



# BULLETIN DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

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BIFAO 81.1 (1981), p. 427-435

Alia H. Hassanein

Two Documents from Aphrodite [avec 2 planches].

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## TWO DOCUMENTS FROM APHRODITE

Alia H. HASSANEIN

The two papyri on which I worked belong to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (both fare under S.R. 3733).

L. 1 in N° 1 refers to Aphrodite, and Pap. N° 2 renders us to say safely that this papyrus' origin is also Aphrodite (see introd. p. 432).

### 1. — A RECEIPT.

*P. Cairo* inv. S.R. 3733 (37)  
31 × 6,3 cm. (Pl. LXIII)

Provenance Aphrodite  
559 or 514 A.D.

The papyrus has lost from its right side a strip which held the ends of the lines. It has suffered some losses, but the text can be recovered everywhere, except the lacuna at the end of the line 2. The text has begun and ended with the monogram  $\text{ⲓⲁ}$ ; and there is a trace under the end of line 3, and of the whole line 4. The sheet's back is blank.

This is a receipt of the  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\iota$ -type, for public charges of the village Aphrodite, of the eighth indiction. It is for village dues, and is issued by the pagarchs (plural), through their  $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ . It is similar to *P. Lond.* 1665; 1666, but what is more novel?


1) The receipt may contain names of three pagarchs, although the collegiality of two pagarchs in Antaeopolis is known from the papyri (cf. *P. Lond.* 1665; 1666; PCM 67068, 10; 67045-7; see H.I. Bell, *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* XXVIII, p. 105; *Archiv. für Pap.* IV, p. 111). In spite of the third name of the pagarch falls in a lacuna, the phraseology and the conjunction  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  agree with this suggestion (see note L. 2).


2) To my knowledge, it is the first time to deal with the procurator of the *comes* in this kind of taxes (see note L. 3).

The document relates to the Archives of Dioscoros where the poet and his family held land in Aphrodite.

As no signatures are added, it is clear that it is, like several of these papyri, only a draft.

The date, an 8th indiction mentioned in line 1, is probably 559 or 514 A.D. (see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Holland 1978, p. 86-87; see note L. 1).

Abbreviation is marked by a single oblique stroke beside the last letter written (ex. L. 2 κερ/; γι/; L. 3 προκ[ο]υρ/; δ/; ἐνταγι/; L. 4 κερ/) or by a single curve (ex. L. 2; 4 ζυς) or by the down position of the last letter written, and at the same time by drawing a single curve from that letter, may have been used in L. 2 ἡ θυς, or by the symbol  or by repeating the last letter (ex. L. 2 ἐνδοξξ).

1.  δέδωκεν Ἀπολλῶς Διοσκόρο'υ' (ὑπὲρ) [τοῦ δεσπότη'υ' εἰς λόγον δημοσίων  
κώμη(ς) Ἀφροδί(της) Κανόνος ὀγδόης ἡ[νδ(ικτίονος)]
2. κεράτια δέκα τρ[ί]α τέταρτον ζυγ(ῶ) γί(νεται) κερ(άτια) ιγ δ' ζυγ(ῶ) οἱ  
ἐνδοξ(ότατοι) π[ά]γαρχοι Ἰουλιανός καὶ Κομήτης καὶ ἡ θυ.[
3. διὰ τοῦ τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμιτος Χριστοδότο'υ' προκ[ο]υρ(ατόρος) δ(ι) ἐμοῦ'  
[Μα]κα[ρ]ί'ο'υ' βοηθοῦ' στοιχεῖ μοι τὸ ἐντάγι(ον) τῶν δέκα τρία
4. τέταρτον κεράτιων ζυγ[(ῶ) ὥ]ς πρόκ(εῖται) τὰ δοθέντα / διὰ τοῦ' Ἀ[πο]λ-  
λ[ῶ]τος] Διοσκόρο'υ' υἱοῦ' αὐτοῦ' .P

- L. 1 : Ἀφροδί(της) (Pap.)  
 L. 2 : Ἰουλιανός (Pap.)  
 L. 3 : περιβλέπτου (Pap.); τραί (pap.)  
 L. 4 : υἱοῦ (Pap.)

