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The land-register of the Φερνουφίτου toparchy in the Mendesian nome

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THE LAND-REGISTER OF THE ΦΕΡΝΟΥΦΙΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗΥ IN THE MENDESIAN NOME

Place of discovery: Oxyrhynchus

25 × 27 cm

297—308 A.D.

Place of origin: Mendesian nome

The document discussed in this paper comes from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society of London. I wish to express here-with my thanks to the Society for permission for its publication here*.

The text, written in one hand, covers both recto and verso and is a land register. Its first part (verso col. I and col. II, recto col. III 57—61) is a summary report of land of the Φερνουφίτου toparchy in the Mendesian nome; the second (recto col. III 67—77 and col. IV) is a survey of land of a village with a name beginning with Ψεν. It was drawn up before the abolition of toparchies, i.e. before 308 A.D. (cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse*, Bruxelles 1964, p. 98) and after the general census of agricultural land ordered by Diocletian in 297 (cf. H. C. Youtie in the intr. to P. Cairo Isid. 2 p. 30; J. Lallemand, o.c. p. 172—173).

As we hear nothing of censitors appointed to conduct the land census after the lustrum 297—301, when Iulius Septimius Sabinus was officiating in the Arsinoite, Iulius Alexander in the Hermopolite, and Chrysippus in the Pano-polite nome (see J. Lallemand, o.c. p. 93—94; cf. also H. C. Youtie, l.c. p. 30—32), it seems safe to suppose that the censitor Phileas mentioned in l.3 was directing the same census of 297 in the Mendesian nome.

From the years 298—300 we have 12 land declarations addressed to the three censitors known so far (the newest list by J. Lallemand, o.c. p. 174—175). As was shown by H. C. Youtie (o.c. p. 31) the later censuses were reduced to a verification of the existing records, that is why the land declarations from the years 302—303 (P. Cornell 20) were no longer addressed to the censitors but to minor officials called *anametretai*. From the first half

* At the same time I would like to thank Professor E. G. Turner, Professor H. C. Youtie and Doctor J. Rea for their kindness and their invaluable help in reading and publishing the present text.

of the fourth century there are also published several land registers, all of them being lists of landholders (e.g. P. Flor. 71, P. Ross. Georg. V 58, P. Princ. 134, P. Cairo Isid. 6).

The present text, compiled probably after 301 from declarations filed with Phileas, censitor of the Mendesian nome, belongs to the category of reports called by A. D é l é a g e (*Études de Papyrologie* II p. 135 s.) "états d'ensemencements" (surveys of sowing), only the latter part (r. col. IV) providing a topographical survey ("états des sections" of A. D é l é a g e) of the land of the village Psen... Land registers of this type are well known from earlier times (e.g. P. Bour. 42, Wilcken *Chr.* 341; for topographical surveys see e.g. Brux. 1, P. Mendes Gen., P. Oxy 918), but except for P. Ryl. 655 I have found no analogy from the 4th cent. A.D.

Lines 1—61 (cols. I and II on the verso and the first five lines of col. III on the recto) contain a land register of the Φερνουφίτου toparchy (see l.60) giving the total of all land of the toparchy (I 6—11) and then, successively, the survey of seed land (I 13—28), of garden land (col. II 29—43), and of *cherosos* (col. II 45—56, col. III 57—60).

The land of the toparchy is analysed as shown on the following page (in arourai).

The only contemporary analogy, P. Ryl. 655, is very fragmentary and difficult to interpret. The editors underline the interest of this text as enriching our evidence for the radical changes in land tenure in Egypt, occasioned by Diocletian's reforms. The new land register is of still greater importance for this question.

The royal land (βασιλική γῆ) and the private land (τάξις ιδιωτική) comprise only seed land and are opposed to the garden land which enters into neither of these two categories. Moreover, the royal land and the private land alike are divided into the land called κτητόρων and ταμιακῶν αουνδικιων (the same classes being found also in garden land in col. II). See tables on p. 34.

