

Mechanics of Empire: the Karanis Register and the Writing Offices of Roman Egypt

by

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To my parents.

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Abbreviations and Editorial Conventions

Papyri are cited according to the Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets, originally published in periodic print and online editions (last 1 June, 2011: edd. J.D. Sosin, R.S. Bagnall, J. Cowey, M. Depauw, T.G. Wilfong, and K.A. Worp, <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>), but now curated online through Papyri.info: <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist> (accessed 13 October, 2014). The forthcoming *Papyri from Karanis: the Granary C123 (P.Mich. XXII)* (edd. W.G. Claytor, S. Lash, and A. Verhoogt) is cited as *P.Mich. XXII*, forthcoming.

The transcription of Greek texts follow the Leiden conventions:

- [] indicates a lacuna in the text
- () indicates the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol
- { } indicates a cancellation by the editor of the text
- < > indicates an omission by the ancient scribe
- || indicates a deletion by the ancient scribe
- \ / indicates an interlinear addition by the ancient scribe
- ... dots under letters indicate that the editor's reading is uncertain; plain dots indicate the approximate number of illegible or lost letters.

Chapter One: The Karanis Register in an Imperial Context

1.1 A Notary's Papers

The Karanis Register was never meant for public consumption. It may have been seen by only a few pairs of eyes before it was tucked neatly within a wooden threshold in the Egyptian village of Karanis and forgotten. It was of little interest to contemporaries; although the Register belonged to the village notary, a prominent local figure who leased the right to operate the *grapheion* (“writing office”) from state authorities, it contained only his private accounts, much like those of other well-to-do individuals in the village, the province, and across the Roman Empire. The notary drew up thousands of documents of lasting value for his clients and thereby helped fill the archives in the regional capital and in Alexandria itself, but the rolls containing these accounts stayed with him in Karanis until they were no longer needed. At that point, the papyri were virtually worthless: they had already been patched together from old rolls and were now written on both sides. Blank spaces could still be used as scrap paper,¹ or the rolls might serve as packaging or even fire starter, which they manifestly were not. Why the papyri ended up in the threshold we cannot say.²

The fundamental task of the Karanis notary³ was to produce contracts and other documents for clients on request. His task was not a light one: Karanis was a large village of some 3,600 inhabitants at the time the Register was drawn up in the early second century CE,⁴ and our notary and his small staff worked virtually every day, producing a few thousand documents over the course of the year in question.⁵ He may have formed a partnership to run the office and perhaps

¹ Part of the side opposite the accounts was used to practice a dating formula: Chapter 4.4.

² See Chapter 4.2 for the archaeological context of the rolls.

³ We are not sure of his name or even to what extent he shared his duties with partners. The two most prominent individuals in the account are Aphrodisios and Sokrates, who might therefore be the partners who are implied by the account's single first-person plural verb (col. xxiv.24; see below, Chapter 4.8). Even in the case of the best-known partnership, that of Kronion and Eutychas, Kronion plays a dominant role; for this reason and for the sake of simplicity, I speak here of “the Karanis notary.”

⁴ Rathbone 1990, 134, supported by Bowman 2012. For the dating of the Register see Chapter 4.4.

⁵ See Chapter 4.11, where I estimate the year's total of registered contracts to be between 1,025 and 1,075. Other documents, including sworn statements (*χειρογραφαία*), are also prevalent in the account, but more difficult to quantify (4.13).

had financial backing from rich associates; regardless, there seem to have been only a handful of individuals directly involved in day-to-day operations of the *grapheion*.

Although under state license, the Karanis notary had a fair degree of discretion as to how he would operate his business. He was allowed to charge a variable fee for his writing services, which comprised the primary source of his office's income and his only hope of turning a profit from the endeavor. The income entries in his account list the contracting parties, the type of contract, and, most importantly, the scribal fee paid. Expenditures included the regular purchase of fresh papyrus rolls from distributors in the metropolis, archival fees, and discretionary outlays. The most pressing expense was the monthly fee made over to the state bank for the concession to operate the office. It is with such entries for income and expenditure that the Karanis Register is filled on a day-to-day basis over at least a four-month period, with the overall balance of the office's account being calculated at the end of each day.

The Karanis Register is one of the rare examples of "thick" data from the ancient world. It allows us to quantify written activity in the village and get a sense of who was making use of the *grapheion* and why. Individual "stories" can even emerge in the case of repeat customers or those identified in other texts. But the Register is more like a panning shot of the village: individuals are difficult to identify and at best we gain an impression of the village at one point in time and from one vantage point, that of the officially-sanctioned writing office. In lieu of individual stories, onomastic analysis helps provide a cultural profile of the notary's customers. What emerges from this mass of names, contracts, and figures is significant: a broad base of villagers made use of the state-sponsored *grapheion* for a variety of transactions, both routine and extraordinary. The notary and his office, moreover, were a primary social, economic, and institutional node, connecting villagers to each other, and the village as whole to the Roman administration.

The Karanis Register as we have it today is fragmentary, but even if complete it would be but a fragment of the notary's larger archive and his annual production of contracts and other documents, which he dispensed to his customers and the official archivists to whom he was responsible. Part of the challenge of understanding the document – and this goes for virtually all papyri and other documents from the ancient world – is to visualize this lost context.

Fortunately, we are aided in this task by the relative wealth of evidence pertaining to the notarial system of Roman Egypt. Paper was their business, after all. Pride of place goes to a large archive of over 200 papyri belonging to successive father and son notaries in Tebtunis, a village

situated on the opposite rim of the Fayum basin, about 50 km south of Karanis. This archive offers the best “view” inside a *grapheion*, but valuable insight into the operation of *grapheia* comes from other documents, such as an offer to sublease the office,⁶ which details the requirement of regular submission of archival material to the state, and the actual cover letter of one of these submissions.⁷

While *grapheia* were generally located in villages, the cities had their own notarial offices, often called *agoranomeia*, and were the location of regional archives (*bibliothekai*).⁸ Sitting atop this provincial network were the central Alexandrian archives: the *katalogeion* was the bureau of the equestrian chief justice (*archidikastes*) and served as a sort of “clearing house,” where private contracts and other documents were catalogued and copied before being deposited in the Nanaion, the capital’s primary archive in the precinct of Nana (= Isis), and later in the new Archive of Hadrian.⁹ Although relatively little is known of these regional and central archives, we can trace the movement of private contracts from village to metropolis and from village to Alexandria, a vast, multi-layered provincial operation, which is a key component of what I am calling the “notarial system” of the Roman Egypt.

Prefectural decrees allow us to view this system from Alexandria back out to the countryside. Decrees generally arise from serious problems in the record-keeping system and are directed both to officials and the provincial populace, often disseminated through nome governors (*stratego*) based in the cities. They are full of instructions and expectations whose fulfillment can be partly tested against the documentary record; but besides their surface messages, the decrees also attempt to shape provincial behavior and opinion and can this be analyzed as projections of the ruling ideology.

The largest body of evidence for the notarial system, however, is what notaries produced for their clients: contracts above all, but also affidavits, declarations, petitions, reports, inventories, and the like. Thousands of such documents provide a basis for studying notarial practice over the full span of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. While we usually only see their products, we also have chance encounters with notaries outside of the office, which give an impression of their relatively high status in the local community. One family of notaries in second-century Tebtunis, for

⁶ *Chrest.Mitt.* 183 (= *P.Grenf.* II 41, Soknopaiou Nesos, 46 CE).

⁷ *Chrest.Mitt.* 184 (= *P.Flor.* III 357, Oxyrhynchite, 208 CE). This and the previous document are discussed in detail below, Chapter 3.21.

⁸ For more on the state archives, see Chapter 3.5.

⁹ Pierce 1968.

instance, were among the land-owning elite with gymnasial status.¹⁰ A notary of another Fayum village had an estate valued at 4,000 drachmas, in line with village elite who bore the burden of local administration.¹¹ One poignant example of this status, even after death, is a wooden tag bearing the name of a 42-year-old notary, which would have originally been attached to his mummified body.¹²

1.2 The Local Notary in an Empire of Information

Most everyone in the province of Egypt would have made use of a notary's services, whether to draw up the oath required for the annual seed loan from the state¹³ or to make solemn arrangements for one's last testament.¹⁴ By pre-modern standards, Roman Egypt – and the eastern Mediterranean more generally – was a document-saturated society, even a “literate society” in the sense that “reading and writing (were) essential to its functioning,”¹⁵ even if actual literacy rates were low¹⁶ and the importance of oral culture was little diminished.¹⁷ There is no better example of the central role of writing and its lasting evidentiary value than the fact that families of “illiterates” kept extensive archives of legal documents, many of which were drawn up at local writing offices.¹⁸ *Grapheion* scribes like the author of the Karanis Register were the prime mediators of the written word for their fellow villagers.

From the point of view of legal sociology, the inhabitants of Roman Egypt believed in the enabling power of official, written documents. The archives of illiterates are silent witnesses to this belief, but more direct testimony comes from petitions and the records of court cases, which

¹⁰ Smolders 2013a.

¹¹ *W.Chr.* 398.27 (169 CE).

¹² *SBI* 777 (II-III CE).

¹³ See Chapter 4.13, on the frequent entries for χειρογρ(αφία) σπερμ(άτων) *vel sim.* in the Karanis Register.

¹⁴ Five wills are recorded in the extant portion of the Karanis Register (see Chapter 4.12).

¹⁵ Macdonald 2005, 49. Bagnall 2011, who discusses Macdonald's definition (2-3), is a rich evocation of the “literate societies” of the Greco-Roman east. Cf. Rowlandson 1999, 141, speaking of written land leases: “the use of written documents for such short-term agricultural arrangements is, I believe, a striking illustration of the widespread use of writing in Roman Egypt, in private business affairs as well as in publication administration, even by people who were not comfortably literate.”

¹⁶ There has been much debate over this figure in various places and periods of antiquity; for Roman Egypt, most estimates range between 5-20%, although this obsessive focus is now superseded by studies focusing on *role* of writing in ancient societies (see previous n.) and distinctions of gender and status (see Criboire 2001, 86-88).

¹⁷ For the cultural interplay of literacy and orality in earlier periods, see Thomas 1992.

¹⁸ E.g., the archives of Harthotes (Theadelphia, late I BCE – mid I CE; Trismegistos, archID 99) and the family of Satabous (Karanis, late I CE – mid II CE; Trismegistos, archID 407). It is cases such as these that make me wary of imagining such illiterates as inhabiting an “oral enclave” or being part of “non-literate communities” within a literate society (Macdonald 2005, 50). Cf. Clanchy 2013, 2 on Medieval England: “Those who used writing participated in literacy, even if they had not mastered the skills of a clerk.”

frequently revolved around the deployment of legal documents. Below, we will encounter the priest Satabous, who insisted to all who would listen that he held valid legal title to a piece of disputed property and could produce the papers to prove it; his opponent was simply “acting without cause” by “disregarding the documents of ownership that I have in my possession.”¹⁹ Satabous was not lying: his sale contract has been preserved and it was duly marked as registered by the local notaries. Satabous was simply hoping that the authorities would not look beyond this piece of papyrus, with its validity seemingly guaranteed by the state-sponsored notaries.

In the end, however, Rome wanted *more* paperwork; when Satabous could not produce evidence for the seller’s title, he lost his case. Rome would eventually develop a special record office for real property – a suggestion made centuries before by the Athenian philosopher Theophrastus²⁰ – but careful families kept titles over a century old. One prominent landowner from Karanis, for instance, who lived into the early third century, kept not only his grandfather’s contract for the purchase of the family’s house in the village, dated to 154 CE, but also the division of property whereby the previous owner inherited the house, dated to before 93 CE.²¹

In Roman Egypt, belief in the power of written documents stemmed not from abstract considerations, but from their concrete results: they could make things happen and their absence could cause injury, as Satabous learned. In such a world, it is no wonder that a runaway slave named Eutychia took with her the sale contract that marked her as a 1,160-drachma commodity.²² What sustained this belief was the imperial system in which writing and legal documents were embedded. Rome perpetuated and expanded an extensive notarial system in Egypt that promised to guarantee the validity of written agreements and safeguard them through a network of regional and provincial archives. In all the cities and larger villages of the countryside, one could freely engage a notary for any number of transactions and rest assured that the contract was enforceable anywhere in the Empire.²³ If necessary, certified copies could be ordered from the archives. In

¹⁹ *SBI* 5232.21-23 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 11 CE): μηδενὶ [λ]όγωι [χ]ρη[σάμενο]ς παρηγησάμενος οὐδὲ ἔχει κυριευτικοὺς [χρημ]ατισμοὺς.

²⁰ For a discussion of the Classical Greek background to the Ptolemaic and Roman systems of contract regulations in Egypt, see below, Chapter 2.1.

²¹ The landowner is Gemellus Horion, whose archive was discovered amidst a rubbish heap in the first season of Michigan’s excavations, near where the Karanis Register was found. For an introduction to the archive, see Smolders 2013b. The house sale is *P.Mich.* VI 428 and the earlier division of property is *P.Mich.* IX 554.

²² *P.Cair.Preis.*² 1 (147-ca. 150 CE).

²³ Likewise, contracts written outside Egypt were brought back to Egypt because of their lasting juridical value. See, e.g., *P.Turner* 22 (142 CE), written in Side in the province of Pamphylia. The famous “Muziris papyrus” refers to loan contracts drawn up in the Indian trading port of Muziris: *SB XVIII* 13167.12-13 (middle II CE).

the courtroom, provincials were at the mercy of governors with virtually unrestrained authority, but they knew that written evidence resonated with the Roman sense of justice and could thereby hope to gain some element of control over their fortunes.²⁴ The papyrological record is full of contracts documenting some promise, receipts recording the fulfilment of some obligation, and trial records that animate the deployment of these documents – eloquent testimony to the value of the written word in Rome’s “empire of information.”

But it is important to acknowledge at the outset that my focus on formal, written evidence will tend to overshadow the informal and the oral. To return briefly to the case of Satabous, it is instructive to keep in mind that when the Roman governor learned that there was no written evidence of title earlier than Satabous’ contract he relied on the testimony of the local priestly elders. The language of custom and timeless practice also leave their mark on the rolls of judicial proceedings in Roman Egypt. Likewise, even as a “literate society” was developing in 13th-century England, “tenure ‘from time out mind’ was still a legitimate claim.”²⁵ In Chapter Two, we will meet a husband whose attempts to dispose of property pledged to his wife were thwarted not by state authorities, but by a disapproving local community. In fact, there cannot be such a neat distinction between the written and the oral:²⁶ we must always be aware that written evidence is only part of the story. When I attempt to illuminate the long history of notarial contracting in Greco-Roman Egypt in Chapters Two and Three, we must not be led to think that this is representative of contractual activity as a whole. Private “notes of hand” were always an option and the majority of transactions left no written trace.

Yet, I am particularly interested in notarial documents *because* of their formality: they mark an intersection of public and private affairs and thus speak to the larger question of the relationship between state and society in Roman Egypt. Hardwick’s appraisal of early-modern European notaries applies perfectly well to the situation in Egypt: they “were crucial cogs, albeit at the lowest level, in the apparatus of the state and in the daily organization of people’s lives.”²⁷ The local notary of Roman Egypt put villagers’ private agreements into legal order and inserted them into the provincial network of archives. His registration mark “activated” a private transaction: it was a performative statement that validated and officially memorialized a private agreement within a

²⁴ Bryen 2012.

²⁵ Clanchy 2013, 3.

²⁶ Thomas 1992.

²⁷ Hardwick 1998, 4.

vast provincial operation reaching all the way to Alexandria. The registration docket, though written by a Greco-Egyptian in a provincial setting, contained a promise from Rome to safeguard the contract and, if need be, enforce its terms. Occasionally, this promise was not fulfilled: Satabous' contract was validated by local notaries, but did not stand up to scrutiny from Roman officials. But, in general, the local writing offices were credible institutions, which prompted a broad range of villagers to conduct their business under state supervision.

Another key area in which notaries mediated one's relationship with state authorities was in the production of written oaths, which the Romans required of provincials who undertook a variety of obligations to the state.²⁸ The Karanis Register, written during the sowing season, provides ample evidence for the daily routine of state farmers coming to the writing office to draw up sworn statements concerning the proper cultivation of state land. Such oaths laid down the responsibilities of provincials vis-à-vis the state and were essentially a solemn form of contract, sworn by the *Tyche*, "*genius*," of the current emperor. Even more than the writing and registration of private contracts, the notary's production of written oaths, re-iterated as each farmer entered the *grapheion*, reinforced his role as mediator between imperial power and village society.

1.3 The Historical Roots of the Karanis Register

I have outlined the immediate purpose of the Karanis Register: it was used to track the finances of a state-appointed notary charged with offering writing services to the village community. I have suggested that the Register reveals a network of social, economic, and institutional connections spanning the village of Karanis and beyond. Yet by focusing only on the Register's immediate context we run the risk of taking it for granted and losing sight of both its historical roots and its role within Rome's "empire of information." The Karanis Register takes on a deeper historical importance when read in light of the much longer history of state regulation of private transactions in the eastern Mediterranean. As has become clearer in recent years, the Roman notarial system is an adaptation of Ptolemaic institutions, which in turn were influenced both by Greek regulatory practices of the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods and Egyptian law, traditions, and temple institutions.

Chapter Two thus traces the roots of the Karanis Register and the larger notarial system in Ptolemaic Egypt. Focusing primarily on the regulation of private transactions at the village level,

²⁸ See Chapter 4.13.

I argue that the Ptolemaic notarial system successfully “reoriented” private transactions towards the state. The state benefitted from the increased efficiency with which it could tax and monitor such transactions. But the notarial system, which brought together Greek settlers, hellenizing Egyptians, and Egyptians priests trained in the temple schools, was also a vehicle for transcultural exchange and helped forge an integrated and internally-stable Ptolemaic state. This type of transcultural exchange did not generally occur at the level of symbolic acts, as in the case of native governors’ statues in temple forecourts,²⁹ but rather through “enacted patterns” created by ubiquitous and routine transactions, which were now monitored and recorded by Ptolemaic officials.³⁰ Seen in this light, the notarial system was one of the key institutions underlying the longevity and relative stability of the Ptolemaic state. Importantly, too, the successful establishment of this trans-cultural institution set the stage for Roman adaptation and expansion.

While Chapter Two establishes the Ptolemaic origins of the Egyptian notarial system, we must still consider why the Karanis Register and the expansive notarial system came into being *in the Roman Empire*. The Roman tradition, after all, was quite different. Many types of contracts and accounts were written on wooden tablets (*tabulae*), which held a special place in Roman ritual and law: writing on *tabulae* was considered an efficacious, constitutive act, which actually created the relevant arrangement or obligation.³¹ In contrast, the Greek *homologia*, a written “agreement,” recorded and, in the case of notarial *homologiai*, validated a pre-existing verbal agreement. In such a world, then, where agreements written on wooden tablets were held in special reverence, it is no wonder that Roman “public authorities intervened very little in the affairs of private financiers” and “no office for the registering of contracts existed.”³²

So, we must ask: what motivated Roman leaders not only to perpetuate, but even to modify and expand the foreign notarial system that they inherited from the Ptolemies? It should not be taken as a matter of course that the Romans blindly perpetuated the Greek and Near Eastern institutions that they encountered as they incorporated territories of the eastern Mediterranean and beyond into their empire. The Roman *grapheion* was not simply “a logical consequence,” as one

²⁹ See Moyer 2011b.

³⁰ In modern studies on organizational behavior it is recognized that such “enacted patterns” are themselves “sources of change rather than simply forces for stability” (Wiebe, Suddaby, and Foster 2012, 253, citing Feldman and Pentland 2003, who argue (p. 94) for “the inherent capability of every organizational routine to generate change, merely by its ongoing performance.”

³¹ Meyer 2004, 108-110. Cf. Andreau 1999, 45: bankers’ registers “constituted the tangible reality of his clients’ accounts.”

³² Andreau 1999, 102.

scholar has put it, of its Ptolemaic antecedent.³³ Regardless of the innovations that they did introduce, the Roman perpetuation of the institution also represents a choice. It is true, of course, that certain structures, especially those based in the ecology of Egypt,³⁴ could be little influenced by Roman or any other state's intervention, and that such structures affected the institutional profile of the province.³⁵ It is also true that the Roman imperial design succeeded for a long time because of their "light touch" in modifying pre-existing institutions and their devolution of administrative authority to local bodies.³⁶ But with the work over the past fifty years that has demonstrated the "Romanity" of Roman Egypt,³⁷ we cannot accept that the Romans passively preserved the notarial system, even as we come to recognize the institutional foundation laid by the Ptolemaic state.³⁸

In fact, we can detect changes to the system, even at the level of village contracting, just a few years following Octavian's departure from Alexandria. Contracts produced in the *grapheia*, which I will argue were functionally "public" or "notarial" in the late Ptolemaic period, even if formally they retained private elements, dropped most of these private elements soon after the Roman conquest. This new type of "*grapheion*" contract stabilized around the beginning of Tiberius' reign. Egyptian-language contracts, moreover, were now produced, and not just registered, in the *grapheion*. Even more profound changes were to come during the first century of Roman rule with the creation of a network of archives in the *metropoleis* and central archives in Alexandria. Chapter Three will analyze these innovations in more detail.³⁹

1.4 Archives and Empire

By focusing on the *meaning* of the notarial system of Roman Egypt, we can elucidate its function within the shared social world of the Roman Empire and perhaps reach a better understanding of the nature of Roman rule. Such an approach requires a theoretical understanding of the Roman Empire and I adopt here a minimized form of Clifford Ando's *consensus* model,⁴⁰

³³ Hoogendijk 2013, 70.

³⁴ Although see now Blouin 2014 on the human impact on the Nile Delta in the Roman period.

³⁵ Monson 2012, 33-69.

³⁶ According to Scott 1998, one reason for the failure of many imperial state designs for social organization is their violent antipathy to local, practical knowledge.

³⁷ See Bowman and Rathbone 1992, building on Lewis 1970 and 1984.

³⁸ Cf. the balanced assessment of continuity versus change in Monson 2012, especially 10-16.

³⁹ Chapter 3.3-5.

⁴⁰ Ando 2000.

with input from the more traditional, structural theories of Roman power that emphasize the role of urban elites and social hierarchies.⁴¹ The value of Ando's approach is his convincing elevation of imperial discourse and ideology to the level of explanatory categories of analysis, whereas most previous historians have generally dismissed the former as mere rhetoric and the latter as a duplicitous cloak concealing the realities of power.⁴² His central thesis is that the Romans maintained social control over a wide-ranging area through *consensus*, an ideologically-constructed unanimity between Romans and provincials. Drawing on Habermas' theory of communicative action, Ando defines *consensus* as "a unanimous⁴³ intersubjective agreement about social, religious, and political norms," which were "realized through religious and political rituals," and shaped by "the constructive and deconstructive powers of provincial discourse."⁴⁴ *Consensus* should not be conflated with the actual attainment of mutual consent between the Roman ruling class and provincials on any particular issue; it was rather a wide-ranging social construct stemming from a mutually-suitable set of norms, which offered a platform for the exchange of ideas and prompted, according to Ando, provincial loyalty and a certain degree of unification of the empire.

Admittedly, Ando tries to do too much. The holes, obscurities, and whitewashing in his model were quickly revealed by critics, with one of the more positive reviewers aptly summing up the response: "Ando's Roman Empire is perhaps too nice."⁴⁵ Little attention is paid to the violence of Rome's acquisition of its empire or the brute force and fear employed in its administration.⁴⁶ The entrenched (though not inflexible) social hierarchies play little role in his narrative, nor does the Romans' well-established preference for governing through urban elites and forcefully shaping these elite governing classes to their liking.⁴⁷ The diverse provincial landscape, whose local

⁴¹ E.g., Alföldy 1988, especially 94-156.

⁴² Ando's project can be compared with other influential reappraisals: Price 1984 on the significance of the imperial cult and Zanker 1988 on the iconographic program of Augustus.

⁴³ Ando (2000, 31) later defines this unanimity as between "the various constituencies of the empire," not all individuals. The introduction of the modern political label "constituencies" projects an anachronism onto the empire, but at least provides a necessary qualification for his understanding of unanimity.

⁴⁴ Ando 2000, 6-7.

⁴⁵ Peachin 2002, 922.

⁴⁶ See now Bryen 2012, 781-785 and on the provincial courts of Roman Egypt more specifically, see Kelly 2011, 177-194.

⁴⁷ Cf. Haensch and Heinrichs 2007, ix, "Die Zusammenarbeit mit diesen Selbstverwaltungseinheiten verlief deshalb so reibungslos, weil sich die Interessen der vor Ort herrschenden Eliten sehr bald weitgehend mit denen des Reiches deckten – dank einer vergleichsweise großen römischen Integrationsbereitschaft und der Identifikationsfigur des aus der römischen Gesellschaft im engeren Sinne herausragenden Kaisers."

cultures certainly had become more interconnected in the Roman period, is flattened into a univocal, all-approving chorus. Perhaps the most obvious flaw in Ando's model is his leap from expressions of *consensus*, which are well documented, to the minds of provincials, whom he sees as loyal and supportive of Roman rule.

As an over-arching explanation for the stability and longevity of the Roman Empire, then, Ando's model is inadequate. But it still retains value in providing a conceptual framework for the myriad provincial institutions that dot the Roman administrative landscape. When these institutions are viewed only in a local context, they often appear as isolated, closed systems whose relevance rarely extends beyond provincial boundaries. This, coupled with a historiographical "otherization" that stretches back to Herodotus,⁴⁸ has been the basis of the *Sonderstellung* view of Egypt, by which Egyptian institutions have little, if anything, to offer to more general interpretations of the Roman Empire. In the past twenty years, however, scholars have argued, on the one hand, that Egypt was more "Roman" than previously imagined and, on the other hand, that Egypt is not alone among the provinces in having a particular history and set of characteristics.⁴⁹ Importantly, Roman historians have begun to heed this revised picture of Roman Egypt and integrate Egyptian evidence into imperial history.⁵⁰ I will accordingly take a broader view here, arguing that the notarial system of Roman Egypt, while particular to this province, is a good example of the mechanics of Roman *consensus*.

For our purposes the most-important implication of Ando's thesis is that Rome's commitment to *consensus* required it "to create, adopt, or extend the institutions of communicative practice throughout its territory,"⁵¹ which involved a concerted effort "to make information of every kind accessible to the residents of empire."⁵² This information ranged from imperial letters and decrees,

⁴⁸ Vasunia 2001 and Moyer 2011a, 2-10.

⁴⁹ Jördens 2009a, 24-58.

⁵⁰ The foreword to a recent edited volume on Roman administration is representative of this turn: "Wenn man aber - so wie es lange Zeit üblich war - diese Zeugnisse ungeprüft beiseite schob, weil man aus der speziellen Form der lokalen Strukturen dieser Provinz ableitete, daß generell die Administration von Aegyptus einen Sonderfall darstellte, so blieb kaum etwas übrig, was Einblick in diesen Teil der Realität gegeben hätte" (Haensch and Heinrichs 2007, X).

⁵¹ Ando 2000, 77. Cf. Eisenstadt 1979, 25, working in the center-periphery tradition: "These Imperial systems worked on the assumption that the periphery could indeed have at least symbolic access to the center, largely contingent on some weakening of the social and cultural closeness and self-sufficiency of the periphery and its developing some active orientation to the social and cultural order represented by the center. This permeation of the periphery by the centers was discernible in their development of widespread channels of communication which emphasized their symbolic and structural difference, and in the attempts of these centers to break, even if only to a limited degree, through the ascriptive ties of the groups on the periphery."

⁵² Ando 2000, 96.

which were broadcast throughout the empire and archived in Rome, to provincial pronouncements whose dissemination went through local channels (generally, urban elites) and which were archived under a variety of local conditions. But information emanating from private affairs was also made available. Petitions and judicial decisions were posted publically and archived,⁵³ both for the benefit of the interested parties, but also for others who might seek a judicial comparandum or precedent for their own purposes. Documents related to citizenship and status were archived and accessible decades later,⁵⁴ as were private agreements drawn up through state-licensed notarial offices. All of this adds up to a comprehensive “empire of information,” which Rome was obligated to sustain in accordance with the ruling ideology of *consensus*.

In Roman Egypt, and other areas of the eastern Mediterranean, the countryside fully participated in this empire of information. At the village level, the vast majority of this information was produced through the *grapheion*, the local writing office, as I have outlined above. All registered contracts were meticulously entered into a day-by day register (*anagraphe*), which served as an index to the village’s contracts, while summaries of the contracts’ main points (*eiromena*) were produced for ease of reference and probably stored ultimately in the regional archives.⁵⁵ Such publicly-executed contracts were thus “backed up” in multiple locations, reducing opportunities for fraudulent claims and providing certified evidence in case of dispute. In fact, many Roman-period contracts are authenticated copies drawn from these archives, which shows that provincials engaged with the archives and trusted that the system would operate as advertised. These advertisements, discussed below, show that the Romans had a real interest in ensuring the smooth functioning of the notarial system.

My central argument is that the local writing offices, and Egypt’s larger notarial system and network of archives, helped legitimize Roman rule by providing a credible public service for private transactions, which a broad base of provincials used of their own volition. Moreover, the routine act of having a contract drawn up and registered in the writing office reinforced the validity of Roman hegemonic claims, but it also shaped the nature of this hegemony by raising the expectation that Rome would use its power to enforce contracts. Viewed in this way, the Karanis

⁵³ Jördens 2009b.

⁵⁴ A recent example is an Alexandrian ephebic certificate from a small dossier in the Artemidorus find: it was copied out in 83 CE, but contains extracts from documents dated to 25 and 27 CE: *P.Alex.Epheb.* 1 (Gallazzi and Kramer 2014).

⁵⁵ For a recent edition of a sheet of such contract summaries, see Claytor 2013a.

Register is best understood as part of a particularly Roman repurposing of the Greco-Egyptian notarial system within a new ideology of empire, which imagined the unequal imperial relationship as rule by *consensus*.

In making this argument, I do not deny that the Romans had a vested interest in supporting this system, since it indeed facilitated provincial resource extraction, one of the primary goals of ancient and modern empires alike. For example, the requirement that all changes in the ownership of real property be registered with the regional archives certainly aided the collection of related taxes. New evidence from Karanis suggests that collectors of the tax on property transfers actually scanned records in the regional archives to determine which contracts were subject to their sphere of taxation.⁵⁶ Property records also underpinned the Roman system of compulsory public services, which were assigned on the basis of private wealth. Record keeping for extractive purposes was already a feature of Hellenistic states; what differentiates the Roman system in Egypt from its Hellenistic antecedents, however, is the way in which it was advertised, the extent to which it actually provided a public service, and its role in promoting an ideology of *consensus* in the empire. As Jördens has pointed out, the benefits of state archives to both the administration and the inhabitants of Roman Egypt does much to explain the success and longevity of the system.⁵⁷

The notarial system of Roman Egypt was but one facet of a wide range of practical efforts and public services that provided tangible support to the ideological ideal of *consensus*. The most obvious and general of these services was peace: to a greater degree than ever before Roman rule blanketed the greater Mediterranean with security from large-scale campaigns of violence, even if war still erupted and the smaller-scale activities grouped under the terms “piracy” and “banditry” were never eradicated. *Pax* is a *sine qua non* of Roman *consensus* and its benefits were widely advertised over all periods of imperial history, sometimes relating to a specific event, but more often promoting and advertising *pax* in general. Rome’s repetitive equation of empire with *pax* – and its subsequent glorification in early scholarship – has turned *pax Romana* into a platitude among modern historians. Yet, as Noreña argues, “it was not the most dramatic and spectacular expressions of imperial ideology that were most effective in promoting and naturalizing its normative claims, but rather the mundane and even banal ones.”⁵⁸ Ideological *pax* was everywhere

⁵⁶ *P.Mich.* XXII 847, forthcoming.

⁵⁷ Jördens 2010, 176.

⁵⁸ Noreña 2011, 304.

– stamped on coins, honored in shrines, and praised in orations and epigrams – and this ideology was generally reinforced by the observable fact of a peaceful Mediterranean.

In origin, of course, the *pax Romana* was the result of a violent pacification of the greater Mediterranean world, a fact that could not have escaped contemporaries, at least during periods of expansion.⁵⁹ The *Tropaeum Alpium*, for instance, was an imposing, 50-meter high victory monument commemorating Augustus’ subjugation of the Alpine region.⁶⁰ Although less overtly domineering, Augustus’ famous *Ara Pacis* marked the culmination of Augustus’ campaigns in Hispania and Gaul and the non-Roman youths on the frieze have been interpreted as hostages from noble barbarian families.⁶¹ But, as Noreña points out, “the imperialist roots of *pax* had no place in the official iconography, which instead publicized the material benefits of the *pax Romana*.”⁶² Thus the personifications of *pax* often depict her holding a *cornucopia*, evoking agricultural abundance, or the *caduceus*, marking rich commercial exchange. This style of *pax* became an enduring part of Roman self-imagining that was projected to all corners of the Empire. The Karanis notary, for instance, would have collected some of his writing fees with coins stamped EIPHNH, “peace,” and decorated with iconography similar to coins found all across the empire.⁶³ If he participated in a ceremony such as that reflected in the Karanis Prayer Papyrus (ca. 120-124 CE), moreover, he would have joined in a public thanksgiving for the emperor’s provision of public benefactions that culminated with εἰρήνη, “peace,” and ὁμόνοια, “*consensus*.”⁶⁴ The imperial slogans in the Prayer Papyrus demonstrate not only that provincials received such messages, but that they adapted and redeployed them in a local setting.

Pax was thus the foundation of all imperial benefactions, but it would have rung hollow if not accompanied by a wider array of benefits, which were advertised via provincial proclamations and iconography and reflected back in provincial praise. The Romans also took on the task of guaranteeing, or at least promising, law and order. The connection between the Romans’ imposition of a Mediterranean-wide *pax* and the establishment of order is made explicit in the well-known epigram on Augustus’ entry into Egypt after the battle of Actium: he “came joyously

⁵⁹ Noreña 2011, 127-132.

⁶⁰ Formigé 1949.

⁶¹ Kuttner 1995, 104-106 (cf., Noreña 2011, 128).

⁶² Noreña 2011, 129.

⁶³ Haatvedt, Peterson, and Husselman 1964, #123.

⁶⁴ *P.Mich.* XXII 842.43 (forthcoming).

to the land of the Nile, brimming with a cargo of good laws (εὐνομίης) and abundant prosperity (εὐθενίης βαθυπλούτου), like Zeus the god of freedom.”⁶⁵

The most abstract projection of this guarantee was *iustitia* or δικαιοσύνη, which found its way to the villages of the empire via coinage, provincial proclamations, and prayers, although it is not as common as one might expect;⁶⁶ instead, there was a marked preference for conceptualizing justice as stemming from the personal qualities of the (idealized) emperor and spreading through his providential selection of delegates, the provincial governors, who shared some of the ideological qualities of the emperors. Importantly, though, this guarantee of justice was not an imposition of Roman law and custom, but rather entailed an interpretation and enforcement of local *nomoi*.

At the heart of Roman justice, law, and order was the principal of an accessible emperor. Ever since Millar’s influential *The Emperor in the Roman World*,⁶⁷ historians have come to recognize the fundamental role of petition-and-response in shaping the relationship between ruler and ruled in the Roman Empire. The rare imperial visits to Egypt have left a mark in the papyrological record, mainly in the form of logistical correspondence and requisitions, but also in a number direct petitions to visiting emperors. In 130 CE, for instance, the priests of Soxis in Karanis’ North Temple took advantage of Hadrian’s visit to the Fayum in an attempt to settle a local dispute about village dues to the temple.⁶⁸ In such distant and peaceful provinces as Egypt, however, it was normally the provincial governor who assumed this responsibility for making himself available to provincials, although, in theory, the emperor was accessible to all.

Jördens has analyzed the characteristics of the provincial governorship as a microcosm of the imperial system. She argues that since “the governors modelled their provincial administration after the imperial example, one should therefore be able to draw conclusions about the form and self-conception of ruling and administration in the Roman Empire generally.”⁶⁹ Egypt has often

⁶⁵ *P.Lond.* II 256r (p. xxiv and p. 95) = *Sel.Pap.* III 113.6-8 (Mertens-Pack 1853.1, LDAB 4324).

⁶⁶ Noreña 2011, 60-61 notes the infrequency of *iustitia* on western coinage.

⁶⁷ Millar 1977.

⁶⁸ *SB XVI* 12509. Calling upon Hadrian as their “savior and benefactor,” the priests beg him “to show pity on us and on our god Soxis, and order that we also may collect from the aforesaid villagers the amount which we spend for the temple.” [Σω]τήρα καὶ Εὐεργέτην ἐλεῆσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν ἡμέ[[τερ]ον θεὸν Σόξειν καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι κ[α]ὶ ἡμεῖν ὅς ποιού[[με]θα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ δαπάνας παρὰ [τ]ῶν αὐτῶν κω[[μη]τῶν λαμβάγειν (ll. 1-4).

⁶⁹ She noticed that the interest generated by Millar’s *The Emperor in the Roman World* did not extend to the provincial governors: “Dies ist insofern erstaunlich, als vieles dafür spricht, daß die Statthalter sich bei ihrer Amtsführung in den Provinzen an dem kaiserlichen Vorbild orientierten. Aus ihrem Regierungsstil sollten sich daher

been excluded from the few studies of provincial governorship, either because it was not a senatorial province or, as one scholar put it, “the written records typical of this province ... are so expansive and complex that Egyptian governorship is its own subject.”⁷⁰ This wealth of evidence, however, should be attractive to historians; it is in Egypt where “we get not only normative statements, but also the possibility of assessing them time and again within the specific context of activity in which they are embedded.”⁷¹ The corpus of prefectural letters and decrees from Egypt, moreover, may actually be more representative of the range of such documents in the provinces because their survival is not wholly mediated by the decision to monumentalize the message via a stone inscription.⁷²

What Jördens finds in her study of the governors of Egypt is relevant for our understanding of the construction and maintenance of *consensus*. Like the emperor himself, the prefect was accessible, in particular during his annual *conventus*, when he toured key points of the province and heard petitions from provincials. Individual responses were given, but when the prefect felt that a particular issue was of general significance or decided to take the initiative to correct some perceived problem, he issued an edict or distributed a circular letter to some or all local governors. It was in these more general statements that the prefect was able to characterize the purpose of his rule and his relationship with the emperor and the provincials under his rule; importantly, though, these decrees also reinforced the authority of local governors and the local ruling class, whom the prefect often credits with bringing matters to his attention and who are always tasked with making his ruling generally known.⁷³

Like the emperor, the prefect stresses both his personal virtues and the benefits which Roman rule brings to the province. In particular, the Roman prefects of Egypt emphasize their *pronoia*,⁷⁴ “foresight” in correcting problems or “care” for the province more generally. This quality aligns

durchaus auch Rückschlüsse auf die Form und das Selbstverständnis von Herrschaft und Regierung im Römischen Reich allgemein ziehen lassen” (Jördens 2006, 87).

⁷⁰ Meyer-Zwiffelhoffer 2002, 46 (quoted at Jördens 2006, 87-88): “die für diese Provinz typische Überlieferung ... so umfangreich und komplex (ist), daß die ägyptische Statthalterschaft ein eigenes Thema ist.”

⁷¹ Jördens 2006, 88: “Denn in diesem Fall haben wir nicht allein die normativen Aussagen vor uns, sondern können sie immer wieder auch an dem konkreten Handlungskontext überprüfen, in den sie eingebettet sind.”

⁷² Haensch 2009 stresses the exceptional nature of inscribed prefectural letters, while Kokkinia 2009 points to the decisive role of local elites in the decision to monumentalize the letters. On the corpus of correspondence from Egyptian prefects, see Haensch 2010.

⁷³ Cf. Kokkinia 2009, who argues that inscriptions of governors’ letters in the Greek east cannot be separated from their local social context; many were inscribed and preserved by “individuals with a particular interest in seeing (them) monumentalized in the civic landscape” (193).

⁷⁴ Jördens 2006, 93-94 with n. 11.

with the imperial virtue of *providentia*, which, came to “(celebrate) the wide-ranging imperial foresight that was emblematic of the emperor’s *cura* for his subjects.”⁷⁵ Closely associated with *pronoia* in the prefect’s self-construction was *phrontis*, a term with a range of everyday and more technical meaning revolving around “concern” or “responsibility.”⁷⁶ It often evoked a particular sphere of responsibility, such as individual care for the body (expressions of which permeate private letters) or an estate manager’s responsibility for a land owner’s economic well-being (estate managers were called *phrontistai* and estates *phrontides*).⁷⁷ Just as everyone attended to their health and stewards carefully managed the estates of their principals, the prefect’s *phrontis* was the whole province and all its inhabitants. Unlike *pronoia*, which imperial ideology reserved for those in charge (and the gods), participation in the economy of *phrontis* was more general and thus many provincials could relate in some degree to the prefect’s task and his message. That said, *phrontis*-discourse, with its well-defined spheres of responsibility, tended to reinforce the social and economic hierarchies of Roman Egypt.

We must stop now and consider whether any of this mattered. That is, did these messages reach any significant segment of the population or was the rhetoric limited to an elite audience, the governing classes of Alexandria and the *metropoleis*? We have already seen that imperial slogans reached a wide audience via coinage and could be refashioned for a local audience, but what about the more discursive communications from Roman leaders? It cannot simply be asserted that the emperor “seiz(ed) the imagination of and then (held) the allegiance of his subjects,” as Ando would have it.⁷⁸ We need evidence first that the decrees of Roman governors reached the ears of the provincial population and second that their communication had any effect on their behavior. I will leave aside the question of provincial allegiance because the actual beliefs of the various actors involved are mostly out of reach.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Noreña 2011, 98.

⁷⁶ For the full range of meanings, see *WB*, s.v. φροντίζω and φροντίς.

⁷⁷ A nice example encompassing both of these referents can be found in a letter from a son to his aging father, which begins, “Often I have urged you even in person that you make this your only concern (φροντίς): your body. And so, now, rather too rashly you write to me whom you wish to manage (φροντίζειν) the harvest of the 2 arouras ...” (*P.Mich.* 22 854.4-7 [forthcoming]). “The impression of the first half of the letter,” the editor writes, “is of a son trying to renegotiate his relationship with his aging father, or at least to assume a more active role in family decision making.” This renegotiation revolves around the proper allocation of φροντίς; the son suggests that his aging father was much too concerned with the routine administration of the family estates, when his only concern should be his own health.

⁷⁸ Ando 2000, 336.

⁷⁹ Cf. Noreña 2011, 302.

The question of the dissemination of imperial messages is difficult to answer, but we can start with the evidence internal to decrees and official missives, which were often accompanied by a cover letter instructing a subordinate official to post the decree in prominent places “in order that all may know my instructions.”⁸⁰ The effectiveness of such instructions cannot be measured, but we catch occasional glimpses of the process at a local level. *P.Fay.* 24, for instance, is an oath written by a village notary for a local police officer, in which the officer swears that he has “posted ... a copy of the letter written by the illustrious prefect” in his jurisdiction.⁸¹ An indication that the decrees generally reached a wide audience is the survival of copies in villages of the *chora*. Few of these are as monumental as the famous decrees of the prefect Tiberius Iulius Alexander, which was erected in the Temple of Hibis in the Great Oasis of the western desert.⁸² Most are papyrus copies made at private initiative. Such copies were therefore sought out and not “received,” but they do at least show that such decrees were accessible, as the policeman swore his was, while their citation in petitions and lawsuits is good evidence for their accessibility long after promulgation.

Not only did the orders of Roman governors reach a wide audience, but their style of self-presentation was absorbed by provincials and redeployed for their own purposes. This can be seen in communications in the other direction, primarily petitions written by, or on behalf of, villagers and directed to a variety of Roman officials, including the prefect. One petition from a landowner in Karanis and his associate to the *epistrategos*, an equestrian governor of several nomes, begins, “Above all else, most excellent of governors, the successive prefects, devoting forethought (*pronoia*) to the land, issue written orders concerning the accomplishment of labor on the dikes and canals ...”⁸³ The petitioners, aided perhaps by the scribe who wrote the document,⁸⁴ skillfully directed the *epistrategos*’ attention to the governors of Egypt, his superiors, and their overriding concern for the agricultural productivity of the province. This is not sleight of hand; it is a credible, rhetorically-powerful opening based on the shared knowledge between petitioner and official of

⁸⁰ Katzoff 1982, 210.

⁸¹ Lines 5-14: ὁμ[νύω τήν] | Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρος] | [Α]δριανοῦ Ἀντων[ίνου Σεβαστοῦ] | [Ε]ὐσεβοῦς τύχην
 π[ροτεθεικένοι] | [έν] τῷ ἐποικίῳ ἀντίγρ[αφον] | ἐπιστολῆς γραφεΐσης ὑ[πὸ τοῦ] | [λα]μπροτάτου ἡγεμόν[ος] |
 Σεμπρωνίου Λιβεράλις ..., “I swear by the Fortune of Emperor Caesar Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius that I
 have posted in the hamlet the copy of the letter written by the illustrious prefect Sempronius Liberalis ...”

⁸² *I.Prose* 57 B (= *I. Temple Hibis* 4), 68 CE.

⁸³ *SB* XIV 11478, part of the archive of Gemellus Horion (TM, archID 90).

⁸⁴ It is written in a skilled scribal hand typical of the period and at least one of the petitioners was illiterate (Gemellus Horion).

the prefect's role in Egypt and the traditional self-presentation of these men as the guarantors of prosperity in the province. It establishes a legitimate reason for the official to become involved in the petitioners' particular issue.⁸⁵ Whatever the actual motivations or beliefs of the petitioners, their plea is founded on *consensus*: a shared expression of the proper relationship between the Roman state and the provincial population.

We have thus seen that Roman emperors and their provincial governors projected an image of a peaceful and protective Roman Empire. Law and order were guaranteed from on high by the divine *providentia* of the emperor and through the agency of his deputies, the provincial governors. These Roman governors, in turn, relied on local notables both to disseminate their messages and to enforce their measures. There is evidence that these messages reached a wide audience and that provincials internalized and reassembled imperial self-projections for their own purposes. There was a mutual understanding (Ando's "intersubjective agreement") of the prefect's proper role within the Roman imperial system: his *phrontis* was the entire province and he was expected to apply his self-advertised *pronoia* to ensure law, order, and prosperity.

1.5 The Case of Satabous

The papers of Satabous present an interesting yet complex case that involves some of the themes under discussion. The story revolves around an Egyptian priest from the village of Soknopaiou Nesos named Satabous, son of Herieus the younger, who was born around 35 BCE and came of age under Octavian (later Augustus).⁸⁶ We are particularly interested in Satabous because one of his disputes revolved around the validity, registration, and enforcement of a contract composed in a village writing office. In the following petition from 15 CE, one of a series of documents related to this affair, Satabous appeals to the curator of the *idios logos*, an equestrian official:⁸⁷

⁸⁵ That such references to the prefects' role in Egypt were consciously selected by the petitioners and the scribes mediating their pleas can be seen from two parallel petitions on the same subject, one sent to the prefect and one to a local centurion, analyzed by Bryen 2013, 154-156. The petition to the prefect "is an assertion of rights under law" and "justifies itself by reference to the prefect's decrees," while the local complaint "emphasizes public humiliation ... offenses to (the complainant's) family, and an out-of-control assailant who threatens to disrupt the harmony of the village" (Bryen 2013, 155). Both of these petitions, *SBI* 5235 and *SBI* 5238, come from the feud between Soknopaiou Nesos priests, discussed below.

⁸⁶ For overviews see Schentuleit 2007 and Hoogendijk and Feucht 2013 (Trismegistos, archID 151); on the conflict with Nestnephis specifically, see Swarney 1970, 41-49, Kruse 2002, 532-537, Rupprecht 2003, 162-166, Jördens 2010, 162-166, and Kelly 2011, 1-6.

⁸⁷ Rufus is petitioned because the dispute concerned land that was claimed by Satabous' opponent to be "ownerless" and thus property of the emperor.

To Seppius Rufus

From Satabous, son of Herieus the younger, from Soknopaïou Nesos of the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome, also a priest of the very-great god Soknopaios. In the 41st year of Caesar, on Hathyr 24 (= Nov. 21, 11 CE), I purchased a house, veranda, courtyard, and undeveloped lots to the south of the house ... from Chairemon, son of Herodes, prophet of Souchos, the great god of the Arsinoite nome, and his wife Tomsais consented.⁸⁸ I made the sale in the village of Psinachis through the contract writers (συναλλαγατογράφ[ων]) Sokrates, son of Ischyriion, and his son Sambas, in the presence of Petesouchos, son of Marsisouchos, and Sochotes, son of Petesouchos, and paid to Chairemon the full price for everything. I have retained ownership and possession until the present 1st year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus (= 14/15 CE). I have spent money on the repair of these properties and have rebuilt on the old, preexisting foundations at no little expense. For some unknown reason, Nestnephis, son of Teseies, priest from the same (Soknopaïou) Nesos, without cause and disregarding the documents of ownership (κυριευτικούς [χρημ]ατισμούς) which I have for all the aforementioned properties, improperly submitted a petition to you claiming that certain of the undeveloped lots by my house – which he valued at 300 drachmas – were ownerless and had been walled in by me. Once I had ascertained this, I submitted another petition to you since I was unable to go to court; I have appealed to you at the proper legal time. And Nestnephis went to your tribunal in Alexandria, saying that he had searched for the sale in the archive (βιβλιοθή[κη]), that he did not find it, and that it was not among those submitted (ἀκαταχωρίστου) by the contract writers Sokrates and Sambas. I ask of you, benefactor of all, if it seems right to you, to issue a judgment on the unsubmitted contract that condemns such villainy in order that I may obtain justice from Sokrates and Sambas, who have not submitted it – to issue a judgment that condemns such villainy in order that I may enjoy your benefaction. Farewell.⁸⁹

Satabous first lays out the backstory: four years ago he purchased a house with attached properties, including undeveloped lots south of the house. Satabous cites the sale by date, contents, location, and the notaries who drew it up. For good measure, he adds the names of two witnesses to the written transaction, even though the new Roman *grapheion* contract did not require witnesses (see further, Chapter 3.4). Although irrelevant to the question of legal title, he stresses that he has retained “ownership and possession” since the sale and that he already made capital improvements to the lots. His opponent Nestnephis claims that certain of the undeveloped lots, to the value of 300 dr., are actually “ownerless,” which means that they belong to the *idios logos*, the “special account” of the emperor. From other documents, we can see that Nestnephis later revised his

⁸⁸ Under local law, family members had to consent to the alienation of family property.

⁸⁹ SBI 5232.

complaint to include all the purchased property. Satabous dismisses Nestnephis' claims on the strength of his "documents of ownership" (κυριευτικούς [χρημ]ατισμούς).

But Nestnephis had a surprise for him. He appeared before Seppius Rufus' tribunal in Alexandria when Satabous was unable to attend and announced that he had "searched for the sale in the archive (βιβλιοθήκη)," but found no record of it.⁹⁰ Whether or not this was true, Nestnephis' purpose was to undermine Satabous' title from another angle: not only did he claim that the property was technically ownerless, and thus the sale invalid, but he now questions the validity of the sale contract itself. Satabous seems unfazed by this development: he simply asks that the notaries be taken to task for not submitting the contract to the archive.

Fortunately for us, the sale on which Satabous' claim rests is preserved both in its Demotic and Greek original and at least five Greek copies,⁹¹ which were probably produced to be used as evidence for Satabous' case, as the language of the provincial courts in Roman Egypt was Greek. Even though the property was located in Soknopaiou Nesos, which had its own writing office, and both parties were priests in that village, the sale was drawn up in Psinachis, some 30 km distant.⁹² Importantly for Satabous' case, the contract was marked as "registered in Psinachis of the Themistos *meris*,"⁹³ presumably by the father and son notaries named in this petition (the registration itself is anonymous, as is often the case).⁹⁴ This registration mark implies that the notaries had followed through on all the required procedures. Thus, Satabous was rightly unworried by Nestnephis' claim that the sale was not present in the archive: either Nestnephis was lying or the notaries were at fault.

Satabous' case rested entirely on a few sheets of papyrus. At an earlier stage of the dispute, he stresses that the seller "conveyed (the undeveloped lots) to me in the 41st year (= 11/12 CE) in accordance with the documents which I have in my possession."⁹⁵ In the later petition, we have seen that Satabous' claims rests on his "documents of ownership" (κυριευτικούς [χρημ]ατισμούς).

⁹⁰ See below, Chapter 3.5, for the location of this βιβλιοθήκη.

⁹¹ Demotic (with Greek registration and subscription): *P.Dime* III 5 (11 CE); Greek copies: *CPR* XV 2, 3, and 4, *SB* I 5231 (= *Jur.Pap.* 28), *SBI* 5275.

⁹² This oddity has not been satisfactorily explained (cf. Kruse 2002, 532), but I take it as another indication of the unusual mobility of the inhabitants of Soknopaiou Nesos; since the village lacked much of an agricultural hinterland, land had to be sought elsewhere in the Fayum. Perhaps both Satabous and Nestnephis owned or farmed land near Psinachis.

⁹³ ἀναγέ(γραπται) ἐν Ψ[ι]ν[ά]χει τῆς Θεμ(ίστου) μερίδ(ος) (*P.Dime* III 5, Greek, l. 1).

⁹⁴ Partnerships are well attested and the management of a village *grapheion* often ran in the family: Muhs 2005.

⁹⁵ κατέγ[ρ]αψέν μοι αὐτούς τῶ μα (ἔτει) | [[ἀπό πα]τρὸς ὄντας αὐτοῦ πατρικὸς καὶ] [ἀ]κ[ολού]θ[ω]ς αἰς ἔχων οἰκ[ο]νομίας | [[μητρ]ικὸς] (*M.Chr.* 68.9-11, before June 30, 15 CE).

Procedurally, everything was correct with the sale, even if the notaries' carelessness presented a minor annoyance. He was clearly eager to present his evidence, as the multiple Greek copies of the sale demonstrate. Satabous was hoping that the Roman authorities, once they saw the evidence, would honor his valid, registered sale contract, rule against Nestnephis, and not look into the matter any further.

Around the same time as his petition quoted above the curator of the *idios logos* Seppius Rufus called together a commission, consisting of the *strategos*, the *basilikos grammateus*, and a centurion named Lucretius, to investigate the case while Satabous prepared his evidence. Satabous was to hand over to the centurion copies of his papers for inspection and judgment would be rendered at the next year's *conventus*. When the trial was held, the previous owner Chairemon claimed that the property had been inherited from his father and ancestors, although he apparently did not have any documents to support this claim and his testimony was disregarded.⁹⁶ For his part, Nestnephis expanded on his claim that the property was rightly ownerless, tracing it back to an old Ptolemaic army officer, although he too apparently could not produce evidence of this. Lacking the documents necessary to make an informed decision, the curator thus relied on the testimony of the priestly elders. The elders, however, were only sure that the undeveloped lots were ownerless and the curator ruled accordingly: Satabous had to pay a 500 dr. fine to the *fiscus*, but retained ownership of all disputed properties.

Knowing full well the value of written documents, Satabous made sure to have both the decision and the receipt of his payment copied out on the same papyrus.⁹⁷ A later document shows his children inheriting the properties.⁹⁸ In fact, it must have been this generation that retained their father's old papers, since they add new documents such as this one to the archive. By keeping these old papers, in particular Satabous' settlement regarding the disputed properties, the children were fortifying their claims in case they were ever questioned again. Indeed, in 36 CE, Satabous' son Stotoetis drew up a written oath through the local notary concerning Satabous' payment of the fine,⁹⁹ a sign that the dispute continued into the next generation.

⁹⁶ Note how in *M.Chr.* 68.10-11 (previous n.) Satabous crossed out reference to Chairemon's paternal claim and instead emphasized his possession of the sale contract.

⁹⁷ *SBI* 5240 (after 23 Oct., 17 CE).

⁹⁸ *P.Dime* III 37 (21/22 CE).

⁹⁹ *P.Vind.Sal.* 3.

The Nestnephis affair both exemplifies and complicates the themes under discussion. All parties involved, Satabous above all, expressed a deep-seated belief in the power and authority of valid written documents. Satabous' primary tactic in the case was to focus attention on his registered sale contract, which he repeatedly stated was in his possession. To the Roman curator, this was important evidence and he thus directed a centurion to procure a copy from Satabous during the lead-up to the hearing. Apprehensive of this document, Satabous' opponent Nestnephis looked for a way to undermine its authority and discovered (or fabricated the story) that it had not been properly deposited in the archives.

In the end, however, the case did not turn on this contract, as Satabous had so desperately wished. It turned on whether Chairemon had any right to sell. Valid documents could have saved the case for Satabous, but these were lacking, and the Roman curator was forced to delegate the case, in essence, to the local temple elders. This was a failure of Rome's "empire of information" in the early decades of control in Egypt. Perhaps learning from many cases like this, the Romans eventually set up a separate archive for real property. From then on, an alienation of property through the local writing offices had to first be approved by this central office, "in order that," as one prefect wrote on a similar matter, "those who make agreements ... may not be defrauded through ignorance."¹⁰⁰ In Satabous' case, the notaries simply would not have been allowed to draw up the sale contract and his feud with Nestnephis would have been played out in another arena.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *P.Oxy.* II 237, col. viii.36. See the fuller discussion below, Chapter 3.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Jördens 2010, 165-166: "In späterer Zeit hätte vielleicht auch die βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων Satabus vor den Winkelzügen seines Kontrahenten zu schützen vermocht."