#### TRANSLATION :

*Apollo son of Dioscorus has paid, instead of his master, to the account of public charges for the village Aphrodite of the Canon of the 8th indiction 13 1/4 carats by measure, total 13 1/4 carats by measure. The most illustrious pagarchs, Julianus and Kometes and ..... through Christodotus the procurator of the distinguished comes by me Makarius the assistant. I am satisfied with the receipt of 13 1/4 carats by measure as set forth above. It was paid through his own son, Apollo son of Dioscorus.*

L. 1 Ἀπολλῶς Διοσκόρο'υ' : the father of the well-known poet Dioscorus, is known from many texts (cf. *PCM* I, II, III; *P. Flor.* III; *P. Lond.* V; *P. Michael.*; *P. Ross-Georg.* III; L. Mac Coul, *Greek and Coptic papyri in the Freer Gallery of Art* (diss. Washington, D.C., 1973), 1, II, 34; *P. Mich.* XIII, 659; 669).

(ὕπέρ) [το]ῦ δεσπότο'υ' : his master here is his father Διόσκορος Ψιμανώβει (cf. L. 4 τὰ δοθέντα / διὰ τοῦ' Ἀ[πο]λλ[ᾶ]τος Διόσχορο'υ' υἱοῦ' αὐτοῦ' = It was paid through his own son, Apollos son of Dioscorus). His father is known from the texts (cf. *PCM* I, II, III; *P. Flor.* III; *P. Lond.* V).

εἰς λόγον δημοσίων κώμη(ς) Ἀφροδί(της) (Pap. Ἀφροδί(της)) : the dues are payable for κωμητικά of the village Aphrodite (cf. *P. Lond.* 1665; 1666), and it is also similar in form to *PCM* 67045-67047, but unlike them, which are for the ἀστικά or city dues of Antaeopolis. For the distinction, see Maspero's note on 67045; A. Johnson - L. West, *Byzantine Egypt, Economic Studies*, p. 303; 310.

ὀγδόης ἱ[νδ(ικτίονος)] : this document must have been written before 542 A.D., because we know that Apollos son of Dioscorus was dead by 542 A.D. (cf. *PCM* III, 286, introd.). Therefore the date, an 8th indiction is probably 514 A.D. (see introduction p. 428; Add. p. 435).

L. 2 οἱ ἐνδοξ(ότατοι) π[ά]γαρχοι Ἰουλιανός καὶ Κομήτης καὶ ἡ θυ. : the pagarch Julianus, the head of the financial organisation of the Aphrodite's pagarchy, is known from many texts either alone or with his known colleague Menas (cf. *PCM* 67019,17; 67024, 13; 67026, 2; 67060, 2; 67094, 4; *P. Lond.* 1660, 5; 1666, 5; 1674, 34 (ex-pagarch); H.I. Bell, *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* XXVIII, p. 105). But here he appears for the first time with another colleague, called Cometes, whom, to my knowledge, we do not meet elsewhere.

At the end of line 2, καὶ is clear, after which there are (1) above the gap, a remain of one upright foot or one dot of the diaeresis which might be η or ι; and the gap itself cannot contain more than one letter if it is η or two letters if it is ι (2) a clear θ (3) a half rounded foot most suitable for υ (4) a trace of one more letter or it may be a sign of abbreviation ς. Therefore, the word in the lacuna raises many problems, and, at present, it is so obscure that it would in any case be discussed in details here. The difficulties arise from various causes :

(A) It is known from the thirteenth edict of Justinian that there was one pagarch for every pagarchy. This pagarch « was an Imperial official, appointed by responsible to the Emperor. He had no authority over the municipality, which after the creation of his office ceased to be responsible for the finances of the rural territory » (see H.I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the great to the Arab conquest*, p. 121). But the collegiality of two pagarchs in Antaeopolis is known also from the papyri (see introd. note 1), even before the issue of the thirteenth edict of Justinian, one of them is called πάγαρχος τοῦ διμορίου

