Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 3

GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS: I
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS: I

(P.Kell.G.)
Nos. 1–90

Edited by K. A. Worp

in collaboration with
J. E. G. Whitehorne and R. W. Daniel

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A preface usually contains, *inter alia*, a list of people and institutions entitled to the gratitude of the author(s); this preface is no exception to that practice. Before, however, giving such a list I should like to present to the readers some background to what is, I think, a rather unusual volume of Greek documentary papyri.

In May 1992 I was invited by Dr. C.A. Hope (Monash University, Melbourne, Australia) to undertake the editing of the Greek documentary texts from the Dakhleh Oasis Project excavations at Ismant el-Kharab (ancient ‘Kellis’). This work entailed making several trips to the excavation site (some 600 kilometers to the south-southwest of Cairo in the Western desert of Egypt) where the original documents are kept in a magazine near the excavation house at Ezbet el-Bashendi. First work on the Greek papyrus fragments was done during a stay of 7 weeks early 1993, subsequently during slightly shorter visits in early 1994 and 1995, in the working room in the excavation house. There an initial classification of Greek and Coptic papyri was made, as many matching fragments as possible were brought materially together and first transcripts were recorded (mention must be made here of preliminary work on the assembling of documents and on transcribing some texts done by Dr. R.G. Jenkins [University of Melbourne]) and there the results of joining these fragments were photographed. In this connection it must be stressed that working conditions in Egypt ‘in the field’ differ from those in an office somewhere in a Western country and that, e.g., it was not always possible to make photos which satisfy the highest quality demands, while a well-equipped papyrological library was not available on the spot for immediately exploring the consequences of any idea which came to mind while trying to read a difficult passage. This situation must be constantly kept in mind when making a judgement about the quality of the work in this volume.

In Amsterdam I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of various colleagues for preparing a first publication of the texts from Kellis, notably that of Dr. J.E.G. Whitehorne (Brisbane) and Dr. R.W. Daniel (Cologne). Dr. Whitehorne undertook the preparation of 13 texts (Nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 49, 65, 67, 70, 71 and 76) for final publication, while Dr. Daniel studied the magical texts published in this volume, nos. 85-88; both worked on the basis of photos of the papyri and of information communicated by me who had seen the original papyri and who subsequently checked various suggestions for alternative readings contributed by them. Furthermore, Dr. T. de Jong (Groningen/Amsterdam) helped me with studying the astronomical and astrological aspects of the horoscope 84. Finally, Dr. Whitehorne helped me with reading the computer-produced manuscript of the texts I had prepared and with checking the word indices. Also to be recorded here must be the help of Prof. R.S. Bagnall (New York) whose remarks made on the basis of his reading through an early version of most of the documentary texts were extremely beneficial.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Colin A. Hope, the director of the excavations at Ismant el-Kharab, who invited me to publish the texts in this volume, made various
trips to Egypt financially possible and provided us with the indispensable photo material and all kinds of background information concerning the excavations. His generosity has facilitated our work in many more ways than can be expressed in these few lines. The various members of the excavation team working at the site, especially M. Berry, G. Bowen and O. Kaper, also deserve warm thanks for making every effort to make my visits to Egypt a unique and productive experience.

It is a real pleasure for me to enjoy the collaboration of Dr. A. Alcock (Wittenhausen, Germany) and Dr. I.E.G. Gardner (Edith Cowan University, Perth, Western Australia). They are working on the Coptic papyri coming from the same excavations and their unique experience with these texts and their wide learning gave us unparalleled benefit. They will recognize in our publication many of their own ideas and suggestions. Evidently, many problems in the Greek documentary papyri published here find their counterparts in the Coptic material they are working on.

I am deeply grateful to the Director of the Dakhleh Oasis Project A.J. Mills, his wife Lesley, and various other members of the Project’s team ‘κατ’ ὁniąκα for their hospitality, stimulating encouragement and general help. It is also my great pleasure to record on the Egyptian side the wonderful cooperation offered by various inspectors of the Egyptian Organization for Antiquities, especially Mr. Ashraf es-Sayed Mohammed. My stay in Egypt was made a memorable and happy event in particular thanks to the excellent cooking of Mssrs. Mansour and Taha.

The Photographic Section of the Department of Geography and Environmental Science of Monash University, deserves thanks for their effort in processing the prints of the many photographs taken during various excavation seasons.

Work at the site during the 1991-1993 seasons was funded by the Australian Research Council (Co-investigators: Dr. C.A. Hope and Dr. R.G. Jenkins), while the 1994 season was funded by the Egyptology Society of Victoria (Australia); the 1995 season was funded by a new, three year grant from the Australian Research Council (Co-investigators: Dr. C.A. Hope and Dr. I.E.G. Gardner). We are very grateful for the exceptionally magnanimous support given by these organizations.

The Director of the Netherlands Institute for Archaeology and Arabic Studies at Cairo, Dr. F. Leemhuis, his wife, and the staff of the institute should be thanked for their hospitality always extended so generously.

Last, but not least, the Faculty of Arts and Letters of the University of Amsterdam, in particular Drs. A.J.H.A. Verhagen and Drs. H.A. Mulder, and the Board of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies deserve warm thanks for enabling me to visit and work in Egypt several times. My colleagues in the Departments of Classics and Ancient History should be thanked ‘κατ’ ὁนโยบาย for their interest and cooperation.

Amsterdam, May 1995
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NOTE ON EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

Texts in this volume are presented according to the usual papyrological practices. In all printed texts punctuation, accents and breathings are added; in the critical apparatus cases of dihaeresis, breathings, accents, punctuation and other lectional marks as actually occurring in the ancient texts have been indicated. The following signs have their usual senses:

( ) Resolution of abbreviation or symbol
[ ] Lacuna in the papyrus (in the translations, however, these [ ] are not taken over; only unfilled lacunas in the texts have been indicated in the translations by horizontal dashes)
[ ca. 7 ] Approximate number of letters lost in a lacuna and not restored
[ ] Letters written, then deleted by the scribe
< > Letters omitted by the scribe
{ } Letters erroneously written by the scribe
‘α β γ’ Letters later inserted by the scribe above the line and not intended to indicate an abbreviation
α β γ Letters, the reading of which is uncertain or would be uncertain outside of the context
Letters which have not been read

Where scribal orthography differs from the standard forms of Greek, the latter is given in the critical apparatus or in the commentary to an individual text.

No consistent attempt has been made in this volume to accentuate all Egyptian personal and geographical names, especially in the case where one is dealing with a new name.

Papyri are cited according to the Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, ed. by J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, W.H. Willis and K.A. Worp (BASP Suppl. 7; Atlanta, Georgia 1992). It is hoped that the sigla for a few volumes not yet listed in there will be self-explaining.

Bold-face type is used to indicate the numbers of texts included in this volume.¹
The articles ὅ, ἦ and τό and the copula καί have been omitted for compiling the word indices.
Unless stated otherwise, all dates in this volume are ‘A.D. ....’.

¹) In order to elucidate the inventory numbers given with the papyri in their palaeographical description: the numbering system ‘A/(numeral between 1 and 5)/(numeral)’ refers to the registration numbers given to all objects found during the excavations; ‘A’ = Area A; the first following numeral (between 1 and 5) refers to: ‘1’ = House 1, ‘2’ = House 2, ‘3’ = Structure 4, ‘4’ = the street between Areas A and B (north of Houses 1 and 2), and ‘5’ = House 3. The second numeral refers to the number of the object itself. All wooden boards have object numbers, as do some of the papyri. Most of the latter, however, do not and this is because initially papyrus was found in small quantities. This method of registration rendered it difficult when papyrus fragments had to be moved from one glass frame to another. The system then adopted was to assign a P.+ number which related to the specific deposit (the archaeological context and location).
Rigorous consistency throughout the volume, e.g. with the transliteration of Greek and Latin names (endings of Greek names in -os vs. endings of Latin names in -us), has not been attempted.

*Photographs of the Papyri appear in catalogue order at the end of the book*
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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS


A. Some background information on the preservation of the texts published in this volume:

This first volume of Kellis papyri contains 90 texts (some in 2 copies [38.a,b; cf. also 34 and 34.appendix] or with individual texts on recto and verso [19.a,b], some with two individual texts belonging originally to one sheet or roll [85.a,b]; 83 have been written on papyrus, 7 on wood. These texts share the same provenance, Area A in the excavation site at Ismant el-Kharab, and they were found over several seasons of excavations starting in 1986. During these excavations several thousands of papyrus fragments, ostraka and wooden boards inscribed with Greek or Coptic, a few times with Syriac and Latin texts, were found. Only a small number of these were found in House 1, quite a few more in House 2, while House 3 turned out to contain a real treasure trove. Some texts were found in a fairly or even remarkably complete state; in most cases, however, one is dealing with more or less fragmentarily preserved texts written on papyrus. After first conservation the material (now kept in more than 150 glass frames of various sizes) needed to be sorted, first of all according to the language used for a text. For that purpose various fragments and scraps were taken out of various glass frames and as many combinations as possible or promising had to be (and were) tried in order to reconstruct an original text. In fact, one is dealing with a kind of giant jigsaw puzzle and, as usual with such puzzles, in some cases a seemingly attractive match had finally to be given up. Though it cannot be excluded that more matches are still possible, the ‘Law of diminishing returns’ is applicable, and it remains to be seen whether there are still many more possible.

As far as the state of preservation of the wooden boards inscribed with Greek texts is concerned, next to the completely preserved, multi-board codices of Isocrates and the Harvest Account Book, there is a large number of incomplete fragments of boards, and a substantial number of more or less complete single boards have been preserved (especially among the Coptic texts).
In this volume are edited most of the ‘publishable’ Greek papyri from Houses 1, 2 and 3 and Structure 4 and the ‘publishable’ texts on wood from House 3. Only a small number (10) of documents and private letters from House 3 came to our notice after the manuscript had been closed off (cf. 19.a.appendix); though their ‘information value’ is limited, they will get a full publication in the future. Further unpublished material from Area A is found also among the wooden boards from Houses 1 and 2 and the unpublished ostraka from Structure 4. The residue of inscribed material coming from these houses is a fairly substantial amount of abraded or very scrappily preserved (often enough only ‘postage stamp size’ or even smaller) papyrus fragments which are apparently unconnected with other texts. In general it may be taken for granted that this material will not yield much interesting new information.

The collection of the 90 texts published in this volume is, of course, not sufficient for writing the complete history of ancient Kellis. Even if the ongoing excavations were to stop yielding inscribed material and if the texts already excavated were the only sources to reckon with as far as written material is concerned, one would need for writing such a history at least a full publication of the Coptic texts and of the other Greek texts still awaiting full publication, next to a full publication of the archaeological and artefactual material excavated. Still, the texts in this volume offer already now a broad range of glimpses into the daily life of people living in a village in the Dakhleh Oasis during the fourth century. These glimpses are the more fascinating as until quite recently hardly any documents from or about the Dakhleh Oasis had been published (G. Wagner, Les Oasis d’Egypte à l’époque greco, romaine et byzantine d’après les documents grecs [Cairo 1987] 188-196 exploits the exiguous existing documentation as fully as possible; for Môthis [p. 189-90] add SB XVI 12754, for Kellis [p. 190] add PUG II Append. (p. 73f.) and P.Duke inv. G. 9 in BASF 25 [1988] 129f.).

NB: Before all we should like to stress that in our publication we have tried to strike a balance between a speedy publication (probably containing a substantial number of errors or omissions) and an ‘ideal’ edition (satisfying much more severe demands). Of course, the latter would have taken much more time to produce.

B. Some principles guiding the organisation of the contents of the volume:
Rather than giving all documents in, e.g., a strictly chronological or thematical (or other) order we have adopted a mixed application of two principles, viz. the ‘topographical’ and the ‘thematic’. The ‘topographical’ principle made us distinguish

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1) For the wooden boards from Houses 1 and 2 cf. Mediterranean Archaeology 1 (1988) 168 (House 1), 171 (House 2); JSSEA 17 (1987) 163, 166 (House 2); for the ostraka cf. ibidem 160 n.6 (at p. 175). We are not aware of any progress with the publication referred to there.

2) Next to the already mentioned wooden boards and ostraka from Houses 1 and 2 and the remaining 10 texts from House 3 there are also the papyri, ostraka and wooden boards from House 4 in area A, from the Area B and from the Main temple complex and adjacent buildings [Area D].

3) To be sure, many of the documents listed by Wagner loc.cit. 3ff. refer to oases other than the Dakhleh Oasis.
between documents coming from the surface of Area A (1) and from the individual Houses 1 (2 - 3), 2 (4 - 16), Structure 4 (17 - 18) and House 3 (19 - 90); within each cluster we have arranged documents thematically (e.g.: petitions, official documents, sales or letters are mostly given together). For various reasons, however, strict maintenance of rigid consistency throughout the volume has not always been achieved.

C. The dispersal of fragments over various houses and rooms:

One of the immediately striking phenomena in the papyri from Houses 1 - 3 is the fact that in quite a few cases various fragments originally belonging to a single document were actually found at often very diverse places. We notice the following cases and refer to the plans of Houses 1 - 3 and to the more detailed plan of House 3 (pp. 5-6). From Houses 1 and 2 we have the following texts with such a 'complex' background:

3, P.Kellis inv. A/1/75+76 (from House 1, floor of room 9) + P. 92.12 (House 3, room 1, level 1). The combination of fragments apparently coming from two different houses but obviously belonging to one single document is quite remarkable; see the description of 3. It is difficult to tell whether the document in its complete form was kept originally in House 1 or in House 3; as the largest part comes from House 1, the whole document has now been assigned to that place, but it is possible that vice versa the original document was kept first in House 3, then broke into various parts the largest of which was deposited by the wind in the entrance of House 1. It may even be that the original document was not kept in either House 1 or 3, but that parts were blown by the wind from elsewhere into Houses 1, resp. 3.

6, P.Kellis inv. A/2/83 (House 2, room 5, level 3, at corner to room 6) + A/2/92 (room 6, level 3, near door). According to the plan of House 2 rooms '5' and '6' are adjacent and not separated by a wall.

8, P.Kellis inv. A/2/84+85+86+87 (House 2, room 5, floor deposit) + A/2/89+93 (room 6, level 3, near door). Again, according to the plan of House 2 rooms '5' and '6' are adjacent and not separated by a wall.

14, P.Kellis inv. A/2/96+97+106 (inv. A/2/96+97 from House 2, room 7, understairs cupboard, on base of bed; inv. A/2/106 from room 3, level 1, found in cupboard in NE corner). The plan of House 2 shows that rooms 3 and '7' are adjacent and not separated by a wall.

15, P.Kellis inv. A/2/79 (House 2, room 3, level 6, under the pots) + A/2/110 (room 5, level 3, Northeast corner of room). As the plan of House 2 shows, rooms 3 and '5' are at some distance of each other (separated by room '6'); however, the Northeast corner of room '5' is relatively close to room 3.

From House 3 come:

21.a, P.Kellis inv. P. 17.Q + 20 (both from room 10, level 3) + P. 18 (room 10, level 1) + P. 63.B (room 8, level 4). The text is a copy of 21 (room 8, levels 4 and 3).

4) Not discussed are fragments of one single text which were all found in the same room, though at different levels.

5) Note that all fragments were found in the entrances of Houses 1 and 3.
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

27, P.Kellis inv. P. 97 = P. 90.B (room 6, level 4, West wall) + P. 92.A+B (room 6, level 4, South wall) + P. 92.14 (room 1.a, level 1) + P. 92.18 (room 1.a, level 2).
28, P.Kellis inv. P. 31 (room 3, level 1) + P. 52.C (room 9, level 3).
29, P.Kellis inv. P. 92.B (room 6, level 4, South wall) + P. 92.7 (room 2, level 3).
31, P.Kellis inv. P. 61.L (room 8, level 4) + P. 68.A+E (room 6, level 3).
33, P.Kellis inv. P. 17.L+W (room 10, level 3) + P. 50 (room 6, level 1).
36, P.Kellis inv. P. 17.BB (room 10, level 3) + P. 63.A (room 8, level 4).
38.b, P.Kellis inv. P. 52.H (room 9, level 3) + P. 65.L (room 8, level 3).
43, P.Kellis inv. P. 1 (room 6, level 1) + P. 43 (room 5, level 3).
77, P.Kellis inv. P. 41 (room 7.a, level 2) + P. 78.D (room 6, level 3) + P. 92.A (room 6, level 4, South wall).
84, T.Kellis inv. A/5/198+263 (# 198 from room 6, level 3, # 263 from room 1).

In House 3, therefore, we find the following movements of ‘wandering fragments’ dispersed over the house (texts with a ‘room 6’ component have been clustered first, other rooms are listed in numerical order):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room + Room + Room</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Room + Room</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 1</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 1.a</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 7.a</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plan of Areas A-B showing results of the 1986–88 excavations

Section A–A through excavations
Plan of Area A House 3, with locations of sections
A glance on the plan of House 3 will easily show that room ‘6’ (a very central room in that house) stood in virtually immediate connection with rooms ‘1’ - ‘3’, ‘8’ and ‘9’; the connection of room ‘6’ with room ‘7.a’ goes through room ‘7.b’ and the connection with room ‘10’ only through (the rather large) room ‘9’; the connection, however, between rooms ‘6’ and ‘11’ is only very indirect and it is not easy to see how part of 26 (inv. P.92.35.G) came into room ‘11’. Rooms 3 and ‘9’ were not directly adjacent; the doors of both rooms opened into room ‘6’ and any traffic between rooms 3 and ‘9’ must have gone via that room. Rooms ‘8’ and ‘9’ were adjacent and therefore the phenomenon of papyrus fragments wandering from one room to the other is easily acceptable. Traffic, however, between rooms ‘8’ and ‘10’ had to go through room ‘9’.

D. New insights coming from the Greek Kellis papyri:
Though there are obviously many parallels and resemblences between the contents of the 90 documents from a village in the Dakhleh Oasis published for the first time in this volume and the many thousands of documents from the Nile valley or the Fayum published over more than a century, one must reckon in general with the possibility, that the documentation from Kellis may show all kinds of divergences versus the documentation coming from the Nile Valley and that various aspects of life in the Oasis are different from life in the Nile valley.

Some new items of interest found in the Kellis papyri deserve to be highlighted:
1. Next to a multitude of well-known personal names, a substantial number of new personal names are found throughout these documents, i.e. we are dealing with names not listed in the usual onomastica of F. Preisigke’s Namenbuch or D. Foraboschi’s Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum. As far as these names have an Egyptian background they deserve further study, especially by competent Egyptologists.
2. There are a number of interesting new prosopographical data about, e.g., terms of office of high officials like the praesides Thebaidos (cf., e.g., 15, 19.a, 20, 23, 26, 27.2n.) and about ekdikoi, logistae and syndikoi of the Mothite nome (21, 25, 29).
3. We get some further information about the topography of the Hibite Nome (2, 35), the Panopolite Nome (30), and especially highly important first information about the Mothite Nome; one finds a number of village names and the name of a district ‘Mesobe’ within the nome (cf. Index VI), while 27 offers the first instance of a pagus in the Mothite nome.

6) We have not found a marked difference between the quality of the Greek language as used in the new texts from Kellis and that in documents from Arsinoe, Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchos, or any other place in the Nile valley. It is true, however, that in some cases the Kellis papyri feature phrasings not commonly found in the papyrological documentation from elsewhere; cf., e.g., the notes to 31.19ff. and 37.12ff.
7) There is, e.g., no flooding of the Nile to reckon with. It is a also worthwhile to record here that in the Kellis papyri one finds, e.g., reflections of dating practices having become obsolete elsewhere in the Nile valley (cf. D. Hagedorn - K.A. Worp, Das Wandeljahr im römischen Ägypten, ZPE 104 [1995] 243-255).
4. Various points of administrative and judicial procedure and the collection of taxes are illustrated; cf., e.g., 15 (selection of collectors of the chrysargyron), 19 (petition to the governor of the Thebaid + hypographe (?) on the verso), 20 (petition because of theft), 21 (petition because of assault), 23 (selection of comarchs in a petition concerning assault), 24 (declaration to the bureau of the dux), 27 (notification to the praepositus pagi), 29 (collection of the costs of transportation of statues to Alexandria), 76 (letter concerning the collection of chrysargyron). Especially interesting are also the data concerning the administration of the Mothite nome separately from the Hibite nome (cf. 41.4n.).

5. The many private letters in the volume (actually, circa 1/3 of all Greek papyri published in this volume are personal letters and short business notes; for unpublished Kellis material cf. above, sub 'A') offer much information about the personal life of inhabitants of the village, but sometimes also tell us something about people living in the Nile valley. Exceptionally interesting is 63 with its Manichaean background. The considerable distance between the Kellis and the Nile Valley (a stretch of ca. 300 km of extremely desolate desert land) might be taken to be an unsurmountable obstacle against regular traffic, but in fact communications seem to have been rather regular. In this respect it should also be noted that the ceramics and various artefacts found at Kellis show many indisputable links with the Nile Valley.

6. Next to petitions to some government official, other official texts (1, 3, 15, 19 - 29), and private letters, this volume contains also a number of various interesting juridical texts, e.g. leases (31 - 33), sales and gifts (8, 34 - 39), loans of money and oil (18, 40 - 47, 49), a manumission of a slave (48), an exchange of property rights (30), and a parachoresis of land (4); in a number of cases the nature of a mutilated contract cannot be established more precisely.

7. The wealth of new economic data coming from these papyri deserves special attention: we get, e.g., interesting new data about interest paid on loans of money and this stimulated further research into that subject (cf. the introduction to 40 - 47). The texts from Kellis also provide us with unique information about the manufacture of commodities and prices and about agricultural production and consumption in the Dakhleh Oasis in the 4th century A.D. Also interesting are the numismatical practices reflected by some documents (talents actually paid in nummi; cf. also 29).

8. Finally, the astrological, magical and medical texts 82 - 89 highlight these facets of life in Kellis, while 90 is a school text which at the same time illustrates, again, a facet of the local economy.

8) The following communities in the Nile Valley (ἡ Αἰγυπτός, cf. 76, 81) maintaining relations with Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis are mentioned in the Greek documents: Aphrodite (cf. 30, 32, 42 - 44), Antinoopolis 71, 77), Hermopolis (cf. 21, 51, 52, 66) and Panopolis (30).
FROM THE SURFACE OF AREA A

1: FRAGMENTS OF AN OFFICIAL DOCUMENT
(A PREFECTURAL DECREES?)

(293 - 294)

P.Kellis inv. A/0/1 (Area A, Structure 4, surface of room 1). H. 12.6 x B. ca. 11.3 cm. The glass frame contains several papyrus fragments all featuring on the recto (not published here) an identical type of 'chancery writing' (for a palaeographical analysis of this cf. G. Cavallo in Aegyptus 45 [1965] 216-49); it cannot be established how these fragments fit together. The verso of one of the fragments is also inscribed (the writing runs across the fibers) and it is this text (written by a well-trained cursive hand) which is published below. The text was mentioned previously in JSSEA 17 (1987) 173-74. 9

NB: A small fragment mounted in the same frame does not belong to this papyrus.

1 "Γέτους [ἐνάτον τού κυρίου ήμών Γαίου Αὐρηλίου]
2 Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ έτους η τού κυρίου]
3 ήμών Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Αὐτοκρατόρων
4 Καισάρων ζ Μεγίστων Σαρματικῶν μεγίστων καὶ (έτους) ά]
5 τῶν κυρίων ήμών Φελιστίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίου]
6 καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτων]
7 Καισάρων ζ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐσεβῶν Σεβαστῶν, ὑπατείας Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ ε]
8 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ δ Σεβαστῶν, τῇ προд —]
9 Καλαμήδην Month name, Κονπάλιος (?)]
10 Φήλιξ ὁ διασημότατος ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου
11 καὶ προ[]
12 οὐντάζ[ ]
13 ϑν α[ ]
14 σαντος[ ]
15 φειν κο[ ]
16 Απολλ[ ]
17 τό πλεισ[tau]
18 ροκαιτο[ ]
19 ἀῖφοι[ ]

"In the ninth year of our lord Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus and in the 8th year of our lord Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Imperatores Caesares Germanici maximi Sarmatici maximi and in the 1st year of our lords Flavius Valerius

9) The hand of the chancery writing features resemblances to that of the unpublished P.Kellis inv. A/2/90+91 (from House 2) and the verso of that papyrus also shows text written by a cursive hand. Though the handwriting on the verso of both papyri looks similar, the cursive writing of inv. A/2/90+91 cannot be matched with that of 1 (its size is different) and for that reason any thought of a combination of 1 with inv. A/2/90+91 must be rejected.
Constantius and Galerius Valerius Maximianus nobilissimi Caesares, Pii, Felices, Augusti, in the 5th consulate of Diocletianus and in the 4th consulate of Maximianus the Augusti, on the n° day before the Kalends of the month —. Rupilius Felix, vir perfectissimus, praefectus Aegypti —.

This tantalizing scrap contains in its present stage not much more than the remnants of an elaborate, largely restored dating formula after the emperors Diocletian and Maximian and the Caesars Constantius and Galerius (for their most elaborate regnal formula cf. R.S. Bagnall - K.A. Worp, Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt 9f.; cf. also ZPE 61 [1985] 97-98 on P.Lond. III 958), probably followed immediately by a consular dating formula. This direct combination of dating elements is rare in papyri from this period (cf. P.Laur. IV 176.18-20n.; for a parallel from a much earlier period cf., e.g., BGU I 140.3-5 + BL IV 3 and VIII 19). If the example of the BGU-text is followed, the dating formula may be related to a rather special, highly official type of dating of a document and within the context of such a dating one may be attracted to think that after the name Φίλιξ in l. 10 an epithet and the office of governor of Egypt should be restored (see note ad loc.); if this is acceptable, it is a short step further to restore τάδε λέγει and regard this papyrus as the remnants of a prefectural decree (for such decrees preserved in papyri from Roman Egypt, see P. Bureth in RHD 46 (1968) 246-262 and his article ‘Le préfet d’Egypte, 30 av. J.-C. - 297 ap. J.-C.’ in ANRW X.1 [1988] 472-502 [with addenda by G. Bastianini, ibid., 503-517]; cf. also G. Bastianini, ‘Εξαρχος Αιγύπτου nel formulario dei documenti da Augusto a Diocleziano’, ANRW X.1 581-597). It must be stressed, however, that all of this is very speculative; of course, the actual contents of the prefectural decree cannot be reconstructed with any confidence.

1 ff. In view of the size of the lacuna it seems reasonable to suppose that at least some numerals of the regnal years were written out in full; regnal years 9, 8 and 1 (running from l.iii - 28.viii.293) or 10, 9 and 2 (29.viii.293 - 28.viii.294) may be thought of; cf. below, l. 10n. Of these alternative sets of years it may be slightly more attractive to think of the ordinal ‘ninth’ was written out in full (on this phenomenon cf. J.D. Thomas in ZPE 24 [1977] 241-43, H.C. Youtie in Scriptiunculae Posteriores I 455-56, and A. von Stylow & J.D. Thomas in Chiron 10 [1980] 537-551) and the lacunas are better filled if this goes with Diocletian in 293 rather than with Maximian in 294. It is, however, not absolutely excluded to restore the numerals as δεκάτου (Diocletian), θ (Maximian) and β (the Caesars), and if one prefers their restoration and a date of 294, the consulate in l. 7-8 should be restored as

7 Κοιμάρως[ν Ευσεβοῦς Εὐσεβυων Σεβαστωντι κοιμάρως Κωνσταντίου] και Μακεδονομετάτης, ητατείας Κωνσταντίου


10) We should like to thank our colleague R.S. Bagnall who offered the correct solution for restoring this part of the dating formula.
Diocletianus VIII & Maximianus VIII), but any of these years is problematic in view of l. 10 (cf. note ad loc.)

Under all circumstances, however, the restoration of the regnal formula implies some twisting; while the papyrus has broken off at the right rather straight, present restorations count 32 letters in l. 1, 33 letters in l. 2, 44 letters in l. 3, 42 letters in l. 4, and 36 letters in both ll. 5 and 6, while for Diocletian V as first consul in l. 7 a restoration of 46 letters is needed (42 letters, if only Kuvoracriou is restored). If restorations within the 32-36 letters range are to be applied throughout, those now proposed in ll. 3-4 and 7 are too long, but it is always possible that some words in these lines were written with abbreviations, or that they were simply omitted.

3-4. One regularly finds in papyri from this period the words Aὐτοκράτορας Καῖσαρας at the very start of the formula. That, however, is ruled out here by ἡμῶν at the start of l. 3, which suggests a restoration of τοῦ κυρίου at the end of l. 2 and the restoration of the same element τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν before Diocletian’s name in l. 1.


9. No doubt a name of a Roman month followed Καλέστης; an indication of an 'n-th day before the Kalends of month N.N.' may have stood before it, unless reference is made to exactly the first day (Kalends) of the month in question. For the use of Roman months in datings in Greek papyri from Kellis cf. 22 and 41.

10. The omicron before the very much damaged η on the right hand edge (of this letter only a speck of ink remains slightly above line level) could, of course, also be the initial vowel of a noun, but within the context of this papyrus (featuring chancery writing on its other side and an unusually long dating formula + extended imperial titulature in the opening lines on this side) it seems reasonable to assume that the Latin name Felix was followed by an article (ὁ) and that we are dealing with a high official whose name was followed by ‘vir perfectissimus’ (ὁ διοικητὴς πρωτεύοντας). The only such Felix occupying a high position in Egypt who fits into the chronological time frame 293 - 294 (cf. the regnal formula in ll. 1-7) is Rupilius Felix, known to have been the praefectus Aegypti in 292/3 (cf. T. Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine [Cambridge, Mass. 1982] 149; as his first-known successor is Aristius Optatus (297), there is no obstacle against dating this papyrus to either 293 or 294.
2 θηβαίοδος Παπ. 4 πασαίτ[.] ιβιτων Παπ. 7 δε 8 υπομηματισθεις Παπ. 11 ιβιτον Παπ.

"In the consulate of Postumius Titianus and Virius Nepotianus. To the office of the præfectus Thébaïdos, with the concurrence of N.N., officialis of the same office, from Aurelius N.N. son of Pasaï- and Tsenereris, from the city of Hibis ---. I acknowledge, swearing by the heavenly fortune of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantius and Maximian nobilissimi Caesares, --- the two sons of Tbekis and, moreover, of your office (?) --- nouphis according to the recorded --- of the current month Mesore, and I demand that the harvested produce be returned to me and I have put forward N.N. son of Pekysis from the village of Madiophris of the Hibite nome as my surety, who is present and consents ---."
Though we have a sizable portion of this document dating from Mesore 301 (cf. the consular date in l. 1 and l. 9, τοὺς ἄντρος μηνὶς Μεσορῆ; probably one folding is missing at the left), its actual content is not clear. The document was sent by an inhabitant of the city of Hibis (l. 4) to the office of the praefectusi of the Thebaid, with the concurrence of an official of the same office (ll. 2-3, ἕπακολουθοῦντος Ν.Ν. ὀφφικιαλίου τῆς αὐτῆς τάξεως), and it appears to contain a declaration (confirmed by an oath by the emperors, ll. 5-6) that something had been done, or would be done, by/to two persons who were the sons of a woman Tbekis (cf. l. 7, τοὺς δύο ἐκ μητρὸς Τβήκιος) and who perhaps belonged to the office of the praeases addressed (cf. ll. 7-8, ἢπὶ τὰ καὶ τῆς σεβα- | [τοῦ] τάξεως; the reading of σεβα- and the supplement is all but secure); furthermore something has happened (or, [rather ?], should happen) in accordance with the officially recorded notes (cf. l. 8, ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἱπτομενακοσεῖαι). Finally, the petitioner apparently asks that the harvested crop will be returned to him (cf. ll. 9-10, ἀνωτέρω τὰ καρπιστό- | [μενα μω ἄποδο]βγῦναι) and he provides a surety for himself in the person of a son of a certain Pekysis from a village in the Hibite nome (cf. ll. 10-11, ἤπαιρειχον δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐγγυητὴν κτλ.). It is conceivable that this document contains a complaint that the petitioner’s crop had been stolen by the two sons of Tbekis and that the surety was intended to back up the petitioner’s story.

1. These are the consuls of the year 301, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., Consuls of the Later Roman Empire (Atlanta 1987; hereafter: CLRE), s.a. The restoration of the lacuna at the left contains 17 letters against 11 letters now restored in ll. 2; was line 1 written with some ekthesis? Cf. also ll. 5-6n.

2-3. [t]η[τ]α τάξεως in l. 3 implies the restoration of at least the word τάξεως in l. 2; the present restoration (11 letters) seems too short (cf. l. 1 n.), but a restoration of, e.g., [Τη] πάξει τοῦ πρίγκιπας τῆς κτλ. (i.e. 21 letters restored) may be just a bit too long (cf. also ll. 5-6 n.); the same objection may be raised against restoring, e.g., [Τη Ν.Ν., πρίγκιπι τάξεως γ]ην κτλ.

The opening of a document with the element ἕπακολουθοῦντος [Ν.Ν. ὀφφικιαλίου in the address seems unparalleled.

4. As the name of the petitioner’s mother is specifically mentioned (for the name’s ending -νερῆς cf. CPR XVII.A 4.4-5n.), one may assume that the name preceding this must refer to the petitioner’s father. Probably one should restore/read it as Πασαίτης[ς] or Πασαίτης[ς]: a name Πασαίς/Πασάτος, however, is not yet listed in the usual papyrological onomastica, but cf. names like Τασάτης and Πασάτης.

4-5. A restoration of τῆς Μεγαλῆς Ὁσαίης (16 letters) would fill the lacuna between τάξεως (l. 4) and Ὁμολογοῦ (l. 5) satisfactorily, but an alternative restoration like τῆς ἄνω Θηβαίδος (14 letters) cannot be excluded.

5-6. In general an oath is intended either to confirm a statement that something has happened in the past, or to confirm a promise to do something in the future (for the distinction between these two kinds of oaths, see in general E. Seidl, Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht [München 1933-1935]). In the present case it looks as if the oath was taken in order to confirm a past event, before a specific request for future action was made (l. 9 ff.). The formula of the imperial oath found here (referring to the emperors Diocletian and Maximian and to the Caesars Constantius and Maximianus Galerius) has not occurred before, cf. K.A. Worp’s collection of imperial oath formulas for the period 284-641 in ZPE 45 (1982) 199-223; a rather similar oath formula for Diocletian and his colleague(s) omits the adjective ὀφάνειον before τῆς and adds the words καὶ ἔκπυρν thereafter. The first known case of an imperial oath referring to the ὀφάνειον τῆς of the emperors is found in SB XIV 11551.4 (Hermorp., 324 - 337, much restored). It is certainly odd to see in the restoration of the lacuna at the start of l. 6 the word ἑπιβαστῶν between < >, but the lay-out of the papyrus seems to make it certain that l. 5 was sufficiently filled...
already with ∆ωκλητικα- (one expects some blank margin after it, cf. the next lines); the following syllable -νωθ and the copula καὶ cannot be squeezed also into that line. Under the present circumstances the restoration at the start of line 6 counts already 20 letters (for the length of the lacuna cf. notes to ll. 1, 2.) and after the name of Maximian there is no simply space for the expected element Σεβαστών; of course, one may also speculate about leaving καὶ Μακρινιοῦ out while restoring the title Σεβαστών, i.e. restore 15 letters. So much is certain that the oath formula ends with τῶν ἐπίφανεστάτων Κοινάρων. After that one expects the copula καὶ- to belong to an infinitive going with ὡμολογῶ (l. 5), but we have not found a suitable infinitive. Reading κορη[ instead of καὶ in the papyri from Kellis, i.e. restore 15 letters. So much is certain that the oath formula ends with τῶν ἐπίφανεστάτων Κοινάρων. After that one expects the copula καὶ- to belong to an infinitive going with ὡμολογῶ (l. 5), but we have not found a suitable infinitive. Reading κορη[ instead of καὶ may seem attractive in view of l. 9-10, τῶν καρπίττων ἡμεῖς, but is palaeographically difficult.

7. One may also restore, of course, νιοφάρα. 7-8. The reading and restoration of τῆς προε-τῶν πάξεως is all but secure. In fact, readings like τῆς προε-τος or even τῆς διόπολος-τοις seem also possible.

8. Ἰμαζή looks like the accusative of a personal name; restore, e.g., Ὄμηθος[νίθαμ. 9. Ἰονή[; one may also read Ἰμαζή[ or even think about reading Ἰμαζή[. The declaration was written evidently in the period 25.vii - 23.viii.301 (cf. = τῆς διόπολος μηνής Μεσορή = 'the current month Mesore').

11. The ink trace before ἀπὸ can only be read as belonging to the horizontal stroke of a sigma. Pekysis must have been the father of the surety put forward by the sender of the document.

A village name Madiophris (or read λ instead of ς and/or β, or even ε, instead of ρ?) in the Hibite nome is not yet known. For the geography of the Hibite nome in general cf. G. Wagner, Les Oasis d'Egypte 155ff.

3: DOCUMENT CONCERNING IRRIGATION  
(Mid-4th century)

P.Kellis inv. A/1/75 + 76 (both from House 1, floor of room 9) + P. 92.12 (House 3 [!], room 1, level 1). The papyrus consists of several fragments now combined into two contiguous units, Frag. I = A/1/75 + 76 (H. 14 x B. 13.3 cm.) and Frag. II = P. 92.12 (H. 12 x B. 3.3 cm.). There is a top margin of 2 cm. and a blank space of ca. 2.5 cm. between ll. 16 and 17. The writing runs parallel with the fibers, the verso is blank. Frag. I has three vertical folds at ca. 3.5 cm. intervals and is broken along similar folds at left and right; Frag. II is similarly broken along the folds at the left and right. Since all the extant folds are at regular intervals of ca. 3.5 cm. it seems most likely that the papyrus was originally rolled up and, when it was flattened by pressure, it broke into a number of strips all of about the same width. The space needed to restore two or more names + patronymics at the start of ll. 1 and a (post-) consular formula at the start of line 6 suggests that there are at least 2 strips (possibly more), each of that width, missing from the left hand edge plus a similar number from the right hand edge. The original sheet was therefore at least 9 x 3.5 cm. = 31.5 cm. wide (not counting margins) and at least 4/9ths of the written text is lost. For organizational purposes the papyrus fragment A/1/75 was referred to previously as 'P.Kellis 13' (mentioned JSSBA 17 [1987] 172; plate in Mediterranean Archaeology 1 [1988] 177, ill. 14 [with wrong caption, cf. ibidem 168, where 'ill. 15' is referred to]). NB: It is quite remarkable that fragments belonging to the same document were found in two different, even not directly-adjacent houses (Houses 1 and 3); probably at least one of these was taken by the wind from one house and dropped at random into the other house ca. 20 meters away (cf. the plan of Houses 1 - 3, p. 5).
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

So much of this document is missing that it is difficult to make any consecutive sense of what remains. An attempt at analysis produces the following result:

(1) 1.1: Opening, probably of the 'A (+?) to B χαίρειν' -type.

(2) At first sight the document is an ἐντολή = 'order, mandate, power of attorney' (cf. l. 5) closed off by a dating + subscriptions (II. 6-11). In II. 2ff. reference is made to a hearing or deposition of a petition before a praeses (or a dux, cf. l. 2n.); this would explain why the ἐντολή now follows. Line 3 would then contain a reference to the authors' modest status which they invoke in approaching a high official (cf. 20.5n. for this rhetorical topos). At issue is the transport or transfer of water. The petitioners claim apparently that they have done no wrong and that they are not responsible for the δοκιμαία of the village since they no longer (?) transport the water (l. 4). LL. 2-5 are, then, the body of the ἐντολή (cf. also l. 8.).

(3) The start of 1. 6 apparently preserves part of a dating formula (cf. note ad loc.).

(4) Starting with the second half of l. 6 a number of names are given of people subscribing to the ἐντολή; their number (a considerable number of people seem to have been involved) suggests that this was issued at the local, village level; cf. 24.

(5) It is unclear, however, how the ἐντολή is connected with the present petition. Did it arise earlier as a result of a previous hearing and is it now included in this document as part of the petitioner's case11? In II. 12-16 we find references to banishment and to 'these poor and wretched ones' (l. 16). No doubt therefore the claimants had not only been saddled with a responsibility which was not rightly their's, but they had also been wrongly punished, so they felt, for their failure to carry it out.

(6) The document ends with a note (l. 17) made by a second hand on what had been or needed to be done on the matter; reference is made to the records of an official whose honorific διασυμπότης suggests a praeses Thebaidos or a dux (cf. l. 2 n.).


The writing of the papyrus is the same as that of 15 from 357 (cf. below, l. 8n.), hence the date of this text to the mid-4th century; the consular dating [?; cf. l. 6 n.] is not incompatible with such a dating.

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1. Α[ι]φηλίας or Α[ιρη]λίας: although only a corner of the letter remains and alpha is by no means certain, the size of the following lacuna more or less compels the reading.

For the Mothite nome cf. 41.4n.

Though the beta of Τιβερίας is damaged, Τιβερίας (cf. 50.9 and note ad loc.) cannot be read.

2. This line seems to contain reference to a hearing or an enquiry or a deposition of a document; the supplement at the start is inspired by 23.14. For the supplement at end cf. l. 17. Instead of διασύμπατος τοῦ δούλου one could restore διασυμπατήσαντα δούλου, cf. 24.1 (352): τάξαλως τοῦ νεονηματίου μοι διασυμπατήσαντα δουλός. Though the evidence shows that the honorific abstract ἐνθρεία refers predominantly to the provincial governor (cf. CPR V 7.9n.), there is in itself no reason to think that it could not apply to a dux and his 'virtus'.

11) It should be noted that all of II. 1-16 was written by one hand, so one might argue that somewhere in II. 3-11 a copy of an earlier document [a dated ἐντολή + subscriptions] was cited within the context of a new document.
3. The supplement at the start is 'exempli gratia'. Petitioners typically claim that they have done no wrong; μετριώτατος is a self-characterization of their status.

4. διυκλήσις is an addendum lexicis papyrologicis; it occurs in patristic authors, cf. G.W.H. Lampe, A Patristic Lexicon s.v.

   φίλε: the omickron is broken but secure; φὶκετα μετριώτατος would fit the space adequately and make reasonable sense. For μετριώτατος cf. l. 13, μετροφόρος

6. τὸ λαμπροστάτου κόμιτος may be part of a consular dating formula. If so, likely dates are the years 344 (Sallustius comes) or 347 (Fl. Eusebius v.c., comes), cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE under these years (cf. also op. cit. the note to 345 on Fl. Albimons). The years 372, 374, 392 are less likely, as from 368 onwards the governor of the Thebaid was usually a vir clarissimus (λαμπροστάτους), not a vir perfectissimus (διυκλήσις), cf. J.Lallemand, L'administration civile 61-2. The handwriting is also likely to be slightly earlier than this. The fact that no month + date have been given does not need to detain us (cf. in general 8.13n.).

The occurrence of a Korax as the father of an Aurelius Kapiton in 24.15 suggests a restoration [Κοράκας], which would fit the lacuna well.

7. οὐντέβασις: perhaps write οὐν Τὴβάσις. Although not listed as a name by F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, or D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum, there are several Egyptian names of the Tβ-type.

The name Πρεσβευώρις is not listed by Preisigke or Foraboschi, opp.cit., although an Egyptian name-type in Πρεσβι (-derived from Demotic p3-rmt?) is well attested; cf. W. Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit (Leipzig 1901 [repr. Chicago 1978]) 32* Nr. 224.

χαλκεία: not listed by Preisigke or Foraboschi opp.cit. as a personal name. It may well be that this is rather an occupation name, χαλκαίες, cf. l. 9, παραχόντας.

8. Tiberius at the start of this line was perhaps the same man as the father of Aurelius Timotheos son of Tiberius in l. 11.

   Depending upon how many names are lost in the lacuna at the start, the singular ἐθέματος should perhaps be changed into the plural ἐθέματα.

An Aurelius Psais son of Pete— occurs also in 15.2-3 (357).

9. παραχόντας: not known as a personal name; it may be a new variant of παραχύτης, 'bath attendant' (cf. P.Oxy. XII 1499.2-3: παραχύτης δημοσίου βαλανείου), or 'water carrier'; cf. M. Wisseman in Glotta 62 (1984) 80-89. Either meaning would fit the context of the document well; cf. above l. 7n. on χαλκαίες. The variants παραχύτης and παραχόντας are also attested; see P.Sorb. II 69, 102.D3n.

Πινακίδας: cf. Πινακίδας, -δας, -τα etc.; all can be taken as variants of the Egyptian name Πενακάδα.

Γενέας: for the name cf. 76.33-34n.

10. For the name Πιετώνιος cf. 16.4n.

10-11. For the restoration of ἐγραψαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γραμματέα τῷ εἰδότῳ τῆς Αὐγήλιος Τιμίώτους Τιμίωτους, κτλ., cf. the sequence of subscriptions in 13 and in 24.

14. οἱ βορθόμενοι: most usually said of an advocate's clients, but it is difficult at this stage to see the document as a report of judicial proceedings.

προστάτης: προστάτος, 'acquisition of, claim to' seems unavoidable, although the word is apparently new in the papyri.

17. In itself it is conceivable that this line contains a prefectural (or ducal) hypographe given in response to a petition. For such hypographae cf. CPR XVII.A, Append. C. For praesides of the Thebaid cf. J. Lallemand, L'administration civile, 251-255 and the supplements to her list in TYXH 1 (1987) 192f; there are a number whose name ends ...ιανος.
From House 2 we have the following texts:

4) Parachoiresis by Pausanias, 331
5) Letter to Pausanias, from Gena
6) Letter to Gena, from Pausanias
7) Letter to Gena son of Pataias, from Harpokration

8) Sale of a slave to Tithoes son of Petesis, 362
9) Agreement with Tithoes son of Petesis
10) Order for payment to Tithoes, from Ammonios
11) Order for payment to Samoun son of Tithoes, from Ammonios
12) Letter to Tithoes, from Samoun

13) Division of an inheritance, 333
14) Agreement by Horion, 356
15) Notification to the Praeses Thebaidos from Aurelius Psais, 357
16) Memorandum to Gelasius, from Aionianus

It is clear that among the papyri coming from this house certain clusters can be distinguished which may be related to occupants of this house, cf. esp. texts 4-7 (texts related to Pausanias and Gena) and 8-12 (texts related to Tithoes and his son Samoun). It should be noted that a letter written in Coptic, inv. A/2/76+7712, also belongs to the latter cluster. Within each cluster the exactly dated texts have been given first. Texts 13-16 apparently do not belong directly to either of the previous clusters, nor are they clearly interrelated among themselves; their relationship, therefore, to any of the other known occupants of House 2 remains problematic. As regards 16 it should be noted that one may be dealing with persons who occur also in a papyrus (still unpublished) from House 4 in Kellis.

4: CONTRACT OF PARACHORESIS

P.Kellis inv. A/2/63+69 (both from House 2, room 2, level 2 [A/2/63 low in level 2 in NE corner of room]). The papyrus consists of several fragments which can be combined into two larger units; these, however, cannot be combined further with each other with any certainty. Frag. I: H. 2.5 x B. 3.5 cm. Frag. II: H. 20 x B. 5 cm. At the bottom of Frag. II is a margin of 8 cm. The verso is blank.

Frag. I:

1 [Αὐρήλιος Παυσανίας Οὐαλερίων ἄφως τῆς]  
2 [Μοθιτών τόλεως] Αὐρηλίω II[............. ἀπὸ]  
3 [κώμης Κέλλεως] τῆς αὐτῆς [τόλεως χαῖρειν.]  
4 [Ὁμολογῶ παρακεχωρηκέναι αὐτῷ τὸ υπαρχόν μου Object]  
5 [ἐκ μέρους ἁπτηλωτικοῦ τῆς κώμης]  
6 τῆχεις] τεκτονικὸς Numerals  
7 [τῆχεις] τεκτονικοῦς Numerals; γειτόνες

Frag. II:

8  
9 [ητος άδελφο]  
10 ψ]μ]λο]ύ τόπου ἕ]  
11 [ἡ οὲ ἐὰν ὁμι]γις] [τοις τῶν θείας] μοι διὰ παιντός [ἀτό παιντός τοῦ ἐπελευ-]  
12 [σομένο]ι. Κυρία ἡ παρακεχωρηκέναι σις ....... γραφεῖα]  
13 [ἔφ] ὑπογραφής μου βεβαίω ἐξω καὶ ἐννομος]  
15 [ὁς ἐν δημο]σίως κατακεκυμένη [καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς]  
16 [ἔκολογν]α.

17 [Τιτανείας Ιουνίου Βάσσου [καὶ Φλ(αυλίου) Ἀθλαβίου]  
18 [τῶν λαμπρ]τάτων, Τιβι β]  
19 (Μ.2) [Αὐρήλ]ιος Παυσανίας [Οὐαλερίων ἄφως]  
20 τοι[χείρ]ισα τὸ προκαθίσιον Object]  
21 καὶ ἔ[περωτήθη]ς ὡμολόγησα.


"Aurelius Pausanias son of Valerius, former magistrate of the city of the Mothites, sends greetings to Aurelius P--, from the village of Kellis belonging to the same city. I acknowledge that I have ceded to you the (parcel) belonging to me - in the eastern part of the village -, n x n carpenter’s cubits in size -- (indication of neighbours), or whoever the neighbours may be at every side, while the right of eviction rests upon me under all circumstances against every person raising a claim. The docu-
ment of cession must be authoritative, written in \( n \) copies with my signature, and guaranteed and legal as if deposited in a public archive and in answer to the formal question I have replied positively. In the consulate of Iunius Bassus and Fl. Ablabius, \textit{viri clarissimi}, Tybi 2. (M. 2) I, Aurelius Pausanias son of Valerius, former magistrate, have ceded the aforementioned (parcel) and in answer to the formal question I have replied positively."

This papyrus contains a badly preserved \textit{parachoresis} or 'contract of cession' (cf. II. 4, 13); despite its fragmentary condition it is clear that at least a house or a plot of land was involved (cf. I. 10, ἔλεος τόπου, and also I. 11, 'neighbours on all sides', which evidently refers to the ceded immovables). Originally such \textit{parachoreseis} involved only cataecic land but later all kinds of private land could be ceded. For such contracts of cession cf. R. Taubenschlag, \textit{The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri} (Warsaw 1955) 228ff., 238, and H.J. Wolff, \textit{Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens} 166ff.; cf. also the remarks by P.J. Sijpsteijn in ZPE 19 (1975) 96 n. 15 and H.A. Rupprecht in Gedenkschrift Kunkel (Frankfurt/Main) 365ff. and the full discussion by B. MacGing in P.Dub. 3. For recently published cessions from Oxyrhynchus cf. P.Oxy. XLIX 3482 (where there is also a list of relevant parallels) and LI 3638, LII 3690; cf. now also the full text of P.Oxy. III 663 published by B. Nielsen in BASP 29 (1992) 143-152, while two more such contracts from Oxyrhynchus will appear in a forthcoming volume of P.NYU II. Such documents are also known from the Arsinoite nome; cf., e.g., SB VI 9618, VIII 9906 and XVIII 13764. Apparently they are not yet known from the Great Oasis (the \textit{parachoresis} in SB VIII 9873 [244] deals with the cession of a half part of the activities of an undertaker).

1, 19. The name Pausanias (restored in I. 1 on the basis of I. 19) is one of those 'classical' Greek personal names occurring remarkably frequently in papyri from the Dakleh Oasis cf. G. Wagner, \textit{Les Oasis d'Égypte} 225ff. This name also occurs in other texts from Houses 2 and 3, cf. especially 38.a.1 (where also Pausanias' office as ἀρχηγὸς Μοθίτων τῶν ἱδρυτῶν is found), and the note ad loc.; there seems to be no obstacle against referring all of the attestations to one person.

2. It is just conceivable that one could restore here the name of the addressee and that of his father as: Ἀυριῆλ Παμουρ Παυσανίου. After all, Pausanias had some at least some kind of relationship with Pamour, cf. 38.a.1-2, 9-11. If we restore below in I. 13 κατ' ἑσπεριδῶν it could be assumed that 1 copy went to Pamour (evidently living in House 3), while the other copy was kept by Pausanias; was Pausanias perhaps living in House 2?

2-3. τῆς αὐτῆς [πόλεως]: the restoration of πόλεως is suggested by, e.g., 38.a.2-3. For the relationship between the village of Kellis and the city of the Mothites cf. 20.3-5n.

5-7. Probably these lines contain an indication of the situation of the plot of the land ceded and its size, cf. 38.a and 38.b.6ff. The Greek adjective ἀναπλωρικός = 'Eastern' (NB: one cannot read here ἄναπλωρικός!) suggests that the land was situated in the eastern part of the village. For the τῆς παντοκάμιος = 'the carpenter's cubit' (also used in 38.a and in 38.b.7ff.) as being the most common cubit (45 cm. long, as it consisted of 6 παλαιστὶς [palms] at 7.5 cm. each) cf. P.Oxy. IV 669.34-35n.; in general cf. K. Maresch, \textit{Beobachtungen zu den Längen- und Flächenmassen Ägyptens in römischer und byzantinischer Zeit} in P.Köln VII p. 177-87 and S.P. Vleeming, \textit{Demotic Measures of Length and Surface, chiefly of the Ptolemaic Period} in Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXIII 208ff., esp. 214 § 9.
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11-12. For the restoration at the start of 1. 11 cf. 38.a and 38.b.11. For the warranty formula used here cf. the references to various contracts of sale from Kellis given in the introd. to 36. The lacuna in 1. 11 between tau and nu in γέ[λω]νες is so wide that it must have contained an omega rather than an omikron.

13f. For the adjective to be restored before γραφεία cf. above, 1. 2n. For the formula used in II. 13-15 cf. the note to 37.12ff. and H.J. Wolff, Das Recht 162-63, for its juridical meaning cf. also M. Hässler, Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden (Berlin 1960) 77f.

17-18. The consulate is that of 331, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE s.a. As 331/2 happens to be a leap year, Tybi 2 = 29.xii.331. It is possible, of course, that the document was dated, like a number of other private contracts from this region, ‘καὶ Αἰγυπτίως’, in which case Tybi 2 in 331 would fall 89 days earlier, i.e. on 1.x. On the question of the survival and use of the Egyptian ‘annus vagus’ in Roman Egypt cf. D. Hagedorn - K.A. Worlp in ZPE 104 (1994) 243-255.

5: PRIVATE LETTER

(Ca. 330)

P.Kellis inv. A/2/109 (House 2, room 7, understairs cupboard, on base of bed). H. 26.5 x B. 10 cm. Complete with margins (2.5 cm. at the top, 1.5 cm. at the left, and 3.5 cm. at the bottom) intact. The pattern of worming suggests that the sheet was folded at some stage across the middle from top to bottom. Written along the fibres. Mentioned in JSSEA 17 (1987) 173. For organizational purposes the papyrus was referred to previously as ‘P.Kellis 22’.

1 Τῷ δεσπότῃ μου
2 Παυσανία
3 Γενᾶ χαίρειν. Προ[ηγο]ν-
5 [νειάν σ]ου προσαγορεύω
6 [μετὰ τῆς κυρίας μου Τεμοῦ
7 [καὶ τ]ῶν νίκων εὐχόμενος ὀλο-
8 κληρεῖν διὰ παντός· ὡς ἐκεί-
9 λέψας ἡ σῇ εὐγένεια, ἤθελον
10 ἐξαιτήσει ἀδελφὸς πρὸς τὴν σήν
11 [χ]ρηστήτητα, ἀλλὰ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ
12 [ . . . ] Πμ(ο)ν) Βερ(ε) βορινοῦ
13 [ . . . ] ἡμερῶν μετὰ πληρου
14 [τὸ] καρποῦ, διὰ τοῦτο τῶς ὑπερ-
15 [ε]βέμην, ἵνα μὴ ἔλθω
16 [μηδ'] ἐξανάσθη τὸ πράγμα.
17 [Ω]ς ἱστε, κοιν[ός] ἐστιν τῆς
18 καταστορᾶς. Εἰ ἔδοξεν ὡς
19 τῇ εὐγενείᾳ, πέμψον τῷ ἄδελ-
20 φῷ Τιμόθεον, ἵνα ποιήση
To my master Pausanias, Gena sends greetings. First of all I send many greetings to your nobility together with my lady Tamou and your sons, praying for your well-being for all time. Since your nobility bade me to, I wanted to come to your goodness straightaway, but since ... in (the village of) Pmoun Beri ... days with ... for the crop, for this reason I delayed a while, lest I come and the business be lost. As you know, it is the time of the sowing. So if it seems good to your nobility, send brother Timotheos to transact the business instead of me. And please write to Gaius for me about a donkey, so that I may make haste, since I do not have a ... beast. I pray that you are well, master, and prosper for many years.” (Verso) “To my lord Pausanias, Gena the carpenter.”

A letter from the carpenter Gena to Pausanias. Both parties are found also in 6 written by Pausanias (for him, see 4.1n.) to Gena. Although Gena is addressed there as ‘my lord brother’, the fact that here he calls Pausanias his ‘master’ (ll. 1, 25-26), ‘your nobility’ (ll. 4-5, 9, 19) and ‘your goodness’ (ll. 10-11) suggests that their relationship is one of master and servant rather than of equals. In fact in both texts Gena is found acting as an agent for Pausanias for in ll. 11-14 of this letter he seems to be involved in some business on Pausanias’s behalf while ll. 18-21 concern some unspecified matter which Gena suggests might be undertaken by Pausanias’s other agent Timotheos rather than by himself.

4-5. etugéneixai is supplemented from ll. 9 and 19. Although η ση etugéneia may seem to rule out η etugéneło σου, both forms are found; the latter is more usual in private letters, see P.Oxy. LIX 4004.10n. (also containing further literature for the use of the term etugéneio).
6. The initial letters of the personal name Τεμοи are abraded but secure; either an indeclinable variant, or perhaps a gen. sing. Τεμοο of Τεμοῖος, cf. D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum. Maybe she was Pausanias’ wife.
11. Although χρηστότης as a honorific is often found in a Christian context (see P.Oxy. LVI 3863.6 n. with ref.), it also occurs from the 2nd century onwards of any patron; see F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch III, Abschn. 9, s.v.

12. Although there are some traces, ἐτοικία cannot be read before Πμ(ον)της. For names in Πμ(ον)της in the Oases, see G. Wagner, Les Oasis d’Egypte 29; for the element Βαβ <πγ> νε (= ‘new, young’ in Coptic) cf. ibidem 163.

13. The sense has to be something like ‘since I was in north Pmoun Beri for some days on account of sowing the crop’, but the precise wording is unclear. There is insufficient space for χρηστότης; perhaps a numeral before ημερῶν was preceded by ἦν. The meaning of μετεπαληπτῶν is equally unclear; separating μετά from ἐπέκειται does not solve the question how the latter should be interpreted.

19-20. The ‘brother Timotheos’ referred to here may be identical with the Timotheos who acts as Pausanias’s agent in 6.4, 27, 51.

24. Though the singular may be somewhat surprising (not listed by F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch I, but cf. LSJ s.v. κτήμος, 2) the reading κτήμος is fairly reliable; it remains uncertain, however, whether it was preceded by άνείκην. Why the author of the letter would have used here the ponderous wording άνείκην κτήμος rather than a simple word δνο (cf. 1. 22), must remain an open question.

24-27. This more elaborate closing formula of a letter seems to be found more frequently in letters from the 2nd and 3rd century (cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch s.v. ετοικία) but there are some other 4th-century examples among the Kellis papyri cf. the closing formulas of 46, 64, 69, 72.

29. For τέκτων τετοιου in the papyri cf. Th. Reil, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten, Diss. Leipzig 1913, esp. 74ff. The trade is fairly well represented in the papyri from Kellis, cf. the attestations listed in Index IX.

6: PRIVATE LETTER

(Ca. 330)

P.Kellis inv. A/2/83 (House 2, room 5, level 3, corner room 6) + A/2/92 (room 6, level 3, near door to room 3). H. 30.5 x B. 7.3 cm. Written across the fibers and continued down the fibers in the lefthand margin. After writing, the papyrus was then turned over from the right to the left and the letter finished off on the lower half of the back. The address was written on the upper half and the papyrus was folded across the middle with the result that it was split into two pieces of roughly equal size which became separated at some time in the past. Mentioned in JSSEA 17 (1987) 173. For organizational purposes the two papyrus fragments were referred to previously as ‘P.Kellis 20’ and ‘P.Kellis 21’.

1  Κ[ν]ρού[ψ] μοι έκαλε[ψ]
2  Γ[ε][ν]δ[ί] [Π]ιανασίας
3  χαί(ο)πέρ[ν] [Έ]μεταλόμην
4  τῷ [άκαι] Τιμοθέω
5  ἀτ[ου]ταλίαν χωρίδων
6  ατ[ ca. 7 ] ψος εἰς τὰ
7  ατ[ ca. 7 ] ου [ετε] καὶ ἐπ[ν]
8  ε[ε]θείν. [Ε]τείν] ἐξήγησα τερι
9  τῶν χωριδίων, φήσει
10  ὁ άκαλφός Ἰ[π]ε[ν] Εύδων δῶ
παρ' Ἀιρη[λίοι]ν Βησσάτος

tάκτονος ἀπ' Ἡμ(ῶν) Τέκαλες

Υπέρ [του ἐν]ῶς ἐκάστου

σιτοῦ καγκ(ἐλλων) δώδεκα ἀχρ-

[ιο]...[ι]ν Ἁςτενού

οὐν [πέμψα]ν πρὸς ὑμᾶς

τὸν ἡμέτερον Σινέα.


τοῦ ἐνῶς οὕτως καθαροῦ καγκ(ἐλλους)

[δ]ώδεκα, ὡς ἄξιο-

θεῖς ἀνελθῆς μετὰ τοῦ-

[τ]οὺ τοῦ Σινεῶς καὶ το-

[ήσης τὸν αὐτὸν ὑιὸν

[ ] [ ] υνα τὰ

χωρίδια. Κ[αὶ εἰ] μὲν

ευρησας τὸν ἀδελ-

φῶν Τιμόθεον, τοῖ-

ον αὐτὸν ἀναδεξασθα[λ]

αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄλλους

δώδεκα καγκ(ἐλλους) οὕτως

εῖς τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὲρ

τοῦ ἄλλου. Εἰ τῇ πάλιν

οὐκ εὐρήσασις, δῆλον

οὐ αὐτὸς ἀναδεξα[θά]

τὸ μέτρον τῶν γεω-

μᾶτων καὶ ἀπόστει-

λον τὰ δύο χωρίδια

καὶ ἐὰν δηλώσῃς

μοὶ ὅτι εἰς τινα

γεωργὸν θέλεις

τὴν ἀποχήν τῶν

dώδεκα καγκ(ἐλλων) οὕτως, ἄπο-

στελῶ σοι χωρίς ἁμα-

λειας διὰ τῶν ἐλθῶν-

τῶν [ ] δύο καθαρῶν

ἐπὶ αὐτῶν Ἑρρωσθαῖ

σε εὐχομαί, κύριε [μοῦ]

ἀδελφε, πολλοῖς χρό-

νοις.

Left hand margin, downwards along the fibers:

Ὡς προείπον οὖν, ἔπεμψα διὰ Σινε[ῶς εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ ἐνῶς ἐν σιτῷ [οὐ]

καγκ(ἐλλους) ὁκτώ, ὡς τὰ δύο ἀποστεί-

λατε. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἔπεμψα
On the verso, lower half of the document upwards:
52 τῷ ἀδελφῷ Τιμοθεῷ τῷ εἰκότα ὑπὶ μὴν καὶ
53 τῷ ἀδελφῷ Σαραῖτι.
On the upper half of the papyrus:
54 Τῷ ἀδελφῷ ᾽Γενᾶ X Παυσανίᾳς.

9 φήσαι 10 ἡμέραν 31 τὸν: τ ἐκ κ. 32 εἰ δὲ 38 καὶ: κ ἐκ κορτ. 39 ὅτι ἐκ κορτ. 50-51 ἀποστείλητε.

“To my lord brother Gena, Pausanias sends greetings. I instructed brother Timotheos to send a pig ... for the ... and come back. When I made enquiries about the pigs, our brother said: ‘I found two at Aurelius Besas’s, the carpenter from Pmoun Tekale (?), at twelve cancelli of wheat for each one’. So I have made haste to send our (son) Sineus to you. Therefore you must send twelve cancelli of clean wheat for the (first) one, so that as requested you may return along with this Sineus and make the same son ... the pigs. And if you find brother Timotheos, get him to guarantee the other twelve cancelli of grain for him for the opportunity for the other one. And if in turn you don’t find him, you must of course guarantee the measure of the produce yourself and send the two pigs. And if you let me know that you want the receipt for the twelve cancelli of grain made out to a particular farmer, I’ll send it to you without any trouble via the two cleaners who are coming to him. I pray that you are well for many years, my lord brother.”

(Left hand margin and back) “So as I said before, I have sent for the price of one of them in grain eight cancelli via Sineus, so that you may send the two. For look, I have sent to brother Timotheos what is reasonable and also to brother Sarapis. Pausanias, to brother Gena.”

Pausanias writes to Gena with instructions about buying two pigs in exchange for grain. The exact details of the transaction are obscured by the broken state of the upper part of the papyrus. Nonetheless, what seems most likely is that Pausanias’s original agent Timotheos, who had been instructed to buy one animal (II. 3-8), had found two for sale (II. 8-15) at 12 cancelli per pig. Timotheos had some funds (I. 51), but not enough to buy both. Pausanias now informs Gena that he has sent his agent Sineus and orders (I. 15ff.) Gena to come up with twelve cancelli (eight of which apparently had been sent in the meantime by Pausanias to Gena through Sineus, cf. II. 15-17, 50) for the first pig and gives instructions for Gena to pass on to Timotheos in order to secure the other pig against a guarantee of twelve cancelli in the future (II. 25-32). If Timotheos could not be found, Gena himself was to act as guarantor (II. 32-37). The transaction may seem unnecessarily complex but it has obviously been complicated by Pausanias’s inability to contact Timotheos directly as well as by the need to provide a guarantee in addition to more funds.
The ecology and economics of pig-raising in Egypt in the New Kingdom period have been discussed by R.L. Miller, JEA 76 (1990) 125-140; it is likely that many of his conclusions remain valid for this later period.

2f. Pausanias (cf. 4.1 n.) and Gena are also known from 5 in which Gena is the writer and Pausanias the addressee. A brother Timotheos (here ll. 4, 26-27, 51) also occurs in 5.19-20.

5. For the supplement cf. ll. 36-37.

7-8. For the supplement cf. ll. 20-21.

12. For place names starting with an element Πμοήν cf. 5.12n.

14. For διος replacing ιπρός from the 4th century onwards, see H. Cadell, CdE 48 (1973) 329-38. For the cancellus measure, see 10.5n.

14-15. ὀχυ-με[π] . . . : Or perhaps με? A term ἀχέριστος, ‘unworked’ is found in P.Charite 12.3 and P.Herm. 22.14 (BL VIII 149), used of flax. It is difficult to see how it might have been applied to grain. Although the word is unattested, a possibility is that this was an attempt at writing ἀχ(ε)ριστικός, a negative form of χεριστικός, ‘entered in a list’, which is used of ιπρός in P.Oxy. XII 1444.4 and 1526.4. A meaning ‘off the record’ would accord with what seems to be an offer by Pausanias in ll. 38-44 to perform some creative accounting with the δηλοτέ.

17. For unknown reasons the name Σενεύς is not listed by F. Preisigke, Namenbuch or D. Foraboschi Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum, though it occurs in P.Giss. 103 = M. Naldini, Il Cristianesimo in Egitto # 43, ll. 29 and 38. This papyrus also comes from the Great Oasis.

23. τδ[ν αὐτῶν νίον: the reading is certain, but the transaction is complicated enough without another party being involved. It may be assumed that ‘son’ is here used as a term of familiarity for Sineus (cf. 1. 17, τδ[ν ημέρας Νεύα) in the same way that Timotheos is called ‘brother’ in ll. 4 and 10.

24. Perhaps one can read δο[ξόν τιατ at the line end.

25-26. εις[ μέν εἰρήνες κτλ.: these lines correspond with ll. 32-33, Ei τδ (l. ει δε) παλέν νοί κερησεις κτλ.. For the use of ει + ind.fut. in the protasis instead of the expected εάν + subj. cf. B.G. Mandilaras, The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri (Athens 1973) § 408.

30. While the standard translation of δῆλον is ‘manifestly’, a translation ‘of course’ seems to fit here better.

45. The word καθαρίτης, ‘cleaner’, is now in the papyri. What they were to clean is unknown; it is just possible (but not likely) that they cleaned pig-sties. City cleaning is attested as a liturgy in late 2nd century Oxyrhynchus (P.Harr. II 193) and payments are made for city cleaning in 5th-6th century Hermopolis (SB XIV 12699). It is possible, of course, that in SPP III 694.1 one should resolve καθαρ( ) into καθαρ(γής) rather than into καθαρ(ομηρότης).

46. The epsilon of επ’ looks rather like an upsilon.

50. For the eight cancelli sent via Sineus cf. above, ll. 18-20.

7: PRIVATE LETTER

(Ca. 350 ?)

P.Kellis inv. P. A/2/94 (House 2, room 6, level 3, near door) + A/2/95 (room 6, level 5, near door). H. ca. 25 x B. 7.5 cm. The bottom margin is 5 cm., the margin at the left 1 cm. wide. The writing on both sides of the sheet runs parallel with the fibers.
To my lord brother Gena son of Pataias, Harpokration sends greetings. I greet you many times and by name the brothers who are with you, while I pray for your well-being. As requested, please don’t neglect as to what I asked you when you were here and send me as quickly as possible through a trusted person my ‘Dalmatian’ robe; and indicate to me whether — (II. 18ff.) Give me your orders about your wishes, as I am happy (to carry them out). I pray for your health in many years. Greet from me many times my brother Gelasius and Pancharios (?) and Anou( ).” (Verso) “To my lord brother Gena son of Pataias, Harpokration.”
28 GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

The subject of this mutilated private letter is, like that of so many others, a request to the addressee to convey greetings to people staying with him and to send something (here a cloak) to the writer of the letter.

2. A Gena (with the nomen Aurelius) son of Pataias also occurs in 76.33-34 (second half of the 4th century). For the name Pataias cf. also 16.4n.

3. Is this the same Harpokration as mentioned in 23.8, 10, 16 (353)? There he is a former magistrate of Mothis who was evidently an influential person in Kellis. If this identification is correct, one could assign this letter to the middle of the 4th century.

11. For ‘Dalmatian’ robes in the papyri, see S. Daris, *Il lessico Latino nel Greco d’Egitto*² (Barcelona 1991) 38-39 s.vv. δαλματική, δαλματικός and related words. See also the notes to P.Oxy. LI 3626.16ff.

12. χοί- looks like the opening of some form of χαίρω/χαιρίδιον. For the subject of pigs in Kellis cf. 6 and 23.16ff.

22. For Gelasius cf. 16.1-2n. The reading of the name is here, too, not quite comfortable, but it seems preferable to Γελασίου.

23. The name form Πηγήχαρος (or Πηγήχαρις for a woman?) is not well-attested in the papyri; cf. F. Preisigke, *Namensbuch* s.n. Πηγήχαρης. 'Ανου( ) may be expanded to, e.g., 'Ανουβιοκόρ.)

8-12: Texts related to Tithoes

Texts 8 - 12 are related to Tithoes son of Petesis, a carpenter in Kellis, who apparently lived in House 2. The name Tithoes reflects the popularity of the local god Tutu; cf. C.A. Hope in Mediterranean Archaeology 1 (1988) 163 and O. Kaper in Bulletin Australian Centre for Egyptology, 2 (1991) 59ff. The only precise date for this person is given by text 8 from 362. By using information kindly provided by I. Gardner about a still-unpublished Coptic letter (A/2/76+77) his family tree can be reconstructed as follows:

```
Mersis (9)                                N.N. x Petesis (8, 9)                                Horos (9)
                                                 |                                                 |
N.N. x Tithoes (8-12)                      N.N. x Tithoes (8-12) sister (9) x N.N. (9)
                                                 |
?                                               |
Tsenpamoun x Samoun Psemmouthes Kyria Tapsais
(12) (11, 12) (Coptic) (Coptic) (Coptic)
                                                 |
Tithoes other son (12)
(Coptic)
```
8: SALE OF A SLAVE
(29.viii - 27.ix.362)

P. Kellis inv. A/2/84+85+86+87 (House 2, room 5, floor deposit) + A/2/89+93 (room 6, level 3, near door). H. 24 x B. 30.7 cm. Written along the fibers on a large sheet with substantial margins left at the top (2.5 cm.), bottom (4 cm.) and left hand side (4 cm.). The back is blank. The text was mentioned in JSSEA 17 (1987) 173, where the largest fragment (A/2/84) is referred to as 'an official document'. For organizational purposes the papyrus was referred to previously as 'P. Kellis 35'.

2 τοῦ Μωβίου νομῶν [στατ][μένοντες ἐν ἐποικῷ Ε][... Αὐρ[ή]ληω Τιθε[ὶ Πετήθην τε[κτον] ἀτὸ τῆς αὐ-
3 τῆς κόμης τοῦ αὐτοῦ [νο][μοῦ χαίρειν. Ὅμολογο[βί]μεν πεπρακέναι σοι καὶ καταγεγραθεῖ[α ἀτὸ τοῦ
4 νῦν ἐπὶ θ[ῆν] ἀπαντα χρόνον τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἡμῖν δὸ[ῦ]λην χαμαίρετον τροφευθέσαι ἂν ἐμοὶ τῆς
5 προκειμένης γυναικὸς τῷ ἐμαυτῆς γάλακτι τῆς τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλος συντρέφουμενής
6 δεσποτικῶν ἀπλῶν νεοχαράκτων νομισματῶν δύο, (γίνεσθαι) νομισμάτια) β, ἢ[περ ἐδεξάμεθ]α παρὰ σοῦ
7 διὰ χει-
8 ρος πλήρη ἐφ᾽ οίς εὐδοκούμε[ν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένοις] πρὸς τὸ ἀτὸ τοῦ νῦν
9 σὲ τῶν ἐνοίμασιν ἐπικρατεῖν
10 καὶ κυρίευ[έ]ιν καὶ δεσπο[ξε]ιν τῆς πεπραμένης σοι δούλης καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχα[ν]
11 διοικεῖν καὶ οικονομεῖν
12 περὶ αὐτῆς τρόπος ὡ ἐὰν αὐρή, τῆς βεβαιώσεως ἐξακολουθοῦσης ἡμῖν τοῖς
13 ἀποδομένοις διὰ παντὸς
14 ἀτὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἐπελευσομένου ἢ [ἀντιποιηθη[όμενον.] Κυρία ἢ πρᾶξις διός
15 γραφείσα ἐφ᾽ ὑπογραφής
16 τοῦ
17 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὑπογράφοντος βέβαια ἐστό καὶ ἐν[ν]ομοὶ παντο[χοῦ ἐπιφερομένη]
18 καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὄμολογήσαμεν. Ἑγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα µὴ εἶδότων
19 Ἀὐρήλιος[ς Τι]μόθεος
20 Ἀρτοκρατίων ἀρξάς ἀξιωθῆς.
The Aurelii Psais son of Pekysis, grandson of Palitous, and Tatoup his wife, both from the village of Kellis in the Mothite nome, resident in the hamlet of E—, to Aurelius Tithoes son of Petesis, carpenter, from the same village in the same nome, greetings. We agree that we have sold and conveyed to you from now for all time the slave girl belonging to us, raised from the ground and reared by me the aforementioned wife with my own milk, at a price agreed between us of two nomismatia of imperial, unalloyed, and newly minted gold, total 2 nomismatia, which we have received from you from your hand in full on all the terms written herein to which we give assent, in order that you the purchaser from henceforth possess, own and have proprietary rights over the slave girl sold to you and have the right to control and manage her in whatever way you choose, the guarantee resting on us the vendors throughout against every litigant or claimant. Let the sale, having been written twice under the signature of he who is subscribing for us, be authoritative, guaranteed and legal everywhere it may be produced and having been formally questioned we have assented. In the consulate of Mamertinus and Nevitta, viri clarissimi, Thoth, according to the Greek calendar. 

