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Toll-receipts for ἐ?ατοστή, ρ ?αί ν and ἐρημοφυλα?ία from Berlin

The Journal of Juristic Papyrology 16-17, 131-140

1971

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TOLL-RECEIPTS FOR ἑκατοστή, ῥο καὶ ὕ AND ἐρημοφυλακία
FROM BERLIN

All the documents published below belong to the collection of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and were lent for publishing to the Institute of Papyrology of Warsaw.¹ According to the inventory notes, the documents Inv. 9756, 9757, 9758, 9759, 9760, 9761 come from the Collection Reinhardt acquired in 1897. Inv. 13303 was purchased at Ashmûnein on July 25, 1907. Inv. 13305, 13306, 13308, 13309, 13311A were found at Dimê during the excavations conducted by Professor Z u c k e r in 1909—1910. In the present article the documents are arranged according to the kind of tax and, within each group, in a chronological order.

THE ἑκατοστή

Five receipts for the customs-toll designated ῥο (ἑκατοστή), similar in formula to those for ῥο καὶ ὕ, are published in the present article (Inv. 13306, 13308, 13309, 13305 from Soknopaiou Nesos and Inv. 9759 from Philadelphia). The tax is apparently that of 1 percent and is attested in the Arsinoite nome by P. Strasb. 250i (Philadelphia, 126 A.D.) which is the only example I have found of a receipt for a toll of one-hundredth recognised as such by its editor. The tax was not known to Wallace.²

All our documents are dated from Domitian to Hadrian. At the same time it is noteworthy that none of the published receipts for the ῥο καὶ ὕ was issued contemporaneously with those for ῥο.³ Probably the customs-duty of ῥο preceded

¹ I wish to express my thanks and gratitude to Professor Anna Świderek from Warsaw University for her help in reading and publishing the present documents. I am also deeply obliged to Professor H. C. Youtie from Michigan University, who had read this article before publishing, for his precious suggestions and encouragement, and to Professor J. Schwartz from Strasbourg University for several new readings proposed.

² Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, Princeton 1938: *Local Customs-dues*, pp. 268—271.

³ Receipts for ῥο καὶ ὕ are listed in Wallace's *Taxation* p. 466 n. 67. The new list published recently by A. E. Samuel in *JJP* XIII, 1961 p. 44—46 is more complete. Further examples, published after the list had been compiled, are: P. Strasb. 250g; P. Heid. 240, 241; P. Strasb. 250d; BGU 2030. Unpublished, described by P. Strasb. 250 p. 106, are: P. Louvre inv. 10423b; P. Soc. Pap. 272; P.I.F.A.O. 11, 47. Two other documents were identified as receipts for the

immediately that of ρ και ν in the Arsinoite nome. The latest receipt for the tax of one percent dates from 133 A.D. (Inv. 9759), while the earliest one for 3 percent is from 134 A.D. (P. Yale inv. 7 = P. Fay. 180).⁴

THE ρ και ν

Two receipts (Inv. 9756, 9757) issued by the same office at Soknopaiou Nesos are dated, according to the legend of the seal of Inv. 9757, from Caracalla's reign. The third one from Philadelphia (Inv. 13303) is a document of interest for the amount of the tax is stated. The amount paid for 95 artabas of barley is 23 dr. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ob. i.e. $1\frac{1}{3}$ ob. per artaba. The rate of duty is therefore exactly the same as in P. Ryl. 197a (162 A.D.) and in P. Strasb. 250g (166 A.D.).⁵

THE ἐρημοφυλακία

Three receipts: Inv. 9758 issued by the toll-gate at Karanis, Inv. 9761 and 13311A from Soknopaiou Nesos. In the latter the amount paid is stated, the rate of the tax is 2 dr. for a camel.

UNIDENTIFIED

One receipt: Inv. 9760 from Soknopaiou Nesos. The name of the tax is omitted by a mistake. However λιμένος Μέμφεως is excluded, the seals of this tax usually having the representation of the Apis bull.⁶ The dating of the document is based on iconographical evidence supplied by the seal (cf. below, p. 139).

ρ και ν but in the first (P. Lond. 1265a, 83 A.D.) the tax is not named, in the second (BGU 766, 91 A.D.) in 1.1-2 $\bar{\rho}$ [και ν 'A]νοῦφικς κτλ. is restored (BL. I, 1) although a longer name could be restored as well. According to their dating, the tax is rather ρ than ρ και ν .