The land called ταμιακῶν αουνδικιων appears always together with the land of κτήτορες. Its amount is strikingly small. The word αουνδικιων (written in full in col. I 14, usually abbreviated αουνδι^κ) may be compared with the word σουενδι() which is found in P. Ryl. 655 V.II 4, written οβενδικ() *ibid.* l.14 (cf. line 1 cited in the introduction) and also with the word σουενδ() which has now to be substituted for the Editor's ούνδ(ιτων ?) in P. Oxy XIV 1660, where it is found together with κτητόρων designating a category of land. The same word appears as ουεντι[.]. . . ων in P. New York inv. no. XIV c 50, l.4 (published by N. Lewis, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* XV, 1965, p. 159 ss.). The Editors of P. Ryl. 655 suggest *ad locum*, "that the word intended is «vindicata» though what *terra vindicata* is, whether in *privatam* or a *privata*, is obscure". The amount is so small, that the Editors believe it to be "a relatively unimportant category, perhaps land whose exact status was

col. I 6-7 Land declared as tillable			11790 $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$
13 seed land royal land	3484	$\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{64}$	
28 private land	7769	$\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$	
col. II 29 vineyards	411	$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$	
40 garden land τήξις παραδείσων	64	$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$	
41 χαρακίων	60	$\frac{1}{16}$	
total	11790	$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$ *	
col. I 10 Land declared as <i>chersos</i> **			2949
II 45-47 seed land <i>chersos</i>	1012	$\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{64}$	
48 <i>chersampelos</i>	1858	$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{64}$	
52 <i>chersoparadeisoi</i>	78	$\frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$	
total	2949		
col. I 11 Garden land <i>chersos</i> (<i>chersoparadeisoi</i>)			1194 $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$
col. III 57 <i>chersampelos</i>	ca. 513	***	
58 <i>chersoparadeisoi</i>	ca. 13	$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ ***	
59 sand- and bush-land	666	$\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$	
total	ca. 1194		
col. III 60-61 All land of the toparchy (total)			15933 $\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$

* In all subsequent tables the numbers resulting from calculations and not given in the papyrus are in italics.
 ** for the discussion of the different kinds of *chersos* see Commentary to col. I 10-11.
 *** the number incomplete (fraction of *aroura* illegible in the papyrus).

still *sub judice*". The text published by N. Lewis is addressed to the *magister rei privatae* and concerns the sale of estates and land parcels belonging to the ταμειῶν, cf. lines 4-5: ...]ς πράσεως οὐσ[ι]ῶν ταμιακῶν καὶ χωρίων οὐεντι[.]...ων περιελθόντων εἰς τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμῶν. In his commentary ad locum N. Lewis writes: "οὐεντι[.]...ων is obviously a Latin word in Greek transliteration... In attempting restoration at least three possibilities must be considered". These are according to the Editor: 1) a form of *vendere* (e.g. οὐεντι[β]ιλίων "from *vendibilis*"), 2) a form of *vindicare*, 3) an adjectival form from a Roman name e.g. Ventidius.

The occurrence of the same word in P. Ryl. 655 and in P. Oxy XIV 1660, taken together with αουνδικίων in our text, allows to reject the last of the three

Productive land (in *arourai*)

	seed land		garden land			total
	τάξις ιδιωτική		τάξις παραδείσων			
	royal land	private land	vineyards	orchards	κωμικών/χαρρακών	
ταμ. άουδ.	$3\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$	8		2		$13\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$
κτητόρων	$3481\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{64}$	$7558\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$	$411\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$	$20\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$		$11471\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$
others					$42\frac{1}{4}$	$305\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{64}$
total	$3484\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{64}$	$7566\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$	$411\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$	$22\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$	$60\frac{1}{16}$	$11790\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$

* See commentary to col. I 26.

Chersos (in *arourai*)

	seed land*	<i>chersampelos</i>		<i>chersoparadiseoi</i>		total
		<i>chersampelos</i>	<i>chersoparadiseoi</i>			
ταμ. άουδ.**		$56\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}$	$13\frac{1}{8}$			$69\frac{1}{2}$
κτητόρων		$1802\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{64}$	$64\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$			$1867\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$
others	$1012\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{64}$					$1012\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{64}$
total	$1012\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{64}$	$1858\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{64}$	$78\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$			2949

* The seed land *chersos* is divided into χέρσος βασιλική (ca. 260 ar.) and χέρσος ιδιωτική (ca. 750 ar.).

** 1194 *arourai* of garden land *chersos*, analysed in col. III 57-59 are not divided into land ταμιακών άουδιδικίων and that of κτητόρες.

proposals made by N. Lewis. It is at any rate obvious that the land called ταμιακῶν αουνδικίων is the land belonging to the ταμιεῖον (claimed by the ταμιεῖον? cf. P. Ryl. 655 V.II ο[. .]. ονδ[ι]κ() ἀπὸ ἰδίᾳς and as such opposed to the land of κτήτορες (= possessores, cf. A. Segre, *Traditio* V, 1947, p. 113—114) which has evidently passed into private hands even when it still retained its old name of “royal” land. The titles of possession were probably conferred during the great census of 297—301 (cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt*, p. 16).

