SOME BYZANTINE PAPYRI FROM THE AMSTERDAM PAPYRUS COLLECTION

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The papyri published here belong to the collection which the University of Amsterdam acquired in the spring of 1969. Most of the papyri, all dating from the Byzantine period, are incomplete and hardly offer anything new. It is only in some minor points that they complete our picture of life in Egypt in the IVth-VIth centuries A.D.

1

DEED OF DIVORCE

Provenance unknown 10,3 x 6,2 cm VIth century A.D.

P. Amsterdam Inv. No. 103. A middle-brown papyrus of which only part of the left-hand side has been regularly cut off (there is a margin of approx. 0,5 cm); the other sides have been broken off irregularly. The hand bespeaks a highly skilled scribe. The writing on both sides runs parallel with the fibres.

Recto

1 [...] [...] σι καὶ Ἄριας ἀπὸ τῆς (αὐτῆς) πόλεως
2 ὁμολογοῦντες ἄλληλοις τὰ ἐξῆς δήλοις (ὑμένα). Ἐπ[ε]περ
3 πρῶτην συνήφησαν ἄλληλοις πρὸς
4 ἐννομον γὰρ καὶ βίον κοινωνίαν καὶ σήμερον,
5 οὖς εἴσημεν πόθεν, ἐκ σκαιῶν τινος
6 πονηρὸς διάμονος ἐβουλήθησαν ἄλληλοιν
7 ἀπέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἡμῶν συνοικεσίου
8 κατὰ τὸῦτο ὁμολογοῦντες μηδέν[a] λόγον

Verso

9 [...] ταχων ταύτη
t 5 τ. ἢσμεν
Translation

--- and Aria from the same city, agreeing mutually as follows: Whereas we were of late joined together in lawful marriage and community of life, and today, we known not whence, through some malign spirit, we decided to part from each other, from our common marriage away, herewith agreeing [that we have, and will have,] no claim [henceforward against each other ---

Apart from the name of the woman in this agreement, the above papyrus has only preserved for us the usual phrases stating that once, in good heart, the two parties had got married and that they now wish to obtain a divorce (traditionally, an evil genius is blamed for the failure of the marriage). The missing part at the top undoubtedly contained a note, following the date, that it concerned a deed of divorce of an unknown man (it is impossible to make anything of the traces of letters above our line r) and Aria. The missing part at the bottom again contained the usual clauses that the parties concerned had no claims against each other and that they were free to do as they pleased (cf., for example, P. Flor. r, 93).

I cannot expand the letters on the verso (most likely a summary of the agreement on the recto).

The survey of the deeds of divorce occurring in the papyri, compiled by O. Montevocihi, Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano II, I contratti di matrimonio e gli atti di divorzio, in Aegyptus 16, 1936, p. 20 and enlarged by R. Tauben- schlage, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri², p. 121, note 69, has been brought up to date by Cl. Préaux, Acte de Divorce du Brooklyn Museum (P. Brooklyn gr. 4), Chron. d'Ég. 37, 1962, pp. 323 sqq. (= SB VIII, 9740. Cf. H. C. Youtie's remarks in Chron. d'Ég. 43, 1968, pp. 172 sqq.). The papyrus published by Bell-Rees in Eos 48, 1956, pp. 175 sqq. has been republished as P. Herm. Rees 29 (= SB VI, 9278). We can add to her list P. Oxy. XXXVI, 2770; P. Mil. Vogl. III, 184 and r 85 (= SB VI, 9381).

Note

1 The woman's name 'Apìα is mentioned once by D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum (P. Merton i, 22, 7). In CPR I, 8 we find the name 'Apìa. Are we in the present case and in P. Merton or in CPR I dealing with an instance of iotaism?
Receipt

Provenance unknown  10.3 x 12.9 cm  VIth century A.D.

P. Amsterdam Inv. No. 43. A light-brown papyrus, regularly cut off at the bottom and partly so at the left-and right-hand sides. The writing, bespeaking a skilled hand, runs parallel with the fibres. At the left-hand side there is a margin of 0.5 to 1 cm; at the bottom one of over 1.5 cm.

1 (ὑπέρ)] καρπῶν τε[τάρτης
2 καὶ δὲ] χρήματες <ινδ(ικτίονος)> χρυσοῦ νομ[ισμάτια
3 δύο παρά κεράτωα δώδεκα καὶ κεράτια
4 τρία, γί(νεα) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτικα) β τ[αράκ] κερ(άτια) ιβ καὶ
   κερ(άτια) γ μυν(α).
5 Ἕγραφ(η) Φαμενοθ β" ἱνδ(ικτίονος) ιδ.
6 Καλλίνικος συμφ(ωνεί) μοι.
4 pap. 18  5 pap. 18

Translation

--- for the fruits of the fourteenth indication two gold solidi minus twelve keratia and three keratia, total 2 gold solidi minus 12 keratia and 3 keratia only. Written on 2nd Phamenoth of the 14th indication. I, Callinicus, agree.

The above papyrus belongs to the well-known type of papyrus in which a receipt is issued for the payment of certain obligations. Compare, for example, SPP III, 37; 68; 72.

Note

6 For the meaning of the three crosses at the end of this line cf. SPP III, 118, 9/10.

Appendix to papyrus no. 2

Instruction of Payment

Provenance unknown  6.5 x 8 cm  VIIth century A.D.

