

Exempt from Tribute

Joshua D. Sosin

THIS SMALL TRIBUTE, not *phoros* but *syntaxis*, grows out of a visit to the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin.¹ P.Aust.inv. 32, there housed, comprises six pieces, which float free in a plastic folder. Four can be joined, so that the text consists of two large and two small fragments, which belong to the same document, but do not join.² The document concerns allocation of land labeled χέρσος (καὶ) ἀφορολόγητος.

The latter designation is rare in the papyri, occurring elsewhere only at *P.Tebt.* III.1 737.22, 32 (restored), and *P.Thomas* 2.14, a papyrus from the Duke collection recently edited by John F. Oates (*P.Thomas* 2 = P.Duk.inv. 318). I worked on the Duke

¹The HRC catalogue reads: "Interesting but mutilated fragment (complete at the bottom and right side; partly so at the left side) concerning the episkepsis of land. 18 lines (the ends of a preceding column are still visible). III/II B.C. 18 x 16 cm." I owe thanks to Jack Kroll, who kindly brought me to the HRC and so to notice the papyrus, to the HRC for allowing me to publish it, and to Kent Rigsby, Roger Bagnall, and John Bauschatz for their generous criticism and input.

²I made the joins on autopsy in January 2001. HRC policy prohibits reproduction of cropped and manipulated photographs. Thus, as the HRC archival photograph is of loose pieces, I have numbered them and describe here the steps by which the reader may join them as I have (see PLATES 1 and 2). All manipulation is keyed to PLATE 1. Pieces #2 and 4 overlap in the plastic sheath but are not joined. Rotate piece #4 90° CCW and flip on the vertical axis; piece #4 joins at the right edge of piece #3, to give "fr. A." Rotate piece #2 90° CW and flip on the vertical; piece #2 joins to the right edge of piece #1, to give "fr. B." I have been unable, on autopsy or manipulation of a scan of the photograph, to place or join pieces #5 (fr. C) and 6 (fr. D) to the remaining fragments. Rotate piece #5 180°; this fragment preserves a right margin, but whether it belongs between fr. A and B or above A is hard to say. It would be tempting to join C to the right edge of A, such that γῆν (C.3) followed τῆν (A.ii.3) and οὖν (C.4) followed γῆ (A.ii.4), but the tears and the fibers do not suggest this, and such a join would extend the right margin of fr. A far beyond the boundary suggested by fr. B. Rotate piece #6 90° CW and flip on the vertical.

papyrus as a graduate student. Stubborn, I protested that one other instance,³ the Tebtynis text, was insufficient to make me read the abraded letters in line 14 as ἀφορολογήτου. John had the better eye. Now, with the Austin text, we have three sparrows, and so a spring.

The document

P.Aust.inv. 32 contains a letter or *hypomnema*. Its greeting is missing, along with the entire beginning, but its closing salutation, ἔρρωσο, is preserved (B.ii.10). If the document does order the allocation of land to cleruchs, as it would appear, then it might be reasonable to suggest that its author was a *stratēgos* and its recipient a *basilikos grammateus*.⁴ The papyrus shows clear traces of a column of text to the left of the larger surviving section. These traces are insufficiently preserved to permit judgment as to whether the subject of the columns is the same. It seems likely that P.Aust.inv. 32 comprises extracts, summaries, or copies that have been filed in a single papyrus, as a record of official correspondence,⁵ for it is difficult to see what role Tesenouphis, who is mentioned in the second column of the unplaced fr. D (D.ii.1), might have played in the allocation of land to cleruchs. Fragments B and C, however, preserve clear right margins with no evidence of having been glued to another sheet, so that whatever the document's original format we seem to have its right edge.

Date

The document provides no indication of precise date, no regnal year, no mention of a known person. The hand might suggest a date in the later third century B.C. *P.Enteux*. 65 with pl. VIII (221 B.C.), or *P.Heid*. VI 363 (224/3–219/8) furnish

³See below on the restored text at SB XXII 15213.12.

⁴*Stratēgos*: *P.Thomas* 2 p.77; *P.Tebt*. III.1 793.fr.1.iii.19–iv.6; J. F. Oates, *The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus* (BASP Suppl. 8 [1995]) 32–33.

