The Dossier of Patermouthios *Sidērourgos*
New Texts from Chicago*

(Plates 9-22)

In 1980, R. S. Bagnall, P. J. Sijpesteijn, and K. A Worp published the ostraka from the collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden. Included in this publication were five Umayyad period tax receipts that had been issued to a *sidērourgos* named Patermouthios (*O.Leid.* 368-72). This Patermouthios was not a completely unknown quantity; already in 1923 P. Viereck had published a similar tax receipt from the Strasbourg collection (*O.Stras.* 290).¹ The six receipts were all for the *dēmosia* tax.

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¹ Both authors would like to thank Dr. Bennet Bronson (Curator of Asian Archaeology and Anthropology, the Field Museum), Professor William M. Sumner (Director, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago), and Dr. Karen L. Wilson (Curator, the Oriental Institute Museum) for granting them permission to publish the ostraka in their respective charges; Professeur Jean Gascou (Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg), for checking their proposed revisions to *O.Stras.* 290 against the original; and Dr. Peter van Minnen (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), for some papyrological references. In addition, Mr. Hickey is grateful to Professor Fred Donner (the University of Chicago), Professor Gladys Frantz-Murphy (Regis University), Professor Michael Morony (UCLA), and Dr. Paul M. Cobb (Wake Forest University) for their prompt answers to his queries about Islamic history and the Arabic language; to Drs. Terry G. Wilfong (the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology) and Jairus Banaji (Bombay), for copies of unpublished research; to Dr. Bronson, Ms. Christine Gross (Collections Manager, the Field Museum), Ms. Janice Klein (Anthropology Registrar, the Field Museum), and Dr. Raymond Tindel (Museum Registrar and Associate Curator, the Oriental Institute), for their kind assistance during onsite work with the Chicago texts; and to Mr. John Larson (Archivist of the Oriental Institute), for a search for correspondence concerning E. E. Ayer.

The photographs of the Oriental Institute ostraka were taken by Ms. Jean Grant; those of the Field Museum ostraka by Mr. Hickey.

¹ Viereck dated his text to the sixth century, however, and did not read the name of the tax correctly. See *BL* VIII 534 (correction made by the editors of *O.Leid.*).
One of the authors of the present article has recently discovered thirteen additional ostraka that belong to the Patermouthios dossier. These texts, though purchased together, are currently held by two (independent) Chicago institutions: the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago (abbreviated “OIM” herein), and the Field Museum (abbreviated “FM” herein). Most are also receipts for the dēmosia tax, but two ostraka reveal that Patermouthios was liable for other levies, namely the dapanê and the embolê.

Editions of these new Patermouthios ostraka appear below, along with introductory materials and commentary. In order to facilitate study of the entire dossier, we have also included corrected transcriptions of the Patermouthios ostraka in the Leiden and Strasbourg collections, as well as a tabular summary of the dossier.

I. History of the Chicago Patermouthios Ostraka

E. E. Ayer, one of the founders of the Field Museum,² purchased the lot of ostraka to which the Chicago Patermouthios texts belong. E. J. Goodspeed, who published thirty-six of the Ayer Greek texts (all from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods),³ noted that the ostraka “were brought to Chicago from Egypt... in 1900.”⁴ Yet Ayer apparently acquired the texts in 1898, for in a letter dated 13 March of that year (and penned on stationery from the famous Shepheard’s Hotel), he presented J. H. Breasted with a long inventory of his recent antiquities purchases, among which were

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³ “Greek Ostraca in America,” AJP 25 (1904) 45-53 (= SB I 4326-51); and “Greek Ostraca in the Haskell Museum,” AJA 11 (1907) 441-444 (= SB I 1666-75). See also W. Clarysse, “Some Egyptian Tax-payers in Early Roman Thebes,” JJP 23 (1993) 33-41, for a recent discussion of some of these ostraka. The collection also contains demotic and Coptic texts, and, according to T. G. Wilfong’s unpublished “Inventory of Egyptian Ostraca in the Field Museum of Natural History,” hieratic, and, perhaps, Arabic texts as well. A few years ago, a demotic text from the Field Museum was edited in full by Ursula Kaplon-Heckel, “Das Acker-Amt in Theben-West von 151 bis 141 v. Chr.,” Enchoria 18 (1991) 57f.