(2nd hand) “We, the aforementioned Aurelii Psais son of Pekysis and Tatoup his wife, have sold the aforementioned slave girl ---- and we have received the price in two nomismatia of gold and we shall guarantee the sale for you with every guarantee as aforesaid and having been formally questioned we have assented. I, Aurelius Timotheos son of Harpokration, ex-magistrate, have written for them at their request since they do not know letters.”

(3rd hand) “I, Aurelius Demosthenes son of Polykrates, from the village of Kellis, am a witness.”

(4th hand) “I, Aurelius Horion son of Timotheos, from the village of Kellis, am a witness.”

Aurelius Psais and his wife Tatoup from Kellis agree to the sale of a female slave to Aurelius Tithoes also of Kellis; the price paid for the slave was 2 solidi. The slave who is unnamed and was therefore probably still only a child is described as χαμαίρητος, ‘taken from the ground’, i.e. a foundling (see 4n.). This text seems to be the latest dated sale of a slave known from Roman Egypt which gives a price. The latest slave sale with price which is listed by I. Biezunska-Malowist, L’esclavage dans l’Egypte gréco-romaine (Warsaw 1974) 165-67, or J.A. Straus, ZPE 11 (1973) 289-95, is BGU I 316 = M.Chrest. 271 (359) in which a 14-year-old Gallic slave is sold in Askalon for 18 gold solidi; for an update of these lists, see P.Col. VIII 219 introd., and for other late-3rd and early 4th-century prices of slaves, where they are known, see...
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

P. Nepheros 33, introd. In Archiv 3 (1906) 415ff. = SB XVIII 13174 (629?) one finds a 12-year-old female slave sold for 4 solidi.

A preliminary version of this text was presented by Whitehorne at the workshop on Greek documents at the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists (Copenhagen 1992); we are grateful to J.R. Rea, who chaired this session, and to our colleagues (particularly A. Jörndens) for their comments upon problems of reading.

1. Neither Πολεύς nor Ταγωύς is listed by F. Preisigke, Namenbuch or D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum. The former name can be assimilated to indeed. Πολεύς, which is already represented by one hellenised declinable by-form Πολ(λ)έης (NB s.v.); on the other hand, however, cf. the name of the father of Αύρηλιος Πελεύς in 13.1, 'Αλίτως; Πολεύς is, of course, a combination of the prefix 'Αλ(λ)ο- + 'Αλίτως and apparently we are dealing here with his grandson Αύρηλιος Ψέως.

2. On the Mothite nome cf. 41.4n.

3. χρομαίρετος: an addendum lexis which should be compared with the more usual κατανομήκειρετος. The fact that the girl is not named but is described as a foundling who has been weaned by Tatoup herself and that no age is given for her suggest that she was little more than a toddler at the time of the sale. Cf. now P.Oxy. LX 4058 (158/9) in which a boy slave was bought at just a year old and resold twice by the time he was seven.

7. For the supplement cf. 39.18-19 and 42.36.

10. For the restoration of [αντιπτυχωμένου] cf. 38.a and 38.b.16.

13. For the consular formula cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE s.a. 362. Unusually there appears no numeral after θῶθ. For this lack of a day numeral, see also 57.4 and note ad loc. and cf. also P.Kellis inv. 93.60+71 (from House 4; 368; still unpublished). Surprisingly enough, in quite a few more or less completely preserved contracts from Kellis not only the day, but even the month is not indicated, viz. in 10.16, 23.30, 24.9-10, 29.1-2, 45.24-26 and 48.16-17 (see note ad loc.).

14. The traces after δούλην are too exiguous to confirm whether χρομαίρετος should also be read here.

9: PRIVATE AGREEMENT

(Later 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. A/2/99+100 (House 2, room 7, on bed). H. 16 x B. 10 cm. Top margin 2 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers, the verso is blank.

1 [Αύρηλιος Ν.Ν.] Ἄθροι Μέρσιοις ἄπο κόμης Κ[έλλεως τοῦ Μωυθίου νομού
2 [ Α]υργλεί [Π]εντάθ [ό τις αυτής κόμης τοῦ
3 [αύτού νομού ] χαίρειν. Ἐπειδή ἐγάμησα τὴν ἀδελφήν σου
4 [ ] λοντος καὶ πρός ὅλον χρόνον το
5 [ ] ἅ]ικαβέτον καὶ τὴν ὅ[μ]ὴν ἐπιθήσα εἰς [ [ ]
6 [ ] ἐπιθήσα- ἐλθὼν δὲ σήμερον εἰς Ἑρα[σίν
7 [ ] τῆς γυναικός μο[ν] τῶν κα[τ]αλεψ[θ]έντων
8 [ ] πατρὸς σου καὶ τῆς μη]τ[ρός σου καὶ παραδέδωκάς μοι εἰς λόγον
9 [ ὁμολογῶ οὐδέξια λόγον ἔχων [πρ]ός σε ἐνευθεῖν περὶ οὐδενός ἀπλάς

9

[Amphipolis] Ν.Ν. Ἀθρόι Μέρσιος ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλλεως τοῦ Μωυθίου νομού
Αυργλείς Πεντάθ ὁ τῆς αυτής κόμης τοῦ
Αυτού νομοῦ χαίρειν. Ἐπειδή ἐγάμησα τὴν ἀδελφήν σου
Λοντος καὶ πρός ὅλον χρόνον το
Α]ικαβέτον καὶ τὴν ὅ]μήν ἐπιθήσα εἰς [ ]
Ἐπιθήσα- ἐλθὼν δὲ σήμερον εἰς Ἑρα[σίν
Τῆς γυναικός μο[ν] τῶν κα[τ]αλεψ[θ]έντων
Πατρὸς σου καὶ τῆς μη[τ]ρός σου καὶ παραδέδωκάς μοι εἰς λόγον
Ὁμολογῶ οὐδέξια λόγον ἔχων [πρ]ός σε ἐνευθεῖν περὶ οὐδενός ἀπλάς
3 Or read ἐγάμησας? 7 καταλεξιθέντων 9 ἐντεύθεν: first epsilon blotted 10 ἐγ' γραφοῦ Παπ. 11 νῦν Παπ.

“Aurelius N.N. son of Horos son of Mersis, from the village of Kellis belonging to the Mothite nome, to Aurelius Tithoes son of Petesis, from the same village in the same nome. As I married your sister --- and for a short time --- intestate and I made my way to --- I made, and as I came today to the Oasis --- of my wife, of the bequeathed items --- of your father and your mother, and as you have handed over to me for ---, I agree that I have no claim against you henceforth concerning any matter written or unwritten because I am satisfied and that nobody of my family or of my sons will proceed against you ---. This agreement is authoritative, written in n copies --- and I have given my assent to the formal question.”

It is unfortunate that this document is so much damaged. The situation can be reconstructed as follows: the author of the document issues a statement to the addressee (= his brother-in-law) in which he acknowledges that, as he had married the addressee’s sister, and as she had died without a testament (cf. οἰκονομία, 1. 5) during his absence (cf. 1. 6, ἐλθὼν ὤς σήμερον εἰς Ὀασίς), he has now received from his brother-in-law (the) objects belonging to the inheritance (only that of his wife, or also of his parents-in-law [who also might have died during a long journey] ?) and that he has no further claims. The acknowledgement (and the situation) shows some vague resemblances to BGU II 405.

1. For (Aurelius) Horos son of Mersis, see also 34.2,21; 38.a.10; 38.b.10; 51.3; 52.2 and 57.5; apparently he lived in the earlier part of the 4th century, cf. 51.3n. As there is reason to think that the present document was written at a later date (cf. 1. 2n.) it seems more reasonable to think that this document was not written by Horos himself, but rather by a son.

2. For Aurelius Tithoes son of Petesis, cf. 8.2 (362); the date of that document gives some indication of the period when the present papyrus was written, i.e. ca. 350-375.

4. The phrasing ὅρησεν παῦσαν ταῦτα occurs in a number of papyri, cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v. ὅρησεν; add, e.g., P.Oxy. XLVIII 3440.21 and LIV 3771.6; P.Panop.Beatty i.v. 90, viii. 219.

8. The last trace of a letter visible at the end of the line is a λ or a χ.

13-15. One expects the regular formula in Kellis papyri: Κυρία ἡ ὀμολογία παραφέεσα ἐφ' ἰπογραφής τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐμὸν ὑπογράφοντος καὶ βεβεία καὶ ἐννομὸς ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακεκλημένη καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς

1. For (Aurelius) Horos son of Mersis, see also 34.2,21; 38.a.10; 38.b.10; 51.3; 52.2 and 57.5; apparently he lived in the earlier part of the 4th century, cf. 51.3n. As there is reason to think that the present document was written at a later date (cf. 1. 2n.) it seems more reasonable to think that this document was not written by Horos himself, but rather by a son.

2. For Aurelius Tithoes son of Petesis, cf. 8.2 (362); the date of that document gives some indication of the period when the present papyrus was written, i.e. ca. 350-375.
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

We have not succeeded in identifying any of the expected words in the remaining traces in l. 14.

10: ORDER FOR PAYMENT

(Second half of 4th century)

P. Kellis inv. A/2/68 (House 2, room 2, roof collapse). H. 12.8 x B. 6.7 cm. The writing runs along the fibers. The papyrus was reassembled from a number of fragments. The text is complete except for the bottom margin. The back is blank. The text was mentioned earlier in JSSEA 17 (1987) 173; for organizational purposes the papyrus was previously referred to as ‘P. Kellis 10’.

1 Κυρίων μου ἀδελφῷ
2 Τιθοῖε
4 Ἀργυρίου τάλαντα
5 τετρακισχίλια ὑπὲρ
6 κριθῶν καγξ[έλ-]
7 λοι πέντες δὸς [?
8 τῷ ἀδελφῷ Μακαρίῳ
9 ἀλλὰ πάντως καὶ
10 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου ἐνὸς
11 καγκέλλου ὑπὲρ δῶ-
12 πάντως τάλαντα
13 ὀκτοκόσια. [ὅ ἔρρω-
14 σθαί σε εὔχομαι,
15 ἀδελφέ,
16 ἰδὶ ἰνδῖκ(τίωνος).

5 τετρακισχίλια 13 ἔρρῳ- written over εὐχ (which is in a lighter ink).

“To my lord brother Tithoes Ammonios sends his greetings. Give four thousand talents of silver to brother Makarios for five cancelli of barley, but especially also eight hundred talents for the other one cancellus for expenses. I pray that you are well, brother. 12th indiction year.”

This letter from a certain Ammonios to Tithoes authorising payment of 4000 talents to a certain Makarios for 5 artabas of barley + 800 talents for an extra artaba is written by a hand which resembles that of 11 (also written by an Ammonios); it seems,
however, that both hands are not quite identical, but the difference may be explicable by the fact that they were written at different times.

5. The same amount of 4000 tal. (paid here for 5 cancelli, sc. artabas at 40 choenices; cf. for this measure P.Oxy. LV 3804.141-42n.), hence a price of 800 tal./cancellus, cf. ll. 10-13) is paid for 2 artabas of barley in 11 (also written by an Ammonios and probably dating from roughly the same time). Apparently the price of barley could fluctuate between 800 and 2000 tal./art. within a relatively short period of time. For barley prices in the 4th century cf. R.S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt (Chico 1985) 65; comparing his data with the price level found in this papyrus and in its counterpart 11 one gets the impression that this points toward a date somewhere in the second half of the 4th century; 353/4 is almost certainly too early for the price, and the 12th indiction referred to in l. 12 is thus probably 368/9 or 383/4.

9. For ἀλλὰ πάντως cf. 79.11n.

11-12. The description in JSSEA (cf. above) has it that the δεητάζη tax is being referred to, but we fail to see the basis for that view; the word δεητάζη may refer to any expense made.

16. References to an indiction are not uncommon in the papyri from Kellis, but here one expects with it an indication of a month and a day (cf. 17.4-5). Neither seems to have been present here, but the papyrus is broken off just below l. 16 and it is just possible that there was another line, now lost, which gave the month and the day; for a similar problem cf. 16.6n. The description in JSSEA 17 (cf. above) states mistakenly that the text dates from Tybi (?) 12th.

11: ORDER FOR PAYMENT

(Second half of 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. A/2/61 +64 (House 2, room 2, roof collapse). H. 13.4 x B. 8.4 cm. Written parallel to the fibers; the back is blank. The text was mentioned earlier in JSSEA 17 (1987) 172. For organizational purposes the papyrus was previously referred to as ‘P.Kellis 32’.

1 Κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ
2 Σωμοῦν Τιθοῦσος
3 τέκτονος Άμμώνιος
4 χοίρεων. Τάς δύο ἀρτά-
5 βας κριθῶν τὰ <ς> παρὰ σοὶ
6 παράσχον τῷ τατρί
7 Δημοσθάνει ἢ τὴν τιμήν
8 σύντον ἐν τολάμπροις τετρα-
9 κισχελείας ἢ τὴν ἄρτα-
10 βην σφύνου κατὰ τὴν σύν-
11 ταγὴν· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.
12 Ἐρρῴσθαι σε εἰχομοι.
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

6 παράσχων: -χ- ex corr. 8 ούτων, α ex corr. ταλάντων, -ο- blotted (ex corr.? 8-9 τετρακοσιχιλίως 10 ξύζφου (2nd zeta ex sigma)

"To my lord brother Samoun son of Tithoes the carpenter, Ammonios sends greetings. Send to father Demosthenes the two artabas of barley which are with you or the price of them in four thousand talents, or the artaba of jujubes according to the arrangement; but don’t be neglectful. I pray that you are well."

For the price of barley in this text (2 artabas of barley cost 4000 talents), see 10. Evidently these 2 artabas are the equivalent of 1 artaba of jujubes. For the fruit of the jujube tree (having the size of a cherry, approximately), see P.Oxy. LIX 4006.2n.; apparently it was a quite common commodity in the region, as it is mentioned frequently enough in various other documents from Kellis. We have not been able to establish whether the fruit is still grown in the Oasis.


12: FRAGMENTS OF A PRIVATE LETTER

(4th century)

The glass frame contains 4 fragments which apparently are thought to belong together.
Frag. I: P.Keilis inv. A/2/65 (House 2, room 2, level 2, low in Northeast corner). H. 10 x B. 8.4 cm. Margin at the top ca. 1 cm. The writing on both sides runs parallel to the fibers. Described in JSSEA 17 (1987) 163, 173.
Frag. II: P.Keilis inv. A/2/66 (House 2, room 2, level 2, low in Northeast corner). H. 6.7 x B. 5.2 cm. The writing runs parallel to the fibers.
Frag. III: P.Keilis inv. A/3/22 (Structure 4, room 1, North of levels 2 and 4). H. 4.8 x B. 4 cm. The writing runs parallel to the fibers.
Frag. IV: P.Keilis inv. A/2/63 (House 2, room 2, level 2, low in Northeast comer). H. 3.1 x B. 5.2 cm. The writing runs parallel to the fibers. Evidently this is part of the end of a letter (cf. the lay-out of the 'Ερωθωσθαι-formula).

It remains uncertain whether these fragments really all belong to the same letter. The handwriting is not quite consistently the same in all four fragments. While fragments I and IV may belong to the same letter, fragments II and IV cannot be placed next to each other (together they would be at least ca. 10.5 cm. wide, while Frag. I is 8.4 cm. wide), while the greeting formulæs in ll. 20-21 and 31-32 do not go together as well. If, on the other hand, one tries to put Frag. II on top of Frag. IV, there is an interruption (ll. 29-30) in the series of greetings "Απεστάθημεν ..." (ll. 20ff., 31-32). Furthermore, the place of Frag. III is also doubtful. Whatever the merits of the arrangement of the fragments, the text is not without interest as it refers to a monastery and to the trade of linen-weaving. It seems slightly more economical to suppose that these activities took place in the Oasis, rather than that they should be located at some place in the Nile Valley (cf. ll. 18-19n.).
Frag. I:
1 Τῶν κυρίων μου πατρὶ [Τιθοήτι]
2 Σαφῶν ηεῖρεν. Πρὸ το[ντὸς]
3 πολλά σε ἀστάξομαι εἰκόμη-
4 νός σε διὰ ταντὸς <ὑγιαίνω>. Ἀστάξομαι
5 τήν κυρίαν μου μητέραν καὶ τῆν
6 κυρίαν μου ἀδελφήν <ν> Ταυναμόν
7 μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν μου. Ἀστάξο-
8 μαι τήν κυρίαν μου γυναῖκα
9 με<τῶν> τῶν κυρίων μου υἱῶν. Ποσά-
10 κις σοι ἐδήλωσα περὶ τῶν ὅλο-
11 [ ca. 7 ων καὶ ο[δε]μίαν ἐπ[ν-]
12 [στολήν] [ . . . ]

Frag. II:
13 [ . . . . ] ὀ[λονομοσμάτιον
14 [ . . . . ] ἀντίγραφον μοι διὰ
15 [πιστοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἀλω
16 [ . . . . ] σῆς τῶν υἱῶν. Κα-
17 [θῶς ἐδήλωσά σοι περὶ τῶν υἱῶν
18 [ . . . . ] βάλε εἰς τὸ μονοστή-
19 [ρον ὅπων δι]δόσει αὐτὸν λύου-
20 [φικήν. Ἀστάξομαι τὸν ἀ[δελ]φόν
21 [ . . . . ] ν καὶ τήν ἀ[δε]λφή[ν]
22 ] TRACES

Frag. III:
23 ]πεπι . . . [ 
24 ]υο μέρος πο[ 
25 ]ουσαν ἑτῶν π[εντ 
26 κληρονόμοις [ 
27 ]τούτου τοῦ ε[ 
28 ] δικαίων η[ 

Frag. IV:
29 ἐπουσο [ 
30 ω Ἰνο ἱδω τῶν Ἰλαρ[ 
31 τις Ἀστάξομαι Θατμῆς[ μετὰ τῶν]
32 υἱῶν αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ <ν> ἀδ[ε]λφήν
"To my lord father Tithoes, Samoun sends greetings. Before all I greet you very much while praying that you enjoy good health in all circumstances. I greet my lady mother and my lady sister Tsenpamoun together with my sons. I greet my lady wife together with my sons. How many times have I written to you concerning the solidi (?) and (you wrote) no letter — ."

"— of the sons. As I indicated to you concerning my son — , put him into the monastery, where it (one) teaches him the linen-weaving trade. I greet my brother N.N. and my sister — ."

"— . I greet Thatme- with her sons and my sister N.N. I pray for your health, father, in many years. To my lord father Tithoes, Samoun."

1-2. For Tithoes and his son Samoun cf. 8 - 12, introd.
4. A verb like ἔχειν should be supplied after the participle εὐχόμενος, cf. 64.5, 68.5 and 74.4 (72.4-5 has ἄλληλης).
5-6. For the addition of final -ν in μητέραν and the loss of final -ια in κυρία <ι> and ἄδελφη <η> cf. F.T. Gignac, Grammar, I 111-112.
7ff. Given the fact that the author of the letter greets his sister Tsenpamoun and his ‘sons’ in 1. 7 and his (anonymous) wife in 1. 9 with his ‘sons’ it must be assumed that in the first case he is, after all, greeting her sons = his nephews.
9-12. It is a topos in epistolography to reproach a correspondent for not reacting to frequent earlier messages (cf. H. Koskenniemi, Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n.Chr. [Helsinki 1956] 64-67. In the present case the writer may have written earlier about, e.g., money and one may think of restoring in II. 10-11: ὥστε κατὰ τὸν τινα (= solidi), but other subjects and words starting with ὥστε-ὥστα- are also possible (cf. 1. 13). In 1. 12 one expects a verb like ἀντέγραψας, but the preserved traces do not match with any of the needed letters.
13. διανομισμάτων (an addendum lexicis) looks like a conflation of ἄλληλης + νομισμάτων.
15. For the supplement of τιστεί in the lacuna cf. 7.10.
18-19. Is τὸ μαναστήριον the subject of διδάσκει? The monastery in question may have been the monastery at Tenida (cf. G. Wagner, Les Oasis d’Egypte 196); there is another reference to a monastery in a Coptic letter from House 2 (A/2/76 + 77) written by Tithoes to Samoun in which (II. 5-7) it is communicated that Samoun’s son Tithoes went to the monastery, together with father Pebok (we are grateful to I. Gardner for providing us with a provisional translation of this letter); it is, however, difficult to establish a connection between the events as transmitted in the Greek letter above and in the Coptic letter, as in each the names of the senders / addressees are reversed; only if one changes ἄναληπτε σου into ἄναληπτε γε <σ> μου (l. 17), or supplies something like ἦ μήτηρ ἡβαλε <εἰς> does it seem possible to establish such a connection, but such a re-wording of the Greek text is not acceptable.
The supplement λειτουργίας presupposes a word like τέχνη ('the trade of a linen-weaver') understood. For the subject of linen-weaving according to the papyri cf. E. Wipszyczka, L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine (Warsaw 1965).

25. No doubt one finds here an indication of age, but it is uncertain whether it refers to a human being or to something else.

26. It is unclear what the κηρονόμους, 'heirs', are doing here.

28. It is just possible to read/restore: εληνηρωμίας, but many other alternatives are conceivable.

31. There are no names in θετμύ- listed in F. Preisigke, Namenbuch or in D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum.

13: DIVISION OF PROPERTY

(P335)

P.Kellis A/2/62+64+66+73+74+75 (House 2, roof collapse, room 2). The papyrus was reassembled from a number of fragments (in the top section of the same frame are 4 unplaced smaller fragments which may not belong to the document published here) and its central and right hand part are still incomplete; at least 20 - 30 letters are missing at line ends. The papyrus now consists of 4 main fragments:

Frag. I (at the left): H. 23 x B. 18 cm.
Frag. II (upper mid): H. 6.5 x B. 10.2 cm.
Frag. III (at the right): H. 19.5 x B 10.5 cm.
Frag. IV (lower mid): H. 3.8 x B. 2.6 cm.

The full breadth of the document as far as preserved is ca. 34 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers. Margins: at the top 3, at the left hand side 1, at the bottom 4 cm. The back is blank. The text was mentioned previously in JSSEA 17 (1987) 172-73. For organizational purposes the papyrus was referred to previously as 'P.Kellis 33'.

1 Αὐρήλιος Πεκύνους Ἀλίτου καὶ Πεβῶς Ἀδελφὸς [ἀυτοῦ καὶ Παχούμις Ἀλλὸς Ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ὠρος Σύρου καὶ Σαῦτ N.N. οἱ πέτεκτα ἀπὸ κό-]
2 μὴς Κέλλαεος τῆς Μωῆς[τῶν τόλεως ἀλλήλως καὶ] χαῖρεν.
3 Βουλόμονοι ἡμᾶς διαμείκουσέν]οις τοῦ ἐκαστοῦ ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον
4 έγὼ μὲν Πεκύνους κέλλαν [μία]ν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ στήγῃ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ] κατάγειν[ον, - - ἐγὼ δὲ ο Πεβῶς [έτεραν] κέλλαν τὴν [ἐν οὔς τῶν]
5 ὑπερώφων οὐ μῆκος . . . καὶ συνοβλήται όνοικ[ . . , ἐγὼ δὲ] Πεκύνους ἠως τῶν [ὑπερώφων, ἐγὼ [δὲ Παχούμις] ἠτέραν [κέλλαν - - - πυ-]
6 Ῥώνα Πεβῶς τοῦ [ξαρι] πέριφορὰν κύριῳ [- -] δὲ καὶ ο Ψέρος Σύρου σὺν τοῖς Ἀδελφοῖς κέλλαν τὴν ἐν τῷ τυλίκως [κύριῳ η Ταῦτα N.N.]}
7 τὴν κέλλαν τὴν ἐν [ ...] θεριών λεγομένην τα [καὶ αὐτὸν]βολίῳν δεδιφρον ἀπτοῦν 
ωυν καὶ[ ...] ἀχρίς ὑπε[ρώφη] καὶ τῇ ... [κοινά]
8 καὶ ἀδιαίρετα [ὀριστὰ τοῖς] τέμπε τυποκαταστάσεις[...] καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν 
συντετάχθαι τῷ ὑπὸ τῇ διαφύλαξι καὶ μὴ ἔξεσται ἡμῖν τὴν 
ἐπὶ τούτῳς συντεθεῖσαν.
9 Καὶ ἀνὰ τις ἡμῶν μὴ ἐπακολουθήσῃ τῇ [διαφύλαξι, ἀποκαταστάσεις] ὑπὲρ 
λόγου [προστίμου] τάλαντα [καὶ] θῇ τὸ ἐκοφίσιος, ἡμᾶς 
ἐπὶ τούτῳς συντεθεῖσαν.
10 Κυρία ἡ ὁμολογία τῆς διαφύλαξις τευτονίας γραφήσας ὁμολογῆσαι 
τῷ ὑπογράφοντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
11 ὑπογράφους <καί> βεβαιὰ ἔσωτ' καὶ έννομος ὡς ἐν δημοφιώ 
καὶ τακειμένη 
καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς (ἐντεὶς) ὁμολογήματος.
12 Ἐπανάλη εὐσεβίου τιμητικοῦ ὁδόλου τοῦ διστύχου ἡμῶν 
Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου καὶ Ἐπανάλη Ἐλβίνου τῶν 
λαμπροτάτων, Month, day ?]
13 (M.2) Αὐρήλιος Πεκύσις ὁ προκείμενος ἐδέμην τήν τῇ διαφύλαξι ἐν 
αὐτῇ περίεξε διαστολαῖς πᾶσαις αἰν καὶ εὐδοκῶν ὡς 
πρόκειται
14 καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὑμολογήματος. Ἐγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ 
ἐπίθετος Αὐρήλιος Στράτων Τεννάχθων ἱερεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόιμης 
Κέλλεως.
15 (M.3) Αὐρήλιος Πεβίσος ὁ προκείμενος συνεθεμεν τῇ[ν]δὲ τῇ διαφύλαξι 
ἐν ἐπὶ αὐτῇ περίεξε διαστολαῖς πᾶσαις αἰν ἐγνδοκῶν 
καὶ ἐμμενῶν ὡς 
πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς (ἐποίητος) ὁμολογήματος. Εγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
16 γράμματα μὴ ἐπίθετος Αὐρήλιος Σαράκασεμ[ων ] τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόιμης 
Κέλλεως ]
17 (M.4) Αὐρήλιοι Παχούμιος καὶ οἱ ἄδελφοι οἱ προκείμενοι συνεθεμεν 
τῇ[ν]δὲ τῇ διαφύλαξι ἐν ἐπὶ αὐτῇ περίεξε διαστολαῖς πᾶσαις αἰν ἐγνδοκῶν καὶ ἐμμενῶν ὡς 
πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς (ἐποίητος) ὁμολογήματος. Εγραφα
18 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ ἐπίθετος Αὐρήλιος Φιλιζήμμων ὁ καὶ 
Τριφιδώρος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβιτῶν πόλεως.
19 (M.5) Αὐρήλιος Προ[ος σὺν τοῖς ἄδελφοις ὁ προκείμενος συνεθεμεν] 
τῇ[ν]δὲ τῇ διαφύλαξι ἐν ἐπὶ αὐτῇ περίεξε διαστολαῖς πᾶσαις αἰν 
ἐγνδοκῶν καὶ ἐμμενῶν ὡς 
πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς (ἐποίητος) ὁμολογήματος. Εγραφα
20 καὶ ἐπερωτηθείς (ἐποίητος) ὁμολογήματος. Εγραφα <ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν> γράμματα μὴ 
ἰδόδον Ἀὐρήλιος Χλιδώρος Ἁμένων ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κόιμης 
Κέλλεως ]
21 (M.4) Αὐρήλιας Ζευς μ. συνεθεμεν τῇ[ν]δὲ τῇ διαφύλαξι ἐν ἐπὶ αὐτῇ περίεξε 
διαστολαῖς πᾶσαις αἰν ἐγνδοκῶν καὶ ἐμμενῶν ὡς 
πρόκειται καὶ 
ἐπερωτηθείς (ἐποίητος) ὁμολογήματος. Εγραφα <ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς> γράμματα
22 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς Ἀὐρήλιος Φιλιζήμμων ὁ καὶ 
Τριφιδώρος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβιτῶν πόλεως.
"We, the Aurelii Pekysis son of Alitous and Pebos his brother and Pachoumis another brother and Horos son of Syros and Taoup daughter of N.N., the five from the village of Kellis belonging to the city of the Mothites, send greetings to one another. Wishing to divide and that each one of us (has) from now on for all time ... we agree that we have acquired ownership, viz. I, Pekysis, of one room on the second storey of the house and of a cellar ---, I, Pebos, another room -- as far as the upper chambers of which the size is -- and the granary ---, I Pekysis as far as the upper chambers, and I, Pachoumis, another room -- the gate of Pebos until the upper rooms. and I -- and the aforesaid Horos son of Syros jointly with his sisters a room inside the gateway, and I, Taoup daughter of N.N., the room said to be in the -- and the granary --- until the upper rooms and the -- being in joint and undivided ownership by the five joint-heirs and we agree that we are in accord with this division and that it shall not be permitted to us to offend against this agreement. And if any one of us does not comply with the division, let him/her pay by way of penalty n thousand talents since we have made the division on these terms voluntarily. Let the agreement of the division, written five times in identical copies for ... (each of us?) to have a single copy for surety under the hand of the hypographeus writing for us, be authoritative and guaranteed and legal as though deposited in a public office, and having been formally questioned we have agreed. In the consulate of Iulius Constantius, patrician, brother of our master Constantine Augustus, and of Rufius Albinus, viri clarissimi (month, day?).

(M.2) I, the aforesaid Aurelius Pekysis, have made this division on all the terms which it contains to which I both give my assent and by which I shall abide as aforesaid and having been questioned I have agreed. I, Aurelius Stonios son of Tepnachthes, priest, from the same village of Kellis, wrote on his behalf as he does not know letters.

(M.3) I, the aforesaid Aurelius Pebos, have concluded this division on all the terms which it contains to which I both give my assent and by which I shall abide as aforesaid and having been questioned I have agreed. I, Aurelius Sarapammon son of N.N., from the same village of Kellis, wrote on his behalf as he does not know letters.

(M.4) We, the aforesaid Aurelius Pachoumis and his brothers, have concluded this division on all the terms which it contains to which we assent and by which we shall abide as aforesaid and having been questioned we have agreed. I, Aurelius Phoibammon alias Triphiodoros, from the city of the Hibites, wrote on their behalf as they do not know letters.

(M.5) I, the aforesaid Aurelius Horos, with my brothers (sic), have concluded this division on all the terms which it contains to which we assent and by which we shall abide as aforesaid and having been questioned we have agreed. I, Aurelius Heliodoros son of Horos, from the same village of Kellis, wrote on their behalf as they do not know letters.
(M.4) I, Aurelia Taoup daughter of N.N., have concluded this division on all the terms which it contains to which I assent and by which I shall abide as aforesaid and having been questioned I have agreed. I, Aurelius Phoibammon alias Triphiodoros, from the city of the Hibites, wrote on her behalf as she does not know letters.”

This papyrus contains a contract of division (διαιρεως) of an inheritance (cf. l. 8. τοις] πέρτε σωκληρονομι[ους) of a house property between five parties, the Aurelii Pekysis, Pebos, and Pachoumis, all the sons of Alitous (l. 1), Aurelius Horos son of Syros with his sisters (l. 6) or brothers (l. 19) and Aurelia Taoup daughter of N.N. (cf. l. 21n.). Since Taoup employed the same hypographeus as Pachoumis, she was perhaps a full sister to the three brothers, while Horos was perhaps a half-brother of the other four since all five are described as συγκληρονόμου (l. 8). Unfortunately, due to the heavy mutilation of the papyrus it is impossible to reconstruct with great precision the allotments given to each of the five parties to the division. In addition it would be unwise to assume from its find place that 13 records a division of House 2 itself; the document may or may not relate to the building in which it was found.


1. 'Αλτούς is otherwise unattested (although D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum, lists an Αύρηλος 'Αλέπης), but the name should be compared with the name Πελώτος in 8.1 (see note ad loc.); that document was issued in 362 by Aurelius Psaix son of Pekysis (?) and grandson of Palitous, so that in the case of (Ω)πελώτος we are apparently dealing with the same person. For the names of other parties to the contract supplemented at line end, see II. 5 and 17 (Pachoumis), 6 and 19 (Horos), 6 and 21 (Taoup).

2. For the relationship between the village of Kellis and the city of the Mothites cf. 20.3-5n.

3. It is not possible to suggest a convincing reading for the first two letters of the interlinear word σες. It appears to diverge at this point from the parallels, which usually have δηρήθας πρὸς ἑκεντῶς with or without δέ εὐδοκοῦσων, 'wishing to make a division with one another', cf. P.Oxy. III 503.4, P.Tebt. II 383.8, BGU I 234.5, II 444.6, IV 1037.5. But apart from the nu of τῶν the letters seems certain, and a reexamination of the original has confirmed that it is apparently not possible to read πρὸς [ἐ]κεντῶς.

5. After μήκος an indication of length (e.g.: 'n cubits') is expected, but the lacuna can have held only a symbol + a numeral. The papyri usually have the form αὐτοβαλῶν, for which see G. Husson, OIKIA, 253-54, rather than αὐτοβαλέαν as here, and perhaps also in 1. 7, where the letters are broken but reasonably certain. The plural αὐτοβαλέα seems to rule out τὸν οἶχον. We reckon with the possibility that οἶχος may be a spelling error for οἶχοι, but it is impossible to go any further and suggest a convincing restoration of the full word.

5-6. For the restoration of τινι] χῶμα cf. the word τυλίκων at the end of l. 6.

6. It is unclear how the lacuna between κύγω and δέ καὶ οὗρα Σέρον καλ. should be filled. For οὗρα Σέρον σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς (fem.) cf. l. 19, where one finds Αυρήλος ὤντος Σέρου σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς (masc.).
Possibly one should read: τοῦ πυλώνς ἡλέγων ἢ Ταούτη ετλ. The number of letters missing in the lacuna at the line end suggests that Taoup’s name (restored from l. 21; see note ad loc.) was followed by her patronymic.

7. ἔρως is broken but secure; what follows may be part of a tau. It is unclear what should be restored before ήρως (or read κελάχως? See G. Husson, OIKIA 147; but the alpha is really difficult to accept).

8. δεδομένατουίανων: the reading of most letters seems clear (although we have considered ήτοι for απετοκ-), but their division into words is quite uncertain. Assuming that it is the αυτοβολων which is being described, one might posit an otherwise unattested adj. δεδομένος indicating that the granary was equipped with a bench or a seat, cf. BGU IV 1116, discussed by Husson, op.cit. 154, where λαοσαντεα δέδοι are perhaps latrines. οἰκῳνων might then be taken as a part of an ὄνων (Gen. ὄνωνς), again unattested but analogous to βιῶν, μορφῶν, εἰσθανόν, παρασταρέων, καμηλών, etc. The word following οἰκῳνων may be καιροῖς, this being the customary term used of ‘new’ as opposed to abandoned or ruined constructions (see Husson, op.cit., 197-99). Possibly read at end: και τὴν δέξασαν.

9. Τάλαντα έκτες χίλια or έκνευξε χίλια seem possible readings from a palaeographical point of view, but with multiples of 1000 one would expect at least a compound of the appropriate numerical adverb and χίλια, cf. F.T. Gignac, Grammar II 199 sub 16.a. For the line end, cf. P.Lips. 26.16.

10. πόλις τοῦ -ήσεως εἰς τοιαύτα: once again 13 appears to diverge from the parallels which usually have the formula τρόπος τοῦ ἐκκατομμύριαστος (with or without μέρας) εἶναι μορφάχων. Perhaps read τρόπος τὸ ἐκάμα ταῖς διάκρισεσαν, although this is unparalleled. A pagan priest (ίερείς) Aurelius Stonios son of Tepnachthes is also mentioned in a number of papyrus fragments coming from the central village temple excavated at Ismant al-Kharab. His occurrence here proves that the local temple was still in use for the pagan cult as late as 335.

11. Aurelius Horos and his un-named brothers (or sisters?; cf. l. 6) are treated as a single party for the purposes of the diphaeresis, but are regarded as plural for the formal questioning and acknowledgement in l. 20.

12. Read the woman’s name as Ταούτη Ἄλμηθες? But on the original the first letter hardly looks like an alpha, rather like a psi followed by an alpha, which suggests Ψίληθος vel sim. To be sure, it is not possible to read the woman’s name as Ταούτη, cf. that name in 8.1.

14: FRAGMENT OF AN AGREEMENT (356)

P.Kellis inv. A/2/96+97+106 (inv. A/2/96+97 from House 2, room 7, understairs cupboard, on base of bed; inv. A/2/106 from room 3, level 1, found in cupboard in NE corner; parts mentioned in JSSEA 17 [1987] 173). H. 10 x B. 15.5 cm. The writing runs parallel to the fibers; the verso is blank. Margin at the bottom 5 cm. At 5 cm from the left hand edge a join is visible.

1 [τητακείας τῶν δεσ-]
2 [ποτῶν ἡμῖν Κωπ|ντατιτιν Α[ναγόστον τὸ η’ καὶ Κλαϊνίδοι [Ἰου-]
3 [νοιν Κα]ίσαρος τὸ α/ [Μonth, day]
4 (M.2) [Αὐρήλιο]ς Ὄριον ὃ προκείμενον ἐθέμιν τὴν ὁμολογίαν[v]
5 [ἐὰς π]εριέχει διαστολαίς πάσαις ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς
6 [ὁμολόγησε] ἐγραφα ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μή εἰδότος Αὐρήλιος
7 [σα. 5] Ὄ Τιθέους κωμογραμματέως τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης.
8 (M.3) [Αὐρήλ]ίος Ἡρακλῆς Ψάιτος ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλλεως μαρτυρῶ.
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

"--. In the consulate of our Lords Constantius Augustus, consul for the 8th time, and of Claudius Julianus Caesar, consul for the first time, [Month + day?]. I, the abovementioned Aurelius Horion, made this agreement with all the articles contained in it as written above and upon the formal question I have consented. I, Aurelius N.N. son of Tithoes, the village scribe of the same village, have written for him because he could not write. I, Aurelius Herakles son of Psais, from the village of Kellis, am witness."

All this badly mutilated end of a contract offers is a consular date and a few names of persons living in this village. Even so it is of some interest, as it presents us with an attestation of the function of a village scribe, presumably officiating at Kellis. For the office of village scribe (abolished in the 3rd century and re-emerging in the 4th century) cf. R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 134 and CPR VII 18.16n.

1-3. This is the consulate of 356, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., *CLRE*, s.a. There is sufficient space in the lacuna at the end of l. 3 for restoring a month and a day, but it is also possible that, as more often in the Kellis papyri (cf. 8.13n.), these were simply never written. Evidently (cf. the size of the lacuna at the left of these lines with the restorations of the lines 4ff.) there is not enough space to restore an (expected) epithet like, e.g., ἐπιφανεστάτων between Julian's name and title. For the same reason it seems necessary to assume that the consular dating formula started somewhere in the second half of a line, rather than that it began a new line.

4. It is not possible to identify this Aurelius Horion. An Aurelius Horion son of Timotheos occurs as a witness in 8.19 (362), but he may be a different person.

5. For the phrasing ἔφ' αἰς περιέχει διαστολαῖς πένθος cf. 13.13ff., 31.30ff. and 58.6.

7. Should we correct Κτιθοιτοπαμμευοῦν; into Κτιθοιοπαμμευεῦν; and assume that the office of village scribe belonged to the son rather than to the father? But one may expect the son of a village scribe also to be able to write by himself.

A Tithoes (for the name cf. 8 - 12, introd.) was the father of an Aurelius Pebos in 352 (cf. 24.13); therefore one might speculate about restoring [Πεβόσ] at the start of this line (according to other Kellis papyri an Aur. Pebos was able to write, cf. 42.37f. [364] and 44.23f. [382]; cf. also 43.38f. [374?]), but notwithstanding some similarities in the handwriting here and in other subscriptions written by Pebos it remains a doubtful restoration, the more so as in the other documents Pebos writes his father's name in the genitive as Τιθοίτος.

15: PUBLIC DECLARATION TO THE PRAESES THEBAIDOS

(357)

P.Kellis inv. A/2/79 (House 2, room 3, level 6, under the pots) + A/2/110 (room 5, level 3, NE corner of room). The papyrus now consists of 2 separate fragments. Frag. I: H. 27 x B. 3.5 cm. Frag. II: H. 14.5 x B. 8.5 cm. The writing runs parallel to the fibers; the verso of the papyrus is blank.
To Flavius Domitius Asklepiades, vir clarissimus, comes, flavialis, praeses, from Aurelius Psais son of Peteminis, from the village of Kellis belonging to the Mothite nome, greetings. The tax collectors and the epikritae of the tax in gold and silver levied on trades and businesses, who proposed ten (persons) from the village in order that the collecting of taxes would be entrusted to them and would take place through them, —. But I, taking care lest they would — and I shall be found being accused, was absolutely alien to that matter and in order that this becomes clear to all and I turn out to be guiltless and not responsible I bring (this) forward publicly while safeguarding myself and — that — the tax collecting — in general. In the consulate of our lords Constantius Augustus consul for the 9th time and of Claudius Julianus Caesar consul for the second time, [Month, day].”

This papyrus contains a much damaged public declaration addressed to the governor of the Thebaid concerning a problem re the appointment of tax collectors. Though a number of details of the text’s wording escape us (especially in ll. 14-16; probably the author of the document protested in public against errors made in the appointment procedure, as a consequence of which he might suffer personal damage), it is of considerable importance as it is the first papyrus giving an exact year (357) for Flavius Domitius Asklepiades, known as praeses Thebaidos only from the undated
In view of the date of this papyrus there is now reason to date the BGU codex to the 350's and early 360's rather than to the 380's; for a list of the 4th-century provincial governors of the Thebaid cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse*, 249-256 (Asklepiades is # 24 in her list), and the addenda to that list by P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp in Tyche 1 (1986) 193.

2. On the rank of comes (= 'count', a rank in the imperial government institutionalised by the emperor Constantine the Great and divided into three grades) cf. A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, I 104-105; on the title of flavialis cf. ibidem 675 (the interpretation in W.Chrest. 424.9n. is not to be followed).

3. For the restoration of the name Πετροίνς as that of the father of Psais, cf. 23.18 (353). As the space in the lacuna is rather short, his name may have been abbreviated or left undeclined.


5-6. τοὺς δίκαιατις λαγός is a technical term used with liturgical officials meaning 'to propose, to nominate'; cf. N. Lewis, *The compulsory public services of Roman Egypt* (Firenze 1982) 63. It seems unusual Greek to find that before or after the numeral δικαίατις no word like, e.g., άρδατις was written. In itself it is not unusual to find such a large number of tax collectors as the ten persons proposed here; cf., e.g., the ten stiologoi nominated in P.Amh. II 139 (350). On the other hand, it is a little surprising that for the collection of the chrysargyron in the village of Kellis apparently as many as 10 persons were nominated. This suggests a large number of resident craftsmen and merchants, such as one might expect in a metropolis (cf. in general R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* 127-30); we may compare in this regard the considerable number of former magistrates from Mothis apparently living in Kellis. The large number of collectors probably reflects not so much the burdensomeness of collecting of the chrysargyron as it does an official desire to distribute the burden of collective responsibility over a number of 'strong shoulders' in case of any defaulting tax payers.

7. The unread letter between the two episcs at the end of the line seems to be a ny or a πi.

11. For the construction resulting from the restoration of παρέ + the articular genitive meaning 'so that …' cf. B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens 1973) § 859.

12. Restore κα[ι] ἐπίσκεπτης? At the end of this line μηνιδε is expected, but the delta is really uncertain.

13. For the publication of such complaints addressed to a provincial governor cf. 23.31.

16. Perhaps one should restore something like τοίς ἐπίσκεπτης πρόδρομοι?] 17-19. Constantius Augustus IX and Claudius Julianus Caesar II were the consuls of 357, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., *CLRE*, s.a. It is slightly odd to see that the first iteration numeral was written as a letter/numeral (in the lacuna in the middle of l. 19 there is not enough of space for restoring the ordinal written out in full), while evidently the second iteration numeral was written out in full (note, that Julian was a second consul, which implies a date to either 356 [cos. I], 357 [cos. II] or 360 [cos. III]), but the reading of the δ of δεξιότερον is certain.

It is possible that in this papyrus, as in other texts from Kellis (cf. 8.13n.), the month and day (for which there is space enough in the lacuna) were never indicated.
16: BUSINESS NOTE

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. A/2/63+108 (both from House 2, room 2; A/2/63 low in level 2, in NE corner of room, A/2/108 in level 5, in front of door to room). H. 13.3 x B. 7.2 cm. Margins: at the top 1.4, at the left 1, at the bottom 5.8 cm. Folded lx horizontally, 4 (?) x vertically. On the verso there are some traces of ink (possibly just ink blobs?).

1 Κυρίῳ μου πατρί
2 [Γε]λασίῳ Αἰώνιανος
3 χαίρειν. Δός τῷ ἄδελ-
4 φῷ Παταίασι φιμῖκ(ων)
5 ἀρτάβας τέσσαρας ἀλλὰ
6 μή ἐμεληθῇς γ᾽ ἱδικτί(ονος).
7 [Γερρ]ώθαι σε εἴχομαι,
8 [κύρ]ίῳ μου πάτερ.
9? Traces?

"To my lord father Gelasios (?) Aionianos sends his greetings. Give to my brother Pataias four artabs of dates, but don’t forget: of the 3rd indiction. I pray for your health, my lord father."

This small note from a certain Aionianos to a ‘father’ contains an order to hand over 4 artabs of dates to a ‘brother’ Pataias. In itself this does not seem to be a message of great importance, but nevertheless the text has a special interest, if it is compared with another text from Kellis, P.Kellis inv. 93.60+71 (still unpublished; from House 4; 368) in which an Aurelius Aionianos son of Gelasios, makes a contract with a veteran concerning the irrigation of a plot of land. As the personal name Aionianus is rare (it is listed neither in F. Preisigke’s Namenbuch nor in D. Foraboschi’s Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum and it is also lacking in Pape-Benseler’s Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen) it seems not unreasonable to assume that this Aionianus is the same person as the sender of this small letter; furthermore, though in l. 2 the reading of the name of the ‘father’ (who does not necessarily need to be a physical father) is uncertain, it seems just possible to recognize the name of Gelasius again here. This may induce us to think that at some moment Gelasios (the recipient of the message!) actually lived in House 2; on the other hand, there is also a papyrus referring to a Gelasios from House 3, viz. 29 (cf. below, 1-2n.).

1-2. For Gelasios cf. above and also SB XVIII 13852 (309) where a Gelasios is στρατηγὸς ἴτων ἐξάκτων Ὀκάτων, and 29 (331), where a Gelasios occurs as a former logistes (ἐκ τὸ λογιστῶν); cf. also 7.22n.
The name does not seem to be very common in the Oasis and in fact one may be dealing in these texts with the same person throughout.

As I. Gardner reminds us, it is possible that that the name Aionianos may have been inspired by Manichaean ideas.


The form Ποτηράς is not listed in F. Preisigke's Namenbuch and D. Foraboschi’s Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum, but it is presumably a variant of the names Ποταμώς and Ποτεράς. Other instances of Ποταμάς in the Kellis papyri are found in 7.2.26 and 76.33-34 (in both he is the father of a certain Gena) and in 24.19 (brother of Psais).

6-7. We do not think that the reference to the 3rd indiction belongs to a dating formula without a month and a day being present. We compare the situation in 79 (cf. there l. 11n.) and think that here the reference to the 3rd indiction should be taken with the preceding and that the author means: ‘... Send four artabs of dates, but don’t forget: (dates) of the 3rd indiction.’

9. Though the ink traces are ambiguous it does not seem to be excluded that in fact they may have contained part of a short dating formula, probably referring to an indiction year, a month and a day.
FROM STRUCTURE 4

17: END OF A LETTER

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. A/3/26 (Structure 4, room 2, level 2). H. 6.2 x B. 5.5 cm. The writing on both sides runs parallel with the fibers. There are three vertical folds visible.

1 TRACES (Partly smudged)
2 Λέων τῷ ἀπαίτητι-
3 ἠ αλλὰ πάντως.
4 Παχὼν γυ τῆς
5 δ ἰνδικτίονος.
6 Ἁρρώσθ[α]ρ [ή] ἡ
7 εὐχομαι, κύριε
8 μου ἀδελφέ,
9 τολλοῖς χρό-
10 νος.

Verso:
11 ἀδελ[φ]ος Νεῖλος

"-- to Leon the apaitetes. But (do it) absolutely. Pachon 13 of the 4th indiction. I pray for your health, my lord brother, in many years."

The only information presented by this small fragment is to be found in the occurrence of an unknown apaitetes (= tax collector, cf. l. 2n.) Leon whose name is not found elsewhere in the Kellis papyri. Evidently it was the end of a personal or business letter (cf. lI. 6-10) written by a certain Neilos (not a common name in the Kellis papyri) to an anonymous 'brother' (or colleague?).

2. Apaitetae are also referred to in 15.4 (see note ad loc.), where they collect the chrysargyron-tax. The term is generic ('tax collector') and here the apaitetes may have been collecting another tax.
3. ἀλλὰ πάντως: cf. 79.11n.
18: FRAGMENT OF A LOAN OF MONEY

(Ca. 350)

P.Kellis inv. A/3/36 (Structure 4, room 6, level 1). H. 6.8 x B. 2.7 cm. Margin at the top 1.3 cm. Verso blank.

NB: a few fragments of a private letter mounted in the same frame do not belong to the papyrus fragment transcribed below.

1 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Γενᾶ Οὐώνσιος [ καὶ Ν.Ν. τοῦ]
2 ον ἀπὸ κώμης Κέλλεως
3 τοῦ Μωθ[ίου νομοῦ Α[υρ(ήλιος) Ν.Ν. τοῦ]
4 Ν.Ν. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ ἀυτοῦ νομοῦ
5 χαίρει[μ. Ὠμολογοῦ[μεν ἔχειν καὶ δε-]
6 δανείσθαι παρά σου ε[ἰς ἱδιὰν ἡμῶν καὶ]
7 ἀνογ[κοίν] χρείαν [χρυσοῦ νομισμάτων]
8 ποι ἐνοῦ,] γι(νεοῦ) νο(μισμάτων) α, ἄφι[ν ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ἀπο-
9 δο[ναι σ]ει τῷ καιρῷ τ[η]
10 τῆς δωδεκάτης ἵμαρτινος

“The Aurelii Gêna son of Ouonsis and N.N. son of N.N. from the village of Kellis in the Mothite nome to Aurelius N.N. son of N.N. from the same village in the same nome, greetings. We acknowledge that we have received and borrowed from you for our private and immediate need one gold solidus, total 1 sol., on condition that we repay this to you at the moment - - of the twelfth indiction - -”

Only the opening of a loan contract has been preserved. The loan concerns one solidus which may have to be repaid at harvest time (see 9n.). For bibliography on loans of money cf. below, the introduction to 40 - 47.

1. For a man named Gena son of Ouonsis, cf. 23.2 (353) and 24.3n. (352); both papyri are from House 3, whereas this text, like 12 Fragm. III, comes from Structure 4. The restoration of his name is not certain, of course.
3. For the Mothite nome cf. 41.4n.
9. A restoration of the clause concerning the repayment of the loan (cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch I s.v. καιρός, col. 722) can be proposed only 'exempli gratia', e.g. τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τρίγης / συγκομιδῆς κορτῶν, vel sim., although one expects such a phrasing in a loan of commodities, not of money (cf. the note to 45.12ff.). Given the date assigned to this text a 12th indiction may be related to the years 353/4, 368/9, or perhaps earlier to 338/9.
The occupants of House 3

In a number of papyri from House 3 dating from the early-4th century occurs an Aurelius Pamour(is) son of Psais. Moreover, in quite a few other papyri he is apparently referred to as father or grandfather. We have tried to construct a family tree of Pamour and his family members mentioned in papyri throughout the 4th century. For this purpose we used in the first place contracts (often bearing a more or less exact date) in which a person's family relations are described in terms of: 'X', son of (father) 'A' (sometimes followed by the name of the father and grandfather of 'A') and (mother) 'B'. Furthermore, we suppose that, unless all documents were just 'imported' into House 3 after it had been deserted, at least a significant number of the documents found in House 3 were related (often enough: addressed) to members of a (or perhaps: the) family which occupied the house during the 4th century and kept these documents for some purpose; in a few cases (esp. with loans of money) one has to assume that a document was addressed to another party by a person connected with House 3, but living for some time elsewhere (i.e. in Aphrodite in the Nile valley), and that the document in question, after it had been received back, was taken to the house in Kellis (cf. 32, 42, 44, and possibly 43; 30 was also written in Aphrodite, but addressed to a person who came from Kellis).

It is probably impossible to put all addressees of documents found in House 3 into a neat coherent scheme. It may have been the case that the house was not always occupied by one single family, but that at any given time part of it was leased by one or more other persons; there is no clear evidence on that subject. From both the Greek and the Coptic personal letters one gets the impression that at times a rather complex family may have lived in it. Firstly the more obvious relations among members of the family of Aurelius Pamour(is) can be outlined as follows:
It should be stressed that much in this reconstruction is (still) hypothetical; especially letters in which people address each other as ἀδελφός/ἀδελφή (cf., e.g., 71: ‘To Psais, from his brother Pamour’, and 73: ‘To Pamour, from his brother Psais [s.o.? Tryphanes’) or πατρις (cf. 74: ‘To father Aron, from Psais the potter his son’) cannot be used without great caution, as these terms should not always be taken literally (cf. 74.14n. and 34n.). Moreover, letters which can be dated only by way of palaeographical or other ‘indirect’ criteria have been mostly left out of account.

Moreover, especially difficult to assess are the connections between persons mentioned in the Greek texts and people mentioned in the ± 70 Coptic letters from Kellis being prepared for publication by A. Alcock and I. Gardner. As long as a full edition of these texts is not available it must be considered possible (perhaps even: likely) that

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13) For Pamour I son of Psais I see also 27.2n.
14) It is conceivable that Horos had yet another brother or sister, cf. the note to 30.8ff.
part of the family tree outlined above may have to be altered. We feel certain that this forthcoming publication will allow us to see things with greater clarity and that new details may be fitted into the whole scheme.

We assume therefore that at least a substantial part of the total documentation from House 3 can be seen as a kind of family archive consisting of documents addressed or at least related to various members/generations of the same family. Nevertheless, the problem remains that quite a few texts were addressed or refer to persons whose links with the family of Aurelius Pamour(is) are, to put it mildly, not obvious (see below). Were all of these texts 'intruders' blown into House 3 only after it was deserted? Or was the house used as a kind of 'storage place' when people made preparations to move from Kellis to another, unknown destination and collected at a suitable location things they wanted to take with them (the date of such a movement is unknown, but it is probably not much later than the latest datable document in this collection of texts [26, ca. 389-15], say between 390 and 400). The assumption, that documents found in House 3 were addressed/related to people living there, and the consequences drawn above for sketching the family relations of Aurelius Pamour, do not explain the presence of the following documents: 16

a.1 To Aur. Horos, s.o. Mersis: 34 (315); 51 (320?); 52 (320)
a.2: By Aur. Horos, s.o. Mersis: 57 (332)
Comment: see the relationship between Horos and Psais son of Pamour as indicated in 38.a,b and the plan of Houses 1 - 3, p. 5; a camel shed (now: Structure 47) belonging to Horos son of Mersis was apparently almost adjacent to House 3, where Psais son of Pamour lived; maybe the presence of the Horos documents can be explained through that connection. For Horos son of Mersis, see also the family tree given in the introduction to 8 - 12 (from House 2), esp. 9.

b.1: To Philammon, from Valerius: 64 (IV)
b.2: To Hilaria his slave, from Aur. Valerius s.o. Sarapion: 48 (355)
Comment: there seems to be no obvious connection between any of the addressees and the 'main' family of House 3; moreover, there is some reason to assume that there were two different persons named Philammon (cf. 64.1-3n.). Furthermore, an identification of the authors of 48 and 64 is by no means certain and there is also no obvious relationship between any Valerius and the 'main' family of House 3, though it should be noted that a Valerius was the father of Aurelius Pausanias (for the latter, see under 'c' and 4.1n. [from House 2]).

c.1: To Pisistratos and Pausanias (known from House 2, cf. sub 'b'), by N.N.: 63 (IV)
c.2: To Pisistratos (creditor) from Palammon (?) s.o. Palammon (?) (debtor): 46 (IV)
Comment: even if we identify both people named 'Pisistratos' with each other, there is no obvious relationship between any Pisistratos and the 'main' family of House 3. On the other hand, there is a Pausanias who has a kind of relationship with that family, (cf. 38.a,b) and who seems to have lived in House 2 (cf. 4, 5, 6; or were these documents just blown into that house?).

15) To be sure, the earliest document in this volume which can be assigned to a more or less precise year is 1 (293 or 294), but there are at least two texts apparently dating from an even earlier period within the 3rd century (28, 62).

16) As texts 22, 28, 53 - 56, 59 - 62, 82 - 86, 88 - 90 contain no names of addressees we do not discuss here their presence in House 3.
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

d.1: To Elias, from his father Psais: 68 (IV)
d.2: To Elias, from Sabeinos: 81 (IV)
d.3: To Strategios, from Elias: 75 (late IV)
Comment: it is not certain that the 3 persons named ‘Elias’ are identical with each other, but even if they are, it is difficult to establish a convincing link between them and the ‘main’ occupants of House 3. The name Psais (in d.1) is not helpful, as the name seems common in Kellis (cf. the [still unpublished] ostraka coming from the excavations). For Strategios in ‘d.3’ cf. 26 (ca. 389), Fr. II, II. 6-7.

e.1: To Kapiton, from his brother Psenamounis: 80 (IV)
e.2: To Aur. N.N. s.o. Kapiton (creditor), by Aur. Lilous (debtor): 47 (IV)
Comment: Maybe the full name of the addressee was in both cases: Aurelius Kapiton son of Kapiton, cf. 45. The assumption, that that man was connected (through marriage) with the family of Pamour living in House 3, may explain the presence in House 3 of a few documents addressed to him. On the other hand it must be kept in mind that at some time Kapiton was apparently away from Kellis, cf. 76.

f. To Aniketos (?), from Psais (?): 79 (IV)
Comment: both the name of the addressee and the name of the sender are read with considerable uncertainty. An apparent connection with the ‘main’ occupants of House 3 is lacking, though on the basis of the date of the handwriting there might be a link with Psais II (one would have to suppose that he received his original letter back from the addressee).

g. To Gelasios ex-logistes, through Riraus, from Aurelius Nikantinoos: 29 (331);
Comment: we see no connection with the ‘main’ occupants of House 3.

h. To Aur. Kleoboulos, logistes, and Philosarapis alias Mikkalos and Andromachos s.o. Apollo, from N.N.: 25 (IV)
Comment: we see no connection with the ‘main’ occupants of House 3.

i. To N.N. logistes, from Petechon s.o. Ammonios: 69 (IV)
Comment: we see no connection with the ‘main’ occupants of House 3.

j. To Psempnouthes, from Timotheos the carpenter: 70 (IV)
Comment: we see no obvious connection with the ‘main’ family of House 3, but the name Psemp(n)outhes occurs in the family tree of some of the occupants of House 2, see the stemma given in the introduction to 8 - 12; furthermore, a Psempnouthes occurs in 74.18 (where his relationship to the ‘main’ occupants of House 3 is also uncertain), see sub ‘k’.

k. To Aron, from Psais the potter, his son: 74 (IV)
Comment: We see no direct relationship between ‘Psais the potter’ and Psais I or Psais II. In view of the handwriting of the letter Psais I is probably too early, and Psais II was the son of Pamour I. Should we assume that Pamour I had an alias name ‘Aron’ which is not given elsewhere?

l. To Serenus, praepositus pagi of Trimithis, from Valerius Herculanus (a high official): 27 (early IV)
Comment: we see no connection with the ‘main’ family of House 3.

m. To Theognostos, from N.N.: 67 (IV)
Comment: The name Theognostos is referred to in other Greek and Coptic documents found in House 3, but his relationship with the ‘main’ family living there is hard to define.
n. To the prefect, from Aur. Gena s.o. Ouonsis (petitioner): 23 (353)
Comment: we see no obvious relationship with the ‘main’ family living in House 3; a Gena son of Ouonsis occurs in 18 (from Structure 4).

o. To N.N. from Aur. Ploutogenes: 58 (337)
Comment: obviously, all possibilities re a connection between the addressee and the ‘main’ family of House 3 are open.

p. To Aur. Am- from Hibis, by Aur. N.N., s.o. Theodoros: 35 (IV)
Comment: again, we see no connection with the ‘main’ family of House 3.

q. To the office of the dux, by a number of individuals/subscribers, among which Pamour son of Psais (l. 15): 24 (352)
Comment: As many different hands of subscribers are to be found in the document it must be an original which should have been sent off. Nevertheless, Pamour son of Psais may be identical with Pamour III. Was the document kept (or, received back) by him?

r. To Psarapis, from Pamour: 66 (IV)
Comment: Was this Pamour perhaps identical with Pamour I or Pamour II (Pamour III seems unlikely in view of the date of the handwriting of the letter), and did he receive his own letter back?

s. To Psais, from his brother Pamour: 71 (IV)
Comment: Are we dealing with correspondence between Psais II and Pamour II, or between Psais III and Pamour III?

t. To Pamour, from his brother Psais [s.o.?] Tryphanes: 73 (IV)
Comment: are we dealing with Pamour II or with Pamour III? The relationship between Pamour [son of ?] Tryphanes (see 71.39n.) and the ‘main’ family of House 3 is hard to define.

Comment: This addressee may be connected with the ‘main’ family, but was he the son of Pamour I or the son of Pamour II (probably not of Pamour III, as the handwriting does not seem to belong to the later part of the IVth century)?

v. Amulet worn by Pamour s.o. (mother) Lo: 87 (IV)
Comment: if it could be demonstrated that Lo should be identified with Tapollos, then this Pamour is identical with Pamour III.

NB: Of course, it is possible that some of the persons named ‘Pamour’ listed under ‘r’ - ‘v’ should be identified with each other, but it remains impossible to tell whether one is dealing with Pamour II or III.
**19.a: PETITION TO THE PRAESES THEBAIDOS**

(Ca. 299)

P. Kellis inv. P. 61.D (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 12.5 x B. 6 cm. The text on the recto (19.a) is written parallel with the fibers, the text on the verso (19.b) runs across the fibers. The fragment shows a horizontal and a vertical fold (see below, 19.a. Appendix).

1 [Ἰούλιον Ἀθηναδόρω τῷ διασημοτάτῳ] ἡγουμένῳ Θηβαίδος
2 [παρὰ Αὐρηλί]— ἀπὸ κόμης Κάλλεως
3 [ ] ὡς, δῆστο τὰ ἕγεμών,
4 [ ] συνετείνασθαι καὶ συνευδο-
5 [κόσμιος] Αὐρηλίον Ἀπολλοδόρου ἄρχαντος
6 [τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεως] ἵνα δοῦλην ἰσχυρο-
7 [ ] ἔπι χρόνων ἐτή δύο [...]
8 [ ] λέξια γενόμενοι
9 [ ] ἄργυρίου καυσοῦ τάλαντα
10 [ ] δοῦλης κατ' ἐγγραφήν
11 [ ] ὁνόμαστοι υἱὸς κατ' ἰξον
12 [ ] υἱὸς μετ' ἄξομησθαι
13 [ ] δοῦλην γενόμενος αὐ-
14 [ ] θημαί περί τῆς προσερμέ-
15 [η] ἱκανὸν ἐνθρωπό-
16 [ ] μερος· ὅθεν ἐφτάσας
17 [ ] ἰσόδιον παντο[ ...] η

10 ἐγγραφήν 11 κατ’ ἰξον ex corr. 12 μεθ’ 13 α’ ex corr.

This papyrus fragment contains part of a petition addressed to a praeses Thebaides. The name of the addressee has not been preserved, but in view of the date on the verso of the papyrus (299; cf. below) one may restore it with some probability as that of Iulius Athenodorus the first known governor of the Thebaid (created in or shortly before 298) who was in office between 298-300 (see J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte*, 249). If this restoration is correct, it follows that in l. 1 seventeen out of originally ± 49 letters have been preserved (some datives may have been written with iota subscriptum rather than with iota adscriptum), i.e. only the right-hand third part of the original petition would have been preserved. As this part is folded vertically, one might argue, then, that the text in its present state is broken on a similar vertical fold and that to the left of this fold there were at least 3 other folds, i.e. there were originally 6 foldings, each pair (I.a,b; II.a,b; III.a,b) being inscribed with ± 17 letters: [(margin) I.a | I.b | II.a | II.b ] | III.a | III.b edge

This reconstruction, however, yields a problem as regards the text on the verso (cf. below).
The content of the petition is difficult to reconstruct. Apparently we are dealing with a male petitioner, who submits a copy of an earlier document (cf. l. 1. 16 ἐντάξεας and for its meaning F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch s.v. ἐντάσως*, 7). Possibly the complaint was directed against a woman who had been helped by a former magistrate Aurelius Apollodoros or his son (cf. l. 1. 4-5, συνεπιπαράντος και συνευδο-]/κούντος - - Αὐρηλίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἀφελέντος and below, 19.a, Appendix; it should be noted that in view of the size of the lacuna in l. 5 Ἀπόλλωνος could be a father’s name rather than the name of the person himself, but cf. ll. 4-5 and 24 of the text in the Appendix). Reference is made in l. 6 to a female slave Senor- (cf. note ad loc.) who may have been sent out for learning something for a period of two years (cf. l. 1. 7, ἐπὶ χρόνων ἔτη δύο; for such διδασκαλικαί cf. the bibliography given by H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* [Darmstadt 1994] 125-126) in exchange for a certain amount of talents in ‘new’ silver (l. 9. ἀργυρίου καινοῦ τάλαντας; maybe the whole transaction was put in writing (cf. l. 1. 10, κατ’ ἐγγραφήν and if she were taken (by her owner) or sent (by her teacher) back after a period of only 6 months (cf. l. 1. 12, μετ’ ἐξήμερων), that could have been the reason for the other party for petitioning the governor. It is not clear, however, how a son Onomastos (l. 11; restore in l. 1. 12 ὁ προσωπικόν;?) fits in and for ll. 13-15 it is also difficult to devise a reconstruction. Starting with l. 1. 16, δήν ἐντάξεας, we may be dealing with the start of a formula regularly found at the end of the body of a petition: ‘therefore, enclosing a copy of the (other document) I come to you, most benevolent praeses, in order that you may help me’, vel sim.

4. For the restoration of συνεπιπαράντος cf. 41.25-26 and note ad loc.
5. The reading of the name Ἀπόλλωνος is not quite certain (as an alternative one might think of, e.g. Ἀπολλωνίδωρος), but cf. below, Appendix. II. 4-5 and 24.
6. Ξηρος- (or read Ξηρος- 7) is the beginning of an Egyptian woman’s name like Σενομανθόπατος / Σενομανθός.
7. Though the right hand part of the delta and the left hand part of the ypsilon have merged, δήν seems a more likely reading than δήξα.
8. ἔλεια: or read ἔλεια? At first one might prefer reading -λεία, but the ‘iota’ after the lambda is in fact the tail of the rho in the previous line.
9. ἐξην: possibly from ἐξημυ (accentuate ἐξην), i.e. ‘according to (her) capability’, but it is also conceivable that ἐξην forms the first part of a much longer word.
10. Or read ἱῆρας ?
11. ἐντάξεας: cf. above, the introd.
12. A reading ἔλειν δόξης τῆς ηῆ does not seem convincing.

19.a, Appendix

Just before closing off the manuscript we came across a few papyrus fragments from House 3 which deserve to be published here, especially as the bottom of 19.a may be connected with the top of the fragments now inventoried as P.Kellis inv. P. 61.T+W (House 3, room 8, level 4) + P. 65.C (room 8, level 3) [hereafter: 19.a,
Appendix]. This combination of fragments apparently contains, after the opening of the document with a description of the parties (ll. 1-7), part of a contract of apprenticeship according to which a (female) slave owner has given a female house-born slave to a teacher for learning the weaver's trade (cf. ll. 8-11).

The question is whether 19.a, Appendix forms the document which is referred to in 19.a.16, ἐντάξασις. Both texts came from the same room, but there is no physical join between 19.a and 19.a, Appendix. The dimensions of 19.a, Appendix (H. 12.2 x B. 6.2 cm.; like 19.a also folded horizontally and vertically; verso blank) are much similar to those of 19.a and it could be argued that the vertical fold on 19.a finds its continuation in 19.a, Appendix and that the horizontal fold of 19.a finds its parallel in 19.a, Appendix. Furthermore, the subjects of both texts show certain mutual links (cf. below), while both texts were written in the reign of the emperor Diocletian (19.a dates from ca. 299; it is, however, impossible to propose a more precise year for 19.a, Appendix). Furthermore, it is striking that in apparently both texts one finds an Aurelius Apollodoros who apparently acts as an assistant (συνεπιταχώς) for a woman.

On the other hand, the handwriting in 19.a, Appendix is distinctly smaller (though not necessarily written by a different person); in favor of a physical combination of both texts one would have to argue that one or more lines written on the central horizontal fold of an originally ca. 25 cm. high papyrus sheet are lost, while in the second half of the same document the scribe would have used a much smaller writing. If so, did the scribe write much smaller, because he felt that he was running out of space, or in order to highlight the fact that in this lower part he was copying another document [cf. 19.a.16, ἐντάξασις]? Such a hypothesis may seem not very appealing and there is also another important argument militating against a close relationship between the two texts: in 19.a.9 one finds an amount of money described as ἀργυρίου καινού τάλαντα, while in 19.a, Appendix.16-17 the wording ἀργυρίου παλαιοῦ Πτολεμαίου νομίσματος τάλαντα is found; if we were dealing with the same case in both texts, the same description should have been used.

On balance a physical join between the two texts seems not likely. Moreover, as only 1/3 part of 19.a has been preserved and as the writing of 19.a, Appendix is much smaller than that of 19.a, the loss of text must be even more sizable in the case of the papyrus transcribed below if compared with the loss of text in 19.a (cf. also the note to ll. 21-22). The restorations now proposed in the lacunas at the left-hand side of each line pretend to be no more than 'exempli gratia' (see, e.g., l. 4-5n.) and it is disturbing that in some lines a distinctly longer restoration seems inescapable than in others; cf. the size of the restoration of 55 letters in l. 22 vs. the 41 letters in l. 4.

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1 | TRACES
2 | παρά Ἀθηνοδόρος
3 | χωρίς κυρίου χρηματιζόντων] 'έκεινων δικαίων] κατά
4 | τά 'Ρωμαίων δόθη μετά συνεπιταχώς κοινον} κατά Αὐρηλίου
[Ἀπολλω′.
from Athenodora, acting without a guardian because of the *ius (trium) liberorum* according to the laws of the Romans, with the presence and agreement of Aurelius Apollodoros, former magistrate of the city of the Mothites in the Great Oasis, to N.N. son of Germanos from Kellis belonging to the city of the Mothis, residing here in the village of N.N. in the N.N. nome. I acknowledge that I have given to you the --- for the current year N.N. daughter of my house born slave N.N. for learning the weaver’s trade, for a period of --- two and --- and to be fed and --- for the aforementioned period, and that not ---. But if N.N. wants to offend against these (agreements), he shall give to the party of Athenodora --- n silver talents in old Ptolemaic money --- for the aforementioned period --- without an act of God. I have handed over to you the agreement written in two copies of which each of us received a copy, which is authoritative with the subscription of the person who is subscribing for us and which is legal and in answer to the formal question I have assented. Year --- of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus *Augusti* and Constantius and Maximianus *nobilissimi Caesares*, Epeiph 3. --- the aforementioned female slave. --- Aurelius Apollodoros --- I agree."
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS


4-5. For Apollodoros (cf. 1. 24) and the participles preceding his name in the restoration cf. 19. a.4-5; for the restored participle συνεθικοδεσποτος cf. 1. 25. It is unclear in what relation Apollodoros stood to Athenodora; apparently there is no place in the formula for an element like τοῦ ἑμαυτῆς ἄνδρος (it should have followed the participle συνεθικοδεσποτος).

6-7. For the relationship between the village of Kellis and the city of the Mothites cf 20.3-5n.

12. Does the numeral δίο refer to the number of years the apprentice contract was intended to last? Cf. 19. a.7.

15. For the penalty clause starting in this line and parallels in contracts of apprenticeship cf. A. Berger, *Die Straftlauseln in den Papyrusurkunden*, 166

16-17. For the description of the kind of coinage used cf. 19. a.9 (where ἀργυρίου καινοῦ τάλαντα are mentioned!).

18. χαρίς θεοῦ βίας = 'an act of God excepted': as far as we can see, such a 'vis maior'-clause is not used elsewhere in other contracts of apprenticeship, cf. W. Dahlmann, 'H Bicz im Recht der Papyri' (Diss. Köln 1968) 48ff.: 'Haftungsausschluß durch βία (θεοῦ)'.

19-19. For the formula as restored here cf. 31.19ff.

19. Or read γραφείσθαι ἡ;?

21-22. As a regnal formula after the Augusti Diocletian and Maximian and the Caesars Constantius and Galerius (239-305) is expected, their most common regnal formula may be considered for restoration (cf. R.S. Bagnall - K.A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* [Missoula 1979] 10ff., form. 4). At the same time this shows how much of text is lost in the lacuna at the left-hand side of the fragment; at the start of ll. 22 at least 55 letters have now been restored (and one might add an extra τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [= 13 letters] before Κωνσταντῖνος), vs. 23 letters being preserved; compare the ratio 'letters lost' (55 or 68?) :: 'letters preserved' (23) with the calculated loss of text in 19. a (cf. the introd. to that text). Epeiph 3 = 27.vi.

25. Perhaps one should restore something like ἀρξας τῆς Μωθιτῶν πόλεως συμπάρειμ (or συνεπιπάρειμ, cf. 19. a.4) in the lacuna before συνεθικοδοκώ.

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19.b: FRAGMENT OF A PREFECTURAL HYPOGRAPH

(Early 299)

Written on the verso of 19. a.

(M.2)

1 παρὰ Αἰρηλίου Πιλαμπαίος Ψάιτος?
2 καὶ Φιλάμμανθος
3 (ἐντύχος) τω καὶ ἰδῇ καὶ ἰ'
4 Παχώνι
5 ὁ στρατηγὸς πα[ρόντος τοῦ δια-]
6 δικουίοντος μέ[ρους μεταξὺ ἕμων δια-]
7 λήμψεται τε[ρί
8 τὴν οἰκίαν δῆ
9 τὸ προσήκον]
"To Pisistratos (?), from Aurelius Pamour son of Psais (?) and Philammon --. Year 15 and 14 and 7, Pachon [ ]. In the presence of the contending party the strategos will decide between you concerning the --- the house -- the fitting --."

After a date in ll. 3-4 (regnal year 15 [Diocletian]- 14 [Maximian] - 7 [Caesars] is 298/9; in this year the month Pachon according to the Greek calendar is 26.iv - 25.v, according to the traditional Egyptian calendar 6.ii - 15.iii; cf. D. Hagedorn - K.A. Worp in ZPE 104 [1994] 243-255) one is dealing in ll. 5-9 of this text with the contents of a ruling made by the provincial governor to the effect that a lawsuit will be decided by the local strategus. For a collection of such hypographae, see 22 intrad. The precise relationship between this text and the petition written on the recto is unclear. Prefectural hypographae were usually added at the bottom of the petition, not on the verso of a document, and ll. 1-2 on the verso seem to form an alien element coming in between the petition on the recto and the hypographe. These lines mention the names of two or more senders of a document the contents of which followed in ll. 3ff. (i.e. the dated hypographe); it is not indicated to whom they sent that document.