⁵As e.g. *P.Tebt*. III.1 793 (183 B.C.).

rough comparisons. I find no compelling parallels in the Zenon papyri. An additional factor may support a date in the last decades of the third century. One of the men allotted land in the Austin papyrus, Menneas, is designated Μακεδὼν τριακοντάρουρος (B.ii.3–4). We do not know another Menneas so designated. Thirty-aroura Macedonians, however, do not appear to be attested outside the last few decades of the third century.⁶ And so we might tentatively assign P.Aust.inv. 32 to the period 230–200 B.C.

Aphoros and *aphorologētos*

The editors of *P.Tebt*. III.1 737 note (p.150, on line 22) that *aphorologētos* "is a new term in the papyri, where ἄφορος is the usual word, e.g. 60.7 ὑπόλογον ἄφ." Usual for what? The word *aphoros* appears to be attested in the Ptolemaic period as a designation of land in but four documents on papyrus. Consensus suggests that the word *aphoros* indicated barrenness,⁷ but the papyri offer an alternative.

A report of crops at Kerkeosiris drawn up by Menches in 118 records land that was ὑπ[ο]λό[γο]ν ἀφόρου το[ῦ] ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως: derelict, *aphoros*, and not subject to lease from the Crown (*P.Tebt*. I 60.7). The designation *aphoros*, according to Hunt and Smyly, stressed that this land "was wholly unprofitable to the State."⁸ Shelton added precision, suggesting that ὑπόλογος ἄφορος ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως indicated non-Crown "land which by its nature was incapable of yielding crops," such as "roads, waterways, threshing-floors and dovescotes."⁹ A subsequent report filed by Menches records a small area of

⁶*P.Enteux*. 55.2 (222 B.C.), 75.1 (222 B.C.), 94.1 (246–205); *P.Frankf*. 1.7, 58 (214/3), 4.8 (216/5); *P.Genova* III 103.2, 104.9–10, 105.1–2 (219? B.C.); *P.Gur*. 18.2 (III B.C.); *P.Lille* IV 26 (218/7); *P.Petr*. II 38.A.6–7 (198 B.C.), Μακεδόνος τῶν ὑπὸ Φυλῆα (τριακονταρούρου).

⁷LSJ "barren"; *WB* IV "ertraglos."

⁸*P.Tebt*. I p.541; see also Verhoogt, *Pap.Lugd.Bat*. XXIX 109–111.

⁹*P.Tebt*. IV p.2; also *Pap.Lugd.Bat*. XXIX 110 n.5: "infrastructure (dykes, waterways, etc.," that is, land "not used for agriculture."

land that was χέρσο[υ] διὰ τὸ παρακεῖσθαι τῆι λοιπῆι ἢ ἀφόρωι,¹⁰ "dry on account of its adjoining the remaining *aphoros* land." This may have been arable land bordering on dykes or other infrastructure, or perhaps on undeveloped land.¹¹ In a letter to Zenon, Onnophris states that on surveying land held by some veterans, εὗρον ἐν αὐτῆι ἀλμυρίδος ἀφόρου, which the editors translate, "I found salt, unproductive (land) in it."¹² Finally, a contract of leasehold of a vineyard, which dates from the period in which P.Aust.inv. 32 seems to have been written, permits the lessee to retain τοῦ δὲ ἀφόρου (δραχμᾶς) δ, "four drachmas from the *aphoros*," a full 10% of the amount which he was entitled to claim from produce.¹³

Prevailing opinion holds that the word *aphoros* describes an agricultural reality, that land was so called not simply because it did not, but because it could not produce crops. But could the word have arisen from an administrative context? Could *gê aphoros* have been land from which the state did not, for whatever reason, extract *phoros*, that is payment due in kind or cash?¹⁴ As the lease contract makes clear, *gê aphoros* could be envisioned as being at least moderately profitable. The land that Menches declared as *aphoros* may have included roads and other non-agricultural real estate, but its margins may well have been farmed for every bit of produce they could yield. Finally, if in Onnophris' report to Zenon *aphoros* indicated roads or the like, then the claim to have discovered so much ἀλμυρις ἄφορος would have been redundant, if not ridiculous. Who cared

