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Census Return of Herakleides, Son of Didymos the Younger

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Census Return of Herakleides Son of Didymos the Younger*

ALTHOUGH the *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή* is a type of document well represented among the papyri of Roman Egypt (1), the present text has a number of features which seem now to warrant treatment fuller than that allotted in its description at the back of *P. Teb.* Vol. II. The only extant return originating from the Fayum village Ibiou Eikosipentarouron, it is submitted *in absentia* through a curator (*φροντιστής*, line 8 and note), registering one-half share of a house *ἐν ᾧ οὐδεις ἀπογράφεται* (2). Even greater interest in the papyrus is attracted by the person for whom the return has been made, Herakleides, son of Didymos the younger, grandson of Herodes, a figure well attested in Tebtunis papyri of the second century. The pertinent texts are:

1. *P. Mil. Vogl.* IV 224 (7 Dec., A. D. 109). Herakleides lends 236 drachmas to Kronion son of Cheos, Kronion's wife Thenapynchis, and their children, Kronion and Taorsenouphis.

2. *P. Mil. Vogl.* IV 225 (26 May/24 June, A. D. 120 (3)). Repayment of the preceding. Herakleides is described (lines 3-5) as:

(*) The papyrus belongs to the University of California at Berkeley and is in care of the Rare Books Department of the Bancroft Library. I am grateful to Mrs. Leslie Clarke and her staff for the opportunity to study and publish this text. My thanks also go to Dr. John C. Shelton for his valuable advice and suggestions on the content of this article.

(1) For discussions concerning the *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή* see WILCKEN, *Grundz.* pp. 192ff; S. L. WALLACE, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) pp. 96-115; M. HOMBERT-CL. PRÉAUX, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine.* (*P. Lugd.-Bat.* V, Leyden 1952). Lists of relevant texts are given by Wallace pp. 392-95, more fully by Hombert-Préaux pp. 172-76. The latter list has been brought more nearly up to date in *P. Wisc.* I p. 73 to which may now be added *BGU XI* 2018-19, 2088-91, *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2762, and *P. Yale Inv.* 1545 A, B, C (in *BASP* 7, 1970, pp. 87-98).

(2) I. e., it was unoccupied; WILCKEN, *Hermes* 28 (1893) p. 242; Hombert-Préaux p. 114.

(3) « 121 d. C. » ed. The date is calculated by comparing the age descriptions given in the securely dated *P. Mil. Vogl.* 224 with those of *P. Mil. Vogl.* 225. Thenapynchis is 40 in the earlier text, 51 (?) in the later; Taorsenouphis is 22 in the earlier,

Ἡρακλείδης Διδύμο
[σμητήης — — — — —]
[ριστερῶν (1)].

3. *P. Teb.* 512 descr. (ed. John 31) (26 April/25 May, A. D. 130) of 6200 drachmas and is styled *κ[ό]των* (2). He is about 40 years

4. *P. Teb.* 522 descr. edited before preceding text, Herakleides is described. We learn further that he was registered in the metropolis (3) and was a « *κάτω* » of the 6475 are identical with persons *οἰκοὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ ἀνδρῶν* 'Ε or as being *ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ* τοῦ comprised an elite class of Fayum registered in various quarters at the *synoikismos* of Antinoopolis but Herakleides was evidently not

33 (?) in the later. The eleven years was the probable date of A. D. 120 for *P. Mil. Vogl.* descr. (in *BASP* 6, 1969, pp. 27-31) of A. D. 130. He was 30 years old at the

(1) The editor's restoration *κ[ό]σμητή* upon whether the initial kappa is correct at the back of *P. Mil. Vogl.* IV, this alternative reading *γ[υ]μνασίαρχος*, based now be tried on the original.

(2) P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasies* (Amsterdam 1967) no. 52.

(3) For references to this *amphodon*,

(4) The equation was first made by Cf. *P. Teb.* 566 + *Archiv* 6 pp. 144 and

(5) *P. Fam. Tebt.* 29, 28.

(6) *P. Fam. Tebt.* 31, 1 and note. *Μονοεῖτη ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων* in *P. Mil. V*

(7) Not necessarily meaning that all Oates, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 23 (1966)

(8) *P. Fam. Tebt.* 29, 27-28 and 50-52 Plaumann, *supra* n. 7; *P. Meyer* pp. 28

mann, *Archiv* 9 (1930) pp. 42-43; *P. Mil.* pp. 136ff; H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwa* 26, Bonn 1964) pp. 216, 220f, 230.