1-2. The suggested restorations are meant only 'exempli gratia'. In view of the date of this text the Philammon mentioned in l. 2 may be identifiable with Philammon, the brother-in-law of Aurelius Pamour son of Psais, who is attested at the start of the 4th century (see the family tree given at p. 51); it is this supposed identification which suggests the restoration of the names in l. 1. The use of παρά + gen. could in itself suggest a previous mentioning of an addressee of the text on this side of the papyrus ('Τῷ Α παρὰ τῷ Β'), but nothing has been preserved.

5-6. For the suggested restoration, see especially P.Cair.Isid. 74.22f. If this restoration is correct, it would mean that 10 - 14 letters at the beginning of each line are preserved, and though the papyrus is broken at this part straight down, 12 letters in l. 6 vs. 17 letters in l. 7 should be restored (for the restoration cf., e.g., CPR XVII.A 15.16 and SB XVIII 13780.4; or restore only μὴ βουλὴν ἡμῖν δοκεῖν, i.e. 11 letters?), i.e. on this side ± half of each line would have been preserved. This yields an odd discrepancy with the situation on the recto 19.a of which it is assumed that only 1/3 of the original sheet is preserved. It is not easy to believe that 1/3 of the papyrus sheet was cut off, before the verso was inscribed.

8. It seems too daring to us to establish a link between the petition on the recto (19.a) and the hypographe here on the verso via a reading τὴν οἰκήσαντα διόρθωσαν.

10. The words τὸ προσήκων remind us of similar phrasings found in the subscriptions of P.Col. VII 169.18, τὴν προσήκοντα τοι θυσίαν, and CPR XVII.A 15.16, τὸν προσήκοντα θρόν.
20: PETITION TO THE PRAESES THEBAIDOS

(Ca. 300 - 320)

P.Kellis inv. P. 61.V + X + P. 63.A (all from House 3, room 8, level 4) + P. 65.B+C (House 3, room 8, level 3). The papyrus has been broken into 3 fragments. In the same frame there are some small scraps which do not necessarily belong to the same papyrus and which have not been transcribed. Fragm. I (upper left corner): H. 10 x B. 9 cm.; Fragm. II (upper right corner): H. 10 x B. 3.5 cm.; Fragm. III (ll. 16ff.): H. 4 x B. 8.5 cm. The papyrus has a margin at the left of 2 cm. and one at the top of 1.5 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers, the back is blank. There are traces of at least 7 vertical folds; as the foldings grow bigger from the right to the left, the papyrus was folded that way.

1 Αὔρη[λίω] Ἡρώδη τῷ δ[ιασημῷ]τάτῳ ἡγου-
   μένῳ Ἐθεβα[ίδος.]
2 Παρὰ Αἰγηλίου Παμοῦριος Ψαῖτος ἀκό κώ-
3 μης Κέλλεως τῆς Μυθειτῶν πόλεως
4 τῆς Μεγάλης Ὠάσους. [Ο][δέων] δεινότερον
5 οὐδὲ βιαστέρων, ἡγεμώ[ν] κύρι[ε], βίαν καὶ
6 πλεονεξίαν ἐν τοῖς τό[τ]ις καταστασίας
7 καιροῖς ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὡς Ψ[...] ἀκό τῆς αὐ-
8 τῆς Μοθητίων πόλεως, [ἀ]νθρώπος με-
9 γάλα ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων δυνά[με]νος, βιαίως
10 καὶ τυραννικῶς ἧρτος[ν] τοῖς διον
11 μου ἐπὶ ἀτελοὺς τότε τῆς ἡμίκας καὶ
12 ταῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων [... ] συνάκο-
13 ψε. Μέτριος ὅν καὶ [δᾶ] [...]
14 μοι μου τὰ πρός τό[ν] βιών μου ποριζό-
15 μενος ἀναγκαῖος κρίτοφιγών πρός σέ,
16 δέσποτα, διὰ τῶν τῶν βιβλιάδων ἄξι-
17 ὦν καὶ δόμενος κε[λεύσα]
18 8 ὡς? 13 ανθρώπων Pap.

"To Aurelius Herodes, the most eminent praeses of the Thebaid from Aurelius Pamouris son of Psais, from the village of Kellis of the city of the Mothites of the Great Oasis. Nothing (was regarding) by many in those times of turmoil (?) more terrible or forceful, mylord praeses, <than to suffer> violence and arrogance. For Psa-s, from the same city of the Mothites, a locally powerful man, took my donkey away, forcefully and acting like a tyrant, while at that very moment I was still an adolescent, and he came into conflict with the — from men. As I am a person of limited means and as through my — I earn my living, I necessarily take refuge to you, my lord, through this petition, asking and begging you to order, that ...."
This papyrus contains the upper part of a petition sent by Pamouris, a villager from Kellis, complaining to the praeses Thebaidos about the theft of a donkey by an influential inhabitant of the city of Mothis. As the document is broken at the bottom, we do not know whether the praeses gave his reaction by way of a hypographe (for these subscriptions, see 19.b and 22). A list of such 4th-century petitions to the highest authorities in Egypt is printed in TYXH 2 (1987) 178-181 (addenda to that list are given in CPR XVII.A 16, introd.); for a more general list of 4th-century petitions, see ZPE 69 (1987) 155f. For various documents illustrating forms of criminal theft in Roman Egypt in general cf. H.-J. Drexhage, ‘Eigentumsdelikte im römischen Ägypten’, ANRW X.1 [1988] 952-1004 (for donkeys cf. esp. 959ff.). Apparently the incident about which Pamouris is complaining took place some time before he sent in this petition; cf. the notes to ll. 7 and 12.

1. For the praeses Thebaidos Aurelius Herodes cf. J. Lallemand, L’administration civile de l’Egypte, 254 # 22. Apparently he is attested thus far only in the undated P.Oxy. IX 1186 and our papyrus is helpful in establishing the date of his office more precisely, as a Pamour(is) son of Psais (cf. l. 3) occurs in many other Kellis papyri between 306 and 321, cf. in particular the family tree, p. 51. It follows that Aurelius Herodes probably officiated some year(s) within the first two decades of the 4th century.

3-5. The phrasing ἄτο κόμης Κέλλως τῆς Μωβετίνων πόλεως occurs frequently in the papyri from Kellis; a variant phrasing is ἄτο κόμης Κέλλως τοῦ Μωβίτου νομοῦ (for the nome see 41.4n.). This interchangeable use of ἦ Μωβετίνων πόλεως καὶ Μωβίτης κομῶς illustrates the position of Kellis vis-à-vis the same territorial entity. In other words, Kellis formed part of the territory of the Mothis, the metropolis of the Mothite nome. The phenomenon of such an interchangeability of metropolis and nome (cf., e.g., P.Grenf.II 72.2n.; P.Vindob.Worp 8.22n.) is also illustrated by, e.g., an addressee of a document being styled as an official τῆς Ὀξυρνυχοτῶν πόλεως (‘of the city of the Oxyrhynchites’ by a sender of the document who styles himself as Αὐρήλιος — ἄτο κόμης — τοῦ κατούμον κομῶς (‘from the village X of the same province’); in such cases (cf. P.Gron.Amtst. 1.2-3; ) the words the same province’ can only refer to ‘city of the Oxyrhynchites’, i.e. the metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite province; a parallel for Hermopolis is found in, e.g., CPR V 6.4-6. Finally, compare phrasings like ἄτο κόμης Παύλου νομοῦ τῆς κόινης (P.Köln V 232.2) next to ἄτο κόμης Πάολος νομοῦ τῆς κόινης (P.Heid. IV 307.2-3) and ἄτο κόμης Ταυραρίδων νομοῦ Ἀπολλώνος πόλεως Μικρᾶς (P.Mich. XIII 670.4; P.Michael. 43.3, 44.3-4; P.Vat.Aphrod. 14.7), from which it appears that the use of a word νομοῦ before πόλεως was optional (our scribe could have written: ἄτο κόμης Κέλλως <νομοῦ> τῆς Μωβετίνων πόλεως).

5ff. For the opening sentences of such petitions, see Frisk’s remarks in an excursus in P.Berl.Frisk, p. 81-91. Often enough the petitioners make some kind of general statement concerning the hardships of life, their weak sex (in the case of women), their feeble age or youth, or their poverty (πενία) or modest condition-of-life (μετριάτης), etc.; for μετριάτης referred to in such openings cf., e.g., P. Cair.Isid. 68.4ff., 69.25ff., 74.22ff.; SB XVI 12814.5; P.Mert. II 91.6ff.,16f.; P.Oxy. I 71.i = M.Chr. I 62.33ff; VIII 1121.5ff.; XLIII 3126.ii.10f.; XLVIII 3394.3f.; P.Panop.Köln III 27 = SB XII 11220.4ff.,19f.; P.Sakaon 41 = P.Ryl. IV 659.7ff.; P.Sakaon 44 = P.Thead. 17 = P.Turner 44.14f.; PSI VII 769.1f. In its present form the text of our papyrus does not seem satisfactory and apparently the petitioner (led away by his emotions?) has left out some words; how, otherwise, should we explain the accusatives σκοτίαν καὶ πελοπεζίαν? It is difficult to escape inserting a verb which governs these accusatives; insert, therefore, something like, e.g., <ἡ πεθέν> before, e.g., βίωμα καὶ πελοπεζίαν in l. 6-7 and interpret: ‘Nothing is more terrible or forceful than to suffer violence and arrogance’? Compare, e.g., P.Cair.Isid. 68.7: βίωμα καὶ παρανομίαν πάσχω, and cf. also the phrasing in SB IV 7464.3: ἱδρευσε ὁδὸν ὁδὸν διενότερον ὄντος χαλκοτέρον. Furthermore, it looks more likely that the element ἄτο πόλεως should be connected with
persons who share this opinion rather than that it should be related to the number of persons by whose hands violence and arrogance were caused (does it make any difference for a victim, whether he suffers hardship at the hands of many or at the hands of only one person?); but this presupposes that a verb like ἀνομίζειν has also been omitted. The imperfect seems necessary in view of τότε in l. 7 (see note ad loc.). There is no real gain, we think, in reading ἄνδρα Παλλωνης; for the merits of the letters read as φις, see l. 8n.

6. It is interesting to compare for ἵπποιν τῷ[ῆ] l. 17, where the praeses is addressed as δέοςτα σα. Obviously the author of this petition felt that there was no great difference between the words κύριος and δεσπότης; cf. D. Hagedorn - K.A. Worp, Von κύριος zu δεσπότης, ZPE 39 (1980) 165f., esp. 176-7.

7. Though the dotted tau in καταστασιαίως betrays some uneasiness, a reading καταστάσισιαως seems less likely, as the trace of ink to the left of the loop of the α is hardly compatible with the way a α is normally written by this hand. The adjective καταστάσις (cf. also the adjectives αντιστάσις and προστάσις derived from the nouns αντίστασις and πρόστασις) is not listed in LSJ, but in the present context its meaning may be compared with καταστασιασισία = ‘factious’ (cf. LSJ s.v.). After all, the late third/early fourth century was a period of political turmoil in the Roman Empire which did not leave Egypt undisturbed (for the revolt of Domitius Domitianus in 297, see J.D. Thomas in ZPE 22 [1976] 253-279). F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch s.v. καταστάσις, 3 translates: ‘gerichtliches Streitverfahren’. It seems unlikely that we should translate ‘those founding years of old’ (cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch s.v. καταστάσις, 2).

It looks as if the adverb τότε (= ‘at that time, then’, in past or future times, normally denoting the opposite of νῦν = ‘right now, presently, to date’), was used here with the very meaning of νῦν. After all, it is more natural that in a general statement concerning the hardships of life, ‘Nothing — more terrible or forceful …’, reference should be made to a present situation rather than to a situation in the past. But it must be admitted that the obstacles against such an interpretation are too serious to translate safely here: ‘in these times of turmoil’ and it seems more likely that Pamour referred to general views held since a long time. There may be space in the lacuna after τότε for restoring a short particle like ἄνοι.

8. The reading of the damaged letters in the middle as φις seems the most likely, but they do not make any sense unless the omikron is changed into ως. After that one might restore the name as Ψφις (l. Ψάις) or read Ψάις τις. 11-14. The verb συγκόπτω normally governs an accusative, but here it should apparently be associated with the preceding dative ταῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων [ἐν | ἐν]. We have adopted (not without some doubts) an interpretation συγκόπω τοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡλίκιας = ‘while I was at that moment still an adolescent’ cf. BGU 1 168.5 = M.Chrest. 121. It should, however, be remarked that one finds there the accusative τῆς ἡλίκιας instead of the genitive. For the compound ἡλικίας cf. F.M.J. Waanders, The History of Τέχνη and Τελεω in Ancient Greek (Diss. Amsterdam 1983) § 167ff.

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21: PETITION TO A FORMER MAGISTRATE

(6.1.321)

P.Kellis inv. P. 61.R+T+V+W+X+Y (House 3, room 8, level 4) + P. 65.D (House 3, room 8, level 3). H. 27.6 x B. 19.5 cm. Margins: at the top 1, at the left 3.3, at the bottom 6.5 cm. The writing runs parallel to the fibers, the verso is blank. There are several horizontal folds, while the papyrus was folded vertically at least 7 times. A much more fragmentary copy ‘B’ of the same text has been preserved in P.Kellis inv. P. 17.Q (House 3, room 10, level 3) + P. 18 (House 3, room 10, level 1) + P. 20 (House 3, room 10, level 3) + P. 63.B (House 3, room 8, level 4).

1 [Αἰρηλὼς Ψανθιανῷ ἀρξαντὶ Μωθιτῶν πόλεως τῆς Μεγάλης Ὁσσεως
2 ἄδικοις χώρας.
3 [Παρὰ Αὐρηλίου] Πολυμύριος Ψάιτος ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλλεως τῆς Μωθιτῶν
4 [πόλεως. Εἰ] ἦκαστῳ προσχωρήσει τὰ τῆς αὐθαδίας καὶ εἰ μὴ ἢ τῶν
5 νόμων ἐπιστρέφεια ἐπακολουθεῖν έδώθεν, ἁβίστως ἢ ἣ σιμί τοῖς
6 [………….]ς χρόνον ἠγείρατο. Σῶς τοῖς Ἀκούτος κόμαρχος
7 [τῆς αὐτῆς κλάμης Κέλλεως αἰεὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν μοι ὁμήρου
8 [………….] μοι παρ᾽ ἠκαστα τοὺς παρεπιθυμοῦντας στρατιω-
9 [τας καὶ ὁφθαλμιῶν καὶ ἐκοπτούκτορας ἐπικωμάζων τῇ συμ-
10 [βίῳ μοι καὶ] ἐπιφυλακός μοι. Τῇ γάρ χθὲς ἡμέρᾳ κατ᾽ ἀποθείων μοῦ
11 [………….] γόργον κατασχίσας πελεκίω ἐπισελθών ἄμω νῦ Ἡσαν-
12 [μοῦνος] τόκτονος [ἄ]πτὸ Παμοῦν Παμο, μήτε ἡν ὀλτουργός μηδ’ ὀφynec
13 [………….]· κωμήτης μοὶ τοῦ τυχόντων, ἐπελθὼν τῇ συμβίῳ μου
14 [μεθ’ οὗ εἰ]χεν Ῥοπάλως πληγαίας αὐτήν συνέκοψεν, ὡς αἱ πλη-
15 [γαὶ φαίνεται ἐπὶ [αὐτής] ἡ ὁματος αὐτῆς, ὡς ἐν ἐπιθυμεῖν νομίς.
16 [Οὐτώς τ]οῖνοι οὐ[σ]ίς τῆς τῶν προειρημένων τῷ τε κομάρ-
17 [χου καὶ τοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ Ἡσαμαρθίας [δι]εισαγοράς, οὗ δυνάμερος
18 [δι᾽ ἡμυῖν ἄγεν, ἐποίησαμεν τῇ σῇ ἐπικειμένα τάδε τὰ βιβλία
19 [ἐξών αὐ]τὰ ταῦτα μηνοῦρα τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ τοῦ κυρίου μου
20 [διασμα]λοτάντων ἡγεμόνος Οὐαληρίου Ὀικτωρί<ν> αἰνοῦ
21 [πρὸς τῷ] δύνασθαι τὸ τετολμημένο τυχεῖν τῆς προσή-
22 [κούστις] ἀκούσιας. Διευτύχει.
23 [Μετὰ τ]ῆς ὑπατίας [τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Καπαντήνου
24 Σεβαστὸ τὸ το και Καπαντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
25 Κασάρους τὰς το—, Ἐβίτι ἱεροῦ (M. 2) Αὐρήλιος Πολυμύριος Ψάιτος ὁ
26 προκείμενος)
27 ἐπιδεόωκα. Ἔγγυτα πρὸς αὐτοίς ἐν ἀποθείων γράμματα Αὐρήλιος Πυθίων
28 κρατεῖ Ερμοῦ ἡμέρας.

3 ψάιτος 6 ἐγέρθη οὖρίον ἐξευκοντοράς 11 ἐπεσελθὼν 12 λειτουργὸς 13
tυχέανων Παρ. 14 ροπάλων 20 οὐκτομαρινων Παρ. 22 ἀκεδίκαιας 23 ὑπατιάν Παρ.
(l. ὑπατείον) 25 ψάιτος Παρ. 26 ιπερΠαρ.
Copy B, as far as preserved, offers the variant reading τῆς οὔτης Μωθίτων in l. 3.

“To Aurelius Faustianus, former magistrate of the city of the Mothites in the Great Oasis, defensor of the country. From Aurelius Pamouris son of Psais, from the village of Kellis of the city of the Mothites. If for everybody deeds of wilfulness will have success and if the severity of the laws would not usually follow, these times would be unsupportable for us —. Now Sois son of Akoutis, comarch of the same village of Kellis, who is constantly plotting against me, (is harrassing ?) me every day in violation of everything, stirring up the locally present soldiers and officiales and expunctores against my wife and being a constant pain in the neck for me. For yesterday, during my absence, he burst the --- door open with an axe, went in with the son of Psenamounis (or: with his son Psenamounis?) the carpenter from Pmoun Pamo, though being neither a liturgist nor happening to be a (fellow?-)villager of mine, he assaulted my wife with a club and he beat her up with blows so that these are visible on her body, as if they are not subject to the laws. As such is the mentality of the said comarch and the son of Psenamounis (or: his son Psenamounis?), and because I cannot live in peace, I present this petition to your clemency and I ask that these things be relayed to the braveness of my lord the praeses Valerius Victorinianus vir perfectissimus, in order that their reckless act get a fitting vindication. Farewell. After the consulate of our lords Constantinus Augustus consul for the 6th time and Constantinus nobilissimus Caesar consul for the 1st time, Tybi 11. (M.2) I, the aforementioned Aurelius Pamouris son of Psais, have submitted (the petition). I, Aurelius Phibion, ex-magistrate of Hermopolis, have written on his behalf because he is not able to write."

This petition addressed to a former magistrate of the city of Mothis (modern Mut) and defensor civitatis of the whole Chora contains a complaint from Aurelius Pamouris son of Psais, about physical violence committed by a certain Sois son of Akoutis, comarch of Kellis, and an apparently anonymous son of Psenamounis the carpenter (cf., however, the note to l. 11-12) against the petitioner’s wife; while the petitioner himself was absent, she was beaten up severely. Such cases of violent crime occur frequently enough in the papyri, cf., e.g., the recently published CPR XVII.A 23 and W. Dahlmann, 'H Bιω im Rechte der Papyri (Diss. Köln 1968). 23 is another complaint about assault.

1. The name Φαοτιανός (restored from copy B where it has been fully preserved) occurs also in other documents from Kellis like the famous Harvest Account Book, though in view of the date assigned to that text (probably the last quarter of the fourth century) the persons can hardly be identical.

2. Unless another title (e.g.: βουλευτής) or γανομένο preceded ἔξοικος, this line was indented; for the office of ἔξοικος (= ‘defensor civitatis’) cf. the full discussion by B. Kramer in Pap.Flor. XIX.1 (1990) 305-329; apparently this is now the earliest attestation of the title (cf. Kramer, op.cit., 307) and the earliest occurrence of the official acting alone. The meaning of the word χώρας is not quite clear. Like in 23.29 (το ιστοσκοπωμένο τῆς χώρας) it is used in an official’s title, but χώρας can indicate regions of every
size ranging between a simple village and a large part of Egypt like the Thebais (cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch s.v., 1). If Kramer is right in stating that normally a defensor citivitatis was competent only for a metropolis and adjacent province, it follows that χώρα indicates here the Mothite province. At the same time one wonders why the scribe did not simply write: Αὐρήλιος Φαουστιανὸς ἔδειξεται ἐκδίκω Μωβήτων πόλεως τῆς Μεγάλης Ὀσίας, cf. e.g. P.Stras. 296 verso 2-3 (# 21 in Kramer’s list). If Kramer is right in stating that normally a defensor citivitatis was competent only for a metropolis and adjacent province, it follows that xûpo indicates here the Mothite province. At the same time one wonders why the scribe did not simply write: AiiptjXu.) àp^avn CK&LKU MWÖITUC TTJÇ ME-yc<Xi)c 'Ocrtreû>ç, cf. e.g. P.Stras. 296 verso 2-3 (#21 in Kramer’s list).

3-4. For Aurelius Pamouris son of Psais, see the family tree at p. 51. For the relationship between the village of Kellis and the city of the Mothites cf. 20.3-5n.

4. For such general opening statements, see 20.5ff. note (this petition was also sent by Pamouris).

6. At the start of this line a qualifying adjective like, e.g., [μετριωτέτο]ς is expected.

For comarchs in general cf. N. Lewis, The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt (Firenze 1982) 36-37 s.v. and 23.2n.

8. One expects at the start a verb governing the dative μοι and the meaning something like ‘to obstruct, to harrass, to attack’, vel sim. It was probably more or less synonymous with the verb ἐπιβουλεύω, cf. the participle in l. 7. In itself it is conceivable that the verb also governed the following accusatives τῶν παρεπιθυμοῦντος ἀποστιῶν: | {τας καὶ διό}φυκελάως καὶ ἑκκοπούρκτορας (cf. below, l. 9n.), but in that case one would expect the acc.pl. ἐπικοιμάζοντως rather than the nom.sg. ἐπικοιμάζων.

9. For the office of an expuncitor (an army official who removed soldiers’ names from the lists of soldiers on active duty) cf. the meaning of the Lat. verb expungo discussed in P.Oxy. IX 1204.6n and Rom.Mil.Rec. 47 1.16n. The noun expuncitor is not yet listed in the Oxford Latin Dictionary (nor, for that matter, its graecized form in LSJ). The same officials seem to occur in 77.13. In general cf. also S. Daris, Il Lessico latino nel Greco d’Egitto (Barcelona 1991) 45.

The use of the verb ἐπικοιμάζω τινά + dat. meaning something like ‘to stir up someone against …’ is not normal; more regularly the verb is used intransitively with the meaning ‘to make a riotous assault’, cf. LSJ s.v.; as, however, the papyrus does not read ἐπικοιμάζοντας (to be connected with ἀποστιῶος etc.) it is difficult to see what other meaning can be assigned to it at this place (cf. also above, l. 8n.).

11-12. In itself one might prefer reading Ψεναμούνις/μούνις at the start of l. 12 and assume that Psenamounis was the son of Sois, but τέκτωνς should then be changed into τέκτων (such a mix of cases is not uncommon) and one would have to assume that the Psenamounis was living apart from his father.

12-13. The village Pmoun Pamo occurs also in the still unpublished P. Kellis inv. 93.60 + 71 verso, l. 3 (House 4); its exact location is unknown. For toponyms in the Oasis starting with an element Πμ成长为 ‘water’ cf. G. Wagner, Les Oasis d’Egyptie, passim, esp. 159ff.

The reading λιτουργῆς poses a small riddle as to its meaning. If we take μῆτε ὄν λιτουργῆς as meaning simply ‘neither being a liturgist’ there is the obstacle that according to, e.g., the testimony of 23 the office of a comarch in Kellis was a liturgical one. Should we take μῆτε ὄν λιτουργῆς to mean within the context of this petition that Sois was not ‘on duty’ and therefore had nothing to seek in Rumour’s house?

Probably one should restore συγκαλυπτης or ὄμοκολυμήτης at the start of l. 13. If so, one would accentuate the letters αυ in l. 12 as the particle αυ (for its meaning after a negation cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v. 1). As Sois, however, was comarch of the same village the petitioner Pamour lived in, it seems more likely that the writer means to describe Psenamounis, who came from Pmoun Pamo and held no official position; in that case one must change ὃν λιτουργῆς into ὅντι λιτουργῆς καὶ κοιμήτης … τυγχάνων κοιμήτη … τυχόντοι.

15. As a consequence of his emotions the petitioner forgets to keep using the singular and writes ὃποκείμενον (after all, there were two assailants).

16. A restoration of τοιαῦτας in the lacuna at the start would probably be just too long. For εἰμὶ + adverb see R. Kühner - B. Gerth, Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache, II: Satzlehre, I 38.

20. For the starting date of Victorinianus’ tenure in 321 cf. CPR XVII.A 15 introd. The present papyrus is even earlier than that text, as its date (see note to l. 23ff.) is 6.1.321, while the Vienna papyrus contains a petition mentioning an earlier subscription given by Victorinianus on 22.ii.321 in response to a previous other petition. Victorinianus’ name was apparently too difficult for the scribe to spell correctly; his error amounts to the loss of the syllable -νι-.
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23ff. For the consuls of 320 and their postconsulate in 321, see R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE s.a.; Tybi 11 = 6.i. 26-27. It is interesting to see a former magistrate of Hermopolis Magna here subscribing for a person living in the Great Oasis. It seems most likely that the present text was written in the Oasis, rather than in Hermopolis, and apparently Aurelius Phibion resided at least temporarily in the Oasis.

22: PART OF A DATED PREFECTURAL (?) HYPOGRAPHE

(P. 5 - 12.ii.324)

P. Kellis inv. P. 56.F # 1 (House 3, room 9, level 3, Western doorway) + P. 61.W (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 12 (in part 9.3) x B. 11.5 cm. Margins: at the left: 2.5, at the bottom 6 cm. Between lines 1 and 2 is a space of 3 cm. The verso is blank.

1

2 Τέταρτον μελλουσιν ἑπτάτοις ὑπάτοις [ζ, πρὸ ————]

3 Εἰδῶν Φεβραρίων † με[τ' ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν]

4 ἐγγεγραμμένων συννόμω[ζ ὁ Title ————]

5 διαλήμψεται. Κολλ[ήματος] ρ[ τόμου - ————]

4 ἐγγεγραμμένων

"... Under the future consuls for the fourth time, on the nth day before the Ides of February. After reading the written text the ... will take a decision in accordance with the laws. Sheet 100+, Roll --."

No more can be said about this papyrus than that it obviously contains a part of a dated hypografhe (= a written decision) given by some higher judicial authority (possibly the provincial governor) in response to a petition, remnants of which are preserved only in the scanty fragments of line 1. Apparently the case was referred to a lower judicial authority for further decision; for such practice, see 19.b and CPR XVII.A, p. 79-80, where other such hypographai occurring in 4th-century petitions to the provincial governor and references in there to κόλλημα = ‘sheet’-numbers are printed.

1. It is difficult to tell whether this line and lines 2-5 were written by a different hand. If not, one is probably dealing with a copy of an original.
2-3. This is the consulate of 324, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., *CLRE* s.a.; add 56.3 and P.Nepheros 48.1 (cf. ZPE 78 [1989] 135). The document was evidently written between 5 - 12.ii.324. It seems probable that there was a numeral indicating the number of days before the Ides and given the size of the lacuna it seems likely that it was written out in full. For the use of Roman months in the papyri from Egypt, see in general P.J. Sijpesteijn in ZPE 33 (1979) 229-240 and P.Mich. XV 720.8n.

4. The adverb *συνάθμως* is not listed in F. Preisigke’s *Wörterbuch* and subsequent supplements, but cf. LSJ s.v. If this text is the hypographe of a provincial governor, one expects at the end of this line before the verb διαλύσῃται as its subject the indication of a lower-ranking official (e.g.: the *strategus* [cf. 19.b.5], the *logistes* or the *exactor civitatis*) who was appointed to make a decision in court.

### 23: PETITION TO THE PRAESES THEBAIDOS

(P.753)

P.Kellis inv. P. 78.G+J+K (House 3, level 3). H. 24.5 x B. 33.5 cm. Margins: at the left ± 2, at the top 2, at the bottom (before 1. 31 was filled in) 1, and at the right 2 - 3 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers, but the fibers in the left-hand margin of the recto run vertically, hence this must have been part the so-called ‘protocollon’ (cf. 44, description). The verso is blank.

1 [Ἡ]λαυνίῳ Φαύστινῳ τῷ διακημονιάτῳ ἡγεμόνι
2 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Γενᾶ Οὐνώνιος κωμάρχου κόμης Κέλλεως [τῇ] Μωβίτου νομοῦ. Κώμαρχος
3 ἐφιληθεῖς, κύριε, τῆς ἐμπέρας κόμης μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων λιτουργῶν ὑπὸ παρουσίας τοῦ διαδόχου
4 τοῦ ἐξάκτορος καὶ τῶν ἐν τελεί ἀπάντων κατὰ τὸ σύνθες ἐποίησα τοὺς λιτουργοὺς πάντας τὴν
5 τήχην ἑαυτῶν τῇ στρατηγικῇ τάξει διδόσαι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος καὶ ἐκαστὸς ἡμῶν καθιστής ἐκκερδοθῇ <εἰς>
6 ἡμερομηνίας, μόνον δὲ Ταξὶ τινα τοῦνομα κληροθετάνει μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ᾿[...]την’ ὑφωνασθῆν ὅταν ᾿Αρπο-
7 ᾿κρατίων ἐξαιτοῦτος μετῆλθον ὡστε καὶ αὐτόν προσκαρτερεῖν τῇ δημοσίᾳ χρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν
8 συλλειτουργῶν. Ὅ δὲ θαρρῶ τῇ δυκαστίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ᾿Ἀρτοκρατίωνος πολλῇ ὀύσῃ ἐπὶ τῶν τό-
9 των ἐφροντίσεων τῆς ἡμῶν μετρίοτητος. Κατασχεθέντος δὲ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κοινώνου
10 μοῦ Γενᾶ τοῦ ἄλλου κωμάρχου ὁ προειρημένος ᾿Ἀρτοκρατίων πολλῇ τυραννίᾳ χρώμενος ἐπὶ
11 τῶν τόπων συμμάχους τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παρέβαλκαν μοι μετὰ ῥοπάλων, ὀτίνες ἐτῆλθόν μοι
12 ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ μέσῳ πληγαίς θανασίμοις συνκόψαιτές με καὶ τῶν δημόσιοι λιτουργῶν
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

13 τάρ ἰμῶν ἀπεστασαν τὸν τὸ ἀριστερὸν ύφθαλμὸν ἐπληξαν καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς συνέκυψαν· ἐπὶ πρὸς θα-

14 νάτου ἄν ἐπὶ τήρδε τὴν τῶν λαβδέλλων ἐπίδοσαν ἤθλον μὴ [τῇ] ἀνθρώπινοι τὸ παθὸ πρὸ τῆς ἐκδίκιας

15 καὶ ἀνεκδίκητος μοῦ εἰ ὁ φῶνος. Καὶ γὰρ Τιμόθεος ο ὁ τοῦτον παῖς ἑκάστοτε μετασχεριζέτο τῇ τυραννίᾳ


17 [αὐθαίρε]τως δὲ καὶ τὰ οἰνώρια κλείστ[ ] φόνου τὸν χώρον του ἀδελφοῦ μου υφειλάμενος ὡς καὶ ἐλεγ-

18 χθεὶς ὑπὸ Ψάτος Πατεμίνος κ[αι]· Ψ[ε]κτῆτος Ψευνοῦφίος· καὶ πάντα καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἤρκεσθαι [αὐτῷ], τῇ τοῦ χώρου

19 εῦπλ. ια, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν τὸν θηλίον μου ἀδελφόν ἐξέδωσεν τῆς ἐσθήτος δημοσίᾳ καὶ ὄφυγάτευσεν

20 αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀγνυττὸν ἄς ... ὦδε καὶ ὑπερτρήσας εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν μου νυκτὸς ύπεδέλεγεν τὰ οἰνώρια ἄτερ

21 ἀτὸ [τῇ]ς ἱεροῖν οἰκίας δημοσίᾳ ἐξήρενεν, πρὸς δὲ σκέσασθαι καὶ ἐλεγχυν τῆς κεὶ[τ] ἡμῶν γενομένη

22 μης ὑβρεσὶς ὑποβαθάλω Πεβῶν Τιθησίτος Χηνοῦ ὁ γιὰν ἔχων τὰς ῥοπαλοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας

23 οἰνοῦ, ὧς ἀνελάβην παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ὁν τὰ νόμομα Τρόδα, Ψευνοῦφης, Πορφύριος;

24 Ὀδότιμος, Λέων, Σατ.ς, Κόρα[ε], Παρχούμις [,ι]τὸς Λαβουνάτ[ό]υς μάρτυς δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου

25 Ὄρ[ολ]ς Τιθήσιτος Χηνοῦ, [μ]άρτυρες δὲ · θυγάτηρ Γενά κ[α]ύσιος, Σαρακόδωρος Ἔρωτος· ὃθεν ταῦ-

26 [τα] τὰ ἐγγραφα ἐπιδιόδομι Ἐ[μ]πογείνει τῷ διαδόχῳ τοῦ ἐξάκτωρος ἀξίων καὶ ἐξορκίζων αὐτόν

27 [κατὰ] τὴν θείαν καὶ οὐράνιαν π[ῆ]ρον πλάνη ἱκώντων ἡ δικτύων ἡμῶν Ἀγώνου τε καὶ Καίσαρος ἀνανεγεῖσθε

28 τῇ ἰμῶν τοῦ ἐμοῦ κυρίου Ν.Ν. ] πρὸς ἣν ἡ ἡμι καταφεύξαμε ἐκδίκιαν αἰτηθήμενος ὁν κα-

29 κοῦ πεπονθα, τοῦτον [δὲ ἀντίγραφον ἐπι]δεδωκα Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ σταυρωναρείῳ τῆς χάρας.

30 [Τ]πατεύας τῶν δικτύων [ἡμῶν Κονσταντῖνον Ἀγώνου τὸ [ς] καὶ [Κ]ονσταντίνον τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β'.

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drawn 2x, μοι: -ο- corr. ex -e- 12 συνικόφαντες: -ες ex -ας- corr., 1. συνικόφαντες, λατουγγόν 15 είναι: πε εκ ηται; μεταξειρίζεται Pap. 16 μενος: -ος ex -ος- corr. 17 αδελφοί: -φ- ex corr. 18 και: κ- ex corr. (ex μ?) or drawn 2x 20 ἐπιγέζουσαι 22 τον νῦν ἔχοντα τὰ ῥόπαλα (-α- in ῥόπαλα- ex corr., from η?) 23 ἀπελαίειν: -εν ex -ον- corr. τροδα: -δ- ex τ or vice versa 26 αὐτῶν: the ending -τον was added afterward 27 (and 30) Αὐγούστου 29 στατιωναρίῳ 31 κόμαρχος

"To Flavius Faustinus vir perfectissimus, praeses, from Aurelius Gena son of Ouonsis, comarch of the village of Kellis in the Mothite nome. Appointed by lot, my lord, as comarch of our village, together with the other liturgists in the presence of the vice-exactor and all the other officials according to custom I made all the liturgists declare their status to the office of the strategus according to custom, and each one of us was appointed by lot to his liturgy consecutively, but I had to go after only a certain fellow named Taa, appointed by lot together with us ..., who is a an employee of the ex-magistrate Harpokration, in order that he, too, would stick to the public service together with our fellow-liturgists. But he, confident in the influence of the said Harpokration (which is considerable at the local level) despised my modest circumstances. And when he was held by me and my colleague Gena, the other comarch, the aforementioned Harpokration with great display of tyrannous conduct put some local assistants of his own armed with clubs in my way; they attacked me as if in open war, striking me with deadly blows, and drew the public liturgist away from us and they hit my left eye and my side. Now, while I am still on the verge of death, I have come to sending in this written complaint in order that I shall not die before the avenging takes place and my death goes unpunished. For Timotheos, his boy, also has a hand every time in ... the brutality -- he has planned (?) -- our pigs while squandering freely -- and stealing (?) the wine -- taking away the pig of my brother, as also convicted by Psais son of Pateminis and Psekes son of Psennouphis. And even all these things were not enough for him, i.e. the theft (?) of the pig, but he robbed in public my poor brother of his clothing and chased him away to Egypt --- and forcing his way into my house he stole the wine which I had brought away from his home in public and for corroboration and proof of the violence done to me I mention Pobos son of Titheos, the ...., who now has the clubs (?) at his home which he took from the assistants whose names (are): Troda, Psenpnouthes, Porphyrios, Theotimos, Leon, Sap...s, Korax, N.N., Pachoumis, N.N. son of Loubouates (?), and witness of the assault were Horion the son of Titheos the ...., and witnesses a daughter of Gena son of Pakysis and Sarapodoros son of Eros. Therefore I send in this document to Hermogenes the deputy of the exactor, asking and conjuring him by the divine genius of our Lords the all-victorious Augustus and Caesar to bring him before our lord N.N in whom I now take refuge begging for retribution for the evil deeds I have suffered and a copy of this petition I have given to Ammonios, the stationarius of the countryside. In the consulate of our Lords Constantius Augustus consul for the 6th time and of Constantius nobilissimus Caesar consul for the 2nd time. I, the aforementioned Aurelius Gena son of Ouonsis, have put this on public display."
In general, the contents of this petition are clear enough. The petitioner, a comarch from Kellis, lodges a complaint in public (cf. l. 31, δημοσίᾳ προθήκα) about an assault made on him and his fellow-comarch by a man who had been selected for liturgical duty but tried to dodge his obligations. During a fight, in which his opponent had been helped by a number of other people in the service of a local potentate, the petitioner himself had suffered badly, wine and pigs had been stolen (l. 17), his colleague had also been molested and even chased away to Egypt (= the Nile valley), in short: the comarch had a lot of reasons to lodge a complaint. The petitioner claims that he has a number of witnesses to back up various details of his story and states that he has sent copies of his complaint to the deputy-exactor and to the local stationarius. As usual in such petitions, he asks in no unambiguous terms to bring up the culprits and to give him redress of his suffering. As the middle part of the petition is damaged, some details of its wording unfortunately escape us. For another text from Kellis containing a complaint about assault, see 21.

Especially interesting is the information given in the opening lines (ll. 2ff.) concerning the appointment procedure of liturgical comarchs of Kellis in the middle of the 4th century: they were still drawn by lot (cf. l. 3, κληρωθείς) in the presence of a high official (here, the deputy-exactor, ll. 3-4) and other civil servants, and after the comarch had been appointed, he took the necessary steps in order that the other liturgists to be appointed would report their status and fortune (cf. l. 5, τῶχη) to the office of the strategus; apparently the strategus still played some role in the Mothite Nome at this time. For appointment procedures of liturgists in Roman Egypt in general, see N. Lewis, The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt (Firenze 1982) 83ff., esp. 88-89: 'The Late Third and Fourth Centuries'.

1. A praeses Thebaidos Flavius Faustinus officiating ca. 353 is not otherwise attested. It seems just possible that he may be identical with the rationalis Aegypti Faustinus mentioned by Athanasius in 356, cf. PLRE I 326.
2. Is this Gena son of Ouonsis, also mentioned in 18.1 (from Structure 4)? Cf. also 24, ll. 3, ἸΩώρηωμεζ, and 8, Γένε.

For the office of comarch, see H.E.L. Missler, Der Komarch (Diss. Marburg 1970). We learn from l. 9-10, that Kellis was administered by two comarchs. Cf. also 21.6 and the note ad loc.
3-4. For the name of the representative of the exactor cf. l. 26, Hermogenes; for the office of exactor, see J.D. Thomas, Strategus and Exactor in Fourth-Century Egypt: a Reappraisal, forthcoming in CdE (1994).
5. The word τῶχη refers to the status or condition of the liturgists, cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch s.v. 2 and 3. In practice the comarchs were supposed to inform the office of the provincial strategus of the (free-born) legal status of the liturgists and their τόπος (= personal assets).

For the office of the strategus in the 4th century cf. the article by J.D. Thomas referred to supra, l. 3-4n.
6. The word ὥμωνασσης is found to date only in P.Lips. 97 cols. v.13, xii.8 and xiv.1. LSJ offers the translation 'caterer', but F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch s.v. translates it with 'Lohnempfänger'.

It is not quite clear precisely what Timotheos is accused of doing, but he may have had a hand in driving away pigs belonging to Gêna (cf. l. 16, τοῖς χαῖροις ἡμῶν), so squandering his dowry, and in stealing a pig belonging to his colleague/brother Gêna (cf. l. 17, τῶν χαῖρον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου ὀψαλέμενος). Furthermore he publicly tore the clothing from Gena’s body and chased him ‘to Egypt’, i.e. away from the Dakhleh Oasis (cf. 81.5n.).

As the verb μεταχειρίζομαι always governs an accusative, it must be assumed that the dative τῇ πυρελία should be taken with a lost participle like χρώμενος (cf. l. 10).

16. LSJ lists the verb κατασωστηδόμαι = ‘squander on profligate living’ with only one attestation, Josephus’ Bellum Judaicum 4.4.3.

19. At the start of this line a word like ἀπελασία may be expected, but the preserved ink traces do not seem to allow this reading. The letter before the ending -ωα may be either kappa or eta.

20. After Αύγιστοι one cannot read ὀσιάτως.

22, 25: It is unclear what χηρον / χηρο should mean. Is it an Egyptian name or a profession?

23. The name Τρίδα is not listed in the regular onomastica.

25. It is unclear whether the horizontal dash coming out of the lacuna before θυγάτηρ could belong to the epsilon of δέ (print δή;?).

26. αὐτῶν at the end apparently goes with ἀνείργεια at the end of l. 27.

28. In the lacuna after καιρίῳ a name (e.g. that of the exactor) is expected.

29. For the (military) rank of a stationarius cf. the remarks in CPR V 12.1n. and the attestations given by S. Daris, Il lessico Latino nel Greco d’Egitto 2 (Barcelona 1991) 107.

30. For the word χάρα in an indication of an official’s sphere of competence cf. 21.2n.

24: OFFICIAL DECLARATION TO THE OFFICE OF THE DUX

(352)

P.Kellis inv. P. 59.B+E (House 3, room 3, level 3) + P. 60.A (House 3, room 9, level 4) + P. 81.B (House 3, room 6, level 4). The papyrus consists now of three separate fragments, Fragm. I: H. 10.3 x B. 7.2 cm.; Fragm. II: 8.9 x B. 3.7 cm.; Fr. III: H. 18.3 x B. 20.1 cm. The original dimensions were H. 18.3 x B. ± 31.5 cm. Traces of at least 9 vertical folds are visible; the foldings grow bigger from right to left. The writing runs parallel to the fibers, the back is blank. For organizational purposes fragments of the papyrus were referred to previously as ‘P.Kellis 81’ and ‘P.Kellis 83’.

1 [ Τῷ δείνι τάξει]ως τού [κυρίοι] νοῦ διασημητάτου δουκὸς παρὰ τῶν
3 [ ἐκκλησίας ὃν δι’ ἐ']
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4 [ ± 24 ] μεν τούτο οἷς ἐγέρθετο, ὁμολογοῦμεν ὃμωντες τὸν

5 πα[ντοκράτορα Θεόν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἱσθήμενων τῶν πάντων νικώντων αἰωνίων
dεσπόταν]

ήμερ[ε]ρας κόμης ἔπη[γε]βελ̣-

7 λομεν ἡμεῖς τὸν [...] ἱσθάλμον πρὸς τὸ μπεδι[α]ν δ[ξή]λην παθεῖν ἀλλόγως ὁ
προερημέ̣-

8 νος Γενᾶ ἐν τῇ εἰρ[ε]νὰ τῶν ε[ὐ]τεχετᾶτων τοῦτων καρ[ιῶν].

9 'Ταταίας τῶν δισποτ[ῶν] ἡμῶν Κωσταντίου Αὐγοῦστο τὸ καὶ Κωσταντίου τοῦ
ἐπιφανεστάτου

10 Καίσαρος τὸ α'/

11 (M.2) Αὐρήλιο Παμίνες πρεσβύτηρος καὶ Πκουρ[ ]ς διάκονος κ[ο]ι Χ[ω]λο[ς]

12 καὶ Τιμόθεος Λούδο[ν]ς[ς] καὶ Λούδων Α[] . Ἐγγράψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
[γρα]μμ[η]τα μὴ εἰδότων Ἀ[推广应用]

13 Σαρασάμμων Ψάιτος ἃ[π] τῇς αὐτῆς κόμης. Αὐρήλιο Ν.Ν. κ[ο]ι Πεβώς

14 Τιθόσου καὶ Τιθός ἀ[δελφός καὶ Γρεελο[ς ...]ν[ς κ]οι Ν.Ν.] Βησάτος
Ψάιτος καὶ Ἀμπελ[υ]ς Ἀρχοντ[ι]ου. Ἐγγράψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν

Αὐρῆλιος Κ[ατήλιερ Κόρακος καὶ] Ήρος

16 [Ν.Ν. Εγγράψαν υπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδότων γράμμαθα <τα> Αὐρῆλιος Τιμόθεος
Τιμοθέου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς

17 [κόμης Ν.Ν. son of Ν.Ν. κ]οι Μάρων ἀδελφός καὶ Κλάδως (ὁμοίως) καὶ
Ψενοῦφας (ὁμοίως) ὁ καὶ Βήσας

18 [καὶ Ν.Ν. son of Ν.Ν. κοι Ν.Ν. καὶ Τιθος Στοι[μ]μ( ) καὶ Πινοῦτα
Γενᾶ Χάλου Τακ καὶ Τιθος

19 [son of Ν.Ν. κοι Ν.Ν. ὁ καὶ Πιστοᾶς κω[ι] Ψάς ἀδελφὸς καὶ Πεβὼς
Καλλικλέως. Εγγράψα υπὲρ

20 [αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδότων Αὐρήλιος] Σύρος Βησάτος ἀπὸ κόμης Κελλεως.

Verso (at upper left hand side):


At the lower left bottom of the verso there are traces of 1 or 2 letters.

1 κυρίου, διασημοτάτου: -ου ex -ω corr. 6 ἀποφάσις, ἀκούσαντ[ες] - ακ- ex
corr. 7-8 τὸν προερημένον 8 εὑρεσία 9 'Ταταίας, Κωσταντίου (2x),
Αὐγοῦστου 11 [...]i Pap. 13 ψαίτος Pap. 14 αμ’τε- Pap. 19 ταταίας Pap.,
Καλλικλέως
The details of this mutilated declaration sent by a number of inhabitants of the village of Kellis presumably to an official (name lost) employed in the bureau of the provincial dux of the Thebaid escape us. At the left hand side in ll. 1-4 ± 24 letters are lost. After the address (ll. 1-2) and a very fragmentarily preserved introduction, in which the reasons for making the declaration are explained (ll. 2-4: apparently because a certain Hatres had acted out of hatred and enmity against one or more fellow-villagers), the subscribers to the document (for their number, see ll. 11-20n.) make a statement confirmed by an imperial oath (ll. 4ff.) that they are staying aloof from the folly (cf. ἀποστάτωτες τίς ἀποστάτης, l. 6; apparently due to Hatres’ actions, cf. l. 2), that they had never heard about this (?: cf. l. 6n.) and that they send off this act of surety (ἐπιγραφήλομεν τόν [ὅς?] ἄρα ἱοσφαλίζομεν, ll. 6-7), in order that a fellow-inhabitant of the village, a certain Gena (l. 8; perhaps the son of Οοινισ, l. 3), who apparently had been bothered by Hatres, will not suffer any further hardship (ll. 7-8, πρὸς τὸ κτλ.).

1. On the military/judicial competence of the dux Thebaidos (= the military commander of the whole Thebaid), see J. Lallemand, L’administration civile de l’Egypte (Bruxelles 1964) passim; a list of 4th-century duces is given by R. Rémondon in Cde 40 (1965) 186ff., where the following should be added:
   a. P.Oxy. XLV 3261.10 mentions a διασπαστάς δοῦξ Βάρρας in Oxyrhynchus, 324;
   b. sub 7, Valacius, add now CPR V 10 (337-345) and P. Oxy. LV 3793 (340).

c. For the date of Fl. Eleutherius (385 according to Remondon) cf. now most recently J.R. Rea in ZPE 56 (1984) 86, who argues for 399-400 (the critical remarks re Remondon’s dating of the Vienna papyrus made earlier by Bagnall and Worp in BASP 18 [1981] 50 were partly vindicated, partly superseded by Rea’s new findings); maybe the predecessors of Fl. Eleutherius mentioned in the Vienna Papyrus, Fl. Pulcher and Fl. Heraclius, were also duces.

For a list of papyrological attestations of the word δοῦξ cf. S. Daris, Il lessico Latino nel greco del Egitto² (Barcelona 1991) 41-42.

2. For the restoration of ἱεροὶ at the start of this line cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch s.v., 2.

For the Mothite nome cf. 41.4n.


A Hates is mentioned in the Greek Kellis papyri only here.

3. The name Οοινισ (= ‘Wolf’, as Mr. O. Kaper reminds me; cf. G. Wagner, Les Oases d’Egypte, 241) is connected as a father’s name with the name Οοῖνισ in 23.2 (353), where a Γενῆ Οοῖνισος is a komarch of Kellis (for the same combination of names cf. also 18.1). In fact, in ll. 7-8 below reference is made to the προαρμηθήκας Ἰος Γενῆ, so that person must have been mentioned earlier in the text. Even so, it might seem a bit rash on that basis to restore the name of Φιλοθαν in the lacuna at the start of the line.

A ‘priest of the catholic church’ also occurs in 58.8 (337); cf. also 48.20n. (355) and 32.21. (364); below in l. 11 the word πρεσβύτερος is not followed by ἐκκλησίας καθολικῆς (for the meaning of this term see now E. Wipszycka, ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ καὶ οἱ άλλοι Ἐπισκόπες τῆς πόλιος ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, JJP 24 (1994) 191-212. It is unclear whether this function of ‘priest’ goes here directly with οἰκουμηνας, or with a [lost] preceding name.

ἐν may be taken to be a participle of εἰμί going with Ἂ[πι]ρης (l. 2), but it is conceivable that one should accentuate ἐν and take this as the gen.pl. of the relative pronoun ἔν τε- at the end could form part of a historical tense of a verb.

4-5. For the (not previously attested) oath formula found here cf. in general the list of formulas given in ZPE 45 (1982) 199ff. The earliest invocations of the τεσσαράκοτωρ θεὸς known to date are from the
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joint reign of the emperors Honorius and Theodosius II (408-423), but cf. the incompletely preserved oath formula in PSI VIII 951.10 (3887) where Θεὸς παντοκράτορας vel sim. may already be restored at the start.

5-6. Due to the mutilation of the text its grammatical construction is not quite clear. After ὅμολογοῦμεν ἀμντίτες - δεσποτῶν (l. 4-5) one would expect in l. 6 one or more infinitives (the first of which should govern the genitive ζῆροιονίς, but clearly there is none. Therefore it must be assumed that immediately after the first main clause ὅμολογοῦμεν ἀμντίτες another main clause 'ἐκστητότας ...... μηδὲ ἀκούονττες ...... ἐπαγγέλλομεν' follows, cf. the construction in P.Char. 26.3: ὁμολογῶν οἱ γεωργοὶ έξοφ οἱ δεδώκασιν, κτλ.

7. Neither the word ἀσφαλισμός nor a compound like διασφαλισμός is listed in any dictionary, but cf. ἀσφαλίσμα = 'surety, pledge'. The purpose of the pledge is to make certain that Gena will not be bothered without good reason (ἀλλαγωνίς).

8. The phrasing ἐν τῇ εὐθείᾳ τῶν εὐπρεποδήτων τοῦτων κοιρῶν is a rather solemn reference to the current reign of the emperor Constantius II Augustus and Constantius Gallus Caesar; for a much similar phrasing cf. PSI VII 767.32.

9. For the consuls of 352 cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE s.a. Once again an indication of the month and the day is lacking; for this phenomenon cf. 8.13n. and 48.16-17n.

11-20. We find here a listing of a considerable number of male inhabitants of Kellis, led by a priest and 2 deacons, who by their subscription pledge that the preceding statement is correct. Altogether at least 33 persons seem to have subscribed; they are grouped in four clusters and it is at least conceivable that this list contains a more or less complete listing of all family heads (or even of all male inhabitants?) of the village at the time of drawing up this document; the situation in this text reminds us of a vaguely similar situation in P.Haun. III 58 from 439, cf. R.S. Bagnall, Egypt in Late Antiquity, [Princeton 1993] 138; see, however, J.R. Rea in ZPE 99 [1993] 89-95 for a new interpretation of that text. The clusters are to be distinguished as follows:

II. 11-13: 1 priest (Aurelius Paminis), 2 deacons (P'koureus [?] and Cholos) and at least 4 private persons (Psenpnouthes son of N.N.; Psais, son of [?] Tryphanes [cf. 71.39-40n.]; Timotheos son of Loudon; Loudon, son of N.N.) followed by the name of the person who subscribed for them, viz. Aurelius Sarapammon son of Psais.

II. 13-15: 8 persons (Aurelius N.N.; P'bos son of Tithoes [cf. 23.22 from 353, 42.37 from 364 and 44.23-24 from 382]; N.N. his brother; N.N. son of Tithoes; Tithoes his brother; Geneilos son of N.N.; N.N. son of Besas son of Psais; Ampelius son of Akoutis) followed by the name of the person who subscribed for them, viz. Aurelius Pamouris (III), son of Psais (II; for him, see the family tree at p. 51).

II. 15-16: probably 2 persons, Aur. Kapiton son of Korax and Horos son of N.N., followed by the name of the person who subscribed for them, viz. Aurelius Timotheos son of Timotheos.

II. 17-20: apparently at least 12 persons (N.N. son of N.N.; Maron his brother; Klodios son of Klodios (?); Psenophis son of Psenophis (?), alias Besas; N.N. son of N.N.; N.N. son of N.N.; Tithoes son of Spou...; Pinoutas son of Gena [cf. 3.9. mid-IV] son of (?) Cholos son of Taa; Tithoes son of N.N.; N.N. alias [?] Pataias; Psais his brother; P'bos, son of Kallikles), followed by the name of the person who subscribed for them, viz. Aurelius Syros son of Besas.

11. Χόλας is a regular personal name in the papyri, occurring among the Kellis papyri also in 65.41; ἄλας refers to the office of διακόνος going with his colleague whose name may be restored perhaps as Πουρομίλες (= 'the barber', i.e. formed from the Egyptian prefix Π- + κουρεύς; for the formation of such names cf. BASP 27 [1990]109).

12. The name Δοῦδου is not attested in the regular papyrological onomastica. It is certainly possible that his father's name was also Δοῦδου.

14. A name Γκοελας is not attested in the regular papyrological onomastica.

17. Following the names Κλάδως and Ψενούς a sinusoidal curve crossed by a diagonal rising dash has been written; it bears some resemblance to the symbol for (πέρ) found in texts from late-Byzantine Egypt. As, however, it does not make sense taking the symbol as standing for (πέρ) and as most names in the list of subscribers are followed by their patronymic, we have resolved it as (θηνως), Κλώδως.
being the equivalent of 'Κλόδιος Κλοδίων', i.e. 'Klodios son of Klodios'. A variant attempt to interpret it might be 'likewise as Maron', i.e. 'also a brother'. Maybe, however, one is dealing here with a variant manifestation of the symbol for (στήνος) found frequently in 4th-century papyri from the Hermopolite nome (though one would at least expect, then, an article <τοῦ> preceding (τοῦ)).

Under all circumstances the alias name following Ψεφοίδις, viz. ὁ καὶ Βήσας, is 'mal-placed', as one would expect it immediately after Ψεφοίδις, i.e. without the sinusoidal curve + diagonal rising dash intervening. In general it should be noticed that alias names in documents from Kellis are not frequent.

18. Πανούντα Γενακά Χάλων Τας: is Πανούντα a variant form of Πανούντας (a son of a certain Gena in 3.9 [also from the mid-IVth century])? It is not clear what is intended after Πανούντα: earlier in this list of subscriptions one finds a person's name followed by a profession/title or a patronymic, but here one might have as many as four (!) generations enumerated: 'Pinoutas son of Gena, grandson of Cholos, great grandson of Taa'; it is, however, also possible to accentuate χώλοδη and interpret: 'Pinoutas son of Gena the lame, grandson of Taa'; even so, it is already exceptional to find a grandfather's name listed.

19. We have taken Περταύας as an alias name (cf. 17n.), i.e. restored ὁ καὶ Περταύας, rather than as an undeclined patronymic.

25: ADDRESS OF AN OFFICIAL DOCUMENT

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 17.N (House 3, Room 10, level 3). H. 4 x B. 11.2 cm. Written across the fibers; the other side of the papyrus is blank. In the same frame are 3 small fragments which seem to belong to the same papyrus, but their exact placing vis-à-vis the opening lines cannot be established and they do not seem to contain any interesting words or names, hence they are not published here.

"To the Aurelii Kleoboulos, logistes of the Great Oasis, and Philosarapis alias Mikkalos, former magistrate and president (of the town council) of the city of the Mothis, and Andromachos son of Apollon, former magistrate, syndics —".

In itself this fragment does not contain more than the opening lines of a document with a mention of its addressees. Still, as the addressees are high-ranking officials, i.e. the logistes (= an imperial official) of the Great Oasis and the president of the town council of Mothis, the fragment has some interest of its own. The date of this document is problematic; on the one hand one might be tempted by prosopographical considerations (cf. 1. 1n.) to assign it to the second half of the 4th century, but
palaeographical considerations seem to militate against that, as the handwriting (a small, very regular cursive, slightly tilted towards the right) seems to point rather in the direction of the early first half of the 4th century. Also the apparent occurrence of two syndics (cf. l. 4n.) points in that direction.

1. The name Aurelius Kleoboulos (one more instance of these classical Greek names frequently attested in the Great Oasis, cf. G. Wagner, Les Oasis d’Égypte 224ff.) reminds us of a homonymous person mentioned a few times in documents from the Great Oasis, cf. P.Lips. 36 (= M.Chrest. 77).2, 64 (= W.Chrest. 281).58 and P.Lips.inv. 348 = M.Chrest. 78.2 (376-78); in these texts he is referred to as a πολιτευόμενος ὴδεσσας μεγάλης Ἄβυδος τολμών. Is he perhaps the same man as in our document and should one restore Ἡρακλίδης τολμών in M.Chrest. 78.2? For a γεωθύς Κλεόβουλος in the Hibite nome living some time during the second half of the 4th century, see O.Douch III 339 and O.Ain Waqfa 31-36, 38, 43, 46, 47 and 70.


2-3. Philosarapis alias Mikkalos is the first president of the town council of Mothis known to us. For the role of the president of a town council in Roman Egypt in general cf. A.K. Bowman, The Town Councils of Roman Egypt (Toronto 1971) Ch. III.

3. For municipal syndics (a plurality of these officials is still attested in 326) cf. B. Kramer in Pap.Flor. XIX.1 (1990) 305-329. No syndics for Mothis (Mut) were known before. In itself it is an interesting question, whether (a) all three persons were syndics of Mothis, or (b) only the latter two of them, or whether (c) there was only one syndic (read in l. 4: συνδικός). Before 326 a city in the Nile Valley regularly had 2 syndics (cf. Kramer, 307; cf. also 21.2n.), and it is not normal, perhaps even impossible, for a logistes to be a syndic simultaneously (in Oxyrhynchus one finds a few syndics who had been logistae previously, cf. the careers of Fl. Julianus and Fl. Hermias). At the same time, however, one would expect, then, that the text would have said more clearly that only the latter two persons in the address were addressed as syndics by inserting the word ἄμφοτέρως before συνδικός; though in P.Oxy. XXXIII 2673 the document is addressed to (a) the president of the town council and (b) to two syndics, it is unclear whether both offices could not be held by one person simultaneously (cf. P.Oxy. XLIV 3186 introd. for the conjunction of the offices of syndic and designate-prytane). On the other hand, the reading συνδικός seems slightly preferable to a singular συνδικός.

26: REPORT OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

(Ca. 389)

P.Kellis inv. P. 78.D (House 3, room 6, level 3) + P. 90.A (House 3, room 6, level 4, West wall) + P. 92.35.G (House 3, room 11, level 4) + P. 93.B+D (House 3, room 6, level 4). The papyrus consists now of 2 complexes of fragments; Fragm. I: H. 8 x B. 15 cm.; writing parallel to the fibers, verso blank. Fragm. II: H. 4.5 x B. 6.7 cm. + H. 13.3 x B. 9.5 cm.; writing parallel to the fibers, verso blank. The exact relationship of each fragment to the other is uncertain, but the second hand of Fragm. II seems to be identical with the hand which wrote the Greek lines of Fragm. I.
Fragm. I: 
1. Septimius Eutropius was *praeses* of the Thebaid on 26.xii.389, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, p. 254 # 18. His predecessor, Fl. Eutolmius Arsenius, is known in office on 14.vi.388, while his

The precise contents of these tantalizing fragments of what looks like a bilingual report of court proceedings (esp. as regards Fragm. I) cannot be reconstructed; for such reports, see the discussion and list in P.Oxy. LI p. 46-4717. Nevertheless, the papyrus is of extra interest, as to date it is the latest approximately datable papyrus from Kellis (cf. 1. 1n.).

Fragm. I:
1. Septimius Eutropius was *praeses* of the Thebaid on 26.xii.389, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, p. 254 # 18. His predecessor, Fl. Eutolmius Arsenius, is known in office on 14.vi.388, while his

17) In the unpublished P.Kellis inv. A/1/77 and A/2/98 other remains of bilingual Greek-Latin texts are preserved, but we cannot find any links between these texts and the text published above.
successor Fl. Asclepiades Hesychius had already come into office before 20.x.390. The term of office of Eutropius was, therefore, restricted to ± 2 years. We owe the reading of ‘Theba(idos) ei d(ixit)’ to J.D. Thomas who referred us for this (instead of reading ‘Thebaeids’ as one word) and for the use of Greek in the governor’s speech to remarks made by J.R. Rea in ZPE 41 (1981) 282. In fact, there is no clear sign of abbreviation visible on the papyrus after ‘Theba’ and a spelling -eid- for -id- should be no reason for great consternation. Nevertheless, it seems preferable to follow the suggestion made by Rea, loc.cit.

At the end of this line read perhaps συνέγραμεν.

2. We have not been able to devise a convincing resolution of the word ending on αξ( ο); moreover, though in general the papyrus seems to present an alternation of lines in Greek and in Latin, it does not seem excluded that after all one should read Latin here, i.e. print: ]add( ). Maybe one should resolve, then, the abbreviation as add(ixit). The use of the verb αξεω (= ‘to blackmail’ cf. LSJ s.v. 1.4) suggests that this line is part of an accusation brought against a defendant. The reading of the last word on this line, προτέρους, especially its ending, is highly dubious.

4. Perhaps a soldier came to a person (for the meaning of the verb καταλαμβάνω cf. 68.23n.); did he do so in order to fetch the defendant in this process?

Fragm. II:
1. The reading of the Latin is difficult. J. Kramer (Trier/Siegen) proposes (by letter from 8.v.1994) with reservations: ‘iustitia cul’.
4. Or should we read οικ( ο)
5. Cf. 1. 11n.: restore here καταμεληθηκε (cf. 1. 11) or έμιδεληθηκε cf. ll. 3, 5.
6-7. A Strategius occurs also in the private letter 75.3, 34-35. Is there a connection between these homonymous persons?
10. ὁ συγγραφευμένος indicates the client of an advocate, cf. LSJ s.v. συγγραφεω.

For the construction of παρασκευάζω cf. P.Vindob.Worp 13.17-19n. Should one restore at the end of the line a word like νομιμάτα and speculate that the issue of litigation was about a full payment of 30 solidi?

11. Some form of the partic.Aor.Pass. of καταβάλλω = ‘to pay’ seems intended here; cf. also l. 5.

27: OFFICIAL DOCUMENT

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 97 [from P. 90.B + (House 3, room 6, level 4, West wall) + P. 92.A+B (House 3, room 6, level 4, South wall) + P. 92.14 (House 3, room 1a, level 1) + P. 92.18 (House 3, room 1a, level 2)]. H. 26.5 x B 34.5 cm. Margins: at the top (reckoned from line 2 upward) 3.5, at the right 7, at the bottom 7 cm. Folded vertically at least 10 times (left hand edge, where papyrus is broken on a fold, included). The space between each fold was approximately 3.5 cm. wide. Sheet joins: 13 cm. from the left hand edge and on the right hand edge. Verso blank.
"— Valerius Herculanus to — Serenus, praepositus pagi of Trimithis, greetings.
— the people from the city of the Mothites, unwilling (?) to appear at the production of
camels or small cattle without good reason, — with fitting —.

Unfortunately this document, written in surprisingly large handwriting on an
impressively large sheet of papyrus and almost certainly emanating from a high level in
the provincial administration of the Thebaid (the taxpayer would have to pay for
whatever amount of papyrus the government used!), is preserved only incompletely. It
raises various problems:

(a) Its exact date cannot be established. The use, however, of the gentilicium
Valerius (1. 2) may lead one towards supposing that the papyrus was written before or
at least not much later than 324 (cf. for this particular year’s significance re nomenclature J.G. Keenan in ZPE 11 [1973] 46); for a possible connection with a governor of
the Thebaid in 309 cf. below, 1. 2n.

(b) The text seems to come from the office of governor of the Thebaid, especially
in view of the size of the papyrus sheet (for a recent discussion of papyri issued by
provincial governors and their sheet sizes cf. P.Oxy. L 3577 introd.). The text has been
written by a trained scribe who wrote an experienced cursive handwriting; the text,
however, is not written in the style of writing known as the ‘chancery hand’ (cf. 1
intrad.). It should be observed that, though there is sufficient space in the bottom
margin of our document, a personal signature by Valerius Herculanus (like, e.g., the
ερμωθεσις of the praeses Ausonius in P.Oxy. L 3577.8; for him, see R.S. Bagnall in Tyche 7 [1992] 9ff., esp. 11) is missing here. One might assume,
therefore, that Valerius Herculanus, who clearly was Serenus’ superior, wrote the
whole of the text by himself, but this idea is not easily reconciled with the idea of an
order issued by a provincial governor or by, e.g., his chief-of-staff (cf. below).

(c) An important question, furthermore, concerns the amount of papyrus lost at
the left. Before each line there was probably some amount of blank margin (not necessarily a margin as generously wide as the margin at the right) and as part of the initial
omikron of Ωυακαριος in 1. 2 is lost in the lacuna at the left, it may be inferred that at
least one strip of papyrus between the original left hand edge of the papyrus sheet and a
first fold [= now the left hand edge] is lost; hence it may be inferred that an element
like Αυρήλιος or Φλ(άτος), perhaps written out in full, preceded in this line.
Similarly, some (abbreviated?) name may have preceded in 1. 3 (cf. the note ad loc.).
Furthermore, it should be noticed that in 1. 6 one expects at least the article τη with
παραστασεως. On the other hand, however, there is no loss of text expected between
τοις άτο της Μωβητων πάλεως (l. 4) and ορυμένηνοις (l. 5). Under all circumstances,
furthermore, a verb governing the accusative τοις ... ορυμένηνοις is needed and though
we have tried to devise a construction based on the assumption, that one should read
αξιως and take this as the 2nd ps.sing.praes.ind./subj. of αξιω, on balance such an
approach does not seem is really successful (cf. below, 1. 7n.; for one thing, one would
expect an aorist rather than a praesens; furthermore, one would rather expect the verb
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS 81

καταξιώω, but the amount of uninscribed papyrus before αξιως suggests that this was not part of a compound).

On the basis of these considerations only a very tentative reconstruction of the general line of the document’s content can be ventured: a sender Valerius Herculanus seems to request an addressee Serenus (for his function cf. l. 3n.) to do something with an unspecified number of inhabitants of the city of the Mothites (ll. 4-5, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Μοθίτην πόλεως ... ὀρμωμένους), who had been unwilling (l. 5, ἄγορμας) to appear at an occasion at which camels or other animals (like goats and sheep) were to be produced (ll. 5-6, ἔτεσι ἔτοιμοι [τῇ ἤ] κομιδών ἣ κτήνων παραστάσει), while having no good reason to do so (l. 6, οὐκ εὐλόγως). Maybe Serenus was ordered to go after them with a fitting punishment (cf. l. 7, ἄξιος;? At any rate, the form of the document is different from that found in 4th-century orders for arrest (cf. ZPE 84 [1990] 207-210); at best it vaguely reminds of SB XIV 11975, a document concerning an order issued by a centurio ordinatus/princeps of the praefectural staff of the governor of the Thebaid to send up certain persons who are referred to nominativ.

Finally, it remains mysterious how this document (which was probably sent to Trimithis!) arrived at Ismant-el-Kharab. Did Serenus retire to Kellis and did he take the document with him?

1. The abbreviation α( ) seems to be unknown. If the large sheet and the sizable handwriting should be interpreted as indications that the text were to be displayed in public (cf l. 7n.), it may be proposed that perhaps one is dealing here with an ἀ(ριστερόφορον) ἀ(τιγράφομεν), i.e. a new copy of Herculanus’ letter made from other copies made earlier, but this interpretation seems rather dull. We have also considered resolving ἀ(ριστερόφορον) ἀ(θεοτικόν), but this seems problematic as these words seem to be conflicting with each other qua meaning (cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v. ἁθεότικος, 2).

2. A Valerius Herculanus does not appear to have occurred earlier; he clearly was his correspondent’s superior-in-rank. If the name of the præses Thebaidos -lanus in the unpublished Kellis papyrus inv. P. 17.A.1 (addressed to him by Aurelius Pamour, son of Psais and dated: 'Τετεχέταις τῶν δεμπτηρῶν ἡμῶν Λειψίμιοιυς / [Διοσκῖρῳ αἰθάντος ἢ/οῖ Ἰπερίου Οὐκελεῖα/αοι / [Κωνσταντῖνῳ ιερῶι Αἰγιάοστον τὸ ἱ/ [sic!; cf. 'Diocletianus pater Aug. cos. X' in the consular formula for 308]) were to be expanded into Herculanus, it would follow that Herculanus was the governor of the Thebaid in 309. On the basis, however, of SB XIV 11975 referred to above (not a complete parallel, but at least a comparable text), one might also infer that in our text Valerius Herculanus was also a princeps.

3. Should one restore in the lacuna at the left Αἰρηίως, Οὐκελεῖως ή Φλεπούως (on these names as status designations cf. J.G. Keenan in ZPE 11 [1973] 33ff. and 13 [1974] 283ff.)? If Serenus were a military person, and if the document had been written after 324 (but cf. l. 2n.), the name Flavius would seem most likely.

The reading of the word after πραιτηρίατος is not quite certain. We have adopted the reading πζγου, rather than τζγου, and it is excluded, then, that we are dealing with the military commander (praefectus) of the military unit stationed at Trimithis (for this place cf. S. Timm, Das Christlich-koptische Ägypten VI 2846), i.e. the Ala I Quadratum (cf. Not.Dign., Or. XXXI 56). Even so, one

18) In itself a reading τζγου cannot be ruled out with certainty; though a πραιτηρίατος τζγου = a praefectus in charge of a village seems to be unattested, the career of Fl. Abinnaeus (praefectus of the military camp at Dionysias, who also exercised a variety of duties on the civilian level) may be compared. The indication, however, of a military camp by the Greek word τζγου seems unparalleled and on balance the reading πζγου looks slightly better.
may still wonder what the function 'praepositus pagi' with the following genitive Τριμίθεως means precisely; are pagi in the Dakhleh Oasis named after the central village of the pagus, while elsewhere in Egypt they are usually numbered (for a named pagus in the Nile valley see P. Oxy. XLVI 3307.1)?

5. The reading of ἄφφηγες is not very convincing (read instead ἂθηγες?), but we see no good alternative.

6. The precise purpose of the presentation of camels and small cattle referred to here is not indicated, but one may reckon with, e.g., requisitions for the military or an inspection tour of the provincial governor (cf. N. Lewis, Life in Egypt under Roman Rule 176).

7. For ἄξιος cf. above. This cannot be taken as (part of) the optative form of the verb ἄξιος / καταξίων (in general cf. B.G. Mandilaras, The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri [Athens 1973], p. 270ff., esp. § 620), especially not as the more regular formula of request found in Byzantine documents uses the subjunctive καταξιώσης(ς) or the imperative καταξιῶσον, cf. H.A. Steen, Les clichés épistolaires dans les lettres sur papyrus grecques (Classica & Mediaevalia 1 [1938] 119-176, esp. 146). Though the following interpretation (put forward by R.P. Salomons) has the merit of being extremely ingenious, we do not really think that one should interpret the text on the basis of a construction: ὅπως εἰκόνως ἄξιος τοῦ ἄπο τῆς Μοθιτῶν πόλεως -- ὁμομοίως ἄφφηγες ὑπάγοντο τὴν καμήλων ἀπὸ τὴν παραστάσιν, i.e. 'you require without good reason that the people coming from the city of the Mothites be made subject against their will to (appearing at) a presentation of camels and small cattle', and that we should combine this translation with a notion that such a message was to be displayed in public as a matter of public record.

28: ADMINISTRATIVE ACCOUNT

(3rd century ?)

P. Kellis inv. P. 31 (House 3, room 3, level 1) + P. 52.C (House 3, room 9, level 3). H. 7.8 x B. 9.5 cm. Margin at the top 1.5, at the left 1 cm. The writing on the front runs parallel with the fibers, on the back across these.

1 ] πόλεως vacat [
2 ] κωμητῶν (δραχμ.)[
3 γί(νονται) αἱ προσ(ομέναι), ὄν[
4 προσδόνε' Θέων (δραχμάς) ἢ χεὶς πρ(ός) [
5 Μεσοβη, κωμητῶν (δραχμάς) ἵσων (πεντάβολων) (ἡμιωβέλιον)

Verso:
6 'Αμούν(εος)
7 Traces

In itself this fragmentarily preserved papyrus does not yield much information. Obviously one is dealing with some kind of account listing amounts of drachmæ paid (as tax?) on various categories of land (?; cf. 1. 4 n.) occasionally owned perhaps by villagers (cf. κωμητῶν in ll. 2 and 5). Μεσοβη in l. 5 is the name of a geographical dis-
trict, in which land owned by villagers was situated for which an amount of several thousands of drachmas + 243 drachmas + 5.5 obols was paid.

1. Probably a reference to the nome metropolis, i.e. Η Μαθητῶν τόλμως.
3. For the expression οἱ προορίσμενοι / προκείμενοι in accounting practice (closing off an account, after the total has already been given at the beginning) cf. H.C. Youtie, Scriptiunculae I 54, II 817, 819, 837 n.72.
4. For ιρποάριον (sc. γη) as a kind of domain land cf. S.L. Wallace, Taxation in Egypt 3-5; the general meaning of the word is, of course, ‘revenue’.

We take θέω to stand for the personal name Θέω (who paid, then, 15 dr. and 4 chalkoi [= 0.5 obol]); it is remarkable that in 1. 5 the symbol for ημωδελλον is used, rather than for the genitive plural θῶν, as an interpretation of ιρποάριον (sc. γη) θέω as ‘prosodos-land (in the hands) of the gods’ seems unlikely (for this category of land, comparable to domain land, but leased at an extra high rental see S.L. Wallace, Taxation in Roman Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian [Princeton 1938] 3ff.). ‘For revenue of the gods’ would make, perhaps, better acceptable sense, but given the general impression of the fragment as preserved it looks somewhat doubtful whether this was ever intended.