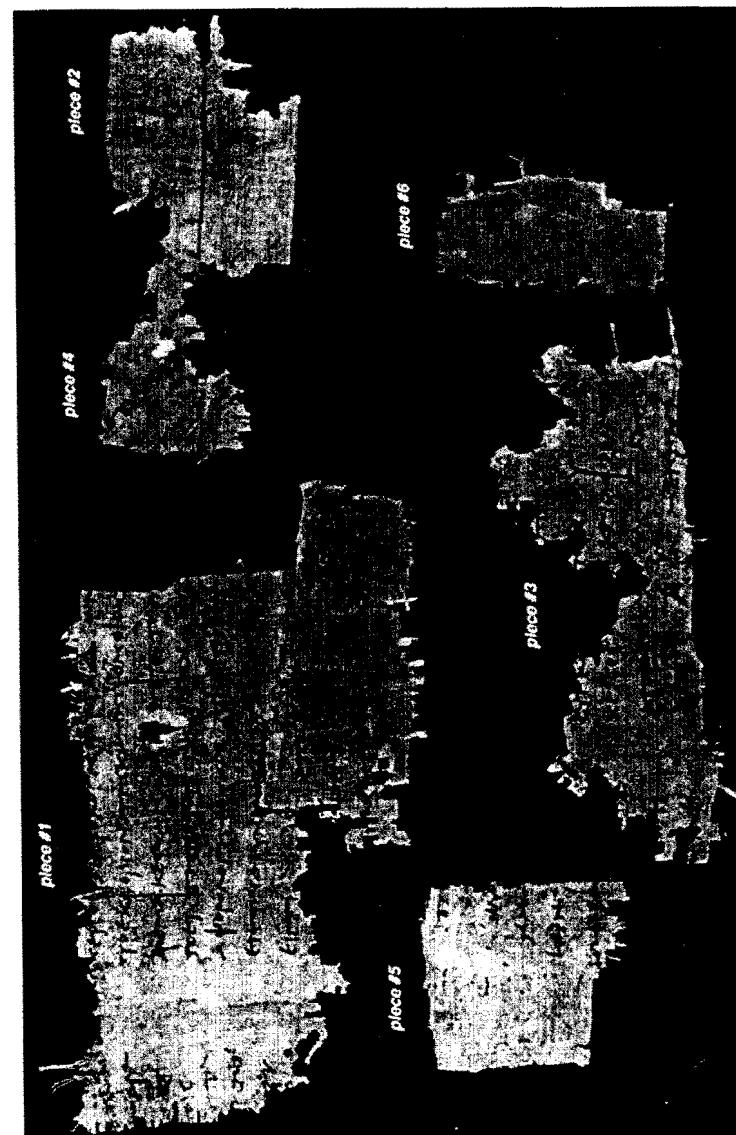
¹⁰ P. Tebt. I 74.56–57 (114/3 B.C.); reported again at 75.75 (112 B.C.).

¹¹ Cf. P. Tebt. I 60.42 (118 B.C.), ἐφημισθαι διὰ τὸ πα(ρα)κεῖσθαι τῶι ὄρει; III.2 826.48–49 (172 B.C.), ἐφημισμένης ἐν τῶι θ (ἔτει) διὰ τὸ παρακεῖσθαι τῆι ὄρεινῆι διώρυγι.