⁴ A curious document, P. Rein. 95 (49 A.D. cf. also *Archiv* 14, p. 163), in which the designation ρ ν occurs, seems to be doubtful at many points. The document itself should be revised because together with the new evidence concerning ρ it might very well reopen the question of the meaning of the ρ in the ρ και ν tax. The receipts for ρ , published below, seem to allow the statment that in the period between 96 and 133 A.D. ἐκατοστή was collected separately. They were probably the only documents which allow the payer to pass the customs-barrier at this time, and therefore the tax itself could be regarded as διαπύλιον (Cf. Wallace, *Taxation* p. 269). The problem, however, can not be resolved definitely until the meaning of ρ ν in P. Rein. 95 will be explained with certainty.

⁵ In P. Ryl. 197a 12 artabas of wheat pay 3 dr., in P. Strasb. 250g (the new reading in *Corrigenda* p. 189) 5 artabas of wheat pay 1 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob. i.e. in both cases $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob. per artaba. The uniform toll on cereal, in spite of their unequal prices, was recorded by Wallace in note on P. Wisconsin 16 = SB 7365 (*Taxation*, p. 463 n. 31).

⁶ Cf. Boak, *Soknopaiou Nesos*, Ann Arbor 1935, p. 25.

THE ἑκατοστή

Inv. 13306

6.5 × 5 cm

June 10, 96 A.D.

The papyrus is almost intact. The script is a small cursive. A seal was originally affixed below the text in the right corner of the papyrus sheet, but no remains of it have survived

Παρ(έσχηκε) δ(ιὰ) πύλ(ης) Νήσου Σσκνοπ(αίου) ρ̄ Παο . [. . εἰ]σάγ(ων)
ἐπὶ ὄνοις δυσὶ μετ(ρητάς) τέσσαρος, (γίνονται) δ,
ἐν ἀσκοῖς τέσσαρσι. (Ἔτους) πεντ[εκ]αι-
δεκάτου Δομιτιανοῦ καίσαρος

- 5 τοῦ κυρίου μηνὸς Σωτηρίου
ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ ιζ̄. Παυσανίας
σεσημέωμαι ἐλαίου ὄνο(υς) δύν μετ(ρητῶν)
τεσσάρων, (γίνονται) μετ(ρηταὶ) δ μηνὸς Σωτηρείου
ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ ιζ̄.

1.1 e.g. Παο[υς]

1.2 τέσσαρας

1.5 Σωτήριος = Pauni

1.7 σεσημεῖωμαι

1.9 A vertical stroke, possibly ι, is visible near the place where the seal was originally attached.

Inv. 13308

6 × 9 cm

Dec. 9, 120 A.D.

The papyrus is intact. The text is written in a medium-sized cursive hand. The seal of greyish clay, partly broken, remains attached below the text, somewhat to the right. The height of the preserved portion is 1.2 cm. It shows the laureate head of Hadrian turned to the right enclosed by an inscription running around the edge of which only the letters ἔ]τους[behind the neck of the emperor survived. Some indistinct signs below the head seem to indicate that the legend consisted of two parts: the marginal text and another on the exergue. The seal of the next document (Inv. 13309), obtained probably from the same stamp, seems to support the view but since the impression is very light the reading of this line remains obscure.

Τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Νή(σου) Σοκν(οπαίου)

ρ̄ Παπεῖς ἐξάγων

ἐφ' ὄνω ᾱ ἐλαίου

μετρη(τὴν) ἕνα ἥμισυ

- 5 Ἔτους ε̄ Ἀδριανοῦ

τοῦ κυρίου Χοιάχ

τρισκαυδεκάτῃ ιγ̄

Inv. 13309

6.2×8.5 cm

Dec. 9, 120 A.D.

The upper edge and the lower left corner of the papyrus, both uninscribed, are broken off, but the text remains almost intact. The hand is a medium-sized cursive of Inv. 13308. The seal, probably identical with that of Inv. 13308, is affixed below the text to the right. The impression is very light and shows some illegible signs below the head of the emperor (cf. the preceding document)

Τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Νή(σου) Σοκν[ο]π(αίου)
 ρ[†] Δημᾶς ἐξάγ(ων) ἐφ' ὅ-
 νοις β̄ ἐλαίου μετρη(τάς)
 τρεῖς. Ἔτους ε̄ Ἀδριανοῦ
 τοῦ κυρίου Χοιᾶχ
 τρισκαιδεκάτη ἰγ̄.
 ὄνος ακολ() ὑπὸ σκεύη

1.7 ακολ() the meaning remains obscure. The same designation occurs probably in P. Wisconsin 16 = SB 7365, col. IV, 11 where the editor hesitates between ἀβολ(ος) and ἀκολ(οβός) — not castrated. Since the letter is clearly κ in the present text, the first supposition is excluded. Professor Youtie proposes to consider the abbreviation in question in relation to P. Cair. Zen. 215, 10 (κολοβός ἄρσην). But since unspecified σκεύη do not seem to be an object of trade one could expect ἀκολ(ουθῶν) as well.