of Herakleides the Younger*

ογραφή is a type of document well known in Roman Egypt (1), the present text which seems now to warrant treatment in its description at the back of *P. Teb.* 512. Originating from the Fayum village Ibion (2), it is in *absentia* through a curator (φροντιστής) of one-half share of a house ἐν ᾧ οὐδείς has an interest in the papyrus is attracted to the return has been made, Herakleides, the son of Herodes, a figure well attested in the second century. The pertinent texts

(A. D. 109). Herakleides lends 236 drachmas to Theos, Kronion's wife Thenapynchis, of Taorsenouphis. (A. D. 120 (3)). Repayment is described (lines 3-5) as:

University of California at Berkeley and is in the Bancroft Library. I am grateful to Mrs. M. J. G. for the opportunity to study and publish this text. My thanks go to Dr. J. H. for his valuable advice and suggestions on

οικίαν ἀπογραφή see WILCKEN, *Grundz. der Papyrologie* (Princeton 1952). Lists of relevant texts are given by Hombert-Préaux pp. 172-76. The present text is dated in *P. Wisc.* I p. 73 to which may be added *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2762, and *P. Yale Inv.* 1545

Hermes 28 (1893) p. 242; Hombert-Préaux

reconstructed by comparing the age descriptions in *P. Teb.* 512 with those of *P. Mil. Vogl.* 225. Thenapynchis is later; Taorsenouphis is 22 in the earlier,

CENSUS RETURN OF HERAKLEIDES

Ἡρακλείδης Λιδύμου νεωτέρου Ἡρόδου ἑναρχος κ[ο]σμητῆς — — — — —] ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα οὐδὲν ὀφροῦει ἐξ ἀριστερῶν (1).

3. *P. Teb.* 512 descr. (ed. John C. Shelton in *BASP* 6, 1969, pp. 27-31) (26 April/25 May, A. D. 130). Herakleides is creditor in a loan of 6200 drachmas and is styled (lines 9-10) τῶν γεγυμνασιαρχηκ[ό]των (2). He is about 40 years old at this time.

4. *P. Teb.* 522 descr. edited below (4 Aug., A. D. 133). As in the preceding text, Herakleides is described as a former gymnasiarch. We learn further that he was registered in the Quarter of Tharapeia at the metropolis (3) and was a « κάτοικος of the 6475. » These κάτοικοι of the 6475 are identical with persons described in other texts as κάτοικοι τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων (4) (feminine Ἑλληνίδων (5)), or as being ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου (6). In general, they comprised an elite class of Fayum Greeks whose members were registered in various quarters at the metropolis (7). Some took part in the *synoikismos* of Antinoopolis under Hadrian in the early 130's (8), but Herakleides was evidently not among them.

33 (?) in the later. The eleven years which separate these ages suggest a probable date of A. D. 120 for *P. Mil. Vogl.* 225, which is supported by *P. Teb.* 512 descr. (in *BASP* 6, 1969, pp. 27-31) where Herakleides' age is given as 40 in A. D. 130. He was 30 years old at the time of *P. Mil. Vogl.* 225 (see line 4).

(1) The editor's restoration κ[ο]σμητῆς, based upon *P. Mil. Vogl.* 226, depends upon whether the initial kappa is correctly read. To judge from the plate provided at the back of *P. Mil. Vogl.* IV, this letter is somewhat damaged. A possible alternative reading γυμνασιαρχος, based upon *P. Teb.* 512 and 522 descr., might now be tried on the original.

(2) P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (Amsterdam 1967) no. 52.

(3) For references to this *amphodon*, *Wörterbuch* III Abschnitt 22, 410-11.

(4) The equation was first made by G. Plaumann, *Archiv* 6 (1920) pp. 176-83. Cf. *P. Teb.* 566 + *Archiv* 6 pp. 144 and 222 (*BL* I p. 429).

(5) *P. Fam. Tebt.* 29, 28.

(6) *P. Fam. Tebt.* 31, 1 and note. More fully ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοίτῃ ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων in *P. Mil. Vogl.* I 26, 4.

(7) Not necessarily meaning that all had their residences in the metropolis; Oates, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 23 (1966) p. 265.

(8) *P. Fam. Tebt.* 29, 27-28 and 50-52; 30, 3-4 and 9-12. Further on the 6475, Plaumann, *supra* n. 7; *P. Meyer* pp. 28ff.; *P. Cornell* I 16 introduction; Bickermann, *Archiv* 9 (1930) pp. 42-43; *P. Mil. Vogl.* I pp. 221-22; Bell, *JRS* 30 (1940) pp. 136ff.; H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung* (Bonner Historische Forschungen 26, Bonn 1964) pp. 216, 220f, 230.

