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From the Selected Works of Fred W Jenkins

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New Texts From the Tebtunis Grapheion Archive

Fred W Jenkins, *University of Dayton*

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The collection of Tebtunis grapheion documents which is held by the University of Michigan is well-known. Although the bulk of these were published in *P. Mich.* II and V, approximately fifty papyri, many of them fragmentary or badly damaged, were omitted. A few have been published subsequently, e.g. *P. Mich.* XI 621; XII 632-634; SB VI 9109-9110; XVI 2539.¹ The three texts which I present here are from the remainder.

I am grateful to the University of Michigan for permission to publish these papyri. At various points in editing them I have benefited greatly from the assistance of G.M. Browne, L.C. Youtie, P.J. Sijpesteijn, and Traianos Gagos.

1

Petition to a Strategos

P.Mich. inv. 963

8.3 x 14 cm.

A.D. 46/47
Plate 2

This papyrus, which was acquired by the University of Michigan through M. Nahman in 1922, contains an incomplete draft of a petition to a strategos. The writing, which is in a bold clear hand, runs parallel to the fibers. Most of the first two lines, which contain the address, have been lost in a tear. The petitioner is one Marepsemis, also called Kephalas, son of Psoiphis. This same man appears in another document from the Tebtunis grapheion, *P. Mich.* V 322a (at lines 18, 36, 44-45). He may also be mentioned in *P. Mich.* II 123 recto XXII 22a (cf. *P. Mich.* V intro., p. 15). Marepsemis' subscription to 322a (44-45) is in a different hand from that of inv. 963, and so we may assume that our text was written for him, very likely by a grapheion

¹In addition to the items cited above, see E.M. Husselman, "Procedures of the Record Office of Tebtunis in the First Century A.D." in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, American Studies in Papyrology 7 (Toronto 1970) 223-238. An additional eighteen papyri from the same archive are in the possession of the Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri in Egitto and were published as *PSI* VIII 901-918.

scribe.² The text breaks off in mid-line, for no apparent reason, after naming the man against whom Marepsemis wished to lodge a complaint. Since this fellow, Pausis, son of Anamptis, is identified as a shepherd, it is probable that the petition had to do with property damage caused by Pausis' animals. This was a common cause of complaint in such texts: *P.Ryl.* II 126, 131, 132, 138, 143, 147, 149, and 152, cf. N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (Oxford 1983) 77-78, 121.

This text follows the normal pattern for such documents. The formulae of petitions are discussed by J.L. White, *The Form and Structure of the Official Petition* (Missoula 1972).

 [] . []
 [±4]ι στρατηγῶι [±3]
 παρὰ Μάρεψήμιου(ς τοῦ
 καὶ Κεφαλᾶτος Ψοίφιος
 5 εἰρέεος ἀπολυσίμου
 δημοσίου γέωργου τῶν
 ἀπὸ Τεβτύνεος. τῇ δ τοῦ
 Παῦνι ζ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 10 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
 Παῦσις Ἀνάμπτις ποιμ-
 ῆν vacat

3 Μάρεψεμι^ο 5 ι. ἱερέως 7 ι. Τεβτύνεως 8 L 11 ι. Ἀνάμπτιος

[To] ... strategos ... from Marepsemis, also called Kephelas, son of Psoiphis, an exempted priest, a public cultivator of those from Tebtunis. On the 4th day of Payni in year 7 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Pausis, son of Anamptis, a shepherd ...

1-2 Since the text is from Tebtunis, it is reasonable to assume that the strategos addressed was that of the division of Polemon. The official in question is either Tiberius Claudius Chrysermus or Apollonius, who replaced him sometime during A.D. 47; cf. the

²L.C. Youtie informed me by letter that Marepsemis' subscription to *P.Mich.* V 322a (lines 44-45) shows him to be a "retarded writer" and thus not the writer of inv. 963. On such writers see H.C. Youtie, "βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239-261 (= *Scriptiunculae* II 629-651).

introduction to *P.Mich.* V 227 and G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*, *Papyrologica Florentina* XV (Florence 1987) 43.

3 The name Psoiphis is commonly rendered Psuphis in *P.Mich.* II and V. Psoiphis, which is the spelling in our text, is the more normal one (cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*). *P.Mich.* V intro. p. 11 notes the frequent interchange of \omicron and υ in the grapheion texts; see also Gignac, *Grammar* I 197-199.