Inv. 13305

5.5×5.5 cm

Sept. 126 A.D.

The papyrus is well preserved except for the small part of the left margin containing the beginning of 1.4 and 5 which is broken. The seal, completely lost, was affixed below the text in the center.

Τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Σοκ(νοπαίου) Νήσου ρ̄ Πιεῦς
 ἐξάγ(ων) φύλλων λευκ(ῶν) κάμη-
 λοι δύο. Ἔτους ἐνδεκάτου
 Ἀδ]ριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Θῶθ

5]καιδεκάτη. Ἀρπαῖ(σις) σεση(μείωμαι).

1.2 φύλλων λευκ(ῶν): for the same article as an export cf. P. Wisconsin 16 — Clauson N. Y., *A Customs House Registry from Roman Egypt, Aegyptus IX*, 1928, p. 269

1.2-3 κάμηλοι for καμήλους

Inv. 9759

5×5.5 cm

Dec. 26, 133 A.D.

The papyrus is intact except for a part of the uninscribed right edge which is lost. The script is a small cursive written along the fibres. The well preserved seal, affixed below the text, is of greyish clay, 1.6 cm in diameter. The upper

part of the field has a small, laureate head of Hadrian turned to the right with \perp and ι on either side of it. In the lower part is an inscription which reads:

Ἄδριανοῦ
 Καίσαρο[ς
 τ]οῦ κυρίου
 πύ(λη)ς Φιλ(α)δ(ε)λφ(ε)ίας

A similar seal of Domitian is described in P. Lond. 1265(a). The abbreviation m very lightly impressed at the beginning of l.4, is known from the seal of P. Strasb. 250i.

Τετελ(ών)ηται δι(ά) πύ(λη)ς Φιλ(α)δ(ε)λφ(ε)ίας ρ̄ Οὐαλερι()
 εἰ(σά)γων πυροῦ ὄνον ἕνα. (Ἔ)τους ιη
 Ἄδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μη(ν)ος Ἄδριανοῦ
 ἐνάτ(η) κ(α)ὶ εἰκ(ά)δι — κθ. Μενέλ(α)ος

5. σεση(μείω)μαι (πυροῦ) ὄνο(ν) ἕνα. Καλαα. ()
 σεση(μείω)μαι (πυροῦ) ὄνο(ν) ἕνα.

1.1 Ουαλερῑ sc. Οὐαλέριος or Οὐαλεριανός.

1.2 ὄνον corr. from ὄνους.

.5 Καλαα. () the last letter κ or β.

1.5-6 σεση(μείω)μαι the formula occurs on the toll-receipts rarely, cf. P. Strasb. 250 g, P. Lond. 1265 e, and above Inv. 13306, but those were signed by one official only.

THE ρ̄ καὶ ὕ

Inv. 13303

6.5 × 5.5 cm

146/147 A.D.

The papyrus is well preserved, written in a small cursive. The seal, completely lost, was affixed below the text to the right as the small hole that was cut out for it indicates.

Τετελ(ών)ηται δι(ά) πύ(λη)ς Φιλ(α)δ(ε)λφ(ε)ίας ρ̄ καὶ ὕ Οὐαλεντίων
 ἐξ(ά)γ(ων) [κ]ριθῆς ὄνους δέκα ἐννέα
 ἀρταβῶν ἐνενηκοντα πέντε
 δραχ(μά)ς εἴκοσι τρεῖς τετρώβολ(ον) ἡμιωβ(όλιον).

5 (Ἔ)τους δεκάτου Ἀντωνεῖνου καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 Φα() τρισκαιδεκάτη. Κεφαλᾶς σεση(μείω)μαι.
 λ() Φ ανο() σεση(μείω)μαι.

1.6 Φα(ῶ)φι, Φα(μενῶ)θ or Φα(ρμου)θι.

1.6-7 The document is signed as Inv. 9759 by two officials. Both names in line 7 are almost illegible. The second name begins with Φα or Φλ.

Inv. 9757 6×7 cm Apr. 11, 215 (?) A.D.

The papyrus is intact except for small wormholes; the hand is a large cursive. The seal of magenta-colored clay, 1.5 cm in its greatest diameter, is placed below line 8. It shows the head turned to the right; the inscription, in two rows running around the edge reads: (ἔτους) κβ Ἄντ[ωνίου in the outer line and Π[ύλης Σ[οκνοπαίου in the inner one. The head may be attributed to Caracalla because this receipt resembles P. Soknopaiou Nesos 1 both in script and in formulation. The two final lines were written probably after the seal had been affixed.