5. *P. Mil. Vogl.* IV 226 (25 July/23 August, A. D. 135). Herakleides is described (lines 12-14) as a former kosmete (κεκοσμητενκότος) and as deceased husband of his wife Aphrodisia. The text is the repayment of a loan of 20 artabs of wheat. The original creditor was Herakleides' mother (name missing, line 11), who has presumably died, having passed on to Herakleides the right to recover the loan. He has died in turn, having bequeathed the same right *κατὰ διαθήκην* (line 19) to Aphrodisia.

A brief sketch of Herakleides' life can be drawn from the five texts just listed. Born about A. D. 90 into an established family of Arsinoite Hellenes, in his private business dealings he is seen from an early age (1) as creditor in loans to persons residing in Tebtunis (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 224; cf. *P. Teb.* 512). He owned half share of a house at Ibios Eikosipentarouron (*P. Teb.* 522), but this was not his or his family's permanent residence (p. 120 n. 2). That it was in charge of a *φοροισιστής* leads to speculation that his holdings in and about the Ibios were more extensive than the present state of our evidence can confirm (*infra* line 8 note). Herakleides' public life was marked by liturgic service, as gymnasiarch (*P. Teb.* 512 and 522) and as kosmete (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 225 (2) and 226). His death occurred between 13 July, A. D. 134, the day his will was drawn (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 226, 19-21), and August of A. D. 135 (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 226), when he would have been 44-45 years of age. Since his wife was roughly 20 years his junior (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 226, 5), the marriage must have taken place comparatively late in Herakleides' lifetime. It is not known whether it had any issue.

There are a few texts which concern contemporary members of Herakleides' family :

1. *P. Teb.* 531 and 532 descr. (in *BASP* 7, 1970, pp. 77-86 (3)) (22 June, A. D. 133). Two loans drawn on the same day, one for 1300 drachmas, the other for 1200. The creditor in both texts is named Herodes also called Diogenes, son of Didymos the younger. About 48 years old at this time, therefore born about A. D. 85, he is a former

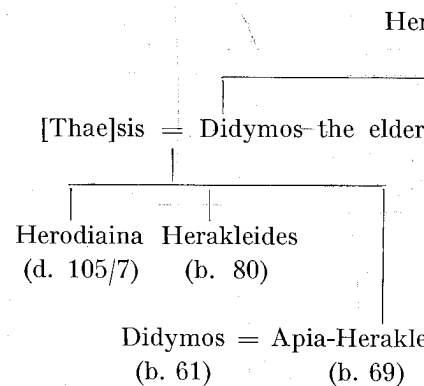
(1) He would have been about 19 years old at the time of *P. Mil. Vogl.* 224.

(2) If the reading is correct; *vide* p. 121 n. 1.

(3) The readings of these texts can be made more nearly accurate: 531, 4: οἰός, a misprint for *νιός*; 531, 17: read τῶ for τῶι; 532, 21: read π[ρ]οκειμέν[ων] instead of π[ρ]οκειμέν[ων].

gymnasiarch (4). There is a great deal served as one of the βιβλιοφύλακες in Nome in A. D. 130/1 (2) and little is known of Herakleides.

2. *P. Fam. Tebt.* 9 (22 Nov., A. D. 105/6) of a loan originally taken out in the 1st year of Jan's 8th year (9 Aug., A. D. 105/6) by Herakleides' diaina; but since she has (apparently) died, the loan is repaid to her brother and sister Herakleia, ἀμφότεροι Διδύμου πατρὸς Ἡρακλῆδος (line 5). Prof. van Groningen's edition in *P. Fam. Tebt.* « pedigree » may now with reasonable certainty be traced to the persons known from the 1st century A. D. information from these latter papyri. The stemma in *P. Fam. Tebt.* 9 and the stemma enlarged as follows:



The family appears to be descended from the 1st century A. D. stemma printed as Table II in *P. Mich.* 276. The stemma, may be (though this is not certain) Herodes, son of Herakleides who is

(1) Sijpesteijn *Liste* no. 49.

(2) Sijpesteijn *ibid.*, N. Lewis, *Proc. Am. Acad. Arch.* 1911, p. 150 for references. Add now *BGU* XI 100.