μέρους Ἀνταίου (cf. *PCM* 67325, Fol. III, v., 7; 12), and the other is called πάγαρχος τοῦ τρίτου μέρους (cf. *PCM* 67325, Fol. III, v., 9; 14). Some names of the pagarchs have come down to us from the papyri as Julianus and Menas (see *P. Lond.* 1661); Serenos and John (see *PCM* 67325, Fol. III, v., 11; VIII, r., 22). G. Rouillard, explains this duality of the function when he said « *il semblerait bien que la pagarchie eût été divisée en plusieurs circonscriptions territoriales, analogues au σκέλη du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle* » (see G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte Byzantine*, p. 55 ff.); and J. Maspero explains the signs of both the pagarchs Serenos and John in one receipt : « *Les contribuables cités dans notre papyrus avaient peut-être des propriétés dispersées dans tout le nome Antaiopolite, ce qui explique l'intervention simultanée des deux pagarques* » (see *PCM* 67325, introd. p. 120). If that is so, our document can add another fact, that is Aphrodite may have got three pagarchs at a certain time. This conclusion is construed to the lacuna, which may contain a name of a third pagarch, who the context gives him equal authority with the pagarchs Julianus and Cometes. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*; and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, cannot help us in a name beginning with Ἡθϣ. [ or Ἰ.θϣ. [

(B) Alternatively, ἡ θϣ(γάτηρ) may be read (I do thank Mr. Guy Wagner of the Institut Français d'Arch. Orient., Le Caire, for useful suggestions). At any rate οἱ ἐνδοξ(ότατοι) πάγαρχοι Ἰουλιανός καὶ Κομήτης καὶ ἡ θϣ(γάτηρ) = The most illustrious pagarchs Julianus, Cometes, and his daughter, means that the daughter here is called pagarch. But, in spite of Patricia had acted in this capacity in *P. Lond.* 1660, she had held the office by succession to her father and she does not herself exercise the functions of the office, but deposes them to τοῦ λαμπρο[τατοῦ] κυρίου Μηνᾶ αὐτῆς διοικητοῦ καὶ παγάρχ(ου) (cf. *P. Lond.* 1660, introd.). If that is so, the daughter of Cometes might hold the office by succession to another one, not to her father, because her father Cometes was still alive.

(C) There is another alternative, one might think of ἐ[δο]θ(η) which would make good sense before διὰ τοῦ τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμιτος Χριστοδότο·υ' προκ[ο]υρ(ατόρος), although the gap is not big enough for two letters; and the usual verb which must be used in a case like this, is ἐξέδοθ(η) = ἐξεδωκε (cf. *PCM* 67325, Fol. III, v., 9; 11).

L. 3 Χριστοδότο·υ' προκ[ο]υρ(ατόρος) : the procurator Christodotus has appeared only in *P. Lond.* 1674, 36, with the pagarch Julianus who by the persuasion of Christodotus had raised the taxes in the village or procured the raising of the rates at 4 carats for arable and 23 for vine land, although the rates of the taxes had been assessed by a

decree of the ἄρχοντες at 2 carats for arable and 8 for vine land, because the land was of poor quality (see *P. Lond.* 1674, note 36; 44).

Fortunately, the archive of Dioscorus included similar receipts practically complete (cf. *P. Lond.* 1665; 1660), and these have been of great assistance in completing this document. So, in comparing these documents with our document, we find that the latter follows the formula of this kind of ἐντάγιον, except that there is an agent between the tax-payer and the collector. This agent was the procurator of the comes. To my knowledge, it is the first time to deal with the procurator of the comes as an agent between the tax-payer and the βουθός of the village treasury, who collects the taxes instead of the pagarchs (see introd. note 2).

ⲭ(ⲓ) ⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲓ [Μα]ⲕⲁ[ρ]ⲓⲟⲩⲧⲓ βουθⲟⲩⲧⲓ: in addition to the visible letters of [Μα]ⲕⲁ[ρ]ⲓⲟⲩⲧⲓ the estimate of the space is available to the name Makarius. We met the βουθός Makarius in *PCM* 67325, Fol. VI, 2, and we know from abundant evidences that the village treasury δημόσιος λόγος of Aphrodite seems to be administered by the βουθός (see Johnson-West, *Byzantine Egypt, Economic Studies*, p. 175); and it was for a time controlled by the hypodectes (cf. *PCM* 67052-3; *P. Lond.* 1667; Johnson-West, *ibid.*, p. 98).

## 2. — A PETITION.

*P. Cairo* inv. S.R. 3733 (15)  
16 × 10,5 cm. (Pl. LXIV)

Provenance Aphrodite  
VI c. A.D.

Our papyrus consists of five pieces. The main portion measures 16 × 10,5 cm. The papyrus has margins on the right and left hand-sides. It has suffered some losses and has many lacunae at the folds (6 vertical). Two of the four small fragments can be reassembled with the large piece and placed in their proper position. The other two fragments, however, cannot be joined although there is no doubt that they belong to the same document. One may be read as follows :

1.    ⲡ. ⲗ[
- ⲛ. ⲛ[
2.    ⲛ. ⲛ[
- ⲛ. ⲛ[
- ⲛ. ⲛ[

The length of the line is known since the papyrus has margins on the right and left hand-sides.

