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PSENKEBKIS, SON OF PAKEBKIS: NEW AND OLD DOCUMENTS FROM THE CENTER FOR THE TEBTUNIS PAPYRI*

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PSENKEBKIS, SON OF PAKEBKIS:
NEW AND OLD DOCUMENTS FROM THE CENTER FOR
THE TEBTUNIS PAPYRI*

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*A Federica Micucci,
in memoria*

Abstract. — Editions of two new texts from the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley (P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 and 1073), as well as a re-edition of a third text (SB 22.15613). These documents enrich our knowledge of the life and affairs of Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis (b. AD 60–65, d. after AD 134), a priest of the temple of Soknebtunis, and of his involvement in the exploitation of public land.

Keywords: lease, public land, sublease, deposit, Tebtunis, Psenkebkis son of Pakebkis

The edition of two new texts housed at the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California, Berkeley (P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 and 1073), as well as the re-edition of a third text (SB 22.15613), sheds new light on the already rich documentary dossier concerning Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis (TM Per 254261), a priest of the temple of Soknebtunis, who was active from the reign of Domitian to the reign of Hadrian.¹

Hitherto, the earliest attestation of Psenkebkis may have been SB 14.12192 (P.Tebt. 2.445 descr.), which contains the priest's subscription to a sublease of royal land (βασιλική γῆ), i.e. public land, in the name of his illiterate

* This paper began as a collaboration during the Fall 2020 papyrological seminar at Berkeley led by Todd M. Hickey, whom we wish to thank for this opportunity and for his continued guidance and encouragement. We would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers and the editor of *BASP* for their meticulous comments and suggestions, as well as Andrew Hogan and the late Federica Micucci for facilitating our access to the papyri.

¹ Hitherto the only comprehensive presentation of the evidence on Psenkebkis is C. Gallazzi, "P. Tebt. II 445 descr.: Subaffitto," *ZPE* 31 (1978) 89–95. Earlier papyri found in Tebtunis also refer to a Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis: see P.Tebt. 2.401 (AD 14), 2.383 (AD 46), P.Mich. 5.329 (AD 40/41). Given the homonymy, we wonder if this is an ancestor of our Psenkebkis.

father, Pakebkis. This document may date to the summer of AD 92, though a date of AD 108 has also been proposed.² Thanks to P.Tebt.suppl. 1072, we now know that Psenkebkis was involved in some sort of contract with an individual named Marepsemis as early as the spring of AD 92.

P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 also bears a close relationship to a Florentine papyrus, *PSI* 10.1135, another fragmentary sublease of public land (here δημοσίων ἐδαφῶν, equivalent to βασιλική γῆ) between a Marepsemis and a Psenkebkis, dated to the autumn of AD 97.³ Both documents identify the two individuals by means of the same physical characteristics (Marepsemis with a scar on the left side of his brow, Psenkebkis with a scar on his right thumb), and their stated ages are consistent with the discrepancy of date between the two documents (thirty-five and thirty years of age in AD 92, forty and thirty-six years of age in AD 97). P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 therefore allows us to restore the alias and patronymic of Marepsemis in *PSI* 10.1135, ll. 4–5 (ὁ κ[αὶ Ἄτρῆς | Ὀ]γγῶ[φο]ρος).

In concert, these documents allow us to paint a more complete picture of Psenkebkis and his life. As regards his physical appearance, P.Tebt. suppl. 1072 and *PSI* 10.1135 both identify him by the scar on his right thumb, as do most of the other texts in the dossier. *SB* 14.12192, by contrast, identifies him by a scar on his right eyebrow.⁴ The relevant reading (ὄφρῦι δεξιᾶ) is tentative, but it is supported by a more secure reading in *SB* 8.9642 (1), which is dated to AD 112.⁵ This detail might speak in favor of the later date proposed for *SB* 14.12192 (AD 108 instead of AD 92). Secondly, these documents allow us to revise previous estimates of Psenkebkis' date of birth. P.Tebt.suppl. 1072, which is dated to May 29, AD 92, gives his age as thirty; *PSI* 10.1135, which is dated to between Nov. 27 and Dec. 26, AD 97, gives his age as thirty-six. This would suggest that Psenkebkis was born between May 29 and Nov. 27, AD 61.

² Gallazzi (n. 1) 91.

³ On the findspot and chronology of discovery of this papyrus see below, note 19.

⁴ But cf. *SB* 22.15613, dating to AD 111, where Psenkebkis seems to be identified by the mark on his right thumb. On physical description in Greek papyri see G. Hübsch, *Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsvermerke im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Berlin 1968); S. Daris, "Il lessico fisionomico nei papiri greci," in S. Sconocchia (ed.), *Lingue tecniche del greco e del latino. Atti del 2° Seminario internazionale sulla letteratura scientifica e tecnica greca e latina* (Trieste 1993) 99–104; F. Reiter, "Daddy finger, where are you? Zu den Fingerbezeichnungen in den Signalements der römischen Kaiserzeit," in A. Nodar and S. Torallas Tovar (eds.), *Proceedings of the 28th Congress of Papyrology* (Barcelona 2019) 494–509.

⁵ See E.M. Husselman, "Donationes Mortis Causa from Tebtunis," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 135–154.

SB 22.15613, however, gives his age as forty-eight on Oct. 5, AD 111, suggesting a birth-year of AD 62 or 63. P.Tebt.suppl. 1073 further widens the discrepancy: if our dating of the document to AD 134 is correct, Psenkebkis' reported age of 6- (69 at the latest) would imply a birth-year of AD 65 at the earliest. Such discrepancies are nevertheless common, especially given the nearly half-century span of the documents in the dossier, and it is therefore reasonable to propose a birth-year between AD 60 and 65.⁶ This pushes the birth-year proposed by Gallazzi back by several years.⁷

Lastly, these documents bear witness to Psenkebkis' frequent involvement in a particular genre of contract pertaining to the exploitation of public land, which is consistent with our knowledge of the other priests of the temple.⁸ Because of its connections with *SB* 14.12192 (*P.Tebt.* 2.445 *descr.*) and *PSI* 10.1135, it is tempting to interpret P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 as a sublease of public land, suggesting that Psenkebkis was involved in the cultivation of public land for a continuous period of at least five years between AD 92 and 97. *SB* 22.15613, which can be dated to AD 111, the fifteenth year of Trajan's reign, suggests that Psenkebkis was still involved in this same activity in later stages of his life. In this document, Psenkebkis subleases four *arourai*, which he had leased from the state, to Kronion, son of Kronion in return for the sublessee's commitment to pay all the public charges on the land to the state; Kronion's payment to Psenkebkis of a sum of 180 silver drachmas has been interpreted as a present to the lessor.⁹ This sublease was intended to last eight years. Although we do not know the exact lengths of the previous subleases in which he was involved, Psenkebkis' rise in the

⁶ See R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994) 43: "Egyptians were not always absolutely accurate in reporting ages."

⁷ Gallazzi (n. 1) 91.

⁸ On the role of priests in the management of public land, see below p. 75; see also A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans: Political and Economic Change in Egypt* (Cambridge 2012), esp. 117, 140–141, 287, and M. Langellotti, *Village Life in Roman Egypt: Tebtunis in the First Century AD* (Oxford 2020) 105–111, 183. Though the documents in this dossier reflect Psenkebkis' involvement in public land, it is illuminating to consider contemporary evidence for the management of other categories of land, such as temple land, in the Fayyūm. On the popularity of the long-term lease-sublease pattern and the role of priests in the management of temple land, see A.J. Connor, *Temples as Economic Agents in Early Roman Egypt: The Case of Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos* (University of Cincinnati PhD thesis, 2015) 202–203, 217–219. We will revisit the question of priestly involvement in public land in our forthcoming publication of P.CtYBR inv. 1126, a sublease of public land from first-century AD Tebtunis.

