

## VIII.—Two New Documents from the Tebtunis Archive

ELINOR M. HUSSELMAN

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Two papyri have come to light in the University of Michigan collection that provide some further evidence regarding the two officials, Apion and Kronion, who were in charge of the village record office in Tebtunis during the first half of the first century A.D. The documents from this archive were purchased by the University in three separate lots in 1921–1923, and the majority of them have been published in the two volumes of *Papyri from Tebtunis*.<sup>1</sup>

In his introductions to the two volumes Boak has gathered together the available evidence with respect to the personnel and operating procedures of the grapheion during the early years of the Empire. To summarize briefly the points in his discussion that are pertinent here, he found that the grapheion was directed by the nomographos Apion from 7 A.D. (*PMich.* 5.345) to at least 25 A.D. (*PMich.* 5.233), the date of the latest document written by him in his official capacity. By 43 A.D. (*PMich.* 5.237), and possibly as early as 36 A.D. (*PMich.* 5.232) the grapheion was under the direction of Kronion, son of Apion, also designated as nomographos, and Kronion continued in office until 52 A.D. (*PMich.* 5.354). Boak concluded that the office was not liturgical, but was held and operated as a government concession, probably passed on from father to son. He had, however, to take into consideration the possibility that from 25 A.D. to 36 (or 42) A.D. the grapheion might have been operated by another person unknown to us, since there was no positive evidence in the way of registration docket.

P. Mich. Inv. 1431, which was acquired by the University in 1923, did not form part of any of the three groups that make up the main body of the archive, but nevertheless it clearly belongs with it. It is the lower half of an otherwise well-preserved contract, written in the hand of Kronion, with his registration docket following the subscriptions of the contracting parties. The top of the papyrus was cut off, probably in modern times, and the upper half may still be found in some other collection.

<sup>1</sup> *Papyri from Tebtunis*, Part I by A. E. R. Boak, Part II by E. M. Husselman, A. E. R. Boak, and W. F. Edgerton (*Michigan Papyri 2 and 5*, Ann Arbor 1933–1944).

The contract is for the sale by Kronion, son of Zoilos, to his brother Sokrates of two arouras of dry vine land near Lower Phnebie. Neither party can be identified with persons in the other Tebtunis documents, although a Kronion the elder and a Kronion the younger, sons of Zoilos, occur as property owners in *PMich.* 5.335 (56 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

# SALE OF VINE LAND

P. Mich. Inv. 1431

17 × 35.5 cm.

31 A.D.

τ[όν] Κρονίωνα παρὰ τοῦ Σωκράτους τὸ ἐσταμένον ὑπὲρ τῶν προ[ο]κισμένων  
ἀρουρῶν δύο ἀργυρικὸν παραχωρητικὸν  
πᾶν κεφάλλαιον καὶ βεβαιώσιν αὐτόν τε Κρονίωνα καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ  
τῷ Σωκράτῃ καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
παραχώρησιν ταύτην πάσῃ βεβαιώσει ἀπὸ μὲν δημοσίων ὀφιλημάτων  
πάντων καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν πασῶν καὶ παν-  
τὸς εἵδους τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐπάνω χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἑπτακαιδεκάτου  
ἔτους καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος

5 [ἐ]πτακαιδεκάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, ἀπὸ δὲ ἰδιωτικῶν  
καὶ πάσης ἐνπύσεως ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρό-  
νον, καὶ μήτε προπεπραμένας μηδὲ μέρους μηδὲ ὑποτεθιμένας μηδὲ  
ἐξηλλυτρωμένας τρόπῳ μηθενεί.

ὅ τι δ' ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμένων παρασυνγραφῇ Κρονίων, ἣν μὲν εἰάν  
πυήσῃται τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τούτων ἔφοδον

[ἦ] ἐνκλῃσιν ἢ ἐμπώσιν ἢ κώλυσιν ἢ κακοτέχνησιν κατὰ πᾶν μέρος ἄκυρος  
ἔστω καὶ προσαποτισάτωι τῷ Σωκράτῃ τὰ τε βλάβη  
καὶ δαπανήμασι διπλᾶ καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς χιλίας καὶ εἰς τὸ  
δημόσιον τὰς εἴσας. καὶ μηδὲν ἦσ<σ>ον ἐπάναγ-

10 κον δὲ ἀναδώσι ὁ Κρονίων τῷ Σωκράτῃ τὰ σύμβολα καὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτόν  
οἰκονομίας. ἢ συνγραφῇ κυρία ἔστω παρ(ταχῇ).