After the big land register discussed above an analogical survey of land of the village Psen... (see Commentary to col. III 63) is found in col. III 63—77, col. IV providing a survey by κοῦται of the land belonging to the κοινὸν of the same village.

The land of the village Psen... is analysed as follows (in *arourai*):

col. III 69	Royal land			$453 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$
74	Garden land			$8 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32} *$
71	orchards	$3 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$		
73	κυμαίων	$5 \frac{1}{8}$		
	total	$8 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$		
64—65	Land declared as tillable, total			$461 \frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{32}$
67, 75	Land declared as <i>chersos</i>			$21 \frac{1}{2}$
77	Total of land of the village			$483 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{32}$

* The amount given in 1.74 is $8 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32}$.

All land belonging to the κοινὸν κώμης is divided into 21 κοῦται (in reality into 20, since the 19th does not appear in the survey), as shown on p. 36.

It seems quite certain that the sown land (ἔσπαρμένη) in the survey by κοῦται of col. IV corresponds to the royal land (βασιλική γῆ) in the survey of col. III, although there is a small difference in the amount given (the total in col. IV: $455 \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$ ar. + the unknown area of the 16th κοῦται, col. II 69: $453 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$ ar.). The area of *chersos* in col. IV is $21 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$ ar., i.e. only $\frac{1}{16}$ ar. less than the area of *chersos* given in col. III 67 and 75. The area of κυμαίων ($5 \frac{1}{8}$ ar.) is the same in col. III 73 and col. IV 99. So it is evident that both surveys, that of col. III 63—77 and that of col. IV, concern the same land belonging to the κοινὸν κώμης Ψεν...

κοίτη no.	sown land (έσπαρμένη) ar.	orchards (παράδεισοι) ar.	κουαμών ar.	chersos ar.
1	$72\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{32}$		
2	$42\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{32}$		
3	$13\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{32}$			
4	$37\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{64}$	$\frac{1}{4}$		
5	$61\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}$		
6	$42\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$		
7	$10\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{16}$		
8	$23\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{64}$		
9	$19\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$			
10	9			
11	$48\frac{1}{32}$?		
12	$10\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$		
13	$12\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$		
14	$12\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$?		
15	$28\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}$			$15\frac{1}{16}$
16	?	$\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$		
17	$2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$		
18	3			3
20	$4\frac{1}{16}$			$3\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}$
21			$5\frac{1}{8}$	
Total	$455\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$ *	$2\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$ **	$5\frac{1}{8}$	$21\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$

* +the unknown area of the sown land in the 16th κοίτη.

** +the unknown area of the orchard land in the 11th and 14th κοίτη.

It has already been observed before (cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, o. c. pp. 20, 152; U. Wilcken. *Grundzüge* p. 314) that the abolition of the old classification of land transferred the different categories of land to the

corporate ownership and responsibility of the village. This observation was mainly based on CPR 41 (305 A.D.), a request for a lease addressed to the *κοινόν* of the village, and on P. Princeton 134 (probably 322 A.D.), where both private and royal land are described as *χωμητικῆ κτησίς*.

The land register of the toparchy

		<i>pleonasmos</i> ar.	<i>beltiosis</i> ar.	<i>epinemensis</i> ar.
all land tillable in ar.	11790 $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$	2266 $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$	97 $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$	
royal land	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ταμιακῶν αουνδ.} \\ \text{κτητόρων} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \\ 3481 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{64} \\ 1206 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64} \end{array} \right.$	305
private land	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ταμιακῶν αουνδ.} \\ \text{κτητόρων} \\ \text{ar. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{θεω...} \end{array} \right.$ \end{array} \right.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 8 \\ 7558 \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32} \\ 203 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{64} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ 987 \frac{1}{16} \\ 2 \frac{3}{4} \end{array} \right.$	
vineyards ar.	411 $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$	ca. 18	ca. 47	
orchards ar.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ταμιακῶν αουνδ.} \\ \text{κτητόρων} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2 \\ 20 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \end{array} \right.$	ca. 7	
κυμαίων ar.	42 $\frac{1}{4}$	42 $\frac{1}{4}$		
χαρακίων ar.	60 $\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$	2	

The land register of the village Psen... (ar.)