⁹ *P.Sel.Warga* 7, 44–45.

priestly hierarchy in his middle age (see further below) may have contributed to the unusually long duration of the sublease recorded in *SB* 22.15613, since he may have become unable to handle extra duties such as the management of land.

The length of the contract in *SB* 22.15613 could well provide a context in which to understand the second of the two unpublished documents, *P.Tebt.suppl.* 1073. This document presents a fragment of a deposit-loan in which Psenkebkis and his sister-wife Thenmarsisouchos are involved as debtors to a Kronion.¹⁰ Unfortunately we do not possess Kronion's patronymic, so we cannot be sure whether it is the same Kronion as in *SB* 22.15613. If it is in fact the same Kronion, one could imagine a long history of dealings between Psenkebkis' family and Kronion. Dating to the latter part of Hadrian's reign, *P.Tebt.suppl.* 1073 illuminates some aspects, otherwise unknown, of Psenkebkis' life, such as the fact that he was engaged in financial transactions throughout his life until AD 134 (his late sixties), and that he was married to his sister.¹¹ According to François Lerouxel, the presence of husband and wife together in the role of debtors may reflect Egyptian tradition. Lerouxel indicates that this practice is characteristic primarily of the first century AD, especially in Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtunis (more than half of all such cases come from the Fayyūm). Lerouxel does not cite a single example of the practice after AD 109, but *P.Tebt.suppl.* 1073 is evidence that it continued at least several decades into the second century.¹²

Later in life, Psenkebkis was appointed to the office of *presbyteros*, as attested in two different documents of our dossier: *P.Tebt.* 2.298 (July 29, AD 108) and *P.Tebt.* 2.309 (AD 116/117).¹³ According to Louise C. Youtie, the fact that both of these documents refer to Psenkebkis as a *presbyteros* suggests that he was between the ages of 40 and 49 at the signing of

¹⁰ For this kind of loan see B. Tenger, *Die Verschuldung im römischen Ägypten* (1.–2. Jh. n. Chr.) (St. Katharinen 1993) 61–79.

¹¹ See also S. Remijsen and W. Clarysse, "Incest or Adoption? Brother–Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt Revisited," *JRS* 98 (2008) 53–61.

¹² F. Lerouxel, *Le marché du crédit dans le monde romain. Égypte et Campanie* (Rome 2016) 72–79.

¹³ *P.Tebt.* 2.298.6–9 (Ψ)εγκ[ή]βκιος τοῦ Πακ[ή]βκιος τῶν πέντε πρεσβ(υτέρων) ἱερέων ἱεροῦ λογίμου Σοκνεβτύνεως τοῦ καὶ Κρόνου καὶ Ἰσ[ι]δος καὶ Σαρ[ά]πιδος κ[αὶ] Ἄρ[ρ]ποχρ[ά]του καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν ὄντος ἐν κόμηι Τεβτύνι τῆς Π[ο]λέμωνος μερίδος; *P.Tebt.* 2.309.4–10: Ψενκήβκι Π[α]κήβκιος καὶ Μαρσισοῦχ(ω) [. καὶ Ὅ]ννώφρι Πακήβκιος [καὶ Ὀ]ννώφρεως καὶ Μαρσισοῦχ(ω) [Πανετβηούιος τ]οῖς δέκα πρεσβυτέροις [ἱερεῦσι ἀπὸ τ]οῦ ὄντος ἐν κόμηι [Τεβτύνι ἱεροῦ] θεοῦ μεγάλου Κρόνου [καὶ τῶν συννά]ων θεῶν καὶ τοῖς λοιπ(οῖς) ἱερεῦσ(ι).

SB 8.9642 (1) at line 20 (AD 112).¹⁴ The evidence we present for Psenkebkis' age confirms this reading.

The body of *presbyteroi*, attested as early as the Ptolemaic period, usually consisted of between two and six priests.¹⁵ A large corpus of documents refers to five *presbyteroi*, one serving for each of the five *phylai* of the temple; numbers as high as nine or ten, however, are sometimes also found. A document pertaining to the priests of the Πενταφυλία dated to AD 114, *BGU* 1.16.5–7, suggests that the office of *presbyteros* was annual (τῶν ε̄ πρεσβυτέρων ἱερέων πενταφυλίας θεοῦ Σοκνο[π]αίου τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κγ (ἔτους)). The fact that Psenkebkis is designated as *presbyteros* in multiple documents spanning nearly a decade further suggests that it was possible for a priest to hold this office more than once. The number of exempt (*apolyσιμοί*) priests from which we expect these officers to be drawn was fixed.¹⁶ In the present documents, the number of *presbyteroi* varies between five (*P.Tebt.* 2.298) and ten (*P.Tebt.* 2.309). One might theorize that *P.Tebt.* 2.309 features two *presbyteroi* from each *phyle*: the set of five *presbyteroi* currently serving and the set of five either who were appointed to serve in the following year, or who served in the year of the original lease.¹⁷ The limited state of the surviving evidence makes this scenario difficult to prove.

The question nevertheless remains as to why Psenkebkis is not mentioned as *presbyteros* in other documents dating to between AD 108 and 116/117 (*P.Tebt.* 2.356 and *SB* 22.15613). In the case of *P.Tebt.* 2.356, a receipt for transport dues (July 2, AD 108), Psenkebkis had likely already been designated *presbyteros*, since the document dates to only four weeks prior to his first mention as *presbyteros* in *P.Tebt.* 2.298. The nature of the transaction recorded in *P.Tebt.* 2.356 is consistent with the administrative duties known to have characterized the office of *presbyteros*;¹⁸ the absence of the designation may be attributed to the physical constraints of the document, which contains many other abbreviations and omissions.

¹⁴ L.C. Youtie, "Hypographeis and Witnesses of 2nd Century Tebtunis, I: Sammelbuch VIII 9642 (1)," *ZPE* 19 (1975) 194–195.

¹⁵ For the *presbyteroi* in Roman Tebtunis: A. Winkler, "Third Time's the Charm? The Councillor Priests and a Document from the Reign of Claudius, Redux," *JARCE* 51 (2015) 79 and note 33 (which collects relevant bibliography).

¹⁶ See C. Messerer, *Corpus des papyrus grecs sur les relations administratives entre le clergé égyptien et les autorités romaines* 3 (Paderborn 2020) 3.

¹⁷ If the Psenkebkis mentioned in *PSI.Com.* 12.4.2.5 is the same Psenkebkis as in the other documents of the dossier, this would suggest that he belonged to the first (*a*) *phyle*.

¹⁸ Cf. Monson (n. 8) 225–227.

