

- P.Coll.Youtie* I 58,7 (AD 207)
P.Louvre I 54,44 (second/third decade of III/AD)
P.Berl.Bibl. 21r,4 (III/AD)
P.Oslo II 46r,9 (III/AD)

(AD 48/49); N. Lewis, «On Official Corruption in Roman Egypt: the Edict of Vergilius Capito», *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 98(1954), 153-58, esp. 156 (= N. Lewis, *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt. Collected Papers of Naphthali Lewis*, Am.Stud.Pap. 33, Atlanta-Georgia 1995, pp. 47-52); D.J. Crawford, «Skepe in Soknopaion Nesos», *JJP* 18(1974), 170 and 172; J. Bingen, «L'édit de Lucius Julius Vestinus (Hibis, 60 p.C.), Révision du texte», *CdE* 73(1998), 135-43, esp. pp. 138-39, ll. 16 and 21-22 (AD 60), and pp. 141-42.

2. LEASE OF A ROOM

Inv. No. 612	19.5(H)x9(B)cm.	2nd half
Herakleopolites	Plate 2	of IV/AD

A light-brown papyrus, rectangular in shape, nearly intact at the top, but broken off at the bottom. A vertical fold is visible at a distance of 5.3 to 5.6 cm. from its left-hand border. It is badly mutilated in the middle, probably due to a horizontal fold in this place. The upper right-hand corner is badly smudged and slightly damaged. The slanting fold discernible there implies that this part of the document was exposed to the influence of the environment. Some more stains are dispersed on the surface of the papyrus. The ink is black. The text runs parallel to the fibres. The top margin fluctuates between 1.4 and 1.8 cm., while the left-hand one measures about 8 mm. The papyrus is enclosed in a frame and therefore it is impracticable to examine the ↓ side.

The handwriting is a neat, elaborate, professional cursive, with a slight inclination to the right. It belongs to the characteristic type developed in the Herakleopolite nome from the fourth until the seventh century AD.¹ It can be assigned to the fourth century AD, although the

¹ Cf. Harrauer-Rom, *ZPE* 54(1984), 95-96 and pl. IIa; *P.Rain. Unterricht*, introd., pp. 10-11; *CPR* XIV 35, introd., p. 76.

evidence on this particular type of script dating from that century is poor: cf. *PRain.Cent.* 86 and 87 (both AD 381, pl. 86); *CPR* X 107a (AD 396, pl. 44); *SPP* X 221; XX 105 (both IV/AD). The spelling is correct, except for *ινδκτιώνος* in l. 17 (l. *ινδκτιώνος*) and an iotacism in l. 22 (*ἐν τέλῃ* instead of *ἐν τέλει*, cf. Gignac, *Grammar*, I, pp. 189-90).

Aurelia Sia rents a room on the second floor of a house, belonging to the heirs of Dioskoros son of Dimalos, with the right to use all its appurtenances. The duration of the lease is annual and the rent amounts to 750 myriads of *denarii*, due in a single payment at the end of the year.² Very few house leases from Byzantine Herakleopolites have been published until now; *BGU* III 940 (AD 398) is contemporary with the present papyrus. The following texts should be added to the lists already compiled:³ *CPR* VI.2 79 (V/AD) from Nilopolis;⁴ *CPR* XIV 12 (AD 450); P.Vindob. G. 10869a+21090+21093+21190+28643 (= P.J. Sijpesteijn, «Miete eines Hofes und einer Scheune mit Zubehör», *CdÉ* 68, 1993, 160-67, and «Ein Addendum zu *CdÉ* 68, 1993, 160ff.», *CdÉ* 71, 1996, 120-21, AD 481); *SB* XX 15008 (AD 578, = Kramer, *ZPE* 77, 1989, 211-15). In *BGU* III 940, *CPR* XIV 12 and P.Vindob. G. 10869a+21090+21093+21190+28643 the duration of the lease is annual too.

² On the duration of building leases and the ways rent was paid see Müller, *MG*, pp. 178-95, 218-20 and 224.

³ B. Kramer, «*PFior.* I 15 + *PPrag.* I 39, Miete zweier Zimmer», *ZPE* 77(1989), 211 fn. 4; G. Fantoni, *CPR* XIV 12, introd., p. 51 (cf. C. Salvaerra, *Aegyptus* 71, 1991, 294).

⁴ Also mentioned by Worp, *Tyche* 3(1988), 273 fn. 2, in his supplementary list of Byzantine house leases (referring to Müller, *MG*, pp. 350-61). Concerning the location of Nilopolis in the Herakleopolite nome see G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 54(1974), 58-60; D. Bonneau, «Nilopolis du Fayoum», *Actes XV Congr./IV*, p. 259.