Chapter Two: Contract Regulation and the Ptolemaic State

2.1 The Internal Regulation of the Ptolemaic State

The Romans encountered Greek and Near Eastern systems of state regulation that were foreign to their own traditions.¹⁰² Yet, they actively fostered, expanded, and modified these systems as part of their self-expressed role as guarantors of justice. As is shown in the previous chapter, the Karanis Register and the notarial system of Roman are best understood in the context of Rome's commitment to an ideology of *consensus*, whereby they were obliged to maintain and even expand local legal institutions and incorporate them into an imperial administration.

This chapter will examine the “backstory” of the Karanis Register in Ptolemaic Egypt. Recent work has emphasized the institutional continuity between late Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt, particularly in the realm of property rights and public records,¹⁰³ even if Rome modified and repurposed these institutions as part of the larger project of turning Egypt into a Roman province. The main notarial offices, *agoranomeia* in the cities and *grapheia* in the villages, were founded in the Ptolemaic period, and many of the notarial practices of Roman Egypt can be traced back to the last century of Ptolemaic rule.

But we must also assess Ptolemaic institutions on their own terms, rather than as precursors to their Roman counterparts. Accordingly, I view the Ptolemies' regulation of private transactions as an integral part of the development of the Ptolemaic state and I argue that the extent and success of such internal regulation require us to rethink traditional models of the state's decline and the transition to Roman rule.

The nature and scope of this state has been long debated, but I follow Manning in rejecting the older “strong state” or “dirigiste” model in favor of viewing Ptolemaic Egypt as a supervisory state, concerned above all with diverting the economic surplus of the land to the center. The limits of power in the ancient world and narrow state goals meant that the transfer of power and the

¹⁰² Meyer 2004.

¹⁰³ Cf. Monson 2012, 122-131.

growth of the Ptolemaic state did little to disrupt the underlying economic structures of Egypt.¹⁰⁴ So durable were some of these structures, like land tenure arrangements, that they survived even the Roman annexation and reorganization of Egypt.¹⁰⁵ Where the Ptolemies could and did have an effect, on the other hand, was in the realm of institutions and revenue capture. They were able to develop institutions to divert resources “that were embedded within traditional social structures” towards royal coffers.¹⁰⁶ For instance, by creating and enabling institutions to monitor, record, register, and finally tax conveyances of land, the Ptolemies managed to extract revenue more efficiently from pre-existing systems of private land tenure. From this point of view, the supervision of private transactions and the growth of archival apparatus are key institutional developments that help define the Ptolemaic state.

Ptolemaic institutional growth came at the expense of traditional social networks centered on the temples, but never fully replaced them. Rather, the Ptolemies worked “through” these constituent groups in a process that Manning terms “bargained incorporation.”¹⁰⁷ To be sure, in most periods of Ptolemaic Egypt, the state had the stronger position, but the rulers of all ancient states had to come to the bargaining table with leading constituencies in order to maintain power. One of the hallmarks of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt was the generally cooperative relationship between the ruling elite in Alexandria and the priestly elite of the most important temples of the Egyptian *chora*. The famous priestly decrees such as the Rosetta Stone are the ideologically-charged proclamations of this cooperation, the inscribed results of negotiations that entailed priestly acceptance of “incorporation” into the Ptolemaic state.¹⁰⁸ These decrees, moreover, were components of a larger “transcultural space” that mediated between the interests of the state and the native elite.¹⁰⁹ When the Ptolemaic state faltered, most conspicuously in the two-decade long succession of the Thebaid, the withdrawal of temple support was often a key contributing factor.¹¹⁰

Native elites negotiated new positions within the Ptolemaic bureaucracy. The state notaries in the *metropoleis*, for instance, were frequently bilingual Greco-Egyptians who had connections to

¹⁰⁴ Manning 2003, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Monson 2012.

¹⁰⁶ Manning 2010, 79.

¹⁰⁷ Manning 2010, 1 and 74. This phrase is borrowed from Barkey 1994, although the relationship between Manning’s model and Barkey’s understanding of Ottoman incorporation of elites of regional ethno-cultural groups is not well developed.

¹⁰⁸ Manning 2010, 5 and 97ff.

¹⁰⁹ Moyer 2011b.

¹¹⁰ On native revolts from Ptolemaic rule, see Veïsse 2004 and McGing 1997.

the scribal families of the temples.¹¹¹ When village writing offices were developed in the later second century, we find Egyptians using Demotic to run these state offices.¹¹² A remarkable early example of this “reorientation” of the native Egyptian scribal class towards the Ptolemies’ Greco-Egyptian bureaucracy may be found in the case of Petosiris, a bilingual scribe who in 259 BCE wrote a fluent Greek docket on behalf of two royal tax farmers with his traditional Egyptian rush pen and then, lest there be doubt about who composed the docket, signed his name in Demotic.¹¹³

Of the various native constituencies that the Ptolemies drew into their new state we are most interested in this scribal class. Temple scribes were not mere functionaries, but rather leading priests whose families “controlled, sometimes for generations, the bureaus that generated private contracts and some receipts associated with temple income.”¹¹⁴ One priest held the hereditary and influential position of contract scribe or notary,¹¹⁵ with many others assisting him and apprentices learning the skills of legal Demotic in one branch of the temple school.¹¹⁶ These notaries, the larger scribal class, and their families were at the center of social and economic networks linking the temple and the village together with its agricultural hinterland and beyond.

While the Ptolemaic state was a “hybrid” of Egyptian, Persian, Macedonian, and Greek influences¹¹⁷ and its bureaucracy was a vehicle of transcultural exchange, the institutional supervision and regulation of private transactions was based almost wholly on Greek precedents and was in keeping with developments in the rest of the Hellenistic world. Particularly influential were the institutions and political thought of Athens in the fourth century.¹¹⁸ Although our evidence is impressionistic, Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus all discuss regulations that are akin to those found in Ptolemaic and even Roman Egypt. Theophrastus, for instance, advocates keeping an ἀναγραφὴ τῶν κτημάτων καὶ συμβολαίων, a “register of property and contracts,”¹¹⁹ which, in effect, would later be accomplished through Roman Egypt’s βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, the “archive of real property.” From a comparison of this classical literature to the epigraphic evidence,

¹¹¹ Pestman 1978. Cf. Vierros 2012.

¹¹² This is most evident in the late Ptolemaic bilingual archive from the *grapheion* of Tebtunis: see below.

¹¹³ See below, section 2.4.

¹¹⁴ Manning 2003, 186. Pestman, *P.Tsenhor*, pp. 153-158. Arlt 2008 shows that there is regional variation in the degree to which temple notary positions ran in the same family.

¹¹⁵ Zauzich, *P.Schreibertrad.*, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁶ Arlt 2008, 24-25.

¹¹⁷ Manning 2010, 3.

¹¹⁸ This influence has long been stressed, e.g., in the still-fundamental work of Préaux 1939 and the collected essays of Bingén 2007.

¹¹⁹ Theophrastus, *Nomoi* frag. 21 (Szegedy-Maszak 1981).

Faraguna has recently argued that Greek cities of the fourth century already had advanced institutions for monitoring transactions involving the alienation of real property and kept detailed records of these transactions.¹²⁰ Moreover, there are direct links between “old world” Greek political administration and the Ptolemaic empire: Demetrios of Phaleron, a student of Theophrastus’, ruled Athens for a decade before spending his later years at the court of Ptolemy Soter in Alexandria.

The Ptolemaic kingdom was in keeping with a general trend in the Hellenistic world towards a more thorough and efficient supervision of private transactions, which served the extraction of surplus from the kingdoms’ territories. Nearly all of the evidence outside of Egypt is epigraphic or archaeological and thus generally does not reach the level of detail that the papyrological record offers. On the other hand, epigraphic sources, in particular civic decrees, are valuable for charting normative views of contract regulation and archival practices. A Rhodian decree, for example, singles out a benefactor for his care of the city’s archives: “because the title-deeds (χρημαστισμῶν) kept in the current archives showed discrepancies over the past seventy-five years, he (the honorand) took the initiative in opening the central archives (κιβωτῶν)¹²¹ and making a record of all the title-deeds.”¹²² Archaeological evidence includes the actual sites of archives, usually marked by the prevalence of clay sealings that were once attached to papyrus documents. A Michigan-Minnesota excavation has recently uncovered the remains of a large Seleukid administrative building which was partly used as an archive, probably of private documents, as evidenced by a concentrated find of 2,043 decorative and inscribed clay sealings.¹²³

Bagnall surveyed this rich patchwork of evidence from the Mediterranean and Near East and concluded that “it is time for historians to recognize and investigate writing and record-keeping as centrally important technologies across the entire range of the Hellenistic world – and, in consequence, to integrate Ptolemaic documentation into the broader picture of the Greek world of this era.”¹²⁴ Accordingly, while our focus will remain within the bounds of Egypt, comparative evidence from elsewhere in the Hellenistic world will be adduced with the confidence that the Ptolemaic state was not unique in its reliance upon writing technologies and its investment in

¹²⁰ Faraguna 2000.

¹²¹ Literally, “boxes, chests;” see below on this term.

¹²² *Tit. Cam.* 110.9-12 (after ca. 182 BCE), translated and discussed at Gabrielsen 1997, 135.

¹²³ Herbert and Berlin 2003 and Ariel and Naveh 2003. For other such sites cf. Bagnall 2011, 40-51.

¹²⁴ Bagnall 2011, 53.

record-keeping apparatus.¹²⁵ In turn, it is hoped that this study will offer an attractive basis for responding to Bagnall's larger challenge.

With the introduction of a Greek-style registration system, carried out by Greek immigrants and Egyptians of the scribal class, Ptolemaic regulation of private contracting fully lives up to the "hybrid" nature of Hellenistic states that is emphasized in current scholarship.¹²⁶ The development of this system, however, does not line up with traditional, or even modified, narratives of the history of the Ptolemaic state, which have long focused on the state's political decline. The traditional view, exemplified by Hölbl in his *History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, sees a "golden age" under the first three Ptolemies, followed by a period of inexorable decline beginning with the accession of Ptolemy IV (221) or his war with Antiochus III (219-217), and a nadir following Roman intervention (168), when the Ptolemies could only operate in the "shadow of Roman power."¹²⁷ This narrative focuses almost exclusively on the Ptolemies' international standing, however, and more recent models take into account the internal politics and stability of the country.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, even these revised narratives cannot escape the well-entrenched notion of international decline and the Ptolemies' increasing inability to coerce other state actors in the eastern Mediterranean.

Weber has warned that "we cannot assume a direct relationship between bureaucratization and the intensity of the state's external (expansionary) and internal (cultural) influence."¹²⁹ By focusing on the internal regulation of the Ptolemaic state, I am shifting the focus from external compulsion to the state's ability to affect the lives of its own subjects. Such an approach must be made cautiously, lest one return to and rebuild on the faulty assumptions of the older dirigiste views, but a close analysis of legal reforms shows that the Ptolemaic state was able to effect a remarkable coordination of the local social networks that constituted its bureaucracy in order to produce measurable adherence to its regulations. Such a formulation attempts to strike a balance

¹²⁵ Cf. Harris 1989, 206, n. 17, who saw Egypt as a place "where writing was more important than in most places," quoted as "representative of this lingering anti-generalizing orthodoxy" at Bagnall 2011, 39.

¹²⁶ A fundamental work in this regard is Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, which integrates non-Greek evidence into the study of the Seleukid Empire.

¹²⁷ Hölbl 2001. The quotes come from his section titles (Part 1 and Part 3). A slightly different periodization can be found in Huß 2001.

¹²⁸ Fischer-Bovet 2014, 7-11.

¹²⁹ Weber 1968, 970.

between Manning's emphasis on local social networks as the key loci of institutional change¹³⁰ (e.g., Manning 2003, 5-6) and Yiftach-Firanko's state-oriented approach.¹³¹

A reform of the late second century, discussed in more detail below, provides a good opportunity to highlight this approach. Sometime in the late second century, between 130 and 113 BCE, the state introduced the practice of registering Greek contracts in state writing offices (*grapheia*), bringing these contracts in line with Egyptian contracts, which had been subject to registration since 145 BCE. After 113 BCE, nearly every Greek contract for which we have the requisite information was actually registered as required by the law, even though this came at a cost to the transacting parties. Yiftach-Firanko uses this reform as evidence for effectiveness of state in enforcing its regulations,¹³² but does not take into account the agency of the officials who effected this reform at the local level. Accordingly, by reanalyzing the diplomatics of the contracts from this period, I argue below that Yiftach-Firanko's account of the uniform implementation of this reform is exaggerated. Furthermore, in the Appendix to this work I bring in new evidence for village notaries who went "rogue" in their registration of incomplete contracts.

But, in broad outline, I accept Yiftach-Firanko's view: the state *was* effective in producing a good degree of bureaucratic consistency. This tells us more about the late Ptolemaic state than simply its "effectiveness," however. This is a prime example of the "reorientation" of private contracting towards the state, part of the larger process outlined above. This effective reorientation, moreover, requires us to rethink our models of the history of the Ptolemaic state. The late Ptolemaic *grapheion* is a reminder that the state's ability to coordinate its bureaucratic networks need not mirror its ability to coerce through military power.

2.2 Private Contracting at the Beginning of Ptolemaic Rule

At the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, virtually all private transactions were conducted without any state oversight. The most common form of Greek contract, the "double document" or "six-witness contract," was a fully private instrument, while Egyptian language contracts were often drawn up by temple scribes and generally witnessed by 16 men. Over the course of the Ptolemaic period, a more informal contract arose, called a "note of hand," (Gr. *cheirographon*; Eg.

¹³⁰ E.g., Manning 2003, 5-6.

¹³¹ Statements such as "the Ptolemaic state was extremely successful in enforcing the adherence to the law" (Yiftach-Firanko 2014, 108) are a frequent refrain.

¹³² Yiftach-Firanko 2008, 218-219.

ḥ.t or b3k) which was framed as a letter and written, in theory, by one of the parties to the contract.¹³³ These notes of hand, however, were usually not witnessed, nor did they benefit from the physical security of the Greek double document or the authority of an Egyptian temple scribe. At all periods, moreover, most transactions, especially low-value sales of movables, were not recorded in writing.¹³⁴

The Greek “double document” was so called because it was written out twice, with the upper exemplar rolled up and sealed for security. The lower exemplar, or “outer script” was left unsealed for routine consultation, but in case of dispute, the seals to the “inner script” could be broken to reveal the authentic, unadulterated text of the agreement. The double document was a product of the late Classical period and it spread widely throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Near East as part of a *koine* culture of the Hellenistic period, perhaps partly because of the attractive simplicity of its private security arrangements. It became so firmly embedded in the local cultures of everyday writing that the double document thrived long after the end of Greco-Macedonian rule in places like Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and even Bactria.¹³⁵

The earliest dated Greek contract from Egypt, the marriage contract *P.Eleph.* 1 (310 BCE), is such a double document. As has been often remarked, the contract records purely Greek marriage arrangements between a man from Temnos and a woman from Kos and is drawn up without any institutional intervention.¹³⁶ Although it was found on the island of Elephantine, in the extreme south of Egypt, where a Ptolemaic garrison was located, the contract itself does not mention where it was drawn up. In fact, without the dating formula that includes not only the nominal king of the entire Macedonian empire, Alexander IV, but also the satrap of Egypt, and the mention of “Alexandrian” drachmas, a contemporary probably would have been hard pressed to speculate where in the eastern Mediterranean or beyond such a document originated.

Within a few decades, however, the Ptolemies began taking an interest in regulating the form of private written transactions, at least in the case of Greek double documents. The impetus for

¹³³ On Greek *cheirographa*, see Wolff 1978, 106-108; on the Egyptian equivalents, see Lippert 2008, 139-140 and Vanderpe 2013, 171.

¹³⁴ Another form of contract, the *hypomnema*, was only used in the Ptolemaic period for leases of state possessions; in the Roman period its use spread to private leases (Yiftach-Firanko 2007).

¹³⁵ The pre-Hellenistic history of the double document is not well known, nor is its Greek origin firmly established. Bagnall 2011, 111 comments, “they (sc. double documents) may have been common to the Greek world or just possibly even to the larger *oikoumene* made up of the Persian and Greek spheres, zones that had much more in common than it was usually politically advantageous for the Greeks to admit.” See generally pp. 108-111 for the wide spread of double documents.

¹³⁶ Cf. Keenan, Manning, Yiftach-Firanko (edd.) 2014, sec. 4.1.

these regulations, like so many other developments in the early Ptolemaic state, are often attributed to Ptolemy II. There is no doubt that the second Ptolemaic king was a great state builder and successful self-promoter,¹³⁷ but we should also be aware of how little evidence we have for the reign of his father, Ptolemy I Soter. Many of the projects that came to fruition under the second Ptolemy, such as the reclamation of the Fayum, might have had their origin under the dynasty's founder.¹³⁸

2.3 Greek Contracts

One development that we can confidently place already in the reign of Ptolemy I is the advent of the *syngraphophylax*, or “guardian of the contract,” who first appears in 284 BCE (*P.Eleph.* 2). The *syngraphophylax* was one of the six witnesses and his primary role, as the name implies, was to keep the contract safe for the duration of the agreement. This is spelled out in the Elephantine agreement as follows: “and they have willingly deposited (ἔθεντο) the contract (συγγραφήν) with the *syngraphophylax* Herakleitos.”¹³⁹ Once written out, the contract was rolled up and sealed, with the names of the six witnesses written around the seals. Another early contract from Elephantine (Fig. 1) shows how such a sealed document would have looked like once it was deposited with the *syngraphophylax*. In the middle of the rolled-up papyrus one can read συγγραφοφύλαξ | Πανκράτης,¹⁴⁰ with other names on either side.

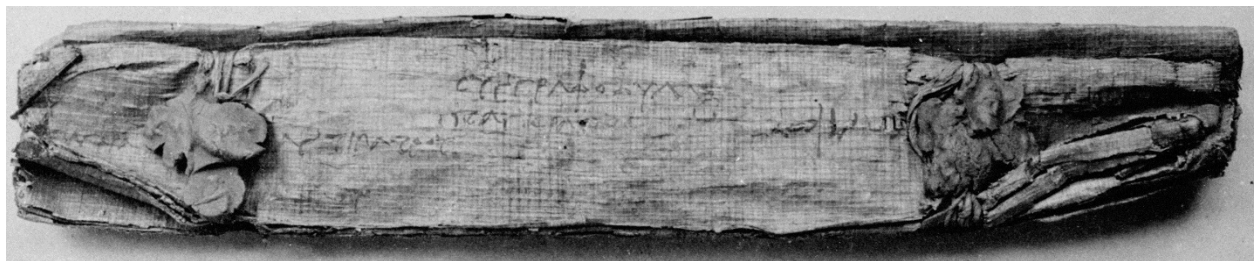


Figure 1. *P.Eleph.* 3 (282 BCE), rolled and sealed. Image courtesy of the Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo (<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/>).

The *syngraphophylax* was required to produce the contract in case of dispute.¹⁴¹ The testimony of a *syngraphophylax*, for example, can be found in *M.Chr.* 28 (Krokodilopolis [?], ca. 232/231

¹³⁷ The theatrics of his “grand procession” and the encomium composed by the poet Theocritus (Hunter 2003) are just two examples drawn from the Alexandrian cultural milieu.

¹³⁸ See Caroli 2007.

¹³⁹ τὴν δὲ συγγραφήν ἐκόντες ἔθεντο παρὰ συγγρα(φο)φύλα(κα) Ἡράκλειτον (*P.Eleph.* 2.16-17).

¹⁴⁰ The nasals are not assimilated (ed. pr.: συγγραφοφύλαξ | Παγκράτης).

¹⁴¹ Wolff 1978, 57-59 and Rupprecht 1995, 45.

BCE): “after the contract was sealed by Sotairos, Sosos [the contracting parties], me, and those inscribed as my fellow witnesses, Sotairos and Sosos gave the contract to me to guard and to produce (?) before the court.”¹⁴² Since the physical contract remained with the *syngrophylax*, references to such contracts often included his name. For example, a recently-published contract dating to the 260s BCE refers to a *kleros* which “Timokrates leased to Zenodoros according to the contract (συγγραφὴν) deposited (τεθεῖσαν) with the *syngrophylax* Alketas.”¹⁴³ Such a formula evokes the language of the contract itself, which we have seen uses the verb τίθημι to denote the placing of the contract in the hands of a third party. The “citation” of contracts by their *syngrophylax* remains common until the end of the second century BCE,¹⁴⁴ when state-sponsored writing offices begin to take over this role.

The role of the Ptolemaic *syngrophylax* can be paralleled elsewhere in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. A late fourth-century Athenian forensic speech provides the best point of reference: “all men, when they make contracts with one another, seal them, and deposit them with those they can trust for this reason: so that if they have any dispute, they might go back to the terms of the contract and make a detailed examination of the point at issue.”¹⁴⁵ As in Ptolemaic Egypt, the keepers of contracts could be called as witnesses in trials, as is made clear in another speech, when the “deposition of the one holding the contract” is introduced as evidence.¹⁴⁶ Documentary evidence from the contemporary Greek world corroborates the impression from these Athenian speeches. Some mid-fourth century inscribed summaries of sales, for instance, mention the third party holding the actual contract (presumably written on papyrus)¹⁴⁷ and it is likely that the nature of these sources, which excerpt key points from the original contract, conceals the presence of this third party in other examples. On the whole, one gains the impression that contract guardianship

¹⁴² τῆς δὲ συγγραφῆς σφραγισθείσης [ὑπὸ τε Σ]ωταίρου καὶ Σώσου καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν συν[επιγρα]φέντων μοι μαρτύρων, ἔδωκεν ἐμ[ο]ῖ [Σώταιρος] καὶ Σώσος τὴν συγγραφὴν κυρίαν φυλάσσειν [καὶ ἐπιφέρειν(?)] ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον (*M.Chr.* 28.23-27). Cf. *P.Heid.* VIII 414 (184 BCE), a *syngrophylax*’ witness statement, with editor’s introduction, pp. 88-91.

¹⁴³ ἐμίσθωσεν Τιμοκράτης Ζηνοδώρῳ κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τὴν τεθεῖσαν παρὰ συγγραφοφύλακα Ἀλκ[έ]ταν (*P.Sorb.* III 73.2-6).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *P.Giss.Univ.* I 5.7-9 (Euhemeria, 132/131 BCE): κατὰ συγ[γρα]φὴν μισθώσεως, ἧς συγγραφοφύλαξ [...]ων.

¹⁴⁵ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιῶνται συγγραφάς, τούτου ἕνεκα σημηνάμενοι τίθενται παρ’ οἷς ἂν πιστεύσωσιν, ἵνα, ἐάν τι ἀντιλέγωσιν, ἢ αὐτοῖς ἐπανελθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἐντεῦθεν τὸν ἔλεγχον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ ἀμφισβητουμένου ([Dem.] 33.36. Cf. [Dem.] 48.9-18.

¹⁴⁶ μαρτυρίαν τοῦ ἔχοντος τὰς συνθήκας ([Dem.] 48.11). Note that the speaker refers to this role in plain Greek, in contrast to the later technical term of Ptolemaic Egypt.

¹⁴⁷ E.g. *SEG* 41 557.18-19 (Amphipolis, before 357 BCE): κεῖται (sc. ἡ συγγραφὴ) παρὰ Μοσχίωνι. Cf. Faraguna 2000, 104.

was an altogether common, perhaps even pan-hellenic practice, as the Athenian speeches seem to imply.

It is unclear whether the introduction of the *syngraphophylax* in Ptolemaic Egypt was the result of a state-initiated reform or simply an instance of the Greek settlers adopting a practice that was widespread elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world, although the latter explanation seems more likely. Whatever its origin, the Ptolemaic state was quick to institutionalize this position: an early regulation explicitly requires one of the witnesses to act as guardian of the contract¹⁴⁸ and we thereafter find mention of the *syngraphophylax* in nearly all six-witness contracts.

This regulation is part of an important early law on the form of Greek double documents whose promulgation can probably be dated to between 284 and 273 BCE.¹⁴⁹ It can perhaps be connected to the great judicial reform of Ptolemy II around 275 BCE, which created “national” courts for Greeks and Egyptians.¹⁵⁰ In any case, the law on double documents exhibits a clear conceptual allegiance to this larger reform in its focus on categorizing the inhabitants of Egypt and attempting to standardize their diverse practices in order to facilitate the rule of law. In addition to the *syngraphophylax* requirement, the law regulates how contracting parties should be identified, the so-called “Nomenklaturregel,” which had already been known from *P.Hamb.* II 168 (mid III BCE).¹⁵¹ The rule is as follows: soldiers must give their homeland (πατρίς), division (τάγμα), and rank (ἐπιφορά); citizens (of the three Greek poleis, Alexandria, Naukratis, and Ptolemais) must give their father’s name and deme; citizen soldiers must additionally provide their division and rank; and everyone else is to give their father’s name, homeland, and status (γένος).¹⁵²

We can see these new regulations at work already in *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59001 (Pitons [Memphite], 274/273 BCE). The lender is a civilian non-citizen identified as Διονύσιος Ἀπολλωνίου Γαζαῖος τῶν περὶ Δεῖνονα, “Dionysios, son of Apollonios, Gazan, one of Deimon’s men,” while the

¹⁴⁸ *BGU* XIV 2367.13-16. About half of these lines are missing, but from what remains it clear that the law requires one of the witnesses to act as guardian of the contract, besides joining the lender, borrower, and sureties in sealing the contract: σφραγιζέσθωσαν δὲ οἱ τε δανείζοντες καὶ οἱ [δανειζό]μενοι καὶ οἱ ἔγγυοι καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες [ca. 19] τὴν συγγραφὴν· εἰς τῶν ἐπι[ca. 19] μαρτύρων... αν φυλασσέτω [ca. 19].

¹⁴⁹ *BGU* XIV 2367. On the new dating, see Yiftach-Firanko 2014, 106-107. The fragmentary redaction that we have is dated by the editor to the late third century BCE. While the remaining text only concerns loan contracts, the editor coherently argues that the law originally covered all types of private contracts: *BGU* XIV 2367, introduction, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ So Yiftach-Firanko 2014.

¹⁵¹ Originally formulated by Uebel 1968, 11-13. Cf. Clarysse, *P.Petr.* I², pp. 45-49.

¹⁵² *BGU* XIV 2367.4-12. For γένος in Ptolemaic Egypt, roughly translated here as “status,” see Clarysse and Thompson 2006, vol. II, 146-147, n. 115.

borrower is a soldier, Ἰσίδωρος Θρᾶιξ τεσσαρακοντάρουρος τῶν Λυκόφρονος, “Isidoros, Thracian, forty-aroura [cleruch], of the troops of Lycophron.” In addition, one of the witnesses serves as *syngraphophylax* and signs accordingly: ἔχω κυρίαν, “I have the enforceable (contract).”

These new regulations did not uproot the fundamentally private nature of a Greek six-witness document, but they demonstrate that the Ptolemaic rulers took an early interest in regulating the form of private contracts. A recently-published agoranomic contract shows that the same classificatory system was operable in the state-sponsored notarial offices as early as 270 BCE (see below). The purpose of these regulations regarding private contracts was therefore to introduce and enforce contractual consistency among a wide and diverse group of Greek settlers in order to facilitate adjudication.¹⁵³

2.4 Egyptian Contracts

Egyptian written contracts already had a long history by the time Alexander conquered Egypt. They were embedded in a well-established native legal system, which was animated by the social networks centered on local temples. Whereas hieroglyphs and hieratic continued to be used for monumental texts and literature, the script of contract was Demotic, a cursive form of the Egyptian language, which had become the official script for administrative and legal texts by the mid-sixth century.¹⁵⁴ Standard forms of Demotic contracts appear already in the Saite and Persian periods, as we can see in archive of Tsenhor, an Egyptian woman living during the reign of Darius I, whose 17 contracts span the years 556-487 BCE (*P.Tsenhor*). Most of these contracts are written in a large script, with long lines and generous spacing, a format that remained popular into the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.¹⁵⁵

“The legal uniformity in the language of Egyptian contracts,” Manning observes, “shows that there was an Egyptian legal *system*, whether it was ‘codified’ or not.”¹⁵⁶ The legal system and the elaborate, wide-format contracts which formed a part of it were little touched by the rapid transitions from Persian to native Egyptian rule, back to Persian, and finally to lasting Macedonian control in the turbulent middle decades of the fourth century. To take just one representative

¹⁵³ See Yiftach-Firanko 2014.

¹⁵⁴ Depauw 1997, 22. For a concise history of Egypt in this period, see Manning 2010, 19-28.

¹⁵⁵ *P.Tsenhor* 13 (498 BCE), for instance, is 168.5 cm long, while the Ptolemaic *P.Tor.Botti* 12 A-B (115 BCE) is 236.5 cm long.

¹⁵⁶ Manning 2003, 19. The Legal Manual of Hermopolis shows that there was some attempt to organize Egyptian law: Mattha and Hughes 1975; Donker van Heel 1990.

example, the Chicago Hawara papyri include four wide-format Demotic marriage contracts dating between 365/364 and 259 BCE, all of which promise an identical annual maintenance for the wife of 36 sacks of emmer wheat and about 100 grams of silver.¹⁵⁷ The far-reaching political changes in this century had no identifiable effect on the written marriage arrangements of the Hawaran elite, which continued to be drawn up by temple scribes following traditional models.

The main force behind this legal uniformity were the notaries. Often holding multiple priestly titles, their specific duties as contract scribes were evoked in the Ptolemaic period with the Egyptian term *sh qnb.t* (literally “document scribe”), while the Greek equivalent, *monographos*, points to the fact that each temple usually had a single notary with authority over a bureau of subordinate scribes.¹⁵⁸ These scribes and the leading notary were trained in the temple and the positions were hereditary.¹⁵⁹

While the Ptolemies did not regulate the form or content of Egyptian contracts, they did show an early interest in monitoring them for the purposes of taxation. Thus, in the third century we begin to find Greek notations or dockets added below the text of Egyptian contracts. Pierce divides these into two groups: “trapezite” dockets relating to the payment of taxes to the royal bank, which obviously stem from the state’s interest in revenue capture, and “archival” dockets relating to state registration, whose purpose is much less clear.¹⁶⁰ The earliest example of an “archival” docket is affixed to an Egyptian marriage contract from Thebes dating to 264 BCE,¹⁶¹ which in many respects is similar to the Chicago Hawara examples mentioned above. The docket, written in one hand, reads as follows:

(ἔτους) κβ μη(νός) Λώιου ιθ,
Αἴγυπτίων δὲ (ἔτους) κα μη(νός) Ἐπεῖφ ιβ,
ἐν Διὸς πόλει τῆι Μεγάλῃι.
πέπτωκεν εἰς κιβωτόν.
ἐχρημάτισεν Ἀσκληπιάδης
ἀντιγραφεύς.
τελώνης Ἑρμίας.

¹⁵⁷ *P.Chic.Haw.* 1, 2, 3, 6; see *P.Chic.Haw.* p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Zauzich, *P.Schreibertrad.*, pp. 1-2. Cf. Lippert 2008, 145 (sec. 4.2.3), although the Roman-period information needs correction: it was not the κωμογραμματεὺς who wrote Greek contracts in the *grapheion*, but rather the νομογράφος.

¹⁵⁹ Arlt 2008.

¹⁶⁰ Pierce, *P.Brookl.Pierce*, pp. 179-183. Cf. Manning 2003, 171-173.

¹⁶¹ *P.Ehevertr.* 13 + *P.Fam.Theb.* 14 (Greek docket also published as *SB VI 8965*).

“Year 22, 19th of the month Loios, but for Egyptians, year 21, 12th of the month Epeiph, in Diospolis Megale (= Thebes). It (the contract) has been deposited in the (official) chest. Asklepiades, checking-clerk, registered it. The tax farmer is Hermias.”

Similar dockets appear only in the third century and are found both in the Theban region and the Arsinoite nome, though not on all Egyptian contracts. The process behind these dockets and their purpose have been much debated, but no consensus has emerged, mainly because of the lack of evidence outside the dockets themselves. Nevertheless, we can offer some observations based both on this small corpus of third century dockets and in comparison with later practice and comparative evidence from elsewhere in the Hellenistic world.

We can start with the phrase *πέπτωκεν εἰς κιβωτόν* (sc. τὸ συνάλλαγμα), “(the contract) has been deposited in the (official) chest.” The subject can be supplied from other examples: the contract itself.¹⁶² It was “deposited”¹⁶³ into a *κιβωτός*, which was literally a wooden box or chest, where documents were stored, but came to mean through *synecdoche* the larger archive of which such *κιβωτοί* were presumably the primary repositories. For example, an Athenian *psephisma* from 368/367 orders certain officials “to enter the account of receipts and expenditures into the chest ([ἐς τὴν] κιβωτόν) on a monthly basis.”¹⁶⁴ The lack of further specification for the *κιβωτός* suggests that *εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν* had already become a stereotyped phrase. A law concerning the archives in Paros, on the other hand, is very specific about which *κιβωτοί* are meant, indicating their continued functionality as storage devices: an official is required “to deposit (θέσθαι) the documents straightaway in the temple of Hestia, having placed them in the box (τὴν κιβωτόν) that is in the temple.”¹⁶⁵

Returning to third century Egypt, it makes sense to think that chests or coffers were the actual repositories for the contracts in question, but as in the rest of the Greek-speaking world, the phrase *εἰς (τὴν) κιβωτόν* pointed to the more general process of archivization. What is interesting about this process is that it shows the application of a purely Greek institution to native Egyptian

¹⁶² e.g., *C.Pap.Gr.* I 1 (Tebtunis, 232 BCE): *πέπτωκεν εἰς κιβωτόν τὸ συνάλλαγμα*. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *P.Tebt.* II, pp. 35-36.

¹⁶³ “Πίπτειν is treated as the passive of *καταβάλλειν* which was a technical term for the deposition of documents” (Pierce, *P.Brookl.Pierce*, p. 181, n. 5). Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. *καταβάλλειν*, 5.

¹⁶⁴ [τὸς δημάρχους κ]αὶ τὸς ταμίαις τὸν λόγ[ον τῶν λημμάτων] καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐ[μβάλλεν ἐς τὴν] κιβωτόν κατὰ τὸν μῆν[α ἕκαστον (*IG* II² 1174.4-7).

¹⁶⁵ τὸν δὲ ἀποδέκτην | θέσθαι τὰ γράμματα εὐθέως παρόντων τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἑστίας ἐμβαλόντα εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (*SEG* 33 679.45-48, Paros, ca. 175-150 BCE).

contracts. As emphasized in the introduction, whenever the Ptolemaic state takes a step towards the institutionalization of their oversight over private transactions, it is always Greek models on which they draw.

Πέπτωκεν εἰς κιβωτόν only refers to the physical deposition of documents in the archival process, although it is fair to speculate that the phrase often encompassed the necessary paperwork accompanying the deposition, such as an act of registration. Support for this supposition can be found in the later replacement of the phrase with πέπτωκεν εἰς ἀναγραφὴν, “it has been entered for registration,” which emphasizes the accompanying paperwork rather than the physical deposition. In our document, however, there is an explicit statement of registration made by an official: ἐχρημάτισεν Ἀσκληπιάδης ἀντιγραφεὺς. Χρηματίζω is a general word that means to “conduct business,” but in the official terminology of Greco-Roman Egypt, it can have the more specific meaning of to “register,”¹⁶⁶ as it does here. This technical meaning is seen most clearly in the use of the derivative χρηματισμός in a later Ptolemaic registration docket, where the phrase ἐν[ε]τάγη εἰς χρηματισμόν replaces the standard εἰς ἀναγραφὴν.¹⁶⁷

Finally, the registration by an ἀντιγραφεὺς, “checking-clerk,” and the collaboration of a tax farmer (τελώνης Ἐρμίας) reflect the state’s fiscal interest in the process of registration. The ἀντιγραφεὺς was attached to the office of the οἰκονόμος, the nome’s top finance official,¹⁶⁸ who was there to supervise the collections of the private tax farmer. I agree with Pierce in thinking that the third-century registration of Demotic instruments was a “means of enriching the state by charging a deposition fee and that financial considerations were paramount.”¹⁶⁹ This feeing practice may explain why there is a mix of registered and non-registered Demotic instruments in this period: some contracting parties continued to rely solely on the pre-existing safeguards provided by the authority of the temple notary and the 16 witnesses, while others opted for the additional security of state registration.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Preisigke, *WB*, s.v. χρηματίζω, 2, “eine Urkunde registrieren, ausfertigen.”

¹⁶⁷ *P. Tebt.* III.2 981 descr., checked on the digital image (<http://papyri.info/hgv/7996>).

¹⁶⁸ Bagnall 1976, 3.

¹⁶⁹ Pierce, *P. Brookl. Pierce*, p. 182.

¹⁷⁰ I follow Préaux 1939, 321 in considering this registration optional, *pace* Muhs, *O. Chic. Muhs*, p. 20, who saw this registration as an attempt “consolidate and standardize the registration of both Demotic and Greek contracts in state registries” (Cf. Muhs 2010, 588). There is no evidence for such far-reaching and unified regulation in the third century and later the state shows a remarkable ability to enforce registrations (see below), so the inconsistent registration of Demotic instruments is best explained by their being optional. Likewise, we shall see that by the end of the third century rolls of abstracts of Greek six-witnesses contracts begin to be produced, perhaps reflecting a similar system of optional registration. The lack of trapezite dockets on sales and other such contracts, on the other

These early Greek registration docketts on Egyptian instruments represent the introduction of a purely Greek institution into the traditional, temple-based world of Demotic contracts. The primary motivation of the state was likely fiscal, but we can also see here a first, tentative step towards the re-orientation of the native system of private transactions towards the state. This re-orientation, while part of the larger process of the “hellenization” of Egypt, was not a colonial endeavor that excluded Egyptians. As we have emphasized above, Ptolemaic state-building incorporated native elites who were willing to “play along” with the new regime. An early glimpse of this incorporation can perhaps be found in another of these early Greek docketts. This is found on the last of the four marriage contracts from the Chicago Hawara papyri mentioned above (*P.Chic.Haw.* 6, 259 BCE). The docket of this contract reads:

(ἔτους) κζ Ἐπειφ ιθ πέπτωκεν εἰς κιβωτ[ὸν] ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει
 τῆς Λίμνης δι’ Ἀνδραγάθου τοῦ π[αρά] Φιλίνου.
 (hd. 2) (ἔτους) κζ Ἐπειφ ιθ καὶ διὰ Κυρπίδ[ο]υ τοῦ ἐξειληφότος
 καὶ διὰ Σωσιπάτρου τοῦ παρὰ Πολέμωνος.
r-sh P3-di-Wsir sz Iy-m-htp

“Year 27, Epeiph 19. It has been deposited in the chest in Krokodilopolis of the Lake through Andragathos, the agent of Philinos.”
 Year 27, Epeip (*sic*) 19, and through Kyrpides (*sic*), the tax-farmer, and through Sosipatros, the agent of Polemon.
 (Demotic) Written by Petosiris, son of Imouthes.”

This is our first evidence of a contract archive or registration office in Krokodilopolis, the capital of the soon-to-be “Arsinoite” nome, which at this point is still called by its native name, “the Lake,” (Egyptian, *P3-jm*, which survives as the modern “Fayum”). Even more interesting is the appearance of the two docketts and the Egyptian subscription below. As the editors note, the first docket is written in “a tiny, very fine hand” with thin strokes characteristic of a Greek reed pen. In contrast, the second docket is written with the thick strokes of the Egyptian rush pen,¹⁷¹ although it too is an accomplished Greek hand. The Demotic subscription below the second docket, moreover, seems to provide the clincher: an Egyptian man named Petosiris wrote the

hand, is no indication that they were not taxed. *P.Chic.Haw.* 7A-C amply demonstrate this. A and B are respectively a sale contract and a mortgage, neither of which has a Greek docket, while C is a separate receipt for the conveyance tax assessed on B. In this case, C was found rolled inside A and B (*P.Chic.Haw.* 7C, p. 47), but in other cases the contract and the receipt could easily become separated.

¹⁷¹ See Clarysse 1993.

docket on behalf of the Greek tax farmers.¹⁷² If this explanation is accepted, we have here the first example of what would become a long line of bilingual scribes, Egyptians who carved out a role for themselves in the new Greco-Egyptian bureaucracy.

2.5 The Registration and Taxation of Conveyances in the Third Century

The conveyance of land often received special attention from ancient states¹⁷³ and the Ptolemaic kingdom was no different. We can trace this interest in the *chora* through the wealth of documentation stemming from the transactions of everyday life, but we also have the rare opportunity to see this state interest at work in the royal capital of Alexandria because of the preservation of one of the city's *politikoi nomoi*.

This law details how land sales are to be registered by officials called *tamiai*, “treasurers.”¹⁷⁴ The relevant part of the law is entitled “purchase of land, a house, and building sites” and after mention of a conveyance tax, it requires the *tamiai* to register sales with the following information, presumably in addition to the value of the conveyance paid or owed:

- Seller’s name, patronymic, and demotic
- Purchaser’s name, patronymic, and demotic
- Month and day (of the registration / transaction)
- Name and Location of purchased property
- Guarantor(s)¹⁷⁵

Such an entry is somewhat more detailed than a simple contract title, as in the later ἀναγραφῆ- registers, although it is not quite an abstract from which one could reconstruct the transaction in full since the purchase price is not recorded. The purpose of such registration, therefore, was not to preserve a record of the transaction, but rather to ensure that the appropriate taxes on such transactions were duly paid. It is quite possible, however, that another official was responsible for

¹⁷² This appears to be the only explanation for the subscription, an idea tentatively proposed by the editors (*P.Chic.Haw.* 6, p. 37, n. 66). It cannot be the name of the scribe who wrote the Egyptian contract above because this scribe signs the contract in the normal position, at the end of the contract (l. 4).

¹⁷³ Cf. Finley 1951, 13: “Land ... is a category apart from all other forms of property. By its very nature, above all its permanence, land has attributes and gives rise to considerations not raised by slaves or money or chattels. One result is the special importance attached to proper public records and public knowledge of the legal and economic condition of the land at any given moment.”

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Faraguna 2000, who uses these regulations (discussed on pp. 76-81) in comparison with the work of Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus, as well as late Classical and Hellenistic inscriptions, to argue for the widespread use of property registration as early as the fourth century.

¹⁷⁵ See *BL* II.2, 73.

recording a more detailed account of the transaction, especially given the appearance of true notaries in the *metropoleis* of the Egyptian *chora* and in many cities of the eastern Mediterranean.

2.6 *Agoranomoi*: Notaries in the *Chora*

This regulation on the conveyance of land comes from the *nomoi* of Alexandria and thus was applicable only in that city, but we have evidence that similar regulations extended to the *chora* as well. *P.Hib.* I 29 (= *Chrest. Wilck.* 259, ca. 265 BCE), which requires the declaration of slave sales through the office of the *agoranomos*, is perhaps one such regulation, although we cannot be certain where this law was applicable. In any case, the relevant official in the urban centers of the *chora* was called the *agoranomos*, a familiar figure in Greek cities, whose basic duty was to monitor and regulate transactions in the *agora*.

The classical *agora* was the heart of the classical Greek polis and, according to Aristotle, its supervision was the most fundamental service that a city provided: “first among the indispensable services is the superintendence of the market, over which there must be an official to oversee contracts and good order.”¹⁷⁶ Aristotle’s *agoranomos* had general supervision over the *agora*, including the numerous written contracts that would have been produced in this central market of a Greek city. Later he mentions another official, whose specific duty was to register (*ἀναγράφεσθαι*) private contracts (*συμβόλαια*) and legal proceedings. Although he acknowledges that there is a fair amount of variability in the extent to which Greek cities combine or separate these duties, the implication of his discussion is that such services could be found in any Greek city of repute.¹⁷⁷

In Ptolemaic Egypt, it is this regulation of contracts that comes to the fore in the duties of the country’s *agoranomos*. From the earliest attestation onward, he appears as a public notary, combining the contract oversight of Aristotle’s classical *agoranomos* with the registration duties of the lesser official. The origin of the Egyptian *agoranomos* and his corresponding office, often called the *agoranomeion* or simply *archeion*, is unclear. Earlier views held that in origin he was an “öffentlich-rechtlicher Marktbeamter”¹⁷⁸ rather than a notary, but of course, as we have just seen, market and contract regulation were closely aligned in the classical conception of the market

¹⁷⁶ πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἢ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἐφ’ ἧ δει τινὰ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐφορῶσαν περὶ τε τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν (Pol. 6.5.2, Rackham’s translation, slightly modified). Cf. Faraguna 2000, 66-67.

¹⁷⁷ Pol. 6.5.4.

¹⁷⁸ Schönbauer 1918, 237.

official. The recent publication of *P.Sorb.* III 70, a sale of a slave dating to 270 BCE, shows that from the earliest period from which we have good evidence, the *agoranomos* functioned as a notary. This contract was drawn up “in the city of Oxyrhynchos before the *agoranomos* Agathon,” a notarial formula that remains common in *agoranomic* contracts even through the Roman period.¹⁷⁹

These offices were obviously a creation of the Ptolemies on the model of general Greek practice, though perhaps also there was influence from the Greek cities of Egypt. It comes as no surprise, then, to see that the law about the identification of parties to a contract was applicable (or perhaps had already been applicable) in the state-sponsored *agoranomeia*. After the dating and notarial protocol of *P.Sorb.* III 70, the contract begins:

ἐπρί(α)το Ζηνόδωρος
Κυρηναῖος λοχαγὸς τῶν Σαδά-
λου παρὰ Σίμωνος Πασίωνος
Λίβυος παρεπιδήμου κτλ.

“Zenodoros, Cyrenaean, cavalry officer of Sadalas’ troops, has purchased from Simon, son of Pasion, Libyan, foreign resident ...”

This contract comes from the recently-published dossier of the cavalry officer Zenodoros, which allows a glimpse into how an early Ptolemaic settler, in this case a cavalry officer originally from Cyrene, arranged his private affairs. It turns out that this is the only *agoranomic* contract in his dossier, which, combined with the limited third-century evidence for the *agoranomoi*, suggests that their notarial function was perhaps limited to conveyances of land or high-value property, as in the case of the slave sale here.

It is only in the second century that we can get a good sense of the *agoranomoi*, although we are dependent to a good degree on a series of finds at Gebelein, the Ptolemaic town of Pathyris south of Thebes, which was destroyed during a native revolt in 88 BCE. Pathyris’ notarial office, called an *archeion* (a term equivalent to *agoranomeion*), is attested from 136 BCE and was a branch office of the *archeion* in Krokodilopolis (attested from 141 BCE), where an archive (βιβλιοθήκη) was located.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ *P.Sorb.* III 70.5-7: ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει ἐπ’ ἀγορανόμου Ἀγαθῶνος.

¹⁸⁰ *P.Adl.* 5.12 (108 BCE).

These new notarial offices in the Thebaid were, like their counterparts elsewhere, wholly Greek in concept and execution. As in the rest of Egypt, *agoranomic* contracts in the Thebaid were written in Greek and “the *agoranomoi* carry names that are decidedly Greek (such as Aniketos), or, at most (and this is rarely the case), hellenizing (e.g., Ammonios), but never Egyptian.”¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, these “Greek” scribes operating a “Greek” institution came from Egyptian families and were embedded in local elite networks emanating from local temples. Even though their Greek is of relatively high quality, Vierros was recently able to document a number of grammatical and orthographic irregularities that betray the native language of the *agoranomic* scribes.¹⁸²

These notarial families in the Thebaid are an important component of the Ptolemies’ reorientation of private contracting towards the state. As Manning puts it, “a *public* state system, with Egyptian scribes involved, was encroaching on earlier *private* scribal traditions” centered on the native temples.¹⁸³ This reorientation, however, involved the active agency of Egyptian scribal families, who sought and found new opportunities in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy. Pestman, for example, who viewed *agoranomic* institutions as an attempt to undermine the influence of Egyptian scribes (rather than “reorient” their activity, as I would see it), nevertheless felt that “the Egyptians not less skillfully managed to seize this instrument that had been directed against (them),” by monopolizing notarial offices in the Thebaid.¹⁸⁴

While regulations regarding the registration and taxation of conveyances and the development of *agoranomic* offices through the *chora* certainly institutionalized the alienation of land to a degree, informal community oversight continued to play an important role. In the petition *P. Tebt.* III.1 776 (early II BCE), for instance, a woman accuses her husband of improper use of her dowry, which was secured by a pledge of his property, including a house in the village. She explains: “wishing to deprive me of this [the pledged property], the accused approached each and every one of those from the village with the intention of alienating it; but they did not tolerate this since my consent was lacking.”¹⁸⁵ Here the local community protects their fellow member’s property rights. The husband’s response, the petitioner continues, was to go outside the community by offering the

¹⁸¹ “Les *agoranomoi* portent des noms qui sont bien grecs (tel Anikêtos), au maximum – et encore est-ce rarement le cas –, hellénisant (p.ex. Ammônios), jamais égyptiens” (Pestman 1978, 204).

¹⁸² Vierros 2012.

¹⁸³ Manning 2010, 193.

¹⁸⁴ Pestman 1978, 210: “les Égyptiens n'ont pas moins habilement réussi à s'emparer de cet instrument qui aurait été dirigé contre les scribes égyptiens.”

¹⁸⁵ ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος βουλόμενός με ἀποστερέσαι ἕως μὲν προσπορευόμενος ἐνὶ καὶ ἐκάστωι τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἠβούλετο αὐτὴν ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι, τούτων δὲ οὐχ ὑπομενόντων ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ συνεπικελεύειν ἐμέ (II. 15-22).

property as surety to a royal tax-farmer, who, we might suppose, was ignorant of the previous pledge.

2.7 Origins of the Ptolemaic *Grapheion*

The offices of the *agoranomoi* were limited, with some exceptions, to the *metropoleis* of Egypt. Thus, the vast majority of the population would have to have spent a lot of time and money in order to have a notarized contract drawn up. Most therefore continued to make use of witnessed contracts, drawn up either by the local temple scribe in the case of Egyptian contracts or in the form of the traditional Greek double document. “Notes of hand” continued to serve for less important transactions.

By the end of the third century at the latest, however, we can witness a new type of state oversight in the countryside. For the first time, official abstracts and *tomoi synkollesimoi* of private Greek six-witness contracts began to be produced. The origin, purpose, and extent of this development are all obscure since we only have the registers and rolls themselves.

CPR XVIII (231 or 206 BCE) is the best preserved register.¹⁸⁶ It consists of two rolls with a total of 34 abstracts of six-witness contracts between cleruchs (“military settlers”) in a number of different villages of the Polemon meris of the Arsinoite nome. The abstracts are ordered geographically, rather than chronologically. The identification of the contracting parties is taken directly from the original contract and includes all the information required by the early-third century law on six-witness contracts discussed above.

After a brief recounting of the terms of the agreement, the abstract itself ends with the name of the *syngraphophylax*, but not the other witnesses; as the editor notes, the act of entering the contracts into the register was sufficient publicity to render “mention of the witnesses superfluous.”¹⁸⁷ The retention of the *syngraphophylax*’ name in the abstract, however, shows that the process of registration did not supplant the role of the *syngraphophylax*, who was still the guardian of the original contract and whose name still served as a type of “citation,” as discussed above. Yiftach-Firanko views such registers as official “maps,”¹⁸⁸ allowing state officials to locate

¹⁸⁶ The other similar third-century register is *P. Tebt.* III.1 815 (223/222 BCE). *P. Tebt.* III.2 969 (235 BCE) is a register of property sales recording the transfer tax (ἐγκύκλιον) and was probably drawn up by one of the collectors of this tax. Cf. the list of Ptolemaic registers at Kramer, *CPR XVIII*, p. 17.

¹⁸⁷ “Dadurch, daß die Verträge in ein öffentliches Register aufgenommen worden, erhalten sie genügend Publizität und Wirksamkeit, so daß die Nennung der Zeugen überflüssig” (Kramer, *CPR XVIII*, p. 12).

¹⁸⁸ Yiftach-Firanko 2008, 209.

the original contracts in lieu of central archives, which is supported by the abstracts' geographic arrangement.

In addition to this abstract, each entry in the register contains a signalment, or personal description, of the parties to the contract. One example reads: “Nikias was (at the time of the contract) about 22 years old, of large stature, dark-skinned, with a long face.”¹⁸⁹ Such signalments are never found in the six-witness contracts themselves; the contracting parties and the witnesses of course knew who each other were. They were thus a later addition, as the use of the imperfect also indicates.¹⁹⁰ The objectification of the body may seem crass by modern standards, but such plain descriptions were common in the ancient world and did not differ markedly with status or class, except in the case of slaves.¹⁹¹ The signalments were simply a means by which the official(s) involved could identify the parties to the contract, who came after all from a number of different villages.

Such a register, covering multiple villages in one region of the Arsinoite nome, brings up the question of what office was responsible for oversight of contracts in the countryside. Kramer believes that this register was drawn up in a *grapheion*, “writing office,” although the term itself is only first attested in 145 BCE, directly after the registration of Egyptian contracts becomes mandatory (see below). Given the parallels to later practice, this is an attractive supposition, although since all the contracting parties are cleruchs, we might also think that this registration procedure was confined to the cleruchic administration.

There is also evidence for the registration of Egyptian contracts in Demotic. So far the sole witness to this practice before the late second century is P.Sorb. inv. 264 + 265 (= de Cenival 1987), a day-by-day register of contract titles found in Ghoran, which the editor dates to the early Ptolemaic period. It is similar in many respects to the later *grapheion* registers from Tebtunis, both the bilingual ones from the Ptolemaic period and the well-known Greek registers from the Roman-period archive of Kronion. Only a few line ends are preserved and these do not record a

¹⁸⁹ ἦν Νικίας ὡς (ἔτων) κβ εὐμεγέθης με[λίχρ(ως)] μακροπρ(όσωπος).

¹⁹⁰ “Die Verwendung des Imperfekts zeigt, daß es sich dabei um Zusätze handelt, die nicht unmittelbar bei der Aufsetzung des Vertrags erfolgten, sondern erst nachträglich bei der Registrierung hinzugefügt wurden” (Kramer, *CPR XVIII*, p. 13).

¹⁹¹ Thus even Alexandrians and, in later periods, Roman citizens, are subject to personal descriptions. In the third century BCE, Clarysse noticed that the description of scars, except in the case of runaway slaves, was limited to the head and neck and concluded that “at this period it was found indecent to inspect the body of a free person” (*P.Petr.* I², p. 54). The lengthy personal descriptions of the Ptolemaic period were limited in later centuries to scars and moles.

fee, so the text seems to be an ἀναγραφή-register, rather than an ἀναγραφή-account. While there are no indications as to where or for what purpose this register was drawn up, its similarities to later *grapheion* documents suggests that it, like the Theogonis abstracts, was the product of the early Ptolemaic predecessors of the *grapheion*.

2.8 Registration of Egyptian and Greek Contracts in the *Grapheion*

While Kramer traces the origin of the Ptolemaic *grapheion* to the late third century, the first attestation of the office is only in 145 BCE, when an official called ὁ πρὸς τῶι γραφίῳι, “the head of the writing office,” acknowledges receipt of an Egyptian contract for registration. This text is dated to less than month after an important reform took effect, which required such registration dockets on Egyptian contracts, in addition to the drawing up of abstracts. Most Egyptian contracts thereafter bear such dockets. Because the *grapheion* is first attested directly after this reform, some scholars believe that the *grapheion* was instituted to deal with this increased paperwork. As we have seen, registration dockets, registers, and abstracts do appear before this date, and *grapeia* or similar offices must have been involved, but the new requirement vastly expanded the need for local writing offices outside of the *metropoleis*.

The letter informing us of this reform is worth quoting in full because of its detailed description of this new administration procedure. My translation and interpretation of this difficult text are based on the observations of Pestman, whose important article on this dense and difficult letter clarified many points of detail.¹⁹² I first lay out the steps preceding the letter, then provide a translation.

Preceding steps:

- 1) In the fall of 146, a circular letter (ἐντολή) was sent by one Ariston, an otherwise unknown, but presumably important Alexandria official, giving instructions on the registration of Egyptian contracts.
- 2) Paniskos, an official in the Peri-Theban region, received the circular on 28 Nov. 146 and ensured that the instructions were being carried out by 5 Jan. 145.
- 3) Ptolemaios, a superior of Paniskos', wrote a letter to Paniskos to check on the implementation of Ariston's instructions, asking him three specific questions.
- 4) Paniskos replied with the report that we have on 8 Feb. 145. He first cites Ptolemaios' three questions (1-3 below), then provides his answers (as Pestman notes, his answer to #2 is implicit in his answer to #1).

Translation of *P.Par.* 65 (8 Feb., 145 BCE):

¹⁹² Pestman 1985.