(2d hand) Κρονίων Ζωίλου ὁμολογῶι πεπρακεῖναι τῷ ὁμοπατρίῳ καὶ  
ὁμομητρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Σωκράτῃ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μοι περὶ Φνεβίῃ  
κάτω τῆς Πολέ-

μονος μερίδος χέρσου ἀμπελίτιδος ἀρούρας δύο ἢ ὅσαι εἰάν ὦσι ἐν μιᾷ  
σφραγίδι, ὧν γίτονες νότου πρότερον Σαραπίωνος νυνεὶ δὲ Τρύφωνος  
τοῦ Πτολεμαίου

<sup>2</sup> The editorial practice followed in these texts is in general that used in most publications of papyri, square brackets indicating lacunae, angular brackets an omission in the original, and braces superfluous letters in the original. Minor orthographic variations commonly found in the papyri, such as *ι* for *ει*, *ο* for *ω*, etc., have only been noted when they might possibly cause confusion.

γυμνασιάρχου ἀμπελών, βορρά ὕδραγωγός δι' οὗ ποτίζονται αἱ σημαι-  
νόμεναι ἄρουραι δύο, λιβὸς χέρσος ἀμπελῖτις, ἀπηλιώτου ὁδὸς βασιλική.  
καὶ ἀπέχω παρὰ τοῦ Σωκράτου τὴν συνεχωρημένην τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἐκ  
πλήρους διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου καὶ βεβαιώσω τὴν πρᾶσιν πάσῃ βεβαιώσει  
15 ἀπὸ μὲν {ν} δημοσίων ὀφειλημάτων πάντων καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν πασῶν καὶ  
παντὸς εἵδους τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐπάνω χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ ἑπτακαιδεκάτου  
ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑπτακαιδεκάτου ἔτους  
Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, ἀπὸ δὲ ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ πάσης ἐμποιήσεως  
ἐπὶ τὸν  
ἅπαντα χρόνον. καὶ ἀναδώσω τῷ Σωκράτῃ τὰ σύμβολα καὶ τὰ εἰς με  
οικονομίας καθὼς πρόκειται. (3d hand) Σωκράτης Ζωίλου γέγονε  
εἰς με ἡ πρᾶσις  
καθὼς πρόκειται. (1st hand) Ἔτου<ς> ἑπτακαιδεκάτου Τιβερίου  
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Μεσωρῇ ἐπαγομένων ἔ ἀναγέγραπται διὰ Κρο-  
νίωνος τοῦ πρὸς τῷ γραφίῳ Τεβτύνεως καὶ Κερκεσοῦχων Ὀρους τῆς  
Πολέμονο(ς) μερίδος.

2. κεφάλλαιον for κεφάλαιον. βεβαιώσιν for βεβαιώσιν. παρ' αὐτοῦ  
for παρ' αὐτοῦ; this spelling, which also occurs in line 7, is found in other  
documents in Kronion's hand; cf. *PMich.* 5.259 (33 A.D.), 260 (35 A.D.),  
263 (35–6 A.D.), and 264–5 (37 A.D.).

5. ἐνπνήσεως for ἐμποιήσεως.

6. μήτε προπεπραμένας, κτλ.: supply παρέξεσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας; cf.  
*PMich.* 5.294.8–9 and note. ἐξηλλυτρωμένας for ἐξηλλοτρωμένας. μηθενί  
for μηθενί.

7. πῆσεται for ποιήσεται.

8. ἐμπωσιν for ἐμποίησιν.

9. δαπανήμασι for δαπανήματα. εἴσας for ἴσας.

10. ἀναδώσι for ἀναδώσει.

11. Φνεβίη κάτω: the village of Phnebie has occurred in several papyri  
from the Fayum, including *PTebt.* 2.609, a list of places in the division  
of Polemon. It is not possible to locate it more exactly, nor is it found  
elsewhere with the designation κάτω.

12. On χέρσος ἀμπελῖτις see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im  
hellenistischen Aegypten* (München 1925) pp. 17–19. Schnebel distin-  
guishes between χέρσος ἀμπελῖτις as dry land, χέρσος, which is suitable  
for the planting of vines, and χερσάμπελος as a vineyard that has declined  
in productivity or has ceased to bear.