5 For parallels for ἀπολυσίμου see *P.Tebt.* II 292.6n.

9 The date is May 29, A.D. 47. For the titulature cf. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca, et les inscriptions d'Égypte* (Brussels 1964) 30.

10 A strange loop initiates the mu in Γερμανικοῦ. Presumably the scribe nearly omitted the mu and only caught himself after beginning to form the alpha.

13 The name Ἀνάμπτις is to be found neither in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* nor Foraboschi's *Onomasticon*. Names such as Πατουάμπτις (cf. Dornseiff and Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*, 211) suggest that the proper form is Ἀνάμπτις.

2

Application to Lease a Crop of Acanthus

P.Mich. inv. 643

10 x 23.1 cm.

A.D. 25/26

Plate 3

Both this papyrus and the following one (P.Mich. inv. 669) were obtained in a lot of Tebtunis grapheion papyri purchased by F.W. Kelsey in 1920. The papyrus is missing a small piece in the upper right hand corner and breaks off at the bottom in the middle of the lessor's subscription; it is otherwise complete. The whole papyrus is spattered with wedge-shaped marks which are not ink. The opening lines (1-5) of the text and the lessee's subscription (18-22) have suffered from sand and water damage to such an extent that portions are entirely illegible. The body of the contract is written in a fast neat hand. By contrast, the third hand (Orsenouphis'?) is quite slow and awkward. The body of the text and the first subscription are separated by a space of about 2.5 cm., while another full centimeter intervenes between the first and second subscriptions. The writing runs parallel to the fibers.

The text is an application by Herakles, son of Areos, to sublease a crop of acanthus (*acacia arabica*) from Orsenouphis, son of Areios.

Since the patronymics could be variants of the same name, it is possible that the two are brothers. The format of the document follows the expected pattern for hypomnemata, although the object of the lease, a crop of acanthus, is unusual. None of the leases referred to in the lists of Herrmann and Hennig concern acacia trees, nor have I encountered one elsewhere.³

ἐπιχώρησις] καρ[ποῦ]
ἀ[κανθῶνος]

- [Ὀρσενούφι Ἀρείους] ἐκλήμπτ[ο]ρ[ι] Ἰουλίας]
[Σεβαστῆς καὶ τέ]κνων Γερμανικοῦ
5 Καίσαρος. *vacat*
παρὰ Ἡρακλήου τοῦ Ἀρήου. μίσθωμε
ἐὰν οὖν σὺ φαίνεται ἐπιχωρῆσαι
οὓς ἔχῃς ἐμ μισθώσει καρποῦ ἀκαν-
θῶνος εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς δωδέκατον
10 ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
ὑφίσταμαι τελέσιν σὺ φόρον
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δεκαεὺς ἐμ μη-
νὶ Μεσορῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους). ἐὰν
οὖν σὺ φαίνεται ἐπιχωρῆ-
15 σαί μοι ἐπὶ τοῖς προκειμ(έν)οις
ἀμεταμίσθωτα καὶ ἀνανυτοῦρ-
γητα καὶ ἀνυπέρβωλα.
m.2 Ἡρ[ακλῆς Ἀρή]ου ἐπ[ιδέδωκα]
[τὸ ἀναφόριον ?]χει
20 []
ἔτους ιβ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Φαρμούθι λ.
m.3 [Ὀρσ]ενούφι(ς) Ἀρίους ὃς ἐπικεχ[ώρηκα]
[] σο[]

6 l. μίσθωμαι 7 l. σοὶ 8 l. ἔχεις ἐν μισθώσει 11 l. τελέσειν
σοὶ φόρον 12 l. ἐν 13 l. Μεσορῇ L 17 l. ἀνυπέρβωλα 14 l.
σοὶ 23 [Ὀρσ]ενουφί, ὥς?

Sublease of a Crop of Acanthus

³ See J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, Münchener Beiträge 41 (Munich 1958) 247-288 and D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (Diss., Munich, 1967) 173-362.

To Orsenouphis, son of Areios, entrepreneur of the estate of Julia Augusta and the children of Germanicus Caesar. From Herakles, son of Areos. I wish to sublet, if you agree, the crop of acanthus which you hold in lease for the present twelfth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus. I promise to pay you rent of sixteen drachmas of silver in the month of Mesore of the same year. If you agree to sublet [the crop] to me upon the aforementioned terms, not to sublet it to anyone else, not to cultivate it yourself, and without any increase in rent. (m. 2) I, Herakles, son of Areos, have submitted [the application] ... year 12 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pharmouthi 30. (m. 3) I, Orsenouphis, son of Areios, have sublet ...