Paniskos to Ptolemaios, greetings. We have received the letter from you in which you told us to clearly inform you:

- 1) *about the procedure (οἰκονομίαν) regarding Egyptian contracts drawn up in the Peri-Theban region, and*
- 2) *whether (these contracts) are being subscribed (ὑπογράφονται) by those who have been locally appointed, as Ariston ordered, and*
- 3) *when the above-mention (procedure) was instituted.*

Well then (to answer your questions):

- 1) *the procedure (οἰκονομία) is being carried out as Ariston indicated, namely:*
 - *to make an abstract of (εἰκονίζειν) of each contract (συνάλλ(λ)αγμα) written by a temple-scribe (μονογράφου) that shall be submitted to us*
 - *to insert (ἐντάσσειν) the contracting parties, the transaction they have made, and their paternal names*
 - *to subscribe (ὑπογράφειν) (saying) that we have inserted (ἐντεταχέναι) it for registration (χρηματισμόν), indicating both the date on which we subscribed upon submission of the contract and the date on which the contract itself (was made)*
- 3) *the order was submitted to us on the 1st of Hathyr (28 Nov. 146) and the registration was instituted from Choiach 9 (5 Jan. 145) on.*

We make this report for your information. Farewell. Year 36, Tybi 13 (8 Feb. 145).

With supplemental information from registered contracts and other evidence, we can describe the essentials of this new procedure as follows. First, when Egyptian-language contracts were submitted to registration officials, they wrote a Greek abstract on the contract itself. This was for the benefit of any official or judge who could not read Egyptian. The contract could now be more easily tracked for the purposes of taxation or introduced as evidence before a Greek judge.

After abstracting the contents, the official was required to “insert” (ἐντάσσειν) the names of the contracting parties (with patronymics) and the type of the transaction. The “insertion” is not done on the contract itself, but in an official list, since the final requirement is to “subscribe” on the contract that one “has inserted it for registration.” Such a list of contract titles is precisely what is later known as ἀναγραφὴ¹⁹³ and registration dockets that *grapheion* officials write often use the phrase ἐντέτακται εἰς ἀναγραφὴν, “it has been inserted for registration.”

¹⁹³ Pace Pestman 1985, 23, who follows Wilcken in considering that this information was inserted into what was later called an εἰρόμενον, which in fact contained abstracts, not just titles.

We can witness this new procedure less than a month after Paniskos reports that it was put into action. *UPZ II 175* is a translation of an Egyptian contract of sale that was completed in Thebes on December 15, 146. On January 31, 145, it received the following registration mark:

Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ πρὸς τῶι γραφίῳ τοῦ Περὶ Θήβας μετείληφα εἰς ἀναγραφὴν
(ἔτους) λς Τῦβι ε

“Apollonios, head of the writing office of the Peri-Theban region, received (this contract) for registration. Year 36, Tybi 5.”

The phrase μετείληφα εἰς ἀναγραφὴν clearly corresponds to the ἐντάσσειν εἰς χρηματισμόν of Paniskos and Ptolemaios’ correspondence. As mentioned above, we also here have the first attestation of ὁ πρὸς τῶι γραφείῳ, the head of the writing office. We cannot be absolutely certain that such officials and their office were created to deal with the increased paperwork that the registration requirement entailed, but at the very least we can infer that their numbers increased after this reform.

The spread of *grapheia* was further hastened by the introduction of registration for Greek-language contracts, which occurred sometime between 130 and 113 BCE. We do not have precise information on the introduction of this requirement, but we can assume that it was broadcast from Alexandria via an ἐντολή, like Ariston’s earlier instructions, or perhaps even a royal decree. The first clear evidence for the registration of Greek contracts comes from *P.Dion.* 21 (13 Mar., 113 BCE), a loan drawn up in a village of the Hermopolite nome, which has the following docket at the very bottom of the papyrus:

ἔτους δ Μεχ(εῖρ) κε ἐν κώ(μη) Τήνει τοῦ Μωχί(του)· ἀναγέγρ(απται) δι’
Ἀπολλωνίου.

“Year 4, Mecheir 25, in the village of Tennis of the Mochite (district). It has been registered through Apollonios.”

This contract comes from the bilingual archive of Dionysios, son of Kephalas.¹⁹⁴ Almost all of his contracts, both Egyptian and Greek, were registered through the *grapheion* of Tennis-Hakoris, the Hermopolite village in which he lived. Two of his contracts were registered through other

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/69>.

village *grapheia*,¹⁹⁵ however, showing that such offices were already well established in the countryside of the Hermopolite nome at the end of the second century.

The registration reform that led to new *grapheia* in the countryside left its mark on the format of double documents: the *scriptura interior* was no longer a copy of the contract *in extenso*, but generally a short abstract, and a subscription and registration docket were now appended at the bottom of the contract.¹⁹⁶ Uri Yiftach-Firanko observed that these innovations occurred simultaneously sometime between 130-113 BCE and concluded that the reduction of the *scriptura interior* to a short abstract was part of a reform that “introduced (if not imposed) the registration of the Greek double document in the state *grapheia*.”¹⁹⁷

The standard double document of this late period consists of five sections:¹⁹⁸

1. abstract of the contract (*scriptura interior*)
2. body of the contract (*scriptura exterior*)
3. subscription of the party under obligation
4. acknowledgement of the *syngrophophylax*: ὁ δεῖνα ἔχω κυρίαν
5. registration docket of the *grapheion*

Yiftach-Firanko considers the reduction of the inner script to be “an intentional and deliberate measure on the part of the official who introduced the anagraphê of Greek double documents.”¹⁹⁹

The abstracts display great variability in detail, however, suggesting rather that this development was a side effect of the registration requirement. For example, a few contracts retain the long-form interior script, while others have nothing more than a title.²⁰⁰ Such variability is comparable to the series of Demotic surety documents mentioned above, which occasionally have as little as the contract’s title and date in the inner script,²⁰¹ though more often a fuller account of the contract.

In general, however, most interior scripts are abstracts that relate the transaction’s key details, even if in a highly-abbreviated form. These abstracts likely reflect the entries which the notary logged in a book of abstracts, as in the later Roman *eiromenon*, or on separate sheets, as one can see in the separate Demotic abstracts of the late Ptolemaic *grapheion* archive discussed below.

¹⁹⁵ *P.Dion.* 6 (Tachontomou, 106 BCE) and *P.Dion.* 7 (Ammonopolis, 106 BCE).

¹⁹⁶ Wolff 1978, 64-67. Cf. *P.Dion.*, pp. 176-193 and Hoogendijk 2013, 67-68.

¹⁹⁷ Yiftach-Firanko 2008, 214-215.

¹⁹⁸ For a list of late Ptolemaic double documents see Yiftach-Firanko 2008, 210, n. 24.

¹⁹⁹ Yiftach-Firanko 2008, 210, n. 22.

²⁰⁰ E.g., *P.Würzb.* 6 (Theadelphia, 102 BCE), whose inner script consists only of the name of the first party to the contract.

²⁰¹ E.g., *P.Dem.Lille.* II 9 (222 BCE).

In any case, the inner script no longer played the key role of providing a secure, authentic version of the text, to be opened in case of dispute. Registration introduced a new type of security, one which rested in the state's ability to monitor and record private transactions. The traditional role of the *syngraphophylax* and the six witnesses was not abrogated, however: where preserved, most late Ptolemaic double documents include the “deposition phrase” and the autograph acknowledgement of the *syngraphophylax*, as well as the names of the six witnesses. Two important exceptions to this uniformity are edited and discussed below in the Appendix.

These considerations led Yiftach-Firanko to conclude that the “social setting” of contracting was unchanged even after the reform.²⁰² This conclusion, however, underrates the expansive role of the *grapheia* already in the Ptolemaic period. The *grapheion* had already become a place where original contracts were drawn up. The outer scripts of such contracts are clearly written by professional scribes²⁰³ and the inner script of most reformed double documents is in the same hand as the registration docket below.²⁰⁴ Clearly, then, the parties were going into the *grapheion* not just for the purpose of registration, but to have their contracts drawn up by *grapheion* scribes.

Another indication of the importance of the *grapheion* can be seen in the development of contract “citations.” As discussed above, in the first two centuries of Ptolemaic rule contracts were cited by title and *syngraphophylax*, but in the first century we see the *grapheion* taking over this role. *UPZI* 118 (Memphis, probably 83 BCE) contains the decision of royal judges (*chrematistai*) concerning a disputed marriage contract, which is cited as follows: συγγραφὴν τροφίτιν τὴν ἀναγραφεῖσαν διὰ τοῦ γραφίου, “a contract of maintenance registered through the *grapheion*.”²⁰⁵ Another legal sentence is more specific, citing “an Egyptian contract registered on Phamenoth 9 of the 19th year through the *grapheion* in the same city” (Αἴγυπτίαν συγγραφὴν | [ἀναγραφεῖσ]αυ [τῶ]ι ιθ (ἔτει) Φαμενώθ θ διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῆ[ι αὐτῆ] πόλει γραφίου).²⁰⁶ Clearly the detailed records of registered contracts stored in the *grapheia* were being used as legally authoritative, even if the “original” was still deposited with the private *syngraphophylax*.

But perhaps this *syngraphophylax* was by now not so private after all. This is the suggestion of Hoogendijk based on her preliminary assessment of the Greek contracts stemming from the

²⁰² Yiftach-Firanko 2008, 216.

²⁰³ Hoogendijk 2013, 70.

²⁰⁴ This is the case in the two documents published below; see notes for details.

²⁰⁵ *UPZI* 118.9.

²⁰⁶ *P.Ryl.* II 65, col. I.3-4.

Ptolemaic *grapheion* archive of Tebtunis. “Perhaps in the case of the six-witness contracts, the *syngraphophylax* forms the link to the *grapheion*: he may have belonged to the *grapheion* personnel and as such have stored the documents entrusted to him in the *grapheion* archive.”²⁰⁷ If this is the case, the six witnesses may also have been increasingly drawn from the *grapheion* personnel, rather than the contracting parties’ circle of friends and associates. The matter cannot be settled from current evidence, but it is worth keeping in mind as new evidence becomes available.

This picture of the late Ptolemaic *grapheion* points towards a change in the social setting of private contracting during the Ptolemaic period. Gone are the days when the inhabitants of Egypt frequently drew up written agreement without any state oversight, as in the case of *P.Eleph.* 1; fading away, it seems, was the social and legal importance of a private, independent *syngraphophylax*, who was entrusted with his friends’ contracts and whose name could serve as a type of “citation” for the contract, while official contract registers merely served as “maps” for contracts that were privately deposited all across Egypt.

2.9 The Spread and Operation of *Grapheia*

Our evidence is spotty, but it seems that *grapheia* could be found in most large villages of the Fayum (see Tab. 1). The early attestations of *grapheia* in villages like Tebtunis and Theadelphia come as no surprise; these were among the largest villages in the Fayum and served as local administrative centers in both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. More surprising is the apparent evidence for *grapheia* in smaller villages like Ibion Eikosipentarouron. Most commentators suggest that there was a boom in *grapheia* during the Roman period,²⁰⁸ but perhaps this is mostly an illusion of the evidence. The silence in the Ptolemaic period regarding *grapheia* in large villages like Karanis and Philadelphia should not be taken as instructive; there is simply too little evidence from both of these villages in the last century of Ptolemaic rule to make a judgment.²⁰⁹ The following table lists the first attestations of Arsinoite *grapheia* in chronological order, with only

²⁰⁷ Hoogendijk 2013, 69.

²⁰⁸ E.g., Yiftach-Firanko 2011, 549.

²⁰⁹ In the case of Karanis, the first preserved *grapheion* contract dates to 20 CE (*BGU* II 636), but there are very few Ptolemaic papyri from this village, numbering only a few dozen, mostly unpublished papyri. The only two Ptolemaic Greek contracts I know of are P.Mich. inv. 5379 (21 Jan., 120 BCE; interior script of a lease of 24 arouras arranged by *προεστηκώς* of revenue lands; appears to be a draft) and P.Mich. inv. 2797 (probably 61 BCE; money loan in form of *cheirographon*). There are also some 20 Demotic papyri from Karanis, all unpublished: see K. Ryholt, forthcoming.

one possible new attestation after 74 BCE, when documentation in general is so scarce that Skeat speaks of the “blacked-out landscape” of the last half-century of Ptolemaic rule.²¹⁰

Table 1. First attestations of Arsinoite *grapheia* in the Ptolemaic period.

Year (BCE)	<i>Grapheion</i> (<i>meris</i>)	Text
106	Ptolemais Euergetis (Herakleides)	<i>P.Ashm.</i> I 22
103	Tebtunis (Polemon)	<i>P.Tebt.</i> I 105 ²¹¹
102	Theadelphia (Themistos)	<i>P.Würz.</i> 6
98	Hawara (Herakleides)	<i>P.Ashm.</i> I 10
86	Mouchis (Polemon)	<i>SB</i> VI 9297
77	Nestou Epoikion (Herakleides)	<i>P.Mert.</i> I 6
75	Ibion Eikosipentarouron (Polemon)	<i>SB</i> VI 9450
74	Neilopolis (Herakleides)	<i>SB</i> V 7532
74	Euhemeria (Themistos)	<i>P.Fay.</i> 240 descr. (= 1, below)
72/71 (?)	Bakchias (Herakleides)	<i>P.Mich. inv.</i> 5739 ²¹²

The late Ptolemaic *grapheion* archive from Tebtunis, which is largely unpublished and currently being reconstructed by Hoogendijk and Muhs,²¹³ gives us our best view inside these writing offices before Roman rule. It is a bilingual archive from the first century BCE, which belongs to the “first batch” of cartonnage papyri from the crocodile mummies excavated by Grenfell and Hunt in Tebtunis over the winter of 1899-1900.²¹⁴ It contains Greek contracts that were drawn up in the *grapheion*,²¹⁵ along with Demotic abstracts, bilingual registers of contracts, and money accounts in Demotic with Greek summaries.²¹⁶ These four categories of documents correspond very closely to document types found in the archive of Kronion, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

From the period just after the introduction of registration of Egyptian contracts in 145 BCE, the *grapheion* appears to have been run by an official simply called ὁ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ, “the head

²¹⁰ “The last half-century of Ptolemaic rule resembles a blacked-out landscape illuminated by occasional flashes of lightning when Egypt impinges upon world events, the brilliance of these interludes only emphasizing the darkness of our ignorance concerning the internal history of the country” (Skeat 1962, 100).

²¹¹ Cf. *P.Tebt.* I 42 (ca. 114 BCE), a petition regarding the malfeasance of a συναλλαγατογράφος of Tebtunis, perhaps the head of the *grapheion*.

²¹² This is a Demotic contract that was found in Karanis (29-C137A¹-C), but registered in Bakchias’ *grapheion*: ἔτους ι Μεσορ(η) κθ ἐν Βα[κχ]ιάδι ἀναγέγραπται διὰ Π[...]. τοῦ πρὸς | [τῷ] γραφείῳ. I thank Andrew Monson for help dating this piece. Another Ptolemaic attestation of Bakchias’ *grapheion* may be *SB* VIII 9764 (with *BL* VIII, 354).

²¹³ Muhs 2005, 2010, and Hoogendijk 2013.

²¹⁴ On the crocodile cemetery of Tebtunis and the two main batches of papyri, see Verhoogt 1998, 12-21.

²¹⁵ Hoogendijk 2013.

²¹⁶ Muhs 2010, 582-584.

of the *grapheion*” (see above). Unlike the *agoranomos*, who functioned as a notary from as early as 270 BCE, the *grapheion* manager initially was responsible only for registering Egyptian contracts, which were still being written by temple notaries. With the introduction of registration for Greek contracts his duties increased, but they likewise involved only the supervision of contracts drawn up elsewhere, in this case private six-witness contracts, the originals of which were still deposited with the *syngraphophylax*.

A letter from 105 BCE gives us a sense of how these *grapheion* managers were established in office. I reproduce Bingen’s improved text, republished as *SB XII 10843*, with some changes. He declined to offer a translation because of the numerous alternative interpretations; my translation necessarily decides between some alternatives, but leaves the vague pronouns of the original:

Βίων Νικ[άνορι χ]αίρειν. ἐπεὶ
 ὁ στρατηγὸς[ς.....]εβτόνεως
 παρακέκληκεν ἡμ[άς] καταστήσαι
 π[ρ]ὸς τῷ γραφίῳ τῆ[ς] κώμης
 5 φόρου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χα(λκοῦ(?)) [(δραχμῶν).], πρότερον
 ἔφερον χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμὰς) Γ κομισάμενος
 ταύτας παρ’ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς
 εἰθισμένας ἀναφοράς. καὶ μὴ
 παρενοχλ[ή]σας αὐτόν. ὁ γὰρ
 10 στρατηγὸς οὐ παρέργως ἔχ[ει]
 περὶ αὐτοῦ.
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιγ ὃ καὶ ι, Ἄθῶρ ιβ

Bion to Nikanor, greetings. Since the strategos has encouraged us to put NN, son of Papnebtunis (?) in charge of the grapheion of the village at an annual rent of [] bronze drachmas – he was paying 3,000 dr. previously – <you will do well>²¹⁷ to receive these from him in the customary installments and not annoy him. For the strategos is not distracted in his case.

Farewell. Year 13 = 10, Hathyr 12.

The letter is obscure in many points of detail, but two facts clearly emerge: the *strategos* had a hand in the selection of the “head of the *grapheion*” and this *grapheion* manager paid an annual rent (φόρος) to the state in regular installments. As for the first point, the *strategos*’ involvement is rather informal: notice that he has “encouraged” (not ordered!) the writer to install a preferred candidate for *grapheion* manager. The writer Bion, therefore, should be someone of high standing in the nome, perhaps the *basilikos grammateus*. The two top officials of the nome would therefore

²¹⁷ In l. 6, the editor suggests supplying the common formula καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις to make sense of the participles.

have been involved in selecting candidates for the important post of local *grapheion* manager, which fits well what we know about the internal administration of the nomes. The recipient, Nikanor, who is ordered to receive the customary payments and not bother the new manager, must be an official at the state bank, which received rents for state concessions.

These payments are termed φόρος, the “rent” that the *grapheion* manager paid for the right to operate the village concession. In the Roman period, an offer to sublease the *grapheion* of Soknopaiou Nesos includes the payment of φόρος and the Karanis register likewise records income from the φόρος of a subsidiary *grapheion*. In the Tebtunis accounts, this payment is called a διαγραφή, “(bank) payment,” which refers to the fact that the φόρος was paid over to the state bank.

As in the case of the Karanis notary, Ptolemaic notaries and registration officials were allowed to charge for their services. The third century register of abstracts (*P.Tebt.* III.1 815) discussed above, for example, recorded the fee collected for each document. Some of the bilingual registers from the late Ptolemaic *grapheion* archive also record fees. Our best evidence for Ptolemaic feeing policy, however, comes from the realm of Egyptian scribes, whose appointment and activities the Ptolemies took an interest in regulating in the second century. *P.Ryl.* IV 572 (II BCE), for instance, is an official letter from Alexandria to Ptolemaios, *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome, which, besides giving instructions on how Egyptian scribes are to be selected, includes the directive: “in order that people do not pay more than the proper sum it is necessary to establish a reasonable fee (μέτριον μισθὸν) for each document.”²¹⁸ In this case, we can actually follow up on the implementation of this directive from the capital because we possess the letter which Ptolemaios then sent to the village superintendents (ἐπιστάται) of the Herakleides meris. Quoting the practice in the Bousirite nome, he enjoins that the fee for large Egyptian sale and cession contracts was to be set at 20 drachmas, while all other contracts were to be written for 10 drachmas.²¹⁹ It seems likely that Greek scribes in the later *grapheia* were likewise ordered to adhere to fixed fees, or at least those that were considered μέτριος.

In any case, we know that Ptolemaic *grapheion* managers had to submit their accounts to higher authorities for auditing. The so-called Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus already enjoined

²¹⁸ ἵνα δὲ μὴ πλῆθον πράτ\τ\ων[ται οἱ ἄν]θρωποι τοῦ καθήκοντος στ[ῆσαι δεῖ] τὸν | μέτριον μισθὸν ἐκάστης [συγγρα]φῆς (*P.Ryl.* IV 572, col. II.36-38). Cf. Yiftach-Firanko, forthcoming.

²¹⁹ *BGU* VI 1214.19-22 (ca. 185-165 BCE).

such oversight over the accounts of state concessioners. An account from the Ptolemaic *grapheion* archive is entitled: λόγος βασιλικῶν καὶ δαπάνη[ς] καὶ τειμῆς ἀγράφων συναλλαγματογραφιῶν Κερκεθοήρεως καὶ Θεογονίδος, “account of the royal (revenues) and expenses and price of unwritten (rolls) of the contract-writers’ office of Kerkethoeris and Theogonis.”²²⁰

All of these considerations led Muhs to propose “that the late Ptolemaic *grapheia* are the institutional ancestor of the early Roman *grapheia*.”²²¹ Hoogendijk likewise posits that “seemingly new features of the early Roman *grapheia* were perhaps not caused by a sudden and deliberate change, but were just a logical consequence of an ongoing change which had already started in the late-Ptolemaic period.”²²² We will have more to say about the connections between the Ptolemaic and Roman *grapheion*, but this chapter has been about looking backwards without anticipating Rome’s annexation. In this light, the *grapheion* has much to tell about the nature of the Ptolemaic state, which forces us to modify our narratives of decline.

The Ptolemaic *grapheion* is an example of a strong, deeply-rooted institution, which “re-oriented” private contracting towards the state. The entrenchment of the institution came at a time, moreover, when most historians focus on the state’s decline in international standing. The *grapheion* is an example of the state’s persistent ability to influence the private lives of its subjects by motivating and coordinating its bureaucratic networks, even if its capacity for external coercion was virtually non-existent and its rulers lived in “the shadow of Roman power.”

²²⁰ *P. Tebt.* I 140 descr.: see Hoogendijk 2013, 72, n. 27.

²²¹ Muhs 2010, 585.

²²² Hoogendijk 2013, 70.

Chapter Three: The Writing Offices of Roman Egypt

3.1 Introduction

The Ptolemaic state built a robust notarial system through the creation of urban notaries (*agoranomoi*) and writing offices (*grapheia*) in the countryside. The last chapter focused in particular on the development of these *grapheia*, which were initially responsible only for the registration of private contracts, but which became full-service writing centers, with their managers taking on duties that were similar to their urban counterparts. I argued that these developments should be seen as a reorientation of private writing practices toward the state, which was effected partly through a successful incorporation of the Egyptian scribal class into the new state apparatus.

In this chapter, I follow the story of the *grapheion* into the Roman period. Picking up on the argument of Chapter One, I examine the *grapheion* as the key institutional cog of Rome's "empire of information," which was geared not only to the extraction of provincial resources, but also contributed to a fostering of *consensus* among the provincial subjects of Egypt. This was accomplished through a concerted effort "to make information of every kind accessible to the residents of empire"²²³ and to safeguard their private transactions. The decrees and regulations that were transmitted down to the cities and villages of the Egyptian *chora* established clear and accessible "rules of the games," while state-sponsored village notaries offered a credible public service for the securing of private agreements.

The Romans embraced and adapted the Ptolemaic notarial system. One innovation was set in motion immediately after the Roman conquest, when the late Ptolemaic double document, still a private document in form, was transformed into a fully public, notarial deed. The reign of Augustus was a transitional period, when some residual Ptolemaic features were retained, and contract diplomatics exhibit a certain degree of instability, but by the reign of Tiberius the Roman administration enforced a standard *grapheion* contract throughout the countryside.

²²³ Ando 2000, 96. Cf. Chapter 1.4.

Another innovation that can be traced to Augustus' reign is the unification of Egyptian and Greek contract writing in one place. For now Egyptian contracts were not only registered in the *grapheia*, but written there as well, which ended the long tradition of Egyptian temple-based notaries. This notarial unification entailed a close cooperation between Greek and Egyptian scribes, who may have entered into partnerships to adequately handle the bilingual work of the village *grapheion*.

The final, and most important, innovation was the incorporation of village *grapheia* into a larger notarial system centered on regional and province-wide archives. This expansive and bureaucratically-demanding system appears to be wholly Roman in design and execution, although admittedly its development over the first century of Roman rule is difficult to trace. In its fully-developed form, the system provided for the backing up of private documents in triplicate: one copy in the local metropolis' archives and one each in the two central archives of Alexandria, the Nanaion and the Hadrianeion. To handle this increase in paperwork, the metropolis archive was split into two in the middle of the first century CE, with one archive specifically dedicated to documents pertaining to real property (the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων).

The intensity of this record-keeping gave the Roman government unprecedented access to information about its subjects, allowing them to efficiently collect taxes and assign compulsory duties. But it also provided unprecedented security for written contracts. Before writing up agreements for the alienation of property, for instance, local notaries were required to receive confirmation from the metropolite archives that the title was clear. We should recall that the priest Satabous lost his case because he could not prove the seller's title to the land that he bought; under this reformed system, the notaries would not have been allowed to draw up his sale without clarifying the question of title beforehand with the metropolite archivists. Further, once a valid sale was completed, the new owner had to make a declaration (ἀπογραφή) of his new title to the nome archivists. In the words of one prefect, the purpose of such a system was "so that those who make agreements ... may not be defrauded through ignorance."²²⁴

Finally, there is the question of the spread of village *grapheia* in the Roman period. This expansion is commonly purported,²²⁵ but never discussed in detail. It is my suspicion, though I

²²⁴ *P.Oxy.* II 237, col. viii.36. The prefect, Mettius Rufus, is here speaking specifically about property on which a family member has a lien, but his decree concerns the proper functioning of the archives in general.

²²⁵ E.g., Wolff 1978, 18 ("große Ausbreitung") and Yiftach-Firanko 2009, 549.

cannot offer definitive proof, that the apparent increase of village *grapheia* in the Roman period is a mirage caused but the uneven distribution of our evidence. In Skeat's memorable phrasing, the late Ptolemaic period is a "blacked-out landscape,"²²⁶ which is only slowly being illuminated through the discovery and publication of new material. The two contracts published in the Appendix are a small contribution to this process and one of these, not incidentally, provides the earliest and only Ptolemaic attestation of Euhemeria's *grapheion*. Another unpublished contract, discovered, though not written, in Karanis provides the earliest evidence for a *grapheion* in Bakchias.²²⁷ Although there is currently no evidence for Karanis' *grapheion* before 20 CE, it would be rash to conclude that it was a Roman establishment: precious little of Karanis' Ptolemaic occupation layers were preserved, documents included.

An expansion of such rural offices, moreover, would go against the grain of the standard picture of Roman provincial administration, which tended to govern through urban elites and urban institutions.²²⁸ Village *gymnasia*, for instance, widely attested in the Ptolemaic period, are concentrated in the *metropoleis* under the Romans. The Roman period witnesses the development of temples for the imperial cult (*Kaisareia* / *Sebasteia*), which almost exclusively were located in the *metropoleis*.²²⁹ Whatever the case may be, the network of village *grapheia* was dismantled over the course of the second half of the second century,²³⁰ so that by the third century notarial services were again concentrated in urban centers, as they had been at the beginning of Ptolemaic rule. The *communis opinio* of Roman expansion needs qualification, if not outright abandonment. As it is, however, the Romans did endow the *grapheia* with new authority, such as the writing of Egyptian contracts mentioned above.

This chapter has five sections. The first takes us "inside" the *grapheion* to investigate its internal operations and connections to other notarial offices. The internal papers of Roman *grapheia*, including the Karanis Register, suggest that these offices were central nodes within village social and economic networks and key interfaces between the state and village society. In this section we also step "outside" the office to consider the limited evidence for the social standing of notaries and *grapheion* employees. Here, we suggest that notaries belonged to the local village

²²⁶ Skeat 1962, 100. Cf. above, Chapter 2.9.

²²⁷ P.Mich. inv. 5739, late Ptolemaic. See above, Chapter 2.9.

²²⁸ For the development of the Egyptian *metropoleis* under Roman rule, see Bowman and Rathbone 1992.

²²⁹ Strassi 2006.

²³⁰ Wolff 1978, 21; cf. Reiter 2013.

elite and were thus well positioned to personally benefit from their centrality and connectedness in village society. The next three treat in more detail the key innovations of the Roman period that have just been introduced, with a particular focus on the new state archives of Roman Egypt. In the final section, we reflect on the ideas presented in the first chapter in light of our more detailed understanding of the Roman notarial system in Egypt.

3.2.1 *Grapheion* Operations

In the Egyptian *chora* of the Roman period, there were two types of notarial offices, the *agoranomeion* and the *grapheion*. The *agoranomeion* was located in the nome's metropolis,²³¹ while *grapheia* could be found both in cities and villages, although we are much better informed on the village *grapheia*,²³² particularly those of the Arsinoite nome. The larger villages were all equipped with their own office, occasionally with multiple villages grouped under the "territory" of a single *grapheion*, as evidenced by the occasional inclusion of Kerkesoucha Orous in the title of Tebtunis' *grapheion*.²³³ In other cases, we can recognize a certain subordination of smaller *grapheia* under larger neighbors, which seems to explain how the registered documents of the *grapheion* of Talei found their way into the Tebtunis archive.²³⁴ The Karanis Register has entries for rental payments from the *grapheion* of another village, which I interpret along these lines.²³⁵ In short, there appears to have been a hierarchy of *grapheia* in the countryside, although one that could change as new lessees combined offices or made different arrangements.

The relationship between the metropolis' *agoranomeion* and the local *grapheia* is less clear, since there is no information on any working relationship between these offices. Wolff favored the view that the *grapheia* were subordinate to the *agoranomeion*, but his argument is circumstantial.²³⁶ The evidence that we do have for communication between village *grapheia* and the metropolis all relates to the metropolite archives, which suggests instead that village notaries

²³¹ Wolff 1978, 15. In the Ptolemaic period, *agoranomeia* are known outside the nome *metropoleis*, Wolff 1978, 13, b. 24.

²³² Pierce 1968, 68.

²³³ E.g., *P.Tebt.* II 383.60-61 (46 CE). Cf. Husselman 1970, 224.

²³⁴ Husselman 1970, 224. Cf. *P.Dime* III, pp. 106-107, where a close relationship between the *grapheia* of Nilopolis and Soknopaïou Nesos is noted.

²³⁵ Chapter 4.10.

²³⁶ Wolff 1978, 19-20, relying mainly on the "farblose Ausdruck" of the term *grapheion* and the fact that *grapheion* notaries frequently register contracts anonymously.

were subordinate to the *bibliophylakes*, “archivists” in the metropolis, at least after their establishment in the mid-first century CE.

In the Roman period, the *grapheion* was run by either a νομογράφος or ὁ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ. To my knowledge, the two titles are combined only in P.Mich. inv. 3380 (edited as document 2 in the Appendix), which dates to the late Ptolemaic period. The difference in function, if any, is unclear. Pierce and Cockle suggest that Boak was able to show that the two titles served an identical position, since Kronion, the Tebtunis notary, is known to have held both titles.²³⁷ Yet, as Husselman pointed out, Kronion held these titles at different times without an overlap.²³⁸ She offered the possibility “that νομογράφος was the official title of the person who contracted” to write the official abstracts and registers for the state archives, which are described below, while ὁ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ “simply operated a grapheion.”²³⁹ This distinction seems too vague, however; I would rather point to the fact that individuals with both titles could write the registration mark at the bottom of contracts, indicating that the contract had been entered into the official records. Both, therefore, had notarial authority and appear to have played similar, if not absolutely identical, roles in the local *grapheia*.

The right to operate a *grapheion* was leased from the state as a concession. This arrangement is similar to the many other state concessions, such as those for fishing rights or the right to harvest papyrus on imperial properties, but the position also entailed state duties, which were likely laid out in a lease contract with the state.

M.Chr. 183 (= *P.Grenf.* II 41, Soknopaiou Nesos, 46 CE) is the most important document establishing the conditions of a *grapheion* lease. Its idiosyncratic orthography presents some challenges, but Mitteis’ text and interpretation have been generally accepted. The contract, framed as a *cheirographon*, is in fact an application for sublease from Tesenouphis, son of Tesenouphis, since its fragmentary address reads: ἀ[σχ]ωρομέγνου (l. ἀσχολουμένῳ) τὸ κρα[φεῖον] (l. τὸ γραφεῖον) | [.....]ου Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου ... (ll. 2-3). What to supply before Soknopaiou Nesos is uncertain, but it is clear from the singular τὸ κρα[φεῖον] that the purview of the individual addressed is not a larger district, such as the Herakleides meris, but was at most Soknopaiou Nesos and another village. He thus must be the primary lessee of the *grapheion* of Soknopaiou Nesos (and

²³⁷ Pierce 1968, 69, n. 6 and Cockle 1984, 112, pointing to *P.Mich.* V, pp. 1-2.

²³⁸ Husselman 1970, 224.

²³⁹ Husselman 1970, 224.

perhaps another village), who in this contract is receiving on offer to sublease. It seems likely that some enterprising individuals leased multiple *grapheia* and then farmed out the actual operations of individual *grapheia* to locals (cf. above). Although he was a sublessee, Tesenouphis nevertheless held the title of νομογράφος, as we know from an earlier document.²⁴⁰

Tesenouphis' application continues by laying out the payment of rent, which is to be in total (inclusive of additional fees) 288 drachmas, paid in monthly installments, which comes to 24 dr. per month. The earlier document just mentioned is in fact a rent receipt for the *grapheion*, which as certain Hermias drew up for Tesenouphis in 41/42 CE, although unfortunately the amount of rent is missing. In the application, he additionally agrees to provide two *keramia* of wine in the month of Phamenoth as a libation contribution (σπονδή), undoubtedly in connection with a local festival. After the rent has been established, the application moves on to the duties of Tesenouphis, who must every four months submit (καταχωρίζω) to the primary contractor the contracts drawn up by him "in a composite roll, in one *eiromenon*, and in one *anagraphē*" (ll. 17-20), providing also an 8 dr. fee for their submission (presumably to the appropriate archives). It has since been well established that the composite roll consists of originals or clean copies of the full contracts, while the *eiromenon* is a schedule of abstracts, and the *anagraphē* contains one-line titles of the contracts.²⁴¹

These duties of the *grapheion* lessee find corroboration in the contemporaneous Tebtunis *grapheion* archive, which includes examples of such *eiromena* and *anagraphai*, which must have been drafts or versions kept in the *grapheion* for some reason, besides many other papers besides. Remarkably, the same general arrangement is found in *Chrest.Mitt.* 184 (= *P.Flor.* 3.357), from another nome (the Oxyrhynchite) and dating to about 150 years later (208 CE). This document is an actual submission of the notarial papers from the person "in charge of" (συσταθείς) the *grapheion* of the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome: "I have submitted the appended composite roll of the contracts completed by me in the month of Mesore of the current year, covering 21 days, and the same number of days in an *eiromenon* and an *anagraphē*" (ll. 4-10).²⁴² He explains that the documents only cover 21 days because on nine days there was no business in

²⁴⁰ *BGU* XIII 2214 (41/42 CE).

²⁴¹ Husselman, 1970.

²⁴² Another submission of notarial papers is P.Mich. inv. 4193, from τῶν ἀσχολουμένων τὸ γραφεῖον Διονυσιάδος. The next line begins καταχ]ωρίσαμεν and what follows are the first few lines of an *eiromenon*.

the *grapheion* (ll. 10-11).²⁴³ The only difference between this document and the sublease from Soknopaiou Nesos is that now the submission of official documents appears to occur on a monthly basis.

In the sublease from Soknopaiou Nesos, the submission is termed *καταχωρισμὸς βυβλίων*, with the *βυβλία* (a variant of *βιβλία*) clearly referring to the three separate official rolls. The 8 dr. fee that is assessed on the submission of these rolls is presumably an administrative fee covering their cataloging in the regional archives.²⁴⁴ The Karanis Register contains 4 dr. expenditures for *καταχωρισμὸς βιβλίων* for individual months. It seems that at some point after the mid-first century the submission fee was raised and that submissions were required every month, rather than every four months. Otherwise, however, the procedure appears to exhibit remarkable continuity from Soknopaiou Nesos in the mid-first century to Karanis in the early second century and the Oxyrhynchite nome in the early third century.

Can we put the switch to monthly submissions in historical context? It is well known that there were serious problems in the archives of Roman Egypt in the mid-to-late first century, which led to the creation of a separate archive for real property, the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*, and which prompted edicts like that of Mettius Rufus, which reorganized this archive.²⁴⁵ It is possible that the more regular submissions from the village *grapheia*, evidenced now from the early second century, were a part of this reform process. From *SB XVIII 13175* (194 CE), we learn that the *βιβλία* of *strategoï* and royal scribes were to be submitted to Alexandria monthly,²⁴⁶ while tax farmers and liturgists were frequently required to submit reports on a monthly basis. *SB XIV 12200* (III CE) is a desperate plea to a brother or an associate to return immediately and assist the writer with a *μηνιαῖος* (sc. *λόγος*), “monthly report,” probably related to the liturgical post of harbor master.

It is noteworthy that the sublease from Soknopaiou Nesos only obliquely mentions the lessee’s primary duty of writing contracts for any and all who require his services and makes no mention of the fees he may charge his customers. The reason for this must be sought in the fact that this is

²⁴³ For the frequency of activity in local *grapheia*, see Chapter 4.11.

²⁴⁴ Cf. *P.Mich.* II 123 verso, vi.1 n.

²⁴⁵ *P.Oxy.* II 237, col. viii.

²⁴⁶ See further Jördens 2010, 160.

an informal *cheirographon* and is in fact a renewal of an arrangement that was already in place;²⁴⁷ details which seem important to us were already known between the two parties.

3.2.2 *Grapheion* Finances

A large part of the cost of running a *grapheion* came from the rent paid to the state for the privilege. In the Tebtunis accounts, this is always known as a διαγραφή, “(bank) payment,” likely because it was a bank transfer made into the account of the appropriate official in the metropolis. The monthly διαγραφή averaged 173 drachmas in 45/46 CE.²⁴⁸ In the offer to sublease the *grapheion* of Soknopaiou Nesos (46 CE), it is known as φόρος, “rent,” and came out to a total of 288 drachmas, likewise paid in monthly installments (24 dr. per month). The large difference between these monthly fees may partially reflect different volumes of business at these two *grapheia*. In Karanis, the monthly διαγραφή appears to have been 100 dr., but since only three such payments are preserved, we cannot be sure of what the average payment was over the course of the year.

To offset this license fee and the numerous smaller expenses associated with the day-to-day operations of the *grapheion*, the manager of the office collected γραμματικά, “writing fees,” which constituted the primary source of income for the *grapheion* and was charged, in principle, on all documents drawn up in the office. Usually the writing fee was paid in full at the time of the transaction, but the accounts from both Tebtunis and Karanis, as well as other scattered evidence, show that partial and deferred payments were accepted, presumably at the discretion of the managers.²⁴⁹ Kronion, the notary of Tebtunis, frequently waived the writing fee for certain clients, writing χάρις, “*gratis*,” beside the entry.²⁵⁰ This practice is not found in the Karanis Register or elsewhere.

In pre- and early-modern societies, notarial fees were generally state regulated and set according to document typology, length, the value of the transactions, or some combination of these factors.²⁵¹ There is evidence from the Ptolemaic period for state attempts to set a “reasonable fee” (μέτριος μισθός) for contracts and to require temple notaries to take a royal oath “that they

²⁴⁷ Line 5 speaks of the village (meaning *grapheion*) “which I had previously” (προεἶχον).

²⁴⁸ *P.Mich.* II 123, p. 95.

²⁴⁹ E.g., the contract *SB* XIV 11279.1 (Theadelphia, 44 CE), which is headed by a *grapheion* employee’s note that five obols were still due on the writing fee: μη(νός) Σε(βαστοῦ) τῷ ὀφ(είλει) (ὀβολοῦς) ε.

²⁵⁰ See *P.Mich.* II 123, pp. 91-92.

²⁵¹ See, e.g., Hoffman, Post-Vinay, and Rosenthal 1998, 503 on 18th-century French notarial practice.

will not exact higher fees on any pretext whatsoever.”²⁵² A related document reveals a simple, typological feeing schedule of 20 drachmas for sales and cessions and 10 drachmas for all other contracts.²⁵³ Earlier evidence also attests to flat rates among Greek scribes, likely set or regulated by the state.²⁵⁴

The Roman period affords a relative wealth of data on writing fees, although the vast majority stems from the mid-first century Tebtunis *grapheion* archive. Boak recognized that the γραμματικόν does not correlate to the value of the contract in question.²⁵⁵ This is not even a possibility in the Karanis Register, because the contract’s value is never recorded, presumably because this information was considered superfluous (see above). Looking further, Boak found “no relation between the amount of the fee and the character of the document” either and concluded that the amount of writing determined the fee.²⁵⁶ There was and is no evidence, however, for stichometric accounting in the notarial documents of Roman Egypt.²⁵⁷

Boak was right to conclude that there was no exact correlation between transaction type and the γραμματικόν charged. Yet, there is a *tendency* towards standard rates according to contract type, which is corroborated by the data from the Karanis Register (see below). Noticing this tendency, Yiftach-Firanko has proposed that the different average rates can be explained by the method of writing of certain types of documents: μεριτεΐαι (wills), διαρέσεις (property divisions), and παραχωρήσεις (land concessions), among the more expensive documents, tend to be drawn up in a wide format, are often bilingual (involving the services of different scribes), and were more frequently produced in multiple copies. The *grammatikon* of such documents averages about eight drachmas, while others that were usually drawn up in a less elaborate format, such as loans and dowry receipts, averaged about four drachmas, and others two drachmas or less.

P.Mich. V 322a (46 CE) is a fine example of the more elaborate type of *grapheion* contract. It is a μεριτεΐα, in which a husband and wife divide their property among their children and grandchildren, with the testators and the beneficiaries all adding their subscriptions. In total, 49 lines spread out along the full width of the contract, some 60 cm. Remarkably, this is one of the few cases where we can correlate a full contract to its *grammatikon*, since the corresponding entry

²⁵² *P.Ryl.* IV 572, col. ii (II BCE). Cf. above, Chapter 2.9.

²⁵³ *BGU* VI 1214 (185-165 BCE).

²⁵⁴ *CPR* XVIII (231-206 BCE) and *P.Tebt.* III.1 815 (223/222 BCE).

²⁵⁵ *P.Mich.* II 123, p. 90.

²⁵⁶ *P.Mich.* II 123, p. 90.

²⁵⁷ Choat 2013.

seems to be preserved in *P.Mich.* V 238, where the *grammatikon* assessed is 40 drachmas, some five times the “usual” rate.²⁵⁸ As always, we do not know how many copies were produced, but the large format combined with at least a few copies for the 9 family members involved could well account for the unusually high *grammatikon*.

The new data from the Karanis Register generally supports the idea that document type was the main determinant of the writing fee.²⁵⁹ There too we find a few examples of such unusually high *grammatika*, up to 54 drachmas.

3.2.3 *Grapheion* Personnel

Since a *grapheion* was leased and run by private individuals with relatively little state oversight, there is no standard array of personnel associated with the office. Ultimate authority over the *grapheion* lay with the individual who held the concession from the state, although we have seen that he could sublease this concession to someone who would actually take charge of day-to-day *grapheion* operations. Lack of evidence prevents us from saying whether it was normal for large contractors to sublet many *grapheia* at a time or whether individual concessions were normally arranged directly with the state.

Whatever the precise arrangements, it appears that certain families were able to secure the concession for decades on end and pass on the privilege within the family. Our best examples come from Tebtunis, where the father and son notaries Apion and Kronion successively ran the *grapheion* from 7 to 56 CE,²⁶⁰ while in the second century the family of Lourios alias Apollonios held the office (see below).

The office, moreover, was often run as a partnership. Kronion, for example, frequently shared his duties with Eutychas, who had equal authority to register contracts in the village of Tebtunis. Evidence is more meager for other villages, but I argue below that the men who appear most frequently in the Karanis Register, Aphrod() and Sok(), are partners in charge of the Karanis *grapheion*.

It is evident that even two competent men would not be able to accomplish all the tasks associated with running a *grapheion*. Whether other employees were kept on payroll or were simply hired as needed is not clear on current evidence. In the Tebtunis accounts, a few entries

²⁵⁸ *P.Mich.* V 238 col. iii.151. Cf. *P.Mich.* V 322, p. 266.

²⁵⁹ See below, Chapter 4.14.

²⁶⁰ Van Beek 2013, 5.

related to νυκτογράφοι, “night clerks,”²⁶¹ and to a priest for “writing Egyptian” (γράφοντι τὰ Αἰγύπτια)²⁶² are indicative of *ad hoc* arrangements. On the other hand, frequent payments to individuals whose duties are not specified may conceal regular employment in the *grapheion*. In the Karanis Register, a certain Heron appears frequently as an intermediary of Aphrod() and Sok() and thus was likely a regular employee. Others appear only once in the extant portion of the account.²⁶³

The presence of multiple scribes in the *grapheion* is suggested by such examples as the duplicate contracts *P.Mich.* V 333 and 334, whose body contracts were written in two different hands, but both subscribed by the contracting parties in the same hands. The writers of the body contracts were *grapheion* scribes, perhaps working from dictation.²⁶⁴

3.2.4 Hypographeis

For many types of documents – contracts, declarations, oaths, etc. – the Roman provincial administration required a subscription, a personal acknowledgement attesting to the truth of the document in question, or assent to its terms. Since most inhabitants of the Empire were illiterate, they had to employ the services of an amanuensis (*hypographeus*) to fulfill this requirement and produce a valid document. Youtie has shown that in Roman Egypt individuals generally turned to family members, friends, and associates to write on their behalf.²⁶⁵ Women who transacted with a literate guardian, for instance, naturally entrusted this task to him. There was little state oversight over *who* was chosen to perform this function, since the subscriber’s legal responsibility was limited to the act of subscription itself.²⁶⁶

There was hardly an individual who did not know *someone* who could write, but written contracting in the Roman Empire was so commonplace that that someone could not always be at hand. In such circumstances, one employed a “professional” amanuensis (although not necessarily full-time scribes). We suspect that some *hypographeis* were professionals and not simply friends or associates of the contracting party because they appear over a long period of time and sign on

²⁶¹ *P.Mich.* II 123 verso, col. ii.14-20 (cf. n. *ad* ll. 14 and 15-20), 23-24, and ix.29; *P.Mich.* II 128 col. i(a).24. Cf. Toepel 1973, 22-23.

²⁶² *P.Mich.* II 123 verso, ix.28 and 128, col. i(a).23. Cf. *P.Mich.* II 123 verso, col. ii.25 with note.

²⁶³ See Chapter 4.8.

²⁶⁴ *P.Mich.* V 333-334, p. 306.

²⁶⁵ Youtie 1975.

²⁶⁶ Youtie 1975, 211.

behalf of unrelated parties.²⁶⁷ One *hypographeus* in Karanis, for instance, Heron, son of Satyros, is attested in 10 contracts over 35-plus years.²⁶⁸ At the same time, and for just as long, a scribe named Sagathes, son of Areios, was performing this role in Tebtunis' *grapheion*.²⁶⁹ Both professional and familiar subscribers are known from the scant finds of private contracts outside of Egypt.²⁷⁰

It is unclear whether professional *hypographeis* were employees of the *grapheion* or rather were simply available on a “freelance” basis for those who needed their services.²⁷¹ There is one entry from the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive recording a scribal fee for a *hypographeus*,²⁷² but this only tells us that they were paid for their services, not about their relationship to the *grapheion*. Most *hypographeis*, such as Heron of Karanis, are only known through the subscriptions that they write and we cannot therefore gain any sense of their social standing or other activities. The rich documentation from first century Tebtunis, on the other hand, allows us to witness a few “professional” *hypographeis* in other facets of life. Dionysios, son of Maron, for instance was related to the priestly family of Psyphis alias Harpokration, whose elaborate division of property was mentioned in section 3.2.2.²⁷³ Others appear to be engaged in tenant farming.²⁷⁴

The few indications from first century Tebtunis suggest that “professional” *hypographeis* were called upon as needed and were not employed by the notaries operating the *grapheion*, although this does not rule out different arrangements elsewhere. In any case, many such *hypographeis* appear to belong to the same social stratum as the notaries themselves and probably had a close working relationship with them.

3.2.5 The Notary Outside of the Office

Just as with “professional” *hypographeis*, we most often encounter the notaries themselves in their official line of work, where we get no sense of their private life and social circumstances. There are, however, a fair number of references to notaries outside the office. Although usually

²⁶⁷ On these criteria, cf. Toepel 1973, 27.

²⁶⁸ Claytor 2014a

²⁶⁹ L. Youtie 1975; cf. Claytor 2014a, 202.

²⁷⁰ Cotton 2003.

²⁷¹ Cf. *P.Dime* III, pp. 108-109, and Toepel 1973, 27.

²⁷² *P.Mich.* II 123 recto, col. iii.39.

²⁷³ Toepel 1973, 50-52.

²⁷⁴ Toepel 1973, 38-39.

brief and lacking context, they suggest that notaries were comparable in wealth and status to the local elite resident in the villages.

Before examining this evidence it is helpful to get a sense of what role notaries played in other societies. Comparative evidence from early-modern Europe and colonial Peru places notaries in a sort of middling social and economic position; notarial work was a trade, after all, which implied a certain exclusion from the hereditary, land-owning aristocracies that predominated on both sides of the Atlantic in the early-modern period. Yet it was a trade that put one right in the center of local social and economic activity. In early-modern France, for instance, notaries served as a kind of broker for loans between parties who did not know each other.²⁷⁵ In colonial Cuzco, notaries formed associations to protect their interests, owned land themselves, and played a supporting role among the local “power groups” of Spanish America, a “creole elite of interlocking families ... [that] had captured a tremendous number of local offices and resources by the late seventeenth century and managed to become a law unto themselves.”²⁷⁶

The best evidence we have for the social and economic circumstances of a notarial family from Roman Egypt comes from second-century Tebtunis. Apollonios alias Lourios is attested as the νομογράφος of Tebtunis in some nine registration marks on contracts dating between 101 and 135 CE.²⁷⁷ While not much is known about the notary himself, his family belonged to the “6,475 *katoikoi*,” the Arsinoite equivalent of the gymnasial class, which was the highest social group to which Egyptians could attain and the group that was responsible for filling most metropole liturgical positions.²⁷⁸ Apollonios alias Lourios’ grandson also held the post of νομογράφος²⁷⁹ and it is possible that his son did as well,²⁸⁰ further evidence for the idea that prominent local families could corner the post of village notary.

Isolated evidence tends to support this picture of well-off families of notaries. *W.Chr.* 398 (169 CE), for instance, contains a list of those who are “affluent and suitable for public service,”²⁸¹ among whom we find a νομογράφος whose estate (πόρος) is valued at 4,000 drachmas,²⁸² in line

²⁷⁵ Hardwick 1998, 33-41.

²⁷⁶ Burns 2005, 372-373.

²⁷⁷ See Smolders 2013a, 1, n. 3.

²⁷⁸ For an overview, see Ruffini 2006. For the family’s status, see Smolders 2013a, Toepel 1973, 15-21, and *P.Kronion*, p. xxxi.

²⁷⁹ *PSIX* 1105 (173 CE).

²⁸⁰ Smolders suggests that the Πτολεμαῖος ὁ ἀσχολούμενος τὸ γραφεῖον known from *SB* XIV 11488 (146/147 CE) may be Apollonios alias Lourios’ son: Smolders 2013a, 1, n. 7.

²⁸¹ εὖ[π]οροι καὶ ἐπιτήδιοι (l. ἐπιτήδειοι) [εἰ]ς δημόσ[ια] (l. 13).

²⁸² Πτολεμαῖος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει νομογρ(άφος) Φα[ρ]βαίθων | ἔχων πόρον (δραχμῶν) Δ (ll. 27-28).

with the estates of other prominent local landowners. A letter from Oxyrhynchos shows a νομογράφος travelling with a gymnasiarch-elect (μελλογυμνασίαρχος).²⁸³ An interesting receipt from Philadelphia shows a νομογράφος receiving a tax (τέλος) on the conveyance of a half share of two slaves.²⁸⁴ The original editors took this as evidence that νομογράφοι played some kind of role in collection of the τέλος ἐγκυκλίου, the tax on property transfers, but Straus put the text in proper context.²⁸⁵ It is actually a private receipt in which the νομογράφος, as a landlord, acknowledges to “his (tenant) farmer” (γεωργῶ ἰδίῳ) that he has received the tax, vaguely called τέλος because its precise nature was known to the two parts. The νομογράφος is simply acting a middle man between his tenant farmer and the nome authorities who were to receive the tax. For our purposes, this is more evidence for the privileged position of local notaries, who were prominent landlords and belonged to the same social class as other elite office holders.

What these fragmented bits of evidence tend to show is that village notaries of Roman Egypt were able to use their central position in local social networks to engage with, and perhaps even join, the “power groups” associated with each nome’s metropolis.

3.3 The Roman *Grapheion* Contract

In this and the next two sections (3.4 and 3.5) I turn to a more historical approach to the Roman *grapheia* and discuss three major innovations of this period: the new Roman *grapheion* contract, the writing of Egyptian contracts in the *grapheion*, and the integration of the *grapheion* into a larger archival apparatus reaching all the way to Alexandria.

In the early years of Roman rule in Egypt we can trace the development of a new type of notarial instrument, the *grapheion* contract, which supplanted the reformed double document of the late Ptolemaic period. The old inner script of the double document, which had been reduced to an abstract in the final century of Ptolemaic rule, was eliminated completely, while the outer script was simply retained as the “body” of the contract: a full, objective account of the agreement. Witnesses and the *syngraphophylax*, who were still generally recorded in late Ptolemaic double documents, are usually not mentioned. The subscription of the party under obligation and the registration docket of the *grapheion*, both introduced in the late second century BCE, were retained, although the registration docket was moved to the middle of the sheet, between the body

²⁸³ *P.Oxy.* LIX 3992 (II CE).

²⁸⁴ *BGU* VII 1589 (166/167 CE).

²⁸⁵ Straus 2000.

contract and subscription. This last diplomatic innovation seems confined to Augustus' reign; thereafter the ἀναγραφή returns to the bottom of the contract, where it had been during the Ptolemaic period. The standard Augustan-era *grapheion* contract had the following elements:

1. Body contract (old *scriptura exterior*): objective account of contract
2. Registration docket
3. Subscription(s)

The earliest example of this new format is *PSI X 1150*, a lease drawn up in the capital of the Arsinoite nome, Ptolemais Euergetis, and dating to 27 BCE.²⁸⁶ It is reasonably certain that such a development, occurring simultaneously across different nomes of Egypt, could only have been the result of state direction. Chapter 2 traced the long history of state regulation of the form and content of private written contracts in Egypt and such regulation continued in Roman period. These further reforms were essentially an official endorsement of the notarial authority of *grapheia*, which they had achieved *de facto*, if not *de jure*, already in the Ptolemaic period. The inner script, which as late as 51 BCE, was still being rolled up and sealed,²⁸⁷ was rendered superfluous because *grapheion* contracts were now public instruments (*demosioi chrematismoi*), which were secured through the official act of registration and archivization.

While provincial leadership may have had a model *grapheion* contract in mind, local *grapheion* scribes were not wholly consistent in their implementation of the new format. A number of contracts show conservative features, such as references to witnesses or the contract's *syngraphophylax*. For example, *SB XVI 12469* (Soknopaiou Nesos, 26 BCE) is headed by the numeral 6 (ϛ) in the top margin, a reference to the standard six witnesses of Ptolemaic contracts, and a remnant of the old *scriptura interior*. The body contract ends with another reference to the old style, with the word μάρτυρες (but no names). Evidently, this *grapheion* scribe felt the need for some reference to the witnesses of the transaction, even if they no longer had any official role to play. We may compare the petition from Soknopaiou Nesos discussed in the first chapter, in which the petitioner Satabous cites a contract by the *grapheion* scribes who drew it up, but also names two other men who witnessed the drawing up of the contract.

The shifting nature of early Roman contracting in Egypt is evident in a unique contract, also from Soknopaiou Nesos (*SB I 5244*, 8 BCE). It opens with the standard protocol of a Roman-

²⁸⁶ The only non-standard feature of this contract is the date written in the top margin.

²⁸⁷ *PSIX 1098* (51 BCE).

period *grapheion* contract, giving the date and location of the contract, as well as the expected objective main verb, in this case ἐδάνεισεν (“he loaned”). The rest of the contract, however, with its confusion of cases, spelling mistakes, and, most importantly, a switch from objective to subjective style, shows that the scribe is not an experienced contract writer. A *grapheion* contract would also require the subscription of at least the weaker party, which is lacking in this document. Finally, the contract is signed NN ...]τορος συνγρ(αφο)φ(ύλ)α(ξ) τετελ(είωκα), “I, NN, son of – tor, *syngraphophylax*, have completed (this contract),” where in a *grapheion* contract one would expect the registration docket. There are no other instances of a *syngraphophylax* drawing up a document. *SBI 5244* therefore appears to be a private contract drawn up in such a way as to give it some kind of public validity, drawing on the perceived authority of the old *syngraphophylax* and the style of the new *grapheion* contract.

The instability of this transitional period, however, is not only marked by holdover elements from the old style. An innovation of this period was to place the registration docket between the body contract and the subscription(s), whereas before (and after) it was generally written at the foot of the contract. Another feature of the transitional period is a certain laxness in regards to the completeness of the body contract. Including unpublished contracts in the Michigan collection, I count 12 contracts written between 26 BCE and 9 CE in seven different *grapheia* (all in the Arsinoite nome) whose body contract is either incomplete or not written at all. They are often marked by a large blank space in lieu of the full body contract and some have short notations at the top, such as a personal description of the parties involved. The examples with incomplete body contracts can even break off mid-sentence (e.g., #11).

