, which belongs to a document dated in the same year and not more than a month later, Asclepiades is given the same title ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων. We must conclude that the office was at least duplicated in the Fayûm at this period. The fact that in l. 20 Asclepiades is told that the injunctions to Hermias apply equally to himself points in the same direction. Line 19 seems to show that Hermias was assigned some special department: μερ[ί] strongly suggests μερ[ί]δος; the letters ρι are however doubtful. κ[α]τ[ὰ] τ[ῆς] cannot be read.

21. *οἰκονομίαις καὶ ἀρχιφυλακε[τ]ρίαις*: in l. 29 below they are found combined in a single person; cf. note on 5. 159.

27 sqq. The heading and opening lines of this letter are difficult. If Harneltotes (?) is taken to be the father of Hermias τοῦ must be altered to τῶν, and ἐν τῶν Ὁρ[ου] would mean that Hermias was staying with Horus. It is then somewhat curious that the dioecetes in communicating with Horus should take the roundabout method of sending to him a copy of the letter to Asclepiades, after having already written to Hermias in the house of Horus. This objection is hardly conclusive, but a more serious difficulty is *ὑποτάξας ἡμῖν ἃ ἐγγράφην . . . ἐπήρχετο* in ll. 28 and 34. The subject of *ὑποτάξας ἐπήρχετο* can hardly be other than the dioecetes Irenaeus (it is in any case very strange that his name is not mentioned); and this letter was written for him by someone else. In that case the name of the writer, who speaks in the first person, would be expected in l. 27. An easy solution of this difficulty would be to suppose the loss of δι' after Ἑρμῖαι; but it is not at all easy to see why any one in the office of Horus should be acting as secretary to the dioecetes. With ἐν τῶν Ὁρ[ου] cf. 12. 3.

28. *καταχωρίσας*: for this word in the sense of 'laying down,' 'defining,' cf. P. Par. 63. 120 τὸ δὲ καταχωρισμένον ἐν αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ προστάγματι).

31. *δεκανῶν*: the occurrence of this word in a document of the 2nd century B.C. is surprising, but it is confirmed by 251, a somewhat later text, where the reading is certain. *δεκανός* as an astrological term is found in papyri of the early Roman period (e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 98); and officials of some kind called *δεκανοί* appear in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus

of the 1st century A.D. (P. Oxy. II. 387). It is an old dispute whether *δεκανός* is derived from *δέκα* or *decem*. The present passage and 251 dispose finally of the question.

32. *ἑαυτοῦ*: sc. Theodotus. Cf. 35. 8 *πρόγραμμα ἐκτεθῆτω καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ κωμογραμματέως γνώμης*.

32-3. *χειρογραφίας ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ*: these declarations were no doubt similar to those prescribed in ll. 53 sqq.

37. *ἐπισπόρων* is here a general term including *χλωρά*, and strictly means 'after-crops'; cf. Hesych. *ἐπίσπορα* τὰ λάχανα. It appears, however, from 71. 12 that aracus, which was the most important of the *χλωρά*, was one of the first crops to be sown.

ἐγδιουήσεως: cf. l. 57 *ἐγδιουκθησομένων*, 72. 461, and 89. 4, 69 *ἐγδιωκμένων*, where the meaning 'collect' is quite clear.

49. *στρατευομένων*: cf. note on 5. 168.

52 sqq. Apparently three sets of oaths were required, (1) from the *φυλακῖται* and *γενηματοφύλακες* (ll. 52-64), (2) from superior officials in the position of Hermias and the basilico-grammateis (ll. 64-7), (3) from *ἀρχιφυλακῖται* (ll. 68-9). The position of the superior officials between the *φυλακῖται* and *ἀρχιφυλακῖται* is somewhat awkward, apart from the minor difficulty that *δέ* would be expected for *τε* in l. 64. But it seems hardly possible to obtain a satisfactory construction or sense on any other view of the passage.

57-9. The sense is that amounts due upon *βασιλική γῆ* might be paid in money instead of in kind and the *γεωργοί* be permitted to retain the crop, in cases where this concession could occasion no loss to the government; for *ἐγδιουκθησομένων* cf. note on l. 37.

59. *πρὸς τὰ καθήκοντα*: 'to meet the treasury-dues'; so l. 75 *πρὸς τὰ ἐκφόρια*.

60. *φροντίζειν κ.τ.λ.* seems to be part of the oath of the *φυλακῖται*, in which case a conjunction must be supplied. *φροντίζειν* could be connected with *προεγεδομέ[ν]οις χρηματισμοί[ς]*; but there would then be expected a closer correspondence in the supposed terms of the *χρηματισμοί*, *φροντίζειν ὅπως κ.τ.λ.*, with what has preceded. Moreover *φροντίζειν ὅπως καὶ τὰλλα* is much more natural at the end of the oath than at the beginning of the *χρηματισμοί*.

61. *καταπρόσθεσθαι*: cf. 5. 188-90 *ἀφίσει δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυ(λακῖτας) τῶν παραγραφόμενων . . . πρὸς ἃ καταπροεῖνται γενήματα*.

62. *[ἀφίσει]ως*: cf. P. Petrie II. 2 (1) 9-10 [*τῆς μισθώσεως διαγορευούσης κομισασθαι [αὐτῶ]ν τ[ὰ] ἐκφόρια ὅταν ἡ ἀφείσει δοθῆ*], and P. Amh. 43. 7-8 *ἀποδότω . . . ὅταν ἡ ἀφείσει τῶν πυρίνων καρπῶν γένηται. ἀφείσει* in this connexion means the official release of the harvest after the claims of the government had been met. The probable occurrence of *ἀφείσει* in this sense here so soon after *τὴν ἐν ἀφείσει [γῆν]* in l. 55 suggests a new explanation of that obscure phrase; cf. 5. 36-7, note.

ἐὰν μὴ is extremely awkward after *ἀλλὰ ἐπὶν*. The construction is easiest if *ἐπὶν—ἐκτεθῆ* is regarded as parenthetical.

63. *ἐφεικομένων πρὸς τοὺς ἔμ[π]ροσθεν χρόνους* appears to mean payments made out of the produce of the current year to meet arrears of previous years.

64. *ἐπισπόρων* is not satisfactory; *ἐπιτ[α] δέ* cannot be read. Perhaps *ἐπισ[χ]εῖν*.

65-6. *τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν ἐπιγενημάτων παραγνόμενον κ.τ.λ.* is obscure. *τὸν . . . παραγνόμενον* might be explained as an official concerned with the collection of dues from Crown land; but *ἐπιγενημάτων* is not at all the word that would be expected in such a connexion, and nothing has preceded to which *κατόχημα* could on this view refer—apart from the difficulty that an official of this kind is not heard of elsewhere. It therefore seems preferable to give *ἐπιγενημάτων* its common sense of 'surplus,' i.e. what remained over when the claims of the government were satisfied, and to take *τὸν . . . παραγνόμενον* as a collective singular meaning the *γεωργοί*; *κατόχημα* will then naturally refer to *ἐπιγενημάτων*. But to find so high an official as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων* or even the *βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς* directly responsible for duties of this nature is surprising.

75. *στέρεσω* is for *στέρησω*. Cf. for the construction 24. 55 *ὑπὸ διασκορπισμὸν τὰ τῆς φορολογίας ἀγάγων*.

78-9. *ἤλικην συμβάλλεται . . . ῥοπήν*: cf. P. Par. 63. 73 *συμβαλεῖται ῥοπήν εἰς τὸ προκείμενον*.

Col. iv.

'Received in the 4th year, Mecheir 14.

Horus to the komogrammateis, greeting. Appended is a copy of the letter from Irenaeus, the king's cousin and dioecetes. Make out therefore a return of the property in your districts belonging to Protarchus, and send it to me with full details(?) by the messenger showing this order, so that the other arrangements may be accomplished in accordance with the instructions. Good-bye. The 4th year, Mecheir 10.

Irenaeus to Horus, greeting. Appended is a copy of the letter to Asclepiades. Take care therefore that its directions are followed. 4th year, Dystrus 21, Tubi 21.

To Asclepiades. Appended is a copy of the letter to Apollonius. Give good heed therefore that its instructions be carried out.

To Apollonius. I have read your letter concerning the case of Protarchus, how after receiving orders from Asclepiades, the overseer of the revenues, to pay down in money the amount owing for the epigraphe in his department, and to behave in a more decorous manner in his house until he should take counsel with himself and provide for the management of the revenues, instead of doing this he sailed down to the city in order that owing to the great confusion which would be evinced in the collection of the rest of the debts for the tax, Asclepiades might be careless concerning his affairs. I have therefore duly instructed the officials concerned with such matters so that he may be summoned by proclamation, and, if he does not appear, be proclaimed a defaulter, and I have directed Asclepiades (to seize) his property to meet the debts in his department.'

85. *κωμο* written above the line was intended to supersede *τοπο* in *τοπογραμ[μ]ατ[εῦσι]*.

89. Perhaps [*εὐσήμω*]; cf. 14. 11.

99. *ἐν αὐτῶι*: cf. 5. 227, 72. 332.

103. The mutilated word ending in *-eis* is probably a participle. *δηχθείς* is possible.

τὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατάπλους: the use of the word *κατάπλους* indicates that *τὴν πόλιν* here, as often, means Alexandria. It seems to have been a favourite expedient for officials in difficulties to go off to Alexandria or elsewhere; cf. 24. 34, 28. 7 and 14.

28. LETTER FROM DIOSCURIDES AND AMENNEUS TO PTOLEMAEUS.

28-9 *verso*.

31.2 × 39.5 cm.

About B.C. 114.

A letter addressed to Ptolemaeus by Dioscurides and Amenneus about the revenues of the nome, written on the *verso* of a petition from Menches to the king (43). While the petition is complete at both ends, the letter on the *verso* is slightly defective at the ends of lines. Probably the petition was joined to another document when the *verso* came to be used, and the letter on the *verso* is only the first column of a series. There are references in it to a document said to be appended (l. 8) and to persons to be mentioned (l. 17), but these do not appear. The constructions, as is often the case in official

compositions of this period, are very involved, and in the absence of the explanatory documents the mutilated parts of the letter are hard to reconstruct and interpret. The date is lost, but was probably not much later than the 53rd year, in which the petition on the *recto* was written. The Ptolemaeus to whom the letter is addressed is very likely the strategus in the third year of Soter II (cf. 15. 15). An Amenneus who was basilico-grammateus in the 53rd year is known from 40. 2, but it is not likely that he is the Amenneus of 1. 1, for the writers of the letter seem to be not officials belonging to the administration of the nome (cf. 1. 5), but rather agents sent on a tour of inspection by Irenaeus the διοικητής at Alexandria (cf. note on 5. 27 and 7. introd.), to whom they had addressed the report mentioned in ll. 2-9. In this they had detailed the hindrances placed in their way by the komogrammateis; and since these continued to persist in their bad behaviour the writers request the strategus to arrest a certain number of them as an example to the rest.

In the blank space to the left of the letter are the words *δνόματος παστοφόρου*, which have no apparent connexion with the document on the *recto* or with that on the *verso*.

Διοσκουρίδης καὶ Ἀμηννεὺς Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν.

τὰ μὲν [κα]τὰ μέρος τῶν παρηκολουθηκότων ἐμποδι[σμῶν τῆ]ς καθ' [ἡμᾶς
 ἀσχολία[s] διὰ τὸν γεγεννημένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῶι [νο]μῶι κω]μογρ[αμ-
 μετέων ἐ]πηρ[εασμὸν καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἔτι ἐν τῶι Μεσορῆι μηνί τ[οῦ].. (ἔτους)
 5 ὁπότε ἐπεβάλομεν εἰς τὸν νομὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶ[π]ους καθεσταμ[ένοι
 πρὸς τῆι χρε]ῖα προαιρούμενοι ἐπισκέψασθαι τ[ὰ] ἐκ [τ]οῦ νομοῦ ἀ[να-
 φερόμενα τὸ ὑπόλογον καὶ τὰ λ(λ)α ἐξεπεπτώκε[s]αν] τούτων μὴ [δόν-
 των τὰς χεῖρας, τυγχάνομεν καὶ Εἰρηναίωι διὰ τ[ῆ]ς ὑποκειμένης
 ἐπιστολῆς ἐξηρ[ε]θμημένοι. καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν δι[ε]ὰ τῶν ἀναφ[ορῶν
 10 τῆι αὐτῆι αἰρέσει κεχρημένων, καὶ ἅμα τῶι τὸν σπῆρον ε[. .
 . [. . .] τ . . . των πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἕκαστα ὑπ' ἐπίγνωσιν ἀχθ[ῆ]ναι
 εν[. .] . . . [.] κεναι εἰ{s} ἐπιβάλλοιμεν εἰς τὰς κόμας ε[. . .
 ομ[15 letters] ταῦτα ν . [.] . ν διακαθ . [.] . [.] . . ενα ελαφ . [. . .
 κα[ι] τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατάπλουν καθότι σημαίνεται πεπο[ι]-
 15 ημένων, ἀξιοῦμεν ἐμβλέψαντα εἰς τὰ ὑποδειγμένα κα[ι]
 εἰ κὰν δύναται ἐκ τῶν ἔσομένων ἐπισκέψεων εἰς τὸ βασιλικ[ὸν
 περιγενέσθαι [συν]τάξει προνοηθῆναι ἵνα οἱ ἐξονομαζόμενοι
 ἀσφαλισθῶσιν, ὅπως καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προοφθάλμως λαβόντες τῆ|ν
 ἔσομένην ὑπὸ σοῦ μισοπόνηρον ἐπίστα[σιν] . . ωσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν

20 τούτων ἀνασιδόμενοι εὐμαρεστέ[α]ν ἀσχολ[ῶ]ν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ [τὰς
ἐπισκέψις [ἐ]πιχροήσωσιν καὶ μ[η]θὲν τῶν εἰς] τὸ βασιλικὸν [
χρησίμων παραλειφθῆι.
ἔρρασ[ο]. (ἔτους)] . .

3. 1. κομογρ[αμ]ματίων. 4. Initial ε of ε[πηρ]εασμον corr.

‘Dioscurides and Amenneus to Ptolemaeus, greeting. Some of the hindrances placed in the way of the performance of our work through the insolent conduct of the komogrammateis in the nome, and how further in Mesore of the . . year, when we visited various places in the nome, having been appointed for this duty and wishing to inquire into the reports sent from the nome, namely the list of deductions and so on, they had gone without giving us the written records, have been recounted by us to Irenaeus in the appended letter. At the present time also since they show the same behaviour in their reports, and when the crop . . . in order to prevent the details being accurately known . . . and have made the voyage down to Alexandria as said, we beg you to look into the matters indicated, and if any advantage to the Treasury can be gained by the coming inquiries, to make arrangements for seeing that the persons mentioned are secured, in order that the rest may obtain a conspicuous illustration to show how you will suppress wrong-doing and may be thereby incited to make easier for us the performance of our duty in connexion with the inquiries, and that the Crown interests may be in no way neglected. Good-bye.’ Date.

7. τὸ ὑπόλογον: cf. App. i. § 9. τὸ ὑπόλογον καὶ τὰλ(λ)α is in apposition to τὰ ἀναφερόμενα.

ἐξεπετώκεσ[αν]: the word here is used merely as the opposite of ἐπιβάλλω in l. 5, and does not imply that the komogrammateis had been obliged to go. From l. 14 it appears that they had chosen to go to Alexandria at this juncture, in order to avoid the inquiry which was to be held; cf. 27. 103-7.

8. τὰς χεῖρας: χεῖρ is apparently used in the sense of χειρογραφία; cf. 110. 13, P. Oxy. II. 264. 12, 269. i. 12. τούτων refers to the offending κομογραμματεῖς. μὴ δόντες omitting τούτων would have been a better construction.

9. ἀναφ[ορῶν]: cf. Rev. Laws xvi. 10, note. In that papyrus it is used for monthly returns of revenues received by the tax farmers. Here the ἀναφοραὶ had apparently been sent out of the nome (cf. l. 6), i. e. to the office of the dioecetes at Alexandria, to which Dioscurides and Amenneus probably belonged; cf. introd.

14. καθότι σημαίνεται refers back to ἐξεπετώκεσ[αν].

16. δύναται, as it stands, has no subject unless τι is supplied at the end of l. 16, which is not very satisfactory.

19. μισοπόνηρον ἐπίστα[σιν]: cf. P. Amh. II. 35. 48 where read ἐπίστα(σιν). The traces before ωσαν would suit ν, and perhaps ἐπίστα[σία]ν ὡς ἄν should be read; but ὡς ἄν would be redundant after ὅπως in l. 18.

21. [ἐ]πιχροήσωσιν: a new verb, literally ‘tinge.’ The metaphorical use of it is curious. There is very little doubt about the reading, for the only alternative is [ἀν]τιχροήσωσιν, which is still more difficult.

29. LETTER TO THE CHREMATISTAE.

17.4.

26.7 x 14 cm.

About B.C. 110.

A letter addressed to the chrematistae (cf. 5. 207, note) through their *εἰσαγωγεὺς*, by Polemon also called Petesuchus, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, and no doubt identical with the Petesuchus who succeeded Menches in the 7th year; cf. 10. introd. A complaint had been sent to the chrematistae by two brothers called Acusilaus and Ptolemaeus accusing the komogrammateus of defrauding them of their land. A copy of this petition had, as usual, been returned to the writers for presentation to Petesuchus, who had made an answer to the charges. In the present document he asks for a postponement of the trial on the ground of the pressing character of his official duties.

Above the letter to the chrematistae are a few lines of a taxing-account written in a different hand, and there are ends of lines of a preceding column.

Τοῖς χρηματισταῖς ὧν εἰσαγωγεὺς Δω[. . .
 παρὰ Πολέμωνος τοῦ καὶ Πετεσοῦχου
 κωμογραμματέως Κερκεοσίρεως τῆς Πο-
 λέμωνος μερίδος. Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ Πτο-
 5 λεμαῖος οἱ δύο Ἑρακλείδου τῶν ἐκ τῆς
 κόμης ἀποδέδωκάν μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀντί-
 γραφον ἐντεύξεως προφερόμεν(οἰ) ὑφελέσ-
 θαι με αὐτῶν γῆν, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ τυγχ[άνω ἀπο-
 δε[δοκ]ῶς ἡμῖν χ[ρ]ημ[ατ]ισμὸν πα[.
 10 τὴν τῆς τούτων σ[. . .]λης. καθ[ε]στ[η]-
 κότη[ος] οὖν τοῦ δέοντος και[ρ]οῦ τῆς τ[ρ]ύγης(?)
 φρο[ν]τιδος ἰκανῆς φορολογίας περι[σση]
 οσ[η]ς καὶ διαγραφῆς μοι ἐπικειμένηι [τῶν ὑ-
 ποκ[ε]ιμένων τῆς χρή[ας] βασιλ[ικῶν
 15 καὶ πυρίνου μερισμοῦ, ἀξιῶ τοῦ και[ροῦ αὐ-
 τοῦ] προσδεομένου ὑποτάξαι παρεπι[σχεῖν
 τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς μέχρι [τοῦ] ἀπὸ τῆς προκ[ε]-
 μένης ἀσχολ[ί]α[ς ἀπολυθῆ]ναι ἵνα [μηδὲν ἦι
 ἐμπόδιον.

9. l. ὑμῖν for ἡμῖν.
 corr. from a.

13. l. ἐπικειμένης.

14. l. τῆς χρεῖαι.

19. First ο of ἐμποδιον

'To the chrematistae whose clerk is Do . . . from Polemon also called Petesuchus, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon. Acusilaus and Ptolemaeus, both sons of Heraclides and inhabitants of the said village, have presented to me from you a copy of a petition alleging that I had defrauded them of some land, about which I too have presented to you a memorandum rebutting their charge. Since the proper time for the vintage (?) has arrived and excessive care is necessary to produce sufficient revenue, and I have impending the payment of the taxes and items of the corn-dues for which my office is responsible, I ask you, as the occasion itself requires, to give orders that my case shall be postponed until I am free from the labours above mentioned, in order that I may not be hindered in my duties.'

2. Πολέμωνος τοῦ καὶ Πετσοῦχου: elsewhere he is styled Petesuchus simply, e. g. 53. 1. It is not unlikely that he was the son of Menches, whose father was called Petesuchus (11. 1) and who had a brother Polemon (19. 1, cf. 17. introd.). The practice of making two names alternate in different generations, so that grandfather and grandson have the same names, is well illustrated by the survey-lists, 61-3.

10. The mutilated word is apparently not ἐπιστολῆς.

11. ἄρουγης: some word meaning harvest is required by the context and φορολογία occurs especially in connexion with vine-land; cf. Rev. Laws xxxiii. 13.

13. ὑποκείμενων: the responsibility for the collection of the various taxes was divided among the officials; a tax which was ὑποκείμενον to the komogrammateus in the third century A.D. occurs in B. G. U. 337. 9. At this period the taxes mentioned in 89 were very likely ὑποκείμενα to the χρεία of the komogrammateus, which would account for their appearance in 61. (β) and 72, since those documents if not drawn up by Menches were based upon his reports; cf. App. i. § 1.

30. CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING A CHANGE OF OWNERSHIP.

27-21.

27.7 × 31.7 cm.

B.C. 115.

A copy of correspondence between several officials with regard to the ownership of a κλήρος of 24 arourae, which had recently changed hands. Taking the letters in their chronological order, the earliest is a petition from Didymarchus son of Apollonius, a Macedonian of the 5th hipparchy and owner of 100 arourae, to Ptolemaeus and Hestiaeus, the officials in charge of the distribution of κλήροι to the κάτοικοι or military settlers (cf. App. i. § 3), complaining that though a κλήρος of 24 arourae near Kerkeosiris had been ceded (παραχωρεῖν) to him by Petron son of Theon, a Persian belonging to the same hipparchy, the land was still entered in the official lists as belonging to its late owner (ll. 15-21). On what terms Petron had 'ceded' the land is not stated. There is nothing to show that the cession was compulsory, or that it was the result of a sale. The παραχώρησις was probably a voluntary transfer, due

to the desire of Petron to escape the heavy obligations attached to the ownership of cleruchic land; cf. 124. 30-6 and p. 556.

The letter of Didymarchus is not dated but was probably written not long before Pharmouthi 8 of the 54th year of Euergetes II, on which day Ptolemaeus and Hestiaeus wrote to Apollonius, the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, enclosing the petition of Didymarchus and stating that their scribes certified to the correctness of the facts, and requesting the necessary alteration to be made in the survey-lists (ll. 10-4). The next step was for Apollonius to forward the communication from Ptolemaeus and Hestiaeus to his own scribes with a note ordering them to inquire into the matter. Business was not transacted with great celerity in Apollonius' office, for over nine months elapsed before the scribes wrote back to Apollonius stating that Petron was entered in the official survey-list as owning 24 arourae, and that these were admitted by the subordinates of Hestiaeus to have been ceded to Didymarchus (ll. 22-9). This letter is dated on Tubi 24 of the 2nd year of Soter II, and three days later Apollonius forwarded the correspondence to Polemon (perhaps the toparch; cf. 48. 6 and 17. introd.) with a brief note (ll. 6-9). Polemon seems to have at once handed on the communication to Onnophris, the topogrammateus (cf. 63. 122), who on the following day sent it on to the komogrammateus, Menches (ll. 2-5). The last stage in the proceedings is to be seen in 63. 122-5, where in the official list of holders of land ἐν ἀφέσει, drawn up in Menches' office, a note has been appended, referring to the correspondence preserved in the present document, and stating that the land had been ceded to Didymarchus; cf. 64. (a) 73 and the extract from 147 quoted in note on 65. 17.

The papyrus, which is in an admirable state of preservation, is a fine specimen of the official hand at this period. At the top is a memorandum by Menches similar to those already noticed; cf. 19. introd. The writing is across the fibres.

31 is a copy of correspondence about a similar case a few years later, and a fragment of a third set of letters of the same character is described in 239.

- 1 Ὀννώφρις (ἀρουραι) κδ, / κδ. (ἔτους) β Τῦ(βι) κθ. ἐλ(άβομεν)
(ἔτους) β Τῦβι κθ.
- 2 2nd hand Ὀννώφρις Μεγχεῖ χαίρειν. τῆς παρ' Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως ἐπιστολῆς
- 3 περὶ ὧν σημαίνουσι παρακεχωρήσθαι Διδυμάρχῳ Ἀπολλωνίου ὑπὸ Πέτρωνος τοῦ Θεώνος περὶ Κερκεοσίριν (ἀρουρῶν) κδ

- 4 τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπέκειται, ὅπως εἰδῶς κατακολουθῆς τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις.
 5 ξερρσο. (ἔτους) β Τῦβι κη.
- 6 [Ἀπ]ολλώνιος Ποσειδωνίου Πολέμωνι χαίρειν. τῆς παρὰ Πτολεμαίου καὶ
 Εστιείου τῶν γενομένων πρὸς τῆι
 7 συντάξει τῶν κατοίκων ἐπιστολῆς περὶ ὧν σημαίνουσι παρακεχωρηθῆσαι
 Διδυμάρχῳ ὑπὸ Πέτρωνος τοῦ
 8 Θέωνος περὶ Κερκεοσίριν (ἀρουρῶν) κδ καὶ ὧν οἱ γραμματεῖς ἀνενην[όχ]α-
 σιν ἀντίγραφα ὑπέκειται.
- 9 (ἔτους) β Τῦβι κζ.
- 10 Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἐστιεῖος Ἀπολλωνίῳ χαίρειν. τοῦ δεδομένου ἡμῶν
 [ὑ]πομνήματος παρὰ Διδυμάρχου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
 11 Μακεδόνος τῆς εἰς ἰπ(παρχίας) τῶν (ἐκατονταρούρων) τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑποτετά-
 χασιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν γραμματεῖς
 12 ἀνενηνόχασιν γεγονέναι αὐτῷ τὴν παραχώρησ[ι]ν τῶν κ[δ] (ἀρουρῶν) καλῶς
 ποιήσεις [. .] συντάξας
 13 καὶ παρὰ σοὶ ἀναγράψαι εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκολο[ύθω]ς.
- 14 (ἔτους) νδ Φαρμούθι η.
- 15 Πτολεμαῖῳ καὶ Ἐστιεῖῳ τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις καὶ πρὸς τῆι συν[τά]ξει
 παρὰ Διδυμάρχου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
 16 Μακεδόνος τῆς εἰς ἰπ(παρχίας) τῶν (ἐκατονταρούρων). παρακεχωρημένου
 μου ὑπὸ Πέτ[ρ]ωνος τοῦ Θέωνος Πέρσου τῆς αὐτῆς
 17 ἰππαρχίας τὸν ὑπάρχοντ' αὐτῷ κληρὸν περὶ Κερκεοσίριν τῆς [Πο]λέμωνος
 μερίδος (ἀρουρῶν) κδ, τῶν δὲ
 18 πρὸς ταῖς γραμματεῖαις ἀγνοούντων τὴν γεγνησῆσαν περὶ ἐ[μο]ῦ οἰκονομίαν
 καὶ [. .] ἔτι ἀναγράφουσι
 19 τὸν κληρὸν εἰς τὸν Πέτρωνα, ἀξιῶ συντάξαι γράψαι Ἀπολλ[ω]νίῳ τῷ
 βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ ἵν' εἰδῶς
 20 ἀναγράψῃ εἰς με τὰς σημειομένας (ἀρούρας) κδ ἵν' ὃ τετευχῶς [φιλ]αν-
 θρωπίας.
- 21 εὐτύχει.
- 22 παρὰ τῶν γραμματέων. τῆι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἐ[σ]τιείου τ[ῶν] γενο-
 μένων πρὸς τῆι συντάξει τῶν
 23 κατοίκων ἰππέων προκειμένη ἐπιστολῆι περὶ ὧν γράφο[υσι] παρακεχω-
 ρῆσθαι Διδυμάρχῳ Ἀπολλωνίου

- 24 ὑπὸ Πέτρωνος τοῦ Θεώνος τὸν ὑπάρχοντ' αὐτῶι περὶ Κερ[κεοσ]ίριν τῆς
Πολέμωνος μερίδος κληήρον (ἀρουρῶν) κδ
25 παρεπιγεγραμμένου ἀνενεγκεῖν τὰ πρὸς ταῦτα, ἐπισκοποῦντες διὰ
τοῦ ἀπολογισμοῦ τοῦ ἐδάφους
26 τοῦ νδ (ἔτους) τῆς Κερκεοσίρεως εὐρίσκομεν ἀναγραφόμενον ἐν κληρουχίαι
ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως
27 καταμετρημένῃ ἐφόδοις μεταβεβηκότα εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν (ἀρουρῶν) κδ,
ὡς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἔστιεῖον
28 γράφειν παρακεχωρήσθαι τῶι Διδυμάρχῳ ἀναφέρομεν.
29 (ἔτους) β Τῦβι κδ.

18. 1. ἀναγραφόντων. 19. ε of εἰδος above the line.

(Memorandum by Menches) 'Onnophris, 24 arourae, total 24. The 2nd year, Tubi 29. Received in the 2nd year, Tubi 29.'

'Onnophris to Menches, greeting. A copy is appended of the letter of Apollonius son of Posidonius, basilico-grammateus, about the 24 arourae near Kerkeosiris stated to have been ceded to Didymarchus son of Apollonius by Petron son of Theon, in order that you being informed may execute its instructions. Good-bye. 2nd year, Tubi 28.

Apollonius son of Posidonius to Polemon, greeting. Copies are appended of the letter from Ptolemaeus and Hestiaeus, late superintendents of the arrangement of catoeci, concerning the 24 arourae near Kerkeosiris which they state to have been ceded to Didymarchus son of Apollonius by Petron son of Theon, and of the scribes' report. 2nd year, Tubi 27.

Ptolemaeus and Hestiaeus to Apollonius, greeting. We have appended a copy of the petition which has been presented to us by Didymarchus son of Apollonius, a Macedonian of the fifth hipparchy of the hundred-arourae men. Since our scribes also have reported that the cession of the 24 arourae has actually been made to him, please order the land to be entered accordingly on your list too under his name. 54th year, Pharmouthi 8.

To Ptolemaeus and Hestiaeus, first friends and superintendents of the arrangement (of catoeci), from Didymarchus son of Apollonius, a Macedonian of the fifth hipparchy of the hundred-arourae men. As Petron son of Theon, a Persian of the same hipparchy, has ceded to me his holding of 24 arourae near Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon, but the scribes being ignorant of this transaction affecting me continue to register the holding under the name of Petron, I beg you to order a letter to be written to Apollonius the basilico-grammateus, so that he being informed may register the aforesaid 24 arourae under my name, and I may obtain redress. Farewell.

From the scribes. A note having been inserted on the above letter from Ptolemaeus and Hestiaeus, late superintendents of the arrangement of catoecic cavalry-soldiers, about the holding of 24 arourae near Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon owned by Petron son of Theon, which they write has been ceded by him to Didymarchus son of Apollonius, requesting us to report upon the case, we, on examining the land-register of Kerkeosiris for the 54th year, find him entered in the cleruchy as owning 24 arourae in the land apportioned in the reign of the king's father to the ephodi and

as having been transferred to the catoeci, concerning which land we report that the agents of Hestiaeus also write saying that it has been ceded to Didymarchus. The 2nd year, Tubi 24.'

6. τῶν γενομένων πρὸς τῆι συντάξει τῶν κατοίκων: in the Roman period the assignment of land to κάτοικοι was in the hands of officials called συντακτικοί under ὁ πρὸς τοῖς καταλοχισμοῖς (cf. P. Grenf. II. 42. 2). A συντακτικός is also found in 120. 50, 191 and 253. σύνταξις in the phrase οἱ πρὸς τῆι συντάξει (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 296), the officials to whom κάτοικοι paid the στέφανος tax, means, as the present passage shows, 'arrangement,' not 'contribution,' as explained by the editor. μάχιμοι συντακτικοί occur in P. Fay. Towns 145.

16. On the hipparchies at this period cf. note on 32. 9.

25. ἀπολογισμοῦ τοῦ ἐδάφους: cf. 61. (δ) 216. The reference is to a document like 61.

27. ἐφόδοις μεταβιβηκότα κ.τ.λ.: cf. 32. introd. and 62. 139-46. The construction is harsh, whether μεταβιβηκότα is co-ordinate with ἀναγραφόμενον or dependent on it. If κλήρον is supplied with ἀναγραφόμενον, μεταβιβηκότα must be altered to τοῖς μεταβιβηκόσιν. The 24 arourae owned by Petron represented his allowance as an ephodus, and though when he became a catoecus he also became probably a ἑκατοντάρουρος, he continued to own no more than 24 arourae at Kerkeosiris; cf. 32. 18, note, and p. 548.

31. CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING A CHANGE OF OWNERSHIP.

23-22.

14.3 × 31.3 cm.

B.C. 112.

A copy of correspondence concerning another change of ownership of a κλήρος, couched in almost the same terms as 30, but written three years later, and without a report of the scribes of the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, Horus, who shows himself much more expeditious than his predecessor Apollonius. Lines 15-22 contain an application to the official πρὸς τῆι συντάξει, in this case Aristippus, from Dionysius son of Dionysius, a Macedonian, requesting that a κλήρος of 34 $\frac{3}{4}$ arourae 'ceded' to him by Menander son of Pantauchus should be entered correctly on the official survey-list, and corresponding to 30. 15-21. Lines 10-4 are a letter from Aristippus to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, corresponding to 30. 10-4. On the same day the letter of Aristippus was sent on to Marres, the τοπογραμματεὺς (ll. 6-9), who forwarded the correspondence to Menches (ll. 2-5; cf. 30. 2-5). At the top is the usual official docket. The required alteration was made in the survey-list; cf. 65. 25 and note on 65. 17.

The writing is across the fibres of the *recto*.

ἐλ(άβομεν) (ἔτους) ε Φά[μ]ε[νῶθ] . .

2nd hand [Μαρρής] Μεγχεί χαίρειν. τῆς [παρὰ Ὡρου βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως ἐπιστολῆς περὶ ἧς δηλοῖ

[γεγο]νέ[ναι] παραχωρήσεως Δ[ιονυσίωι Διονυσίου ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Πανταύχου

κλήρον περι Κερκεοσίριν τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται.]

5

[[ἔτους) ε Φαμενώθ . .]

Ἦρος Μαρρεῖ χαίρειν. τῆς παρὰ Ἀριστίπ[που τοῦ πρὸς τῆι συντάξει τῶν κατοίκων

ἰππέων ἐπιστολῆς περι ἧς δηλ[ο]ῖ γεγ[ο]νέ[ναι] παραχωρήσεως ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου Διονυσίωι Διονυσίου τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειτ[α].

[[ἔτους) ε Φαμενώθ] κβ.

10 Ἀριστίππος Ἦρω[ι] χαίρειν. τοῦ δεδ[ο]μένου ἡμῖν ὑπομ[η]μάτων πα[ρὰ] Διονυσίου

τοῦ Διο[ν]υσίου Μακεδόνος περι ὧν δηλοῖ παρακεχωρησθαι αὐτῶι ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Πανταύχου κλήρου περι Κερκεοσίριν τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος

ἀρουρ[ῶν] λδ[ι]ς[λ]β[ε] [τὸ] ἀντίγραφον ὑποτετάχαμεν. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις συντάξας

καὶ παρὰ σοὶ ἀναγράφειν εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν δηλ[ο]υμένην γῆν. (ἔτους) ε Φαμενώθ κβ.

15 Ἀριστίπποι τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ πρὸς τῆι συντάξει παρὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου Μακεδόνος. παρακεχωρημένος τὸν Μενάνδρ[ου] τοῦ Πανταύχου κλήρον περι Κερκεοσίριν τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος ἀρουρ[ῶν] λδ[ι]ς[λ]β[ε], τ[ῶ]ν δὲ

πρὸς ταῖς γραμματε[ί]α[ι]ς ἀγνοούντων τὴν γεγονυῖαν οἰκονομίαν καὶ ἔτι ἀναγραφόντων τὸν κλήρον εἰς τὸν Μενάνδρον, ἀξιῶ συντάξαι[ι] γράψαι

20 τῶι βασιλικῶι [γρα]μματεῖ ἵν' εἰδῶς ἀναγράφη εἰς με τὰς σημαινομένας ἀρουρ[ῶν] λδ[ι]ς[λ]β[ε] [ἵν' ὧ] πεφιλανθρωπημένος.

εὐτύχει.

4. 1. κλήρου.

'Received in the 5th year, Phamenoth . . .'

'Marres to Menches, greeting. A copy is appended of the letter from Horus, basilico-grammateus, about the cession which he states has been made to Dionysius son of Dionysius by Menander son of Pantauchus of a holding near Kerkeosiris. 5th year, Phamenoth . . .'

Horus to Marres, greeting. Appended is a copy of the letter of Aristippus, superintendent of the arrangement of catocic cavalry, about the cession which he states has been made by Menander to Dionysius son of Dionysius. 5th year, Phamenoth 22.

Aristippus to Horus, greeting. I have appended a copy of the petition which has been presented to me by Dionysius son of Dionysius, a Macedonian, about the holding of $34\frac{3}{4}$ arourae near Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon which he states has been ceded to him by Menander son of Pantauchus. Please therefore give instructions for the said land to be registered on your list too under his name. 5th year, Phamenoth 22.

To Aristippus, one of the first friends and superintendent of the arrangement (of catoeci), from Dionysius son of Dionysius, Macedonian. As Menander son of Pantauchus has ceded to me his holding of $34\frac{3}{4}$ arourae near Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon, but the scribes being ignorant of the transaction which has taken place continue to register the aforesaid holding under the name of Menander, I beg you to direct a letter to be sent to the basilico-grammateus in order that he being informed may register the aforesaid $34\frac{3}{4}$ arourae under my name, and so I may obtain redress. Farewell.

32. CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING A NEW CATOECUS.

23.6.

32.5 x 30 cm.

B.C. 145?

This copy of correspondence is similar in form to 30 and 31, but differs in subject. It relates to the transference of Asclepiades son of Ptolemaeus from the ephodi to the catoecic cavalry. This change was made by 'the epistates and secretary' of these catoeci, Apollodorus, who sent a letter to Sosus and Aegyptus, officials described as appointed by the *πολίτευμα* of the Cretans, to which body Asclepiades had lately been admitted. Apollodorus had directed that Asclepiades should receive 24 arourae of land at Kerkeosiris and be placed in the 5th hipparchy of the *ἐκατοντάρουροι*; and these instructions were sent on by Sosus and Aegyptus to Pancrates, who was in charge of the arrangement of the catoecic cavalry, with a description of the personal appearance of Asclepiades and his infant son. Pancrates forwarded a copy of this letter to the basilico-grammateus; and another to Aristippus, probably the topogrammateus (cf. l. 1, note), enclosing a copy of his letter to the basilico-grammateus. Finally Aristippus sent a complete copy of the correspondence as it had reached him to Eumelus, probably the komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, with directions to see that Asclepiades should be released from the duties previously attaching to him as an ephodus; cf. 124. 37-40. Asclepiades appears in the catoecus lists among the *μεταβεβηκότες εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν ἐξ ἐφόδων* in the reign of Philometor, e.g. 62. 91, 63. 76; and the 36th year, in which the correspondence is dated, probably refers to the same reign.

The writing, which is large and handsome, is across the fibres of the *recto*.

Ἀρίστιππος Εὐμήλωι χαίρειν. τῆς παρὰ Π[α]γκράτους τοῦ πρὸς τῆι
 συντάξει τῶν κατοικίων ἱππέων γεγραμμένης ἡμῖν [ἐπιστ]ῆ[ο]λῆς

[ὑπό]κειται σοι τ[ὸ] ἀντίγραφον. στόχασαι οὖν ὅπως μ[ὴ] παρεί[ο]χλήσ[ῃ]ς
[τὸν Ἀσ]κληπιάδην εἰς τὰς ἐφοδικὰς λειτουργίας. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) [λ]ς
Παῦνι [. .

- 5 [Πα]γκράτης Ἀριστίππῳ χαίρειν. ἥς γε[γράφ]αμ[ε]ν ἐπιστολῆς
[.]ι τῶ[ι] βα[σιλικῶ]ι γραμμ[α]τεῖ τὸ ἀντίγραφ[ο]ν ὑπο[τετά]χα[μ]εν
[ὅπως εἰ]δή[ῃ]ς. (ἔτους) λς Φαμενώθ . .
[.]ι. τῆς παρὰ Σώσου κ[αὶ] Ἀ[ἰ]γύπτου τῶν θ . [.] . [.]ν
[.] προ[χειρισθέντων ὑπὸ τ[ο]ῦ πολιτεύμα[το]ς τῶν Κρητῶν
10 [γεγραμμένης] ἡμῖν ἐπιστολῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν τ[ῶ]ι Ἀσκληπιάδῃ ἀνηκόντων
[ἀντίγραφον ὑ]πόκειται [ὅ]πως εἰδή[ῃ]ς μετακείμενον αὐ[τὸ]ν [. .
[καὶ γέ]νηται ἀ[κ]ολούθως τοῖς προστεταγμένοις.
[Σώσος] καὶ Ἀ[ἰ]γυπτος Παγκράτει χαίρειν. ἐπέ[ι] προ[στέτα]κται δι' ἡμῶν
[τοῦς] κατοίκους ἱππεῖς ἐφο . [. . . .]των[.]αφ[17 letters
15 [ἐπ]έσταλκέ μοι Ἀπολλόδωρος [τῶ]ν πρώτ[ω]ν φίλων [ὁ ἐ]πι[στ]άτης
[καὶ] γραμματεὺς τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπικεχωρημένων
τῶι πολιτεύματι τῶν Κρητῶν ἀνδρῶν φ Ἀσκληπιάδην
Πτολεμαίου Μακεδόνα τῶν κατὰ μερίδα ἐφόδων ἐφ' ᾧ ἔχει κλήρον
περὶ Κερκεοσίριν [τῆς] Πολέμωνος μερίδος (ἀρουρῶν) κδ. καλῶς οὖν πώησε[ις]
20 καταχωρίσας καὶ [λαβῶ]ν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ ἱπ[παρχί]αι τῶν (ἐκατον-
ταρούρων) καὶ τῶ[ι]
Ἀπολλοδώρῳ προ[σανε]νέ[γ]κας. ὑποτετάχ[α]μεν δὲ κα[ὶ] τὴν εἰκόνα αὐ[τοῦ]
καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ ὄνομα.

ἔστιν δὲ ὡς (ἔτων) κβ βραχὺς μελίχρ(ως) κλαστὸς [20 letters
υἱὸς Πτολεμαῖος μηνῶν πέντε [

On the verso

25 Εὐμήλωι.

17. υ of ασκληπιαδην corr. from ε.

'Aristippus to Eumelus, greeting. Appended you will find a copy of the letter written to me by Pancrates, the superintendent of the arrangement of the catoecic cavalry. Endeavour therefore not to trouble Asclepiades with the duties of ephodus. Good-bye. The 36th year, Pauni . . .

Pancrates to Aristippus, greeting. We have appended for your information a copy of the letter written by us to . . . , the basilico-grammateus. The 36th year, Phamenoth . . .

To . . . Appended is a copy of the letter written to us by Sosus and Aegyptus, . . .

appointed by the polity of the Cretans, relating to the affairs of Asclepiades, in order that you may know of his removal to the fifth hipparchy and that the instructions may be carried out.

Sosus and Aegyptus to Pancrates, greeting. Since orders have been given through us that the catoecic cavalry should be . . . , Apollodorus, one of the first friends and epistates and secretary of the catoecic cavalry, has sent me from the 500 men who have been granted the polity of the Cretans Asclepiades son of Ptolemaeus, a Macedonian of the divisional ephodi, on condition that he has a holding of 24 arourae in the neighbourhood of Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon. Kindly therefore register the fact and receive him into the fifth hipparchy of the hundred-arourae men, and communicate with Apollodorus. We have, further, appended the description of Asclepiades and the name of his son. He is about 22 years of age, short, fair, curly-haired . . . , his son is Ptolemaeus, aged 5 months.'

1. Aristippus from his position was probably the topogrammateus; cf. 31, where Marres and Menches appear in the same places as Aristippus and Eumelus here. Pancrates is perhaps identical with the Pancrates mentioned in 99. 6.

4. *ἐφοδικάς*: the *ἐφοδοί* exercised the same kind of functions as the *φυλακίται*, with whom they are coupled in a Petrie papyrus published in Rev. Laws, p. 189; cf. p. 550. From l. 18 it would appear that Asclepiades was ephodus of the *μερίς*, not of a village, but he seems to have owned land at Kerkeosiris before he became a *κάτοικος*; cf. note on l. 18 and 96. 3 *ἐφοδείας κάμης*.

9. *τ[ο]ῦ πολιτεύματος τῶν Κρητῶν*: cf. l. 17. Asclepiades, who as *ἐφοδος* was a 'Macedonian' (cf. l. 18), on becoming a *κάτοικος ἑπείεις* assumed the nationality of a Cretan. The hipparchies were in the third century B.C. sometimes arranged by nationalities as well as by numbers, as is shown by an unpublished Petrie papyrus. In the second century, so far as is known, the hipparchies were generally numbered, and the 5th hipparchy to which Asclepiades was promoted contained Macedonians and Persians as well as Cretans; cf. 30. 16. From 137 it appears that the *χιλιαρχίαι*, which probably were the corresponding divisions of the infantry, were also numbered, as in the third century B.C. (cf. P. Petrie II. p. 37 (c) 2); but the same papyrus mentions also a *ἑπαρχία* or *χιλιαρχία* of the Thessalians, and 32 shows that some kind of military organization by nationalities continued to exist in Egypt, as in Cyprus, where the *κοινά* of the various nationalities are frequently mentioned in inscriptions; cf. P. Meyer, *Heerwesen*, p. 93. The obscure class of *συγγενεῖς κάτοικοι*, who are often heard of in the reign of Philometor (62. 58, &c.), is perhaps to be connected with an arrangement by nationalities. The purely military significance of these national titles is also illustrated by P. Fay. Towns 11 and 12, where Theotimus son of Phileas is described first as a 'Persian of the Epigone,' and about twelve years later as a 'Mysian of the 4th hipparchy.' In the interval he had no doubt become a *κάτοικος*; cf. p. 546.

11. After *αἰ[τῶ]* something like *εἰς τὴν ἑπαρχίαν* is required, but it is not possible to read *εἰς*.

14. The word after *ἑπείεις* is not *ἐφοδος* in any form.

15. *Ἀπολλόδωρος*: cf. 61. (b) 222, and Strack, *Dynastie der Ptol.*, Inscr. 105 *Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον θεὸν Ἐδεργίτην θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν, Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἄετου τῶν πρώτων φίλων, δ' ἐπιστάτης καὶ γραμματεὺς τῶν κατοίκων ἑπείων*, who is perhaps the same person. The fact that the inscription belongs to the next reign need cause no difficulty, since 32 was written at the very end of Philometor's reign.

18. *ἔχει*: the possession of 24 arourae at Kerkeosiris by Asclepiades seems to have been a condition of his promotion to the rank of catoecus. 24 arourae was the ordinary

allowance of an ephodus at that village (cf. 62. 151-5), but though he was enrolled among the *ἐκατοντάρουροι* (l. 20), Asclepiades' *εὐήρος* at Kerkeosiris remained 24 arourae; cf. p. 548.

24. The line probably ended with *πέντε*, for it is not easy to give distinguishing marks of a child 5 months old, and there is a contrast in ll. 22-3 between the *εἰκὼν* of Asclepiades and the *δνομα* of his son.

25. At the left-hand edge of the papyrus opposite the name *Εὐμήλων* are the letters *χηρν*() in a small hand; they have no apparent relation to this document.

33. PREPARATIONS FOR A ROMAN VISITOR.

17.7 verso.

Height 31.4 cm.

B.C. 112.

A copy of a letter to Asclepiades, superintendent of revenues (cf. 27. 98), probably from a high official at Alexandria, enclosed by Hermias (probably the Hermias of 27. 27) to Horus the basilico-grammateus, announcing the approaching visit to the Fayûm of a Roman senator, Lucius Memmius, and giving directions for his reception and entertainment. This Memmius is possibly to be identified with the L. Memmius of the Menenian tribe whose name is recorded in a *senatus consultum* preserved in an inscription from Adramyttium, probably belonging to this period (*Ephem. Epigr.* iv. p. 215). He was coming to the Fayûm as a tourist (*ἐπὶ θεωρίαν*, l. 6), and was to see the regular sights, which are familiar to us from the pages of Herodotus and his successors, such as the labyrinth and the sacred crocodiles. Lake Moeris is not mentioned, an omission which is not surprising seeing that it had by this time ceased to be a conspicuous feature of the Fayûm, especially in the winter when the visit of Memmius took place. The wonders of the lake are much exaggerated by Strabo, who visited the Fayûm about 100 years later but seems to have largely borrowed his account of Lake Moeris from older sources; cf. *Fayûm Towns*, pp. 16-7. At the end of the letter was given a list of the supplies to be presented to Memmius, but the last few lines are unfortunately much mutilated. This document is written on the *verso* of the papyrus containing 75, in the same small cursive hand as that of 2 verso.

Ἐρμι(ας) Ὁρωι χαίρειν. τῆς πρὸς Ἀσκλη(πιάδην) ἐπισ(τολῆς) ἀντίγρ(αφον)
ὑπόκει(ται).

[φρόν]τισον οὖν ἵνα γένη(ται) ἀκολούθως. ἔρρω(σο). [(ἔτους)] ε Ἰαντικὸς εἰς
Μεχεῖρ εἰς.

- Ἀσκλη(πιάδει). Λεύκιος Μέμμιος Ῥωμαῖος τῶν ἀπὸ
 συνκλήτου ἐν μίζονι ἀξιώματι κα[ι] τιμῆι
- 5 κείμενος τὸν ἐκ τῆς πῆ(λεως) ἀνάπλουν ἕως τοῦ Ἄρσι(νοῖτου) νο(μοῦ)
 ἐπὶ θεωρίαν ποιούμενος μεγαλο{υ}πρεπέστερον
 ἐγδεχθήτωι, καὶ φρόντισον ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν
 καθηκόντων τόπων αἴ τε αὐλαὶ κατασκευασ-
 [θ]ήσ[ο]νται καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐγβα(τηρία) ε[.].ε[.]. . .
- 10 π συντελεσθήσονται καὶ αὐτῶι προσ-
 ενεχθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγβα(τηρίας) τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα) ξένια,
 καὶ τ[ὰ] εἰς τὸν τῆς αὐλῆς καταρτισμὸν
 καὶ τὸ γεινόμενον τῶι Πετεσούχωι καὶ τοῖς κροκα(δείλοις)
 ψωμίον καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ λαβυρίνθου θέαν
- 15 καὶ τὰ . [.] . [.] ταθησόμενα θύματα καὶ τῆς
 θυσι[α]ς χ . ηκ . υ[. .] τα:, τὸ δ' ὄλον ἐπὶ πάντων .
 τὴν μεγίστην φροντίδα ποιουμένου τοῦ εὐδοκοῦν[τ]α
 τὸν ἄνδρα κατασταθῆ[ναι] τὴν πᾶσαν προσενέγκαι
 σπουδῆ[ν] . . . τε[.] . στ[18 letters] μο
- 20 λ . . ησ . [.] α . . [.] . η . δα . [.] . [14 letters] γ
 τηστ[. .] εικα . [. . .] πομ . . [.
 [15 letters] νε . [.
 [10 "] . ι . τ . ρ . . . τ . [.
 [13 "] ἄρτοι . [.
- 25 [8 "] καταί λ λ[

2. ακολουθῶς above the line. II. εγβα() corr. 17. Second υ of ποιούμενου corr.
 1. ποιούμενος.

‘Hermias to Horus, greeting. Appended is a copy of the letter to Asclepiades. Take care that its instructions are followed. Good-bye. The 5th year, Xandicus 17, Mecheir 17.

To Asclepiades. Lucius Memmius, a Roman senator, who occupies a position of great dignity and honour, is making the voyage from Alexandria to the Arsinoite nome to see the sights. Let him be received with special magnificence, and take care that at the proper spots the chambers be prepared and the landing-places to them be got ready, and that the gifts of hospitality below written be presented to him at the landing-place, and that the furniture of the chamber, the customary tit-bits for Petesuchus and the crocodiles, the necessaries for the view of the labyrinth, and the offerings and sacrifices be provided; in general take the greatest pains in everything that the visitor may be satisfied, and display the utmost zeal . . .’

8. αἰλαί here apparently means 'guest-chambers'; the singular occurs in the same sense in l. 12.

9. ἐγβα(τηρίαί): cf. P. Petrie II. 4. i. 11, III. 39. i. 13, &c.

11. The ξείνα were specified in the last few lines.

13-4. Πεπεσούχοι καὶ τοῖς κροκο(δείλοις) ψωμίον: cf. Hdt. ii. 69 ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἓνα ἑκάτεροι τρίφουσι κροκόδειλον . . . σιτία ἀποτακτὰ δίδοντες, and Strabo, xvii. 811 σφόδρα γὰρ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ τιμῶσι τὸν κροκόδειλον καὶ ἔστιν ἱερὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν λίμνῃ καθ' αὐτὸν τρεφόμενος, χειροῆχης τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καλεῖται δὲ Σοῖχος· τρίφεται δὲ σιτίοις καὶ κρέασι καὶ οἴνῳ, προσφερόντων ἀεὶ τῶν ξείων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἀφικνουμένων.

16. The mutilated word before τὸ δ' ὄλον is probably a verb; but not χορηγηθήσεται.

19-20. Possibly ὁμολογησ . . .; but what precedes μ most resembles ω or κο.

34. LETTER FROM PHILOXENUS TO APOLLOS.

27-11.

30 X 12 cm.

About 100 B.C.

In this letter Philoxenus, clearly an official of fairly high rank, requests his brother Apollos to take steps for the release of some one who had been arrested for debt. The reason assigned by the writer is that he had received a letter from a certain Demetrius, no doubt another official, stating that the individual in prison was under his (Demetrius') 'protection.' This practice of obtaining the patronage of influential persons is further illustrated by 40, and doubtless led to much bribery. The officials themselves were also compelled to resort to it; cf. 5. 186, note, and 9. introd.

Below the letter are some scribblings in two different hands, mentioning Ἀθηνίων Ἀρχίου (cf. 61. (a) 4).

Φιλόξενος Ἀπολλῶτι τῷ
 ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν καὶ ἐρῶσθαι.
 ἄμα τῷ σε λαβὴν τὸ ἐπιστόλιον
 συνελθεῖν Ὠρφ Κόβτι
 5 πρὸς Ἑρμίαν τὸν κωμογρα(μματέα)
 χάριν τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπηγμένου
 καὶ πρὸς Χαιρήμωνα τὸν
 πράκτορα. ἀπολυθήτωι δὲ
 καὶ μὴ παρανοχλεῖ(σ)θω ὑπ' οὐδενὸς
 10 διὰ τὸ γεγραφεῖναι ἡμῖν
 Δη(μῆ)τριος περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὄντα δὲ αὐτοῦ

κ

ὑπὸ σκέπην καὶ γεωργί(ν).
 γράφω σοι δὲ διαστολὰς αὐτοῖς
 δοῦναι.

3. This line is a later insertion. 4. l. Κότυος (cf. 119. 13). 6. παρ αὐτου above the line. 9. l. παρενοχλεί(σ)θω. 11. l. Δημήτριον. περι αὐτου above the line.

'Philoxenus to Apollos his brother, greeting and good health. As soon as you receive this letter go with Horus son of Kotys to see Hermias the komogrammátetus about the person he has arrested, and to Chaeremon the collector; and let him be released and not be troubled by anybody, for Demetrius has written to me about him, saying that he is under his protection, and his tenant. I am therefore writing to you to give them instructions.'

35. LETTER FIXING THE PRICE OF MYRRH.

27.6.

31.2 x 19.5 cm.

B. C. III.

A circular letter from Apollonius, whose official title is not given, addressed to the epistatae in the division of Polemon and other officials who were concerned, regulating the price of myrrh. The epistatae and others, by whom the myrrh was sold, are for their part instructed not to demand more than a certain sum for the mina's weight; and appended to the letter is a proclamation which was to be published, directing purchasers not to pay more than the prescribed amount. A complete parallel to this ordinance is found in Rev. Laws xl. 9-20, where the retail price of the different kinds of oil is similarly fixed by the government. The sale of the myrrh through government officials also has its analogue in Rev. Laws xlviii-xlix, where the provision is made that the oil which the retail traders agreed to dispose of should be taken to the villages by the oconomus and antigrapheus and sold by auction. These parallels render it practically certain that the trade in myrrh, like that in oil, was a state monopoly; and this conclusion is borne out by a papyrus of the third century B. C. found by us in the Fayûm in 1901, in which λιβανωτικὰ φορτία (raw produce, cf. 5. 195, 105. 24, &c.) are coupled with myrrh, and the ὠνάι relating to these products are referred to. Myrrh is not elsewhere often mentioned in the papyri; it was used in the service of the temples (B. G. U. 1), and also occurs in a private account of the middle of the second century B. C. (P. Grenf. I. 14. 10, 11). But no doubt it played an important part in the preparation of the various perfumes of which the Egyptians were so fond; cf. Pliny, *H. N.* xiii. 6. 26 *terrarum omnium Aegyptus accommodatissima unguentis.*

The price here fixed for a mina's weight of myrrh is 40 drachmae of silver, or in copper 3 talents 2000 drachmae, i.e. a proportion of 1 to 500. Here therefore we have, expressed in the clearest manner, the ratio between the values of silver and copper drachmae at this period. Similar ratios, ranging from 1:495 to 1:375, are given by numerous other papyri in this volume; cf. Appendix ii, where the new evidence with regard to the relations between silver and copper under the Ptolemies is discussed.

Ἀπολλώνιος [τ]οῖς ἐν τῇ Πολέμωνος μερίδος
ἐπιστάταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐπὶ χρεῶν τετα-
γμένοις χάρειν. τῆς ἀναδεδομένης κατὰ κόμην
ζμύρνης μηδένα πλείον πράσσει{σι}ν τῆς
5 μᾶς ἀργυρίου) (δραχμῶν) μ, ἐν χαλκῶι) (ταλάντων) γ Β, καὶ τοῦτοις κατα-
γωγίμου τῶι (ταλάντωι) (δραχμῶν) Σ, ταῦτα δὲ διαγράφειν) ἕως γ
τοῦ Φαρμούθι τῶι ἀπεσταλμένωι τούτωι χάριν
πράκτορι. τὸ δ' ὑποκείμενον πρόγραμμα ἐκτεθή-
ται καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ κομογραμματέως
10 γνώμης, δε κ[α]λ μεθ' ὑμῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐντο-
λὴν {ε} ὑπογράφει. ἦι ὅτι ὁ παρὰ ταῦτα ποι-
ῶν ἔ[α]υτὸν [[ε.]] αἰτιάσεται. πεπρόμφαμεν
δὲ τούτων χάριν καὶ τοὺς μαχαιοφόρους.

ἔρρωσθε. (ἔτους) 5 Φαρμούθι β.

15 τοὺς ἐπ. . . () παρὰ τῶν κατὰ κόμην ἐπιστατῶν
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζμύρναν μὴ πλείον διαγράφειν
τῆς μᾶς ἀργυρίου) (δραχμῶν) μ, ἐν χαλκῶι) (ταλάντων) γ (δραχμῶν) Β,
καὶ
καταγωγίον τῶι (ταλάντωι) (δραχμῶν) Σ, ἦι ὅτι παρὰ
ταῦτα ποιῶν ἑαυτὸν αἰτιάσεται.

1. l. μερίδι. 3. s of τῆς corr. from ν. 4. ν of πράσσεισιν corr. from τ. 5. μ of
καταγωγίμου above the line. 7. l. τούτων. 12. First α of αἰτιασεται corr.

‘Apollonius to the epistatae in the division of Polemon and the other officials, greeting. For the myrrh distributed in the villages no one shall exact more than 40 drachmae of silver for a mina-weight, or in copper 3 talents 2000 drachmae, and for carriage 200 drachmae on the talent; which sum shall be paid not later than Pharmouthi 3 to the collector sent for this purpose. Let the following proclamation be published with the concurrence of the komogrammateus, who shall append his signature to the

edict together with yours. Any one disobeying these orders will render himself liable to accusation. We have therefore also sent the sword-bearers. Good-bye. The 6th year, Pharmouthi 2.

Purchasers of myrrh from the epistatae of the various villages shall not pay more than 40 drachmae of silver for the mina-weight, or in copper 3 talents 2000 drachmae, and for carriage 200 drachmae on the talent; any one disobeying these orders will render himself liable to accusation.'

5. *καταγωγήμου*: cf. l. 18, where it is written *καταγώγιον*. The meaning is that when the price was paid in copper a freightage of 200 drachmae on every talent, or $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., was charged in addition. For the *καταγώγιον* cf. 121. 8, where it is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and P. Par. 62. v. 16-21, where the charge in the case of *ὄνοι πρὸς ἀργύριον* is $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in that of *ὄνοι πρὸς χαλκὸν ἰσόνομον* (cf. App. ii. § 5) 2 per cent.

13. The *μαχαιοφόροι* at this period were armed attendants on the various officials (cf. 105. 1-2 *τῶν περὶ [τὸν] στρα[τηγὸν] μαχαιο[ροφόρων]*), and 39. 23, P. Amh. II. 38. 3, 62. 3), rather than regular soldiers. *βασιλικοὶ μαχαιοφόροι* occur together with troops in an inscription from Hermopolis (Jouguet, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xx. pp. 177 sqq.) in the reign of Neos Dionysus. But P. Meyer's view (*Heerwesen*, p. 95) that *μαχαιοφόρος* was used not only in the Ptolemaic but in the Roman period for 'soldier' is not in accordance with the evidence. The *πρωτομαφόρος* of B. G. U. 241. 3, on which he seems to rely for his identification of *μαχαιοφόρος* with 'soldier,' obviously does not prove anything about *μαχαιοφόροι*, and where these occur in the Roman period (see especially P. Amh. II. 77. 20 *ὄσιακὸς μαχαιοφόρος*) they appear to be guards in attendance upon officials, as in the Ptolemaic period, but not regular soldiers.

15. Some participle meaning buying or taking from is required; but no compound of *λαμβάνειν* suits the vestiges.

36. LETTER CONCERNING TAXES ON LAND.

23.27.

11.5 x 14.5 cm.

Late second century B.C.

A letter from Apollonius informing Criton, a brother official, about certain payments of corn in connexion with the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax, *εἰσφορά* and tax of a 24th. On the first of these cf. 5. 59, note. The tax of a 24th on land is frequently found in these papyri; cf. 93. introd. and P. Petrie I. 25 (2). 2, 4. On the *εἰσφορά*, which was probably a special impost on land like the *ἐπιγραφὴ*, see introd. to 98.

Ἀπολλώ[ν]ιος Κρίτωνι [12 letters

πολλὰ χαίρει[ν] καὶ ἔρρω[σθαι]. γίνωσκε

ἐκπεπλη[ρω]θέναι ἡμᾶς τὴν κ[15 letters

μὴ προσδεχομένου ὑπὲρ τῶ[ν] " "

5 τριάκοντα ἀρτάβας ἀλλὰ ἐκπ[" "

πεπληρώκαμεν τὰς μηΛ (ἀρτάβας), π[ε]ρὶ [δὲ] τ[ῶν] τῆν
 ἱερὰν ἐχόντων ἐν ὑπολόγῳ τῷ μεε[.
 βασιλεῖ μετροῦσι πέπεικ' αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὧι τ[.
 τοῦ (ἡμίους) (ἀρτάβης) καὶ τῆς εἰσφορᾶς ἵνα ταῦτα εἰς τῆν [τετρα-
 10 κα(ι)ει{σ}κοστήν παραμετρήσωμεν [. . .]. [.
 περὶ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν πέπε[ι]καν τὰ περὶ [. . . .

On the verso

Κρίτ[ω]νι.

7. ἐν ὑπολόγῳ: i.e. not cultivated, opposed to ἑσπαρμένη; cf. 60. 37 and App. i. § 9.
 μεε[. . .]: με τ[ε]ι naturally suggests itself; but it seems impossible to read the letter after
 the second ε as anything but ι, though the papyrus is broken away immediately after it.

37. LETTER FROM APOLLON TO PETESUCHUS.

24.7.

29.5 × 8.6 cm.

B.C. 73. PLATE VI.

A letter in which Apollon requests Petesuchus to take steps against a number of persons from whom a fine was to be exacted, as he himself was too busy to attend to the matter.

The letter is dated in the 9th year, which is much more probably that of Neos Dionysus than Soter II. This papyrus was found in the same crocodile as e.g. 54 and 106; and the style of its handwriting is in favour of the later date (cf. introd. to 108).

<p>Ἀπόλλων Πετесоῦχοι χαίρειν. γίνωσκε Κεφα- λᾶν καὶ Πετесоῦχον καὶ τοὺς μετόχους προσελη- 5 λυθέναι Δημητρίῳ περὶ ὧν ἐὰν ὁμόσω- σι ἔργων ἐμβεβλή- σθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ παρα- τάσις δοῦναι αὐτοῖς. 10 καὶ γὰρ μεγάλως ἤρυ-</p>	<p>ἐκπορθῆσαι αὐ- 15 τοὺς. ἐγὼ οὖν περι- σπώμενος περὶ ἀναγκαίων γέγρα- φά σοι ἵνα ἱκανὸς γένη, καὶ πράξας 20 ἔχε ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλ- κῦ (τάλαντον) α ἕως καταβῶ καὶ λάβωι. ἐὰν δὲ ἀμελήσης</p>
---	---

θρίακε καὶ ἐγτέ-
ταλται μοι παραλα-
βῶν στρατιώτας

ἀναγκασθήσομαι
25 ἐγὼ ἐ[λθει]ν αἰριοῖν.
[ἔρρωσὸ]. (ἔτους) θ Χο(τ)αχ [.]

On the *verso*

Πετεσοῦχοι.

6. περι ων over an erasure. 7. ω of ἐργων corr. from ι (ι) 8. γην added above the line. 12. ι. παραλαβῶντι.

‘Apollon to Petesuchus, greeting. You must know that Kephalas and Petesuchus and their partners have applied to Demetrius concerning the works which they swear have been imposed upon their land, and that he gave them an extension of time (?). He has become much ashamed, and has ordered me to take soldiers and ravage them. Therefore, as I am occupied with urgent business, I have written to you so that you may undertake the matter; exact the money and keep of the copper one talent until I come down and receive it. If you neglect this I shall be obliged to come myself to-morrow.’

6-9. These four lines are obscure. If ἐργων in l. 7 and παρατάσις (for παρατάσεις) in l. 8 are right, the sense apparently is that Kephalas and his partners, from whom some payment was due, had asked Demetrius, an official, for extra time on account of some burden which had been imposed upon them. Demetrius consented to this, but afterwards repented and issued instructions to the writer of the letter, who occupied a subordinate post, to exact the payment. περι ὧν ἐάν ὁμώσωσι must then be taken to mean ‘the works, whatever they are, which they swear.’ The reading ἐργων is not very satisfactory; the γ is immediately followed by a long stroke like ι, which we have supposed was altered to ω. Ἐργίαν cannot be read.

IV. PETITIONS.

38. REPORT OF THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS ON A PETITION.

20.2.

24.7 x 30.8 cm.

B.C. 113.

This and the following text are both concerned with the oil-monopoly at Kerkeosiris. The manufacture and wholesale distribution of the different kinds of oil was a state monopoly, which was leased to contractors. The details of the management of this monopoly are given at great length in the third section of the Revenue Papyrus, containing the elaborate legislation of Philadelphus on the subject. The contractor at Kerkeosiris for the year

B. C. 113 was Apollodorus, who is here represented as incurring losses owing to the illicit sale of oil within his district. The present document is a letter from Menches to Horus, probably the basilico-grammateus (cf. note on l. 1), stating that a certain Thracian had been discovered smuggling oil, and enclosing the report of the affair which had been sent to himself by the contractor Apollodorus. The beginning of a similar report from Apollodorus to Menches is preserved in another papyrus from the same crocodile (125), but the wording does not exactly correspond with that of the copy here enclosed to Horus, so it may refer to another occasion. Some of the details of the story are lost owing to the lacunae at the beginning and end of the text; but the main outlines are clear. Apollodorus received information that the Thracian was selling smuggled oil at the house of Pêtesuchus, a leather-merchant at Kerkeosiris. Apollodorus accordingly proceeded to the house, where he found the Thracian, but did not at first see the contraband oil which he expected. A search, however, disclosed a quantity hidden among the skins of Petesuchus. Meanwhile the Thracian, taking advantage of this diversion of attention from himself, apparently took to flight, and whether his capture had been effected or not at the time of Menches' letter is doubtful; cf. note on l. 6. 89 records a similar case of smuggling in which Apollodorus had so far been set at defiance. His total loss on these two occasions is computed by him at 25 talents of copper.

The text is written across the fibres of the *recto*. On the *verso* is part of a list of names.

Μεγχῆς κωμογραμ[μ]ατεὺς [Κε]ρ[κεοσί]ρ[ε]ως τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος Ὠραι
 χαίρειν.

ἐν τῷ ἐν Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέτιδι συνεσταμένῳ [30 letters τῆς.

κατὰ φύλλον γεωμετρίας προσέπεσέν μοι περὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν ἐν
 τῇ κόμῃ ἐλαιο-

πώλην εὐρηκέναι τῇ ἰα τοῦ ὑποκ[ε]ιμένου μηνὸς Θραικά τινα παραπωλή-
 σαντα ἔλαιον

5 ἐν ᾧ καταγίνεται] Περεσοῦχος σκυτεὺς οἴκῳ 35 letters

καὶ τοῦτον παραδόντες Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ διεξ[ά]γοντι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστα-
 τεία]ν τῆς αὐτ[ῆ]ς

σὺν τῷ ἐπιτίμῳ καταστήναι ἐφ' οὗ καθήκει περὶ ᾧ ἐπιδέδοκέν μοι δ]
 Ἀπολλόδωρος

τὴν ὑποκειμένην προσαγγελίαν καλῶς ἔχ[ειν ὑπελάβομεν προσανεύ]και.

[ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους)] δ Μεχεῖρ ιδ.

- 10 παρ' Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ ἐξειληφότος τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἐλαίου
 τῆς αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ δ (ἔτος). τῆς ἐγλήμψεως εἰς τέλος καταλελειμμένης
 χάριν τῶν
 παραιοφερόντων εἰς τὴν κόμην καὶ παραπωλούντων Κολ[πιτ]ικὸν ἔλαιον
 καὶ κίκι, ὄθεν
 τῆι ια τοῦ Μεχείρ προσαγγελέντες μοι Θραϊκά τινα οὐ τὸ{ν} [ὄνο]μα
 ἀγνοῶσι τῶν ἐκ Κερκε-
 σήφews παραιοσηνοχότα ἔλαιον εἰς δὲ ἐνοικεῖ Πετεσο[ύχος σ]κυτέως οἶκον
 καὶ παρα-
- 15 πωλεῖν Θαῆσει τῆι καταγινομένηι ἐν τῆι αὐτῆι οἰκίαι [καὶ]μοι
 χηνοβοσκῶι
 καὶ τῆι τούτου θυγατρὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης, εὐθέως π[αραλαβὼν
 τὸν] ἐπιστάτην καὶ τὸν
 παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιφυλακίτου χάριν τοῦ καὶ σὲ μὴ παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶι ἔργωι
 ἐπὶ τὸν σημερινό-
 μενον τοῦ σκυτέως οἶκον κατέλαβον τὸν Θραϊκα ἔνδον ὄντα τὸ δ' [ἐπίτ]ιμον
 ἐκτετο-
 πισμ[έ]νο[ν], ἔρ]ευναν δὲ τούτου σὺν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενος εὐρον ἐν ε[. . . .]ωι
 ον
- 20 αὐτῆι [.] κλημένηι ἐλαίου ωσι[.]. ι κ[α]ὶ συμμ[. . .]ριαν
 δη
 καὶ ἄλλην [37 letters] . [ο]λ . . [.] τ[δ]ν
 Θραϊκα παρε[30 "] του σκυτέως κασῆι καὶ μηλωταῖς
 [44 letters] εἰς φυγὴν ὄρμηκεναι, τὸ δὲ
 [ἐπίτιμον] [34 letters] ὁ προγεγραμμένος Θραῖξ οὐ δια
 25 [. . .]ρεῖ [27 "] ὥστ' ἂν ἐπιγεγονένα]ι μοι βλάβος
 εἰς χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντα) ιε.
 διὸ ἐπιδίδαμ[ί σοι δ]πως περὶ ἐκάστων ὑπογραφῆν ποιήσῃ] προσυποτά-
 ξαντα
 ἀντίγραφον [οἷς καθήκει]
 εὐτύχει.

On the verso

Ἦρωι.

13. 1. προσαγγελέντος.

'Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon, to Horus, greeting. At the . . . of the land survey according to crops which took place in Ptolemais Euergetis news reached me that Apollodorus, the seller of oil at the village, had found on the 11th of the month below written a certain Thracian who had been selling oil in the house inhabited by Petesuchus, a leather-seller . . . handing this Thracian over to Apollonius, who is discharging the duties of epistates at the said village, together with the contraband goods, to be brought up before the proper officials. With reference to this case Apollodorus has presented to me the subjoined statement. I have therefore thought it right to communicate with you. Good-bye. The 4th year, Mecheir 14.'

'From Apollodorus, the contractor for the disposal of and the tax upon oil in the said village for the 4th year. My enterprise has been made a complete failure owing to the smuggling into the village and illicit sale of Colpitic and castor oil. Therefore on the 11th of Mecheir, when news had been brought me that a certain Thracian of Kerkesephis, whose name I do not know, had smuggled oil into the dwelling inhabited by Petesuchus, a leather-seller, and was selling it to Thaësis, who was living in the same house, and to . . . a gooseherd, and his daughter, inhabitants of the same village, I immediately took the epistates and the agent of the archiphylacites—as you were not present on the occasion—to the aforesaid dwelling of the leather-seller, where I found the Thracian indoors, but the contraband goods removed. After a search for it with them I discovered . . . concealed in a hide and sheepskins belonging to the leather-seller. (Meanwhile the Thracian?) took to flight, and the contraband oil . . . resulting in a loss to me amounting to 15 talents of copper. I therefore present to you this statement in order that you may subscribe to my statements and forward a copy to the proper officials . . . Farewell. (Addressed) To Horus.'

1. Ὅρασι: cf. l. 29. Both the basilico-grammateus and the komarch of this period were named Horus (cf. 27. 27 and 48. 3). On the whole from the contents of this letter it seems more probable that it was addressed to the basilico-grammateus, though in that case his name should strictly have stood first; but cf. 13 and 22. introd.

2. Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέτιδι: cf. 26. 12 and note on 92. 4.

6. It is not clear whether the Thracian had actually been arrested or not. From l. 23 it appears that he had effected an escape; and the purpose of Menches' letter may have been to ask Horus to assist in his capture. In that case some such supplement as *καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε ἀναζητήσαντες τὸν Θράικα* is necessary at the end of l. 5. But it is noticeable that the petition of Apollodorus apparently does not close with a request for the arrest of the culprit, as would be expected if he was still at large. The words *τοῦτον παραδόντες Ἀπολλωνίῳ* in l. 6 coupled with the fact that Apollonius had been present at the house of Petesuchus (l. 16) do not really prove anything either way.

τῶι διεξάγοντι κ.τ.λ.: cf. 15. 8 where, as here (cf. l. 16), the same phrase is found as an equivalent of *ἐπιστάτης* (l. 26). If *τῆς αὐτ[ῆ]ς*, as is most probable, means Kerkeosiris, Apollonius succeeded Polemon as epistates between Phaophi and Mecheir of the 4th year; cf. 39. 4-6.

7. ἐπίτιμοι: cf. ll. 18 and 24, and 39. 9 *ελαικὸν ἐπίτιμον*. A comparison of these passages shows that by *ἐπίτιμον* is here meant the contraband goods. The same sense is no doubt to be recognized in P. Petrie II. 30 (J) *ἀπέφαιεν Πᾶσις ὑπάρχειν ἐπίτιμον ἐν τῶι Μητροδώρου ἐποικίῳ (δραχμῶν) ρν*.

7-8. *περὶ ὧν κ.τ.λ.*: cf. 16. 19 and 26. 21-2.

10. *τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ τὸ τέλος*: so too 39. 2-3. *διάθεσις* is the word used in Rev. Laws for the disposal or distribution to consumers of the manufactured oil, especially at Alexandria, e.g. col. liii. 19 *ὅσον δ' ἂν ἔλαιον ὑποκηρύξωμεν λήψεσθαι ἐξ ἑκάστου νομοῦ εἰς τὰς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διαθέσεις*; cf. also xlviii. 3 *ὅσον δ' ἂν συγγράφωται οἱ κάπηλοι καὶ οἱ μεταβόλοι οἱ ἐν ἑκάστη κόμητι*

διαθήσασθαι ελαιον. *τέλος* is also to be explained by reference to the Revenue Papyrus, where the *τέλη* upon oil are of two kinds. There is firstly the tax on producers of raw material, amounting to 2 drachmae per artaba upon sesame and 1 drachma per artaba upon croton, payable in kind according to the published tariff of prices (cols. xxxix. 13 sqq., lvii. 6 sqq.). Secondly, a tax of 12 drachmae for every metretres was exacted on imported oil, the money being collected at Alexandria or Pelusium and credited to the nome for which the oil was destined (lii. 13 sqq.). Now of the two kinds of smuggled oil mentioned in l. 12, one, the Colpitic, i.e. Syrian (cf. Steph. Byz. *sub voc.* Φουίση), was liable to the tax on foreign oils; the other, the *κίαι* or castor oil, was manufactured from croton, upon which, as we have seen, a tax was paid by producers. *τὸ τέλος τοῦ ελαίου* therefore in the formula of these two papyri might perhaps be regarded as combining the two varieties of *τέλος* described in the Revenue Papyrus. But the objection to this is that there is no mention of croton among the lists of crops grown at Kerkeosiris (cf. 66-70). *τὸ τέλος* is therefore probably to be understood as referring to the tax on imported oil; though in that case we have to postulate a departure from the practice of the third century B.C., when the tax was collected not in the interior but at the port at which the oil was landed.

11. *τῆς αὐτῆς*: Apollodorus' sphere of operations was, therefore, the single village of Kerkeosiris; cf. Rev. Laws liv. 11 *ἕκαστος τῶν μεμσθωμένων τῆν κώμην.*

εἰς τέλος: cf. 49. 11.

12. *Κολπιτικόν*: the restoration is confirmed by the fragmentary-report to Menches (125, cf. introd.) which has *παραπωλοῦντων Κολπιτικόν ἔλαιον*. Syria was the chief source of the oil imported to Egypt; cf. Rev. Laws lii. 26, liv. 17.

14-5. *παραπωλεῖν Θάσει κ.τ.λ.*: by the law of Philadelphus the purchasers of contraband oil were liable to severe penalties; cf. Rev. Laws xlix. 16 sqq.

16-9. *παραλαβῶν κ.τ.λ.*: cf. 39. 10 sqq. In connexion with these two passages cf. the regulations in the Revenue Papyrus concerning *ζήτησις* (cols. lv. 17-lvi. 13), which was to be carried out in the presence of the agent of the *οἰκονόμος* or of the *ἀντιγραφεὺς*. The procedure described in 39. 10 sqq. was therefore in complete accordance with the laws of Philadelphus; but certain modifications of the older practice must have been introduced, since neither the *οἰκονόμος* or the *ἀντιγραφεὺς* was represented at the house of Petesuchus, their place being taken by the *ἐπιστάτης* and the *ἀρχιφυλακίτης*; while the implication of l. 17 here and 39. 13 is that the presence of the *κομογραμματεὺς* also was expected.

17. *χάρων τοῦ καὶ σὲ μὴ παρῆναι*: the absence of Menches is explained by ll. 2-3 above.

26. *δὴ ἐπιδίδωμι κ.τ.λ.*: cf. 45. 27 sqq., &c.

39. PETITION TO THE ΚΟΜΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ.

23-17.

24 x 10.8 cm.

B.C. 114.

Petition to Menches from Apollodorus, the contractor for the oil-monopoly at Kerkeosiris, complaining of two assaults committed upon himself and others by Sisois, whom he was attempting to arrest for smuggling oil; cf. the introduction to and notes upon the preceding papyrus.

Μεγχεί κομογραμματεὶ Κερκεοσίρεως
παρ' Ἀπολλοδώρου ἐξειληφότος τῆν

διάθεσιν καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἐλαίου τῆς αὐτῆς
 τὸ δ (ἔτος). τυγχάνωι καὶ πρότερον
 5 ἐπιδεδωκὼς Πολέμωνι τῶι τῆς
 κόμης ἐπιστάτει περὶ τοῦ προσπεσόν-
 τος μοι τῆι κς τοῦ Φαῶφι εἶναι ἐν τῆι
 Σισίβιτος τοῦ Ξεναπύγχιος οἰκίαι τῆι
 οὔσῃ ἐν τῶι αὐτόθι Θοηριείωι ἐλαικὸν
 10 ἐπίτιμον. εὐθέως παραλαβὼν
 Τρύχαμβον τὸν παρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου
 ἀπεσταλμένον ἐπὶ τὴν διαγραφὴν
 διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαί σε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πρα-
 γμάτων συνεκαλουθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν σηματο-
 15 μένην οἰκίαν καὶ ἐπελθὼν οὕτως ὁ προ-
 γεγραμμένος καὶ ἡ τοῦτοῦ γυνὴ Πausίρις
 ἐμπλεκέντες μοι καὶ δόντες πληγὰς
 πλείους ἐγβιασάμενοι ἀπέ[κλει]σαν
 τὴν τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ κ[αὶ τῆς οἰκί]ας
 20 θύραν. ὄθεν τῆι δ [τοῦ] Ἀθῶρ [ἐμ]πε-
 σόντος μοι τῶι Σισίβι[τ]ι παρὰ τὸ αὐτόθι
 Διὸς ἱερὸν καὶ βουλομένου ἀγωγὴν
 ποιήσασθαι, Ἰνείλοτος μαχαιροφόρου
 παρόντος καὶ Τρυχάμβου, ἐπεκχυ-
 25 θέντες ἡμῖν Πausίρις ὁ τούτου ἀδελφὸς
 σακκοφόρος καὶ Βελλῆς καὶ Δημᾶς
 καὶ Μάρων Τακωνῶτος σὺν ἄλλοις
 ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἀγνοῶι καὶ ἡμῶν
 ἐγκρατεῖς γενόμενοι ἐμβαλόντες
 30 ἡμῖν πληγὰς πλείους αἷς εἴχουσαν
 κράνοισ καὶ ἐτραυματίσαν τὴν γυναῖ-
 κά μου εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα κάμῃ
 ὁμοίως, ὥστ' ἂν βλάβος γεγονέναι τῆι
 ὄνῃι εἰς χα[λκοῦ] (τάλαντα) ι. ἐπιδίδωμί σοι
 35 τὸ προσάγγελμα ὁπ[ω]ς συντάξεῖς
 οἷς καθήκει ἵν' εἰσπ[ρ]αχθέντες

14. I. συνακολουθεῖν. 23. υειλοτος over an erasure. 24. α of και corr. 36. ος over an erasure.

'To Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, from Apollodorus, the contractor for the distribution of and the tax upon oil at the said village for the 4th year. I have already presented a memorandum to Polemon, the epistates of the village, concerning my discovery on the 27th of Phaophi that there was at the house of Sisois son of Senapunchis in the shrine of Thoëris here a quantity of contraband oil. I immediately took Trychambus, the agent of the oconomus who had been sent for the payment, since you and the other officials did not wish to come with me, to the house alluded to, and went there with him. Thereupon the aforesaid Sisois and his wife Tausiris set upon me and belaboured me with blows, and having driven us out they shut the door of the temple and of the house. Subsequently on the 4th of Athur I encountered Sisois near the temple of Zeus here, and wished to arrest him, Ineilos the sword-bearer and Trychambus being present. But Pausiris the brother of Sisois, a porter, and Belles and Demas and Maron son of Takonnos with others whose names I do not know hurled themselves upon us and overpowered us, belabouring us with blows with the cudgels which they carried; and they wounded my wife on the right hand and myself also, the resulting loss to my contract amounting to 10 talents of copper. I accordingly present to you this statement, in order that you may order the proper officials to exact from them (this sum. . . .')

9. Θοηρείωι: there were two shrines of Thoëris at Kerkeosiris; cf. 88. 16 and 23. For persons living in temples cf. 6. 40 and 44. 12. They are distinct from the owners of shrines, on whom see 5. 73-6, note.

12. διαγραφήν: this payment for which the agent of the oconomus was sent was perhaps connected with the ὠνή of Apollodorus.

15. καὶ ἐπελθὼν οὕτως more probably refers to the writer than to his assailant, and ἐπελθὼν should be corrected to ἐπελθόντι. παραλαβὼν in l. 10 is also a *nominativus pendens*.

22. Διὸς ἱερὸν: this shrine, like that of the Dioscuri in 14. 18, is not mentioned in the list of ἱερά at Kerkeosiris in 88.

40. PETITION OF A TAX-FARMER.

27.5.

32.8 x 12 cm.

B.C. 117.

An application from the farmer of the taxes on beer and natron at Kerkeosiris to the basilico-grammateus, asking to be placed under his protection as other inhabitants of the village had been, and requesting the basilico-grammateus to notify the fact to the village officials, so that he might be fairly treated. Below this (ll. 23-6) is an order to Menches, no doubt from the basilico-grammateus, to see that justice should be shown to the applicant. At the top is the usual docket of Menches.

The objects for which the patronage of the higher officials was required are illustrated by 34, where an official rescues one of his clients from imprisonment for debt. No doubt the privilege was costly to obtain, as in the case

of Menches who in order to secure the renewal of his office conciliated his superiors by a bribe (Θ. introd.). The abuses to which the practice led are indicated by the numerous sections in 5 dealing with the oppression of the people by the officials.

ἐλ(άβομεν) ἔτους νγ Τύβι ιε.

2nd hand Ἀμεννεῖ βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ
παρὰ Πνεφερῶτος τοῦ Παούτος
τοῦ ἐξειληφότος τὴν ζυτηρὰν
5 καὶ νιτρικὴν Κερκεοσίρεως τῆς
Πολέμωνος μερίδος εἰς τὸ νγ (ἔτος).
σαφέστερον μετειληφὼς τοὺς
ἐκ τῆς κώμης ὁμοθυμαδὸν
ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς σῆς σκέπης,
10 καὶ αὐτὸς προθυμούμενος εἶναι
ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας διὰ τὸ μάλιστα
ἐπιβάλλειν προνοεῖσθαι τῶν
βασιλικῶν, ἀξιῶ συντάξαι
γράψαι Δημητρίωι τῶι τῆς
15 κώμης ἐπιστάτει καὶ Νικάνορι
ἀρχιφυλακίτει καὶ Μεγχεῖ κωμο-
γραμματεῖ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις
τῶν γεωργῶν ἐπαναγκάσαι
τοὺς ἐκ τῆς κώμης κατακολου-
20 θεῖν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐθισμοῖς
ὅπως δύνωμαι τὰ καθήκοντα
ἀπευτακτεῖν. εὐτύχει.

3rd hand Μεγχεῖ κωμογραμ(α)ματεῖ). γενηθήτω
τῶι ὑποτελεῖ τὸ δίκαιον
" 25 κατὰ τοὺς τῆς κώμης
ἐθισμούς. (ἔτους) νγ Τύβι ιγ.

On the verso

3rd hand Μεγχεῖ.

23. γενηθήτω согг.

'Received in the 53rd year, Tubi 15.'

To Amenneus, basilico-grammateus, from Pnepheros son of Paous, contractor for the taxes on beer and natron at Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon for the 53rd year. Having received certain information that the inhabitants of the village are with one accord claiming your protection, and being myself anxious to belong to your house because it devolves upon you before all others to watch over the interests of the Crown, I beg you to order a letter to be sent to Demetrius the epistates of the village and Nicanor the archiphylacites and Menches the komogrammateus and the elders of the cultivators, with instructions to compel the inhabitants to follow the ancient traditions, in order that I may be enabled to pay my dues regularly. Farewell.

To Menches, komogrammateus. Let justice be done to the tax-payer in accordance with the traditions of the village. 53rd year, Tubi 13. (Addressed) To Menches.'

4. ζυτηράν: the manufacture of beer was probably a government monopoly (cf. 5. 170, note), and it is very likely that the sale of nitrate, which was used for washing purposes (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 264), and no doubt was produced as now by the government in the Νιερμώτης, was controlled by the state, like the sale of myrrh; cf. 35. introd.

11. ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας: cf. 54. 4.

15. In this passage the posts of ἐπιστάτης and ἀρχιφυλακίτης are held by different persons; cf. 43. 9, where Demetrius some months later than the date of the present document is found holding both offices.

20. τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐθισμοῖς: a conventional phrase; cf. 50. 25, P. Par. 16. 23.

24. ὑποτελεῖ: the tax-farmer Pnepheros is of course meant. ὑποτελής is a wide term applied to classes who contributed in different capacities to the revenues derived from the royal monopolies; cf. P. Par. 63. 97, and note on 5. 156.

41. PETITION TO THE ARCHIPHYLACITES.

11.3.

30 x 11 cm.

About B.C. 119.

A petition, or draft of one, to Cronius, ἀρχιφυλακίτης, from the komarch Harmisus and the cultivators of Crown lands, complaining that Marres the topogrammateus was trying to extort money by violence from their wives. To protest against this conduct they had gone on strike, and taken refuge in the neighbouring villages; and they point out the loss which would be incurred by the government if Marres was not brought to justice.

After finishing the letter, the writer rewrote a large part of it. When the space below was exhausted, he began again in the left-hand margin a little above the commencement of the postscript. Again reaching the bottom, he wrote the conclusion in the margin higher up (cf. P. Amh. II. 35). Owing to the minuteness of the hand and the partial obliteration of the ink the marginal additions are very illegible.

A Marres who was topogrammateus in the 51st year is known from 10. 9,

and another(?) Marres held that office from the 2nd to the 5th years of the next reign, the intervening topogrammateus being Onnophris; cf. 63. 122, 75. 20, and 149. 2. The second Marres is not likely to be the one mentioned here, for the strategus and komarch in his time were Ptolemaeus and Horus respectively (cf. 15. 15 and 50. 19), while here those offices are filled by Lysanias and Harmiusis. It is, however, extremely probable that the Marres here is identical with the Marres of 10. The date which apparently comes in l. 48 is very uncertain, but the year is possibly the 51st.

The writing is on the *verso* of the papyrus, the *recto* being blank. As there is a junction of two *selides* down the papyrus, there can be no doubt that it is a real exception to Wilcken's law about *recto* and *verso*, like 50, 128, 139, 181, 196, 223, 227, 240 and P. Brit. Mus. 401; cf. 15. introd.

Κρονίω ἀρχιφυλακίτη Κερκεσίρεως
 παρὰ Ἀρμύσιος κωμάρχου καὶ τῶν
 ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν. πυκνό-
 τερον Μαρρείου τοπογραμματέως
 5 σὺν ἄλλοις πλείοσι ἐν μαχαίραις
 παρ[α]γινόμενου εἰς τὴν κόμην
 καὶ [μ]ετὰ τοῦ παντὸς σκυλμοῦ
 συνεχεῖς ἐπιλήψεις ποιου-
 μένου τινῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐτέρων
 10 γυναικῶν διασείειν, οὐ στοχασά-
 μενος ὧν ἔχομεν παρὰ Λυσανίου
 τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ στρατηγοῦ πίστεων,
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἱκανῶν ἡμῶν
 ὑπόπτως ἐχόντων ἀνακεχωρή-
 15 καμεν εἰς τὰς περιοίκας κόμας.
 ὧν χάριν ἐμποδιζόμενοι τῆι
 εἰσαγωγῆι τῶν ὀφειλομένων πρὸς τε
 τὴν μίσθωσιν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνους
 διδὲ ἐπιδιδόμεν σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα
 20 ὅπως ὑποτάξῃς οἷς καθήκει
 ἵνα τοῦ Μαρρείου κατασταλέντος
 καὶ εἰσπραχθέντος τὰ σεισμάτα
 τύχηι τῆς ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιπλήξεως,

40 τῶν γεω(ργῶν)
 ὑπόπτως
 ἐχό(στων) ἀνα-
 κεχω(ρηκότων) εἰς τὰς

περιοίκας		αὐτ[οί] τε ἀπαρενόχλητοι ὄντες -	
45 κώ(μας) δι . . . ()		25 δυν[ώ]μεθα ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς	
. ὦν τὰ		εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ οὐθὲν τῶι βασιλεῖ	
γενή(ματα).		διαπέσει.	
(ἔτους) γα			
Παχ(ὸν) ι.			
34 αἱς ἔχομεν παρὰ		εὐτύχει. -	
25 Λυσανίου συ(γγενοῦς) καὶ		ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος Μαρρῆς πρὸς τῆ[ι]	
στρα(τηγοῦ) πίστει	30	διασεισει κατατρέχει τοὺς γεωργοὺς	
. . . . ἐκ τούτων		οὐκ ἐγγίνεσθαι πρὸς τῆι εἰσαγωγῆ[ι] τῶν	
ἐμποδιζομένων		[ὁ]φειλ(ομένων) πρὸς τε τὴν μίσ(θωσιν) καὶ τοὺς στεφά(νους)	
39 κατὰ τ[ὴν] εἰσαγωγ(ῆν)		διαταχα()	
		[. .]πα()	

17. Second ο of *οφελόμενων* corr. from η.

1-28. 'To Cronius, archiphylacites of Kerkeosiris, from Harmisus, komarch, and the cultivators of Crown lands at the same village. Marres the topogrammateus is in the habit of coming to the village with numerous others armed with swords, and with the utmost insolence making continual attempts at extortion upon the wives of some of us and of others, disregarding the pledges which we have obtained from Lysanias, the king's cousin and strategus; wherefore many of us, having had our suspicions aroused, have retired to the neighbouring villages. For these reasons we are hindered in the collection of the sums owed for both rent and crowns; and we therefore present to you this petition in order that you may give instructions in the proper quarter, so that Marres may be sent for and made to refund his extortions and may receive suitable punishment, and that we being undisturbed may be enabled to attend to the collection of the revenues and the interests of the king may suffer no harm. Farewell.

Since then Marres the accused besides his extortions oppresses the cultivators, it is impossible to proceed with the collection of sums owed for rent and crowns, . . . the pledges which we have from Lysanias, the king's cousin and strategus, whereby we are hindered in the collection, the cultivators having had their suspicions aroused and retired to the neighbouring villages . . . 51st (?) year, Pachon 10.'

7. *σκυλμοῦ*: from 16. 15 where *ὑβρεως* is altered to *σκυλμοῦ* it appears that the meaning of the two terms is nearly the same.

10. *οὐ στοχασάμενος*: 1. *στοχασαμένου*, referring to *Μαρρείους*. For the meaning cf. P. Par. 40. 45-8 *ὅτε τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοχασάμενοι ὅτε τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος*, and P. Tor. 1. ii. 20.

14. *ἀνακεχωρήκαμεν*: for another instance of a strike on the part of *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί* see 26. 18; cf. 61. (δ) 33, note.

18. *στεφάνους*: on this tax see 61. (δ) 254, note, and 93-4.

29 sqq. With this alternative draft of ll. 10 sqq. cf. 53. 27-30, which correspond to 53. 20-6.

32. The last word is not any part of *στοχάζεσθαι* (cf. l. 10).

42. PETITION TO THE STRATEGUS.

17 X 15.3 cm.

About B.C. 114.

A petition addressed to the strategus by a priest of Soknebtunis, to whom the principal temple at Tebtunis was dedicated, concerning a mistake in a contract. The petitioner, who had leased 6 arourae of domain land from the Crown, had made an agreement sub-letting the land to Thracidas son of Apollonius at a rent of 36 artabae of wheat per annum, but the *συναλλαγματογράφος* or official who drew up contracts had conspired with Thracidas to write 30 instead of 36, on the ground that the petitioner had already received 6 artabae as a pledge.

The papyrus, which was found together with several demotic rolls (now at Cairo) in a house within the temple area at Tebtunis, is not dated, but from the handwriting must belong to the end of the second century B. C.; the strategus to whom it is addressed is no doubt identical with the *Πτολεμαῖος συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγός* mentioned in 15. 15. The petition is written in very bad Greek.

Πτολεμαῖοι σ[υ]γγενεῖ καὶ στρατηγῶι
 παρὰ Μαρρε[ίου]ς τοῦ Μαρυθισούχου ἱερέως
 [Σ]οκνοβτύν[ιο]ς θεοῦ μεγάλου ὄντος [δ]ὲ καὶ
 βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν τῶν ἐκ Τεβτύνεω[ς τῆ]ς
 5 Πολέμωνος μερίδος. ἡδίκημένος καθ' ὑπερ-
 βολὴν ὑπ[ὸ] Ἀρμύσιος συναλλαγματογράφου
 τῆς αὐτῆς, ὁ γὰρ ἐγκ[α]λούμενος ἐν το αὐτῷ
 συνέπαυτος Θρακίδα Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν
 ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς, ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει
 10 Θωδθ ἐθέμην μίσθωσιν τῆς ὑπαρχ[ού]σης μοι
 περὶ τὴν α[ύ]την βασιλικῆς γῆς (ἀρουρῶν) 5 ἐκφορίου
 τοῦ παντὸς ἀποτάκτου (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) λς, τοῦ δὲ
 Ἀρμύσιος ἀντὶ τοῦ προκειμένου κεφαλαίου
 ἔθετο μίσθωσιν πυροῦ (ἀρταβῶν) λ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων
 15 ὅστ' ἔχειν με ἐν προδῶματι (ἀρτάβας) 5 τοῦ τοιούτου
 μὴ ὄντος, τὸ παρὰ τοῦτο [[ρ]] ραδιουργημένας
 [17 letters]του πράγματος

7. l. τῷ αὐτῷ συνείπε.

12. l. ὁ δὲ Ἀρμύσις.

'To Ptolemaeus, the king's cousin and strategus, from Marres son of Maruthisuchus, priest of the great god Soknebtunis and also a cultivator of Crown land, living at Tebtunis in the division of Polemon, I have been excessively unfairly treated by Harmiusis, the writer of contracts of the said village. The accused conspired together with Thracidas son of Apollonius, an inhabitant of the said village; in Thoth of the present year I made a lease of the six arourae of Crown land belonging to me near the said village at a fixed rent for the whole of 36 artabae of wheat; but Harmiusis instead of that sum made a lease for 30 artabae of wheat, on the ground that from the whole amount I had received 6 artabae as a pledge, such not being the case . . .'

14. ἀπὸ τούτων probably refers back to the 36 artabae; if it referred to the 30 artabae just mentioned, we must suppose that Harmiusis not only wrote 30 instead of 36 but said that Marres had already received beforehand 6 artabae of the 30.

43. PETITION OF MENCHES TO THE SOVEREIGNS.

28.9 recto.

31.2 x 39.5 cm.

B.C. 118.

A petition sent to Euergetes II reigning with the two Cleopatras, the 'sister' and the 'wife,' by Menches and his brother Polemon (cf. 17. introd.). The petitioners had been arrested and accused of being concerned together with several other persons in poisoning a certain Haruotes. The court, which consisted of the epistates of the φυλακίται of the nome, the basilico-grammateus and others, had acquitted them; but Menches and his brother were afraid that further charges would be brought, and therefore in the present document petitioned the sovereigns for a guarantee that they would not be molested in the future.

The same carelessness with regard to grammar, especially in the use of cases, which characterizes Menches' other productions, is not absent here. That he should have taken no pains to correct the Greek of this document is surprising, since it is not a draft but was actually sent to the king, as is shown by the ὑπογραφή at the end, written no doubt in the office of the ὑπομηματογράφος, directing the strategus of the Arsinoite nome to attend to the petitioners' requests.

The trial took place on Athur 19 of the 53rd year, and the petition was written probably very soon afterwards. The fact that Cleopatra II was still reigning at this date is of importance, because it has been generally supposed, on the evidence of demotic documents, that she was dead or had at any rate resigned power before the 53rd year. As a matter of fact Cleopatra II probably outlived Euergetes; see 5. 4, note.

The *verso* of this papyrus contains a letter to Ptolemaeus, probably the strategus (28).

Col. i.

[Βασιλεί]Πτολεμ[αί]ωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Κλεοπάτραι τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ βασ[ιλί]σσηι
[Κλεοπάτραι] τῇι γυναικί θεοῖς Εὐεργέταις χαίρειν
[Μεγχῆς] κωμο[γ]ραμματεὺς Κερκεοσίρεως τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ
Ἀρ[σ]μ[ο]ῦ[του] καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφὸς Πο[λ]έμων. τῇι ἰζ τοῦ Ἀθ[ύρ] τοῦ
ἐνεστῶτος

5 νγ (ἔτους) προσπ[ε]σβ[ι]ντος ἡμῖν Ἀσκληπιάδην τινὰ τῶν παρ' Ἀμινίου
τοῦ ἐπιστάτου τῶν φυλακῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ παραγείνεσθαι
εἰς τὴν κώμη[ν] καὶ κατὰ τὸ . . . [.]ον παρεγενήθημεν εἰς ἀπάντησιν
σὺν τῷ τῆς κώμης κωμάρχῳ [καὶ] τινῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν
[γ]εωργῶν καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ διεξάγοντι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστάτειαν
10 καὶ ἀρχιφυλακτεῖαν τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἄλλοις, οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες
[.]αμινῶν . . ὦν ἐξεδεξιασάμεθα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπλημψιν ἡμῶν
ἐποίησατο ὁμοίως] δὲ καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν γεωργῶν
Μαρρῆν Πετῶτος, προφερόμενος ἐπιδεδόσθαι κατὰ ἡμῶν
καὶ Μάρωνος τ[οῦ] Διοδώρου καὶ Πετεσοῦχ[ο]ν [τοῦ ο]ν καὶ
15 Σίμωνος τοῦ [. . ο]ν τῶν ἐκ τῆ[ς] αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀρτε[μι]δώ[ρου] κωμ[ο]-
γραμματέως [Ἰβώνος] (Ἐικοσιπενταρούρων) προσαγγελίαν ὑπὸ Ἀρυάτου τοῦ
Ἀρσιγῆσιος τ[ῶν] ἀπὸ Κροκοῦδλων πόλεως [. . . . ος] ὡς [. . . . υλη]
συνδεδειπνη[κ]ῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τινὶ καπηλῆαι ἐν τῇ κώμῃ
καὶ ἐπανείρηται αὐτὸν φαρμάκῳ, ὑφ' [ο]ῦ καὶ ἀναχθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν
20 Ἀμινίαν τῇ ἰθ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἐξ ἐπισκέψεως παρόντος καὶ
Ἀμενέως τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως) παραχρῆμα ἀπελύθημεν διὰ τὸ
ἀντίους

[ἀ]φανῆσαι, ὅθεν προ . . . ὠμενοι μὴ ποτε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν

[22 letters]του ἀναστρεφομένων] παρε-

[νοκληθῶμεν μηδὲ .] [.]τιμῶι τῶν προσαγγελ[λ]έν[τ]ων

Col. ii.

25 ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τισιν ἡγροηκότων ἐν τοῖς ὑμῖν
ἀνήκουσι συκοφαντηθῶμεν διασε(σε)ισμένων
προήγμεθα τὴν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καταφ . νγῆν ποιήσασθαι,

δεόμεθα, θεοὶ μέγιστοι νικηφόροι, μερίσαντας καὶ
 ἡμῖν ἧς ἔχετε πρὸς πάντας ἀντιλήμψεως,
 30 ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἐπισκέψεως ἐν συνεδρ[[ω]]λαί παρόντος
 καὶ [[παρόντος]] τοῦ βασιλικῆ γραμματέως πεφῆναμεν
 ἀνάιτιοι ἐὰν φαίνεται προστάξαι ἀποστ[τ]ε[ί]λαι
 ἡμῶν τὴν ἔντευξιν ἐπ' Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν συγγενεῖ
 καὶ στρατηγὸν δε ἀκόλουθος ὧν τῆ[ι] ὑμετέρᾳ
 35 βουλήσει προνοεῖται ὡς οὐθεὶς ἀν ἀδικη
 συκοφαντίας τε καὶ διασισμοῦ χάριν ὅπως
 μηθενὶ ἐπιτρέπηι τ[.].υπ[.].]ον περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
 παρενοχλεῖν ἡμᾶς μηδὲ περισπᾶν κατὰ
 μηδεμίαν παρεύρεσιν, ὅπως ὁ Μεγχιῆς
 40 ἀνεμποδίστως τὰ [τ]ῆς χρείας (σ)οι ἐκπλη-
 ρώσῃ, τετευχότες [τ]ῆς παρ' ὑμῶν
 εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ἀντιλήμψεως.
 εὐτυχίτε.

2nd hand Ἀπολλωνίω. ἐὰν ἦι οἷα προφ(έρ)εται προνοηθῆναι
 παρενοχληθήσεται

45 ὡς οὐ περισπασθήσονται. (ἔτους) νγ Παχῶν δ.

8. I. τισι for τινων. 13. I. Μαρρείους. 18. I. αὐτῶν. 19. I. ἐπαγγήρται αὐτός.
 23. κα of ἀναστρεφομεν[ε] corr. from πο. 24. Second ε of προσαγγελε[τ]ω] corr. from α.
 27. I. καταφυγήν; perhaps φυ is corrected. 28. as of μερίσαντας corr. 30. Second
 ε of ἐπει corr. from ι. οντος of παροντος corr. 32. Final ε of αναιτιοι corr. from ε?
 33. I. συγγενῆ. 44. ε of προφεται corr. from ον. 45. παχων δ above an erasure,
 the first letter being φ.

'To King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra the sister and Queen Cleopatra the wife,
 gods Euergetae, greeting, from Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris in the division
 of Polemon in the Arsinoite nome, and his brother Polemon. On Athur 17 of the present
 53rd year it came to our knowledge that Asclepiades, one of the agents of Aminias,
 epistates of the phylacitae of the said nome, was come to the village, and in accordance
 with (custom) we came to meet him together with the komarch of the village and some
 of the elders of the cultivators and Demetrius, who is performing the functions of epistates
 and archiphylacites of the said village, and other persons, and having no . . . we saluted
 him. But he arrested us and likewise Demetrius and one of the cultivators, Marres son
 of Petos, alleging that information had been laid against us and Maron son of Diodorus,
 and Petesuchus son of . . . , and Simon son of . . . , inhabitants of the said village, and
 Artemidorus, komogrammateus of Ibion of the twenty-arourae holders; by Haruotes son of
 Harsiësis, an inhabitant of Crocodilopolis, to the effect that they had dined with him at
 a certain inn in the village and he had been poisoned. Asclepiades brought us before
 Aminias on the 19th of the same month, and the result of the inquiry, at which Amenneus

the basilico-grammateus was also present, was that we were at once released owing to the non-appearance of the other side. Therefore being afraid that we may again be molested about the same affair . . . and be subject to false accusations and extortion in connexion with our reports owing to certain oversights in the matter of your interests, we have been impelled to take refuge with you, and we beseech you, most great and victorious gods, to bestow on us too a portion of that succour which you grant to all, and, since the result of the board of inquiry, at which the basilico-grammateus also was present, was that we were declared innocent, to be pleased to give orders for our petition to be sent to Apollonius, your cousin and strategus, who in accordance with your wishes takes care that no acts of injustice are done for the sake of calumny or extortion, in order that no one may be allowed to molest us on the same charges or to annoy us on any pretext whatever, and thus Menches may fulfil for you the duties of his office without hindrance, having obtained succour from you for our whole lives. Farewell.

To Apollonius. If the allegations are correct, see that he is not molested. 53rd year, Pachon 4.'

4. Πο(λέ)μων: though apparently holding no official position at this time, Polemon is very likely identical with the epistates of Kerkeosiris in the early years of the next reign; cf. 17. introd.

7. Neither ἴθιμον nor νόμιμον can be read.

15. Σίμωνος: one of the few references to Jews in the present collection of papyri. A synagogue (προσευχή) of the Jews at Arsinoë is mentioned in 86. 18.

26. The construction of διασε(σε)ισμένων is difficult; it might be taken as a genitive after συκοφαντηθῶμεν but for the fact that in l. 36 the συκοφαντία and διασεισμός are clearly attributed to Menches' opponents, not to himself. Probably he meant διασεισισμένοι, the wrong case being the result of the preceding genitives. Menches states that owing to his arrest errors may have crept into his accounts through ignorance and he feared συκοφαντία in consequence. He could claim an amnesty for his ἀγνοήματα under the φιλάνθρωπα of the 52nd and 53rd years; cf. 5. introd.

37. Νότ τὸ ὕστερον οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν. Perhaps τ[ο]ῦτ[ι]π[ι]λ[οιπ]ῶν.

44. PETITION TO THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

27-34.

30.6 x 9.8 cm.

B.C. 114.

A petition to Menches from Haruotes, a βασιλικὸς γεωργός, complaining of a violent assault made upon him at the temple of Isis at Kerkeosiris by a certain Horus.

Μεγχεῖ κομογραμματεῖ

Κερκεοσίρεως

παρὰ Ἀρνώτου τοῦ Φαήσιος

βασιλικοῦ γεωργοῦ

5 τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς.

[μέν τ]ινος ἐλοιδόρη-

[σέν με] καὶ ἀσχημοινεῖ

ὑστερον δὲ ἐπιπηδήσας

ἔδωκεν πληγὰς πλείους

20 ἦι [ε]ἶχεν βάβδωι. ἐπε[ῖ] οὖν

ὄντος μου ἐπὶ θεραπείαι
 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷθι μεγάλῳ
 Ἰσιεῖαι χάριν τῆς περι-
 εχούσης με ἀρρωστίας,
 10 τῆι δὲ κυ τοῦ Παχῶν
 τοῦ γ (ἔτους) Ἦρος Ἀρυώτου
 τῶν κατοικούντων
 ἐν [τ]ῷ δεδηλωμένῳ
 Ἰσιεῖαι συστησάμενός
 15 [μοι μά]χην καὶ ἔω[s]

ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν κινδύ-
 ν[εῖω]ι τῷ [ἦν διδ]
 π[ρο]σαγγέλλω σοι ὅπως
 ὑποτάξῃς οἷς καθήκει
 25 ἵν' ὑπάρχη μοι ἐν
 χρηματισμῷ μή ποτε
 ἐξ ὑστέρου παθόντος τί μου
 ἀθάσιος διαφύγη.
 εὐτύχει.

On the *verso*

30 κ(ομογραμματεῖ).

21. π of πληγῶν corr. from κ.

27. -ος τ in παθόντος τι corr. from ε . .

'To Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, from Haruotes son of Phaisis, cultivator of Crown land and an inhabitant of the said village. While I was in the great temple of Isis here for devotional purposes on account of the sickness from which I am suffering, on the 23rd of Pachon in the 3rd year Horus son of Haruotes, a resident in the aforesaid temple of Isis, picked a quarrel with me, and beginning with abuse and unseemly behaviour he at last fell upon me and gave me many blows with the staff which he was carrying. Therefore, since in consequence of the blows my life is in danger, I make this statement to you in order that it may be forwarded by you to the proper officials and I may have it placed on record, so that if anything happens to me subsequently he may not escape unpunished. Farewell. (Addressed) To the komogrammateus.'

6. ἐπὶ θεραπείαι: or 'for medical treatment.'

7. μεγάλῳ Ἰσιεῖαι: there were two shrines of Isis at Kerkeosiris (cf. 88. 29-34); but they were relatively unimportant, for neither of them owned any land.

25. ἐν χρηματισμῷ: cf. 49. 20 and P. Fay. Towns 12. 27 sqq. ἀποστεῖλαι μου τὴν ἐνευξὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς . . . χρηματιστὰς . . . ὅπως χρηματίσῃς αὐτὴν κ.τ.λ.

45. PETITION TO THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

12.3.

30.6 x 7.4 cm.

B.C. 113.

This and the two following papyri (46 and 47), with 126-7, form a series of petitions addressed to Menches by various βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ in consequence of damage done to their property on a certain day by a band of marauders headed by Pyrrhichus, a cavalry-soldier belonging to the catocci, and Heracleus,

a native of Kerkeosiris. These two men appear to have organized a regular raid upon the village for the purpose of plunder, and carried out their object, if the statements of the sufferers may be accepted, in the most determined and successful manner. Appended to the petitions is a statement of the articles stolen from the houses of the writers, who demanded compensation for themselves and punishment for the aggressors. The five documents strongly resemble each other in form and language, and were all written by the same scribe.

Μεγχεῖ κωμογραμματοῖ
 Κερκεοσίρειωσ
 παρὰ Δημᾶτος τοῦ Σεύθου
 βασιλικοῦ γεωργοῦ καὶ
 5 ὑπηρέτου γεωργῶν
 τῶν ἐκ τῆσ αὐτῆσ. τῆι η
 τοῦ Μεσορῆ τοῦ δ (ἔτους) ὄντοσ
 μου σὺν τοῖσ ἄλλοισ γεωργοῖσ
 πρὸσ τῆι πρακτι[ορειαί
 10 τῶν ἐνοφειλομένω[ν
 πρὸσ τὴν μίσθωσιν
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους), παραγενό-
 μενοι εἰσ τὴν κώμην
 Πύρριχοσ Διονυσίου τῶ[ν κα(τοίκων)
 ἱπ(πέων)
 15 καὶ Ἑράκλειοσ Ποσειδίππου
 τῶν ἐκ τῆσ αὐτῆσ σὺν
 ἄλλοισ πλείστοισ ἐν μαχαίραισ
 καὶ ἐλθόντεσ ἐπὶ τὴν
 ὑπάρχουσάν μοι οἰκίαν
 20 οὐδενὶ κόσμωι χρησά-
 μενοι συντρίψαντεσ
 τὴν παρόδιον θύραν

On the *verso*

κωμογραμματοῖ).

γενόμενοι ἔνδον ἀπη-
 νέγκαντο τὰ ὑπογε-
 25 γραμμένα, οὐθενὸσ ἀπλῶσ
 ὄντοσ μοι πρὸσ αὐτοῦσ.
 διδ ἐπιδίδωμί σοι ὅπωσ
 περὶ ἐκάστων ὑπογραφήν
 ποιήσῃ προσυποτάξαντα
 30 καὶ τοῦ ὑπομνή(ματος) ἀντίγραφον
 οἷσ καθήκει, ἵνα τῶν ἐγκαλου-
 μένων κατασταθέντων
 ἐγὼ μὲν κομίσωμαι τὰ
 ἔμαυτοῦ αὐτοὶ δὲ τύχωσι τῆσ
 35 ἀρμοζούσῃσ ἐπιπλήξεωσ.
 εὐτύχει.

θύρασ μυρικίν(ασ) β,
 ὑποπόδιον,
 σκαφεῖον,
 40 χαλκοῦ (δραχμᾶσ) ψ,
 σκοίκιον χαλκοῦν.

26. *vs of autours* corr. from *v.*

29. *l. προσυποσείξασ.*

' To Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, from Demas son of Seuthes, cultivator of Crown land and assistant for the cultivators of the said village. On the 8th of Mesore in the 4th year while I was engaged with the said cultivators in the collection of sums owing for the leases of the same year, Pyrrhichus son of Dionysius, a catocic cavalry-soldier, and Heracleus son of Posidippus, an inhabitant of the said village, proceeded thither with many other persons armed with swords. They went to my house and throwing off all restraint knocked down the street door, and having gained an entrance they carried off the articles mentioned below, although there was no dispute whatever between me and them. I therefore present to you this complaint in order that you may subscribe to my statements and further forward a copy of the petition to the proper officials, so that the accused having been produced I may recover my property and they may receive the punishment which they deserve. Farewell.

Two doors of tamarisk-wood, a footstool, a hoe, 700 drachmae of copper, and a bronze . . .'

5. *ὑπηρετοῦ γεωργῶν*: i. e. assistant collector of rents and taxes upon γεωργοί; cf. l. 9 and Wilcken, *Ost. I.* p. 557.

14. Πύρριχος Διονυσίου: no doubt the son of the Διονυσίου τοῦ Πύρριχου mentioned in lists of κάτοικοι at Kerkeosiris; cf. 63. 45. The practice of using the same names in alternate generations was very common.

41. For σκόικιον cf. P. Leyden C. iv. 17 σκόικια β (δραχμαί) ιε. The meaning is unknown.

46. PETITION TO THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

12.6.

30.3 x 7.7 cm.

B.C. 113.

Another petition to Menches from a βασιλικὸς γεωργός complaining of a raid on his house by Pyrrhichus son of Dionysius, and other marauders; cf. 45. introd.

Μεγχεί κωμογραμματεῖ	μου ἀπηνέγκαντο
Κερκεοσίρεως	20 τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα,
παρὰ Ἀρμύσιος τοῦ	οὐθενὸς ἀπλῶς ὄντος
Σαραπίωνος βασιλικοῦ	μοι πρὸς αὐτοῦς. διδ
5 γεωργοῦ τῶν ἐκ τῆς	ἐπιδίδωμί σοι ὅπως περὶ
αὐτῆς. τῆι η τοῦ	ἐκάστων ὑπογραφήν
Μεσορῆ τοῦ δ (ἔτους) ἐπελ-	25 ποιήσῃ προσυπο-
θόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπάρ-	τάξαντα καὶ τοῦ ὑπομνή(ματος)
χουσάν μοι οἰκίαν	ἀντίγραφον) οἷς καθήκει,
10 Πύρριχος Διονυσίου	ἵν' ἐγὼ μὲν κομισῶμαι
τῶν κατοίκων) ἰπ(πέων) καὶ Ἡράκλειος	τὰ ἔμαντοῦ αὐτοῖ δέ

Ποσειδίππου τῶν
 ἐκ τῆς ἀ[ύ]τῆς κώμης
 σὺν ἄλλοις πλείστοις
 15 ἐν μαχαίραις καὶ εἰσβιασά-
 μνοι ἔνδον ἐκκρού-
 σαντε[ς] τὸ χελώνιον
 τοῦ οἴκου τῆς μητρὸς

30 τύχῳσι τῆς ἀρμοζούσης
 ἐπιπλήξεως.
 —————
 εὐτύχει.

ἱμάτιον γυναικείου ἀξι(ον) (ταλάντου)
 α' Δ,
 χιτῶνα γυναικείου χειριδα(τὸν) Δ,
 35 στάμνον ἐν ᾧ χα(λκοῦ) Δχ.

25. 1. προσυποτάξας. 33. ον of ματιον corr. from α.

'To Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, from Harmiusis son of Sarapion, cultivator of Crown land and inhabitant of the same village. On the 8th of Mesore of the 4th year my house was invaded by Pyrrhichus son of Dionysius, a catoecic cavalry-soldier, and Heracleus son of Posidippus, inhabitant of the said village, with many others armed with swords. They effected a forcible entrance and after bursting open the lock of my mother's apartment carried off the articles mentioned below, though there was no dispute whatever between me and them. I therefore present this complaint to you in order that you may subscribe to my statements and further forward a copy of this petition to the proper officials, so that I may recover my property and the accused may receive the punishment which they deserve. Farewell.

A woman's robe worth 1 talent 4000 drachmae. A woman's sleeved tunic worth 4000 drachmae. A jar containing 1600 drachmae of copper.'

18. The difference between οἰκία, the whole building, and οἶκος, an *insula* or set of rooms, is well illustrated by the present passage; cf. 38. 14-5, P. Fay. Towns 31. 11-3.

47. PETITION TO THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

17.6.

26.6 x 8.2 cm.

B.C. 113. PLATE VII.

A third petition to Menches from victims of the raid of Pyrrhichus; cf. 45. introd.

[γ]εωργ[ῶν] τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς.
 τῆι η τοῦ Μεσορῆ τοῦ δ (ἔτους)
 ὄντων ἡμῶν ἐν τῶι
 πεδίῳ πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις
 5 ἧς γεωργοῦμεν περὶ τὴν

ἀπηνέγκαντο τὰ ὑπο-
 20 γεγραμμένα, οὐθενὸς
 ἀπλῶς ὄντος ἡμῶν πρὸς
 αὐτούς. ὧν χάριν ἐμπε-
 ποδισμένοι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις

κώμην γῆς ἐπελθόντες
 ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἡμῖν
 οἰκίαν Πύρριχος Διονυσίου
 τῶν κα(τοίκων) ἰπ(πέων) καὶ Ἑρά-
 κλειος Ποσειδίππου
 10 τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης
 σὺν ἄλλοις πλείστοις ἐν
 μαχαίραις οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ
 χρῆσάμενοι συντρίψαντας
 τὴν παρόδιον θύραν
 15 καὶ προσαγαγόντες τῷ
 πύργῳ θύραν διέκοψαν
 μέρος τι. γενόμενοι ἔνδον
 τὰς λοιπὰς θύρας συντρίψαντες

καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ὕδατος
 25 ἐπικειμένου διδ' ἐπιδί-
 δομέν σοι ὅπως περὶ ἐκάστων
 ὑπογραφῆν ποιήσῃ προσ-
 υποτάξαντα καὶ τοῦ
 ὑπομνή(ματος) ἀντίγρ(αψον) οἷς κα-
 θήκει,
 30 ἵν' ἡμεῖς μὲν κομισώμεθα
 τὰ ἑαυτῶν αὐτοὶ δὲ τύχῳσι τῆς
 ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιπλήξεως.
 εὐτύχει.
 ἔστιν δὲ τὸ καθ' ἓν
 35 θύραν μυρικί(νην),
 σκαφεῖα β,
 χαλκοῦ (δραχμαὶ) Σ.

13. 1. συντρίψαντες.

27. 1. προσυποτάξας.

'(To Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, from) . . . cultivators of Crown lands and inhabitants of the said village. On the 8th of Mesore of the 4th year as we were in the fields at work upon the land which we cultivate near the village, Pyrrhichus son of Dionysius, a catœcic cavalry-soldier, and Heracleus son of Posidippus, an inhabitant of the said village, invaded our house with many other persons armed with swords and incontinently knocked down the street door, and placing this against the tower broke through part of it. Having effected an entry and knocked down the remaining doors they carried off the articles mentioned below, although there was no dispute whatever between us and them. We therefore, being hindered in our work and that too while the water is out, present to you this complaint in order that you may subscribe to our statements and further forward a copy of the petition to the proper officials, so that we may recover our property and the accused may receive the punishment which they deserve. Farewell.

The list is:—a door of tamarisk-wood, two hoes, and 200 drachmae of copper.'

48. PETITION TO THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

7-1.

19 x 10 cm.

About B.C. 113.

A petition addressed to Menches by the komarch and πρεσβύτεροι τῶν γεωργῶν of Kerkeosiris concerning an assault. These officials had undertaken to collect 1500 artabae of corn from the γεωργοὶ by a certain date, in addition

to an extra levy of 80 artabae in connexion with the approaching visit of the king (Soter II). While engaged in collecting the corn at the village threshing-floor the petitioners were set upon by a number of persons, headed by one Lycus, and driven away. On the next day they brought the offenders before some official, but at this point the papyrus breaks off.

<p>Μεγχεῖ κομογραμματεῖ Κερκεοσίρεως παρὰ Ὡρου κομάρχου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν γεωργῶν τῆς αὐτῆς. 5 κεχειρογραφηκῶτων ἡμῶν Πολέμωνι τῷ τοπάρχῃ περὶ τοῦ παραδώσειν εἰς [τὸ βασιλικὸν ἕως 1 τοῦ Παχῶν πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) Ἄφ περὶ ὧν καὶ προσ- 10 εδρευόντων διὰ τε νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας μέχρι τοῦ τὸ προκει- μενον ἐκπληρῶσαι καὶ τὴν ἐπι- γεγραμμένην πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασι- λέως παρουσίαν ἀγορᾶν (πυροῦ) (άρτα- 15 βῶν) π, 15 τῆι δὲ γ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου μηνὸς δυντων πρὸς τῆι παραδόσει</p>	<p>τῶν ἐκφορίων καὶ τοῦ ἀλοητοῦ ἐπελθῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλω Λύκος σὺν ἄλλοις ἐν ὄπλοις καὶ σπασσαμένων 20 τὰς μαχαίρας ἐπιλαβομένων τοῦ ἐνδὸς ἡμῶν Ὡρου κομάρχου καὶ τούτου ἀγωγῆν μετὰ σκυλμοῦ ποιουμένων ῥίψαντα τὸ ἱμάτιον εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμηῆσαι, καὶ ἡμᾶς τε 25 σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς γεωργοῖς ὑπέπτως σχόντας συνδεδραμηκέναι, διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπο- δισθῆναι ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν παρά- δοσιν τῶν ἐκφορίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 30 ἐπιγεγραμμένων. τῆι δὲ δ συμψήσαντες τὸν Λύκον καὶ [τοὺς σὺν αὐ]τῷ ἐπὶ τ[ὸν]. [. . .</p>
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'To Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, from Horus, komarch, and the elders of the cultivators of the said village. We signed an undertaking to Polemon the toparch that we would supply to the Treasury by the 10th of Pachon 1500 artabae of wheat, and we have been working night and day to make up the aforesaid amount and also the 80 artabae of wheat for the supplies imposed in connexion with the king's visit. On the 3rd of the month mentioned below while we were engaged in the receipt of the rents and the threshing expenses, Lycus proceeded to the threshing-floor with other persons armed, and drawing their swords they seized one of us, Horus the komarch, making a violent attempt to carry him off, so that he threw away his garment and took to flight, and we together with the rest of the cultivators having had our suspicions aroused ran off with him; for which reason we were hindered with regard to the receipt of the rents and other imposts. On the 4th we forced Lycus and his companions to appear before the . . .'

12. τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην . . . ἀγορᾶν: the use of the word ἐπιγράφειν for the imposition of a special impost contrasted with regular payments is instructive, and supports our view of the ἐπιγραφὴ, on which see note on 5. 59. ἀγορᾶν here has the sense of *anpona*.

14. *παρουσίαν*: payments for the 'visit' of the king or officials are often met with in Ptolemaic papyri; cf. 5. 184, note, and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 274 sqq. The abuses of the system are the subject of one of the decrees of Euergetes II (5. 178-87).

17. *δλοητοῦ*, since it depends on *παράδοσει*, seems to mean a payment of some kind. Probably it is a general term for the various minor taxes at the *δλωσ*, such as the *κοσκινευτικόν*; cf. 90. introd., 92. 9-11, and 105. 24 πάντα τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐπὶ τῆι δλωσ ἀηλάματα καὶ λογευτικά.

18. *Λύκος*: perhaps identical with *Λύκος Ζωπυρίωνος* whose conduct gave rise to the complaint in 50.

23. *ρίψαντα*: the construction proceeds as if *ὥστε* had been inserted.

26. *συνεδραμηκέναι* might also mean that they 'ran together,' i.e. assembled; but the sense given in the translation is more appropriate.

31. *συμψήσαντες*: cf. 18. 15, note.

49. PETITION TO THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

23·24.

24·6 x 12·2 cm.

B.C. 113.

A complaint addressed to Menches by Apollophanes, a βασιλικὸς γεωργός, that the land cultivated by him had been inundated by the action of a neighbour, from whom he claimed damages; cf. 54.

Μ[εγ]χεῖ κωμογραμματεῖ Κερκεοσίρεως
π[αρά] Ἀπολλοφάνους τοῦ Διονυσοδώρου
βα[σι]λικοῦ γεωργοῦ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς.
τῆι κ τοῦ Φαῶφι τοῦ ε (ἔτους)
 5 *Νίκωνος τοῦ Ἀμενέως τῶν*
ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης ἐγλύοντος
τ[ὰ] ἐν τῆι ἑαυτοῦ γῆι ὕδατα
κατακέκλυκεν ἀπὸ τῆς
ὑπαρχούσης μοι βασιλικῆς
 10 *γῆς εἰς (ἀρούρας) βδ' ὑπ' ἀροσμὸν*
[οὔσ]ης ὥστ' ἂν εἰς τέλος ἀπο-
στρ[. . .]θαι καὶ [ἐπιγε]νέσθαι
μοι β[λάβ]ο[s] εἰς (πυροσ) (ἀρτάβας) κ. διδ
ἐπιδίδωμί σοι ὅπως τοῦ ἐγκαλου-
 15 *μέν[ο]ν προσκληθέντος ἐπαναγ-*
κασθῆι ἀποδοῦναί μοι τὸ βλάβος,
ἐὰν δὲ ἀπειθῆι ὑποτάξαι

τοῦ ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγραφον
οἷς καθήκει ἰν' ὑπάρχει μοι
20 ἐν χρηματισμῶι καὶ μηθὲν
τῶι βασιλεῖ διαπέσει.
[εὐτύχει.]

'To Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, from Apollophanes son of Dionysodorus, cultivator of Crown land from the same village. On the 20th of Phaophi in the 5th year Nikon son of Amenneus, an inhabitant of the said village, let out the water on his own land and flooded $2\frac{1}{2}$ arourae of the Crown land belonging to me, which was then being ploughed, with the result that they were completely (ruined) and I suffered damage amounting to 20 artabae of wheat. I therefore present to you this complaint in order that the accused may be summoned and compelled to refund me the damage; and if he refuses I beg you to forward a copy of the petition to the proper officials, so that I may have it placed on record and the king may incur no loss. Farewell.'

10-3. 20 artabae of wheat apparently represent the value of the total produce of $2\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, which is equivalent to $8\frac{2}{3}$ artabae for the aroura. The commonest rent for βασιλικὴ γῆ being 4 artabae and a fraction for one aroura, it may be suggested that the ordinary rent was one half the produce.

20. ἐν χρηματισμῶι: cf. note on 44. 25.

50. PETITION TO THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

23.2.

31.4 X 12.7 cm.

B.C. 112-1.

Another petition referring to damage done to Crown land. The grievance is in this instance the reverse of that mentioned in 40. According to the statement of the complainant, Pasis son of Petesuchus, the canal which watered his fields had been dammed up during a temporary absence by Lycus, the cultivator of the adjoining land. This had happened five years earlier than the date of the present document; and Pasis had at the time of the occurrence obtained an order from Menches himself, acting with the komarch and the 'elders of the cultivators,' that the canal should be restored to its previous condition. Lycus, however, had so far evaded compliance, and Pasis now computed his total loss at 150 artabae of wheat and 15 talents of copper.

The writing is on the *verso* of the papyrus, the *recto* being blank; cf. introd. to 41.

[Μεγχε]ῖ κωμογραμ[ματ]εῖ Κερκεοσίρεως
[παρὰ] Πασίτος τοῦ Πε]τεσοῦχου βασιλικοῦ γεωργοῦ τῶν

- [ἐκ τ]ῆς αὐτῆς. ἔτ[ι ἐκ τ]ῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων
 [έθισ]μοῦ δντος π[οτί]ζεσθαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν
 5 [μοι] περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην βασιλικὴν γῆν
 [δι]ὰ τοῦ διείργοντος διὰ τῆς ἐπικειμένης Λύκου
 τοῦ Ζωπυρίωνος καὶ ἐτέρων βασιλικῆς τε καὶ
 ἱερᾶς γῆς βασιλικοῦ ὑδραγωγοῦ, ἐν δὲ τῷ β (ἔτει)
 χωρισθέντος μου εἰς ἀλλοδημίαν περὶ ἀναγ-
 10 καίων πραγμάτων τῶν Ἀσκ[λ]ηπιάδου τοῦ
 συγγενοῦς ὁ προγεγραμμένος Λύκος νομίσας
 καιρὸν εὐφυῆ ἔχειν ἐπιβαλὼν συνέχωσεν
 τὰ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γῆι μέρη τοῦ σημαινομένου
 ὑδραγωγοῦ, ὥστ' ἂν ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐκπε-
 15 σόντα με τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ τοῦ τῆς γῆς
 ποτισμοῦ βλάβος γενηθῆναι εἰς (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) λ
 καὶ εἰς δαπάνην ἄλλων ἔργων τοῦ ποτισμοῦ
 χαλκοῦ (ταλάντων) γ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν
 παραλαβὼν σέ τε καὶ Ὠρον κωμάρχην καὶ
 20 τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῶν γεωργῶν ἐπέ-
 [δ]ειξα τὰ τε βλάβη καὶ τὸν ὑδραγωγὸν συν-
 [κε]χωσμένον, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ κριθῆναι τὸν
 [π]ρογεγραμμένον Λύκον ἐκσκάψαντα
 τὰ μέρη ποτίζειν με δι' αὐτοῦ ἀκολούθως
 25 τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς καθότι δίκαιόν ἐστιν. τούτου
 δὲ μηδὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐξεσκαφόμενος
 ἀλλὰ διαναβαλλομένου ὧν χάριν ἐκ-
 πείπτομεν αἰεὶ κατ' ἔτος τοῦ δέοντος
 καιροῦ τοῦ ποτισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ εἰς φύλλον
 30 γίνεσθαι μοι τὸ προκείμενον βλάβος τοῦ τε
 πυροῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ ἃ συνάγεται ἀπὸ τοῦ β
 μέχρι τοῦ ς (ἔτους) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ρν καὶ χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντα) ιε.
 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐξησθηνηκῶς
 ἐκ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ λόγον ἀπαντᾶν τὸν
 35 σπύρον ἐπιδίδωμί σοι ὅπως περὶ ἐκάστων
 ὑπογραφὴν ποιήσῃ προσυποτάξαντα
 καὶ τοῦ ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγραφον οἷς καθήκει,

ἵνα τοῦ ἐγκαλουμένου Λύκου καταστα-
 θέντος ἐπαναγκασθῆι πρὸ πάντων μὲν
 40 ἐσκάψαι τὸν ὕδραγωγὸν καθὼς προ-
 υπῆρξεν καὶ ἐκτεῖσαι μοι τὸ προκε[ι]μενον
 [β]λάβος τὰς ρν (ἀρτάβας) τοῦ (πυροῦ) καὶ τὰ ιε (τάλαντα) τοῦ χα(λκοῦ)
 [δ]πως δύνωμαι ἀνεμπόδιστος ὄν
 [τὰ] ἐκφόρια τῆς γῆς ἐκπληροῦν. καὶ μηθὲν
 45 [τῶι β]ασιλεῖ διαπέσει.
 εὐτύχει.

5. ν of την corr. 12. Second ε of συνεχωσεν corr. from α. 21. σ of συ[κ]ε[χ]ωσμενον
 added above the line. 36. 1. προσυποδέξας.

'To Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, from Pasis son of Petesuchus, cultivator of Crown land from the same village. It is an old-established custom to water the royal land belonging to me in the neighbourhood of the said village by means of the royal conduit which passes through the adjacent Crown and temple land of Lycus son of Zopyrion, and others. Now in the 2nd year during my absence from home on pressing business for Asclepiades the king's cousin, the aforesaid Lycus thinking that he had a favourable opportunity dammed up that part of the above-mentioned conduit which lay in his own land. The result of this was that I missed the right season for the irrigation of the land, and incurred a loss amounting to 30 artabae of wheat besides 3 talents of copper for the expenses of other irrigation works. I therefore at the time took you and Horus the komarch and the elders of the cultivators and pointed out the damage and the dammed-up conduit, and you decided that the aforesaid Lycus should dig out his part and that I should use it for irrigation according to custom, as is my right. Up to the present time, however, he has not done so, but procrastinates, causing me every year to miss the proper season for irrigating and watering the crops, and involving me in the aforesaid loss in wheat and money, the total of which is from the 2nd to the 6th year 150 artabae of wheat and 15 talents of copper. Wherefore, because my crops did not meet my expectations I was impoverished; and I make this complaint to you in order that you may subscribe to my statements and further forward a copy of the petition to the proper officials, so that the accused Lycus having been made to appear may be compelled first of all to dig out the conduit as it was before and to forfeit the damage aforesaid, the 150 artabae of wheat and the 15 talents of copper. I shall then be enabled to pay without hindrance the rent of the land and no loss will result to the king. Farewell.'

10. τοῦ συγγενοῦς here is probably the honorific title; if Pasis meant that Asclepiades was his own cousin he should have said τοῦ συγγενοῦς μου. The Asclepiades who was ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων at this period may be meant; cf. 27. 98 and 254, where he is called τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι.

29. τοῦ εἰς φάλλον: sc. ποτισμοῦ; cf. 72. 362, 105. 32.

33. ἐξησθημένος: perhaps 'fell ill.'

51. PETITION TO THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

12.7.

8.2 x 8.3 cm.

About B.C. 113.

Beginning of a petition to Menches from a βασιλικὸς γεωργός which is interesting on account of the mention of a συγγραφὴ τροφίτις made between the writer and the woman who was living with him as his wife. This term for a contract to supply τροφέια was known from P. Tor. 13. 9; cf. P. Oxy. I. 37. 9, and Wilcken's discussion of it in *Archiv*, I. p. 123. His explanation is fully confirmed by the present document. The συγγραφὴ τροφίτις here very likely took the place of a marriage contract, i. e. there was a kind of ἀγραφὸς γάμος (cf. P. Oxy. II. pp. 243 sqq.). The petition, so far as it goes, presents much resemblance to P. Oxy. II. 282, and probably, like that document, went on to complain of theft or similar misbehaviour on the part of the woman.

Μεγχεί κωμογραμματεῖ
 Κερκεοσίρεως
 πα[ρ]ὰ "Ωρου τοῦ Πετεχῶντος
 βασιλικοῦ γεωργοῦ τῶν [ἐκ] τῆς
 5 α[ὐτῆ]ς. συνόντος μου [.]θῶναι
 Τ[. . .]ου τῶν ἐκ τῆς [αὐτ]ῆς
 κ[ώμ]ης κατὰ συγγρ[αφ]ήν
 Α[ἰγυπ]τίαν τροφίτιν καὶ
 τα[ύ]την χορηγῶν πάντα
 10 τὰ [ἐξῆ]ς κατὰ δύναμιν τῶν
 [ὑπαρχόντων

10. Cf. P. Oxy. II. 282. 7 ἐπεχορήγησα αὐτῇ τὰ ἐξῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, and 104. 17-8 παρεχέσθω . . . κατὰ δύναμιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς.

52. PETITION TO THE EPISTATES.

12.4.

13.2 x 7.6 cm.

About B.C. 114.

Petition to Polemon, epistates of Kerkeosiris (cf. introd. to 17), from a woman named Tapentos, stating that her house had been forcibly entered

and that the contract relating to its purchase had been stolen along with other papers.

Πολέμωνι ἐπιστάτει
 Κερκεοσίρειως
 παρὰ Ταπεντώτος τῆς Ὠρου
 τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς. ἐπιβαλόντος
 5 εἰς τὸν ὑπάρχοντά μοι
 οἶκον Ἀρσι[.]νὴ καὶ ὁ ταύτης
 υἱὸς Φατρῆς ᾤχοντο ἔχον-
 τες τ[ῆ]ν τῆς οἰκίας μου συγ-
 γραφὴν καὶ ἕτερα βιοτικά
 10 σύμβολα. ἐγὼ οὖν διὰ τὸ με ἐν
 βαρ[τέ]ρα ἀρρωστίᾳ κίσθαι
 ἐνδεὴς οὖσα τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν
 καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα
 ζομοῖς βουλομένη [.
 15 θαι τὴν σημαινομένην καὶ
 καταθέσθαι εἰς διατροφὴν . . .
 τᾶλλα οἱ προστ[.]

4. l. ἐπιβαλόντες. 12. Second ε of ενδεης over the line. 15. ν of την corr. from σ.

'To Polemon, epistates of Kerkeosiris, from Tapentos daughter of Horus, of the same village. An attack was made upon my dwelling by Arsinoë and her son Phatres, who went off with the contract relating to my house and other business documents. Therefore since I am seriously ill, being in want of the necessaries of life and bodily . . .'

53. PETITION TO THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

27.4.

31.5 × 13.7 cm.

B.C. 110.

A petition addressed to Petesuchus, the successor of Menches as komogrammateus, by a cultivator of Crown lands, complaining of the theft of certain 'sacred' sheep belonging to inhabitants of Kerkeosiris.

On the *verso* is a private account of payments for oil, wine, bread, &c., similar to 112.

M

- Πετεσούχοι κομογραμματεῖ
 Κερκεοσίρεως
 παρ' Ὀρου τοῦ Κοινῶτος βασιλικοῦ
 γεωργοῦ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς.
 5 τῆι κ τοῦ Θωῦθ τοῦ η (ἔτους) τῶν
 ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς ἐκ τῆς κόμης
 γεωργοῖς προβάτων ἱερῶν μ ὦν
 τυγχάνω προ{σ}εστηκὸς
 νεμομένων ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν
 10 Κερκεοσίριν πεδίοις ἐπιθέμενοι
 ληστικῶι τρόπῳι Πετερμούθις
 Καούτιος (εἰκοσιάρουρος) καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφὸς Πετε-
 σοῦχος (ἐπτάρουρος) καὶ Πετερμούθις
 Νεχθνούφιος καὶ Πᾶσις Ἀρεμψούτος (ἐπτάρουροι)
 15 ὁμοίως σὺν ἑτέροις καὶ Πετερμούθις
 Φεμβροήριος ἐπικαλούμενος
 Πατσαῖσις τῶν ἐγ Βερενικίδος
 Θεομοφδρου περιήλασαν πρόβαρα
 σύμμεικτα μ ἐν οἷς πεπ . . μενα
 20 ἔγτοκα ιβ. ἀξιῶ ὑποτάξαι τοῦ
 ὑπομνήματος ἀντίγραφον οἷς καθήκει
 ὅπως οἱ εὐθυνόμενοι ἀναζητηθ[έ]ντες
 τὰ μὲν κτήνη ἀποδοθῆ αὐτοῖ δὲ
 τύχῳσι ὦν προσήκει, πρὸ δὲ πάν[τ]ων
 25 οἱ κλήροι αὐτῶν κατασχεθῶσι ἐν τῶι
 βασιλικῶι. εὐτύχει.
 ἀναφέρειν ἵνα ἐὰν μὴ ἀλλ(λ)ως φαίνεται συν-
 τάξης κατεγγυ(ᾶν) αὐτῶν τοὺς κλ(ήρους) αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀνα{σ}-
 ζητήσας ^{των} [[. κα .]] ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὰ γενή(ματα)
 30 αἴτος

12. πετε corr. from (ἐπτάρουρος).
 of ἐγτοκα corr. from πι?

14. Second ν of νεχθνούφιος corr. from ο.

20. ν

'To Petesuchus, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris, from Horus son of Konnos,

cultivator of Crown land and inhabitant of the said village. On the 20th of Thoth of the 8th year, as the 40 sacred sheep which belong to the cultivators of the village and of which I am in charge were grazing in the plains near Kerkeosiris, I was attacked in a thievish manner by Petermouthis son of Kaoutis, a 20-arourae holder, and his brother Petesuchus, a 7-arourae holder, and Petermouthis son of Nechthnouphis, and Pasis son of Harempsous, 7-arourae holders, together with others, and by Petermouthis son of Pembroëris surnamed Patsais, inhabitants of Berenicis Thesmophori, who carried off 40 sheep of different kinds, including 12 that were with young. I therefore beg you to forward a copy of this petition to the proper officials in order that the culprits having been searched for the animals may be restored to me and the offenders receive the penalties which they deserve, and before all else that their holdings may be held in bond by the Crown. Farewell.

I send this report in order that, if you please, you may order their holdings to be impounded, and, having searched for the offenders, seize the produce . . .

7. *προβάτων ιερῶν*: what this means is obscure. Were they animals for sacrifice?

17. *τῶν ἐν Βερενικίδος*: none of the above-mentioned persons is found in the lists of *εἰκοσιάρουροι* (*ἵππεις*) and *ἐπτάρουροι* (*μάχιμοι*) at Kerkeosiris (61-3), so *τῶν* qualifies all of them, not the last only.

19. *πεποιημένα* cannot be read, even if it were satisfactory on other grounds.

22. *ἀναζητηθέντες*: cf. 138 *ἀναζητούμενος Οὐνώφρις οὐχ εὕρισκεται*.

25. *κατασχεθῶσι*: cf. 61. (b) 285, note.

27-30. These lines were probably an alternative for ll. 20-6; cf. 41. 29, sqq.

29. The writing becomes at the bottom very cramped and difficult to decipher. Before *ἀσφαλίσασθαι* is a round bracket signifying that the preceding letters were to be omitted, but there is no sign of a corresponding bracket after *ζητήσας, των* (or *την*) being written over an erasure. *τὰ γενή(ματα)* may be governed by a verb in the next line, in which case *ἀσφαλίσασθαι* governs *αὐτούς*; cf. 28. 18.

54. PETITION TO A HIPPARCH.

24.3.

22 x 9.6 cm.

B.C. 86. PLATE VI.

A petition addressed to a hipparch of the catoecic cavalry from one of his clients called Melas, owner of a *κλήρος* of 10 arourae, complaining that his neighbours had let off the water from their land on to his, thereby inundating it; cf. 49, a petition addressed to Menches on a similar occasion.

The events referred to took place in the 32nd year of an unnamed sovereign. The other papyri from the crocodile to which the present document belonged are not very early; e. g. 106, dated in the 14th year of Ptolemy Alexander, and 110, written in the 22nd year of probably the same king. Palaeographical considerations too render the reign of Euergetes II unsuitable, and there can be little doubt that the 32nd year is that of Soter II, after his return from exile. The papyrus is the first Greek document belonging to the second period of Soter II's

rule that has been discovered, and is one of the latest of the crocodile-papyri, though there are some which belong to the reign of Neos Dionysus; cf. 108. introd.

Οπλ[. . . .] . τῶν πρώτων
 φιλῶν [καὶ] ἰππάρχῃ ἐπ' ἀν-
 δρῶν κατοίκων ἰππέων
 παρὰ Μέλανος τῶν ἐκ τῆς σῆς
 5 οἰκία[s.] τ[ο]ῦ ὑπάρχοντός μοι
 κλήρου ἀρου(ρῶν) ἰ περι Θεογονίδα
 ἀρίμου σπαρῆναι, ὅθεν τῇ
 νυκτὶ τῇ φεροῦσῃ εἰς τὴν
 κε τοῦ Φαῶφι τοῦ λβ (ἔτους)
 10 ἐπελθόντες Πετεςούχος
 καὶ οἱ τ[ούτο]ν ἀδελφοὶ οἱ τρεῖς
 . [.]τ[. . . .]ν τοῦ Ἀρωάτου
 ἀ[π]ὸ [τῆς Κερ]κεοσίρεως
 τῆς Π[ο]λ[έ]μωνος μερίδος
 15 ἐπὶ τὸν διασαφούμενον μου
 κλήρον ἐγλέλυκαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς
 γῆς αὐτῶν ὕδατα [ῶστε . .
 ε[.]. [. . .]τ . ν συμβεβηκό-
 των κατακλυσθῆναι
 20 καὶ βλάβος μοι γεγονέναι
 εἰς (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) . .] ἀξιῶ ἐὰν φαίνῃ-
 ται συντάξαι καταστήσαι
 αὐ[τοὺς ἐπὶ σ]ὲ καὶ ἐπαναγκά-
 σα[ι ἀποδοῦν]αί μοι τὸ βλάβος.
 25 [τούτου δὲ γ]ενομένου ἔσο-
 [μαι τετευχ]ῶς τῶν δικαίων.

11. ἀδελφοὶ corr. from υἱοὶ αἱ.

12. ἀρω of ἀρωάτου corr. from ἄρω.

‘To . . . , one of the first friends and hipparch over men of the catocic cavalry, from Melas, a member of your household. The holding of 10 arourae which I own near Theogonis was ready for sowing when on the night before the 25th of Phaophi of the 32nd year Petesuchus and his brothers, all three sons of . . . son of Haruotes, of Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon, invaded my holding aforesaid and let loose

into it the water from their land, so that in consequence of what happened it was flooded and I have suffered a loss of . . . I beg you, if you please, to give instructions for them to be sent to you and compelled to make good to me the damage. If this is done, I shall have obtained redress.'

1. Οπλ[: a long, apparently accidental, stroke is drawn through π.

2. The various attempts to draw a distinction between *ἑπαρχὴς ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν* and *ἑπαρχὴς* simply (cf. Peyron, P. Tor. I. p. 75, Lumbroso, *Recherches*, p. 197, Grenfell, P. Grenf. I. p. 40) have not been successful, and the addition of *ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν* does not seem to make any material difference. The title *ἑπαρχὴς* (or *ἡγεμών*) *ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν* does not occur, so far as is known, before the second century B.C., when it is commonly applied to the *ἐπιστάτης* of a district. It is doubtful whether in many cases the title is more than honorary (cf. P. Oxy. II. p. 266), though Strack (*Rhein. Mus.* lv. p. 176) is probably right in objecting to P. Meyer's view (*Heerwesen*, p. 26) that the *ἑπαρχαὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν* occupied a definite place in the hierarchy. Here, however, as the addition of *κατοίκων ἑπείων* shows, the military significance of the title is real.

5. οἰκία[s]: cf. 39. 11 and introd.

8. νυκτὶ τῆς φερούσης: cf. Smyly, *Hermathena*, xi. pp. 87 sqq. The 'day' at this period contained not the whole twenty-four hours, but the period from sunrise to sunset, events which took place at night being described with reference to the 'day' following.

21. Cf. 49. 13 and 51. 16.

V. PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

55. LETTER FROM MUSAEUS TO MENCHES.

23.16.

20.8 x 13.5 cm.

Late second century B.C.

A short letter to Menches, probably the komogrammateus, from his brother Musaeus (cf. 12. introd.), acknowledging the receipt of an artaba of *ἀμμ* (*ammi Copticum*), and asking for some other kinds of produce.

Μουσαῖος [Μεγχ]εῖ τῷ ἀδελφῷ
χαίρειν καὶ ἐρῶσθαι. ἐπεὶ διέγνωκα
ἐξοδεύσειν εἰς Τεβτύνιν τῆι η
ἔκρινα γράψαι. κεκόμικε δέ μοι
5 ὁ παρὰ σοῦ ἀμμος (ἀρτάβην) α.
χαριεὶ οὖν ἐκπέμψας ἡμῖν

φακοῦ (ἀρτάβας) β,
 τήλεως (ἀρτάβας) β,
 τὰ δὲ ἄ[λλα] ἐπιμέλου σαυτοῦ
 10 ἢ ὑγιαίνης.

ἔρρωσο.

On the verso

Μεγχεῖ.

Musaeus to his brother Menches, greeting and good health. Since I have decided to travel to Tebtunis on the 8th, I have determined to write to you. Your agent has brought me one artaba of ami. You will therefore confer a favour on me by sending me two artabae of lentils and two artabae of fenugreek. For the rest take care of yourself, so as to keep in good health. Good-bye. (Addressed) To Menches.

5. ἄμιος: in Plin. *H. N.* xx. 15. 58 there is a description of the plant ami, *est cumino simillimum quod Graeci vocant ami . . . similis autem et huic usus, namque et parvis Alexandrinis subicitur et condimentis interponitur*. A long list of its medical properties follows.

56. LETTER FROM PETESUCHUS TO MARRES.

5.2.

24 × 13.4 cm.

Late second century B.C.

A letter from Petesuchus of Kerkesephis to Marres, probably a γεωργός at Kerkeosiris, stating that the land about Kerkesephis was flooded, and asking Marres to find him 5 arourae at Kerkeosiris for the maintenance of himself and the cattle.

An approximate date for this papyrus is supplied by a fragmentary letter from the same crocodile (280) dated (ἔτους) μ', i. e. in some year between the 40th and 49th of Euergetes II.

Πετεσοῦχος Μαρρήους γ[εωρ]γός
 τῶν ἐκ Κερκεσήφως {[εω]ς}
 Μαρρήτι Πετοσείριος τῶ[.]

[]

5 καὶ ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν. γείν[ωσ]κε δὲ
 περὶ τοῦ κατακεκλῦσθαι τὸ πεδῖον
 ὑμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἕως τῆς
 τροφῆς τῶν κτηνῶν ἡμῶν.

καλῶς οὖν ποιήσης εὐχαριστήσαι
 10 πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς δεύτερον
 δὲ σῶσαι ψυχὰς πολλὰς ζητή[σ]α[ι]ς
 μοι περὶ τὴν κώμην σου εἰς τὴν
 τροφήν ἡμῶν γῆς ἀρούρας πέ[ν]-
 τε ὡς ἔξομεν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῆ[ν]
 15 τροφήν ἡμῶν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας
 ἔσῃ μοι κεχαρισμένος εἰς τὸν
 ἅπαντα χρόν[ον].
 ἔρρωσο.

On the *verso* some effaced lines.

7. 1. ἡμῶν. 8. των corr. from υμων?

'Petesuchus son of Marres, cultivator at Kerkesephis, to Marres son of Petosiris . . . his brother, greeting. You must hear about our plain having been inundated; we have not so much as food for our cattle. Please therefore in the first place to give thanks to the gods and secondly to save many lives by seeking out in the neighbourhood of your village ζ arourae for our maintainance so that we may thence obtain food. If you do this I shall be eternally obliged to you. Good-bye.'

57. LETTER FROM PETENEPIHĒS.

17-8.

24.2 x 11.

B.C. 114.

A letter from Petenephiēs, perhaps a priest, to a person whose name is lost, requesting that certain *σαυρήται*, i. e. keepers of sacred crocodiles or other animals of the lizard species (cf. note on l. 4), who had given him security for a payment of wheat, should be released from that engagement, so that they might not be hindered in their duties.

Πετенеφιῆς . . . [.]
 χαίρειν καὶ ἔρρωσθαι. τοὺς
 ἠνεχυρασμένους ὑπὸ σοῦ
 σαυρήτας ὡς δάσσοντας
 5 ἕκαστον πυρῶν (ἀρτάβας) β
 μηδέποτε αὐτῶν τοῦτο

πεπραχότων, [καλῶς οὖν
ποιήσεις ἀπολύσας αὐτοὺς
τά τε ἤνεχ[υρασμένα
10 ἀποδιδούς [ἵνα] ἀνεμπόδιστ[ο]ι
ὑπάρχοντε[s] δύνωνται
τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν ζώων σειταγω-
γίας ἐκπληρῶσαι.

ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) γ' Ἐπειφ ἰβ.

On the *verso*

15 πμεγ[

'Petenephiēs to . . . , greeting and good health. The keepers of crocodiles (?) from whom you took security for the payment of 2 artabae of wheat each have never made the payment. Please therefore to release them and return the articles pledged, in order that they may be able without hindrance to furnish the supplies of food for the sacred animals. Good-bye. The 3rd year, Epeiph 12.'

4. *σαυρήτας*: cf. 211. The word *σαύρα* does not appear to be elsewhere applied to crocodiles, but since *κροκόδειλος* really means 'lizard' (cf. Hdt. ii. 69) it would not be surprising to find *σαύρα* used of the same animal; cf. Hdt. iv. 192 *καὶ κροκόδειλοι . . . χερσαῖοι, τῆσι σαύρησι ἐμφερέστατοι*. Otherwise it must be supposed that in the Fayūm there were lizards which from their similarity to crocodiles were also held sacred; but these are nowhere heard of.

58. LETTER FROM A TAX-FARMER.

27·2.

32·1 × 9·4 cm.

B.C. III.

This rather voluble and discursive letter is apparently continued from another sheet which has not survived; there is no opening formula or address, and the first words are *προσεδρευκότος οὖν*, which would naturally imply that something had preceded. The letter is written on both sides of the papyrus, the column on the *recto* being continued first in the upper margin on the same side and then, in accordance with a direction to turn over the page, on the *verso*; and there are two postscripts at the end. The writer was it seems a tax-farmer, who was now anxious to retain the right to collect the tax in question; and the first thirty-six lines are occupied with a description of his efforts to defeat a rival who had made a higher bid by 400 artabae of wheat. A view of the document containing the offer made by this rival had been obtained by means of bribing the *ὑπομνηματογράφος* (cf. note on l. 33); and the writer was now attempting

by a further bribe to abstract the said document altogether. On the *verso* he turns to other subjects, relating how certain arrears of wheat which had to be met had been distributed. His own share amounted to 73½ artabae; and all the komogrammatis of the nome, with the exception of thirteen who had appealed to the dioecetes, had been included in the responsibility for payment.

Recto.

- καὶ οὕτω συνεχώρηκεν,
 35 ὥστ' ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς κατασ-
 τοχήσαμεν αὐτοῦ. τὰπίλοιπα
 ὑπέισωι.
- 1 προσεδρευκόςτος
 οὖν σὺν τῷ βα(σιλικῷ) γραμματεῖ
 {ἕως}
 ἐν τῷ Μάγα ἕως
 τῆς κς καὶ οὐδαμῶς
- 5 προσκεκλήμεθα.
 εὐρήκαμεν δὲ τὸν
 ἐπιδεδωκότα τὸ ὑπόμνη(μα)
 ἔστιν Ἀκουσίλαος
 ὁ τοῦ Παῶτος τοῦ
- 10 Θηβαίου γεωμέτρου.
 τῆι οὖν κδ ἤλθον
 εἰς τὸ ὑπομνημα-
 τογρ(αφείον) καὶ δούς [[Σ]] χα(λκοῦ) Σ
 ἐπεσκεψάμην·
- 15 εὔρον τὸ ὑπόμνη(μα) [[πα]]
 ἐπειδεδομένον παρὰ
 Μεστασύτμιος τοῦ
- Παῶτος πραγματικοῦ,
 ὑποσχνούμενος
- 20 προσάξιν ἀπὸ παντὸς
 εἶδους (πυροῦ) ν. καὶ ἐπεὶ
 οὐ παραγέγονεν ἐπὶ τὸν
 διάλ{λ}ογον τοῦ ε (ἔτους) καὶ
 τοῦ ς (ἔτους), οὗτος οὖν
- 25 θεωρήσας με ὡς
 προσεδρεύοντα κα-
 θ' ἡμέραν ὥσει δεδί-
 λανται. βεβουλεύμεθα
 ἐκσπάσαι τὸ ἐπιδεδο-
- 30 μένον ὑπόμνη(μα) μή ποτε
 ἐπὶ τοῦ διαλόγου χειμασ-
 θῶμεν. ἐπηγγέλμαθα
 τῷ ὑπομνη(ματο)γρ(άφωι) ἀργυ(ρίου)
 (δραχμὰς) ιβ

Verso.

- γέγραπται ὁ μερισμὸς
 τῶν Μ'ς καὶ δέδωκαν
- 40 τῷ Μέλανι καὶ ἐπιβεβή(κασιν)
 ἡμῖν (πυροῦ) ογβ' ἐν οἷς
- πάλιν προσεντέλλο-
 μαί σοι προσεδρεύσαι
 καὶ προσπαρακαλέσαι Νίκωνα
- 55 περὶ τῆς λογε(λ)ας. ἐὰν

είσιν οἱ διὰ τοῦ νομοῦ κα(μο)γρ(αμματεῖς). τῆ οὖν κε ἐν(ἐ)- τευχαν	δεῖ σε συνπεσῖν τῶι Ἀνικήτῳ σύνπεςαι.
οἱ ιγ κωμογρ(αμματεῖς) οἱ καταπλεύ- 45 σαντες ἐν τῶι Μεχεῖρ τῶι διοικη(τῆι) καὶ παρεπειγέγρ{ρ}(αφεν) ἀπολύσαι αὐτοὺς [[η]] τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κα(μο)γρ(αμματεῖς) πρᾶξαι τὰς Ἰ' Ε. 50 γράψας ὅπως εἰδῆς, καὶ σὺ ἀναγωνίατος ἴσθαι.	σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς σχεδὸν ἔσται ὁ διάλογος ἕως 60 τῆς λ τοῦ Παχῶν. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) 5 Παχ(ῶν) κς. ἐπειμένῳ τοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ.

3. This line was inserted later between ll. 2 and 4. 4. κ of και corr. from ο.
19. l. ὑπισχνουμένου. 24. Above (ἔτους) ἦθε was written and then erased. 25-6. These
lines over an erasure. 29. First σ of εκπασαι corr. from δ. 32. l. ἐπηγγέλμεθα.
35. ε of καταστοχρησάμεν corr. l. καταστοχάσαιμεν? 44. Second οἱ over an erasure.
51. ισ of ἴσθαι over ε . . . erased. 57. l. σύνπεςαι. 62. l. ἐπιμέλου.

'We have been in attendance with the basilico-grammateus at the house of Magas till the 26th, but have not yet been summoned. We have found out the person who presented the memorandum. He is Acusilaus the son of Paos, the land-surveyor of Thebes. So on the 24th I went to the notary's office and after paying 200 drachmae of copper I obtained a view. I found that the memorandum had been presented from Mestasutmis son of Paos, the official, who is undertaking to collect from every class 400 artabae of wheat more. Not having been present at the audit of the 5th and 6th years and seeing me in daily attendance he has as it were turned coward. We have determined to abstract the memorandum in order that we may not come to grief at the audit. We have offered the notary 12 drachmae of silver, and he has not yet made the concession, so by the grace of the gods we shall win him over (?).—Continued on the back.—The division of the 1600 artabae has been drawn up and given to Melas. 73½ artabae have been assigned to us, the komogrammateis throughout the nome being included. On the 25th therefore the 13 komogrammateis who sailed down in Mecheir appealed to the dioecetes, and he has returned instructions that they should be released and that the rest of the komogrammateis should be made to pay the 15000. I write this for your information; do not have any anxiety. I again bid you be in attendance, and urge on Nicon also concerning the collection. If you must meet Anicetus meet him.—By the grace of the gods the audit will take place about Pachon 30. Good-bye. The 6th year, Pachon 26. Take care of your household.'

18. πραγματικού: this word is used like πραγματευόμενος as a general term for 'officials' in Strack, *Dynastie*, Inscr. 103 (c) στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐπιστάται καὶ Θεβάρχαι . . . καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρα[γ]-ματικοὶ πάντες. Mestasutmis was very likely the brother of Acusilaus (l. 8).

20. προσάξιν: cf. 19. 6, 72. 217.

33. ὑπομη(ματο)γρ(άφαι): this person, who had a local office (l. 12) and accepted small bribes (ll. 13 and 33), cannot be the important Alexandrian official who is occasionally

met with in the papyri and inscriptions, e.g. P. Cairo, 10371. 1 (*Archiv*, I. p. 61), P. Brit. Mus. 23. 127; cf. Strabo, xviii. 797. The *ὑπομηματογράφος* of this papyrus (cf. 112. 87) appears to be no more than a writer and keeper of *ὑπομήματα*—such for instance as those sent to Menches. He may have had a department in the local record-office.

34-6. The sense of these lines is not clear. The natural meaning of *οὐπω συγκεχώρηκεν* is 'he has not yet granted our wish,' but the following sentence does not suit this, and *ἀλλά* would be expected for *καί*. It is tempting to read *οὕτωι*, 'he has granted it on these terms,' i.e. for 12 drachmae, π having been written for τ as in 26. 13; cf. l. 62, where *επειμενου* has been written for *ἐπιμελου*. If *οὐπω* is retained it is best to suppose that *συγκεχώρηκεν* does not refer to what has immediately preceded, but means 'he has not yet made the grant' to Mestastutmis; but it may be doubted whether the *ὑπομηματογράφος* had the authority which this interpretation would imply.

36-7. *τάπειλοιπα ὀπίσω*: the Greek equivalent of our 'P.T.O.'; cf. 178. An alternative phrase is found in Rev. Pap. xli. 13 *ἕξω ὄρα*.

40. *ἐπιβεβή(κασιν)*: or perhaps *ἐπιβεβ(λ)ή(κασιν)*.

49. 'E: the difference of 1000 between the number of artabae here and in l. 39 is probably to be accounted for by the release of the thirteen komogrammateis. Otherwise it must be supposed that one of the two numerals is wrong.

53. *προσεδρεύσαι* may here mean 'persevere,' sc. in the collection of the tax; cf. 61. (δ) 375.

59. LETTER TO THE PRIESTS OF TEBTUNIS.

32.5 x 12 cm.

B.C. 99.

A letter from Posidonius, probably an official of some importance, to the priests at Tebtunis, assuring them of his good will.

This papyrus was found tied up with eight good-sized demotic rolls (now in the Cairo Museum) in the remains of a building in the cemetery of Tebtunis. The reign is that of Ptolemy Alexander (cf. note on l. 12).

Ποσειδώνιος τοῖς ἐν Τεπτύναι
 ἱερεῦσι χαίρειν καὶ ἐρῶσθαι, ὑγλαῖνον
 δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς. καταντήσαντος γὰρ
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν Σοκονάφωος
 5 καὶ Ὀλιπεως τῶν ἐξ ὑμῶν
 καὶ ὑποδεικνυ(όντων) ἦν ἔχετε
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνωθεν πατρικὴν
 φιλίαν, ἐν οἷς ἐὰν προσδεῆσθέ
 μου ἐπιτάσσοντές μοι προθυ-
 10 μότερον διὰ τὸ ἀνωθεν φοβεῖσθαι

καὶ σέβεσθαι τὸ ἱερόν,
 ἔρρωσθ(ε). (ἔτους) ις Φαῶφι
 θ.

On the verso

παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Τε(π)τύναι ἱερεῦσι.
 15 Ποσειδά(νίου)

'Posidonius to the priests at Teptunis, greeting and good health. I too am well. Sokonophis and Opis, members of your body, have come down to the city, and intimate to me the hereditary friendship which you have for me of old; so, whatever you may require, do not hesitate to command my services, because of old I revere and worship the temple. Good-bye. 16th year, Phaophi 9. (Addressed) From Posidonius to the priests at Teptunis.'

1. Τεπτόναι: the form Τεπτόναι is rare in the Ptolemaic period, but in the Roman period tends to supersede Τεβτόναι.

11. τὸ ἱερόν: the principal temple at Tebtunis was that of Soknebtunis. A large number of documents chiefly of the Roman period were found in the houses of the priests within the temple area.

12. (ἔτους) ις: the handwriting shows that the papyrus is of about the end of the second century B.C., so the reign is that of Ptolemy Alexander, to which several of the demotic papyri found with this one also belong. (ἔτους) ιγ could equally well be read, but Cleopatra III continued to reign until the end of the year (cf. P. Grenf. II. 32. 12 ἔτους ις τοῦ καὶ ιγ Μεσορῆ λ), and it is not likely that her regnal year would be omitted.

VI. THE LAND SURVEY.

60. SUMMARY REPORT ON THE CROPS OF KERKEOSIRIS.

17.3 recto.

31 x 88.5 cm.

B. C. 118.

For a general introduction to the numerous long and important documents in this section (60-88) and for a survey of the immense mass of detailed information which they provide, as well as for a discussion of the many new and obscure technical terms which occur, the reader is referred to Appendix i. 60, as is there explained, gives a brief statement of the facts presented in great detail in 61, and was written in the 53rd year. The figures as far as l. 45 refer to the 52nd year, after that point to the 53rd. They do not always correspond with those in 61; but the inconsistencies are probably due mainly to the

difference of time at which the two documents were drawn up, 60 being the later; cf. ll. 69-72, note.

The first seven columns, which give the summary totals of the different classes of land in the whole area of the village, a brief classification of the *ιερά*, *κληρουχική* and *βασιλική γή*, including a statement of the various deductions from the total rents due from the latter, and a list of *κατόχιμοι κλήροι*, are continuous and nearly complete, the lacunae being generally capable of restoration from the parallel passages in 61 or other documents. Between Cols. vii and ix there is a break, but the text on the *verso* (24) shows that only one column is lost in the interval. This probably contained a summary of the *σπέρματα*, *δάνεια* and various taxes, corresponding to 61. (b) 299-345. Col. ix reverts to the land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*, the totals for which had already been briefly given in Cols. v-vi, and describes the items in somewhat greater detail (cf. 74 and 75) though with less elaboration than is found in the parallel passages of 61 (b). Several more columns must have been required for the completion of this list on the scale upon which it was begun, but these are lost.

Col. i.

Κερκεοσίρεω]s.
 ἔστιν τὸ ἀναγραφόμενον πᾶν ἔδαφος
 ἕως τοῦ νβ (ἔτους) γῆς (ἄρουραι) 'Δψ. τούτων
 κώμη σὺν περιστάσει ολδ',
 5 ἀφ' ὧν παραδείσου) ἐρ]ή(μου) αδ',
 καταλε(πονται) κώ]μ]ης ξθλ.
 ὑπ[ο]λ[ο]γῶν ἀφόρου τὰθ ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως) (ἄρουραι) ρξθλίζ'.
 ἱερᾶς γῆς (πρώτων) ἱερῶν
 Σούχου θεοῦ μεγάλου) μεγάλου) χέ(ρσου) ρμαλ,
 10 Σοκνεβτύνιος θε(οῦ) μεγάλου) μεγάλου) ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνιερω-
 μένης ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ Κομήνιος
 ἔσπαρμέναι (ἄρουραι) ρλ,
 γίνονται (πρώτων) ἱερῶν Σοαλ.
 [δ]ευτέρων ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ κώ(μη) θε(ῶν) κδ'ή'.
 15 [δ]στ' εἰ[α]ι ἱερᾶς [(ἀρούρας)] Σραλδ'ή', / ἐσ[παρ]μένης) ρν]δ'ή'.
 ἔσπαρμέν]ης ρνδ'ή'.

Col. ii.

- κληρουχικῆς τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἕως τοῦ νβ (ἔτους)
 γῆς (ἄρουραι) Ἀφξδλδ'ίς'λβ',
 ὧν ἐστίν·
- 20 κατοίκων (ἄρουραι) ηξεδ', / ἐσπαρ(μένης) τξηδ'ή.
 (τριακονταρούρου) χερσεφίππου λδίς'λβ'.
 ἐφδδων (ἄρουραι) μη, / ἐσπαρ(μένης) ιδ.
 φυλακितῶν (ἄρουραι) κ, / ἐσπαρ(μένης) ις.
 ἔρημοφυλάκων
- 25 γίνονται τούτων (ἄρουραι) [Α]ξζδ', / ἐσπαρ(μένης) τηθδ'ή.
 καὶ τῶν φερομένων ἐν τῇ τῶν μαχθ(μων)
 συντάξι οἷς τὴν καταμετρη(θεισαν) ἀπ[δ] τῆς
 ἐσπαρμένης γεγυ(έν)αι ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους)
 τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν Χ[ο]μή[νιος] λααρχίαν
- 30 ἰππέων καὶ (ἐπταρούρων) [νμη,
 ἐσπαρ(μένης) τλθ, ὕπολόγου ρθ.
 καὶ τῶν διὰ Πτολεμαίου [καὶ Ξέν]ωνος,
 ἐσπαρμένης (ἄρουραι) [ιθλ.
 ὄστ' εἰ]γα[ι] (ἀρούρας?) υξζλ, / ἐσπαρ(μένης) τηηλ.

21. (τριακονταρούρου): the sign for ἄρουρα has been corrected apparently from ε, and wants the usual stroke above it.

Col. iii.

- 35 ὥστε εἶναι τὰς προκειμένας (ἀρούρας) Ἀφξδλδ'ίς'λβ', /
 ἐσπαρμένης
 ὑπολόγου
 παραδεξ(σων) τῶν ἐν περιμέτρῳ τῆς κά(μης)
 ἐν λαχανε(λαι) ἐρή(μου) αδ',
- 40 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ γῆι Σούχο[υ] θε(οῦ) μεγά(λου) κ, / καδ'.
 νομῶν τῶν πρὸς χα[λκόν] διοικουμένοις
 ἦν ἐφημίσθαι διὰ τὸ πα(ρακείσθαι) τῷ ὄρι (ἄρουραι) ροεδ'ή
 περὶ Ψιναρα()
 εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν προκειμένων) εἰδῶν
- 45 (ἄρουραι) ΒΣοβδ'ή'ίς'.

καταλεί(πονται) βασιλικῆς εἰς τὸ νγ (ἔτος)
 (ἄρourke) Βυκζλίς'χ'β' (ἀρτάβαι) Μ'Βτλβ'.
 [το]ύτων ἐστὶν τῶν τιθεμένων ἐν [ἐπισ-
 τάσει (ἄρourke) Σξαι[ς' (ἀρτάβαι)] Ἀψλβλίβ'.
 50 κ[α]ταλεί(πονται) Βρξςλχ'β' (ἀρτάβαι) Μ[φρη]ίβ'.

35. The figures are over an erasure. 41. 1. διοικουμένων.

Col. iv.

ἐσπαρμένης (ἄρourke) Ἀρκβδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀφνςλγ'ίβ',
 καὶ ἀσπύρου βεβρε(γμένης) ἧς τὰ ἐκφόρια {ι}
 ἀπῆ(κται) ἀπὸ τοῦ πλε(ω) ἐξ εἰκασίας
 (ἄρourke) ις (ἀρτάβαι) πγλδ',
 55 γίνονται (ἄρourke) Ἀρλθδ' εἰς (πυροῦ) Ἀχμβίβ'.
 κεχωρισμένης προσόδου [ἦν ἀ]πὸ ὑπολό(γου)
 κατεργα(σθῆναι) ὑπὸ τῶν [[ι]] παρὰ Π[τολεμαί]ου τοῦ
 Φιλίνου (ἄρourke) ιςλ [ἀνὰ ε πγς',
 ἀνθ' ὧν μισθωθῆναι ἀνὰ α ιςλ,
 60 διάφορον ξςβ'.
 [καὶ] ἐν συγκρίσει
 [τῶ]ν πρὸς ἐκφόριον [α] (ἔτους) ι (ἀρτάβαι) μθς'.
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς κα[14 letters ἐ]ν σ[υ]ν-
 κρ[ί]σει [(ἀρτάβαι) ωκ]γίβ'.
 65 καὶ ἐν συγκρίσει μξ (ἀρτάβαι)] Σλδίβ'.
 / νξ·(ἀρτάβαι) Ἀρξγ'.

60. Between this and l. 61 is an erasure. 66. ν of νξ corr.

Col. v.

καὶ ἐν ὑπολό(γῳ) τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους)
 ἐμβρόχου (ἄρourke) ρβ (ἀρτάβαι) υ[να]β',
 ἀφ' ὧν εἶναι τῆς προση(γμένης)
 70 κατειργάσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων μετὰ
 τὸν σπύρον τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)
 (ἀρούρας) ιθ (ἀρτάβαι) μγ.

ἀλμυρίδος Σξηλδ'ή (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀνιαγίβ'.
 χέρσου (ἄρourαι) νςλδ'ίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Σοδλ.
 75 γίνου[τ]αι τοῦ ἕως τοῦ νβ (ἔτους)
 (ἄρourαι) υκζλίς'λ'β' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐβρζλίβ'.
 ἀφ' ὧν εἶναι τῆς προσηγμένης μετὰ
 τὸν σπόρον τῆς κατειργασμένης ἀπὸ
 ἐμβρό(χου) ιθ {{(ἀρτάβαι)}} (ἀρτάβαι) μυ, ι
 80 ς ἀν(ὰ) γ ιη, η ἀν(ὰ) βλ (ἀρτάβαι) κ, ε ἀν(ὰ) α ε.
 καὶ τοῦ ἀ[ν]ειμένου εἰς νομάς κ[αὶ]
 χα(ρο)νο(μάς) [κ]δ, ὧν ἦν τὸ προεπιγεγραμμένον
 ἐκφόριον ιβλδ'ή'ίς' ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' ογγίβ',

83. Below this is an erased line beginning with a stroke meaning total.

Col. vi.

ιαίς' ἀν(ὰ) δ με, / (ἄρourαι) κδ (ἀρτάβαι) ριηγίβ',
 85 ἀνθ' ὧν ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας ἀνὰ α (ἀρτάβαι) κδ.
 γίνονται τῶν προσαγομένων
 (ἄρourαι) μυ (ἀρτάβαι) οζ.
 καταλείπονται ὑπολόγου
 (ἄρourαι) τπδλίς'λ'β' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀτρος'.
 90 [καὶ] τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους)
 [ἀ]λμυρίδος (ἄρourαι) τκςδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀχιγλ.
 [ἐ]μβρό(χου) (ἄρourαι) ροβλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) ριςλδ'.
 κεχερσευμένης ε (ἀρτάβαι) κδλδ'.
 [γίνο]νται τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους)
 95 [(ἄρourαι)] φκςδ'ή'ίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐβ(χ)μθδ'.
 [γίνο]νται ὑπολόγου (ἄρourαι) ριαή (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐφραγγίβ'.

Col. vii.

ὡστ' εἶναι τὰς προκειμένας Ἐβρζλίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Μχιδίβ'.
 Ἐπη(γμένου) Ἐρλθδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐχμββ', ἐν συνκρίσει νς (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐρζγ',¹
 κεχωρισμένης προσόδου ιςλ (ἀρτάβαι) πγς', προσηγμένης
 100 [μγ ρεαγίβ', ὑπολόγου] ριαή (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐφραγγίβ'.
 (πλεῖω) (ἄρourαι) δηίς', ἐλ(άσω) (ἀρτάβαι) κς.

κατοχίμων κλήρων τῶν πρ[ὸς] χρυσικοῦς) στεφάνους)
καὶ ἄλ(λ)ας αἰτίας·

ἐφάδων τῶν πρὸς χρυσόν) στέφανον),

- 105 [Πτο]λεμ[αίου] τοῦ Μενίσκου κδ (ἀρτάβαι) ρκ
ἐν ὧι χρυσίου) Σκε (πυροῦ) ν, ἐμβρόχου. [
(ἐπταρούρων) Χαμήνιος), Κολλούθου τοῦ Ὠρου 5λ (ἀρτάβαι) λβλ.
/ (ἀρουραι) λλ (ἀρτάβαι) ρνβλ.

98. ζ of Ἀρζ corr. 99. 5' of πγ5' corr. from γ'.

One column lost.

Col. ix.

ὑπολόγου τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους)

- 110 (ἀρουραι) νκζλίς' λ' β' (ἀρτάβαι) Βρλζλίβ'.
ἀνταναιρουμένων δὲ τῶν προσηγμένων
μετὰ τὸν σπῆρον τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)
(ἀρουρῶν) μγ [[(ἀρτάβαι)]] ὧν ἦν (ἀρτάβαι) ρξαγίβ',
ἀνθ' ὧν ος,
115 διάφορον πδγίβ',
καταλε(πονται) ὑπολόγου) (ἀρουραι) τπδλίς' λ' β' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀηρος5'.
ὧν ἔστιν τὸ κατ' ἔτος καὶ τὸ κατ' εἶδος·
ἐμβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῷ νβ (ἔτει) 5λ (ἀρτάβαι) λλ,
τῆς ἐν τῷ να (ἔτει) οελ (ἀρτάβαι) τκλγ'.
120 ὧν εἶναι τῆς προσηγμένης μετὰ τὸν
σπῆρον (ἀρούρας) ιθ (ἀρτάβαι) μγ.
καταλε(πονται) (ἀρουραι) ν5λ (ἀρτάβαι) Σοζ[λ]γ'.
τῆς ἐν τῷ μδ (ἔτει) (ἀρουραι) κ (ἀρτάβαι) ηηγ'.
γίνονται ἐμβρόχου) (ἀρουραι) πγ (ἀρτάβαι) [υ5β'.
125 ἀλμυρίδος τῆς ἐν τῷ ν (ἔτει) ὑπὸ Δ[ιονυσίου] τοῦ
προστάντος τῆς κεχω(ρισμένης) προσόδου

118. ν of νβ corr. from μ.

5. Cf. ll. 38-9 and 61. (a) 149-51.

9. χ(ρσου): cf. 63. 5, where it is ἐμβροχος, and 64. (a) 2-3, where 20 arourae of vine-

land are stated to be *ἔρημοι*, the rest being *ἔμβροχος*. Probably the last represented the real condition of the land throughout.

15. The sign *l* found before *ἐσπαρ(μένης)* occurs frequently in Ptolemaic papyri where a total is divided up into its component parts or where some deduction is made from it, and is practically equivalent to *ὅν*; cf. 96. 11 and 15.

16. About 4 lines are lost between this and l. 15. In them 20 arourae were subtracted for *παράδεισοι* (cf. l. 20), as in ll. 5-6, the total of the *ἐρὰ γῆ* being reduced to $271\frac{7}{8}$ arourae; cf. 61. (a) 157.

20. The total of the *κάτοικοι* is right if Maron son of Dionysius, who was transferred from the *φυλακίται* to the *κάτοικοι* in the 52nd year (61. (a) 17, 39-41), is not reckoned among the latter; but then there is an error concerning the *φυλακίται*, who should be three in number, owning 30 arourae. In either case the total in l. 18, $1564\frac{3}{8}$ arourae, is 10 short; cf. p. 553.

24. The number of the arourae owned by the *ἐρημοφύλακες* (30, cf. p. 545) has been omitted. Hence the total in the next line, $1067\frac{1}{4}$ (omitting the $\frac{3}{8}$ in the land owned by the *χερσέφυπτος*), is 30 too small.

27-8. *οἷς τὴν κ.τ.λ.*: some, or perhaps all, the native troops received arable land instead of *χέρσος*, which was normally assigned to cleruchs; cf. 66. 23-7, where the land given to *μάχημοι* is subtracted from the arable area of the Crown lands, and p. 554. *χρόνοις* is to be supplied with *τοῖς* in l. 28; cf. 116. 57. The 40th year is a common land-mark in these papyri on account of the disturbances at that period; cf. 72. 45 and p. 553.

30-4. For the restoration of the figures cf. 61. (a) 52-145.

36-7. The totals, which were not filled in (cf. l. 24), were (omitting the *ἐρημοφύλακες*) for the cultivated land $757\frac{7}{8}$ and for the uncultivated $776\frac{7}{8}$ arourae, as can be inferred by adding up the separate items in ll. 25-34.

38. Cf. l. 5 and 61. (a) 149-51.

40. Cf. note on 61. (a) 152.

42. *πα(ρακείσθαι)*: cf. 74. 56.

43. *Ψωρα* (), which is the name of a *περίχωμα* (cf. 187), apparently refers to the preceding line and is not another subdivision of the *νομαί* with the total omitted, for $175\frac{3}{8}$ arourae was the whole amount of the *νομαί*; cf. 61. (a) 158.

45. The correct fraction is $\frac{3}{8}$, not $\frac{1}{8}$; but cf. 61. (a) 157 and note.

48-9. Cf. 61. (a) 163-5, (b) 346 sqq., and App. i. § 10.

50. The total of the artabae is obtained by subtracting $1732\frac{7}{8}$ (l. 49) from $12330\frac{3}{8}$ (l. 47); cf. 61. (a) 166 and (b) 252. In l. 97 however the total of the artabae is given as $10614\frac{1}{8}$, or 16 in excess. The difference is probably connected with the omission of 16 artabae in the rent due from *ἀλμυρίς*; cf. notes on l. 93 and 61. (b) 183 and 252.

52-4. Cf. 67. 71, sqq. *ἦς τὰ ἐκφόρια—εἰκασίας* is incorrect and should be omitted; for this phrase, which indicates that the artabae had already been included in the preceding total (cf. p. 561), is out of place here, where the artabae in l. 54 are added to those in l. 51.

55. Cf. 61. (b) 249, 67. 4, and p. 565.

56-60. Cf. App. i. § 7 and 61. (b) 9-18. The rent of the *ἐσπαρμένη* is regularly reckoned at its original amount, $83\frac{1}{8}$ artabae; cf. l. 99, 61. (b) *ibid.*, 72. 224.

62. Cf. 61. (b) 2-7, where the fraction is $\frac{1}{2}$, not $\frac{1}{8}$, and App. i. § 6.

64. Cf. 61. (b) 108, and App. i. § 8.

65. Cf. 61. (b) 213-46, where this section is under the heading *ἐν ὑπολόγῃ*, not *ἐν συγκρίσει* and p. 573.

68. Cf. 61. (b) 120.

69-72. It is noticeable that neither this reclamation from the land *ἐν ὑπολόγῃ* nor that in ll. 81-5, though elsewhere in this papyrus (cf. ll. 99-100) reckoned separately,

is alluded to directly in 61. (δ); but the figures in l. 211 of that papyrus dealing with land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* have been corrected to suit the revised figures of the land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* here after deducting the *προσηγμένη*, though the artabae of the *προσηγμένη* are reckoned at a slightly different figure; cf. 61. (δ) 211 with 60. 96. That 60 and 61 were drawn up at different times is likely enough; and the discrepancies between them are probably to be explained on the hypothesis that 61 was the earlier. 67 was written earlier still in the 53rd year; cf. p. 565.