		<i>pleonasmos</i>
all land tillable	461 $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{32}$	12 $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$
royal land	453 $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$	ca. 9
orchards	3 $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{32}$? $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{64}$
κυμαίων	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{8}$

In the survey of land of the village Psen... the royal land is the property of the κοινὸν κώμης (col. IV 78: αἱ οὔσαι κοινοῦ κώμης). As sown land, it is opposed to the garden land (τάξις παραδείσων) in the survey of col. II. In the big land register of the verso the royal and the private land are no more than a designation for the seed land, here also opposed to the garden land (χέρσος βασιλική and ιδιωτική in col. II 45—47 is the seed land *chersos* opposed to *chersampelos* and *chersoparadeisoi* in col. II 48—55), almost all royal land being in the hands of κτήτορες. Thus the present text provides a striking confirmation of the conclusions formulated by H. C. Youtie in his introduction to P. Cairo Isid. 3 (p. 39), at the same time proving their validity also for land outside Fayum: By the end of the third century the βασιλική γῆ — with small exceptions (“apart from properties retained as imperial estates” according to Youtie) — had passed into private possession, a phenomenon which certainly cannot be explained only as a consequence of *epibole* and which now appears too general to be limited to the royal land which had fallen out of cultivation during the revolt of Domitius Domitianus (see U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* p. 312 s.; W. L. Westermann, *P. Cornell* p. 101 s.; A. C. Johnson, *Aegyptus* XXII, 1952, pp. 61—72).

Epibole is not mentioned in the land register. However out of land declared as tillable certain amounts are noted separately as land ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ, ἀπὸ ἐπινεμήσεως or ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως (see p. 37).

The testimonies for *pleonasmos* of land are listed by S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton 1938, p. 364 n. 2. It is found also in 303 AD in P. Cornell 20 a III, see also p. 21, ll. 50 and 54, and probably in P. Cairo Isid 73 l. 8 (ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ ἔ[χ]ληψις ἀρταβῶν δέκα). S. L. Wallace thought it to be “the additions of domain land to various classes of landholdings... similar to the ἐπιβολή κώμης” (p. 21). It seems however more probable that *πλεονασμός* is the new land obtained from a good inundation of the Nile (suggestion of H. C. Youtie).

In the present text *pleonasmos* appears in all categories of land declared as tillable:

Category of land	<i>pleonasmos</i> in % (approximately)	
	Verso	Recto
all land tillable	19.2	2.6
royal land	34.4	2.0
private land	12.8	
θεω ---	1.0	
vineyards	4.4	
orchards	31.8	
κουμών	100.0	100.0
χαρακῶν	1.3	

One may note the high percentage of *pleonasmos* in the royal land in the land register of the verso and the fact that in both land registers all land under *κυαμών* is *ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ*.

For *epinemesis* see P. Cairo Isid 11 intr. p. 102: "The *epinemesis* is an old institution under a new name; it embraces certain administrative expedients formerly comprehended under *epibole* and *epimerismos*... Consequently the *epinemesis* on royal land consisted of tillable land of the same category, but now ownerless or abandoned". Here the *epinemesis* appears only once in col. I 20 and comprises 8.7% of the royal land of *κτῆτορες*.

The *beltiosis* is found on the royal land of *κτῆτορες* (1.2%), on the land under vineyards (11.4%), and under *χαρακῶν* (3.3%). I know of no other instance of the use of the word *βελτιώσις* as referring to land categories (but see P. Nessana III 34,8—9, P. Cairo Masp. 97, 67, and also the verb *βελτιῶω* in *Stud. Pal XX* 86, l. 19; 145, l. 3; 299, l. 2; Fr. Preisigke, E. Kiessling, *Wörterbuch IV* s. v.: "die Ertragsfähigkeit steigern, ameliorieren"). Its meaning is however quite clear: "improvement" (Liddel-Scott s.v.), "amelioration of soil productivity".

The royal land of *κτῆτορες* amounts according to col. I 16 to 3481 $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{64}$ ar., out of which:

<i>ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ</i>	1206 $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64}$	ar.
<i>ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως χέρσου</i>	45 $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$	ar.
<i>ἀπὸ ἐπινεμήσεως</i>	305	ar.

Thus the land *ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως* is probably the former royal *chersos*, which was made productive and passed into private hands. Sown, it has become *βασιλικὴ γῆ κτητόρων*, planted — *ἄμπελος φορίμη* or *χαρακῶν*.