Table 2. *Incomplete Early Roman Grapheion Contracts.*²⁸⁸

No.	Contract	Date	<i>Grapheion</i>	Type	Elements at Top of Document
1	<i>P.Ryl.</i> IV 601	1 Aug., 26 BCE	Ptolemais Euergetis	Lease of Cleruchic land	incomplete body contract
2	P.Mich. inv. 4436g+4344	12/11 BCE	unknown	Work contract	incomplete body contract
3	<i>P.Gen.</i> II 89	6 Jan., 5 BCE	Theadelphia	Sale on delivery	illegible
4	<i>P.Mil.</i> I ² 4	24 Jan., 2 BCE	Theadelphia	Sale on delivery	illegible (person description?)
5	<i>P.Oslo.</i> II 32	23 Aug., 1 CE	Apias	Sublease of public land	personal descriptions
6	P.Mich. inv. 1324	25 Mar., 6 CE	Theadelphia	unknown	personal descriptions and date/location
7	<i>BGUI</i> 174	22 Aug., 7 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	unknown	date/location

²⁸⁸ Contracts 2, 8, and 11 are being edited by myself, Nikos Litinas, and Elizabeth Nabney.

8	P.Mich. inv. 4346+4446f	15 Oct., 7 CE	Philagris	Service Contract	incomplete body contract
9	<i>P.Mich. V 345</i>	10 Dec., 7 CE	Tebtunis	Agreement not to prosecute	date/location
10	<i>P.Fay. 89</i>	2 Mar., 9 CE	Pelousion	Loan of seed	date/location
11	P.Mich. inv. 931 + <i>P.Col. X 249</i>	16 Sep., 9 CE	Philagris	Service contract	incomplete body contract
12	<i>P.Grenf. II 40</i>	14 Dec., 9 CE	Soknopaiou Nesos	unknown	personal descriptions and date/location

Eleanor Husselman discussed the handful of examples known to her in the introduction to *P.Mich. V* and argued that, despite their apparent incompleteness, “the ἀναγραφή established the validity of the subscriptions.”²⁸⁹ Hans Julius Wolff was initially more hesitant,²⁹⁰ but later accepted their full validity, although he took the narrow time frame of these documents as suggestive of a “besondere Methode” of notarial contract writing limited to the early years of Roman rule.²⁹¹ The two Ptolemaic examples, however, published in the Appendix, show that this type of practice originated already in the late Ptolemaic *grapheion*.

I am not inclined to follow Wolff and view these contracts as examples of some sort of a “special procedure,” since, while their upper halves exhibit a fair degree of variability, they otherwise adhere to the standard form of contemporary contracts. I would rather attribute their peculiarities to the scribes’ experimentation with the bounds of the late Ptolemaic reformed double document and the early Roman *grapheion* contract. It is understandable that the *grapheion* scribes would seek efficiencies if given the chance, especially since complete versions and/or abstracts of these contracts were produced – or at least were expected to be produced – for archival purposes.²⁹² Likewise, scribes of Egyptian documents, now written in the *graphēia*, omitted clauses and even left them incomplete, presumably because the detailed Greek *hypographe* contained all the necessary contractual information (cf. the next section, 3.4). This experimentation with the Greek body contract, however, must have been addressed by the end of Augustus’ reign or the beginning

²⁸⁹ *P.Mich. V*, p. 10.

²⁹⁰ It is “difficult to conceive such validity as entirely equivalent to that of a fully executed document.” Wolff 1948, 85.

²⁹¹ Wolff 1978, 42-43. In addition to the ἀναγραφή, many of these contracts are cancelled with crosshatching (χιασμός), indicating that the documents were returned after the obligations were fulfilled. Wolff concluded from a few published examples that “[sie] müssen also als vollgültige Schuldscheine angesehen worden sein” (p. 43).

²⁹² *Grapheion* abstracts can be found as early as 16 CE (*P.Tebt. V 241*) and a recently-published *anagraphe*-account dates from the early Roman period (*P.Narm. I 1*). The scribe’s inclination to streamline his work can be seen in the earlier stage of the Ptolemaic double document, when the *scriptura interior* was often written in a small, fast cursive or, exceptionally, not written out in full (*BGUX 1957*, Arsinoite, 177 BCE; cf. Wolff 1978, 66).

of Tiberius’, since such incomplete, yet registered, contracts are not found after 9 CE.²⁹³ Stricter control over the quality of registered contracts or a ruling that negated the evidential value of incomplete contracts, moreover, might provide an explanation for why so many ὑπογραφαί were left in the *grapheion* of the Tebtunis.

Table 3. Diplomatics of late Ptolemaic and Roman *grapheion* contracts

Late Ptolemaic Double Document (ca. 125 – ca. 30 BCE)	Early Roman <i>Grapheion</i> Contract (ca. 30 – 14 CE)	Roman <i>Grapheion</i> Contract (ca. 14 CE – ca. 250 CE)
1. Abstract (<i>scriptura interior</i>)	1. Body contract (old <i>scriptura exterior</i>), occasionally incomplete or missing	1. Body contract (old <i>scriptura exterior</i>)
2. Body contract (<i>scriptura exterior</i>)	2. Registration docket	2. Subscription(s)
3. Subscription(s)	3. Subscription(s)	3. Registration docket
4. Acknowledgement of <i>syngrophylax</i>		
5. Registration Docket		

These modifications show that from the onset of their rule in Egypt, the Romans were interested in modifying the Ptolemaic notarial system, even at such a minute level as contract diplomatics. Although our evidence is limited, it is possible that these modifications are just a part of a more comprehensive reform of the entire system, including the establishment and unification of the network of archives, discussed below in section 3.5. At the very least, we can be certain that they went hand-in-hand with changes in the realm of Egyptian contracts, which is the subject of the next section.

3.4 Egyptian and Greek Contracts

Another reform that was instituted at the onset of Roman rule was the removal of Egyptian contract writing from the realm of the native temples.²⁹⁴ Up until the end of Ptolemaic rule, Egyptian notarial contracts were written in a temple context by a *sh*, “scribe” or *sh qnb.t*,

²⁹³ The many subscriptions of the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive, though not registered and returned to the contracting parties, show that subscriptions continued to be written first, with the contracts often being left incomplete. Some later registered contracts occasionally have notations at the top, such as the personal description in *P.Corn.* 6 (Oxyrhyncha, 17 CE) or the *grammatikon* due in *SB* XIV 11279 (Theadelphia, 44 CE).

²⁹⁴ See generally Schentuleit 2010.

“document scribe,” who wrote on behalf of the temple’s priesthood.²⁹⁵ These documents were witnessed, with the names of the witnesses written on the back of the contract, and were likely entered into temple registers.²⁹⁶ After about 145 BCE, these contracts could be registered in a *grapheion* and thus be introduced as evidence into Greek courts.

In the Roman period, by contrast, Egyptian contracts were now written and registered in the *grapheion* itself. There initially appears to have been a certain division of labor between the Demotic and Greek registering notary, since usually the νομογράφος / ὁ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ is different from the scribe who signs the Demotic contract.²⁹⁷ In some cases, they may have even formed a partnership to run the *grapheion*.²⁹⁸ Later, however, we know that at least one νομογράφος, the Tesenouphis who wrote out the valuable sublease application,²⁹⁹ also wrote Demotic contracts.³⁰⁰

Turning to contract diplomatics, witnesses were no longer recorded³⁰¹ and instead the *grapheion* notary (νομογράφος / ὁ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ) wrote a Greek summary of the contract below the Demotic and the contracting parties added Greek subscriptions, written by others if they did not know Greek.³⁰² In tandem with these developments, Schentuleit has noted the shortening and omission of clauses in the Demotic portion of the contract, even to the point of breaking off mid-clause. Based on “the incompleteness of the Demotic text and the lack of witness signatures, as well as the subscription of the scribe,” she concludes “that the detailed *hypographe* was sufficient to ensure the legal validity of the document, while the Demotic text played only a minor role.”³⁰³ The added cost of such a detailed bilingual document, whose Egyptian portion was increasingly

²⁹⁵ Arlt 2008, 15. Cf. Chapter 2.4.

²⁹⁶ De Cenival 1987.

²⁹⁷ “Auffällig ist die mehrfach belegte Kombination einer Person mit griechischem Namen, was unter den Einwohnern von Soknopaiou Nesos äußerst selten war, und einer Person mit für den Ort üblichen ägyptischem Namen und Filiation” (*P.Dime* III, p. 105).

²⁹⁸ *P.Dime* III, p. 105.

²⁹⁹ See above, section 3.2.1.

³⁰⁰ *P.Dime* III, p. 106.

³⁰¹ The last Demotic contract with recorded witnesses is *SB* XVI 13017 (24 BCE). Individuals might still wish to have their contracts witnessed, even if this act was no longer legally relevant: cf. Satabous’ petition *SBI* 5232, quoted in full and discussed above in Chapter 1.5.

³⁰² First-party subscriptions appear from 12 BCE, while second-party subscriptions are added slightly later: Muhs 2005, 97. Cf. *P.Dime* III, pp. 4-5.

³⁰³ Schentuleit 2010, 364: “Die Unvollständigkeit der demotischen Texte sowie das Fehlen der Zeugenunterschriften und der Unterschrift des Schreibers weisen darauf hin, daß die ausführliche griechische Hypographe ausreichte, um die Rechts gültigkeit des Dokumentes zu gewährleisten, der demotische Text spielte nur noch eine untergeordnete Rolle. ”

irrelevant, likely explains the slow demise of Demotic contracts over the course of the first century CE.³⁰⁴

It is interesting to compare the precarious situation of the Demotic body contract with that of the body contract in monolingual Greek *grapheion* contracts discussed in the previous section. I noted that there was a certain diplomatic instability during Augustus' reign, with some body contracts not even being written or even breaking off mid-clause, similar to how Egyptian scribes were dealing with Demotic formulae at the same time. This instability in Greek contracts, however, was likely addressed by the beginning of Tiberius' reign, since thereafter there is a much higher degree of diplomatic uniformity. It is highly unlikely that Roman authorities concerned themselves with similarly regulating the form of the Egyptian portion of bilingual contracts, which in fact continued to be written with varying degrees of fullness until the eventual triumph of Greek monolingual contracting.

The unification of Egyptian and Greek contract writing in one place was a novelty of the Roman period, which gave unprecedented authority to the state-authorized village notaries. With this expanded authority came additional responsibilities, such as drawing up copies, abstracts, and registers of contracts for state authorities. We now turn to the ultimate destination of these notarial documents, the state archives.

3.5 State Archives in Roman Egypt

“Zu den markantesten Institutionen des römischen Ägypten gehörten große *amtliche Archive*.”³⁰⁵

In Chapter 2 we saw that the Ptolemies developed a network of notarial offices in the countryside, whose initial purpose was simply to register private contracts, but which in the last century of Ptolemaic rule appear to have become responsible for drafting public instruments and perhaps even archiving them in some fashion. In the 70s and 60s BCE we even find a notation both that the contract “has been registered through the *grapheion* in Ptolemais Euergetis” and that it “has been registered in the archive (ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ)” on the same day.³⁰⁶ These are some

³⁰⁴ Schentuleit 2010, 365. Cf. Muhs 2005.

³⁰⁵ Wolff 1978, 46.

³⁰⁶ E.g., *P.Ashm.* I 14+15 (71 BCE) and *P.Ashm.* I 16+17 (69 BCE)

of the first references to a βιβλιοθήκη, “record office” or “archive,” in Egypt,³⁰⁷ but its precise function within the late Ptolemaic notarial system is unclear.

The development of the Roman network of state archives is equally shrouded in obscurity, since concrete information does not come until the middle of the first century, 80 years into Roman rule. In the case of Satabous, however, we already saw that his opponent, in a gambit designed to undermine the validity of Satabous’ sale contract, “searched for the sale in the archive” and found that his contract had not been deposited there.³⁰⁸ This archive (βιβλιοθήκη) is not further specified, but most commentators have equated it with a central archive in Alexandria, since the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, whose provisions date back to Augustus’ reign, required state notaries (here, συναλλαγματογράφοι) to “submit here ([κα]ταχωρίζειν ἐνθάδε), i.e., in Alexandria, all the contracts drawn up by them within set time frames or face a 100-drachma fine.³⁰⁹ There seems to have been only one central archive in Alexandria for the deposition of contracts before Hadrian, the *Nanaion*,³¹⁰ named after its located within the precinct of the temple of Nana (equated with Isis), so Satabous’ petition seems to provide evidence that this archive was operational as early as 14/15 CE. Whether the deposition of contracts in the Nanaion was usual practice or even required at this point cannot be determined on present evidence.³¹¹

The first evidence for regional archives in the nome *metropoleis* comes from 53 CE, when multiple property declarations were submitted to new officials known as βιβλιοφύλακες. Two such declarations were made by Karanis residents to a Thrakidas, γυμνασίαρχος καὶ βιβλιοφύλαξ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοεῖτη βιβλιοθήκης,³¹² while declarations from Memphis were submitted to two βιβλιοφύλακες τοῦ ἐν Μέμφει βιβλιοφυλακίου.³¹³ These documents list the private holders of the declarants,³¹⁴ which is followed by the statement, “I have submitted the declaration (ἀπογραφή),” and a docket written in the office of the βιβλιοφύλαξ stating that the declaration “has been deposited (κατακέχωρισται)” on a certain date, concluding with “I have signed.”

³⁰⁷ Cf. *P.AdI.* 5.12 (Pathyris, 108 BCE), where a copy of a contract is said to have been deposited in the βιβλιοθήκη.

³⁰⁸ *SBI* 5232.32-34. See above, Chapter 1.5.

³⁰⁹ *BGUV* 1210, §100. See Wolff 1978, 47, Burkhalter 1990, 211, and Jördens 2010, 163-164.

³¹⁰ Another main Alexandrian archive, the Patrika, was headed by the *archidikastes* and housed the official papers of office holders: Cockle 1984, 117-118 and Burkhalter 1990, 194.

³¹¹ Cf. Jördens 2010, 165.

³¹² *P.Mich.* IX 539 and 540.

³¹³ *SBXX* 14392. Cf. also *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3332 and *PSIXV* 1521.

³¹⁴ E.g., “I own in the village a house, a courtyard, an oil press, and dovecote, in which I live and work, and around Psenharspenesis of the same district three and twenty-five thirty-seconds arouras of an olive orchard and three arouras of a katoikic allotment” (*P.Mich.* IX 539.9-17).

Clearly there was a general call for such declarations to be made around 53 CE, which in later documents is often explicitly attributed to “the orders (τὰ κελευσθέντα, *vel sim.*),” that is, an edict, of the prefect. These “general” declarations differ from “regular” declarations, which by the late first century were required upon acquisition of property.³¹⁵ The declarations of 53 CE must have been preceded – by how long we cannot say – by an edict establishing the nome βιβλιοθήκαι, but this has not been preserved.

This leaves an 80-year period for which we only have evidence for a single, central archive for contracts in Alexandria. We know, however, that the local *grapheia* were fully functional during this period, both from the numerous contracts produced through the offices, and the archival material – the *eiromena* and *anagraphai* – in the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive. The bulk of the Tebtunis archival evidence dates from the 40s CE, but there is evidence that similar documents were being produced perhaps as early as Augustus’ reign.

The recently-discovered *P.Narm.* I 1, for example, is an *anagraphe*-account, of the same type as the Karanis Register, which the editor dates to the late first century BCE or early first CE, probably during the reign of Augustus or Tiberius.³¹⁶ It lists contracts drawn up in the *grapheion* of Narmouthis (one presumes) and the *grammatikon* charged. Although such a document only attests to the private accounting of the local notary, it shows familiarity with the standard entries of *anagraphai*, e.g., ὄμο(λογία) PN πρὸς PN (type of contract), and thus may be evidence that the standard *grapheion* archival documents, the composite roll, *eiromenon*, and *anagraphe*, were already being produced in the *grapheia*.

The next piece of evidence comes from 16 CE. *P.Mich.* V 241 is the beginning of an *eiromenon* of the type best represented by the long roll *P.Mich.* II 121 recto. It was written on the back of a contract subscription dating to 13 CE that was never registered and had been left in the *grapheion* (*P.Mich.* V 346a). Perhaps this re-used sheet was originally destined to form part of a larger *eiromenon* roll, but in the end was never joined. In any case, it complements the Narmouthis *anagraphe*-account in showing that *eiromena* were already being produced at the beginning of Tiberius’ reign.

³¹⁵ For this distinction see *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3332, p. 57.

³¹⁶ Based on the hand and the accounting in silver drachmas: *P.Narm.* I, pp. 1-2.

There has been much debate as to where these archival documents ultimately ended up.³¹⁷ The fact that so many examples of *eiromena* and *anagraphai* were found in Tebtunis is suggestive of the idea that these documents remained in the *grapheion* and were not transmitted to higher authorities, whether in the metropolis or Alexandria. No evidence of composite rolls, τόμοι συγκολλησίμοι, were found in the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive, so evidently these were submitted elsewhere. If we connect the *Gnomon* provision for submitting private contracts to Alexandria and the reference to a βιβλιοθήκη, probably in Alexandria, in Satabous' petition, both mentioned above, to the lack of τόμοι in the Tebtunis archive, we might conclude that these were submitted to Alexandria. Further, if we accept that the silence on any nome βιβλιοθήκαι before 53 means that they did not exist during the 40s, when the bulk of the archival material in the Tebtunis *grapheion* was written, then this would provide an adequate explanation for why the *eiromena* and *anagraphai* remained in the *grapheion*. This is an admittedly tenuous reconstruction.

We should return to the offer to sublease the *grapheion* of Soknopaiou Nesos. We will remember that there the sub-lessee promised to submit (καταχωρίζω) the three types of archival documents to the primary lessee: καταχωρίσω σοι διὰ τετραμήνου πάντα τοὺς δι' ἐμοῦ οἰκονομηθησομένους χρηματισμοὺς ἐν τόμῳ συγκολλησίμῳ καὶ εἰρομένῳ ἐνὶ καὶ ἀναγραφή μιᾷ, “I will submit to you every four months the contracts to be drawn up by me in a composite roll, one *eiromenon*, and one *anagraphē*.”³¹⁸ Technically, of course, these documents are only submitted to the primary contractor and may not have left his office. But given that this practice of composing the three types of archival documents is attested in multiple *grapheia* in the early Roman period, it was certainly a state requirement and, if so, it is hard to imagine the state not requiring access to such documents. Further, the Soknopaiou Nesos lessee agrees also to pay eight drachmas per submission, which is almost certainly an administrative fee for cataloging the documents. But lacking evidence for nome archives before 53 and with only a tentative grasp on the existence of a central archive in Alexandria, it is best to remain agnostic as to the ultimate destination of these documents until new evidence arises.

Once the nome archives are established – the δημοσία βιβλιοθήκη in 53 at the latest and the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων in 72 at the latest³¹⁹ – it seems likely that *grapheion* contracts and the

³¹⁷ See Husselman 1970, 225-226.

³¹⁸ *M. Chr.* 183.16-20 (the corrected Greek is quoted).

³¹⁹ Wolff 1978, 48-49.

associated archival documents were sent to both the metropolis and to Alexandria. Perhaps the best evidence for their deposition in the metropolite archives is a fragmentary copy of a contract, *BGUI* 76 (II-III CE), which is headed: ἐκ βιβλιοθήκ(ης) ἐγκτήσεων Ἀρσι(νοίτου) ἐξ ἐί.³²⁰ *SB* XIV 11533 (104 CE or later) is also crucial evidence in this regard, although not entirely unambiguous. The heading to the contract in col. II reads: ἀντ[ίγρ]αφον ἀλλη[λ]ομ[ο]λογίας ἐκχωρήσεως ἐγ βιβλιοθήκης ἐξ ἀναγραφῆς γραφείου κόμης Ταλει <καὶ> ἄλλων κωμῶν τῆς [Π]ολέμωνος μ[ε]ρίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοειτίου νομ[ο]ῦ, “copy of a mutual agreement of cession from the archive, from the register of the *grapheion* of the village of Talei and other villages of the Polemon division of the Arsinoite nome.” Since what follows is a full copy of the contract, ἀναγραφή must have a wider meaning here, perhaps something akin to the village’s “file.”³²¹ The heading of the next column reads ἐγ διαστρώματος τῆς τῶν ἐγκτήσε[ων] βιβλιοθήκης, followed by an abstract of ἐκχώρησις agreement copied in col. II. “Since cols. 2 and 3 are concerned with the same property transaction and are so closely connected” Pierce writes, “one may also argue that the βιβλιοθήκη of col. 2 is the same as the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων of col. 3.”³²² Pierce’s supposition is supported by the fragmentary copy *BGUI* 74.

There is a only one other direct parallel for these headings, but unfortunately it does not shed further light on the identity of the βιβλιοθήκη: [ἀντίγραφον συγγρα]φ[ῆς] ἐκ βιβλιοθήκης, γραφείου κόμης Καρανίδος, “copy of a (marriage) contract from the archive, *grapheion* of the village of Karanis.”³²³ This heading leaves out the phrase ἐξ ἀναγραφῆς from *SB* XIV 11533, but otherwise is essentially the same. We should also consider those documents that begin ἐξ εἰρομένου as variations of this type of heading: e.g., [ἐξ εἰ]ρομένου γρα[φείου κόμης Τε]βτύνεως (*P.Kron.* 19.1, Tebtunis, 145 CE).³²⁴ Again, as in the case of ἀναγραφή above, the term εἰρόμενον cannot be taken in its most precise sense, since these contracts appear to be full copies and not just abstracts.

Although it does not appear in these documents, the heading ἐξ εἰρομένου is clearly dependent upon an understood ἀντίγραφον. When we open up the enquiry to contracts headed with

³²⁰ I would supply ἐξ εἰρομένου based off the example discussed below.

³²¹ Cf. Pierce 1968, 72-73 and see below on the phrase ἐξ εἰρομένου. Further evidence for the extended meaning of ἀναγραφή comes from *P.Mich.* inv. 2221, a small fragment entitled ἀναγρ[α]φ[ῆ], but followed by an abstract or a complete copy of a contract drawn up on the first day of an unknown month.

³²² Pierce 1968, 73.

³²³ *P.Mich.* XXII 858 (75 CE or later), forthcoming.

³²⁴ The others are *P.Stras.* VII 666 (Nilopolis, 145 CE), *SPP* XXII 36 (Nilopolis/Soknopaiou Nesos, 145 CE), and *P.Münch.* III.1 97 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 161-180 CE).

ἀντίγραφον, we find a wealth of documents, some simply entitled ἀντίγραφον, others further identified through the contract type.³²⁵ More study is needed on such copies to determine whether they originated from *grapheia*, and thus were copies made at the time of the transaction, or whether they were drawn from the archives. My suspicion, however, is that most, if not all, of these contract were copied from the archives because when we do have multiple copies contracts drawn up in a *grapheion*, none is entitled ἀντίγραφον.³²⁶ It seems, therefore, that the nome archives housed private contracts and archival documents drawn up in the local *grapheia* and that these were available to provincials upon request.

Let us now turn to the central archives in Alexandria, which also housed private contracts. The best evidence for their operation is T. Flavius Titianus' edicts of 127 CE, which lay out regulations for the newly-established "archive of Hadrian" (βιβλιοθήκη Ἀδριανοῦ, also known as the Ἀδριανὴ βιβλιοθήκη) and reforms the procedure in the older archive, the Nanaion.³²⁷ Scribes in the *katalogeion*, the office of the *archidikastes*, were to make abstracts of the contracts that entered the office and deposit these in both archives. The *katalogeion* was thus "a clearing house for documents to be deposited in the central libraries."³²⁸ "Copyists" (εἰκονισταί) in the *chora*³²⁹ were to scrutinize "the so-called deposit rolls destined for deposition," noting any erasures or additions to the contracts, and making a clean copy of the contract with their notes attached.³³⁰ The decree then goes on to forbid the superintendent (ἐπιτηρητής) of the Nanaion from lending out documents without an order from the superintendent of Hadrian's archive, thus giving the new library precedence over the old.

The edict is intended for an audience of officials that is already familiar with the basic archival procedures – indeed the edicts were copied out by one archivist for another – and thus does not offer a clear and comprehensive picture of the central archives. Nevertheless, through a close reading we are able to elucidate some of the key procedures, even if some ambiguity remains. We can be absolutely certain that complete contracts reached Alexandria in some form because a

³²⁵ A search of Papyri.info for ἀντίγραφον and, under metadata, "Vertrag," returned 157 hits (29 Sep., 2014).

³²⁶ See, e.g., the copies published in *P.Mich.* V.

³²⁷ *P.Oxy.* I 34 verso = *M.Chr.* 188. See the translation and discussion in Keenan, Manning, and Yiftach-Firanko 2014, 2.6.1.

³²⁸ Pierce 1968, 79.

³²⁹ Wolff 1978, 52-53.

³³⁰ ο[ἱ] καλ]οῦμενοι εἰκονισταί ὅταν τὸν τόμον [τῶν πρ]οσαγορευομένων [συνκολ]λησίμων πρὸς καταχωρισμὸν ἀνε-
τ[άξ]ωσι παρασημιούσθ[ωσαν] [εἴ πο]ῦ ἀπ'αλ/ήλειπται ἢ ἐπιγέγραπται τι ὃ [ἐτέ]ρωσ ἔχει· καὶ ἀντίγρ[αφον]
γεν]όμενον ἐν ἐ[ν]ὶ χάρτη καταχωριζέτωσαν ε[ἰς τὰς] δύο βιβλιοθήκας (col. 1.12-16).

reform that is introduced here requires *katalogeion* scribes to make abstracts to be deposited in the two main archives. These abstracts must of course have been made from complete contracts and they might be the clean copies that the local “copyists” produced.

While the edict suggests that only contract copies reached Alexandria, the one clear instance of a *grapheion* contract retrieved from a central archive in Alexandria appears to be an original. *P.Fam.Tebt.* 29 (133 CE) is a report or proceedings that begins: “The petition of Herakleia, daughter of Hermous was read and the subscribed contract to which she referred was brought out from the archive of the Nanaion.”³³¹ The fact that the contract is described as “subscribed” (ὕπογεγραμμένη) may indicate that this is the original copy of the contract, written, as we learn later, in the *grapheion* of Tebtunis.³³² On the other hand, this word may simply be emphasizing the fact that the petitioner personally acknowledged the terms of the contract by writing her subscription, one of the formal requirements for a valid contract.

As in the case of the nome archives, we cannot elucidate the procedures of the central archives with absolutely precision. Yet, we do have pretty clear evidence that full contracts in some shape and form reached Alexandria and that this practice was in place from the time of Satabous’ petition (14/15 CE) through the second century. Certainly the precise procedures varied over time, as Titianus’ edict shows, but a fairly coherent picture emerges of “backup” copies stored both in the nome *metropoleis* and in Alexandria, which were accessible to the provincial population.

To further flesh out this point, let us return to the Karanis contract entitled [ἀντίγραφον συγγρα]φ[ῆς] ἐκ βιβλιοθήκης, γραφείου κώμης Καρανίδος, which I argued above was drawn from βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων. This contract was kept among the papers of the father and son soldiers Sabinus and Apollinarius and documents the marriage arrangements of Sambathion, daughter of Neilos, Sabinus’ aunt and Apollinarius’ great aunt. While the contract itself is dated to August 19, 75 CE, the preserved copy must be from later, because the contract had already been deposited in the archive, whence it was copied. In fact, it seems likely that the contract was copied as late 117/118, because it played a role in Sambathion’s will drawn up in that year, where the marriage contract is specifically cited: κατὰ συγγραφήν γεγυνηῖαν διὰ τοῦ ἐν κώμῃ [Καρανίδι γρ]αφίου τῷ ἑβδόμῳ | [ἔτει θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ μηνὶ] Καισαρείῳ οὐσα(ν) ἐν δραγμαῖς χειλίας ἐκατὸν.³³³ The

³³¹ [ἀναγνω]σθείσης ἐντεῦξ[ε]ως Ἡρακλείας τῆς Ἑρμοῦτος, τῆς [δὲ δι’ αὐτ]ῆς σημαυνομένης συγγραφῆς ὑπογεγραμμένης ἐκ 10[τῆς τοῦ Ναν]αίου βιβλιοθήκης ἐπενηνεγμένης (II. 8-10).

³³² *P.Fam.Tebt.* 29.29-31. Cf. Wolff 1978, 52 with n. 33a.

³³³ *P.Mich.* XXII 860.8-9, forthcoming.

copying of Sambathion's marriage contract was probably made as part of the immediate preparations for her will, thus about 42 years after it was originally deposited.

Copies such as this one are important testimony to provincials' active engagement with regional archives and to the fact that in many cases the archives did their job. Returning to the arguments of Chapter One, this archival access is evidence of Rome's effort "to make information of every kind accessible to the residents of empire,"³³⁴ while also securing and guaranteeing their private transactions. Further, these links between the *grapheion*, the metropolis, and Alexandria, provide a context for the hundreds of contract entries in the Karanis Register. While these were recorded simply to track the finances of the Karanis *grapheion*, they are traces of what was a far more vast archival operation that reached the *archidikastes*' office in Alexandria and eventually the central archives.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has laid out the internal workings of the village *grapheion* and has shown how these offices were both empowered by Roman innovations, such as the elevation of the *grapheion* contract to a fully public instrument and the removal of Egyptian contracts from the temple milieu, and integrated into the larger notarial system. These reforms were not the "logical consequence" of the Ptolemaic *grapheion*, but reflect rather Rome's commitment to efficiently enforcing contract as part of their ideological guarantee of law and order in the provinces.

In a general survey of the Roman Empire, Greg Woolf wrote, "Romans of all ranks believed in the power of individuals much more than they did in the power of institutions."³³⁵ In my study of the writing offices and state archives of Roman Egypt, I have come to believe that a more balanced assessment is necessary. I am reminded of Youtie's prudent assessment of the role of professional *hypographeis*, literate locals who wrote subscriptions on behalf of their fellow villagers: "the client was depending as much on the reliability of the institution which supplied the clerk as on the clerk himself."³³⁶ The long tenure of Apion and his son Kronion in the *grapheion* of Tebtunis, or the reliable service of the subscriber Heron, son of Satyros in the *grapheion* of Karanis, built up the credibility of the institution to which they were attached.

³³⁴ Ando 2000, 96. Cf. Chapter 1.4.

³³⁵ Woolf 2012, 176.

³³⁶ Youtie 1975, 220.

While villagers would have been familiar with the local notary and the local men who could be called upon to write a subscription, they were also comfortable using the services of another village's *grapheion*. In Chapter One, we noted that Satabous' sale contract with a fellow villager for property in his home village of Soknopaiou Nesos was not concluded in this village, but rather in Psinachis.³³⁷ There are numerous loans drawn up through one village's *grapheion*, but returned through another.³³⁸ The potential for a belief in depersonalized institutions comes out nicely in one first century letter: "tell me through anyone you can ... if the archive (βιβλιοθήκη) issues the documents for you."³³⁹ The officials of the regional and central archives were certainly not known to most people. The writing offices of Roman Egypt were thus successfully institutionalized without local notaries losing the familiarity with local society that helped sustain their credibility.

³³⁷ Chapter 1.5.

³³⁸ E.g., *P.Amh.* II 111 (132 CE), written in Herakleia, referring to the original loan drawn up in Soknopaiou Nesos.

³³⁹ ε[ὶ]πέ μοι δι' οὗ ἐὰν δύνη ... εἰ ἡ βιβλιοθήκη συγχρηματίζει (*P.Col.* X 252.9-12).

Chapter Four: Material and Textual Analysis of the Karanis Register

4.1 Introduction

For the majority of Egypt's inhabitants, the prime mediator of the documentary world was the village notary. In this chapter, we have the opportunity to peek inside his office and catch a glimpse of the notarial system of Roman Egypt at high magnification. This opportunity comes both from the fortuitous discovery of a series of rolls tucked within a wooden threshold of the village of Karanis and a second, much more arduous discovery of the rolls' meaning through a careful papyrological edition of their contents.

This chapter offers both a material analysis of the threshold papyri and a textual analysis of the Karanis Register, while the next chapter contains the edition proper. Here, I first attempt a reconstruction of the rolls as they existed in their final, re-used form. No material analysis of written objects can or should be wholly separated from textual analysis, however, and I will find opportunity here to discuss some of the textual clues that helped with the reconstruction of the rolls. Once the rolls have been put back together, so to speak, I turn to textual concerns, describing first the various texts written on the rectos, which were pasted together for re-use in the *grapheion*, then focusing on the long accounting register that fills the versos of almost all the threshold papyri. The structure of the Karanis Register is deceptively simply; there is much to unpack from these entries and only issues related to the overall comprehension of the document and its wider historical interest are discussed here. The reader will find finer points in the commentary.

4.2 Discovery and Identification of the Threshold Papyri

The threshold papyri were discovered under unique circumstances. The surprise find was interesting enough to warrant some of the few *in situ* photographs of papyri from Michigan's decade-long excavation.³⁴⁰ In the well-known photo below (Fig. 2), one can see a deposit of papyrus rolls lying within a wooden doorway threshold. The threshold consists of an upper and a lower beam, the upper one broken at the left and notched at the right, where the door post would

³⁴⁰ Wilfong 2012, 231.

have originally been slotted. In front of the threshold is a partially-preserved stone surface used to pave a sturdy floor on which the threshold could rest.³⁴¹ The photograph must have been made shortly after discovery: while most of the threshold and the stone paving in front had been swept clean to give the clearest view of the find, the roll at the top-right is still partially immersed in sand. This roll and its twin in front are lying horizontally in the threshold, just as they were found. The left part of the threshold shows more evidence of clearing,³⁴² but the other rolls were not moved much, if at all.

This doorway and the papyri tucked within the threshold were discovered in the first season of excavation, over the winter of 1924-1925. The doorway connects two rooms (D and E) in house 5026, which was located at the eastern edge of the enormous crater carved out by large-scale extraction of *sebakh*, the decaying remains of ancient organic material used as fertilizer. Numerous artifacts and other papyri were found in the house, but none can be connected with the texts under discussion. In any case, many of these may have been deposited long after the threshold texts were forgotten. P.Mich. inv. 4626 (24-5026B-D) and 4628 (24-5026D-A), for instance, are dated to the third century and 4627 (24-5026B-L) can be dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius,³⁴³ while below we will propose an early second century date for the final use of the threshold rolls.

The summary of the excavation report states that in house 5026, “the outer threshold beam of the door between rooms D and E had been hollowed out and in that space had been concealed several papyrus documents of the first half of the second century,”³⁴⁴ with the footnote giving inventory numbers 4388-91, an identification found already in E.E. Peterson’s unpublished manuscript on the Karanis excavations, which served as the basis for Husselman’s summary.³⁴⁵

³⁴¹ “Peterson Manuscript,” 100. For this manuscript, see Wilfong 2014, 20-22.

³⁴² Even the interior of the threshold appears to have been cleared at left, as the dark area between the upper and lower threshold beams suggests.

³⁴³ Dating according to the Inventory of Papyri, which is reproduced in APIS. All are unpublished and have been returned to Egypt.

³⁴⁴ Husselman 1979, 15. The following identification of the threshold papyri is adapted from Claytor 2013b and Claytor 2014b.

³⁴⁵ Pp. 100 and 865. Cf. n. 2.



Figure 2. The threshold papyri in situ. Kelsey Museum Photographic Archive 5.1790. Image courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.

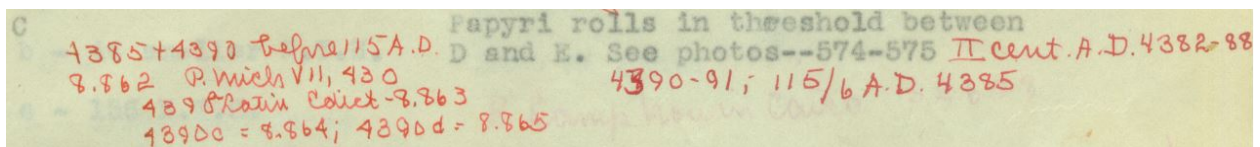


Figure 3. Extract from the Record of Objects (24-5026D-C). Image courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.

There is a discrepancy, however, when one consults the Record of Objects, held in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, which was drawn up year-by-year as the excavation progressed, and later annotated with additional information, such as the inventory numbers and publication information.³⁴⁶ The excavation label 24-5026D-C reads, “Papyri rolls in threshold between D and E”, followed by a hand-written note in red ink giving the inventory numbers 4382-88 and 4390-91 (Fig. 3). As we will see, internal evidence confirms that all but one of these inventory numbers belong to the find, while a plausible explanation can be proposed for the remaining number, 4388. Further, 4389, which the Record of Objects places outside of the threshold find, is of a different

³⁴⁶ Credit is due to Philip Deloria, who made an accurate identification of the threshold texts in an undergraduate honors thesis, a summary of which was published as Deloria 2005.

character.³⁴⁷ We can thus safely conclude that the Record of Objects entry is correct and the excavation reports introduced an error that has impeded analysis of the archive.

While the discovery of papyri preserved in such a unique context must have been exciting at the time, as the *in situ* photographs suggest, there is no contemporary comment on the find. The excavators were working especially quickly in this first season because they had to provide the *dā'ira* Agnelli Gianotti, a local large estate, with 200 cubic meters of *sebakh* per day according to their agreement.³⁴⁸ The fact that the threshold papyri were inventoried separately from other papyri found in house 5026,³⁴⁹ however, suggests that they were perhaps put aside soon after their removal.³⁵⁰

Despite the error in the excavation reports, Sanders and Pearl, the editors of the two published papyri, were aware of connections between the longer series of inventory numbers and had a sense of the character of the verso texts.³⁵¹ Scholars outside of Michigan, lacking the benefit of such an intimate relationship with the papyri and the men who excavated them, could only throw up their hands at the conflicting information between these publications and the excavations reports.³⁵²

I will now turn to the contents of the correctly-identified threshold papyri. With the exception of inv. 4388, all fragments from the threshold preserve portions of a single document, an account written on re-used rolls. These fragments, generally in long, intact segments,³⁵³ are spread out over eight inventory numbers: 4282-4287 and 4290-4291. The rationale behind the assignment of inventory numbers is not clear. The image of the papyri *in situ* may show up to six rolls, but unless more were hidden from the photographer's view, the excavators seem to have assigned more inventory numbers than rolls.

In at least one case, however, it does seem that one inventory number equates with a single roll. Inv. 4384 can be identified in the *in situ* photograph through the shape of a fragment which

³⁴⁷ Published as *P.Mich.* IX 551: see now Vanbeselaere 2013.

³⁴⁸ Boak and Peterson 1931, 3 and Husselman 1979, 1. On the *sebakh* industry in general, see Bailey 1999.

³⁴⁹ The threshold papyri were inventoried in a small group of papyri (4382-4399) that were excavated in the 1925-1926 season (according to the Inventory of Papyri; 1924-1925 according to the Record of Objects). For unknown reasons, the rest of the papyri from this season, including the others from house 5026, were inventoried as 4578-4679. In between, there are miscellaneous groups of papyri, some excavated, some purchased.

³⁵⁰ Another papyrus found in

³⁵¹ *P.Mich.* VII 430, introduction; *P.Congr.XV* 15, introduction.

³⁵² "De documentatie is niet geheel perfect!" Pestman understandably exclaimed (Pestman et al. 1989, 81, n. 3), while Cuvigny observed that "layer indications are contradictory" (Cuvigny 2009, 39, Fig. 2.3.). Until recently the threshold papyri were known in Trismegistos as the archive of Valerius Longus, an individual in *P.Mich.* inv. 4389 (*P.Mich.* IX 551), which was found nearby, by not tucked away in the threshold.

³⁵³ *P.Mich.* inv. 4385, for instance, is 60.5 cm wide.

has recently been re-attached to the main fragment of the roll (Fig. 4-6). This papyrus was folded seven times, which is consistent with the small, flat roll visible in the threshold photograph. On the other hand, inv. 4386 consists only of relatively small fragments, two larger ones of which have been joined to 4391. This inventory number was probably set aside for fragments which could not be associated with any of the larger parts of the roll. I have not been able to determine which other inventory numbers are visible in the photograph.



Figure 4. Detail of threshold papyri in situ with inv. 4384 highlighted. Image courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.



Figure 5. Detail of inv. 4384 in situ. Image courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.



Figure 6. Detail of inv. 4384 recto as currently preserved. Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.

There is no record of the conservation process of the threshold papyri. They must have been unrolled, flattened, and, in some cases, cut to make their handling more manageable.³⁵⁴ Besides the Record of Objects entry and the *in situ* photographs, there does not seem to be any other contemporary record of the discovery.

Since the inventory numbers are not a reliable guide to the reconstruction of the rolls, we must rely on the *in situ* images, the physical features of the rolls, and internal indications on both sides of the papyrus fragments. The register on the verso provides chronological indications for the order of the fragments, since its entries are ordered by day. Month names, however, are only written for the first entry of each month, so other evidence must be taken into account. By identifying each of the different recto texts, five in total, grouping them together, and then checking the order of fragments against the sequence of days on the back, we are able to propose an order of the fragments. The threshold texts are listed below (Tab. 3), ordered by the sequence of days in the account.

Table 3. Threshold texts ordered according to the dates on the verso (the Karanis Register).

Inv.	Dates on Verso
4390	Hathyr ca. 5-13
4385	Hathyr ca. 22-Choiak 14
4383	Choiak 15-Tybi 3
4391+4386	Tybi 4-19
4384	Tybi 20-29
4382	Tybi 29-Mecheir 11
4387	Mecheir 12-27
4388	magical/astronomical text

The beginning and end of the ἀναγραφὴ are not preserved and we cannot be certain how much was lost. Column I contains fragmentary entries that must fall before Hathyr 7, the first date preserved (col. ii.4), while the last date preserved is Mecheir 27 (col. xxxv.1) on a small fragment under inv. 4387. It is safe to assume that the beginning of Hathyr and the end of Mecheir were originally part of the ἀναγραφὴ and that the account spanned at least this four-month period.

³⁵⁴ P.Mich. inv. 4385 and 4383 were cut into smaller sheets. The cuts were made between columns of the recto, thereby splitting some of the verso columns. Cutting was a common practice before modern conservation standards (the much longer Karanis Tax Rolls were also cut into sheets of a single column each).

4.3 Descriptions of Texts on the Recto

The following texts were re-used for the ἀναγραφή on the verso, ordered according to the recto.

- A. ἐπίσκεψις document I (place unknown). Inv. 4387 recto. Remains of two columns, the second of which is cut off by the join with the following papyrus.
- B. ἀναγραφή-account (place unknown). Inv. 4387+4382 recto. At the middle point of inv. 4387 is a join between ἐπίσκεψις I and this text, an ἀναγραφή. The join is marked by the disparity in height between the two papyri (over four cm). Just after the join are the very ends of a column, followed by parts of seven columns, continuing onto inv. 4382. The ἀναγραφή-account is written in a different hand and with some slightly different conventions from that of the verso. It begins before the 13th of an unknown month and goes through the 4th of the next month.
- C. ἐπίσκεψις document II (Andrianton, ca. 70 CE). Inv. 4384+4391+4386a+4383 recto. Inv. 4384 begins with line ends of a column, then a large blank space, followed by two complete columns. After a gap, parts of three columns are preserved on 4391+4386a. One more column is preserved on 4383, but it is cut off by the join with the following papyrus. There are thus parts of 7 columns preserved. The second column informs us that this ἐπίσκεψις was performed for the village of Andrianton in Galba's second year.
- D. ἐπίσκεψις document III (place unknown). Inv. 4383 recto. The right side of a column is preserved after the join with the previous papyrus, then two more complete columns, followed by some indeterminate writing.
- E. ἐπίσκεψις document IV (Psenhyris, ca. 80 CE). *P.Congr.XV*15. Inv. 4385 recto. The end of a column followed by four completely-preserved columns. The sixth column is broken off by the join with the following papyrus.
- F. Latin sayings. *P.Mich.* VII 430. Inv. 4385+4390. Three columns (plus loose fragments) that become progressively more lacunose.

The old papyri that were selected to be pasted together vary in height, texture, and color (Fig. 7). They were aligned at the bottom, as was the standard practice in the creation of *tomoi synkollesimoi*.³⁵⁵

Four documents relate to the ἐπίσκεψις, although there are no clear links between them and two, at least, originate from different villages and years (documents C and E). The other two papyri are an ἀναγραφή-account (B, which is distinct from the Karanis Register) and a papyrus containing Latin sayings (F). The heterogeneity of these recto texts suggests that they were opportunistically acquired for their suitability for re-use and therefore have no necessary relationship with Karanis. Documents C and E originate respectively from Andrianton and Psenhyris, both villages located between Karanis and the nome capital Ptolemais Euergetis. Since

³⁵⁵ Clarysse 2003, 354.

the managers and employees of the Karanis *grapheion* made frequent trips to the metropolis (see 4.17 below), it is quite conceivable that these two rolls were acquired on one of these business trips, either in the villages themselves or from the metropolis archives.

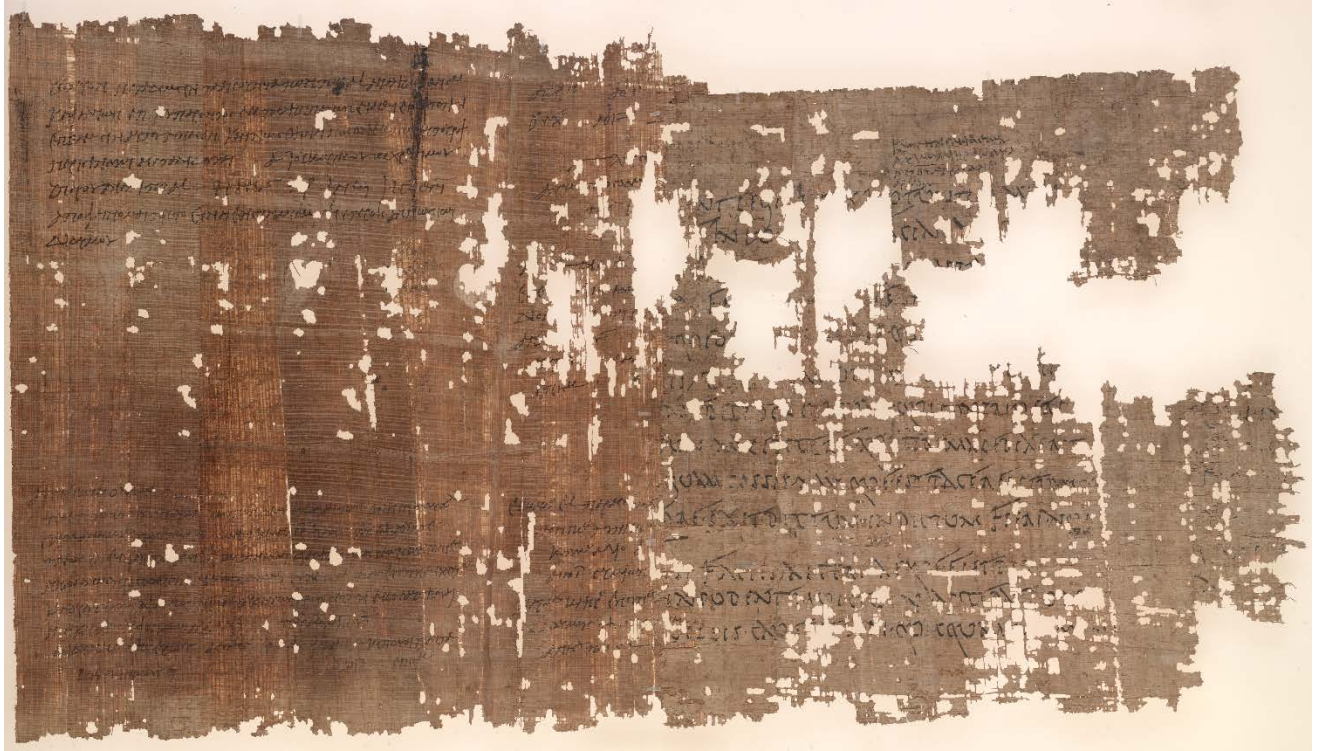


Figure 7. P.Mich. inv. 4385 recto. Document E (the Psenhyris episkepsis) is on the left and Document F (Latin sayings) are on the right. The two rolls differ in color, texture, and height, and are aligned along the bottom. Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.

4.4 Date

Since the Karanis Register was written on re-used papyrus rolls, we must consider both the dates of the six original papyri and the date of re-use. As for the earlier recto texts, the published ἐπίσκεψις from Psenhyris can be dated to ca. 80 CE because of the reference to the *strategos* Ammonios,³⁵⁶ while the unpublished Andrianton ἐπίσκεψις contains a reference to the reign of Galba.³⁵⁷ Lacking further direct evidence, we may assume that the other recto documents were written around this time since their respective hands do not contradict a mid-to-late first century dating. From the Psenhyris ἐπίσκεψις, we can fix the *terminus post quem* for the Karanis Register at ca. 80 CE.

³⁵⁶ P.Congr.XV 15, introduction.

³⁵⁷ P.Mich. inv. 4384 recto, col. II.6-7.

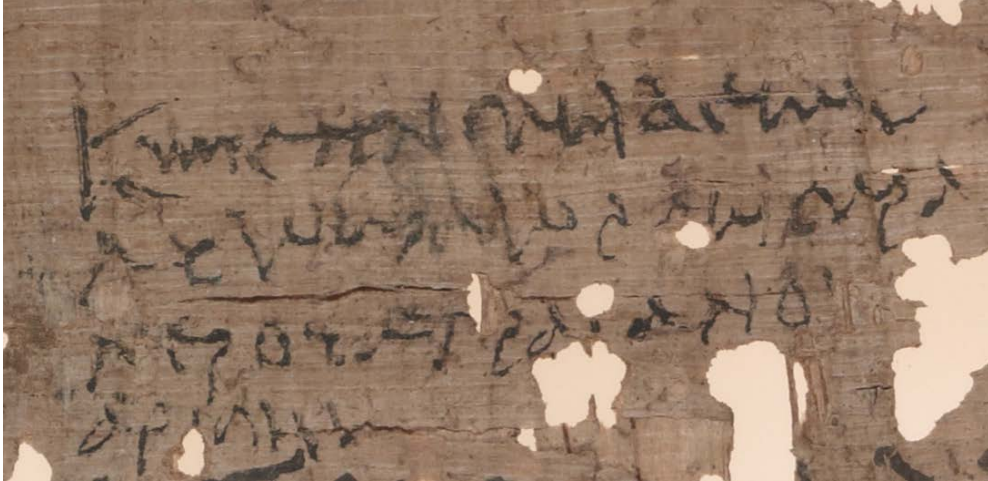


Figure 8. Dating formula for Trajan's 19th year on the recto of inv. 4385. Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.

ἔτους ἔννεακαιδεκάτου
Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ
Ἄριστου

There is an isolated date above the Latin text (document F), however, that is much later: the 19th year of Trajan, or 115/116 CE (fig. 8). The purpose of this date and its relationship to the writing on either side of the papyrus are uncertain. From its location, however, we can at least rule out the possibility that this date served as some kind of label for the Karanis Register on the other side, since it is not at the end of the roll and would therefore not have been visible when the papyrus was rolled up.

Sanders, the editor of *P.Mich.* VII 430, suggested that “it may be the date when someone acquired or read the fragmentary roll.”³⁵⁸ Neither possibility can be ruled out, but there are a couple of peculiar features of the date (besides its location) that suggest to me that it was a writing exercise, which need not have had any other purpose other than practice. First, the formula is incomplete: we would expect the rest of Trajan’s titlature at this time to include Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ. Second, the formula contains a very elementary mistake: instead of the expected genitives Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, the writer began the titlature in the accusative, before switching to the genitive with Νέρουα.³⁵⁹ It should be pointed out that, while the hand is somewhat inconsistent, it is not an unpracticed school hand; the quickly-written ἔτους with a

³⁵⁸ *P.Mich.* VII 430, pp. 9-10.

³⁵⁹ Sanders transcribed the whole formula in the genitive: *P.Mich.* VII, p. 9.

stylized capital epsilon would be well at home at the top of a *grapheion* contract. Nevertheless, the date's incompleteness, incongruent location, and elementary mistakes point to a writing exercise.

A good context for the practicing of imperial titulature would be the *grapheion* in which the roll was re-used. The mixture of genitives and accusatives may be a conflation of the regular dating formula in the genitive and the imperial oath formula in the accusative, both of which would have been frequently written by *grapheion* scribes.³⁶⁰ The hand has similarities to that of the verso, but is not quite the same. Perhaps the most likely scenario is that one of the employees or trainees of the *grapheion* used the margin of the old Latin scroll to practice the standard opening of a contract. Then, discovering his errant use of the accusative or finding that he had not left himself enough space to complete the formula, he abandoned the endeavor.

Although we may contextualize the composition of this out-of-place dating formula in the Karanis *grapheion*, it does not allow us to precisely date the use or re-use of the rolls. One could imagine such an exercise occurring any time after the Latin text was procured for re-use, either before the accounts on the other side were written or when the re-used roll itself was no longer needed. It does, however, provide a *terminus post quem* for when the rolls were deposited in the threshold.

4.5 Palaeography, Abbreviations, and Symbols of the Karanis Register

The same hand is responsible for the entire text of Karanis Register, including corrections and interlinear and intercolumnar additions. It is a small, quickly-written cursive that features much abbreviation. A similar, though neater, hand is found in the customs register *P. Wisc. II 80*, dated to 114 CE.

Nearly every word in the account is abbreviated or represented by a symbol. Abbreviation is almost exclusively signaled by a raised letter. For examples, the two primary contract types, ὁμολογία and μίσθωσις, are represented at ὁμ^ο / ὁμ^ο^λ and μισ^θ respectively, and the πρὸς separating the two parties of the contract is usually written πρ^ο. The article before the patronymic of the first party is written τ^ο, with a v-shaped tau topped with a small omicron at the right.

The symbols employed are also common and are only noted here rather than in the *apparatus*.

/ = γίνονται
) = δραχμή

³⁶⁰ The oath formula would appear in χειρογραφία, on which see below, 4.12, “Non-Registered Documents.”

— = ὀβολός
L = ὄν

4.6 Structure and Format of the Karanis Register

The Karanis Register is an ἀναγραφή-account; that is, an account written in similar format to the archival ἀναγραφαί, which listed with one-line titles the contracts registered in the *grapheion* in chronological order.³⁶¹ While the archival ἀναγραφή only listed registered contracts, the ἀναγραφή-account listed all types of documents drawn up in the *grapheion*, along with the scribal fee (*grammatikon*) paid or still due.

With minor variations, the format of the account is consistent throughout. Unlike most accounts from Greco-Roman Egypt, which keep income and expenditure in separate accounts,³⁶² the Karanis Register tallies both on a daily basis, giving the balance of the *grapheion* account at the end of each day.³⁶³ It is therefore not a summary account, composed after the fact from archived memoranda, but rather a working account, which was updated day-by-day.

Each new day is marked by the day's numeral written in *ekthesis* relative to the rest of the column and the first entry follows immediately. As a general rule, income entries precede expense entries. Among income entries, registered contracts are recorded first, followed by non-registered documents (χειρογραφίαί, ἀναφόρια, etc.: see 4.12). Occasionally, one or more registered contracts and/or other sources of income are recorded after the group of non-registered documents,³⁶⁴ perhaps because they were made later in the day, or because the writer recognized an oversight. Finally, when all the income entries are complete, the γραμματικά and other sources of income (if applicable) are summed.

The writer then records any expenses for the day, if applicable, introduced by the common L-shaped symbol that represents ὄν.³⁶⁵ Expenses vary from a few obols to large bulk payments of 100 dr. that I understand as the monthly φόρος, “rent,” for the right to operate the *grapheion*. The day's remaining balance is calculated after expenses and, finally, the overall balance of the account is calculated.

³⁶¹ On this type of archival document, see above, Chapter 3.2.1.

³⁶² A prime example is *SB VIII 9699*, the farm account from Hermopolis (78-79 CE) that was later reused for the *Athenaion Politeia* and other texts: for images, see http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_131.

³⁶³ It is similar in some respects to *P. Tebt.* V 1151, from the Menches archive.

³⁶⁴ E.g., XVIII.508-510.

³⁶⁵ On the Demotic origin of the symbol, Blanchard 1974, 31.

This description of a standard entry can be represented schematically as follows:

- I Day of the month
 - a) γραμματικά from registered contracts
 - b) γραμματικά from other documents
 - c) other income / balance transfers (rare)
 - d) (γίνονται): sum of the day's income

- II (ὄν), followed by expenditures, itemized to varying degrees

- III λοιπ(αί): the day's balance, after expenditures

- IV (γίνονται): the new overall account balance

Such careful accounting is not found in the Tebtunis ἀναγραφή (*P.Mich.* II 123 recto), which is mostly a day-by-day register of proceeds, interrupted occasionally by some kind of accounting. “Although in general an attempt was made to balance the accounts at or near the end of each month,” Boak observes, “this practice was at times neglected, and there was absolutely no regularity in the dates at which the accounts were checked ... The accounts are at times mere summaries of receipts; at other times they include disbursements also and statements of credit balances.”³⁶⁶ As was usual practice in Roman Egypt, expenses were tracked in separate account, in this case written on the back of the ἀναγραφή (*P.Mich.* II 123 verso). The Karanis Register, then, can be seen as a hybrid and streamlined version of the Tebtunis roll, combines the separate accounts of the Tebtunis roll into a streamlined anagraphe, which incorporates proceeds and expenditures into a running account that is regularly balanced.