(3) For a discussion of the Michigan stemma see in particular *P. Mich.* 276 (A. D. 47/8). The stemma concerning this family is *P. Mich. Shelton* 62.

y/23 August, A. D. 135). Herakleides former kosmete (κεκοσμητενκότος) wife Aphrodisia. The text is the re- of wheat. The original creditor was ng, line 11), who has presumably leides the right to recover the loan. queathed the same right κατὰ δια-

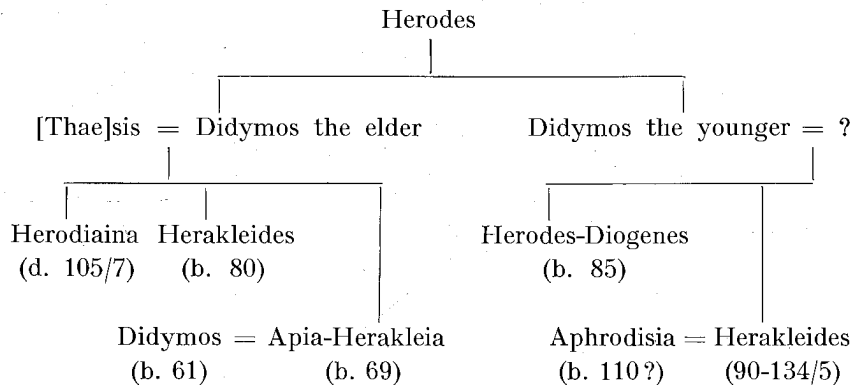
life can be drawn from the five texts) into an established family of Arsi- ness dealings he is seen from an early persons residing in Tebtunis (*P. Mil.* owned half share of a house at Ibion but this was not his or his family's That it was in charge of a φροντιστής dings in and about the Ibion were state of our evidence can confirm public life was marked by liturgic . 512 and 522) and as kosmete (*P.* is death occurred between 13 July, drawn (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 226, 19-21), and (*Vogl.* 226), when he would have been wife was roughly 20 years his junior iage must have taken place compa- me. It is not known whether it had

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gymnasiarch (1). There is a great deal of testimony to his having served as one of the βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων of the Arsinoite Nome in A. D. 130/1 (2) and little doubt that he is the brother of our Herakleides.

2. *P. Fam. Tebt.* 9 (22 Nov., A. D. 107). Repayment in Tebtunis of a loan originally taken out in Theogonis on 16 Kaisareios of Trajan's 8th year (9 Aug., A. D. 105). The creditor was a certain Herodiaina; but since she has (apparently) died in the meantime, the loan is repaid to her brother and sister, Herakleides and Apia also called Herakleia, ἀμφοτέροι Διδύμου προσβντέρον (= προσβντέρον) τοῦ Ἡρώδου (line 5). Prof. van Groningen was unable to fit these persons into his *P. Fam. Tebt.* « pedigree » (cf. *P. Fam. Tebt.* pp. 10-11). We may now with reasonable certitude identify them as first cousins to the persons known from the Berkeley and Milan texts. The information from these latter papyri can be integrated with that from *P. Fam. Tebt.* 9 and the stemma printed in *P. Fam. Tebt.* p. 3, enlarged as follows:



The family appears to be descended from the one whose stemma is printed as Table II in *P. Mich.* V p. 17. Herodes, the grandfather in our stemma, may be (though this is far from certain) identical with the Herodes, son of Herakleides who is known from the Michigan texts (3).

(1) Sijpesteijn *Liste* no. 49.

(2) Sijpesteijn *ibid.*, N. Lewis, *Proc.* IX Congr. p. 244, and *P. Mil. Vogl.* III p. 150 for references. Add now *BGU* XI 2094.

(3) For a discussion of the Michigan stemma see *P. Mich.* V p. 18. For texts, see in particular *P. Mich.* 276 (A. D. 47) and 326 (A. D. 48). A new papyrus concerning this family is *P. Mich. Shelton* 621. *PSI* X 1159 (definitely) and 1103 (pos-