The contract is valid from *Θωθ* 1 of the current (*ταγούσης*, 2,16) 13th indiction. The dating clause, which would have stood at the foot of the original document, has been lost. But the month *Θωθ*, styled as *εἰσιών* (2,15), implies that the contract was written in the preceding month, i.e. in *Μεσογή* or on one of the *ἐταγόμενα*, as the vast majority of parallel cases indicates.⁵ It is, however, remarkable that the indiction year is considered to have already begun before *Θωθ* 1, although other sources prove that from about the late fourth century AD the Herakleopolite scribes followed the chronological habits of the Oxyrhynchite nome. In that nome the indiction year began on *Παχών* 1 for fiscal purposes, but on *Θωθ* 1 for dating purposes; occasionally, the scribes made use of the formula *ινδ. x, ἀρχὴ x+1* for the period *Ἐτειρ* 1 to *Θωθ* 1.⁶ Nevertheless, cf. *P.Yale* I 71, a house lease from Oxyrhynchus, dated (ll. 1-2) on the 5th of *ἐταγόμενα* AD 456 (= 9th indiction), and valid *ἀπὸ νεμηνίας* | τοῦ *Θωθ* μηνός ... *τῆς ταγούσης δεκάτης* | *ινδκτιώνος* (ll. 6-8);⁷ also *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203,2 [*Ἐτειρ*]; 9-12 *ἀπὸ νεμηνίας* | τοῦ *ἐξῆς μηνός Μεσογῆ* ... | ... *ἀρχὴ τῇ* | *τεσσαρεκαίδεκάτης* | *ινδκτιώνος* (instead of the 13th indiction, AD 400); *P.Lond.* V 1797,1-2 *Ἐτειρ. ιη* | *ινδκτιώνος ι*; 10-11 *ἀπὸ νεμηνίας τοῦ Θωθ μηνός* | | *ις τῆς ταγούσης δεκάτης ινδκτιώνος* (Oxyrhynchite nome, 12.7 AD 516 = 9th indiction, cf. Bagnall-Worp,

⁵ Only in *P.Stras.* VI 580 (4.12 AD 553, *BL* VIII, p. 424) the date is *Χοῖκ η* (l. 3) and the forthcoming month *Φαγεωθ* is styled as *εἰσιών* (l. 9).

⁶ See Bagnall-Worp, *CSBE*, pp. 26-27 and 68; idem, *BASP* 16(1979), 239-43. On the different local habits concerning the beginning of the indiction year cf. Bagnall-Worp, *CSBE*, pp. 17-29 and 67-68; idem, *BASP* 16(1979), 239-44.

⁷ Cf. Bagnall-Worp, *CSBE*, p. 26 fn. 19.

BASP 16, 1979, 246-47, and BL VII, p. 92); SB XIV 11618,4-5 τῆς ἰ παρούσης ἐνδεκάτης ἡδ(ικιώνος); 8-9 μὴ(νός) Μεσοῇ κῆ ἡδ(ικιώνος) δεκάτης ἰ ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) ἐνδεκάτης (Oxyrhynchite nome, late VI-early VII/AD). Alternatively, we could suppose that the scribe used εἰσιόντος instead of ὄντος by mistake, as in *P.Sakaon* 61 (AD 299), where the current month Παιῶν is styled as εἰσιῶν (ll. 22-23 and 29); this assumption is indirectly supported by the misuse of πρότερος in l. 5 and σοι in l. 21.

Presumably the present document, assignable to the second half of the fourth century AD due to the reckoning by myriads, can be dated more precisely, if the amount of rent is correlated to the inflation in bronze currency during that century (see 2,19-20 n. s.v. ἀργυρίου μυριάδων). Since in AD 398 a room in Herakleopolis is rented at 1800 myriads of *denarii* annually (*BGU* III 940,11-12,19-21), the present papyrus, which comes from a village of the same nome and displays the same object being rented at 750 myriads of *denarii*, is probably older. In AD 360 a room in Oxyrhynchos is rented at 800 talents (= 120 myriads of *denarii*⁸) annually (*PSI* V 467,6;8,11-13), while in AD 377 a room in Hermopolis is rented at 2500 talents (= 375 myriads of *denarii*) annually (*PLips.* 17,15;18-19).⁹ In fact, with the reservation that the size of the room taken on lease is unknown to us, and that the rate of rent could vary from place to place, it is not unlikely that 2 was written in Μεσοῇ or

⁸ 1 *denarius* = 4 drachmas, 1 talent = 6000 drachmas: see Bagnall, *Currency*, pp. 11 and 16-17.

⁹ See the list by Müller, *MG*, pp. 350-53, amended by Worp, *Tyche* 3(1988), 273-75. Cf. Johnson-West, *BE*, esp. pp. 200-203; Bagnall-Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24(1977), 116-19; Bagnall, *Currency*, pp. 70-71.

ἐπινόμενα (or Θώθη?) of AD 384, since AD 384/85 is the only 13th indiction between AD 377 and 398.

The present contract displays the (very popular in the Byzantine period) χειρόγραφον-type, viz. the form of a private document, introduced by the prescript ὁ δειῶν τῷ δειῶν (χαῖεν), and phrased subjectively (here from the viewpoint of the lessee).¹⁰ The notary act through a private state-controlled tabellion, established by Diocletian, was principally based on χειρόγραφοι,¹¹ having borrowed some elements from ὑπόμνημα¹² and ὁμολογία.¹³

→

Αὐτοῖα Σία θυγάτηρ [Α]φούτος
μητροῦς Ταῦτος ἀπὸ κώμης Κανῆς
υἱ/πάρχου τοῦ Ἡγεμειστοπλίτου νομ[ι]οῦ
κλήρονόμοις Διοσκόρου Δημόλου
5 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίεν).
Μειώθωμαι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῶ(ν)
ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς
ἀν[ι]ὰ [μ]έ[τ]ρ[ο]ν μ[έ]τ[ρ]οι τῆς αὐτῆς

¹⁰ Cf. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 43; Müller, *MG*, pp. 29-30. On the omission of χαίεν see Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 44; Müller, *MG*, p. 30.