The use of drachmae, obols and chalkoi (which strongly suggest a date to ca. the mid-3rd century or even earlier; obols occur as late as the the date of the archive of Heroninus [ca. 250-270], see D. Rathbone, Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt [Cambridge 1991], passim; it remains to be seen whether the editor’s date of O.Mich. II 753.2 [Late III/early IV] is correct) and the palaeographical characteristics of the handwriting (which also suggest a 3rd-century date) make this papyrus stand out in opposition to most of the papyri from House 3 which are dated to the 4th century; cf. also the relatively small amounts of drachmae mentioned in the wooden board 62 and the remark made in 66.19-20n.

5. The geographical name Μεαώστη is not listed in A. Calderini - S. Daris, Dizionario Geografico, but it occurs in other documents from Kellis (cf., e.g., the [still unpublished] ostrakon O.Kellis 31/420 D.6-1/D/1/142 [294/5] as the name of a toparchy and in P.Kellis inv. P.93.60+71.verso [still unpublished]) as the name of a μερ ( ), an abbreviation which may be resolved into μερος(ας) or μερις(ς); for the meaning of the latter term one may compare the division of the Fayum into 3 μερίδες. It remains to be seen whether in the Dakhleh Oasis the term μερ ( ) has a fiscal meaning, like the μερίδες occurring in documents from the Hermopolite nome (for these cf. ZPE 97 [1993] 119-121).

6. We do not know whether Άμοφήν(ας) should be taken here as a personal or as a geographical name.

29: RECEIPT FOR THE COST OF TRANSPORTATION OF STATUES

(331)

P.Kellis inv. P. 92.B (House 3, room 6, level 4, South wall) + P. 92.7 (House 3, room 2, level 3). The papyrus now consists of 2 fragments, viz. one large Fragm. I (H. 9.3 x B. 11 cm) and, forming the lower left corner, a smaller Fragm. II (H. 4.7 x B. 3.7 cm). Margins: at the top 1.7, at the bottom 2, at the left 2.7, at the right 2 cm. A join is visible on the left hand edge of the fragment. On both sides of the sheet the writing runs parallel with the fibers.
"After the consulate of Flavius Gallicanus and Aurelius Symmachus, viri clarissimi. Gelasius, former-logistes, has paid through Riraus for costs of transportation of statues to be sent to Alexandria nine talents of silver in 'four-gold' coinage, total 9 talents. I, Aurelius Nikantinoos, apodektes, have written the receipt." (Verso)

"Receipt for transportation costs of statues of Trimithis (?) --- written by Nikantinoos (?) ."

This papyrus contains a short receipt for the payment of 9 talents by a former logistes Gelasius as his contribution towards the defrayment of costs of the transportation of an unspecified quantity of statues to Alexandria. It must remain an interesting but speculative question, what kind and number of statues were actually involved. It is not easy to believe that, e.g., there was a factory of (imperial?) statues operating in the Western part of the Dakhleh Oasis and that statues manufactured here went regularly all the way to Alexandria, first by camel or donkeys right through the desert to the Nile, then further downstream by boat. Moreover, if this were the case, the (composite?) statues involved would need to be relatively small for transport first by animals. Furthermore, to our knowledge there was in this part of the Oasis no important quarry for rare, high-quality stone and it seems hardly conceivable that one is dealing here with a regular transport of statues made from local, relatively cheap stone to the city of Alexandria; already the costs of transportation would be prohibitively high and if people in Alexandria really needed such imports, they could have found manufacturers closer by. Therefore, as these considerations seem to exclude any idea of statues made from stone in the Oasis, one is tempted towards assuming that one is dealing here with either (a) a general levy on inhabitants of the Mothite nome towards the transport cost of statues made from stone and shipped from elsewhere, or with (b) a transport of smaller (more expensive/lucrative?) statues made in the Oasis itself from faience or metal (bronze?), vel sim.; their transportation, moreover, may have been an exceptional event\textsuperscript{19} and in any case it seems telling that a former logistes is entrusted with

\textsuperscript{19} Dr. Alcock speculates that they might have been terracotta statues sent for the festivities attending the inauguration of Constantinople in 330.

1-2. For the consuls of 330 cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., *CLRE* s.a. Datings to their post-consulate must have been written very early in 331 (the earliest consular dated papyrus from that year is P.Sakaon 69 from 14.1). The form of the name of the second consul found here (in full: Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus) occurs also in SB V 7666.9 (Panopolis).

For the lack of an indication of a month and a day cf. 8.13n. and 48.16-17n.

3. For Aurelius Gelasius (already known as a *strategus* / *exector* of the Great Oasis) in 309 cf. G. Bastianini- J.E.G. Whitehorne, *List of Strategi and Royal Scribes of Egypt* 83 [the text referred to there is now SB XVIII 13852]; he is not yet known to have held the post of a *logistes* (for a recent list of these cf. *Miscellanea Papyrologica* II 518-520).

The name *Ptpavç* is not yet listed in F. Preisigke’s *Namenbuch* or in D. Foraboschi’s *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum*. Despite the fact that an interchange *ovovo* is not frequently attested in the papyri (cf. F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 217) one may be dealing with a variant form of the name *Alavòc* occurring frequently in papyri from the Thebaid (for *av* in the papyri cf. C. Milani in *Studi O. Montevecchi* 221-229).

It is slightly remarkable to see the name *Àevòc* being omitted with the names of both Gelasius and Rirauas.

5-6. In the phrasing ἑλεττότιον ἐν τετράχρομον ἡμήν / ἡμίσατο τόλματον one finds a terminological novelty; adjectives like *tetrapaxpvous / tetrapaxpvous* are not listed in the standard Greek dictionaries and their precise meaning here is not clear. According to the list of 4th-century gold prices compiled by R.S. Bagnall (*Currency and Inflation in Fourth-century Egypt* 61) ca. 330 the gold price hovered around the 2500 Tal./lb. level and in some papyri one finds the price of a solidus (coined at 72 to the pound, each solidus being *tetrapaxpvo/oc, i.e. weighing 4 γράμματα* as exactly 36 Tal. (cf. SB XIV 11591-11592). A payment of 9 talents in early 331 would represent, then, exactly the value of a quarter of a solidus and it seems theoretically possible that in practice the ‘9 silver talents’ could go over the counter in the form of one *tetrapaxpvo/oc* (or, for that matter, *tetrapaxpvo/oc* νόμισμα = 1 small 1/4 sol. gold coin containing 1 γράμμα of gold; we have not found any evidence for the existence of such a coin. It is tempting to try establishing a link between the adjective *tetrapaxpvo/oc* and the adjectives *tetrapaxpvo/oc* / *tetrapaxpvous*, but such a link is difficult to explain semantically. Likewise, one may wish to speculate about an error of *tetrapaxpvo/oc* for *tetrapáxhos*, but we see not much gain in supposing such an error; tetradrachms were hardly current ca. 330. On the other hand, it must be recalled that in a few other Kellis papyri (cf. 30.39-40, 34.7 and 41.8) amounts of (silver) talents are stated to have been paid out actually ἐν νόμισμα. One wonders, therefore, whether there is a connection between the qualification ἐν *tetrapaxpvo/oc* and the qualification ἐν νόμισμα; we see, however, no obvious connection. It is, of course, also possible that these 9 talents were just part of a larger sum of money which Gelasius had to pay and that the rest of the money he owed was sufficient to let him pay a full solidus. 20

7. An ἀποδέκτης (= tax collector; for literature concerning the office cf. P.Herm.Landl. F.433 note) Aurelius Nikantinoos is not known to us from elsewhere.

9. The readings in this line are far from certain.

20) We are grateful to R.S. Bagnall (New York) for kindly discussing this subject with us by letter.
P. Kelis inv. P. 71 (room 6, level 3) + P. 52.A+C (room 9, level 3) + P. 56.F (ibidem, Western Doorway) + 'Unnumbered # 2' (House 3, provenance not stated). The papyrus consists now of two combinations of fragments. Fragm. I: H. 25 x B. ± 24.2 cm.; Fragm. II: H. 25 x B. 2.5 cm. The margins are: at the top 1.5, at the left 3, at the bottom 3 and at the right ± 1 cm. On both sides the writing runs parallel with the fibers.

1. 'Τσατείας του δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ του αἰωνίου Ἀγαθούστου το δ/ κ/αί ΦΡΟΝΙΣ[ΟΥ ΣΑΛΛΟΝΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΟΥ ἐπάνωθεν]

2. του ιεροῦ πραγμάτων Παχῶν κ' ἡ πέρας ἀνάντιων έποιηματος [ἄνθρωποι] ἀνακαταλλαγή

3. Αὐρήλιος Ψευδρόθης Πασχομάντος μητρός Ἀγάπης ώς ἐτῶν νε [οὐλὴν] ἔχων ἐγ[ή] ἐτοι


5. Ὄρω Παμοῦρ διὰ τοῦ αύτοῦ πάντου κατὰ πατρία Αὐρήλιου Ψάλτος Π[α]ζ[ήμων μητρός] Τεκύνος ὅς ἐτῶν ἡ οὐλὴν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ πλαγιὰς ἀντικυψημίας οἱ ἀριστεροῦ ποδος ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλλεως τῆς Μωσαίων πόλεως Ο[ά]σηεος Μ[εγάλης χρηματίζοντος ύπὸρ τοῦ] ἱεροῦ

6. Ὅρων καὶ τοῦ νεοῦ Παμοῦρ Ἀιγουτίων λεγομένων ἐπὶ ἱδήμης τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Ἀφροδίτης τοῦ [αὐτοῦ νομοῦ ἀλλήλοις] χαίρειν.


8. Ψάλτος μέρος ἐκτον ἐπαύλεως ὡς αὖ τῇ [.] ἐν τοῖς νοτίους μέρεσι κόμης Ἀφροδίτης καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐμοῦ τοῦ Ψευδρώθου γίτονες δὲ τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἡς ἡμεῖς σοὶ [Νότο] [ω] χωρίματα Βορρὰ ρῦμα δημοσία ἐν ἐνε~

9. φυεν ἢ θύρα καταμορφίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὥρας τῆς χρήσεως τῶν σταυρίων του Παλαιοῦ μακροῦ ἐργοῦ', Λιβρὸς [± 15 οίκημα] ἐδώ

10. Ἁγγεί χερευμάχου τῆς αὐτῆς ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ Πάσχου μακροῦ ἐργοῦ', Ἰβρὼς τ[ῶν] [± 15 οίκημα] ἐδώ


12. Παλαιώτου Παλαιοῦ μακροῦ ἐργοῦ', Λιβρὸς τ[ῶν] [± 15 οίκημα] ἐδώ

13. Χαίρειν κατακατηλάχθαι τῷ Παλαιῷ μακρῷ ἐργῷ', Λιβρὸς τ[ῶν] [± 15 οίκημα] ἐδώ
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

14 τὸ ἐλθὼν εἰς ὄμω ἀπὸ δικαίων τράπεζων [ ] MANY TRACES [ κατὰ τήν γεγε-
15 νημένη διαίρεσιν] τρός ἐκατόν [ ] TRACES ματὶ καὶ τρίοις [ γείτονες] δὲ καὶ
16 τῆς ὄλης οἰκίας καὶ τοῦ χωρήματος [ ] ἥμη δημοσία ... ἵνα τίς[ισ]ω TRACES [ ὑμνὴ τῇ
17 παλαιῷ οἰκίᾳ Ἦρ. νῦν Θεοδώρου Δμ[β]ς χωρήματα ἄλλων ἢ ὁ ἔν ὄν ὅνις γέροντες [πρὸς τὸ ἀπεντεύθεν
18 ἐκατόν ἡμῶν κυρ[ιεύει καὶ δυν[α]στεῖν καὶ διηρτούειν καὶ οἰκονομ[εῖν] τῶν κατ[ηλ]λ[αι][γμένων καὶ ἀνδροκο-
20 στήσεων ἐξ ἱδίο[ν] ἀναλόματος, τὸν δὲ TRACES τοῦ τοῦ αἰμ [ ] καὶ ἐν-
23 ἐπαύλεως οἱ Ψεντνοῦθη καὶ βεβαιῶσο[ῦ]ν πάσι τοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένοις ὡς [πρόκειται, Αὐρήλιος --]ός
24 Σαρμάτου ἀπὸ Ἀφρ[οδίτης] ἑγαραψα ὑπὲρ [αὐτὸν γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος. (Μ. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ψεντνοῦθης Παχουμώντος ὁ προ(είμενος) κατή-

Verso:
27 Traces of one line with probably a summary of the contents of the document.

2 ἐτου, ἰδικτιόνος Pap. 5 παμουρ', ψαίτος Pap. 6 ὕμωνον Pap. 9 τε, Ὁδει, τυχχάνοντος οτ τυχχανόντων(?). 10 ψαίτος Pap. 11 γείτονες, ἵος Pap. 13,17 γείτονες 20 θεου Pap. 20-21 ἔμμενειν 23 ἐπαύλεως: -αν- ex cott. 24-25 κατηλλαξα 25 πρόκειται

"In the consulate of our lord Julianus perpetual Augustus, consul for the 4th time, and of Flavius Sallustius vir clarissimus, prefect of the imperial prætorium, Pachon 27 of the 7th new indiction. Exchange --. Aurelius Psenpnouthes son of Pachoumon and mother Agape, about 55 years old, with a scar on the -- of the left leg, from the village Synoria in the Panopolite nome, residing in the village of Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite
n. years old, with a scar on the flank of the shin of the left leg, from the village of Kellis belonging to the city of the Mothites in the Great Oasis, acting on behalf of his grand-son Horos and his son Pamour named 'Egyptians', residing in the same village of Aphrodite in the same nome, greetings to each other. We agree that we have exchanged with each other from now onwards for ever the sixth part of a farmstead which has come to you (Horos) from an inheritance of your mother, while you and your father were away, happening to be in the Oasis, acting through your grandfather Psais, (a sixth part of a farmstead) which is situated together with the — in the Southern parts of the village of Aphrodite, under joint ownership with me, the aforementioned Psenpnouthes; the neighbours of the farmstead are, for the equal half, at the South: plots of land, at the North: a public street in which the door of the opposite house opens, at the East: the enclosure walls of Pachoumios the black (or: son of Mauros?) at the West: — fields of Besis — at the South: plots of land, at the North: a public street in which the door of the opposite house opens, at the East: the enclosure walls of Pachoumios the black (or: son of Mauros?) at the West: — fields of Besis —, or whoever the neighbours at all sides are; — and that I, the aforesaid Psenpnouthes — have exchanged the — coming to me by right of sale — according to the contract of division which has come to each — and the neighbours of the whole house and the plot of land are — public street, (behind which?) at the backside — with the old house of Her-nios son of Theodoros, at the West plots of lands of others, or whoever the neighbours are, in order that from now onwards each of us may be the owner and proprietor and manager of the exchanged properties and may build and we shall guarantee to each other with every guarantee from every person who wants to raise a claim against me and those who are acting for me (and we agree) that we shall reject these at our own cost, and that the — and that we shall stand by all clauses written in this document as stated above. The contract of exchange, written in n identical copies, must be authoritative and legal and in answer to the formal question I have assented. I, the aforementioned Aurelius Horos son of Pamour represented by my paternal grandfather Aurelius Psais son of Pamour, have given in exchange the sixth part of a farmstead to you Psenpnouthes and — I shall guarantee to you (with every guarantee and I agree) with all clauses written in the document as stated above. I, Aurelius -des son of Sarmates from Aphrodite, have written for him because he does not know letters. (M. 2) I, the aforementioned Aurelius Psenpnouthes son of Pachoumon, have exchanged and I shall guarantee to you with every guarantee and I agree with all clauses written in the document as stated above. I, Flavius Kollouthos, have written for him (Psenpnouthes) at his invitation, because he does not know letters, and I am witness."

In this document an exchange of property rights (ἀντικαταλλαγή) is recorded between Aurelius Psenpnouthes from the Panopolite nome and Aurelius Horos from Kellis concerning immovables in the middle-Egyptian village of Aphrodite. For similar documents cf. O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia*, 232 (where add, e.g., P.Stras. 556 and CPR XIV 13; cf. also P.Mich. XI 612.11; P.Oxy. XVI 1917.48,50,90; XIX 2243A.82; LV 3805.v.65; P.Princ. II 78.7; P.Panop.Köln 21.ii.15; PSI I 34.11). Unfortunately the description of the immovables subject to the exchange is very much
damaged. Horos gives the sixth part of a farm in the Southern part of Aphrodite, which he had inherited from his mother; apparently she was a co-owner with Aurelius Psenpoulos. The precise location of the immovables brought in by Psenpoulos is unclear, but we are apparently dealing with a house, cf. 1. 16, where the description of the boundaries of the house are indicated. Even so, the document is of considerable interest especially because of the description of family of the addressee of the document, Aurelius Horos son of Pamour, represented by his grandfather Aurelius Psais son of Pamour and Tekysis (cf. 4-5n.).

1-2. For the consuls of A.D. 363 cf. R.S. Bagnall e.a., CLRE, s.a.; Pachon 27 = 22.v;

For the expression ‘New indiction’ in datings in Greek documentary papyri cf. R.S. Bagnall - K.A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt (Zutphen 1978), Chapt. 5. In this papyrus the element ‘new’ seems to be the equivalent of ‘just started’ (presumably the indiction year started in the Dakhleh Oasis, like elsewhere in the Thebaid, on Pachon [May] 1). For new attestations of νία ἐνδικτίων published since CSBE, see O. Waqfa 61.2 (372/3 or 387/8?; 1st ind.; past?); P. Prag. I 44.13 (IV; 5th ind.; future ref.); ZPE 100 (1994) 275.14 (7th ind.; 31.xii.347; future ref.); P.Oxy. LV 3803.10,20 (16.viii.411; 11th ind.; future crop); P.Laur. IV 162.11 (354; 13th ind.; collected crop).

3-4. A man named Αὐρήλιος Ψενπνοῦθες son of Παυσομόδων/Παυσομόδων and ‘Ἄγάστη does not seem to be attested elsewhere. For the name Ψενπνοῦθες see 24.11, for a woman ‘Ἄγάστη see 74.6-7; probably these people are not to be identified with the persons referred to in this document. There is a problem with the father’s name Παυσομόδων (gen.); was the nominative Παυσομόδων (genitive usually: -ότος) as attested in F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, or Παυσομόδων (genitive usually: -ότος)? The second nominative seems thus far unattested; for both forms cf. F.T. Gignac, Grammar, II 61.1x, x.

ἐπί: one expects a phrasing like ἐπὶ πλαγίας ἀντικήμης ἀριστεροῦ ποδός in ll. 5-6.

Αἰχμαλωτος Συνορίας in the Panopolite nome seems unattested. We have thought about printing συνορίος and interpreting the phrase ἐπὶ κόμης συνορίας Παισοπλήτου as ‘from a village in the border-land of the Panopolite nome’ (for the term συνορία cf. P.Pheretnouis, p. 7) but in that case one would have to assume that the village name was not given; such an omission, however, would be quite irregular, and in itself we fail to see why Συνορία could not be a village name. The Panopolite nome is not frequently referred to in the Kellis documents; for another instance of connections between this nome and people from Kellis, see JSSEA 17 (1987) 167, where a wooden board from Area ‘B’ is mentioned; at some moment the board was used to record the transfer of a house from one occupant of Kellis to another, while the house is stated to be situated in the Nile Valley at Akhmim/Panopolis.

For the village of Aphrodite cf. the note to 32.3ff., where its links with people from Kellis (cf. below, l. 7) are discussed. Here one is dealing with a person from a village in the Panopolite nome who resided at Aphrodite. There he met with people from Kellis who also resided at Aphrodite.

4-5. For Αὐρηλίος Ὄρος son of Παμοῦρ (III) (cf. also ll. 7, 9, 22) and for Horos’ paternal grandfather Aurelius Psais (II) son of Pamour (I) and Tekysis see the family tree, p. 51, and 37.1n.. In this transaction the grandfather Aurelius Psais clearly acted on behalf of (a) his grandson Horos and (b) his son Pamour, who apparently were absent (cf. l. 9). Though it is tautological, of course, to find here a phrasing ‘Αὐρηλίῳ Ὁρω κτλ. (l. 4-5) διὰ ... Αἰχμαλωτὸς Ψάισος κτλ. (l. 5-6) [χρηματιζόντως ὑπὸ τοῦ] νιωθόν Ὁρων καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Παμοῦρ κτλ. (l. 6-7)’, we fail to see how the words νιωθόν | Ὁρων κτλ. (6-7) can be connected with the preceding description of Aurelius Psais (which is still continued in l. 7, cf. the participle ἐπὶδιδομένων which still belongs to Aurelius Psais) otherwise than via a restoration of χρηματιζότως ὑπὸ τοῦ in l. 6. A similar form of tautology must be assumed in l. 9-10 where we also restored χρηματιζότως διὰ τοῦ πάκτου Ψάισος in order to establish a meaningful phrasing.

It is regular to find a full description of a person’s physical characteristics (here, those of Aurelius Psais), if and when he is acting on behalf of another party, cf. P.Flor. 1 75.6ff. (cited by G. Hübsch, Die Personalangaben als Identifizerungsvermerke im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri [Berlin 1968; =
Berliner Juristische Arbeiten, 20] 68-69). At the same time it is always slightly remarkable to find such a description (quite normal in documents from Roman Egypt) in a document from Byzantine Egypt, cf. Hübsch, ibidem, 68.

6. The form ἀντικηρήματα occurs only rarely, cf. LSJ Suppl.; more regular forms are ἀντικηρήματος and ἀντικηρήματα.

For the relationship between the village of Kellis and the city of the Mothites cf. 20.3-5n.

7. We are not certain what is meant precisely by the phrase Αἰγύπτων λεγομένων; are they nicknamed ‘the Egyptians’? For λεγόμενος + Name following a person’s name cf. R. Calderini in Aegyptus 21 (1941) 239ff.

8. The object to be brought into the transaction from Horos’ side (as in l. 13 follows the description of the immovables owned by Psenpnouthes, we must be dealing here with Horos’ side of the deal, hence the restoration of [εἰς αὐτ. l. 8, and [σου, l. 9) comes from an inheritance by Horos from mother whose name is unknown.

9. The precise relationship between the words ἄτις κληρονομικός and the following ἄττονος σωτὶς (l. 10) and [τοῦ Παιανοῦ σωτ.] Παιανοῦ εἰς τῇ ὅσοι πυργεύσθησαν (l. 9) is not quite clear. Should we read τυγχάνουσαν (for confusion between -ος and -ος cf. F.T. Gignac, Grammar I 289), to be related only to Horos’ father Pamour, who then would have been absent from Aphrodite because of a journey to the Oasis [to Kellis ?], while the precise whereabouts of Horos would not have been stated, or should the participle be related to both Horos and his father and changed from nom.pl. into gen.pl., i.e. read τυγχάνουσαν? It looks as if Horos’ mother died while her son and husband were absent; in the meantime Horos’ grandfather would have represented his grandson’s interests, because Horos’ father (probably the first person to represent his son) was also absent. There is, of course, no objection against assuming that both the father (Pamour III) and his son (Horos) were in the Dakhleh Oasis; one wonders whether they were members of a family of cameldrivers (headed by Psais II and Pamour II, with Psais’ son Pekysis joining as well? Cf. their relationship with Aphrodite borne out by 32, 42, 44) who made regular trips between Kellis and Aphrodite and had a ‘pied-à-terre’ in Aphrodite part of which could be let (32). Similar traffic between Kellis and the Nile Valley (Hermopolis) is attested by 51, 52.

The object concerned is a sixth part of a farm house (ἐγκαταλελειμμένος, cf. G. Husson, OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d’après les papyrus grecs [Paris 1983] 77-80) with appurtenances (οὔ τῆς τῆς τῶν παροχῆς κατοικίας) situated in the Southern part of Aphrodite and co-owned by Psenpnouthes (... ἔτοι τῶν παροχῶν) ... κατ’ αὐτόμορφον θαυμάσιον; It looks as if the farm house was owned for 50 % by Horos’ mother and for 50 % by Psenpnouthes, cf. κατ’ αὐτόμορφον; νίκαι ἐμοὶ τοῦ Παχουμίου. 11f. γίγνεται δὲ τῆς ἐπαβίωσις ἡμιακής; It looks as if if the farm house was owned for 50 % by Horos’ mother and for 50 % by Psenpnouthes, cf. κατ’ αὐτόμορφον; νίκαι ἐμοὶ in the preceding line. If Horos, while inheriting a sixth part of the farm house, received an equal part of the mother’s inheritance and if there were no other goods to divide, the mother should have had three children. In fact, two of them, Horos and his sister (cf. the family tree, p. 51) are attested in the available documentation. We take ἡμιακής (which seems to refer to κατ’ αὐτόμορφον; νίκαι in the preceding line) as a (slightly superfluous) kind of apposition to the immediately preceding words.

The indication of the neighbours does not present many questions: To the South are κατ’ ἀποκάτασσα (cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch II, s.v.; according to Husson, op. cit., 78 and 294 one might think of a plot of land not built upon), to the North a public street in which the door of the house opposite the farmhouse opens (for θύρα cf. G. Husson, op. cit., 93-107), to the East the enclosure walls of Pachoumios ‘the black’ (or should we print Μαυρός and interpret ‘Pachoumios son of Mauros’?); only the indication of the neighbours at the West is lost beyond recognition.

12. The word ἔρως is not regularly used in the papyri. The two diagonal dashes seem to be intended as a kind of marker/separator.

13. It is unclear what the genitive ἐπιστολέως means: an indication of a profession, a patronymic or an indication of origin? In the latter case one may separate ἐπιστολέως: or ἐπιστολέως, but neither place name seems known. It is not safe to regard it as a writing error for ἐπιστόλως, gen. ἐπιστολέως meaning ‘far away from the city, banished’ (cf. LSJ s.v.), the more so as the word seems too poetical to have been used in a documentary text.
Starting with l. 13 Psenpnouthes starts the description of the object he brings in. He had acquired ownership of it 'ἐκτὸς διασώσα τρόφισσας', i.e. by buying it from a person who maybe had received it earlier as part of a division of an inheritance (κατὰ τὴν γεγονημένην διαίρεσιν, l. 15; for such a διαίρεσις cf. 13). The object probably was a house and further appurtenances, cf. ll. 15-17, where a description of the neighbours is given.

16-17. Most of the indications of the neighbours of the house are gone; in itself one reckons with the same order of neighbours as in the preceding case (l. 11-12): ‘South, North, East, West’. after ἱώμη ὄνομα one expects perhaps μηδενέν κελεύθερον, but we have not been able to read this.

18-19. The use of the verb δυνατήσει (rare in the papyri) in the phrasing ἑκατον ἡμῶν κυρίων και δυνάστειες και διαφθοραίς και ὀικονομεῖν τῷ καθηλλ' ἐγγεμένων και ἐν ὁμοιοομείν is remarkable.

19. One expects ἡμῖν, ἡμῶν rather than the singular ἐμοί, ἐμοῦ, but the wording may reflect here the position of only Psenpnouthes rather than that of both him and Horos.

21. Probably at least 2 copies of the document were written, one for Horos (whose copy we have here, after he took it with him back from Aphrodite to Kellis), the other for Psenpnouthes; but even more copies may have been made for other interested parties.

22-26. Both parties cannot write their own subscriptions by their own hand and make use of a hypographeus (for him, see 56 introd.). For the party of Aurelius Horos as represented by his grandfather Aurelius Psais son of Pamour subscribes an Aurelius -des son of Sarmatos from Aphrodite, for Aurelius Psenpnouthes subscribes a Flavius Kollouthos. These people do not occur elsewhere in the Kellis papyri. Flavius Kollouthos also acts as a witness to the whole transaction.

In l. 23, after βεβαιῶσον σοι the subscriber should have written τάσι τιμήν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν ἐγγεμεμένων (cf. l. 1. 25). Probably he was confused by τάσι / τάσι (which sounded similar) and the result was a mixed-up formula.

31: LEASE OF A HOUSE (?)
(27.iv.306)

P.Kellis inv. P. 68.A+E (House 3, room 6, level 3) + 61.L (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 34.5 x B. ca. 13 cm. Margins: at the bottom 4, at the left 1 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers. The verso is empty.

1-16: These lines contain only line beginnings consisting of 1 or 2 letters (not transcribed).

17 νοῦν τῶν[
18 καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλα[
19 ὅντων [ . 'Ἡδὲ ἡ ὄμολογία τῆς[10
20 μυθώρ[εως κυρία ἐκτὸς διασήμος γραphiσία, ἡς[10
21 ἀντιτύποιν ἐξελετὼν σοι εἰς ἀσφάλειαν]10
22 ἐφ' ὑπογραψ[ής ἐμοῦ, καὶ βεβαιῶ[10
23 καὶ ἐν[υλωμος ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακείμενη]10
24 καὶ ἐπερ[ωτήθης ὑμολόγησα. ]
25 ("Εστος) ἰδ'[τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου]
26 καὶ Μαξιμα[νοῦ Σεβαστῶν κα]"[ (ἔτος) β' τῶν κυρίων]
27 ἡμῶν Σεούθ[ήρ]οι καὶ Μαξ[είμιν]ν τῶ[ν]ν ἑπιφανεστάτων
This agreement of lease must be authoritative, written in two copies of which I gave one copy to you for your surety with my signature, and guaranteed and legal as if deposited in a public archive and in answer to the formal question I have replied positively. Year 14 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus Augusti and year 2 of our lords Severus and Maximinus nobilissimi Caesares, Pachon 2. (M. 2) I, the aforementioned lessor Aurelius Petechon, have let the aforementioned lease under all the conditions which are in it as written above and in answer to the formal question I have replied positively. Year 14 and 2, [month], 2. (M. 3) I have received from you, Pamour —, for the single lease — silver talents (?) concerning our — for the revenue of the same year nine silver talents in nummi as written above. (M. 2) I, Aurelius Petechon, the aforementioned lessor, have signed.

The fragmentarily preserved papyrus contains a lease contract (μίσθωσις), probably for (part of?) a house; for other such leases from Kellis cf. also 32 and 33 (remarkably enough, we have no evidence for leases of land in/near Kellis). For the subject of rents and leases of houses, rooms, and other similar objects in general, and for an analysis of the various clauses found in such contracts, cf. H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Köln 1985); on rent levels in the fourth century, cf. also R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 71 and K.A. Worp in Tyche 3 (1988) 273-275. The main part of this contract containing a detailed description of the parties concerned, the object leased, the term of the lease and the rent, is mostly lost; starting with lines 19ff. we seem to be dealing with the final clauses of the contract itself, containing the usual
formulas concerning the authoritativeness of the contract and a stipulation formula (l. 24) which precedes a date in ll. 25-28 (regnal year '14 = 2' covers the year 305/6; Pachon 2 = 27.iv). In ll. 29-34 one finds the subscription of the lessor, Aurelius Petechon; one might have expected to find here also the subscription of the lessee, but this is not necessary and in fact his name seems to occur only in the last part of the document, ll. 35-40, in which a payment by a certain Pamour of nine talents, actually paid in *nummi* (i.e., with the *nummus* at 25 Den./numm. in the early fourth century, in 540 *nummus*-coins) is recorded. It is not absolutely clear whether these 9 talents covered the rent for a whole year, but in view of the amount of money involved this looks at least likely; it looks equally likely, then, that the whole rent was paid already early in the term of the lease (in September 306 a new regnal year would have started, but cf. ll. 35ff. with ll. 25ff.). The receipt is closed off (ll. 41f.) by a signature of the lessor, Aurelius Petechon.

It seems well possible that the Pamour in this document (l. 36) should be related to Pamour son of Psais, who is known from many other papyri from House 3 (flor. ca. 310-321; cf. the family tree at p. 51; cf. also 29.29r.). It could be a payment of rent for the house he actually lived in, but it is also possible that the papyrus refers to, e.g., a house he had occupied earlier before he moved into House 3.

19ff. It is not normal to find the word *ἀντίτυπον* = 'copy' at this place of a lease contract. In fact, to date it occurs in papyri from the Nile Valley only in cases in which a later-made copy of an earlier written document is being referred to (cf. P.Oxy. XII 1470.6; XXIV 2408.7; XLII 3129.6; L 3578.4,5; P.Ryl. IV 652.9; P.Turner 45.1, 13, 24; SB XVI 12692.19; the editor’s restoration in P.Harr. I 131.3-4 has now been cancelled, cf. ZPE 101 [1994] 97-98). There seems, however, to be no way of changing its reading here and the restoration of ll. 19-21 is suggested by the wording of 13.10 and the remnants of the formula in the following ll. 22-24. For the *ἐπίχρις*-formula, see also the remarks ad 37.12ff.; it must be admitted that the suggested restoration of l. 22 is a bit short, but there is no point in reading ἐξ’ ὑπογραφής τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὑπογράφοντος καὶ βεβαιάδα (which is, moreover, much too long), as the subscription (ll. 29-34) has been written by one of the contracting persons himself rather than by someone else who acted as a hypographeus.

30. It is clear that Aurelius Petechon is the lessor (cf. *μερίσθωμα*), but the Greek word used in this line (and cf. l. 42) for 'lessor', *μυσθώτος*, seems unattested with this meaning (cf. LSI s.v.). One would have expected ὁ ἀρχηγὲς μυσθώτος;

35. The month the rent at nine talents was paid in could be, but does not need to be restored as Pachon (cf. l. 28, where the same date occurs in the main part of the contract itself); one has a choice between months in the range Pachon - Epagomenon.

36-38. Lines 37-38 are extremely difficult to read. Does ἐν τῷ μισθώσας μίας refer to a lease term of one year, or does μίας introduce the description of the object leased, e.g. μίας ὀικῆς (the word ὀικῆς, however, cannot be read; moreover, one would rather expect ἐν τῷ μισθώσας ὀικῆς μίας). Silver talents are not expected to have been mentioned twice (ll. 37, 39-40) and the reading in l. 37 is very doubtful. After ἡμι- in l. 37 one would expect at the start of l. 38 ἡμί- but that reading seems impossible. For a list of receipts of rent payments cf. H.-A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Urkunden* (München 1971), 30 Anm. 19. It is well-known that the word γένημα has more meanings than 'crop'; here a translation 'revenue' seems better applicable.
Aurélia Marsis from the village of Kellis belonging to the city of the Mothites, now resident in the village of Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite nome, to Aurelius Psais son of Pamouris from the same village now resident in the same village, greetings. I have leased from you today for only the current year one room in your house and I shall give you as rent for this for the whole year two artabs of wheat. The lease contract is authoritative and in answer to the formal question I have assented. In the consulate of Iovianus and Varronianus his son, Hathyr 1. (M.2) I, the aforesaid Aurelia Marsis,
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

have leased as stated above. I, Aurelius Iakob son of Besis the priest, reader of the catholic church, have written on her behalf as she is not able to write by herself."

In Byzantine times the rent for houses or rooms to live in is normally paid in money, while in a few contracts payments in kind are made for renting storage rooms etc. (cf. H. Müller, op.cit. 330). As the rent in the present contract is paid in kind and as a κέλλας can denote both a room for living and a room for storage (for a thorough discussion of the various uses of κέλλας cf. G. Hussin, OKLA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypte d’après les papyrus grecs [Paris 1983] 136-142) it seems most probable that the lessor used the object for the latter purpose, e.g. for keeping wheat (cf. also the discussion of rent payments for renting storage rooms in Roman Egypt by H.-J. Drexhage, Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten [St. Katharinen 1991] 78, 90, 92-96 and esp. 106; from his discussion it becomes clear that in Roman Egypt, too, such rents were paid in kind often enough, whereas rents for houses and living rooms were always paid in money).

1. An Aurelia Marsis does not occur in any of the Greek papyri from Kellis. Dr. I. Gardner, however, informs us that the name Marsis is frequent in the Coptic papyri from the site.

2-3. For the relationship between the village of Kellis and the city of the Mothites cf. 20.3-5n.

3ff. This papyrus yields an instance of persons born in Kellis and residing in Aphrodite at the moment the contract was written; cf. 42 (364), 43 (374 or 387?), 44 (382), and also 30 (363). Apparently, Psais took the contract back to Kellis at some later moment. For such migration movements cf. also 35.2-3n. The references here and in 42 (also from 364) to the village of Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite nome are relatively early, but cf. P.Col. VIII 235 from 312 (?). It is well-known from the 6th-century Dioscorus archive (for the village cf. the long entry in A. Calderini - S. Daris, Dizionario Geografico 1.2. 302ff. and the remarks in REG 105 [1992] 235-6).

10. In fact, as a date to Hathyr 1 (l. 18) falls 2 months after the start of the Egyptian civil year on Thoth 1, the term of the rent contract cannot have been a full year.

12. For the indiscriminate use of the terms κνώτικου and φόρος next to each other in papyri from Byzantine Egypt cf. H. Müller, op.cit. 218.

14. An amount of two artabs of wheat may have represented in the fourth century the average purchasing power of ca. 0.25 solidus, cf. R.S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt 6. This figure cannot be compared easily with other rents paid in 4th-century papyri, as most of these give indications in talents or myriads of denarii; one must be on one’s guard, moreover, against comparing with each other prices paid for different objects at different locations. A rent level to the amount of some fraction of a solidus is found in some 6th-century papyri, cf. H. Müller, op.cit. 335f.

17-18. For the consulate referred to here cf. R.S. Bagnall et al., CLRE, s.a. 364; add P.Lips. 13 (cf. ZPE 100 [1994] 203) and the Michigan papyrus published in ZPE 105 (1995) 247.1, with the formula ‘D.N. Iovinianus [sic!] perp. Aug. I & Varronianus nobilissimus’ (in Greek); Hathyr 1 = 28.x. Like the authors of the other papyri the present writer has garbled the emperor Iovian’s name which should have been spelled correctly as Ὀυσιάναον or Ὀμησιάσον; the name of his son Varronianus has been dealt with slightly better, but here, too, the spelling is irregular; in view of this text and the papyrus published in ZPE 105 it does not seem excluded that one should restore something like τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου τοῦ παύδος αὐτοῦ (cf. the formula ‘nobilissimus filius’ found in many Western inscriptions) in CPR X 107.10.

33: LEASE OF A ROOM

(21 [?].xi.369)

P. Kellis inv. P. 17.L+W (House 3, room 10, level 3) + P. 50 (House 3, room 6, level 1). H. 21 x B. 8 cm. Margin at the top 1.5 cm. On both sides the writing runs parallel with the fibers.

1 Αὐρήλιος Ψάις Ψύρου τέκτων
2 ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλλεως τοῦ Μωβ[ι-]
3 τοῦ νομοῦ Αὐρήλιῳ Παμοῦρ[ι]
4 Ψάιτος Παμοῦρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
5 κόμης τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ
6 χαίρειν. Ὄμολογῳ μεμισθῶ-
7 ἂθαι παρὰ σοῦ τὴν ὑπάρχου-
8 σάν σου κέλλαν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκί-
9 σὲ τῆς [. . . . .] ἐπὶ τῷ μ. [.]
10 [κοι ἀποδώσω σοι ὑπὲρ] ἐνοικίου
11 [ἐκάστῳ] τοῦ ἐρμαντ[οῦ]
12 [ἵργυ]ριῳ τάλαντα δια[κό-]
13 [σι]α καὶ ἄποκαταστήσω[
14 σοι τὴν αὐτήν [κέλλαν ὡς-
15 περ ἐλαβον ὃ ἐ [ca. 6 ]
16 ἀνυπερθέτως κοί ἄνευ]
17 ἀντιλογίας. Κυρ[ε] η μίσθω-
18 σι ἀπλὴ γραφ[εία] ἐφ’ ὑπο-
19 γραφῆς τοῦ ὑπέρ [ἐμου]
20 ὑπογράφοντος <καὶ> βεβ[αία]
21 ἐστῳ καὶ ἐννομος καὶ ἐ[περω-
22 τὴθείς ὠμολ[ό]γησα.]
23 [Τ]πατείας τῶν δεσ[πο]τῶν ἦ[μων]
24 Οὐαλεντ[ί]να[ν]Οὐα[ν]
25 τοῦ ἐπτυφανέστης[τ]ου κ[αὶ Φ]λ[α(ουίου)]
26 Οὐκτόρος τοῦ λ[α]μπροτ[άτου,]
27 Φαμενωθ κατ’ Ἁγιαστίον[ος] τῆς τρ[ήθη].
28 (M. 2?) Αὐρήλιος Ψάις ὃ [π]ροκείμενος ἐθέλ[μὴν]
29 τῆν μισθωσὶν ὡς π[ρό]ξ(ειτοι).

Verso:

30 Μίσθωσις[ς] Ψάιτος (ὑπέρ)[

23 Τπατείας τοῦ δεσπότου 27 τῇ τρίτῃ ?

“Aurelius Psais son of Psyros, carpenter, from the village of Kellis in the Mothite nome, to Aurelius Pamour son of Psais and grandson of Pamour, from the same village
in the same nome, greetings. I acknowledge that I have leased from you the room belonging to you at the house of — and I shall pay you for rent each year two hundred silver talents and I shall return the same room to you as I (the aforementioned?) received it without delay and without protest. This lease contract, written as a single copy (and) provided with the signature of the person who is subscribing for me must be authoritative and guaranteed and legal and in answer to the formal question I have assented. In the consulate of our lord Valentinianus Junior nobilissimus and of Fl. Victor, vir clarissimus, Phamenoth according to the Egyptian calendar, on the 3rd (?). (M.2) I, the aforementioned Aurelius Psais, have made this lease as stated above.”

This contract deals with the lease of a room in a house in Kellis for an amount of 200 talents per year. For general bibliography on lease contracts, see the introduction to 31.

2-3. For the Mothite nome as a separate province, see 41.4n.
3-4. For Aurelius Pamour son of Psais and grandson of Pamour, see the family tree at p. 51.
8-9. After επί τής εἰκώνιος τῆς τής ἕτοι something like, e.g., μητρός may be expected, but the traces before the lacuna are too exiguous to allow such a reading to be put into the text itself.
14-15. We cannot read ὅς παρέδωκαν. We cannot read ὃς ὕπηγοι (which, moreover, is too short to fill the lacuna completely).
19-20. The phrasing ἵνα ὑπογράψω οὐκ ὑπογράψῃ is well-paralleled, but in the present case it does not make much sense, as in II. 28-29 Aurelius Psais apparently subscribes by his own hand (cf. I. 28-29n.) rather than that he uses the services of a hypographeus; for a similar problem cf. the note to 31.19ff.
27. Phamenoth 3 according to the Alexandrian calendar = 27.ii; here, however, the date is stated to be according to the Egyptian calendar which in the span of years 367-371 preceded the Alexandrian/Greek calendar by 98 days, cf. D. Hagedorn and K.A. Worp in ZPE 104 [1994] 243-255. As the document was written in the julian year 369, it follows that one should count 98 days backwards from 27.ii in the year 370 (!), in order to arrive at the julian date of this lease contract, viz. 21.xi.369. The use of the genitive τῆς τοῦτον for indicating the day numeral is irregular (one expects the dative, cf. already E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, II.2 (Berlin-Leipzig 1934) 224 sub 2.b.a), but we see no other option. A date to 21.xi.369 would fall within the 13th indiction, but the available space in the lacuna is certainly not sufficient for restoring τῆς τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτον τοῦτο

29: we 3Cl XIC P.kell5P,93: συζυγία in τὴν μεθεώρησαν ὅς ὑπέκληταν]
SALE OF HALF OF A FOAL

(27.xi.315)

P. Kellis inv. P. 52. B + C + D + H (House 3, room 9, level 3) + P. 56. A + C (ibidem, Western doorway) + P. 61. D (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 25.3 x B. 20.2 cm. Margin at the left 3, at the top 2, and at the bottom 5 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers on both sides of the sheet. On the verso there is a long black band under the line of writing.

1. Αὐρήλιος Τ[οῦ Βησαπτώνικος] ἀπὸ κόμης Κεραμίων τῆς Μωβή-
2. τῶν πύλων Αὐρήλιος Ὄρφ Μέρσινος ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλλως τῆς
3. αὐτῆς πύλως χαίρειμ. Ὄμολογῳ πεπρακέναι σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν
4. ἐπὶ τὸν ἄποικον χρόνον τῆς ῥάραχουνα μοι ἡμέραν πόλων ἔλευ-
5. κὸν τρόφινοι τοιοῦτοι ἀραπόρειμον καὶ ἀνεπλημμετον ἐλθό-
6. τα εἰς ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ . . . . . . . ἱερονησίαν ἐπομοι τῆς συμπερφο-
7. νημείνης ἐκ ἀλλήλου ἀργυρίων Σεβαπτῶν νομίσματος ἐν νόμιμοις τῷ-
8. λαότα δέλο δραχμάς Τ, (γίνεσαι) (τάλαντο) β (δραχμαι) Γ, ἀπερ ἀπεσχον

Παρά σοι σήμερον ν.

10. [π]έστη βεβαι[ώσει τρός] τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν σε ἑπικρατεί καὶ κυρ[εύειν]
12. [α]λλην .. . . . . . . . ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέρους σου τὸ προκάμινον.
14. [ἐ]λαν αἰρή τρόποι, τῆς βεβαι[ώσεως] ἐξεκλεισθούσης μοι τῷ ἂτρο-
15. [δ][ο]μένω δὲ μαρτίς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιπλησμημένον. Κυρία ἡ τρά-
17. καὶ βεβαι[ά] ὡς ἐν δημοσίω κατακεφαλήν καὶ ἐπερωτήθη
18. ὀμολόγησα.
19. 'Τπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἥμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικνίνου
21. Αὐρήλιος Τοῦ Βησαπτόνικος Αὐρήλιος Ὄρφ τῆς προκειμένου
22. πέπρακ[ίς] σοι τῆς ἡμέραν πόλου καὶ ἀπεσχον τῆς τιμῆς ταλάν-
23. τα δύο [ἡ]μισιν ἐν νομίμως νομίσματος, (γίν.) (τάλαντο) β (δραχμαι) Γ καὶ
24. βεβαι
25. ως σοι ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτήθησα ὀμολόγησα ως πρόξεως του[ν]. ['Εγγρα-
26. ψεύ] ὑπὲρ [α]ντίκορα γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος Αὐρήλιος ΣιβαΣ . δι[ ]μος
27. ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλλως.

Verso:

27. Πράσινος ἡμισίαν πόλων Τοῦ Βησαπτόνικος

1. Βησαπτόνικου, Κεραμείων 4 ἡμίσειαν 4-5 λευκό 5 ἀνατόριφον 6
2. γεννήσαντος μον 7 νομίμοισι 9 τέτειμαι 11 ἡμίσεως 14 ἀν 21 Βησαπτόνικον
3. 27 ἡμίσεως, Βησαπτόνικου
“Aurelius Tou son of Beseponychos, from the village of Kerameia belonging to the city of the Mothites, to Aurelius Horos son of Mersis, from the village of Kellis belonging to the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have sold to you from now on for always the half part belonging to me of a white foal, exactly as it is right now, irrevocable and unassailable, coming to me (from) ... of my father, for the price agreed upon between us of Imperial silver money in nummi, i.e. two talents, 3000 drachmae, in sum 2 tal. 3000 dr., which I received from you today in cash in full. I agree and I am satisfied and I shall guarantee with all guarantee in order that from now on you, the buyer, may possess and own the half foal sold to you by me - - - - and that you have the right to dispose of and manage concerning it in whatever way you may wish, while upon me, the seller, rests in all circumstances the duty of eviction against every person making a claim. Let the contract of sale written in n copies, with the signature of the person subscribing on my behalf, be authoritative and guaranteed as if deposited in a public record office and in answer to the formal question I have agreed. In the fourth consulate of our lords Constantinus and Licinius the Augusti, Mecheir 25 according to the Egyptians. Aurelius Tou son of Beseponychos, to Aurelius Horos the aforementioned: I have sold to you the half part of a foal and I have received the price, two and a half talents, in nummi-money, in sum 2 tal., 3000 dr., and I shall guarantee for you as stated above and in answer to the formal question I have agreed as stated above. Aurelius Psais son of ..., from the village of Kellis, has written for him as he does not know letters.” (Verso) “Sale of half of a foal by Tou son of Beseponychos.”

This papyrus (not written in entirely irreproachable Greek) contains a contract from 315 regarding the sale of half a share in the ownership of a πῶλος. This noun indicates a young animal (i.e. a foal) and it is used especially for indicating the age of donkeys, camels or horses. As the price of only half an animal may have been (at least slightly) depressed, the foal in question would have been worth at least ca. 5 Talents. In 315 this amount of money seems compatible with the price of a young donkey, cf. the list of 4th-century donkey prices in CPR VI.1, p. 24 and R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 67-68; on the other hand, horses were traded at about the same prices as donkeys (cf. H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten* [St. Katharinen 1991] 301), and a camel of unknown age was sold in P. Grenf. II 74 (302) for 9 Talents, hence it is difficult to be certain what kind of animal was sold in this contract. We know, however, from 51.3 that the buyer in this contract, Aurelius Horos son of Mersis, was a cameldriver and one would therefore expect him to buy a young camel rather than a donkey or a horse. The price (2 tal., 3000 dr. = 3750 denarii) was paid in nummi (cf. II. 7, 23) and as in this period the nummus-coins were the equivalent of 25 denarii (cf. R.S. Bagnall, *op.cit.*, 24), this means that in fact 150 such coins went over the counter (it may be that, e.g., 100 of them were packed in a small bag, a kind of ‘mini-follis’ [on the follis cf. the remarks in Bagnall, *op.cit.*, 17]).
1. For the personal name Toδ cf. the name Πωδ in 46.31f.

It is not quite certain whether behind Βηστατώρικος there are one or two names. The ending -ορικος at the place of an expected genitive suggests a nominative -ορικος, but the single instance of such a name, Σενταντιντ, found through F. Domsieff - B. Hansen, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen and W. Pape - G.E. Benseler's Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen, in a London papyrus turns out to be an error for the well-known name Σεντατορικος (cf. O. Masson in ZPE 104 [1994] 205-210); the form Βηστατωρικος probably consists, therefore, of a personal name Βης + the personal name Επώνυμος (for this name cf. W. Crönert in SPP II p. 41; for the development e > α and χ > x cf. F.T. Gignac, Grammar, I 283ff. and 92). It is more difficult to establish whether after all one is dealing here with a really new composite (undepended) name Βηστατωρικος, or with two individual names which should, in principle, be kept separate from each other; in that case Βης should be the name of the father, Επώνυμος the name of the grandfather of Τοδ. Given the fact, however, that the article τον, which regularly precedes a grandfather's name, is lacking after Βης (this form is regularly undepended, though cf. P.Vindob.Worp 3.14 n.) and that in general composite names tend to become more and more popular in later Roman Egypt, it seems preferable to regard Βηστατωρικος as a slightly misspelled form of a single name Βηστατωρικος.

The village of Τα Κερομεία in the Mothite Nome has not occurred before; there is a homonymous district in the Theban area.

2. For Horos son of Mersis cf. 9.1n. and 51.3n.

2-3. For the relationship between the village of Kellis and the city of the Mothites cf. 20.3-5n.

4-6. One may explain the accusatives λε[ν-]/κων το[υ]ν του[υ]ν [ου]ν [ανακ]όρευον και [ανακ]όρευον ἐλθοντα most simply by assuming that the scribe apparently thought that he had earlier written: τὸν ἱππορίστα μοι ἡμετάρ πώλον.


6. The interpretation of γεννησαν[τε]ν and, connected with this, the restoration of the preceding lacuna is problematic; one might expect, e.g., ἐλθοντα εἰς ἕμ[ν] κατὰ δορέων τοῦ (14 letters) or εἰς ἕμ[ν] ἐκτὸς διοβήσεις τοῦ (15 letters), but both supplements are too long for the lacuna containing ca. 10 letters (subtracting the ε of ἕμ[ν] and the article τοῦ, only ca. 6 letters are left for filling out this lacuna with a preposition and a noun); moreover, both approaches presuppose an error of the dative γεννησαν[τε]ν for the genitive γεννησαντος. Nevertheless, it is attractive to suppose that the seller Tou got his half part of the animal from his father (= δ γεννησας).

7. For the use and value of the nummus cf. R.S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt 12-15; cf. also the introduction above.

12. It is unclear how the remains of this line should be interpreted and what should be restored in the lacuna; there does not seem to be a parallel for the phrasing found here.

14. [ε]λα[ν] αἴρῃ τράπεζα is restored here after 36, Frag. 1.6; cf. also 8.9, 38.a.14, 38.b.14, 39.13-14, in which documents the word order is slightly inverted (τράπεζα ὑ εἰς αἴρῃ).

16. It is uncertain how many copies of the document were made; maybe only one, but cf. below, the appendix.

19-20. For the consuls of the year 315 cf. R.S. Bagnall et al., CLRE s.a. As in the 4 years between 315-319 there was a difference of 85 days between the Egyptian wandering year and the Alexandrian year (cf. D. Hagedorn & K.A. Worp in ZPE 104 [1994] 243-255), and as the year 315/316 was a leap year, Mecheir 25 according to the Egyptian (wandering) calendar is the equivalent of Hathyr 30 (= 27.xi) in the Alexandrian calendar.
34, Appendix

With the text published above one may compare the small fragment P.Kellis inv. P.77.A (H. 5.5 x B 2.5 cm.; margin at the top 1.5 cm.; verso blank); it may be just a duplicate of 34.

1 [Αὐρήλιος Ν.Ν. son of Ν.Ν. ἀπὸ κόμης Ν.Ν. τοῦ Μωβίτα]υ νομοῦ
2 [Αὐρηλίω Ν.Ν. son of Ν.Ν. ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλ]λας
3 [τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. Ὄμωλογῷ πεπρακέναι] σοι ἀπὸ
4 [τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπαντὰ χρόνον Ἀνιμ]λεκὸν
5 [ Further description] τιμῆς τῆς] συμπε-
6 [φωνημένης ἀλλήλοις ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος] τάλαν-
7 [τα]

35: SALE OF A HEIFER

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 17.S + AA + BB (House 3, room 10, level 3). Two strips of a vertically folded papyrus have been preserved, measuring H. 13.7 x B. ca. 3 cm. each, while the margin at the top measures 2 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers; the verso is blank.

1 Αὐρήλιος Ν.Ν. ἔφη ἐκ Μωβίτας Ν.Ν.
2 ἀπὸ κόμης τῆς Μωβίτας πόλεως κατὰ[μένων ἐν
3 ] τ Πακέδῳ Αὐρηλίῳ ᾽Αμ[...
4 ] ἀπὸ Βεν[τῶν πόλεως] χαίρειν. Ὅμω-
5 λογῷ πεπρακέναι] σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπαντᾶ ἐξῆς
6 χρόνον τῆς ἀρχοντῆς] μοι ἠμοι[σών δεμᾶς ἀργυρίως
7 λεκοχρώμους] τιμῆς τῆς] συμπε[σω-
8 μένης χρόνος ἀλλὰ] ἠμοισόροι ἀργυρίως ]... νομισμάτος
9 ca. 12 ἐκ τάλαμας ἕκ[τα ἐκατόμον,] ἡ[νυποτα] (τάλαντα) ρ, α[...
10 ca. 12 ὡ]μερον ἀ[... ἠ]ρεμη ἦμηρ[ας]
11 ca. 12 ἵ] καὶ βεβη[λόσωσοι τά] α[...] β[...] ἦμηρ[σοι]
12 ca. 11 τ[α]ντός τοῦ] ἠμοισόροι ]...νομισμάτος
13 ὧν καὶ τῆς βεβηλόσῳς] μοι ἠμοι[σέωσο] διὰ παντός
corrupted between 11, 12 and 14

squeezed in between 11, 12 and 14
"Aurelius N.N. son of Theodoros (?) son of -- (?), and N.N. being his mother (?), from the village of --mese belonging to the city of the Mothites, residing in --, to Aurelius Am-- from the city of the Hibites, greetings. I agree to have sold you from now on for ever the half part of a heifer belonging to me -- white-coloured, for the mutually agreed price of hundred talents in silver -- money -- today -- in full (?) -- and I shall guarantee you with every guarantee -- from every --, and the right of eviction falling to me in all circumstances against every person who shall make a claim --".

This papyrus is very mutilated and many details of the original wording of this contract remain unclear. As to the original form of the papyrus it may be supposed that the strips now preserved (each containing 6-8 letters) are the result of its being broken along the folds and that the original had (a) at least two more such strips (together ca. 12 letters, cf. ll. 5, 8) before the preserved left-hand strip, (b) one strip between the preserved strips, and (c) one more strip joining to the right of the second preserved strip (if it had a little blank space at its right-hand edge, this strip would have contained less than the 6-8 letters written on the other strips), viz.:

[I] | [II] | III | [IV] | V | [VI].

If these assumptions are correct, it may be supposed that the original sheet was first folded vertically in the middle, then folded twice, i.e. one time from each side toward the center.

After an opening of the 'A to B χαίρειν' type (II. 1-4) we are dealing with a sale of half part of a heifer (II. 4ff.) for 100 talents. The scribe (who, judged by his handwriting, was not doing a first-class job) possibly committed various spelling errors and used an irregular formula (see l. 10n.). Even so, the papyrus remains of interest, as sales of cows are hardly attested for early Byzantine Egypt, cf. R.S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt 68; the situation is not better in later times, cf. A.C. Johnson - L.C. West, Byzantine Egypt (Princeton 1949) 212 (add there CPR VIII 67, VI/VII: young bulls sold at very much diverging prices) and the recent remarks by A. Jördens in ZPE 98 (1993) 266. For documentation concerning the sales of cows in Roman Egypt cf. H.-J. Drexhage, Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten (St. Katharinen 1991) 301-02. It is also worthy of note that the seller seems to come from a village in the Mothite nome but is residing now somewhere else (maybe in Kellis, where the document was found?), while the buyer comes from the town of Hibis. Finally, it should be noted that some of the suggested restorations may be transferred from the end of a line to the beginning of the next line.

1-4. Much is uncertain at the start, but it is reasonable to suppose that one is dealing with an opening 'A son of ..., provenance, to B son of ..., provenance, χαίρειν'. If Αὐρήλιος in the first lacuna in l. 1 was written out in full (cf. l. 3) there is only little space for restoring his personal name (cf. above, the calculations about the amount of text lost at the left); restore, e.g., Ὅρος? Θεόδωρος seems to belong to the father's name.

After the second lacuna in l. 1 much is uncertain; instead of ἵτις ἐκ μητρὸς one might perhaps also think about reading ἵτις Ἀκητή, but it remains to be seen whether that produces more satisfactory
results, the more so as the lacuna is too large for containing, e.g., only an article τὸ preceding ἕξ (resulting in Theodore’s being provided with an alias-name).

2. A village name in μυacho is unknown in the region. On the other hand, if one reads κωδύς one seems to be stuck with a superfluous eta (unless the rest of the restoration of this line is wrong).

2-3. We have assumed that one is dealing here with the rather regular phenomenon of a person’s place of birth (his ἰδία) being different from his present habitat (for relations between, e.g., Kellis and the village of Aphrodite in the Nile valley cf. 32.3n.; in general, see also the word index s.v. καταγέω, οἶκω); for migration movements within Byzantine Egypt cf. H. Braunert, Die Binnenwanderung (Bonn 1964) 293ff.

It does not seem excluded that at the start of l. 3 one should take some letters of the present reading ] τ (from κτήμενον, but without abbreviation marking?) Πακέδες(εως together and read Τάκε (in the Mothite nome, cf. 52.1); the doubtful kappa, moreover, could be changed into an eta. It is, however, uncertain what βη would indicate; was there something like a village Τάκε βῆρα? Against this whole idea it could be argued that there is a small spacing between the tau and the pi and it does not solve the problem what more could have stood between βηρα and Λεόνηλαρ (only 5 letters restored in a lacuna of ca. 8 letters).

6-7. One may expect before the indication of the color an indication of the animal’s age, but δόμαλις itself already indicates a young cow and the restoration of a word like ἐνός (gen. of ἐγκός = ‘in calf’) is also possible, cf. P. Köln I 55.6.

7-8. The restoration at the end of l. 7 is very short, but we see no alternative.

8. The word Σεβαστός might be expected between ὁριον and νομελος, but we have not been able to identify its last letters with the traces preserved before νομελος.

9. At the end one may wish to read, e.g., ἔξηερ (cf. 34.8), but the letter trace after the alpha does not clearly belong to a pi.

10. At the end, πάληρ (partly restored) seems to suggest that the price has been paid in full, but it remains uncertain what preceded this; ὁδήμη may be an error for ὁδήμα; it seems less likely to interpret this as ὁδήμη (σω). 

12. One expects some form of a guarantee clause containing a future participle, but σουμένου seems to come from σουμένου, the future participle of πέπειο or a compound of it, and we do not know of any formula containing this element. Is a spelling error made here, i.e. read ἐπελεξοσουμένου (but cf. the same participle restored in l. 14)?

14. κυριεύο: we do not know how to fit this form into a known formula.

36: FRAGMENTS OF A CONTRACT OF SALE

(308)

P. Kellis inv. P. 17.BB (House 3, Room 10, level 3) + P. 63.A (House 3, Room 8, level 4). Frag. I: H. 6 x B. ca. 5.5 cm.; there are no margins. Frag. II: H. 10.5 x B. 5 cm.; there is on this fragment a lower margin of 4.5 and an upper margin of 1.5 cm., but this ‘upper margin’ may be in fact only the open space between the body of the contract and the dating formula underneath it. The writing on both fragments runs parallel with the fibers, the versos are blank.

Frag. I:

1 |μ[ |TRACES| καὶ ἀπέχω τὴν τιμὴν
2 )διὰ χειρός πλήρης. Εὐδοκῶ καὶ πέπειομαι
3 καὶ βεβαιώσω σοι πάσι β[εβαιώσει πρὸς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν
4 ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύει[ν σε τὸν ὄνομαν tῶν πεπραμένων
5 ἕκαστον ὑποτελεῖν καὶ ἐπιτελεῖν πρὸς αὐτῶν
6 ὃ ἔν αὑρίηται ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξακολουθοῦσας μοι
7 τῷ ἀνεξαντικοῦ[ν ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἐπελευσμένου

Frag. II:

11 "Τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δεκατέσσαρες ἡμέρας Διοκλήσιανοῦ πατρὸς τῶν βασιλέων]
12 τὸ ἱερὰ παλατίου ὅπου ὁ Καλαμῆς ἀναπλήρεις

13 Αὐρήλιος

14 κεῖμενος πέτρων, Object ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπιστρεπθεῖς]
15 ὑμελόγη[σα. Ἐγραφε[ν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος]
16 Αὐρήλιος[ Ν.Ν. ἀπὸ Ν.Ν.

3 πάση

(Frag. I) "--- and I have received the price --- in cash in full. I agree and I am satisfied --- and I shall guarantee with all guarantee in order that from now onwards you the buyer may be owner and master of the sold items and have the opportunity to dispose of them and manage them in whatever way it may be wished, the duty of eviction under all circumstances resting upon me, the seller, against every person who shall lay a claim ---." (Frag. II) "In the consulate of our lords Diocletian pater Augustorum consul for the 10th time and of Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus consul for the 7th time. I, the aforementioned Aurelius N.N., have sold the --- as stated above and I have answered the formal question. I, Aurelius N.N. from ---, have written for him as he does not know letters."

These fragments are related to a contract of sale, but the precise object of the sale has not been preserved; in itself it can have been anything, e.g. immovables, a slave, or an animal. For the restorations suggested above in the lacunas in Frag. I cf. the contracts 4, 8, 34, 35, 38.a,b and 39.

11-12. These are the consuls of 308, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE s.a.
37: SALE OF PART OF A HOUSE

(320)

P. Kellis inv. P. 17.0 (House 3, room 10, level 3). Frag. I: H. 7.3 x B. 3.8 cm. Top margin 1.5 cm.; Frag. II: H. 9 x B. 10 cm. Bottom margin: 2 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers. The verso is blank.

Frag. I:
1 [Αυρήλια Τακύσις] 
2 [Ν.Ν.] 
3 [Ν.Ν.] 
4 [μης νῦν οἰκούντι ἐν] 
5 [῾Ὀμολογῶ τετρακένναι σοι] 
6 [ἁπαντα χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι] 
7 [οἰκίας ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ] 
8 [κώμης διὰ τῆς (?)] 
9 [ativas Αὐρήλιον] 
10 [σίδου ἄρχαντος] 
11 [,...] 

Frag. II:
12 [Κυρία ἡ πρᾶσις δ[ια] μηγραφεῖσα ἐφ᾿ ὑπογραφῆς τοῦ ὑπο-] 
13 [γράφωντος ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ [καὶ βεβαιὰ ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακαί-] 
14 [μὴν] καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖσα ὑπὸ όμολογήσα. 
15 [Τα]τιάς τῶν δεσποτῶν Ἡμῶν Καν[σταρτίνου Αὐγούστου] 
16 [τῷ] δὲ καὶ Κωσταρτίνου τούτου ἐπεφανεστάθη τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸ αʾ 
17 [Παχών καὶ τ'] 
18 [Αὐρήλια Τακύσις ή] προκει μὲν τετρα[κεὶ] 
19 [μὴν] μέρος τετἀρτον ἐκ] οἰκίας καὶ ο᾽ τε σχῆν τὴν τιμὴν ἐν] 
20 [τα]λάντας δύο, γ(ινεταί) [(τάλαντα)] β, πλήρη ὡς πρόκει(ειταί) καὶ βεβαιὼ- 
22 [ψα] ἕπερ αὐτῆς γ[ράμμα]τα μὴ εἰ δύνῃς Αὐρήλιος Ν.Ν. ἀπὸ τῆς] 
23 [αὐτῆς κώμης καὶ] ἃ[ι] ἀσωμάτισα. (Μ.2) Αὐρήλιος Ψάρις [ 
24 [,...] διέμαρτυρσα τὰ πάντα ὃς πρόκει(ειταί). 

6 τετάρτον 15 'Τατατείας 18 Αὐρήλια: -α ex -ος corr. 19 τετάρτον: τ- ex δ- corr., οἰκίας 20 πλήρη 21 βεβαίωσει

(Ll. 1-8) "Aurelia Takysis (daughter of N.N. and N.N.) from the village of N.N. - - to Aurelius N.N. (son of N.N. and N.N.) from the same village, now living in (?)"
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

- - - , greetings. I agree to have sold to you from now onwards for all time from my belongings - - - a fourth part of a house - - - in the - - - part of the village - - - through the bank of N.N. (?) --. (Ll. 12-24) The sale contract is authoritative, written in two copies with the signature of the person who is subscribing for me, and guaranteed and legal as though deposited in a public record office and having been formally asked I have agreed. In the consulate of our lords Constantine Augustus consul for the 6th time and Constantine nobilissimus Caesar consul for the 1st time, Pachon 20, according to the - - - (calendar). I, the aforementioned Aurelia Takysis, have sold the aforesaid fourth part of a house and I have received the price consisting of two talents, total 2 tal., in full, as mentioned above, and I shall guarantee the sale with every guarantee and having been formally asked I have agreed. I, Aurelius N.N., from the same village, have written for her, as she does not know letters, and I have written the body of the contract. I, Aurelius Psais - - - was witness to everything as described above."

Sales of (parts of) houses are quite a common phenomenon among the Greek papyri from Egypt; the most recent comprehensive survey of the pertinent (extensive) literature is given by B. Kramer and J.C. Shelton in their introduction to P.Nepheros 29. Among the Kellis papyri, however, this is to date the only such contract of a house sale. An extra point of interest is the fact that the owner/seller of the ¼ part of a house is a woman, Aurelia Takysis, who was the wife of one of the main occupants of House 3, Aurelius Pamour(is) son of Psais (cf. the family tree at p. 51); for female property owners in Roman Egypt cf. D. Hobson in TAPA 113 (1983) 311-321.

One may wonder, whether the ¼ part of the house sold in this document refers to House 3 itself; in that case one is dealing with the copy of the contract going to the buyer who kept it in House 3. It is, however, also possible that one is dealing with the seller’s copy; did Takysis, living in House 3, perhaps sell a ¼ part of another house belonging to her in another part of Kellis?

For the prices fetched for house property in the Nile Valley, see H.-J. Drexhage, Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten (St Katharinen 1991) 74ff.; R.S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt (Chico 1985), 70-71.

1. The name of the seller, Aurelia Takysis, is restored from l. 18; the same name occurs also in 30.5, 42.2 and in 65.1, though in slightly different spellings (Τεχαίςς, Τεχαςις, Τεχαςις).
4. The restoration of νῦν οἰκῶντα ἕν (to be followed by a place name) is inspired by the thought that a restoration of the obvious phrasing after ἀπὸ τῆς εἴστης κόμῳ-/μης, viz. τῶς εἰσόδου τομοῦ, certainly would not fill the lacuna before χαῖρε (for its length cf. ll. 5-6 and the note to l. 5) sufficiently.
5. The restoration of only Ὄμολογῳ πεπρακάναι οὐ ἀπό τοῦ is too short in comparison with the average line length of ll. 12ff., but the restoration of Ὄμολογῷ πεπρακάναι οὐ καὶ καταγγελοῦνοι ἀπο τοῦ τοῦ (cf. 8.3, 362) is not really warranted (and in fact too long).
7. One expects here an indication of the precise position of the house within the village; cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v. μέρος 1.ε and f.
8ff. Among the Greek documents from Kellis this seems to be the only reference to a bank. Unfortunately, the context is damaged and the name of the bank is lost. In itself one might be inclined to
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think of a restoration of, e.g., κατὰ διαγραφὴν διὰ τῆς … τραπέζης, but this formula is usually given with the indication that the price was paid. However, that part of the standard formula of a sale contract should appear only later on, i.e., after the indication of the neighbours of the house, and it would seem more likely that ll. 9-11 contained part of the neighbour’s description (one of whom apparently was a former magistrate, cf. ἀρχις in l. 10).

12ff. The printed restoration of the kyria-formula (for further literature also the note on 4.13f.) follows a regular pattern in Kellis documents; the length of the lacuna in l. 13 does not allow a restoration of the words καὶ ἐννομος, too, and one finds the shorter formula in, e.g., 34.15ff. (315), 38.17ff. (333), 41.16ff. (310) and 49.10ff. (304). In itself this might make one wonder whether the longer κυρία καὶ βεβαια καὶ ἐννομος-formula could be a later development, but one finds it already early in, e.g., 31.20ff. (306) and P.Grenf. II 75.15 (308). For regionalisms in such kyria-formulas cf. CPR XIV 2.18n. 15-16. These are the consuls of 320, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., Consuls of the Later Roman Empire, s.a.


21-23. For the formula used here Ἴγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς - - - Αἰρήλιος Ν.Ν. καὶ ἑσομάτισα cf. 41.29-30 (310), 44.24-26 (382) and 45.35-36 (386): Ἴγραφα Αἰρήλιος Ν.Ν. - - - ὁ καὶ τὸ σῶμα γράφας.

24. Or read ἐμαρτήρησα ταύτη τῆς πράξεως?

38.a: GRANT OF A PLOT OF LAND

(28.x.333)

P.Kellis inv. P. 52.F (House 3, room 9, level 3). H. 24 x B. 22 cm. The margin at the top measures 2 cm., at the left 4.5 cm., and at the bottom 4 cm. The papyrus sheet was folded vertically several times. The writing on the sheet runs parallel with the fibers, the back is blank.

1 Αἰρήλιος Παυσανίας Οἰκιστήριον ἁρξια[ς Μωθίτων τόλεως]
2 Αἰρήλιος [Πάμπιτι Παμοῦρ ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλλεως τῆς]
3 αὐτῆς Μωθίτων τόλεως  [χαίρειν ]
4 ['Ομολογῶ περὶ αὐταὶ σου χάριτι αἰώνια [καὶ ἀναφορέω]
5 ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ[ν ἐπὶ] τὸν ἀπαίτη τοῦ ὁμοίου νὰ[ν τῶν ὑπαρχον]-
6 τοῦ μοι [ἐ]δοθέν ἐξ ἀπολυτίων κόμης Κέλλεως τόπον]
7 πρὸς [ἀνοικοδομή] Νώτου καὶ Βορρᾶ [τὴν μοικία τὴν]
8 καὸν δεκαπεντετετε] 'Απολιτώτων καὶ Λιβδός [τὴν μοικία τὸν]< καὶ > εἶκο-
9 σι. Γεῖτονες: 'Απολιτώτων ἀδάφη ἀμοῦ Πα[υσανίο, Λιβάς καρι-]
10 λῶν Προ[ν] Μέρο[ος], Νότου οἰκία σου [καὶ νόικο καὶ ……]
11 σου, Βορρᾶς ρύμη δημοσία, ἢ ὅ [γειτόνες πάντοθεν, ]
12 πρὸς τὸ δεξιὰ[ν σου] ἐφικτοῖς καὶ κυριε[ῖν εἰς τόπον καὶ]
13 διοικεῖς καὶ οἰκουμείνων περὶ τοῦ χαρισθέντων [τοῦ] τόπου)
14 ἐκουσάω γνώμη τρόπῳ ὃ ἐάν αἴρη, τῆς [βεβαιώσεως]
15 ἐξαιροθύρυψης μοι διὰ παντὸς ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἐπελευσμοί-
16 νοῦ τοῦ ἀντιπτισμοῦν. Κύρια ἡ χάρις ἡ [γραφή] ἀφροφρο-
17 ὑπογραφῆς μοι ἐστὼ καὶ βεβαια ὡς ἐν δημο[ούρ] κατασκευή
This remarkable papyrus contains a grant of a small plot of land in the Eastern part of Kellis; especially interesting is the fact that it contains a precise indication of the dimensions and neighbours of the donated object. The land was given by Aurelius Pausanias to Aurelius Psais son of Pamour; both persons are known from other documents from Kellis. It is rare, if not unique, that we are able to study such a document found during controlled excavations and that possibly the plot of land may be found back on the archaeological map of Kellis, cf. the note to II. 6ff.; many of, e.g., our sales of houses were removed by illegal excavators from their archaeological context and we are no longer able to connect such documents to a specific object. For grants in general cf. R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Warszawa 1955) 399-401 and P.Col. X 274 introd.
It is also remarkable that, though according to 1. 16 only a single copy of this document was written (cf. the phrasing ‘\(\text{Κυρίων \ ή χάρις \ ἀνίφειον} \)’), apparently a copy of the same text is found in 38.b. For this curious situation we cannot find a better explanation than the idea (in fact a counsel of despair) that a scribal error must be at stake and that the scribe wrote \(\text{αίρετο \ ή} \) where he should have written \(\text{δόσεως} \). Or, as 38.b contains a writing error (cf. the critical apparatus on 1. 8), should we assume that the same document was written again after the earlier copy had already been signed by Pausanias, while the earlier copy was not destroyed?

1. An Aurelius Pausanias is also mentioned in 4, 5, and 6 (all from House 2) and in 63 (from House 3, a Greek private letter to Pisistratos and Pausanias). In all cases we may be dealing with the same person. He was the son of a Valerius who may have been the author of 48 (a manumission of a female slave; 356) and 64 (a 4th-century private letter from Valerius to Philammon).

2. For Aurelius Psais son of Pamour cf. the family tree at p. 51.

2-3. For the relationship between the village of Kellis and the city of the Mothites cf. 20.3-5n.

4. For the phrasing \(\text{χαρίσα \ γείρετα} \) [καὶ \(\text{ἀνιφεῖον ή} \) cf. 38.b.4 and P.Grenf. II 71.11ff. Elsewhere one finds, e.g., \(\text{χάρις \ ἀνιφεῖον} \) καὶ \(\text{ἀμετακόπη} \) (P.Grenf. II 68.4; 70.7).

6ff. The plot of land described here seems to be identical with the plot of land situated to the North of House 3.