The hand-writing is an irregular hand of the sloping cursive type of the Byzantine period. The letters are of medium size (cf. *PCM* 67126 (541 A.D.)). At the bottom, there are the subscriptions of the complainants. It appears that one of the two complainants who wrote the formula at the bottom was one of those people who are described as *βραδέως γράφοντες* (slow writers); they normally like the *ἀγράμματοι* had others to write their subscriptions for them. But they generally could add a few words of their own (see H.C. Youtie, *βραδέως γράφων; Between literacy and illiteracy, Scriptiunculae*, II, Amsterdam, 1973, p. 629-651).

This document is a petition from (Aurelius) Johannes son of Kallinikus, and Apa Nechatous son of Phoebammon to an official, whose name and title are lost, complaining that they were unreasonably cudged by some individuals, whose names are lost, though, it seems that one of them was a deacon (cf. L. 19).

For more elaborate documents of the same type on other occasions, see *PCM* 67091 (528 A.D.); 67092 (563 A.D.); 67093 (553 A.D.); *P. Lond.* 1000 (III, p. 250), (538 A.D.).

The provenance is not recorded but the system of the document, and the use of the words suggest that it was Aphrodite (cf. *PCM* 67092, 6).

Abbreviation is marked by the sign ζ (= αὐτῆς) (cf. L. 3), or by the symbol ꝥ (= (= χείρειν) (cf. L. 3), or by a single oblique through the last letter ἀλογομ/ (cf. L. 6); ἐπερ/ (cf. L. 12); προκ/ (cf. L. 15; 16); διάκ/ (cf. L. 19). The verso is blank.

- 
- 1st hand [ π/Αὐρηλίου]  
 Ἰωάννου(υ) Κα[λ]λ[ιν]ίκου(υ) ἅπ[α] N]εχάτου(υ) Φοι[β]άμ(ωνος)  
 ἀπὸ τῆς (αὐτῆς) κώμ(ης) χ(αί)ρ(ειν). Οἱ ἐξῆς ὑποτεταγμένοι  
 οὐδ[ὲ] τοὺς νόμους ὑφορομένους  
 5 τετολμηκότες ἔδιδεν ἡμᾶς  
 ἀλογομ/. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιδιδόμεθα  
 ὑμῶν τούτους ἡμῶν τοὺς λιβέλλο(υ)ς  
 παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς (ἵνα) ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ  
 γενέσθωσιν μεχρὶ κρίσεως  
 10 δικ[α]στικ[ῆ]ς καὶ εἰς ὑμῶν ἀσφαλείαν  
 πεποιήμεθα ὑμῶν τούτους τοὺς  
 λιβέλλο[υ]ς καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὡμολογήσ(αμεν) ꝥ
- 2nd hand Α[ὐ]ρήλ[ι]ος Ἰ[ω]άννη[ς] Κ[α]λλι-  
 ν[ίκου] κ(αί) ἅπα Νεχάτου Φ[ο]ιβάμω'νος'

15 <οἱ> προ[κ](εἰμενοι) ἐπιδ[ι]δ[ό]μεθ[α] τῷ[τους]  
 [τ]οῦς [λιβ]έ[λ]λους ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)  
 ἰδίοις ἡμῶν γράμμασι.

1st hand Εἴσιν δέ

[± 10

]μφαῖος διάκ(ων)

L. 4 : ὑφωρομένους (pap. ü)

L. 5 : ἔδειρον

L. 6 : ἀλογουμ(ένως)

L. 8 : παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς (ἵνα) or (ὑπὸς) γενέσθωσιν

L. 10 : ἡμῶν

# TRANSLATION :

..... from (Aurelius) Johannes son of Kallinikus, and Apa Nechatus son of Phoebammon of the same village, Greeting. The persons mentioned below, in defiance of the considerable laws, have dared to have us beaten without reason. Wherefore, we present to you this our petition, begging you to keep it in a safe place, until the judgement of trial, and for our safety, we make this petition to you, and in answer to the formal question, we have given our assent.

(Aurelius) Johannes son of Kallinikus and Apa Nechatus son of Phoebammon the aforesaid persons present this petition as aforesaid with our own signatures.