¹¹ Cf. *MGr.*, pp. 87ff.; E. Seidl, «Συμβολαιογράφος», *RE* 4A/1(1931), col. 1083; E. Sachers, «Tabellion», *RE* 4A/2(1932), cols 1854ff.; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 45-46 and 53-54; Müller, *MG*, pp. 32ff.

¹² On ὑπόμνημα (introduction: τῷ δειῶν παρὰ τοῦ δειῶτος or τῷ δειῶ ὁ δειῶ) see Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 39-43; Müller, *MG*, pp. 50-76.

¹³ The ὁμολογία and the simple protocol are the two kinds of private protocol (objective formulation): cf. *MGr.*, p. 74; A.B. Schwarz, *Homologie und Protokoll*, Festschrift für Ernst Zitelmann, München 1913, pp. 3ff. (= *JJP* 13, 1961, 177ff.); H. Freiherr von Soden, *Untersuchungen zur Homologie in den griechischen Papyri Aegyptens bis Diocletian*, Köln 1973, p. 3; Müller, *MG*, pp. 76-79.

[κόμης Καινῆς] ἀπὸ οἰκ[η]τῆς καὶ
 10. τῶν χρηστηρίων πάλ[ιν] των ἐν τῇ
 δευ[τέρῃ] στέγῃ κέλλαν μίαν [ἀνε-
 φ]ημένην εἰς λίδα καὶ τὴν χρῆται(ν)
 τῶν χρηστηρίων πάντων τῆς
 οἰκίας ἐπὶ χρόνον ἑαυτὸν ἔνα,
 15 ἀπὸ νεομηνίας τοῦ εἰσιόντος
 μηνὸς Θωθ τῆς παρούσης ιγ//
 ἰνδικτιῶνος, ἐνοικίου τοῦ συμπε-
 φωνημένου πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 τοῦ ὅλου ἑαυτοῦ ἀργυρίου μυριά-
 20 δων ἑτακοσίων πενήκοντα,
 γά(νονται) (δηναρῖαν) (μυριάδες) ψν, ἅσπερ
 ἀποδόσω σοι
 ἐν τέλει τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνυπερθέτους.
 Ἡ μίσθωσις κυρ[η] α] κ[η] αἰ] εἰ[ρη] (ωτηθεῖσα)]
 ὠμολόγηται.

5 χ pap 6 τῶ pap. 9 perhaps [πρό]εως] 12 χρησ[τ] pap. 17
 ἰνδικτιῶνος pap., l. ἰνδικτιῶνος 21 π * ρ pap., l. ὑμῖν 22 l.
 τέλει 23 ὠμολογῶν pap.

Aurelia Sia daughter of Afous and Tauris, from the village Kaine in the 13th pagus of the Herakleopolite nome, to the heirs of Dioskoros son of Dimallos from the same town, greetings. I have leased from you, part of a house and all its appurtenances, being your property in the middle of the same village Kaine, namely a room on the second floor facing west and the right to use all the appurtenances of the house for one year, from the 1st of the next month Thoth of the current 13th indiction, the rent having been agreed between us for the whole year at 750 myriads of silver coinage, total 750 myriads of denarii, which I shall give to you at the end of the year

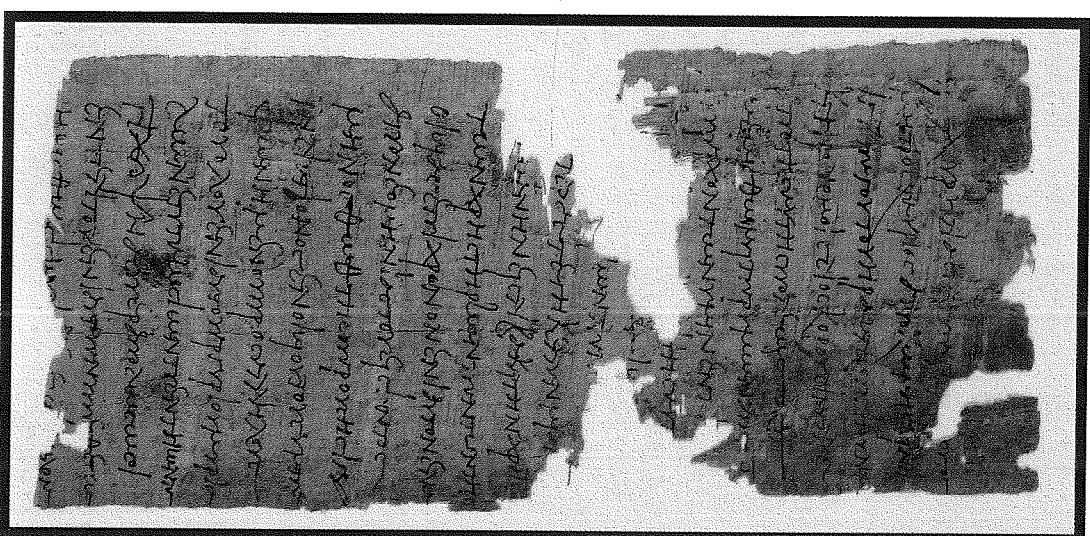


Plate 2

P. Ben. Mus. 2: Lease of a room.

P. Ben. Mus. 2: Μίσθωσις δωματίου.

without delay. The lease is valid and in reply to the formal question I have given my consent.