The following arguments can be adduced in favour of this identification:

(a) The grant was found in House 3 where the beneficiary of the donation, Aurelius Psais son of Pamour, had been living;
(b) the text states clearly (l. 10) that to the South of the plot now given away is ‘the house of you (= the beneficiary) and ...’;
(c) to the North of the plot should be a ‘public street’ and in fact there is a street running North of the excavated ‘Area A’;

At the same time this identification clearly suggests that the ‘\(\text{κεραύλη} \) (camel-shed) of Horos son of Mersis’ was situated to the West of the plot. A man of this name occurs in papyri both from House 2 (9) and House 3 (34; 38.a,b; 51; 52; 57) and he is known to have been a camel-driver; it makes sense to connect a camel-driver with a camel-shed and if Horos ever lived in House 3 at some particular moment, he may have ‘parked’ his camels not too far away; it is, however, more problematical, as C.A. Hope (the site director) remarks, that the only building adjacent to the west of the plot given away in this document is Structure 4 (its precise nature is unclear) and that this could hardly have been used as a camel-shed, cf. its ground plan on the plan of Houses 1 - 3 (p. 5).

7-9. For the size of the ‘carpenter’s cubit’ (= 45 cm.) cf. 4.5-7n.; 15 such cubits (the dimensions of the plot at the South and at the North) = 6.75 m, 25 cubits (at the East and at the West) = 11.25 m. The whole plot measured almost 76 m\(^2\). It is remarkable that these dimensions do not match with the size of the area adjacent to the North of House 3 (cf. the plan, p. 5). In fact, it looks as if the scribe used the dimensions of the East and West side while indicating the dimensions of the North and South side, and the dimensions of the North and South side for the West and East side.

In itself it does not seem very likely that the scribe would have forgotten to write \(\kappa \) in the lacuna at the right of l. 8; moreover, the (regular) form of the cardinal ‘25’ should have been \(\varepsilon Κ \) πέντε, cf. 38.b.8. On the other hand it should be noted that (a) it is impossible to read the first two letters in 38.a.9 as \(\tau \varepsilon \) (a reading \(\alpha \varepsilon \) seems to impose itself), (b) there is simply not enough of space for \(\kappa \) in the lacuna, and (c) next to \(\varepsilon Κ \) πέντε the Greek form \(\piέντε \kappa \) \(\kappa \) \(\varepsilon \) still occurs in later Greek, cf. F.T. Gignac, Grammar, II 196 (12).

14. For \(\varepsilon Κ \) σύλι \(\gamma νιέ \) instead of \(\varepsilon Κ \) σύλι \(\gamma νιέ \) cf. F.T. Gignac, op.cit. II 111.

16. Cf. above, the introduction.

19f. These are the consuls of 333, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE s.a. Hathyr 1 according to the Alexandrian calendar = 28.x, but if the date were calculated according to the Egyptian calendar, it
would fall 89 days earlier, viz. on 1.viii.333. For the persistent use of the traditional Egyptian calendar next to the Alexandrian calendar cf. D. Hagedorn - K.A. Worp in ZPE 104 (1994) 243-253.

38.b: GRANT OF A PLOT OF LAND

(28.x.333)

P.Kellis inv. P. 52.H (House 3, room 9, level 3) + P. 65.L (House 3, room 8, level 3). H. 24 x B. cm.
The writing runs parallel with the fibers, the back is blank.

13 σου τόπου ἐκ[ουσίω] γράμμη τρόπῳ ἢ ἕ[αν α]ϊρ[ὴ] τῆς β]β[ρα-
16 ἐ]πὶ ἱ[πογραφῆς] μου ἐ[κ]τε ν καὶ βεβ[αία] [ὅς ἐν]
17 δημοσίῳ κατα-
20 Ἡσαντάντινοι Αὐγούστου καὶ Δομινίτιον Ζη[νόφ]ε]̣[ι]ον τῶν[ν] λαμπροτάτων
22 (M. 2) Αὐρήλ[ιος Παυσανίας Οὐ]σελείριον ἄρξας ὁ προκείμενος ἐ[χ]αρισά-
23 μν τῶν προκείμενον ψιλῶν τόπον ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐ[π]ερωτη-
24 βε[ίς ὁμολόγησα.
25 6 Ἀτηλεώτου 8 Βορρᾶ error for Λιβός! 9 ἐμοῦ: ἐμ- ex corr. (α-?) 11 ἐὰν ex
corr., l. ἐν 14 ἐκουσία, ἑν

For an introduction and commentary to this text (a copy of 38.a) cf. above, 38.a; a comparison of 38.a and 38.b yields the following result:
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

38. A 1 Αὐρήλιος Παυσανίας Όναλαρίου ἁρξάς Μοβιτίων πόλεως
38. B 1 [Αὐρήλιος Παυσανίας Όναλαρίου ἁρξάς Μοβιτίων πόλεως]

38. A 2 Αὐρηλίω [Ψά]μοιρ ὁ τό κόμης Κέλλας τῆς

38. A 3 αὐτῆς Μοβιτίων πόλεως
38. B 3 [Μοβιτίων πόλεως]


38. A 5 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἑκτι] τῶν ἀπαντα χρόνων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχῶν]
38. B 5 [τοῦ νῦν ἑκτι] τῶν ἀπαντα χρόνων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχῶν

38. A 6 τῶν μοι [ἐ]δοκεῖόν πέξ Ἀπηλιῶτος κόμης Κέλλας τῶν
38. B 6 [μοι] ἐδοκεῖον πέξ Ἀπηλιῶτος κόμης Κέλλας τῶν

38. A 7 πρὸς ἀνου[κ]δομη] ὁδού νοῦ τοῦ καὶ Βορρᾶ [πηχέων τεκτοι-]

38. A 8 κῶν δεκ[ατ]ά[τε], Ἀπηλιῶτον καὶ Λυμὸς [πηχέων πέντε < καὶ > εἶκο-]
38. B 8 [δεκατ]έβη[τα], Ἀ[πηλιῶτον καὶ Βορρᾶ] [πηχέων εἶκοι] πέντε.

38. A 9 οἱ. Γειτόνες· Ἀπηλιῶτον εἴδοσ ἐμὸν Πο[νασαίον, Λυμὸς καμῆ-]
38. B 9 [Γειτόνες· Ἀπηλιῶτον εἴδοσ ἐμὸν Πο[νασαίον, Λυμὸς καμῆ-

38. A 10 λῶν Ὁμο[ν] Μέρας[ο]ς, Νότον οἰκία σου [καὶ νῦν καὶ ......]
38. B 10 [λῶν] Ὁμο[ν] Μέρας[ος, Νότον οἰκία σου καὶ νῦν καὶ ......] ν σου,

38. A 11 σοῦ, Βορρᾶ ρόμη δημοσία, ἢ οἱ ἐν ὅψι [γειτονες πάντοθεν,]
38. B 11 Βορρᾶ ρόμη δημοσία, ἢ οἱ ἐν ὅψι γειτονες πάντοθεν,

38. A 12 πρὸς τό ἔξω[αι σου] ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ κυριω[ὺ]ν αὐτοῦ καὶ]

38. A 13 διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περί τοῦ χαρισθ[έν]τος σου τότοι]
38. B 13 διοικεῖν ἐξει[διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περί τοῦ χαρισθ[έν]τος]

38. A 14 ἐκουσιὼ γνώμη τρόπῳ ὁ ἐναν αἰρή, τῆς β[εβαιότευσες]
38. B 14 σοι τότοι ἐκουσιὼ γνώμη τρόπῳ ὁ ἐναν αἰρή τῆς β[εβαιο-
The more important divergences between the two copies are in 1. 8 (where 38.b is incorrect in the indication of the neighbours, while 38.a uses an slightly unusual form for the numeral ‘twenty five’) and 1. 13 where 38.b inserts ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν. In 1. 22 38.b adds an extra-element ὁ προκείμενος.

39: SALE OF PART OF AN ORCHARD

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 92.15 (House 3, room 1.a, level 2). In the frame are two fragments. Frag. I: 12.3 x B. 9 cm. Margin at the top 2, at the right ca. 1 cm. At least 3 vertical folds are preserved, while the fragment has broken on a fold at the left. Frag. II: H. 7.5 x B. 3.2 cm. Margin at the left 7.5, at the bottom ca. 2 cm. The verso is blank.

NB: the two fragments may not belong together.
Frag. I:

1 [Αὐρήλιος Ν.Ν. καὶ Ν.Ν. sons of -]υς ἀπὸ κώμης Κέλλεως
2 [τῆς Μωθιτῶν πόλεως] Αὐρήλιῳ Πεβότι Παμοῦρ
3 [ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς (?) χαῖρειν.]
4 [Ὅμολογοῦμεν πεπρακόντα] έ]πὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξῆς
5 [έκπυρτα χρόνον — — — — — τὸ ἐβδομὸν μέρος κηπίου ἅπαρχον
6 [ημίων] γείτονες Νότου ψυλός ἡμῶν, Βορρά ψυλός ἡμῶν τάλων,
7 [Λιβός — — — — — — — Απηλώτου] ψυλός Ἡλία ἐλθόντος εἰς ἡμᾶς
8 [ἀπὸ κληρονομίας (?) τιμῆς] τῆς συμπεδόφοινημένης
9 [ἀργυρίων Σεβαστο-] ταλάντων πεντα]κισχιλίων, γι'(νετεί) (τάλ.) Ε',
10 [καὶ εὑδο]κούμεν καὶ πεπει-
11 [σμεθά πρὸς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν σε ἐπὶ]κρατεῖν τοῦ πραθεύ-
12 [τοῖς] σοι μέρους ἀ]μα τοῦ μέρους τῶν
13 [καὶ] ἐξεῖναι σοι διοικκάν καὶ ἐπιτελεῖαν περὶ αὐτοῦ τρόπ[φ]
14 [ἡ εἰν αἰρή,] TRACES

5 ὅπαρχον Παπ. 9 πεντα]κισχιλίων 14 ἄν

Frag. II:

15 προο[]
16 ἀγουσ[]
17 κυρία[
18 ἰερακ[] εὑδοκῶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγε[-
19 γραμμ[ένος ὡς πρόκειται.]
20 Αὐρή[λιος Ν.Ν. ἀπὸ — — — — — — —]
21 ἐγραφ[α] ὑπὲρ αὐτ — γράμματα μὴ εἰδότ-.]

18 ἰερακ Παπ.

(L. 1-14) “Aurelius N.N., from the village of Kellis belonging to the city of the Mothites, to Aurelius Pebos son of Pamour, from the same village, greetings. I agree that I have sold (?) to you from now on for all of the future the seventh part of an orchard which belongs to us. Its neighbours are: to the South an empty plot of land belonging to us, to the North an empty plot of land belonging to us again, to the West —, to the East an empty plot of land belonging to Elias. The plot has come to us from an inheritance ...; the price agreed upon is five thousand Imperial silver talents, 5000 (tal.). -- and we agree and we are satisfied with regard to your henceforward owning the share (?) which has been sold to you --- with the part of the --- and that you may dispose and manage it in whatever way you prefer --.”

This incompletely preserved papyrus contains a contract of sale (cf. l. 4) of a seventh part of an orchard. The situation of the orchard within the territory of the village of Kellis is rather precisely indicated and it is worth noticing that both at the South
and at the North empty plots of land (ψιλοί, sc. τόποι) adjacent to this orchard are owned by its sellers. The size of the orchard sold is unknown and five thousand talents paid for only a 7th share in such an orchard may seem at first sight a lot of money; on the other hand, the precise date of this transaction is now lost and especially during the 2nd half of the 4th century 5000 talents did not buy very much (in PSI VIII 959 [ca. 385-388], e.g., wine was sold at 4000 Tal./knidion and in P.Oslo III 88 [ca. 360-375] the price of gold was 15,000 Tal./solidus, cf. R.S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt 66 [wine], 62 [gold]).

1. We must be dealing with a plurality of persons, cf. 1. 4n. It is likely that the name of the father ended in the genitive on -οχος; restore, e.g., Πλωυτογένοις or Πλωυτός (these names are frequent enough in the onomasticon of Kellis).

2. For the reading cf. 20.3-5n. The length of the restoration at the left (15 letters) does not allow the restoration of an extra word like κόμης in the lacuna at the left of 1. 3 (now already 18 letters).

4. The phrasing ἄκρο τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἔξοδος ἄπαχτα χρόνον indicates that one must be dealing here with a sale; cf. also 1. 11ff., where future property rights are being described. The restoration of the plural Ὀμολογούμεν should be compared with 1. 6, ἡμῶν, 1. 7, ἡμᾶς, and with the plurals in ll. 10-11, ἐδοξοῦμεν καὶ τεκαί-σεμαθα.

5. For κῆπον = 'orchards' in the Oases cf. G. Wagner, Les Oasis d’Egypte 116 and 289. They are not often referred to elsewhere in the Greek papyri from Kellis. According to the description of the neighbours of the present orchard it was situated in the middle of some empty plots of land (maybe on the outskirts of the village?).

The structure of the text in this and the following lines is not altogether clear. On the basis of parallel documents one expects τὸ ὑπόχρεον ἡμῶν ἐξδομὸν μέρος κηπίου, ὅν γείτονες κτλ., but there is not enough space to restore ὑπόχρεον ἡμῶν in the lacuna in 1. 5 (dropping the superfluous stop-gap word ἄπαχτα could remedy this), and its restoration would seem tautological in view of the preserved ὑποχρεο in the end of the line.

6. The use of πᾶλιν is a bit unusual. More often one finds in such an enumeration of owners of adjacent plots, where an owner owns similar property at more than one side, some form of the word ἄλλος used (i.e.: ἄλλος ψιλός ἡμῶν).

7-8. The phrasing ἐλθόντος εἰς ἡμᾶς (= ‘coming to us’) found after the indication of some property indicates the source of the present ownership (cf. 34.6n.), i.e. its coming from, e.g., an inheritance. For that reason we have tentatively restored ἐντὸ κελαιτοφρίνα in the lacuna; after that one would expect an indication of a deceased person (‘father’, ‘mother’, etc.), but one may, of course, prefer restoring, e.g., ἐντὸ δεκαίου ὡρίς = ‘by right of sale’. It should be noted that here the genitive ἐλθόντος goes apparently with κηπίου (1. 5), though it might seem more logical to see the words τὸ ἐξδομὸν μέρος in that same line being followed by a accusative participle, sc. ἐλθὼν εἰς ἡμᾶς. There is no reason to think that ἐλθόντος εἰς ἡμᾶς should be taken with Ἡλίας.

9. Restore either Σεβαστοῦ or Σεβαστῶν.

10-14. For the phrasing restored here cf. 34.9ff.

14. It seems just possible to read at the end of this line [χικ] [πεν i.e. part of the formula τῆς βεβαιώσεως ἐξακολουθούσης μοι] δι’ αυτής τῶν εὐθυμίων τοῦ ἐπελευσμένου κτλ., cf. 34.14-15.

15ff. It is uncertain whether this fragment really belongs to the same text as ll. 1-14. Given the extant remains of restorable text it looks likely that somewhere in ll. 17-18 a second hand started writing the subscription for the selling party, after a professional scribe had written the body of the contract itself. Indeed, it seems not excluded that one may connect the writing of ll. 1-14 with the writing preserved in ll. 15-17, but there is little material for a thorough palaeographical comparison.

21. Should one read αἰτῶν, εἰδές or αἰτῶν, εἰδότων (cf. the plural in ll. 1, 10)?
40 - 47: LOANS OF MONEY

On the subject of loans of money in general there is a considerable bibliography; for the principal works, see now H.-A. Rupprecht, Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde (Darmstadt 1994) 118ff., 127f.

In general the loan contracts from Kellis follow the phrasings found in loan contracts from the Nile valley. No contract has been cancelled by way of chiasmus, while 40.10, 41.15, 42.26 and 45.18 state in unambiguous terms that the contract had been drawn up in a single copy (cf. also 43.28 and 44.16); some of the loans (42, 44; possibly also 43) concern money apparently borrowed in the village of Aphrodite by members of the family living at Kellis in House 3 who had moved (at least temporarily) to the Nile valley. In order to explain the presence of these texts at Kellis in this house it must be assumed that the original contracts were just returned by the creditor to the debtor after his repayment of the loan; the debtor then took the original with him back to Kellis.

An interesting phenomenon in these loan contracts from Kellis is the fact that the interest rate mentioned in them is sometimes considerably higher than the legal interest rate (in Roman times regularly 12% / year, cf. H.E. Finckh, Das Zinsrecht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri [Diss. Erlangen 1962], §§ 6, 7). An investigation into interest levels found in other 4th-century loan contracts yields the remarkable result that in virtually all short-term loans from this century the interest rate can be calculated as having been significantly higher than the legal rate. The following table and discussion will be instructive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P. Amst. I 44</td>
<td>9 Tal., - Dr.</td>
<td>8? months</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGU III 941</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BGU III 943</td>
<td>1 sol.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bad. II 27</td>
<td>13 Tal., 400 Dr.</td>
<td>8 months</td>
<td>- %/month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bad. II 28</td>
<td>373 Tal., 2000 Dr.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Charite 33</td>
<td>1300 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Charite 34</td>
<td>640 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>- % p.month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Coll. Yout. II 82</td>
<td>500 Tal.</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>10 T./month or 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T. /month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Gen. I 12</td>
<td>1 sol.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>dr. for penalty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Giss. I 53</td>
<td>4 sol.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Grenf. II 72</td>
<td>2 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Haun. III 56</td>
<td>15 sol.?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Laur. III 76</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Lips. 12</td>
<td>60 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Lips. 13</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1/3 gramma gold/month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Lips. 14</td>
<td>850 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Lond. II 153</td>
<td>1000 Dr.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Lond. III 870</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Mich. XV 728</td>
<td>2 sol.</td>
<td>'undetermined'</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P. Nepheros 32 (344)</td>
<td>80 Tal.</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Oslo II 41 (331)</td>
<td>53 T., 1000 Dr.</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Oxy. VII 1041 (381)</td>
<td>4200 Myr. Den.</td>
<td>1.5 month</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Oxy. X 1318 (308)</td>
<td>5000+ Dr.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Oxy. XII 1495 (IV)</td>
<td>ca. 40 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Oxy. XIV 1714 (IV)</td>
<td>110? Tal.?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Oxy. XIV 1716 (333)</td>
<td>300 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Panop Köln 21 (315)</td>
<td>11 Tal., 300 Den.</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>'Without interest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Sakaon 64 (307)</td>
<td>3.5 Tal.</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>- % /month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Sakaon 65 (328)</td>
<td>78 Tal.</td>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>- % /month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Sakaon 66 (328)</td>
<td>340 Tal.</td>
<td>2 months</td>
<td>- % /month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Sakaon 96 (303)</td>
<td>4320 Dr.</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>- % /month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Select. 7 (314)</td>
<td>6.5 Tal.</td>
<td>1 month?</td>
<td>- % /month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSI III 215 (339)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSI VII 841 (IV)</td>
<td>400 Dr.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSI IX 1078 (356)</td>
<td>4000 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Stras. 278 (316)</td>
<td>- Tal., 200 Dr.</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Stras. 817 (340)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Wash. Univ. I 23 (IV/V)</td>
<td>1 sol.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB I 4652 (304)</td>
<td>1 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB IV 7338 (300)</td>
<td>3000 Dr.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB VI 9191/9270 (337)</td>
<td>87 or 7 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB X 10655 (IV)</td>
<td>1120 Myr. Den.</td>
<td>1-8 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB XIV 1185 (326)</td>
<td>35 Tal.</td>
<td>8 months</td>
<td>11 Tal., 4000 Dr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 (364)</td>
<td>5000 Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>500 Tal./month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 (382)</td>
<td>1 sol.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>7200 Tal./year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 (IV)</td>
<td>1 Myr. Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To be excluded from this list is P. Ant. II 102 [ed. 390, but cf. BL VIII 9: 445], a loan of an unknown number of solidi for an unknown period at an interest of 5+ myr. den.

Repayment in kind for loans of money is promised in the following loan contracts which cannot easily be used for calculating interest rates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Repayment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P. Rain. Cent. 86 (381)</td>
<td>5 sol.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>5 bundles of flax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Col. VII 177 (326)</td>
<td>7 Tal.</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>1 Art. vegetable seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Col. VII 184 (372)</td>
<td>3600 Tal.</td>
<td>6? months</td>
<td>6 Art. barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB XIV 12088 (346)</td>
<td>50 Tal.</td>
<td>3-4 months</td>
<td>1.5 --- vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 (310)</td>
<td>2 Tal., 3000 Dr.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>To be repaid by performing services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 (386)</td>
<td>1 sol.</td>
<td>&lt;6? months</td>
<td>5 maria of oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 (IV)</td>
<td>1 Myr. Tal.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1 Art. wheat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Now, if (1) for the following discussion those documents are excluded beforehand in which a number of gold coins (solidi) are borrowed without any further specification of interest to be paid and if we restrict ourselves to amounts of money indicated in (billion) talents with or without an additional amount of drachmas, and if (2) we restrict ourselves to short term loans (in fact, there are not many long term loans in the list printed above), and if (3) we assume that (3.a) in the amounts of billion currency borrowed the (concealed) interest is included (i.e. that the amounts were actually paid out with a certain amount of money for interest deducted beforehand) and that (3.b) in a specific situation a ‘logical’ round sum (e.g.: 350 talents) was actually borrowed (rather than, say, 351 Tal., 3527 Dr.), it seems possible to make some calculations for reconstructing interest levels which are presented below in ascending order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.Bad. II 27 (316)</td>
<td>3 Tal., 400 Dr.</td>
<td>8 months</td>
<td>- % / month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.Panop.Köln 21 (315)</td>
<td>11 Tal., 300 Den.</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.Coll.Youtie II 82 (337)</td>
<td>500 Tal.</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>10 Tal. / month, 16 Tal., 4000 dr. / month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.Stras. 278 (316)</td>
<td>[1] Tal., 200 Dr.</td>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The (relatively small) amount of 400 drachmae suggests to us that the number of talents borrowed was 3 rather than 13, 23, etc. If the principal sum borrowed were 3 Tal. (= 18,000 Dr.) and interest was to be paid at 400 Dr. / 8 months > 600 Dr./year, the interest rate would be 3.333 % / year; this is very low. If, however, the principal sum = 2 Tal., 4000 Dr. (= 16,000 Dr.) and interest = 2,400 Dr., the interest rate = 15% / 8 months > 22.5% / year. With a principal sum of 2 Tal., 3000 Dr. and an interest of 3,400 Dr./8 months > 5,100 Dr./year the interest rate would be 34% / year. Such rates are definitely better, though these percentages are not paralleled (cf. below).

P.Coll.Youtie II 82 (337) | 500 Tal. | 7 months | 10 Tal. / month, 16 Tal., 4000 dr. / month |

On the basis of the interest sums indicated in the document itself it is easy to calculate that normal interest was 2% / month = 24% / year, while the penalty interest stood at 40% / year.

If 1 sol. has a value of 30,000 Tal. (see the note to l. 9), then the interest rate was 24% / year.

Given the amount of 200 drachmae (cf. above ad P.Bad. II 27) we calculate that the principal sum borrowed was 1 Tal. (the editor did not restore the numeral for the amount of talents), the interest for 1 month being 200 drachmae; this yields an interest...
level of 40% per year; cf. the next item. With a principal sum of 2 or even more Tal., 200 dr., it becomes virtually impossible to calculate a sensible interest rate.

P.Oxy. VII 1041 (381) 4,200 Myr.Den. 1.5 month ?
If the principal sum borrowed was 4,000 Myr.Den. and interest to be paid was 200 Myr.Den., then interest = 40% / year.

SB XIV 11385 (326) 35 Tal. 8 months 11 Tal., 4000 Dr. (= 11\(\frac{2}{3}\) Tal.)
The interest level in this text stands at exactly 50% / year; 11 1/3 Tal. interest for 8 months > 17.5 Tal. / year.

Interest was evidently 50% / year. For the date of the document, see C. Zuckerman in ZPE 100 (1994) 203.

P.Lips. 14 (391) 850 Tal. ? ?
Was the principal sum lent 800 Tal. and the interest 50 Tal. for a loan of 1 month? If so, the interest level would be 6.25% / month > 75% / year; but if the loan actually ran for 3 months (see the next item), the interest level would be 25% / year.

P.Sakaon 65 (328) 78 Tal. 3 months ?
If the principal sum lent were 65 Tal. and the interest for 3 months were 13 Tal., the interest rate is 20% / 3 months > 80% / year.

P.Sakaon 66 (328) 340 Tal. 2 months - % / month.
If the principal sum lent were 300 Tal. and the interest for two months was 40 Tal., then the interest rate was 80% / year.

P.Bad. II 28 (331) 373 Tal., 2000 Dr. ? ?
If the principal sum lent were 350 Tal. and the interest was 23,333 Tal., then the interest = 6 2/3 % of the principal sum. If, furthermore, the term of the loan is 1 month (cf. the next item), then the interest level was 80% / year. If, however, the term of the loan actually was 2 months, the interest level would drop to 40% / year.

P.Charite 34 (348?) 640 Tal. incl. ? - % / month
It is stated in the text that the 640 Tal. included interest. Was the principal sum lent 600 Tal. and was the interest 40 Tal.? If so, then interest is, again, 6 2/3 % of the principal sum and if the term of the loan was 1 month, then the interest level was 80% / year. If, however, the term of the loan actually was 2 months, the interest level would drop to 40% / year.
P. Oslo II 41 (331) 53 Tal., 1000 Dr. 1 month ?
If the principal sum borrowed was 50 Tal. and if the interest were 3 Tal., 1000 Dr.,
then interest = 76% / year. The reading of '1000 Dr.', however, seems doubtful; we
wonder whether the original reads (δρ.) 'T rather than (δρ.) 'A (1000 Dr. in this con-
text seems odd). Hence, if the interest is 3.5 Tal. / month, then the interest rate is 7% / 
month > 84% / year.

P. Sakaon 96 (303) 4320 Dr. 1 month -/
If the principal sum borrowed were 4000 dr. and if the interest were 320 dr., then the 
interest rate was 8% / month > 96% / year.

P. Select. [XIII] 7 (314) 6.5 Tal. 1 month? - % / month
If the principal sum borrowed were 6 Tal. and the interest were 0.5 Tal. for 1 month,
then the interest rate was exactly 100% / year.

P. Nepheros 32 (344) 80 Tal. 4 months ?
If the principal sum borrowed were 60 Tal. and the interest were 20 Tal., then the
interest rate was 100% / year. We fail to see an alternative ratio (here 3::1) between
the principal sum and the interest which would result into an acceptable rate of interest.

542 (364) 5000 Tal. ? 500 Tal. / month
The interest rate is clearly 120% / year.

P. Sakaon 64 (307) 3 Tal., 3000 Dr. 1 month - % / month
If the principal sum borrowed were 3 Tal. and interest was 0.5 Tal., then the interest
rate was even as high as 200% / year. If, on the other hand, the principal sum bor-
rowed were 20,000 Dr. (3 Tal., 2000 Dr.), 1000 Dr. / month for interest would have
represented an interest rate of 5% / month = 60% / year.

Certain patterns in these rates can be observed: interest rates of 24, 84, 96 and
120% are all multiples of 12 % / year). Likewise, 200% = 2 x 100 %, while 50% =
100% ÷ 2 and 75% is 1.5 x 50%, while 80% = 2 x 40% (or, for that matter, 40% =
80% ÷ 2) and 60% is 1.5 x 40%. The only interest rates which stand out are the
22.5% or 34% found in P. Bad. II 27, but they are close enough to 24% or 40 % to be
acceptable. Though it may be objected that some of the calculations seem rather artifi-
cial, there is in our opinion no good reason to look generally with great suspicion at
interest rates in 4th-century documents which are much higher than the usual 12%. In
times of inflation people may have wanted to limit the risks of money lending by
demanding considerably higher interest rates than the legal rate. Moreover, in some
places and at certain times capital may have been short. It may be interesting to chart
the various years of the documents just discussed and the reconstructed interest rates
calculated:
303: 96%
307: 60 % or 200%?
314: 100%
315: 24%
316: 22.5% or 34%, 40%
326: 50%
328: 80%, 80%
331: 80%, 84%
337: 24, 40% (penalty interest)
338: 100%
348?: 80 or 40%?
364: 50%, 120%
381: 40%
382: 24%
391: 25 or 75%?

In concluding we wish to observe that nowadays short term loans for, e.g., bridging finance are usually at a higher % annualised than long term loans. Was the same practised in Antiquity?

40: FRAGMENT OF A LOAN (?)

(306/307)

P.Kellis inv. P. 51.E # 1 (House 3, room 9, level 3, East wall). H. 22 x B. 4.8 cm. Margins: at the left 2, at the bottom 2.5 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers, the verso is blank.

1 Αἰρήλιον καὶ Ταψάς
2 ἀμφότεροι ἀπὸ κόμης Ν.Ν. Ὥμολογοῦμεν ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ εἰς ἰδίαν καὶ ἀναγκαίαν
3 ἡμῶν χρείαν
4 διὰ τῆς κηρ.
5 καὶ μηδε.
6 δὸν αὐξ.
7 λων τῶν
8 ἐδὺ δὲ τις[
9 τὸ ἲνα[. Κυρία ὡμολο-
10 γία ἀπλ[ἡ γραφεῖα καὶ βεβαιὰ καὶ ἐννομας καὶ ἐπερω-]
11 τηθεῖτε[ς ωμολογησαμεν.
12 (Ἐτούς) ῬΕΣ// καὶ [γΕΣ// καὶ αΣ// τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανου]
Though this fragmentarily preserved papyrus does not contain many clues for establishing its precise nature there is some reason to regard it as the remains of a loan contract, cf. ll. 9-10, ὀμολογιᾶ εἰς and l. 17, ἀπότελεσμα (in the subscription by what we take to be the lending parties; for the plural cf. ἀμφότεροι in l. 2); hence we restore in ll. 2-3: [ - - . Ὑμῶν χρήσαι, 'we acknowledge that we have borrowed from you for our private and immediate use' (for formulas found at the start of loans of money cf. in general P.Sta.Xyla p.47 (some of the formulas, however, listed there do not have anything to do with loans). The restorations of 36 letters in l. 10, 32 letters in l. 12, 42 [!] letters in l. 13 and 36 letters in l. 19 are all modelled after parallels in other Kellis papyri. At the same time they show that the restoration as printed in the lacuna of l. 2 (58 + ? letters) is much too long and that some shorter, though similar phrasing must have been written there originally. Unfortunately it does not seem possible to propose further suggestions for a complete and convincing restoration of the original text of the papyrus.

1. For the restoration at the end of this line cf. ll. 15-16.
8. Is this perhaps the start of a penalty clause?
9-11. For the kyria-formula as restored here cf. 37.12f. note.
12-14. For this much restored regnal formula of the emperors Galerius, Severus and the Caesars Maximinus and Constantinus (apparently the standard formula in use under their reign) cf. R.S. Bagnall & K.A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt*, Missoula 1979 (BASP Suppl. 2) 31. Should we, in order to shorten the formula, omit Σεβαστῶν, like in 2.6?

41: LOAN OF MONEY WITH PARAMONE CLAUSE

(12.vii.310)

P.Kellis inv. P. 61.AA + L+M (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 25 x B. 17 cm. Margins: at the top 2.5, at the left 3, at the bottom (in which line 31 was written) 3 cm. Dark-brown papyrus, inscribed with brownish ink. The sheet was folded 6x vertically and 3x horizontally. A join is visible on the right hand margin. The verso is blank. For organizational purposes the papyrus was previously referred to as 'P.Kellis 64'.
Ἀυρήλια Ἐιερακείενα Τασθήθιος Κατίτ[ω]ν

1. Ἀπὸ Μοβίτων τόλεως καταμένουσα ἐν ἐποκий

2. Πμοῦν Τάμετρα Ἀυρήλια Παμούρ Ψάρτος

3. Ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλλεως τοῦ Μοβίτ[ο]ν νομῶ

4. χαῖρει[ν]. Ὁμολογῶ ἀσχηκαίναι καὶ δεδανίσθαι

5. ἔπαι σοι διὰ χαιρὸς εἰς ἴδιαν μου καὶ ἀνανκαίαν

6. χρεῖαν ἀγρυγίου Σβαστῶν νομίζοματος ἐν

7. νοῦμους τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμᾶς τρισέκλησι

8. δὲς μοι παραμέναι σοὶ ἐργασοῦμην. <ν> ἀντὶ τῶν

9. τῶν καὶ ἐντονημένων ἐπὶ σοῦ κατὰ τὰ [ἐστιν]

10. μέναν ἀντὶ τῶν τόκων ἔχω ἀποδόσεως πνεύμων

11. κοιμημένον καιφαλέαν ἐπὶ πτόου θέλης ἄτοκα

12. ταπαθῆς σοὶ ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ χωρὶς ἑστατῶς εὐ

13. ροσιλαγίας ἀνακομμασθείσης ταύτα μου τὰ

14. γράφματα ἀκλά γραφέντα ἐφ' ὑπογραφής

15. τοῖς παραπέμπεταις ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ κάτω ὑπογράφῃ]

16. φορταὶ ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ ὑπογραφῆς φίλου, ἀκο"π

17. κύριε ἀντὶ καὶ βαῦσα ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατα

18. κειμένη καὶ ἐπερωθηθείσα ὁμολογής[ς].

19. Ἱσταίας Ἀγησίνιος 'Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ Ποιμηνίου Ἀπόθου

20. τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐτάρχων τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτορίου,

21. τρὸ δ Ἐδών Ἰουλίων ὃ ἐστὶν Ἐφιφ ἐν κατ' Ἐλλην(ας).

22. Ἀυρήλια Ἐιερακείενα ἡ προκειμένη Ἀυρήλιος Παμούρ

23. τὸ προκειμένῳ ἐπαινεσάμην παρὰ σοῦ τὰ τοῦ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμᾶς <τ> μαυσωλείας συμπεπτα

24. ρούσης μοι Σεμίνης γυναικὸς Σβιτόλλου ἀπὸ Μοβί

25. τῶν τόλεως καὶ ἐθέμην τὴν ὁμολογίαν αὐτῶν

26. ἐτὸς τοὺς προκειμένους ὅρους καὶ ἐπερωθηθείσα ὁμο

27. λόγοςα. Ἐγραφά υπὲρ αὐτῆς Ἀυρήλιος Πι[ ]

28. Íωνος ἀπὸ Μοβίτων τόλεως ὃ καὶ τὸ σῶμα γράφης.

(In bottom margin):

31. Φαώφι ἐν κατὰ 'Εγνυτίους.

1 (and 23) Ἰσαρίανα, Κατίτωνος 4 νιμοῦ 5 ἄδαχκαναι, δεδανείσθαι (θαυ ex corr.?!) 6 ἀναγκαίαν 8 (and 25) τρυπίλιας 9 μὲ παραμέναιν, ἐργασομεῖν <ν> : -

η- ex corr. 9-10 τοῦ τόκου τοῦ τόκου 10 ὑπερτουμεῖν ὑπὸ σε 11 τοῦ τόκου, ἀποδόσεως 12 κεφαλαίοι, ὡστεν 13-14 εὐρήπημογιας 14 ἀνακομμαθείν 15 ὑπογραφῆς: -ης oddly written (corr. from -αι?) 16 παρενεχθέντος, ὑπ.: -τ ex -ε 17

-φορτος 18 κύρια, βέβαια 18-19 κατακείμενα 21 πραιτορίου 22 Ἐπιείφ 24 ἐδανεισάμην 27 καὶ ex corr. 30 Ίωνος Pap. 31 Αἰγυπτίους

"Aurelia Hierakiaina alias (or: daughter of?) Tasechthis, daughter of Kapiton, from the city of the Mothites, residing in the hamlet of Pmoun Tametra to Aurelius
Pamour son of Psais, from the village of Kellis in the Mothite Nome, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received and borrowed from you in cash for my private and immediate use of silver Imperial money in nummi two talents and three thousand drachmae on condition that I shall stay with you working instead of (paying) interest and being at your service according to the standing agreements instead of (paying) interest until repayment of the aforementioned principal sum or whenever you wish I shall refund you without delay and without looking for pretexts if you hand over this document of mine drawn up in a single copy signed by a friend/signer who was invited by me and who signed on my behalf. Let this document be authoritative and guaranteed, as if it were deposited in a public archive, and having been asked the formal question I have assented. In the consulate of Statius Andronicus and Pompeius Probus, viri clarissimi, praefects of the imperial praetorium, on the 4th day before the Ides of July, which is the 18th Epeiph according to the Greeks. I, the aforementioned Aurelia Hierakiaina, to the aforementioned Aurelius Pamour: I have borrowed from you the two silver talents and three thousand drachmae, while at the same time Semne, the wife of Sibityllus from the city of the Mothites, was present for me, and I have made the agreement about these (sc. 2 Tal., 3000 dr.) on the aforementioned conditions and having been asked the formal question I have assented. I, Aurelius Pison of -ion from the city of the Mothites, have written on her behalf, as I have also written the body (of the contract)."

1. It is difficult to believe that Aurelia Hierakiaina really was a Greek woman (as the name Hierakiaina itself might suggest) rather than an Egyptian woman; the name 'Hierakiaina' may have been a calque into Greek of an Egyptian theophoric name. The name Ταυγύκθιαος itself seems to point to Egyptian connections (note the prefix Τα-), but it is unclear what the element Ταυγύκθιαος in the (undeclined?) name stands for. Was Ταυγύκθιαος an alias of Hierakiaina, though without the usual ἣ καὶ vel sim. intervening (on alias-names in Kellis cf. 24.17n., 71.39-40n.)? In that case Kapiton must be regarded as her father's name. It is, however, also conceivable that Hierakiaina had no legal father and that only the name of her mother (= Ταυγύκθιαος) was indicated. If that idea is correct, Kapiton must have been her grandfather (despite the dative Καπιτόνιον he cannot be the addressee of the document, cf. I. 3).

3. The village Πηλίττον Τάμετρος is also mentioned in the Harvest Account Book from Kellis, I. 345 (ed.princ.: Πηλίττον Τάμετρος). For Πηλίττον Τάμετρος = 'the water' = cf. G. Wagner, Les Oasis d'Egypte, 29, 180, et alibi; Mr. O. Kaper who is studying place names in the Dakhleh Oasis (cf. his article in BIFAO 92 [1992] 117-132) informs me, that the second element Τάμετρος is probably related to the goddess Demeter. He compares Ταμετρίν in E.Bresciani, l'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos, I (Milano 1975) 16-17 # 16.

For Aurelius Pamour(is) son of Psais, see the family tree at p. 51.

4. This is the earliest attestation of a separate Mothite province. In the three centuries of Roman government of Egypt the Dakhleh Oasis was a province apparently administered by the provincial strategus (στρατηγὸς Ὀδοὺς Ὑβαίδος) residing in Hibis; his right-hand man, the 'basilikos grammateus', may have resided in the Dakhleh Oasis (cf. G. Wagner, Les Oasis d'Egypte, 254); if so, he may have had his office in Mothis. Among the papyri from Kellis one finds the following references either to a Μωθιτῆς οἰκὸς or a Μωθιτῶν πόλις (for the 'equivalence' of these indications cf. 20.3-5n.).
Furthermore, one finds the following attestations outside the Kellis papyri:

Furthermore, one finds the following attestations outside the Kellis papyri:

On the other hand, one finds in 2 (301) and in P.Grenf. II 74 (302) a reference to the Hibite Nome; it looks, therefore, as if at some moment before 301 the Great Oasis was split up into two separate provinces, the Hibite and the Mothite nomes. Perhaps this administrative reorganization was linked to the reorganization which caused the separation of the Thebaid from Northern and Central Egypt shortly after 297 (for a discussion of the chronology cf. J.Lallemand, L'administration civile 44f.; A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire I 43; cf. also 19.b).

7-8. The principal sum borrowed (2 Tal., 3000 drachmas = 15,000 Dr.) was actually paid out in nummi and as the value of that coin was at this time 25 Den. = 100 Dr./aummus (cf. R.S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt 24), 150 nummus coins actually went over the counter; cf. for the same phrasing also 31, introd. and 34, introd.

9-12. Instead of paying interest for the principal sum lent (άντι τὸῦ τόκου [i. τοῦ τόκου] Hierakiaina promises to stay with her creditor and work for him until the moment of repayment of the loan, a date for which is not set (εἰτέ ὡς μαι ταραμέναι [i. με ταραμέλαι] οἱ ἀργοσσομένης & οἱ ἀργοσσομένους ὑπὸ συν [i. ἀργοσσομένην ὑπὸ σε] --- ἄχρι ἀποδόσεως [i. ἀποδόσεως] τὸν προκείμενον καθάλογον [i. καθάλογον], ὡς ὅποτον θελέως ἀποκαταστάσησοι οἱ ἀναπερθέτισι κτλ.). It is not stated in the text that the 2.5 talents should be regarded as an advance payment (προχρεία) for services still to be rendered. Furthermore, it should be noted that in this contract no agreements are made about Hierakiaina being provided with food and clothing etc. during her stay with Aurelius Pamour, though such agreements are normal in the case of a Τραπαζί-contract. The loan simply runs for an indefinite period of time without a specified 'Tilgungsplan'. As ca. 310-320 male (!) laborers earned 300 drachmas/day (CPR XVII.A 9.a) the repayment of an amount of 2 talents, 3000 drachmas (= 15,000 drachmas) would have taken at least some 50 days. As females earned probably less, it may have taken Hierakiaina at least 2 months to pay back the money she borrowed.

For similar papyri from Byzantine Egypt with similar undertakings to perform work instead of paying interest, see in general P. Heid. V, Chapt. VII (p. 271ff.), ‘Arbeitsverpflichtungen und Darlehen’.

15-17. The formula found here concerning the authority of the document being connected with its being signed by a hypographeus is unique among the Kellis papyri; for the hypographeus and his role, see 56, introd.

20-22. These are the consuls of 310, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE, s.a.; the first name of the first consul should have been spelled 'Tatius'; 4 Id. Jul. (= 12.vii) = Epeiph 18 ‘according to the Alexandrian calendar’; cf. also l. 31, where one finds a new date to Phaophi 18 ‘according to the Egyptian calendar’. This date is in fact incorrect, as in 310 Epeiph 18 ‘according to the Alexandrian calendar’ equals Phaophi 6 rather than Phaophi 18 (in 310 the Egyptian calendar was 83 days ahead of the Alexandrian calendar). One cannot escape the impression that in l. 31 the numeral ‘18’ with Phaophi was copied mistakenly from Epeiph 18 in l. 22. On the use of the traditional Egyptian and the Alexandrian calendars cf. D. Hagedorn - K.A. Worp in ZPE 104 (1994) 243-255.

25-26. In these lines one encounters the remarkable phenomenon that apparently a woman (Semne, the wife of a certain Sibityllos) is assisting Hierakiaina, rather than a male as expected (a female οὐνεστός
occurs also in P.Stras. 142 = SB V 8024.4-5, 23, where a mother assists a daughter involved in a divorce procedure. Furthermore, the verb *ovvEmropeipi* (not listed in LSJ) is an *addendum lexicis*; cf. also its restoration in 19.a.4. For recent discussions of the role of a *suneutōs* or *susemparw*, see E. Kutzner, *Untersuchungen zur Stellung der Frau im römischen Oxyrhynchos* (Diss. Münster 1987), Frankfurt/Main 1989, 79ff., esp. 93-94, and J. Beaucamp, *Le Statut de la Femme à Byzance (4e - 7e siècle)*, II: *Les pratiques sociales* (Paris 1992) passim, esp. 251 - 257. After the Constitutio Antoniniana the terms *suneutōs* and *susemparw* begin to appear; their function seems to have been more or less similar to that of a *kírós* (= ‘guardian’; for him cf. in latest instance H.A. Rupprecht, *Zur Frage der Frauentutel im römischen Ägypten*, Festschrift A. Kränzlein [Graz 1986] 95-102), but their status was not identical. Obviously, in our contract Semne cannot have had the function of a legal *kírós* of Hierakiaina, but must have been present only for moral support (she does not even subscribe for Hierakiaina, cf. below II. 29-30n.). On the other hand, it is not stated that Semne acted as a witness to the contract, otherwise one would have expected a formula like ‘Σεμνὴ ἡ προκειμένη ἐκφύτησθαι’.

The name Semne does not occur frequently and the name Sibityllos is an *addendum onomastici papyrologici*.

29-30. For the statement that a *hypographeus* also wrote the body of the contract cf. 37.23, 44.26 and 45.36.

### 42: LOAN OF MONEY

*(15.ii.364)*

P.Kellis inv. P. 59.D (House 3, room 3, level 3) + P. 60.B (House 3, room 9, level 4). H. 26.3 x B. 12.5 cm. Writing parallel with the fibers. Margins: at the top 0.5, at the left and at the bottom 1 cm. The papyrus was folded 4 times horizontally, 3 times vertically.

1 Αὐρήλιος Παμ[ούρ] Πεμ[ούρ] Μ[υτρός]
2 Τακσος ἀπ[ο] κ[όμις Κέλλεως τής [Μω-]
3 θ[η]τ[όν πόλεως τής] Μεγάλης Ὄσσησις
4 νυνὶ ὀικῶν ἐν κόμη 'Ἀφροδίτης [το]ῡ
5 Ἀντιο[π]οίλιτον μελανχέτης κολ[ο]ῦδος
6 Αὐρηλίῳ Σοφίᾳ Βησά κυρτος Τα...ς
7 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Κέλλεως γὺν
8 διατριβοῦσθη ἐξ ἦ [αὐτῆ] κόμη ’Ἀφροδίτης χαίρειν.
9 Ὄμολογῳ ἐστηκέναι καὶ δεδαναίοθαι
10 παρὰ σοῦ ἐντεύθεν εἰς ἰδίαν ὑμνὸν καὶ
11 ἀναγκαῖον χρ[είαν καὶ] ἡμιθημοῦσαι διὰ
12 χειρὸς ἀργυρίῳ Σεβαστῶν νομισμάτως
13 τάλαντον πεπ[ταιμεχαλία, γ]ι[νεται] ἄργυρ[ιον] (τάλαντα) Ἐ
14 κεφαλα[ίον καὶ π]ιερέσι τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐπεργ[είας]
15 τοῦτων ἀποτάκτων κατὰ μίναν ἐκαστον
16 ἄργυριον τάλαντα πεπ[ταικόσια, (γ]ιν.) (τάλ.) φ,
17 ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκατοτόσης ἡμέρας τοῦ ὄντος
18 μηνὸς Μεσθίρ κ τῆς παρούσης ἡς
I, Aurelius Pamour son of Pamour and Takose, from the village of Kellis (in the territory) of the city of the Mothites in the Great Oasis, now living in the village of Aphrodite of the Antaiopolite Nome, with black hair, stocky, to Aurelia Sophia, daughter of Besas and Ta—, from the same village of Kellis, now residing in the same village of Aphrodite, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received and borrowed from you henceforth for my private and immediate use and that I have been paid in cash five thousand silver talents of money of the emperors, total 5000 silver Tal., as principal sum, and I shall provide you as fixed interest for these five hundred silver talents per every month, total 500 Tal., from the current day of the current month of Mecheir 20 of the current 7th indiction, until the repayment of the principal sum, and whenever you wish to receive the capital back from me, I shall return this to you together with the accumulated fixed amount or interest, without delay and without dispute, while my whole private wealth is sequestered for you until I repay my debt. I have handed over this contract, written in one copy, to you for your surety, while it is authoritative and guaranteed and in answer to the formal question I have assented. After the consulate of
Julian for the 4th time and of Fl. Sallustius vir clarissimus, praefect of the imperial praetorium, Mecheir 20. I, the aforementioned Aurelius Pamour son of Pamour, have received and owe the five thousand silver talents as capital and I shall repay (them) together with the accumulated interest, five hundred silver talents per month, and I agree with all the clauses of the contract as written above. I, Aurelius Pebos son of Tithoees from the same village of Kellis, have written for him as he does not know how to write." (Verso) “Pamour son of Pamour, from Kellis, 5000 silver Tal.”

2. The name Ta/cotre is listed neither in F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, nor in D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum, but it is probably just an undeclined variant of the well-known female name Tekwê/Teçûqê, cf. W.C. Till, Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden 214 s.n. Têkoqê; cf. also W. Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienteiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit, Leipzig 1901 [repr. Chicago 1978] 26* Nr 190, Πεκωύς = ‘the Ethiopian’.

3. For the relationship between the village of Kellis and the city of the Mothites cf. 20.3-5n.

4. On Aphrodite, see also 30, the notes to 32.3ff. and 44.3 and the introduction to 43.

5. The adjective μελαγχάτης is not yet listed in the papyrological dictionaries, but cf. LSJ s.v. (apparently the word was used predominantly by poets). For physical descriptions of persons as given in the papyri in general J. Hasebroek, Das Signalement in den Papyrusurkunden (Berlin-Leipzig 1921) is still authoritative; cf. also A. Caldara, I connotati personali nei documenti d’Egitto dell’età greca e romana (Milano 1924). The adjective κολοβάς has been translated here as ‘stocky’ (=short, undersized) but other translations are conceivable, cf. LSJ s.v.: was Pamour perhaps clubfooted?

14. The meaning ‘interest’ of the word ἐκτρόγιον seems to be new, cf. LSJ s.v. (the translation, however, given there for IG XII (7) 62.15 [Amorgos]: ‘work done in addition to payment of rent’ is not necessarily correct).

15ff. The interest of 500 Tal. / month paid on a principal sum of 5000 Tal. (at this time worth about 1/3 sol., cf. R.S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt 61-61) amounts to an interest rate of 120 % / year. This is much higher than what is commonly found as the legal interest rate in Roman Egypt (1 % per month, cf. H.E. Finkh, op.cit.).

18. The 7th indiction covers the year 363/4.


28. For the use of ήτα in the papyri cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn in ZPE 90 (1992) 241ff. It is probably no more than sloppiness which made the scribe omit the article τῆς before ἐπαρχεῖαν; it is noteworthy that here, too, τοῦ διαδότου ἡμῶν is not given before Julian’s name (cf. CLRE p. 68 n. 14); at the moment this text was written the emperor Julian was no longer alive (he died on 26.vi.363) and he was therefore no longer to be spoken of in terms of ‘Dominus Noster’.

31. Mecheir 20 in 364 (a leap year) = 15.ii.

37. Aurelius Pebos son of Tithoees, also occurs in 44.24 (382), where he also acts as a hypographeus for one of the contracting parties. There he has written even the whole body of the contract which is evidently not the case in this papyrus; cf. also 43, introd.
43: LOAN OF MONEY WITH MORTGAGE

(374 or 387?)

P. Kellis inv. P. 1 (House 3, room 6, level 1) + P. 43 (House 3, room 5, level 3). H. 25.2 x B. 6 cm.

The writing runs parallel with the fibers, the verso is blank. The papyrus is folded horizontally twice and at least once vertically. It may have been broken at the left on a fold; the second and the third folding are preserved, while the fourth folding is lost (I | II | III | IV).

1. [ ] áπο [κώμης]
2. [ ] κατομ[ένοντι ἐν κώμῃ Ἄφ-
3. ροδίτης τῷ Ἁρταίου[άν]τι[νι χαίρειν.
4. Ὄμολογος ἐξουκηκαίκεια καὶ δεδανείσθαι παρὰ
5. σοῦ εἰς ιδίαι μου κλαί αναγκαίαι χρείαιν
6. ἀργυρίῳ] ταλάντ[αν μυριάδα
7. ] ἦν κεφαλαίισι καὶ παρέξοι σοι ὑπὲρ
8. λόγου ἑτερεῖδες-τούτον κατὰ μήνα ἐκαστον
9. ἀργυρίῳ] ταλάντα ν[]
10. ] ντων ἀργυρ]
11. προς] τὸ τάφον η[.] λογιζομένου τοῦ χρόνου ἀπὸ τοῦ μηνὸς --
12. τῆς ἐκεινών[ῆς ORDINAL ἰδικτίων]
13. ἀχρὶ ἀπολόγεως το[ῦ] κεφαλαίου, ἢ καὶ ἀπο-
14. δῶσα χαρ[ίς τινος ὑπερθέσεως καὶ πάσης ἀντι-
15. λογίας ὑπόταν [ḥουλῆθης]
16. ] TRACES[
17. μυριάδας [][
18. ] γ(ντα) (ταλάντων) (μυριάδας) δ[
19. ] ησομένων[
20. τοῦ] χρόνου ὑποτίθε[μαι]
21. ] ν ἐρ[μός ἐπιβα[λλ]
22. ] ἦν πεντάς τῆς ωκί[ας]
23. ] ἔνα κατοικτήριν ἐμ[οῦ]
24. ἐλθὼν] εἰς ἐμὲ ἀπὸ κληρονομ[ίας τῆς ἀπογενο-
25. μέθης μο[ῦ] γυναίκος Ταύριος[]
26. ἢ τὸ ἀσφαλῖας τῆς ὀψιλῆ[ῆς ca. 5 τῶν προ-
27. κεμένων] ἀργυρίων σου. Τόδε τῷ χειρόγραφῳ
28. ἐξεδόμην] σοι πρὸς σὴν ἀσφαλίαν[αν κύριον πλούν γρα-
29. φών καὶ βέβαιοι καὶ ἐννομον [ἐφ’ ὑπογραφῆς
30. τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ υπογράφοιτος καὶ ἐπερωτήθεις
31. ὁμολόγησα]
32. Τατείας τοῦ] δεικτοῦ ἡμῶν []
33. τοῦ αἰωνίου] Ἀγαὐοῦστον τὸ γ[καὶ Φλ. τοῦ]
34. λαμπροτότα]ου, ἰδικτίων []
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

35 Αὐρ. Ν.Ν ὁ[ τροχείμενος ἔφε[χον
36 ] ταλάντων μυρ[άδα
37 Ἰγαχοῦ καὶ ἀκτοδῶ[ῶν ὡς τρόκευται.
38 Ἐγραφεὶν Αὐρήλιος Ἰο[βὸς ἀπὸ κώμης
39 Κέλλεως οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀφροδίτης κώμῃ
40 ἀξιωθεὶς ἐπὶ ἄρτων ἀπήμματα ἡ[ ἐιδότος.

25 ταῦρος Παπ. 26 ἀσφαλείας, ὅφειλής

“— from the village of — residing in the village of Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite nome, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received and borrowed from you for my private and immediate use n myriad(s?) of silver talents — as a principal sum and I shall provide you on account of interest for these 400 (?) silver talents — while the term (of the loan) is calculated from the month of — of the current nth indiction until the repayment of the principal sum, which I shall pay back without any protest of delay whenever you wish — total 4 (?) myriads of talents — I give in hypothec the nth part — near the house -- opposite me -- which came to me from an inheritance of my deceased wife Taïris -- for security of the debt -- of the aforementioned money of you. I have given you this contract for your security, which is authoritative in n copies and guaranteed and legal with the signature of the person who is signing for me and in answer to the formal question I have agreed. In the consulate of our lord N.N. the eternal Augustus for the 3rd time and of N.N., vir clarissimus, indiction n. I, the aforementioned N.N., have received -- n myriad(s?) of talents -- and shall pay back as written above. Aurelius Pebos from the village of Kellis, residing in the village of Aphrodite has signed for him at his request, as he does not know letters.”

This badly damaged papyrus contains a loan of money which is secured by a mortgage. Among the early Byzantine papyri this type of loan (cf. the discussion by R. Taubenschlag, Law² 277) is apparently not very common, but a parallel case is offered by P.Lond. III 870 (p. 235; Panopolis, 4th cent.); cf. also P.Flor. III 313 (Hermopolis, 449). The structure of the text (many of the proposed restorations are only tentative) can be analyzed as follows:

II. 1-3: opening of the contract, probably according to the scheme ‘A to B, χαιρείν’, with an indication of the provenance of the parties concerned. Party ‘B’ (the creditor?) apparently resided in a village situated in the Antaiopolite nome. Apparently the contract was taken from Aphrodite back to Kellis. This situation may be compared with 30 [363], 32 [364], 42 [364] and 44 [382], all mentioning contract parties living in the village of Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite nome (especially 44 offers in many respects a good parallel for our text, cf. also below, II. 38ff.); on this basis we have restored the same village name here;

II. 4-7: start of the loan contract with an indication of the amount of money borrowed;
II. 8-19: indication of the interest to be paid + indication of the moment the loan will have to be repaid (cf. 44.10ff.); after specification of further provisions concerning repayment follow

II. 20-27: start of the mortgage-part of the contract + description of the object given as mortgage (some kind of immovables, e.g. a house), which came into the present owner’s hands through an inheritance from his deceased wife Taüris;

II. 27-31: closing lines of the contract ending with the stipulatio-formula.

II. 32-34: consular dating + indiction; the dating formula referred to a consulate held by an emperor who was consul for the 3rd time and by a private person. When we take 382 (the date of 44) as a point of departure (cf. below ad II. 35-40), such a situation occurred 8 years earlier in 374 (Gratianus Aug. III & Fl. Equitius), 5 years later in 387 (Valentinianus Aug. III and Eutropius) or 11 years later in 393 (Theodosius Aug. III & Fl. Abundantius). In view of the space available in the lacuna to the right of l. 33 it looks more likely that one should restore between Φλ(αυνίο) and τού the name Έκυριο (7 letters) or Ευροπριο (9 letters), rather than Αβουνδακτιο (12 letters). If, however, Φλ(αυνίο) and τού were never written (cf. 45.24-26n.) the situation is different. The year 374 was covered partly by the 2nd, partly by the 3rd indiction, while the year 387 was covered partly by the 15th, partly by the first indiction;

II. 35-40: signature of the debtor, written in fact (II. 38-40) by his hypographeus (Αύρηλος Πεδίς) who may be the same person as the one who wrote 44.23ff., Αύρηλος Πεδίς; it deserves attention that in both texts Pobos apparently wrote both the corpus of the contract and the subscription (though in the present text there is not enough room for restoring a formula [ό καὶ τὸ σῶμα γράφας] after l. 40 of this text. It also deserves attention that the handwriting of 43 and 44 is not obviously identical.

1-3. At the end of line 2 / start of 1. 3 we have restored 'Αφ-[ ] ροδίτης τοῦ 'Αντιωνο[λίτου, but it is uncertain, that one should restore the village name in the lacuna of l. 1-2 as Κέλλας τοῦ Μουτίν τοῦ νομοῦ / τῆς Μουτίν μηλίς.

6. It is uncertain how many myriads of talents were borrowed; cf. 1. 18 in which mention is made of 4 (? myriads of talents (= 40,000 Tal.) in an uncertain context; comparing l. 9, in which 400 (?) Tal. are mentioned in an indication of interest one wonders whether the interest rate in this text was 1 % per month (400 Tal. = 1 % of 40,000 Tal.).

44: LOAN OF MONEY

(26.iv.382)

P. Kellis inv. P. 62.C (House 3, room 6, level 3). H. 28 x B. 17.5 cm. Margins: at the left 3, at the bottom 4, and at the top 1.5 cm. On both sides the writing runs parallel with the fibers, but the direction of the fibers in the margin at the left of the recto is vertical. Apparently, this is part of the first leaf of the original papyrus roll, the ‘protocolion’; on this, see E.G. Turner, The Terms ‘recto’ and ‘verso’. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll (Brussels 1978) 20f.
Aurelius Pekysis son of Psais, the son of Pamouris, and of Tapollos, from the village of Kellis belonging to the city of the Mothites in the Great Oasis, to Aurelius Antoninus from the same village in the same nome, living in the village of Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite nome, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received and borrowed from you for my private and immediate use one solidus of gold in legal tender as principal sum, total 1 sol. of gold, and I shall provide you on account of interest for this six hundred talents for each month, total 600 Tal., while the term of the loan is calculated from Pachon 1 of the current month of the current eleventh indiction until the repayment of the capital without any protest or any delay, while all of my wealth of every kind is held by you (until) when I shall repay you in full. I have handed over to
you for your surety this contract as being authoritative, provided with the signature of
the person who is subscribing for me, and in answer to the formal question I have
agreed. After the consulate of Eucherius and Syagrius, viri clarissimi, Pachon 1. I, the
aforementioned Aurelius Pekysis son of Psais, have received the single solidus of gold
as principal sum and I shall repay this together with the interest as stated above. I,
Aurelius Pekos son of Tithoes, from the same village (Kellis), (now) living in the village
of Aphrodite, after having written the body of the contract, have signed for him at
his request as he does not know letters.” (Verso) “Contract of Pekysis son of Psais, 1
sol. of gold.”

1. For Aurelius Pekysis son of Psais and Tapollos, grandson of Pamouris, cf. the family tree at p. 51.
2-4. For the relationship between the village of Kellis and the city of the Mothites cf. 20.3-5n.
3. Aurelius Antoninus occurs only here. The fact that he was born in Kellis, but lived now in the village
of Aphrodite in the Anthiopolite nome finds parallels in other Kellis documents, cf. 32.4-5 (lease of a
room); 42.4 (cf. note ad loc.), 8; 43.39 (cf. introd.) [both loans of money]; cf. also the description of the
parties in 30. Apparently the contract was taken from Aphrodite back to Kellis.
8. For the term εἰκαστία = ‘interest’ cf. also 43.8 and 90.2; for the terminology concerning ‘interest’,
see in general H.E. Finckh, op.cit. 6.
9ff. The plural ταύταν at the start of l. 9 is not correct, as only 1 solidus is lent. If the interest on a prin-
cipal sum of 1 solidus is 600 Tal. / month, and if the interest level were 1% per month, then the ratio
bronze :: gold would be 100 x 600 = 60,000 Tal. / sol. In fact, the gold price in this period is ca.
2,160,000 Tal. / lb or (+ 72) 30,000 Tal. / sol. (PSI VIII 959-960, cf. R.S. Bagnall, Currency and
Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt, 62) Our conclusion must be, that the interest agreed in this loan
was 2% / month, i.e. 24% / year.
11-12. Pachon 1 = 26.iv, the 11th indiction = 382/3; apparently we are dealing with an indiction year
starting on Pachon 1 without this being indicated by way of a term like άπτια. For the start of the indi-
cation year cf. R.S. Bagnall - K.A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt (Zutphen 1978),
Chapt. IV.
14. The letters εψευ are superfluous. Maybe the scribe was reminded of λευτέως in l. 13.
15. έτοι means ‘when’, but here one would expect ‘until’ (‘My whole property is held by you, until I
shall repay you’).
16. A reading ω [πανδ]ερ] instead of ε[πανδ]ερ is not to be excluded, cf. 42.26 and 43.28ff. On loan con-
tracts drawn up in single copies cf. the introduction to 40 - 47.
19-20. For the (post-)consulate of Fl. Eucherius and Fl. Syagrius cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE, s.a. 381,
382; for Pachon 1 cf. il. 11-12n.
23f. An Aurelius Pekos son of Tithoes may also occur in the subscription of 43; cf. also the subscription
in 42 (364) and cf. 24.13 (352); though this is not indicated in 42.37, one might argue that he had
already moved from Kellis to Aphrodite before 364, as that contract was concluded between two persons
stating to be living in Aphrodite. It is, however, possible that they went back to Kellis temporarily for
some other purpose and had that loan of money subscribed there by Aurelius Pekos.
133

45: LOAN OF MONEY

(386)

P. Kellis inv. P. 62.A (House 3, room 6, level 3) + P. 77.B (House 3, room 6, level 4 East wall) + P. 79 (House 3, room 6, level 3) + P. 81.D+E + P. 93.B (all from House 3, room 6, level 4). H. 27 x B. 9 cm. Margins: at the top and at the left 1, at the bottom 2 - 3 cm. On both sides the writing runs parallel with the fibers.

1 [Α]ύρηλιος [Κατ]ίτων [Κατ]ίτωνος
2 [ό]το κόμης Κέλλεως καταμένον
3 [ ] εν [έ]τοι[κί]ώθω τιμ[ό] του Μωβίτου
4 νομού Αύρηλιών Σύρω Σάμι
5 {ο}Σύρω} ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ
6 προμοῦ χαίρειν. Ὀμολογώ
7 [έσ]χη[κέ]ιαι καὶ δεδομένου
8 [π]αρὰ σοῦ [εἰς] [ι]δίαν μου καὶ ἄναγκαι-
9 [α]χι [χει]τευ [χρυσοῦ νομισμά-
10 [το]υ] ἐν, γῆ(νεται) νομ(ματισίων) α, ἐφ' ὑμέ.
11 [παραδόω]σαι σοι υπὸ ἄρ τι μῆθς[γ]
12 [α]υτοῦ κα[ὴ]ρῳ τῆς [ ] ὑς εἰς
13 [ινδικ(τίνος) Ἐ]τείφ η[ε]ό[μηνία
14 [ἐ]λαιὸν μάρ][]α τέχτε, γι(νεται)
16 τῆς πεντεκαδεκάτης ἱδίκτυ-νὸς χο[ρίς] ἀντιλογίας. Κυρίας
17 ἡ άσφαλε[α] ἀτήλη γραφεία ἐδ['] ὑπο-
18 γραφῆς τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὑπογρά-
19 φοντος καὶ βεβο[ϊ]α καὶ ἔρ-
20 νομος [ὡς ἐν δημοσίω] κατα-
21 κειμένη[σ] καὶ ἐπερώ[τηθε']
22 ὀμολογήσανα.
23 Ἐσπάτῃς τοῦ δεσπότου ἦμῶν
24 Ὁμορφοὶ [τοῦ ἐπίψαυστή]τας
25 Καίσαρος κλ[αι Εὐσίδου λαμ[π]ροτάτου.
27 Αύρηλιος [Κατ]ίτων ὁ προκ(είμενος)
28 ἐσχόν τῷ [χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον]
29 ἐφ' ὑμέ με π[αραδόω]σαι ] σοι υπέρ
30 τιμῆς ο[υ]τοῦ ἐν μην Παύμιν τῆς
31 ἢν ἱδικ(τίνος) ἐλαιῶν μάρια τέχτε,
32 γῆ(νεται) μάρ[ια] ε, κ[λαι ἐπερωτήθεις
33 ὣ]μολογήσανα. Ἐγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτο[ῦ]
34 γραφόμαιται μὴ εἰδότος Αύρηλιος
35 Ἀνδρέας [κωμογραμματεῖς (?) τ]ῆς
"Aurelius Kapiton son of Kapiton, from the village of Kellis, residing in the hamlet of Thio—belonging to the Mothite nome, to Aurelius Syros son of Psais, from the same village from the same nome, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received and borrowed from you for my private and immediate use one solidus of gold, total 1 sol., on condition that in return for its price I shall provide you at the time of the 15th indication on the first day of Epeiph with five maria of oil, total 5 mar. of oil, measured with the chous-measure of Hibis of the fifteenth indication, without protest. This document is authoritative, written in one copy and signed by the person who is subscribing for me, and guaranteed and legal as if deposited in a public archive and I have answered the formal question positively. In the consulate of our lord Honorius nobilissimus Caesar and of Euodius vir clarissimus. I, the aforementioned Aurelius Kapiton, have received the solidus of gold on condition that I shall provide you in return for its price in the month of Pauni of the 15th indication five maria of oil, total 5 mar., and I have answered the formal question positively. I, Aurelius Andreas, village scribe (?) of Kellis, after having written the body of the contract, have signed for him at his request as he does not know letters." (Verso) "Aurelius Kapiton for 5 maria of oil."

In this document a loan of 1 solidus is recorded. Instead of repaying this gold coin with interest, the debtor promises to deliver 5 maria of oil. The term of the loan is problematic, cf. the note to 1. 12ff. For loans of money to be repaid in kind cf. in general R.S. Bagnall in GRBS 18 (1977) 85-96 and A. Jördens in ZPE 98 (1993) 263-282. Cf. for such documents from the 4th century also the introduction to 40 - 47.

1. An Aurelius Kapiton son of Kapiton does not occur in other exactly dated Greek papyri from Kellis, but there seems to have been a family relation between him and other members of the main family living in House 3, cf. 76.


This papyrus offers a late attestation of the existence of the Mothite Nome; cf. 41.4n.

4-5. Σήφωδ in 1. 5 seems to repeat mindlessly Σήφωδ in 1. 4, unless it is intended to indicate the grandfather's name belonging to Syros son of Psais (in that case one should read here Σήφωδ).

10-11. The construction here is irregular, as one expects an infinitive rather than an indicative after ἐφ' ἔμε (the same irregularity seems to occur in 46.9). After με the papyrus apparently has another letter, but a reading μέμε does not seem to make sense.
12ff. A combination of καυρὸς τῆς — ἱδρυκτίονος is unusual (cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch s.v. καυρός) and the reading of this passage is really uncertain; the word ἱδρυκτίονος itself has been restored at the start of l. 13, the preceding numeral is not very certain, and the word preceding that is much damaged; for καυρὸς τῆς — cf. also 18.9n.

The 15th indiction (l. 16, cf. l. 31) covers the years 386/387; as elsewhere in Upper Egypt the indiction year in the Dakhleh Oasis started probably on Pachon (May) 1 (cf. 44.11-12n., 19-20n.), but in light of the consular date of this document and of what we know about consular dating elsewhere in Egypt (cf. below, l. 24-26n.) there is a serious problem. Repayment of the loan of 1 solidus by way of a delivery of five maria of oil should take place in the month of Pauni (v-vi) of the 15th indiction (ll. 30-31), at any rate before the first day of the month Epeiph (25.vi.; cf. l. 16); with an indiction year starting on Pachon 1 that means ‘repayment before 25.vi.386’. If, however, the contract was written up some time after 26.vi.386, it follows that the delivery of oil in Pauni/before Epeiph would take place only in the summer of 387, i.e. at the start of the 1st indiction; the term of the loan would have covered at least 6 months (which seems regular in such loans), possibly even a full year. It is also worth noticing that the phrasing of the repayment in ll. 12ff. differs from the phrasing in Kapiton’s subscription, ll. 30-31. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the 15th indiction in l. 16-17 is separated by two lines from ‘Ἐξῆς φύλος ἵπποι’, l. 13, though these chronological indications seem closely connected with each other. Maybe, however, we should link the 15th indiction in l. 16 to the HIBite Chous-measure in l.15.

4-15. For μέριον as a measure of capacity of liquids like oil and wine cf. now O.Douch III 245.5n. and O.Ain Waqa 19.4n.; it is stated to be a diminutive form of μάρυς (cf. LSJ s.v.). According to F. Hultsch, Griechische und römische Metrologie2 [Berlin 1882] 564, 574, one Macedonian maris was 1/20 of a Babylonian maris of ca. 30 liter, i.e. ca. 1.5 liter, while one maris in Pontos was 30 = 2 = ca. 15 liter). 5 maria, therefore, would be either ca. 7.5 or ca. 75 liter. On the other hand, according to the Fragmentum Eusebianum (ed. F. Hultsch, Scriptores Metrologici I 1864, repr. 1971) 277.12) 1 maris = 20 sextarii (cf. W. E. Crum, Coptic Dictionary 183 s.v. MATPEC: 1 marion = 19 sextarii) and as 1 sextarius = ca. 0.5 liter, this would yield 1 marion = ca. 10 liter > 5 maria = ca. 50 liter (i.e. 33% less than ca. 75 liter). Finally, one finds in Polyaeus 4.3.32 that 1 maris = 10 choes; with 1 chous = ca. 3 liter (cf. below) 5 maria would be the equivalent of ca. 150 liter.

There should be, of course, a relationship between the value of the borrowed 1 solidus and the quantity of oil to be delivered (5 maria), and as it happens we know that 4 years later than this papyrus, in 390, 2 solidi were paid for the price of 80 sextarii ἐλαιοῦ χρηστοῦ = ca. 40 liter of ‘first-quality’ oil (P.Oxy. XIV 1759.2-3); 1 solidus, therefore was sufficient to buy ca. 20 liter of such oil. If in our papyrus 1 solidus was borrowed at an interest level of, say, 100% per year (cf. above, the introduction to 40-47 and ran for a whole year, one would expect that after a year 2x the amount of oil to be bought for 1 solidus had to be returned. With the situation in 390 as a point of departure one would think, then, that after a year 40 liter of oil had to be returned upon an initial investment of 1 solidus. Using this approach it can be ruled out that 5 maria were the equivalent of ca. 150 or even ca. 75 liter, while 7.5 liter of oil would be far too little; an amount of ca. 50 liter of oil returned for a loan of 1 solidus seems the best acceptable quantity, though even so it may seem rather large (and the interest level very high).

The ‘HIBite chous’-measure occurs here for the first time in the papyrus; no doubt it was based on a local standard measure. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly what precise capacity this measure had, but in general a chous contained ca. 3 liter.

24-26. This is the consulate of 386, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE s.a.; the latest attestation of a post-consulate in 386 in the Nile Valley dates from 26.vi (Oxyrhynchus, SB XVIII 13916), the first attestation of a consulate from 29.viii (Oxyrhynchus, P.Oxy. XXXIV 2715). It looks improbable that in the Dakhleh Oasis one would have had much earlier knowledge of the consular formula for this year than in Oxyrhynchus and we must conclude that our document was written some time after 26.vi.386; cf. also above, note to ll. 12ff.

It is remarkable that the formula in this text refers to Honorius as a Caesar, whereas the standard formula found in inscriptions and papyri from this year (cf. also the post-consular formula given in CLRE s.a. 387) refers to him as nobilissimus puer; it is also remarkable that the lacuna does not seem sufficiently large for restoring the expected Φλ(εωνίου) and τός (cf. also the note on 43.32-34 in the introduc-
tion to that text). For the phenomenon of a lacking indication of the exact month and day, see 8.13n., 48.16-17n.
35. The restoration of the function of Andreas as that of a village scribe is only 'exempli gratia' (cf. 14.7 and note ad loc.); the restoration of a short patronymic followed by ἄντω τῆς αὐθής is also possible.

46: LOAN OF MONEY
(Second half of the 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 68.D + E (House 3, room 6, level 3). H. 28 x B. 8 - 6 cm. The sheet tapers down towards the bottom. On both sides the writing runs parallel with the fibers and the original sheet was folded 3 times vertically and at least 9 times horizontally.

1 Τών δεσπότη μου
2 Πισοστράτωι
3 Παλάμμων Παλάμμωνος
4 χαίρειν.
5 'Εχαίς παρ' ἐμοὶ ὑπὲρ
6 λόγου προ[α]λαξίου τῆς τι
7 μῆς ἀμάξης ἀργυρίου
8 τάλαντα μυριάδαν μί-
9 αν, γει(νεταί) ταλ(άντων) (μυρίας) α, ἐφ᾽ ὡτέ
10 με ταρέξι οὐ αὐτά τῇ
11 λ [τοὺ] μην[ί] ὡς 'Τυβί κατ' Αι-
12 [νυπτίο]ς χωρίς ἀντι-
13 λογίας καὶ ἄνων πάσης]
14 εἴρεσιλογίας καὶ ἐξειδο-
15 μην σοι ταῦτην μου
16 τῆν ἐπιτολήν τρ[δ]ς
17 ἄφαστον. Ἑάν δὲ ἄ[με-
18 λεία γείνεται τῆς ἄπο-
19 δόσεως τῇ ὑραμένη
20 προθεμικά τὰ αὐτὰ ἄρ-
21 γέρων ἐν ταλάντωις
22 λογι[σ]µαι [οῦν] τόκ[ψ]
23 [ ] ρµ [ ] ψ κατὰ
24 τὸ ἑπικόρων ἅθος
25 αἱρε ἀποδόσεως τοῦ
26 προκειμένου μυρί-
27 ἄδαν μὲν ταλάντωι.
28 Ἑρρόσθαι σε εὐ-
29 χοραὶ, δεσποτὰ μου,
To my lord Pisistratos, Palammon son of Palammon (?) sends greetings. You have on loan from me on account of the balance of the price of a waggon one myriad of silver talents, total 1 myr. Tal., on condition that I shall give them (back) to you on the 30th of the month of Tybi according to the Egyptian calendar without dispute and without looking for pretexts and I have handed over this letter to you for your surety. If, however, on the fixed time I turn out to be careless as regards the repayment I shall pay the said money in talents with - - - interest according to the local custom until the repayment of the said one myriad of talents. I pray for your health, my lord, enjoying prosperity for many years. I, Flavius Makarios son of Ptou, have signed for him at his request because he does not know how to write.