Two forerunners of the Karanis Register provide daily balances, but do not track the overall balance of the *grapheion* account (which likely was recorded in a separate document). One is *P.Narm.* I 1, recently excavated from the village of Narmouthis. The editor dates the text to the end of the first century BCE or beginning of the first century CE, which makes it the earliest ἀναγραφή of its type. Col. II.15-16 show most clearly the writer's accounting practice: he sums the γραμματικά from three contracts, then records a disbursement, and finally the day's balance (receipts of γραμματικά minus the disbursement). The other is the ἀναγραφή preserved on the recto of inv. 4382 and 4387, which similarly provides daily balances (but again no overall balances), although no disbursements are present.

³⁶⁶ *P.Mich.* II 123, p. 92.

Such variation in accounting procedures shows that the internal operations of the *grapheion* were left entirely up to the lessee.

4.7 Purpose of the Account

Unlike the τόμοι συγγκολλήσιμοι, εἰρόμενα, and ἀναγραφὴ-registers, which were composed for archival purposes, the Karanis Register and its Tebtunis counterparts were private business accounts.³⁶⁷ The ἀναγραφὴ-accounts, structured similarly to the registers from which they borrowed their name,³⁶⁸ were the primary documents by which *grapheion* managers kept track of the finances of their commission and attempted to ensure that the office was run profitably.

There is no evidence that such ἀναγραφὴ-accounts were submitted to higher authorities, and the *grapheion* managers appear to have had full control over them, drawing freely from the account, for instance, to cover both operating and other expenses.³⁶⁹ Internal indications, such as frequent reference to *grapheion* staff by single, abbreviated names, support the idea that the account was drawn up only for the *grapheion* managers themselves. As discussed above, moreover, variation in the format and detail of such accounts can be attributed to the preferences of the *grapheion* managers. These accounts, then, are no different from other professional or business accounts. We could expect other public contractors, such as the nomarchs who farmed taxes in the Arsinoite nome, to have kept similar accounts.

Husselman suggested that such accounts “may well have been open for inspection and have formed the basis for the assessment of the lessor payment.”³⁷⁰ This seems unlikely because of the mixture of public and private activities recorded in this account and those from Tebtunis. The account, for instance, does not distinguish between the *grammatika* received for contracts and those received for other documents.

4.8 *Grapheion* Personnel

The following individuals receive *grapheion* funds, ordered by frequency:

Ἄφροδ()	37x
Σωκ()	22x

³⁶⁷ Cf. *P.Mich.* II 123, p. 94.

³⁶⁸ *P.Mich.* II 123 recto is entitled [ἀναγ]ραφή (II.1), with Boak’s restoration being sound. An account from the late Ptolemaic *grapheion* archive of Tebtunis is entitled λόγος βασιλικῶν καὶ δαπά[ν]ης καὶ τειμῆς ἀγράφων συναλλαγματογραφίῳν Κερκεθοῦρεως καὶ Θεογονίδος

³⁶⁹ Cf. Verhoogt, *P.Tebt.* V, p. 7.

³⁷⁰ Husselman 1970, 231.

Ἡρων	13x
Ἀφρόδειτος δούλος	2x
13 others	1x

Three individuals stand out: Aphrod(), Sok(), and Heron. The last of these, Heron, often appears as an intermediary in payments to Aphrod() and Sok(), signified by the preposition *διά*. He thus seems to be a subordinate member of the *grapheion* staff, and it is possible, though not at all certain, that he is Heron, son of Satyros, whom I have identified as ὑπογραφεύς in ten Karanis contracts ranging from the mid-90s to 131 CE.³⁷¹ If so, this would be the first solid evidence that professional ὑπογραφεῖς, who appear so frequently in contracts, were indeed *grapheion* staff. The name Heron is very common, however, so prudence dictates that we leave this identification open for now. The slave Aphrodeitos also serves as an intermediary in the two instances where he appears, both times for Aphrod(), who therefore might be his owner.

Aphrod() and Sok() are an almost daily presence in the accounts. My hypothesis is that these two men were the managers of the *grapheion* and that one of them was responsible for drawing up the account. Similarly, Kronion and Eutychas appear by name in the Tebtunis accounts, and it was by the rare use of the first-person coupled with his name that Boak was able to show conclusively that Kronion himself drew up the account. There is only one first-person reference in the Karanis account (col. xxiv.24), which shows at least that the *grapheion* was run as a partnership. Aphrod() and Sok() seem to be the obvious candidates for this “we.” This supposition might be supported by *BGU II 647*, which shows that an Aphrodisios was the *nomographos* of Karanis in 130 CE. If this *grapheion* manager is to be identified with the Aphrod() of the Register, it would show a continuation into the second century of the long tenure of *grapheion* managers that is evident in the Tebtunis archive and the papyri from Soknopaiou Nesos.

4.9 Submission of Rolls: καταχωρισμὸς βιβλίων

As outlined in the previous chapter, one of the main duties of the *grapheion* manager was the *καταχωρισμὸς βιβλίων*, “submission of rolls,” the forwarding of the *tomos sunkollesimos*, *eiromenon*, and *anagraphē* to the nome archives. The Oxyrhynchos papyrus *P.Flor. III 357*, from the early third century, records the actual submission of these “books,” and shows remarkable continuity in the operation of *grapheia* over the centuries. This submission, however, is for one

³⁷¹ Claytor 2014a.

month's worth of contracts only, while the first-century Arsinoite *grapheia* submitted their documents every four months. The evidence from the Karanis account suggests that this monthly system was already in operation in the early second century:

Hathyr 28 (col. viii.24): καταχω(ρισμοῦ) βιβλί(ων) Φαῶφι (δραχμαὶ) δ
 Choiak 28 (col. xvii.28): καὶ εἰς καταχ(ωρισμὸν) Ἄθῶρ μη(νός) (δραχμαὶ) δ
 Tybi 19 (col. xxii.25):] εἰς καταχω(ρισμὸν) βιβλίω(v)

Submissions were made towards the end of the next month and the fee was 4 drachmas per monthly submission, up from the 8 drachmas every four months recorded earlier.

4.10 License Fee

As we have seen above,³⁷² the accounts from the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive refer to the monthly license fee for operating the *grapheion* as διαγραφή, presumably because these fees were paid over to the state bank. In the offer to sublease the *grapheion* of Soknopaiou Nesos, on the other hand, the monthly payment is known as φόρος, “rent,” paid over to the primary lessee.

The word διαγραφή does not appear in the Karanis accounts, but there is a recurring expense of 100 drachmas, so far only found once in a month, which is designated ἐπὶ τρ(), which I expand as ἐπὶ τρ(ἀπεζαν).³⁷³ If this is correct, these expenses would seem to refer to the διαγραφή paid to the state bank for the right to operate the *grapheion*.

The word φόρος does appear twice, but, surprisingly enough, this is counted as revenue for the *grapheion*. This can be seen here, where the φόρος of another village's *grapheion* is added to the γραμματικόν of a contract to produce a running total, and finally the overall balance of the account:

(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ροζ (ὄβολοι) δ
 φόρου γραφείου Θεογ(ένου) (δραχμαὶ) ξ
 ὄμο(λογία) Τεραῦτ(ος) τῆ(ς) Πνεφερωτ(ος) συνχω(ρήσεως) (δραχμαὶ) μη
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ρη, (γιν.) (δρ.) σπε (ὄβ.) δ
 (col. xxi.7-10)

The amount of φόρος in the other entry is lost, but from the surrounding figures it was likely similar to the 60 dr. found here.³⁷⁴

³⁷² Chapter 3.2.2.

³⁷³ These are found on Hathyr 30, Choiak 12, and Tybi 25.

³⁷⁴ Col. ii.20-21.

There are two possible identifications of the village Theog() in the Arsinoite nome. By far the better attested village is Theogonis in the Polemon meris,³⁷⁵ but it is not likely that Karanis had any kind of administrative relationship with a village so far away and in another meris. A more promising identification is with the nearby village usually known as Φιλοπάτωρ ἢ καὶ Θεογένους, usually referred to by both names or just by its first name, but occasionally by Θεογένους.³⁷⁶ It is most closely associated with Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos, and so was probably located somewhere between these two villages. Importantly, in one text, a *grapheion* of Philopator is attested.³⁷⁷ While it is here counted as revenue, the Karanis *grapheion* did not likely retain the φόρος for long, but rather forwarded it to the metropolis, perhaps as part of the payments ἐπὶ τράπεζαν, or in a lost or obscure section of the account.

4.11 Patterns of Activity in the Karanis *Grapheion*

The Tebtunis *grapheion* in the middle of the first century CE and the Karanis *grapheion* in the early second differ markedly in the pace and volume of business. In Tebtunis, Kronion and Eutychas conducted business on average only 16.25 days per 30-day month.³⁷⁸ In stark contrast, the Karanis Register records activity on every single day in the preserved portions of the document, although there are a few days on which no registered contracts were drawn up and business was otherwise light.³⁷⁹ From what little is preserved of the Narmouthis ἀναγραφή,³⁸⁰ business is recorded each day, and this seems to be the case from a later Tebtunis document (*P.Oslo* III 188, II CE). At least one other document seems to reflect the more relaxed operations in mid first-century Tebtunis (*BGU* II 567+568, II CE).

Toepel suggested that such “off-days” in the Tebtunis *grapheion* were due to a need to “catch up on work.”³⁸¹ We shall see that the volume of business was even greater at the *grapheion* of Karanis, which was open every day, so this explanation is unlikely. Instead, we should see these difference again as a reflection of the preferences of the *grapheion* managers, who apparently had complete control over the day-to-day operations of their office.

³⁷⁵ Trismegistos.org, GeoID 2376.

³⁷⁶ Trismegistos.org, GeoID 1776.

³⁷⁷ *SPP* XXII 22 (142 CE). Another text from the same year attests a νομογράφος (*BGU* I 17).

³⁷⁸ Toepel 1973, 99.

³⁷⁹ On Choiak 25, for instance, (Col. xvi.25-28), the account records only the receipt of a previously-owed γραμματικόν, and a few non-registered documents. There were no disbursements that day.

³⁸⁰ *P.Narm.* I 1.

³⁸¹ Toepel 1973, 126.

The fragments of the Karanis Register contain entries for at least 235 contracts. If we isolate the days for which we can be confident we have the full number of registered contracts, we find an average of 2.87 contracts registered per day over this period. This is lower than the average of 3.6 contracts in the Tebtunis *grapheion*, but this difference is more than offset by the fact that the Karanis *grapheion* was open every day. Thus, total volume per month is a better standard by which to judge the level of activity in the two offices.

While the Karanis Register preserves entries from Hathyr through Mecheir, only Choiak is preserved in full. The next month, Tybi, is well represented, with 24 of the 30 days preserved, while Mecheir and Hathyr are more fragmentary, with 18 and 10 days preserved respectively. For these fragmentary months, we can extrapolate the average of contracts per preserved day to the missing days to come up with an estimated total for the month. These calculations are laid out in the following chart:

Table 4. Estimated totals of contracts per month in the Karanis Register.

	Hathyr	Choiak	Tybi	Mecheir
Days Preserved	10	30	24	18
Contracts	24	80	81	50
Avg. per day	2.4	2.67	3.375	2.78
Est. total	72	80 (actual)	101.25	83.33

These estimated totals can then be compared with the volume of business in the *grapheion* of Tebtunis during the same months:

Table 5. Comparison of contract volume in the grapheia of Tebtunis and Karanis.

Source	Date (CE)	Hathyr	Choiak	Tybi	Mecheir
<i>P.Mich.</i> II 123	45	61	37	53	50
<i>P.Mich.</i> V 238	46	65	39	--	--
Karanis Register	early II	72	80	101.25	83.33

One can see that the Karanis Register records a much higher volume of business than its counterparts from Tebtunis. The number of contracts recorded in the complete month of Choiak is more than twice as high as each total for this month from Tebtunis. In the next month, Tybi, even the 24-day total of 81 contracts in Karanis eclipses Tebtunis' full-month total of 53, while the estimated 30-day total for Karanis is again about twice as high. For Mecheir, the Karanis Register preserves 50 contracts over only 18 preserved days, equal to the full-month total in

Tebtunis, and Karanis' estimated total for the month is 67% higher than the total from Tebtunis. Only in Hathyr does the volume of business seem comparable, but this is where the Karanis data is least reliable, because the estimate is based on the small sample of only 10 days. Overall, the estimated total for all four months in Karanis is about 336.5 contracts, 67% higher than the 201 contracts registered in *P.Mich.* II 123.

It is important to note that the period covered by the Karanis Register is during the low point of activity at the Tebtunis *grapheion*, which Toepel termed the “off-season.”³⁸² The average of 50.25 contracts per month for the period Hathyr-Mecheir in *P.Mich.* II 123 is lower than the overall monthly mean for this *grapheion*, which is 58 contracts.³⁸³ Activity peaked just before and after the new year, in the late summer and fall, as Toepel's chart and discussion clearly show.³⁸⁴ This ebb and flow of contractual activity, however, is not likely to have been particular to Tebtunis, but rather a feature of the Egyptian economy in general. As Toepel notes, “the new year coincided with the height of the Nile flood upon which all agriculture, and ultimately the whole Egyptian economy, depended.”³⁸⁵ It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Karanis – and the other Fayum villages – would have experienced a similar rise in registered contracts during the late summer and fall.

Even if we were to ignore these fluctuations and apply the daily average of contracts to the rest of the year, the managers of the Karanis *grapheion* would have registered about 1,025 contracts over the course of the year.³⁸⁶ This total rises to about 1,075 if we adjust for fluctuations in the volume of activity.³⁸⁷ A safe estimate for the year's total therefore falls between 1,000 and 1,100 registered contracts.

4.12 Registered Contracts

The extant portion of the Karanis Register has only two over-arching categories of contracts: ὁμολογίαι, by far the more frequent, and μισθώσεις. These terms merely correlate to the main verb

³⁸² Toepel 1973, 125.

³⁸³ Toepel 1973, 95.

³⁸⁴ Toepel 1973, 95-97.

³⁸⁵ Toepel 1973, 95.

³⁸⁶ $1025.38 = 336.58$ (estimated total for four partially-preserved months) + 688.8 (daily mean times 240 missing days).

³⁸⁷ A multiplier for each missing month was derived from *P.Mich.* II 123 by dividing the total for each month by the monthly mean. This multiplier was then applied to the monthly mean from the Karanis Register (84.145) to produce weighted monthly estimates for the missing eight months. Finally, these weighted monthly estimates were added to the estimated total for the four partially-preserved months.

of the full contract, either *ὁμολογέω* or *μισθώω*. The category of *ὁμολογία* tells us little about the nature of the contract since this is just a general term for “agreement,” while a *μίσθωσις*, “lease,” is more specific. On the other hand, leases of the prodomatic type, in which rent was paid in advance, were couched as *ὁμολογία*.

Generally, after naming the parties involved in the contract, the writer includes a modifier of the basic contract category, which is to be understood as a genitive noun.³⁸⁸ This modifying term can correspond to the verb dependent upon *ὁμολογέω* in the original contract. For example, an entry entitled *ὁμολογία ... παραχωρήσεως*, “contract of cession” corresponds to the phrase *ὁμολογῆ ... παρακεχωρηκέναι*, “he acknowledges that he has ceded ...” in the original. Otherwise, the modifying word picks up a key term in the agreement: *ὁμολογία ... χρήσεως*, “contract of loan” corresponds to *ὁμολογῆ ... ἔχειν χρῆσιν*, “he acknowledges that he has received a loan ...” In most cases, no further information is given. Loans could be of money and in kind, but for the purposes of his account, the Karanis notary was satisfied with the generic type of contract and the names of the contracting parties. Occasionally, however, he supplies more information (e.g., a *ὁμολογία ... παραχωρήσεως ἐλαίωνος*, “cession of an olive orchard”)³⁸⁹ and in the case of sales (*πράσεις*), he always supplies the object of the sale (e.g., *ὁμολογία ... πράσεως ὄνου*), and occasionally this is found in other contracts.

Entries of this sort are less informative than those in the Tebtunis *anagraphē*, which usually record the object and value of the transaction. The brevity can be explained by the fact that the entries were intended only to identify the contract in question, and the variant practice in Tebtunis and Karanis is simply the result of scribal preference.

Of the 235 entries identified as registered contracts, 196 are of the *ὁμολογία* category and only 14 are *μισθώσεις*. A further 23 are lost and 2 are uncertain.³⁹⁰ Of the 210 identified contracts, 53 yield no further information on the specific contract type because the information is lost (36 cases), uncertain (9), or simply not recorded (8). The remaining 157 contracts for which we have complete information are broken down as follows:

³⁸⁸ *προδ(οματικῆς)* modifies an implied *μισθώσεως*.

³⁸⁹ xxv.29.

³⁹⁰ “Lost” in this case means that not only is the word lost, but there is not enough other information to deduce the contract category.

Table 6. Contract typology and frequency in the Karanis Register.

Contract Type	Number	Percentage (rounded)
χρήσις, “loan”	45	28.5%
ἀποχή, “quit claim, receipt”	26	16.5%
μίσθωσις, “lease” ³⁹¹	14	9%
ἐκχώρησις, “cession”	11	8.5%
προδοματική, “lease with advance payment for rent”	11	8.5%
μεριτεία / συγχώρημα, “will”	11	8.5%
πράσις, “sale”	9	6%
διαίρεσις, “division of property”	8	5%
παραχώρησις, “cession (= sale of katoikic land)”	6	4%
καρπ() “harvest agreement” or “advance sale of crops”	4	2.5%
ἐνοίκησις, “habitation agreement”	3	2%
ἄρραβών, “caution, security deposit”	2	1%
ἔκστασις, “renunciation”	1	0.5%
ἐπιχώρησις, “concession (= sublease)”	1	0.5%
λύσις μεσιτείας, “dissolution of hypothecation”	1	0.5%
λύσις συμβιώσεως, “divorce”	1	0.5%
μεσιτεία, “hypothecation”	1	0.5%
τρόφιμον δουλικοῦ, “nursing of a slave”	1	0.5%
φερνή, “dowry”	1	0.5%
total	157	100%

The contract types represented in the Karanis Register are detailed below in alphabetical order.

ἀποχή, “quit claim, receipt”

Ἀποχή corresponds to the verb ἀπέχειν in full contracts of this type, which means “to receive” or “to receive back.” Ἀποχαί can cover any number of transactions in the realm of quit claims or receipts.³⁹² Unfortunately, the object of the ἀποχή is never further specified in the Karanis Register. Identifiable receipts from the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive, besides those for cash and in-kind loans, include those for wages,³⁹³ fodder,³⁹⁴ maintenance (τροφεῖα),³⁹⁵ rent,³⁹⁶ and the return

³⁹¹ This of course is one of the two over-arching categories, but is included with contract types because the category is specific enough on its to get sense of the type of contract. The object of the lease is always specified (see below).

³⁹² On Egyptian and Greek receipts, see Lippert 2008, 173-174, although she omits *grapheion* contracts from the list of most-common forms of Greek receipts.

³⁹³ *P.Mich.* II 121 verso, iv.10

³⁹⁴ *P.Mich.* II 121 verso, iv.13.

³⁹⁵ *P.Mich.* II 121 verso, vii.7

³⁹⁶ *P.Mich.* II 121 verso, iii.16 = 121 recto, x.

of a dowry,³⁹⁷ among others, which gives a sense of the variety of transactions covered under the title ἀποχή.

ἀρραβών, “caution, security deposit”

This is usually a feature of contracts of other types, but can also be the main object. *P.Mich.* II 121 recto, II, ix is an abstract of such a contract, whose corresponding entry in the ἀναγραφή is ὁμολ(ογία) ... ἀρραβ(ῶνος) (δραχμῶν) υ (P.Mich. II 121 verso, II.14). This contract happens to be a down payment for the purchase of katoikic land, but any number of future obligations are possible.³⁹⁸

διαίρεσις, “division of property”

Διαιρέσεις are divisions of jointly-held property.³⁹⁹ Three entries in the Karanis Register further specify that the objection of division as a γεωργία, “public leasehold.” Such contracts are often family affairs, made after the death of the family’s patriarch or matriarch. The entries generally run ὁμο(λογία) ἀλλή(λων) PN καὶ ἄλλω(ν) διαι(ρέσεως), which corresponds to a full contract’s ὁμολογοῦσι ἀλλήλοισι PNs διηρηῆσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτούς. In the case of family divisions, the one named individual in the Register was likely the eldest sibling.

ἐνοίκησις, “habitation agreement”

Such an agreement generally arose from a loan in which the right of habitation was granted to the lender in lieu of interest. For an example of a contract of this type, see *P.Mich.* III 188 (Bakchias, 120 CE).

ἔκστασις, “renunciation”

An ἔκστασις is a conveyance of property by means other than a sale. It was often used when a family member renounced all claims to family property, generally in return for some kind of compensation (e.g., a dowry).

ἐκχώρησις, “cession”

397 P.Mich. II 121 verso, ii.8 = 121 recto, iv with notes. In the *anagraphe* the contract is entitled ὁμολ(ογία) ... ἀποχή(ς) φερνή(ς) (δραχμῶν) φμ; the corresponding entry in the *eiromenon* shows us that this is a receipt for the return of a dowry, that is, a type of divorce contract, not the receipt of a dowry (cf. λύσις συμβιώσεως and φερνή below).

³⁹⁸ See further Taubenschlag 1955 408-411.

³⁹⁹ Lippert 2008, 154-156.

This term usually covers the cession of property or perquisites that are not legally owned by the conveyer (such as leaseholds or temple privileges), but can also include contracts involving privately-owned property.⁴⁰⁰ The object of the cession is never recorded in the Karanis Register, but the ἀναγραφή-register on the recto (document B), has one entry for ἐκχώρησις γεωργίας, “cession of a leasehold.”⁴⁰¹

ἐπιχώρησις, “concession (= sublease)”

This type of contract is usually a sublease of public land.⁴⁰²

καρπ() = καρπεία, “harvest agreement,” or καρπωνεία, “advance sale of crops”

The abbreviation does not allow us to determine which expansion was intended. In either case, the agreement regulated labor during the harvest and/or the disposition of crops. A καρπεία was generally an agreement to provide labor for the harvest, while a καρπωνεία was an advance sale of crops. “In such an arrangement, the καρπώνης assumed all of the risk – a bad harvest, problems of labor organization, inability to market the produce, etc. – in exchange (one presumes) for a discount or wholesale price on the crops.”⁴⁰³

λύσις μεσιτείας, “dissolution of mortgage”

See below, μεσιτεία.

λύσις συμβιώσεως, “divorce”

Λύσις is a general term for the dissolution of a ὁμολογία. When documented, marriages were regulated under different contracts types that generally focused on the economic arrangements underpinning the union.⁴⁰⁴ For examples of divorce contracts, see *BGUIV* 1102 (Alexandria, 13 BCE) and *P.Brook.* 8 (Ptolemais Euergetis, 177 CE).

μεριτεία, “division (= will)”

Meaning literally a “division” of property, a μεριτεία was a unilateral ὁμολογία that functioned as a will (frequently dubbed a *donatio mortis causa*).⁴⁰⁵ It was more common in the villages, as

⁴⁰⁰ Sijpesteijn 1975.

⁴⁰¹ Col. i.5.

⁴⁰² Wolff 1956, esp. 329 and *P.Oslo.* II, p. 73.

⁴⁰³ Claytor 2013a, 85-86. See further Taubenschlag 1955, 240, Pringsheim 1950, 305-309 and, with reservations, Herrmann 1958, 228-229.

⁴⁰⁴ See generally Yiftach-Firanko 2003.

⁴⁰⁵ For a complete example, see *P.Mich.* V 322a.

opposed to the standard metropolite διαθήκη.⁴⁰⁶ Since it is a unilateral declaration, only one party is listed in the Register, which helps identify this type of document in fragmentary contexts. The term μεριτεία corresponds to the verb μερίζω in the full contract's phraseology: ὁμολογεῖ ... μεμερικέναι μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτήν. The alternative to the verb μερίζω was συγχωρέω, which accounts for the other name for this type of document, **συγχώρημα**, which also occurs in the Karanis Register (see below). The early-second century date of the Register falls in a transitional period between the generally first century use of μεριτεία and second century use of συγχώρημα.⁴⁰⁷

μεσιτεία, “pledge”

A ὁμολογία ... μεσιτείας indicates a loan made on real security, usually landed property.⁴⁰⁸ Cf. *BGU* II 445.7-9: ἐδανίσατο ... ἐπὶ μεσιτία τῶν ὑπαρχόντων (property listed).

μίσθωσις, “lease”⁴⁰⁹

According to the schematization of the Karanis Register, this is not a contract type, but rather the other over-arching category along with ὁμολογία. It corresponds to the contract's main verb μισθόω and the object of the lease is also listed in the position where contract type appears for ὁμολογία. Six are leases of royal land,⁴¹⁰ two of imperial estate land,⁴¹¹ and one of a private *kleros*;⁴¹² five are missing or uncertain. Cf. below, **προδοματική (sc. μίσθωσις)**.

παραχώρησις, “concession (= sale of katoikic land)”

The primary use of a παραχώρησις was to convey katoikic land, which was a special land category in Roman Egypt derived in large part from the originally-revocable grants of land to Ptolemaic military settlers (κάτοικοι). In the Roman period, while such land was “fully private property and could be alienated even to people not belonging to this group,” it was registered in a separate department of the public archives and was, from a legal point of view, “ceded” (παραχωρέω) rather than sold.⁴¹³ Katoikic land was often used for cash crops, as reflected in the cession of an olive orchard in the Karanis Register.⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁶ See Yiftach-Firanko 2002.

⁴⁰⁷ Yiftach-Firanko 2002, 153.

⁴⁰⁸ Rupprecht 2014.

⁴⁰⁹ See generally Lippert 2008, 95-97.

⁴¹⁰ i.4, i.22, viii.21, xi.3, xiii.2, and xix.3.

⁴¹¹ xv.7 and xxii.2.

⁴¹² vii.19.

⁴¹³ Monson 2012, 95.

⁴¹⁴ xxv.29. The only other παραχώρησις whose object is specified is for a *kleros* (xxxii.1).

πράσις, “sale”

Greek sales in Roman Egypt were conducted in accordance with Greek law: the exchange of the object and consideration occurred simultaneously and both parties were free from future obligations.⁴¹⁵ Unlike most ὁμολογίαι in the Karanis Register, the object of sales was always recorded. The sales concluded in the village reflect the needs of an agricultural economy for transportation (three donkey sales),⁴¹⁶ clothing and materials (one sheep sale),⁴¹⁷ building material or fuel (one sale of wood),⁴¹⁸ and agricultural machinery (sale of a mill or mill-stone).⁴¹⁹ Two sales of building lots (ψιλοὶ τόποι)⁴²⁰ and one of a part of a house⁴²¹ reflect the changing infrastructure of the village itself.

The donkey sales add to the impression of a thriving animal trade in this part of the Herakleides meris, which was faced the desert road to Memphis. The nearby village of Kerkesoucha, administratively dependent on Karanis, had an important market for animals, as can be inferred not only from the high number of sales concluded in this village, but more importantly from the fact that many of the contracting parties were residents of other villages.⁴²² Karanis, although the larger village, seems to have functioned as a secondary market to Kerkesoucha, since even though some sales were concluded there, as these Register examples attest, Karanis residents frequently went to the neighboring village to buy and sell animals.

προδοματική (sc. μίσθωσις), “lease with advance payment of rent”

Α πρόδομα was a payment in advance. The term προδοματική, usually abbreviated προδ() in the Karanis Register, is explained by the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive, where it modifies μίσθωσις; e.g., ὁμο(λογία) ... προδο(ματικῆς) μισ(θώσεως) ἀρο(υρῶν) β, (ὄβολοι) ἰδ.⁴²³ A full contract of this type runs: ὁμολογεῖ (Lessor to Lessee) μεμισθωκέναι (the object) καὶ ἀπέχει παρὰ Lessee ἐκ

⁴¹⁵ See the fundamental study of Pringsheim 1950. For the more-complicated arrangements of Egyptian sales, see Lippert 2008, 147-150

⁴¹⁶ xvii.1, xxii.18, and xxxii.30.

⁴¹⁷ xxvi.8.

⁴¹⁸ xvii.10.

⁴¹⁹ xxii.11.

⁴²⁰ xxi.2 and xxiii.11.

⁴²¹ xxv.30.

⁴²² See Litinas 1999 and the updated list of donkey sales available at http://www.philology.uoc.gr/ref/sales_of_donkeys/Nikos_Litinas_Sales_of_Donkeys.pdf. For donkey sales concluded in Kerkesoucha, one can add P.Mich. inv. 778, made between a resident of the metropolis and one of the village of Theadelphia on the other side of the Fayum.

⁴²³ P.Mich. II 123 recto, vi.31.

προδόματος (the rent or some part of it). Different explanations for prodomatic leases have been advanced, including that it was a concealed loan or indicative of financial distress on the part of the lessor, but Rowlandson emphasizes the flexible applications of this type of document.⁴²⁴ Fodder cultivation was particularly governed by prodomatic leases, perhaps because the volatile price of fodder encouraged both lessor and lessee to agree on a price before harvest and post-harvest fluctuations.⁴²⁵ In the Karanis Register, the only προδοματική entry that is further specified is for fodder cultivation (χόρτος).⁴²⁶

συγχώρημα, “concession (= will)”

This term is never expanded beyond συγχω(), but it cannot be resolved as the common term συγχώρησις, because they were concluded through the καταλογεῖον in Alexandria, not local *grapheia*. The key to understanding this term comes from the fact that in all six instances, there is only one party listed. It shares this features with μεριτεῖαι, which, as wills, are unilateral acknowledgments. In fact, although rare, συγχώρημα is an alternative name for μεριτεῖαι, both of which are referred to in papyrological literature as *donationes mortis causa*.⁴²⁷ Cf. above, μεριτεῖαι.

τρόφιμον δουλικού (sc. σώματος), “nursing of a slave”

Wet-nursing contracts are generally for enslaved infants, both house-born and those “raised from the dung heap.” While most surviving contracts stem from Alexandria and *metropoleis*, the one example from the Karanis Register corroborates the records of the Tebtunis *grapheion* in showing that such arrangements were made in the villages as well.⁴²⁸

φερνή, “dowry”

Α ὁμολογία φερνῆς likely refers to an acknowledgement of the receipt of a dowry upon the formalizing of a marriage arrangement.⁴²⁹

χρήσις, “loan”

The χρήσις is used exclusively in the Register, in contrast to the Tebtunis papers, which have δάνειον as well.⁴³⁰ Except for regional and chronological differentiation, there is little difference

⁴²⁴ Rowlandson 1999, 150-151.

⁴²⁵ Rowlandson 1999, 151.

⁴²⁶ xv.8.

⁴²⁷ Yiftach-Firanko 2002.

⁴²⁸ See Masciadri and Montevecchi 1982.

⁴²⁹ See in general Yiftach-Firanko 2003.

⁴³⁰ See generally Lippert 2008, 99-102.

between the two terms.⁴³¹ Loans constitute the largest share of contracts in the Register, accounting for a little over a quarter of all identified contracts. The months covered by the extant portion of the Register, Hathyr to Mecheir, fall before the grain harvest, when farmers often needed a financial cushion before they saw a return on their agricultural investment. This share of loans may represent a more normal pre-harvest economic situation, in contrast to the flurry of loans recorded in an *eiromenon* from the *grapheion* of Polydeukeia and Sethrempaei dating to 88-96 CE, in which 20 of the 25 identifiable contracts are loans or advance sales.⁴³²

4.13 Non-Registered Documents

The Karanis notary treats non-registered documents differently from registered contracts. Generally, they are recorded after all the registered contracts for the day and the entries are indented relative to the rest of the column. They are generally recorded anonymously and as summary entries, tallying together the proceeds from different types of non-registered documents. This follows from the fact there is generally only one entry per day for the different document types; it is highly unlikely that the Karanis notary was so consistently asked to write only one of such documents. This interpretation is actually supported by the cases when two such entries are made, since the second entry often comes after other document types or after expenditures and is clearly added as an afterthought, when either the receipts from some of these documents were overlooked or the documents were drawn up late in the day, after the notary had already begun balancing his account.

In view of this consideration, the wildly-varying γραμματικόν for some of these non-registered documents (e.g., χειρογραφία σπερμάτων between 2 ob. and 17 dr., 3 ob.) should be interpreted as at least partially reflecting different volumes of business in this particular type of document. We cannot, of course, exclude that some of the variability is due to a variable charge on individual documents or to the writing of copies, as we have seen for registered contracts. I do suggest, however, that we might be able to recover a rough estimate of an individual charge in the case of χειρογραφία σπερμάτων (see below).

Finally, some entries for ἀναφόριον write out the heading in full as a genitive singular.⁴³³ On analogy with these entries, I have expanded all headings of non-registered documents as genitive

⁴³¹ Tenger 1993, 27-47.

⁴³² Claytor 2013a.

⁴³³ This is also the case in the ἀναγραφή-account on the recto (document B).

singulars. Since, however, as I have just argued, these are summary entries, I take this as a collective genitive: e.g., ἀναφορίου, “for (the class of documents known as) ἀναφόριον.”

The different types of non-registered documents are as follows:

ἀναφόριον, “petition” or “application-contract”

There are 14 entries for ἀναφόριον whose γραμματικόν ranges from 1 dr., 1 ob. to 4 dr. In six instances ἀναφορίου is written out in full as a genitive singular, which I take to be a collective reference (see above).

Ἀναφόριον refers to any type of documents that is “carried up,” that is, “referred” or “sent” to someone else, generally a social superior. The term most frequently denotes petitions and the type of non-registered contract that is also called a ὑπόμνημα (modern scholarship generally uses this latter term), which is framed as an application (τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ δεῖνος). Since the entries for ἀναφόριον are never further defined, we cannot be certain what type of document is meant, but the comparative material from Tebtunis suggests that these are indeed contracts framed as applications. Cf. below on the entries for ὑπομνηματ-).

ἀντίγραφον, “copy”

There is a single entry for an ἀντίγραφον, “copy,” which is not further defined. The γραμματικόν is 5 ob. Below in section 4.14 it is suggested that the writing of an unknown number of copies may account for some of the variation in the γραμματικόν charged on the same type of contract.

ἀξίωμα, “petition”

There are three related entries concerning ἀξιώματα, “petitions”:

xi.20 (Choiak 7)	ἀξιώ(ματος) γεωργ() Ἄνθ(ιανῆς)	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.) α
xi.28 (Choiak 8)	ἀξιώ(ματος) Ἄνθ(ιανῆς)	(ὀβ.) β
xii.8 (Choiak 9)	λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) ἀξιώ(ματος) Ἄνθ(ιανῆς) οὐσ(ίας)	(δρ.) α (ὀβ.) δ

The third entry likely refers to the γραμματικόν due from one of the two earlier transactions, although there are no indications in these entries that any γραμματικόν was still owed. In any case, all entries relate to land belonging to the Anthian estate and seem to be variants of the same type of entry. In the first example, γεωργ() could be expanded as γεωργ(ῶν), “petition of the famers of the Anthian (estate),” or γεωργ(ίας), “petition of (i.e., concerning) the cultivation of the Anthian (estate),” with makes little difference in regard to the type of document.

γεωργία: see below, under **χειρογραφία**.

περὶ γεωργίας: see below, under **χειρογραφία**.

περὶ σπερμάτων: see below, under **χειρογραφία**.

ὑδροφυλακία, “water-guarding”

A ὑδροφύλαξ was a guard of water-works and his task or office was called ὑδροφυλακία. Such terms occur most frequently in the Oxyrhynchite nome, but there are a number of Arsinoite examples, including a few directly related to Karanis.⁴³⁴

The five entries are each written ὑδροφυλ(). On analogy with the understood χειρογραφία before the entries for σπερμ(άτων), περὶ σπερμ(άτων), γεωργ(ίας), and περὶ γεωργ(ίας) (see below), the five entries for ὑδροφυλ() can also be explained as χειρογραφίαι ὑδροφυλ(ακίας). The Tebtunis account provides fuller parallel entries, such as the following: χειρογραφία ἀπολυσίμων καὶ προβατοκτηνο(τρόφων) περὶ τὸ φυλά(σσειν) ὑδά(τια).⁴³⁵ A similar type of χειρογραφία was written by the Tebtunis notary Apion for four sluice guards. The oath proper begins: οἱ τέσσαρες ἱερεῖς τῶν ἀπὸ Τεβτύνεως | τῆς Πολ[έ]μωνος μερίδος φυλάσσοντες τὰς προκι|μένας ἀφέσεις δύο ὀμνύομεν Τιβέριον Καίσαρα | Σεβαστὸν Νέον Αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν | εἰ μὴν φυλάξειν ...⁴³⁶

There are no entries for ὑδροφυλακία after Choiak 11 (= December 8). By Choiak, the Nile flood was well past its peak and the danger to the irrigation system was lessening.

ὑπομνηματ-

There are 34 entries under this category, all written ὑπομ(νηματ-) except one written ὑπομνη(ματ-). Like the entries for ἀναφόριον, they are never further defined. It is thus difficult to decide whether we should expand ὑπομ(νήματος), which carries the same two basic meanings as ἀναφόριον, discussed above, or ὑπομ(νηματίου), “memorandum” (ὑπομνηματισμοῦ, “judicial proceedings,” can be excluded from a *grapheion* context). The comparative evidence from Tebtunis does not clarify the ambiguity, since there are many examples of both types of documents.

⁴³⁴ Besides in the Tax Rolls, ὑδροφύλαξ appears in *BGU* II 621 (175/176 CE) and *SB* IV 7368 (late II – early III CE).

⁴³⁵ *P.Mich.* II 123, recto, viii.26.

⁴³⁶ *P.Mich.* V 233.11-15 (24 CE).

On the whole, however, given the consistently low γραμματικόν charged for such documents, I prefer seeing them as short memoranda of diverse nature.

χειρογραφία, “sworn statement”

A χειρογραφία is an agreement secured by an oath, which has a long history in Greco-Roman Egypt and was in widespread use in the greater Mediterranean. The Ptolemaic petition *P. Enteux*. 26 (221 BCE) offers a nice example of how the term and its cognates are used. The petitioner claims that his daughter “made for me a written oath by the king” (ἐχειρογράφησέ μοι ὄρκον βασιλικόν) at a local temple and twice describes the agreement as a χειρογραφία. The docket on the back of the petition summarizes the dispute between father and daughter as περὶ χειρογρ(αφίας).

There is no clear connection between χειρογραφία and *grapheia* in the Ptolemaic period, although *P. Tebt*. I 210 descr. (107 BCE) is an oath “preceded by an abstract like an ordinary contract,” which may suggest that village notaries were experimenting with the form of written oaths in the late Ptolemaic period. In contrast, in the Roman period, such oaths were regularly written by village notaries and took a standard form. A good example is *P. Mich*. V 233 (Tebtunis, 25 CE), which contains a promissory oath of four sluice guards to a sowing inspector. Only one of the sluice guards was literate, so the notary of Tebtunis, Apion, wrote on behalf of the others. The hand of this statement is the same as the body of the oath, so one can deduce that the entire document was written by Apion in the *grapheion*. Another notary explicitly attests to writing the body of a similar document.⁴³⁷ *P. Mich*. V 233 includes personal descriptions at the head of the document; part of the notary’s role in such oaths, besides simply writing the document, was to verify the identities of the parties.⁴³⁸ Since such documents are not contracts, however, they did not receive a registration mark. It is unclear what further role the notary played in the handling of oaths, if any.

In the Karanis Register, there are 50 entries explicitly labeled χειρογραφία, which always have a dependent genitive: either χειρογ(ραφία) σπερμ(άτων) (46 cases) or χειρογ(ραφία) γεωργ() (three cases; one is uncertain). In addition, there are 10 entries simply for σπερμ(άτων), two for περὶ σπερμ(άτων), three for γεωργ() and six for περὶ γεωργ(). These entries should be seen as

⁴³⁷ ἔγραψεν τὸ σῶμα Αλ.ς ὁ [τ]ῆς κόμης νομογράφος (*BGU* XI 2085, Kerkesoucha Orous, 119 CE).

⁴³⁸ Cf. *BGU* XV 2475.6-7 and n.

variants, dependent on an understood χειρογραφία.⁴³⁹ Tallying such bare entries together with those explicitly labeled as χειρογραφία (including, for now, περι γεωργ() under χειρογραφία), we have 62 entries for written oaths “for/concerning seed” (σπερμάτων / περι σπερμάτων) and 12 for those related to γεωργ().

To determine precisely what χειρογραφία σπερμάτων are we must understand the process behind state seed grain distributions in Roman Egypt. The stages are as follows:⁴⁴⁰ first, state farmers sent applications to nome officials for the issuance of seed (probably only in the case of those farmers not already registered for regular grain distributions or other special cases),⁴⁴¹ 2) the nome officials issued orders to local *sitologoi* to issue seed to the farmers, and 3) upon receiving the grain, the farmers gave receipts to the *sitologoi*. In each of these stages, there are frequent references to the oath that farmers were required to take, although it seems to have been sworn at different stages of the process or in conjunction with different documents depending on local circumstances. For instance, they are sometimes included in the application itself,⁴⁴² while some of the orders to supply seed require the *sitologoi* to obtain χειρογραφία from the farmers before issuing seed.⁴⁴³ Regardless of the precise circumstances, the oath was required. The importance of such oaths lies in the fact that they “articulated [the] obligations [of state farmers] and the conditions of their tenancy,” in the way that private tenancies and sublets of public land were regulated by lease contracts.⁴⁴⁴

In seeking parallels for the collation of χειρογραφία and σπερμάτων we encounter the well-known class of documents known as receipts for state grain. These have come down to us in an extremely uneven fashion, with over 90% stemming from Karanis and most of these from the single year 158/159.⁴⁴⁵ Although these receipts were acquired in batches between 1887 and 1902 on the antiquities market, they clearly form an archive that was once kept with the *sitologoi*,⁴⁴⁶ The formulae of the receipts are nearly always abbreviated, which has occasioned considerable

⁴³⁹ We may compare Kruse’s group 1 of seed receipts, discussed below, which open simply with σπερμάτων, whereas the fuller formulas of groups 2 and 3 have ἔσχον προσφώνησιν χειρογραφίας σπερμάτων (Kruse 2002, 453-454).

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. *P.Oxy.* LVII 3902-3909 and Rowlandson 2005, 184-187.

⁴⁴¹ Rowlandson 2005, 186.

⁴⁴² E.g., *P.Oxy.* LVII 3902.4-8. Cf. *P.Oxy.* LVII, pp. 103-104.

⁴⁴³ E.g., *W.Chr.* 344. Cf. *P.Oxy.* LVII, p. 120.

⁴⁴⁴ Rowlandson 2005, 184.

⁴⁴⁵ Kruse 2002, 452.

⁴⁴⁶ Clarysse 2013 (TM, archID 271).

debate about their meaning and purpose. An example with the key abbreviations left unresolved will illustrate the problem:⁴⁴⁷

σιτολ(όγοις) Κ(α)ρανίδ(ος) ἔσχ(ον) προσφ(ων-) ⁴⁴⁸ χειρογρ(α)φ()
 σπερμάτ(ων) κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κ(υ)ρίου θ κληρουχ(ίας)
 Πτολ(εμαῖος) ⁴⁴⁹ Διογένους Κ(α)ρανίδ(ος) Σενεκ(ιανῆς)
 5 (ἀρούρης) α λ δ' ις'

Skipping the troublesome part for the moment, we can see that the receipt is addressed to the unnamed *sitologoi* of Karanis in the 22nd year of Antoninus Pius (= 158/159) and is from a farmer whose land, a little less than 2 arouras, belongs to the Senecan estate and is located in the 9th klerouchy (a land division) of Karanis' agricultural territory. It is evident that the farmer must be the subject of ἔσχ(ον) and the object must be the unnamed amount of seed, which was usually distributed at a 1:1 ration of artabas to arouras and thus easily determined from the given number of arouras. We can translate thus far: “To the *sitologoi* of Karanis, I have received (seed) ... for the seed (grain distribution) of the 22nd year of Antoninus Caesar the Lord, 9th klerouchy, Ptolemaios, son of Diogenes, (a resident) of Karanis, 1 13/16 arouras of Senecan (land).”

The troublesome section was usually expanded as προσφώνησας χειρογραφία, “having made a declaration by means of a written oath” or, more simply, “having made a sworn declaration.” A receipt published in 1929, however, showed that προσφ(ων-) was to be expanded as an accusative noun προσφώνησις⁴⁵⁰ and another that appeared in 1972 finally wrote out the whole phrase as προσφώνησις (l. προσφώνησιν) χειρογραφίας.⁴⁵¹ At first glance, a plausible reading of the accusative προσφώνησιν is take it as the object of ἔσχ(ον), which would make the statement not from the farmer, but from an unnamed official to the *sitologoi*, attesting to his receipt of the farmer's sworn declaration.⁴⁵² This interpretation, however, forces us to see the document as two separate receipts, with the second one, the tenant's receipt, lacking a verb, since ἔσχ(ον) would be serving the first statement. This interpretation, as Bell argued, “is against all analogy” of other

⁴⁴⁷ *P.Kar.Goodsp.* 5 (with *BL* I, 171).

⁴⁴⁸ Some of the earliest published texts were abbreviated προσφ(ων-), so early editors knew to expand the word at least that far.

⁴⁴⁹ The nominative of the first name is confirmed from other examples.

⁴⁵⁰ *P.Got.* 2.

⁴⁵¹ *SB* XII 11071. Clarysse 2013, 2 still interprets χειρογραφ- as χειρογραφίας, but this expansion relies on a rash correction of the only example of the word written out.

⁴⁵² Seidl 1933, 70-71.

receipts in Roman Egypt and faces the almost “fatal objection” that the official receiving the sworn declaration would remain anonymous.⁴⁵³

Gundel, followed by Kruse, sees the accusative a loose predicate and understands the phrase to mean something like “I have received (the seed grain) upon submission of the required declaration in form of a sworn statement.”⁴⁵⁴ It is perhaps telling that the one example of the phrase written in full has the nominative προσφώνησις, which the editor corrected to an accusative following the earlier parallel. Bagnall’s observations on similar receipts from the fourth century are relevant here: “one senses that the various parts of the ‘sentence’ tend to become headings free of syntactical order.”⁴⁵⁵ The writers of such receipts likely did not have a strict syntax in mind; the ideas could simply be expressed and ascertained from abbreviated words arranged as loose headings.

In any case, the phrase surely “refers to the sworn, written obligation of the receiver of seed grain respecting the proper use of the seed,”⁴⁵⁶ which is somehow separate from the receipt itself. Two unusually informative entries from the Karanis Register perhaps sheds some light on this issue, of which the better preserved runs as follows (col. xxiv.11-12):⁴⁵⁷

χειρογ(ραφίας) σπ[ε]ρμάτ(ων) καὶ ἀποχ(ῆς) ἰ ἀρο(υρῶν) Γερμ(ανικιανῆς)
Πτολεμ[αί]δ(ος) Νέα(ς) (δρ.) δ

Here we see that the Karanis notary produced a sworn statement concerning seed grain *and* a receipt covering the grain distribution for 10 arouras belonging to Germanicus’ estate in the territory of Ptolemais Nea, a village near Karanis and at times administratively dependent on it.⁴⁵⁸ It is of course possible that these were not two separate documents, but rather one that encompassed both the oath and the acknowledgment of receipt. If it was a single document, the question arises whether the other entries, with only χειρογραφία σπερμάτων, also encompass receipts. If they are separate documents, we can rest assured that the other entries were simply for

⁴⁵³ Bell 1934, 227.

⁴⁵⁴ Gundel 1972, 214 (cf. Kruse 2002, 453, n. 1228): “ich habe unter Abgabe einer amtlich geforderten Erklärung in Form eines Cheirographons (*sic*) erhalten ...” Surely a *cheirographia* is meant, not a *cheirographon*, which is a contract in the form of a letter.

⁴⁵⁵ *P.Col.* VII, p. 94.

⁴⁵⁶ Kruse 2002, 453: ἔσχον προσφώνησιν χειρογραφίας σπερμάτων “[nimmt Bezug] auf die schriftliche eidliche verpflichtung des saatgutempfängers zur ordnungsgemaessen verwendung des saatgutes.”

⁴⁵⁷ The other is col. xxv.4: χειρογ(ραφία) σπερμάτ(ων) καὶ ἀποχ(ῆ) π[.]δ() (δρ.) δ. It might be possible to restore Πτολεμαίδ(ος), although the space is somewhat wide.

⁴⁵⁸ See Geremek 1969, 17-20.

the oaths and that the receipts were drawn up later. On the whole, given that the later Karanis receipts are separate documents that refer in some way to previous χειρογραφαί, it seems more likely that the entries in the Register are for the sworn statements only and that the two entries with an additional receipt reflect special circumstances.

It should be added that since χειρογραφαία is never written out in full, we cannot be certain whether individual entries refer to one or multiple sworn statements. The variability of the γραμματικόν collected from them, however, which ranges from 2 ob. to 17 dr., 3 ob., strongly suggests that these are generally collective entries covering all the day's χειρογραφαί. We can imagine individual farmers or heads of farming collectives coming to the *grapheion* to draw up their required χειρογραφαία σπερμάτων in order to receive seed from the state granaries. When all the day's χειρογραφαί were drawn up, the notary tallied the receipts and recorded them in a single entry.

It might be possible to even get a sense of how much an individual χειρογραφαία could cost, although we should be aware that some variability is to be expected. An interesting entry that is actually counted as an expenditure of *grapheion* funds runs as follows (col. xvi.17):

Πεθέως ἀκύρου χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (ὀβ.) γ

Thus the notary paid over 3 ob. to one Petheus for an “invalid” χειρογραφαία σπερμάτων. Presumably when the poor farmer took his χειρογραφαία to the appropriate authorities it was rejected on the grounds of some kind of bureaucratic irregularity. The farmer then took his invalid document back to the *grapheion* for a refund. These 3 ob., then, might be taken as a normal γραμματικόν charged for such documents, although a small penalty (1 ob.?) might have also been factored in. The lowest daily totals from the account are in fact 2 ob. (twice) and 3 ob. (four times), which may thus reflect days when the notary drew up only one χειρογραφαία. If this 3 ob. charge is representative, we can estimate that on the busiest day for such documents, the Karanis notary drew up 35 χειρογραφαί σπερμάτων and collected 17 dr., 3 ob. (col. ix.22, Choiak 1).

I now turn to the three entries for χειρογρ(αφία) γεωργ(), which can be taken together with the entries for περὶ γεωργ() (6 in total) and those for γεωργ() (3). The Tebtunis account has a couple of similar entries. One runs χρογρ(αφία) σπερμάτο(ν) δημοσίων γεωργῶ(ν) τῆς κόμη(ς), (δρ.) η.⁴⁵⁹ This entry is actually an expanded version of the Karanis Register's χειρογραφαία σπερμάτων

⁴⁵⁹ *P.Mich.* II 123, recto, col. ix.34.

entries: all such entries were made for public farmers and the Tebtunis entry simply makes this explicit. Another entry reads in part: χειρογρ(αφία) γεωργῶ(ν) (l. χειρογραφία γεωργῶν).⁴⁶⁰ In view of the longer Tebtunis entry, this may be read as another χειρογραφία σπερμάτων for public farmers; in any case, it is certainly some type of sworn declaration made by cultivators. These parallels thus offer a possible solution to the three Karanis entries for χειρογρ(αφία) γεωργ(): they are simply variants of χειρογραφία σπερμάτων and should be expanded χειρογρ(αφία) γεωργ(ῶν).

This solution cannot be maintained, however, because of the organization of the entries: γεωργ() entries occur on the same day as σπερμ(άτων) entries and thus were clearly thought to be different, not just variant shorthand titles for the same type of document. To this objection can be added the entries for περὶ γεωργ(): it is unnatural to understand them as documents “concerning farmers;” they could be documents by, from, or of farmers, but not about them in the same way that the χειρογραφίαι περὶ σπερμάτων are about seed grain. Rather, they are better understood as documents περὶ γεωργ(ίας), “concerning the cultivation of land” or “concerning a state leasehold.”⁴⁶¹ This resolution, coupled with the fact that the writer maintained a distinction between γεωργ() and σπερμ(άτων) documents, suggests that γεωργ(ίας) is the correct interpretation in all instances. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind Bagnall’s observations on the loose syntax of bureaucratic language and not press the resolution too forcefully. The more important point is the distinction between γεωργ(ίας) and σπερμ(άτων) documents.

If the σπερμ(άτων) documents are oaths “for” or “concerning” seed grain, how can we understand the γεωργ(ίας) documents? Here we are aided by a handful of extant χειρογραφίαι occasioned, in all likelihood, by the oath required by a farmer upon entering into a new public leasehold.⁴⁶² One such document was in fact drawn up by an anonymous Karanis notary in 88/89 CE.⁴⁶³ It is entitled ἀντίγραφ(ον) χειρογραφίας and the oath begins: ὁμνύω (by the emperor) γεωργήσιν (the land in question).⁴⁶⁴ One can see how such a document, whose title in the copy was simply χειρογραφία, could be titled in other contexts as a (χειρογραφία) (περὶ) γεωργίας.

⁴⁶⁰ *P.Mich.* II 123, recto, col. xix.22.

⁴⁶¹ For this meaning, cf. above under **διαίρεσις**.

⁴⁶² See Rowlandson 2005, 187.

⁴⁶³ *P.Mich.* IX 545.

⁴⁶⁴ The spelling is normalized. On the papyrus, however, the editor has missed a few non-standard spellings: l. 1, χειρογραφίας (*ed. pr.* χειρογραφίας); l. 6 ὁμνύο (*ed. pr.* ὁμνύω); and l. 9, γεωργήσιν (*ed. pr.* γεωργήσειν).

4.14 The Writing Fee

A writing fee, γραμματικόν, was charged on all documents written in Karanis *grapheion*. Since only registered contracts are itemized and thus allow some analysis of how the fee was set, I concentrate on these documents in this section and find that there is a tendency towards standard rates, as in the Tebtunis *grapheion*.⁴⁶⁵

Table 7. Grammatikon by contract type in the Karanis Register.

Type	#	median (dr.)	mean (dr.)
παραχώρησις	5	20	23.2
μεριτεία	8	8	12.22
ἀποχή	20	4	5
καρπ()	4	4	4.57
διαίρεσις	4	4	4.21
χρήσις	34	2	3.26
ἐκχώρησις	8	2	3.09
πρᾶσις	7	2	3.25
μίσθωσις	7	2	2.6
προδοματική	11	2	2.46

The data from Karanis are more limited than the Tebtunis data and must be used with even more caution. The sample size of preserved document types with their corresponding γραμματικόν is only in double digits in three cases. Nevertheless, a tendency towards standard rates is discernible. Two document types, παραχωρήσεις and μεριτεία, stand out as the most expensive class of documents, although little should be made of the precise numbers because there are only nine examples between them. Another group of documents tends towards a 4 dr. median γραμματικόν; only in case of ἀποχάι, however, can we be relatively comfortable with the representativeness of the figures. Finally, a broad base of documents tends towards a 2 dr. median.

All of these data are skewed “to the right,” with means exceeding their medians, which indicates that the outliers tend to be higher than the standard fee. We can take the relatively well-documented case of loan contracts as an example. Of the 45 securely-identified loan contracts (sec. 4.11), the writing fee can be read confidently in 34 cases. The median and mode writing fee is 2 dr., reflecting the typicality of this low fee for the average contract of this type. Yet, the mean

⁴⁶⁵ Chapter 3.2.2.

is over 3 dr., pulled upward by a few high outliers, including one case each of 16, 12, 11, and 8 dr. fees.⁴⁶⁶

The highest outlier is found at col. xxiv.16-17, a contract registered on Tybi 25:

ὄμο(λογία) Ταμύσθ(ας) τῆ(ς) Πε[τ]σίριο(ς) καὶ τῶν υἱῶν πρὸς Μάρκο(ν)
Λι..ρη()() χρῆ(σεως) (δραχμαὶ) ις

From the plural τῶν υἱῶν we can see that at least four individuals were involved in this loan contract (the mother, at least two sons, and the other party) and it is reasonable to suppose that copies were drawn up for each individual. This might explain why the writing fee was eight times the norm. In other cases of high fees for loans, however, there is no indication that more than two parties were involved,⁴⁶⁷ yet it should be remembered that the Register entries were intended simply to identify the contracts for the benefit of *grapheion* employees, not provide an accurate summary of its contents. The frequent recourse to καὶ ἄλλω(ν) in contract titles shows that other individuals were involved in the contract, though the writer did not feel the need to identify them. It is possible, then, that multiple parties were involved in these other high-fee loans, but that the writer was not careful to include καὶ ἄλλω(ν). On the other hand, one case of a low-fee loan involves two brothers⁴⁶⁸ and other normal-fee contracts include the phrase καὶ ἄλλω(ν).⁴⁶⁹ While we may rightly suppose that extra copies increased the writing fee, we must admit that the decision to order extra copies or not could have been made for any number of reasons and we simply do not have enough information to decide how precisely these extra copies affected the writing fee. The incidence of odd-number fees, moreover, such as the loan charged 11 dr., shows that not all cases were a simple calculation of the standard fee times the number of copies. There are other factors potentially affecting the fee, such as the role of ὑπογραφεῖς, “subscribers,” for which we have no information in the Karanis Register and only one reference in the Tebtunis papers.⁴⁷⁰

In conclusion, there is a *tendency* towards standard fees based on contract type, but the variability in the data show that other factors were at play. The second-most important variable may have been the number of copies ordered at the time the contract was drawn up.