1. *Σία*: The proper name *Σία* is attested here for the first time beyond doubt, because in *P.Ross.Georg.* V 60,5 (AD 390-400) *Σία θυγατρῶν*, and especially in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2027,89 (VI/AD) *πατρῶν Σία*, the oblique cases of the name *Σίας* probably occur.¹⁴ More evidence is available for the Coptic names *Taōia* and *Toia*, formed by prefixing to *Σία* the possessive pronoun in pre-nominal form and the definite article respectively;¹⁵ on *Taōia* cf. *SB* I 5124,435 (AD 193, *BL* V, p. 94); 5970,1 (ND); on *Toia* cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67153,4 (AD 568); *P.Mitch.* I 1,3,29,55 (AD 574); *P.Lond.* V 1727,4;62 (AD 583/84).

θυγάτηρ: The use of the words *νίος* and *θυγάτηρ* in apposition to a proper name is frequent from the sixth century AD onwards: cf. *P.Wisc.* I 8,4-5 (AD 561); *P.Flor.* I 15,4-5 (AD 563); *P.Oxy.* VII 1038,14-15 (AD 568); occasionally, the same phenomenon occurs at earlier times too: cf. *P.Oxy.* I 95,6-7 (AD 129); 102,3 (AD 306); *XXIV* 2421,1;36 (early IV/AD); *BGU* II 405,4 (AD 348).¹⁶

[*Α*]φοῦτος: The last letter in the gap can only be *φ*, as proved by the vertical stroke extending both upwards and downwards (cf. *συμπειρωνηένου*, l. 18). *Υ*, which presents the same feature, would stretch over the following letter

¹⁴ About the name *Σία* (= 'cedar') in Coptic texts see Heuser, *PK*, pp. 29, 44 and 72.

¹⁵ Cf. R. Kasser, «Démonstratifs et possessifs en copte», *BIFAO* 94(1994), 287-301; also Heuser, *PK*, p. 30; Crum, p. 13b and s.v. *IIA*; Th.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic*, Mercer Univ. Press 1983, pp. 2 and 92; P. Swiggers, «The 'possessive relation-marker' in Coptic», *Enchoria* 12(1984), 191-92.

¹⁶ Cf. C.W.E. Miller, «Note on the use of the article before the genitive of the father's name in Greek papyri», *AMPh* 37(1916), 345-46; also 7,2.

it is interesting to note that *Δυμάλη* was the name of a city in Illyria mentioned by Polybios (III 18.1,3,3,4; VII 9,14,1) and Titus Livius (XXIX 12.3,3,13,2 *Dinnallum*);²³ cf. also IG VII 282,2-3 (Oropos, mid III/BC) *Πάτριον Ἐπὶ κώδου Δυμαλίτην*.²⁴

P.Petaus 101,62, *Προκίμας Σουλίτης Τρύμαλος*, and many parallel instances from the same archive indicate that *Δύμαλος* was originally a nickname.²⁵ The adjective *δύμαλος* is attributed by Eustathios of Thessalonica (*Comm. ad Homerī Iliadem* III 1057,4-11) to *ἀμφίτρατοι*, viz. to carpets woolly or shaggy on both sides (*ἀμφύμαλοι*).²⁶ A second (and unique in papyri so far) attestation of the word *δύμαλος* (this time as a noun) is furnished by *P.Mert.* I 41,10-12 (cAD 406),²⁷ where Theon the *ταππηγάριος* is paid *ὑπὲρ τῆς δύμαλων ζυγ(οῦ) α*. It is obvious that here too *ἀμφίτρατοι* are meant, and that they were manufactured in Egypt, like the ones mentioned in the Septuagint (*Prov.* 7,16): *κερίαις τέταρα τὴν*

²³ Cf. Pape-Benseler, I, s.v. *Δυμάλη*.

²⁴ Cf. F.R. Adrados *et al.*, *Diccionario Griego-Español*, V, Madrid 1997, s.v. *Δυμαλίτης*; Similarly, *Ἀμφύμαλον* or *Ἀμφύμα(λ)α* was the name of a city in Crete, derived *ἀπὸ Ἀμφυμάου*: see Steph. Byz., 90,9-11; sim. Strab., X 4,3; Plin., N.H. IV 59; Pape - Benseler, I, s.vv. *Ἀμφύμαλα* and *Ἀμφύμαλος*.

²⁵ See *P.Petaus* introd., pp. 54-63. On nicknames in antiquity cf. also A. Cameron, «Black and White: A note on Ancient Nicknames», *AJP* 119(1998), 113-17.

²⁶ Cf. Poll. *Onom.*, VI 9; Suda, α 1774; Zonar. *Lex.*, I, col. 145, s.v. *ἀμφιράτρες*; Sophocles and *LSJ* s.vv. *ἀμφύμαλος*, *ἀμφιράτρες*, *ἀμφίτρατος* and *ἀμφίτρατος*.

²⁷ Cf. *P.Mert.* I 41,10 n. The word *δύμαλος* is also known from the Latin-Greek glossaria: see G. Loewe - G. Goetz - F. Schoell, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, Lipsiae 1888-1924, II (G. Goetz - G. Gundermann, *Glossae latino-graecae et graeco-latinae. Accedunt minora utriusque linguae glossaria*, Lipsiae 1888), p. 29, s.v. *bitiles*.