Τετελώνεται διὰ πύλης Σοκ-
νοπαίου ρ καὶ ν Θε-
σενούφης ἐξ(άγων) εἰς αὐιν
πυροῦ καμήλους
5 πέντε πώλους
τέσσαρες. (Ἔτους) κγ//
Φαρμοῦθι ἐκκαι-
δεκάτη ἰς
καὶ ὄνους τρεῖς σκευο-
10 φόρους

1.1 τετελώνηται

1.3 αὐιν or αὐσιν paleographically not quite clear, probably for Αὔσων cf. P. Grenf. II, 50b, SB. 9233.

1.6 τέσσαρες. (Ἔτους) κγ; the seal is of the preceding 22nd year. For this practice cf. P. Soknopaiou Nesos 5 and SP. XXII, 12. The seal of the 23rd year occurs on P. Lond. 1266c issued in the same office in Pachon. Similarity of P. Lond. 1266a-c to P. Soknopaiou Nesos 1 and 3 to our Inv. 9756 and 9757 indicates that they date rather from 212-215 than from 180-183 A.D.

Inv. 9756 5.5×7.5 cm July 2, 217(?) A.D.

Except for some small wormholes in the upper part, the papyrus is intact. The script is a large cursive. The seal of magenta-colored clay, partly broken, remains attached in the center of line 8. A part of the male head turned to the right is preserved. It was surrounded by an inscription, probably in two rows, of which the letters π[α] of the inner one remain. Perhaps this should be restored Πύλης Σοκνο]πα[ίου on the analogy of Inv. 9757. The seal, script and formula of the document are similar to those of Inv. 9757 and P. Soknopaiou Nesos 1 and 3. Probably all these were issued simultaneously by the same office. Cara-

calla died on April 8, 217 A.D. i.e. about three months before the present document was issued. Another document, however, dated by Caracalla on July 5, 217 (Wilcken, *Gr. Ostr.* 991) proves that the dating proposed above is not impossible.

Τετελώνιτ(αι) διὰ πύ(λης)

Νήσου Σοργοπ(αίου)

ρ' καὶ ὕ . . . ι . ι . ι σά(γων)

επικ() ἐπὶ καμήλ(οις)

5 δυσι οἴνου σπαθ(ία)

δέκα. (Ἔτους) κε'

Ἐπεῖφ ἔκτη

ξ

1.1 τετελώνηται

1.3 After ὕ a name (probably abbreviated) and ισα or [ε]ισά(γων)

1.4 επι* Professor Youtie proposes ἐπικ(ειμένου); καμ not certain, but cf. the load in 1.6-7.

The regular load carried by one camel in P. Lond. 1266a-c is 6 σπαθία.

THE ἔρημοφυλακία

Inv. 9758

6 × 7.5 cm

Apr. 22, 148 A.D.

The papyrus is intact. The script is a medium-sized cursive written across the fibers. The light brownish clay seal, partly broken, is attached to the papyrus below the text. The maximum height of the preserved part is 1.3 cm. It shows the head of Antoninus Pius in laurel wreath turned to the right. The inscription running around the edge is lost, except for some letters which read:]ΔΟC[]ΟΦΥΛ[. The beginning and division of the inscription are not marked, but Καρανί]δος is possible to restore at the end as well as the name of the tax or of the toll-station at the beginning. However there is not enough space for ἔρημ]οφυλ[ακία which is named in the text.

Παρέσ(χηκε) διὰ πύλης Καρανίδ(ος)

ἔρημοφυλ(ακίας) Σύρος ἐξ(άγων)

καμήλους ` κενούς ` δύο. (Ἔτους) δεκάτ(ου)

Ἄντωνεῖνου καίσαρος

5 τοῦ κυρίου Φαρμουῖθ(ι)

ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκ(άδι) κζ

1.3 κενούς is written above the line. The tax was levied on animals which were not carrying loads (cf. Wallace, *Taxation* p. 272), for some unknown reason the fact is emphasized.

Inv. 13311A

5.3 × 5.3 cm

2nd—3rd cent.

The papyrus is intact, the hand a medium-sized cursive. A fragment of red-colored clay seal completely illegible remains attached to the papyrus below the text in the center.