#### TRANSLATION

. . . that Kronion <has received> from Sokrates the entire sum of  
money established for the cession of the aforesaid two arouras, and that  
he, Kronion, and his heirs guarantee to Sokrates and his heirs the property  
in accordance with this cession with every guarantee from all public dues

and all imposts and every tax from past times up to the present seventeenth year and including the present seventeenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, and from private encumbrances and every claim forever, and <that he shall relinquish the arouras> neither sold previously even in part nor mortgaged nor alienated in any way. If Kronion violates any of the aforesaid provisions, the prosecution or accusation or claim or hindrance or fraud which he shall make with regard to this property shall be void in every respect, and he shall in addition pay to Sokrates double the amount of the damages and expenses and a fine of a thousand silver drachmas, and a like amount to the treasury. Moreover Kronion shall perforce turn over to Sokrates the tax receipts and the legal instruments <made out> to him. The agreement shall be valid everywhere.

(2d hand) I, Kronion, son of Zoilos, acknowledge that I have sold to my full brother, Sokrates, the two arouras, or as many as there may be, in one parcel, of dry vine land, that belong to me near Lower Phnebie, of which the neighbors are on the south the vineyard formerly belonging to Sarapion but now belonging to Tryphon, son of Ptolemaios, the gymnasiarch, on the north the canal through which the designated two arouras are watered, on the west dry vine land, on the east the royal road. And I have received from Sokrates the entire price agreed upon in full from hand to hand out of the house and I guarantee the sale with every guarantee both from all public dues and all imposts and from every tax from past times up to the seventeenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus and including the seventeenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, and from private encumbrances and every claim forever, and I shall hand over to Sokrates the tax receipts and the legal instruments <made out> to me as aforesaid.

(3d hand) Sokrates, son of Zoilos. The sale was made to me as aforesaid.

(1st hand) Registered in the seventeenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mesore, fifth intercalary day, through Kronion who is in charge of the grapheion of Tebtunis and Kerkesoucha Orous in the division of Polemon.

As the docket shows this contract was registered on the fifth intercalary day in the seventeenth year of Tiberius; that is, on August 28, 31 A.D., and the registration was made through Kronion as the official in charge of the grapheion. The date of Kronion's tenure of office is therefore brought back with certainty to the year 31 A.D.

In view of this new evidence it seemed desirable to re-examine those documents from the grapheion that were so defaced or mutilated that they were not included in the second volume of papyri from Tebtunis, which had been already overlong in preparation. It was hoped that other dockets might be found to fill in the re-

maining gap of six years between the known periods of the administration of Apion and that of Kronion. This hope was not unfounded; P. Mich. Inv. 631 was discovered to complete the evidence.

P. Mich. Inv. 631, a contract for the lease of grain land, is unfortunately not complete. The right side of the document, containing nearly half the text, was cut off, apparently while the papyrus was still rolled or folded from top to bottom. The cut is clean and probably recent; the other piece is not among the Michigan papyri, but, like the upper part of Inv. 1431, it might turn up elsewhere. The hand is a small angular cursive, neat in superficial appearance, but crabbed and difficult to read. The large lacunae have made complete restoration of the text impossible, particularly since some of the provisions of the lease appear to be unique, but its significance with regard to Apion and Kronion is clear.<sup>3</sup>

#### LEASE OF GRAIN LAND

P. Mich. Inv. 631

29.3 × 10.2 cm.

26 A.D.

- “Ετους τρισκαιδέκατου [Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ (?)]  
 ὀκτωκαιδέκατη ἐν Τεβ[τύνει τῆς Πολέμονος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου]  
 νομοῦ. ἐμίσθωσεν Ἀρνώτης Ἀρνώτου ὥς [ἐτῶν × οὐλή]  
 μετόπωι ἐκς ἀριστερῶν Παώπι Ὀρσεῦτος ὡς [ἐτῶν × οὐλή δα-]  
 5 κτύλο πρότωι χιρὸς ἀριστερᾶς καὶ τῶν νεῖ[ῶ] αὐτοῦ Ὀρσεῦτι ὡς ἐτῶν  
 τριάκον(?)]-  
 τα οὐλή μετόπωι ἐκς ἀριστερῶν καὶ Σῆμέν[ι Ἀρνώτου ὡς ἐτῶν × οὐλή]  
 μετόπωι ἐκς ἀριστερῶν τοῖς τρισὶ Πέρσες τ[ῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀλλήλων ἐγγυοῖς]  
 εἰς ἔκτισιν μεμισθωκέναι αὐτοῖς τὸν ὑπ[άρχοντα αὐτῷ περὶ Τεβτύνιν  
 κλήρον]  
 κατυκικὸν ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι ἕξ ἢ ὅσων ἐ[ὰν ὦσιν εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς τρισ-]  
 10 καιδέκατον ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ εἰς πυροῦ καὶ κριθῆς σπο-  
 ράν, πυροῦ μὲν ἀρταβῶν ἑκατὸν πέντε [καὶ κριθῆς ἀρταβῶν × ]  
 καθαρὸν ἄδωλον, ἅπαντα δὲ μέτρωι τετραχοινίκῳ × ]  
 ἃς καὶ ἀποδώτωσαν ἐμ μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ [τρискаιδέκατου ἔτους ἐν Τεβτύν-  
 νι, τῶν μεμισθωμένων τοὺς μισθοὺς [ × ]