It is noteworthy that the *beltiosis* does not appear on *ιδιωτικὴ γῆ* which was, as results from its name, also formerly in private possession.

The *epinemesis*, opposed here to *beltiosis*, may be interpreted as a compulsory assessment of tillable but abandoned royal land (cf. H. C. Youtie, I. c. G. Poethke, *Epimerismos*, Bruxelles 1969, p. 26-27).

Verso

Col. I

Μεν]δησίου

τοπ]αρχίας Φερνουφίτου

].ρ[. ὑπὸ Φιλέου κηνσίτορος

βρεουιο. ἐδάφους κατ' ἄνδρα

5 ἐν τόμ[ω] ἐνὶ κολ(λημάτων) υλζ

- συνή[χθη]σαν ἐνεργοῦς γῆς ἀπογεγραμ-
 μένης $\tau \cap \alpha \acute{\alpha} \psi \eta \overline{\iota \lambda \beta \xi \delta}$
 ἐν [αἴς] ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ $\tau \acute{B} \acute{\alpha} \xi \acute{\alpha} \overline{\iota \nu \epsilon \lambda \beta}$
 ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως $\tau \rho \acute{\zeta} \eta \overline{\iota \epsilon \lambda \beta}$
- 10 χέρσου ἀπογεγραμμένης $\tau \acute{B} \acute{\alpha} \mu \theta$
 χερσ[οπαρ]αδεί(σων)
 οὕτως $\tau \acute{A} \rho \eta \delta \overline{d \xi \delta}$
- βασιλ(ικῆς) γῆς $\tau \acute{I} \nu \rho \delta \rho \acute{\zeta} \delta$
 ταμι[α]κ(ῶν) αουνδικιων $\tau \gamma \iota$
- 15 [ἐν αἴς] ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ $\tau \beta \eta \xi \delta$
 κτη[τό]ρων $\tau \acute{I} \nu \rho \alpha \overline{\eta \xi \delta}$
 ἐν αἴς ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ $\tau \acute{A} \sigma \acute{\alpha} \overline{d \eta \lambda \beta \xi \delta}$
 ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως
 χέρσου $\tau \mu \epsilon \iota \nu \iota \varsigma$
- 20 καὶ [ἀπ]ὸ ἐπινεμήσεως $\tau \tau \epsilon$
 ιδιωτ(ικῆς)
 ῶν $\tau \acute{Z} \phi \xi \acute{\alpha} \overline{\eta \iota \epsilon \lambda \beta}$
 ταμιακῶν αουνδικ(ιων) $\tau \eta$
 κτη[τό]ρων $\tau \acute{Z} \phi \nu \eta \overline{\eta \iota \epsilon \lambda \beta}$
- 25 ἀπ[ὸ] πλεονασμοῦ $\tau \acute{\alpha} \rho \acute{\zeta} \iota \varsigma$
 θεω.[]ερ[]ικη. $\tau \sigma \gamma \overline{d \xi \delta}$
 ἀ[πὸ] πλεονασμοῦ $\tau \beta \theta$
 (γίνονται) τάξεως ιδιωτ(ικῆς) $\tau \acute{Z} \psi \xi \theta \overline{d \eta \iota \epsilon \lambda \beta \xi \delta}$

Col. II

- ἀμπέλου φορίμης $\tau \nu \iota \alpha \iota \iota \overline{\lambda \beta \xi \delta}$
- 30 αἰ οὔ(σαι) κτητόρων $\tau \iota \eta . [$
 ἐν αἴς ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ $\tau \mu \acute{\zeta} . [$
 καὶ ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως
 παραδίσων ἐναρέτων
 ῶν $\tau \kappa \beta \overline{d [\eta \lambda \beta]}$
- 35 ταμιακῶν αουνδικ(ιων) $\tau \beta$
 κτητόρων $\tau \kappa \overline{d \eta [\lambda \beta]}$

- ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) ζ ζ. λβ
 κυαμῶνος
 αἱ οὐ(σαι) ἀπὸ πλ(εονασμοῦ) ζ μβ d..
 40 (γίνονται) τάξεως παραδίσων ζ ξδ ις
 χαρακῶνος ἐμφύτου ζ ξ ις
 ἐν αἷς ἀπὸ πλ(εονασμοῦ) ζ ις λβ ξδ
 καὶ ἀπὸ βελτιώσεως ζ β
 (γίνονται) ἐνεργοῦς αἱ προκ(είμεναι)
 45 χέρσου ὁμοίως ἀπογεγραμμένης
 βασιλικ(ῆς) ζ σξ.
 ιδιωτ(ικῆς) ζ ψν..
 χερσαμπέλου ζ Ἄων[η] ις ξδ
 ῶν
 50 ταμιακῶν αουνδικ(ιων) ζ νς dη
 κτητόρων ζ Ἄωβ dξδ
 χερσοπαραδίσων ζ οη ις λβ
 ῶν
 ταμιακ(ῶν) αουνδικ(ιων) ζ ιγ η
 55 κτητόρων ζ ξδd η ις λβ
 (γίνονται) χ(έρσου) αἱ προκ(είμεναι)

Recto

Col. III

- χερσ[α]μπέλου ζ φιγ.[]
 χερσοπαραδίσων ζ ιγ ις.
 χέρσου ἀλμυ[ρί]δος καὶ ξυλ(ίτιδος) ζ χξς θ ις λβ ξδ
 60 (γίνονται) τῆς τοπ(αρχίας) (π)ασιῶν εἰδεῶν
 ζ ις λβ ξδ
 ὅν ἔστιν [τὸ κα]τὰ κώμην
 κώμης Ψεν..
 συνήχθησαν ἐνεργοῦς γῆς ἀπο-
 65 γεγραμμένης ζ υξα dλβ
 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) ζ ις λβ ξδ
 χέρσου ἀπογεγραμμένης ζ κα σ
 οὕτως
 βασιλ(ικῆς) γῆς ζ υνγ η ις

- 70 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) $\overline{\tau \theta \eta .}$
 παραδίσιων ἐναρ[έ]των $\overline{\tau \gamma \delta \eta \iota \varsigma \lambda \beta}$
 ἐν αἷς πλ(εονασμοῦ) $\overline{\tau \delta \iota \varsigma \xi \delta}$
 κυαμῶνος ἀπὸ πλ(εονασμοῦ) $\overline{\tau \epsilon \eta'}$
 (γίνονται) τάξεως παραδ(ίσων) $\overline{\tau \eta \epsilon \iota \lambda \beta}$
- 75 χέρσου βασιλ(ικῆς) $\overline{\tau \kappa \alpha \zeta}$
 (γίνονται) κώμης πασσῶν εἰδεῶν
 $\overline{\tau \upsilon \pi \gamma \delta \lambda \beta}$

Col. IV

- αἱ οὔσαι κοινοῦ κώμης Ψεν
 Πετοσεῖριος Πετοσεῖριος καὶ Ὀρσιήσι[ος]
 80 μητρὸς Ἀρτεμίτος κωμαρχῶν καὶ Πετ[
 Πετοσεῖριος ὀριοδίκτου καὶ Ὀρου Πετεμούνι[ος]
 καὶ Ἀράχθου Πετοσεῖριος καὶ Πετε β . .
 ριος μειζόνων κώμης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης
- 85 ὧν ἔστιν τὸ κατὰ κοίτην
 α κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \theta \beta \iota \zeta}$ παραδίσιων $\overline{\tau \lambda \beta}$ β κοί(τη)
 ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \mu \beta \delta \iota \varsigma \lambda \beta}$ παραδ(ίσων) $\overline{\tau \lambda \beta}$ γ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \iota \gamma \delta \lambda \beta}$
 δ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \lambda \zeta \theta \eta \xi \delta}$ παραδίσιων $\overline{\tau \delta}$ ε κοί(τη)
 ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \xi \alpha \theta \eta \iota \varsigma \lambda \beta}$ παραδ(ίσων) $\overline{\tau \zeta \iota \varsigma}$ ς κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \mu \beta \theta \eta}$
- 90 παραδίσιων $\overline{\tau \delta}$ ζ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \iota \eta \iota \varsigma \xi \delta}$ παραδίσιων
 $\overline{\tau \iota \zeta}$ η κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \kappa \gamma \epsilon \iota \lambda \beta}$ παραδ(ίσων) $\overline{\tau \xi \delta}$
 θ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \iota \theta \delta \eta \iota \varsigma}$
 ι κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \theta \iota \alpha}$ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \mu \eta \lambda \beta}$ παραδ(ίσων) $\overline{\tau []}$
 ιβ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \iota \delta}$ παραδ(ίσων) $\overline{\tau \eta \iota \varsigma \iota \gamma}$ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \iota \beta \theta}$.
- 95 παραδ(ίσων) $\overline{\tau \eta \iota \varsigma \lambda \beta}$ ιδ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \iota \beta \delta \eta \iota \varsigma}$ παραδ(ίσων) $\overline{\tau . .}$
 ιε κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \kappa \eta \epsilon \iota \lambda \beta}$ χέρσου $\overline{\tau \iota \epsilon \iota \zeta}$ ις κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau .}$
 παραδ(ίσων) $\overline{\tau \delta \eta \iota \varsigma \iota \zeta}$ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \beta \epsilon \iota \lambda}$ παραδ(ίσων) $\overline{\tau \eta'}$
 ιη κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \gamma \chi}$ (έρσου) $\overline{\tau \gamma \kappa}$ κοί(τη) ἐσπ(αρμένης) $\overline{\tau \delta \iota \zeta}$
 χ(έρσου) $\overline{\tau \gamma \delta \eta}$
- κα κοί(τη) κυαμῶνος $\overline{\tau \epsilon \eta'}$
- 100 (γίνονται) αἱ προκ(είμεναι)