⁴ Goodspeed, “Haskell Museum,” 441.
"over a bushel of the pot-sherds inscribed."⁵ Since there are no other large groups of ostraka among Ayer's acquisitions, both Goodspeed and Ayer must have been referring to the same texts; accordingly, either the arrival of the ostraka was delayed, or Goodspeed's information was inaccurate. Whatever the case, sometime after their acquisition (and before the beginning of Goodspeed's editorial work), the ostraka were divided in half, one part going to the (then) Haskell Oriental Museum, the other to the (then) Field Columbian Museum.⁶

It seems likely that the Patermouthios ostraka formed an archive (or part of an archive) in late antiquity: It certainly would have been in Patermouthios' best interest to retain such proofs of fiscal compliance. It is probable that the texts became separated only after their discovery. Not surprisingly, the purchase date of the Chicago Patermouthios texts roughly corresponds to the acquisition date of the Leiden ostraka in the dossier, which, according to their inventory numbers, were acquired through J. H. Insinger in 1901.⁷ It is unlikely, however, that anyone will ever know if Ayer and Insinger patronized the same dealer.

II. A Short Note on the Present Condition of the Ayer Ostraka⁸

In 1904 Goodspeed noted that the "irreparable injury quickly done by our climate to these potsherds, when they are not specifically treated to resist it, makes it imperative that their inscriptions be read and recorded as soon as possible after their arrival here; otherwise the flaking off of the surface may, within a

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⁵ E. E. Ayer, Cairo, to J. H. Breasted, Chicago, Archives of the Oriental Institute Museum (kindly brought to our attention by Mr. J. L. Larson).

⁶ 296 accession numbers are assigned to the Ayer ostraka at the Oriental Institute; there are approximately 295 Ayer ostraka in the Field Museum.

⁷ Details about the purchase of the Strasbourg ostrakon are sketchier; all that is known is that it was acquired some time between 1896 and 1910. See Paul Heilporn, "Les ostraca grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg," Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, 236ff.

⁸ For specific information about each Patermouthios sherd, see the physical descriptions that accompany our editions (VI below), as well as the plates.
few months’ time, injure or utterly destroy the writing.” Unfortunately, Goodspeed was able to edit but a fraction of the Ayer ostraka during his lifetime; nonetheless, today’s observer will note that the ostraka seem to have suffered more from fading (in some cases, quite severely) than flaking. Abrasion also has taken its toll, and though the Ayer sherds now receive excellent care, it is clear that there has been some breakage since their arrival in America.

III. Provenance of the Patermouthios Ostraka

In his letter to Breasted, Ayer mentions purchasing a glass bottle in Luxor; he also gives the provenance of other objects (Karnak, Memphis, the Temple of Hatshepsut, Saqqara, “one of the Cheops family” tombs, etc.), but it is unclear whether the pieces in question were actually purchased at said sites or whether Ayer is simply reporting dealers’ attributions (or even deducing his own). He does not indicate where he bought his “pot-sherds inscribed,” nor does he give a provenance. The texts of the Patermouthios ostraka themselves provide no testimony as to their origin. We do know, however, that Insinger purchased his Leiden ostraka at Luxor, and since these Insinger texts “all come from the Theban region, so far as internal evidence indicates,” it might seem safe to suggest a Theban origo for the Patermouthios texts. We, however, take pause for several reasons: For one, texts from other Upper Egyptian sites have been sold on the Luxor antiquities market. In addition, none of the individuals mentioned in the Patermouthios ostraka can be securely identified in W. Till’s Datierung und

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9 Goodspeed, “America” (cf. n. 3 above), 46.

10 The raised portions of the Patermouthios texts (i.e., those written on the ribs of the pottery) are very susceptible to this kind of damage. However, in the case of the ostraka in the Oriental Institute, any “recent” injuries are mitigated by the existence of photographs taken much earlier in the century.

11 SB I 4347, e.g., was broken sometime after its publication.


13 O.Leid., p. v.

14 Cf. O.Stras., p. viii.
Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden. Finally, J. Gascou has informed us that the "tesson côtélé" of O.Stras. 290 is like those of texts from Edfou. For now, it seems most appropriate to give the provenance of the Patermouthios ostraka simply as "Upper Egypt."

IV. Date of the Patermouthios Ostraka

None of the Patermouthios ostraka bear an absolute date; in the texts, the year-length unit of reckoning is the indication. Since indictional reckoning is cyclical, one of course cannot assume that ostraka dating from the same indiction were written in the same fiscal year (though similarly dated texts on different sides of the same sherd may safely be taken as coming from the same fiscal year). Similarly, one cannot establish a relative chronology based upon indications alone, as texts dating from, say, the second indiction, need not have been written before those with an eleventh indication date.

The editors of the Leiden Patermouthios texts dated them "VII/VIII" on the basis of rather general considerations of handwriting, taxes levied, and terminology. It is now possible to confirm this: The newly discovered 12 (in section VI below), a

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15 Vienna 1962. The geographic scope of this work is "Tscheme und Umgebung," the latter being understood loosely and including, e.g., Edou (p. 10 and n. 5).