They are

.....]mphaios the deacon.

L. 1-2 The heading of this document should have followed the same pattern as that of PCM 67091, 1-3; 67092, 1-5; 67093, 1-3. Address to the official person who was often the *ῥιπάριος*. It is conjecturely « So - and - So τῷ αἰδεσιμῷ *ῥιπαρίῳ κώμης Ἀφροδίτης τοῦ Ἀνταιοπολίτου νόμου π/Αὐρηλίου Ἰωάννου(ν) Κα[λ]λ[ι]ν[ι]κο(ν) καὶ Ἀπ[λ]ᾶ Νεχάτου(ν) Φοι[β]άμ(ωνος)*.

The *ῥιπάριοι* were the chiefs of the local police in the village in Byzantine Egypt. For their rôle (see PCM 67091, note L. 2; Taubenschlag, *The law of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the light of the papyri*, p. 449; 492; 540 ff.).

From the names of the petitioners, we are sure that one of them was an Egyptian priest Ἀπᾶ Νεχάτου Φοιβάμμωνος and that the other was a Greek Αὐρήλιος Ἰωάννης Καλλινίκου, and, to my knowledge, we do not meet them elsewhere.



οἱ ἐξῆς ὑποτεταγμένοι: the formula denotes that the accused are at least two, but the verb in line 5 is in the singular number (cf. L. 5 ἔδιδεν L. ἔδειρον). This phenomenon has appeared in *P. Lond.* 1000 (Vol. III, p. 250) L. 4 « οἱ ἐξῆς ὑποτεταγμένοι ..... χρεωστῶν (L. χρεωστοῦντες) »; PCM 67092 note 6 where « *La formule οἱ ἐξῆς ὑποτεταγμένοι désigne les deux accusés, mais tout le reste de la phrase vise le seul Makarios et est au singulier ..... L'emploi du participe au lieu de l'indicatif était d'usage, semble-t-il, dans ces sortes de documents, au moins au VI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* ».

L. 5 ἔδιδεν (L. ἔδειρον): although the verb is in the singular, the rest of the phrase is in the plural, which agrees with the participle in L. 3 « οἱ ἐξῆς ὑποτεταγμένοι », and with the verb in L. 9; L. 18 « γενέσθωσιν »; « εἴσιν ».

L. 6 ἀλογουμ(ένως): the word ἀλογουμ/ is abbreviated and the construction of the sentence needs here an adverb (cf. PCM 67092, 6 « οἱ ἐξῆς ὑποτεταγμένοι τετολμηκῶς παρανομῶς [ῥ]βρειν μέ ». Thus, the construction of our document is as follows: οἱ ἐξῆς ὑποτεταγμένοι ῥῥ[έ] τούς νόμους ὑφορομένους (L. ὑφορωμένους) τετολμηκότες ἔδιδεν (L. ἔδειρον) ἡμᾶς ἀλογουμ/ (L. ἀλογουμ(ένως)). If the reading and solution of the abbreviation are correct, the adverb is new. We have here an hapax. In that case, the adverb ἀλογουμ(ένως) can be formed from the verb ἀλογόμμαι (e.g. τεταγμένως) regularly from τεταγμένος (see W.W. Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar*, London, 1977, p. 77).

L. 6-7 Διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιδιδόμεθα ἡμῖν τούτους ἡμῶν τούς λιβέλλο(υ)ς: this formula is common in the papyri and contains the seeds of that usage which was to become customary in almost all documents of petition (cf. PCM 67091, 13; 67093, 4 (F. 2); 67092, 11).

L. 8-9 ⟨ἵνα⟩ or ⟨ὅπως⟩: the reading παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς ⟨ἵνα⟩ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενέσθωσιν seems unavoidable since the construction of the sentence has a subjunctive after the verb of beseeching παρακαλοῦντες which needs either an infinitive or a ἵνα-construction as imperatival meaning (see B. Mandilaras, *The verb in the Greek non-literary Papyri*, 578, d. « ὅπως may be interchanged with ἵνα owing to the fact that both ἵνα and ὅπως depend on the same governing verb »). But ⟨ἵνα⟩ is preferred here where the scribe might have confused it phonetically with ἐν.

L. 10 καὶ εἰς ὑμῶν ἀσφαλείαν (L. καὶ εἰς ἡμῶν ἀσφαλείαν) for the confusion of ὑμῶν and ἡμῶν, see F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods*, Milano, 1974, vol. I, p. 262.