κλίμην μου, ἀμφιράτρες δὲ ἑσπερα τοῖς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου.²⁸ In the above passage, Eustathios (cf. *ibid.*, II 746,39-40) also mentions the adjectives *δύμαλοι* (= 'without wool' or 'napless') and *ἐσπεράμαλοι* (= 'woolly or shaggy on one side') with reference to the respective kinds of carpets, and in contrast to *ἀμφύμαλοι*,²⁹ while in papyri we come across the terms *μονόμαλος* (*P.Dura* 33,2,3; AD 240-250; *P.Oxy.* I 109,2, late III/ or IV/AD, translated by Grenfell and Hunt as 'garment of pure wool', p. 176, but perhaps due to be considered a synonym of *ἐσπεράμαλος*, in the manner of the pair *ἀμφύμαλος* - *δύμαλος*) and *ψυχόμαλλον* (*SPP* XX 245,15, VI/AD, see *BL* IX, p. 349; sim. J.M. Diethart, *ZPE* 76, 1989, 113, on the numerous compounds in *-μαλος*); in addition, garments such as tunics could also be *ἀμφύμαλοι*: cf. Ael., *Var. Hist.* III 40. From the technical point of view, carpets or garments styled as *ἀμφύμαλοι* (*δύμαλοι*) were in all probability *ἀμφύτροι* (*δύτροι*).³⁰ On the ligature *ου* in *Δυμάλου* cf. *P.Abbin.* 9 (= *P.Lond.* II 231, cAD 346), 13 (*Τεγενοῦθει*) and 14 (*δοῦλει*).

²⁸ On *ἀμφιράτρες* cf. also *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59484, III/BC; Athen., *Deipn.* V 197a,7-b,2; sim. Poll. *Onom.*, X 38 *ἀμφιράτρες*; Eus. Caes., *Comm. in Psal.* IV, PG XXIII, 113A,1-3 *τυλοράτρες*; perhaps *Const.Stud.* XXXVIII, PG XCIX, 1720B,7-8 *μαλαιοτάκια* (all related to *κλίμη* or *κλίμη*).

²⁹ Cf. Sophocles and *LSJ* s.vv., and *LSJ* s.v. *ἐσπεράμαλῆς*.

³⁰ With double woof or of double thread, *LSJ* s.vv. *ἀμφύτρος* and *δύτρος* respectively; cf. Poll. *Onom.*, VII 57; X 38; Hesych., α 406; Phot. *Lex.*, α 1349 (ed. Theodoridis); Κοττωνίδης, *BBIL*, 5, pp. 272-73, 273 fns 3 and 5, 282-86 (esp. 285-86). On *πολύτρα* and especially *τρίτρα* cf. E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine*, Archiwum Filologiczne IX, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1965, pp. 112-13; cf. also R. Pintaudi - P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Registrazione di vesti con valori e percentuali (*PFlor.* III 382 recto)", *Analecta Papyrologica* 8-9(1996-97), 179-95, *passim*, on the terms *δύμακος* and *τετράμακος* (especially p. 192).

5 *πόλεις*: Villages styled as *πόλεις* occur already in the Ptolemaic period: cf. *PSI* IV 341,3; 402,5 (both III/BC). Apart from this, the word *πόλεις* was the second component of the names of several villages, mainly in the Arsinoite nome. In all such cases it was devoid of any legal sense.³¹

χ(α)ίεν): On the abbreviation *χ* cf. *BGU* II 405,6 (AD 348, = Schubart, *P.Gr.Berol.* 38b); *P.Lond.* III 871,10 (p. 269, AD 603); Hermann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 48.

6-9 *ἀπὸ τῶ(ν) / ἐπαρχόντων ὑμῖν ... ἀπὸ οὐκ[η]λ[α]ς*: Cf. *P.Genova* I 22,8-12 (AD 345); *P.Lips.* 17,13-14 (AD 377); *PSI* III 175,11-12 (AD 462); *P.Wisc.* I 8,15-17 (AD 561); *P.Oxy.* VII 1038,19-21 (AD 568); *SB* VI 9153,16-18 (with the variant *ἀπὸ τῶν διαφερόντων*, AD 596).³² On *ν* abbreviated with a horizontal stroke over the preceding letter(s) cf. 2,12 *χοῖνα(ν)*; Turner, *GMW*, No. 63,5 *ἄ(ν)*; 6 *οὔ(ν)* (early III/AD); *P.Neph.* 1,6-7 n. (IV/AD); Blanchard, *Sigles*, p. 7. In *ἀπὸ* (l. 9) the left-hand vertical stroke of *π* has been effaced, while *ο* is comparable to the tiny one ligatured to the preceding *π* in *Ἡγε-κλειπόλῃτου* (l. 3; on the size of *ο* cf. also *πεντηκοντα*, l. 20; *ἐναυτοῦ*, l. 22). The complete loss of the second *ι* in the word *οὐκ[η]λ[α]ς* (l. 9) is due to the fact that *iota* ligatured to a preceding *ε*, *α*, *κ* or *μ* is prolonged downwards and not upwards: cf. *εἰσιόντος* (l. 15), *μεμεισθόμηναι* (l. 6), *ὑμῖν* (l. 7), *μῖαν* (l. 11), *καί* (l. 12), *οὐκίας* (l. 14), *ἐνομήσιον* (l. 17).