Plate I

P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 19941. A middle-brown papyrus, regularly cut off at the top, left- and right-hand sides. The text, bespeaking a skilled hand, runs against the fibres. At the top, left- and right-hand sides there is a margin of 0.5 cm. On the verso (also against the fibres) χμγ and traces (at the right) of 2 lines of figures (?) are still discernible.
Translation

Athanasius to the wine-seller Apollos. Provide for meat a thousand two hundred silver talents, total 1200 silver talents only. 6th Phamenoth of the 3rd indiction.

This papyrus belongs to the well-known type of instructions of payment (cf., for example, SPP VIII, 959; 1042).

3

SURVEY OF PAID WINE

Provenance unknown 13,9 × 10,5 cm VIth century A.D.

P. Amsterdam Inv. No. 46. A middle-brown papyrus, regularly cut off at the top and left-hand side. Lines 1-9 run parallel with the fibres; the remaining lines run against the fibres. On the verso there is a margin of 5 to 5,5 cm at the left-hand side and one of approx. 2,5 cm at the bottom. On the recto there is a margin of approx. 0,5 cm at the top. The hand is most unskilled. The lines slope down to the right.

Recto

1 Λόχος Μαρία οἶκον διπλὰ Ἀ
2 ὁμοίος κβ
3 Ἄνουφλου Μεσήςις διπλὰ Ἐ
4 ὁμολογεῖ
5 Παλέτωρ διπλὰ[Ξ]
6 Δικησε
7 Μαρία Σερένου διπλὰ[ν]
8 ὁμολογεῖ Μαρία διπλὰ
9 ὃ[μολος

Verso

10 . . . [n]
11 Ἄπολλο[ν] κνίδια
Plate I
The above papyrus is a list of certain quantities of wine (for the wine-measures cf. A. Segrè, Metrologia e circolazione monetaria degli antichi, p. 506/507) paid by certain persons. In line 1 the proper name should have followed οίνον; Maria is the first person from whom payment was received. From the fact that a number of names occur in the genitive case (especially on the verso) I conclude that the persons mentioned in our text made the payments and were not at the receiving end.

At the bottom a part is missing, the size of which cannot be ascertained anymore. At the level of lines 5/6 a vertical stroke is discernible, which might indicate a second column, now lost.

Notes
5 The proper name Παλέτωφ has not occurred previously. However the λ is highly dubious.
6 Δανης seems to me to represent a spelling of Δανης (cf. Δανης).

END OF A DOCUMENT LIST OF PAYMENTS (?)

Provenance unknown 7.2 × 5.7 cm 22.12.303 A.D.

P. Amsterdam Inv. No. 17. A middle-brown papyrus, irregularly broken off at all sides. Both texts are complete at the bottom. The text on the recto runs parallel with the fibres and there is a margin of over 2 cm at the bottom; the date has been written by a very skilled scribe, the two signers are clearly not used to writing. The text on the verso runs against the fibres and there is a margin of over 3 cm at the bottom; between lines 8 and 9 there is a free space of approx. 1 cm. The hand is not very skilled.

Recto
1 (Ἐτοις) καὶ ὑπὸ Ετοις οὗ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
It will be obvious that the nature of the document on the recto cannot be determined anymore. Of interest is the dating. J. D. Thomas, *On Dating by Regnal Years of Diocletian, Maximian and the Caesars*, Chron. d'Ég. 46, 1971, pp. 173 sqq., recently pointed out that between 20.12.303 and 13(26).1.304 A.D. there was a deliberate changeover from the use of three figures in describing the year to the use of two figures only, with the year number of Maximian being assimilated to that of Diocletian. The above papyrus proves that on 22 December 303 A.D. the three-figure-system was still in use. Only one figure (= the year 13) is used on the verso. On the assumption that, generally speaking, a text on the verso is of a later date than that on the recto (cf. E. G. Turner, *Recto and Verso*, JEA 40, 1954, pp. 102 sqq.), we have to take it that the text on the verso was written after 22.12.303 A.D. Consequently the text on the verso should be dated on 13.8.305 A.D. We know that Diocletian abdicated with Maximian, leaving Constantius and Galerius Augusti in the West and East respectively, with Severus and Maximinus Daia as their Caesars, on 1 May 305 A.D. Year 13 of the new emperors is also year 1 of the new Caesars. One wonders why the regnal year of the Caesars was omitted in the present papyrus: by mistake or deliberately? The nature of the text on the verso cannot be ascertained with certainty anymore. We are probably dealing with a list of payments (in kind or in money) made by the villages mentioned (cf. P. Oxy. X, 1285).

Our papyrus originates probably from the Oxyrhynchite nome.
According to P. Oxy. X, 1285, 75 and 77 Σύρων and Αγων lay in the western toparchy of this nome.

Notes
1 For the double curve, often followed by one or two obliques cf. H. C. Youtie, Notes on Papyri, ZPE 3, 1968, pp. 1 sqq. especially note 16.
2 In the lacuna at the end of this line there must have been more letters than in the lacunae at the end of the previous and following line. We must suppose that the titles were not very carefully, but very fluently written (cf. Cl. Préaux, Sur l’écriture des ostraca Thébains d’époque romaine, JEA 40, 1954, pp. 83 sqq.).
5 It is impossible to read Ἀθηνᾶς, the letter before the λ seems to be a τ.