69. *προσηγμένης*: cf. ll. 77, 86, 120, and 74. 33, where the same word is used, and 74. 4, 11, where *προσηγγελεμένων* is found in the same context. It is clear that the two words were often confused and that *προσάγειν* is used in numerous passages, of which this is one (cf. 61. (δ) 2, 72. 35), as equivalent to *προσαγγέλλειν*.

70. *ὑπογεγραμμένων*: their names are not given either here or in the parallel passage in l. 120. Probably the word was copied from a document which contained them.

71. *σπύρον*: 'sowing,' not crop. *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* (ἔτους): i. e. the 53rd.

76. The total of the arourae should be $427\frac{11}{8}$, not $427\frac{3}{8}$; cf. 61. (δ) 148, where it is given as $427\frac{3}{8}$. The fractions in these papyri are rarely quite correct.

77-89. 'In which are included (firstly) the land announced after sowing as having been reclaimed from a flooded condition, 19 arourae yielding 43 artabae, divided into 6 arourae at 3 artabae to the aroura making 18 artabae, 8 arourae at $2\frac{1}{2}$ making 20, 5 at 1 making 5; (secondly) the land devoted to pastures and pasture-grass, 24 arourae, of which the originally imposed rent was, for $12\frac{1}{8}$ arourae at $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, $73\frac{5}{8}$ artabae, for $11\frac{1}{8}$ at 4, 45 artabae, total for 24 arourae $118\frac{5}{8}$ artabae; instead of which it is let for its value at 1 artaba to the aroura making 24 artabae. Total of the reclamations 43 arourae producing 77 artabae, which leaves in the unprofitable land $384\frac{3}{8}$ arourae producing $1976\frac{1}{8}$ artabae.'

82. *χα(ρσο)νο(μάς)*: cf. 75. 37 *εἰς χορτονομά[ς]*. The genitive *χορτονομῶν* is frequently coupled with the dative of *χάρτος* in reports of crops, e. g. 61. (α) 191-2, 67. 54, &c.; cf. the similar use of *νομῶν* in 67. 34, and *σπόρος νομῶν* in 72. 43 and 52. Sometimes, however, instead of this genitive the two parts of the word are written separately with *χάρτος* in the dative, *χάρτωι νομῶν*, e. g. 70. 50, 72. 34, 60. The essential difference between *νομαί* and *χορτονομαί* was that the latter were included in the *ἐσπαρμένη*, being sown afresh every year, while the former belonged to the category *εἰς ἣν σπέρμα οὐ χρηματίζεται* (67. 59-60, &c.; cf. p. 564). In 71. 10 and 13 the *νομαί* are included under the heading *ἀπὸ τῆς βεβρεγμένης ἐσπάρθαι*, but this is not strictly correct; cf. the loose use of *ἐσπαρμέναι* in 71. 4, where the total of the arourae is the same as in 69. 4-5 and includes the *νομαί*, though these are not specified as in 69. 4.

83. *σγγίβ*: the correct multiplication gives 63 and a fraction; cf. l. 87 where there is another error of 10. Probably the mistake lies in the rate of the rent, for the addition of the arourae in ll. 83-4 makes the correct number 24, and $73\frac{5}{8}$ added to 45 in l. 84 brings out the required total of $118\frac{5}{8}$ artabae.

84. *μα*: strictly it should be $44\frac{1}{2}$, but the results of the multiplication when fractions are involved are, as usual, only approximate.

87. *οζ*: this is clearly meant to be the result of adding the 24 artabae in l. 85 to the 43 in l. 80; *ξζ* should therefore have been written, as in 68. 18. It is curious that the remainder of the artabae ($1976\frac{1}{8}$) in the next line, as in l. 116, is obtained by subtracting from the $2137\frac{7}{8}$ artabae in l. 76 not the 77 (or more correctly 67) artabae actually received as the rent of the 43 arourae, but the original rent, of which the total is $161\frac{5}{8}$ artabae; cf. ll. 100 and 113 and 75. 45, note. The figures of the *προσηγμένη* are therefore illusory, for it is credited with $84\frac{5}{8}$ artabae which ought strictly to have remained *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* since they were not paid. But the land was taken out of the *ὑπόλογον*

because it yielded some profit; hence the whole rent was subtracted, and the loss owing to the land being let at a reduced rate would be entered under the heading *ἐν συγκρίσει*.

91. Ἀχτυλ: cf. note on 72. 97, where γ' takes the place of γλ, and 61. (δ) 183, note.

92. Cf. 61. (δ) 200, where the total of the artabae is $916\frac{1}{2}$, and 72. 118, where it is $926\frac{3}{8}$, and note on 72. 99-120.

93. The writer has here run two lines into one with disastrous results for his arithmetic. He should have written *κεχερσευμένης κβδ ή ί ζ' (ἀρτάβαι) ρδλδ', εμβρόχου β ιερών* (or some such phrase) ε (ἀρτάβαι) κδλδ (cf. 61. (δ) 202-3 and 207-8). If the missing $94\frac{3}{8}$ artabae are added to the sums in ll. 91-3 the total is $2649\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, and this must be the figure intended in l. 95 though the writer has omitted χ meaning 600 as well as the symbol for $\frac{1}{2}$. Adding $2649\frac{3}{8}$ to the $1976\frac{1}{2}$ in l. 89 we obtain $4625\frac{1}{2}$ artabae as the total for the rent of land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*. In l. 96, however, this total is given as $4593\frac{5}{12}$, a number which naturally gave rise to difficulties when the writer came in ll. 98-100 to add up the various items in order to obtain the total of the βασιλική; cf. note on l. 101. The addition of the arourae is nearly correct, $384\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 89) added to $526\frac{7}{8}$ (l. 95) giving $911\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, for which the papyrus has in l. 96 $911\frac{1}{8}$. There seems, however, to have been some special importance attached to the figures $911\frac{1}{8}$ arourae and $4593\frac{5}{12}$ artabae, for they have been inserted in 61. (δ) 211 above the figures first written (cf. note *ad loc.*). The difference there between the two sets of figures, 43 arourae and $177\frac{5}{12}$ artabae, clearly represents the *προσηγμένη* which here (ll. 99-100) is reckoned separately at 43 arourae and $161\frac{5}{12}$ artabae. The fact that the artabae are $161\frac{5}{12}$ in the one case and $177\frac{5}{12}$ in the other is probably connected with the omission of 16 artabae in the account of the *ἀλμυρίς* in 61. (δ); cf. notes on l. 50 and 61. (δ) 183.

97-100. Cf. App. i. § 4 and 61. (δ) 248-51. The totals under the headings *ἐν συγκρίσει* and *ὑπολόγου* are different in that papyrus because the *σπόρμος* assigned to cleruchs, which in 61 is partly included under the latter heading, partly forms a class by itself, is in 60 all included under the heading *ἐν συγκρίσει* (cf. ll. 62 and 65), while the *προσηγμένη* of 60. 99 is in 61. (δ) 251 still included in the *ὑπόλογον*; cf. note on l. 93.

98. For the angular signs calling attention to the totals cf. 61. (α) 157-8, (δ) 249-52, 72. 223-5, 75. 46-8. The rent of the *ἀπηγμένον* (the arable βασιλική γῆ, cf. p. 561) is here given as $4642\frac{3}{8}$ artabae; cf. l. 55, where it is correctly stated as $4642\frac{1}{2}$. The writer, however, in his addition treated the fraction here as $\frac{3}{8}$, not $\frac{1}{2}$, as is shown by l. 101; cf. the next note.

101. The sum of the items in ll. 98-100 ought to have made up the $2166\frac{9}{8}$ arourae and $10614\frac{1}{12}$ artabae of l. 97. As a matter of fact they make $2166\frac{7}{8}$ arourae and (treating the fraction of the *ἀπηγμένον* as $\frac{3}{8}$) 10588 artabae, the figure of the arourae being thus $\frac{1}{8}$ too large, that of the artabae $26\frac{1}{12}$ too small. That his figures were wrong was realized by the writer himself, who in l. 101, which was inserted later, notes that the sum of the arourae was $\frac{7}{8}$ too much and that of the artabae 26 too little; cf. the similar remark on the addition of the items in 61. (δ) 252. The error in the arourae is merely the result of the habitual carelessness with regard to fractions; the deficiency of artabae can be traced to the miscalculations in connexion with the land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* and the *προσηγμένη*; cf. notes on l. 93 and 61. (δ) 252.

102-8. On *κατόχμοι κληροί* cf. 61. (δ) 253-94, where, in addition to Ptolemaeus son of Meniscus and Kollouthes son of Horus found here, the *κληρος* of Demetrius son of Heraclides is stated to have become *κατόχμος*, and the total in l. 294 is correspondingly larger than that in l. 108 here.

104. On the *στέφανος* paid by cleruchs see 61. (δ) 254, note.

106. Cf. 61. (δ) 257, 72. 246-58. The antecedent to *εἰ* is apparently *στέφανος*,

and the following figures give its amount. But whether the '225 of gold' means drachmae or artabae of wheat paid in gold (cf. the use of *χαλκός* in 61. (b) 67, 67. 66, &c.) is obscure.

109-16. Cf. ll. 75-89.

117-26. The writer here began a more detailed account of land *ἐν ἰπολόγῳ*, arranged according to the usual classification of *ἔμβροχος*, *ἀλμυρίς*, &c., and mentioning the years in which the individual pieces of land became unproductive; cf. 74, 75, and 61. (b) 110 sqq., which is still more elaborate, and App. i. § 9.

118-24. Cf. 61. (b) 116-20. The *προσηγμένη* is not there deducted; cf. note on ll. 69-72.

125-6. Cf. 61. (b) 121-31.

61. REPORT ON THE CROPS AT KERKEOSIRIS.

17.5 recto.

(a) 29 × 149, (b) 29 × 272 cm.

B.C. 118-7.

This important document, which next to the Revenue Papyrus is the largest Ptolemaic text that has been discovered, contains an elaborate report, drawn up in the 53rd year of Euergetes II, on the land of Kerkeosiris and the crops sown upon it, and gives in great detail the facts briefly summarized in 60; cf. pp. 538-9.

Of the seven parts into which these reports were divided, the first, a list of holders of land *ἐν ἀφέσει* in the 52nd year, has lost the first half, which gave an account of the *ἱερὰ γῆ* and of the cleruchs whose tenure dated from the reigns before that of Euergetes II; but the second half (61. (a) 1-148) has but few lacunae, and the loss of the beginning can be made good not only from 62 and 63, which give the essential information somewhat more briefly, but from 64, which was a long report similar to the present document and of which the earlier portion is to a considerable extent preserved.

The second part (a. 149-58), giving the totals of the classes of land other than temple and cleruchic, is practically perfect; the third, containing the details of the crops for the 53rd year sown upon *βασιλικὴ γῆ* (a. 159-221), is somewhat mutilated and has lost the end, but the missing portions can almost all be restored from 67, a separate enumeration of the crops of the *βασιλικὴ γῆ* in the 53rd year. Probably only one column is lost between the end of 61. (a) and the beginning of 61. (b); and the fourth section, which deals with the various deductions from the total rents due from the Crown lands (61. (b) 1-252), is on the whole very well preserved, and a comparison with 64. (b) or 72, both of which documents correspond to 61. (b) but were written in later years, generally supplies the necessary restorations of the lacunae. The fifth section

(b. 253-95), concerned with κλήροι on which for various reasons the Crown had a lien, is imperfect; the sixth (ll. 299-345), dealing with various receipts of taxes and payments for seed, presents few difficulties. The last section (ll. 346-430), of which the subject is land ἐν ἐπιστάσει, is much mutilated, and breaks off shortly before the end. Most of the lacunae however, as well as the missing column, which was probably the last of the whole document, can be supplied from 72.

Out of a total of about thirty-three columns there thus remain twenty-four in good or fair condition. The handwriting is a fine semi-uncial, and is the same as that of 64. A curious feature which is first traceable in Col. ii and becomes more marked in 61. (b) is the practice of filling up blank spaces either in the upper or lower margins of the columns or between paragraphs with meaningless repetitions of words, many of which have again been erased. The Greek, as usual in the documents emanating from Menches' office, is slipshod, and the construction of the longer sentences is often very difficult. On the general tenour of this class of documents and the meaning of the chief technical terms see App. i.

The *verso* has been used for a number of documents in different hands, most of which have no connexion either with each other or with the *recto*. Among these are, besides some private accounts, a lease translated from demotic by a very uneducated scribe (164), an official document followed by a short letter to the ξενικῶν πράκτωρ (165), and a contract (166), of which the protocol is complete but the rest mutilated. This begins βασιλευόντων Κλεοπάτρας θεᾶς Εὐεργέτιδος καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου θεῶν Φιλομητόρων Σωτήρων ἐφ' ἱερέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κοινῶν τῶν γραφομένων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μηνὸς Φαμενώθ ἐν Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέτου [τοῦ] Ἀρσινοείτου, showing that Ptolemy Alexander, like Soter II (cf. P. Grenf. I. 25. ii. 2), became priest at Alexandria of the deified Ptolemies including himself. All these are on the *verso* of (a). The *verso* of (b) contains some long private accounts (119) and several other documents including one or two contracts, or parts of contracts; but since owing to the terribly brittle condition of the papyrus it is impossible to detach that part of (b) where it is most damaged from the cloth to which the *verso* is gummed without risk of breaking it to pieces, we have preferred to leave part of the *verso* unexamined. There is also a short report from Menches (167) which begins παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμογρ(αμματέως) Κερκεοσι(ρεως). ἔστιν τὰ δ[.] γενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν κατ[ἀ] φύλλ[ον] γεω(μετρίαν) τοῦ αὐτοῦ α (ἔτους) καθ' ἣν πεποιήμεθα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ διοικη(τοῦ) ἀνα[φορά]ν. Lastly may be mentioned a brief order (168) for payment of a jar of wine, beginning Δίδυμος Χαιρή(μονι) χαί(ρειν). δδ(s)

Ἄπολ(λωνίω) παραρῆ(μα) οἴνο(υ) [α], / οἴνο(υ) α, followed by an order for the payment of 20 drachmae, &c., addressed Διδύμωι τρα(πεζίτη).

(a)

Col. i.

- [12 letters] καὶ ἐπισεσεισμένων εἰς τὴν κληρουχικὴν
 [τῶν προσληφθ]έντων εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν διὰ Κρίτωνος
 [12 letters] ν . . ν[. .] . . . (ἀρουραι) ν,
 [ὧν μετεπι]γεγρα(άφθαι) Ἀθηνίωι Ἀρχίου ὑπὸ Ἀνικίτου καὶ
 5 [τῶν συνπροσ]τατῶ[ν] τῶν διὰ Κρίτωνος προσ-
 [ληφθέντων]ν (ἀρούρας) ι,
 [καὶ ἐν τ]ῶι να (ἔτει) Λεπτίνηι Στρατονίκου κε,
 [Μάρωνι] Διονυσίου τὰς λοιπὰς ιε, / ν.
 [καὶ τῶν ἐ]ν τῶι νβ (ἔτει) μεταδιωκμένων ὑπὸ Ἀνικίτου
 10 [καὶ τῶν συ]νπροστατῶν τῶν διὰ Κρίτωνος τοῖς ὑπογε-
 [γραμμένοις δι]ὰ τὸ τε[τ]άχθαι τὸν στέφανον ὑ[πὲρ] τῶν προ-
 [γεγραμμέν]ων,
 [Ἐφαιστίωι Σ]τρατονίκου τὸν (πρότερον) Ἑλιοδώρου τοῦ
 [Διονυσίου]ν τῶν αὐτῶν) χέρσου ι.
 15 [Λεπτίνηι Σ]τρατονίκου ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ (πρότερον) Ἑλιοδώρου τοῦ
 [Μηνοδώρου] κε χέρ[σου].
 [Μάρωνι Διο]νυσίου ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον) [Ἑλιοδώρου τοῦ Μ]ηνοδώρου
 [χέρσου]ν ιε.
 [γίνονται Κριτ]ωνείων [
 20 [καὶ τοῦ Ζηνο]δώρου τοῦ [Βρομεροῦ δν μετε]ληφέν[αι]
 [Βρομερὸν τὸν ν]ῖδν τῶν ἔ[ν] τῶι λε (ἔτει) προσληφθέντων
 [εἰς τοὺς κατοίκο]υς ἰππεῖς κ[α]τα[ι]αθέντος διὰ τὸ . . . ἐ[ν]ρίσ-
 [κεσθαι ἀν]ταειρημένο[ν] ὑπὸ τῶν πρότερον βασι[λικῶν]
 [γραμματέων] ἀποδεδομένου δὲ ἐν τῶι . (ἔτει) κατὰ] τὰ
 25 [ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικ]ητοῦ καὶ Ἀ[μφικλείου] τοῦ ὑπομηματο-
 [γραφήσαντος] συνκ[εκριμένα]
 23. 1. ἀν[α]νηρημένο[ν].

Col. ii.

- { γίνονται ἀποδεδομένο[ν] } [[Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τ . . . ς]]
 [[πρότερον βα]σιλικῶν]]
 γίνονται ἀποδεδομένων (ἀρουραι) ς.

30 καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ να (ἔτος) μεταδιωκμένων ὑπὸ Ἀνικίτου καὶ τῶν
 συνπροστατῶν [τῶ]ν [δ]ιὰ Κρίτωνος προσλημφθέντων εἰς
 τοὺς ἐν τῷ νομῷ κατοίκους ἰππεῖς διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐσυνθετη-
 κέναι ἐν τῇ διορθώσ[ε]ι τοῦ ἐπιβληθέντ[ος α]ὐτῷ στεφάνου,
 Ἑρώδει Ἑλιοδώρου ἀπὸ τ[οῦ] (πρότερον) Ἑλιοδώρου τοῦ Διονυσίου
 χέ(ρσου) μ.

35 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ νβ (ἔτει) ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τ[ῶν] συν]προστατῶν,
 Ἀθηνίωνι Ἀρχίου ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον) Πολέμωνος τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου ι,
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλιοδώρου τοῦ Μηνοδώρου ι, καὶ τὰς Χαιρήμονος
 τοῦ Κρατείνου κ, / μ, / σπά(ρος) πυ(ρῶι) ι ἀρά(κωι) ε ἀσπύρου κε,
 γεω(ργὸς) Ὀρος.

καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ νγ (ἔτος) μεταβεβη(κτόων) ἐκ τῶν φυλακितῶν,
 40 Μάρωνος τοῦ Διονυσίου δς ἦν Νεκτοσάφθις Πετοσίριος ι ἀσπύρου,
 καὶ ἂ μετεπ[ιγ]εγρ(άφθαι) ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον) Ἑλιοδώρου τοῦ Μηνοδώρου
 χέ(ρσου) ιε, / κε.

γίνονται [κα]τοίκων (ἄρουραι) υνβ.

ἐφάδων τῶν ἐν τῷ λδ (ἔτει),

Μενίσκωι Πτολεμαίου δν μετειλη(φέναι) Πτολεμαίων τὸν υἱὸν ἀσπύρου κδ,
 45 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κδ, / σπά(ρος) πυ(ρῶι) η φακ(ῶι) δ ἀρά(κωι) β
 ἀλμυ(ρίδος) ι, γεω(ργὸς) αἰ(τός).

γίνονται ἀνδρῶν β (ἄρουραι) μη.

φυλακितῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ να (ἔτει) χάριν τοῦ προσαγγελῆναι καταμεμε-
 τρηῆσθαι {καταμεμετρηῆσθαι} ἀπὸ σπορίμου ἀντὶ χέ(ρσου) δν καὶ μεμε-
 τρηκέναι τὸ ἐπιχωρηθὲν ἐκ[φόριον] α (ἔτους),

50 Ἐτφεμοούνιος τοῦ Ἀμορταίου δν μετειλη(φέναι) Ἑρακλείδην
 [τῶ]ν υἱὸν ι, / σπά(ρος) πυ(ρῶι) ε φασή(λωι) ε, γεω(ργὸς) [Ὀν]νῶφρις.
 καὶ τῆς καταμεμετρημένης τοῖς διὰ Χο[μῆ]νιος προσειλημμένοις
 [ἐν τῷ μ]α (ἔτει) [εἰ]ς τοὺς μ[α]χίμους ἰππ[εῖ]ς],

Col. iii.

(τριακονταρούρων), Ἀρυάτης Φαεῦτος οὐ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ
 Τεβτύ(νιν) ε,

55 σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) Ἀρυάτης.

(εἰκοσιαρούρων), Πετεῆσις Πάσιτος ιθ, / (πυρῶι) ιβ φακ(ῶι) ζ, γεω(ργὸς)
 Ὀννῶφρις.

- Ἄκρισιῶι Ἄκρισιῶν δν με(τε)ιληφέναι Χομῆνιν τὸν υἱὸν ιθ,
 σπῶ(ρος) (πυρῶι) θ φακ(ῶι) ς ἀρά(κωι) ζ, γεω(ργὸς) Πετοσίρις.
 Φμέρισι Ὡρου οὗ τὸ λο(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ Τεβτῦ(νιν) ε, σπῶ(ρος)
 φακ(ῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αἰ(τός).
- 60 Κεφαλᾶς Πετεσοῦχου ιθ, / (πυρῶι) ιγ ἀρά(κωι) ς, γεω(ργὸς) αἰτός.
 Ἀρμιῦσει Πτολεμαίου ἀσπύρου ιθ.
 Τεῶς Τεῶτος οὗ τὸ λο(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ Τεβτῦ(νιν) ιε,
 σπῶ(ρος) πυ(ρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) Πετεσοῦχος.
 Ἀρμιῦσις Φατριέους ιθ, / (πυρῶι) ι φακ(ῶι) θ, γεω(ργὸς) Θῶνις.
- 65 γίνονται (εἰκοσιαρούρων) ἀνδρῶν ζ (ἄρourke) ριε, / (ἄρourke) ρκ.
 (ἑπταρούρων) μαχίμων,
 Φορεγέβθις Ἀπύγχιος ςΛ, / (πυρῶι) γ φακ(ῶι) β ἀρά(κωι) αΛ, γεω(ργὸς)
 αἰ(τός).
 Ὡρος Θοτορταίου ςΛ, / [(πυρῶι) βΛ] φακ(ῶι) δ, γεω(ργὸς) Πᾶσις.
 Ὡρος Ὡρου ςΛ, / σπῶ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) Δημᾶς.
- 70 Ἀρχῦσις Πετοσίριος ςΛ, / (πυρῶι) δΛ ἀρά(κωι) β, γεω(ργὸς) αἰτός.
 Ἀρθῶνις Ἀρφαήσειος ἀσπ[ύ]ρου ςΛ.
 Ἀρψῆθ[ι]ς Κολλούθου ςΛ, / (πυρῶι) δΛ [
 Κανῶ[ς] Πετοσίριος ςΛ,
 Ἀρσύτμει Πε[το]σίρειος ςΛ,
- 75 Ὡρωι μι(κρῶι) Κολλούθου [ςΛ,
 [Πετ]εσοῦχου Τοθοείου ἀβρόχου [ςΛ,
 [Ὡρωι] Φαγώμιος ςΛ, / (πυρῶι) γΛ ἀρά(κωι) [
 [Φατρῆ]ς Ὡρου ςΛ,] σπῶ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) Ἐρ[μων].
- Col. iv.
- [Με]σ[τα]σύτμει Ὡρου ςΛ, σπῶ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αἰ(τός).
- 80 [Φα]ε[υ]ς Σοκέως ἀσπύρου ςΛ.
 [Θο]τ[ε]ύς Φολήμιος ςΛ, σπῶ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αἰτός.
 Ὡρος Ἀρφαήσιος ἀβρόχου ςΛ.
 [Ἀ]ρμιῦσει Σοκονόπιος ςΛ, / (πυρῶι) δ φακ(ῶι) βΛ, γεω(ργὸς) αἰτός.
 [Τ]εῶς Τεῶτος ἀβρόχου ςΛ.
- 85 [Ν]εκτενίβις Ὡρου ςΛ, / (πυρῶι) ε ἀρά(κωι) αΛ, γεω(ργὸς) αἰ(τός).
 Κάστωρ Πνεφερώτος ςΛ, / φακ(ῶι) γΛ ἀρά(κωι) γ, γεω(ργὸς) αἰ(τός).

- Ἀπύγχιος Ποώριος ἀβρόχου 5L.
 [Κ]ολλούθης Ὀρου ἀλμυρίδος 5L.
 [Ἐ]λ[α]ί Π[α]ίτος 5L, / (πυρῶι) δ ἀρά(κωι) βL, γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 90 Πᾶσις μέ(γας) Καλατύτιος 5L, / σπύ(ρος) ἀράκωι, γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 Πᾶσις μ(κρός) Καλατύτιος 5L, / φα(κῶι) γL ἀρά(κωι) γ, γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 Ἄρφαήσει Ὀρου [. . . .]ου 5L.
 Κολλούθης Πέ(τοσίριος) 5L, / . . () δ φασή(λωι) βL, γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 [Ὀν]ῶφ[ρ]ις Πέ(τερμούθιος) 5L, / σπύ(ρος) κρι(θήι), γεω(ργός) Παποντῶς.
 95 Ἄμοῦνις Πικάμιος 5L, / (πυρῶι) δL φα(κῶι) α ἀρά(κῶι) α, γεω(ργός)
 Ἐρμων.
 Ἄμοῦνις Νεφνάχθει 5L, / (πυρῶι) δL φα(κῶι) α ἀρά(κῶι) α, [γε]ω(ργός)
 Ἐρμων.
 [γίνοντα]ι ἀνδρῶν λ (ἄρουραι) ρ|ρε.
 [γίνονται] τῆς ἐν τ[ῶ]ι μα (ἔτει) ἄρου(ραι) τιε.
 [καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶ]ι μβ (ἔτει) (ἑπταρούρων) ὁμοίως,
 100 Ἀρυάτης Ἀρυάτου 5L, / σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 Χεύρις Σοχάτου 5L, / (πυρῶι) δL φα(κῶι) β, γεω(ργός) Ὀνῶφρις.
 Ὀρος Ὀρσεν[ύ]φιος 5L, / (πυρῶι) δL φα(κῶι) β, γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 Πᾶσις Σοκονώπιος 5L, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) Φαῆσις.
 γίνονται ἀνδρῶν δ (ἄρουραι) κς.

Col. v.

- 105 γίνονται τοῖς διὰ Χομήνιος τμα.
 καὶ ἐν τῶι μς (ἔτει) τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος
 μετακεκληρουχημένοις ἀπὸ τῶν (πρότερον) δι' Ὀρου
 καὶ Πεσοῦριος προσλημφ[θέ]ντων εἰς τὴν
 τῶν μαχίμων σύνταξιν, περὶ ὧν καὶ
 110 γεγραφέναι Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ξένωνα[[ς]] τοὺς γραμ-
 ματεῖς φέρειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν Χομήνιος
 λαρχίαν,
 Ὀνῶφρις Μεστασύτιος 5L, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 Ὀρωι Παώπιος 5L, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 115 Πτολεμαῖος Σενθέως οὐ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ
 Ἄρεως κά(μην) γ, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) Ἐρμων.

- Πεσούθης Παχῶτος 5L, l (πυρῶι) γ ἀρά(κωι) γL, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Πασῶτι Φανήσιος 5L, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Φ[θ]αῦς Πετεήσιος 5L, l (πυρῶι) α φα(κῶι) εL, γεω(ργὸς) Ὀννώφρις.
 120 Ἀρμυῖσις Πετεσοῦχου 5L, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Πασῶτι μι(κρῶι) Φανήσι[σ] 5L, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) Θῶνις.
 Σοκ[ο]νῶπις Πάσιτος 5L, l (πυρῶι) εL ἀρά(κωι) α, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Π[α]σῶτι Ὀρσεί[ο]υς 5L, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Π[ε]τεσο[ύ]χος Πετεσοῦχου 5L, l (πυρῶι) βL φα(κῶι) α ἀρά(κωι) γ,
 γεω(ργὸς) α[ἰ(τός)].
 125 Ὀρσῆς Ἀρου[ν]ήσιος ἀσπύρου 5L.
 γίνονται ἀνδρῶν ιβ (ἄρurai) οδL.
 γίνονται (ἄρurai) υιεL.

110. tous above the line.

Col. vi.

- καὶ τῶν ἐν τῶι ν (ἔτει) μετακεκληρουχημένοις
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῶι μα καὶ μβ (ἔτει) προσλημ-
 130 φθέντων διὰ τοῦ Χομήνιος ἀντὶ τῆς
 ἀνειλημμένης αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰβίωνα
 τῶν (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων), (ἑπταρούρων),
 Κόμων Πεχύσιος 5L, l (πυρῶι) γL ἀρά(κωι) γ, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Ἀρψάλις Στεφάνου 5L, l (πυρῶι) γL φασή(λωι) γ, γεω(ργὸς) Ὀννώ(φρις).
 135 Λαββίς Φατρείου ἀσπύρου 5L.
 Ψενῆσις Στεφάνου ἀβρόχου 5L.
 Παῶπις Πετεσοῦχου 5L, l (πυρῶι) δL φα(κῶι) β,
 γεω(ργὸς) Πᾶσις.
 γίνονται ἀνδρῶν ε (ἄρurai) λβL.
 140 γίνονται Χομηνιακῶν υνδL.
 καὶ τοῖς διὰ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ξένωνος,
 Μαρρεῖ Παάπιος 5L, l (πυρῶι) γL ἀρά(κωι) γ, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Ἀροννώ[φ]ρις Ὀρου 5L, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Ἀ[ρ]μάις Πα[γ]τορσειό[υ]ς 5L, l (πυρῶι) δ ἀρά(κωι) βL, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτό[ς].
 145 γίνονται ἀνδρῶν γ (ἄρurai) ιθL.
 [γ]ίνονται τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως (ἄρurai) . . .

[ὦ]στ' εἶναι [κλη]ρ[ουχικῆς τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἕως τοῦ νβ (ἔτους)
(ἀρούρας) [Ἀφξδδδ'ίς'λ'β'.

παραδείσων τῶν

150 ἐν περιμέτρῳ τῆς κόμης

αἱ καὶ διὰ τῆς δια[ἔρημοι αδ'.

128. 1. μετακεληρουχημένων.
above it.

129. After τωι the beginning of a μ with a dash

Col. vii.

καὶ ἐν ἱερῶ γῆι Σούχου θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου ἐρήμου κ.
γίνονται καδ'.

νομῶν ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως πρὸς χαλκὸν διοικουμένοις

155 (ἀρουραι) ροεδ'ή.

εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν προκειμένων ἐλ[θῶν (ἀρουραι) 'ΒΣοβδ'ή'ίς'.

[ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) 'Δψ, / κόμης) ξθλ, ὑπο[λ(γ)ου] ρξθλίς', ἱερῶς Σρα<sup>ο[ι.]]δ'ή', /
[κλη(ρουχικῆς) 'Ἀφξδδδ'ίς'λ'β', ἀμπέλου) καδ', νομῶν) ροεδ'ή,
/ 'ΒΣοβδ'ή'λ'β'.]</sup>

καταλείπονται βασιλικῆς εἰς τὸ νγ (ἔτος) γῆς 'Βυκζλίς'λ'β'.

160 ἕως δὲ τοῦ νβ (ἔτους) 'Βυκζλίς'λ'β' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἰ'Βτλβ',

ὦν (πυροῦ) 'Ζφξδς' κ(ριθῆς) αἱ (πυροῦ) 'ΔΣφς[ί]β' ὀλ(ύρας) αἱ (πυροῦ)
τκςλίβ'.

{τού{σ}των ἐστὶν τῶν τιθεμ[έ]ν[ων ἐν ἐπισ]]

τούτων ἐστὶν τῶν τιθεμ[έ]ν[ων ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ

ἐν ἀπολογισμῶν ὦν τὸ καθ' [ἐν κ]αὶ ὡς συνέστηκεν

165 [ἐπ' ἐσ]χάτωι τέτακται (ἀρουραι) [Σξα]ίς' (ἀρτάβαι) 'Αψλβλίβ'.

[κα]ταλείπεται 'Βρξς[λ'β'] (ἀρτάβαι) Ἰ'φρηίβ',

ὦν (πυροῦ) 'Εωλαλίβ' κ(ριθῆς) [αἱ (πυροῦ) 'Δ]Σφς[ί]β' ὀλ(ύρας) αἱ
(πυροῦ) τκς[λίβ'.

[ἐν] τῶι νβ (ἔτει) ἀννή[έ]χθησαν] ἐσπάρθαι

[(ἀρουραι) 'Ἀρκςλδ' (ἀρτάβαι)] 'Δφπηγ'.

About six lines lost.

154. 1. διοικουμένων.

159. The figures at the end of the line are perhaps corrected.

160. The figures at the end of the line have been corrected from Ἰ'Βτμςβ'. 164.

1. ἀπολογισμῶι. 166. The figures at the end of the line are over an erasure. 167.

λαλίβ' corr. 169. γ' at the end of the line corr. from ζ'.

Col. viii.

- 176 καὶ ἐκφόριον ἀσπύρου βεβρεγμένης δι' ἀμελίαν γεωργῶν
 ἧς τὰ ἐκφόρια παραδεδοσθαι ἀνυπόλογον ιβλ (ἀρτάβαι) νγλδ'.
 ὥστ' εἶναι (ἀρούρας) Ἀρλθδ' ὦν ἐκφόρια) Ἀχ[μβι]β'.
- [[καὶ ἐκφόριον ἀσπύρου βεβρεγμένης δι' ἀμελίαν γεωργῶν ἧς τὰ ἐκφόρια]]
 180 [[παραδεδοσθαι []]]
 [[/ Ἀ]]]
- εἰς δὲ τὸ νγ (ἔτος) ἐσπάρθαι πυρῶι (ἀρούρας) χςλδ' ἢ (ἀρτάβαι) Βχρη[Λγ',
 ὦν (ἀρουραι) καλδ' ἀν(ὰ) ε ρη[λ]δ', τξθλδ' ἢ ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' Ἀωηγ'ίβ',
 λζλ ἀν(ὰ) δλ ρξηλδ', πλ ἀν(ὰ) δ τκβ, κςλ ἀν(ὰ) γλ αβλδ', κγδ' ἀν(ὰ) γ
 185 ξθλδ', μζλ ἀν(ὰ) βλ ρηλ.
 καὶ ὧι πλείω γράφει συναχθήσεσθαι ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) χωρὶς σπέρματος
 καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δαπάνης) (ἀρτάβαι) τξηηλγ',
 ἀφ' ὧν καταχωρίζεται εἰς τὰ σπέρματα τῆς κατανεμένης)
 ἀράκωι λη χόρτωι ὁμοίως ζ, / σπ(ερμάτων) με.
- 190 καταλεῖπονται) εἰς τὰ ἐκφόρια τγκγλγ', / ἀντὶ φακοῦ υλβγ'ίβ',
 ἀντὶ κριθῆ(ς) ρλθλγ', ἀντ' ἀρά(κου) κατανεμένης) ρζλίβ', χόρτωι καὶ
 χορτονο(μῶν) ριδ', νο(μῶν) λ, ἐκφόρια) ἀσπύρου βεβρεγμένης) πγλδ'.
 γίνονται τοῦ εἰς τὰ ἐκφόρια τγγλγ',
 σὺν δὲ τῶι ἐκφορίωι (ἀρτάβαι) Ἰχββ'.
- 195 [κρ]ιθῆι (ἀρούρας) ρμηδ' ἢ, ὦν ἐκφόριον] χλθλγ',
 ὦν (ἀρουραι) μηλδ' ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' Σμγ', νθ ἀν(ὰ) δλ Σξελ, ιβ ἀν(ὰ) δ μ[η,
 α ἀν(ὰ) γ, κζλ ἀν(ὰ) γ πβλ.
 ἀφ' ὧν καταχωρίζεται) ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) (πυροῦ) ρλθλγ',
 [αἰ λοιπαὶ (ἀρτάβαι) φ, ὦν κριθῆς] (ἀρτάβαι) ωλγγ'.

Col. ix.

- 200 φακῶι (ἀρούρας) Σια ὦν ἐκφόριον τ]λβγ'ίβ',
 ὦν (ἀρουραι) ρνα ἀν(ὰ)] δλγ'ίβ' [ψμαλγ'ίβ', κβ ἀν(ὰ)] δ πη, ιε
 [ἀν(ὰ) γ με, κγ ἀν(ὰ) βλ νζλ.]
 [ἀνταναιρουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀπ]η(γμένου) ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείωι
 [συναγομένου) ἐξ] εἰκα(σίας) (πυρῶι) υλβγ'ίβ' αἰ λοιπαὶ φακοῦ φ.
 205 [γίνονται] τῆς σίτωι (ἀρουραι) τξεδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀχββ'.
 [χλωροῖς] ὦν τὴν διοίκησις ἐπ' ἐσχάτωι τέτακται

- [τὰ δ' ἀπ' αὐ]τῆς συνα(γόμενα) ἐνταῦθα ἀνειλ[ή]φαμεν
 ἀρά[κωι (ἀρούρας)] λη ὧν ἐκφόριον ρμ[ξ,]
 [ὧν (ἀρουραι) ια] ἀν(ὰ) ε νε, ιβ ἀν(ὰ) δ μη, β ἀν(ὰ) γλ ζ, θ ἀν(ὰ)
 [γ κξ,
 210 [δ ἀν(ὰ) βλ ι.] ἀντα(ναιρουμένου) δὲ τοῦ [ἀπη(γμένου) ἀπὸ το]ῦ πλείω
 συνα(γόμενου) ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) (πυρῶι) ρίξλιβ'
 αἰ λοιπαὶ χαλκοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν [ὑποθήκην] λθγίβ'.
 χόρτωι ζ ὧν ἐκφόριον [κθδ',
 ὧν (ἀρουραι) γ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' ιδλδ', β ἀν(ὰ) δ η, β [ἀν(ὰ) γδ ελ.
 215 [χορτο]νομῶν (ἀρούρας) πα ἀνὰ [α (ἀρτάβαι) πα.
 [γίνο]νται χόρτωι καὶ χο(ρτο)νο(μῶν) [(ἀρουραι) πη, ὧν ἐκφόριον
 τὸ καὶ ἀπη(γμένον) ἀπὸ τοῦ πλε[ί]ωι συ(ναγομένου) [ἐξ εἰκα(σίας)
 (πυροῦ) ριδ'.
 γίνονται χλωροῖς (ἀρουραι) ρκ[ε (ἀρτάβαι) λθγίβ'.
 τῆς δ' ἐσπαρμένης (ἀρουραι) 'Αα[βδ' (ἀρτάβαι) 'Δχμβίβ'.
 220 καὶ εἰς ἣν σπέρμα οὐ χρηματίζε[ται] νομῶν λ,
 ὧν ἐκφόριον τὸ καὶ ἀπη(γμένον) ἀπὸ τοῦ π[λεί]ωι συ(ναγομένου)
 206. l. ἡ for την.

1-8. This section concerns the land of Heliodorus son of Menodorus, a *κάτοικος* who had received his grant in the reign of Euergetes II, having been placed in the *κάτοικοι ἱππεῖς* by Criton in the 37th year (62. 117). Originally he was nominally a *ἐκατοντάρουρος* like the other *Κριτώρειοι* (cf. 152 and p. 547), but there is no evidence that he ever really owned more than the 50 arourae which are attributed to him here. Of these 10 had been made over to Athenion son of Archias before 62 was drawn up, leaving him with 40 for the 52nd year; cf. 62. 132 and 134. In the 52nd year according to ll. 7-8 these 40 arourae were taken away and given to Leptines son of Stratonicus and Maron son of Dionysius, who received 25 and 15 arourae respectively. The cause of this transfer is stated in ll. 11-2 (cf. ll. 32-3) to be the fact that the new cleruchs had paid the *στέφανος* demanded from the previous owners, who were thereupon dispossessed. On the *στέφανοι* payable by cleruchs on promotion from the lower grades to that of *κάτοικοι* and no doubt on other occasions cf. note on 61. (δ) 254. The tax was not paid in full at once, but in irregular instalments, which may account for the fact that failure to pay the required sum did not lead to immediate confiscation, but the holdings (cf. 64. (δ) 6, 72. 246) became *κατόχιμοι* and were liable to be gradually diminished until the final *διόρθωσις* (l. 33), when continued non-payment led to the loss of the holding altogether.

9. νθ (ἔτει): in l. 7 the transfer was said to have been made in the 51st year, but 64. (α) 100 also has νθ, and the attribution of the 40 arourae of Heliodorus to him in 62 supports the view that the change was really made in the 52nd year; cf. also 84. 187, where in the survey list of probably the 53rd year Heliodorus is still credited with 40 arourae.

11. Cf. note on ll. 1-8. The *προγεγραμμένοι* are Heliodorus son of Menodorus

and Heliodorus son of Dionysius (l. 13), being contrasted with the *υπογεγραμμένοι*, Hephaestion, Leptines, and Maron.

20-9. For the restoration of the lacunae cf. 64. (a) 82-9, where this passage recurs. Bromerus son of Zenodorus is entered in lists both earlier and later than 61 as owner of 40 arourae at Kerkeosiris (cf. 62. 79 and 63. 68), and there had been a dispute about the legal title of 3 arourae assigned to him; cf. 61. (b) 240 and 85. 95, where these 3 arourae are called *αποβιαζομένης*, and 85. 71, 87, 94 which show that his whole estate was *εν συγκρίσει αποδομένου* means 'restored,' but it is not easy to account for the 90 arourae *αποδομένων*. The bottom of col. i is lost, but it is improbable that any lines are missing after l. 26.

27. *Απολλωνίου του Πύρρου*: this individual is not found in the lists of cleruchs at Kerkeosiris, but his name occurs in marginal scribblings, as here, in 25. 24 and 61. (b) 295-6.

32-3. Cf. note on ll. 1-8.

39-41. On the change of name by Nektapthis on becoming a catoecus cf. p. 547. In the 52nd year (62. 110) he is entered under the *φυλακίται* who received grants of 10 arourae in the 33rd year of Philometor, and this *κλῆρος* he retained on becoming a catoecus in the 52nd year (cf. the next note), receiving in addition 15 arourae from the *κλῆρος* of Heliodorus son of Menodorus (l. 41, cf. 64. (a) 112, 105. introd.). In 85. 59 he is called a *ἡκατοντάουρος*, but how far that statement was true is not clear; cf. p. 548.

42. *υβ*: in the 52nd year the corresponding total is 402 (62. 150), in the 2nd year of the next reign the number is 412, because the 10 arourae which Maron son of Dionysius had received as a *φυλακίτης* in the reign of Philometor (cf. the previous note) were, after he became a *κάτοικος*, counted in the land assigned by Euergetes, making the total of his *κλῆρος* 25 arourae. The figure *υ* in place of *ε* in *υβ* here is a mere error; cf. note on l. 140.

44. The *κλῆρος* of Meniscus was *κατόχιμος* at this period because the *στέφανος* had not been paid; cf. 61. (b) 256, 64. (b) 7, 72. 247.

47-51. In the list for the 52nd year (62. 112) Etphemounis is entered among the *φυλακίται* whose holdings dated from the 33rd year of Philometor. The discovery that the title was bad had however been made some years previously; cf. 66. 86 sqq., where Etphemounis (or as he is there called Nephthemounis) has to pay the single year's rent usually exacted in cases where *σπόριμος* had been assigned to cleruchs instead of *χέρσος*. Part of this was paid in the 48th and 49th years (66. 88-9), and the whole debt seems to have been paid off by the 52nd year (ll. 48-9; cf. 62. (b) 7, where Nektanibis who is coupled with him in 66 is mentioned, but not Etphemounis, and p. 566).

67. *Φορεγίβθις*: his name is also spelled *Πορεγίβθις* (62. 180) and *Πορεγίβθις* (63. 149, 64. (a) 149).

86. *Κάστωρ Πνεφερώτος*: this person was succeeded before the second year of the next reign by Pholemis son of Nektanibis; cf. 63. 169.

113 sqq. Most of the names have a dot against them in the left-hand margin.

128. *υ* (*στει*): the 51st according to 63. 215; cf. note on 66. 23-6.

137. *Παῶπις Πετρουύχου*: so in 62. 301. In 63. 222 he is called *Παῶπις Πετρείου*.

140. *υδλ*: the correct total is 448, being the sum of 415½ (l. 127) and 32½ (l. 139), so that the total here is 6½ arourae too large. The scribe no doubt copied the figure from a list of the year before, when 454½ was correct because there was another *επτάουρος μάχιμος* among the *μετακεκληρονημένοι* (ll. 128-39), whose holding was confiscated in the course of the 52nd year; cf. note on 62. 307.

146. The correct total of the arourae was 927½, being made up of 412 for *κάτοικος* (note on l. 42) + 48 for *ἴφοδοι* (l. 46) + 448 for the *Χομηνακοί* (l. 140, note) + 19½ for the *μάχιμοι διὰ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ξένωνος* (l. 145). But Etphemounis, whose holding dated from

the reign of Philometor, is included in the reign of Euergetes for special reasons (note on ll. 47-51); and there is a certain error in l. 140 and a probable one in l. 42, so that what was actually written here is uncertain. The total of the cleruchic land is given in l. 158 as $1564\frac{3}{4}$ arourae, which is 10 too small; cf. p. 553.

147. From this point up to l. 166 the papyrus corresponds to 60. 35-50, which deals with the same year.

149-51. For the *παράδεισοι* within the village enclosure cf. 60. 5 and 38-9. From the latter passage it appears that they were intended to be planted with vegetables.

152. Here, as in 60. 40, 20 arourae of the land of Suchus are said to be *παράδεισοι*, but in l. 158, where the abbreviation is clearly $\acute{\alpha}\mu()$ and not $\pi\alpha()$, and in 64. (a) 2 the same land is called an *\acute{\alpha}\muπελος*. On the distinction between *\acute{\alpha}\muπελώνες* and *παράδεισοι* see Rev. Laws, p. 94. The fact that they were so frequently coupled together for taxation purposes explains the confusion.

154. Cf. 60. 41-3 and App. i. § 1.

157. The correction of the total of the *ιερά γῆ* is due to the fact that in this computation the *παράδεισοι* (or, as they are called in l. 158, *\acute{\alpha}\muπελος*, cf. note on l. 152) form a separate item, and therefore if the 20 arourae of *παράδεισοι* owned by the temple of Suchus were also included in the total of the *ιερά γῆ* they would be counted twice over. The total in l. 156, $2272\frac{7}{8}$ arourae (taking the revised figure of the *ιερά γῆ*), is right to $\frac{3}{8}$ of an aroura, the correct total being $2272\frac{3}{8}$ as in l. 158.

159-60. The area of the *βασίλική* is obtained by subtracting $2272\frac{3}{8}$ arourae from the whole area of the village, 4700 arourae (l. 157), which leaves $2427\frac{5}{8}$ arourae. The total of the artabae in l. 160, $12330\frac{3}{4}$ (corrected from $10346\frac{3}{4}$), is the sum of $1732\frac{7}{8}$ in l. 165 and $10598\frac{1}{2}$ in l. 166. The latter figure has also been corrected, probably from $10614\frac{1}{2}$; cf. 60. 97 and 61. (b) 248, 252, notes. On the hypothetical character of these figures see App. i. § 4.

161. The sum of the artabae in this line, $7564\frac{1}{8}$ artabae for rents paid in wheat + $4296\frac{1}{2}$ for rents paid in barley + $326\frac{7}{8}$ for rents paid in olyra, is $12186\frac{5}{8}$ artabae, falling short of $12330\frac{3}{4}$, the number in l. 160, by $143\frac{3}{8}$ artabae. This deficiency is due to the omission by the writer of the rents paid in copper money and converted into wheat (cf. p. 560). Of these $143\frac{3}{8}$ artabae $39\frac{5}{8}$ are accounted for as the balance of the rents upon *\chiλωρά* after those which were added to the receipts in wheat had been subtracted from the total receipts for the *\chiλωρά* (cf. l. 218 and 67. 49-50); $13\frac{3}{8}$ artabae are under the heading *\acute{\epsilon}\nu \sigma\gamma\kappa\rho\rho\rho\rho\rho\rho* (61. (b) 109), and $87\frac{3}{4}$ are under the heading *\acute{\epsilon}\nu \upsilon\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\phi* (61. (b) 212).

163-5. The details are given at the end of 61. (b), ll. 346 sqq.; cf. [*\acute{\epsilon}\nu' \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\iota*] in l. 165. On the meaning of this obscure category see App. i. § 10.

166. Cf. note on ll. 159-60 and notes on 61. (b) 248 and 252.

167. The total of the wheat, $5831\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, is obtained by subtracting the whole amount of rent due from land *\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota*, $1732\frac{7}{8}$ artabae (l. 165), from the total of the wheat in l. 161, $7564\frac{1}{8}$ artabae. The correct fraction is $\frac{1}{2}$, not $\frac{1}{4}$. The amounts of rents paid in barley and olyra are the same as in l. 161, and the item for those paid in money is omitted, as there.

168. At this point begins the account of the five classes into which the totals in l. 160 of the Crown lands and its rents are subdivided after making the deductions for land *\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota* και *\acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\phi* (ll. 163-6; cf. App. i. § 4). The first section, dealing with the land under cultivation in the 53rd year (cf. App. i. § 5), occupies the rest of 61. (a); and the lacunae in it can be supplemented from the annual reports of crops (66-70), and in particular from 67 which covers the same year. As in 67, the account of the 53rd year in 61. (a) is preceded by a short statement of the totals for the 52nd (ll. 168-78).

169-78. The sums in l. 169 added to those in l. 177 make the totals in l. 178,

which agree with the corresponding totals for the 52nd year in 67. 5. They also coincide with the figures for the 53rd year found in 60. 55, 61. (b) 249 and in the *γεμισμός ἐξ ὑποθήκης* (cf. 67. 5, note, and p. 560) in 67. 66. The sum of the artabae *ἃ δεῖ ἀπαιτῆσθαι* in the 53rd year (67. 69) is slightly higher, $4658\frac{1}{2}$, but probably $4642\frac{1}{2}$ was right; cf. p. 565.

Though there is space enough for 6 lines after l. 169, judging by the length of the preceding and succeeding columns, it is very doubtful whether more than one or two, if any, lines are really lost; cf. 60. 51-2 with ll. 169 and 176.

177. *ἀνυπόλογον*: the rent of land left unsown through carelessness is regularly added to the receipts from the *ἐσπαρμένη*, implying that the rent was actually paid. It was not added to the *ὑπόλογον*, of which the rents were indeed put down and accounted for as if they were really paid, but which produced no actual revenue; cf. p. 540.

182. From this point up to the end of the next column the papyrus corresponds to 67. 9 sqq., though the figures of the wheat and barley are there arranged differently (cf. p. 561), probably because the two documents were drawn up at different times; cf. p. 565. For the meaning of the various technical terms in this section see notes on 67, and cf. App. i. §§ 4-5.

The sum of the artabae, $2698\frac{5}{8}$, is obtained by subtracting $903\frac{5}{8}$ in l. 193 from $3602\frac{3}{8}$ in l. 194. The addition of the individual items as they stand in ll. 182-5 gives $2698\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{1}{2}$ too much. The corresponding figures in 67. 5 are $576\frac{7}{8}$ arourae and $2567\frac{3}{8}$ artabae.

183. $369\frac{7}{8}$ arourae at a rent of $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae give $1818\frac{5}{8}$ artabae; the inconvenient fraction is treated as $\frac{5}{8}$.

185. *ρηλ*: δ' has been omitted.

190. $923\frac{5}{8}$ is correctly obtained by subtracting 45 for *σπέρματα* (l. 188) from $968\frac{5}{8}$ in l. 187. The number in l. 193 ought to correspond to this (cf. e. g. 70. 20 and 22), but is 20 short, and the sum of the items in ll. 190-2 is $903\frac{5}{8}$, not $923\frac{5}{8}$. Moreover $903\frac{5}{8}$ is required to make the figures in l. 194 right, since they are the sum of $903\frac{5}{8}$ and $2698\frac{5}{8}$ in l. 182. Either the $923\frac{5}{8}$ or the $903\frac{5}{8}$ must therefore be wrong. 67. 15 sqq. gives no help, for the figures are different.

191-3. Cf. 67. 22-5.

195. The corresponding figures for the barley in 67. 28 are $178\frac{3}{8}$ arourae and $587\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, but nothing is there subtracted as is the case here in ll. 198-9, where the barley is reduced from $639\frac{5}{8}$ to 500 artabae; cf. 67. 15, note, and pp. 565-6.

196. $48\frac{3}{4}$ arourae at $4\frac{1}{2}$ make $239\frac{1}{8}$ artabae; but the sum required to produce the $639\frac{5}{8}$ artabae in l. 195 is (assuming the other figures in ll. 196-7 to be correct, as they appear to be) $240\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, which seems to be the reading of the papyrus.

199. The ratio of wheat to barley is 5:3 as usual; cf. note on 61. (b) 258.

200-4. The account of the lentils agrees verbally with 67. 33-8.

205. The totals of the arourae are obtained by adding together the results of ll. 182, 195 and 200, and those of the artabae by adding the results of ll. 194, 199 and 201. In 67. 40 the number of the arourae is the same as here, that of the artabae, $4618\frac{3}{8}$, slightly larger.

206-21. This passage coincides with 67. 41-61.

ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ τέτακται: in 72. 304 sqq. a section dealing with *χλωρά* precedes that on *σπέρματα*. But in 61. (b) the corresponding section is absent, and if the statement here that an account of the *χλωρά* was actually given 'at the end' is correct, this must have followed the section dealing with land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει*, which breaks off in 61. (b) before

the end is reached. But ἐπ' ἐσχάτωι τέτακται was very likely inexact, as in 68. 54, &c.; cf. 67. 41, note.

215. [χορτο]νομῶν: cf. 60. 82, note.

218. Cf. note on l. 190, and 67. 15, note.

(δ)

Col. i.

[[τῶν συγκεκριμένω[ν ἀ]παιτεῖν α (ἔτους) ἐκφ[όριον] τῶ[ν] προσηγμένων]]
 τῶν συγκεκριμένων] ἀπαιτεῖν α (ἔτους) ἐκφ[όριον] τῶν [προ]σηγμένων
 [κατ[εσχ]ηκέναι [ἀπὸ τῆς] σπορίμου ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπισταλ[είσης] χέρσου,
 ἀφ' ὧν παρ[επιγεγραφέν]αι Ἀρχίβιον τὸν διοικητὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγνώ[σ]ε[ως]
 5 τῆς κατ]ὰ [φύ]λλ[ον γε]ωμετρίας τοῦ μζ (ἔτους) λαβόντας ἐκφόριον α (ἔτους)
 ἀπο]λύσαι. [τῶν μεταβεβ]ηκότων ἐκ τῶν ἐρημοφυλάκων εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν
 Νεκτενίβιος τοῦ Ὠρ[ου, κ]αὶ Πτολεμαῖον Ἀπολλωνίου οὐκ ἀναγρ[ά]φομεν),
 (ἀρourke) ι [(ἀρτάβαι)] μθδ'.

{[Ὠρ]ου κ[α]ὶ Πτολεμαῖον Ἀπολλωνίου οὐκ ἀναγρ[ά]φομεν)} (ἀρourke)
 ι (ἀρτάβαι) μθδ' }

τῆς ἐσπαρμένης ἐν τῇ[ι κ]εχειρισμένη προσόδωι ὑπὲρ τῶ[ν γε]ωργῶ[ν]
 10 [Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλίνο]υ ἦν γράφει ὁ κωμογραμματαεὺς κατεργασθῆ-
 [ναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπολόγου ἐν τῶι] μθ (ἔτει), [ὑπ]ὲρ ὧν ἀπολογί[ζε]ται.
 [ὁ κωμογραμματαεὺς] . . . [.] . εἰν ταῖς γεγυνοῦσαις πρὸς τ[οὺς]
 [γε]ωργοὺς μισθώσεσι[ν], μέχρι δὲ τούτου τίθεμεν τὰ ἐπι-
 [γε]γραμμένα αὐτοῖς ἐκφόρια. [ἡ]ν ἀνταναιρῆσθαι ἀπὸ ἀλμυρίδος ν (ἔτους)
 15 [. . .] . . . ἦν δ[ι] 12 letters εἰς] δὲ τὸ νγ (ἔτος) γράφει ὁ κωμογραμματαεὺς]
 [μ]εμισθῶσθαι Πετοσίρει] Νε[ο]πτολέμου καὶ Πετεσόκοντι [Κεφάλω]νος
 [κα]ὶ Ὠρωι Ὀρσεί[ου]ς ἀσπερμ[ο]ῖ ἀν(ὰ) α ιςΛ, σπῆρος (πυρῶι) ι [κριθ]ῆι αἰ
 [πυρ]ῶι β τήλ[ει αἰ πυρ]ῶι [δ]Λ {ἀσπερμοὶ ἀν(ὰ) α ιςΛ σπῆρος (πυρῶι ?)}
 [ἐν δ]ὲ τοῖς [ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικ]ητοῦ συγκριθησομένοις [.]
 20 [.] . . . [.] ἐν τῷ μθ (ἔτει) ἀπὸ τῶν πρ[ο]τ[ε]ρῶ[ν] τεθέντων
 [ἐν το]ῖς καθ[.] . . . [.] ἕως τοῦ μη (ἔτους) τῆς μισθω[θ]είσης ὑπὸ τε
 [τῶ]ν ἐπιμελητῶν [καὶ οἰ]κονόμων καὶ τῆς ἀνευ συναλλ[ά]ξεως ἐλάσσαι
 [τῶ]ν ἐπιγεγραμμένων ἐκφορίων ἐφ' ὧν Ἀρχίβιον τὸν διοικητὴν παρ-
 επ[ι]γεγραφέναι ἐπὶ τῆς κατ]ὰ φύλλον γεωμετρίας τοῦ μζ (ἔτους)
 25 [.] . . [18 letters] πρ[ο] . [.] . ντω . π[.] . . .
 [ἀνε]γεγαμεν[.] . . . [. . .] . . . πλείω[α]ς ἐντυχία[ς]
 [π]ροποιῆσθαι πα[ρα]τιθε[μένους] τοῦς ἐγδομένους αὐτοῖς χρημα[τι]σμ[ο]ῦς

[ύφ' ὧν] ἐδηλοῦτο μ[ὴ ἀπομ]ετρῆ[σαι] πλείω τοῦ κα[τ]ὰ τὴν συνά[λα]ξί[ν] κεφαλαίου, [. . .] ἡξίου[ν] ἑτέροις [ἐ]πιγραφῆναι διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν

3. *επιστα* of *επισταλεισης* written above the line over an erasure. 4. *l. ἐφ' ὧν*.
8. This line enclosed in brackets. 9. *l. κχωρισμένη*.

Col. ii.

- 30 { [[εὐτελεῖ εἶναι]] (τ)ὴν δὲ καὶ κεχερωσῶθαι ἐν τῇ [[ἀμειξία καὶ ἔτι οὐσης]] }
εὐτελεῖ εἶναι (τ)ὴν δὲ καὶ κεχερωσῶσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀμειξία καὶ ἔτι οὐσης
ἀκατεργάστου τοὺς γεωργοὺς συναναγκάζεσθαι ἐκπληροῦν τὰ κα-
θήκοντα, συνθεωρεῖσθαι εἰ αὐτοῖς βία{ι} προσαχθήσεται τοῖς ὄλοις τὴν
γῆν ἀσπορήσειν, παρεπεγράφη ὑπ' Ἀμφικλείους,
- 35 ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιτελῶνται οἱ γ[ε]ωργοὶ τὰ {τέλη} ἐκφόρια μεταμισθω-
θῆ[τ]ωι δι' Εὐβίου τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως.
{θ[ή]ται δι' Εὐβίου τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ}
ἐπ[ὶ] δὲ [τῆς] πεπραγματευ[μ]ένη[ς] πρὸς Παρθένιον σιτικῆς διαγραφῆς
τοῦ μ[.] (ἔτους) τῶν γραμμ[α]τέων σημηνάντων μετὰ τὸ περι-
γινόμενον παρε[πε]γράφη [ὕ]πὸ τοῦ διοικητοῦ,
- 40 αἰτεῖν ἤδη {ἤδη} τὸν βασιλικὸν γραμματέα τὸ κατὰ κώμην
καὶ τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν μεμισθω[μ]ένων ταύτην καὶ ἐπὶ τίσι
καὶ τ[ί]νες οἱ μισθώσαντες καὶ τὸν σπῆρον παρεθέτωσαν καὶ ἀνε-
νεγκεῖν [ἤ]δη ἵνα αὐτοῦς κρίνωμεν. [[. . . φ. []]]
τίθεμεν δὲ [ἐν]ταῦθα χάρι[ν] τοῦ συγκριθῆναι τι
- 45 [τ]ῆς [ἔως τ]οῦ λθ (ἔτους) μ[ισ]θωθείσης ὑπ[ὸ] τῶν πρότερον ἐπιμ[ε]λητῶν,
[σὺν τ]οῖς τῆς ἐν τῷ λδ (ἔτει) ὑπὸ Φανίου τοῦ γενομένου στρατηγοῦ
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶ[ν] προσόδων [. . .] . [.] . . ηἰ . ρ . . . ου {υ} [[υπυ]]
Σαραπί[ων]ι Ἀπολλωνίου (ἀρουραι) κ, ὧν ἦν ἀνὰ δλγ'ίβ' ρθβ', ἀνθ' ὧν ι
καὶ τῶν προσηγμένων [τ]ῶ[ι] σπ[ύ]ρωι ἔν τ[ῶ]ι με (ἔτει) μδλγ', / [ν]δλγ',
50 διάφορον μδλγ'. σπῆρος πυρ[ῶ]ι διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέ[ρο]ς γεωργῶν ἐγ
διαιρέσεως.
καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ κθ (ἔτει) ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ ἐπιμελητε[ύ]σαντος
'Ερμ[ο]γένει Ἐρμ[ο]γένους κε (ἀρτάβαι) λζλ [ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτηι ι ἀνὰ λ ιβλ
εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀνὰ α κε [[ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπ' ἔτηι ι ἀνὰ δλγ'ίβ']]
- 55 καὶ τῶν προσηγμένων ἐν τῷ μζ (ἔτει) {ἀρταβιέαν} ζδ', / λαδ',
διάφορον ζδ'. χορτονομῶν διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέ[ρο]ς γεωργῶν.

τῆς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπιμε[λ]η[τεύσα]μ[το]ς ἐν τῷ λα (ἔτει)
 Νεκτενίβει Ποκροβίριος καὶ Παπνεβτύνει Πάσιτος καὶ Ἐρμαχόρωι
 Ψενφθάτος καὶ Πετεσοῦχοι θεαγοῖς Θοήριος ἐπ' ἔτη ι ἀνὰ α
 60 {Ψενφθάτος καὶ Πετεσοῦχοι}
 {χοι θ[εαγοῖς Θοήριος]}

31. l. εἰτελῆ. 42. l. παραθέτωσαν.

Col. iii.

{εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τῶν [[ἐπιγεγραμμένων]]}
 εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων ἀρουρῶν κ,
 ὧν ἦν ρδς', ἀνθ' ὧν σὺν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα
 65 προσγεγενημένοις (ἀρουραι) νς καὶ τῶν προσαγομένων ἐν τῷ μς (ἔτει)
 τῷ σπύρωι ιθίβ', / οείβ',
 διάφορον ιθίβ', ὧν πυρῶι ιζίβ', χαλκοῦ β· σπύρος πυρῶι διὰ τῶν
 κατὰ μέρος γεωργῶν ἐγ διαιρέσεως. [[κατὰ μέρος καὶ τῶν . . [. .]]
 γίνονται [[ος']] ος'. [[καὶ . . []]
 70 καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ κθ (ἔτει) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀ[δε]λφοῦ ὑπὸ Χαιρήμ[ο]νος τοῦ
 ἐπιμελητεύσαντος· {ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὑπὸ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ}
 Πετειμούθει Πνεφερῶτος ἀπὸ ἀλμυρ[ίδο]ς τῆς ἐν τῷ κη (ἔτει) (ἀρουραι) β,
 ὧν ἦν ἀνὰ δΛγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) θΛγ'.
 καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Φ[ιλίνου] ἐφοδικῶι κλήρωι ἀνειλ{λ}ημένωι εἰς τὸ
 75 βασιλικὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῶι (ἔτει) (ἀρουραι) ιγλ ἀνὰ δΛγίβ' ξδγίβ'.
 γίνονται ιελ (ἀρτάβαι) οδδ', ἀνθ' ὧν α ιε, διάφορον νθδ'.
 χορτονομῶν διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γεωργῶν.
 καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ κ (ἔτει) Δωρίωνι (τριακονταρούρωι) καὶ Πύρρωι Πτολεμαίου
 Μακεδόνι τῶν στρατενομένων ἐν τοῖς συγ[γ]ενέσι τῶν
 80 κατοίκων ἱππέων, ὧν ἔγραψεν μετ[ε]ιληφέναι Ἄρσβιν
 Μάρωνος, ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) τι ρπ[ε]
 ἀνὰ δΛγίμῆ γκλγ', ἀνθ' ὧν ξθ ἀνὰ δΛγίβ'
 τληΛγίβ', ἄλλ{λ}ων ρ ἀνὰ δ τξ, κς ἀνὰ βλ ξε,
 γίνονται (ἀρτάβαι) ψξγΛγίβ'. διάφορον εἰς (πυρῶν) ρνςΛγίβ',
 85 ὧν πυρῶν {ρ}οαγίβ', κριθῆς αἰ πυρῶι ξδ,
 δλύρας αἰ (πυροῦ) ια(λ), χαλκοῦ ι· διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γε[ω]ργῶν.

γίνονται[ι] τῆς μεμισθωμένης εἰς πυρῶν Σπςγ',
 ὦν πυρῶι ΣΛγ', κριθῆς αἰ πυρῶι ξδ, ὀλύρας αἰ (πυροῦ) ιαλ, χαλκοῦ ι.
 καὶ τῆς ἀνευ συναλλ(λ)άξεως τῆς ἐν τῶι κθ (ἔτει) προσαγγε-
 90 λείσης ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι εὐρῆσθαι ἐξ ἐπισκέψεως ἀπ[θ]
 {^{*}}
 {καὶ τῆς ἀνευ συναλλάξεως τῆς ἐν τῶι κθ (ἔτει) προσαγγελ}
 {απο}

65. 1. (ἀρτάβαι) for (ἄρουραι).

Col. iv.

{τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων χρόνων ἐμ[[βρόχου]]}
 ἐμβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῶι λβ (ἔτει), (ἄρουραι) μ ἀνὰ δΛγ'ίβ' ρφβ', ἀνθ'
 ὦν σὺν τοῖς
 95 προσγεγενημένοις ἀνὰ βλ (ἀρτάβαι) ρ· διάφορον ρφβ', ὦν πυρῶι οεγ',
 κριθῆς αἰ πυρῶι ιβ, ὀλύρας [α]π πυρῶι η, χαλκοῦ αγ· σπόρος (πυρῶι)
 καὶ φακῶι.
 [κ]αὶ τῆς ἀνενεχθείσης μετὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάπλου εὐρῆσθαι ἐξ ἐπι-
 σκέψεως, ἧς τὰ ἐκφόρια πρ[ο]σαχθῆναι ὁμοίως ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας, (ἄρουραι) πα,
 ὦν ἦν ἀνὰ δΛγ'ήμή (ἀρτάβαι) υβγ'ίβ', ἀνθ' ὦν ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας ἀνὰ α πα,
 100 {ὦν ἦν ἀνὰ ἧς} διάφορον {προσα}χθῆν[αι] ὁμοίως ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας} τκαγ'ίβ',
 ὦν πυρῶι Σγγλ[γ'ίβ', κριθῆς αἰ (πυροῦ) ξ, ὀλύρας αἰ (πυροῦ) ε, χ]αλκοῦ βλ·
 χορτονομῶν διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γεωργῶν.]
 καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι κε (ἔτει) κατ[ειργασμένης ὑπὸ] τῶν κα[τ]ὰ μέρος γεωργῶν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκτὸς μισθώσεω[s] ὑπολόγου (ἄρουραι) ξθλδ', ὦν [ἦν ἀνὰ]
 δΛγ'ήμή
 105 ἀρτάβαι τμγς', ἀνθ' ὦν σὺν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα [προσγεγενη]μένοις
 (ἀρτάβαι) Σκε,
 διάφορον ριηβ'. διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος. γίνονται[ι] τῆς ἀνευ συναλλάξεως
 εἰς πυρῶν φλςλδ', ὦν πυρῶι υμζΛγ'ίβ', κ[ριθῆς αἰ πυρῶι] οβ, ὀλύρας
 αἰ πυρῶι ιγ, χαλκοῦ γλγ'. σὺν δὲ τῆι μεμισθωμένῃ εἰς [(πυρῶν)] οκγ'ίβ',
 ὦν πυρῶι χμηλγ', κριθῆς αἰ (πυροῦ) ρλς, [ὀ]λύρας αἰ (πυροῦ) κδλ,
 χαλκοῦ ιγλγ'.
 110 [το]ῦ ἐ[ν] ὑπολ[όγω]ι ἀναφερ[ο]μ[ένου] τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ να (ἔτους). αἰ ἀναληφ-
 θείσαι ἐν τῶι [. .] (ἔτει)

διὰ τὸ ἀντικα[ταμε]μετρηῆσθαι περὶ ἐτ[έ]ρας κόμας Ἀμφικλείους
 τοῦ Φιλίνου κλήρου πρότερον δ' ὄντος Τιμοθέου ἐφοδικ[ο]ῦ κλήρου
 ἦν ἀσπορεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ μη (ἔτους) ἦν καὶ νῦν γράφειν τὸν κωμο-
 γραμματέα τὴν γῆν χερσεύειν (ἄρουραι) κδ ἀνὰ δλγίβ' ὄν ἐκφό-
 (ριον) ριθς'.

115 ἐμβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῶι νβ (ἔτει) τοῦ Ψενήσιος τοῦ
 Ψενήσιος τῶν διὰ Χομήνιος μαχίμου ἀνειλ{λ}ημμένου 5L. καὶ τῆς
 ἐν τῶι να (ἔτει) (ἄρουραι) οεL (ἀρτάβαι) τκLγ', ὄν (ἄρουραι) νς ἀνὰ
 δLγίβ' μή

ΣοζLγ', 5 ἀνὰ γ ιη, η ἀνὰ βL κ, ε ἀνὰ α ε.

τῆς ἐν τῶι μδ (ἔτει) κ (ἀρτάβαι) qηγ', ὄν (πυροῦ) νεβ', κριθῆς αἰ (πυροῦ)
 μββ', / qηγ'.

120 γίνονται ἐμβρόχου ρβ (ἀρτάβαι) υναβ', ὄν (πυροῦ) υι, κριθῆς αἰ
 (πυροῦ) μαβ'.

ἀλμυρίδος τῆς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ

Πτολεμαίου τῶν κατοίκων ἰππέων καὶ προστάντος τῆς
 {Πτολεμαίου τῶν κατοίκων ἰππέων [[καὶ προστάντος τῆς]]}

Col. v.

{ἐν ὑπολόγωι εἰς τὸ {νγ} νγ (ἔτος)}

125 {ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀναχθείσης ἐν τῆ[ι] Πολέμωνος μερίθ[ι] [ὑπὸ Π]τ[ο]λεμαίου}
 {τοῦ Φιλίνου γράφοντος μεμισθωκέναι εἰς τὸ μθ (ἔτος) τοῖς κατὰ μέρος
 γεωργοῖς}

ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀναχθείσης ἐν τῇ Πολέμωνος μερ[ί]θ[ι] ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου
 τοῦ Φιλίνου γράφοντος μεμισθωκέναι εἰς τὸ μθ (ἔτος) τοῖς κατὰ μέρος
 γεωργοῖς εἰς κατεργασίαν, ἃς γράφειν τὸν κωμογραμματέα γεγονέναι

130 ἐν ὑπολόγωι εἰς τὸ ν (ἔτος) ἀλμυρίδος ξαL (ἀρτάβαι) ΣαL,

ὄν πυρῶ βς', κριθῆς αἰ πυρῶι Σο, ὀλύρας αἰ πυρῶι ιε, χαλκοῦ γγ'.
 τῆς ἐν τῶι μδ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν δμβρον τῶν παρακειμένων ὑδάτων

ἄρουραι θδ' (ἀρτάβαι) με, ὄν πυρῶ ιδLίβ', κριθῆς αἰ πυρῶι λγίβ'. {ν}
 τῆς ἐν τῶι μβ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν δμβρον {τῆς} τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κοιλῆς

135 λεγομένης διώρυγ[ος] ὑδάτων (ἄρουραι) ιηLδ' (ἀρτάβαι) οςγίβ', ὄν
 πυρῶι

ηLίβ', κριθῆ[ς] αἰ πυρῶι ξLγ', ὀλύρας αἰ πυρῶι ε, χαλκοῦ β. [[νρ]]

- [τ]ῆς ἐν τῶι [μ (ἔτει) ροθδ'ή' (ἀρτάβαι) τ]ῆθλ, ὦν (ἄρουραι) ιθ ἀνὰ
 ελγ'κδ' [[υ]]
 ἀρτά[β]αι ριθ[λγ'ίβ',] ρ[γλδ' ἀν]ὰ εβ'ήμή' φμαλ, ιθ ἀνὰ εγ'ίβ'
 ριβλγ'ίβ', μζλῆ' ἀνὰ δ[λγ'ίβ' Σ]λβζ', ὦν [πυροῦ] τγ'ίβ', κ[ρι]θῆς αἱ
 (πυροῦ) χξδζ',
- 140 ὀλύρας αἱ πυρῶι κςγ'ίβ', χαλκοῦ ηλ.
 γίνου(ται) ἀλμυρίδος Σξηλδ'ή' (ἀρτάβαι) [Αυιαγ'ίβ', ὦν πυροῦ κκελδ',
 κρι]θῆς αἱ πυροῦ Ἀκ[εγ'ίβ', ὀλύρας αἱ πυροῦ μςγ'ίβ', χαλκοῦ] θ ιγλγ'.
 χέρσου τῆς ἐν τῶι μ (ἔτει) ιαίς' [(ἀρτάβαι) μες', ὦν πυροῦ μδβ', χαλκοῦ λ.
 ἀσπύρου τῆς ἐν τῶι μα (ἔτει) [κεχερσευμένης (ἄρουραι) καλδ' ἀνὰ δλγ'ίβ'
- 145 [(ἀρτάβαι) ρι]ςζ', ὦν πυρῶι [ρθγ'ίβ',] [χαλκοῦ λδ'.
 γίνονται χέρσου [(ἄρουραι) νςλδ'ίςζ' (ἀρτάβαι) Σοδλ, ὦν (πυροῦ) Σογδ',
 χα(λκοῦ) αδ'.
 γίνονται ὑπολόγου [τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) υκζλ]ῆ'ίςζ' (ἀρτάβαι) Βρλζλίβ',
 ὦν πυρῶι Ἀ[η,] κρι]θῆς αἱ (πυροῦ) Ἀ]ξηίβ', ὀλύρας αἱ πυρῶι
 μςγ'ίβ', χαλκοῦ ιείβ'.
 καὶ τοῦ ἔως τοῦ λθ [(ἔτους)], ἀλμυρίδος τῆς ἐν τῶι κε τῶι καὶ λς (ἔτει)
 (ἄρουραι) λ
- 150 ἀνὰ δλγ'ίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) ρμζλ, ὦν πυρῶι ρλγλ, ὀλύρας αἱ πυρῶι ιδ.
 τῆς ἐν τῶι λε (ἔτει) διὰ τὰ ἐπενεχθέντα ὕδατα ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Ταλι
 ὑδάτων (ἄρουραι) ις ἀνὰ δλγ'ίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) οηλγ'ίβ', ὦν πυρῶι οζλίβ',
 χα(λκοῦ) α.
 τῆς ἐν τῶι λβ (ἔτει) διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν (ἄρουραι) κε ἀνὰ δλγ'ήμή'
 ρ[κβλίβ', ὦν
 πυρῶι ρκλίβ', ὀλύρας αἱ πυρῶι α, χαλκοῦ α.
- 155 τῆς ἐν τῶι λα (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν δμβρον τῶν παρακειμένων ὑδάτων
 ἄρουραι λγ ἀνὰ δλγ'ίβ' ρξβλ,
 [[διὰ τὸν δμβρον τῶν παρακειμένων ὑδάτων]]

Col. vi.

- {ὦν πυροῦ ρνςλ ὀλυολύρας αἱ πυρ[οῦ δ] χ[α(λκοῦ) βλ}
 ὦν πυροῦ ρνςλ, ὀλύρας αἱ [πυ]ροῦ δ, χαλ[κοῦ] β.
 160 καὶ τῆς [ἐ]ν τῶι κθ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν δμβρον τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρεινῆς [διώρυγος

- ὑδάτων ἄρουραι κα (ἀρτάβαι) ριδς', ὦν πυροῦ ριββ', χαλκοῦ αλ.
 ὦν ἄρου[ρ]αι ι ἀνὰ ελγίβ' νθς', ιδ ἀνὰ δλγίβ' νε.
 τῆς ἐν τῷ κη (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν ὄμβρον τῶν παρακειμένων ὑδάτων [ν λδ
 {υ} ἀνὰ δλγίβ' ρξζ[λ, ὦν] πυρῶ[ι] ρξς, [χαλκοῦ αλ.
 {τῆ[ς ἐν τῷ κ. (ἔτει)]}]
 165 τῆς ἐν τῷ κς' (ἔτει) ε ἀνὰ δλγίβ' [κδλίβ'
 τῆς ἐν τῷ κε (ἔτει) διὰ τὸ γεν^α[όμενον ἔκπτωμα τοῦ κατὰ
 {διὰ τὸ γενόμενο[ν]}
 Θεογονίδα μεγάλου περιχώμα[τος (ἄρουραι) .. (ἀρτάβαι) μαλγ',
 ὦν πυρῶι λςγ', ὄλυρης αἰ πυροῦ ελ.
 τῆς ἐν τῷ ιδ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν ὄμβρον τῶν ἐπικειμένων ὑδάτων
 170 ἀπὸ τῆς Κτ . [. περιχώματος ἐπὶ τὴν ὑποκειμένην
 οὐσ[α]ν τοπ . . [(ἄρουραι) . . . ἀνὰ δλγίβ' μή' (ἀρτάβαι) ρμηίβ',
 ὦν πυροῦ ρμβίβ',
 ὄλ[ύ]ρα]ς αἰ πυροῦ [ελ, χαλκοῦ λ.
 τῆς ἀ[πὸ τ]οῦ λα (ἔτους) [ὁμοίως κθ ἀνὰ δλγίβ' ρμγ,
 ὦν [π]υροῦ ρλ[βλ, ὄλυρας αἰ πυροῦ η . , χαλκοῦ βλ (?).
 175 τῆς ἐν τῷ λ (ἔτει) κ ἀνὰ δλγίβ' ρςλ, ὦν πυροῦ . . . ὄλ[ύ]ρας
 αἰ πυροῦ ι, χαλκοῦ [
 τῆς ἐν τῷ κ [.] (ἔτει) . . . (ἀρτάβαι) [. . . ὦν] (πυροῦ) ρμ[. . κρ]ι[θ]ῆς αἰ
 πυρο[ῦ] ι[δ]γίβ',
 [ὄλ]υρα[ς α]ἰ πυροῦ [. .] χαλκοῦ γ. [
 [τῆς ἐ]ν τῷ κ (ἔτει) [κ]ςλ ἀνὰ δλγίβ' ρλγ', ὦ[ν] πυροῦ ρκεγ', ὄλ[ύ]ρα]ς
 180 αἰ πυροῦ γλ, [χα]λκοῦ β.
 τῆς ἐν τῷ ις (ἔτει) ε ἀνὰ δλγίβ' κδλίβ', ὦν (πυροῦ)
 τῆς ἐν τῷ ιγ (ἔτει) ςλδ' ἀνὰ δλγίβ' μδ', ὦν πυροῦ λαγίβ', ὄλυρας αἰ
 (πυροῦ) ς, χα[λκοῦ] βλδ'.
 [γίν]ονται ἀλμυρίδος (ἄρουραι) τκςδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἄφρζλ, ὦν πυροῦ Ἄνθηίβ',
 κριθῆς αἰ πυροῦ ιδγίβ', ὄλυρας ξη, χα[λκοῦ] κς.
 185 [ἐ]μβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῷ λε (ἔτει) (ἄρουραι) ξζλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) τλςδ', ὦν
 (πυροῦ) Σιβ',
 κριθῆς αἰ πυροῦ νγλ, ὄλυρας αἰ (πυροῦ) μδς', χαλκοῦ κηλγίβ'.

158. The second o in ολυουρας corr. from ρ.

182. μδ written above the line.

Col. vii.

- [τ]ῆς ἐν τῶι [κθ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν δμβρον τῆς ὄρειν]ῆς διάρ[υγο]ς με
 ἀνὰ ε[λ]γίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) Σμγλδ', ὦν (πυροῦ) ροσδ', κριθῆς) αἱ πυροῦ μ,
 [δ]λύρας αἱ (πυροῦ) κ, χαλκοῦ ζΛ.
 [καί] τοῦ προσαχθέντος ἐν οἷς δεῖν ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ἐν τῶι λγ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸ
 εἶναι
- 190 ἐπὶ τοῦ κ[ατὰ γεωργὸν ἐλάσσει τοῦ δεκάτου μέρους κατ' ἔτος] προσλογιζο-
 μένου τοῖς ἀπαιτησίμοις καὶ το μ[ηθὲν παραδίδοσθαι
 ἕως τοῦ λθ [(ἔτους) λγ (ἀρτάβαι)] ροηβ', ὦν (πυροῦ) [ριγβ', κριθῆς
 [αἱ πυροῦ μη, ὀλύρας αἱ πυροῦ ι, χαλκοῦ θ ζ.
 [τῆς ἐν τῶι κγ (ἔτει) ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολειπου]σῶν παρὰ τὰς ὑποστάσεις
 195 [τοῦ ιβ τοῦ καὶ α (ἔτους) ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπολογί]ζεται ὁ κωμογραμ[μα]τ[ε]ῖς
 [εἶναι τὴν προσεξευρεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Ὀ]σορο[ο]ήριος τοῦ γε[ο]μ[ε]τροῦ
 [βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως ἐν τοῖς ἐμ]προσθεν χρόνοις κατ[α]τείνειν
 [τοὺς γεωργοὺς, ἦν τίθεμεν ἐν τῶι ὑπ[ο]λόγωι, (ἀρourke) κζ (ἀρτάβαι)] ρνζ,
 [ὦν (πυροῦ) ρμα,] ὀλύρας αἱ πυροῦ [ιεδ', χαλκοῦ λδ'.]
 200 [ἐμβρόχου (ἀρourke) ροβλ]δ' (ἀρτάβαι) ρισδ', ὦν πυροῦ χμαλίβ',] κριθῆς
 [αἱ πυροῦ ρμαλ, ὀλύρας] αἱ πυροῦ πθλγίβ', [χαλκοῦ μδζ'.
 [κεχερσευμένης τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ λ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τῆς πρ[ό]τερον ἀναγραφομέ]νης
 [20 letters] (ἔτ) (ἀρourke) [κβ]δ'ή'ί'ζ' ἀνὰ δ[λ]γίβ' [(ἀρτάβαι) ρδλδ',
 ὦν π[υ]ροῦ μςδ', κριθῆς αἱ π[υ]ροῦ [μ,] ὀλύρα[s] ς, χαλκοῦ β[λ].
 205 γίνονται φκαδ'ή'ί'ζ' [(ἀρτάβαι) 'Βχηλ, ὦν π[υ]ροῦ 'Βρος [κ]ριθῆς αἱ π[υ]ροῦ
 ργελγίβ',
 ὀλύρας αἱ πυροῦ ρε[γ]γίβ', χαλκοῦ οββ'.]
 ἐμβρόχου τῆς ἐν] τῆι κ[.] ιερῶι δευτέρων ιερῶν
 ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) χρόνοις (ἀρourke) ε [(ἀρτάβαι)] κδλδ'.
 γίνονται τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) (ἀρourke) φ[κςδ'ή'ί'ζ' (ἀρτάβαι)] 'Βχλγδ',
 ὦν (πυροῦ) 'ΒΣλδ',
 210 κριθῆς αἱ πυροῦ ρελγίβ', ὀλύρας αἱ π[υ]ροῦ ρ[ε]γγίβ', χαλκοῦ οββ'.
 γίνονται τούτων (ἀρourke) ἱαη' ἱαη' φα[γ]γίβ'
 ἱαη' φα[γ]γίβ'
 [κ]ριθῆς
 αἱ πυροῦ 'ΑΣξδ, ὀλύρας αἱ πυροῦ [Σιγ', χαλ]κοῦ πζλδ', . . . [.] . 'Δψληγ'.

Col. viii.

[κ]αὶ τί[θ]εται ἐν τῷ ὑπολόγῳ τῶν [ἐν τῷ ν (ἔτει) καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἕως τοῦ
 μθ (ἔτους)

[κ]ειμένων ἐν τοῖς ἐπισκεφθησομένοις

215 τῶν [σημα]ινομένων διὰ τῶν με[ταδεδο]μένων πρὸς τὴν πραγματε[ί]αν
 τοῦ ἀπ[ολογισμοῦ] τοῦ ἐδάφους βυβλίων προσηγγέλθαι καταμετρηῆσθαι
 τισιν [τῶν π]ροσληφθέντων εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν ἀπὸ σπορίμου καὶ τῆς
 [ἀ]λλ[η]ς τῆς μὴ καθηκούσης, ἧς τοὺς πρότερον βασιλικούς γραμματεῖς
 τὴν μὲν

[προαντανα]ιρεθεῖσαν ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀναγράφεσθαι ἐν κλη[ρου]χίαι τὴν δὲ
 220 [προσαγγελεῖ]σαν ἀπὸ σπορίμου θεῖναι ἐν συγκρίσει εἰ [α]ὕτῃ [ἀνταναι]ρετέα
 [ἀ]λλῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀνταναιρεθεῖσα ἀποκαταστατέα. [καὶ τούτῳ]
 [σημανθέντ]ων ἐπὶ τῆς γενηθείσης παρ' Ἀπολλοδώρωι τῷ γενομένῳ
 ἐπιστάτει καὶ γραμματεῖ τῶν κατοίκων ἰππέων συνεδ[ρ]είας παραθέσθαι
 τὰ περὶ τῶν κατοίκων ἐγδεδομένα προστάγματα. Ἀρχ[ιβίου] δὲ [τοῦ]
 διοικ[η]τοῦ

225 παρεπιγεγραφότος ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ φύλλον τοῦ [μ]ζ (ἔτους) [ἐ]πὶ τῆς ὁμοίας
 εἰ ἀπὸ σπορίμου κατέσχηκαν ἀντὶ χέ[ρ]σου τότε κ[ού]θεῖς ἐσήμηνεν
 παρα(ι)τίαν, τοῖς προσεταγμένοις περ[ὶ] τῶν ἐν τ[ῆ]ι κατοικίαι
 οὐ κατηκολούθησαν. γραφήτω λαβε[ῖν] ἐν[ῆ]ς ἐνιαυ[τοῦ] [ἐκφόριον,
 ἔαν κ[ρ]ατεῖν, τὴν δ' ἴσην ἀπὸ τῆς χέρσου μισθῶσαι . . . s χρ[. . . .

230 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος κατακολουθή[σαντες τοῖς] προσ[ταγέ]ισι
 ἐν τῷ [λβ] (ἔτει) τοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατοικίας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Ἀπολλοδώρωι [συ]ν-
 κριθεῖσι[ι.] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μέχρι τῆς Ἀπολλοδώρου συ[ν]κρίσεως
 [κατεσχηκότες] ἔασθωσαν κρατεῖν, τὴν δὲ {γ} ἴσην ἀποκα[α]στ[ῆ]σαι
 εἰς τὴν χέρσον. τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τὴν συνεδ[ρ]είαν κ[ατε]σχη[ό]τας

235 ἀπαιτεῖν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκφόριον.

ο[ἱ] [ἴ]ς ἐπικεχώρηται κατὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἰδία προστ[ε]ταγμέ[να] ἔχειν
 οἶους ποτὲ καταμεμέτρηται κλήρους ἀ[σ]υκοφαντή[τους] καὶ
 ἀκατηγορήτους καὶ ἀνεπιλήμ[π]του[ς] πάσαις αἰτίαις δυ[ν]τα[ς].
 Φιλοξένωι Καλλικράτου δ (ἀρτάβαι) [ιθβ']

240 [Ζηνο]δώρωι Βρομεροῦ γ [(ἀρτάβαι) ιδλδ',
 Ἀπολλοδώρωι Πτολεμαίῳ τῶν προσειλημμένων ἐν τῷ λα (ἔτει)
 [εἰς τοὺς κατοικ]οὺς ἰππεῖς ἀ[πὸ] τοῦ μὴ καθήκοντος] ὑπολόγου

Col. ix.

{ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνταναιρεθείσης [ἀπὸ τοῦ] ἐπικ[εχωρημένου]
 ἀντὶ τῆς [ἀν]ταναιρεθείσης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπικε[χωρημένου ὑπολόγου]
 245 τῆς με[τ]ὰ τ[ὸ] λ (ἔτος) ἀπ[ὸ] (ἀρουρῶν) ξ (ἀρουραι) μ ἀνὰ δ[ι]γ[ύ]ήμῃ
 (ἀρτάβαι) ρθβ'.

γίνονται τῶν ἐν τῷ ἠπ[ο]λόγῳ (ἀρουραι) μξ [(ἀρτάβαι)] Σλδίβ'.
 ὑπολόγου (ἀρουραι) Ἀαή (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐ[δ]γίβ'.

{ὧστ' εἶναι τὰς προκειμένας (ἀρούρας) Βρξξλξβ' (ἀρτάβας) Μχιδίβ',
 ἀπηγμένον) Ἀρλθδ' [(ἀρτάβαι) Δχμβίβ', ἀπηγμένον)] α (ἔτους) ἐκφόριον
 ι [(ἀρτάβαι) μ]θδ',

250 κεχωρισμένης προσόδου ιξλ [(ἀρτάβαι) πγς',] ἐν συγκρίσει) ωκγίβ',
 ὑπολόγου Ἀ[α]ή (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐ[δ]γίβ'. γίνονται Βρξξλδ' ἢ
 ἀρ[τά]βαι Μφρηίβ'. [πλείω] (ἀρτάβαι) δλίβ'.

κατοχίμων κλήρων. {κατοχίμων κλή[ρ]ων.}

ἐφόδων τῶν κατεσχημένων πρὸς τὸν τῆς προσ-

255 λήψεως στέφανον

{Μενίσκου τ[ὸ]σ Π[το]λεμαίου [δ]ν μετε(ληφέναι) Πτολεμαῖον τὸν υἱὸν
 ἐν ᾧ χρυσίου Σκε (πυροῦ) [ν,] (ἀρουραι) κδ ἀνὰ ε (ἀρτάβαι) ρκ.
 ἐγμεμετρηῆσθαι ἐν τῷ μη (ἔτει) κριθῆς λγγ' αἰ (πυροῦ) κ,
 τὰς λοιπὰς (ἀρτάβας) ρ.

260 ἐμβρόχου.

Δημητρίου τοῦ Δημητρίου δν ὁ κωμογραμματοεὺς [γράφει εἶναι] Δημητρίου
 τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου ἐφόδου μεταβεβη(κόςτος) εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν
 τῶν ἐπ' Ἀμφικλείους τοῦ ὑπ[ο]μνηματογραφῆ[σα]ντος
 προσαχθέντων ἐν τῷ μη (ἔτει) καὶ . . . ἀρ[.]ε

265 μένου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων διὰ τῆς [.

πρ[ὸ]ς αὐτὸν διαγραφῆς χάρι[ν] τῶν σημανθέντων

καὶ κατεσχημένου ἐν τῷ μη (ἔτει) πρὸς ἀδ[.

ἱεροῦ ζώου περ[.] ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων

μένου γρά[φ]ειν τὸν πρ[ὸ]ς τῆι συντάξει ἀπ[.

Col. x.

270 { }

{ } ἀνθρώπου διὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ μη (ἔτει) ἀν[.] ημενα[ν]

- [8 letters] τοῖς ἐκ τῆς κ[α]το[ι]κίας . ανογ[.] ἀποδείξ[ωσι]ν
 [. . . σ]υμβ[άλ]λεσθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ δηλούμενον [ἐπιγέ]ν[ημα διὰ τὸ
 π[ροην]εχυράσθαι τοὺς κλήρους παρεπεγράφη[. . . ὑ]πὸ τοῦ Ἀμφικλ[ε]ίους,
 275 [τ]ὰ μὲν ἐκφόρια παραδοθήτωι, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ [ἀποδεί]ξωσι χρημα-
 τισμοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπολύσεως ἐν ἡμ[ε]ρ[α]ις ξ̄ καὶ ἡ γῆ
 καὶ τ[ὰ] ἐκφόρια ἀναληφθήτωι.
 τοῦ δ' ἐπιχωρηθέντος χρόνου [μ]ὴ μόνον διελη[λ]υθῆτος ἀλλὰ [καὶ
 ἑτέρου διὰ Πτολ[ε]μαίου] καὶ μὴ δε[δο]μένου] ἀπολύσεω[ς χ]ρηματισμ[οῦ
 280 τῆς . [.]κρ̄ . [.]μσειν απ[. . .] . . εσ[. .]ι[. .] . ρου παρεπιγεγραφέ[ιναι
 Ἀρχίβιον τὸν δι[οικη]τὴν ἐπὶ [τοῦ] σημαν[θέντος] σπόρου τοῦ μ[. (ἔτους)
 [.] . πράσ[σει]ν τὰ [.] .
 ἐν καὶ . [. . .] . [.] τῶ[ς] τῆς] π[ροσλή]ψ[ε]ω[ς] στε[φάνου]ς
 [] εγν[.] (ἀρourke) κδ̄ (ἀρτάβαι) ρκ̄ [ἀ]λμυ[ρ]ιδ[ο]ς.
 285 καὶ τ[ῶν] ἑπταρο[ύρων] ἐν τῶι ν̄ (ἔτει) κατεσχημένων κατ' [ἐ]πιστο[λῃ]ν
 [.]μα[.] .]η[τ]ρα[. .]ην προσανεννοχέαι Ἡρακλ[ε]ίδην
 τὸν [διεξάγοντα τὰ] κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστατείαν τῆς κόμης
 τῆ[ι] εἰς τὴν κη τοῦ [Φαρ]μοῦθι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ν̄ (ἔτους) φερούση νυκτι
 [ἐπι]τεθεῖσθαι τῆι κόμ[ῃ] καὶ ἐμπρήσαντο πυ[ρ]οῦ γενήματα [.
 290 [. . .]ησθαι, καὶ {ιν} ἐπε[ὶ] προσαγγέλλεται εἶναι Κολ[λούθην] τῶν διὰ
 Χομήνιος μαχίμων, ἐπερωτώμενον τὸν κωμογραμματέα
 τίς ἐστίν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγ[ρ]αφομένων ἐν κληρουχίαι διὰ τὸ εἶναι
 ὁμωνύμους β, ἀ[πελ]ογίσατο εἶναι Κολ[λούθην] Ὡρου 5L λβL,
 [ἀσ]πόρου. γίνου[ται] (ἀρourke) νδL Σοβ[. .]
 295 [.] Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πύρρου [.]
 { [.] Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πύρρου }

289. l. ἐμπρήσαντα.

Col. xi.

- [[ἔως Μεσορῆ τοῦ νβ (ἔτους) οὐθὲν [.]]
 [[τίθεται δὲ τὰ κεχορηγηθέντα [.]]
 σπερμάτων. [[καὶ τῆς ἐσπαρμένη(ς) κα[.]]
 300 ἔως Μεσορῆ τοῦ νβ (ἔτους) οὐθὲν ἀναφέρεται παρακείσθαι,
 τίθεται δὲ τὰ {κε}χορηγηθέντα εἰς τ[ὸν] σπόρον το[ῦ] αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)

- πυροῦ ὡξβ, ὧν εἶναι τὰ κα . [.
 τῆς ἡσπορηκυίας] εἰς τὸ νγ (ἔτος) ιζ.
 [[.]]
 305 [ἄλλος καταχ]ρήσεως. οὐσῶν τῶν σπα[ρεισῶν] καθότι] πρόκειται[ι
 [[.] [(ἀρουρῶν)] Ἀαβδ' / ἔστιν τῆς] . ης
 [καὶ τῆς ἀσ]περμὶ γεωργουμένης ἕως τοῦ ν[γ (ἔτους) (ἀρουραι) Σ]λδ'
 [εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς] (ἀρουρας) ὡξβ ἀνὰ α [ὡξβ
 [.] . . εγ . [14 letters πα]ρεπιγεγραφ]]
 310 [.]
 [.] (ἔτ)
 [.] 5
 [δανείων] [[. απ[.]]
 ἀναφέρονται κεχρ[ημα]τίσθαι τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἐν τῷ νγ (ἔτει),
 315 ἐγ νέων δ' ἀποκαταστήσονται ἅμα [τοῖς ἐ]κφ[ορίοις, ἐν μηνί] Ἀθύρ,
 πυροῦ] ρκ φακοῦ [ρ.
 θησαυροφυλακτικὸν [κ]ριθῆς κδ [αἱ (πυροῦ) ιδ]γίβ',
 κράστ[εως] Θηβαίων δβ', [.
 (τρι)χ(οίνικον) [λι(ακῶν)] (ἀρουρῶν) Ἀαβδ' παζγ'.
 320 {[ἀνα]φ[ε]]] ρεται κ[ε]χρηματίσθ[αι] τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἐν τῷ νγ (ἔτει)}
 {[ἐγ νέων δ' ἀποκατασ]ταθήσονται ἅμα [τοῖς ἐκφορίοις]}

303. κ of κα . [corr.
 deletion.

310. At the end of the line is a round bracket, indicating

Col. xii.

- {[τῆς] ἡσπορηκυίας [[καὶ]]}
 [κα]λ [ῶ]ν τὸ (ἡμισυ) (ἀρτάβης)
 [ι]ε[ρ]ᾶς Σοκνεβτύνιος θεοῦ μεγάλου ἥς μέρος
 325 [ἐσ]πάρθαι ρλ (ἀρτάβαι) ξε.
 [δευ]τέρων ἱερῶν δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου) κδ'ή.
 ἐφόδων ἥς μέρος κδ (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ,
 δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου) κδ.
 φυλακτικῶν ἥς μέρος κ (ἀρτάβαι) ι.
 330 ἐρημοφυλάκων ἥς μέρος κ (ἀρτάβαι) ι,
 [δ]λο(ις) ὑπολό(γου) ι.
- θεοῦ μεγάλου
 ἥς μέρος ἐσπάρ-
 θαι ρλθδδ'ή'ιζ'

- μαχίμων Κομήνιος·
 (τριακοντ[αρούρων] ἤς] μέρος ε δι(άφορον) σχοι(νισμού) δ'ή, / εδ'ή, (άρτάβαι)
 ββ'.
 (είκοσιαρούρων) ἤς μέρος ρς και δι(άφορον) σχοι(νισμού) ζδ'ή, / ργδ'ή,
 (άρτάβαι) ναβ',
 335 και δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου) ιθ δι(άφορον) σχοι(νισμού) αλ, / [κλ.
 (έπτ[αρούρων] ἤς μέρος ἀνδ(ρῶν) λζ τξγλ και δι(άφορον) σχοι(νισμού) ιηδ',
 / τπαλδ', (άρτάβαι) ρηλγ',
 και δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου) ἀνδ(ρῶν) ιδ ἀν(ὰ) ςλ ρα δι(άφορον) σχοι(νισμού) .. / ρ. .
 Πτ[ολ]εμαίου [και Ξ]έωνος ἤς μέ(ρος ἀνδ(ρῶν) γ ἀνὰ ςλ
 340 ιθλ δι(άφορον) σχοι(νισμού) αλ, / κα, [(άρτάβαι) ιλ.
 [ῶ]στ' εἶναι τῆς ἐν [σπόρωι . . .
 και ὦν τὸ γραμματικ[όν]. { και ὦν τὸ γρ[αμματικόν] }
 ἐφ(έδων)] ἤς μέρος α, δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου) α, / β, φυλακιτῶν] ἤς μέρος
 β, [έρη(μο)φυ(λάκων) β,]
 δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου) α, / γ, /] ζ.
 345 γίνονται γραμματικοῦ] ἤς μέρος ε, δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου) β.

336. ἀνδ(ρῶν)·λζ written above the line.

Col. xiii.

- τῶν ἀνενηνεγμένων ἐν ἐπιστάσει
 και ἐν ἀπολογισμῶι ὧν ἀντανάσεις γέγονεν
 ἀπὸ τῶν προκειμένων κεφ[αλαίων,
 (ἀρουραι) Σξαίς' (άρτάβαι) Ἀψλβλίβ'.
 350 ἔστιν τὸ κατ' εἶδος·
 τῶν ἐν τῶι μη (ἔτει) ἀπὸ τῶν ἕως τοῦ μζ (ἔτους) κει[μένων ἐν] συνκρίσει,
 ἐπιγενήμα[τ]ος τοῦ προσαχθέντος ἐν τῶι λ (ἔτει) τ[ῆ]ι γεωργουμέ[η]η[ι]
 διὰ Προκλείου τῶν ἱππαρχῶν χάριν τοῦ μεταμισ[θ]οῦσθαι ἐτέροις
 γεωργοῖς π[λ]είωι τῶν προποκειμένων ἐκφορίων [ἤς και
 355 ἐκφόρια σὺν σπέρματι ἀπομετρῆ[σ]αι [εἰ]ς [τὸ] βα[σιλ]ικόν, [ἐν δὲ τῶι] λα (ἔτει) ?
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκπιπτούσης τοῦ δέου[τ]ος κ[αι]ρασθ 10 letters διὰ τ]ὸ τ[α]ὺς
 γεωργήσαντας ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι (ἔτει) ἐγκατ[α]λειποντας ἀνακεχωρηκέναι
 ἐτέρους τόπους διὰ τὴν προ[υ]ποκειμ[έ]νην αἰτίαν ἐπισταθῆναι

- ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου] τοῦ γενομένου [ἐ]πιμελητοῦ [ἐ]τ[έ]ρ[ο]υ[ς], ἐ]φ' [ὧ]ι [οὐκ ἀπαι-
 360 τηθήσονται] τὸ δηλούμενον ἐπιγένημα καὶ προσχορηγηθήσεται
 αὐτοῖς τὰ καθήκοντα σπέρ[ματα, κ]αὶ [γ]ενέ[σθαι]. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα [ἐν-
 [τυχόντων] Φανίαι τῶι γενομένωι ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις κ[αὶ στρα-
 [τηγῶι καὶ] ἐπὶ τῶν προ[σδ]ῶν]. προφερο[μέ]νων μὴ κατὰ λόγ[ον
 [ἀπηνηκ]ένα[ι] διὰ τὸ ὀψίμως σπαρῆν[αι], βουλο[μέ]νων
 365 [ποτίσαι εἰς φύλλον διακωλυθῆναι ὑπὸ τ]ῶν ἐγ Βερ[ε]νικίδου Θεσμοφόρου
 [γεωργῶν καὶ ἐτοίμως ἔχοντων] ησ[α]ι τ[ὴν γῆν τ]οῖς αἰρο[υ]μένοις
 [παρεπιγεγράφαι ὡς οὐθὲν τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος]
 [.] παραλειφθή[σεται]
 [καὶ παραγενομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν] κώμην κ[αὶ ἐπελθόντος ἐ]πὶ τὰ.
 370 [γεώργια εὔρεθῆναι τὸν σπόρον κακοφυῆ ὄντα] καὶ τὰ χ[ε]νήμα[τα] ἀθέρισ[τα,
 [πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ τῶν δυναμένων πε]ριγενέ[σθαι ἐκ]πεσεῖν

Col. xiv.

- [παρακα]λέσαντας τοὺς γεωργοὺς προτρέψα[ντος
 θε]ρίσαν[τας] μετενέγκαι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλωι, (τε)θεωρη[σθαι ἐκ τῆς
 γε]γεν[η]μένης εἰκασίας μετὰ [ταῦτα] τὰ [ἐπιγεγραμ-
 375 μένα τῆι γῆι [μὴ] δύνασθαι [συνπληρωθῆναι.] προσ[-
 δρεθσαι καὶ [τ]ὴν κ[.] ἀπομετρη]θῆνα[ι εἰς τὸ
 βασιλικὸν καὶ τὰ ἀπολ[είποντα ἀπὸ ἐνεχ]υρασιῶν [πρ]άξαν[τα
 [μδλι]ς συνπληρω[θῆναι. ἀρουρῶν] Σνα
 [ἀ]ντὶ τῶν ἕως τοῦ κθ (ἔτους) κθ ἀνὰ εδ'ή'μή' ρξλ'γίβ',
 380 Σ[ζ]λ ἀνὰ δλ'γίβ' Ἀλγ,] ιδλ ἀνὰ βλ λ[ςδ', / ἈΣλ'γίβ'.
 [καὶ ἐπιτάσεως τῆς προσαχθείσης ἐν τῶι λδ [(ἔτει) (ἀρουραι) ρβ
 [εἰς συ(μ)πλ(ήρωσι)ν] εδ'ή' λδ'ή'μή' πθλδ', ἀλλων ιδ εἰς συ(μ)πλ(ήρωσι)ν]
 δλ'γίβ'
 [βγίβ' λδλγ, / ρ]κδλίβ', [γίνονται Ἀ]ννε.
 [γράφουσι οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτρίτου μέραυς]
 385 [ἐγ μὲν] τῆς ἐν ἀ[ναπ]α[ύ]μα[τι] (ἀρουρῶν) πγ
 μέτρωι [τῶι πρὸς τὸ ἐ]πὶ τοῦ δρ[β]μου τοῦ Σούχου σὺν
 [σπέρματι τῆς (ἀρούρας) ἀνὰ] ι (ἀρτάβας) [ωλ,
 ἐγ δὲ [τῆς ἐπὶ καλάμ]ου πγ [τῶι] αὐ[τῶι] μέτρωι
 [ἀνὰ ζ] φπα, / ἐξ (ἀρουρῶν) ρίξ (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀννα

390 [α]ῖ εἰσ[ιν] τῶι πρὸς τὸ δοχικὸν [Ἄχμῆς,
 ἀφ' ὧν ὑπολογεῖται εἰς τ[ὰ σπ]έρματ[α
 [τῶν πασ]ῶν ἀρου(ρῶν) Σνα καὶ εἰς τὰς [καθάρσεις
 [καὶ τὸ] κοσκινευτικὸν τῶν λοιπῶν [(ἀρταβῶν) Ἄτρες'
 [τῶν] ρ (ἀρταβῶν) ε (ἀρτάβαι) ξθλδ',

372. as of παρακαλεσαντας corr. from es. I. παρακαλέσαντος.
 corr. from es. For this 34. (δ) has θερίσαι καί. I. Δως.

373. as of θερισαντας

Col. xv.

- 395 [γίνονται κλδ', καταλείπονται Ἄτκεγίβ'.]
 [καὶ σπειρομένων χλωροῖς πε ἐκ τοῦ ἐπι-]
 [βάλλοντος ἀνὰ δλγήμεή (ἀρτάβαι) υιζ'.]
 [γίνονται Ἄψμβγίβ', τὰς πλείωι τπζγίβ'.]
 [καὶ ἐπιτάσεως τῆς προσαχθείσης ἐν τῶι λα (ἔτει)]
- 400 [ὑπὸ Πετῶτος τοῦ γενομένου τοπογραμματέως]
 [τῆι διὰ Μαρρείους ἰβιοβοσκοῦ καὶ κριοτάφου]
 [γράφοντος δύνασθαι ἐπιδέξασθαι πλείωι τῶν]
 [ἔως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) τετελεσμένων ἐκφορίων ἐπ' ἔτη ι ἀν(ὰ) α]
 [εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀνὰ βλ,]
- 405 [(ἀρουραι) θλ, ὧν ἦν ἀνὰ βλ κβλ,]
 [ἀνθ' ὧν ἀν(ὰ) δλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) μδδ',]
 [τὸ πλείον πυροῦ καλδ'.]
 καὶ [ὑ]περβολίων [ὧν σημαίνεται γεγονέναι ἐν τῶι κβ (ἔτει)
 ὑπὸ Ἀπολλ[ω]νίου τινὸς τῆς γεωργουμένης
- 410 διὰ Πεμνᾶτος δι[ὰ τὸ γράφειν τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν
 μὴ ἀπηντηκέ[ναι ἐπὶ τὴν γεωργίαν,
 ἀ[ρουρ]αι η, ὧν ἦν ἀνὰ δλγίβ', ἀνθ' ὧν ὑποστήσασθαι
 ἀ[νὰ] ελγίβ', τ[ὸ] παρὰ τοῦτο . . .
 γίνονται [κθλδ'.
- 415 γίνονται τούτ[ων υιζ'ς'.
 {καὶ ὑπερβολῶν
 {ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου
 {διὰ Πεμνᾶτος

Col. xvi.

[καὶ ὑπολόγου τοῦ ἕως τοῦ ιβ (ἔτους) κειμένου]
 420 [ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τάξει]
 [ἐμβρόχου ραθ'β' Ἄρξ]
 [κατεξυσμένον? . . .]
 [ἀλμυρίδος? . . . ἀνὰ]
 [ἀνὰ δλγ'ίβ' . . .]
 425 [ἀβρόχου λθη' ἀνὰ δλγ'ίβ' ραγγ']
 [καλάμου κεντρίτου αδ'ή ἀνὰ γ δλγ']
 [ἐξαγωγῶν δλδ']
 [γίνονται . . . λβ']
 [γίνονται Σξαίς' (ἀρτάβαι) . . .]
 430 [τῶν δ' ἐν ἐπιστάσει Σξαίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀψλβλίβ'.]

2-8. 'Amongst those about whom directions have been given that one year's rent be demanded of them, who were returned as having obtained arable land instead of the dry land which they were ordered to receive, and regarding whom Archibius the dioecetes at the revision of the survey of the crops for the 47th year made a minute to the effect that on receipt of one year's rent they should be relieved from further charges, is Nektenibis son of Horus, one of those who have been transferred from the desert police to the position of catocucus (and we do not enter Ptolemaeus son of Horus as liable); 10 arourae, 49½ artabae.'

2-7. On this section cf. ll. 214-45, 66. 82 sqq., and App. i. § 6. The case of Nektenibis differed from that of the persons mentioned in ll. 214-45 because he was required to pay one year's rent, while they were not. In l. 249 (cf. 72. 223) his land is entered under a separate heading as [ἀπη(γμένον)] α (ἔτους) ἐκφόριον : cf. 60. 62, where it is placed ἐν συγκρίσει.

[προ]σηγμένων : cf. 60. 69, note.

4. παρεπιγραφέναι : cf. ll. 225, 367, &c. The dioecetes after examining the reports of the komogrammateus and deciding on the proper procedure sent back instructions to the local authorities. His decisions were called παρεπιγραφαί because they were written in the margin of the reports.

6. [τῶν μεταβεβ]ηκότων . . . εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν : cf. 32.

7. In the list of κληροῦχοι for the 51st year (62. 97) Nektenibis is entered as owner of 10 arourae of land which had become catocucic in the 34th year of Philometor. In the 2nd year of the next reign (63. 80) this land was owned by Ptolemaeus son of Apollonius, who had succeeded Nektenibis in the 52nd year probably. The one year's rent demanded on account of the land having been σπόριμος when originally granted was due from Nektenibis the previous owner (cf. 66. 82 sqq.), and therefore Ptolemaeus was not entered as being concerned with it, though he had become the owner of the land.

P

ἀναγρ(άφομεν): the proper expansion of the abbreviation is not quite certain. For the use of the first person in this papyrus cf. ll. 44, 384, &c.; probably the komogrammateus was meant (cf. p. 539).

μθδ': this rent is calculated at the commonest rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae for the aroura, which was the rent of this land before it became cleruchic.

9-18. 'Concerning the land of which the revenue has been set aside, which was sown by the cultivators of Ptolemaeus son of Philinus, about which the komogrammateus writes that in the 49th year it was removed from the class of unproductive land and brought under cultivation, and regarding which the komogrammateus reports that the land . . . under the terms of the leases made with the cultivators, and until the present time we have been in the habit of setting down the appointed rents, and which was removed (from the class of profitable land) in the 50th year because it had become salt, the komogrammateus writes that for the 53rd year it has been leased to Petosiris son of Neoptolemus and Petesokon son of Cephalon and Horus son of Orses without a grant of seed at a rent of one artaba to the aroura; $16\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, the crop being 10 arourae of wheat, 2 of barley of which the rent is paid in wheat, $4\frac{1}{2}$ of fenugreek, paid in wheat.'

9. On the general question of the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος* see App. i. § 7; and for the restoration of the lacunae cf. 67. 90-8 and 76-8.

11. *ἀπολογί(ζετα)*: i. e. makes an *ἀπολογισμός*; cf. l. 195. There is no question of an *ἀπολογία* in either of these passages.

14. [ῆ] *ἀνταναρῆσθαι ἀπὸ ἀλμυρίδος*: this must be equivalent to the statement in 66. 11-2 *γράφει ὁ κομογραμματεὺς γεγονέναι ἐν ὑπολόγῳ ἀλμυρίδι*, and in order to obtain this meaning *ἀπὸ ἀλμυρίδος* must mean not 'from the salt land,' but 'on account of saltiness' (cf. Diod. iii. 39), *ἀπὸ σπορίμου* being supplied with *ἀνταναρῆσθαι*. But the natural meaning of *ἀπὸ* after *ἀνταναρῆσθαι* is 'from' in the sense of 'subtracting from' (cf. ll. 221, 244, 347), and we suspect that the writer has confused two phrases such as *ἀνταναρῆσθαι ἀπὸ σπορίμου* and *τίθεσθαι εἰς ἀλμυρίδα*.

17. *ἀσπερμ{ο}ί*: cf. l. 307, where *ἡ ἀσπερμὶ γεωργουμένη* is contrasted with *τὰ χορηγηθέντα εἰς τὸν σπόρον σπέρματα*. In this present case the cultivators did not receive from the government the customary grant of one artaba of seed-corn to the aroura. In P. Brit. Mus. 314, P. Amh. II. 90 and 91, the word is to be interpreted in the same way; the lessee is required to pay the specified rent without receiving a grant of seed-corn from the lessor. The opposite of *ἀσπερμὶ*, as Wilcken has pointed out (*Archiv*, I. p. 157), is *σὺν σπέρμασι*; cf. B. G. U. 644 and note on ll. 313-6. Examples of both kinds of leases are found in the present volume; cf. 105. 18 and 108. 4.

ἀν(ὰ) α 15 L: though the land brought in nothing in the 52nd year and only $16\frac{1}{2}$ artabae in the 53rd, it was credited in the summing-up in l. 250 with producing $83\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, which was the rent originally imposed upon it (cf. l. 13 *μέχρι δὲ τούτου τίθεμεν τὰ ἐπι(γε)γραμμένα αὐτοῖς ἐκφόρια*). The number $83\frac{1}{2}$, though lost in l. 250, is made certain by the arithmetic and by 72. 224; cf. 60. 99, where also the rent is reckoned as $83\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, though it had been expressly stated in ll. 56-60 that the actual rent was $16\frac{1}{2}$ artabae after the land was reclaimed.

19. At this point begins a section concerning land *ἐν συγκρίσει*, on which see App. i. § 8; ll. 19-44 constitute a heading, the details being given in ll. 45-109. For part of this section a comparison with 72 is available, though the arrangement in that papyrus of the portion dealing with land *ἐν συγκρίσει* is somewhat different. Cf. also 60. 61-6.

19-44. 'Among lands which are to be subject to a decision of the dioecetes . . . in the 49th year from those previously placed in . . . until the 48th year, including the land leased by the epimeletae and oeconomi or without a formal agreement at less than the prescribed rents, with reference to which Archibius the dioecetes made a minute upon the survey of the crops of the 47th (?) year to the effect that . . . announced that (the lessees?) had made several applications, producing the instructions given to them in which it was laid down that they were not to pay more than the sum mentioned in the agreement, and requesting that this land (?) should be assigned to others, because some of it was depreciated in value and some had become dry during the disturbance, and although it was still unreclaimed the cultivators were being compelled to fulfil their duties, and it was observed that if force were employed against them the land would be wholly uncultivated. Thereupon a minute was made by Amphicles:—"If the cultivators do not pay the rents in full, let the land be leased again to others by Eubius the epimeletes, and the basilico-grammateus." But when the account of the corn revenue for the 4[.]th year was arranged with Parthenius, and the scribes declared the amount after what had been saved, a minute was made by the dioecetes:—"Demand at once from the basilico-grammateus a list, made out according to villages and persons, of those who have taken this land on lease, giving the terms and the names of those who leased it to them, and let them insert the crop and forward the report immediately, in order that we may decide about them." We accordingly place the following persons in this category for a decision to be made.'

24-6. $\mu\zeta'$ ($\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$): cf. l. 5. The minute of Archibius lost in l. 25 was probably something like *προσάγειν τὸ διέφορον*; cf. 72. 217 and p. 573. At the end of l. 25 was the name or title of the official who reported the complaint of the lessees. $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in l. 26 is some word like *μεμισθωμένους*.

28. *ἀπομ[ε]τρῆ[σαι]*: cf. l. 355.

29. The subject of *ἡξιού[ν]* is the lessees, but whether *διὰ τὸ τῆν . . . καθήκοντα* in l. 32 is the reason alleged by them or by the official mentioned in l. 25 is not clear.

31. *ἀμειξία*: cf. 72. 45 and p. 553, and for the meaning P. Par. 22. 9 *ἀμείκτοις καιροῖς*.

33. *βία*: it may be doubted whether force was in Ptolemaic times employed against cultivators of Crown lands, except perhaps in cases of breach of contract. The land was leased by a process resembling an auction, and the normal rents were low enough to attract tenants; cf. l. 402, where there is an instance of a cultivator offering to pay a higher rent than his predecessor, as in P. Oxy. II. 279. When the rents proved too high the tenants often refused to cultivate the land (cf. l. 357), which was then placed *ἐν συγκρίσει*, whereby the rents were reduced, or else the land was put up again for public competition (*μεταμισθούν*). This volume supplies several instances of *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ* going out on strike when they considered themselves ill-treated (cf. l. 197, note, 26 and 41), and the present passage shows that the authorities were unwilling to resort to force, fearing that violent procedure would lead to a complete cessation of cultivation. In exceptional cases of great distress, such as the circumstances which gave rise to P. Par. 63 (cf. l. 125 of that document *παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγουμένοις τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ τηλικαύτης καταφθορᾶς ἀνακτωμένους τιθηνίσθαι*), the whole population might be called upon to help in the cultivation of the Crown lands by supplying cattle; but such an imposition, so far from being directed against the *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ* as such, was rather a call upon the other classes of inhabitants to come to their assistance. Wilcken (*Ost. I. p. 702*) argues from P. Par. 63 that the whole population was liable, at a crisis, to join in the *γεωργία βασιλική*, and that this means that they had to become lessees of Crown land; but on neither inference should we agree with him. To suppose that the government really intended the whole population to be called out misses the point of the

argument of the dioecetes, which may be put briefly as follows¹. 'The decree said that "all" were liable for service, but any one with a grain of sense would have seen that the expression "all" includes the *ἐπάρουροι μάχιμοι, ὑποτελείς τῆι ἰχθυρῶ καὶ ζυτηρῶ*, &c., though they are obviously unsuitable for work in the fields. Therefore you must not force these classes to work; but only those who are able to do so. You are however to commandeer the *cattle* of everybody without distinction, whether they themselves are liable to service or not.' The object of the letter is to show that the interpretation put upon the decree summoning 'all' was *wrong*, and that there were certain classes who obviously were *not* liable to be called upon for work upon the Crown lands. Nor do we think that the service (*ἐπιγραφῆ*, cf. note on 5. 59) which was required made the performers of it necessarily lessees of the state. Every one was legally required to help in the *γεωργία* to the extent of supplying cattle, and the officials addressed by the dioecetes had tried to make every one work in the fields. But no set of officials would have been so foolish as to try to make every one a lessee of Crown land.

The conclusion which we should draw from P. Par. 63 (which it should be remembered is clearly concerned with an exceptional crisis) is that on rare occasions the government forced certain classes (the papyrus tells us who they were not, but not who they were) to help in the *γεωργία βασιλική*, but that no inference can be drawn from it as to the procedure for obtaining *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί* in normal times.

τοῖς δλοῖς: this is equivalent to *δλω*; cf. Dem. p. 239 and l. 324, note.

34. *Ἀμφικλείους*: the *ὑπομηματογράφος* in the 48th year; cf. l. 263, 61. (a) 24, and P. Cairo 10371. 1 (*Archiv*, I. p. 61).

35. The sign for *ἄρουρα* occurs in the left margin here and opposite ll. 40-3.

37. Cf. 72. 448 *τῆς πραγματευθείσης σιτικῆς διαγραφῆς ἐπὶ Εἰρηναίου τ[οῦ] ἐλογιστοῦ*, from which we may conjecture that Parthenius here was also *ἐκλογιστής*. But he may equally well be the strategus mentioned in 101. 2.

38. *μετὰ τὸ περιγυρόμενον* is opposed to *ἐν τῶι ὑπολόγῳ* in 72. 454-6.

44. [*ἐν*]ταῦθα: sc. *ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικητοῦ συγκριθσομένοις*; cf. l. 19.

45-88. A list of persons to whom lands had been leased by officials at a reduced rent. The old area and original rent are first given, followed by the new rents which had continued up to the date of the papyrus, and the difference between the two is then calculated, being the loss to the government; cf. p. 571.

45-51. 'Of land leased in the period up to the 39th year by previous epimeletae, including that leased in the 34th year by Phantias who was then strategus and overseer of the revenues... to Sarapion son of Apollonius 20 arourae, which were leased at $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae to the aroura, making $99\frac{3}{4}$ artabae, instead of which the rent is 10 artabae, making with the addition to its revenue in the 45th year, consisting of $44\frac{5}{8}$ artabae, a total of $54\frac{3}{8}$ artabae. The difference is $44\frac{3}{8}$ artabae. The crop is wheat: divided among the several cultivators.'

45. Cf. 72. 185-216, where the same three sets of lessees who according to ll. 45-69 received their land at reduced rents occur in the list of land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*, not as here in the land *ἐν συγκρίσει*. The circumstances which produced this change are connected with the attempt of the dioecetes in the 54th which = the 1st year to restore the rents to the level at which they stood before the reductions were made; cf. 72. 185, note. Lines 46-51 refer to the land leased by Phantias.

46. *λδ (ἔτει)*: the reign is that of Euergetes II, and since the rule in the lists given in

¹ For a detailed examination of this papyrus see the introd. of the forthcoming third volume of the *Petrie Papyri*.

this papyrus (e. g. ll. 149 sqq.) is for the chronology to proceed backwards, the 31st year in l. 57 would seem to be earlier than the 29th in l. 52, i. e. to belong to Philometor. But in 72. 205-15 the order of the three entries is different, that dated in the 31st year preceding the entry dated in the 29th year instead of following it, as here. Moreover the years mentioned in ll. 70 sqq. are definitely stated to refer to Philometor (*ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*, l. 70). The 31st year in l. 57 therefore also belongs to Euergetes, and the epimeletes Ptolemaeus in l. 57 is identical with the epimeletes in l. 359.

Φανίου: cf. l. 362 and 72. 359, where he has the same titles as here (with the addition in l. 362 of *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις φάλοις*), and 72. 205, where he is called *νομαρχήσαντος*. As was pointed out by Grenfell (Rev. Laws, p. 133), the nomarchs were originally not chiefs of the 'nome' but chiefs of the 'distribution' of crops, and in the third century B.C. at any rate not only were there several of them in the Arsinoite nome, but they had nothing to do with the *στρατηγοί*, who were their official superiors (Rev. Laws xxxvii. 2-3). In the second century B.C. the post of nomarch is often combined with that of strategus, just as that of *ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων* was (cf. note on 5. 88); but it is very doubtful whether even so the nomarch ever came to mean 'chief of the nome,' as has been generally supposed. In the instances where the nomarch is mentioned in Roman times he is concerned with the administration of the royal revenues in various ways; but the explanation of his exercise of these functions is to be looked for in the position of the nomarch in the earlier Ptolemaic period, when he was one of the chief revenue officials, being concerned with the important duty of looking after the crops, especially those of the *βασιλική γῆ*.

49. *προσηγμένων* [τ]ῶν *σπύροι*: cf. l. 65. *σπόρος* is here used loosely for the revenue derived from the crops, the corresponding passage in 72. 217-8 having *προσηγμένων τοῖς ἀπαιτησίμοις*. There the several items of the gains by increased rents, instead of being subtracted as here (cf. ll. 49, 54, 64) from the individual rents, are subtracted *en bloc* from the *διάφορον*, which is thereby reduced by one half, since the gains by increases in each case amounted to one half of the deficiency between the original and the reduced rents. 64. (δ) 2 agrees with 72, and in both papyri part of the increase is stated to have taken place in the 2nd year of the next reign, which seems to be a wrong statement, since the *διάφορον* is the same as in 61. (δ).

50. *διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γεωργῶν*, with or without *ἐγ διαρίσεως*, is a general phrase used to avoid the trouble of reciting the names of all the cultivators and the several amounts assigned to each; cf. ll. 68, 77, 85, &c.

52-6. Hermogenes owned 25 arourae which had originally brought in $37\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, i. e. the rent was $1\frac{1}{2}$ artabae on the aroura. In the 29th year (of Euergetes II, cf. note on l. 46) the land was leased to him at a rent of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba to the aroura for 10 years, and at 1 artaba to the aroura from the 39th year onwards. In the 53rd year, therefore, the land was bringing in 25 artabae instead of $37\frac{1}{2}$, i. e. there was a deficiency of $12\frac{1}{2}$ artabae. But from this deficiency has to be subtracted the gain from an increase of rent in the 47th year which yielded $6\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, leaving the net deficiency at $6\frac{1}{2}$ artabae. The word *ἀρταβείαν* (cf. note on 5. 59) was put in later to fill up the blank space, like the numerous other insertions in this document; cf. e. g. l. 100. On the question where the rents which form the basis of the *διάφορα* are accounted for see p. 571.

57. *λα* (*ἔτει*): the figures, though only faintly discernible here, are made certain by 72. 208. There are vestiges of two or three letters, perhaps erased, after *γεωργῶν*.

59. *θεαγός*: this word is also found in 121. 76 and in a mutilated petition (133), where the *θεαγός* in question is a *βασιλικός γεωργός* as here.

63. *τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων*: sc. *ἐκφορίων*.

65. Though it is often difficult to distinguish between the symbols used for aroura

and artaba, in this papyrus they are quite different in form. The arithmetic shows that (*ἀρουραι*) here is a mistake on the part of the writer for (*ἀρτάβαι*); cf. 75. 34, note.

69. *ος'*: this is the sum of the *διάφορα* in ll. 50, 56, and 67; $44\frac{5}{8} + 6\frac{1}{2} + 19\frac{1}{2} = 70\frac{1}{8}$; cf. 64. (β) 2 and 72. 219.

74. *ἐφοδικῶν*: at Kerkeosiris there were two *ἐφοδοί* holding *κλήροι* of 24 arourae each; cf. 62. 152-6. The reference to this piece of land shows that confiscated *κλήροι* were treated in the same way as the other *βασιλική γῆ*.

76. The $15\frac{1}{2}$ arourae and $74\frac{1}{2}$ artabae are the sums of the 2 arourae $9\frac{5}{8}$ artabae of ll. 72-3, and the $13\frac{1}{2}$ arourae $64\frac{5}{2}$ artabae of l. 75.

ἀπὸ τῶν α: the rent was reduced from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 artaba on the aroura.

79. *στρατενομένων*: cf. 5. 168, note.

συγγενεῖσι τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων: cf. 32. 9, note.

80. *ἔγραψεν*: the subject is probably *ὁ κωμογραμματεὺς*; cf. ll. 10 and 261. The scribe seems to have first written *εγρ* as an abbreviation, and then added the termination.

85-6. The total of *δλωρα* in l. 88 shows that the writer accidentally omitted the $\frac{1}{2}$ in l. 86, and the addition $71\frac{5}{2} + 64 + 11\frac{1}{2} + 10 = 156\frac{1}{2}$ proves that the insertion of *ρ* in the quantity of wheat in l. 85 was a mistake.

87-8. The total deficiency is made up as follows:—artabae: $70\frac{1}{8}$ (l. 69) + $59\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 76) + $156\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 84) = $286\frac{1}{8}$; wheat: $70\frac{1}{8}$ (l. 69) + $59\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 76) + $71\frac{5}{2}$ (l. 85) = $200\frac{5}{8}$ (l. 88). The other items are the same as in ll. 85-6; but the writer seems to have forgotten that in l. 67 two of the artabae belonging to the $70\frac{1}{8}$ artabae were paid in copper.

89-109. This section deals with land leased by officials *ἀνευ συναλλάξεως* at a reduced rent; cf. 72. 53-79. Owing to the extremely poor quality of the land (cf. 72. 13-6) there was no fixed charge continuing from year to year, but each year it was leased 'in proportion to its value' (*ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας*). There are three subdivisions of which the first (ll. 89-96) consisted of 40 arourae of land that were reclaimed in the 29th year of Euergetes II from the condition of *ἔμβροχος* or waterlogged land, and which had got into this condition in the 32nd year of Philometor. On the occasion of a visit of the komogrammateis to Alexandria in the 29th year the attention of the dioecetes (cf. 72. 36-8) was, as the result of an inspection, called to the existence of this land, and it was let *ἀνευ συναλλάξεως*. Its previous rent, before it became *ἔμβροχος*, had been at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae to the aroura, yielding a total rent of $196\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, and the reduced rent, reckoning subsequent increases, was in the 52nd year $2\frac{1}{2}$ artabae to the aroura. The total yield of these 40 arourae was therefore 100 artabae, and the difference $96\frac{3}{8}$ artabae.

The second subdivision (ll. 97-101) consisted of 81 arourae which seem, like the 40 arourae previously mentioned, to have been reclaimed from the land which became *ἔμβροχος* in the 32nd year of Philometor; but attention was called to them after the return of the komogrammateis from Alexandria. The land was being leased in the 52nd year at the rent of 1 artaba to the aroura, which, since its original rent had been $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae to the aroura, involved a deficiency of $321\frac{5}{2}$ artabae.

The third subdivision (ll. 102-106) consisting of $69\frac{3}{4}$ arourae was reclaimed in the 25th year (of Euergetes II probably) from the *ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως ὑπόλογον*, which is no doubt to be connected with the *ὑπόλογον ἄφρονον ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως* of 60. 7; cf. p. 540. Its original rent yielded $343\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, instead of which in the 53rd year it brought in 225, leaving a deficiency of $118\frac{3}{8}$ artabae.

100. *ὁμοίως* *εἰκ* has in the original been inserted immediately beneath the figures *τκαγ'ιβ*.

105. *τμγς'*: in order to make the subtraction correct this number should be read *τμγβ* as in 72. 64. In any case the multiplication is wrong.

107-9. The totals of land *έν συγκρίσει* (cf. l. 250) are made up as follows:—

		ἀρτάβαι.	πυροῦ.	κριθῆς.	ὀλύρας.	χαλκοῦ.
<i>ἀνευ συναλλάξεως.</i>	l. 96.	96 $\frac{3}{8}$	75 $\frac{1}{8}$	12	8	1 $\frac{1}{8}$
	l. 100.	321 $\frac{5}{8}$	253 $\frac{1}{8}$	60	5	2 $\frac{1}{8}$
	l. 106.	118 $\frac{3}{8}$	118 $\frac{3}{8}$	—	—	—
Total.	l. 107.	536 $\frac{3}{8}$	447 $\frac{1}{8}$	72	13	3 $\frac{5}{8}$
<i>μεισθωμένης.</i>	l. 87.	286 $\frac{1}{8}$	200 $\frac{5}{8}$	64	11 $\frac{1}{8}$	10
	Total.	823 $\frac{1}{8}$	648 $\frac{3}{8}$	136	24 $\frac{1}{8}$	13 $\frac{5}{8}$

It should be observed that the total in wheat as given by the papyrus, 648 $\frac{5}{8}$ artabae, is too large by $\frac{1}{8}$ artaba.

110. At this point begins the long section dealing with land *έν υπολόγῳ* (cf. App. i. § 9), the first part, as far as l. 148, being concerned with the land which had been placed in this category since the 40th year, on the importance of which date see p. 553. The first part of the corresponding section in 72 is lost, but cf. 74-5.

110-4. The holding of Amphicles son of Philinus, which had formerly belonged to Timotheus, an *ἐφοδος*, lapsed to the Crown because Amphicles received an equal amount of land at other villages. Having remained untilled from the 48th year it was reported as dry by the komogrammateus in the 51st year, and accordingly was registered *έν τῷ υπολόγῳ*. From 72. 36 sqq. we learn that in the 53rd year it was employed for pasturage at a rate proportional to its value; hence in that document it no longer appears *έν τῷ υπολόγῳ* but in the list of lands *έν συγκρίσει*. This subdivision is somewhat out of place, for the rest of the *χέρσος* is given in ll. 143-6, the intervening section (ll. 115-42) dealing with *ἐμβροχος* and *ἀλμυρίς*.

116. 5L: this was the usual area of the holdings of the *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* at Kerkeosiris. After Psenesis' *κλήρος* had lapsed to the Crown it should, in ordinary circumstances, have been leased to cultivators (cf. l. 74), but being waterlogged it was entered *έν τῷ υπολόγῳ*. Though neither the rate at which it should have been leased nor the amount of the revenue which should have been derived from it is stated, the totals in l. 120 show that the latter was 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, and therefore the rate was 5 artabae on the aroura. The *κλήρος* was confiscated in the 52nd year probably; cf. note on 62. 307.

120. *ἐμβρόχου*: the total amount of land which had become waterlogged since the 40th year is given in this line; cf. 60. 68. The total of what had been reported up to the 39th year as being in this condition is given in l. 200.

		ἀρουραι.	ἀρτάβαι.	πυροῦ.	κριθῆς.
<i>ἐμβρόχου.</i>	l. 115.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	(32 $\frac{1}{2}$)	(32 $\frac{1}{2}$)	—
	l. 117.	75 $\frac{1}{2}$	320 $\frac{5}{8}$	320 $\frac{5}{8}$	—
	l. 118.	20	98 $\frac{1}{8}$	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	42 $\frac{1}{8}$
Total.	l. 120.	102	451 $\frac{3}{8}$	409	42 $\frac{1}{8}$

In the totals as given in the papyrus one artaba has been transferred from the barley to the wheat; but this error is not retained in the addition in l. 148.

121-31. This section gives details about 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae reported (*ἀνερχθείσης* is probably to be supplied with *τῆς* in l. 121, cf. l. 97) by Dionysius the *προστάτης* (of the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος*, cf. 60. 125) as having become salt in the 50th year. These 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae had formed part of 78 arourae belonging to the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος* (cf. App. i. § 7) which were reclaimed from the *ὑπόλογον* in the 49th year through the exertions of Ptolemaeus

son of Philinus (cf. 66. 4 sqq.). The other $16\frac{1}{2}$ arourae had like the $61\frac{1}{2}$ become salt in the 50th year, but were taken out of the *ὑπόλογον* for the 53rd year and leased at a reduced rent; cf. ll. 9 sqq.

137. [μ ($\xi\tau\epsilon\iota$): cf. 74. 48.

139. The reading of the number of artabae of wheat is doubtful. As nearly as can be determined the calculations are these:—

		<i>ἀρουραι.</i>	<i>ἀρτάβαι.</i>	<i>πυροῦ.</i>	<i>κριθῆς.</i>	<i>δλύρας.</i>	<i>χαλκοῦ.</i>
<i>ἀλμυρίδος.</i>	l. 130.	$61\frac{1}{2}$	$290\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{8}$	270	15	$3\frac{1}{2}$
	l. 133.	$9\frac{1}{4}$	45	$14\frac{7}{12}$	$30\frac{5}{12}$	—	—
	l. 135.	$18\frac{3}{4}$	$76\frac{5}{12}$	$8\frac{7}{12}$	$60\frac{5}{8}$	5	2
	l. 137.	$179\frac{3}{8}$	$999\frac{1}{2}$	$300\frac{5}{12}$	664	$26\frac{5}{12}$	$8\frac{1}{2}$
Total.	l. 141.	$268\frac{7}{8}$	$1411\frac{5}{12}$	$325\frac{3}{4}$	$1025\frac{5}{12}$	$46\frac{5}{12}$	$13\frac{3}{8}$

The total number of artabae is confirmed by 60. 73.

143-6. Details of land which had become dry. $\mu\beta\beta'$ in l. 143, $\alpha\alpha(\alpha)$ $\delta\lambda\gamma\iota\beta'$ in l. 144 and $\rho\upsilon\varsigma'$ in l. 145 are from 64. (β). The totals of the arourae and artabae in l. 146 are derived from 60. 74; they are the sums of the details given in ll. 114, 143 and 144. The other restorations of figures are based on the arithmetic. In l. 148 the total of the *χαλκοῦ* is $15\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, and since $13\frac{3}{8}$ artabae are accounted for in l. 142, $1\frac{1}{4}$ artabae must belong to the *χέρσος*. The total of the artabae is $274\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 146), and since $1\frac{1}{4}$ artabae came under the heading *χαλκοῦ*, $273\frac{1}{2}$ came under the heading *πυροῦ*. Of the three items under the head of *πυροῦ* two are known, $119\frac{1}{8}$ artabae in l. 114 and $44\frac{3}{8}$ in l. 143. Deducting these two from the total $273\frac{1}{2}$ we obtain $109\frac{5}{8}$ as the figure of the *πυροῦ* lost in l. 145. This is confirmed by the addition of the *πυροῦ* in l. 148; cf. l. 147, note. Next with regard to the items of the *χαλκοῦ*, $\frac{3}{8}$ artaba in l. 145 is obtained by subtracting $109\frac{5}{8}$ from $110\frac{3}{8}$, therefore the remaining $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba necessary to make up the $1\frac{1}{4}$ artabae of the *χαλκοῦ* occurred in l. 143. Adding this to the $44\frac{3}{8}$ artabae *πυροῦ* we obtain $45\frac{1}{8}$ as the sum of the artabae in l. 143. The rate of the rent was not given, but would differ from $4\frac{1}{12}$ artabae to the aroura by only $\frac{1}{82}$. We thus obtain the following table:—

		<i>ἀρουραι.</i>	<i>ἀρτάβαι.</i>	<i>πυροῦ.</i>	<i>χαλκοῦ.</i>
<i>χέρσου</i>	l. 114.	24	$119\frac{1}{8}$	$119\frac{1}{8}$	—
	l. 143.	$11\frac{1}{8}$	$45\frac{1}{8}$	$44\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
	l. 144.	$21\frac{3}{4}$	$110\frac{3}{8}$	$109\frac{5}{12}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
Total.	l. 146.	$56\frac{1}{8}$	$274\frac{1}{2}$	$273\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$

144. $\kappa\epsilon\chi'$ of *κεχερσευμένης* is found in the corresponding passage of 64. (δ).

147. The total amount of land which had become *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* between the 40th and the 52nd year is obtained by addition of the items already given. In the corresponding passage of 64. (δ) it is introduced by the words *γίνονται τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ* ($\xi\tau\upsilon\varsigma$); in 60. 75 the form used is *γίνονται τοῦ ἕως τοῦ νβ* ($\xi\tau\upsilon\varsigma$).

		<i>ἀρουραι.</i>	<i>ἀρτάβαι.</i>	<i>πυροῦ.</i>	<i>κριθῆς.</i>	<i>δλύρας.</i>	<i>χαλκοῦ.</i>
<i>ἐμβρόχου.</i>	l. 120.	102	$451\frac{3}{8}$	409	$42\frac{3}{8}$	—	—
<i>ἀλμυρίδος.</i>	l. 141.	$268\frac{7}{8}$	$1411\frac{5}{12}$	$325\frac{3}{4}$	$1025\frac{5}{12}$	$46\frac{5}{12}$	$13\frac{3}{8}$
<i>χέρσου.</i>	l. 146.	$56\frac{1}{8}$	$274\frac{1}{2}$	$273\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Total.	l. 148.	$427\frac{1}{8}$	$2137\frac{7}{12}$	1008	$1068\frac{1}{12}$	$46\frac{5}{12}$	$15\frac{1}{12}$

149. At this point begin the details of land which had been placed *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*

in the period up to the end of the 39th year, the first section (ll. 149-84) dealing with *ἐλμυρίς*. The starting-point is the 25th year (of Euergetes) which = the 36th (of Philometor), and the dates proceed backwards as far as the 14th year (l. 169). Then in l. 173 the writer returns for some unexplained reason to the 31st year and again goes backwards, reaching the 13th in l. 182. The mentions of the 14th (l. 169), 16th (l. 181), and 13th years (l. 182) are curious, for Philometor's 12th-18th years were occupied by the period of joint rule, which began a fresh regnal series (cf. l. 195, the 12th which = the 1st year, and P. Par. 63. 19); and a papyrus written in Euergetes II's reign is the last place where we should expect to find the period of the joint rule ascribed to Philometor. This conclusion, however, can only be avoided by referring the 14th, 16th, and 13th years to some king earlier than Philometor, and to this there are great objections. Apart from these three cases the question of assigning years mentioned in the sections dealing with land *ἐν ὑπόλογῳ* to earlier reigns than Philometor's does not arise. The earliest certain date in it is the 12th year of Philometor, which was the first of the joint rule; and since this was also the starting-point of Euergetes II's regnal years, it is a very natural beginning for a papyrus written in his reign, especially as a general valuation of Crown lands seems to have been made in that year (note on l. 195). The land that became *ὑπόλογος* before the 12th year of Philometor is dealt with in the section concerning land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῳ*; cf. ll. 419, note, and App. i. § 10.

160-73. Cf. 72. 71 sqq., from which several of the lacunae have been partially restored. The corresponding section of 64. (b), which exists in a mutilated condition, has furnished a few supplements.

162. *δ* is a mistake for *α*, as is shown by the arithmetic; cf. 72. 73.

168. Cf. note on 72. 80.

170. Κτ. [. . . : 72. 82 has *Τβρήσεως*. The slight vestiges of the letter following τ here are consistent with β, but the combination of the three consonants κτβ at the beginning of a word is difficult. *περιχώματος* is from 64. (b), which has *περιχώ(ματος)*.

171. *ρμβίβ* is from 64. (b).

172. *χαλκοῦ* *Λ* is from 64. (b); *εΛ* is given by the arithmetic.

173. *ὁμοίως* is from 64. (b). The point of it is that the 31st year had already been mentioned in l. 155.

174. *βΛ δλύρας αὶ πυροῦ η[.] χαλκοῦ . .* is from 64. (b).

179. [*κ*] *εΛ*: cf. 72. 92, note.

182. *μδ*: there is some error in the multiplication by which this total is reached.

183. So many of the details in this column have been lost that it is impossible to verify the addition. In 60. 91 the sum of the artabae is $1613\frac{1}{2}$ or 16 more than here. In l. 209 the total of the land *ἐν ὑπόλογῳ* up to the 39th year is accordingly less by 16 than the corresponding figure in 60. 95, but the same numbers as those in 60. 95 have been inserted over the line. The disappearance of these 16 artabae (probably a mere error) also makes itself felt in the final totals in ll. 248-52. In l. 248 the total number of artabae said to be accounted for in ll. 1-247 is given as $10614\frac{1}{2}$, but in l. 252 the addition of the items produces $10598\frac{1}{2}$ or 16 less; cf. notes on l. 252, 60. 93, and 72. 97.

185. Cf. 72. 99, note.

187-93. The restorations of the lacunae have been obtained from 72. 101 sqq.

189. The meaning of this passage is obscure. *διὰ τὸ εἶναι κ.τ.λ.* probably gives the reason for which this land was placed *ἐν ὑπόλογῳ*, being parallel to *διὰ τὸν δμβρον* of the preceding clauses. It seems that in the 33rd year 33 arourae had been reclaimed from the *ὑπόλογον* and entered in the lists of lands from which a rent should be demanded; but because those who were liable to the demand, when the number of the cultivators was taken into consideration, could not produce the tenth part which was added to

the rent each year, and because nothing had been paid to this account up to the 34th year, the land was allowed to go out of cultivation again. *προσαχθέντος* is the word commonly used of reclaimed land which was removed from the *ὑπόλογον* (cf. e.g. 60. 86). The komogrammateus in his annual returns (*ἀπολογισμοὶ ὑπολόγου*, cf. 74-5) reported to the dioecetes after the sowing the amount of land which had been cultivated in excess of that expected from the preliminary survey, together with a list of that land which could be leased at a valuation (*τῆς δυναμένης εἰς μίσθωσιν ἀχθῆραι ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας*). In the latter case the land was placed *ἐν συγκρίσει* under the heading *ἀνευ συναλλάξεως* (cf. note on ll. 89-108) and entered on the books at the normal rent of Crown land, the difference between this rent and that obtained on the valuation being returned under the heading *ἐν συγκρίσει*. The land referred to in this passage was treated in this way; the profits of the cultivation were, however, so small that even the lower rent could not be paid, and accordingly the land was again placed *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*. But what the 'tenth part' was is not clear. Possibly the land was leased on terms similar to those in l. 52, for ten years at a given rate, which was doubled at the end of the period; this doubled rate may have been regarded as attained by adding a tenth part of the original rate each year for a period of ten years. The difficulty then is to see what is meant by the 33rd and 34th years. If they belong to the same reign, whether that of Philometor or Euergetes, there is not a sufficient interval between the year when the land was reclaimed and the year when the cultivation was given up to account for the *δέκατον μέρος* added on each year. It is therefore probable that the 33rd year refers to Philometor, the 34th to Euergetes, which gives an interval of twelve years. But it is possible that *ἕως τοῦ λδ (ἔτους)* in l. 192 (the reading of which is made certain by 72. 108) is corrupt, and if the real reading were *ἀπὸ τοῦ λδ (ἔτους)* (sc. of Philometor) *ἕως τοῦ κθ (ἔτους)* (of Euergetes II) a much better sense would be obtained; for then this entry would come under the heading in l. 187 of land which became *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* in the 29th year, instead of being not only without a heading but out of chronological order, as it is if *ἕως τοῦ λδ ((ἔτους))* is referred to Euergetes II.

191-2. Cf. 72. 107; *εἰς*] *τοῦτο* cannot be read, but] *καὶ τὸ* is possible. Perhaps the papyrus had] *καὶ τὸ μῆθῆν εἰς τοῦτο*. 64. (δ) agrees with 72, having *μῆθῆν [παρα]ῤῥίδοσθαι*.

194-203. The supplements are derived partly from 72, partly from 64. (δ).

194-8. 'Concerning the land which was returned in the 23rd year as part of that which failed to come up to the expectations formed in the 12th which was also the 1st year, regarding which the komogrammateus reports that it is the land which was found by Osoroëris, who was then basilico-grammateus, to have put in former times too heavy a tax upon the powers of the cultivators, we register it in the unproductive land, 27 arourae 157 artabae.'

194-5. These lines are restored from 64. (δ), which has *[τῆς] ἐν τῷ κγ (ἔτει) ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπο-λ[ε]κτουσῶν παρὰ τὰς | ὑποστάσεις τοῦ ιβ τοῦ καὶ α (ἔτους) ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπολ[ογί]ζεται*.

194. The 23rd year is that of Philometor. *ὑπόστασις* is the technical term for the offer of rent made by the *βασιλικὸς γεωργός* when the Crown lands were leased, based upon his expectation of the profits he could make by cultivating it; cf. Wilcken, *Aktenstücke*, I. 8.

195. *τοῦ ιβ τοῦ καὶ α (ἔτους)*: it is probable that in the first year of the joint reign of Euergetes II and Philometor a general survey and valuation of the land was made and the scale of rents fixed. Some of the land did not prove as valuable as had been expected, and the royal scribe seems to have reported eleven years later that the cultivation of this land was too difficult to be worth the trouble expended on it. For the land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* before the 12th year of Philometor see ll. 419 sqq., and cf. note on l. 149.

197. *καταλείπειν*: it was not unusual for the βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ to refuse to cultivate the Crown lands (cf. 26); in l. 32 (cf. note) the result anticipated from an attempt to compel them to work was the complete interruption of the cultivation. It was probably in connexion with a threatened strike of this kind that Osoroëris, after an examination of the land, sent in his report. It should be observed that in 26 information of a similar state of affairs was sent to the same official, the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς.

200. The sums of the various items may be tabulated as follows:—

		ἀρουραι.	ἀρτάβαι.	πυροῦ.	κριθῆς.	δλύρας.	χαλκοῦ.
ἐμβρόχου.	l. 185.	67 $\frac{3}{4}$	337 $\frac{1}{2}$	210 $\frac{3}{4}$	53 $\frac{1}{2}$	44 $\frac{1}{8}$	28 $\frac{1}{2}$
	l. 187.	45	243 $\frac{3}{4}$	176 $\frac{1}{2}$	40	20	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	l. 192.	33	178 $\frac{3}{4}$	113 $\frac{3}{4}$	48	10	7
	l. 198.	27	157	141	—	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
Total.	l. 200.	172 $\frac{3}{4}$	916 $\frac{3}{4}$	641 $\frac{7}{12}$	141 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{5}{12}$	44 $\frac{1}{8}$

The totals as given in the papyrus differ from these in the number of artabae, which is there $\frac{5}{12}$ less, and the amount of olyra, which is $\frac{1}{2}$ greater.

202-6. To the preceding results are added the amounts of the dry land (ll. 202-3) and of the salt land (l. 183), giving the total area entered ἐν τῷ ὑπολόγῳ up to the end of the 39th year.

		ἀρουραι.	ἀρτάβαι.	πυροῦ.	κριθῆς.	δλύρας.	χαλκοῦ.
ἐμβρόχου.	l. 200.	172 $\frac{3}{4}$	916 $\frac{1}{2}$	641 $\frac{7}{12}$	141 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{12}$	44 $\frac{1}{8}$
χέρσου.	l. 203.	22 $\frac{7}{8}$	94 $\frac{3}{4}$	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	40	6	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
ἀλμυρίδος.	l. 183.	326 $\frac{1}{2}$	1597 $\frac{1}{2}$	1489 $\frac{1}{12}$	141 $\frac{5}{12}$	68	26
Total.	l. 205.	521 $\frac{7}{8}$	2608 $\frac{1}{2}$	2176 $\frac{1}{12}$	195 $\frac{1}{12}$	163 $\frac{1}{12}$	72 $\frac{3}{8}$

The sum of the separate kinds of payments in l. 205 is greater than the total number of artabae by $\frac{1}{12}$ artaba, owing to the omission of $\frac{1}{12}$ artaba from the total of wheat. It is clear from the addition in ll. 208-9 that there were no fractions in the lacuna after Βρος in l. 205.

202. ἀναγραφόμενης: the use of this word probably indicates that the land in question was originally not βασιλική, i.e. that it had been either *ιερά* or *κληρουχική*; cf. 72. 128, where ἀναγεγραμμένη is used of land transferred from the *ιερά* to the *βασιλική γῆ*, and note on l. 207. In 60. 93 this land which was *κεχερσευμένη* was omitted, apparently by mistake; cf. note *ad loc.* It is possible that this *κεχερσευμένη ἀπὸ τοῦ λ (ἔτους)* is connected with the *ἐπικεχωρήμενου ὑπολόγου τῆς μετὰ τὸ λ (ἔτος)* of l. 244, which ought to have been given to cleruchs, but was not. Cf. note on l. 229.

206. Cf. notes on 67. 41-3 and 72. 304-10.

207. The meaning of this entry probably is that the 5 arourae in question had once belonged to the temples of second rank; at some date which is not precisely stated but was 'in the period starting from the 40th year,' i.e. between the 40th and 52nd years, they were apparently transferred to the Crown, and were accordingly athetized in the list of *ιερά γῆ*. In 74. 59-60 the same piece of land is described as *ἐμβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῇ ἡθετημένῃ ἱερᾷ*, while in 72. 128 *ἀναγεγραμμένη* occurs in place of *ἡθετημένη*; cf. l. 202, note. Lines 207-10 are omitted in 64. (b), but the total of the artabae of wheat in the passage corresponding to l. 205 is given as 1201 $\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 1176, a difference of 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, which nearly agrees with the 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ artabae in l. 208, and shows that in 64. (b) this entry concerning the confiscated *ιερά γῆ* was not placed by itself, as here, at the end of the account of the *ὑπολογον ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους)*, but in an earlier position under the same heading.

A difficulty arises from the occurrence of ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) in l. 208, for if that is correct the entry ought to have come under the heading of the ὑπόλογον ἀπὸ τοῦ μ ἔτους (ll. 110-48); and μ is perhaps a mistake for λ or λα. Possibly these 5 arourae of confiscated *ιερά γῆ* correspond to some of the land which is ascribed to the god Petesuchus in 98. 55 sqq., but which nevertheless appears to have been βασιλική; cf. note *ad loc.* This view that the 5 arourae had been *ιερά γῆ* is preferable to the opposite hypothesis that they had been originally βασιλική and were transferred to the temples of second rank, being however retained ἐν ὑπολόγῳ because the loss to the State remained. They would then be counted twice over, like the σπόριμος assigned to cleruchs, once in the ὑπόλογον and again in the *ιερά*; cf. p. 575. But ἡθετημένῃ *ιερά* (74. 59) does not suit this, and the normal course with Crown lands ἐν ὑπολόγῳ transferred to another class of owners was to subtract the areas and rents, as was done in the case of the κληρος assigned to Menches (cf. 75. 71 and p. 558). Only when σπόριμος was wrongly assigned was the land which had ceased to be βασιλική retained under the heading of land ἐν ὑπολόγῳ.

209-12. The totals are obtained as follows:—

		ἄρουραι.	ἀρτάβαι.	πυροῦ.	κριθῆς.	ὀλύρας.	χαλκοῦ.
ἔως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους).	l. 205.	521 $\frac{7}{8}$	2608 $\frac{1}{2}$	2176	195 $\frac{1}{2}$	163 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{3}{4}$
<i>ιεράς</i> .	l. 208.	5	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	—
Total.	l. 209.	526 $\frac{7}{8}$	2633 $\frac{1}{2}$	2200 $\frac{3}{4}$	195 $\frac{1}{2}$	163 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{3}{4}$
ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους).	l. 148.	427 $\frac{1}{8}$	2137 $\frac{7}{8}$	1008	1068 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 $\frac{5}{8}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total ὑπολόγου.	l. 211.	954 $\frac{1}{2}$	4770 $\frac{5}{8}$	3208 $\frac{3}{4}$	1264	210 $\frac{3}{8}$	87 $\frac{3}{4}$

The amount of wheat given in the papyrus is 3209 $\frac{1}{8}$. The writer seems to have added in part of the wheat which he had omitted in l. 205 (cf. note on ll. 202-6).

209. The alteration of 2633 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae to 2649 $\frac{1}{2}$ is due to the omission of 16 artabae in the total of ἀλμυρῆς ἔως τοῦ λθ ἔτους in l. 183; cf. note *ad loc.*

211. The numbers written above the line agree with those found in 80. 99, and were introduced because 43 arourae had after the sowing been reported as under cultivation; cf. note on 80. 93. At the foot of the column some distance below the last line the number ροζγ'β' has been entered; this is the difference between 4770 $\frac{5}{8}$ and 4593 $\frac{5}{8}$ and gives the number of artabae gained by the reclamation of the 43 arourae.

212. Why the number 'Δψληγ' was added at the end of this line is not clear; if it is a repetition of the total in l. 211 the figures are wrong.

213-46. 'We include in the list of lands which in the 50th year became unprofitable and had up to the 49th year been included in the lands submitted for inquiry the following lands about which, as was revealed by the papers which were provided for the purpose of drawing up the report on the land, information was given to the effect that some of those who had been admitted to the position of catoeci had received arable or other land which should not have been used for that purpose. With regard to this land the former basilicogrammateis registered that which had been previously taken from the unproductive land as cleruchic; but that which had been reported as taken from the arable land they submitted to a decision, asking whether it should be deducted (from the cleruchic land) and other land subtracted from that in the unprofitable list should be substituted. When this was reported at the council held under the presidency of Apollodorus, who was at that time epistates and scribe of the catoecic cavalry, they quoted the decrees which had been issued with regard to the catoeci. But Archibius the dioecetes made a minute upon the survey of the 47th year on a similar case:—"If they have received arable land instead of dry, and

no one at the time lodged an objection, they have not obeyed the orders issued concerning the catoeci. Let it be noted that one year's rent shall be exacted from them, and they shall be allowed to keep the land; but an equal amount of dry land shall be leased . . ." In the case of the division of Heraclides (he made a minute), "Since they obeyed the orders issued in the 32nd year to those connected with the settlement, and the decision of Apollodorus, henceforward let those who obtained such land before the decision of Apollodorus be permitted to retain it, but an equal amount must be restored to the dry land; a year's rent shall however be demanded from those who received such land after the council."

List of those who have been permitted in accordance with the special orders issued with regard to them to retain their allotments as they were originally assigned to them, free from calumny or accusation or confiscation on any pretext:—

Philoxenus son of Callicrates: 4 arourae 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ artabae.

Zenodorus son of Bromerus: 3 arourae 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ artabae.

Apollodorus son of Ptolemaeus, one of those admitted to the catoecic cavalry in the 31st year, who received land from that part of the unproductive land which was not available for the purpose, instead of that which had been subtracted after the 30th year from the unproductive land which was allowed to be so used: 40 arourae out of 60 at a rent of 4 $\frac{4}{7}$ artabae 199 $\frac{3}{4}$ artabae. Total of the unproductive land 47 arourae 234 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae.'

213. The restoration of the end of this line is derived from 64. (b).

214-5. In 64. (b) and 72. 141 τῶν σημειομένων is immediately preceded by ἐπισκεφθῆσομένοις, so that it is probable that the end of l. 214 was blank, which, since ll. 213-4 are a heading, is not remarkable.

215. Some of the land which had been assigned to persons who became catoeci in the reign of Epiphanes or Philometor (cf. notes on ll. 239-41) had been in a proper condition for cultivation; land of this kind should have been leased to cultivators so that it might help to keep up the Crown revenues, but, having been assigned to cleruchs, involved a loss to the State. When this irregular allocation of the land became known some years later the royal scribes registered as cleruchic the estates or portions of estates which had been originally assigned to catoeci out of the land ἐν ὑπολόγῃ; these grants had been quite regular, and no question could arise as to title. Where however the land had been arable when assigned, the grant was irregular and the title therefore bad. The royal scribes, accordingly, at an investigation held by Apollodorus raised the question whether the loss to the Crown should be made good by resuming possession of the land in doubt and giving dry land to the cleruchs instead, quoting in support the decrees which had been transgressed, and which presumably declared that the κάτοικοι should receive χέρος. What decision was arrived at by the council under Apollodorus is not stated, but two inferences can be made concerning it, (1) that it was in favour of the cleruchs, who were allowed to keep the land in dispute, and (2) that it was not final, for Archibius in the 47th or 48th year issued a minute that the decrees concerning the κάτοικοι had been disobeyed and that a year's rent was to be demanded from those who had received these irregular grants, the continuance of their ownership being guaranteed on condition that an equal amount of dry land was leased by the officials (cf. 10. introd.) in order to balance the loss to the State. On the different methods of dealing with the difficulties caused by the assignment of σπόρμος γῆ to cleruchs see p. 555. It is curious that those cleruchs at Kerkeosiris who were made to pay a year's rent in accordance with the decision of Archibius in ll. 226-9 occur in 61. (b) under a separate heading (cf. ll. 2-7), while the three mentioned in ll. 239-41 (though in 61. (a) 20-6 the case of Zenodorus is said to have been decided by the dioecetes and ἱπομνηματογράφος) are here stated to have had their ownership secured not by

the orders of Archibius just quoted, but by special decrees (l. 236), which were probably similar to those in 124. 25-9, and they do not seem to have paid a year's rent; cf. App. i. § 6. There is a further difficulty that the *σπόριμος* assigned to cleruchs which forms an item in the category of Crown land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* appears to be counted twice over; cf. p. 575. The relevancy of ll. 230-5, which give a quotation from a *παραπεριγραφή* of Archibius dealing with similarly disputed titles in the division of Heraclides, is not clear. Possibly one or two of the cleruchs mentioned in ll. 239-41 owned other land in the division of Heraclides (cf. p. 548), or the *ἰδίᾳ προστεταγμένα* may have ordained that they were to be treated like the cleruchs in that *μερίς*, some of whom escaped without paying a year's rent (ll. 232-3). All three seem to have received their grants before the *σύνκρισις* of Apollodorus; cf. notes on ll. 222, 239, 240, and 241.

219. [προαντανα]ρεθείσαν is restored from 64. (δ), which has προα[τ]αναιρεθείσα].

222. Απολλοδώρω[ι]: cf. 82. 15. Apollodorus held the offices mentioned here in the 36th year apparently of Philometor, and it is therefore probable that the *συνεδρεία* took place about that year.

223. *συνέδ[ρ]ο[ι]ας*: meetings of the principal officials were held from time to time to discuss questions connected with the administration of the land; but their decisions seem to have been subject to revision by the diocetes. The constitution of a similar *συνεδρεία* is described in P. Par. 63, 140 sqq. *συνεδρεύσαντες δὲ μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν τῶν φυλακῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκονόμων καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων παρόντων καὶ τῶν παρ' Εὐμήλου τοῦ γραμματέως τῶν μαχίμων καὶ τῶν τοπογραμμάτων καὶ κωμογραμματέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐν ὑπολαμβάνητε χρησίμων εἶναι πρὸς ταῦτα.* Perhaps *συν-* in *συνκριθείσ[ι]* (l. 231) alludes to this *συνεδρεία*; but cf. note on 5. 54.

225. [μ]ζ (ἔτους): cf. l. 5.

226-9. The subject of *κατέσχηκαν* is the cleruchs, that of *κατηκολούθησαν, λαβεῖν, εἶν* and *μισθῶσαι* the officials. *τοῖς χρησίμοις*, 'to suitable persons,' is possible at the end of l. 229; but in 72. 164 *μισθῶσαι* ends the sentence, and the addition here may be meaningless.

230-5. With the case of the cleruchs in the *μερίς* of Heraclides cf. 70. 13-9 and 47-59, which reveals a state of affairs similar to that found here. In that case the cleruchs were not allowed to keep the *σπόριμος*, and received a fresh grant of dry land instead; cf. 70. 47-62, note.

233. ἀποκατ[α]στ[η]σαι εἰς τὴν χέρσον: this ought to correspond to l. 229, but seems to make no sense. Perhaps ἀπὸ τῆς χέρσου or εἰς τὴν σπόριμον should be read; cf. the confusion in l. 14.

239. Philoxenus is no doubt the father of the *ὀδοηκοκτάρουρος* Callicrates mentioned in 62. 40 and 63. 40 among those who had received grants of land in the time of Epiphanes. He had before the date of this papyrus been succeeded by his son, but since the dispute about the land had no doubt arisen in the time of Philoxenus it is not surprising that his name is retained here; cf. the next note.

240. Zenodorus is the father of the Bromerus (called in 85. 71 an *ὀδοηκοκτάρουρος* though owning only 40 arourae at Kerkeosiris) mentioned in 62. 79 and 63. 68 among those who received grants in the 31st year of Philometor. He too like Philoxenus was probably dead at the time of this papyrus; cf. the preceding note.

241. Apollodorus owned altogether 60 arourae at Kerkeosiris (l. 245; cf. 62. 84 and 63. 72) but was probably in name an *ὀδοηκοκτάρουρος* like the other two, though how far these titles corresponded to the actual size of the *κλήροι* is doubtful; cf. p. 548. Here and in 72. 180 he is said to have been transferred to the *κατοικία* in the 31st year (of Philometor); but in 62. 84 and 63. 71 this event is ascribed to the 34th year.

246. μζ: 4 (l. 230) + 3 (l. 239) + 40 (l. 244) = 47; similarly for the artabae, $19\frac{3}{4} + 14\frac{3}{4} + 199\frac{3}{4} = 234\frac{1}{2}$. These numbers are added to the totals previously obtained,

viz. $954\frac{1}{8}$ arourae $4770\frac{5}{8}$ artabae, making in all $1001\frac{1}{8}$ arourae $5004\frac{1}{8}$ artabae. It is remarkable that these additions to the *ὑπόλογον* appear in 60. 65 together with the year's rent of l. 7 in combination not with the *ὑπόλογον* but with the $823\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of l. 108 under the heading *ἐν συγκρίσει*, making the total under that head 57 arourae 1107 artabae; cf. 85. 93 and 95, where 100 the *σπόριμος* received by Philoxenus and Bromerus, which is described as *ἀποβιαζομένη*, is stated to be *ἐν συγκρίσει*, and for the explanation p. 573.

248. *τὰς προκειμένας*: this word is followed by the area of the whole *βασιλική γῆ* exclusive of the land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει* (l. 348), $2166\frac{1}{2}$ arourae and $10614\frac{1}{2}$ artabae (cf. 80. 97). In the previous account of the Crown lands in the 53rd year in 61. (a), the corresponding total of the artabae was given in l. 166 as $10598\frac{1}{2}$, but it has been corrected from another figure which was most probably $10614\frac{1}{2}$; the disappearance of 16 artabae has been explained in notes on ll. 183 and 209. It is to be remarked further that $10598\frac{1}{2}$ not $10614\frac{1}{2}$ is the figure which in l. 252 is reached as the sum of the several items, though the addition, as the writer himself notices, was not quite correct; cf. note *ad loc.* But it is clear that the correction in 61. (a) 166 is derived from the total arrived at in l. 252.

249. *ἀπη(γμένου)*: the number of the artabae, $4642\frac{1}{2}$, is supplied from 60. 55; cf. 80. 98, 67. 5, and 61. (a) 169-78, note, and App. i. § 5.

[*ἀπη(γμένου)*] α (*ἔτους*) *ἐκφόριον*: cf. ll. 2-7.

250. *κεχωρισμένης προσόδου*: cf. ll. 9-17. *ἐν συγκρίσει*: cf. ll. 19-109.

251. *ὑπόλογον*: cf. ll. 110-247.

252. Immediately below the termination of *ἀρ[τά]βαι* and the following figures are traces of ink which perhaps represent an unmeaning insertion like those in other parts of this papyrus. With the sum of the artabae, $10598\frac{1}{2}$, cf. 61. (a) 166 and note on l. 248. This figure is, as the writer notes (cf. 60. 101), less by $4\frac{7}{2}$ than the actual sum of the items, which was $10602\frac{3}{2}$.

253. *κατοχίμων κλήρων*: the land which forms the subject of the following section is no longer Crown land, but cleruchic, on the produce of which for various reasons the Crown had a first claim; cf. l. 285, note. The corresponding section in 72 (ll. 226-303) is different, as is also 64. (δ) 6 sqq.

254. *προσλήψεως*: it is probable that the *ἔφοδοι* and other holders of cleruchic land were required to pay fees on promotion to the rank of *κάτοικοι* (cf. 82). In the case of the *ἔφοδοι*, at least, this fee, under the name of *χρυσικός στέφανος* (cf. 72. 297), was paid partly in money, partly in wheat, and was a kind of first charge on their property. The golden crown was probably in its original conception a free-will offering of the people to the king on his accession. If, however, we may judge from the dates at which the payments were made, it seems to have very little connexion in practice with the accession of the king; for the eight Ptolemaic ostraca published by Wilcken (*Ost.* II) which refer to it are dated respectively in the 3rd (no. 701), 4th (no. 320), 5th (no. 1311), 21st (no. 330), 28th (no. 1512), 48th (no. 1528), 51st (no. 1360), and 53rd (no. 353) years of the reigns in which the payment was made. The fiction that the payments were for the king's golden crown was maintained in the name of the impost, e.g. no. 320 *εἰς τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως χρυσικὸν στέφανον*; but the payments were certainly not purely voluntary, and the occasions upon which they were made cannot have been left to the discretion of the donors. Some of these occasions were probably appointments to office and promotions in rank; thus a man when admitted to the status of *κατοικίαν* (*προσληφθεὶς εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν*) would pay a sum of money or corn *πρὸς τὸν τῆς προσλήψεως στέφανον*, or, as it is expressed in the ostraca, *εἰς στέφανον τῶν κατοικῶν*; an *ἔφοδος* or other cleruch on admission to the *κληρουχία* would contribute *εἰς τὸν στέφανον κληρούχων* (*Ost.* 1528). The payments were not demanded immediately in full, but were made in irregular

instalments (cf. ll. 258-9). When a κληροῦχος failed to pay the στέφανος demanded from him, whether upon his promotion or at subsequent periods, he was liable to be deprived of his κλῆρος, which passed into the possession of some one who made the necessary payment in his stead. Instances of this are found in 61. (a) 9 sqq., where the ownership of the lands of Heliodorus son of Dionysius and Heliodorus son of Menodorus was transferred to three other persons 'because they had paid the στέφανος on behalf of' the two defaulters; cf. *ibid.* ll. 32 sqq. The προσλήψεως στέφανος was however not the only στέφανος levied upon cleruchs; cf. 99. 59, note. The βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ also paid for στέφανος; cf. 93-5. Instances of payments for στέφανοι on behalf of other persons than the king are found in P. Fay. Towns 14 and P. Grenf. I. 41, where in ll. 1-2 l. διεθέντο(ς) μου; cf. 95. 8, note.

256. [Μενίσκου]: Meniscus son of Ptolemaeus, who in the 52nd year was an ἔφοδος τῶν ἐν τῷ λδ (ἔτει) (62. 152, cf. 61. (a) 44), was succeeded in that year by his son Ptolemaeus, who is entered as ἔφοδος in the corresponding place in the list of cleruchs for the 2nd year of the next reign (63. 129). In 60, which was drawn up later in the 53rd year than the present document, this κατόχμος κλῆρος is entered under the name of the son (l. 105). The ἔφοδος owed 120 artabae of wheat for στέφανος of which he had paid an amount equivalent to 20 artabae, leaving 100 artabae still owing. It is curious that no notice is taken of the partial payment either in the total in l. 294 of sums owed from κατόχμοι κλῆροι or in 60. 105; cf. note on ll. 261-84. His case is dealt with at greater length in 64. (δ) 7-13 and 72. 246-58.

257. Cf. 60. 106, note.

258. κριθῆς: 33½ artabae of barley are equivalent to 20 of wheat, hence the ratio of the value of barley to that of wheat was 3 : 5. The same ratio is regularly found in numerous instances in the present volume, e. g. 67. 68, and in some of the new papyri of the Petrie collection.

261-84. This very obscure section is concerned with the κλῆρος of Demetrius son of Demetrius, whose correct name as reported by the komogrammateus was Demetrius son of Heraclides, and who is entered as such in 62. 141 and 63. 114 amongst the μεταβεβηκότες εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν ἐξ ἐφόδων τῶν ἐν τῷ λδ (ἔτει) καταμετρημένων. From l. 264 it appears that he became a κάτοικος in the 48th year, his admission being presided over by Amphicles (cf. l. 267 and P. Cairo 10371. 1 in *Archiv.*, I. p. 61). Like the other members of that class he was probably a ἑκατοντάρουρος in name, but we hear of only 24 arourae owned by him at Kerkeosiris, and 12 of these were transferred by the beginning of Soter II's reign to Tauriscus son of Apollonius (cf. 63. 115). The causes which led to this transference are probably the facts recorded in this section, but owing to the mutilation of the papyrus they are extremely difficult to make out. 60 gives no help, for Demetrius is not mentioned at all in the section dealing with κατόχμοι κλῆροι (ll. 102-8), the total in 60. 108 being less than the total in l. 294 of the present document by the 24 arourae and 120 artabae of his κλῆρος mentioned in l. 284.

From the absence of a fresh heading in l. 261, it is at first sight natural to infer that Demetrius' κλῆρος, like that of Meniscus, was κατεσχημένος πρὸς τὸν τῆς προσλήψεως στέφανος, especially as Demetrius had been an ἔφοδος and there is a reference to the προσλήψεως στέφανος in l. 283 immediately before the statement of the amounts which were κατόχμοι. But the intervening ll. 265-82 do not seem to have anything to do with στέφανοι for the king; and from l. 268 it appears that the κλῆρος of Demetrius in the 48th year, i. e. at the time of his admission to the κάτοικοι (see above), was somehow subject to charges for the maintenance of a sacred crocodile, Demetrius being one of a number of κληροῦχοι in a similar position, since in ll. 271 sqq. the singular gives place to the plural (cf. ll. 272 and 275 ἀποδείξωσι, and l. 274 τοὺς κληροῦχοι). The persons (? priests) who made the claim upon

the land of Demetrius and others did so on the ground that the κληροι had already been pledged and that the ἐπιγόνημα, or surplus produce after the necessary payments to the government had been made (cf. 27. 66, 60. 62), belonged to them (ll. 273-4). The matter was referred to Amphicles, who made a minute that the produce (cf. l. 275, note) was to be paid to the claimants, and that unless the κληροῦχοι could show within sixty days certificates of release issued by himself both the land and the produce should be confiscated (ll. 274-7). The appointed period elapsed, as well as a further respite granted by Ptolemaeus, whose official position is not stated; but no certificates were forthcoming. Accordingly the matter came before Archibius, the dioecetes, who made a minute to the effect that payment was to be exacted (ll. 278-82). The connexion of the crucial l. 283 with what precedes is not clear. The blank space at the end of l. 282 and the fact that the beginning of l. 283 does not recede by a few letters prevents us from assigning it to the *παρεπιγραφή* of the dioecetes. But in some way the sum due from Demetrius was connected with the *προσλήψεως στέφανος*, and his κληρος of 24 arourae is entered as liable for 120 artabae. Did he pay the sum? It would be possible to read ἐγμ[εμετρή(σθαι)] in l. 284, as in l. 258, though the third letter is more like ν than μ; and the hypothesis that he had paid might be thought to explain the absence of his name in the list of *κατόχιμοι κληροι* in 60. Moreover 101 is a receipt written in Thoth of the 51st year showing that Demetrius had paid 1 talent 4800 drachmae for *στέφανος*. But in the first place since neither in l. 294 nor in 60. 105 is any deduction made on account of the 20 arourae paid by Meniscus, his κληρος being in both cases entered as *κατόχιμος* for 120, not 100, artabae, the non-appearance of Demetrius there may well be due to some other cause; and secondly the entry at the end of l. 284 that the land in question was *ἀλμυρίς* seems to have no point if the land was to be removed from the list of *κατόχιμοι κληροι*; cf. l. 260, where *ἐμβρόχου* is applied to the κληρος of Meniscus, which undoubtedly remained *κατόχιμος*. It is therefore doubtful whether Demetrius paid the full 120 artabae, and, as we have said, the loss of half his κληρος may have been the result.

275. *ἐκφόρια* here and in l. 277 seems to mean not, as usual, rents, but 'produce.'

283. There is no sign of a letter before ε. The vestiges of letters after *κα* do not suit τ.

285-93. 'Concerning the seven-arourae holders who became liable in the 50th year in accordance with a letter from . . . stating that Heraclides who was performing the duties of epistates of the village had reported that on the night before the 28th of Pharmouthi in the same 50th year some person had come into the village and having burnt the stores of wheat had . . . and since he was stated to be Kollouthes, one of the native soldiers settled by Chomenis, when the *komogrammateus* was asked which it was of those entered on the register of the cleruchs, because there were two of the same name, he replied that it was Kollouthes son of Horus. 6½ arourae 32½ artabae, not sown.'

285. For other examples of the liability of κληροι to become *κατόχιμοι* owing to offences committed by the owners cf. 58. 25 sqq., 64. (δ) 14-29, 72. 237-45 and 259 sqq.

289. *ἐμπρήσαντο*: the scribe began to write *ἐμπρήσαντα*, but finished the word as though it was *ἐπεπρήσαντο*.

293. *δμωνύμους β*: the two persons referred to were *Κολλούθης Ὀρου* (61. (α) 88) and *Κολλούθης Πετοσίριος* (61. (α) 93); cf. 60. 107 and 70. 69-73, note.

294. The totals are made up of 24 arourae 120 artabae (l. 257) + 24 arourae 120 artabae (l. 284) + 6½ arourae 32½ artabae (l. 293), which make 54½ arourae 272½ artabae.

295. This line seems to have contained a marginal note of some kind. Line 294 concludes one section, while l. 299 begins another, ll. 296-8 being only inserted for filling up space. For *Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πύρρου* cf. 61. (α) 27, note.

299. *σπερμάτων*: a new section begins at this point and continues up to l. 312, dealing with grants of seed for cultivating the Crown lands; cf. 72. 311 sqq., which has supplied the restorations in several of the lacunae.

300. 'Up to Mesore of the 52nd year nothing is reported to have been entered as owing,' i.e. the account for the 53rd year started without a balance. For the technical meaning of *παρεκείσθαι* here cf. 76. 9, 78. 6.

301. 862 was the number of arourae of Crown land for which seed was supplied in the 53rd year at the rate of 1 artaba to the aroura; cf. l. 308. The number is reached by several reductions from the 1092½ arourae of land which were actually sown in the 53rd year (l. 306). The difference between 1092½ arourae and 1139½, which in l. 249 (cf. 60. 55, 98 and 67. 4) was given as the total of the *έσπαρμένη*, is accounted for by the subtraction of (1) the 17 arourae which were not sown through carelessness (l. 303; cf. 60. 54, 67. 71 sqq.), (2) 30 arourae of *νομαί*; this though not indicated here is clear from a comparison of 61. (a) 220 and 67. 59 *εις ήν σπέρμα ού χρηματίζεται νομών λ*. Similarly in 72. 317 the figure *των έσπαρμένων*, 1143½ arourae, is less than the total of the *άπηγγμένων* in l. 223 by 60 arourae, the amount of the *νομαί* in l. 310, but there is no deduction for land unsown through carelessness, as in 61. (b) 303.

Starting therefore from his revised total 1092½ arourae in l. 306 the writer proceeds to reduce this figure to 862 by a process which he calls *άλλος* (sc. *λόγος* or some such word) *καταχρήσεως* (l. 305; cf. 72. 315). The difference, 230½ arourae, is composed partly of the land which required no seed because the terms of the lease to the cultivators did not include an advance of seed-corn (l. 307, cf. 72. 319), partly of the land which required no seed for some other reason (l. 306). The corresponding passage in 72 (ll. 317-8) mentions land at reduced rents, 7 arourae of wheat (cf. 72. 317, note) and 91 arourae of *χορτονομαί* (cf. 60. 82, note), and the expression used in l. 306 here probably meant the same. From 67. 55 (cf. 61. (a) 218) it appears that 81 arourae were sown with *χόρτος νομών*. The 862 arourae (l. 308) which remained after all these deductions had been made are reckoned as requiring at the rate of 1 artaba of wheat to the aroura 862 artabae of seed-corn, a figure which corresponds to that laid down at the beginning of the section (l. 302). The allowance of seed for different crops is all reckoned in wheat, because the rents were all estimated in wheat (cf. p. 559). *του αυτού (έτους)* in l. 301 refers to the 53rd year, as is shown by the coincidence of the figures in ll. 302 and 308 (cf. 72. 314 and 320). *δν είναι* is difficult, because the 862 artabae do not include any allowance for *δσπαρος* (v. sup.). The seed advanced to the *γεωργοί* who failed to sow their land must have been recovered by the government.

305. *κα[θότι] πρόκειται[ι]* refers to 61. (a) 219.

310-2. There is no clue as to the meaning of these lines, which may refer either to the preceding or to the following section, and have nothing corresponding to them in 72. 311-20. The fact that the blank space at the end of l. 313 was filled up as usual, and then erased, makes us prefer to suppose that the section dealing with *δάνεια* began at l. 313.

313-6. A section dealing with *δάνεια* or loans of seed-corn; cf. 67. 77 *δάνεια εις τον σπόρον*. In 72. 324 sqq. this section is placed after the three taxes mentioned in ll. 317-9 here, and is followed by another concerning an advance to certain *μάχιμοι*. The difference between the advances under the head of *δανείων* and those under the head of *σπερμάτων* is probably twofold. Those under the head of *σπερμάτων* were not loans but presents, for though deductions are made for *σπέρματα* in the *κατά φύλλον* lists (66-71), there is no trace anywhere of repayments of these by *γεωργοί*, which is quite in accord with the absence of any mention of repayments in ll. 298-309. Moreover, in ll. 384 sqq. the grant of seed is deducted from the annual rent in order to produce the net rent of the land; and in l. 355

the σπέρμα which is mentioned in conjunction with the ἐκφόρια and has to be repaid by the γεωργοί is contrasted with that which was given as a present (προσχορηγηθήσεται l. 360). The δάνεια on the other hand, as is stated in l. 315, had to be repaid, and in 80, 172, &c., there are instances of repayments of them along with rents of βασιλική γῆ (cf. l. 315) and the taxes mentioned in ll. 317-9. The dates of these payments are the summer months, just after the harvest (cf. l. 315 ἐγ νέων, sc. καρπῶν), and the words ἐν μηνὶ Ἀθύρ in l. 315 cause some difficulty, for at this date that month began on November 21, and it would be impossible to suppose that the cultivators were required to pay their rents at that time of the year, even if we had not evidence from 80 that they were paid in Pauni. The words cannot therefore be connected with ἅμα τοῖς ἐκφορίαις, and must refer back to χορηγηθήσεται, the verb of the principal sentence; but in this case the order is very awkward, and Ἀθύρ is very likely an error for Pauni. Secondly it is clear that some of the γεωργοί who received δάνεια were not βασιλικοί. Those βασιλικοί γεωργοί who cultivated their land ἀσπερμί (cf. l. 17, note) may have received δάνεια, but in 72. 328 the amount of the δάνεια, 220 artabae in all, exceeds the number of arourae ($113\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 319), cf. note on l. 302) cultivated ἀσπερμί, and the normal allowance of seed-corn did not exceed 1 artaba to the aroura (l. 308). That some βασιλικοί γεωργοί borrowed seed-corn from the State appears from 172, 174 and 261, where repayments of δάνεια occur in taxing-lists of βασιλικοί γεωργοί at Kerkeosiris; cf. 96, which is later and mentions loans of φάσηλος as well as πυρός. Moreover in 80 the repayments of the δάνεια are associated with payments of the three taxes mentioned in ll. 317-9, and cf. l. 351, note. But the whole 220 artabae lent for seed-corn cannot be accounted for in this way, and there is some evidence that loans were made to χέρuchs; cf. 72. 331-5, note. The amount of the δάνεια does not seem to vary in different years, but remains at 120 artabae of wheat and 100 artabae of lentils; cf. 68. 92 sqq., 80. 44. The connexion which appears to exist in 67. 77 between the δάνεια and the rent demanded for the 17 arourae left uncultivated through the carelessness of the γεωργοί (cf. l. 303 and 60. 52) is obscure.