This loan of money is quite remarkable in that it is not drawn up as regular contract, but phrased rather in terms of a letter (cf. 1. 12-13 ταῦτην μου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν); we have not found a parallel for this aberration of normal Greek loan contracts, but Dr A. Alcock informs us that in Coptic there are parallels, cf. OTNTAK EPOI and W.E. Crum, A Coptic Dictionary (Oxford 1939) 481.b (the business letter P.Oxy. 3979 is also a credit note for the transfer of funds, but it does not offer a complete parallel for the situation in the Kellis papyrus). At the same time the letter form explains the lack of a dating formula, as already by the 2nd century letters tend to be undated. At first sight the amount of money borrowed (10,000 talents) may seem quite substantial, but it depends on the decade within the 4th century whether this is really the case; there seems no problem with dating this papyrus to the middle or even the second half of the 4th century, by which time 10,000 talents (= 1500 myr. den.) were no longer a very large amount of money (ca. 340 it would be the equivalent of 1 solidus). Unfortunately, there do not seem to be any exactly datable prices for carts etc. available from 4th-century Egypt (R.S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt, does not list any in his chapter [IX] on prices classified by object). Given the letter form of the document it looks as if Palammon stood to Pisistratos in a kind of
client/patron relationship and that Pisistratos had given the said amount of money to Palammon in order to pay for the price of a waggon.

1. In the course of the 4th century the words δεσπότης and κύριος got to be used rather indiscriminately in addresses of letters, but δεσπότης expresses a greater respect of a letter's sender towards the addressee, cf. D. Hagedorn - K.A. Worp in ZPE 39 (1980) 165 ff., esp. 177.

2. The name Pisistratos is one of those classical names which occur so remarkably frequently in the Oasis, cf. G. Wagner, Les Oasis d'Egypte 225. The name occurs also in 63 and in another still unpublished Kellis document from House 4 (P.Kellis inv. P.93.59, cf. the report on the 1992/93 excavations); maybe we are dealing with the same person. For the name Παλαμόνας cf. G. Wagner, op. cit. 231 ff.

5. As far as we have been able to ascertain through the Duke Data Bank on Documentary Papyri (PHI disk # 6), the phrasing εξέρχεσαι παρ' ἐμοί meaning 'you have out with me' > 'I owe you' is unique for the Greek papyri; for Coptic parallels cf. above, the introduction.

9. At the end τέ is blotted.

10. Apparently the scribe completely lost the correct syntax (requiring an infinitive rather than an indicative after ἔφη ἐγεί με); cf. also 45.10.

11-12. Obviously the reading λ [το]ό [μήσις] τῆς Τύβι (= Tybi 30) is not very certain and one may consider reading η Μήσις Τύβι (= Tybi 1) instead. For the use of the Egyptian calendar in Roman and early Byzantine papyri cf. D. Hagedorn - K.A. Worp in ZPE 104 (1994) 243-255.

21-23. Apparently the phrasing κατὰ τὸ ἐπίχρισμα ἔνδος should be related to the percentage of the interest to be paid in case of Palammon's failure to repay the amount lent on the date agreed upon; on local customs in this respect cf. R. Taubenschlag, Opera Minora, II 91-106, esp. 96; on the meaning of the word ἔνδος in the papyri in general cf. H.D. Schmitz, Το ἔνδος und verwandte Begriffe in den Papyri (Diss. Cologne 1970). At the same time the phrasing of the text suggests to us that Palammon was not obliged to pay interest for the 10,000 talents he had borrowed, as long as he paid these back to Pisistratos on the prearranged date; cf. also 47.11 ff.

31f. A cavalry-man Flavius Makarios son of Ptou(s) is otherwise unknown. He may have belonged to the Ala I Quadorum stationed at Trimithis = modern Amheida (Not.Dign., Or. § xxxi.56); on the modern identification of Trimithis, see C.A. Hope in Mediterranean Archaeology 1 (1988) 169 n.35.

On the name Flavius as a status designation regularly found with military men since 325 cf. J.G. Keenan, ZPE 11 (1973) 49-50.

The name of Makarios' father is uncommon. The genitive Πτοῦ may be a short form of Πτουτός, the genitive of Πτοῦς. Is this name a composition of the Egyptian masc. prefix Π- + Τοῦς? Cf. F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, s.n.; for other such combinations of names with a prefix Π- (or fem. T-) cf. 66.1n. and the names 'Αλιάτος (13.1) / Παλιάτος (8.1), 'Αλιάτης (74.6) / Τούλιατη (74.25). For such short genitives, see the remarks by P.J. Sijpesteijn in ZPE 64 (1986) 119-120; as, however, in 34.1 the name Τοῦ seems to occur in the nominative, one may also argue that Πτοῦ (Π- + Τοῦ) is just an undeclinable name.

47: LOAN OF MONEY

(Second half of the 4th century?)

P.Kellis inv. P. 85.A # 4 (House 3, room 6, level 4, Southeast corner). H. 12.5 x B. 4.3 cm. Margins: at the left 1, at the bottom 1.5, at the top 1 cm. The writing runs parallel with fibers, the verso is blank. Some letters seem to have been retraced or corrected.
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

1. Αὐρήλιος Λιλο[ūς τοῦ Ν.Ν. ἀπὸ κόμης]  
2. Τουτχα Αὐρ[ηλίω Ν.Ν.  ]  
3. νίς Κατίδω[φ]ος ἀπὸ κόμης Κέλλαως.]  
4. Ὅμολογῷ ἀσχημέναι παρὰ σου σή-]  
5. μεροῦ εἰς ἰδίαν [μου καὶ ἀναγκαίαν]  
6. χρείαν τολάρῳ[νν μυριάδα]  
7. μίαν, καὶ μετ[...] γίνεται τα-]  
8. λάντων (μυριάδας) οἱ[ ... ἐπὶ μη-]  
9. νὰ <ξ> δύο μύονον ἐ[πὸ τὸ ὄντος μηνὸς]  
10. Παπίς ἔως [τοῦ ἐλθόντος μη-]  
11. νὸς Χοιάκ [..... Καὶ μετά]  
12. τὴν προθέσει[μιὰν τούτην, ἑὰν]  
13. μη ἀποδῶ τὴν μυριάδα τολάριν-]  
14. τίων, ἐτοίμω[ς] ἑ[χον ἀποδοῦναι σοι]  
15. τὸν δόκου, [τουτεστίν ἀρτάβην]  
16. μίαν σίτου θα[ραυοῦ]  
17. ὑπὲρ τολάριν[τω]  
18. τῶν. Ἡ ἀσφά[λεια κυρία ἐφ’ ὑπογρα-]  
19. φίς τῶν ἵππο ἐρμὸ ὑπογράφωσα. (Μ.2?) Ἐγραψά ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ[]  
20. μη εἰδότος [γράμματα Αὐρ(ηλίος) Ν.Ν. ἀπὸ Ν.Ν.]  

3. νὰ Κατίδω[φ]ος 5 ἰδίαν Παπ. 10 Ψαρίψι 15 τόκον 19 φής: φ- ex corr.; τοῦ

“Aurelius Lilous son of N.N. from the village of Toupcha (?) to Aurelius N.N. son of Kapiton from the village of Kellis. I agree that I have received from you today for my private and immediate use one myriad of — talents and —, totals 1 myr. — for only two months from the current month of Phaophi until the coming month of Choiak —. And after this term, if I do not repay the myriad of talents, I am prepared to pay you the interest, i.e. one araba of clean wheat —. for talents —. This pledge is authoritative with the signature of the person who is subscribing for me. (M. 2?) I, Aurelius N.N. from N.N. has written for him, as he does not know letters.”

Evidently we are dealing with a loan of money, i.e. of a myriad (= 10,000) of talents (cf. II. 6ff.). The loan was concluded in Phaophi (l. 10) and the money has to be repaid 2 months later, i.e. in (or before the end of?) Choiak (l. 11); no particular provision for interest payment seems to have been made, but if the lender does not repay the principal sum in time, at least the interest will be repaid through the delivery of an artab of wheat; other 4th-century money loans to be repaid in kind are listed in the introduction to 40 - 47 (some of them come from other regions and all show formulas different from the one apparently used in this text). The level of interest in this loan (one artab of wheat as interest for borrowing 10,000 talents during 2+ months) may point to a date after ca. 350 (for wheat prices in the 4th century cf. R.S. Bagnall,
Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt, 64). It is remarkable that the contract itself was evidently undated.

It is not certain that the amount of text lost at the right in the lacuna is restricted to the ca. 13-17 letters now restored in many lines (cf. ll. 4-5, 13-14, 18). If the proposed tentative restorations are plausible, the sheet may have broken along the central vertical fold.

1-2. One expects a formula ‘A son of N.N., provenance, to B son of N.N., provenance, χαίτεις’; if necessary, one can also use the ‘To A, B χαίρειν’-formula (one cannot have a nominative form both in l. 1 [start of the description of person ‘A’] and in l. 3 [part of the description of person ‘B’]. If the size of the lacuna is indeed ca. 13 letters the father’s name expected after Διον[.]ίσι must have been a short one.

2. If the restoration at the end of l. 1 is correct, one expects at the start of this line a village name, but a village Τούνχα is not known. In itself it is possible that one should read, e.g., τοῦ Πληρ (instead of reading a particle or an eta may be considered), but this is not more illuminating.

4-5. The element σήμαρος at this place of the ‘I have from you’-formula is not usual in loan contracts; cf., however, for a similar indication of ‘I have received today’ the sale contract 34.8 and the phrasing ‘I have leased today’ in 32.9.

7. We do not know what to expect with μετ[.].

10. As there is no numeral marking, it is probably better not to read Πασπί (l. Φαστός) ζ.

13. Before Χαιών there is a small space possibly indicating that the name of the month was filled in at some later moment.

19. The restorations in this line are, if compared with ll. 4-5 and 18, much too long. We have restored the full wording of the regularly used formula, but probably many words were originally abbreviated; it may even be that the scribe left out the words ἕπξε ἕμωθ and that one should read ἔχεμα γράφοντος but even then the restoration remains too long (NB: τὸν seems to indicate that the scribe may have reckoned mistakenly with two [!] hypographeis).

48: MANUMISSION OF A FEMALE SLAVE

(355)

P.Kellis inv. P. 56.C (House 3, room 9, level 3, Western doorway) + P. 61.F+G+U+V (House 3, room 8, level 4) + P. 65.F+J (House 3, room 8, level 3). H. 24.8 x B. 16.7 cm. There is a join at 2 cm. from the right hand margin. On both sides of the sheet the writing runs parallel with the fibers. The sheet was folded 7 times vertically and 3 times horizontally. The upper right side is extremely fragile.

1 .CONNECT (ντ'γραφον) ὡ[πελευθερώσως].
2 Αὐρήλιος Ούκελέρικ[ος] Σωρατίως ἀδρέας [τῆς]
3 Μυθιτῶν τῶλος Ἰλάρια ἵδις μόνο χαίτεις.
4 Ὀμολογῶ δὲ ἕπερβολὴν χ[ρ]ιστιανότητος ὡ[πε]-
5 λευθερωκόψαι σε ἤτο Δία Θ' ἤλιον μετὰ κα[τ] τοῦ
6 τεκνολοῦ σου καὶ εῦνοιον τὴν τρός μη πρός τῇ
7 ἀντεψεν σε ἔχειν τὴν ἐλευθ'ερίαν ἀνεστί[λη-]
Copy of a deed of manumission. Aurelius Valerius son of Sarapion, ex-
magistrate of the city of the Mothites, to my own Hilaria, greetings. I acknowledge that
I have set you free because of my exceptional Christianity, under Zeus, Earth and Sun,
and (because of) your loyalty towards me, in order that from hereonwards you shall have your freedom unassailed by anyone who shall try
to lay a claim upon you with regard to this deed of manumission (made?) through the
most reverend father Psekes - - - . (13ff.) Let this deed of manumission be authoritative
and guaranteed and lawful wherever it is produced and in response to the formal ques-
tion I have answered positively. After the consulate of Constantius Augustus consul for
the 7th time and of Constantius nobilissimus Caesar consul for the 3rd time. I, the
afore-mentioned Aurelius Valerius, ex-magistrate, have drawn up the deed of manumis-
sion as written above and in response to the formal question I have answered positively.
(M. 2?) I, the aforementioned Aurelius Psekes, pr(iest?), am present and witness.”
(Verso) “Copy of a deed of manumission.”

This fragmentarily preserved papyrus contains the copy of a deed of manumission
of a female slave Hilaria by her master Aurelius Valerius, former magistrate of the city
of the Mothites. Notwithstanding its rather lacunose state of preservation the document
is of outstanding interest, as we have only few slave manumissions from Roman Egypt
and even fewer from Byzantine Egypt (cf. J. Straus, “L’esclavage dans l’Egypte
1988], 201-202. 567, and most recently J. Farr’s publication of a manumission from
A.D. 116 in the form of a donatio mortis causa, BASP 30 [1993] 93-104). The most
complete list of actual deeds of manumissions and references to other documents related
to manumission (e.g.: testaments) is found in I. Biezunska-Malowist, *La schiavitù nell’ Egitto greco-romano* [Roma 1984] 293-4, n. 133 (cf. also her *L’esclavage dans l’Égypte romaine*, II [Warsaw 1977] 145 n. 151); add there the 6th-century documents referred to below. For various forms of manumission found in the papyri, i.e. *per vindictam, inter amicos* and *per epistulam* cf. *eandem, La schiavitù* 281; in general, see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* [Philadelphia 1953] 575-77). The only other such 4th-century deed of manumission known to date is the famous P.Edmondstone = M.Chrest. 361 (from Elephantine and also from the year 355, cf. BL VII 123) considered by Biezunska-Malowist as a ‘*manumissio per epistulam*’ (but cf. the cautious remarks by Mitteis in his introduction; he reckons also with a ‘*manumissio inter amicos*’); cf. also the 4th-century petition PSI V 452, in which manumission is referred to. Furthermore there is now a 6th-century manumission published in P.Köl n III 157 (589); earlier published were the 6th-century ‘*donationes mortis causa*’ P.Cair.Masp. III 312,99ff. (567) and P.Gron. I 10 (probably VI, cf. BL V 39) and the certificate (in 2 copies) of a female servant’s free status in P.Cair.Masp I 67089 = III 67294 (cf. now SB XVIII 13274). Due to the lack of pertinent parallel texts it is impossible to restore the new text completely; II. 10-13 especially are severely affected. Nevertheless, it is certainly remarkable to notice the phrasing in II. 4-5 where the ‘preeminence (i.e. an extraordinary degree) of Christianity’ (υπὲρβολὴ χριστιανότητος, cf. LSI s.v. *ὑπὲρβολὴ*, 5) is effortlessly combined with the traditional formula ἕνων Δέας Γῆν Ἡλιον ‘under Zeus, Earth and Sun’ (for this formula, see P.M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, Nr 6., Einl.); this combination offers a nice illustration of the amalgam of Christian and pagan elements sometimes occurring next to each other in 4th-century documents; in II. 7-8 of the Edmondstone papyrus the wording ἕνων Γῆν καί Οὐρανόν is used in combination with the εὐσέβεια τοῦ πανελεήμονος Θεοῦ.

D. Hagedorn (P. Köln III 157, p. 154) has already highlighted the problems in applying a specific juridical label to the manumission document he published. In our papyrus there is a similar problem: we are probably not dealing with a ‘*manumissio per epistulam*’ (used when a slave lived at some distance from his master) or a ‘*manumissio inter amicos*’ (for which five witnesses were required, whereas here we encounter only one). Furthermore, there seems no reason to think of a ‘*manumissio per vindictam*’ and the idea of a ‘*manumissio testamento*’ is also not applicable. If the witness Aurelius Psekes were a priest (cf. l. 21n.), one might be tempted to think of a ‘*manumissio in ecclesia*’, ‘in the church’ (for this form of manumission, see W.W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery* [Cambridge 1908] 449-50; Berger, *op.cit.* 576 and F. Fabbrini, *La manumissio in ecclesia* [Milano 1965]); there are, however, important obstacles here against such an approach in both the Cologne papyrus and in our document; see Hagedorn’s observations, *loc.cit.*:

1. The bilateral character of the papyrus stands in opposition to the *manumissio in ecclesia* as a ‘negozi giuridico unilaterale’, and
2. any indication that a bishop and a religious community were present, while the *manumissio* was being effected, is lacking.

At the most we have one witness who may have been a priest; that does not seem enough for a *manumissio in ecclesia* (but cf. l. 11n.).
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

I. a( ) for α(σιγραφόν) (cf. also the verso, l. 21) is a rather common abbreviation, cf. O. Montevecchi, La Papirologia2, 471; cf. also P. Turner 45.1n. The alpha of άρκεσθαι is rather uncertain and in itself an omega could be read; but άρκεσθαι would contain a spelling error, and α(σιγραφόν) on the verso (l. 21) is clear enough.

4. Remarkably enough the substantive χριστιανός does not seem to be attested yet, i.e. it is not listed in G.W.H. Lampe's Patristic Greek Lexicon.

6. For references in the papyri to the peculium of slaves (i.e. their private money and other property) cf. especially BGU I 96.14, PSI IX 1040.18 (both III) and P.Princ. II 85.13 (V ?); for papyrological attestations of the word in general, see S. Daris, Il Lessico latino nel Greco d'Egitto2 (Barcelona 1991) 88-89. For the nature of the peculium as a slave's own cash cf. W.W. Buckland, op.cit. 187ff.

8. Or should one read ει[πε] rather than ει[πε] ?

10ff.. Unfortunately enough, substantial parts of these lines are much damaged and the lack of parallel texts prevents the text from being restored with confidence. Certainly the Psekes in l. 10 is the same person as the witness Psekes occurring in l. 20 (hence the use of δ προεικόμενον = 'the afore-mentioned' in that line), but the details about his role in this passage remain hidden. The letters πατρ[ ] in l. 10 and length of the lacuna seem to suggest the word πατρός (ήμων is only a stop-gap), but if this idea is correct, Psekes was, of course, not Valerius' physical father (who was Sarapion, l. 2). For the use of the epithet άρεσμοστηρείον cf. O. Hornickel, Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden (Diss.Giessen 1930); there seem to be no instances of its use as a honorific epithet for clergy and for that reason it is doubtful whether 'father' refers here to a priest (cf. l. 20n. for Psekes' position in society).

11. τηρέω may suggest a restoration of μοναχόω, 'monks' (especially if the text were a 'manumissio in ecclesia'), but their precise role would also remain problematic (for monks in 4th-century papyrus documents cf. E.A. Judge in Proceedings of the XVI Congr. of Papyrology [Chico 1981] 613-620). If some monks were present during the manumission, they apparently did not subscribe as witnesses.

12. άραιος is probably too long for the restoration of the word ending with άιτες.

14. For this form of the kyria-clause including the element κοί Δήμος cf. the note to 37.12ff.

16-17. The consuls mentioned here are those of the year 354, their post consulate occurring in 355, cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE s.a. It is interesting to note that, as happens rather frequently in the papyri from this region, an indication of a month + day is lacking in this text; cf. the remarks at 8.13n. and cf. P.Duke inv. G.9, published by J.F. Oates in BASP 25 (1988) 129-135 (as Worp observes on a photo of the Duke papyrus kindly put at his disposal by P. van Minnen, it is difficult to accept the reading of l. 22 suggested in BASP 28 [1991] 65).

20. Remarkably enough there is only one witness to this manumission deed; in P.Edmondstone (cf. the introduction above) there are 5 witnesses. As this document is a copy (cf. ll. 1, 21: αρτηρίγραφον) one would expect the whole document to have been written in one hand. Still, it looks as if the writing of this line is slightly different from ll. 1-19.

A resolution of the abbreviation following Aurelius Psekes' name as into πρ(εοιματοστρος) may be most attractive (cf. 32.21n. and E.A. Judge, loc.cit., 619), but other resolutions like πρ(στοιχείον)/πρ(όδρος), πρ(αγγελοτος), πρ(ανιψής), πρ(αίκων) vel sim. seem also conceivable; cf. also ll.10-13n.

21. There is a rather large X-shaped cross at the end of this line; its function may be compared with that of the well-known crosses and designs found on the back of ordinary papyrus letters, which were intended as a precaution against unauthorized opening (for these cf. P.Oxy. XLVIII 3396.32n., CPR XIV 50, introd. and K. Vandorpe, Breaking the Seal of Secrecy: Sealing Practices in Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt [Leiden 1995] 12ff.); its occurrence here, however, does not seem sufficient reason to label the manumission as one given 'per epistulam'.
49: LOAN OF OIL

(2.vi.304)

P.Kellis inv. P. 61.GG (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 23 x B. 10 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers. Margins: at the top 1.5, at the left hand side also 1.5, and at the bottom 3 cm. For organizational purposes the papyrus was referred to previously as ‘P.Kellis 67’.

1 [Αὐρήλιος Πιπέρισμι ἀπὸ Τριμιθιτῇ
2 τῶν τάλας[σ] καταμένων ἐν κώμῃ
3 Πμούν Κέ( ) Αὐρήλιῳ Φιλάμμονι
4 ἀπὸ κώμῃς Κέλλως χαίρειν.
5 Ὄμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ
6 εἰς ἱδίαν μου χρείαν ἔλαιον κερά-
7 μον ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τὴν κώμην
8 καὶ ἀποδόσω σοι τὴν προκειμέ-
9 νην ἔλαιοποιεῖας ἐν τεντα-
10 χοίᾳ τῷ καιρῷ. "Ἡδὲ ἡ ἀτοχῇ> κυρία ἀτλῆ
11 γραφεῖσα ἐστώ καὶ βεβαιά
12 ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακεκεμένη
13 καὶ ἑπερωτηθεῖς ὡμολόγησα.
14 (ἔς τοὺς) κ, ἰδῆς καὶ (ἔς τοὺς) ἵδη τῶν κυρί-
15 ὑν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
16 Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Κονσταν-
17 τίον καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ[ν]
18 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Κασάρων
19 Ποίμιν η.
20 Αὐρήλιος Πιπέρισμι Αὐρήλιῳ
21 Φιλάμμων τῷ προκειμένῳ "Ομολογῶ
22 ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ εἰς ἱδίαν
23 μου χρείαν ἔλαιον κεράμον
24 ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τήν κώμην.
25 Τέγγαφα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμμα-
26 τα µη εἰδότος Αὐρήλιος
27 Ἐρυκλῆς ἄξιωθεὶς.

1-2 Τριμιθιτῶν 3 read Πμούνκεμος or Πμούνκελ. 7, 24 τῆς κώμης 8-9 τὸ προκειμένον 9-10 πενταχόρα? Cf. note ad loc. 20 Αὐρήλιῳ: v ex corr. 21 προκειμένῳ: 2nd epsilon ex corr.

“Aurelius Piperismi from the city of the Trimithites, resident in the village of Pmoun Ke(llis?), to Aurelius Philammon, from the village of Kellis, greetings. I
acknowledge that I have received from you for my own private use one keramion of oil by the measure of the village and I will pay back the aforementioned (keramion) at the time of the pressing of oil in a five-chous measure at the appointed time. Let this receipt which is written in a single copy be authoritative and guaranteed as though deposited in a public record office, and having been formally asked I have agreed. Year 20-19-12 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian and of Constantius and Maximianus the Augusti nobilissimi Caesares, Pauni 8. Aurelius Piperismi to the aforementioned Aurelius Philammon. I acknowledge that I have received from you for my own private use one keramion of oil by the measure of the village. I, Aurelius Hermokles, have written for him at his request since he does not know letters."

A receipt for one keramion of oil which Aurelius Piperismi from Trimithis currently resident in Pmoun Kellis?; perhaps a subdivision of Kellis?) has borrowed from Aurelius Philammon. It is of interest that this is apparently the first reference to Trimithis as a 'city' rather than as a village. We have had the benefit of a preliminary transcript of this text made by Dr. R.G. Jenkins of the University of Melbourne.

1. The name Πιπέρισμι is not listed by F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, or D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum. It is clearly a variant of Πιπόρ (cf. Namenbuch s.n.), which is already represented by the by-forms Πιπέρς, Πιπέρδως and fem. Πιπέρωτις; we do not know, however, how to explain the second part of the name -αμο.

1-2. Although broken the reading πόλεως is secure. Although an important settlement (there was a Roman army unit, sc. the Ala I Quadorum, stationed there, cf. Not.Dig., Or. xxxi.56), it had hitherto been thought that Trimithis had the status of only a χώμα. For this place (which should now be identified with Amheida in the Western part of the Dakhleh Oasis, cf. C.A. Hope in Mediterranean Archeology 1 (1988) 169 n.35) cf. G. Wagner, Les Oasis d’Egypte, 191-92; S. Timm, Das Christlich-kopitische Ägypten, VI 2846; A. Calderini - S. Daris, Dizionario Geografico V 30. The same designation ῾Τριμιθίτων πόλις occurs in a very mutilated contract of sale of an unknown object (P.Kellis inv. P. 85.D + P.93.C; 4th century, not published) in the description of one of the parties. In 27 reference is made to a πρωτότοου ῾τόγαν Τριμιθίτως. Finally, we refer to the wall painting from Amheida (published by L.M. Leahy, 'The Roman Wall-paintings from Amheida' in JSSEA 10 (1980) 351-54 and Pl. XXXIII.a; reference courtesy of A.J. Mills) which includes the seated figure of a woman which is labelled ‘POLIS’. Could this perhaps refer to Trimithis itself, as Leahy has suggested?

3. For geographical names starting with Πομὼν cf. Wagner, op.cit., 29. In itself two readings seem possible (cf. above, the app.crit.). If the latter is chosen, one may think about resolving Πομὼνκλας and Κλας is; if there is no difference one would then expect ἕπει τῆς αἰώνος in 1. 4.

8-9. Other occurrences of ἰδεωτοῦς (cf. SB VI 9406.172, P.Ryl. II 393A) suggest that the word is used of the act or occasion of the oil pressing, not the product. We take the genitive as a temporal genitive, but it is conceivable that one should take ἰδεωτοῦς ... τῆς καρκύρα together.

9-10. The word τενταφθείς (dat.pl.) is problematic, as no substantive τενταφθείς is known; the scribe may have been influenced by the form of ἰδεωτοῦς in the preceding line. Cf. the adjective τεντάφθος = “containing 5 chous” in P.Ent. I 34.3, P.Teb. III 793 xii.19 and 888.3f. (where it defines κεράμα). Perhaps one should correct τενταφθείς into τεντάφθω (sc. κεράμι). After all, Piperismi has borrowed only 1 keramion of oil, and it is difficult to see in what alternative measure related to 5 chous (1 chous = ca. 3 liter, cf. 61.3n.) he can return this amount of oil. For measures of liquids in the papyri, see U. Wilcken's fundamental remarks in WO I 757ff.
14-19. For the slightly aberrant form of the regnal formula in this papyrus cf. R.S. Bagnall - K.A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas of Byzantine Egypt* (Missoula 1979) 10ff., form. 4 (with the element Σεβαστῶν added wrongly after the second Μοιμουσοθ instead of after the first) and p. 15 form. 5 (with an extra element τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καίσαρῶν). Year 20-19-12 = 303/4, Pauni 8 = 2.vi; hence the date would be 2.vi.304, but at that date it is unusual to find regnal year 19 still mentioned at this time in the year (the earliest attestation of regnal years 20-12 dates from 16.xii.303 [O.Mich. II 900 from the Fayum, cf. CdE 46, 1971, 174-75, 178] and according to SB I 4652.8 regnal years 20-12 were already in use in the Oasis on 15.ii.304.

26-27. Aurelius Hermokles seems otherwise unknown.

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50: RECEIPT FOR VARIOUS OBJECTS

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 61.5 + V (House 3, room 8, level 4) + P. 65.D+G (House 3, room 8, level 3). H. 10 x B. 13.8 cm. Margins: at the bottom 2.5, at the left hand side 1.5 cm. The Greek text on the 'front' is written across the fibers, the summary on the 'back' runs parallel with the fibers; the sheet was folded at least 4 times horizontally. On the 'back' of the sheet a (faded) Coptic letter has been written, also across the fibers. Parts of the address of this Coptic letter are visible on the 'front' of the sheet, where the Greek text appears. It is difficult to tell which text was written first.

1 Κυρίῳ μου πατρί Ψάιτι Παμούρ
2 Ψάιτ(ος) Τρυφάνης χαίρειν. Ἐσχον πα- 
3 [ρα] δοὺ καὶ ἐντολὴν Ψάιτος Κέλε 
4 Πατσίδες χαλκοῦ δ. διον ἐν καὶ 
5 λιχων καὶ ἴθμον καὶ τρίχουν ἀ- 
6 πὸ υάλων καὶ ἐξεδόμην σοι ταῦ- 
8 Ἔγραψα ἕπερ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος 
9 Αἰχίλλος Τιβέριος Ὀμπατώτος ἀπὸ τῆς ὀμήγῆς 
10 κώμης Κέλεως.

Verso:

11 Ἀποχή Ψάιτ(ος) Τρυφά-
12 νῆς ἕπερ Ψάιτος Κέ-
13 λα Πατσίδες.

4 ἕν Pap. 6 υάλων Pap.

"To my lord father Psais son of Pamour, Psais Tryphanes greetings. I have received from you according to an order from Psais, the son of Kele and grandson of Patsire — of bronze — and a — and a sieve and a three-chous measure made from glass and I have handed over to you this receipt for your surety. I, Aurelius Titheros
son of Horpatos, from the same village Kellis, have written for him as he does not know letters. Receipt of Psais Tryphanes on behalf of Psais son of Kele, grandson of Patsire."

This papyrus contains a receipt for a number of utensils used for, e.g., housekeeping or perhaps in the local cult (for lists of temple properties preserved on papyrus, see P.Oxy. XLIX 3473 introd.). If the latter use was intended, it may be assumed that the recipient of the utensils, Psais Tryphanes (cf. the verso), was involved with the local cult. On the other hand it seems worthwhile to note that according to 1. 8ff. he could not write by himself and needed the assistance of a hypographeus (for whom cf. 56, introd.).

1-2. On the basis of the text on the verso it may be assumed that (a) here Ποιμανδρ must be an undeclined father’s name going with Ψέλτι, and that (b) the name of the sender was Ψέλλης Τροφφάνης; in itself, considerations of space would not rule out a reading Ψέλλης Ποιμανδρ in 1. 2 going with Ποιμανδρ (1. 1) as a nominative = the name of the sender of the document. The name Τροφφάνης and its relationship to Ποιμανδρ is problematic (cf. 71.39-40n.).

3-4. We assume that one is dealing with Psais son of Kele and grandson of Patsire, but it cannot be excluded that one of the names is in fact an alias (on the problem of alias-names in documents from Kellis cf. 24.17n. and 71.39-40n.).

5. A word λύχων (acc.) does not occur in LSJ or in the papyrological dictionaries; the reading is certain. Of course, one wonders whether an error for λυχων (= ‘lamp’) is involved.

9. The name Τιθερός is not listed in the papyrological onomastica, but it may be an error for Τιθέρως, unless it is another theophoric name based on the locally prominent cult of Tithoes (cf. 8 - 12, introd.). The name Προκοράξ is a combination of the Egyptian names Πρ (unddeclined) + Κοράξ. It seems, however, unlikely here that one should separate both elements from each other, as it is apparently not common to find a grandfather’s name in the subscription of a hypographeus (for his role cf 56, introd.); on the other hand, the combination of two individual names into a new combination is a well-known phenomenon, cf., e.g., the name Πραμάδαλων.

51: TRANSPORTATION RECEIPT

(1.x.320?)

P.Kellis inv. P. 7.A (House 3, room 6, level 2). H. 9.3 x B. 6.4 cm. Bottom margin 1 cm. Writing parallel with the fibers, verso blank. Probably the papyrus has broken off on a central fold.

In the same glass frame there is a small fragment which may be related to the main fragment, as the handwriting seems similar. Apparently it contains part of a dating formula: Σεβεστοσαβ γо Ϝο Κατικησος, referring to the consulate of either 320 (Constantinus Augustus VI & Constantinus Caesar I) or 353 (Constantius Augustus VI & Constantius Caesar II). If the restoration of the name of Aurelius Horos son of Mersis below in 1. 3 is correct (cf. the note ad loc.), the earlier date is preferable. There remains, however, a question where this consular dating formula might have occurred in the document; it
cannot have stood before Φιλοφίλου δ’ in 1. 8 and it does not seem likely that it stood somewhere below 1. 10. The only logical place for it can be somewhere above the present 1. 1; on the basis of that assumption the common phrasing ἔπαιτειας τῆς τροφοτεινῆς has been restored in 1. 8 before Φιλοφίλου.

--- of Hermopolis Magna, registered in the ‘East City’ quarter, to Aurelius Horos son of Mersis, camel-driver, from the Oasis. I acknowledge that I have received from you one camel load (consisting of) --- dried figs and dried grapes and fine linen and ---, one, and a basket. I have issued this receipt for your surety and having been formally questioned I have assented. In the aforementioned consulate, Phamenoth 4. Aurelius N.N. alias Archidemos has written for him because he does not know letters.”

The damaged papyrus (the restorations of the lacunas at the left count 18 - 23 letters) contains a receipt issued by N.N. from Hermopolis, to Aurelius Horos (?) son of Mersis (?), a camel driver from the Oasis, concerning a camel load of various commodities (11. 5-6: dried figs, dried grapes, fine linen, a basket) which N.N. has taken over from Horos. For a similar text mentioning a camel driver Horos son of Mersis, see 52 and cf. below, l. 3n.

1-2. Contacts between Kellis and Middle Egypt in general are illustrated by the fact that several people are stated to come originally from Kellis, while they are now living in the village of Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite Nome (cf. 30, 32, 42, 44 cf. also 43). An inhabitant from Hermopolis occurs also in 21.26-27, while 52 was evidently written there (cf. l. 4, ἐνταύθα ἐν τῇ Ἑρμοῦ πόλει). Furthermore, cf. the mention of Antinoopolis in 71.16 and 77.30 and that of an inhabitant of a Panopolitan village in 30.

In 1. 1 one might supply either a simple ἄντο τῆς Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως or, e.g. a function indication + τῆς Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως. The stop-gap phrase τῆς μεγάλης is sufficient as a restoration of the word(s) in the lacuna preceding the participle ἀναγεγραμμένος in 1. 2.


3. For the camel-driver Aurelius Horos son of Mersis, see also 34.2 (315), 38.a,b.10 (333), 52.2 (320) and 57.5 (332); a son of his may be referred to in 9.1 (n.d.; see note ad loc. for the name Μέρας). For a
list of camel-drivers mentioned in the papyri in general cf. CPR XIII p. 106-109. Cf. also A. Leone, Gli animali da trasporto (Rome-Barcelona 1988). While Horos’ provenance is given here simply as ‘from the Oasis’, he is stated to be ‘from the village of Kellis’ in 52.3; indeed in various Kellis documents the village is being referred to as κόμη Κέλλεως τῆς Μοθιτῶν πόλεως τῆς Μεγάλης ‘Οάσεως = ‘the village of Kellis which belongs to (the territory of) the city of the Mothites in the Great Oasis’ (cf. 20.3-5n., 42.2-3, 44.2-3; cf. also 21.1,3).

If the papyri were written in 320 (see the description above), it seems likely that this text, like 52, was written and handed over to Aurelius Horos in Hermopolis on 1.x (52 is also dated to Φαώφι δ = 1.x in that year). Apparently he was on that date in Hermopolis (with a kind of small caravan?) and handed over various commodities to various persons.

5. ιαχάδες are dried figs (for these s. M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten [München 1925] 300), σταφίδες are dried grapes.
7. For the restoration in the lacuna at the left of this line, see 52.6-7.
8. Phaophi 4 = 1.x: cf. also above, 1.3n.
9. One is tempted to read the name as Ἀρχάδημος, but the first two letters are too poorly preserved to warrant the reading Ἀρ-

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52: TRANSPORTATION RECEIPT

(1.x.320)

P.Kellis inv. P. 35.B (House 3, room 6, level 1, North end). H. 12 x B. 10.2 cm. Margins: at the top 1.2, at the bottom 6 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers; the verso is blank.

1 [Αὐρήλιος . . . . σο]πά τά κάμης Ττάκε τῆς Μωβείτων
2 [πόλεως Αὐρήλιος ὶρωι Μέροσε καμηλείτι ἄπο κό-
3 [μη Κέλλεως τῆς αύτης τι]όλεως χοίρεων. 'Ομολογήω'
4 [παρειληφέναι π]αρὰ σοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ὄν-
5 [κοὺς γόμους ἐλ]λοιαυμαι βαλλόμενοι κουκών, ἵνα παρᾶσ-
6 [κω τῷ δεσπότῃ] μου γεο[ν][ξι]. Ἐξεδόμην σοι τήν ἀπο-
7 [κήν εἰς ἀνθάλειαν] καὶ ἐπέρ|ω|μεθείς ὁμολόγησα.
8 [Ττατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ]
9 [τῷ τῷ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τῷ τῷ]
10 [ ] Φαώφι δ.
11 [Αὐρήλιος . . . .]σοτ ο προκείμενος παρείληφα τούς
12 [προκειμένους γόμους ως πρόκειται. Ἐγροφαὶ υπὲρ αὐτῶν]
13 [τογράμματα μή εἰδότας Αὐρήλιος Ψεναμοῦνς Πετσόγιος]
14 [ἀπό τῆς Ἑρμοῦ τόκ(εος).]

1 [ι]τ' Παπ., Μωβείτων 2 Μέρσιος, καμηλίτη (κομ- οτο ex corr.) 5 Ιουν: -ι-
Pap., -ω- ex α; κουκί<ντωω>; ων (?; cf. II. 4-5 n.) Ῥωι Παπ., ε- ex corr. 11 σοτ', ὅ
προκείμενος Παπ.
"Aurelius -sop, from the village of Tpake (?) belonging to the city of the Mothites, to Aurelius Horos son of Mersis, camel-driver, from the village of Kellis belonging to the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you here, in Hermopolis, — donkey loads of olives in(?) sacks of palm fibers (?), to hand them over to my lord the landowner. I have issued this receipt to you and having been formally questioned I have assented. In the consulate of our lords Constantine Augustus consul for the 6th time and of Constantine nobilissimus Caesar consul for the 1st time, Phaophi 4. I, the aforementioned Aurelius -sop, have taken over the aforementioned loads as stated above. I, Aurelius Psenamounis son of Petosiris from Hermopolis (?), have written on his behalf, as he does not know letters."

Like 51 this text contains a receipt for the transportation of certain commodities. The receipt was issued in the Middle-Egyptian town of Hermopolis by a villager from Tpake in the Mothite nome to the camel-driver Aurelius Horos son of Mersis, from the village of Kellis in the same nome; both persons were, therefore, far away from their own homes (the distance between the Mothite nome and Hermopolis is ca. 300 km ‘as the crow flies’). Unfortunately it remains unclear whether Horos had brought his cargo from the Oasis to Hermopolis or had transported the goods from elsewhere in the Nile valley to Hermopolis, before he travelled back to the Oasis (and took this receipt with him back to Kellis); in the latter case one would have had a better idea about the overall range of Horos’ transport activities. Moreover, we do not know whether the anonymous landlord (γαύοκχας) lived in Hermopolis or in the Dakhleh Oasis. It looks probable that the issuer of the receipt and Horos only met in Hermopolis and that they did not cover the distance Dakhleh Oasis — Hermopolis or vice versa simultaneously.

1. Or read the place name as Ππάκε. The village apparently does not occur elsewhere in the Kellis papyri (cf., however, 35.2-3n.) and is not mentioned by G. Wagner in his discussion of the names of places in the Dakhleh Oasis (Les Oasis d’Egypte [Cairo 1987] 188-196). For the relation between villages in the Mothite nome and the metropolis ‘the city of the Mothites’ cf. 20.3-5n.
2. For the camel-driver Aurelius Horos son of Mersis, see 51.3n.
4-5. These lines are somewhat problematic; in itself one does not expect ‘donkey loads’ (ὦνι-ι[κοψ γόμους) after a reference to a camel-driver, but οὖν- definitely suggests the adjective δενδουκας (cf. LSJ on words starting with οὖν-) and one needs as an object a noun like γόμον in 51.421; in fact, μους in l. 12 makes γόμους virtually inescapable. Maybe the ‘donkey loads’ were a description of what they represented to the recipient, because the donkey was what he used to transport these loads. Thereafter one would expect a numeral followed by an indication of the nature of the cargo (in the genitive; e.g.: ‘two donkey loads of ...’). As there is hardly space for a written-out numeral, it must be concluded that this was indicated by a single letter, e.g. β = 2; θελλασ (gen.pl.) could, then, be a substantive of the commodity transported and ελαστον (suggested by Mr. I. Poll) is a most fitting word. θελλασ, gen.plur. of θελλασ = ‘sack’ (cf. the discussion by H.I. Bell in Wadi Sarga [Copenhagen 1922] 20f.), could refer to the container the olives were packed in, and, as κοφι = ‘palm’, one might think that such containers were made of palm leaves or fibers; there is, however, a problem in that one would probably need to correct κοφιναω into κοφες > ων (gen.plur. of an unattested adjective κοφεναις = ‘made from palm fibers’), as a

21) That the full text originally had a plural form is borne out by l. 11, παρελληκε τοις.
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

The name of Aurelius Psenamounis son of Petosiris, does not seem to occur elsewhere in the Kellis papyri, but it must be kept in mind that in view of the place the document was issued we are probably dealing here with an inhabitant of Hermopolis, unless one prefers to assume that the issuer of the receipt, who could not write, was accompanied by a person who also came from the Dakhleh Oasis; for another inhabitant of Hermopolis in a papyrus from Kellis cf. 21.26-27. For identification purposes the name of Psenamounis was probably followed by an indication of his provenance or of his profession, cf. the other Kellis papyri with such hypographeis.

53: LIST OF EXPENSES

(4th century)

P. Kellis inv. P. 17.D+T (House 3, room 10, level 3). H. 15 x B. 7.2 cm. Margins: at the top 2.7, at the left hand side 1.5, at the bottom 2.2 cm. Written parallel with the fibers; verso blank.

1. Λόγος ἀναλωμίατων
2. Ἡρωδιανὸς [ ]
3. Πτολεμαῖος [ ]
4. Ἐξεῦς [ ]
5. μαξιλλάριον <ζ> [ ]
6. ἐβρέκων [ ]
7. τρίγκυτος [ ]
8. χάρτης [ ]
9. ἐπιστολὴ [ ]
10. ὑπομνήματα [ ]
11. ἔρμηνεια [ ]
12. μισθὸς καθηγητή <τοῦ> [ ]
13. χωρίς ναύλου πλοίου [ ]
14. τάλαι(αντα) ια (δροσχμαί) Bu.

6 ἐβρέκων; ε- ex i; l. πρ αίκων [ ]; 7 τρίγκυτος [ ]; 11 ἔρμηνεια 12 καθηγητοῦ [ ]

"List of expenses [ ]; Herodianos [ ]; Ptolemaios [ ]; Echeus (?) [ ]; Maxillarius (?) [ ]; a herald [ ]; of the princeps [ ]; papyrus roll [ ]; a letter [ ]; memoranda [ ]; translation [ ]; for wages of a teacher not including costs of transportation by boat, 11 tal(ents), 2600 dr(achmae)."

θαλλίων κουκίων would denote a 'sack of (filled with) palms'. Moreover, it is unclear how the genitive plural θελλίων κουκί <p>ω should be construed with the preceding ἐν-ξ[αύς γήμον <ναύων.]

8-10. For the consuls of 320 cf. R.S. Bagnall a. o., CLRE s. a.; Phaophi 4 = 1.x. 51 was written the same day, cf. l. 8n.
According to its first line this is a list of expenses and as such it may be compared especially with 54. It is not without interest that both lists share a number of the same kind of expenses (cf. 54.4, 6, 13, 16, 21, 22 with this text ll. 6-10) but there are also differences; here two personal names are registered (ll. 2-3: Herodianus, Ptolemaios) while in the parallel document personal names do not occur; for the expenses in ll. 11ff. there are no parallels in 54. In itself it is striking that many entries are given in the nominative, whereas one might expect, especially in the case of commodities, genitives denoting expenses made 'because of/for ...'.

2, 3. These persons do not occur elsewhere in the Greek papyri from Kellis.

4. Apparently a Greek personal name Echeus does not exist; on the other hand, for palaeographical reasons a reading ὑχεύς = 'a kind of receptacle' (cf. LSJ s.v.) seems less likely.

5. A personal name Μεξιχάσιος is unknown to us. The word form reminds one of Latin rather than Greek and there are more Latin words in this text (cf. ll. 6, 7). Lat. maxilla, however, means 'jaw, jawbone' (see the OLD s.v. and cf. the adjective maxillaris) and it is not easy to see what the concept of 'jaw' would do here together with personal names (ll. 2-3), indications of offices (cf. ll. 6-7) and words in the sphere of writing (l. 8ff.). One can only speculate whether there is a connection with 54.4-5; if so, should we read <α>μεξιχάσιος (= 'wagon driver')?

6. It looks very attractive to cancel the initial epsilon and to regard the remaining letters ßpEKd as an attempt to transliterate the Latin word praeco = 'crier, herald, auctioneer' into Greek (for ßpEK cf. F.T. Gignac, Grammar 1 84), the more so as the spelling ßpEKav is found in P.Ryl. IV 644.9 and the concept of expenses made 'for a herald' make good sense; cf. also 54.6.

7. πριγκιπος (l. πρίγκι), which must be related to the Lat. word princeps, may refer here the 'Chief of staff of a provincial governor, cf. P.Mich. XI 613.2n.; for other attestations of the word, see S. Daris, Il lessico latino nel greco d' Egitto (Barcelona 1991) 94 s.v.; cf. also 54.4.


12-14. The word starting with the letters καθης does not seem to have been abbreviated. Καθης is not the regular beginning of a normal Greek word and though it may seem a high-handed procedure to assume a spelling error -ης- for -γης- in order to obtain a recognizable word (and only the start of it) we see no other alternative herefore (for the interchange of γ/κ, see F.T. Gignac, Grammar, 1 77-80).

As the right hand bottom edge of the papyrus seems to have been preserved, we take ll. 12-14 together and think that the scribe registered expenses made for the wages (μοθής) of a teacher who had to come from afar. The phrasing χωρίς καθης πλοών πλοίων = 'not including costs of transportation by boat' (cf. l. 13n.) suggests that the teacher came from somewhere in the Nile valley and covered part of the distance by a boat.


14. The symbol used for indicating the numeral 2000 is, as more often, a 'latin' b with a horizontal bar drawn through the upper part of the vertical hasta, b.
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

54: LIST OF EXPENSES

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 51.E # 2 (House 3, room 9, level 3, East wall). H. 25 x B. 5 cm. Margin at the bottom: 6.5 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers, the verso is blank.

1 Δόγ(ος) ἄν[αλωμάτων
2 Τῷ ρήτορι τάλαντ- Number
3 καὶ διζύφων μάτ(ια) Number
4 τῷ πρέσι[ψη καὶ τῷ ἀ-]
5 μαξηλ[ή] τῇ
6 πρέκω[ν]
7 μισθοῦ κ [ τάλαντ- Number
8 τῷ ρη...]
9 εἷς [
10 κ []
11 ἐπιστολη[ φόρῳ τάλαντ- Number
12 καὶ διζύφων μάτ(ια) Number
13 μισθοῦ υπομη[ματογράφου καὶ ἐκ-]
14 σκέπτωρ[ος τάλαντ- Number
15 καὶ διζύφων [ν μάτ(ια) Number
16 τῷ ἐπιστολη [ν τοῦ στρατ-]
17 γοῦ καὶ τοῦ πολ[ίτευμον τάλαντ- Number
18 καὶ διζύφων [ων μάτ(ια) Number
19 μισθοῦ εἰς Ἔρμ[- υπο-]
20 μημο[ματογράφου τάλαντ- Number
21 τιμ[ίς] χά < ρ τοῦ β [ τάλαντ- Number
22 καὶ μισθοῦ υπομη[ματογράφου τάλαντ- Number
23 (γίνεσαι) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐ[τὸ τῇ[λαντ- Number
24 ἐπιστολῆς [ διζύφων]
25 μάτ(ια) δ...
26 (γίνεσαι) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐ[τὸ δι[ζύφου μάτ(ια) Number]

3, 12, 15, 18, 26 διζύφων 8 read ῥῆ[τ] ῥῇ[τ]Ι? 21 χαρτῶν?

Unfortunately this papyrus is seriously damaged. It shows certain resemblances to 53. Apparently one is dealing with a list of expenses (l. 1, Δόγ(ος) ἄν[αλωμάτων), in which payments of amounts of talents for wages (μισθῶν, ll. 7, 13, 19, 22; cf. l. 23, where the total amount of talents was recorded) and deliveries of jujubes (ζύφος, cf. ll. 3, 12, 15, 18, 24-25 and l. 26, where the total amount of jujubes was recorded) to various officials were registered. It may be assumed that in principle wages were paid in money, supplemented sometimes by an amount of the fruit of the jujube tree. This
tree and its fruit were apparently an important commodity in the region, as frequent reference is made to it in other (still unpublished) Kellis papyri. For the fruit (approximately the size of a cherry), see P.Oxy. LIX 4006.2n., where extensive further literature is given. See also V. Täckholm, Students Flora of Egypt2 (Beirut 1974) 344-345. From l. 25 it may be gathered that the jujube fruits were measured in μάτια (cf. the Coptic ‘maaje’, a dry measure of capacity); for its size cf. K. Maresch and P.J. Sijpesteijn in ZPE 99 (1993) 64-65: depending on whether the decimal or the duodecimal system was used, a μάτιον is the equivalent of 1/10th or 1/12th of an artaba. 10 μάτια therefore would be 1 or 0.83333 artaba, in itself a rather sizable amount of jujube fruits. In 11.9-10, too, reference is made to an artaba of jujubes.

The main interest of this text is found in its mention of a number of titles and professions about which we would have liked to know more especially in their relationship with Kellis, viz. the ἀμαξηλάτης (l. 4-5) ἐπιστολήφορος (l. 11; on this office [a liturgy in Roman times] cf. P.Petaus 84), ἐκοκέπτωρ (l. 13-14; cf. H.C. Teitler, Notarii et exceptores Diss. Utrecht 1983), ἐπιστολεύς (l. 24), πολτευόμενος (l. 17; cf. H. Geremek in Anagenesis 1 [1981] 231-247), πρέκαλων/πραίκων (l. 6; cf. S. Daris, Il Lessico Latino nel Greco d’Egitto2 [Barcelona 1991] s.v.), πρίγκεψ (l. 4; cf. 53.7n.), ρήτωρ (l. 2; cf. l. 8), στρατηγός (?; l. 16-17) and the ἅπαμηματογράφος (l. 13, 19-20, 22; on the municipal hypomnematomographoi in Roman Egypt cf. J.E.G. Whitehorne in Aegyptus 67 [1987] 101-125). As some of these titles were given to municipal or government officials, it may be assumed that the payments were of an official rather than of a private nature; maybe the burden of defraying expenses made by/for these people fell upon the village of Kellis?

4-5. Cf. 53.5n.; in itself it is possible that μαξηλάλα contains an error for μαξιλάλα; as there are no Greek words beginning with μαξηλ-μαξιλ-, we suppose that the scribe wrote the initial alpha of α- | μαξηλαλα in the lacuna at the end of line 4. 9. Or read εξ. [ ?
16. It is remarkable that there is no preposition like, e.g., εἰς or πρὸς governing the accusative τῆρ éπιστολῆφ. The restoration of τοῦ στρατηγα at the end of this line is uncertain, of course; in view of the context, however, it seems a decent guess. 19-20. Probably ἔρνη forms the start of a personal name like Hermes, Hermodoros, vel sim., rather than that of (some form of) the name of the city ἔρνη λοίς.

Maybe one should restore the accusative ἐπι- | μημεστογράφου (going with the preceding name) rather than the genitive ἐπο- | μημεστογράφου (going with μοσθό). 21. Cf. 53.8n.

55: LIST
(4th century)

P. Kellis inv. P. 61.D (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 13 x B. 3.5 cm. The bottom margin measures 5, the left hand margin 1 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers; the verso is blank.
The precise purpose of this list (cf. l. 1, Λόγ(ος) κτη[) is uncertain, as the word after it has been preserved only incompletely; one could restore, e.g., κτή[ματος (= ‘of an estate’), κτήναρων (= ‘of animals’) or κτή[σως (= ‘of property’); various other restorations may be conceivable as well.

A coherent general interpretation of the fragment cannot be proposed with certainty; in principle it could be the remains of a list of amounts of money received or spent for various purposes in connection with, e.g., running a farm or feeding animals. After the heading in l. 1 one finds in ll. 2 and 3 two kinds of farm produce (barley and chaff), used e.g. for feeding animals and for which money could have been spent. In the following lines, however, apparently a change of subject is made and it is not clear, what exactly entries like ὁ ἄλλος (= ‘the other’, l. 4) or προβολή (ll. 5, 8) would mean within the context of a farm (for the various meanings of the word προβολή cf. LSJ s.v.). As the word ἔως in l. 9 seems to function as a preposition followed by the genitive, it may have that same function already in l. 6, but what is εἰστο[ (l. ἐστο[ ?) ? The entry in l. 7 remains also enigmatic while the restoration in l. 10 is suggested only ‘exempli gratia’; an alternative may be, e.g., ἐν ἠμίσθη (cf. 29.5-6 and note ad loc.). Finally, the word ποτίστρα (cf. l. 11) means ‘watering-place, conduit, channel’ and it may be that expenses for construction or maintenance of these were recorded.

56: SUBSCRIPTION TO A DOCUMENT

(324)

P.Kellis inv. P. 92.11 (House 3, room 11, level 1). Frag. I: H. 2.7 x B. 4.8 cm.; Frag. II: H. 6.5 x B. 5 cm. At the bottom of Frag. II there is a margin of 2.8 cm. On both sides the writing runs parallel with the fibers.
Frag. I:

1  Ἰος
2  μεν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς καὶ ἀναπαύσασθαι
3  ὑπάτως ἦν ὑπάτως ὑπάτως

Frag. II:

(M.2)

4  Ἕλπίζω N.N. ὁ προκείμενος τέθηκαι
5  ταύτην τὴν ὑμολογίαν ἐρήμος τῆς οἰκίας
6  διαστολαίς πάσαις ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερω-
7  τῇς ὑμολόγησοι ἐγραφῇ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
8  Ἀὐρήλιος Ἐπάνω Ἀπολλωνίου
9  Κέλλεως.

Verso:

10  Ὑμολογία [4 τέθημα]

(Frag. II): “I, the above-mentioned N.N., have lodged this agreement under all of the conditions which it contains as mentioned above and I have answered the formal ques-
tion. I, Aurelius —on son of Apollonios, — of Kellis (?), have written for him.”

These papyrus fragments contain the end of the body of a contract, including the
consular dating formula, and the subscription to probably the same contract. As the
contracting person was not able to write his subscription by himself he made use of a
hypographeus. For this type of agent cf. the articles by H.C. Youtie in ZPE 17 (1975)
201-221 and 19 (1975) 101-108 = Scriptuunculae Posteriores I (Bonn 1981) 179ff.,
255f.

3. This is the consulate of 324, cf. R.S. Bagnall, CLRE, s.a.; add 22.2 and P.Nepheros 48.1 (cf. ZPE 78
9. Of course, the restoration of the name of an office + the toponym Kellis (e.g. [εἰμιγραμματεύς Κέλλεως)
can be proposed only ‘exempli gratia’ and in itself the restoration of a stop-gap formula like,
e.g., [ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Κέλλεως] is also conceivable. The ‘same’ village has not been mentioned earlier
in the subscription but it may have been referred to already in the body of the text.
57: FRAGMENT OF A DATED SUBSCRIPTION

(26.ii - 26.iii.332)

P. Kellis inv. P. 17.Y (House 3, room 10, level 3). H. 3.7 x B. 2.5 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers; the verso is blank.

---

1. [Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Ἰουνίου]
2. [Βάσσου καὶ Φλανείου Ἀβλαβίου]
3. [τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Φαμενώδης]
4. [Αὐρήλου Προς] Μέροιος
5. [ὁ προκείμενος] ἐπιδέω-
6. [κα? ]

6-7 ἐπιδέωκα

"—. After the consulate (?) of Iunius Bassus and Flavius Ablabius, viri clarissimi, Phamenoth. I, the aforementioned Aurelius Horos son of Mersis, have submitted (?)"

The mutilated fragment published above contains only a mutilated dating + a subscription, but even so it is not without some interest of its own, as to date it may be the first papyrological attestation of a postconsulate of the consuls of 331 in 332 (cf. R.S. Bagnall e.a., CLRE s.a.). Phamenoth = 26.ii-26.iii and if we were to read Φαμενώδης, the exact date of the papyrus would be 5.i.332. But often in papyri from Kellis the numeral for a day is simply not indicated; cf. 8.13n.

2. The size of the lacuna in the following lines 3 and 4 allows the restoration of ‘Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν’; restoring only ‘Ὑπατείαν’ would presuppose that the dating formula started right in the middle of the line. Though there are certainly parallels for this, it seems more likely to us that the scribe started the dating formula on a new line.

5. The restoration of Horos’ name is inspired by the fact that in the papyri from House 3 we know of no other sons of a man called Mersis; for Horos son of Mersis, cf. 51.3n. For the name Mersis, see 9.1n.

6-7. The reading of the verb is all but certain; its restoration does not militate against normal practice. If it is correct, it probably closed off a document sent to a government official (e.g.: a petition).
FRAGMENT OF AN AGREEMENT

P. Kellis inv. A/5/4 (House 3, room 1, level 1, in Southeast corner). H. 11.6 x B. 10.3 cm. There is a margin at the bottom of 5.2 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers; the back is blank.

1. ἐκ λο[...]
2. ἡθήνης κυριαρχίας καὶ ε[...]
3. καὶ ἐννομο. ὡς] κατακεκλεμένης ἐν [δημοσίω καὶ ἐπερωτηθείς ὡμολόγησα.]
4. [Τατσέιας Φλανιοῦ Φηλικιανοῦ καὶ Τεττιοῦ Τιτιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων]
5. [Month, day. (M. 2) Αὐρήλιος Πλούτογένης ὁ προκείμενος ἐθέλη[μν τὴν ὀμολογίαν]
6. [ἐφ' αἷς παιρέχει διασπολοὶ πάσος καὶ εὐθοδώ.] [Ἐγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ]
7. [γράμματα μὴ εὐδότος] Αὐρήλιος Πολυκράτης Ὀρον[υ ἀπὸ ca. 11 letters]
8. (M. 1) [ca. 5. Αὐρήλιος Ἀρτιφράκτης πρεσβύτερος καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας μαρτυρῶ.

3 κατακεκλεμένη (?)

“(L. 3ff.) — and legal as if deposited in a public archive and in answer to the formal question I have replied positively. In the consulate of Flavius Felicianus and Tetius (!) Titianus, viri clarissimi. — I, Aurelius Ploutogenes the aforementioned, have lodged the agreement under all of the conditions which it contains and I agree. Aurelius Polykrates son of Horos, from --, have written for him as he does not know letters. I, Aurelius Harpocrates, priest of the catholic church, am witness.”

This badly mutilated fragment of a Greek contract does not contain sufficient elements to establish its original nature precisely (cf. ll. 2-3n.). Nevertheless, it is interesting as it contains an aberrant consular dating formula (cf. ll. 4-5n.).

1. Something like ἐκ λόγον or ἐκ λοιπ. or ἐκ λογίας could be read; but the readings are rather uncertain and they do not suggest a particular formula.
2-3. Evidently we are at the end of the body of a contract; following these lines one finds the dating formula (ll. 4-5) and the signatures of one of the contracting parties (written by his representative, cf. ll. 5-7) and that of a witness (l. 8). The precise nature of the contract is not clearly preserved, but one might think about restoring a word like παρακάταττον ἡθήνη = ‘deposit of money’ at the start of l. 2 (for this type of document cf. the literature cited by O. Montevvecchi, La Papirologia, 230). Ll. 2-3 might contain a kyria-formula found often enough in contracts from Kellis (cf., e.g., 41.18-19; cf. also the note to 37.12ff.). Problematic, however, is the fact that apparently genitives (cf. ἡθήνης, κατακεκλεμένης) have been used instead of the expected nominatives and that the word order in l. 3 is slightly irregular. More-
over, the reading of the word starting with κυρι- is also problematic; the three letters preceding the copula καὶ are to be read as -σῆς (cf. earlier in this line the ending of ἃθησες), while the letter preceding this looks like -ι (iota coming down with a long tail, like in l. 4, Τι-). It is, however, less certain, what comes in between κυρι- and -σῆς; the writing looks like two omikrons connected with each other + a connecting stroke towards the iota. We have also considered reading κυριαγισθής, but we feel to see how its meaning (cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v. κυριαίοι) can be fitted into the context.

4-5. The garbled form of the consular formula makes it interesting. The consuls of 337 were Flavius Felicianus and Fabius Titianus (cf. R.S. Bagnall e.a., CLRE s.a.); the nomen Tettius going here with the second consul belongs to the second consul of 336, Tettius Facundus (in office with Virius Nepotianus). Though in principle such an error could have been made at all times, it seems more plausible that it was committed soon after a change in the consular formula. As the consuls of 336 were still being referred to in Egypt (via their post-consulate) as late as March 4, 337 (cf. Bagnall e.a., CLRE s.a. 337), this document might have been written soon afterwards.

5-6. Among the Kellis papyri there are several parallels for the formula restored here, cf. 14.4-5, 31.31f. and 56.5-6.

7-8. Ca. 15 letters in the lacuna at the end of l. 7 and ca. 16 letters at the start of l. 8 are missing in Aurelius Polykrates' fairly large writing. This means that there is enough of space at the start of l. 8 for restoring something that still belongs to the signature of Polykrates, e.g. an indication of his origin.

8. At the start one might also reckon with another name ending in -κόρτης like, e.g., Παλικώρτης (cf. l. 7), but this man cannot have been the same person as the priest of l. 8 as the handwriting is completely different. The occurrence here of a priest of the 'catholic' church in the year 337 is interesting, as it is the earliest occurrence in the Kellis papyri and early in the papyri in general. For the meaning of the term καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία (also in 24.3 and 32.21) cf. now E. Wipszycka, ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ και les autres Épithètes du nom ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, JJP 24 (1994) 191-212, esp. 209ff.; in connection with villages it would often mean 'most important church, permanently in use for religious service'. It remains, of course, to be seen, what the nature of that church in Kellis was: Christian or Manichaean? Dr. Alcock informs me that the Coptic documents P. Kellis inv. 92.10 and inv. P. 92.18 refer to the 'Holy Church' which seems to refer to some Manichaean variety and thus distinguish it from the 'catholic' church.

59: CONSULAR DATE

(27.iii-26.iv.328)

P.Kellis inv. P. 68.B (House 3, room 6, level 3). H. 5.5 x B. 7.5 cm. The papyrus has broken off at the top, at the bottom there is a margin of 2.5 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers; the verso is blank.

1 'Τατίας Φλ[αιρίνου] Ιανουαρίνου καὶ
2 'Οο[πετί]ν[τα] Ιωάννου ῳ[ῶ]ν Τρακτ(?)
3 Λαμπ[ρόττων], Φ[άρμος] ο[δή]..

1'Τατίας, Ιανουαρίνου Pap. 2 Ιωστου Pap.
160 GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

For the consulate of Fl. Ianuarius and Vettius Iustus in 328 cf. R.S. Bagnall a.o., CLRE s.a., where add SB XVIII 13260.29 (4.iv). The month of Pharmouthi covers the period 27.iii-26.iv.

2. The diaeresis on top of the iota of [Ἰο]σ[α]ρ[ω] is still visible, while the iota itself is lost.

60 - 62: WOODEN TABLETS FROM HOUSE 3

One of the most striking aspects about the whole corpus of inscribed material found at Kellis is the relatively large amount of wooden tablets with some form of writing upon them; it is common knowledge that in Egypt wood was, after all, a commodity which certainly was not used for writing as frequently as papyrus or potsherds. The newly found tablets range from a few more or less complete multi-page codices (among which the most spectacular are the Isocrates Codex and the Harvest Account Book, both still to be published), via individually preserved boards, to small fragments of boards with only minimal traces of writing preserved. Tablets appear to have been used in Kellis for several purposes: administration, astrology, liturgy and religious affairs in general, and for school exercises. A useful survey of the use of wood for various writing purposes and a list of publications of wooden tablets known from Graeco-Roman Egypt was published by W.M. Brashear and F.A.J. Hoogendijk in Enchoria 17 (1990) 21-54 (add now to the list, e.g., the tablets published in P.Brook. 27-31 and the astronomical T.Amst. inv. 1, published in CdE 52 [1977] 301ff. and recently discussed in CdE 68 [1993] 178f.; add also Bodl.Gr.Inscr. inv. 4, cf. Pack2 2710); for the subject in general cf. also E. Lalou, Les tablettes à écrire de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne (Turnhout 1992), where P. Cauderlier gives (p. 63-96) another list of published tablets and where J.L. Sharpe discusses (p. 127-148) codicological aspects of the Isocrates Codex and the Harvest Account Book from Kellis. For the manufacture of wooden tablets at Kellis cf. 67.

Several wooden tablets with administrative texts found in Kellis in Area A, House 2, and in Area B are to be published by R.G. Jenkins and G. Wagner. Other wooden tablets from House 3 published hereafter are 82, 84, 88 and 90.
60: LIST OF NAMES

(Late 3rd / early 4th century)

T.Kellis inv. A/5/91 (House 3, room 7a, level 2). H. 13.5 x B. 5.2 cm. Thickness of the wood 6 mm. The upper margin measures 3.1, the bottom margin 4.5 cm. The writing runs across the grain of the wood. There are no holes, the verso is blank. For organizational purposes the tablet was referred to previously as ‘T.Kellis 17’.

1 Ψάις Ψεναπόλλωτος
2 Ὄρος νίς Τιβερίος
3 Ψάις Εὐτυχῆ Φαρία
4 Βῆς Δημητρίου
5 Καλλικλῆς Σύρου
6 τέκτον(ος)
7 Μῦρων Παβῶτ(ος) Σκρᾶ
8 Ψάις Τεμοθέω
9 Ψάις Ἀλεξάνδρου παραχυτ(ος)
10 Τιθόης Σαβείνος
11 Τιθόης Ἑλία

2 Τιβερίου 8 Τιμοθέου 9 Παμπούθ(ος) 10 Σαβείνου 11 ηλία Tab.

“Psais son of Psenapollos; Horos son of Tiberius; Psais son of Eutyches son of Pharias (?); Bes son of Demetrios; Kallikles son of Syros the carpenter; Myron son of Pebos son of Saras; Psais son of Timotheos; Psais son of Alexander, parachytos; Tithoes son of Sabinus; Tithoes son of Elias.”

The purpose of this list giving the names of ten males with their fathers’ names (sometimes also a grandfather’s name [II. 3, 7, 9] or a profession [I. 5-6, 9]) is not stated; it could be, of course, a decania-list (for literature cf. O.Cair.GPW 133-137, intrad.), but the characteristic sign for the δεκανός himself is absent on the board. Though many of the names on this board are known from other Kellis texts, none of these persons occurs elsewhere in the Greek documents from Kellis; several names (Senapollos, Eutyches, Pharias, Bes, Demetrios, Myron, Alexander) apparently occur only here. The dating of the board is not quite certain. For palaeographical reasons a dating to the later 4th century seems unlikely. Furthermore, most names are pagan Egyptian, Greek and Latin names and they seem to point to an earlier period; only the fathers’ names Timotheos and Elias (II. 8, 11), may be related to the spreading of Christianity (unless they were borne by Jews, cf. 61, introd.). Given the fact that none of the persons here mentioned seem to occur elsewhere in the Greek papyri from Kellis one may be tempted to think that perhaps the board belongs to another, slightly earlier
period. On the other hand, our evidence from Kellis for the first decade of the 4th century or even earlier is rather slender and there is no palaeographical obstacle against dating the text to ca. 300 - 310 rather than ca. 290 - 300. Under these circumstances a general dating to the late 3rd/early 4th century seems the most fitting.

2. In itself it was not necessary to indicate the father/son relationship by the use of ειδός. Should we take it that in fact Horos was the son of Psais, (1. 1), while Tiberius was his alias-name? But this is not clearly indicated. One finds θησίρηθ(ήρηθ) used for expressing a father/daughter relationship below in 61.12, but there it may have been used on purpose, as the daughter’s name (now partially lost in a lacuna) may have been abbreviated.

3. Φιλίδα (gen.) looks like a grandfather’s name, rather than an alias-name or the indication of some (unknown) profession. Cf. II. 7, §§ for other (names of) grandfathers. A masculine name Φιλίδα seems to be an addendum onomasticis; for the female Φιλίδα cf. F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, s.n. It does not seem very likely that here both the father and the mother of Ψάες were mentioned and that we should read Φιλίδα <ε.>

4. The short name Βήζ occurs only here. Several names, however, in Βήζ- were current in Kellis.

9. For another occurrence of the word ταραξάντως cf. 3.9n.

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61: LIST OF MONEY ARREARS

(4th century)

T.Kellis inv. A/5/106 (House 3, room 3, level 1). H. 22.9 x B. 6.3 cm. Thickness of the wood 3 mm. The bottom margin is 13.5 cm. wide. The writing runs across the grain of the wood. There are 2 x 2 holes visible on the left hand edge (they are partly incomplete, where the board has broken). The verso is blank. For organizational purposes this wooden board was known previously as ‘T.Kellis 18’.

1. έχθειος(ες) ἀργυρίου ἐν τορφ(ύφρ)
2. Ίσκοβ χερμέως
3. ἐλαίου χο(ντ) S’
4. Κοτρία χο(ντ) S’
5. Ροχηλ ἄρμεως μ(περητής ?) α
6. Θερμοθ(ος) Πατηνοθ(ο) ερεηξ(ύλου) μν(ας) S’
7. Κατάπ( ) Ἀπολλ( )  χαλκ(έως) τάλ(αντα) α
8. Πατηνοθ(ο) τάλ(αντα) ς
9. Νορθ( ) Ἀπολλάς Ἀφροδί( )
10. τάλ(αντα) ω
11. Μορ[η] α Άπολλαν(ος) κρ(μ)θ(ής) μ(όδιον) ε
12. Ίσθ[δώρα] θηγ(άτηρ) Ἰωάννου τάλ(αντα) ε
13. Ίσθ(ορ-) Πατηνοθ(ο) τάλ(αντα) σ.

1. Ακθεσ(ος) 7 καταί Tab. 12 άσ-, ιωανν Tab. 13 άσ- Tab.
“Arrears of money in purple. From Jacob the potter, \( \frac{1}{2} \) chous (of oil); Kopria, \( \frac{1}{2} \) chous (of oil); Rachel, 1 metrotes (?) of gum; Thermouth(is) daughter (?) of Papnouthios, \( \frac{1}{2} \) mna of cotton; Katai( ) son of Apoll( ), the bronze smith, 900 tal(ents); Patai through Papnouthios, 600 tal.; Nars( ) son (?) of Apollos son of Aphrodi( ) (?) 800 tal.; Mar.a daughter of Apollon, 5 modii of barley; Isidora daughter of John, 200 tal., Isid( ) son of Papnouthios, 200 tal.”

According to 1. 1 this board contains a record of arrears of money owed, \( \varkappa \chi \theta \varepsilon \sigma(\zeta) \varepsilon \rho \gamma (\rho \iota \omicron \upsilon) \); apparently these arrears were connected with purple dye (cf. \( \varepsilon \nu \pi \rho \rho \phi (\upsilon \rho \pi \upsilon) \)) and it looks probable that the amounts of money owed were to be converted into amounts of purple dye as that was probably a more stable commodity than steadily depreciating ‘silver’ money (cf. for deliveries or payments ‘\( \varepsilon \nu \pi \rho \rho \phi (\upsilon \rho \pi \upsilon) \)’ the remark in P.Hamb. I 90.10n. and P.Giss. 103 = M. Naldini, II Cristianesimo in Egitto # 43.9-14 [also from the Great Oasis]). It is remarkable, however, that in the following 11. 2-13 one finds entries registering either (a) amounts of some commodity other than purple (oil [ll. 3, 4], gum [I. 5], cotton [I. 6] and barley [I. 11]) or (b) sums of talents. Are the first registrations indications of commodities bought with money which also should be recompensed in purple dye? Also remarkable is the fact that this wooden board contains a certain concentration of ‘Jewish’ names, cf. ‘\( \Iota \kappa \kappa \omega \beta \)’ (l. 2), ‘\( \Pi \rho \chi \epsilon \lambda \)’ (l. 5), and ‘\( \Iota \alpha \kappa \nu \nu \nu \zeta \)’ (l. 12); cf. also \( \Pi \omega \rho \zeta \theta \alpha \) / \( \Pi \alpha \rho \zeta \iota \alpha \) in l. 11. These names are probably connected with the christianization of the village of Kellis during the 4th century and the concomitant introduction of Biblical names used by the Christians, as there seems no good reason to think that there was a kind of ‘Jewish quarter’ in the village or in its neighbourhood. The size of the amounts of talents (200 - 900) is compatible with a date to ca. 350 or slightly later.

1. For the subject of ‘purple’ in the ancient and Arabic world there is a vast literature; see M. Reinhold, History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity (Coll. Latomus 116); see also, e.g., J. Balfour-Paul, ‘Indigo in the Arab World’, Hali 61, pp.98-105 and 140 (we owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. A. Alcock). Dr. Alcock informs us that the term for purple dye also occurs fairly commonly in the Coptic texts from Kellis, alone and in connection with wool.

2. For a list of potters occurring in the papyri published until 1987 cf. CPR XIII, pp. 109-14. For other potters in the Kellis documents cf. 66.22; 74.2, 35 (?); cf. also the village name \( \kappa \omega \mu \eta \Kappa \rho \rho \nu \mu \alpha \iota \) in 34.1.

3. For the resolution of \( \chi \omicron (\ ) \) into \( \chi \omicron (\iota \zeta) \) (= ca. 3 liter) cf. 90.7n.


5. We have resolved \( \mu (\sigma \tau \rho \pi \tau \varsigma \zeta) \), but a resolution like, e.g., \( \mu (\epsilon \tau \iota \omicron) \) or \( \mu (\epsilon \delta \mu \omicron \omicron) \) can perhaps not be excluded.

6. Though it is true that in l. 12 the father/daughter relationship is clearly expressed by \( \theta \nu \gamma (\alpha \tau \mu \rho \nu \omicron) \), almost all names in \( \Theta \rho \mu \mu \omicron \theta \omicron \) are borne by women, hence the idea that one is dealing here with a daughter rather than with a son of Papnouthios. One wonders whether this father Papnouthios is the same person as the Papnouthios in ll. 8 and 13. For the subject of cotton in the Great Oasis cf. G. Wagner, Les Oasis d’Egypte 291-93 (P.Mich. VIII 500.7 also contains a reference to cotton).
7. The name Κατσετηδης( ) seems to be an addendum onomasticis. A resolution of χαλκ( ) into χαλκ(δως) rather than into χαλκ(θη) is indicated by the fact that in this period there are no χαλκ(θη) ταλαντα in use any longer. In itself one may prefer to take the indication of the trade as going with the son rather than with the father, hence resolve χαλκ(ες).

8. The name Παττατος is apparently unabbreviated and as such it seems to be an addendum onomasticis; but cf. names like, e.g., Παττατος and, in Kellis, Παττατος.

9. The reading of Νικη[ρ]() is uncertain; is 'Απολλων 'Αφροδη( ) intended to mean 'Apollos son of Aphrodi(sios)' vel sim., or should one resolve 'Αφροδη(τοναλήτης) and take the meaning as 'Apollos from Aphrodite'?