Receipt Survey of Paid Artabae of Wheat

Provenance unknown 12.5 x 16.5 cm Vth/VIth century A.D.

P. Amsterdam Inv. No. 47. A middle-brown papyrus, regularly cut off at all sides. The text on the recto, written by a skilled hand, runs parallel with the fibres and there is a margin at the top of over 2 cm; in the front of line 1 there is a margin of 4 cm; in front of line 2 one of 3 cm; at the bottom there is a margin of 7.5 cm. The x in line 3 is over 6 cm below line 2 (at the left the papyrus is only 11.5 cm high). The text on the verso, written by a skilled hand, runs against the fibres and there is a margin of over 2.5 cm at the top. The free space at the right-hand side varies from 7 cm (behind line 5) to 14 cm (behind line 9). The distances between the lines are wide, approx. 1 cm.

Recto

1 Κληρονόμοι Πτολεμαίου Ἀττίωνος Ἀπολλωνίων
2 ἢ δι' ὑποδοχῆς Μάρκου ὑποριγίτου β".
3 Κ[...

Verso

4 [ἐ. τελλα] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) α[λ]
5 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)] α[λ]
6 Ὁσιωδόρα διὰ Κολλοῦθου
7 [ἐ. και Ὁσιωδόρα (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) α[λ]
8 (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) γ[λ]
9 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) αξία'[1] 10 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) αξία'[1] [(γυνοτατο) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)] αξία'[1]

1 Ἄππολλοδ[ωρν]

Of the two texts which this papyrus contains the one on the verso offers no difficulties. It concerns payments of wheat, made by various persons. The quantity is every time 1½ artabae (in line 7 two persons consequently pay 3½ artabae). The text on the recto, on the other hand, is rather puzzling. It would seem that the heirs of Ptolemaeus, son of Apion, receipt Apollodorus (?) a certain sum of money (or goods) received by the greengrocer Marcus. Should the α in line 3 be expanded into κ(ληρονιμων) and does line 3 constitute the beginning of a text similar to that of lines 1 and 2?

Notes

2 δι' ὑποδοχῆς undoubtedly means "by means of the receipt (of money or goods)". For δια + genitive instead of a dative, cf. E. Mayser, Grammatik II, 2, § 109. Apparently Marcus received something on behalf of the heirs of Ptolemaeus. ὑποργίτης has occurred only a few times in the papyri (SPP III, 473; SPP VIII, III, III4, 1991; P. Oxy. XVIII, 2195). The meaning of the word is greengrocer (for ὑπορχερ cf. M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten, p. 185), a synonym of ὑποροπόλεως = leguminarius = legumina vendens (cf. Corpus Glossarium Latinorum II, 386, 20; III, 308, 61; II, 586, 30). The β, marked as a figure by means of the two obliques, presents a problem. We know that a β, γ, etc., or δ, τρις, etc., following a proper name signified that the name of the father, grandfather, etc., was the same as the name written down (cf. R. Koerner, Die Abkürzung der Homonymität in griechischen Inschriften; J. F. Oates, A Rhodian Auction Sale of a Slave Girl, JEA 55, 1969, pp. 191 sqq. especially note on line 8 of column I). In the present case, however, it is difficult to accept that the father of Marcus was also called Marcus, because we find ὑποργίτιον written between Μάρκον and βατ', but no other solution offers itself.

4 F. Dornseif/B. Hansen, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen offer Κατέλα and Μετέλα as possible expansions of this name. Neither has so far been found in the papyri. Is it mere chance that the names which are legible are names of women?
LAND-LEASE

Hermopolis 17.7 × 11.4 cm VIth/VIIth century A.D.

P. Amsterdam Inv. No. 102. A middle-brown papyrus, regularly cut off at the right-hand side. At the top and partly at the bottom and left-hand side the document is regularly broken off. The highly skilled hand runs parallel with the fibres. Three vertical folds and one horizontal fold are still visible.

1 [approx. 13 letters ἐκ μητρὸς Σωφίας γεωργοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.
2 Ὅμολογῷ ἐκουσάς καὶ αὐθαυρεῖτος μεμσθόθθεν παρὰ τῆς σῆς
3 σοῦ ἁγιενεῖς ἐπὶ τρίες τῇ ἁγιᾷ ὥσπερ ἄρτοιν τῆς σῶν θεοῦ
4 [approx. 6 letters ἵκτουνος καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ὧν ὑποτεθεῖσαν σοι ὑπὲρ
5 'Απερε'φ'τος
6 [approx. 15 letters ... τῶς σποράμης γῆς ἄρουραν μᾶλλ
7 [approx. 19 letters ... μέρει τοῦ ἔκεισε λάκκου καὶ τοῦ
tόπου
8 [approx. 14 letters καὶ βο]στασίου καὶ παντὸς δικαίου ἄπο
9 ἄρουρον
10 [δέκα approx. 10 letters κατὰ κα]νονάν τῶν ὑπολοιπών κοινανῶν
11 ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπολοιπῶν ἄρουρω]ν[α]ν εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῶν αὐτῶν δέκα
12 [τοῦ ὄλου γεωργίου ἄρουρώ]γη σὺν τ汧 προειρημένη ὀλοκλήρω λάκκω
13 γύναι ἐν τῷ ἀπτὴ (ιώτης τῆς (αὐτῆς) πόλ. (εἰς) ἐν π[ερ]ιχώματι
14 Εἴηγας ὑπὸ τὴν παραφυλαχὴν
15 [τῶν ἀπὸ κόμης approx. 8 letters] ... [8 letters] εἰο[ς το]ου "Ερ[μί]ου-
16 πολίτου νομο(οῦ)
17 [εἰς σποράν καὶ κατὰθε]σιν καὶ[ρ]τῶν [δῶν ἐὰν αὐτῶμαι φ]όρου τῆς
18 [γῆς καὶ] ἐπος approx. 8 letters] ... [7 letters] ... [7 letters]...
19 [10 letters]" Στὶς
20 [approx. 16 letters μεμ]σθένος καὶ ἐπερ (οὐτε[θείς] ὀμολογίασε, Ἀδρ[ήλος]. Ὀρείζεται
21 Κοσμᾶ
Translation