3 [Ὁρσενούφι Ἀρείου] is supplied from the second subscription (line 23). The name Areios is common in the grapheion papyri. The normal genitive form is Ἀρείου (cf. *P.Mich.* V 238.120,214 and 240.1; *PSI* VIII 910.8). Ἀρήου in line 6 is very likely a variant spelling of Ἀρείου; cf. *P.Mich.* intro., p. 11 for common substitution of ι or η for ει in these papyri. However, the large number of phonetically similar variants on Areios which are found in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, and the fluidity of spelling in the papyri render certainty impossible.

3-5 For the restoration of the estate name cf. *P.Med.* 6.1-3 (Theadelphia, A.D. 26): Ἀφροδίσιωι Ζωίλου ἐγλήμπτορι Βίβλου Ἰουλίαι Σεβαστῆς καὶ τέκνω(ν) Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος. The term ἐκλήμπτωρ seems to require further elaboration, but this may have been omitted as there is not room for it in our text; for a similar omission see *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2837.1-4 and note. For the function of the ἐκλήμπτωρ as a collector of revenues see G.M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*, American Studies in Papyrology 18 (Amsterdam 1978) 52-53. On the estate itself, see Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates*, 72, and his "New Documents on the Imperial Estates in Egypt," *BASP* 12 (1975) 86-89. This same estate appears in another document from the Tebtunis grapheion archive, *P.Mich.* XII 634.14-15 (= *SB* X 10536.14-15).

6-7 One would expect βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι rather than μίσθωμαι: cf. *P.Mich.* XII 630.4-5 and *P.Mich.* inv. 4354.7 (*ZPE* 50 [1983] 94), which are both contemporary documents. Many second century Tebtunis leases, such as *P.Tebt.* II 375.4 and *P.Kron.* 41.4; 46.6, also exhibit the customary phrasing. ἐὰν οὖν σὺ φαίνεται is oddly placed here; usually this phrase appears towards the end of the body of a lease of this type, as in *P. Mich.* XII 630.17-18, *P.Mich.* inv. 4354.20, *P.Tebt.* II 375.31, and *P. Kron.* 41.29; 46.24.

7 On the confusion of of σύ and σοί, which occurs throughout this text, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 214ff.

8-9 The relative pronoun οὗς must refer to καρποῦ ἀκανθῶνος, despite the awkward shift in number. Presumably Herakles does not refer to the wood itself, as this would have involved the sale rather than the lease of the trees; cf. *P.Oxy.* VI 909 and VIII 1112 for such sales. He must have intended to harvest the fruit, which was used in tanning, and/or the flowers, which were used for medicinal purposes. For such uses of acanthus see Theophrastus, *Hist. Pl.* 4.2.8; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 13.63-65; and Athenodorus 15.25; cf. also L. Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal* (Austin 1989) 65-67.

16-17 The reading of these lines is similar to that of *P.Mil. Vogl.* VI 267.31-32: ἀμ[ε]τ[ρ]αμίσθ[ω]τον καὶ ἀναντούργητον καὶ ἀνυπέρβ[ο]λον. The editor of that text, M. Vandoni, indicates that the word ἀνυπέρβολον was previously unattested. [ἀνυ]πε[ρ]βόλου should probably be read for [ἀπό] συμβόλου in *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 104.35.

18-19 For the restoration ἐπ[ιδέδωκα τὸ ἀναφόριον] see *P.Hamb.* I 64.30 and *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 267.33-34. εχει in line 19 is clearly in a second hand, a practical professional hand which suggests a hypographeus signing for an illiterate.

20 This line has been entirely effaced by sand and water.

22 The date is April 25, A.D. 26.

23-24 Cf. *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 269.32 ἐπικεχώρηκα καθ[ὼς πρόκειται]ι. Perhaps the ὅς in line 23 should be interpreted as ὡς.

3

Lease of Land

P.Mich. inv. 669

7.3-7.6 x 24.9 cm.

A.D. 33/34
Plate 4

This document, like inv. 643, has suffered heavily from sand and water. As a result, it is totally illegible at several points. The top edge of the papyrus is torn and frayed; there are several tears in the body as well. The right edge has been cut irregularly. The writing is parallel to the fibers.