<sup>3</sup> The restorations in the text are made with a reasonable degree of confidence on the basis of the formulae common in other leases. It is not possible to determine the exact number of letters missing in each line. Since the number of letters remaining in each line varies from 25 to 35, we may allow for a corresponding variation of from 5 to 10 letters in the number to be supplied at the ends of the lines. It is for this reason that the number of missing letters has not been indicated by dots.

- 15 γήσουσι. οἱ αὐτοὶ καθ' ἐκάστους κακοῦ μετρ[ × χωρηγήσει ὁ μισθ-]  
 ώτης τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις σπέρματ[α πυροῦ μὲν ἀρταβῶν δέκα ἕξ]  
 καὶ κριθῆς ἀρταβῶν δέκα καὶ ταυρικ[ῶν ἐργασίαν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον  
 παρα-]  
 δώσουσι οἱ μεμισθωμένοι τὸν κλῆρ[ον καθαρὸν ἀπὸ θρύου κα-]  
 λαμοῦ ἀγρώστεος πάσης δίσσης, τὸν [δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ καταμὸν ἕξ]  
 20 ἐπικοπῆς, οὔσης τῆς {τῆς} πράξεως τῷ [Ἀρνώτῃ καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ]  
 ἕκ τε τῶν μεμισθωμένων καὶ τῶν [ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς πάντων]  
 καὶ θαλλοῦ ἄρτων πεπτ[ῶν] ἄρτ[άβην μίαν × ]  
 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκ[ης] βεβαιουμέ[νης τῆς μισθώσεως ὑπὸ τοῦ]  
 Ἀρνώτου ἐπὶ τοῖς προκίμενοις καὶ [ἀπὸ δημοσίων καὶ παντὸς]  
 25 εἶδους ἀμεταμίσθωτα καὶ ἀναυτ[ούργητα ἐπὶ τὸν προκείμενον χρόνον.]  
 ὑπογραφεῖς τῶν μὲν μεμισθωμένων [ × Λυσιμάχου ὡς ἐτῶν × ]  
 οὐλῇ μετόπωι ἐκς ἀριστερῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀρν[ώτου × ὡς ἐτῶν × ]  
 οὐλῇ μετόπωι μέσῳ. (2d hand) Παῶπισ Ὅρσεῦ[τος καὶ ὁ υἱὸς μου]  
 Ὅρσεῦς καὶ Σέμεγ[ις] Ἀρνώτου [Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπι-]  
 30 γονῆς μεμισθώμεθα παρὰ Ἀρ[νώτου τοῦ Ἀρνώτου]  
 καθὼς πρόκειται. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν × -]  
 s Λυσιμάχου διὰ τὸ τὸν Ὅρ[σεῦν βραδέα γρά-]  
 φειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους μὴ εἰδέ[ναι γράμματα.]  
 (3d hand) Ὅρσεῦς Παῶπισ ἐπειτέταχα γρ[άφειν. (4th hand)  
 Ἀρνώτης Ἀρνώτου μεμίσ-]  
 35 θωκα καθὼς πρόκειται. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ [ × διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι]  
 αὐτὸν γράφειν. (5th hand) ἔτους ιγ Τιβερίου Κα[ίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ  
 μηνὸς]  
 Σεβαστοῦ ιη. ἀναγέγραπται διὰ Κρ[ονίωνος × ]  
 τοῦ τετελευτηκότος αὐτοῦ πα[τρὸς Ἀπίωνος τοῦ × ]  
 νομογράφου Τεβτύνεος καὶ ἄλλ[ων κωμῶν.]

## Verso

μίσθ[ωσις Ἀρνώτου πρὸς]  
 Παῶπ[ιν καὶ ἄλλους]

1. Either Σεβαστοῦ (Thoth) or Νέου Σεβαστοῦ (Hathyr) is possible here, as in lines 36–37 below. Leases of grain land were generally made in the first three months of the year, Thoth, Phaophi, and Hathyr; see S. Waszyński, *Die Bodenpacht; agrargeschichtliche Papyrusstudien* (Leipzig und Berlin 1905), p. 62. The space possibly suits Νέου Σεβαστοῦ better.