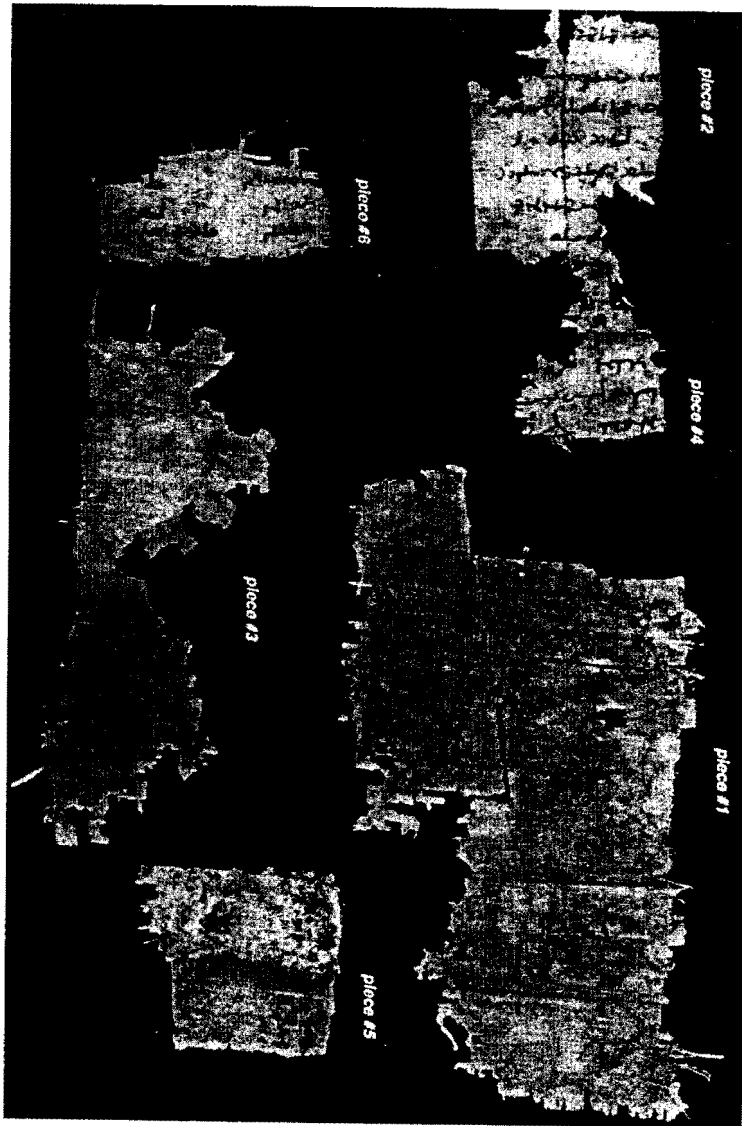
¹² P. Zen. Pestm. 38.6 (253 B.C.); see also line 8.

¹³ P. Tebt. III.1 815.fr.6.55–56 (228–221 B.C.): ἔξει δὲ τῶν φυτῶν (τῶν) ἐν-κάρπων (δραχμᾶς) μ, τοῦ δὲ νομοῦ (δραχμᾶς) κ, τῶν δὲ νεοφύτων (δραχμᾶς) ι, τοῦ δὲ ἀφόρου (δραχμᾶς) δ.

¹⁴ So Shelton, P. Tebt. IV p.2, described sacred and cleruchic land: "land for which the Crown forbore to ask rents."



P. AUSTIN INV. 32, VIEW 1
By permission, University of Texas



P. AUSTIN INV. 32, VIEW 2
By permission, University of Texas

whether a road was salty? But Onnophris was conducting a survey, squaring the books with the ground. He might well have informed Zenon that he found salty land that was not on the books as subject to rent. Salty land could be reclaimed. Onnophris was announcing the discovery of land—salty, as it happened—which was not on record as generating revenue. If it should be brought under cultivation, its profits might at least for a while be free from claim by the state. And if there was potential for unrecorded profits by the veterans or unwelcome loss by Zenon, surely it was Onnophris' job to notify his boss of the fact.

Thus, I suggest that in Ptolemaic Egypt *aphoros* indicated that an object was not registered as subject to *phoros*, not that it was incapable of production. *Gê aphoros*, therefore, might have been barren¹⁵ or variously productive,¹⁶ but whatever its fertility, its produce was free from claims by an outside party, here the state. The word denoted productivity on the books, but not necessarily on the ground. It arose from an administrative, but not necessarily agricultural reality. A memorandum from Menodoros to Zenon provides control. Menodoros had rented 120 goats from Zenon at an annual *phoros* of 1 1/4 kids per goat. From this group Menodoros carefully distinguished 30 females, apparently kids not does, which he received *aphoros* in the fourth year (*P.Mich.* I 67.6–7): $\chi\iota\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \lambda\ \acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\text{---}$ $[\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\nu][[\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha]\beta\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\iota\ \delta\ \text{L}\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. Rents were at issue. Context suggests that these kids were rent-free, not barren.

Zenon's rented goats point up an obvious semantic polyvalence inherent in the word *aphoros*. Liability to tribute was connected to productivity. Land that was not registered as bearing rent was most likely so classified because it was not agriculturally fruitful at time of inspection. So with the goats.