7-8 *ἐν τοῖς / ἀ[ν]ή[ρ]α[ν] [μ]ε[λ]ε[σ]ιν*: The only rem-

³¹ Cf. *WB* s.v. *πόλις*; P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, Lille 1911 (reprint Paris 1968, B.E.F.A.R. 104), pp. 49 fn. 1, and 207.

³² Cf. Müller, *MG*, pp. 143 with fn. 4, 158-59 with fn. 4.

nant of the fifth letter of l. 8, viz. a curve inclined to the right, is placed high enough to exclude any other letter than *ε*. The following gap is responsible for the loss of 7 or 8 letters; however, in about the middle part of the gap there is the trace of a letter extending upwards. The supplement is confirmed by *P.Oxy.* IX 1200,18-19 (AD 270, cf. *BL* II.2, p. 99) *ἐν τοῖς ἀνὰ μέσσοις μέγεθαι τῆς κώμης*.

8-9 *τῆς ἀντήλης / κώμης Καννῆς*: Cf. *P.Freib.* II 11,15-16 (AD 336); *P.Kell.* I 42,7 (AD 364).

9-10 *καὶ / τῶν χρηστηρίων πάλτων*: Cf. *SB* VIII 9878,17-18 (AD 259); *P.Oxy.Hels.* 44,6-8;10 (AD 322-324); *P.Mich.* XI 612,12-14 (AD 514); cf. also the variant *ὄν χρηστηρίους πᾶσι*. *SB* VIII 9931,11 (AD 330); IV 7445,13 (AD 382). The term *χρηστήρια* designates the entire domestic equipment and the appurtenances used by all the residents: cf. *SB* VI 8988,61-63 (AD 647) *καὶ χρηστηρίων ἥτοι παντοίων κοινωνημάτων τῶν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπόδος οὐκίας*.³³

10-11 *ἐν τῇ / δευτέρᾳ στέγῃ*: On the supplement cf. *P.Kell.* I 13,4 (AD 335); *P.Flor.* I 15,16 (AD 563); *CPR* VIII 69,7 (VI-VII/AD); sim. *P.Lips.* 17,14-15 (AD 377) *ἐν / τῇ ἄνω στέγῃ*. In *BGU* III 940,11 (AD 398) *ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ στέγῃ* should probably be read instead of *... εἰς ...* (the original has been destroyed by fire). By *πρώτη στέγη* the ground-floor was meant.³⁴ The ligature *εθ* in *[δευ]τέρᾳ*

³³ Cf. Husson, *OIKIA*, pp. 291-93; Müller, *MG*, pp. 160 with fns 3 and 4, 162ff.

³⁴ Cf. N. Lewis, «*Ἡ Πρώτη Στέγη* in Houses of Several Stories», *The Classical Weekly* 26(1933), 171-72; Husson, *OIKIA*, pp. 257-258 and 259-63; Müller, *MG*, pp. 144 and 157-58.

(l. 11) is similar to the 'ace of spades' of Byzantine manuscripts.³⁵

11 *κέλλαν μίαν*: The term *κέλλα* (<lat. *cella*)³⁶ usually designates a small room inside or outside the main house (cf. *P.Giss.* 52,6-7, AD 397, *κέλλα* over the gate), or a small building standing apart from the house itself.³⁷ From the second century AD onwards, it seems to have replaced the term *τοικεῖον* (= 'warehouse'), meaning either 'warehouse'/'workshop', or 'living place', or both.³⁸ Here the payment of the rent in money implies that Aurelia Sia will live in the *κέλλα* taken on lease.³⁹ On *κέλλα* as a dwelling cf. *P.Mich.* XI 620,12-117 *passim* (AD 239/240); *P.Giss.* 52,6;8-9;13 (AD 397).⁴⁰

³⁵ Cf. Hartrauer-Rom, *ZPE* 54(1984), 95, and 6,1 n. s.v. *ἀγρίδ<α>*.

³⁶ For a general survey of the appearances of the word *κέλλα* and its derivatives through time see Daris, *LL*, pp. 51-52; Husson, *OIKIA*, pp. 136 and 142; a supplement is available in T. Gagos - P. van Minnen, «Documenting the rural economy of Byzantine Egypt. Three papyri from Alabastine», *JRA* 5(1992), 202 n. s.v. *κέλλαν*.

³⁷ Cf. Husson, *OIKIA*, pp. 136-37; Müller, *MG*, p. 156 fn. 7; *P.Neph.* 48,10 n. The excavations made by the Michigan University in Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos have contributed a lot to our knowledge of the design of the Egyptian house: cf. H. Maehler, «Häuser und ihre Bewohner im Fayûm in der Kaiserzeit», *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions* 26-30. September 1978 in Trier, Aegypt.Trev. 2, Mainz 1983, pp. 119-37.

³⁸ Cf. Husson, *OIKIA*, pp. 137-38 and 141-42; *P.Neph.* 48,10 n.

³⁹ Cf. *P.Kell.* I 32, p. 95.