317-9. Three of the taxes paid by the βασιλικοί γεωργοί are stated in this section (cf. 72. 321-3, 80, 93-4):—(1) θησαυροφυλακικόν, which was obviously a tax levied to pay the expenses of protecting the granaries. The importance of this protection is shown by l. 289, which refers to a case in which the πυροῦ γενήματα were burnt. (2) κράσσεως Θηβαίων, of which the meaning and object are obscure; Θηβαίων describes the particular kind of 'grass' (cf. 83. 42). (3) τριχοίνικον λιακῶν. The meaning of the second word in this phrase is unknown, but τριχοίνικον is a tax of 3 choenices on the aroura. On 1092 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae the amount of the tax is 3276 $\frac{2}{3}$, which is a little more than 40 times 81 $\frac{2}{3}$, indicating that the artaba used contained 40 choenices; but the reading here is doubtful. There is, however, another instance of a similar calculation in 75. 1 in which the τριχοίνικον λιακῶν on 1261 $\frac{9}{8}$ arourae is 94 $\frac{2}{3}$ artabae; in this case also the ratio is almost exactly 3 : 40. It is remarkable that in 93 and 94 the τριχοίνικον upon the aroura is calculated in artabae of 36 choenices; and since the choenix did not vary in amount the discrepancy must be accounted for in one of two ways. Either when 93 and 94 were written, the official artaba had been altered from 40 to 36—which seeing that the τριχοίνικον λιακῶν is calculated at the rate of 40 choenices to the artaba in the 4th year of Soter II (80), and probably in the 5th (75. 1), and that 93 and 94 were written about the 6th or 6th years of the same reign (cf. note on 94. 34), is not at all probable—or, what is much more likely, the officials calculated their receipts from the γεωργοί for τριχοίνικον in artabae of 36 choenices, but in making returns to the central government, such as the present document, converted the totals into artabae of 40 choenices. That this system would lend itself to fraud on the part of the officials who collected the taxes is easy to see, and from 5. 85-92 it is clear that many abuses were rife in connexion with the use of different

corn-measures. On a farm of 120 arourae the correct amount of the *τριχόινικον* was 360 choenices, equivalent to 10 artabae of 36 choenices or 9 of 40 choenices. The officials had to collect it from the *γεωργός* by the former, but to account for it to the government by the latter standard. It is highly probable that they told the cultivator to pay 10 artabae of 36 choenices, but that the measure which they actually used was a 40-choenix measure, and that thus on 120 arourae the cultivator was made to pay 400 choenices instead of 360. The officials then reported to the government that they had collected 9 artabae of 40 choenices, making a profit of 40 choenices for themselves. The figures of the taxing accounts in which the artabae were reckoned at 36 choenices and subsequently converted into artabae of 40 choenices would not betray frauds of this kind, and the central administration being powerless to detect them in the accounts could only resort to making the examination of the official measures as public as possible and to threats of the severest penalties.

It is noticeable that the *θησαυροφυλακικόν* was paid in barley, which is then converted into wheat, and that the total amount of it does not vary in the instances found in the present volume. The amount for the *κράστις Θηβαίων* is also practically constant; that of the *τριχόινικον* necessarily goes up and down according to the number of arourae sown. The reason why these three taxes and that of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba in ll. 323-41 occur in the present document is that they were to a special extent *υποκείμενα* (cf. 29. 13, note) to the *komogrammateus*, who, if not the actual writer of 61, certainly supplied the information embodied in it (cf. p. 539). That this official, to whose department the land survey belonged, should be responsible for such taxes as the *τριχόινικον* and the $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba which directly depended upon the areas under cultivation, is quite natural.

θησαυροφυλακικόν: in 72. 321 and 75. col. ii the form *θησαυροφυλακικόν* occurs, which is preferable.

323-41. A section (omitted in 72) dealing with payments of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba on the aroura of land belonging to the temples and to those cleruchs who were not *κάτοικοι* (cf. App. i. § 3). The proximity of this section to those dealing with *σπέριματα* and *δάνεια* might suggest that these payments of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba had some connexion with loans of seed-corn, especially as the amount is calculated upon the area actually sown as determined by measurement (cf. note on l. 333), and uncultivated land (*υπόλογον*) is left out of account. But 89, in which a list of payments for the $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba follows immediately upon payments of the *θησαυροφυλακικόν*, *κράστειως Θηβαίων* and *τριχόινικον* (cf. ll. 317-9), indicates that the $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba was a tax, not a repayment of a loan; and it is practically certain that the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax is to be connected with the payments of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba by owners of *ιερά γῆ* and cleruchs which are found in 98. The *φυλακίται* and *έρημοφύλακες* paid $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba on the aroura in addition to other charges, and concerning the *ιερά γῆ* it is expressly stated (98. 27) that the tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba was calculated upon the land *ἐν σπέρ(ω)*. A difficulty arises that the *ἔφοδοι*, *τριακοντάρουροι* and *εικοσιάρουροι* there paid 1 artaba, and the *ἐπτάρουροι* $\frac{2}{3}$, but the connexion of the payments made in 98 with those here is further proved by 232; cf. 64. 80 and 75. 4-7, which show that the *κάτοικοι* paid 1 artaba like the *ἔφοδοι*, and that the tax was levied upon land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*, and for an explanation of these inconsistencies see 98. introd.

324. *ἡς μέρος [ἐσ]πάρθαι*: the meaning of this phrase which recurs (with the omission of *ἐσπάρθαι*) in ll. 327, 329, &c., is difficult. The whole area of land at Kerkeosiris owned by the temple of Soknebtunis was only 130 arourae (60. 10, &c.), so that ll. 324-5 cannot mean that out of the area owned by that temple a part, viz. 130 arourae, had been sown. Nor is it possible to place *Σοκνεβτύνιος θεοῦ μεγάλου* in a parenthesis and to suppose that the *μέρος* of 130 arourae is contrasted with the rest of the *ιερά γῆ πρώτων ἱερῶν*, i. e. the 141 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae owned by the temple of Suchus (60. 9), which are omitted here,

no doubt because they were dry; for *ἡς μέρος (ἐσπάρθαι)* is also applied in l. 333 to the 5 arourae owned by the *τριακοντάρουροι*, which was the total amount of the land belonging to that class of landowners (cf. 61. (a) 54). It is clear that *ἡς μέρος ἐσπάρθαι* indicates that the arourae following it which were subject to the tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba were arable, as contrasted with the land which was *ολο() ὑπολό(γου)* (cf. ll. 328, 331, &c.) and was exempt from the tax because it was not cultivated (cf. note on l. 328). The explanation of the use of the phrase *ἡς μέρος ἐσπάρθαι* instead of *σπορίμου* to denote the arable area is, we think, due to the date at which this papyrus was drawn up. If, as is probable, it was written soon after the beginning of the 53rd year, the sowing of the whole crop upon cleruchic and temple land may not yet have taken place, or, if it had, the details would not yet be known and the estimates for the 53rd year would be based partly on what had actually been sown, partly on the expectations of what was going to be sown (cf. 71). Lines 324-5 therefore mean that out of the 130 arourae owned by Soknebtunis part had been already sown and the rest was going to be sown, so that the whole area was subject to the tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba.

The land which is contrasted with the land *ἡς μέρος ἐσπάρθαι* is called *ολο() ὑπολό(γου)*. The first abbreviation is perhaps to be resolved as *Δο(ισ)*, equivalent to *Δω(ς)*; cf. the use of *τοῖς Δω(ς)* in l. 33. This land was 'altogether *ὑπόλογος*,' i.e. it was certain that it was not going to be cultivated in the 53rd year on account of being salt, or waterlogged, or dry. Since the figures here refer to the 53rd year, a comparison of this passage with 60. 8-35, where the figures given for the cleruchic and temple land under cultivation are quite different (e.g. the $20\frac{2}{3}$ arourae belonging to the lesser temples were according to l. 326 *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*, while according to 60. 14-5 they were cultivated), shows that in 60. and 61. (a) (cf. 62. introd.) the figures dealing with cleruchic and temple land refer to the past (52nd) year. *ολο() ὑπολό(γου)* occurs also several times in the interlinear additions to 64. (a).

328. The marginal note, which is written in a larger hand than the rest of the text, must refer to the land of Soknebtunis and not to that of Suchus, because, one *θεὸς μέγας* having been already mentioned, it is not likely that the other would be referred to merely as *θεὸς μέγας* without his name, and, secondly, the land of Suchus was probably out of cultivation in the 53rd year, as was the case in the 51st, 52nd and 54th; cf. 60. 9 and 15, 62. 6, note, 63. 5. The difficulty is that the area mentioned as sown is greater than the whole area belonging to Soknebtunis (cf. e.g. 63. 5); but the difference is probably due to the *διάφορον σχοιτισμοῦ*; cf. the next note.

333. *δι(άφορον) σχοι(τισμοῦ)*: the difference between the supposed area and that obtained by actual measurement is added in order to obtain the area upon which the $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba is calculated. It should be observed that the measured area is always greater than the amount of land the cleruchs were supposed to possess, a result which might be expected from the method of calculation adopted by the surveyors; cf. 87. introd.

336. The writer has become confused in his entries. The total number of *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* was 54, of whom 14 are accounted for in l. 338 and 3 in l. 339, and *ἀνδ(ρῶν) λζ* obviously refers to the remaining 37; but the area possessed by these 37 men must have been 237 arourae, for one of the *ἐπτάρουροι* of Chomenis held only 3 arourae at Kerkeosiris (61. (a) 115). The writer seems to have calculated their land at the rate of $6\frac{1}{2}$ arourae for each man, making $240\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, and added in the holdings of the cavalry ($5+96+19=120$); but even so he has made the area 3 arourae too large.

341. This line gave the total amount of land *ἡς μέρος ἐσπάρθαι* or, as it is here called (cf. 98. 27), *ἐν σπάρθαι*. Owing to the mistake in the entry concerning the *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* it is not worth while to restore the figures. In 89. 65, where the tax is calculated upon the whole area, whether cultivated or not, the *ἐπτάρουροι* pay $187\frac{1}{2}$ artabae.

342-5. A short section concerning payments for γραμματικόν by cleruchs; cf. 89. 48 sqq. and 98, where payments for γραμματικόν occur, as here, in conjunction with the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax, and 97. introd. From 98. 42-5 it appears that the ἔφοδοι (of whom there were two at Kerkeosiris) paid 1 artaba each, and the present passage shows that the γραμματικόν, unlike the $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba, was exacted whether the land was cultivated or not. In 89 they are reckoned as paying jointly 3 artabae, but this is due to a mistake in the arithmetic (cf. note on l. 64 of that papyrus). The two φυλακῖται also each paid 1 artaba (cf. 98. 48). According to 89. 63 the χειρσέφιππος (cf. 80. 21 and p. 550) paid 2 artabae, but he does not seem to be mentioned here, for the 3 artabae which have to be supplied in the lacunae of ll. 343-4 in order to make up the total 7 in l. 344 were probably paid by the ἐρημοφύλακες, who (89. 72-4) paid 1 artaba each, and were three in number. The payments for γραμματικόν, like those of the $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba, refer to the 53rd year.

343. At the end of the line ἡς μέ(ρος) has to be understood before β; there is not room for it to have been written.

346. Here begins the last section of the papyrus dealing with land ἐν ἐπιστάσει (cf. 61. (a) 163 ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῶ[ν] ὡν τὸ καθ' ἐν [καὶ] ὡς συνίστηκεν [ἐπ' ἐσ]χάται τέτακται), the most obscure in the whole document; cf. App. i. § 10. The area, $261\frac{1}{3}$ arourae, added to the $2166\frac{1}{2}$ arourae in l. 248, makes up the total area of the βασιλικὴ γῆ, $2427\frac{1}{2}$ arourae (61. (a) 159; cf. 80. 47). The first subdivision (ll. 351-98) gives the history of 521 arourae which in the 31st year (of Euergetes II) yielded a rent of $1230\frac{1}{2}$ artabae (l. 380). In the 34th year the rent was raised up to the full amount (cf. p. 579) and brought in 1355 artabae (l. 383). Later on it was leased afresh and brought in a rent of $1742\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, producing a gain of $387\frac{1}{2}$ artabae (l. 398; cf. note). The whole section concerning land ἐν ἐπιστάσει in this papyrus is much mutilated, but the lacunae and the missing conclusion (Col. xvi) can be supplied from 72, where the corresponding section (ll. 336-439) is nearly complete.

351-80. 'Land which was placed ἐν ἐπιστάσει in the 48th year, out of the land which had been subject to decision till the 47th year. An increase was imposed in the 30th year upon the land cultivated by Procles, a hipparch, because it was leased again to other cultivators for more than the previously fixed rents, and on condition that they should measure out to the State . . . rents of it together with the seed. But in the 31st year the proper time for sowing having been lost . . . because those who cultivated it in that year left the land and departed to other places owing to the preceding cause, other cultivators were appointed by Ptolemaeus, who was then epimeletes, on the understanding that they should not be asked for the increase referred to, and that the requisite seed should be furnished to them; and this was done. Subsequently when these cultivators sent in a petition to Phantias, one of the first friends and strategus and superintendent of the revenues, pleading that the crop had not come up to their expectations because it had been sown too late and, when they wished to water the fields, they had been hindered by the cultivators from Berenikis Thesmophori, and that they were willing to . . . the land to (or with) the chosen . . . a minute was issued that "nothing of what was fitting shall be left undone." Phantias then came to the village, and having visited the fields found that the cultivation was in a bad condition and the crops were not reaped. But, in order that nothing of what might be saved should be lost, he urged the cultivators to set to work and reap the crop and bring it to the threshing-floors; it was perceived, however, from the subsequent estimate that the charges imposed upon the land could not be paid in full, but he exerted himself and the . . . was paid to the state, and the deficiency, which he exacted from sureties, was with difficulty made up. The area in question is 251 arourae, and the rent, instead of

what had been paid up to the 29th year, was at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ artabae upon 29 arourae, making $160\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae on $207\frac{1}{2}$ arourae more, making 1033 artabae, and at $2\frac{1}{2}$ artabae on $14\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, making $36\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, total $1230\frac{1}{2}$ artabae.'

Of those restorations in this section which are not obvious most have been derived from 72; one, *ἐκασ[αλείποντας]* in l. 357, is from 64. (b).

351. This line is a general heading; cf. 72. 341-2. *ἐπιγεγήμα[τος] τοῦ προσαχθέντος* is parallel to *ἐπιτάσεως τῆς προσαχθείσης* in l. 399. In 27. 66 and 68. 62 *ἐπιγεγήμα* means the profit made by the βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ over and above the rent and taxes which they had to pay; but here the word seems to be used for the increase which the government proposed to make to the rent. In the 30th year (of Euergetes II, cf. note on l. 362) the government re-let the 251 arourae cultivated by Procles on higher terms, exacting a larger rent and making the γεωργοὶ repay the loans of seed-corn, which they seem to have previously received as a gift (cf. note on l. 313-6). In the following year the old γεωργοὶ refused to go on cultivating the land and settled themselves elsewhere; and since there was a danger of the land being uncultivated altogether (cf. note on l. 33) a fresh set was engaged on other terms by the epimeletes, who waived not only the point of the proposed increase, but the question of the repayment of the seed, which was on the new terms given as a present. Owing, however, to the lateness of the sowing the harvest was poor, and only by the greatest exertions of Phantias, the strategus and nomarch (cf. note on l. 45), was part of the rents paid, the deficiency being made up from the sureties of the γεωργοὶ (cf. 5. 12, note). The sums collected through Phantias for the 31st year are stated in ll. 379-80, and are contrasted with the rents paid up to the 29th year, which seem to have been less, though the relation between the two sets of rents is not clear. If Phantias collected more than before it is difficult to reconcile this with the fact that the proposed increase had been renounced by the epimeletes, except perhaps on the hypothesis that the sureties were those of the old γεωργοὶ; but on the other hand the supposition that he collected less than what was received in the 29th year is contradicted by the use of the terms *συνπληρωθῆναι* and *ἀπολείποντα* in ll. 375-8, which shows that the due amount was collected, though with difficulty; cf. p. 579.

361. *καὶ γενέσθαι*, if connected with the preceding sentence, is rather abrupt. The construction would be improved by connecting *καὶ γενέσθαι* with what follows and omitting *δέ* after *μετά*; cf. l. 232.

362. On the titles of Phantias see note on l. 46. From that passage it appears that he was in office in the 34th year of Euergetes II, so that the 30th and 31st years here (ll. 352 and 355) probably belong to that reign.

363. *μὴ κατὰ λόγον ἀπητηκέραι*: sc. the crop; cf. 50. 34 *ἐκ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ λόγον ἀπαντῶν τὸν σπόρον*.

366. *τοῖς αἰροῦμένοις*: *γίνοι* might be supplied on the analogy of 105. 23, but the crop was already ripe, so that no verb meaning 'cultivate' is suitable.

373. *(τε)θεωρήσθαι*: cf. 72. 375, and, for the impersonal use of the verb, l. 33. *θεωρήσθαι* would give an easier construction. The *ἐπιγεγραμμένα* (*ἐκφόρια*) were nevertheless obtained in the 34th year; cf. ll. 381-3 and p. 579.

376. *ἀπομετρῆθῆναι*: cf. l. 355 *ἀπομετρῆ[σ]αι [εἰ]ς [τὸ] βα[σιλ]ικόν*. 72. 377-8 has *δύνασθαι συνπληρωθῆναι εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν*, omitting *προσεβρεῦσαι*—*θῆναι*, obviously by homoioteleuton. This would have been easier if *συνπληρωθῆναι* were the word in l. 376, but *συνπληροῦν* is not appropriate there, since the deficiency had to be made up from the sureties, on whom cf. 5. 12, note.

381-98. 'And an addition of $\frac{4}{8}$ artaba was made in the 34th year upon 102 arourae

to make up a rent of $5\frac{1}{8}$ artabae, yielding an increase of $89\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, and of $2\frac{5}{12}$ artabae on 14 arourae more to make up $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, yielding $34\frac{5}{8}$ artabae, total $124\frac{7}{12}$ artabae, making 1355 artabae. Our predecessors write that the rent was paid on a three-fold basis, that part which had been sown with light crops, consisting of 83 arourae, yielding at 10 artabae to the aroura including seed, measured by the standard used at the dromos of Suchus, 830 artabae; that part upon which corn had been sown, consisting of 83 arourae, at 7 artabae to the aroura by the same measure, yielding 581 artabae, total for 166 arourae, 1411 artabae, which are on the *δοχικόν* standard $1646\frac{1}{8}$ artabae, from which are subtracted for seed on account of all the arourae 251 artabae, and for cleansing and winnowing the remaining $1395\frac{1}{8}$ artabae, at 5 artabae per 100, $69\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, making $320\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, leaving $1325\frac{5}{12}$ artabae; that part (85 arourae) which was sown with green stuffs, at $4\frac{4}{8}$ artabae, yielding 417 artabae, making a total of $1742\frac{5}{12}$ artabae. Excess $387\frac{5}{12}$ artabae.'

381. The numbers in this important section are mainly restored from 72; those which are lost in both documents can be recovered by performing the arithmetical operations indicated. In l. 389 the figure 1411, which is only partially preserved in 72. 394, is obtained by adding 830 (l. 387) to 581 (l. 389). In l. 390 $1646\frac{1}{8}$ is the sum of $320\frac{3}{8}$ and $1325\frac{5}{12}$ (l. 395). In l. 393 $1395\frac{1}{8}$ is obtained (1) by subtracting 251 (l. 392) from $1646\frac{1}{8}$ (l. 390), (2) by multiplying $69\frac{3}{8}$ by 20 as indicated by l. 394, the result of the multiplication only differing by $\frac{1}{8}$ artaba from that obtained by the subtraction. In 72. 399 this number is given as $1195\frac{1}{8}$, the error being probably due to the eye of the writer having slipped from the χ in l. 395 to the ν immediately above it.

$\lambda\delta$ (*ἔρει*): 72. 384 has λ (*ἔρει*) which is probably wrong; cf. p. 579.

385-7. The 83 arourae *ἐν ἀναπαύματι*, i. e. sown in the year before with light crops (cf. 115. introd. and p. 564), were leased at the very high rent of 10 artabae *δρόμῳ*, the crop being no doubt wheat (or barley). The 83 *ἐπὶ καλάμου* (cf. 115. 4), which had been sown with wheat, were again to be sown with wheat, but at a lower rent than the first 83. The remaining 85 arourae were to be sown with *χλωρά*, i. e. to be at the end of the year *ἐν ἀναπαύματι*.

386. $1646\frac{1}{8}$ artabae on the *δοχικόν* standard were equivalent to 1411 by the *δρόμος* measure, a ratio of exactly 7 to 6. Wilcken's explanation of the latter (*Ost.* I. p. 771) as a temple measure is completely confirmed by the present passage; cf. 105. 40 *μέτρῳ ἐξαχθωϊκῷ δρόμον τοῦ ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένη κόμη Σουχείου*, which shows that *Σούχος* here was the local deity at Kerkeosiris, generally called Petesuchus; cf. 88. 4, where his shrine is called a *Σουχείον*, and 88. 25, note. The *δοχικόν* was the official standard (cf. note on 5. 85); but artabae of both 40 and 36 choenices are found in the present volume in connexion with official measurements of wheat (cf. note on ll. 317-9). If the *δοχικόν* here contained 40, the *δρόμος* measure contained $46\frac{2}{3}$; if 36, the *δρόμος* contained 42. The latter hypothesis is much the more probable, because the ratio is far simpler and more natural.

Since the measures in use in different temples might vary in size, we must be cautious in applying the evidence obtained concerning the *δρόμος* measure at Kerkeosiris in the Fayûm to other mentions of *δρόμος* measures, especially in the case of papyri which do not come from the Fayûm. But it is noteworthy that the proportion of 7 to 6 is that found in P. Brit. Mus. 265 between the artaba *δρόμῳ* and the artaba *Φιλίππου*. The provenance of that papyrus is not known, but if, as we think most probable, the artaba *Ἑρμοῦ* is the ordinary standard of Hermopolis (for the omission of *πόλεως* cf. P. Grenf. I. 63. 12 *μοδίῳ Ἀπολλωνος*), it very likely came from that town. The artaba *Φιλίππου*, which there stands in the same relation

to the artaba δρόμος as the official Ptolemaic artaba does to the artaba δρόμος here, was explained by Kenyon as of Macedonian origin, and this view is strongly supported by the coincidence of the ratios in the two cases. In spite of the fact therefore that P. Brit. Mus. 265 belongs to a different period and was not found in the Fayûm, the artaba δρόμος there, as here, probably contained 42 choenices. Taking this datum as a starting-point for determining the size of the other artabae mentioned in P. Brit. Mus. 265, which are all smaller than the artaba δρόμος, we obtain the following results. The artaba Φαλιππου contained, as has been said, 36 choenices; the artaba Γάλλον (probably, as Kenyon suggests, named after the first Roman praefect, in whose time it was introduced) $33\frac{2}{3}$, i. e. practically 34, choenices; the artaba Ἐρμού (i. e. that used at Hermopolis) $33\frac{2}{3}$ choenices; the artaba χαλκῶ $32\frac{1}{8}$ choenices; and the artaba ἀηλωτικῶ $31\frac{1}{2}$ choenices. Applying these conclusions to the artabae found in P. Brit. Mus. 125, where, as Kenyon has pointed out, the ratios to each other of the artabae φορικῶ, θησαυρικῶ, and another standard unnamed almost exactly correspond to those of the artabae δρόμος, χαλκῶ, and Ἐρμού in P. Brit. Mus. 265, we obtain 42 choenices for the artaba φορικῶ, $32\frac{3}{8}$ choenices for the artaba θησαυρικῶ, and $34\frac{1}{8}$ choenices for the other unnamed artaba. For the probable interpretation of the names of the artabae in P. Brit. Mus. 125 see Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 745. Both his explanation of the artaba φορικῶ as the measure used in leases and the identification of it by Kenyon with the artaba δρόμος are confirmed by the common use of the δρόμος measure in leases; cf. 105. 40, 106. 28, P. Amh. 90. 11, &c. The δρόμος measure does not seem to have been always 42 choenices in the Roman period, for in P. Fay. Towns 101, where the unusual fractions $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ of an artaba occur (cf. 262), the artaba (which is stated in one place to be δρόμος) is much more likely to contain 40 choenices, especially as the δρόμος measure in the Fayûm is frequently said to be τετραχόινικον (e. g. P. Amh. II. 90. 11). There is however, as we said above, no reason for thinking that the δρόμος measure in different temples was the same.

To sum up the new evidence on the artaba available since the publication of Wilcken's *Ostraka*—in the Ptolemaic period the normal official artaba for measuring corn held 36 choenices, though an artaba of 40 choenices is also found in official accounts. In leases the temple measure of 42 choenices was often used. For the earlier Roman period the normal official artaba is not yet clearly ascertained, for the use of a θησαυρικὸν μέτρον in P. Brit. Mus. 125 (4th century A. D.) does not prove that this was the official standard in previous centuries. P. Brit. Mus. 265, however, shows that the old artabae of 42 and 36 choenices continued to be employed, the artaba of 42 choenices being the δρόμος measure at Hermopolis, and indicates artabae of $33\frac{2}{3}$ (introduced by the Romans), $33\frac{2}{3}$, $32\frac{1}{8}$, and $31\frac{1}{2}$ choenices; while for the Fayûm P. Fay. Towns 101, in which the artaba δρόμος has fractions of a fifth and tenth, probably implies the old artaba of 40 choenices (cf. P. Oxy. I. 9 verso). In the early Byzantine period (P. Brit. Mus. 125) the official artaba in the Thebaid seems to have contained $32\frac{3}{8}$ choenices, and there were artabae of 42 choenices (the old δρόμος measure, now called φορικόν) and of $34\frac{1}{8}$ choenices.

ὄν [σπέρμασι : cf. note on ll. 313-6.

392. Σνα : at the normal rate of 1 artaba of seed to the aroura; cf. l. 308. For the charges for καθαρισίς and κοσκινευτικόν cf. 92. 9-11, note.

398. $387\frac{5}{12}$ is the difference between 1355 (l. 383) and $1742\frac{5}{12}$. The gain by the ἐπίτασις of the 34th year (ll. 381-3) is ignored, because it only restored the rents to the level of the ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἐκφόρια (cf. p. 579), and these together with the 251 arourae are neglected in the totals of land ἐν ἐπιστάσει; cf. pp. 577 sqq.

399-407. This section, which is restored from 72. 408-17, gives an account of an increase in the rent of certain land which previously brought in $22\frac{1}{2}$ artabae

a year. In the 31st year the topogrammateus, Petos, applied for leave to lease the land cultivated by Marres, an 'ibis-feeder' and 'burier of rams,' at a higher rent, producing $44\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, making a gain to the government of $21\frac{3}{4}$ artabae. The amount of the land in question was $9\frac{1}{2}$ arourae. On this view *γράφοντος* in l. 402 is to be connected with *Πετώτος*; if it is connected with *Μαρρείουτος*, then Marres consented to pay the higher rent which was imposed by the topogrammateus. There seems to be some mistake in the figures of the years mentioned in ll. 399 and 403, since the 31st year must be later than the 39th. Probably *αθ* should be read for *λθ* in l. 403. The multiplication in ll. 405-6 is also incorrect.

408-15. An offer of a higher rent for 8 arourae was made by Apollonius, who proposed to pay $5\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, the rent at which the land had formerly been leased to Pemnas, or, as he is called in 72. 420, Penemas. For *ὑπερβόλιον* in this sense cf. P. Par. 62. viii. 8. The increase took place in the 22nd year (of Philometor?), and the gain to the government was 8 artabae, making with the $21\frac{3}{4}$ in l. 407 a gain of $29\frac{3}{4}$ artabae (l. 414). This added to the $387\frac{5}{8}$ artabae in l. 398 made a total gain of $417\frac{3}{8}$ artabae (l. 415).

419-30. This, the concluding section of the papyrus, is restored from 72. 428 sqq. The total amount of land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει* to be accounted for (cf. l. 349) was $261\frac{1}{8}$ arourae and $1732\frac{5}{8}$ artabae. As far as l. 415 only $417\frac{3}{8}$ artabae have been reached (cf. p. 576). The remainder, including all the arourae and $1315\frac{1}{4}$ artabae, was apparently accounted for in ll. 419-28, the land in question being that which became unproductive before the 12th year of Philometor, the date which we have already seen (cf. note on l. 149) was the starting-point in the description of unproductive land in ll. 110-247.

422. *κατεξοσμένον*: cf. note on 84. 16.

426. *καλάμου κεντρίτου*: the adjective presumably means 'prickly.' $\frac{7}{8}$ aroura cultivated with *κάλαμος κεντρίτης* occurs in one of the survey lists (152).

427. *ἐξαγωγών*: 'drains'; cf. note on 13. 7.

62. LIST OF OWNERS OF TEMPLE AND CLERUCHIC LAND.

27.3 *recto*.

29 x 217 cm.

B.C. 119-8.

The *recto* of this papyrus, on the *verso* of which the decrees of Euergetes II (5) were written, contains a list of holders of land *ἐν ἀφέσει*, i. e. *ιερά* and *κληρουχική*, at Kerkeosiris, and crops; cf. App. i. §§ 2-3. The handwriting, which is identical with that of 60, is for the most part a handsome semi-uncial, except the last column, which is in a small cursive. Of the first column only a few letters at the ends of lines remain, the missing portion of it having probably disappeared before the *verso* was used, and towards the end the document becomes rather fragmentary; but the lacunae can with few exceptions be restored from the other lists of the same character, 61. (a) and 63-4. The year to which the details refer is stated in l. 27 to be the 51st, so the document was itself drawn up in the 52nd; cf. 62. 1 and 27 with 63. 1 and 32. A feature of this list which differentiates it from the rest lies in the much abbreviated

and obscure details inserted between the statement of the amount of each holding and the nature of the crop. These consist of $\gamma\epsilon^{\omega}$ followed in some cases by $\bar{\beta}$ or $\bar{\delta}$, sometimes by $\bar{\gamma} \bar{\beta}$, $\bar{\gamma} \beta^{\circ}$ or $\bar{\gamma} \nu^{\circ}$, in other cases by $\theta\epsilon\mu(\)$, $\pi\alpha\omega(\)$, $\psi\iota\upsilon\alpha(\)$ or $\kappa\omicron\iota(\)$. In the early part of the papyrus $\gamma\epsilon^{\omega}$ is often found alone, probably in view of a subsequent addition which was not made. In a few cases (e. g. ll. 125, 128, 136) it occurs twice. To start from what is certain, β° and ν° must stand for $\beta\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}$ and $\nu\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\upsilon$, and $\theta\epsilon\mu(\)$, $\pi\alpha\omega(\)$, $\psi\iota\upsilon\alpha(\)$ and $\kappa\omicron\iota(\)$ are the names of $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ in which the farms were situated; cf. l. 213 $\pi\alpha\omega(\) \pi\epsilon\rho\iota(\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma)$. The first of these names is an abbreviation of $\Theta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$, the third of $\Psi\iota\upsilon\alpha(\rho\alpha)$ (cf. 60. 43), and the fourth of the $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha \text{ Κοιρ}\acute{\eta}$. . . mentioned in 84. 203. This is made clear by a comparison of the cleruchs mentioned in the survey-list of the $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha \text{ Θεμιστρού}$ (84. 140 sqq.) with those who in the present document are described as $\gamma\epsilon\omega(\) \Theta\epsilon\mu\iota(\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon)$, e. g. Asclepiades son of Ptolemaeus (l. 91, cf. 84. 152), Bacchius son of Musaeus (l. 120, cf. 84. 157), Theon son of Theon (l. 118, cf. 84. 167). Following this analogy, $\bar{\delta}$ is perhaps to be explained as the 4th $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$; cf. l. 111 with 84. 115, l. 198 with 84. 109, and l. 272 with 84. 103. There is, however, the difficulty that several of the cleruchs who in 84. 66 sqq. are stated to be in the 4th $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ have in 62 some other number or abbreviation in place of $\bar{\delta}$, e. g. Petron son of Theon (l. 146, cf. 84. 98 and 107), Acusilaus son of Asclepiades (l. 148, cf. 84. 114 and 120). And although both 'north' and 'south' $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ are known at Kerkeosiris from 85. 4 and 112, the cleruchs in the south $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ coincide not with those belonging to the $\gamma\epsilon\omega(\) \bar{\gamma} \nu\acute{\omicron}(\tau\omicron\upsilon)$ but with those in the $\gamma\epsilon\omega(\) \kappa\omicron\iota(\)$; cf. l. 88 with 85. 57, l. 79 with 85. 71, and l. 95 with 85. 77. It is therefore very difficult to connect $\beta\omicron(\rho\rho\acute{\alpha})$ and $\nu\acute{\omicron}(\tau\omicron\upsilon)$ in 62 with the $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ of these names, and probably they should be referred to the mysterious $\bar{\gamma}$ which occurs more frequently than any other symbol. The existence of a 3rd $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ is known (cf. 94. 1, note), and it is possible that it was divided into northern and southern divisions, though we can find no other evidence for this; but while the instances where $\bar{\gamma}$ is followed by $\nu\acute{\omicron}(\tau\omicron\upsilon)$ or $\beta\omicron(\rho\rho\acute{\alpha})$ are capable of being explained in this way, other examples in which $\bar{\gamma}$ is followed by $\bar{\beta}$ cannot be reconciled with the view that $\bar{\gamma}$ means '3rd.' We are therefore inclined to think that the stroke over γ does not indicate a number, but represents a ν . $\gamma\nu(\)$ does not suggest anything but $\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma$, a term which occurs in 105. 15, 106. 10, 152, 240 and P. Amh. II. 68. From 82 it appears that the $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha} \gamma\acute{\eta}$ at the village of Magdola was distributed amongst several $\gamma\nu(\)$ which are numbered up to six, and on the analogy of that papyrus $\bar{\gamma} \bar{\beta}$ may perhaps be explained as the 2nd $\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma$. But if so the $\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\alpha\iota$ must have contained large areas like the $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, and the meaning of $\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma$ in 105 and 106 is different; cf. 105. 13, note. The

abbreviation γεω(), which precedes the details about the περιχώματα and γύαι, is nowhere written out in full; probably it represents some form of γεωμετρία or γεωμετρεῖν. A good many of the entries concerning the crops have been inserted later, and there are several marginal notes in a different hand, but these are generally repetitions of something in the text, and seem to be of much the same character as those in 81; cf. the introd. to that papyrus.

Col. i.

[Ἔτους νβ, παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμογραμματέως Κερκεοσίρεως.]
 [κατὰ φύλλον ἱεράς καὶ κληρουχικῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης]
 [γῆς ἐν ἀφέσει τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους).]

[ἱεράς γῆς πρώτων ἱερῶν,]
 5 [Σούχου θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου ρμαΛ,]
 [ἐμβρόχου.]
 [Σοκνεβτύνιος θεοῦ μεγάλου) μεγάλου) ἀπὸ τῆς] ἀνιερωι-
 [μένης ὑπὸ τῶν προσλημφθέντων διὰ
 [Χομήνιος ἱππέων καὶ (ἑπταρούρων) μαχίμων ἐν τῶι] μα (ἔτει) ρ
 10 [καὶ ἐν τῶι μβ (ἔτει) λ, / ρλ, διὰ τῶν] ἱερέων,
 [σπόρος) , γεωργοὶ] αὐτοί.
 [γίνονται πρώτων ἱερῶν ΣοαΛ.]

[δευτέρων ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμη θεῶν,
 [Πετεσοῦχου θεοῦ κροκοδίου τῆς κώμης διὰ
 15 [Μαρρείους καὶ τῶν μετόχων εδ'ή,]
 [γεω(μετρία)]
 [Ὀρσενούφιος θεοῦ δι'. Ὀρσενούφι]ος καὶ τῶν
 [μετόχων α]

Col. ii.

ἰβία(ν) τροφῆς δι' Ἐργέως καὶ τῶν μετόχων) δ,
 20 γεω(μετρία), σπόρος) (πυρῶι) β ἀρά(κωι) β.
 ἄλλου διὰ Χεύριος καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ε,
 γεω(μετρία), σπόρος) (πυρῶι).

- ἄλλου ἰβίω(νος) διὰ Πνεφερῶτος τοῦ Πετειμούθου καὶ
 τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ε, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) β ἴσα(ν), σπῆρος φα(κῶι).
 25 γίνονται ἐλασσόνων κδ'ή, γεω(μετρία), σπορίμου αἰ πᾶ(σαι).
 γίνονται ἱερᾶς Σραλδ'ή, γεω(μετρία), ἰ ἐσπαρμένης ρνδ'ή.
 κληρουχικῆς τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἕως τοῦ να (ἔτους)
 (ἄρourke) Ἄφ.
 τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πάππου τοῦ βασιλέως,
 30 (ἐβδομηκονταρῶρων), Ἀφθόνητος Ἐβδομίωνος ο,
 γεω(μετρία) ξςλ'ή, ἰ (πυρῶι) κρι(θῆι) ε φα(κῶι) ι ἀρά(κωι) ζ,
 πλ(εῖον) λ'β' (πυρῶι), / ο. ἰ (πυρῶι) μη κρι(θῆι) ε φα(κῶι) ι ἀρά(κωι) ζ,
 γεω(ροῖ) Θῶνις καὶ Ἄνεμπεύς.
 χερσεφίππου, Πανταύχου τοῦ Π[α]νταύχου
 35 λδίς'λ'β', γεω(μετρία) Θεμίστου, ἐμβρόχου.

20. (πυρῶι) over an erasure.

Col. iii.

- γίνονται τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πάππου ρδίς'λ'β', γεω(μετρία), ἰ
 σπορίμου ο ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρόχου λδίς'λ'β'.
 καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως,
 τῶν δι' Ἐρμαφίλου,
 40 Καλλικράτης Φιλοξένου π, γεω(μετρία) β κε, ἰ
 ὑπολό(γου) βλδ' (πυρῶι) ιε κρι(θῆι) ε φα(κῶι) βδ', να (πυρῶι) δ (πυρῶι),
 / π. ἰ σπῆρος (πυρῶι)
 [[/]] ξβ φα(κῶι) ι κρι(θῆι) ε ὑπολό(γου) γ, γεω(ροῖς) Πανσίρις Ἀρμιύσιος.
 καὶ τῶν ἀναξευξάντων εἰς τὴν Θηιβα(ίδα)
 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄ ἀνδρῶν,
 45 Καλλικράτει Πτολεμαίου ις, γεω(μετρία),
 ἀβρόχου.
 καὶ τῶν μεταβεβη(κόντων) εἰς τὴν κα(τοικίαν) ἐκ τῶν (τριακονταρῶρων)
 Φυλέως,
 Διονυσίου τοῦ Πυρρίχου ιηδ'ή, ἰ Ἰσιείου συ(μπεριειλημμένου?)
 [[γεω(μετρία)]] λίς'λ'β', παραδείσων) ἐρή(μων) δ'ή, περιστε(ρῶνος)
 ἐρή(μου) λ'β', / α,

- 50 κα(ταλείπονται) ιζδ'ή, / (πυρῶι) ι φα(κῶι) ζδ'ή, γεω(ργὸς)
 Ἄρφαῆσις.
 γίνονται κατοίκων (ἄρουραι) ριδδ'ή, γεω(μετρία), /
 ἔσπαρ(μένης) ροζδ'ή, χρη(σίμου) α ἀβρόχου ις.
 ἔρη(μο)φυ(λάκων), Σειληνωὶ Δημητρίου δν με(τειληφέναι) Ἑρακλείδην
 τὸν υἱὸν ι, γεω(μετρία) Παα(), σπ(άρος) χ(άρτωι).
 55 γίνονται τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ρκδδ'ή,
 γεω(μετρία), ἔσπαρ(μένης) ρρζδ'ή, χρη(σίμου) (α) ἀβρόχου ις.

37. σπ of σποριμου corr. from σπ(). 43. Second a of αναξευξαντων corr. from ε.

Col. iv.

- καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως,
 συγγενῶν κατοίκων ἰππέων,
 Διοδότου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν β Μικιάωνος
 60 ἑκατέρου) τὸ (ἥμισυ)
 οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κλ(ήρου) περὶ τὸν Ἰβίω(να) τῶν (Εἰκοσι[πενταρούρων])
 ιλδ'ή, γεω(μετρία) β, σπ(άρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) Θῶνις.
 Λυσιμάχῳ Πύρρου οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κλ(ήρου) περὶ τὸν Ἰβίω(να)
 τῶν (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) μ, γεω(μετρία) Παα(), σπ(άρος) (πυρῶι) κ
 ἀρά(κωι) κ,
 65 γεω(ργὸς) Πετερμουῦθις.
 γίνονται ἀνδρῶν β (ἄρουραι) νλδ'ή, σποριμου αὶ πᾶ(σαι).
 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῶι λα (ἔτει) διὰ Διονυσίου εἰς τοὺς κα(τοίκους) ἰπ(πέις),
 Διοδότῳ Ἀπολλωνίου μ [[γ]γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βο(ρρᾶ) ιη]]
 [[γεω(μετρία) ιη, / (πυρῶι) θ φα(κῶι) θ, κβ, / (πυρῶι) ις χ(άρτωι) γ
 [ἀρά(κωι) γ,] / μ /]]
 70 (πυρῶι) κε φα(κῶι) θ χ(άρτωι) γ ἀρά(κωι) γ, γεω(ργὸς) Πετ[ο]σίρις.
 Λέοντος τοῦ Λεοντίσκου μ, γεω(μετρία) Παα(),
 σπ(άρος) (πυρῶι) κε φα(κῶι) ια χ(άρτωι) δ, / μ, γεω(ργὸς) [Α]ρφαῆσις.
 Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μ, γεω(μετρία)
 γύ(ου) βο(ρρᾶ) ιη γεω(μετρία) ἴσο(ν), (πυρῶι) ι φα(κῶι) γ ἀρά(κωι) ε,
 75 γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.

Δώρωι Πετάλου μ, γεω(μετρία) Παω(), /
 (πυρῶι) κ φα(κῶι) ε ἀρά(κωι) ιβ τή(λει) γ, γεω(ργός) Ἀθεμμε[ύ]ς.
 [[] ζΛ τή(λει) βΛ ιβ φα(κῶι) γ, ε, / (πυρῶι) γ ἀρά(κωι) β]]

68-9. The portions to be omitted enclosed in round brackets. 75, 77. These lines over erasures. 78. βΛ corr. from γ. This line enclosed in round brackets.

Col. v.

Βρομερού τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου μ, γεω(μετρία) Κοι(ρι) ι χα(),
 80 σπῆ(ρος) (πυρῶι) ιε χῆ(ρωι) ε τή(λει) ε φα(κῶι) βΛ ἀρά(κωι) ιβΛ, / μ,
 γεω(ργός)

Ἦρος.

[[χῆ(ρωι) ε τή(λει) ε κρι(θῆι) ε ι φα(κῶι) βΛ ἀρά(κωι) ιβΛ]]
 [γ]ίνονται ἀνδ(ρῶν) ε (ἄρourke) Σ, ἐσπαρ(μέναι) αἱ πᾶ(σαι).
 καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι λδ (ἔτει) Ἀπολλοδώρωι Πτολεμαίου ξ,
 85 γεω(μετρία) δ μ γεω(μετρία), σπῆ(ρος) (πυρῶι) λς ἀρά(κωι) ε φασή(λωι)
 ε φα(κῶι) ιδ,

γεω(ργός) Ἀθεμμεύς.

καὶ τῶν μεταβεβη(κόντων) εἰς τὴν κα(τοικίαν) ἐξ ἐφῶδων,
 Ἀπολλωνίωι Πτολεμαίου θν με(τειληφέναι) Πτολεμαίον
 τὸν υἱὸν κδ, γεω(μετρία) Κοι(ρι) Ἰσα(ν), / (πυρῶι) ιβ φα(κῶι) ζ ἀρά(κωι) ζ,
 90 γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κδ, γεω(μετρία)

Θεμί(στον), σπῆ(ρος) (πυρῶι) ζ ἀρά(κωι) δ, / ι, ἀσπῆρου ιδ,
 γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐρη(μο)φυ(λάκων),
 95 Ἀ[ρτάβα Παν]ταύχου ι, γεω(μετρία) Κοι(ρι) ,
 [. . () ε] ἀρά(κωι) ε, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

Ν[εκτενίβει] Ἦρου ι, γεω(μετρία), ἀβρῆ(χου).

γί[νοντα]ι ἀνδ(ρῶν) β (ἄρourke) κ, / ἐσπαρ(μένης) ι ἀβρῆ(χου) ι.

82. This line enclosed in round brackets.

88. ν of ον corr.

Col. vi.

- γίνονται κατοίκων (ἄρουραι) [τ]σηλδ'.
- 100 ἔρη(μο)φυ(λάκων) τῶν ἐν τῷ λβ (ἔτει),
 Πτολεμαῖος Σαραπίων(ος) ι, γεω(μετρία) Ψινα(ρα),
 σπ(ό)ρος (πυρῶι) ε φα(κῶι) ε, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
 Λαγῶς Διοδώρου ι, γεω(μετρία) Παα(),
 σπ(ό)ρος (πυρῶι) ς φα(κῶι) δ. Πτολεμ(α)ῖος Σαραπίωνος
 σπ(ό)ρος (πυρῶι) ε φα(κῶι) ε, γεω(ρ-
 γός) αἰ(τός).
- 105 γίνονται ἀνδρῶν β (ἄρουραι) κ.
 [[φυλακιτῶν]]
 φυλακιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῶι [λγ] (ἔτει),
 Ἄκουσιλάου τοῦ Ἀπολλ[ω]νίου ι, γεω(μετρία) δ,
 σπ(ό)ρος (πυρῶι) ζ χ(ό)ρτωι γ, γεω(ργός) Πορεγέβθις.
- 110 Μάρων τὸν καὶ Νεκτῶφθιν Πετοσίριος ι, ἀγα()
 γεω(μετρία) δ, (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός). [[Μάρων τὸν καὶ]]
 Ἐτφεμοῦνις Ἀμορταῖου δι μεττειληφέναι Ἡρακλείδην
 τὸν υἱὸν ι, γεω(μετρία) β, (πυρῶι) ς ἀρά(κωι) δ, γεω(ργός)
 γίνονται ἀνδρῶν γ (ἄρουραι) λ, ἐσπαρμέναι .
- 115 γίνονται τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελ(φοῦ) τοῦ βασιλέως υκηλδ'ή.
 καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῖς προσειλημμένοις
 εἰς τοὺς κατοίκους ἱππεῖς τῶν διὰ Κρίτωνος ἐν τῶι λζ (ἔτει),

102. Between this and l. 103 is an erased line.

Col. vii.

- Θέων Θέωνος οὗ τὸ λα(ἰπὸν) τοῦ κλήρου) περὶ ἐτέρας κά(μας) λ,
 γεω(μετρία) Θεμί(στου), ἐμβρόχου.
- 120 Βακχίωι Μουσαίου κ, γεω(μετρία) Θεμί(στου), σπ(ό)ρος (πυρῶι) ι φ(α)σ]ή(λωι) ε
 ἀρά(κωι) ε, γεω(ργός) [[αἰ(τός)]] *Ωρος Πετεχῶ(ντος).
 Ἀπολλωνίωι Διονυσίου ν, γεω(μετρία) β κ[.] γεω(μετρία), (πυρῶι) ιβλ
 φα(κῶι) ιβλ κε, / (πυρῶι) ιβλ φα(κῶι) ιβλ, / ν. / πυρῶι) κε φα(κῶι)
 κε, γεω(ργός)
 Πετερμούθις.

- 125 Πρώταρχος Διονυσίου ν, γεω(μετρία) β ι γεω(μετρία),
 σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι) κδλ κ(ριθηι) ι ἀρά(κωι) ς φασή(λωι) ε φα(κῶι) αλ
 μελα(υθίωι) γ,
 γεω(ργοῖ) ὦρος Πετεσοῦχου καὶ Τοθοῆ[ς] ὦρου.
 Πολέμωνος τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου μ, γεω(μετρία) Παω() γύ(ου) β κς γ[ε]ω(μετρία),
 σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι) ε φα(κῶι) ε, / ι, ἀσπύ(ρου) λ.
- 130 Ἐλιοδώρωι Διονυσίου ι, γεω(μετρία) β ἴσα(ν), χέ(ρσου).
 Ἐρώδης Ἐλιοδώρου μ, γεω(μετρία) β ἴσα(ν), χέ(ρσου).
 Ἐλιοδώρωι Μηνοδώρου μ, γεω(μετρία) Θεμί(στου), ἐμ(βρόχου).
 Ἀθηνίων Ἀρχίου ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον) Πολέμωνος τοῦ
 Ἀμμωνίου ι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον) Ἐλιοδώρου τοῦ
 Μηνοδώρου ι, καὶ τοῦ Χαιρήμο[νος] τοῦ
 Κρατείου κ, / μ, γεω(μετρία) β κς γε[ω] (μετρία), (πυρῶι) ιγλ ἀρά(κωι) ιγλ
 σπ[ύ] (ρος) (πυρῶι) . . .] / (πυρῶι) κςλ ἀρά(κωι) νσ() ιγλ / ὦρος.

Col. viii.

- γίνονται (ἀρουραι) τκ. [[γεω(μετρία)]]
 καὶ τῶν μεταβεβη(κόντων) εἰς τοὺς κα(τοίκους) [ἰπ(πεῖς) ἐξ] ἐφόδων
- 140 τῶν ἐν τῶι λδ (ἔτει) κατ[α]με[μετρ]ημένων,
 Δημητρίωι Ἐρακλε[ί]δου [κδ] γεω(μετρία) β, Κερκευ(σίρεως)
 ἀσπύρου η[.]
- καὶ ἐν τῶι λς (ἔτει) Ἀ[σκληπι]άδει
 Ἀσκληπι[ιά]δου κδ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βο(ρρᾶ),
- 145 σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι) κ[]
 Πέτρων Θεῖωνος κδ, γ[ε]ω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βο(ρρᾶ) ιε, (πυρῶι) [[Κερκευ-
 (σίρεως) θ]]
 (πυρῶι) δλ ἀρά(κωι) δλ, / κδ, / πυρῶι ιθ[λ ἀ]ρ[ά(κωι)] δλ, γε[ω] (ργός)
 Πε . . ρωπισ.
 Ἀκουσιλάωι Ἀσκληπιάδου ι, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βο(ρρᾶ),
 [σπά(ρος)] (πυρῶι) [ς] φα(κῶι) δ, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- 150 γίνο[ν]τ[αι] κατοίκων (ἀρουραι) υβ.
 ἐφόδων τῶν ἐν τῶι λδ (ἔτει),

Μενίσκω[ι] Πτολεμαίου [δ]ν με(τειληφέναι) Πτολεμαίον
 τὸν υἱ[ὸν] κδ, γεω(μετρία) Θεμ(ιστου),
 ἐμβρ[όχου].

- 155 Ἀπολλωνί[ωι] Πτολεμαίου κδ, γεω(μετρία) β
 γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ), (πυρῶι) ιε φα(κῶι) ς, [/] κα, ὑπαλό(γου) ἀλμυ(ρίδος) γ,
 γεω(ργός). αὐ(τός).
 γίνονται [ἀνδ(ρῶν)] β (ἄρourke) μη.
 καὶ τῆς καταμεμετρη(μένης) τοῖς διὰ Χομήνιος
 ἐν τῶι μα (ἔτει) ἰππεύσι,

Above l. 138 is an erased marginal note . . . Ἀβ(ρ) λ[

146. κερκε^v θ enclosed in round brackets.

Col. ix.

- 160 . [. . .] . . . [
 (τριακονταρούρων), Ἀρυ[ώ]τει Φ[αεύτος οὐ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλ(ήρου) περὶ
 Τεβτῦ(νιν)
 (ἄρourke) ε, γεω(μετρία) . [
 (εἰκοσιταρούρων), Π[ε]τήσει Π[άσιτος ιθ,
 γεω(μετρία)
 165 Ἀκρισίωι Ἀκρισίου δν [με(τειληφέναι) Χομήνιν τὸν υἱὸν ιθ, γεω(μετρία)
 γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ),
 σπ(όρος) πυ(ρῶι) θλ φα(κῶι) θ[λ, γεω(ργός)
 Κεφαλᾶτι Πε(τεσοῦχου) ιθ, γεω(μετρία) . . .] ε φα(κῶι) β,
 γεω(ργός) Ἀ . . [
 Ἀρμύσει Πτολεμαίου ιθ,
 170 [
 Τε[ῶτι] Τεῶτος οὐ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλ(ήρου) περὶ Τεβτῦ(νιν)] ιε,
 [γεω(ργός)]ος
 [Ἀρμύσει Φατρ(εῖους) ιθ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ),
 [
 175 [Φμέρσει Ὡρου οὐ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλ(ήρου) περὶ Τεβτῦ(νιν)] ς,
 [
 [γίνονται ἀνδ(ρῶν) η (ἄρourke) ρκ.]

[(ἐπταρούρων) μαχίμων,]
[τῆς ἐν τῶι μα (ἔτει),]

167. φα(κωι) corr. from κ(ριθηι).

Col. x.

- 180 Πορευθῆς Ἀπύγχ[εως ε]Λ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βο(ρρᾶ),
σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι) γΛ φα(κῶι) αΛ ἀρά(κωι) [αΛ], γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
᾽Ωρω[ι] ᾽Ωρου εΛ, [γεω(μετρία) . . .] σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι) γΛ ἀρά(κωι) β
φα(κῶι) α, γεω(ργός) Δη[.]
᾽Ωρωι Θεοτοραίου εΛ, [γ]εω(μετρία) β, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι) εΛ ἀρά(κωι) α,
185 γεω(ργός) Πᾶσις. ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) Π. . . .
Ἀρχύψις Πετοσίριος ε[Λ, γεω(μετρία) . . .] [οθΛδ']
σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι) δΛ φα(κῶι) β, γεω(ργός) [.]
Ἀρθῶνει Ἀρφαήσιος εΛ, [γ]εω(μετρία) β, ἀγ. () ἀσπύρου τῆς
σπύ(ρος) φα(κῶι), γ[εω(ργός)] προσελημμένης
190 Ἀρψήθει Κολλούθου ε[Λ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) νό(του),
σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) Δίδυμ[ος.] [[ε []]
Κανῶτι Πετοσίριος εΛ, γεω(μετρία) β,
ἀσπύρου. Κανῶς Πετοσίριος
Ἀρσύμει Πετοσίριος εΛ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) νό(του),
195 (πυρῶι) δΛ φα(κῶι) β, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
᾽Ωρωι μικρῶι Κολλούθου εΛ, γεω(μετρία) βο(ρρᾶ),
ἀσπύρου.
[Περεσοῦ]χαι Τοθ[ο]είους εΛ, γεω(μετρία) δ,
[σπύ(ρος)] . ρι . . . , γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

Col. xi.

- 200 ᾽Ωρωι Φαγώμιος εΛ, γεω(μετρία) β,
σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) Περεσοῦχος.
Φατρῆι ᾽Ωρου εΛ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βο(ρρᾶ),
σπύ(ρος) φακῶι, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

- {Μεστασθ Θεμίστον}
- 205 Μεστασύτμει Ὠρου 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ),
 σπ(ί)ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός) ἀπὸ α... ()
 Φαεῦτι[[ος]] Σοκέω[ς] 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ), σπ(ί)ρος) (πυρῶι) γL
 ἀσπ(ί)ρου γ, γεω(ργός) Μέλας.
 Θοτεῖ Φολήμιος 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ),
 210 σπ(ί)ρος) (πυρῶι) γ φαση(λωι) α φα(κῶι) βL, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
 Ὠρωι Ἀρφαήσιος 5L, γεω(μετρία) Πασα() περι(χώματος),
 σπ(ί)ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) Θοτεύς.
 Ἀρμύσει Σοκονάπιος 5L, Πασα() περι(χώματος),
 σπ(ί)ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) Χεύρις Χεύριος.
 215 Τεῶτι Τεῶτος 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) νύ(του),
 σπ(ί)ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
 Νεκτενεῖβι Ὠρου 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ),
 σπ(ί)ρος)] (πυρῶι) [γ]L ἀρά(κωι) γ, γεω(ργός) Τήρης.
 [Πᾶ]σις μ(κρός) Κ[α]λατύτιος 5L, σπ(ί)ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) Μαρ-
 [ρ]ῆς . . . ()

Col. xii.

- 220 [Κάστ]ορι Πνεφερῶτος 5L, [γεω(μετρία)] γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ),
 σπ(ί)ρος) (πυρῶι) εL φα(κῶι) α, γεω(ργός) Ὠρος.
 [Ἀπύ]χει Ποῶριος 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ),
 σπ(ί)ρος)] (πυρῶι).
 Κολλούθει Ὠρ[ο]ν 5L, γεω(μετρία) β, ἀσπ(ί)ρου.
 225 Ὠλλωι Πάιτος 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) νύ(του),
 (πυρῶι) δL ἀρά(κωι) β, γεω(ργός) Ὠρος.
 Πάσιτι με(γάλωι) Καλατύτιος 5L, γεω(μετρία) . .
 σπ(ί)ρος) . . (), γεω(ργός)] Ἀνεμπεύς.
 Ἀρφαήσει [Ὠ]ρου 5L, γεω(μετρία) δ,
 230 ἀσπ(ί)ρου βεβρε(γμένου).
 Κολλούθε[ι] Πετοσίριος 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) νύ(του),
 σπ(ί)ρος) [. . ()] δL ἀρά(κωι) β, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
 Ὠννώφρε[ι] Πετερμούθιος 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ),
 σπ(ί)ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) Παποντῶς.

- 235 Ἀμούνει Πικάμιος 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) νό(του),
 σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι) γ φα(κῶι) αLδ' ἀρά(κωι) αLδ', γεω(ργός) Ὀ[ρση]ς
 Ὀρσείους.
 Ἀμούνει [N]εφνάχθει 5L, [γεω(μετρία)] γύ(ου) νό(του),
 [σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι)] γL φα(κῶι) αL ἀρά(κωι) α[L, γεω(ργός) Ὀρση]ς
 Ὀρσείους.

Col. xiii.

- γίνονται ἀνδ(ρῶν) λ (ἄρourke) ρα[ε].
 240 γίνονται τῆς ἐν τῶι μα (ἔτει) (ἄρourke) τιε.
 καὶ τῆ[s] ἐν τῶι μβ (ἔτει),
 Ἀρωῶτει Ἀρωῶτου 5L, γεω(μετρία) Παω() περι(χώματος),
 σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αὐ(τός).
 Χεύρει Σοχῶτου 5L, γεω(μετρία) β, [
 245 (πυρῶι) γL φα(κῶι) γ, γεω(ργός) Ἀνεμπεύ(s).
 Ὠρωι Ὀρσενούφειω 5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βι(ρῶ),
 σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι) ε φα(κῶι) αL, γεω(ργός) αὐ(τός).
 Πάσιτι Σοκονάπιος [5L, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου)] βι(ρῶ),
 σπύ(ρος) φακῶι, γεω(ργός) αὐ(τός).
 250 γίνονται ἀνδ(ρῶν) [.] δ (ἄρourke) κς.
 γίνονται τοῖς διὰ Χομήνιος τμα.
 καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι μς (ἔτει) τοῖς ἐκ τῆ[s] Ἑρακλείδου
 μερίδος μετακεκληρουχημένοις ἀπὸ τῶν (πρότερον)
 δι' Ὠρου καὶ Πεσοῦριος προσλημφθέντων
 255 εἰς τὴν τῶν μαχίμων σύνταξι[ν οἷς καὶ
 ἔγραψε]ν Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ξένων [οἱ γραμμα-
 τεῖς τῶν μαχίμων φέρειν ὑπὸ [τὴν Χομή-
 νιος λ[α]ρχίαν, (ἑπταρούρων), [
 Ὀνώφ[ρ]ει Μεστασύτμιος 5L, [γεω(μετρία)
 260 [σπύ(ρος) . . (), γεω(ργός) [

254. ιος of πεσοῦριος over an erasure.

Col. xiv.

- Πτολεμαίωι Σενθέωσ οὐ [τ]δ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ [κλ(ήρου)
 περὶ Ἄρεωσ κάμην) γ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) νά(του), φα(κῶι) αλ
 φ[ασή(λωι) αλ,
 γεω(ργὸς) [.]ς.
 Ἦρωι Παάπιοσ 5]λ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) νά(του),
 265 σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι), (γεω(ργὸς)) Παποντ[ῶ]ς.
 Πεσύθει Παχῶτοσ [5]λ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) βα(ρρᾶ),
 σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι) γλ ἀρά(κωι) γ, [γε]ω(ργὸς) [Πε]τεσ[οῦ]χος.
 Πασῶτι Φανήσιοσ [5]λ, γεω(μετρία) β, [
 σπά(ρος) φα(κῶι) ελ ἀρά(κωι) α, γεω(ργὸς) [
 270 Φθαῦσ Πετεήσιοσ [5]λ, γεω(μετρία) . , σπά(ρος) . . . ,
 γεω(ργὸς) αὐ(τόσ). [
 Ἄρμιῦσισ Πετεσοῦχου 5λ, γεω(μετρία) δ,
 σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι) ελ φα(κῶι) α, γεω(ργὸς) αὐ(τόσ).
 Πασῶσ μι(κρὸς) Φανήσιοσ 5λ, γεω(μετρία), σπά(ρος) φα(κῶι), γεω(ργὸς)
 αὐ(τόσ).
 275 Σοκονῶπισ Πάσιτοσ 5λ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) β,
 σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) [Πε]τεσοῦχος.
 [Π]ασῶσ Ὀροσ[ε]ίλουσ 5λ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) β,
 [σπά(ρος)] φ[α(κῶι)] γ φασή(λωι) γλ, γεω(ργὸς) Μεγχῆσ.
 [Πε]τεσοῦχος Πετε[σ]οῦχου 5λ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) β,
 280 σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι) β φα(κῶι) δλ, γεω(ργὸς) [Πε]τεσοῦχος Μάρωνοσ.
 [Ὀ]ροσῆσ Ἀροννήσιοσ 5λ, γεω(μετρία) δ,
 σπά(ρος) φα(κῶι) ελ μελα(νθῶι) α, γεω(ργὸς) αὐ(τόσ).
 [γ]ί(νονται) ἀνδρα(σ) ιβ (ἄρourke) οδλ.
 [ῶ]στ' εἶναι τῆσ διὰ Χομήνιοσ (ἀρούρασ) υιελ.

267. ἀρα(κωι) corr. from φα(κωι) (?) 283. l. ἀνδρῶν; cf. 83. 70.

Col. xv.

- 285 . . [
 καὶ τοῖσ [διὰ Π]τολεμαίου καὶ Ἡένωνοσ,
 [Μαρρεῖ Παάπιοσ 5λ, γεω(μετρία) γύ(ου) [. . .]
 σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αὐ(τόσ).

- 290 [Ἄροννώφρει Ὠρου 5L, γεωμετρία] .
 [σπάρος]]
 [Ἀρμάει Πανορσείου 5L, γεωμετρία γύου] νότου),
 [σπάρος]]
 [γίνονται ἀνδρῶν] γ (ἄρourke) ιθL.]
 καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ν (ἔτει) καταμεμετρημένης)
 295 τοῖς διὰ Χ[ο]μήνιος ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνειλημ-
 μένης αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰβίανα τῶν [(Εἰκοσιπεντ)αρούρων),
 Κόμωνι Πεχύσιος 5L, γεωμετρία Κοίρι),
 [σπάρος] φ]α(κῶι) γL [ἀ]ρ[ά(κωι)] γ, [γεωργός] Ἀρ[φα]ῆσις.
 Δαβ[δ]ις Φα[τ]ρείου[ς 5L,] γεωμετρία Κοίρι),
 300 . [
 Παῶπις Πετεσοῦχου 5L, γεωμετρία β β ἴσαυ) :
 [. .] 5L γεωμετρία, / 5L, (πυρῶι) βL φα(κῶι) δ, γεωργός) αὐτός).
 Ἀρ[ψάλι]ς Στεφάνου [5L, γεωμετρία)
 [. . .] . Lδ' [
 305 Ψ[ενήσις Στεφάνου 5L, γεωμετρία)
 []
 [Ψενήσις Ψενήσιος 5L, γεωμετρία)
 [γίνονται ἀνδρῶν] 5 (ἄρourke) λθ.]
 [γίνονται τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως (ἄρourke) γκδ.]

Col. xvi.

- 310 2nd hand ἱεράς γῆς.
 (πρώτων) ἱερῶν (Σούχου) ρμ[αL,
 Σοκνεβτύνιος [ρλ,
 ἐλ(ασσόνων) ἱερῶν [κδ'ή,
 / ἱεράς ΣqaLδ'ή.
 315 κληρουχικῆς) τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πάππου ρδίς'χβ',
 τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ρκδδ'ή,
 τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ [υκηLδ'η,
 τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως γκ[δ,
 [[κ]]

- 320 [[]] Χο(μήνιος) ιπ(πέων) ρκ,
 ἐφά(δων) μη μα (ἔτει) ρρε,
 [[Χο(μηνιακῶν) [υι]εΛ]] μβ (ἔτει) [κς,
 / τμα.
 [[Πτ(α(λεμαίου) ιθΛ]] μς (ἔτει) [οδΛ.
 325 [[με(τακ(εκληρουχημένων) λθ]] Πτ(α(λεμαίου) ιθΛ,
 [μετακ(εκληρουχημένων) λθ,
 ['Αφπ(αδ'ίς'λβ') / νηΛ.
 σὺ(ν) ἱερῶ 'ΑωουΛ. / νοδ.
 [ἐσπ]αρμένης ἐν τῶι [ν. (ἔτει)
 330 [πρ() ἐστὶν τ. [
 ἀναδοχη()... [
 / 'Αρλθδ'

ll. 310-2 over erasure.

Col. xvii.

- ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) 'Δψ / [κώ(μης) οΛδ'
 335 ὑπολά(γου) τ[οῦ ἐκτὸς μισθώ(σεως) ρξθλίς'
 ἱερῶς γῆς [ΣραΛδ'ή
 κληρουχικῆς] ['Αφπαδ'ίς'λβ'
 ἐσπαρ(μένης) [
 / [
 340 ἐσπαρ(μένης) [

6. That the land of Suchus was not cultivated can be inferred from l. 26, where the amount of it is omitted in the account of the land actually sown. For ἐμβρόχου cf. 83. 5; as a matter of fact 20 arourae which formed a παράδεισος or ἄμπελος (cf. 84. (a) 2) were barren, and only the remaining 121½ arourae were flooded; but this fact was no doubt omitted here as in 83. 5. In 80. 9 the land of Suchus is said to be χέρσος.

21. ἄλλου: sc. ἰβίωνος (cf. 84. (a) 10-1), ἰβίων (sc. τροφῆς) being treated as a nominative singular instead of a genitive plural. The declension of the village called ἰβίων probably contributed to the use of this curious form.

24. ἴσο(ν): cf. 82, 83 and 85. The meaning is that the result of the last ἐπίσκεψις had been to show that the area was the same as in that given by the previous one.

28. Ἄφ: the accurate figures are $1581\frac{1}{2}$ arourae; cf. l. 327 and p. 545. For the omission of the numbers below 100 cf. 69. 7.

31. γεω(μετρία) ξςΛη': this perhaps means that the 70 arourae owned by Aphthonetus on being measured came out as $66\frac{2}{3}$. Why the details of the crop were given twice over (cf. ll. 41-2) is obscure. The number of arourae sown with wheat was never inserted in the first list. In the second the arourae add up to 70, not $66\frac{2}{3}$, which has no influence upon the totals given in l. 47.

34. χερσεφίππου: cf. p. 550.

39. Hermaphilus was probably ὁ πρὸς τῆι συντάξει τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων; cf. 80. 6.

40. κε: sc. arourae. Apparently these 25 arourae, which are subdivided into $2\frac{1}{2}$ uncultivated, 15 wheat, 5 barley, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ lentils, were in one περίχωμα or γύης, and the rest, 51 + 4, all sown with wheat, somewhere else. For the double statement of the crop cf. l. 31. Of the land owned by Callicrates 4 arourae had been wrongly assigned to the first holder (probably his father Philoxenus) from the σπόριμος γῆ instead of the χέρσος; cf. 61. (δ) 239.

43-4. τῶν ἀναξευζάντων: cf. 79. 69 and p. 547.

47. (τριακοντασούρων) Φυλίας: cf. P. Petrie II. 38. (a) 7 and p. 549.

48. συ(μπεριειλημμένου): 'included'; cf. 81. 30, 84. 9, 17, &c. $\frac{1}{2}$ aroura was taken up by a shrine to Isis, $\frac{2}{3}$ by a garden which contained nothing taxable, and $\frac{1}{3}$ by pigeon houses (cf. 84. 9) which were also not being used. The 1 aroura thus accounted for is entered in l. 52 under the head of χρη(), which is perhaps to be expanded χρη(σίμου). Dionysius' land became κατόχιμος by the 2nd year of the next reign; cf. 64. (δ) 32.

51. The total for the catoeci, $114\frac{2}{3}$ arourae, includes only the cleruchs whose holdings belong to Epiphanes' reign. Aphthonetus, whose holding dated from Philopator, is not here called a catoecus (cf. p. 557), though he is elsewhere treated as such; cf. 60. 20, where the total of the κάτοικοι includes his land. The totals of the ἐσπαρμένη in ll. 52 and 56 however include the 70 arourae σπορίμου owned by Aphthonetus.

56. (a) before ἀβρόχου is supplied from l. 52.

60. Diodotus and Apollonius, sons of Micion, each owned $5\frac{7}{8}$ arourae; cf. 68. 53-6. The writer here at first treated them as if they were one person owning $10\frac{7}{8}$ arourae; cf. l. 61 οδ and l. 66 ἀνδ(ρῶν) β, which should strictly be ζν and ἀνδ(ρῶν) γ. The insertion of l. 60 indicated the correct distribution of the $10\frac{7}{8}$ arourae.

74. The 18 arourae were divided into 10 of wheat, 3 of lentils, and 5 of aracus, the figure for the wheat being altered to 25 and that for the lentils to 10 in order to make up the whole 40. Whence the writer derived these additional 22 arourae is not clear; cf. ll. 40-1. Perhaps l. 78, which was inserted at the bottom and afterwards bracketed, refers to this land of Ammonius.

79. Zenodorus (the father of Bromerus) had received 3 arourae of σπόριμος instead of χέρσος; cf. 61. (δ) 240.

84. Apollodorus was in the same position as Zenodorus with regard to 40 arourae out of his 60; cf. 61. (δ) 241.

91. This Asclepiades is the individual whose promotion to the rank of κάτοικος is the subject of the correspondence in 82.

95. Ἀ[ρτάβα: Artabas, Artabazas and Artabazus are found as the name of this ἐρημοφύλαξ who had become a κάτοικος; cf. 64. (a) 33, 65. 17, note, and 85. 77.

97. Ν[εκτενίβει] Ὀρου: cf. 61. (δ) 7, where he is placed in a class by himself because he had received σπόριμος instead of χέρσος, and had to pay a year's rent. His position differed from that of Callicrates, Zenodorus, and Apollodorus (cf. notes on ll. 40, 79, and 84), who appear in a different part of 61. (δ); cf. p. 568.

99. [τ]ρηλδ: the correct total for the *κάτοικοι* who dated from Philometor's reign is 378 $\frac{3}{8}$; η has been omitted here.

110. Cf. 61. (a) 39-41 and note. The marginal adscript *ἀνα*() is the same as that found in 64. (a) 63, 99, &c.; but the resolution *ἀνα*(ληφθήτω) which suits those passages is not appropriate here, for in subsequent years when Maron had become a *κάτοικος* and *ἐκατοντάρουρος* he is still found owning these 10 arourae in addition to 15 more which were given to him.

137. Perhaps *ἀρά*(κωι) νο(μῶν) on the analogy of *χόρτος νομῶν*, on which see 60. 82, note. There is room for another line below this one, but probably the space was blank.

141. Δημητρίω Ἡρακλεῖδου: cf. 61. (δ) 261.

180. Cf. note on 61. (a) 67.

294. ν (ἔτει) is restored from 61. (a) 128. 63. 215 has να (ἔτει), but incorrectly; cf.

66. 20-5.

307. From the totals in the next column (cf. note on ll. 325-7) it is clear that the *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* in this year were one in excess of their number in succeeding years, and there is no place where the extra individual can be put except here, since up to this point the list of *μάχιμοι* in this document, as is shown by the totals, agrees numerically with the parallel lists in 61. (a) and 63. Moreover the error in 61. (a) 140, where the total land owned by the *Χομηρακοί* is said to be 454 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, but only 448 have been accounted for, occurs precisely at the conclusion of the passage corresponding to this one. The key is provided by 61. (δ) 115, where 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, formerly owned by Psenesis son of Psenesis but confiscated, are returned in the list of Crown lands which were unproductive owing to their being flooded. There can be little doubt that this Psenesis, whose name naturally is not found in later lists of cleruchs, was the person mentioned here. This is confirmed by 84. 168, where the *κλήρος* of Psenesis son of Psenesis is mentioned in a land-survey, and by 66. 25 which shows that there were 7 *μετακεληρουχημένοι* originally, so that one of them must have lost his holding before Psenesis.

310 sqq. This column and the next give a summary of totals similar to those found in the first three columns of 60. Lines 310-4 give the amounts of the *ἑρὰ γῆ*, 315-28 those for the cleruchic land. The writer apparently had originally classified the cleruchs not only according to reigns but according to their standing, as is done in 60. 20 sqq.; but, dissatisfied with this, he erased the list of *κάτοικοι*, *ἐρημοφύλακες*, &c., giving however a new list of the *ἱππεῖς* and *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι*. Lines 329-33 seem to have been concerned with the *βασιλικὴ γῆ*, for the total in l. 333 agrees, so far as it is preserved, with the total of the *βασιλική* that was sown in the 52nd year (cf. 61. (a) 178 and 67. 4). Lines 334 sqq. are part of a summary account of the whole area of the village like that in 61. (a) 157-8.

311-3. For the figures cf. ll. 5, 10 and 25. (Σύχου) is restored from 60. 9.

317. Cf. l. 115.

318. The corresponding total in l. 309 is lost, but the missing figure can be obtained in two ways, first by subtracting the totals of the *ἑρὰ γῆ* and those in ll. 315-7 from the total of the *κληρουχική* in l. 327 (which though partly mutilated can itself be restored by subtracting the total of the *ἑρὰ γῆ* from the joint total in l. 328), and secondly by the addition of the several items in ll. 116-328, the area owned by the *κάτοικοι* being 402 arourae (l. 150), that by *ἐρημοφύλακες* (l. 157) 48, and that by the *ἱππεῖς* and *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* 474 (l. 328, cf. note on l. 307).

322. [κς: cf. l. 250. The total of these three items is given correctly in the next line as 341.

324. [οδλ: cf. l. 283.

325-7. με[τακ(εληρουχημένων): cf. 61. (a) 107. It is clear that 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ in l. 327 is

obtained by the addition of these two preceding totals, of which the first is known to be $19\frac{1}{2}$ (cf. ll. 293 and 324), and the second must therefore be 39; cf. note on l. 307. In the subsequent years when the μετακληρουχημένοι owned only $32\frac{1}{2}$ arourae (cf. 60. 34, 61. (a) 139, 68. 227) the total number of arourae held by the ἱππεῖς and ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι was $467\frac{1}{2}$ or $6\frac{1}{2}$ less than here.

328. Ἄσος: the reading of the fraction is not quite certain, but δ' is out of the question, though $\frac{1}{4}$ would approximate more closely than $\frac{1}{2}$ to the correct fraction, which is $\frac{7}{8}$.

334-7. Cf. 60. 3-16, 61. (a) 157-8, and l. 327 above.

63. LIST OF OWNERS OF TEMPLE AND CLERUCHIC LAND.

27.9.

31 x 146 cm.

B. C. 116-5.

A list of holders of land ἐν ἀφέσει at Kerkeosiris in the last year of Euergetes II's reign, written in the second year of the next reign. Fewer details are given in this papyrus than in 61. (a) or 62, and not much new information is to be gained from it, but it is printed in full as being the most complete example of these lists. The few lacunae can almost without exception be restored from 141, a well-preserved and nearly verbal copy of the present document in the same hand, or from 64. (a), which refers to the same year and gives more details, but is in a very imperfect condition. As in 62, some of the details about the crops have been inserted later. The verso is filled with a long list of holders of Crown land, accompanied by a statement of the amounts of their holdings and rents, and of the kind of crop. Some of the γεωργοί are also cleruchs, chiefly ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι; cf. 68. introd. At the end are several columns of figures. The list relates to the second and third years of Soter II.

Col. i.

[Ἔτους β, παρὰ Μεγχείου κωμογραμματέως Κερκεοσίρεως.

[κατὰ φύλλον ἱερᾶς καὶ κληρουχικῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης

[γῆ]ς ἐν ἀφέσει τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους).

[ἱερᾶς γῆς (πρώτων) ἱερῶν,

5 [Σ]ούχου θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου ἐμβρόχου ρμαλ,

ὧν ἐστίν·

Πετενεφιγῆς Πετενεφείους κε,

Ἦρος Ἀρσιγήσιος καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι) ιε,

Ἀπολλώνιος Ποσειδωνίου ν,

- 10 Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος ἦν μετείληφε) Χαιρήμων
 Ἄσκληπιάδου λ,
 Πετειμούθης Πετεσούχου ι,
 Πετεσοῦχος Πετεσοῦχου ς,
 Πετερμούθης Πετεήσιος γ,
- 15 Μαρρῆς Ψοσναῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς διὰ Πετεσοῦχου β καὶ
 ἀπὸ τῆς διὰ Πετειμούθου λ, / βλ,
 / ἐμβρό(χου) ρμαλ.
 Σοκνεβτύνιος θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου διὰ τῶν ἱερέων
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνιερωμένης ὑπὸ τῶν προσλημφθέντων
- 20 διὰ Χομήνιος ἱππεῦσι καὶ (ἐπταρούρων) μαχίμων ἐν τῷ μα (ἔτει) ρ
 καὶ ἐν τῷ μβ (ἔτει) λ, / ρλ, / σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι) πε φακ(ῶι) θ ἀρά(κωι)
 ς φασή(λωι) κε,
 / ρλ, γεω(ργοῖ) Πετο[σι]ρις Ἄρκοίφιος καὶ Πετενοῦπις καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι).
 / (πρώτων) ἱερῶν Σοαλ.
- [ἐ]λασσόνω]ν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμη θεῶν,
 25 [Πετεσοῦχου θεοῦ] κροκοδίου τῆς κώμης διὰ Μαρρείους
 [καὶ τῶν μετόχων] ἀσπύρου εδ'ή.

10. l. ἦν for ἦν. 20. l. ἱππίων.

Col. ii.

- Ἄρσενούφιος θεοῦ δι' Ἄρσενούφιος καὶ τῶν μετόχων ἀσπύρου α.
 ἰβίων τροφῆς δι' Ἐργέως καὶ τῶν μετόχων ἐμβρό(χου) δ.
 ἄλλου (διὰ) Χεύριος καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ἀσπύρου ε.
 30 ἄλλου διὰ Πνεφερώτος καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ἀσπύρου ε.
 / ἐλασσόνων κδ'ή. / ἱερῶν (ἄρραι) Σοαλδ'ή.
 κληρουχικῆς τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἕως τοῦ α (ἔτους),
 τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ προπάππου τοῦ βασιλέως],
 (ἐβδομηκονταρούρων), Ἄφθονήτου τοῦ Ἐβδομίανος ο, / σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι)
 κ ἀρά(κωι) κα(τανεμεμημένωι) λ, / ν,
 35 ὑπολό(γου) ἀλμυ(ρίδος) κ, γεω(ργός) Πετερμούθης μι(κρός) Ἄμηνέως.
 (τριακονταρούρων) χερσε[φ]ίππων,
 Παν[α]ύχου τοῦ Πανταύχου χέ(ρσου) λδίς'χ'β'.
 / τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ προπάππου ρδίς'χ'β'.

- τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πάππου τοῦ βασιλέως, τῶν δι' Ἑρμαφίλου,
 40 (ὀγδοηκονταρούρων), Καλλικράτου τοῦ Φιλοξένου π, / σπέ(ρος) (πυρῶι)
 κ ἀρά(κωι) ε φασή(λωι) ιε κρι(θῆι) ε,
 / με, ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) λε, γεω(ργοὶ) Ἦρος καὶ Πετερμουθις.
 καὶ τῶν ἀναξευξάντων εἰς τὴν Θηβαί[δα] ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄ ἀνδρῶν,
 Καλλικράτης Πτολεμαίου ἀβρόχου ις.
 καὶ τῶν μετ[αβ]εβηκτόων εἰς τὴν κατ[ο]ικίαν ἐκ τῶν (τριακονταρούρων)
 Φυλέως,
 45 Διονυσίου [τοῦ] Πυρρίχου ιηδ'ή, / σπέ(ρος) (πυρῶι) ε φακ(ῶι) γ φασή(λωι)
 ε, / ιγ,
 ὑ[πο]λό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) εδ'ή, γεω(ργὸς) Ἄνεμπεύς.
 / κατ[ο]ικων ρ(ι)δδ'ή.
 ἐ[ρ]η(μο)χ(υ)λάκων),
 [Ἑρα]κλείδου τοῦ Σιλανίωνος [ι, σπέ(ρος) φα(κῶι), γεω(ργὸς) Ὀν]ῶφ[ρις].
 50 [τῆς ἐπὶ] τοῦ πάππου ρκδδ'ή.

Col. iii.

- τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως,
 [συγγε]νῶν κατοίκων,
 [Διοδό]του τοῦ Μικιάνος οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ τὸν Ἰβίωνα
 τῶν (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) ἀβρόχου εδ'ήίς'.
- 55 [Ἀ]πολ[λ]ωνίου τοῦ Μικιάνος οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ τὸν Ἰβίωνα
 τῶν
 (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) ἀβρόχου εδ'ήίς'.
- [Δυ]σιμάχου τοῦ Πύρρου οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ τὸν Ἰβίωνα τῶν
 (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) μ, / σπέ(ρος) (πυρῶι) ιε ἀρά(κωι) ιε, / λ,
 ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) ι, γεω(ργὸς) Μαρρῆς.
 / ἀνδρῶν γ (ἄρουραι) νλδ'ή.
- 60 [τ]ῶν ἐν τῶι λα (ἔτει) διὰ Διονυσίου εἴ[ς] τοὺς κα(τοίκοις) ἱπ(πεῖς),
 [Διο]δότου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μ, / σπέ(ρος) (πυρῶι) ιε φακ(ῶι) ε, / [κ.]
 ἐμ[β]ρό(χου) [κ,
 γεω(ργὸς) Ἦρος Ἦρου.

- [Λέο]ντος τοῦ Λεοντίσκου μ, / σπός(ρος) [(πυρῶι)] ιε ἀρά(κωι) ι, / κε,
 ἐμβρό(χου) ιε,
 γεωργός αὐ(τός). {αὐτός}
- 65 [Ἀμ]μωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δν με(τειληφέναι) Ἀμμώνιον τὸν
 υἶδν μ, / σπός(ρος) πυ(ρῶι) ιε φα(κῶι) ε ἀρά(κωι) ε, / κε, ὑπολό(γου)
 ἐμβρό(χου) ιε, γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 Δώρου τοῦ Πετάλου μ.
- [Β]ρομεροῦ τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου μ, / σπός(ρος) (πυρῶι) ιε ἀρά(κωι) ε φασή(λωι) ε
 τήλει ε, / λ, ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) ι, γεω(ργός) Φαῆσις Πετοσίριος.
 70 / ἀνδρῶν ε (ἄρourke) Σ.
 [τ]ῆς ἐν τῶι λδ (ἔτει),
 Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ξ, / σπός(ρος) (πυρῶι) κε, ἀρά(κωι) ε
 φασή(λωι) ι,
 / μ, ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) κ, γεω(ργός) Ἀθεμμεύς.
 [τ]ῶν μεταβεβηκότων εἰς τὴν κα(τοικίαν) ἐξ ἐφθῶν,
 75 Ἀπολλωνίου τ[αῦ] Πτολεμαίου δν με(τειληφέναι) Πτολεμαῖον τὸν υἶδν
 [ἀσπύρου] κδ.
 [Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ] Πτολεμαίου ἀσπύρου κδ.
 [/ ἀνδρῶν] β] (ἄρourke) μη.
 [ἐξ ἐρημοφυλάκων],
 80 [Ἀρτάβα τοῦ Πανταύχου] ἀσπύρου ι.

Col. iv.

- Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ (πρότερον) Νεκτενίβιος τοῦ
 Ὄρου ἀ[σπύρ]ου] ι, [
- γίνονται κατοίκων (ἄρourke) το[η]δ[ή].
 ἐρημοφυλάκων τῶν ἐν τῶι λβ (ἔτει),
 85 Πτολε[μαίου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος] ἐμβρό[χ]ου ι.
 Δάγου τ[οῦ] Διοδώρου ἀσπύρου ι.
 / ἀνδρῶ[ν] β (ἄρourke) κ.
 φυλακτικῶν τῶν ἐν [τῶ]ι λ[γ] (ἔτει),
 Ἀκουσ[ι]λ[άου] τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ι, / σπός(ρος) (πυρῶι) γ φασή(λωι) δ, / ξ,
 90 [ἐμβ]ρ[ό]χου γ, γεω(ργός) αὐ(τός).

- Ἑρακλείδου τοῦ Ἐτφεμούσιος ι, / σπύρος) (πυρῶι) δ ἀρά(κωι) γ, / ζ,
 ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) γ, γεω(ργός) Πετεσοῦχος.
 / ἀνδρῶν) β (ἀρουραι) κ.
 γίνονται τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς (ἀρουραι) υκ[η]ζδ'ή.
 95 καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς προσειλημ-
 μένοις εἰς τοὺς διὰ Κρίτωνος κατοίκους ἰππεῖς ἐν τῷ λζ (ἔτει),
 Ἀκουσιλάου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου ἐμβρό(χου) λ.
 Βακχίου τοῦ Μουσαίου κ, / σπύρος) (πυρῶι) ιβ φασή(λωι) γ, / ιε,
 ἐμβρό(χου) ε,
 γεω(ργός) Φαῶς Ὀρου.
 100 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀσπύρου ν.
 Πρωτάρχου τοῦ Διονυσίου ν, / σπύρος) (πυρῶι) κ ἀρά(κωι) ε φασή(λωι)
 ε, / λ,
 ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) κ, γεω(ργοῖ) Μαρεμήνις καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι).
 Πολέμωνος τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου ἀσπύρου κ.
 Ἀθηνίων Ἀρχίου μ, / σπύρος) (πυρῶι) ιε φασή(λωι) ι, / κε, ἐμβρό(χου) ιε,
 105 γεω(ργός) Πετεῦρις.
 Ἡρώδης Ἡλιοδώρου ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον) Ἡλιοδώρου [τοῦ
 Μηνοδώρου [χέρσου] μ.

97. ἐμβροχον λ inserted later. 100. Between this line and 101 an erased line.
 ἀσπορου ν inserted later. 107. 1. Διονυσίου for Μηνοδώρου; cf. explanatory note.

Col. v.

- Ἡφαιστίων Στρατονίκου χέ(ρσου) ι.
 Δεπτίνης Στρατονίκου χέ(ρσου) (κε).
 110 Μελανίππου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου ι, / σπύρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
 / ἀνδρῶν ι (ἀρουραι) [[Σπε]] Σφε.
 καὶ τῶν μεταβεβηκότων εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν ἐξ ἐφόδων
 τῶν ἐν τῷ λδ (ἔτει) καταμετρημένων,
 Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἑρακλείδου ἀσπύρου ιβ.
 115 Ταυρίσκου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον) Δημητρίου
 τοῦ Ἑρακλείδου ἀσπύρου ιβ.

- Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου κδ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 (πρότερον) Πολέμωνος τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου ι, λδ, ι
 [σπύ(ρος)] (πυρῶι) ιδ φασή(λωι) ι, / κδ, ἐμβρό(χου) ι, γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
- 120 [Ἀκο]υσιλάου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου ἀσπόρου ι.
 / ἀνδ(ρῶν) δ (ἄρουραι) ξη.
 [τ]ῶν παρακεχωρημένων εἰς τὸ β (ἔτος) ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἱπ(πικου?) λογι(σμοῦ)
 [κατὰ] χρη(ματισμὸν) Ὀννώφριος τοῦ τοπογραμματέως οὐ χρό(νος) (ἔτους) β
 Τῦβι κη,
 [Δ]ιδυμάρχου Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ (πρότερον) Πέτρωνος τοῦ Θεώνος
 125 ἐφόδου μεταβεβη(κόςτος) εἰς τὴν κα(τοικίαν) ἀσπόρου κδ.
 [καὶ] ἐκ τῶν φυλακῶν τῶν ἐν τῶι λγ (ἔτει),
 [Μάρ]ωνος τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀσπόρου κξ.
 [/ κατοίκων] (ἄρουραι) υιβ.
 [ἐφόδ]ων τῶν ἐν τῶι λδ (ἔτει),
- 130 [Πτ]ολεμαίου τοῦ Μενίσκου ἐμβρόχου κδ.
 [Ἀπ]ολλωνίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κδ, ι σπύ(ρος) πυρῶι ιβ φασή(λωι) γ,
 / ιε, ἐμβρόχου θ, γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 / ἀνδρῶν β (ἄρουραι) μη.
 [καὶ τ]ῆς καταμετρημένης τοῖς διὰ Χομήνιος
- 135 [ἐν] τῶι μα (ἔτει) ἱππεῦσι καὶ (ἑπτάρουροις) μαχίμων,
 [(τριακονταρούρων),] Ἀρυώτης Φ[αεῦτος οὐ] τ[ὸ] λα(ἱπδν) τοῦ κλή(ρου) περι
 Τεβτύ(νιν) ε,
 σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αὐτός.

122-5. These lines inserted later.

135. 1. μαχίμοις.

Col. vi.

- (εἰκοσιαρούρων), Πετεῆσις Πάσιτος ιθ, ι (πυρῶι) ι φασή(λωι) ς φα(κῶι) γ,
 γεω(ργός) αὐτός.
 Ἀρμιῦσις Πτολεμαίου ἀσπόρου ιθ.
- 140 Ἀκρισίωι Ἀκρισίωι δν με(τελιηφέναι) Χομήνιν τὸν υἱὸν ιθ, ι (πυρῶι) ι
 φα(κῶι) γ
 φασή(λωι) ς, γεω(ργός) αὐτός.

- Κεφαλᾶς Πετεσούχου ἀσπόρου ιθ.
 Τεῶς Τεῶτος οὐ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ Τεβτῦ(νιν) ιε, / σπ(ό)ρος
 (πυρῶι) ζΖ
 φασή(λwai) ζΖ, γεω(ργὸς) Μαρρής.
- 145 Φμέρσις Ὠρου οὐ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ Τεβτῦ(νιν) ε, σπ(ό)ρος
 (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) [α]ῖ(τός).
 Ἀρμιῦσις Φατρήους ἀσπόρου ιθ.
 / ἀνδρῶν η (ἄρourke) ρκ.
 (ἑπταρούρων) μαχίμων,
 Πορεγέβθις Ἀπύγχι[ο]ς ζΖ, / (πυρῶι) δΖ [φα(κῶι) β, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
- 150 Ὠρος Ὠρου ζΖ, / (πυρῶι) γΖ φα(κῶι) αΖ φ(ασή(λwai) αΖ, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Ὠρος Θοτορταίου ζΖ, / (πυρῶι) δΖ φά(κῶι) β, γεω(ργὸς) [αὐτός.
 Ἀρχύσις Πετοσίριος ζ[Ζ,] / (πυρῶι) δΖ ἀρά(κwai) β, [γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 [Ἀ]ρθῶνις Ἀρφαήσιος ζΖ, / (πυρῶι) δΖ φασή(λwai) β, [γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 [Κα]νῶς Πετοσίριος [ἀσπόρου ζΖ.
- 155 [Ἀρσῦτιμις Πετοσ]ίρι[ος] ἀσπ[δ]ρ[ου] ζΖ.
 Ὠρος μι(κρὸς) Κολλούθου ἀσπόρου ζΖ.
 Ἀρψήθις Κολλούθου ζΖ, / (πυρῶι) γΖ ἀρά(κwai) β φα(κῶι) α, γ[ε]ω(ργὸς)
 αὐτός.
 Πετεσούχος Τοθοείους ζΖ, σπ(ό)ρος (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Ὠρος Φαγῶμιος ζΖ, / (πυρῶι) γΖ φασή(λwai) γ, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
- 160 Φατρής Ὠρου ζΖ, / (πυρῶι) γΖ φασή(λwai) γ, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Μεστασῦτιμις Ὠρου ζΖ, σπ(ό)ρος (πυρῶι), [γεω(ργὸς)] αὐτός.
 Φαεὺς Σοκέως ζΖ, / (πυρῶι) γΖ φα(κῶι) γ, γε[ω]ω(ργὸς)] αὐτός.
 Θοτεὺς Φολήμιος ζΖ, / (πυρῶι) γΖ φασή(λwai) γ, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.

140. 1. Ἀκισίωι Ἀκισίου.

Col. vii.

- 2nd hand (?) Ὠ[ρος] Ἀρφαήσιος ζΖ ἀσπόρου.
 165 Ἀρμιῦσις Σοκονόπιος ζΖ, / (πυρῶι) γΖ τή(λwai) γ, γεω(ργὸς) αὐ(τός).
 Τεῶς Τεῶτος ζΖ, σπ(ό)ρος φασή(λwai), γεω(ργὸς) αὐ(τός).
 Πᾶσις μι(κρὸς) Καλατύτιος ζΖ, / φα(κῶι) β φασή(λwai) δΖ, γεω(ργὸς)
 αὐ(τός).

S

Νεκτενίβις Ὡρου 5L, / (πυρῶι) δ φασή(λοι) βL, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
 Φολήμις Νεκτενίβιος 5L, / φα(κῶι) βL ἀρά(κωι) β φασή(λοι) β, γεω(ργός)
 αἰ(τός).

- 170 Ἀπύγχις Ποώριος 5L ἀσπύρου.
 Κολλούθης Ὡρου [5L] ἀσπύρου.
 Πᾶσις μέ(γας) Καλα[τύτιος 5L, / . . () α . . ()] εL, [γ]εω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
 [Ἀρφαῆ]σις Ὡρου 5L
 [Ἔλλος Πάιτος 5L]
 175 [Κολλούθης Πετοσίριος 5L]
 [Ὀννώφρις Πετερμούθιος 5L]
 [Ἀμοῦνις Πικάμιος 5L]
 [Ἀμοῦνις Νεφνάχθει 5L]

[γίνονται ἀνδ(ρῶν) λ (ἄρourke) ρφε.]

180 [γίνονται τῆς ἐν τῶι μα (ἔτει) (ἄρourke) τιε.]

1st hand καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι μβ (ἔτει),

Ἀρωῶτης Ἀρωῶτου 5L, σπύ(ρος) [(πυρῶι),] γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

Χεῦρις Σοχώτου 5L, / [. . () δL] φα(κῶι) β, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

Ὡρος Ὀρσενούφιος 5L, [/ . . () .] ἀρά(κωι) . L, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

185 Πᾶσις Σοκονώπιος 5L, [/ . . () γL .] α () γ, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

/ ἀνδ(ρῶν) δ (ἄρourke) [κς.

[γίνονται τῆς διὰ Χομήνιο[ς] (ἄρourke) τμα.

καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι μς (ἔτει) τοῖς ἐ[κ τῆς] Ἑρακλείδου μερίδος με[τα-
 κεκληρουχημένοις ἀπ[ὸ] τῶν (πρότερον) δι' Ὡρου κ[αὶ

190 Πεσοῦριος προσλημ[φθέντ]ων εἰς τὴν

Col. viii.

τῶν μαχίμων σύνταξιν οὗς καὶ γέγραφεν
 Πτόλεμαῖος καὶ Ξένων οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν
 μαχίμων φέρειν ὑπὸ τὴν Χ[ο]μήνιος λααρχίαν,
 (ἑπταρούρων) μαχίμων,

195 Ὀννώφρις Μεστασύτμιος 5L, / ἀρά(κωι) γL φα(κῶι) β τή(λει) α,
 γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

Πτολεμαῖος Ξενθέως οὗ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλήρου περὶ [[αλλ]]

Ἄρεως κά(μην) γ, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

- *Ωρος Παάπιος 5L, σπύρος (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- Πεσύθης Παχῶτος 5L, / (πυρῶι) γL φασή(λῶι) γ, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- 200 Πασῶς μι(κρός) Φανήσιος 5L, / φα(κῶι) α φασή(λῶι) εL, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- Πασῶς Ὀρσείου 5L, / (πυρῶι) βL φα(κῶι) βL φασή(λῶι) αL, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- Ὀρ[σῆ]ς Ἄρονήσιος 5L ἀσπόρου.
- Φθαῦς Πετεήσιος 5L, / φα(κῶι) β ἀρά(κῶι) βL φασή(λῶι) β, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- Ἄρμιῦσις Πετεσούχου 5L, / σπύρος (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) {γεω(ργός)} αἰ(τός).
- 205 Πασῶ[ς] μ[έ]γας Φανήσιος 5L, σπύρος (πυρῶι), γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- Πετεσούχος Πετε[σού]χου 5L, / . . () βL φα(κῶι) β φασή(λῶι) β, γ[εω(ργός)] αἰ(τός).
- Σοκ[ο]νῶπις Πάσιτος 5L, / (πυρῶι) βL ἀρά(κῶι) β φα(κῶι) β, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- / [ἀνδρῶν] ιβ (ἀρurai) οδL.
- ὄστ' εἶναι τῆς διὰ Χομήνιος (ἀρούρας) υιεL.
- 210 καὶ τοῖς διὰ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ξένωνος,
- Μαρρεῖ Παάπιος 5L, / (πυρῶι) γL φασή(λῶι) γ, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- Ἄρονῶφρις Ὀρου 5L, / (πυρῶι) βL ἀρά(κῶι) β φασή(λῶι) β, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- Ἄρμαῖς Πανορσείου 5L, / (πυρῶι) γL φασή(λῶι) γ, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- / ἀ[νδρῶν] γ (ἀρurai) ιθL.
- 215 καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι [.] να (ἔτει) καταμεμετρη(μένης) τοῖς διὰ Χομήνιος ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνειλημμένης αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰβία(να) τῶν (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων),
203. φα(κῶι) corr. from (πυρῶι).

Col. ix.

- Λαβίς Φατρείου ἐν με(τεληφέναι) Κολλοῦθην
τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀσπόρου [5L.
- 220 Κόμων Πεχύσιος 5L,
(πυρῶι) γL ἀρά(κῶι) γ, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).
- Παῶπις Πετέλου 5L,
(πυρῶι) β φα(κῶι) β φασή(λῶι) βL, γεω(ργός) αἰ(τός).

Ἀρψάλις Στεφάνου ςΛ,
 225 (πυρῶι) γΛ χύ(ρται) γ, γεω(ργός) αὐ(τός).
 Ψε[ν]ῆ[σι]ς Στεφάνου ςΛ ἀσ(πύρου).
 / ἀνδ(ρῶν) ε (ἀρουραι) λβΛ.

221. This line over an erasure.

7. Πεπεμφιγῆς: for the common practice at this period of inserting γ between a short vowel and a long vowel or diphthong, cf. e. g. Ἀρσιγῆσις in the next line, and 26. 12 Εὐγεργέτις, 88. 16 Θ(ο)γγρηύου, and see G. Meyer, *Griech. Gramm.* (3rd ed.) § 218.

8. Ὄρος Ἀρσιγῆσις: cf. 78. 31, note.

18. After *ιερέων* 141 adds *κουεῖ*, i. e. *κουῆ*.

25. [Πεπεσούχου θεο]ῦ κροκοδίου: the name is preserved in 141; cf. 84. 111.

34. ἀρά(κω) κα(τανεμεμημένοι): cf. 61. (a) 191, 67. 23.

45. ιγ: one of the figures of the three items must be wrong, since they add up to 14, not 13.

94. 428 $\frac{7}{8}$ arourae is the same number as that in 62. 115, but here it should be 10 less, since the 10 arourae owned by Maron son of Dionysius (62. 110) are accounted for in the assignments of the next reign; cf. l. 128, note.

107. [χέρσου] is supplied from 141, where *Διονυσίου* is also correctly given in place of Ἡλιοδώρου here; cf. 61. (a) 34.

109. For the restoration of the arourae owned by Leptines cf. 61. (a) 15.

122-5. The *χρηματισμός* of Onnophris and other letters dealing with the transfer are preserved in 80. Owing to the ambiguity of *ἐκ* it is not clear whether *ἐκ τοῦ ἐπ(πικου) λογι(σμου)* indicates the fact that Petron was a *ἱππεύς* or that by the *παραχώρησις* he ceased to be one; cf. p. 556.

128. The total, 412 $\frac{1}{2}$, is 10 more than that in 62. 150, owing to the 10 arourae of Maron (l. 127) being included; cf. note on l. 94.

169. Φολῆμις Νεκτενίβιος: this person takes the place of Castor son of Pnepheros, who is found in the 52nd year (61. (a) 86).

215. να (ἔτει): the 50th according to 61. (a) 128; cf. note on 66. 23.

222. Παῶπις Πετείου: cf. note on 61. (a) 137.

64. REPORT ON THE CROPS AT KERKEOSIRIS.

15.4 + 17.10.

Height 27 cm.

B. C. 116-5.

This fragmentary papyrus contained a detailed report on the crops of Kerkeosiris similar to 61 and written in the same hand, but two years later in date. Of the portion dealing with land *ἐν ἀφέσει*, (a), all the columns are more or less preserved except the first; we print the more complete parts of nine of these, omitting the list of the *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* at the end, which supplies no new information. Since the papyrus deals with the same year

as 63, the 54th (of Euergetes) which = the 1st (of Soter II), a great many of the lacunae can be supplied from that document, which was drawn up later in the 2nd year than 64 and was very likely based upon it. The special interest of this list is that the details concerning the cleruchs, like those in 61. (a), are much fuller than those in 62 and 63 and to a large extent make good the loss of the early part of 61. (a). It is also remarkable for a number of marginal notes in a different and much smaller hand, chiefly dealing with cases where the holdings were for various reasons in danger of confiscation.

The section of 64 corresponding to 61. (a) 149 sqq. is wholly lost, but there are some much mutilated sheets corresponding to parts of 61. (b) and 72. Most of these are too fragmentary to be worth printing, especially as they are in the main identical with one or both of those two documents; but we give below the text of the section dealing with the *κατόχιμοι κληροί*, which goes far to restore the corresponding and hardly less mutilated section in 72. The other fragments of 64. (b) occasionally serve to fill up lacunae in 61. (b) and 72, and the restorations derived from it, as well as the differences between 64. (b) and 61. (b) and 72, are noted in the commentary on those two papyri.

(a) Col. i.

ἱερᾶς γῆς· Σούχου θεοῦ μεγάλου [μεγάλου ρμαλ,
 τούτων ἀμπέλου ἐρήμ[ου κ,
 σιτοφόρου ἐμβρόχου [ρκαδ',
 ὧν ἔστιν· [
 5 Ὄρου τοῦ Ἀρσιγῆσιος καὶ τῶν μετόχων ιε, .
 [Πετενεφι]ε[ί]ους Πετενεφι[εί]ους κε,

Col. ii.

[διὰ Μαρρ]είους καὶ τῶν μετόχων.
 [Ὀρσενούφι]ος θεοῦ δι' Ὀρ[σενο]ύφι[ος ἀσπόρου α.
 [ἰβίων] τροφῆς δι' Ἐργέως ἐμβρόχου δ.
 10 [ἀλλ]ου ἰβίωνος διὰ Π[νεφερῶτος καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ἀσπ(όρου) ε.
 [ἀλλ]ου ἰβίωνος διὰ Χεύριος [ἀσπόρου ε.
 γί[νο]νται [κδ'ή.
 κληρουχικῆς [τῆς ὑ]παρχούσης] (ἀρουραι) Ἀφξδλδ'ζ'χ'β'.
 ὧν ἔστιν τῆς ἕως τ[οῦ νδ το]ῦ καὶ α (ἔτους).

- 15 τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ προπάππου [τοῦ] βασί[ι]λέως,
 [[ἐβδομηκονταρούρων], Ἀφθονήτου τοῦ Ἐβδομίανος] ο, / σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι) κ.
 [ἀρά(κωι) κα(τανενεμημένωι)] λ, / ν, ἀλμι(ρίδος) κ,
 [γεωργὸς Πετερμούθις μι(κρὸς) Ἀμεννέως.]
 [(τριακονταρούρων) χερσεφίππων Πανταύχου τοῦ] Πανταύχου χέ(ρσου)
 λδίς'λ'β'.
 [γίνονται τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ προπάππου] (ἀρουραι) [ρ]δίς'λ'β'.

Col. iii.

- 20 ἐρημοφυλάκων,
 [Ἀη]μητρίου τοῦ [Σειλ]ανίανος ὃν μετειλη(φέναι) Σίληνον τὸν υἱὸν καὶ
 [π]αρά τούτ[ου] Ἑρακλείδην τὸν υἱὸν κ, σπά(ρος) φακ(ῶι), γεω(ργὸς)
 Ὀνῶφρις.
 γίνονται τῆ[ς] ἐπὶ τοῦ πάππου (ἀρουραι) ρκδδ'ή.
 [καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ] ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, συγγενῶν κα(τοίκων)
 ἱππέων,
 25 [Διοδότου] τοῦ Μικίανος οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τῶ[υ] κλή(ρου) περὶ ἄλλας κά(μας)
 ἀβρόχου εδ'ή'ίς'.
^{ἔξ ὧν}
 [Ἀπολλων]ίου τοῦ Μικίανος οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κλή(ρου) [περὶ ἄλλ]ας
 κά(μας) ἀβρόχου εδ'ή'ίς'.
 Πύρρωι Πτολεμαίου οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κλή(ρου) [περὶ Ἰ]βίωνα τῶν
 (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) *
 ὃν [μ]ετειλ(η)φέναι [Δυ]σίμαχον τῶ[ν] υἱῶ[ν] μ, / σπά(ρος) [(πυρῶι)] ιε
 ἀρά(κωι) ιε, / λ, ἐμβρό(χου) ι, γεω(ργὸς) Μαρρή(ς).
 30 [...].^ω·[...]

Col. iv.

- καὶ ἔξ ἐρημοφυλάκων,
 Ἄρταβάζου τοῦ Πανταύχου ἀσπύρου ι.
^{ὁμοίως}
 35 γίνονται κατοίκων (ἀρουραι) τκηλδ'ή.

- ἐρημοφυλάκων τῶν ἐν τῷ λβ (ἔτει),
 Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Διονυσίου ὃν μετε(ι)λη(φέναι) Πτολ[εμαῖον
 τὸν υἱὸν ἐ[μ]βρ[όχου] ι. σημ[...].η() ανα().
 Διοδώρου τοῦ Εὐκτῆ[μονος ὃν μετ]ειλη(φέναι)
 40 Λαγῶν τὸν υἱὸν [ἀσ]πύρου ι. δλ[ο(ιε)] ὑ[πολό(γου)].
 [γ]ίνονται [ἀνδ(ρῶν) β] (ἄρourke) κ.
 φυλακιστῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ λγ (ἔτει),
 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὃν μετελη(φέναι) Ἀκουσί[λαον
 τὸν υἱὸν μ, / σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι) γ φασή(λwai) δ, / ζ, ἐμβ[ρ]όχου γ.
 45 γίνονται τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς υκ[ηδ]ή.
 καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς προσειλημ-
 μένοις εἰς τὴν κατ[ο]κίαν διὰ Κρίτωνος [ἐν] τῷ λζ (ἔτει),
 Βακχίου τοῦ Μουσαίου κ, σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι) ιβ φασή(λwai) γ, / ιε,
 ἐ[μ]βρ[όχου] ε,
 γεωργὸς [Φαῶ]ς ἕξ.....
 50 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Διονυσίου κε, καὶ τὸν Δ[ιο]μ[υ]σίου ν [τοῦ
 [Ἀ]πολλωνίου τ[

Col. v.

- καὶ ἐν τῷ νδ (ἔτει) Μελανίππει Ἀσκληπιάδου ι, / λ,
 καταλείπονται αὐτοῦ ἀσπύρου κ. τοῦ κω(μο)γρ(αμματέως) ἐπιδε(γμένου) λη(φθήτω) αὐ(τοῦ) χειρογρ(αφία).
 55 καὶ τῶν παρακεχωρημένων ἀνευ διοικητικῶν
 χρηματισμῶν,
 Πρωτάρχαι Διονυσίου τὸν (πρότερον) Χαιρήμονος τοῦ Θέωνος
 τῶν διὰ Κρίτωνος ν, / (πυρῶι) κ φασή(λwai) ε ἀρά(κωι) ε, / λ,
 ἐμ[β]ρ[όχου] κ. ἕξ δλ[ο(ιε)] ὑ[πολό(γου)].
 γίνονται Κριτωνέων (ἄρourke) ρμ.
 60 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ νδ (ἔτει) παρακεχωρημένων κατὰ χρηματισμῶν,
 Ἀκου[σ]ιλῶι Ἀσκληπιάδου ὑπὸ Θέωνος τοῦ Θέωνος
 τῶν ἐν τῷ λζ (ἔτει) προσλημφθέντων διὰ Κρίτων[ος
 ἐμ[β]ρ[όχου] λ. ἐὰν μὴ δ κω(μο)γρ(αμματέως) ἐπιδέ(ξῆται) κ... ()
 ἀνα(ληφθήτω) εἰς [τὸ βα(σιλικόν)].

- Μελανίππῳ Ἀσκληπιάδου ὑπὸ Πολέμ[ω]νος τοῦ
 65 Ἀμμωνίου τῶν Κριτωνείων ι, σπέ(ρος) (πυρῶι), γε(αργός) αὐτός.
 γίνοντα[ι] τ[ῶ]ν ἐν τῶι νδ (ἔτει) (ἄρourke) μ.
 τῶν ἐν τῶι λδ (ἔτει) καταμεμετρημένων τῶν] μετα-
 βεβηκότων.[ε]ἰς τὴν κατοικίαν ἐξ ἐφόδων,
 Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου κδ ἀφ' ὧν παρα-
 70 κεχωρήσθαι εἰς τὸ νγ (ἔτος) δ κω(μο)γρ(αμματέως) ἐπιθε(ξέμενος?) ξξ[
 Ταυρίσκῳ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀσπέρου ιβ,
 τὰς λοιπὰς αὐτοῦ ἀσπέρου [ιβ.

60. τω above the line.

Col. vi.

- ξ. .] Διδυμάρχου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον)] Πέτρωνος
 τοῦ Θεώνος κδ ἀσπέρου.
 75 [] χειρογρ(αφ) [
 γίν[ο]νται . [.] (ἄρourke) ο.
 καὶ ἐν τῶι λθ (ἔτει),
 Ἀκουσιλάῳ Ἀσκ[λ]ηπιάδου οὗ τὸ λο(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλή(ρου)
 περὶ Θεογονίδα [ι ἀσ]πέρου.
 80 τοῦ κ[ω(μο)]γρ(αμματέως) [ἐπιθεθε(γμένου)] σ[υ(μπληρώσαι)] τὸ ∟ λη(φθῆτω) χειρογρ(αφία).
 γίνονται (ἄρourke) [
 καὶ τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου [τοῦ Β]ρ[ομ]εροῦ δν μετελιη(φέναι)
 Βρομερὸν τὸν υἱὸν τῶ[ν ἐν τῶι] λε (ἔτει) προσλημ-
 φθέ[ν]των εἰς τοὺς κα[τοίκους] ἱππεῖς κατα-
 85 τιαθέντος διὰ τὸ [. . . εὐρίσκ]εσθαι ἀγταν-
 ειρημένον ὑπὸ τῶ[ν πρότε]ρ[ο]ν βασιλικῶν
 [γρ]αμματέων ἀποδ[εδομένου] δ' [ἐν] τῶ[ι]. (ἔτει)
 κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικ[η]τοῦ καὶ Ἀ[μ]φ[ι]κ[λ]είους
 τοῦ ὑπομνηματ[ο]γρ[αφ]ήσαντος συγκεκρι-
 μένα

85. 1. ἀνατηρημένον.

Col. vii.

- 90 Ἡράδου τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου ἀπὸ [τοῦ (πρότερον) Ἡλιοδώρου
τοῦ Διονυσίου τῶν αὐτῶν χέρσου μ.
... εἰς (εἰς) ὑπολό(γου).
- καὶ τῶν [ἐν τῶν] νβ (ἔτει) ὁμοίως ὑπὸ [Ἀνικήτου,
Ἀθηνίω] Ἀρχίου ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον) Π[ολέμωνος
95 [τοῦ Ἀ]μμωνίου ι, καὶ ἀπὸ [τοῦ (πρότερον) Ἡλιοδώρου
τοῦ Μη]νοδώρου ι, καὶ τὰς [λοιπὰς Χαιρήμονος
[τοῦ] Κρα[τ]είνου κ, / μ, [ἰ (πυρῶν) ιε φασή(λων) ι, / κε,
ἐμβρ[ό]χ[ου] ιε, γεω(ργός) Π[ε]τεύρις.
εἰς εἰς (εἰς) ὑπολό(γου) ἀγ(αθηφθῆτω).
- 100 καὶ τῶν μετὰ [τὸ]ν σπέρων τοῦ νβ (ἔτους) [
Λεπτ[ί]νη] Στρατονίκου ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον) Ἡλιοδώρου
[τοῦ Μη]νοδώρου χέ(ρσου) [κε.
... εἰς εἰς (εἰς) ὑπολό(γου)
- Ἡφαιστίωνι Στρατονίκου τὰς λοιπὰς Ἡλιοδώρου
105 τοῦ Διονυσίου τῶν αὐτῶν ι χέρσου.
... εἰς εἰς (εἰς) ὑπολό(γου)

Col. viii.

- Μάρωνος τοῦ Πετοσίριος τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου
τοῦ Νεχ(τ)σάφθιος [ι,
καὶ ἄς μετεπιγεγράφθαι κατὰ τὸν Ἀ-
110 νικήτου καὶ τῶν συνπροστατῶν] τῶν
διὰ Κρίτωνος κατοίκων ἱππέων] χρη(ματισμὸν)
ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρότερον) Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Μη[νοδώρου]
..... [δ]ιὰ [τὸ] μὴ [εὐσυνθετη]κέναι
ἐν τῇ [διορθώσει τοῦ ἐπιβλη(θέντος) στεφάνου
115 .. [. . .] δ . ρ . [. . . .] . . . κ[
[. . . .] . [. .] . [
· [

- [ἐφόδων τῶν] ἐν τῶι λδ (ἔτει),
 [Μ]εν[ίσκου τοῦ] Πτο[λεμαίου] δν μετειλη[φέναι]
 120 [Πτολεμαί]ον τὸν υἱὸν ἐμ[βρόχου] κδ.
 ἐὰν μὴ συ[μπληρώσῃ] τὸ Λ (ἀρτάβης) ἀνα[ληφθήτω].
 [Ἄ]πολλωνίου τοῦ Πτολεμαί[ου] κδ,
 [(πυρῶι) ιβ φαστή(λωι) γ ἐ]μβρό(χου) θ, [γεωργὸς αὐτός.
 [γίνου]νται ἀ[ν]δρῶν β (ἄρουραι) μη. [
 125 [φυλακ]ιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῶι να (ἔτει) [καταμεμετρη-
 [μένω]ν χάριν τοῦ προσαγ[γελῆναι] κατα-
 [μεμετρή]σθ[α] ἀπὸ σπορίμου [ἀντὶ] χέρσου, δν
 [καὶ καταμ]εμετρηκένας τὸ ἐκ[φόριον] α (ἔτους),

Col. ix.

- καὶ τῆς καταμεμετρημένης τοῖς διὰ Χομήνιος
 130 προσειλημμένοις ἐν τῶι μα (ἔτει) εἰς τοὺς μαχίμους, [
 ἱππέων (τριακονταρούρων),
 Ἄρυάτης Φαεῦτος οὗ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ Τεβτύν[ιν]
 ε, σπά(ρος) πυρῶι, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 (εἰκοσιαρούρων), Πετεήσιος τοῦ Πάσιτος ιθ, / (πυρῶι) ι [ἀ]ρά(κωι) θ, γεωρ(γὸς)
 αὐτός.
 135 Ἄκρισίωι Ἄκρισίου] δν μετειλη(φέναι) Χομήν[ιν] τὸν υἱὸν
 ιθ, / (πυρῶι) ι φακ(ῶι) γ φ[ασ]τή(λωι) ς, γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Φμέρσει Ὡρου οὗ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλή(ρου)] περὶ Τεβτύνιν ε, σπά(ρος)
 (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.
 Κεφαλᾶτι Πετε[ε]σούχου] ἀσπόρου ιθ.
 ε η μὲν τοπαρχη() ἐκτεθήτω.
 140 Ἄρμιύσει Πτολεμαίου [ἀσπόρου] ιθ.
 ἐὰν μὴ συ[μπληρώσῃ] τὸ Λ (ἀρτάβης) ἀναλη(φθήτω).
 Τεῶτι Τεῶτος οὗ τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ Τεβτύνιν
 ε, / σπά(ρος) (πυρῶι) ζΛ φαστή(λωι) ζ[Λ, γεω(ργὸς)
 Ἄρμιύσις Φατρείους ἀσπόρου ιθ.
 145 ἐν τῶι λαρχή(ματι) ? ἐ[κτεθήτω]
 γίνονται (εἰκοσιαρούρων) ἀνδρ[ῶν] ζ (ἄρουραι) ριε.

γίνονται ἰπ[πέων (τριακονταρούρων) καὶ (εἰκοσιαρούρων) ρκ.
 (ἑπταρούρων) μαχίμων [τῶν ἐν τῷ μα (ἔτει),
 Πορεγέβθις [Ἀπύγχιος 52

142. ο of τρωτος CORR. from ι.

(b)

Col. i.

[ἀν]ταναιρουμέων] δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ μ[ζ] (ἔτει) κα[ι] τῶ[ι] β (ἔτει)
 [προσ]ηγμένων τοῖ[ς] ἀπαιτησίμοις ος'
 [γίνοντ]αι τῶν ἐν τῷ ὑπ[ο]λ[ό]γωι (ἀρουραι) μ[ζ] (ἀρτάβαι) τδδ'.
 τοῦ [δὲ ὑπ]ολόγου (ἀρουραι) τ[. . . .] (ἀρτάβαι) 'Ατρκδ.',
 5 ὅστ' εἶναι τὰς προκειμ[έν]ας) 'Βρξς[ΛΧβ'] (ἀρτάβαι) Μχγδ . [
 κατοχίμων [κ]λή(ρων) τῶ[ν] πρὸς] τὸν τῆς προσλήμψεως
 στέφ[ανον, Μενίσκου τοῦ Πτολ]εμα[ου] δν [μ]ετ[ειλη]φέναι)
 Πτολεμαῖον τὸν υἱὸν ἐν δι χρ[υ]σίου Σκε (πυροῦ) ν.
 ἐγ δὲ τῶν [. ὑπὸ τοῦ] διοικητοῦ μετὰ τὸν
 10 σπόρον τοῦ νδ (ἔτους) ἐξ ὧν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ γενόμενος
 γραμμάτεὺς αὐτῶν χρυ[σίου] Σκε καὶ] διὰ τὸ εὐρίσκεισθαι
 διὰ [τῶν διαλογισμῶν ἀπαιτούμ]ενον ἐν[αυτοῦ]
 [ἐκφόριον τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν χρυ[σικόν] ἀπαι]τουμένων [χρυ[σίου] Σ

1. ιρ of ἀν]ταναιρουμέων] CORR from ν. κα[ι] τῶ[ι] β (ἔτει) added below the line. 4. ου
 of ὑπ]ολόγου CORR. from ωι.

Col. ii.

[καὶ τῶν] κατ' ἐπιστολῆν Ἀσκληπι[ά]δου τοῦ προ[στάντος]
 15 [τῆς κεχ]ωρισμένης προσόδου] τῶν ἐκ Τεβ[τύνεως]
 [πρὸς] διαφόρησιν [τῶν τῆς προσόδου] προβάτω[ν
 [ἐφ' ὧν τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ ἐπ]ὶ τῶν προσόδων προσ[ανη]νέχθαι συν-
 [κεκρίσθαι ὑπὸ Εἰρηναίου] τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ στρατ[ηγού]
 . . ρι .

20 (είκοσιαρούρων), Ἀρμιύσιος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἀναγραφομένου εἰς Ἀρμιύσιν
 Φατρε[ίους] ιθ (ἀρτάβαι) ρε, μετρεῖ (ἔτους) νδ Ἐπειφ ἐκφάριον
 ἐνιαυ(τοῦ),
 ἀσπύρου.

Ἀρμιύσιος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ιθ (ἀρτάβαι) ρε.
 (ἑπταρούρων), Παώπιος τοῦ Πετ]εσοῦχου ςλ (ἀρτάβαι) λβλ, μετρεῖ νδ
 (ἔτους) Παῦνι

25 σπύρος (πυρῶι) β φακῶι β φασή(λωι) βλ.
 [Ῥ]ρσει[ους] τοῦ Ἀροννήσιος ςλ (ἀρτάβαι) λβλ, ι μετρεῖ νδ [(ἔτους)
 ἀσπύρου.

Πᾶσις Σ[οκο]νόπιος ςλ (ἀρτάβαι) λβλ, ι μετρεῖ νδ (ἔτους) Παῦνι
 σπύρος (πυρῶι) γλ φα[σ]ή(λωι) γ.

30 καὶ τῶν [ἀ]παιτουμένων τὸ ἐκφάριον α (ἔτους)
 μεταβεβη(κόντων) εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν διὰ Κ[.]αμ[.] . . .
 Διονυσίου τ[οῦ] Πυρρίχ[ου]] . [
 . . μενον διὰ τῆς του[

16. l. προσόδου.

(α) 2. ἀμπέλου: elsewhere this land is called παράδεισοι; cf. note on 61. (α) 152.

7. The previous line was Πετεσοῦχου θεοῦ κροκοδίου τῆς κόμης; cf. 63. 25.

10. Ἰβίωνος: cf. note on 62. 21.

21-2. Cf. 63. 49, where Heraclides is stated to be the owner.

25. περὶ ἄλλας κό(μης): at Ibion according to 63. 53.

30. Possibly ἐξ ὧν, as in l. 26.

35. τκη: the κ is an error for ο; cf. 63. 83. In 141 τκη is corrected to τση.

39. It is curious that in 62. 103 this holding is already ascribed to Lagos; cf. note on l. 43.

40. δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου): cf. ll. 58 and 92 and note on 61. (δ) 324.

43. In 62. 108 the κληρος is already attributed to Acusilaus.

44. μ is an error for ι; cf. 62. 189.

50. Apollonius in the lists both before and after this papyrus (62. 122 and 144) is said to own 50 arourae. It is possible that α (sc. πρότερον) has been omitted after τῶν, but the following δ is clear.

52-3. The cleruch in question is Polemon son of Ammonius, who in the 51st year (62. 128) is entered as ὀνwing 40 arourae. 10 of these were given in the 54th year to Melanippus, a new κάτοικος (cf. l. 64).

54. ἐπίδε(γμένου) (cf. ll. 63, 70, 80) is equivalent to ἀναδεγμένου; cf. 75. 6 and 98. 44.

When a cleruch fell into arrears with regard to the $\frac{1}{3}$ -artaba tax (on which see 61. (δ) 323-41, note, and 98. introd.), his holding was liable to confiscation unless he could persuade the komogrammateus to become surety for him. 75. 3-13 is an example

of such a χειρογραφία as that required in ll. 54 and 80, and among the cleruchs for whom Menches became surety were Polemon son of Ammonius (cf. ll. 52-3, note) and Ptolemaeus son of Meniscus (cf. ll. 119-21).

63. ἀνα(ληφθήτω): cf. l. 121. τὸ βα(σιλικόν) is very doubtful, for the papyrus is not torn and some traces of the ink ought to be discernible.

69-72. The cession by Demetrius of half his κλήρος to Tauriscus in this year is perhaps connected with his failure to pay the στέφανος προσλήψεως; cf. 61. (δ) 261 sqq.

73. [α'] cannot be read at the beginning of the line, and indeed nothing is wanted before Διδυμάρχου. Perhaps διδυμάρχου was written. Cf. note on 63. 122-5.

80. For the restoration of the lacunae cf. ll. 54 and 121. Acusilaus was in the same position as Polemon son of Ammonius; cf. l. 54, note.

82-9. Cf. 61. (α) 20-6.

99. ἐξ δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου): perhaps ἐξ δλο(υ), but ἐξ may agree with ὑπολόγου, or be an abbreviated word, though there is no indication of this. In 61. (δ) 324 sqq. (cf. note) the point of δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου) would seem to be that the land in question was not liable for the tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba. But here the tax is paid on uncultivated land; cf. ll. 80, 121, 141, and 98. introd.

107. Cf. note on 61. (α) 39-41. Νεχ(τ)σάφθιος and Διονυσίου should be transposed.

113 sqq. Cf. 61. (α) 32-3.

125-8. Cf. 61. (α) 47-9.

(δ) 1-4. Cf. 72. 217-21, and note on 61. (δ) 49. $304\frac{1}{2}$ in l. 3 should be the sum of the σπόριμος granted to cleruchs (cf. 61. (δ) 246, 72. 184) and the difference of the rents on the land leased by Phantias and the epimeletae (72. 219). But there may be another letter between τ and δ.

5. Cf. 72. 222. The details which follow in 72. 223-5 are absent here. The number of the arourae is the same in both papyri.

6-13. Cf. 72. 246-58.

14-9. Cf. 72. 259-64.

20-9. These persons apparently come under the heading in ll. 14-9. But in the corresponding passage in 72 the list seems to be different.

20. Ἀρμύσιος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου: cf. 63. 139, and for the other Harmisius, who was also an εἰκοσάρουρος ἱππέυς, cf. 63. 146. ἀναγραφομένου seems to refer to some confusion between these two individuals; cf. 61. (δ) 261.

24. For the three ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι cf. 61. (α) 137, 63. 202 and 185.

32. Διονυσίου τ[οῦ] Πυρρίχου: his tenure dated from the reign of Epiphanes (63. 45).

65. EXTRACT FROM A LIST OF HOLDERS OF CLERUCHIC LAND.

14.5.

Height 31 cm.

About B. C. 112.

This papyrus contained a list of holders of land ἐν ἀφέσει similar to 62 and 63, but written not earlier than the 5th or 6th year of Soter II, since events which took place in the former of these years are referred to. The early part of the document prior to the list of ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι is lost, and this

does not present any new features worth recording ; but we print the concluding lines of the papyrus, since they show that in the 5th year Menches the komogrammateus received a grant of 20 arourae of uncultivated land (*ὑπόλογον*). This grant is identical with the 20 arourae mentioned in 75. 50-1, which are deducted from the *ὑπόλογον* (cf. 61. (b) 207, note), though apparently from the *άλμυρίς* instead of the *ἔμβροχος* (cf. l. 22 and 75. 71, note). From the fact that this is entered here among the grants to cleruchs it would appear that the assignment was of the nature of a reward for his services rather than a burden such as the 10 arourae of land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* for which according to 10. 4 he had to pay a heavy rent. These 20 arourae given to Menches are the only example of a *κλήρος* being assigned to a purely civil official, the other cleruchs at Kerkeosiris either being soldiers or holding semi-military posts ; cf. p. 551.

15 lines of the conclusion of the list of *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι*

- 16 γίνονται τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς (ἄρουραι) ρκ.
ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως
 καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ ε (ἔτος) καταμετρημένης
 Μεγχεί Πετεσούχου] κωμογραμματεῖ] κατὰ τὸν παρ'
 20 Εἰρηναίου τοῦ στυγγειοῦ] καὶ διοικητοῦ χρηματισμῶν)
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιχωρημένου αὐτοῖς [[ὑπολόγου] (ἄρουραι) κ]]
 ἀπὸ ἐμβρόχου ε (ἔτους) (ἄρουραι) κ.
 [ὥστ'] εἶναι κληρουχικῆς)
 [καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως), τῶν ἐν τῷ β (ἔτει) παρακεχωρημένων),
 25 [Διονυσίῳ Διονυσίου) τὸν (πρότερον) Μενάνδρου τοῦ Πανταύχου)

16. The correct total of cleruchic land assigned in the reign of Euergetes was 927½ arourae ; cf. note on 61. (a) 146. The figure 920 can hardly be right, for the 24 arourae originally assigned to Petron son of Theon (62. 146) and transferred in the 2nd year to Didymarchus son of Apollonius (80 and 63. 122-5) were reckoned under the heading *τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως* (cf. note on l. 17).

17. *ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως* : these words were probably inserted later in order to explain *ε (ἔτος)* in the next line. The heading *τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως* in l. 24 should have preceded l. 17, as it does in the corresponding passage in 145, which concludes thus: *καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, τῶν ἐν τῷ β (ἔτει) παρακεχωρημένων, Διονυσίῳ Διονυσίου τὸν (πρότερον) Μεάνδρου τοῦ Πανταύχου* λδὶ ζ' λ' β', λ (πυρῶι) ε ἀσπόρου κθὶ ζ' λ' β'. *Διδυμάρχου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸν (πρότερον) Πέτρωνος τοῦ Θέωνος* κδ, λ (πυρῶι) γ ἀρά(κωι) γ, / ζ, ἀσπόρου ιη, γεω(ργός) αὐ(τός). *Σωσιλέως Μενναίου τὸν (πρότερον) Ἀρταβά(α) τοῦ Πανταύχου* ι, λ (πυρῶι) β ἀρά(κωι) γ, / ε, ἀσπόρου ε, γεω(ργός) αὐ(τός). *καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ε (ἔτει) καταμετρημένης Μεγχεί Πετεσοῦχου] κωμογραμματεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὴν κώ(μην) ὑπολόγου] (ἄρουραι) κ.* *ὥστ' εἶναι κληρουχικῆς*) followed by a blank space as in 65. 23. The correspondence dealing with the registration of Dionysius in place of Menander son of Pantauchus (63. 37) is preserved in 31, and that dealing with Didymarchus in 80. For Artabazas son of Pantauchus cf. 62. 95, note.

21. Who are meant by *αἰτοῖς* is obscure, and perhaps it should be corrected to *αἰτῶι*.
 23. The total of the cleruchic land was not filled in. Probably it was 1594 $\frac{3}{4}$ arourae, if the *αληρος* of Menches is added to the amount existing up to the 2nd year; cf. p. 553.
 24. β (*ἔτει*) is a mistake for ε (*ἔτει*) with regard to Dionysius; cf. 31. i.
 25. The papyrus apparently continued for another column or part of one. At the bottom right-hand corner are Διδ[] and Σωσ[], obviously referring to Didymarchus and Sosicles (cf. note on l. 17). But whether the upper part contained writing is doubtful.

66. REPORT OF THE CROPS OF CROWN LAND.

14.4.

29.4 x 48.5 cm.

B. C. 121-0.

The five following papyri (66-70) are specimens of the annual reports, drawn up by the komogrammateus, of the crops of Crown land at Kerkeosiris, upon which see App. i. §§ 4-5. The present document refers to the 50th year of Euergetes II and is the earliest of the series. It is a careless production, containing a number of mistakes in the wording and a great many faults of arithmetic.

The individual numbers throughout this papyrus are as a rule marked by a dot which is placed over the figures composing the number; another example of this practice occurs in 70 (note on l. 73). Its object was to show, where several figures occurred in close proximity, how many distinct numbers they composed. On the *verso* is a narrow column of figures, much obliterated.

Col. i.

[Κερ]κεοσίρεως.
 [ἔσπα]ρμέναι εἰσὶν {ἦσ[α]ν} ἐν τῶι μθ (ἔτει)
 (ἄρουραι) ἈΣΛΛδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐοαγ',
 καὶ μετὰ τὸν σπῆρον προσγε(νεται) τῆς ὑπὸ
 5 Διονυσίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων
 καὶ προστάτου τῆς ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀναγομένης
 [ἐν τῆ]ι Πολέμωνος μερίδι ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
 [Φιλ]νου γράφο[ντ]ος μεμισθ[ω]κέναι ἐν τῶι μθ (ἔτει)
 [τοῖς] κατὰ μέρος γεωργοῖς εἰς κατεργα[σ]ίαν
 10 [ὧν] δεῖν προσάγεσθαι τὰ ἐγγ[.]μενα ἐκφόρια{ι},
 [ἀς] γρ[]άφει ὁ κωμογρα[μ]ματεὺς γεγονέναι ἐν ὑπο-
 [λόγο]ν ἀλμυρίδι.

- [. . . .] . ι ιδδ' (άρτάβαι) ξαδ',
 [. . .] . . . ιδλδ' (άρτάβαι) [. .] αϊ (πυρού) μβ,
 15 [. . .] . αυ () ι (άρτάβαι) [. .] αϊ (πυρού) μ,
 [. . . .] . γων [λθ] (άρτάβαι) [ξ,] / οη
 (άρτάβαι) Σγδ'.
 ὄστ' εἶναι Ἄτηλδ' (άρτάβας) ἘΣοδλίβ',
 ὦν (πυρού) Βκζίβ'.
 20 ἀφ' ὧν γράφει γεγονέναι ἐν ὑπολόγωι εἰς ν (ἔτος)
 τὰς προκειμένας οη (άρτάβας) Σγδ'.
 καταλείπονται (ἀρουραι) ἈΣλλδ' (άρτάβαι) Ἐοαγ',
 ἀφ' ὧν [[γρ[α]φ]] καταμεμετρῆσθαι τοῖς με-
 τακεκληρουχημένοις ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν
 25 Ἰβίωνα τῶν (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) ἀνδράσι ζ ἀνὰ 5Λ μελ
 ἀν[ὰ] δΛγίβ' (άρτάβαι) Σκγβ',
 κατ[α]λεῖπονται Ἄρπεδ' (άρτάβαι) Ἄωμζβ'.

2. ησαν corr. from εν τ[ω]. 6. προστατου corr. from προσταται. 18. ι in ιβ' corr. from δ'. 23. καταμεμετρῆσθαι written above μετακεκληρουχη which is crossed through.

Col. ii.

- εἰς δὲ τὸ ν (ἔτος) ἐσπάρθαι [[B]ωπζ]]
 πυρῶι (ἀρούρας) χνζλ [(άρτάβαι)] Βψμγλδ',
 30 ὧν (ἀρουραι) ριδ [ἀν(ὰ) εβ'ήμή (άρτάβαι)] χξβλδ',
 ζ ἀν(ὰ) ε λε, πεδ' [ἀν(ὰ)] δΛγ'ήμή (άρτάβαι) υκ . .
 ρκαλ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ' ἀρτάβαι φρζ[. .]ίβ', γλ ἀν(ὰ) δλ (άρτάβαι) ιελδ',
 ρναλδ' ἀν(ὰ) δ (άρτάβαι) χζ, κ ἀν(ὰ) γδ' (άρτάβαι) ξε,
 ιαλ [ἀν(ὰ)] γ (άρτάβαι) [λ]δλ, [ρ]ιβλδ' ἀν(ὰ) βλ ΣπαΛγίβ',
 35 γ ἀν(ὰ) β 5, κθ ἀν(ὰ) α κθ.
 κρι(θῆ)ι κ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγ' {γ}ίβ' (άρτάβαι) ρηγγ. δλύ(ραι) ι ἀν(ὰ) δ (άρτάβαι) μ.
 φακῶι Σλβ ὦν ἐκφάριον) Ἄργλγίβ',
 ὦν (ἀρουραι) ρργ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ' ἤμηΛγίβ',
 δ ἀν(ὰ) δλ ιη, λβ ἀν(ὰ) δ (άρτάβαι) ρκη,
 40 γ ἀν(ὰ) γ θ. α[ι λο]ιπαὶ φα(κοῦ) ωξ.
 γίνονται τῆς σίτωι γ[ι]θλ (άρτάβαι) Ἄρηγλδ'.
 ΓΤτε

. θ
 πλ(είω) (ἀρουραι) ? . . . !!!
 [. . .] (άρτάβαι) ?
 !!γ.

πλ(είω) (ἀρουραι) β
 (άρτάβαι) ρμγδ'.

καὶ ἄλλοις γένεσι τοῖς πρ[ὸς] πυρὸν διοικουμένοις·
τῆλῃ ιϷ μϷλγ', ὦν (ἀρourke) η ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' λθγ',

βλ ἀν(ὰ) γ ζλ. μελανθε(ῶν) ιη ἀν(ὰ) εβ'ήμ'ή^{ρδλ'β'} ν.

45 φασή(λωι) ι ἀν(ὰ) εβ'ήμ'ή νηίβ'.

γίνονται ἄλλοις γένεσι ληλ (ἀρτάβαι) Σε.

χλωροῖς· ἀράκωι οεδ' (ἀρτάβαι) τραγ'ίβ',

ὦν (ἀρourke) ε ἀν(ὰ) ε κε, ιϷ ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' νβ,

μβ ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' Σςς', ιε ἀν(ὰ) δ ξ,

50 βλδ' ἀν(ὰ) γ ηδ'. χόρτωι η λδ, ὦν (ἀρourke) β ἀν(ὰ) ε ι,

ς ἀν(ὰ) δ κδ.

32. φη over an erasure.
from (ἀρτάβαι).

36 α(α) after ι corr. from (ἀρτάβαι).

37. ων corr.

Col. iii.

χα[ρ]τονομῶν πα ἀν(ὰ) α πα.

γίνονται χόρτωι κα[?] χορτονομῶν πθ (ἀρτάβαι) ριε.

γίνονται χλωροῖς ρξδδ' (ἀρτάβαι) υξςγ'ίβ'.

55 τῆς δ' ἐσπαρμένης Ἀρκβδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Δωξαδ'.

καὶ [ἦν γρ]άφει δ κωμογρ(αμματεὺς) ἡ[σ]πορήκῆναι εἰς τὸ ν (ἔτος)

δι' ἀμείλιαν τῶν] ὑπογεγραμμένων γεω(ργῶν) ἐχ[δ]ντων

καὶ τὰ ταύτ[ης] σπέρματα ὑπὲρ ὧν γράφ[ει] δ κωμογρ(αμματεὺς)

τοὺς ἐκ τῆς κώμης γεωργοὺς κεχειρογρ[α]φηκῆναι

60 Διονυσίωι τῶι μεριδάρχηι σπερεῖν το[ῖ]ς ἀρμό-

ζουσι γένεσι ἢ μετρήσειν τὰ ἐκφόρια{ι} δ[.]. σιν

ἐξ ἐπιγ(εν)ημάτων τῆι αὐτῆς ἧς γεωργοῦσι [γ]ῆς

(ἀρούρας) λγ ὦν ἐκφόριον ρν[ε]λδ', ι

ὦν (ἀρourke) ια ἀν(ὰ) ε νε, ιε ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' [ο]γλδ',

65 δ ἀν(ὰ) [δ]λ ιη, γ ἀ[ν(ὰ)] γ θ.

ὦν ἐστὶν τ[ὸ] κα[τ] ἀνδρ(α).

'Ονωφρις Φατρείους ἀπὸ ιαλ δ ἀν(ὰ) [ε] κ,

'Εριεὺς Ψενή(σιος) δ (ἀρτάβαι) κ,

Πάσιτος τοῦ Πάσιτος δ ιη,

70 Τοβοῆτος τοῦ Χεύριος δλ κβς',

T

- Ἀρμιύ[ιο]ς I . [. . . .]ς γλ ιςγ'ίβ',
 Πετεσούχο[υ] τοῦ Χεύρι[ος] γ ἀν(ὰ) γ θ,
 γεωργῶν κα[.] . [. . . .] ι μθγ'ίβ',
 / λγ ρνελδ'.
- 75 καὶ νομῶν ὧν γράφει ἀκα(τα)[ν]εμή(τας) γεγο[ν]έναι διὰ τὸ τὰ κτή(νη) τῆς
 {τῆς} κώμης προπεπτωκ[έναι] τεθε(ι)μ(έν)ων ἐν [το]ῖς ἐκφα(ρίοις)
 ἐν οἷς δεῖν αὐτ . . ὁμοίως π[ρ]άσσεσθαι ἕνεκα τ[ο]ῦ μὴ τὰ τῆς
 κώμης μόνον προπεπτωκέναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ διὰ τοῦ νομοῦ
 αἰθ . [. . . .] . . τὸν κωμογραμματέα ἀνενηνοχέναι δεῖν
- 80 καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰσπρά[σ]σεσθαι, τῶν διὰ Πετοσίριος τοῦ Ὀρου (ἀρουρῶν) λ
 (ἀρτάβαι) λ.
 / ξγ ρπελδ'.

62. l. τῆς. 75. ἀκα[ν]εμή(τας) above the line. 78. First ο of *μονον* corr. (?)

Col. iv.

- καὶ ὧν συνκρίται ἀπαιτεῖν ἐκφ(όριον) α (ἔτους)
 φυλακῶν τῶν μεταβεβη(κῶτων)
 Νεκτε(ν)ίβιος τοῦ Ὀρου ἀπὸ ζ ι μθβ'.
- 85 φυλακῶν καθ' ἑαυτοῦς
 Νεφθεμ[ο]ῦνις Ἀμορταίου ὧν με(τε)ληφέναι
 Ἑρακλείδην τὸν υἱὸν ι μθβ'.
 ἀνταναιρουμένων δὲ τῶν μεμετρη(μένων) ἐν τῷ μῆ (ἔτει)
 ιςγ', καὶ ἐν τῷ μθ (ἔτει) ιςγ', / λββ'.
- 90 τὰς λοι[π]ὰς ις ἀσπ(όρου), / κ (ἀρτάβαι) ξςβ'.
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς [ἐν]θαῦτα τίθεται τῶν εἰς τὸ ν (ἔτος)
 τὰς μεμετρη(μένας) Νεφθεμούνιος μθβ'.
 γίνοντ[αι] (ἀρουραι) Ἀρπεδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἄωμζλ.
 ὧν ἐστὶν τὸ κα()
- 95 [(ἀρουραι)] ιβλ (ἀρτάβαι) ξαλ,
 [[.]] / ραζλδ'.

82. This line is enclosed in round brackets. 91. l. *ἰναῖθα*.

4 sqq. Cf. 61. (b) 9-14, 121-30, and App. i. § 7. The $16\frac{1}{2}$ and $61\frac{1}{2}$ arourae described in those passages together make up the 78 referred to here.

6. προστάτου: Dionysius was προστάτης of the κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος; cf. 60. 125.

9. [τοῖς] κατὰ μέρος: cf. 61. (b) 50, note.

10. προσάγει[ν] καὶ might be read for προσάγεσθαι. The participle following τὰ is just possibly ἐπιτίμνα, but this reading is not very satisfactory. Perhaps there was a mis-spelling on the part of the writer. ἐπιγεγραμμένα would be expected; cf. 61. (b) 13.

11-2. Cf. note on 61. (b) 14.

23-6. Cf. 62. 307, note. The number of the μετακεκληρουχημένοι was reduced by the 52nd year to 5.

28. The number Β'ωπζ which is written in this line above Β'ψμγλδ' is enclosed in brackets. It represents an addition of Β'ψμγλδ and the number of artabae in excess added in the margin opposite l. 36, but it is meaningless here.

29-35. The arithmetic of this section is inaccurate. In l. 31, $85\frac{1}{2}$ artabae at a rent of $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae would produce nearly $424\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, and some number approximating to this has apparently been written. But with this figure the items of the artabae add up to 2757 and a fraction which is uncertain owing to the lacuna in l. 32. Similarly the items of the arourae make $659\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $657\frac{1}{2}$. Probably the mutilated marginal entry opposite ll. 32-4 refers to these inconsistencies; $15\frac{1}{2}$, if that is the right reading, is not far from the difference between 2757 and the $2743\frac{3}{4}$ of l. 29. In l. 32, $597\frac{3}{8}$ would be the correct figure, not 596 and a fraction, and at the end of l. 34 the fractions should strictly be $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$.

36. The entry in the margin just above and below this line refers to the φακός, which is treated of in ll. 37-40. $1103\frac{1}{2}$ less $143\frac{1}{2}$ produces (nearly) 960 artabae, and perhaps 860 in l. 40 αἱ λοῖπαι φα(κοῦ) ωξ, which words were no doubt inserted at the same time as the marginal note, is a mistake for 960. The number in l. 37, $1103\frac{1}{2}$, is the one employed to make up the total given in l. 41.

41. 3986 is the correct total. How the figure first written, $4198\frac{3}{4}$, was arrived at is not easy to see.

44. The number overwritten, as in l. 41, is approximately correct; the fraction is really $\frac{5}{8}$ instead of $\frac{7}{8}$.

46. The items of the artabae actually add up to $209\frac{1}{2}$. In the previous line $58\frac{1}{2}$ is the exact amount of the artabae.

48-9. Here again some of the items are only approximate. 52 in l. 48 should be $51\frac{1}{2}$, and $206\frac{1}{2}$ in l. 49 should be $206\frac{1}{2}$.

52. χρ[ρ]τονομών: cf. note on 60. 82.

55. The total of the artabae is $41\frac{7}{8}$ too great as compared with the items given in ll. 41, 46, and 54. The ω which was first written after Δ was perhaps due to the same cause, whatever it was, as the original figures in l. 41.

58-62. The general meaning of this passage is that the cultivators on receiving the σπέρματα had made an undertaking that, in the event of the seed not being properly employed, the rents would nevertheless be paid. But many of the details are obscure. According to l. 62 the rents were to be paid 'out of the surplus produce of the land which they cultivate,' but in the present case in which the land was not sown at all it is difficult to see whence the ἐπιγένημα (on which cf. 27. 65-6) came. If it was supplied by the defaulting γεωργοί, we must suppose that it refers to their ἐπιγένημα from preceding years or from land somewhere else which had been properly cultivated. But if that is the meaning it is not clearly expressed. This difficulty might be avoided by supposing that the cultivators were collectively, and not merely individually, responsible for the rents, and that the deficiency due to the six defaulters was made up by the rest. But this is not very

likely. In 67 the lines (70 sqq.) concerning the land which had been left unsown are unfortunately mutilated. The word at the end of l. 61 here is difficult and possibly corrupt. On the analogy of l. 10 we connect the bracketed ι with *ἐκφόρια* rather than with what follows.

60. *μεριδάρχη*: this official is rarely mentioned in papyri; cf. 183, P. Grenf. II. 54 and Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 629. The reference in P. Grenf. II. p. 89 to an unpublished Petrie papyrus mentioning a *μεριδάρχης* is wrong; it should be to a small unpublished late Ptolemaic fragment from Bacchias. The meridarch, who superintended one of the three *μερίδες* of the Arsinoite nome, was probably largely concerned with the administration of the *βασιλική γῆ*, like the nomarch, on whom see note on 61. (δ) 45.

73. $49\frac{1}{2}$ should be $49\frac{3}{4}$, as is shown by the addition.

75-80. The produce of a certain quantity of Crown land was reserved every year for the animals of the cultivators; cf. 27. 55 sqq., 67. 17-8, &c. Apparently the pastures referred to in the present passage had been rendered useless for grazing purposes owing to animals having been admitted prematurely (*προπετωκέναι*); but there are several obscurities, partly due to doubts concerning the readings. In l. 76 *τεθε(ι)μι(έν)ων* (if that is the right emendation of the *τεθεμιων* of the original) refers to *νομών*, and apparently means 'included in the (list of) rents,' i. e. these *νομαί* had been reckoned in the estimate of revenue for the year. In l. 77 the sense of *ἐν οἷς . . . πράσσεισθαι* seems to be that the rents of the *νομαί* in question were to be exacted all the same, though the reason given for this, *ἕνεκα τ[ο]ῦ κ.τ.λ.*, seems odd. *αὐτ . .* is a difficulty; *αὐτά*, sc. τὰ *ἐκφόρια*, would do, but it does not well suit the vestiges. Perhaps *αὐτοῦς* should be read on the analogy of the resumptive *δεῖν καὶ αὐτοῦς εἰσπράσσεισθαι* in ll. 79-80; *αὐτοῦς* is there rather doubtful, but the word certainly ends with *ς*. The objection to *αὐτοῦς* in both places is that there are no persons mentioned to whom it can refer, and the *νομαί* are stated in l. 80 to have been cultivated by a single person.

82-92. This section is concerned with cleruchs from whom a year's rent was demanded on account of arable land which had been wrongly assigned to them instead of dry land; cf. 61. (δ) 2 sqq., where the case of the same Nektenibis (originally an *ἐρημοφύλαξ*, not as stated here a *φυλακίτης*; cf. 62. 97) is dealt with, and App. i. § 6. The amounts in arourae and artabae contained in this section are not however included in the totals given in l. 93, although some of the artabae had been actually paid, the reason being that the land had ceased to be *βασιλική*.

84. ζ is clearly a mistake; perhaps ξ was intended. But though Nektenibis had become a catocucus he continued to own at Kerkeosiris only the 10 arourae of an *ἐρημοφύλαξ*; cf. p. 548.

86. *Νεφθεμ[ο]ῦνις Ἀμορταίου*: his name is given as *Ἐφθεμοῦνις* in 62. 112 and 63. 91.

90. The figures *ϵ* refer to artabae and are obtained by the subtraction of $32\frac{3}{4}$ in l. 89 from $49\frac{3}{4}$ in l. 87; the 17 are added to the $49\frac{3}{4}$ in l. 84 to produce the $66\frac{3}{4}$ in l. 90. After Nephthemounis' payment of $32\frac{3}{4}$ artabae there remained 17 artabae still to be paid. He is not mentioned with Nektenibis in 61. (δ) 2 sqq., and the debt had been wiped out by the 52nd year; cf. 61. (α) 47-51, note. Heraclides is again mentioned in 73. 27 in connexion with the mistake regarding his *κλήρος*.

91-2. These two lines apparently refer to the fact that Nephthemounis eventually paid the full $49\frac{3}{4}$ artabae; cf. the previous note.

93. The totals are obtained by the addition of the numbers in ll. 55 and 81. As usual, there is a small inaccuracy in the artabae; the $\frac{1}{2}$ should not be there.

94-6. Whence these $12\frac{1}{2}$ arourae which are added on to the number given in l. 93 are derived is not clear. *κα()* is possibly *κα(ταλείπου)* (cf. 84. 18, &c.); but *κα(ταλείπου)* from what? In l. 96 'A is omitted before *ρρ*.

67. REPORT OF THE CROPS OF CROWN LAND.

8.2.

29 x 66 cm.

B. C. 118-7.

Statement drawn up by Menches of the crops upon Crown lands for the 53rd year of Euergetes II. The greater part of a similar report for this year is also preserved in 61. (a) 182 sqq., but the two are only in partial agreement; the figures for the wheat and barley are quite different (cf. notes on 61. (a) 182 sqq.), and though the area sown is finally brought out at the same figure in both the totals of the artabae do not coincide, the number in 61. (a) being identical with that for the preceding year, while in 67 it is 16 artabae more. For reasons discussed on p. 565 it is probable that the figures in 61. (a) are the more correct. As we have said (61. (a) 182 note, cf. 60. introd.), the most likely explanation of these discrepancies is that the reports were drawn up at different times and represent different revisions of the figures; 67 is probably earlier than 61, and it is therefore natural that they should agree with regard to the ἄρακος and χλωρά, which were apparently the crops first sown (cf. 71. 10 sqq.), though differing as to the wheat and barley. In 68, written in the 54th year, a third set of totals occur, but these are probably wrong.

Col. i.

- [Ἔτους νγ,] παρὰ Μεγχείους κω[μο]γ[ραμματέως Κερκεο-
[σίρεω]ς. κατὰ φύλλον ἐπικε[φαλαίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους).
[ἐσπαρμέναι εἰσὶν ἐν] τῶι νβ (ἔτει) σὺν [νομ]αῖ[s
[γῆς] (ἀρουραι) Ἀρλθδ' ὦν ἐκφύριον) Ἀχμβίβ',
5 [ὦν γεν]ισμὸς ἐγ μὲ[ν] τῆς ὑποθή(κης)
[(πυροῦ)] Ἀχμδβ', κρι(θῆς) αἰ (πυροῦ) Ἰβωζδ', δλί(ρας)
[αἰ (πυροῦ)] ραλδ', χαλκοῦ λθγίβ', / εἰς (πυροῦ) Ἀχμβίβ'.
[[σ]πόρου]
[εἰς δὲ τὸ ν]γ (ἔτος) ἐσπάρθαι
10 [πυρῶι (ἀρούρας)] φοσλδ'ή ὦν ἐκφύριον) Βφξζγ',
[ὦν (ἀρουραι)] καλδ' ἀν(ὰ) ε ρηλδ', τλθλδ'ή ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'
Ἀ[χ]οζγίβ', λζλ ἀν(ὰ) δλ ρξηλδ', ρσλ ἀν(ὰ) δ
τπ[ς, κ]ςλ ἀν(ὰ) γλ ρβλδ', ζδ' ἀν(ὰ) γ
κ[αλδ'], μζλ ἀν(ὰ) βλ (ἀρτάβαι) ριηλδ'.

- 15 [κ]αὶ ὧν [πλ]είωι γράφουσι συναχθήσεσθαι
 [ἐ]ξ εἰκα(σίας) [χ]ωρὶς σπέρμα(τος) καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
 [δα(πάνης)] (ἀρτάβαι) ωθ.
 ἀφ' ὧν καταχωρίζεσθαι εἰς τὰ σπ(έρματα) τῆς κατα-
 νεμημένης ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸς τῷ σπ(έρωι) κτηνῶν
 20 ἀρά(κωι) λη, χόρτωι [ὄμο]ίως ζ, / σπ(ερμάτων) με.

Col. ii.

- [κατ]αλεί(πονται) εἰς τὰ ἐ[κ]φό(ρια) [ψξδ·
 τούτ]ων ἀντὶ φακοῦ [υλ]βγί[β',
 ἀντ' ἀρά(κου) τοῦ κατανεμημέ(νου) ρζζίβ',
 χόρτωι καὶ χορτονο(μῶν) ὄμο(ως) ριδ',
 25 νομῶν λ, ἐκφο(ρίου) ἀσπόρου πγζδ'.
 γίνονται τοῦ εἰς τὰ ἐκφό(ρια) ψξδ.
 σὺν δὲ τῷ ἐκφο(ρίωι) 'Γτλαγ'.
 κριθῆι (ἀρούρας) ρηδ' ὧν ἐκφο(ριον) ψπζγ',
 ὧν (ἀρουραι) οηζδ' ἢ ἀν(ὰ) δζγίβ' τπζζγ', νθ[[ζ]]
 30 ἀν(ὰ) δζ Σξεζ, ιβ ἀν(ὰ) δ μη, α ἀν(ὰ) γζ, κζζ
 ἀν(ὰ) γ πβζ,
 ὧν κριθῆς 'Ατιβγ'.
 φακῶι (ἀρούρας) Σια, ὧν ἐκφο(ριον) γλβγίβ',
 ὧν (ἀρουραι) ρνα ἀν(ὰ) δζγίβ' ψμαζγίβ', κβ ἀν(ὰ) δ πη,
 35 ιε ἀν(ὰ) γ με, κγ ἀν(ὰ) βζ νζζ.
 ἀντ[αναίρο]υμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀπη(γμένου) ἀπὸ τοῦ πλ(είω)
 συναγομένου ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) τῆς (πυρῶι) υλβγίβ' [[λ]]
 αὶ λοιπαὶ φακοῦ. φ.
 γίνονται τῆς σίτωι
 40 (ἀρουραι) ρξζδ' (ἀρτάβαι) 'Δχιηβ'.
 χλωροῖς ὧν τὴν διοίκησις ἐπ' ἐσχάτωι
 τέτακται, τὰ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς συναγόμενα

41. l. ἡ for τη.

Col. iii.

- ἐνταῦθα ἀνειλήφαμεν
 ἀράκωι [(ἀρούρας) λη ὦν] ἐκφόριον ρμζ,
 45 ὦν (ἀρουραι) [ια ἀν(ὰ)] ε νε, ιβ ἀν(ὰ) δ μη, β ἀν(ὰ) γλ (ἀρτάβαι) ζ,
 [θ ἀν(ὰ) γ] κζ, δ ἀν(ὰ) βλ (ἀρτάβαι) ι.
 ἀνταναιρουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀπη(γμένου) ἀπὸ τοῦ πλ(είω)
 [σ]υ[αγ]ομένου ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) (πυρῶι) ρζλίβ'
 [αί λοιπαί] χαλκοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν
 50 [ὕ]ποθήκ[ην] λθγίβ'.
 χόρτωι ζ ὦν ἐκφόριον κθδ',
 ὦν (ἀρουραι) γ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' ιδλδ', β ἀν(ὰ) δ η, β ἀν(ὰ) γδ ελ.
 χορτονομῶν (ἀρούρας) πα (ἀρτάβαι) πα.
 γίνονται χόρτωι καὶ χορτονομῶν
 55 (ἀρουραι) πη ὦν ἐκφόριον τὸ καὶ ἀπη(γμένου) ἀπὸ τοῦ
 πλείωι συναγομένου ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) (πυρῶι) (ἀρτάβαι) ριδ'.
 γίνονται χλωροῖς (ἀρουραι) ρκς (ἀρτάβαι) λθγίβ'.
 τῆς δ' ἐσπαρμένης (ἀρουραι) Ἀρβδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀχνηίβ'.
 καὶ εἰς ἣν σπέρμα οὐ χρηματίζεται
 60 νομῶν λ ὦν ἐκφόριον τὸ καὶ ἀπη(γμένου) ἀπὸ τοῦ
 πλείωι συναγομένου ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) (πυρῶι) ἀν(ὰ) α (ἀρτάβαι) λ.
 σὺν δὲ τῆι ἐσπαρμένηι
 (ἀρουραι) Ἀρκβδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀχνηίβ',

Col. iv.

- [ὦν γενι]σμὸς ἐ[γ μὲν τῆς ὑποθήκης
 65 π[υ]ροῦ Ἀχμ[δβ] κρ(θῆς) αἰ (πυροῦ) Ἐωζδ' ὀλί(ρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) ραλδ'
 χαλκοῦ ὦ[ν] σῆ(τος) λθγίβ', / εἰς (πυροῦ) Ἀχμβίβ'.
 ἐγ δὲ τοῦτου ἀ δεῖ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι
 πυρ[οῦ] Ἰτλ[α]γ', κρ(θῆς) Ἀτιβγ' αἰ (πυροῦ) ψπζγ',
 [φακοῦ] φ, χαλκοῦ ὦν σῆ(τος) λθγίβ', / εἰς (πυροῦ) Ἀχνηίβ'.
 70 [καὶ ἀ δεῖ]ν [π]ράσσεσθαι
 ἐκφόριον ἀσπόρου βεβρεγμένης δι' ἀμελίαν

- τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων γεωργῶν καὶ
 ὤρου κωμάρχου εν[.]. π. [. ἀμ]ελλίαι
 τῆς κατασπορᾶς εντ
- 75 τὰ ἐκφόρια πράσσειν [ἐξ
 τῆς γεωργουμένης) τοῖς κ[. .]επ[. . .]. [.
 εἰς δάνεια εἰς τὸν σπόρον τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) (πυροῦ) ρκ φα(κοῦ) ρ
 (ἄρουραι) ιξ ὧν ἐκφόρι{ι}ον τ[δ] καὶ ἀπη(γμένον) ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείω
 συναγομένου ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) (πυρῶι) πγλδ',
- 80 ὧν (ἄρουραι) γ ἀν(ὰ) ε ιε, ιδ ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' ξ[η]λδ',
 ὧν ἔστιν τ[δ] κατ' ἀνδ[ρ]α.
 Δημήτριος Σε[. . .]. τος ἀπὸ ιδλ (ἀρτάβαι) ξίβ' δλ
 δλ ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' κβζ' [

Col. v.

- Φα . [
- 85 Ὀννώφρις
 Ψενῆσις Στεφάνου
 [N]εκτενίβις τοῦ ὤρου
 [/] (ἄρουραι) ιξ [(ἀρτάβαι) π]γλδ'.
 [ῶσ]τε εἰσι (ἄρουραι) Ἀρλθδ' [(ἀρτάβαι)] Ἀχμβ.
 90 ἔστι τῆ[ι] ἐσ[πα]ρμένηι περὶ τὴν κ[ώ]μην
 ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου (πρῶτερον) μὲν ὑπ[δ] τῶν γεωρ-
 γῶν τῶν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλίνου προσ-
 [ε]ληλυθότα εἰς τ(ῆ)ν κεχω[ρισ]μένην πρῶ-
 οδον (ἄρουραι) ιελ μεμισθωμέναι
- 95 Πετοσίρει Νεοπτολέμου καὶ Πετεσόκοντι
 Κεφάλωνος καὶ ὤρωι Ὀρσειούς
 ἀσπερμι ἀνὰ α [(ἀρτάβαι) ιελ,
 ὧν (πυρῶι) ι, κρι(θῆι) αἰ (πυροῦ) β, τῆ[λ]ει αἰ (πυροῦ) δλ.

90. l. ἔστιν ἡ.

92. l. [προσε]ληλυθότος.

'The 53rd year, from Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris; summary list of crops for the said year. In the 52nd year there were sown including pastures 1139½

arourae of land, at a rent of $4642\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, the supposed classification of which was: wheat, $1644\frac{3}{8}$, barley equivalent in wheat to $2877\frac{1}{4}$, olyra equivalent in wheat to $91\frac{3}{8}$, copper $39\frac{5}{8}$, total in wheat $4642\frac{1}{2}$ artabae. For the 53rd year there have been sown:— with wheat $576\frac{7}{8}$ arourae at a rent of $2567\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, of which $21\frac{3}{8}$ arourae are at a rent of 5 artabae making $108\frac{3}{8}$, $339\frac{7}{8}$ at $4\frac{1}{2}$ making $1670\frac{1}{2}$, $37\frac{1}{2}$ at $4\frac{1}{2}$ making $168\frac{3}{8}$, $96\frac{1}{2}$ at 4 making 386, $26\frac{1}{2}$ at $3\frac{1}{2}$ making $92\frac{3}{8}$, $7\frac{1}{2}$ at 3 making $21\frac{3}{8}$, $47\frac{1}{2}$ at $2\frac{1}{2}$ making $118\frac{3}{8}$ artabae. And it is reported that there will be according to estimate an addition, exclusive of seed-corn and other expense, of 809 artabae, of which are set apart for the seed of the land grazed upon by the animals used for cultivation, for that sown with aracus 38 artabae, with grass in like manner 7, total of seed 45 artabae, leaving for rentals 764 artabae; of these $432\frac{5}{8}$ are in lieu of lentils, $107\frac{7}{8}$ in lieu of aracus used for grazing, grass and pasture-grass similarly $110\frac{1}{4}$, pastures 30, rent of unsown land $83\frac{3}{8}$, total amount for rentals 764, or with the rent (of wheat-land) $3331\frac{1}{8}$. With barley are sown $178\frac{3}{8}$ arourae at a rent of $787\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, of which $78\frac{7}{8}$ arourae are at a rent of $4\frac{1}{2}$ making $387\frac{5}{8}$, 59 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ making $265\frac{1}{2}$, 12 at 4 making 48, 1 at $3\frac{1}{2}$, $27\frac{1}{2}$ at 3 making $82\frac{1}{2}$; which is $1312\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of barley. With lentils are sown 211 arourae at a rent of $932\frac{5}{8}$ artabae, of which 151 arourae are at a rent of $4\frac{1}{2}$ making $741\frac{1}{2}$, 22 at 4 making 88, 15 at 3 making 45, 23 at $2\frac{1}{2}$ making $57\frac{1}{2}$. Subtracting the $432\frac{5}{8}$ artabae deducted from the excess according to the estimate of the wheat-land there remain 500 artabae in lentils. Total of corn-lands $966\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, $4618\frac{3}{8}$ artabae. Green stuffs, the arrangement of which is set forth at the end; we here repeat its results:—with aracus are sown 38 arourae at a rent of 147 artabae, of which 11 arourae are at the rate of 5 making 55, 12 at 4 making 48, 2 at $3\frac{1}{2}$ making 7, 9 at 3 making 27, 4 at $2\frac{1}{2}$ making 10. Subtracting the $107\frac{7}{8}$ artabae deducted from the excess according to the estimate of wheat there remain in copper according to the supposed classification $39\frac{5}{8}$ artabae. With grass are sown 7 arourae at a rent of $29\frac{1}{4}$ artabae, of which 3 arourae are at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ making $14\frac{3}{8}$, 2 at 4 making 8, 2 at $3\frac{1}{2}$ making $6\frac{1}{2}$; with pasture-grass 81 arourae producing 81 artabae, Total of hay and pasture-hay 88 arourae, the rent of which is deducted from the excess according to the estimate of wheat, namely $110\frac{1}{4}$ artabae. Total in green stuffs 126 arourae, $39\frac{5}{8}$ artabae. Total of land sown $1092\frac{1}{2}$ arourae at $4658\frac{1}{2}$ artabae. Land for which seed is not provided:—pastures 30 arourae, the rent of which is deducted from the excess according to the estimate of wheat, namely at 1 artaba 30 artabae. This added to the land sown makes $1122\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, $4658\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, the supposed classification of which is, wheat $1644\frac{3}{8}$, barley equivalent in wheat to $2877\frac{1}{4}$, olyra equivalent in wheat to $91\frac{3}{8}$, copper in corn $39\frac{5}{8}$, total in wheat $4642\frac{1}{2}$. This amount is to be collected as follows: $3331\frac{1}{8}$ artabae of wheat, $1312\frac{1}{2}$ of barley equivalent in wheat to $787\frac{1}{2}$, 500 of lentils, the equivalent in copper of $39\frac{5}{8}$ artabae of corn, total in wheat $4658\frac{1}{2}$. There is further to be exacted the rent of irrigated land left unsown owing to the carelessness of the cultivators mentioned below and of Horus the komarch . . . 17 arourae, the rent of which is deducted from the excess according to the estimate of wheat, namely $83\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, of which 3 arourae are at the rate of 5 artabae making 15, 14 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ making $68\frac{3}{8}$. The individual list is:—Demetrius son of S . . . out of $14\frac{1}{2}$ arourae at $67\frac{3}{8}$ artabae $4\frac{1}{2}$ at $4\frac{1}{2}$ making $22\frac{1}{2}$. . . Total 17 arourae at $83\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, thus making $1139\frac{1}{2}$ arourae 4642 artabae. The land sown in the neighbourhood of the village (belonging to the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος*) consists of that reclaimed in former times by the cultivators of Ptolemaeus son of Philinus after he had been attached to the management of the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος*, namely $16\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, leased to Petosiris son of Neoptolemus and Petesokon son of Cephalon and Horus son of Orses without a grant of seed-corn at a rent of 1 artaba, making $16\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, of which 10 arourae are sown with wheat, 2 with barley paid in wheat, $4\frac{1}{2}$ with fenugreek paid in wheat.'

4. Cf. 61. (a) 169-78, note. As a matter of fact the items given in ll. 6-7 add up to $4653\frac{1}{2}$.

5. *γενισμός*: cf. l. 64, 68. 5, 77, and 70. 5, 63. The word, which seems to be new, means 'arrangement according to *γένη*,' or 'classification,' of the rents according to (1) a hypothetical estimate (*ἐγ μὲν τῆς ὑποθήκης*) and (2) the actual method of their collection (*ἐγ δὲ τοῦ σπόρου* 68. 79, cf. 67. 68 *ἀ δεῖ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι*). The figures in the *γενισμός ἐκ τῆς ὑποθήκης* are nearly constant and bear little relation to facts. Those at the end of this document (ll. 64-6), as of 68 and 70, are for the year following that to which the *γενισμός* at the beginning applies; yet in each case the figures given at the beginning, so far as they are preserved, are simply repeated at the end. Not only so but the *γενισμοὶ ἐξ ὑποθήκης* of 67 and 70, though separated by 8 years, are very nearly identical. The figures are also strongly at variance with those in the lists of amounts to be collected (67. 67-9, 68. 80-2), the most marked differences being in the relative amounts of wheat and barley, and in the absence of *φακός* in the hypothetical estimates. According to 68. 37 the whole area sown with barley was only $141\frac{1}{2}$ arourae producing a rent equal to 615 artabae of wheat or (at the regular ratio of 3:5, cf. 61. (b) 258, note) 1025 artabae of barley. Moreover a certain part of this was expected to be paid in wheat; cf. ll. 32 and 40-1, and note on 67. 15. Yet in the *γενισμός* in l. 78 the barley is set down at $2877\frac{1}{2}$ artabae in wheat, which would be equivalent in barley to $4795\frac{5}{8}$ artabae. The figures in the *γενισμοὶ ἐξ ὑποθήκης* were however those ascribed to the cultivated land in the theoretical totals of the Crown lands; cf. p. 560.

7. The items add up to $4653\frac{1}{2}$, not $4642\frac{1}{2}$.

8. The scribe perhaps wrote the phrase that follows the *γενισμός ἐκ τῆς ὑποθήκης* later on in l. 67, *ἐγ δὲ τοῦ σπόρου ἀ δεῖ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι*, or something equivalent; cf. 68. 79.

12. If *Α[χ]ο[λ]γ[β]* is rightly read the addition of the items in l. 10 is nearly correct, the total of the artabae being $\frac{1}{3}$ too small; but $339\frac{7}{8}$ arourae at $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae would produce $1671\frac{5}{8}$ artabae, so there must be a small error somewhere.

15. The meaning of this process of adding on to the *ἐκφόριον* produced by the land sown with wheat an additional amount based on an estimate (*εἰκασία*), which amount is subsequently deducted piecemeal under the various items given in ll. 22-5, *φακός*, *ἄρακος*, &c. (cf. ll. 36, 47, 55, 60, 78), is not very clear. The formula is reproduced, with slight variations, in 61. (a) 186, 68, 70, and the *κατὰ φύλλον* portion of 75. The result of the deductions always is to reduce the amounts of *φακός* and *χαλκός* for the different years to the same figures, 500 and $39\frac{5}{8}$ artabae (cf. 67. 38, 57, 68. 47, 66, 70. 35, 56; the same results are reached in 75). The rents of land on which other crops than wheat were grown, the *ἀλυσιτελῆ γένη* as they are called in 68. 31, were not only estimated in wheat, but in a proportion which remained fairly constant were actually paid in wheat; cf. App. i. § 5. In addition, therefore, to the wheat paid as rent of the wheat-producing land the government could always reckon on receiving a considerable quantity paid on account of other produce; and in drawing up the accounts this expected surplus in wheat was added on to the rental of the wheat-land proper, a corresponding amount having in consequence to be deducted from the rents of those lands from which the surplus was gained.

16. [*χ*]ο[ρ]ις σπέρμα(τος): yet an amount for a particular kind of σπέρμα is immediately afterwards deducted in ll. 17-20. For the *κατανεμημένη* (the reduplication is generally omitted in these documents) cf. 66. 75-80, note.

25. *ἐκφο(ρίου) ἀσπόρου*: the details are given in ll. 70-89; cf. 66. 56 sqq., 68. 84 sqq.

32. *Ατιβγ*: this is the equivalent in barley of the rent of the barley-bearing land, which like that of the other lands is reckoned in wheat and is given in l. 28 as $787\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, the ratio being the usual one of 5:3; cf. note on l. 5 and 68. 41.

34. 151 arourae at $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae would really produce $742\frac{5}{2}$ artabae.

37. $\xi\xi$ $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha(\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma)$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omega\iota$): $\tau\eta\varsigma$ is often omitted in this phrase, e. g. l. 48; we write $\pi\upsilon\rho\omega\iota$ in the dative case on the analogy of 70. 34 and 55. In 75 the formulae $\tau\acute{o}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ (e. g. l. 55 below) and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ are reduced to $\tau\acute{o}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta(\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu)$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\delta$ ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omega\iota$) and $\acute{\alpha}\phi'$ $\delta\omega$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta(\kappa\tau\alpha\iota)$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\delta$ ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omega\iota$); cf. 60. 52, 72. 308-10.

41-3. This phrase recurs in 61. (a) 206, 68. 54 and 75, and in a shortened form in 69, but in none of those three cases does the $\delta\iota\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ appear $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\iota$, and it was probably omitted in the present papyrus also. The formula had become stereotyped, and was inserted whether strictly applicable or not. An instance of a $\delta\iota\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\omega\iota$ is 72. 304-10. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ in l. 43 is derived from the corresponding passages in 61. (a), 68 and 75.

65. The figures 'Αχμ[sufficiently indicate that the numbers succeeding corresponded with those given in ll. 5-7, as is also the case in 70, where cf. ll. 3-7 with 63-5. But the totals for the 6th and 7th years were really the same, which they were not for the 52nd and 53rd according to 67, though in 61. (a) (cf. ll. 169-78, note) the totals of these two years coincide.

66. $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omega\upsilon$ $\delta\delta[\nu]$ $\sigma\acute{\iota}(\tau\omicron\varsigma)$: the antecedent of $\delta\omega$ is $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\iota$ understood, as is shown by 160, where the full phrase $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omega\upsilon$ ($\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\iota$) $\delta\omega$ $\sigma\acute{\iota}(\tau\omicron\varsigma)$ occurs. $\delta\omega$ $\sigma\acute{\iota}(\tau\omicron\varsigma)$ is sometimes replaced by κ ($\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu$); cf. 68. 60, note.

70. For the supplement cf. 68. 84; δ is here added on the analogy of l. 67 on account of the size of the lacuna, which even so seems scarcely filled.

71-9. This passage is repeated in 153, a fragment from a similar document, but referring to a different year. From this source are derived the τ and $\xi\xi$ in the lacunae of ll. 74 and 75. The sense of ll. 75-6 is probably similar to that of 66. 61-2, i. e. that the rents of the unsown land were to be made up from the other crops of the cultivators who were responsible. In the line corresponding to 76 153 has $\frac{1}{2}$ $\delta\acute{\iota}'$ $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omega\iota\omega\iota$ $\omicron\acute{\alpha}$ which does not appear to fit in here.

77. 120 artabae of wheat and 100 of lentils are the amounts which are regularly set down under the head of $\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$; cf. 68. 45 and 61. (b) 313-6, note. But the connexion between the $\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ and the rent of the $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\gamma\eta$ is obscure.

80. $\xi[\eta]\zeta\delta'$: $\xi\eta\zeta\gamma'$ would be the correct figures.

82-3. $\delta\zeta$ seems to have been written twice by mistake.

84. There may be one line lost at the top of this column.

89. The figures 'Αχμβ are a slip no doubt due to a reminiscence of ll. 4 and 65; they should have been 'Αχμββ as in l. 69, though cf. 61. (a) 169-78, note. The $83\frac{3}{4}$ artabae are not added on because the rent of the $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ has already been accounted for in l. 25.

90-8. This section deals with the cultivated land belonging to the $\kappa\epsilon\chi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$, for which cf. 61. (b) 9-14 (whence some of the supplements here are derived), 66. 4-17, and App. i. § 7. The document seems to have ended at this point.

98. The antecedent of $\delta\omega$ is ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\rho\alpha\iota$) in l. 94, not ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$); cf. 61. (b) 17. The rents of land sown with $\tau\eta\lambda\iota\varsigma$ were always collected in wheat; cf. p. 563.

68. REPORT OF THE CROPS OF CROWN LAND.

28-13.

30.8 x 36.2 cm.

B. C. 117-6.

Report of crops for the 54th year of Euergetes II. The date at the beginning of the document is broken away, but the year is made certain by

l. 92, where the figures though damaged are sufficiently clear, as well as by the references to the 53rd year in ll. 69-70, and the statement of the ἀσπορος γῆ of the previous season (ll. 8-9) which coincides with that given in 67. 71 sqq. It is therefore remarkable that the figures for the past year, with which the report as usual begins, do not correspond with those in 60, 61. (a) and 67, the rental, 4542 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae (l. 10), falling considerably short of the totals found in those three papyri, 4642 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 4658 $\frac{1}{2}$ (cf. l. 4, note, and p. 565). In spite of the fact that 60, 61. (a) and 67 were drawn up during the course of the 53rd year and 68 in the 54th after the accounts for the 53rd year had been made up, there is a probability that the figures of the last are the least trustworthy. The form and language of this report are very similar to 67.

Col. i.

[Ἔτους νδ, παρὰ Μεγχείους κω]μ[ο]γραμματέως
 [Κερκεοσίρεως. κατὰ φύλλον ἐπικεφ]αλαίου τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) (ἔτους).
 [ἐσπαρμέναι εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ νγ] (ἔτει)
 [γῆς (ἀρουραι) Ἀρκβδ' ὦν ἐκφ]ο[ρ]ι[ο]ν Ἀ[υ]ν]ηγ',
 5 [ὦν γενισμὸς ἐγ μὲν τῆς ὑποθήκης]
 [πυροῦ κρι(θῆς) αἰ (πυροῦ) δλ(ύρας) α]ζ (πυροῦ) ρζΛδ',
 [χαλκοῦ ὦν σῆτος] λθγ'ίβ', εἰς (πυροῦ)] Ἀυνηγ'.
 [25 letters] . .
 [(ἀρουραι) ιζ] (ἀρτάβαι) πγΛδ'.
 10 [γίνονται (ἀρουραι) Ἀρλθδ' (ἀρτάβαι)] Ἀφμβίβ'.
 [25 letters] τῆς προσα[γ]γε(λίσσης)
 [" "] ου ἀπὸ ὑπολό(γου)
 [" "] να (ἔτ)
 [(ἀρουραι) ιθ (ἀρτάβαι)] μγ
 15 [25 letters] ἐμβρόχου
 [" "] (ἀρουραι) κδ
 [ἀνὰ] α κδ.
 [γίνονται τῶν προσηγμέν]ων (ἀρουραι) μγ (ἀρτάβαι) ξζ.
 [ὥστ' εἶναι (ἀρούρας) Ἀρπβδ' ὦν] ἐκφ(οριον) Ἀχθίβ'.
 20 [εἰς δὲ τὸ νδ (ἔτος) ἐσπάρθαι]
 [πυρῶι (ἀρούρας) χιαΛδ' ὦν] ἐκφ(οριον) Βφξββ',
 [ὦν ἀνὰ ε] . . ραΛδ' ἀνὰ δΛγ'ίβ'

- [πβλ ἀνὰ δλ] τσαδ', θλ ἀνὰ) δ λη,
 [ἀνὰ ἀνὰ]δ' ιςλδ', ρφςλδ'
 25 [ἀνὰ ξδ ἀνὰ] βλ ρξ.
 [καὶ ὧι πλείω γράφουσι συναχθῆ]σεσθαι χωρὶς σπέρματος
 [καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δαπάνης] (ἀρτάβαι) ῥξαγίβ'.
 [ἀφ' ὧν καταχωρίζεσθαι] εἰς τὰ σπέρματα
 [τῆς κατανεμημένης ὑπὸ τ]ῶν πρὸς τῶ[ι σ]πῆρωι
 30 [κτηνῶν ἀράκωι λα χῆρ]τωι ιςλ, / μ[ηλ.

Col. ii.

- καταλείπονται εἰς τὰ ἐκφόρια τῶ[ν] ἀλυσιτελῶν
 γενῶν κριθῆι ριε, φακῶι υπδλδ',
 ἀρά(κωι) οδ'γίβ', χῆρτωι καὶ χο(ρτο)νο(μῶν) ρξδλδ',
 νομῶν νθ, ἐκφό(ριον) ἀσπῆρου βεβρεγμένης
 35 ιε, / ῥιβλγίβ'.
 σὺν δὲ τῶ[ι ἐκφο(ρίωι)] (ἀρτάβαι) 'Γυοελίβ'.
 κριθ[ῆι (ἀρούρας)] ρ[μα]λ ὧν ἐκφό(ριον) χιε,
 ὧν (ἀρουραι) β ἀνὰ ε ι, ρδ ἀνὰ δλγίβ' υξβς',
 ι ἀνὰ δ μ, λαλ ἀνὰ γ ρδλ, α ἀνὰ βλ, γ ἀνὰ β ς.
 40 ἀντα(ναιρουμένου) δὲ τοῦ ἀπη(γμένου) ἀπὸ τοῦ πλε(ω) συ(ναγομένου) ἐξ
 εἰκα(σίας) (πυρῶι) ριε
 τὰς λοιπὰς (ἀρτάβας) φ, ὧν κ[ρι(θῆς)] ωλγγ'.
 φακῶι (ἀρούρας) Σια ὧν ἐκφό(ριον) ῥπδλδ',
 ὧν (ἀρουραι) ε ἀνὰ ε κε, ρξγ ἀνὰ δλγίβ'
 ωαλδ', κςλ ἀνὰ δ ρι, ις ἀνὰ γ μη.
 45 ἀντα(ναιρουμένου) δὲ τοῦ ἀπη(γμένου) ἀπὸ τοῦ πλε(ω) συ(ναγομένου) ἐξ
 εἰκα(σίας) (πυρῶι) υπδλδ'
 αἱ λοιπαὶ φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) φ.
 γίνονται τῆς σίτωι (ἀρουραι) ῥξδδ' (ἀρτάβαι) 'Δυοελίβ'.
 καὶ ἀλ[λοι]ς γένεσιν τοῖς πρὸς πυρὸν διοικουμένοις·
 [τ]ῆλει ελ ἀνὰ δ κβ.
 50 φα[σ]ῆλωι (ἀρούρας) [ιδ ὧν ἐκφό(ριον)] . ς, /
 β ἀνὰ ε [ι, ἀνὰ

[κρι(θῆς) ωλ]γγ' αἰ (πυροῦ) φ, φακοῦ φ, χαλκοῦ ὧν σῆτος) λθγίβ'.

[/] σπύρων (ἀρτάβαι) 'Δχθίβ'.

καὶ δεῖν πράσσεσθαι τὰ ἐκφόρια τῆς ἡσπορηκίας

δι' ἀμελίαν Ἀρωῶτου τοῦ Ἀρωῶτου (ἀρουρῶν) 5 ὧν ἐκφόριον

85 τὸ καὶ ἀπη(γμένον) ἀπὸ τοῦ πλεί(ω) συ(ναγομένου) ἐξ εἰ(κασίας) (πυρῶι) ιε.

ὥστ' εἶναι (ἀρούρας) Ἀρπβδ' (ἀρτάβας) 'Δχθίβ'.

77. γ in 'ΑφϞδβ' corr. from ξ. 80. φ in 'Γφξθβ' rewritten.

Col. iv.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλω[ν ε]ιδῶν

[(τριχοίνικον) λι(ακῶν) (ἀρουραι)] Ἀριξδ' (ἀρτάβαι) πυλδ',

θησ[αυροφυ(λακικόν)] (ἀρτάβαι) κδ αἰ (πυροῦ) ιδγίβ',

90 κρᾶ(στεως) [Θη]βαίω[ν] δλγίβ'.

δανείων [τοῦ] νδ (ἔτους)

κεχρηματίσθαι τοῖς

γεωργοῖς τοῦ αἰ(τοῦ) (ἔτους)

πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) ρκ φακοῦ ρ,

95 / Σκ.

4. The figures of the arourae here and in l. 10 are obtained by making the necessary deductions from the figure in l. 19, which must correspond to the total in l. 67 with the addition of the νομαί (59 arourae, l. 59) and the ἄσπορος (6 arourae, l. 84); cf. 66. 27 and 93. Since the ἄσπορος of the 53rd year is not included in the figures in l. 4, but is added on as a separate item in ll. 9-10 (cf. ll. 8-19, note), the totals in l. 10 should correspond with those in 60, 61. (a), and 67; but the artabae here are 100 (or 116) less. Probably this is a mere error, though it affects the total of the artabae for the 54th and succeeding years; cf. p. 561.

8-19. This section is parallel to 66. 4-27, containing the additions made to the arable area in the previous year. Line 9 refers to the land which in the year before had been allowed to remain unsown through negligence (cf. 67. 71 sqq.). Lines 11-8 describe two reclamations, corresponding to 60. 69-72 and 81-4.

24. ιξλδ' cannot be quite accurate, since if λδ' is right the rent must have been either $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{3}{4}$, and neither of these produces a possible figure for the arourae.

31. ἀλυσιτελῶν γενῶν: i.e. the inferior crops afterwards enumerated, the crop par excellence being of course wheat. But ἀλυσιτελής seems an unnecessarily strong term.