The text is an incomplete draft of a lease of land. There are numerous cancellations and mistakes in it, which render interpretation difficult at several points. Its chief interest is the additional light it sheds on the family of Galates and Taorses who figure in a number of other Tebtunis grapheion documents (cf. *P.Mich.*

V intro., p. 15-17). Since their sons are referred to as the children of Taorses rather than of Galates, it is probable that his death may be placed no later than 33/34. A fourth son, named after his father Galates, appears here for the first time. This younger Galates also presumably died by the time of *P.Mich.* V 232 (A.D. 36). The Didymos, son of Lysimachos, who appears in our text is the brother of the elder Galates and uncle of the four boys. He also appears in *P. Mich.* V 232, 261, 266, and XII 632.

 [±10] [±8]
 ἄλλου Διδ[ύ]μο[υ] υἱοῦ τ[οῦ]
 Λυσιμάχου (ἐτῶν) λη [οὐλή]
 ἀντικνημίωι δεξιῶι καὶ Λυσᾶτι
 5 Ὀρσενούφιος Πέρσηι τῆς
 ἐπιγονῆς (ἐτῶν) κς οὐλ(ῆ) δακτύλ(φ)
 (πρώτφ) χιρὶς ἀριστερᾶς τὸν ὑπάρ-
 χοντα τέσ(σ)αρες τῆς Ταορσῆτος
 υἱοῖς Λυσιμάχωι καὶ Λυσᾶτ(ι)
 10 καὶ Εὐτυχᾶ(τι) καὶ Γαλατῇ
 τῶν τεσσάρ(αρ)ων παρὰ τ(οῦ)
 κλήρ[ο]υ [κατοί] (ἀροῦρας) ι καὶ
 ἑμοῦ τοῦ Διδύμου ἄλλας
 (ἀρούρας) ι τῶνδε ἡ ὥσας ἑάν ὦσι
 15 ἐν μιᾷ σφραγίδι καλουμ(ἐνη)
 σαιλουσις φυλακτικὰς
 εἰς ἔτη γ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος
 [(ἔτους) κα] κ (ἔτους), τοῦ μὲν α καὶ
 γ (ἐτῶν) εἰς (πυροῦ) σπορὰν
 20 ἐκφορίου σὺν σπέρμασι (πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν)
 κ τοῦ παντὸς καθ' ἔτο(ς)
 (ἀρταβῶν) Σξ μέτρωι τετραχ(οινίκφ) θη(σαυροῦ)
 Εἰρηνίου, τοῦ δε β (ἔτους)
 εἰς χορτοῦ σπορὰν καταβρώ(ματος)
 25 προβάτων φόρου (δραχμὰς) ρξ [Μεχίρ].
 ἀπόδοσις Μεχίρ καὶ Φα-
 μενώθ, τὰ δὲ ἐκφόρια ἐν
 μηνὶ Παῦνι ἐφ' ἄλωι τῶν
 φορέτρων τοῦ σακκηγίας
 30 καὶ δραγματηγίας αὐτῆς
 πρὸς τὴν [Ταορσῆτα] ν ὄντων
 Διδύμ[φ] τῆς
 δια[ρταβίας?] κ[α]θ' ἔ[τος] εἰς ἔτη
 α γ καὶ Λυσᾶτι πρεσβυ(έρφ)

35 υῖῳ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) β

3 L 6 L οὐ δακτύ 7 α̃ l. χειρὸς 8 l. τέσσαρσι 9 Λυσα̃ 10
Ευτυχ̃ 11 ϖ̃ 12 Ϝ 14 Ϝ l. ὅσαι 15 καλοῦ (κα *ex corr.*) 18 L bis 19
L Ϛ 20 Ϛ Ϝ 21 ετ̃ Ϛ 22 Ϝ τετραλ̃ 23 L 24 καταβρ̃ 25 Ϛ l.
Μεχείρ 26 l. Μεχείρ 30 l. δραγματηγίας 34 πρεσβυη 35 Ϛ̃