⁴⁰ Cf. Husson, *OIKIA*, pp. 138-41. On the derivatives of the word *κέλλα* see Husson, *OIKIA*, pp. 142-47. On *κέλλα* as an object of lease and the relevant terms see also Müller, *MG*, pp. 153 and 156. On the survival of *κέλλα* and its derivatives throughout the Byzantine period see Κουκουλές, *BBI*, Δ', pp. 252 and 265; Σ', pp. 77, 89 and 458; Ξμμ. Κεραός, *Λεξιὸν τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἐλληνικῆς δηλωδὸς νοηματείας* 1100-1669, Θεσσαλονίκη 1968-, Η' (Θεσσαλονίκη 1982), pp. 132-33.

11-12 [*ἀνε/ω/γμένην εἰς λίδαν*]. The meaning is that the room had a window facing west.⁴¹ On the supplement cf. *BGU* III 940,12 (AD 398); *PSI* IX 1058,4 (V-VI/AD); *SB* VI 9153,17-18 (AD 596); *P.Ross.Georg.* V 43,3 (VII/AD).

12-13 *τὴν χοῦν(ν) / τῶν χορηγιῶν πέντων*: Cf. *BGU* III 940,13-14 (AD 398); sim. *PSI* VI 707,10-12 (AD 351); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67302,12-13 (AD 555).⁴² On the combination of the terms *χοῦν* and *οἰκὸς* in house leases cf. *PLips.* 17,17 (AD 377); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67302,13-14 (AD 555). Similar to the term *χοῦν* is the term *νομή*: cf. *PSI* VI 709,24 (AD 566); *P.Oxy.* VII 1038,32 (AD 568).

15-16 *ἀπὸ νομηνίας τοῦ εἰσιόντος / μηνὸς Θωθ*: Most house leases begin on *Θωθ* 1 or *Φαμενῶθ* 1: cf. *P.Mich.* XI 612,8 n.; *CPR* VIII 69, p. 181. The contract is often valid from the next month (with or without *εἰσιών*): cf. *P.Bad.* IV 91,14 (*Φαμενῶθ 2η*); 19-20 (*Φαμενῶθ α*) (AD 471); *P.Oxy.* VII 1038,6 (*Μεσογῆ 6, ἐνδ. α*); 17-19 (*Θωθ α, ἐνδ. 6*) (AD 568); *P.Erl.* 73,8 (*Φαμενῶθ γ*); 27-28 (*Πλαγών α*) (AD 604, Herakleopolis). Sometimes, the lease is valid retrospectively: cf. *PSI* V 466,8 (AD 518) *ἀπὸ νομηνίας τοῦ παγελθόντος μηνὸς Θωθ*. When the starting date of the lease is not specified, *νομηνία* is meant.⁴³

17-18 *ἐνοικίου τοῦ συμμε/φανημένου πρὸς ἀλλήλους*:

⁴¹ Cf. *WB* s.v. *ἀνε/ω/γνυμ*.

⁴² See Müller, *MG*, p. 162, on the term *χοῦν* as a right of usufruct see *MGr.*, p. 96; Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, p. 184.

⁴³ Cf. Müller, *MG*, pp. 178-86. On the variants *νομηνία*, *νομηνία* and *νομηνία* cf. Gignac, *Grammar*, I, pp. 300-301; Horsley, *New Docs* 1978, pp. 76-77.

cf. *P.Rein.* I 43,11 (AD 102); *PLond.* V 1715,10 (VI AD).

19 τοῦ ὅλου ἐναυτοῦ: Cf. *P.Kell.* I 32,13 (AD 364); *CPR* XIV 12,19 (AD 450).

19-20 ἀγρυγίου μυριάδων: Accounts in myriads for sums exceeding 10,000 *denarii* are multiplied after AD 360. They demonstrate the inflation in bronze currency from the mid fourth century AD onwards, which resulted in sudden and abrupt increases in the prices of commodities, each increase reflecting a debasement of bronze currency, viz. the minting of new coinage with lower contents in precious metals.⁴⁴

21 (δηνάριον): The symbol * represents the word δηνάριον (<lat. *denarius*).⁴⁵ In Roman Egypt the *denarius* was employed only as the official monetary unit and was never put into circulation.⁴⁶ The term δηνάριον was introduced into the Egyptian vocabulary in the fourth century AD, to denote the new bronze coins of that time. The conservative Egyptians were hardly influenced by the monetary terminology established in the rest of the empire through the financial reforms of Diocletian.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Cf. West-Johnson, *Currency*, pp. 124, 157ff., 167ff.; Bagnall-Slippedstijn, *ZPE* 24(1977), 116-19 and 119-20; J.-M. Carrié, «Papyrologica numismatica (I)», *Aegyptus* 64(1984), 203-27, esp. 214ff.; Bagnall, *Currency*, pp. 12, 43-48, 49-55 and 61-72.

⁴⁵ Cf. Blanchard, *Sigles*, p. 9; Daris, *LL*, p. 40.

⁴⁶ Cf. West-Johnson, *Currency*, p. 72; Christiansen, *ZPE* 54(1984), 271-99, esp. 280.

⁴⁷ Cf. Müller, *MG*, p. 221; West-Johnson, *Currency*, pp. 65, 122ff., 134 and 170; Bagnall, *Currency*, pp. 19-25, esp. p. 25. On Diocletian's monetary policy see also S. Bölin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 AD*, Stockholm 1958, pp. 291-333.

ψν: On this type of ν see 3 introd.