42. Σια should be Σιαλ, if the succeeding items are correct.

44. 163 arourae at $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae would produce $801\frac{1}{2}$ artabae.

58. θλ must be wrong as is shown by the multiplication and the total of the arourae in l. 56, which is certainly over 30. If κγλδ', the product of the multiplication, is correct, θλ should be ιαλδγ'. The total in l. 56 has been restored on this hypothesis.

60. κ (δραχμ) : cf. 70. 6, 63, 93. 59, 69, and 94. 22-3. 94. 22 has χα(λκού) κ (δραχμ) Σ (ἀρτάβαι) ι, which is the only passage where a numeral occurs between the sign for δραχμαί and the artabae; cf. note *ad loc.* The formula χα(λκού) κ (δραχμ) appears as an alternative for the simpler χα(λκού) ὧν σῖ(τος) (cf. 67. 66, note), but its interpretation is doubtful. 94. 22 might be taken to mean that 200 20-drachmae copper pieces were the equivalent of 10 artabae of wheat, which would make 400 drachmae the value of one artaba; but that would be a very low rate as compared with other instances in this volume of the price of wheat; cf. p. 584.

39 $\frac{5}{2}$ should strictly be 39 $\frac{1}{2}$.

67. Ἄριζ': the items given under the various heads in ll. 47, 53 and 67 make 1115 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae. The only doubtful number is that in l. 56; cf. note on l. 58.

68. ἀνατ[ί]θεται takes the place of χρηματίζεται, which is commoner in this context; in 75 κατατίθεται is the word used.

72. κθ: an additional aroura was reclaimed at some period between this and the 4th year, from which time onwards there are regularly 60 arourae of νομαί; cf. 69. 37, 70. 59.

79. [ἐγ δὲ] τοῦ σπόρου: sc. ἂ δὲ ἀπατεῖσθαι; cf. 67. 67. In 75 the phrase is reduced to ἐγ δὲ τοῦ.

80. δσπρίων: δσπριον is a comprehensive word including all sorts of pulse and even mustard; cf. 9. 8 sqq. Here it refers to the ἄλλα γένη (ll. 48-53).

87 sqq. On the three taxes τριχοῖνον, θησαυροφυλακικόν and κράστεως and the δάνεια cf. notes on 61. (δ) 313-9. They are here appended to the report of the crops as in 70 and 75. The mention of the τριχοῖνον is natural, for its amount bore a direct relation to the number of arourae sown. The figures here, as in 61. (δ), imply an artaba of 40 choenices. The other two taxes always occur in conjunction with the τριχοῖνον.

69. REPORT OF THE CROPS OF CROWN LAND.

27.32.

30.5 × 30.8 cm.

B. C. 114.

This report of the crops for the 4th year of Soter II is considerably shorter in form and has fewer details than any of the others. There are no mentions of reclamations of land or neglected sowing or estimated surplus in wheat; we have merely a concise statement of the crops sown and the corresponding rents. It was moreover left unfinished; for though the totals of acreage and rentals are given at the end several of the intermediate sums have not been filled in (ll. 7, 20, 39; cf. 62. 28). Notwithstanding its shortness, the document contains a number of mistakes in the figures, which are pointed out in the notes.

Col. i.

*Ἐτους δ, παρὰ Μεγχείους κομογραμματέως
Κερκεοσίρεως. κατὰ φύλλον ἐπικεφαλαῖον
τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) σπόρου.

- ἐσπαρμέναι εἰσὶν ἐν τῶι γ (ἔτει) σὺν νομαῖς
 5 γῆς (ἄρουραι) Ἄραγλδ', ὦν ἐκφύριον εἰς (πυροῦ) Ἄχξεγίβ'.
 εἰς δὲ τὸ δ (ἔτος) ἐσπάρθαι
 πυρῶι (ἀρούρας) χ (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐχ,
 ὦν (ἄρουραι) κελ ἀν(ὰ) ε (ἀρτάβαι) ρκζλ, τπβλ
 ἀνὰ δλγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἄωος, μς ἀν(ὰ) δλ (ἀρτάβαι) Σζ,
 10 ηλ ἀν(ὰ) δ λδ, ε ἀν(ὰ) γδ' ιςδ', οελδ'
 ἀνὰ γ Σκζλδ', ξαλ ἀν(ὰ) βλ (ἀρτάβαι) ρνγλδ',
 ζ ἀν(ὰ) β ιδ,
 κριθῆι (ἀρούρας) ρα ὦν ἐκφύριον) τπδς',
 ὦν (ἄρουραι) νβ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) Σνεβ', ιβλ ἀν(ὰ) δ ν,
 15 κδλ ἀν(ὰ) γ ογλ, β ἀν(ὰ) βλ ε,

Col. ii.

- φακῶι (ἀρούρας) ρργλ ὦν ἐκφύριον) ωμδλ,
 ὦν (ἄρουραι) ς ἀν(ὰ) ε λ, ργ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' υνζδ',
 λδ ἀν(ὰ) δλ ρμγ, κγ ἀν(ὰ) δ ρβ, λζλ
 ἀνὰ γ ρκβλ.
 20 γίνονται τῆς σίτωι (ἄρουραι) (ἀρτάβαι) Ἰ.
 καὶ ἄλλοις γένεσι τοῖς πρὸς πυρὸν δι[ο]ικουμένοις
 φασήλωι (ἀρούρας) ιβλ ὦν ἐκφύριον) ναγίβ',
 ὦν (ἄρουραι) ζλ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' λςλγίβ', ε ἀν(ὰ) γ ιε,
 τήλει (ἀρούρας) β ἀνὰ γ (ἀρτάβαι) ς,
 25 μελανθείωι α (ἀρτάβαι) δ.
 γίνονται ἄλλοις γένεσι ιελ (ἀρτάβαι) ξαγίβ'.
 χλωροῖς ὦν ἡ διοίκησις ἐπ' ἐσχάτω τέτακται·
 ἀράκωι (ἀρούρας) ρθ ὦν ἐκφύριον) υλςλίβ',
 ὦν (ἄρουραι) μς ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) Σαίβ', κς ἀν(ὰ) δ ρη.
 30 β ἀν(ὰ) γλ ζ, ις ἀν(ὰ) γ μη, ις ἀν(ὰ) βλ μβλ,
 χύρτωι λα ὦν ἐκφύριον) ρμαλίβ',
 ὦν (ἄρουραι) ις ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' πγλίβ', ιγ ἀν(ὰ) δ νβ,
 α ἀν(ὰ) γ (ἀρτάβαι) γ,
 χορτονομῶν πα ἀνὰ α πα.
 35 γίνονται χλωροῖς Σκα (ἀρτάβαι) χνης'.

τῆς δ' ἐσπαρμένης (ἀρουραι) Ἀρλυλδ' ὄν (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀχεγίβ'.
 καὶ εἰς ἣν σπέρμα οὐ χρηματίζεται νομῶν) ξ ἀν(ὰ) α ξ,
 σὺν δὲ τῆι ἐσπαρμένῃ (ἀρουραι) Ἀ (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀχ.

7. The figures have not been completely filled in. The addition of the following items gives 611 $\frac{3}{4}$ arourae and 2656 $\frac{1}{4}$ artabae, but there are two cases of incorrect multiplication; 1876 in l. 9 should be 1880 $\frac{5}{8}$ and 227 $\frac{3}{4}$ in l. 11 should be 227 $\frac{1}{4}$.

16-9. Here again some inaccuracies in the figures have crept in; 143 in l. 18 should be 153, and 122 $\frac{1}{2}$ in l. 19 should be 112 $\frac{1}{2}$. These two errors compensate each other and do not affect the total in l. 16, which, however, is $\frac{1}{4}$ short.

20. The number of the arourae has been omitted altogether and that of the artabae is imperfect; 896 $\frac{1}{4}$ and 3882 $\frac{1}{2}$ are the correct figures.

23. 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ should be 36 $\frac{7}{8}$.

29. λ has been inadvertently omitted between ζ and α'β'; the missing 30 is included in the total in l. 28.

31. ρμαλίβ': the items actually make 138 $\frac{7}{12}$.

35. The figures of the artabae given in ll. 28, 31, and 34 make 659 $\frac{1}{8}$, not 658 $\frac{3}{8}$.

36. As might be expected from the previous inaccuracies, the totals in this line do not correspond exactly with those of the individual amounts, which are 1132 $\frac{3}{4}$ and 4602 $\frac{1}{2}$.

38. The odd numbers have not been filled in, as in ll. 7 and 20. By the addition of 60 to the amounts given in l. 36 the same figures are reached as in l. 5, 1193 $\frac{3}{4}$ and 4665 $\frac{5}{12}$. In 72. 223 the figures for the 4th year are different; cf. note *ad loc.*

70. REPORT OF THE CROPS OF CROWN LAND.

17-9.

27 x 87 cm.

B. C. III-O.

Another report by Menches concerning the crops of the 7th year; cf. the three preceding papyri. Before the end of the year he was succeeded as komogrammateus by Petesuchus; cf. 77. 1. A good many corrections of the figures of the report have been made (by the original scribe) owing to an error in the computation of the aracus, the amount of which has been subsequently reduced by 25 artabae. The corrected figures are inserted above the line; those first written have in most cases a stroke drawn above them and not unfrequently have also been erased. The original mistake which led to these alterations occurred in l. 45.

The papyrus is incomplete at the end. Of the sixth column there remain a few letters from the beginnings of the lines and some small pieces. It began with a list of ἀπαιτήσιμα similar to 67. 67-9 and 68. 79-82; and proceeded to the θησαυροφυλακικόν, κράσις Θηβαίων, τριχοίνικον, and δάνεια, as in 68. 87 sqq. The document, however, did not terminate with these items; and there

are other fragments which appear to come from a later column or columns. On the *verso* are four short columns of writing, of which the first, third, and fourth are in a small, the second in a large and heavy, hand. We print the second, a list of owners of *κατόχιμοι κλήροι* (cf. 61. (b) 253 sqq.), and the third, a list of the amounts of land mentioned on the *recto* which paid rents of from 3 artabae to $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba. This list enables us to supply several figures which are lost in the *recto*. The fourth column is a statement of the arourae, rents, and amounts in artabae of the aracus contained in ll. 45-6 of the *recto*, and also furnishes some useful supplements of lacunae. At the bottom, after a long blank space, are a few more figures. Column i consists of six or seven mutilated lines describing reductions in certain rentals (cf. 61. (b) 48, &c.), e. g. . . λα ὦν ἦν ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' ρυβ[λ], ἀνθ' ὦν ἀν(ὰ) βλ οζλ, δι(άφορον) οε. Preceding the first column of the report on the *recto* are the ends of lines of a column of figures in the same coarse handwriting as col. ii of the *verso*.

Col. ii.

*Ἔτους ζ, παρὰ Μεγχείλους κωμογραμματοῦς) Κερκεοσίρεως.
κατὰ φύλλον ἐπικεφαλαίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους).

ἐσπαρμέναι εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ζ (ἔτει)

γῆς (ἀρουραι) ἈΣξίγίς' ὦν ἐκφόριον Ἀχινγίβ',

5 ὦν γενισμὸς ἐγ μὲν τῆς ὑποθή(κης) (πυροῦ) Ἀχξίγίβ',
[κ]ριθῆς αἰ (πυροῦ) Ἰβωσ[ξ]δ', δλύ(ρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) ρξλδ', χα(λκοῦ) κ
(δραχμ. . . ?) (ἀρτάβαι ?) λθγ'ίβ',
/ [εἰς (πυροῦ)] Ἀχινγίβ'.

εἰς δὲ [τὸ ζ (ἔτος)] ἐσπάρθαι

[πυρῶι] (ἀρούρας) ψβ ὦν ἐκφόριον Ἰβρασ', ροηγ',

10 / Ἰρξθλ,

[ὦν] (ἀρουραι) λ ἀν(ὰ) ε ρν, τας [ἀν(ὰ) δλ]γ'ίβ' Ἀγναλδ',

[ογ]δ' ἀν(ὰ) δλ τκθβ', ιβλδ' ἀν(ὰ) δ [ν]α,

[ιδλ ἀν(ὰ) γλ νλδ', ο]γλ [[ἀν(ὰ) γ]] ἀ[ν(ὰ) γ

[Σκλ, ογ ἀν(ὰ) βλ ρπβλ, κη ἀ]ν(ὰ) β (ἀρτάβαι) νς.

3. ζ over an erasure. 4. γίβ' written above οηίβ', which is erased, a line also being drawn above the erasure; so in ll. 7, 56, 61, 64. 5. λη over an erasure. 9-10. ροηγ' and / Ἰρξθλ added later.

Col. iii.

15 καὶ ὧι πλείω συνάχθησα[ν ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) χωρὶς

σπέρματος καὶ τῆς ἀλλ[ης] δαπ[άνης] (ἀρτάβαι) ψ^εϞ,
 ἀφ' ὧν καταχω(ρί)ζεσθαι εἰς τὰ σπέρματα τῆς κατα(νε)μημένης
 ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸς τῷ σπύρωι κτηνῶν ἀρά(κωι) ξθλδ',
 χόρτωι ὁμοίως θ, γίνονται οηλδ'.

20 καταλείπονται εἰς τὰ ἐκφ(ό)ρια χπςδ', / ἀντὶ κρι(θ)ῆς ναλγίβ',
 ἀντὶ φακ(οῦ) Σληδ', ἀντὶ ἐκφ(ό)ριου ἀρά(κωι) κατα(νε)μημένου Σμγίβ',
 χόρτωι καὶ χο(ρ)το(νο)μῶν κατα[ν]ε(νε)μημένοις·[ὁμο]ίως ριη, νομῶν ὁμοίως
 ξ, / ^{χπςδ'}ψιαδ'.

σὺν δὲ τῷ ἐκφορ(ί)ωι Ἰχοζγίβ'.

κριθῆι (ἀρούρας) ριδδ' ὧν ἐκφ(ό)ριον υιαλγίβ',

25 ὧν (ἀρουραι) νβλ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' Σνης', θλδ' ἀν(ὰ) δ λθ, α ἀν(ὰ) γλ,
 [[κζλ ἀν(ὰ) γ πβλ]], ηλ ἀν(ὰ) βλ καδ', ιε ἀν(ὰ) λ ζλ.

{α.} ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τὴν
 (πυρῶν) κζλ ἀν(ὰ) γ
 [π]βλ

[(ἀρουραι)] πζλδ'

(ἀρτάβαι) τπθ'

(ἀρτάβαι) ιηγ' λο(ι)παὶ τια[

ἀνταναιρουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀπηγμένου ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείω συναγομένου)

[ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) τῆ]ς (πυρῶι) ναλγίβ'

[αὶ λοιπαὶ κριθῆι τξ.]

15. 1. συναχθήσεται.
 above ψβγίβ' which is erased.
 enclosed in round brackets.

20. χπςδ' / above ψιαδ' / which is erased.
 24. Second ι of κριθῆι corr. from σ.
 29. Marginal note: γ' above the line.

23. χοζγίβ'
 26. κζλ . . . πβλ

Col. iv.

30 φακῶι (ἀρούρας) ρξγδ' ὧν ἐκφ(ό)ριον ψληδ',

ὧν (ἀρουραι) ριθλδ' ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' φπηλδ', δλ ἀν(ὰ) δλ κδ',

ιελδ' ἀν(ὰ) δ (ἀρτάβαι) ξγ, ιςδ' ἀν(ὰ) γ μηλδ', ζ ἀν(ὰ) βλ ιζλ.

ἀνταναιρουμένου) δὲ τοῦ ἀπη(γ)μένου ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείω συναγομένου)

ἐξ εἰκα(σίας)

τῆς πυρῶι

(ἀρταβῶν) Σληδ'

35 αὶ λοιπαὶ φακῶι

(ἀρτάβαι) φ.

λςγίβ'

λςγίβ'

γίνονται τῆς σίτωι (ἀρουραι) ῥοθλ (ἀρτάβαι) ἸΔφξβγίβ'.

- ἀλλ[ο]ί(ς) γένεσι τοῖς πρὸς πυρὸν διοικουμένοις·
 φασήλωι θ ὦν ἐκφόριον (ἀρτάβαι) λδ,
 ὦν (ἀρουραι) β ἀν(ὰ) δλ θ, δ ἀν(ὰ) δ ις, γ ἀν(ὰ) γ θ,
 40 σκόρδωι δλ ὦν ἐκφόριον ιαλ,
 ὦν (ἀρουραι) λ ἀν(ὰ) γ αλ, δ ἀν(ὰ) βλ ι,
 τήλει ιδ' ὦν ἐκφόριον ἀν(ὰ) γ λλδ'.
 γίνονται ἄλλοις γένεσι κγλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) οςδ'.
 [χλ]ωροῖς· ἀράκωι ξθλδ' ὦν ἐκφόριον Σνζλ,
 45 [ὦν (ἀρουραι)] ζ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' λδλ, [λζδ' ἀν(ὰ) δ ρμ]θ, β ἀν(ὰ) γδ' ζλ,
 ιζλ ἀν(ὰ) γ νβλ, ς ἀν(ὰ) βλ ιε.
 ἀντα(ναιρουμένου) δὲ [τοῦ ἀπη(γμένου) ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείωι συναγομένου] ἐξ
 εἰκα(σίας) τῆς (πυρῶι)
 (ἀρταβῶν) [Σιηίβ' αἰ λοιπαὶ χαλκοῦ λθγίβ'.]

34. δ in Σληδ' over an erasure. 36. α in λαγίβ' smudged. 40. ἐφόριον Pap.;
 so in l. 44. 44. ι of ἐφοριων corr. from ο. ιζλ above πβλ which is erased. 45. λδλ
 . . . θ over an erasure.

Col. v.

- χόρτωι θ ὦν ἐκφόριον ἀν(ὰ) γ (ἀρτάβαι) κζ,
 50 χόρτωι νομῶν ρκαίς' ὦν ἐκφόριον) ρα,
 ὦν (ἀρουραι) πα ἀν(ὰ) α πα, μίς' ἀν(ὰ) δ' (ἀρτάβαι) ι.
 γίνονται χόρτωι καὶ χορτονομ[ῶ]ν
 (ἀρουραι) ρλίς' ὦν ἐκφ[όριον] τὸ καὶ [ἀπη(γμένου) ἀπὸ] τοῦ πλείωι
 συναγομένου] ἐξ εἰκα(σίας) τῆς πυρῶι (ἀρτάβαι) ριη,
 55 γίνονται χλωροῖς (ἀρουραι) ρθλδ'ίς' [] (ἀρτάβαι) λθγίβ'.
 τῆς δ' ἐσπαρμένης (ἀρουραι) ἈΣγίς' [(ἀρτάβαι)] Ἀχνηγίβ'.
 καὶ εἰς ἦν σπέρ(μα) οὐ χρηματί[σ]ζετα[ι].
 νομῶν ξ ὦν ἐκφόριον) τὸ καὶ ἀπη(γμένου) [ἀπὸ το]θ πλείωι συναγομένου
 τῆς (πυρῶι) ξ.
 60 σὸν δὲ τῆι ἐσπαρμένηι
 (ἀρουραι) ἈΣξίς' εἰς (πυροῦ) Ἀχνηγίβ',
 ὦν γενισμὸς ἐγ μὲν τῆς [ὑποθή(κης)]

[(πυροῦ)] Ἄ[χ]ληβ', κριθῆ(ς) αἰ (πυροῦ) ἸΒ[ωζ, ὀλί(ρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) ρζ]λδ,
 χα(λκοῦ) κ (δραχμ ?) λθγίβ',
 [/ εἰς (πυροῦ)] [Ἄ]χνηγίβ'.

63. ληβ' above ξηβ', which is erased.

Verso

Col. ii.

65 κατοχίμων κλή(ρων)
 (είκοσιάρουρος) Θοτεὺς Ὀρσε(ί)ους
 (ἄρουραι) ιε (ἀρτάβαι) οε,
 Πετεσοῦχος Τεῶ(τος) 5λ λβλ,
 Κολλο(ύ)θης [[Δαβ]] Ὡρου ἐπὶ
 70 τὸν Δαβίτος 5λ λβλ,
 [. . .] Πετεῶν(τος) 5λ (ἀρτάβαι) λβλ.

Col. iii.

ἀν(ὰ) γ	5, / 9ηλ.
ογλ κζλ ι5δ'	ἀν(ὰ) β [[ο . .]]
γ λ ιδ' ιζλ θ,	80 κη, / κη ἀν(ὰ) β.
75 / ρνζλ.	ἀν(ὰ) α
ἀν(ὰ) βλ	ἀν(ὰ) λ ιε, / ιε ἀν(ὰ) λ.
ογ ηλ ζ δ	/ Σαθ.

4. The artabae are probably 100 too few; cf. 154 and p. 561.

9-10. The items of rent add up to 1 more than the total given here, but several of them are restorations. The figures 178½ and 3169½ (which = 2991½ + 178½) are a subsequent addition and do not affect the totals of the rest of the report. How the number 178½ was arrived at is not clear; but probably it includes the 82½ artabae which in a marginal note opposite l. 26 are transferred from the barley to the wheat.

11-2. 1951½ is approximate; 1951½ would be the exact number. Similarly in the following line 329½ should be 329½.

13-4. The numbers οηλ ἀν(ὰ) γ and ογ ἀν(ὰ) βλ are derived from the lists on the verso, ll. 74 and 78. ολ ἀν(ὰ) γλ νλδ' is obtained by subtraction.

25. Ση5': really 258½.

26. The marginal note referring to the omission of κζλ κ.τ.λ. was inserted by the original hand. The figures in the 4th and 5th lines give the result of the subtraction of 27½ arourae and 82½ artabae from the totals of the barley in l. 24 of the text; the fractions

in the 5th line should be $\gamma\epsilon\beta$, but it is certain that four fractions, not three, were actually written. In the 6th line $\tau\iota\alpha\zeta$ was produced by deducting $\epsilon\eta\gamma$ from the figure in the line preceding.

31. $588\frac{3}{8}$ is too small by $\frac{1}{8}$.

36. Of the overwritten figures the doubtful α was possibly meant for ζ , and the whole number was repeated above because what was first written was indistinct.

45. $34\frac{1}{2}$ should be $34\frac{2}{2}$. The restored figures $[\lambda\zeta\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu(\acute{\alpha})\ \delta\ \rho\mu]\theta$ are obtained by subtraction, all the other items being known.

47-8. Cf. l. 55 and 67. 47-50, 68. 59-60.

51. The fraction of $\frac{1}{8}$ is ignored in the computation of the rent.

63. The figures of the *γενισμός* are repeated from l. 6; cf. 67. 65, note.

68-72. These four persons were *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι*. *ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβόιτος* means that Kollouthes had succeeded Labois, as is also stated in the earlier part of 65; cf. 68. 218. . . . *ε* *Περεχῶν(τος)* was a new cleruch who does not appear in any of the other lists of *μάχιμοι*. A person called *Κολλούθης Ὀρον* is found in the list of *κατόχμοι κληροὶ* for the 52nd year (61. (δ) 293, note), but he is probably different from the Kollouthes who succeeded Labois.

72-83. As mentioned in the introduction, this column gives the numbers of the arourae occurring on the *recto*, the rent of which was 3 artabae or less. The numbers are put in the order in which they come in the report; thus to take the amounts at 3 artabae, the figures $\sigma\gamma\zeta$, $\kappa\zeta\zeta$, &c. will be found in the following lines:—13, 27, 32, 39, 41, 42, 46, 49. The several numbers are in the papyrus distinguished from each other by a large dot placed over each (cf. 66. introd.).

71. REPORT OF EXTENT OF CROWN LAND IRRIGATED AND SOWN.

27-27.

30.8 × 26.4 *cm.*

B. C. 114.

A short statement drawn up by Menches of the amount of land irrigated and sown up to Phaophi 20 of the 4th year of Soter II (Nov. 9, B.C. 114). By that date very nearly the whole of the 1193 $\frac{3}{4}$ arourae sown in this year had been reached by the water; on the *verso* of the papyrus a list of the persons whose land was still dry is given (cf. note on l. 8). The sowing, on the other hand, had only just commenced, the area so far being 104 arourae including the whole of the pastures, which however were not really sown at all (cf. 60. 82, note), about a third of the land producing aracus (cf. 69. 28), and a small fraction of that sown with lentils (cf. 69. 16).

The column containing this report is the second of the papyrus, being preceded by a copy of a letter from Horus the basilico-grammateus and a draft of another written to him by Menches (26).

- Ἔτους δ, παρὰ Μεγχείους κα(μο)γγραμματέως) Κερκ[εοσί(ρεως).
 προσάγγελμα τῆς βεβρεγμένης
 καὶ ἐσπαρμένη(ς) ἕως Φαῶφι κ.
 ἐσπαρμένοι ἦσαν ἐν τῶι γ (ἔτει)
- 5 γῆς (ἄρουραι) Ἄργυλδ' ὦν ἐκφόριον) Ἀχξέιγίβ',
 ἀφ' ὧν βεβρέχθαι ἕως Φαῶ(φι) κ
 (ἀρούρας) Ἄρκβδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀτιγλγίβ'.
 λοιπαὶ αἷς ἐπικεῖσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ
 (ἄρουραι) οαλ (ἀρτάβαι) τναλ.
- 10 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς βεβρεγμένης) ἐσπάρθαι
 φα(κῶι) θ (ἀρτάβαι) μδδ',
 ἀρά(κωι) λε (ἀρτάβαι) ρξζλ,
 νομῶν ξ (ἀρτάβαι) ξ,
 / (ἄρουραι) ρδ (ἀρτάβαι) Σοαλδ'.
- 15 λο(ι)παὶ ἀς ὑπὸ χεῖρα σπείρεσθαι
 Ἀιηδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἄμβζ'.

11. μδδ' written above κδλ'β', which is crossed through. 13. ξ in both cases corr.
 from λ. 16. μβζ' written above λβζ', which is crossed through.

5. Cf. 69. 5, which supplies the fractions at the end of the line.

8. On the *verso* is a list of 14 persons headed κατ' ἀ[ν]θρα τῆς ἔτι ἀπορίστου, with amounts in arourae, ranging from 3 to 10, and artabae, the totals of which are respectively 75½ and 371½. No date is added, but it is evident from the nearness of these amounts to those in l. 9 here that the list on the *verso* directly refers to the report on the *recto*. It may be noted that Phaophi 20, if the ordinary *annus vagus* is meant, should be Nov. 9, which seems a late date for expecting further inundation.

72. REPORT ON THE CROPS AT KERKEOSIRIS.

9·1 + 28·15.

Height 30·7 cm.

B. C. 114-3.

Of this long text, similar to 61 but written four years later, which had been broken into several sheets and used in wrapping up two crocodiles, there are four fragments. The first (*a*, which is not printed) consists of two almost complete columns from near the beginning of the list of cleruchs, corresponding to 62. 47-109, and providing no new information of importance. The second

(*b*, cols. i-iii, ll. 1-70) contains the account of land *ἐν συγκρίσει*, which section in 61. (*b*) occupies ll. 19-109. After this two or more columns which contained all the account of land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* after the 39th year and the beginning of the description of land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* up to the 39th year are lost. The third fragment (*c*, cols. iv-xiii, ll. 71-281) preserves the rest of the account of land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*, with the summary of totals hitherto reached, corresponding to 61. (*b*) 160-252, and part of the list of *κατόχιμοι κληροί* (cf. 61. (*b*) 253-94). Between cols. xiii and xiv, where fragment (*d*) begins, there is a break, but it is improbable that more than one column, if any, is lost, for the *κατόχιμοι κληροί* are still the subject of col. xiv, ll. 284-303. The following eight columns (xv-xxii) deal with *χλωρά* (ll. 304-10), *σπέρματα*, *δάνεια* and certain taxes (ll. 310-35, cf. 61. (*b*) 299-310) and land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει* (ll. 336-439, corresponding to 61. (*b*) 346-430); and the last of these, which comes to an end in the middle of the page, probably concluded the whole document. The *verso* of cols. x-xii contains two more columns (xxiii and xxiv, ll. 440-72) in a different hand (that of Menches himself), which were apparently a pendant to the section dealing with land *ἐν συγκρίσει*. This papyrus therefore covers nearly the whole ground occupied by 61. (*b*), and since a large part of the two documents is verbally identical they serve to supply each other's lacunae. There are, however, some considerable differences between them, partly owing to the interval of time between their respective dates, partly owing to changes in the arrangement. One section which in 61. (*b*) is dealt with in the class of land *ἐν συγκρίσει* occurs in 72 (ll. 185-219) in that *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* with a new heading explaining the circumstances of the change, while another section which occurs in 61. (*b*) *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* is treated in 72. 35-44 under the heading *ἐν συγκρίσει*. The account of the *κατόχιμοι κληροί* is much longer in 72, and almost entirely different from that in 61. (*b*). In these respects 72 agrees with 64. (*b*), which though very fragmentary occasionally serves to supplement the lacunae of 72. The account of *χλωρά* in 72 has no corresponding section in 61. (*b*), though it was promised in 61. (*a*) 206, but on the other hand the taxing-list in 61. (*b*) 323-45 is not found in 72. The section added on the *verso* of 72 is peculiar to that papyrus.

On the general import of this document and the meaning of the chief technical terms see App. i. §§ 4-10. The papyrus was drawn up in the 4th year, to which the account of the Crown lands refers; the details of the cleruchic land are concerned with the previous year (cf. 60 and 61). The *κατὰ φύλλον* list for the 4th year is extant in 69, which seems to have been drawn up before 72, since a reclamation which took place during that year is omitted in the former but recorded in the latter (cf. notes on ll. 307-20).

(b) Col. i.

[] ρ[.]ων τῶ[ν]
 [] τοῦ ἀπολογισμοῦ τοῦ ἐδέφου[ς]
 [.....] . ν . ακ . εο[.....] . υ' . . .] μεινουσι
 κ[.] ουμενην υ . ν . [.] . [.....] εως
 5 σ . [.] ν ἐπιστα[.....] . υ[.....] [εσης]
 [.....] . . δι[.....] .
 τ[.....] ε παρατέθεικαν ε . . [.....]
 στατ . ν μὴ δύνασθαι [τὸ κ] α-
 τ' ἀνδρα ἐπ να ε . . . ουσ[.] ἀνθ' ὧ[ν]
 10 ε . . εοι εἰ ηνου ἐπ[.] . .] την
 ἐξηλμυρῶσθαι μηδὲν καν . . [.....] ωι
 [.] ἐπιδέξασθαι [.....] ων
 συναλλάξεων τεταγμένων ἐκφορίων διὰ τὸ τὴν
 γῆν εἶναι χειρίστην [[καί]] καὶ εἶναι ὑπόπετρον ἐηλυθέναι δ' εἰς
 15 {εἰς} τοὺς κατὰ μέρος γεωργοὺς ἐκ τῆς
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαιρ(έσ)εως.
 τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) τὸ κ(ατ') ἀνδρα καὶ
 τὸ κατὰ σπύρον
 τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) [[διάφορον τοῦ τῆς ἐν τῶι νγ]]
 20 [[Ἀμφικλείους κλή(ρου)]] ρκαγίβ',
 καὶ τῶν ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) ψνβλγίβ',
 γίνονται ^{οβ} ωιγίβ'.

2. I. ἐδάφους. 13. τεταγμένων above the line. 14. καὶ . . . υποπετρον above the line. 16. διαιρ(έσ)εως over an erasure. 19-20. The portions to be omitted enclosed in brackets. 20. The figures over an erasure. 22. Between the original figures and those above the line is a horizontal stroke; so in ll. 46, 132.

Col. ii.

ὧν ἐστίν·
 τῆς εἰς τὸ δ (ἔτος) [μ]εμισθωμένης ὑπὸ

- 25 τοῦ διεξάγοντος τὰ κατὰ (τῆ)ν σ[τ]ρατηγίαν
καὶ τὰς προσόδους Φαιεῖ καὶ Μαρρεῖ καὶ Ὡρωῖ
καὶ τοῖς μετόχοις παστοφόροις Μεστα[σύτ]μο[ς]
θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου [ι,
[[. ν. (ἔτους) πρ]]
30 ὧν ἦν ἀν(ὰ) [βλγίβ'] κθς', ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπὶ μὲν (ἔτη) ι
ἀν(ὰ) δ' καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλα (ἔτη) ι ἀν(ὰ) λ εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν(ν) χρόνον(ν) ἀν(ὰ) α,
τίθεται ἀν(ὰ) δ' βλ,
διάφορον κςβ'.
σπῆρος) χρόν(ν) νομῶν) διὰ τῶν αἰ(τῶν).
35 καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι νγ (ἔτει) προσαχθείσης ἐν Ἀλεξαν-
δρείᾳ ἀνεῖσθαι εἰς νομὰς
ἐπὶ τοῦ διοικητοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ
[Ἀ]μφικλείους τοῦ Φιλίνου κλήρου [ἀ]νειλη(μμένον) διὰ τὸ . . [
[[κα . . . αἰ(τὸν)]] ἀντικαταμετρη(θῆναι) περ[ι] ἄλλας κώ(μας) τὰς ἴσας ἀπὸ
σ[πο]ρίμου
40 πρότερον δ' ὄντος Τιμοθέου ἐφοδικοῦ κλήρου)
(ἄρourke) κδ, ὧν ἦν ριθς', ἀνθ' ὧν [ἐ]κ τῆς ἀξί(ας) ἀν(ὰ) α κδ,
διάφορον ρες'.
σπῆρος νομῶν διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γεωργῶν).
/ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) ρκαγίβ'.
45 καὶ τῶν ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) πρὸ τῶν τῆς ἀμειξίας
χρόνων χωρισθέντων τῆς ἐν τῶι λθ (ἔτει)
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδελ(φου) τοῦ βασιλέως)
τῆς ὑπὸ Χαιρήμωνος τοῦ ἐπιμελη(τεύσαντος)
Πετερμούθει Πνεφερώτος ἀπὸ ἀλμυρίδος) (ἄρourke) ιελ,
50 ὧν ἦν οδλδ', ἀνθ' ὧν ἀν(ὰ) α ιελ,
διάφορο]ν νθβ'.
σπῆρο]ς νομῶν διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος [γε]ωργῶν).

40. ἐφοδικοῦ over κδ.
which is erased.

41-4. These lines over erasures.

52. νομῶν over χορονομῶν

Col. iii.

σπέρ[ο]ς (πυρῶι) . . . ζ κριθῆι ιε [. . . ()] κβζ, διὰ τῶν [κατὰ μέρος]
[γεωργῶν] ἐκ τῆς γενομένης) πρὸς αὐ(τούς)

διαιρέ(σε)ως.

55 καὶ τῆς ἀνενεχθείσης μετὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάπλου(ν)
εὐρεθῆναι ἐξ ἐπισκέψ[εως,] ἤστ. τὰ [ἐκφ]όρια προσαχθῆναι
ὁμοίως ἐκ τῆς ἀξί[α]ς, (ἀρουραι) πα, ὦν ἦν ἀν(ὰ) [δλγ']ήμή',
ἀνθ' ὦν ἐκ τῆς ἀξί(ας) ἀν(ὰ) α (ἀρτάβαι) πα, διάφ[ο]ρ[ο]ν τκαγίβ'
{χα(λκοῦ)}

χα(λκοῦ) γβ'.

60 σπέρρος χόρτφ νομῶν διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γεωργῶν) ἐκ τῆς γενομένης)
πρὸς αὐτούς διαιρέ(σε)ως.

καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι κε (ἔτει) κατειργασμένης ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ μέρος)
γεωργῶν ἀπὸ το[ῦ] ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως ὑπολόγου (ἀρουραι) ξθλδ',
ὦν ἦν ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ'μή' (ἀρτάβαι) τμγβ', ἀνθ' ὦν σὺν τοῖς

65 [μετὰ ταῦτα] προσγεγενημένοις (ἀρτάβαι) Σκε,
δ[ά]φ[ο]ρ[ο]ν] ριηβ'. σπέρρος) κριθῆι) κε φακῶ κςλδ' ἀρά(κωι) ιη,
γεωργούμεναι) διὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος γεωργῶν) ἐκ τῆς γενομένης)] πρὸς
αὐ(τούς) διαιρέ(σε)ως.

γίνονται τῆς ἀνευ συ[ναλλάξεως] (ἀρτάβαι) [φλςλδ',
ὦν [(πυροῦ) χα(λκοῦ)] γλγ'.

70 [γίν]ονται τῶ[ν] ἕως τοῦ λθ] (ἔτους) ψνβλγ'ίβ'.

60. τωρομων over an erasure.

(c)

Col. iv.

[τῆς ἐν τ]ῶι κθ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν ὄμβρον τῶν ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς
[ὄρεινῆς] διάρρυγος ὑδάτων κα (ἀρτάβαι) ριδς',

[ὦν] (πυροῦ) ριββ' χα(λκοῦ) αλ, ὦν (ἀρουραι) ι ἀν(ὰ) ελγ'ίβ' νθς', ια
ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' νε.

[τῆς ἐν] τῶι κη (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν ὄμβρον τῶν παρακει-

75 [μένων] ὑδάτων λδ ἀν(ὰ) δλγ'ίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) ρξζλ,

- [ὦν] (πυροῦ) ρξς χαλκοῦ αλ.
 [τῆς ἐν] τῶι κς (ἔτει) ε ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' μή κδλίβ'.
 [τῆς ἐν] τῶι κε (ἔτει) [δ]ιὰ τὸ γενόμενον ἔκπτωμα
 [τοῦ κα]τὰ Θεογονίδα [μ]εγάλου περιχώμ[α]τος
 80 [. . . (ἀρτάβαι) μ]α[λ]γ', ὦν πυροῦ] λς δλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) ελ χαλκοῦ γ'.
 [τῆς ἐν] τῶι ιδ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν ὄμβρον τῶν ἐπι-
 [κειμένω]ν ὑδάτων ἀπὸ τῆς Τβιρήσεως
 [περιχώματος] ἐπὶ τὴν ὑποκειμένην οὔσαν
 [το . . . ἀν(ὰ) δ]λγίβ' μή (ἀρτάβαι) ρμηίβ',
 85 [ὦν (πυροῦ) ρμβίβ' δλ(ύρας)] αἰ [(πυροῦ) ελ χαλκοῦ] λ.
 [τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ λα (ἔτους) ὁμοίως κ]θ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) ρμγ,
 [ὦν (πυροῦ) ρλβλ δλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) η χαλκοῦ βλ.]
 [τῆς ἐν τῶι λ (ἔτει) κ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι)] ρςλ,
 [ὦν (πυροῦ) . . . δλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) ι χαλκοῦ . . .]
 90 [τῆς ἐν τῶι κ . (ἔτει) . . .] (ἀρτάβαι) [. . . ,
 [ὦν (πυροῦ) . . . κριθῆς] α]ἰ (πυροῦ) ιδγίβ' δλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) [. . .
 χαλκοῦ] γ.
 [τῆς ἐν τῶι κ (ἔτει)] κθλ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' [ρμείβ',
 [ὦν (πυροῦ) ρλθλ, δλ(ύρας)] αἰ πυροῦ γλ χαλκοῦ] β. [

Col. v.

- [τῆς] ἐν τῶι ις (ἔτει) εἰ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) κδλίβ'.
 95 [τῆς ἐν τ]ῶι ιγ (ἔτει) ςλδ' ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' μδ',
 [ὦν (πυροῦ)] λαγίβ' δλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) ς χαλκοῦ βλδ'.
 γίνονται ἀλμυρίδος τκθῆ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀχιγ',
 ὦν (πυροῦ) Ἀφδλδ' κριθῆς ιδγίβ' δλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) ξη χαλκοῦ κς.
 ἐμβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῶι λε (ἔτει) ξζλδ (ἀρτάβαι) τμζδ',
 100 ὦν (πυροῦ) Σκβ' κριθῆς αἰ (πυροῦ) νγλ δλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) μδς'
 χαλκοῦ] κηλγίβ'.
 τῆς ἐν τῶι κθ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸν ὄμβρον τῆς
 [ὄ]ρ[εινῆς διώρ]υγος με ἀν(ὰ) ελγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) Σμγλδ',
 ὦν (πυροῦ) ρο[ςδ'] κριθῆς αἰ (πυροῦ) μ δλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) κ χαλκοῦ] ζλ.

- καὶ τοῦ προσαχθέντος ἐ]ν οἷς δεῖν ἀπαιτεῖσθαι
 105 ἐν τῶι λγ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ γεωργὸν
 ἐλάσσωι τοῦ δεκάτου μέρους κατ' ἔτος προσλογι-
 ζομένου τοῖς ἀπαιτησίμοις καὶ εἰς τοῦτο μὴθὲν
 παραδίδοσθαι ἕως τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) λγ (ἀρτάβαι) ρηβ',
 ὦν (πυροῦ) ριγβ' κριθῆς) αἰ (πυροῦ) μη ὀλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) ι χα(λκοῦ) [[ε]]ζ.
 110 τῆς ἐν τῶι [κγ (ἔτει) ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπο]λειπουσῶν
 παρὰ τὰς ὑποσ[τάσεις] τ[οῦ] ιβ τ[οῦ] και] α (ἔτους)
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπολογίζεται ὁ κωμογραμματεὺς
 εἶνα[ι] τὴν προσεξευρεθείσαν ὑπὸ Ὁσοροήριος τοῦ
 γεν[ομ]ένου βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως ἐν τοῖς
 115 ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις κατατείνειν τοὺς γεωργούς,
 ἦν τίθεμεν ἐν τῶι ὑπολόγῳ, (ἄρourke) κζ (ἀρτάβαι) ρνζ,
 ὦν (πυροῦ) ρμα ὀλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) ιεδ' χα(λκοῦ) λδ'.

104. και του over an erasure.

108. ο of ρη corr. from π.

Col. vi.

- [γ]ίνονται ἐμβρόχου ροβλ[δ'] (ἀρτάβαι) τρκζβ',
 ὦν (πυροῦ) χναίβ' κριθῆς) αἰ (πυροῦ) ρμ[αλ] ὀλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) πθλγ'ίβ'
 120 χαλκοῦ μδζ'.
 κεχερσευμένης τῆς ἀπὸ [τοῦ λ (ἔτους) ἀ]πὸ [τ]ῆ[ς]
 πρότερον ἀναγραφομένης [
 κβδ'ή'ίς' ἀνὰ δλγ'ίβ' [(ἀρτάβαι) ρδλδ',
 ὦν (πυροῦ) μςδ' κριθῆς) αἰ (πυροῦ) μ ὀλ(ύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ) ς χ[α(λκοῦ) βλ.
 125 γίνονται φκαδ'ίς' (ἀρτάβαι) [Βχλδ. . .,
 ὦν (πυροῦ) 'Βρπζ'ίβ' κριθῆς) αἰ (πυροῦ) ρελγ'ίβ' ὀλ(ύρας) [αἰ (πυροῦ)
 ρξγλγ'ίβ'
 χαλκοῦ οββ'. [
 ἐμβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῆι ἀναγεγραμμένηι ἱερῶι
 δευτέρων ἱερῶν ἐν τα[ί]ς ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους)
 130 χρόνοις (ἄρourke) ε [(ἀρτάβαι) κδλδ'.
 γίνονται τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) [
]

ἀρουρ(αι) ^{κθδ'ίς'} φιδδ'ίς' (ἀρτάβαι) 'Βχ[νθίβ',
 ὦν (πυροῦ) 'ΒΣκςλίβ' κριθῆς) αἰ (πυροῦ) ρεεγ'ίβ' ὀλύρας) αἰ (πυροῦ)
 ρεεγ'ίβ'
 χαλκοῦ οββ'.

135 γίνονται τούτων ὠπθλ (ἀρτάβαι) 'Δφλδλ,
 ὦν (πυροῦ) 'Βτοβγ'ίβ' κριθῆς) αἰ (πυροῦ) 'ΑΣξδγ'
 ὀλύρας αἰ πυροῦ Σιγ χα(λκοῦ) πζλδ'.

Col. vii.

καὶ τίθεται ἐν τῷ ὑπολόγῳ
 τῶν ἐν τῷ ν (ἔτει) καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἕως τοῦ μθ (ἔτους)
 140 κειμένων ἐν τοῖς ἐπισκεφθησομένοις
 [τῶν σημαινομένων] διὰ τῶν μεταδεδο-
 [μένων πρὸς τὴν πρ]αγματεῖαν τοῦ ἀπολο-
 [γισμοῦ τοῦ ἐδάφους β]υβλίων προσηγγέλθαι
 [καταμεμετρ]ῆσ[θαι] τισιν τῶν προσληφθέντων
 145 [εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν [ἀπ]ὸ σπορίμου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
 [τῆς μὴ καθηκοῦσης,] ἧς τοὺς πρότερον βασιλικούς) γραμματεῖς
 [τῆ]ν μὲν προαντ[αναι]ρεθεῖσαν ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου
 [ἀναγ]ράφεσθαι ἐν κ[λη]ρ[ουχίαι] τὴν δὲ προσαγγε-
 [λεῖ]σαν ἀπ[ὸ] σπορίμου [θε]ῖναι ἐν συγκρίσει
 150 εἰ αὐτῇ ἀντ[αναι]ρ[ε]τέ[α] ἄλλ]η δὲ ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου
 ἀνταναιρεθεῖσα ἀποκ[αταστα]τέα. καὶ τούτων
 σημανθέντων ἐπὶ τῆς γενηθείσης παρ'
 Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ γενομένῳ ἐπιστάτει
 καὶ γραμματεῖ τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων
 155 συνεδρείας παραθέσθαι τὰ περὶ τῶν κατοίκων
 ἐγδεδομένα προστάγματα, Ἀρχιβίου δὲ τοῦ
 γενομένου διοικητοῦ παρεπιγεγραφότος
 ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμοίας·
 εἰ ἀπὸ σπορίμου κατέσχηκαν ἀντὶ χέρσου τότε
 160 κούθεις ἐσήμηνεν παρα(ι)τίαν τοῖς προστετα-

γμένοις περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ κατοικίᾳ οὐ κατηκολούθησαν. γραφήτωι λαβεῖν ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκφόριον, ἔαν κρατεῖν, τὴν δ' ἴσην ἀπὸ χέρσου μισθῶσαι.

140. Final *s* of ἐπ[ισκεφθ]ομένοις rewritten.

Col. viii.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ[ς] Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος·

165 κατακολουθήσαντες τοῖς προσταγεῖσι
ἐν τῷ λβ (ἔτει) τοῖς ἐκ τῆς κα{ι}τοικίας καὶ τοῖς
ὑπὸ Ἀπολλοδώρου συγκριθεῖσι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
οἱ μέχρι τῆς Ἀπολλοδώρου συγκρίσεως
κατεσχηκότες ἐάσθωσαν κρατεῖν

170 τὴν δ' ἴσην ἀποκαταστήσαι εἰς τὴν χέρσον,
τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τὴν συνεδρείαν κατεσχηκώτας
ἀπαιτεῖν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκφ[δ]ρ[ι]ον.

οἷς ἐπικεχώρηται κατὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν προσ-
τεταγμένα ἔχειν οἷους [[ποτὲ]] καταμεμέτρηται

175 κλήρους ἀσυκοφαντήτους καὶ ἀκατηγόρητους
καὶ ἀνεπιλήμπτους πάσαις αἰτία(ι)ς ὄντας·
Φιλοξένωι Καλλικράτου δ (ἀρτάβαι) ιθβ',
Ζηνοδώρωι Βρομεροῦ γ (ἀρτάβαι) ιδδ',
Ἀπολλοδώρωι Πτολεμαίου τῶν προσειλημ-

180 μένων ἐν τῷ λα (ἔτει) εἰς τοὺς κατοίκους ἵππεῖς
ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ καθηκόντος ὑπολόγου ἀντὶ τῆς
ἀνταναιρεθείσης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπικεχωρημένου
ὑπολόγου τοῦ μετὰ τὸ λ (ἔτος) ἀπὸ ξ (ἄρουραι) μ (ἀρτάβαι) ρθβ'.
γίνονται τούτων μζ (ἀρτάβαι) Σλδίβ'.

169. First *σ* of ἐασθωσαν corr. from *ν*.
corr. from *μ*.

174. *με* of μετρηται over the line.

183. λ

Col. ix.

185 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῶι νδ τῶι καὶ α (ἔτει) ἀκολουθῶς
 τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικητοῦ παρεπιγεγραμμένοις,
 ἀφ' ὧν δέξιν ἦν προσαχθῆναι διάφορον μισθώσεων
 διὰ τὸ τὸν χρόνον διεληλυθῆναι, τῆς ἔως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους)
 μισθωθείσης τισίν, ἃς ἔγραφον οἱ τοπογραμ-
 190 ματεῖς καὶ κωμογραμματεῦσαι εἶναί μεν ἐν τῶι
 μεταξὺ γεγυίας ἐν ὑπολόγωι, κειμέγων
 δ' ἐνταῦθα μέχρι τοῦ ἐκ τῆς π[ε]δ[ω]ν
 ἐπισκέψεως γνωσθῆναι εἰ οὕτως ἔχει,
 ἐφ' ὧν παρεπιγραφῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ φύλ-
 195 λον γεωμετρίας τοῦ μζ (ἔτους) ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ἑρακλείδου μερίδος·
 ὁ βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐπισκεψάσθωι, κὰν ἦι (ἢ γῆι)
 ἐν ὑπολόγωι ἀναφέρηται καὶ οἱ
 μεμισθωμένοι μὴ περιῶσι μὴ
 200 προσάγειν.
 ἐγνωσμένου ὡς ἔστιν ἐν ὑπολόγωι
 καὶ τοῦ τοπογραμματέως γράφοντος τοὺς
 μεμισθωμένους μὴ περιεῖναι τεθῆναι
 ἐνταῦθα. [[τῆς ὑπὸ Φανίου τοῦ νομαρχ]]

190. α. of κωμογραμματεῦσαι corr. from ι. l. κωμογραμματεῖς.

Col. x.

205 τῆς ὑπὸ Φανίου τοῦ νομαρχήσαντος ἐν τῶι λδ (ἔτει)
 Σαραπίωνι Ἀπολλωνίου κ, ὧν ἦν [ἀνὰ δλγίβ] qθβ',
 ἀνθ' ὧν ι, διάφορον πθβ'.
 τῆς ἐν τῶι λα (ἔτει) ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τ[ο]ῦ ἐπι-
 μελητεύσαντος. Νεκτενίβι Ποκρούριος καὶ

x

210 τοῖς μετόχοι[s] θεαγοῖς Θοήρεως κ, ὦν ἦν [ἀν(ὰ) δβ'] ρδς',
 ἀνθ' ὦν νς, διάφορον λης'.

καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι κθ (ἔτει) ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ ἐπιμελη(τεύσαντος).
 Ἐρμογένει Ἐρμογένου(s) κ[ε,] ὦν ἦν ἀν(ὰ) [αλ λζλ,
 ἀνθ' ὦν εἰς (ἔτη) ι ἀν(ὰ) λ εἰς δὲ [τὸ]ν λοιπὸν χρῶνον

215 ἀνὰ α κε, διάφορον [ιβλ.

γίνονται (ἀρτάβαι) ρμγ'.

ἀνταναιρουμέν[ω]ν δὲ τῶν ἐν τῶι μζ [(ἔτει) καὶ τῶι β (ἔτει) πρ]οσ-
 ηγμένων τοῖς ἀπαιτησίμοις ος',

τὰς λοιπὰς ος'.

220 γίνονται τῶν ἐ[ν τῶ]ι [ὑπο]λόγωι (ἀρourke) μ[ζ (ἀρτάβαι) τδδ'.

τοῦ δὲ ὑπολόγου (ἀρourke) ρλςλ (ἀρτάβαι) [Δωληλδ'.

ὅστ' εἶναι τὰς προκειμέν(ε)ας (ἀρούρας) Ἐρξςλλβ' (ἀρτάβας) Ἰφιδίβ'.

[ἀπη(γμένου) ἈΣγλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀχογίβ', ἀπη(γμένου) ἐκφάριον]
 α (ἔτους) ι (ἀρτάβαι) μθγ',]

κεχωρισμένης προσόδου ιςλ (ἀρτάβαι) πγς', ἐν συ(γ)κρίσει) ωοβδ',

225 [ὑπολόγου) ρλςλ Ἀ[ωλ]ηλδ', Ἐρξς(λ)λβ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἰφιδίβ'.]

224. πρόσ Pap.

Col. xi.

[κ]ατοχίμων κλήρων.

[ὑ]πῆρχον ἕως [τοῦ] γ (ἔτους)

[ἐφ]δ[ο]ν [ἀ]νδ(ρὸς) α (ἀρourke) κδ ρ[κ].

καὶ [τ]ῶ[ν] ἀπαιτουμέν(ων) α (ἔτους) ἐκφάριον).

230 [. . . ἀν]δ(ρὸς) α κ[δ (ἀρτάβαι)] ρκ,

(ἐπταρούρων) [Χομ]ή[ν]ι[ος] ἀνδ(ρὸς) α ςλ (ἀρτάβαι) ιςδ',

(εἰκοσιαρούρων) πρὸς φόρον προβ(άτων) ἀνδ(ρὸς) α ιθ ρε,

ἐφ[δ]δου ἀν[δ]ρὸς] α [ιθ (ἀρτάβαι) ρε,

. . ε . . . αι() . . ιου [

235 γίνου[ν]ται] ἀνδ(ρῶν) ε (ἀρourke) ρβλ (ἀρτάβαι) υμςδ'.

ἀφ' ὧν ἀνταναιρεῖται

- εἰς τὸ δ' ἔτος Ὀρσειῦος τοῦ Ἀρονήσιος
 τῶν διὰ Χομήνιος (ἐπταρούρων) μαχίμων
 κατεσχη(μένου) πρὸς διαφύρησιν προβάτων
 240 μεμετρηκόςτος τὸ συγκριθέν
 ὑπ' Εἰρηναίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς
 καὶ δι[ο]ικητοῦ ὁπότε ἦν στρα(τηγός)
 καὶ [ἐπὶ] τῶ[ν] πρ[ο]σόδων ἐκφό(ριον) (ἔτους).
 [μετρῆι]. (ἔτους) [. . . .] λβλ.
 245 [γίνονται ἀνδ(ρῶν) δ (ἀρουραι) πς (ἀρτάβαι)] υιγλδ'.

Col. xii.

- καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν τῆς προ]σλήψεως στέφανον·
 Μεν[ίσκου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου] ὃν μετελη[φέναι
 [Πτολεμαῖον τὸν υἱὸν ἐν ᾧ χρυ(σίον)] Σκε (πυροῦ) [ν.
 ἐγ δὲ τῶν] ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικητοῦ
 250 μετὰ τ[ὸν σπύ]ρον τοῦ ρθ (ἔτους) ἐξ ὧν Ἀπολλώνιος
 ὁ γενέ[μενος γ]ραμματ[εῦ]ς αὐτῶν χρυ(σίον) Σκε
 καὶ [διὰ τὸ ε]ύρίσκεσθαι διὰ τῶν διαλογισμῶν
 ἀπαιτοῦ[μ]ενον ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκφόριον τῶν αὐτῶν
 καὶ τὸν χρυσικὸν ἀπαιτουμένων χρυ(σίον) Σ ἀργυ(ρίου) μ.
 255 γίνονται χρυσι[ου] κε ἀργυ(ρίου) μ πυροῦ ν.
 (ἀρουραι) κδ ὧν ἐκφό(ριον) ρκ.
 εἰς ἃ μετρῆι (ἔτους) μθ κρι(θῆς) λγγ' αἰ πυροῦ κ.
 ἀσπύρου.
 καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐπιστολὴν Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ
 260 προστάντος τῆς κεχώρισμένης προσόδου
 τῶν ἐκ Τε[βτύν]εως πρὸς διαφύρησιν τῶν
 τῆς προσόδου [π]ρ[ο]βάτ[ων]] ἐφ' ὧν τοὺς
 παρὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων προ[σ]ανηνέχ[θαι
 [συ]γκεκρίσθαι ὑπὸ Εἰρηναίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς

Col. xiii.

- 265 [καὶ στρατηγοῦ]
 2 lines lost.
 (ἑπταρούρων) ἐφί
 . [
- 270 ◡ κί
 . [
- [
 κα[?] τοῦ κί
 ἰππέων [
- 275 Ἀσκληπι[άδου
 ἐκ τῆς ε . [
- τοῦ μεμισ[θω
 προσόδου [
- τῆς παρ' Εἰρη[ναίου
- 280 στατου κ[α]τ . . [. . .] . [
- ἰππέων κί
 2 lines lost (?).

(d) Col. xiv.

- 285] ὑπαρχον[τ . π]ροσαχθη-
] τῶι β (ἔτει) [μετ]ὰ τὸν σπέρων
]χο . . [.] . ωι
] ὀφέλλεσ[θαι . .]τωι
] . η[.]τα τασ . [.] . ονα () ρμζ
- 290 τ]οῦ β (ἔτους) πρόβατα ρμζ
] . α () (τάλαντα) ρς Ἄπ
] [. .]ρε
]κωι γραμματέων
]ντος διὰ τοῦ ἀπολο-
 [γισμοῦ] πραξίμων διὰ τὸ γνωσ-

295 [θῆναι] τὴν κληρουχικὴν
] διοικήσαντος ἀπαιτη-
 χρ]υσικὸν στέφανον
]ναι ἀπαιτεῖν α (ἔτους)
 [ἐκφόριον]
 300]ωι ἐν ὧι (πυροῦ) ν
 [(ἄρουραι) κδ ὧν ἐκφόριον] ρκ
] .. [. . .] . . . Λδ'
]

288. ε of ρμς corr. ; a stroke is drawn above the three figures.

Col. xv.

[δ]ι[ο]ί[κη]σ[ι]ς χλωρῶν ε[
 305 ἀναφ[έ]ροντ[αι] ἐσπάρθαι καθότι πρόκειται
 [ἀρ]άκωι ἄς γράφει κατανεμεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν
 πρὸς τῶι σπόρῳι κτη(νῶν) (ἀρούρας) ρθ ὧν ἐκφόριον) υλςΛίβ',
 ἀφ' ὧν ἀπῆ(κται) ἀπὸ (πυροῦ) τρζς', αἱ [λοιπ]αἱ χαλκοῦ) λθγίβ'.
 χόρτωι καὶ χύρτωι νομῶν) ὁμ(όως) ρκβ ὧν ἐκφόριον) τὸ καὶ ἀπη(γμένον)
 ἀπὸ (πυροῦ) ΣκδΛίβ'.
 310 νομῶν κατανεμεμμένων) ὁμ(όως) ξ ὧν ἐκφόριον) τὸ καὶ ἀπη(γμένον) ἀπὸ
 (πυροῦ) ξ.
 σπερμάτων
 ἕως μὲν Μεσορῆ τοῦ γ (ἔτους) οὐθὲν ἀναφέρεται
 παρακείσθαι, τὰ δὲ κεχορηγημένα εἰς τὸν
 σπόρον τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) (πυροῦ) γλβλ.
 315 ἄλλος καταχρήσεως·
 οὐσῶν τῶν ἐσπαρμένων καθότι πρ[ό]κειται
 (ἀρουρῶν) Ἄρμγλδ', / ἔστιν τῆς τῶν ἐλ[α]σσόνων
 ἐκφορίων) ἐν (πυρῶι) ζ, χορτονομῶν) ρα, / ρη,
 καὶ τῆς ἀσπερμὶ γεωργουμένης ριγλ, / Σιαλ,
 320 εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς (ἀρούρας) γλβλ ἀν(ὰ) α γλβλ.

308. αφ corr. from απο.

Col. xvi.

θησαυροφυλακικὸν κριθῆς) κδ [αἰ (πυροῦ) ιδγ'ίβ',
κράστεως Θηβαίων [. . .,
(τρι)χ(όλινικον) ἰλιακῶν (ἀρουρῶν) Ἀρ[μυλδ' πελγ'.
δανείων·

- 325 ἀναφέρονται κεχρημα[τίσθαι δι. . .] . . .
τοῦ σιτολογούντος [.] . φ . . . (ἐτ)
τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἐφ' ὧι ἐγ [νέων ἀπ]οκαταστή(σονται)
ἄμα τοῖς ἐκφορῖοις πυρ[οῦ ρκ] φακοῦ ρ.
καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷι μζ (ἔτει) ἀπὸ υν ἐν (ἔτεσι) β νηδ',
330 με (ἔτει) ἐν ἔτεσι γ λγβ', / ραλγ'ίβ'.
[σπέρμα τῆς καταμεμετρημένης τοῖς διὰ]
"Ὤρου καὶ Πεσοῦριος μαχίμ[οι]ς ἄς ἐν Μαρρεῖ
τοπογραμματοεὶ διὰ τὸ μῆ [ἀποδε]δοκέναι[ι]
[τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα (πυροῦ) [.] ις.]
335 ☉ με(τρει) (ἔτους) γ Παῦνι ια ἕως κ ις.

Col xvii.

- [τῶν ἀνενηνεγμένων] ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ
[ἐν ἀπολογισμῶι ὧν] ἀνταναίρεσις γέγονεν
[ἀπὸ τῶν προκειμένων] κεφαλαίων,
[[ἀρουραι] Σξαίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀωλβλ'ίβ'.
340 [ἔστιν τὸ κ]ατ' εἶδος·
[τῶν ἐν τῷι μῆ (ἔτει)] ἀπὸ τῶν ἕως τοῦ μζ (ἔτους)
κειμέ[νων ἐν συν]κρίσει,
ἐπιγενή[ματος τοῦ] προσαχθέντος ἐν τῷι λ (ἔτει)
τῆ[ι] γ[εωργουμένη] διὰ Προκλείους τῶν
345 [ἰ]ππαρχῶ[ν] χ[ά]ρ[ιν τοῦ μεταμι]σθοῦσθαι
ἐ[τ]έροις γεωργ[ο]ῖς πλείω τῶν προ[υ]ποκειμένων]
ἐκφορ[ί]ων ἦς καὶ . [.] ἐκφόρια
σὺν [σπ]έρμ[α]τι ἀπομετρη] εἰς τὸ βα(σιλικόν),

ἐν δ[ὲ τῶι] λα (ἔτει) τη[. . . .]ς ἐκ[πιπ]τούσης
 350 τοῦ δ[έ]οντος καιροῦ [.] . ρ[.]τ .
 διὰ τ[ὸ τ]οὺς γεωρ[γ]ήσα[ντας ἐν τ]ῶι αὐτῶι (ἔτει)
 ἐγκαταλε[ί]ποντας [ἀνακε]χωρηκέ[ν]αι ἐτέρους
 τ[ὸ]πους διὰ τὴν προ[υποκειμ]ή[ν]η[ν] [αί]τ[ραν]
 [ἐ]π[ι]σταθῆ[ναι] ὑπὸ Πτολεμα[ίου] τοῦ γενο[μένου]

Col. xviii.

355 ἐπιμελητοῦ ἐτέρους ἐφ' ᾧ οὐκ ἀπαιτηθήσονται
 τὸ δηλούμενον ἐπιγένημα καὶ προσχορηγη-
 θήσεται αὐτοῖς τὰ καθήκοντα σπέρματα,
 καὶ γεγέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐντυχόντων
 Φανίαι τῶι γενομένῳ στρατηγῶι καὶ
 360 ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων προφερομένων μὴ κα-
 τὰ λόγον [ἀ]πηνητέναι διὰ τ[ὸ] ὀψίμως
 σπαρή[ναι], β[ο]υλομένων ποτίσαι εἰς
 φύλλον διακωλυθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγ Βερενικίδος
 [Θε]σμοφ[όρου] γεωργῶν καὶ ἐτοίμως ἐχ[ύ]των
 365 [.]ησαι τὴν γῆν τοῖς αἴρουμένοις
 [παρεπιγε]γρ[ά]φθαι
 [] ὥς οὐθὲν τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος
 παραλειφθήσεται.
 καὶ παραγενομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν κώμην
 370 καὶ ἐπελθόντος ἐπὶ τὰ γεώργια εὑρεθῆναι
 τὸν σπόρον κακοφυῆι ὄντα καὶ τὰ γενήματα
 ἀθέριστα, π[ρὸ]ς δὲ τὸ μὴ τῶν δυναμένων
 περιγενέσθαι ἐκπεσ[σ]εῖν παρακαλέσαντος
 τοὺς γεωργο[ύ]ς προτρέψαντας θερίσαι καὶ
 375 μετενέγκαι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλα(ς) τεθεωρηθῆναι

373. ἐκπεσεῖν Pap.

374. 1. προτρέψαντος.

Col. xix.

ἐκ τῆς γεγενημένης εἰκασίας μετὰ ταῦτα
τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τῇ γῆι μὴ δύνασθαι
συνπληρωθῆναι (προσεδρεῦσαι καὶ τὴν κ ἀπομετρηθῆναι) εἰς
τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ τὰ

ἀπολείποντα ἀπὸ ἐνεχυρασιῶν πράξαντα

380 μάλις συνπληρωθῆναι. (ἄρourke) Σνα
ἀντὶ τῶν ἕως τοῦ κθ (ἔτους) κθ ἀν(ὰ) εδ'ή'μή' ρξ'λγ'ίβ',
ἄλλων Σζ'λ ἀν(ὰ) δλ'γ'ίβ' Ἄλγ,
ιδλ ἀνὰ βλ λςδ', / ἌΣλγ'ίβ'.

καὶ ἐπιτάσεως τῆς προσαχθείσης ἐν τῷ λ (ἔτει)

385 (ἄρourke) ρβ εἰς συμπλήρωσιν) εδ'ή'μή' λδ'ή'μή' πθλδ', ἄλλων ιδ
εἰς συμπλήρωσιν) δλ'γ'ίβ' βγ'ίβ' λδλγ', / ρκδλ'ίβ'.

γίνονται Ἄτνε.

γράφουσι οἱ πρὸς ἡμῶν δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτρίτου
μέρους ἐγ μὲν τῆς ἐν ἀναπαύματι πυ

390 μέτρῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ δρόμου τοῦ Σούχου
σὺν σπέρματι τῆς (ἀρούρας) ἀνὰ ι ωλ,
ἐγ δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ καλάμου πυ τῷ αὐτῷ
μέτρῳ ἀνὰ ζ φπα,

381-2. An erasure in the left-hand margin of these lines.

Col. xx.

γίνονται ἐξ ἀρουρῶν ρξς Ἄυ[α],

395 αἱ εἰσὶν τῷ πρὸς τὸ δοχικὸν Ἄ[χμςς',
ἀφ' ὧν ὑπολογεῖται εἰς τὰ σπέρματα
τῶν πασῶν ἀρουρῶν Σν[α]

[καὶ] εἰς τὰς καθάρσεις καὶ τὸ κοσκιν[ε]μ[η]τικὸν
τῶν λοιπῶν (ἀρταβῶν) Ἄρως'

400 τῶν ρ (ἀρταβῶν) ε ξθλδ',
γίνονται τκλδ',

καταλείπονται Ἄτκεγίβ'.
 (ἀρτάβαι) πε
 καὶ σπειρομένων χλωροῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπι-
 405 βάλλοντος ἀνὰ δλγ'ή'μή' (ἀρτάβαι) υἱς.
 γίνονται Ἄψμβγίβ',
 τὰς πλείωι τπζγίβ'.
 καὶ ἐπιτάσεως τῆς προσαχθείσης
 ἐν τῶι λα (ἔτει) ὑπὸ Πετώτος τοῦ γενομένου
 410 τοπογραμματέως τῆι διὰ Μαρρείους ἰβιοβο(σκού)
 καὶ κριστάφου γράφοντος δύνασθαι ἐπιδέξασθαι
 πλείω[ι τ]ῶν ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) τετελεσμένων ἐκφο(ρίων)
 ἐπ' ἔ[τη] ι ἀνὰ α

403. 1. (ἄρουραι) for (ἀρτάβαι).

Col. xxi.

ε[ί]ς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀνὰ βλ,
 415 ἄρουραι θλ, ὧν ἦν ἀνὰ βλ κβλ,
 ἀνθ' ὧν ἀν(ὰ) δλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) μδδ',
 τὸ πλείον π[υροῦ] καλδ'.
 καὶ ὑπερβολίων ὧν σημαίνεται γεγονέναι
 ἐν τῶι κβ (ἔτει) ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου τινὸς
 420 τῆς γεωργουμένης διὰ Πενεμᾶτος
 διὰ τὸ γράφ[ειν τοὺς] πρὸ ἡμῶν μὴ ἀπην-
 τηκέναι ἐπὶ [τῆν] γεωργίαν,
 (ἄρουραι) η, ᾧ[ν] ἦν ἀνὰ δλγ'ίβ',
 [ἀνθ'] ὧν ὑποστήσασθαι ἀν(ὰ) ελγ'ίβ',
 425 τ[ὸ π]αρὰ τοῦτ[ο]η[
 γ[ί]νεται κθλ[δ'.
 γ[ί]νεται τούτων [] υἱς'.
 καὶ ὑπολόγου τοῦ ἔ[ως] τοῦ ιβ (ἔτους) κειμ[έ]νον
 ἐν ταύτῃ τῆι τάξ[ει].
 430 ἐμβρόχου ρθλ[β'] Ἄρς . [

Col. xxii.

κατέξυσμένον ?
 [άλμυρίδος ?]
 ἀνά δ.λ.γ.ί.β' []
 ἀβρόχου λθῆ' ἀν(ὰ) δ.λ.γ.ί.β' ραγγ',
 435 καλάμου κεντρίτου ἀδ' ἢ ἀν(ὰ) γ [δ.λ.γ.,
 ἐξαγωγῶν δ.λ.δ' [.] [.] [.] []
 γίνονται [.] [.] . . . λ'β' []
 γίνοντα[ι] Σξαιίς' [(ἀρτάβαι) . . .
 τῶν δ' ἐν ἐπιστάσει Σξαιίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀωλβλίβ'.

On the *verso* of cols. x-xii.

Col. xxiii.

440 [14 letters] μζ (ἐτ) συν[16 letters] σ . [.] . αι
 [„] τῶι νβ (ἔτει) διαπ[.]ης γνωσθῆναι
 [„] τοῦ κω(μο)γρ(αμματέως) ἀπὸ τῶ[ν ἕως τοῦ ν]β (ἔτους)
 κεφαλαίων
 [14 letters] (ἐτ) ἀς καὶ ἐν τῶι μη (ἔτει) πρ[ο]σαγγελέντος
 [ὕπ]δ [.] . ιοξ [τ]οῦ μ[ε]ταλαβόντος τὴν κω(μο)γρ(αμματείαν) ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
 445 δ[ι]ο[ι]κ[ή]σαντος [δ]ό[υ]τε ἐπέβαλε ἐπὶ τοῦ[ς] τόπους κεκου-
 φ[ί]σθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκφορίων τῆς (πρότερον) γεωργηθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν
 παρὰ Διονυσί[ο]υ τοῦ γενομένου ἀρχινοχ(δ)ου κ[α]ταλογίσεσθαι
 ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πραγματευθείσης
 σιτικῆς διαγραφῆς ἐπὶ Εἰρηναίου τ[οῦ] ἐγλογιστοῦ τῆς προσ-
 450 αγωγῆς γεγυίας πλείω τῆς ἐπ' Ἀθηνοδώρου διαμισθώ(σεως)
 μὴ δύνασθαι προσαχθῆναι διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ἕως λθ (ἔτους) χρόνοις
 μεμετρῆ(σθαι), παρεπιγεγρ(άφθαι) ὑπὸ τοῦ Εἰρηναίου
 διδαχθήτω ὡς οὐδ' ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) οὐθὲν τοιοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς
 κόμης ἀνεθήκεται καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῶι ὑπολόγωι
 455 τιθέστωι, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ συνάγηται . . . τὰ τῆς κόμης
 πεπλήρωται μετὰ [τὸ] περιγεγυόμενον τιθέστω[ι].

ἐγ δὲ τοῦ τῆς κώ(μης) τὸν διαλογισμὸν τ[. . .]. μὴ εὐρ . . . [
 [τ]εθῆναι διὰ τῆς δια]γειν[δ]μεν[ο]ν
 [.]μα . [.]ου πρ παρ . . [.] ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικη[το]ῦ
 460 [.] . γ . [.] τοῦ μη (ἔτους) τῶν δὲ κω(μο)γρ(αμματέα) [.] . ἀποστ[ε]λ[ι]λαι
 καὶ [τὰ]
 [δ]πάρχοντα ἀ[ύ]το[υ] ἐγδιωκῆσαι.

455 and 456. l. τιθέσθω.

461. l. ἐγδιωκῆσαι.

Col. xxiv.

ἐπ{ε}ῖ δὲ τοῦ εἰσδο[θέ]ντο[ς] ἐ]ν [M]έμφει τῶι διοικητῆι ὑπὸ τῶν παρὰ
 Πτολεμαίου [τοῦ] ἀπ[ο]λογοισαμένου ἐνίων τῶν πρακτ(ορ)είων εἰδῶν
 παρεπιγέγραφε[ν]
 465 εἰ μὴ παραδέδοται ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) χειρογρ(αφεί) δὲ ὁ βα(σιλικὸς)
 γρ(αμματεὺς) μὴ δύνασθαι
 πραχθῆν[αι], μὴ προσάγειν.
 τοῦ δὲ κωμογραμματέως ἀπολογοισα[μένο]ν μὴ ἐσχηκέναι μετὰ
 τὸν διαλογισμὸν τίθεται καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπ[ὸ] τῶν γραμματέων
 ἐπισκεφθησομένοις.
 470 (ἄρουραι) Σιή, ὧν ἦν [[μεδ']] (ἄρουραι) μεδ' ἀ[νὰ] . β' κ' δ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀριεδ',
 ἄλλων λε ἀ[νὰ] 5 (ἀρτάβαι) Σ[ι], κθλδ' ἢ ἀ[νὰ] αλ[ί]β' μςδ', / (ἀρτάβαι)
 Ἄτολγίβ',
 ἀνθ' ὧν ἀνὰ δλμ' ἢ τολγίβ', [διάφορον] (ἀρτάβαι) υ.

1-16. A general heading describing land ἐν συγκρίσει which was let at a reduced rent, sometimes without even a formal contract, owing to its poor and stony condition; cf. 61. (δ) 19 sqq. The arrangement here is somewhat different from that in 61. (δ), which has nothing corresponding to ll. 1-16 but on the other hand begins with a section quoting several παρεπιγραφαί. It is possible that the column preceding col. i of 72 corresponded to 61. (δ) 20-44; but it is more likely that that section was absent here, for the persons who are mentioned immediately afterwards in 61. (δ) 45 sqq. occur in 72, not under the heading of land ἐν συγκρίσει, but under that of land ἐν ὑπολόγῃ; cf. ll. 185-219.

2. ἀπολογοισμ]οῦ: cf. l. 142.

17-22. A summary of land ἐν συγκρίσει divided according to the usual classification according as it was placed in this position before and after the end of the 39th year; cf. ll. 45-6 and p. 553. In 61. (δ) this distinction was not necessary because in that papyrus all the land ἐν συγκρίσει had become so before the 40th year. Between the 53rd year, however, when 61. (δ) was drawn up, and the 4th year, in which 72 was

written, two reclamations from the *ὑπολογον* had been made, the land being let at a reduced rent. The details of this period are given in ll. 24-44, those of land *ἐν συγκρίσει* before the 40th year in ll. 45-70. The total first written in l. 22, 818 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, was the sum of 752 $\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 22) and the figure originally written in l. 20. The revised sum, 872 artabae, is not quite correct, the right total being 874 $\frac{1}{2}$. In l. 224 it is given as 872 $\frac{1}{2}$.

24-34. Land which has been leased for the 4th year by the person who exercised the functions of strategus and overseer of the revenues to Phaies, Marres, Horus, and their associates, shrine-bearers of the great great god Mestautmis, 10 arourae, of which the rent at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae was 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, instead of which it is let for 10 years at $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba, for 10 years more at $\frac{1}{2}$, and thenceforward at 1 artaba; reckoning at $\frac{1}{2}$, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae. Difference 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ artabae. Crop pasture-grass: cultivated by those above-mentioned.

27. Μετασίτουμις: a new Graeco-Egyptian deity, like Phembroëris (87. 109). In 94. 34 this land is called the land of Mestautmis, but as the present passage shows it was βασιλική not *ιερά*; cf. notes on 93. 55 and 94. 34. This reclamation is not noticed in 69, where the totals of the cultivated land in the 4th year are smaller than in 72; cf. l. 223, note.

35-44. Cf. 61. (δ) 110-4, where this land is under the heading of *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*. In the 53rd year it was announced in the office of the dioecetes at Alexandria that the 24 arourae which had once belonged to Amphicles were leased for pasture at a rent of 1 artaba to the aroura.

35. *προσαχθείσης* is used as equivalent to *προσαγγελείσης*; cf. the confusion between the two verbs in 60. 69.

44. 121 $\frac{5}{12}$ is the sum of the *διάφορα* in ll. 33 and 42. The correct figure is 121 $\frac{1}{2}$.

45. Cf. 61. (δ) 31 and p. 553.

46-52. Cf. 61. (δ) 70-7.

49. ἀπὸ ἀλμυ(ρίδος) . . . εε: in 61. (δ) 72-5 the 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae are divided (no doubt more correctly) into 2 of ἀλμυρίς and 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ of a confiscated κλήρος.

51. ρθβ' should be ρθδ', as is shown both by the arithmetic and 61. (δ) 76.

53. The missing first half of this column can be supplied from 61. (δ) 77-96.

55-70. Cf. 61. (δ) 97-109.

59. χα(λκού) γβ': in 61. (δ) 101 the amount is 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. The details of the wheat, barley, and olya are here omitted.

68. ἀνευ συλλαβάσεως: cf. 61. (δ) 22 and 89, and for the restoration of the figures 61. (δ) 107-8.

71-98. For this section dealing with ἀλμυρίς γη placed *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* before the 40th year cf. 61. (δ) 160-84, and 149, note.

80. χα(λκού) γ': in 61. (δ) 168 the χαλκός is ignored and the πυρός reckoned as 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae.

82. Τβιρήσεως: cf. 61. (δ) 170, note.

92. In 61. (δ) 179 the number of the arourae is given as 26 $\frac{1}{2}$; cf. the next note. The figure ρμε is obtained by the arithmetic; it should be 145 $\frac{1}{2}$, but fractions of the artaba below $\frac{1}{2}$ are commonly disregarded in this papyrus.

97. Cf. 74. 54, where the figures are the same, 60. 9, where the artabae are 1613 $\frac{1}{2}$ and the number of the arourae is 3 less than here, and 61. (δ) 183, where the arourae are 3 fewer, the artabae approximately 13 fewer. The discrepancy in the arourae between 72 and 61 is no doubt due to the difference in 72. 92 (cf. note *ad loc.*) from the corresponding figure in 61. (δ) 179. The inconsistencies regarding the artabae are more difficult owing to the great variations in the figures. It is probable that the number given in 60. 91, 1613 $\frac{1}{2}$, is most nearly correct, and that in 72. 97 and 74. 54 γ has dropped out before γ'. For though the lacunae in ll. 125 and 132 prevent us from

being absolutely certain that the *άλμυρίς* was there treated as yielding $1613\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, not $1610\frac{1}{2}$, the fact that the sum of the items in ll. 133-4 is just 3 too much if the *άλμυρίς* is there reckoned as $1610\frac{1}{2}$ artabae makes it extremely likely that γ has been omitted before γ in l. 97. Whether $1613\frac{1}{2}$ or $1610\frac{1}{2}$ is the real amount of the artabae of the *άλμυρίς* here, the difference between that number and $1597\frac{1}{2}$ found in **61. (δ)** 183 is open to the same explanation as the variation in the arourae, viz. that it was due to the difference in the artabae in l. 92, which are approximately $14\frac{3}{4}$ more than in **61. (δ)** 179.

99-120. Land that was *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* owing to it being flooded; cf. **61. (δ)** 185-201 and notes.

$\tau\mu\delta'$: in **61. (δ)** 185 the corresponding number is 10 less, the difference affecting the following total of the wheat and the total in l. 200, which is $916\frac{1}{4}$; cf. **72. 118**, where it is $926\frac{3}{8}$. $\frac{3}{8}$, not $\frac{1}{4}$, is the correct fraction; cf. note on **61. (δ)** 200.

121-34. Cf. **61. (δ)** 202-10.

The sums of the various items may be tabulated as follows:—

		ἀρουραι.	ἀράβαι.	πυροῦ.	κριθῆς.	δλύρας.	χαλκοῦ.
άλμυρίδος.	l. 97.	$329\frac{5}{8}$	$1610\frac{1}{2}$	$1504\frac{3}{4}$	$14\frac{5}{12}$	68	26
ἐμβρόχου.	l. 118.	$172\frac{3}{4}$	$926\frac{3}{8}$	$651\frac{1}{12}$	$141\frac{1}{2}$	$89\frac{1}{12}$	$44\frac{1}{8}$
χέρσου.	l. 123.	$22\frac{7}{8}$	$94\frac{3}{4}$	$46\frac{1}{4}$	40	6	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Total.	ll. 125-7.	$521\frac{5}{8}$	[]	$2187\frac{1}{12}$	$195\frac{1}{12}$	[]	$72\frac{3}{8}$
Correct total.		$524\frac{5}{8}$	$2634\frac{3}{4}$	$2202\frac{1}{12}$	$195\frac{1}{12}$	$163\frac{1}{12}$	$72\frac{3}{8}$
ἱερᾶς.	l. 130.	5	$24\frac{3}{4}$	$24\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	—
Total.	ll. 132-4.	$529\frac{5}{8}$	26[...]	$2226\frac{7}{12}$	$195\frac{1}{12}$	$163\frac{1}{12}$	$72\frac{3}{8}$
Correct total.		$529\frac{5}{8}$	$2659\frac{1}{2}$	$2226\frac{3}{8}$	$195\frac{1}{12}$	$163\frac{1}{12}$	$72\frac{3}{8}$

Of the errors in the arithmetic that in the total of the arourae in l. 125 is probably due to a confusion between α and δ , or to the neglect of the difference in the total of the *άλμυρίς* which is here $329\frac{5}{8}$ (cf. notes on ll. 92 and 97), while in **61. (δ)** 183 it was 3 less. This error does not affect the later total of the arourae in l. 132, if we take the revised figures there. The totals of the artabae are lost both in l. 125 and l. 132, but can be restored by the addition of the several items. There was probably an error somewhere in this column, for the addition of the wheat, barley, &c., in ll. 133-4 comes to $2659\frac{1}{2}$, while the items of the *άλμυρίς* &c. make 3 less than this. It is most probable that the fault lay in the artabae of the *άλμυρίς*, which should be $1613\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $1610\frac{1}{2}$; cf. note on l. 97. The sum of the wheat in l. 126 is no less than 15 short, but the error practically disappears in the later total in l. 133, where the difference between the total given and the correct total is only $\frac{1}{4}$ artaba. Probably in copying from a previous document like **61. (δ)** the scribe took the number 2176 (**61. (δ)** 205) and added on the increase in **72. 119**, which is about 10 larger than the corresponding figure in **61. (δ)** 200, but forgot to add on the increase of $14\frac{3}{4}$ artabae in **72. 92**.

128. ἀναγεγραμμένη: cf. notes on **61. (δ)** 202 and 207.

132. The number of the arourae written above the line is the correct figure; cf. note on ll. 121-34.

135-7. These lines give the total of the land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* up to this point. The number of the artabae can be restored by subtracting $304\frac{1}{2}$, the figure in l. 220, from $4838\frac{3}{8}$ in l. 225; cf. note on l. 221. The individual items however of the *πυρός*, *κριθῆς*, &c., add up to 3 more than $4534\frac{1}{2}$, so δ and α have been confused somewhere, most probably in l. 136, where the total of the *κριθῆς* should be 'ΑΞϛγ'; but owing to the loss of the section dealing with the land placed *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* after the 40th year the totals cannot be verified. If the addition of the two classes of land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* was correct, the amount of the *ὑπόλογον* which

became so after the 39th year was $360\frac{3}{8}$ arourae producing $1875\frac{1}{2}$ artabae. In 74. 8 (cf. 75. 22) $340\frac{3}{8}$ arourae and $1775\frac{1}{2}$ artabae are taken as the figures at the beginning of the 4th year, being reduced by the end of that year to $295\frac{3}{8}$ and $1559\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 50). The inconsistency between 72 and 74 with regard to the *ὑπόλογον ἀπὸ τοῦ μῆτους* is balanced by a corresponding difference in the *ἔμβροχος ἕως τοῦ λθῆτους*; cf. 74. 55, note.

138-84. Cf. 61. (δ) 213-46 and notes.

185-204. 'Land which in the 54th which = the 1st year (was placed *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*) in accordance with the minute of the dioecetes, on which it was necessary to exact the difference of the rents because of the lapse of time, the land having been leased to certain persons in the period preceding the 39th year, about which the topogrammateis and komogrammateis wrote saying that in the meantime it had become unprofitable, but remained there (*ἐν συγκρίσει*) until it should be known from the inspection of the fields whether this was the case, and quoting the minute which had been issued upon the survey of the crops for the 47th year in the case of the division of Heraclides:—"Let the basilico-grammateus by himself hold an inquiry, and if the land is reported in the class of unproductive land and the lessees are dead, the difference is not to be exacted"; when it was known that it was in the class of unproductive land and the topogrammateus wrote that the lessees were dead it was placed in that category.'

185. The construction and sense of this paragraph are rather obscure. There is no corresponding section in 61. (δ), for the individuals who come under this heading, ll. 205 sqq., are there dealt with in another part of the papyrus concerning land *ἐν συγκρίσει*; (61. (δ) 45-69). This section, however, occurs with the same heading as here but in a very mutilated condition in 64. (δ), which serves to restore some of the lacunae, preserving *π]εδίων* (l. 192), *ἔχ[ε]* (l. 193), and *ἡ γῆ* which has dropped out of l. 197 owing to homoioteleuton. It is clear that the transference of the difference between the original and reduced rents of this land from the category of *ἐν συγκρίσει* to that of *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* took place in the 54th year, and apparently the occasion of the change was that, a considerable time having elapsed since the land was let at a reduced rent, it was necessary to try and recover the difference. The topogrammateis and komogrammateis however wrote that the land had in the meantime (i. e. between the 39th and 54th years) become unproductive, but was still retained *ἐν συγκρίσει* temporarily until the real facts should be discovered by an investigation, and quoted as a parallel a *παρεπιγραφή* of the dioecetes in the 47th year on a similar occasion (ll. 189-96). This *παρεπιγραφή* is given in ll. 197-200, and was to the effect that the basilico-grammateus should himself investigate the matter and find out (1) whether the land was really unproductive, and (2) whether the lessees were dead. If both conditions were fulfilled the rents should not be, or rather could not be, increased. Such proved to be the case, and therefore the *διάφορον* was placed *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* instead of *ἐν συγκρίσει* as previously. It is not easy to see under what category in 72 the arourae and reduced rents were accounted for, and the present passage ignores the distinction which generally holds good elsewhere (though cf. 74. 66-7) that with land *ἐν συγκρίσει* only the difference between the original and the reduced rent is reckoned, while land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* is not only credited with the whole of the original rent but with the number of arourae as well; cf. pp. 571 sqq. The section added on the *verso* seems to refer to somewhat similar proceedings in connexion with another piece of land (cf. ll. 440-72); but the sense of that passage too is difficult to obtain.

187. *προσαχθῆναι*: sc. *τοῖς ἀπαιτησίμοις*; cf. l. 218, &c.

189. *μισθωθείσης*: sc. *γῆς*. *ἄς* reverts to *τῶν* in l. 185, sc. *ἀρούρας*.

192. $\epsilon\pi\{\alpha\upsilon\theta\}$: sc. $\epsilon\nu$ συγκρίσει, as appears from the previous history of this land; cf. l. 185, note. In l. 204 $\epsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\theta\alpha$ means $\epsilon\nu$ υπολόγῃ.

205-29. Cf. 61. (b) 45-69.

210. $[\acute{\alpha}\nu(\acute{\alpha}) \delta\beta']$: strictly it should be $4\frac{1}{2}$.

217. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ τῶν β ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota$) is from 64. (b); cf. 61. (b) 49, note.

220. Cf. 64. (b) 4 and 75. 84. The figures are the totals of those in ll. 184 and 219.

221. The sum of the artabae, which is partly preserved in l. 225, is restored from 74. 10 and 75. 24, where $4838\frac{3}{4}$ artabae is the rent of the $936\frac{1}{2}$ arourae $\epsilon\nu$ υπολόγῃ which are taken as the basis for subsequent reductions through reclamations. The arithmetic also serves to supply the missing figures in l. 225, the other items being known. There is an error of $\frac{1}{8}$ artaba in the fractions of the items in ll. 223-5, which make $10513\frac{1}{2}$.

222. Cf. 61. (b) 248, 64. (b) 6. The number of the artabae is 100 less here than in 61. (b) 248, but this is counterbalanced by the fact that the number of artabae credited to the land $\epsilon\nu$ ἐπιστάσει (l. 339) is 100 greater than that in 61. (b) 349. The difference is no doubt due to a mere error; but the total rents of the βασιλική in 72 formed by the addition of $10514\frac{1}{2}$ to $1832\frac{7}{8}$ artabae produces the same figure, $12346\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, as that implied in 60. 97 and 61. (b) 248; cf. p. 558.

223. The numbers of the ἀπη(γμένον) or cultivated land (cf. App. i. § 5), $1203\frac{3}{4}$ arourae and $4670\frac{5}{8}$ artabae, differ slightly from those ascribed to the 4th year in 60 (where $1193\frac{3}{4}$ arourae and $4665\frac{5}{8}$ artabae are implied; cf. 60. 38, note), owing to the reclamation mentioned in ll. 24-34. There is an error of $\frac{7}{8}$ of an aroura in the figures in ll. 223-4, the total being $2166\frac{1}{8}$ arourae (cf. 61. (b) 248), whereas the items add up to $2166\frac{3}{4}$.

$\epsilon\kappa\phi\acute{o}(\rho\iota\omicron\nu)$ α ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$): cf. 61. (b) 2-7 and App. i. § 6.

224. $\kappa\epsilon\chi\omega(\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma)$ προσόδου): cf. 61. (b) 9-18 and App. i. § 7.

$\epsilon\nu$ συ(γ)κρί(σει): cf. note on ll. 17-22.

225. Cf. note on l. 221.

226. Cf. note on 61. (b) 253.

227-35. A list of five persons, designated by rank, whose holdings had become $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\chi\mu\omicron\iota$ for various causes. The absence of details in ll. 228-34 is probably due to the fact that these were given in ll. 237-303 in connexion with the payments that had actually been made. Line 228 corresponds to ll. 246-58, l. 230 to Col. xiv, l. 231 to 237-45, ll. 232-3 to ll. 259 sqq. The only case here where a definite reason is given for the κληρος becoming $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\chi\mu\omicron\iota$ is that of the $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ in l. 232, who had become liable $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ φόρον $\pi\rho\omicron\beta\acute{\alpha}(\tau\omega\nu)$. This means not that he had failed to pay the sheep-tax, but, as appears from ll. 259 sqq. and 64. (b) 14-22, that he had injured this revenue by destroying sheep belonging to the $\kappa\epsilon\chi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ πρόσοδος.

228. This person was the ephodus Meniscus son of Ptolemaeus, whose name occurs regularly in these lists of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\chi\mu\omicron\iota$ κληροι while the other persons change; cf. note on ll. 246-58. A second $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$ appears to be mentioned in l. 233, but the figures do not suit 24 and 120, and as the ink of that line is very faint perhaps it was intentionally obliterated (cf. note *ad loc.*). On the other hand the figures 24 and 120 recur in l. 230 (cf. l. 301), where the status of the individual in question is lost. He can hardly, however, have been an $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$, for there were only two of these functionaries owning land at Kerkeosiris.

230. κδ: cf. ll. 228 and 256. 5 artabae on the aroura is the regular rent in this list.

233. 19 arourae and 95 artabae are necessary here for the totals in l. 235; but something seems to have gone wrong, for the ephodi owned 24 arourae and 19 is the allowance of an $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\iota\pi\pi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$ (cf. l. 232). The ink of both this line and the next is very faint, and perhaps one or the other was to be omitted.

236-45. From the five cleruchs whose holdings were *κατόχιμοι* in the 3rd year (l. 227) one is subtracted from the list for the 4th year because he had paid the demands of the State in full. This was Orses, a *ἐπτάρουρος μάχιμος* (cf. 61. (a) 125), whose holding had become *κατόχιμος* to the extent of a year's rent *πρὸς διαφόρησιν προβάτων*, i. e. because he had stolen or destroyed the sheep belonging to the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσσδος* (cf. 64. (δ) 26). In l. 231 only 16½ artabae are stated to be due from him, this being the balance owing in the 3rd year from his original debt of 32½ artabae (64. (δ) 26); but in ll. 244-5 the whole 32½ artabae are subtracted from the total in l. 235. There is the further difficulty that though only one *ἐπτάρουρος* is found in the first list, whom we have identified with Orses, another *ἐπτάρουρος*, if not several, is mentioned in l. 266; cf. 64. (δ) 24-9, where two *ἐπτάρουροι* occur besides Orses. But the absence of any mention of these two in ll. 228-34 seems to show that they had paid all their debt by the 3rd year, and that out of the four cleruchs concerned in the *διαφόρησις προβάτων* in 64. (δ) 14-29 the only one whose holding remained *κατόχιμος* for that reason in the 4th year was the *εικοσιάρουρος*.

240. *συγκριθέν*: cf. 5. 54, note.

241-2. Cf. ll. 264-5, 64. (δ) 19 and note on 5. 27.

246-58. The second case is that of Meniscus son of Ptolemaeus, an ephodus, who is the individual mentioned in l. 230. It is described in identical language in 64. (δ) 6 sqq., and much more briefly in 61. (δ) 256-60; cf. 60. 105-6. On the *προσλήψεως στίφανος* see note on 61. (δ) 254. Though the section, which is absent in that papyrus and is mutilated here (ll. 249-55), can be rendered almost complete by a comparison with the parallel passage in 64. (δ), the construction is even more than usually crabbed and obscure, and we have not been able to find a satisfactory explanation for it or to discover the connexion between the payments in gold and the 120 artabae of wheat for which Meniscus was liable and of which he had paid an amount of barley equivalent to 20 artabae in the 49th year (l. 257; cf. 61. (δ) 258). It is to be hoped that some of our readers may be more fortunate, for mentions of gold-payments are very rare in papyri, and the ratio of gold to silver is still wholly uncertain.

255. Probably *νικε*, if the 200 units of gold (or artabae paid in gold) in l. 254 are different from the 225 in l. 251. But the amount seems enormous.

259-72. Cf. 64. (δ) 14-29, where the heading is the same but the list of persons under it is arranged differently; cf. note on ll. 236-45.

260. Asclepiades was the *προστάτης* of the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσσδος* (cf. App. i. § 7) at Tebtunis. Probaby every village had land of this category (cf. 81. 4, 19, 83. 49-50), but if the amounts elsewhere were not larger than at Kerkeosiris, where the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσσδος* only came to 78 arourae, the *προστάτης* of a village would not have had much occupation. The persons mentioned in ll. 266 sqq. had caused some damage (*διαφόρησις*) to the sheep belonging to the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσσδος* of Tebtunis; cf. notes on ll. 227-45.

265. [*καὶ στρατηγῶν*]: cf. 64. (δ) 19. But it is very likely that this is a contracted form of *συγγενοῖς καὶ διοικητοῦ ὅπτις ἦν στρατηγός* (cf. ll. 241-2), though *στρατηγοί* were often *συγγενεῖς*, e. g. Ptolemaeus (42. 1), Lysanias (41. 11).

270. The sign in the margin here and in l. 335 is similar to that found elsewhere (e. g. 60. 101) for *πλείω*. But it is here more probably used to indicate that payment had actually been made, in which case it may be an abbreviation of *πλήρης* in some form.

304-10. A brief statement of land sown with green stuffs such as is found in 67. 44-57, 69. 27-35, &c.; cf. 61. (a) 206, where the *διοίκησις χλωρῶν* is said to have been appended *ἐπ' ἐσχάταις*, though it does not occur at the point corresponding to this section in any of the extant portions of 61 (cf. 67. 41-3, note).

305. The reference in *καθότι πρόκειται* is to a previous account of *χλωρά* which was appended to the lost *κατὰ φύλλον* section of 72, and which on the analogy of 61. (a) 182 sqq. corresponded with 69. 27-35, though cf. note on l. 309.

307. The figures agree with those in 69. 28. Though the rent from land sown with aracus is not there reduced to the usual $39\frac{5}{2}$ artabae of wheat paid in copper, there is no reason to doubt that this was done subsequently.

309. The details of *χόρτος* and *χόρτος νομών* (cf. 60. 82, note) are given separately in 69. 31-4, the *χόρτος* being 31 arourae yielding $141\frac{5}{2}$ artabae, and *χόρτος νομών* 81 arourae yielding 81 artabae. There is thus a difference of 10 in the total number of the arourae and of 2 in that of the artabae as compared with the figures in this papyrus. The difference is due to the reclamation of 10 arourae yielding $2\frac{1}{2}$ artabae in the 4th year, which is not mentioned in 69; cf. l. 27, note.

310. 60 arourae was the customary amount of the *νομαί* from the 4th year onwards; cf. 68. 72, note.

311-20. Cf. 61. (δ) 299-308 and notes.

314. There is no mention here of land unsown through negligence, as in 61. (δ) 303, for in the 4th year there was no *ἄσπαρος*; cf. 69.

317. *τῆς τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἐκφορίων* is equivalent to *τῆς ἀνευ συναλλάξεως ἐλάσσων τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων ἐκφορίων* (61. (δ) 22-3). These 98 arourae were *ἐν συγκρίσει*, and the 91 sown with *χόρτος νομών* can be identified with the entries in ll. 55-61 and 24-34. The 7 arourae bearing wheat were no doubt mentioned in one of the lost entries in ll. 23-70.

321-3. Cf. 61. (δ) 317-9, where this section follows that upon *δάνεια* instead of preceding it as here.

323. The number of arourae is restored from l. 317; cf. 61. (δ) 306 and 319. The amount of the tax was $\frac{2}{5}$ of an artaba on the aroura; cf. note on 61. (δ) 317-9.

324-8. Cf. 61. (δ) 313-6, where the wording is a little different.

329-30. It is not clear to what these two lines, which have nothing corresponding to them in 61. (δ) and are separated from the preceding section by a slight space, refer. If *κεχρηματισμένων* (sc. *σπέρματα*) is to be supplied with *τῶν*, it is possible that certain cleruchs are meant (cf. ll. 331-4) and that the artabae refer to the repayments of loans of seed-corn.

331-5. This section too is wanting in 61. (δ) and is obscurely worded. A loan of seed had been made to the *μάχιμοι* under Horus and Pesouris; cf. 61. (a) 107, which shows that they were twelve in number and owned 78 arourae. Marres the topogrammateus had however failed to produce the list of the borrowers, and therefore had become himself liable for the repayment of the loan, 16(?) artabae, which debt he is stated to have fulfilled between Pauni 11 and 20 of the 3rd year. The marginal sign opposite l. 335 is the same as that opposite l. 270, and is perhaps to be explained as an abbreviation of *πλήρης*.

336-439. Cf. 61. (δ) 346-430. The section dealing with the tax of half an artaba and the *γραμματικόν* (61. (δ) 323-45) is here absent.

339. The number of the artabae is larger by 100 than that in 61. (δ) 349; cf. note on l. 222.

378. Cf. 61. (δ) 375-6, from which the words here omitted owing to homoioteleuton have been supplied.

384. λ (*ἔρει*): in 61. (δ) 381 λδ (*ἔρει*), which is preferable, since this year should be later than the 31st in l. 349; cf. p. 579.

403. The 85 arourae (for which artabae has been written by mistake) are the remainder of the 251 arourae (l. 380) after the 166 arourae which have been accounted for in ll. 388-402 have been deducted; cf. 61. (δ) 396.

425. τὸ π' ἀρὰ τοῦ τ[ο]: cf. 99. 10. It is practically equivalent to τὸ πλείον.

440-72. It is probable that this section, written on the *verso* in Menches' own handwriting, belongs to the same category (*ἐν συγκρίσει*) as ll. 1-70. The circumstances are more or less parallel to those described in ll. 185 sqq., though owing to the imperfect condition of the text the meaning of much of it is uncertain. The land in question had originally been cultivated by the agents of Dionysius, the king's chief cup-bearer (l. 447). At some period of which the date is not given a reduction in the rent was allowed by Ptolemaeus, the dioecetes, on the occasion of a visit to the district (ll. 440-6). Subsequently orders were issued to raise the rent to its former level or higher, but the komogrammateis at the examination of the revenues held before the *ἐκλομιστής* objected that it was impossible to increase the rent because even before the 39th year, when the disturbances took place, the land was unable to bear the higher rate (ll. 448-52). Upon this the *ἐκλομιστής*, Irenaeus, issued a minute (ll. 453-6), giving instructions for dealing with the deficiency. The terms of this minute and the nature of the next step in the proceedings are obscure; but later on in consequence of a report presented to the dioecetes at Memphis by the agents of Ptolemaeus, who seems to have been the *πράκτωρ* responsible for collecting the sums in dispute (ll. 462-4), another minute was issued in which the dioecetes consented to forgo the proposed increase, provided that evidence was produced that the higher rate had not been exacted up to the 39th year and the basilico-grammateus gave an undertaking that it could not now be collected. The result of this (ll. 467-9) was that after the inquiry the land was placed *ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματέων ἐπισκεφθησομένοις* (cf. l. 140), a conclusion which seems somewhat impotent but was practically equivalent to placing it *ἐν συγκρίσει*, like the *σπόριμος* assigned to cleruchs. Finally (ll. 470-2) there is a statement of the original and the reduced rents, the difference on the whole amount of 210½ arourae being 400 artabae.

440. Perhaps τῶν ἐν τῶι] μζ (ἔτει) συ[κριθέντων, but the chronology of this section is very difficult.

445. ἐπέβαλε: cf. 28. 5.

449. σιτικῆς διαγραφῆς: cf. 61. (δ) 37.

Εἰρηναίου τ[οῦ] ἐκλομιστοῦ: on the *ἐκλομισταί*, who were the official auditors of the accounts in the nomes under the supervision of an *ἐκλομιστής* in chief at Alexandria, see Rev. Laws, pp. 87-8, Wilcken, *Ost. I.* pp. 494-5. Probably the *ἐκλομιστής* in chief, who occupied a position little inferior to that of the dioecetes, is here meant. His name, Irenaeus, coincides with that of the dioecetes who is so often met with in the papyri of the early part of Soter II's reign, and it is highly probable that he was the same person. It is not clear whether these proceedings took place in about the 47th or 48th years, or in the 52nd year (ll. 441-2). 124. 19, where Irenaeus the *ἐκλομιστής* is again mentioned, perhaps in the 53rd year, is rather in favour of the later date. The *ἐκλομιστής* about the 49th year was perhaps Parthenius (61. (δ) 38).

459. Probably παρ[επιγέγραπται] should be read, in which case the next line, of which the beginning is lost, and l. 461 contained a brief minute, although l. 461 does not recede in the original like ll. 453-6. The dioecetes seems to have imposed penalties upon the komogrammateus; cf. P. Amh. II. 33. 35. For *ἐκδιουκείν* 'collect' cf. 27. 57, &c.

466. μὴ προσάγειν: cf. ll. 199-200.

470. μεδ: ρ has clearly been omitted by mistake, as is shown by the next line, which accounts for only 65 arourae (approximately), and by the sum of the artabae, 1115½, which on 45 arourae would imply a rent of 24½ artabae—an unheard-of rate. Assuming that 145½ arourae is the proper figure the rate of the rent should be 7½, but the letter

before β is like ς (or γ), and not in the least like ζ . The results of the multiplications throughout these calculations are only approximately correct.

472. If $\delta\zeta\mu'\eta'$ is right the result is about 20 too small. $\delta\zeta\eta'$ would be nearly correct.

73. LIST OF DISPUTED HOLDINGS.

95 verso.

33 x 52.2 cm.

B. C. 113-11.

A list of cleruchs who had received arable instead of dry land, written by Menches on the *verso* of 74, which is dated in the 4th year. The present document must have been drawn up soon afterwards, for in the 7th year Menches was succeeded as komogrammateus by Petesuchus (cf. 77. 1). The list is stated to have been made out in accordance with a published decree containing *φιλόανθρωπα*, which were probably very similar to those issued in the 52nd and 53rd years of Euergetes (5. 36-48 and 124), if indeed the decrees in 5 or 124 are not those actually referred to. Mention is made of previous false returns by Menches' predecessors, though probably he himself was also to blame; cf. p. 569. It was due to the incorrectness of earlier reports that most of the cleruchs found in this list do not seem to have had the tenure of their *κληροί* called in question before, for although cases in which arable instead of dry land had been assigned frequently occur in earlier survey-lists, e. g. 61. (b) 2-7, 213-45, the individuals are different, and no indication is there found of any irregularity in connexion with the *κληροί* mentioned here. The entries give the names of the present holder and of the *γεωργοί* who cultivated the land when it was *βασιλική*, the extent of the *σπόριμος* assigned (which did not always form the whole amount of the *κληρος*), and the original rent, now lost to the government.

Col. i.

Παρά Μεγχείους κω(μο)γγραμματοέως Κερκεοσίρεως. ἐν τ[ῶι .] (ἔτει ?)
 ἐπιδέδωκα δι[ὰ τ]ῶν προσαγγ[ε]λμάτων πρ[ο]σ-
 αγγέλλωι κατ[ὰ] τὸ ἐκκείμενον τῶν φ[ι]λ[α]νθρώπων
 πρόσταγμα{ς} το[ῦ]ς τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων [κλή(ρων) κα]τεσχηκότες
 5 ἀπὸ σπορίμου ἀ[ν]τι τοῦ ἐπιστ[α]λέν[τος] ὑπολόγου[ν] καὶ τὴν
 ἴσιν ἀνενηνέχθαι ἐν ψευ[δ]έσει] ὑπ[ὲρ] τῶν
 πρὸ ἡμῶν τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ [(ἔτους).]

Χαιρήμονι Θεώνος τ[ὰ]ς [ε]τ μ[ε]τεπ[ε]γεγραμμένας

Y 2

- Πρωτάρχων Διονυσίου ἀ[πὸ] τῆς (πρότερον) γεωργουμένης ὑπὸ
 10 Φαήσιος τοῦ Ἀρωῶτου καὶ Σενθέως καὶ Ὡρου τοῦ Πετεσούχου
 καὶ τῶν μετόχων) (ἄρουναι) λ, ὦν ἦν [τὸ] προεπιγεγραμμένον)
 ἐκφόριον) (ἀρουρῶν)
 κ ἀν(ἀ) ε ρ { κε }, ι ἀνὰ βλ κε, / λ (ἀρτάβαι) ρκε,
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς διὰ Πετοσίριος τοῦ Ὡρου ι (ἀρτάβαι) ν,
 καὶ τῆς διὰ Πετεσούχου ι (ἀρτάβαι) μ, / (ἄρουναι) ν (ἀρτάβαι) Σιε.
 15 Ταυρίσκων Ἀπολλωνίου τὰς μετεπιγεγραμμένας αὐτῶν ἀπὸ
 Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου) ἐξ ἐφόδων) μεταβεβη(κόςτος) (ἄρουναι)
 ιβ (ἀρτάβαι) .
 Ἀπολλωνίω Διονυσίου τὰς γεωργηθείσας ὑπὸ Φαήσιος
 Ἀρωῶτου [κ]αὶ Ἀρωῶτου τοῦ ἀδελ(φοῦ) (ἀρούρας) κ . (ἀρτάβαι) [. .
 / (ἄρουναι) π . [(ἀρτάβαι)
 20 καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ νβ (ἔτει)
 [Ἀ]θηνίωι Ἀρχίου τὰς μετεπι[ιγε]γραμμένας αὐτῶι
 ἀβρόχου (ἀρούρας) κ καὶ [
 [. .]σθεωσ . . [
 [. . .] . . . [
 25 / [

2. l. πρ[ο]σαγγέλλων.
for αὐτῶν.

4. l. κατεσχηκίας.
17. τας . . . φασιος above an erasure.

15. ταν. Of ταυρισκων COIG. l. αὐτῶν
20. This line written through / .

Col. ii.

φυλακῶν ὁμοίως
 Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἐ[τ]φεμόνιος
 τὸν προπάρχ[ο]ντα αὐ[τῶν]
 κατεσχηκίαι τῆς [(πρότερον) γε]ωργηθείσης
 30 ὑπὸ Πετεσούχου [τοῦ] . . . ου . . . [
 Ὡρου τοῦ Ἀρσιγῆσιος ἱερᾶ[ς] . . .] . . . χέ(ρσου)

Beginnings of lines of the rest of the column.

5-7. The error with which Menches charges his predecessors was that when these cleruchs received arable instead of uncultivated land from the Crown, the komogrammateis increased the total of the uncultivated land in their reports instead of calling attention

to the irregularity which had occurred, as was done in the case of the cleruchs mentioned in 61. (b) 2-7 and 213-45. The case of Etphemounis (cf. l. 27) was indeed brought before the authorities (cf. 66. 85-7), but he was not mentioned in 61. (b) 2-7, as apparently he ought to have been; cf. p. 569. Ἰσην in l. 6 perhaps refers to the ἴση in 61. (b) 229.

8. Chaeremon son of Theon had disappeared from the lists of cleruchs before the 51st year, to which 62 refers. The 50 arourae which belonged to him were assigned to Protarchus; cf. 64. (a) 57.

15. Ταυρίσκωι: cf. 63. 115, 64. (a) 71, and 61. (b) 261-84, note.

17. Ἀπολλωνίωι: cf. 62. 122. He owned 50 arourae at Kerkeosiris of which over twenty had been σπόριμος. The figure after π in l. 19 is more like ζ than anything else, and in that case the figure after κ here must be ε; but the vestiges are too slight to be conclusive.

21. [Ἀ]θηνίωι: cf. 62. 133-7.

27. Ἡρακλείδωι: cf. 63. 91, 66. 85-7, and note on ll. 5-7 above.

31. Ἄ[ρου το]ῦ Ἀρσινήσιωι: cf. 63. 8. He and his companions cultivated 15 arourae belonging to the god Suchus. That a γεωργός who presumably had leased ἱερά γῆ in the ownership of the temple should come in a list of persons who had received grants of σπόριμος instead of χέρσος is remarkable. Probably the ἱερά γῆ of Suchus at Kerkeosiris, or some of it, had been a recent gift assigned to the temple from the βασιλικὴ γῆ ἐν ὑπολόγῳ like the land given to cleruchs and to Soknebtunis; cf. p. 544. The fact that the beginning of l. 31 ranges with l. 26 indicates that this was a new entry.

74. REPORT OF UNPRODUCTIVE LAND.

9.5 recto.

33 × 52.2 cm.

B. C. 114-3.

This and the next papyrus (75) are systematic reports from Menches of the Crown lands at Kerkeosiris that were ἐν ὑπολόγῳ, i. e. unproductive for various reasons; cf. 60. 67-96, 109-26, 61. (b) 110-247, 72. 71-221. They refer to two consecutive years, the 4th and 5th of Soter II; and both are arranged on a similar plan. The same amount of ὑπόλογον is taken as the starting-point in either case, the total being the same as that given for the 4th year in 72. 225, and from this various deductions are made on account of reclamations. The total at the end of the year is thus reached and is divided as usual into two parts, land which became unproductive up to the 39th year and that from the 40th year onwards, and the threefold classification of the kinds of unproductive land, ἐμβροχος, ἀλμυρὴς and χέρσος, is then given under these two main subdivisions.

The two documents are rather careless pieces of work, and are at times inconsistent with each other and with 72, which partially covers the same ground in greater detail, but was written earlier in the 4th year than 74; there

are also a number of obvious blunders in arithmetic. 75 contains some interesting mentions of reclamations in the 5th year by Menches himself and by Horus and Marres, the basilico-grammateus and the toparch (cf. 10. introd.), and of a κλήρος given to Menches (cf. p. 551).

On the *verso* of this papyrus was written the preceding text, 78. The roll was incorrectly made up, the first *selis* being joined on in such a manner that its *verso* corresponds with the *recto* of the remainder.

Col. i.

Ἔτους δ, παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμογραμματέως
Κερκεοσίρεως. ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπολόγου διεσταλ-
μένου τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) καὶ τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λ[θ] (ἔτους),
παρακειμένων καὶ τῶν προσηγγελμ(έν)ων ἐπὶ τοῦ
5 διοικητοῦ μετὰ τὸν σπύρον τοῦ δ (ἔτους), ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
τῆς δυναμένης εἰς μίσθωσιν ἀχθῆναι
ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ε (ἔτος) ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας.

τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) τμηΐς' (ἀρτάβαι) ἈψοεΛγίβ',
καὶ τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) φρσδ'ήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Γέγλις',
10 γίνονται ὑπολόγου) ηλςλ (ἀρτάβαι) Δωληλδ'.

ἀνταναιρουμένων δὲ τῶν προσηγγελ-
[μ]ένων ἐπὶ τοῦ διοικητοῦ μετὰ τὸν σπύρον
[το]ῦ δ (ἔτους) ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας·

ἀπὸ ἐμβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῶι νβ (ἔτει) ςλ,
15 καὶ ἀπὸ ἀσπύρου τῆς ἐν τῶι μα (ἔτει) (ἀρourke) ηλ,
/ (ἀρourke) ιε, ὧν ἦν οε, ἀνθ' ὧν
ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας ἐπὶ μὲν (ἔτη) ε ἀνὰ λ
καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀνὰ α,

καταλείπονται) (ἀρourke) ηκαλ (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀψέγλδ', ἰ ἀπὸ το[θ] μ (ἔτους)
20 τκεήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀψλγίβ', ἕως λθ (ἔτους) φρσδ'ήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Γέγλιβ'.
ὧν εἶναι τῆς δυναμένης εἰς μίσθω[σιν ἀ]χθῆναι

ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ε (ἔτος) ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας εἰς ν[ομάς καὶ .]. ρο-
νομάς ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου τοῦ ἀπὸ τ[οῦ] μ (ἔτους)
(ἀρούρας) λ, ὧν ἦν ρμαλίς', [ἀνθ'] ὧν
25 ἐπὶ μὲν (ἔτη) ε ἀνὰ δ' καὶ ἐπ' ἀλ(λ)α (ἔτη) ε ἀ[νὰ] λ
εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀνὰ α.

9. εως over an erasure. 14. After νβ (ἔτει) an erasure. 18. εις το over an erasure. 19-20. / απο to end of l. 20 inserted later. In l. 20 ἡίς' after φςδ' corr. 21. ειναι τη over an erasure.

Col. ii.

τούτων ἀπὸ ἐμβρόχου να (ἔτους) ελῆ[ίς'] (ἀρτάβαι) κηλδ',
 ἀπὸ χέρσου μ (ἔτους) ιαίς' ὦν ἦν με,
 ἀπὸ ἀσπέρου ἦν χερσεύειν ιγδ' (ἀρτάβαι) ξζλγ',
 30 γίνονται (ἄρourai) λ ὦν ἦν (ἀρτάβαι) ρμαλίβ'.

ἔτους δ, παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμογρ(αμματέως) Κερκ[εοσίρε]ως.
 ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπολό(γου) τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) [καί] τ[ο]ῦ ἔως
 τοῦ λθ (ἔτους), παρα[κ]ειμένων καὶ τῶν προσηγμένων
 ἐπὶ τοῦ διοικητοῦ μετὰ τὸν σπέρου τοῦ δ (ἔτους), ὁμο[ίως δ]ὲ
 35 καὶ τῆς δυναμένης εἰς μίσθωσιν ἀχθῆναι
 καὶ ἀχρήστου τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ε (ἔτος) (2nd hand)
 [έκ] τῆς

ἀξίας. [[καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ν (ἔτους?)]]

1st hand ἐμβρόχου διὰ τὸν δμβρον τῶν παρακειμένων ὑδάτων
 ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ Θεογονίδα μεγάλου περιχώ(ματος) καὶ Ταλί,
 40 τῆς ἐν τῶι να (ἔτει) λςδ' (ἀρτάβαι) ραζλδ',
 τῆς ἐν τῶι μδ (ἔτει) ι (ἀρτάβαι) μθβ',
 / (ἄρourai) μςδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Σμζγίβ'.
 ἀλμυρίδος τῆς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ Π[τ]ολεμαίου τοῦ
 προστάντος τῆς ἀπὸ ὑπολόγωι ἀναχθείσης
 45 ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλίνου ἐν τῶι ν (ἔτει) ξαλ (ἀρτάβαι) Σραλ,
 τῆς ἐν τῶι μδ (ἔτει) θδ' (ἀρτάβαι) με,
 τῆς ἐν τῶι μβ (ἔτει) ιηλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) οςλγίβ',
 τῆς ἐν τῶι μ (ἔτει) ρνθδ' ἡ (ἀρτάβαι) ωαθλ,
 / ἀλμυ(ρίδος) Σμηλδ' ἡ (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀτιαλγίβ'.
 50 γίνονται το[ῦ] ἀπὸ τοῦ [μ (ἔτους) Σρε]ἡίς' [(ἀρτάβαι) Ἀφ]νθγ'.

30. Between this and l. 31 a line erased. 36. το corr. 44. l. ὑπολόγου.

Col. iii.

καὶ τοῦ ἔως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους)
 ἀ[λ]μυρίδος ἦν καὶ κατεξῦσθαι χάριν
 [τῶ]ν ἐπενεχθέντων ὑδάτων
 [(ἄρourke)] τκθδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀχιγ',
 55 ἐμβρ[όχ]ου ραβλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀκθγίβ',
 χέρσο[υ] διὰ τὸ παρακεῖσθαι τῆι λοιπῆι
 ἀφόρωι κβδ'ήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) ρδλδ',
 / (ἄρourke) φμδδ'ήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐψλδλ.
 ἐμβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῆι ἡθετημένῃ
 60 ἱερᾶ ε (ἀρτάβαι) κδλγ',
 / φμδδ'ήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐψνθγ'.
 καὶ τίθεται ἐν τῶι ὑπολόγῳ τῆς
 καταμετρηθείσης τισὶν κατοίκοις
 ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπισταλείσης χέρσοι
 65 (ἄρourke) μζ (ἀρτάβαι) Σλδίβ',
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν συγκρίσει
 διαφόρων (ἀρτάβαι) ος',
 / μζ (ἀρτάβαι) [τδ]δ'.
 / τοῦ ἔως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) φρςδ'ήίς' [(ἀρτάβαι)] Ἐγγλίβ',
 70 τοῦ δὲ ὑπολόγου ἀχρή(στου) ωραλ (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐχκβς'.

54. χιγ' over erasure of ιγ'.
 from γ.

64. ι. χέρσου.

55. θ of Ἀκθ corr. from η.

58. δ of Ἐψλδ corr.

6-7. τῆς δυναμένης κ.τ.λ.: this land was let at reduced rents and therefore ἐν συγκρίσει; cf. 61. (δ) 22 and p. 572.

8-10. The figures are the same in 75. 22-4; cf. 72. 221, where the general total of the ὑπόλογον agrees. As a matter of fact the two sets of numbers given add up to 936½ arourae and 4839½ artabae. At the end of l. 9 ίς' is a mistake for ίβ' (cf. l. 69); the same slip has been made in l. 24.

16. οε: in 75. 28 γ' is added.

22. εἰς ἰσμάς καὶ χ[ο]ρτονομίαις is expected and should no doubt be restored (cf. 75: 37), but was certainly not written; the σ is quite clear and the vestiges of the preceding letter suggest ε rather than ο. There may have been some confusion with χέρσοις.

23. μ] ἔτους: cf. 75. 38. The figures there of the land leased differ slightly from those given here.

30. The subtraction of these totals from those for the period since the 40th year in l. 20 gives the same numbers as those arrived at by addition in l. 50.

31-7. This repetition of the heading (cf. ll. 1-7) seems quite meaningless. Something should have stood here corresponding with 75. 44-7 and 54-5. *καὶ ἀχρήστου . . . (ἔτους)* is to be connected with l. 38, *ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ε (ἔτος) κ.τ.λ.* going with *ἀχθῆναι* as in l. 7; cf. 75. 56.

33. *προσηγμένων*: but *προσηγγελλμένων* in ll. 4 and 11. For this confusion between the two words cf. 60. 69, note.

37-42. These $46\frac{1}{4}$ arourae which became waterlogged in the 51st and 44th years seem to be the remainder of the $95\frac{1}{2}$ described in 61. (b) 116-9, the rest having in the meantime been again brought under cultivation. The water from Theogonis and Tali is not, however, mentioned in that passage in connexion with this land. By the following year the $36\frac{1}{4}$ arourae which became *ἔμβροχος* in the 51st year had been still further reduced to 15 arourae (75. 46, 59).

43-9. Cf. 61. (b) 121-42, where this *ἀλμυρίς* is more fully described. The only difference in the figures of the two passages is that in 61. (b) 137 the land which became salt in the 40th year is given as $179\frac{3}{8}$ arourae at 999 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, i. e. 20 arourae and 100 artabae more than the numbers here (l. 48). It must be concluded that 20 arourae had been reclaimed in the interval. The total of the artabae in l. 45 should be less by 1; cf. 61. (b) 130. The same mistake is made in 75. 64.

50. The items in ll. 42 and 49 make $295\frac{1}{8}$, so the $\frac{1}{8}$ is unaccounted for; but the three strokes representing the fractions are clear, and $295\frac{3}{8}$ is the number given by the previous subtraction ($325\frac{3}{8} - 30$, ll. 20 and 30). It is, however, noticeable that in 75. 41 the number of the arourae subtracted as having been leased is $30\frac{1}{8}$ instead of 30. If $\frac{1}{8}$ has been omitted in 74. 24-30, the number $295\frac{1}{8}$ produced by the addition is correct. The fraction after $\epsilon\angle$ in l. 27 is quite uncertain and could be read as δ just as well as $\eta[\acute{\iota}\zeta]$.

52-4. For a detailed description of this land see 72. 71-98. The totals are the same as here, but the artabae should be $1613\frac{1}{2}$; cf. note on 72. 97.

55. Cf. 72. 99-120. The totals there (l. 118) are less than those given here by 20 arourae and $103\frac{3}{8}$ artabae; cf. 72. 135-7, note.

56-7. Cf. 72. 121-4, the figures of the passages coinciding.

58. The totals here are of course larger than those in the corresponding passage in 72 (l. 125) owing to the discrepancy in the amounts for the *ἔμβροχος*; cf. l. 55, note. In 75. 76 the totals are approximately the same as in 72, although the figures for the *ἔμβροχος* are identical with those in l. 55 here. The figures for the *ἀλμυρίς* are, however, lost in 75, so presumably the difference came in under that head.

59. Cf. 72. 128-30 and 61. (b) 207, note.

62-5. The history of these 47 arourae is given at length in 61. (b) 213-46, 72. 138-84.

67. Cf. 61. (b) 44-69, where these $70\frac{1}{2}$ artabae are still *ἐν συνκρίσει*, and 72. 185-219, where they are *ἐν ἰπολόγῳ*, as here.

70. The totals have been obtained by the subtraction of the figures in l. 30 from those in l. 18, not by the addition of those in ll. 50 and 69, which together make $891\frac{3}{8}$ arourae and $4622\frac{1}{2}$ artabae. For this additional $\frac{1}{8}$ aroura cf. note on ll. 8-10.

75. REPORT OF UNPRODUCTIVE LAND.

17.7.

31.4 x 117.5 cm.

B. C. 112.

A report by Menches of the Crown land *en upologoph*, similar to the preceding, but referring to the following year; cf. the introduction and notes to 74. Some land reclaimed by Menches and other local officials is mentioned (ll. 30-3; cf. 10. introd.), and a grant to Menches of 20 arourae from the *upologon*, which occurred in this year, is duly recorded (ll. 50-1).

This report is appended to a statement of the crops for the 5th year similar to 66-70. Two columns are preserved, but the first of them, which begins with the *ἄλλα γένη τὰ πρὸς πυρὸν διοικούμενα* (cf. 68. 48, &c.) is imperfect, and they present no new feature of interest. The totals are 1261 $\frac{9}{8}$ arourae and 4645 $\frac{3}{8}$ artabae; cf. 154 and pp. 561 and 563. The document thus falls into two parts, the one relating to the cultivated, the other to the uncultivated, portion of the *βασιλικὴ γῆ*; and these are divided from one another by a copy of a declaration by Menches taking upon himself the responsibility for the payment of the tax of 1 artaba on the aroura for the current year on behalf of three catoeci and an ephodus, whose holdings were not cultivated (cf. ll. 3-14, note).

On the *verso* of this papyrus is 33, the letter announcing the visit of a Roman senator, which is dated in the same year.

Col. iii.

(τρι)χ(οίνικον) ἰλιακῶν (ἄρουραι) ἈΣΞαλίς' ρδβ'.
δανείων τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) (πυροῦ) ρκ.

Παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμογραμματέως Κερκεοσ(ρεως).
τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων κλήρων ὄντων ἐν ὑπολό(γῳ)
5 διὰ τῆς τοῦ ε (ἔτους) κατὰ φύλλον γεωμετρίας
ἀναδέχομαι πόνρον δώσιν τῆς (ἀρτάβης) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)
ἥι μετρήσειν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου. κατοίκων

Πολέμωνος τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου (ἄρουραι) κ (ἀρτάβαι) κ,
Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου (ἄρουραι) κδ (ἀρτάβαι) κδ,

- 10 Μάρωνος τοῦ Διονυσίου (ἄρουραι) κε (ἀρτάβαι) κε,
 / κατοίκων (ἄρουραι) ξθ (ἀρτάβαι) ξθ.
 ἐφόδου· Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μενίσκου (ἄρουραι) κδ (ἀρτάβαι) κδ.
 ὅστ' εἶναι (ἀρούρας) γγ (ἀρτάβας) γγ.
 (ἔτους) ε Μεχειρ κθ.

Col. iv.

- 15 Ἐτ[ους] ε, παρὰ Μεγχείους [κ]ωμογρ(αμματέως) Κερκεοσι(ρεως). ἀπολογι(σμός)
 ὑπολό(γου)
 διεστα(λ)μένον τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) καὶ τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους),
 παρακειμένων καὶ τῶν ἐπ[ι τ]οῦ διοικητοῦ προ[σηγγε(λμένον)]
 μετὰ τὸν σπῆρον τοῦ δ (ἔτους), ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆ[s] κα[ταμετρη(θείσης)]
 ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικητοῦ κ[α]ὶ τῆς κατειργα(σμένης) ὑ[πὸ τῶν]
 20 παρ' Ὀρου τοῦ βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) καὶ Μαρρείους τοῦ τοπογρ(αμματέως)
 ἔ[τ]ι [δὲ] κα(ὶ) τῆς
 δυναμένης εἰς μίσθωσιν ἀχθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας.
 τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) τμηίς' (ἀρτάβαι) ἈψοεΛγίβ',
 καὶ τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) φασδ'ήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐξγζίβ',
 / ὑπολό(γου) γλζλ (ἀρτάβαι) Δωληλδ'.
 25 ἀνταναιρουμένων [δὲ] τῶν προσηγγελεμένων) ἐπὶ τοῦ δι(οικητοῦ) μετὰ τὸν
 σπῆ(ρον)
 τοῦ δ (ἔτους) ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας ἀπὸ ἐμβρόχου τῆς [. (ἔτει)]
 ἐν τῶι μα (ἔτει) ιε ὦν ἦν
 / ιε ὦν ἦν οαγ', ἀνθ' ὦν ἐκ τῆς ἀξία[s]
 [ἐπὶ μ]ὲν (ἔτη) ε ἀνὰ λ [εἰς] δὲ τὸν λο(ιπὸν) χρό(νον) ἀνὰ α.
 30 [καὶ τῆ]ς ὑφ' ἡμῶν κατ[ειργα(σμένης)]
 [ἀπὸ] ἐμβρόχου νβ (ἔτους) ζλ, να (ἔτους) γλ, / (ἄρουραι) ι (ἀρτάβαι)
 μ[θ]ς'.
 καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' Ὀρου τοῦ βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) αδ' ζγ', καὶ ὑπὸ
 [τῶν] παρὰ Μαρρείου[s] τοῦ τοπογρ(αμματέως) αλ (ἀρτάβαι) ζγίβ', [/]
 ἀπὸ ἐμβρόχου να (ἔτους) βλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) ιγλδ'.
 [γίνονται] κα[τειργα(σμένης)] (ἄρουραι) ιβλδ' (ἄρουραι) . [.] .
 35 [24 letters] . εσ[.] .

Col. v.

καὶ ἦν ὑπεριθέμεθα εἰς μίσθωσιν ἀχθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ
εἰς τὸ αὐ(τὸ) (ἔτος) σπόρου ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας εἰς χορτονομά[ς]
ἀπὸ ὑπολά(γου) τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους)· ἀπὸ ἐμβρόχου να (ἔτους) ελδ'
(ἀρτάβαι) κςλγ'.

χέρσου τῆς ἐν τῶι μα (ἔτει) ιαίς' (ἀρτάβαι) με.

40 ἀπὸ ἀσπόρου ἦν κεχερωσῶ(σθαι) ιγδ' (ἀρτάβαι) ξεε'.

/ (ἄρουραι) λίς' ὦν ἦν ρλζ, ἀνθ' ὦν ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας
ἐπὶ μὲν (ἔτη) ε ἀνὰ δ' καὶ ἐπ' ἀλ(λ)α (ἔτη) ε ἀνὰ λ
εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀνὰ α.

ὥστ' εἶναι τῶν προσηγμένων τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους)

45 (ἀρούρας) νζλδ'ίς' (ἀρτάβας) Σογ·

[ἐμβρό(χου) νβ (ἔτους) ζλ (ἀρτάβαι) λβλ, να (ἔτους) κζ (ἀρτάβαι) ρλγ',]
χέ(ρσου) μα (ἔτους) ιαίς' (ἀρτάβαι) με, ἀπὸ ἀσπόρου ιγδ' (ἀρτάβαι) ξεε',

[/ νζλδ'ίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Σογ.]

[[καταλε(πονται) (ἄρουραι) ὠξηλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) 'Δυλδ'.]]

50 [καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι] ε (ἔτει) καταμετρη(μένης) Μεγχεί Πετεσοῦχου

[κωμογραμματοῦ] ἀπὸ] τοῦ ἐπικεχω(ρημένου) τ[ο]ῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) κ
(ἀρτάβαι) ρηγ'.

[γίνονται] (ἄρουραι) οζλδ'ίς' (ἀρτάβαι) τοαγ'.

[καταλε(πονται) . . .]ς (ἄρουραι) ὠμηλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) 'Δτβγίβ'.

36. Above this line a line erased.
του before απο corr. from (ἀρούρας).

37. Third ο of χορτονομά[ς] corr. from α.
49. This line enclosed in round brackets.

44.

Col. vi.

[τούτων] τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους) [Σ]πβδ'η (ἀρτάβαι) 'Αυαζλίβ',

85 [καὶ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) φοση'ίς' (ἀρτάβαι) 'Βηξεεδ'.

[τοῦ δὲ] ἀχρή(στου) τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ (ἔτους)·

[ἐμβρόχου] διὰ τὸν δμβρον τῶν παρακειμένων) ὑδά(των)

[ἀπὸ] τοῦ περὶ Θεουγ(νίδα) μεγάλου) περιχώ(ματος) καὶ Ταλί,

ἐν τῶι γα (ἔτει) ιε (ἀρτάβαι) ρςς',

- 60 τῆς ἐν τῶι μδ (ἔτει) ι (ἀρτάβαι) μθζ',
 ἐμβρόχου) κε [(ἀρτάβαι)] ρμεγ'.
 ἀλμυρίδος τῆς ὑπ[ὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου
 τοῦ προστάντος τῆ[s ἀπὸ ὑπ]ολ[ύ(γου)] ἀναχθίσης [[τῶι]]
 ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου) Φιλίνου ἐν τῶι ν (ἔτει) ξαΛ (ἀρτάβαι) ΣγαΛ,
 65 [τῆς ἐ]ν τῶι μδ (ἔτει) θδ' (ἀρτάβαι) με,
 τῆς ἐν τῶι μβ (ἔτει) ιηΛδ' (ἀρτάβαι) οςΛγίβ',
 τῆς ἐν τῶι μ (ἔτει) [ρυσθ]δ'ή (ἀρτάβαι) ωθΛ,
 / ἀλμυρίδος) ΣμηΛδ'ή (ἀρτάβαι)] ἈτιαΛγίβ'.
 γίνονται τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ [(ἔτους) Σπβδ'ή] (ἀρτάβαι) ἈυαζΛίβ'.
 70 καὶ τοῦ [ἐ]ως τοῦ λθ [(ἔτους)
 [ἀλμυρίδος)] διὰ τὰ ἐ[πενεχθέντα] ὕδα(τα)
 ἐμβρόχου ἦν ἐφημ[μίσθαι]
] (ἀρουραι) ραβ[Λ]δ' [(ἀρτάβαι) Ἀκθγίβ'.

Col. vii.

- καὶ διὰ δέισι
 χέρσου διὰ τὸ παρακεῖσθαι) τῆι λοιπ[ῆι]
 75 ἀφόρ(ω)ι κβδ'ήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) ρδΛδ',
 / φκδδ'ήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἰβχλςδ'.
 ἐμβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῆι ἠθετημένηι
 [ἐ]ρ[αί] ε (ἀρτάβαι) κδΛγ.
 / φκθδ'ήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἰβχλαίβ'.
 80 καὶ τίθεται ἐν τῶι ὑπολόγω[ι] τῆς κατα-
 μετρη(θείσης) τισὶν κατοίκοις ἀντ[ὶ τῆς] [ἐπισ-
 ταλίσης χέρσων] (ἀρουραι) μξ (ἀρτάβαι) Σλδίβ',
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν συνκρίσει [δι(αφόρων)] (ἀρτάβαι) ος',
 / μξ (ἀρτάβαι) τδδ'.
 85 / [το]ῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) φο[ς]ήίς' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἰβηξεδ'.
 [τοῦ] δὲ ὑπολόγου ἀχρή(στου) (ἀρουραι) ωνη[Λδ'] (ἀρτάβαι)

74. l. δέισων. 76. λ after Ἰβχ corr. from ζ. 79. ίβ' corr from ζ'. 82. l. χέρσων.

1-2. The θησαυροφυλακικόν and κράστις Θηβαίων preceded at the end of the previous

column; cf. 61. (δ) 317-9, note. The 100 artabae of φακός which are regularly coupled with the 120 of wheat under the head of δάνεια (61. (δ) 313-6, note) are here omitted. The τριχοίνικον is here calculated upon the whole area under cultivation (cf. introd.), instead of upon the ἐσπαρμένη without the νομαί, as is done elsewhere (61. (δ) 319, 68. 88).

3-14. 'From Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. The undermentioned holdings being returned as unproductive in the survey according to crops for the 5th year, I undertake to provide the artaba-tax upon them for the said year or to measure it out from my private means. Catoeci:—Polemon son of Ammonius 20 arourae, 20 artabae, Asclepiades son of Ptolemaeus 24 arourae, 24 artabae, Maron son of Dionysius 25 arourae, 25 artabae; total for catoeci 69 arourae, 69 artabae. Ephodus:—Ptolemaeus son of Meniscus 24 arourae, 24 artabae. In all 93 arourae, 93 artabae. 5th year, Mecheir 29.'

On this tax of 1 artaba on the aroura here stated to be payable by an ephodus as well as by the catoeci, and to be levied on unproductive land, see 98. introd., and for the responsibility of Menches for its payment cf. 64. (a) 54, note. The lease of 10 arourae in the 6th year from Ptolemaeus son of Meniscus to Menches (107) may well have been connected with this guarantee.

24. Cf. 74. 8-10, note.

26-7. The copyist has confused the two sections of which the 15 arourae were composed; cf. 74. 14-5. In 74 the rent is given as 75 artabae instead of $71\frac{1}{2}$.

30-1. These 10 arourae reclaimed in the 5th year are different from the 10 arourae assigned to Menches for reclamation on his reappointment to the office of komogrammateus in the 51st year; cf. 10. introd. The rent to be paid by him in that instance was 5 artabae on the aroura; here the rate is the common one of $4\frac{1}{2}$.

32-3. The reclamation of land by Horus and Marres was very likely one of the conditions of their appointment as it was in the case of Menches. The area reclaimed by them at Kerkeosiris was much less considerable, although their posts were superior in degree, but they may have had to make reclamations at other villages as well. The $2\frac{3}{4}$ arourae $13\frac{3}{4}$ artabae at the end of l. 33 are the sum of the numbers assigned to Horus and Marres, as is shown by the addition in l. 34.

34. The symbol for arourae after βλδ has been written by mistake for artabae as in 61. (δ) 65. The number of the artabae is doubtful. If $49\frac{1}{2}$ in l. 31 is right the total here should be $62\frac{1}{2}$; on the other hand, the subtraction of the items in ll. 28 and 41 from the total in l. 45 leaves $64\frac{3}{4}$. Neither of these numbers, however, suits the traces on the papyrus, and there is evidently something wrong in the arithmetic; cf. note on ll. 26-7.

38-41. The numbers differ slightly from those in the parallel passage 74. 27-30, the arourae here being $\frac{1}{8}$ more (but cf. note on 74. 50) and the artabae $4\frac{7}{8}$ less.

45. As in 60. 100 (cf. note on l. 87), the full amount of the original rent of the reclaimed land is deducted, although after the reclamation only a small fraction of the original rent was being paid.

46. να (ἄρους) αζ: the 15 arourae mentioned in l. 28 are included in this number, though according to 74. 14-5 $6\frac{1}{2}$ of them were from the ἐμβροχος of the 52nd year and the other $8\frac{1}{2}$ from the ἀσπορος of the 41st year.

49. The arithmetic here is of an unusually outrageous character. The numbers arrived at in l. 48 deducted from those taken as a starting-point in l. 24 leave $878\frac{1}{4}$ arourae and $4565\frac{3}{4}$ artabae, i. e. there is a deficiency in ll. 49 and 53 of 10 arourae (practically) and no less than 165 artabae. This difference is, however, compensated for in ll. 54-5, where the numbers given in l. 53 are subdivided into two parts which added together are in excess of the numbers in l. 53 by 10 arourae and $159\frac{1}{2}$ artabae. The arourae

thus come out right in the end, and the artabae nearly so. Cf. l. 86, where the total of the arourae is correct.

50-1. This land became cleruchic; cf. 65. introd. On the deduction from the *ὑπολογον* of the rent as well as the area of the land assigned to Menches cf. 61. (b) 207, note.

54-5. On the figures in these two lines cf. note on l. 49.

69. Since the number of the artabae is the same here as in l. 54 presumably that of the arourae was the same also. But the items in ll. 61 and 68 produce actually a very different total,—273 arourae and 1457½ artabae.

71. The figures for the *ἀλμυρίς* according to 74. 54 were 329½ arourae and 1610½ artabae; cf. 72. 97, note. If the addition in l. 76 was correct the numbers in l. 71 would be 309½ arourae and 1512½ artabae. Apparently the scribe has here reduced the figures of the *ἀλμυρίς* by the amount of the land assigned to Menches in the 5th year (ll. 50-1, cf. 65. 22), instead of those of the *ἔμβροχος*, which are 20 arourae and a little over 100 artabae in excess of the totals in 72; cf. notes on 74. 55 and 58.

72. *ἐφημίσθαι*: cf. 60. 42; we do not hear of this from 72 or 74.

74. The adscript *καὶ διὰ δέισι* (l. *δείσαν*) should come in after *ἀφόμε(ω)* in l. 75. The *δείσα* is not mentioned in 72 or 74.

85. The totals here ought to be identical with those in l. 55. They are very nearly accurate according to the items given, which really make 506⅞ arourae and 2965⅝ artabae,—a difference of only ¼ aroura and ⅓ artaba.

86. The total of the arourae being correctly given as 858, not 848 as in l. 53 (cf. note on l. 49), the number of the artabae was probably the sum of the items in ll. 54-5, 4461½, rather than the number in l. 53.

76. TWO REPORTS OF MENCHES.

13-1.

32.6 x 27 cm.

B. C. 112.

This and the two succeeding documents (77-8) are mainly concerned with the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος*, on which cf. 61. (b) 9-18 and App. i. § 7. The present papyrus, besides (Col. i) a brief report from Menches apparently stating the names of the cultivators and the crop for the 5th year (cf. 77), which is too fragmentary to be worth printing, contains (Col. ii) two other reports from the komogrammateus. The first (ll. 1-5) briefly declares that three persons called Aminias, Asclepiades, and Cephalon, who 'managed' (*κεχειρικότες*) the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος*, owned no property at Kerkeosiris. The exact position of the *κεχειρικότες* is uncertain. They were not the cultivators, for the names of these occur in the mutilated report preceding this one, and are the same as in 61. (b) 16 (cf. 67. 94). Nor is it at all likely that they were the *προστάται*, for though an Asclepiades *προστὰς τῆς κεχωρισμένης προσόδου* is known at this period from 72. 259, he was apparently connected with Tebtunis rather than with Kerkeosiris; moreover *κεχειρικότες* is not a natural variant for *προστάται*, to say nothing of the

difficulty of there being three *προστάται*. But the fact that a statement of their property was required at all shows that they were in some way liable to the government for the revenue derived from the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος*; and since *κεχειρικότες* is hardly reconcilable with the idea that they were sureties for the cultivators (cf. 5. 12), it is more likely that they were concerned with the collection of the revenue from that particular land.

In the second report (ll. 6-15) Menches states that two *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* belonging to the corps of Chomenis, who were in arrears for the naubion tax, owned no property at Kerkeosiris. Neither of these two persons, Phaeus son of Sokonopis and Pasis son of Pasis, occurs in 61-3, nor have we been able to find either of them in the mutilated later lists of *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* which are contemporary with this papyrus. If they were really absent from these lists, the point of Menches' return is that the two persons in question did not own land at Kerkeosiris at all, but somewhere else. It is known from 87 that there were *ἐπτάρουροι Χομήνιος* at other villages. But an individual called *Φαεύς Σοκέως* occurs in 62. 207, and *Σοκέως* and *Σοκονώπις* might easily be confused; while the Pasis here might be the son of one of the persons called Pasis who are found in 62. 219, 227, and 248. If these two *ἐπτάρουροι* had *κλήροι* near Kerkeosiris, we must suppose Menches' meaning to be that they had no other property liable to seizure by the *πράκτορες*.

Col. ii.

Παρά Μεγχείους κωμογραμματ[έως] Κερκεοσίρ[ε]ως.
οὐθὲν ὑπάρχει περ(ι) τὴν κώμην Ἀμινία
καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδει καὶ Κεφάλων(ι) τοῖς κεχειρικῶσι
τὴν κεχωρισμένην πρόσοδον.

5 (ἔτους) ε Μεχειρ κυ.

Ἔτους ε, παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμογρ(αμματέως) Κερ[κεοσ]ίρ[ε]ως.
τοῖς ὑπογεγραμμένοις (ἐπταρούροις) μάχιμοις
ὀφείλοντες [π]ρὸς τὸ ν[αύ]βιον τὸ ἐφ' [έ]κ[κ]άστῳ
παρακειμένον κεφάλαιον [. . .] ἐξ ὧν
10 μεταδέδωκεν Ἡλ[ιόδ]ωρος [.]
πράκτωρ, τούτοις οὖν μηθὲν [ὑπάρχειν
περὶ τὴν κώμην]. (ἔτους) ε Μ[εχειρ] . .
(ἐπτάρουροι) Χομήνιος

Φαεύς Σοκονώπιος
15 Πάσιτι Πάσιτος βλ 'Α ., / . [

8. I. ἀφειδουσι. [π]ρps written above the line.

11. ουν written above the line.

8-9. Persons who owed money or, perhaps, personal labour for naubion are included among those whose debts are remitted in 5. 15. In the time of Philadelphus work on the embankments was done by contract, and was paid for at the fixed rate of 4 drachmae for 60 naubia (P. Petrie I. 22. 2, III. 37), and there may have been a special tax imposed to meet this expenditure, though the word ναύβιον is not found in the singular or as the name of a tax in the Petrie papyri. In P. Par. 66 the work is done by forced labour, 30 naubia being required from each person. In the Roman period instances of money payments for the naubion tax are common; cf. note on 5. 15.

15. 'A: this figure perhaps refers to naubia, in which case βΛ is presumably the number of the arourae.

77. REPORT OF PETESUCHUS.

23.5.

28.5 x 14 cm.

B. C. 110.

A short report from Petesuchus, who succeeded Menches in the 7th year (cf. 70. 1), stating that a certain plot of land was classified as *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδοσις*, on which see App. i. § 7. On the *verso* is an account containing a conversion of barley into wheat (66 to 39½ artabae) at the usual ratio of 5 : 3. Below the report of Petesuchus are several more lines of writing, partially effaced, which perhaps belong to the same account; the date [(ἔτους)] ζ [Μεχε]ῖρ id occurs.

Ἔτους ζ, παρὰ Πετεσοῦχου κομογρα-
 αμματέως Κερκεοσίρεως. ἀνα-
 φέρονται περὶ τὴν κώμην ἐν τῇ
 κεχωρισμένῃ προσόδῳ τὴν
 5 (πρότερον) Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλίνου ἣν κατερ-
 γασθῆναι ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἐν τῷ μθ (ἔτει) ὑπὸ
 Διονυσίου τοῦ προστάντος, ἣν εἰς
 τὸ ζ (ἔτος) γεωργεῖσθαι ὑπὸ
 Πετεσκόντιος καὶ τῶν μετόχων,
 10 (ἀρούρας) 15Λ (ἀρτάβας) κ.

4. I. προσόδοσι.

'The 7th year, from Petesuchus, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. It is reported that the land near the village which formerly belonged to Ptolemaeus son of Philinus is in the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδοσις*, which land was brought under cultivation in the 49th year by Dionysius the superintendent and was cultivated in the 7th year by Peteskontis and his associates. The area is 16½ arourae producing 20 (?) artabae.'

Z

5. Ptolemaeus is here spoken of as if he had once owned the land, but in reality he had only reclaimed it; cf. 61. (b) 10, 66. 7.

9. Πεπεσκάντιος: cf. 61. (b) 16.

10. The rent found elsewhere upon these 16½ arourae (61. (b) 17) is at the rate of 1 artaba to the aroura. By the 7th year it seems to have been raised slightly.

78. REPORT OF PETESUCHUS.

17-1.

22 x 18.5 cm.

B. C. 110-8.

Another return made out by Petesuchus (cf. 77. 1) concerning the land in the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος* (cf. 76-7), giving the measurements obtained by a fresh survey compared with those registered in the official survey-list of the current year, which seems to have been short of the correct figure. Cf. 82, part of a *κατὰ φύλλον* list for Magdola, on which the results of a new survey have been noted, and 82, 81, 83 and 85, which contain similar entries based on a fresh *γεωμετρία*. The document concludes with a *βασιλικὸς ὄρκος* vouching for the correctness of the previous statements. The date is lost, but the papyrus was written between the 7th year in which Petesuchus entered office (cf. 77. 1) and the 10th in which Soter II was exiled.

[Ἔτους . . , παρὰ Πεπεσούχου κω[μο]γραμ(μ)ατέως
 Κερκεοσ[ίρεως. κ]ατ' ἄνδρα τῆς γεγενημένης
 [ὑ]πὸ Ὄρο[υ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμ(μ)ατέως ἐπισκέψεως
 [μετὰ τῆν κατὰ] φύλλον τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) τῆς ἐσπαρ-
 5 μένης ἀπὸ [τῶν] ὑπαρχουσῶν περὶ τὴν κώμην
 ἐν τῇ κεχωρισμένῃ προσόδῳ, παρακειμένου
 καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάστου ἐκβεβηκίτος πλεονάσ-
 ματος. οὐσῶν ἀπὸ ὑπ[ο]λόγου (ἀρουρῶν) σὴ
 τούτων ἐσπαρμένης (ἀρουραι) 15L καὶ
 10 [20 letters]. κ[α]ὶ πλ[ε]ῖ[ω] . . .
 [" "] 5 καὶ πλ[ε]ῖ[ω] . . .
 [.] . [. . .] . [. . .] ὑ[πο]λό[γ]ου (ἀρουραι) νL.
 [ὁμνῶ]μ[ε] βασιλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον
 [θεοὺς Φιλομ]ήτορες [Σω]τήρας καὶ τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ τὸν Σαρᾶκω
 15 [καὶ τὴν] Ἰσιν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας εἰ μὴν
 [ἐπιθ]εδοκῆναι τὸ προκείμενον προσάγγελμα καὶ μὴθῆν

ἐψ[ε]υδογραφήκται. εὐορκοῦντι μὲν μοι εὐ εἴη ἐφιορκοῦν-
τι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία.

7. First κ of ἐκβεβηκότες corr. from β. 8. α of ἀπο corr. from υ. 14. φιλομήτορες above the line; l. Φιλομήτορας. α of σω]τηρας corr. from ε.

'The . . . year, from Petesuchus, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. List, yielded by the inquiry held by Horus the basilico-grammateus after the survey of the same year concerning the area sown of the land at Kerkeosiris which is in the category of the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος*, stating also the several amounts in excess which result. The total amount reclaimed from the unprofitable land being 78 arourae, of this number 16½ arourae are under cultivation . . . I swear by Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy, gods Philometores Soteres, and their ancestors and by Sarapis and Isis and all the other gods and goddesses, that I have presented the aforesaid report and have made no false statement. If my oath is true may it be well with me, but if false the reverse.'

7. ἐκβεβηκότες πλεονάσματος: cf. 92. 27 and P. Amh. II. 31. 10 ἐγμετρήσαντες, [ε]γβήνας πήχ(ις) β.

8. The whole of the 78 arourae of which the 16½ that were now cultivated formed a part (cf. 66. 4-16) belonged to the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος*, and were first reclaimed in the 49th year, only to fall back again into the *ὑπόλογον* immediately. The 16½ arourae were again reclaimed in the 53rd year (61. (b) 15).

10. The papyrus is broken at this point and κ[α] πλε[ω] may belong to a later line. If the fragments are correctly placed the line no doubt ended with a fraction of an aroura, and there is probably another fraction before κ[α]ι.

79. LIST OF CLERUCHS.

31 verso.

Height 28.3 cm.

About B. C. 148.

This list of cleruchs, which is similar to 61. (a)—64 but refers to another village than Kerkeosiris, is written on the back of a long taxing-list (90), and is in three fragments which do not join. According to the most probable arrangement the fragments (a), (b), and (c) are to be placed in that order, the conclusion of the document on the *recto* (Fr. (c), col. iii) being followed by several sheets of blank papyrus. When the *verso* came to be used the writing began on the back of the last blank *selis* of Fr. (c), and continued in the opposite direction to that on the *recto*, thus covering the back of Frs. (c) and (b), but not reaching as far as Fr. (a) of which the *verso* is blank.

The name of the village which is the subject of 79 is not mentioned, and the only place-name that occurs is Psenuris (l. 3), where one of the cleruchs had the remainder of his holding. The general position of that town is fixed in

the north-east corner of the Fayûm near Karanis, and it perhaps occupied the site of the modern Senûres; cf. *Fayûm Towns*, p. 14. Since from 61. (a)-64 it appears that the holding of a cleruch was divided among not widely distant villages, the mention of Psenuris suggests that the village in question was also in the north-east of the Fayûm. In that case the frequently mentioned *αἰγιαλός* would be the shore of Lake Moeris, which in the Ptolemaic period must have come up to Senûres, and on the edge of which the place here referred to may also have been situated. But an *αἰγιαλός* is also heard of at Magdola, to which 80-88 refer and which was near Kerkeosiris (cf. 80. introd.), and the village with which 79 is concerned is more likely to have been in the Gharak basin.

The arrangement of the cleruchs seems to be less systematic than that in the Kerkeosiris survey-lists; one of the subdivisions is the same (cf. note on l. 69). So far as can be judged, the cleruchs mentioned are Greeks and are nearly all *κάτοικοι*. The individual holdings range from 124 $\frac{3}{8}$ arourae (l. 44) to 40, one much larger holding than the rest (l. 46) being apparently divided amongst several individuals. In some cases the nationalities to which the cleruchs nominally at any rate belonged are stated, and besides Macedonians and Persians we hear of colonists from Samos (l. 27), Sidon (l. 7), and Alabanda in Caria (l. 17). As at Kerkeosiris, considerable difficulties had arisen owing to grants having been made from arable instead of from dry land; but the decisions of the officials were here different, the persons to whom arable land had been incorrectly assigned being deprived of it and compelled to accept dry land in its place; cf. p. 555. Grants seem to have been freely made from the pasture-land *ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως* (cf. 61. (a) 154), a practice which is not found in the Kerkeosiris papyri.

The latest date mentioned is the 33rd year, which is also the latest date found on the *recto*. It is probable that both documents were written in or shortly after that year, and that the reigning sovereign was Philometor; cf. note on l. 52 and 99. introd. There are several marginal notes, perhaps in a different hand, including an abbreviation resembling that for *επισ*() but without the *σ* (cf. 82. 11, note), and probably standing for some form of *ἐπίσκεψις* or *ἐπισκοπεῖν*,

(c) Col. i.

[.]γου τοῦ Λεοννάτου Μακεδόνος ρ, l (πυρῶι) λ ἀβρό(χου) λγ χέ(ρσου)
λζ, / ρ.

[.]ντος τοῦ Νικοφάντος οὐ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κλήρου
] περὶ Ψενῦριν (ἀρουραι) ξγλδ', l (πυρῶι) κ χέ(ρσου) λγλδ' ἀβρό(χου) ι.

[καὶ τ]ῶν ἐν τῶι λγ (ἔτει) ἀπὸ τῶν τεθέντων διὰ τοῦ

- 5 [ἀπολο]γισμοῦ τοῦ λβ (ἔτους) ἐν οἷς δεῖν σύγκριεῖναι διὰ τὸ
[ἀπολε]λύσθαι κατὰ πρόσταγμα·
[10 letters Ἀ]σκληπιάδου Σιδωνίω ἀπὸ νομῶν
[τῶν ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως πρὸς χαλ[κ]ὸν διοικουμένων
[11 letters] χέρσου (ἄρουραι) ρ,
10 [14 ,,]ται σπορ . . (ἄρουραι) ι.
[Ἀπολλωνίω Διονυσίου Πέρση ἀπὸ χέρσου τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σι γ
[(ἄρουραι) π, ι (πυρῶι) κε χέ(ρσου) νε.
[τούτων ἐστὶν ἧς γέγραφεν Ἴμούθης ὁ γενόμενος τοπογραφ(αμματεὺς)
[σεσημηκέναι] αὐτῶι Θοτοραῖον τὸν κωμογραφ(αμματέα)
15 [καταμετρή]σθαι ὑπὸ ὠρου τοῦ γενομένου κωμογραφ(αμματέως) τῆς
[αὐτῆς ἀπὸ σπορ]μου ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπισταλείσης χέρσου παραδειγμένης δὲ

10. This line inserted later.

16. επισταλεισης χερσου above the line.

Col. ii.

- Κομανῶι Ἀλ[α]βανδεῖ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπεστ[άλ]θαι
παρὰ τοῦ διοικητοῦ τῶι μὲν Κομανῶ[ι] μένειν
[τὴν σπόριμον] τὴν δὲ χέρσον παραδείξαι
20 ἐπ() [. . .]ω[. . .] (ἄρουραι) μγ.
Γ[.]ω[. . .]τροῦ ἀπὸ χέρ(σ)ου τῆς ἀπὸ τ[ο]ῦ ιδ (ἔτους)
ἐπ() [(ἄρουραι) μ, ι (πυρῶι) κ [. . .]ιωι καὶ ραφάνωι ι, / λ, χέ(ρσου) ι.
Δ[.] Διοδ[ώ]ρο]ν Πέρση ἀπὸ νομῶν τῶν ἐκτὸς
[μισθώ]σεως (ἄρουραι) μ, ι σπό(ρος) (πυρῶι) [αί] πᾶσαι.
25 Δ[.]ι Διο[φά]ντου ἡγεμόνι ἀπὸ νομῶν τῶν
ἐπ() [ἐκτὸς μ]ισθώ[σεως] (ἄρουραι) μ, ι (πυρῶι) ε ἀβρό(χου) λδ, / μ.
Ἀχιλλ[εῖ] Πτολ[ε]μαίου Σαμίωι ἀπὸ νομῶν [τῶ]ν
ἐκ[τὸς μ]ισθώ[σεως] (ἄρουραι) μ, ι (πυρῶι) λ κριθ(ῆι) ι, / μ.
Δημ[η]τρίωι Ἀγα[θ]οκλείους Μακεδόνι ἀπὸ ν[ομῶ]ν [μ
30 [χέ(ρσου) αἰ πᾶσα]ι.
[τούτων ἐστὶ]ν ἧς ἀντιποεῖσθαι τοὺς π[α]ρὰ τοῦ
τ[οπογραμ]μα]τέως προφερομένους εἶναι ἐ[ν τῶι κατα-

Col. iii.

- μεμε[τρη]μένωι τῶι [Κο]μανῶι καθότι πρόκ[ε]ιται λβ.
 Εὐκτημον[ίδη]ι Εὐκτημονίδου ἀπὸ νομῶν ὁμοίως
 35 (ἄρουραι) μ, [σπό(ρος) . . ()] αἰ πᾶσαι.
 Μάρωνι Ἑ[γή]μονος ἀπὸ νομῶν ὡσαύτως (ἄρουραι) μ,
 σπό(ρος) (πυρῶι) αἰ [πᾶ]σαι.
 Νεάρχωι Ἀ[πο]λλωνίου ἀπ[ὸ] νομῶν ὡσαύτως (ἄρουραι) μ,
 ἴπ[υ] () [σπό(ρος) . . () κ . . ()] κ, / μ.
- 40 [καὶ τ[η] με]μετρημενη[. . .] . ια[.]της τὰ ἐκφόρια []
 οὐ φέρεται παρα[.] γ[. .] παραδοχη[. . .] των τοῦ λβ (ἔτους)
 ἐν τῇ διαλ[.].
 κατοικίαι τ[.]ων
 γ[.] τῶν πρώτων φίλων (ἄρουραι) [ρ]κδηίς',
 45 []σπό(ρος)] α () ν χό(ρτωι) μ ἀρά(κωι) λδηίς', [/ ρ]κδηίς'.]

Col. iv.

- [Κομανῶι Ἀλαβανδεῖ Ἀτςζηίς'.]
- [ο]ὐ φέρεται τούτων ἐστὶν ἧς γέγραφεν Ἰμούθης ὁ γενόμενος
 ἐν τῇ τοπογραμματαῖς σεσημηκέναι αὐτῶι
 κατοικίαι Θεοτορταῖον τὸν μεταλαβόντα τὴν κωμογραμματαίαν)
 50 τὴν καταμετρημένην ὑπ' Ὄρου τοῦ γενομένου
 κωμογραμματαίως τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς προσληφθεῖσι
 διὰ Διονυσίου τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυ(λάκων) εἰς τοὺς
 κατοίκους ἱππεῖς ἀπ[ὸ] σπ[ο]ρίμου ἀ[ν]τι τῆς
 ἐπισταλείσης χέρσο[υ] παραδεδειχ[έ]ναι καὶ τοῖς
 55 παρὰ τοῦ Κομανοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς λόγους [πο]ησαμένων
 ἐπὶ Διονυσίου τῶν φίλων καὶ διοικητοῦ [έ]πεστάλθαι
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν χέρσον τοῖς περὶ Ἀπολλώνιον
 παραδείξαι ἔᾶσαι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κομανὸν
 ἔχειν τὴν σπόριμον.

60 Ἀπολλωνίῳ Διονυσίου μγ, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι).
 Δημητρίῳ Ἀγαθοκλείους λβ, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι).
 γίνονται οε.]

Col. v. Beginnings of 5 more lines.

(b) Col. i. Ends of 16 lines.

Col. ii.

Σεύθου τ[οῦ] Δωσι(ι)θέου δν γρ(άφει) δ κω(μο)γγρ(αμματεῦς) μετεληφέναι
 Ἀύκον τὸν υἱὸν ξαζδ', ι (πυρῶι) λ.
 65 Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ
 υἱοῦ ἐν αἰγι(αλωῖ) ξ[.]δ'ίς'.
 Φιλώτου τοῦ Δ[ιο]δώρου δ'ι' Εὐφράνορος τοῦ Διοδώρου
 ἐν αἰγι(αλωῖ) π.
 καὶ τῶν εἰς τ[ῆ]ν Θηβαίδα ἀπὸ τῶν 'Δ.
 70 Θεοδότου τ[οῦ] Δαρείου δν μετεληφέναι Δαρείου
 τὸν υἱὸν μθ'ίς', ι περιστε(ρῶνος) ίς', σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι) λθίς
 ἀρά(κωι) ε [. . ()] εἰς' .
 Φιλοδήμου το[ῦ]] κδ'ή ἀβρόχου.
 ἐπ() Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Δ[.] ἐν αἰγι(αλωῖ) ναδ'ίς'.
 75 ἐπ() Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ἀρ[τε]μιδώρου ἐν αἰγι(αλωῖ) μθ'ίς'.
 Σίμωνος τοῦ Μνασιστράτου λβζή', σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι).
 Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ναδ', σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι) μαδ' χέ(ρωι) ι.

Col. iii.

Δωσι[θέου] τοῦ Πτολε[μαίου] διὰ
 τοῦ υἱοῦ μθ'ίς'[
 80 Θεοδότου τοῦ Τι . [
 (ἀρourke) ν, ι (πυρῶι) κ[
 2 lines enclosed in brackets.
 Δ[. . .]ν [φ][λ]οσφ[ου
 85 [. . .] ἐκγόνοις.

[. . . .]ου Φίλωνος μεταβε[β]ηκ[α]το[ς] ε[λ]ς το[υ]ς
 [έν τ]ῶι 'Οξυρυγίτη κ[α]τοίκ[ους] ἰππεῖς
 [. . . .]καιου τοῦ πρὸς τῆι [συντάξει
 [. . . .]ν οὗ χρό(νος) (ἔτους) λα Παῦνι κα [
 90 [. . . .] τῶι βα(σιλικῶι) γραμματεῖ) ἐν ᾧ [
 [. . . .]ν γραμματέω[ς
 τ[. . . .] ἧς χρό(νος) (ἔτους) λα 'Αθῶρ [. .]μερ[

4-6. The sense of these lines depends on the punctuation; cf. 61. (δ) 213-6. If *διὰ τὸ . . . πρόσταγμα* is connected with τῶν ἐν τῶι λγ (ἔτει) and the intervening words are taken together, the heading is 'Those who in the 33rd year, because they had been released by a decree, were taken out of the class of persons placed by the report of the 32nd year in the category of those about whom an official decision was necessary.' Or *διὰ τὸ . . . πρόσταγμα* may be connected with *συγκριθῆναι*, in which case the *σύγκρισις* was necessary to interpret the decree. To how many of the cleruchs in the following list heading applies is not clear. The position of two (cf. ll. 13-20 and 47-62 notes) resembles that of the cleruchs in 61. (δ) 213-45, i.e. they had received *σπόριμος* instead of *χέρσος*. But the decision of the dioecetes was different, being here against the cleruchs, not in favour of them (cf. p. 555).

11. [Ἀπολλωνίωι]: cf. l. 60 and note on ll. 47-62. ἀπὸ τοῦ should be followed by a year (cf. l. 21). γ has a space before it as if it were a figure, and perhaps followed in the next line; but there is something between τοῦ and γ.

13-20. Cf. ll. 47-62, which passage is somewhat more detailed. τούτων refers to 55 arourae of dry land just mentioned. 43 arourae of *σπόριμος* were wrongly assigned to Apollonius by Horus and transferred to new owners by Horus' successor, and this law by a recent order of the dioecetes was to remain in the possession of the new owners while Apollonius received a fresh grant of dry land instead. Cf. the similar case of Demetrius, ll. 29-33.

16. For *παρὰδεικνύει* in the sense of assigning land cf. 106. 25, P. Amh. II. 32. 68. 37.

20. Ἀπολλωνίωι (cf. l. 57) cannot be read in this line.

29-33. 32 arourae of the 40 owned by Demetrius son of Agathocles were a fresh grant of *χέρσος* in place of the *σπόριμος* which had been transferred to οἱ περὶ τὸν Κομανόν; cf. ll. 13-20 and 46-62.

40-3. These four lines are a heading describing the person mentioned in ll. 44-5. 124³/₁₈ arourae is an unusually large holding, but this individual was of high rank; in 90 still larger holdings occur. Why he was 'not included among the catoeci' is obscure. The same marginal note occurs in the next section with the addition of an unintelligible word. For the use of *φέρειν* cf. 60. 26. In both cases the marginal note is probably connected with the placing of angular brackets at the corners of the two sections, ll. 40-5 and 46-62, though whether these brackets indicate that the lines enclosed are to be omitted is uncertain. Elsewhere similar brackets are generally employed for the sake of making a passage conspicuous; cf. 60. 98, note.

46. Comanus of Alabanda was credited with the large amount of 1306¹¹/₈ arourae presumably because he was a *προστάτης* or leader of a corps of cleruchs like Anicetus or Criton (61. (α) 9-10); cf. οἱ παρὰ τοῦ K. (l. 55) and οἱ περὶ τὸν K. (l. 58). It is possible

that he was identical with the Comanus who was a minister of Euergetes II and his ambassador at Rome (Polyb. xxviii. 16, xxxi. 27); and the great size of the grant might be explained by his exceptional importance. But in that case we should expect his rank and titles to be mentioned, and it is more probable that the papyrus was written in the reign of Philometor than that it was written in that of Euergetes; cf. note on l. 52.

47-62. 'Included in this amount is the land about which Imouthes, ex-topogrammateus, wrote that he had been informed by Thotortaeus, who succeeded to the post of komogrammateus, that he (Thotortaeus) had transferred to the corps under Comanus the land assigned by Horus, ex-komogrammateus of the said village, to those who were enrolled in the catoecic cavalry by Dionysius, member of the chief body-guard, from the arable instead of from the dry land as ordered, and that after the case had been discussed before Dionysius, the king's friend and dioecetes, orders had been given by him that the dry land was to be transferred to Apollonius' party while Comanus' party was to be allowed to keep the arable land: Apollonius son of Dionysius, 43 arourae sown with wheat; Demetrius son of Agathocles, 32 arourae sown with wheat. Total 75 arourae.'

These 75 arourae, which have already been mentioned in ll. 20 and 33 in connexion with the two original owners, are here included in the total of land assigned to Comanus, the circumstances of the transfer being related somewhat more fully than previously. Apollonius and Demetrius had received their grants from a former komogrammateus, Imouthes, who violated his instructions by assigning part of their holdings from the arable land (cf. 61. (δ) 3, 217). The successor of Horus, Thotortaeus, remedied the error by transferring the σπόριμος in question to a fresh set of cleruchs under Comanus, though it is difficult to see how this proceeding would have benefited the Crown land which would of course continue to suffer a diminution of the arable area through the loss of the σπόριμος assigned to the cleruchs. Thotortaeus' action was disputed by the persons whom he wished to evict, and the matter was laid before the dioecetes, who decided that the cleruchs under Comanus were to keep the land transferred to them by Thotortaeus, and that Apollonius and his companion were to have a fresh grant of dry land to make up for what they lost. The Apollonius in l. 57 is identical with the Apollonius in l. 60, and Apollonius and Demetrius are the προσληφθείσι in l. 51. Apollonius' original grant had been 43 arourae of arable land and 37 of dry. These 43 arourae were taken from him by Thotortaeus and given to οἱ περὶ τὸν Κομανόν, and the dioecetes ordered that 43 arourae of dry land were to be given to Apollonius. Of the original 37 arourae of χέρσος he had reclaimed 25, so that he now had 55 arourae of χέρσος and 25 of σπόριμος (l. 12). The whole passage has been bracketed, like ll. 40-5, and there is another marginal note apparently referring to the 1306½ arourae, to the effect that they were not included in the κατοικία, though for what reason is obscure. The word below κατοικία is not σπέρμα, for the first letter is certainly not σ.

52. Dionysius the ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ is very likely identical with the Dionysius who presided over the enrolment of fresh catoeci in the 31st year of Philometor (62. 67), so that the dispute arose very soon after the original assignment of land to Apollonius and his companion.

69. Cf. 62. 43-4. The expedition took place in the reign of Epiphanes; cf. p. 547.

89. The antecedent of οὗ is probably χρηματισμοῦ, which may be the word immediately preceding; cf. 63. 123.

80. LIST OF LANDHOLDERS AT MAGDOLA.

16.1.

23 x 28 cm.

Late second century B. C.

The four following papyri relate to land and crops at the village of Magdola. The site of this place has now been shown by MM. Jouguet and Lefebvre to be Medinet Nehás, at the south-west limit of the Gharak basin (cf. 17. 5, note). By the *αἰγιαλός* mentioned in 82-3 is meant the shore of the marshy lake which at that time covered a large part of this district; the *Ἡρώων* (cf. 81. introd.) is to be connected with *Ἡρων*, a local deity whose name occurs in a long inscription shortly to be published by the French explorers.

The present document contains parts of the first two columns of a survey according to crops (*κατὰ φύλλον*). It begins with an account of land described in l. 33 as *τῆς κόμης*, which amounted to 156½ arourae including 31½ arourae of vineyards and gardens. This land was leased to cultivators at rents similar to those of Crown lands, but owing to the mutilation of the title at the beginning of Col. i the category to which it belonged is doubtful. Perhaps these 156½ arourae were the land of some small village near Magdola. *Φεμούθειω[s]* in l. 34 looks like a place-name; and the description of another small area may commence at that point. The beginnings of a few lines of the third column remain, but there is not enough to show how the papyrus continued.

Col. i.

Ἔτους παρὰ] . . . κωμ[ογ]ρ[αμμ]ατέως Μαγδάλων.
]α κατὰ φύλλον τοῦ αὐ]τοῦ ἔτους.
] Τοῦτμις Θετέως καὶ Παίβις
] . ἐκ τοῦ Ἑρμαίου κοινῇ (ἀρουραι) λγ (ἀρτάβαι) ρξε,
 5 ὦν (πυροῦ) κς] (ἀρτάβαι) ρλ, χβ(ρτου) ζ (ἀρτάβαι) λε, η()
 (πυροῦ), σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι).
 Πε]τερμούθιος β (ἀρτάβαι) ι, η() (πυροῦ), σπύ(ρος)
 (πυρῶι).
] . αιος αλ (ἀρτάβαι) ζλ, η() (πυροῦ), σπύ(ρος)
 (πυρῶι).
] ἀπὸ τῆς (πρότερον) Πετεήσι(ο)ς τοῦ Ὄρου η ἀν(ὰ) γ
 9 χ]α[λκο]ῦ ὦν σῖ(τος) ελ, σπύ(ρος) (πυρῶι).

Ends of 7 more lines.

Col. ii.

- 17]]
] παλδ', / ρκαλδ',
 ἐλ(άσσω) βλδ'.
- 20 [.] τωτος και Ψενεμγέως και οι μέ(τοχοι) μ (άρτάβαι) Σ, η()
 (πυροῦ), σπ(ίρος) (πυρῶι ?).
 / ρκδλ (άρτάβαι) φοθδ'.
 [ἀμ]πελώνων και παραδείσων.
 Εύβιος Εύβιου ις (άρτάβαι) λβ,
 Ἀπ[ο]λλώνιος και Θεών βλδ' (άρτάβαι) ιγλδ',
- 25 Φούνσις Ὠρου β (άρτάβαι) ι,
 Πάνθηρ Ὠρου ἀήίς' (άρτάβαι) εδ',
 Νέαρχος Κλεογένου δ' (άρτάβαι) αδ',
 Ἡρώδης Ἡρώδου β (άρτάβαι) ι,
 Σώσιππος Δωρίωνος ηίίς' (άρτάβαι?) αλγίβ',
- 30 Διονύσιος και Πτολεμαίος βδ' (άρτάβαι) ιαδ',
 Ἴκατίδας Ἴκατίδου ε (άρτάβαι) κε.
 γίνονται ἀμ(πελώνων) και παρα(δείσων) λαλῆ' (άρτάβαι) ριδ'.
 / τῆς κά(μης) ρνση' (άρτάβαι) [
 Φεμούθεω[s

Vestiges of 2 more lines.

5. The reading of the very cursively written abbreviation before (πυροῦ) here and in the next two lines is doubtful. Its meaning seems to be that the rent was to be paid in wheat, just as in l. 9 it is stated that a certain rent was to be paid in copper. γέση(μα) suggests itself; but this does not suit the letters very well.

9. This line is perhaps to be restored [/ κδ, δν η() (πυροῦ) ιθλ, χ]α[λκο]β κ.τ.λ.; cf. the previous note.

18-9. These two lines which have been added in the upper margin refer to the total of the arourae given in l. 21. They very likely represent the result of a later survey which made the area of this particular land smaller by $2\frac{1}{2}$ arourae; cf. 78. introd. and 82, 83 *passim*.

29. If the number of the artabae here is right, the total in l. 32 should be $110\frac{5}{12}$; but the readings are in both cases doubtful.

81. LIST OF LANDHOLDERS AT MAGDOLA.

15.1.

14 x 103.5 cm.

Late second century B. C.

This papyrus gives the beginnings of eight continuous columns from a document concerning the survey of land at Magdola. At the top of the first column, of which only the ends of lines are preserved, stood the title (ll. 1-3):— 'Ἡρώου κατ' ἀνδρα |]ν ἐξ ἧς πεποῆσθαι | ἐπισκέψεως . . . ὑπὸ] Πτολεμαίου τοῦ παρὰ βα(σιλικοῦ) γραμματέως). This then was a list of farms the areas of which had been verified by a survey, and related especially to the 'Ἡρώου (cf. 80. introd.), which recurs in 82-3. The 'Ἡρώου evidently included a considerable extent of land, for κλήροι of as much as 20 and 50 arourae are mentioned in 83. 75 and 83. The sixth column begins with another title, Μαγδάλων, τῶν ἐγβεβη(κόντων) πλεονασμάτων, i. e. a list, based on a survey, of amounts held in excess (cf. 78. 7), and proceeds with an account of the ἱερὰ γῆ. τῶν ἐγβεβη(κόντων) πλεονασμάτων]ν is a possible supplement for l. 2 of the heading in col. i; this would suit the scanty remains both of that column and cols. iii-iv, which give a list of small pieces of land held by various persons in addition or excess (πρός); but it does not so well accord with what is left of the second column, where there is no mention of extra amounts, and probably a more general phrase was employed, such as τῶν ἐγνωσμένων (cf. 82. 2). The class of land described in the first four columns is uncertain, except in one case (l. 4) of a piece of unwatered land which is stated to belong to the κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος. It is not likely that the other plots belonged to the same category, and their irregularity in size does not suit the view that they were all cleruchic land, like the κλήροι in the 'Ἡρώου mentioned in 82 and 83. Some of them therefore were probably βασιλικὴ γῆ; moreover, one of the persons mentioned in col. iv is known to have been a βασιλικὸς γεωργός (note on l. 13). In one instance (l. 17) there seems to have been a doubt about the tenure of the land under consideration, which some person claimed to be βασιλική (cf. 87. 3). Col. v preserves the heading of a fresh section, and was concerned with certain κλήροι which were claimed by the administrators of the κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος (cf. App. i. § 7). Of the last two columns scarcely anything is left; col. vii was headed (δεκάρουροι) μάχι(μοι); cf. 5. 44.

Col. ii.

Πάτρων Ταῶτος καλ, ἐπισ(κέψεως) καλ, ἴσ[ο]ν.

Πετεαρμένητης Ἀρπαήσιος θλ, ἐπισ(κέψεως)] θλ, ἴσον.

ἀλ(λου) τά(που) μῆ ἀναγραφ) (πυρῶν) βλδ'.

ἀβρόχου τῆς ἐν τῇ κεχωρισμένῃ προσ[ό]δω[ι τ]ῆς
 5 ἐπισκε(φθείσης?) ζ[ε]δῆίς.
 Ἐπικράτης Ἐπικράτου τῆς ε[.].
 σπαρείσης ἐπι(σκέψεως) ἀβρό(χου) [
 Μαρετ[. . .]μευτ[

Col. iii.

Κατύτις Θοτέως πρὸς β (πυρῶι) ἦ,
 10 ἀλ(λου) πρὸς (ἀρούραις) γ (πυρῶι) ἦίς'χ'β', / πλ(είω) δ'ίς'χ'β'.
 Χαλῆς Πολλούτος ι, ἐπι(σκέψεως) (πυρῶι), ἴσον.
 Ὀρ[σενο]ύφης Κολλούθου πρὸς (ἀρούραις) θ[ι. (πυρῶι).]ἦίς'.

Col. iv.

Νεκτενίβις Πετερμούθιος πρὸς ελ (πυρῶι) αίς'χ'β'.
 Ὀρσενούφης Παάπιος πρὸς (ἀρούραις) ιβ (πυρῶι) ἀήίς'.
 15 Ἀρπνοῦτις Ὀρσείου πρὸς (ἀρούραις) δ (πυρῶι) δ'ίς'.
 ἀλ(λου) τ(άπου) πρὸς (ἀρούραις) ε (πυρῶι) λίς', / πρὸς ι (πυρῶι) λδ'ή.
 προφέρεται εἶναι βασιλικὴν γῆν (ἀρούρας) ι [.] . () λδ'ή.

Col. v.

καὶ κλήρων φυλακιδῶν ὧν ἀντιποιοῦνται
 οἱ προστάται τῆς κεχωρισμένης προσ[ό]δου
 20 φυλ(ακίτης) Φαλοῦς Στοτοήτιος (πυρῶι) ι, ἐπι(σκέψεως) (πυρῶι) ιλ, πλ(είω) λ.
 Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μεγακλείου (πυρῶι) ι, ἐπι(σκέψεως) (πυρῶι) ιλδ'χ'β',
 πλείωι λδ'χ'β'.
 / (ἀρουραι) καδ'χ'β', πλ(είω) αδ'χ'β'.
 ἐρη(μο)φυλ(άκω)ν
 25 [. . .] Ἐργέως (πυρῶι) ι . [

Col. vi.

*Μαγδάλων**τῶν ἐγβεβη(κόντων) πλεονασμάτων.**ἱερᾶς γῆς Σούχου θεοῦ μεγάλου**Ἀνικήτου τοῦ Ἀριστίππου πρὸ(ς) δ' (ἀρουρα?) α,*

30 / ε, [λ] φυ() ἐλαιω λη() συ() δ' []
 [15 letters] ιε, [] κα() ἐλ(αιῶνος) []

1. Ἰσ[ο] means that the figure καλ agreed with that of the ἐπίσκεψις.

3. ἀλ(λου) τό(που). Cf. 98. 24-5, where τόπ(ου) is written and the expression means in another part of the same περίχωμα.

4. The κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος at Magdola is also mentioned in l. 19 below and 83. 49-50.

10. ἀλ(λου): sc. τόπου; cf. l. 3, note. For πρὸς in this connexion cf. 149.

11. The abbreviation after ε, which recurs in 79. 20, 26, 75 (margin), 82. 36, 85. 87, consists of an initial curve like the first stroke of an ε, to the top of which is attached a tail like that representing π: in the common abbreviation επισ(); and through the middle of the tail is a cross-bar. In the ordinary form of the abbreviation επισ() the tail starts from the cross-stroke of the ε, which is distinctly formed, as is also the σ, which is here absent. A comparison of ll. 1-2, however, where ἐπισ(κέψεως) apparently occurs in its normal form and in the same position as the abbreviation in this line, indicates that ἐπι(σκέψεως) is the word intended here; and if so it is probably also to be read in ll. 20 and 21, where a similar symbol but without the cross-bar is found. The same type occurs in 79. 22, 74. But to find three distinct forms of the same abbreviation in one papyrus is decidedly unexpected.

13. Νεκτενίβις Πετερμούθιος: this individual is also mentioned in a small fragment from crocodile 17 headed Μαγδάλων βα(σιλικῆς).

17. The vestiges of the abbreviation or symbol after ε do not well suit (πυρῶι), though it is noticeable that the fractions coincide with those after (πυρῶι) in l. 14.

20. ε is written above the λ of φυλ(αίτη)ς in place of the usual α.

29-30. Cf. 82. 7-8. φυ() probably stands for φυ(τείας) (cf. P. Petrie II. 32. 5), and the next word, which is written simply ελ() in 82. 8, is no doubt ἐλαιῶν or ἐλαιῶνος. The number of arourae at this point should be 4 as in 82. 8, but the numeral cannot be clearly identified from the very faint and scanty vestiges. The following abbreviations are obscure. λη() is perhaps λη(σοῦ) and συ() may be συ(μπεριελημμένου) (cf. 62. 48, note).

31. κα(): this abbreviation recurs in 82. 12, 19, 22, 23, 26, 83. 74, 79, 87. 43, and probably 82. 45, always, except in the last instance, before ἐλ(αι)φά(ρος) or ἐλ(αιῶν).

82. LIST OF TEMPLE LANDS AT MAGDOLA.

27·23.

29 x 29·5 cm.

B. C. 115.

According to the heading at the beginning this papyrus contains a statement of the cleruchic land at Magdola, as compared with the facts ascertained by a survey. The two first columns, however, which are all that remain, are taken up with a description of the land belonging to the temple of Suchus and the minor shrines at the village. The cleruchic land proper was no doubt dealt with afterwards, as in 82, &c. (cf. 83); but the title (which contains other mistakes) is evidently not strictly accurate. The area of the temple-land was less than at Kerkeosiris. As there, so at Magdola the temple of Suchus was the largest proprietor, owning 150 arourae out of a total of 170. Where the temple was situated is uncertain, as in the case of the land of Suchus at Kerkeosiris; cf. App. i. § 2. The temple of Orsenouphis, who is described as 'the god of the village,' had 10 arourae; and there were two *ιβίων τροφαί*, or shrines of Thoth, which between them accounted for the remaining 10.

The document as first drawn up included only the names of the cultivators and the theoretical extent of their holdings; the results of the survey were added later in blacker ink, perhaps by the original hand. A number of abbreviations occur the meaning of which is doubtful.

Col. i.

Ἔτους β Φαρμούθι ιε, Μαγδάλην κληρουχικῆς
συνωψισμένην πρὸς τὰ ἐγνω(σ)μένα ἐξ ἐπισκέψεως.

ἱερᾶς γῆς Σούχου{χου} θεοῦ μεγάλου) μεγάλου) αἱ συνλελογ(σμένοι) τῶι
λόγωι

τῆς ἀμπ(ελίτιδος) χέρσου ρν, ὧν ἐστίν·

5 Χαρίτιον Ἀρτεμιδώρου ε.

ἴσ(ν). ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γύ(ου) χέ(ρσου) ε, ἴσ(ν).

Ἀνίκητος Ἀριστίππου δ.

ἐπισ(κέψεως) ε γύ(ου) ε, / φυ() ἐλ(αι) δ, λ[η()] συ() δ', χέ(ρσου)
Λδ', πλ(είω) α.

Ἀμμάσιος Ταυρίνου ιε.

10 ἐπισ(κέψεως) δ γύ(ου) τῆς εἰς Εδβιον ἀμ(πελο)φάρου) εΛδ'ή'ί'ζ'χ'β'.

Μάρων Ἴσχυρίωνος ιε.

ἐπισ(κέψεως) δ γύ(ου) [[ε]] τήίς, / κα() ἐλ(αιο)φύ(ρου) βλ, χέ(ρσου)
 γλ(ή)ίς, ἀλ(λου) τή(που) ἀμ(πελίτιδος) ἐγμεμ(ισθωμένης) ηλδ(ή),
 ἀλ(λης) χέ(ρσου) λήίς, / ιελδ, πλ(είω) λδ.

Ἐρμόφιλος Θέωνος ιε.

15 β γύ(ου) ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς Θέωνα ἀπὸ λη χέ(ρσου) ι, ἐλ(άσσω) ε.