⁴⁶⁶ xxix.16-17, xxii.5, xix.4, and xv.2.

⁴⁶⁷ 11 dr. (xix.4) and 8 dr. (xv.2).

⁴⁶⁸ xx.4.

⁴⁶⁹ E.g, xvii.11, a sale of wood whose fee is 1 dr., 2 ob.

⁴⁷⁰ *P.Mich.* II 123 recto, col. iii.39.

4.15 The Contracting Parties

The Karanis Register contributes considerably to the prosopography and onomastics of Karanis and its environs. The names of over 300 contracting parties can be recovered; with patronymics, the ἀναγραφή preserves over 500 names in full, with dozens more partially legible. To be certain, these contracting parties were not all residents of Karanis – one was free to utilize the services of any village or metropolite office for any type of contract – but the overwhelming majority must have been local.⁴⁷¹

An onomastic analysis suggests that *grapheion* users reflect the general adult population of Karanis. No complete list of residents of Karanis is available for the time period of the Register, but we can use as a proxy the extensive Tax Rolls from 171-175 CE, about two generations later (published as *P.Mich.* IV). This requires us, however, to operate under the assumption that the onomastic makeup of Karanis had not changed drastically during this period.⁴⁷² The tax lists record virtually every adult male resident of Karanis who paid the poll tax, and thus excludes women, boys under 14, and Roman citizens.

As part of an important contribution on ethnic identity in the Fayum, Bagnall performed an onomastic analysis on the Tax Rolls. Moving away from the simplistic Greek vs. Egyptian dichotomy that had dominated previously onomastic research on Greek and Roman Egypt, Bagnall instead notes that the majority of the “Greek” names attested in Egypt have a particular Egyptian character. Many are theophoric names that have a more-or-less clear equivalence with an Egyptian deity, while others are dynastic names reflecting the lasting influence of the old Ptolemaic royal family. “The onomastic repertory,” Bagnall observes of the metropolite elite “stamps them unmistakably as Greeks of Egypt, not Greeks of Greece.”⁴⁷³ When viewed in this way, the onomastic contrast with the broad base of Egyptian peasants, whose names are overwhelmingly Egyptian, is less severe. The two groups, elites and peasants, can be “described as almost equally Egyptian but not equally Greek.”⁴⁷⁴

Instead of the traditional dichotomy, Bagnall separated the names of his data sets, including the Karanis Tax Rolls, into six groups:

⁴⁷¹ A good example of two residents of one village (Soknopaiou Nesos) concluding a contract in a different village (Psinachis) is found in *SBI* 5232, discussed in Chapter 1.5.

⁴⁷² In contrast, the onomastic profile of Karanis in the early fourth century as attested in the Isidorus archive is considerably different.

⁴⁷³ Bagnall 1997, 10.

⁴⁷⁴ Bagnall 1997, 10.

- 1) Greek theophoric, including names of Greek formation which likely refer to an Egyptian deity.
- 2) Egyptian theophoric.
- 3) Dynastic names particular to the Ptolemaic royal family.
- 4) Common Greek, names not fitting categories 1 or 3 and found elsewhere in the Greek world.
- 5) Roman, names of Latin origin.
- 6) Other / unknown.

By applying Bagnall's categories to the onomastic data from the Karanis Register, we can compare the onomastic profiles of these two data-sets from Karanis.

Table 8. Percentage of names by type in the Tax Rolls and the Karanis Register.

Name Type	Tax Rolls ⁴⁷⁵	Karanis Register
Greek theophoric	26%	21%
Egyptian theophoric	40%	49%
Dynastic	13%	9%
Common Greek	11%	6%
Roman	5%	10%
Other / unknown	5%	4%

One can see that all groups are within nine percentage points in the two profiles. Even some of these differences might be able to be explained by the underlying differences in the sources: the Tax Rolls, for instance, by not recording Roman citizens resident in Karanis, surely under-represent the Roman element of Karanis. On the other hand, Roman citizens could and did make use of local *grapheia*. While the Tax Rolls are only a proxy for the general onomastic profile in the early second century, this comparison suggests that users of the Karanis *grapheion* are representative of the adult population of the village.

There is a strong contrast, however, when we compare the onomastic profiles of party A, generally the party accepting an obligation, or the “weaker” party, and party B.

Table 9. Comparison of name types between party A and party B in the registered contracts of the Karanis Register.

Name Type	Party A	Party B
Greek theophoric	15.4%	28.1%
Egyptian theophoric	63.2%	33.1%
Dynastic	7.4%	11.5%
Common Greek	3.7%	9.1%

⁴⁷⁵ Bagnall 1997, 10.

Roman	5.9%	14%
Other / unknown	4.4%	4.1%

About twice the percentage of Party A contractors carry Egyptian names as Party B contractors, while the reverse is true for Greek theophoric names.

4.16 Alienation (ἐξοικονόμησις)

The Karanis Register provides more evidence that the *grapheion* manager played an integral role in the alienation of property, beyond simply writing up the relevant documents. The key term is ἐξοικονόμησις, which Preisigke defines as “Veräußerung,” the disposal of property in general without regard to the type of property or method of disposal. Ἐξοικονόμησις and its corresponding verb ἐξοικονομεῖν are neologisms of the first century BCE, apparently limited to Egypt.⁴⁷⁶

Even before the creation of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, the Roman administration in Egypt tightly controlled the alienation of real property. *M.Chr.* 214 (= *FIRA* 102, *BGUI* 112, Karanis, 60/61 CE), includes the promise to report ὅτι δ’ ἂν ἀπὸ το[ύτ]ων ἐξοικονομήσω | ἢ καὶ προσαγο[ρ]άσω, “whatsoever I might dispose of from these (properties) or also buy additionally.” Once the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων had been set up, any such changes to one’s real property were supposed to be reported to the new archive’s overseers.

The alienation of property could take many forms. In *BGU* II 379 (Karanis, 67 CE), for instance, the applicants declare, βουλόμεθα παραχωρήσαι ..., indicating that the property was to be alienated through a sale, framed as a cession because the land is ἐν κατοικικῆι τ[άξει] (l. 12). In *P.Kron.* 18 (Tebtunis, 144 CE), on the other hand, the applicant intends to “mortgage” (ὑπαλλάξαι) two arouras of katoikic land to settle a debt. Most frequently, however, the writer of the application settles for the generic *terminus technicus* ἐξοικονομεῖν.⁴⁷⁷ This can be explained by the fact that the specific procedure was of no concern to the βιβλιοφύλακες; their role at this point was only to confirm the applicant’s title to the property in question.

For examining the entries in the Karanis Register, it may be helpful to review the steps involved in the alienation of property:

⁴⁷⁶ The first attestation is the fragmentary compound συνεξοικονομ[(*P.Ryl.* II 118.15, 16/15 BCE). In the Ptolemaic period, the classical Greek term ἀλλοτριῶν was used, along with the Hellenistic-era compound ἐξαλλοτριῶν (e.g., *P.Tebt.* III.1 776.19 (early II BCE)). Both ἀλλοτριῶν and ἐξαλλοτριῶν continued to be used elsewhere in Greek east during the Roman period.

⁴⁷⁷ The editors of *P.Graux.* II 17 note (p. 51 n. 62), “l’emploi de ce verbe est presque entièrement limité aux προσαγγελίαι et aux ἀπογραφαί dites “générales” ou “extraordinaire,” dans la clause relative à l’aliénation éventuelle du bien déclaré.”

- 1) Two parties come to an agreement concerning the alienation of property.
- 2) The current owner of the property sends a *προσαγγελία* to the βιβλιοφύλακες announcing his intention to transfer ownership and requesting that an *ἐπίσταλμα*, “order to proceed,” be sent to the local notary.
- 3) if the property is verified as clear from any liens, the βιβλιοφύλακες issue the *ἐπίσταλμα*, sometimes written below the original *προσαγγελία*.
- 4) once the notary receives the *ἐπίσταλμα*, he proceeds to draw up and register the relevant contract.

This series of administrative procedures provides the context for the entries in the Karanis Register. The most informative entry reads as follows:

Col. x.26-27

(ὄν) Ἀφροδ() ἀνερχ(ομένω) εἰς τῆ(ν) πόλ(ιν) εἰς ἐξοικο(νό)μ(ησιν)
Πτολ() τῆ(ς) Διδύμου καὶ ἄλλω(ν) (δρ.) κ

In a marginal note, this entry is itemized in such a way as to show that 4 dr. were expended εἰς ἐξοικονόμησιν, while 16 dr. went to other expenses, including the purchase of papyrus. Thus, ἄλλων should not be translated “and others,” as another possessive, but rather “for other (expenses)”.

From this entry we learn that 1) the act of ἐξοικονόμησις could occur in the metropolis Ptolemais Euergetis, 2) it involved *grapheion* staff in some way, and 3) it presented a *cost* to the *grapheion*, not a source of income. Unfortunately the lack of any type of parallels prevents us from understanding what precisely the *grapheion*'s role in ἐξοικονόμησις was and why it added to the office's expenses.

4.17 Purchase of Papyrus

There are 16 entries in the the Karanis Register for the purchase of papyrus rolls (χάρται).⁴⁷⁸ The number of rolls purchased is never given and only once is the word written out in full, the singular χάρτου, for the unusually low price of 1 dr., 1 ob. (ii.3), which may thus be the purchase of a roll of inferior quality or short length. The most frequent prices are 4 dr. and 8 dr. (8 out of 13 preserved prices), which I believe correspond to the purchases of one and two rolls for the same amounts in the Tebtunis accounts.⁴⁷⁹ The Karanis accounts, however, show a little more variability, with prices such as 3 dr. and 6 dr. that are unattested elsewhere for papyrus rolls. For

⁴⁷⁸ For the equation of χάρτης with “papyrus roll,” now well established, see Lewis 1974, 71-78.

⁴⁷⁹ *P.Mich.* II 123, p. 98.

the sake of consistency, I have expanded χαρτ() or χ() as a singular when the price is around 4 dr. or below (one is 4 dr., 1 ob.) and as a plural when higher, although the possibility that, e.g., 6 dr. represents the price for one expensive roll should not be excluded.

The money for the rolls is usually disbursed to either Aphrod() (7x) or Sok() (4x), while sometimes the recipient is unclear or unnamed. Twice Aphrod() entrusted the funds to an intermediary, who then made the actual purchase of the papyrus. In another instance, we can be sure Aphrod() himself made the purchase, as one informative entry reads: Ἀφροδ() ἀνερχ(ομένω) εἰς τῆ(ν) πόλ(ιν) εἰς τειμ(ῆν) χαρτ(ῶν) (δρ.) η (viii.23-24). The next entry relates to the monthly submission of the *grapheion*'s official papers, so clearly Aphrod() took the opportunity of necessary business in the metropolis to buy a couple of rolls for the office.

This is the only direct evidence that papyrus rolls were purchased in the metropolis Ptolemais Euergetis, although this might have been the case in other such purchases, even when the phrase ἀνερχ(ομένω) εἰς τῆ(ν) πόλ(ιν) is missing. In his analysis of the Tebtunis accounts, Boak concluded that the *grapheion* rolls were purchased from suppliers in the metropolis.⁴⁸⁰ It seems possible that central factories in Ptolemais Euergetis supplied the majority of the paper needs of the nome's network of notarial offices, although opportunistic purchases may have been made from smaller suppliers nearby.⁴⁸¹ Whether the manufacture and sale of rolls to local notaries was a state concession, as it was in Ptolemaic period, cannot be determined on present evidence.⁴⁸²

The accounts do not specifically mention the purchase of ink, pens, or sponges (for erasing), which went for 1 ob. each in the handful of references in the Tebtunis accounts. These purchases may have been considered too incidental for recording or may have been included in the purchase price for papyrus (cf. the extra obol in the 4 dr., 1 ob. price).

⁴⁸⁰ *P.Mich.* II 123, pp. 98-99.

⁴⁸¹ The picture of centralized and standardized production and sale need not apply to the entire papyrus market in Egypt. Certainly papyrus was harvested for various other uses and sold in nearby villages without the mediation of metropolite manufacturers. In *P.Mil.* I² 8, for instance, a villager is granted the right to harvest papyrus from an imperial marsh over a three-month period for the purpose of weaving mats for the village market. Cf. Lewis 1974, 106-108.

⁴⁸² Lewis 1974, 123-126; see generally 115-129 on what little is known about the manufacture and sale of papyrus.

Chapter Five: Edition of the Karanis Register

5.1 Transcription⁴⁸³

Col. I (P.Mich. inv. 4390b, col. I)

[] π() ε. οιχ() π.....
[]
[] (ὀβ.) δ
[] β] ασιλ(ικῆς) γῆ(ς) ..
5 []], τρρ. ογ() (δρ.) α
[]] ων. ρο() (ὀβ.) ε
[]
[]
[]
10 []
[]],.
[]],.
[]], ρ[
[]
15 []
[]
[]
[]
[]], (δρ.) θ [

⁴⁸³ In the initial stages of this edition I benefitted greatly from the preliminary transcriptions made by Orsamus Pearl in 1938, which can be consulted in the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection (Pearl, boxes 1 and 3).

20 [].. χρή(σεως) (δρ.) .[]
 [] ... () (δρ.) δ []
 [] β]ασιλ(ικῆς) γῆς (δρ.) . (ὀβ.) .
 [] (ὀβ.) β
 [] (δρ.) [] (ὀβ.) .
 25 []

Col. II (P.Mich. inv. 4390b, col. II)

(γίν.) (δρ.) λη (ὀβ.) (ὦν) Ἀφροδ() δι(ὰ) . υριου (δρ.) δ καὶ ἰς ἔξοι() γ̄
 Ἑρᾶτος το(ῦ) Ἰσχυρί(ωνος) καὶ *vacat* τῆς Τα[.]... () καὶ .. οδ() . προ....
 καὶ τειμῆ(ς) χάρτου (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) [(γίν.)] (δρ.) κ[δ], λ[οι]π(αί) (δρ.) ἰδ̄ .. []
 5 ζ ὁμο(λογία) Ἀτρείο(υς) καὶ Πεθέω(ς) ἀμφο(τέρων) Πειμ() πρὸ(ς) Σαμβαθ() Σαμβ(α-) ἐκχω(ρήσεως) (δρ.) β
 ὁμο(λογία) Πεθέω(ς) το(ῦ) Σαταβο(ῦτος) πρὸ(ς) Σαραπίωνα Πολλο() ἐκχω(ρήσεως) (δρ.) α
 ἀναφορίου (ὀβ.) δ
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (δρ.) α
 ὑδροφυλ(ακίας) Πατ(σόντεως) (ὀβ.) γ
traces
 10 *traces*
 ἠ ὁμο(λογία) Πασ[.]τ() το(ῦ) Πεθέω(ς) καὶ α[.]... εαρ.. () [] [] (δρ.) .
 ὁμο(λογία) Πατο[.] () τ[ο(ῦ)] Πεθέω(ς) πρὸ(ς) τὸ(ν) [ἀ]δε[λ[φὸν]. []
 ... [] ο[.] [] κ() [π]ρὸ(ς) []
 []
 15 [] (γίν.) (δρ.) . (ὀβ.) ε̄ ... [] []
 [θ] ὁμο(λογία) Τεφερωτ(ος) τῆ(ς) Τιθοεῖο(υς) πρὸ(ς) Μάρκ(ον) Σευ[η]ρ[] *traces*
 ὁμο(λογία) Τεφερωτ(ος) τῆ(ς) Ἀπίωνο(ς) συγχωρή(ματος) (δρ.) κ
 ὁμο(λογία) ἀλλή(λων) Πετεσο(ύχου) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) [δια]ιρ[έ]σεως (δρ.) []
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) []
 20 ἀπὸ φόρο(υ) γραφε[ί]ο(υ) Θεογ(ένους) [] []
 (γίν.) (δρ.) πη (ὀβ.) β, (γίν.) (δρ.) .. (ὀβ.) γ [.] [] κ
 Ἀφροδ() \χάρτ(ου)/ (δρ.) δ καὶ ὥστε ἰς [.]τ() . ο.ρ.... []τ(), λοιπ(αί) (δρ.) ἰς ..

Col. III (P.Mich. inv. 4390b, col. III)

	ῑ [
	[]	
	/ [
	[]	
5	/ [
	ὄφειλ() [
	[]	
	/ [
10	[]	
	[]	
	<i>traces</i>		
	. [] []	
	[] . []	
15	/ ὄμ[ο(λογία)] Περ[]
	[]	
	[]	
	[]	
20	ιβ̄ [ὄμ]ο(λογία) . []
	<i>traces of 4 lines</i>		
	[]	
25	[]	
	. [
	λοιπ(αὶ) [
	.. [] [

Three columns (IV-VI) are estimated to be missing between col. III of inv. 4390 and the first column of inv. 4385 (col. VII).

5 ὑπομνηματ-) (ὀβ.) δ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) [] (γίν.) [(δρ.)] (ὀβ.) α
 [κς ὄμ]ο(λογία) Θαήσι(ος) τῆ(ς) [] εἰ[.], προδ(οματικῆς) [(δρ.)] δ
 χειρο]γ(ραφίας) []
 [] ..[] απ[]
 [] (δρ.) α (ὀβ.), (γίν.) [(δρ.)] η (ὀβ.) δ []
 10 [κζ [] τῆ(ς) Σαταβο(ῦτος) πρ[ὸ(ς) Δ]ί[δ]υμ(ον) Α[]
 [] ης πρὸ(ς) Τησ[.] αραπ[.] []
 [] τοῦ Ἡρω() [] (δρ.) δ
 ..β[.] αρχειρο() Πατ() (δρ.) α
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) γ
 15 [κα]ἰ δι(ά) [Α]φροδ() ἐπεχ()? [] ηλ() [] καὶ (δρ.) (ὀβ.) ε
 (γίν.) (δρ.) νθ (ὀβ.) ε, (ὦν) Ἀφροδ() (δρ.) δ κ[α]ὶ τη() (δρ.) γ
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) νβ (ὀβ.) ε, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρ (ὀβ.) ς
 κῆ ὄμο(λογία) Πεθ(έως) το(ῦ) καὶ ... λ() αλ() π[ρὸ(ς)]? Ἴσιδ(ώραν) Σαταβο(ῦτος) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) δ
 20 ὄμ(ολογία) [Ψ..... ()] Ἴσιδώ(ρας)/ τῆ(ς) Σαταβο(ῦτος) πρὸ(ς) Τεφε[. ()] Ἡρᾶτ(ος) ἀραβ(ῶνος) (δρ.) δ
 ὄμ(ολογία) ἀλλή(λων) [Πεθέ(ως)] Π... τ() το(ῦ) Χαριδ() καὶ ἄλλω(ν) δι(αιρέσεως) (δρ.) ς
 μίσθ(ωσις) Ἡρακλή(ος) το(ῦ) Πνεφε(ρῶτος) πρὸ(ς) Ὠρο(ν) Ὀρσενο(ύφιος) βασιλ(ικῆς) γῆ(ς) (δρ.) β
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.) α
 (γίν.) (δρ.) κα (ὀβ.) ε, (ὦν) Ἀφροδ() ἀνερχ(ομένω) εἰς τῆ(ν) πόλ(ιν) εἰς τειμ(ῆν)
 χαρτ(ῶν) (δρ.) η, καταχω(ρισμοῦ) βιβλ(ίων) Φᾶωφι (δρ.) δ, ἄλλη(ς) δαπ(άνης)
 25 [[λο]ιπ(ὸν) [γρα]μματ(ικὸν) Πτολ() τῆ(ς) Δ. υ...]
 (δρ.) δ, (γίν.) ις, λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.) ε (γίν.) (δρ.) ρς (ὀβ.) δ

Col. IX (P.Mich. inv. 4385, col. III)

ἕως λ̄ [.] ..ση
 κῆ ὄμο(λογία) Πετσίριο(ς) το(ῦ) Διδύμ(ου) πρὸ(ς) Ὑγεῖνο(ν) δοῦλ(ον) Ἀπολ() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) β
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἡρώδο(υ) το(ῦ) Ἡρωγο(ς) πρὸ(ς) Πτολεμαίδ(α) Ἀγχώ(φεως) προ(δοματικῆς) (δρ.) β
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) η (ὀβ.) α
 5 ὑδροφυλ(ακίας) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) α
 ὑπομνηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 ἀναφο.....[.] [.] (ὀβ.) ε
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιγ (ὀβ.) δ, (ὦν) Ἡρω(νι) εἰς ἐργ(α-) Ἀφροδ()

- (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) δ, Σωκ() χ(άρτου) (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) α, λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ζ (ὀβ.) ς
 10 (γίν.) [(δρ.)]η (ὀβ.) ε
 ᾠ ὄμο(λογία) Σοκμή(νιος) τ[ο(ῦ)] Πεθ(έως) [πρὸς()] .. Οὐλέριο(ν) Πρείσκ(ον) προδ(οματικῆς) (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) Ψεναμο(ύνιος) το(ῦ) []... () π[ρ]ῶ(ς) Ἄ[π]υγγ(ιν) Πτολ() παραχ[ω]ρή(σεως) [(δρ.)] κδ
 ὄμο(λογία) ... [] Δημάτ(ος) πρὸς() Ἀ[] ω() Φάσειτ(ος) καὶ ἄλλ[ω(ν)] προδ(οματικῆς) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) β
 [χει]ρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) θ (ὀβ.) δ
 15 [πε]ρὶ γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) α
 ὑδροφυλ(ακίας) (ὀβ.) δ
 ὑ[π]ομ(νηματ-)
 (γίν.) (δρ.) μ (ὀβ.) γ, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρλθ [(ὀβ.) α] \ (ὀβ.) γ/
 (ῶν) Ἄγειν[] κδ τῶ(ν)? μηνὸς(ς) προχρη[] (δρ.) γ
 20 Σωκ() ἐπὶ τρ(άπεζαν) (δρ.) ρ, ὄψω(νίου) (δρ.) κδ, (γίν.) (δρ.) ιβ [] \ (ὀβ.) γ/
 Χοιάχ ᾠ ὄμολ(ογία) Παποντ(ῶτος) τ[ο(ῦ)] Πολλοῦ(τος) πρὸς() Κεφαλ() .μ. προδ(οματικῆς) (δρ.) δ
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) [ι]ζ (ὀβ.) γ
 καὶ δι(ὰ) Σωκ() (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) ὄμο(λογίας) Ἄκκανο() το(ῦ) Φάσειτ(ος) (ὀβ.) γ
 25 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) κγ (ὀβ.) ς, (ῶν) Ἄφρ([οδ()] εἰς τεῖμ(ῆν) χάρτ(ου)
 (δρ.) δ, Σωκ() (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε λο(ιπαὶ) (δρ.) ιη (ὀβ.) α, (γίν.) (δρ.) λγ (ὀβ.) β
 (διώβελον) β ὄμο(λογία) Ἦρω(νος) το(ῦ) Ἀρ[τ]εμιδ(ώρου) πρὸς() Φάσειν Ἐσού(ριος) προδ(οματικῆς) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) α
 ὄμ(ολογία) Πετεχω() Πετεσο(υχοῦ) πρὸς() Πτολεμ() Πτολ() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) β
 30 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (ὀβ.) ς
 περὶ γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) α
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.) β, (γίν.) (δρ.) λη, (ὀβ.) δ

Col. X (P.Mich. inv. 4385, col. IV).

- γ χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) ς (ὀβ.) ε
 περὶ γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) β
 ὑδροφυλ(ακίας) (δρ.) α
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ς
 5 (γίν.) (δρ.) ια (ὀβ.) ς, (γίν.) (δρ.) ν (ὀβ.) γ
 [[ὄφειλ(ει)] δ ὄμο(λογία) Πεθ(έως) το(ῦ) Πεκμητ(ος) πρὸς() Ὀννω(φριν) Ὀννώ(φριος) προδ(οματικῆς) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 ὄμο(λογία) Ὄρου το(ῦ) Ὀννώ(φριος) πρὸς() Σαραπ() Σεκυτο() (?) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) α

χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) ιγ (ὀβ.) β
καὶ δι(ὰ) Σωκ() (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) α
10 χειρογ(ραφίας) γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) γ
ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) α
(γίν.) (δρ.) κγ (ὀβ.) γ, (ῶν) Ἄφροδ() (ὀβ.) β
λο(ιπαὶ) (δρ.) κγ (ὀβ.) α, (γίν.) (δρ.) ογ (ὀβ.) δ
ε̄ Πακύσιο(ς) το(ῦ) Σαταβο(ῦτος) πρὸ(ς) Ἄρπαγ(άθην) Ἀπύγγ(ιος) προδ(οματικῆς) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
15 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) Κόμωνο(ς) (δρ.) δ
ὄμο(λογία) Πτολλᾶτ(ος) το(ῦ) Ἄκουτ() πρὸ(ς) Παποντ(ῶτος) Πολλοῦτ(ος) (δρ.) β
χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) ζ (ὀβ.) ε
γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) γ
20 περὶ σπερμ(άτων) καὶ .. νυλ() (δρ.) α
ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
Πεθέω(ς) το(ῦ) Ἰσιδώ(ρου) (ὀβ.) β
γραμματ(ικοῦ) οἰροκ() ...χ() ..εχ..() (δρ.) α
ἀναφορίου (ὀβ.) δ
(γίν.) (δρ.) κα (ὀβ.) δ (ῶν) Ἄφροδ() (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) ε,
25 Σωκ() (ὀβ.) ε̄ λο(ιπαὶ) (δρ.) τη, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρα (ὀβ.) δ
(ῶν) Ἄφροδ() ἀνερχ(ομένω) εἰς τῆ(ν) πόλ(ιν) εἰς ἐξοικο(νό)μ(ησιν)
Πτολ() τῆ(ς) Διδύμου καὶ ἄλλω(ν) (δρ.) κ, Ἡρωι
αγκαιθι()? (δρ.) η, Σωκ() (δρ.) λβ, λοιπ() (δρ.) λα (ὀβ.) δ

Col. Xa.1-7. Marginal note in intercolumnar space on the left, corresponding to col. x.26-27.

ἀπὸ (δραχμῶν) κ
ἰς ἐξοικ(ονόμησιν) Πτολ() Διδύμ(ου)
(δρ.) δ καὶ τειμῆ(ς) χ(αρτῶν)
(δρ.) η, λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) η εἰς
A 5 τὰς ἀνὰ χεῖρα
δαπ(άνας) ὑπηρέ(του)? καὶ
γραμ(μ)ατ(έως)? νομ(ογράφου)?

Col. XI (P.Mich. inv. 4385, col. V)

ε̄ Πεθέως το(ῦ) Πνεφε(ρῶτος) πρὸ(ς) Λεωνίδ(ου) Ἀγχώ(φεως) προδ(οματικῆς) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
ὄμο(λογία) Ἄρμαίο(υ) το(ῦ) Σοκονοώ(νεως) πρὸ(ς) Μυσθ() Πετεσο() ἐκχω(ρήσεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε

- μίσθ(ωσις) Νεκφε(ρ-) το(ῦ) Φανομ(γέως) πρὸς(ς) Ἀμμω(ν-) Παμονγή(ιος) βασιλ(ικῆς) γῆ(ς) (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) Ὠρο(υ) το(ῦ) \Μεγχείους καί/ [Πετεςο()] πρὸς(ς) Ἀθηναῖο(ν) Ἡράτ(ος) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) η
 5 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) ς (ὀβ.) β
 περὶ γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) β
 περὶ σπερμ(άτων) Κερκ(εσούχων) (δρ.) α
 ὕδροφυλ(ακίας) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) Ἡρω(νος) Ὀννό(φριος) (ὀβ.) β
 10 ἀναφορίου (ὀβ.) ς
 (γίν.) κς (ὀβ.) α (ῶν) Σωκ() δι(ὰ) Ἡρω(νος) ἐργ(άτου) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) γ
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) κδ (ὀβ.) ε, (γίν.) (δρ.) νς (ὀβ.) β
 ζ ὄμο(λογία) ἀλλή(λων) Χαρμο() καὶ τῶ(ν) ἀδελ(φῶν) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) διαιρέσε(ως) γεω(ργίας) (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) Πακύσιο(ς) το(ῦ) Ἡράτ(ος) πρὸς(ς) Πτολ() Ἡρω(νος) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) β
 15 ὄμο(λογία) Ψεναμο(ύνιος) το(ῦ) Ἡρακλῆ(ος) πρὸς(ς) τὸν αὐ(τὸν) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) γ
 ὄμο(λογία) Μάρκο(υ) Ἀνθ(εστίου) ἰππέω(ς) πρὸς(ς) Μάρκο(ν) Ἀνθ(έστιον) Οὐαλε(ρι-) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) η ..
 ὄμο(λογία) Θαυβάστ(εως) τῆ(ς) Ἀγχώ(φεως) πρὸς(ς) Ἡραίδ(α) . . ρρε() μεσειτ() (δρ.) ις
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.) α
 περὶ γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) β
 20 ἀξιό(ματος) γεωργ(ίας) Ἀνθ(ιανῆς) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) α
 θέμα Ἀφροδ() (δρ.) δ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) μγ (ὀβ.) ε, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρ
 η Σαταβο(ῦτος) το(ῦ) Σαταβο(ῦτος) πρὸς(ς) Λογγι(πορα) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) γ
 ὄμο(λογία) Πεθέω(ς) Φαή(σιος) πρὸς(ς) Πεθέ(α) Μάρωνο(ς) χρ(ήσεως) (δρ.) α
 25 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) γ
 περὶ γεω(ργίας) (δρ.) α
 περὶ τῆ(ς) πρὸς διάκρ(ισιν) (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) β
 ἀξιό(ματος) Ἀνθ(ιανῆς) (ὀβ.) β
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 30 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιβ (ὀβ.) β, (γίν.) (δρ.) ριβ (ὀβ.) β, (ῶν) Ἀφροδ() δι(ὰ) Ἡρω(νος) \εἰς κατα...μ()/ (δρ.) ιβ
 λοι(παὶ) (δρ.) ρ (ὀβ.) β

Col. XII (P.Mich. inv. 4385, col. VI)

ἕως ι (δρ.) ρς

θ ὄμο(λογία) Χαιρή(μονος) το(ῦ) Ἡρακ(λ-) πρὸς(ς) Ὠρο(ν) Πεθέω(ς) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) δ

- ὄμο(λογία) Φαή(σιος) το(ῦ) Φαή(σιος) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) διαιρέ(σεως) γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) β [(ὀβ.) β] \ (ὀβ.) ς/
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἡραϊδο() τῆ(ς) Φανομ(γέως) πρὸ(ς) Θαισᾶν Ἀπολ() ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) β
 5 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) ς
 τῆς πρὸ(ς) διάκρι(σιν) (δρ.) α
 λοιπ(ὸν) γρα[μ]ματ(ικὸν) εἰς Πεθεά Ὀρο(υ) (ὀβ.) γ
 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) ἀξιώ(ματος) Ἀνθ(ιανῆς) οὐσ(ίας) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) δ
 (γίν.) ιζ (ὀβ.) ς, (ῶν) τειμ(ῆς) χ(άρτου) (δρ.) ς, Ἀφρ[ο]δ()
 10 δι(ὰ) Ἡρωνο(ς) το(ῦ) Ἐκύσιο(ς) χ(άρτου) (δρ.) δ καὶ Ἀφρ[ο]δ()
 εἰς τειμ(ῆν) οἶνο(ῦ) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) γ λο(ιπαὶ) (δρ.) ς (ὀβ.) γ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ρς (ὀβ.) ε
 ἱ ὄμο(λογία) Ὀ[ρ]σγενο(ύφιος) το(ῦ) Ὀρσενο(ύφιος) πρὸ(ς) Ἡρᾶν Π[]..φι() ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) ε
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) γ
 15 περὶ γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) α
 ἀναφο(ρίου) [(ὀβ.)] δ
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) [(δρ.)] α (ὀβ.) α
 (γίν.) ια (ὀβ.) α, (ῶν) Ἀφροδ() δι(ὰ) Ἡρω(νος) (δρ.) δ
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ζ (ὀβ.) α, (γίν.) (δρ.) ριγ (ὀβ.) ς
 20 ἰᾶ ὄμο(λογία) Καστορο(ῦτος) γυνᾶ(ικὸς)? Πνεφε(ρῶτος) πρὸ(ς) Ἀπολ() Ὀρο(υ) ἐκχω(ρήσεως) (δρ.) β
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἀρφαή(σιος) το(ῦ) Ὀννώ(φριος) πρὸ(ς) Αὐνή(ν) Ὀρο(υ) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) β
 ὄμο(λογία) Ὀρο(υ) το(ῦ) Πετεσθ(έως) πρὸ(ς) Θαισᾶν Πεθέω(ς) χρή(σεως) [(δρ.) α] (ὀβ.) ε
 ὄμο(λογία) Πετεσο(ύχου) το(ῦ) Πετάλο(υ) πρὸ(ς) Ἰσιδω(ρ-) Πτολλίω(νος) ἐνοικ(ήσεως) (δρ.) δ
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) ς
 25 ὑδροφυλ(ακίας) (ὀβ.) ς
 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) Ἀμμωνίο(υ) (ὀβ.) γ
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 ἀναφο(ρίου) (ὀβ.) δ
 (γίν.) ιε (ὀβ.) ε, (ῶν) Ἀφροδ() ὥστε εἰς σω[] ()
 30 εἰς καταχ(ωρισμὸν)? (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) γ, Σωκ() (δρ.) α καὶ Χρατ() (δρ.) α, λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ιβ (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ρκς (ὀβ.) α

Col. XIII (P.Mich. inv. 4385, col. VII)

(ῶν) Ἀφροδ() δι(ὰ) Ἡρωνο(ς) χ(άρτου) (δρ.) η λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ριη [(ὀβ.) α]

ιβ̄ μίσθ(ωσις) Ἄρπαγάθ(ου) το(ῦ) Σαταβ(ούτος) πρὸς(ς) Ἀγγώ(φεως) Πεθέω(ς) βασι[λ(ικῆς)] γῆ(ς) (δρ.) [(ὀβ.)] .
 ὄμο(λογία) Φάσειτ(ος) το(ῦ) Κερατ() πρὸς(ς) Ὠρον [] (δρ.) α []
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) . . .
 5 τῶν πρὸς(ς) διάκρισι(ν) ...
 ἀπὸ τε[ι]μῆ(ς)? ονι () []
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιγ (ὀβ.) ε, (ὦν) Ἄφρ[ο]δ() δι(ὰ) Ἡ[ρ]ω() []
 Σωκ() (δρ.) [] (ὀβ.) α, λο(ιπαὶ) (δρ.) θ (ὀβ.) ., (γίν.) (δρ.) []
 ιγ̄ ὄμο(λογία) Τεσεύριω(ς) τῆ(ς) Θ... () πρὸς(ς) Λογγ..ν() []
 10 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) []
 ὄμο(λογία) ..κο() το(ῦ) Πε[τ]εσο(ύχου) πρὸς(ς) Ἀμμω() ...ω() []
 ὄμο(λογία) Ταπ.ο() τῆ(ς) Πεθέω(ς) συνχω(ρήματος) []
 ἀπὸ φόρο(ν) [γ]ραφεί(ο) Φιλ. []
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ρς [(ὀβ.)] ς, (ὦν) Σωκ() []
 15 ἀνερχ(ομένω) εἰς [] () [(δρ.) κδ] τ... [] []
 τοῦ Φαή(σιος) κατ[α]χ(ωρισμοῦ) καὶ τειμῆ(ς) χάρτ(ου) []
 [..... () (δρ.) ρκζ (ὀβ.) ε ...]
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.)? δ (ὀβ.) ς, (γίν.) (δραχμῶν) ρ. (ὀβ.) δ
 ἐπὶ τρ(άπεζαν) (δρ.) σλδ `ε.ει/ προσοφειλ() (δρ.) ...
 20 ἄλλας Ἀπολ() χ(άρτου) (δρ.) γ, (γίν.) (δρ.) σκζ ὦν καὶ σ.....
 ιδ̄ ὄμο(λογία) Σαταβο(ύτος) το(ῦ) Ὠρο(ν) πρὸς(ς) Ὑγεῖνο(ν) Δυμ..... (δραχμ-) []
 ὄμο(λογία) Ὀρσενο(ύφιος) το(ῦ) Ἀπολ() πρὸς(ς) Χαιρή(μονα) Πτολ() .ρ.. (δραχμῆ) α
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) []
 ἀναφο(ρίου) (δρ.) []
 25 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) εἰς Πτολ() Πτολλιω() . (δρ.) .
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιγ (ὀβ.) α (ὦν) ἰς τὰς? προσοφειλομ(ένας) ..
 (δρ.) λα (ὀβ.) γ λοιπ(αὶ) προσοφειλ(όμεναι) (δρ.) ιη (ὀβ.) β
 X Ταπεθέως τῆ(ς) Φανομ(γέως) [μερ] συνχω(ρήματος) (δρ.) η
 αἱ καὶ ἐχωρή(θησαν) εἰς οἶνο(ν) κερ(άμια) β σειτολ(όγοις) καὶ ἐκ τοῦ

Col. XIV (P.Mich. inv. 4383, col. I)

[ιε [] χρή(σεως) (δρ.) δ
 [] [] [] χω(ρήσεως) (δρ.) δ
 [] λοιπ() [] (δρ.) ις

5 χειρογ(ραφίας) σ[περμ(άτων)] (δρ.) ς
 γεωργ(ίας)] (δρ.) α
 ὑπομ(νηματ-)] (ὀβ.) δ
 [ὄ]μο(λογία) Π[εθ[έω(ς) τ[] Π[]ν[εφ[] . . . [] ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) β
 (γίν.) [] διὰ
 Ἡρ. . . . [] προσο]φειλ() (δρ.) ιη (ὀβ.) β
 10 λοιπ[]
 [ῑ] ὄμο(λογία) Π[]τολεμαί(ο)υ [το(ῦ)] πρὸ(ς)] ρο() παραχ(ωρήσεως) (δρ.) κ
 []μο() α[. . .] [] μ() (δρ.) *vacat?*
 [ὄμο(λογία)] ν. . . . [] ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) *vacat?* [ὄμο(λογία)] [. . .]
] ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) η
 15 [] [] (δρ.) ις
 χειρ[ογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων)?] (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) β
 γεωργ(ίας)] (δρ.) β
 περὶ . . [] (δρ.) β
 ἀναφο(ρίου)] (ὀβ.) β
 20 ὑπομ(νηματ-)] (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) [] δ ..
traces [] (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) []
 [ῑ] . . Π[ετσίριο(ς) [το(ῦ)] πρὸ(ς) [] παραχ(ωρήσεως) (δρ.) ις
 25 [] το(ῦ) Π[] [] τ() (δρ.) α []
 χειρ[ογ(ραφίας) σ]πε[ρμ(άτων)] (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) []
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) . . [] κ
]τεσει τη[] (ὀβ.) ς
 30 καὶ ἐγλόγο(υ) [] α
] (γίν.) (δρ.) []
] πω το(ῦ) Σοκμή(νιος) πρ[ὸ(ς)] [. .] τ. . . ιδι[] []

Col. XV (P.Mich. inv. 4383, col. II)

ἕως κ (δραχμαῖ) τ [] []
 ιη ὄμ[ο(λογία)] Ὀρσενο(ύφιος) το(ῦ) Σαταβο(ῦτος) πρὸ(ς) Πτολ() Διογυσίο(υ) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) η

χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) δ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιβ καῑ παρὰ Σωκ() ἀφ' ὧν ἔλαβεν
 5 ἐπὶ τῆς ιγ̄ (δρ.) κδ̄ ὥστ'ε ἀνηλ(ωμάτων) (δρ.) ιθ̄ \ (γίν.)/ (δρ.) ε
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιζ̄ καῑ [ἐ]γλόγου (δρ.) ξβ, (γίν.) (δρ.) οθ̄
 [ιθ̄] μ[ίς]θ(ωσις) Σοκμη() το(ῦ) Ἀπύγχι(ος) καῑ ἄλλω(ν) πρὸς(ς) Θεαβ() τὸν \καῑ/ Ἀχι(λλ-) οὐ/σ(ίας) γῆ(ς) (δρ.) β
 ὄμο(λογία) . []ολ() το(ῦ) Σαταβο(ῦτος) πρὸς(ς) Σῦρο(ν) Ἡρακ() προδ(οματικῆς) χόρτ(ου) (δρ.) β
 [ὄ]μο(λογία) Τνεφερῶτ(ος) τῆ(ς) Πυ[ε]φ[ε(ρῶτος)] πρ[ὸς(ς)] Χαρμο() Ἡρακ() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.) α
 10 [ὄ]μο(λογία)? Πῆθέω(ς) το(ῦ) Πτολλᾶ κ[α]ἰ Ἀπ[...]... εβ() ... π() πρὸς(ς) Ἡρακ()
 Ἡρακ() ἐπιχ(ωρήσεως) (δρ.) η []
 λοιπ(ὸν) [γ]ραμματ(ικὸν) Τ[ca. 7]... (δρ.) η []
 ..αη[...]... [ca. 6]... [ca. 4] ενοβ() ἰς ἐξοι(κονόμεσιν) (δρ.) δ []
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπε[ρμ(άτων)] (δρ.) ε []
 15 (γίν.) (δρ.) μβ̄ (ὀβ.) β, (ὦν) Ἀ[φ]ροδ() ὥστ'ε
 καῑ? (ὀβ.) ς̄ [.....] λο(ιπαὶ) (δρ.) μα (ὀβ.) γ
 καῑ ἐγ λόγ(ου) (δρ.) οθ̄, (γίν.) [(δρ.)] ρκ (ὀβ.) γ
 κ̄ σπερμάτ(ων) (δρ.) α [(ὀβ.)] β
 ἀναφο(ρίου) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) α
 20 ὑπομνη(ματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) ε, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρκγ (ὀβ.) α
 (ὦν) Ἀφροδ() [ὥ]στ'ε Ἡρω() κγμισθ() (δρ.) λς̄
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) πζ̄ (ὀβ.) α
 κᾱ σ[περ]μ[ά]τ(ων) (ὀβ.) γ
 25 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (ὀβ.) ε, (γίν.) (δρ.) πζ̄ (ὀβ.) ς̄

Col. XV A.1-2. Note in bottom margin

ρ. (ὀβ.) β
 ρ. (ὀβ.) δ

Col. XVI (P.Mich. inv. 4383, col. III)

κβ̄ ὄμο(λογία) Ἡρᾶτ(ος) τ[ο(ῦ)] Ἡρᾶτ(ος) πρὸς(ς) Ἡρᾶν Ἡρᾶτ(ος) προδ(οματικῆς) (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἀπολλω() το(ῦ) Ἴσ[...], πρὸς(ς) Ἀπολλω() Ὠρο() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) []
 χεῖ[ρο]γ(ραφίας) σπερ(μάτων) (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) ε

- 5 ἀναφ[ο(ρίου)] [(ὀβ.)] ε
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) [(ὀβ)] β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιγ (ὀβ.) α, (ὦν) Ἄφροδ() δι(ὰ) Ἄφροδ(είτου) (δρ.) ιβ
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) α [(ὀβ.)] α, (γίν.) (δρ.) πθ [..]
- ὄφειλ() κῆ ὄμ(ολογία) ἀλλή(λων) Πεθεώ(ς) το(ῦ) Φαή(σιος) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) δι(αιρέσεως) γεω(ργίας) (δρ.) β
 ὄφειλ() μίσθ(ωσις) Ναν[.] το(ῦ) Ὁ[.] () πρὸ(ς) Κάρανο(ν) Ἑρακ() (δρ.) β
- 10 μίσθ(ωσις) Ὠρο(ν) το(ῦ) Π[.] () καὶ [] ω() πρ[ὸ(ς)] Ἱεράνο(υπιν) Δημ() καὶ ἄλλω(ν) [(δρ.)] δ
 [ὄ]μο(λογία) Φαήσιο(ς) το(ῦ) Φα[] διαιρέ(σεως) []
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἄφροδ() τή(ς) [] πρ[ὸ(ς)] Σ[όκ]μη(νιν) Σοκμή(νιος) []
 ὄμο(λογία) Ζωί(ου) το(ῦ) Σ[] πρὸ(ς) Παρεῖ() Πάσειτ(ος) ἐκχ(ωρήσεως) []
 χειρ[ογ(ραφίας)] σπερμ(άτων) (δρ) [(ὀβ.)] δ
- 15 γεωρ[γ(ίας)] (ὀβ.) α
 (γίν.) (δρ.) κγ (ὀβ.) ς, (ὦν) Σωκ() χ(άρτου) (δρ.) δ
 Πεθεώ(ς) ἀκύρου χειρογ() σπερμ(άτων) (ὀβ.) γ, λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ιθ (ὀβ.) γ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ρη (ὀβ.) γ
- 20 κῆ ὄμο(λογία) Ἀρπάλο(ν) Ἀρπ[.] () Ἀμμω() πρὸ(ς) τή(ν) γυ(ναῖκα) λύσε(ως) συμβι(ώσεως) (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) Τεῶτος το(ῦ) Τεῶτος μεριτείας (δρ.) η
 τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ἄλλη(ς) (δρ.) ιβ
 (ὦν) Ἄφροδ() (δρ.) ιβ, σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) δ
 ἀναφ[ο(ρίου)] (ὀβ.) γ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) [ι]ζ (γίν.) (δρ.) ρκε (ὀβ.) γ
- 25 κῆ λοιπ(όν) γραμματ(ικόν) Πεθε[.] (δρ.) β
 σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) δ, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρκθ (ὀβ.) γ
- 30 κῆ ὄμο(λογία) Ἀπολ() το(ῦ) Ἀπ[.] ολ() πρὸ(ς) Π[το]λ() Πτο() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) δ
 ὄφειλ() Ὀρσενο(ύφιος) το(ῦ) [Δ.. ω()] Πεξεσου[/] . . [] . πρὸ(ς)ρωτο() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) β

Col. XVII (P.Mich. inv. 4383, col. IV)

ὄμο(λογία) Κλημεντ() ἀπελ[ε]υθ(ερ-)? Ἀμμω() πρὸ(ς) ..[] ε[]
 γε[.]... π[ράσ]ξεω(ς) ὄνο(ν) (δρ.) α []
 σπερμ(άτων) [(δρ.)] ς []
 (γίν.) (δρ.) [(ὀβ)ο(λ)ι] γ [] ζ (ὀβ.) ς/, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρλ[ε] [] ζ/ . .

- 5 (ὦν) Σωκ() χ(άρτου) (δρ.) []
κ̄ζ ὄμο(λογία) Ἐσούριο(ς) το(ῦ) Πεθέως πρὸ(ς) Οὐαλερ(ι-) ἐκχ(ωρήσεως) [] . []
τ[ο]π() .
ὄμο(λογία) Σαμβαθ(ίωνος) το(ῦ) Σαμβ() πρὸ(ς) Ταθάυτ(ιν) Πεθέ[ω(ς)]
χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) β
- 10 ὄμο(λογία) Σαβεῖνο(υ) [] .. () πρὸ(ς) Φίλω() Πασίω(νος) [κα]ῖ
ἄλλω(ν) π[ρ]άσεω(ς) ξύλω(ν) (δρ.) α [(ὀβ.)] β
χειρογ(ραφίας) σπε[ρ]μ(άτων) (δρ.) β
καὶ δι(ὰ) [] (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) []
γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) α []
- 15 (γίν.) (δρ.) [] (ὀβ.) γ, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρ[] \[ε\] \δ/ (ὀβ.) β
(ὦν) Ἄφροδ() Σωκρατ() Διδυμ() Ἀθηναίο(υ) (δρ.) ν . []
λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) [ρ. (ὀβ.) β] \πη (ὀβ.) β/ *traces*
ὄφειλ() κ̄η ὄμο(λογία) Ἰουλ() Οὐ[αλε]ριανο(ῦ)? πρὸ(ς) Πεθέα Σαραπ() ἀποχ(ῆς) . .
ὄμο(λογία) Θαισαρίο(υ) τῆ(ς) Πάσειτ(ος) πρὸ(ς) Σαβεῖνο(υ) Πε[] []
- 20 ἀποχ(ῆς) [] .
ὄφειλ() ὄμο(λογία) Ταπετεσο(ύχου) τῆ(ς) Πεθ(έως) πρὸ(ς) Ἄπει() Πτολ() ἀπ[οχ(ῆς)] (δρ.) β []
ὄμο(λογία) Πεθέω(ς) το(ῦ) Ἰσιδ() πρὸ(ς) Πεθέ(α) Ἄρτεμ() ἐκχω(ρήσεως) (δρ.) [] (ὀβ.) β
γραμματ(ικὸν) Ἄπολ() πρὸ(ς) Πτολ() διαίρ(έσεως) (δρ.) []
χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) . []
- 25 ὑπομ(νήματος) (ὀβ.) .
(γίν.) (δρ.) κβ (ὀβ.) δ καὶ ... () [(δρ.) ρ (ὀβ.) β] (δρ.) [] []
(γίν.) (δρ.) ρι (ὀβ.) ε, (ὦν) Σωκ() εἰς τειμ(ῆν) [] [] (δρ.) ιε]
καὶ εἰς καταχ(ωρισμὸν) Ἄθῆρ μη(νός) (δρ.) δ καὶ ἐξο[ικ(ονομήσεως)]
(δρ.) κδ, (γίν.) (δρ.) μδ, λοιπ(αὶ) ξ[η] \ε/ (ὀβ.) ε
- 30 ὄφειλ() κθ μίσθ(ωσις) Σαμβαθ() τῆ(ς) Κ[] φε() καὶ ἄλλω(ν) πρὸ(ς) Παποντ(ῶν) . []
ὄφειλ() ὄμο(λογία) Πτολεμα(ίου) το(ῦ) Ὄρο(υ) καὶ ἄλλω(ν) δι(αιρέσεως) []
χειρογ(ραφίας) σπ[ε]ρμ(άτων) []
ὑπομ(νηματ-) []
καὶ δι(ὰ) Ἄφροδ() []
- 35 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιε (ὀβ.) γ, (γίν.) (δρ.) πβ (ὀβ.) β

(.) το(ῦ) Ἴσ traces [
χειρογ(ραφίας) σπ[ερμάτ(ων)
ἀναφο(ρίου)
35 (γίν.)
(γίν.) (δρ.) ρ.[

Col. XIX (P.Mich. inv. 4391, col. I)

[εἰς τῆ(ν) πόλ(ιν) ἀνερχομ() ὅστε εἰς ἐξοικονόμησιν) (δρ.) κη
[]ι λ[οιπ(αῖ) (δρ.)
δ̄ μίσθ(ωσις) Πεθῆ[ω(ς)].. ατ() καὶ ἄλλω(ν) πρὸς Πτολ() . [] βασιλ(ικῆς) γῆ(ς) (δρ.) δ
5 [ό]μο(λογία) Πακ[ύσιο(ς) το(ῦ) Σατα]βούτ(ος) πρὸς Πτολ() Διονυσί(ο)υ χρή(σεως) (δρ.) ια
λοιπ(ὸν) [γρα]μ[μα]τ(ικὸν) Πτολ() το(ῦ) Διονυσί(ο)υ (δρ.) δ
χειρογ(ραφίας) σπ[ερμ(άτων) (δρ.) ς (ὀβ.) ς
περ[ὶ] . [] (ὀβ.) ε
ἀναφ[ο]ρί(ο)υ (δρ.) β
(γιν.) (δρ.) κη (ὀβ.) δ, (γιν.) (δρ.) ρμ (ὀβ.) δ
10 [όφει]λ() (δρ.) δ. ε̄ ὄμο(λογία) Πνεφερῶτ(ος) το(ῦ) Θεαβέ(ννεως) μερειτ(είας) (δρ.) ν[(ὀβ.)]δ/
ὄμο(λογία) Ἀσκλάτ(ος) το(ῦ) Ὀρσενο(ύφιος) πρὸς Σαβεῖνο(ν) Πτολ() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) β
χειρ[ογ(ραφίας) σπερ]μ(άτων) [(δρ.)] α (ὀβ.) ε
ὑ[π]ομ(μνηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
[(γίν.) (δρ.)] (ὦν) Ἀφροδ() []..
15 [] λ[οιπ() (δρ.) ι.[

ca. 16 lines missing

Col. XX (P.Mich. inv. 4391+4386a, col. II)

ἕως ἰ (δρ.) σκη (ὀβ.) γ
ἠ ὄμο(λογία) Πτολεμαῖ(ο)υ το(ῦ) Διονυσίου πρὸς Ἡρακ() Σαταβο(ῦτος) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) δ
ὄμο(λογία) Ἀπολλω() Μάρωνο(ς) πρὸς Χαιρή(μονα) Χαιρή(μονος) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) β
ὄμο(λογία) Πεθέω(ς) καὶ Ἀτρείο(υς) ἀμφο(τέρων) Σαμβ() πρὸς τὸν ἀδελ(φὸν) Κεφ() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
5 ὄμο(λογία) Εὐήμερο(υ) το(ῦ) Σοκμή(νιος) [π]ρὸς Γάιο(ν) Λογγινεῖνο(ν) σημ(εάφορον) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α
λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) Σαταβο(ῦτος) εἰς τὸν αὐτὸ(ν) (δρ.) α

- χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ια (ὀβ.) ε, (γίν.) (δρ.) σκβ (ὀβ.) δ
- 10 ᾠ ὄμο(λογία) Σαμβάτ(ος) το(ῦ) Φιλη() πρὸ(ς) ᾠριω() ᾠριω() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) γ
 ὄμο(λογία) Πεθέω(ς) το(ῦ) Ἡρακ(λ-) πρὸ(ς) Π[τ]ολ() Ἡρωνο(ς) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) β
 ὄμολογία Ἰσιδώ(ρας) τῆ(ς) Ἀτρείο(υς) πρὸ(ς) Ταμύσθ(αν) Μάρω(νος) ἀρραβ(ῶνος) (δρ.) δ
 ὄφειλ() (δρ.) γ ὄμ[ο(λογία)]μαρο() τῆ(ς) Σαταβο(ῦτος) πρὸ(ς) Δ[...]γ Ἀβύκιο(ς) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α [?]
 ὄφειλ[λ()] ὄμ[ο(λογία)] Πανομ(γέως) το(ῦ) Ἐσούριο(ς) πρὸ(ς) Πτολ() Ἀπολλω() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α [?]
- 15 χειρογ(ραφίας) σ[περ]μ(άτων) (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) ε
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) γ
 λοιπ(ὸν) γρ[αμματ(ικὸν) ca. ?].

 ca. 6 lines missing

- [] . (δρ.) α
 [ὑπο]μ(νηματ-) (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) γ
 [(γίν.) (δρ.)]ξ (ὀβ.) α, (γίν.) ρξε []
- 20 [ιᾶ] ὄμο(λογία) . [] []θ() πρὸ(ς) Ἡραιδ() Ἡράτ(ος) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) ε
 ὄμ[ο(λογία)] Η[]ρο() πρὸ(ς) Ἀπολ() Ἀπολ[λ()] χ[ρ]ή(σεως)? (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) β
 ὄμο(λογία) ... []χω() πρὸ(ς) Γάιο(ν) Λογγι(ν-) [πρὸ(ς)] . χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 χειρ[ογ(ραφίας) σπ]ερμ(άτων) (ὀβ.) γ
- 25 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
] (γίν.) (δρ.) η (ὀβ.) ε, (γίν.) (δρ.) ροδ *traces*
].. υσιο() [].. λοιπ(αὶ) [(δρ.) ρ]οβ (ὀβ.) [α]

Col. XXI (P.Mich. inv. 4391, col. III)

- ὄφειλ() ιβ ὄμο(λογία) [Πεθ]έως β Πεθέως π[ρὸ(ς) ..]φ. εγν() Ἀρπαγάθ(ου) χ[ρ]ή(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) γ
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἡρακλειδ(ου) το(ῦ) Πτολ() πρὸ(ς) Φάησιν Ἐσούρε(ως) πρά(σεως) ψιλῶ(ν) τῶπ(ων)? [(δρ.)] α (ὀβ.) ε
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) γ
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
- 5 (γίν.) (δρ.) ζ (ὀβ.) ς, (ῶν) Ἀφροδ() ὥστε εἰς Πνεφε(ρῶν) (ὀβ.) β
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ζ (ὀβ.) δ καὶ τ. εξηλ() δι(ὰ) ..ρου (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) α, λοιπ() (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.) γ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ροζ (ὀβ.) δ

φόρου γραφείου Θεογ(ένους) (δρ.) ξ
 10 ὄμο(λογία) Τεραῦτ(ος) τῆ(ς) Πνεφερωτ(ος) συνχω(ρήματος) (δρ.) μη
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ρη, (γιν.) (δρ.) σπε (ὀβ.) δ
 ἐπὶ τρ(άπεζαν) (δρ.) ρ καὶ δι(ὰ) [Σω]κ()? ἰς ἐξ[ο]ικ() (δρ.) η, (γίν.) (δρ.) ροζ (ὀβ.) δ
 ιγ ὄμο(λογία) Π[.]ερφ() το(ῦ) Τεβέρε(ως) μερειτ(είας) (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἀπολλω() τῆς γυναικ(ός) . . . () συνχω(ρήματος) (δρ.) δ
 15 [ὄ]μο(λογία) Π[.]νο() το(ῦ) Α[.]σι() πρὸ(ς) Ἰουλ() .[.] .[.] (δρ.) α [(ὀβ.)] α
 [λοιπ(ὸν) γ]ραμ[μ]ατ(ικὸν) .[] τ() ..φ[]

ca. 16 lines missing

Col. XXI A.1-2. Marginal note in left intercolumnar space corresponding to l. 11.