16 Personal communication 23.1.96. (See n. 15 above, however. Moreover, we see little physical difference between the Patermouthios sherds in Chicago and Leiden and the ostraka published by J. Gascou and K. A. Worp, "Les archives des huiliers d'Aphrodito," in Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana, Florence 1990, 1:217-244; esp. see 219 and the plates at the end of volume 2.)

17 Case-in-point: If O.Leid. 368 and 369 (VII.a and b below) both date from the same fourth indication, one is forced to conclude that Patermouthios made two large (3 solidi, 14.75 keratia) dēmosia payments within the space of about forty days, and that he paid his (third indication) arrears after his current (fourth indication) obligation. It is more likely that these texts were written fifteen years apart.

18 Moreover, it is probable that most texts with a common signatory date to the same cycle; see VIII below.

19 For more detailed information on the indication cycle see CSBE, 17-29.

receipt for the *dapanè* of the *symboulos* and for the cost of sheep for the *Amīr al-Muʿminīn* and other expenses (*dapanai*), reveals that the dossier certainly dates from after the Islamic conquest of Egypt.\(^{21}\) The terminus ante quem for the texts is probably c. 725, though a slightly later date is possible.\(^{22}\)

**V. Fiscal Questions:***\(^{23}\)

a) The meaning of *dēmosia* in the Patermouthios dossier

The *O.Leid.* editors have identified the *dēmosia* tax as the land tax. Although there is some inaccuracy in their statement that *dēmosion* "normally" denotes such when used "in the plural in late receipts,"\(^{24}\) we see no reason to doubt this equivalency in *O.Leid.*

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\(^{21}\) *Symboulos* is the Greek term for the Arab governor of Egypt (cf., e.g., *CPR* VIII 74.4) while *Amīr al-Muʿminīn*, "Commander of the Faithful," is a title that was reserved for the caliph since the time of ʿUmār b. al-Ḵaṭṭāb (r. 633-44). On the latter title, see *EI*\(^2\), s.v. Papyrological attestations are collected in *WB* III, 72 (for various re-editions cf. *BL* I-VII *Konkordanz*) and *WB* Suppl. 1, 369; to be added to these attestations are *P.Laur.* IV 192.33,39; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 7.5 and 26.2; *SPP X* 84.2 + *BL* I 418; and *CPR* III.ii *passim* (index p. 311; some texts originally edited in *P.Lond.* IV).

\(^{22}\) K. A. Worp, "Studien zu spätgriechischen, koptischen und arabischen Papyri," *BSAC* 26 (1984) 99-107, esp. 105. Potentially relevant for the date of the dossier is a passage in Sawirūs b. al-Muqaffaʾ's *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*; we are examining this récit in another study.

\(^{23}\) For background information on the fiscal administration of early Islamic Egypt and the specific taxes (*dēmosia, dapanè, embolè*) that appear in the Patermouthios dossier, see D. C. Dennett, Jr., *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, MA 1950) 65-115; G. Frantz-Murphy, "Agricultural Tax Assessment and Liability in Early Islamic Egypt," in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* 3:1405-14; *eadem*, "Land Tenure and Social Transformation in Early Islamic Egypt," in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Near East* (Beirut 1984) 99-114; J. Gascou, "De Byzance à l'Islam: Les impôts en Égypte après la conquête arabe," *JESHO* 26 (1983) 97-109; R. Rémondon, "P.Hamb. 56 et P.Lond. 1419," *CdÈ* 40 (1965) 401-30; and H.I. Bell's discussions in *P.Lond.* IV, pp. xxi-xxxii, 166-77. Our intent is not to provide the definitive bibliography for this difficult subject (in which much important work still remains to be done), but only a short list of generally reliable secondary literature.

\(^{24}\) *O.Leid.*, p. 156. They cite *OMH*, p. 28, in support of this statement, but in Coptic receipts for the land tax, *πασμοιον* (i.e., the singular) is consistently employed.
357-67. But the appropriateness of the *O.Leid.* editors’ interpretation for the Patermouthios receipts is less certain. Though Patermouthios *sidēρourgos* certainly could have been a landowner as well, it should be noted that the *emboλē* paid by him in the newly discovered 13—assuming it is not a partial payment—is remarkably small, in total (wheat + barley) just slightly (five twenty-fourths of an *artabē*) larger than the wheat assessment of most of the *ateleis* in *P.Lond.* IV 1426. Even if we account for the ever-increasing *adaerationes* of the period, it seems very unlikely that the three *solidi*, fourteen and three-quarter *keratia*, that Patermouthios pays in several receipts can be attributed solely to any landholdings. Since Patermouthios’ occupation is noted in most of the *dēmosia* receipts (and not in the receipts for the *dapanē* and the *emboλē*), one might conclude that a record of his occupation was required for said *dēmosia* receipts, and from this, that the corresponding payments were partially (or completely) for trade taxes. Moreover, it is surprising that there is not (yet) a single receipt for the poll-tax (*diagraphon*) in the dossier; perhaps this