--- from Aurelius N.N., son of Peesus] and Sophia of the said city. I acknowledge that I have voluntarily and of my own choice leased from Your Nobility for a time of three years counting from the seed of the, by the will of God, xth indiction inclusive the one and one fourth arurae of arable land which has been mortaged to you on account of Aereios [_____] together with the xth part of the cistern which is there and of the room [and of the ] and of the ox-stall with all the rights attaching to them of ten arurae [_____] in partnership with my other partners for the remaining arurae for the completion of the said ten arurae of the whole field with the aforesaid complete cistern situated in the east part of the said city in the land surrounded by the surrounding dyke of Eina guarded by the men of the village [X and the village Y] in the nomos of Hermopolis, for sowing and planting according to my decision, for a yearly rent of [______], and this rent I will measure and give every year in the month of Epeiph without delay, new, cleaned and sifted, measured by Athenian standards, and I will deliver it to your house in Hermopolis by means of my own beasts of burden and at my own expenses. This lease is valid and fixed, and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent. I, Aurelius N.N., son of Peesus [_____] have leased as stated above. I, Aurelius N.N., son of Cosmas ---

The above papyrus, consisting of four parts, contains a familiar type of document, viz. a late-Byzantine land-lease. This type has been excellently treated by H. Zilliacus, Late Byzantine Land-Leases from Hermopolis, Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum XIV, 3, pp. i sqq. (cf. SB VI, 9085).

For leases in general cf. S. Waszyński, Die Bodenpacht, agrargeschichtliche Papyrusstudien; J. Herrmann, Studien zur Bodenpacht im Rechte der gräco-ägyptischen Papyri; D. Hennig, Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten. Cf. also D. Hennig, Die Arbeitsverpflichtungen der Pächter in Landpachtverträge aus dem Fayium, ZPE 9, 1972, pp. iii sqq.

Our papyrus is complete at the right-hand side; at the left approx. 20 letters are missing. Above our line 1 there are vague
traces of a preceding line. The missing part at the top contained, after the date, the name of the person who leased the land, whose mother’s name has been preserved (his father’s name is found in line 19). The missing part at the bottom (below our line 20 there are also vague traces of a following line) contained the information that the son of Cosmas wrote the contract for the lease-holder, who could not write, and contained the dispositions of the witnesses.

By drawing a number of lines across the document the contract was rendered invalid (cf. F. Preisigke, *Girowesen im griechischen Ägypten*, pp. 514 sqq.; A. B. Schwarz, *Die öffentliche und private Urkunde im römischen Ägypten*, pp. 117/118).

Notes

3 From παρὰ τῆς σῆς at the end of line 2 it becomes evident that the lacuna at the beginning of line 3 must have contained a feminine substantive. Εὐγένεια (cf. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höfflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen*, Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum XV, 3) is often found in late Byzantine land-Leases from Hermopolis (cf., for example, SB VI, 9085, I, 6 and III, 11). τριῳν is only exempli gratia, Yet it is the most likely completion in view of the remaining space of the lacuna.

4 The space in the lacuna could only accommodate an ordinal number with ἔνδωσιν. The lessor, whose name at the top of the document has got lost, was given the ἱς arurae as a security ὑπὲρ Ἀπελευθοτός. Ἀπελευθοτός would seem to be a proper name (the lacuna at the beginning of line 5 may have contained his father’s name and/or the place where the plot of land was situated). I am not familiar with such a name. The reading is doubtful in at least three places (cf. the appropriate warnings against ghost-names made by J. Bingen, *Particularités onomastiques dans l’inscription de Philae* 279 = SB 8412, Chron. d’Ég. 46, 1971, pp. 367 sqq., and his review of D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum*, ibidem, pp. 397 sqq.). In line 20, too, we are faced by a doubtful proper name. Should we read [\(\Omega\rho\)]ος in line 19?

6 The lacuna probably had: ἄπειρον σχῆα σὺν ordinal number.

7 The mention of an ox-stall makes it plausible that the use of
irrigation implements was included in the lease: καὶ τοῦ κυκλευ-

11 In many of the land-leases from Hermopolis land is leased which
is situated east of this town. On these grounds (without having
absolute certainty, of course) I have supplemented the lacuna
at the beginning of this line as indicated. As the editors of
P. Tebt. I, 13 rightly state in their note to line 9, περίχωμα
means (1) a χώμα which surrounds an area of land as distinct
from a χώμα which runs in one direction; and (2) the area of
land surrounded by a περίχωμα. In the present case we are
dealing with the second meaning. The περίχωματα often have
names, cf. Preisigke/Kiessling, Wörterbuch s.v.