Text	T-Number and <i>inv. nos.</i> ¹⁹	Date (AD)	Content
P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 (= text 1)	T115	92	Contract (sublease of public land?) between Psenkebki (lessor?) and Marepsemis, son of Onnophrios (lessee?)
SB 14.12192 (<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.445 <i>descr.</i>)	T98	92 (or 108)	Sublease of 5 <i>arowai</i> of public land at Tebtunis from Pakebki, son of P[, to Orseus for one year, Psenkebki being the subscriber for his father
PSI 10.1135	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana <i>inv. no.</i> 19938	97	Sublease of public land from Psenkebki to Marepsemis, son of Onnophrios
Messerer (n. 16), n° 119 (<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.298)	T140	108	Declaration of priests and revenues of the temple at Tebtunis. Psenkebki is listed as among the five <i>presbyteroi</i>
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.356	T104	108	Receipt for transport dues

¹⁹ T-numbers can be useful indicators for determining the chronology of discovery and the provenance of the papyri: see E.R. O'Connell, "Recontextualizing Berkeley's Tebtunis Papyri," in J. Frösén, T. Purola, and E. Salmenkivi (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology* (Helsinki 2007) 2.814–819; C. Gallazzi, "I papiri del tempio di Soknebtynis: chi li ha trovati, dove li hanno trovati," in C. Gallazzi (ed.), *Tebtynis VI: Scripta Varia* (Cairo 2018) 116–118. As for the papyrus strictly related to Psenkebki, the range of the T-numbers is quite concentrated (T98–120). As noted by Gallazzi (n. 18) 118, a T-number between 1 and 228 does not prove that a papyrus was found within the temple enclosure. If the content of the papyrus suggests a relationship with the temple and its clergy, however, a T-number within this range is a solid indication that the find surfaced in the sanctuary or nearby, and not in the neighborhoods of the town or among the graves of the necropolis. This seems to be the case for the texts presented in this paper. Further confirmation might be provided by PSI 10.1135, which was discovered by Carlo Anti "in un ripostiglio attiguo al tempio di Soknebtynis, nell'inverno del 1931," the famous findspot of the "Temple Library." On the latter papyrus and its provenance cf. also Gallazzi (n. 17) 144–145. It is probable that the dossier we have gathered around the figure of Psenkebki also contains an archive within it (to which, for example, SB 8.9642 (1), *P.Tebt.* 2.298, and *PSI.Com.* 12.4.2 would not belong), with this "ripostiglio" as its findspot.

Text	T-Number and <i>inv. nos.</i>	Date (AD)	Content
<i>SB</i> 22.15613 (= text 2; <i>P.Tebt.</i> 529 <i>descr.</i> ; <i>P.Sel.Warga</i> 7)	T108–110	111	Sublease of 4 <i>arourai</i> of public land from Psenkebkis to Kronion, son of Kronion
<i>SB</i> 8.9642 (1)	P.Mich. <i>inv.</i> 5589	112	<i>Donationes mortis causa.</i> Psenkebkis is mentioned among the witnesses
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.309	T120+181 (?)	116/117	Resignation of a lease of temple land. Psenkebkis is mentioned among the ten <i>presbyteroi</i> receiving the request of resignation
P.Tebt.suppl. 1073 (= text 3)	T116	134	Repayment of a deposit from Psenkebkis and his sister-wife Tenmarsishouchos to Kronion
Messerer (n. 16), n° 126, l. 5 (<i>PSI.Com.</i> 12.4.2)	Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli, <i>inv. no.</i> 4182	1–200	List of priests, where a Psenkebkis, son of Pak[, is mentioned

Table 1: Dossier of documents concerning Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis

1. Sublease of Public Land (?)

P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 H × W = 5 × 11.5 cm Tebtunis, May 29, AD 92

P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 is related to *P.Tebt.* 2.445 *descr.* (a lease of βασιλική γῆ) in its possible date of AD 92, and to *PSI* 10.1135 (a sublease of δημοσίων ἐδαφῶν) in its contractual parties (the same Marepsemis). These relationships suggest a possible interpretation of P.Tebt.suppl. 1072 as a sublease of public land (see introduction).

The document has an upper margin of ca. 1.5 cm, a right margin of ca. 0.5 cm, and several letters missing on the left margin. The text is written along the fibers; symmetrical holes on either side of horizontal fold-line through l. 3 indicate that the document was rolled from top to bottom.

- Ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ
 [Σεβ]αστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μηνὸς Σωτηρίου δ' ἐν Τεβτόνι τῆς
 [Πολ]έμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἄρ[σ]ινοεῖτ[ο]υ νομοῦ. Ὁμολογεῖ
 4 [ὁ Μα]ρεψῆμις ὁ καὶ Ἄτρῆς Ὀννώφριος ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκον-
 [τα] πέντε οὐλήι μετώπῳ ἐξ ἀριστερῶι Ψενκῆβκι
 [Πακ]ήβκιος ὡς [ἐ]τῶν τριάκ[ο]ντα οὐλη[ι] ἀντίχειρι δεξιῶι

2 l. Τεβτόνει; υ corr. 5 l. οὐλή, μετώπῳ, ἀριστερῶν 6 l. οὐλή

“The 11th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, the 4th of the month Sotereios (May 29, AD 92), in Tebtunis of the Polemon district of the Arsinoite nome. Marepsemis, also known as Hatres, son of Onnophris, about thirty-five years old, with a scar on the left side of his brow, and Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis, about thirty years old, with a scar on his right thumb, acknowledges ...”

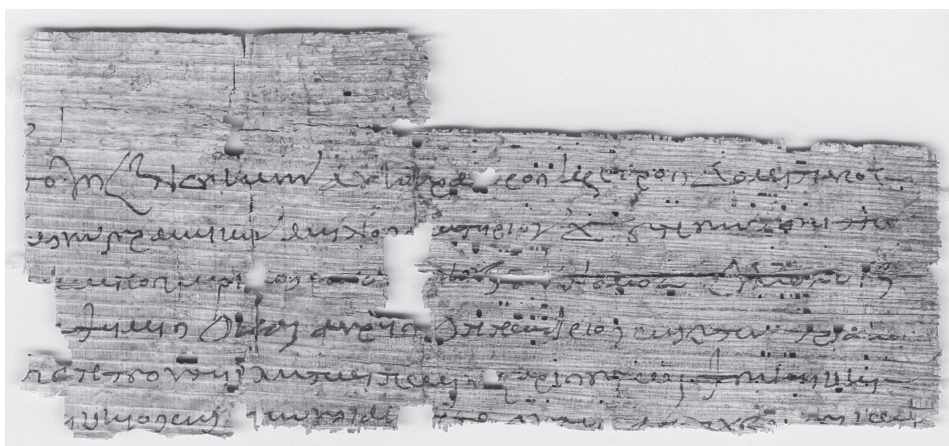


Fig. 1

1 The first ε of ἑνδεκάτου is written in ornamental form. A space-filler stroke falls at the end of the line; so also after ll. 3 and 5.

2 The honorific month of Σωτηρίου (also found as Σωτηρείου) is equivalent to Πᾶννι; see K. Scott, “Greek and Roman Honorific Months,” *Yale Classical Studies* 2 (1931) 258–259 (“Just why Πᾶννι was given this honorific name I cannot suggest”). The earliest attestations we have found for this month-name are *SPP* 22.173 and *SB* 16.12727, which date

to the reigns of Caligula (AD 40) and Nero respectively. The latest is *P.Meyer* 7, which the editor dates to the reign of Hadrian (AD 130), although J. Schwartz, *BL* 3.106 dates it to the reign of Domitian (AD 95). This possible exception aside, the vast majority of attestations fall during the reign of Domitian.²⁰

3 The first omicron of $\delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ is written in large form, as in δ and Ὀννώφοριος in l. 5 and $\omicron\lambda\eta[\iota]$ in l. 6.

4–6 This Marepsemis is very likely the same as that of *PSI* 10.1135 (see introduction). We can therefore supplement δ και Ἄτρῆς Ὀννώφοριος in ll. 4–5 of *PSI* 10.1135 on the basis of this line. These lines specify the age of Marepsemis at thirty-five and that of Psenkebkis at thirty. This is in full agreement with *PSI* 10.1135, dated to between Nov. 27 and Dec. 26 of AD 97, which gives their ages as forty and thirty-six respectively. These texts are therefore consistent with a birth date for Psenkebkis between the end of May and the end of November AD 61. *SB* 22.15613, however, gives the age of Psenkebkis as 48 in Oct. 5, AD 111, indicating a birth-year of AD 62 or 63.

For the hypercorrect form $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\iota\pi\omega\iota$ (l. 5), cf. *PSI.Corr.* 1156.²¹ $\omicron\lambda\eta[\iota]$ (l. 6) is a hypercorrect form for $\omicron\lambda\eta$ reconstructed by analogy with l. 5.