ὅστερ ἀποδόσω σοι: The interchange of singular and plural is frequent in the language of this period, especially in Byzantine letters (see 5,22-35 n.); it occurs in contracts too: cf. *P.Oxy.* VII 1038 (house lease, AD 568), 19-20 τῇ / ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(όντη), 31 ὅπῳταν δουλήεις; 32 τὴν ἐμὴν <ν>ομήν τοῦ τόπου; 35 στοιχεῖ ἡμῶν ἢ παροῦσα μισθ(ώσις).

23 Ἡ μίσθωσις κατ[α] κ[α]τ[α] εἰ[πε]λ(ωτηθεῖσα) ἀποδό(ησα): Cf. *BGU* II 405,17-18 (AD 348); III 940,22-23 (AD 398); *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203,24 (AD 400). On the *κατά*-clause see Müller, *MG*, pp. 41-44. On the legal clause *interrogatus spopondi* cf. L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreiches*, Leipzig 1891, pp. 196ff., 486; *MGr.*, p. 76 with fn. 1; D. Simon, *Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel*, München 1964, pp. 63ff., 88ff.; M. Kaser, *Das Römische Privatrecht*, I, München 1971, pp. 538ff., II, München 1975, pp. 326, 376, 377ff.; Müller, *MG*, pp. 44-46. On question and answer as legal terms and procedures in the Roman courts see H.-D. Spengler, *Studien zur interrogatio in iure*, Münch.Beitr. 85, München 1994, pp. 35ff., 44ff., 136ff., and *passim*. In ἀποδό(ησα) the tiny ο is ligatured to the following λ (and presumably to the preceding μ) exactly as it is joined to κ and ν in πεντήκοντα (2,20).

In the present papyrus, as well as in most of the other contemporary house leases from the Herakleopolite nome (*BGU* III 940, AD 398; *CPR* XIV 12, AD 450; *CPR* VI2 79, V/AD, mutilated at the bottom), the consular date⁴⁸ was placed at the end together with the signature

⁴⁸ Cf. Bagnall-Worp, *CSBE*, pp. 50-54.

of Aurelia Sia, contrary to the usual custom.⁴⁹ If the lessee were illiterate, the signature of the person who wrote *ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γεγραμμένα μὴ εἰδούσης* would follow.⁵⁰ Finally, if the contract were a private notary act, it would be concluded with the tabellion's signature (*completio*: *δὲ ἐμοῦ δέσινος ἐγγράφῃ*):⁵¹ cf. *BGU* II 405, 18-24 (AD 348); *MChr.* 363, 24-28 (AD 381); *BGU* III 940, 24-29 (AD 398); *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203, 25-28 (AD 400); *CPR* XIV 12, 22-29 (AD 450); Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 43, 44, 47-48 and 51-52; Müller, *MG*, p. 35.

⁴⁹ Cf. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 44; *P.Vind.Sip.* 9, p. 45; *CPR* VI.2 79, p. 135. The same peculiarity occurs in *P.Vind.Sip.* 9, lease of land from Herakleopolis dating from the fifth century AD, as well as in texts of different provenance: cf. the house leases *P.Kell.* I 32 (AD 364) and 33 (AD 369).

⁵⁰ On illiteracy in papyri cf. H.C. Youie, «Υπογραφεὺς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt», and «Because They Do Not Know Letters», *Scriptunculae Posteriores*, I, Bonn 1981, pp. 179-99 and 255ff. respectively. For further literature see *P.Athen.Xyla* 17, 15 n.

⁵¹ Cf. *MGr.*, pp. 88-89; V. Gardthausen, «Di' emu der ägyptischen Notare», *SPP* XVII, Wien 1917, pp. 1-8; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1881, 24 n.; E. Seidl, «Συμβόλαιον ἐγγράφου», *RE* 4A/1(1931), cols 1083-85; E. Sachert, «Tabellion», *RE* 4A/2(1932), cols 1856-58; Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 53-54; Müller, *MG*, p. 37; Diethart - Worp, *Byz. Not.*, *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3933, 40 n.

3. LIST OF SOLDIERS

Inv. No. 613 28.5(H)x14.2(B)cm. 1st half of V/AD
Hermopolis Magna Plate 3

A light-brown papyrus, smudged here and there, originally rectangular in shape, but now irregular due to extensive damage at the top and at the upper right-hand corner, which has resulted in the mutilation of the first two lines. Many holes are visible on its surface, mainly on the blank right-hand part. At the bottom the papyrus is nearly intact, while at the left it is slightly damaged, apparently except for the part defined by ll. 18 and 22. At least one vertical fold is visible at a distance of 4 to 5 cm. from the left-hand border. The writing runs parallel to the fibres. The ink is black. The papyrus is enclosed in a frame. Consequently, it is impracticable to examine the ↓ side.

The text consists of a mutilated heading and one column of proper names not classified in alphabetical order.¹ From l. 11 onwards, the beginning of each line is slightly indented below the previous one. On the left of ll. 4 and 5, at a distance of 1.5 cm., the endings of two words are visible, while in l. 23, 5 mm. to the left of the

¹ Cf. *P.Hamb.* III 224 (II-III/AD). The opposite happens e.g. in *SB* XII 11000 (I-II/AD); *XVI* 12403 (VII/AD); cf. Rom - Harrauer, *CdÉ* 57(1982), 306; *CPR* XIV 35 (V/AD) introd., pp. 76-77.