Πετενεφιγῆς Πετενεφιεῖους κβ.

ἐπισ(κέψεως) ε γύ(ου) ζλ, / χέ(ρσου) γλ, (πυρῶι) δ,
 σ γύ(ου) τῆς εἰς Ὀρσενούφιν Ἰναρῶτος ἀμ(πελίτιδος) εήίς, / κδ(ή)ίς,
 χέ(ρσου) αλδ, ἀμ(πελίτιδος) γ (ἐτ) α, τρυ() βδ(ή).
 καὶ τῆς εἰς Πετεῆ(σιν) Ὀρου ἀμ(πελίτιδος) βδ(ή)ίς, / κδ(ή)ίς, κα()
 ἐλ(αιο)φύ(ρου) ίς, ἀμ(πελίτιδος) γ (ἐτ) ίς, δ (ἐτ) λ, χέ(ρσου)
 αλδ.

20 καὶ τῆς εἰς Πετεῆσιν Ψενοβά(στιος) βλ(ί)ς(λ)β(ξ)δ, / κδ(ή)ίς, ἐγμεμ(ισθω-
 μένης) βλ(λ)β(ξ)δ.

/ κίς. καὶ τῆς εἰς Νεκτενίβις Πανούπις ἀμ(πελίτιδος) βί(ς)λ(β), / κδ(ή)
 ίς, ἀμ(πελίτιδος) β (ἐτ) δ, γ (ἐτ) δ, α (ἐτ) λ, χέ(ρσου) αλβ.

Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου ιε, / κα() ἐλ(αιῶνος) γλδ, χέ(ρτωι) η,
 χέ(ρσου) γδ. ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γύ(ου) ιδ(ή)ίς(λ)β, / χέ(ρσου) βδ(ή)ίς(λ)β,
 κα() ἐλ(αιο)φύ(ρου) εδ(ή), χέ(ρτωι) θλ(ή),
 πλ(είω) βδ(ή)ίς(λ)β.

25 Ἀπολλώνιος Ποσειδωνίου ε.

ἐπισ(κέψεως) α γύ(ου) γλ(ή)ίς(λ)β, / χέ(ρσου) α, κα() ἐλ(αιῶνος)
 ἐσπαρ(μένου) παρε() κ(ριθῆι?) βλ(ή)ίς(λ)β.

1. l. Μαγδάλων.

2. l. συνωψισμένης.

21. l. Νεκτενίβιν.

Col. ii.

Δί[ο]νύσιος Πτολεμαίου [η

Ἴσ[ιδ]ώρα Μικίωνος η [

Θέων Θεώνος κη [

30 ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γύ(ου) λη χέ(ρσου), πλ(είω) ι, / Ἐρμόφιλος Θεώνος
 ἀπο[

- 'Ηρώδης Εύνίκου δ [
 Πετενεφιγῆς Πετενεφιείους (πυρῶι) γ [
 ἐπισκέψεως) δ γύ(ου) χέ(ρτωι) γ, ἴσο(ν).
 'Ολύμπιος Μικίωνος χέ(ρσου) ζ [
 35 ἐπισκέψεως) ς γύ(ου) χέ(ρσου) γλ, ἀλ(λου) τ[έ(που)] ἐν τῶι 'Ηρώωι γ[λ.
 / ρν, ὄν ἐσπαρμέναι] ια, / (πυρῶι?) γ, χέ(ρτωι) η, / ια, ἐπι(σκέψεως).
 ἐλασσόνων ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμηι θε(ῶν) [
 ἰβία(ν) τροφῆς) δι' 'Ορσενούφιου καὶ τῶν μετόχων) ἐν αἰγ(αλωῖ) [. . . γ.
 ἴσο(ν). ἐπισκέψεως) β γύ(ου) ἐμβρό(χου) γ, ἴσον.
 40 'Ορσενούφιου θε(οῦ) τῆς κώ(μης) δι' 'Ορσενούφιου τοῦ
 'Ιναρῶτος (πυρῶι) ι. ἐπισκέψεως) ς γύ(ου) ι, / σπ(έρος) (πυρῶι) [βλ,
 χέ(ρσου) ζλ.
 ἀλλου ἰβία(νος) διὰ Σενύχιου καὶ τῶν μετόχων) [ζ
 προ() β. ἐπισκέψεως) δ γύ(ου) χέ(ρτωι) θδ'ήίζ', πλ(είω) βδ'ήίζ'.
 45 [γίνον]ται [ἔρα]ς (ἀρουραι) ρο, / ἀμ(πελίτιδος) ρν, κα() κ.

27-8. These two lines added later; between them a line has been erased. 30. β before γυ(ου) corr. from α. / above the line. 32. γ written over χέ(ρσου), which has been erased. 43. ν of σενύχιος corr.

2. πρὸς τὰ ἐγνω(σ)μένα ἐξ ἐπισκέψεως: this phrase makes it certain that ἐπισ() in this papyrus stands for ἐπίσκεψις or ἐπισκέπτεσθαι in some form; and no doubt the abbreviation is to be expanded in the same way elsewhere, e. g. 83. *passim*.

5. There is a diagonal dash against the names Χαρίτιον here and 'Ανίκητος and Μάρων in ll. 7 and 11.

6. ἴσο(ν): i. e. the number of arourae according to the ἐπίσκεψις agreed with the supposed number; ἴσον is similarly added both at the beginning and end of the line in l. 39. When the numbers disagreed the fact is noted by the words πλ(είω) or ἐλ(άσσω).

β γύ(ου): cf. 82. introd.

7-8. Cf. 81. 29-30.

12. κα(): cf. 81. 31, note.

16. This Petenephiēs is very likely identical with Petenephiēs in 83. 7; cf. p. 544.

18. κδ: the abbreviation occurs in the same position in the three succeeding lines, the amount being in all cases the same, $\frac{1}{8}$ aroura. Its interpretation is very doubtful; κδ is the name of a tax in 93-5, but that is unsuitable here, unless indeed land liable to the tax be meant.

γ (έτ): cf. ll. 19 and 21, where the same square-shaped symbol which is similar to that ordinarily used for έτος is found preceded by α, β, γ or δ, and always as a qualification of ἀμπελίτις. The meaning is uncertain, but probably the reference is to the age of the vineyard, which would of course have an important bearing on its value; i. e. we should read α (έτους), β (έτων), and so on. This is preferable to the view that the numbers signify the years of the current reign, since the document is dated in the 2nd year and it is unlikely that these entries were not added till two years later.

21. The marginal / κίς' is apparently intended to represent the sum of the figures given in ll. 16-21; as a matter of fact these add up to a small fraction less than 20.

25. This name and the first two in the next column were filled in later.

27. [η: the supplement is gained by subtracting the sum of the other items from 150, which is given in l. 36 as the total.

35. ἐν τῶι Ἡρώι: cf. introd. to 80 and 81.

36. The figures in this line refer to the original numbers, not those given by the ἐπισκέψις. The 3 arourae of wheat occurred in l. 32, and the 8 of grass in l. 22. For ἐπι(σκέψεως) cf. 81. 11, note.

43. ἰβίω(νος): cf. 82. 21, note.

44. προ() is perhaps for πρό(ς) as in 81. 29 (cf. 81. 9, &c.), though here it would be adverbial; cf. 83. 2, 94. 2, &c.

45. κα() : the word intended is perhaps the same as that in l. 12, &c.; κα(ταλείπονται) is less likely.

83. LIST OF CLERUCHS AT MAGDOLA.

27·30.

32·8 × 54·5 cm.

Late second century B. C.

This papyrus is part of a document similar to 82, written in perhaps the same hand but in a different year; the continuation of 82 was no doubt just what we have here. The contents are a long list of holders of cleruchic land with the amounts of their holdings, accompanied, as in 82, by details concerning acreage and crops, based upon a new survey. That the locality to which it relates is Magdola is shown by the mentions of the Ἡρώιον and the αἰγιαλός (cf. 81. introd., 82. 38), and the recurrence (ll. 74 and 79) of some abbreviations which are otherwise peculiar to 82. The first two columns are occupied with a long list of holders of 5 arourae, who were no doubt πεντάρουροι μάχιμοι; cf. note on 8. 44. These are succeeded by the φυλακίται, who fill the whole of the next column. The upper part of col. iv is missing; the lower half refers to owners of larger κλήροι ranging from 20 to 50 arourae—no doubt κάτοικοι. This list is therefore compiled on the opposite principle to those from Kerkeosiris, in which the more important cleruchs regularly precede. 182 is a fragment from a similar list from Magdola.

The first *selis* of the papyrus is wrongly joined so that its *verso* corresponds with the *recto* of the remainder of the roll.

Col. i.

Ἀρποχράτης Ἀρλολοῦτος ἐσπαρ(μένης) ε.

προ() δ'ίς'. ἐπισκέψεως) α γύ(ου) εδ'ίς', ι (πυρῶι) δλ'ίς', χέ(ρσου) λ'ή,
πλ(είω) δ'ίς'.

- Πετοσίρις Πεστῶτος ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
 ἴσα(ν). ἐπισ(κέψεως) γ γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) ε.
- 5 Διονύσιος Διονυσίου ἀβρόχου ε.
 ἐπισ(κέψεως) δ γύ(ου) ἀβρό(χου) ζλχβ', πλ(είω) δλχβ'.
- [Ὶ]ρος Ὀρσειοῦ ἀβρόχου ε.
 ἴσα(ν). ἐπισ(κέψεως), διὰ δὲ τῆς εὐθυ(μετρίας) Ὶρος Ὀρσενού(φιος),
 β γύ(ου) ἀβρόχου ε.
- 10 [. . .] ψαῖς Παθήβιος ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
 ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) εἰς', πλ(είω) ἰς'.
- Ὶρος Μαρρείου ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
 ἐπισ(κέψεως) α γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) εἰς'λβ'ξ'δ', πλ(είω) ἰς'λβ'ξ'δ'.
- Πολέμων Θεώνος ἀσπύρου ε.
- 15 ἐπισ(κέψεως) α γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) ελ, πλ(είω) λ.
 Θοτεὺς Θοτέως ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
 ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γύ(ου) χό(ρτωι) εή ἰς'λβ', πλ(είω) ἠ ἰς'λβ'.
- Ἀρχύψις Ὀρσειοῦ ἀσπύρου ε.
 ἐπισ(κέψεως) ε γύ(ου) ἀσπύ(ρου) ε.
- 20 Πετεσοῦχος Πετῶτος ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
 ἴσα(ν). ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) ε.

Col. ii.

- Πενεμᾶσις Ἐργέως ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
 ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) εδ'ίς', πλ(είω) δ'ίς'.
- Ψενοσίρις Ὀρσειοῦ ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
- 25 ἴσα(ν). ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) ε.
 Πενεμᾶσις Πενεμᾶτος ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
 ἴσα(ν). ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) ε.
 Πετεσοῦχαι Ὶρου ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
 προ() ἠ. ἐπισ(κέψεως) β γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) εήλβ', πλ(είω) ἠ'λβ'.
- 30 Ὀρσενούφης Ἀκώριος ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
 ἴσα(ν). ἐπισ(κέψεως) α γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) ε.
 Ἀπολλώνιος Δημητρίου ἔσπαρ(μένης) ε.
 ἴσα(ν). ἐπισ(κέψεως) α γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) ε.

- Ἐρμων Ψενταμούνιος ἀβρόχου ε.
 35 (ἴσον). ἐπισκέψεως α γύ(ου) ἀβρό(χου) ελ'β'.
 Πετοσίρις Πεχύσιος ἐσπαρμένης ε.
 ἴσο(ν). ἐπισκέψεως α γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) ε.
 Ὀρσενούφης Σοκονάπιος ἐσπαρμένης ε.
 ἴσο(ν). ἐπισκέψεως α γύ(ου) (πυρῶι) ε.
 40 φυλακιδῶν
 Διδύμου τοῦ Μενοίτου ἐσπαρμένης ι.
 ἴσο(ν). ἐπισκέψεως β, ι (πυρῶι) α κ(ράστει) Θη(βαίων) α, ἀλ(λου)
 τό(που) (πυρῶι) η, / ι.

22. εργεως above ορσειους, which is crossed through.
 πετεσουχου.

28. πετεσουχαι corr. from

Col. iii.

Ends of 3 lines.

- 46 [Πετ]εσοῦχος Θώνιος δν ὁ κω(μο)γραμματαῦς)
 [γ]ρ(άφει) [με]τειληφέναι] τὸν υἱὸν ἀλμυ(ρίδος) ι.
 [ἐπισκέψεως].] γύ(ου) εή'ί'ξ'λ'β', ἀλ(λου) τό(που) χέ(ρσου) γλ, / η.
 Πετεχωῖν] Ἐριγίως· ἔστιν ἐν τῇ κεχω(ρισμένηι) προσόδοι·
 50 ἐσπαρμένης ι. ἐπισκέψεως) κεχω(ρισμένης) (πυρῶι) ιαλδ'η.
 [Μ]αρρῆς Σοκονάπιος ἐν αἰγι(αλωῖ) ι.
 ἴσο(ν). ἐπισκέψεως) ε γύ(ου) ἐν αἰγι(αλωῖ) ι.
 Παῆς Ψενταμούνιος ἐν αἰγι(αλωῖ) ι.
 ἴσο(ν). ἐπισκέψεως) ε γύ(ου) ἐν αἰγι(αλωῖ) ι.
 55 Θέων Πολέμωνος δν με(τειληφέναι) Ἄγαθῖν(ον) τὸν υἱὸν
 ἴσο(ν). ἐν αἰγι(αλωῖ) ι. ἐπισκέψεως) ε γύ(ου) ἐν αἰγι(αλωῖ) ι.
 Ὀρσενούφης τοῦ Πετοσίριος χέ(ρσου) ι.
 ἴσο(ν). ἐπισκέψεως) α γύ(ου) ἀβρό(χου) βλδ'η'ί'ξ'λ'β', ἀλ(λου) τό(που)
 χέ(ρσου) ζ, / ι.
 Ὀρσειους τοῦ Ποκρούριος ἐμβρό(χου) ι.
 60 ἐπισκέψεως) ε γύ(ου) χέ(ρσου) αλδ'ί'ξ'λ'β', ἀλ(λου) τό(που) χέ(ρσου)
 εή'ί'ξ'λ'β', /
 Ἀμμώνιος Πτολεμαίου χέ(ρσου) ι.
 ἐπισκέψεως) β γύ(ου) χέ(ρσου) εή'ί'ξ'ξ'δ', ἀλ(λου) τό(που) χέ(ρσου) δλ'β'.

Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἀσπύρου ι.
ἐπισκέψεως) ε γύ(ου) ἀβρόχου θλδ'.

49. εστιν εν τη over an erasure of εσπαρ(μενης).

Col. iv.

9 or 10 lines lost.

Ἀσκ[ληπιά]δου τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου ἀπὸ ν, ι κα() ἐλ(αιο)φύ(ρου) ε . [
 75 Νικίας Ἀντιπάτρου κ, ι ἐσπαρ(μένης) ε [
 ἐπισκέψεως) ε γύ(ου) κ, ι (πυρῶι) ιαλ χέ(ρσου) ηλ, γε[ω(ργος)] Σεμε[
 Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀπ[δ .]' κ, ι ἀμ(πελίτιδος) ε [
 Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Διμναίου ἀπὸ λα ἀμ(πελίτιδος) ς [
 79 ἐπισκέψεως) ἐν τῶι Ἡρώ(ι) (πυρῶι) κ, ἀλ(λου) τό(που) . . . , ι κα()
 ἐλ(αιο)φύ(ρου) ε [

2 lines lost.

82 Α[. . .] . [.]ν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου ἐσ[πα]ρ(μένης) [
 ἐπισκέψεως) ἐν τῶι Ἡρώ(ι) (πυρῶι) ν.
 Διμναίω Ἀσκλη(πιάδου) ἀπὸ τ[ο]ῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τ[ο]ῦ Πτολεμαίου) [

74. ν corr. from μ.

2. προ() may stand for πρὸς; cf. l. 29 and 82. 44, note.

α γύ(ου): cf. 62. introd.

6. δ of θλδ' is a mistake for β.

8. δὲ δὲ τῆς εὐθυμερίας): i.e. in the εὐθυμερία the owner of this piece of land was described as Horus son of Orsenouphis, not 'son of Orses.' The εὐθυμερία (cf. 85. 1) also implies a survey, but is distinguished from the ἐπίσκεψις.

29. προ(): cf. note on l. 2.

42. There can be little doubt that κ() θη() here stands for κ(ράστει) Θη(βαίων), which is thus shown to be a particular variety of the plant. For the tax called κράστις Θηβαίων cf. 61. (δ) 318, note.

48. If γλ is right, the total should be θ on the analogy of l. 58; it does not seem possible to read βλ.

49. κεχω(ρισμένη) προσόδοι): cf. 81. 4, 19.

60. The total has not been filled in.

74. κα(): cf. l. 79 and 81. 31, note.

79. Something that looks like a γ seems to have been written above the illegible figure or figures after τό(που).

83. Ἡρώ(ι): cf. 82. 35 and introd. to 80 and 81.

84. LAND SURVEY OF KERKEOSIRIS.

27-22.

(a) 31.6 × 32, (b) 30 × 91 cm.

B. C. 118.

This and the three following documents (85-7) are all survey lists of landed property, 84 and 85 dealing with Kerkeosiris, 87 with another village in the vicinity of Kerkeosiris, and 86 with Arsinoë. Other survey lists of Kerkeosiris are described in 151-2, 173, 187, 222 and 255.

These lists, which were drawn up yearly in the office of the komogrammateus, take two shapes, one being more detailed than the other. Of those dealing with villages the less elaborate lists (e.g. 84, 85, 151, 152) give the geographical relationships of the several estates, the nature of the land, whether βασιλική, ιερά, or κληρουχική, the areas in arourae, and, in the case of βασιλική γῆ, the rent in artabae of wheat. Where for various reasons the land was unproductive (ὑπόλογος), its nature is described, whether salt (ἀλμυρὴς), water-logged (ἐμβροχος), &c. The more detailed lists, e.g. 87 (cf. 86 verso), state in addition the measurements of the estates and the resulting areas, which owing to the system of land-measuring employed are only approximately correct (cf. 87. introd.). P. Brit. Mus. 267 is an instance of a similar survey of a different part of the Fayûm (probably near Socnopaei Nesus) drawn up in the Roman period. A comparison of the present series of documents with that papyrus renders it practically certain that the assessments upon the land in P. Brit. Mus. 267, ranging from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 artabae upon the aroura, the commonest being $4\frac{2}{3}$ artabae, do not, as the editor suggests, represent taxes but are rents of βασιλική γῆ; for $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae is the ordinary rent for an aroura of Crown land in 84 and 85, and the absence in P. Brit. Mus. 267 of a statement that the land was βασιλική has its parallel in 85, where in the case of Crown land it was sufficient to state the rent without a definite indication such as is found in 84 of the nature of the land.

The land is arranged under the different περιχώματα or enclosing dykes (cf. note on 13. 9), of which some have names, e.g. Θεμιστον (84. 140), Πτολεμαίου λεγομένου νότου (85. 4), others only numbers, e.g. the 4th περίχωμα (84. 66), others are distinguished by the points of the compass (85. 112 βορρᾶ περίχωμα, cf. l. 4). The starting-points are the village itself (84. 6) or the lands of another village (84. 7 and 194). Canals, drains (ἐξαγωγοί, cf. note on 13. 7), conduits (ὕδραγωγοί), reservoirs (ὕδροδοχεία), dykes, and roads are included in the survey. Incidentally these lists provide some useful information about the κληροῦχοι and their holdings; cf. App. i. § 3.

The two parts of 84, (a) and (b), though probably both written by the same person and dealing with the same year, differ slightly in height, and very likely did not form part of the same document. The *verso* of (a) has the beginning of another survey list (c) with a fresh heading. A good many corrections and alterations have been made, especially in 85, which has obviously been compared with a later list, the differences being noted in the margins, probably by the writer of the original list himself. Several of the entries in 84 and one or two in 85 have a stroke in the margin against them. The sheet of papyrus containing col. iv and part of col. v of 84 has the *verso* side uppermost. The use of the cases, as usual in the lists drawn up in Menches' office, is very irregular, some of the entries being in the genitive, others in the nominative, while the accusative is occasionally found. In resolving abbreviations we have generally adopted the genitive.

(a) Col. i.

Ἔτους νγ, παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμογραμματέως
Κερκεοσίρεως. εὐθυμετρία κατ' ἄνδρα κατὰ
περίχωμα τοῦ ἀναγραφομένου περὶ τὴν κώμην
παντὸς ἐδάφους.

- 5 ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ νό(του) καὶ ἀπη(λιώτου) τῆς κώμης) πεδίοις βορρᾶ
καὶ ἀπη(λιώτου) βορρᾶ μὲν ἀπὸ περιστάσεως τῆς κώμης
ἀπη(λιώτου) δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Θεογονίδα πεδίων,
ὑπολό(γου) ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως) ἀλώνωι (ἀρουργαὶ) ι πετρα(ίας ?) ιηλδ', / κηλδ' ι
συμπεριειλη(μμένων) περιστερώνων ἀγγε(ίων) Ἄ ὦν ἡ γ'
- 10 ἀνιέρωνται Σοκνεβτύνη θεῶι μεγά(λωι) μεγά(λωι).
λι(βδς) ἐχ(μένον) χῶμα ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως) αλ.
λι(βδς) ἐχ(μένου) ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρόχου τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) ζλ.
λι(βδς) ἐχ(μένου) ὑδρο(οχίου) β.
λι(βδς) ἐχ(μένου) ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρόχου τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) λ.
- 15 λι(βδς) ἐχ(μένη) διῶρυξ δ.
λι(βδς) ἐχ(μένου) ἀρχ(μένου) νό(του) ὑπολό(γου) κατεξ(σμένου) ἕως λθ
(ἔτους) δλ.
νό(του) ἐχ(μένης) Πετεσοῦχος Νεκτενίβιος βα(σιλικῆς) ιβλ ι συμπεριειλημ-
μένης) διά(ρυγος) λ,
κα(ταλείπονται) ιβ.
νό(του) ἐχ(μένης) Πετοσίρι]ς Ἀρκοίφιος βα(σιλικῆς) β.

- 20 *νάτου* *ἐχόμενος* *ἀρχόμενος* *λι(βδς)* *κλ(ήρος)* (*ἐπτάρουρος*) *Χομήνιος*
Λαβίους Φατρίειους 5L.
ἀπη(λιώτου) *ἐχόμενης* *ἀρχόμενης* *βο(ρρᾶ)* *Πετωῦς Μαρρείους βασιλικῆς*
5Lδ' / συμπεριειλημμένης *διώ(ρυγος)* δ',
κα(ταλείπονται) 5L.
νάτου *ἐχόμενης* *Φραμήνις Πετοσίριος βασιλικῆς* 5Lδ' / *συμπεριειλημ-*
μένης *διώ(ρυγος)* δ', *κα(ταλείπονται)* 5L.
ἀπη(λιώτου) *ἐχόμενου* *ὑπολό(γου)* *ἀλμυρίδος* τοῦ *ἕως* λθ (*ἔτους*) α.
25 *ἀπη(λιώτου)* *ἐχόμενη* ἢ *κεχωρισμένη* *πρόσοδος* αδ'.
ἀπη(λιώτου) *ἐχόμενης* *Φραμήνις Πετοσίρι(ο)ς βασιλικῆς* β.
ἀπη(λιώτου) *ἐχόμενου* *ἀρχόμενου* *βο(ρρᾶ)* *ὑπολό(γου)* *ἀλμυρίδος* τοῦ *ἀπὸ*
τοῦ μ (*ἔτους*) α.
νάτου *ἐχόμενου* *ὑδραγωγῶ* δ'ή.
νάτου *ἐχόμενου* *ἀρχόμενου* *ἀπη(λιώτου)* *ὑπολό(γου)* *ἀλμυρίδος* τοῦ *ἀπὸ*
τοῦ μ (*ἔτους*) γL.
30 *λι(βδς)* *ἐχόμενης* *Ἔρωρος Πετεχῶντος βασιλικῆς* η.
λι(βδς) *ἐχόμενης* *ὑπολό(γου)* *ἀλμυρίδος* τοῦ *ἀπὸ* τοῦ *μ* (*ἔτους*) α.
παρακειμένης *λι(βδς)* *ἐχόμενης* *ὁδοῦ* L.

8. l. ἀλώνων. 10. θειοι μεγά Pap. 16. αρχόμενου νο(του) over the line.

Col. ii.

- λι(βδς)* *ἐχόμενης* *ἀρχόμενης* *βο(ρρᾶ)* *Πετερμούθις Μαρρείους βασιλικῆς*
ιβL / συμπεριειλημμένης *δι(ι)ώ(ρυγος)* [L,
κα(ταλείπονται) ιβ.
35 *νάτου* *ἐχόμενης* *Πετοσίρις Ἀρκόφιος βασιλικῆς* δη' / *συμπεριειλημμένης*
ὁδοῦ η',
κα(ταλείπονται) δ.
νάτου *ἐχόμενης* *ἀρχόμενης* *λι(βδς)* *Μαρρῆς Πετοσίριος βασιλικῆς* δη' /
συμπεριειλημμένης *ὁδοῦ* η', *κα(ταλείπονται)* [δ.
ἀπη(λιώτου) *ἐχόμενου* *ἀρχόμενου* *βο(ρρᾶ)* *ὑπολό(γου)* *ἀλμυρίδος* τοῦ *ἀπὸ*
τοῦ μ (*ἔτους*) α[
νάτου *ἐχόμενης* *Φαγάτης Ὀννώφριος βασιλικῆς* θ[

- 40 νότου) ἐχομένης) Μαρρῆς Πετοσίριος βασιλικῆς) θλ ι συμπεριειλημμένης)
 ὁδοῦ λ, κα(ταλείπονται) θ.
 νότου) ἐχομένης) ἀρχομένης) ἀπηλιώτου) Τεεφίβις Χεύριος βασιλικῆς)
 δη'ι συμπεριειλημμένης)
 ὁδοῦ ἦ, κα(ταλείπονται) δ.
 λι(βδς) ἐχομένη) διῶρυξ ἦ'.
 λι(βδς) ἐχομένης) ἀρχομένης) β(ορρᾶ) Μαρρῆς Μαρρείους βασιλικῆς) λδ'.
 45 νότου) ἐχόμενος) ἀρχόμενος) λι(βδς) κληῆρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χομήνιος)
 Ψενῆσις Στεφάνου ζλ,
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλικῆς) α, / ζλ.
 ἀπηλιώτου) ἐχομένη) διῶρυξ δ'.
 ἀπηλιώτου) ἐχομένης) ἀρχομένης) β(ορρᾶ) Ἀρμιῦσις Ἀρμιῦσιος βασιλι-
 κῆς) β.
 νότου) ἐχομένης) ἀρχομένης) ἀπηλιώτου) Πετεσοῦχος Σαραπίωνος βα-
 (σιλικῆς) δλ.
 50 λι(βδς) ἐχομένη) διῶρυξ δ'.
 λι(βδς) ἐχομένης) ἀρχομένης) β(ορρᾶ) Ὀννώφρις Πετεαρψενήσιος) βα-
 (σιλικῆς) ἀπὸ ι
 παρακείμενον) νότου) ἐχόμενον) τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ λαίπδν) τῶν ι (ἀρουρῶν).
 ἀπηλιώτου) ἐχομένου) ἀρχομένου) β(ορρᾶ) ὑπολάγου) ἀλμυρίδος) τοῦ ἀπὸ
 τοῦ μ (ἔτους) αλ.
 νότου) ἐχομένης) Φατρῆς Πάσιτος βασιλικῆς) δλ.
 55 νότου) ἐχομένης) ἀρχομένης) ἀπηλιώτου) Ἀρφαῆσις Πετοσίριος βασιλι-
 κῆς) δ.
 λι(βδς) ἐχομένη) διῶρυξ λ.
 λι(βδς) ἐχόμενος) ἀρχόμενος) β(ορρᾶ) κληῆρος) [(ἐπτ)άρουρος) Χομήνιος)
 Κ[δ]μων Πεχύσιος ζλ,

Parts of 7 more lines.

Col. iii beginnings of lines.

(δ) Col. iv.

- 65 β(ορρᾶ) ἐχομένου) ἐγβαί(νοντος) ἀπηλιώτου) παρὰ τὴν προγεγεω(μετρημένην)
 ἕως τοῦ προγεγεω(μετρημένου) ἐξα(γογοῦ)

ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ δ περιχώ(ματι) ἀρχο(μένου) νό(του)
καὶ ἀπη(λιώτου) ὑπολό(γου) τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) κατεξι(σμένου) [[αλ]] αλ.
[[βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχο(μένου) ἀρχο(μένου) λι(βδς) ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρά(χου) τοῦ ἕως τοῦ
λθ (ἔτους) εδ'.]]

[[ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχο(μένη) ἀρχο(μένη) νό(του) διῶρυξ β.]]

70 λι(βδς) ἐχέ(μενα) ἀρχέ(μενα) νό(του) τὰ περι τὸν Ἰβίω(να) τῶν (Εἰκοσιπεντα-
ρούρων) πε(δία).

βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχο(μένης) Πετερμουῖθις Σιφμουῖτος γλ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'.

βc(ρρᾶ) ἐχο(μένου) ἀρχο(μένου) ἀπη(λιώτου) ὑπολό(γου) ἀλμυ(ρίδος) τοῦ ἀπὸ
τοῦ μ (ἔτους) β.

λι(βδς) ἐχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) Πετερσοῦχου θε(οῦ) κροκοδίου διὰ
Πετοσίρι(ος) Ἀμεννέως γλ ἀν(ὰ) δλδ'ίβ'.

Parts of 12 more lines.

67. του εως corr. from κ]ατεξ. 70. αρχο(μενα) corr. from βο(ρρα) εχο(μενα). νο(του)
above the line. 73. πετεσουχου θε(ου) κροκοδίου above the line.

Col. v.

νό(του) ἐχέ(μενος) κλ(ῆρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χο(μήνιος) Πᾶσις μι(κρὸς) Καλα-
τύτιος γλ,

τοῦ αὐτοῦ βα(σιλικῆς) α ἀν(ὰ) ε, / ζλ.

νό(του) ἐχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) ἀπη(λιώτου) Κέντις Ὀρου βα(σιλικῆς) ιδ
ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'.

90 λι(βδς) ἐχέ(μενος) κλ(ῆρος) (εἰκοσιάρουρος) Χο(μήνιος) Φμέρσις Ὀρου ε.

λι(βδς) ἐχο(μένης) ἐγβαι(νούσης) βο(ρρᾶ) παρὰ τὴν προγεγεω(μετρημένην)
λερᾶς γῆς Σοκνεβτύνιος θεοῦ μεγά(λου) μεγά(λου)

διὰ τῶν ἱερέων οε.

λι(βδς) ἐχέ(μενος) κλ(ῆρος) (εἰκοσιάρουρος) Χο(μήνιος) Ἀρμιῦσις Πτολεμαίου ιθ,

95 τοῦ αὐτοῦ δι' Ἀρφαήσιος τοῦ

Πετοσίριος ε ἀν(ὰ) ε, / κδ.

λι(βδς) ἐχέ(μενος) ἀρχ(έ(μενος)) νό(του) κλ(ῆρος) ἐφόδου μεταβεβη(κότος) εἰς
τὴν κα(τοικίαν)

Πέτρων Θεώνος ἀπὸ [[ιγ]] ιγ.

- βα(ρρᾶ) ἐχομένης ἐγβαι(νούσης) ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀρμιῦσις Πετενούριος βα-
(σιλικῆς) δδ' ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- 100 βα(ρρᾶ) ἐχομένης Πᾶσις Πετεσοῦχου βΛ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- βα(ρρᾶ) ἐχόμενος κλ(ῆρος) (εἰκοσιάρουρος) Κεφαλᾶς Πετεσοῦχου ιθ.
- βα(ρρᾶ) ἐχόμενος ἀρχόμενος ἀπη(λιώτου) κλ(ῆρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χομήνιος
Ἀρμιῦσις Πετεσοῦχου 5Λ.
- λι(βδς) ἐχομένης ἀρχομένης νό(του) Θοτορταῖος Πετοσίριος βα(σιλικῆς)
β ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- βα(ρρᾶ) ἐχομένης ἀρχομένης ἀπη(λιώτου) Μαρρῆς Πετώτος βα(σιλικῆς)
ζΛ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- 105 λι(βδς) ἐχομένης Λύκος Ζωπυρίωνος βα(σιλικῆς) ε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- λι(βδς) ἐχόμενος κλ(ῆρος) ἐφ(όδου) μεταβεβη(κόςτος) εἰς τοὺς κα(τοίκους)
ἰπ(πείς)
- Πέτρων Θέωνος τὸ λο(ιπὸν) τῶν ιε (ἀρουρῶν).

95-6 and 99. These lines over erasures. 97. αρχ[ο(μενος)] νο(του) above the line.
103. αρχο(μενης) νο(του) corr. from θστ. 104. ζΛ αν(a) corr. 107. ιε corr. from ιγ.

Col. vi.

- λι(βδς) ἐχομένης ἀρχομένης βα(ρρᾶ) Πᾶσις Πετεσοῦχου βα(σιλικῆς) ζ
ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- νό(του) ἐχόμενος ἀρχόμενος ἀπη(λιώτου) κλ(ῆρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χομήνιος
Πετεσοῦχος Τοθοεῖλος 5Λ.
- 110 λι(βδς) ἐχομένου ἐγβαίνοντος νό(του) παρὰ τὴν προγεγεω(μετρημένην)
σχο(νίου) ὕδρα(γωγῶν) 4δ'.
- λι(βδς) ἐχομένης ἀρχομένης βα(ρρᾶ) Πετεσοῦχου θεοῦ κροκοδῖλου
διὰ Πετεσοῦχου τοῦ Πακύρριος ε ἀν(ὰ) γδ'.
- νό(του) ἐχόμενος ἀρχόμενος ἀπη(λιώτου) κλ(ῆρος) ἐφ(όδου) μεταβεβη(κόςτος)
εἰς τοὺς κα(τοίκους) ἰπ(πείς)
- Ἀκουσιλάου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου 5.
- 115 λι(βδς) ἐχόμενος ἀρχόμενος βα(ρρᾶ) κλ(ῆρος) φυλακ(ίτου) Μάρων τὸν καὶ
Νεκτάφθιν Πετοσίριος γ.
- νό(του) ἐχόμενος ἐγβαίνων ἀπη(λιώτου) κλ(ῆρος) ἐφ(όδου) μεταβεβη(κόςτος)
εἰς τὴν κα(τοικίαν)

- Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀσκληπιάδου ιβ.
 νύ(του) ἐχόμενος) ἀρχόμενος) ἀπη(λιώτου) κλ(ήρος) ἐφόδου μεταβεβη(κόςτος)
 εἰς τοὺς κα(τοίκους) ἰπ(πεῖς)
- 120 Ἀκουσιλάου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου τὸ λα(ιπὸν) δ.
 λι(βὸς) ἐχόμενος) [κλ(ήρος)] (ἐκατοντάρουρος) Πολέμωνος τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου τὸ
 λα(ιπὸν) ιγ.
 λι(βὸς) ἐχόμενος) κλ(ήρος) ἰπ(πέως) Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου
 ἀπὸ ξ ιη.
 λι(βὸς) ἐχόμενος) κλ(ήρος) φυλακίτου Μάρων τὸν καὶ
- 125 Νεκτσαφθιν Πετοσίριος τὸ λα(ιπὸν) ζ.
 β(αῤῥᾶ) ἐχομένου) ἐγβαίνοντος) ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐξαγωγῆ δ'.
 β(αῤῥᾶ) ἐχομένου) ἀρχομένου) λι(βὸς) ὑπολόγου) ἐμβρόχου τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ
 (ἔτους) η.
 ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχομένου) ἀρχομένου) νύ(του) ἐξαγωγῆ δ'.
 β(αῤῥᾶ) ἐχόμενος) κλ(ήρος) φυλακίτου) Ἀκουσιλάου τ[ο]ῦ
- 130 Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπὸ ι γ.

116. τ of νεκτσαφθιν corr. from σ. 118. β of ιβ corr. from ζ. 121. το λα(ιπὸν)
 above the line; ιγ corr. 122. κλ(ήρος) . . . του over an erasure. 127. η corr. from ζ.
 129-30. These lines over an erasure. 129. φυλά Pap.

Col. vii.

- β(αῤῥᾶ) ἐχόμενος) ἀρχόμενος) ἀπη(λιώτου) κλ(ήρος) ἰπ(πέως) Ἀπολλοδώρου
 τοῦ Πτολεμαίου
 τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τῶν ξ μ[[β]].
 λι(βὸς) ἐχομένου) ἀρχομένου) νύ(του) ὑπολόγου) ἐμβρόχου τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μ
 (ἔτους) δ.
 β(αῤῥᾶ) ἐχόμενος) ἐγβαίνων) ἀπη(λιώτου) κλ(ήρος) φυλακίτου) Ἀκουσιλάου
 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
- 135 τὸ λα(ιπὸν) ζ.
 β(αῤῥᾶ) ἐχομένου) ἐγβαίνοντος) ἀπη(λιώτου) ὕδρα(γαγοῦ) ἀρ{α}χομένου)
 ἀπη(λιώτου) α.
 παρακειμένου) λι(βὸς) ἐγβαίνοντος) νύ(του) καὶ β(αῤῥᾶ) ἐξαγωγῆ β.
 / τοῦ περιχώ(ματος)

- παρακειμένον) λι(βδς) έχομένον) έγβαίνοντος) νό(του) παρά την προγεγε-
 ω(μετρημένην) σχο(νίου)
- 140 έν τῶι καλουμένωι Θεμίστου περιχώ(ματι)
 [[διώρυγος έξαγωγού) β.]]
 νό(του) έχομένον) έγβαίνοντος) λι(βδς) ύπολό(γου) έμβρό(χου) α.
 νό(του) έχομένον) άρχομένον) άπη(λιώτου) έξαγωγού άπό ε α.
 λι(βδς) έχομένον) άρχομένον) νό(του) ύπολό(γου) έμβρό(χου) του έως του
 λθ (έτους) δ.
- 145 βο(ρρα) έχόμενον) τὸ λα(ιπὸν) τῶν ε του έξαγωγού) δ.
 βο(ρρα) έχόμενον) ύπολό(γου) χέ(ρσου) τῆς έως του λθ (έτους) γ.
 βο(ρρα) έχόμενον) έγβαίνοντος) άπη(λιώτου) έξαγωγού) Λ.
 βο(ρρα) έχόμενος) άρχόμενος) λι(βδς) κλ(ῆρος) (έκατοντάρουρος) Ἀθηνίων
 Ἀρχίου άπό του
 (πρότερον) Χαιρήμονος του Κρατείου γ, και
 150 άπό του (πρότερον) Ἡλιοδώρου του Μηνοδώρου ι,
 / ιγ.
 άπη(λιώτου) έχόμενος) κλ(ῆρος) έφόδου μεταβεβη(κότος) είς την κα(τοικίαν)
 Ἀ(σ)κληπιάδου του Πτολεμαίου κδ.
 άπη(λιώτου) έχόμενης) άρχόμενης) νό(του) ιερῶς γῆς Σούχου θεού μεγά-
 (λου) μεγά(λου)
- 155 δια Πετεμούθου και Μεστασύ(τμιος) εΛ.

136. αφ'χ° Pap.
 erasure.

137. This line over an erasure.
 147. This line inserted.

142. After εμβροχου an

Col. viii.

- βο(ρρα) έχόμενης) Μαρρῆς Πετῶτος βα(σιλικῆς) ζ άν(ά) δ[Λγ'ίβ'.
 βο(ρρα) έχόμενος) άρχόμενος) άπη(λιώτου) κλ(ῆρος) (έκατοντάρουρος) Βακχίου
 του Μουσ(αίου).
 λι(βδς) έχόμενον) άρχόμενον) νό(του) έγβαίνοντος) άπη(λιώτου) ύπολό(γου)
 έμβρό(χου) του άπό τ[σὸ μ (έτους) . .
 βο(ρρα) έχόμενον) άρχόμενον) λι(βδς) ύπολό(γου) έμβρό(χου) του άπό του μ
 (έτους) ιβ.

- 160 ἀπη(λιώτου) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του) Μαρρῆς Πετώτος βα(σιλικῆς)
 δ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- βο(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) [[Πετ]] Σοκν[[β]]εβτύνιος θε(οῦ) διὰ Πετερμούθιος
 τοῦ Ἀμεννέως ι ἀν(ὰ) γλ.
- βο(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Ἀνεμπεὺς Πετοσίριος βα(σιλικῆς) ς ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- βο(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένου) ἀρχο(μένου) ἀ[π]η(λιώτου) ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) τοῦ ἐν
 τῷ να (ἔτει) β ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- 165 λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) Φαῆσις Φίβιος καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι) ιδ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένου) ἀρχο(μένου) νό(του) ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) τοῦ ἐν τῷ να
 (ἔτει) δ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχόμενος κλη(ῆρος) ἱπ(πέως) Θεών Θεωνος λ.
- βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχόμενος κλη(ῆρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χομήνιος Ψενῆσις Ψενήσιος ς]λ.
- βο(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένου) ἀρχο(μένου) λι(βδς) ὑπολό(γου) τοῦ ἐν τῷ να (ἔτει) [. .
- 170 ἀπη(λιώτου) ἔχο(μένης) Ὡρος Πετώτος βα(σιλικῆς) κ[
 β ἀν(ὰ) α. [
- ἀπη(λιώτου) ἔχο(μένου) ἐγβαί(νοντος) νό(του) ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) τοῦ
 [.] ε.
- βο(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένου) ἀρχο(μένου) ἀπη(λιώτου) ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) τ[οῦ
] ηλ.
- λι(βδς) ἐχόμενος ἀρχόμενος βο(ρρᾶ) κλη(ῆρος) (τριακοντάρουρος) χερσ(εφ)ίπ-
 [που Παντα]ύχου
- 175 τοῦ Πανταύχου ἀπὸ λδίς'λ'β' κ.
- βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχόμενος ἀρχόμενος {ἀρχόμενος} ἀπη(λιώτου) κλη(ῆρος) ἐφόδου
 [Πτ]ολεμαίου
- τοῦ Μενίσκου ἀπὸ [
- λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένου) ὑπολό(γου) ἐμβρό(χου) τοῦ ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ . . (ἔτους) . .

164. λo of υπολο(γου) corr. from ε.

166. δ before α(α) corr. from ς.

170. κ corr.

Col. ix.

λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) ἐγβαί(νούσης) νό(του) παρὰ τὴν [προγεγεω(μετρημένην)
 σχοι(νίου)

180 διώρ[υ(γος) ἐξαγωγῶ] γ.

λι(βδς) ἐχόμενος ἀρχόμενος βο(ρρᾶ) κλη(ῆρος) (τριακοντάρουρος) [χε]ρσεφίππου
Πανταύχου

τοῦ Πανταύχου τὸ λο(ιπὸν) τῶν λδίζ'χβ' ιδίζ'χβ'.

νύ(του) ἐχομένης ἱερᾶς γῆς Σούχου θεοῦ μεγά(λου) μεγά(λου)

Ἀπολλώνιου τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου λγ.

185 νύ(του) ἐχομένης ἀρχομένης ἀπη(λιώτου) ἱερᾶς γῆς Σούχου θεοῦ μεγά(λου)
μεγά(λου) Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος ι.

λι(βδς) ἐχόμενος ἐγβαίνων νύ(του) παρὰ τὴν προγεγεω(μετρημένην)
διῶρυ(γα)

κλη(ῆρος) (ἐκατοντάρουρος) Ἑλιοδώρου τοῦ Μηνοδώρου τὸ λο(ιπὸν) μ.

λι(βδς) ἐχομένη ἀρχομένη νύ(του) διῶρυ(ξ) καλουμένη Πολέμω(νος)
χώ(ματος) ι[[ε]].

ἕως τῶν περὶ Βερε(νικίδα) Θε(σμοφόρου) πεδίων λι(βδς).

190 βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχομένη ἐγβαίνουσα ἀπη(λιώτου) παρὰ τὴν προγεγεω(μετρημένην)
σχοι(νίου)

διῶρυξ ἐξαγωγῶ

γ.

/ τοῦ περιχώ(ματος)

βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχόμενον ἀρχόμενον λι(βδς) ἐν τῶι καλουμένωι περιχώματι

βο(ρρᾶ) μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰβίω(να) [τῶν (Ἐίκοσιπενταρούρων) πεδίων

λι(βδς) δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς

195 διῶρυγος Πολέμω(νος) χώ(μα) [

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχόμενος ἀρχόμενος νύ(του) κλη(ῆρος) (ὄγδοηκοντάρουρος) [

ἀπὸ μ [

198 [βο(ρρᾶ)] ξ[ἐχόμενος] ἀρχόμενος λι(βδς) κλη(ῆρος) (ἐπτάρουρος?) .]

181. εφ in [χε]ρσεφίππου corr. from επ; cf. l. 174. 184. λγ corr. from κ. 185. This
line inserted. 189. β of βερε(νικίδα) corr.

(c) Col. x (on the verso of col. ii).

ἔτους . . παρὰ Μεγχείουσι κωμογραμματέως

200 Κερκε[οσίρωσ].

ἐν τοῖς [

ἀρχομένης βο(ρρᾶ) κ[15 letters] ἐρη(μ) ἐν τῶι λεγομένωι

Κοιρι[.] Πετεσοῦχος Νεκτενίβιος βασιλικῆς ιβ ἀν(ὰ) β.
 νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) [Πε]τ[σοῦ]χις Ἀρκοίφιος βασιλικῆς β ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
 205 νό(του) ἔχ(όμενος) ἀρχ(όμενος) λι(βδς) κλη(ήρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χαμήνιος
 Κολλούθης Ὠρου ἀνὰ (μέσον) . . () Πᾶσις [. . .]

Πετεσοῦχου 5L ἐπισ(κέψεως).

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) Πετῶς Μαρρείους βασιλικῆς
 5L ἀν(ὰ) δ.

νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) λι(βδς) Φραμῆνις Πετοσίριος βασιλικῆς
 5L ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἔχο(μένης) ἀνὰ (μέσον) ὁδοῦ καὶ ὑπολόγου) κεχωρισμένης
 προσόδου

210

διὰ Πάτρωνος

αL.

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) Φραμῆνις Πετοσίριος βασιλι-
 κῆς) β ἀν(ὰ) γ.

νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) ἀπη(λιώτου) Μαρρῆς καὶ Φαγῆς καὶ ἐπισ()
 γ ἀν(ὰ) βL.

λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) Ὀννώφρις Τεῶτος βασιλικῆς η ἀν(ὰ) γ.

λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) ἀνὰ (μέσον) ὁδοῦ ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) Πετερμούθις
 Μαρρείους βασιλικῆς) ιβ ἀν(ὰ) [

215

νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) ἐγβαι(νούσης) ἀπη(λιώτου) Πετοσίρις Ἀρκοίφιος βασιλι-
 κῆς) δ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.

νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) Πετοσίρις βασιλικῆς) β ἀνὰ δ ἐπισ(κέψεως).

νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) Τεῶς Θοτορταίου βασιλικῆς) 5 ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.

νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) Ὠρίων Τειμοθείους ἀπὸ τῆς (πρότερον) [. .] [

Τειμοθείους τοῦ Πετοσίριος βασιλικῆς) [

220

νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) ἐγβαι(νούσης) λι(βδς) Μαρρῆς Πετοσίριος) βασιλικῆς) [

λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) ἀνὰ (μέσον) διώρυγας) ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) Παλυ . [

νό(του) ἔχ(όμενος) ἀρχ(όμενος) λι(βδς) κλη(ήρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χαμήνιος

Ψενῆσις Σηεφάνου 5L.

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἔχο(μένης) ἀνὰ (μέσον) διώρυγος) ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) Ἀρμῶσις Α[

νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) ἀπη(λιώτου) Πετεσοῦχος Σαρ(απίωνος

225

λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) ἀνὰ (μέσον) διώρυγος) Θῶνις μέγας) Κεντίσιος ἀπὸ τοῦ
 (πρότερον)

τοῦ Πεταρψενήσιος [

In the left margin upside down

νγ (ἔτους) Θά(θ) θ.

Beginnings of lines of col. xi.

5-7. The survey starts with the land on the south and east of the village, taking as the northern limit the free space round the village itself, and as the eastern boundary the lands belonging to Theogonis, on the probable site of which see note on 17. 5.

8-10. This land was unproductive and probably formed part of the *ὑπόλογον* mentioned in 60. 7, which was distinct from the unproductive Crown lands (cf. p. 541). 18½ arourae were *πετρα(λας)*, meaning that the rock came up to the surface; while 10 arourae consisted of *αλωνοι*, i. e. *ἀλώνων*, *οι* and *ων* being frequently confused in these papyri, especially by Menches, and appear to have been a place for threshing. Included in these 28½ arourae were numerous pigeon-houses; cf. the next note.

9. The 1000 *ἀγγεῖα* were nests for the pigeons. A tax of a *τρίτη*, as here, upon the profits of *περιστερῶνες* is known from a Theban ostrakon of the Ptolemaic period (Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 1228, cf. I. p. 279). In that case the tax was paid to the government, but in the present instance the proceeds were devoted to Soknebtunis, i. e. to his temple at Tebtunis probably; cf. p. 543.

11. *λι(βός) ἐχόμενον*: i. e. on the west of the *ὑπόλογον*; cf. 86. introd.

12. On the frequency of the references to the 39th year, which preceded an *ἀμείβια*, cf. 61. (δ) 31 and p. 553.

16. *ἀρχο(μένου) νό(του)*: the word *ἀρχόμενος*, which occurs frequently in these survey lists, but not in P. Brit. Mus. 267, is introduced by the surveyor whenever he changes the direction in which he measured the plots of land; e. g. *νότου ἐχόμενος ἀρχόμενος λιβός* means 'This plot is south of the last and the direction of the survey is now from west to east.' The direction following *ἀρχόμενος* is naturally at right angles to that preceding *ἐχόμενος* in its own entry, and opposite to that preceding *ἐχόμενος* in the next entry, e. g. ll. 21, 27, 29, &c. For instance in l. 21 the *βασιλική* of Petouïs was east of the *κλήρος* of Labois, and *ἀρχομένη βορρά* means that the surveyor who had been measuring from west to east began at this point to take the plots on a line drawn from north to south. There are a few exceptions to this rule with regard to the direction following *ἀρχόμενος*; but the fact that an enormous majority of instances supports it cannot be a mere accident, and the exceptions are probably due to errors on the part of the person who drew up the survey. Thus in l. 16 and 85. 59 *νότου* is a mistake for *βορρά*, and in l. 174 *βορρά* should be *νότου*; in 85. 26 *ἀρχομένης βο(ρρά)* and in 85. 48 *ἀρχομένης λιβός* should be omitted, since in neither case is there any change of direction; 85. 53 *ἀρχομένης βορρά* and 87. 47 *ἀρχόμενος ἀπληιώτου* are not wrong, but superfluous; 85. 92 is not an exception, two contiguous farms being taken as a base for starting north; in 85. 55 *ἀρχομένης ἀπληιώτου* seems to have been omitted.

κατεξ(σμένου): land worn away by water; cf. 74. 52, P. Amh. II. 85. 16. In the present case it appears that a canal (l. 15) had eaten away its banks, while the reservoir (l. 13) had water-logged the neighbouring land (ll. 12 and 14).

17. *συ(μπεριμειλημμένης)*: cf. l. 9, and l. 37, which shows that the following word is in the genitive. The 12½ arourae included ½ aroura of a canal, which is subtracted, leaving 12.

20. *Χο(μήριος)*: Chomenis was the commander of the *ἐπτάρουροι μάχμοι* at Kerkeosiris; cf. 60. 29. His men are called *Χομηριακοί*.

B b

32. παρα(κειμένης): the word is clearly the same as that used in P. Brit. Mus. 267, which is twice written παρακ', but generally παρα^α as here. παρα^α, which is in this instance used absolutely, in l. 139, &c., governs an accusative, and if it is there too a participle, some word like παρα(τεινούσης) is necessary; but the simple preposition makes good sense in those cases where an accusative follows, and the practice of writing the last letter of a short word above the line is not uncommon at this period. On the meaning see 86. introd.

45-6. For other instances (cf. ll. 57, 87, 95, &c.) of cleruchs, especially the native Egyptian soldiers, holding little pieces of Crown land cf. 98. introd.

51. ἀπό : the figure which should have come after this is missing.

70. Ibion 'of the twenty-five arourae holders' was near Kerkeosiris on the north-west; cf. l. 194 and note on 17. 5.

74. Πετοσίρι(ος) Ἀμενίως: cf. 98. 65. This land was ἐπέ not βασιλική, though the rent is given; cf. l. 112 and 98. introd.

91. ἐγβαί(νούσης): 'projecting,' the opposite of ἐσθβανούσης 'receding'; cf. 87. 25 and P. Brit. Mus. 267. 28, note. Kenyon reverses the meaning of the two terms, which seems to us wrong; cf. 86. introd.

94-6. Besides his κλήρος of 19 arourae (cf. 61. (a) 61) as an εικοσάρουρος ἰππέε, Harmiusis son of Ptolemaeus owned 5 arourae of Crown land on which he paid a rent of 5 artabae an aroura (cf. note on l. 45). This was let to Harphaësis son of Petosiris.

97. Petron son of Theon owned 24 arourae at Kerkeosiris (cf. 63. 124), which he ceded in the 54th year to Didymarchus, whose application to be registered as the owner of the κλήρος is the subject of 80. Apparently 15 arourae of it were in this περίχωμα (cf. l. 107 and 82. introd.), and what Menches probably meant to say in l. 98 was that out of 15 arourae 13 were here, the two remaining arourae being accounted for in l. 107. But he seems to have written εγ instead of ε by mistake and then to have erased it, without substituting the correct number.

100. βα(σλική) is omitted before βΛ, perhaps by a natural error, but in 85 the Crown land is indicated merely by the statement of the rent; cf. introd.

110. σχοι(νίου): cf. ll. 139, 179, 87. 25, &c., and P. Brit. Mus. 267. 49 and Kenyon's notes on ll. 6 and 28. The schoenion is a measure of length consisting of 100 πήχαι, and σχοι(νίου) is to be connected in all these cases with the participle meaning projecting or receding. In 87, as in P. Brit. Mus. 267, the number of schoenia by which the area is question projected or receded from the previous area is stated, but in 84 this is uniformly omitted, the figure at the end of the line being the area (in arourae) of the land, δῶρυξ, &c., which was under consideration.

112. Cf. note on l. 74.

132. The β following μ should not have been erased; cf. l. 123.

139 sqq. A survey of the land in the περίχωμα of Themistes is also found in 152, where many of the same names occur but the order is different; 152 is several years later than 84.

The details in l. 139 refer to the δῶρυξ or ἐξαγωγός in l. 141, which has been erased without the substitution of a new entry.

148. (ἐκατοντάρουρος): the κάτοικοι who received grants in Euergetes II's reign are regularly said to be owners of 100 arourae; cf. p. 547.

167. ἐπ(πέως): or perhaps ἐπ(παρχικός). The corresponding passage in 152 has θείων του θείων ἐπαρχικού κλήρου). But cf. l. 176 κλήρος ἐφόδου.

174. χερσ(εφ)ἐπ(που): cf. p. 550.

189. On the site of Berenice's Θεοδοφόρου see note on 17. 5.

194. The dyke of Polemon, the first piece of this περίχωμα to be surveyed, was

bounded on the north by the lands belonging to Ibion, and on the west by a canal. Cf. ll. 6-7.

205. ἀνά (μέσον) . . . (): the abbreviation of ἀνά μέσον, which in 85 is written αν^μ, here and in l. 209 degenerates into αν^λ. The abbreviation following is perhaps ἐπισ() (cf. note on l. 206), but the meaning of it is quite obscure. Whatever it was that belonged to Pasis son of Petesuchus, it lay between the κληρος of Kollouthes (cf. 61. (a) 88) and the holding of Petosiris son of Harkoiphis, and a participle has to be supplied with ἀνά (μέσον) as usual.

206. The expansion of the abbreviation ἐπισ(), which occurs also in ll. 212 and 216 and perhaps in 205 (cf. 85. 86), is difficult. In ll. 206 and 216 it is probably some part of ἐπίσκεψις as in 82 and 83. This meaning is however unsuitable in l. 212, where μέ(τοχοι) would be expected; but though the form of the abbreviation μ^ε is not unlike that of ἐπισ, there is no doubt that ἐπισ() is what was there written.

209. The piece of waste ground, which is coupled with the road as dividing the holding of Phramenis from the piece of land assigned to the κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος (cf. p. 570) and farmed by Patron, probably belonged to the ὑπόλογον ἄφορον τὸ ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως mentioned in 60. 7; cf. p. 541. The letters preceding λο() are a series of flourishes which are, strictly speaking, too much for υπο and not enough for του υπο.

212. καὶ ἐπισ(): cf. note on l. 206.

85. LAND SURVEY OF KERKEOSIRIS.

27-28.

30.4 × 74.8 (Frag. δ).

B.C. 113?

Part of another survey of land at Kerkeosiris, of a similar character to 84; cf. the introduction to that papyrus. The date of this document is illegible (cf. note on l. 1); but the survey must have been made not long before the 5th year (of Soter II), for entries relating to that year have been subsequently inserted with much consistency throughout the document. These later entries may be by the original or by a second hand; they briefly record any differences in tenure or rental which held good for the 5th year, or if no change had occurred the fact is noted with the words ε (ἔτους) ἴσον, or simply ἴσον. The papyrus, which is in two fragments, is very cursively written.

(a)

Col. i.

[^εΕ]τους . . . Μεχείρ. ἔστ(ι)ν ἡ γεγενη(μένη) εὐθυμε-
 [τρία κατ]ὰ περίχωμα τοῦ σπόρου καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ
 κληρουχ[ι]αῆς
 [τῆς καὶ τῆ]ς ἄλλης γῆς ἐν ἀφέσ{σ}ει Κερκευσίρεως.
 [.] τῆς κόμης ἀρχο(μένης) βορρᾶ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου λεγομένου νό(του)
 περιχά(ματος)

B b 2

- 5 [..... Μ[έ]ρωνος τ[ὴ]ν (πρότερον) Ζωπύρου (άρουραι) ιε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ',
αε ἀν(ὰ) δΛ, ιβ.
[.....]μουνης ζε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
ε (έτους, ἐν] κλήρου) Καλλούθου βε, λα(επαι) β.
[.....]νος εε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ' ι
10 ε] (έτους) ἴσα(ν).
[.....]ων Ἀπολλωνίου ιβ ι η ι
]α ι ε (έτους) Καλλούθου κλήρου) δε, καταλείπεται] ζε
ιγ, ἐλ(ασσου) α.
[.....]ουτου δε ἀν(ὰ) α. ε (έτους) ὑπαλά(γου) ε,
15 α]ε, / β, καταλείπεται) β.
[..... Ἡράκλ]ειος τοῦ Νικάνορος τὴν (πρότερον)
] ἀν(ὰ) γ. ε (έτους) ἴσα(ν).
[..... Πετερ]μοῦθις Μαρρέ(ο)υς ιβ ἀν(ὰ) εε ε (έτους) ἴσα(ν).
[.....]ς Ὀρου β ἀν(ὰ) βε
20 ε (έτους)] ἴσα(ν) ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.

Lines 6, 8, 12 from ι εε, 15, and all entries concerning the 5th year inserted later.
4. του inserted later. λεγομενου ... περιχ(εματος) above the line. 16. or of ηρακ]ειος
cott. from δου. νος of νικανορος cott. from ιου.

Col. ii.

- Π[ε]τευσσοράπις Ὀρου] ι ἀν(ὰ) δ[ε]Λγίβ'] μθς'.
Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολεμαίου ε. η ἀν(ὰ) βε κ, / ξθς'.
ε (έτους) Ὀρίων [.]. ι ἀν(ὰ) δε μ
Τεῶς ε [.]θς', πλ(εῖω?) (άρουραι) γ (ἀρτέβαι) κ.
25 νό(του) ἐχ(ομένης) ἀρχομένης ἀπ(ηλιώτου) Μαρρῆς Π[. . . .]ς α ἀν(ὰ)
δΛγίβ'. ε (έτους) ἴσα(ν).
λι(βδς) ἐχ(ομένης) ἀρχομένης βο(ρρᾶ) Πασήβις ^{μοῦτις} Φούντιος δε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
ε (έτους) ἴσα(ν).
λι(βδς) ἐχ(ομένης) Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολεμαίου ιβ, ι θ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ', γ ἀν(ὰ) α.
ε (έτους) σπέρ(ιμαι) ι.
λι(βδς) ἐχ(ομένης) Πετευσσοράπις Ὀρου γ ἀν(ὰ) βε.

- 30 λι(βδς) έχο(μένης) Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου ι ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ι ε (ἔτους) ἐν κλή(ρωι) Ψενή(σιος) ε, κα(ταλείπονται) ε ἀν(ὰ) (. . .).
 π[α]ρα(κειμένης) [. . . ()] έχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) λι(βδς) Ἡράκλειος Νικάνορος ε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ι ε (ἔτους) ἐν κλή(ρωι) Ψενή(σιος) γ, κα(ταλείπονται) βα(σιλικῆς) β. ἴσο(ν). ἀπη(λιώτου) έχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης)] βο(ρρᾶ) Μάρων Ἐρμῶνος δ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
- 35 νό(του) έχο(μένης) Πausανίας Ἀπολλωνίου δΛ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) [ἴσο(ν)].
 νό(του) έχο(μένης) Ἀρυάτου τῆ(σὺ) Ὀρσενούφιος θ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
 νό(του) έχο(μένης) Πετεσοῦχου Τεῶτος τὴν (πρότερον) Ἀρυάτου τοῦ Ὀρσενούφιος θ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
- 40 παρα(κειμένης) ἀπη(λιώτου) έχο(μένης) Μαρρῆς Ἰμούθου βΛ ἀν(ὰ) δΛ ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
 παρα(κειμένης) λι(βδς) έχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) Ἀπολλώνιος Σεριφίου ε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν):
 νό(του) έχο(μένης) Ἡράκλειος Νικάνορος δ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν). [νό(του)] έχο(μένης) Σεμβεύς [Ἀ]ρφοίπιος ιβ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ια. ἔλ(ασσον) α.
- 45 καὶ πάρεται κατ[ὰ] κατ() αΛ, ρμεΛ.

Lines 21-4, 28, 30 from ι ε, 31, 33, 45, and all entries concerning the 5th year inserted later. 34. ε before (ἔτους) corr.

Col. iii.

- νό(του) έχο(μένης) Μαρρέυς τοῦ Ἰμούθου δ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. [
 νό(του) έχο(μένης) Ψενῆσις Ὀρου ε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. [
 νό(του) έχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) λι(βδς) Πτολεμαῖος Θεῶνος ιε, ι ιβ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ', γ ἀν(ὰ) . . .
 νό(του) έχο(μένης) Ἀρυάτης Μαρρέους ε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. [
 50 νό(του) έχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) λι(βδς) Ἀπολλώνιος Λάγου ι ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
 ἀπη(λιώτου) έχο(μένης) Σεμβεύς Μαρρέ[ο]υς ε ἀν(ὰ) α. [
 παρα(κειμένης) λι(βδς) Μαρρῆς Ἰμούθου ε ἀν(ὰ) βΛ. [

- νό(του) έχο(μένης) ἀνά μέ(σον) διώρυ(γος) ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) Τεῶς Θοταρ-
θαίου [τῆς (πρότερον)]
· Πετεσοῦχου ε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ε [(ἔτους)]
55 νό(του) έχο(μένης) Ἀπολλοφάνης Ποπλίου ε ἀν(ὰ) δ [
λι(βὸς) έχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) Ἀρσιγῆσις Ὠρου ἱερᾶς Σούχου ζ [
νό(του) έχο(μένης) Ἀπολλωνίου Πτολεμαίου ἐφό(δου) τῶν μεταβ(ε)βηκότων)
εἰς [τὴν κατοικίαν) κδ.
νό(του) έχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) λι(βὸς) Πετεῆσις Φαήσιος δ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
ε [(ἔτους)]
ἀπη(λιώτου) έχο(μένου) ἀρχο(μένου) νό(του) Μάρ{ρ}ων Διονυσίου (ἐκατον-
τάουρος) κλή(ρου) ιε [
60 νό(του) έχο(μένης) Κέντις Ὠρου ε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. [
νό(του) έχο(μένης) Ἀρμυσις Πετσιρίσις γ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. [
νό(του) έχο(μένης) Πετεῆσις Ἀρχύψιος ζ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
νό(του) έχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) λι(βὸς) Πετεῆσις καὶ Κέντις β ἀν(ὰ) [δΛγίβ.
/ ιζ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ιε ἀν(ὰ) γ,
65 ἐλ(άσσω) (ἄρουραι) β (ἀρτάβαι) λ.

51. a corr. from δ. 56. λι(βος) corr. from νο(του). αρχο(μενης) . . . σουχου inserted later over an erasure. 57. των corr. 58-9. These two lines inserted later; between them is an erasure. In 58 αρχο(μενης) λι(βος) above the line. 64-5. These lines inserted later; also entries concerning the 5th year.

Col. iv ends of lines.

(δ)

Col. v.

- ἀπη(λιώτου) έχο(μένης) Πετεῆσις Ἀρχύψιος ζ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
ε (ἔτους) Μαρρῆς καὶ Φαγῆς β, ὑπολό(γου) αἰ λο(ιπαῖ) ε.
παρα(κειμένης) λι(βὸς) έχο(μένης) ἀν(ὰ) μέ(σον) διώρυ(γος) ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του)
Πτολεμαίου
τοῦ Διονυσοδώρου ε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
70 ε (ἔτους) χέ(ρσου) Λ, λο(ιπαῖ) ἐσπαρ(μένοι) δΛ.
βο(ρρᾶ) έχο(μένου) ἀρχο(μένου) λι(βὸς) Βρομεροῦ τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου (ὀγδοη-
κονταρούρου) κλή(ρου)
κειμένου ἐν συνκρίσει (ἄρουραι) π.

- ἀπη(λιώτου) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του) Περεῆσις Φαήσιος δ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
 ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
- 75 βο(ρῶ) ἔχο(μένης) Ἀρπαήσιος τοῦ Τοθέουσι καὶ με(τόχων) ς ἀνὰ δΛγίβ'.
 ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
- ἀπὸ λι(βδς) ι ἀν(ὰ) μέ(σον) διώρι(γος) Ἀρταβᾶς Πανταύχου ἐρη(μο)φύ(λαξ)
 (ἄρουραι) ι.
 ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
- βο(ρῶ) ἔχο(μένης) Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Θεώνος ε, ι βΛ
- 80 ἀν(ὰ) γ, βΛ ἀν(ὰ) α.
- βο(ρῶ) ἔχο(μένης) Ψενῆσιος τοῦ Ὠρου βΛ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- βο(ρῶ) ἔχο(μένης) Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Θεώνος θ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ', / ιςΛ.
 ε (ἔτους) ιε ἀν(ὰ) δ, ἐλ(άσσω) (ἄρουρα) αΛ (ἀρτάβαι) κβΛ.
- βο(ρῶ) ἔχο(μένης) Κατύτις Πανσίριος γΛ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
- 85 βο(ρῶ) ἔχο(μένης) Περευσοράπις Ὠρου β ἀν(ὰ) βΛ. ε (ἔτους) βΛ,
 πλ(είω) (ἀρούρας) Λ αδ'.
- ιπ(σκήφειω) βο(ρῶ) ἔχο(μένου) Βρομερὸς Ζηνοδώρου ἐν συ(γκρίσει) κλ(ήρου) ε.
 βο(ρῶ) ἐχ(όμενος) κλ(ήρος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἄρουραι) ιε, / κ. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
 παρα(κειμένης) λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) Σισ[ο]ύχου τοῦ Κολλούθου καὶ με(τόχων)
 η ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
- 90 ε (ἔτους) ζΛ ἀν(ὰ) γ, ἐλ(άσσω) (ἀρούρας) Λ (ἀρτάβαι) ιςΛ.
 ἕως ὁδοῦ καὶ βορῶ καὶ λιβδς.

Line 86 and all entries concerning the 5th year inserted later; also probably / ιςΛ in l. 82 and / κ in l. 88. 68. αρχο(μένης) νο(του) over an erasure. 77. αρταβας πα over an erasure. 79. βΛ over α(α), followed by an erasure.

Col. vi.

- ἀπὸ λι(βδς) ι ἀν(ὰ) μέ(σον) οὔσης διώρι(γος) ἀρχ(όμενος) νό(του) Φιλοξένου
 Καλλικράτου
 (ὄγδοηκονταρούρου) κλ(ήρος) λβ. [[/ἀποβιαζομένης ἐν συ(γκρίσει) (ἄρουραι) δ]]
 παρα(κειμένης) ἀπη(λιώτου) ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του) Βρομερὸς Ζηνοδώρου ἐν
 συ(γκρίσει) (ἄρουραι) ιγ, ι
- 95 ἀποβιαζομένης γ.
- βο(ρῶ) ἔχο(μένης) Δημήτριος Νιβόλτου τῆν (πρότερον) Θεώνος δ ἀν(ὰ) βΛ.
 ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).

- βορρά) έχομένης Πετευσοράπιος τοῦ Ὀρου δ ἀν(ὰ) βλ. ε (ἔτους) γ
ἀν(ὰ) γ,
ἐλ(άσσω) (ἄρουρα) α (ἀρτάβη) α.
- 100 βορρά) έχομένης Ὀρίων Διονυσίου δ ἀν(ὰ) βλ. ε (ἔτους) ἴσον).
βορρά) έχομένης ἀρχομένης ἀπη(λιώτου) Ποσειδίππος ςλδ' ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'.
ε (ἔτους) ςδ',
ἐλ(άσσω) λ (ἀρτάβαι) βλ.
- λι(βδς) έχομένης ἀλμυρίδος λθ (ἔτους) Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δλ
ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'.
- γίνονται τοῦ περιχώματος) (ἄρουραι) υξςδ', / ἱερᾶς γῆς Σούχου
- 105 θεοῦ μεγάλου) (ἄρουραι) ε, (ὀγδοηκονταρούρων) ρε, (ἑκατονταρούρου) ι,
ἐφ(όδου) μεταβε(βηκότος) κδ, ἐφ(όδου) κδ,
ἐρη(μο)φύ(λακος) μεταβε(βηκότος) ι, / κλ(ηρουχικῆς) ρμγ, / ἱερᾶς καὶ
κλ(ηρουχικῆς) ρμη.
ἄλλαι σπόριμοι) τηδ', / ὑπολό(γου) λθ (ἔτους) ἀλ{λ}μυρίδος) δλ (ἀρτάβαι)
κβς',
λο(ιπαὶ) τυγλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) ἈΣξδλγίβ', / Σγλγ' ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' τηθλγ',
ιθ ἀν(ὰ) δ (ἀρτάβαι) ος, ζ ἀν(ὰ) γ (ἀρτάβαι) κα, νγλ ἀν(ὰ) βλ (ἀρτάβαι)
ρλζλδ',
- 110 δ ἀν(ὰ) β (ἀρτάβαι) η, κα ἀν(ὰ) α (ἀρτάβαι) κα.
τοπ(ο)γρ(αμματέως) Θέωνος ιβλ, / Πετειμίτου ι, Τεσενούφι[ος] βλ.

Lines 99 and 102 and all entries concerning the 5th year inserted later. 93. / απο-
βασομένης . . . δ enclosed in brackets. 101. αρχο(μένης) απη(λιώτου) above the line.
104. ξ of υξς corr. from ς. After σουχου an erasure. 107. β of κβς over an erasure.
111. First ι of πετειμτου corr. from ρ(?).

Col. vii.

- ἀπὸ λι(βδς) / ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ βορρά περιχώματι) ἀρχομένης) β[ο]ρρά
Κατύτις καὶ ὁ μέτοχος) θ ἀν(ὰ) γ. ε (ἔτους) η, ἐλ(ασσον) α.
νό(του) έχομένης) Πᾶσις Πετοσίριος γ ἀν(ὰ) γ. ε (ἔτους) γλ.
- 115 παρακειμένης) λι(βδς) ἀν(ὰ) μέ(σον) ὀδοῦ) ἀρχομένης) νό(του) Πετερμούθου
τοῦ Μαρρείους
ἱεραὶ Σοχεὺς [[β]] γ. [[ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ']]

- βα(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Νουμήνιος Ἀπολλωνίου ς ἀν(ὰ) β. ε (ἔτους) ς ἀν(ὰ) δ,
πλ(είω) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ.
- βα(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Ἀμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου ἱερᾶς Σούχου βλ,
120 ἕως ὁδοῦ βορρᾶ.
παρα(κειμένης) λι(βδς) ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Φαίδρου ιζ
ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'. ἴσο(ν).
- νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) Ὠρου τοῦ Πετοσίριος ς ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'. ἴσο(ν).
- νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) Κολλούθου τοῦ Ὠρου ς ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ': ἴσο(ν).
- νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) Ἐριέως τοῦ Τοθέους ε ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'. ἴσο(ν).
- 125 νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) λι(βδς) Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου θ, ι γ
ἀν(ὰ) δλ,
ς ἀν(ὰ) γδ'. ἴσο(ν).
- ἀπη(λιώτου) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) βο(ρρᾶ) ἱερᾶς γῆς Σούχου θεοῦ με(γάλου)
(ἀρουραι) ε. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
- νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) ἀπη(λιώτου) Πετεμοῦνις καὶ ὁ μέ(τοχος) δ
ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
- ἀπὸ λι(βδς) ι ἀν(ὰ) μέ(σον) οὔσης διώρυ(γος) ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του) Ἐριέως
τοῦ Τοθέους
- 130 (ἀρουραι) βλ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).
- βα(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Κολλούθου τοῦ Ὠρου βλ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).

Line 118 inserted later; also ἴσο(ν) in line 126, and all entries concerning the 5th year.
113. καυτις over an erasure. 115. α(α) με(σον) written over εχο(μένης). 116. αι of
ιραι rewritten. 125. γ corr. from ς (?).

Col. viii.

- ἱπο(πέμειος) βο(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Πάσιτος τοῦ Πετοσίριος γ ἀν(ὰ) γ.
- ἵπ(ολόγου?) βο(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Πετεχῶν Πετεχῶντος ζ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'. ε (ἔτους)
ς, ι γ ἀν(ὰ) γ,
γ ἀν(ὰ) βλ.
- 135 παρα(κειμένης) νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) Νεπορφρῆς Ὠρου δ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'. ε
(ἔτους) δλ ἀν(ὰ) δ,
ἔλ(ασσον) (ἀρτάβη) αβ'.
- νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) λι(βδς) Δίδυμος βλ ἀν(ὰ) δ. ε (ἔτους) ἴσο(ν).

- ἀπη(λιώτου) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) βα(ρρᾶ) Πετεσοῦχου τοῦ Ὀρου β ἀν(ὰ)
 α. ε (ἔτους) ἴσα(ν).
 νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) ἀπη(λιώτου) Πετεσοῦχος Ὀνωφριος δ ἀν(ὰ)
 δ. ε (ἔτους) ἴσα(ν).
- 140 λα(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) Ἐρμίου τοῦ Ἐρμίου δ ἀν(ὰ) δ. ε (ἔτους) ἴσα(ν).
 λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) βα(ρρᾶ) Πετεσοράπιος τοῦ Ὀρου ς ἀν(ὰ) βΛ.
 ε (ἔτους) ς ἀν(ὰ) δ, πλ(είω) (ἀρτάβαι) θ.
 νό(του) ἔχο(μένης) ἱερά γῆι Σούχου (θεοῦ) με(γάλου) διὰ Πετεσοῦχου δ,
 ἕως ὁδοῦ νότου.
- 145 ἀπὸ νό(του) ἕως τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰβίωνα τῶν (Ἐικοσιπενταρούρων) νότου,
 ἀρχο(μένης) ἀπὸ κληρουχικῆς ἐφόδων Πτολεμαίου Νίκωνος ς,
 λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) Φαίδρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ς ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
 παρα(κειμένης) βα(ρρᾶ) Ἐρμων Ἀπολλωνίου γ ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
 παρα(κειμένης) βα(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Διονυσίου δ ἀν(ὰ) γ.
- 150 βα(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Φαίδρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου β ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ'.
 βα(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου δ ἀν(ὰ) γδ', / ι (ἀρτάβαι) λε.
 ε (ἔτους) ἐν κλήρωι Ἀρψάλιος [[ζ]] ςΛ (ἀρτάβαι) λβΛ, βα(σιλικῆς) δ
 (ἀρτάβαι) κ, / ιΛ (ἀρτάβαι) νβΛ, πλ(είω) Λ (ἀρτάβαι) ιζΛ.
 βα(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Παλλαμόνιος τοῦ Ὀρου δ ἀν(ὰ) δ.
 ε (ἔτους) ἴσα(ν).

Line 136 inserted later; also / ι (ἀρτάβαι) in l. 151, and all entries concerning the 5th year.

Col. ix beginnings of lines.

1. There are apparently traces of more than one letter after [ε]τους. The number of the year which is expected is certainly δ on account of the added entries relating to the 5th year; but it is hardly possible to reconcile the vestiges with a single large δ. Perhaps there was some correction. Above this line in the margin a different hand has twice written (ἴτους) αδ; but it is impossible that this can be the date of the survey.

2-3. τῆς ἱερᾶς κ.τ.λ.: for this classification cf. 5. 194, 68. 2-3. κληρουχικῆς was originally omitted, and added above the line. It is uncertain what stood in the lacuna; there is scarcely room for [τῆς και τη]. On land ἐν ἀφίσει cf. note on 5. 37. It is remarkable that the βασιλικῆ seems to be omitted in this heading, unless indeed σπόρον is meant to indicate the crops of the βασιλικῆ in particular.

8. ἐν κλήρωι: cf. ll. 12, 30, 33, and 152, where pieces of land cultivated by βασιλικῶ γεωργοί are similarly stated to be in certain κλήρωι. A comparison with 61. (δ) 74 suggests that these κλήρωι had been confiscated, and subsequently leased to cultivators like ordinary βασιλικῆ γῆ; and this hypothesis would suit one case fairly well, that of Psenesis, who might

be identified with the Psenesis son of Psenesis mentioned in 61. (δ) 115, though the difficulty arises that he owned only $6\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, whereas 8 arourae are here said to be *ἐν κλήρῳ Ψενήσιος* (cf. ll. 30 and 33), while Kollouthes (ll. 8 and 12) and Harpsalis (l. 152) are names of cleruchs who are found in possession of their usual holdings in a survey list of the 5th year or later (65). But Kollouthes and Harpsalis here may well be different from the persons of those names found in the survey lists; and to suppose that the land *ἐν κλήρῳ* was really *κληρουχική* leads to still greater difficulties.

11-2. The figures of these two lines are confused; the $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $7\frac{1}{2}$ in l. 12 will together make up the 12 mentioned in l. 11, but the intervening numbers are very unintelligible.

26. Φούντιος has been altered to Φμοίτος, but what was originally written has not been crossed through.

45. The meaning of this note is that $1\frac{1}{2}$ arourae had been omitted, and that the total number of arourae so far was $145\frac{1}{2}$. Not including the four lines in the margin of col. ii (ll. 21-4) the number of arourae for the year in which the survey was drawn up is 141; but one figure is lost in l. 17, and this probably made up the difference.

53. ἀνὰ μί(σον) διάρυγος: οὐσης is to be supplied; cf. l. 92.

55. Ποπλίου: or Ποπαίου; in either case the name seems to be Roman.

56. The rent is as a rule not stated in the case of *ἱερά γῆ*; cf. ll. 116, 127, 143, and 84. 74, note.

59. ιε: in l. 105 only 10 arourae are attributed to the *ἐκατοντάρουρος*; one of the two figures is wrong, more probably the latter, for this land seems to correspond to the first *σφραγίς* in 105. 13, which contained 15 arourae; cf. note *ad loc.* and 61. (α) 8.

64. The total ιζ is arrived at by the addition of the items given in the preceding four lines. It is natural at first sight to suppose that it represents the sum of the various plots of Peteësis and Kentis; but they are not stated to have held any other land in common, and the amounts of their separate holdings do not make 17 arourae; cf. notes on ll. 82 and 151.

67. In the 5th year Marres and Phaiës cultivated 2 of these 7 arourae previously leased by Peteësis, the remainder having for some reason become part of the unproductive land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*; cf. l. 70, &c.

71-2. Βρομεροῦ τοῦ Ζηροδώρου . . . (ἀρουραι) π: the numeral π must be wrong, since Bromerus was an *ὄγδοηκοντάρουρος* who owned only 40 arourae at Kerkeosiris, and other land belonging to his *αἴλιος* is mentioned in ll. 87, 88, and 94. If the figures in these later lines and the 32 in l. 93 are correct, π should be λ according to the total for *ὄγδοηκοντάρουροι* in l. 105. On *κειμένου ἐν συγκρίσει* cf. l. 93, note.

75. με(τόχων): or possibly τ(οῦ) με(τόχου), here and in l. 89; cf. ll. 113 and 128.

76. In l. 106 Artabas is more correctly described as *ἐρη(μο)φύ(λακος) μεταβε(θηκότος)*; cf. 62. 95 and p. 550.

82. The total $16\frac{1}{2}$ cannot refer, as would be expected, to the land of Ptolemaeus son of Theon, for he has been previously mentioned only in l. 79, the total amount of his land being 14 arourae. The additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ are obtained from the intervening l. 81; we must suppose that it was for some reason convenient to treat this piece of land as a whole, though it was not leased by one person; cf. ll. 64 and 151. The difference of $22\frac{1}{2}$ artabae between the rents of this and the 5th year is apparently obtained by reckoning the whole $16\frac{1}{2}$ arourae at a rent of 5, although the rent of the 5 arourae mentioned in l. 79 was considerably lower than this.

87. Cf. l. 71, note. On the meaning of the abbreviation in the margin opposite this line cf. 84. 206, note.

91. This line gives the limit reached by the survey so far; cf. ll. 120, 144.

93. ἀποβιαζομένη: cf. l. 95, where 3 out of 13 arourae *ἐν συγκρίσει* belonging to

the κλήρος of Bromerus son of Zenodorus are described as ἀποβιαζομένης, and 61. (a) 20-9, note. The ἀποβιαζομένη was the σπόριμος which had been assigned instead of χέρισος.

103. ἀμυρίδος λθ (ἔτους): i. e. land placed on the ὑπόλογος list in or before that year. From this passage which mentions the name of the γεωργός and the rent it might be inferred that the land had now been leased; but l. 107, where this land is deducted from the σπόριμος, makes it more probable that Apollonius was the lessee before the land was placed ἐν ὑπολόγῳ, and the $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae were the previous rent.

104-11. These lines give a summary of the land contained in the περίχωμα of which the survey has just been completed. The land is arranged under two main heads: (1) ἱερὰ καὶ κληρουχική, the latter of which is divided up according to the different classes of κληρούχοι; (2) βασιλική, classified according to its quality as expressed in the different rents obtained for it. From (2) is subtracted the land of Apollonius ἐν ὑπολόγῳ (cf. l. 103, note). The holding mentioned in l. 111 as belonging to the topogrammateus Theon stands by itself, and is to be compared with the land assigned to Menches (65. 17 sqq., cf. 9. introd.). Theon was probably topogrammateus in some other district than that of Kerkeosiris, where the office was at this time held by Marres (cf. introd. to 41); it is, however, possible that Marres was replaced for a short period by Theon. There are several mistakes in the totals here given. The ἱερὰ γῆ of Suchus is 2 arourae less than the area stated in l. 56. The 24 arourae of an ephodus mentioned in l. 105 were no doubt described in the missing fourth column; but the items of the cleruchic land in ll. 105-6 make 168 arourae, not 148, and the figure 10 for the ἐκατοντάρουρος is inconsistent with that in l. 59; cf. note *ad loc.* In l. 108, 999 $\frac{3}{8}$ should be 1001 $\frac{3}{8}$, and 137 $\frac{3}{8}$ in l. 109 should be 133 $\frac{3}{8}$.

116. Σοχεύς: i. e. Σούχου.

143. In the left margin against this line and l. 146 is an oblique dash.

145. ἴστου at the end of the line is probably corrupt. With τῶν supply πεδίων. Ibion was really on the north-west of Kerkeosiris; cf. 17. 5, note.

146. ἀρχο(μένης) ἀπὸ κληρουχικῆς: the survey makes a fresh start from the lands belonging to Ibion, beginning from the κλήρος of Ptolemaeus son of Nicon, an ephodus of that village.

148. In the right-hand margin opposite this line are the words αἰτεῖν φαῖ(σιν) Ἄρου(ἴστου) but it is uncertain whether they refer to this or to the following column.

151. The totals 10 and 35 are the sums of the items given in this and the two preceding lines, which for some reason are treated together; cf. ll. 64 and 82. The 35 artabae are $\frac{1}{8}$ in excess of the exact amount.

152. ἐν κλήρωι: cf. note on l. 8.

86. LAND SURVEY AT ARSINOË.

23.3.

27.5 × 29.6 cm.

Late second century B. C.

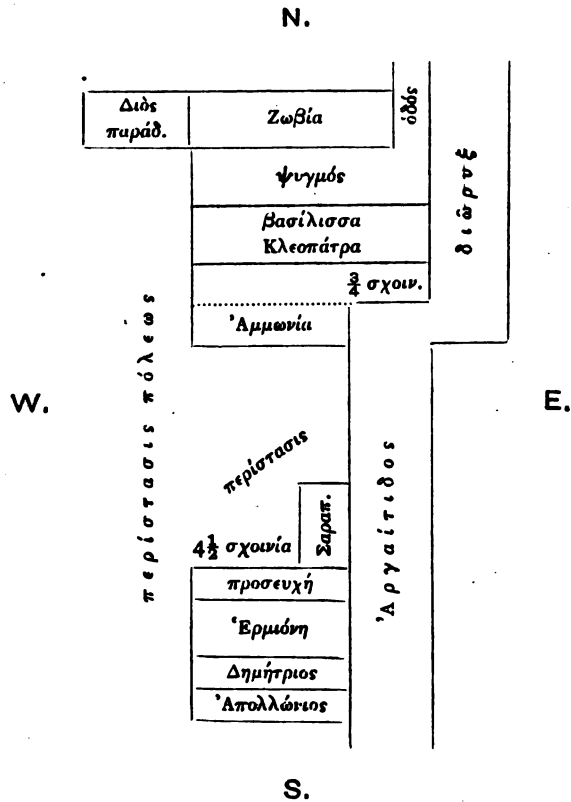
Part of another survey list, but of a rather more detailed character than the two preceding, and relating to land in the immediate vicinity of Crocodilopolis-Arsinoë. This is shown not only by mentions of the πόλις or the περίστασις τῆς πόλεως (cf. ll. 2, 6, 24, &c.), but by an explicit reference in the mutilated first column to Κροκο(δέλων) πό(λις). The land with which the survey

is concerned lay to the east of the city, the *περίσταςις* wherever it is mentioned being on the west side. The order of the survey is from south to north and the belt of land under consideration was quite narrow, being bounded on the east by the Ἀργαίτιδος διώρυξ, an important canal which is also mentioned in 150 and 164. The adjoining areas are added to the descriptions of the pieces of land, and dimensions in the style of those in 87 are sometimes included. A great many figures in a minute hand have at some later time been inserted in the margins and between the lines. These are printed in thick type; their reference and meaning is often very doubtful.

The list is interesting on account of occasional mentions of buildings. It is instructive to find at Arsinoë in the second century B. C. a Jewish synagogue, which here appears as owning nearly 4 arourae of garden-land just outside the city (ll. 18–22; cf. ll. 17 and 29). We also hear of land belonging to Queen Cleopatra (ll. 25, 39, 41), of a bath (ll. 4, 9), reservoirs (ll. 15, 43, 50), a temple of Suchus (l. 35), a fuller's drying-place (ll. 45, 51), a pigeon-house (l. 15), 'monuments' (? ll. 15, 36, 50), besides the usual embankments, canals, &c. Parts of three more much-damaged columns from another part of the papyrus are also preserved, but are not worth printing. On the *verso* of these is a large official document of some kind, but it is hopelessly mutilated and defaced. A *συγγενὴς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος* is mentioned, without his province being stated. The *verso* of cols. i–iii contains a column of another survey list in a style similar to 87, mentioning τὰ περὶ Ταλλί πε(δία), with the ends and beginnings of lines of adjoining columns. We give on p. 382 a rough diagram of the land surveyed in 86, which will serve to elucidate the meaning of the chief technical terms used in this class of documents.

The land of Demetrius was βορρᾶ ἐχομένη to that of Apollonius and νότου ἐχομένη to that of Hermione, or in other words the land of Apollonius was its south γείτων and that of Hermione its north. After measuring the προσευχὴ Ἰουδαίων the survey passes to the little piece of land owned by Sarapion which in relation to the προσευχὴ was βορρᾶ ἐχομένη εἰσβαλνουσα λιβός for $4\frac{1}{2}$ schoenia (cf. l. 24), that is to say it receded on its own west side a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ schoenia from the west corner of the προσευχὴ, i. e. the περίσταςις came $4\frac{1}{2}$ schoenia further east than it had done in the case of the προσευχὴ. The survey omits the portion of the περίσταςις between the land of Sarapion and that of Ammonia and proceeds northwards (l. 32, πρὸς βορρᾶ ἀνὰ (μέσον) οὔσης περιστάσεως) to the land of Ammonia, starting from its south (ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του), l. 33). At some point along the land of Ammonia the canal made a bend to the east; accordingly this area is surveyed in two parts, of which the northern and larger portion ἐγβαλνεί ('projects') on its own east along the canal for $\frac{3}{4}$ schoenion (l. 37).

After the land of Queen Cleopatra the survey reaches another uncultivated area, the fuller's drying-place, which it omits, and again proceeds *πρὸς βο(ρῶ)* to the land of Zobia, the east boundary of which was a road leading along the canal into the *ψυγμός*. The relation of the road to the land of Zobia would be described as *παρακειμένη ἀπηλιώτου ἐχομένη* (cf. 84. 32).



Col. ii.

γε[ίτονες] νό(του)] . . τα . . βο(ρῶ) Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ πρὸς
 ταῖς ἀνακρί(σεσι) λι(βὸς) [πε]ρί[στ]ασις πόλεως ἀπηλιώτου Ἄργα(ίτιδος)
 διώρυ(ξ).
 [βο(ρῶ) ἐχ]ομένης Ἀ[πο]λλωνίου τοῦ πρὸς τα[ῖς ἀ]νακρίσει εἰ τὸ (πρότερον)

Δ ^{χω(μα) δ̄ ἴστι} ας τῆς Πύρρου εἰσαγωγῶ τοῦ λεγομένου βαλα(νείου)
 5 $\llbracket \] \dots \dots \dots \llbracket \]$ ὀήίς' ^{χω(ματος)} $\Delta\eta$
 γεί(τονες) νό(του) ^{βΛη'ί'ε'ε'ε'} ἱερᾶς ^ββορᾶ Δημή(τριος) ^βΘρα(κὸς) λι(βὸς) ^βπερίστασις
 ^πό(λεως)
 ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀργαίτιδος ^{αΔη'ί'ε'ε'ε'} διῶρυ(ξ). ^{ί'ε'κ'β'ε'ε'}
 βορᾶ) ^βἐχομένης Δημή(τριος) ^βΘρα(κὸς) τὸ (πρότερον) Μικίωνος
^{αΔ'ί'ε'} βα(σιλικῆς) ^βχέ(ρσου) δλδ'ή, ^βί ἐκχύ(σεως) Ἰππωνος βαλα(νείου) δλ,
 10 $\llbracket \]$ εἰσαγωγῶ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) βα(σιλικῆς) ὀήί'. ^{αη'ί'ε'κ'β' αΔ'η' ὀ'ί'ε' η'κ'β' . . . ὀ'ε'κ'β'}
 ^{Δη'ί'ε'κ'β'} γεί(τονες) νό(του) Ἀπολλωνίου εἰσαγωγῶ ^{αΔ}βορᾶ ^{εΔ}Ἐρμιόνη ^{εΔη'ί'ε'ε'ε'} χέ(ρσου)
^{γΔη'ί'ε'} λι(βὸς) ^βπερίστασις τῆς ^βπό(λεως) ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀργαίτιδος διῶρυ(ξ)

^ββορᾶ) ^βἐχομένης Ἐρμιόνη ^βἈπολλωνίδου ^βἱερᾶς ^βπαρα(δείσου)
 15 $\llbracket \]$ εδ'ήίς'κ'β', ^βί ὑποδο(χείου) ^βδ', ^βπεριστε(ρῶνος) ^βἐρή(μου) ^βκ'β',
 ^βμνη() ^βίς',
 ^{αδ'η'}
 α[. . .] χέ(ρσου) εή. ^βγεί(τονες) νό(του) Δημητρίου ^βΘρα(κὸς) ^βχέ(ρσος) ^ββορᾶ)
^βπροσευ(χη) ^βλι(βὸς) ^βπερίστασις ^βπό(λεως) ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀργαίτιδος διῶρυ(ξ).
 ^{αΔ'ί'ε'κ'β'} βορᾶ) ^βἐχομένης ^{αΔη'ί'ε'ε'ε'} προσευχῆς ^{κβ'η'}Ἰουδαίων ^{αΔη'ί'ε'κ'β'} διὰ ^βΠερτῶλλου
^βδιὰ ^βμισθωτοῦ ^βΠετεσούχου ^βτοῦ ^βΜαρρήους
 20 ἱερᾶς ^βπαρα(δείσου) ^βγλδ'ίς', ^β[σ]τεφά(νοισ) ^βκαὶ ^βλαχά(νοισ)
 ^{αΔ}.
^βγεί(τονες) νό(του) Ἐρμιόνης ^βτῆς ^βἈπολλωνίδου ^ββορᾶ) ^βκαὶ ^βλι(βὸς)
^βπερίστασις ^βτῆς ^βπό(λεως) ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀργαίτιδος διῶρυ(ξ).
^ββορᾶ) ^βἐχομένη) ^βἐισβαί(νουσα) ^βλι(βὸς) ^βπαρὰ ^βτὴν ^βπό(λιν) ^βσχοι(νίου) ^βδλ
 25 Σαραπίων ^βὁ ^βπαρὰ ^βτῆς ^ββα(σιλίσσης) ^βἱερὰ ^βα, ^βί ^βοίκιων
 ^βἐρή(μων) ^βλ, ^βἐρή(μου) ^βλ. $\llbracket \]$
 ^{ιη}. ^{κβ'η'} ^βκ'β', ^βλβ'ί'ε'κ'β'

1. The letter or letters after . . τα corr. from β. 4. λεγο(μενου) corr. from β. 9. δ after βαλα(κειου) corr. from β. 18. πε of περτολλου corr. (?). 20. π of παρα(δισου) corr. from δ; also the γ following. 25. ο παρα της βα(σιλισσης) above σκελιδα, which is crossed through.

Col. iii.

β . . . [. . .] . α . [

γεί(τονες) νό(του) προσευχῆς Ἰουδαίων βο(ρρᾶ) [καὶ λι(βδς) περίστα(σις) πό(λεως)

30 ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀργαίτιδος διῶρυ(ξ),
 ἕως περιστάσεως πό(λεως) βο(ρρᾶ). [
 πρὸς βορρᾶ ἢ ἀνὰ (μέσον) οὔσης περιστάσεως πό(λεως)
 ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του) Ἀμμωνία Ἀπολλοφάνους
 ιαλ, ἢ εἰσαγωγῶ τοῦ Σακον() τοῦ

35 ἐν τῷ Σουχειῶι κολαβη() Λ, [
 μνη() δ', φρέ(ατος) ἦ, ἐρή(μου) ιλῆ. βδ' ἦ ἰς [
 βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχο(μένης) ἐγβαι(νούσης) ἀπη(λιώτου) παρὰ τὴν διῶρυ(γα) σχοι(νίου)
 ἔδ' [

γῆ ἰς $\frac{\beta\lambda}{\beta}$ γδ' ἦ ἰς, / ζδ' ἦ ἰς ἔδ'.

γεί(τονες) νό(του) καὶ λι(βδς) περίστασις πό(λεως) βο(ρρᾶ) βασιλ[ίσσης
 Κλεο(πάτρας)

40 ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀργαίτιδος διῶρυ(ξ). [. []
 βλ

βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχο(μένης) βα[σ]ιλίσ[σ]ης Κλεοπάτρας αἰ
 ὑποδο(χείου) λ, χέ(ρσου) δλ, λαχα(νείας) ε· μι(σθωται) Διοῦ
 Πα[σ]ίτος καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι). γεί(τονες) νό(του) Ἀμμωνίας

45 Ἀπολλοφάνου(ς) χέ(ρσου) βο(ρρᾶ) ψυγμοῦ (γ)ναφέ(ων) λι(βδς) περίσ-
 τα(σις) πό(λεως) ἀπη(λιώτου) Ἀργαίτιδος διῶρυ(ξ). $\begin{matrix} \eta' \iota' \epsilon' \\ \delta' \iota' \epsilon' \lambda' \beta \\ \eta' \lambda' \beta' \epsilon' \delta \\ \alpha \lambda \lambda' \beta \end{matrix}$

πρὸς βο(ρρᾶ) ἢ ἀνὰ (μέσον) τοῦ προγεγραμμένου) ψυγμοῦ [
 ἀρχο(μένης) ἀπη(λιώτου) Ζωβία Ἡγήτορο(ς)

5Λδ'ή'χ'β' αΛ $\frac{\delta\lambda\iota\zeta'}{0}$ ο [/ 5Λδ'ή'χ'β', λ.

50 ὑποδο(χείου) Λή, μνη() δ', λαχα(νείας) δ, χέ(ρσου) [β'χ'β'.
 γεί(τονες) νό(του) ψυγμοῦ γναφέ(ων) βο(ρρά) ὑποδο(χείου) δ [λι(βδς)
 Διδς παρά(δειςος) ἀπη(λιώτου) ὁδός.

.. Μαρρής Περμούθιος [

[[: : :]]
 Λδ'

33. αμμωνια corr. from απολλωνια. 38. ζ corr.

1-2. ὁ πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρ[ι(σεσι): cf. l. 3. The second α is written above the ν as though there were two words; but γναφέ(ων) in ll. 45 and 51 is written in the same way. This judicial office is not known from other sources.

6. Θράξ as a proper name occurs in 121. 17.

15. μνη(), which recurs in ll. 36 and 50, suggests μνήμα or μνημείον.

17. προσευ(χή): sc. Ἰουδαίων, as in ll. 18 and 29.

20. The application of the term *ιερά* to the land of the synagogue is remarkable. It can hardly imply official recognition of the Jewish religious establishment. Possibly the land was *ιερά γῆ* leased by the *προσευχή Ἰουδαίων* and cultivated by Petesuchus; cf. l. 14, where Hermione is apparently both lessee and cultivator of *ιερά γῆ*.

[σ]τεφά(νοῦ): cf. P. Petrie II. 27. (1) 7.

25. βα(σιλίσσης): cf. ll. 39 and 42; ὁ παρά shows that the allusion is to the reigning queen. *ιερά* perhaps means that this land had been dedicated to her as goddess.

31. This line marks the conclusion of a section of the survey; cf. 85. 91, 120, and 124.

36. The 11½ arourae of Ammonia was divided into two pieces, the larger containing 7¾ arourae (l. 38). The figures βδ'ή'ζ' are probably the first of a diagram similar to that in l. 37 and give one side of the smaller plot, of which the area was 4¾ arourae.

38. On the diagrams in land surveys see 87. introd.

47. ἀνά (μέσον): sc. ὄντος; cf. l. 32.

53. Μαρρής Περμούθιος (for Πετερμούθιος?) seems to be the name of the cultivator of the preceding piece of land. Before Μαρρής is what looks like the figures αΛ on a small piece of papyrus which seems to fit in here. They were perhaps a later addition like many others in this papyrus; cf. introd.

87. VILLAGE SURVEY LIST.

27.15.

30 x 66.5 cm.

Late second century B. C.

The two Kerkeosiris survey lists (84 and 85) contain the orientation of the different farms, together with the area, and, in the case of βασιλική γῆ, the rent at which they were leased; to this is often added the description

C C

of the crop or the reasons for which the land was not under cultivation, as well as details concerning roads, canals or drains which passed through or bordered upon the land under consideration. In the following papyrus the process by which the area was obtained is also given. The lengths of the four sides are written down, separated by a horizontal line; the two numbers representing one pair of opposite sides are placed one at each end of the line, the two others being written above and below the line respectively. When two of the opposite sides are equal, one of the numbers is replaced by a dot. The unit of linear measurement is obviously the *σχοινίον* of 100 cubits, of which the square is the aroura; divisions of the *σχοινίον*, like those of the aroura, are denoted by fractions whose denominators are powers of 2, the numerator being, as usual, unity. The area is obtained, as pointed out by Kenyon, P. Brit. Mus. II. p. 129, by multiplying together half the sums of the pairs of opposite sides; but the inaccuracy of this method has not, we believe, been commented upon. If a, b, c, d , denote the four sides of a quadrilateral figure, the area as obtained by this method is $\frac{a+c}{2} \times \frac{b+d}{2}$, or $\frac{1}{4}(ab+bc+cd+da)$: the true area is $\frac{1}{4}(ab \sin \alpha + bc \sin \beta + cd \sin \gamma + da \sin \delta)$, where $\sin \alpha$ denotes the sine of the angle between the two consecutive sides a and b . The first of these expressions is necessarily greater than the second, except in the one case when all the angles are right angles, which can only happen when the numbers of both pairs of opposite sides are equal. In the majority of cases, however, this is not so; and, if the rule were rigidly applied, the area obtained by it would always be greater than the true area. In the calculations, however, fractions less than $\frac{1}{8}$ of an aroura are neglected, which may to some extent compensate for the defectiveness of the method employed. It is impossible for us without knowing the angles between the sides to estimate the amount of the error; but in the cases of the triangles (ll. 61 and 89) it does not exceed the area habitually neglected. This is due partly to the smallness of the triangles themselves, partly to the fact that one of the two is isosceles with a small vertical angle. The areas given in the papyrus differ very little from the maximum areas of quadrilaterals with the given sides; but it is extremely unlikely that the areas were really these maxima. The government was probably very well aware of the fact that the area could not be underestimated by this method, which was accordingly not only convenient for facility of computation, but profitable when the taxes were assessed. If we suppose that when the farms were originally assigned a more scientific system of measurement was adopted, and that the method under consideration was used in the annual surveys of the land under cultivation, we can explain why

the measured areas in 61. (b) 333 sqq. are always greater than the supposed areas of the holdings. In all cases where the dues were in proportion to the areas actually sown, the *διάφορον σχοιτισμοῦ* would be a source of profit to the government.

The village which is the subject of the present document is uncertain. It cannot have been Kerkeosiris, for neither the three *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* who occur, Pathebis son of Teephraius (l. 26), Sokonopis son of Tothoës (l. 85), and Basis son of Kollouthes (l. 49), nor the crocodile-god Phembroëris (l. 108) are found in 61-4. But it was no doubt in the immediate vicinity, for the *μάχιμοι*, like most of those at Kerkeosiris, belonged to the corps of Chomenis. The arrangement was by *περιχώματα* as in 84 and 85; the portion of the document that is preserved refers to the 4th and 5th (cf. note on l. 66).

Col. i.

λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του) ἐπικε(ιμένης) εἰς τὸ β (ἔτος) ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐν προσόδῳ β

Λδ'ή $\frac{\text{Λήίζ'}}{\text{ο}}$ / ἐπικε(ιμένης) Λίζ'Χβ'.

βο(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Πᾶσις Φεμβροήριος βα(σιλικῆς), μὴ εἶναι γράφει,

ο $\frac{\delta}{\text{ο}}$ Λδ'ή / ήίζ'Χβ', (πυρῶι).

5 βο(ρρᾶ) ἔχο(μένης) Πετεσοῦχος Ὀρσειῶς βα(σιλικῆς), μὴ εἶναι γράφει,

Λδ'ή $\frac{\delta'ήίζ'}{\delta'ή'Χβ'}$ ο / δ'ίζ'Χβ'. [/ . . .]

παρα(κειμένης) λι(βδς) ἔχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του) ἐπικε(ιμένης) τὸ λα(ιπὸν)
κεχω(ρισμένης) προσόδου

αδ'ίζ' $\frac{\alphaδ'ίζ'Χβ'}{\text{ο}}$ ο / αΛδ'Χβ'.

/ ἐπ[ι]κ[ε]ί[μ]ε[ν]ης κεχω(ρισμένης) βδ'ή.

Parts of 15 more lines.

Col. ii.

25 ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχόμενος εἰσβαίνων βο(ρῶ) παρὰ τὸν προγεγεω(μετρημένον)
(ἐπτάρουρον) κληῖρον σχοινίου αλδ'ή

κληῖρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χαμήνιος Παθήβις Τεεφραίου ελδ'

βδ'ή $\frac{\beta\delta'ή}{\beta\delta'ή'ίζ'}$ αλδ'ήχβ' / εή, ι (πυρῶι) δ

χό(ρτωι) αή.

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχομένης ἀρχομένης νύ(του) ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγεω(μετρημένου)
ὕδρα(γωγού)

30 τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) λδ' $\frac{o}{a}$ δ' / λ, / ελη, ι

(πυρῶι) δ χό(ρτωι) αή, γεω(ργός) αὐ(τός).

βο(ρῶ) ἐχόμενος εἰσβαίνων ἀπη(λιώτου) παρὰ τὴν προγεγεω(μετρημένην)
σχοινίου ή'ίζ'χβ'

ὕδρα(γωγός) χβ' $\frac{αδ'ήχβ'}$

βο(ρῶ) ἐχόμενος εἰσβαίνων λι(βός) παρὰ τὴν προγεγεω(μετρημένην) {ο}
ἀπη(λιώτου) ὁμοίως)

35 ὕδρα(γωγός) ————— / λ'ίζ'.

βο(ρῶ) ἐχομένης εἰσβαίνουσης λι(βός) παρὰ τὴν προγεγεω(μετρημένην)
διώρυγα)

ιεράς γῆς Σούχου Ἀσκλη(πιάδης) Θεά(ν)ρος ι

[.] ἀπη(λιώτου) ἀπὸ διώρυγος παρὰ ἀγεω(μέτρητα)

[βχβ'] $\frac{εήχβ'}{ε}$ ο / ιδ'ή'ίζ'χβ',

2 lines erased.

42] λ $\frac{αδ'}{o}$ ή / δ'ή

] ι (πυρῶι) β κα () ἐλ(αιῶνος) σπορα () β χε(ρσοῦ)

Ends of 2 lines.

25. ο of τω corr. from η. 35. ίζ' corr. from ή.

Col. iii.

46 λι(βδς) έχόμενος) είσβαίνων) βο(ρρᾶ) παρὰ τὸν προγεγεω(μετρημένον)
ύδρα(γωγὸν)

ἀρχόμενος) ἀπη(λιώτου) κλη(ῆρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χο(μήνιος) Παθῆβις Τεεφραίου
τὸ λο(ιπὸν)

$$5\lambda\delta' \alpha\delta' \frac{\alpha\eta' \acute{\iota}\zeta'}{0} \alpha / \alpha\delta' \acute{\iota}\zeta', (\text{πυρῶι}).$$

λι(βδς) έχόμενος) ἀρχόμενος) νό(του) κλη(ῆρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χο(μήνιος) Βῆσις
Κολλούθου 5λ, βα(σιλικῆς) λδ'ή'ί'ζ'χ'β', / ζδ'ή'ί'ζ'χ'β',

50 ἀν(ὰ) δλ 5λ'ή'ί'ζ'χ'β' $\frac{\alpha\eta' \acute{\iota}\zeta'}{\alpha\delta' \acute{\iota}\zeta'}$ 5η'ί'ζ'χ'β' / η, πλ(είω) λχ'β',
μελα(νθίωι), γεω(ργὸς) αὐ(τός).

βο(ρρᾶ) έχο(μένης) ἐγβαίνουσης) ἀπη(λιώτου) παρὰ τὸν προγεγεω(μετρημένον)
(ἐπτάρουρον) κλη(ῆρον) σχοι(νίου) δ'ί'ζ'

κεχω(ρισμένης) προσόδου διὰ τῶν αὐ(τῶν) γῆ

$$5\lambda\chi\beta' \frac{\delta' \eta' \acute{\iota}\zeta' \chi\beta'}{\lambda\chi\beta'} 5\lambda\delta' / \gamma\delta' \acute{\iota}\zeta', \iota$$

55 φα(κῶι) α μελα(νθίωι) βδ'ί'ζ'.

βο(ρρᾶ) έχόμενος) ύδρα(γωγὸς) ί'ζ'.

βο(ρρᾶ) έχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) λι(βδς) Χαλῆς Πάσιτος βα(σιλικῆς) β ἀν(ὰ) α

$$\lambda\delta' \frac{0}{\beta\delta'} \lambda\delta' \eta' / \alpha[\lambda]\delta' \acute{\iota}\zeta' \chi\beta', \text{μελα(νθίωι)}.$$

ἀπη(λιώτου) έχο(μένης) κεχω(ρισμένης) προσόδου διὰ τῶν αὐ(τῶν) θλδ'ή'

60 5 $\frac{\alpha\lambda\delta' \eta'}{\beta\delta'}$ ελ'η' / ιαλδ'ή'ί'ζ'χ'β'ξ'δ'.

ἀπη(λιώτου) έχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του) ἠ'ί'ζ' $\frac{[\cdot \cdot] \eta'}{\alpha[\cdot]}$ οὐ(θεν) / ἠ'χ'β',

/ θλδ'ή'ί'ζ'χ'β'.

/ θλδ'ή'ί'ζ'χ'β', ι {ι} χ(άρτωι) γ κα(τανενεμημένοι) ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἄσκλη(πιάδου) τοῦ Θέω(νος)

προβά(των), μελανθει(ωι) 5λδ'ή'ί'ζ'χ'β', πλ(είω) ί'ζ'χ'β'.

βο(ρρᾶ) έχο(μένης) ἀπὸ [τ]οῦ χώ(ματος) σχοι(νίου) δ'

65 β(ορῶ) ἐχόμενος ε[. β]α(λῶν) λι(βὸς) παρὰ τὴν προγεγραμμένην
σχο(νίου) ὑδρα(γωγὸς) α.

/ δ.

47. ἀρχ(ομενος) ἀση(λιωτου) above the line. 48. Before (πυρῶι) an erasure. 49.
χο(μενος) το(του) above the line. 50. ω(α) δL above the line. 52. τον corr. from τησ.
58. μ of μελα(νθιωι) over β of λβ. 59. β of λβ over erasure of ι. 62. κα(τασσεμμη-
μεναι) above the line.

Col. iv.

ε. ἐν τοῖς αὐ(τοῖς) πε(δίοις) παρα(κειμένον) τῶν αὐτῶν
β(ορῶ) ἐχο(μένης) ἀρχ(ομένης) ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ὑδρα(γωγοῦ) ἰς
Παῶπις Φεμβροήριος βα(σιλικῆς) ἀδ' ἢ ἀν(ὰ) γ

70 ἀδ' ἢ λβ' $\frac{αδ' ἰς' λβ'}{αλβ'}$ αλβ' / ἀδ' ἢ ἰς', (πυρῶι),

ἀξ(ας) ἀν(ὰ) ἀγίβ', πλ(είω) ἰς'.

λι(βὸς) ἐχο(μένης) Ἀρμάις Πτο(λεμαίου) καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι) βα(σιλικῆς) L
ἀν(ὰ) αL

ο $\frac{αλβ'}{Lδ' ἢ ἰς' λβ'}$ ἢ ἰς' / ἢ ἰς', (πυρῶι).

λι(βὸς) ἐχόμενος εἰσβα(λῶν) β(ορῶ) παρὰ τὰ ἀγεω(μέτρητα) (ἐπταρούρου)
κλ(ήρου) scho(νίου) ἰς' λβ'

75 Lίς' λβ' $\frac{Lδ' ἢ}{Lἦ}$ Lλβ' / δ' ἢ λβ', (πυρῶι).

/ τοῦ νο(μοῦ) Lίς' λβ', (πυρῶι), πλ(είω) ἰς' λβ',

ἀξ(ας) ἀν(ὰ) δγίβ'.

λι(βὸς) ἐχο(μένης) Παῶσις Φεμβροήριος βα(σιλικῆς) αLδ' ἢ ἀν(ὰ) α

βίς' $\frac{Lἦ}{Lίς'}$ [[α]] αLδ' ἢ ἰς' / ἀἢ ἰς', (πυρῶι),

80 ἀξ(ας) ἀν(ὰ) δγίβ'.

λι(βὸς) ἐχο(μένης) ἀρχ(ομένης) νό(του) Φεμβρο(ήριος) Σοκονάπιος καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι)

βα(σιλικῆς) αἠ ἀν(ὰ) α β $\frac{Lίς'}{Lἦ ἰς'}$ αLδ' ἢ ἰς' / ἀἢ ἰς' λβ', (πυρῶι),

/ [[. . .]] ἀξ(ας) ἀν(ὰ) δγίβ'.

85 β(αρρᾶ) ἐχόμενος λι(βδς) ἀρχόμενος [[λι(βδς)] ἀπὸ ὕδρα(γωγῶς) ἀγεωμετρήτου κληῆρος) (ἐπτάρουρος) Χομήνιος) Σοκονῶπις Τοθοείους ζΛ,

βα(σιλικῆς) Λ, / ζ, ἀν(ὰ) δΛ, δδ'ή'χ'β' $\frac{αδ'χ'β'}{αη'χ'β'}$ ο / εδ'ή, (πυρῶι).

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχομένης [[ἀρχομένης) νό(του)] εἰσβαι(νούσης) νό(του) παρὰ τὴν προγεγεω(μετρημένην) σχοι(νίου) ἰς'χ'β' τὸ λα(ιπὸν)

] α $\frac{αχ'β'}{αη'ίς}$ ο / αίς'χ'β'ξ'δ',

[. . . () ἐχομένης] ἀρχομένης) νό(του) Λχ'β' $\frac{ο}{αλ[η]χ'β'}$ οὐ(θὲν) / δξ'δ',

67. α^υτων Pap. 73. χ'β' in the lower fraction written through του. 74. (ἐπταρούρου) corr. from σχοι. 75. δ'ή in the area corr. from Λ. 76. ἰς'χ'β' κ.τ.λ. over an erasure. 86. / ζ over the line. ο corr. from α. 87. αρχο(μενης) νο(του) has a horizontal line above it. εισβαι(νουσης) to χ'β' above the line.

Col. v.

90 / τοῦ κλη(ρου) ζ[. . .], (πυρῶι), γεω(ργὸς) αὐτός.

β(αρρᾶ) ἐχομένης) εἰσβαι(νούσης) ἀπη(λιώτου) παρὰ τ[ὸν προγε]γεω(μετρη- μένον) (ἐπτάρουρον) κλη(ῆρον) σχοι(νίου) α

Πᾶσις Φεμβροήριος βα(σιλικῆς) δΛ, / βΛ ἀν(ὰ) α

β ἀν(ὰ) Λ ο $\frac{Λδ'ή'}{αίς'}$ δίς' / γΛδ'ή'χ'β', (πυρῶι).

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχομένης) εἰσβαι(νούσης) β(αρρᾶ) παρὰ τὴν ἀγεω(μέτρητου) σχοι(νίου) Λή

95 τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) Λίς'χ'β' $\frac{δ'}{η'ίς}$ ο / ή, (πυρῶι).

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχομένης) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) α $\frac{δ'ίς'χ'β'}{η'ίς}$ ο / δξ'δ', (πυρῶι).

/ τοῦ νο(μοῦ) δδ'ίς'ξ'δ', (πυρῶι), ἀξι(μο) ἀν(ὰ) δγ'ίβ'.

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχόμενος) ὕδρα(γωγὸς) [. . .]ίς'.

ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχομένης) ἀρχομένης) νό(του) ἕως τ[οῦ προγε]γεω(μετρημένου) νο(μοῦ)

100 ἐλ(άσσονος) ἰβισοαφείου διὰ [.]εφείλους δ ^{της και}

^{Ἡράτος}
ἀρχομένης νό(του) αλδ'ίς' $\frac{[\quad]}{[\quad]}$ αλ / βλδ'ήλ'β', χό(ρωι).

βο(ρρᾶ) έχομένης ἀρχομένης ἀπη(λιώτου) [14 letters] : ίς', χό(ρωι).
104 / του νο(μού) . [

Parts of 2 lines.

107 λι(βός) έχομένου του λα(ιπού) του ύδρα(γωγού) ίς'.

λι(βός) έχομένης Φεμβροήρις θεοῦ κροκοδίου δια Φε(μ)βρο(ήριος)
βα(σιλικής) δλ, λ γ ἀν(ὰ) γ, αλ ἀν(ὰ) αλγίβ'.

110 αλίς'λ'β' $\frac{\text{λη}'}{\alpha}$ αδ' / αδ'λ'β'.

λι(βός) έχομένης εισβαίνουσης νό(του) παρὰ τὴν προγεγεω(μετρημένην)
σχοι(νίου) .

] α $\frac{\delta\eta'}{\text{λη}'\acute{\iota}\varsigma'\lambda'\beta'}$ [ο] / λ'β'ξ'δ'.

91. εισβαίνουσης ἀπη(λιώτου) written above αρχομένης ἀπη(λιώτου), which is crossed through. 93. (πυρῶι) over an erasure. 99. εως corr. from απο. 109. λ of δλ inserted later. The first γ corrected from α.

Col. vi. Beginnings of lines.

1. In the margin above this line is λ'λ'β' and immediately below λήίς'.

1-2. This entry concerns the land in the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος* (cf. App. i. § 7), another portion of which is described in ll. 7-8; the two areas are added together in l. 9. It is almost certain that the word abbreviated *επι* here and in l. 7 is the same as the participle written out in l. 9, but the reading there is somewhat doubtful and the meaning still more so. The '2nd year' is that of Soter II. With *τῆς ἐν προσόδοι* cf. *τῆς ἐν προσόδοι τῶν τέκνων τοῦ βασιλέως* in the Petrie papyrus quoted on p. 570. With β at the end of l. 1 is to be understood *ἀρουρῶν*, in apposition to *τῆς* (sc. γῆς). The sum of the two areas in l. 9 is 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ arourae. Either δ'ή has been omitted through an error in l. 1 or else the theoretical amount of the land was 2 arourae, and the area obtained by actual measurement was, as generally happens, in excess; cf. ll. 64 and 72.

2. ο, which sometimes degenerates into a mere dot, indicates that the measurement was the same as that on the opposite side, and is probably an abbreviation of *ἴμοιον*. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. 267 and Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 152.

3. *μη εἶναι γράφει*: this remark which recurs in l. 5 was probably a later insertion in both places, and means that some official had written to the effect that the land was not βασιλική. Cf. 81. 17.

25. *σχοι(νίου)*: cf. note on 84. 110. In this present papyrus the amount is generally stated, but in l. 66 is omitted as in 84.

29. *προγεγεω(μετρημένου) ύδρα(γωγού)*: the description of the *ύδραγωγός* in question probably occurred in ll. 9-24.

34. The superfluous σ is probably due to the scribe's having begun to write $\delta\mu\omicron\iota(\omega\varsigma)$ in the wrong place.

38. $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\omega(\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\rho\eta\tau\alpha)$: this resolution of this abbreviation which recurs in ll. 74, 84, &c. is not very satisfactory, for the survey seems to be comprehensive, and it is curious that land which was not measured should not be more definitely indicated. But it is difficult to see how $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\omega(\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\rho\eta\tau\alpha)$ is to be avoided, for $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\acute{\omega}(\rho\eta\eta\tau\alpha)$ is quite unsuitable (cf. e.g. l. 84), and there is no instance of α simply without a stroke over it being used for $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$. For examples of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\omega\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\rho\eta\tau\alpha$ cf. the $\psi\upsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ and part of the $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ in 86. 32 and 47.

43. $\kappa\alpha() \acute{\epsilon}\lambda(\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma)$: cf. 81. 31, note. β . above $\sigma\pi\omicron\rho\alpha()$ may represent the amount of the oil-producing land, but the ink is very faint, and perhaps the two letters above the line have been intentionally obliterated. $\sigma\pi\omicron\rho\alpha()$, which is written $\sigma\pi\omicron\rho^{\beta}$, suggests only $\sigma\pi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, but this is not satisfactory. Perhaps the angular sign here merely denotes abbreviation and does not represent α , in which case the word is probably $\sigma\pi\omicron\rho(\acute{\mu}\omicron\upsilon)$.

61. $\omicron\acute{\iota}(\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu)$: this piece of land was triangular in shape; cf. l. 89 and introd.

If the figures $\theta\lambda\delta\eta\acute{\iota}\zeta\lambda\beta$ in this line and the next, where they are repeated, are correct, η must be a mistake for $\acute{\iota}\zeta$ either in the preceding fraction $\eta\lambda\beta$ or the area given in l. 59.

64-5. These two lines do not make sense as they stand. Line 64 mentions no area but only the relation of something to (a) the land mentioned in ll. 62-4, (b) the $\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$, from which it was $\frac{1}{4}$ schoenion distant. Either the subject of the entry in l. 64 has been omitted or, if l. 64 is connected with l. 65, $\beta\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\omicron}(\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ is there superfluous.

66. δ : the 4th $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\omega\mu\alpha$ (cf. 84. 67 and 192), the area which it contained not having been filled in. The following column begins the survey of the 5th $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\omega\mu\alpha$.

67. $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha(\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu)$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$: the reference is apparently to something in the description of the first of the two $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\omega\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ here surveyed. The 5th $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\chi\omega\mu\alpha$ was in the same $\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ as the 4th, and had the same boundaries, i. e. canals or roads.

74. $\kappa\lambda(\acute{\eta}\rho\omicron\upsilon)$ is dependent on $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\omega(\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\rho\eta\tau\alpha)$: 'receding to the north along the unsurveyed parts of a seven-aroura holding for $\frac{3}{2}$ schoenion.'

76. $\nu\omicron(\mu\omicron\upsilon)$: cf. ll. 97, 99 and 104. In the last case the crop is $\chi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$, but here and in l. 97 it is wheat, which is not very suitable in a 'pasture.' But it is difficult to see what other word than $\nu\omicron(\mu\omicron\upsilon)$ could be meant.

89. $\omicron\acute{\iota}(\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu)$: cf. note on l. 61.

100. $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda(\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma)$: sc. $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$. $\iota\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ suggests $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu\iota\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (cf. 68. 7); but $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ 'Hrātos, which has been inserted later, must refer to this name, and if $\tau\eta\varsigma$ is right a woman's name is required, while $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu\epsilon\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ can hardly be anything but masculine. For the occurrence of women as $\gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$ cf. 86. 14. 'Hrātos does not help to decide the question of sex, for that name can be either masculine or feminine.

108. The name of the crocodile-god Phembroëris is new; cf. note on 72. 28.

109. $\beta\alpha(\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma)$: this is one of several passages (cf. 93. 55 sqq., 94. 33) in which land of a god—i. e., as would be thought, $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha} \gamma\eta$ —appears nevertheless to be $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$. The solution seems to be that the land was really $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ and that it was called after the god because the cultivators were priests; cf. 93. introd.

88. LIST OF SHRINES AT KERKEOSIRIS.

27-19.

31 X 40.5 cm.

B. C. 115-4.

This document, drawn up by Menches with more than his usual carelessness of expression, is a list of temples at Kerkeosiris, with their priesthoods and property. The village could boast of no less than thirteen shrines, but none of them was in the first rank, the two *πρῶτα ἱερά* of Suchus and Soknebtunis, which owned land at Kerkeosiris (cf. p. 543), being situated elsewhere. Five of the shrines, one dedicated to the crocodile-god Petesuchus (here called a *Σουχιεῖον καὶ κροκοδιλοσφεῖον*), one to Orsenouphis ('the good watcher' according to Spiegelberg, *Demotische Studien*, i. p. 20), and three to Thoth (cf. note on l. 53), since they owned land have already been mentioned in the land-survey lists (62-4), where they are called *ἐλάσσονα* or *δευτέρα ἱερά*. The remaining eight shrines, which owned no land and were probably of the third rank, include two dedicated to Thoëris, two to Isis, one to Harpsenesis ('Horus son of Isis'), one to Anubis, one to Bubastis, and one to Ammon. The formula employed in the entries consists of (1) the name of the shrine, (2) a list of persons introduced by *διὰ*, followed in the first three cases by a remark that they 'possessed' (*κρατεῖν*) a fifth part of the shrine, (3) the number of the 'days of service' which are thirty in every case, (4) an account of the sources of income whether land or other property, if any, owned by the shrine, ending with a statement that it had no other revenue. Owing to the brevity of the details the meaning of several points is in doubt, especially when the information derived from this papyrus has to be combined with the statements referring to the *ἱεραὶ πρόσοδοι* in 5 and 6. The thirty *ἡμέραι λειτουργικαί*, which recall the *λειτουργίαι* of 5. 66, appear to be supplied by the persons regularly mentioned with *διὰ*. In those cases where a shrine owned land, a comparison with the survey lists shows that these persons are identical with the *γεωργοί* through whom (*διὰ* is also used there) the land was cultivated. Here, however, the force of *διὰ* must be somewhat different, for several of the shrines had no land to be cultivated, and no word like *γεωργομένοι* can be supplied with it. Probably, therefore, *διὰ* followed by a proper name is to be connected more or less closely with *ἡμερῶν λειτουργικῶν*, and indicates the person or persons responsible for the *λειτουργίαι*. The nature of the 'services' is far from clear, and depends on the view taken of the *προφητεῖαι* mentioned in the heading. If the four points in the heading correspond—as they ought to do—to the quadruple division of the individual entries, as mentioned above,

the *γραφὴ προφητειῶν*, which is between the *γραφὴ ἱερῶν* and the *γραφὴ ἡμερῶν λειτουργικῶν*, must refer to the persons introduced by *διά*. In that case they not only cultivated any land belonging to the shrine, but were 'prophets' or minor priests of the particular deity to which the shrine was dedicated, and in this capacity had to perform certain sacred functions; though why the days of service were limited to thirty in every case we cannot say. In some instances (ll. 7, 21, and 26) the prophets 'possessed' one-fifth of the shrine, in virtue of a hereditary right or of purchase from the government. The concession is only recorded in the case of the first three shrines, but the omission of it in the entries concerning the rest may be accidental. On the private ownership of temples see notes on 5. 65 and 73-6, and cf. 14. 17-8. The *κρατοῦντες* must be distinguished from the *κατοικοῦντες* (6. 40, 44. 12) who merely lived in the temples.

This list of shrines at Kerkeosiris does not seem to be exhaustive, for other papyri mention a *Διοσκορείου* (14. 18) and a *Διὸς ἱερὸν* (89. 22), which are not found here.

The first of the two *selides* on which the papyrus is written is incorrectly joined to the second so that the *verso* of the first is uppermost, the *recto* being blank.

Col. i.

Ἔτους γ, παρὰ Μεγχείου κωμογρα[μ]ατέως
 Κερκεοσίρεως. γραφὴ{ν} ἱερῶν καὶ προφητηῶν καὶ
 ἡμερῶν λειτουργικῶν (καὶ) τῶν ὑπαρχόντων περὶ
 τὴν κώμην. Σουχιῆου καὶ κορκοδι(λο)ταφίου
 5 διὰ Μαρρήου τοῦ Πετοσίριου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
 ἡμερῶν λειτουργικῶν λ,
 τὸ δὲ [[έ.] πέμπτον μέρος κρατεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς
 ἐωνημένους ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κατὰ τὴν
 ὑποκειμένην διαγραφὴν οὗ χρόνος (ἔτους) γ
 10 Φαῶφι ιη, δίδοσθαι δὲ εἰς τὸ κορκοδι(λο)ταφίου
 [[πρὸς τη. κροκ]] παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς
 βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν εἰς τε τὰς θυσίας καὶ λύχνων
 ἀφῶν καὶ κεδρίαν (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ε, καὶ ἐν ἱερᾷ γῆι
 ἔλασ(σόνων) ἱερῶν ἐν ὑπολό(γωι) (ἄρουρας) εδ'ή,
 15 ἄλλο πρόσφορον μηθὲν ἔχειν.

Θ(ο)γγρηίου διακατέχειν τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους
 [[ἡμερῶν λειτουργικῶν λ]] διὰ Κα[τύ]τιος
 τοῦ Κατύτιος καὶ Ὀννώφριος τοῦ Νεκτενίβ[ιος κ]αὶ
 Ἄρμαχόρου τοῦ Ἄρμαχόρου καὶ Τοθοήους τοῦ . [. . . .] καὶ
 20 Πάσιτος τοῦ Πανετβεῦς ἡμερῶν λειτουργικ[ῶν] λ,
 τὸ δὲ εἶ μέρος κρατεῖν τοὺς αὐτοῦ[ς],
 ἄλλο πρόσφορον μηθὲν ἔχειν.

ἄλλου Θ(ο)γγρηίου διὰ Κεντείσιος τοῦ Ὡ[ρ]ου ^{καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν)} [[καὶ Ἀρμύσιος τοῦ]]
 [[Πετοσίριος καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ἡμερ]] καὶ Ἀρμύσιος τοῦ Πετοσίριος)
 25 ἡμερῶν λειτουργικῶν λ,

5. This line inserted later. 7. *πεμ* of *πεμπτου* over an erasure. 8. *ε* of *εκ* corr.
 10. *φωφ* over an erasure. 13. l. *ἀφάε*. 14. *ε* of *εν* corr. from *υ*. 17. *ημερων* to λ
 enclosed in round brackets.

Col. ii.

τὸ δὲ εἶ κρατεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς
 παρὰ πατρός,
 πρόσφορον αὐτοῦ[ς] μηθὲν ἔχειν.
 Ἰσιήου διὰ Πι . κωούτος καὶ
 30 τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ἡμερῶ(ν) λει(τουργικῶν) λ,
 πρόσφορον μηθὲν ἔχειν.
 ἄλλου διὰ Φαήσιος τοῦ Πετερ(μούθιος)
 καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ἡμερῶν λει(τουργικῶν) λ,
 πρόσφορον μηθὲν ἔχειν.
 35 Ὀρσενουφιήου διὰ Ὀρσενούφιος καὶ
 τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ἡμερῶ(ν) λει(τουργικῶν) λ,
 ὑπάρχει αὐτο(ῖς) ἐν ἱερᾷ γῆ
 ἐλ(ασόνων) ἱερῶν ἐν ὑπο[λ(ύγωι)] (ἄρουρα) α,
 πρόσφορον μηθὲν ἔχειν.
 40 Ἀρψενη(σιείου) διὰ Κατύτιος τοῦ Ὀννώ(φριος)
 καὶ Ἀθεμμέως τοῦ Πετεσού(χου)
 καὶ Χολῶτος τοῦ Πετεσού(χου)
 ἡμερῶν λει(τουργικῶν) λ, πρ[όσ]φορον μη(θὲν) ἔχειν.

- Ἄνουβιῆσιν διὰ
 45 τοῦ Ὁρσεῖνούφιος
 ἡμε(ρῶν) λει(τουργικῶν) [λ, πρόσφο(ρον) μη(θὲν) ἔχειν.
 Βουβαστεῖον διὰ
 . . [.]. [.]. . . [
 πρόσφο(ρον) μηθὲν [ἔ]χειν.
 50 Ἀμμωνιῆου διὰ Ἀμεννέως
 τοῦ Ἀμεν[ν]έως καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν)
 ἡμε(ρῶν) λει(τουργικῶν) λ, πρόσφο(ρον) μηθὲν ἔχ[ειν].

50. *ammonios* above *marrhous*, which is erased.

Col. iii.

- ἰβητοαφίου καὶ Ἐρμαίου δι' Ἐργέως καὶ
 τῶν με(τόχων) ἡμε(ρῶν) λει(τουργικῶν) λ[[ει]], ὑπάρχει
 55 ἐν ἱερᾷ γῆι ἐλ(ασσόνων) ἐν ὑπολό(γῳ) (ἄρουραι) θ,
 πρόσφο(ρον) ἄλλο μηθὲν ἔχ[ειν].
 ἄλλου Ἐρμαίου διὰ Χεύριος καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν)
 ἡμε(ρῶν) λει(τουργικῶν) λ, ὑπάρχει ἐν ἱερᾷ γῆι ἐλ(ασσόνων) ἱερῶν
 ἐν ὑπολό(γῳ) (ἄρουραι) ε, πρόσφο(ρον) μηθὲν ἔχειν.
 60 ἄλλου διὰ Πνεφερώτος καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν)
 ἡμε(ρῶν) λει(τουργικῶν) λ, ὑπάρχει ἐν ἱερᾷ γῆι ἐλ(ασσόνων) ἱερῶν
 ἐν ὑπολό(γῳ) (ἄρουραι) ε,
 πρόσφο(ρον) μηθὲν ἔχειν.

54, 58, 61. 1. ὑπάρχουσι.

3. (καὶ) τῶν ὑπαρχόντων: the insertion of *καὶ* is we think necessary. The statement of the property of the shrine is regularly placed last (cf. ll. 37, 54, 58, and 61, where *ὑπάρχει* occurs) and is distinct from the *ἱερά*, *προφητεῖαι*, and *ἡμέραι λειτουργικαί*; it is, moreover, impossible to connect τῶν ὑπαρχόντων *περὶ τὴν κόμην* with *ἡμερῶν λειτουργικῶν* which immediately precedes, and though *ὑπαρχόντων* alone might possibly apply to all three of the preceding genitives in the general sense of 'existing,' the addition of *περὶ τὴν κόμην* indicates that it means 'property.'

4-5. Cf. introd. and 63. 25.

7-13. 'The fifth part is in the possession of the aforesaid, who have bought it from the State by the appended contract dated in the 3rd year Phaophi 18. The crocodile-shrine

receives from the Crown cultivators of the village for sacrifices and the lighting of lamps and cedar-oil 5 artabae of wheat.' Marres and his brothers had themselves bought a share of the shrine, but in another case (l. 27) a similar privilege appears to have been inherited. For examples of the purchase of shrines from the State cf. the wooden tablets mentioned in note on 5. 73-6. *ὑποκειμένην* in l. 9 (cf. 16. 20) refers to a document which is not actually quoted, the date being sufficient for purposes of identification; cf. 68. 123. It is not made clear to whom the 5 artabae contributed (annually?) by the βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ were paid, but probably the contribution benefited Marres and his brothers and was a kind of *καρπεία* attached to the *προφητεία* of this shrine; cf. 5. 65, note. Perhaps the payments *εἰς τὸ Ζουχτείον* on the *verso* of 18 (cf. 18. introd.) are to be connected with the contribution recorded here, but the amount of wheat is there $7\frac{1}{8}$ artabae, and though the payers are no doubt all γεωργοὶ and most of them βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ, some pay for (*ἐπταρουρικῶν*), sc. κλήρον (cf. 97. introd.).

16. *διακατέχειν τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους*: this remark is very difficult. If *διακατέχειν* implies a right of possession whether inherited or bought, it seems to contradict l. 21, where it is stated that the persons in question owned only $\frac{1}{2}$ of the shrine. On the other hand it is hard to give *διακατέχειν* a meaning which would form a suitable contrast with *κρατεῖν*. We are inclined to think that *δια* of *διακατέχειν* is a mistake. Menches began to write *διὰ Κατύτιος* as in l. 5 and then changed the construction, reverting however to his normal formula with *διὰ* in l. 17. What he intended to leave as his final construction was probably *Θ(ο)γγηριῶν διὰ Κατύτιος*.

27. *παρὰ πατρός*: the ownership over a fifth of the shrine had in this case been inherited; cf. note on ll. 7-13.

28. *αὐτού[ς]*: the reading is very doubtful, but *ἄλλο* cannot be read and the subject of *ἔχειν* seems to be the persons mentioned rather than the shrine; cf. l. 37. The insertion and omission of *ἄλλο* in this phrase, which occurs at the end of each entry, follows no consistent principle; but in the majority of cases where land or revenues were attached to the shrine *ἄλλο* is written, in most of those where no property was owned, it is omitted.

53. Hermes being identified with Thoth, the burying-place of the sacred ibises would naturally be called a Hermeum. In 62. 19 one of these ibis-shrines is called *ἰβίων τροφή* (cf. 5. 70); the form *ἰβίων* (genitive *ἰβίωνος*) occurs in 64. (a) 10.

VII. TAXATION.

89. ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS IN KIND.

27-26.

31.2 x 61.3 cm.

B. C. 113.

An account drawn up by Menches of the receipts for the year derived from the rents of Crown land, repayments of loans of seed corn (*δάνεια*), and certain taxes, the *τριχόβικον*, *θησαυροφυλακικόν*, and *κράστις Θηβαίων*, the tax

of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba payable by cleruchs, with which is associated the *γραμματικόν*, and payments on account of *εισφορά* by the desert-police. These taxes, of which the first three and the *δάνεια* often appear in the company of the rents from Crown land, are discussed in the notes on 61. (b) 313-45, where the tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba and the *γραμματικόν* also occur. On the two last named imposts and the *εισφορά*, which was a tax of some kind upon land, cf. introd. to 97 and 98.

The document is entitled *προδιαλογισμὸς σιτικός*, i. e. a preliminary account of payments in corn, preparatory to the *διαλογισμὸς*, or final balancing or audit (cf. Rev. Laws xvi-xviii); fragments of similar *προδιαλογισμοί* are preserved in 160 and 174. The account is brought down to Mesore 30, and was therefore drawn up at the conclusion of the financial year. The payments were all made after the harvest in the period from Pharmouthi to Mesore, and are tabulated according to their date, the several months being divided into three periods of ten days each. The bulk of the amounts recorded were paid in to the *sitologi* at Kerkeosiris, upon whose books the present summary was based (ll. 12-3, cf. 90-1); a few, however, were received at the neighbouring village of Berenicis *Θεσμοφόρου*.

Col. i.

*Ε[του]ς δ, παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμογραμματέως

Κ[ερ]κεοσίρεως. προδιαλογισμὸς σιτικός

ἐπικεφαλαίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους),

ὑποκειμένων τῶν ἐγδιφκημένων ἕως Μεσορῆ λ.

5 [ἔσπαρ]μέναι ἦ[σαν] ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι (ἔτει) σὺν νομ[α]ίς

γῆς (ἀρourke) ἌΣγλδ' ὄν ἐκφύριον Ἄχξζζγίβ',

καὶ προσγεύονται τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ διοικητοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) ζζ,

ὥστ' εἶναι (ἀρούρας) ἌΣγλδ' (ἀρτάβαι) Ἄχοεγίβ',

ᾧν (πυροῦ) Ἄχγλζ, κριθῆς αἰ (πυροῦ) Ἄβωζδ', ὀλ(ύρας) αἰ

(πυροῦ) ρδ', χα(λκοῦ) λθγίβ'.

10 ἐγ δὲ τοῦ σπύρου (πυροῦ) Ἄψαθγ', κριθῆς φνζζγ' αἰ (πυροῦ) τλδς',

χα(λκοῦ) λθγίβ', (2nd hand) φακοῦ φ.

1st hand εἰς ἀς μεμετρησθαι ἐν αὐτῆι Ἄμμωνίωι καὶ

Ἄκρακείδῃ τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν οἱ καὶ

ἀντιγραφεμένοι.

- Φαρμούθι ἀπὸ α ἕως ι μισ(θοῦ) (πυροῦ) Σβλ, κρι(θῆς) φγλδ',
 15 καὶ ἀπὸ ια ἕως κ μισ(θοῦ) (πυροῦ) ψδλ, κρι(θῆς) νγ,
 καὶ ἀπὸ κα ἕως λ μισ(θοῦ) (πυροῦ) [[ω . .]] ωελ,
 / τοῦ μη(νὸς) μισ(θοῦ) (πυροῦ) Ἀψιβλ, κρι(θῆς) φνζλδ'.
 Παχὼν ἀπὸ α ἕως ι μισ(θοῦ) (πυροῦ) ωβλ,
 καὶ ἀπὸ κα ἕως λ μισ(θοῦ) (πυροῦ) τ,
 20 / τοῦ μη(νὸς) μισ(θοῦ) (πυροῦ) Ἀψβλ.

8. Σ corr. 10. φακου φ above the line. 12-3. 1. τοῖς καὶ ἀντιγραφομένοις οἱ οἱ καὶ ἀντιγράφονται.

Col. ii.

- Παῦ(νι α ἕως ι) μισ(θοῦ) (πυροῦ) νθλγ,
 κ[αὶ ια ἕως] κ μισ(θοῦ) (πυροῦ) Σλγίβ',
 ἀπὸ [κα ἕως] λ μισ(θοῦ) (πυροῦ) ρζλίβ',
 [/ τοῦ μη(νὸς)] μι[σ(θοῦ)] (πυροῦ) τπζλγ'.
 25 [Ἐπειφ . ἕως .] μισ(θοῦ) φακοῦ τδ',
 Με[σο]ρ[ῆ] α ἕως ι μισ(θοῦ) φακ(οῦ) ραθλδ'.
 τοῦ δὲ μ[εμε]τρη(μένον) (πυροῦ) Ἰωαλγ',
 κρι(θῆς) φνζλδ' αἰ (πυροῦ) τλδζ', φακοῦ φ,
 / εἰς (πυροῦ) Ἰαλγ.
 30 καὶ χαλκ[δ]ν δια[γ]εγρ(αμμένον) ᾧ[ν σ]ῆτος [λθ]γίβ'.
 τῶ(ν) δ' ἐγδιφκημέν[ων]
 ἕως Μεσορῆ [λ] εἰς (πυροῦ) Ἰαχοεγίβ'.

- (τρι)χ(οινίκου)·λι(ακῶν) (ἀρτάβαι)
 θησαυρο[φ]υ(λακικοῦ) κρι(θῆς) κδ,
 35 κράστεως Θηβαίων (πυροῦ) δβ',
 δανείων τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) (πυροῦ) ρκ φακ(αῦ) ρ.
 Φαρμούθι κα ἕως λ (τρι)χ(οινίκου) (πυροῦ) κ.
 Παχὼν α ἕως ι (τρι)χ(οινίκου) (πυροῦ) κ,
 κα ἕως λ θη(σαυρο)φυ(λακικοῦ) [κ]ρι(θῆς) κδ.

28. ζ' over an erasure of ἰβ'.

Col. iii.

- 40 Παῦν[ι] α ἕως ι δανείων (πυροῦ) ρκ,
 (τρι)χ(οινίκου) λ, κρά(στεως) Θηβα(ίων) (πυροῦ) δβ', / (πυροῦ) ρνδβ',
 κα ἕως λ (τρι)χ(οινίκου) (πυροῦ) ιαγίβ', δανείων φακ(οῦ) ρ.
 / τοῦ μη(νός) (τρι)χ(οινίκου) μαγίβ', κρά(στεως) Θηβα(ίων) (πυροῦ) δβ',
 δανείων φακ(οῦ) ρ (πυροῦ) ρκ.
- 45 / (τρι)χ(οινίκου) (πυροῦ) ραγίβ', θη(σαυρο)φυ(λακικου) κρι(θῆς) κδ, [[αἰ
 (πυροῦ) ιδγίβ']]
 κρά(στεως) Θηβα(ίων) (πυροῦ) δβ', δανείων (πυροῦ) ρκ φακ(οῦ) ρ,
 / εἰς (πυροῦ) τλλ.
 καὶ ὧν τὸ (ἤμισυ) (ἀρτάβης).
 Παχὼν α ἕως ι (ἑπταρούρων) γλ, (εἰκοσιαρούρων) ιδ',
 50 ια ἕως κ (εἰκοσιαρούρων) ιδ',
 κα ἕως λ (ἑπταρούρων) σηβ', (τριακονταρούρων) ββ',
 (εἰκοσιαρούρων) λαγίβ', ἐφ(όδων) κλη(ρούχων?) ιβ γραμματικοῦ) Λγ',
 φυ(λακιδῶν) ε γραμματικοῦ) α, / ς, ἐλ(ασσόνων) ἱερῶν ζλ,
 ἱερᾶς Σοκνεβτύνεως ξε.
- 55 Παῦνι α ἕως ι (ἑπταρούρων) κα, ἐφ(όδων) ιβ,
 φυ(λακιδῶν) ε γραμματικοῦ) α, / ς, ἐλ(ασσόνων) ἱερῶν βλγ',
 ἀπὸ ια ἕως κ (ἑπταρούρων) νβλ,
 ἀπὸ κα ἕως λ (εἰκοσιαρούρων) ιδ', (ἑπταρούρων) κα,
 ἐφ(όδων) γραμματικοῦ) [[ίβ']] ς', (τριακονταρούρων) ίβ'.

45. The part to be omitted enclosed in round brackets.

Col. iv.

- 60 Ἐπειφ α ἕως ι (ἑπταρούρων) ζ, ἐφ(όδων) κδ γραμματικοῦ) α, γ (ἔτους)
 α, / κς,
 ἐλ(ασσόνων) ἱερῶν θγίβ'.
 Μεσορῆι α ἕως ι (ἑπταρούρων) γλ, ἐλ(ασσόνων) ἱερῶν αγίβ',
 χερσεφ(ἴππου) δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου) γραμματικοῦ) β.
 / ἐφ(όδων) κλη(ρούχων?) μη γραμματικοῦ) γ, γ (ἔτους) α, / νβ,
 φυ(λακιδῶν) ι γραμματικοῦ) β, / ιβ,

D d

65 (τριακονταρούρων) Χομήνιος βλδ', (είκοσιαρούρων) ξβζ', (έπταρούρων)
 ρπζ',
 ιερᾶς Σοκνεβτύνεως [[ξε]] ξε,
 έλ(ασσόνων) ιερῶν κας', δλο(ισ) ύπολό(γου) γραμματικοῦ) χερσε(φίππου) β.
 [/ υδδ', / εις (πυροῦ) ψλδδδ'.]
 ὥστ' εἶναι τῶν ἐγδιωκημένων
 70 [ἕως Μεσορῆι λ εις (πυροῦ) 'Ευις'.]

καὶ εἰς τὸ περὶ Βερενικίδι.

ἐρη(μο)φυ(λάκων) ἦς μέ(ρος)

Παῦνι α ἕως ι ε γραμματικοῦ) α, / 5,

'Επειφ α ἕως ι ε γραμματικοῦ) α, / 5, εἰσφο(ρᾶς) ιε, / κα, ια
 ἕως κ εἰσφο(ρᾶς) ιε,

75 Μεσορῆ α ἕως ι γραμματικοῦ) δλο(ισ) ύπολό(γου) α, γ (ἔτους) α, / β.
 / (ἡμίσεως) (ἀρτάβης) ι, γραμματικοῦ) δ, εἰσφο(ρᾶς) κ, / τὸ (πᾶν)
 λδ. / 'Ευμδς'.

69. ἐγδιωκῆμενων Pap. 71. I. Βερενικίδα. 76. / 'Ευμδς' enclosed in round brackets.

4. ἐγδιωκῆμενων: 'collected,' of revenue-receipts; cf. l. 31 and 27. 57, 72. 461.

6. 1203½ arourae agrees with the figure for the 4th year in 72. 223, but the total of the artabae, 4667½, is 2½ less than that in 72. The arourae of the reclamation in the 4th year (72. 222, note) are thus included in the figures in l. 6, but not the artabae. Perhaps these were meant in l. 7, in which case 7½ is a mistake for 2½, or the rent of these 10 arourae had been raised.

9-10. The figures of l. 9 are those of the γεμισμός ἐξ ύποθήκης (cf. p. 560); those in l. 10 refer to what was to be collected (for ἐγ δὲ τοῦ σπόρου cf. 83. 79), and correspond with the amounts stated to have been actually paid in ll. 27-8. The number of the artabae of wheat should be 3801½, as in l. 27, not 3794½; the 7½ of l. 7 have been omitted.

11. αὐτῆι: sc. Kerkeosiris.

12. σιτολογοῦσι τὸ περὶ αὐτῆν: cf. l. 71 and III. 2-3 τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι τὸ περὶ Θεογονίδα ἐργαστήριον, 159. 4 τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι τὸ περὶ αὐ(τῆν) ἐργα(στήριον), 186, P. Petrie II. 48. 15, and P. Amh. II. 59. 2, where read δ σιτολο(γῶν) περὶ Φιλοπά(τορα) ἐργα(στήριον), and 60. 1-2, where read σιτολο(γῶν) and ἐργα(στήρια).

οἱ καὶ ἀντεγγραφόμενοι: the expression recurs in 159. 4-5 in the fuller form τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι . . . οἱ καὶ ἀντεγγραφόμενοι δι' Ὁρον κωμάρχου [καὶ] Μαρρείου γενηματοφύλακες (l. -κος). It may be explained in two ways, according as ἀντεγγραφόμενοι is taken as middle or passive. If middle, the meaning is that Menches' statement was checked by the sitologi to whom the payments had been made. This would be intelligible enough in itself and suits the present tense and the absolute use of ἀντεγγραφόμενοι here. But it does not well account for the intervention of Horus and Marres in 159, to say nothing of the fact

that the *sitologi* do not as a matter of fact sign the present report. More probably then *ἀντιγραφόμενοι* is passive and means that the accounts of the *sitologi* upon which the report was based had been duly countersigned, the names of the *ἀντιγραφείς* being omitted in 89 but added in 159. Cf. P. Amh. 59. 10, 60. 9, which are examples of the signatures of *ἀντιγραφείς* upon receipts issued by *sitologi*.

14. *μισ(θού)*: the abbreviation might also be expanded into *μισ(θώσεως)*; cf. 13. col. iv, quoted in introd. to 13.

29. From the addition $380\frac{5}{8} + 334\frac{1}{8} + 500 = 4636$ it appears that *φακός* had the same value as wheat; cf. 116. introd., 122. introd. and p. 560.

31. The lacuna may be filled up by *ἀπὸ Φαρμούθι α*.

33-47. Cf. 61. (b) 313-9, notes. Lines 33-6 give the amounts due under the heads mentioned; ll. 36-47 record the payments made on their account. In l. 33 the amount due for *τριχοίνικον* has not been filled in; it should be $\frac{2}{5} \times 1203\frac{3}{4}$ (l. 8), i. e. $90\frac{9}{2}$; the amount actually paid (l. 45) is slightly in excess of this, though the individual items add up to only $81\frac{5}{2}$.

45. The reason for the deletion of *αί* (*πυροῦ*) *ιδγ'β* is not apparent, since this is the correct equivalent of 24 artabae of barley (at the regular ratio of 5 to 3, cf. 61. (b) 258, &c.), and $141\frac{5}{2}$ is necessary if the total in l. 47 is to stand.

48-68. This section contains an account of payments by temples and cleruchs of the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax and the *γραμματικόν*, which here follow the *τριχοίνικον*, &c., and *δάνεια* as in 61. (b) 323-45. The temples pay $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba upon the area under cultivation, the *ἱππεῖς* and *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* upon the whole area of their land including the *διάφορον σχοιτισμοῦ*; cf. 61. (b) 333, note, and 98. introd. The payments for *γραμματικόν* were made irrespective of cultivation (cf. note on 61. (b) 342-5).

53. *γρ(αμματικοῦ)*: here and in l. 56 above the letters *γρ* there is a circular dot such as often represents *ο*. It cannot have that meaning in this case however—unless indeed it is intended to indicate the termination *-ου—*, for the resolution *γρ(αμματικοῦ)* is made certain by 61. (b) 342.

60. *γ (ἔτους) α*: a payment in arrear on account of the previous year; cf. ll. 64 and 75.

63. *χερσεφί(ππου)*: the *χερσεφίππος* is apparently not mentioned in the corresponding passage in 61. (b); cf. note *ad loc.*, 342-5.

δλο(ις) ὑπολό(γου): cf. 61. (b) 324, note.

64. The *γ* which is credited to the *ἔφθοι* for *γραμματικόν* should be *β* according to the items in ll. 52, 59, and 60; *β* is also the figure in 61. (b) 343. The *γ* here is probably due to the 1 artaba for the 3rd year having been added in (as is done in a similar case in ll. 75-6), though reckoned by itself immediately afterwards. The point of the insertion of *κληρούχων* (cf. l. 52) is not clear. If it is in apposition to *ἐφ(όδων)*, it may serve to distinguish these from other *ephodi* who were not cleruchs. Or it may be the name of the payment (cf. the payments *ὑπὲρ κληρούχων* in the Roman period, *Fayûm Towns*, p. 208). Though the general heading in l. 48 refers to a $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax, the *ephodi* pay 1 artaba on the *aroura*; cf. 98. introd.

68. $734\frac{3}{4}$ is the sum of the items in ll. 47 and 68.

71-6. Account of 34 artabae paid at Berenice, instead of at Kerkeosiris, by the three *ἐρημοφύλακες*. The payments are partly for the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax and *γραμματικόν* as before, partly for the *εἰσφορά*, which has not been mentioned in the previous part of the papyrus and does not appear in the corresponding passage of 61. (b). On the meaning of this tax see introd. to 98. *εἰς τὸ*: sc. *ἐργαστήριον*; cf. l. 12, note.

72. *ἦς μί(ρος)*: sc. *ἐσπάρθαι*; cf. 61. (b) 324, note.

74. The total for the *εἰσφορά* is given in l. 76 as 20 artabae, whereas in this line we have two payments of 15 artabae. Probably *κ* in l. 76 is an error for *λ*; cf. 98. 54-7,

from which it appears that each of the three *ἐρημοφύλακες* paid 1 artaba for *εἰσφορά* upon each aroura, making 30 artabae in all.

75. γ (ἔτους) α: cf. note on l. 60.

90. ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS IN KIND.

24.6.

22 x 24.7 cm.

Early first century B. C.

This and the next papyrus (91) are accounts of payments in kind entered under the days of the month—probably fragments from official day-books. Of the present document parts of four successive columns remain, but the first and last are only represented by the ends and beginnings of a few lines respectively; there are also detached pieces containing parts of other columns, one of which relates to wine. The heading Ὁρσενούφει ἀρχεφά(δωι) ὧν λόγος ἰπάρχει occurs, this being the first mention of an ἀρχεφάδος in a Ptolemaic papyrus. The payments of corn here are as a rule of two kinds, of which one is not particularized, and the second is described as αλ(). These amounts for αλ() are almost always $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba, and are added on to the primary payment; but in three cases at least the amount is $\frac{1}{3}$ artaba (e. g. l. 3); and in some instances the payment for αλ() is omitted, while in others it stands by itself. Possibly the abbreviation is to be interpreted ἀλ(σῆτον) meaning small extra charges made at the ἄλωσ (cf. 48. 17, note).

On the *verso*, in a different hand, are parts of several columns of another list of persons and payments in kind, mentioning . . . κλή(ρου?) βασιλίσσης (πυροῦ) ι.

Col. ii.

- Ἐρμίας [. . . .]κος αλγ', αλ() ς', / β.
 ὁ αὐτὸς [ἀν]τι κρι(θῆς) ὁ πυρός.
 Πετεσοῦχος Πεβούριος αλ() γ'.
 / τῆς ἡμέρας δλγ'ιβ'.
 5 κα. Ἀμβῆσις Καλατύ(τιος) αλ, αλ() ς', / αβ'.
 Πτολεμαῖος [Ἀρ]πάλου αλ() ς'.
 / τῆς ἡμέρας αλγ'.
 κβ. Σαλμών Κοκκυ() λγ', αλ() ς', / α.

- Θοτεὺς Ἀρβήχιος βΛγ, αλ() ς', / γ.
 10 Παθῆβις Πασῶτος γγ', αλ() ς', / γλ.
 υἱὸς Χάριτος Ἰβιωνίτης) ἀντὶ φασή(λου) αβ'.
 Μεστᾶς Μελανίππου β,
 καὶ ὑπὲρ γεωργῶν Βίθυος Φαλακ(ροῦ)
 μέτρῳ δρόμου εΛγ.
 15 Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλή(ου) αλ() γ'.
 / τῆς ἡμέρας ιζγ'.
 κγ. Πετοσίρις Ἀνεμπέ(ως) Λίβ', αλ() ς', / λδ'.
 Σαρᾶς Ἡρακλή(ου) ας', αλ() ς', / αγ'.
 Μάρων Βίθυος βλ, αλ() ς', / ββ'.
 20 / τῆς ἡμέρας δλίβ'.
 κη. Δίδυμος Σωτη(ρίχου) βγ', αλ() ς', / βλ.
 Ἀκουσίλαος Ἀπολλ(ωνίου) Πολέ(μωνος) Λγ', αλ() ς', / α.
 κηβ'.

Col. iii.

- Ἀρμύσις ἠπητῆς λ, αλ() ς', / β'.
 25 / τῆς ἡμέρας δς'.
 κθ. Κοῦτιξ Βερενικίδος) αβ'.
 Ἀπολλώνιος Νίκωνος) α, αλ() ς', / ας'.
 / τῆς ἡμέρας γλγ'.
 λ. Ἀπολλώνιος Πινού(τος) βλ, αλ() ς', / ββ'.
 30 Διοκλῆς Πτολ(εμαίου) Ὁξινᾶ(τος?) αγ', αλ() ς', / αλ.
 Ἀρμύσις ἠπη(τῆς) [[.]] Λγ', αλ() ς', / α.
 ὁ αὐτῆς ἀντὶ κρι(θῆς) Λίβ'.
 Πετεσοῦχος Ὀκούτος Μενίσκ(ου) γ'.
 / τῆς ἡμέρας ςίβ'.
 35 Ἐπεὶφ α. Ἀπολλώνιος Ταλί(της) αγ', αλ() ς', / αλ.
 Πετεσοῦχος Τεεφμε() αλ, αλ() ς', / αβ'.
 Ὀρος Σκ[ο]ρδῆους κλή(ρου) Πρα() γ.
 ὁ αὐτὸς ἀντὶ κυάμου α.
 Ποσειδώνιος λογευτῆς αγ', αλ() ς', [/ αλ.

Παρῦ(νις) ἐχ(ει). Κολλούθης θησαν(ροφύλαξ) ἀλ() [L.

41

/ τῆς ἡμέ(ρας) θς'.

δ. Κρονίδης Κόντος Λγ', ἀλ() ς', [/ α.

Σελεπῖνις καὶ οἱ μέτ[ο(χοι)] κλή(ρου) Προ() γς', ἀλ() ς', [/ γγ'.

ὁ αὐτὸς Σελεπῖνις κλή(ρου) Κόνωνος Λγ', ἀλ() [ς', / α.

45

κγδ'.

2. This line refers to the preceding entry.

13. Φαλακ(ροῦ) or Φαλακ(ρίωνος) is more likely as a patronymic than φαλακ(ροῦ) as a descriptive epithet.

20. $4\frac{5}{2}$ should be $4\frac{3}{2}$.

22. Πολέ(μωνος): a third name is similarly added in l. 33.

23. This number, added at the bottom of the column perhaps by another hand, is the total of the amounts for the different days recorded in the column. The items in Col. iii are similarly added up at the bottom (l. 45).

26. Βερε(νικίδος): the abbreviated name seems to be that of the village Berenicis; cf. ll. 11 and 35, where Ibion and Tali occur in a similar position. Berenicis (Θεσμοφόρου) is often mentioned in these papyri and was close to Kerkeosiris (17. 5, note).

28. $3\frac{5}{2}$ should be $2\frac{5}{2}$.

35. Ταλί(της): Πίνδαρος Ταλίτης occurs in one of the fragmentary columns.

37. κλή(ρου) Προ(): cf. ll. 43-4. κλήρου is written out at the beginning of a line in one of the fragments of the papyrus; cf. 230.

40. Παρῦ(νις) in the marginal note is made probable by the occurrence of that name in one of the unpublished columns. If ἀλ() is right, the $\frac{1}{2}$ in the lacuna is unusual but necessary for the addition.

45. κγδ' is the total of the sums entered for the days in the foregoing column; cf. l. 23.

91. ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS IN KIND.

27.10.

30.5 x 18.9 cm.

Late second century B. C.

A column containing a list of payments of wheat, arranged as in the preceding papyrus under the days of the month on which they were made. All the entries in this column refer to two days, the 19th and 20th of a month which is not named but no doubt belonged to the period of harvest. The persons to whom the amounts are accredited can in many cases be identified as cultivators of Crown land, and probably most if not all of them belonged to this class. The payments therefore, which vary considerably in size, are in the main to be regarded as rents of βασιλική γῆ. They include, however,

some small additional amounts for γραμματικόν, i. e. the salary of a γραμματεὺς (cf. 97. introd.), and for πρα(), the meaning of which is obscure but which is perhaps to be connected with πράκτωρ or a derivative; cf. note on l. 4. The payments were no doubt made to the sitologi at Kerkeosiris, and the papyrus is a fragment from their registers of receipts. The beginnings of eight lines from the top of the next column also remain, the last six having the words (ἡμίσεως) (ἀρτάβης) prefixed; cf. 89. 48, note. On the verso are some much-effaced rough lists of a similar character. Ὀρσενο(ὑφίς) θε(δς) μέγα(ς) is mentioned in one of them (cf. 83. 27).

ιβ, ἐν αὐτῇ.

- Πετεσοῦ(χος) Σαραπίωνος (πυροῦ) δε() ιδ.
 Χῦψις Πετεσοῦχου (πυροῦ) δε() μα,
 πρα() λ.
- 5 Ἀρμιῦσις Σενθέως καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι) (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) ιθλ.
 Δημᾶς Σενθέως (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) ιηγ,
 πρα() λ.
 Θέων Θέωνος (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) ελβ'.
- 10 Ὀννώφρις Ὀρου καὶ Ἀραθρή(ς) (πυροῦ) δε() ιε.
 Ὀρος Μικίωνος (πυροῦ) δε() νγ, λ
 ἐπιμέ(τρον) α, λα(ιπαλ) νβ, λ αἰ(τδς) (ἀρτάβαι) μς,
 θε() Πολεμ[ο]κράτου τδ λα(ιπδν) ς.
 Πετεσοκονοῦρις Κεφάλωνος (πυροῦ) δε() α / (ἀρτάβαι) κα,
 γραμματικου) [.] β, καὶ ἐν θη(σαυρωί) (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) α.
- 15 / (πυροῦ?) [(ἀρτάβαι)] ργίβ', λ θε() ι[ε]λβ', λα(ιπαλ) ροδλγ.
 κ. Ἀθεμμεδς Πετεσοῦχου (πυροῦ) δε() ρς,
 πρα() λ.
 Φατρῆς [Π]άσιτος α ι, β ι, γ ι, / λ (ἀρτάβαι?) ξ, [
 πρα() λ, γραμματικου) λ, τῶι ἐλαιοπώληι [
- 20 Ἰλῶς Ὀρου (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) α ι, β ι, γ ι, / λ (ἀρτάβαι) ξ. [
 Φαῆσις Πετεήσιος (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) α ι, β θ, / λλ (ἀρτάβαι) λς[λ, λ
 / σλθ αἰ(τδς) κγλ,
 Φαῆσις Πετοσίριος τδ λα(ιπδν) (πυροῦ) δε() ιγ.
- 20 ββ Ὀρος Πετώτος δς Θρε() Ἡλιοδά(ρου) (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) πβ.
 25 ροε / τῆς ἡμέρα(ς) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) τλδλ,
 πβλ πρα() α.

3. α after μ corr. from β . 11-2. These lines over two erased lines. 14. At the end of the line after α an erasure. 15. Between this and l. 16 an erased line. 16. 95 above $\pi\beta\lambda$ which is crossed through. 21. ($\epsilon\xi\alpha$) χ ($\omicron\iota\upsilon\kappa\omega\iota$) corr. from $\delta\epsilon$ ().

2. ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) $\delta\epsilon$ (): the meaning of the abbreviation $\delta\epsilon$ (), which occurs frequently in this papyrus and is also found in 93. 15, 22, 94. 11, 16 (in the form $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ (), both preceded by ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) and absolutely), and 159, is obscure. So much is however clear, that $\delta\epsilon$ () qualifies ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) in some way and probably refers to the measure used, since it stands in the same position as ($\epsilon\xi\alpha$) χ ($\omicron\iota\upsilon\kappa\omega\iota$) in e. g. l. 5, and the two expressions are used alternatively but never combined.

4. $\pi\rho\alpha$ (): cf. ll. 7, 17, 19, 93. 10, 24, 59, where the amount is, as here, $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba. The analogy of $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ suggests that $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ or $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$ or some similar form may be meant, and that these payments also represent the perquisites of an official. Perhaps they are connected with the $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau(\acute{\alpha}\rho)\epsilon\iota\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$ mentioned in 72. 463.

5. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\omicron\iota$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ ($\tau\omicron\chi\omicron\iota$): cf. 94. 28, where the names of some of the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\chi\omicron\iota$ are added.

($\epsilon\xi\alpha$) χ ($\omicron\iota\upsilon\kappa\omega\iota$): this measure constantly recurs in this papyrus and in 93-4, where the word is always written in the abbreviated form, χ with ς above. In 105. 40-1 and 109. 20-1 the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\nu$ $\epsilon\xi\alpha\chi\omicron\iota\upsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$ is described as the $\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ measure of the $\Sigma\omicron\upsilon\chi\iota\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ at Kerkeosiris; cf. 111. 7 $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega\iota$ ($\epsilon\xi\alpha$) χ ($\omicron\iota\upsilon\kappa\omega\iota$) Κερκεοσίρειως . On the different measures in use cf. note on 61. (δ) 386.

11. $\epsilon\pi\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ ($\tau\rho\nu$) α : cf. 92. 11. The $\epsilon\pi\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\nu$ is there coupled with charges for $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$, and in 93 and 94 small amounts are subtracted for $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, just like the artaba for 'extra measurement' here.

$\alpha\iota$ ($\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$): the letter α with a stroke over it recurs in ll. 13, 18, 20, and 22. In ll. 18 and 20 it is clear from the similar strokes over β and γ that α is a number, and its occurrence in l. 13 might be explained in the same way, the subsequent figures being omitted and only the total of the artabae being given. But here and in l. 22 $\alpha\iota$ ($\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) is more suitable, and is confirmed by 135, where $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is written out.

12. $\theta\epsilon$ (): cf. l. 15 and 135. Perhaps $\theta\acute{\epsilon}$ ($\mu\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$) 'deposit'; cf. 120. 125 and 123. 12.

15. $190\frac{5}{12}$ is the correct total of the items given, reckoning the number in l. 13 as 21 and omitting either the amounts for $\pi\rho\alpha$ () (ll. 3 and 6), which perhaps should have been added up separately, as in l. 26, but were overlooked, or the $\epsilon\pi\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\nu$.

18. It is clear from the addition in l. 25 that the figures at the end of this line and ll. 20-1 represent the amounts paid: $334\frac{1}{2} = 96 + 60 + 60 + 36\frac{1}{2} + 82$ (ll. 16, 18, 20-1, 24), the items for $\pi\rho\alpha$ () being added up separately and the $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba for $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ not included. Probably therefore the preceding figures refer to arourae and α , β , γ to $\gamma\acute{\omicron}\iota\alpha\iota$; cf. 62. introd. and 94. 1, note.

19. A figure may be lost at the end of the line, but there is about a centimetre of blank papyrus after $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\eta\iota$.

20. Through the diagonal stroke before λ is a vertical one reaching down to the θ in the line below. It is perhaps only a repetition of the sign for total.

21. The numbers here seem very confused. The $\lambda\lambda$ is rather more like $\alpha\lambda$, but no other letter than α or λ can be read.

22. The marginal $\Sigma\lambda\theta$, which gives the total up to this point, is $\frac{1}{2}$ short.

24. $\delta\varsigma$ $\theta\omicron\epsilon$ (): cf. 93. 64-5, 94. 25-7, &c. $\Sigma\nu\beta$ in the margin is the result of the addition of $\Sigma\lambda\theta$ and the $\epsilon\gamma$ of l. 23. The meaning of the marginal numbers below $\Sigma\nu\beta$ is not clear. $\pi\beta\lambda$ is the difference between $\Sigma\nu\beta$ and the total in l. 25, but this may be accidental.

92. REGULATIONS FOR THE TRANSPORT OF CORN.

9.1 verso.

Height 30.8 cm.

Late second century B. C.

This short regulation concerning the collection and disposition of corn revenues at Kerkeosiris is written on the *verso* of two columns from the earlier portion of 72 containing the list of κληροῦχοι (cf. introd. to 72). It directs that such revenues should be accumulated in the local State-granary, and thence transported by land, and that for cleaning the corn an additional charge of 3 per cent., and for 'extra measure' a charge of 2 per cent., should be levied. The interest of this ordinance, which may have been issued by the dioecetes, and was apparently designed to ensure security of transport, centres mainly on the new information supplied concerning both the geographical and political position of Ptolemais Euergetis, which is here described as the metropolis of the nome. For a discussion of this remarkable passage the reader is referred to the notes. To the right of the column in a different hand are six lines of a land survey in the style of 87. Another mutilated copy of this regulation is preserved in 161, and the first few words of it are copied out in 25. 22-3. In 161 the part corresponding to ll. 1-12 here stands at the top of a column, above which a second hand has written (ἐτους) β, and which proceeds as follows:—

8 (= 92. 12) [ἐν]τεῦθεν κατάγεται [δι' ὑποζυγίων (space for 16 letters)
 [Ἡρα]κλειοπολίτου τὴν οὐσα[ν 25 letters
 10 [.]ν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐξα[. 27 letters
 [τ]ῶν ρ (ἀρταβῶν) (ἀρτάβ . .) η ἐπι[30 letters
 [τ]ῆς δὲ κόμη[ς

There is also a narrow strip of papyrus which may be from the lower part of the same column, mentioning Berenicis Θεσμοφόρου and Tali. This shows that the regulation in 92 was only one of a number on the same subject, and probably it is itself incomplete, the sequel in 161 directing that the corn should be sent by land to some place in the Heracleopolite nome and thence shipped to Alexandria.

Κερκεοσίρεως

τῆς μὴ φρουρουμένης μηδ' οὔσης ἐπὶ τοῦ
 μεγάλου ποταμοῦ μηδ' ἐπ' ἄλλου πλωτοῦ

ἀπεχ[ούσης δ' εἰς] Πτολεμαίδα Εὐεργέτου
 5 τὴν μητρόπολιν τοῦ νομοῦ στάδια ρξ
 εἰς δὲ Μοῖρ[ι]ν [τὴν] σύνεγγυς φρουρου-
 {ρουρου} μένην στ[άδ]ι[α] ρυθ ὁ δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς
 συναγόμενος σίτος παρέγεται εἰς τὸν
 ἐν τῇ κώμῃ βασιλικὸν θησαυρὸν, προσμετρού-
 10 μένων εἰς τὰς καθάρσεις καὶ τὸ κοσκι-
 νευτικὸν τῶν ρ (άρταβῶν) γ ἐπίμετρον β
 {ἐπίμετρος β} καὶ ἐντ[εῦθ]εν κατάγεται
 δι' ὑποζυγίων.

8. 1. παράγεται. 9. βασιλικὸν above the line. 10. First σ of καθάρσεις corr. from θ.

'At Kerkeosiris, which is unguarded and is not situated upon the great river nor other navigable stream, and is distant 160 stades from Ptolemais of Euergetes the metropolis of the nome and 159 stades from Moeris, where there is a guarded point close by, the corn collected is conveyed to the royal granary in the village, an extra payment of 3 artabae on every 100 being made for cleansing and sifting and one of 2 artabae on every 100 for extra measure; the corn is thence transported by beasts of burden.'

1. *Κερκεοσίρειος*: this is omitted in 161, which has in the upper margin of the column in a different hand from that of the text (*ἔρους*) β.

2. *τῆς μὴ φρουρουμένης*: i. e. at which no military guard was posted, as distinct from the regular *γεννηματοφύλακες*. Military posts in the Fayûm are rarely met with. A *φρούριον* at Socnopaei Nesus is mentioned in P. Amh. 31. 27.

ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ: cf. P. Petrie II. 39. (g) 9. The Nile is probably meant rather than the local 'great river,' the Bahr Yusuf.

4. *ἀπεχούσης δ' εἰς* is preserved in 161.

4-7. This unequivocal statement that Ptolemais Euergetis, or as it is here called Ptolemais of Euergetes (cf. 166, p. 182), was the metropolis of the Arsinoite nome, is certainly surprising, but there seems to be no sufficient ground for questioning its truth. Hitherto no suspicion had existed that the Fayûm had ever had any other capital than Crocodilopolis or Arsinoë, which was undoubtedly the metropolis in the Roman period, when on the other hand Ptolemais Euergetis is described as a *κώμη* (B. G. U. 527. 4). But there are other indications which so far as they go support the statement in the text. The relation of Ptolemais Euergetis to Kerkeosiris in the present volume is that of a financial capital, for we find Menches going there on two occasions for the presentation of accounts and other business; see 26. 12, 38. 2, and cf. 14. 14. In contracts Ptolemais Euergetis is habitually referred to without any mention of its *μερίς* (e. g. 106. 7, B. G. U. 193. 2)¹, as if it was so well known as to need no further description than that it was

¹ B. G. U. 196. 4, according to which as read and emended Ptolemais Euergetis was in the division of Heraclides, is too much mutilated to be convincing.

'in the Arsinoite nome.' Finally, an inscription found in the Fayûm (Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, p. 29) mentions a Πτολεμαίων πόλις which was obviously a large and important place. We have supposed previously (*Fayûm Towns*, p. 12) that Ptolemais Hermiu was there referred to; but the distance of Ptolemais Hermiu from the Fayûm is a difficulty, and it would be much easier to account for the inscription being found where it was, if there really was a Πτολεμαίων πόλις in the same nome. Since Ptolemais Euergetis is not mentioned in the Petrie Papyri it probably owed the epithet to Euergetes II, and may have been raised by that monarch to a position of pre-eminence to which its importance did not entitle it and which it speedily lost.

Where then was the metropolis Ptolemais Euergetis, and can it be identified with any of the other places called Ptolemais which are met with in the Fayûm in Ptolemaic and Roman times? The key to the interpretation of the present passage is supplied by a papyrus at Vienna of the year A. D. 47, published by Wessely in his *Papyrorum Script. Graec. Specimina*, no. 30, ll. 5 sqq., when read in the light of a demotic text recently edited by Spiegelberg (*Demot. Pap. der Strassburger Bibl.* p. 44; cf. *Archiv*, II. p. 146). In the Vienna papyrus the position of a house is thus described:—ἀπὸ νότου καὶ λιθῆδος τῆς κώμης [Σοκνοπαίου] Νήσου τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος πρὸς Μοίρι τῇ πρὸς Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. Μοίρις here was taken by Wessely to mean lake Moeris. The Strassburg papyrus however in a similar context mentions 'the canal Moeris' or 'canal of Moeris'; and the close relation of this canal to Ptolemais Euergetis emphasized in the Vienna text is strikingly illustrated by our papyrus in which Kerkeosiris is described as 159 stades distant from the one and 160 stades from the other. Three facts then have to be considered:—(1) Ptolemais Euergetis was at this time sufficiently important to be the metropolis of the nome; (2) Kerkeosiris being unquestionably situated in the Gharak district, Ptolemais Euergetis is to be looked for roughly speaking within the southern half of the province; (3) Ptolemais Euergetis was the chief town on or near to a canal called Moeris which watered the lands of Socnopaei Nesus on the north side of the lake. The only hypothesis which appears to satisfy the conditions is that Ptolemais Euergetis should be identified with Ptolemais Harbour (Πτολεμαῖδος Ὄρμος), and that the site of this, as suggested in *Fayûm Towns*, p. 12, was the modern Illahûn. Ptolemais Harbour was the port of the Fayûm, and must have been throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods one of the principal places in the province. If Crocodilopolis was to be superseded, the choice of Ptolemais Harbour as a metropolis would be natural enough. Moreover with regard to the canal Moeris, the ancient channel, now called the Bahr Wardân, which supplied water to Socnopaei Nesus and whose course along the edge of the desert is still traceable, started from a point in the immediate vicinity of the modern Illahûn. The identity of Μοίρις with the Bahr Wardân would be still more clearly established if πρὸς Μοίρι in the Vienna papyrus be connected with Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος which immediately precedes rather than with Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου; cf. the similar case of the Ἀργαίτιδος διώρυξ in 164. The continuance in the Roman period of the two names Ptolemais Euergetis and Ptolemais Harbour creates no fatal difficulty.

If Ptolemais Euergetis be placed at Illahûn, the site of Kerkeosiris, being 160 stades or about 18 miles distant, must have been considerably to the west of Tebtunis. Perhaps therefore it may be identified with the modern Gharak, a view which accords very well with the other geographical data; cf. 17. 5, note.

8. παράγεται: 161 has the correct reading παράγεται. The use of the present indicative here and in l. 12 is abnormal.

9-11. προσμετρούμενων εἰς τὰς καθάρσεις κ.τ.λ.: cf. 72. 400, where the charge for cleansing and sifting is 5 per cent. 161 has in the corresponding passage [τῶν] ρ (ἀρταβῶν) (ἀρτάβων) γ [], and in l. 11 also (quoted in the introduction) the sign for artaba is repeated.

The charge fell upon the tax-payers, as is clearly shown by 93 and 94, in which the actual amounts received in many cases undergo a deduction (5 per cent. on wheat, 7½–8 per cent. on barley) for *κά(θαρισ)* in order to obtain the net payments credited. A charge for *ἐπίμε(τρον)* occurs in 91. 11, where 1 artaba is subtracted from a payment of 53 artabae by the measure *δε()*. It seems to have been in some way connected with the use by the local authorities of measures differing from the official standard (cf. 5. 85, note). The charges for cleansing and *ἐπίμετρον*, which are here said to be *προσμετρούμενα*, are probably included in the *προσμετρούμενα* which are met with in the sitologus-receipts of the Roman period, e. g. P. Fay. Towns 81. 11.

93. REGISTER OF RENTS AND TAXES.

12.8 + 14.7.

30.4 × 68.5 cm.

About B. C. 112.

This papyrus and the next are specimens of documents of which fragments are scattered over several of the crocodile-mummies (cf. 162–3). They give lists of cultivators of Crown land with (1) the extent of their plots and the rents due from them, followed as a rule by (2) amounts payable on account of a number of taxes, and (3) a statement of amounts actually paid, which have been filled in at different times. The details of the taxes are sometimes omitted, the sums due for them being perhaps in these cases simply included in the rent; and sometimes there is no record of any payments having been made. A difficulty arises with regard to the land credited to two divinities, Petesuchus (93. 55 sqq.) and Mestasutmis (94. 34), which pays rent like the rest and yet appears at first sight to be *ιερά γῆ*. This might be explained on the hypothesis that the government collected the rent of *ιερά γῆ* from the *γεωργοί* and afterwards made it over to the temples; in the survey lists, e. g. 84. 74, the rent of *ιερά γῆ* is often put down, just like that of Crown land. But in P. Amh. II. 35 priests are found themselves collecting the rents upon *ιερά γῆ*, and this was the system contemplated by a decree of Euergetes II (6. 45); and in the case of the land of Mestasutmis there is other evidence to show that it was not really *ιερά* but *βασιλική* (cf. note on 87. 109), so that probably three out of the four pieces of land attributed to Petesuchus also belonged to the Crown. One of the pieces however (93. 62–5, cf. note on l. 55) both on account of its area and of the names of the *γεωργοί* seems to be identical with the *ιερά γῆ* of Petesuchus in 93. 26, and unless there were special circumstances, of which we are ignorant, to account for the occurrence of *ιερά γῆ* in this list,

it is difficult to explain it on any other view than that the rent and taxes upon *ἱερά γῆ* were collected in the same manner as those upon *βασιλική*.

The personal names are arranged on an alphabetical system, but there are occasional irregularities, e.g. the obtrusion of Harmiusis in 94. 28, and the appearance of the god Petesuchus at the end of 93, whereas the god Mestautmis in 94. 32 is in his proper position. That these documents refer to Kerkeosiris is evident not only from the recurrence of a number of familiar names, but from the fact that in 94, where the position of the different pieces of land is sometimes added, the same *περιχώματα* occur as in 84.

The different taxes mentioned, which follow a regular order, are the *τετρακαικεκοστή*, *θε*() (cf. l. 2, note), *τριχόλικον*, *θησαυροφυλακικόν*, *κράστις* *Θηβαίων* (on these three see 61. (b) 317-9, note), *λοχι*(), *γραμματικόν* (cf. 97. introd.), *γεωμετρία* (cf. 5. 59, note), and *στέφανος* (cf. 61. (b) 254, note); and certain payments for *πρα*() (cf. 91. 4, note) are sometimes entered in the margin. Of these the only ones peculiar to these lists are *θε*() and *λοχι*(), the explanation of which is uncertain. The iota—if it be an iota—of *λοχι*() is always written as a diagonal dash above the *χ*, in the same way as iota in the abbreviations of *μάχι(μος)*, *ἄξι(ος)*; *τι(μή)*, &c. The name is presumably derived from *λόχος*, and the tax may be regarded as in origin at least a military one. The amount paid for it is always the same, $\frac{1}{8}$ artaba. The payments for *γεωμετρία* and *θε*() are also constant, namely $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba. The *τετρακαικεκοστή* or tax of a twenty-fourth, which is here always written in the abbreviated form *κ'δ'*, has already occurred in 36. 9. The payments vary in amount, but are not strictly in proportion to the area cultivated or the rent. The most serious items are the *στέφανος* which is generally about $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba on the aroura and the *γραμματικόν*, which is often half the amount of the *στέφανος*. The artaba used in calculating the *τριχόλικον*, and probably the other taxes also, contained 36 choenices; e.g. on $5\frac{1}{2}$ arourae (l. 13) the *τριχόλικον* is $15\frac{3}{8}$ choenices or $\frac{4\frac{1}{2}}{8}$ of an artaba of 36 choenices, a fraction which virtually corresponds to the $\frac{5}{12}$ artaba actually found in l. 13. In their reports to the central government however the officials used an artaba of 40 choenices, a system which lent itself to frauds; cf. 61. (b) 317-9, note.

The papyrus is apparently in the hand of Menches like 94 and 98, which were written about B.C. 112 (cf. note on 94. 34 and 98. introd.), and is of approximately the same date. In several cases double diagonal dashes, the meaning of which is doubtful, have been inserted in the left margin immediately below the names of the persons; they occur opposite ll. 7, 14, and 16 in col. i, and ll. 56 and 63 in col. iv; cf. 94, 98, &c. Here and there on the *verso* of the papyrus are figures referring to accounts similar to those on the *recto*.

Col. i.