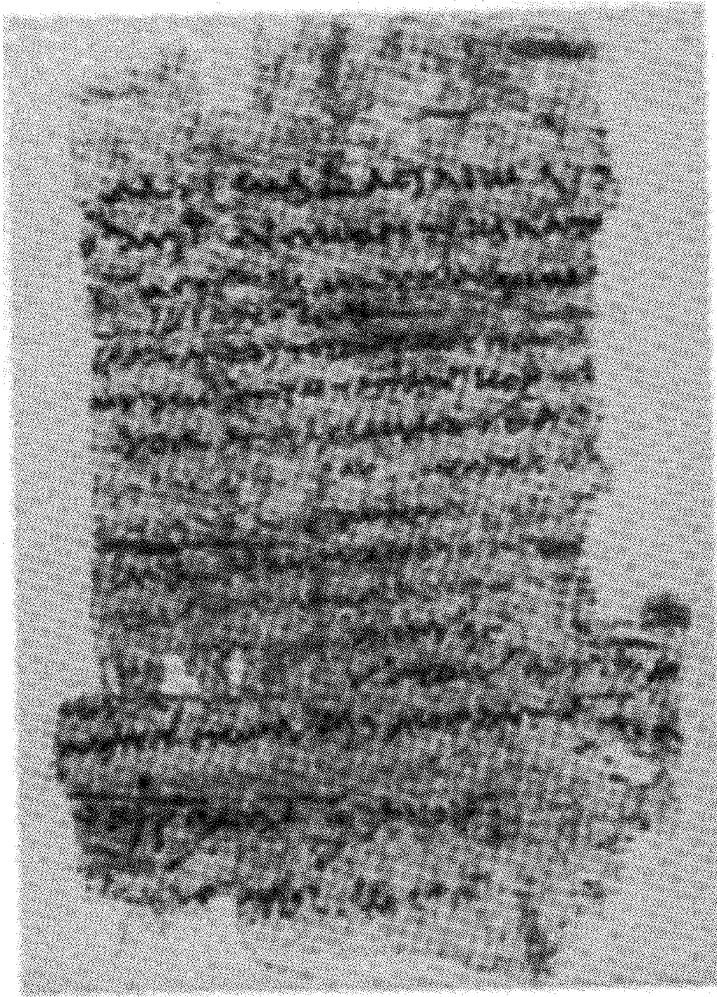


Fig. 1. — P. Teb. 522. CENSUS-RETURN (A.D. 133)

sibly) concern descendents of the Michigan stemma, but I am not able at present to place them in definite relationship to *P. Fam. Tebt.* 9, the Berkeley and the Milan papyri. Also uncertain is whether our Herakleides is the Herakleides *γυμνασιάρχ(ος)* (Sijpesteijn *Liste* no. 220) listed in *P. Mil. Vogl.* II 103 (= *SB VI* 9378) 23 as owning 16 arouras (probably near Tebtunis) which had been flooded; or whether he is the Herakleides who was one of the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων* of the Arsinoite Nome in A. D. 120/1 (Sijpesteijn *Liste* no. 35). Both identifications are possible, but unprovable.

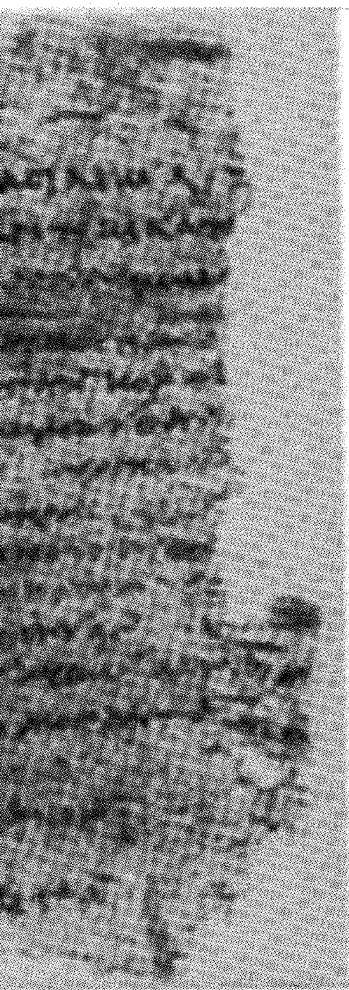
The text is nearly complete, though the beginning and ends of most of its lines. Like the first half of line 12, consideration of the readings or restorations at the beginning of the text remains undisturbed.

P. Teb. 522 descr.

8.4 x 12.7 cm.

- 1 [Πτο]λεμαίω βασιλικῶν
 [Π]ολ(έμωνος) μερίδ(ος) δι
 [τῆς ἀ]ὐτ(ῆς) μερίδ(ος) κα
 Ἰβιῶνο(ς) (Εἰκοσιπενταροῦ)
- 5 [παρὰ] Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ
 [Ἡρώ]δου τῶν γυμνασ
 [τῶν ἴ]ζνοε ἀναγρα(φομέν
 [ἀπό]ντι[ος] διὰ φρογ[τι]στο
 [. . . .]ωνος. ὑπάρ[χ]ει τῶ
- 10 Ἰβιῶν]ι (Εἰκοσιπενταροῦ)
 [καὶ αἰ]θροῖον καὶ καμαρῶ
 [ρίων δ ἀπο]γράφομαι εἰς
 [Ἀδρι]ανοῦ Καί[σαρ]ος τ
 [ἀπο]γραφὴν ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς
- 15 [μαῖ]ος βα(σιλικός) γραμμ
 στρατηγίαν) (ἔτο
 [Κα]ίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Μ
 2 διέποντι: ο

« To Ptolemaios, basilikogramm
 the Arsinoite Nome, discharging
 same Meris, and to Melas, komog
 ron, from Herakleides, son of Did
 rodes, formerly gymnasiarch, kato
 Quarter of Tharapeia, *in absentia*



CENSUS-RETURN (A.D. 133)

an stemma, but I am not able at present
Fam. Tebl. 9, the Berkeley and the Milan
 Herakleides is the Herakleides *γυμνασίαρχος*
Vogl. II 103 (= *SB VI* 9378) 23 as owning
 which had been flooded; or whether he is
βλιοφύλακας ἐγκτήσεων of the Arsinoite
 o. 35). Both identifications are possible,

CENSUS RETURN OF HERAKLEIDES

The text is nearly complete, though it lacks letters at the beginnings and ends of most of its lines. Lines 8-9 are rather severely abraded, the first half of line 12, considerably damaged. Still, though details of the readings or restorations are sometimes in doubt, the sense of the text remains undisturbed.