10. Both Μαρθυξα and Μαρθυςα are possible.

11. For the use here of θυγατηρ(α) cf. above 60.2n.

62: LIST OF RENT PAYMENTS

(Late 3rd / early 4th century)

T.Kellis inv. A/5/194 (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 26 x B. 9.5 cm. Thickness of the wood 5 mm. The bottom margin measures ca. 4 cm. The writing runs across the grain of the wood. On the verso are scattered traces of text (mostly gone). There are several holes in the wood, 2 x 2 drilled ones at the right hand side (diameter: .5 cm) and various other ones caused by worms. For organizational purposes the board was previously known as 'T.Kellis 9'.

1  ΕΣ' Χοιλας ιβ. έδωκεν
2  Ιενά Φιλις υπέρ φόρου χορίου
3  Πανεύς θρηγυριος δραχμας
4  έκατον, γ(ινωνται) (δραχμαι) ρ. Έδωκεν
5  [την] άποχην Φιλούμενος.
6  Φαρμοθη(ι) — ο αυτος έδωκεν
7  υπ' τοι αυτω φόρου (φρονιμιου
8  δραχμαις διακοσιας δωδε-
9  κας, γ(ινωνται) (δραχμαι) σιβ. Έδωκεν [την]νυ
10  άποχην Φιλούμενος.
11  Παχών ε' έδωκεν ο αυτος
12  αλλας δραχμαις εξηκοντα δικτ[ω],
13  (πινωνται) (δραχμαι) ετη. Έδωκεν την άποχην
14  Φιλούμενος.
15  Θες— ματ',
16  έδωκεν Γενά Φιλις υπέρ φορ(ου)
17  χωριου παρνον θρηγυριον
18  δραχμαις έκατων, γ(ινωνται) (δραχμαι) ρ. Έδωκεν
19  την άποχην Φιλούμενος
20  Φασφα κ' έδωκεν ο αυτος
21  αλλας δραχμαις διακοσιας εικο-
"Year 5, Choiak 12. Iena son of Philus (?), has paid for rent for the farm of Panes a hundred silver drachmas, 100 dr. in total. Philoumenos has issued the receipt. Pharmouthi -. The same person has given for the same rent two hundred and twelve silver drachmas, 212 dr. in total. Philoumenos has issued the receipt. Pachon 5, the same person has paid another sixty eight drachmas, 68 dr. in total. Philoumenos has issued the receipt. Thoth 13. Gena son of Philus (?), has paid for rent for the farm of Panes a hundred silver drachmas, 100 dr. in total. Philoumenos has issued the receipt. Phaophi 20. The same person has paid another two hundred and twenty-four drachmas, 224 in total. Philoumenos has issued the receipt. Hathyr 20, Gena son of Philus (?), has paid for the same rent another hundred silver drachmas, 100 dr. in total. Philoumenos has issued the receipt. Tybi 20. He has paid for the same rent another hundred and thirty-two silver drachmas, 132 dr. in total. Likewise, another twenty-four drachmas, 24 dr. in total. Philoumenos has issued the receipt."

This wooden board contains a series of rent payments made by a certain Lena (Gena). Two of the payments (ll. 1-5, 15-19) record specifically that he paid ‘for the farm of Panes’, and it may be assumed that indeed all receipts refer to the same purpose of payment. It is, however, not clear what was paid for: the rent of, e.g., a farm house, or of a small plot of land? The payments (which all have been recorded by a certain Philoumenos) can be tabulated as follows:
The total amount paid was 960 drachmae paid in 8 instalments covering a period of 13 months, i.e. more than 1 year. At the same time it should be noticed that there is no change indicated from a 5th year (cf. 1. 1 and note ad loc.) to a next, 6th year. It is also remarkable that there was no fixed monthly rent payment; the average payment per month was \( \frac{12}{13} \times 960 = 89.25 \) dr. (= ca. 3 drachmas a day), but the rent was paid apparently at irregular times and in irregular amounts (all amounts of drachmas, however, are multiples of 4 and this points to actual payments of tetradrachms). Given the use of drachma-coinage and the fact that the total amount of 960 drachmas for rent for a period of more than 1 year is relatively small (slightly more than the price of an artab of beans for future delivery in 308, cf. R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 65 [P.Cair.Isid. 87, 88, 89]), it may be assumed that this wooden board should probably dated to the first decade of the 4th century or else to the preceding period (cf. line 1n.).

1. It is not stated clearly what the numeral \( \varepsilon \) refers to, but it looks like a numeral for a year. There are, then, two possibilities:
   a. a regnal year, or
   b. an indiction year.

If it is a regnal year, one is almost forced to assume that 'regnal year 5' refers to a reign preceding that of the emperor Diocletian (for the argument cf. BASP 16 [1979] 221ff.: 'Single Year Dating under Diocletian and his Successors'); the latest possible year 5 of a single ruler is that of the emperor Probus, i.e. 279/80; but then one cannot rule out, of course, year 5 of Aurelian, 273/4.

If it is an indiction year numeral, there are, again, two possibilities:
(1) it may be connected with the system of 5-year cycles of tax levies (ἐπιγραφαὶ, διατυπώσεις, ἴδιατη ἀποτιμάσις) operating between 287-302 (for this system cf. J.D. Thomas, BASP 15 [1978] 133-45 and R.S. Bagnall - K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* [Zutphen 1978], Ch. 1), or
(2) it may be connected with the well-known system based on a cycle of 15 years (these years being numbered 1-15, the cycle itself NOT being numbered) which was operating in Egypt from 313 onwards (with indiction year 1 of the first cycle = 312/3, cf. Bagnall-Worp, *op.cit.* and CPR XVII.A 2 introd.).

As the first system was never used for simple dating purposes (only to indicate tax levies), this option may be discarded, but 'year 5' may be related to the 5th indiction in 316/7 (for other considerations of dating this text cf. above).

Instead of reading the numeral as \( \varepsilon \), a reading \( \delta \) cannot be excluded. If so, the years in the Julian calendar are either 278/9 or 272/3, resp. 315/6.
2. It is remarkable that the scribe’s spelling fluctuates between ἱερὸν (here) and Γενᾶ (II. 16, 24), apparently reflecting an Egyptian [j]-sound (for similar fluctuations cf. F.T. Gignac, Grammar, I 73f.). A personal name Φίλις is not listed by F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, of D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum.

A personal name Ἰχοὺς is not listed by F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, of D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum.

3. A Χαρίλαος Πανεύς (gen. of Πανεύς) is not known from elsewhere, but Πανεύς is known as a personal name.

4. Philoumenos is the person who signed the receipt, but he may have been only a rent collector, while another person owned the object for which Iena/Gena paid rent. The name does not turn up elsewhere in the Greek texts from Kellis.

63: MANICHAEAN LETTER

(First part of 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 87 (House 3, room 6, level 4, South wall). H. 28 x B. 11.3 cm. The upper margin is 1.5 cm. wide, at the left there was originally a margin of 1 cm. left free, but it has been inscribed. The text was written parallel with the fibers on both sides of the sheet.

"To my lords sons who are most longed-for and most beloved by us, Pausanias and Pisistratos, N.N. sends greetings in God. Since your good reputation is great and without limit in our mind and in our speech, I wish to reveal this as much as possible and to extend it through this letter. For this has been recorded and testified to by the most sincere mind in you. And yet, knowing that this letter will gladden (you) in due measure, consequently we hasten to make use of this and to send off to the --- word of the divinely generated conceptions which we cherish inside towards your pious character. For we are most pleased and rejoice when (or: that?) we shall receive both the indications of your sympathy and the welcome letter of yours, I mean ...; and now we benefit from a few fruits of the spirit and (later) again we benefit also from the fruits of the soul of the pious ...., of course; and filled with both we shall set going every praise towards your most luminous soul inasmuch as this is possible for us. For only our lord the Paraclete is competent to praise you as you deserve and to compensate you at the appropriate moment. We have received the basket and we give in to your most pious preference and we have given the objects destined for the lord -ryillos. Likewise, we also received the ---. May you remain so helpful for us as we pray; "...

The background situation of this letter seems to be the following: Pausanias and Pisistratos had solicited a kind of letter of recommendation from their correspondent
(whose name is lost, unfortunately); now he replies to their request in a letter with
elegant phrasings which are quite uncommon in ordinary Greek private letters; at the
same time he confirms receipt of a few commodities.

To our knowledge this is the second Greek papyrus letter which may be con-
ected with or attributed to Manichaeans; the first such letter was published first by
J.H. Harrop in JEA 48 (1962) 133-140, later republished by E.G. Turner as P.Oxy.
XXXI 2603 and by M. Naldini, Il Cristianesimo in Egitto # 47, but its character and
background have been described as ‘Christian’ rather than ‘Manichaean’ (cf. now the
remarks by S.N.C. Lieu, Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East (Leiden
1994) 98 n.316.

Dr. I. Gardner comments about this exceptional letter: “The Manichaean beliefs
held by the letter’s author, and presumably shared by Pausanias and Pisistratos, are
made evident by the reference to ‘our lord the Paraclete’ (l. 27-28). Mani claimed to
have been the recipient of direct revelation from his divine Twin-Spirit, which being
was understood to have been the ‘Paraclete’ foretold by Jesus (Jn. 14:16); and with
whom Mani became ‘one body and one spirit’ (Kephalai 15.23-24). This reference
here in 63, and two amongst the Coptic personal letters (P. 84, line 9, and P. 88, line
27), answers a long running discussion among scholars as to whether the community
directly identified their founder with the Paraclete (in catholic Christianity identified as
the Holy Spirit), or otherwise in some sense held the divine and human apart. It would
seem that, at this popular level at least, the identification became complete.

Once the Manichaean authorship is noted various other distinctive features in the
letter’s terminology can also be understood with reference to the community’s doctrine.
In particular, the ‘most luminous soul’ (II. 26-27) must be related to teachings about
the Living Soul. This figure is the collectivity of the divine light that has become trapped
and entwined in the natural world; which is equally the history of each individual. The
divine psyche is awakened to salvation and truth by the Light Nous; as incarnated in the
apostles, the true church, and the individual made anew. Here, the author praises the
purity and enlightenment of those whom he is addressing.”

3. For a man named Pausanias in Kellis cf. 4 (331), 5 (IV), 6 (IV) [all three found in House 2], and
38.a,b (333) [from House 3], esp. 38.a.1n.; we think that we are dealing here with the same person, and
this letter’s handwriting forms no palaeographical obstacle against the hypothesis that it was written
somewhere in the first part of the 4th century; it is impossible to determine a more precise date. The fact,
that we have two documents issued by Pausanias in the 330’s, should not make us exclude a slightly ear-
lier date for this letter, but it is equally possible that it dates from, e.g., ca. 345. A Pisistratos occurs also
on an otherwise insignificant [undated] scrap in P. 17.V.

21-24. We are not certain how to understand the author’s wording πω ετοιοδέχεν πνευματικόν |
διέλοι αυτοθρόν, απολογεί[ομεν δι[ε] τά- | λιν καὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν τῆς ενίσχυσις | ... φοράς δηλονότι (the
stop occurring on the papyrus after δηλονότι prevents us from taking this word with the following pas-
sage). The word αυτοθρόν goes also with τῶν ψυχικῶν, but what these πνευματικοί and ψυχικοί καιροί
exactly are (they are clearly distinct from each other, cf. in ll. 24-25 καὶ ἑντατο[ο] (sc. καρπῶν)
πέπλησθι[είς]), is all but clear.
34. We have not been successful in reading the first letters of the name (that of another member of the Manichaean community in Egypt) and in fact there are several possibilities for restoration.

64: PRIVATE LETTER

(Mid 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 82.C (House 3, room 6, level 4, in Southeast corner). H. 27 x B. 6.2 cm. Margins: at the top 1.5, at the bottom 7, at the left 0.5 cm. Writing parallel with the fibers on both sides. The papyrus was folded 2x vertically and 1x horizontally.

1 [Κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ
2  Ἐλλάμμων
3 [Οὔ]αλέριος χαίρειν.
4 Ἀστάξομαι σε πολλὰ εὐ-
5 χόμενοι ἰγνοῖνειν. Θεο-
6 μάζω ὅπως ἡμεῖς
7 παρά σοι, ὡς δὲ ἐδηλώ-
8 σας περὶ τοῦ νῦν, ὡς
9 ὅτι {ε} ἐδέξατο 'τι παρὰ τοῦ
10 ἀδελφοῦ Ἀρασινίου. Οὔ-
11 δὲν ὅν ἐσχεν παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ
12 οὔδὲ ἀκέφαλησεν αὐτῷ
13 περὶ φορέτρον, ἀλλὰ σὺ
14 λαβὼν παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ δύο νομισμάτικα δέδω-
15 κας τῷ αὐτῷ νῦν. Ὡς
16 μὴ θελήσῃς ἀφοδίωσει
17 χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ποιήσῃς
18 με τὸν τὸ[ὸ]ρων λόγον σου.
19 Ἡδον γὰρ ἐδήλωσα αὐ-
20 τῷ περὶ τοῦτον. Μέριμ-
21 σο δὲ ἐνεγκεῖν μοι τοὺς
22 ἐννέα ἔστας μέλιτος
23 οὕς χρεωστεῖς μοι ὑπὲρ
24 τοῦ τότε λόγου τῆς ἐξιστολῆς σου· ἀλλὰ ἐν
25 καλῷ μέλιτι. (M.2) Ερρῶθαι
26 σε εὐχομαι πολλοὺς
27 χρόνους εὐτυχοῦντα.

Verso:

28 Κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ
29  Ἐλλάμμων  Οὔαλέριος

/ /
"To my lord brother Philammon, Valerius, greetings. I greet you sincerely praying for your health. I wonder why you stayed at home and why you sent a message concerning your son, that he had received something from brother Arsenios. He [the son] received nothing from him [Arsenios] and he did not speak with him about the transportation costs, but you got two solidi from him [Arsenios] and gave them to him [the son]. Avoid using ..., but give me your account of these. For you see, I have sent him [Arsenios?] a message about this matter. Please remember to bring me the nine sextarii of honey, which you owe to me because of the earlier account (of your letter), but [send them] in good honey. I pray for your health while you are successful for many years." (Verso) "To my lord brother Philammon, Valerius."

This private letter deals with the transfer of money and the conveyance of some honey.

1-3. Philammon (l. 2) is probably the same person as one of his namesakes occurring in 19.b.2 (299); 49.3, 21 (304); 65.1, 51; 71.36, 49; 72.39 and 79.6 (all IV). A distinction, however, can be made (cf. 79, introd.) between two homonymous persons, one living at the start of the 4th century (19.b, 49, 65), the other ca. 350 (71 and 72). A similar distinction between two different Philammons seems possible in the case of the Coptic papyri (information kindly provided by I. Gardner). We are inclined to identify the Philammon occurring here with the second bearer of that name (71, 72; possibly also 79). In this connection we wonder, furthermore, whether Valerius (l. 3) is the same person as the Aurelius Valerius who manumitted his female slave Hilaria in 355 (cf. 48) and the father of Aurelius Pausanias (cf. 38.a and 38.b from 333). From a palaeographical point of view there seems to be no obstacle against dating the letter to the middle of the 4th century and there is an argument in favour of a date after ca. 325-330, cf. l. 14n.

5. A construction τεωμέξιδα ὅπως ... ζῆ δὲ ... (For τεωμέξιδα ὅπως/ώς cf. R. Kühner - B. Gerth, Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Satzlehre II 370 Anm. 2.) seems more attractive than a construction ὁπως(...) ὅπως(...), followed by a new phrase starting with 'ζῆ δὲ ...' 8-9. ἔς in ἔς ὅτι is superfluous, cf. F. Blaß - A. Debrunner, Grammatik des N.T. Griechisch (Göttingen 1965) § 396.

10. An Arsenios is mentioned only here in the Greek papyri from Kellis.

13. If Philammon were identical with the homonymous driver of dromedaries in 79.6-7 (cf. above, l. 1-3n.), the word φορεταριον used here (= 'expenses of transport') would apply to Philammon's occupation.

14. The earliest precisely dated use of the word ροματετον = 'solids' seems to be P.Stras. 9 from 352, but the word also occurs in some undated texts which may be ca. 2 decades earlier, cf. R.S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt 16.


16. ἀφοδεώσων: Is this a new word ἀφοδεώσως, meaning something like 'pretext'? LSJ does not list it and it is at least conceivable that one is dealing with a misspelling of another, known word. Following that line of thought there are at least two candidates, both not unproblematical, viz.

(a) ἀποθεώσως (from ἄποθεος = sulphur) = 'fumigation', cf. LSJ. Though one can adduce parallels for the change of π>φ, of θ>δ, and of α>ι, this does not seem an attractive supposition, the more
so as never before the word has appeared in the papyri. The only reference given in LSJ, to Onasander 10.28 in the Loeb-edition, makes one wonder why the translation given in LSJ should be applicable there; the Loeb-editor of Onasander translates ‘deification’ and obviously takes ἄποθέωσις to be synonymous with ἄποθέωσις. Anyway, in the context of the papyrus both ‘fumigation’ and ‘deification’ seem inapplicable.

(b) ἄφοσίων = ‘doing as a matter of form’, cf. LSJ s.v., 2. In fact this word does appear in at least one papyrus (P.Oxy. XXXIII 2666 ii.3) and the translation seems better applicable here, but the problem of ‘explaining’ the erroneous spelling ἄφο-σ-ίων > ἄφ-ο-δ-ίων remains unsolved.

18. Many letters in this line are read doubtfully; it is possible to read μεγαν instead of με τον, but it is unclear what a μέγας λόγος would mean here. On the other hand the accusative με is difficult to accept; one would rather expect a δατίνος κομμωδί μου.

21. A ξένης = Lat. sextarius contains ca. 0.5 liter, cf. A. Segré in Aegyptus 1 (1920) 321; the total amount of honey referred to here is ca. 4.5 liter, possibly packed in 9 jars of 0.5 liter each. For honey in the papyri cf. H. Chouliara-Raïos, L'abeille et le miel en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs (Ioannina 1989; = ΔΙΑΔΩΝΗ, 30). The writer stresses that the honey he wants to receive should be of first-class quality.

65: PRIVATE LETTER

(Early 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 61 Z (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 23.5 x B. 8.5 cm. There is a kollesis ca. 1.5 - 2.0 cm. from the righthand edge of the front which the writer has avoided as far as l. 16. After writing, the papyrus was turned vertically from top to bottom and the letter was continued on the bottom back across the fibers. It was then folded top to bottom across the middle and the address was written along the fibers on the bottom lefthand side of the back before the letter was rolled up. For organizational purposes the papyrus was referred to previously as ‘P.Kellis 65’.

1 [Φιλ]όμω[ν] ἡμιν; ἔμεν ἡμῖν τὰς χαίρειν.
2 Ἤ[δ]ειλήθη μοι τολλᾶ καίρειν.
3 Θαυμάζω [θ]ω πῶς οὐκ ἔγραφο.
4 ψάξ μοι μίαν ἑπιστολὴν περί
5 οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς. Ἐγραψάκει σοι
6 πρὸ τοῦτον ἢτις ἠρέσσον τὸν
7 τόπον μου ὁ ἐστιν ἐπὶ μυσθῷ
8 ἐν. Ταῦτα ὁμοί καὶ ποιή-
9 σεις λάβε ἀνθρώπου < ζ > καὶ ἰκα-
10 σον τὰς ἑλείαις. Ἐκαὶ δὲ
11 ὁ Θεός κελεύστε ὁ ἀπολύσατε
12 ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐλεύσομεν, ἐγὼ
13 πληρῶσοι σοὶ τὴν χάριν
14 σοι, ἐκαὶ δὲ μη ὁ Θεός,
15 δίδωμι σοὶ τὴν χάριν.
16 Πάμπτας γὰρ καὶ σὺ ἠκουσάς.
17 tά περι ἡμῶν ἐγκεντο ἐνθά-
18 δε. Ἀπλῶς δέ περι πάντων
19 πιστεύσω σοι τὸν ἐμὸν τό-
20 τον, ὡς τιμήσῃς σε αὐ-
21 τόν. Καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ἐλά-
22 διον ἡν {ε}άγης παρὰ σε, πά-
23 λησον αὐτὰ καὶ τοσχέως
24 τέμψης τὴν τιμήν διὰ πιστοῦ
25 ἀνθρώπου, ἐπὶ χρείαν αὐ-
26 το < ὅ ἔχω > ἐνθάδε, ὅτι πολλὰ ἱμιὰ
27 ἐγώ ἐδόθη ἐνθάδε. Καὶ
28 τὸν τῶλον, τῶλησον
29 αὐτὰ καὶ τέμψης τὴν
30 τιμήν. Θαυμάζω δέ∙
31 ἤγραψά σοι ὅτι 'Πέμψης τὸ
32 μαρφόρτιον μου καὶ [ουκε]
33 τὸ χιτώνιον' καὶ ὅτι ἱμί-
34 λησό σοι: τέμψης μου. αἴδες
35 καὶ σον ὅτι ἐγὼ μημονεύ-
36 εις. Διὰ τί καὶ ἱμίας ὅτι ἡ-
37 μημονεύεις, ἀλλὰ λή-
38 χαργός σοι: 'Ασπάζομαι τὸν
39 υἱὸν σου Ψαϊν καὶ τοὺς
40 ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ. 'Ασπάζο-
41 μαι Χόλος, ἀσπάζομαι
42 'Αμμάων
Back at the bottom, across the fibers:
43 Τούνν οὐν βλέπεις τὴν μη-
44 τέραν μου. 'Οσα ἐχεις ἐγώ,
45 τήρησον αὐτὰ ὅτι σῶπω
46 ἔμαθες τὰ περι ἡμῶν ἐν-
47 θάδε.
48 'Ερωθεῖα σε
49 εὐχομαι πολλοῖς
50 χρόνοις.
Back, along the fibers:
51 Τεκοσον ἀδελ- / \ π(αρά) Φιλάμμων{ι}
52 φή μου{ί} / \\

7 ὅς 8 ὁν 9-10 εἰκασσον (ἰκασσον Παπ.) 17 ὁ 20 σὺ 23 αὐτὸ 25 ἐπεῖ 27 μου 29 αὐτὸν 32 μαφόρτιον 33-34 ἐμεληθεὶς 35-36 μημονεύω 36 ἱμάς 36-37 ἐμμημονεύεις σύ μημονεύεις 38 σύ 39 ψαίν Παπ. 41 Χόλον 43 βλέπης 44 μοι for ἐγώι? 45 αὐτὴν 46 ἔμαθε 51 Φιλάμμωνος
"Philammon to my sister Tekose, many greetings. I am amazed that you have not written me a single letter about anything at all. I wrote to you before this: 'Look after my plot which is out to rent'. So therefore please get some fellows and estimate the olives. And if God bids you to save us from trouble and we survive, I shall repay you your favour in full. And (even) if God does not, I shall do you the favour. For doubtless even you have heard what happened to us here. In short I shall entrust my plot to you in everything for you to look after it. And if you take the little bit of olive oil to your place, sell it on your own responsibility and quickly send me the price via a trustworthy fellow since I have need of it here, because I have incurred much loss here. And as for the foal, sell it and send the price. I am amazed that I wrote to you: 'Send my cape and my tunic' and you did not bother. Send them to me. You know too that I am mindful of you. Why weren't you mindful of us too, but forgetful? I greet your son Psais and his brothers. I greet Cholos, I greet Ammonios. Now, look to my mother. As much as you can, look after her for me, since she has not yet learnt what has happened to us here. I pray that you are well for many years." (Verso) "To my sister Tekose from Philammon."

This papyrus contains a letter from Philammon (cf. 64.1-3n.; probably to be identified with the Philammon of 49 [304] which has the same find spot) to a 'sister' Tekose who may be identifiable with Aurelia Takysis in 37.1, 18 [320] and Takose, the mother of Aurelius Pamour, in 42.1-2, 31 [364]. The writer, who was in financial difficulties, instructs her to collect the rent due on a plot of land out on lease, to estimate the olive crop, and to realise the price of a small amount of olive oil and a foal to help cover a substantial financial loss. The nature of the great ἔμμοιο (1. 26; = financial loss) for which Philammon was liable is unknown. Dr. A. Alcock kindly refers to the Coptic P.Kellis inv. 68.G (b) in which a certain Philammon complains to Theognostos / Loui Shai (cf. 67.2n.) of losses that he has sustained ('Let him therefore send five pairs of cloth to me, because you ... you offor the losses which he caused me to sustain'; unfortunately the person causing the loss is difficult to identify). In preparing this text we had the benefit of a preliminary transcript by Dr. R.G. Jenkins.

1. The reading of the writer's name ending in -μων is confirmed by its repetition, undamaged, in the address on the back. Neither F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, nor D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum list this form, but in light of the many variants throughout this text it may be no more than a (Copticised ?) form of Φολάμμων. Coptic names in general often end in -e or in -i. Μων on the back, in the address, also seems to have an unnecessary iota added to it.
5. Despite its use as an adverb with the verb παρατατό in I. 18-19, ἔπανως most probably belongs here to ἐδεικτικό rather than to εὑρετικό cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch s.v. ἐπανως, 6.
7-8. For the periphrastic present of ἐμιτ + pres.part. which seems to be more common in New Testament Greek than in the papyri, see F. Blass - A. Debrunner - R. Funk, Grammar of New Testament Greek, § 353, and F. Gignac, Grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods II 284; for periphrastic constructions in general, see also W.J. Aerts, Periphrastica. An investigation into the use of sivea and ἐξειν as auxiliaries or pseudo-auxiliaries in Greek from Homer up to the present day (Diss. Amsterdam 1965).
8. According to the Duke Data Bank on Documentary Papyri (PHI CD-ROM # 6) ὑπὸν ὁὖν is found at the start of a main clause in P. Oxy. XII 1591.7, PSI VII 830.4 and P.Stras. 233.6; due to the mutilated transmission of the text the situation in SB VI 9590.4 is far from clear, but it seems attractive to regard it there, too, as the start of a main clause.

20-21. The writer’s meaning is clear even if the grammar is not. It seems simpler to read σὲ αὐτὸν as two words with σὲ = σῷ, than to construe σαστῶν = σαστῶν for σαστῆς.

32. For μαθώρτων, a short cape covering the neck and shoulders which was usual worn by women, see P.Oxy. LIX 4004.15 n. with reff. A χιτώνας was also more properly a woman’s dress or shift, cf. LSJ s.v.

66: PRIVATE LETTER

(Early 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 61.EE (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 25.5 x B. 8.5 cm. Margins: at the left 1, at the top 1.4 and at the bottom 3 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers, the verso is blank.

1 Παυκῷ Ψαφάττι π[φ] χαϊρειν.
2 Πρὸ σαστῶν πολλά σὲ ὁ[πάλησατο Ν.Ν. καὶ - - -]  
3 αὐ[τῷ]. Πολλά σὲ ἀπάλησοι. Ἐλαβὼν - - - -
4 γόμον ἔνα καὶ διὰ Ψάλτος [χιτώνας]
5 δὸ[ο]. Δὸς αὐτῷ τάλαντ[—] ὁ καὶ δραχμὰς —[οιχί—]
6 λείας ὑπὲρ φολετροῦ [  
7 ἔτανω τοῦ γόμου ἐπεμψ'  
8 ἔτανω τοῦ γόμου μοι[είν σε θέλω ὅτι — — —]
9 ὡν τρις τὴν τιμὴν ἐπ[εμψάσοι, ἀπέσχηκα.]  
10 Ἀ[γόμασαν μοι ἐριδίων ] [ ca. 17 ]
11 Μὴ ἀμελήσῃς τοσχέως γράψαι μοι καὶ περί  
12 ὡν θέλεις κέλευε μοι ἥ[δεως ἔγορτε.
13 Έρρωθ'θι οἴ [ει ἐιύχομαι  ]
14 VACAT [  
15 VACAT [  
16 ἔλαβε διὰ ὑ TRACES[  
17 δέδωκα ἄμα τινι' οὐδὲν ἔλαβες. Ζ[ήτησον πάντο-]  
18 θεν δέρματα πέντε καὶ ἀγόρασα[ον αὐτὰ μοι]  
19 καὶ τέμψον μοι. Μαθεῖν σε θέλω [ὅτι οὐδὲν σοι]  
20 κρύπτων οὐδὲ δίχαλκον' ἔλαβες τι[ ca. 10 ]  
21 μένα εἰς Ἐμροῦ πόλιν καὶ Ψάλτος ἔρι[ ca. 10 ]
22 [ ] κεραμείας' πάλιν οὐδὲν ἔλαβες [ ca. 10 ]
23 περί οὐδένος. Γείνου πρῶς Σερ[ ca. 10 ]
24 ι αὐτῇ χιτώνας γινὴ καὶ πάλη[σον ca. 7 ]
25 [τ]ιμῇ τὰ δύο χιτώνας ἔτανω τε[ν αὐτὸν γόμου]
“Pamour sends greetings to Psarapis his — . Before all N.N. and his — send you
many greetings. I send you many greetings. I received one load of — and through Psais
two other loads. Give him n talents and n000 drachmas for costs of transport of these —
on top of the load -- have sent -- on top of the load. I want you to known that I have
received the -- of which I sent you the price three times. Buy me -- of wool --. Don’t
forget to write quickly to me and send me your orders about your wishes which I am
pleased (to carry out). I pray for your health. (l. 16ff) He received through -- I have
given together with someone; you have received nothing. Look everywhere for five
skins and buy them for me and send them to me. I want you to know that I don’t hide
even a dichalkon from you (?). You received -- for -menes to Hermopolis and Psais --
potters. Again you received nothing -- concerning (for?) nothing. You must be with Sen--
to her chitons -- and sell -- price (?) the two chitons on top of the same load to
Pebos son of Saas. Don’t forget to -- of Horos son of Heliodoros and claim the three
thousand drachmas. If you can -- him, if not, take --.”

Despite its damaged state and the rather conventional information passed on by
the text as far as it has been preserved, this letter is of some interest as its format is
unusual. After a first letter of 12 lines closed off by the regular ‘Επιστολα ἐμπεμφια-
formula in l. 13 the author adds a postscript which is even longer (14 lines) than the
original letter.
The papyrus is broken in such a way that, while 3 folds are preserved in the
upper part of the letter, viz.:
margin, te | xt | text | [text | text ]
an extra fold is preserved in the lower part at the right (l. 16ff.), while the margin at
the left is lost, viz.:
[ ] text | text | text | [text ]
It may be assumed, therefore, that the upper part of the letter was broken on the central
vertical fold. The precise length of each line and the size of the lacunas in the first part
of the letter may be calculated from l. 11 (see note ad loc.; 17 letters lost out of a total
of 32 letters); as for the second part of the letter cf. l. 17, where the total number of
letters seems to have been ca. 37 letters, 11 of which are lost.
1. The name Ψαφώπτς (not listed in the regular papyrological onomastica) may be a combination of the masc. prefix Πα+ Σαφώπτς, cf. Ψάφος < Πч+ Σαφός in 33.1; for such combinations cf. also the note to 46.31f. and 74.25.

2-3. The order of persons who send their greetings is remarkable. Normally a letter starts by conveying the author's personal greetings to the addressee; after that it is often stated that other persons greet the addressee as well. Here the normal order is reversed. In the lacuna at the end of 1.2 restore, e.g. τά τάκεια or ἡ σύμβιος. At the end of 1.3 an indication of the nature of the cargo (γόμος) is expected.

4-5. For the restoration at the end of 1.4 cf. 1.25, where (again?) two chitons are mentioned.

5-6. Either one single talent, or an unknown number of talents is at stake. For the amount of drachmas perhaps restore the same numeral as in l.28, i.e. [τρισαχ-]-καις (1.-λαίκης)? The numeral must be lower than six thousand drachmas (=1 talent).

7. ἐπάνω τοῦ γόμον: for ἐπάνω = 'on top of, added to' cf., e.g., P.Genova I 20.7 (= P.Genova II App. 1) and 21.9 (see note ad loc.).

8-9. For the restoration of μαθ[έι]ν σε θελω cf. l.19. After the restored ὅτι an indication of an object (plural, cf. ἦν, l.9) is expected.

10. Wool as a commodity is also mentioned in three other letters from Kellis, 71.46, 72.38 and in 73.30. After ἐράδιων one expects an indication of the measure, e.g. σάκκους = 'bags' (cf. BGU III 812 i.3) and the number of the containers.

11. The amount of the text lost in the lacuna (17 letters) is about the same as that of the preserved text (15 letters). Apparently the papyrus was broken here into two halves, possibly on the central vertical fold.

13-15. It is conceivable that after ἐράσθαναι σε εἴχομαι in l.13 the formula continued in ll.14-15 with πολλὰς χρόνος εἴσηκοντα κήρυκς μου νεν ἐστιν. As in ll.14-15 the left hand part of the surface of the papyrus has been preserved, while the right hand part of the surface has peeled off, it must be assumed that these lines were indented and that all of these 'extra' words started at the same place as ἐράσθαναι in l.13.

19-20. The restorations are, of course, uncertain and instead of Μαθεῖν σε θέλω [ὅτι οἶδέν σου] κρύπτω οἴδε δίχαλκον ἔλαβες τι [one could read, e.g., Μαθεῖν σε θέλω [ὅτι Ν.Ν. οίκ εὐστίν ἐν Αί] γύπτων and continue thereafter with οἴδε δίχαλκον ἔλαβες στι [.] A dichalkon was the smallest unit used in Roman Egypt for the calculation of taxes and J.G. Milne identifies the smallest bronze coins from Nero's times with the dichalkon (cf. L.C. West - A.C. Johnson, Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt [Princeton 1944] 17f.). It is remarkable to find dichalkoi still being referred to at this (late) time in the 4th century, as the value of the coins must have been utterly insignificant. Perhaps one is dealing here with some kind of reproachful proverbial expression (You/he did not receive even a dichalkon)? Cf. the use of 'farthing' and 'halfpenny' in colloquial English.

21. One may accentuate -μένεις and regard it as the dative of a name on -μένης.

Read ἔρπη or ἐρήμη?

22. Read at the start [εἰς] cf. For a list of potters mentioned in the papyri cf. CPR XIII p. 109ff.

23. It is difficult to find a meaningful interpretation for γυνη. Probably it goes too far to suppose an error for γυναικεῖα (going with the χιτώνα).

24-26. Is something meant like 'sell for the same price the two chitons on top of the same load to Pebos son of Saas', i.e. read πολύλιχθην τῇ οὐτῇ [ΙΓΙΜΗ ΤΑ ΔΟΩ ΧΙΤΩΝΑ ΕΠΑΝΩ ΤΗ ΟΥΤΟΥ ΓΟΜΟΝ] ΠΙΕΒΩΤΙ ΣΟΛΑ; But one would expect a genitive τῆς οὐτῆς ΤΙΜΗΣ rather than the dative.

25. For the restoration here cf. ll.7, 8.

26. Is Σολά an error for Σαράς? For a man named Pebos son of Saras, cf. 60.7.

27-28. The same amount of drachmas may have been mentioned before in ll.5-6, cf. the note add loc. Under the present circumstances the restoration of οὖνος is nothing more than a stop-gap.

29. It is hard to tell whether one should read the last letter in this line (with its upper horizontal bar prolonged to the right) as a στι (= 6) or as a σίγμα (= 200).
67: PRIVATE LETTER

(Early to mid 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 17.D+N+EE (House 3, room 10, level 3). Frag. I: H. ca. 7 x B. ca. 5 cm; Fragm. II: H. ca. 9 x B. ca. 7.6 cm. The writing on both sides runs parallel with the fibers. On the back a name written in Syriac was initially read as ‘Pekysis’ by R.G. Jenkins (who also made a preliminary transcript of the text), but M. Franzmann tells us that this is ‘Loui Shai’, see I. 2n. For organizational purposes the papyrus was previously referred to as ‘P.Kellis 63’. Ed.princ. (with incorrect indication of the dimensions and some readings which cannot stand any longer) in the Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrology, Copenhagen 1992 (1994) 277-83.

1 ὃι ἀγαπητῷ ὦ[Ἰῷ]
2 ἘθνηνWarehouse γ[ι]
3 ἐν Θεῷ[λ] χαϊρεῖν.
4 Εἱ μὲν παρὰ σοὶ ἔ[στιν ὁ ἀδελ-]
5 φῶς σου Ψάῖς ε[]
6 προσέχετε ἑαυτ[οὺς]
7 σῇς νήπεως κα[λ] ἐπιστο-]
8 λα[ξ] ταύτας λαβ[δ[ν]τες

(several lines missing)

9 μόν ἐστιν
10 μν παρ’ ὑμῖν
11 ἐστὶν μα[θ.], καὶ ὅψε-
12 ταῖ. Ἀσκάσασθε πάντας
13 κατ’ ἴδιον. Οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑ-
14 μῶν ἁσταξιότατα ὑμᾶς.
15 Ἐρώθθη ἐν Θεῷ
16 ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, ὁ[γαπη]τοί.
17 (Μ.2) Πανακίδιον εὐμετρων καὶ
18 ἃςτιν δέκα πτυχῶν τέμ-
19 φον τῇ ἀδελφῷ σου Ἰσων.
20 Ἐλληνιστής γὰρ γέγονεν
21 καὶ ἀναγνώστης συναγωγικός

Down left hand margin, also in 2nd hand:

5 Ψαίς Pap. 10 ὑμῖν Pap. 15 Ἐρώτθησαί 18 ἄστείον 21 συναγωγικός
(Ll. 1-7) "To my beloved son Theognostos, from ..., greetings in God. If your brother Psais is with you, take heed (concerning) your sobriety and ----" (Ll. 12-21) "Greet all by name. Your brothers greet you. I pray that you are well in God, beloved (friends)". (Second hand) "Send a well-proportioned and nicely executed ten-page notebook for your brother Ision. For he has become a user of Greek and a comprehensive reader." (Margin) "Let the son (of N.N.?) learn that ... before she was given (as wife?)."

Although the change from one addressee in the first fragment (Ll. 1-3) to several in the closing formula in the second fragment (Ll. 13-16) is unusual and there is no secure join between the two pieces of the text R.G. Jenkins has confirmed that an examination of the papyrus under the microscope shows that all fragments derive from the same sheet. The suggestion made in the ed.princ. that the fragments may have come from two separate letters written in the same hand may therefore be ignored.

2. The name Theognostos occurs also in two other Greek letters among the Kellis papyri, esp. in 71.9 and 72.9; both letters are reminiscent of similar Manichaean letters from Kellis written in Coptic. I. Gardner informs us that in the Coptic letter P. 68.G.a the same person is called both Theognostos and Loui Shai and if the reading of the Syriac by M. Franzmann is correct, evidently we are dealing with the same man in this letter. On the name Loui Shai see also 71.1-3n.

5. Kappa is better at line end than ψ.
6-7. Restore as ποι ὑς σής νήφως? But one would expect ἑκτέρας rather than σῆς.
11. ἐκφηται or ἐκφηται is not likely.
16. Apparently this is a variation on a regular closing formula in Christian private letters, cf. P.Oxy. LVI 3857 introd. ἔδεικησε is not possible.
21. For writing Greek cf. LSJ s.v. ἔλληνιζε; the word Ἑλληνιστής, "speaker/writer of pure Greek" (cf. LSJ s.v. and W. Bauer, Wörterbuch zum N.T. 1971 s.v.) has apparently not yet occurred in the papyri. Likewise, the word αὐτοκτως seems to be new in the papyri, but cf. LSJ s.v. where its principal rendering is given as 'able to bring together'; it is not quite clear what a 'reader able to bring together' would mean precisely; we think that the wording must refer to an accomplished/comprehensive reader.

68: PRIVATE LETTER

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 17.E (House 3, room 10, level 3). The papyrus consists now of 2 fragments both measuring H. 12.2 x B. 8.5 cm. each. The writing runs parallel with the fibers, the verso is blank.

1 Κυρίω μου νιῶ Ἡλίῳ
2 Ψάις χαίρειν. Ἀσπάζομαι
“To my lord son Elias, Psais greetings. I greet you very much and the ladies my daughters together with their mother, while I pray for (your) health, after I had received no letter from you for so long a time because of the matter which concerned you as regards Pakysis. The other has released you completely indeed! I wonder how really you had time to go to Mesobe — (1. 20) don’t forget about what is in the Southern property and I think that with God’s help I come to you. If I should receive a letter from my lord the landowner, or if he does not write, as he has no need for me, I shall come. Write to me about what you want. I pray for your health for many years. Take care of your brothers.”

This letter, now broken into two pieces which perhaps do not join completely (cf. ll. 14 - 15), is badly damaged in its central part where the text might contain some bits of real information on building activities (cf. l. 18n.). After a standard opening (“To B,
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

A χαίρεως'; cf. F.X.J. Exler, The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter. A Study in Greek Epistolography [Diss. Washington 1923] 60ff., 67) most of the remaining text contains a series of standard phrases concerning the conveyance of greetings, wishes for good health, etc. It is interesting, however, that the author of the letter (a certain Psais who cannot be identified any further) refers to his firm intention to come over to his correspondent Elias and his family, regardless of whether he gets a letter from his landlord urging him to do so, or not. The phrasing in the final line (29), τινα ἐν συντάσσει ἔχειν, is not common in the documentary papyri.

1. A ‘son’ Elias is also the addressee of another private letter (81), but that papyrus was written by a certain Sabeinus. It is conceivable, of course, that not too much of importance should be attached to the word ὄνος = ‘son’ (on its ‘affectionate’ use, see F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v.) and that in fact one is dealing in both cases with the same addressee (it may be noted that in both documents reference is made to a γεωνάχος). On the other hand, in 75 a certain Elias is the author of a letter to a certain Strategios; that document, however, seems to have been written much later than the other two documents (possibly it is dating from the second or third quarter of the 4th century?).


10. Does ὁ άλλος mean another person named Pakysis (cf. the preceding line)?

12. ‘Mesobe’ is the name of a district in the Mothite nome, cf. 28.5.

13. ἴλατοι seems a conceivable, though slightly more ‘daring’ reading.

14. ξύλοντος ‘split timber’ seems to be related here to building activities, cf. οἰκόδομον | μηθαρησίων in l. 13-14.

15. ξύλοντος ‘split timber’ seems to be related here to building activities, cf. οἰκόδομον | μηθαρησίων in l. 13-14.

16. Maybe one should read -εκπολεμοσον, is one dealing with a composite form of the verb περάως?

18. ξύλοντος ‘split timber’ seems to be related here to building activities, cf. οἰκόδομον | μηθαρησίων in l. 13-14.

21. Despite the damaged state of the letters the reading at the beginning of this line seems fairly certain, but it is less clear whether the interpretation of νότια πρέγματα as ‘Southern property’, i.e. ‘property (e.g. a farm) situated in the Southern part of the region’ is correct.

23. For the meaning of the verb κατεξομβέειν (’to come over to’) cf. the remarks by W. Döllstädt, Griechische Papyrusprivatbriefe in gebildeter Sprache aus den ersten vier Jahrhunderten nach Christus (Diss. Jena 1934) 44.

25. It is regular Greek to find a genitive absolute with a participle the subject of which is identical with the subject of the main verb, cf. R. Kühner - B. Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache II 2, p. 110-11; Mandilaras, op. cit., § 910.1. Here the subject of μή ἐξοστός must be looked for in τοῦ κυρίου μου γεωνάχου (l. 24), while at the same time this landlord is the subject of ἐν μή γράψῃ.
69: PRIVATE LETTER

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 56.F # 2 (House 3, room 9, level 3, Western doorway). H. 14 x B. 8 cm. There is a margin at the bottom of ca. 1.5 cm.; the writing runs parallel with the fibers on both sides of the papyrus. The letter was folded 3x vertically and at least 3x horizontally (the sheet is broken on a fold at the top).

"... to have been astonished. And concerning the other (sent) to father Agathemeros: until now he has given nothing, as he is awaiting the letter of my lord Heraclius, and the moment he shall give (it) I write again. Give me your order about your wishes, which I am pleased (to carry out). I pray, my Lord, for your health, being well for many years." (Verso) "To N.N. the logistes (from) Petechon son of Ammonios the teacher."

This fragment of a letter does not seem to contain any information of particular relevance except for the address on the verso. Among the Kellis papyri another logistes (Kleoboulos) is found in 25.1 and a former logistes (Gelasius) in 29.3, but it remains uncertain whether the addressee of this letter should be identified with either of these persons. On the other hand the indication of Πετεχὼν Ἄμμωνίου διδασκάλου raises the
question whether Ammonios was a school teacher. As Dr. I. Gardner reminds us, a διδάκτης was a title or grade in the Manichaean church. The Coptic equivalent term (P-sah) is found a few times in the Coptic letters from Kellis (e.g. in P. 70.49, where it seems to have this technical meaning). It is well-attested in the Manichaean literary sources (e.g. the Kephalaia). For the complete list of the 6 grades of the Manichaean church in Greek (5 of the elect + catechumens = ‘hearers’), see S.N.C. Lieu, An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism, JAC 26 (1983) 178-9, 199.

§ The name Agathemeros occurs among the Greek papyri from Kellis only here.

70: BUSINESS LETTER

(Second half of the 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 79.1 (House 3, room 6, level 3). H. 14.7 x B. 10 cm. The papyrus appears to be a palimpsest. There are traces of lines of writing at the bottom of the sheet and similarly, across the fibres, down the right hand side. For organizational purposes the papyrus was referred to previously as ‘P.Kellis 68’.

1 Τώι κυρίω μου ἀδελφώι Ψεμπνούτη
2 Τιμόθεος τέκτων χαίρειν.
3 Πρὸ παντὸς πολλά σε ἀσπάζομαι
4 μετὰ τῶν σών πάντων. Θαυμάζω
5 ὅτι μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον οὐκ ἠθέλησας δοῦναι τὰ ἄργυρα. Τοίνυν, ἔδαν
6 ἡλθεὶ τρός σὲ Παχούμις, παράσχον
7 αὐτῷ τὰ τρισχίλεια τάλαντα· ἡδη
8 γὰρ ἔσχον τοίον αὐτοῦ. Μάθε γὰρ
9 ὅτι ἔδω μὴ θελήσῃς δοῦναι αὐ-
10 τῷ, τοιῶ σὲ ἀπατηθήραν ἢδο
11 στρατιωτῶν. Ὦρα μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.
12 Ἑρωῦθεοι σε εὑχομαι
13 πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

Verso:
15 Τώι κυρίω μου \| [Τῇ]μοῦθος τέκτων
16 Ψεμπνούτη \| \n
4 μετατομ Παπ. 7 ἔθη 8 τρισχίλεια 11 ύπο Παπ. 16 Ψεμπνούτη
“To my lord brother Psempnoutes, Timotheos the carpenter sends greetings. Before all I send you many greetings along with all your family. I am surprised that after such a long time you have not been willing to pay the money. Therefore, when Pachoumis comes to you, give the three thousand talents to him, for I have already received them from him. For be informed that if you are unwilling to give them to him, I will get them dunned from you by soldiers. See to it that you are not neglectful. I pray that you are well for many years.” (Verso) “To my lord Psenpnoutes, Timotheos the carpenter.”

A somewhat threatening letter from a carpenter regarding the non-payment of a debt; there is no indication that the debt regarded tax arrears rather than that it had a private background; it may well be that in our case soldiers would have been called in by Timotheos, as they provided some kind of police assistance in the Oasis. For extortion by army personnel in the Late Empire, see A.H.M. Jones, *The Late Roman Empire* II 644, 676, and R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven 1988) 131-2, 145-6, 160-1 and 185. See also R.S. Bagnall, ‘Official and Private Violence in Roman Egypt’, BASP 26 (1989) 201-216, and *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 172ff., esp. 180. Was it intended irony to add after the threat, that soldiers may collect the debt, the wish: ‘I pray that you are well for many years’?

1. Elsewhere in the Kellis papyri one finds a spelling *Πεσμπνούτες* (cf. 23.23, 24.11, 74.18; cf. also the Psemnouthes (for *Πεσμπνούτες*?) in a Coptic document from House 2, see the introd. to 8 - 12); it remains uncertain whether these persons are all identical.
2. For τέκτονες in the Kellis papyri, see 5.29n.
4. It seems not excluded that the line above μετατροφών comes in fact from the text written previously (cf. the palaeographical description of the papyrus).
7. For ἐὰν + indic. (αἴτησε) instead of the subjunct. cf. A. Jannaris, *A Historical Greek Grammar* (London 1897; repr. Hildesheim 1968) § 1987. It looks as if Timotheos has tried to correct this (cf. the correct use of ἐὰν in l. 10, ἐὰν μὴ θηλὴπῆς), but his correction has not been complete.

71: PRIVATE LETTER

(Mid 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 37.B (House 3, room 9, level 3, Northern doorway). H. 26 x B. 8 cm. Folded 3 x or 4 x vertically, 1 x horizontally. Originally the left hand margin measured 1 cm. On both sides the writing runs parallel with the fibers; there is also perpendicular writing downwards in the left hand margin on the front. Faint traces of the address (in a second hand) are visible on the back, along the fibers on the top half of what was the left hand side of the front. For organizational purposes the papyrus was referred to previously as ‘P.Kellis 76’.
Κυρίως τιμωτάτω καὶ ὡς ἄληθῶς
πρὸς εἰρημοτάτωι ἀδελφῶι Ψάλτη
Παμμάρθυς ἐν Θεῷ χαῖρεν.
Προηγομένως τολλά τὴν σήν εὐ-
λάβειαν προσαγορεύομεν ἤγῳ
καὶ ἡ σύμβιος καὶ οἱ ιὸι κατ' ἁ-
νομα, εὗ ἐχοντες τέως προ-
νοίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Προσεϊπατε ἡμῖν
τῷ κύριοι ἀδελφόν Θεόγνωστον
καὶ τῇ ὑδόν ὑιὸν Ἀνδρέαν τερί
tῆς σῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίξεως,
[τ]ιμώτατε, σοφημέραι {κ} προσδο-
κούμεν ἐκ τάλαι, ἐξ ὑπὸ γεγρά-
φηκας. Καὶ νὴ τὸν Θεὸν διὰ
σὲ ἐνθαδὶ παρέμεμνα μὴ ἄτελ-
θὼν εἰς τὴν 'Αντιφόνον ἀναγκαί-
ος χρείας ἔνεκεν μετά τοῦ ἄ[δε]λ-
φοῦ Πεκυνίου. 'Αλλὰ ἱδοῦ, πολλά-
κες μετατέμπυστό με ἐκεῖ, ἁ[λλ]'
ἐπεδή σε προσδόκω, οὐκ ά[πῆ]-
θον. Αὐτὸ δὴ τούτο καὶ αὐτῷ ἠ-

γραψα[ζ] ὅτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν μετ[ά]
[τ]ιὸν παι[δ]ίων προσδόκω ἠ[μ]-
tαῦθα. Δω μὴ ἀμελήσῃς ἠ[λ]-
θεῖν. Θέρε μοι μετὰ σου τελό-
κιον καὶ βατέλλιον χαλκοῦν
κλιβανιόταν. Πρόσεπете μοι
ἐκαστὸν κατ' ὁνομα. Θεά[ῦ]-
μακα δὲ τῶς, τοσούτων ἐλ-
θάντων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ
κἂν γράμματος ἡμᾶς κατ[η]-
ξιώσατε διὰ τοσούτων χρόνου,
ἀλλὰ κάρον ἡμῖν κρίνας
μὴ γράψαι καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἔδ[ι]-
nῆθιν βαστάζαι, μάλιστα [οὴ]
Φιλάμμου ο笑意 ὡς οἰκ-
δατε ὃτι διψόμεν τῶν ζῆ[η]-
tῶν γραμματῶν; πρόσε[η]
πὲ μοι Καπίτωνα καὶ Ψάς
Τροφάνους μετὰ συμβίων καὶ τε-
κνων. Πολλὰ μοι πρόσεπτε τῆ[ν]
μητέρα Μαρίαν καὶ τὴν μικρὰν
Τσεπυνούθην. Πέμψον μοι, ἀξι-
ὁ, τὴν κόραν. Ἔγὼ δὲδω τὸ φολε-
To his most honoured and truly most longed-for lord brother Psais, Pamouris sends greetings in God. First of all I and my wife and sons each individually send many greetings to your reverence, being well up until now through the providence of God. Greet for us our lord brother Theognostos and his son Andreas. About your coming to (?) us, most honoured one, every day we -- from long ago since you wrote. And, I swear by God, it was on your account that I remained here, not departing for Antinoopolis to transact pressing business with my brother Pekysis. But look, he summoned me there many times and since I was expecting you, I did not leave. Indeed I wrote this very thing to him too that 'I am expecting my brother and his children here'. So don't neglect to come. Please bring with you a small hatchet and a bronze oven dish. Please greet each by name for me. I am amazed that, while so many have come to us, you have not deemed us worthy of even a letter for such a long time; but I myself, too, had decided not to write, and yet I was unable to endure, particularly since Philammon is here. Or don't you know that we are thirsting for your letters? Greet Kapiton for me and Psais, the son of Tryphanes, with their wives and children. Give many greetings for me to mother Maria and the little Tsempnouthes. Please send the girl to me. I am giving you her travel money and each year I will give you a present of wool for a cloak as her hire. Farewell, my lord."

(Left hand margin downwards) "Please get ten loom weights from Kame and give them to Psais, the son of Tryphanes. I wonder, mother Maria, why you have not written to me: 'I received the hanging (?) from Psais'. Accept this other one from Philammon and a little pot of fish."
Pamouris writes a soulful letter to Psais who has neither visited nor written to him. Whereas other Greek letters from Kellis are almost uniformly mundane (cf., however, the exceptional character of 63 as a letter with a Manichaean background), this well preserved letter is much less businesslike in tone and content. In view of the letter’s provenance in House 3 which has produced all of the 21 Coptic letters identified to date by I. Gardner as Manichaean, a Manichaean connection may be suggested. But although both writer and addressee appear also in a number of the Coptic letters from House 3, as do several of the others mentioned in this text (references, which we owe to Dr. Gardner, are listed in the notes), there does not seem to be anything distinctively ‘Manichaean’ in the tone or content of the present letter.

A preliminary transcript of this text was presented by Whitehorne at the workshop on Greek documents at the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists; we are grateful to our colleagues, particularly N. Lewis and J.D. Thomas, for their comments upon problems of reading and interpretation.

1-3. For the brothers Psais and Pamour, see the family tree at p. 51.

Among the Coptic texts from House 3 Dr. Gardner has noted:
(1) P. 91.A/B (Room 6, level 5) written by Pamour to his brothers Psais and Theognostos and relaying greetings also to his father Pshai (Ψεις), Kapiton and son Lammon (= Φιλάγμον ?); ‘mother Maria’ is also mentioned in an underlying Coptic letter.
(2) P. 45 (Room 5, levels 1+3+4 and room 9, level 3) written by Pamour to his brothers Pekosh (Πεκόσ), Pshai (*μπ), Andreas, and Θεόγνωστος/Loi Shai (on the latter name see the article by O. Kaper and K.A.Worp forthcoming in the Revue d’Egyptologie); there are also other personal names mentioned, including father Pshai (Ψεις), brother Kapiton, Maria, Philammon etc. Both these texts are identified by Gardner as Manichaean.

‘Ερ Θεος of itself is not enough to indicate that the writer was an orthodox Christian (cf. M. Naldini, Il Cristianesimo 12-13 and 41); as nomina sacra appear in ‘Manichaean’ papyri from Kellis like in numerous Christian texts from elsewhere, the fact that Θεος is not abbreviated as a nomen sacrum cannot be used as an argument for assigning this letter to more specific religious background.

4. The first line of the letter proper is offset ca. 0.5 cm. to the left. J.D. Thomas remarks that although this happens regularly in Vindolanda texts, it is apparently unparalleled in Greek letters on papyrus.

4-5. It should be noted that in later Greek the honorific abstract εὐλαβεία (used here by Pamouris for addressing Psais) is frequently (but not exclusively) used for clergy; cf. H. Ziliacus, Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen (Helsingfors 1949) 68, 89.

5. A Theognostos occurs also in 67 (as the addressee) and in 72.9. Among the Coptic material a Theognostos occurs in P. 68.G.a (as Loui Shai / Θεόγνωστος; apparently he bore both names), P. 92.19 and P. 52.G (information kindly provided by Dr. Gardner).

10. Andreas occurs in the Coptic P.inv. 17.V.i, along with Pshai, Pekosh and Kapiton, and in P. 92.19 (information kindly provided by Dr. Gardner).

11. After the alpha of ἐλαβεία there is a horizontal split across the middle of the word. The alpha itself is secure, but the other letters are broken and abraded.

31. καινόν: for its regular use in later Greek as a stronger equivalent of κοί cf. LSJ s.v., 1.3.


36. The reason for Pamouris’ change of heart becomes apparent from l. 49, from which it is clear that Philammon was the bearer of the letter to Psais as well as the gifts to Maria.

37. For the meaning of διψάω = ‘to be very eager to receive’ cf. W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (1971), s.v. 3.

39. The name Kapiot in that as of a living person occurs also in in 45 (386) and in the undated letter 80; cf. also the undated letter 76 referring to a possibly deceased person of that name. Although the name is sufficiently common to make one hesitate about identifying them, some of the Coptic material from House 3 has also produced the name in association with several of the other names mentioned in this letter, cf. l. 1n., 10n.

39-40, 48. The name Τροφάνης seems to be unknown in the papyri, but cf. the genitive Τροφανην(ος) in P.Mich. II 121V.x.3 (1st cent.; a genitive Τροφανην(ος) would come from a nominative Τροφανης rather than from Τροφανης, as listed in the indices and in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum*; but it is possible, of course, that one should resolve the genitive into Τροφανην(ος), cf. genitives like Υπερβάλλεις, Διασυλλογος, Δινός, Φαροφόρος etc.; in our text one finds in l. 40 the spelling Τροφάνης, in l. 48 the spelling Τροφάνης. Furthermore a Psais son of (?) Tryphanes, (Γώς Τριφάνης) is found as a subscriber to an official document in 24.11. On the other hand, in 50 the receipt opens with:

1 Κυρίω μου πατρί Ψάις Παμουρ
2 Ψάις Τροφάνης χαίρεις. — [cf. the verso, (11-12): "Αποχή Ψάις(ος) Τροφάνη-/ης"]

and in 73 the letter opens with:

1 Κυρίω μου ἀδελφός Παμουρ
2 Ψάις Τροφάνης χαίρεις. — (similarly the address on the verso, l. 33).

The latter two instances give the impression that, though this has not been indicated as such by way of ὁ κοί vel sim., Τροφάνης is a kind of alias going with Ψάις. 73, however, also provides us with the information (II. 9-10) that a certain ‘Psais Tryphanes’ had a son Tryphanes (ἐπεστάλας σοι τὸν νίκον μον Τροφάνην); in case the latter was named after his grandfather, one would have to take Ψάις Τροφάνης as ‘Psais son of Tryphanes’ while assuming that Psais was sloppy in using a nominative Τροφάνης rather than a genitive Τροφάνης. The address Κυρίω μου πατρί Ψάις in 50.1 does not need to be taken literally, as ‘Psais son of Tryphanes’ cannot have had two fathers (viz. Tryphanes and Psais son of Pamour) simultaneously; one may be dealing here with a kind of ‘affectionate’ loose language (for a similar situation cf. 74.6-7n., 14n.). Finally, a Psais son of (?) Tryphanes (Psai Trypanhe) is found in the Coptic P. 92.19, along with Andreas, Theognostos, Pamour, Philammon, and others (cf. above, notes to ll. 3, 5, 10). As to the etymology of the name Τροφάνης it may be remarked that the name looks Greek rather than Egyptian, cf. names like Τριφάνως and its feminine counterpart Τριφάνων; the second half of the name should be compared with (the many) Greek names in -φάνης.

42. For ‘mother Maria’ cf. the Coptic P. 91.A/B and P. 45 (see above, l. 1-3n.).

43. For a woman with the name Tsemnouthes cf. the Coptic papyrus A/2/101-102 in JSSEA 17 (1987) 173 (for its male counterpart see 70.1n.)

46. Or should one read χαρηγοῦ;

48. The recognition that these ‘staters’ are loom weights, not coins, is owed to J.D. Thomas.

49. The word παρακαμεμαθησαι is a puzzling addendum lexicis. Except for -σει the reading is secure. The word is most easily derived from (παρει)καμεμαθησαι but what sort of object it was and what it hung beside is unknown.
72: PRIVATE LETTER

(Mid 4th century)

P. Kells inv. P. 85 B # 1 (House 3, room 6, level 4, Southeast corner). H. 27 x B. 8.5 cm. Margins: at the top 0.5 cm., at the left occupied. The papyrus was folded horizontally several times, probably 3 times vertically. The writing on both sides of the sheet runs parallel with the fibers.

1 Κυρίω μου ἀδε[λφῷ Παμμύρι]...
2 Πεκύφσις ὁ ἀ[δε]λφ[ῶς σου.]
3 Πρὸ πάντως το[λ]α[σσόμε]να απὸ τ[ὸ] ποι[στικόν -]
6 καὶ ἡ μικρὰ σύντομον ἀδελφή. Ἀστά-
7 ζετά[ε] σὲ ὅ ἀδελφός σου ὦρος]
8 καὶ Θ[ε]υ[γ]νωστο[ς καὶ Ψαύτις καὶ Τάν-
9 τες οἱ ἡμέτεροι καὶ ἐρρωμένοι]
10 ἐσμένα[ν πάντας Θεοῦ] ἱάριτι.
11 Ἄισ[ως μ]ὲν ἠκούσθης περὶ]
12 τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡμῶν ὦρου ὦτοι λυ-
13 τορυγε[α] ἄρτι καὶ πάρτος διὰ τοῦ-
14 τοῦ ὁ ἡθελήσας πρὸς ἡμᾶς]
15 ἐλθεῖν πρὸ[σ]ορόμηντος τῆν]
16 τῆς λιτουργείας [πι]μπλησι. Ἔλ-
17 βε ὑν, καὶ χρείάζον[σ] ς ωὐκ ἤξερεν[ε]ις τοῦ-
18 τοῦ. Θαυμαζόμενος δὲ πόσον οὐκ ἐ-
19 πέστελλάς μου κἀ[ρ] ποκάρ[ο]ν]
20 ἐν εἰδός ἡμῶς μὴ ἀλλο ὦ-
21 χοντας ἐν χερός. Ὀμο[ῦ] ὁ[ῖ]
22 ἐπεμψάς ὡτε τῷ ὑιῷ σου.]
23 Οὐ μόνον γὰρ αὐτὸς σχολάζε
24 εῖς τῆν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς λειτουρ-
25 γίας, ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς σχολήν]
26 πρὸς μίναν ὄρ[α]ν οὐκ ἤξω ἄ-
27 τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐκπλήθτομακ]
29 δὲ σου τὸ ἀμέριμνον περὶ ἦ-
30 [η]μ. ἦρ[ε]ν. Ἐπὶ γὰρ ἠγοράσας τῆν]
31 μικράς [πορ]φύραν καὶ μό-
32 νον διὰ σάκκον, οὐκ ἐπεμ-
33 τας. Θαυμαστο[ν] ἀδύνατο γάρ]
34 σοβαίνοι ἠγοράσας καὶ βαλείν]
35 αὐτὴν ἔσ[θ]αν καὶ ἀνοστάλλοι]
36 μου. Ἀξιόθ[ε]ας δὲ καλόχρω-
"To my lord brother Pamouris, Pekysis your brother. Before all I greet you very much, praying for your health. Your wife greets you and your son Horos and his little sister. Your brother Horos greets you and Theognostos and Psais and all our family and we are in good health thanks to God’s grace. Perhaps you heard about our son Horos that he is a liturgist just now and for that very reason you did not want to come to us, in view of the performance of the liturgy. So come, and he does not need you for that. I wonder why you have not sent me even one fleece, though you know that we had no other one in hand; you did not send it, neither to me nor to your own son. For not only he himself has no spare time for the service of the liturgy, but I myself have no spare time for even an hour because of such things. I am baffled by your carelessness towards us. For if you had bought the small amount of purple dye and only by sack, you did not send this. Remarkable: for you could buy a linen cloth and put it (the purple) in there and send that off to us. Please buy for me the little amount of nicely coloured wool. Greet for me my brother Philammon, if he is with you. Do what you are doing. I pray for your health and well-being in many years to come." (In left-hand margin) "And I'll come to you quickly for this, because you appeared heavy-headed." (At verso) "And we were very sorry not receiving ... through the persons who now have come down to us, I mean Nestorios and Besas, the son of Syros. For the whole day on which they arrived he (?) still showed....."
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9. Θεόγνωστος: possibly the same person as in 67.2 and 71.9.
17-19. The precise meaning of the phrase and its connection with the preceding lines is not very easy to grasp; we have considered a supplement of <ε> between και and χρείαν (‘So come, even if he [= the liturgist] does not need you for that [= the performing of the liturgy]).
20. For καί cf. 71.31n.
29. More normal than τὸ ὀμηριμνὸν would have been τὴν ὀμηριμνίαν.
32. διὸ σάκκον: this reading seems preferable to διὰ σάκκον (= ‘twice a sack’) or διὰ σάκκον (= ‘a double sack’?; the word as such is not attested, but cf. διασάκκον).
44-45. One expects something like Ἑλπισθήμεν δὲ πάντα γράφματα παρὰ σοῦ μὴ/ δειξάμενοι, but between πάντα and μὴ most of the writing has been abraded.
46. Νεστόρος, Βεσαν Σύριος: these persons seem to be mentioned only here, but it is not said that they lived in Kellis.

73: PRIVATE LETTER

(4th century)

P. Kellis inv. P. 85.B #2 (House 3, room 6, level 4, Southeast corner). Frag. I: H. 7 x B. 7 cm. Frag. II: H. 6.5 x B. 7 cm. The writing on both sides of the sheet runs parallel with the fibers.

1 Κυρίων μου ἀδελφῶι Παμφυρί
2 Ψάεις Τρυφάνης χαίρειν. Προσηγο-  
3 μένως πολλά σε προσαγορεύων.
4 Ἀσπαζότασί σε πάνυ ὁ ἀδελφός  
5 σοῦ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ ἡ μήτηρ  
6 αὐτῶν. Ἀσπαζότασί σε ἡ σύμβι-  
7 ὅς <ο> οὐ καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου καὶ πάν-  
8 τες οὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὅλοι. Ἰδοὺ  
9 οὖν, ἀπεστειλό σοι τὸν νῦν  
10 μου Τρυφάνην μετὰ τῇ εἴδη  
11 μου, ἵνα πούησης τὴν στού-  
12 δὴν καὶ σμηλύγες μετ’ αὐτοῦ  

13 [ μου καὶ πρὶ[ ] ]
14 κα μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν καλ[ ]
15 μὴ καὶ, ἄδειν πούησης  
16 δέκα ημέρος ἡ ἐκκοι με-  
17 τ’ αὐτοῦ ἢς πτεράσκεις  
18 τὰ εἴδη μου, ἔτούμως ἔχω  
19 παράσχειν σοι τὸν μυσθὸν  
20 σοι τέως. Μὴ κατέχεις  
21 τὸν νῦν μου παρὰ σοι· ἵνα ἐλ-
22 θῆς μετ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν καυ-  
23 ρὸν τοῦ γλεῦκους. Οἶδα γὰρ  
24 τὴν σὴν σκουδήν. Ἐρρῶ-  
25 θαῦμα σὲ εὐχαρίστημι τολ-  
26 λοὶς χρόνοι[ας].

In left hand margin downward:
27 ἀξιωθεῖς πᾶν πούσουν, ἔδων δ[ύην, ἀποστεῖλαί] μοι τὰ ἔργα TRACES
28 αὐτοῦ τὰν ἀγρῶν ἔκει μ[ ] TRACES

Verso:
29 τὸ δὲ πρόλογον τῶν τριάκον[τα] ] ων πορφυρῶν
30 δας αὐτὰ υπὲρ ἀριστῶν στοι[δ] ] TRACES
31 ενος καὶ ἀπόστειλον μου[ ].

32 Κυρίων μον ἀδελφῷ \ / Παμοῦρι
33 \ / Ψάις Τρυφανῆς

6-7 σύμβιος 8 οἰκία 10 τῶν εἰδῶν? See note 12 συνάγες 17 πινακάρεις: first — ex omikron 28 τὰς: ὦ ex α, ν clumsy; the Pap. has a dash over the omega of ἀγρῶν

(LL. 1-12, 15-27) “To my lord brother Pamouris Psais son of (?) Tryphanes sends greetings. Before all I greet you many times. Your brother greets you very much and his children and their mother. Your wife greets you and your children and all present at home. Look now, I have sent you my son Tryphanes with (?) my goods in order that you make an effort and together with him bring together ... (l. 15) and if you spend ten or twenty days together with him, while you are selling my goods, I am prepared to give you your salary in the meantime. Don’t keep my son with you; go with him in view of the season of the sweet new wine. For I know your zeal. I pray for your health for many years. At my request please do everything, if you can, to send me the work -- .”

A fragmentary letter from Psais son of (?) Tryphanes (cf. 71.39-40n.) to his brother Pamour. Palaeographical considerations do not speak against the assumption that the letter was written somewhere in the middle of the 4th century; for the addressee, see the family tree at p. 51. The contents of the letters are as to be expected: the conveyance of greetings and the order to perform certain services. An item of interest is the reference to the sweet young wine in l. 23 which was produced probably within the Oasis (for another reference to viticulture cf. 23.17, 20).

8. ὅλω is redundant after πάντοις, but it seems conceivable that one is dealing with a iotacistic spelling for ὅλη.
10. Or should one read μετά της εἰδής (l. εἰδους)?
15. For the meaning of ποιεῖ = 'to spend' cf. LSI s.v., VII.

23-24. It seems that the words Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν σὴν στοιχήματι = 'For I know your zeal' should be understood in relation to the preceding statement in l. 20f.: Μὴ κατέχεις τῶν νῦν μου παρὰ σοι, 'don't keep my son with you'. It is, however, conceivable that it should be taken with the adhortation "Τὰ ἔλθης μετ' αἰτίαν" = 'go with him'; the author may have tacitly omitted a thought like, e.g., 'I know that I can make this appeal to you, for I know your zeal', etc.

29ff. It is difficult to make a coherent combination of the text on the verso with the text on the recto. Apparently there is a question of purple-dyeing (cf. l. 29, πορφυρόν), are the remainder [τῷ πρόλογῳ] of 30 weighing units, e.g. 'pounds' or 'sacks', meant?) and wool (cf. l. 30, ἵππος ἕρωδων), but the lacuna between the two fragments is large enough to prevent us from understanding the text satisfactorily. Wool and purple are also found together in 72.30f., 37f.; the same combination is found frequently among the Coptic texts from Kellis (information kindly provided by Dr. A. Alcock).

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74: PRIVATE LETTER

(Mid 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 62.B (House 3, room 6, level 3). H. 25.5 x B. 10.8 cm. The writing runs parallel to the fibers on both sides of the sheet. For organizational purposes the papyrus was previously referred to as 'P.Kellis 72'.

1 Κυρίως μου πατρί Ἀρων ψαΐς
2 κεραιμέος ὡς νύσι χαίρει.
3 Ἀσπάζομαι σε πολλά τὸ πρὸ πάντων
4 καὶ νικαίκων εὐχομαι. Ἡ μητὴρ μου
5 καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί καὶ ἡ σοφία πολλά σε
6 ἀσπάζονται καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ἀγά-
7 τὴν πολλὰ ἀσπάζομαι καὶ τὴν θυγα-
8 τέρα αὐτῆς· ἀξιωθείς κατὰ τὴν
9 συνταγὴν τέμψων μου τὸ ὅλο-
10 γον πορφύρας εἰς χιτώνιον τῆς
11 μητρὸς μου καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου,
12 ἐπαί χρέω ἐστίν καὶ κέιται τὰ
13 σῶν εὐρογε ἐὼς τέμψης τοσχώς
14 τὴν πορφύραν. Μάθε δὲ ὅτι ἦρκεν
15 τὰς ἑλαίας ὁ πατὴρ Κλωδιανός καὶ
16 δέδωκεν ἡμῖν τὸ μέρος τοῦ ἐπικαι-
17 μένου καρποῦ, δέδωκεν δὲ τὰς ἑλαί-
18 ας ψευπνοῦθη, καὶ ὡς ἄριτο σῶπω
19 ἐσχήκαμεν μισθοῦς. Ὡτὸς δηλω-
20 σῆς ἡμῖν ἐι θέλεις] λαβέιν εἰ μή.
21 Μάθε δὲ ὅτι TRACES [ ]
22 ησαυν ήμιν οι κλη ΤRACES [ ]
23 λου χαριν της [πορφύραςς]. [ca. 8]
24 μη δισταξης ταδη γραψει μου τη
25 μητρι Ταγατη [υπτροδεικνυον]
26 ἢστι Ἀπεστη ἀπο της οἰκιας Πετει[ινος?]  
27 και ἐνοχλει μοι συνεχος ὡς σοι
28 χρεωσινυες αυτη. Ει μεν ουν
29 χρεωσινυες αυτη τι ποτε, ιπτο-
30 δειξον μοι και ἐκπλαξω αυ-
31 τον. Ἀξιωθεις δε,
In left hand margin:
32 ο δελφον Ἀρων, σποιδασσον καταλαβειν ήμας, ἐτει πανυ χρειαν σου ἐχαμεν.
33 Ἐρωθανι το ευχαριμ κυριε μου δευτοτα.
Verso:
34 Κυριω μου πατρι δελφο
35 Ἀρων ἐν Κελλη[λει] Ψαυς ηρεμες(ευς)

1 ψαες Pap. 2 χαερες Pap. (supplied later by 2nd hand?) 6-7 γατην corr. into Αγατην 9 ολι- ex ολο- corr. 20 ἦ 28 χρεωστοντος (?)

“To my father Aron, Psais the potter, his son, sends greetings. I greet you very much in the first place and pray for your health. My mother and brothers each greet you very much by name and I greet my mother Agape very much and her daughter. As requested according to the order send me the small amount of purple-dye for the garment of my mother and (that) of my sister, as I need it and as all work has stopped until you quickly send the purple-dye. Be informed that father Claudianus has plucked the olives and that he has given us our share of the present harvest and he has given the (other) olives to Psennouthees and that recently we had not yet received our wages. Indicate to us whether you want to take them (i.e. the olives) or not. Also be informed that the ... to us ... because of the purple. Don’t hesitate to write for me to my mother Tagape indicating that ‘Peteminis (?) has gone away from the house and he bothers me constantly, as if you owe him something. Now if you owe him something, indicate this to me and I’ll set him free’. But please, brother Aron, make haste to come to us as we need you very much. I pray for your health, my lord, very much.” (Address) “To my lord father brother Aron in Kellis, Psais the potter (?)”

This letter contains, as usual, greetings from the sender and the persons around him to the addressee and those who are with him. Furthermore, instructions are given concerning the dispatch and receipt of various commodities like olives and purple-dye.
1. For possibly Jewish names, see 61. The name Aron does not occur elsewhere in the Greek Kellis documents and we wonder whether we should not aspirate "Aρων" and regard it as another Horos-name. Though the regular papyrological onomastica do not list a name "Aρων", such Horos-names starting with an element 'Αρ- are common enough.

2. For potters, see 61.2n. and 66.22n. In itself one might be tempted to read ἐραμείς {ς} νιός, but this reading does not make much sense; χαίρειν may have been added by a second hand (did the scribe first abbreviate χαίρειν, then add the ending as yet?).

6-7. It is remarkable to see that Psais greets his 'mother' Agape (cf. 1. 25, Tagape), as if she is with his father Aron, whereas from 1. 4 one gets the impression that Psais' mother is with Psais himself. Only one of the two can have been his real mother, whereas in the other case the word 'mother' is used in conformity with epistolary usage.

10. For the use of purple-dye in Kellis cf. 61.1, 72.31 and 73.29.

14ff. For the translation of ἀκέρω = 'to pluck' cf. LSJ s.v., I.2. Apparently Cloedianus (the word 'father' is possibly used here again in conformity with epistolary usage, cf. ll. 6-7n., 34n.; so much is certain that Psais cannot have had two fathers, Aron and Cloedianus) has plucked the olives and has given part of the harvest to Psais himself, part to Psenpnoutbes.