ἰς ἐξοικ() Ὁρου το(ῦ) Πετ[ε]σο()
 Περωτο() Πα[.]αρο() οἰκοδ(ομ-)

Col. XXII (P.Mich. inv. 4384, col. I)

[ιζ̄] Πεθέω[ς] παραχ(ωρήσεως) (δρ.) δ []
 [μίσθ(ωσις)] .σι() πρὸ(ς) Πεθέ(α) Φαη() οὐσί(ας) γῆ(ς) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 [ὄμο(λογία)] η() Κόμωνος ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) β
 5 [] πρὸ(ς) Ἑρμίαν Ἀμμωνι() (δραχμ-) [] []
 [ὄμο(λογία)] κ() Α. ευ() χρή(σεως) ἀτ(όκου) (δρ.) ιβ
 σ]υνοφειλε() εἰς τὸ(ν) Πτολ() (δρ.) α
 [] (ὀβ.) γ
] (γίν) (δρ.) σκα, (ὄν) Ἀφροδ() τῆ ἰδ̄
] κα
 10 [ιη̄ ὄμο(λογία)] αλ[.] [] εθ() καὶ ἄλλω(ν) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) .
 [ὄμο(λογία)] πρὸ(ς) Τεφε[] . . . πρ(άσεως) μυλ() (δρ.) β
 [] .μο[.]ρειτ() Πτολ() τ[] () [] ω() (δρ.) β
 [χει]ρ[ο]γ(ραφίας) σ[πε]ρμάτ(ων) (δρ.) η
 [ὄμο(λογία) Φ]ιλ[ο]ξένο(ν) το(ῦ) Ἀρποκ() πρὸ(ς) Δίδυμ(ον) Ἡ[ρ]ω() ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) δ
 15 [χ]ειρ[ο]γ(ραφίας) σπερμάτ(ων) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 [] ο... η() (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) λβ (ὀβ.), (γίν.) (δρ.) ρνγ (ὀβ.) α

20 $\bar{\iota}\theta$ ὄμ[ο(λογία) ...]μικο() το(ῦ) ...ο() πρὸς(ς) Δεῖον Φίλωνο(ς) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) ... νυ() το(ῦ) ... κυ[...] πρὸς(ς) Δεῖο(ν) Ἀμμωνι() ἐκχ(ωρήσεως) (δρ.) ιβ
 ὄμο(λογία) .ε.[...].....[.] [ca. 5] I και τῆ(ν) ἀδελ(φὴν) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) ς
 [...] [...] τ[] Φαισαῖ(ος) π[ρὸς(ς)] Ἰσχυρίωνος ἐκχ(ωρήσεως) (δρ.) β
 [] Πεθέως π[ρὸς(ς)?] Τυχάριον (δρ.) ιβ
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπε[ρματ(άτων)] (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) α
 ὑπ[ο]μ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 25 (γίν.) (δρ.) [] εἰς καταχω(ρισμὸν) βιβλίω(ν)
 δ[ι(ὰ) Σω]κ()? [] μ() Παρμουθ() (δρ.) δ, (γίν.) (δρ.) λξ [] .

Col. XXIII (P.Mich. inv. 4384, col. II)

ἔως $\bar{\kappa}$ (δρ.) σμγ (ὀβ.) γ
 $\bar{\kappa}$ ὄμ[ο(λογία)] Π[...]. το(ῦ) Φανόμγ[εω(ς)] πρὸς(ς) Φάσειν Ἐσοῦρεως χρῆ(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) γ
 ὄμ[ο(λογία)] Σοκνοπ(αίου) το(ῦ) Πετοσί(ριος) πρὸς(ς) Λογγί(νον) Εὐπορ() Συμφορ() χρῆ(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) β
 5 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπε(ρμάτων) (ὀβ.) δ
 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) Φιλοξένο(ν) πρὸς(ς) Δίδυμο(ν) (δρ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.) β, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρζγ (ὀβ.) ς (ῶν) Πεθεῖ
 Εὐημέρου (δρ.) β, λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ρζα (ὀβ.) ς
 $\bar{\kappa}\alpha$ ὄμο(λογία) Ἄτρῆ το(ῦ) ..ροχρατου πρὸς(ς) Κάστορα Ἀρπαγάθ(ο) ἐνοικ(ήσεως) (δρ.) δ
 10 ὄμο(λογία) Πεθέως το(ῦ) Ἀγχω() πρὸς(ς) Μάρων(α) Ὠροῦ ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἀπίας τῆς Πτολ() πρὸς Μάρκ(ον) Λογγίνο(ν) εἰς κο(πὴν)? ἄρακ(ος) (δρ.) η
 ὄμο(λογία) Πεθέως το(ῦ) Τεῶτ(ος) πρὸς(ς) Θερμουθ() Θερμουθ()? πρ(άσεως) ψειλ(οῦ) τόπ(ου) (δρ.) η
 ὄμο(λογία) τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς(ς) τὸν [τ] αὐτῆ(ς) ἀδελ(φὸν) []..()? (δρ.) η
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμάτ(ων) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) β
 ὑπομ(νήματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 15 (γίν.) (δρ.) λγ (ὀβ.) δ, (γίν.) (δραγμαῖ) ρρε (ὀβλοῖ) γ
 $\bar{\kappa}\beta$ ὄμο(λογία) Πα μ λ() το(ῦ) Πεθέω(ς) πρὸς(ς) Θάησι(ν) Πεθέω[ς] χρῆ(σεως) (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) το(ῦ) αὐτ(οῦ) πρὸς(ς) τῆ(ν) αὐτῆ(ν) ἐξστάσεως (δρ.) η
 ὄμο(λογία) Κάστορος το(ῦ) Ἡρακ() πρὸς(ς) Διόσκ(ορον) Πτολ() πρ(άσεως) ὄνο(ν) (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) Πομπη(ίου) τοῦ Σεκούνδ(ου) πρὸς(ς) Θερμουθ() Πετρεσο(ύχου?) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) β
 20 ὀφειλ() ὄμο(λογία) Ἀγχω() το(ῦ) Αὐνείο(υς) πρὸς(ς) Πεθέα Σαταβο(ῦτος) χρῆ(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) β
 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) μισθ(ώσεως) Ἀκούτος (δρ.) δ

χ[ε]ιρογ(ραφίας) σπερμάτ(ων) (ὀβ.) γ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) κγ (ὀβ.) ε, (γίν.) (δρ.) σιθ (ὀβ.) α
 25 κ̄ ὄμο(λογία) Ἑρατ() το(ῦ) Μάρωνο(ς) ἀρχεφό(δου) πρὸ(ς) Ὠρο(ν) Ὠρο(ν) ἀρχέ(φοδον) ἄ[]
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἀρφαήσιο(ς) το(ῦ) Ὀννώ(φριος) πρὸ(ς) Πτολεμαῖο(ν) Ἑρωνος χρή(σεως) (δρ.) [] (ὀβ.) .
 ὄμο(λογία) Πανεφρέμι(ος) το(ῦ) Σαταβο(ῦτος) πρὸ(ς) Πέταλο(ν)? Πετάλο(ν) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) [] (ὀβ.) ε
 ὄμο(λογία) Ταπεθέω(ς) τῆ(ς) Θεαγέ(νους) πρὸ(ς) Πτολεμαῖ(ον) Ὠροῦ ἀποχ(ῆς) (δραγμαῖ) ...
 μίσθ(ωσις) Πτολ() το(ῦ) Πεθέως καὶ τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) πρεσβ(υτέρων) κώμ(ης) πρὸ(ς) Δίδυμ(ον) Πύρρο(ν) (δρ.) ..
 ἀναφορίου (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) γ
 30 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμάτ(ων) (ὀβ.) ε
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ιε (ὀβ.) β, (γίν.) (δρ.) σ[λ]δ (ὀβ.) γ

Col. XXIV (P.Mich. inv. 4384, col. III)

(ῶν) Ἀφροδ() δι' Ἀφροδείτ(ου) δούλ(ου) (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) α, λοιπ(αῖ) (δρ.) σλβ (ὀβ.) β
 κδ ὄμο(λογία) Σαβεῖνο(ν) το(ῦ) Πτολ() πρὸ(ς) Ἀπολ() Ὀννώ(φριος) ἄπ. κοπ() (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) Φανόμ(γεως) το(ῦ) Ἑρακ() πρὸ(ς) Ἀπολλω() Ἀπολλω() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) β
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἑσούριο(ς) το(ῦ) Πεθέως πρὸ(ς) Σοκνοπ(αῖον) Σοκνοπ(αίου) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) β
 5 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμάτ(ων) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ι (ὀβ.) α, (ῶν) Ἀφροδ() (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) α
 λο(ιπαῖ) (δρ.) η, (γίν.) (δρ.) σμ (ὀβ.) β
 ὀφειλ() κε ὄμο(λογία) Ἀπολλω() το(ῦ) Ἴσ[χ]υρίω(νος) πρὸ(ς) Ἀπολ() Ὠρο(ν) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) δ
 10 ... κβ ὄμο(λογία) Φάσειτ(ος) το(ῦ) Ἀμφιω() πρὸ(ς) Πεθέα Πετσορ(αίπιδος) ἐκχω(ρήσεως) (δρ.) β
χ() χειρογ(ραφίας) σπ[ε]ρμάτ(ων) καὶ ἀποχ(ῆς) ἰ ἀρο(υρῶν) Γερμ(ανικιανῆς)
 Πτολεμ[αί]δ(ος) Νέας (δρ.) δ
 ἀναφ[ο]ρίου] (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) δ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ια (ὀβ.) δ, (ῶν) Σωκ() ἰς φανει()
 15 (ὀβ.) γ, λοιπ(αῖ) (δρ.) ια (ὀβ.) α, (γίν.) (δρ.) σνα (ὀβ.) γ
 ὄμο(λογία) Ταμύσθ(ας) τῆ(ς) Πε[τ]σίριο(ς) καὶ τῶν υἱῶν πρὸς Μάρκο(ν)
 Λι..ρη() () χρή(σεως) (δρ.) ιε
 ὄμο(λογία) τῆς ἀ[τ]τ(ῆς) πρὸ(ς) []..ριου καρπ() (δρ.) δ
 20 λοιπ(ὸν) [γραμ]ματ(ικὸν) ἀποχ(ῆς) Χεγεπ() Ἀκουσι() (δρ.) δ
 [(γίν.)] (δραγμαῖ) κδ, (γίν.) σοε (ὀβ.) γ

θέμα Ἄ[φορο]δ() (δρ.) η
 ἀλλ[] (δρ.) μ
 (γίν.) τκγ (ὀβ.) γ
 (ὦν) .[] εἰς τρ(άπεζαν) ἀφ' ὧν ἔχομ(εν) θεμ(άτων)
 25 β̄ ᾱ.[] ξ̄ λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) κζ (ὀβ.) γ, (ὦν) Πλανη()
 (δρ.) ις (ὀβ.) ξ, λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ι (ὀβ.) δ
 κ̄ χειρογ(ραφίας) <σπ>ερ[μ(άτων)] (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) γ
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β
 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) [] (δρ.) η

Col. XXIV A. Washed out letters in bottom margin.

[[α....]]

Col. XXV (P.Mich. inv. 4384, col. IV)

(γίν.) (δρ.) θ (ὀβ.) ε, (ὦν) Ἡρω() ἰς ω() (δρ.) η [[....]]
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε, (γίν.) (δρ.) ιβ (ὀβ.) β
 ὄφειλ() (ὀβ.) ιγ κζ ὄμο(λογία) Θαισᾶτ(ος) τῆ(ς) Πεθῆω(ς) [πρὸ(ς)]... Χαιρή(μονος) . . . () (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) α
 ὄφειλ() (δρ.) δ χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμᾶτ(ων) καὶ ἀποχ(ῆ) ...[.]. δ() (δρ.) δ
 5 σπερμ(άτων) ἄλλω(ν) (ὀβ.) ε
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) ς
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ζ (ὀβ.) ε, [(ὦν)] Σωκ() ἀνθ() εχε()
 εἰς Πνεφερ()[.] (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) α
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ς (ὀβ.) δ [] (ὀβ.ολ-) .
 10 [[α.....[]..... (ὀβ.ολ.οὶ) ς]]
 κ̄ ὄμο(λογία) Πτολλίω(νος) το(ῦ) Ὀρσενο(ύφεως) πρὸ(ς) Ἀγχω() ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) . []
 ὄμο(λογία) Σαμβᾶθ(ίου) τῆ(ς) Ὀννώ(φριος) [] ω() Ἡρατ() (δρ.) ιη
 ὄμο(λογία) Παρμενίω(νος)[...]. () καρπ() (δρ.) δ
 15 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) ε̄.[.]... Χαιρή(μονος) (ὀβ.) ς
 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) χειρογ() σπερμ(άτων) προσδ(ου) Κερκ(εσούχων) κ̄ [ἀρουρ]ῶ(ν)
 γραφᾶ () δι(ὰ) [Σ]ωκ() (δρ.) δ
 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) καὶ? [] (ὀβ.) ς
 γραμματ(ικὸν) τῆ(ς) προγ(εγραμμένης) Σαμβᾶθ(ίου) Ὀννώ(φριος) εἰς Σιρο()
 ..ροπ() (δρ.) ιβ

- 20 λοιπ(όν) γραμματ(ικόν) Ἡρ[α]τ() (δρ.) α
 δι(ὰ) Ἀφροδ() χειρογ(ραφίας) [] (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) α
 (γίν.) (δρ.) με (ὀβ.) . . . λοιπ()
 Κοριφίου (ὀβ.) β καὶ . . . (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) β
 Σωκ() δι(ὰ) Ἡρωνος δεισα[] [] [] () (δρ.) δ
- 25 λοιπ() (δρ.) λζ (ὀβ.) β, (γίν.) (δρ.) [(ὀβ.)] α
 κῆ ὄμο(λογία) Πεθέως το(ῦ) Πεθέως πρὸς() [] [] [] ε() Φαή(σιος) φερνῆ(ς) (δρ.) η
 ὄμο(λογία) Νεβσώ(σιος) τῆ(ς) Μάρω(νος) πρὸς() Ἀπίαν Πτολ() λύσεως μεσειτ(είας)
 [] [] ε
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἀπίας τῆ(ς) Πτολ() πρὸς() Μάρκο(ν) Λογγιν()? παραχ(ωρήσεως) ἐλ(αίωνος) (δρ.) νβ
- 30 ὄμο(λογία) Ταύριο(ς) τῆς Ὀννώ(φριος) πρὸς() γυ(ναῖκα) Πετρω(ν-) πρ(άσεως) d οἰκί(ας) (δρ.) ιβ

Col. XXVI (P.Mich. inv. 4382[b], col. I)

- [] () δ[] [] () [] []
 . . . [] το(ῦ) [] [] αρο() καὶ Ἀπ. . . () διαίρε(σεως)? [] (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.) β
 λο[]π(όν) γραμμ[]ατ(ικόν) Θερμο() τῆ(ς) Θεαβ() (δρ.) δ
 σπερμ(άτων) (ὀβ.) ς
- 5 [σπερμ() [] [] ()] *traces* (ὀβ.) γ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) οβ (ὀβ.) δ, (ὦν) Ἀφροδ() καὶ Πτολ() οἶνοπ()
 (δρ.) μη, λοιπ() (δρ.) λδ (ὀβ.) δ, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρ (ὀβ.) ε
 [λ ὄμ]ο(λογία)? Φανόμ(γεως) τοῦ --? πρὸς() τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πνεφε(ρῶτος) πρ(άσεως) προβ(άτων) (δραχμαῖ) δ
 ὄμ[ο(λογία)] [] [] [] το(ῦ) Πεθέως πρὸς() Σατα[βο(ῦν)] Πεθέως πρεσβ() ἐκχω(ρήσεως) (δρ.) β
- 10 [ὄφε]ιλ() ὄμο(λογία) Ἡρ. [] () τῆ(ς) Ἡρακ() [καῖ] πρὸς() Ἀπ. [] ἐν]οικῆ(σεως) (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.) ς
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) γ
 λοιπ(όν) γραμμ(ατικόν) εἰς Λογγίνο(ν) Πρεῖσκ(ον) (δραχμαῖ) ..
 (γίν.) (δρ.) κ (ὀβ.) β, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρια
 χ(άρτου) (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) δ, Ἡρωνι εἰς μεσιτε() {λυσι-?} εξ. . .
- 15 ?] σι Πτολ() εἰς Λογ(γίνον) Πρίσκ(ον) (δρ.) κ, λ[οι]π() (δρ.) ρ (ὀβ.) γ
 Λο]γγίνο(ν) Πρεῖ/σκ(ον) *traces*
 (γίν.) (δρ.) [] [] \τ/η (ὀβ.) []
]οδ() λοιπ() τα [] [] []
 [] [] π. . (ὀβ.) β. []
- 20 *trace of one line*

] (δρ.) β.[

Ca. 9 lines missing

Col. XXVII (P.Mich. inv. 4382[b], col. II + 4387b, small fragment below, exact location unknown)

Faint traces of lines.

||
Μεχειρ α ὁμο(λογία) Ζωιλ() το(ῦ) Ὀννώ(φριος) πρὸ(ς) Σογοπ()? Σοκο() χρή(σεως) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
ὁμο(λογία) Ἀπολλω() το(ῦ) Ἀμούνιο(ς)? πρὸ(ς) Μάρκ(ον) Ἀν[.]. τ() .. α() (δρ.) β
ὁμο(λογία) Θρ[.]. ς τῆ(ς) Κάστ(ορος) πρὸ(ς) Δίδυμ(ον) ἀφήλ(ικα) τροφί(μου) δουλ(ικου) (δρ.) β
5 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) ὑπομ(νηματ-) βιβλ() ἐξοικ() (δρ.) δ
ἀναφορίου (ὀβ.) ε
ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) ς
(γίν.) (δρ.) ια (ὀβ.) β, λοιπ() ἀπὸ τ() τε[.]. . . ()
(δρ.) λα (ὀβ.) δ (δρ.) [.] κ (ὀβ.) β
10 β̄ traces (ὀβ.) γ
χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) (ὀβ.) γ
[] Πτολ() . . . εἰς τὰς π[ροσοφειλομ(ένας)
[] . . . (ὀβ.) β . [] []
[] () σα ο() []
15 [] (γίν.) (δρ.) λ[]
[γ?] [] πρὸ(ς) . []
[] []

ca. 9 lines missing

Col. XXVII A. Illegible marginal note of four or five lines to the left of ll. 4-6.

Col. XXVIII (P.Mich. inv. 4382[a], col. I)

λοιπ(ὸν) γραμμ(ατ(ικὸν) [] . . . [] α . . . τῆ(ς) . . []
ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β

σπερμ(άτων) (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) νξ (ὀβ.) γ, εἰς τὰς προσοφειλομ(ένας)
 5 (δρ.) λε (ὀβ.) ς, λοιπ() (δρ.) κα, (ὀβ.λοῖ) γ
 δ ὄμο(λογία) ..[.]. εω() το(ῦ)..... ω() δι[αι(ρέσεως)] (δρ.) δ
 ἀναφορίου (ὀβ.) ε, (γίν.) (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) ε
 (ὦν) Ἄφροδ() δι(ὰ) τ..... (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δραγμαῖ) γ, ε[ί]ς τὰς προσοφειλ(ομένας) [..] (δρ.) κα (ὀβ.) α
 10 λοιπ(αὶ) (δραγμαῖ) []?η (ὀβ.) α
 ε ὄμο(λογία) Θερμουθ(αρίου) [τ]ῆ(ς) Χαιρήμω(νος) πρὸ(ς) Ἰούλιον Πτ..... πρ. ? (δρ.) κ
 ὄμο(λογία) Ταπεθέω[ς] τῆ(ς) Ε. τ() πρὸ(ς)χ. λ() *traces* (δρ.) ιγ
 \μ. / ὄμο(λογία) Φα[.]...... πρὸ(ς) Ὠρο(ν) Πεθέω(ς) καρ[.]. (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) β
 ὄμο(λογία) Εμ[.]. [] Πεθέω(ς) πρὸ(ς) Ὠρο() Πεθέω(ς) [.]. (δρ.) β
 15 ὄμο(λογία) Πεθέω(ς) το(ῦ) Ὠρου πρὸ(ς) ο() Ἀπίωνο(ς) παρ() (δρ.) α [β]
 λο[τ]π(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) *traces* (δρ.) α [..] (ὀβ.) α
 χε[ιρο]γ(ραφίας) σπερμ(άτων) μ. . . . (δρ.) β
traces of 5 lines

ca. 9 lines missing

Col. XXIX (P.Mich. inv. 4382[a], col. II)

μ. ὄμο(λογία) [..]. εως το(ῦ) Ἄρπαλ() πρὸ(ς) Πεθέ(α) Πε.....
 ὄμο(λογία) Ἀπολω() το(ῦ) Φανομ(γέως) πρὸ(ς) Πτολ() ..ε. αλο() παρ() (δραγμαῖ) δ
 ὀφειλ() ὄμο(λογία) τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) πρὸς τὸν ἐξεπα.... (δρ.) δ
 ὄμο(λογία) Φάσειτ(ος) το(ῦ) Κέρᾶτ(ος) πρὸ(ς) Ἀπολ() Φανομγ(έως) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) η
 5 ὄμο(λογία) Πτολ() τῆ(ς) Σατουρνί(λου) το(ῦ) Ἀρείο(υ) πρὸ(ς) Φάσειν ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) δ
 χειρογ(ραφίας) γεωργ(ίας) (δρ.) α
 σπερμ(άτων) (ὀβ.) γ
 ἀντιγρ(άφου) (ὀβ.) ε
 (γίν.) (δρ.) λα (ὀβ.) α, (γίν.) (δρ.) λδ (ὀβ.) α
 10 (ὦν) Ἡρω() εἰς ἐξοι() γ καὶ πε. () γ Πύρρο(υ)? καὶ
 Θεων() καὶ [.....] \Σωκ υο() / (δρ.) κ (ὀβ.) δ, λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) η [(ὀβ.) δ]?
 ἰς καταχω(ρισμὸν) βιβλίω(ν) Χοίαχ (δρ.) δ, [Σωκ() (ὀβ.) δ]
 Σωκ() (ὀβ.) δ καὶ Καμ() (δρ.) δ

(γίν.) ἀνηλ(ημάτων) (δρ.) μ (ὀβ.) ς, λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) θ (ὀβ.) β
 15 ζ ὄμο(λογία) Ὀρου το(ῦ) Ἀγγω() πρὸς(ς) Ὀρο(ν) Πεθέω(ς) χρή(σεως) (δρ.) β
 σπερμ(άτων) (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) β (ὀβ.) β, (γίν.) (δρ.) ια (ὀβ.) δ
 ἦ ὄμο(λογία) Χαιρή(μονος) το(ῦ) Χαιρή(μονος) πρὸς(ς) Σαραπ() Ἀπολ() καρπ() (δρ.) η
 ὄμ[ο(λογία)] ... ω. () \[.....\] / το(ῦ) Πε... π() πρὸς(ς) Ἴσιδ() Κλαβινι() χρή(σεως) ..
 20 / [] *traces* .. ο. () Ἀπολ() ... [] .. () ..
 [] *traces* [] *traces*
 [] *traces* [κ]αὶ ἄλλο(υς)?
 [π]ρὸς(ς) . [] , (δρ.) δ
 [] χρή(σεως) (δρ.) β

ca. 12 lines missing

Col. XXX (P.Mich. inv. 4382[a], col. III)

traces
traces ἔσχο(μεν) συμβο(λ-) (δρ.) υ λοιπ() []
 (γίν.) (δρ.) φι (ὀβ.ο.λοῖ) δυπ.... []
 5 ἦ ὄμο(λογία) () το(ῦ)? Θερμου. () πρ[ὸς(ς)] []
 σπερμ(άτων) . . . [] . []
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) []
 (γίν.) (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) α
 (ὦν) Ἀφροδ() (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.) ε (ὦν) .. []
 10 ἰ ὄμο(λογία) Πεθέω(ς) το(ῦ) Ὀρο(ν) πρὸς(ς) . []
 ὄμο(λογία) Ὀρσενο(ύφιος) το(ῦ) Πεθέω(ς) πρὸς(ς) . []
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) []
 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) Δημ[]
 (γίν.) (δρ.) . []
 (ὦν) Ἡρων()? εἰς τ[]
 15 Σωκ() βιβλι() []
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ιγ (ὀβ.) []
 ἰα ὄμο(λογία) Πεθ[έω(ς)] το(ῦ) Π. [()] πρὸς(ς) . []
 [ὄ]μο(λογία) [..]. () το(ῦ) .. ω. οδ() []

20 ὄμο(λογία)[.] το(ῦ)[
 ὄμο(λογία) Μαρρει[] *traces*
 ὄμο(λογία)[
 .[
 ..[

ca. 10 lines missing

Col. XXX A. In left margin at ll. 13-14.

ξ̄ωσ̄ ῑ
 (δρ.) ρλε (ὀβ.) γ

Col. XXXI (P.Mich. inv. 4387, col. I)

ῑβ̄ ὄμολ(ογία) Πεθεώ(ς) [το(ῦ) πρὸ(ς)] Εὐήμερο(ν) Πεθεώ(ς) χρή(σεως) ...
 ὄμολ(ογία) Π[] εν() Πεθεώ(ς) . [.] ω() [.] () []
 ὄμο(λογία) Σα[] Πτολ() δ() [] []
 [] ..[] ..[]
 5 (γίν) [] (δρ.) δ
 [] *traces*
 [ιγ̄ ὄμ]ο(λογία) Πετ[] .. ρ[]
 [ὄ]μολ(ογία) Δ...[] μερειτ(είας) []
 [.] []
 10 ...[]
 [ὄμ]ο(λογία)? Π ῡρειρ[] ο() δι[]
traces
 (γίν.) []
 line
 15 (γίν.)
 ὀψων[ίου] [] (δραγμαῖ) . (ὀβολός) α
 (ὠν) Σωκ() [] *traces* οιοιγ
 Ἄφροδιτ[] ερο() [?] (δραγμαῖ) . (ὀβ.) β
 (γίν.) (δρ.) [] [] (δρ.) α (ὀβολός) α
 20 καὶ αἰ τοῦ θέματ(ος) ο() (δρ.) ν, (γίν.) ὀφειλ() (δρ.) ν

[ι]δ̄ ὄμο(λογία) Ε[] \./ ριο() τοῦ \[] / Θξα..... [] [] ρ. αι] \καὶ ἐτέρων ... θερ..... / χρή(σεως) [(δραχμ-)]
 ὄμο(λογία) Δ[] () [τ]ο(ῦ) Ἀκουσι(λάου) [π]ρὸς(ς) () ... [] τε[] ω() (δρ.) κβ
traces
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) γ
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ..[

Col. XXXII (P.Mich. inv. 4387, col. II)

ῑε ὄμολ(ογία) Ταρ. τατ. () τῆ(ς) Θέωνο[ς π]ρὸς(ς) Πετέησι(ν) Ψενή(σεως) παραχ(ωρήσεως) κλήρο(ν) (δρ.) .[
 ὄμο(λογία) Σοκμή(νιος) το(ῦ) Πεθέως [π]ρὸς(ς) Οὐαλέρι(ον) Πρεῖσκ(ον) ἰπέ(α) πρ(άσεως) ἐλ(αι-) (δρ.) α [(ὀβ.)].
 σπερμάτ(ων) (ὀβ.) β
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) β [] θι
 5 (γίν.) ...
 [λο(ιπαὶ)? γ]ραμματ() (δρ.) κ ...
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ...
traces [
 ῑε *traces* [
 10 *traces* [
traces [
traces [
 λο[ιπ(αὶ)
 [ῑζ ὀ]μο(λογία) Πεθέως [
 15 *traces* [
traces [
 Πτολ() το(ῦ) .[
 Ἀπολ() το(ῦ) .[
traces [
 20 *traces* [
traces [
traces [
 (γίν.) (δρ.) ο .[
 (δρ.) ν [
 25 ὥστε εἰς ἀποδ() δραχ()? (δρ.) σ. ρ [λοιπ(αὶ)]
 λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) θ (ὀβ.) β ὄμοι() Ἄφρο() ὥστε ???

λοιπ(αὶ) (δρ.) ις (ὀβ.) β
 ἰῆ ὄμολ(ογία) Λογγι(ν-) τῆ(ς) Κ λ... δ() πρὸ(ς) Ἑρᾶν Ἑρᾶτ(ος) ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) ιβ
 30 ὄμολ(ογία) Σοχάτ(ου) το(ῦ) Σαταβο(ῦτος) πρὸ(ς) Ἰσιάδ(α) Ἑρᾶτ(ος) ἀποχ(ῆς)? (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) γ
 Διοδώρο(υ) το(ῦ) Ἀπολ() πρὸ(ς) Ἀπολ() Πτολ() πρ(άσεως) ὄνου (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε
 [].. ολ() καὶ λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματ(ικὸν) Ἀπολ() [Πτο]λ() (ὀβ.) δ
 traces

Col. XXXII A. Two lines in margin left of ll. 30-31.

ὄφειλ() (ὀβ.) η
 χρη() οι()

Col. XXXIII (P.Mich. inv. 4387, col. III)

(ὦν) [].. (δρ.) η καὶ χ(άρτου) (δρ.) δ, λοιπ() (δρ.) λ[α?] (ὀβ.) ε
 ..ω() (ὀβ.)? γ (δρ.) η (ὀβ.) β, (γίν.) (δρ.) μ
 ὄφειλ() (δρ.) α ἰῆ ὄμολ(ογία) Σαβείνο(υ) το(ῦ) Πτολ() <πρὸ(ς)> Πεθέα Πεθέ[ω(ς)] ἀποχ(ῆς) (δρ.) γ
 5 ὄμολ(ογία) Σαμβ() το(ῦ) Σαραπ() πρὸ(ς) Ἑρακ() Π[ε]τσίριο(ς) (δρ.) β
 ὄμολ(ογία) Ταπεθέω(ς) τῆ(ς) Παποντῶ(τος) συνχω[ρ]ή(ματος) (δρ.) η
 ἀναφορίο(υ) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) .
 ὑπομ(νηματ-) (ὀβ.) γ
 λοιπ(ὸν)/ []...] γραμματ(ικὸν) ἰς []\ρας/
 10 λοιπ(ὸν) [γ]ραμματ(ικὸν) ..[] Σοκμή(νιος) [τ]ο(ῦ) Πεθ(έως)

15

κᾶ

20

κβ̄ όμ

25 όφει(λ-) (δρ.) ιβ
 όφειλ() (δρ.) δ
 traces (last line!)

Col. XXXIV – missing

Col. XXXV

1 κζ̄ όμ[ο(λογία)]

5.2 Sample Translation: Col. xxiii (P.Mich. inv. 4384, col. II)

	Through the 20 th : 243 dr., 3 ob.	
20 th	Contract of loan between PN, son of Phaomgeus and Phasis, son of Esouris	1 dr., 3 ob.
	Contract of loan between Soknopaios, son of Petosiris and Longinus Eupor() Symphor()	1 dr., 2 ob.
	Sworn statements concerning seed grain	4 ob.
	Remaining writing fee (of the contract) between Philoxenos and Didymos	4 ob.
	Subtotal: 5 dr., 2 ob. Total: 163 dr., 6 ob. Of which, to Petheus son of Euhemeros, 2 dr. Balance: 161 dr., 6 ob.	
21 st	Contract of habitation between Hatres, son of Harpokrates (?) and Kastor, son of Harpogathes	4 dr.
	Contract of receipt between Petheus, son of Ancho() and Maron, son of Horos	4 dr.
	Contract for cutting vetch between Apia, daughter of Ptol() and Marcus Longinus	8 dr.
	Contract of sale of undeveloped lot between Petheus, son of Teos and Thermouth() daughter of Thermouth()	8 dr.
	Contract between the same man and her brother	8 dr.
	Sworn statements concerning seed grain	1 dr., 2 ob.
	Memoranda	2 ob.
	Subtotal: 32 dr., 4 ob. Balance: 195 dr., 3 ob.	
22 nd	Contract of loan between Pa.m.l(), son of Petheus and Thaisis, daughter of Petheus	4 dr.
	Contract of renunciation between the same man and the same woman	8 dr.
	Contract of sale of a donkey between Kastor, son of Herak() and Dioskoros, son of Ptol()	4 dr.
	Contract of receipt between Pompeius, son of Secundus and Thermouth() s./d. of Petesouchos (?)	2 dr.
DUE	Contract of loan between Ancho(), son of Aunes and Petheus, son of Satabous	1 dr., 2 ob.
	Remaining writing fee from Akous' lease	4 dr.
	Sworn statements concerning seed grain	3 ob.
	Subtotal: 23 dr., 5 ob. Balance: 219 dr., 1 ob.	
23 rd	Contract of ... between Herat(), son of Maron, policeman and Horos, son of Horos, policeman	-- dr., -- ob.
	Contract of loan between Panephremis, son of Satabous and Petalos (?), son of Petalos	-- dr., 6 ob.
	Contract of receipt between Tapetheus, daughter of Theagenes and Ptolemaios, son of Horos	-- dr.
	Loan between Ptol(), son of Petheus and the other elders of the village and Didymos, son of Pyrros	-- dr.
	Petition	1 dr., 3 ob.
	Sworn statements concerning seed grain	6 ob.
	Memoranda	2 ob.
	Subtotal: 15 dr., 2 ob. Balance: 234 dr., 3 ob.	

5.3 Commentary

Col. I

Only line ends are preserved, with a few contract types and *grammatika* identifiable.

Col. II

- 1 δι(ἀ) υρριου. Possibly the same person as in xxix.10, which also involves an ἐξοικονόμησις, although there I tentatively read Πύρρο(υ).
- 2 καὶ vacat τῆς Τα[. The writer leaves the name of the second party blank, although he apparently knew her patronymic.
- 3 τειμη(ς). Two joining strokes appear to be written over the tau.
- τειμη(ς) χάρτου (δρ.) α (ὀβ.). This is the only place where χάρτου is written out in full; elsewhere it usually appears as a chi with a sinusoidal abbreviation. This is the lowest price for papyrus recorded in the account and may have been for a roll of inferior quality or short length. See further Chapter 4.17.
- λ[οι]π(αὶ) (δρ.) ἰδ .. []. We expect (γίν.) (δρ.). An oblique stroke can perhaps be made out after the numeral, but it does not seem to ligature into the drachma sign.
- 9-10 These two lines no doubt contain the usual day's end accounting, but nothing recognizable is preserved.
- 11 Πασ[.]τ(.). Πάσειτος is likely.
- 13 This line contains another contract, based on the traces at the beginning of the line, which should be part of the name of the first party, and the [π]ρὸ(ς) later in the line.
- 17 . ὄμο(λογία). There is a trace in the margin that does not look like the end of ὄφειλ().

Col. III

What little is preserved shows that three days were covered in this column. The clear ὄφειλ() appears to be about six lines down, and the checking stroke below it probably corresponds to another contract, so I estimate that at least seven contracts were entered on Hathyr 10. Hathyr 11 probably begins on l. 12, with three registered contracts recorded (note the blank space under l. 14). ἰβ̄ is preserved, marking the next day, and traces close to the left margin of the column suggest that five contracts were registered on this day.

Col. IV-VI

Three columns are estimated to be missing since there is at least a nine-day gap between then bottom col. III and the beginning of col. VII.

Col. VII.

- 1 This line has the regular format for an entry of a registered contract, but apparently no γραμματικόν was recorded. Cf. *P.Mich.* II 124, verso col. i.10.
- 8-11 A new day likely begins in one of these lines. It would have included a small number of registered contracts because other income, then disbursements are already found in ll. 13-14.
- 15 πόλ(ι)ν. A slight trace of the raised lambda can be seen just after the breal. Afterwards, there is a raised trace of ink, but it is uncertain if this belongs to Aphrod()'s disbursement, or if this was written in the next line.
- 16] εἰς () Πεθέω(ς) το(ῦ) Φαή(σιος) (δρ.) η. Parallel passages have εἰς ἐξοικονόμησιν here, but it is difficult to make this out from the traces.
- 18 The transaction type is not recorded.
- 19 Σαταβο(ῶν). Only the beta, which is surmounted by a small omicron, is clear.
- 20 [μίσθ(ωσις)] ... κλήρο(υ). This supplement explains why there is no transaction type before κλήρου.
- Φηλικ(). Most likely to be expanded Φήλικ(ος), the Roman name Felix, but cf. *P.Ryl.* II 127.18 (Euhemeria, 29 CE), Φηλικίων, where a Greek ending is added to the name. The name Felix has not so far been attested in Karanis, but a woman named Valeria Felicla is found in the Tax Rolls. Derivatives like Felicianus are possible, but these are only attested later.
- 23 [χειρο]γ(ραφία) [.] π[.] β() Πατ(σώντεως) (ὀβ.) ε. Before Πατ(σώντεως), one might think of π[ρεσ]β(υτέρων) or, less likely, π[ρο]β(άτων).

Col. VIII

- 1 Ἄπύγχι(ος) β. An iota, or possible an epsilon-iota ligature, comes down off the raised chi.
- 12 Since this is a one-party homology, the transaction type must be a will, either termed μεριτεία or συγχώρημα.
- 13 This does not appear to be a registered contract, but its character escapes me.
- 18-19 The same woman, Isidora daughter of Satabous, appears to be involved in back-to-back contracts.
- 23 (γίν.) (δρ.) κα (ὀβ.) ε. The total is four obols too high.

23-24 (ὄν) Ἀφροδῖ() ἀνερχ(ομένω) εἰς τῆ(ν) πόλ(ιν) εἰς τειμ(ῆν) | χαρτ(ῶν) (δρ.) η. For the expansion χαρτ(ῶν), corresponding in all likelihood to two rolls purchased at 4 dr. each, see Chapter 4.17.

25 [... Πτολ() τῆ(ς) δ...]. τῆ(ς) could also be καὶ. Perhaps Διογῆσ... following.

Col. IX

10 (γίν.) [(δρ.)]η (ὄβ.) ε. φ]η or ρ]η can be supplied. Either way, the total is wrong; the correct amount is 104 dr., 3 ob.

11 [πρὸ(ς)], Οὐλέριο(ν) Πρέισκ(ον). A praenomen appears to be partially preserved after the break. This individual might be found in P.Strasb. V 437 (121 CE).

12 Ψεναμο(ύνιος). For a clearer comparison of how this name is written, cf. xi.15.

13 Α[]ω(). Probably Ἀγχώ(φεως).

17 ὑ[π]ομ(νημα-). There is no corresponding entry for γραμματικόν (the ὄβ. γ on the right is a superlinear correction in the next line).

28 Φάσειν Ἐσοῦ(ριος). The patronymic is difficult, but this appears to be the same individual as in col. xxxiii.2.

Col. X

1-4 A vertical streak of ink runs through these lines at the right.

7 Σεκυτο() (?). A genitive Συκύτονος is known from P.Tebt. II 310.6.

14 Πακόσιο(ς) το(ῦ) Σαταβο(ῦτος). He is found also at col. xix.4.

21 Πεθέω(ς) το(ῦ) Ἰσιδώ(ρου) (ὄβ.) β. Presumably the λοιπὸν γραμματικόν.

27 καὶ ἄλλω(ν). Sc. δαπανῶν. These expenses are itemized in the marginal note.

Col. XI

1 Πεθέως. An ink spill has obscured the middle of the name.

- Λεωνίδ(ου) Ἀγχώ(φεως). Found in P.Cair.Goodsp. 27 (Karanis, 104/105 CE), where he is described as 38 years old, with a scar on the right side of his forehead. This contract is a receipt of 120 drachmas for Leonides' purchase of certain goods (φορτία) stored on property he had been inhabiting by right of ἐνοίκησις.

2 Σοκονοώ(νεως). A rare name, found with the spelling Σοκν- in P.Corn. 21 + P.Princ. I 2, col. viii.142 (Philadelphia, 33 CE) and P.Grenf. II 64.1 (Soknopaiou Nesos, III CE). The

nominative ending is not preserved in either case, but should be Σοκνόωνις on analogy with Σοκόνωπις (nameID 1133) and Σόκνουχις (nameID 1131).

- 3 Νεκφε(ρ-) το(ῦ) Φανομ(γέως). A resident of Kerkesoucha (Herakleides meris) with this name is found in P.Mich. XII 642 (Philadelphia, after 48/49 or 62/63 CE), but this is probably too early to be the same man.
- Παμονγή(ιος). Found with this spelling in the Tax Rolls.
- 4 Ὠρο(υ) το(ῦ) \Μεγχείουζ/ [[Πετεσο()]]. The deletion of Πετεσο() is indicated by a low horizontal stroke that transverses the bottom of the pi before fading away.
- 8 ὕδροφυλ(ακίας) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) . Little remains, but it is possible that an epsilon was written, which would make the sums add up.
- 23 καὶ δι(ὰ) Σωκ() (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) ε. This is a contribution to the *grapheion* account from Sokrates, although the same amount expended back to him on the same day (l. 27).
- 27 περὶ τῆ(ς) προσδιακρί(σεως). Cf. col. xii.6 and xiii.5.

Col. XII

- 1 ἔως ἰ (δρ.) ρρς. This does not represent the account balance either before or after the 10th. It may have been an attempt to calculate the *grapheion*'s income for the first ten days of the month, which was in fact 197 dr., 1 ob.
- 4 Ἑραιδο(). Ἑραίδο(ς) or Ἑραιδο(ῦτος). A Ἑραίς Φανομγέως appears in the Tax Rolls (P.Mich. IV.2 362).
- 6 τῆς πρὸ(ς) διάκρι(σιν). Also at col. xi.27 and xiii.5.
- 20 Καστορο(ῦτος) γυν(α(κὸς)? Πνεφε(ρῶτος). A Kastor s. of Pnepheros is found in *P.Mich.* IX 561 (102 CE), but the names are too common to insist on a family connection.
- 22 Πετεσθ(έως). This name was previously found only in Upper Egypt.

Col. XIII

- 9 Τξεσέριο(ς). A relatively rare name found at Karanis only in *O.Mich.* II 961 (late II CE). It is the female equivalent of the common Ἑσουρις, “the Syrian;” such “ethnic” names usually have a divine origin.
- Λογγ..ν(). Perhaps Λογγεινο().
- 13 ἀπὸ φόρο(υ) [γ]ραφείο(υ) Φιλ..[. Clearly the beginning of Φιλοπάτορος, though it is uncertain how it was abbreviated or whether τῆς καὶ Θεογένους followed.
- 20 ὦν καὶ σ.. Perhaps Σωκ().

Col. XIV

15] (δρ.) ις. This appears to have been a later insertion.

Col. XV

7 Ἀχι(λλ-). Likely Ἀχιλλᾶς (Ἀχιλλεύς is not found in Karanis).

8 .[.]ολ(). Likely either the name Ἀπολ() or Πτολ().

- προδοματικῆς χόρτ(ου). Cf. *P.Kron.* 10, *SB XVI* 11843.

13]ενοβ(). Likely the name Ψενόβαστις or Θενόβαστις.

15-16 (ὄν) Ἀ[φ]ροδ() ὅστε | καὶ (ὀβ.) ς. Despite ὅστε, the reason for the 6 ob. expenditure was not recorded, it seems.

Col. XVI

9 Κάρανο(ν). This rare name is found, with a few exceptions, only in the northeastern Fayum. It refers to the legendary first king of Macedon, from whom Karanis itself drew its name.

10 Π[.]... (). Πεθέως is possible.

22 (ὄν) Ἀφροδ() (δρ.) ιβ. Evidently the 12 dr. collected from Teos for his second μεριτεία (cf. ll. 20-21) went straight to Aphrod(). This entry, aligned to the far left of the column, is not properly part of the line, which has the first entry for income from non-registered documents. The day and overall balances reflect this outlay to Aphrod().

Col. XVII

6-7 ἐκχ(ωρήσεως) [] . [] τ[ο]π(). Likely ψιλ(οῦ) τόπ(ου) or ψιλ(ὄν) τόπ(ων).

10 Σαβείνο(ν) [.]... (). Probably a short named like Ἀπολ() or Πτολ().

10-11 ὄμο(λογία) ... π[ρ]άσξω(ς) ξύλω(ν). For an example of a sale of wood, see *P.Stras.* IV 184 (Oxyrhynchus, middle II CE), the verso of which describes the documents as πρᾶσις ξύλω(ν) Λεωνᾶ Ὀξυ[ρυγχείτου(?)].

13 καὶ δι(ὰ). Cf. col. xvii.34: καὶ δι(ὰ) Ἀφροδ().

22 Πεθέ(α) Ἀρτεμ(). The second epsilon of Πεθέ(α) is not raised in abbreviation, so one might wish to read to Πεθέ(α).

Col. XIX

4 Πακ[ύ]σιο(ς) το(ῦ) Σατα]βοῦτ(ος). He is found also at col. x.14.

Col. XX

- 6 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸ(ν). An unclear reference, probably referring to one of the previous two contracting parties.
- 9 σκβ. There is a hook-shaped mark above the sigma.
- 13 Ἀβύκιο(ς). The kappa is simplified into two short strokes that form a wedge, with a ligature to ι.
- 27 [(δρ.) ρ]οβ (ὀβ.) [α]. Supplied by subtracting the next day's net income of 5 dr., 3 ob. (xxi.6) from the account balance of 177 dr., 4 ob. (xxi.7).

Col. XXII

- 7 (ὄν) Ἀφροδ() τῆ ἰδ. This indicates the date on which Aphrod() actually received the expenditure.
- 11 πρ(άσεως) μιλ(). For the writing of πρ, cf. col. xxiii.11. μιλ() can be expanded μύλ(ου), “mill stone” (cf. *P.Mich.* IX 550, Karanis, 99 CE) or μιλ(αίου), “mill.”
- 13 Only two of the four dr. charged for *grammatikon* was paid on this day; the *grapheion* collects the remaining two dr. two days later on the 20th (xxiii.5).

Col. XXIII

- 5 This payment of remaining *grammatikon* was due from the receipt drawn up for Philoxenos and Didymos on the 18th, two days earlier (xxii.13).

Col. XXIV

- 2 ἀπ. κοπ(). Further specification of the contract is expected here. At first glance, and in comparison with surrounding words, it seems that ἀπο- should be read at the beginning, but this does not produce sense (ἀποκοπ?). Perhaps we can read ἀμ instead, with a mu similar to those of most examples of ὄμο(λογία). ἀμοκοπ(ρηγίας)? Cf. the adjective ἀμμοκοπρηγός in SB I 423.5 and the contract for transporting silt (ἄμμος) and dung (κοπρός), P.Col. X 255.
- 10 Φάσειτ(ος) το(ῦ) Ἀμφιώ(μιος). The only other name beginning Ἀμφιω- is Ἀμφίων, which is not attested at Karanis. If the expansion of the patronymic is correct, this Phaseis could be the father of the Amphiomis, son of Phaseis, known from *SB VII* 11011 and the Tax Rolls.
- 11-12 To a regular entry for χειρογρ(αφίας) σπερμ(άτων) is added: καὶ ἀποχ(ῆς) ἰ ἀρο(υρῶν) Γερμ(ανικιανῆς) Πτολεμ[αί]δ(ος) Νέας.

- 24 (ὄν) [] εἰς τρ(άπεζαν). Probably the intermediary of the payment to the bank was mentioned in the lacuna.

Col. XXV

- 3 ...(). Perhaps ἀποχ(ῆς)?
- 4 χειρογ(ραφίας) σπερμάτ(ων) καὶ ἀποχ(ῆ) ...[.] δ() (δρ.) δ. For this longer type of χειρογραφή σπερμάτων entry, see Chapter 4.13.
- 12 Σαμβᾶθ(ίου) τῆ(ς) Ὀυνῶ(φριος). Only traces of the patronymic remain; it seems this is the same woman mentioned in l. 18, however.
- 14 λοιπ(ὸν) γραμματικὸν ε[.]... Χαιρή(μονος) (ὀβ.) ς. In xxv.3, a son/daughter of Chairemon is the second party to a contract whose *grammatikon* is 2 dr., 1 ob., with 13 ob. still due (for a total charge of 4 dr.). Now here, it seems, the son/daughter of Chairemon pays 6 of the remaining 13 ob.; the 7 ob. still outstanding were perhaps owed by the first party.
- 15-16 This is the payment of the 4 dr. due from the previous day (xxv. 4).
- 18 This appears to be entry for *grammatikon* arrears, despite the absence of λοιπ(). Sambathion is “aforementioned” just above, in l. 13. Both the *grammatikon* from that contract and that entered in this line contribute to the day’s total in l. 22; she thus appears to have paid 12 of a total 30 dr. *grammatikon*.
- 29 Ἀπίας τῆ(ς) Πτολ(). She also appears at col. xxxiii.10 and probably just above at l. 27.

Col. XXVII

- 16 With the traces of a sum visible in the preceding line, a new day, Mecheir 3, likely began on this line.

Col. XXIX

- 10 Πύρρο(υ) (?). Possibly the same person as in ii.1.
- 11 Σωκ()/. It is unclear whether this is the *grapheion* employee Σωκ()’s name written more fully or another individual.
- 12 [Σωκ() (ὀβ.) δ]. The writing appears smudged, perhaps indicating an attempt to erase.

Col. XXXI

- 2 [.]ω() [.](). Possibly a πρᾶσις.

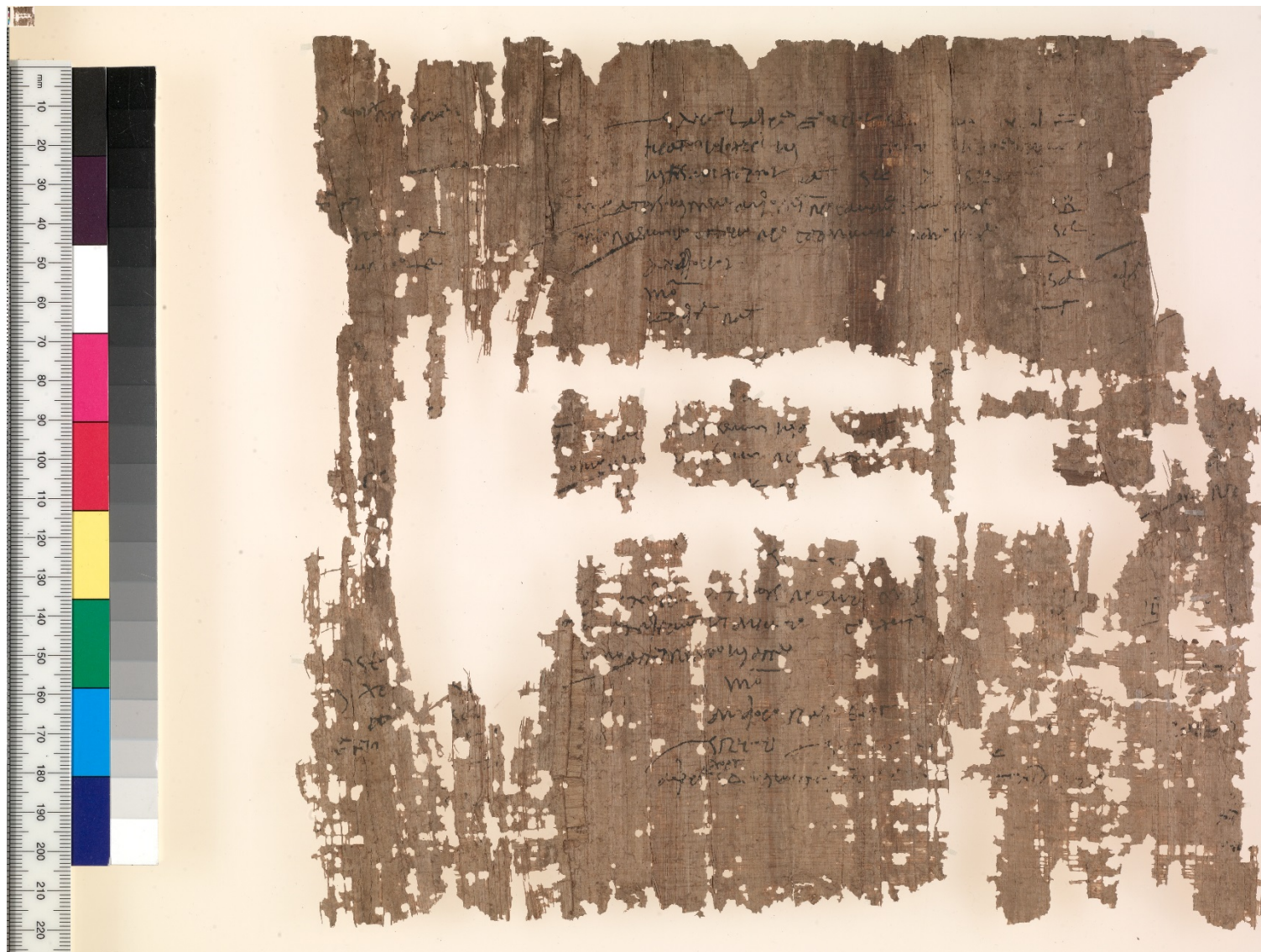


Figure 9. Karanis Register, col. i-iii (P.Mich. inv. 4390b verso). Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.



Figure 101. Karanis Register, col. xi-xiii (P.Mich. inv. 4385 verso). Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.

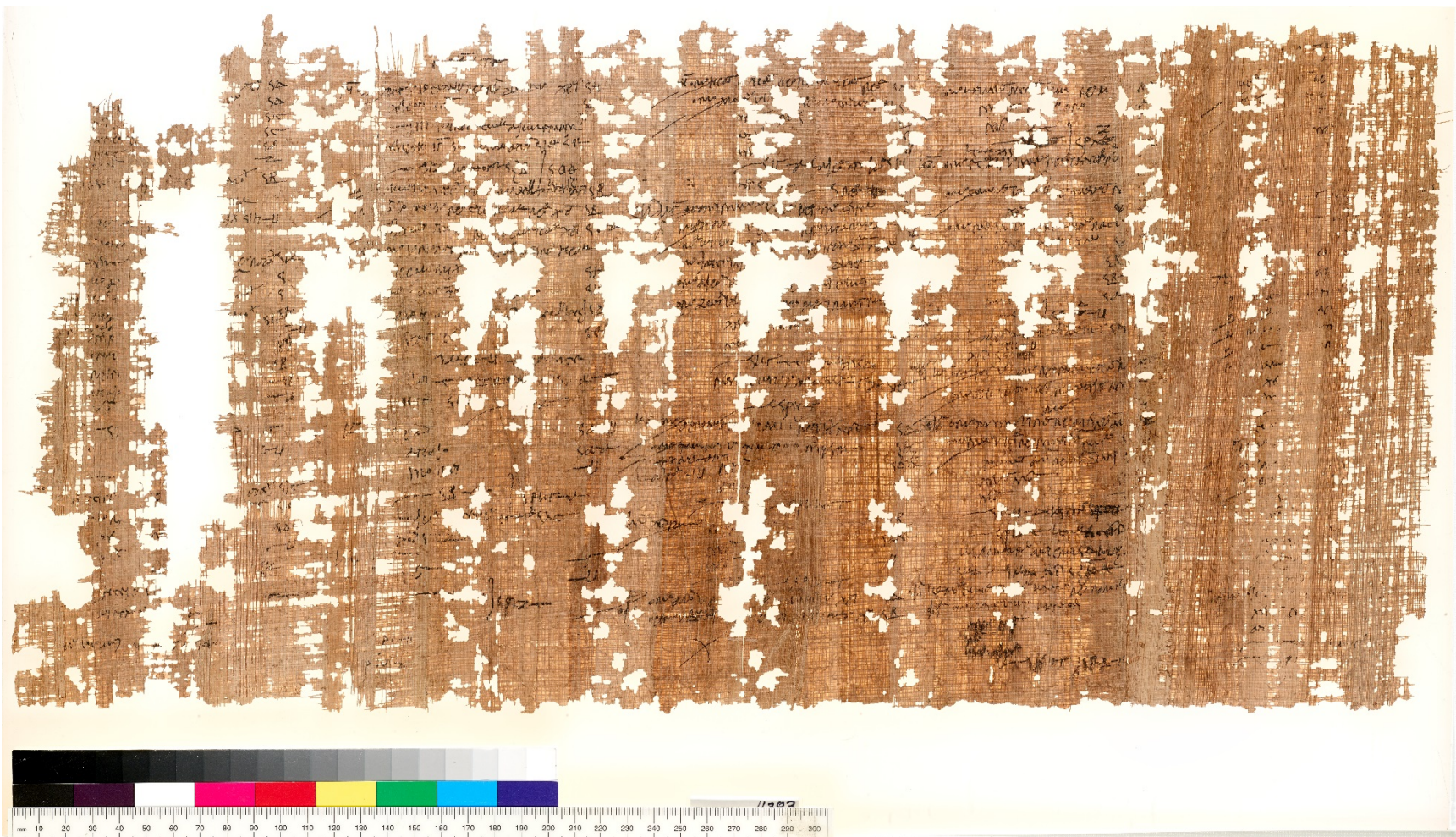


Figure 112. Karanis Register, col. xiv-xviii (P.Mich. inv. 4383 verso). Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.