P. Teb. 522 descr.
 8.4 x 12.7 cm.

Tebtunis
 A.D. 133

- 1 [Πτο]λεμαίωι βασιλικῶι γρ[α(μματαῖ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)]
 [Π]ολ(έμωνος) μερίδ(ος) διέποντι καὶ <τὰ> κατὰ [στρα(τηγίαν)]
 [τῆς α]ἰ(τῆς) μερίδ(ος) καὶ Μελανᾶ κομο[γρ(αμματαῖ)]
 Ἰβιῶνο(ς) (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων)
- 5 [παρὰ] Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Διδύμου νεωτέ[ρου τοῦ]
 [Ἡρώ]δου τῶν γυμνασιαρχηκότων κ[ατοίκ(ου)]
 [τῶν Ἰ]ζυοε ἀναγρα(φομένου) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Θαραπ[ελας]
 [ἀπόντ]ος διὰ φρον[τι]στοῦ Τυράννου τ[οῦ] — — —
 [. . . .]ωνος. ὑπάρ[χ]ει τῷ Ἡρακλ[εῖδ]ῃ [ἐ]ν [κώμῃ(?)]
- 10 [Ἰβιῶν]ι (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) ἡμισυ μέρος οἰκ[ί]ας κα[ὶ] ἀλλῆς]
 [καὶ αἰ]θρίον καὶ καμαῶν καὶ ἐτέρων χρ[η]στη-
 [ρίων] δ ἀπο[γρ]άφομαι εἰς τὴν τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) ις (ἔτους)
 [Ἀδρι]ανοῦ Καί[σαρ]ος τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίαν
 [ἀπο]γραφὴν ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς ἀπογράφεται. (2nd hand) Πτολε-
 15 [μαῖ]ος βα(σιλικός) γρ(αμματαὺς) διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν
 στρα(τηγίαν) (ἔτους) [ις Ἀδριανοῦ]
 [Καί]σαρος τοῦ κυρίου Μεσο(ρῆ) ἰα.

2 διέποντι: ο corrected from ω.

«To Ptolemaios, basilikogrammateus of the Polemonos Meris of the Arsinoite Nome, discharging also the duties of strategos of the same Meris, and to Melas, komogrammateus of Ibion Eikosipentarou-ron, from Herakleides, son of Didymos the younger, grandson of Herodes, formerly gymnasiarch, katoikos of the 6475, registered in the Quarter of Tharapeia, *in absentia*, through his agent, Tyrannos . . .

on. There belongs to Herakleides in the village (?) Ibion Eikosipentarouron one-half portion of a house and courtyard and open-air hall and storage vaults and other appurtenances which I register for the house by house registration of the past year 16 of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, in which no one is registered. (2nd hand) Ptolemaios, basilikogrammateus, discharging also the office of strategos. Year 17 of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, Mesore 11.»

1-4. I reproduce the transcription of the *P. Teb.* II editors. For Ptolemaios see V. Martin, *Archiv* 6 (1920) pp. 167-68, esp. p. 167 n. 6; H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-romaine* (Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire LVI, 1935) pp. 61 and 72; G. Mussies, *Supplément à la liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens de H. Henne*, P. Lugd.-Bat. XIV (1965) p. 31 (no. 388). He is known as basilikogrammateus of the Polemonos Meris from 31 Jan., A. D. 131 (*P. Teb.* II 374 = *WChr* 349). His name has been restored as basilikogrammateus in *P. Teb.* II 566 descr., a census return from Samareia submitted earlier in the same year as the present text. He is known as basilikogrammateus and acting strategos from our text (4 Aug., A. D. 133) and from *SB* VI 9312 (date lost).

2. The hand is somewhat larger in the opening lines than down below; as a result, the lacuna does not seem large enough to accommodate *τὴν στρατηγίαν* or *τὴν στρατηγίαν*. The use of the article was standard, but not invariable; cf. *P. Oxy.* I 62, 2-3 and XII 1498, 6. The scribe also neglected to include *τά* before *κατά*, so that line 2 contains a telescoped version of the usual *τά κατά τὴν στρατηγίαν*; for references to which see *Wörterbuch* III Abschnitt 8 s. v. *στρατηγία*.