4–5. [δα]κτύλο for δακτύλω.

5. τῶν for τῷ.

7. Πέρσες for Πέρσαις.

8. *μεμισθωκέσαι*: this redundant infinitive is probably due to the influence of the *ὁμολογία* type of contract, which would read *ὁμολογεῖ . . . μεμισθωκέσαι*. The same error occurs in *PMich.* 5.311 (34 A.D.) and also in the unpublished leases, P. Mich. Inv. 672 and 958.

9. *κατυκικόν* for *κατοικικόν*.

10. *ἔτους* for *ἔτος*. This seems better than to correct to *[τρεῖς]καὶ δεκάτου ἔτους*. With the latter we should have to read *[εἰς ἔτη × ἀπὸ τοῦ τρεῖς]καὶ δεκάτου ἔτους*. There is no indication in the rest of the text that the term of the lease was for more than one year; there is no mention of annual rental, rotation of crops, or special conditions for succeeding years.

11. Probably the word *ἐκφορίου* is omitted; it would be in an unusual position if it preceded the phrase *[εἰς πυροῦ . . . σπο]ράν*, and there would probably not be enough space in the lacuna for it.

12. With *μέτρῳ τετραχονίκῳ* we should read *Τεβτύνεως, τῆς κώμης, θησαυροῦ Τεβτύνεως*, or the name of one of the private storehouses; for example, a *θησαυροῦ Σατορνείνου* occurs in P. Mich. Inv. 724, and a *θη[σ]αυροῦ Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς καὶ τεκνῶν Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ [ . . . ]* in P. Mich. Inv. 735. Both of these documents are mutilated and defaced, and they have not been published. The date of the former is wanting, but the latter is a lease for the thirteenth year of Tiberius and is in the same hand as Inv. 631.

14. This line and the next present a difficult problem. Normally at this point we find the various obligations that devolve upon the lessor and the lessee, as in the unpublished P. Mich. Inv. 734.16–19: *τὰ ἄλλ[α] γεωργικὰ ἔργα πάντα ἀγαγέτωσαν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι καθ' ἔτος τοῖς δέουσι καίροις βλαβὸς μηδὲν ποιούμενοι*, and in *PMich.* 5.311.16–19: *τοῦ Πτολεμαίου (the lessee) χωρηγούντος ἐατῶι σπέρματα, τοῦ δὲ μεμισθωκώτος τοὺς ποτισμοὺς καὶ χωματισμ[οὺς] καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν χλορῶν πνούμενος*. With *μισθοὺς* we might perhaps supply a qualifying phrase (*τῶν ἐργάτων*, for example) and some such word as *ἀποδιδόντων* or *τελούντων*.

14–15. *ἰγήσουσι*: *γεωργήσουσι* and *χωρηγήσουσι* are possible restorations. Without a correct interpretation of the end of line 15 it is impossible to determine the probable word here.

15. *κακου μετρ[ ]*: this reading appears certain, except that *χ* might be read in the place of *τ*.

16. Since one artaba of wheat or barley per aroura is the usual seed allowance (Schnebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–7) and in line 17 the allowance of seed barley is ten artabas, apparently ten of the twenty-six arouras were to be planted to barley and the remaining sixteen to wheat. Hence the restoration of this line.

17. *ταυρικ[ὼν ἐργασίαν]*: cf. *PGen.* 34.2–5, *ἐμοῦ διδόντος [σοι] τὴν ὑπουργίαν, καὶ δώσις [μοι] εἰς ὑποσχισμὸν ταυρικῶν [ἐργασί]αν ἄνευ μισθοῦ*. The line is perhaps overlong and we might read simply *ταυρικ[ά]* or omit *μετὰ τὸν χρόνον*.

19–20. *τὸν [δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ καλαμόν]*, *κτλ.*: this is supplied from P. Mich. Inv. 735.17–19: *καθαράς ἀπὸ θρύου ἀγρώστews πάσης δίσης τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτ[ῷ]*

καλαμὸν ἐκς ἐπικοπῆς. The same reading may also be supplied in *PMich.* 5.310.13-14.