... [have leased to ... son of?] the other Didymos, son of Lysimachos, [who is] 38 years old, with a scar on his right shin, and Lysas, son of Orsenouphis, a Persian of the epigone, [who is] 26 years old, with a scar on the first finger of his left hand, [land] which belongs to the four sons of Taorses, Lysimachos and Lysas and Eutyxas and Galates, 10 arouras from the kleros belonging to the four and another 10 arouras or however many there are in one parcel called Saeilousis Phylakitikas which belongs to me[?], Didymos, for 3 years from the coming 20th year: for 1st and 3rd years for the sowing of wheat, at a rent -- together with 20 artabs of wheat as seed -- for the whole area yearly being 260 artabs [as measured] by the four-choinix measure of the granary of Eirenion; for the 2nd year for the sowing of grass for the grazing of sheep, at a rent of 160 drachmas. The cash payment [is due] in Mecheir and Phamenoth, while the rent in kind [is payable] in the month of Payni at the threshing floor. The taxes for the transport of grain sacks and the transport of sheaves is the responsibility of Taorses. Didymos ... each year for years 1 and 3 and to Lysas the elder son 2 artabs of wheat

2-4 The reading of line 2 is somewhat conjectural. Cf. *P.Mich.* V 262.1 (35-36 A.D.), where the younger Didymos, son of Lysimachus, is also mentioned: [ὁμολογεῖ Δίδυμος νεώτερος, ὥς (ἐτῶν) μα, εὐμεγέθης μελίχρως, οὐλή ἀντικνημίῳ δεξιῳ]. The age and physical description are consistent. Since the name Didymos is in the genitive case, it may be functioning as a patronymic here.

5-6 Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς On this phrase see *P.Mich.* X 585.4n.

12 The scribe seems to have begun to write κατοικικοῦ and then changed his mind.

13 ἐμοῦ τοῦ Διδύμου is an odd construction. The tau resembles a theta and at first glance one might read Ἐμούθου as a name followed by a patronymic. Although this would be a stylistic improvement, the name Emouthos (or Emouthes) is unattested elsewhere. Comparison

with the shape of tau in κ τοῦ (line 21) further suggests ἐμοῦ τοῦ here. The Didymos in this line is presumably not the same as the Didymos, son of Lysimachos, who appears above.

16 The name and location of this plot are unknown. A Φυλακτικὴ Νῆσος, which was a village in the Polemon division of the Arsinoite nome, appears in *P.Tebt.* II 609 descr. (cf. *P.Tebt.* II App. 2, p. 409).

18 The scribe seems to have been confused as to the year. The twentieth year of Tiberius is A.D. 33/34.

20-21 The normal seed allowance for wheat is one artab per aroura; cf. M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten* (München 1925) 125-127; J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, Münchener Beiträge 41 (Munich 1958) 130n.

21 τοῦ παντός: "for the whole area"; cf. *P.Mich.* VI 364(c).1n; XII 633.9, and *P.Athen.* 14.11n. It is possible that the mark of abbreviation for πυροῦ has been lost at the end of line 21; one would expect it before ἀρταβῶν at the beginning of the next line.

22 For discussion of choinix-measures see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 103-105 and S. Waszynski, *Die Bodenpacht* (Leipzig-Berlin 1905) 109-113.

24 χόρτου can refer to either green or dry forage; cf. *P.Mich.* XII 633.4n.

26 An accusative, ἀπόδοσιν, and a verb might be expected here, as in SR 3049/36.16-17 (*ZPE* 50 [1983] 75): ἀπόδοσιν ποιήσομαι. The scribe's main concern here seems to be making a contrast between the cash payments and payments in kind.

27 Payni (May-June) marks the beginning of the harvest season. It is the normal month in the Arsinoite nome for payment of rent in kind. See J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 107 and *P.Mich.* VI 375 intro. (p. 41).

28-35 These lines seem to give a division of obligations between lessor and lessee, but the extensive abrasion of the text puts the exact meaning beyond recovery.