2. Sublease of Public Land

SB 22.15613²² fr. a H × W = 10.1 × 6.7 cm Tebtunis, Oct 5, AD 111
 fr. b1 H × W = 1.5 × 1.1 cm
 fr. b2 H × W = 1.4 × 0.9 cm
 fr. c. H × W = 6.3 × 9.8 cm

These four fragments, first edited by Richard G. Wurga (*P.Sel.Wurga* 7), have been assigned the same inventory number. Between 14 and 24 letters are missing from the left part of fr. a (ll. 17, 19), whereas only 4 to 7 letters are missing from the left part of fr. c. This considerable variability in the number of missing letters presents several difficulties, as discussed in the

²⁰ See also C. Balconi, “Su alcuni nomi onorifici di mesi nel calendario egiziano,” *ZPE* 59 (1985) 88, and J.H.M. de Jong, “Celebrating Supermen: Divine Honours for Roman Emperors in Greek Papyri from Egypt,” in P.P. Iossif, A.S. Chankowski, and C.C. Lorber (eds.), *More than Men, Less than Gods: Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship. Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Belgian School at Athens, 1–2 November 2007* (Leuven 2011) 619–647.

²¹ See F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1 (Milan 1976) 185–186.

²² *P.Tebt.* 2.529 descr.

notes below. A reconstruction of the crossing lines (*χιασμός*) helps determine the gap between fr. a and c, which according to our reconfiguration of the papyrus (Feb. 2022; Fig. 2 below) amounts to 6 lines. Fr. a and c display close T-numbers on their backsides, in black ink (fr. a: 108; fr. c: 110), indicating that they were processed at nearly the same time. What Warga refers to as fr. b (see Figs. 3 *recto* and *verso* below, which reflect the configuration available to Warga) is in fact two incorrectly joined fragments (b1 and b2; no T-number), which we decided to separate. Since we do not know whether fr. b1 and b2 were processed at the same time as fr. a and c, it is uncertain whether the two pairs belong together. Furthermore, fr. b1 and b2 could have been processed at the same time as fr. a and c, but simply stuck to the surface of either fr. a or fr. c; hence we do not attempt to read them as part of the main text (*pace* Warga). A *kollesis* is visible at the right edge of fr. a and c. Margins: top, 2.5 cm; bottom, 4 cm; in top and in right bottom margin, in red ink: 529.

The writing is parallel to the fibers; the back is blank. Four different hands can be detected: 1, body of contract (ll. 1–20); 2, subscription (ll. 28–33); 3, Kronion’s subscription (ll. 33–34); 4, registration (ll. 34–35). The text of the papyrus is canceled by *chiasmōs*, indicating that the terms of the contract were fulfilled or invalidated.

Following the usual structure of this kind of text, the document can be divided as follows: the dating prescript with the location; a description of the contracting parties; a description of the land involved (lines 6–13); the subscription of the contracting parties and the docket of the recording office (*grapheion*). The present document has its closest parallels in *P.Tebt.* 2.373, another sublease of public land from AD 110/111, which helps restore most of the *lacunae* posed by the text.

fr. a

- (m. 1) [(ἔτους) πεντεκαίδεκάτου Αὐτοκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραι-
 ανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 [Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Φαῶ]φι ἑβδόμη ἐν Τεβτύνι τῆς Πολέμωνος
 μερίδος
 [τοῦ Ἄρσινοῖτου νομοῦ. ἐ]μίσθωσεν Ψενκῆβκις Πακῆβκεως
 4 [Π ὡς ἐτῶν] τεσσ[α]ράκοντα ὀκτώι οὐλή ἀντίχειρι
 [δεξιῶ Κρονίῳνι Κρο]νί[ων]ος τοῦ Κρονίῳνος ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκον-
 [τα οὐλή δ]εξιῶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγραφομένων εἰς Ψεγ-
 [κῆβκιν περι τὴν προ]κιμένην κώμην Τεβτύνιν δημοσίῳν
 8 [ἔδαφῶν τὰς ἐν μιᾷ σφ]ραγίδι βασιλικῆς ἀρούρας τέσσαρε[ς] ἢ ὄσαι
 [ἐὰν ὄσαι ἐν τοῖς τό]ποις ἀπὸ λειβὸς ὑψηλοῖς, προσγιτ[νι]ῶντ[ω]ν

- [ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς νότον μέρους Πανήσεως τοῦ Ὀνώφρευ[ς] γῆ ἀνά
 [μέσον και] ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρους Εὐ . . . ς τοῦ
 12 [και] ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς λίβα μέρους διόρυγι και ἐκ τοῦ
 [πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην μέρους] Μαρεπήμιος τοῦ Μαρεπκέμιος γῆ. ἡ μίσθω-
 [σις ἦδε κυρία ἔστω] εἰς τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος Τραιανοῦ
 [Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου και ἐ]πὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔτη ἑπτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑπτακαϊδε-
 16 [κάτου ἔτους Τραιανοῦ Καίσα]ρος τοῦ κυρίου ἐφ' ὧν ὁ Κρονίων
 μετρήσει
 [και καθαρεῖ καθ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὰ δη]λούμενα ἔτη ὀκτῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον
 τὰ ὑπὲρ
 [τῶν τεσσάρων ἀρουρῶν ἐκ]φόρια και προσμετρούμενα και μερισμοὺς
 [και ἐπικλασμοὺς και μονοδεσ]μίαν χόρτ[ο]υ και χαλκοῦ ἐξἰκσιδρά-
 20 [χμου και δημόσια φόρετρα]
 [ca. 6 lines missing]
-

fr. c

- (m. 2) [. . . υς και ὄρα . . . [± 3] . εσ
 28 [± 4]γ ἀντὶ τῶν καθ' ἔτος δημοσίων και ἀπέσ-
 [χον π]αρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν
 [± 4]ἡκοντα καθὸς πρόκειται, μὴ ἐλαττωμέν[ου]
 [τοῦ Κρον]ίωγος ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀφίλο αὐ{ο}τ<ῶ> καθ' ἡτέρων
 32 [δανείω]ν. (m. 3) Κρονίων Κρονίων[ο]ς μεμίσθωμαι τὴν γῆν
 [καθὸς] πρόκειται. vac. (m. 4) ἀναγράφεται διὰ τοῦ κόμης Τεβτύνεως
 [γραφείου].

4 [τοῦ δεῖνος ὡς ἐτῶν], Warga; *l.* ὀκτῶ 5 [ἀριστερῶ], Warga 7 *l.* [πρ]οκειμένην
 8 βασιλικῆς <γῆς>, Warga 9 [ἐάν ὄσι ἐν τοῖς λεγομέ]νοις ἀπὸ λειβὸς Ψειλοῖς,
 Warga; *l.* λιβὸς, προσγειτινώσας 10 Πανήλεως, Warga; . . εγα-, Warga 11 Εὐ.ις,
 Warga 12 *l.* λιβὸς, διόρυγι 13 *l.* Μαρεπκήμιος 14 [σις ἦδε κυρία εἰ]ς, Warga
 16 *l.* μετρήσει 17 [και καθαρεῖ ἐπὶ τὰ δη]λούμενα ἔτη ὀκτῶν, Warga 27–28 ἐπὶ
 τοῖς προκειμ[ένοις και βα]ιβῆῶ [τὴν μί]σι[θωσι]ν, Warga 28 *l.* δημοσίων 29 corr. ex
 αυου?; *l.* δραχμάς 30 *l.* καθὸς πρόκειται 31 *l.* ὀφείλω, ἐτέρων 32 Κρονίωνα(ς),
 Warga 33 *l.* πρόκειται