4. *Ἰβίωνι*: *Ἰβίωνι* edd. On the formation of the word and its correct accent see W. Crönert, *WKP* 18 (1903) cols. 484-85. The village Ibion Eikosipentarouron was located in the Gharaq district of the Polemonos Meris according to *P. Teb.* II p. 380. It is not, however, to be identified with the modern Medinet Madi, now known to be the ancient Narmouthis: *Chr. d'Ég.* 14 (1939) p. 88; A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo 1952) pp. 10 and 214 n. 11.

5-6. *νεωτέ[ρου] τοῦ | Ἡρώδου*: Or possibly *νεωτέ[ρου] | τοῦ Ἡρώδου*.

6. *κ[ατοίκ(ον)]*: Commonly abbreviated in this fashion (e. g., *BGU* II 487, 6; III 792, 11), and printed this way here so as to fit the lacuna more exactly.

8. [ἀπόντ]ος: I. e., Tyrannos' p. to that of the Roman *curator absentis* (Schlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt* (ed. Warsaw 1955) p. 181 n. 25. *BGU* II 493 Col. II 16, 5 and 14; *BGU* II 493 Col. II 16, 20, 7; *P. Wisc.* 14, 4. On returns of land, *Taxation* pp. 100f and *Household Censuses* pp. 59-62. It is unlikely that returns were limited to half share of a house; the house was probably vested in land, some of which was in the vicinity of Ibion Eikosipentarouron. *P. Teb.* pp. 12-13) of land and buildings. *Fam. Tebt.* pedigree is instructive. *Tebt.* 23 which shows that person Herakleides had interests in land and buildings at Ibion Eikosipentarouron.

9. [. . . .]ωνος: Either a patronymic from the preceding line; or a double patronymic. The name is restored at the end of line 8.

10. ἀλλῆς]: Perhaps abbreviation of *οἰκίας καὶ ἀλλῆς* is extremely common in papyri (s. v. *οἰκία*). For *οἰκίας καὶ ἀλλῆς* (in *BASP* 7, 1970, 87ff) 12, 33-34, 257, 7; 284, 8.

11. αἰθρίον: Written rather than *αιθρίον*. The reading of the last four letters is given in line 13. «It is the light-shaft of a house» — *P. Wisc.* I 18, 8 note 1; A. R. Schütz, *Der Typus des hebräischen Papyrus* (Giessen 1936) p. 34.

καμαρών: «Storage vaults»; cf. *Wörterbuch* III Abschnitt 8 s. v. *καμαρών*. Theft, in which (lines 6ff) the injured party lists the items that had been stolen: *ἐγενόθη κλοπή ἰσθμίων, ἔνθα ἐστὶν καμάρων, ἐν ἧς ἔστιν καὶ ἄλλος πλείστον, κτλ.* Sometimes the items are listed as being located «in the cellar» (*καμαρών*) (p. 233, 12). *Kellerraum, Kellerraum* in the definitions given in *Wörterbuch*.

in the village (?) Ibion Eikosipenta-
se and courtyard and open-air hall
ppurtenances which I register for
of the past year 16 of Hadrianus
s registered. (2nd hand) Ptolemaios,
also the office of strategos. Year
Mesore 11.»

tion of the *P. Teb.* II editors. For
(1920) pp. 167-68, esp. p. 167 n. 6;
nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-ro-
çais d'Archéologie orientale du Caire
ssies, Supplément à la liste des stra-
nne, P. Lugd.-Bat. XIV (1965) p. 31
likogrammateus of the Polemonos
Teb. II 374 = *WChr* 349). His name
mmateus in *P. Teb.* II 566 descr.,
bmitted earlier in the same year as
as basilikogrammateus and acting
D. 133) and from *SB* VI 9312 (date

er in the opening lines than down
s not seem large enough to accomo-
ρ(ατηγίαν). The use of the article
cf. *P. Oxy.* I 62, 2-3 and XII 1498, 6.
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uch III Abschnitt 8 s. v. στρατηγία.
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located in the Gharaq district of
P. Teb. II p. 380. It is not, however,
Medinet Madi, now known to be
Ég. 14 (1939) p. 88; A. Grohmann,
(Cairo 1952) pp. 10 and 214 n. 11.
: Or possibly νεωτέ[ρον] | τοῦ Ἡ-