12 Due to a large hole and the fact that the fibres have come off,
this line and the following two have for the greater part got lost.
The size of the part lost in line 12 makes it plausible that the
land came under the protection of the people of more than one
village.

Appendix to papyrus no. 6

While dealing with this papyrus I referred to two Viennese
leases from Hermopolis Magna, published by H. Gerstinger (SB VI
9292 and 9295). As the wording of these texts differed in a number
of points from the phrasing usual for this nome, I studied the texts
once more during my recent visit to Vienna. For P. Vindob. Gr. Inv.
No. 26267 = SB VI, 9292 a list of suggested improvements should
suffice. I am publishing P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 25674 = SB VI,
9295 again below.

In the rich collection of the Papyrussammlung der österreichi-
schen Nationalbibliothek I came across four more incomplete
leases from the Hermopolites. I am publishing these below with
some brief notes.

P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 26267 = SB VI, 9292

Above line 1 (Gerstinger’s numbering) there are traces of one
more line discernible. The document was probably not only dated
by the consulate of Flavius Basilius, but also by the emperorship
of Flavius Justinianus (cf., for example, P. Flor. III, 285, 1-2).
Line 2: read: Μέχερ // ἰς αὐτῆς (τίνος).

Line 3: The lacuna at the beginning of this line contained the name of the lessor. At the end of this line, there is a π after ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρμοπολίτων, probably of π(αρά), and illegible traces of the name of the lease-holder.

Line 5: In the lacuna at the beginning of this line only: τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. Ὄμολογῷ ἐκούσας.

Line 6: The square bracket before ἐπὶ is absent in SB. The square bracket between λογι and ζομενον should be cancelled. τῶν is on the papyrus.

Line 8: The square bracket after γεωργίου is absent in SB. The square bracket after κοινωνίαν should be cancelled.

Line 9: The papyrus has: ὑπολοιπῶν.


Line 12: The papyrus has κατάθεσαν.

Line 13: The lacuna at the beginning of this line should be supplemented as follows: ὡς ἐκα αἱρῆμα.

P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 25674 = SB VI, 9295.

1 Traces
2 approx. 11 letters κατὰ κοινων[γ]εῖαν τῶν σῶν ἀδελφῶν
3 approx. 20 letters ἀς τῶν ὑπολοιπῶν ἄρουρῶν
4 approx. 12 letters ἐς συμπλήρωσιν τῶν δέκα τεσ[σ]άρων
5 approx. 12 letters τοῦ ὅλου γ]εωργίου ἄρουρῶν, η] ἀςων ἀςων
6 approx. 19 letters δ]ιακεμεμένου ἐν τῷ ἀπηλιώτῃ
7 τῆς (αὐτῆς) πολ(εως) ὑπὸ τὴν παραφυλαχὴν] τῶν ἀπὸ κόμης
   Ἐνεσε[τ]οῦ Ἐρμοπο-
8 πολίτου νομοῦ ἐς σποράν] καὶ κατάθεσαν καρπῶν, ὡς ἐκα
9 αἱρῆμα, φόρον τούτων] κατ' ἔτος στυκρίθου κατὰ τὸ
10 ἐκ θὸς ἀρταβῶν τριάκιον] κοντα δῦο διμολύρου καὶ ὀστρέου
11 approx. 19 letters ἄνυπερ φόρον νέον καθαρῶν
12 κεκοσκινεμένον ἀποδίασον σοι μέτρῳ 'Αθηναίων τῶ
13 Χ μην κατ' ἔτος ἄνυπερθέτως καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω
14 τῶν αὐτῶν φόρον ἐς οἰκῶν] σοι ἐν Ἐρμοπόλει ἐδιοιος μου ἥμοις
15 καὶ ἀναλώματι καὶ κνίδια ἐλα[]ρας διδιπλὰ δῦο καὶ γάλακτος χύδρας
16 approx. 17 letters καὶ ] λάγηνον. Ἡ μίσθωσις χυρία καὶ
Gestinger has taken too small a space for the lacuna at the left-hand side of this papyrus. In lines 17 and 18 the names Οδάρεις and Ἀποτή, which only occur in this papyrus, disappear. They can be removed from D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum.

In my opinion a new unit of measure presents itself in line 15. Gestinger cancelled the first δ. In P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 325 (= no. 6 of this appendix), διδιπλά appears again. In my opinion we are dealing here with a measure representing two διπλά. Cf. διδραχμόν in P. Oxy. I, 116, 5.

**P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 14045**

**Land-Lease**

Hermopolis 23 × 13.5 cm 498 A.D.

Plate II

P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 14045. A light-brown papyrus, of which only the top and part of the left-hand side have been regularly broken off. At the top and at the left-hand side there are margins of 2 cm. The distance between the lines is 1 cm. For the greater part the text has been written parallel with the fibres; line 10 runs against the fibres. The lines tend to climb towards the right. A skilled hand.