“(hand 1) [The fifteenth year of] Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, the seventh of Phaophi at Tebtunis in the Polemon division of the Arsinoite nome. Psenkebkis, son of Pakebkis, grandson of . . . , aged about forty-eight, with a scar on his [right] thumb, has leased to [Kronion, son of Kronion], grandson of Kronion, aged about thirty [with a scar on his] right . . . , from the public lands registered under the name of Psenkebkis at the aforementioned village of Tebtunis, the four

arourae, or whatever be the number, in one parcel of public land in the western ‘high places’, which are bordered on the south-facing side by the land of Panesis, son of Onnophris, there being ... in the middle, and on the north by the ... of Eu[-]s, son of ..., and on the east by a canal, and on the west by the land of Marepsemis, son of Marepsemis. This lease [is valid] for the fifteenth year of the reign of Traianus Caesar the lord, and for the subsequent seven years from the seventeenth year of the reign of Traianus Caesar the lord, on the condition that Kronion shall measure out and sift for the appointed eight years to the state the rent for the four *arourae* and extra charges and rates and additional fees and payment for bundles of grass and copper at twenty drachmas [and the public transportation charges ...] ... (hand 2) ... in return for the annual state charges, and I have received from him one hundred and ... drachmas as stated, with Kronion suffering no loss concerning what I owe him in accordance with any other [loans]. (hand 3) I, Kronion, son of Kronion, have rented the land as stated. (hand 4) Registered through the record office of the village of Tebtunis.”

1 The restoration of line 1 is a bit longer than that of the other lines. According to Warga, this might suggest that the line extended farther into the left margin. We have not found any parallel for this phenomenon occurring in this kind of text, at least in the Arsinoite nome and in Tebtunis. To solve this problem, one might suggest that the word ἔτους was written as a symbol. If so, the number of letters in the first line would be consistent with that of the other lines.

3–7 These lines give information regarding the contracting parties and their identification. Kronion, son of Kronion, is otherwise unknown. On Psenkebki, son of Pakebki, 48 years old at the time of the contract, see introduction. His grandfather’s name, here entirely in the *lacuna*, is partially preserved in *P.Tebt.* 2.445 *descr.* 1. 3 (Πακῆβκις Π[.]). If the number of missing letters is eight, as suggested by Gallazzi, then it is conceivable to think of Π[ακῆβκιος], which could in turn be restored to *P.Tebt.* 2.445 *descr.* Based on a suggestion by Keenan, Warga restored ἀριστερῶ instead of δεξιῶ due to the number of letters in the *lacuna*. However, δεξιῶ seems to be the right choice: see *P.Tebt.* suppl. 1072.6; 1073.2; *PSI* 10.1135.7.

6 For the use of ἀναγραφόμενων to refer to land as opposed to persons registered, see e.g. *BGU* 3.915.14–15 (AD 49–54), *PSI* 10.1144.19–20 (AD 100), *P.Iand.* 3.27.5–6 (AD 101/102) and *P.Tebt.* 2.309.17–18 (AD 116/117). For a discussion of how state farmers had their lands

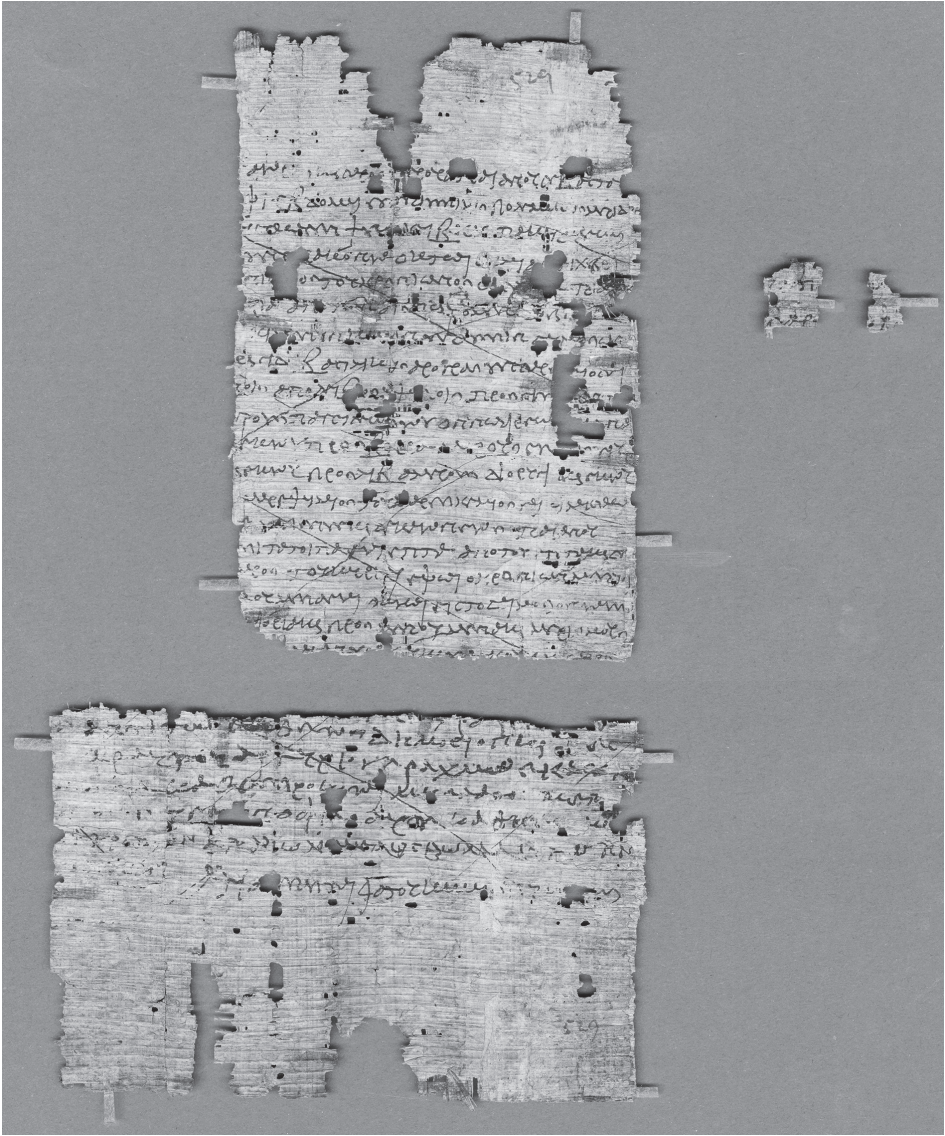


Fig. 2

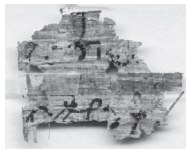


Fig. 3 recto

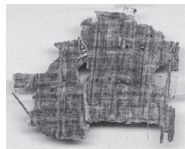


Fig. 3 verso

assigned and registered, see I.L. Forselv, “Affidavit of State Farmers: P. Osl. inv. no. 1468,” *SO* 78 (2003) 19–29 and J.L. Rowlandson, “The Organisation of Public Land in Roman Egypt,” *CRIPPEL* 25 (2005) 173–196.

7–13 These lines are dedicated to the identification of the object of the contract, i.e. the quantity and quality of land that Psenkebkis decided to sublease to Kronion. The restoration of this section of the text is based upon *P.Tebt.* 2.374.4–7. The plot of land under consideration belongs to the public lands registered under the name of Psenkebkis at the village of Tebtunis. The terms used are δημοσίων ἐδαφῶν and βασιλικῆς (γῆς), both terms for public land; see introduction and Rowlandson (previous note) 175–176.