L. 18 εἶσιν δέ : indicates the accused whose judgement is before the praeses or duke, either in the capital of the province, or in the locality, when the governor arrives, or an inspector from the inspection (see P. Leipzig 37, 25-27 «ἀξίω τούτο[υς] ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι μέχρι τῆς εὐτύχους ἐπιδημίας τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ ἄρχοντος»).

L. 19 ]μφαῖος διάκ(ων) : it is to be noted that both of the accused, and one of the petitioners have an ecclesiastical position (cf. L. 19 «διάκ(ων)» and L. 2 «Ἀπά»). It seems that the ecclesiastical schism in this period was the essential reason behind the struggle, which appeared among the men of the church (see H.I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab conquest*, Oxford, 1966, Chap. IaV, p.101-134). ]μφαῖος : F. Dornseiff - B. Hansen, can help us in this name in *Rücklaufiges Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1957, p. 227. Possibilities : Σαμφαῖος; Σεμφαῖος; Σιμφαῖος; Τυμφαῖος; Παμφαῖος .... etc.

After this line, the end of the document would have run as PCM 67091, 26-29; 67091, 23-25, where the document might have contained a name of someone accused at least (cf. L. 3; L. 18, where the participle and the verb indicate the plural), and the date of the document.

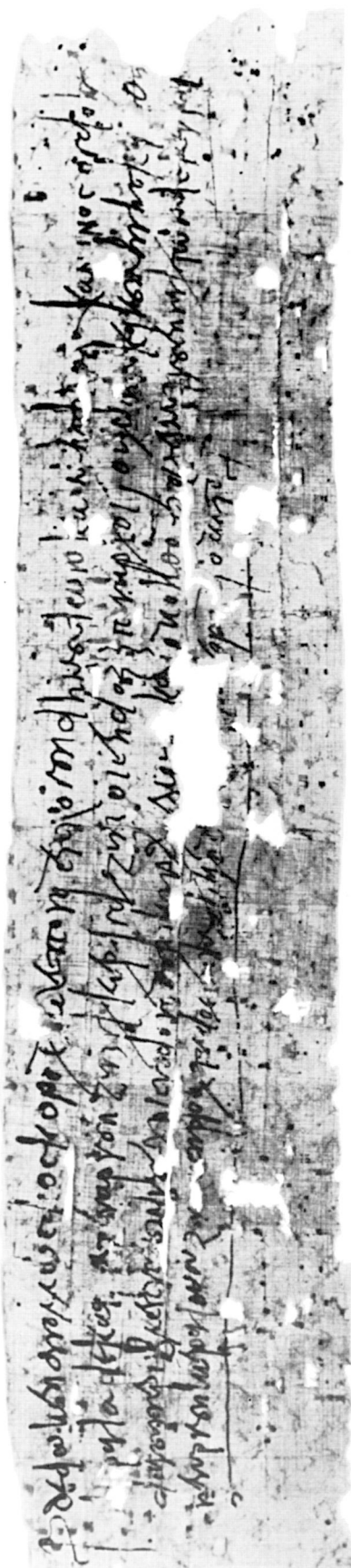
#### ADDENDUM : Pap. 1

The date of this receipt is certainly 514 A.D. because the document must have been written when Dioscorus was still alive.