1 Ψπατείας Φλ(αούλου) 'Ιωάννου καὶ Παυλίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων

2 Φλ(αούλα) Ἀρθο[ν]ία τῆς λαμπροτάτης καὶ εὐγενεστάτης θυγατρὶ τοῦ

3 ...[, ...]οῦ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ερμούπολιτῶν νας τὸ πατρίς Αὐριλίουν

†"Ωρου π[ατρὶς "Ωρου
4 καὶ Πίνετος καὶ Ποοίου υἱῶν τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ἑῷ Ὀροὺ ἐκ
μητρῆς ἀπὸ ἐποιεῖ τεῖοῦ Μονοὶ Ἐρμουπολίτου νομοῦ. Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἄλληλεγγον
γεγενήμενοι εἰς ἐκτισμον
5 ἐκουσίας καὶ φίλοις μεμισθόθηκατ παρὰ τῆς σῆς λαμπρότητος τοῦ
ἐπὶ — εἰς τὴν χρόνου λογία (ομονοι)
6 ἀπὸ ] καρπῶν τῆς εὐτυχούσης ὁδός ἱδικὸς ἱδικὸς τῶν [τῶν] τὸ ὑπαρχόν
τῆς σῆς στο [εἰς]
7 γεωργίου ἄρουρον ἐξήκοντα δικτῶ σὺν ἀμετέλων ἐτέρων ἃ [ρουρῶν
8 approx. 40 letters ] .. ἢρη [Verso]
9
10 Πίνετος καὶ Ποοίου υἱῶν ἀπὸ κῆρυ [κής] Μονοὶ τοῦ
Ἐρμουπολίτου νομοῦ).

Notes
1 According to A. Degrassi, I Fasti Consolari dell’Impero Romano
Flavius Paulinus and Johannes Scythia were the consuls in 498
A.D. (VIIth induction). By mistake (?) Johannes is mentioned
first here.
2 Of the four Berlin leases from Hermopolis, published by H.
Zilliacus, Late Byzantine Land-Leases from Hermopolis, Soc.
Scient. Fennica. Com. Hum. Lit. XIV, 3 (= SB VI, 9085),
three are addressed to Aurelia Aphthonia, daughter of the late
Hypsistos. It is possible to read ‘Ὑψις[το]ν in line 3. Are we
dealing here with an elder sister of Aurelia Aphthonia?
4 The proper names Pines and Pooios occur here for the first time.
7 For possible expansions of τῆς σῆς στο [εἰς], cf. H. Zilliacus, Unter-
suchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln
10 Pines is mentioned twice and Horus is forgotten.

P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 25948

LAND-LEASE

Hermopolis 16,8 x 13,7 cm 571 A.D.
Plate III
P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 25948. A light-brown papyrus, only at the right-hand side regularly cut off. The text is mutilated by a large number of worm-holes. The text, written by an experienced scribe, runs parallel with the fibres. Two vertical and two horizontal folds are still visible.

1 † Μετὰ τὴν ὑπάτειαν Φ]λαρύλου Ἰο[υ]στίνου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἔτους ἕκτου
2 ἐβδόμη πέμπτης Ἰνδικτίονος.
3 ] ἐξυλογιμωτάτω σχολαστικῷ υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς
4 μνήμης Ἰσι]δώρ[ο]ῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἸΕρμουπολιτῶν π[αρά]
5 Ἀδρηλίου
6 πόλεως. Ὀμολογώ ἐκουσίως καὶ ἀθανασίως μεμισθοθεὶς παρὰ τῆς
7 ἕπτη τετραετῆς χρόνων λογιζόμενον ἀπὸ καρπῶν
8 τῆς σὺν θεῷ εἰσιούσης ἐκτῆς Ἰνδικτίονος καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα
9 ]κ[όσα] διεξάγων πεντάχικον τρία τρίτου ἀπὸ ἀρ[οῦ]
10 [. . . . ] πέντε κατὰ κοινωνίαν τῶν ἄλλων ἔκεισις
11 λ]γιτοὺς ἀροῦμας τεσσάρας καὶ ἄμικτα
12 εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῶν αὐτῶν πέντε ὀδ. [. . . . ]
13 Διακεῖ]μένων ἐν τῷ ἀττιλιώτῃ τῆς α[υ]τῆς
14 πόλεως [. . . . ] ἐν τε[ρ]οτοριτοὺς τεσσάρας καὶ κόμης
15 [. . . . ] ἐν τοῖς διὸν ἐκ νότου τοῖς [. . . . ]
16 [. . . . . . . . . ] τοῖς λεγομένοις
17 [. . . . . . . . . ]

Notes
3 For the scholasticus, cf. the Cologne dissertation by A. Claus, 'Ὁ σχολαστικός.
14 For πρακτορεία, cf. P. L. Bat. XI, II, II.

P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 20681r

LAND-LEASE

Hermopolis 14 × 11.7 cm VIIth century A.D.
Plate IV
P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 2068r. A middle-brown papyrus, regularly cut off at the top and right-hand side. At the left-hand side the papyrus is irregularly broken off and the text displays abrasion here. At the bottom the papyrus would seem to be broken off at a fold. There is a margin of over 1 cm at the top. The text, written by a skilled scribe, runs parallel with the fibres. Four vertical folds and one horizontal fold are still visible.