18-19. καὶ ἀρτομαι seems to form the continuation of μᾶθη δὲ ὑπό (l. 14). It seems less likely to regard ἀρτομαί here as synonymous with ἀρτομαί = 'until', but cf. LSJ s.v., A.d.2.

20. We assume that 'olives' are to be understood as the object of λαβέων.

23. In itself χαίρειν may be taken with the preceding genitive in -λον or with the following genitive τῆς πορφυρᾶς (on purple see 62.1n.).

24. The reading of the central part of this line is not very convincing and the construction μῆ διστάξως + object in the form of an articulate infinitive = 'don't hesitate to ...' is all but regular (cf. LSJ s.v. διστάζω).

25. Is 'mother' Tagape the same person as 'mother' Agape in ll. 6-7, now with the Egyptian fem. article T- prefixed? For such prefixes cf. the notes to 46.31ff., 66.1.

28. χρεωστοπόφς (fem.) refers, of course, to Tagape, not to the addressee of this letter.

30. The context requires that 'I'll set him free' should be understood as 'I'll pay him off' vel sim.

34. The combination of 'father' and 'brother' used next to each other for addressing one person shows nicely what actual value these terms have, if one tries to establish a family tree.

35. Read Ψάντες κεραμείς(ες) or Ψάντες ηδός?

75: PRIVATE LETTER

(Later [?] 4th century)

P. Kellis inv. P. 96.B (House 3, Room 6, level 4, South wall). H. 27 x B. 5.2 cm. Writing on both sides parallel with the fibers. There are two horizontal and two vertical folds. The papyrus was found rolled and tied up with a piece of papyrus string.

1. Κυρίω μου ἀ-
2. δελφώ
3. Στρατηγίω
4. 'Ηλίας χ < αί > ρευν.
5. Προγονιμό-
6. νὸς πολλά σου τὴν
7 φιλαδελφίαν
8 προσαγωρεύω
9 ευχόμενός σε
10 προσκυνεῖν ἐν
11 τάχει. Πολλά
12 προσαγωρεύω-
13 ὦ τὸν κύρι-
14 ὦ μου πατέρα
15 Βημοφάνης ἕ
16 καὶ τὸν τιμιώ-
17 τατον ἀδελ-
18 φῶν Ψάν τὸν
19 μέγαν καὶ
20 τὸν ἄλλον
21 Ψάν καὶ
22 Πλαυ' ὑ' τογέ-
23 νη καὶ [ ]
24 ὃρα.
25 ἔρωσθαῖ
26 σε εὐχο-
27 μαί τολ-
28 λοῖς
29 χρόνωις,
30 [ο] δέο-
31 {ο} ποτα
32 ἀδελ-
33 φε [ ].

**Verso**

34 (M.2) κυρίῳ μου // // (M.1)Στρατη-
35 ἀδελφῷ // // γιῶ 'ἩΛ < > ἀς'

7 φιλαδελφίαν: first -α- ex η corr. 16 τὸν: the scribe started writing τι- (from τιμιώτατον), then continued with -ον 17 ἀδελ- : -δ- ex corr. 22 Πλο' ὑ' τογέ-: the scribe first wrote πλοτο-, then added a supralinear ypsilon (πλο' ὑ' το-), then cancelled the supralinear ypsilon and converted his tau + omega into an upsilon written at line level and wrote a new tau + omikron after that 25 ἔρρωσθαῖ 26 εὐχο- ex εἰχο-? 27 μαί ex με 33 φε ex φαι

"To my lord brother Strategios, Elias sends greetings. Before all I greet your brotherliness very much, while I am hopeful that I shall embrace you soon. I greet my lord father Bemophanes very much and my most esteemed brother Psais ‘the great’ and the other Psais and Ploutogenes and Hor. I pray for your health for many years, my lord brother. (Address) To my lord brother Strategios, Elias."
This letter, written by a rather clumsy hand featuring all the traits of a βροδαράς γράφων (on such slow writers, see H.C. Youtie in GRBS 12 [1971] 239-61 = Scriptiunculae [Amsterdam 1973], II 629-651), conveys no other message than the greetings of a certain Elias to his father Bemophanes and his five 'brothers' Strategios (actually the addresssee of the letter), Psais, a younger Psais, Ploutogenes and Hor. Such letters (which hardly pass on any further information) are frequent enough among the papyri; cf. in general H. Koskenniemi, Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes (Helsinki 1956). The names Psais and Ploutogenes are well known in Kellis, the other names occur more or less rarely.

15. The name Βημοφάνης seems to be unique, but a correction into a better known name, Δημοφάνης, is not warranted. The writer seems to have left the final υ unfinished (writing only the first part) and then supplied this letter in full above the line.

18-21. Apparently there were two homonymous brothers (real brothers or spiritual brothers or colleagues?) named Psais, who were distinguished either by their size or their age (cf. LSJ s.v. μέγας I.b).

24. Apparently we are dealing here with the (declined) accusative form ὅπα of the (normally undeclined) Egyptian name ὅπ; for this declension of Egyptian names cf. F.T. Gignac, A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods II (Milano 1981) 103, who, however, lists no parallel for the accusative form ὅπα. To be sure, one could also be dealing with an irregular accusative of the name ὅπας, cf. Gignac, op.cit. II 16, 18.

76: PRIVATE LETTER AND SURETY

(Second half of the 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 81.E+F + P. 93.B (all from House 3, room 6, level 4). H. 29 x B. 6.4 cm. Written along the fibers. There is an upper margin of 1.8 and a bottom margin of 2.5 cm. For organizational purposes the papyrus was referred to previously as 'P.Kellis 61'.

1 Κυρίω μου ἄδελφω
2 ἴηραπιδι
3 Πεκύσις χαιρεῖν.
4 Ἠπειδή ἐβουλήθης μετ-
5 ἐλθεῖν τῇ ἄδελφῇ μου
6 τῇ γυναικί τινος λεγο-
7 μένου Κακιτῶνος, βου-
8 λόμενον ἄκταιήσας αὐ-
9 τῇ ἵπτερ αὐτοῦ μυριάδα
10 μεν ἤμουν, γί(νεται) (μυρίς) α (ἡμισ), ἱπτερ
11 τῆς ἄκταιήσας τοῦ χρο-
12 αργύρου αὐτοῦ, ἄγνωσμεν
13 δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν
14 ἐν σώματι εἶ[ναι] μέχρι τοῦ
To my lord brother Sarapis, Pekysis sends greetings. Since you have wanted to make a claim against my sister, who is the wife of a certain so-called Kapiton, wishing to demand from her on his behalf one and a half myriads, total 1½ myriads, for the collection of his (dues of) chrysargyron, and as we do not know whether the man himself is still alive, as he resided up to the present in Egypt, therefore I provide you with this letter as a guarantee and surety, acknowledging to you that I am most ready to pay you the one myriad and a half unambiguously if that person comes here in good health. But if he has suffered some mortal affliction and we hear for sure that he has died, it will not be possible for you to make any enquiry or demand from us on his behalf, since we have no common interest with him in any respect. I pray that you are well for a long time. (M. 2) I, Aurelius Gena son of Pataias, bear witness." (Verso) “To my lord brother Sarapis, Pekysis son of Psais, grandson of Pamouris."
The writer Pekysis offers a surety for a tax debt for which the addressee Sarapis is dunning Pekysis' sister, the wife of a certain Kapiton. According to Pekysis it is uncertain whether Kapiton is still alive; only if he turns up alive, is Pekysis willing to pay up (apparently expecting to reclaim the money from his brother-in-law); if, however, Kapiton has died, Pekysis rejects any responsibility for taxes due by Kapiton. For the persons, see the family tree at p. 51.

6ff. τῇ γυναικί τινος λεγουμένῳ Καπίτωνων may be taken in apposition to τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου in I. 5. Given the way he indicates his brother-in-law, Pekysis was apparently on not too friendly terms with Kapiton; cf. also II. 29-30, where Pekysis claims that he and his sister are μηδὲν καλόν ἔχομεν <ζ> πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν οἴδαν = "having nothing in common with him [Kapiton] in any respect" although of course they had a family relationship with Kapiton; for him see 45.1n.). It looks as if Kapiton and his wife had separated and that Kapiton had left the Dakhleh Oasis more or less permanently (cf. ll. 14-16).

The construction with the accusative participle βουλόμενου ἔπαιναι, rather than the expected nominative βουλόμενος (going with ἔξοιληθης, I. 4), is due to Pekysis’ mistakenly continuing his letter as if he had written something like ἔξοιληθης αὐτῷ συνεχόμεθι κλ. vel sim. at the start.

11-12. For the chrysargyron-tax on trades and businesses, see 15.4-5n.

14. For the phrase ἐν σώματι εἶναι = "to be alive" (cf. ll. 26-27, λιθήνα τοῦ σώματος = "to die") cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, Greek-English Lexicon of the NT 806-807, s.v. σῶμα 1.b.

15-16. For the meaning of the verb χρονίζω = "to reside" cf. LSJ s.v., I,4; for 'Egypt' = the Nile Valley cf. 81.5 and P.Genova II Appendix I.9n. (p. 75).

16. The use of δῶ here is not quite regular (after a protasis introduced by ἔτειδη [I. 4ff.] one would expect the apodosis to start with δῶ τούτῳ) but cf. already E. Mayser, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, II.3 74 § 157.b, P.Teb. I 44.20; for a much later example of the construction cf. P.Apoll. 72.1-2.

17. The lacuna is not large enough for restoring [αυτῷ τότε]. For the use of the personal pronoun rather than the demonstrative cf. F.T. Gignac, A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods II 174, 3.d.

33. The addition of the witness’s subscription gives a quasi-legal patina to what otherwise looks like a simple letter.

33-34. The second hand has all the characteristics of a ‘slow writer’, i.e. the letters are large and clumsily formed; for such slow writers cf. 75 introd. For this person cf. 7, a letter written by Harpokration to Γενᾶς son of Περεκάδες. For the name Gena in connection with House 2 cf. also the name of the addressee of 6 and the author of 5.

77: FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

(Later 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 41 (House 3, room 7.a, level 2) + P. 78.D (House 3, room 6, level 3) + P. 92.A (House 3, room 6, level 4, South wall). Large fragment (P. 41 + 92.A); H. 26 x B. 4.5 cm.; smaller fragment (P. 78.D); H. 9.5 x B. 2 cm. Margins preserved in Frag. 1: at the top 2, at the bottom 5 cm. On both sides of Frag. 1 the writing runs parallel to the fibers; the back of the small fragment is blank.
These fragments apparently contain the remains of a letter of a (semi-)official character. Obviously the two strips result from a folded papyrus sheet which is now broken on its folds. Many lines contain a series of letters which allow of more than one word division and it seems tedious to give a listing of all conceivable restorations, as the original wording of the letter will still remain virtually unintelligible. Under the circumstances only two passages seem to warrant some further discussion, viz. II. 11-15 and I. 29-30 (on the verso).
In l. 11 one is obviously dealing with a reference to the city of Mothis (at line end restore τῶν βασιλικῶν (= 'the imperial') in l. 12 is referring to. In l. 13 a declined form of the noun ἐξπονοῶ(το) (for this army official cf. 21.9n.) is found, while in l. 15 one encounters camel-drivers, καμηλάται (also in l. 27?). It is uncertain in what relation the text on the verso stands to the text on the recto and which side was inscribed first. It is conceivable that there is no connection at all and that one is dealing with completely independent texts. On the verso one might be dealing with an official document, the uninscribed back of which was used later for a private letter, i.e. with the end of a copy of an official document (e.g.: a proclamation or a report of juridical proceedings) written and/or published (read προστῆθη? Cf. l. 30n.) in Antinoopolis on Epeiph 20 = 14.vii in an unknown year. Apparently the original text had a passage written in Latin which was not taken over.. Normally such public notices would be on display in the metropolis only, cf. P.Oxy. XXXIII 2664.9n., where the use of Latin phrasings in such texts is also discussed.

29-30. Restore, e.g., κατὰ τὰ προσ-ντεστῳμέ[να, i.e. 'according to the orders'.
30. In view of parallel texts (cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v. προστῆθη 1.a) it might seem attractive to correct προστῆθη into προστεθή. On the other hand, it is not inconceivable that the original text started at this place with a quotation: '—(do so) according to the orders' and that it continued with 'after which (= Greek text) Latin (text) was added; in Antinoopolis on Epeiph 20'.
To my lord brother Eumathius Siris sends greetings. Immediately after receiving my letter collect from the farmers for barley and dates two thousand talents of silver, 2000 tal. in total, and give them to brother Elias. But don’t be neglectful; give them to him. I pray for your health, brother, for many years. Pachon 6, 5th indiction."

1. The names Eumathios and Siris do not occur in the other Greek papyri from House 3.
4. The asyndeton between καθὼς and φιλοκόν is remarkable.
6. One finds persons named Ηλίας in 39.7, 68.1, 75.4, 35 and an Ηλίας s.o. Σαβεῖνος in 81.2.
10. Pachon 6 = 1.v; a 5th indiction in the second half of the 4th century covers the years 361/2, 376/7 or 391/2.

79: BUSINESS LETTER

(Mid 4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 85.A # 3 (House 3, room 6, level 4, Southeast corner). H. 12.2 x B. 5 cm. Margins: at the left 0.5, at the bottom 1.5 cm. Writing parallel with the fibers. The verso is blank.

2 Ἀ]ρ[ικήφ
3 [. . .] Ψά]ις χαίρειν.
4 Πέμπτον εἰς
5 Κέλλι[ν] τῷ
6 ἀδελφῷ Φιλάμμμου ὑπὲρι
7 τῷ δρομοδαρίῳ
8 κριθῶν δημοσίως
9 μέτρῳ ἄρταβας
10 τρίς ἡμοῦ, γι[λονται] (ἀρτ.) γ’S,
11 ἀ]λλὰ πάντως τὸν ἵππ(κτίσιων).
12 Ἐρρίσθηται σα
13 είχομοι, κύριε μου
14 ἅδελφε, πολλοῖς χρό-
15 νοῖς.

7 δρομοδαρίῳ 10 τρεῖς
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

"To my lord brother Aniketos ... Psais, greetings, Send to Kellis to my brother Philammon the *dromedarius* three and a half artabas of barley (measured) by public measure, total 3.5 art., but absolutely (barley) of the 6th indiction. I pray for your health, my lord brother, for many years."

The upper part of this short letter is damaged; therefore it is not certain that the name of the addressee was indeed Aniketos and we cannot tell in what relationship he stood to the better known occupants of House 3; to date this name is not attested elsewhere in the Kellis documents. On the other hand, as Psais is a common name in Kellis, that does not help further in the matter of placing this letter into a context. Furthermore there seem to be at least two persons named Philammon known in Kellis; in view of the handwriting of this text the Philammon mentioned here is probably not to be identified with the Philammon who occurs in Kellis texts from ca. 300 (cf. 19.b.2, 49.3, 20-21 and 65.1, 51) the family tree at p. 51), but he might be identical with the Philammon who occurs a few times in papyri dating probably from later in the same century (ca. 350), viz. 71.36, 49, and 72.39; cf. also 64.2 and 13n.

7. For attestations of *dromedarii* in the papyri cf. S. Daris, *Il lessico Latino nell' greco d'Egitto*² (Barcelona 1991) 42 s.v.. Most attestations are connected directly with the military.
11. ἀλλά πάνως: cf. texts 10.9, 17.3 and in general F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. πάνως.
There is no good reason to think that one should take ἀλλά πάνως separately as meaning 'but (do it) absolutely' (more commonly expressed by phrasings like μην ἀμελήσῃς) and that the 6th indiction would be a date of this letter, though without an indication of month and day. If we were dealing with a dating one would expect this after the closing formula, ll. 12-15 (cf. 16.6-7n.).

80: BUSINESS LETTER

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 85.F (House 3, room 6, level 4, Southeast corner). H. 10.4 x B. 8 cm. Writing parallel with the fibers, written on the back of a letter written previously and now very much faded.

1 Κυρίῳ ὑμον ἀδελφῷ Κα-
2 πίτω(ν) Ψεναμούνις χαίρεμ.
3 Μήν ἀμελήσῃς· δός τῷ μο-
4 [ ]ητ ἐλαιόν μάρι α, ἀν, κα< τᾶ>
5 τῆν συνταγήν, ἵνα παρά-
6 'σ'χι Σωτήρ, ἤ δός αὐτῷ
7 ἀποσταλέν< τῷ> τάς ἑπιτομῶλ[ζ]ε.
8 Ἐρωθοῦσαι σε εὐχαριστ.

8 Ἐρωθοῦσαι: σ εκ θ.
“To my lord brother Kapiton sends Psenamounis greetings. Don’t be neglectful; give to the mo... 1 mari of oil, one, according to the order, in order that he may give it to Syrios, or give the letters to him, after he has been sent. I pray for your health.”

This short note, written in a rather clumsy hand by a certain Psenamounis to his ‘brother’ Kapiton, concerns only the conveyance of one mari of oil via another person who in turn has to give it to a certain Syrios, who cannot be identified.

3-4. The two letters before δεσπόζω in 1. 4 can be read as γτ, but no abbreviation is visible; it is unclear what is behind μω-[ ]γτ which must be regarded as a dative after της.
4. For the μάριοι-measure used here cf. 45.14-15n. we have followed the following line of thought for reading the text as it is:
(a) The accusative της συρταγήρι should be preceded by a preposition; as one finds κατά της συρταγήρι in 11.10-11 and in 74.8-9, κατά at the end of 1. 4, must be part of κατα<της> ;
(b) It is regular to find after a measure a repetition of the numeral indicating the quantity, i.e. written out as a full word and written as a letter/cipher (or, for that matter, vice versa). Now, a reading μάρια (plural) ἵν (singular) would produce an incongruity. The word μάριοι may be of non-Greek origin with a Greek ending added.
5-6. Due to a scribal error, the sigma of ταράξινι at the start of line 6 was apparently first omitted, then added later on, though at the level of the preceding 5th line, where remains of a letter are still visible in the margin before της.

81: BUSINESS LETTER

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 92.35.D+F+G (House 3, room 11, level 4). H. 14.1 x B. 6.5 cm. Margins: at the top 1, at the left 0.5, at the bottom 2 cm. Written across the fibers; the other side of the sheet is blank. The papyrus was folded 3x vertically and horizontally.

1  Κυρίῳ μου νιών
2   'Ηλίῳ Σαβείνος
3  χαύρων. Τοῦ κυρίου μου
4   γαμούχου ἐλθόντος
5   ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου
6   καὶ μὴ συνχωρήη
7   σι μοι τὴν προσθήκην
8   τῆς μικρῆς ἡμέρας τῆς
9   [...]φυλακίας μου,
10  [παρέξω σοι τῇ προς-
11  [...] οἴον μίσθῳ...
12 [τὸν] γεωργὸν πάντων.
13 Ἐρρώσθαι σε
14 εἰχομαι, κίριμέ
15 μου, πολλοῖς
16 χρόνοις.

4 γεούχοι 6-7 συγχωρήσῃ 7 προσθήκην: -κ- ex corr. (or is this letter rather a clumsily written xi?)

"To my lord son Elias, Sabinus sends greetings. When my lord the landowner has come from Egypt and (if) he does not allow me the single additional day for my guardship, I'll provide you with — of all the farmers. I pray for your health, my lord, for many years."

The papyrus contains a short business note from a ‘father’ Sabinus to his ‘son’ Elias in which the latter is informed about some developments related to the coming of the landlord from the Nile valley.

3ff. The syntax is confused; after an absolute genitive the writer continues with a copula καὶ followed by the subjunctive aorist συγχωρήσῃ (the spelling συγχωρήση is only a matter of iotaism); an expected conjunction, however, (e.g., καί) is lacking, though it should have introduced a protasis before the main verb παρέξω σοι, κτλ. (1-10).

5. For ‘Egypt’ cf. above 76.16n.
9. The lacuna holds apparently only three letters, but it may be just possible to restore [ἀγρο]φολακίας, if one assumes that gamma + rho were written in ligature; an alternative like [δρο]φολακίας may be just a bit too long.
11 This line is heavily corrected; at the end one might expect an accusative μοσθὸν, but the two final letters cannot be read safely.

82 - 88: MAGICAL TEXTS FROM KELLIS

82: CALENDAR OF GOOD AND BAD DAYS

(4th century)

T.Kellis inv. A/5/2 (House 3, room 1, level 1). H. 21.7 x B. 9 cm. Thickness of the board 7 mm. The writing runs across the grain of the wood. Two holes have been drilled through the right side of the board’s lower part; a parallel set of holes was probably drilled through the lost part of the upper right side. Moreover, on the right hand side there are traces of collation marks on the spine edge incised at 8.4 and 11.2 cm from the bottom (for such marks, see J.L. Sharpe’s discussion of wooden codices from
Kellis in E. Lalou, *Les tablettes à écrire de l’Antiquité à l’Époque Moderne* [Turnhout 1992] 127-148, esp. 132-133 and figs 4, 5 and 13. Probably this board formed part of a codex; the fact that the text at the front side seems to start *medius in rebus* can be explained by assuming that preceding text was written on a codex page now lost. On the left hand edge the letters ΑΗΠ have been written; they do not show any obvious connection with the text on the front or the back of the board. Traces of more, mostly effaced text are still visible at the lower frontside of the board on the part now uninscribed. The blackened back is also inscribed, but the text does not seem to be related directly to that of the frontside. Furthermore, on this back two half circles have been carved opposite to the holes just referred to; from these carvings it may be inferred that this board was the last page of a codex and that the carvings were intended as a kind of decoration. The tablet was mentioned first in the *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 2 (1991) 42.

Front:

1. 

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Front:

1. Τών ἡμερῶν τής Κυριακῆς [day numeral betw. 1 - 4, quality]
2. ἦ κακὴ, ἵ παράπρα, ἴθ παρατηρήσεως [ . ]
3. Σελήνη τῆς > ἵ παράπρα, ἵ παρατηρήσεως [ . ]
4. ἤ { } ἀνεπιπτέονς 'Ερμού [day numeral betw. 1- 5]
5. ἶ παράπρα, ἵ παράτηρης, ἵ παράτηρης [ . ]
6. Δώρο ἵ παράπρα, ἵ παρατηρήσεως, ἵ παρατηρήσεως [ . ]
7. ἀφρόσην ζ ἵ παράπρα, ἵ παρατηρήσεως, ἵ παρατηρήσεως [ . ]
8. Κρώνου ζ παρατηρήσεως, ζ κακή, ζ [ . ]
9. παρά.
The front of this text contains:

(a) a calendar of bad weekdays, i.e. days which were unsuitable for practising certain magical actions like, e.g., consulting an oracle, etc.

(b) a calendar of good and bad days within an unspecified month. For such lists of good and bad days (cf. 83) in Pharaonic Egypt cf. Lexikon der Ägyptologie VI 154-156, s.v. Tagewählerei; T. Hopfner, Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber I² (Amsterdam 1974) § 829ff, discusses the only parallel text (from London) found among the Greek papyri published to date (PGM II vii. 272-284; cf. also ibidem, ll. 155-168, where the phrasing δι’ ἀλης ἡμέρας (cf. 83.4) is connected with the 8th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 15th, and 27th – 29th days as being suitable for practising magical actions. Cf. also the remarks on Petronius’ Cena cap. 30, in H. Gerstinger - O. Neugebauer, Eine Ephemeride für das Jahr 348 oder 424 n. Chr. [= Pack² 2037] 6.

Ll. 1-10 on this wooden board (evidently used for more permanent consultation) present the following distribution of weekdays 1 - 12 within (probably the first half of) a month while various qualifications have been added. (NB: not all day numerals and qualifications have been preserved):
1 if Tuesday: \(\text{παραστηρ}(\text{ήσεως})\) if Thursday: \(\text{παραστηρ}(\text{ήσεως})\)
if Saturday: \(\text{σακρά}\) 8 if Tuesday: \(\text{ανεκπιθήδειος}\)
if Saturday: \(\text{σακρά}\) 9 if Monday: \(\text{κακή}\)
if Thursday: \(\text{σακρά}\) if Thursday: \(\text{παραστηρ}(\text{ήσεως})\)
3 if Saturday: \(\text{παραστηρ}(\text{ήσεως})\) if Saturday: \(\text{κακή}\)
4 if Monday: \(\text{κακή}\) 10 if Wednesday: \(\text{σακρά}\)
if Friday: \(\text{κακή}\) if Saturday: \(\text{σακρά}\)
if Sunday: \(\text{κακή}\) 11 if Friday: \(\text{κακή}\)
6 if Wednesday: \(\text{κακή}\) 12 if Sunday: \(\text{παραστηρ}(\text{ήσεως})\)
if Friday: \(\text{σακρά}\) if Monday: \(\text{παραστηρ}(\text{ήσεως})\)
7 if Sunday: \(\text{σακρά}\) if Wednesday: \(\text{σακρά}\)

The adjectives for days: \(\text{σακρά}\) (= 'evil'), \(\text{κακή}\) (= 'bad'), \(\text{παραστηρ}(\text{ήσεως})\) (= '(a matter) of observation' i.e. depending from the actual situation as found on the day indicated), \(\text{ανεκπιθήδειος}\) ('unfitting') are used with the following day numerals + name of the weekday:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
\text{σακρά} & \text{kakē} & \text{παραστηρ}(\text{ήσεως}) & \text{ανεκπιθήδειος} \\
1 \text{ if Saturday} & 4 \text{ if Monday or Friday} & 1 \text{ if Tuesday} & 8 \text{ if Tuesday} \\
2 \text{ if Monday or Thursday} & 5 \text{ if Sunday} & 3 \text{ if Saturday} & \\
6 \text{ if Friday} & 9 \text{ if Monday or Saturday} & 7 \text{ if Thursday} & \\
7 \text{ if Sunday} & \text{Saturday} & 9 \text{ if Thursday} & \\
10 \text{ if Wednesday or Saturday} & 11 \text{ if Friday} & 12 \text{ if Sunday or Monday} & \\
12 \text{ if Wednesday} & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

It remains a question why in ll. 1-10 only days 1 - 12 would have been paid attention to; no numerals higher than 12 have at least been preserved (cf. the notes to ll. 2 [maybe a numeral higher than 12 + a qualification was lost?], 8). In itself one would expect an indication of the quality of days either during the first half of a month (days 1 - 15), or during the first 10 days. If, however, within the first half of a month days 13-15 were always favorable, there would be no reason to mark them in a list like this which gives only the less favorable or bad days.

1. In the lacuna there is space for the indication of one or two day numerals (preceding a 5th day, l. 2) + qualification.
2. It is just possible (but not certain) that after the indication of a 12th day and its qualification another day numeral + qualification followed in the lacuna. It is, however, also possible that the end of the line was just left open (for such an open line cf. 8n.).
3-4. It is not certain whether after the 9th day and its following [lost] qualification an another day numeral + qualification preceded the indication of the 12th day. Probably there is not enough of space for the restoration of a qualification and a numeral + qualification.
4-5. It is not certain whether after the 1st day another day numeral + qualification preceded the indication of the 8th day. It may be just possible to restore: παρετηρ[ηρ( ) (numeral betw. β-τ) καλῆ], but space in the lacuna is a bit short.

5-6. At the end of 1. 5 one expects at least one day numeral between 1-5 preceding the qualification οὐκρά at the start of 1. 6; there may be, however, space for a numeral + καλῆ + another numeral preceding οὐκρά. At the end of 1. 6 the line may have been left open after οὐκρά, like in 1. 2.

8. The end of this line may have been left uninscribed, as there is not enough of space for the restoration of both a numeral and a qualifying adjective after καλῆ.

10. After πράς there is a sign intended to close off this part of the text.

11. The word σαλπηνόμον = 'moon orbit' is an addendum lexicis.

12-33. These lines list days 1 - 30 within an unspecified month with their qualifications: days 3, 5, 10, 13, 15, 21, and 30 are καλῆ (= 'bad'), all others are καλῆ (= 'in order, suitable').

34-35, 39. Apparently these are attempts to write the beginning of the well-known καλεῖδειξαντησηςφλεγμοδροψ, a nonsense word for which all letters of the Greek alphabet are used; for further literature, see ZPE 50 (1983) 98.

36-38. Apparently these lines contain the start of an invocation of a god, a daemon vel sim. ("I greet you and I praise you from a pure heart and I ...""). For the use of καθορός = 'pure', related to a person's conscience, cf. G.W.H. Lampe, A Patristic Lexicon, s.v. E.2. Perhaps εἴλε formed the start of εἴλεγω (fitting well after ἤμιν και --), but the word seems to break off all of a sudden and the last letter looks like the Coptic letter SCHAI. At the same time letters of the word from 1. 41 are written through that last letter.

41. Should one separate ΙΧΘΥΣ from the preceding AB?

83: CALENDAR OF GOOD AND BAD DAYS

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 92.22 + P. 92.35.E+G (all from House 3, room 11, level 4). H. (tapering towards the right) 6.5 x B. 17.5 cm. (approximately; the papyrus is broken between Col. I and Col. II and the exact width of the original strip cannot be established precisely). Margins: at the left 1.5, under Col. IV 2.8 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers. Verso empty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. I</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>α'  καλῆ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>β  ὡς  τ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>γ'  ᾠ(δ)  τ  ὡς  [ι]β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>δ'  δ'  ὅλης</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ε  καλῆ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ς  καλῆ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. II</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>τ Κφ[.η]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>θ  καλῆ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ιβ  καλῆ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ιδ  καλῆ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Without any doubt this papyrus also contains a list of good and bad days, cf. 82. While according to that text (ll. 12-33) days 3, 5, 10, 13, 15, 21, and 30 are κακή and all others are άφθονος, in this papyrus only days 5 and 6 are κακή, while the other days mentioned (1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 25, 27 and 29) are completely or at least for part of the time καλή (the 2nd day only until the 6th hour, the 3rd day only after the 6th until the 12th hour); due to the loss of one letter the quality of day 7 is unknown. It is unclear why in this text a number of days (days 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22-24, 26, 28 and 30) have been simply disregarded.

4. For the meaning of δι’ άλης (sc. ημέρας) cf. 82, introd.

84: GREEK HOROSCOPE

(373)

T.Kellis inv. A/5/198+263 is broken into three pieces. Two of them (together = # A/5/198) were found in House 3, room 6, under three meters of sand (level 3); inv. # A/5/263 came from House 3, room 1, above the floor near top step, and was covered by two meters of sand. The dimensions are H. 33 x B. 10.7 cm. Two pairs of holes have been drilled through the wood at the left hand side of the text; apparently this board formed part of a kind of notebook or was intended to do so. Thickness of the wood: 4 mm. The margin of 7 cms at the bottom contains various decorations. There are vague traces of some kind of coating of the wood, but much of the text was written directly on the wood itself. The other side of the board contains a Coptic text (to be published separately by I. Gardner and A. Alcock). For organizational purposes the Greek text published below was previously referred to as ‘T.Kellis 11.A’.

1 Γένεσις[ς]  VACAT  “Birth.
2 ΠΘ/Διοκλητιανοῦ {Θωθ}  Year 89 of Diocletian, Thoth
3 ἄπογόμενος α κατ’ Αἰγυπτίους  Epagomene (?) 1, according to the Egyptians,
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

which is according to the Greeks Pachon 21,
at the 11th hour of the day.
Horoscopos in Libra, the House
of Venus in the terms of Mercury, 22 degrees;
the Sun in Taurus, the House of Venus
in the terms of Mars, 8 degrees;
the Moon in Leo, the House of the Sun
in the terms of the Moon, 12 degrees;
Mars in Scorpio, the House of Mars
in the terms of Jupiter, 9 degrees;
Jupiter in Cancer, the House of the Moon
in the terms of Saturn, 5 (?) or 9?)
degrees;
Venus in Leo, the House of the Sun
in the terms of Mercury, 10 degrees;
Saturn in Aquarius, the House of Saturn
in the terms of Jupiter, 14 degrees;
the Lot of Fortune in Scorpio, the House
of
Mars
in the terms of Jupiter, 7 degrees;
Mercury in Gemini, the House of Mer-
cury
in the terms of the Moon, [-] degree(s)."

A first publication with a full discussion of the various problems connected with
this new Greek horoscope appeared in ZPE 106 (1995) 235ff.22 We summarize:
(a) to our knowledge it is the only Greek horoscope written on a wooden board;
(b) there is a problematic conflict between the dating according to the Alexandrian and
the Egyptian calendar;
(c) the astronomical and astrological data given in the text present difficulties of inter-
pretation.

22) For the subject of Greek horoscopes in general see O. Neugebauer and H. Van Hoesen, Greek
Horoscopes, Philadelphia 1959. (Mem. Am. Philos. Soc., 48); D. Baccani, Oroscopi Greci,
Documentazione papirologica, Messina 1992 (Ricerca papirologica, 1). See also H.G. Gundel, 'Horos-
kop' in Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, XVI (Stuttgart 1993) 598-662.
Ad (a): We do not know of any other ancient horoscope written on a wooden board. See ZPE, loc. cit. 236 and ibidem fn. 2.

Ad (b): Year 89 of the era of Diocletian (l. 2.) 'καθ' Ελληνος', i.e. according to the Alexandrian calendar, runs from 29.viii.372 - 28.viii.373; Pachon 21 (l. 4) according to the same calendar = 16.v, hence the date of the horoscope according to the Alexandrian calendar is 16.v.373.

On the other hand, year 89 of the Diocletian era (l. 2.) 'κατ' Αιγυπτιως', i.e. according to the traditional Egyptian calendar, covers the period Thoth 1/22.v.372 - Epagomene 5/21.v.373.

The dating on the board: Θωθ ἀπογόμενος ἀ (ll. 2-3) is remarkable; ἀπογόμενος ἀ strongly reminds us of ἐπαγομένη (sc. ἡμέρα) α, the first of the five epagomenal days which are added traditionally to the month of Mesore (preceding Thoth). Some kind of error in our text seems probable. If Thoth 1 'Egyptian style' (= 22.v.372) should be the equivalent of Pachon 21 'Greek style' (= 16.v.373), there would be a remarkable conflict between the Egyptian and the Alexandrian calendar in

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23) A useful survey of the use of wood for various writing purposes and a list of publications of wooden boards known from Graeco-Roman Egypt was published by W.M. Brashear and F.A.J. Hoogendijk in Enchoria 17 (1990) 21-54 (add now to the list, e.g., the tablets published in P.Brook. 27-31, and the astronomical T.Amst. inv. 1, published in CdE 52 [1977] 301ff. and recently discussed in CdE 68 [1993] 178ff.; add also Bodl.Gr.Inscr. inv. 4, cf. Pack 2-2710); for the subject in general cf. also E. Lalou, Les tablettes à écrire de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne, Turnhout 1992 (Bibliologia, 12), esp. 127-149, where J.L. Sharpe III discusses the Dakhleh Tablets and gives some codicological considerations. The excavations at Ismant-al-Kharab have yielded many wooden boards and fragments thereof (see, besides Dr. Sharpe's article, also the photos in JSSEA 17 [1987] pl. XXI-XXIII.a; JSSEA 19 [1989] pl. II and BACE 2 [1991] pl. 8), i.e. in Area A House 1 yielded one board, House 2 yielded two complete codices [an Isokrates codex and the so-called 'Harvest (earlier: Farm) Account Book' (see Sharpe, loc.cit.)] and six boards, while House 3 produced two books (one [inv. A/5/53B] of five boards, with only one board [= two pages] inscribed; see the remarks in BACE 2 [1991] 42-43 and the publication by J. Gardner in Orientalia 62 [1993] 36-59) and 32 (partly fragmentarily preserved) boards; from House '4' came 39 (partly fragmentarily preserved) boards. Finally, Area B yielded one board (described JSSEA 17 [1987] 167 + Pl. XXIII.a), while Area D produced four boards.


25) For the survival of this calendar into Roman Egypt and its use until ca. A.D. 400 cf. D. Hagedorn - K.A. Worp, Das Wandeljahr im römischen Ägypten, ZPE 104 (1994) 243-255; in the period A.D. 371-375 the Egyptian calendar was 99 days ahead of the Alexandrian calendar.

26) In numerous cases one encounters the phrasing Μεσορή ἐπαγομένων + numeral between '1' - '5' ('6' only in an Egyptian leap year). We do not know of any authoritative modern source according to which the Egyptian year is supposed to start with the epagomenal days rather than with Thoth, but cf. the expression Θωθ ἐπαγομένων + numeral, found only in a few ostraka from Upper Egypt, i.e. O.Sarga 209, 349-354 = SB XVIII 13403, 13531-13536 (we owe these references to the kindness of D. Hagedorn); the editor of these texts does not express an opinion on the remarkable phenomenon.

27) Note that in SB XVIII 13531.3 Θωθ was cancelled.
our horoscope. Under normal circumstances, at any rate, ἐπαγομένη α in year 89 of the Diocletian era would be, then, according to the Egyptian calendar the equivalent of 17.v.373 in our calendar.

It must be admitted that a radical cancelling of Θωθ in our text and the assumption of a spelling error ἦπο- for ἢπο- and a gender error -γόμενος for -γομένη are, especially if taken together, rather irritating and that, even if one accepts this, there would be still a discrepancy of 1 day left between 17.v.373 'Egyptian style' and 16.v.373 'Alexandrian style'; on balance, however, we regard that as less problematic than a discrepancy of more than a full year, the more so as we have other reasons to assume that the author of this text was not very competent.

ad (c): For a discussion of the more technical aspects of 84, see ZPE, loc.cit. 237ff., where it is argued that the technical astronomical skill of the author of the horoscope was, to say the least, limited.

From a comparison of the planetary positions in 84 with those calculated for 16.v.373 A.D. (see the Table) it is clear that the agreement is quite poor. As there is hardly any reason to assume that the date given in 84 is not the correct one, one must assume that the author of this text was not very competent.

TABLE:28 Planetary positions of 84 compared to positions calculated for the date in the text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planets</th>
<th>84</th>
<th>16.v.373, 4 pm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>8 Taurus</td>
<td>25 Taurus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>12 Leo</td>
<td>4 Virgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>-- Gemini</td>
<td>8 Taurus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus</td>
<td>10 Leo</td>
<td>3 Cancer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mars</td>
<td>9 Scorpio</td>
<td>21 Taurus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jupiter</td>
<td>5/9 Cancer</td>
<td>5 Pisces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturn</td>
<td>14 Aquarius</td>
<td>9 Aquarius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horoscopus</td>
<td>22 Libra</td>
<td>22 Libra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28 Dates are Julian dates and time is Mean Local Time. Positions are calculated for a location at longitude 30 degrees East of Greenwich and geographical latitude 25 degrees North.
85.a, 85.b: TWO FRAGMENTS OF A MAGICAL FORMULARY

(Fourth century)

P.Kellis inv. P.92.35.B, Frr. I and II (House 3, room 11, level 4). Two fragments of the same physical appearance, both written by the same semi-literary hand along the fibers on the recto (verso blank), both containing short magical prescriptions. The pieces were found together and have virtually identical dimensions. So we must be dealing with remnants of the same roll or folded sheet.

It seems very likely that the amulet 87 was copied directly from the prescription 85.b.17ff. Everything but the heading of the fragmentary charm in the formulary occurs also in the amulet — most notably the elsewhere unattested *vox magica* Σέσεμβρία at the beginning. Furthermore, if 85.b.17-18 are restored with the wording of the amulet, equal length of line results. It is hardly due to mere chance that both papyri were found in the same room 11 in House 3, the findspots differing only in that the formulary is from level 4, the amulet from level 3.

Applied charms were regularly copied from formularies: *Suppl.Mag.* I 46 - 51, e.g., are all applied love charms that resemble PGM IV 335-433, though none of them was copied from the Great Paris Magical Handbook itself, but rather from similar exemplars. Thanks to the controlled excavation at Ismant al-Kharab/Kellis we have the unique situation of an applied amulet turning up next to its physically same formulary exemplar.

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85.a. P.Kellis inv. P.92.35.B, Frag. I: H. 11.5 x B. 2.8 cm. Margins: at the left 0.7, at the bottom 0.8 cm. Writing parallel with the fibers, verso blank. Parts of three magical prescriptions. Of the first, survives only the end consisting of magical characters. The second probably began with προδος in esthesis (l. 2), as does the third (l. 6).

1 Figurae magicae
2
3 λαβὼν πι
4 γράψων ἐν Σ
5 τὸν δί(να) ὑπὸ ἐτεῖ[κεφ]ν ή δί(να)

   πρ[δο]ς
7 σεραμικη[κη]
8 κοτφι[η]
9 Βηλ Βηλ α[κη]
10 κενφ[η]
11 Figurae magicae

---

12
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS 215

2. Probably προς, unless the surviving stroke is from a magical sign in the preceding line. If so, the prescription began further to the right.

3-4. λειβάν πλ - | γράφον ἐν τῷ: perhaps λειβάν πιττέακιον - - | γράφον ἐν [μυριομέδειαν. Cf. PGM XXXVI 264-267 λειβάν κάμια νικτίβασούσα καὶ ἵ μυρ ρ ὑ μ ε λ α ν, ὅμω τῇ δύο μέξας, γράφει καλῶς καλῶμε τῷ ξόδιον, καθώς παρέχει, εἰς πιττέακιον καὶ τῷ καθαρίῳ. Perhaps πιττέακιον was qualified with an adjective such as καθαρίῳ (PGM XXXVI 267, just cited) or ιερατικῷ (PGM IV 3142, VII 412). For ἐν [μυριομέδειαν 'with ink', cf. PGM IV 3199 οἰκή μελέξης, ἐν ἐν ἐν γράφειν and VIII 69-73 έστι τῷ μέλεξἠν, ἐν ἐν ἐν γράφειν. On instrumental ἐν, see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament § 219.


10: the last letter probably not an omega; perhaps a damaged δ.

12-14. A tabula ansata enclosed three probably short lines consisting of voces magicæ and, probably, the seven vowels. To the right of the tabula ansata may have been text or figurae magicae. On the use of the tabula ansata in magical texts, see R. Kotansky, Getty Museum Journal 11 (1983) 175-176; cf. Suppl. Mag. I 10.3-7.


14. The seven Greek vowels represented the seven planets (see, e.g., H.G. Gundel, Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri [Münchener Beiträge 53, 1968], 41-52). The circles in which the vowels are drawn probably represent the planetary spheres (σφαιρας, κόσμων); see Der Kleine Pauly IV s.v. Planeten [E. Boer], esp. col. 883; also F. Boll - C. Bezold - W. Gundel, Sternglaube und Sterndeutung (Leipzig/Berlin 1931), pp. 44, 118-119.

15. ἀπάλλαξον: | ἀπάλλαξον ὑ ἐν δί(κνο) ὑ ἐτετεκνὴν ὑ δι(κνο), then possibly mention of the ail-ment from which the patient should be healed. Parallels for ἀπάλλαξον in magical formulæ and applied charms are gathered in R. Kotansky, Greek Magical Amulets. The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze Lamellae I (Pap.Col. XXII.1, 1994) 52.116-17 commentary.

16. τοῦ μεγάλου: certainly a divine epithet. Perhaps from ὑ τοῦ δοῦλος ἐστὶ | τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ, as in 87.3-4. It could also be that a verb of swearing (ὁρεῖται or a compound) was followed by κατὰ | τοῦ μεγάλου and then, e.g., θεοῦ (with or without a qualifier such as τοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ) or one or more names of the deity.
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

85.b. P.Kellis inv. P.92.35.B, Frag. II: H. 11.7 x B. 2.7 cm. Margins: at the top: 1, to the left 0.5 cm. Parts of two prescriptions separated by paragraphus at II. 15-16. The writer also used paragraphus at II. 3-4 and 19-20, but in these places apparently not to indicate the beginning of a new charm, but rather to separate sections of the same charms. Only the purpose of the first prescription is preserved, πρὸς ῥυγοτῶν. The accusative object that followed certain or likely πρὸς in 85.a.2,6 and in 85.b.16 probably also indicated an ailment, though one cannot exclude mention of a bodily organ (Suppl.Mag. II 94.22, πρ(δς) ὀφθαλμῶς), the patient(s) (Suppl.Mag. II 94.17, πρ(δς) δαιμοναξομένους, 96 A.48: πρὸς γενόσαυν) or the goal (Suppl.Mag. II 94.7, πρ(δς) εὐτ[ο]κνα).

1. πρὸς ῥυγοτῶν
2. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
3. σακ

4. ηη
5. ω
6. οοοο
7. υυυυ
8. ωωωωωω
9. ωουη
10. υοηω
11. οηηε
12. ωηη
13. ων
14. ων
15. ω

16. πρὸς
17. Σεσεμφᾶ
18. θον δαίμονα
19. ἀντάλλαξον γρ[ι]

20. λεθαίοι[χ]
21. νεῖδ ισχ[α] σ[\ ]

21 νεῖδ ἐκ γνεῖδ ὃ?

1. ῥυγοτῶν or, less likely, ῥυγοτῶρετῶν, cf. Suppl.Mag. II, Index V, p. 309 s.vv.
1-15. There was text to the right of the narrow column of vowels in II. 3-15, where the papyrus breaks off, leaving only a few traces of initial letters at the edge. It might have consisted of a continuation of the Greek text in lines 1-2. The traces in II. 3-15 could also be from magical vowels, words or characters.
3-15. For the various vowel combinations given here cf. Suppl.Mag. II, Index IX.
2. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ [: before the break is a curve that suits omikron, sigma or omega, but hardly the belly of an alpha. If the prepositional phrase can be understood without what preceded or followed, it probably means 'by day' and refers either to an affliction that occurs by day or to a iatromagical procedure that should be carried out by day.
16-19. For commentary, see 87, which was probably copied from this prescription (see introd. to 85.a - b). What is preserved in lines 17-19 corresponds to 87 as follows: Ἑσπερέβεκτα ὑποκάτω ὑπερμονήν σαρχαθὸν δαίμονα ὑποκάτω τῶν σπερμάτων ἵππευρ | ἀπάλλαξον τὸν Παραμοῦρν δὲ ἔτεκεν ἢ Δο ὅτι δοῦλος ἔστιν τοῦ | μεγάλου θεοῦ. This suggests for the formulary:

17 Ἑσπερέβεκτα ὑποκάτω ὑπερμονήν σαρχαθὸν
18 ὅτι δαίμονα [ὑποκάτω τῶν σπερμάτων ἵππευρ]
19 ἀπάλλαξον τῇ[ύ δι(να) δὲ ἔτεκεν ἢ δι(να) ὅτι δοῦλος ἔστιν τοῦ]
19a? [Vacat μεγάλου θεοῦ]

There is ample space between extant lines 19 and 20 for τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ to have been written far to the right of the paragraphs. An indented l. 19a, rather than forcing the issue, might explain why τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ is indented far to the right in 87.4, where the writer had sufficient space at normal line beginning.

17-18. — | ὅτι δαίμονα: if not σαρχαθὸν | ὅτι δαίμον, then the copyist of 87 made a mistake and the formulary might have had well-known Ἁγας | ὅτι Δαίμονα, on whom see PW-RE Suppl. III, coll. 37-59, s.v. Agathosdaimon (J. Fischer); D. Wortmann, Bonner Jahrb. 166 (1966) 87-90; Lexikon der Ägyptologie I, col. 94 s.v. Agathos Daimon (P. Derchain).

19. [--- ἢ δι(να) ---]: probably the papyrus had an angular spiritus asper above the eta, cf. 87.3, ἢ λ.ν.
20. λεθαίων: there is some space between θ and α, so perhaps λθαίων. But since the amount of space is not decisive, perhaps one should separate βλαι, cf. PGM XIX.a.34 βλαι βλαι.

21. ἵσαχ: perhaps ἵσαχ = ἵσαχ: there is space on either side, and the preceding magical word may have been punctuated with a high point; cf. 85.a.10. The biblical name is certain and common in magical texts when accompanied by Abraham and Jacob (cf. e.g. PGM XII 287 τὸν Ἀβρααμ, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, τὸν Ἰακωβι, and see J.M. Rist, The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. A Liturgical and Magical Formula, Journal of Biblical Literature 57 (1938) 289-303; R. Kotansky, Greek Magical Amulets, I 52.71-73n.). Here we would have an instance of Isaac either alone or in less direct connection with Abraham and/or Jacob, cf. PGM I 129-220 Ἀβρααμεν θαλάκλοοε ελκακουοη αγχθοοον αο Ιασακ, IV 1216 σαριν: ἵσαχ χοη, IV 1376-1377 λεω Ἀβρααμ ἰσχο Ιασακ Σαβασαθ ιαου ἰσαχοβ (cf. Suppl.Mag. II 87.10-11 and note ad loc.).

After ἵσαχ either σε[ or σφ[.

86: FEVER AMULET

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 78.H (House 3, room 6, level 3). H. 16.6 x B. 12.2 cm. The upper margin measures 2.5 cm. The writing is faded. The main text is inscribed along the fibers, but angels’ names and magical signs are written in the margins against the fibers. The papyrus was folded horizontally in the middle (where it is now broken) and four times vertically. A series of cracks along the right side suggest that the papyrus might also have been rolled. The verso is blank.

The text contains a detail of linguistic interest. The word τελετή, which normally means 'rite', is used for the amulet itself.29 This provides a parallel for the semantic
development of τελεσομα from 'rite' to 'amulet', from which (probably through Arabic тilsam) we have the modern word 'talisman'.

1
ω ω ω [ω] ω ω
2
υ [υ] υ υ υ υ
3
ο ο ο ο ο
4
ι [ι ι ι ι]
5
η [η η]
6
e [e]
7
α
8
Θ Α Ν Α Α Β Α Ν Α Θ
9
α
10
ε ε
11
η η η
12
ι ι ι ι
13
ο ο ο ο ο
14
υ υ υ υ υ υ
15
ω ω ω ω ω {ω'} ω ω
16
ατάλλαξου έλα κην την φορούσαν
17
tην όγιαν τούτην τελετήν τριταίω
18
tεταρταίων ἀμφημερινοῦ νυκτερινοῦ.

17 την: -η- ex u corr., τριταίω 18 τεταρταίου

In the left margin: ΡΑΦΑΗΑ, ΜΙΧΑΗΑ (at 180°).
In the right margin: ΟΤΡΗΗΑ, ΓΑΒΡΗΗΑ (at 180°), figurae magicae.

3. Between the 4th and 5th omikron is a stain, stray ink or a deletion.
8. Θ Α Ν Α Α Β Α Ν Α Θ: cf. the common magical name and palindrome Ἀβδανασσαλβα (on which see Suppl. Mag. I. 9.1-7 comm.).
16. έλα κη or perhaps Αλα κη: the unread letter is γ, λ, or τ. The name does not seem to be attested in House 3 and it may be new altogether. For the phrasing την φορούσαν κτλ. cf. the similar phrasing in the mostly illegible magical amulet P.Kellis inv. 92.35.b (House 3, room 11, level 4; H. 6.3 x B. 14 cm.) which reads in ll. 5ff.: φέροντα τούτα Πομφόρῳ ὃν ἔτεκεν | εὑρό τριταίον α' ΤΡΑΣΕΟ ὁν ἀπὸ καλ' | ἤδη ἤδη ταχὸ ταχὸ.
17. τελετήν: see the remarks in the introduction to this text with fn. 1.
17-18. τριταίου, τεταρταίου, ἀμφημερινοῦ, νυκτερινοῦ: for the ellipsis of πυρετοῦ cf., e.g., LSJ s.vv. τριταίος, τεταρτάιος.
87: FEVER AMULET

(4th century)

P. Kellis inv. P. 92.191 (= A/5/284; House 3, room 11, level 3). H. 2.5 x B. 17.3 cm. The papyrus has been evenly cut away at the top and both sides, while it is unevenly torn away at the bottom. The writing runs parallel with the rough fibers on what is apparently the true verso. The smoother back (the true recto) is blank.

This applied charm is strikingly similar to 85.b.17ff. and might have been copied directly from that part of that formulary (see intr. and comm. to 85.b). As 85.b.17-19 might have continued into ll. 20-21, it could be that the present amulet, which is torn away along the bottom, continued for a line or two on a now lost strip of the papyrus. It is also possible that the papyrus, as now preserved, is complete. In this case, the amulet's dimensions (about 7:1) would be comparable to a number of other extremely oblong amuletic papyri (see Suppl. Mag. I 31 introd.).

\[\begin{align*}
1 & \text{Σεσεμφόθα \upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omega \xi\omegaτρα \Thetaερμο\muθ\upsilon \sigma\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\theta\upsilon\upsilon\ \deltaa\iota\mu\omicron\alpha \upsilon-} \\
2 & \text{\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omega \tau\omicron\nu \sigma\pi\epsilon\rhol\alpha\mu\dot{a}\tau\omicron\upsilon} \ \iota\alpha\gamma\gamma\article \\
3 & \text{\'A\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\xi\omicron\nu \tau\omicron\nu \Πα\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\ \d\nu \ \dot{e}\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu \ \dot{h} \ \Lambda\omicron, \ \dot{o} \ \delta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\dot{d} \ \dot{e}\omicron\omicron\upsilon \ \dot{t}\omicron\upsilon} \\
4 & \text{V A C A T \ [.] \ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\upsilon \ \theta\upsilon\upsilon} \\
\end{align*}\]

1. \(\text{\textit{Σεσεμφόθα}}\): attested only here and in 85.b.17; perhaps from Egyptian \(\text{\textit{s\i-m-P\t}}\) = 'image of Ptah' (H.J. Thissen). The element \(\text{\textit{s\i-m}}\) calls to mind the beginning of magical \(\text{\textit{Σεσεμφόθα}}\) (Suppl. Mag. I 45.27) and of frequently occurring magical \(\text{\textit{Σεσεμφόθα}}\) (cf. Suppl. Mag. I 10.2n.; II Index VI, s.v.).

\(\text{\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omega \xi\omegaτρα}\) 'below zoira'? Cf. 1-2 \(\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omega \tau\omicron\nu \sigma\pi\epsilon\rhol\alpha\mu\dot{a}\tau\omicron\upsilon\). As \(\zot\) is probably not an Egyptian equivalent of \(\tau\omicron\nu \sigma\pi\epsilon\rhol\alpha\mu\dot{a}\tau\omicron\upsilon\), it may be a non-Greek (presumably Egyptian) word for a place or a place-name.

\(\text{\Thetaερμο\muθ\upsilon}\): this is grecized Renenutet, an Egyptian goddess of fertility and vegetation who was depicted as a snake or as a woman with a snake's head; see H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin 1952) pp. 803-805 s.v. Thermuthis; Lexikon der Ägyptologie V 232-236, s.v. Renenutet (C. Beinlich-Seeber). In PGM IV 2387 and VII 782, \(\text{\thetaερμο\muθ\upsilon}\) appears to be used as a common noun for a snake. As a personal name \(\text{\thetaερμο\muθ\upsilon}\) occurs a number of times among the Greek documentary Kellis papyri (cf. the index nominum).

\(\sigma\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\theta\upsilon\upsilon\ \deltaa\iota\mu\omicron\alpha\upsilon\): cf. 85.b.17-18 comm.

1-2. \(\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omega \tau\omicron\nu \sigma\pi\epsilon\rhol\alpha\mu\dot{a}\tau\omicron\upsilon\): 'below the seeds'. Apparently there is no parallel for this. The phrase might suit Thermouthis as goddess of vegetation.

2. It is just possible that one should read \(\iota\alpha\gamma\gamma\article\), though we might be dealing with discoloration rather than ink at the end of the line.

3. \(\dot{h} \lambda\omicron\): \(\text{\textit{spiritus asper}}\) almost certainly copied from the formulary.

4. The personal name \(\text{\textit{Πα\mu\omicron\nu\omicron}}\) occurs frequently in Kellis (specifically in at least two generations of inhabitants of House 3, cf. the family tree at p. 51), but mother \(\Lambda\omicron\) cannot be fitted into the family tree as yet. As Dr. I. Gardner informs us, the name 'Lo' is borne by women in at least two Coptic letters from Kellis, P. 9 and P. 45. The name \(\Lambda\omicron\) may occur in P. Aberd. 72.A, recto.6 (\(\Delta\omicron \Delta\epsilon\nu\kappa\eta\lambda\)), if the proposal in
BL 3 p. 2 is correct), where the sex is not certain. The similar Δω is a woman’s name in SB III 6200 (ἐμε Δω βία) and a man’s name in P.Erl. 127 (ἐπι Δω).

3-4. ὅπι δοῦλας ἦσσεν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ: the same formula is perhaps to be restored in 85.a.15-16. Cf. PGM XII 71 ὅπι δοῦλας εἶμι τοῦ ψυχοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, XIII 637 ὅπι δοῦλας εἶμι σῶς καὶ ἱερής, P. 5a.10-11 ὅπι δοῦλα ἦσσεν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζωίτης.

88: CHRISTIAN AMULET

(4th century)

T. Kellis inv. A/5/193 (House 3, room 8, level 4, North wall). H. 23.8 x B. 9.8 cm. For organizational purposes the board was referred to previously as ‘T.Kellis 10’.

The surviving prayer occupies one side of the present board (side A). The writing has faded away in most of ll. 1-5. Side A also shows traces of an earlier text that was washed away before the prayer was written. After the prayer was written, the right-hand side of the tablet was bored with two pairs of drill holes (each 0.5 cm).32 On the same right-hand side are two V-shaped collational marks on the spine edge incised at 9.7 cm and 14.8 cm from the top. The pairs of holes and the collational marks suggest that the tablet was to be attached to one or more others so as to form a small notebook.33 Also side B bore writing, but nothing is legible now. Perhaps, as on side A, a text was washed away, and the writer of the prayer regarded side B as blank. It is also possible that the writer of side A also wrote on side B, but that here the writing has faded away almost entirely, just as it has in most of the first lines of side A. The position of the holes to the right of the surviving text suggests that the prayer is the back of the tablet if we imagine it in a notebook.

1 χει TRACES
2 δεσπότας TRACES
3 θ(είδ)ς αἰώνιος TRACES
4 κ(υρίο)ν TRACES
5 θεός τῆς χειρὸς σου τῆς
6 κραταίαίν', τοῦ βραχιο-
7 νά σου τοῦ ψυχήγορος, τοῦ
8 πλήρη ἑαυτοῦκαὶ ἅλα-
9 κληρίας', τοῦ πλήρης
10 δυνάμεως καὶ ζωῆς-
11 χώρισον ἄτ' αὐτοῦ τά-
12 σον νόσου καὶ πα-
13 σον μαλακίας καὶ
14 παν πν(εύμ)α ἁσθενείας'─
15 ὅπως τοῦ ἐλαίου <ς> σου

Notes 32-34. See addendum in L. Cardner, Kellis 2nd Textos p. 197-8.

2° Ζ. P. E. 115 (1997), pp. 128-131
"(Il. 2ff.) Masters --- eternal God --- of the Lord --- your mighty hand, your lofty arm, full of healing and well-being, full of power and life. Keep away from him every disease and every infirmity and every spirit of illness, so that having received your mercy men can worship and thank you (all) the days of their lives. For you are our Savior and refuge and helper of our assistance, for your all-holy name has been given and is exalted for ever and ever."

The use of Old and New Testament passages characterize this as a ‘Christian’ (rather than a specifically ‘Manichaean’) text. The text is a protective amulet against disease for a single individual, cf. Il. 11-14 χάρισον ὁ πάσον νόσον κτλ. The command is linked to a captatio benevolentiae consisting of an appeal to God’s own interests: 34 "so that having received your mercy men can worship and thank you for all the days of their lives" (Il. 15-19).

The prayer ended with the concluding "for ever and ever" formula in Il. 25-26 (with a short line 26). The first lines of side A, however, are not necessarily the beginning of the prayer: it might have continued from illegible side B.

For prayers such as the following one, see C. Wessely, Les plus anciens monuments du Christianisme II, (Patrologia Orientalis XVIII.3, [Paris 1924; repr. Turnhout 1974]) Chapt. IV (pp. 424-450) and the list of J. van Haelst, Catalogue des Papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens (Paris 1976), Chapt. VII (pp. 263-330, nos. 720 - 1063; cf. esp. the wooden tablets nos. 744, 860, 1037). See also the Christian texts in PGM II pp. 209-232 and in Suppl.Mag. I 20-36.

Why was the amulet written on a board of a notebook? As the person to be protected will not have worn it like a normal amulet (see the remarks made by W.M. Brasher in Enchoria 17 [1990] 23), some possible explanations are: (i) the formula was to be recopied onto a sheet of papyrus and then worn; (ii) the amulet was supposed to serve its protective function in the notebook itself, wherever the owner took it; (iii) the board was separated from the notebook and fastened to the wall of a room.

An immediate link between the board and the inhabitants of House 3 cannot be established; it does not provide sufficient evidence to maintain that the inhabitants of this house were ‘Christians’ rather than ‘Manichaeans’.

NB: Just before going to print we received the new publication by R. Roca-Puig, *Anàfora de Barcelona: I altres pregàries* (Barcelona 1995), where p. 99 a text much similar to our 88 is printed. We hope to explore the consequences of this identification elsewhere.

5. ἐν (imp.) or compound thereof? (In view of the Barcelona text probably ἐξῆλθες).

5-7. τὴν χειρὸς φορὰ τὴν κραταίνω, τὸν βραχίον | να σου τὸν ψηλάρης; cf. e.g. LXX Deut. 3.24 τὴν χειρὰ τὴν κραταίνω καὶ τὸν βραχίονα τὸν ψηλάρης, and Hatch-Redpath, Concordance I s.v. βραχίον. For the hand and arm of God as symbols of his might, see Kittel, *ThWbNT* I and IX s.v. βραχίονες and χειρ.


11-13. τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν μαλακίων: NT Matth. 4.23 (θεραπεύειν τέσσαραν νῦσιν καὶ τῶν μαλακίων ἐν τῷ λαῷ) is used also in the Christian amulets PGM P4 ii.14-iv.4; P5.b.25-27; Suppl.Mag. 1 30.3 (see comm.); 31.2; 33.2-4.


15. ἐθέσαν <ἐς> σου, τ. ἰλέους σου: standard Judaeo-Christian ‘mercy’ (ἐθέσα) is probably obscured by simple phonetic mistakes. It is not likely that the reading of the board is correct and that one should understand metaphorical θεάων as a play on ἐθέσα (cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. ἐθέσα, II.K.4).

15-19. πολλοὺς δυνάσθων τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἴως στόσων: the unexpressed plural subject is ‘men’ (οἱ ἄνθρωποι); see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* § 130 (2).


19-23. ὅτι ς εἰ δὲν καταστροφῇ καὶ μηθ/εὶς καὶ β/καταστροφῇ καὶ δὲν τῆς ἀντιλήψεως ἡμῶν: this is reminiscent of Psalm 17.3, κύριος στέρεωμένα μου καὶ κατασφεγή μου καὶ μονάς μου, ὅ θεός μου βοηθός μου, καὶ ἐκτίκτες εἰς αὐτόν, κατασφεγήσας μου καὶ κατασφεγήσας μου καὶ μονός μου, μηθ/εὶς καὶ βοηθός μου καὶ ἐκτίκτες εἰς αὐτόν καὶ κατασφεγήσας μου καὶ κατασφεγήσας μου (καὶ μονός μου, βοηθός μου). The addition in Psalm 90 is found in several manuscripts and most of the papyri that contain it (see R.W. Daniel, *Vigiliae Christianae* 37 [1983] 403, comment to 1. 7). Due to its contents, Psalm 90 was the most frequently used Psalm in protective amulets, see Supp.Mag. 1 26.6-8 comm. In the present passage β/κατασφεγήσας τῆς ἀντιλήψεως ἡμῶν, ‘helper of our assistance’, seems to be redundant and unparalleled. Perhaps the writer or his source was freely adapting Scripture.
89: MEDICAL PRESCRIPTION

(4th century)

P.Kellis inv. P. 61.B (House 3, room 8, level 4). H. 9 x B. 11. cm. Margins: at the right hand side 5, at the left hand side 1, at the top 2, and at the bottom 2.8 cm. The writing runs parallel with the fibers, the verso is blank.

1 Traces (οὐγκία) α
2 πτέρεως (οὐγκία) α
3 TRAČES (οὐγκία) α
4 ξύρης (οὐγκία) α
5 καθεδίας (οὐγκία) α

The papyrus is extremely fragile, but the occurrence of cadmia and myrrh seems to suggest that these ingredients were intended for an eyesalve. For the subject of Greek medical prescriptions preserved on papyrus, see H. Harrauer - P.J. Sijpsteijn, Medizinische Rezepte und Verwandtes (Vienna 1981; = MPER N.S. XIII); for eyesalves and their ingredients, see especially ibidem, texts ## 3, 4, 5 and 8; cf. also BASP XVIII (1981) 1ff. and M.-H. Marganne. L'ophthalmologie dans l'Egypte gréco-romaine d'après les papyrus littéraires grecs, Leiden 1994 (=Studies in Ancient Medicine, 8). For the Coptic documentation on eye salves, see W.C. Till, Die Arzneikunde der Kopten (Berlin 1951) 14-19.

90: SCHOOL EXERCISE

(4th century)

T.Kellis inv. A/5/220 (House 3, room 6, level 4). H. 5.3 x B. 5.8 cm. Thickness 3 mm. The writing on both sides stands perpendicular to the grain of the wood. Most of the coating on the backside has gone and a considerable part of the writing has gone as well.

Frontside:
1 Ἀργυρ(ίου) ταλ(άντων) (μυριᾶς) α
2 (ἀν) ἐπικερ(διὰς)
3 τάλ(αντα) ασ

4 (Μ.2) Μήνας δόντ
2 L: Pap.
"1 Myriad (=10,000) tal(ents) of silver, of which for interest 1200 tal(ents); two months."

Backside:
5 δσχον ...  
6 Χοιάκ δ  
7 δλαίου χ( ) β.

"I received ... Choiak 4 -- 2 ch(ous?) of oil."

While the backside of this wooden board seems to contain only a short statement concerning receipt of a certain quantity of oil, its front side contains a calculation exercise: a pupil is asked to calculate, how much of time is needed for obtaining an interest at 1200 Talents from a capital of 10,000 Talents. The answer '2 months' presupposes that the interest level used here was 6 % per month or 72 % per year. This is significantly higher than the interest rate assumed to be normal in the 4th century; for this subject cf. also 40 - 47, introd.

2. A resolution of the symbol 'L:' as 'τ(ρα)' is abundantly paralleled.
4. This line was written between two lines incised into the wood. Apparently these lines indicated the place where the pupil was supposed to write his answer. There is a third, spare line incised at a lower level; in the present case this serves no particular function.
7. Apparently the abbreviation χ( ) indicates a container of liquids. One may think of resolving χ(οί) but maybe also of χ(ἄρρηστος) (for this measure cf. words like μονάχυρον, δίχυρον, τρίχυρον, τετράχυρον); for questions of metrology as far as measures of liquids are concerned, still see U. Wilcken's fundamental remarks in WO I 75ff.
WORD INDICES

I: EMPERORS

Probus or Aurelian?
(A.D. 273/4 or 279/80?)
eS": 62.1

Diocletian, Maximianus, Constantius, Galerius
(A.D. 293/4)
Τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Ἀὐτοκρατόρων Καυσάρων Γερμανικῶν μεγίστων Σαρματικῶν μεγίστων καὶ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίου καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτων Καυσάρων Ἑνεδών Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν: 1.1-7 (yts 9-8-1 or 10-9-2)

τὴν οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ <Σεβαστῶν> καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καυσάρων: 2.5-6

(A.D. 298/9)
(ἐτους) ὑε καὶ ἰδ καὶ τ: 19.b.3

(A.D. 303/4)
(ἐτους) κ, ἰδS καὶ (ἐτους) ὑθ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καυσάρων: 49.14-18

(A.D. 293-305)
(ἐτους) - τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καυσάρων: 19.a.App.21-22

Constantius I, Galerius, Severus, Maximinus
(A.D. 305/6)
("Ετους) ὑθ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ (ἐτους) β' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Σεούρου καὶ Μαξείμου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καυσάρων: 31.25-28

ἰδS καὶ βS': 31.35

Galerius, Severus, Maximinus, Constantinus I
(A.D. 306/7)
("Ετους) ὑς/καὶ γς/ καὶ ας/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Σεούρου Σεβαστῶν καὶ Μαξείμου καὶ Κωνσταντίου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καυσάρων: 40.12-14
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Constantius II, Constantius III (Gallus)
(A.D. 352)
τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν ευσέβειαν τῶν πάντα μικρῶτων αἰωνίων δεσποτῶν:
24.5-6
tὴν θείαν καὶ οὐράνιαν τύχην τῶν πάντα μικρῶτων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγοῦστον τε καὶ
Καίσαρος: 23.27

II: CONSULS

(A.D. 293)
‘Τατείας Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ε´ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ δ´ Σεβαστῶν: 1.7-8 (see n.)

(A.D. 301)
‘Τατείας Ποστουμίου Τιτανοῦ καὶ Οὐνίου Νεκταριανοῦ: 2.1

(A.D. 308)
‘Τατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ πατρὸς τῶν βασιλέων τὸ ε´ καὶ Γαλερίου
Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ γ´: 36.11-12

(A.D. 310)
‘Τατείας Στατίου 'Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ Πομπηίου Πρόβου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἑπάρχων τοῦ
ἱεροῦ πρωτοβιοῦ: 41.20-21

(A.D. 315)
‘Τατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Δικινίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ δΣ/: 34.19-20

(A.D. 320)
‘Τατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε´ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ
ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α´: 37.15-16; 52.8-9; cf. also 51, palaeographical descr.
ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης (A.D. 320?): 51.8

(A.D. 321)
Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε´ καὶ
Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α´: 21.23-25

(A.D. 324)
Τέταρτον μέλλουσιν ὑπάτοις: 22.2; 56.3

(A.D. 328)
‘Τατείας Ψαλούντος Ἰαυναρίου καὶ Οὐστίου Ἰουστοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων: 59.1-3
(A.D. 331)
Μετά τήν υπατείαν Φλανίου Γαλλικανού και Αύρηλιου Συμμάχου των λαμπροτάτων: 29.1-2
Τ'τατείας Ιουνίου Βάσσου και Φλανίου 'Αβλαβίου των λαμπροτάτων: 4.17-18

(A.D. 332)
Μετά τήν υπατείαν Ιουνίου Βάσσου και Φλανίου 'Αβλαβίου των λαμπροτάτων: 57.2-4

(A.D. 333)
Τ'τατείας Φλανίου Δελματίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου καὶ Δαμιέττου Ζηνοφίλου τῶν λαμπροτάτων: 38.a.19-21; 38.b.19-20

(A.D. 335)
Τ'τατείας Ιουλίου Κωνσταντίνου πατρικίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου καὶ Ῥουφίου 'Ἀλβίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων: 13.12

(A.D. 337)
Τ'τατείας Φλανίου Φηλικιανοῦ καὶ Τιττίου Τιτανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων: 58.4

(A.D. 352)
Τ'τατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου τὸ ε' καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α'/: 24.9-10

(A.D. 353)
Τ'τατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β'/: 23.30

(A.D. 355)
Μετά τήν υπατείαν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου τὸ ζ'/ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ γ'/: 48.16-17

(A.D. 356)
Τ'τατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου τὸ η' καὶ Κλαυδίου Ιουλιανοῦ Καίσαρος το α'/: 14.1-3

(A.D. 357)
Τ'τατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου τὸ θ' καὶ Κλαυδίου Ιουλιανοῦ Καίσαρος τὸ δεύτερον: 15.17-19

(A.D. 362)
Τ'τατείας Μαμερτίνου καὶ Νεβιούζττα τῶν λαμπροτάτων: 8.13
GREEK PAPYRI FROM KELLIS

(A.D. 363)
'Tπατείας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αἰγουόστου τὸ δ'/ καὶ Φλαυνίου Σαλλουστίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτορίου: 30.1-2

(A.D. 364)
Μετά <τῆς> ὑπατείαν Ἰουλιανοῦ τὸ δ'/ καὶ Φλαυνίου Σαλλουστίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτορίου: 42.28-30
'Tπατείας Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Βαρωνιανοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ: 32.17-18

(A.D. 369)
'Tπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λυκαντιμανοῦ Νέου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου καὶ Φλαυνίου Οὐίκτορος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου: 33.23-26

(A.D. 374?)
[Τπατείας τοῦ] δεσποτοῦ ἡμῶν [Γρατιανοῦ? τοῦ αἰωνίου] Αἰγουόστου τὸ γ κ[αὶ Φλ. ἕκτου? τοῦ λαμπροτάτου]: 43.32-34

(A.D. 382)
Μετά τῆς ὑπατείαν Εὐχερίου καὶ Συναγρίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων: 44.19

(A.D. 386)
'Tπατείας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος καὶ Εὐδοίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου: 45.24-26

(A.D. ?)
-- τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κόμιτος: 3.6
ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης (A.D. 320?): 51.8

III: MONTHS, DAYS AND HOURS

(a) Months

'Αὔρ α 32.18; 38.a.21; 38.b.21
'Αὔρ κ 62.24
τῇ πρὸ — Καλανδῶν 1.8-9
πρὸ —] Εἰδῶν Φεβραίων 22.2-3
πρὸ δ’ Εἰδῶν Ἰουλίων, ὁ ἐστιν 'Επείφ εἰ κατ’ Ἑλληνας 41.22
'Επείφ νεομηνία 45.13
'Επείφ γ 19.a.App.22
'Επείφ εἰ κατ’ Ἑλληνας 41.22
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Page(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ἐπειφ κ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Θώθ καθ' Ἐλληνας</td>
<td>8.13</td>
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<td>Θώθ γ</td>
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<td>Μεσαρῆ</td>
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<td>Μεσεῖρ κ</td>
<td>42.18, 31</td>
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<td>Μεσεῖρ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους</td>
<td>34.20</td>
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<td>Παῦνη</td>
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<tr>
<td>Παξχῶν α</td>
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<td>Παξχῶν γν (?)</td>
<td>17.4</td>
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<td>Τύβι β</td>
<td>4.18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Τύβι κ</td>
<td>62.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Τύβι λ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους</td>
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(b) Days

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<td>Διὼς</td>
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<td>Κυριακῆ</td>
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<tr>
<td>νεομηνία</td>
<td>45.13; 46.11 (?)</td>
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Days by numeral only:

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(c) Hours

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**IV: INDICATIONS**

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<td>γ Ἰνδικτὶών</td>
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<td>ε Ἰνδικτὶών</td>
<td>78.10</td>
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INDICES OF GREEK WORDS

V: PERSONAL NAMES

br. = brother of; ch. = child of; d. = daughter of; f. = father of; grf. = grandfather of; grs. = grandson of; s. = son of; w. = wife of; w/o = without

'Αγαθήμερος 69.3
'Αγαθός 37.9.a
'Αγάτη 74.6-7 (cf. also s.n. Τογάτη)
'Αγάπη, w. Παχουμών, m. Αύρ. 30.3
'Αθηνόδορα 19.a.App.2, 16
cf. s.n. 'Ιουλίος 'Αθηνόδορος 16.2
'Αθηνόδωρος 21.6
'Αλκανδρός, f. Ψάις 24.14
'Αλκινοή, f. Αύρ. Πακύς, Πεβώς, 60.9
Παχουμώς
'Αμπώνος 13.1 (cf. also s.n. Παλιτωφ)
'Αμμώνος f. Πετεχών 10.3; 11.3; 23.29; 65.42
'Αμανών(ς) 69.17
'Αμπάκειος, s. 'Ακούτις 28.6
'Αμπέλιος 24.14
'Ανδρέας 71.10; cf. also Αυρήλιος 'Ανδρέας
cf. Αυρήλιος 'Ανδρόμαχος 79.2
'Ανίκητος 7.23
cf. Αυρήλιος 'Αντωνίνος 1.16
'Ανίσοι 61.7
cf. Αυρήλιος 'Απολλόδωρος 25.4
'Απολλών, f. Αύρ. 'Ανδρόμαχος 61.11
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