9 The text provides geographical specification in order to identify the plot of land. The line was misread by Warga, who proposed the restoration ἐν τοῖς λεγομέ]νοις ἀπὸ λειβὸς Ψειλοῖς, thus interpreting the text as: “in one parcel of royal land in the so-called western desert.” See also *BL* 13.226: “ἀπὸ Ψειλοῖς, I. Ψιλοῖς → Ἀποψειλοῖς, A. Calderini – S. Daris, *Dizionario*, Suppl. 3, S. 19.” However, some traces of a υ before the ψ are still visible, and what Warga reads as a ν is more probably a π. For our restoration ἐν τοῖς τό]ποις ἀπὸ λειβὸς ὑψηλοῖς, cf. the usage in *P.Sakaon* 35.5–6 (Theadelphia): τῶν ἐδαφῶν [[τῆς ἐδαφῶν]] τῆς κόμης ἡμῶν ἐν ὑψηλοῖς τόποις ὄντων; cf. also *P.Tebt.* 3.1.703.172. This is a reference to land which was at a high elevation and therefore more difficult to irrigate (and less desirable), despite the presence of a canal (διώρυγι) bordering the plot of land to the east. In this regard, one may notice that many passages in al-Nabulusi’s 13th-century survey of the Fayyūm mention high-lying lands, which are always harder to irrigate. The clearest example is his entry for the village of Ṭubhār (still extant 13 km west of the capital, Madīnet al-Fayyūm): “[Ṭubhār] is a medium-sized village, with orchards, vineyards, date palms and figs. Winter crops [al-shatawī, i.e. flood-irrigated grains] are sown in it, but nothing else [i.e. no perennial irrigation for a second summer grain harvest]. Its lands are elevated [‘āliyya] and water does not reach them without additional effort.”²³

At the end of the line, Warga reads προσγιτ[ν]ῶντ[α]ς (*l.* προσγειτνιώ-σας). However, the final letter of the line looks less like a σ than the right half of a ν. We therefore suggest reading προσγιτ[ν]ῶντ[ω]ν, referring to the “high places” mentioned earlier in the same line, though in the wrong case, rather than to the more distant *arourai*, in the wrong gender and case.

²³ Y. Rapoport and I. Shahar (eds.), *The Villages of the Fayyūm: A Thirteenth-Century Register of Rural, Islamic Egypt* (Turnhout 2018) 185. We owe this reference to B. Haug.

10–13 These lines continue the specification of the land in question and indicate the names of the holders of the neighboring lands (γῆ) and man-made features of the landscape (διώρυγι). Here the text is not clearly preserved. For example, at the end of l. 11, Warga reads parts of a name followed by the genitive singular article: Εὐ . . ις τοῦ. Since the name should be in the genitive, the ending -ις is improbable; a reading of -ος (-εος, -ιός) is conceivable, if we assume a quasi-triangular ο, which would have a parallel earlier in the same line (μέρους). After Εὐ, it is possible to see the beginning of a τ (of the shape preserved in l. 5, τοῦ), with a sliver of the cross stroke preserved on the edge of the broken fiber. Since no attested name clearly fits the extant traces, we have not included these tentative readings in our edition. Another troubling instance is in l. 10, according to Warga's text: [ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς νότον μ]έρους Πανήλεως τοῦ Ὀννώφρεω[ς] . . εγα-. What can we make of εγα-? We are not entirely sure of the sequence ε+ν: in this papyrus, normally the upper stroke of ε ends at the bottom of the following ν (ll. 3, 17, 18). Here we are dealing more probably with an *ανα*- sequence. Moreover, the visible upper part of an η, preceded by a letter in ligature (possibly a γ), could suggest the following restoration: γῆ ἀγὰ | [μέσον, which might have been followed by a reference to whatever was in between the land of Psenkebki and the land of Paneles: cf. *P.Tebt.* 2 325.12–13; *P.Mich.* 5 285.6; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.98.61.

Warga reads Πανήλεως instead of Πανήσεως, although he notes that the name Πανήλεως is unattested.²⁴ The Πανήσις referred to here might be identical with the priest from Tebtunis mentioned in *P.Oslo* 3.115.6, whose son may be mentioned in *PSI* 10.1145, *P.Tebt.* 2.309, and *SB* 6.9642. Μαρεψῆμις τοῦ Μαρεπκήμιος, mentioned as one of the landowners, might be tentatively associated with the Μαρεψῆμις Μαρεπκαίμιος of *P.Tebt.* 2.298.16, in which Μαρεψῆμις is listed among fifty exempt (*apolyssimoi*) priests. This supports the pattern already observed of priestly involvement in the management of public land.

14–16 Here we come to the chronological specification of the sublease. Warga's restoration of l. 14 is suspect (it seems too short). According to the text, the lease is valid for the fifteenth year of Trajan's reign, as well as for the subsequent seven years starting from the seventeenth year of his reign. Here the scribe seems to have made a mistake, in that the 16th year of Trajan's reign is skipped. What the scribe should have written is ἐκκαίδεκάτου (i.e. from the 16th year). A possible explanation

²⁴ We thank the anonymous reviewer at *BASP* for suggesting the reading Πανήσεως.

for this mistake is the presence of ἐπτά in the same line, which might have influenced the inattentive scribe. It may also suggest that he was copying from an exemplar.

16–20 The last lines before the big *lacuna* specify the duties of Kronion. Their reconstruction is heavily dependent upon *P.Tebt.* 2.373.10–12. On the taxes referred to, see F. Reiter, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites: ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten* (Paderborn 2004) 199–215; *P.Lips.* 2.219, comm.

17 For [καὶ καθαρεῖ καθ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὰ δη]λούμενα ἔτη ὀκτώ (l. ὀκτώ), see *P.Tebt.* 2.373.10–11.

21–26 How many lines are missing between fr. a and c? The crossing lines which were made after the fulfillment of the contract allow us to estimate that the number of missing lines is six. Warga read the beginning of Psenkebki's subscription in the *lacuna* before the third line of what he referred to as fr. b; we have determined, however, that Warga's fr. b in fact consists of two incorrectly joined fragments (fr. b1 and b2; see above). We are left with no hints as to where exactly Psenkebki's subscription begins.

27–32 As Warga notes, l. 27 is very uncertain. His reconstruction hardly corresponds to the traces of letters still visible on the papyrus. We can distinctly see a ρα, the ρ resembling that of δραχμῶν (l. 29), likely preceded by a δ (only the lower horizontal bar is visible). After ρα, the lower-right part of a χ is perhaps visible. This strongly suggests a reading of δραχμ-, or the abbreviation δραχ. Before δρα, we suggest reading the ι of a καί ligature. What comes before and after is unclear. For instance, we would exclude Warga's reading -ενοις before καί. On palaeographic grounds, this cannot be the sequence ις; more likely it is υς (see υ in l. 29), suggesting a genitive singular or accusative plural ending. The end of l. 27 might contain the sequence -εσ. If this were the case, Warga's restoration of [τῆν μί]σ[[θωσι]ν would be invalidated.

The terms of the lease are somewhat anomalous, given that Psenkebki receives an additional payment unrelated to the other obligations between the contracting parties, probably as a διάπαισμα or "sweetener": cf. *P.Tebt.* 2.373.15–16: ὑπὲρ τῆσδε τῆς μισθώσεως [ἀρ]γυρικοῦ διαπίσματος; see also F. Reiter, "P.Prag. inv. Gr. I 1B: Kaisereid eines Schmugglers," *Analecta Papyrologica* 14–15 (2002–2003) 165–171 at 169–170. The exact sum of this monetary consideration is uncertain, however.