Col. I

1-5 read almost entirely by J. Rea.

2 for the Φερνουφίτου toparchy see P. Ryl. II p. 292 and No. 217, 57, 59; cf. P. Oxy 1380, 57s., *Stud. Pal.* XVII p. 17 lines 146, 144, 455, P. Ryl. II 216, 274.

- 3 for the censitor see the Introduction.
- 4 perhaps *παργός* before *ἐδάφους* (proposed very doubtfully by J. Rea); *κατ' ἀνδρα* although the text below is a report according to the classes of land and not according to the landholders; in this line we should probably see a reference to the sources: the land register has been compiled from the personal declarations of landholders as was e.g. P. Cairo Isid. 6, which is however a list of landholders and their properties (cf. P. Cairo Isid. 6 intr. p. 54).
- 6-11 summary report from the toparchy giving the total of all land declared as tillable (ll. 6-9, cf. ll. 13-28, col. II ll. 29-44), of all land declared as *chersos* (l. 10, cf. col. II 45-56) and of *chersoparadeisoi* (l. 11, cf. col. II 57-59).
- 6-7 the land opposed to the *χέρσος ἀπογεγραμμένη* and *χερσοπαράδεισοι*, therefore the land tillable, is designated here (and also in col. II 44 and col. III 64) by an adjective *ἐνεργής*, the later form of *ἐνεργός* used also of land productive or even simply tilled (cf. Liddell Scott s.v. *ἐνεργής* and s.v. *ἐνεργός*).
- 10-11 the land declared as *χέρσος* had fallen permanently out of cultivation and so became the "waste" land (cf. H. C. Youtie in the intr. to P. Cairo Isid. 6 p. 57). Apart from the term *χέρσος ἀπογεγραμμένη* the present land register notes different kinds of *chersos* like *χερσοπαράδεισοι*, *χερσάμπελος*, *χέρσος ἄλμυρις* καὶ *ξυλῆτις*. *Χερσάμπελος* is according to Schnebel (*Die Landwirtschaft* p. 18-19) "entweder eine Weinpflanzung, die in ihrer Ertragsfähigkeit herabgesetzt ist, oder eine frühere Weinpflanzung, die einmal bestockt und in produktivem Zustand gewesen, dann aber aus irgendeinem Grund eingegangen ist". *Χέρσος ἄλμυρις* is unproductive salt land and *χέρσος ξυλῆτις* — bush land, i.e. land covered by bushes and therefore unfitted for cultivation (see Schnebel, o.c. p. 14-15). *Χερσοπαράδεισοι* is a term unknown to Schnebel and not found by me in any documents published till now. It is formed like *χερσάμπελος* and may denote also the garden land which, formerly productive, has subsequently become *chersos* (see also *χερσάρακος* in P. Hib. 130, *χερσάσπορος* in Cairo Preis. 47, *χέρσαμμος* in P. Oxy 988 and other compounds with *χέρσος* cited by Schnebel, o.c. 15-16). The word *χερσοπαράδεισοι* appears three times in our land register. In col. I 11 it is a designation of a general land category (opposed not only to the land declared as tillable, but also to the *χέρσος ἀπογεγραμμένη*), in col. II 52 and in col. III 58 it denotes only some part of the land called as a whole *χέρσος*.