- Φαῖσις Πετοσίριος καὶ Ὀννώφρις.] ζ (ἀρτάβαι) καθ', κ'δ'
 θε() ζ , (τρι)χ(οινίκου) ζ ίβ', θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) δ', κρά(στεως) δ',
 λοχι() ζ ' , γρ(αμματικοῦ) β, / δ[ίβ'], / κεγ', καὶ γεω(μετρίας) ζ ,
 στεφ(άνου) $\gamma\zeta$, / δ, / κθγ'. με(τροῦσι) Φαρμούθι
 λ[ο(ιπαί)] βγ. δς Ὀννώ(φρις) κριθῆς) κς ζ , / κα(θάρσεως) β, λο(ιπαί) κδ ζ αἰ (πυροῦ)
 ιδβ', Παχῶν κ
 5 δς Φαῖσις (πυροῦ) (ἕξα)χ(οινίκωι) ιγ, / εἰς (πυροῦ) κςβ'.
 Φαῖσις Πετεήσιος $\zeta\zeta$ ή (ἀρτάβαι) λβ ζ δ', κ[αἰ] ἀπὸ τῆς (πρότερον)
 Ἄρμαχόρου β ζ (ἀρτάβαι) $\zeta\zeta$, / θή (ἀρτάβαι) μδ', κ'δ' ζ , θε() ζ ,
 (τρι)χ(οινίκου) ζ γ',
 θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) ζ γ', κρά(στεως) γ', λοχι() ζ ' , γρ(αμματικοῦ) βδ',
 / δ ζ γ'ίβ', / μες', καὶ γεω(μετρίας) ζ ,
 στεφ(άνου) δ ζ , / ε, / νς'. / με(τρεῖ) Φαρμούθι
 πρα() ζ . ζ κριθῆς) ις, κα(θάρσεως) αδ', λο(ιπαί) ιε ζ δ' αἰ (πυροῦ) θγ'ίβ', Παχ(ῶν)
 β (πυροῦ) (ἕξα)χ(οινίκωι) ἀπὸ ιθ ζ
 11 κα(θάρσεως) α λο(ιπαί) ιη ζ θδ', ιθ (πυροῦ) (ἕξα)χ(οινίκωι) κγ ζ , / εἰς
 (πυροῦ) [[ν ζ δ']] μβς', λ (πυροῦ) δ,
 λο(ιπαί) η. / μςς'. λο(ιπαί) γ ζ γ'ίβ'.
 Φαῖ[σ]εις Παθήβιος ἐή (ἀρτάβαι) κ ζ , κ'δ' δ', θε() ζ , (τρι)χ(οινίκου) γ'ίβ',
 θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) ζ ,
 κρά(στεως) δ', λοχι() ζ ' , γρ(αμματικοῦ) α, / γ'ίβ', / κγ ζ ίβ', καὶ
 γεω(μετρίας) ζ , στεφ(άνου) β ζ , / γ,
 πρα() / κς ζ ίβ'. / με(τρεῖ) Παχ(ῶν) ζ (πυροῦ) δε() κθ ζ , / κα(θάρσεως) [α ζ ,]
 λο(ιπαί) κη.
 16 Φαῖσις Ἀρωῶτου θδ' (ἀρτάβαι) μγ ζ , κ'δ' [ζ , θ]ε() ζ , (τρι)χ(οινίκου) ζ δ',
 ἀσπ(ρου) κρά(στεως) γ', θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) γ',
 λοχι() ζ ' , γρ(αμματικοῦ) βδ', / δ ζ γ', / μηγ', καὶ γεω(μετρίας) ζ ,
 στεφ(άνου) δ ζ ,
 / ε, / νγγ'. / με(τρεῖ) Φαρμούθι κ[.] ν, / κα(θάρσεως) β ζ , λο(ιπαί)
 μς ζ ,
 [···] λ (πυροῦ) αγ', / μη ζ γ', Πα[χῶν] φα(κοῦ) δ ζ , / νγγ'.
 [[λο(ιπαί) ε.....]]
 20 λο(ιπαί) δ ζ .

1. 10. $\alpha\delta$, $\epsilon\lambda$ and $\theta\gamma\acute{\iota}\beta'$ above the line over erasures of $\beta\delta$, $\delta\lambda\delta$ and $\eta\lambda\delta$. *απο* above the line. 1. 11. $\theta\delta$ written above the line. Above $\nu\lambda\delta$ is a horizontal stroke.

Col. ii.

$\Phi[\alpha]τρῆς Πάσιτος$ $\iota\alpha\lambda$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$) $\nu\varsigma\lambda$, $\kappa'\delta'$ β' , $\theta\epsilon(\)\lambda$, ($\tau\rho\iota$) $\chi(\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ α ,
 $\theta\eta(\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ λ ,
 $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}(\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$ λ , $\lambda\omicron\chi\iota(\)\zeta'$, $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ $\beta\lambda\delta'$, / $\varsigma\zeta'$, / $\xi\beta\beta'$, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$
 $\gamma\epsilon\omega(\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma)$ λ , $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}(\nu\omicron\upsilon)$ $\epsilon\lambda\delta'$,
 $\gamma\epsilon\omega(\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma)$ λ , $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}(\nu\omicron\upsilon)$ $\epsilon\lambda\delta'$,
 25 / $\varsigma\delta'$, / $\xi\eta\lambda\gamma'\acute{\iota}\beta'$. $\mu\epsilon(\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota})$ $\Pi\alpha\upsilon(\nu\iota)$ κ ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) $\delta\epsilon(\)\xi$, / ι $\kappa\alpha(\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$
 γ , $\lambda\omicron(\iota\pi\alpha\acute{\iota})$ $\nu\zeta$,
 $\nu\pi\alpha(\)\lambda$. ι ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) $\zeta\lambda\gamma'\acute{\iota}\beta'$, $\iota\theta$ $\phi\alpha(\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ $\epsilon\lambda$, / ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) $\xi\delta\lambda\gamma'\acute{\iota}\beta'$ $\phi\alpha(\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ $\epsilon\lambda$, /
 $\omicron\gamma'\acute{\iota}\beta'$.

25 [[$\lambda\omicron(\iota\pi\alpha\acute{\iota})$ $\theta\lambda\gamma'\acute{\iota}\beta'$, / ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) $\delta\zeta'$ $\phi\alpha(\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ $\epsilon\lambda\delta'$]]
 $\Phi\alpha\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\Omega\rho\omicron\upsilon$ $\lambda\delta'$ [[$\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$] α /] γ , $\delta\alpha(\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon)$ α , / δ .
 $\Pi\alpha\chi\omega\acute{\nu}$ λ ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) δ .

$\Omega\rho[\omicron]\varsigma$ $\tau\iota\mu\omicron\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\eta'$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$) $\kappa\zeta'$, $\kappa'\delta'$ δ' , $\theta\epsilon(\)\lambda$, ($\tau\rho\iota$) $\chi(\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ γ' ,
 $\theta\eta(\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ δ' , $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}(\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$ δ' , $\lambda\omicron\chi\iota(\)\zeta'$,
 $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ α , / $\beta\lambda\delta'$, / $\kappa\beta\lambda\gamma'\acute{\iota}\beta'$, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\gamma\epsilon\omega(\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma)$ λ , $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}(\nu\omicron\upsilon)$
 β , / $\beta\lambda$, / $\kappa\epsilon\gamma'\acute{\iota}\beta'$.
 30 $\mu\epsilon(\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota})$ $\Pi\alpha\chi\omega\acute{\nu}$ $\kappa\varsigma$ ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) ($\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha$) $\chi(\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ $\iota\beta\lambda$, λ ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) β $\phi\alpha(\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ $\epsilon\beta'$, /
 $\kappa\zeta'$.

[$\Omega\rho\omicron\upsilon$] $\Pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\delta'$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$) ϵ .

$\Omega\rho[\omicron]\varsigma$ $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon$ $\iota\zeta'$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$) ν , $\kappa'\delta'$ $\lambda\delta'$, ($\tau\rho\iota$) $\chi(\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ $\alpha\gamma'\acute{\iota}\beta'$.

/ $\mu\epsilon(\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota})$ $\Phi\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota$ ι ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) ($\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha$) $\chi(\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ $\zeta\gamma'$, $\Pi\alpha\chi\omega\acute{\nu}$. ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) ($\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha$) $\chi(\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta'$, / $\iota\varsigma\lambda\gamma'\acute{\iota}\beta'$.

$\Omega\rho[\omicron]\varsigma$ $\text{Ἰναρω}\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\eta'$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$) $\iota\gamma\lambda$, $\kappa'\delta'$ δ' , $\theta\epsilon(\)\lambda$, ($\tau\rho\iota$) $\chi(\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ γ' ,
 $\theta\eta(\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ δ' , $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}(\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$ δ' , $\lambda\omicron\chi\iota(\)\zeta'$,
 35 $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ α , / [[ι]] $\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta'$, / $\iota\varsigma\acute{\iota}\beta'$, $\gamma\epsilon\omega(\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma)$ λ , $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}(\nu\omicron\upsilon)$ $\beta\lambda$,
 / $\beta\lambda$, / $\iota\eta\lambda\delta'$.
 / $\mu\epsilon(\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota})$ $\Pi\alpha\chi\omega\acute{\nu}$ $\kappa\theta$ ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) $\kappa\alpha(\theta\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon)$ λ , λ ($\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$) η .

31. Below this a blank space of one line.
 from ζ' .

35. 1. γ for the second $\beta\lambda$.

34. δ' after $\theta\eta(\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ CORR.

Col. iii.

- Ὀρος Πετῶτος νζΛ (ἀρτάβαι) Σζγίβ', κ'δ' βΛγ', (τρι)χ(οινίκου) δβ',
 Θε(μιστου) λα, θε() Λ, κρά(στεως) Λ, θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) Λ, λοχι() ζ', γραμματικοῦ) ιδ,
 θ ε,
 Κε(ρκεούρεως) κ, καὶ γεω(μετρίας) Λ, στεφά(νου) ι, / ιΛ, / Σμαίβ'.
 / νε Σπ. με(τρει) Παχ(ῶν) ιδ (πυροῦ) (έξα)χ(οινίκωι) πζΛ, κ (πυροῦ) (έξα)χ(οινίκωι)
 οβ / πβ, / (πυροῦ) ρξθΛ,
 41 λ (πυροῦ) (έξα)χ(οινίκωι) λαΛίβ'.
 λο(ιπαί) οαΛίβ', / φα(κοῦ) λ
 (πυροῦ) μαΛίβ'.
 Ὀρος Πετενεφιείους ιδ' (ἀρτάβαι) νζ', κ'δ' Λ, θε() Λ, (τρι)χ(οινίκου) Λγ',
 45 θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) γ', κρά(στεως) γ', λοχι() ζ', γραμματικοῦ) βΛ, /
 εζ', / νεγ', καὶ γεω(μετρίας) Λ, στεφά(νου) ε,
 γραμματικοῦ) β. / εΛ, / ξΛγ'. / με(τρει) Παχ(ῶν) ζ (πυροῦ) (έξα)χ(οινίκωι) ν, γραμμα-
 τικοῦ) β, / νβ.
 λο(ιπαί) ηΛγ. [. . . /]
 Ὀρος Μικίωνος ιεδ' (ἀρτάβαι) ξεγίβ'.
 Παχῶν ιθ (πυροῦ) μβδ', λ φα(κοῦ) αβ',
 50 Παῦνι ιβ (πυροῦ) ις, [ι]γ φα(κοῦ) εΛ, κ τὸ ἐν θε()
 λο(ιπαί) κγ'. κά(μης?) (πυροῦ) ςς', / εἰς (πυροῦ) οΛ.
 Ὀρος Νεοπτολέμου εή' (ἀρτάβαι) ιεΛ, κ'δ' δ', θε() Λ, (τρι)χ(οινίκου) γίβ',
 θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) δ', κρά(στεως) δ',
 λοχι() ζ', γραμματικοῦ) αδ', / γίβ', / ιηΛίβ', καὶ γεω(μετρίας) Λ, /
 ιθίβ'. / με(τρει)
 Παχῶν κα (πυροῦ) (έξα)χ(οινίκωι) ις, Παχῶ(ν) κθ (πυροῦ) γ, / ιθ.

40. παχ(ων) corr. from παυ(νι). (πυροῦ).

50. παυ(νι) changed to παννι.

51. εἰς corr. from

Col. iv.

- 55 Πετεσοῦχος θε(δς) διὰ Μαρρείου[ς
 θε() Λ, καὶ γεω(μετρίας) Λ, / α, / ιγ [

Πετεσοῦχος θε(δς) δι' Ὀννώφριος ζ [(ἀρτάβαι) κδλδ', κ'δ'
 θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) δ', κρά(στεως) δ', λοχι() ς', γραμματικοῦ) αλδ', /
 δίβ', / κηλγ', κ[α]] [
 πρα() λ. χα(λκού) κ (δραχμ) ιαλ, καταλείπονται ιζλγ'. ι με(τρει) Φαρμούθι κθ [
 [[λο(ιπαί) . . .]] με(τρει) (πυροῦ) ιβς'.

61 λο(ιπαί) εβ'.

Πετεσοῦχος θε(δς) δι' Ἀρφαήσιος εη' (ἀρτάβαι) ιελ, κ'δ' λ, [θε() λ, (τρι)χ(οινίκου)
 γ'ίβ', θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) λ,
 κρά(στεως) δ', λοχι() ς', γραμματικοῦ) αδ', / γ'ίβ', γεω(μετρίας) λ, /
 δίβ', / ιθλίβ'. [με(τροῦσι)
 κ (πυροῦ) ἀς Πετεσοῦχος Πακύρριος (πυροῦ) καθαροῦ) ε, κα ἀς Μαρρ[ῆς
 65 κγ ἀς Πετοσίρις Ἀμεννέως (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) ε, / ε[ίς] (πυροῦ) [
 [[/ . . .]]

Πετεσοῦχος θε(δς) διὰ Πετοσίριος ςλῆ' (ἀρτάβαι) λββ', [κ'δ'
 θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) δ', κρά(στεως) δ', λοχι() ς', γραμματικοῦ) αλ,
 / γλ, / λςς', καὶ γεω(μετρίας) λ, / [λςλς', . . . λδ',
 / λζγ'ίβ', ι χα(λκού) κ (δραχμ) ε, καταλείπονται λβγ'ίβ'. ι με(τρει)
 Παχ[ῶν
 70 (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) ἀπὸ λγλ κηλ.
 λο(ιπαί) γλγ'ίβ'.

58. ρ after κρα(στεως) corr. from ς. λο of λοχι() over an erasure of γρ (?).

2. θε(): perhaps θε(οῦ) or θε(ῶι); cf. l. 56, where θε() and θε(ός) stand in close proximity. The fact that the god Petesuchus is there the apparent owner of the land creates no difficulty, for the land was really βασιλική; cf. l. 55, note. εἰς θε() occurs on the verso of 18 as the heading of a taxing-list, but θε(όν) is not very suitable there. For other payments to the temples cf. εἰς τὸ Σουχιεῖον (18. introd.) and Σοκνεβτόνι (115. 31).

4. For the marginal note, cf. ll. 12, 19, 50, 69, 94. 25, 31. βγ' should be αγ'.

ἀς Ὀννώ(φρις): i. e. paid by Onnophris, equivalent to διὰ Ὀννώφριος.

κα(θήρσεως): cf. 72. 400, 92. 9-11, note. A deduction for κάθαρσις is frequently made in these lists. On the other hand the corn is sometimes described as καθάρως (cf. ll. 36, 64), the same abbreviation being used for both terms.

7. The τριχοῖνον should be $\frac{3}{4}$, not $\frac{5}{8}$, and probably the θησαυροφυλακικόν should also be $\frac{1}{2}$, for the items as they stand are $\frac{1}{2}$ in excess of the total in l. 8.

10-1. The original entry for Pachon 2 was $19\frac{1}{2}$ artabae less 1 for cleansing; only half the amount was, however, assigned to this account, which was indicated by inserting ἀπὸ above ιθ and θδ' above ιηλ.

12. λο(ιπαί) η in the margin refers to μβς' in the previous line; λο(ιπαί) γλγ'ίβ' (it should be δ) was added after the payment of 4 artabae on the 30th.

15. δε(): cf. 91. 2, note. The amount due for πρα(), which is inserted in the margin, has not been filled in; usually it is $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba.

16. ἀσπό(ρου): the amount is omitted. In 172 payments for ἐκφο(ρίου) or ἀσπόρου are sometimes found after the τριχοίνικον. Probably these are abbreviations of ἐκφορίου ἀσπόρου βεβρεγμένης; cf. 61. (a) 176.

20. λο(ιπαί) δΛ refers to μηΛγ' in l. 19, and was put in before the payment in Pachon was made; cf. ll. 12 and 42-3, notes.

23. The 2 artabae for γραμματικόν, which have been added later in the margin as in l. 46, are not included in the totals in this line, but cf. l. 24.

38-40. The marginal note refers to the περιχώματα in which the land of Horus was situated, 31 arourae being in the περίχωμα of Themistes (cf. 62. introd.), 5 in the 4th (cf. 62. introd.), and 20 in that of Kerkeouris (cf. 94. 1, note). 56 out of the 57½ arourae owned by Horus are thus accounted for. The figures 280 appear to refer to artabae, but they are curiously at variance with those of either the rent by itself or the total of the rent and taxes, as stated in the main entry concerning Horus.

42-3. The numbers here are prior to the alteration of the figures in l. 39 and the supplementary payment in l. 40.

51. The remainder 23½ was obtained by subtracting the payment made on Pachon 19, i. e. 42½, from 65½, the total amount due. The other entries were made afterwards; the final total should be σαλίβ'.

55 sqq. The land of Petesuchus at Kerkeosiris up to the 2nd year consisted of only 5⅞ arourae; cf. 63. 25-6. But here the total of the three entries in ll. 57, 62, and 67 makes 18¾ arourae, besides the figure lost in l. 55. The areas mentioned in the first, second, and fourth of these entries are probably to be regarded on the analogy of the land of Mestasutmis (94. 34, note) and Phembroëris (87. 109, note) not as ἐρὰ γῆ at all but as βασιλικὴ γῆ leased to persons in the service of the god, who in some way benefited thereby though he was not the recipient of the rent. But the third entry (ll. 62-5) does seem to refer to the 5⅞ arourae of ἐρὰ γῆ owned by Petesuchus. The number of the arourae (5⅞) was nearly identical, and the names of the γεωργοί who are mentioned elsewhere in connexion with the ἐρὰ γῆ of Petesuchus, Πετροσίρις Ἀμυνίας (84. 74), Πετροσόχος Πακύρριος (84. 112) and Μαρρῆς (63. 25) are the same as those in l. 65. If then this was the land which really belonged to the god, it must be supposed that the rent was collected by the government and subsequently paid to the temple; cf. introd.

59. χα(λκοῦ) κ (δραχμ): cf. l. 69 and 63. 60, 94. 22, notes.

63. γλίβ' must be read instead of either γίβ' or δίβ'.

68. The object of the ⅔ artaba which must be supplied at the end of the line in order to make up the total in l. 69 is not clear. The tax that regularly follows the γεωμερία is the στέφανος; but the amount is small as compared with the other payments for στέφανος in this papyrus and 94, though cf. ll. 37-9, where the στέφανος on a farm of 57½ arourae is only 10½ artabae. According to 5. 59 ἐρὰ γῆ was exempted from στέφανος, but this land was βασιλική; cf. note on l. 55. It is noticeable that no payment for στέφανος occurs in ll. 62-5.

70. The document apparently came to an end here.

94. REGISTER OF RENTS AND TAXES.

27-36.

30.3 × 72 cm.

About B. C. 112.

Part of an alphabetical list of cultivators of Crown land similar to 93; cf. the introduction to that papyrus. The present list is more detailed with

regard to the land cultivated, stating in some cases its situation and the rate of rent.

The portion preserved includes three consecutive columns, dealing with the letters K to O, with the ends of a few lines of the preceding column. There are also parts of two columns from the commencement of the document, referring to names beginning with A, and other inconsiderable fragments. We print two columns from the later section. All the names in the second of them have crosses against them (cf. 98. introd.); and opposite l. 35 there are also the diagonal dashes similar to those in 98 (cf. introd.). On the *verso* are three short columns of accounts of a similar nature.

The papyrus was written by Menches about the 5th year of Soter II; cf. note on l. 34.

Col. ii.

Κέντις Ὀρου Κοι(ρι) βλ ἀνὰ γ ζλ, δ ιελ ἀνὰ δλγίβ' οςδ',
 Κε(ρκεούρεως) λι(βδς) ἀπὸ τῆς (πρότερον)
 Θώνιος θ (ἀρτάβαι) μδδ', / κζ (ἀρτάβαι) ρκη, προ() α (ἀρτάβαι)
 γ, / κη (ἀρτάβαι) ρλα,
 κ'δ' αγίβ', θε() λ, (τρι)χ(οινίκου) βγ', θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) λδ',
 κρά(στεως) λδ', λοχι() ε', γραμματικοῦ ζ, / ιβ[λγ]ίβ',
 / ρμγλγίβ', γεω(μετρίας) λ, / ρμδγίβ',
 στεφά(νου) ιδ, / τὸ (πάν) ρνζλγίβ'. ι με(τρει)
 5 με(τρει) Φαρμούθι ι (πυροῦ) μθλ, ι καθα(ρσεως) βλ λο(ιπαι) μζ, κδ
 κριθῆς) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) κζλ αἰ (πυροῦ) ιελ,
 λ (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) λ, / εἰς (πυροῦ) ργλ, Παῦ(νι) ιθ (πυροῦ)
 κζ, / εἰς (πυροῦ) ρκλ, Ἐπειφ α (πυροῦ) αλ φα(κοῦ) ιδ, / ιελ,
 / εἰς (πυροῦ) ρλς, Ἐπειφ α (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) αλ φα(κοῦ) ιδ,
 ζ (πυροῦ) ελ, θ (πυροῦ) βγίβ', / ρνθγίβ',
 θ στεφά(νου) (πυροῦ) ιγ.
 / [[ρκλ, λο(ιπαι) λζγίβ', ι φα(κοῦ) ιε (πυροῦ) κβγίβ'.]]
 ζλγίβ'
 λο(ιπαι) ης'.
 10 Κατύτις Σισούχου καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι) η ἀνὰ γ κδ, προ() δ' (ἀρτάβη) α,
 / ηδ' (ἀρτάβαι) κε, κ'δ' λ, θε() λ, (τρι)χ(οινίκου) β',
 θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) δ',
 κρά(στεως) δ', λοχι() ε', γραμματικοῦ β, / δγ', / κθγ'.
 ι με(τροῦσι) Μεχ(εἰρ) κς (πυροῦ) εἰς δε() πλδ' κθβ'.

E e 2

Κατύτις Κατύτιος καὶ Χομήνις Ἀκρι[σ]ίου κδ (ἀρτάβαι) ρσίβ', κ'δ' ας',
θε() Λ,

(τρι)χ(οινίκου) β, θη(σαυροφυλακικοῦ) δ', κρά(στεως) δ', λοχι() ς',
γρ(αμματικοῦ) ς, / ιγ', / ρηγίβ', στεφά(νου) ιβ, / τδ
(πάν) ρηγίβ',

γεω(μετρίας) Λ, / ριηΛγίβ'.

15 με(τροῦσι) Φαρμούθι ι κ(ριθῆς) κε, ι καθάρσεως β, λο(ιπαί) κγ αί
(πυροῦ) ιγδδ', κδ κ(ριθῆς) (έξα)χ(οινίκωι) κγγ' αί (πυροῦ) ιδ,
πυροῦ (έξα)χ(οινίκωι) κηΛ, / εἰς (πυροῦ) νςδ', Παχ(ών) θ εἰς δε()
νβ, ι καθάρσεως ββ', λο(ιπαί) μθγ', / εἰς (πυροῦ) ρεΛίβ',
λο(ιπαί) αγίβ'.

Ἐπειφ α (πυροῦ) αΛ, ς φα(κοῦ) ιαΛ, / ιγ, / ριηΛίβ', στεφά(νου)
(πυροῦ) ιβ, / τδ (πάν) ρλΛίβ'.

Μάρων Πετοσίριος Κοῦρι) ε ἀν(ὰ) δ (ἀρτάβαι) κ. πλ(είω) ιαβ'.
με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ιγ (πυροῦ) (έξα)χ(οινίκωι) κ.

4-7. In the left margin opposite these lines three or four short lines have been erased.
9. Between / and ρκΛ is a round bracket. 11. The figures πδδ' have a horizontal stroke
over them. 15. β after καθάρσεως corr. from α. γγ' of κγγ' corr. from Λ.

Col. iii.

20 Μαρρῆς Πετοσίριος ιβΛ (ἀρτάβαι) μδ', κ'δ' Λ, (τρι)χ(οινίκου) α, / αΛ,
/ μαΛδ'. ι με(τρει)

με(τρει) Φαρμούθι κδ (πυροῦ) (έξα)χ(οινίκωι) ἀπδ νη κε, Ἐπειφ κ
φα(κοῦ) ε, / λ.

Μεστασῦτμις Πετεσοῦχου λ (ἀρτάβαι) ρ, ι χα(λκοῦ) κ (δραχμ) Σ (ἀρτάβαι) ι
ι με(τρει) Παχ(ών) κς (πυροῦ) (έξα)χ(οινίκωι) νβς', Παῦ(νι) ια (πυροῦ)
(έξα)χ(οινίκωι) ε, κ (πυροῦ) (έξα)χ(οινίκωι) ιγ, / (πυροῦ) ος',
χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμὰς)

κ (δραχμ) ι, / πς', Ἐπειφ ζ φα(κοῦ) ιβ', ι ἀς Μαρρῆ(ς)
Πααλοῦτος (?) (πυροῦ) εβ' καὶ ἀς Τεῶ(ς) μσ(θωτῆς) αΛδ'

λο(ιπαί) φα(κοῦ) κ.

25 καὶ κ(ριθῆς) ι αί (πυροῦ) ε, ἀς Θεαγένη(ς) (πυροῦ) γ, / εἰς (πυροῦ)
ιγίβ', ιδ (πυροῦ) ἀς Πετεσοῦ(χος) Ἀρα(θρείους) δ καὶ

ἀς Πευκέστης (πυροῦ) ε και ἀς Ἀθε(μμευς) ὑπ(ἐρ) Δω() (πυροῦ)
β, / ια, ιθ ἀς Ἀρμιῦσις) Φατρή(ους) (πυροῦ) βλ,

ἀς Πᾶσις Π[ε]τ[ε]σοῦ(χου) βλ, / ε, κ κδδ'.

Ἀρμιῦσις Σενθέω[ς] και Φαήσις και Πνεφερώς και Ἀρπάλων και οἱ μέ(τοχοι)
ληλ (ἀρτάβαι) ξηλδ'. με(τροῦσι) Παχ(ών) θ (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) ιε,
κζ (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) ἀς [Σ]ενθεὺς ιγβ',

30 Παῦ(νι) γ ἀς Θέων (πυροῦ) εἰς δε() ιγλ, ι καθάρσεως) β', λο(ιπαι)
ιβλγ', / εἰς (πυροῦ) μλ, Παῦ(νι) κ (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) κ,

λο(ιπαι) ηδ'. / εἰς (πυροῦ) ξλ.

Μεστασῦτμις Ὀρου και οἱ μέ(τοχοι) χ(ορτο)νο(μῶν) λ ἀν(ἀ) δ' (ἀρτάβαι)
ζλ. ι με(τροῦσι) Παῦ(νι) ς (πυροῦ) δλγ',
με(τροῦσι) Ἐπειφ β (πυροῦ) ς.

Μεστασῦτμις θεοῦ μέγ(α)λου δι' Ὀρου και Φαγῆς και οἱ μέ(τοχοι) ι ἀν(ἀ)
δ' (ἀρτάβαι) βλ, κ'δ' λ,

35 (τρι)χ(οινίκωι) αγ', / αγ', / γλγ'. ι με(τροῦσι) Παῦ(νι) ις (πυροῦ)
(ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) βδ', ιθ (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) ασ', / γγ'ιβ'.

21. The figures ηη have a stroke above them.
με(τόχων).

34. ι. θεὸς μέγ(α)ς . . . Φαγῆτος και τῶν

1. Κοι(ρι), δ and Κερκεοῦρις) λι(βδς) are the names of the περιχώματα in which the pieces of land were situated. For Κοι(ρι), which recurs in l. 18, and 'the fourth' περιχώμα cf. 82. introd. and 84. 203; Κερκεοῦρις ἀπη(λιώτου) is found in 151, where the name is unabbreviated, and again along with Κοι(ρι) in 96. 26. In one of the fragmentary columns from the earlier part of this papyrus (cf. introd.) the land of Harmiusis son of Petesuchus is described as ββ, γβ, Παω() τὴν Ὀρου τοῦ Πετ[ε]σοῦ[χ]ο[υ] κ[α]ι Πάσιτος βλδ', / ςλδ', where β, γ, and Παω() similarly refer to περιχώματα; cf. 82. introd.

2. προ(): cf. note on 82. 44.

4. The total should be $158\frac{5}{2}$, not $157\frac{7}{2}$. με(τρει) was written at the end of the line apparently in anticipation of the future payments, but repeated when the payments came to be entered; cf. ll. 20-1 and 98. 98-9.

5. καθάρσεως): cf. 92. 9-11, 98. 4, notes.

7. Ἐπειφ α κ.τ.λ.: this looks like an accidental repetition of the entry in l. 6. If so the following total is $15\frac{1}{2}$ too large.

8. The payment for στέφανος is reckoned separately, as in l. 17.

9. [ρκλ is the total of the payments as far as the middle of l. 6, where it is repeated. It was set down here before the subsequent payments in Epeiph were made, which superseded it, as is indicated by a round bracket to the left of the figures. λο(ιπαι) ζλγ'ιβ' (corrected from ης') at the end of the line is difficult, as it presupposes a total of 140 artabae, which cannot be obtained by any combination of the numbers given.

11. εἰς δε(): cf. 91. 2, note. Before πλδ', ἀπό is to be supplied, the number having a horizontal stroke above it as ηη has in l. 21, where ἀπό is written.

16. $\lambda\sigma(\sigma\tau\alpha\iota)$ $\alpha\gamma' \epsilon' \beta'$ is an extraordinary statement; the right remainder at this point is $13\frac{1}{2}$.

18. $\pi\lambda(\epsilon\iota\omega)$ $\iota\alpha\beta'$ refers to the previous line. A similar payment in excess occurs in the case of Mestautmis son of Petesuchus; cf. note on l. 27.

20-1. For the repetition of $\mu\epsilon(\tau\rho\epsilon\iota)$ cf. l. 4, note.

22. Of the 100 artabae due as rent from Mestautmis 10 were payable in copper; cf. ll. 23-4, where the payment of these 10 artabae is recorded. As stated in the note on 68. 60, this is the only passage in these papyri in which a figure is inserted between the number of artabae and the formula $\chi\alpha(\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon) \kappa$ ($\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu$); and it is noticeable that this figure divided by 20 gives the actual number of the artabae, which suggests that 20 copper drachmae was the price of 1 artaba. But this seems impossible (cf. p. 584), whether the 20 drachmae are on a silver or on a copper standard. In l. 23 the sign for $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\iota$ is added immediately after $\chi\alpha(\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$, which is parallel to the phrase $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ ($\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\iota$) $\delta\upsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\iota}$ ($\tau\omicron\varsigma$) in 160; cf. 68. 60, note.

25. $\alpha\iota$ ($\pi\rho\upsilon\omicron$) ϵ : the ratio of value between the barley and wheat is here 2 : 1 (cf. 208), whereas the ordinary ratio is 5 : 3; cf. e. g. l. 5. Probably ϵ is a mistake for ς , for the total $16\frac{5}{2}$ is 1 in excess if ϵ is correct. The reference in $\lambda\sigma(\sigma\tau\alpha\iota)$ $\phi\alpha(\kappa\omicron\upsilon) \kappa$, inserted in the margin just above this line, is not clear. For $\Lambda\rho\alpha(\theta\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma)$ cf. 91. 9.

26. $\Delta\omega()$: probably $\Delta\omega(\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ or some other personal name. $\delta\omega(\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma)$ is unlikely, since this does not appear in the list of amounts due.

27. The payments add up to $146\frac{1}{2}$, a very large excess on the amount required.

32. A Mestautmis son of Horus was one of the $\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\mu\omicron\iota$ at this period (cf. 62. 205) and is probably identical with this Mestautmis. The name of another cleruch of the same class occurs in one of the earlier columns of this papyrus, Harmiusis son of Petesuchus (cf. 62. 272), while an $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\iota\pi\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, Chomenis son of Acrisius (cf. 62. 165), is found in l. 12. For the cultivation of $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ $\gamma\eta$ by cleruchs cf. 98. introd.

34. There can be no doubt that this land of Mestautmis is identical with that mentioned in 72. 24-34 which was leased to these cultivators in the 4th year at a rent of $\frac{1}{4}$ artaba on the aroura for 10 years, and for later years at a higher rate. The fact that the rent is here $\frac{1}{4}$ artaba shows that the papyrus belongs to the first decade of the lease, and probably it was written about the 5th year, for at the end of the third column appended to an entry concerning Onnophris son of Horus is a note beginning ς ($\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ ($\phi\rho\iota\varsigma$). In spite of the mention of Mestautmis as if he were the owner of these 10 arourae the real proprietor was the Crown, and there is no essential difference between this entry and the others, which all concern $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ $\gamma\eta$; cf. 93. introd. This land is probably identical with the $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ of Mestautmis at Kerkeosiris mentioned in 106. 9-10 (cf. 105. 13, note) in the reign of Ptolemy Alexander.

35. The first $\alpha\gamma'$ should be $\Lambda\gamma'$; the rest of the arithmetic will then be right.

95. LIST OF RENTS AND TAXES.

27-37.

17.4 x 11 cm.

Late second century B. C.

A short column similar in its contents to the two preceding lists, but interesting for the mention of several taxes which do not occur there. The

general arrangement is the same; a name is accompanied by a statement of the rent due from a given area of land, and to this is added a number of small amounts reckoned in wheat on account of a variety of taxes. Most of these are identical with the taxes in 93-4; but there are others peculiar to this papyrus, all occurring in ll. 8-10, viz. . τε() δι(), ἐλ(), λε(), and σω(ματικόν?), on which see the notes.

On the *verso* are a few scribblings.

Ἄρβήχει

(ἄρουραι) ε (ἀρτάβαι) κδλίβ', θε() Λ,
κ'δ' δ', (τρι)χ(οινίκου) γ'ίβ', κρά(στεως) ίβ', θη(σαυρο)φυ(λακικου) ζ',
λοχι() ίβ', / (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) κςίβ'.

- 5 [[. . [. .] . [. . . .] . . [. .] [. .]]
[[] []]
κδλίβ', θε() Λ, κ'δ' δ', (τρι)χ(οινίκου) γ'[ίβ',] κρά(στεως) ζ',
θη(σαυροφυλακικου) ζ', λοχι() ζ', πρα() Λ, . τε() δι() Λγ',
γραμματικου) αδ', ἐλ() αδ', λε() Λγ', στε(φάνου) γεω(ργῶν) βΛ,
10 σω(ματικου?) β, / λεγ'.

7. Unless a new personal name occurred in ll. 5-6, which, since both lines appear to have been erased and the vestiges suggest taxes and figures, does not seem likely, ll. 7-10 repeat more fully ll. 2-4. Hence the entry in l. 4 of $\frac{1}{2}$ for λοχι() in place of the usual $\frac{1}{4}$ is probably superseded by the entry in l. 8.

8. . τε() δι(): the first letter is like α or δ or possibly a badly written σ, and the second seems to be τ rather than υ, above which is probably ε. στε(φάνου) could perhaps be read, though it is not very satisfactory; the following δι() would, however, serve to explain the addition of γεω(ργῶν) after στε(φάνου) in the next line. What δι() could mean is not clear; the iota is written below the line at right angles to the base of the δ as in the abbreviation of δι(άφορον) or δι(οικητής). On the analogy of στε(φάνου) γεω(ργῶν) in l. 9 and στεφάνου κατοίκ(ων) in Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 353, δι() would naturally denote the class upon which the tax was levied. But δι() might stand for δι(οικητου) meaning 'for the dioecetes'; cf. P. Fay. Towns 14. 2-3 πράκτορες του ἀναπεφωρημένου Νουμητίφ στεφάνου (B. C. 124) which shows that a στέφανος for the benefit of an individual was sometimes exacted at this period.

9. ἐλ() suggests ἐλ(αίων) or ἐλ(ακόν); cf. 38. 10, note. But something quite different may be meant.

λε(): perhaps λε(ιουργικου), for which cf. 5. 49, note. But the abbreviated form of this word would naturally be λει() as in 38. 30, &c., whereas here we have only λε with a horizontal dash above the ε.

10. σω(ματικου?): a tax called σωματικόν is attested for the Roman period by Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 1052, being possibly, as the editor suggests (*ibid.* I. p. 304), levied for the benefit of the λαογράφοι, by whom it was collected. The existence of λαογραφίαι towards

the end of the Ptolemaic period is proved by other papyri in this volume (cf. 103. introd.); but if *σω(ματικοῦ)* is correct and is here to be connected at all with *λαογραφία* it is more likely to correspond to the *φόρος σωμάτων* which Appian (*Syr.* 50) uses as a term for poll-tax. In any case a tax on slaves is not likely to be meant; the absolute use of *σῶμα* in the sense of 'slave' is condemned by Pollux, 3. 78, and Phryn. 354. It is noteworthy that *σώ(ματα)* is the word used for 'persons' in a third century B. C. *ἀπογραφή* (P. Alex. 6 = *Archiv.* I. p. 173).

It is not clear whether the total finally intended was $35\frac{1}{2}$ or $35\frac{5}{8}$; if $\frac{5}{12}$ is right for the *(τρι)χ(οίκων)* in l. 7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ for *πρα()* in l. 8 the correct total is $35\frac{7}{12}$.

96. LIST OF ARREARS.

18.1.

30.5 x 24 cm.

B. C. 95-4 or 62-1

A list of amounts in kind owing from a number of persons, headed *ὀφειλομένων ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐφοδειῶν*, with the sub-title *ἐφοδείας κώμης* for the first column. The meaning of this heading is not quite clear. It might at first sight be supposed to be that the names following were those of ephodi who had become catoeci (*μεταβεβηκότες εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν*, cf. e. g. 62. 87); but to this an initial objection is the number of the names, which are continued through the next column without apparently any fresh heading, while there were only two ephodi at Kerkeosiris; and secondly, the character of what remains of the list points decidedly to the conclusion that the persons concerned were Crown cultivators. The land belonging to them varies considerably in extent, and is rated at a certain amount, which has every appearance of being rent; and to this are added other amounts due for the *τριχόωικον* and *στέφανος* taxes, and loans of seed corn (cf. 61. (b) 313-6, note). The document thus presents the closest analogy to 93 and 94. On this view of its contents *ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐφοδειῶν* in the title may be taken to mean 'in the lists supplied by the ephodi'; or *τοῖς* may be masculine, and *ἐφοδεία* may here have a local significance. It would follow from this interpretation that the office of ephodus in the villages was in part at least a financial one; that, however, is not inconsistent with the meagre information that we possess concerning the ephodi at this period, and a parallel is afforded by the case of the *φυλακίται* (cf. note on 5. 159).

The village alluded to in l. 3 is no doubt Kerkeosiris, as is shown by the names of the *περιχώματα*; and it may be concluded from the docket on the *verso* that the list was drawn up in the office of the komogrammateus, who was at this period one Didymus. The 20th year, in which the document is

dated, refers to the reign of Ptolemy Alexander or of Neos Dionysus; the crocodile from which this papyrus comes is one of the later group; cf. 103. introd.

The second column is partially preserved, but it is much mutilated and gives no fresh information.

Ἔτους κ, κατ' ἀνδρα τῶν ὀφειλο-
μένων ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐφοδειῶ(ν).
ἐφοδείας κόμης·

Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολ(εμαίου) δλ ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ'

5 (ἀρτάβαι) κβς', ἀλ(λου) τόπ(ου) δὴ ἀν(ὰ) γ (ἀρτάβαι) ιββ',
/ (ἀρουραι) ηλῆ (ἀρτάβαι) λδλγ', [(τρι)χ(οινίκου)] λδ', στεφ(άνου) [ηλ.,
δα(νείου) σπ(έρματος) (πυροῦ) ςδ' φασή(λου) δγίβ', / (πυροῦ) νγ'
φασή(λου) δγίβ'.

Μάρων Μαραμή(νιος) Κ[ο]ί(ρι)) ζ (πυροῦ) κη,

(τρι)χ(οινίκου) λίβ', στεφ(άνου) ζ, δα(νείου) σπ(έρματος) (πυροῦ) δγ'
φασή(λου) δγ',

10 / (πυροῦ) λθλγ'(ίβ'), φασή(λου) δγ',

ὦν (πυροῦ) κς φασή(λου) ιςλ καὶ σπ(έρματος) δα(νείου) δγ'.

Πτολεμαῖος Πτολ(εμαίου) Κοί(ρι)) ιδλ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) κε,

(τρι)χ(οινίκου) αδ', στεφ(άνου) ιδλ, δα(νείου) σπ(έρματος) (πυροῦ) ςδ'
φασή(λου) ηλδ',

/ (πυροῦ) μς φασή(λου) ηλδ'.

15 Πνεφερώς Κεκευβᾶ(τος) Κοί(ρι)) ιαίς', ι β[λ ἀν(ὰ)] δλγίβ'

(ἀρτάβαι) ιβγ', ηλίς' ἀν(ὰ) δ (ἀρτάβαι) λδδ', / (ἀρτάβαι?) [μςλί]β',

(τρι)χ(οινίκου) λγίβ', στεφ(άνου) ια, δα(νείου) σπ(έρματος) (πυροῦ) ζ
φ[ασή(λου) γλδ',

/ (πυροῦ) ξείβ' φασή(λου) γλδ'.

Ἄρσησις Ἄρσησιος Κοί(ρι)) ι κ(ριθῆς) αἰ [(πυροῦ) λ,

20 (τρι)χ(οινίκου) λγ', δα(νείου) σπ(έρματος) (πυροῦ) ςς', / (πυροῦ) λς αἰ
κ(ριθῆς) [ξιβ'.

Παῶπις καὶ Κρονίδης Κοί(ρι)) ς [

Πετοσίρις Φίβιος Κοί(ρι)) ιβλ ἀν(ὰ) α [(ἀρτάβαι) ιβλ,

(τρι)χ(οινίκου) α, δα(νείου) σπ(έρματος) (πυροῦ) ιβ, / (πυροῦ) κελ.

Περγαίου

Φαγάθης Τοθοή(ους) β βλ ἀν(ὰ) δ (ἀρτάβαι) ι, ἀλ(λου) τόπ(ου) β[λ

25 ἀν(ὰ) δλγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) ιβγ', ἀλ(λου) τόπ(ου) τῆς διὰ Μεστα[σύτμιος

(ἀρουραι) 5 ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) κθΛ, Κε(ρκεούρεως) ἀπη(λιώτου)
 ε ἀν(ὰ) δΛγίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) κ]δΛγίβ',
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς (πρότερον) Φαγάθου Λ (ἀρτάβαι) βΛ, / (ἀρουραι) ιςΛ
 (ἀρτάβαι) οηΛγίβ',
 (τρι)χ(οινίκου) αγ', στεφ(άνου) ιγΛ, δα(νείου) σπ(έρματος) (πυροῦ) ηλδ'
 φα(σήλου) ιβ', / (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ρβλδ'
 φασή(λου) ιβ' ὦν φακ(οῦ) ε.

On the verso

30

Διδύμου κωμογρα(μματέως).

8. Κ[ο]ι(ρι) : cf. 94. 1, note.

11. The 27 artabae of wheat and $17\frac{1}{2}$ of beans are apparently the equivalent of the $39\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat in the preceding line, the $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of seed corresponding to the $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of beans in l. 10. But this will make $17\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of beans the equivalent of $12\frac{1}{2}$ of wheat, which seems too low a ratio of values considering that that between barley and wheat was 5 : 3.

16. ιβγ' : the fraction is very nearly correct ; $\frac{7}{24}$ would be exact.

18. $65\frac{5}{12}$ should be $65\frac{1}{2}$.

24. β before βΛ means the second περίχωμα.

26. Κε(ρκεούρεως) ἀπη(λιώτου) : cf. 94. 1, note.

28. $102\frac{2}{3}$ should be $102\frac{1}{2}$.

97. ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS IN KIND.

17-11.

Height 30 cm.

B. C. 118.

A list of payments in kind, following a copy of two letters written by Menches (12) and dated in the same year as they are, the 52nd of Euergetes II. At the top is the title 'list of payments on account of leases of the said (52nd) year, to meet the deficiency,' immediately succeeded by a few items, of which one is in return of a loan of seed corn, another for γρ(αμματικόν), and others having no specified object are no doubt ordinary rent. In l. 10 we have a fresh heading: 'Ἐπεὶφ κα, γρ() καὶ επισ(), followed by a long list of small amounts paid by various persons and placed in one or other of these two categories. There can be little doubt that γρ() here as elsewhere stands for γρ(αμματικόν); cf. 61. (b) 342-5, note. The resolution of επισ() is more doubtful; an impost of some kind is clearly meant, and the only known one that suits is the ἐπιστατικόν, which is generally associated both in the Ptolemaic and Roman period with the priests, and which appears to have been contributed by the members of the order for the maintenance of an ἐπιστάτης or for the

privilege of having one (cf. 5. 63, note). Two of the persons from whom payments for *επισ()* are here recorded, Athemmeus son of Petesuchus and Katutis son of Katutis (ll. 15 and 21), are specially connected with certain shrines at Kerkeosiris in 88. 17 and 41, and the latter of them also pays for *γρ(αμματικόν) ιερέ(ων)*. May it then be assumed that the other individuals credited with payments for *ἐπιστατικόν* were also priests or 'prophets' (cf. 88. introd.)? Some of them, namely those in ll. 13, 14, 17, are known from the survey lists, &c., to have been *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί*; but that occupation was quite consistent with the post of *ιερεύς* or *προφήτης*, as is shown, e.g. by the case of Katutis (cf. 94. 12). Moreover nothing is known of an *ἐπιστάτης γεωργῶν* for whose benefit an *ἐπιστατικόν* might have been levied. An *ἐπιστάτης καὶ γραμματεὺς τῶν κατοίκων ἰππέων* is mentioned in 32. 15-6 (cf. Strack, *Dynastie*, Inscr. 105); but there is no clear case of the payment of *ἐπιστατικόν* by a *κάτοικος*. On the other hand in 189 the 272 persons who paid the *σύνταξις* and the *ἐπιστατικόν* can hardly have all been priests, and it is on the whole probable that the *ἐπιστατικόν* here was paid by some *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί* as such, though the object of the tax is obscure and its non-appearance in 93-4 is strange. It may be noticed that in a taxing-list in P. Petrie II. 39. (d) 2-3 *ἐπισκοπ[]* and *γραμματικόν* occur in consecutive lines. The coincidence is certainly curious; but that *ἐπισκοπ[]* is the name of a tax, or is to be connected with the *επισ()* of the present papyrus, appears improbable.

This question leads to another, the relation of the two headings in ll. 1-2 and 10. The first two lines certainly look like a general title to which the heading in l. 10 is subordinate; but it is not easy to see why payments by priests and cleruchs should be credited to the *μισθωσις*, which would naturally be supposed to refer to revenues of Crown land (cf. note on l. 1). In connexion with this subject of the titles the continuation of the document is of importance. Fragments of several more columns remain, in which further payments, mostly as it seems for *γρ()* or *επισ()*, are recorded, arranged as before according to the days of the month. Some of the names preserved are again those of *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί*, two, Kollouthes son of Hórus and Petesuchus son of Tothoēs—who pays 10 artabae of barley for *γρ(αμματικοῦ)*—are those of *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* (cf. 62. 198, 224), while others are not certainly identifiable. There are several interesting mentions of Menches:—*Μεγχῆς αὐτὸς γρ(αμματικοῦ)* [(so twice), *Μ]εγχῆς αὐτὸς κριθῆς κηβ' αἰ (πυροῦ)* [, *Μ]εγχῆς κω(μο)γρ(αμματεὺς) (πυροῦ)* [; *αὐτός* in these entries perhaps implies that the list emanated from the office of the komogrammateus. Immediately succeeding this last item from Menches are six names which are certainly those of cleruchs (cf. 62. 30, 59, 68, 73, 122, 125, 167):—*Κεφαλᾶτος β* (sc. *ἀρτάβαι*), *Διοδότου ε*, *Ἀφθονήτου γ*,

'Απολλώνιος Ἀμμωνίου ε, Πρωτάρχου ε, Ἀπολλώνιος Διονυ(σίου) ι, / λγ, / τῆς ἡμέρας (πυροῦ) λζζ (corrected from λε), / γρ(αμματικοῦ) λεζ (corrected from λδ) ἐπισ(τατικοῦ) β. These considerable amounts paid by the cleruchs were therefore also for γραμματικόν (the 2 artabae for ἐπιστατικόν refer to a different set of persons); cf. the phrase γρ(αμματικοῦ) (ἐπταρούρων) in ll. 17 and 23, and an entry in another fragment] (εἰκοσιάρουρος) γρ(αμματικοῦ) (πυροῦ) [. The total for the preceding day was $46\frac{2}{3}$ artabae, similarly divided into $35\frac{5}{8}$ for γρ(αμματικόν) and $10\frac{5}{8}$ for ἐπισ(τατικόν). All the payments therefore still follow the classification of l. 10.

The purpose of the γραμματικόν probably varied with the status of the payers; where they were βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ the person benefited was the γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν (cf. P. Fay. Towns 18. (a) 1), where they were cleruchs the γραμματεῖς attached to that body must have been the recipients (cf. 32. 15-6). The payments for γραμματικόν from Menches were made on account of the Crown land cultivated by him as a condition of his tenure of the post of komogrammateus (cf. 10. introd.). It appears that the cleruchic γραμματικόν was not infrequently paid by the persons cultivating the κλήροι on behalf of their owners. The persons credited with γραμματικόν ἐπταρούρων in ll. 17 and 23, for instance, do not appear on the lists of ἐπτάρουροι, and the name of one of them, Harphaësis son of Petosiris, is the same as that of a cultivator of Crown land in 84. 55. Similarly in the lists on the *verso* of 13 (cf. introd.) some persons pay amounts (for what tax is uncertain) both upon βα(σιλικῆς) and (ἐπταρουρικοῦ), sc. κλήρου, e. g. Ἀμεννεὺς Μαρρέλου βα(σιλικῆς) γ', (ἐπταρουρικοῦ) ζ. The payments of the various taxes on cleruchic land were no doubt the subject of an arrangement between the cleruchs and the cultivators of their land. A tax called γραμματ(ικοῦ) φυλ(άκων) is known in the Roman period from P. Fay. Towns 42. (a) i. 15, a papyrus which also mentions (ii. 8) the ἐπιστ(ατικοῦ) ἱερέων. The γραμματικόν there is probably a payment by the φύλακες for their γραμματεῖς, not a general tax 'for the scribe of the guards.'

Col. ii.

Ἐτ[ους] γβ, κατ' ἀνδρα τῶ[ν μεμε]τρη(μένων) εἰς τὴν μί[σθωσιν] τοῦ
αὐτ[οῦ] (ἔτους) εἰς τὸ ἐλάσσωμα.

Παῦνι κδ

Σ[ὸ]κ[μῆ]νις Πετοσίριος (πυροῦ) β φα(κοῦ) β,
5 κς (πυροῦ) δδ', / (πυροῦ) εδ' φα(κοῦ) β, / ηδ'.
'Ἐπεὶφ ε δα(νείων) (πυροῦ) β, / (πυροῦ) ηδ' φα(κοῦ) β, / ιδ'.

- 'Ε[πί]φ] . ος Σαραπίωνος (πυροῦ) βλ.
 Πετεσοῦχος Σοκμή[ν]ι[ο]ς γραμματικοῦ (πυροῦ) [βλ.
 / ιεδ'.
- 10 'Επίφ κα γραμματικοῦ καὶ ἐπισ(τατικοῦ)
 Δημήτρι[ο]ς Σενθέως γραμματικοῦ (πυροῦ) [
 Τοθοῆς Σενθέως ἐπι(στατικοῦ)] (πυροῦ) [
 Ἄνεμπεδς Πετοσίριος ἐπισ(τατικοῦ) (πυροῦ) α[
 Ὄρος Πετεσοῦχου ἐπισ(τατικοῦ) (πυροῦ) α[.]
- 15 Ἄθεμμεδς Πετεσοῦχου ἐπισ(τατικοῦ) (πυροῦ) [. . .]
 Ὀνωφρις Πετεχῶντος γραμματικοῦ α, ἐπισ(τατικοῦ) α, / (πυροῦ) β.
 Ἀρφαῆσις Πετοσίριος τῆ(ς) ἀπὸ γραμματικοῦ (ἐπταρούρων) (ἀρταβῶν)
 δ (πυροῦ) αλγ'.
- Ὄρος Ὀρσείους ἐπισ(τατικοῦ) (πυροῦ) α.
 Μεστασύτμις Σοκέως ἐπισ(τατικοῦ) (πυροῦ) α.
- 20 Νίλος Πτολεμαίου ἐπισ(τατικοῦ) (πυροῦ) α.
 Κατύτις Κατύ(τιος) γραμματικοῦ ἱερέ(ων) (πυροῦ) β, ἐπισ(τατικοῦ) α,
 / (πυροῦ) γ.
 Πετοσίρις Πετενεφιείους γραμματικοῦ α, ἐπισ(τατικοῦ) λ, / (πυροῦ) αλ.
 Πύρριχος Ἀπύγχιος γραμματικοῦ (ἐπταρούρων) (πυροῦ) β.

1. A very similar title occurs in one of the later columns of the *recto* of 13 (quoted in the introd. to that papyrus) *ἔτους γ . . . κατ' ἄνδρα τοῦ μεμετρημένου φακοῦ εἰς τὴν μίσθωσιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους*, where there can be little doubt that *μίσθωσις* refers to *βασιλικὴ γῆ*. Cf. P. Cairo 10256, a report from a sitologus dated in the 52nd year of Euergetes II, ll. 13-4 *καὶ προσδεχθαι εἰς τὴν μίσθωσιν (πυροῦ) ν. εἰς τὸ ἐλάσσωμα* apparently means that the amounts were supplementary of previous payments.

17. τῆ(ς) is obscure and seems superfluous. *ἀπό* is to be connected with *ἀρταβῶν δ*.

98. TAXING-LIST.

13.4 + 14.6.

31.2 x 82.5 cm.

About B. C. 112.

This papyrus contains a long list of payments in kind on account of certain taxes levied upon the land of non-catoecic cleruchs of different classes or of the temples. A name is given in one line accompanied by a statement of the amount due, and generally in the next line there is a subsequent entry

or entries of the payments. The first column preserved begins with a list of cleruchs, three of whom (ll. 6, 10, 11) are *ἰππεῖς* and the rest *ἐπάρουροι μάχιμοι*. Each name is followed by a number (sc. of arourae), ranging from 1 to 2, and the sign for artabae succeeded by another number which is uniformly $5\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as the number of arourae. The explanation of these payments is afforded by a document on the *verso* of 63, which contains a long list in several columns of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ with a statement of their holdings, rents, and crops, e. g. *Ψενήσις Θώνιος δλδ' ἀν(ἀ) δλγ' ἰβ' κγγ', σπό(ρος) (πυρῶι) κ.τ.λ.* In the middle of these payments occurs a list of persons who are for the most part identical with the cleruchs mentioned in ll. 1-25, and whose names are similarly followed by a small number of arourae and amounts of artabae calculated as here at a ratio of $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. There can therefore be no doubt that the payments in ll. 1-25 are rents of βασιλικὴ γῆ cultivated by some of the native Egyptian cleruchs at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ artabae to the aroura; cf. 84. 45-6, 94. 32, notes. In a few cases small amounts were also paid for *στέφανος*, on which see note on 61. (b) 254.

The payments which follow are grouped under different headings according to the classes of the payers, which are arranged in the same order as in 61. (b) 322-40, the passage concerning the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax. The first section (ll. 27-40) deals with the tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba upon cultivated land belonging to the temples, and gives the details of the summary in 61. (b) 324-6; cf. 89. 48 sqq. $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba is also the rate upon the land of the φυλακίται (ll. 47-52) and ἐρημοφύλακες (ll. 53-7), of whom the former pay in addition 1 artaba for γραμματικόν (cf. 61. (b) 342-5), and the latter 1 artaba on the aroura (making 10 artabae each) for εἰσφορά. The ἐπάρουροι μάχιμοι (ll. 77 sqq.), the list of whom is incomplete, are rated at $\frac{3}{4}$ artaba per aroura (their holdings being reckoned as 7 arourae not $6\frac{1}{2}$; cf. 89. 48, note), the ἔφοδοι and the ἰππεῖς of Chomenis at 1 artaba (ll. 41-6 and 58-76). The same rate for the ἔφοδοι is implied by 75. 12. In 61. (b), on the other hand, there is only one rate, $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba, for all these classes of cleruchs; and cf. 64. (a), 89, 135, 218, 232 and 245, which with regard to the rate and the liability of uncultivated land to the tax agree sometimes with 61. (b) sometimes with 98. Unless these inconsistencies are due to errors, the most likely explanation is that this tax, whether identical with the ἀρταβιεία (cf. 5. 59, note) or not, was originally a uniform impost of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba upon temple and cleruchic land under cultivation, and was subjected to a series of changes. Between the 53rd year, when 61. (b) was written, and the 2nd year, which is the date of 64, uncultivated cleruchic land was made subject to the tax. That uncultivated *ἱερὰ γῆ* remained exempt is indicated both by 89, where the land of Suchus is omitted, and still more strongly by 98. 27, though cf. 86. 9, where the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax is

mentioned in connexion with *ιερά γῆ ἐν ὑπολόγῃ*. By the 4th year the rate upon the ephodi had been raised to 1 artaba (89. 64, note), but that upon the *Χομήνιος ἱππεῖς* and *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* remained at $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba (89. 48-68, note). It had however been raised to 1 and $\frac{3}{4}$ artaba respectively for those two classes before 98 was written. This change took place in about the 5th year, for 98 being in the handwriting of Menches cannot have been drawn up later than the 7th year (cf. 77); and several cleruchs occur (e. g. ll. 61-3 *Μεσσαυτίμις Φαγάτου* and *Λυσίμαχος Χομήνιος*) who are not in the survey list of the 2nd year (68). In spite of these alterations the tax often retained its old title ' $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba.'

The *εισφορά* has already occurred in 89. 74, where, as in the present list, the payers are the *ἐρημοφύλακες* and the amount is 1 artaba on the aroura. 232 mentions an *εισφορά* of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba on the aroura of *ιερά γῆ* (cf. 86. 9) and *εισφοραὶ* levied upon cleruchs are coupled with *ἐπιγραφαί* in 124. 35; cf. 99. 48 and 105. 48. Like the *ἐπιγραφή* (5. 59, note) the *εισφορά* seems to have been an irregular impost levied upon different classes of landowners at various times (*κατὰ καιρόν*, 124. 35). Throughout the list opposite to the lines recording payments are in most cases oblique double dashes, and in the first column most of the names have also a cross against them; cf. 98. introd.

Col. i.

- **Ωρος* **Ορσενούφιος* ζ (*ἀρτάβαι*) $\beta\beta'$.
 **Θοτεὺς Φολήμιος* α (*ἀρτάβαι*) $\epsilon\gamma'$.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ις (πυροῦ) ζζ, **Ἐπειφ θ στεφά(νου) (πυροῦ) ζ*.
 **Ἀροννώφρις* **Ωρου* α $\epsilon\gamma'$.
 5 *με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ις (πυροῦ) ζζ*, **Ἐπειφ θ στεφά(νου) (πυροῦ) ζ*.
 **Ἀρμιῦσις Φατρείου* α (*ἀρτάβαι*) $\epsilon\gamma'$.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β (πυροῦ) καθαροῦ ϵ , **Ἐπειφ ι (πυροῦ) ζ*.
 **Ἀρνώτης Ἀρνώτου* α (*ἀρτάβαι*) $\epsilon\gamma'$.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β (πυροῦ) $\epsilon\gamma'$.
 10 **Ἀρνώτης Φαεῦτος* α (*ἀρτάβαι*) $\epsilon\gamma'$.
 **Φμέρσις* **Ωρου* α (*ἀρτάβαι*) $\epsilon\gamma'$.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) η (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκωι) $\epsilon\gamma'$, **Ἐπειφ ι α*.
 **Πᾶσις Σοκονώπιος* α (*ἀρτάβαι*) $\epsilon\gamma'$.
 με(τρει) Ἐπειφ κ (πυροῦ) ζζ.
 15 **Ωρος* **Ωρου* $\alpha\zeta$ (*ἀρτάβαι*) η .
 **Ἐπειφ ι ζ*.

- Ἀρμιύσις Σαραπίωνος β (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ' .
 Φαεύς Σοκέως α (ἀρτάβαι) εγ' .
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ιζ (πυροῦ) ζΛ .
 20 Πεσύθης Παχῶτος α (ἀρτάβαι) εγ' .
 Παῦ(νι) ιθ (πυροῦ) (έξα)χοινίκωι ζδ' .
 Ὀννῶφρις Πετερμούθιος α (ἀρτάβαι) εγ' .
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ιθ (πυροῦ) εγ' .

7. καθαρου corr. from σ and another letter.

Col. ii.

- Πασῶς Ὀρσείους α (ἀρτάβαι) εγ' .
 25 Ἀρψήθις Κολλούθου βΛ (ἀρτάβαι) ιγ .
 Παχ(ῶν) θ (πυροῦ) καθαροῦ ζΛ, ι στεφά(νου) (πυροῦ) αδ' .
 25. βΛ corr. from α, ιγ corr. from εγ' .

Col. iii.

καὶ ὧν τὸ (ἡμισυ) (ἀρτάβης) τῆς ἐν σπόρωι καὶ ὧν ἀ(να)δεδέγμεθα·
 ιερᾶς γῆς Σοκνεβτύνιος ρλ (ἀρτάβαι) ξε.

ἐλασσόνων ιερῶν·

- 30 Πετεσοῦχου θεοῦ διὰ Μαρρείου καὶ τῶν μετόχων εδ' ἡ (ἀρτάβαι) ββ' .
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) η (πυροῦ) ββ', κ βΛ, / ες' .
 Ὀρσενούφις θεοῦ δι' Ὀρσενούφις α (ἀρτάβης) Λ .
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) γ (πυροῦ) Λ .
 Ἰβιάμος διὰ Χεύριος καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ε (ἀρτάβαι) βΛ .
 35 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ζ (πυροῦ) βΛ, κθ βΛ, / ε .
 ἄλλου δι' Ἐργέως καὶ τῶν μετόχων δ (ἀρτάβαι) β .
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β Λγ', ιθ βγ', / δς' .
 ἄλλου διὰ Πνεφερῶτος καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) ε βΛ .
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) γ (πυροῦ) βΛ .
 40 / ἐλασσόνων κδ' ἡ (ἀρτάβαι) ις', / ιερᾶς

ἐφόδου ἧς ἀπαιτεῖται (ἀρτάβη) α·

Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κδ (ἀρτάβαι) κδ,

γρ(αμματικοῦ) α, / κδ. / με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) κς (πυροῦ) κε.

καὶ οὗ ἀναδεδ[έ(γμεθα)] Π[τ[ο]λ[εμα]ίου τοῦ Μενίσκου

45

κδ (ἀρτάβαι) κδ, γρ(αμματικοῦ) [α], / κε.

με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ιθ (πυροῦ) κε, / . . () . . α.

43. γρ(αμματικου) το κδ over an erasure. 1. κε for κδ.

Col. iv.

φυλακιδῶν (ἡμισυ) (ἀρτάβης)·

Ἀκουσιλάου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ι (ἀρτάβαι) ε, γρ(αμματικοῦ) α, / ς.

με(τρει) Παχ(ῶν) λ (πυροῦ) ς.

50 Ἡ[ρακλε]ίδου τοῦ Ἐτφεμούνιος ι (ἀρτάβαι) ε, γρ(αμματικοῦ) α, / ς.

με(τρει) Παχ(ῶν) κς (πυροῦ) ς.

/ κ (ἀρτάβαι) ι, γρ(αμματικοῦ) β, / ιβ.

ἐρη[μο]φ[υ]λάκων] ἧς εἰσφο(ρὰ) ἀπα(ιτεῖται)·

Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Σειλανίωνος ι (ἀρτάβαι) ε, εἰσφο(ρᾶς) ι, / ιε.

55 Π[τολεμαίου] τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ι (ἀρτάβαι) ε, εἰσφο(ρᾶς) ι, / ιε.

Δάγλου τοῦ Διοδώρου ι (ἀρτάβαι) ε, εἰσφο(ρᾶς) ι, / ιε.

/ [(ἀρτάβαι) ιε], εἰσφο(ρᾶς) λ, / με.

καὶ τῶν διὰ Χομήνιος [[εἰκοσιαρούρων]] (τριακονταρούρων) καὶ (εἰκοσια-
ρούρων) ἧς (ἀρτάβη)·

[Α]ρ[υώτης] Φ[α]εῦτος ε (ἀρτάβαι) εδ'.

60 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) η (πυροῦ) ββ', ιθ ββ', / ες'.

[[κ]] [Μ]εστασύτμις Φαγάτου τὸν (πρότερον) Πετεήσιος κλ.

με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ια (πυροῦ) κλ.

Λυσίμαχος Χομήνιος κλ.

[με(τρει)] (πυροῦ ?) [

65 Χομήνιος Ἀκρισίου κλ. / με(τρει)

[. (πυροῦ)]

Col. v.

- Ζώπυρος Διονυσίου τὸν (πρότερον) Κεφαλᾶτος
 τοῦ Πετεσοῦχου κλ.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ια (πυροῦ) κλ.
 70 Θεοεὺς Ὀρσείουσ οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ κλή(ρου) περὶ Τε[β]τῦ(νιν) κλ.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β ιδ', ιθ ιδ', / κλ.
 Φμέρσις Ὀρου εδ' (ἀρτάβαι) εγ'.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) η (πυροῦ) ββ', ιθ ββ', / εγ'.
 Ἀρμιῦσις Φατρείου κλ.
 75 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β ιδ', ιθ ιδ', / κλ.
 / (τριακονταρούρων) καὶ (εἰκοσιαρούρων) ρκςδ'.
 (ἑπταρούρων) ὧν τὸ (ἥμισυ) (τέταρτον).
 Πορευέβθις Ἀπύγχιος εδ'. / με(τρει)
 Παχ(ῶν) λ (πυροῦ) γλ, Παῦ(νι) ιζ αλδ', / εδ'.
 80 Ὀρος Ὀρου εδ'.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) η (πυροῦ) γλ, ιθ αλδ', / εδ'.
 Ὀρος Θεοτοραίου εδ'.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β (πυροῦ) γλ, ιθ αλδ', / εδ'.
 Ἀρχῦψις Πετοσίριος εδ'.
 85 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) η (πυροῦ) γλ.
 Πετεσοῦχος Τεῶτος εδ'. / με(τρει)
 Παχ(ῶν) λ (πυροῦ) γλ, Παῦ(νι) ιθ αλδ', / εδ'.
 Κανῶς Πετοσίριος εδ'.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ιγ (πυροῦ) γλ, ιθ αλδ', / εδ'.
 90 Ἀρσῦτμις Πετοσίριος εδ'.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ζ (πυροῦ) γδ', η δ', / γλ.
 70. του κλη(ρου) over an erasure. 73. γ' corr. from ε'.

Col. vi.

- Ἀρ εὺς Σιεφμόυτος [εδ'.
 με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ιθ (πυροῦ) εδ'.
 Ἀρψῆθις Κολλούθου εδ'.
 95 Παῦ(νι) ιθ αλδ'.

	Πετεσοῦχος Τοθοεῖους	εδ'.
	με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ζ γλ, ιθ αλδ', / εδ'.	
	Ἦρος Φαγώμιος	εδ'. / με(τρει)
	με(τρει) Παχ(ὸν) λ (πυροῦ) γλ, Παῦ(νι) ιζ αλδ', / εδ'.	
100	Φατρῆς Ἦρου	εδ'.
	με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β (πυροῦ) γλ, ιθ αλδ', / εδ'.	
	Μεστασῦτμις Ἦρου	εδ'.
	με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β (πυροῦ) γλ, ιθ αλδ', / εδ'.	
	Φαεύς Σοκέως	εδ'.
105	με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ζ (πυροῦ) γλ.	
	Θοτεὺς Φολήμιος	εδ'.
	με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β (πυροῦ) γλ, ιθ αλδ', / εδ'.	
	Μαρρῆς Πακούρριος	εδ'.
	με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β (πυροῦ) γλ, ιγ αλδ', / εδ'.	
110	Ἄρμιῦσις Σοκονώπιος	εδ'.
	με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β (πυροῦ) γλ, ιζ αλδ', / εδ'.	
	Τεῶς Τεῶτος	εδ'.
	Πᾶσις μι(κρὸς) Καλατύτιος	εδ'.
	με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ιθ (πυροῦ) εδ'.	
115	Πᾶσις μέ(γας) Καλατύτιος	εδ'.
	με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) ιθ (πυροῦ) εδ'.	
	Νεκτενίβις Ἦρου	εδ'.
	με(τρει) Παῦ(νι) β γλ, ιθ αλδ', / εδ'.	

7. κ(ι)θαροῦ): cf. l. 26 and 98. 36, 64.

27. ὧν ἀ(να)δεύμεθα: 'for whom we (sc. Menches) are security.' Only one person so guaranteed is subsequently mentioned, the ephodus Ptolemaeus son of Meniscus (l. 44); but cf. 75. 3 sqq., where Menches gives a formal undertaking (using the same word ἀναδέχεσθαι) to pay the tax of an artaba for this same person and for three catoeci, who may have occurred here in a later column, now lost. The catoeci, though not mentioned in 61. (b), were liable to the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax; cf. 64. (a) 54 and 80.

37. The addition of the two items makes $3\frac{1}{2}$, not $4\frac{1}{2}$.

40. The omitted totals for the temple land are $150\frac{3}{4}$ arourae and $75\frac{1}{2}$ artabae.

44. Cf. note on l. 27.

53. ἀπα(ιείτ)αι): cf. l. 41, where the word is not abbreviated.

70. οὗ τὸ λο(ιστὸν) τοῦ κλ(ί)ρου) περι Τε(β)τυ(ν) is out of place and should refer to Phmersis in l. 72; cf. 62. 175, 63. 145, 64. (a) 137.

77. ὧν τὸ (ἡμισυ) (τέταρτον): this tax of $\frac{3}{4}$ artaba on the aroura is met with at Thebes

about this period in Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 1529, which has hitherto been unintelligible. The payer there has a Greek name and was very likely a cleruch.

98-9. For the repetition of *με(τρει)* cf. 94. 4, note.

99. REPORT ON TAXATION.

3.1 *recto*.

Height 28.3 *cm*.

About B. C. 148.

The document on the *verso* of this papyrus has already been given (79), and the order of the three fragments composing it has been explained on p. 339. The *recto* contains an official report dealing with taxation both in kind and money. Of Fragment (*a*) only a few lines from the bottom of three columns are complete, though there are many small pieces from the upper portions. The third column concludes *καὶ τὰς ὀφειλομένας πρὸς τὰ καθήκοντα ἐκφόρια [το]ῦ ἡ καὶ ἰθ (ἔτους) τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ περὶ τοῦ κλ(ήρου) [ἀ]ναληφθέντος δ' εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν [[πρ.] ὧν προφέρεται [. . .]των γραμματέα τῶν λογε(τῶν). τοῦ δὲ ἰθ (ἔτους) Θεόφαντον τοῦ γενομένου μετρη()*.

Fragment (*b*) is concerned with payments for two imposts, the *ἐπιγραφὴ* and the 2-artabae tax (cf. notes on 5. 15 and 59), and arrears of them from preceding years. The sums mentioned are extremely large and obviously refer to a much wider taxing-area than a single village. It is quite uncertain what part of the Fayûm is meant, for no place-names occur and, as the document on the *verso* shows, the papyrus has no particular connexion with Kerkeosiris. The payments are made partly in wheat, partly in copper or in iron, which is here for the first time met with as an official medium of exchange. The copper is divided into *ισόνομος*, or copper accepted as payment for silver at par, and *οὐ ἀλλαγῆ*, or copper on which a discount was charged when it was converted into silver (cf. App. ii. § 5), the sums payable in the first being much the larger.

Between Fragments (*b*) and (*c*) a new writer intervenes, and the subject of the concluding columns is somewhat different. In ll. 45-61 we have a list of persons who are probably *κάτοικοι ἱππεῖς*, and own very large estates ranging from 320 to 500 arourae. One of them is a Macedonian, two others belonged to demes presumably at Alexandria, while a *Παφλαγῶν* is found in the fragmentary first column. The entries after each name, which uniformly begin with *παραγράφεται*, are apparently concerned with charges for taxation which had been wrongly made or were disputed (cf. P. Petrie II. 13. (17) 2). Besides the *εἰσφορὰ*, *ἐπιγραφὴ* and *στέφανος* we hear of the *ἀνιππία*, though no fresh light

is thrown on the meaning of that strange impost. The final section (ll. 62-70) is a list of *συγγενείς*, i. e. *συγγενείς κάτοικοι* (cf. 81. (b) 79 and 82. 58), who had agreed to make some contribution but had failed to sign the necessary declaration. These are entered as liable for sums of wheat of varying size.

The papyrus was probably written in or shortly after the 33rd year, which is the latest date mentioned, and the reign, we think, is that of Philometor, not Euergetes II. The various hands of 70 and 90, though characteristically second century B. C., are of an earlier type than those of the Menches papyri, and some of the years mentioned, e. g. the 6th in l. 46 and the 21st in l. 47, must refer to Philometor's reign or the joint rule of the two brothers. Moreover the Pancrates who occurs in l. 6 (cf. ll. 26-8) in connexion with the administration of a *κλήρος* may be identical with the Pancrates *πρὸς τῇ συντάξει τῶν κατοίκων ἰππέων* in the 36th year of Philometor (82. 1), and the Dionysius mentioned in 70. 52 is very likely identical with the Dionysius of 82. 67.

(b) Col. i. Ends of six lines.

Col. ii.

τῶν δ' ἐξ ὀφειλημάτων (πυροῦ) ^{λδ} Μ' ΒΓπθ
χα(λκοῦ) οὐ (ἀλλαγῆ) (τάλαντα) μζ' ΕΞγ ἰσ[α(νόμου)] τάλαντα Ἀρδ' Βνι σιδί(ρου)
(τάλαντα) ι.

ὥστ' εἶναι (πυροῦ) ^{μϛ} Μ' Ἀξζζ' χα(λκοῦ) οὐ (ἀλλαγῆ) (τάλαντα) νβ' Δυξ
[ἰσ(νόμου)] (τάλαντα) Ἀρε' ΒΓρι σιδί(ρου) (τάλαντα) ι.

5 [κα]ὶ προσανατιθέμεθα

[τοῦ] ἀναφερομέν[ου ὑ]πὸ Παγκ[ρ]άτου ἀνειληφθαι

κλήρου ὑπὸ δ[ὲ] Π[ι]τ[ο]λεμαίου [τοῦ] βα(σιλικού) γραμματέως ἐν ἀφέσει

[] [.....]των παραδοθῆναι εἰς τὴν

[] [..... τὰ ἐκφ]όρια ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὴν κώ(μην)

καὶ σε() ἀπὸ ἐπιβ[σ(λῆς ?)] ἀπὸ (ἀρταβῶν) ὑογ' τὸ παρὰ τοῦτο (πυροῦ) υκηζ',

11 εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ (πυροῦ) [^{μϛ} Μ'] Ἀφμεβ' χα(λκοῦ) οὐ (ἀλλαγῆ) (τάλαντα) νβ' Δυξ
ἰσ(νόμου) [(τάλαντα) Ἀρε' Β]Γρι σιδί(ρου) (τάλαντα) ι.

[ἐξ ὧν μ]εμετρῆ(σθαι) εἰς Μεσορῆ

εἰς τὴν τ[οῦ] λγ (ἔτους) . . .] ^β Μ' Θψξβζ,

15 εἰς τοὺς [ἔως τοῦ λβ (ἔτους)] 'Βρλζζδ', / ^γ Μ' Ἀρδ',

εἰς τὴν τ[.] $\overset{\gamma}{M}$ 'Βωαβδ',
 γίνονται [] $\overset{\epsilon}{M}$ 'Δψαβλ.
 ὀφείλει [(πυροῦ) $\overset{\lambda\theta}{M}$ 'ς]ψνβλ χα(λκοῦ) οὐ (ἀλλαγὴ) (τάλαντα) νβ 'Δυξ
 ἰσονόμου) [(τάλαντα) 'Α]ρε 'Βρι σιδή(ρου) (τάλαντα) ι.

Col. iii.

20 τούτων

πρὸς τὴν τοῦ λγ (ἔτους) β (ἀρτάβην) πυροῦ $\overset{\gamma}{M}$ Σν[
 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ λγ (ἔτους) ἐπιγραφὴν $\overset{\beta}{M}$ 'Εφα[
 χαλκοῦ οὐ ἀλλαγὴ) (τάλαντα) δ 'ΕΣ ἰσονόμου) (τάλαντον) α φ,
 πρ[ὸ]ς τοὺς ἕως τοῦ λβ (ἔτους) χρόνους) (πυροῦ) $\overset{\lambda\delta}{M}$. [
 25 χα(λκοῦ) οὐ (ἀλλαγὴ) (τάλαντα) μξ 'ΕΣν ἰσονόμου) (τάλαντα) 'Αρδ 'Βυι
 σιδή(ρου) [(τάλαντα) ι.
 εἰς ταύτας ἀναφέρει Παγκράτης μεμ[ετρη(σθαι)]
 ἐν τῶ[ι] Θωὸθ (πυροῦ) $\overset{\alpha}{M}$ 'ςφνγς' ἀνθ' ὧν τ[. . . .
 ἄς γράφει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς) διὰ τὸ τὸν Παγκράτην
 τὰ ἕως Θωὸθ κε μεμετρημένα ἀνειληφέναι β (ἀρτάβης) [. . . .
 30 ἱππ[. . .] . ς προσόδου?) λγ (ἔτους) 'Ζτοζλδ', καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἕως τοῦ λβ (ἔτους)
 χρόνους) . . .

γίνονται (πυροῦ) $\overset{\alpha}{M}$ 'Ηφμ[
 λοιπαὶ (πυροῦ) $\overset{\lambda\epsilon}{M}$ 'Ηοδ χα(λκοῦ) οὐ (ἀλλαγὴ) (τάλαντα) νβ 'Δυξ
 ἰσονόμου) (τάλαντα) 'Αρε 'Βρι σιδή(ρου) (τάλαντα) ι.
 [. ω]ν τίθετ[α]ι ἐν ἐπιστάσει ασκ[.
 35 [.] (ἔτ) τ[οῦ] ὑπάρχοντος κλ[.
 [.] [ι. .] τῶι ἐπιστάτει τῶν ἔνδον παίδων . . .
 [.] ν ἐπεστάλθαι παρὰ τοῦ διοικητοῦ μη . . [. . . .
 α . [. . .] . διὰ τὸ ἀναδεδέχθαι ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι μετ[. . . .
 οἷς [καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν βασιλικὸν] γραμματέα) προσμεμαρτ[υ]ρ[ῆ]κέναι
 40 καὶ τὰ καθήκοντα παραδοθῆναι παρὰ Μελ[. . . .

καὶ Μελσαιίδου τοῦ υἱοῦ εἰς τὴν τοῦ λγ (ἔτους) β (ἀρτάβην) ἄς γρ[άφει
 δεῖν ἀ[πο]λογισθῆναι εἰς τὰ ὀφει(λήματα) πρὸς τὰς (ἀρτάβας?) ἤ[ε]. . .
 ἐπισταλείσαν διὰ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου χρη(ματισμοῦ) δου[. . .
 (πυροῦ) . . .

24. λδ above M corr. from λς. 26. ταντας written above ας, which is crossed through.

(c) 2nd hand.

Col. i. Ends of lines.

Col. ii.

45 Διοσκουρίδης Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδῶν φ.
 παραγράφεται ἀναδοχῆς Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ ε (ἔτους) ξγ'ίβ',
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰσφορὰν τοῦ κα (ἔτους) τῶν κα[.]. ὄματα
 τὰς ἐν Προπέλλωι ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀντιλέγει προφερόμενος
 μήτε ἀπενηρέχθαι μηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ [κλ]ήρου εἶναι τε
 50 πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον Πτολεμαίου (ἑκατοντάρουρον) [τῶ]ν ἐκ τῆς
 αὐτῆς κόμης ρηγ' καὶ διάφορον ἐπιβολῆς με,
 γίνονται Σκεγ', / Σπελδ'.

ιπ(πεὺς) Πτολεμαῖος ὁ παρὰ Νικάνορος (ἄρουραι) υ.
 παραγράφεται πρὸς τὴν ἐπιγραφῆν) τοῦ λα (ἔτους) ἀπὸ κθ (ἀρτάβας?)
 μδλγ'κ'δ'.

ιπ(πεὺς) Κομανὸς Νίκωνος Ζήνειος (ἄρουραι) φ.
 56 παραγράφεται ἐπιγραφῆς) τοῦ λ (ἔτους) ἀνιππίας κδλγκ'δ'
 καὶ τοῦ κθ (ἔτους) ἀνιππίας Σλγ, γίνονται Σνζλγ'κ'δ'.

ιπ(πεὺς) Εἰρηναῖος Ἀπολλωνίου Εὐεργέσιος (ἄρουραι) τλ γενη(μ) τλ.
 παραγράφεται πρὸς τὸν κατὰ κοινὸν στέφανον τοῦ κδ (ἔτους)
 60 πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) νη.

Col. iii.

3rd hand γίνονται [] τούτω[ν] π[υ]ροῦ Ἀρμθβ'.

τῶν ὁμολο(γηκῶν) καὶ
 καὶ συγγενῶν [τῶ]ν μὴ κεχειρογρα(φηκῶν) ὁμολο(γίαν?)
 Ἀπολλώνιος Σωσιγένου λβ (ἔτους) ζλγ'ίβ', λα (ἔτους) νθλδ', / ξζβ'.

- Π[το]λεμαῖος Πτο[λε]μαίου λβ (ἔτους) κ'δ'.
 65 πρὸς ταῖς(ς) ἕως τοῦ [λ]α (ἔτους) ες κ'δ', / εδ'.
 Δημήτριος Φίλωνος λβ (ἔτους) ζλγ'ίβ'.
 Θεόβουλος Κλεοδ[ήμ]ου λα (ἔτους) γ'.
 .[.]βος Θεοκ[τή]του λβ (ἔτους) ιαλγ'ίβ'.
 [.]ρμας . . τ[. . ()] λβ (ἔτους) ξγ, λα (ἔτους) ξςίβ', / ρκ[θί]β'.
 70 / τῆς δλ(ης) λβ (ἔτους) ὀμο(λογίας?) ρλδ', λα (ἔτους) ρλβλ, / Σκ[γδ]'.
 [ῶσ]τ' εἶναι [

1 sqq. The sums mentioned in ll. 1-2 as owing for arrears are added to other sums mentioned in the previous column, which were probably the amounts due for the current year, making the totals in ll. 3-4. To these are added the 478½ artabae accounted for in ll. 5-10, making the totals in ll. 11-2.

6. ἀνεληφθαι can hardly mean anything but 'confiscated' (cf. the extract from (a) quoted on p. 436), though that sense does not suit ἀνεληφέναι in l. 29, where Pancrates is again mentioned. There is clearly a contrast between ἀνεληφθαι and ἐν ἀφείσει, but the latter term is very obscure; cf. note on 5. 36-7.

9. The abbreviated name of tax, probably ἐπιγραφὴν or β (ἀράβην), is to be supplied at the beginning of the line; cf. ll. 21-2.

10. ἐπιβ(ολῆς): cf. l. 51. ἐπιβολή occurs in the Roman period as the name of a tax, apparently as an addition to other imposts. Cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 193, P. Fay. Towns 81. 9 and 263. But here it would seem to be connected with the sense of ἐπιβάλλειν in τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος, i. e. perhaps to be equivalent to μερισμός.

τὸ παρὰ τοῦτο: cf. 72. 425, where the phrase occurs in computing the difference between two rents. The difference of about 50 artabae between the two figures in this line is probably accounted for by the 50 artabae mentioned in the marginal note, which is however obscure. σι(), if correct, is probably σι(του) or σι(θήρου). The first figure, 478½, added to 461067½ (l. 3) makes the total of the wheat in l. 11, 461545½. The papyrus gives ¾ instead of ½ because the fraction in l. 3 is treated as ⅓, though ½ was certainly written there.

13-25. From the preceding totals are subtracted the taxes actually paid over by the responsible official up to Mesore; these amount to 64792½ artabae in all (l. 18). The remainder which was still owing from him is given in ll. 19-20. This is subdivided in ll. 20-5 into three classes: the 2-artabae tax for the 33rd year, the ἐπιγραφὴ for the same year, and arrears under these heads up to the 32nd year; and there is little doubt that the names of the taxes lost in ll. 14 and 16 are the same, l. 15 corresponding with l. 24.

18. The correct figure of the wheat is 396753½ artabae.

26-33. The totals in ll. 18-9 are subjected to a deduction for sums paid in Thoth, i. e. in the beginning of the year following Mesore (l. 13). The 2-artabae tax is again mentioned in l. 29 and the ἐπιγραφὴ would be expected in l. 30, but the abbreviated word before λγ (ἔτους) is certainly not ἐπιγρ(αφῆς) and seems to be a tax connected with horses (cf. ἀνιππίας in l. 56). The new remainder is given in ll. 32-3. The figure in l. 31 ought to have been 18678½. It is composed of the three items mentioned in ll. 29-30, which were substituted for the 16553½ artabae in l. 28.

34-44. The mutilation of this section is regrettable because the obscure phrase *ἐπιστάσει* occurs (cf. 61. (δ) 346), of which we would gladly have learnt more. *ἐπιστάσει τῶν ἔνδοξον παιδίων?* in l. 36 looks like a court title at Alexandria; cf. Lumbroso, *Recherches* pp. 207-10.

42. *τὰς* (*ἀράβας* ?): the meaning of the symbol (written $\bar{\epsilon}$) is very doubtful, being different from any of the ordinary signs for *ἀράβη*. The name of a tax would be expected.

46. *ἀναδοχῆς*: cf. 75. 6. Dioscurides seems to have been wrongly entered as having become surety for Antipater for 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae besides a sum for *εἰσφορά*, on which see 98. introd. He disputed the claim, arguing that the *κλήρος* (of Antipater ?) had brought him no profit and that the person liable was Ptolemaeus.

47. *κατὰ σώματα* can hardly be read. *τὰς* (sc. *ἀράβας*) *ἐν Προπέλλωι* means the artabae owed by Propellus; cf. *ἐν Μαρρεί* 72. 332, and 5. 227, note.

51. *ἐπιβολῆς*: cf. note on l. 10.

55. *Ζήρειος* here and *Εὐεργέσιος* in l. 58 are new names of demes.

56-7. *ἀνιππίας*: this curiously-named tax is found in P. Petrie II. 39 (ε), where the payers as here are cleruchs. Mahaffy's suggestion that it means 'for having no horse' is, as Wilcken points out, open to the objection that in one case the same person pays both for *φόρος ἵππων* and *ἀνιππία*. Wilcken's own interpretation, which makes *ἀνιππία* apply to the land and mean 'unsuitableness for cavalry,' is still less satisfactory.

58. *γενη(μ) τλ*: if the number refers to artabae *γενη(μ)* in some way expresses a tax of 1 artaba to the aroura; but it is more likely that the second τλ like the first refers to arourae.

59. *κατὰ κοινὸν στέφανον*: a general impost for *στέφανος* levied on all cleruchs and probably other classes also, as contrasted with e.g. the *προσλήψεως στέφανος* exacted from individuals at different times upon promotion from one grade to another; cf. 61. (δ) 254, note.

100. TAX RECEIPTS.

29.1.

15 x 76.5 cm.

B. C. 117-6.

A series of five receipts for the payment of various taxes by the same person, Epigenes son of Melistion, a catocucus of the 5th hipparchy, in the 53rd and 54th years of Euergetes II. The first two of them, which occupy the first and the upper part of the second column of the papyrus, are too much mutilated to be worth printing. They were both issued, like the third receipt, by Heraclaus the agent of the *λογευτής* Apollodorus, and the first of them mentions *τῆν β ἀναφοράν* (cf. 101. 5 note) and *Θεογονίς* (cf. l. 10). The third of the receipts is for a payment in copper drachmae—perhaps 70, but this would be a trifling sum, and the number is very doubtful—apparently for the oil-tax. On the taxes upon oil at this period see 38. 10, note; which of them is here meant is uncertain. The fourth receipt is for 35 artabae paid to Acusilaus, collector of Theogonis, on account of the *κοινωνικά*, or tax upon associations, for which cf. 5. 59, note. The last receipt was issued by three

πράκτορες, and is an acknowledgement of two payments, firstly a sum representing 100 drachmae on the aroura for the *συγκεκριμένα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πράξαι*, and also $\frac{1}{4}$ artaba of wheat on the aroura, making 17 artabae. The purpose of this second payment in kind depends upon the meaning of the abbreviation *ἀρτα*() in l. 19. This might be expanded into *ἀρτα(βιείας)*, and the payment would then be on account of the tax called *ἀρταβιεία* (cf. 5. 59, note), and quite distinct from that which has just preceded. But in that case we should certainly expect this fresh tax to be named earlier in the receipt, whereas *ὁμοίως δέ* in l. 18 rather implies that the payment belonged to the same category as the preceding one; and secondly the conjunction of a regular tax like the *ἀρταβιεία* with the *συγκεκριμένα*, which was a special charge of some kind, probably a penalty (cf. 72. 240), is unlikely. It is therefore better to suppose that *ἀρτα*() simply stands for *ἀρά(βαι)*, though the word is then out of its natural place after (*πυροῦ*).

Col. ii.

Ἡράκλειος ὁ παρὰ Ἀπολλοδώρου λο[γε]υτοῦ
 Ἐπ(ι)γένη Κελιστίωνος χαίρειν. διαγέγραφας
 δι' ἐμοῦ τὸ ἐλαϊον τοῦ νδ (ἔτους) χαλ(κοῦ) (δραχμὰς) ο.

Col. iii.

2nd hand [ἔτους] νδ Παῦνι η. Ἀ[κουσίλαος]

5 [. . .] τὴν εἰς παρχίαν, [μ]εμέτρη(νται) μ[οι] ἀπὸ γενη(μάτων)
 [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] (ἔτους) παρὰ Ἐπιγέν[ου]ς τοῦ
 [Μελιστίωνος] . [.] . . [.] . α . . [.] . !χ . . .
 [πυροῦ] τρη[ι]άκοντα πέντε, / (πυροῦ) λε,
 ὡς Πετρουῦχος γεωργός.

10 3rd hand (?) Ἀκουσίλαος λο[γε]υ(τή)ς Θεογο(νίδος) μεμέτρη(μαι) τὰ καθή(κοντα)
 κοινωνικὰ τοῦ νδ (ἔτους).

Col. iv.

4th hand Καλλικράτης καὶ Δρευός καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος
 οἱ προκεχειρισμένοι πράκτορες Ἐπιγένη

Μελιστίονι χα[ί]ριν. διαγέγραφας δι' ἑμῶν
 τὰ συγκεκριμένα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρᾶ-
 15 ξαι ἐκάστης ἀρούρας δραχμὰς ἑκατόν,
 / [...]. . . . φ, δ[ε] [s] Πετесоῦχος γεωργὸς
 καὶ οἱ μ[έ]τ[ρο]χοι.
 ὁμοίω[s] δὲ μεμέτρηκας ἐκάστης
 ἀρούρας (πυροῦ) τέταρτον, / ἀρτά(βαι ?) (πυροῦ) ιζ.
 20 5th hand Δρεῦος ἐπηκ(ο)λούθηκα.
 3rd hand (?) Ἀκουσίλαος ἐπηκολούθηκα.

2. l. Μελιστίωνος. 13. l. Μελιστίωνος . . . δι' ἡμῶν.

(a) 'Heracleus, agent of Apollodorus, tax-collector, to Epigenes son of Melistion, greeting. You have paid through me the oil-tax of the 54th year, 70 (?) copper drachmae. The 54th year, Pauni 8.' (δ) 'From Acusilaus . . . the 5th hipparchy; measured to me from the produce of the said year by Epigenes son of Melistion (for the tax on associations) thirty-five artabae of wheat, total 35 artabae of wheat, through Petesuchus, cultivator. (Signed) I, Acusilaus, tax-collector of Theogonis, have had measured to me the due amount for the tax on associations for the 54th year.' (c) 'Callicrates and Dreuos and Acusilaus, the appointed collectors, to Epigenes son of Melistion, greeting. You have paid through us the sums appointed to be exacted from the men, namely 100 drachmae on each aroura, total . . . drachmae, delivered by Petesuchus, cultivator, and his partners. And in like manner you have measured out for every aroura $\frac{1}{4}$ artaba of wheat, total 17 artabae of wheat. Checked by me, Dreuos. Checked by me, Acusilaus.'

3. τὸ ἔλαιον: the reading is almost certain. For this use of ἔλαιον where ἐλαϊκόν would be expected cf. 119. 54 πράκτορι ἐλαίου.

4-5. τὴν εἰς (παρχίαν) is part of the specification of Acusilaus' office, λογευτής or some periphrasis for that term (perhaps ὁ λογεύων τὴν κ.τ.λ.) having preceded. In l. 10 he is given the more general appellation of λ[ο]γευ(τή)ς Θεογο(νίδος), but l. 5 shows that he was specially concerned with the 5th hipparchy. It may be inferred from this that Epigenes, the payer of the tax, was a catoecus belonging to that hipparchy, and that his κλήρος or a large part of it (cf. note on l. 16) was at Theogonis; he does not figure among the catoeci of Kerkeosiris. That Epigenes was a clericus is also indicated by the fact that the payments are in two cases made by a γεωργός on his behalf (cf. ll. 9 and 16).

7. κοινωνικά should have occurred in the latter part of this line (cf. l. 10), but the vestiges of the letters do not suggest it. The last word of the line is possibly ἱππαρχίας.

16. Since according to l. 19 Epigenes paid $\frac{1}{4}$ artaba on the aroura and the total amount of the payment was 17 artabae, the number of arourae paid on was 68. The total expected in l. 16 would therefore be 1 talent 800 drachmae, but the last figure cannot be read as ω and is almost certainly φ or ψ. Either then the arithmetic must have been at fault, or the number of arourae taken as the basis of the computation in the two cases was different.

101. BANKER'S RECEIPT.

24.5.

15 x 14.9 cm.

B. C. 120.

A bank receipt for the payment of 1 talent 4800 drachmae (of copper) to the account of Parthenius, strategus (cf. 61. (b) 37), by Demetrius son of Heraclides, for 'a golden crown.' This Demetrius was a catoecus who had been promoted in the 48th year from the ephodi, and whose κληρος had become κατόχιμος; cf. 61. (b) 261-84, where his case is dealt with at length, and the notes on that passage. The 'crown' on account of which the present payment was made was no doubt the προσλήψεως στέφανος for which he became liable on his admission to the ranks of the catoeci; cf. 61. (b) 254, note.

-- Ἔτος] να Θωθ κ. πέ(πτωκεν)
 ἐπὶ τὴν συ() τρά(πεξαν) Παρθενίω συγγενεῖ) καὶ
 στρα(τηγῶι) Πτολεμαίω τῶι παρὰ Διδύμου τρα(πεζίτου)
 παρὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου
 5 χρυ(σικοῦ) στεφά(νου) ἰδ κλη(ρούχων) β ἀνα() Κερκευσίρε(ως)
 (τάλαντον) α ἄω, / (τάλαντον) α ἄω.

'The 51st year, Thoth 20. Paid into the . . . bank to Ptolemaeus, agent of Didymus, banker, to the credit of Parthenius the king's cousin and basilico-grammateus, by Demetrius son of Heraclides for the golden crown from the 14 cleruchs of the second . . . at Kerkeosiris, 1 talent 4800 drachmae, total 1 talent 4800 drachmae.'

1. πέ(πτωκεν): this term appears to have remained in common use in the Fayûm later than in the Theban district, where it was replaced by τέτακται in the second century B. C.; cf. P. Fay. Towns 17. 1, note.

2. συ(): the first letter may be γ, but in either case the restoration of the abbreviation is not obvious.

5. ἰδ κλη(ρούχων) β ἀνα(): by the '14 cleruchs' are apparently meant the catoeci settled in the current reign, who were 14 in number if Chaeremon son of Cratinus (62. 135) be added to the 13 landholders in 62. 116-50. β ἀνα() is obscure; ἀνα() on the analogy of 100 (cf. introd. to that papyrus) might be resolved ἀνα(φοράν), 'the second instalment'; cf. P. Zois 1. 31 τετάχθαι τὴν πρώτην ἀναφοράν. But the following Κερκευσίρε(ως) is then rather awkward; and the order of the words suggests that the expression qualifies κλη(ρούχων) rather than στεφά(νου). Some such word as ἀνα(δοχῆς) 'the second relay' would give a sense, but we are ignorant of the facts to which it would refer.

102. RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT OF THE WORK-TAX.

29·3.

9·5 x 24 cm.

B. C. 77?

A receipt for 8 drachmae of silver and 1200 drachmae of copper paid for the *λειτουργικόν* of the 4th year by Melas, a cleruch of Tebtunis. For this impost, which was apparently an alternative of personal labour of some kind, cf. 5. 49, note. Incidentally the papyrus shows that bands of cleruchs were settled by Chomenis at Tebtunis as well as at Kerkeosiris; but the particular class to which Melas belonged is uncertain (cf. note on l. 2). The 5th year in which the receipt is dated probably refers to the reign of Neos Dionysus; the majority of the papyri from this crocodile are subsequent to the reign of Soter II, and to judge from the handwriting the present case is not an exception; cf. 103. introd.

[Ι]σχυρίων Μέλανι Πνεφερώτος
 τῶν διὰ Χομή(νιος) ασκ() Τεβτύ(νεως) χαί(ρειν). διαγέγρα(φας)
 τὸ λειτουργικὸν τοῦ δ (ἔτους) ἀργυ(ρίου) ὀκτὼ χα(λκοῦ) ἈΣ.
 (ἔτους) ε Θωὺθ λ.

5 ἀς Πετесоῦχος.

'Ischyriion to Melas son of Pnepheros, one of the corps of Chomenis . . . of Tebtunis, greeting. You have paid the work-tax of the 4th year, 8 drachmae of silver 1200 drachmae of copper. The 5th year, Thoth 30. Paid through Petesuchus.'

2. ασκ(): the meaning of this abbreviation is obscure. The supposed κ is very similar to the η of Χομή(νιος), which itself apart from the other letters could be read as κ. Ἴασκ(ληπιάδου) at once suggests itself, but Chomenis is not elsewhere given a patronymic, and some word indicating the class of which Melas was a member is expected; ασκ(), however, is very intractable.

5. ἀς Πετесоῦχος: a note added at the bottom, mentioning the person who actually paid the money on Melas' behalf; cf. 93. 4, &c., 100. 9, 16.

103. TAXING-LIST.

1·2.

Breadth 34 cm.

B. C. 94 or 61. PLATE VII.

The interest of this list lies in the heading, which contains the first mention in a Ptolemaic papyrus of *λαογραφία*, the word used in the Roman period for the poll-tax. In view of recent discussions on the origin of this impost in

Egypt (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 245-9, P. Oxy. II. pp. 207-14), it is important to fix as closely as possible the date of this papyrus and of 121 and 189, in which λοογραφία is again found, before proceeding to discuss the inferences which may be drawn from them. The two crocodiles (1 and 19) which yielded 104, 121, and 189 were found in the same tomb, and all three papyri were written in the 21st year of an unnamed sovereign (104 and 121 in Thoth), so that there can be hardly any doubt that they are exactly contemporary with each other. As previously pointed out, there is a marked palaeographical difference between the Menches papyri and the documents obtained from crocodiles 1 and 19, which form a group with three others found in a neighbouring tomb (nos. 18, 24, and 29). All five crocodiles must have been mummified about the same time, for of three leases concerning the same piece of land and written within two years, one (158) is from crocodile 1, another (105) from 29, the third (106) from 24. A few late second century B. C. documents (e. g. 100 and 101) dated in the closing years of Euergetes II also occur, but with very rare exceptions the papyri from this group undoubtedly belong to the first century B. C. In the contracts the name of the reigning sovereign is found (cf. 104-6 and 109), and is in each case Ptolemy Alexander; but elsewhere as a rule the years only are given, and these commonly range from the 17th to the 22nd, there being a few (37, 102, 140, 209, 228, 241, 250) with lower regnal years varying from the 5th to 13th, but none with higher except 54, which is dated in the 32nd year and must belong to the reign of Soter II. The *terminus ad quem* for these crocodile-papyri can be fixed with tolerable certainty at the end of the reign of Ptolemy Neos Dionysus; for papyri dated in the 16th-22nd years of Cleopatra VII's reign, as is known from epigraphic and other evidence which has recently been confirmed by our own discoveries at Dîmê, would bear double dates, and there are no double dates in these first century B. C. papyri except those which clearly refer to Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Alexander, and one (202) which is dated in 'the second which is also the first year,' and probably refers to the reign of Berenice IV with Cybiosactes or Archelaus rather than to that of Berenice III and Alexander II, as was suggested in P. Grenf. II. p. 63. To ascribe any of the crocodile-papyri to the reign of Augustus is out of the question. The large group of documents dated between the 17th and 22nd years (to which 103, 121, and 189 belong) must therefore be referred to the reign of either Ptolemy Alexander I or Neos Dionysus. For the smaller group with regnal years between the 5th and 13th the choice of possibilities lies between the reigns of Neos Dionysus and Cleopatra VII, but the absence of any papyri which certainly belong to Cleopatra VII's reign and the presence of several

much older documents make the end of Ptolemy Neos Dionysus' reign the latest date to which the mummification of the five crocodiles in the first century B.C. group can reasonably be assigned, so that we should ascribe all the papyri in the smaller group to his reign. It is probable that the majority of those in the larger group with regnal years between 17 and 22 (e.g. 120, Plate ix) also belong to the reign of Neos Dionysus rather than to that of Ptolemy Alexander, but palaeographical evidence is not sufficient to decide in individual cases between these two reigns.

The use of *λαογραφία* in Egypt is thus established as far back as at least B.C. 61, and possibly B.C. 94; but does this imply that the poll-tax existed before the Roman period? Hitherto the balance of evidence has been in favour of regarding that impost as a Roman innovation (Wilcken, *Ost.* I. p. 245, P. Oxy. II. pp. 210-1). The single instance of *λαογραφία* in the Ptolemaic period (3 Macc. ii. 28) has naturally been discounted owing to the uncertainty attaching to the century in which that work was composed. Wilcken has even suggested that the use of *λαογραφία* there implying a poll-tax was an anachronism and a reason for placing the authorship of 3 Maccabees in the Roman period. This argument, however, will now no longer stand. The passage in 3 Maccabees which narrates the institution of *λαογραφία* in Judaea by Philopator is as follows:—*πάντας δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς λαογραφίαν καὶ οἰκετικὴν διάθεσιν ἀχθῆναι*. That this *λαογραφία* was conducted with a view to a general tax on persons is probable enough. Systematic censuses of the population were not likely to be held for any other purpose. But *λαογραφία* in that passage, as is shown by its being coupled with *οἰκετικὴ διάθεσις*, has not yet got the technical meaning of 'poll-tax' which is found in the Roman period; and in any case a sufficient parallel for the use of the term by the author of 3 Maccabees is now afforded by three Ptolemaic papyri. Here, too, it is clear that *λαογραφία* is not used in the later technical sense. It seems to mean a taxing-list of persons, most or all of whom were native Egyptians (for *λαός* in this sense cf. p. 552), the particular impost being in the case of 103 the *σύνταξις* and in 189 the *σύνταξις* and the *ἐπιστατικόν* (cf. 97. introd.). But that some form of poll-tax had been introduced by the first century B.C. is very likely. *ἀπογραφαί* mentioning the *σώματα* of a household and strongly resembling the *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί* of the Roman period are known in the third century B.C. (P. Alex. 6, and several unpublished Petrie papyri). That the actual tax was called *λαογραφία* is as we have said not probable, nor is it necessary. The vague term *σύνταξις*, which means simply 'contribution,' might in 103 and 189 refer to a poll-tax, though an impost called *συντάξιμον* and distinct from the poll-tax is known in the Roman period from P. Fay. Towns 45. 3 &c.; and if *σω(ματικόν)* is

the correct expansion of the abbreviation σω() in 95. 10, this, too, might be explained in the same way. φόρος σωματων is used of a poll-tax by Arrian (*Syr.* 50).

The papyrus is in two fragments which do not join, and contains three columns of names of which the first two are printed. One of the individuals in the third column is called Ταλίτης, i. e. a native of Tali (cf. 90. 24).

	Col. i.		Col. ii.
	(Ἔτους) κα Θούθ, λαογραφία)		Ἄρφαῆσι(ς) Ἀράχθο[υ]
	Θεογαμίδος) κατ' ἄνδρα	20	Δίδυμ[ος]. υ . [. .] . θω()
	τελοῦ[ντ]ων σύνταξιν.		Ἐρμοκ[ρά]τη[ς . .] αυ . . .
	Ἑρ[ακ]λῆς Παντεύχ(ου)		Πετ[. .] . [

	Ἀπ[ολ]λώνιος		[.] . [.] καλ[
5	Νικίας [.] . [. .] . . του [		Ἐργε[ῦς] Ψενή[σ]ι(ος)
	Ἀπολλώνιος Νικαίο[υ]	25	Κολλούθης [
	Πετοσίρις		Παῦσις ἐριέμπορος
	a line lost.		Νααρῶς υἱός
	Καπι . [		Παποντῶς Σενθέως
10	Διονύσιος		Διδῶρος κουρεύς
	Κροτίδης	30	Ἐννῶφρις Ὀρσενούφιος
	Μάρων [		Πα . οσθ[ύ.]θης ἀδ[ελ]φός)
	Πατῦν[ις]		Πατῦνις Μοσχίανος
	Κάστω[ρ]		Ἐμφελίαν χαλκεύς
15	Μενι . [		Περεεὺς ὀνηλάτης
	Ε . . . . [	35	Πατῦνις Ἀρφαήσι(ος)
	[Πε]τροσίρις) [		[Κ]εφάλων αἰλητιῆς
	[. . .]σ[		Ἄρμιθσις Ὀννώφριος
	. . . . .		Καλατῦτις Β[[Χ]]ρ . [.] . ιου
			Δωρῶς Α[. . . .]σιος
		

VIII. CONTRACTS.

104. MARRIAGE CONTRACT.

29-5.

30 X 20.4 cm.

B. C. 92.

Papyrus 21 of Geneva (edited by Nicole in 1900), of the second century B. C., has hitherto enjoyed the distinction of being the only instance of a Ptolemaic marriage contract in Greek; and unfortunately it is an imperfect example, having lost both beginning and conclusion, and being still disfigured by internal lacunae, notwithstanding the recent appearance at Munich of the missing ends of the lines, which greatly assist the reconstruction (Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. pp. 484-91). The discovery of the following text, which supplies a second specimen, this time, happily, practically complete, is therefore especially welcome. The two contracts follow the same formula and are often verbally identical; and we are thus enabled to perceive clearly how the Geneva papyrus began and to fill up with confidence the gaps in its text down to l. 15, where the concluding testamentary section commences. There are no such testamentary dispositions in the Kerkeosiris contract, in which the provisions for divorce are immediately followed by the names of the usual six witnesses and of the *συγγραφοφύλαξ*, and, finally, by the signature of the bridegroom. At the top is the short abstract commonly found in contracts of this period.

The most interesting feature is the stringent provisions, which are peculiar to this and the Geneva papyrus, regulating the wedded life of the contracting parties. The husband is to abstain from bigamy and other forms of infidelity, and is forbidden to reside in a house over which his wife has no rights, or to ill-use her in any way, or to alienate their common property without regard to her interests. The wife on her side is not allowed to stay away from the house by night or day without her husband's knowledge, or to form other ties, or generally bring discredit upon the home. Some echoes of these stipulations are to be found in Roman marriage contracts from Oxyrhynchus; but there is nothing corresponding in those from the Fayûm of that period, though, as Wilcken remarks (*Archiv*, I. p. 490), similar rules of conduct were reintroduced later under Christian influences.

The contract is endorsed on the *verso*, and below are the names of the contracting parties and of the six witnesses, arranged in four groups. Between

G g

the first and last pair of groups was a clay seal, and beneath the seals passed the threads with which the roll was fastened up. 105, 106 and 109 were sealed and signed in the same way; cf. P. Petrie II. 21. (d) 7-9 τῆς δὲ συγγραφῆς σφραγισθεῖ[σης ὑπὸ Σ]ωταίρου καὶ Σώσου (the parties to the contract) καὶ ἐμοῦ (the συγγραφοφύλαξ) καὶ τῶν συν[γρα]φέντων μοι μαρτύρων.

(Ἔτους) κβ Μεχ(εῖρ) ια. ὁμολογεί Φιλίσκος(ς) Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρσης τῆ[ς ἐπιγονῆς] Ἀπολλωνίαί τῆ(ι) καὶ Κελλαύθε(ι)

Ἑρα(κλείδου) Περσ(ίνη) μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ [ἀδελφοῦ] αὐ(τῆς) Ἀπολλωνίου ἔχειν παρ' αὐ(τῆς) εἰς χαλκοῦ νομίσματος λδ(γον) (τάλαντα) β καὶ (δραχμὰς) Ἄ

τὴν διωμολογημένην αὐτῶι φερνή(ν) ὑπ[ε]ρ [αὐ]τῆ[ς] Ἀπολλωνίας, ἐὰν ἐ[. . .] τῆν φερνή(ν) . ανεκικ()

στολ() . [συγγραφοφύλαξ] Διονύσιος.

5 βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ [καὶ Ἀλεξ]άνδρου θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος ἔτους δευτέρου

καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἐφ' [ι]ε[ρ]έως Ἀλεξάνδρου κα]ὶ τῶ[ν] ἄλλ[ω]ν τῶν [γρ]αφομένων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι μηνὸς Ξανδικ[ο]ῦ ἐνδεκάτη Μ[ε]χ[ε]ῖρ ἐνδεκάτη ἐν Κερκεσίρει τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινό[υ]του νομοῦ. ὁμολογεί Φιλίσκος Ἀπολλωνία[υ] Π[ε]ρσ[ί]νης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Ἀπολλωνίαί τῆ

10 καὶ Κελλαύθει Ἑρακλείδου Περσίνη μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς

ἄδελφοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἔ[χ]ειν παρ' [α]ὐτῆς εἰς χαλκοῦ νομίσματος λόγον τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμὰς τετρακισχίλια[ς] τὴν διωμολογημένην αὐτῶι φερνήν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς Ἀπολλωνίας. [ἔ]στω δὲ

15 Ἀπολλωνίαί π[α]ρὰ Φιλίσκωι πειθαρχούσα αὐ[τ]οῦ ὡς προσήκον ἐστὶν γυναῖκα ἀνδρός, κυρ(ι)εύουσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ κοινῆ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς.

τὰ δὲ [δ]έοντα π[ά]ντα καὶ τὸν [ί]ματισμὸν καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα προσήκει γ ναικὶ γαμετῆι παρεχέσθω Φιλίσκος Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐνδημῶν καὶ ἀποδημῶν κατὰ δύναμιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω Φιλίσκωι

20 γυναῖκα ἄλλην ἐπ[α]γ[α]γέσθαι ἀλλὰ Ἀπολλωνίαν μηδὲ παλλακὴν μηδὲ π[αι]δ[ι]κὸν ἔχειν μηδ' ἐ τεκνο[π]οιῆσθαι ἐξ ἄλλης γυναικὸς ζώσ[η]ς

Ἀπολλωνίας μηδ' ἄλλην [οἰκία]ν οἰκεῖν ἧς οὐ κυριεύσει Ἀπολλωνίαί

μηδ' ἐγβάλλειν μηδὲ ὑβ[ρ]ί[σ]ει[ν] μηδὲ κακουχεῖν αὐτὴν μηδὲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μηθὲν ἐξαλλοτ[ρ]οῦν ἐπ' ἀδικίαί τῆι Ἀπολλωνίαί. ἐὰν δὲ τι τούτων ἐπιδειχθῆι ποιῶν ἢ τὰ δέοντα ἢ τὸν ἱματισμὸν ἢ τὰλλα

25 μὴ παρέχη αὐτῇ καθὰ γέγραπται ἀποτεισάτω Φιλίσκος Ἀπολλωνία
 παραχρήμα τὴν φερνὴν τὰ δύο τάλαντα καὶ τὰ[s] τετρακισχιλίας δραχμὰς
 τοῦ χαλκοῦ. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ μηδὲ Ἀπολλωνία ἐξέστω ἀπόκοιτον μηδὲ
 ἀφήμερον γίνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Φιλίσκου οἰκίας ἀνευ τῆς Φιλίσκου γνώ[μ]ης
 μηδ' ἄλλω[ι]

ἀνδρ[ί] συνείναι μηδὲ φθε[ί]ρειν τὸν κοινὸν οἶκον μηδὲ αἰσχύνεσθαι
 30 Φιλίσκου δσα φέρει ἀνδρὶ αἰσχύνειν. ἐὰν δὲ Ἀπολλωνία ἐκοῦσα βούλη[ται]
 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπὸ Φιλίσκου ἀποδώτω αὐτῇ Φιλίσκος τὴν φερνὴν ἀπ[λ]ῆν
 ἔ[ν] ἡμέραις δέκα ἀφ' ἧς ἐὰ[ν] ἀπ[αι]τηθῆι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπ[ο]δῶ καθὰ
 γέγραπ[ται]

[ἀπ]ο[τ]εισάτω αὐτῇ παραχρήμα ἦν εἴληφεν ἡμι[δ]λιον τῆ[ν] φερνὴν.
 μάρτυρες Διονύσιος Πάτρωνος Διονύσιος Ἐρμαίσκου Θέων Πτολεμαίου
 35 Δίδυμος Πτολεμαίου Διονύσιος Διονυσίου Ἡράκλειος Διοκλ[έ]ου[ς] ο[ί] ἐξ
 Μακεδόνες

τ[ῆ]ς ἐπιγονῆς.

συγγραφοφύλαξ Διονύσιος.

2nd hand Φιλίσκ[ος] Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν τὴν
 φερνὴν τὰ δύο τάλαντ[α]
 καὶ τὰς τε[τ]ρακισχιλίας δραχμὰς τοῦ χαλκοῦ καθότι προγέγραπται καὶ
 ποι[ή]σομαι
 [περὶ τὴν φερνὴν κα[θό]τι παραδε . . . εἰ. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Διονύσιος
 Ἐρμαίσκ[ου]

40 [ὁ προγεγραμμένος διὰ τ]ὸ αὐτὸν μὴ ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα.

3rd hand] Διονύσιος ἔχω κυρίαν.

1st hand ἔτους κβ Μεχεῖρ ια τέτ[α]κται) εἰς ἀναγρ[αφ]ήν).

On the verso

Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίας [πρὸ]ς Φι[λ]ίσκον

ὀμολογία γάμου κex . [.] . . κοιν .

And below

45 Ἀπολλωνίας

Φιλίσκου

Διονυσίου

Διονυσίου

Διδύμου

Ἀπολλωνίου

Θέωνος

Ἡρακλείους

Διονυσίου

At right angles, in the left margin opposite the names

] . . . περιγισ()

11. 1. (ἀ)δελοφου.
 above the line.

17. 1. Ἀπολλωνία.
 30. 1. αἰσχύνην.

22. αυτην above the line.

28. γινεσθαι

'The 22nd year, Mecheir 11. Philiscus son of Apollonius, a Persian of the Epigone, acknowledges to Apollonia also called Kellauthis, daughter of Heraclides, Persian, with her guardian her brother Apollonius, that he has received from her in copper money 2 talents 4000 drachmae, the amount of the dowry for Apollonia agreed upon with him. . . . The keeper of the contract is Dionysius.

In the 22nd year of the reign of Ptolemy also called Alexander, the god Philometor, in the priesthood of the priest of Alexander and the rest as written in Alexandria, the 11th of the month Xandicus which is the 11th of Mecheir, at Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite nome. Philiscus son of Apollonius, Persian of the Epigone, acknowledges to Apollonia also called Kellauthis, daughter of Heraclides, Persian, with her guardian her brother Apollonius, that he has received from her in copper money 2 talents 4000 drachmae, the dowry for Apollonia agreed upon with him. Apollonia shall remain with Philiscus, obeying him as a wife should her husband, owning their property in common with him. Philiscus shall supply to Apollonia all necessaries and clothing and whatever is proper for a wedded wife, whether he is at home or abroad, so far as their property shall admit. It shall not be lawful for Philiscus to bring in any other wife but Apollonia, nor to keep a concubine or lover, nor to beget children by another woman in Apollonia's lifetime, nor to live in another house over which Apollonia is not mistress, nor to eject or insult or ill-treat her, nor to alienate any of their property to Apollonia's disadvantage. If he is shown to be doing any of these things or does not supply her with necessaries and clothing and the rest as has been said, Philiscus shall forfeit forthwith to Apollonia the dowry of 2 talents 4000 drachmae of copper. In the same way it shall not be lawful for Apollonia to spend the night or day away from the house of Philiscus without Philiscus' consent or to have intercourse with another man or to ruin the common household or to bring shame upon Philiscus in anything that causes a husband shame. If Apollonia wishes of her own will to separate from Philiscus, Philiscus shall repay her the bare dowry within ten days from the day it is demanded back. If he does not repay it as has been stated he shall forthwith forfeit the dowry he has received increased by one half. The witnesses are Dionysius son of Patron, Dionysius son of Hermaiscus, Theon son of Ptolemaeus, Didymus son of Ptolemaeus, Dionysius son of Dionysius, Heraclius son of Diocles, all six Macedonians of the Epigone; the keeper of the contract is Dionysius. (Signed) I, Philiscus son of Apollonius, Persian of the Epigone, acknowledge the receipt of the dowry, the 2 talents 4000 drachmae of copper, as above written, and I will act with regard to the dowry as . . . I, Dionysius son of Hermaiscus, the aforesaid, wrote for him as he was illiterate. I, Dionysius, have received the contract, being valid. Registered the 22nd year, Mecheir 11.'

4. On the *συγγραφοφύλαξ* cf. 105. 53, note.

5. Berenice is omitted in the date, as in 109. 6 and P. Grenf. I. 36; cf. 106. introd.

6. καὶ τῶν ἀλλ[ω]ν κ.τ.λ.: cf. 105. 9, 106. 4 and P. Oxy. 236. (b) 3, (c) 3, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῶν κοινῶν ὡς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γράφεται, which shows that [γραφόμενον] here is to be closely connected with ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. A similar formula, the purpose of which was to avoid writing out the long lists of Alexandrian priesthoods, continued in use in the Heracleopolite nome in the Roman period, e. g. C. P. R. 6. 2.

13-5. Cf. P. Oxy. 265. 13 *πειθαρχούσα αὐτοῦ* ὅσ[α] δ[ε] *πειθαρχεῖν γαμετῆν γυναῖκα ἀνδρός*. Wilcken is mistaken in assuming (*Archiv*, I. p. 490) that this provision for wifely obedience did not appear in the Geneva contract, where it no doubt stood in the same position as here, after the acknowledgement of the receipt of the dowry.

15. Lines 1-5 of the Geneva contract are to be restored on the analogy of ll. 15-20 here as follows:—

κυριεύουσα μετ' αὐτοῦ κοινή]

[τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. τὰ [δὲ δέοντα πάντα καὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα προσήκει γυναικὶ
[γ]αμητῆ παρεχέτω Μενεκράτης Ἀρ[σ]ι[δ]όγη [ἐνδημῶν καὶ ἀποδημῶν κατὰ δύναμιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
αὐτοῖς,
[καὶ] μὴ ἐξέστω Μενεκράτει γυναῖκ' ἄλλην ἐπαγαγέσθαι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν μηδὲ παλ[λακ]ήν μηδὲ
π[αιδ]ικὸν
[ἐχ]εῖν κ.τ.λ.

Nicole's reading [. . .]μη[at the beginning of l. 1, if correct, precludes the restoration of *πειθαρχούσα αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.* before *παρέχουσα*, since we should then expect the line to begin with some part of the name *Μενεκράτης*, corresponding to *Φιλίσκωι* in l. 14 of our papyrus.

21. *ἦς οὐ κυριεύσει*: so no doubt in P. Gen. 21. 5 instead of Wilcken's *ἡ ἦς συγκυριεύσει*. A partially preserved *ν* would be indistinguishable from *γ*.

22. *μηδ' ἐγβάλλειν κ.τ.λ.*: cf. P. Oxy. II. 265. 14 *μηδὲ κακουχεῖν αὐτήν* (so *ibid.* 372) *μηδ' ἀποκλει(ει)ν μηδενὸς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων*.

23. *ἐπ' ἀδικίαι τῆι Ἀπολλωνίαι*: P. Gen. 21. 7 is more precise, *ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπιγραφῆναι τὴν Ἀρσινόην βεβαίωτρίαν*.

25-6. *ἀποτεισάτωι . . . τὴν φερρὴν*: the parallel passage in P. Gen. 21 has *τὴν φερρὴν ἡμιδλιον*, and probably *ἡμιδλιον* has dropped out here.

27-9. *ἀπόκοιτον . . . μηδὲ φθειρίρει τὸν κοινὸν οἶκον*: similar phrases are found in Oxyrhynchus marriage contracts of the Roman period; cf. note on P. Oxy. II. 265. 14.

29. *αἰσχύνεσθαι*: the use of the middle in place of the active is remarkable, but though *ι* might be read after *αἰσχυνε* the following vestiges do not suit *ν*. Until the Geneva and Munich fragments are brought together it is hardly possible to say whether there is room for *αἰσχύνεσθαι* in the lacuna of P. Gen. 21. 11. Wilcken reads *ποιεῖν*.

30. Wilcken notices (*Archiv*, I. p. 490) that no penalty is laid down in the Geneva contract for misconduct on the part of the wife corresponding to that for lapses on the husband's part, and suggests that a paragraph in which such penalty was defined may have been inadvertently omitted. The present text combines with P. Oxy. 265. 17 to show that the omission was due not to inadvertence, but normal usage. What the penalty would be is clearly enough indicated by *ἐκοῦσα* in the next sentence, i. e. the wife would of course be dismissed. But it is certainly somewhat strange that no provision is made with regard to the return of the dowry in case of dismissal by the husband, as is regularly done in Roman marriage contracts.

31. P. Gen. 21. 12 is accordingly to be restored *ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπὸ Μενεκράτου ἀπ[ο]δοῦς κ.τ.λ.*

32. *δέκα*: [*ἐν ἡμέραις ι*] is therefore preferable in P. Gen. 21. 13 to [*ἐν ἡμέραις λ*], which Wilcken restores on the analogy of the Roman contracts.

34. *Διονύσιος Πάτρωνος*: this Dionysius is probably the *συγγραφοφύλαξ*, who is generally the first witness; cf. 105. 53, note.

39. The vestiges do not suit *παράδεγμαι*.

47. *Ἀπολλωνίου*: the brother and *κύριος* of the bride; cf. l. 10.

105. LEASE OF LAND.

29.4.

37.8 x 28 cm.

B. C. 103. PLATE VIII.

This long and well-preserved papyrus is concerned with the sub-lease of a κλήρος at Kerkeosiris belonging to Maron son of Dionysius, from Horion, a μαχαιροφόρος or armed attendant upon the strategus, to Ptolemaeus, a Persian of the Epigone, for five years. The opening formula takes the shape of an acknowledgement by the lessee to the lessor that he had leased the land from him. Some fragments of the complementary agreement in which the lessor stated that he had leased the land to the lessee, and which begins ἐμισθωσεν in the ordinary way (cf. 106), are also extant (159), while 106 is a contract for the lease of apparently the same land from Maron son of Dionysius, the original owner, to the same Ptolemaeus for three years. 106 was written two years later than 105, and in the interval Horion seems to have disappeared, rendering a new lease necessary; but the circumstances are obscure.

The main body of the document, carefully written by a professional scribe who was probably an official of the registry office, is preceded by the usual hastily scrawled abstract. At the end are (1) the names of the customary six witnesses, of whom the first is the συγγραφοφύλαξ (cf. note on l. 53), (2) a brief acknowledgement by the lessee in his own handwriting of the main stipulations of the contract, (3) the autograph signature of the συγγραφοφύλαξ, and (4) the docket of the registry office. The verso contains, besides the title, the names of the parties to the contract and of the six witnesses with seals, as in 104.

The land which was the subject of this lease was in three separate parcels, but the total area is not stated. The owner, Maron son of Dionysius, is, however, familiar from the survey lists, and it is known that as φυλακίτης he possessed 10 arourae, the position of which is indicated in 84. These can be identified with two of the three parcels mentioned here; cf. note on l. 15. On becoming a κάτοικος he received 15 arourae more from the holding of Heliodorus son of Menodorus (81. (a) 39-41, cf. 85. 59), and if the third plot consisted of these 15 arourae, 25 arourae was still the amount of his κλήρος. This agrees very well with the total rent, which here is only 120 artabae and in 106 is still less. The land was of poor quality, as is shown by the survey lists, in which it is generally described as άσπορος (cf. 81. (a) 40-1, 83. 127); and much of it seems to have been only partially arable, for in the present lease special provision is made for the 'breaking up of the dry ground' (χερσοκοπία), towards the expenses of which the lessor contributed $4\frac{1}{2}$ talents. Other

noteworthy features are the elaborate series of penalties for different breaches of contract, and the provision against the contingency of the lessee incurring liabilities of the lessor or the original owner, whose property seems to have become κατόχμος (cf. l. 48).

Ἔτους ιε τοῦ καὶ ιβ Φαῶφι κδ ἐν Κερ(κεοσίρει) τῆς Πο(λέμωνος) με(ρίδος).
ὁμολογεί Πτο(λεμαίος) δε καὶ Πετεσοῦχος Ἀπολλω(νίου) τοῦ καὶ
Ἀρνώτου Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Ὠρίωνι Ἀπολλω(νίου) Μα(κεδόνι) τῶν
περὶ [τὸν

στρα(τηγὸν) μα(χαιροφύρων) μεμισ(θῶσθαι) παρ' αὐτοῦ δν καὶ αὐ(τὸς) τυγ-
χά(νει) μεμισ(σθωμένος) Μάρωνος τοῦ Διονυ(σίου) κα(τοιικιδὸν) κλη(ρον)
εἰς (ἔτη) ε ἀπὸ τοῦ ιε τοῦ καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) ἐκφο(ρίου) πα(ντὸς) κατ'
ἔτος ἕκα(στον) πυ(ροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) ρκ

ἀνυ(πόλογον) πά(σης) φθα(ράς) ἐφ' ᾧ χερσοκο(πήσει) τὴν ἐν τῷ κλη(ρω)
χέρσον πλὴν τῆς γε(ντιώσης) Θούνει καὶ Παυ(σίρει) γῆι ἐκ τοῦ
ιδίου εἰς ἣν δώσει Ὠρίων χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντα) δ ἼΓ,

ἀφ' ὧν ἔχει Πτο(λεμαίος) παραχρή(μα) (τάλαντα) β ἼΓ, τὰ δὲ λοι(πὰ)
(τάλαντα) β ἐν (ἔτεσι) β ἀπὸ τοῦ ιε (ἔτους) κατ' ἔτος ἐμ μηνὶ Παχῶν,
καὶ ἀναπαύ(σει) κατ' ἔτος τὸ (ἡμισυ) καὶ τελέ(σει) τὰ ἐσ(όμενα)

5 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλφ ἀνηλώματα καὶ λογευ(τικά) πυ(ροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) γ, καὶ τοῦ κατὰ
τὴν μίσθω(σιν) χρό(νου) διελθ(ύτος) παραδεί(ξει) τὴν γῆν καθαρὰν
ἀπὸ θρύου καλά(μου) ἀγρ(ώστεως) [ἄλλης

δείσης πάσης, ἐὰν δὲ αἰρή(ται) χερσοκο(πήσαι) δλην τὴν γῆ(ν) ἐν τῷ β
(ἔτει) διδά(τω) αὐτῷ τὰ β (τάλαντα) ἐν μηνὶ Παχῶ(ν) τοῦ ιε (ἔτους).
ἀπο . . . ! . . . () χ . () δικ() ε . . . [

[. . .] . . . () () .

συ(γγραφοφύλαξ) Τιμόστρα(τος).

βασιλευόντων Κλεοπ[ά]τρας θεᾶς Εὐεργέτιδος καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπικα-
λουμ[ένου] Ἀλεξάνδρου θεῶν Φιλομ[η]τόρων ἔτους πεντεκαι-
δεκάτου τοῦ καὶ δω(δεκάτου) ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
γραφομένων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ[εῖαι] μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ

10 τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι Φαῶφι τετράδι καὶ εἰκάδι ἐν Κερκεοσίρει τῆς Πο(λέμωνος)
μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοῖτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογεί Πτολεμαίος

[δ]ς καὶ Πετεσοῦχος Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρνώτου Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
Ὠρίωνι Ἀπολλωνίου Μακεδόνι τῶν περὶ τ[ὸν] στρα(τηγὸν)

μαχαιροφόρων μεμισθῶσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ὄν καὶ αὐτὸς τυγχάνει μεμισθωμένος
 Μάρωνος τοῦ Διονυσίου περὶ τὴν κ[ώμην
 κατοικικὸν κλῆρον ἐν τρισὶ σφραγίσιν ὧν γείτονες τῆς μὲν πρώτης ἀνὰ
 μέσον οὐσσης διώρυγος νότου Μεστασύτμιος [θεοῦ
 μεγάλου γῆι καὶ Ὀρου τοῦ Πεκωῦτος καὶ Θεώνιος καὶ Παυσίριος βασιλικὴ
 γῆι βορρᾶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου κλῆρος λιβδς
 15 καὶ ἀπηλιώτου διώρυξ, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας νότου καὶ βορρᾶ καὶ λιβδς γύης
 ἀπηλιώτου Ἀπολλοδώρου κλῆρος, τῆς δ' ἄλλης [σφρα(γίδος)
 νότου τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Ἀπολλοδώρου κλῆρος βορρᾶ καὶ ἀπηλιώτου
 Ἀσκληπιάδου κλῆρος λιβδς γύης. ἡ μίσθωσις [ἦδε
 [εἰς] ἔτη πέντε ἀπὸ τοῦ πεντεκαίδεκάτου τοῦ καὶ δωδεκάτου ἔτους ἐκφορίου
 τοῦ παντὸς κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν
 ἕκατον εἴκοσι ἀνευ σπέρματος ἀκίνδυνον παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλογον
 πάσης φθορᾶς ἐφ' ὧι χερ[σο]κ[ο]πήσει
 Πτολεμαῖος πάσαν τὴν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ χέρσον πλὴν τῆς γειννιώσης τῆι
 Θεώνιος καὶ Παυσίριος γ[ῆι] ἐκ τ[ο]ῦ ἰδίου, τ[ο]ῦ
 20 Ὀρίωνος τελούντος αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν χερσοκοπίαν χαλκοῦ τάλαντα τέσσαρα
 καὶ δραχμὰς τρισχιλ[ι]α[s] [ἀ]γαπῶδοτα, ἀφ' ὧν
 ἔχει ὁ Πτολεμαῖος παραχρήμα τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας, τὰ
 δὲ λοιπὰ τάλαντα δύο προσλήψεται ἐν ἔτεσι δυσὶ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου πεντεκαίδεκάτου τοῦ καὶ δωδεκάτου ἔτους κατ' ἔτος
 ἓμ μηνὶ Παχῶν χαλκοῦ τάλαντον ἓν,
 καὶ ἀναπαύσει Πτολεμαῖος κατ' ἔτος ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς μισθώ-
 σεως τοῦ κλήρου τὸ ἡμισυ γένεσιν οἴ[s] ἐ[ὰ]ν αἰρήτ[αι]
 πλὴν ἐλαικῶν φορτίων, καὶ τελέσει κατ' ἔτος πάντα τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐπὶ τῆι
 ἀλφ ἀνηλώματα καὶ λογευτικὰ πυρῶν
 25 ἀρτάβας τρεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου. καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν μίσθωσιν χρόνου διελθόντος
 παραδειξάτω Πτολεμαῖ[ο]ς τὴν γῆν
 [·.]τρημένην καὶ ὠμαλισμένην καὶ κεχωματισμένην καὶ καθαρὰν ἀπὸ
 θροῖου καλάμου ἀγρόστεως τ[ῆ]ς
 [ἀλλ]η[s] δε[σ]η[s] πλὴν τῆς προειρημένης χέρσου. ἐὰν δὲ Π(τ)ολεμαῖος
 αἰρήτ[αι] χερσοκοπήσαι ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἐν
 [τῷ] δε[π]τ[έ]ρ[ω]ι [ἔ]τει δότω Ὀρίων αὐτῷ τὰ προκείμενα χαλκοῦ τάλαντα
 δύο ἐν τῷ Παχῶν μηνὶ τοῦ πεντεκαίδεκάτου

- [τοῦ καὶ] δωδεκάτου ἔτους. βεβαιώτωι δὲ Ὀρίων Πτολεμαίωι καὶ τοῖς
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μίσθωσιν κα[ὶ] τὰ ἐκ τῆς [γῆς
 30 [γεν]ήματα ἐκκαρπίσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς διηγορευμένοις τὸν συγγεγραμμένον
 χρόνον καὶ ὃν ἂν δέη ἐπὶ τοῦ[τ]ωι,
 [καὶ μ]ὴ ἐξέστω αὐ[τ]ῶι ἐτέροις μεταμισθοῦν μηδ' ἐγβάλλειν τὸν Πτολε-
 μαῖον πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου μηδὲ κωλύειν
 [μη]δὲ τοὺς [παρ' αὐ]τοῦ κατεργασ[ο]μένους τὴν γῆν μηδὲ ποτίζοντας κατ'
 ἔτος τὸν σπόρον εἰς φύλλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπο-
 [δότη]ω Πτολεμαίωι ἐν τῶι διωρισμένωι χρόνωι τὰ εἰς τὴν χερσοκοπίαν
 λοιπὰ χαλκοῦ τάλαντα δύο καθότι προ[έ]κειται.
 [ἐὰν δ]ὲ (αὐ)τοὺς μὴ βεβαιῶι καθὰ γέγραπται ἢ ἄλλο τι παρασυγγραφήι
 τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀποτεισάτω Ὀρίων
 35 Π[το]λε[μαί]ωι ἐπίτιμον χαλκοῦ τάλαντα τριάκοντα καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀποδοῦναι
 τὸν εἰς τὴν χερσοκοπίαν χαλκὸν ἡμ[ι]ολίαν
 καὶ τὸ βλάβος καὶ μηθὲν ἥσσον ἢ μίσθωσις κυρίαί εἰσ[τ]ω, [οἱ δ'] ἀντεξά-
 γοντες τὸν εἰσβιαζόμενον εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ αὐ[τ]ὸς
 Πτολεμαί[ο]ς καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀννεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν παντὸς ἐπι[τί]μου καὶ
 πάσης ζημίας. βεβαιουμένη[ς δὲ] τῆ[ς] μισ[θώ]σεως
 τὴν τε γῆν κατεργασάσθωι Πτολεμαῖος καὶ ἀναπαυσάτω κατ' ἔτος τὸ
 ἡμισυ καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω αὐ[τ]ῶι ἀλλοτρ[ι]οῦν
 τὴν μίσθωσιν. τὸ δὲ διασεσαφημένον ἐκφόριον κατ' ἔτος ἀποδοτά
 Πτολεμαῖος Ὀρίωνι ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐ[τ]οῦ ἐμ[μ]ηνί
 40 Παῦνι ἀποδιδούς πυρὸν νέον κ[α]θαρὸν ἄδολον ἀπὸ πάντων μέτρωι ἑξαχοι-
 νίκωι δρόμου τοῦ ἐν τῆι προγεγραμμένηι
 κώμηι Σουχιεῖου μετρήσει δικαίαι καταστήσας εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πρὸς Ὀρίωνα
 οὗ ἂν συντάσση ἐν[ν] τῆι αὐ[τ]ῆι κώμηι
 τοῦ[ς] ἰδ[ί]οις ἀνηλώμασιν. καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν μίσθωσιν χρόνου διελθόντος
 παραδειξάτω Πτολεμαῖος τὴν γῆν[ν] καθαρὰν καθότι
 πρόκειται. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδοῖ καθὰ γέγραπται ἢ ἄλλο τι παρασυγγραφήι
 τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀποτεισάτω Πτολεμα[αῖ]ος Ὀ[ρίωνι] πα[ρα]χ[ρη]μα
 τοῦ μὲν ἐγλιπεῖν τὴν μίσθωσιν ἐπίτιμον χαλκοῦ τάλαντα τριάκοντα καὶ
 τὸ βλάβος καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀναπαῦσαι τὴν γῆν [κατ' ἔτος] ἐπ[ί]τιμον
 45 πυρῶν ἀρτάβας δέκα ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐκφορίων καὶ τοῦ μὴ παραδοῦναι τὴν γῆν
 καθαρὰν ἐπίτιμον χαλκοῦ τάλαντα δέκα κα[ὶ] τοῦ .]τ[ρ]

- ἐκάστης ἀρτάβης χαλκοῦ δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας ἢ τὴν ἐσομένην πλείστην
 τιμὴν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ, καὶ τῶν δὲ κ[αρπ]ῶν κ[αὶ τῶν
 γ[ε]νημάτων κατ' ἔτος κυριευέτω Ὀρίων ἕως ἂν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκφόρια ἐκ
 πλήρους κομίσηται καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τὰ κατὰ τῆν μ[ισθωσιν] συν-
 τελεσθῆι. ἐὰν δέ τι πραχθῆι Πτολεμ[α]ῖος ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατε[σχ]ημένου
 Μάρωνος ἢ Ὀρίωνος εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἢ ἄλλην τ[ι]νὰ εἰσφορὰν
 ας [σ]ύμβολα ὁμολογᾷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκ τῶν ἐκφορίων, ἐὰν
 δὲ μὴ ἐκποιῆ ὥστε κομίσασθαι προσαποδῶται αὐτῷ Ὀρίων,
 50 [ἐὰν δ]ὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγραπται ἐξέστω Πτολεμαῖω ἐὰν τε βούληται
 πράξαι αὐτόν, ἐὰν τε αἰρήται ἐπιγεωργεῖν τὸν κλῆρον τῶν
 [αὐτῶν] ἐκφορίων εἰς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς μισθώσεως χρόνον ἕως ἂν τὰ
 ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ πλήρους κομίσηται μετὰ τῶν καθηκόντων
 [ἢ συ]γγραφῇ κυρία. μάρτυρες Τιμόστρατος Σαραπίωνος Μακεδῶν τῶν
 κατοίκων ἱππέων Τήρης Πτολεμαίου Ἐρμων η . του ιχ[. . .
 [Πά]τρων Πτολεμαίου Ἡράκλειος Σαραπίωνος οἱ πέντε Μακεδόνες τῆς
 ἐπιγονῆς. σύ[γ]γραφοφύλαξ Τιμόστρατος.
 2nd hand [Π]τολεμαῖος ὃς καὶ Πετρουχὸς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρυάτου Πέρσης
 τῆς ἐπι(γ)ου[ῆ]ς ὁμολογῶ
 55 [με]μισθῶσθαι τὸν ὑπάρχοντα τῷ Μάρωνι κλῆρον εἰς ἔτη πέντε ἀπ[ὸ τοῦ]
 πεντεκαί-
 [δεκάτου τοῦ] καὶ τωδεκάτου ἔτους ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντὸς καθ' ἔτος ἕκασ[τ]ον
 π[υρ]ῶν
 [ἀρταβῶ]ν ἕκατον εἴκοσι καὶ ἔχω εἰς τὴν τοῦ κλήρου χερσοκοπίαν παραχρῆμα
 [τὰ] δύο] τὰ[λ]αντα καὶ τὰς τρισχιλίας δραχμὰς τοῦ χαλκοῦ, καὶ προσλα-
 βόντος μου ἄλλα [.
 τάλαντα δύο παραδώσω τὸν κλῆρον κεχερσοκοπημένον καὶ ὁμαλισμένην
 καθαρὸν
 60 ἀπὸ θρόνου καλάμου ἀγρώστεως τῆς ἄλλης δίσσης πλὴν τῆς [γει]τινώσ[η]ς
 Θεώνιος καὶ
 Πανσίριος γῆ χέρσου, καὶ τὰλ(λ)α συνχωρῶ καθότι προέγραπτα[ι], καὶ
 τέθειμαι τὴν συγ-
 γραφὴν [κυρ]ίαν πα[ρ]ὰ [Τιμο]στράτῳι.
 3rd hand Τιμόστρατος ἔχω κυρίαν.
 1st hand ἔτους ιε τοῦ καὶ ιβ Φαῶφι κδ τέ(τακται) εἰς ἀναγραφὴν).

On the verso

65 Ὀριώνος [π]ρὸς Πτολεμαῖον
 κλ[ήρου]ν εἰς (ἔτη) ε ἀπὸ τοῦ ιε [(ἔτους)]

And below

['Ωρ]ων[ος]	Τιμοστράτου	"Ερμωνος	Χ ατος
[Π]τ[ο]λεμαί[ο]ν	Τήρους	Πάτρωνος	'Ηρακλέως

3. θο of θωωνει COG. 5. θρ of θρουου COG. 13. υ of μεταστυμιος COG. 18. ι. ἀκιν-
 δίου . . . ἀνπολόγου. 26. ι. θρύου. 32. δε of μηδε COG. α of ποτιζοντας COG. from ε.
 36. και το βλαβος over an erasure. 37. ου of επίτιμου COG. 46. ι. τῶν τε καρπῶν.
 56. ι. δωδεκάτου. 59. ι. ὠμαλισμένον.

ll. 8 sqq. 'In the reign of Cleopatra the goddess Euergetis and Ptolemy surnamed Alexander, gods Philometores, the 15th which is also the 12th year, the priest of Alexander and the rest being as written at Alexandria, the 24th of the month Xandicus which is the 24th of Phaophi, at Kerkeosisiris in the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite nome. Ptolemaeus also called Petesuchus, son of Apollonius also called Haruotes, Persian of the Epigone, agrees with Horion son of Apollonius, Macedonian, sword-bearer in attendance upon the strategus, that he has leased from him the catoecic holding in three lots belonging to Maron son of Dionysius near the village, and leased by him to Horion, of which land the adjacent areas are : of the first lot on the south, separated by a canal, the land of the great god Mestautmis and the Crown land of Horus son of Pekotus, Thoönis and Pausiris, on the north the holding of Ptolemaeus son of Apollonius, on the west and east canals ; of the second lot on the south, north and west a field, on the east the holding of Apollodorus ; and of the remaining lot on the south the holding of the aforesaid Apollodorus, on the north and east the holding of Asclepiades, on the west a field. This lease is for five years from the 15th which is also the 12th year at a yearly rent for the whole area of 120 artabae of wheat with no allowance for seed, warranted against all risks and subject to no deductions for loss, on condition that Ptolemaeus shall break up at his own expense all the dry ground in the holding except that which adjoins the land of Thoönis and Pausiris, Horion paying him for the breaking up 4 talents 3000 drachmae of copper, which are not to be returned ; from which sum Ptolemaeus has forthwith received 2 talents 3000 drachmae, the remaining two talents to be received within two years from the aforesaid 15th which is also the 12th year, one talent being paid in each year in the month of Pachon. Ptolemaeus shall every year beginning with the second year of the lease sow half the holding with such light crops as he may select excluding oil-producing plants ; and he shall in each year pay all the expenses and dues at the threshing-floor to the amount of three artabae of wheat at his own charges. And when the term of the lease has expired Ptolemaeus shall deliver up the land . . . , levelled and banked in and free from rushes, coarse grass, and other weeds, except the aforesaid dry ground. If Ptolemaeus chooses to break up all the dry land in the second year, Horion shall pay him the aforesaid two talents of copper in the month of Pachon of the 15th which is also the 12th year. Horion shall guarantee to Ptolemaeus and his agents the lease and the enjoyment of the produce of the land upon the terms arranged for the time appointed and for any extension that may be necessary, and he is not permitted to lease the land to others or expel Ptolemaeus before the proper period or hinder him

or his agents from tilling the ground or watering the crop each year. And he shall also pay Ptolemaeus within the appointed time the remaining two talents of copper for the breaking up of the dry land, as is aforesaid. If he fails to guarantee them as aforesaid or violates any other of the aforesaid provisions, Horion shall forfeit to Ptolemaeus a fine of 30 talents of copper, and for failure to pay the money for the breaking up of the dry ground one and a half times that sum and the loss incurred, while the validity of the lease shall not be affected; and Ptolemaeus himself and his agents if they expel intruders upon the land shall be liable to no fine or penalty of any kind. If the lease is guaranteed Ptolemaeus shall till the land and sow light crops on half of it every year, and he may not alienate the lease. The appointed rent shall be paid every year by Ptolemaeus to Horion or his agents in the month of Pauni, payment being made in wheat that is new, pure, and unadulterated in any way, measured by the six-choenix dromos measure of the temple of Suchus in the aforesaid village by just measurement, and it shall be delivered to Horion at the village at whatever place he may fix in the said village at Ptolemaeus' own expense. And when the period of the lease has expired Ptolemaeus shall deliver up the land in a clean condition as aforesaid. But if he fails to pay the rent as aforesaid or violates any other of the aforesaid conditions, Ptolemaeus shall forthwith forfeit to Horion for renouncing the lease a fine of 30 talents of copper and the loss incurred, and for not sowing light crops yearly a fine of 10 artabae of wheat besides the rent, and for not delivering up the land in a clean condition a fine of 10 talents of copper, and for (not paying the rent?) 3000 drachmae of copper for each artaba or the highest price at which it may be sold at the said village; and Horion shall in each year own the harvest and produce until he recovers his rent in full and all the other provisions of the lease are fulfilled. If Ptolemaeus is called upon to pay anything to the State on behalf of Maron whose property has been impounded or of Horion, or to make any other contribution, he shall deduct in the allowances from the rent the equivalents of the sums in the tax-receipts, and if that is not sufficient to make good the debt Horion shall pay him the additional amount. If Horion fails to pay him as aforesaid, Ptolemaeus has the right either, if he chooses, to exact the deficiency from him, or, if he prefers, to continue cultivating the holding at the same rent beyond the term of the lease until he recovers his debt in full with the (interest?) This contract is valid. The witnesses are Timostratus son of Sarapion, Macedonian of the catoecic cavalry, Teres son of Ptolemaeus, Hermon son of . . . , Patron son of Ptolemaeus, Heracleus son of Sarapion, all five Macedonians of the Epigone. The keeper of the contract is Timostratus. I, Ptolemaeus also called Petesuchus, son of Apollonius also called Haruotes, Persian of the Epigone, agree that I have leased the holding which belongs to Maron for five years from the 15th which is also the 12th year at a total rent for each year of 120 artabae of wheat; and I have forthwith received the 2 talents and 3000 drachmae of copper for breaking up the dry ground in the holding; and on receiving in addition 2 talents more I will deliver up the holding with the dry ground broken up and levelled and free from rushes, coarse grass, and other weeds, except that adjoining the land of Thönis and Pausiris, and I accept the other stipulations as aforesaid; and I have placed this contract, being valid, with Timostratus. I, Timostratus, have received the contract, being valid. Registered in the 15th which is also the 12th year, Phaophi 24.'

6-7. The last line and a half does not seem to correspond to any provision in the body of the document from l. 29 onwards, and without a definite clue decipherment of this scrawl is hopeless.

8. The title *Σωτήρων* is omitted here as becomes usual in the papyri of Ptolemy Alexander's reign after the disappearance of Cleopatra; cf. 104. 5, 106. 3. It is,

however, found in a Gebelên papyrus as late as the 26th year (P. Amh. II. 51. 20), and probably no importance is to be attached to the omission.

9. *Ξανδικοῦ*: Xandicus corresponded to Mecheir at this period; *Ἀπελλαίου* should have been written.

12. *μαχαιροφόρων*: cf. 85. 13, note.

13. *Μεστασύτμιος [θεοῦ] μεγάλου*: cf. 94. 34. In 106. 9-10 the southern area is called *Μεστασύτμιος βασιλική*, and it is possible that the land of the god Mestasutmis and the *βασιλική* of Horus, &c., both of which adjoined this *σφραγίς* on the south, are there confused. But it is improbable that this land of Mestasutmis was really *ιερά*; cf. 93. introd. and 94. 34, note. The first *σφραγίς* probably consisted of the 15 arourae ascribed to Maron son of Dionysius in 85. 59 (cf. introd.), for the other two *σφραγίδες* apparently correspond to the land owned by Maron as *φυλακίτης*; cf. note on l. 15. In 106. 10 a *γύης*, not a *διῶρυξ*, is said to lie between the first *σφραγίς* and the adjacent area on the south. The inconsistency may be real; but if *ἔμβροχος γῆ* could become a *γύης* (cf. 152) there is no reason why a canal should not become one also. The difficulty is to fix the meaning of *γύης*. Outside the instances in the present volume (ll. 15-6, 62, 82-3, 240, besides those mentioned) the word is only found in one papyrus, so far as we are aware, P. Amh. II. 68. Taking the certain occurrences by themselves the most natural explanation of *γύης* is simply a 'field,' possessing no technical meaning but being employed when the writer did not care to enter into details. This view does not accord very well with the numbering of the *γύαι*, if the abbreviation *γυ()* is to be explained as *γύ(ου)* in 62 and 82-3. But though it is very difficult to expand the abbreviation in any other way *γύ(ου)* is extremely doubtful in those papyri, and in any case may be left out of account in explaining the *γύαι* which occur as adjacent areas here and in 106. It is even possible that the *γύης* of 106. 10 was the land described in detail here as the *βασιλική γῆ* of Horus, Thōnis and Pausiris, which may have been partly to the south of Maron's land, partly between it and the land of Mestasutmis, and so may have been somewhat differently located in the two descriptions.

14. *Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου*: in 106. 10 *Ἀπολλωνίου*; cf. 85. 57, which refers to the *κλήρος* here meant.

15. *Ἀπολλοδώρου*: cf. 84. 122-4, where the *κλήρος* of Apollodorus is placed on the east of 7 arourae belonging to Maron, which, we think, composed the second *σφραγίς* here. The third *σφραγίς* consisted of the 3 arourae mentioned in 84. 115 on the west of the *κλήρος* of Acusilaus son of Asclepiades; cf. l. 16 here *ἀπηλιώτου Ἀσκληπιάδου κλήρος*. 106. 12 gives a canal as the east *γείτων* of the second *σφραγίς*, but states that there were *νομαί* between, and makes the *κλήρος* of Polemon the younger the north *γείτων* of the third. These differences in the descriptions of the *σφραγίδες* in 105 and 106 are, however, not sufficiently great to warrant the supposition that the land which is the subject of the two leases is different, considering the numerous points of resemblance and the fact that in either case the three *σφραγίδες* appear to make up the whole of Maron's *κλήρος*.

18. *ἄνευ σπέρματος*: cf. 108. 4, where the seed is provided by the lessor, and note on 61. (β) 17.

24. *πλὴν ἐλαϊκῶν φορτίων*: *κνήκος* was probably the crop chiefly meant; cf. P. Amh. II. 91. 15. Sesame and castor-oil are less likely to be alluded to, for the government fixed the amounts of these to be grown in each nome (Rev. Laws, cols. lx sqq.), and though it is not known how the cultivation of these two crops was assigned to *γεωργοί* by the local officials, the government must have exercised a more or less direct control over it. The principal crops which might legitimately be grown upon land *ἐν ἀναπαύματι* are specified in 106. 22 as *χόρτος*, *ἄρακος*, and *τῆλις*. From 115 it appears that *φακός* and *φάσηλος* were in the same class; cf. p. 564.

λογευτικά: the sentence is ambiguous, and the 3 artabae may be for λογευτικά alone or for the ἀηλώματα and λογευτικά combined. The order of the words is in favour of the second view, and λογευτικά is probably not a special tax but a general expression for the taxes levied at the δλωσ before the produce was available for division between landlord and tenant. The disputes which might arise in this connexion are illustrated by P. Petrie II. 2. (1), a petition from the γεωργοί of a κληρος complaining of the conduct of the cleruch¹. By the terms of the lease the landlord was responsible for the taxes, and was to receive his rent at the δλωσ as soon as the ἀφεσις was granted, i. e. the taxes were paid to the government (cf. note on 5. 36-7); but he without waiting (ἡδη, l. 11) had carried off his rent, and when the γεωργοί entreated him 'to obtain the release of the remainder by paying the dues to the collectors' (l. ἀφίεσθαι (?) in l. 13 and [λογευ]ταίς in l. 14) caused such delay that all the remaining corn was impounded by the officials, including the ἐπιγενήματα of the γεωργοί or what legally belonged to them after the claims of the government and the landlord were satisfied (cf. note on 27. 65-6).

28. [τῶι δε]υτέ[ρ]ω[ι] [ε]ρει: sc. of the lease; cf. l. 23.

30. ὅν ἂν δέη ἐπὶ τοῦτοι: the reference is to a possible continuance of the cultivation by Ptolemaeus after the lease had expired; cf. ll. 50-1.

32. εἰς φύλλον: cf. 50. 29 and 72. 362. ἄλλο might be read for ἀλλά, but is not very likely.

40. μέτροι ἐξαχονίκοι δρόμοι: on this important passage which explains the δρόμοι measure cf. note on 61. (δ) 386. At Kerkeosiris an artaba on that standard contained 42 choenices, so that the use of a μέτρον ἐξαχονίκον is quite natural. The Σουχίου was the shrine of Petesuchus; cf. 88. 4.

46. δραχμαίς τρισχλίαις: cf. 109. 15, where 2000 drachmae are paid as the actual price of an artaba of wheat by the δρόμοι measure, and 11. 16-7. In 224 the price of an artaba is only 720 drachmae, but the artaba there may well have contained less than 42 choenices. The explanation of the abnormally high price fixed here is that it was to be exacted as a penalty for non-payment at the proper time (cf. the parallel stipulation in 110. 8-10, where the price is also 3000 drachmae for an artaba, and P. Fay. Towns 11. 17), under which circumstances it was customary to exact the ἡμιολία. But the prices of wheat throughout the papyri in this volume are very much higher than those which have been inferred from the Serapeum papyri; cf. p. 584.

48. εἰν δέ τι πραχθή: cf. P. Oxy. II. 277. 8-11, where in l. 10 read ἵπολογεῖται, and in l. 11 [βεβα]λούται δέ Δι[ονυσί]ωι τὴν μίσθωσιν.

κατε[σχ]ημένον: cf. 72. 239 κατεσχ[η]μένον πρὸς διαφόρησιν προβάτων.

εἰσφοράν is here used in a general sense for irregular imposts. On the εἰσφοραὶ levied upon cleruchs cf. 124. 35 and 98. introd.

51. Perhaps τόκων at the end of the line; the vestiges of letters are very indistinct.

53. συγγραφοφύλαξ Τιμόστρατος: one of the witnesses (often, as here, the first mentioned) was regularly selected as the keeper of the contract, who was not, as generally supposed, a government official. This appears very clearly from a comparison of the instances in which the συγγραφοφύλαξ occurs in contracts; see 104. 4 and 36, P. Amh. II. 43. 16 and 18, P. Leyden O (where in l. 3 συγγραφοφύλαξ) Ἡρακλείδης Ἐρμίου is to be read, and in l. 35 Ἡρακλείδης Ἐρμίου ἔχω κυρίαν, and especially P. Petrie II. 47. 33 τούτων (sc. of the witnesses) συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἀπολλώνιος. The procedure described in P. Petrie II. 21. (d) (cf. 104. introd.), which gives the evidence of a συγγραφοφύλαξ with regard to a contract entrusted to him after he and other witnesses had signed it, was thus

¹ This papyrus is republished by Revillout in his *Mélanges* p. 272 with a number of very inapt restorations such as [κομί]εσθαι, [στρατιώ]ταις and [ἀψ(ώνιον) ἐκ] τοῦ σίτου in ll. 13-5.

in no way exceptional. The view that the *συγγραφοφύλαξ* was a permanent official was based on P. Leyden O, which was written *ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποκάτω Μίμφεως φυλακῆς* and also registered (*ἀναγέγραπται*) there. What kind of *φυλακῆ* is meant is not clear, but even if it was a place for keeping documents P. Leyden O was not deposited there but, as usual, left in the personal keeping of one of the witnesses. It should be noticed that in the Leyden papyrus, as in 104 and 105, the *συγγραφοφύλαξ*, who appends his autograph signature with the words *ἔχω κυρίαν*, is not the person who wrote the body of the contract and the abstract at the beginning. This was done usually no doubt by some government notary. The Gebelên contracts of this period were uniformly written in the office of the agoranomus, but that official has not yet been found in Fayûm papyri before the Roman period.

106. LEASE OF LAND.

24·4.

20 X 21·2 cm.

B.C. 101.

A lease of apparently the same land as that which is the subject of 105, but from the original owner, Maron, to Ptolemaeus, for three years, at a rent of between 80 and 90 artabae. The papyrus is dated two years later than 105 and differs from it both in the opening formula (which is similar to that of 158) and in several of the provisions; the rent is here over 30 artabae lower. At the beginning is a brief abstract, and the *verso* contains, as usual, the names of the contracting parties and the six witnesses, with seals (cf. 104. introd.) between. The body of the document itself is much more cursively written than 105.

The date in ll. 3-4 is of considerable interest on account of the association of Berenice with Alexander in Phaophi of his 14th year, the earliest mention of her elsewhere as queen being in Phaophi of the 16th year (P. Leyden H). The joint rule of Alexander with his mother Cleopatra III terminated in her 16th which was his 13th year, though, if we may believe P. Grenf. II. 32. 2 and 12, not until the very end of it. The present document, which was written seven weeks later than the docket in P. Grenf. II. 32. 12, shows that the association of Berenice with Alexander in datings followed immediately, or almost immediately, upon the disappearance of Cleopatra III, and that the marriage of Berenice took place not, as has been often supposed, in B.C. 99 (cf. Lepsius, *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1852, p. 459, Strack, *Dynastie*, p. 205), but not later than the autumn of B.C. 101. There is therefore now no reason to attach any importance to the apparent absence of Berenice's name from the date in P. Grenf. I. 36 (cf. 104. 5 and 109. 6), and that papyrus affords another

example of the frequent omissions in the dates found upon papyri—irregularities which have as a rule been taken far too seriously.

(Ἔτους) ιδ Φαῶφι ιδ ἐν Πτ[ο]λεμαίδι] Εὐ(εργέτιδι). ἐμισ(θωσε) Μ[άρων Διονυ(σίου)] Πτολεμαίω Ἀπολλωνίου Πέ(ρση) τ(ῆς) ἐπιγονῆς τὸν ἐαυ(τοῦ) ἐν τρ:(σί) σφ(ρ)α(γίσι) εἰς (ἔτη) γ [12 letters] . εγν() δά(σει) χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντον) α ἀνα(πόδοτον).

βασιλευόντων Πτο[λ]εμαίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου θεοῦ Φι[λομ]ήτορος καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης
θεὰν Φιλάδελφον ἔτους τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

5 τῶν γραφομένων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου Φαῶφι
ἐν Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέ(τιδι) τοῦ Ἀρσινόιτου νομοῦ. ἐμισ(θωσεν) Μάρων Διονυσίου Μακεδῶν τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων Πτ[ο]λεμαίω τῷ καὶ Πετεσοῦχῳ Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τὸν [ἐ]αυτοῦ κλῆ[ρ]ο]ν τὸν ὄντα ἐν τρισ(ῖ) σφραγίσι περὶ Κερκευσί-
ριν τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος, [ᾧ]ν γείτονες τῆς πρώτης [σ]φραγίδος νότου Μεστασύτμιος

10 βασιλικῆ γῆι ἀνὰ μέσον ὄντος [γύ]ου βορρᾶ Ἀπολλωνίου κ[λῆ]ρ[ο]ς λιβὸς καὶ ἀπηλιώτου
[διῶρυξ, τῆ]ς δὲ δευτέρας νότου βασιλικῆ γῆι ἀνὰ μέσον ὄντος ὑδραγ[ω]γοῦ βορρᾶ Ἀπολλωνίου
[κλῆ]ρος λιβὸς ἀπ]ηλιώτου διῶρυξ ἀνὰ μέσον οὐσῶν νομῶν, τῆς δὲ τρίτης

[νότου 17 letters βο]ρρᾶ Πολέμωνος νεωτέρου κλῆρος λιβὸς γύης ἀπηλιώτου
[21 „ κλῆ]ρος. ἡ μίσθωσις ἦδε εἰς ἔτη τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτ)ος

15 [ιδ ἔτους ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντὸς] κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν ὀγδοή-

[κοντα ἀνευ σπέρματος] ἀκίνδυνον παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλογον [πάσης φθορᾶς πλὴν τῆς ἐμβρό]χου καὶ ἀβρόχου ἥτις ἀν γένηται ἐν τῇ γῆ ταύτῃ

[17 letters] ἐξ ἐγενομένης ὑπόλογος ἔστω Μάρωνι ἐκ τῶν ἐκφορίων
[17 „] . ἕκαστον ἐὰν δὲ ἡ ἐπάνω ἢ ἡ ὑποκάτω γῆι βρέχη

- 20 [17 letters] . . ρ . . γεται τὰ ἐκφόρια ἐκ πλήρους. τὰ δ' ἔργα πάντα
 τῆς γῆς
 [καὶ τοὺς καθή]κοντας χωματισμοὺς καὶ ποτεισμοὺς ἐπιτελείτω Πτολεμαῖος κα-
 [τ' ἔτος καὶ ἀναπ]αυσάτω κατ' ἔτος τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς γῆς χόρτωι ἢ
 ἀράκωι ἢ τήλει
 [καὶ μὴ ἐξέσ]τωι αὐτῶι ἐγλιπεῖν τὴν μίσθωσιν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου, δότωι δ'
 αὐτῶι
 [Μάρων ἐν τ]ῶι πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει εἰς τὰ ἔργα τῆς γῆς ἀναπόδοτον χαλκοῦ
 25 [τάλαντον ἔν]. καὶ τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος παραδειξάτωι ἅ καὶ παρείληφεν
 καθαρά
 [ἀπὸ θρύου καλάμου]ν ἀγρώστεως τῆς {α} ἄλλης δείσης, τὰ τε κατ' ἔτος
 ἐκφόρια ἀποδότηι
 [Πτολεμαῖος Μάρωνι ἐν μηνὶ Π]αυνι ἐν τῇ σημαινομένῃ κόμῃ οὐ
 ἀν Μάρων
 [συντάσσει 15 letters]νποιονν καὶ λόγον μέτρωι τῶι πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ
 [τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ Σουχιείου. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι ἢ ἄλλο τι παρα]συγγραφῆ
 ἀποτεισά-
 30 [τω Πτολεμαῖος Μάρωνι] μέρος τῆς γῆς
 []ς καὶ τῶν ἐκφορί-
 [ων]ν τιμῆν
 []ς εἴκοσι καὶ

On the verso

[Μ]άρωνος . [. .] Ἀπολλωνίου Δ ος
 35 [Πτο]λεμαίου Κλ . [. .] α ου

4. l. θεῆς Φιλαδέλφου. 8. l. Πέρση. 16. l. ἀκινδύνου . . . ἀνπολόγου. 19.
 l. βρεχ(θ)ῆι or βραχῆι ?

9-13. On the differences between this passage and the corresponding description of the three σφραγίδες in 105 cf. notes on 105. 13-5.

22. Cf. note on 105. 24.

24. The talent paid here by the lessor for the ἔργα resembles the $4\frac{1}{2}$ talents contributed by Horion for the χερσοκοπία in 105. 20. Of that sum $2\frac{1}{2}$ talents were paid at once, the remaining 2 talents being payable in two yearly instalments, so that if the provisions of the lease had been fulfilled Ptolemaeus had received the whole amount before the 14th year began. Whether this talent paid by Maron represents the second instalment or is a fresh grant is uncertain.

H h

107. LEASE OF LAND.

23.15.

30.8 x 18.5 cm.

B. C. 112.

Agreement for a lease from Ptolemaeus son of Meniscus to Menches of 10 arourae of grass-land ready sown, at a rent of 5 artabae of wheat per aroura.

This Ptolemaeus had succeeded to the κλήρος of his father Meniscus son of Ptolemaeus, who had been an ephodus and became a cleruch in the 34th year of Euergetes II; cf. 61. (a) 44, 62. 152. The κλήρος, in which the land here leased was, contained 24 arourae; and it had become κατόχμος owing to the failure of Meniscus to pay the στέφανος; cf. 61. (b) 256, 64. (b) 7. In 75. 12 the komogrammateus Menches appears as guarantor of the artaba tax on behalf of Ptolemaeus, and it is not improbable that Menches the lessee in the present papyrus is also the komogrammateus; but he may of course be an ordinary γεωργός.

Πτολεμαῖος Μενίσκου Μεγχεῖ χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ
 μμισθωκέναί σοι τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἐν τῶι
 κλήρω μου χόρτου ἀρούρας δέκα [[εἰς τὸ]]
 ἑσπ[αρμ]ένας εἰς τὸ 5 (ἔτος) ἐκφορίου ἐκάσ-
 5 τη[s] ἀρούρας πυροῦ πέντε, ὥστ' εἶναι
 πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πενήκοντα, καὶ συν-
 χωρῶ τῆι μισθώσει καὶ βεβαιώσω σοι
 καὶ οἷς ἐὰν μισθώσης.

ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) 5 Ἀθ[ύρ] . .

2. Second ε of μμισθωκεναι corr. from α.

'Ptolemaeus son of Meniscus to Menches, greeting. I acknowledge that I have leased to you 10 arourae of grass-land belonging to me in my holding, sown for the 6th year, at the rent of 5 artabae of wheat for each aroura, making a total of 50 artabae of wheat; and I agree to the lease, and will guarantee it to you and to whomever you lease the land. Good-bye. The 6th year, Athur . . .'

108. LEASE OF LAND.

19·7.

24·3 × 31·8 cm.

B. C. 93 or 60.

A short abstract of a lease of land similar to those prefixed to the body of the contract in 105-6. The land was 15 arourae in extent, and was let for a rent of $6\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat per aroura, the lessor providing 15 artabae for seed, and being responsible for 'all expenses.' The third part of the land was to be sown with light crops.

The abstract, which is preceded by another short column in the same hand—apparently an account—is written on the *verso* of a sheet which has been joined with the *verso* uppermost to a lengthy wages account. Of this one column is nearly complete, and there are parts of lines of a second. The following will serve as a specimen (Col. i. ll. 5-7):—καὶ ἐν τῷ Οπλοηνου() ἐπαρδευ(ταῖς) ('waterers,' cf. P. Amh. II. 36. 11 ἐπαρδίων) β ἀπὸ κ ἕως λ ἡμερῶ(ν) ἰα παῖδ(ες) κβ ἀνὰ ξ, / 'Ατ[κ]. The 60 (copper) drachmae here represent the daily wage and are multiplied by 22, which is the product of the number of workers (2) and that of the days (11) upon which work was done. At the bottom of the column is the total: / τὸ πᾶ(ν) ἐπαρδευ(ταῖς) ἡμερῶ(ν) [ρλβ] (τάλαντον) α 'Ατκ. The last two lines of the column following are καὶ ἀπὸ 'Επειφ α ἕως λ ἡμ[ερῶ(ν)] κθ θερυ(οῖς) β ἀνὰ 'Δψ, / (τάλαντον) [α 'Γχ; the word θερυοῖς also occurs earlier in the column. On the *recto* of the first *selis* is another short and partially erased account, beginning 'Επειφ ἰθ ῥύσι(ς?) 'Απ[ο]λλω(νίου) νομάρχ(ου) | ἄρουρα α.

('Ετους) κα Επειφ. μεμισθω(κε)
 Πετεσοῦ(χος) Κουλ(ῶτι?) τὰς
 (πρότερον) Καλλι(κράτους) ἀρού(ρας) ἰε ἀνὰ (πυροῦ) 5Λ,
 (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) 45Λ, ἐφ' ᾧ δώ(σει) σπέρμα (ἀρτάβας) ἰε
 5 καὶ δώ(σει) τὴν ἅπασαν δαπάνη(ν),
 καὶ ἀναπαύσει τὸ γ'.

'The 21st year, Epeiph. Petesuchus has leased to Koulos the 15 arourae formerly belonging to Callicrates at $6\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat (for the aroura), making $97\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat, subject to the condition that he (Petesuchus) shall supply 15 artabae for seed and all expenses, and he (Koulos) shall sow with light crops the third part.'

1-2. Possibly μεμισθω(ται) Πετεσοῦ(χος) Κουλ(ῶτος), in which case the land would probably be βασιλική. But the subject of δώ(σει) in ll. 4-5 must be the landlord, who should therefore have been mentioned.

5. τὴν ἅπασαν δαπάνη(ν): the 'expenses' may have included outlay on account of the cultivation and government charges (cf. 105. 24-5 and 106. 24).

H h 2

100. SALE OF WHEAT.

29.2.

21 x 17.2 cm.

B. C. 93.

A contract by which Dionysius and his wife Athenais agree to sell 3 artabae of wheat by the dromos measure to Petesuchus, and acknowledge the receipt of the price, 2000 copper drachmae for each artaba, making 1 talent. The wheat was to be delivered in Pauni, six months after the date of the contract, and the formula of the latter part of the document corresponds to that found in loans.

The papyrus is in a bad condition, and the ink has in parts faded considerably, so that the small cursive writing is very difficult to decipher.

(Ἔτους) κβ Χοίαχ θ. ἀπέδο(ντο) Διονύ(σιος) δε καὶ Πετ[οσιῖρις] Θέωνος
τοῦ καὶ Θών(ιος)

Πέ(ρσης) ἐπι(γονῆς) καὶ αὐτοῦ γυν(ή) Ἀθη(ναῖς) ἢ καὶ Ἀθερμου(θίς)
Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ

Πρεσ . ρή(τιος) Περσ(ίνη) μετὰ κυ(ρίου) τοῦ Διονυ(σίου) ἀνδ(ρός) καὶ
γεγραμμένον(υ) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) γ τιμὴν (ἀρτάβης) ἐκά(στης)

χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμὰς) ἸΒ 25 letters [.....].....

5 20 letters ἔγγυ(οι)..... [..... συ(γγραφοφύλαξ)] Διονύσιος.

βασιλεύ(οντος) Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπι(καλοῦ)μένου Ἀλεξάνδρου
θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος {τους} ἔτους δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστού ἐφ' ἱερέως
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν γραφομένων [ἐ]ν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ
μηδὲς Περιτίου ἐνάτη Χοίαχ ἐ[ν] ἀ[τ]τ[η] ἐν Κ[ε]ρκεσίρει τῆς

10 Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίου [νομοῦ]. ἀπέδοντο

Διονύσιος δε καὶ Πετοσιῖρις Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Θών(ιος) Πέ(ρσης) τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
καὶ αὐτοῦ γυν(ή) Ἀθη(ναῖς) ἢ καὶ Ἀθερμου(θίς) Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Πρεσ . -
ρή(τιος) Περσ(ίνη) μετὰ κυ(ρίου) Διονυ(σίου) τοῦ ἀνδ(ρός) καὶ προγεγραμμένου
Πετεσοῦ(χοι) Μαρρεί(ους) Ἀρσινοί(ε)τι πυρῶν ἀρτάβ(ας) τρεῖς τιμῆς τὴν

15 ἀρτάβην ἐκάστην χαλκοῦ δραχμῶν δισχιλί(ων), τὴν τιμὴν
πᾶσαν τῶν τριῶν ἀρταβῶν τῶν πυρῶν χαλκ[οῦ] νομίσματος τάλαντον

ἐν, ὃ ἀπέχουσιν οἱ προγεγραμμένοι π[α]ρὰ Πετεσοῦ(χοι) παραχρῆμα
διὰ χερῶν ἐξ οἴκου. ἀποδῶσαν δὲ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀθη(ναῖς) Πετεσοῦ(χοι)

- ἡ τοῖς πα[ρ'] αὐτοῦ ἐμ μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτ[ο]υς
 20 πυρὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον ἀπὸ παντὸς [μέτρῳ] ἑξαχοινίκῳ δρόμου
 τοῦ ἐν τ[ῆ]ι προ[γε]γραμμένῃ κώμῃ Σουχειοῦ μετρήσει δικαίαι
 κατ[αστή]σαντες εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πρὸς Π[ε]τεσοῦχον τοῖς ἰδίοις
 ἀνηλώμασιν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδώσιν καθ[ὰ] γέγραπται ἀποτε-
 [σάτ]ωσαν οἱ προ[γε]γραμμένοι [Πετεσοῦχῳ] . . . ἑ τριμήν
 25 [ἡ]μιολίαν. ἔγγυοι ἀλλήλ[ων 24 letters] . . [. .
 [αὐ]τοῖ οἱ προγεγραμμένοι. ἡ [δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω] Πετεσοῦχῳ τῶ:
 [26 letters κ]αὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ
 [ἐκάστου αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξ οὗ] ἐὰν αἰρήτῃ καὶ
 [ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς πάντων καθάπ]ερ ἐγ δίκης.
 30 [30 letters] [. . .
 [32 "] Διονύσιος
 [32 "]

On the *verso*

- Διονυσίου Διονυσί[ου] [. .] . . Δ[. . .] . . . [.
 [κα]ὶ τῆς γυν[αικὸς] Θέωνος Διδύμ[ου] κ . . . [.
 35 Ἀθηναίδος

'In the reign of Ptolemy surnamed Alexander, the god Philometor, the 22nd year, the priest of Alexander and the rest being as written at Alexandria, the 9th of the month Peritius which is the 9th of Choiak, at Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite nome. Dionysius also called Petosiris, son of Theon also called Thonis, Persian of the Epigone, and his wife Athenais also called Athermouthis, daughter of Apollonius also called Pres . retis, Persian, with her guardian Dionysius her husband, the aforesaid, have sold to Petesuchus son of Marres, Arsinoite, three artabae of wheat at the price of 2000 drachmae of copper for each artaba, the whole price of the three artabae being one talent of copper coin; which sum the aforesaid have received from Petesuchus forthwith from hand to hand out of his house. Dionysius and Athenais shall pay Petesuchus or his agents in the month of Pauni of the 22nd year in wheat that is new, pure, and unadulterated in any way, by the six-choenix measure of the dromos of the temple of Suchus at the aforesaid village by just measurement, delivering it to Petesuchus at the said village at their own expense; or if they fail to pay it as stated, the aforesaid shall forfeit to Petesuchus . . . one and a half times its value. The aforesaid are themselves sureties to each other . . . Petesuchus . . . shall have the right of execution upon (the sellers), upon one or each or whichever he chooses and upon all their property, as if in accordance with a legal decision.'

15. 2000 drachmae as the price of an artaba of wheat is rather high, though in

penalties the price was sometimes fixed as high as 3000 drachmae; cf. 105. 46, note. But the circumstances of this contract were probably abnormal.

25. The lacuna may be filled up on the analogy of P. Grenf. II. 18. 19 ἀλλή[ω]ν εἰς ἔκτισιν τῶν διὰ τῆς συγγραφῆς.

31. Διονύσιος: probably the συγγραφοφύλαξ; cf. l. 5 and note on 105. 53.

110. LOAN OF WHEAT.

24.1.

22.2 x 19.5 cm.

B. C. 92 or 59.

An acknowledgement addressed to Hermias also called Ergeus by Petesuchus also called Peteuris of a loan of 24½ artabae of wheat, to be returned as usual in Pauni. The bond is very likely the renewal of a previous loan of 16½ artabae which had not been repaid; cf. note on l. 5. The papyrus is written in a coarse semi-uncial hand by a very illiterate scribe, who is particularly careless with regard to the division of words between two lines. The 22nd year in the date refers to Ptolemy Alexander or to Neos Dionysus. The two *selides* composing the sheet have been incorrectly joined, the first having the *verso* uppermost.

Π[ε]τ[ε]σοῦχος ὁ καὶ Πεπερι{ο}ς Σελεβοῦτος
 Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Ἑρμία τῷ καὶ Ἑρ-
 γί Πεπεσοῦχου χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν
 παρὰ σοῦ πυρῶν ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι τέσσαρας
 5 ἡμισυ σὺν ἡμιολίᾳ, ἀς καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι ἐμ-
 η[ὶ] Παυνι τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους
 κα[θ]ἑσ[τα]μένας εἰς Κ(ερκ)ευσίριν μέτρον δρόμου.
 ἀν δ[ὲ] μὴ ἀποδῶ σοι ἐκτίσω σοι{ε} παραχρῆμα
 τιμὴν ἐκάστης ἀρτάβης{α}ς χαλκοῦ δραχμὰς
 10 τρισκιλίας ἢ τὴν ἐσομένην πλίσ(την) τιμὴν κ-
 αὶ [ἐ]πίτιμον ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου δραχμὰς
 ἐξ[ή]κοντα καὶ τὸ βλάβος καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τ-
 ὸ ἴσον. ἢ χεῖρ ἦδε κυρία ἔστω πανταχῆ ἐπιφερο-
 μένη.
 15 ἔρρωσο. ἔτους κβ Μεχεῖρ κγ.

On the *verso* one or two words of demotic.

4. First α of παρᾱ corr. from ε. l. τέσσαρας. 10. l. τρισκιλίας.

'Petesuchus also called Peteuris son of Selebous, Persian of the Epigone, to Hermias also called Ergeus son of Petesuchus, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you $24\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat including the additional one half, which I will repay to you in the month of Pauni of the 22nd year, transporting it to Kerkeosiris and measuring it by the dromos measure. If I fail to repay you I will forfeit to you forthwith the value of each artaba, 3000 drachmae of copper or the highest price at which it may be sold, and a fine of 60 drachmae of coined silver and the loss, and to the Treasury an equal amount. This bond shall be valid wherever produced. Good-bye. The 22nd year, Mecheir 23.'

5. *σὺν ἡμολίᾳ*: the fact that the $24\frac{1}{2}$ artabae include a *ἡμολία* suggests that this loan is the renewal of a loan of $16\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, which had become $24\frac{1}{2}$ through failure to repay at the proper time. A parallel for this is provided by P. Par. 7, where an original loan of 14 artabae becomes on renewal $22\frac{1}{2}$ artabae; cf. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, pp. 473 sqq. P. Amh. II. 147. 7, where a loan of $18\frac{3}{4}$ artabae *σὺν καὶ τῇ ἀνιλημμένῃ ἡμολίᾳ* is acknowledged, is also to be explained in the same way, i.e. as the renewal of a loan of $12\frac{1}{2}$ artabae.

111. LOAN OF WHEAT.

7.2.

23.2 × 11.5 cm.

B.C. 116.

Acknowledgement from Harbechis to Apollonius and Heraclides, sitologi, of a loan of 15 artabae of wheat, to be repaid within 12 days from the date of the agreement.

Ἀρβῆχῖς Ἐργέως Ἀπολλωνίῳ
καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ τοῖς σιτολογοῦσιν
εἰς τὸ περὶ Θεογονίδα ἐργαστήριον.
ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρ' ἡμῶν
5 ἀπὸ τοῦ χειρισμοῦ χρῆος
πυρῶν ἀρτάβας δέκα πέντε,
/ (πυρῶν) (ἀρτάβαι) ιε, μέτρῳ (ἕξα)χ(οινίκῳ)
Κερκεοσειρέως, ἃς ἀπομετρήσω σοι
ἕως Παῦνι λ, ἐὰν δὲ μῆ
10 μετρήσω καὶ τ[ῆ]ν ἡμολίαν.
(ἔτους) νδ Παῦνι ιη.

4. l. ὑμῶν.

‘Harbechis son of Ergeus to Apollonius and Heraclides, sitologi for the granary at Theogonis. I acknowledge that I have received from you from the store in your hands the loan of fifteen artabae of wheat, total 15 artabae of wheat, by the 6-choenix measure of Kerkeosiris, which amount I will measure out to you by Pauni 30, and if I fail to do so I will measure half as much again. The 54th year, Pauni 18.’

3. ἐργαστήριον: cf. 89. 71.

5. χειρισμοῦ must here have a concrete sense, the store collected or administered by the sitologi; a similar meaning is perhaps to be recognized in P. Cairo 10256 πρὸς τοὺς χρισμοῖ(ς) τῶν μέχρι τοῦ ν (ἔτους) (of Euergetes II) σιτολόγων λοιπογραφοῦντα[ι] εἰς Φαμενόθ τοῦ νβ (ἔτους) . . .

11. Euergetes II died on Pauni 11 of his 54th year according to a hieroglyphic inscription in the temple of Edfu (cf. Strack, *Dynastie*, p. 50). The papyrus was therefore written a week after the king's death, but the dating is still by his regnal year. Cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* II. no. 756, where the same date, Pauni 18 of the 54th year, occurs in an ostrakon from Hermonthis.

IX. ACCOUNTS.

112. ACCOUNT OF THE KOMOGRAMMATEUS.

28.14.

Height 31 cm.

B.C. 112.

The accounts published in the present volume for the most part fall into two main classes, the first, which includes 112-9, 185, 198, 212-3, 221, 225 and 256, belonging to the Menches group, while the second consists of first century B.C. papyri, e. g. 120-2. The individual documents in either group are generally written in very similar hands, though we hesitate to identify them except in a few cases, and are more or less closely connected, as is shown by the frequent recurrence of the same persons. No class of Ptolemaic documents is more difficult to interpret than these private memoranda, full as they are of abbreviations and new words or expressions; and few of the following texts fail to supply a number of puzzles of which the solution can only be found by the discovery of new material.

112 is a long account of receipts and expenditure from Mecheir 6 to Phamenoth 6 in the fifth year of Soter II, and was probably written by some member of Menches' household, if not by the komogrammateus himself, to whose

office the *χρεία* mentioned in the headings of 212 and 225 most likely refers. The receipts for each day, which are generally introduced by the word *προσγεί(νονται)* and stated to have been taken from a *μάρσιπος* or *ἀγγεῖον*, are first given, and these are followed by the items of expenditure, which are then subtracted, the balance being carried on to the next day. The outgoings are of a very varied description, including payments for food of all kinds and other personal expenses, such as baths, writing-material, doctor's and barber's fees, &c., as well as for purposes more or less closely connected with the official position of the writer. Some useful information with regard to prices is given, while the references to various officials have several points of interest, introducing a number of titles held by persons in attendance, e. g. the *ἡγούμενος*, *εἰσαγγελεύς* ('usher'), *ἐπιστολογράφος*, *προχειρογράφος*, *ἀρχιμάχιμος* and *μάχιμοι*. Conversions of silver into copper at the ratios of 1:475 and 1:487½ are found in ll. 111 and 122; cf. l. 48, note, and App. ii.

We give the text of the first five columns, which are nearly complete. The remaining eight are for the most part badly preserved and consist largely of repetitions of the preceding entries. The following extracts from Cols. vi–xiii are worth quoting on account of their new features:—(1) *Ἰσχυρίωνι τῶι παρὰ Ἀπολλων[ί]ου τοῦ ἡγου(μένου) εἰς τὸ πιττά(κιον) παρ[ὰ] Ἐρμίου παιδα(γωγού?) διὰ Θεώ(νος) θυ[ρω(ροῦ)]*, (2) *κεύτλου ι*, (3) *ἀφ' ὧν* (sc. 4885 dr.) *προφέρεται Ἐρμίας δια(κε)χειρίσθαι ἐπὶ τῆι τρα(πέζῃ) χ*, (4) *Θέωνι θυρω(ρῶι) χρή(ους) Σ*, (5) *Ἔρωι καὶ Σισούχω[ι] εἰσόδων λ*, (6) *καὶ μετὰ λό(γον) ἄρτων ν ἐλ(αίου) ο*, (7) *πορφύρης (δραχμαί?) ς Σο*, (8) *ἐριβι() ι*, (9) *ὑπογρα(βῆ·) Ἀπολλω(νίου) ἡγου(μένου) υ*, (10) *Ἀκουσιλάωι βιβλιοφύ(λακι) Σ*, (11) *ἀρμολέας* (cf. 121. 78) *τμ*, (12) *φουνί(κων) ε*, (13) *οἶν(ου) τῆι κθ καὶ τῆ λ εἰς θεραπεί(αν) ε*, (14) *Μεγχεῖ κ*, (15) *ἐνοικίου ρ*, (16) *ἐριγάνου* (l. ὀριγ.) *ε*, (17) *μέλιτος κ*, (18) *ἀρίστου σὺν Ἡλιοδώ(ρωι) Ἀθη() κ*, (19) *οἶνου δ'* (i. e. ½ cotyle, cf. l. 36 note) *κε*, (20) *στεφά(νου) ρκ* (cf. 118. 9), (21) *πλακό(ς) χα(λκοῦ) φ*, (22) *λωτῶν ο*, (23) *σπάθη(ς) δερμα(τίνης) ρ*.

Col. i.