Given the number of letters missing, πεντ]ήκοντα or [ὄγδο]ήκοντα are plausible solutions (cf. *P.Sel.Warga*, p. 59). As suggested to us by Keenan *per litt.*, the latter might be a better fit, since the sum would be easily divisible by four, and the drachma is often used as a term of account for actual tetradrachms. Speculation aside, it is worth noting that the amount of the sweetener is not normally expressed in other kinds of contracts (cf. *PSI* 10.1143.22–23, *P.Tebt.* 2.311.28–29). Furthermore, as Warga has already noted, the presence of the formula μὴ ἐλαττουμένου is rather anomalous in this context. It occurs more typically in other kinds of documents (e.g. loans, repayments). See, for example, *P.Vars.* 10.3.21–24: μὴ ἐλαττουμένης τῆ[ς Λ]αμπροτύχης ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄλλων ὀφίλω αὐτῆ[ς] [κ]αθ’ ἕτερον δάνιον ἀργυρίου κεφα[λαίου] δραχμῶν ἐνα]κ[οσ]ίων καὶ τῶ[ν] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μ[η]νὸς τ[ό]κων. The insertion of this formula reveals the intention of the two contracting parties to separate the present transaction from the other obligations between them.

32–34 If Psenkebkis’ writing has some problems, Kronion’s little contribution is even cruder. It appears as if Kronion had barely surpassed the level of “signature literacy.”²⁵ For example, the verb μεμίσθωμαι looks something like μειλωσθωμαι from a purely palaeographical standpoint (compare the first ω with that of Κρονίων[ο]ς). His pen seems to be quite shaky, especially in the sequence -μι-, in which a number of stray marks are apparent.

3. Repayment of a Deposit

P.Tebt.suppl. 1073

H × W = 6 × 6 cm

Tebtunis, AD 134

Midsection of a taller papyrus, complete on the right side only. The regularity of the other sides, which are incomplete, suggests that the original papyrus sheet may have been cut, perhaps to be reused, or that it was broken along fold lines. At least two vertical fold-lines are visible. The text is written along the fibers; the back is blank. Due to the probable restorations of ll. 9–10, we estimate that the average range of the *lacunae* on the left side of the document is ca. 16–18 letters.

²⁵ See H.C. Youtie, “Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy,” *GRBS* 7 (1966) 239–261 and U. Yiftach, “Quantifying Literacy in the Early Roman Arsinoitês: The Case of the Grapheion Document,” in D.M. Schaps, U. Yiftach, and D. Dueck (eds.), *When West Met East: The Encounter of Greece and Rome with the Jews, Egyptians, and Others. Studies Presented to Ranon Katzoff in Honor of his 75th Birthday* (Trieste 2016) 269–280.

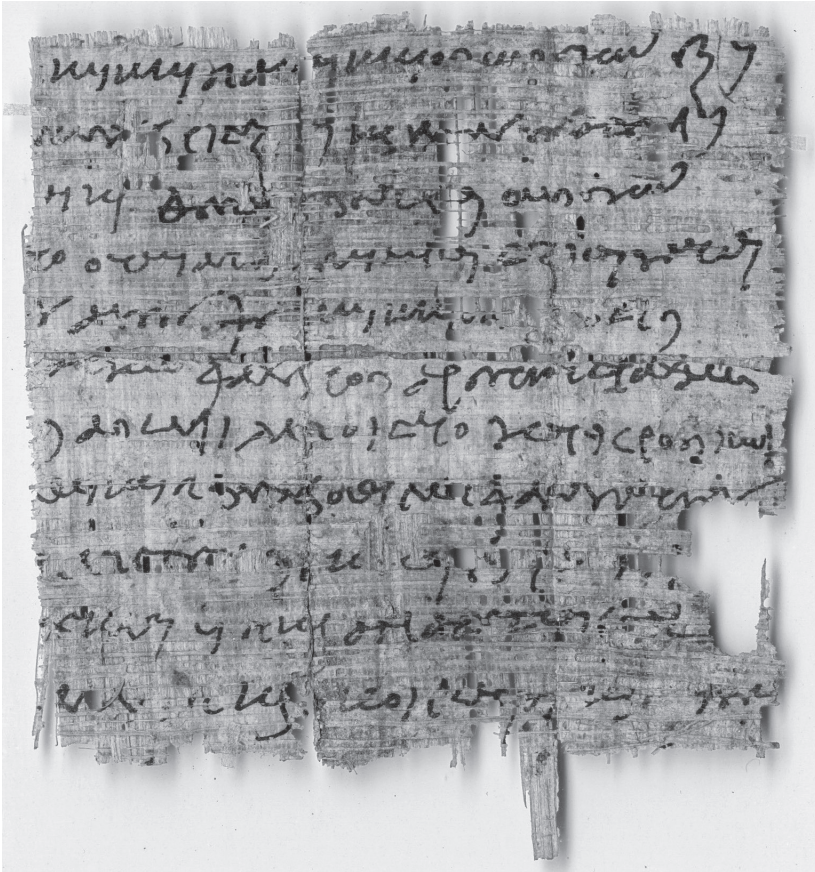


Fig. 4

but we cannot use them to triangulate a specific year (see introduction). If Psenkebkis reports his age as less than 70 years old in AD 134, the earliest birth-year we can extrapolate (i.e. assuming an age of 69) is AD 65. This is not impossible to reconcile with the evidence in *P.Tebt. suppl. 1072*, *PSI 10.1135*, and *SB 22.15613*, especially since it is reasonable to assume that Psenkebkis' reported age becomes less reliable as he grows older (see above n. 6). Nevertheless the evidence favors a supplement to l. 3 that puts Psenkebkis in his late 60s, if not 69.

3–4 Thenmarsisouchos is an uncommon name, appearing only in Tebtunis, primarily in the first century AD (*P.Mich.* 2.123, 2.128, 5.238, 5.240, 5.329, *P.Tebt.* 2.299), and only twice in the second century AD

(*SB* 12.11006a, 18.13118). For the reading in the lacuna of l. 4, we tentatively suggest the possibility of either τῆ ὁμοπατρίῳ καὶ γυν]αικί or τῆ ὁμομητρίῳ καὶ γυν]αικί (there is no space for both adjectives), which would make Psenkebkis and Thenmarsisouchos half-siblings, and comfortably fills out the lacuna to the range indicated above.

For the frequency of priestly brother-sister marriage: K. Hopkins, “Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt,” *CSSH* 22.3 (1980) 303–354; Bagnall and Frier (n. 6) 127–134; Remijsen and Clarysse (n. 11); R. Takahashi and J.L. Rowlandson, “Brother-Sister Marriage and Inheritance Strategies in Greco-Roman Egypt,” *JRS* 99 (2009) 103–139. For the joint appearance of husbands and wives in loan documents in the Fayyūm, Lerouxel (n. 12) 72–79 argues that the phenomenon is confined primarily to the first century AD, and to AD 109 at the very latest (see *P.Kron.* 11, *P.Fam.Tebt.* 11, *P.Fouad.* 57). The present document is evidence of the phenomenon at least a couple decades later.

4–5 In the nineteen cases of close-kin marriage analyzed by Bagnall and Frier (n. 6) 131, the average difference in age between the spouses is 5.4 years (about 3 years less than in an exogamous marriage). Given the additional fact that Egyptian husbands are as old or older than their wives (both exogamous and close-kin) in 88% of seventy-eight cases analyzed (cf. Bagnall and Frier [n. 6] 119), it is tempting to restore ἐξήκοντα in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 3, making the age of Thenmarsisouchos sixty-two. If our theory about Psenkebkis’ age is correct, this would make him about five to seven years older than his sister-wife, which is well within the normative range. We might, however, expect more letters in the lacuna.

5–6 The description of Thenmarsisouchos is followed by a sentence which designates Psenkebkis as her *kyrios*, i.e. acting as her guardian. We tentatively read ἡ γυνή; the unusual shapes of the *eta* and *gamma* are unparalleled elsewhere in the document. The reading nevertheless makes sense in its context. For a parallel for such a formula, although heavily dotted, cf. *P.Kronion* 8.10–11: α[ι] γυναικες [με]τὰ κυρίων ἐκατ[έ]ρα τοῦ προγεγραμμένου αὐτῆς | [ἀνδρός. In l. 6, before μετὰ κυρίου το]ῦ, there is space for approximately four letters. We tentatively suggest οῦσα as a possibility for restoration, though we are unable to find specific parallels.