¹⁵As may have been the case at *P.Tebt.* I 74.56–57; 75.75; also perhaps *P.Zen.Pestm.* 38.

¹⁶As at *P.Tebt.* III.1 815.fr.6.55–56; also *P.Tebt.* I 60.8–40.

The papyrus does not mention the age of the kids, but the kids would have had to reach 6–8 months of age before onset of estrus. Rent was to be paid in kind, 1 1/4 kids per goat, but the lessor did not exact *phoros* on livestock that were not yet productive. These juveniles were both rent-free and unproductive. Rent was negotiable, but fecundity was a matter of time. Both were subject to change.

Roman usage suggests a similar semantic range. *P. Panop. Beatty* 2.128–9 refers to a disturbance in the Lycopolite concerning ἐσπαρμένης ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀφόρου, there translated as “sown land reclaimed from the derelict category” (p.77).¹⁷ What was *aphoros* on the books could be reclaimed on the ground. A lexicon of administrative terminology from Oxyrhynchus explains *hypologos* as follows: “there is an inspection every three years of all imperial land that is *aphoros*; it is called ‘deducted’ (*hypologos*) because it is deducted from the area of the land, plot by plot, so that the balance is *emphoros*.”¹⁸ Periodic *episkepsis* was necessary because both the productivity of land and administrative categories could change. Productive land could fail or lapse from cultivation; unproductive land could be reclaimed. In either case the state would have to change the books accordingly. Both cases suggest the ephemerality of the designation *aphoros* and the potential semantic polyvalence of the word.¹⁹

The papyri suggest that *aphoros* indicated that no party held claim to exaction of *phoros* from an entity, not that the entity was incapable of production. Presumably, land that was

¹⁷Cf. also 2.131–32, 157 (A.D. 300).

¹⁸*P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2847.12–15 (ca A.D. 200–250): ἀπάσης τῆς ἀφόρο[ου] (οὔ)σης κ[υρι]ακῆ[ς] διὰ τριετίας ἐπίσκεψις γέινεται, καλεῖται[ι δὲ] ὑπόλογο[ς] ἐπειδὴ ὑπολογεῖται ἐκ τοῦ μέτρου τ[ῆς] γ[ῆ]ς τοῦ κατὰ πεδίον ὡς ὑπολειφθῆναι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμφορον.

¹⁹At *P. Wisc.* I 34.12–13 (A.D. 144) *aphoros* seems to indicate lack of produce but could equally be construed as indicating lack of rent; at *P. Petaus* 13.24 and 14.31 (184/5) the word indicates lack of income (“Einkünfte”); cf. *P. Mil. Congr. XVII* p.54.3 (III A.D.).

registered as free from rent was so designated because it was unproductive when the *episkepsis* was conducted. This need not mean that the land was “by its nature ... incapable of yielding crops,” though the two meanings are not incompatible under logic. No crops meant no rents. Semantic plurality would have been virtually inevitable.²⁰

Epigraphic evidence suggests a similar denotation for *aphorologêtos* in the Hellenistic period. In late third- or second-century Aetolia a slave named Sotia was sold to Syrian Aphrodite, which is to say manumitted, on condition that she be both ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, which meant that no man could re-claim her as slave, and ἀφορολόγητον (*IG IX.1*² 96.5–6). Manumission did not stipulate that Sotia be barren, but that she could not be compelled to pay *phoros*. She was free, and free to work as she would.²¹ Antiochos the Great swore to leave Lysimacheia autonomous, democratic ..., ungarrisoned, and *aphorologêtos*, that is, exempt from payment of *phoros*, or tribute (*I. Ilion* 45.12–15.). Kings, Roman praetors, and others could declare cities free from *phoros*, in addition to recognizing or making them free, sacred, and/or inviolate.²² Iasians could, as a free, autonomous, ungarrisoned, and *aphorologêtos* population, swear allegiance to Ptolemy I and all his descendants (*I. Iasos* I 2.30–31, 51). No slave was freed on condition of barrenness. No one granted right of barrenness as a benefaction. No population swore in its incapacity to produce crops. In the inscriptions ἀφορολόγητος denotes freedom from

²⁰For an analogous semantic connection between biological and economic productivity see E. Cohen, *Athenian Economy and Society: A Banking Perspective* (Princeton 1992) 45, on τόκος, yield.