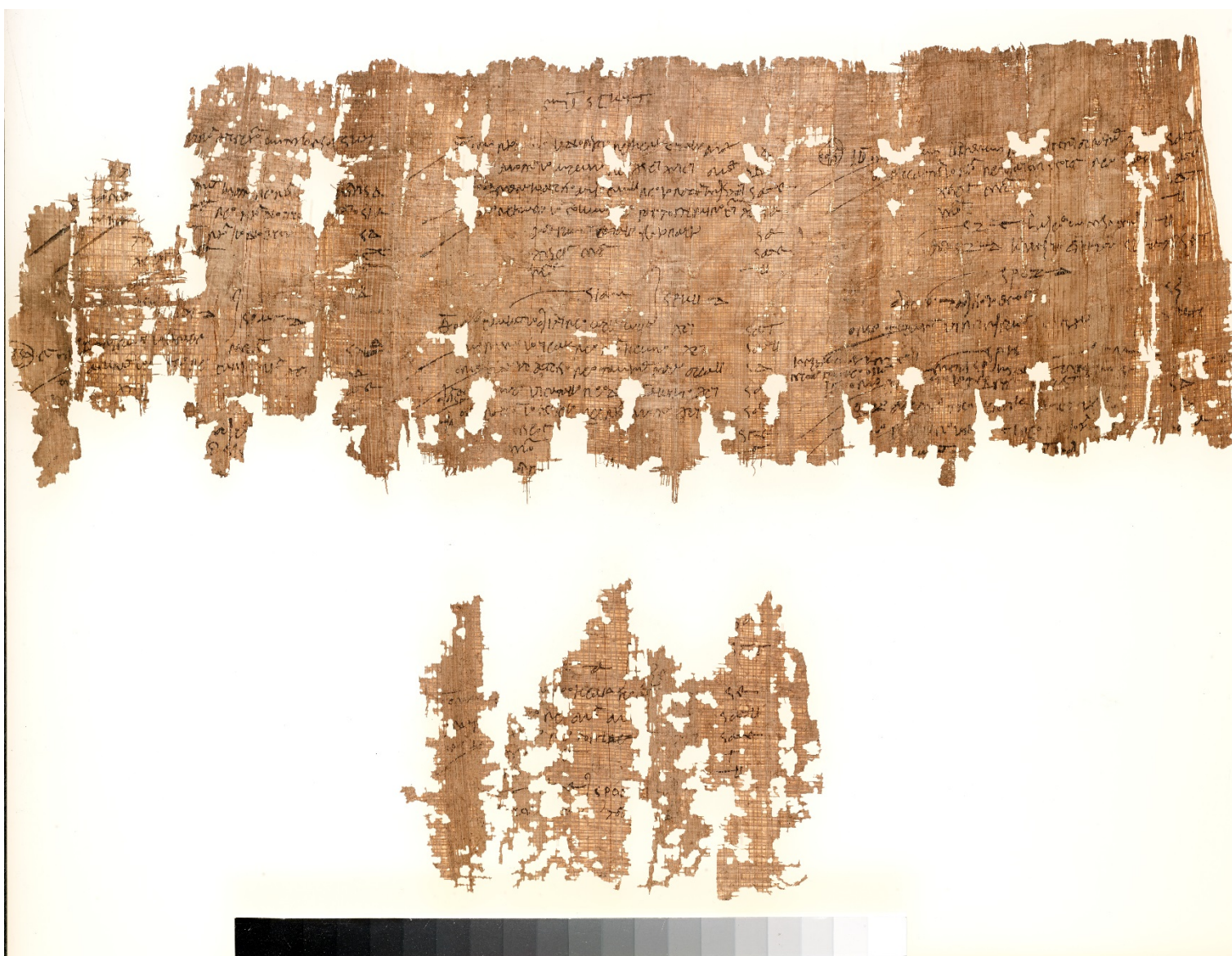


Figure 123. Karanis Register, col. xix-xxi (P.Mich. inv. 4391+4386a verso). Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.

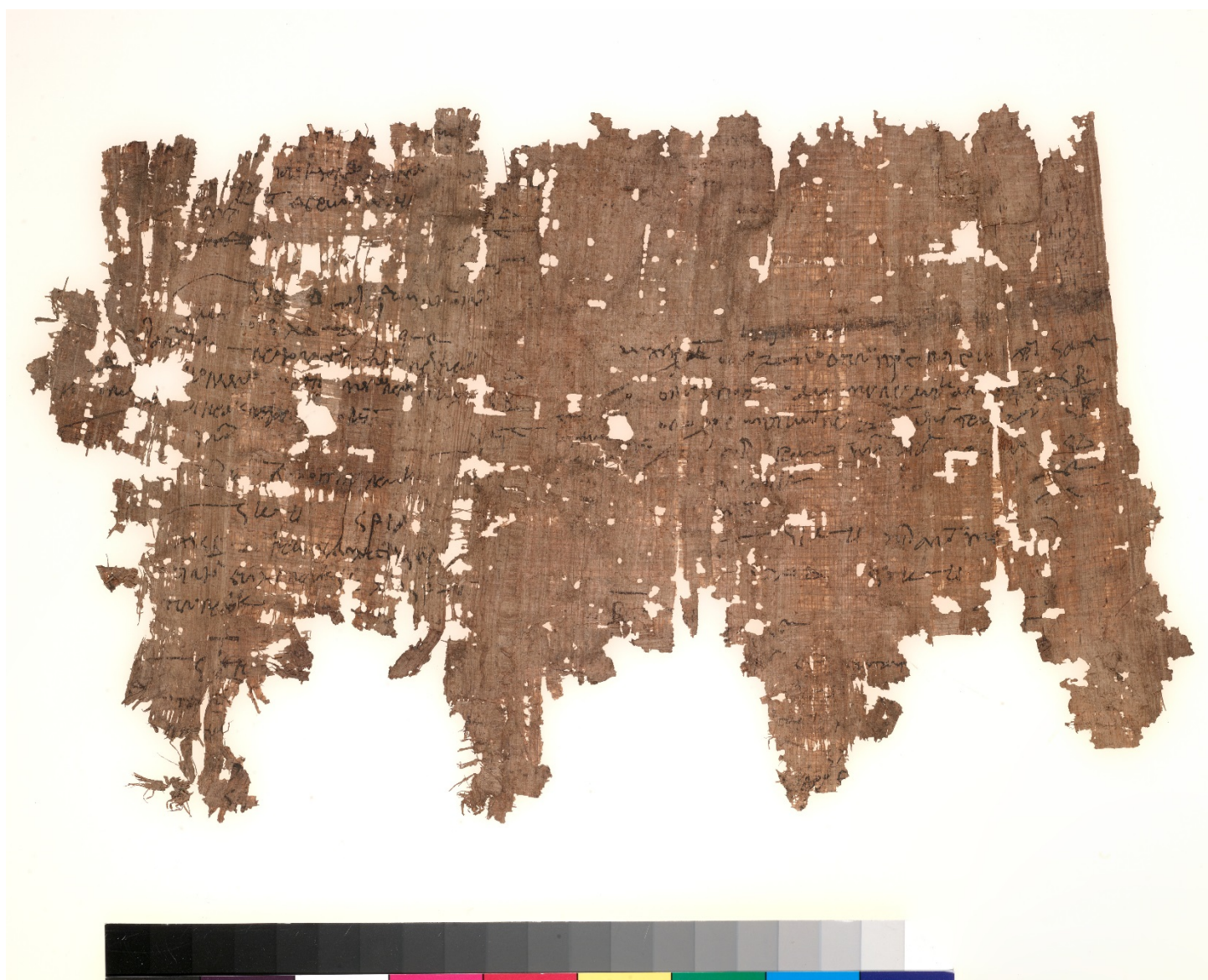


Figure 145. Karanis Register, col. xxvi-xxvii (P.Mich. inv. 4382b verso). Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.



Figure 156. Karanis Register, col. xxviii-xxx (P.Mich. inv. 4382a verso). Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.



Figure 167. Karanis Register, col. xxxi-xxxiii (P.Mich. inv. 4387 verso). Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

The relationship between Rome and Egypt cannot be easily encapsulated. The gamut of Roman views ranges from Tacitus' famous denunciation of the inhabitants of Egypt⁴⁸⁴ to Strabo's praiseworthy judgment that "from the beginning they have led a civic and gentle life and have been settled in well-known places, so that their modes of organization are worthy of comment."⁴⁸⁵ On the Egyptian side, the defiance of the *Acta Alexandrinorum* or cataclysmic native prophecies stands opposed to the praise bestowed on emperors and their representative or the adulation of the imperial cult. In Karanis, some residents may have read such dissent literature, while the village community would have participated in public prayers of thanksgiving for imperial benefactions, as reflected in the Karanis Prayer Papyrus.⁴⁸⁶ Yet in between these extremes, on both the Roman and Egyptian sides, is a more pragmatic vision focused on finding common ground, or at least a stable equilibrium, between ruler and ruled.

This equilibrium was maintained in Egypt for a remarkably long time, even, for the most part, during the tumultuous middle of the third century. The native revolt under Egypt's first prefect, however, shows that the relationship between Egypt and Rome required active maintenance and was not simply a matter of "adding" something to the empire and establishing "dominion," as Augustus' propaganda would have it.⁴⁸⁷ To be sure, Rome always had the upper hand and could simply impose new institutions or institutional change, as indeed was the case with the poll tax (which might in fact have instigated the revolt). Yet one of the keys to the success of the Roman Empire was not resorting to absolutism; put positively, Rome was bound by its own ideology to govern rationally.

⁴⁸⁴ He denounced the province as "quarrelsome and fickle because of its superstition and licentiousness, ignorant of laws, and unacquainted with magistrates" (*provinciam ... superstitione et lascivia discordem et mobilem, insciam legum, ignaram magistratum, Hist.* 1.11.1).

⁴⁸⁵ Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.3.

⁴⁸⁶ "dissent literature:" P.Mich. inv. 4800 (Mertens-Pack 2242), found in Karanis, has been included among the *Acta Alexandrinorum* (Harker 2008), although see now Rodriguez 2009, who thinks the text is of Jewish origin. On the Karanis Prayer Papyrus (*P.Mich.* XXII 842, forthcoming), see above, Chapter 1.4.

⁴⁸⁷ "adding:" *Aegyptum imperio populi Romani adieci* (Aug., *Res Gestae* 27); "dominion" refers to the common dating formula according to ἡ κράτης Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ, "the dominion of Caesar, son of a god."

In Chapter One, I outlined this ideology of *consensus* and argued that it motivated Rome to assess the institutional profile of Egypt and make modifications that were not inconsistent with local tradition and practice. My focus in this work has been the notarial system that the Romans inherited from the Ptolemies, starting from the Karanis Register, which provides a keyhole into this larger system. Yet I believe that this approach is applicable to other institutions and other provinces, even if the details can differ significantly.

Such an approach will always require a careful assessment of pre-existing institutions. Accordingly, Chapter Two traced the development of the Ptolemaic system of contract regulation. At the outset of Ptolemaic rule, both Egyptian and Greek contracts were written without any central oversight, although the native temples exercised notarial authority through specially-trained “document scribes,” who wrote and registered Egyptian contracts. Slowly, the Ptolemaic state began to legislate on the form of contracts and create institutions to monitor private transactions. *Agoranomeia* were established in the *metropoleis* for writing Greek notarial contracts, while Egyptian temple contracts began to be monitored by *grapheia*, registration offices, in the middle of the second century BCE. These *grapheia* grew to become fully-fledged notarial offices by the first century, when Greek contracts were both written and registered by *grapheion* notaries.

I argued that while these developments were state directed, they required the cooperation of native Egyptians scribes, who were traditionally attached to local temples. As the Ptolemies developed their own institutions, they slowly chipped away at the power and prestige of these temples, while opening up avenues for advancement within the state bureaucracy. I have understood this process as a “reorientation” of temple-based and private contract writing towards the Ptolemaic state. The success of this process can be witnessed in the late Ptolemaic *grapheia*, which produced standardized notarial contracts throughout Egypt and were frequently run by hellenizing Egyptians. This institutional success story runs counter to the traditional narrative of Ptolemaic decline and forces us to reconsider our understanding of the late Ptolemaic state and the transition to Roman rule.

I approached this transition to Roman rule in Chapter Three through the lens of village writing offices, which the Romans inherited from the late Ptolemaic state. After analyzing *grapheion* operations, which are known to us in great detail from texts like the Karanis Register, I focused on three key innovations in the Roman period: 1) the formal transformation of *grapheion* contracts into fully public, notarial deeds; 2) the consolidation of Egyptian and Greek contract writing in the

grapheion; and 3) the integration of these local writing offices into the larger archival system. The first innovation, which merely cemented a process that was initiated by the Ptolemies, derives its importance from the fact that it demonstrates Rome's willingness and ability to modify local institutions at such a fine-grained level. The consolidation of all village contracting in one place was a more radical step, in line with other efforts to curb the influence of local temples under Augustus, although it could also be seen as a culmination of Ptolemaic oversight over temple contracting. The development of an integrated archival system was the most important and also the most drawn-out innovation.

This integrated system, which built on the standardization of village contracting in the earliest periods of Roman rule, marks a decisive break from Ptolemaic practice. Rome's interest in modifying and expanding a local institution may occasion surprise: Haensch has rightly pointed to the preservation of local institutions as one of the keys to Rome's successful incorporation of the eastern Mediterranean into the empire.⁴⁸⁸ In a recent article on the public archives of Roman Egypt, Jördens drew a contrast between Rome's development of archives for administrative documents and those for private legal instruments.⁴⁸⁹ The former, represented by the Patrika in Alexandria and by the βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων, "archive of public accounts," in the nome *metropoleis*, she found to be of readily apparent purpose: they served to support the state's administration and taxation of the province. The Nanaion and the nome-level βιβλιοθήκαι ἐγκτήσεων, on the other hand, were exclusively for documents related to private legal transactions and property ownership. "This is evidence of a Roman interest in local documentary practice, which in itself is a surprise."⁴⁹⁰

This surprise is tempered, as Jördens goes on to show, when we consider that the system was beneficial to both the Roman state and the provincial populace.⁴⁹¹ Yet this dissertation has also given credence to Rome's commitment to the administration of justice in the provinces as part of an ideology of *consensus*. Haensch was quick to point out that, despite a prudent conservatism in regard to local institutions and a preference to govern through urban elites, the administration

⁴⁸⁸ Haensch 2008, 101.

⁴⁸⁹ Jördens 2010, especially 159-161.

⁴⁹⁰ Jördens 2010, 161: "Dies zeugt von einer römischen Anteilnahme an dem einheimischen Urkundswesen, die schon als solche überrascht."

⁴⁹¹ Jördens 2010, 176, "Daß die Vorteile, die einerseits der Einwohnerschaft, andererseits der Administration aus der Einrichtung solcher Archive erwachsen, sich gegenseitig in höchst willkommener Weise ergänzten, hat diese Entwicklung sicher nachhaltig unterstützt."

of justice was an “area, in which the representatives of Roman power could not rule so indirectly.”⁴⁹² Indeed, Roman governors and other high officials actively took up the tasks of policing the country, settling disputes, and attempting to improve the administration of their province; in their ideological pronouncements to the populace, governors represented their role in imperial terms, claiming to share in the emperor’s *providentia* and *cura* for the populace. The administration of justice did not entail an imposition of Roman legal norms, but rather was a complex series of interrelated interpretations and rationalizations of local laws and customs. Roman emperors and governors were sensitive to local traditions, but certainly did not feel bound by them.

In Chapter Four I returned to the Karanis Register for a detailed analysis of this witness to day-to-day activities in a village *grapheion* of the early second century, while Chapter Five represents the first edition of this text. The amount of raw data from this text is impressive: although only about a third of the year’s account is preserved and is quite fragmentary in places, I have identified 235 registered contracts, along with the names of over 300 of the contracting parties, some of whom are identifiable elsewhere in the text or in other papyri from Karanis. We can estimate that just over 1,000 registered contracts were written in Karanis over the course of the year, larger than the output in mid-first century Tebtunis, which provides our only comparandum, not to mention thousands of non-registered documents that are only recorded as composite entries in the account.

The Karanis Register presents some unique features, suggesting that the day-to-day operations of *grapheia* were largely left to the discretion of the lessees. For instance, the *grapheion* of Karanis was open for business on every day covered by the extant portion of the Register, in stark contrast to the practice in Tebtunis in the middle of the first century, where the office was open on average only every other day. The form of the account, moreover, is unlike the documents of similar function in the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive, but rather finds a better parallel in an account from Narmouthis;⁴⁹³ *grapheion* lessees could track their finances as they saw fit. They also apparently had the freedom to lease multiple offices and we find in the Karanis Register a previously-unattested subordination of the *grapheion* of Philopator alias Theogenous to Karanis’ *grapheion*. While the Romans exercised remarkable oversight over a

⁴⁹² Haensch and Heinrichs 2007, ix.

⁴⁹³ *P.Narm.* I 1.

large network of archives and notarial offices, they never made the position of village notary a liturgical office, preferring instead to farm out the position, thereby guaranteeing a stable revenue from village-level contracting. The notaries were uniformly responsible for regularly submitting documents to the state archives and had to conform to the diplomatic standard of Roman-period contracts, but they otherwise had a fairly free hand to conduct business as they saw fit.

The Karanis Register also highlights the village notary's role as a prime intermediary between local society and the authority of the state. The numerous one-line entries for contracts all represent documents that the notary registered and entered into the expansive, province-wide archival network. The non-registered contracts, although recorded as summary entries and thus less informative on an individual basis, provide further evidence of the notaries' mediating role in the village. This is particularly the case with written oaths documenting a promise to fulfill state obligations, sworn by the *Tyche* of the reigning emperor. Given the time of year, these are mostly the oaths required of state farmers for the receipt of state seed grain. Thus, even those whose meager assets may have provided little reason to document their private transaction through a notary had recourse to the *grapheion* for the annual tradition of reaffirming their relationship with the Roman state. The village notary, at the center of this little ceremony and intimately involved in the private transactions of his fellow villagers, was clearly one of the key nodes in local social and economic networks.

Rome's "empire of information" was built on the simple premise of keeping open channels of communication between Rome and the provinces and supporting institutions to store these communications and much other information besides. Rome gladly built on pre-existing structures, whether those of self-governing cities or those found in the inherited fabric of the old Hellenistic empires. In Egypt, the Romans recognized the Ptolemies' elaborate notarial system as a key administrative element of the land and chose not only to perpetuate it, but to improve the system and expand its archival functions. The Karanis Register opens a window onto this system at the level of the village. It reveals a miniature "village of information" overseen by the local notary, who facilitated access to the larger information networks of the Roman Empire for his fellow villagers.

Papyrus texts like the Karanis Register provide fine-grained views of the "mechanics" of empire: the institutionalized set of practices that produced a common ground for Romans and

provincials alike and thereby supported the ruling ideology of *consensus*. This dissertation has demonstrated the value that papyri and the study of the province of Egypt bring to broader understandings of the Roman Empire. Certainly, no two provinces were alike in their particulars; this work has signaled an approach that acknowledges the wide variety of local practice and institutions in the Roman Empire, while attempting to single out patterns in the way Rome incorporated and adapted them into their empire. But it has also highlighted provincial agency in contributing to and shaping Rome's "empire of information." There was always a certain tension between local practice and imperial ideology and the great accomplishment of the Roman Empire was finding a stable equilibrium, even if this tension was never resolved.

Appendix: Rogue Notaries? Two Unusual Contracts from the Late Ptolemaic Fayum⁴⁹⁴

Edited below are two unusual late Ptolemaic double documents, *P.Fay.* 240 (Euhemeria, 74 [?] BCE) and *P.Mich. inv.* 3380 (Theadelphia, 71 [?] BCE), which are notable for their lack of standard features: both have a large blank space where the body of the contract would normally be written, neither contains the acknowledgement of the *syngraphophylax*, and the lender's name is omitted in both cases. Despite their apparent state of incompleteness, the two contracts were duly registered in their respective writing offices.

The missing or incomplete body of a registered document has so far not been found in other Ptolemaic contracts, which otherwise adhere to the format outlined above.⁴⁹⁵ There is some diplomatic variation among these contracts, in particular in the level of detail of the inner script, which was now just an abstract of the contract, but in general they exhibit a remarkably uniform implementation of the reform that introduced the registration of Greek contracts.

Keeping the dearth of late-period Ptolemaic contracts in mind, we must turn to the better-documented Augustan period for parallels. There is in fact a common type of early Roman *grapheion* contract from the Arsinoite nome, discussed above in Chapter 3.3, that leaves a large

⁴⁹⁴ *P.Fay.* 240 was edited as part of the International Seminar on Unpublished Papyri in the Egyptian Museum, sponsored by the Association Internationale de Papyrologues (AIP), in cooperation with the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley (which digitized photographs originally taken several decades ago by the AIP's International Photographic Archive of Papyri), and the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University. Funding for the seminar was provided by the Tianaderrah Foundation and a private donor. *P.Mich. inv.* 3380 was also presented at our final meeting in Alexandria in April 2014, generously hosted by seminar participant Mohamed El-Maghrabi. I thank the organizers Rodney Ast, Roger Bagnall, Alia Hanafi, Todd Hickey, and Cornelia Römer, as well as my fellow participants for their feedback on these two papyri, but above all for such an enjoyable and instructive experience.

⁴⁹⁵ Another example may be *P.Col. inv.* 91 (APIS dating: II-I BCE), which deserves more study (image: <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p517>). The well-preserved *scriptura interior* contains an abstract of a three-year lease of 50 arouras made by Didymos, son of Apollonios to Petesouchos, son of Epimachos, with rents due in wheat, lentils, barley, chickpeas, and other goods. A *paragraphos* just below the abstract marks where the body contract was to have begun, but instead there are two well-spaced lines of uncertain writing, the second of which does not reach the end of the line. The papyrus is broken below, so we cannot tell if it also contained a subscription and the registration docket. I have not studied the contemporary Demotic deeds in detail, but note in passing the handful of registered contracts from Tebtunis that lack the scribe's signature (Arlt 2008, 20).

blank space above the registration docket and subscription,⁴⁹⁶ where normally the Roman-period body contract (the old *scriptura exterior*) would be written out in full. Towards the top of this space there are various, often short, notations, such as a description of the parties involved and/or the date and location of the contract (i.e., the regular opening of the body contract), while four exhibit incomplete renderings of the body contract. These of course are not double documents; yet, like the two Ptolemaic contracts published below, they lack a full objective account of the transaction and were nevertheless certified as registered.⁴⁹⁷ It is tempting to see the parallels between these contracts as another example of continuity between the late Ptolemaic and early Roman *grapheion*.

Another peculiar omission in the two contracts is the lack of the lender's name. This finds a parallel in a contemporary loan registered in the *grapheion* of Neilopolis in 74 BCE, first published by Arthur Boak, then re-edited by Herbert Youtie.⁴⁹⁸ Unlike the two contracts published here, however, the body of this contract was written in full, with blanks left wherever the lender's name would normally appear. The top of the contract, containing the abstract, was folded over and sealed, while the names of the two borrowers and the six witnesses were written around the seals. There is no evidence of sealing on our two papyri and the backs are blank.

Boak suggested that the blank spaces were intended to allow the obligations of the contract to be "transferred by the original lender to another person who, by insertion of his name in the blank space, would become qualified to receive the repayment of the loan."⁴⁹⁹ Youtie, following most commentators, endorsed this view, drawing attention to evidence for the legal transfer of *praxis*.⁵⁰⁰ Annette Schutgens, however, offered the intriguing suggestion that the creditor's name was left out because the *syngraphophylax* (who was supposed to be a disinterested party), or someone close

⁴⁹⁶ During Augustus' reign, the registration docket is generally written above the subscription, in contrast to earlier and later practice.

⁴⁹⁷ The registration docket sets them apart from the later series of subscriptions from the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive, which were retained in the *grapheion* and thus not handed over to the contracting parties: see *P.Mich.* V, pp. 3-11. Also distinct are copies of *grapheion* contracts that omit the body contract, such as *P.Lond.* II 277 (p. 217) (Soknopaiou Nesos, 23 CE), which contains only a brief title of the contract, before proceeding to the copy of the subscription and registration docket, all written in one hand. These subscriptions and copies, however, coupled with the registered contracts under discussion, demonstrate very clearly that to both the notaries and the contracting parties the subscription could be seen as the most important part of the contract.

⁴⁹⁸ Boak 1933 (*SB V* 7532); Youtie 1973 (*BL VII*, 194). The lender's name is occasionally omitted in the summaries of agoranomic loans from Krokodilopolis and Pathyris (*P.Bingen* 39-40, p. 197), but these of course could be found in the main contract.

⁴⁹⁹ Boak 1933, 108.

⁵⁰⁰ Youtie 1973, 161-162. Cf. Wolff 1978, 166-168.

to him, took on the role of creditor.⁵⁰¹ She argued that if the creditor's name was left blank to make the contract negotiable, this would put the *syngraphophylax* in an unrealistically difficult position, since he would not know who the creditor was and could not ascertain if the loan was actually repaid. Finally, since the Neilopolis contract was folded and sealed, she reasoned that one would have to have broken the seals to insert the creditor's name, which did not occur.

Whatever the case, it is hardly imaginable that the notary's registration of a contract with an unidentified party was allowed under state regulations. As discussed above, already in the third century BCE a law laid out detailed rules for the identification of parties to loans,⁵⁰² while the procedures published in 146 BCE regarding the registration of Demotic contracts also required a full identification of the parties involved.⁵⁰³ Later, Roman decrees include similar provisions.⁵⁰⁴ Regulations of this sort must have been in force for double documents in the first century BCE. When we find notaries in at least three Arsinoite *grapheia* going "rogue" and registering incomplete contracts, we are therefore faced with a glaring "divergence of prescription and practice,"⁵⁰⁵ which suggests an occasional lack of supervision over the standards of notarial practice in the first century BCE.⁵⁰⁶ The Yiftach-Firanko model that stress near-perfect implementation of Ptolemaic regulations must take into such cases of bureaucratic independence.

1. Loan of Radish Seed

Euhemeria
Cat. Gen. 10825 (*P.Fay.* 240 descr.)

29.2 x 11.8 cm

30 August, 74 (?) BCE
Fig. 18

This papyrus was discovered in the temple of Euhemeria during Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt's Fayum expedition of 1898/1899 and described as *P.Fay.* 240. The temple contained "some late Ptolemaic documents, chiefly demotic, together with some Roman," along with ostraka, and a pot containing ritual apparatus.⁵⁰⁷ Grenfell and Hunt did not note the precise locations of these small finds, nor did they produce a plan of the temple, so little more can be said about the

⁵⁰¹ Schutgens 1976.

⁵⁰² *BGU* XIV 2367.4-14 (Alexandria [?], III BCE).

⁵⁰³ *P.Par.* 65, with the analysis of Pestman 1985.

⁵⁰⁴ E.g., the edict of the prefect T. Flavius Titianus: *P.Oxy.* I 34 verso (= *M.Chr.* 188), col. I-II (22 Mar., 127 CE).

⁵⁰⁵ Burns 2010, 76.

⁵⁰⁶ It is less clear whether the lack of body contract can also be interpreted in this way. The numerous examples from the Augustan period suggest that a fully-executed body contract was not explicitly required in all copies of a contract until Tiberius' reign (see above).

⁵⁰⁷ *P.Fay.*, p. 45.

archaeological context of this papyrus other than that it accords chronologically with the other dateable finds and that it was likely written and deposited when the temple was still in use.

The text is a loan of radish seed in the form of a double document that was registered in the *grapheion* of Euhemeria, most likely in 74 BCE (see below). Besides the formal features discussed above, this text is notable for providing the first evidence that Euhemeria's *grapheion* was established already in the Ptolemaic period. One often reads of the spread of village *grapheia* in the Roman period,⁵⁰⁸ but much of this could be an illusion caused by the paucity of evidence from the first century BCE (cf. above). Also of interest is the reference to the oil-makers' measure in ll. 4 and 10. Commentators have noticed the lack of evidence for radish oil in the Ptolemaic period, when castor and sesame were the preferred vegetable oils, even if radishes were grown.⁵⁰⁹ In contrast, during the Roman period radishes displaced these other vegetables as the primary source of everyday oil, a phenomenon that caught the attention of Pliny.⁵¹⁰ This text provides the first evidence that radishes were already being used for producing oil in Egypt before the Roman period.

The papyrus is in poor condition and is much in need of conservation. Autopsy has not proven possible, so the following reconstruction must be considered provisional. The main fragment is well preserved until the bottom third of the papyrus and all margins are intact. At the top, a small margin of ca. 0.5 cm was left before the start of the abstract. The abstract itself occupies ca. 4 cm, below which is a *paragraphos*, then a blank space of 13 cm, where normally the body of the contract would have been written. The subscription is ca. 7.5 cm in height, below which there are two curved horizontal lines, perhaps indicating where the *syngraphophylax*' confirmation was to be written. Finally, the registration docket is written 2 cm below the subscription. Like the rest of the text, the registration slopes up to the right and is 1.5 cm from the bottom at the left and 2 cm at the right. The left margin varies between 1 and 1.5 cm and the lines come close to the right edge. The dimensions and overall format of the document closely parallel the Neilopolis contract discussed above (n. 15) and document 2 below.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁸ E.g., Yiftach-Firanko 2009, 549.

⁵⁰⁹ Sandy 1989, 6 and Mayerson 2001, 109.

⁵¹⁰ *Nat. Hist.* 19.26.79: *Aegypto mire (sc. raphanus) celebratur olei propter fertilitatem quod e semine eius faciunt. hoc maxime cupiunt serere, si liceat, quoniam et quaestus plus quam e frumento et minus tributi est nullumque ibi copiosius oleum.* Cf. 15.7.30. On radish oil in later periods, see Bagnall 1993, 30-31.

⁵¹¹ The early-Roman contracts cited above for their lack of body contract (n. 7) are also of a tall and narrow format. See Yiftach-Firanko 2008, 211-212 for the typical format of late Ptolemaic double documents.

The bottom third of the papyrus is marred by large lacunae and even the preserved portions are either tenuously attached to each other or taped together. The fragment containing ll. 8-10 is not correctly attached and must be shifted about 1 cm to the right, as should everything below it. Three loose fragments preserve text (numbered 1-3 from top to bottom). Fragment 1 preserves parts of ll. 9 and 10, with traces of the preceding and following lines. Its position in Fig. 1 is only approximate, but attention to the tear and crease lines seems to support the proposed lateral position, which also allows sufficient space for the supplements at the ends of ll. 9 and 10. The vertical placement does not leave satisfactory room for the bottom of l. 11, traces of which are visible on fragment 1, but this must be due to the adjacent parts of the main fragment shifting and squeezing together between ll. 11 and 12. Fragment 2 consists of two separate fragments stuck together: the smaller one to the right (2b) preserves a few letters from ll. 8 and 9, while the larger one (2a), when flipped, fits the lacuna at ll. 12 and 13, where the patronymic beginning Φ on the main fragment continues with λημ[in fragment 2a's second line. I have not been able to find a place for fragment 3; its letters appear both smaller and thinner than those of the subscription and so probably does not belong to this papyrus. Fig. 1 is digitally altered to reflect the proposed reconstruction; the original black-and-white and a color image can be viewed in the online Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum.⁵¹² The text is written along the fibers. *Verso non vidi.*

Two hands can be distinguished in this text, although they are similar in style: the first, belonging to Philemon, son of Philemon, is responsible for the subscription; the second, that of a *grapheion* scribe Didymos, is found in both the abstract at the top and the registration docket at the bottom.⁵¹³ Comparable hands to the subscriber Philemon's (ll. 5-14) include *P.Tebt.* IV 1143 (115/114), *SB XXII* 11078 (ca. 100), the third hand of *SB V* 7532 (74), *BGUVIII* 1813 (62/61), and *P.Oxy.* LV 3777 (57). Hand three of *SB V* 7532 is especially close to both hands of our text, so I prefer to date this text to the reign of Ptolemy XII and Kleopatra V (74 BCE).

The contract is a simple loan of radish seed, which is to be returned 10 months later, after the next harvest. The phrase σὸν ἡμισολία in the receipt clause means that the amount stated (three artabas) already includes the standard 50% interest on in kind loans; the actual amount lent, then,

⁵¹² <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Fay.&vVol=&vNum=240>. Accessed 23 June 2014.

⁵¹³ For this practice see Yiftach-Firanko 2008, 215 and Hoogendijk 2013, 68.

was two artabas (see l. 3 n.). Neither the abstract nor the subscription mentions a penalty for non-payment.

(Hd. 2) ἐδά(νεισεν) vac. Ἀχιλλεῖ τῶι καὶ
Ἰναρώυτι Ἀφροδισίου τοῦ καὶ Πνεφερωῶ(τος)
Πέρσηι τῆς (ἐπιγονῆς) ῥαφ(ανίνου) σπ(έρματος) (ἀρτάβας) γ σὺν ἡμιολ(ίαι) ἀποδ(ότω)
4 Παῦνι τοῦ η (ἔτους) ἐν Εὐ(ημερία)ι μέ(τρῳ)ι (ἕξα)χ(οινίκῳ)ι ἐλ(αιουργικῳ)ι
συ(γγραφοφύλαξ) Πτολ(εμαῖος).
—
(blank space of ca. 13 cm)

(Hd. 1) Ἀχιλλεὺ[ς ὁ καὶ Ἰ]ν[αρῶ]υς Ἀφρ[οδισί]ο[υ] τοῦ καὶ
Πνεφερωῶτος Π[έρσης τῆ]ς ἐπιγονῆς
ἔχω τὸ δάγ[ειον τὰς τ]ριῶν ἀρτάβας τοῦ
8 ῥεφανί[ν]ο[υ . . .]ρ .[.]. .[.]. . . . ἀπο-
δώσω ἐν [μη]νὶ Π[αῦ]νι τοῦ ὀγδόου [ἔτους]
ἐν Εὐημερ[ί]α μέτρ[ω] ἐλαιουργ(ικ)ῶ [καθὰ]
γέγραπ[ται καὶ τέθειμαι τῆ]ν [συγγρ]αφή[ν]
12 κυρίαν παρὰ Πτολεμ[αί]ω]. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
Φιλήμων Φιλήμο[νος] ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ τὸ
φάσκει[ν αὐτὸν] μὴ [ἐπ]ίστασθαι γράμματα.

(Hd. 2) ἔτους ζ Μεσορῆ κδ̄ ἀνα(γέ)γρ(απται) ἐν Εὐ(ημερίας) γρ(αφείω) διὰ Διδύμου.

1 εδ^a pap. 2 αφροδισιου, πνεφερ^o pap. 3 της, σπ, -, ημιολ, αποδ pap. 4 L, ευ, με, χς, ελ, συ, πτολ, pap. 7 l. τρεῖς 8 l.
ῥεφανίνου 9 ὀγδόου corr. ex ὀκδόου 15 ἀναγρ, ἐν, γρ, δι^a pap.

Abstract (ll. 1-4): “(blank) lent to Achilleus, alias Inarous, son of Aphrodisios, alias Pnepheros, Persian of the *epigone*, 3 artabas of radish seed, including the additional one half. He is to return it in Pauni of the 8th year in Euhemeria by the 6-*choenix*, oil-makers’ measure. Guardian of the contract: Ptolemaios.”

Subscription (ll. 5-14): “I, Achilleus, alias Inarous, son of Aphrodisios, alias Pnepheros, Persian of the *epigone*, have the loan, the three artabas of radish seed, including the additional one half (?), which I will return in the month of Pauni of the eighth year in Euhemeria by the oil-makers’ measure in accordance with what has been written and I have placed the valid contract with Ptolemaios. Philemon, son of Philemon, having been asked, wrote on his behalf since he says that he does not know letters.”

Registration (l. 15): “7th year, Mesore 24. Registered in the *grapheion* of Euhemeria through Didymos.”

1 ἐδά(νεισεν). This same abbreviated opening is found in some agoranomic loan contract summaries (“prototype 2:” *P.Bingen* 39-40, p. 198). Cf. 2.1.

- ἀνα(γέ)γραπται ἐν Ἐὐ(ημερίας) γραφείῳ). The usual phrase is ἀναγέγραπται διὰ τοῦ ἐν ... γραφείου, but *P.Fay.* 89.6-7 (9 CE) offers a parallel: ἀναγέ(γραπται) ἐν Πη(λουσίου) γραφείῳ ..ρεξ(). This is the first mention of Euhemeria’s *grapheion*.⁵¹⁸

2. Loan of Money

Theadelphia
P.Mich. inv. 3380

28.5 x 14 cm

22 December, 71 (?) BCE
Fig. 19

This papyrus was part of the University of Michigan’s allotment of the British Museum consortium’s 1925 purchase from Maurice Nahman.⁵¹⁹ It is complete on all sides, with only a small section missing at the bottom left and some deterioration, in particular along the vertical fold line in the middle.

The overall appearance of the document is quite similar to 1. The first section of text, the *scriptura interior*, written in abstract form, begins just below the top edge of the papyrus, with a small margin of ca. 0.75 cm, and side margins of 1 cm on the left and ca. 0.75 cm on the right. A *paragraphos* marks where the *scriptura exterior* would have begun, but instead there is a blank space ca. 9 cm in height. Below this blank space is the debtor’s subscription, written with a left margin of 1-1.5 cm, and occupying 10.75 cm of the papyrus’ height. After a small gap of 1-1.5 cm, the registration docket is written at the bottom of the papyrus, 1.5 cm above the bottom edge. There are two (?) lines of indistinct writing towards the left of this bottom margin. The verso is blank.

As in 1, the hand of the *scriptura interior* appears to be the same as that of the registration docket, which we consider to be hand 2. The first hand, that of the subscription, has enough similarities to 1’s subscription and hand 3 of the precisely dated *SB V 7532* (see above) that I prefer dating this contract to 71 BCE.

In this contract, Zosimos, alias Arebrus/Arebrous, son of Pasion, and his mother Apollonia, alias Senyris, receive a loan of 75 drachmas, which they are to repay six months later with the standard monthly interest of 2%. The borrowers are designated “Persians” and they are mutual sureties for one another. The registration docket at the bottom appears to contain the earliest

⁵¹⁸ For a list of this *grapheion*’s registration dockets, see Reiter 2013, 164.

⁵¹⁹ It was part of Bell’s “Lot III,” described as a “great mass of material” of disappointing quality: H.I. Bell, “Preliminary Report on Nahman’s papyri, 1925,” p. 1. A copy of this report is kept in the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection and a scan can be found under “Acquisitions” on the collection’s webpage (<http://www.lib.umich.edu/files/libraries/papyrology/acq-reports/Report%20on%20Papyri%2C%20etc.%2C%20of%201925%20consignment.pdf>, accessed 14 May, 2014).

example of the title νομογράφος as well as an unparalleled combination of this title with ὁ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ.

(Hd. 2) (ἔτους) ια Χοιὰχ ιδ̄ ἐδά(νεισεν) *vac.*

2a

ωνος

Ζωσίμῳ τῷ κ(αὶ) Ἀρεβρ[υ]τ(ι) Πασί[ω]νος (Πέρση) τῆ(ς) ἐπιγονῆς καὶ . λ()
το(ύτου) μη(τρὶ) Ἀπολλωνία(ί) τῆ(ι καὶ) Σεγ[] . . () Ζωσίμου τοῦ καὶ
Ἀρεβρωτό[ς] . . . [ca. 4] υἱοῦ ἀργυ(ρίου) ἐπ(ισήμου) δοκ(ίμου)

5

Πτολ(εμαικοῦ) . . [ca. 5] . . δ[ρ]αχ(μάς) ε. () οφ(άποδ(ότω) Παῦν(ι)
το(ῦ) α(ύτου) ια (ἔτους) []ισ . κ() [] . () Διον(ύσιος) συγγραφοφύλαξ) Πτολ()

(blank space of ca. 9 cm)

(Hd. 1) Ζώσιμος ὃς καὶ Ἀρεβρῶς Πασίωνος Πέρσης τῆς

ἐπιγονῆς ἔχω τὸ δάνειον σὺν τῇ μητρὶ

μοῦ Ἀπολλωνία τῇ κ[α]ὶ Σενύρει Περσεΐνῃ

10 μετὰ κυρίου ἐμοῦ τὰς τοῦ ἐπισήμου ἀργυρίου

δοκίμου Πτολεμαικοῦ νομίσματος δραχμ(άς)

ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε ἐγ τόκοις διδράχμ(οις)

καὶ ἀποδώσομεν ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ ἐνδε-

κάτου ἔτους καὶ ἐγγυώμεθ' ἀλλήλους

15 εἰς ἔκτεισιν καθὼς γέγραπται καὶ τε-

θείμεθα τὴν συγγραφὴν κυρίαν παρὰ Πτολ-

[ca. 8]. ἔγραψεν Διονύσιος Διονυσίου

[ἀξιωθεὶς] ὑπ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ φάσκειν αὐ-

τοῦς μὴ ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα.

20 (Hd. 2) ἔτους ια Χοιὰχ ιδ̄ (Hd. 3) ἀναγέγρ(απται) διὰ Πξζάμου

νομ(ογράφου) το(ῦ) πρὸς τῷ γρ(αφείῳ) Θεαδελ(φείας)

traces of two (?) lines

1 L pap., χοιαχ: first χ corr. ex α (?), εδ^a pap. 2 τωικ, αρεβρ[υ]τ^ε, †, τ^ι, . . λ^ι pap. 3 τῷ, μ^ι, απολλ^ω, τ^η pap. 4 αργυ, επ, δοκ pap. 5 πτολ, δ[ρ]αχ, αποδ, παυν 6 τοα, L, []ισ^κ, διον, -, σ, πτολ pap. 9 l. Περσίνῃ 11 δραχ^η 12 διδραχ^η 12 l. ἐν 15 l. ἔκτεισιν, καθὼς 20 αναγεγρ, δι α pap. 21 νο^η, το, γρ], θεαδε λ pap.

Abstract (ll. 1-6): “11th year, Choiach 14. (blank) lent to Zosimos, alias Arebrus, son of Pasion, Persian of the *epigone*, and ... his mother Apollonia, alias Senyris, with her son Zosimos, alias Arebous as guardian (?) ... 75 (?) drachmas of coined silver of genuine Ptolemaic issue. He is to repay it in Pauni of the same 11th year ... Dionysios. Guardian of the contract: Ptol().”


Subscription (ll. 7-19): “I, Zosimos, alias Arebros, son of Pasion, Persian of the *epigone*, have the loan, along with my mother Apollonia, alias Senyris, Persian, with me as her guardian, the seventy five drachmas of coined silver of genuine Ptolemaic issue, at the two-drachma interest rate, and we will pay it back in the month of Pauni of the eleventh year and we are mutual sureties for full repayment

according to what has been written and we have placed the valid contract with Ptol.... I, Dionysios, son of Dionysios, having been asked, wrote on their behalf since they said that they do not know letters.”

Registration (l. 15): “11th year, Choiach 14. Registered through Pexamos, notary in charge of the writing office of Theadelphia.”

2a ωνος. These faint letters can be read between ll. 1 and 2, perhaps Arebros’ patronymic written as a note and partially erased.

2 Ἄρεβρ[ὐ]τ(ι). Written in l. 4 as Ἄρεβρῶτο[ς] and in the subscription (l. 7) as Ἄρεβρῶς.

-  (Πέρση). I read this as the symbol that appears commonly in *grapheion* documents for words beginning with a pi and containing a rho or lambda, or even the whole phrase Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς.⁵²⁰ It originated among late Ptolemaic notaries⁵²¹ and in the Roman period its use spread outside the notary offices.⁵²²

- καὶ . λ(). καὶ τῆι is expected with the following το(ύτου) μη(τρὶ), but this does not seem possible.

3 Ἀπολλῶ(νία) τῆ(ι καὶ) Σεγ[. . .] . . () Ζωσίμου. From the parallel passage in the subscription, we expect Σενόρει Περσεῖνη μετὰ κυρίου, but if so, it must have been highly abbreviated.

5 νομίματος should follow Πτολ(εμαικοῦ), as in line 11 of the subscription.

- δ[ρ]αχ(μὰς) ε.() οε. Perhaps the statement of interest can be found in here.

6 . . . [.]ισ . κ(). A reference to mutual surety should be sought here, perhaps ending [ε]ῖς ἕκ(τισιν).

- [.] () Διον(ύσιος). The missing term, abbreviated with one or two letters, should refer to Dionysios’ role as subscriber (cf. ll. 17-19), which was called ὑπογραφεύς in the Roman period.

⁵²⁰ For discussion, see *P.Mich.* II 121r, introduction; *P.Mich.* V 241.13 and 17 n.; and *P.Mich.* V 293, introduction.

⁵²¹ A clear example can be found in the double document from Nilopolis to which I have frequently referred, *SB* V 7532.2 (74 BCE), where the symbol stands for the patronymic Πτολεμαίου. An earlier example can be found at *P.Stras.* II 88.13 (Pathyris, 105 BCE, with *P.Mich.* V 241.17 n. = *BL* III, 232). While I agree that the “Πέρσης” symbol should be read, there is a clear rho following (as the editor notes), which is not found in later examples. No convincing explanation for the emergence of the symbol has been offered. The possibility that it derives from a monogram of pi and rho (*P.Mich.* V 293, intro.) might receive some support from the Strasbourg text, as well as from the examples with two verticals (see Claytor 2013a, 88); cf. also the examples in *P.Tebt.* I 105.1 (103 BCE) and *P.Tebt.* I 109.2 (93 BCE), both of which are printed Πέ(ρσης), but may be related. Another possibility is that the similar symbol for πωρός, which may have derived from a pi-epsilon monogram (Blanchard 1974, 45, n. 21.), was re-interpreted and applied to other common pi-rho words.

⁵²² E.g., the tax list *CPR* VIII 1.40 (Arsinoite, I-II CE): (Πτολεμαῖδος) Ἀράβ(ων).

- 8 σὺν τῆι μητρὶ κτλ. Coming after τὸ δάνειον, the inclusion of his mother in the subscription appears to be an afterthought. Cf. *SB VI* 9612.2-3 (Theogonis, 88/87 [?] BCE): (Names) μεμισθώμεθα εἰς ἔτη τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ τριακοστοῦ ἔτους, σὺν Ἀκουσιλάωι καὶ τῶι τούτῳι (l. τούστῳ) υἱῶι Νικαίωι ...
- 12 ἐγ (l. ἐν) τόκοις. This would be an unusual exchange, since normally ν becomes γ only before velar stops. Two parallels can be cited: *P.Col.* X 285.32 (with note) and *P.Bon.* 17.2.
- 20 Πεξάμου. The name Πάξαμος is attested in two later texts: *P.Oxy.* XVII 2129, *passim* (205/206 [?] CE) and *P.Lips.* I 33.2, 10, 19 (Hermopolis, 368 CE).
- 20-21 ἀναγέγρα(απται) δι(ὰ) Πεξάμου | νομογράφου) το(ῦ) πρὸς τῶι γραφείωι Θεαδελ(φείας). Such a combination of titles is unparalleled in Greek documents, although it is generally assumed that in the Roman period these two positions were equivalent or at least frequently held at the same time.⁵²³ In a number of early-Roman documents from Soknopaiou Nesos, moreover, we find what may be the Demotic equivalent of this combination of titles: *sh qnb.t sh mtn*, with *sh qnb.t*, “writer of documents” equating to νομογράφος and *sh mtn*, “writer of the (registration) mark” equating to ὁ πρὸς τῶι γραφείωι.⁵²⁴ Νομογράφος had so far only been attested in one uncertain context from the Ptolemaic era,⁵²⁵ but becomes common in the Roman period,⁵²⁶ while ὁ πρὸς τῶι γραφείωι is much older, making its first appearance shortly after the introduction of registration for demotic contracts in 145 BCE.⁵²⁷

⁵²³ See below, Chapter 3.2.1. There is still much room for improving our understanding of the relationship between the various titles associated with the *grapheion*.

⁵²⁴ *P.Dime* III, pp. 103-104. Cf. also *CPR XV* 1.17 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 3 BCE), in which the writer of the document is titled νομογράφ[ο]ς καὶ πρὸς τ[ῶι] χ[α]ρ[α]γμῶι κώμη[ς] Σούχ[ο]υ [τῆς] Σοκν[ο]π[α]ί[ου] Νή[σ]ου. S. Lippert and M. Schentuleit consider the latter title, attested only here in Greek, to be a translation of Dem. *sh mtn*, “writer of the (registration) mark,” which receives support from the unexpected absence of the Greek article.

⁵²⁵ *BGU VIII* 1777.6 (64-44 BCE): . . . νομογράφῳ τῶν ἐκ Πώεως.

⁵²⁶ Earliest example: *P.Lips.* II 128 (Talei, 19 BCE).

⁵²⁷ *P.Choach.Survey*, pp. 337-339.

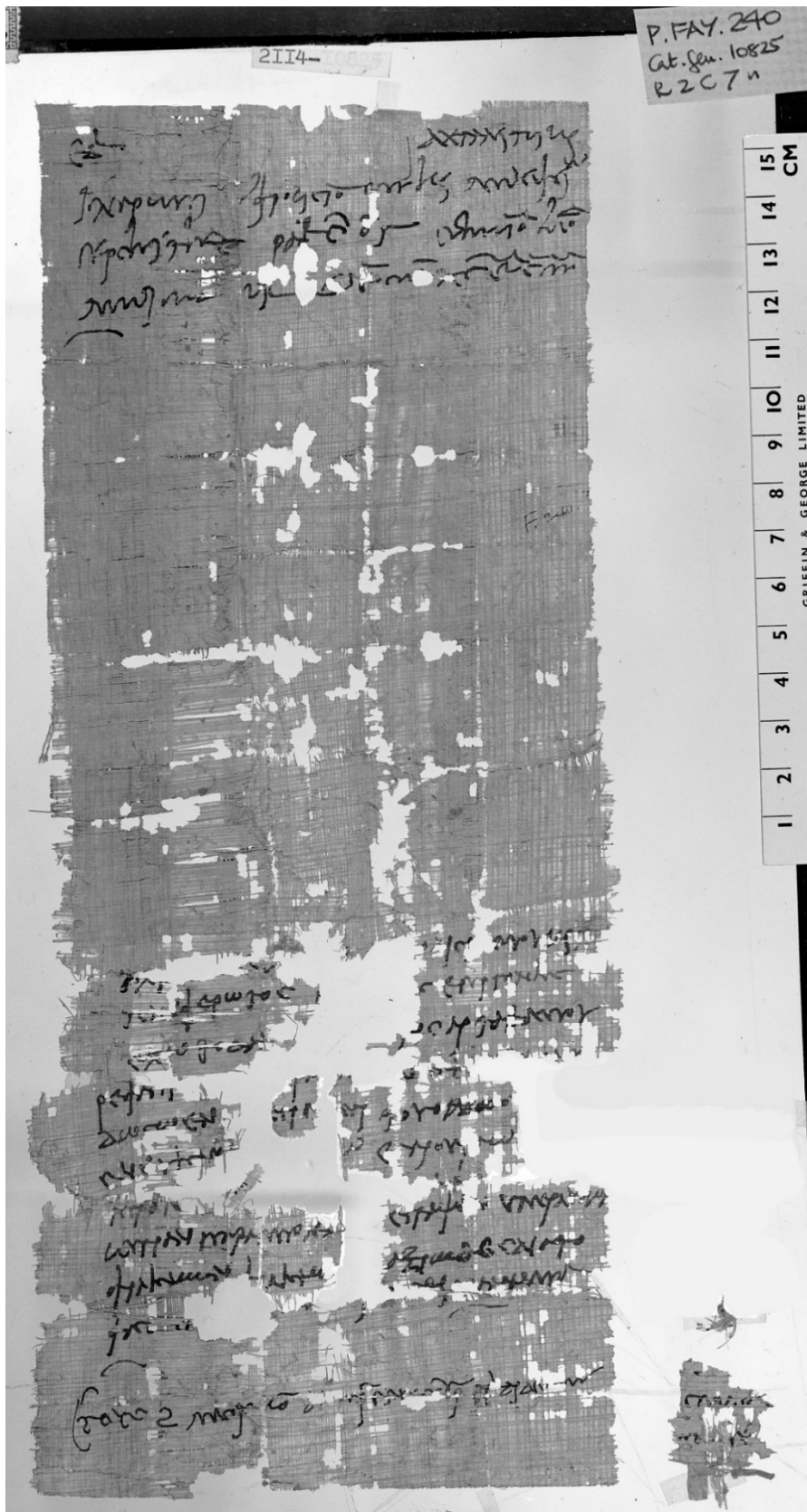


Figure 18. Cat. Gen. 10825 (P.Fay. 240 descr.). Image courtesy of the Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo (<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/>). The original image has been edited to show the proposed placement of loose fragments.

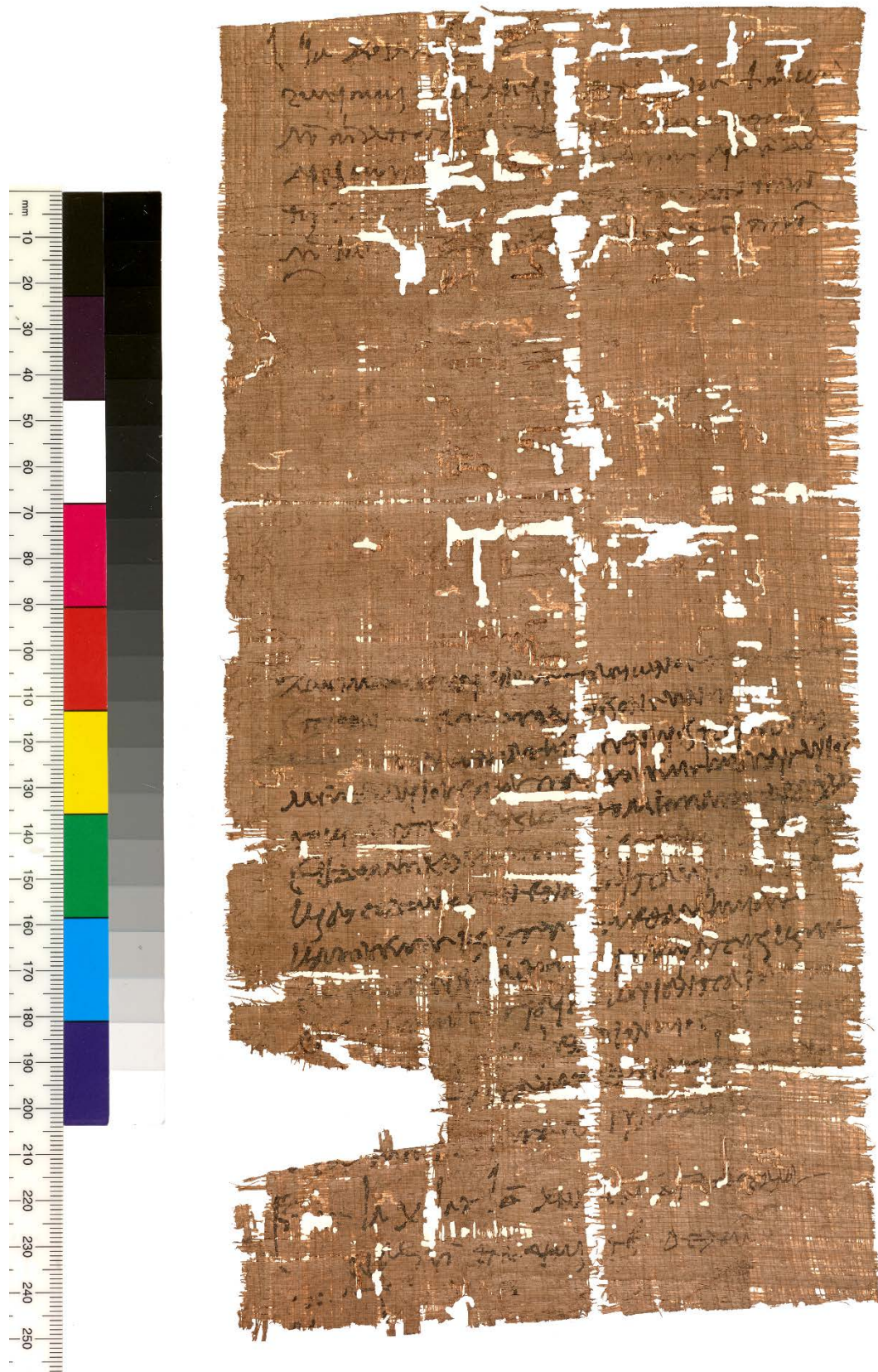


Figure 19. P.Mich. inv. 3380. Image courtesy of the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection.

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