1 approx. 35 letters ] ἐ(γράφη)ἡ μ(ὴν) ᾿Αθήρ ἔκτη ἐκάθεν Ἰνδωκτικονος
2 ἐν ᾿Ερμουπόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος. approx. 12 letters ὃ σωτάτω ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Ερμουπολιτῶν καὶ
3 approx. 15 letters π(αρά) ᾿Αὐρήλιον Δαυεῖτυ ὑπὸ τῆς ᾿Αβρααμίου
4 approx. 25 letters μὴτρός Λείας γεωργώς
5 μεμισθώσατι παρὰ σοὶ ἐπὶ—ἐτη ἡ χρὴ[γ]ον οἰκιζόμενον ἀπὸ καρπῶν
6 σὸν θ(ῃ) — Ἰνδωκτικονος καὶ αὐτῆς τὰς διαφερούσας σοι ἀφέρεις
7 δυο στορίμις γῆς ἀνύδρου
8 καὶ κατάθεσιν καρπῶν, ὅπεν ἐξαὶ αἱρήματι, φόρου] τούτων τοῦ συμβρόχῳ κατ᾿ έτος
9 approx. 18 letters τῷ δὲ ἀβρόχῳ, δ νη εἶνη, παλῖρεξω τῷ ἕμου
10 τοῦ προκειμένου
11 φόρου, ὑπὲρ φόρον νέον καθαρὸν κ]εκοσ[κινε]μέγον μέτρῳ τῷ ἐμῷ
12 εν μηνί
[13 — ἀποδώσω σοι καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω τὸν συν]γενόμενον αὐτῶν τὸν
14 φόρον εἰς οἶκον σου
15 ἐν ᾿Ερμουπόλει(ει) ιδίοις μου ἥριν καὶ ἀνα]λώμ[ατι], δώσω δὲ κατ᾿
16 έτος σταχθὼν
17 δειματα. approx. 25 letters ]δεκα [ alignSelf.] ᾿Η μισθώσις
18 κυρία καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἐπιρρωτηθεὶς διμόλυγησα. ᾿Αὐρήλιος Δαυεῖτ
19 υἱὸς ᾿Αβρααμίου ὁ προκειμένον μεμισθημέναι φ[ες πρά]θει[ται

1 ραπ. Ινδωκτικονος 3 τ. γεωργῷ 7 γεωργῷ: the second ω corr. from o; λεγομένῳ: the ω corr. from o 10 ἐμῷ: the ω corr. from o; μην: the η corr. from ε

Notes

1 For the beginning of this papyrus, cf. Zilliacus, Late Byzantine
Land-Leases etc., no. 4 (= P. Berl. Inv. no. 16166 = SB VI, 9085) and P. Hermopolis Rees 34.


11 For αὐτῶν τῶν φόρον cf. P. Lond. V, 1771, 7 (cf. also P. Lond. V, 1774, 12).

12 For the extras given by the lease-holder in addition to the rental, cf. P. L. Bat. XI, 10, 13.

P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 325

LAND-LEASE

Hermopolis 23 × 13.5 cm VIIth century A.D.

P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 325. A light-brown papyrus, regularly cut off at the bottom and left-hand side. The text runs against the fibres. In front of line 1 there is a free space of 2.5 cm; before line 22 one of over 5 cm. Lines 1-22 (up to the second hand) climb towards the right. All hands bespeak a certain skill. Between the lines there is a distance of 1 cm (between lines 22 and 23 there is 2 cm). Verso empty.

1 ὀλόκληρο[ν...][...][...][...][appox. 40 letters

2 καὶ λάκκω διακεῖμενον ἐν τῇ αὕτη πεδιάδι πρὸς γεωργίαν κ[α]

3 ἐπιμέλειαν κ[α]Ιφιλοκαλέσαν φόρον[ν] τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρωμάν ἕξηκοντα

4 κατ' ἐτος ἐν τῇ συμβρόχῳ καὶ ἀβρόχῳ σήματος ἄρταβον τετρακοσίον

5 τεσσαράκοντα

6 πέντε, διατερέσομεν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης τῷ Ἐπειφ μην ἐκάστου ἐτος ἀνυποτήσεως, δὴδοσόμεν ἐς

7 κατ' ἐτος λόγῳ συνηθείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεωργίαν καὶ δαρκανείου ἐξέστη καὶ μέλιτος ἐξέστηκε