Λ'β' ι

Ἐτους ε Μεχεῖρ ς. λόγος τοῦ ἀνη(λώματος) ἐπὶ τῆς καταφυ()
ἐπὶ τοῦ τριστόμου θυσία ι,
ἐλαίου νε, ὕδα(τος) ε, χόρτου ξ,
5 ξύ(λου) ι, Ἴρα() ὀνη(λάττη) ε, κερά(μου) ε, / ρξ.
ὄψου εἰς ἀποστολὴν Μουσαίωι ρξ,
καὶ εἰς [συ(μ)]πλή(ρωσιν) τι(μῆς) κόρσεια ρμ,
ὄψου ρ, / υ, / φξ.

- ζ. κράμβη(ς) ι, ξύ(λου) ι, έλ(αίου) νε,
 10 άπα() ενοχια[ι. ι], δψου λ, βα(λανεί) ι,
 ύδα(τος) ε, θρίδα(κος) ε, / ρλε, / χρε.
 η. κ[ράμβη]η(ς) ι, θροίων ε, κερά(μου) Λδ', γραμματεῖ) Άκου(σιλάου) κε,
 κυμίνου ε, έλ(αίου) νε, βα(λανεί) ι, δψου κ,
 ιατρῶν ι, θρίδα(κος) [ι]ε, κηροῦ λευ(κοῦ) ν, / Σε.
 15 / ρ, λα(ιπαῖ) Άε.
 θ. άρτων β ν, έλ(αίου) μ, βα(λανεί) ε, ιατρῶ κ,
 τυρῶν ι, ραφάνα(ν) ε, Ωρωι κ,
 ύδα(τος) δ', / ρν, λα(ιπαῖ) ωνε.
 [ι]. προσγε(νονται) άπό τῶν π[.] . . σι() υ, / ΆΣνε. ι άνη(λώματος)
 20 άρτου κε, ύδα(τος) ε, δψου κ, ξύ(λου) ε,
 λαχά(νων) ιε, έξε() ιε, έλ(αίου) νε, Ήρα() χρή(ους) ρκε,
 βα(λανεί) ι, θυμιάματος ε, / Σπ.

1. μεχειρ ς above the line. 7. ι. κορσέων. 8. / before υ over an erasure. 12.
 1. θρύων, so in ll. 47, 73, 95. 14. ι. ιατρῶι. 17. ω of ραφανα(ν) corr.

Col. ii.

- ψιάθου χόρτου ρκ,
 ιατρῶι κ, / υκ.
 25 κάτεργον χαρτῶν ι άν(ά) ρ Ά,
 συμβολή(ς) κω(μο)γραμματέως) τ,
 τι(μῆς) δριθας λευκάς ὄστε
 Μουσαιῶι εἰσαγγελεῖ βα(σιλικοῦ) γραμματέως) β άν(ά) χ ΆΣ,
 / [[Bφκ]] / Βτκ.
 30 άφ' ὧν εἶχει έγ λόγου ΆΣνε
 και προείρηκεν έκ τοῦ μαρσῆ(που) Β,
 / [[B]] ΓΣνε, λοιπαῖ τλε.
 ια. προσγε(νονται) έκ τοῦ αὔτου μαρσῆ(που)
 άπό τοῦ λοιπογρ(αφουμένου) (ταλάντου) α Ά, / Άτλε. ι
 35 άρτ{ω}{[ν]}ου ν, [μ]ύρου ι,
 [ο]ῖνου ή ιε, [[.]] έλ(αίου) νε, θρίδα(κος) ε,
 μέλανος ι, / ρπε.

Μάρωνι ὑπ(ἐρ) γραμματέως Σαραπίωνος ἕως λόγου 'Α,

/'Αρπε. λο(ιπαὶ) ρν.

- 40 ιβ. προσγεί(νονται) ἐκ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) μαρσί(που) / ι
 'Ακουσιλάωι κα(μο)γρ(αμματεῖ) 'Απόλλω(νος) πό(λεως) πίστεω(ς) ρν,
 [[κράμβη(ς) ι κύθρας ι]]

24. υκ σογγ. from τ.

27. ι. ὀρνίθων λευκῶν.

30. ι. εἶχεν.

31. ι. προήρηκεν.

35. ν σογγ.

Col. iii.

[. . .]αι ἕως λόγου υν,

καὶ ἄς ἐκεχρή(κει) ὑπ(ἐρ) 'Ηλιοδώ(ρου) 'Αν, / 'Αφ.

- 45 ὄψου [. .]ν μαχαίρης ὄψο(υ) οε,
 ἐξ() ε, χλοίης ι, κράμβη(ς) ι,
 κύθρας ι, θροίων ε, ἐλ(αίου) νε, βα(λανεῖ) ε,
 ἠ[πη]τῆι ι, τῆ γυναικί εἰς τι(μὴν) ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) δ τξ,
 συ(μ)β[ολῆ(ς)] κα(μο)γρ(αμματέως) ρ, κουρεῖ κ,
 50 λοπάδος λ, / 'Αφμε, λο(ιπαὶ) χε. ι
 ἄρτου κε, πίνα(κος) ε, / λ, λο(ιπαὶ) φοε.

ιγ.

προσλαμβάνει τὰς λο(ι)πογρ(αφουμένας)

ἐν μαρσί(παι) ἀπὸ (τάλαντου) α 'Α 'Β, / 'Βφοε.

- 55 καὶ ἀπὸ ἀγγεί(ου) α (τάλαντον) α 'Α, / (τάλαντον) α 'Γφοε, ι
 ἐν μαρσί(παι) 'Ε, 'Ερμία [[ΓΨ]] 'Δφοε. ι
 'Ακουσιλάωι ὑπ(ἐρ) κα(μο)γρ(αμματείας) εἰς τι(μὴν) ἐνιαυ(τοῦ)
 (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) α 'Α φ,
 ἄρτου κ, τῆι γυναικί εἰς τι(μὴν) ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) δ τπ,
 60 τοῖς παρὰ Μαρρείου τοπογρ(αμματέως) καταφυ() φ,
 'Αρφαῆσει μαχί(μοι) ὁμοίως τι(μῆς) χαρτῶν εἰς συ(μ)-
 πλήρωσι(ν) τῶν διαγεγρ(αμμένων) τῶι χαρτ[ο]πο(ιδί) 'Γω
 ἄλ(λ)ας [[ΒΣ]] ὥστ' ἔχειν αὐ(τὸν) (τάλαντον) α 'ΒΣ, / 'ΓΨ,
 ὁμοίως τῆι αὐ(τῆι) γυναικί ὥστ' ἔχει(ν) αὐ(τὴν) . . .,
 65 συμβολῆ(ς) κα(μο)γρ(αμματέως) . [
 ἐλαίου νε, δεδ[α]νεισμέναι) . .

/'Bψ, λα(ιπαί) 'A[
παρά [

43. ε of εως rewritten.
an erasure.

46. ι after χλωης corr. from ε.

48-56. These lines over

Col. iv.

- λοιπαί χλ[ε.
70 προσγεί(νονται) τὰς τῶν [. . .] 'Bψ ['Bτ,
/'Bηλε. / ἀνη(λωμάτος)
[δ. ν]αύλου πορεῖων) ω[. . .] φ,
ίατρῶι ν, θροῶν [. . .]ε() ι, / φξ.
λελοιπογρ(άφηνται) ἐπ' ἀρίστου 'Bηπ. / ἀνη(λώματος)
75 ἐλ(αίω) ο, βα(λανεῖ) ε, εε() ι, ζωμίου ι, κύθρα(ς) λ,
/ ρκε. [.]
Νάνωι ὥστε τῆι ὑπογρ(αφήι) 'B, / 'Bρκε,
λοιπαί Σνε.
ιε. προσγεί(νονται) τὰς ἐν τῶι μαρσῆπωι) 'E,
80 καὶ παρὰ Κόνδων[ο(ς)] 'A, / (τάλαντον) α, / (τάλαντον) 'ΑΣν(ε). /
'Αρφαῆσει μαχί(μοι) τοπογρ(αμματέως) εἰς διαγρ(αφήν) χαρτῶν
ὥστ' εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν χα(λκοῦ) (ταλάντου) α 'BΣ,
τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Μαρρείου καταφυ() φ,
[Θ]έωνι καὶ Πτολεμαίωι ὑπ(έρ) ἐπιμ() καταφυ() φ,
85 [.]πιων ὥστε μαχαιροφάροι) ἐλ() βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) καταφυ() Σ,
κ[α]ῖ ὑπ(έρ) Περεσούχου ἀρχιμαχί(μου) ὁμοί(ως) φ,
[ύ]πομνηματογρ(άφωι) καὶ ἐπισ[το]λογρ(άφωι) ὁμοί(ως) τμ,
τῆι [γ]ῆ(ναικί) εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμῶν) 'ΑΣ τι(μῆς) ἀργυ-
(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) δ Σ,
'Ακουσιδάωι κω(μο)γρ(αμματεῖ) 'Απόλλω(νος) πό(λεως) συ(μ)βα(λῆς) δοχῆ(ς)
βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως)
90 εἰ[ς] τὴν ις ἀπὸ 'ΑΣ 'Αρ,
[Αρ]εμιδώρωι κω(μο)γρ(αμματεῖ) 'Ιβίω(νος) χρῆ(ους) Σ,
[. . .]ου π, / ἕως ἀρι(θμήσεως) 'Eωκ.
[. . .]ταθα() ε, ὑδα(τος) ε, / 'Eωλ, λα(ιπαί) υκ.

[. . .] βα(λανεῖ) ε, χλοίης ε, Ἀσκλη(πιάδης) Βακχίου Σ,
 95 [. . .] ε, θροίων ε, γναφεῖ ι, πα() ρ, / τρ.

70 and 79. ι. αι for τας. 73. φ of φξ corr. from ξ. 77. ὕογγ Pap. 81. φ of
 αφησει corr. from μ. 84. ωι of πτολεμαιοι corr. from ου. 93. υδα(τος) to υκ over
 an erasure.

Col. v.

5 or 6 lines lost.

ἀπὸ (ταλάντων) γ (τάλαντον) [
 Μέλανι γραμματεῖ τοπογραμμάτεως) Ἰ,
 Μάρωνι τῶι παρὰ Σαραπίωνος) γραμμάτεως) εἰς τι(μὴν)
 ἀγρ(άφων) Ἀ,
 105 τῆι γυναικί) εἰς συ(μ)πλη(ρήρωσιν) τι(μῆς) ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) δ ψν,
 ἐλαίου ιε, βα(λανεῖ) ε,
 Θαρμούθι Σ, / Σκ, / ἸΔρο,
 λοιπαὶ ωο.
 ιζ. προσγεύονται) παρὰ Πορεγέβθιος
 110 πραγματείας (ἐπταρουρικοῦ) κλή(ρου) ἀπὸ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) κ
 ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ιβ καὶ εἰς τι(μὴν) ἄλλων) [η] Ἰω,
 καὶ παρὰ Δημητρίου Ἐρμίου τὰς
 παρ' Ἀσκλη(πιάδου) τι(μῆς) (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) ι ἀν(ὰ) ἈΣ ἀπὸ
 (ταλάντων) β (τάλαντον) α Ἰετ,
 115 / (τάλαντα) β ἸΓψ, / τὸ (πᾶν) (τάλαντα) β ἸΔφο. / ἀνη(λώματος)
 Θέωνι προχειρογράφωι?) βα(σιλικῶ) γραμμάτεως) τ,
 Διονυσίωι Ἀκουσιλάου μαχί(μοι) εγδα() ρ,
 Μάρωνι τῶι παρὰ Σαραπίωνος) τι(μῆς) χαρτῶ[ν .],
 αὐτῶι Σαραπίωνι) γραμματεῖ) τι(μῆς) ἐνιαυ(τοῦ) (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) ε
 ἀν(ὰ) ω ἸΔ,
 120 Ἀκουσιλάωι ὑπ(ὲρ) κω(μο)γραμμάτείας) Σ, /
 Μέλανι γραμματεῖ) τοπογραμμάτεως) τι(μῆς) ἀγρ(άφων) χα(λκοῦ) β χ,
 Ἡρακλείδῃ Ταλί(τῃ) τι(μῆς) ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) δ Ἰτην,
 / (τάλαντον) α Ἰβρ, καὶ δεδα(νεισμένα) ιατρῶι ρο,

125 ἐλ(αλου) ο, συ(μ)βα(λῆς) κα(μο)γρ(αμματέως) ρν, ξύ(λου) ε, / τρε,
 / (τάλαντον) α Βφμε, δψου μ, / (τάλαντον) α Βφ[πε,
 λοιπαὶ (τάλαντον) α Ἀτρε, ἀνθ' ὧ(ν) ὑπ() (τάλαντον) α Βκ[

110. α of ἀργυ(ριον) corr. from ρ.
 erasure.

112. l. αὶ for τας.

125. σψου μ over an

1. Βξ preceded by the sign for subtraction looks like the balance from a previous account, but in l. 15, where a remainder of 1005 dr. is reached, it is implied that the preceding balance was 1905 dr.

2. καταφυ(): cf. ll. 60, 83-4, and 113. 2.

3. ἐπὶ τοῦ τριστόμου occurs on the verso of 121 (cf. p. 502), and εἰς τὸ τρίστομον in 208. Τριστόμον occurs as a village-name in B. G. U. 802. ii, 8.

5. ρξ: the items make 150. Mistakes of arithmetic are common in this account; e. g. in l. 37 185 should be 145, in l. 95 390 should be 330 and in l. 126 1995 should be 1985, and cf. note on ll. 40-50.

7. κόρσειον or κόρσιον was the root of the lotus.

12. κερά(μου) Λδ': for κεράμιον cf. 188. What $\frac{3}{4}$ refers to is not clear. The fraction has no influence upon the total in l. 14. *The $\frac{1}{2}$ paid for water in l. 18 is similarly ignored in the following total.

13. βα(λανεί): cf. 117. 23, where βαλανί is written out.

18. ὕδα(τος) δ': cf. l. 12, note. Ordinarily 5 drachmae are paid for water, this being probably the price of a κεράμιον; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 30. 22.

19. The word following τῶν is not μαρσι(πῶν). Π[ε]ρσι(ριος) could be read.

35. 25 dr. or less is in this papyrus the usual price of one loaf of bread; cf. ll. 16, 51 and 59.

[μ]ύρον: [τ]ύροῦ might be read, but 20 dr. are paid for μύρον in one of the later columns, and τυρών is regularly found elsewhere in this papyrus.

36. [ο]ἶνον ἡ: sc. of a κοτύλη; cf. 213, where the price of a κοτύλη is 80 drachmae, and 117. 22, note. It is natural that in these papyri the small amounts of wine are relatively much dearer than the larger. The highest price of a χοῦς of wine is 800 drachmae (179, 2400 dr. for 3 choēs); instances of lower prices are found in 190 (1800 dr. for 3 choēs), 224 (2100 for 6), 118. 2 and 9 (2000 for 6), and 121. 72 (800 for 3) which is the smallest. The value of a κεράμιον ranges from 4000 dr. (253) to 1280 (120. 39), intermediate prices being found in 118. 16 (2000 dr. for 1 κερ.), 120. 62 (5200 for 2), 107 (1980 for 1), 122. 2 (3000 for 1), 131 (2300 for 1), 177 (2400 and 2300 for 1), 188 (3000 for 1), 200 (2800 for 2), 234 (5600 for 2). It is clear that the price of wine varied considerably according to age and quality, but the prices for κεράμια are rather deceptive, for except in the case of 118. 16, where the κεράμιον in question seems to have contained six choēs, the number of choēs in a κεράμιον is uncertain.

40-50. The amount taken from the 'purse' has not been filled in. A sum of 650 dr. has to be added to the total of the receipts in l. 44 in order to bring out the correct remainder in l. 50. The way in which the totals in this section (which has been largely rewritten) are reached is not clear. 1545 in l. 50 is 800 short of the sum of the items in ll. 45 sqq. Probably ω is to be supplied either in the lacuna before ν in l. 45 or after μαχαίρης, which as it stands is difficult.

48. 360 dr. is of course only a part payment for a silver stater; 380 more are accounted for in l. 59, 260 in l. 64 (cf. note) and 200 in l. 88, the final payment in l. 105

being 750 drachmae. Altogether 1950 drachmae were paid for this stater, which gives a ratio of $487\frac{1}{2} : 1$; cf. l. 122.

57. ἱπ(ἔρ) κω(μο)γγρ(αμματείας): Acusilaus was himself komogrammateus (cf. l. 41), hence κω(μο)γγρ(αμματέως) is less suitable.

εἰς τι(μὴν): the first word is more like ἐπί, but ἐπί and εἰς tend to be confused in the cursive hands of this period, and l. 119, where τι(μῆς) occurs in a similar entry, favours εἰς here. On the prices of an artaba of wheat found in the present volume see p. 584.

64. The line should end 'ΑΣΞ, for 260 drachmae must be accounted for here to make up the 1200 reached in l. 88, the other three items (ll. 48, 59 and 88) amounting to 940 dr. But there is certainly not room for three figures, so that some error has crept in. The vestiges are too slight to give a positive indication of what was actually written.

72. πορεί(ων): cf. 195, 208 and 5. 196, note.

74. ἐπ' ἀρίστου: cf. 116. 36.

75. εει(): neither σεί(τλου) nor κεί(τλου) (cf. introd. and 190) can be read.

80. Κόνδων[ο(ς)]: cf. 114. 13.

81. For μάχιμοι as armed attendants upon officials cf. 116. 57, 121. 34. Elsewhere the μαχαροφόροι are found in a similar position; cf. l. 85, 105. 12, and 251.

86. ἀρχιμαχι(μου): the title is new; cf. 120. 128 and the previous note.

87. The ὑπομηματογράφος and ἐπιστολογγράφος here mentioned are no doubt local officials (cf. 58. 33 and P. Par. 70. 6), not the important holders of these titles at Alexandria.

104. ἀγρ(άφων), 'sundries'; cf. 121. 57.

109. Πορευέβθιος: a ἐπτάρουρος μάχιμος; cf. 61. (a) 67. What the πραγματεία of his property, for which he paid the large sum of 20 silver drachmae, was is obscure. In 113. 3-5 the πραγματεία of a cleruch is found coupled with μετεπιγραφή, i.e. the transfer of a κλήρος to another holder.

111. The figure 3800 is made certain by the arithmetic, being the balance of 2 tal. 3700 dr. (l. 115) - 1 tal. 5900 dr. (l. 114), and if the number lost in the lacuna was, as we should expect, 8, a ratio of 475 : 1 between copper and silver is obtained, which varies but slightly from that in l. 122, which is $487\frac{1}{2} : 1$.

119. 800 dr. is one of the lowest prices found in this volume for an artaba of wheat; cf. p. 584.

113. ACCOUNT.

14.2.

30.5 x 15 cm.

B.C. 114-3.

A short account of receipts and expenditure for which a certain Melas was responsible, belonging, like the preceding account, to the Menches group and including several entries similar to those which have already occurred in that papyrus. Two cleruchs are charged 1000 and 2000 copper drachmae respectively for transferences of property (ll. 4-5). Silver is converted into copper at a ratio of $1 : 437\frac{1}{2}$ (ll. 13-4); cf. App. ii.

*Ετους δ, πρὸς Μέλανα λόγος.

καταφυ() (τάλαντον) α,

ἀγρ(άφων) 'Α,
 μετεπιγρ(αφής) (ἐπταρούρου) α 'Α, [[κε]]
 5 (εἰκοσιαρούρου) α 'Β, / μετεπιγρ(αφής) 'Γ,
 πραγματείας ἄλλου (ἐπταρούρου) χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμαὶ) 'Α.
 / χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) 'Ε.
 ἀφ' ὧν ἔχει Μεχεῖρ κε
 Μαρσύα γραμματεῖ τοπογραμμάτως) τ,
 10 Μέλανι ὁμοίως ω,
 Σοκμήνει ἰβιοβοσκῶι 'Αρ,
 Μεχίρ α τ
 ἐν Κροκαδεῖλων πάλει ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) η 'Γφ,
 δι' Ὡρου τοῦ ἀδελ(φοῦ) η 'Γφ.
 15 / χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντον) α 'ΓΣο.
 λοιπαὶ χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμαὶ) 'Αψλ.

4. *εγ* of μετεπιγρ(αφής) corr. 16. First *ι* of λοιπαὶ rewritten.

2. καταφυ(): cf. 112. 2, note.

3. ἀγρ(άφων): cf. 112. 104, note.

6. Cf. 112. 110.

10. ὁμοίως means that Μέλας was also a γραμματεὺς τοπογραμμάτως, as is expressly stated in 112. 121.

114. ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS IN KIND.

23·30.

29·4 x 19·8 cm.

B.C. III.

The first column of an account concerning payments in kind, written on the *verso* of a partially effaced official list of similar payments by ἐπταρούροι μάχμοι (cf. 98, &c.). Possibly the account on the *recto*, of which the beginnings of lines of a second column are preserved, should also be included among the official documents and attributed to the same class as e.g. 90 and 91. It differs however from those accounts in comprising expenditure as well as receipts; and the item 'for bread' in line 15 is more in keeping with a private document.

Ἔτους ς Ἐπεὶφ ε.
 παρὰ Κατίτιος ἀπὸ κδδ' κ,
 Ὡρος Κολλούθου Διοδύ(του) γ,

- / κγ· και τὸ ενθε() στεφα(ν) τῆι κε γ'ίβ',
 5 / κγγ'ίβ', / χει(ρισμοῦ) ς', λο(ιπαῖ) κγδ.
 και χρή(ους) 'Επιφά(νους) (ἀρταβῶν) κ (πυροῦ) ι
 και ἀποφο(ρᾶς) δ, / ιζ, / (πυροῦ) λζδ'.
 Διονυσίωι εἰς τὰς μςλ.
 Ἀρχῦψις Πετοσέ(ριος) β.
 10 [[. . .]] τὰ Σουχίωι Τεβτύ(νεως).
 ς. Διονύσιος Πυρρίχου β.
 'Εβένωι 'Εβένου εἰς τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν.
 ζ. παρὰ Κόνδωνος (πυροῦ) δ,
 Ἀφθονήτου (πυροῦ) γ,
 15 / (ἀρτάβαι) ζ, / εἰς ἀρτους α,
 [λ]οιπαῖ ἐν τῶι Σουχέωι ς, /
 [Σοκ]νεβτύνι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν γ.

2. The figures κδδ are smudged, particularly the two last which it was perhaps intended to erase.

4. ενθε may be read in place of ενθε; the interpretation is obscure in either case.

5. χει(ρισμοῦ): cf. 111. 5. In one of the new Petrie papyri the word occurs in the abbreviated form, as here, in connexion with various amounts of wheat. χει(ριστή, cf. 115. 22) or χει(ριστικῶ, cf. 121. 49) are also possible.

7. ιζ is a mistake for ιδ, the ζ being probably due to the following λζδ', which is the correct sum of ιδ and the κγδ in l. 5.

8. This line states what had been done with the 37½ artabae and is parallel to ll. 10 and 12. With τὰς supply ἀρτάβας.

115. ACCOUNT OF RENTS.

14.1.

30.7 x 17.7 cm.

B.C. 115-3.

The following account dealing with the rents of a farm of 17 arourae during three successive years throws some interesting light upon the system of rotation of crops; cf. 61 (a) 385-7, note, 105. 23, App. i. § 5. In the first of these years, the second of Soter II, 13 arourae were sown with wheat, 2 with φακός and 2 with τῆλις. Of the 13 arourae 8 which are called ἀναπαύματα are leased at a much higher rate than 5 which are described as ἐπικαλάμεια. The contrast between κάλαμος and ἀνάπανμα is familiar from leases of the Roman period (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. p. 157 and P. Amh. II. 89. 4-5), and the explanation of the higher rent for the ἀναπαύματα (cf. 61. (a) 385) is that these 8 arourae had in the preceding

I i

year (i. e. the 54th of Euergetes II which = the 1st of Soter II) been sown with light crops, while the 5 of ἐπικαλάμεια had been sown with wheat and therefore now commanded a lower rent. In the 54th year then nearly half the farm had been ἐν ἀναπαύματι (cf. 105. 23 ἀναπαύσει τὸ ἥμισυ), but in the 2nd year of Soter II only 4 out of the 17 arourae were sown with light crops, either lentils or τῆλις. In the following 3rd year these 4 arourae were sown with wheat at a high rent, while 6 arourae were again sown with wheat but at a lower rent, the remaining 7 arourae being sown with beans, i. e. ἐν ἀναπαύματι. In the 4th year these 7 arourae were sown with wheat at a high rent, and of the land sown with wheat in the 3rd year 4 arourae were again sown with wheat at a lower rent, while 6 were sown with light crops, in this case ἄρακος and lentils. This view of the ἀναπαύματα and ἐπικαλάμεια in the papyrus, that they refer to the condition of the land in the *preceding*, not to that in the current year, provides a satisfactory explanation of the figures dealing with the sowing of crops and payment of the rents, but there are several doubtful points in the yearly accounts inserted concerning the disposition of the rents received. The bulk of them was paid into the βασιλικόν, from which it might be inferred that the land in question was βασιλική, but there are outgoings for priests, carriers, and others, and the rents are higher than those found in 66-70 (cf. App. i. § 5), while neither the position of the writer of the account nor that of Horus, to whom it is rendered, is clear. The first hand is the rude uncial of an unpractised scribe and mistakes of spelling are frequent.

*Ἔτους β, πρὸς Ὀρον λόγον.

ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν ιζ, ι

ἀναπαύματα η ἀνὰ ηλ / (πυροῦ) ξη,

ἐπικαλάμεια ε ἀνὰ ε / (πυροῦ) κε,

5 / ἐκφόριν (πυροῦ) ργ.

Παῦνι ζ, μετρήσαι εἰς τὸ βασιλι(κόν) ξα,

καὶ Ἑλιοδώρω (πυροῦ) λ, νωτοφόροις (πυροῦ) γ' αἰ (πυροῦ) λγ,

δοχῆς Ἀρτεμειδώρω εἰς πᾶσιν (πυροῦ) λ,

/ τὸ πᾶν (πυροῦ) ραλγ.

10 Σοκαεβόνθις θεοῦ γῆς ἀνάπαυμα δ,

φακοῦ ἀρούρας β ἀνὰ ε / φακοῦ) ι,

τήλη β ἀνὰ ε / τήλη ι. / τοῦ β ἔτους λόγος.

ὁμοίως τοῦ γ ἔτου(ς) λόγος. ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν ιζ, ι

φασήλου{s ι}ζ, λο(ιπαὶ) σπόρος (πυρῶι) ι, ι

- 15 ἀνάπαυμα δ ἀνὰ ηλ / (πυροῦ) λδ,
καὶ ἐπικαλάμεα ς ἀνὰ ε / (πυροῦ) λ,
/ ἐκφόριν (πυροῦ) ξδ.
Παχῶν κγ, μετρήσαι εἰς τὸ βασιλει(κὸν)
(πυροῦ) νδ, ὁμοίως (πυροῦ) β, / (πυροῦ) νς,
20 παστοφόροις (πυροῦ) γ, εἰερεί Σουκνεβτύνι(ος) Λ, Ἐρμούθι ς',
/ (πυροῦ) γβ', / νθβ',
νοτοφόροις (πυροῦ) Λγ', χε(ι)ρισταιῖς (πυροῦ) Λγ', / (πυροῦ) αβ',
/ τὸ πᾶν (πυροῦ) ξαγ', τὸ γεγονὸς λίμμα (πυροῦ) δ' αἰ ξαβ'.
Σουκεαβόνθις θεοῦ γῆς δ'.
25 2nd hand λο(ιπαὶ) (πυροῦ) γλδ' φασή(λου) ις.

On the verso

- 3rd hand δ (ἔτους), ξ ἀνὰ ηλ (ἀρτάβαι) νθΛ,
δ ἀνὰ ς (ἀρτάβαι) κδ,
/ (πυροῦ) πγΛ, / δα(νείου) ιε,
βα(σιλεῖ) ν, / ξε, λο(ιπαὶ) ιηΛ.
30 Ἴμούθθι παστοφόροι γ,
Σουκνεβτύ(νι) βΛ,
ιερεί Τεβτύ(νεως) Λ,
/ ς, / οα, λο(ιπαὶ) ιβΛ.
καὶ ἐπικαλά(μεια) ς, /
35 ἀρά(κου) β ἀνὰ ε ι,
φα(κοῦ) δ ἀνὰ ε κ,
/ λ, / ἀρά(κου) ι φα(κοῦ) κ,
/ (πυροῦ) ιβΛ ἀρά(κου) ι φα(κοῦ) κ,
/ μβΛ.

1. 1. λόγος. 23. 1. γεγονὸς λῆμμα.

10. The reference here and in l. 24 to the land of the god Sokeabonthis, who is not known from other sources, is very obscure. The $\frac{1}{4}$ (aroura?) does not seem to be part of the 17 arourae, for 13 arourae are accounted for in ll. 3-4 and the remaining 4 in ll. 11-2.

11. φακοῦ: cf. 105. 24, note. τῆλις and ἄρακος (cf. l. 35) are specified in 106. 22 as crops to be grown upon land ἐν ἀναπαύματι, but not φακός and φάσηλος (l. 14); cf. introd.

29. βα(σιλεῖ): cf. 110. 3, 11, 188 and 262. It is equivalent to εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν; cf. l. 6.

116. ACCOUNT.

23-26, verso.

29.6 x 42.2 cm.

Late second century B. C.

Part of an account of receipts and expenditure, including payments both in money and in kind, among the latter being fleeces and weaving material (cf. 117) besides the usual items of corn. Copper and silver interchange at a ratio of 460 : 1 (cf. App. ii); and the price of wheat is given (l. 1) as 1000 copper drachmae for the artaba, as in 112. 58. An artaba of φακός is priced at 600 drachmae (l. 46), its value as compared with wheat thus being the same as that of barley (cf. 61. (δ) 258, note). But cf. 89. 29, note, 122 introd. and p. 560.

The account is written on the verso of a list in several columns of varying amounts in kind paid by ἐπταρούροι μάχιμοι or ἐλάσσονα ἱερά and entered under the days of the month; cf. 98 and the introduction to that papyrus. In a few cases (ἥμισυ) (ἀρτάβης) or (ἥμισυ) (ἀρτάβης) (ἐπταρούρων) or (ἥμισυ) (ἀρτάβης) (ἐπταρούρων) Χο(μήνιος) is prefixed to the name of the person making the payment.

Col. i.

- καὶ παρὰ Ἀρμάιος (ἐπταρούρου) ἀπὸ τι(μῆς) (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) ε
 ἀν(ἀ) Ἄ Ἐ Ἐ, / Ἐφ, λ
 κς, Πτολεμαῖοι Πτολεμαίου τι(μῆς) σάκκου Ἄφ,
 Κῶτι τι(μῆς) ἀργυρίου (δραχμῶν) δ. Ἄωμ, / Ἐτμ,
 5 λ(οἰπαὶ)
 παρὰ Χολώτιος (πυροῦ) αλ φα(κοῦ) γ, λ
 Ἀμμωνίω[ι] Λάκωνος φα(κοῦ) α, λ(οἰπαὶ) β,
 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ (πυροῦ) κε ἄρτους (ἀρτάβη) α.
 κς. Μικίωνι εἰς ιη ἄρτους λ,
 10 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῶι Σουχ(είω) κριθῆς λ,
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Νικάνορος κλή(ρου) παρ' Ἀρβή(χιος) χόρτου κ,
 παρὰ Πετοσίριος Πετεσοῦχου ναύ(λου) Σν,
 κς. παρὰ τοῦ αἵ(τοῦ) ὁμοίως Σμ, / υq,
 / σλ(ν) ἀνη(λώματος) ἌΣλ Ἄψκ, λ
 15 ἀνη(λώματος) δι' Ἐρμίου ἄρτων [] χοζνικος) α π,
 σύ(κων) κ, Ἀρλολοῦτι Σ, τυρῶν μ,
 / τμ, λ(οἰπαὶ) Ἄππ.
 ἀνθ' ᾧ(ν) εἰ() Ἄυλ.
 [παρὰ] Θεαγένους ἀποδρα() [κ]ρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβης) λ,

Col. ii.

- 20 καὶ παρὰ Κῶτος μεταβόλου [
 ὃ ἐσχῆκη τι(μῆς) ἀργυρίου) (δραχμῶν) δ [Ἄωμ,]
 παρ' Ὀρου Πετεχῶ(ντος) ἐρίων πύκοι) β,
 στα(θμία) κρ[ό]κη(s) θ.
 ἀφ' ὧν δαπά(νης) σὺν αἷς ἔχει Τᾶσ[.]. . . ()
- 25 εἰς τὰ ἱμάτια τῶν παιδίων
 στή(μονος) στα(θμία) γ, κρόκη(s) ε, ἀλλ(λ)αι κρόκη(s) ε,
 / στα(θμία) στα(θμία) γ κρόκη(s) ς.
 καὶ [.] ἀπιαδεὶ κρόκη(s) στα(θμία) ε,
 καὶ οὗς [εἶ]χεν παρ' Ὀρου πύκους) β
- 30 στα(θμία) ι, / στα(θμία) ιε.
 κ[αὶ] ἐν Βερενικίδι) παρὰ Παγκράτου
 ἀπὸ τι(μῆς) (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) γ β ἀν(ὰ) Ἄρ' ΒΣ.
 / σὺν αἷς ἔχει Ἑρμί(ας) Ἄνλ / Γχλ.
 τι(μῆς) ἰδρῶν β ωμ,
 35 ἀρτων ἐλασσόνων) β μ,
 σῦκα ἐπὶ ἀρίστου ι, / ων,
 / ωρ, / ἌΣμ, λα(ιπαὶ) Ἐβλ. / [[χμ]]
 [ἐ]ν τῆι κώ(μηι) ἐλαίου ν, ἔτι λα(ιπαὶ) Ἐβπ, ι
 . ρειφο() εἰς Τεβτύ(νιν) ρξ, / Ἐωρ,
 40 ἐλαίου Ποσειδωνί(ωι) δ ξ, / ρι,
 τυρῶν μ, μαράθρου ι, / ν,
 λα(ιπαὶ) Ἐβλ.
 [. ρτ]εἰφο() εἰς Τεβτύ(νιν) ρξ [.] καὶ]
 [τ]ῆι αὐ(τῆι) ἐλαίου [.] εἰτασι Ἄ (δραχμαὶ) ρ, / Σξ.
 45] τῆ(μῆς) α[. . .] . . . [. . .], / Ἐωρ, / Ἄψ. [[.]]

21. l. ἐσχῆκε. 24. ἀφ' ὧν. 25. l. τῶν. 27. l. στή(μονος) in place of the first στα(θμία). 38. ι over Ἐβλ which is erased. 38-9. A long horizontal stroke is drawn between these two lines. 42. Ἐβλ over an erasure. 45. / Ἄψ over an erasure.

Col. iii.

καὶ παρ' Ἀνεμπέως ἀπὸ τ[ι(μῆς)] φα(κοῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) ἀγ' ἀν(ἀ) χ (δραχμαὶ)
ω, / τὸ (πᾶν) Ἐφ[

[[/ (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) ω]]

Ἐρίωνι γερδίω ξ, . . νφει() π,

περιστε(ρῶν) β ρ, / Σμ, /

50 Κῶ(τι) μετα(βόλωι) τιμῆς ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) δ Ἄωμ,
/ Βπ, λο(ιπαι) Ἐγκ, [ἀνθ' ᾧ(ν)] ευ() ἐν παρ() Ἐ,
ἐν Ἐρμία τπ [:] . ιτο ν, / υλ, / Ἐυλ.

β. προσγ(ίνονται) ἀποφο(ρῶν) Ποσειδω(νίου) β ρκ{ / } Νικά(νορος) β ρκ,
/ Σμ,

στα(θμία) ρπ ω, / ρπ.

55 / Ἐχο, / ἀνη(λώματος)

In the right hand margin, opposite ll. 29-30.

56 Σαρα(πίωνι) καὶ Ἡρω(νι) καὶ Πτο(λεμαίωι) νίωι
μαχί(μοις) βα(σιλικοῦ) γραμματέως ἐν τα(ῖς) βα(σιλέως) παρουσίας
ἐλ(αίου) ν ἐφο(δίων) τ, / τν.

Opposite ll. 37-40.

ὥστ' εἶναι

60 Ἐρν

()

51. Ἐγκ over an erasure.

53. This line over an erasure.

5. The numeral has not been filled in; cf. l. 49.

18. εἰ(): the same abbreviation occurs in l. 51.

23. στα(θμία): σταθμίον here and in 117 denotes a definite amount of material, and is distinguished as στήμονος or κρόκης according as it was designed for the woof or the warp of the cloth to be woven. In 117 and 211 σταθμία is usually preceded by ἔρια.

26-7. Either κρόκη(ς) ε in l. 26 is a mistake for κρόκη(ς) α, or ς in l. 27 should be α.

34. ἰδριων: this word seems to be new. The following β makes it impossible to divide the letters ἰδ ροιῶν.

36-42. The arithmetic of these lines is very confused. They are closer together than usual and some of them may be subsequent insertions; several of the figures also have been altered or added later. In l. 37 the total ἌΣμ is the sum of ωρ and the figure τν

in the item inserted in the margin (ll. 56-9). 'Bωq in l. 39 seems to have been obtained by the addition of ρξ and the number erased at the end of the previous line 'Bψλ (cf. critical note). ρι in l. 40 is produced by the addition of ξ and ν in the line following. On the other hand, 'Bτλ in l. 42 is the result of subtracting ν in l. 41 from 'Bτπ in l. 38, the ξ and other intervening figures being ignored.

40. *ἐλαίου . . . ὄξ*: i.e. $\frac{1}{4}$ cotyle; cf. 112. 36, note, 122. 4-5, where the price of 2 κοτύλαι is 400 drachmae but that of $\frac{1}{4}$ 60 dr. as here, and 120. 100, where 480 dr. are paid for 2 κοτύλαι. Elsewhere the prices of oil are lower; cf. 120. 74 (1140 dr. for 6 κοτ.), 121. 74 (120 for 1), 122. 11 (80 for $\frac{1}{2}$ κοτ. of cneucus oil), 131 (50 for $\frac{1}{4}$), 189 (360 for 3), and 212 (1800 for 15). 830 dr. seem to be the price of a chous in 212. Except in 122. 11 the nature of the oil is not specified. Probably sesame oil is meant in most cases; cf. Rev. Laws, p. 142, and 5. 170, note.

45. The figure lost before / 'Bρq must be 'Aτλ if 'Bρq is the sum of the lost figure and 2ξ in l. 44. The following total 'Δψ is difficult; it is confirmed by the addition in l. 47 ('Δψ + ω = 'Eφ), and the subtraction in l. 51 ('Eφ - 'Bπ = 'Γνκ), but none of the available numbers that have preceded when added to 'Bρq will produce 'Δψ or anything approaching it.

51. [*ἀνθ' ὠ(ν)*] is restored on the analogy of l. 18, but there is barely room in the lacuna for the letters.

57. *μαχι(μοις) βα(σιλικού) γρ(αμματέως)*: cf. 121. introd. With *τοῖς* supply *χρόνοις*; cf. 60. 28.

59-61. This marginal entry probably refers like the one above it to Col. ii, though how the figure 3950 was obtained is not obvious. The sign below may stand for πλ(είω), the number being omitted.

117. ACCOUNT.

17-14.

29 x 63.5 cm. (cols. i-vii).

B.C. 99.

The following account is chiefly distinguished by the number of references in it to weaving and weaving materials which have already figured in 116. Seven continuous columns remain; and there is a detached sheet containing another which probably succeeds immediately. We print the first five columns only, the sixth and seventh, which are, like the fifth, very short, being extremely fragmentary, and the detached column adding nothing of interest except the date, which is the 15th year (of Ptolemy Alexander). The papyrus had to a large extent been previously used, the original writing having been cleaned off. The price of wheat, 1680 drachmae per artaba (ll. 10-11), is very much higher than that found in 112 or 116; cf. p. 584. Green stuffs, &c., on the other hand, are priced for the most part as in those papyri. On the *verso* are various names, including *strategi* and *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι*, with some amounts of corn—apparently part of an official list.

Closely related to this account is 211, which both in contents and handwriting is very similar to it; and there can be little doubt that, if not actually

parts of the same document, the two papyri belong to a single series, and were written by the same person.

Col. i.

- [.]ς ἔχει Ταπνεβτύνις τιμῆς (πυροῦ)
 διὰ Ἑρακλέωνος Μέλανος(ς) τιμῆς (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης) α' Ἀχπ, /
 [. . .] . [. . .]τι τῆ ἀδελ(φῆι) υ,
 Σ[. . .] . ητι τῆ ἀδελ(φῆι) υξ,
 5 [.]αγγη() υ,
 [.] πατρὶ αὐτῆς ρκ,
 [.] ωι σὺν) χα(λκῶι) φκ,
 / Ἀφν . [. . .] . αἰ(τ) ρκ.
 ὁμοίως διὰ Ἑρακλέωνος τιμῆς (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) β
 10 ἀνὰ Ἀχπ / Ἐτξ, καὶ ἀς ἔχειν ἐν οἴκῳ
 τιμῆς (πυροῦ) γ' φξ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆ(ς) αὐ(τῆς) (ἀρτάβης) ρλ.
 / τὸ (πᾶν) χα(λκοῦ) Ἐν, / δα(πάνης)
 λαχάνων) ε, κρά(μβης) ε, θρίδα(κος) ε, βαλανί ε, ὄρτ[υ(γος)] ιε,
 τῆ μητρὶ ε, . ασου ι, αὐ(τὸς) λαχάνων) ε,
 15 Ἀθεμμεί οἰκονόμωι ξ. ια ληκί(θου) ἐλαίου Σν.
 / το, λο(ιπαὶ) Ἐχπ, /
 ἔρια σταθμία 5λ ἀν(ὰ) τξ / Ἐτμ, λο(ιπαὶ) Ἐτμ.
 ιθ εἰς πρᾶ(σιν) δι' αὐ(τοῦ) (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) ας' ἀν(ὰ) Σν χα(λκοῦ) Ἐφ.
 / τὸ (πᾶν) Ἐωμ, /

Col. ii.

- 20 σφυρίδος. ρξ,
 ὄρτυγος β μ,
 οἴνου εἰς φάρμα(κον) δ' κ,
 βαλανί υ,
 λαχάνων κ,
 25 ἀλδς κε,
 / τιε, λο(ιπαὶ) Ἐφκε, /
 ἔρια σταθμία 7λ [ἀν(ὰ) τξ] ἘΣξ,
 λο(ιπαὶ) ἘΣξε, /
 ἔρια σταθμία 5 ἀνὰ τξ / Ἐρξ,

- 30 λο(ιπαί) ἐν αὐτῇ (δραχμαί) ρε.
 / ἔρια στα(θμία) ις καὶ δ (εἰ)χεν ἐν οἴκῳ αλ, / ιζλ.
 ἠγόρασται ἐν Τεβτύνι ἀπὸ τι(μῆς) γυναικ(είου) ἱματίου
 ἔρια στα(θμία) ζ ἀνὰ τξ χα(λκοῦ) Βφκ.
 / ἔρια στα(θμία) κδλ. [[. () ε]]
- 35 [[ἐλαίου?) αλ καὶ ἀρνὸς ε, / ιαλ,]]
 [[λο(ιπαί) ιγ]]
 ὑφάντρα (πυροῦ) λ ψν καὶ χα(λκοῦ) Σκ,
 πορφύρας ψ,
 πορφύρας ἀλλο(υ) (σ)τατή(ρος) υ.

21. 1. ὁρίγων. 34-6. . . () to ιγ enclosed in round brackets.

Col. iii.

- 40 Φαρμούθι ζ. θερίζων μετὰ Πτολεμαίου Ἀκου(σιλάου)
 ἐν τῷ Σωσιβίου κ[λ]ή(ρωι) ζ [ς', η] ς', θ ς', ι ς', ια ς',
 ιβ ς', ιγ ς', ιδ ς', / (πυροῦ) ας', [[καὶ χοῤνικες) β]]
 καὶ ἐν τῷ Φίλωνος κλή(ρωι) ιε ις ἀνὰ ς' / (πυροῦ) γ'.
 θερίζων ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ κλή(ρωι) ἡμέ(ρας) δ ἀνὰ ς',
 45 καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὄρωφ κλ(ήρωι) τι(μῆς) φακα(υ) καὶ σίτα(υ) ἡμέ(ρας) β ἀνὰ ς',
 / ἐν τῷ Ὄρωφ (πυροῦ) λ.

ὑφάντρα (πυροῦ) γ' ἀνὰ Σπ,
 ὁμοίως αὐτῇ (δραχμαί) ρ, / χξ,
 / ὑφάντρα Ἀχλ.

- 50 ἠ[γόρ]ασται ἐν Τεβτύνι ἔρια στα(θμία) δ ἀνὰ τπ,
 / [.]. () Ἀυμ, σταθμ[α] κηλ.
 ἰσ[το]ῦ μισ(θοῦ) ξ,
 μισθοῦ στήμονος ρ,
 ὑφάντρα Θοτή[τι] .
- 55 ὁμοίως αὐ(τῇ) ξ,
 ὁμοίως αὐ(τῇ) .
 ὑφάντρα ρφ.

45, 46. 1. Ὄρου.

Col. iv.

ἐν οἴκῳ . . .] . χα() καὶ Σφισνίκῳ) 'Βτ,
 ἐν οἴκῳ ἀπὸ μισθῶ(ν) φξ.
 60 βαλανεί τοῦ πατρ[ῶ(ς)] ν,
 ἐλαίου βαλανει(τικοῦ) κε,
 προσγεγο(ν)ῖαι ἀπὸ β ἕως δ
 χα(λκοῦ) τξ.
 ἀπὸ 'Ετμ, ι
 65 ὀρνίθων 'Δροε, λο(ιπαὶ)
 ἐν οἴκῳ 'Αρο, / 'Ετμε, πλ(είω) ε, ι
 μισ(θοῦ) κρόκη(ς) στα(θμίου) Σπ,
 μισ(θοῦ) ὑφάντρα ο,
 Θοτήτι υπε,
 70 μισ(θοῦ) ἰστοῦ ρ,
 ρλε.

64. Between 'E and τμ an erasure.

Col. v.

απ[.] ἡμερῶν β ἀν(ὰ) . [
 [. . .] . [.] ε,
 λαχανισμοῦ αὐ(τοῦ?) ε,
 τρωξύμων ε,
 75 πράσων ε, λο(ιπαὶ) ἐν οἴκο μ.

42. ζ' corr. from γ'.

75. ι. οἴκφ.

14. .ασου: the traces of the first letter would suit μ or ν. Possibly πασου for πράσων was written; but in l. 75 only 5 drachmae are paid for πράσων. ναύ[λ]ου cannot be read. With αὐ(τὸς) λαχά(νων) cf. l. 73 λαχανισμοῦ αὐ(τοῦ?).

16. το: the items given amount to 365.

18. ας' is apparently a mistake for αβ', the unit which cost 250 drachmae being $\frac{1}{8}$ artaba as in ll. 47-8; cf. 224.

22. δ': i. e. $\frac{1}{4}$ cotyle; cf. 112, 36, note.

32. A similar entry occurs in 211 ἡγήρακα [. . . ἀπὸ τι(μῆς) ἱματίου γυναι(είου) ἔρα σταθμία ζ] ἀν(ὰ) τξ, / 'Βφκ.

37. ὑφάντρα here and in ll. 47, 49, &c. is apparently for ὑφαντρία; see ll. 47-8, where ὑφάντρα is followed by ὁμοίως αὐτῇ. The second α is always written above the line. The analogous form ἡπήτρα occurs in 120; cf. introd.

39. We read ἄλλο(ν) (σ)γατῆ(ρος) on the analogy of 211 [ἔρμα] στήμονος στα(θμία) αλ φλ, πορφύ(ρας) στα() τ, where στα() must mean στα(θμίον) or στα(τήρος).

42. αγ', which was apparently first written (cf. critical note), is the correct total.

46. λ is a mistake for γ'.

47-8. The arithmetic shows that 280 drachmae are the price of $\frac{1}{6}$ not $\frac{1}{3}$ artaba ($280 \times 2 + 100 = 660$). Cf. ll. 40-5, where $\frac{1}{3}$ artaba is reckoned as the daily wage, and note on l. 18 and 175.

49. The total is made up of χξ in the preceding line and the items in l. 37.

50-1. The total 'Αυμ is apparently the result of reckoning the price of the σταθμίον at the common figure 360 (cf. l. 17, &c.) instead of 380 drachmae. Of the word before 'Αυμ all that remains is a dot of ink with a horizontal stroke above it. κηλ = δ (l. 50) + κδλ (l. 34).

52. ισ[το]ῦ here is confirmed by 211, where the same item occurs, ιστοῦ μισ(θοῦ) ξ.

54. Similarly in 211 ὑφάντρα Θαῆτι (πυροῦ) ἴβ' ρν.

118. ACCOUNT OF A CLUB.

23·12.

22 × 23 cm.

Late second century B.C.

Part of an account concerning a dining-club. The members (σύνδειπνοι), who on each of the three occasions here referred to numbered about twenty, are distinguished from the guests (ξένοι), whose names are given. The cost per head was 100 drachmae exclusive of wine, which is reckoned separately, as are also bread and garlands.

Parts of three columns remain, the first being represented by the ends of lines, and the third by a few letters only. The second column, which we print, is fairly complete.

In 177 and 224 similar accounts of a dining-club occur.

Col. ii.

Ἄθου ιξ. περιδίπνου Καλατύτιος

[ο]ῖνον (έξά)χ(ου) α 'B, ἄρτω(ν) δίπνου 5 ρη,

/'Bρη, εἰσὶν ἄνδρες κβ, ι

σύνδει(πνοι) ιη ξένους δ, ὧν T . . . [. . .]

5 Νουμήνιος, Καμῆς Ἀρφαήσιος,

Τεῶς Πετεχῶντος,

Παπνεβτῦνι {ο}ς Σοκέως, / δ.

/ κβ ἀνά ρ 'BΣ, ἐγ οἴκο [. . .]

κ. οἶνον (ἑξά)χ(ου) α' Β, στεφάνου ρκ, / ' Β[ρκ].
 10 εἰσὶν ἄνδρες σύνδει(πνοι) ιη καὶ [.
 Νεφορηγῆς Κερα() καὶ Σέν[.
 καὶ ξένους Μαρρῆς Πετ[.
 Πετεςούχος Μέλανο(ς), Χαιρή(μων) Δει[.
 / κγ ἀνά ρ ' Βτ [
 15 ἐν οἴκο ρπ.
 Τῦβι κε. οἶνου κε(ραμίου) α' Β, στ[εφάνου . . . , / . . .
 εἰσὶν ἄνδρες κα ἀνά ρ [' Βρ,
 ὑπὲρ ἀνη(λώματος) κ. [

4. l. ξένοι; so in l. 12. 5. l. Νουμηρίου. 8, 15. l. οἴκφ.

'Athur 17, for the funeral feast of Kalatutis. 1 6-chous jar of wine 2000 drachmae, 6 dinner loaves 190 dr., total 2190 dr. 22 persons, of whom 18 were members and 4 were guests, viz. T . . . son of Numenius, Kames son of Harphaësis, Teos son of Petechon, Papnebtunis son of Sokeus, total 4. Total 22 at 100 dr., 2200 dr. In the house . . .

20th. 1 6-chous jar of wine 2000 dr., a garland 120 dr., total 2120 dr. 18 members, and . . . Nephoreges son of Kera . . . and Sen . . . son of . . . , and as guests Marres son of Pet . . . , Petesuchus son of Melas and Chaeremon son of Di . . . , total 23 at 100 dr., 2300 dr. In the house, 180 dr.

Tubi 25. 1 jar of wine 2000 dr., a garland . . . , 21 persons at 100, 2100 dr., expenses 20 dr.'

2. (ἑξά)χ(ου): the papyrus has here and in l. 9 χ , which on the analogy of other cases where the figure relating to choëis is written above χ (121. 35, 72, 179, 190, 224) might be expanded into $\chi(\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\varsigma)\varsigma$. But here the α which follows indicates that (ἑξά)χ(ου), sc. κεραμίων, is the correct resolution of the abbreviation, and this is confirmed by l. 16, where κε(ραμίου) α is found in place of (ἑξά)χ(ου) α , and, the price being the same, the same amount of wine is probably meant. This κεράμιον therefore seems to have contained $\frac{1}{2}$ μετρητῆς δωδεκάχους or $\frac{2}{3}$ μετρητῆς δέκαχους, but this inference regarding it must not be extended to the other κεράμια mentioned in this volume, for the size of the κεράμιον varied like that of the metretes.

119. ACCOUNT.

17.5 verso.

B.C. 105-1.

An account of receipts and payments in corn and money, written on the verso of 81 (b) by two persons in different years. Other and less well preserved columns precede and follow those printed. Cols. iv sqq. are part of a reciprocal account between Acusilaus and Cotys. Among the various items of expenditure are several payments for taxes, and a σύνδοξ of cleruchs is mentioned, which seems to have taken place at the Sarapis festival (ll. 25, 30-1).

Col. i.

Ἔτους ιγ τοῦ καὶ ι, λά(γος) α.

Πάτος Ὠρ(ου) .]πικίων (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) β,

βασιλεῖ σι() βλ,

παστοφόρφ δ',

5 χιρί(στίη ?) γ'ίβ',

κατακεφα(λαίου) ε',

Ὠρωι Ἀμενεί ὑπὲρ Ὠρου Κό(τυος) γ',

Ἀκουσιλάωι (ἀρτάβη) α,

ἀπενή(νοχεν) Ὠρος Κό(τυος) εἰ . . το() . α() καὶ δα(μείου) (πυροῦ) ε,

10 / μβλγ'.

Ἰπατος βασι(λεῖ) ὑπὲρ ἀρταβιή(ας) καὶ

στεφάνου καὶ κοινωνι(κῶν) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) [

[ὑπ]ὲρ Ὠρου Κό(τυος) τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ [

τ . ατου σ . [. .]τ[

Col. ii.

15 Μάρωνι ἐλαιοπά(ληι) ὑπὲρ Ἀκουσι(λάου) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α,

Ταπνεβτύ(ναι) τῆ γυν(ναικί) εἰς ἄρτο(ν) λ (ἀρτάβης),

ἐκτὸς ὧν ἀπενή(νοχεν) Πετοσι(ρις) τὸ ἐφ(αύρι)ο]ν

καὶ νεωτέρα Ταπνεβτύ(ναις) καὶ Χαιρή(μων)

εἰς τὰ ἴδια κριθῆς πρα() καὶ καθά(ρσεως)

20 / πςλ.

/ τὸ (πᾶν) κεφά(λαιον) ρπθλγ'.

Ἀπ[ολλ]ωνίω ὑπὲρ τῆς συνόδου

Col. iii.

ἔτους ιε τοῦ καὶ ιβ. ἔχωι Παχὼν ι

τιμῆν πυροῦ αλ παρ' ἀμφοτέρω(ν)

25 ὥστε εἰς τὴν σύνοδον Σαραπιήοις

- τὴν τι(μὴν) παρὰ Κοῦ[λῶ]τος τοῦς . . η()
 καὶ ἄς ὀφείλουσι [12 letters] ἔχῃ
 τι(μὴν) (ἀρταβῶν) γλ, λα(ιπαί) . [13 letters]ιου
 ὁμοίως κα[15 letters].
- 30 ἀπέσχη(κεν) ἡ σύνοδος τὸ τῶν (ἐπταρούρων) καὶ
 ἐπικεφάλαιον τῶν κατοίκων καὶ τὴν
 ἱερωϊαν

25. * of εις corr.

Col. iv.

- 2nd hand ἔτους ἰδ τοῦ καὶ ια
 Τῦβι ιε. Ἀκουσιλάου
- 35 πρὸς Κότυν, λάγος
 [π]ρὸς ἀλλήλους [[τοῦ ιγ (ἔτους)]]
 τοῦ ιγ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ ἐκφο(ρίων)
 πυροῦ μὲν (ἀρτάβαι) ιε
 φασήλου [(ἀρτάβαι)] π,
- 40 ἀπὸ [. . .] τούτων
 [. . .] η . [. . .] αι

Col. v.

- καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀκουσιλάωι εἰς φάσεις
 ἐν τῷ θ . υ() λ,
 Ταπνεβτύνει λ,
- 45 ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείου κλή(ρωι) λ,
 ραβδισμοῦ διὰ Πτό(λεμαίου) . . . β,
 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) π . . [
 εἰς πρᾶσιν [
 β. Πάτος Μαρ[
- 50 τῆι ἀρτοπ[ώλιδι ?

Col. vi.

- καὶ χάλκινος λόγος
 ναβίου Ἀγο,
 εἰκόνων Ἀγκ,
 πράκτορι ἐλαίου τ,
 55 παρὰ Πελεμάτος Ἄω,
 [συ]μβολῶν γραμμα(τέως) ψ,
 / (τάλαντον) α Ἰα

1. λά(γοε) (πρώτος)?
 2. 1. "Ωρ[ου] ἐ[π](ο)ικίων or "Ωρ[ο]ῦ Μικίων(ος) (cf. 93. 48)?
 9. Perhaps εἰς τὸ βα(σιλικόν) was meant, but there is a vertical stroke visible after ε which is irreconcilable with ε and would have to be explained as part of a letter written by mistake and corrected.
 11. Perhaps ι (i.e. on the 10th) Πάτος (cf. ll. 2 and 49) should be read. On the ἀρταβεία, στέφανος and κοινωνικά cf. 5. 59, note.
 19. πρα() καὶ καθά(ρσεως); cf. 93. 10, &c.
 30-1. If ἐπικεφάλαιον is right καὶ should have followed instead of preceding it. But even with this correction the meaning is obscure.
 43. The abbreviation following the supposed θ can be read as the sign for ἀρουρα, i.e. (ἐννεαρούροι), sc. κλήροι (cf. l. 45)?
 46. ῥαβδισμοῦ: cf. 229. 'Threshing' is probably meant; cf. the use of ῥαβδίσειν in LXX Judges vi. 11.
 52. ναβίου: cf. 76. 9, note.
 54. πράκτορι ελαίου: cf. 100. 3, note.

120. ACCOUNT.

I-I.

23 x 95.2 cm. B. C. 97 or 64.

PLATE IX (Cols. v-vi).

Both the *recto* and *verso* of this papyrus are filled with accounts, of which we print six continuous columns. The accounts on the *verso*, which are by the same rapid and rather illegible hand and in the same style as those on the *recto*, are much effaced; and the two first columns of the *recto* are also too fragmentary to be worth reproducing. The document contains a long record of receipts and expenditure, expressed partly in money, partly in wine. Three ratios of value between silver and copper are mentioned: 1 : 487½ (Cols. iv, v), 1 : 495 (Col. vii), and 1 : 450 (Col. ix); cf. App. ii. Column viii gives an abstract of a lease of a vineyard, which, though mutilated and difficult owing to frequent abbreviations, is of interest on account of some unusual words. This is followed by a short list of persons who came ἐπὶ τὴν παραγγελίαν (?); and then the accounts are continued as before, with few novel features. We may cite the following items:—καθαρῶν (cf. P. Petrie II. 25 (a), 8 ἄρτων καθαρῶν) ζεύγη ιε φκ (l. ψκ ?), ἡπήτρῃ χιτῶ(νος) π (cf. ὑφάντρη in 117. 37, &c.), ἀργύ(ριον) ἀνὰ Ἄω, Ἑλλησι μαχ(ίμοις) α (sc. κεραμίου) Ἰω (cf. 139), δέλφακος Ἄω, ἴδεσι α Ἄν.

The 17th year in which the papyrus was written more probably refers to the reign of Neos Dionysus than to that of Ptolemy Alexander; cf. 103. introd.

Col. iii.

- Ἔτους ιζ' Ἐπίφ κς. τῶι κεραμί εἰς τιμὴν)
 πίσεως ἀργυρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ιβ,
 τιμὴν πορφύρας Ἰχ,
 συνβολῆς δοχῆς) Θρακὸς (δραχμαὶ) δ.
 5 ἔχωι παρ' Ἀκουσιλάου) Χάλου) ὑπὲρ Διονυσίου)
 Νουμη(νίου) συνβολῆς) Θρακὸς Ἀφ
 καὶ ἐξ οἴκου τξ,
 / Ἀωξ. τυργη() τῆι κη
 βύσις Παकुμείο[υ] χωρίου κτήμα(τος) ρν.
 10 θεοῦ ε,
 διὰ Μευνήου ἀδελ(φου) ὑπὲρ τοῦ τέκτονα(ς) εἰς
 υἱὸν Διδύμου τοῦ κωμογρ(αμματέως) κεράμια β,
 / τὸ πᾶ(ν) ρη.
 [Κ]ρίτω(ν) εἰς πιεῖν α,
 ἐν τῶι κοιτῶ(ν) α,
 15 ἐν τῶι βήματι α,
 Σοκονά(πει) ἀλόπω(ν) τιμῆ(ς) β,
 διὰ Πατύν(ιος) Σθοτή(τος) Τεβτυ(νίτου) εἰς κά(μην) δ,
 Δημιμάτι Ἀπολω(νίου) να,
 Διοκλῆ Ἀρτεμιδ(ώρου) δ,
 20 Θέωνι ὑπερε() α,
 Τεβτυνίταις γ,
 εἰς Ἰβίω(να) δι' Ἐρμίου Ἰέρακος κη,
 εἰς Κερκεθ(ο)ῆ(ριν) δι' Ἐρμίου τοῦ Πρω(τάρχου?) καὶ
 δι' ἄλλω(ν) η,
 25 τοῖς ἐλλη(ν)οῖσι χάριν Πτολε(μαίου) . . η() γ,
 Τιμάτι ἱερεῖ Ἰσιήου α,
 8. l. τρύγη(ς) οἱ τρυγή(του)? 20. l. ὑπερέ(τη)?

Col. iv.

οἰκοδόμῳ Ἰβιωνίτη) πα . . () [
 Νάνωι ὑπὲρ τῆς Κερκε(οσίρεως) ἐφοδ(είας) [

- Ἄκουσι(λάωι) βοισκ[. .] . [. .] . . . [. . .] ἢ η,
 30 εἰς Ἰβίω(να) εἰς τῆ[ν] ἔ[π]αυλι(ν) λβ.
 εἰς ἰ τῶι τοῦ Ὀρσειούς ὑπὲρ Πτολε(μαίου)
 Νίλου
 Μεσορῆι θ, κε(ράμια) ι,
 Ἀρηίωι ἀνθ' ᾧ(ν) δέδω(κε) τοῖ[ς] . . [.]
 35 [.] ἠδ() Ἰβίω(νος) κ(εράμια) ε,
 / κε(ράμια) ιε, λο(ιπὰ) ιζ.
 εἰς ἰ ναῦλον τῶν ἠρκότων
 τὰ προκίμενα κερά(μια) ιζ α, λο(ιπὰ) ις
 ἀνὰ ἌΣπ / (τάλαντα) γ Ἐνπ,
 40 εἰς ἀργύ(ριον) ἀνὰ Ἄρν (δραχμαὶ) μ καὶ χα(λκοῦ) ρπ.
 ἰ εἰς λύτρω(σιν) ποτηρία(ν) (δραχμαὶ) δ,
 τόκος μηνῶ(ν) δ [[/]] ἀπολυ() ἀπὸ γ υν,
 Πακύσι ἀνθ' ᾧ(ν) κέχρη(κε) τιμῆ(ς)
 πυροῦ (ἀρταβῶν) β (δραχμαὶ) η,
 45 Ἡλιοδά(ρωι) τῶι παρ' Ἀθηνίω(νος) (δραχμαὶ) η,
 καὶ τιμῆν (πυροῦ) β' ἌΣ,
 τῶι τοῦ Θεοτίως εἰς τί(μην) κνή(κου) Ἄφ,
 ἄλλης ἀρτάβης α Ἄτκ,
 Πατύνι ὄνου ἀνθ' ᾧ(ν) δέδω(κε) χρ[.] . () (δραχμαὶ) δ,
 50 ὁμοίως τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ συ[τ]ακτικοῦ Ἄρ,
 / ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) κδ καὶ χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντον) α το, εἰς ἀργύ(ριον)
 ἀνὰ Ἄρν ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ιβ Ἐων κ(αὶ χα(λκοῦ)) φκ.
 καταλιπ(ονται) ἐν οἴκῳ (δραχμαὶ) δ Ἄρν, [χα(λκοῦ) υξ].
 / χα(λκοῦ) Β[υι], ἰ [τι]μῆν ἐρία(ν) σ[.] . .] ατία() ς ἀνὰ Σν Ἄφ.

54. Ἄφ written above the line.

Col. v.

Plate ix.

- 55 δοχῆς Δίου φυλακίτου? ἐγὼ Ἡλι(οδωρ?) Μεννέ(ου?) καλι() α.
 εἰς Κερκε(οσίριν) δι(ὰ) Πατύ(νιος) Τεβτυ(νίτου) δ,
 Πτολε(μαίωι) Νίλου εἰς πιεῖν ἐν ληνῶ β,
 ἀπὸ τῶ(ν) ἀνενή(νοχεν) Ἐρμίας καὶ τι(μῆς) κη
 κ k

ἀνά ἌΣ (τάλαντα) ε ἼΧ.
 60 Μεσορῆι ιε. Ποσιδωνίωι πράκτορι
 ἀνθ' ᾧ(ν) δ[έ]δο(κε) Πᾶνις οἴνου κερά(μιον) α (δραχμαὶ) η.
 εἰς τί[μ]ῆν οἴνου κερα(μίω)ν β εὐώδη ἘΣ.

5 mutilated lines.

ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ξη καὶ χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντον) α ἌΣν.
 ἀργυ(ρίου) ξη ἀνά Ἄρν (τάλαντα) ε Ἴρν, / τὸ πᾶ(ν) (τάλαντα) ς Ἄν.
 70 καὶ ἐκ Κερκεθ(ο)ή(ρεως) δι' Ἀμμω(νίου) εἰς τὰ δεσζμοῦ (δραχμαὶ) ιβ
 χα(λκοῦ) Ἐων, / (τάλαντα) ζ ἌΣν, λο(ιπαὶ) ἐν οἴκῳ Ἐων.
 καὶ τιμῆν (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) βλ ἀνά Ἄω Ἄφ, καταλι(πονται) Ἄτν.
 ἔχ[ω]μι παρὰ Ἀμμεινία εἰς τὴν πόλιν κθ (δραχμαὶ) δ,
 εἰς ἰ πράσις Ἄρξ, ἰ τιμῆν ἐλαίου κοτυ(λῶν) ς Ἄρμ,
 75 νίτρον μνα(ιαίων) γ ρ,
 λύ[χ]ων β λ,
 καλαμικοῦ σφυριδίου κε,
 / ἌΣπε, λο(ιπαὶ) χξε.
 ἰ δα(πάνης) ἐν πόλι τν, λο(ιπαὶ) τιε.

58. 1. ἔν for τῶν.

62. 1. εὐώδους.

72. Ἄφ below an erasure of Ἄφ.

Col. vi.

Plate ix.

80 εἰς Κερκε(οσίριν) Κρονίδ(η)ι τι(μῆς) (σ)τροβίλου
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκχρηγμα() καμ() ν,
 εἰς τὸ Ἴσιῆ(ον) τοῦ ἀρίστ(ο)ν ιε,
 ἀπὸ τῶν προκ(ειμένων) χα(λκοῦ) ψν καὶ αὶ ἐκ
 πόλ(εως) Σν, / Ἄ.
 85 δαπάνης καταλε() ἐορτῆς Σ,
 ὄρνιθος ἐπαγομέ(νων) γ ρ, / Ἄρ.
 ὑπ(έρ) δα(πάνης) ρ.
 καὶ ὧν μοι κέχρηκε Ἀμμά(νιος)
 Ἡμέραι Ἴρηναίου κερα(μίω)ν η,
 90 καὶ πρὸς Πτολε(μαίων) ἐσχή(κεσαν)
 οἱ πα(ρὰ ?) τοῦ πράκτορος κερά(μια) γ,

δαπάνης λημάτων) α,
 αὐτῶι εἰς πιεῖν β,
 τῆι Ὀρσήϊους γυναικί ι,
 95 / κεράμια ις.
 προέφηκα δι' Ἀμμωνίας (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) βγ',
 ὁμοίω(ς) διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς λ,
 Παγν() ἡμερῶ(ν) λ ἀνὰ ρ ὈΓ,
 καὶ ἡμέρα(ι) ἄλλ(λαι) μ ἀνὰ ρ ὈΔ,
 100 καὶ τιμὴν ἐλαίου κοτυλῶν) β υπ,
 καὶ ἐκ τῆς .[.] .ηαμ[. . .] (πυροῦ) γ',
 καὶ δι' Ἡρω(νος) Μεννή(ου) χα(λκοῦ) εἰς [τ]ι(μὴν) Σ
 ἄρτω(ν), / (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) γς'
 καὶ χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντον) α χπ.

Col. vii.

105 καὶ δι' Ἰππάλου καταλε() [
 ἔχωι ἀνθ' ᾧ(ν) τρέθη(κα) εἰς τὸν . τ . . [
 ἰ τιμῆς δι' αὐτῆς κεραμίων) ε ἀνὰ (δραχμὰς) δ
 ἀνὰ Ἀρπ χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντον) α ὈΓρ.
 τιμὴν ἐρία(ν) γυναικείου) χιτῶ(νος) ὈΦ,
 110 ἐμοὶ εἰς τὴν πόλι(ν) εἰς δα(πάνην) ὈΑ,
 μισθὸν ἄρτω(ν) Ἡρακλή(ους) Μάρω(νος) ρ,
 ὁμοίω(ς) μισθὸν παιδῶν) Νουμη(νίου) διαφυ() ρν,
 Σφηκί τιμῆ(ν) τῶν προκ(ειμένων) ἄρτω(ν) ὈΓ,
 / (τάλαντον) α ὈΒψν, καταλί(πονται) ὈΑρν.
 115 διάφορ[ον] τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) ἀργυ(ρίου) τ, λο(ιπαὶ) ων.
 καταλί(πεται) ἐν οἴκῳ κερά(μια) δ.
 περιδίπνου () Βίθυ(ος) β,
 Βίθυει Χλίδ(ωνος) ἀνθ' ᾧ(ν) προσδε() ὑπὲρ τῶ(ν) ἐφάδα(ν) δεδα()
 ὃ ἤρπακεν ἐκ τῶν Κρονίδ(ου) Ἐρμω(νος) α χα(λκοῦ) ψκ,
 120 καὶ εἰς τρύγητον κερά(μιον) α,
 αὶ προκ(ειμένοι) Βίθυ(ος) Χλίδ(ωνος) ψκ καὶ ἄλλ(λαι) ων, / ὈΑφο.
 εἰς ἰ Δίδυ(μος) Ἡρακλή(ους) προστά(του) εἰς μίσ(θωσιν) ταση() ψκ,
 κ k 2

- καὶ αἱ Ἀκουσι(λάου) Χ λου ὑπὲρ Διονυσίου Νουμη(νίου) Ἀφ,
 / ΒΣκ τρυγήτοις.
- 125 καὶ ὦν ἔχωι ἐν θέματι παρὰ Ὠρίων(ος) σιτοκα(πήλου) χα(λκοῦ) Ἀ.
 εἰς / δέδω(κε) Πύρρωι ἐπιστάτη κό(μης) πιττάκ(ια) αὐτῶ(ν)
 καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἔχω παρὰ Βιάνορ(ος) ἀνθ' ὦ(ν) δέδω(κε) ἡ γυνή εἰς λ(ύγον)
 Δείου ἀρχιμα(χίμου) ἦρο, Τυράννοφ ἱερεῖ Διδ(ς) τν, Ἀτκ,
 ἀντι() Ἀυ, καταλλ(πονται) ἐν Βιά(νορι) π καὶ ἐν Κρονίδ(η) προσ-
- 130 τάτη ρπ, / Σξ, καὶ αἱ προκ(είμεναι) Πύρρου ὑπὲρ
 Ἑλιοδ(ώρου) Μάρω(νος) ἈΣ, / ἐν Βι(άνορι) Ἀν(ξ).

Col. viii.

- Θῶ(θ) κα. μεμί(σθωκα) τὸν ἀμπελῶ(να) Βερνικίω(νι)
 Δη. . . τε καὶ Πέμμει ἐφ' ὧι δώσει
 τῶι μὲν Ὠρωι κα[τὰ] χιμῶ(να) {Ὠρωι} (τάλαντα) β,
 135 ἐν τῶι θέρι{ρει} . . [. . .] καὶ κατὰ τρύ(γητον)
 οἴνου κε(ράμια) ιδ, ἀντι() . [.]πα() α, / ιε, καὶ
 ἐπαρδευτήι μηνῶ(ν) δ (τάλαντον) α.
- κ[α]ὶ τῶι μετόχ(ωι) (τάλαντον?) [.]',
 [ὁ]μοίως ἐγ νέων [. . .] καὶ κατὰ
- 140 τρύ(γητον) κε(ράμια) ιγ, ἀντι() . [.]πα() Λ, / ιγΛ,
 καὶ καλαμουργή(σει) . [. . .] . . ἕκαστος
 καὶ ἀ[ν]τλή(σει) μετὰ τήν [. . .] καὶ ἀντλή-
 σει ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ Φαρμ[οῦ]θι μέ[χρι] κ τοῦ Μεσορῆ

5 mutilated lines.

- εἰσ[ὶν] οἱ] ἐληλυθότες ἐπὶ τὴν παρελγελλ(αν)
- 150 Παχῶ(ν) ἰβ.
 Κρονίδ(ης) Ἑρμῶ(νος),
 Ἀπολλῶ(νιος) ἀδελ(φός),
 Χαιρήμων Βίθνος,
 Ἑρμῶν Δημη(τρίου),
- 155 Δίδυμος [. . .]ν.

149. l. παραγγελί(αν)?

4. συνβολῆς δο(χῆς): cf. 112. 89.

5. Χώ(λου): cf. l. 123. χωλοῦ, as a descriptive epithet, is equally possible; cf. 90. 13, where a similar doubt arises concerning Φαλακρός.

9. On the use of κτήμα as the equivalent of ἀμπελών cf. 5. 52, note. The flow of the wine from the wine-press yielded 150 κεράμια (or, according to the marginal note upon l. 12, 158), which are accounted for in detail in ll. 10-71.

31. εἰς /: this formula frequently recurs before items of expense; cf. e.g. ll. 37, 74, 122. Its significance does not appear to differ materially from that of / without the preceding εἰς.

42. Between δ and ἀπολυ() is a vertical stroke with a curved base, and a short stroke through the middle of it. The effect is not unlike the symbol for πυρός, but this is out of place here. The sign is not at all like that for ἥμισυ.

52-4. Ἔων in l. 52 and Ἄρν in l. 53 are the equivalents in copper of the 12 and 4 silver drachmae which immediately precede. The calculation may be stated as follows: 6370 copper dr. (l. 51) = 5850 + 520 dr., = 12 silver dr. + 520 copper dr., making (with the 24 silver dr. in l. 51) 36 silver dr. + 520 copper dr. This deducted from the amount in l. 40 leaves 4 silver dr. + 460 copper dr., or in copper 2410 dr.

54. The word before εῖ is perhaps ἰμ]ατίω(ν), but γ]ν(ναικείων, cf. l. 109) cannot be read.

55. ω of ἐγώ is written above the line, but final ω is often so placed in this papyrus.

73. κθ is the day of the month.

74. Ἄρνξ: ξ seems to be a mistake for ν since 1950 is required by the arithmetic of ll. 74-8; cf. also l. 69.

81. ἐκχρηγμα(): perhaps for ἐκρήγμα(τος). There may be an ο between χ and ρ, but that does not improve matters.

85. καταλε(): the abbreviation recurs in l. 105 and in 191.

103. ἄρω(ν) seems to be connected with [τ]μ(μήν) in the preceding line.

115. διάφορον]: cf. 121. 7 and 22-3. Some charge connected with the conversion from copper to silver is meant.

118. Χλιδ() seems to be a proper name; cf. 123. 12. δεδω() at the end of the line is probably for δεδω(κε) as in l. 49.

128. ἀρχιμα(χίμου): cf. 112. 86. ἀντι() in l. 129 may be ἀντι(διαγραφῆς).

133. Δη. . . seems to be the name of Berenician's father, but the termination does not look like -ου, and τε is strange; ὥστε might be read. That there were at least two lessees is shown by ἕκαστος in l. 141.

137. ἐπαρδεντή: cf. 108. introd. and 209.

121. ACCOUNT.

19.1.

23.3 x 76.5 cm.

B. C. 94 or 61.

This lengthy account contains in all sixteen columns, nine on the *recto* and seven on the *verso*. The first column of the *recto*, which gives the year and is preceded by a blank space, was apparently the first of the roll; but since the last column of the *verso*, which corresponds to the first of the *recto*, is represented by beginnings of lines only, this is hardly certain. The appearance of both

sides of the papyrus supports the conclusion that the roll is complete at the end. We give the first five and the last two columns of the *recto*; the two intervening columns are very imperfect, and the *verso*, besides being in a somewhat inferior state of preservation, adds little fresh information. It has every appearance of giving the continuation of the account on the *recto*, for precisely similar entries occur, and the fourth column is headed Φαῶφι ιβ, Phaophi being the month under consideration at the end of the *recto*. There is a considerable blank space between the first and second columns. We add here some of the more interesting items: ἐργα(τῶν) ι φ, μαχίμοις βασιλι(κοῦ) γραμ(μ)α(τέως) ἐφοδί(ων) Ἄχ, ἀργυ(ρίου) κδ ἀνὰ Ἄχν (τάλαντον) α ἸΓρ, συνβολῆς ἐν οἴκ(ωι) χ, ἐπὶ τοῦ τριστόμου ξ (cf. 112. 2), ὄψ' οἴνου κε(ράμια) β ἸΓ.

The accounts include a number of payments to various minor officials, particularly to μάχιμοι (cf. 112. 81, note), whose entertainment seems to have entailed no little expense. There is an interesting mention of λαογραφία, which has already been discussed in 108 introd. Conversions of silver to copper are frequent at the ratio of 1 to 400; a slightly different rate (1 : 412½) is mentioned once on the *verso* in the passage quoted above. Columns viii and ix as far as line 138 differ from the rest, giving a list of persons who are reckoned at 650 copper drachmae a head, and some of whom are distinguished as ἀπολυόμενοι and τεθνηκότες. In one case (l. 108) two persons are reckoned as one. Why the individuals enumerated were responsible for an identical payment is not stated.

Col. i.

Ἔτους κα Θωύθ,
 διαγραφῆς ἐπιστατηίας
 καὶ ἀρχιφυ(λακιτείας) κ εἰς πόλιν ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) Σ,
 κδ εἰς πόλιν ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ξ,
 5 / ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) Σξ ἀνὰ Ἄχ
 (τάλαντα) ιζ ἸΒ.
 διάφορον ἀργυ(ρίου) υμ,
 καταγωγίος ἸΒφκ,
 συμβόλου υ,
 10 Διδύμωι ροῶν ρν,
 Πεσίρει φακοῦ ο,
 ἀρτων τοῖς παρὰ Θ(ο)ήριδα(ς)
 ἡκό(ν)των χάριν λάξων χ,
 Τοθοῆι ὄξους ο,

15 Θρακίδα Σ,
 Πασίρει γεωργῶι Β,
 Θρακὶ ἄρτων μ,
 χρυσοχῶι ω,
 Ἴσιδότῳ δψου ξ,
 20 / (τάλαντα) ιη Γην.

8. 1. καταγωγίου.

16. σ of πασιρει corr. from ι?

Col. ii.

τιμῆς ὄξους ψ,
 ἀγράφων χ,
 διάφορον ἀργυρίου) εἰς
 Ταλὶ Σλ,
 25 δαπάνης) τοῖς ἀνα{α}φέρουσι
 τὸ ἀργύριον υ,
 ἀγράφου εἰς οἶκον ρκ,
 Ἀρμύσει μαχί(μοι) Πάπου
 ἐλαίου ξ,
 30 δψου ἄρτων π,
 ἐφόδιον Α,
 ἄρτων εἰς ὄδον π.
 κδ. Θρακίδα Σξ,
 μαχί(μοις) Δωρᾶτος οἰκόν(μου)
 35 στρατηγοῦ) οἶνο(υ) χ(οῶν) γ ω,
 ἄρτων ζεύ(γη) δ ρξ,
 ἐλαίου ρκ,
 κριθῆς ρκ,
 ἐφόδιον ἀργυρίου) (δραχμῶν) ς Βυ,
 40 (τάλαντον) α Ἀρκ.

28. First ε of αρμυσει corr.

40. κ in Ἀρκ over an erasure.

Col. iii.

- ἄρτων εἰς ὄδον ε ρ,
 Ἄρσῦσει εἰς πῶλιν μ,
 Ἄκουσιλάωι μαχί(μωι) οἰκ(νόμου)
 ἔληλυθότι ἐπὶ τὴν
 45 διαγρ(αφήν) ἐφῶδιον Ἄ.
 κε. μαχί(μωι) καὶ τραπεζε(ητη)
 ἀρίστου ρκ,
 διαγραφῆς (τάλαντα) ια,
 χειριστικὸν Σκ,
 50 ναύλου πορή(ων) εἰς πῶλιν χκ,
 ναύλου εἰς Ταλει ἐργα(τῶν) β τ,
 μολίβων καὶ παραζύγης ρν,
 Ἄκουσιλάωι ἄρτων Σ,
 ὁμοίως υ,
 55 Ἄκουσιλάωι (δραχμαὶ) η ἸΣ,
 ὁμοίως τῶι αὐτῶι τ,
 ἀγράφων χ,
 μαστιγοφά(ρωι) οἰκ(νόμου) παραζύ(γης) Σ,
 / (τάλαντα) ιβ ἸΣν.

42. ε of eis corr. from s.

Col. iv.

- 60 κζ. τοῖς [π]αρά τοῦ στρα(τηγοῦ) ἔληλυθ(σι)
 χάριν λαογρ(αφίας) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) δ Ἀχ,
 ἄρτων ζεύ(γη) δ ρξ,
 [ὁμο]ίως δαπά(νης) ρκ,
 Ἄκουσιλάωι ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) η ἸΣ,
 65 Θρακί τ,
 ὁμοίως συμβο(λής) ὑπ(έρ) αὐτο(ῦ) ρκ,
 [ί]ερεῖ Τεβτύνεως χ,
 Πακλήβει χηνοβο(σκῶι) Ἄ.

- κη. Θρακι ἀργυρίου) (δραχμαὶ) δ 'Αχ,
 70 ψιάθ[ω]β β Σ,
 μαχλμοὶ ἐληλυθότει εἰς τὸ Ἐρμαῖον
 κ[αὶ] τὸ Σουχ(εῖον) οἶνο(ν) χ(οῶν) γ ω,
 ἄρτων ζεύ(γη) η, τκ,
 ἐλαίου κοτύλη) α ρκ,
 75 δειπνοῦ [α]ύτοῖς ξ,
 θεαγῶν Σούχου (τάλαντον) α φ,
 Πεσιῖρις καὶ Τοθοῆς 'Αχ,
 ἀρμολίας εἰς τὸν Ἰβία(να) (π),
 ἄρτων ε ρ,
 80 / (τάλαντα) [·] ^γ ^{νπ} φ.

67. This line inserted later.

Col. v.

- Πετοσίρει ἀργυρίου) (δραχμαὶ) η 'ΓΣ,
 διαγραφῆς (τάλαντα) [β] 'Βτκ,
 παραζύγης μαχλμου οἰκ[ονόμου] χ,
 μολίβων καὶ χειριστήι τξ,
 85 ἄρτων ε ρ,
 ἀρμολίας κθ λ ἀργυρίου) (δραχμαὶ) η ('ΓΣ),
 διαπτώματος 'Β.
 Φαῶφι α.
 τοῖς παρὰ Θ(ο)ήριδος
 90 Ἀλεξάνδρου) καὶ ἄλλοις ἄρτω(ν) ζεύ(γη) ε Σμ,
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ζεύ(γη) ι ν.
 β. τοῖς α(ύ)τοῖς ε ρ,
 ὄψου ἐπ' ἀρίστω ξ,
 λογευταῖς (τάλαντον) α 'Γ,
 95 Διοσκουρίδου παρουσίας
 ἄρτων ζεύ(γη) κ ω,
 Νιβόιται ζεύ(γη) ε Σ,

Col. ix.

- 125 καὶ ἀπεληλυθότα(ν)
 Ἑρακλῆ(ς) Διοδότου,
 Ἀρίστα(ν) Ἐργέως.
 τεθνηκότων πα . . . () . . . ()
 Πετεσοῦχο(ς) οἰκοδό(μος),
- 130 Πετεσοῦχος Κατόπου() τν,
 Ἀπολλοφάνης ἱερ[εῦ]ς,
 / ἀνδ(ρες) ι ἀνά χν,
 / (τάλαντον) α φ, ι ἐκκρού(σεως) τ,
 λο(ιπὸν) (τάλαντον) α Σ.
- 135 εἰς ἐκκρου(σιν) ἀπὸ τῶ(ν) προ-
 κιμένου (ταλάντου) α Ἀτ (τάλαντον) α Σ,
 καταλ(πονται) Ἀψ.
 καὶ ἀνδ(ρες)
- 140 πρὸς Αμ() λόγο(ς). ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) δ Ἀχ,
 εἰς ι τιμὴν (πυροῦ) ε' Σν,
 ὁμοίω(ς) τιμῆς γ' φ, / ψν.
 τιμὴν ἄρτω(ν) ζευ(γῶν) γλ (δραχμαὶ) ρμ.

135. l. προκειμένων.

2-3. ἐπιστατηίας καὶ ἀρχιφυ(λακτείας): cf. note on 5. 159. κ after ἀρχιφυ(λακτείας) refers to the day of the month.

7. διάφορον ἀργυ(ρίου): cf. ll. 22-3 and 120. 115, note.

8. καταγωγίος: cf. ll. 25-6 and 35. 5, note. 2520 drachmae on 17 talents 2000 dr. represents a charge of $2\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.

22. ἀγράφων: cf. 112. 104, note.

49. χειριστικόν: cf. 188 δαπά(νης) χείρ[ιστ]ή.

52. παραζύγης: cf. ll. 58 and 83. The word is new, but is confirmed by 262, where the γ is clearly written; otherwise it would have been tempting to read παραζύτης on the analogy of P. Fay. Towns 47, a receipt ἰ(πέρ) παραζυτ() κατ' ἀνδρα ζυτ() Εὐημ(ερείας). The papyrus in question being in the Cairo Museum we are not at present able to verify the passage; but it seems highly probable that παραζύγης is to be recognized there also, though in what sense is not clear.

61. λαογρ(αφίας): cf. 103. introd.

71. Ἑρμα(ῖον): cf. 88. 53, note.

76. θεαγῶν: cf. 61. (δ) 59 θεαγοίς Θεήμιος.

78. ἀρμολίας: cf. l. 86 and 112. introd., where the spelling ἀρμολίας is found. The

word is new, unless it may be regarded as another form of the poetic ἀρμαλία 'provisions,' which would give a quite good sense.

The numeral at the end of this line has been omitted. If π is restored the (corrected) total in l. 80 will be right.

86. κθ λ are the days of the month.

110. The meaning of the numerals at the end of this line and l. 115 (cf. l. 130) is not clear. Perhaps they are to be connected with the διάφορον ἀπολυομέ(ων) in l. 118, but the amounts cannot be made to tally.

135. εἰς ἐκρου(σιν): for ἐκρούειν in the sense of 'subtract' cf. 189 and 241.

122. ACCOUNT.

24.10.

22.8 × 16.5 cm.

B. C. 96 or 63.

A short account of expenses, mentioning some rather interesting prices. $\frac{2}{3}$ artaba of barley is reckoned at 130 copper drachmae, while 100 drachmae were paid for $\frac{1}{12}$ artaba of φακός, which was therefore considerably the dearer commodity of the two (cf. App. i. § 4).

On the *verso* is another partially erased account in the same handwriting; it includes the items ὕδωρ ρ, οἶνοχῶ ρκ.

(Ἔτους) ιθ Θωὶ(θ) ζ, κοίτη Λεμεισα.
οἶνου κεράμι(α) γ ἀνά Ἶ / (τάλαντον) α ἾΓ,
δριθα α υ,
ἐλαίου κοτύλαι β υ,
5 ὁμοίως δ ξ,
κριθὴ ε ρλ,
φακοῦ ἰβ ρ,
χέρτον δεσμὰς ε ρπ,
ἀρτους ζεύγη κβ χα(λκοῦ) ωπ,
10 κράμβη λ,
ἐλαίου κνηκίνου λ π,
/ (τάλαντον) α ἾΣξ.

11. π over an erasure of ρ.

1. For κοίτη cf. 179 κοίτης ἀρχιφυ(λακίτου), and 180, a long list of persons who had paid various sums εἰς τὴν κοίτην of an agent of the strategus—apparently contributions for his entertainment—and 5. 184, note. Λεμεισα on this analogy is best explained as a proper name, though a very strange one. There is no doubt about the reading.

123. ACCOUNT.

18.3.

24 × 33.5 cm.

Early first century B. C.

An account of receipts and perhaps expenditure connected with different villages, chiefly in corn. Parts of four columns are preserved, of which we print the second, being the most complete. The writing is a small cursive and most of the words are abbreviated, so that the document is more than usually obscure. Conversions of silver into copper at the ratio of 1 : 487½ occur in ll. 2-3; cf. App. ii. Many of the lines have a stroke against them in the margin.

ὁμοίως χρέ(ους) Δω(ρίωνος?) Χώ(λου) (δραχμαί) [] δ,
 ἔχω διὰ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) ᾧ(στ)ε Ἴσιδώ(ρωι) Νίλου (δραχμάς) δ χα(λκοῦ) Ἄρν,
 ἔχω διὰ Πετοσι(ριος) ᾧ(στ)ε Σεντοθοῆ(τι) (δραχμάς) δ χα(λκοῦ) Ἄρν.
 δ. εἰσδοχὴ ἐ[ν] Ταλί

5 ἔχω παρὰ Μάρω(νος) καὶ Νικάνω(ρος) βα(σιλικῶν) σιτολό(γων) ἀς
 ἐξήντλη(σαν) παρὰ Ἀριστί(δου) (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκοι) (ἀρτάβας) ξγλγ',
 / (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκοι) ξγλγ'. ἐλε[.]ισου() θη() κα() νο()
 λι() α.

ἀπέσταλται [12 letters] λι() (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκοι) (ἀρτάβαι) ξγλγ',
 / (πυροῦ) (ἐξα)χ(οινίκοι) ξ[γ]λγ'.

10 ἔχω διὰ Ἀκουσι(λάου) Χώ(λου) ᾧ(στ)ε Ἴσιδώ(ρωι) Νίλου χα(λκοῦ) Ἄρν.
 5. εἰσδοχὴ ἐν Κερκ(εοσίρει)
 θέ(μα?) Χλίδω(νος) [μετ]αβο(λῆς) ἄνω οἰκ(ίας) εἰς τὸ δῶ(μα?) σι() φακοῦ
 (ἀρτάβαι) 55',
 θέ(μα) Βίθυ(ος) μεταβο(λῆς) ἄνω οἰκ(ίας) εἰς τὸ δῶ(μα) σι() φακοῦ (ἀρτά-
 βαι) 5γ',
 θέ(μα) ὁμοί(ως) μεταβο(λῆς) ἄνω δά(ματος) διὰ Ἡλιοδώ(ρου) καὶ σι()
 φακοῦ [

15 [.] εἰσδοχὴ
 Ἀπολλω() ἱερᾶ(ς) [κ]αὶ κώ(μης)
 α. (πυροῦ) σάκ(κοι) . . . ἰβ ἄλ(λος) α ἰγ, δ ἰγ, ε ἰγ, ς ἰγ, ζ ἰγ, [.] ν. [

1. δω() in ll. 12-14 is used apparently for δῶ(μα) (cf. 241), but here a proper name such as Δω(ρίωνος) is more likely. For Χώ(λου) cf. 120. 5, note, and 123 Ἀκουσιλάου Χώλου, who is probably identical with the Acusilaus in l. 10 here.

2. The reading *δοτε* here and in ll. 3 and 10 is very doubtful, the strokes being, strictly speaking, insufficient for *ωστ*. The last letter may be *a* over the line.

6. (πυροῦ) (ἕξα)χ(οινίκοι): sc. μέτρον; cf. 91. 5, note.

7. λι(): in the next column, following a list of payments of corn in *σάκκοι* similar to that in l. 17, is the total / (πυροῦ) σάκ(κοι) ξη λι() β' (ἀρτάβαι) ρκηβ', and in the previous column we find / (πυροῦ) σάκ(κοι) κδ λι() αζ' (ἀρτάβαι) [.

12. σι() may be σι(τολόγων) (cf. l. 5), or the name of a charge like σι() in 119. 3.

16. We should expect another village name after *εισοδοχί*, as in ll. 4 and 11; but if 'Απολλω() is a place-name it is difficult to see why this was put in the line below. A village called 'Απολλωνίας in the Fayûm is known from P. Petrie II. 28. v. 8, and another called 'Απολλωνος πόλις is mentioned in 112. 41.

ADDENDUM TO II

124. PETITION TO THE SOVEREIGNS. DECREES CONCERNING CLERUCHS.

20.4 verso.

Height 28.5 cm.

About B. C. 118.

The *recto* of this papyrus contains a list of holders of temple and cleruchic land at Kerkeosiris written in about the 48th year (148). On the *verso*, besides other fragmentary documents, is a draft or rough copy of a petition to the sovereigns, followed by six decrees. The papyrus is unfortunately in a very damaged condition, being stained a dark brown colour and excessively fragile. Lacunae are frequent, and in some parts the ink has been quite obliterated, while the difficulties of decipherment are further increased by the numerous abbreviations.

In the first column hardly any connected sense is obtainable. The petitioners were clearly a group of cleruchs in the Arsinoite nome, and seem to be *κἀτοικοι*; and apparently they wished to be let off some payment, but what this was is obscure. Below l. 18 is a large blank space in which have been inserted the figures of the arourae of cleruchic land distributed in different reigns; cf. 62. 315-8. These, though written in the same hand as the petition, seem to refer not to it but to the list on the *recto*. The conclusion of the petition, a request to the sovereign to communicate with various officials, occupies the first four lines of col. ii, but the construction does not seem to connect with l. 18, which is shorter than the preceding lines, and several lines may have been omitted between ll. 18 and 19.

The six decrees which follow the petition are better preserved. The second (ll. 25-7), fourth (ll. 30-6), and fifth (ll. 37-40) deal with matters pertaining to

cleruchs, and it is probable that the other three also concerned the same class in particular. All six are of the nature of *φιλόανθρωπα* or indulgences like those in 5, and the first three, which deal with a general amnesty for offences and with *κληροί* of disputed ownership, present marked resemblances to some of those in the longer series, and are tolerably clear. The fourth decree, regulating the position of those who had given up or changed their holdings and of their successors, is of considerable importance, but is very difficult to restore satisfactorily. The fifth, which is practically complete, frees newly promoted *κάτοικοι* from the burdens imposed on them before they attained that position. The sixth, which is concerned with some remission of taxation, is too much mutilated to be intelligible.

The relation of the decrees to the petition if any, is not clear. Perhaps they were quoted in support of the petitioners' claim, in which case they may well be the *φιλόανθρωπα* referred to in l. 7. This view would gain much probability if the suggested corrections *ὑμῶν* and *ὑμῶν* for *ἡμῶν* and *ἡμῶν* in ll. 25 and 38 be adopted; and the decrees would then be parallel to the *ἰδίᾳ προσηταγμένα* of 61. (b) 236. But it is quite possible that the juxtaposition of the two documents is accidental, for the *verso* of the long reports of the *komogrammateus* was often used for writing a variety of documents having no connexion with each other. The petition is not dated, but must have been drawn up at the very end of Euergetes II's reign, for the *ἐκλογιστής* Irenaeus is the same as the official mentioned in 72. 449 and 452, and the first decree, which proclaims an amnesty for offences committed up to the 53rd year, was presumably issued in that year (cf. 5. 4). Since the other five decrees seem to have been published simultaneously, this whole series of *φιλόανθρωπα* was probably a little later than both that preserved in 5 and that mentioned in P, Tor. 1 (cf. p. 18).

Col. i.

[Βα(σιλειῖ) Πτο(λεμαίω) καὶ βα(σιλίσση) Κλεοπά(τραι) τῆι ἀδελ(φῆι)
καὶ βα(σιλίσση) Κλ]εοπά(τραι) τῆι γυναι(κί) θεοῖς Εὐεργέταις
χαίρειν)

[.....]... κατοικ[.....]εῖς οἱ ἐν τῶι Ἀρσινοί(τῆ) νομῶι. τὰς
[.....]... ια... ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς. [...]... ετ. ρήκαμεν πρὸς τὰ πρά-
γματ' εὐνοία κ[. . .]. ἀγερόμενοι τῆ[ι] δὲ [προγ]όνων παρηκολουθη-
5 κότε[ς] πίστει οὐκ (ἐκ)ρίναμεν ἐξαριθ]μεῖσθαι,] ἐπεγνωκότες πολλῶ
μᾶλλον εἰς ἐπαύξεισιν ἀγεοχοτ[.....]ε[.] τὰ ὑπάρχοντα. . . . ()

καθ' ὃ{υ}ντινοῦ(ν) τρέ(πον) ἕως τοῦ νβ (ἔτους) ἀσυκοφαντή(τους) καὶ
ἀδιστάστους ὄντας
πάσης αἰ[τ]ίας.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ὄνηποτοῦν τρέ(πον) εἰς ἐπλήμψιν ἡγμένους
ἢ καὶ γερονό(τας) ἐν ἀθετήμασιν ἢ προσλογι(σμοῖς?) ὡσαύτως ἔχειν
κυ(ρίως).

- 30 καὶ ἐπ(ε)ί τινες ἐξη() . . [.]ν στυνωῶς ἔχοντες . . . α π[α]ρακεχω(ρήκασιν)
[[αλ]] τὸ ἴσο(ν)
ἄλλοι δὲ ἡλλαγαμένοι εἰσ[ί]ν τοῦ κλή(ρου) [οἱ] δὲ καὶ με() πρὸς τοὺς
συστρα(τενομένους)
ἕτεροι δὲ ἐξ ἰδιοκτη(μόνων) καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων εἰδῶν μεταβεβή(κασιν) εἰς
τὴν κα(τοικίαν) κατὰ
τὰ προστεταγμένα μένιν καὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ εἰς τ[] . . . [.] σ[. .
τοὺς
οἰκονομοῦντας μὴ φέρεσθαι ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀξίωμα κληροῦ(χοις)
35 μηδὲ τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν γενομένας ἐπιγρ(αφὰς) (καὶ) εἰσφορὰ(ς) ἀπαι-
τεῖσθαι ἐν
τοῖς προπεφιλανθρωπη(μένοις).

ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς μέχρι τοῦ γῆν μετεπιγεγρ(αμμένους) τῆι κλη(ρουχίαι)
διὰ τ[ῶ]ν κατὰ [καιρὸν
ἐπιστατῶν καὶ γραμματέων] ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα [τοὺς ἐξ
ἰδιοκτη(μόνων)
καὶ ἄλ(λων) εἰδῶν [[μὴ περ]] μεταβεβη(κότας) εἰς τὴν κα(τοικίαν) μὴ
περισπᾶσθαι εἰς [έ]τέρας

- 40 λειτουργίας πλὴν τῶν κα(τοικικῶν).

καὶ ἐπ(ε)ὶ λο() χο() . . ὑπενα() συνεκρίνε(το) ἐν [.] τῶι μδ (ἔτει)
Παχῶν τι τῆς προσόδου) προσ-
μετρ . . . ὡς ἐξα() (πυροῦ) (ἡμισυ) τῆς μὲν βρεχθησο(μένης) ἀπὸ τῶν
γενη(μάτων) τοῦ αἰ(τοῦ) (ἔτους)
τῆς δὲ ἔσομένης ἀβρό(χου) ἐν τῷ ἐχομένωι ἔτει πράσσει[ε]ν τ[]
τῆς δὲ συ() γῆς πράσσεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μη (ἔτους) [τ]δ (ἡμισυ)
(ἀρτάβης) [κα]ὶ πρὸς τ[ί]ν

- 45 πραγματ[ε]ίαν] τὰ ἀπὸ τούτου κεκριμένα ἀλλοτρίως.

24. 1. ἀμαρτημάτων for αγνοη(ματων); cf. 5. 3. 37. τη above the line. 43. ε of ερει corr. from (ζει).

1. Owing to the uncertainty how far abbreviations were used in the lacuna, it is doubtful whether Cleopatra II was mentioned; but cf. 5. 1, 43. 1, and note on 5. 4.

8. Cf. P. Par. 49. 8-9 εἰς πᾶν τό σοι χρήσιμον ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδιδόναι. If π[ᾶν τὸ] is read here, a word has been omitted after τοῖς.

10. λαιρῆς: perhaps ἐὰν προ]λαιρῆς; but the middle would be expected.

12. Perhaps ἐκ τῆς [κ]άτωι χά(ρας). The abbreviated word after τῆ is possibly μισ(θώσει).

20. Perhaps τῷ σ[υγγενεῖ καὶ διοικη(τῆ)]; cf. 72. 444, where the dioecetes contemporary with the ἐκλογιστῆς Irenaeus (l. 19) is Ptolemaeus. σ[τρατηγῶι is not likely, for the strategus in the 53rd year was Apollonius (43. 33), and the strategus Ptolemaeus (15. 15) is not heard of before the 3rd year of the next reign.

23-4. Cf. 5. 1-5 and 3, note.

25-7. 'And you (?) and your (?) descendants shall remain the legal owners of the holdings which they have possessed, whatsoever these may be and under whatsoever circumstances they were acquired, up to the 52nd year, subject to no dispute or question on any ground.'

With this regulation legalizing the position of *de facto* possessors of κληροί cf. 5. 44-8, 61. (δ) 236-8 and p. 555. κατεσχημένους might mean 'impounded' (cf. 61. (δ) 254); but the analogy of 5. 47 is in favour of the meaning 'possessed,' and κατόχμοι κληροί would come under the regulation in ll. 28-9.

25. The word before καὶ ἐγγόνους must, as the context shows, refer in some way to cleruchs. The first letter is more like η than υ, but if ἡμῖν is retained it is necessary to suppose that the wording of this decree has been altered to make it specially applicable to the writer or copyist, and this hypothesis, whether ἡμῖν refers to the writers of the petition or to the person who made this particular copy of the decrees, is unsatisfactory. Otherwise, if ἡμῖν be read, we should be forced to the conclusion that these decrees are not actual ordinances at all but regulations which the writers of the petition wished the king to issue, a view which is hardly credible. These difficulties would be avoided by supposing a confusion between ἡμῖν and ὑμῖν, as frequently happens (cf. e.g. 29. 9, 56. 7, 111. 4), and that the writers of the petition are referred to; cf. introd. A similar difficulty arising out of the use of the first person occurs in l. 38.

26. ἀδίστατους: ἀδίστατος is the only form of this adjective found in MSS.

28-9. A decree guaranteeing the continued ownership of holdings to cleruchs who had incurred punishment, or had had their assignments of land cancelled (ἐν ἀθετήμασι; cf. ἠθετημένη κερὰ, 74. 59), or had encroached upon land to which they were not entitled (ἐν προπλοισμοῖς; cf. 5. 36-43 and 81). This regulation, in which there is no mention of a year's rent, seems to conflict with other regulations on the same subject; cf. 5. 38, note, 61 (δ) 2-8, and App. i. §§ 6 and 9.

30-6. The general sense of this regulation appears to be that in cases where κέρουκι owing to poverty had resigned their holdings to others, the tenure of the new-comers was guaranteed, while the outgoing cleruchs were allowed to abandon permanently their rank and the liabilities attaching to it in the shape of contributions exacted from time to time; cf. p. 556.

30-1. The persons who gave up their holdings are divided into three classes, but the points of distinction are not clear. ἐξη() might on the analogy of ἡμῖν in l. 25 (cf. note) be expanded into ἐξ ἡ(μῶν), but a participle such as ἐξη(σθενηκότες) would also

be appropriate. The vestiges following *ἔχοντες* would suit *παρ*, in which case *παρα* was written twice over by mistake. τὸ ἴσο(ν) is quite obscure. It is not certain that *αλ* which precedes τὸ ἴσο() was intended to be omitted, but *ἄλλοις*, though it would give a much more suitable sense, cannot be read. In l. 31 ἠλλαγμένοι seems to be equivalent to ἀπηλλαγμένοι rather than to have the meaning 'exchange.' με() suggests με(μερίκασι) or some such word.

32-3. With the outgoing *κάτοικοι* are contrasted the *ἕτεροι* who took their places. These are divided into (1) those who had been owners of private land, i. e. were not cleruchs at all, (2) those who had belonged to other classes, under which heading would be included the *ἔφοδοι*, *φυλακίται*, &c. transferred to the rank of *κάτοικοι* (cf. p. 549). With μέν(ε)ω, τὴν γῆν οἱ τοὺς κλήρους has to be understood.

34. *οἰκονομοῦντας*: cf. the use of *οἰκονομία* for the *παραχώρησις* of a *κλήρος* in 30. 18 and 31. 18. The persons meant are, we think, the classes referred to in ll. 30-1. If the *οἰκονομοῦντες* are identified with *τούτοις*, sc. the new-comers, it is necessary to suppose a contrast between cleruchs *κατ' ἀξίωμα* and another kind of cleruchs, whereas *ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀξίωμα κληρούχοις* seems rather to mean 'in the rank of cleruchs.'

35. *ἐπιγ(αφῆς) (καί) εἰσφορά(ς)*: possibly *ἐπιγ(αφείσας) εἰσφορά(ς)*, in which case *γενομένης* is superfluous. But the omission of *καί* is more probable, and *κατὰ καιρὸν* is particularly appropriate to contributions levied at irregular intervals; cf. 5. 59, note. For the *εἰσφορά* cf. 98. introd.

37-40. 'Likewise those cleruchs also who up to the present time have been registered in place of others by your (?) epistatae and scribes on various occasions, and have in accordance with the decrees been transferred from the position of private land-holders or from other classes to that of catoeci, shall not be troubled with other duties than those which pertain to catoeci.'

37. *μετεπιγεγρ(αμμένους)*: such cases as the transference of 15 arourae to Maron from the *κλήρος* of Heliodorus son of Menodorus are meant; cf. 61. (a) 41.

38. *ἡμῶν*: *ἡμῖν* could equally well be read, but is still more difficult. The use of the first person here may be explained as a mistake for the second (cf. l. 25, note), which yields a satisfactory sense. 'We' must mean the sovereigns, though if *ἡμῶν* be retained and connected with *ἐπιστατῶν καὶ γραμματέων*, as the order of the words indicates, *παρ' ἡμῶν* would be expected rather than the simple genitive; if connected with *προσ τεταγμένα, ἡμῶν* is out of place.

39-40. The *ἕτεραι λειτουργίαι* are the duties which were incumbent on a cleruch before he became a *κάτοικος*; cf. 32. 4-5 ὅπως μὴ παρεν[ο]χλήσ[η]ς τὸν Ἄσ[κληπιάδην] εἰς τὰς ἐφοδικὰς λειτουργίας, and p. 550.

41-5. This regulation clearly deals with a remission of taxation, perhaps with reference to the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax, which seems to be mentioned in l. 44 and is known from other passages (61. (b) 323-41, note) to have been imposed upon cleruchic land. With *συγκρίνειν* in connexion with the reduction of payments cf. 61. (b) 19, 44 and App. i. § 8.

X. DESCRIPTIONS.

- 125.** 20.3. Height 5.7 cm. Beginning of a petition to Menches from Apollodorus τοῦ ἐξειληφότος τὴν διάθεσιν [καὶ τὸ τέλος] τοῦ ἐλαίου, complaining of the illicit sale of Κολπιτικὸν ἔλαιον καὶ κίκι; cf. 38 introd. About B. C. 114. 5 lines.
- 126.** 12.5. 29.8 × 8.2 cm. Petition to Menches from Teos, a βασιλικὸς γεωργός, complaining of an assault committed upon him σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις πρεσβύτεροις τῶν γεωργῶν by Pyrrhichus and Heracleus. Cf. 45-7. B. C. 113. Nearly complete. 34 lines.
- 127.** 12.9. 27 × 7.8 cm. Part of a similar petition to Menches from Portis, another βασιλικὸς γεωργός, complaining of an assault by Pyrrhichus and Heracleus and the theft of various articles, viz. ἱμάτιον γυναικείου) ἄξι(ον) χα(λκοῦ) Ἰω, χειτῶνα παιδικόν) φ, besides a ποτήριον ἀπὸ a προσκεφάλαιον. Cf. 45-7. B. C. 113. 30 lines.
- 128.** 28.3. 26.5 × 11.8 cm. Petition to Menches from the komarch Horus and the πρεσβύτεροι γεωργῶν, complaining of an assault, by reason of which they were hindered in the πρακτορεία and the land was not sown; cf. 48. The ἐπταρουρικὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κληρουχικὴν is mentioned. B. C. 113. Nearly complete, but much stained and partly effaced. Written on the verso, the recto being blank (cf. p. 143). 38 lines.
- 129.** 9.2. 30 × 11.5 cm. Petition to Menches from Harph[aësis], a βασιλικὸς γεωργός, complaining of an assault. B. C. 113. Incomplete. 18 lines.
- 130.** 31.1. 28.8 × 8.2 cm. Account of expenditure for various articles. 13 δόβνια cost 1 tal. 320 dr. of copper, 1½ minae of ῥητίνη at 500 for the mina 750 dr., ἠπαρο[.] μνᾶ(s) α 255 dr., μρεῖς (or λαρεῖς) 1½ at 350 525 dr. Late second century B. C. Complete. 17 lines. Written on the verso of an official document containing parts of 11 lines.
- 131.** 23.25. Height 14.5 cm. Account of expenditure beginning Ἔτους ἰδ Παχῶν καθ. λόγος Πετειμοῦθις δέκτων (l. τέκτων) τοχῆς (l. δοχῆς) Κρίτων. 1 (κεράμιον) of wine cost 2300 dr., 19 loaves at 15 285 dr., ἐλαίου δ' (sc.

- $\frac{1}{2}$ κοτύλη; cf. 116. 40) 50, κολύκιτος 30, ἀθήρα (= ἀθήρη) 70. The total, 3005 dr., is converted into wheat at 1080 dr. for the artaba, making $2\frac{1}{2}$ art. B. C. 100. Similar accounts on the *verso*.
- 132.** 27·12. 14·2 × 9 cm. Fragment of a list of cleruchs at Magdola, mentioning [Διδύμου τοῦ Μενόλου (cf. 83. 41) and the Ἡρώων. Late second century B. C. Parts of 6 lines.
- 133.** 4·2. 25 × 11·7 cm. Petition to Agatharchus, epistates of Kerkeosiris, from Amenneus, a *θεαγός* of Suchus and βασιλικὸς γεωργός. Late second century B. C. Much mutilated. 32 lines. On the *verso* another petition to Agatharchus, epistates of Kerkeosiris and Theogonis, almost entirely effaced.
- 134.** 8·4. 17 × 12·3 cm. Beginning of a petition to Antaeus, συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς [? μητρο-| πόλεως, from Heraclides, κωμογραμματεὺς. Late second century B. C. 14 lines.
- 135.** 23·20. 16·5 × 15·3 cm. Part of a list of payments of corn similar to 91. Lines 3 sqq.]φ[ο]ν[ο]ς (τριακοντάρουρος?) (πυροῦ) εὔ'ίβ', Πα]σῶς μι(κρὸς) Φαήσιος (cf. 63. 200) (ἡμίσιος) (ἀρτάβης) (πυροῦ) εἰδ',]· is Περεσοῦχ[ου] (πυροῦ) δε() ξθ, / κα(θάρσεως?) γλ, / αὐτὸς ιηζ', θε() τὸ λο(ιπὸν) μζλγ', Ὀ]ννῶφρις Μεσαστύμι(ος) (cf. 63. 195) (ἡμίσιος) (ἀρτάβης) (πυροῦ) εἰδ', [Ἀ]ρμιδσις Σαραπῶνος (ἡμίσιος) (ἀρτάβης) (πυροῦ) εἰδ', Πετερ]μοῦθ[ι]ς . . .]· αχωτος (ἡμίσιος) (ἀρτάβης) (πυροῦ) εἰδ', / τῆς ἡμέρα(ς) τπηζ', / θε() Κότυ(ος?) να, καὶ Περεσοῦ(χου) Ἀρνώτου μζλγ', / γηλγ', λο(ιπαί) Σπθγ', καὶ (ἡμίσιος) (ἀρτάβης) καγ'ίβ'. On the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax cf. 61. (b) 322-40 and 98 introd. The persons who paid it here were ἐπτάρουροι μάχημοι at Kerkeosiris, and really paid $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba on the aroura; cf. 218 and 232. For θε() cf. 91. 11, note. Late second century B. C.
- 136.** From the town. 15·7 × 7 cm. Receipt for two payments εἰς τιμὴν ἐλ(άλου), the first being 95 drachmae 3 obols of copper, the second 44 drachmae. Written in a very illegible cursive in the third year of a reign, probably that of Epiphanes (B. C. 203-2), the drachmae being on the silver standard (cf. App. ii). Nearly complete. 14 lines. On the *verso* 3 lines of demotic.
- 137.** From the town. 34·9 × 13·8 cm. Ends of lines of a lease of a vineyard at Ibion τῶν Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων from Sosus to an Ἀρσινοῖτις. Written at Theogonis in the [.]5th year of Euergetes II in a very cursive hand, the contract being repeated as in P. Amh. II. 42. The canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus was Philinna. One of the witnesses is described as τῆς ἐβδόμης χιλιαρχίας τριακοντάρουρος, which establishes the correctness of Wilcken's expansion of the abbreviation χι() in P. Petrie II, p. 37

- (c) 2, τῆς ζ χι(λιαρχίας) (τριακοντάρουρος). Another was a member τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ [. . . ἱππαρχίας?; cf. 32. 9, note. The *verso* contained the names of the witnesses and a line of demotic. 52 lines in all.
- 138.** 11.1. Breadth 29 cm. A letter to the διεξάγων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιφυλακικεῖαν Κερκεοσίρεως from another official, calling his attention to a complaint (προσαγγελία) received from an inhabitant of Tebtunis, of which a copy is appended and which refers to an assault committed by Onnophris, who had since disappeared (ἀναζητούμενος Ὀννώφρις οὐχ εὑρίσκεται): περὶ δὲ ἄραν β [τῆ]ς νυκ[τὸ]ς ὃ εἰς τῶν προγεγραμμένων Ὀννώφρις [. . .]μενος μοι ἐκεῖνος ἀντιλογίας μάχην ἀνελόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μάχαιραν κ[αὶ] [. . .]πιστρέψας καὶ σπασάμενος ταύτην βουλόμενός με ἀλογῆσαι κατήνευκε [πλ]ηγαῖς τρισὶ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὴν ὤμοπλάτην καὶ τοὺς δ[α]κτύλους χειρῶν. . . . Written across the fibres. Late second century B. C. Much mutilated. 21(?) lines.
- 139.** 19.10. 23.9 x 10 cm. A short account, including payments to Ἑλλησιμαχ(ίμοις) (cf. p. 552), Αἰγυπτίοις μαχ(ίμοις) and ἄλλοις μαχ(ίμοις). 40 drachmae of silver are converted into copper at 1650 (for a stater) making 2 talents 4500 dr. On the *verso*, the *recto* being blank (cf. p. 143). Early first century B. C. Complete. 8 lines.
- 140.** 19.8. Seven fragments of an account beginning Ἔτους ι Θωὸθ κη. λόγος βασιλικῶν καὶ δαπάνη[ς] καὶ τειμῆς ἀγράφων συναλλαγματογραφῶν Κερκεθοσίρεως καὶ Θεογονίδος τοῦ προκειμένου ἔτους ὧν τὸ καθ' ἐν ὑπόκειμαι (l. ὑπόκειται). [Α]μμωνίωι τελώνηι χαρτηρᾶς διαγραφῆς ἀπὸ Θωὸθ ἕως Χοίαχ τριακάδος χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμαὶ) Β, ὁμοίως διπλῶν μηνῶν τεσσάρων., τίμη]ν ἀλέκτορος καὶ ἀρτοπίνακος. . . . Another fragment mentions θρηνώματα εἰς τὸν Ὀσίρω β, . . . προφήτου Ἄρεως α, [ἄ]λλος ἀποτροπιασμὸς α, the figures perhaps referring to jars of wine. Written in a large coarse semi-uncial hand. B. C. 72 (cf. 103 introd.).
- 141.** 27.33. Height 32 cm. Copy of 63, for the most part well preserved; cf. 63, introd. and notes. B. C. 116-5.
- 142.** 14.12. 11.5 x 30.2 cm. A fair copy of 26. 11-24 with slight variations, beginning Μ[εγχῆ]ς κωμογραμματεὺς Κερκεοσίρεως τῆς Πολέμωνος μ[ε]ρίδος Ὄρωι χαίρ[ειν]. περὶ τοῦ in 26. 15 is omitted, as are ἐγκαταλείποντας—ἀσχολῶν (26. 16-8) and τῆι ἰθ—μηνός (26. 20-1). Addressed on the *verso* Ὄρωι. B. C. 114. Written across the fibres. Nearly complete. 7 lines.
- 143.** 20.4. Height 28.5 cm. A list of holders of temple and cleruchic land at Kerkeosiris, similar to 62-3 but written about the forty-eighth year. The entries concerning Διόδωτος Ἀπολλωνίου (cf. 62. 68), Βρομερὸς

- Ζηνοδώρου* (cf. 62. 79) and *Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολεμαίου* (cf. 62. 88) have *ἐν κατοχῇ* written opposite them in the margin; cf. 61. (b) 253. There are five *ἐπτάρουροι διὰ Πτολεμαίου* instead of three as in 62. 286-93; but since the six who were given *κληῆροι* at Kerkeosiris instead of at Ibion (62. 294-307) in the fiftieth year had not yet been transferred, the total of the land assigned in Euergetes II's reign is stated to be 898 arourae, or less than the similar total in 62. 309 by 26 arourae, the sum of 4 *κληῆροι* of $6\frac{1}{2}$ arourae each. The total of the *κληρονοχική* is given at the end as $1555\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, which is also 26 less than that in 62. 337; cf. p. 553. Nearly complete. About B. C. 122. On the *verso*, among other fragmentary documents, part of a petition to the sovereign and copies of several *προστάγματα* (124).
144. 27.35. 30.5 × 85 cm. A list of holders of temple and cleruchic land, similar to 62 and 63 but written in a later year. The portion preserved corresponds to 63. 27-131. Artabas son of Pantauchus (63. 80) had been succeeded by Sosicles son of Menesis; cf. 65. 17, note. B. C. 113-1.
145. 27.18. Height 30.7. Another list, corresponding to 63. 42—end, in the same hand as 144 but referring to a different year. B. C. 113-1. The concluding section is quoted on p. 270. On the *verso* an account in 3 columns, mentioning payments to *ἐργάται* at 80 dr.
146. 23.10. 29.1 × 28.8 cm. Parts of 2 columns of a list of cleruchs with statements of crops, similar to the preceding papyri but arranged differently and with numerous abbreviations, being probably part of a rough draft. This is followed by a list of *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι* with payments, written in a different hand.
147. 28.10. Parts of 2 columns from a similar list corresponding to 63. 5-47. B. C. 113-1. On the *verso* part of an account.
148. 11.2. 23.2 × 9.1 cm. A letter from Polemon to his brother Heliodorus about a *χρηματισμὸς κατεγγήσεως* (?). Late second century B. C. Incomplete. 15 lines.
149. 8.5 24.7 × 16.7 cm. A list of *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ* at Kerkeosiris who had been discovered to be holding small pieces of land in excess of what they were entitled to; cf. 81, introd. and 5. 38, note. The heading is *Ἔτους β, παρὰ Μεγχείου κω(μο)γρ(αμματέως). ἔστιν τὰ ἔργων μέρη ἐξ ἐπισκέψεως ὑπὸ Μαρρείου τοῦ τοπογρ(αμματέως) εὑρησθαι πρὸς τισιν γεωργοῖς κατεργάσθαι | αὐτοὺς [ἄς δε. ()] ὧν ἔστιν τὸ κα(θ' ἐν?) ἰδλ ὧν ἐκφόριον (πυρῶ) οἱβλ. Ἀρμίδης Πετοσί(ριος) πρὸ(ς) κε (cf. 81. 10) (πυρῶ?) δ' (ἀρτάβαι) αἰδ', Ἀρνώτης Φαήσιος λ (ἀρτάβαι) βλ, &c. The rent of the land in excess is thus estimated at 5 artabae on the aroura. B. C. 116-5. Incomplete. 17 lines.*

- 150.** 27·38. 29·3 × 29 cm. Two nearly complete columns and ends of lines of another column of a survey-list similar to 86. The Ἀργαίτιδος διῶρυξ (cf. 86 and 164) is mentioned, and the land under consideration was probably near Arsinoë. One of the *selides* is wrongly joined, so that the *verso* is uppermost. Late second century B. C. On the *verso* several columns of figures.
- 151.** 20·1. Height 29·8 cm. Part of a survey-list, which is arranged by περιχώματα like 84 and 85, of land at Kerkeosiris, containing at least 7 columns. The account of one περίχωμα ends with the περίστασις κώ(μης) νό(του), and the next begins ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ ἀπη(λιώτου) ἰ ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Κερκεούρει ἀπη(λιώτου) περιχώματι ἀρχο(μένης) νό(του) καὶ ἀπη(λιώτου) νό(του) μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Θεογο(νίδα) πεδίων, (ἀπη(λιώτου) δὲ) ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Ταλλί πεδίων διῶρυγος Φίλωνος Λδ'. A little lower we have λι(βός) ἐχο(μένου) εἰσβαί(νοντος) βο(ρρᾶ) ἀρχο(μένου) βο(ρρᾶ) ὑπολό(γου) ἀβρό(χου) ὑψη(λοῦ) τοῦ ἔως τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) β, νό(του) ἐχο(μένης) ἀρχο(μένης) ἀπη(λιώτου) ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀγούσης εἰς Ταλλί Λ, λι(βός) ἐχο(μένου) ἀρχο(μένου) νό(του) Ἰσιελοῦ συ(μπεριειλημμένου?) δ' (cf. 84. 17, note), and further on βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχο(μένου) ἀρχο(μένου) ἀπη(λιώτου) ὑπολό(γου) ἀλμυ(ρίδος) τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) ς, λι(βός) ἐχόμενα τὰ περὶ Ταλλί πεδία Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου ἐφόδου μεταβεβη(κότος) εἰς τὴν κ(α)τουκίαν. The survey of this περίχωμα concludes βο(ρρᾶ) ἐχο(μένης) Ἀλκος Ζωπυριώνος Λδ' ἀν(ὰ) δ(λ)γ' ἰ β', ἔως τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰβίω(να) τῶν (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) πε(δίων) βο(ρρᾶ) καὶ λι(βός). The next heading is ἀπὸ νό(του) καὶ ἀπη(λιώτου) ἰ ἀνὰ μέσον ὄντος τοῦ προγεγ(ε)λω(μετρημένου) ἤ(πολό(γου) | ἐξαγωγού[. Another entry mentions 1 aroura πεφαραγωγμένης. On the geographical data afforded by the papyrus see 17. 5, note. Late second century B. C.
- 152.** 23·18. Height 31·3 cm. Two fragments containing 5 columns of a similar land-survey of Kerkeosiris; cf. 84 and 85. Two columns are concerned with the περίχωμα of Themistes (cf. 84. 139, note). Land out of cultivation which in 84 and 85 is described as ὑπολόγου ἐμβρόχου (ἀλμυρίδος &c.) ἀπὸ (or ἔως) τοῦ x ἔτους is here called ἐμβρόχου ἐν μισθώσει, except in two passages, one where ἐμβρό(χου) δν καὶ γεγενῆαι [γύ(ην)] is found, the other where [ἐμβρό(χου) ἐν] μισθώσει ἦν γεγενῆαι γύην can be restored. Other entries of interest are a χῶμα ἐκτὸς [μισθώσεως (cf. 84. 11 and p. 541), $\frac{1}{2}$ aroura καλάμου κεντρίτου (cf. 61. (b) 426, note), and [ἔως τῶν περὶ Βερενικίδα Θεσμοφόρου πεδίων λι(βός) (cf. 17. 5, note). The papyrus was written before B. C. 119, for an ὄδοικουτάρουρος called Symmachus son of Theodorus who is not found in 82-5 and 144-7 occurs along with both the χερσέφιππος Pantauchus son of Pantauchus (cf. 62. 34), whose son Menander ceded his κλήρος to Dionysius in B. C. 112 (81. 11-2), and the ἑκατοντάρουρος [Heliodorus] son of Menodorus (cf. 61. (a) 1, note).

- 153.** 17·13. 18·7 × 4·7 cm. A small fragment of a report on the crops grown upon βασιλική γῆ, similar to 66-70; cf. note on 67. 71-9. Late second century B. C. Parts of 17 lines.
- 154.** 23·7. 29·5 × 25·8 cm. The first two columns of a similar report drawn up by Menches in the sixth year (of Soter II). After the figures for the fifth year, which are stated to be 1261 $\frac{9}{8}$ arourae and 4745 $\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, the papyrus continues καὶ τῶι 5 (ἔτει) προσγίνεται αἱ κατεργασθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τῶν παρὰ Μαρρέλους τοῦ τοπογρ(αμματέως) ἀπὸ ὑπολό(γου) τοῦ περὶ τὴν κώμην (ἄρουραι) αΛ (ἀρτάβαι) ζ΄ίβ΄ (cf. 75. 33), making 1263 $\frac{1}{8}$ arourae and 4753 $\frac{1}{8}$ artabae; cf. 70. 4, where in the report of the seventh year the figures of the sixth year are given as 1263 $\frac{1}{8}$ and 4653 $\frac{1}{8}$ respectively. 661 (corrected from 629 $\frac{3}{8}$) arourae are stated to have been sown in the sixth year with wheat, 105 $\frac{1}{4}$ with barley yielding 368 $\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, [166?] and a fraction with lentils yielding 798 $\frac{1}{4}$ artabae, the totals of the σῖτος being 942 $\frac{1}{4}$ arourae, 4057 $\frac{1}{8}$ artabae. B. C. 112-1. At the top of the second column is a short account. On the *verso* are another account and some calculations of rents.
- 155.** 28·16. Height 30 cm. Part of a similar report drawn up by Menches for the fifth year (of Soter II). The totals for the wheat corresponding to those in 67. 10 are 659 $\frac{1}{4}$ arourae, 2898 $\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, those for the σῖτος (cf. 67. 39) 937 $\frac{3}{8}$ arourae, 4046 $\frac{1}{8}$ artabae. B. C. 113-2.
- 156.** 21·4. 28·5 × 11·5 cm. A bond of surety for a certain Ἀλκιμος, addressed to the ἀρχιφυλακίτης of Kerkeosiris by Pitholaus and another person, who were both Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. After the first four lines the document proceeds ὁμολογοῦμεν π[α]ρε[λ]ηφέναι διὰ σοῦ Ἀλκιμον Ἀρφάσιος τῆι κς τοῦ Φαμενώθ τοῦ κγ (ἔτους) καὶ ἡμέραις αἰς παραγγελίης ἡμῖν παρασ[τήσ]αι τὸν προγεγραμμένον Ἀλ[κιμ]ον ἐν ἡμέραις πέντε κομισαμένου δ. ν, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παρασ[τήσωμε]ν ἐπὶ σ[ἐ] ἐξέστω σοι παραδ[ιδ]όναι ὑμᾶς (l. ἡμᾶς) ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπίτιμον εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας ἀπὸ τριακάδος, καὶ μηδὲν ἦσσον ἢ χεῖρ ἦδε κυρία ἔστωι πανταχῆ ἐπιφερομένη, followed by the signature of Heras son of Ammonius on behalf of the two sureties and the signature of Pitholaus himself in a large rude hand. B. C. 91. Nearly complete. 28 lines.
- 157.** 23·31. 22 × 23·8 cm. A report of Menches to Horus, mentioning Apollodorus and apparently concerning a discovery of the illicit sale of oil; cf. 38 and 39. B. C. 113. Written on the *verso* of an effaced document. Incomplete. 15 lines.
- 158.** 1·4. 12·4 × 8·8 cm. (Fr. δ). Fragments of a contract for the lease of a κλήρος from Horion son of Apollonius to Ptolemaeus, being complementary of 105; cf. p. 454. A very cursively written abstract precedes

the body of the contract. On the *verso* are the names of some of the witnesses. B. C. 103.

- 159.** 20.5. 30 × 17.4 cm. Account of payments of barley (probably rents) by βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ beginning Ἔτους ε Φαρμούθι, παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμ[ογραμ]-ματέως Κερκεοσίρεως. εἰσοδοχῆ κατ' ἄνδρα [τοῦ μέ]μετρημένου σίτου Προλεμαίω καὶ Πα[. . .] τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι τὸ περὶ αὐ(τὴν) ἔργα(στήριον) ἀπὸ τῶν γενη-(μάτων) τ[οῦ αὐ(τοῦ)] (ἔτους)] οἱ καὶ ἀντιγραφόμενοι (cf. 89. 12, note) δι' Ὀρου κωμάρχου [καὶ] Μαρρείους γενηματοφύλακες (l. -κος). Φαρμούθι ἡ ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς δε() (cf. 91. 2, note) Παπνεβτῦνις Σοκέως καὶ Κολλούθης κρι(θῆς) ις, Ἀρμάχορος Ἀρμαχόρου κρι(θῆς) ιε, Τοθοῆς Σευθέως κρι(θῆς) ιηζ. B. C. 112. 19 lines. On the *verso* a heading καὶ ἀντιλογί(α) [. . . .] ἐν τῷ 5 (ἔτει) [, followed by a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ with amounts in artabae ranging from 1½ to 12½. 14 lines.
- 160.** 9.4. Fragments of the first column of a προδιαλογισμὸς σιτικός drawn up by Menches, similar to 89 and mentioning χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμαὶ) ὦν σί(τος) (cf. 67. 66, note). B. C. 120-11.
- 161.** 27.20. 14.7 × 10.8 cm. (Fr. a). Duplicate of 92, with additional lines, but mutilated; cf. p. 409 and notes on 92. Late second century B. C.
- 162.** 13.2. 30.1 × 54 cm. Three complete columns of a register of rents and taxes paid by βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ, similar to 93 and 94. The names are arranged alphabetically, those preserved beginning with Π and Τ. About B. C. 112.
- 163.** 15.5. 31 × 106 cm. Five nearly complete columns of another similar register dealing with names beginning with Π. About B. C. 112.
- 164.** 17.5 *verso*. Translation of a demotic contract (cf. P. Brit. Mus. 3 and P. Leyden P) between Petesuchus and Menches (probably the komo-grammateus) for the sale or cession of land at Kerkeosiris, written in an uncial hand in two columns with frequent mistakes in spelling and grammar. The upper portion is much mutilated. Col. i. (1) ἀντίγραφον συγγραφῆς Αἰγυπτίας . . . (2) μεθη[ρμηνευμένης . . .] κατὰ [τὸ δυνα- (3) τὸν [14 letters] ἐν Κερκεοσίρει τῆς Πο- (4) λ[έμω]πος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοειτου νομοῦ (5) [. . .] ἐνχώριος τῶν κατοικούντων . . . (6) Π[ε]τεσοῦχος ὁς καὶ . [16 letters] (7) τοῦ καὶ Ἀ[σ]κ[λ]ηπιάδου μητρὸς Πύγχιος (8) ὁμολογῶ Ἑλλῆν ἐγχωρίω τ . . . ντου (9) Μεγχῆτι τῷ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδει Πετεσοῦχου (10) τοῦ καὶ Ἀμμωνίου μητρὸς Θάσιτος τω[. . . . (11) ἀπ[. .] . σ . τοῦ ψιλοῦ τ[ό]που τῶν ἀνευ [. . . . (12) λου ἔ[ν] β [σ]φραγῖσι τῆς μὲν πρώτης σφ[ρ]αγῖ- (13) δος. After two lines giving the πηχισμοὶ of the σφραγίδες the papyrus proceeds (l. 15) κατὰ τὸ [. . . ο]ν μέρος ἐν (16) τῇ καὶ Κερκε[ε]ο- [σ]ίρει (l. ἐν followed by some other village name) τῇ καὶ Κερκεοσίρει τῆς

(17) Πολέμωνος μερίδος ἀπὸ νό(του) τῆς Ἀργαίτιδος (18) διώρυγος Εὐεργέτου τοῦ Ἀρσινοεΐτου νομοῦ (19) γιγασο (l. γέττοες) τούτων δύο σφρα(γ)λίδων τῶν τόπων (20) νό(του) Ἰσοδος Ὀρου καὶ Πολέμωνος ἢ ἔστιν π(ή)χεις β ἐπὶ (21) μῆκος τῆς Ἰσόδου καὶ ἐξόδου Τοθίου Σενθέως (22) καὶ Πόρτιος τοῦ Πόρτου βο(ρρά) τῶν β σφ(ρ)αγίδων (23) τῶν τόπων (ῶν) καὶ οἱ πηχισμοὶ πρόκεινται καὶ ἀπὸ (24) τῆς μερονημερον (l. σήμερον) ἡμέρας μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι ἐπὶ σέ. The second column consisted of 7 or 8 lines of which little is left. The Ἀργαίτιδος διώρυξ was a large canal which is mentioned in the land-survey of Arsinoë (86). Probably it branched off from the Bahr Yusuf near that town and flowed in a south-westerly direction, the μερίς of Polemon lying to the south of it, though whether ἀπὸ νότου τῆς Ἀργαίτιδος διώρυγος in l. 17 refers to the whole μερίς or only to Kerkeosiris is not clear; cf. the similar ambiguity with regard to the Μοίρις διώρυξ, 92. 4-7, note. Late second century B. C.

165. 17.5 verso. A short letter to the ξενικῶν πράκτωρ (cf. 5. 221, note), following another short document mentioning the king and queen. τῶι ἐν τῶι Ἀρσινο[ε]ῖτι ξενικῶν π[ρ]άκτορι. τοῦ δεδομένου ἡμ[ῶν] ὑπομνή[ματος] παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσκ[λη]πιάδου ἀντίγρ(αφον) ὑπόκειται. ἐπὶ οὖν οἱ προσ- τ . [. . .] οὗτες ὑποφαίνει (l. ὑποφαίνουσι?) ὑπάρχειν οἱ πρὸς τῆ[ν] {πρ}ὸς τῆ[ν] παρακεχωρημένην ὑπογραφὴν ποίει ὡς καθήκει. (ἔτους) ιβ τοῦ καὶ θ Παχῶν κβ. B. C. 105.
166. 17.5 verso. A mutilated agreement of which the protocol is quoted on p. 182. An ἀρχῆον (ἀρχεῖον) τῶν μνημόνων is mentioned. B. C. 107-101.
167. 17.5 verso. A short report from Menches, of which the beginning is quoted on p. 182. About B. C. 115.
168. 17.5 verso. Two orders for payment; see pp. 182-3. Late second century B. C.
169. 27.14. 30 × 35.5 cm. Two columns from a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ with payments of rents in kind, e.g. Φατρῆς Πάσιτος μισ(θοῦ) θλγ'ίβ', l (πυροῦ) δς' φα(κοῦ) ελδ', με(λανθίου) αλ, /, ιαλ'ίβ', Ὀρος Τιμοθείου εγ'ίβ', l (πυροῦ) γ φα(κοῦ) βγ'ίβ', ἀρά(κου) λ. The total of the first column is / ρν, l μισ(θοῦ) ρλδβ', l (πυροῦ) λδς' φα(κοῦ) ρλ, / ρλδβ', ἀρά(κου) βλ με(λανθίου) ιβς', / ιδβ', / ρμθγ'. In col. ii νο(μαί) occurs, e.g. Ὀρος Ὀρσείου φα(κοῦ) β νο(μῶν) ββ', / δβ', με(λανθίου) βλγ', / ζλ. In this papyrus the payments for νομαί, μελάνθιον and ἄρακος are not included under the μίσθωσις; cf. p. 567. Late second century B. C.
170. 27.13. 31.4 × 71.8 cm. Five complete columns, the first being a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ with amounts in arourae headed κατ' ἄνδρα τῆς ἐσπαρμένης φακῶι, the rest being a list of payments of corn for the

στέφανος tax (cf. 61 (b) 254, note) headed κατ' ἄνδρα στεφάνου. The payers are βασιλικὸι γεωργοί or cleruchs and the amounts vary from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $13\frac{1}{2}$ artabae. Late second century B. C.

- 171.** 27·39. 30·5 × 43 cm. Four columns, of which three are complete, from a list of βασιλικὸι γεωργοί and cleruchs with amounts in artabae, similar to 170 and perhaps part of the same document. In the first column and a half the payments are irregular, in the last two and a half columns they are either $\frac{1}{2}$, 1 or 2 artabae. Late second century B. C. On the *verso* two columns of a list of βασιλικὸι γεωργοί with dates and small amounts of corn, followed after a blank interval by a column giving names of βασιλικὸι γεωργοί with larger amounts of wheat and lentils paid on different days, and headed δα(νείων) (πυροῦ) (ἔξα)χ(οινίκωι) Φαρμούθι ιη, apparently repayments of loans of seed-corn; cf. 61. (b) 313-6, note.
- 172.** 16·1. 29 × 75 cm. Parts of six columns from a taxing-list of βασιλικὸι γεωργοί with payments in wheat, lentils and barley for taxes and loans (cf. 93-4), e.g. Ὄρος Μικίωνος (πυροῦ) μγλδ', δα(νείου) ἀν(ὰ) αλ ις λγ'ίβ', στεφάνου ς, δα(νείου) γλδ', / κεβ', λο(ιπαί) ις λγ', ι κ'δ' α, θε() λ, (τρι)χ(οινίκωι) αλ, ἐκφο(ρί·ν) βδ', κα(θάρσεως) λγ'ίβ', / ςς', λο(ιπαί) ιαβ'. Payments of $4\frac{3}{4}$ artabae for ἀσπόρου (cf. 93. 16 note) and of $\frac{1}{2}$ an artaba παστοφό(ροις) (cf. 115. 20, 30) occur. Late second century B. C.
- 173.** 16·2. 26·3 × 37·5 cm. Parts of four columns of a land-survey of Kerkeosiris similar to 84 and 85. One entry is λι(βδς) ἐχό(μενα) ἀρχό(μενα) νό(του) τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰβίω(να) τῶν (Εἰκοσιπενταροῦρων) πεδία. Late second century B. C. On the *verso* parts of three columns of a similar survey in a different hand.
- 174.** 28·17. 30 × 95 cm. Eight columns, nearly complete except the first, of a προδιαλογισμὸς σιτικός (cf. 89), beginning [Ἔτους . παρὰ Μεγχείους κωμογρ[αμματέως [Κερκεοσίρειως προδιαλογισμὸς σι]τικός ἐπικεφα(λαίου) [τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους) ὑποκειμένων τῶν] ἐγδιφκημένων [ἔως . . . The rest of this column and the next contain a summary of the amounts paid and owing. The total receipts up to the 28th (of Pharmouthi) were $3668\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat for μισθός, 70 for τριχόινικον, $4\frac{2}{3}$ for κράστις (Θηβαίων), and 24 artabae of barley for θησαυροφυλακικόν, leaving still owing μισ(θού) τρς, ι (πυροῦ) φιλ φακοῦ νπ, (τρι)χ(οινίκωι) ιε, δα(νείων) (πυροῦ) ρκ φακοῦ ρ. This is followed by six columns of a detailed list of individual payments of rents and δάνεια by the βασιλικὸι γεωργοί, e.g. Κεφαλᾶς Πετεσοῦχου φα(κοῦ) ε, δα(νείου) β, / ζ. On the *verso* (1) a much obliterated list of payments in corn; (2) a list of γεωργοί to whom loans had been issued with the amounts severally due from them and actually paid, headed κατ' ἄνδ(ρα) ἐπικεφα(λαίου) δανείων.

An example of the entries is 'Αρβήχης Ἐργέως (πυροῦ) ι φα(κοῦ) ι. με(τρει) Παχ(ων) καθ (πυροῦ) ε φα(κοῦ) ι, λο(ιπαὶ) (πυροῦ) ε; (3) a column stating the arrears, headed δφειλ(όμενα) εἰς τὴν β . . . About B. C. 112.

- 175.** 29·6. 23 × 34 cm. A miscellaneous account in four columns, the first and fourth being mutilated. Col. ii is dated in the [1]7th year (of Ptolemy Alexander or Neos Dionysus) and begins with a list of payments for wages on different days at $\frac{1}{8}$ artaba each man per day (cf. 117. 47-8, note), the total being / κη ἀνὰ (πυροῦ) 5' / (ἀρτάβαι) δβ' ἀνὰ Ἄνυμ, / χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντον) α ψκ. This is followed by a list of payments for various purposes, including 120 dr. for a ὑπόμ[υ]ημα, 3800 dr. for 8 dr. of silver (a ratio of 475:1). Next comes a list of thirty-two names summed up at the end as / λβ ἀνὰ φξε, / χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντα) γ π. The last column is part of another account and has a conversion of 8 silver dr. into 3700 copper (a ratio of 462½:1). B. C. 97 or 64. On the *verso* one complete and one mutilated column containing names and amounts.
- 176.** 30·2. 5·4 × 6·6 cm. Nine incomplete lines from the protocol of a document dated in the reign of Eriphanes (B. C. 204-181). (1) βασιλεύοντος Πτολ[εμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου (2) καὶ Ἄρσ[ι]ν[ό]η[ς] θεῶν Φιλοπατ[όρων] ἔτους . . . (3) ἐφ' ἱερέως [Πτο]λεμαίου τ[οῦ] . . . (4) Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἄ[δ]ελφῶν [καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν (5) καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατ[όρων] καὶ θεῶν Ἐπι[φανῶν, ἀθλοφόρου Βερε- (6) νίκης Εὐεργέτιδος] Τρυφα[ίνης τῆς . . . , (7) κληφύρου Ἄρ[σινός] Φιλαδέλφου . . . (8) λειου, [ἱερέας Ἄρσι]νός Φιλοπα[τόρος] . . .
- 177.** 10·1. Height 23 cm. Six columns of an account in a large thick hand, chiefly dealing with wine. A περιδειπνον and ξένοι occur (cf. 118), and a κεράμιον of wine is priced at 2400 and 2300 dr. The sixth year (of Soter II or Neos Dionysus) is mentioned, i. e. B. C. 112-1 or 76-5. On the *verso* similar accounts in the same hand.
- 178.** 23·11. 31·8 × 17·4 cm. A letter from Polemon to his brother Heraclides announcing his arrival at the πόλις (Alexandria) whither he had gone to see the dioecetes on some official matter, and giving an account of subsequent events there. Written in two narrow columns and continued on the *verso* (τὰ λοιπὰ δπέσω, cf. 58. 36) at right angles. Incomplete and much obliterated. Late second century B. C.
- 179.** 21·2. Height 22·5 cm. Parts of five columns of an account, mentioning οἶνον χ(όες) γ Ἄβυ, κοίτης ἀρχιφυ(λακίτου) ἀργυ(ρίου) κ (τάλαντον) α ἘΓ (a ratio of 1:495; cf. App. ii), εισαγγε(λεῖ) Ἄ, ἐφόδοις Ἄ, μαστιγοφόροις τ, μαχίμοις Ἄ, τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιστάτου τῶν φυ(λακιδῶν) ὅτε ἤλθοσαν χάρι(ν) τῶν προβά(των) . . . Late second century B. C.

- 180.** 19.2. 24.5 x 26.5 cm. List of names and amounts in three columns, headed Ἔτους κβ Παχών. εἰσὶν οἱ δεδωκ(ότες) χαλκῶν εἰς τὴν κοίτην Εὐρήμονος τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ στρα(τηγοῦ) ἐλθόντι. (l. ἐλθόντος) ἐπὶ παραφρ(). The names Δάνδαλος, Ἀβυκίς, Ὠτας, Πρόβατον, Στρόβιλος, and a τεταρτοπόλης occur. The contributions vary from 120 to 500 dr., the total being 4 talents 150 dr. B. C. 92 or 59. Complete. 82 lines.
- 181.** 23.19. 18.2 x 7 cm. A short list of articles, written in a small cursive hand on the *verso*, the *recto* being blank (cf. p. 143). A τύ(λη) καινή, κασῆς, χαλκῆ χοῖνι(ξ) (bronze choenix measure) and ἀπνηρ() are mentioned. Late second century B. C. Complete. 16 lines.
- 182.** 5.1. 28.3 x 9 cm. Account of payments for various purposes, including 2 talents 5000 (?) dr. for σινδόνων, 1000 dr. τοῖς ἐν Τακού, 3000 for προφήτου παρουσί(ας), 560 for ἀνθινού, 160 for νίτρου. Late second century B. C. Practically complete. 30 lines.
- 183.** 23.14. 29 x 7.8 cm. A petition to the κωμομισθωτής (probably the official in charge of μισθώσεις of βασιλικὴ γῆ) from a γεωργός. The first part of the document is obscure owing to large lacunae, but apparently the petitioner had presented all his produce after the harvest at the βασιλικὸς θησαυρός in order to pay his rent, and the komarch and γενηματοφύλαξ together with the κωμογραμματεὺς had taken possession of more than what they were entitled to for rent, and perhaps forced him to resign his tenancy. The petition concludes ἠνάγκασαν παραχωρῆσαι τὴν [σημαι]νομένην γῆν ἄλλων πυρῶν (ἀρταβῶν) με [. . . .] παραδοθῆναι εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν μέτρον [ἔξαχ]οινίκῃ, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἐνέτυχον [Ἀπολ]λωνίῳ τῷ μεριδάρχη (cf. 66. 60, note) καὶ τοῦ κω[μάρ]χου ἐξωμολογησαμένου ἕκαστα [προσ]έταξέν σοι τὰ δίκαιά μοι ποιῆσαι. [τούτ]ων δὲ μέχρι [τ]οῦ νῦν (μὴ) δεδικαιοπρα[γηκῶ]των ἐπιδί[δ]ωμί σοι ὅπως οὗτοι [κατα]σταθέντες σὺν τῷ κωμογραμματεῖ [ἐπαν]αγκασθῶσι ἀ[ν]αλογισαμέν[ο]υς (l. -νοί) μοι καὶ [τὸ ἐκφθ]οριον εἰς τούτους ὑπολογ[ῆ]σαντες ἀποδο[ῦ]ναί μοι τὸ λοιπὸν (πυροῦ), ἔ[α]ν δὲ ἀπει[θ]ῶσι κ[ατα]στήσαι ἐπ[ὶ] τὸν στρατη[γὸ]ν ἵνα π[ά]ντων τύχῳ τῶν δικαίων αὐτοὶ δὲ [τῆς ἀρ]μοζούσης [ἐπιπλη]ξῶς. [εὐτύχει]. Late second century B. C.
- 184.** 7.3. Several fragments containing on the *recto* a list of payments of corn on different days, and on the *verso* an account. 12 dr. of silver are converted into 5400 dr. of copper at the rate of 1800 copper dr. for a stater, i. e. a ratio of 1 : 450 ; cf. App. ii. Late second century B. C.
- 185.** 20.6. Several fragments containing parts of three columns of an account resembling 112. A conversion of silver into copper at a ratio of 1 : 375 occurs :—προσγεί(νουνται) παρὰ Θέωνος ἀπὸ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμῶν) λς ιβ ἐν

χαλκού (1. -κῆ) ἀν(ὰ) Ἄφ Ἄφ. Θέων θυρωρός (cf. 112. introd.) is mentioned. About B. C. 112.

- 186.** 29·7. 13·1 × 10·7 cm. Receipt for 3½ artabae of wheat, mentioning Πνεφερώτι ὑπηρέ[τη] Μενίππου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου σιτολόγων [τοῦ] περὶ Θεογονίδα ἐρ[γ]α(στηρίου); cf. 89. 12, note. Dated in the twelfth which = the ninth year, Tubi (B. C. 105). Incomplete, having lost the beginning. 11 lines.
- 187.** 23·8. 29·3 × 34 cm. Three incomplete columns of a detailed survey-list of Kerkeosiris, with diagrams similar to those in 87. One piece of land belonging to Ἀρωάτης Ἀρωάτου is described as ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐχόμενος ἐγβαί(νων) παρὰ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰβίω(να) τῶν (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) πε(δία) σχοι(νία) ἀή. Another column on the *verso* headed ἀπὸ βο(ρρᾶ) καὶ λι(βός) / ἀν(ὰ μέσον) οὐσης . . . ης καὶ τὰ περὶ Ταλί πε(δία) ἐπὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ψινα(ρα) (cf. 60. 43) περιχώ(ματι) ἀρχο(μεν) λι(βός). Late second century B. C.
- 188.** 22·1. Height 30 cm. Two fragments, (a) containing on the *recto* six and on the *verso* eight, (b) on the *recto* six and on the *verso* three columns of a long account chiefly consisting of personal names and amounts in money. 320 persons are reckoned at 500 dr. each, making 26 talents 4000 dr. Some are classed as ἡσθηνηκότες. One section is headed καὶ προσγείνε(ται) Ἀπολλωνίω τῷ παρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμ(ου) διὰ Διδύμ(ου) ἀπὸ παραγρα(φῆς) τοῦ Φαρμ(ούθι) (τάλαντον) α. Another which records payments on different days mentions παραζυγῆς (cf. 121. 52, note) χ, διαπτώματος φ, οἴνου πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(ε(ραμίου)) α Ἰ, δαπά(νης) χειρ(ιστῆ) ρε, βασιλεῖ διαγρα(φῆς) (τάλαντα) κβ, ἀγράφων (cf. 112. 104) Σξ, κριταῖς [. . . , δεσμοφύλακι . . . , κεράμων οἰκ]. . . Late second or early first century B. C.
- 189.** 19·11. Height 23·3 cm. Three fragments, (a) containing four, (b) three, (c) six columns of a taxing-list headed Ἔτους κα [. . .] ἔλαογρ(αφία) Θεογο(νίδος) τῶν τε(τελη)κότων τὴν σῦντα[ξιν] καὶ τὸ{ν} ἐπιστατικ(όν) ἐν τῷ [. . . (ἔτει) κα]θὼς δὲ λογευτῆς . . . ; cf. 97 and 103. introd. There follows a list of names concluding οἱ πά(ντες) ἀνδ(ρες) Σοβ. The next column is headed ἀφ' ὧν τελ(ούσιν) Σξγ ἀν(ὰ) ἧ (τάλαντα) λθ Ἰψ. καὶ τῶν ἀνὰ ψν followed by the names of eight persons, thus accounting for 271. One individual, Καλὸς Κεφαλίω(νος) αὐλη(τή), paid only 500 dr., making the total for the 272 40 talents 3200 dr. Additional entries have been made in a different hand, one of which is ἐκκρο(ύ)γεται (cf. 241) Πιύσιος υἱοῦ Ἰμισευμάτου υν, the 450 drachmae being subtracted from a total previously given. On the *verso* are twelve columns in all of an account of payments for various purposes similar to 120-1, mentioning τοῖς ἡκοσι χάριν ἐπιστατή(ας) τῆς

- β ἀναφορᾶ(ς) (τάλαντον) α, Κοπρίας διὰ τοπάρχ(ου) ἀργυ(ρίου) κδ ἀνὰ Ἄχιν ω (a ratio of 1 : 412½), Ἄσκλη(πιάδης) μονογρ(άφωι) . . . , τοῖς γεω(ργοῖς) παρασζυγῆς ἡμερῶν ζ Ἄν, γεωργοῖς τι(μῆς) κε(ραμίου) α Ἄχ, Ἐρμίῃ Ἀπίω(νος) ἀργύ(ριου) η ἸΣ (a ratio of 1 : 400, cf. App. ii), εἰς πόλι(ν) ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ιβ ἀνὰ Ἄχμ χα(λκοῦ) ἸΓκ (a ratio of 1 : 410), κορσέων Γ, σύκων υν, ῥοῶν υν, κριθῆς Λγ' (sc. of an artaba) χ, ἐλαίου κοτυ(λῶν) γ τξ. Early first century B. C.
- 190.** 19.12. 22.3 × 40 cm. Two columns, with ends of lines of a preceding one, of an account similar to 120-1, followed by two columns of a list of names. Among the entries are καὶ προσγί(νεται) ἐφόδι(ον) τοῖς ἐλθοῦ(σι)ν χάρω τοῦ κι{κι}ννα(μώμου) (cf. 250) Ἄ, καὶ ἄλ(λαι) παρασζυγῆς (δραχμαὶ) β, καὶ κριθῆ(ς) εἰς συμπλή(ρωσι)ν βλ αλ Ἄω. On the *verso* three columns of accounts headed τὸ κα(θ' ἐν?) ὧν ὀφείλω, mentioning τιμὴν χοίρου (δραχμαὶ) η, τιμὴ(ν) χ(οῶν) γ Ἄω, διάφορον ἄμωσ (cf. 55. 5) τ, πίθου ρ, ἀλὸς Σ, κεύτλου (cf. 112. introd.) ρκ, κορρίου ξηροῦ μ. Early first century B. C.
- 191.** 19.13. 22.7 × 39.5 cm. Six incomplete columns of accounts similar to 190, perhaps part of the same document, mentioning τῶι παρὰ τοῦ συντα(κ-τικῶ) ἐλθοῦσι (l. -θόντι) χάρ(ιν) τῆς φάσεως [μ]ισθ(οῦ) ἄρτων ρ, τῆι Τεβτυν(τιδι) ἀρίστου καταλε() τυ, πράσων ἡμέ(ρῶν) β μ, τιμὴν χοίρων β (δραχμαὶ) ιε. A conversion of silver into copper drachmae at 1850 for a stater (1 : 462½) occurs. On the *verso* one short column of an account. Early first century B. C.
- 192.** 21.1. 29.3 × 34.1 cm. Three columns of an account in money, much obliterated; two more columns on the *verso*. Late second century B. C.
- 193.** 21.3. 29 × 66 cm. Five columns of a list of names (chiefly cleruchs) and artabae, headed λοιπογρ(αφοῦνται) εἰ[s] . . . On the *verso* several columns of a similar list. Late second century B. C.
- 194.** 18.4. 31 × 27.2 cm. A demotic document consisting of 7 lines, partly obliterated. On the *verso* a short account dated in the twentieth year, Thoth (B. C. 95 or 62), headed λόγος τῆς γεγούσιας δαπάνης εἰς τοὺς ἐγ Βερενικίδος.
- 195.** 18.5. 22.8 × 45.5 cm. Several columns of an account, much obliterated. On the *verso*, four incomplete columns of an account in a large hand. The second is headed λόγος πορή(ων) followed by names with numbers of πορεία and amounts (of corn?) e. g. Περεῆσιω πορή(ων) δ ἀνὰ γ' αγ'. The eighteenth year is mentioned (B. C. 95-4 or 62-1).
- 196.** 18.6. 29.7 × 29.4 cm. One complete column with fragments of two others from a list of names and ζεύγη, written in the same hand as 195 *verso*. Each ζεύγος is reckoned at 800 drachmae. Written on the *verso*, the *recto* being blank. Early first century B. C.

- 197.** 13.3. 31 × 42 cm. Two complete columns of a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ with payments in artabae; cf. 159. On the *verso* two more columns of a similar list. Late second century B. C.
- 198.** 9.8. 18.8 × 38.5 cm. Parts of four columns of a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί, followed by totals of the payments, e.g. ξξ ἀν(ὰ) Λγ' (ἀρτάβαι) νεΛγ'. On the *verso* parts of five columns of an account similar to 112. Late second century B. C.
- 199.** 27.40. Height 29.3 cm. Ends of lines of an account of payments for στέφανος, followed by six columns of a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ with sums of wheat and lentils due from them, the amounts actually paid being added in some cases. This is headed Ἔτους δ Παῦνι ι, κατ' ἀνδρα [. . .]; cf. 98. B. C. 113.
- 200.** 29.8. 22.8 × 38.8 cm. Two columns, the first being complete, of a list of names and amounts, written in a large coarse hand. On the *verso* three columns of an account in the same hand, the third being headed λόγος Φαήσι(ο)ς οἴνου κε(ράμια) β ἀνὰ Ἄν / Ἰω. Early first century B. C.
- 201.** 29.9. 28.8 × 26.4 cm. A demotic document of 8 lines, complete. At the bottom a docket (1) Ἔτους κε Ἄθῦρ θ. πέπτω[κεν] (2) ἐπικελεύει ὁ τούτου π. [B. C. 90?
- 202.** 29.10. 29.8 × 25.5 cm. A nearly complete column and beginnings of lines of another, from a list of names and amounts in artabae. On the *verso* four lines beginning (Ἔτους) β τοῦ καὶ α, λόγ(ος) Μεσορῆ κδ. For the date cf. P. Grenf. II. 38. 21. Probably the reign of Berenice IV with Archelaus is meant, i. e. B. C. 56; cf. 103. introd.
- 203.** 28.18. 30.5 × 31.1 cm. Account of rents in three columns, of which one is nearly complete. Late second century B. C.
- 204.** 28.19. 30.3 × 24.2 cm. Two incomplete columns of a list of shrines at Kerkeosiris with a statement of the land owned by them, similar to 88, but less detailed. Late second century B. C.
- 205.** 28.20. 30 × 50 cm. Four columns, of which three are complete, of a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ and amounts in artabae; cf. 159. Late second century B. C.
- 206.** 2.1. 23 × 35.5 cm. Six columns of a list of names and amounts of copper drachmae paid on different days. Early first century B. C.
- 207.** 2.2. 17.4 × 40.8 cm. Five columns, of which the lower parts are lost, of a list of names and amounts of copper drachmae. On the *verso* two columns of a similar list, the first being headed ἐνεχύρων τοῦ Ἄθῦρ διὰ Χεύρει(ο)ς. Late second or early first century B. C.
- 208.** 1.5. 23.8 × 30 cm. Two complete columns and ends of lines of one

preceding from an account of payments for various purposes, dated in the nineteenth year, Phamenoth. Among the entries are *εἰς τὸ τρίστομον* (cf. 112. 2) . . . , *κινάδοις μουσικ() γε* (apparently not *γενεθλοῖς*) *Περεσφύ(χου) θεοῦ μεγάλου κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) . . . , πορείοις καὶ ἵπποῖς εἰς Τ]εβτῦνιν καὶ ἐκ Τεβτ(ύνεως) . . . κρι(θῆς) αλ αἰ (πυροῦ) λδ'. Μεσο(ρῆ) γ μέτρωι Σοκνο(παίου) α, ἀποστολ(ῆς) Ἀμμωνίωι τῶι παρὰ Διοφάντου καὶ Ἐρμοκράτη πολιτικ(ῶι) πείνουσι ἐν τοῖς Ἐρμω(νος). 3200 dr. of copper are converted into wheat at 840 (for an artaba) making $3\frac{5}{8}$ artabae. In the first column payments of corn are made *μέτρῳ ἐφοδ(ικῶι?)*. B. C. 95 or 62. On the *verso* one mutilated and one complete column of a list of names.*

209. 1.6. Height 29.7 cm. Two fragments containing ten columns, of which five are practically complete, of accounts of a miscellaneous character. Col. iii begins Ἥλις ἐπαρου(ρίου?) (τάλαντον) α φ, κα() φξ, συ() ρλ, στρα() Σ, δα() Σ, / (τάλαντον) α Ἐωμ, ναυ() τθ, κα() ρξ, συ() μ, πρα() Σ, στρα() χει() ρ /, ἈΣθ, / (τάλαντα) β Ἀρλ, ἰ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαί) ις (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαί) Γκ (a ratio of 1 : 432½; cf. App. ii), λο(ικαί) (τάλαντον) α Σι. περιδίπνου Ἐρμ() θ, προσδοχῆ(ς) Διόνυ(σιου) Διδύ(μου) τ, συντάξεω(ς) πα(ιδων) Γ, διὰ Σαρα(πίωνος) διαγρα(φῆς) ἐπαρου(ρίου?) Γ. Other entries are ἐπαρδεν(ταῖς, cf. 108, introd.) γ (sc. κεράμια), ἔτους 5 Φαρμ(οῦθι) δ γέγρα(πται) τῷ πη() δα() κε(ράμια) δ ἐφ' ᾧ δῶσ(ει) Ἡρα(κλειδῆι) μονογρά(φωι) Νου(μηνίου) πιττα(κίου) Ἰσιδ(ου?) κε(ράμια) γ καὶ χειρογρά(φωι) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νου(μηνίου) κε(ράμιον) [α], Νικάνορ(ι) λιμνα(στῆι) ἀπο ξξλ ξ. Conversions of 4 drachmae of silver into 1800 of copper and 20 of silver into 9160 of copper (1 : 450 and 1 : 458) are also found. The sixth year refers to Neos Dionysus probably (B. C. 76). On the *verso* five columns of accounts in the same hand, much obliterated.

210. 11.5. 19.7 x 22.5 cm. Part of an undertaking with regard to the lease of a piece of land (? βασιλικὴ γῆ), apparently couched in the form of a βασιλικὸς ὄρκος, but preceded by an abstract like an ordinary contract. The lessee agrees to pay the rent *μέτρωι τῶι τῆς κώμης ἐξαχουίκοι ὧι κἂι τὰ ἐκφόρια δῶ[σ]ωι μετρήσει δικαίαι, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ με μετρήσασθαι ἔσσεσθαι ἐμφανῆς σοί τε καὶ [τοῖς παρὰ] τῆς βασιλίσσης καθ' ἡμέ[ραν] ἐκάστην σ[.]πων γινόμενος πρὸς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ τα[.] τοῦ πυροῦ ε ου βωμοῦ θεμένους σκέπης πάσης καὶ μηθὲν περὶ τούτων . . . τεχνήσειω κατὰ [μηδ]ένα τρόπ[ον]. εὐδορκοῦντι μὲμ μοι εἴη ἐφιορκοῦντι δ[ὲ] τὰ ἐναντ[ί]α καὶ . . . δάνεια* are coupled with the ἐκφόρια in the abstract; cf. 61. (a) 313-6, note. Written in the eleventh year of Cleopatra (which = the eighth of Ptolemy Alexander), i. e. B. C. 107-6.

- 211.** 28·21. 28·3 × 42 cm. Four columns of an account chiefly concerning weaving materials, and similar to 117, which is by the same hand. Among the entries are *δοχῆς σαυρητῶν* (cf. 57. 4, note) π. About B. C. 99. On the *verso* several columns of accounts, much effaced.
- 212.** 28·22. 29·8 × 21·2 cm. Beginning of an account similar to 112 and in the same hand, headed Ἔτους δ, λόγος τοῦ ἀνηλωμ[έ]ρου χαλκοῦ εἰς τὸν τῆς χρείας καὶ τᾶλ(λ)α, mentioning Ἀπολλοδώρῳ ἐλ(αίο)πῶ(λη)ι (cf. 38-9) εἰς ἅς ὄφειλον ἀπὸ τι(μῆς) ἐλ(αίου) χ(οὸς) α ἀπὸ ὠλ . . . καὶ τι(μῆς) ἐλ(αίου) κο(τυλῶν) ιε ἀν(ὰ) ρ(κ) Ἄω. Cf. 112. introd. B. C. 114-3. 20 lines.
- 213.** 28·23. 30 × 47 cm. Five incomplete columns of another similar account in the same hand, mentioning οἴνου κο(τύλης) α π, τρώξιμα ε. About B. C. 113.
- 214.** 28·6. 31 × 45·8 cm. Four columns of a taxing-list beginning καὶ οἷς μεμέρικεν ὁ ἐπιμελητῆς διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν παχάνοπα γεγονέναι, followed by four names of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί, and amounts of lentils reckoned at 1 artaba to the aroura. Then comes another heading καὶ οἷς μεμέρικεν ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυ(τέρων), followed by a list of twenty-two names and amounts in artabae, Horus the komarch, a φυλακίτης, a προφήτης and the κωμογραμματεὺς being mentioned besides βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί. The succeeding headings are καὶ τῶν μετρη(σάντων?) κρι(θήν), followed by ten names of persons who all pay 1 artaba, and καὶ ὧν δεῖ παραδεχθῆναι φα(κόν), followed by another list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί and amounts in artabae. Late second century B. C.
- 215.** 28·7. 30·5 × 44·7 cm. Three complete and parts of two other columns of a survey list of Kerkeosiris, similar to 84. Late second century B. C.
- 216.** 27·41. 28·9 × 14·5 cm. Demotic document of 13 lines which have lost the beginnings and ends. On the *verso* extracts from a land-survey with diagrams similar to 87. Late second century B. C.
- 217.** 27·42 cm. Parts of three or more columns of a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί with a statement of their holdings, rents and crops. Late second century B. C.
- 218.** 27·43. 30·8 × 18 cm. Part of a taxing-account containing the conclusion of a list of payments in kind by βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί, probably for rent, followed by the names of six ἐπτάρουροι μάχμοι who paid $5\frac{1}{4}$ artabae (cf. 98. 77 sqq. and 135), and more payments by βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί. Late second century B. C.
- 219.** 27·44. 32·8 × 16·6 cm. List of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί with payments ranging from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat, headed (Ἔτους) δ Πάνι κς. διακεκρι(μένων) ὄμο(ίως). B. C. 113. Practically complete. 23 lines.
- 220.** 7·4. Fragments of a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί with a statement of their

- holdings, rents and crops, similar to 217. On the *verso* another list of names and payments. Late second century B. C.
221. 7.5. 29 x 20.5 cm. One nearly complete and part of another column of accounts similar to 112, mentioning τιμη(ς) ληκύθιον ἐλαίου 'Α. Written on the *verso*; the *recto* is stained and illegible. About B. C. 112.
222. 7.6. Height 27.8 cm. Fragments of several columns of a land-survey of Kerkeosiris, similar to 84 and 85. One section begins ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ ἀπη(λιώτου) ἐν τῷ καλουμέ[ν]ωι . . . ἀρχο(μένη) ἀπη(λιώτου) ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Θεογονιδ[α] πεδίων νό(του) δὲ τὰ προγεγεω(μετρημένα) πεδία κώμη σὺν περιστάσει οὐδ' ἴ σὺ(μπεριειλημμένου) παρα(δείσου) ἐρή(μου) [αδ', κα(ταλείπονται) ξθλ (cf. 80. 4-6). On the *verso* another similar survey, much obliterated. Late second century B. C.
223. 23.23. 25.8 x 8 cm. A letter to Criton from his brother, giving details of the purchase or sale of various articles. Written on the *verso*, the *recto* having only the address Κρίτωνι (cf. p. 143). Late second century B. C. Incomplete. 27 lines.
224. 23.28. Height 22 cm. Several fragments of which the largest contains two complete narrow columns and parts of two others from an account of a club(?); cf. 118. Col. ii begins Τῦβι ιγ οἶνον κε(ραμίου) α' Β, ἄρτων{ου} β μ, / 'Βμ. εἰσ(ιν) ἄνδρες ιθλ ἀν(ὰ) ρε 'Βμ, followed by the names of twelve persons and the total / ιβ, ἴ ἀφέσιμο(ι) γ, λο(ιποὶ) θ. Three of the names have a stroke against them indicating that they were the ἀφέσιμοι (i. e. those who paid nothing for their entertainment?); cf. 220. Col. iii gives a list of eight ξένοι, and οἶνο(ν) χ(όες) ε' Βρ occurs lower down. Late second century B. C. On the *verso* three columns, of which one is complete, of an account of payments connected with various κλήροι, e. g. Ἔτους θ λόγος κλήρον (l. κλήρου) πασιλι(κῆς) (l. βασ.) γῆς (πυροῦ) λβ, (πυροῦ) ἀρταβῶν μβ, λο(ιπαὶ) (πυροῦ) ἀρταβῶν ι, followed by a list of names and small amounts of wheat which make $8\frac{5}{8}$ artabae. The next entry is λόγος κλήρον (l. -ρον) Πετεσοῦχος (l. -χου) θεοῦ (πυροῦ) λθ, Ἀτάνης γ', Παῆσις δ', Νικάτας δ', Βόικας ρ, / χα(λκοῦ) χ ἀνὰ (πυροῦ) ρκ λγ', τὸ πᾶν αβ'. In the entry concerning Βόικας 120 copper drachmae are the value of $\frac{1}{8}$ artaba (cf. 117. 18, note). He had received 600 dr., i. e. $\frac{5}{8}$ artaba, being apparently six days' wages at 100 dr. a day. B. C. 108.
225. 23.29. 29.4 x 16.3 cm. Parts of two columns of an account (probably of Menches, cf. 112. introd.), headed [Ἔτος] δ Χολιαχ ιε. πρὸς Ἀρβαχῆν [. . .]τος λόγος τοῦ δεδα(πανημένου) εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν [ε]ως Χολιαχ. B. C. 114.
226. 23.21. Parts of several columns of an account. A heading ζημίαι is followed by a list of names and amounts in copper. In an account of

- payments for oil, wine, &c., occurs the entry ἀφέμα(τος) ξέ(νων?) η ἀν(ὰ) ε μ (cf. 224). On the *verso* another column of accounts in the same hand. Late second century B. C.
- 227.** 1·7. 30 × 10·7 cm. A complete demotic document of 25 lines in all, written on the *verso*, the *recto* containing only the title; cf. p. 143. Early first century B. C.
- 228.** 1·8. 21 × 10·4 cm. Fragment containing on the *recto* 14 incomplete lines of a demotic document, and on the *verso* parts of 7 lines of an account mentioning the thirteenth year (of Neos Dionysus), i. e. B. C. 69–8.
- 229.** 24·2. 23·6 × 13·6 cm. An account of corn-transport beginning (Ἔτους) ιθ Παῦνι. λόγος (πυροῦ) τοῦ εἰς Βερενικ(ίδα) ἀπεσταλμένου διὰ Πατύνιος μυροπ(ώλου?). Ψενοβάστει χηνοβοσκῶι (πυροῦ) ζ. Other entries are ἀπὸ ραβδισμοῦ (cf. 119. 46) δι' Ἀπολ(λωνίου) Νίκω(νος) ἀνε() βζ'. B. C. 97 or 62. Practically complete. 21 lines. On the *verso* a few lines of another account in the same hand.
- 230.** 23·9. 19·4 × 15·3 cm. Part of a petition complaining of an assault. Lines 10 sqq. οἷς καὶ συνκρουσάντων καὶ τραυματίσαντες ἕνα αὐτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὤρησαν ἕφελομέν[ω]ν ἡμῶν γαῖσον, καὶ τῆι προκειμένηι ια ὀψίτερον τῆς ὥρας περιπεσόντες [Π]ετοσίρει ἐπικαλουμένωι Δεκάρπωι (οἱ δὲ Κάρπωι) Ὀνώφριος τῶν ἐκ Τ[εβ]γύνεως κατασκοπεύοντι ὧι καὶ μακρόθεν . πα[. .] ἀπολύσαντες καὶ τοὺς εἰ[σελθόντας] εἰς [τὸ] ἐν τῆι κώμηι καπηλείου ἐν ὧι καὶ ἐγμείναντος μέχρ[ι] νυκτὸς [ο]ὔτως εἰ[σελθόντες] καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι παρεδώκαμεν Ἡρακλείδει τῶι ἐπιστάτει καὶ ἀρχιφυλακίτηι σὺν οἷς περιεβέβλητο ἱματίοις τριβακοῖς δυσὶ καὶ χιτῶνι καὶ κράνωι καὶ πιλίωι. Late second century B. C. Beginning and end lost. 25 lines.
- 231.** 24·9. Height 30 cm. Several columns of a private account in a large uncultivated hand, written on both sides of the papyrus. Among the entries are δαπάνη κορδακιστῆ Σ, αὐλητῆ ν, στέφανον ρ, εἰς τὸ μέτρον ρκ, ποτήριον Βχ. The eighteenth year is mentioned, i. e. B. C. 97–6 or 64–3.
- 232.** 27·24. 27 × 11·5 cm. Part of a taxing-list consisting of 17 ἐπτόρουροι μάχιμοι, whose names are preceded by (ἡμισυ) (ἀρτάβης) and who each pay $5\frac{1}{2}$ artabae; cf. 98. 77 sqq., from which it appears that the tax here was really $\frac{3}{4}$ artaba on the aroura, not $\frac{1}{2}$, and 218 and 245. Below these comes the entry (ἡμισυ) (ἀρτάβης) Πετεσοῦ(χος) θε(ὸς) διὰ Πετεσοῦ(χου) (πυροῦ) ββ' καὶ εἰσφορᾶς βλδ', / εγ'ίβ', (ἡμισυ) (ἀρτάβης) Ὀρσενούφης θε(ὸς) Λ εἰσφορᾶς Λ, / α. Cf. 98. introd. Late second century B. C.
- 233.** 27·29. 21 × 22·1 cm. Parts of two columns of calculations concerning land in different περιχώματα. On the *verso* parts of two columns of a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ with a statement of their holdings and rents. The

word *διαφορεῖται* (presumably followed by a figure which is lost) was inserted after the entries in some cases. Late second century B. C.

- 234.** 27·45. 31 × 11·2 cm. A complete account headed ("Ἔτους) δ' Ἀθῶ(ρ) κδ. Ἡρακλείους Διονυ(σίου) περε() οἴνου κε(ρμία) β' Ἐχ, ἐλ(αίου) πε, ἀρί(στου) ρλ, δ(πνίου) Σ, / (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαί) ιε, followed a list of names, with the heading *παθινόι*. B. C. 114.
- 235.** 27·46. Height 29 cm. Parts of three columns of a list of payments in kind by cleruchs and others. The names Παπνεβτῦνις Ἀσφειω, Πετερμούθις Σαμῶτος, Ἀρμιῦσις Ψερεθῶτον occur. On the *verso* a column of an account in wheat. About B. C. 123; cf. 236.
- 236.** 27·47. Height 29·2 cm. Fragments of a *προδιαλογισμὸς σιτικός* drawn up by Theon, *γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν* (cf. 203 and P. Fay. Towns 18. (a) 1) of Kerkeosiris, in the forty-seventh year of Euergetes II (B. C. 124-3); cf. 89. 235, which is written in the same hand, is perhaps part of the same document.
- 237.** 27·48. 14·2 × 14 cm. Fragment of a copy of official correspondence, containing 7 incomplete lines from the end of a letter concerning *χωματογραφίαι*, followed by a short letter from Irenaeus (the dioecetes, cf. 27. 2) to Horus (the basilico-grammateus, cf. 27. 27), asking for the *χωματογραφίαι* to be made up and sent to him, and enclosing a copy of a short letter from Irenaeus to Asclepiades (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, cf. 27. 98). About B. C. 114. 14 lines.
- 238.** 9·3. 24·2 × 17·6 cm. The first column of a *προδιαλογισμὸς* πρ . . ., drawn up by Menches in the second year (B. C. 116-5) and consisting of a summary of corn received on different days in the months Pharmouthi, Pachon, and Pauni. The total for Pharmouthi is added up as τῆ(ς) λή(ψεως) (πυροῦ) ἌΣναΛγ'ίβ' κ(ριθῆς) φιαίβ', that for Pachon as τῆς β λή(ψεως) ἸΣζ'ίβ', ἀφ ὧν ἐπεστάλθαι . . ., λο(ιπαί) ἐν προχρή(αι) . . .
- 239.** 28·8. Height 14 cm. Part of a copy of official correspondence regarding the cession (*παρακεχωρήσθαι*) of a κλῆρος of 5 arourae to Philonates son of Apollonius in the third year (B. C. 115-4), similar to 30 and 31. The first three lines are a letter from Marres to Menches (cf. 31. 2-5), enclosing a letter from Horus to Marres (cf. 31. 6-9), itself enclosing a letter from Aristippus ὁ πρὸς τῆι συντάξει τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων to Apollonius, the predecessor of Horus as basilico-grammateus (cf. 30. 10-4), who had forwarded a petition from Philonates which is lost. Written across the fibres. Eight incomplete lines, with the address Μεγχεῖ on the *verso*.
- 240.** 1·9. 30 × 13·5 cm. Statement of the adjacent areas of a piece of land, mentioning a γῆς [. . .]ικος καὶ [ύ]δραγωγός, τὸ κοινὸν [ύ]ποδοχίου, and ὦ (1. δ)

Λεοντίσκου τοῦ [Λεο]ντίσκου καλούμενος Β[ου]βάστιος ἀμπελών. Nearly complete. 8 lines. The ends of a few lines of the preceding column in a different hand are preserved. Written on the *verso*, the *recto* being blank (cf. p. 143). Early first century B. C.

- 241.** 1·10. 22·5 × 19·8 cm. Parts of two columns of an account, the second beginning Ἔτους ζ' Μεσορῆι ι, λόγος πρὸς Καλλίνικον τὸν ἀδελφόν. ὀφείλωι αὐτῶι χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμᾶς) Ἄν[με] εἷς τε τιμὴν παλαιῶν κενῶ(ν) καὶ κοιλίας καὶ ἀντλητοῦ τούτων ἐκκρούεται (cf. 189) χα(λκοῦ) Σι, λοιπαὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμαὶ) ἌΣλε. On the *verso* part of another column in the same hand and dated in the same month and year, mentioning ἔχωι ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος. B. C. 74.
- 242.** 11·4. 30·5 × 30 cm. Three nearly complete columns, the first containing a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ with the amounts of their holdings and rents, the second a list of totals of arourae and artabae numbered from 1 to 9; the third column is headed ἀφ' ὧν κατεργα(σθῆναι), followed by names with amounts in arourae and artabae. On the *verso* four columns of a similar list. Late second century B. C.
- 243.** 9·6. Fragments of several columns of a list of payments in kind by ἐπάρουροι μάχμοι and βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί. The μέγα Θεηριεῖον, μικρὸν Θεηριεῖον, Σουχιεῖον, and Ἄνουβιεῖον are mentioned as if they were headings (cf. 88), but whether any of the payments were for the benefit of the shrines is not clear. On the *verso* part of a similar list. Late second century B. C.
- 244.** 9·7. 7·4 × 14·5 cm. Fragment of which the *recto* is illegible. On the *verso* parts of two columns of an account dated in Athur of the third year and mentioning payments for χορτάσματα and ραφάνων. B. C. 115.
- 245.** 14·9. Height 30·6 cm. Several columns of a taxing-list of ἐπάρουροι μάχμοι who pay 5¼ artabae (cf. 98. 77 sqq.), followed by a list καὶ ὧν ἀναδ[εδέ(γμεθα)], κατοίκων (cf. 75. 6 sqq.) the names being Πολέμωνος τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου, Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, Μάρωνος τοῦ Διονυσίου. About B. C. 112.
- 246.** 14·10. Height 31·1 cm. Part of a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ and lessees of ἱερὰ γῆ with a statement of their holdings in different περιχώματα and their rents and crops. 25 artabae of olyra are converted into 10 of wheat; cf. 261. Late second century B. C.
- 247.** 14·11. Height 31·1 cm. Parts of several columns of a list of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ with payments of taxes similar to 93 and perhaps forming part of the same document. One column is headed Ἑλλήνων γεωργῶν, the names under this being Ἀρμύσις Ἀρμύσιος, Ἀρφαῆσις Πετοσίριος, Ἀρμάχορος Θεοτοραίου, Ἀρμύσις Πετοσίριος, Θεοεὺς Διοδώρου. About B. C. 112.

- 248.** 12·10. Height 30·5 cm. Parts of two columns of a similar list dealing with names beginning with N and Π. About B. C. 112.
- 249.** 15·2. Fragments of several columns of another similar list dealing with names beginning with Φ, perhaps part of 163. About B. C. 112.
- 250.** 19·3. 17 × 17 cm. Parts of two columns of an account, the second beginning Ἔτους ζ Μεσορηὶ ιθ, ἄλλος λόγος) πρὸς Ἀ]μεινέαν τὸν ἀδελφόν, and mentioning κιννάμωμον and μύρον. B. C. 74. On the *verso* parts of two columns of another account dated in the same year.
- 251.** 19·4. 18·3 × 14·7 cm. A short account beginning δαπάνης λόγος and mentioning μαχαιρο(φόρωι) κω(μάρχου?) χ, δεκανῶι (cf. 27. 31) λ. Early first century B. C. Nearly complete. 16 lines. On the *verso* some effaced lines.
- 252.** 19·5. Height 23·6 cm. Two fragments containing parts of three columns of a wages-account, chiefly for stone work. λίθων λόγος occurs as a heading and payments are made to ἐργάται at 120 dr. a day; 1 talent is paid for]·ρησ καμή(λων?). Dated in the twentieth year (B. C. 95-4 or 62-1).
- 253.** 19·9. 18·1 × 24·8 cm. Three incomplete columns of an account, the first two dealing mainly with wine and mentioning payments of 1 κεράμιον τῶι κερα(μεῖ), and 3 Σουχιή(ωι). The third column begins ἔτους ιη Ἐπειφ η. παρουσί(ας) τῶν παρὰ τοῦ συντακτικῶ (cf. 30. 6, note) ἐνηνεχόσι τὸ ἐπιστόλι(ον) οἴνου κε(ράμιον) α Ἄ, ἄρτων ζευ(γῶν) 5Λ Σξ, ἐλαίου ξενικῶ ρ, κηκίνου ξ, δίπνου Σ, / Ἄχξ. καὶ ἐφοδί(ον) ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμαί) 5, / (τάλαντον) α Ἄτξ. The 6 dr. of silver are thus converted into 2700 dr. of copper, i. e. a ratio of 1 : 450 (cf. App. ii). B. C. 96 or 63.
- 254.** 20·7. 30 × 10·5 cm. A petition to Asclepiades τῶν ὁμοτίμων[οἰς] συγγενέσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσδ[ιδων] (cf. 27. 98) from the βασιλικὸι γεωργοί of Kerkeosiris, for the most part effaced. About B. C. 113.
- 255.** 20·8. 26 × 14·4 cm. Concluding column of a land-survey of Kerkeosiris similar to 84 and 85, headed ἀπὸ βο(ρρᾶ) καὶ ἀπη(λιώτου) ἀνὰ (μέσον) οὔσης ἰκα(νῆς?) γῆς ἐν (τ)ῶι καλο(υμένωι) Ψινα(ρα) περιχώ(ματι), and ending / τῆς κῶ(μης). Late second century B. C.
- 256.** 28·11. Fragments of several columns of an account similar to 112 and perhaps belonging to it, mentioning a conversion of 12 silver drachmae into copper at 1640 (for a stater) making 4920, i. e. a ratio of 1 : 410 (cf. App. ii). About B. C. 112. On the *verso* some arithmetical calculations.
- 257.** 29·11. Numerous fragments of a long private account written on both sides of the papyrus in a large uncultivated hand and chiefly consisting of

names and amounts, mentioning τῆς ἐφοδίας (cf. 26. 2) γ ἀνά ρι, / τλ.
Early first century B. C.

- 258.** 5.3. 30.5 × 8 cm. A complete demotic document of 16 lines. Late second century B. C.
- 259.** 5.4. 28 × 7.6 cm. A nearly complete demotic document of 20 lines, probably an account. Late second century B. C. Another account of 20 lines in demotic on the *verso*.
- 260.** 5.5. Fragments of a document mentioning Πτολεμαϊκοῦ νομίσματος (cf. P. Leyden O. 10-1). On the *verso* a mutilated letter from Apollonius to Marres, dated (έτους) μ[. Cf. p. 166. B. C. 130-121.
- 261.** 5.6. 15.4 × 14.3 cm. Fragment of a taxing-list headed Ἔτους μζ, giving payments by various persons, probably βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί, for rents (?) and δά(νεια). Several conversions of olyra into wheat at the ratio of 5 : 2 occur; cf. 246. B. C. 124-3?
- 262.** 2.3. 23 × 26.2 cm. Two nearly complete columns and part of a third of an account, chiefly consisting of names and amounts. Payments of 7 talents 2000 dr. βασιλεῖ, 200 dr. for παραζυγή(ς), 1500 for βαδιστηλά(τηι), 80 for κριθῆς ί (i. e. $\frac{1}{10}$ artaba, probably the old artaba of 40 choenices; cf. p. 233 and P. Fay. Towns 101), 10 for κρομμύ(ου). Late second century B. C.
- 263.** 4.1. Fragments of a taxing-list, headed Ἔτους λβ, παρὰ . . . γραμματέως γεωργῶν (cf. 236), containing an account of payments owed for (τρι)χ(οίνικον), θη(σαυροφυλακικόν) &c. Probably B. C. 139-8.
- 264.** 17.2. Breadth 8.2 cm. Fragments of a petition from a βασιλικὸς γεωργός complaining that some persons had taken advantage of his absence in the fields to do him some injury, concluding [παρα]λαβὼν τὸν [. . . .]. ν [καὶ τ]ινας τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ τ[ῆ]ν Πετερμούθιος οἰκίαν παρέδωκα τὴν Τασιγᾶπιν καὶ τὸν Θέωνα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπαγα(γ)ομένους. διὸ προσαγγέλλω σοι ὅπως ὑποτάξῃς οἷς καθήκει ἵν' ἔχωι ἐν χρηματισμῶι. εὐτύχει. Late second century B. C.