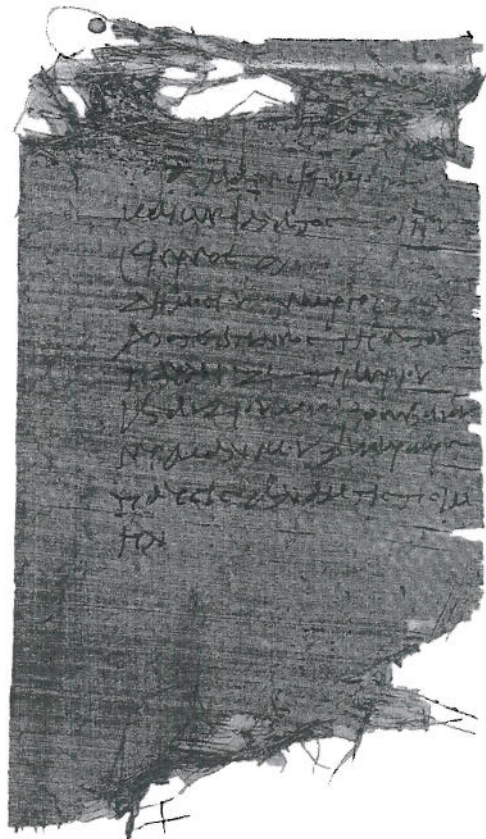
29-30 The δραγματηγία and σακκηγία were fees charged for transporting sheaves from the field and sacks of grain from the threshing floor to the granary. On these see H.C. Youtie and O.M. Pearl, "Notes on Papyri," *AJP* 63 (1942) 300, and S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Roman Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton University Studies in Papyrology 2 (Princeton 1938) 33-35. Wallace notes that the δραγματηγία was apparently paid only by holders of domain land. The order in which they are listed in our text is both illogical and unusual;

for the more normal sequence of δραγματηγία καὶ σακκηγία see *P. Mich.* VI 382.59 and *P. Tebt.* II 356.5.

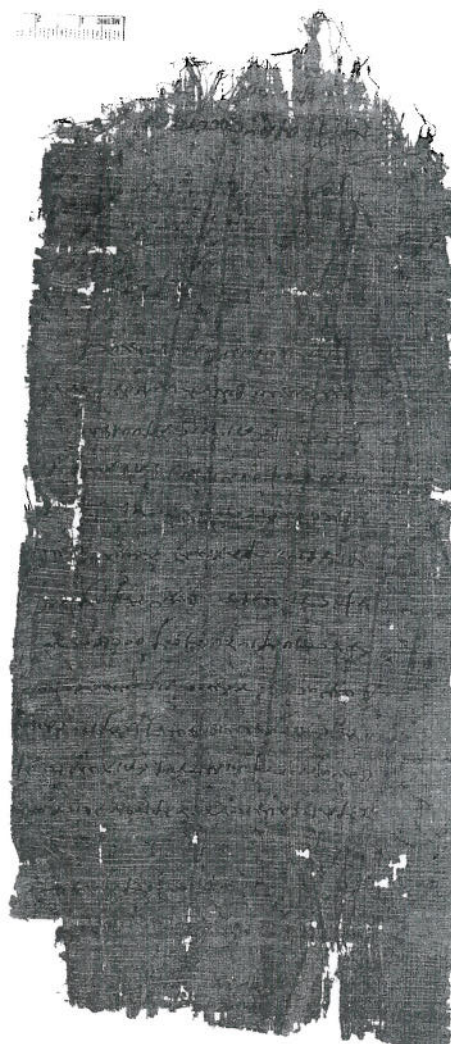
33 δια[ρταβίας] : A substantive is required after τῆς at the end of the preceding line. This fee for grain storage is a likely reading; cf. S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Roman Egypt* 40, and *P. Tebt.* II 346.14.

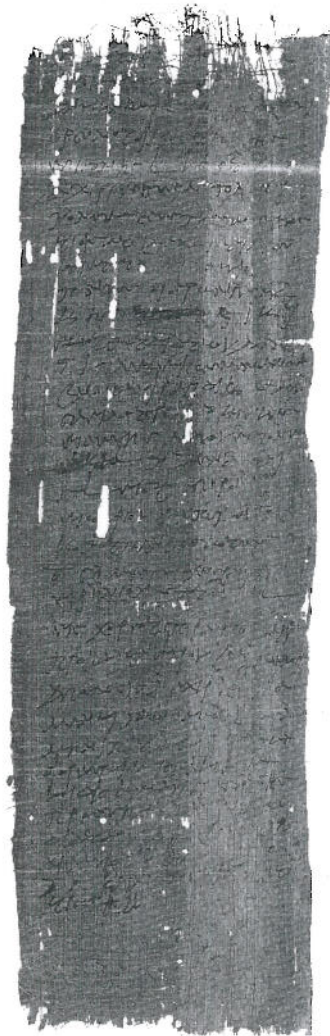
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P. Mich. inv. 964





P. Mich. inv. 669 (reduced)