²¹We might speculate that the second stipulation freed the former slave from *paramonê*, the obligation to remain at the service of her erstwhile owner.

²²Rigsby, *Asyilia* 7.6–8 (Delphi); 135.3–8, 153.19–20, *SEG* XLI 1003.A/B.18–19 (Teos); 189.11, 190.10, 207.2, 208.5 (Mylasa); *I. Erythrai* 30.34–35 (restored), 39–40 (restored); 31.21–28.

obligation to pay tribute.²³ Antiochus the Great's recognition of Tean inviolability secures this meaning, periphrastically: ἀφέντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἱερὰν | καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ [π]αράλυσαντες ἡμᾶς τῶν φόρων (SEG XLI 1003.A/B.18–19). Here the latter "phrase is synonymous with ἀφορολόγητος and replaces it."²⁴

Thus, in epigraphic sources *aphorologêtos* is the semantic equivalent of *aphoros* in the papyri. Neither makes a necessary claim as to negative productivity. Both, however, indicate freedom from outside claims on productivity. This meaning, moreover, seems to be reflected in the papyri.²⁵ At stake is whether the three Thracians in *P.Thomas 2*, or Menneas and Leon in *P.Aust.inv. 32*, received land that was irredeemably barren or—a grant of a different order—land that was at present free from the obligation of rent.

P.Tebt. III.1 737 suggests the latter. Around 136 B.C. a group of priests at Tebtynis petitioned for the right to lease (21–22) ἀπὸ τῆς | ἀφορο[λ]ογήτου χέρσου ἀρούρας [πεντακοσίας(?). The document is fragmentary but the nature of the priests' request is relatively clear. They appear to have proposed to take possession of three or four lots of dry land currently classified as *aphorologêtos* for reduced rents, for set periods of time, after which some new arrangement was to obtain (21–36). The priests requested rights to one plot on condition that they hold it *aphori* for 10(?) years, after which time they would pay as rent some number of artabas of wheat per aroura (26–28): ἐφ' ᾧ ἀφορὶ ἔξουσιν ἐπ' ἔτη [δέκα(?) μετὰ δὲ] | ταῦτα τελέσουσι τῆς (ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) [... The priests probably did not negotiate tenure of land on condition that it be barren. It

²³"[L]ike 'sacred and inviolable' [*aphorologêtos*] is a promise not to treat a city hostilely": Rigsby, *Asyilia* p.284.

²⁴Rigsby, *Asyilia* p.283 n.16.

²⁵So, apparently, was Kießling's inclination, *WB IV.2 s.v. ἀφορολόγητος*: "abgabefrei."

seems more likely that they became aware of potentially profitable land that was neither under cultivation nor registered by the state as revenue-generating. The priests negotiated to bring it under cultivation on condition that it be fully or partially sheltered from *phoros* for a set period of time, while it was being reclaimed, after which they would farm it at some cost.²⁶ They were in effect petitioning for a change in the land's official status. The temple absorbed additional land and the state, after a decade, additional revenues. All parties won. The category *aphorologêtos*, like *aphoros*, was impermanent. The state would have to emend its books should land so classified be reclaimed and brought under cultivation.

One final text (*SB XXII 15213*) is worthy of mention. Some time in the third or second century B.C. Protarchos sent a memorandum to the *Basilikos grammateus* declaring that in a second regnal year he had erected two dovecotes and a goose-pen, οἱ εἰσιν ἕως τοῦ | νῦν ἀφορο[λόγητοι (11–12). Protarchos adds that he has notified the tax-collectors for the third year (13–17), and asks that the memorandum be registered in the *Basilikos grammateus'* office. Whether we should restore ἀφορο[λόγητοι²⁷ or ἄφορο[οι, the meaning is clear. Protarchos built the installations in the middle of the second year, so that for that year they were not visible on the state's books and so were "nicht versteuert."²⁸ But this temporary immunity would lapse in the third year, by which time the facilities would be operational and Protarchos' assets visible. The state would extract its share. Like Zenon's goats and the priests' land, Protarchos' birds were exempt from *phoros*, at least for the time being.