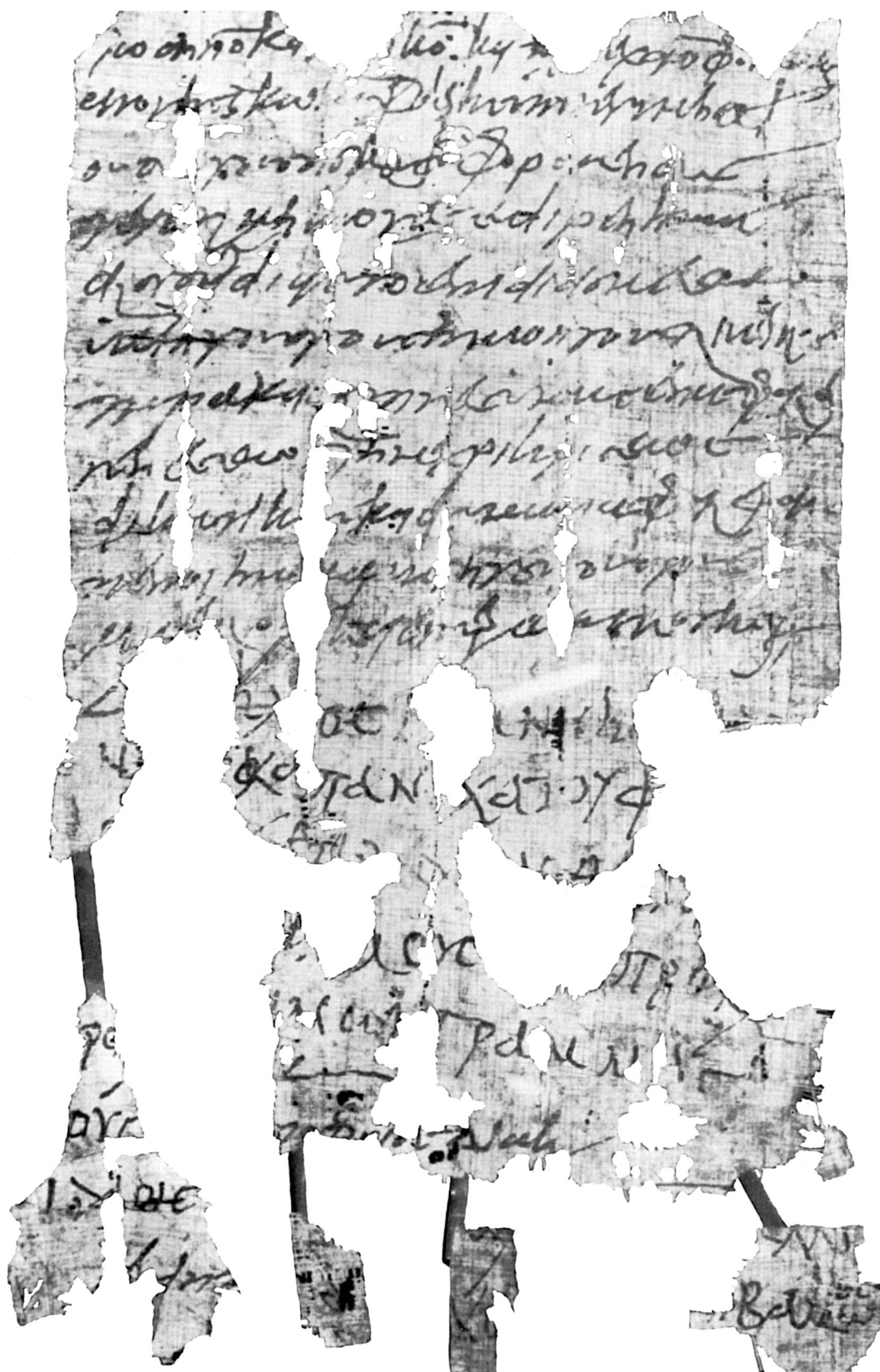
H.I. Bell dates the death of Dioscorus before 514, depending on *P. Flor.* 280, which is an acknowledgment of debt addressed in the year 514 to Apollos, son of Dioscorus; and it refers to his father as «Dioscorus of blessed memory» (see *P. Flor.* 280; H.I. Bell, «An Egyptian village in the age of Justinian», *JHS*, LXIV, 1944, p. 21-36).

If that is so, this receipt was written before *P. Flor.* 280, which refers to Dioscorus as «the late», and Dioscorus was certainly dead by 514 A.D., because the date, an 8th indiction, mentioned in line 1, is 514 A.D. (see introd. p. 428).

If the 8th indiction is 559 A.D., the receipt must have been dated before 570, because in *P. Lond.* 1674 (570 A.D.) the procurator Christodotus is referred to in it as 'the former'. So, Apollos son of Dioscorus mentioned in the receipt is Dioscorus's son. He had occurred in *P. Lond.* 1677, 49 (566-567 A.D.) as the βονθός of Aphrodite and perhaps in PCM 67325, fol. VIII, v. in an account book, dating in 585 A.D. (see H.I. Bell, *ibid.* p. 35, note 75), and the pagarch Kometes was Julianus's colleague in the year 559 before his collegiality with Menas in 566-567 (see PCM 67002, I, 10).



P. Cairo inv. S.R. 3733 (37).



P. Cairo inv. S.R. 3733 (15).