Τετελ(ώνηται) δι(ὰ) πύλ(ης) Σοκνοπ(αίου) Νήσου
 ἔρημοφυλα(κίας) Σατορνειῶ(ς) . .
 . . . καμ(ήλους) τέσσαρες τελ(οῦντας) δρ(αχμάς)
 ὀκτώ. (Ἔτους) ιζ̄ Ἀντωνίνου
 καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Παχ(ών)
 ἐκκαιδεκάτη ις̄ .

1.2-3 After the name εἰσάγων or ἐξάγων is to be expected but the traces do not permit this reading, and at the beginning of 1.3 we have $\epsilon\theta$, the first sign being similar to the first "ο" in the next line.

1.3 τέσσαρα

1.3-4 for the rate cf. P. Fay. 68 (158 A.D.).

Inv. 9761

6 × 5.5 cm

2nd—3rd cent

The papyrus has several wormholes. The script is a very clear, medium-sized cursive. A light colored clay seal, 1.8 cm. in diameter, is attached below the text to the right. It bears a beardless head in laurel wreath turned to the right. The circular legend, partly obliterated, begins behind the neck of an emperor and reads: Σοκνοπ[αίου]⁷.

Τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Σοκνοπ(αίου) Νή-
 σου ἔχγους ἔρημοφυλα-
 κίας Σώτας ἐξάγ(ων) [ἐπ]ὶ κα-
 μήλ(ω) ἐνὶ ὀρόβου ἀ[ρτάβ]ας
 ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ς̄. (Ἔτους) β' Ἐπ[εῖφ] τρις-
 καιδεκάτη

1.3 εἰαγ or εἰα[γ] as in P. Lond. 1266f; cf. note 7, below.

⁷ The attempts to identify the person represented on our seal remained without result. P. Lond. 1266f, issued for a certain Σώτας in the second year of an emperor and almost identical with ours in formula, abbreviations and orthography, has a seal, the description of which corresponds to ours. It is not excluded that both these documents were issued at the same time.

UNIDENTIFIED

Inv. 9760

6 × 8 cm

176—180 A.D.

The papyrus is well preserved, except for the left edge which is broken off beginning with 1.4 down to the end of the papyrus. The hand is a large cursive. The seal of magenta-colored clay 1.7 cm in diameter, is attached below the text in the center. It shows two busts facing each other, one on the left is smaller and beardless, that on the right, bearded, is only partly preserved. The busts were enclosed by a legend in two rows of which only the left part is preserved. The inscription reads: ΛΙ. ΑΝΤΩΝ[in the outer row and ΚΑΙϸΑΡ[in the inner one. The order of the busts seems to be reversed, the elder emperor should be on the left. The busts are probably these of M. Aurelius and Commodus⁸ and the inscription may be restored: (Ἔτους) ι. Ἄντων[ίνου καὶ Κομμοδου...] καισάρ[ων...

Τετελώνηται διὰ πύλης

Σοκνοπαίου εισάγων

Πανοῦφες εισάγων

ἐπὶ καμήλοις δυοὶ

5 οἴνου κεράμια

..]δεκα κ̅ε̅ ..

Παχλῶν τρίτη καὶ

εἰκᾶς κ̅γ̅

1.1 τετελώνηται

1.2 εισάγων mistakenly written in place where one expects the name of the tax.

1.6 Perhaps δώ]δεκα cf. P. Heid. 241 (179 A.D.), where two camels are carrying 12 keramia of wine. There is, however, an example of an ass carrying 6 keramia in P. Tebt. 362. Six σπαθία of wine, as a normal load of one camel, occurs in P. Lond. 1266a-c. κ̅ε̅.. perhaps κε(άριμα) ιβ, but the scarcely visible traces after κ̅ε̅ look rather like the remains of //; the sign κ̅ε̅// for regnal years would be very unusual, moreover, no co-regency lasted longer than twenty years.

1.8 εἰκάδι

[Warszawa]

Zbigniew Borkowski

⁸ Some seals of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta show a composition of the group with the bust of Severus turned to the right with the bust of one of his sons behind him also turned to the right and that of the other son confronting him (P. Soknopaiou Nesos 11). There is, however, no place either for the third head behind the right one, or for the names of Severus before Ἄντων[ίνου. A seal of co-regent Caracalla and Geta seems to be iconographically excluded, for the busts differ in size and age and the bearded one does not resemble Caracalla in any point. Two seals, probably of M. Aurelius and Commodus are described in P. Grenf. 50f (1-2). The words preserved ΠΥΛΗ and ΛΙΟΝ (rather Σοκνοπ[αί]ο[υ] Ν[ή]σου than βασιλικόν as the editors suggested) point to another formulation of the legend, unless the missing part of the inner row ended with the name of the toll-gate.