I suggest that the Thracians in *P.Thomas 2* and Menneas and

²⁶Not an uncommon incentive: P. Gauthier, *Nouv.inscr.Sardes* II 6 with p.128 n.3.

²⁷S. Daris, "Denuncia di due columbaie," *Aegyptus* 74 (1994) 3–8, at 6: "La proposta ex. gr. risponde alla logica del passo e si fonda su P. Tebt. III, 737. 22, (cfr. r. 31) ἀφορο[λ]ογήτου χέρσου."

²⁸B. Kramer, *ArchPF* 43 (1997) 457.

Leon in P.Aust.inv. 32 were in a similar situation: that they were assigned land that was currently registered as free from *phoros*. It may not have been under cultivation, but it likely held promise of future productivity. Allocation of this land may well have been a privilege.²⁹ But even privileges could come with strings attached. Menneas and Leon received land that was *aphorologêtos* and *chersos*. It carried no rent, but it was also dry. The state granted them an opportunity, not a guarantee, to turn a profit. If over time the land fell out of use or possession, its status in the books might change.

Hunt and Smyly were, if I am right, correct in their assumption that *aphorologêtos* was synonymous with *aphoros* (now just marginally more common). But neither indicated, at root, barrenness. Welles observed long ago that *ἀφορολόγητος*, “not subject to the φόρος or tribute,” was common in the royal letters but absent from “the papyri, where ἄφορος is used in the same sense.”³⁰ *P.Tebt.* III.1, in which *ἀφορολόγητος* appeared (737.22), was published in 1933 and so yet unknown to Welles. But his instinct was right. Both words appear to have indicated a category, under which fell land that was potentially productive, perhaps in need of reclamation, registered for the time being as free from rent in kind or cash, and, on scrutiny by officials, subject to re-classification.

Good teachers, and good farmers, take a long view. Like the priests at Tebtynis, John took a risk, and me under his wing. It took perhaps ten years before their efforts bore fruit; it is now nearly ten since I met John. Rent’s due. It gives me great pleasure to pay.

²⁹Menneas and Leon received modest plots, four arouras (A.ii.6). It is unclear how much the Thracians in *P.Thomas* 2 received. But the relative size of the plots might be recoverable. At *P.Thomas* 2.v.1 I read on autopsy ζ'γ β', not ζ'ιβ'. If the new reading is correct then the numbers may refer to fractions of the whole grant, so that the three Thracians received one-sixth, one-third, and one-half, respectively, of the total allotment.

³⁰Welles, *Royal Corres.* p.319.

Text		(PLATES 1–2)
<i>Fr. A</i>		
col. i	col. ii	
] . ους[[ca ?] . ους[ca ?]	
] .	[ca ? γ]ῆν χέρσ[ο]ν ἀ[φορ]ο[λόγ]ητ[ον(?)] ca ?]	
] .	συνκ[.] . υν αὐτοῦ και . [. . . .] τὴν [ca ?]	
4] . . αι	χέρσον . . [. .] ν καὶ ἀφορολόγητον . ἡ γῆ ἀπὸ ἀπηλι[ώ]του τῶν ἀμπελώνων αὐτ[ca ?]	
?π]αρχαχει	Λέοντι ^v (ἀρούρας) δ, ^v Μεννέαι ^{vv} (ἀρούρας) δ ^v παρε.[ca ?]	
<i>Fr. B</i>		
col. i	col. ii	
] . η . .	[ca ?]χ . . [ca ? γῆς]	
] παρα	χέρσου ἀφορολογήτου (ἀρούρας) δ ὦν [. . ^{3.4} . .] . ατο	
4] . ον	τὸ ἐκφόριον τῆς κόμης ὁμοίως [. . . .] Μεννέ- ας Μακεδῶν ^v (τριακοντάρουρος) ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀ[ύ]του ἀμ/πελώνος	
] . οις	περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κόμην ^v (ἀρούρας) δ ^v γῆς χέρσου	
] ον . τα	ἀφορολογήτου καὶ Σπίνθηρ Ἡρακλείτου ἄλλ[ας] (ἀρούρας) δ	
] . σμεν	ἐν τῷ δρυμῶι περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κόμην ὥστε	
8] του	εἶναι ^v (ἀρούρας) ^v . ^v ἐπισκεψάμενος οὖν εἴ σο[ι] δοκεῖ ca ?]	
] .	[. παρ]άδειξον αὐτοῖς . ὡς δ' ἂν οἶκον[ομη]- [. . ^{3.4} . . δια]σάφησον ἡμῖν . ἔρρωσο . L [ca ?]	
<i>Fr. C</i>		
] ψ . . η . ι		
Με]ννέαι		
] γῆν		
4] ουν		
] . .		
] . κ		