6–7 See e.g. *P.Ryl.* 2.174A, *PSI* 8.961b, *SPP* 22.72, and *PSI* 10.1140 for parallels for the use of the numeral δύο in this common formulation.

There are ca. 6–7 letters missing between [τ]οῖς δυσι (l. 6) and our suggested restoration of ἀπέχειν παρ’] (l. 7). The formula Πέρσαις τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, attested in many parallels after τοῖς δυσι (*BGU* 3.710, *P.Amh.* 2.50, *P.Stras.* 4.209), is too long to fit, though Πέρσαις alone is a likely possibility, since women with “Persian” status were known simply as Περσίνη (without τῆς ἐπιγονῆς).²⁶ See *P.Mich.* 5.329.12–15 (AD 40–41), which refers to a Psenkebkis, married to a Thenmarsisouchos, who are plausibly the ancestors of our Psenkebkis and his sister-wife Thenmarsisouchos (see above n. 1): Ψενκῆβκις Πακηβκις Πέρσης τῆς ἐπικονῆς καὶ ἡ γυνή μου Θευμαρσισοῦχος Ψῦφις Περσίνη μετὰ κυρίου αὐτῆ[ς] ἀλληλεγγυῖς ἔκτισιν ἔχ[ο]μεν. The reference here to Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς makes the reading of Πέρσαις in the present document even more tempting.

For the nature and function of *parathekai*, see Tenger (n. 9) 61–79. Though the evidence suggests that most loans were taken out to meet immediate financial obligations (tax payments and liturgical duties), Tenger proposes (p. 70, 75, 264) that some deposits were used for investment, and accordingly ties the increase in *paratheke* documents in the first half of the second century AD to a general improvement in economic conditions. Tenger also proposes that *parathekai* often involved parties from the upper classes of society, though the present document does not enable us to determine the social standing of Kronion, or the exact amount of money involved in the transaction.

8 A possible restoration for the beginning of the line is [χιλίας ακοσία]ς, which would give the amount for the deposit as between one and two thousand drachmas (e.g. χιλίας τετρακοσίας, πεντακοσίας, etc.). It is also possible to have an even larger amount (cf. *P.Köln* 15.614.13–14: τρισχειλίας). The amount could of course be smaller, but due to the length of the *lacuna* between δραχμὰς (l. 7) and ακοσία]ς (l. 8), the amount of drachmas is likely to be at least in the hundreds. The relatively large sum of money in the present document (Tenger [n. 9] 75 gives an average of 1,133 drachmas for loans of the first half of the second c. AD) may therefore indicate why Psenkebkis is both *kyrios* to his wife Thenmarsisouchos as well as party to the transaction itself: women alone tended to be involved in smaller transactions (cf. Lerouxel [n. 12] 72–79, 112–115).

For a contemporary reference to a Kronion, son of Kronion, see *P.Tebt.* 2.392 (AD 134/135). Since we do not possess the description or patronymic of the Kronion in the present document, it is impossible to

²⁶ On Persian status, see Lerouxel (n. 12) 70–72.

determine whether the two Kronions are the same individual, though the possibility is intriguing. In *P.Tebt.* 2.392, Kronion indemnifies his sister Eudaimonis against liabilities incurred by their father and another brother to a creditor by a *paratheke*-contract which had been drawn up ca. fifteen years earlier.

9–11 Our reconstruction of l. 9 is supported by numerous parallels (e.g. *BGU* 1.196.18, *P.Kron.* 20.8, *P.Tebt.* 2.392.19); παρα]θήκην should be corrected to παρα]θήκης. The substitution of the genitive with the accusative might be explained as contextual error, the scribe being influenced by the *v* of the accusative ὁμολογίαν and perhaps even τελειοθεῖσαν.

It is difficult to accurately reconstruct the duration of time for which the present contract remained valid (on the topic cf. Tenger [n. 9] 73–74). We date the document to AD 134 on the basis of l. 10 (ἐννε[α]καιδεκ[ά]τῳ ἔτει Ἀ[δ]ρ[ι]αν[οῦ], the nineteenth year of Hadrian's reign), which is consistent with Psenkebkis' reported age in ll. 1–2. Our readings in l. 10, while tentative, are supported by the paleographical content of the document as a whole. The δ in our reading of ἐννε[α]καιδεκ[ά]τῳ, for example, seems to resemble the “open” δ as seen in ll. 3 (δεξιῶτι), 5 (δεξιῶτι), 8 (δύο), etc. The δ may be joined with the preceding ε in the compressed manner as seen also in ll. 3 and 5 (δεξιῶτι and δεξιῶτι). This same ligature is perhaps given more space in l. 11 (...]δεκάτη). As for Ἀ[δ]ρ[ι]αν[οῦ] (see Fig. 5 for our reconstruction), the initial α resembles the initial α of ἀντικνημίωι (l. 5), αὐτοῦ (l. 6), αὐτῶν (l. 7), etc. We conjecture that the oblique stroke of the α was attached to the preceding δ as in ll. 3 (ἀδελφῆ) and 11 (ἀναδέδωκα). For the connection of this δ to the preceding ρ, see the ligature δρ in l. 7 (δραχμάς). The ν, visible only in the upper and lower extremities of the first vertical stroke, may fit the shape of ν in ἀναδέδωκα (l. 11).



Fig. 5

If we are right in restoring γραφείου τῷ ἐνεστῶτι in l. 10, which closely matches the length of our restoration of the *lacuna* in l. 9, the contract for the deposit would seem to have remained valid for less than a single year.²⁷ For contracts of the same type with durations of less than one year, see

²⁷ We exclude the possibility of restoring the reading διετηλοῦσι because of constraints of space.

e.g. *P.Lond.* 3.907 (5 months at most) and *BGU* 2.520 (6 months). We are, however, unable to recover the exact date on which the reimbursement took place, which we would expect to have formed a part of the prescript. We are only able to partially recover the date on which the original contract was executed (δεκάτη, l. 11), indicating a date from the 10th to the 19th of a certain month, though the name of the month itself is not preserved. Our readings in ll. 10–11 do not leave much room for the other elements of the imperial formula at the beginning of l. 11, though in this context the formula may have been no more than ξτει Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου, followed by mention of the month and day. See e.g. *P.Oxy.* 19.2230: τῷ γ (ξτει) Ἀ[δριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου] μηνὶ Ἐπειῶ; *P.Oxy.* 50 3557: τῷ τρίτῳ ξτει Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μηνὶ Νέῳ Σεβ[αστῶ].

12–13 The section following the dating formula, here only partially preserved, is rather formulaic: cf. *BGU* 1.196.20–22. There seems to be too much space for a mere reference to Kronion. Perhaps αὐτῷ was followed by a reference to the contract (τὴν ὁμολογίαν; cf. *P.Amh* 2.112.16–17), or by an adverb of place (αὐτόθεν; cf. *P.Kron* 11.16). For the spelling ἀκούρωσιν, cf. *P.Kron* 11.16, 12.17–18. Traces of at least three letters at the top of l. 13 are visible. Though we do not provide a restoration of l. 13, see *P.Fam.Tebt.* 9.15–19 for a continuation of the formula given in l. 12: εἰς [ἀ]θετίαν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν, καὶ μήτε αὐτοῦ[ς] τοὺς δ[ύ]ο Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἀπίαν μήδε τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπελεύσασθαι ἐπ[ὶ] τὴν Θαῆσιν μήδε ἐπὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς περὶ ὧν ἀπέσχηκαν καθότι πρόκειται μηδὲ περὶ ἑτέρου ἀπλῶς πράγματος μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστ(ώσης) ἡμέρας.