22. θαλλοῦ, κτλ.: the occurrence of θαλλός in the πρᾶξις clause is unique and cannot be explained on the basis of what remains of the text. The θαλλός was common in leases as a gratuity or bonus given the lessor by the lessee in addition to the annual rental, and it is regularly included in the clause detailing the rental and its method of payment; see S. Eitrem, "A Few Remarks on σπονδή, θαλλός, and Other Extra Payments in Papyri," *Symbolae Osloenses* 17 (1937) 26-48. Since the θαλλός was paid to the lessor, it could hardly be included in the property of the lessee upon which the lessor had the right of execution.

ἄρτων πεπτ[ῶν]: cf. *PSI* 10.1129.15, ἄρτ[ων] π[ε]πτῶν ἀρτάβη <ν> μία <ν>.

32-33. [γρά]φιν for γράφειν; so also in line 36.

34. ἐπειτέταχα for ἐπιτέταχα.

37. Κρ[ονίωνος]: perhaps we might supply διέποντος τὰ; cf. *PTebt.* 2.397.34, Ἀπίων διέπων τὰ κατὰ τὴν νο(μογραφίαν) διὰ Ἀμμωνίου κεχρη-(μάτικα).

38. [Ἀπίωνος]: the name of the father of Apion the nomographos has not occurred in the papyri so far examined.

#### TRANSLATION

The thirteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, the eighteenth of the month Sebastos, in Tebtunis in the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite nome. Haryotes, son of Haryotes, about . . . years old, with a scar on his forehead on the left side, has leased to Paopis, son of Orseus, about . . . years old, with a scar on the first finger of his left hand, and to his son, Orseus, about . . . years old, with a scar on his forehead on the left side, and to Semenís, son of Haryotes, about . . . years old, with a scar on his forehead on the left side, the three being Persians of the epigone and mutual sureties for the repayment, the catoecic allotment that belongs to him near Tebtunis of twenty-six arouras, or as many as there may be, for the present thirteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, for sowing with wheat and barley, <at a rental> of one hundred and five artabas of wheat and . . . artabas of barley, pure and unadulterated, all measured by the four-choinix measure of. . . . They shall pay them in the month Pauni of the present year in Tebtunis, the lessees . . . the wages. . . . The lessor shall furnish to the lessees sixteen artabas of wheat and ten artabas of barley as seed, and the services of oxen, and at the expiration of the period the lessees shall return the allotment free from rushes, reeds, coarse grass, dirt of every kind, the reeds on it to be cut. Haryotes and his heirs shall have the right of execution upon the lessees and upon all their property and the gratuity of one artaba of baked bread . . . as if in accordance with a legal judgment, the lease being guaranteed by Haryotes on the aforesaid conditions from public charges and every impost, and he shall have no power to transfer the lease or to work the land himself for the aforesaid time. The signatories



for the lessees are . . . son of Lysimachos, about . . . years old, with a scar on his forehead on the left side, and for Haryotes, . . . with a scar in the middle of his forehead.

(2d hand) We, Paopis, son of Orseus, and my son, Orseus, and Semen, son of Haryotes, Persians of the epigone, have leased from Haryotes, son of Haryotes, as aforesaid. . . ., son of Lysimachos, wrote for them because Orseus writes slowly and the others are illiterate.

(3d hand) I, Orseus, son of Paopis, ordered him to write.

(4th hand) I, Haryotes, son of Haryotes, have made the lease as aforesaid. . . . wrote for him, because he is illiterate.

(5th hand) The 13th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, the 18th of Sebastos. Registered through Kronion, succeeding to the office of his late father, Apion . . . nomographos of Tebtunis and the other villages.

Verso: Lease of Haryotes to Paopis and others.

From the registration docket it is clear that Kronion took over the operation of the grapheion on the death of his father, Apion, which occurred some time between September 13, 25 A.D. (*PMich.* 5.233) and September or November of 26 A.D. The son, who was probably trained as his father's assistant, carried on the office presumably until his own death, at which time, perhaps because he had no son or heir prepared to carry on the work, the post of nomographos of Tebtunis, which carried with it the management of the record office for the government, was taken over by another individual. Although the latest mention of Kronion as nomographos is in a document dated 52 A.D. (*PMich.* 5.354), *PMich.* 5.335 bears the date 56 A.D., from which we may assume that Kronion either died about that time or that for some other reason he was forced to give up his duties.

Since during all this period the administration of the office was in the hands of one family, it is a sound conclusion that the grapheion was actually in Kronion's house, and that, when the position of village nomographos was assumed by another incumbent, the place of business was also moved. This is the logical explanation of the survival of an official archive which embraces only documents to be attributed to the period of office of these two men.