Fr. D

col. i	col. ii
] τῆν	Τεσενουφισ τῆς
] . ησιν	. . ν . .
3] . . ο . . ν	τ .

[A.ii] ... dry *aphorologētos* land ... and ... the dry ... and *aphorologētos*. The land from the east of the vineyards ... : to Leon four arouras, to Menneas four arouras ... [B.ii] ... 4 arouras of dry *aphorologētos* land of which ... the rent of the village likewise ... Menneas, thirty-aroura Macedonian (receives/has?) near the same vineyard, around the same village, four arouras of dry *aphorologētos* land and Spinther son of Herakleitos another four arouras in the thicket around the same village, so that there are N arouras. Therefore, survey if you will ... record for them ... When you have taken care of this (or when this has been taken care of), tell us. Farewell. Year ...

Notes

A.ii.2: ἀ[φορ]ο[λόγ]ητ[ρον] (?) very uncertain.

A.ii.3: Read οὔν or perhaps σὺν αὐτοῖς?

A.ii.5: Restore αὐτ[ῶν]?

A.ii.6, B.ii.3–4, C.2: The name Menneas is rare in the papyri, but better attested in inscriptions, especially in the islands; see *LGPN* I, II, IIIA, IIIB *s.v.*

B.ii.2: ὦν [ἐμνή]σατο (*cf.* *P.Tebt.* IV 1101.1) would fit the space, and perhaps the context too, but I hesitate to restore as much at the top of such a fragmentary text.

B.ii.3: For *ekphorion* see *P.Tebt.* IV p.2 and on land and taxes 2–18.

B.ii.6: It is difficult to make sense of the letters after Ἡρακλείτου. The traces might also suggest δμ, which would not construe. The abbreviation ἄλλ() is less common than ἄλ(), but not unattested: *BGU* I 49.8–9 (A.D. 179): ἄλλ(α)ς | δραχμάς; 186.28 (216/7): ἄλλ(η)

οἰκία. For ἄλλας ἀρούρας see *P.Tebt.* III.1 769.29 (237/6 or 212/1); *BGU* VIII 1815.20 (61/0); *P.Tebt.* II 382.11 (30–27); *PSI Corr.* I 1150.11 (27 B.C.); *P.Yale* I 67.10 (A.D. 31); *P.Sarap.* 22.8 (102/3).

B.ii.8: *Episkepsis* is the technical term for an official inspection. See D. J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period* (London 1971) 20. σο[ι] δοκεῖ is very uncertain, and εω[] also seems possible.

B.ii.9: ?παρ]ἀδειξον: Presumably this is the official report of the results of the inspection. *P.Tebt.* IV 1101.1, 5. *Cf.* *P.Mil.Congr.* XVII p.5 lines 15, 24, with notes to line 15, pp.9–10.

B.ii.9–10: οἶκον[ομηθῆ]ι or οἶκον[ομήσις]? The letter is insufficiently well preserved to enable judgment as to agency. On the phrasing see *P.Zen.Pestm.* 49.23–24 (244 B.C.), γράψον δὲ καὶ ἰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἂν οἰκονομήσις; *P.Genova* III 93.15 (III B.C.), ὡς δ' ἂν οἰκονομηθῆι καὶ ἡμῖν διασά[φισον? - - -]; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59225.7–8 (253): ὁποτέρως δ' ἂν οἰκονομήσις, χαριεῖ μοι γράψας τὴν ταχίστην, ἵνα εἰδῶ εἰ ἰ ὑπάρχει μοι.

B.ii.10: The trace of ink remaining to the right of ἔρωσο seems to be the abbreviation for ἔτους.

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Dept. of Classical Studies
Duke University 90103
Durham, NC 27708
joshua.sosin@duke.edu