8 ἐν ἐλαιίῳ καλλίστῳ καὶ ἐφάρέστῳ τῷ σῷ ἐξέστη καὶ μέλιτος ἐξέστηκεν τῷ σῷ

9 ἐξέστη καὶ τυροῦς ἐφάρεστος δ[ια]κοσίας πεντήκοντα καὶ δελφάκων ἐξ[ε] κἀλλιστα

10 καὶ εὐάρεστα καὶ ἀρτων ἀπαλών ζεῦγη ἐκατόν καὶ ἁρτάχων δέματα ἐκα[τὸν καὶ
διδιπλά δικτώ, δώσωμεν δέ κατ' ἑτος οὐδὲν ἵπτον καὶ χόρτου ἀφοῦρης μίας καὶ [ἡμίσεως ἄγχυρου
σιβίου μοδεῖα ἐκατόν καὶ ὑπὲρ κατανομῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεωργίου
χρυσοῦ ἡμ[σα],
ἐτοῖμως δε εἴχομεν τὴν ὑδροπαραγωγιὰν ἐκτελέσαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χαρίτον τῶν[
δε' ἡμετέρων βοικῶν ζῴων καὶ τροφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μισθῶν ... [ἐν
μὲν χείμων
δεύτερον τοῦ μηνὸς, τῷ δὲ θέρει δε' ἡμερῶν δικτῶ ἐμὲμπ[τως καὶ
ἀκατα-
γνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως, ἐρ' ὑπερ στὴ τὴν γεωχούν δέξασθαι
ἡμαὶσον μέρος
παντὸς τοῦ ἐκβησομένου οἴνου καὶ ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ ἀμπελουργοῦ
ἐξ[εῖν τὸ ἄλλο
ἡμισο μέρος ἀν' ὁν ποιοῦμεθα καμάτων, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ στὶ[ὴν
γεωχούν
λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πείθου κατ' ἑτος ὑπὲρ πρωταλήνου [οἴνου
μέτρα
ἐκατόν. Ἡποκειμένων τῇ σῇ λαμπρότητι εἰς τεῦτην τὴν μέθωθα[σι
ἡμῶν τῶν ὑπαχοντῶν καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. Τὸ γράμμα τῆς μισθοφ[σεως
κύριον καὶ βέβαιον καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ἀμολ(ογήσαμεν). (2nd
Hand) Αὐρ(ῆλιοι) ΨΥρος Πένητος καὶ Πινάς Ια[
ἐρ(ῆλιοι) Μηνᾶς Σερήνου ἀπὸ Ἐρ(μουτόλεως) ἐξωθ[εις ἡγαφα
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
γράμματα μὴ εἴδότων. (3rd Hand) Αὐρήλιους Βίκτωρ Ἀλλήτος
ἀπὸ Ἐρ(μουτόλεως) μαρτυρῶ τῇ μισθόθι ἀκούσ[ας παρὰ τοῦ θε-
μένου. (4th Hand) Αὐρήλιος Φοιβάμμων Πέτρου ἀπὸ Ἐρ(μου-
τόλεως) [μα]ρτυρῶ τῇ μισθόθι ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶν
θε[μένων. (5th Hand) Αὐρήλιος Ἰωσήφας Ἐρμαπτόλλονος ἀπὸ
Ἐρ(μουτόλεως) μαρτυρῶ τῇ μισθόθι[σα] [ἀκούσας
παρὰ τῶν θεμένων

= Δι' ἐμοὶ Πινουτίνων ἐγάφη =
Survey of Paid Artabae of Barley and Wheat

Provenance unknown  25.6 x 11.7 cm Vth/VIth centuries A.D.

P. Amsterdam Inv. no. 49. A light-brown papyrus of which only part of the top (with a margin of approx. 2 cm) has been regularly cut off; parts of the other sides of the papyrus have been regularly broken off. On the verso there is a free space of approx. 4 cm in front of lines 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9, one of approx. 2 cm in front of the other lines. The distance between the lines is 1.5 to 3.5 cm. A skilled hand.

Recto

1  κριθών
2  [Διόσκορος Εὐλογίου θλ. φης η σο]
3  κριθών
4  [Ι...φως Εὐλογίου θλ. φ...[]
5  κριθών (ἀρτᾶβαι) ὑπ'
6  [Πτολείωνος Εὐλογίου και Ἡγμ( ) θλ. ις η λ]
7  κριθών (ἀρτᾶβαι) της
8  [Δαυκάδιος Ἡρακλειανοῦ θλ. ὁ ἦ]
9  κριθών []

Verso

10  ]δηγ. γλ...ο ἔξε σι(τοῦ) (ἀρτᾶβαι) φ
11  ]...α
12  ]...[ ]... λο γλ γῆ χροσ σι(τοῦ) (ἀρτᾶβαι) φν
13  [ ]... σι(τοῦ) (ἀρτᾶβαι) φν
14  ]...[ ]... ο λο γλ Δωλ γλ
15  ]... σι(τοῦ) [(ἀρτᾶβαι)]... φ.
16  ]... σι(τοῦ) (ἀρτᾶβαι) φλθ

r. Πτολείων

The purpose of this list, mentioning payments of barley (on the verso also of wheat) made by various persons, cannot be determined anymore. Because of the lay-out of the list it is unlikely that we are dealing with a draft, which the verso on the other hand might suggest. In all probability the document represents a (semi-)official list of payments.
Notes

2 I cannot explain the stroke to be found in front of the proper names in lines 2, 4, 6, 8, and 9 (probably by mistake in line 9). It was drawn simultaneously with the rest of the text (the colour of the ink is the same), or it was put in after completion of the text. We are probably not dealing with a check mark (cf. P. Princ. I, Introduction, p. XIV and pp. 42/43).

Following the names there appears every time a $\theta$, followed by a symbol which may stand for year: $L$ (in the lines 10, 12, and 14 we find a $\gamma$ followed by the same symbol). I fail to understand the meaning of this combination.


6 After the figure there is a curve, followed by one oblique, serving to mark $\tau\kappa\varepsilon$ as a number (cf. text no. 5, note to line 1).

10 Perhaps we should read $\pi\tau\omicron\omicron$. In that case, however, the word would have been abbreviated in a novel fashion.

The $\beta$ is marked as a thousand by a short stroke underneath the letter. In line 14 the $\beta$ has a “superstructure” (cf. PSI III, 250) to signify a thousand.

The distances between the lines on the verso vary greatly: between lines 10 and 11 there is 2 cm, as is also the case between lines 11 and 12; between lines 12 and 13 there is over 4 cm; between lines 13 and 14 there is 14.5 cm; between lines 14 and 15 there is 15.5 cm; between the last two lines there is no distance worth mentioning.