In analysing col. II one may observe the following correspondence:

in the productive garden land in the garden land *chersos*

<i>ἄμπελος φορίμη</i>	—————	<i>χερσάμπελος</i>
<i>τάξις παραδείσων</i>	—————	<i>χερσοπαράδεισοι</i>

It would be easy to interpret *χέρσος ἀπογεγραμμένη* of col. I 10 as designating only the seed land *chersos* (col. II 45-47) and *χερσοπαράδεισοι* of col. I 11 as comprehending *chersampelos* and *chersoparadeisoi* registered in col. II 48-55. Yet this conclusion is proven to be false by the calculation of acreages (see the Introduction): *χέρσος ἀπογεγραμμένη* of col. I 10 comprises not only the seed land *chersos* (called in col. II 45 also *χέρσος ἀπογεγραμμένη*), but also the *chersampelos* and *chersoparadeisoi* (col. II 45-55 cf. l. 46), the total of land called in col. III 57-59 *χερσάμπελος*, *χερσοπαράδεισοι* and *χέρσος ἄλμυρις* καὶ *ξυλῆτις* being given in col. I 11 under the heading *χερσοπαράδεισοι*. I can offer no explanation why *χερσάμπελος* and *χερσοπαράδεισοι* are once listed as *χέρσος ἀπογεγραμμένη* and once as *χερσοπαράδεισοι*.

- 13-28 the survey of seed land tillable.

14 for *ταμιακῶν αουνδικῶν* see the Introduction

21 probably the same abbreviation as in col. II 47: *ἰδιω*Χ; it can be resolved only in *ἰδιωτ(ικῆς)*.

- 21-28 the land registered here belongs to the τάζεις ιδιωτικῆ (l. 28; it is the seed land, contrary to the observation formulated by Wilcken, *Grundzüge* p. 304, cf. P. Kalén 18,10 comm.); it is composed of the ιδιωτικῆ γῆ (ll. 21-25) and of land designated as θεω, [(l. 26).
 26 perhaps θεῶν [i]ε[ρ]α[τ]ικῆς, it seems to be a temple land which was listed together with former private land in the τάζεις ιδιωτικῆ.

Col. II

- 29-44 the survey of the productive garden land.
 29 the exact area under vineyards (fraction of *aroura*) resulting from calculation, see the table of productive land in the Introduction.
 40 τάζεις παραδείσων comprises παράδεισοι ἐνάρετοι (l. 33) and κυαμών (ll. 38-39, the same in col. III 71-74), the vineyards (ἄμπελος φορίμη) and χαρακῶν are not counted to the τάζεις παραδείσων.
 41 the word χαρακῶν, disregarded by Schnebel, is found in BGU 961,1 and P. Ryl. 427 (frs. 19 and 39); the interpretation of Liddell-Scott (s.v. "perhaps vineyard containing staked vines") seems to be impossible here; the χαρακῶν ἔμφυτος could be perhaps a planation of reeds(?) out of which were made vine-props — χάρακες.
 45-56 the survey of land declared as *chersos*.
 55 the exact area of χερσοπαράδεισοι of κτήτορες resulting from calculation; see the table of *chersos* in the Introduction.

Col. III

- 57-61 the end of the land register of the verso (see the Introduction).
 60-61 the total of all land of the toparchy (cf. ll. 76-77 the total of all land of the village) resulting from the addition of the land declared as tillable, of the land declared as *chersos* and of the *chersoparadeisoi* (col. I 6-7, 10, 11)
 62 read by J. Rea.
 63-77 the land register of the village Ψεν...
 63 the name of the village, found also in col. IV 78, illegible; the second letter could be also υ; Ψενεσει proposed in l. 78 ("very doubtfully") by J. Rea.
 74 for τάζεις παραδείσων see Commentary to col. II 40.

Col. IV

- 78 for the κοινὸν κώμης see A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt*, p. 151-152 (cf. also pp. 94 and 325). According to these authors "this κοινὸν is evidently made up of the village officials and leading citizens" (p. 152). Here the members of the κοινὸν are two komarchs, one ὀριοδείκτης, two μείζονες κώμης and "some others, all from the same village". The same officials appear also in the land declarations of P. Cornell 20 of 302 AD.
 83 for μείζονες κώμης see W. L. Westermann in the commentary to P. Cornell 20, 9 (summing up the earlier known evidence to which one may add now P. Col. inv. 181 and 182 = SB 8246, already much later) and C. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte Byzantine*, Paris 1928, pp. 69-71.