eviated in this fashion (e. g., *BGU*
ed this way here so as to fit the la-

8. [ἀπόντ]ος: I. e., Tyrannos' position as φροντιστής was analogous to that of the Roman *curator absentis*; see *P. Meyer* p. 57, R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (2nd ed. Warsaw 1955) p. 181 n. 25. For the restoration cf. *PSI* IX 1064, 5 and 14; *BGU* II 493 Col. II 16; *BGU* VII 1581, 7; *P. Fam. Tebt.* 20, 7; *P. Wisc.* 14, 4. On returns made through intermediaries, Wallace, *Taxation* pp. 100f and Hombert-Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement* pp. 59-62. It is unlikely that Tyrannos' responsibilities were limited to half share of a house. Much of Herakleides' wealth was probably vested in land, some of which would have been in the vicinity of Ibion Eikosipentarouron. Van Groningen's list (*P. Fam. Tebt.* pp. 12-13) of land and buildings owned by members of the *P. Fam. Tebt.* pedigree is instructive. Especially tantalizing is *P. Fam. Tebt.* 23 which shows that persons who may have been related to Herakleides had interests in land in the vicinity of Ibion Eikosipentarouron.

9. [. . . .]ωνος: Either a patronymic, perhaps running over from the preceding line; or a double name, in which case καί should be restored at the end of line 8.

10. ἀλλῆς: Perhaps abbreviated ἀλλ(ῆς). The collocation οἰκίας καὶ ἀλλῆς is extremely common in the papyri (*Wörterbuch* II s. v. οἰκία). For οἰκίας καὶ ἀλλῆς καὶ αἰθροῖον see *P. Yale* Inv. 1545 (in *BASP* 7, 1970, 87ff) 12, 33-34; *P. Lips.* 16, 10-11; cf. *P. Strasb.* 257, 7; 284, 8.

11. αἰθροῖον: Written rather quickly, but the correctness of the reading of the last four letters is guaranteed by comparison with κοροῖον in line 13. «It is the light-shaft/central courtyard in the middle of a house» — *P. Wisc.* I 18, 8 note. Cf. *P. Oxy.* XXIV 2406 (p. 143); A. R. Schütz, *Der Typus des hellenistisch-ägyptischen Hauses* (Diss. Giessen 1936) p. 34.

καμαρῶν: «Storage vaults»; cf. *BGU* III 731, a petition concerning theft, in which (lines 6ff) the injured party explains how she discovered that items had been stolen: ἐγενόμην ἐν οἰκία μου οὄση ἐν κόμῃ Ὀξυ-ρόγγων, ἐνθα ἐστὶν καμάρα, ἐν ἣ ἀπέκειτο ξύλα ἐρόκινα πάμπολλα καὶ ἄλδος πλεῖστον, κτλ. Sometimes καμάραι are described specifically as being located «in the cellar» (ἐν τῷ καταγαίῳ; *P. Lond.* III 732, p. 233, 12). *Kellerraum*, *Kellergewölbe*, *Vorratskammer* are among the definitions given in *Wörterbuch*; see also Schütz pp. 58ff.

12. *διελ(ηλυθότος)*: Not *διελ(θόντος)*. The former was standard in the Arsinoite, the latter, in the Oxyrhynchite Nome; Hombert-Préaux pp. 79ff. On returns made the year following the declared census year see Wallace *Taxation* p. 395; Hombert-Préaux, *Chr. d'Ég.* 19 (1944) pp. 147-50; *Recherches sur le recensement* pp. 77-84. The 16th year of Hadrian is A. D. 131/2.

15-16. The date is 4 Aug., A. D. 133.

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Les deux lettres

DANS le fascicule II des *P. IFAO* quelques lettres ptolémaïques, l'éditeur et destinataire, bien que ne s'étaient pas embarrassés de moins bien lotis. L'auteur a cerné l'accompagneur son édition de bon ainsi à reprendre cette méritoire teneur.

Le *P. IFAO* II 1, daté du 28 novembre, lettre de Bion à son associé Nicanor, mais les lacunes relativement brèves, à première vue, grèvent en réalité, en fait, d'une incertitude fondamentale dans tout cela? Qui prend en charge, et, partant, le sens de *ἔφερον*? Sur quelles dr. prévues à la ligne 5? La traduction de Wagner nous donne avec son commentaire que ce texte obscur se dérobe à tout qu'il est mal rédigé, soit parce qu'il y a une incertitude, soit parce que ces deux raisons au point de départ le texte auquel l'éditeur

*Βίων Νικάνορι χ]αίρειν.
ὁ στρατηγός[ς κώμης Τ]ε
παρακέκληκεν ἡμ[ᾶς] κατ
π[ρ]ὸς τῶι γραφίωι τῆ[ς]
5 φοροῦντας ἐνιαυτοῦ [...]*

(1) Guy WAGNER, *Papyrus grecs de l'Égypte* II (Le Caire, 1971). Cf. ci-dessous le commentaire.