APPENDIX I

THE LAND OF KERKEOSIRIS AND ITS HOLDERS.

§ I. *Introduction.*

OF the large collection of official papers from the bureau of Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris from about B. C. 120-111, a considerable proportion is concerned with the tenure, cultivation and revenue of the land. The whole area within the boundaries of the village was 4700 arourae (60. 3, 61. (a) 157, 62. 334), or about 2400 acres, which in the fifty-second year of Euergetes II (B. C. 119-8) were distributed as follows (60. 4-47, 61. (a) 157-8):—

κώμη	69½	arourae
ὑπόλογον ἄφορον	169 ² / ₁₈	„
ιερά γῆ	271 ⁷ / ₈	„
κληρουχική γῆ	1564 ³ / ₈	„
παράδεισοι	21 ¹ / ₄	„
νομαὶ ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως	175 ⁸ / ₈	„
βασιλικὴ γῆ	2427 ¹ / ₈	„

One of the chief duties of the komogrammateus was to draw up annually a series of reports regarding the ownership and cultivation (κατὰ φύλλον 62. 2, 69. 2, &c.) of these areas and the revenue derived from them. Thus 62, 63, 65 and 141-7 contain lists of holders of *ιερά* and *κληρουχική γῆ* (which are grouped together as being land *ἐν ἀφέσει*; cf. 5. 36-7, note), while 66-70 and 153-5 are statements of the Crown land under cultivation and its rents, and 74-5 are concerned with Crown land which had gone out of cultivation. The information contained in those reports was embodied with some elaboration of detail in a class of much longer documents (*ἀπολογισμοὶ ἐδάφους* 30. 25, 61. (b) 216) of which 61, 64 and 72 are specimens. These not only give a minute account of the distribution of the whole 4700 arourae (*πᾶν ἔδαφος* 60. 2), especially that portion which belonged

to the Crown, but contain sections dealing with cleruchic land temporarily mortgaged to the Crown, advances and loans of seed, and payments of certain taxes, some of which were directly proportionate to the areas under cultivation. Whether these more elaborate reports were also drawn up by the *komogrammateus* is not quite certain. There are some passages (61. (b) 10, 261) in which he is referred to in the third person and which favour the view that the document was written by some higher official; but there are others (e. g. 72. 388) in which the first person can most easily be referred to the *komogrammateus*, and since all the information found in 61, 64 and 72 deals with subjects which are known from other papyri to be within the province of that official, it is probable that the compilation of those three papyri also took place in his office. 60 covers the same ground as 61, but in much less detail, being an abstract made, apparently, somewhat later than 61. 73, 76-8, and 88 are shorter reports bearing upon various portions of the subjects dealt with in 60-72; and 84-5 (cf. 151-2, 173, 187, 222 and 255) are specimens of the annually revised survey of land at Kerkeosiris arranged geographically. 79-83 and 86-7 are documents of a similar character to those mentioned, but refer to other places than Kerkeosiris.

To return to the sevenfold division of the 4700 arourae, it may be observed that the classification is not very exact, because it is based upon two different principles, (1) the nature of the tenure, e. g. Crown, temple, and cleruchic land, (2) the character of the ground, e. g. the *παράδεισοι* and *νομαί*. The inevitable result of this is that several of the terms are not mutually exclusive, as will appear from a more detailed examination of them. A more serious defect is that some of the numbers are open to suspicion. The area of the cleruchic land, 1564 $\frac{2}{3}$ arourae, is certainly 10 short, owing to an error which can be traced to its source (60. 20, note), while some land which forms an item in the total of the Crown land has already been included in the cleruchic total. It is possible that this proceeding, by which the same land is apparently counted twice over, would be found to be legitimate if we had a more perfect comprehension of the circumstances (cf. § 9); but the numerous mistakes which can be detected throughout the arithmetical calculations in these reports do not inspire confidence in the correctness of the methods employed to bring out results which were obviously fixed beforehand, such as the round number 4700 arourae. This figure is therefore not accurately accounted for; but the auditors of these reports seem to have been somewhat lax, though we know from 43 that on one occasion at least the errors in Menches' returns led him into trouble. It is to be regretted that his escape from these difficulties did not, so far as we can judge, conduce to greater exactness. Postponing for the present the consideration of the three most important classes of land, the *ιέρα*, *κληρουχική*, and *βασιλική*, we proceed to an

examination of the other divisions, (a) the *κόμη*, (b) the *ὑπόλογον ἄφορον*, (c) the *παράδεισοι*, (d) the *νομαί*.

(a) The ground occupied by the village itself with the free space round it (*περίστας* 60. 4) was in all $70\frac{1}{2}$ arourae (60. 4, 61. (a) 157), but included in this area (*ἐν περιμέτρῳ* 60. 38, 61. (a) 150) were $1\frac{1}{2}$ arourae of *παράδεισοι*, which are stated in 60. 39 to have been used for growing vegetables, but to have become desert. Since *παράδεισοι* form a separate heading these $1\frac{1}{2}$ arourae are deducted from the $70\frac{1}{2}$, leaving $69\frac{1}{2}$ arourae as the net area of the village and its *περίστας*.

(b) The extent of the *ὑπόλογον ἄφορον ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως* as it is called in 60. 7 (cf. 61. (a) 157) was $169\frac{9}{16}$ arourae. The technical term *ὑπόλογον* as applied to land, which is extremely common in the papyri of this volume and means in practice uncultivated and therefore unprofitable land, was only known previously from a single papyrus, P. Amh. II. 68; and it is not surprising that neither we when editing that document nor Mitteis in commenting upon it (*Zeitschr. f. d. Savigny-stiftung*, 1901, p. 156) understood the meaning of the word. Both we and Mitteis wished to interpret *ὑπόλογον* in the sense of 'liable,' sc. to taxation, though in l. 7, as we pointed out, this meaning was unsuitable. Liability to taxation is a most unlikely attribute to select for describing land which both in P. Amh. II. 68. 7 (*ἐξ οὗ οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον περιγιγνεται*) and frequently in the present volume (e. g. *ὑπόλογον ἄφορον* here, *ὑπόλογον ἄχρηστον* 74. 70) is stated to produce no revenue at all, and as such is contrasted with land that was *σπόριμος* and subject to taxes. It is with *ὑπόλογος* and *ὑπολογεῖν* in the sense of 'subtract' (e. g. 72. 396 and 106. 18) that *ὑπόλογον* is to be connected. This meaning shows itself very clearly in the use of *ἀνυπόλογον*, 'without deductions,' in 61. (a) 177, and is much more appropriate both to the contrast between *περιγινόμενον* and *ὑπόλογον* in 72. 454 and 456, and to the treatment of the whole section of *βασιλικὴ γῆ ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* (§ 9). The origin of the technical use of the term *ὑπόλογον* for unproductive land is to be looked for in the fact of its being a 'deduction' from the revenue-yielding area. To return for a moment to P. Amh. II. 68, while *ὑπόλογον* in ll. 3, 7, 25 and 37 has the same extended sense 'unproductive land' as that found in the Tebtunis papyri, in ll. 28 and 31, where *ὑπολόγον* follows the sign for subtraction, it is used simply for 'what is deducted,' this being more fully explained in l. 31 *μετὰ ὑπολόγου) ἐφ' ὅσον παρατείνει νό(του) καὶ βορρᾶ*. Another instance of *ὑπόλογον* in the sense of 'deduction' occurs in P. Par. 66. 36, where a list of persons (ll. 10-35) who for various reasons were unable to work in connexion with dykes and canals is summed up / *ὑπολόγον Σπβ*, and the 8460 *ναύβια* (cf. 76. 9, note) accredited to these 282 useless individuals are subtracted from the 32460 *ναύβια* (ll. 7 and 9) which represent the whole amount of work to be done.

The point of the addition of the attribute *ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως* to this *ὑπόλογον* which forms a class by itself was to distinguish it from the *ὑπόλογον* in the Crown lands which had been cultivated. The latter continued to have its former rent (*τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἐκφόριον*) assigned to it, and these theoretical rents of land which had gone out of cultivation form a large item in calculating the total rents ascribed to the Crown lands (cf. §§ 4 and 9). Hence in describing such land the phrase *ἐν μισθώσει* was sometimes used; cf. 152. The *ὑπόλογον ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως* on the other hand had never been cultivated, and therefore had no rent even nominally assigned it. Under this heading are included a vacant space used for threshing-floors and pigeon-houses (84. 8), and probably the dykes, which in the survey lists are generally called *χώματα ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως* (e. g. 84. 11, 152); and if the various roads, canals, &c., which are measured in the survey lists are reckoned in the 4700 arourae of Kerkeosiris, they too must fall under this category, for there is no room for them in any of the others, the only trace of such uncultivated areas elsewhere being the $4\frac{3}{4}$ arourae of *ἐξαγωγί* mentioned under land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ* (72. 436). While the phrase *ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως* serves to distinguish this *ὑπόλογον* from the other kind of *ὑπόλογον* in the *βασιλικὴ γῆ*, it was not sufficient by itself to indicate that this *ὑπόλογον* produced no revenue, for land might be *ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως*, i. e. not subject to a lease, either theoretical or actual, and yet be *πρὸς χαλκὸν διοικουμένη*, i. e. yield a profit in the shape of money taxes, as, for instance, the *νομαί* (*v. inf.*). Hence the addition of the adjective *ἄφορον* in order to show that the land in question, as such, was wholly unprofitable to the State.

It is noticeable that though most of the *ὑπόλογον ἄφορον ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως* was from its nature incapable of becoming cultivated, this was not always the case; for from 81. (b) 103 it appears that $69\frac{3}{4}$ arourae had once been reclaimed from land of this class, and leased to *βασιλικὸν γεωργοί* at the rate of nearly 5 artabae upon the aroura, a rent which was afterwards found to be too high. Such a proceeding is a clear indication that the ownership of this *ὑπόλογον ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως* was really vested in the Crown like that of the *ὑπόλογον ἐν μισθώσει*; but the land was placed in a class by itself because it was not subject to a rent and therefore had no influence upon the totals of rents due from the *βασιλικὴ γῆ* for which, whether paid or not, the *komogrammateus* had to account.

(c) $21\frac{1}{4}$ arourae was at Kerkeosiris the total area of the *παράδεισοι* (80. 38, 81. (a) 149) or, as they are sometimes called (81. (a) 158, cf. 84. (a) 2), *ἀμπελοι*. These two really distinct terms (cf. 81. (a) 152, note) are used indifferently in referring to this class of land. $1\frac{1}{4}$ arourae of the $21\frac{1}{4}$ were in the circumference of the village and have already been mentioned. It is not unlikely that the $\frac{3}{8}$ aroura *παρα(δείσων) ἐρή(μων)* owned by Dionysius son of Pyrrhichus, a cleruch

(62. 49), was a part of these, although this $\frac{3}{8}$ aroura, which forms an item in the κληρουχική, would in that case be counted twice over. The remaining 20 arourae, which were also ξρημοι, belonged to the temple of Suchus, and were therefore ιερά γῆ (61. (a). 152), so that the παράδεισοι are not really a distinct class. The explanation of their treatment as such is that, not being σιτοφόρος γῆ or pasture-land, they were subject to quite a different set of taxes, e. g. the ἀπόμοιρα (5. 51, note) and the φόρος ἀμπελώνων (P. Petrie II. 43 (a) 1), paid in money or kind, while the revenue from σιτοφόρος γῆ and pastures, whether paid in corn or money, was calculated in wheat, to which all other kinds of payments were ultimately reduced; cf. §§ 4-5.

(d) The νομαί ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως occupied $175\frac{3}{8}$ arourae (60. 41-3, 61. (a) 154). Just as the ὑπόλογον ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως was contrasted with the ὑπόλογον ἐν μισθώσει, so these 'pastures not subject to a rent' are opposed to the νομαί in the βασιλική γῆ which yielded a rent in corn; unlike the ὑπόλογον, however, these νομαί were not ἀφοροι, but πρὸς χαλκὸν διοικούμεναι, i. e. they brought in a money revenue. This was probably the tax called in the Ptolemaic period ἐννόμιον or εἰς τὰς νομάς (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I. pp. 191, 265-6). From 79 it appears that land in this category was sometimes used for making grants to cleruchs, like the ὑπόλογον in the Crown lands (p. 554), and probably it too was really βασιλική.

A result of our examination of the sevenfold classification so far is to show that if, instead of the two principles employed by the komogrammateus, a single principle of division, namely the nature of the tenure, be adopted, the ὑπόλογον ἀφορον ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως, παράδεισοι, and νομαί ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως disappear as separate entities, and we are left with four really distinct classes of land, the κόμη, ιερά, κληρουχική, and βασιλική. The question then arises—what has become of the 'private land,' γῆ ιδιόκτητος as it is called in 5. III, the γῆ ιδιωτική which is contrasted with the ιερά and βασιλική in P. Brit. Mus. 604 (*Catal.* II. p. 96)? The answer is that, except perhaps under the heading of κόμη, there was no 'private land' at Kerkeosiris. The land on which the houses of the village stood may well have belonged to private owners, and possibly the $1\frac{1}{2}$ arourae of παράδεισοι were ιδιόκτητος γῆ, though $\frac{3}{8}$ at any rate out of the $1\frac{1}{2}$ arourae was very likely cleruchic (*v. sup.*). But the rest of the land at Kerkeosiris was either ιερά, κληρουχική, or βασιλική; and if we are right in thinking that κληρουχική was no more private land than the ιερά with which it is so frequently coupled, γῆ ιδιόκτητος, so far as land capable of cultivation is concerned, was practically non-existent at that village. The explanation of this somewhat remarkable condition of affairs is to be looked for in the exceptional character of the Arsinoite nome, much of which had only recently been reclaimed from a state of desert or swamp (cf. *Fayûm Towns*, p. 9). No doubt there was plenty of γῆ ιδιόκτητος in the

high ground which had been cultivated before Ptolemaic times, for a survey of land in the immediate vicinity of Arsinoë (86) provides several instances of 'private' land, and *ιδιοκτήμονες* (i. e. owners of *γῆ ιδιόκτητος*) in the Arsinoite nome are mentioned in 124. 32. But in the greater part of the Fayûm the land was *βασιλική* to start with, and unless the Crown transferred it to temples or cleruchs there was no reason why it should not remain so. The phenomenon of a Fayûm village in the Ptolemaic period with no *γῆ ιδιόκτητος* is not therefore really surprising, and it is unlikely that Kerkeosiris was at all peculiar in this respect.

§ 2. *Temple Land.*

The *ιερά γῆ* at Kerkeosiris (60. 7-14, 61. (a) 157, 62. 4-26, 63. 4-31, 64. (a) 1-12; cf. 88) was divided among the temples of first and second rank (cf. note on 5. 70). The land belonging to temples of the first rank included 141½ arourae owned by the 'great great god' Suchus (the ordinary Graecized form of Sobk), and 130 arourae owned by the 'great great god' Soknebtunis ('Sobk, lord of Tunis,' according to Spiegelberg). Where the temples of these deities were situated is nowhere stated. It is not in itself at all likely that they were at a comparatively unimportant village like Kerkeosiris, and the contrast that is drawn between them and the *ἐλάσσονα ἱερά τῶν τῆς κόμης θεῶν* (60. 14, 63. 24) indicates that they were elsewhere. The temple of Soknebtunis was most probably that at Tebtunis, which is called the *λόγιμον ἱερόν* in Roman papyri found there, and of which the ruins show that it was an extensive building. Tebtunis was close to Kerkeosiris, and it is therefore not surprising that the land of Soknebtunis was cultivated by the priests themselves (63. 18); and the supposition that the temple of Soknebtunis was at Tebtunis is also in accord with the fact that the 130 arourae were the result of grants made to the temple by the native troops under Chomenis on the two occasions of their receiving *κληῆροι* at Kerkeosiris and the vicinity in the forty-first and forty-second years of Euergetes II (cf. p. 553). The practice of dedicating land to the temples seems to have been widely spread among those who had themselves received grants from the Crown (cf. 6. 20). Though the land assigned to *κληροῦχοι* was or ought to have been *χέριστος* (cf. p. 554), the piety of the native troops in giving up to a temple no inconsiderable part of their new property is remarkable; but we suspect that the dedication was but half voluntary, and that the real benefactor of the temple was the king, who was the owner of all the land given to cleruchs, and who made the conciliation of the temples one of the cardinal features of his policy. The temple of Soknebtunis was specially favoured, for from 84. 8-10 we learn that it also received the profits of the tax on certain pigeon-houses at Kerkeosiris.

Which of the various temples of Suchus in the Fayûm owned the 141½ arourae at Kerkeosiris is quite uncertain, but not improbably it was the chief temple at Arsinoë. The profits were however slight, for throughout the period covered by 61-3 the land of Suchus is described as water-logged (ἐμβροχος). 20 arourae of garden-land (παράδεισοι) were, as has been stated, included in it (61. (a) 152), but these had become desert. There are indications that the land owned by the temple of Suchus was originally a direct grant from the Crown, like the cleruchic land, for it is noticeable that in 73. 31 among a number of cleruchs who had received arable instead of the uncultivated land which ought to have been given to them, occurs one of the lessees of the *ιερά γῆ* of Suchus.

The land owned by the 'lesser temples of the gods in the village' (63. 24, cf. 60. 14) consisted of 5⅔ arourae belonging to the crocodile-god Petesuchus, 1 aroura of the god Orsenouphis, and 14 arourae belonging to three shrines where the sacred ibises were kept (cf. note on 5. 70). The land owned by the temples of second rank thus amounted to 20⅔ arourae, making with the 271½ arourae belonging to the *πρῶτα ιερά* the total area of *ιερά γῆ* 291⅔ arourae, or, when the *παράδεισοι* were reckoned under a separate heading, 271⅔ arourae.

From 61. (b) 207 (cf. 72. 128) it appears that the temples of the second rank had once owned 5 arourae in addition to the 20⅔, but these were confiscated (ἡθετημένη, 74. 59-60) between the fortieth and fifty-second years and transferred to the Crown lands, where, since they were not cultivated, they appear under the category of land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* (cf. § 9) through lack of water. We also hear of other land of the god Petesuchus besides the 5⅔ arourae ascribed to his shrine in 62-4 (cf. 93. 55 sqq.), and of land of the great god Mestasutmis (94. 34, note); but though the temples of these deities presumably benefited in some way from these other lands which are not recorded in 62-4, these seem to have been technically not *ιερά γῆ*, but *βασιλική*; cf. 93. 55, note.

In 82 we have a list of the *ιερά γῆ* at Magdola, a village not far from Kerkeosiris (cf. 80. introd.). Out of a total of 170 arourae 150 were owned by a temple of Suchus, probably identical with that which owned land at Kerkeosiris. The names of some of the *γεωργοί* at the two places coincide, and the same persons are very likely meant; cf. *Περενεφιῆς Περενεφείους* 63. 7 and 82. 16, *Ἀπολλώνιος Ποσιδωνίου* 63. 9 and 82. 25. 82. 5 and 28 supply rare examples in these papyri of women cultivators (cf. 86. 14). That part of the 150 arourae which was not *χέρσος* consisted mainly of vine or oil-producing land. Of the 20 arourae owned by the 'lesser temples of the village gods' 10 belonged to the shrine of Orsenouphis, and the other 10 to two ibis-shrines; cf. the similar temples at Kerkeosiris.

In spite of the royal decrees (5. 57-61, 6. 40-7) ordaining that the adminis-

tration of *ἱερά γῆ* and the collection of its revenues were to be left to the priests or their agents without interference from the government officials, we find the rent of *ἱερά γῆ* at Kerkeosiris included in the official taxing-lists (cf. 93. introd.), and the position of a *γεωργός* of *ἱερά γῆ* seems to have differed little from that of a *βασιλικὸς γεωργός*. From 93. 62-5 it appears that he had practically the same taxes to pay, except perhaps the *στέφανος* (cf. 5. 59); and *ἱερά γῆ* was in addition subject to the tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba to the aroura upon that part which was cultivated (61. (b) 324, 98. 27), an impost levied also upon the cleruchs (cf. p. 430), but not, so far as we know, upon the *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί*.

§ 3. Cleruchic Land.

The cleruchic land (60. 17-37, 61. (a) 1-148, 62. 27-309, 63. 32-227, 64. (a) 13-149, 65, cf. 141, 143-7) constituted about one-third of the whole area at Kerkeosiris, and includes many subdivisions, being classified according to the standing of the owners and the reigns under which the original assignments were made. The arrangement in 61. (a)-65 is chronological, but in 60. 17-37 (cf. 62. 315-28) there are summaries of the land held by the different classes. We give first a table of the holders in the fifty-first year as found in 62, one of the few reports of Menches which are almost free from faults of arithmetic. The figures under the different reigns refer to arourae.

	Philopator.	Epiphanes.	Philometor.	Euergetes II.	Total.
29 κάτοικοι	70	114 $\frac{3}{8}$	378 $\frac{7}{8}$	402	965 $\frac{1}{4}$
1 χερσέφιππος	34 $\frac{3}{2}$	...	...	...	34 $\frac{3}{2}$
3 ἐρημοφύλακες	...	10	20	...	30
3 φυλακίται	...	...	30	...	30
2 ἔφοδοι	...	...	...	48	48
8 Χομήνιος ἰππεῖς	...	...	...	120	120
55 ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι	...	...	...	354	354
Total	104 $\frac{3}{2}$	124 $\frac{3}{8}$	428 $\frac{7}{8}$	924	1581 $\frac{1}{2}$

These seven classes fall into three main groups: (a) the *κάτοικοι* or foreign military settlers; (b) the civil officials, comprising the *χερσέφιππος*, *ἐρημοφύλακες*, *φυλακίται* and *ἔφοδοι*; and (c) the native military settlers, including the *Χομήνιος ἰππεῖς* and the *ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι*.

(a) *κάτοικοι*. The first point to notice in connexion with this class, which has been much discussed but owing to the scanty nature of the evidence very imperfectly understood, is that their land is a subdivision of the *κληρουχική*, and that they in common with all the other holders of cleruchic land are *κληροῦχοι*

(cf. 5. 36 and 90). How far this term may have altered its meaning in the second century is a question which will be discussed later; but in view of the various attempts which have been made to draw a distinction between *κάτοικοι* and *κληροῦχοι*, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that in the period where the two terms are found together the relation between the two is that of whole and part.

Secondly, these *κάτοικοι* as such were clearly Greeks in the wide sense in which this term is used in Ptolemaic papyri (e.g. 5. 208) in contrast to 'Egyptians.' The lists of holders of cleruchic land do not mention their nationalities; these however are in some cases known from other papyri, and amongst the Kerkeosiris *κάτοικοι* we hear of Persians (30. 16), Macedonians (30. 16, 31. 11, 61. (b) 79, 105. 11), and Cretans (32. 17), while a list of *κάτοικοι* at another village (79) mentions Persians, Macedonians and colonists from Samos, Sidon and Alabanda; cf. also 99, where a Paphlagonian occurs. The artificial character which these national appellations had assumed in the second century B. C. is well illustrated by 32, which shows that Asclepiades, a Macedonian, on becoming a *κάτοικος* was received into the *πολίτευμα* of the Cretans; cf. the parallel case of Theotimus son of Phileas (quoted on p. 126), who under somewhat similar circumstances exchanged the Persian for the Mysian nationality. But though all the evidence is in favour of regarding the *κάτοικοι* as such as Greeks, and no doubt the really Greek element preponderated, there is no reason to think that native Egyptians were debarred from admission to that class. Egyptian names are occasionally found among the *κάτοικοι*, e.g. *Νεκτενίβις Ὀρον* (62. 97), *Μάρων ὁ καὶ Νεκτσάφθις* (62. 110), *Ἄρσοις Μάρωνος* (61. (b) 80); cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* II, no. 353, where *Περεαρπῆς* pays the *στέφανος κατοίκων* (cf. 61. (b) 254, note). Nomenclature is often a very untrustworthy guide to nationality at this period when the practice of having double names, one Greek and one Egyptian (of which one is often omitted), was common, and when, as is shown by 247, the term *Ἕλλην* is applied to persons bearing the most pronouncedly Egyptian names, while conversely many of the persons bearing Greek names were probably Egyptians. In fact it is only from groups of names in considerable quantities that conclusions regarding nationality can be drawn. Hence, in view of the prevailing Greek character of the *catoeci*, the rare instances of Egyptian names could if necessary be explained away as examples of persons of Greek descent bearing Egyptian names. But it is very difficult to believe that the official classes from which the *κάτοικοι* were often recruited (*v. inf.*) were confined to Greeks, and it is therefore probable that Egyptians might become *κάτοικοι* but *ipso facto* assumed Greek nationality. That a certain amount of incongruity was felt at the retention of an Egyptian name by a *κάτοικος* is

shown by the case of the above-mentioned Maron, who was promoted from the rank of *φυλακίτης* to that of *κάτοικος* in the fifty-second year. In the list of cleruchs for the fifty-first year (62. 110) he is entered as 'Maron also called Nektsaphthis, son of Petosiris,' but in the list for the next year (61. (a) 40) he is entered as 'Maron son of Dionysius, who was (ὅς ἦν) Nektsaphthis son of Petosiris.' His double name is still recorded two years later in 64. (a) 107 (cf. 84. 115); but his Greek name alone occurs in 63. 127 and clearly tended to supersede his Egyptian name, for it is as Maron son of Dionysius that he is found in the later survey lists (e. g. 85. 59), and in the contracts concerning the lease of his *κλήρος* (105-6), where he is called a Macedonian.

Thirdly, the *κάτοικοι* were regular soldiers. The verb *στρατεύεσθαι* is applied to them (61. (δ) 79; cf. 5. 168, note), and they were divided into hipparchies (80. 11, 82. 20; cf. P. Amh. II. 55. 2, P. Fay. Towns 12. 3). In the papyri of the present volume we hear much of *κάτοικοι ἱππεῖς* and nothing of *κάτοικοι πεζοί*; but the existence of the latter category at this period is known from P. Fay. Towns 11. 4, though the cavalry no doubt formed the larger class. There is no possibility of their being veterans who had retired from active service, for their *κλήροι* normally descended from father to son, and there is an instance of a promotion to the rank of *κάτοικος* at the age of twenty-two (82. 23). One special subdivision consists of the descendants of 4000 men who had taken part in the expedition to the Thebaid at the beginning of Epiphanes' reign, when that district was with difficulty reconquered from native usurpers; cf. 62. 43-4, 79. 69, P. Tor. I. v. 27-9.

Since almost every papyrus in this volume dealing with *κάτοικοι* exhibits them in the character of landowners in the different villages, it is unnecessary to do more than allude to the baselessness of the view that they were chiefly inhabitants of towns, and that this constituted a difference between them and the *κληροῦχοι* of the Petrie Papyri. The *catoeci* in common with the other cleruchs of the second century B.C. have just the same titles, *ἐκατοντάρουρος*, &c., as the *κληροῦχοι* of the third century B.C. At Kerkeosiris there was one *ἐβδομηκοντάρουρος* (62. 30), whose tenure dated from the reign of Philopator, while three of the *κάτοικοι* established by Philometor are called in 151 *ὄγδοηκοντάρουροι*, Leon son of Leontiscus (cf. 62. 71), Dorus son of Petalus (cf. 62. 76), and Diodotus son of Apollonius (cf. 62. 79), and another, Bromerus son of Zenodorus (cf. 62. 79), is called *ὄγδοηκοντάρουρος* in 85. 71. Those instituted by Euergetes II are uniformly, where there is evidence on the subject, *ἐκατοντάρουροι* (84. 148, 85. 59, 152). The amounts of land however which they actually held at that village vary considerably, being sometimes quite small, and frequently fail to agree with the titles of the holders. In the case of

Aphthonetus (62. 30) we have an example of a *ἐβδομηκοντάρουρος* whose 70 arourae are accounted for, and Philoxenus the son of Callicrates, whose grant of 80 arourae at Kerkeosiris dated from the reign of Epiphanes, is called in 84. 93 an *ὀγδοηκοντάρουρος*. But of the *ὀγδοηκοντάρουροι* instituted by Philometor none is found holding more than 40 arourae, and of the *ἐκατοντάρουροι* none more than 50. The explanation of these irregularities lies partly in the loose employment of the terms *ἐκατοντάρουρος*, &c., partly in the number of changes which were constantly made with regard to the distribution of cleruchic land, partly in the division of *κλήροι*, especially the larger ones, among different villages. How far the third cause is operative except in cases where it is expressly stated to exist (e.g. 62. 61) is a difficult problem. On the one hand there are a few instances where an accidental omission can be inferred (66. 84, note, and cf. 63. 120 and 64. 78), though not with certainty; and it is impossible to suppose that the term *ἐκατοντάρουρος* had much effective meaning as applied e.g. to Maron son of Dionysius (85. 59) if the 25 arourae which he owned at Kerkeosiris equally in the 52nd year (61. (a) 39-41) and fifteen years later (105, introd.) represent the total of his holding, or to Athenion son of Archias (84. 148) if he owned only the 40 arourae situated at Kerkeosiris. But on the other hand it is almost inexplicable not only that the omission of the statement regarding land owned elsewhere should be so common, but that with the exception of Maron, who received 15 arourae, no addition to their holdings at Kerkeosiris was, so far as we can judge, ever made upon the promotion of *κάτοικοι* from the lower ranks of cleruchs (*v. inf.*). The 24 arourae at Kerkeosiris owned by Asclepiades son of Ptolemaeus (32. 19; cf. 62. 91) were held by him previously, and the possession of them even seems to be a condition of his promotion. The officials refer to his release from his old duties (32. 4) and the assumption of his new ones (l. 19); but though Asclepiades was to be enrolled among the *ἐκατοντάρουροι*, no details are given of an increased grant of land. We are not inclined therefore to attach much importance to the titles *ἐκατοντάρουρος*, &c. when they conflict seriously with the evidence of the contemporary lists of cleruchs, though in some, or even most, cases they had probably been correct as regards the size of the *κλήρος* when it was originally granted.

Besides the lists of *κάτοικοι* at Kerkeosiris, the present volume supplies some details concerning landholders at other villages who were either certainly or probably *κάτοικοι*. At Magdola (63. 74-84) we find *κλήροι* ranging from 20 to 50 arourae; at the village which is the subject of 79 the holdings range from 32 to 100. One of the cleruchs (79. 25), though a *ἡγεμών*, owned no more than 40 arourae. Two larger holdings occur in the same list, one of $124\frac{2}{3}$ (l. 44),

and another of $1306\frac{1}{8}$ arourae (l. 46), but to the entries concerning these there is appended a marginal note stating that the land was not reckoned as *catoecic* (*οὐ φέρεται ἐν τῇ κατοικίαι*), so that the recipients no doubt stood on a footing different from that of ordinary *κάτοικοι*. Large *κληῆροι* of 320–500 arourae are however mentioned in 99. 45 sqq., and the owners seem to be *κάτοικοι ἰππεῖς*; but probably grants of this size were exceptional.

Two new facts about the *κάτοικοι* which appear from these lists are (1) that the assignment of grants to them was not the result of one or two settlements on a large scale but of a gradual process spread over several reigns, (2) that the *κάτοικοι* were largely recruited from cleruchs of a different and probably lower grade; cf. 124. 32–3, note. In the 51st year out of three *κάτοικοι* at Kerkeosiris whose tenure dated from the time of Epiphanes one, Dionysius son of Pyrrhichus (62. 48), belonged to the class of those who were transferred from the ‘thirty-arourae holders (under the leadership) of Phyleus’; of the thirteen who were instituted in Philometor’s reign two, Ptolemaeus who had recently succeeded to the *κληῆρος* of his father Apollonius, and Asclepiades son of Ptolemaeus, each of whom held 24 arourae, had been transferred from the *ephodi* (62. 87–93), and two, Artabas son of Pantauchus and Nektenibis son of Horus, each of whom owned 10 arourae (62. 94–7), from the *ἐρημοφύλακες*; while of the thirteen *κάτοικοι* appointed under Euergetes four had been transferred from the *ephodi*, three of whom, Demetrius son of Heraclides, Asclepiades son of Asclepiades, and Petron son of Theon, owned 24 arourae each, and one, Acusilaus son of Asclepiades, 10 arourae (62. 139–49). The elevation of Maron son of Dionysius in the 52nd year from the position of *φυλακίτης* to that of *κάτοικος*, when he received 15 arourae in addition to the 10 which he previously owned, has already been alluded to. The reference to the ‘thirty-arourae holders of Phyleus’ is particularly interesting, because a member of this class is mentioned in P. Petrie II. 38. (a) 7, where he is called a *κληροῦχος*, and we have thus direct evidence of the incorporation of some at any rate of the earlier cleruchs into the *κάτοικοι*, a fact which has an important bearing on the relation of the *κάτοικοι* to the *κληροῦχοι* of the third cent. B.C. (*v. inf.*). What the significance of the transfer was in this particular case it is impossible to say owing to the paucity of data for determining the military status of the *τριακοντάρουροι Φυλέως* in both instances. Possibly it may be connected with a promotion from the infantry to the cavalry, for *τριακοντάρουροι πεζοί* are known from P. Petrie II. p. 37 (c) 1 (cf. 137); but this is a mere guess, and the question is complicated by the circumstance that the *κάτοικος* in question owned only $18\frac{3}{8}$ arourae at Kerkeosiris, though it is not likely that this represents the whole grant assigned at the time of the original transfer. On the process and consequences of the transfer from the *ἐφοδοί* and lower ranks

of cleruchs to the grade of *κάτοικος* much light is thrown by 32, which shows that the new *κάτοικος* adopted a different nationality, that he was to be released from the duties attaching to the office which he previously held, and was enrolled in one of the hipparchies, becoming a *ἐκατοντάρουρος*. That in practice the transfer of a cleruch to the class of *κάτοικος* did not always ensure the remission of his previous duties appears from 124. 36-9, where there is a regulation bearing on this subject; cf. the distinction between *φυλακιδῶν τῶν μεταβεβηκότων* and *φυλακιδῶν καθ' ἑαυτούς* in 66. 83-5, and 85. 76, where Artabas son of Pantauchus is still called *ἐρημοφύλαξ* after he had become a *κάτοικος*.

Those *κάτοικοι* who are not stated to have been transferred from another class of cleruchs (i. e. who were *ἐξ ἰδιοκτημόνων*), 124. 32) are generally described as *προσειλημμένοι* (either expressed or implied) *διὰ* the officer (*ἐπιστάτης* or *γραμματεὺς*, cf. 124. 38) who presided over the *σύνταξις* of *κάτοικοι* (cf. 30. 15); e. g. *οἱ δι' Ἐρμαφίλου* (62. 39), *οἱ διὰ Διονυσίου εἰς τοὺς κατοίκους ἰππεῖς* (62. 66; cf. 79. 52), *οἱ προσειλημμένοι εἰς τοὺς κατ. ἰπ. διὰ Κρίτωνος* (62. 117), who are called in 61. (a) 19 *Κριτώνειοι*. The *συγγενεῖς κάτοικοι* (62. 58, cf. 32. 9, note) who received grants in Philometor's reign form a class by themselves.

(b) Besides the *κάτοικοι*, four classes of civil officials owned *κλήροι* at Kerkeosiris in the 51st year. These were one *χερσέφιππος* (in 60. 21, &c. called *τριακοντάρουρος χερσ.*) owning $34\frac{3}{2}$ arourae, whose tenure dated from Philopator's reign (62. 34-5), two ephodi, both owning 24 arourae and dating from Euergetes II's reign (62. 151-8), three *φυλακῖται*, each owning 10 arourae and dating from the reign of Philometor (62. 107-14), and three *ἐρημοφύλακες*, also each owning 10 arourae, whose tenure in one case dated from the reign of Eriphanes (62. 53), in the other two cases from that of Philometor (62. 100-5). The *φυλακῖται* and *ἐρημοφύλακες* were police, the former being responsible for the village and the land under cultivation, in connexion with which they had also financial duties (cf. 5. 159, note), the latter keeping guard over the desert, which along the south of the Fayûm is intersected by numerous roads to the Nile valley or the oases. For determining the duties of the ephodi, who were inspectors, there is less evidence. They are generally coupled with the guards, as here; cf. Rev. Laws x. I, xii. 17, and a Petrie papyrus quoted in *ibid.* App. ii. p. 189. From the two passages in Rev. Laws it appears that they were concerned with the supervision of the tax-farmers and tax-collectors, and they seem to have had other financial duties (cf. 96. introd.). While the size of their respective holdings indicates they were more important officials than the *φυλακῖται*, their functions were no doubt similar, for in the Roman period the *ἀρχέφοδος* takes the place of the *ἀρχιφυλακῖτης* as the principal police officer of a village. The *χερσέφιππος* is not found outside the present series of papyri, and for a

explanation we are dependent solely upon his title, which shows that he was accustomed to ride a horse over the desert. Perhaps he belonged to a cavalry corps of which the horses were specially trained for the desert. It is more likely, however, since the *χερσέφιππος* was not a *κάτοικος*, that he was not a soldier, and in that case he may have held towards the *ἐφοδοί* the same kind of relation which the *ἐρημοφύλακες* held towards the *φυλακίται*. Whether there were other *ἐφοδοί*, *φυλακίται*, &c. at Kerkeosiris who held no *κλήροι* there is no evidence to show; but it is practically certain that when *κλήροι* were assigned to these officials, 24 arourae was the normal allowance of an *ἐφοδος* and 10 arourae that of a *φυλακίτης* or *ἐρημοφύλαξ*, for when, as often happened, one of these officials was promoted to the *κατοικία* he is generally found still owning 24 or 10 arourae at Kerkeosiris (*v. sup.*), and the ten *φυλακίται* of Magdola who had *κλήροι* in each case owned 10 arourae (83. 40-64).

With regard to the nationality of this class of cleruchs, it is probable that some were Greeks and some Egyptians. The majority of those at Kerkeosiris bear Greek names, but there are two who have Egyptian (*Ἐτφεμοῦνις Ἀμορταίου*, 62. 112, and *Μάρων ὁ καὶ Νεκτράφθις*, *v. sup.*); in the list of *φυλακίται* at Magdola Egyptian names preponderate. Names are, as has been said, a very insecure guide, but there is less reason than in the case of the *κάτοικοι* for expecting the *ἐφοδοί*, &c. to be necessarily Greeks. In the two instances where their nationality is definitely known—Asclepiades, the ephodus who became a *κάτοικος* (32. 18), and Dionysius who succeeded to the *κλήρος* of Menander, the *χερσέφιππος* (31. 16)—they were Macedonians, but it is impossible to argue from these cases to the *φυλακίται* and *ἐρημοφύλακες*.

In the 5th year of Soter II (B. C. 113-2), as appears from 65. 19 and 147, a grant of 20 arourae from the Crown lands which yielded no rent owing to their being flooded was made to Menches the *komogrammateus*, and this is included by him in the list of cleruchic land. This instance of a *κλήρος* being given to a civil official who had none of the police duties attaching to the *ἐφοδοί*, *φυλακίται*, &c. stands by itself, and may perhaps represent a new policy inaugurated towards the end of the second century B. C. Menches continued to hold the office of *κωμογραμματεὺς* for two years after the grant of his *κλήρος*. Whether the land remained in his possession or passed on to his successor Petesuchus, who was very likely his son, is uncertain. It is on the whole probable that Menches was an Egyptian, since there is good reason for identifying him with the Menches in 164, who is apparently called an *ἐγχώριος*.

(c) In the two previous classes of cleruchs at Kerkeosiris we have been concerned wholly or mainly with Greeks. The third class consists wholly or mainly of native Egyptians, and falls into two chief subdivisions, the *ἱππεῖς*

(in 61. (a) 53 called μάχιμοι ἰππεῖς as opposed e. g. to κάτοικοι ἰππεῖς) and ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι. It has generally been supposed that the μάχιμοι were distinctly Egyptians as opposed to Greeks, though P. Meyer (*Heerwesen*, p. 64) has lately put forward the contrary view, the objections to which are well stated by Schubart, *Quaestiones*, pp. 58 sqq. The present series of papyri shows Meyer's view to be quite untenable. That most, if not all, of the μάχιμοι who held κλήροι at Kerkeosiris were Egyptians is indicated not only by their names, in which the Egyptian element preponderates to an overwhelming extent, but by the fact that they were grouped under a λαορχία, that of Chomenis (e. g. 62. 258). λαός is known from many instances to be the technical expression for Egyptians as contrasted with Greeks, and would be wholly inapplicable to a body of Greek soldiers. But the possibility that there were some Greeks even among the ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι of Kerkeosiris cannot be eliminated, for not only do we find at Magdola persons with Greek names who seem to be πεντάρουροι μάχιμοι (63. introd.), but, what is more important, in 139 (cf. 120. introd.) Ἕλληνες μάχιμοι are contrasted with Αἰγύπτιοι μάχιμοι and ἄλλοι μάχιμοι (? Arabs or blacks). These two instances of Ἕλληνες μάχιμοι in the reign of Ptolemy Alexander or later are not conclusive evidence for the existence of Greek μάχιμοι in the reign of Soter II; but in the Menches papyri no less than in those belonging to the first century B. C. μάχιμοι are found as attendants upon various officials (112. 81, note), and there are no grounds for postulating that any great changes in their position took place at the end of the second century. The ἰππεῖς who owned land at Kerkeosiris consisted of one τριακοντάρουρος, who, however, had only 5 arourae there, the rest being at Tebtunis (62. 161-2), five εικοσιάρουροι each owning 19 arourae, and two εικοσιάρουροι who owned only 15 and 5 arourae respectively, the rest being at Tebtunis. The ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι uniformly owned $6\frac{1}{2}$ arourae except one who had part of his κλήρος at Ἄρεως κώμη. Thus in every case where it is not expressly stated that a μάχιμος held land at another village, the κλήροι are slightly smaller than would be expected from the titles of the holders, and the same phenomenon occurs with regard to the ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι settled by Chomenis at the village which is the subject of 87. Possibly this was a normal practice; or the slight discrepancy may have some connexion with the fact that 130 arourae at Kerkeosiris were dedicated to the god Soknebtunis by the ἰππεῖς and ἐπτάρουροι μάχιμοι under Chomenis (63. 19-20, cf. p. 543). But the amount so accounted for is less than the land given to the god, and cf. 61. (b) 333, note, and p. 430.

The practice of giving κλήροι to the μάχιμοι can be traced back to the third century B. C. (5. 44, note), but none of that class received grants at Kerkeosiris before the latter years of Euergetes II. All the ἰππεῖς and thirty of the

ἐπτάρουροι Χομήνιος obtained their land in the 41st year (62. 240), four of the ἐπτάρουροι in the 42nd (62. 241). In the 46th year twelve more who had originally been located in the μερίς of Heraclides by Horus and Pesouris were transferred and registered by Ptolemaeus and Xenon, the scribes of the μάχιμοι, in the same category as those settled by Chomenis (62. 252-83); while five others were admitted by Ptolemaeus and Xenon, but were registered under their names and not under that of Chomenis, two of them being within a short time deprived of their land (62. 286-93; cf. 143). Lastly, in the 50th year seven μάχιμοι of Chomenis at Ibion τῶν Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων were deprived of their holdings and received land at Kerkeosiris instead (66. 25). One of these must have lost his κλήρος at once, for in the 51st year (62. 294-307) there are only six, and of these one had his κλήρος confiscated in the 52nd year (61. (b) 115; cf. 62. 307, note). The effect of this confiscation was to reduce the whole area of the land owned by the ἱππεῖς and μάχιμοι of Chomenis from 454½ arourae in the 51st year to 448 in the 52nd (62. 307, note), and the total of the κληρουχική (which had been 1555½ arourae in about the 48th year; cf. 143) from 1581½ to 1574¾ arourae; but owing to an error connected with the promotion of Maron the figure found in 60. 18 and 61. (a) 158 is 1564¾; cf. 60. 20, note.

These large settlements of native troops in the Fayûm during the 41st and 42nd years have a special interest, because at that period the country was much disturbed. The papyri of the present volume (see especially 72. 45) point to the 40th year as the date of the general ἀμείλια, which is also the date of the revolt mentioned in a Theban papyrus (Revillout, *Mélanges*, p. 295¹); and although none of the documents was written in the 41st or 42nd years, these grants of land then made in the Fayûm indicate that Euergetes II had by the 41st year recovered possession of that province, if indeed he had ever lost it. Probably the large accessions to the native troops who were endowed with κλήροι was part of his general policy of favouring the Egyptian portion of his subjects, which moreover he had special reasons for conciliating at this crisis. In any case the Tebtunis papyri indicate that order was re-established in the Fayûm in the 41st year, and add one more to the difficulties connected with the temporary transfer of the allegiance of Thebes from Euergetes II to Cleopatra II, which is supposed by Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 785) to have taken place near the end of the 41st year. The story of Justin (xxxviii. 8) about the flight of Euergetes with Cleopatra III and a son of Cleopatra II, the murder of

¹ There is no reference in that papyrus to the king. M. De Ricci, who has examined it, reads in the critical passage προσπέτωκε γὰρ Παῶν ἀναπλεῖν for Revillout's προσπέτωκε ὁ βασιλεὺς πλῶν ἀνατελεῖν (γὰρ Παῶν had already been conjectured by Strack, *Dynastie*, p. 46, note 3).

this son and the subsequent invasion of Egypt, is a much exaggerated account of this ἀμιξία in the 40th year (cf. Strack, *Dynastie*, p. 44), and it is very doubtful whether Euergetes lost even Alexandria. Another of the crimes alleged against him by Justin in the same chapter, the murder in B.C. 145 of a youthful son of Philometor, is open to still graver suspicion. This son has generally been identified with Eupator, who was undoubtedly a son of Philometor and associated with him in the sovereignty at some period, though the evidence for his being king at the time of Philometor's death rests only upon the uncertain interpretation of a supposed double date upon a coin; cf. Strack, *op. cit.* p. 37. But in a Gebelên demotic papyrus in the Rylands Library, recently deciphered by Griffith, Eupator is associated with his parents in the sovereignty in their 29th year; and his disappearance from the dates in contracts of the later years of Philometor, coupled with the retention of the priesthood of Eupator, indicates his early death, long before that of his father. If this view is correct, the story of the assassination of a son of Philometor by Euergetes II in B.C. 145 is probably a mere fiction.

We have endeavoured in this brief sketch to indicate the distinguishing features of the three classes of cleruchs; but there are several points of importance to be noticed which are common to them all. Where new cleruchs received grants without dispossessing the previous holders and the area of the κληρουχική was consequently increased at the expense of the Crown lands, the law was that arable land (σπόριμος), which was yielding a rent, was not available for this purpose, but that uncultivated land (ὑπόλογον) was to be used. The precise character of the grant varied from time to time; generally it was dry land (χέρσος, cf. 61. (a) 8, (b) 226, 79. 16), but, as has been pointed out (p. 542), land belonging to the νομαὶ ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως which yielded a revenue was occasionally employed. A contrast is sometimes drawn (e.g. 72. 181-3) between the ὑπόλογον which was καθήκον for this purpose and that which was not (cf. P. Amh. II. 68 ἀπὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ὑπολόγου); and the distinction probably depended upon the permanent or temporary character of the reasons which had led to the land becoming uncultivated. The principle that arable Crown land was not to be given to cleruchs, which seems to have been laid down in detail, though probably not for the first time, by several decrees in the 32nd year of Philometor (72. 166), was however often violated by the officials who were responsible for the assignments. In the case of the μάχιμοι, of whom certainly those transferred from Ibion (66. 23), and perhaps all (60. 27-8, note), received grants from the ἐσπαρμένη without having their validity, so far as we know, called in question, the government seems to have purposely made an exception from its general practice; but the difficulties that arose from grants

of arable land to other cleruchs are constantly referred to. The decisions of the government on the subject varied considerably. In 79 (probably written in Philometor's reign) cleruchs who had received *σπόριμος* were deprived of it and received *χέρσος* instead. On another occasion however in the 48th year of the next reign (61. (b) 213-46) persons in a similar position were by the orders of the dioecetes allowed to keep the *σπόριμος*, in some cases, as it seems, without having to make any payment, but in others after paying the normal rent of one year to the Crown, while for making good the deficiency different regulations were laid down for the separate *μερίδες* of the Arsinoite nome (cf. 61. (b) 215, note). By the decrees of Euergetes II issued in his 52nd year (5. 36-43) the practice of guaranteeing the ownership of wrongly acquired land to its *de facto* occupier upon payment of a year's rent was made universal; but in another series of decrees (124. 25-9) the validity of doubtful grants to certain cleruchs was confirmed without any mention of a payment, and there seem to have been other decrees issued regarding individual cases (61. (b) 236; cf. 61. (a) 24-5, where the disputed holding of Bromerus is said to have been restored to him in accordance with the decisions of the dioecetes and the *ὑπομνηματογράφος*, and p. 575).

Having received his grant of uncultivated land, a cleruch could either reclaim and cultivate it himself or lease it to others, an example of such a lease being preserved in 106. In the 52nd year (60. 36-7, note) only about half of the cleruchic land was under cultivation; the other half partly had not been reclaimed, partly was unsown on account of temporary reasons. The grant was far from being a free gift, for a new cleruch was upon his appointment called upon to pay a heavy sum to the state in the form of a golden crown (the *προσλήψεως στέφανος*, 61. (b) 254, note), and his land was subject to a number of taxes of which some are known from the Petrie papyri to have been paid by the third century B. C. cleruchs, e. g. the *λειτουργικόν* (102. 3), *στέφανος* and *ἀνιπία* (99. 56), while others, e. g. the tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba or 1 artaba or 2 artabae (61. (b) 323-41, note, 98. introd., 5. 59, note), *κοινωνικά* (100. 10), the *γραμματικόν* (61. (b) 342), and *εἰσφορά* (98. introd.), are new. It is indeed difficult to see how these grants of land, which must have been of inferior quality, can have yielded much profit to the owners, and there is evidence that the owners were often anxious to give them up (*v. inf.*). Failure to fulfil his obligations to the State led to a cleruch's holding being placed *ἐν κατοχῇ*, by which proceeding the State had a first charge on the produce. A section dealing with these *κατόχιμοι κλήροι* is found in the general reports upon the land at Kerkeosiris (61. (b) 253-94, 64. (b) 6-33, and 72. 226-303). The non-payment of the *προσλήψεως στέφανος* is the most frequently mentioned cause of holdings being put

in that category (cf. 60. 102), and there are instances where continued failure to pay the due amount led to the transference of a κλήρος to a person who was willing to make the necessary contribution (cf. 61. (a) 1-8, note). In some cases a cleruch was apparently threatened with the confiscation of his holding (e. g. 64. (a) 141), unless the full amount of the $\frac{1}{2}$ -artaba tax was forthcoming, or unless the komogrammateus was willing to become surety for him (64. (a) 54, note). Holdings were also liable to be placed ἐν κατοχῇ for reasons not connected with monetary obligations to the state, e. g. those of the ἐπτάρουρος guilty of arson (61. (b) 285-94), and the cleruchs accused of theft in 53. 25; cf. 61. (a) 285. The rights of ownership exercised by a cleruch were thus very far from being complete. The κληρουχικὴ γῆ is apparently distinguished from the ιδιόκτητος (5. 111), and the κάτοικοι from the ιδιοκτήμονες (124. 32), just as in Rev. Laws xxxvi. 12-5 the κληροῦχοι are contrasted with οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ κεκτημένοι ἀμπελώνας ἢ παραδείσους. Under normal circumstances a κλήρος descended from father to son; cf. 124. 25 and 33, where the possession of κλήροι is guaranteed to the ἔγγονοι of cleruchs. Generally one son (presumably the eldest) succeeded, but in 62. 59-61 there is an example of a κλήρος being equally divided between two. This does not however prove that cleruchs in the second century B. C. could dispose of their holdings by will, for the third century B. C. cleruchs seem to have been unable to do so, although the same principle of succession from father to son prevailed. Moreover we have had occasion to point out numerous instances in which the government interfered in the arrangement of κλήροι. When a cleruch became impoverished and found himself unable to bear the monetary liabilities connected with the ownership of his κλήρος, he was sometimes allowed to resign it (124. 30-6); and there are several examples of the παραχώρησις of land by cleruchs, probably for the same reason (cf. 30-1 and 239). This term does not preclude the idea of a sale; but since the possession of a κλήρος was connected with the performance of certain military or civil duties, it is not at all likely that a cleruch was allowed to dispose of his land unfettered by government control. The παραχώρησις of the holding of Theon son of Theon to Acusilaus son of Asclepiades, for which leave is stated to have been given, is contrasted with another παραχώρησις which had been made without the sanction of the dioecetes (64. (a) 55-63), and it is clear that the παραχωρήσεις legalized by 124. 30-6 were of doubtful validity before that decree was issued.

On the vexed question of the meaning of the phrase τῆς ἐπιγονῆς the Tebtunis papyri do not throw much light, though Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς are frequently mentioned, and Μακεδόνες τῆς ἐπιγονῆς appear twice (104. 36 and 105. 53), being contrasted in the latter passage with Μακεδόνες τῶν κατοίκων ἰππέων. Possibly some of the non-catoecic cleruchs who held κλήροι in virtue of civil

offices were τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ; but it is significant that Didymarchus who succeeded to the κλήρος of the χερσέφιππος at Kerkeosiris styles himself Μακεδών simply, and the omission of τῆς ἐπιγονῆς there is not likely to be accidental. That the κάτοικοι were sometimes recruited from persons τῆς ἐπιγονῆς is shown by the case of Theotimus son of Phileas at Theadelphia (P. Fay. Towns 12), whose promotion, as has been said, presents some analogies to that of the ephodus Asclepiades. Probably the sons of κάτοικοι were τῆς ἐπιγονῆς before they (or one of them) succeeded to their father's holding, just as the sons of the third century B. C. κληροῦχοι were τῆς ἐπιγονῆς before they became themselves κληροῦχοι (Schubart, *Quaestiones*, p. 24). In fact, so far as the present evidence for the ἐπίγονοι and persons τῆς ἐπιγονῆς in the second century B. C. carries us, we are disposed to extend to the ἐπιγονὴ κατοίκων most of what Schubart considers to apply only to the ἐπιγονὴ κληροῦχων. The principal difference which he finds between them (p. 29), that persons might in the later period, but not in the earlier, belong to the ἐπιγονή throughout their lives, is based on a very uncertain inference from two papyri written by an exceptionally careless scribe, and is open to the further objection that there is no evidence to show that in the third century B. C. the class of persons called τῆς ἐπιγονῆς excludes sons who never succeeded to a κλήρος. It is on the contrary more likely that in both periods there were some persons τῆς ἐπιγονῆς who at their father's death did not succeed to his κλήρος. For indeed the whole tenour of the new evidence about the κάτοικοι afforded by the present volume is to show that they were practically the κληροῦχοι of the Petrie papyri under another name. It was inevitable that so long as all the information about κληροῦχοι was derived from the Fayûm, and all that about the κάτοικοι from the Memphite nome or the Thebaid, the proper relation between the two classes could not be grasped, and there should be a tendency to insist on the differences rather than the resemblances. Now that there is material for forming a picture of the military colony in the Fayûm in the second century as well as in the third, it is difficult to trace any essential difference between the κάτοικοι and their predecessors the κληροῦχοι. The explanation of the change of title probably lies in the widening of the term κληροῦχος, which lost its military flavour when κλήροι in the Fayûm came to be granted to civilian officials, and therefore necessitated the introduction of another term, κάτοικος, to denote the Greek military settler. The evidence at present available points to the reign of Philopator as the period when this change was introduced. The papyri of the present volume carry back the use of the term to Epiphanes' reign, when we find a κληροῦχος becoming a κάτοικος (cf. p. 549), and the land of the ἐβδομηκοντάμυρος whose tenure dated from Philopator's reign, though he is not himself called a κάτοικος, is included in the total of the

κάτοικοι; while on the other hand amid the numerous documents in the Petrie papyri dealing with the cleruchs settled under Philadelphus and Euergetes κάτοικοι are remarkable for their absence. The silence of the Petrie papyri on the subject of κάτοικοι is not indeed a very secure foundation for argument; but until evidence is forthcoming to show that κάτοικοι existed in the reigns of Philadelphus and Euergetes I, either as distinct from κληροῦχοι or as a subdivision of them, there is no need to postulate a wider difference between the two classes than what we have suggested.

§ 4. *Crown Land.*

Of the seven classes into which the land of Kerkeosiris was divided (p. 538) six have now been discussed; the remainder constituted the βασιλική γῆ, of which the area was regularly obtained by subtracting from the whole 4700 arourae the sum of those six items. In the 52nd year (60. 45, 61. (a) 158) these amounted to $2272\frac{1}{2}$ arourae, leaving $2427\frac{1}{2}$ for the βασιλική, which figure is carried on to the 53rd year (61. (a) 159) and remained unaltered up to the 4th year of Soter II (cf 72. 225 and 339 with 61. (a) 165-6). In the 5th year the total of the βασιλική was diminished by 20 arourae assigned to Menches and included in the κληρουχική (65. 19, 75. 50). The rent credited to these $2427\frac{1}{2}$ arourae is stated in 60. 47 and 61. (a) 160 to be 12330 $\frac{2}{3}$ artabae of wheat; but in 60. 97 and 61. (b) 248 a total of 12346 $\frac{2}{3}$ artabae is implied by the addition of the figures, the difference being apparently due to a mistake in arithmetic which caused the disappearance of 16 artabae in one of the items; cf. notes on 61. (b) 183 and 248. That 12346 $\frac{2}{3}$ is more correct for the 53rd year is shown by its being the total implied for the 4th year; cf. note on 72. 222.

This figure represents not what the Crown actually received from the βασιλική γῆ, about half of which, as will appear, was uncultivated and produced no rent at all, but what would have been received if the rents of the land had been maintained at the level at which they seem to have been fixed in the first year of the joint rule of Philometor and Euergetes (cf. 61. (b) 149 and 195, notes), or, where a subsequent rise of rent had taken place, at this higher rate. The responsibility of accounting for this largely imaginary revenue, which was more or less permanently ascribed to the Crown lands of Kerkeosiris in the books of the central revenue office at Alexandria, fell upon the komogrammateus, if, as seems most likely, he was the official who drew up 61, 64, and 72. In their complete form those documents provided a detailed report of the whole $2427\frac{1}{2}$ arourae and 12346 $\frac{2}{3}$ (or 12330 $\frac{2}{3}$) artabae credited to the βασιλική γῆ, showing how much of the rents due was forthcoming, and in those cases where there was

a deficiency, when and in what circumstances it had arisen. With this end in view the totals for the βασιλική are divided into six categories (a) ἀπηγμένον, (b) ἀπηγμένον α ἔτους ἐκφόριον, (c) κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος, (d) ἐν συγκρίσει, (e) ἐν ὑπολόγῳ, (f) ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ. To anticipate some of the results of subsequent investigation, the ἀπηγμένον was the land actually under cultivation and producing a revenue to the Crown; the ἀπηγμένον α ἔτους ἐκφόριον refers to land that had ceased to be βασιλική but had for one year produced a rent, though by the 53rd year it did so no longer; land in the κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος had its proceeds assigned to a special purpose and therefore stood apart from the general Crown revenues; under the heading ἐν συγκρίσει the loss to the Crown owing to the reduction of rents is detailed; land ἐν ὑπολόγῳ was out of cultivation, and wholly unprofitable. Of these the only class of land which was actually yielding the rent accredited to it was the ἀπηγμένον; the sums accounted for under the other four heads were all of a theoretical character, but were necessary items in the completion of a total based on an estimate made many years previously and no longer coinciding with the facts. Land ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ, which constitutes the sixth category, is treated somewhat differently from the other five, since it is the first item to be subtracted from the whole area of the βασιλική (80. 48-50, 81. (a) 163-6) but the last to be considered (81. (b) 346-430, 72. 336-439), while the other five are grouped together (80. 98-100, 81. (b) 249-51, 72. 223-5). Under this heading are classed (a) increases of rent which had taken place since the general valuation in B.C. 170-69, (b) land which had gone out of cultivation before that year; cf. § 10.

In estimating the revenues from the Crown lands the standard is the artaba of wheat, containing probably 36 choenices (81. (a) 386, note), to which all the rents whether in kind or money are ultimately reduced. In the case of wheat-bearing land, the rent would naturally be paid in wheat, and part of the rent of land sown with other crops, e.g. barley or lentils, was paid in wheat, the rest being collected in other produce or in money and then converted into wheat at a fixed ratio. The full technical expression indicating such a conversion is e.g. in the case of a payment in barley κριθῆς αἱ πυροῦ (or πυρῶ) followed by the number of artabae of wheat which resulted from the conversion; but αἱ πυροῦ is often omitted, and κριθῆς ἀρτάβαι ρ in the official reports can mean according to the context either 100 artabae of barley or the amount of barley equivalent to 100 artabae of wheat.

The theoretical total of the rents of the whole βασιλική γῆ in 81. (a) 160-1, 10330 $\frac{3}{4}$ artabae of wheat, is thus divided into four parts according as the payments were made in wheat, barley, olyra (durra, not spelt, in the opinion of

Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 158) or copper money (omitted by an error, cf. note on 61. (a) 161). The value of wheat compared to barley, as is shown by numerous instances, was 5 : 3, that of wheat to olyra is proved by 246 and 261 to have been 5 : 2 ; the official rate of conversion of payments in copper money into wheat is nowhere clearly stated (cf. 68. 60, note), and owing to the great fluctuation in the prices of an artaba of wheat found in this volume cannot be determined (cf. p. 584). The figures of the four parts have naturally as little reference to actual facts as the total which they form. The rents of the six classes of land are indeed distributed under the four heads *πυροῦ*, *κριθῆς*, *δλύρας*, and *χαλκοῦ*; but in the reports dealing with the land actually cultivated (the *ἀπηγμένον*) the rents which help to make up the totals given in 61. (a) 161 are different from those recorded as paid, though they appear in some cases, e. g. 67, 68 and 70, under the *γενισμός* (67. 5, note), where they are described (67. 64) as *ἐγ μὲν τῆς ὑποθήκης* and are contrasted with the rents which had to be collected (*ἐγ δὲ τούτων δ δεῖ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι*, 67. 67). The figures therefore in 61. (a) 161 merely represent a fixed estimate, and even where they are brought into relation with the rents actually received no attempt is made to revise them. Hence though 91½ artabae of wheat paid in olyra out of the whole 326½ have to be accounted for in the *ἀπηγμένον* (67. 6-7) of the 53rd year, no olyra was paid at all in that year, while on the other hand the equivalent of 500 artabae of wheat was paid in lentils (67. 69), a fact which in no way influences the totals in 61. (a) 161. The value of an artaba of lentils was probably the same as that of an artaba of wheat. In a private account written some years later (122. 6-7) the relation of lentils to barley (20 : 13) is nearly the same as that of wheat to barley (5 : 3), and the identity of the value of wheat and lentils would perfectly explain the fact that in 67. 32 the rent of the barley-bearing land which was actually paid in barley, viz. the equivalent of 787½ artabae of wheat, is converted into barley, making 1312½ artabae, while there is no corresponding conversion in the case of the lentils; cf. 80. 29, note. With this preface we proceed to a more detailed examination of the six classes of *βασιλικὴ γῆ*.

§ 5. *The Land under Cultivation.*

The Crown land capable of cultivation and the rents which it actually yielded are placed in 60. 98, 61. (b) 249, and 72. 223 under the title *ἀπηγμένον*. The abbreviation is nowhere written out in full and the gender and case are in any case uncertain; but there is little doubt of its being the perfect participle passive of *ἀπάγειν*, which in the commonly recurring phrase *ἀπηγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείω συναγομένου ἐξ εἰκασίας* (cf. 67. 15, 37, notes) is written out in 70. 27 but is normally abbreviated *ἀπη*(). The technical sense of *ἀπάγειν* in those passages

is difficult. In a sense it means 'deduct,' but where one sum is actually subtracted from another the words used are *ἀπταναιρέιν* (67. 47) or *καταχωρίζειν* (67. 18). 'Deducted from the hypothetical surplus' is a circuitous way of saying 'accounted for in the hypothetical surplus,' meaning that the sum in question was an item in a total already mentioned. Applying this to *ἀπηγμένον* as a general expression for land under cultivation and its rents, these might also, we think, be said to be 'deducted' in the sense of 'accounted for,' and this explanation would accord very well with the circumstance that *ἀπηγμένον* only occurs as a general expression for cultivated land and its rents where an account of these has preceded in the same papyrus, and is never found in the actual accounts themselves. In the 53rd year (60. 55, 61. (a) 69-78, note, (b) 249) the total of the cultivated area was $1139\frac{1}{2}$ arourae yielding a rent of $4642\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat; in the 4th year (72. 223) the corresponding totals were $1203\frac{1}{2}$ arourae and $4670\frac{5}{12}$ artabae. The details were given in the earlier part of 61 and 72, and in the former case are partly preserved (61. (a) 182-221); but there are extant a number of separate reports of the komogrammateus upon the land under cultivation (66-70, 153-5), and of these one (67) deals with the same year as 61, and another (69) with the same year as 72. There are some divergences in the corresponding figures, the arrangement of the sections concerning land grown with wheat and barley being different in 61. (a) and 67, with the result that the total number of artabae is 16 less in 61. (a) (cf. p. 565), while the number of arourae in 72. 223 (cf. 89. 6) is 10 more than in 69 owing to the inclusion of a reclamation which took place during the year (cf. 72. 223, note), and which creates a slight increase in the total of the artabae also. We append a table of the crops and rents as shown by 66-70, which are complete or practically so, adding in brackets in the case of 67 and 69 the corresponding figures of 61. (a) and 72 where they are different. In each pair of entries the upper number refers to arourae, the lower to artabae of wheat, to which all the rents were ultimately reduced. As we have already had occasion to point out, the arithmetic in these reports is often very faulty, especially in the treatment of fractions. Long addition or multiplication sums are seldom brought out quite correctly. In 68 there is probably a mistake of 100 in the total of the artabae, which should be $4709\frac{1}{2}$ (cf. 68. 4, note, and p. 565), and there is an inconsistency of 100 artabae in the totals given for the 5th and 6th years by different papyri (cf. p. 563). The origin of all these errors of 100 artabae seems to be the wrong figure assigned to the 53rd year in 68 (4542 instead of 4642), and it is probable that from the 54th year onwards wherever 6 is found in the hundreds column of the total of the artabae it is a mistake for 7. For the details concerning the individual figures the reader is referred to the commentary upon these papyri.

	66	67	68	69	70
	50th year	53rd year	54th year	4th year	7th year
πυρῶι . . .	{ 657½ 2743¾	576⅞ (606⅞) 2567½ (2698⅝)	611¾ 2562¾	611¾ 2654¼	702 29991⅞
κριθῆι . . .	{ 20 98¾	178⅞ (148⅞) 787¾ (630⅝)	141½ 615	91 384⅞	114½ 411¼
δλῦραι . . .	{ 10 40	none	none	none	none
φακῶι . . .	{ 232 1103½	211 932⅞	211 984¾	193½ 844¾	163½ 738¼
τήλει . . .	{ 10½ 46⅞	none	5½ 22	2 6	10½ 30¾
μελανθῶι . . .	{ 18 104⅞	none	1 [4?]	1 4	none
φασήλωι . . .	{ 10 58⅞	none	14 [68½?]	12½ 51⅞	9 34
σκόρδωι . . .	none	none	none	none	{ 4½ 11½
ἀράκωι . . .	{ 75½ 351⅞	38 147	31⅞ 113½	109 436⅞	69½ 257½
χόρτωι . . .	{ 8 34	7 20½	17½ 83¾	31 141⅞	9 27
χορτονομῶν . . .	{ 81 81	81 81	81 81	81 (91) 81 (83)	121⅞ 91
νομῶν . . .	{ 30 30	30 30	59 59	60 60	60 60
ἀσπόρου . . .	{ 33 155¾	17 83¾	6 15	none	none
Total arourae	1185½	1139½	1182½	1193¾ (1203¾)	1263½
artabae	4847½	4658½ (4642½)	4609½	4665⅞ (4670⅞)	4653½

The totals of some of the other years are also known; thus in the 49th year 1230½ arourae were sown yielding 5071½ artabae (66. 3), to which are added the figures of a reclamation of 78 arourae yielding 203½ artabae, making the total of land under cultivation for that year 1308½ arourae at a rent of 5274½ artabae (66. 18). In the 52nd year (61. (a) 178, 67. 4) the figures were 1139½ arourae and 4642½ artabae, which are identical with those found for the 53rd year in 60. 55.

In the 3rd year (60. 5) the totals were 1193 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae and 4665 $\frac{5}{8}$ artabae, or the same as those found in the same papyrus for the 4th year. For the 5th year (75) they are 1261 $\frac{9}{18}$ and 4645 $\frac{2}{3}$ (in 154 4745 $\frac{2}{3}$) and for the 6th year (70. 4) 1263 $\frac{1}{18}$ arourae and 4653 $\frac{1}{2}$ (in 154 4753 $\frac{1}{2}$) artabae. The most profitable year was thus the first of the series, the 49th, when both the area under cultivation and the rents were at their highest. By the 52nd year nearly 170 arourae had gone out of cultivation, and while this loss was counterbalanced by subsequent reclamations, the rent of reclaimed land was too low to bring the total rents back to their figure in the 49th year, though from the 54th year onwards the real totals of the artabae were probably always in excess of 4700; cf. p. 561.

Excluding the *ἄσπορος γῆ* which, though irrigated (*βεβρεγμένη*), had not been cultivated through the fault of the *γεωργοί*, and which is naturally included in the account of land under cultivation because the rents were exacted without deduction (*ἀνυπόλογον* 61. (a) 177; cf. 60. 52-4, 67. 70-88), the other twelve divisions of crops are arranged in four groups of which the totals are added up separately. The first of these, which includes the wheat, barley, olyra, and lentils, forms the *σίτος* (e.g. 66. 41). Wheat is naturally by far the most important grain, comprising more than half the whole area under cultivation, and in fact all the other crops in the table are called in comparison with wheat the *ἀλυσιτελή γένη* (68. 31). Barley was much less grown, and olyra after the 50th year disappears altogether. The fourth item, lentils, is a gradually diminishing quantity. The second group, composed of the *ἄλλα γένη*, i. e. *τῆλις* ('fenugreek,' used for unguents; cf. P. Petrie II. 34. (b) ii. 9), *μελάνθιον* (also used for spices), beans and garlic, is comparatively small and unimportant, there being a noteworthy difference in this respect between the cultivation of Crown and cleruchic land, upon which beans were extensively grown. Aracus, *χόρτος*, and *χόρτος νομῶν* constitute the third group of crops, the green stuffs (*χλωρά*), which were all used as pasture. The difference between *χόρτος* and *χόρτος νομῶν* (which = *χορτονομῶν*; cf. 60. 82, note) lay in the fact that the land on which *χόρτος* was grown was of normal fertility and was capable of bearing grain (*σιτοφόρος*), but for the year in question happened to be sown with grass in view of the rotation of crops, while the land sown with *χόρτος νομῶν* was of poor quality and was not capable of bearing any other crop than *χόρτος*, with which it was accordingly re-sown each year. The rent of the land sown with *χόρτος νομῶν* was generally 1 artaba on the aroura; but since newly reclaimed land was commonly sown with this crop, still lower rents were permitted temporarily, e.g. $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba on the aroura (75. 36-43). The area of this class of land seems to have been much larger than the amount put down under the heading *χόρτος νομῶν* in 66-70; cf. § 8.

These three groups, the *σίτος*, *ἄλλα γένη*, and *χλωρά* make up the *ἐσπαρμένη*, of which the totals are reckoned separately, e.g. 67. 58. The fourth group consisted of the *νομαί*, and was pasture-land like the land sown with *χλωρά*, but differed from the other three groups because it was not sown afresh each year and therefore there was no question of an allowance of seed (*εἰς ἣν σπέρμα οὐ χρηματίζεται*, 67. 59; cf. 60. 82 and 61. (b) 302, notes). The rent was regularly 1 artaba on the aroura.

The general principle of the rotation of crops is easily ascertainable. Leaving out of account the land on which the crops were not varied, i.e. that sown with *χόρτος νομῶν* and the *νομαί*, approximately two-thirds of the land was in any year sown with wheat or barley, the remaining third being devoted to lentils, aracus, and a few other crops. In other words the land was *ἐν ἀναπαύματι* during one year out of three, which agrees very well with the system illustrated by private leases, where it is customary to stipulate that $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the area should be sown with light crops (cf. 105. 22, note, 108. 6). Aracus, grass, and *τῆλις* are the light crops specified in 106. 22, but it is clear from the present series of reports upon the Crown lands and from 115 that lentils and beans were included in the same category. The rents of the land subject to the rotation of crops in 67-70 vary from 5 to 2 artabae on the aroura according to its productiveness. In 66 some land is rated as high as $5\frac{3}{8}$ artabae and the rent of some of the land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει* reached 10 artabae (61. (b) 387); but these high rates above 5 artabae do not appear to have been maintained. $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae on the aroura is the commonest rent of Crown land in late Ptolemaic as in Roman times; cf. 84. introd. Under normal circumstances these rents were a fixed quantity, like those of the *νομαί*, and did not change from year to year according to the crop grown. An instance of a sliding-scale of rents according to the crops grown in the previous year is found in 115; but even if the land in question was *βασιλική* it may not have been at Kerkeosiris, and though in the case of certain Crown land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει* (61. (b) 384-97) a similar sliding-scale occurs, the land in that category seems to have been altogether exceptionally treated (cf. § 10). The theoretical rent of all *βασιλική γῆ* (cf. p. 560) was undoubtedly a fixed quantity, and where for special reasons the actual rent was less, an account of the circumstances had to be given in the section dealing with land *ἐν συγκρίσει* (§ 8). Though the total of the rents *ἀ δεῖ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι* does not in these papyri exactly coincide with that *ἐξ ὑποθήκης* (*v. sup.*), a comparison of the details given in 66-70 with regard to the actual rents in different years shows that the number of arourae rated at any particular rent (e.g. 5 artabae on the aroura) remained approximately the same, when allowances are made for reclamations and losses through land ceasing to be

cultivated. The permanent character of the rents appears still more clearly from the process by which the totals for the current year are obtained in 66-70. Starting from the totals for the preceding year the komogrammateus adds on the gain from reclamations made in the course of that year after the sowing (66. 4-19, 68. 11-19), and subtracts the loss owing to failure of cultivation or other causes (66. 20-27); and the figures then reached (66. 27 and 68. 19) form the totals for the current year (66. 93 and 68. 86). Where no change had taken place in the land, the total of the rents is the same as in the year before. This is actually the case in 69 (cf. ll. 5 and 38, note), 70 (cf. ll. 4 and 61), and 61 (a) (ll. 169-78, note). 67 (cf. ll. 4 and 89) is complicated by an inconsistency with regard to the total of the artabae, the figure of which in l. 89, 4642, is in agreement with the corresponding figure in 60 and 61 (a) (cf. 61. (a) 169-78, note) and with the total of the previous year in 67. 4, while the individual items add up to $4658\frac{1}{2}$ artabae (cf. 67. 69). This difference of 16 artabae between the totals of the land under cultivation in the 52nd and 53rd years in 67 is probably connected with the difference of 16 artabae in the figures of the rents of the whole Crown lands, which are in 61 treated sometimes as $10330\frac{2}{3}$ and sometimes as $10346\frac{2}{3}$ (cf. 61. (b) 248, note, and p. 558). Whether $4658\frac{1}{2}$, the figure implied by 67, is less correct for the 53rd year than $4642\frac{1}{2}$, which is implied by 60 and 61 (a), is not certain; but if $4658\frac{1}{2}$ is right for the 53rd year, the difference between the totals for the 52nd and 53rd years in 67 is probably due to a mistake in the figures for the 52nd year. 60 and 61 were however written later than 67, and in 68. 10 (cf. note) the total for the 53rd year taken as a starting-point ($4542\frac{1}{2}$ artabae) is less than the corresponding figure in 60 and 61 (a) by 100, probably a mere slip, though the error runs through the totals for the 54th year in 68, which are accordingly 100 too small (cf. p. 561). 68 therefore tends to support $4642\frac{1}{2}$ as the figure for the 53rd year against $4658\frac{1}{2}$, and if $4642\frac{1}{2}$ was the correct figure for the 53rd year, there was no real difference between the total rents of the 52nd and 53rd years.

In the foregoing table the rents are expressed in terms of artabae of wheat without reference to the question whether they were received in wheat or not. In 61. (a), 67, 68, and 70 the figures dealing with the rents are subjected to a rearrangement by the komogrammateus in order to show how the totals were to be collected (*ἡ δὲ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι*, 67. 67). The terms in which this process is described are somewhat obscure (67. 15, note), but what was done is as follows. To the rents of the wheat-bearing land, which would naturally be paid in wheat, are added (1) the rents of the land sown with lentils in excess of 500 artabae; (2) generally (but not in 67. 28-32) the rents of the land sown with barley in excess of a certain limit, 500 artabae (61. (a) 198-9, 68. 41-2)

or 360 (70. 27-9); (3) the rents of the land sown with aracus in excess of $39\frac{5}{12}$ artabae; (4) all the rents of the land sown with the *ἄλλα γένη* (cf. 86. 42 *ἄλλοις γένεσι τοῖς πρ[ὸς] πυρὸν διοικουμένοις*), *χόρτος*, *χόρτος νομῶν* and all the rents of the *νομαί* and *ἄσπορος γῆ*. What was done in the case of land sown with olyra is uncertain, since that crop only occurs once (86. 36) in a papyrus where there is no rearrangement of the rents; but probably the rents from it were paid up to a certain amount in olyra and the remainder in wheat, as in the case of the land sown with barley and lentils. These additions to the rents under the wheat heading are balanced by corresponding deductions from the rents under the other headings. In other words the rents of Crown land were not only estimated in wheat but were collected in wheat, except (1) the rents of the land sown with lentils not exceeding the equivalent of 500 artabae of wheat; (2) as a rule, the rents of land sown with barley not exceeding the equivalent of 500 artabae of wheat or other limit (*v. sup.*); (3) the rent of land sown with aracus not exceeding the equivalent of $39\frac{5}{12}$ artabae of wheat. Up to the equivalent of 500 artabae of wheat the rents of the land sown with lentils were to be paid in lentils and generally up to a certain limit the rents of barley-land in barley, and up to the equivalent of $39\frac{5}{12}$ artabae of wheat the rents of aracus-land were to be paid in copper money, the conversions of barley, lentils, and copper money into wheat being made at fixed rates, on which see p. 560. The object of this rearrangement of the rents was to bring the total amount of them into harmony with fixed rules imposed by the government regarding the amounts of rents to be collected in other forms than wheat. It is noticeable that the figure of the rents to be paid in copper, $39\frac{5}{12}$ artabae, coincides with that found in the *γενισμὸς ἐξ ὑποθήκης* (cf. 87. 66 and 69), but that in other respects (e.g. the amount to be collected in barley) no effort was made to harmonize the figures found in the *γενισμὸς ἐξ ὑποθήκης* with those in the *γενισμὸς ἐκ τοῦ σπόρου*. The rules governing the collection of the rents were thus by no means designed to produce a revenue in accord with the figures of the theoretical rents ascribed in the *γενισμὸς ἐξ ὑποθήκης* to the Crown lands under cultivation, but the rearrangement of the rents resulted in an agreement between the theoretical and actual rents in one particular, the amount to be collected in money.

The reports of the komogrammateus which we have been considering are all of a preliminary character, having been issued probably early in the year and long before the harvest. It remains to examine how far the instructions concerning *ἂ δεῖ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι* were carried out in actual practice. In 89, written at the very end of the 4th year, there is an example of an account of the rents paid during the year, and the figures nearly correspond to those ascribed to the *ἀπηγμέου*

in 72. 223; cf. 89. 6, note. A slight addition is made owing to an increase which had taken place in the course of the year, and no doubt these additions to the cultivated area made from time to time are largely responsible for the inconsistencies which are frequently found with regard to figures concerning the same year written at different times (cf. e. g. 67. introd.). 93, 94, 159, 162-3, 169, 172, 217-8, 233 *verso*, 242, 246-9 and 261 are lists of βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ and rents paid or owing, and fully illustrate the principles laid down in the reports. Rents are paid in wheat, barley, which is converted into wheat at the ratio of 5 to 3, lentils, which are apparently converted at par, or copper (94. 22, note). Only 169 causes some difficulty, for there artabae με(λανθίου) and ἀρά(κου) are found, and it would be natural to suppose that these are either artabae of μελάνθιον and aracus or the equivalent of wheat paid in μελάνθιον or aracus. Either hypothesis would create a conflict with the rule in the reports upon the crops of Crown land, that the rents of all the land sown with ἄλλα γένη and aracus (except what was paid in money) should be collected in wheat. There is however probably no real inconsistency, for, as the entry νο(μῶν) ββ' shows, the artabae in 169 are to be regarded as artabae of wheat and the genitives preceding them as indicating not the produce in which the payment was made, but the kind of crop upon which the rent was exacted (cf. 61. (b) 17, note), so that e. g. ἀρά(κου) λ means $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba of wheat paid as rent upon land sown with aracus. The distinction drawn there between the μισ(θός) or μίσ(θωσις), i. e. payments for σιτοφόρος γῆ, and the payments for aracus or νομαί is probably due to the special connexion between μισθός and σίτος which is illustrated by the common phrase σιτικὴ μίσθωσις and by the contrast in 89 between payments in σίτ· for μισ(θός) and those in copper, though it is noticeable that in 89 μισ(θός) is applied to all the rents paid in σίτος whether the land was σιτοφόρος or not.

Of the six classes into which the theoretical totals of the βασιλικὴ γῆ and its rents are divided, the one which was based on actual fact has now been considered. The rents accounted for under the remaining five heads have this point in common that they wholly or for the most part deal with hypothetical rents.

§ 6. Ἀπηγμένον α ἔτους ἐκφόριον.

While the ἀπηγμένον proper consisted of the Crown land which yielded an actual revenue, in 61. (b) 249 and 72. 223 10 arourae and 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae are placed under the heading of ἀπη(γμένον) α (ἔτους) ἐκφόριον. The details are given in 61. (b) 2-7, a fact which perhaps accounts for the vague expression ἀπηγμένον (cf. p. 561); and from these it appears that the land in question had originally

been *σπόριμος* and had produced a rent to the Crown of 49½ artabae, but had in the reign of Philometor (cf. 62. 97) been assigned to a cleruch, Nektenibis son of Horus, in contravention of the rule that *χέρσος* and not *σπόριμος* was to be used in such cases. Nektenibis was allowed to keep the land upon payment of a year's rent. It therefore ceased to be *βασιλική*, and the arourae had been already accounted for in the *κληρουχική*, so that it is difficult to see why they are apparently counted over again, though this is not the only instance of that kind of apparent error; cf. § 9. With the artabae the case is somewhat different, for they had once formed part of the Crown revenues, and since the hypothetical estimate of these remained more or less constant and the difference between what was and what ought to have been paid had to be accounted for, there is no objection to their constituting an item in the total of the theoretical rents from Crown lands. Two rather difficult problems arise however in connexion with the *ἀπηγγέμενον α ἔτους ἐκφόριον*:—(1) why was this land put in a class by itself and not included under the heading *ὑπόλογον* like the *σπόριμος γῆ* assigned to some other cleruchs (61. (δ) 213-46, 72. 138-84); (2) why is there no mention in 61. (δ) 2-7 of the land of Ephemounis son of Amortaeus, who in 66. 86 is coupled with Nektenibis under the heading *ὧν συνκέρριται ἀπαιτεῖν ἐκφόριον α ἔτους* (cf. 61. (δ) 2)? The answer to the first of these questions probably lies in the fact that Nektenibis was required to pay a year's rent before the possession of the *σπόριμος* was guaranteed to him, while from the cleruchs in 61. (δ) 213 sqq. no such claim seems to have been made, although in both the decisions of the dioecetes which are there quoted the *α ἔτους ἐκφόριον* is mentioned. The cause of this difference of treatment seems to be that the case of Nektenibis was decided by the general instructions of the dioecetes (61. (δ) 228), but that of the other cleruchs by special decrees of the king (61. (δ) 215, note). The absence of Ephemounis in 61. (δ) 2-7 is probably due to the circumstance that he had paid the year's rent (cf. 66. 90, note), while Nektenibis had not done so, and the transference of Nektenibis' holding to Ptolemaeus, which took place in or about the 52nd year (61. (δ) 7, note), may well be connected with his failure to comply with the demands of the State. But whether the fact of Ephemounis having paid the *α ἔτους ἐκφόριον* was a legitimate reason for omitting him in 61. (δ) 2-7 is another and more difficult question. Unless the total of the theoretical rents was diminished between the 50th year, in which 66 was written, and the 53rd year by the extent of the 49½ artabae which were lost to the State through the final recognition of Ephemounis' holding as cleruchic land, these 49½ artabae must have still been included somewhere in the total of theoretical rents from the Crown lands. It is quite possible that such a diminution took place, for a parallel instance is provided by the subtraction of the rent of the *κλήρος* assigned to

Menches from the *ὑπόλογον* (75. 50-1; cf. 61. (b) 207, note), a proceeding which must have affected the total rents of the Crown lands. But 73, which was written in about the 5th year, suggests a different explanation. In that papyrus the holding of Etphemounis, who had by that time been succeeded by his son Heraclides, is one of several *κληῆροι* which are stated to have been incorrectly assigned from the *σπόριμος γῆ*, but of which none is mentioned in 61. (b) or 72. The explanation of the previous silence concerning these irregularities is given in 73. 5-7, where Menches appears to charge his predecessors with having wrongly included an amount equal to the *κληῆροι* in question among the land which had gone out of cultivation since the 40th year (cf. § 9). Though the blame may have been rightly laid in the first instance on his predecessors, it is highly probable that Menches himself continued to repeat the error until he made the *προσάγγελμα* recorded in 73. That the carelessness of his reports led him into difficulties with his superiors is known from 43. It is therefore very likely that the previous rent of Etphemounis' holding (together with that of the other *κληῆροι* and *ἱερὰ γῆ* mentioned in 73) ought really to have been included under the heading of 61. (b) 2, but was actually placed under the heading of the *ὑπόλογον ἀπὸ τοῦ μ ἔτους* (i. e. somewhere in 61. (b) 110-46), where the account of it was misleading.

In 60. 62, sqq. the 10 arourae and $49\frac{1}{4}$ artabae referring to Nektenibis are not in a class by themselves, but, like the other *σπόριμος γῆ* assigned to cleruchs which in 61. (b) 213 is under the heading of *ὑπόλογον*, are placed in the class of land *ἐν συγκρίσει*, which in 61. (b) forms a separate category (ll. 19-109). The explanation of this is that the phrase *ἐν συγκρίσει* is sometimes limited to land about which a decision had not yet been made, i. e. land of which the owners were *ἐν τοῖς συγκριθσομένοις* (61. (b) 19), sometimes loosely extended to land about which a decision had been given (cf. 61. (b) 2 *τῶν συγκεκριμένων*), even where the result of the decision was to transfer the land to another category. The land of Nektenibis had for a time been *ἐν συγκρίσει* in the more limited signification, but by the 53rd year it could only be called *ἐν συγκρίσει* in the wider sense of the term; cf. § 8.

§ 7. *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος.*

The cultivated land at Kerkeosiris in this category from the 53rd to the 4th year consisted of $16\frac{1}{2}$ arourae of which the full rent was $83\frac{1}{3}$ artabae (61. (b) 250, cf. l. 13 *τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα . . . ἐκφόρια*, 60. 99, 72. 224), but the actual rent much less (cf. 60. 59, 61. (b) 17, 77. 10). The name indicates that the revenue derived from this land, though paid to the State, was set aside for a special

purpose, a practice which was common in the Ptolemaic period, when whole villages might be *ἐν δωρεᾷ* (5. 57, note), and so important a revenue as the tax upon the fishing industry of Lake Moeris was the perquisite of a queen. The particular object to which the rent of the land belonging to the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδοδος* was devoted is nowhere stated in the Tebtunis papyri, but some light is thrown upon the subject by one of the new Petrie papyri, written probably in the reign of Epiphanes, which is a fragment of a report upon the land and crops of a similar character to the annual reports of Menches. After an enumeration of *ἱερὰ γῆ* owned by different shrines concluding *γίνονται ἱεράς (ἄρουραι) υἱβίς' λ' β'*, the papyrus continues *καὶ τῆς ἐν προσόδῳ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ βασιλέως κε*. In the reign of Epiphanes therefore it appears that a portion of the Crown lands was set aside for the maintenance of his children. When his sons came to the throne this land may have been retained by them, in which case its description might easily be changed from *τῆς ἐν προσόδῳ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ βασιλέως* to *τῆς κεχωρισμένης προσόδου*: or else it may have remained as a permanent endowment of the king's children, in which case *τῆς κεχωρισμένης προσόδου* is merely a shorter form of *τῆς ἐν προσόδῳ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ βασιλέως*. In 87. 1 *ἐν προσόδῳ* simply occurs as a variant of *κεχωρισμένης προσόδου* in a land-survey of another village near Kerkeosiris. Land in this category is heard of also at Tebtunis (72. 261) and Magdola (81. 19), and there may well have been some at every village. The administration of it was in the hands of officials called *προστάται* (80. 125, 86. 6, &c.). Up to the 49th year these 16½ arourae at Kerkeosiris had not been cultivated; they were reclaimed in that year by Ptolemaeus son of Philinus, acting under the instructions of the *προστάτης* Dionysius, but only to fall out of cultivation again immediately (86. 4-21, 81. (b) 9-14). In the 53rd year however they were again reclaimed and let at the low rent of 1 artaba upon the aroura, which seems to have been slightly raised by the 7th year; cf. 77. 10.

Though in both 81. (b) 250 and 72. 223 the area of the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδοδος* is given as 16½ arourae, these represent only the area under cultivation (cf. 81. (b) 9 *τῆς ἐσπαρμένης ἐν τῇ[ι κ]εχωρ. πρ.*), and the total area was really much greater. The 16½ arourae were part of 78 arourae, all of which were reclaimed in the 49th year through the exertions of Dionysius the *προστάτης* and Ptolemaeus (86. 4-21), and in 78. 8 these 78 arourae are again heard of in connexion with the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδοδος*. But the other 61½ arourae were not reclaimed a second time like the 16½, and therefore, though they would, if producing a revenue, have been included under the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδοδος*, they are actually accounted for in 81. (b) 127-31 under the heading of the *ὑπόλογον* or land out of cultivation.

§ 8. Land *ἐν συγκρίσει*.

Under this heading are accounted for in the 53rd year $823\frac{5}{12}$ artabae (61. (b) 250) and in the 4th $872\frac{1}{4}$ (72. 224), these figures being the sum of the amounts lost to the State through the reduction in certain cases of the prescribed rents (61. (b) 19-109, 72. 1-70). No arourae are included in this category, and these together with the actual rents derived from them ought to have appeared under some other heading. This would naturally be the *ἀπηγμένον* since the land in question was cultivated, and in some cases the areas and actual rents which are mentioned in the descriptions of land *ἐν συγκρίσει* but are left out of account in estimating the totals of the reductions, can be traced elsewhere. Thus the 81 arourae sown with *χόρτος νομῶν* and producing a rent of 1 artaba on the aroura mentioned in 61. (b) 98-102 and 72. 55-61 are no doubt identical with the 81 arourae in 67. 53 &c.; the 10 arourae reclaimed in the 4th year and rented at $\frac{1}{4}$ artaba on the aroura (72. 24-34) are the 10 arourae which in that year were added to the area sown with *χόρτος νομῶν* (72. 309, note); and the 24 arourae added to the *νομαί* (72. 35-44) are the same as the 24 arourae mentioned in 68. 15-7; cf. 60. 81-5. But other instances cause considerable difficulty; e.g. (1) the 25 arourae leased to Hermogenes (61. (b) 53-6), which in the 53rd year were sown with *χόρτος νομῶν* and yielded an actual rent of $1\frac{1}{4}$ artabae on the aroura, this being $\frac{1}{4}$ artaba on the aroura less than the prescribed rent; (2) the $15\frac{1}{2}$ arourae leased to Petimouthes (61. (a) 70-7), which in the same year were also sown with *χόρτος νομῶν* at a rent of 1 artaba on the aroura. The 81 arourae which are mentioned in 67. 53 as the total area sown with *χόρτος νομῶν* correspond, as has been said, to the land mentioned in 61. (b) 97-102, and are therefore not available for identification with the land of Hermogenes and Petimouthes. Nor is it sufficient to suppose merely that the entry regarding the crop is wrong in 61. (b), for in 67 the only land besides that sown with *χόρτος νομῶν* which was leased at lower rent than 2 artabae on the aroura is the *νομαί*, and these amounted in that year to but 30 arourae, while the combined areas of the land leased to Hermogenes and Petimouthes make up $40\frac{1}{2}$ arourae. Since they were not accounted for in the area of land under cultivation, the only other category under which these $40\frac{1}{2}$ arourae can have been placed is the *ὑπόλογον*. This would be appropriate in the case of Hermogenes' land which, as appears from 72. 185 sqq., was actually uncultivated for some time before the *διάφορον μισθώσεως* was transferred from the category *ἐν συγκρίσει* to that of *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ*; but it is quite impossible to find any entry under the category of land *ἐν ὑπολόγῳ* of which the rent corresponds to that of Hermogenes' land. The inconsistency is, so far as we

can see, insurmountable, except on the hypothesis that there is a serious omission of Menches somewhere; for it is impossible to suppose that the land of Hermogenes and Petimouthes and the rents derived from it could legitimately be omitted altogether in reckoning the total area and rents of the Crown lands.

To return to the meaning of the phrase *ἐν συγκρίσει* in 61. (b) and 72, the list of lands under this heading was in each case preceded by an introductory section explaining the process by which the items included in the following list were placed *ἐν συγκρίσει*. In 72 this introductory section (ll. 1-16) is almost entirely lost, and what remains of it does little more than show that it was different from the corresponding introduction in 61. (b) 19-43. This is fairly well preserved, but the Greek is more than usually crabbed and obscure. The main point is however clear—that land *ἐν συγκρίσει* there means land which was subject to the decision of the dioecetes (cf. 61. (b) 19 and 43 and 5. 54, note) because a doubt existed whether the full rents of it were to be exacted. When the dioecetes made his decision, the land was taken out of the temporary category of land *ἐν συγκρίσει* and placed in a more permanent one, i. e. the *ἀπηγμένον* if the full rent was exacted, or the *ὑπόλογον* if the hope of raising a revenue from it was definitely abandoned.

In 61. (b) and 72 the entries under the heading *ἐν συγκρίσει* all refer to the loss to the State through the reduction by officials of the prescribed rents. This had taken two forms. Where the land was poor and the rent had been fixed too high, the officials either made a formal contract with the cultivators for a term of years at a lower rent, which sometimes was on an ascending scale (e. g. 61. (b) 53-4), or there was no contract at all and the land was let from year to year for what rent it would fetch, this being the practice often followed in the case of land which had gone out of cultivation but was reclaimed (61. (b) 89-109; cf. 74. 5-7). The items in the two lists are arranged in 61. (b) according to this distinction between land leased at a reduced rent with or without a contract; but in 72 this system of classifying land *ἐν συγκρίσει* is crossed by another, according to which the land is divided into what was placed *ἐν συγκρίσει* before and after the disturbance in the 40th year, on which see p. 553.

These reductions granted by local officials in the nome could however be annulled at any moment by the dioecetes, and there are several instances of efforts on the part of that magnate to raise rents to the full amount (*προσάγειν τὸ διάφορον*, sc. *τοῖς ἀπαιτησίμοις*; cf. 72. 217-8), though as a rule without success. An account of a general attempt which took place in the 47th or 48th year to restore to their former level the reduced rents is found in 61. (b) 23 sqq. Archibius, the dioecetes of that period, seems to have issued an order that the difference in rents was to be collected, but when this came to be carried

out certain officials reported that they had received petitions from the cultivators of the land in question quoting promises made to them, that the rent would not be raised beyond the terms mentioned in the contract when the land was first let at a reduced rent (ll. 23-9). The construction of the following lines is very uncertain, but apparently the cultivators requested that other persons should be found to pay the increased rents (i.e. they threatened to strike), and the officials backed up their demand by declaring that in view of the compulsion which was being applied in order to obtain the full rents in spite of the poor quality of the land, some of which had even gone out of cultivation, there was a prospect of the rest ceasing to be cultivated. Upon this Amphicles, the *ὑπομνηματογράφος*, issued instructions that if the rents were not forthcoming the land was to be re-let, a proceeding which apparently would have the effect of further reducing the rents. Finally the dioecetes issued another minute, asking for a list of the lessees and the terms of the arrangements made by the local officials, in order that he might come to a decision, and it was in accordance with this order that the following list was drawn up. The attempted increase in the rents was therefore abandoned.

Another instance of an attempt to recover the loss through reduction of rents occurred in the last year of Euergetes' reign, when the dioecetes decided to raise the rent of the land mentioned in 61. (b) 45-69 to its former level. The result of this *σύγκρισις* was however the reverse of what was intended, for it was discovered that the land in question had gone out of cultivation and the lessees were dead, so that it became necessary to place it not in the *ἀπηγμένον* but in the *ὑπόλογον*, in which category it is found in the fourth year; cf. 72. 205-19 and 185, note. A third example of an unsuccessful attempt by a dioecetes to raise rents is recorded on the *verso* of 72; cf. 440-72, note. The original reduction had in that case been granted by a previous dioecetes, and the final result of the proceedings was that the land was placed *ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματέων ἐπισκεφθησομένοις*, i.e. the proposed increase was postponed indefinitely until a more favourable occasion offered itself.

While the land mentioned under the heading *ἐν συγκρίσει* in 61. (b) and 72 consists entirely of land leased at reduced rents, other land might be *ἐν συγκρίσει* for different reasons. Thus the *σπόριμος γῆ* assigned to cleruchs had once been 'subject to decision' before the question whether the cleruchs were to keep it or to restore it to the Crown had been settled; cf. §§ 6 and 9. Although the ultimate decision concerning it was made in the 50th year (61. (b) 213, note), the land is in later years sometimes said to be still *ἐν συγκρίσει*, e.g. in 80. 65-6, 85. 72 and 87. The inconsistency between these passages and 61. (b), where the land occurs either under the *ὑπόλογον* or in a class by itself (cf. § 6), is due to

the fact that *ἐν συγκρίσει*, though strictly equivalent to *ἐν τοῖς συγκριθσομένοις* (61. (b) 19), is also applied to land described as *τῶν συγκεκριμένων*.

§ 9. τὸ ὑπόλογον.

In the 53rd year (61. (b) 247) 1001 $\frac{1}{8}$ arourae and 5004 $\frac{1}{2}$ artabae are placed in this category, the details being given in ll. 110-246; but 43 arourae were reclaimed in the course of the year (60. 86-7). For the 4th year the corresponding totals are 936 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae and 4838 $\frac{3}{4}$ artabae (72. 71-221). Two special reports concerning the *ὑπόλογον* for the 4th and 5th years are extant in 74 and 75, from which it appears that later in the 4th year the *ὑπόλογον* was reduced to 891 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae accounting for 4622 $\frac{1}{8}$ artabae, and in the 5th year to 858 $\frac{3}{4}$ arourae accounting for about 4462 (cf. 75. 86, note). There was thus a gradual diminution of its area during Menches' tenure of office, corresponding to the gradual increase of the area under cultivation (cf. p. 563). This land yielded no profit to the State (*ἀχρηστον*, 74. 70), and was therefore of the nature of a 'deduction' from the total area (cf. p. 540). The rents ascribed to it are the original *ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἐκφόρια*, which were now wholly lost. There are two main classes, (1) the Crown lands which had for various reasons gone out of cultivation but which actually remained in the tenure of the Crown; (2) land which had ceased to belong to the Crown, but which was retained under this heading because the loss to the State revenues continued.

The first class is subdivided, like the land *ἐν συγκρίσει* in 72, into that which went out of cultivation before the revolt of the 40th year (cf. p. 553), and that which shared the same fate afterwards, and each subdivision is arranged under three heads. These are the *ἐμβροχος* or land which had been flooded, *ἀλμυρὶς* which was too salt to cultivate and which in some cases had been worn away (74. 52 *ἀ[λ]μυρῖδος ἦν καὶ κατεξέσθαι χάριν [τῶ]ν ἐπενεχθέντων ὑδάτων*), and *χέρσος* or land which had become dry and some of which is stated in 74. 56 to have got into this condition 'because it adjoined the other dry land which has no rent assigned to it,' i. e. the *ὑπόλογον ἀφορον ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως* (cf. § 1) rather than the desert (cf. 60. 42 *πα[ρα]κεῖσθαι τῶι ὄρι*). The individual items under each head are arranged more or less chronologically, beginning with the latest, and in some cases details are given as to the special cause of the land in question having ceased to be cultivated. The earliest date reached in the division dealing with land which went out of cultivation before the 40th year is the 12th year of Philometor (cf. 61. (b) 149, note); the land which had ceased to be cultivated before that date is dealt with under another heading, that of land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ* (§ 10). Between the years B. C. 170-69 and B. C. 118-7, when 61 was

written, nearly half the whole area of βασιλική γῆ had thus become barren, and this rapid decline of agriculture at Kerkeosiris is a sign of the general diminution of prosperity in the second century B. C. The government was not however behindhand in its efforts to cope with the deficiency, and numerous reclamations of land in the ὑπόλογον are heard of. Some of these were made by officials, e. g. the komogrammateus (75. 30), topogrammateus (75. 20), βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς (75. 20), or the προστάτης of the κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος (66. 4-17); and in fact the reclamation of a certain amount of land at a high rent seems to have been often made a condition of the bestowal of an official post (cf. 10. introd.). But generally where land was taken out of the ὑπόλογον and leased to private persons, it could only be used as pasture land (cf. 74. 22 and 75. 37), and it was necessary to allow a considerable reduction in the prescribed rents; cf. § 8.

The second class of land included ἐν τῷ ὑπολόγῳ was placed in that category for a different reason. It consisted of 47 arourae which had once yielded a rent of $234\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, but had been wrongly assigned to three cleruchs (61. (b) 213-46, 72. 138-84). For some time the legal ownership was in dispute (ἐν συγκρίσει), but ultimately it was guaranteed to the cleruchs by royal decrees which seem to have created a distinction between the treatment of these three cleruchs, who were not required to make any payment (cf. 124. 28-9, note), and other cleruchs, who were made to pay one year's rent (61. (b) 215, note; cf. § 6). A result of including in the account of land ἐν ὑπολόγῳ these 47 arourae which have already been included in the total of the cleruchic land is that they are apparently counted twice over. It is not surprising that the rents should still be reckoned in the total ascribed to the Crown lands, for the loss to the Crown remained; and the circumstance that this grant to cleruchs had been from the σπόριμος is no doubt the reason why this land was retained as an item of the total of the Crown lands instead of disappearing altogether from the list, as would have happened if the grant had been from the ὑπόλογον (cf. p. 558). But it is difficult to justify the arithmetic of the komogrammateus in counting it as both Crown land and cleruchic. Possibly his proceeding would appear in a different light if we understood more fully the nature of the ἴση which in 61. (b) 229 and 233 (cf. 73. 6) was somehow designed to balance the loss to the Crown lands through the transference of σπόριμος γῆ to cleruchs. But though the case of the individual whose holding is the subject of the ἀπηγγέμενον α ζτους ἐκφόριον (§ 6) was no doubt decided by the decree quoted in 61. (b) 226-9, that of the three cleruchs was, as we have said, settled differently.

The section dealing with the three cleruchs, which concludes the account of the ὑπόλογον in 61. (b), is followed in 72. 185-219 by another dealing with the loss to the State through the reduction of the rent of certain lands, which loss

had in the interval between these two papyri been transferred from the category of *ἐν συγκρίσει* to that of *ἐν ὑπολόγῃ*; cf. 72. 185, note.

§ 10. Land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ*.

The land in this obscure category, which is the first deduction made from the total of the Crown lands (60. 48-50, 61. (a) 163-6) but the last class to be considered (61. (a) 165, (b) 346-430), amounted in the 53rd year to $261\frac{1}{8}$ arourae accounting for $1732\frac{7}{12}$ artabae. In the 4th year (72. 339) the corresponding figures are for the arourae the same, for the artabae 100 more; but the difference is probably due to an error (cf. 72. 222, note). The totals of the arourae and artabae under this heading are composed of four items. The first three of these resemble each other in being the differences between a lower and a higher rent of certain pieces of land (cf. 61. (b) 398, note). The first (61. (b) 351-98, 72. 341-407), which is described at length, accounts for $387\frac{5}{12}$ artabae, the second and third (61. (b) 399-414, 72. 408-26), which are dealt with much more briefly, for $21\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 artabae respectively. The sum of these three entries (72. 427) is therefore $417\frac{1}{8}$ artabae. The remainder required to produce the total of $261\frac{1}{8}$ arourae and (adopting the figure of 72) $1832\frac{7}{12}$ artabae, viz. the whole of the arourae and $1415\frac{5}{12}$ artabae, forms the fourth item, which is described as *ὑπόλογον τοῦ ἑ[ως] τοῦ ἰβ (ἔτους) κειμ[ένο]ν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τάξει* (72. 428-9, from which 61. (b) 419-20 is restored). Though the figures in the section dealing with the fourth item, which is subdivided like the ordinary *ὑπόλογον* (cf. § 9) into *ἔμβροχος*, &c. with the addition of some new classes, are not completely preserved, there is enough to show that the totals for land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ* were obtained in the way that we have described; for 72. 430, 434, and 435 account altogether for approximately 239 arourae and 1305 artabae, making, with the 417 artabae previously ascribed to the first three items, 1722 artabae. To reach the total $261\frac{1}{8}$ arourae and $1832\frac{7}{12}$ artabae, 110 artabae are left to be accounted for by the 22 arourae described in 72. 431-3 and 436; i.e. the average rent ascribed to these 22 arourae was 5 artabae, which is not only quite in accordance with the rent of the *ἔμβροχος* (a little over $5\frac{1}{2}$ artabae on the aroura, 72. 430), but is confirmed by the rent of one of the missing items (72. 433), $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae.

The four entries composing the totals for land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ* thus fall into two distinct classes, (a) the difference between two sets of rents upon certain land, (b) uncultivated land with a theoretical rent ascribed to it, like that already discussed in § 9. There is a noteworthy similarity between the treatment of the land forming class (a) and that of land *ἐν συγκρίσει* (§ 8). In both cases the arourae are ignored and the essential point is the difference

between two scales of rents; but under the heading *ἐν συγκρίσει* are placed the reductions from the fixed rents, while the category *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῶ* is concerned with increases, the various words employed being *ἐπιγένημα* (72. 343), *ἐπίτρασις* (72. 408), and *ὑπερβόλιον* (72. 418). There can be hardly any doubt that the rents thus subjected to an increase were the *ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἐκφόρια*, and that the differences reckoned under the heading *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῶ* are correlative of those under the heading *ἐν συγκρίσει*, the one constituting the gain, the other the loss, to the State through alterations in the prescribed rents. Since the total of the three items in class (a) only takes account of the increase upon the rents, which in the case of the first entry reach the very high scale of 10 artabae on the aroura, it follows that the prescribed rents and the arourae must be accounted for elsewhere, just as the totals concerning the heading *ἐν συγκρίσει* ignore the arourae and the rents actually paid, which are or ought to be included in the category of land under cultivation. The amounts which require to be accounted for are (1) 251 arourae producing 1355 artabae (72. 380-6); (2) $9\frac{1}{2}$ arourae at a rent of $22\frac{1}{2}$ artabae (72. 415); (3) 8 arourae yielding $39\frac{1}{2}$ artabae (72. 423). If these areas were still being cultivated in the 53rd and 4th years, we should expect to find them under the *ἀπηγμένον*. The land of which the rent is below 5 artabae may be identical with some of areas rented at similar rates in 67 and 70; but since some of the rents mentioned in 72. 381-6 are over $5\frac{1}{2}$ artabae on the arourae, and there are no rents in 67-70 higher than 5 artabae, it is not possible to identify those with anything mentioned in 67 or 70, though in 66, which deals with the 50th year, rents as high as $5\frac{3}{8}$ artabae occur. If, on the other hand, these areas had gone out of cultivation by the 53rd year, they would be expected to appear under the heading of *ὑπόλογον*; and since the land described in 72. 341-407 produced a rent at any rate until the 31st year of Euergetes II (61. (b) 362, note), it must be looked for in the *ὑπόλογον* placed in that category after the 31st year. Here too it is impossible to say anything definite with regard to the land leased at less than 5 artabae on the aroura; but there is no item in 61. (b) 110-54 and 185-6 which corresponds exactly to the 131 arourae in 72. 381-5 rated at $5\frac{1}{4}\frac{9}{8}$ or $5\frac{1}{4}\frac{3}{8}$ artabae, the nearest approximation being found in 61. (b) 137-8, where out of $178\frac{3}{8}$ arourae $130\frac{3}{4}$ were rated at $5\frac{2}{4}\frac{1}{4}$, $5\frac{3}{8}$, or $5\frac{5}{12}$ artabae. Our conclusion therefore is that the $268\frac{1}{2}$ arourae and $1416\frac{5}{8}$ artabae ignored in 72. 341-427 cannot satisfactorily be supposed to be included in the account of land under cultivation, but that they may perhaps be reckoned in the category of land *ἐν ὑπόλογῳ*. A similar difficulty arose with regard to some of the items mentioned in the account of land *ἐν συγκρίσει*, which could not be traced in the account of land under cultivation (cf. p. 571).

There is however an alternative to looking for the lost $268\frac{1}{2}$ arourae and

1416 $\frac{5}{8}$ artabae under another category. The totals of the fourth item under the heading *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ* (72. 428–38) amount to 261 $\frac{1}{8}$ arourae and 1415 $\frac{5}{12}$ artabae, which are sufficiently near to the other figures to suggest the hypothesis that the two are really identical. The general description of the fourth item is *ὑπόλογον τοῦ [ἕως] τοῦ ιβ (ἔτους) κειμένον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τάξει* (72. 428–9). The land was certainly uncultivated at the time when 72 (and no doubt 61) was drawn up, and ll. 430–6 describe its actual condition; cf. note on 61. (b) 426. *τοῦ ἕως τοῦ ιβ ἔτους* would naturally be taken as an adjectival phrase agreeing with *ὑπόλογον* (cf. the commonly recurring phrase *ὑπόλογον τοῦ ἕως τοῦ λθ ἔτους*), not as qualifying *κειμένου*, i. e. the ‘unproductive land which became unproductive before the 12th year and which is now placed in this category’ (sc. *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ*), the implication being that the land had continued to be unproductive ever since it was placed *ἐν ὑπόλογῳ* before the 12th year. This interpretation accords very well with the fact that in the account of the ordinary *ὑπόλογον* the earliest date reached is the 12th year of Philometor, which was the first of the joint reign of the two brothers (cf. p. 574). Since that year was marked by a general valuation of *βασιλική*, there is nothing surprising in finding the land which had gone out of cultivation before that year and the rents previously assigned to it dealt with under a different heading from that of land which subsequently ceased to be cultivated. This view of the *ὑπόλογον ἕως τοῦ ιβ ἔτους* however will require some modifications if the land and rents included under it are identified with those described, but left out of account, in 72. 341–407; for not only was that land being cultivated at various periods between the 12th year of Philometor and the 53rd of Euergetes II, but the *ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἐκφόρια* were raised. While the phrase *ὑπόλογον τοῦ ἕως τοῦ ιβ ἔτους* can mean ‘land which was unproductive up to the 12th year,’ implying that in that year it ceased to be so, the analogy of the other uses of *ἕως* in conjunction with *ὑπόλογον* and the fact that the land was unproductive in the 53rd year are against this; and it would be very strange if the only land to have its rents raised after the 12th year of Philometor was just this land which was out of cultivation prior to that year. The identification therefore of the 268 $\frac{1}{2}$ arourae with the *ὑπόλογον ἕως τοῦ ιβ ἔτους* seems to us not less difficult than the view that they were or ought to have been accounted for under some quite different heading.

The result of our inquiry so far is to show that the category *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ* probably consists of (a) the gains to the State through the raising of rents above the level of the *ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἐκφόρια* fixed in the 12th year of Philometor, (b) the land which had gone out of cultivation before this year and its theoretical rents, which must have been fixed at some much

earlier valuation; the question then arises, what is the point of connexion between these two apparently quite different categories which causes them to be grouped together under the title *ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ*? Here at the outset we are met with the uncertainty whether the title is itself twofold, corresponding to the two classes, the first being *ἐν ἐπιστάσει*, the second *ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ*, or whether the whole title applies equally to both. The latter view appears to us the more probable because *καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ* is sometimes omitted in mentioning the totals of the two classes (60. 48-9; cf. 72. 439), and *ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ* without any dependent genitive to explain what it was a report of seems too colourless a phrase to be the title of a class of land by itself contrasted with land *ἐν ἐπιστάσει*. We prefer therefore to connect *ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ* with *ἐν ἐπιστάσει*, regarding the whole phrase as practically equivalent to *ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ τῶν ἐν ἐπιστάσει*. In any case *ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ* is so vague an expression that by itself it can throw no light upon the meaning of the title, in which the important word is *ἐπίστασις*. This is clearly used in a technical sense, and for the elucidation of it we are dependent upon the contents of the section. Each of the first three items is concerned with an *ἐπίστασις* or raising of the rent, which *ἐπίστασις* is alone taken into account in reckoning the total in 72. 427 (cf. p. 576). It is rather tempting to suppose that *ἐπιστάσει* is a mistake for *ἐπιτάσει*; but such a hypothesis is hardly justifiable in view of the frequent and consistent use of the phrase *ἐν ἐπιστάσει*, which moreover occurs in a papyrus outside the series of these reports of the komogrammateus (99. 34). If *ἐν ἐπιστάσει* has anything to do with the raising of rents, it would be preferable to connect it with the verb *ἐπισταθῆναι* which probably occurs, though the reading is unfortunately rendered uncertain by lacunae, in 72. 354 with reference to the appointment by an official of fresh γεωργοί, a proceeding which eventually resulted in an increased rent to the Crown. How this increase was effected is not clear. According to the punctuation of 61. (b) 378-84 and 72. 380-8 adopted in our text of those passages, the increase imposed by Ptolemaeus the epimeletes and ultimately collected through the exertions of the strategus Phantias in the 31st year raised the rents above their level in the 29th year to the figures given in 61. (b) 379-80 and 72. 380-3; in the 34th year a further rise occurred which brought the rents up to the amount of the *ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἐκφόρια*, the final increase, which alone is reckoned in 72. 427, taking place later. On the other hand, if the figures in 61. (b) 379-80 are taken to be the rents up to the 29th year, and λ be read in accordance with 72. 384 in place of λδ in 61. (b) 381, the figures in 61. (b) 381-3 will be the *ἐπιγένημα* of l. 352 and, omitting the stops at the ends of ll. 380 and 383, the $1742\frac{5}{12}$ artabae in l. 398 will be the sum collected by Phantias. But whichever of these two systems of punctuating the passage be adopted, the action of Ptolemaeus led to

an increase in the rents in spite of the statement in 61. (b) 359-60 that the new γεωργοί were appointed on easier terms than their predecessors (cf. 61. (b) 351, note); and the first three items under the heading ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ might be explained in this way, as being land subject to an ἐπίστασις of new γεωργοί with the object of raising the rents. This theory however does not at all suit the fourth item, the ὑπόλογον ἕως τοῦ 13 ἔτους, which has nothing to do with a rise of rents; and if ἐν ἐπιστάσει is explained by reference to ἐπισταθῆναι, it will be necessary to draw a sharp distinction between ἐν ἐπιστάσει and ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ and assign the ὑπόλογον to the latter (*v. sup.*). If ἐν ἐπιστάσει could mean something like 'in abeyance' (which is not far removed from some of its known usages) its application to the ὑπόλογον would be appropriate enough; and, supposing that the increase in the rents was in the 53rd year no longer being paid (which, especially if the ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἐκφόρια were accounted for under the heading ἐν ὑπόλογῳ, is most probable; cf. p. 577), they too might well be ἐν ἐπιστάσει in this sense. But for the present the meaning of land ἐν ἐπιστάσει καὶ ἐν ἀπολογισμῷ must be added to the many new problems raised by the present series of texts, for a satisfactory solution of which we must await further evidence.

APPENDIX II

THE RATIO OF SILVER AND COPPER UNDER THE PTOLEMIES.

§ 1. *The new evidence.*

THE papyri in the present volume provide a large number of clear instances of the conversion of silver into copper drachmae during the reigns of Soter II, Ptolemy Alexander, and Neos Dionysus. The ratios found are: 500 : 1 (85. 5, 17); 495 : 1 (120. 108, 179); 487½ : 1 (112. 122, 120. 40, 51-4, 123, 2-3); 475 : 1 (112. 111, 175); 462½ : 1 (175, 191); 460 : 1 (116. 4, 50); 458 : 1 (209); 450 : 1 (120. p. 495, 184, 209, 253); 437½ : 1 (113. 13-4); 432½ : 1 (209); 412½ : 1 (121. p. 502, 189, 189); 410 : 1 (189, 256); 400 : 1 (121. 5, 39, 55, 64, 69, 81, 139, 189); 375 : 1 (185). It is obvious that this new evidence conflicts in the most marked degree with the universally accepted theory that the ratio of value between the silver and the copper drachma in the late Ptolemaic period, upon which are based more or less plausible views of the ratio of silver and copper, was 120 : 1. The arguments in favour of 120 : 1 as the normal ratio of value between a silver and

a copper drachma were examined in detail by Grenfell in *Revenue Laws*, App. iii. pp. 200 sqq. He there showed (1) that the demotic formula which was supposed to prove it was probably a translation of a Greek formula which did not prove any ratio at all (pp. 207-10), and (2) that the arguments from Greek papyri by which the theory had been supported were either wrong or at best inconclusive (pp. 210-14). Nevertheless, in the absence of any direct evidence for an alternative ratio and in view of the general agreement upon the 120 : 1 theory, which was considered by the leading authority on Ptolemaic numismatics, the late Mr. R. S. Poole, to suit the coins, he adhered to it. It is not necessary to repeat all the objections there urged against the 120 : 1 theory, for they still hold good, and the numerous conversions in the Tebtunis papyri of copper into silver drachmae at a ratio three or four times as high as 120 : 1 are practically sufficient by themselves to put that theory out of court. But since the supposed ratio of 120 : 1 between the value of a silver and a copper drachma and the resulting ratio of 120-150 : 1 between silver and copper have found their way into all books dealing with Ptolemaic numismatics and are therefore likely to die hard, it is worth while to revert to the position in which the problem was left by Grenfell in 1896 and, while calling attention to the errors involved in the 120 : 1 theory, to show that the old evidence is really in complete harmony with the new.

§ 2. *The old evidence.*

First as to the demotic formula which was the principal basis of the 120 : 1 theory. The study of demotic has in the last few years made considerable advance through the researches of Spiegelberg, Krall, and Griffith, and though, as in the case of hieroglyphics, the best scholars are among the most cautious with regard to translations, it is now possible to give a more satisfactory account of the much-discussed phrase which occurs in demotic contracts both before and after the introduction of the copper standard in the reign of Epiphanes (*Rev. Laws*, App. iii. pp. 200-10). The demotic names for coins are the *kerker* corresponding to the talent, the *deben* (previously called by Egyptologists 'uten') corresponding to 20 drachmae, the *stater* of four drachmae (a transliteration of the Greek word, miscalled by Revillout shekel), and the *kite* of 2 drachmae; and the formula consists of a group of signs affixed to sums of copper money expressed in those terms. About some of these signs, the first meaning 'copper,' the third meaning '24' and the fifth meaning '2,' there is universal agreement among Egyptologists; and there is no question that the 24 refers to unities of copper and the 2 to a unity of silver. The dispute turns on the meanings of the second sign between 'copper' and '24,' and the fourth preceding '2,' and on the

unities of copper and silver expressed or implied. Revillout translated the first doubtful sign 'équivalence' or 'taux,' and, until the publication of his '*Mélanges*,' the other as 'tenth,' i.e. 'dont le change en airain est 24 pour $\frac{2}{10}$ ' (cf. Rev. Laws, p. 206), supposing that the unity to be supplied with both the 24 and the $\frac{2}{10}$ was the *deben* (or, as he called it, the 'argenteus-outen'). This explanation, if correct, would yield a ratio of 120 : 1. But as was pointed out by Grenfell, the whole phrase looks like a translation of the Greek formula found in Rev. Laws lx. 15 (ληψόμεθα) εἰς τὸν στατήρα ὀβολοῦς κδ; and since that passage has nothing to do with a ratio between silver and copper drachmae and the relation of the obol to the copper drachma is one of the main points at issue, the demotic formula could not be made to prove the ratio of 120 : 1 except by a *petitio principii* (cf. Rev. Laws, pp. 207-10). The view that the doubtful second sign means 'équivalence' has, we understand, been abandoned by demotic scholars, and if for Revillout's earlier translation of the sign preceding '2' ('tenth') be substituted his later translation 'kite' (cf. *Mélanges*, pp. 104 and 107), the identity of the demotic formula with the Greek is still more apparent.

Another attempt to extract the ratio of 120 : 1 from the demotic formula was made by Brugsch on lines different from those of Revillout. Brugsch's explanation of the obscure second sign (*Aegypt. Zeitschr.* 1889, p. 10) was that it meant kite, and (considering the fourth sign to be 'tenth') he translated the phrase '24 copper kites = $\frac{2}{10}$ (silver kite).' This too brings out a ratio of 120 : 1 between silver and copper, but is in some respects less satisfactory than either of Revillout's explanations, for a copper kite being according to Brugsch worth $\frac{1}{3}$ obol, the demotic formula, as translated by him, is further removed from the Greek, in which the '24' refers to obols, than it is according to the view of Revillout who referred the '24' to copper debens, which on the 120 : 1 theory are equivalent to obols. It may also be observed that Brugsch did not believe in the ratio of 120 : 1 because he found it in the demotic formula, but found this ratio in the formula because he believed in it on other grounds. This appears from a passage in which he is explaining how the demotic formula, as translated by him, comes to be used for expressing the ratio of 120 : 1. Having identified the copper kite and the χαλκοῦς, both of which are on his 120 : 1 theory worth $\frac{1}{48}$ of a silver drachma, he proceeds: 'da aber der griechisch-ptolemäische Chalkus auf Grund überlieferter Papyrusurkunden mit Berechnungen regelmässig auf $2\frac{1}{2}$ Kupferdrachmen abgeschätzt wird, so musste die aegyptische Kupfer-kite gleichfalls auf $2\frac{1}{2}$ Kupferdrachmen . . . angesetzt gewesen sein.' Of course if the χαλκοῦς was ever equated to $2\frac{1}{2}$ copper drachmae, *cadit quaestio*; there is at once evidence for a ratio of 120 : 1 between silver and copper drachmae much stronger than any inference from the demotic formula '24

copper kites = $\frac{2}{10}$.' But it is difficult to imagine what was the basis of that remarkable assertion. Demotic papyri are concerned not with chalci and copper drachmae, but with kites, debens, &c., so that the 'überlieferte Papyrusurkunden' can hardly refer to them; and a Greek papyrus in which the chalcus is estimated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ copper drachmae has yet to be discovered. The groundlessness of this supposed equation of the chalcus to $2\frac{1}{2}$ drachmae goes far to undermine Brugsch's whole argument for translating the doubtful second sign in the formula 'kite'; and since his view of the formula involves the ratio of 120 : 1 which is inconsistent with the evidence of the Greek papyri, some other explanation must be looked for. Griffith proposes to make the doubtful sign following 'copper' the determinative of 'copper,' and before '2' instead of 'tenths' to read (with Revillout) 'kite,' which is supported by the fact that the demotic form of '2' has the feminine termination, while 'tenth' is masculine. The whole formula will then be 'Copper 24 = 2 kites.' Another possibility, suggested by Spiegelberg, is that the doubtful sign following 'copper' is the demotic for 'obol.' In any case the phrase can only be interpreted in the light of the Greek *εἰς τὸν στατήρα ὀβολοὺς κδ*, so that the questions whether the obols were expressed in the demotic or omitted, and whether the stater was called 2 kites or $\frac{2}{10}$, sc. of a deben, are of minor importance, for the demotic does not convey any information that is not contained in the Greek, on the meaning of which cf. Rev. Laws, p. 195, and p. 599 below.

The argument from this demotic formula for a ratio of 120 : 1 between silver and copper drachmae may now finally be dismissed. For its explanation we must go back to a Greek formula belonging to the time when copper coins were reckoned as fractions of the silver drachma, i.e. obols and chalci, and copper drachmae (in the sense in which they are found after Epiphanes' reign) had not yet come into existence. If we could find out what a copper obol weighed and in what relation it stood to a copper drachma, then the Greek formula and its demotic equivalent would give us some valuable information as to the ratio of value between the two metals. But to determine the nature of the obol is probably the most difficult of all the problems in Ptolemaic numismatics, and yet until it is solved it is impossible to draw any conclusion at all about the ratio of silver and copper from the bare statement that 24 obols are equivalent to a stater, whether expressed in Greek or in demotic.

The support given to the supposed 120 : 1 ratio from demotic having been withdrawn, the other arguments in favour of that ratio may be discussed more briefly. That derived from a comparison of prices of the same material expressed in silver and copper (Rev. Laws, p. 213) is of very little value; for prices are subject to so many fluctuations, and the elements of uncertainty

introduced by the employment of different standards of measurement (e. g. for the artaba and the metretes) are so numerous that any generalizations based upon a comparison of prices are extremely insecure. We have shown with regard to wine (112. 36, note) that the price of a χοῦς, one of the comparatively few fixed measures, varies in the papyri of the present volume from 800 to 266⅔ copper drachmae, and with regard to oil (116. 40, note) that the price of a cotyle ranges from 120 to 240 copper drachmae. An artaba of wheat is valued at 720 drachmae (224), 800 (112. 119), 840 (208), 1000 (116. 1-2), 1080 (131), 1200 (112. 113), 1440 (175), 1500 (112. 57), 1600 (209), 1680 (117. 10-1), 1800 (120. 72), 2000 (11. 17, 109. 15), and 4 silver drachmae (120. 44), while in the penalty clauses of loans, values as high as even 3000 drachmae (105. 46, 110. 10) are found. With the exception of P. Grenf. I. 22. 9-13, where the price of an artaba is 1200 copper drachmae, the published papyri of the later Ptolemaic period give no definite indication with regard to wheat. In P. Par. 8. 6 written after B. C. 131, where 6 talents 4000 drachmae have been thought to be the price of 100 artabae of wheat, *πυροῦ ἀρ(ταβῶν)*. (a figure illegible in the facsimile) should be read for *πυροῦ ρ*; and P. Brit. Mus. 23 (B. C. 157-6), where an artaba of wheat is estimated at only 100 drachmae, and Wilcken, *Aktenstücke* v-vii, where the same estimate is found in about B. C. 130 (Wilcken, *Ost. I.* p. 670), are instances of an *adaeratio* which was obviously much in favour of the payer. The prices of σῖτος found in the Serapeum papyri of Philometor's reign range from 200 to 400 copper drachmae for the artaba (Lumbroso, *Recherches*, p. 7; P. Salluzzi, *Sui prezzi in Egitto nell' età tolemaica*¹, *Rivista di storia antica*, vi. 1, pp. 34 sqq.), but the nature of the grain is not specified. All the evidence regarding prices being so conflicting, it is obviously vain to rely on them for proving a ratio of 120 : 1; for a comparison of prices in silver and copper (e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 35 and P. Tor. 13, where an artaba of olyra is valued at 300 copper and 2 silver drachmae respectively) appears to suit a ratio of 120 : 1 better than a much higher ratio only on the arbitrary assumption that approximately the same price is meant in both cases.

¹ This valuable monograph collecting the information about prices in Ptolemaic papyri published up to 1900 requires to be used with some reserve. The Paris and Leyden editors were very inaccurate with regard to the decipherment of figures, and since the accounts in the Leyden papyri were not published in facsimile and there seems no prospect of the appearance of Wilcken's revised texts of them, much of the evidence derived from that source is untrustworthy. Moreover, the learned authoress is not always abreast of the developments of papyrus criticism; e. g. on p. 23 P. Brit. Mus. 50 is still ascribed to the first century B. C., though it has long been known to belong to the third or at any rate to the beginning of the second—a fact which has an important bearing on the nature of the drachmae. What is more serious is that her system of determining the size of the various artabae, metretae, &c., is not only arbitrary, but, as is shown by the present volume, often wrong (cf. for the artaba 61. (b) 386, note), and that her treatment of grain rests on the identification of *πυρός* and *σῖτος* which is demonstrably incorrect; for *κριθή*, *φακός*, and *ἄλυρα* were also included in the category of *σῖτος* (cf. p. 563).

Moreover now that it is at length possible to look at the evidence of previously published papyri without being prejudiced in favour of the ratio of 120 : 1 between a silver and a copper drachma, several instances are found to confirm the much higher rate found in the Tebtunis papyri. A ratio of 450 : 1 between copper and silver drachmae removes at one stroke all the difficulties connected with papyrus O of Leyden. That document is a contract written in the reign of Ptolemy Alexander for the loan of 12 drachmae ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμων Πτολεμαικοῦ νομίματος, and the debtor binds himself, if he does not return the sum at the stipulated time, to pay the ἡμιόλιον with interest at the rate of 60 copper drachmae a month for each stater. At a ratio of 120 : 1 between copper and silver drachmae, and supposing that the stater was an ordinary silver stater, the rate of interest implied by the contract was 150 per cent. a year, which was out of all proportion to rates of interest found in other loans. In order to overcome this difficulty, it was therefore necessary to suppose either, as Revillout suggested, that the stater was of gold, not silver, a view which is open to grave objections (cf. *Rev. Laws*, pp. 211-3), or, as proposed by Grenfell, that the stater in question was of pure metal and exchanged at a higher rate than the ordinary debased staters of the period, an arbitrary conjecture not in the least supported by the use of the term ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον, which simply means 'coined silver.' But on a ratio of 450 : 1 between copper and silver drachmae the rate of interest implied is only 40 per cent. a year, which, since the normal rate was 30 per cent., offers no difficulty.

The other instances are still more striking, for they refer to actual conversions of silver drachmae into copper. Two apparent examples of conversions of silver drachmae into copper at ratios of 450 : 1 and 455 : 1 in Ptolemaic ostraca are given by Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 723), who however did not feel sufficient confidence in the natural interpretation of them to abandon the prevailing theory. There is now no reason to doubt that they are both real cases of conversion. And as long ago as 1870 Lumbroso with his usual acuteness perceived (*Recherches*, pp. 41-2) that two passages in extant papyri pointed to conversions of silver drachmae. These are (1) P. Par. 59. 2-5, where the correct reading is τὸν λόγον τῶν χαλκῶν ἀπέστηκα (l. ἀπέσχηκα?) (δραχμὰς) ἡ ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς) ἘΣΞ καὶ παρὰ σοῦ (δραχμὰς) Ἄ, πέπρακα τὸ ὀθόνιον (δραχμῶν) φ καὶ τὸ εἰμάτιον (δραχμῶν) τπ, / (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαὶ) ρμ: and (2) P. Brit. Mus. 29. 1-6, which should be read τούτων λόγος Ἀσγῆς Τοθήτος ὀθονίου τιμὴν (δραχμαὶ) Ἄβ, Φαθρηῆτι σινδόνα (δραχμαὶ) Ἄβρ, / (δραχμαὶ) Ἄδρ ἀργυρίου (δραχμαὶ) η, / (τάλαντον) τ, followed after a space by Ἀπολλωνίωι (δραχμαὶ) Ἄβς. In the first case the 8 silver drachmae disappear in the total and seem to be converted into 4260 copper drachmae, giving a ratio of $532\frac{1}{2} : 1$; but Lumbroso, misled by the wrong

reading μ for η , inferred a ratio of 106 (it should be strictly $106\frac{1}{2}$) to 1. The error in the reading was set right by Revillout (*Lettres à M. Lenormant*, p. 212), who in order to reconcile the papyrus with the 120:1 theory was obliged to reject the idea of there being a conversion at all, and to suppose that the silver drachmae were simply omitted altogether in reckoning the total. But there is no longer any valid reason for recoiling before a ratio of $532\frac{1}{2}$:1, which is only slightly higher than one of the ratios found in this volume (500:1, 35. 5, 17); and the probability that Lumbroso's explanation was on the right lines gains support from the other passage. Here too Lumbroso was led astray by the error γ for τ after the sign for talent, and the ratio of 125:1 which he inferred from the supposed sum '4100 copper drachmae + 8 silver = 3 talents of copper' is rightly shown by Revillout (*l. c.*) to be inadmissible. The calculation under any circumstances presents some difficulties; probably, as Revillout suggests, ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$) τ means not 300 talents but 1 talent 300 drachmae, being the sum of 4100 drachmae for the cloth added to the 2200 paid to Apollonius. In that case the 8 silver drachmae are to be regarded not as omitted altogether but as the equivalent of the 4100, which yields a ratio of $512\frac{1}{2}$:1, very similar to that found in P. Par. 59. Another probable instance of a conversion of silver into copper drachmae which has hitherto been overlooked occurs in P. Petrie II. 39 (α), a papyrus of the second century B. C., belonging to the reign of Epiphanes or Philometor. In l. 8 of that document $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}$ 'B ϕ clearly refers to the rate at which the 20 (not 8) drachmae of silver in l. 7 are converted into the sum in copper which is lost in l. 9. The unit of silver worth 2500 copper drachmae can hardly be other than the stater, which is the regular silver unit in the Tebtunis papyrus; so that this papyrus indicates a ratio of 625:1 between silver and copper drachmae.

Lastly the argument from the copper coins (Rev. Laws, pp. 216-24), that the ratio of 120:1 suited the only classification of them by a numismatical expert, the late Mr. R. S. Poole, need not detain us long. In the first place, even if his proposed normal weights of the copper coins be accepted, his system would suit a ratio of 30, 60, 240, or 480:1 between copper and silver almost as well as 120:1. But the method of averages by which these normal weights were obtained is very insecure owing to the complications introduced by the fact that the coins were struck in different countries (Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Cyrene), and by the difficulty of determining the loss of substance in a copper coin. The allocation of the coins to particular kings can rarely be made with certainty, and since no series of weights of copper coins, even if the weights of the various denominations were uniform and known, would really prove the ratio of copper to silver unless they had their silver value marked on

them; or this could be determined on other grounds, it is certain that the Ptolemaic copper coins, of which the weights are undoubtedly subject to considerable fluctuations, are of little service by themselves for determining any particular ratio, unless it should turn out that some of them contain marks of value.

The result of our examination of the few arguments for a ratio of 120 : 1 which were left after the destructive criticism applied to the earlier arguments in *Rev. Laws*, App. iii is that they are just as unconvincing; and in the light of the new evidence afforded by the Tebtunis papyri the ratio of 120 : 1 between the value of silver and copper drachmae in the second and first centuries B. C. must be definitely abandoned. The downfall of this theory not only overthrows the various conjectures made as to the relative values of silver and copper in the later Ptolemaic period (120 : 1 Revillout, 143 $\frac{4}{7}$: 1 Poole, 150 : 1 Grenfell; cf. *Rev. Laws*, pp. 222 and 238), all of which presuppose a ratio of 120 : 1 between the value of a silver and copper drachma, but also disposes of the current view with regard to the ratio of silver and copper in the third century B. C.; for there has never been any evidence concerning the ratio in the earlier Ptolemaic period beyond the general presumption that it was the same as that in the later.

§ 3. *The present condition of the problem.*

In view of the partial or complete wreck of all previous attempts to solve the most important problem in Ptolemaic numismatics, and before trying to rescue the subject from the gulf to which the abandonment of the long-cherished 120 : 1 theory apparently consigns it, we may be permitted to make a few general reflections. In the first place the success which that theory has had has been mainly due to the reliance placed on the interpretation of an obscure demotic formula, which for a long time was out of the reach of criticism by any one outside the small circle of demotic students. As soon as the theory could be tried by the evidence of Greek papyri it was found wanting. The labour and ingenuity which have been vainly spent in upholding it will, we hope, be a salutary warning of the dangers inseparable from basing far-reaching conclusions upon the supposed evidence of demotic papyri apart from Greek, especially when the interpreter of demotic is M. Revillout.

Secondly, a fault which is common to most of the previous theories about Ptolemaic coinage is that they have tried to go much too far, and the authors in their anxiety to find answers for the questions at the end, which are naturally the most interesting and important, have neglected the con-

sideration of those which come at the beginning. We shall endeavour in the present essay to be more cautious, and may state that we have no intention of constructing a complete theory with regard to the copper coinage. The publication of M. Svoronos' promised Corpus will, we trust, supply the evidence of a large and accurately weighed collection of copper coins, and the enormous quantity of early Ptolemaic papyri found in the last three years can hardly fail to throw light upon the coinage problems of the third and second centuries B.C. Pending the issue of fresh materials, our present task is the humbler one of laying the discussion of the subject on a firmer foundation, entering in detail only upon the condition of affairs in the period with which the present selection of Tebtunis papyri is concerned.

We may commence with a brief survey of the available evidence. For the third century B.C., the period of the silver standard before the introduction of copper drachmae, there is not much to be added to that used by Grenfell in *Rev. Laws*, App. iii. The new Petrie papyri provide numerous other examples of the formula *ληψόμεθα εἰς τὸν στατήρα ὀβολοὺς κδ*, as well as of conversions of copper into silver at a discount of about 10 per cent. like the instances quoted in *Rev. Laws*, p. 199; but they throw no fresh light upon the nature of the obol, which is the central problem, and as before, the ratio of silver to copper in the third century B.C. can only be determined by indirect arguments based upon the ratio in the later period. From the side of numismatics some new data are afforded by the weights of a small hoard of copper coins found by Quibell (*Milne ap. Quibell, Ramesseum*, p. 13), and by the articles of Svoronos on the coins of Philadelphus (*Journ. internat. d'arch. numism.* iii. pp. 83 sqq., *Revue belge de numism.* 1901). On the other hand the Tebtunis papyri for the first time provide undoubted instances of conversions of silver into copper drachmae, and there is good reason for thinking that other examples of similar conversions at slightly higher rates exist in extant papyri of the earlier part of the second century B.C. (cf. p. 585), though, since the possibility of a different explanation remains, we do not propose to lay much stress on those three examples.

We start therefore with a number of conversions of silver into copper drachmae covering the reigns of Soter II, Ptolemy Alexander, and Neos Dionysus at ratios varying from 500:1 to 375:1. The first remark to be made is that there is now no longer any gulf fixed between the ratios of silver and copper drachmae in the Ptolemaic and in the Roman period. Examples of conversions of silver into copper drachmae at 450:1 are known in the earlier part of the Roman period from *P. Oxy.* II. 242, 243, 331, 333, 337, 338, 340, while a ratio of 500:1 occurs in *P. Brit. Mus.* 266 (cf. *P. Oxy.* II. pp. 187-8), and one of 350:1

(probably) in P. Fay. Towns 44 and 308. These ratios are no higher than those found at the end of the second century B.C., and it is clear that the links between the monetary system of Egypt under the later Ptolemies and the Romans are closer than has been supposed. But while this introduces a new and important factor into the problems concerning the ratio of silver and copper in Roman times, that subject is beset by too many difficulties of its own to be considered here.

To return to the varying ratios found in the Tebtunis papyri, the great divergence between them, which far transcends the 10 per cent. discount known in both the earlier and later periods, shows clearly enough that in trying to find one consistent and fixed ratio for silver and copper drachmae previous inquirers have been searching after a chimera. In private transactions there was no fixed ratio at all, for different rates of exchange are found even in the same papyrus (e.g. cf. 112. 111 and 120, 120. 40 and 108, and 189). As for the official rate we have only the evidence of one papyrus, where it is 500 : 1 (35. 5, 17), being thus higher than any of the private rates. We may ultimately be led on other grounds to the conclusion that a fixed official rate of exchange between silver and copper existed for certain purposes in the third century B.C., and even in the later period (cf. p. 599); but much as our inquiry would be simplified by having only one ratio to deal with instead of many, we must begin by accepting the hard fact that in the period from 120-60 B.C. no uniform ratio between a silver and a copper drachma can be traced.

Postponing for the present the difficult question how these variations are to be explained, we proceed to consider the effect of this evidence upon the coins. If we can determine what coin or coins represent e.g. 20 drachmae, we shall know at any rate within certain limits the ratio between silver and copper in the later Ptolemaic period, and this information can be used as a starting-point for an investigation of the monetary conditions of the third century. But before entering upon a discussion of the coins, it is necessary to make clear certain assumptions without which, as it seems to us, no progress can be made. The chief of these is that the relative weights of copper coins are at least an approximate indication of their relative value. Our meaning will be made clearer by an illustration. Let a be a Ptolemaic copper coin worth x copper drachmae, and b another coin of about the same period weighing approximately $10a$; we believe that b is worth approximately $10x$. Unless this assumption is granted, it is obviously quite useless to attempt to deduce anything from the weights of copper coins at all with regard to the ratio of silver and copper. It is possible that we ought to go further and regard the weight of a copper coin as the absolute criterion of its value. The hypothesis that the copper

coins had no face value at all, and that in every transaction weighing had to be resorted to, would remove the difficulty of classifying the fluctuating weights of Ptolemaic copper coins under different denominations by the denial that any fixed denominations existed. In that case a coin weighing 40 grammes would be worth exactly $1\frac{1}{7}$ times as much as a coin weighing 35 grammes and $\frac{8}{9}$ of a coin weighing 45 grammes. Such a supposition would involve no great difficulty in Egypt, where coins were practically unknown before the time of Alexander, and the people must have been fully accustomed to weighing the precious metals. But, if the copper coins were regarded as nothing more than pieces of bullion, they hardly served the function of coins, and if they circulated at values according to their precise weights, we should expect to find in papyri much more complicated fractions of the obol and of copper drachmae than is the case (cf. pp. 593-5). Moreover at the end of the Ptolemaic period it seems clear that some fixed denominations existed in spite of differences of weight (cf. p. 595), so that we prefer to suppose that a certain amount of fluctuation was throughout compatible with the existence of denominations having definite values. The point on which we wish to insist is that considering the extraordinary importance of the copper coinage in Egypt it is only reasonable to assume that the weights are consistently the chief criterion of value. We do not mean by this assumption to assert that the copper coinage of the Ptolemies was in no sense a token coinage; that is another problem altogether, and depends on the question whether the ratio of value between silver and copper, as shown by the coinage, agrees with the commercial ratio of the two metals. As a matter of fact the importance of the copper coinage and the smallness of the official discount on copper paid instead of silver (cf. Rev. Laws, p. 217) still seem to be good reasons for thinking that even in the earlier Ptolemaic period copper was not a token coinage. But the assumption we are now concerned with is something simpler, and we should not have been concerned to emphasize it so strongly if it had not recently been implicitly denied by M. Svoronos in his proposed classification of the copper coins of Philadelphus in the articles mentioned above. Finding seven denominations of which the weights approximately form the following series 1, $1\frac{1}{2}$, 2, 4, 8, 16, 24, he wishes to arrange the value of these in the series 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, the unit being in each case the obol. This theory is put forward very tentatively by its author, who promises to elaborate it in his forthcoming Corpus, and we should have preferred to wait until it was more fully developed before dealing with it. Our excuse for trying here to nip it in the bud is that it has been adopted without reserve by M. Babelon in his recently published *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, and that he goes even a step further than Svoronos, by assigning to the supposed

denominations a set of still more hypothetical normal weights: Now it is obvious that if Svoronos is right, and the 6-obol piece weighed twice as much as the 5-obol piece, all hope of finding in the coins any consistent ratio between silver and copper must be abandoned. Let us examine some of the other consequences of this view. Svoronos considers that after 265 B.C. no more tetradrachms were issued in Egypt, copper money being usually employed in place of silver. We pass over for an instant the misconceptions involved in this statement, and accept provisionally the monetary conditions formulated by him, that after 265 B.C. the coinage of Egypt was practically mono-metallic. Could any country or government have tolerated a system upon which, when e.g. 24 obols were paid, the amount of copper would if payment was made in four pieces of 6 obols each be nearly twice as much as what it would be if made in four pieces of 5 obols and four of 1 obol, or four times as much as what it would be if made in eight pieces of 3 obols? If such were the monetary principles which prevailed under the most enlightened of the Ptolemies, we may well despair of introducing any kind of order into the subject. But as a matter of fact there is not a shadow of foundation for Svoronos' theory. The passage in the Revenue papyrus to which he alludes (lx. 14), so far from laying down a novel general principle 'que les impôts acceptés en Égypte par les autorités fussent payés par le peuple en monnaie de cuivre,' refers only to one particular revenue, that connected with the oil monopoly, and there are numerous examples in the Petrie papyri to show that silver continued to be extensively, if not mainly, used in payments to the State, at any rate till the reign of Philopator; while as regards the date at which the payment of this particular revenue in copper instead of silver was permitted, no inference can be drawn either from the Revenue papyrus or any other that this permission was *first* granted in B.C. 265. We can only suppose that Svoronos' view is derived from a misunderstanding of Rev. Laws, pp. 194-200, where Grenfell being engaged in refuting the theory of Revillout that copper was practically not used at all before Philopator, naturally lays more stress on the instances of payments in copper than on those in silver about which there was no dispute. As put forward by Svoronos, this theory of the copper coins of Philadelphus not only leads to consequences which seem to us incredible, but is mixed up with erroneous ideas of the evidence of the papyri; and even if we were to concede the likelihood of the only condition which would really justify his view that the weights of Philadelphus' copper coins are no criteria of value, viz. that copper at that period was a token coinage of little importance compared to silver (for the reasons given above we do not concede this), we should still reject the classification of the seven denominations as multiples of the obol; for

the papyrus which suggested it to him (P. Oxy. I. 9 *verso* 1-3), where a drachma of 7 obols is mentioned, refers not to the Ptolemaic period but, as explained in the note upon that passage, to the Roman. There is, as we pointed out, some resemblance between the monetary conditions of the third century B.C. and the Roman period, in both of which the standard was silver, and the copper obols were sometimes subject to a discount. But the proportion 7 obols to 1 silver drachma, which is the justification of Svoronos' 'heptobole,' is found exclusively in the Roman period. In the third century B.C. obols at a discount exchanged, so far as is known, at the proportion of 26 and a fraction for a stater, never at 28, and there is absolutely no ground for supposing a coin of 7 obols to have existed in the early Ptolemaic period at all. Without the support of P. Oxy. I. 9 the whole system of classifying those seven denominations of the copper coins of Philadelphus as multiples of the obol becomes quite arbitrary and need detain us no further, for the assumption that the weights of copper coins have not even an approximate relation to their value seems to us fundamentally unsound.

Having, we hope, shown reasonable ground for believing that the weight of a Ptolemaic copper coin is the main, though not necessarily the absolute, criterion of its value, we need lay down only one more general proposition, which may sound like a truism but is of real importance—that the right theory of the ratio between silver and copper will satisfy the evidence of both the papyri and coins, in other words that a theory which suits one, but not the other, is wrong. With this preface we proceed to an examination of the coins.

§ 4. *The evidence of the coins.*

The weight of Ptolemaic silver coins, which are chiefly tetradrachms, varies little, and the norm after the reign of Soter I has been clearly established to be the Phoenician drachma of 3.62 grammes. We now know from the Tebtunis papyri that this was worth after 120 B. C. from 375 to 500 copper drachmae. But what was the weight of a copper drachma? Hitherto the almost universal view has been that it was approximately the same as that of a silver drachma. The name supplies the most obvious and strongest argument for this hypothesis, which necessarily has the first claim upon our attention. We need not, however, lead our readers into a discussion of the various kinds of copper drachmae, whether on a Phoenician, Attic, or Egyptian standard, which have been thought to underlie the copper coins. In the existing condition of Ptolemaic numismatics it is quite premature to talk about 'normal weights' of copper coins as if they had any real existence, and for our present argument the actual weights of a few

coins are sufficient. If the copper drachma weighed approximately the same as the silver drachma, the ratio of silver to copper was when 375-500 copper drachmae exchanged for 1 silver approximately 375 : 1 to 500 : 1, and we are confronted with a proportion according to which the value of silver is much higher than that which is known to have existed in any other coinage in the Graeco-Roman world. The nearest approach that we have been able to find is 288 : 1, which appears to have been the early ratio in the western Mediterranean, though by 268 B. C. it had sunk at Rome to 120 : 1 (Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, pp. 47 and 76). The difficulty of believing in this high ratio is increased by the fact that the silver tetradrachms of the later Ptolemaic period are of inferior quality, and that when in the Roman period silver gave way to billon the same high ratio is still found. But a still more serious objection is that this high ratio leads to a marked conflict between the evidence of the papyri and that of the coins. The sums in copper drachmae mentioned in the papyri of the present volume and the late Ptolemaic papyri in P. Grenf. I and II, P. Brit. Mus., and P. Par. have this characteristic in common that they are multiples of 5, and 5 copper drachmae is the lowest sum found anywhere as an individual payment. There are some exceptions to this rule in the published texts of the Leyden (as in the Academy edition of the Paris) papyri; but the readings of figures in the Leyden papyri, of which there are no facsimiles, are no more trustworthy than those of the Paris editors, whose mistakes can to a large extent be corrected from the facsimiles (e. g. in P. Par. 13. 27 for πγ, sc. δραχμῶν, should be read Ϟπ). The rule also holds good in the vast majority of the Ptolemaic ostraca published by Wilcken, and the few exceptions are probably more apparent than real¹.

¹ Exceptions are found in *Ost.* II. nos. 1351, 1354, 1504, and 1507, a series of receipts issued by the same banker in the 27th year of Philometor or Euergetes II. In the first three the same amount, 867 drachmae, occurs in the body of the receipt, and in the fourth 10434 drachmae, payment in each case being made in (χαλκῶς) οὐ ἀλλαγῇ (on which see p. 598). But in the banker's signature appended to these receipts, as frequently happens in the ostraca, a slightly higher sum is mentioned (1000 drachmae in two of the first three cases; in the third the figure is lost; in the fourth it is 2 talents). This phenomenon of a mention of two sums, of which the second is always higher than the first, is explained by Wilcken (*Ost.* I. pp. 75-6) on the supposition that the smaller sum is an instalment, while the larger is the total received by the banker for the month or year. This view however does not account for the circumstance that with the single exception of no. 1518, where 235 drachmae occur in the body of the receipt and 600, if the reading is correct, in the subscription, the higher sum is never more than 21 per cent. higher than the lower, and that in the case of particular taxes a nearly uniform relation between the higher and lower figure is found. Thus in the receipts for ἀπόμοιρα (omitting no. 1518) the higher sum is larger than the lower by 10.5 per cent. on the latter (no. 322), 10.1 (no. 352, ἀπόμοιρα and ἐπαρούριον), 11.4 (no. 354), 11.9 (no. 1234, ἀπόμοιρα and ἐπαρούριον), 10 (no. 1315), 10.5 (no. 1345); no. 355, in which the percentage is 5.4, probably belongs to the reign of Augustus. For the τετάρτη ἀλίαν the percentages are 15 (no. 337), 14.9 (no. 339), 15.5 (no. 340), 19.4 (no. 346), 20.1 (no. 1347), 20.5 (no. 1348), 15.4 (no. 1522); for the tax ἐπὶ πορευτῶν they are 15.2 (nos. 1351 and 1354, and probably 1504, v. sup.), 15 (no. 1507), 16.8 (no. 1508), 15.5 (no. 1517). The comparative uniformity of the difference between the higher and lower figures suggests another explanation, that in these higher figures are included

The evidence of all, or practically all, late Ptolemaic papyri and ostraca shows that a coin worth 5 copper drachma is required, but that no smaller denomination is necessary, and it is very difficult to believe that any large number of coins worth less than 5 drachmae could have been in circulation without leaving more traces in records of actual payments. Yet if a copper drachma weighed approximately the same as a silver drachma, since about half the extant Ptolemaic copper coins weigh less than 5 silver drachmae, and therefore ought to be worth less than 5 drachmae, the smallest being less than 1 silver drachma in weight, the result is that all these coins are unaccounted for in the papyri of the later period. The argument applies equally to the copper coins of the earlier period, when they were regarded not as copper drachmae but as fractions of the silver drachma. With a ratio of only 120 : 1 or 150 : 1 between copper and silver in the third century B. C., it is necessary to admit the existence of various small coins with values descending from about $\frac{1}{4}$ obol down to about $\frac{1}{80}$ obol (cf. Rev. Laws, pp. 225, 334); and if the supposed ratio of 375 : 1 were extended from the second century to the third, even the largest copper coins, those weighing over 100 grammes, would be worth less than $\frac{1}{2}$ obol, and there would be coins worth less than $\frac{1}{200}$ obol. This conclusion is manifestly absurd, even if it did not stand in flagrant contradiction to the evidence of third century B. C. papyri, which mention no sum lower than 1 chalcus or $\frac{1}{2}$ obol. It follows therefore that any ratio as high as 375 : 1 is altogether out of the question for the third century; and if it is accepted for the second and first centuries, the result is an irreconcilable divergence between the evidence of the papyri and that of the copper coins which is all the more unsatisfactory, because with regard to the silver coins the numismatical evidence concerning the importance of the stater and the rarity of any smaller denominations of silver coins is in complete accord with the statements of the papyri both in the earlier and later periods.

There seems to us only one way out of the difficulty, and this is boldly to deny the view that the weight of a copper drachma was approximately the same as the weight of a silver drachma, and to look for another solution more in accordance with the numismatic evidence. If the weight of a copper drachma was quite different from that of a silver drachma it is obvious that we cannot deduce the relative value of silver and copper as metals from our know-

the *ἀλλαγή* and miscellaneous charges upon the lower (cf. τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη added to the payments for *πρόστιμον* in nos. 342, 351, and 1232, and the charges for *καταγύγιον, τιμή στυρίδων καὶ τὰλλα ἀνηλέματα* in P. Par. 62. v. 17-8). The higher figures will then represent what was actually paid into the bank, the lower what was credited to the tax-collector by the bank after deducting the various extra charges, and the existence of sums which are not multiples of 5 in the body of the receipts will not prove the existence of coins worth less than 5 drachmae.

ledge of the number of copper drachmae which were equivalent to 1 silver drachma, unless we can first determine the number of copper drachmae represented by a particular coin. What kind of ratio would suit both the papyri and the coins? The result of making 120 : 1 or 150 : 1 the ratio between silver and copper was that the smallest coins weighing about 1 gramme were worth about $\frac{1}{80}$ obol or $\frac{1}{4}$ copper drachma. Let us suppose, as suggested by the evidence of late Ptolemaic papyri (*v. sup.*), that this coin represented 5 copper drachmae. Then when 375 copper drachmae were worth 1 silver drachma, the weight of the copper would be something like 75 gs., and the ratio of silver to copper would be about 21 : 1; when 500 copper drachmae exchanged against 1 silver, the ratio would be about 28 : 1. Applying this to the third century B.C., the smallest coin, which on the 120 : 1 theory of Revillout was worth $\frac{1}{80}$ obol, would represent from $\frac{1}{14}$ to $\frac{1}{20}$ obol or approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ chalcus. This, though slightly smaller than any fraction found in third century B.C. papyri, is much more manageable than $\frac{1}{80}$ obol or $\frac{1}{80}$ chalcus. We conclude then that a low ratio of something like 30 : 1 would suit both papyri and coins very well, and that the higher the ratio is supposed to be above that proportion, the greater will be the difficulty of reconciling the evidence from the two sources. But of course, without some more definite reason for believing in a ratio of approximately 30 : 1, such a theory would remain in the realm of pure conjecture. Fortunately, however, a positive reason is forthcoming. It has recently been pointed out by Regling (*Zeitschr. f. Numism.* 1901, p. 115), that a series of copper coins issued by Cleopatra VII, of which the ten examples at Berlin weigh from 15.8 to 20.1 gs., are marked Π, while another series, of which the nine examples at Berlin weigh from 7.8 to 10.1 gs., are marked M. From the fact that the average weight of the coins in the second series is half that of the first, he inferred that Π and M were not mint marks, as supposed by Poole, but marks of value, the unit being the copper drachma. The author of this to us very convincing hypothesis hardly seems to realize the momentous consequences involved in its acceptance, and his remarks about the relation of the copper to the silver drachma naturally require some modification in the light of the new evidence of the Tebtunis papyri; but this in no way detracts from the service which he has done to Ptolemaic numismatics by bringing forward an explanation which casts a flood of light upon the subject. For if the coins of 15.8–20 gs. and 7.8–10 gs. were worth 80 and 40 drachmae in the reign of Cleopatra VII (and, it should be noticed, also in the early part of Augustus' reign, when these two series were re-issued; cf. Poole, *Coins of Alexandria*, p. 1), when the ratio of exchange between silver and copper drachmae is not yet attested by direct evidence but can reasonably be inferred from the known

ratios in the reigns immediately preceding and following to have been about 375:1 to 500:1, we at length know within certain limits the ratio of silver and copper at the close of the Ptolemaic period. Taking the highest weight of the 80 drachmae coins and a ratio of 375:1 between silver and copper drachmae, the ratio is nearly 26 to 1; taking the lowest weight (15.8) it is about $20\frac{1}{2}$:1. At an exchange ratio of 500:1, the respective ratios of silver and copper which result are approximately 35:1 and 28:1. Starting from these premises it is but a very short step to suppose that in the period from Soter II to Neos Dionysus the copper coins which weigh the same as the 80-drachmae pieces of Cleopatra VII were also worth 80 drachmae; and if that be granted, then the exchange ratios varying from 375:1 to 500:1 found between silver and copper drachmae will result in the same ratios between silver and copper as those which were ascribed to the reign of Cleopatra VII. The correctness of this view is confirmed by the general presumption in favour of a ratio of silver and copper approximating to 30:1, which resulted from our comparison of the evidence of the papyri and the copper coins, and it seems to offer as satisfactory a solution of the ratio of silver and copper from the reign of Soter II onwards as can be hoped for; while with regard to the reigns of Epiphanes, Philometor, and Euergetes II the evidence of the papyri, so far as it goes, points to a slightly higher ratio in favour of silver. That the unit adopted as the standard of the copper coinage was so small that only multiples of it could be coined finds a parallel in the copper coinage of the Byzantine emperors; and this imaginary unit was called a copper drachma probably because drachma had come to mean the unit coin. Similarly the Romans often spoke of the chief gold coin (quite wrongly) as the *denarius aureus*, because the *denarius argenteus* was the chief silver coin; cf. the use of *folles* for the unit of which many went to make up the real 'bag.'

On the basis of Regling's identification of the coins weighing 15.8-20 and 7.8-10 gs. with 80 and 40 drachmae pieces we may also suggest the following provisional classification of some other copper coins regarded as multiples or fractions of them (cf. Poole, *Coins of the Ptolemies*, p. xcii). Thus below the 40-drachma piece of 7.8-10.1 grammes there are coins weighing approximately $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{5}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of it, which might represent 30, 20, 15, 10 and 5 copper drachmae, and above the 80-drachma piece of 15.8-20 gs. are coins weighing 20-24, 31-36, and 40-48 gs. which might be pieces of 100, 150, and 200 drachmae, with still larger coins extending up to the heavy copper coins of Philadelphus of 100 grammes, which were probably worth at least 400 copper drachmae. Of course these suggestions are very tentative, for until the weights of a far greater number of Ptolemaic coins have been published any discussion of normal

weights is premature. But it is worth pointing out that on the view of the copper drachma proposed by Regling it is much easier to classify the coins so as to bring them into harmony with the papyri than it was when the copper drachma was supposed to weigh approximately the same as a silver drachma, for we are now no longer troubled with a large number of copper coins worth less than 5 drachmae.

One of the effects of the adoption of this theory of copper drachmae as having no relation to the weight of a drachma is that the debens, kites, &c., found in the demotic documents of the late Ptolemaic period, if the prevailing theory of their equivalence in copper drachmae is correct, must also have no relation to the weights associated with those names in the period of the silver standard. This however is a matter of little moment, for if there were copper talents and drachmae which weighed nothing like a talent or a drachma there is no reason why the demotic equivalents for the Greek names of coins should not follow suit.

Our conclusion therefore with regard to the ratio of silver and copper from the reign of Soter II to that of Augustus is that it fell within the limits of $20\frac{1}{2} : 1$ and $35 : 1$. To determine it more closely is difficult, but it should be noticed that if the higher weights of the 80 and 40 drachmae pieces express, as is most probable, the norm more exactly than the lower, the ratio would not fall below $25 : 1$ even when the rate of exchange was as low as 375 copper drachmae for 1 silver. Can nothing be done to reduce the variation still further? To accomplish this it is necessary to open the question whether in official business there was anything approaching a fixed rate of exchange. In private transactions it is quite clear that there was not, though how far the variations depend upon actual changes in the market value of silver and copper, how far upon differences in fineness or weight of individual tetradrachms, or on other considerations, it is impossible to decide. One possible factor in the variations, the fluctuation in the weights of the copper coins, may we think be excluded, for the fact that pieces varying in weight from 15.8–20 grammes were all worth 80 drachmae indicates that the differences in weight between specimens of the same denomination were not taken into account. But putting private transactions on one side, is it probable that the official rate of exchange was equally unstable? Unless we can show reasonable ground for believing in the existence of a more or less permanent official rate even in the later period, the current view of the regulations governing the payments of taxes in silver or copper and of the technical terms *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* and *χαλκὸς οὐ ἀλλαγῆ* must be profoundly modified.

§ 5. *The official rate of exchange.*

Throughout the Ptolemaic period the money payments to the government are classified under two heads, *πρὸς ἀργύριον* and *πρὸς χαλκόν* (cf. Rev. Laws, pp. 195-200, and P. Par. 62. v. 16-21), and when copper was paid instead of silver, it was, on being converted into the more valuable metal, subject to an *ἀλλαγή*, or discount, of about 10 per cent. Unfortunately all the evidence regarding this *ἀλλαγή* in the later period is expressed in obols, not copper drachmae, and to obtain any clear idea of what obols meant in the second century it is necessary to go back to the period of the silver standard. Considering the use of the term *obol* in that period for the typical copper coin as opposed to the *stater*, which was the typical silver one (cf. Rev. Laws, p. 195), it may, we think, be taken for granted that the *obol* is represented somewhere in the list of copper coins; and unless the weights of these were arranged on no system at all, it must have connoted throughout the period of the silver standard a more or less definite amount of copper. According to the systems proposed by Revillout, Poole, and Grenfell the *obol* was placed at the top or high up in the scale of pieces arranged according to weight; but since those proposed classifications of the early copper coins rested upon the assumption that the ratio of silver to copper in the early period was the same as that in the later, and the ratio in the later period was determined by a wrong theory of the exchange value of a copper drachma, the question of the approximate weight of the *obol* must be considered afresh. Seeing that the ratio of silver to copper in the later period when the *tetradrachms* were not pure silver was not far off 30 : 1, it is difficult to believe that a lower ratio (20 : 1) existed when they were of fine metal. 30 : 1 is already so low a ratio that it is unsatisfactory to postulate one still lower. On the other hand, if a much higher rate than 30 : 1 be supposed for the early period, the fall must be ascribed not to a decline in the market value of silver (the value of that commodity probably tended to appreciate all through the Ptolemaic period), but to the debasement of the silver coinage or to a diminution in the weight of the copper coins. On the whole it is more likely that the governments which issued debased coinage insisted on its being accepted as pure metal, and demanded in its stead as much copper as their predecessors had required when the *tetradrachms* were pure. There are also other reasons, such as the uniformity of the *ἀλλαγή* in the earlier and later periods and the absence of any marked alteration in the weights of the copper coins after the change from a silver to a copper standard, for thinking that the ratio between the two metals as expressed in the coins was much the same in the third century B.C. and in the later period. On

this view of the ratio of silver and copper in the earlier period, it is necessary to move the obol much further down the scale of denominations, and to make it approximate to the 80-drachmae coin weighing 15·8–20 grammes which in the later period was worth from $\frac{4}{25}$ to $\frac{1}{75}$ a silver drachma according as the exchange value of the copper drachma varied from 500 : 1 to 375 : 1. Starting from that basis the very large copper coins of Philadelphus (examples weighing from 94–102 gs. are quoted by Milne *ap.* Quibell, *Ramesseum*, p. 13) would probably represent at least 4 obols, and even the smallest copper coins weighing from 1–2 gs. (or about $\frac{1}{15}$ the supposed obol) would not represent inconveniently small fractions. But until the weights of more Ptolemaic copper coins are known we do not propose to attempt a detailed classification of the third century B. C. coins according to their supposed denominations. It is sufficient for the present purpose that since the ratio is probably very much lower than 120 : 1 a belief in the existence of the obol as a definite coin is more than ever justifiable; and whatever view be taken of its approximate normal weight, the formula '24 obols = 1 stater' expresses a fixed normal ratio in the early period, which regulated not only payments of taxes *πρὸς χαλκόν* but many private transactions, as is shown by the occurrence of the formula in demotic contracts where payment was made in copper (cf. *Rev. Laws*, p. 206). It is probable that in this normal ratio the value of copper was slightly over-estimated, and that the *ἀλλαγὴ* or discount of about 10 per cent. charged when copper was accepted by the government in taxes *πρὸς ἀργύριον* is concerned with the difference between the ratio of silver to copper as expressed in the coins and the ratio between the metals regarded as articles of commerce. But the normal rate was undoubtedly 24 obols to the stater, and from the admission of a normal rate in the third century it follows that a normal rate of exchange for official purposes was observed in the later period. For as was shown by Grenfell (*Rev. Laws*, p. 199) the second century phrase *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* is the equivalent of 'copper at 24 obols to a stater,' i. e. copper at par, as contrasted with *χαλκὸς οὐ ἀλλαγὴ* which interchanges with 'copper at 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ obols' and means copper which was converted into silver at a discount. So far as is known, the distinction between *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* and *χαλκὸς οὐ ἀλλαγὴ* prevailed in payments to the government throughout the later Ptolemaic period, so that to obtain the normal fixed rate of the value of silver and copper we have only to find out what rate of exchange between silver and copper drachmae is implied by *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος*, or copper at 24 obols to a stater. After the introduction of copper drachmae in the reign of Epiphanes the term 'obol' must henceforward have been equivalent to a quite definite number of copper drachmae; otherwise it is very hard to see why in conversions of copper into silver the copper unit

contrasted with the silver stater was sometimes the obol, sometimes the copper drachma, or even how the older copper coins could have continued in circulation at all without producing the most inextricable confusion. But though the number of copper drachmae in a second century B. C. obol (which we may call x) must, so far as we can see, be fixed, and $24x$ to a tetradrachm expresses the rate of exchange implied by *χαλκὸς ἰσόνουμος*, to determine x is a difficult problem which only a conversion of copper drachmae *χαλκοῦ ἰσονόμου* into silver drachmae is likely to solve completely. On the one hand several considerations point to x being 75, for in our discussion of the weight of an obol we came to the conclusion that it probably represented about the same amount of copper as the 80-drachmae piece of Cleopatra VII; and the ratio of 450 : 1 between copper drachmae of *χαλκὸς ἰσόνουμος* and silver, which results from making an obol equivalent to 75 drachmae, would perfectly well suit the solitary instance in the present volume of a conversion of copper drachmae into silver in an official payment (85. 5). The rate there found, 500 : 1, is obviously high, and the mention of a silver price at all indicates that the revenue in question belonged to the *πρὸς ἀργύριον* category, in which copper money was at a discount. Since there is no mention of an *ἀλλαγὴ* in the subsidiary payments for transport &c., it is reasonable to conclude that it was taken into consideration in the rate of conversion, i. e. that 500 : 1 means a rate of more than 24 obols for a stater. If the rate was 450 : 1 when 24 obols were equivalent to a stater, 500 : 1 means a rate of $26\frac{2}{3}$ obols, and this would be in harmony with the known instances of the discount upon copper paid instead of silver, which varies between 2 and 3 obols on the stater. Moreover the hypothesis that $x = 75$ gains some support from the conversions of copper into silver drachmae at 450 : 1 in the payments of the *ἐγκύκλιον*, or tax of 10 per cent. upon sales, in the Roman period (cf. p. 588). Wilcken (*Ost. I. p. 721*) is almost certainly right in regarding *χαλκὸς πρὸς ἀργύριον* as equivalent to *χαλκὸς οὐ ἀλλαγῆς*, but a papyrus (P. Oxy. I. 99) on which he largely relies (*Ost. I. p. 736*) shows that the *ἀλλαγὴ* (or *ἐπιδέκατον* as it is there called) is not included in the total of the drachmae *πρὸς ἀργύριον*, but is something distinct; and since in the numerous receipts for *ἐγκύκλιον* in the later Ptolemaic period the *ἀλλαγὴ* upon the *χαλκὸς οὐ ἀλλαγῆς* does not affect the sum of copper drachmae actually paid and seems to have been an impost upon the bank, not upon the tax-payer, the *ἀλλαγὴ* is, we think, equally left out of account in the analogous receipts in the Roman period for *ἐγκύκλιον* in which the rate of exchange is 450 : 1. In that case 450 copper drachmae to 1 silver represented in the Roman period the rate corresponding to 24 obols for a stater in the late Ptolemaic period; and considering the general similarity of both those periods with regard to the rate of exchange, this is something of an argument for

making 450 : 1 the equivalent of 24 obols to a stater in the late Ptolemaic period also. On the other hand, starting from different premises there is much to be said in favour of equating the obol to 80 copper drachmae. For if it be admitted that the obol in the second century B. C. represents a definite amount of copper, the chalcus which was $\frac{1}{2}$ of it also represented a definite amount; and since definite amounts of copper are generally expressed in copper drachmae and these are divisible by 5 (cf. p. 593), if the number of copper drachmae in a chalcus was divisible by 5 the number of copper drachmae in an obol was divisible by 40. In other words the obol = $40x$ copper drachmae (x being an integer). The equation implied by *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* '1 stater = 24 obols' then becomes '1 stater = $960x$ copper drachmae.' The maximum number of copper drachmae in a stater is 2500 (P. Petrie II. 39 (*d*); cf. p. 586); the minimum is 1500 (185). Hence x lies between $2\frac{2}{3}$ and $1\frac{5}{8}$; and since x is an integer it must be 2, in which case the obol = 80 copper drachmae. Moreover if the existence of coins worth 80 and 40 copper drachmae be accepted, it is improbable that these numbers would have been chosen if the normal official value of the typical copper coin, the obol, had been e. g. 75 drachmae. But if '24 obols = 1 stater' is equivalent to saying '1920 (or 1800) copper drachmae = 1 stater,' it is very difficult to account for all the staters which on this view were worth less than 1920 copper drachmae or 24 obols. If to avoid this difficulty a lower ratio, such as 375 copper drachmae to 1 silver, is adopted as the equivalent of 24 obols to 1 stater, and an obol is made to represent $62\frac{1}{2}$ copper drachmae, the ratio of 500 : 1 will be equivalent to a rate of 32 obols for a stater, which seems much too high, judged by the known instances of the *ἀλλαγὴ*. Whatever number of copper drachmae be taken to represent an obol in the second century B. C., difficulties undoubtedly arise in connexion with *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος*; but we prefer nevertheless to adhere to the old explanation of it; for if that is abandoned and *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* (which must imply some kind of permanent standard) did not always mean '24 obols for a stater' but sometimes 26 obols or $26\frac{1}{2}$ obols, or whatever the number fixed by the government from time to time or place to place might be, the advantages which would be gained in connexion with the great variation in the number of copper drachmae seem to be outweighed by the hopeless difficulties that arise in the interpretation of P. Par. 62. v. 16-21 and P. Zois. 1. 33, which on the old theory of *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* as equivalent to copper at 24 obols for a stater are capable of a perfectly satisfactory explanation.

Our conclusion therefore with regard to *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* is that, granted that an obol means much the same amount of copper in both the third century B. C. and in the later period, the general theory is in the main sound, though the particular ratio between silver and copper drachmae implied by it is not

120 : 1, but some ratio three to four times as high, which owing to the lack of direct evidence cannot be determined with certainty. *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* does, we think, imply a definite official rate of exchange in the later Ptolemaic period, though it was very far from uniformly regulating private transactions involving conversions of silver into copper. Owing to the doubt attaching to the figure which represents the normal exchange ratio of silver and copper drachmae the resulting ratio of silver and copper can only be determined within approximate limits, which are still further widened by the fluctuations in the weight of the coins, but of which the mean is about 30 : 1. Greater definiteness can only be obtained through an increase in the evidence, first on the side of the copper coins by the collection of fuller statistics concerning their weights, secondly on the side of the papyri by the publication of the new material waiting to be examined and—what is one of the most pressing needs in papyrology—by a revision of the texts of the older publications, especially the Paris and Leyden papyri.

§ 6. *Summary.*

We conclude with a recapitulation of the chief propositions which the present essay is concerned to establish—

(1) The theory that in the later Ptolemaic period the ratio of value of a silver to a copper drachma was 120 : 1 rests on no foundation whatever. The arguments by which that view has at different times been supported are either false or inconclusive, and the theory is in direct contradiction with the new evidence of the Tebtunis papyri.

(2) The theories of a ratio varying from 120 : 1 to 150 : 1 between copper and silver which were based upon the supposed ratio of 120 : 1 between a silver and copper drachma are equally groundless.

(3) In the reigns of Soter II, Ptolemy Alexander, and Neos Dionysus the ratio of value between a silver and a copper drachma varied, so far as we know, from 500 : 1 to 375 : 1.

(4) Seeing that similar ratios existed in the Roman period, it may be taken for granted that they also prevailed in the reign of Cleopatra VII.

(5) So far as the evidence for the earlier part of the second century B. C. goes, it is improbable that there was any material difference between the ratio in it and in the period from Soter II onwards, though the extant examples show slightly higher ratios (512½ : 1—625 : 1) than those found in the later period.

(6) Considering the importance of the copper coinage in Ptolemaic Egypt it is a reasonable assumption that the weights of the copper coins, in spite of their fluctuations, more or less consistently correspond to differences of value ;

but the existing numismatic evidence is still too imperfect to admit of a satisfactory classification of the weights.

(7) Since the view that a copper drachma weighed approximately the same as a silver drachma leads to a ratio between silver and copper which is too high, and further involves an irreconcilable contradiction between the coins and the papyri, it must be rejected.

(8) Adopting as a starting-point Regling's explanation of the coins of Cleopatra VII marked Π and M as worth 80 and 40 copper drachmae, it is probable that throughout the later Ptolemaic period 80 copper drachmae weighed from 15-20 grammes.

(9) From the reign of Soter II to that of Cleopatra VII the ratio between silver and copper which results from this theory ranges between the extreme limits of $20\frac{1}{2} : 1$ and $35 : 1$, or is approximately $30 : 1$.

(10) It is practically certain that there was a definite official rate of exchange between silver and copper in the third century B.C., as is shown by the cases where 24 obols were accepted for 1 tetradrachm, and it is probable that a definite rate continued to prevail in official payments wherever *χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος* is found in the later centuries; but owing to the uncertainty attaching to the precise relation of an obol to a copper drachma, this official rate cannot yet be exactly determined.

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 ω " 5. 60, *al.*
 λ δραβάη 10. 4, *al.*
 υ " 9. 9, *al.*
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 β $\frac{2}{3}$ *passim.*

γ, δ &c. $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ &c. *passim.*

(d) MISCELLANEOUS.

/ γίνεται, γίγνεται *passim.*
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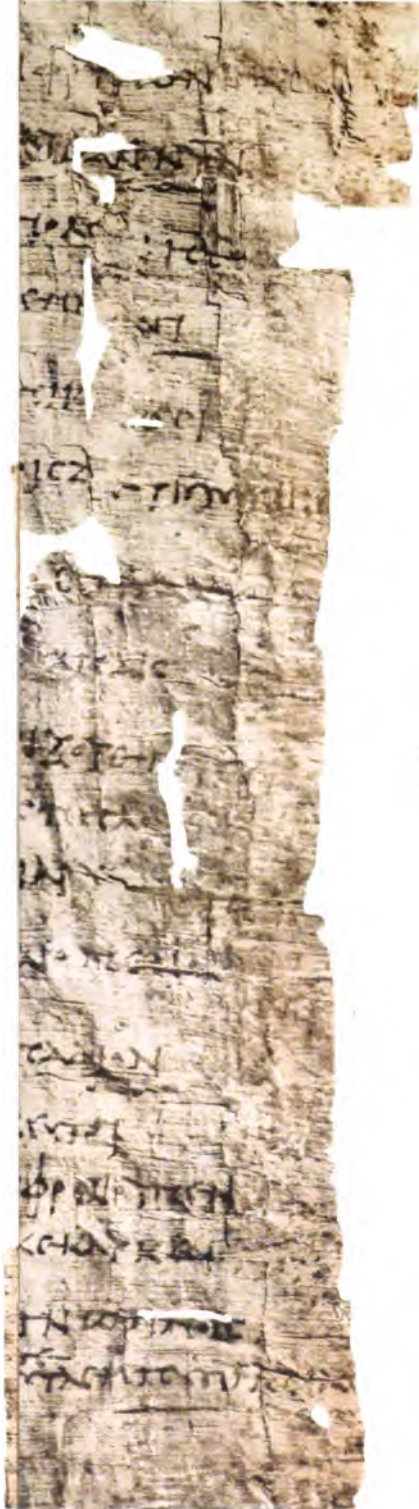
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8	56	1517	593
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Wessely, <i>Papyrorum Script. Graec.</i> <i>Specimina</i> , 30. 5	411	1522	"
Wilcken, <i>Aktenstücke</i> v-vii	584	1528	223
		1529	436
		Zois I. 33	601

(d) UNPUBLISHED PAPYRI.

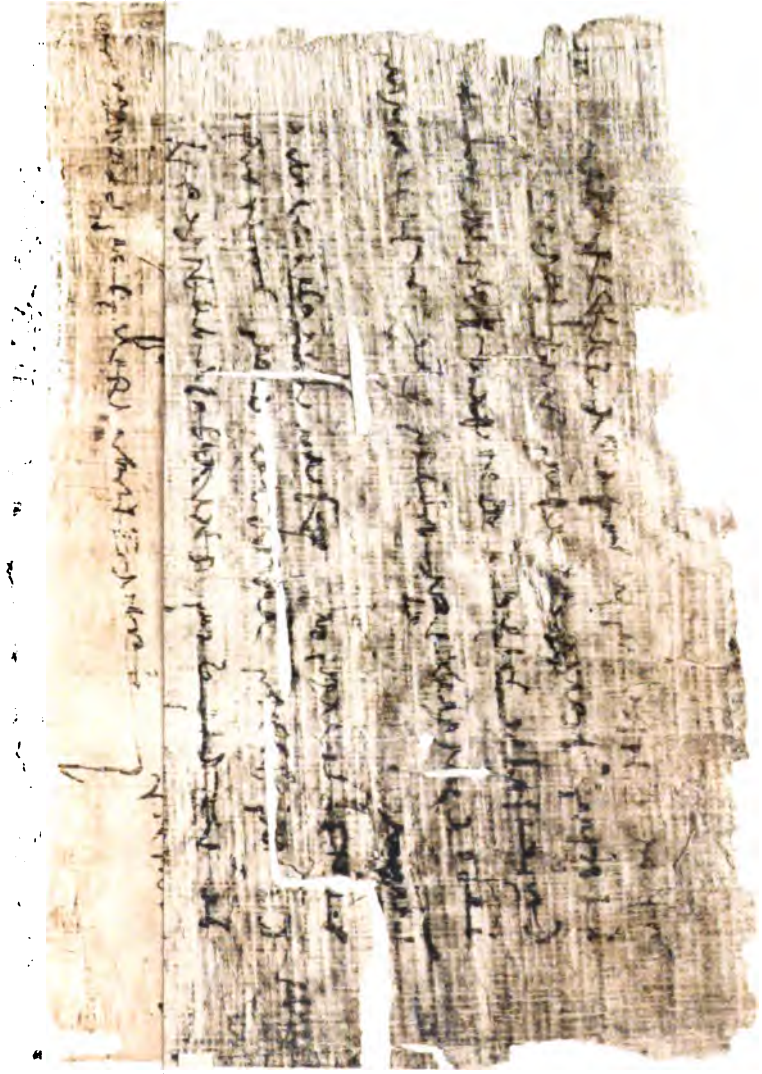
Cairo 10256	429, 472	Petrie	36, 52, 56, 64, 126, 224, 337,
10282	36		392, 447, 481, 570, 588
Fayûm	130, 276, 446	Rylands (demotic)	32, 554

PLATE I



NO. I

PLATE III



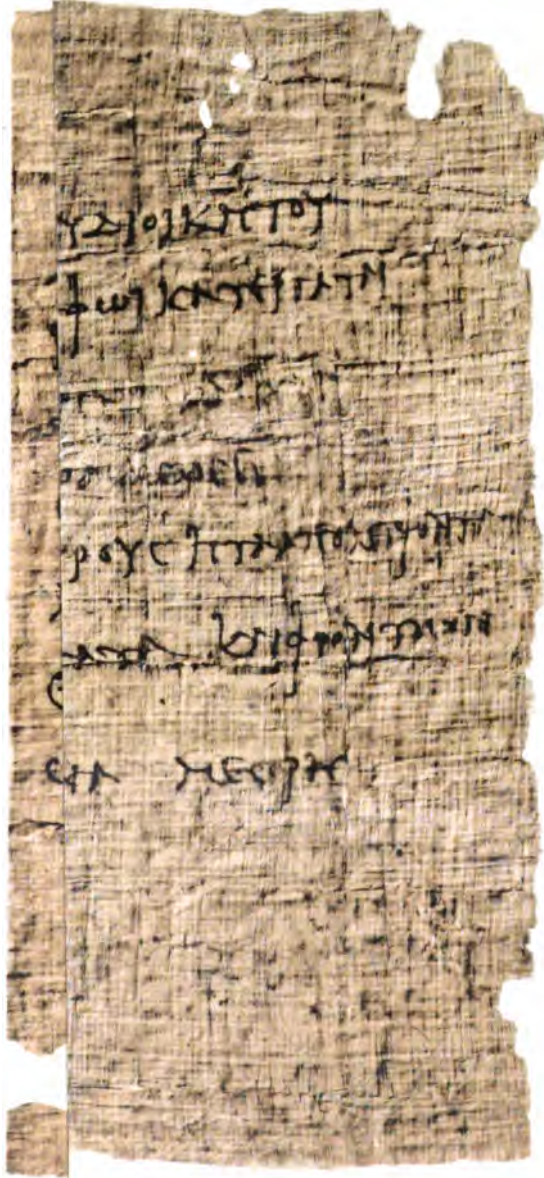
No. 5, Col. IX

PLATE IV



No. 8

PLATE V



No. 10

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely cuneiform, arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines on a narrow strip of parchment or papyrus. The characters are dark and somewhat irregular, typical of ancient inscriptions. The strip is oriented vertically on the page.

PLATE VI

No. 37

PLATE VII

Handwritten text on a rectangular fragment of material, possibly a palm leaf. The text is arranged in several lines and includes the following characters: 39, 29, 28, 27, 26, 25, 24, 23, 22, 21, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 0. The text is written in a cursive script.

No. 47

Handwritten text on a rectangular fragment of material, possibly a palm leaf. The text is arranged in several lines and includes the following characters: 39, 29, 28, 27, 26, 25, 24, 23, 22, 21, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 0. The text is written in a cursive script.

No. 108