26 See Rémondon, “P.Hamb. 56” (cf. n. 23), 425 and n. 4.

27 Exceptions: 6 and *O.Leid.* 369 (=VII.b).

28 Cf. *CPR* IV 1.10-11, part of a fiscal *sigillion* from the *amīr* Rashīd b. Khalīd: “(10) Betreffs der Liste (καταγραφή) aller erwachsenen Handwerker (τέχνης·): ihr sollt sie uns (folgendermaßen) aufstellen: (11) NN, der Sohn des X aus dem und dem Dorf, in dem und dem Handwerk (τέχνης) (tätig)” (Till’s translation of the Coptic).

29 See Rémondon, “P.Hamb. 56,” 415-421, especially 416 (“... sommès... acquittées... au titre des *dēmosia*...”); I. F. Fikhman, *Egipet na rubezhe dvuhkh epokh* (Moscow 1965) 170 n. 242; and more generally, E. Wipszycka, review of Fikhman, *Egipet*, in *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 228-29. The ostraka do not state explicitly that Patermouthios was paying taxes as head of a corporation (κεφαλαιότητες), but his larger payments (i.e., the ones for 3 *sol.*, 14.75 *k.*.) might indicate such. In two texts, 2 (a payment for 3 *sol.*, 14.75 *k.*) and 4, Patermouthios pays with his son, who was likely to have been engaged in the same trade as his father. For corporations of *sidēρourgoi*, see *Stud.Pal.* VIII 836, *KSB* I 242 (assuming *Nēκmατε = cînπορυγολ*), and the inscriptions published by A. Lajtar, “*Pros-kynema* Inscriptions of a Corporation of Iron-workers from Hermouthis in the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari: New Evidence for Pagan Cults in Egypt in the 4th Cent. A.D.,” *JJP* 21 (1991) 53-70.
sum is also included in the \textit{demosia}. In short, it is probably most appropriate to understand \textit{demosia} in its broadest sense, i.e., as “money taxes.”

In all of the \textit{demosia} receipts in the Patermouthios dossier, the noun of the tax is the object of the preposition \textit{apo} (as opposed to \textit{hyper}). Bell has suggested that \textit{apo} might “mean that the payment is only part of the year’s quota;”\textsuperscript{31} cf. also, e.g., \textit{CPR VIII} 73.2, \textit{ἀπὸ μέρους(ς) χρυσικῶν δημο[οι]ν}. This may have been the case for many of the texts in the dossier; but for others (i.e., the payments for 3 \textit{solidi}, 14.75 \textit{keratia}), it seems less likely. \textit{Katabolai}, \textit{exagia}, and \textit{themata}\textsuperscript{32} are not mentioned in any of the Patermouthios texts, but both 7 and \textit{O.Leid. 370 (VII.c)} attest that Patermouthios was able to pay the \textit{demosia} in (at least) two installments. 6 and 8, which date to late in the fiscal year, may also be installment payments.

\textbf{Chart: The timing of Patermouthios' tax payments}

For the purposes of the following graphic, we have assumed that all uncertain (dotted) readings are correct, and that the (Upper Egyptian) indiction began on Pachon 1. (Regarding the latter, see \textit{CSBE}, 25-26; a 1 May starting date would affect only one text, \textit{O.Leid. 372=VII.e}).

\textsuperscript{30} Cf. the phrasing of Coptic poll-tax receipts, \textit{ΣΑΝ ΠΕΚΑΙΑΘΡΑΦΟΝ ΣΗ ΝΑΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ}.

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{P.Lond. V}, p. 203. (Bell’s suggestion is also cited by Rémondon, \textit{P.Apoll.}, p. 9.)

\textsuperscript{32} See \textit{CPR VIII}, pp. 205-6, and Gascou, “Byzance” (cf. n. 23), 106.
It should be noted that payments made early in the indiction are not necessarily punctual payments, cf. *O.Leid.* 368 (VII.a), and perhaps, 2.

b) Some observations concerning Patermouthios’ tax payments in specie:

The amounts of Patermouthios’ tax payments in specie are given in terms of *solidi* and *keratia*. The lowest of Patermouthios’ payments is for 7.25 *keratia* (x4: 7fr.; 12 *O.Leid.* 370b.=VII.c; *O.Leid.* 371=VII.d); the highest, for 3 *solidi*, 14.75 *keratia* (x3: 9; *O.Leid.* 368=VII.a; *O.Leid.* 369=VII.b). Other payment amounts are: 11 *keratia* (x2: 1; 7b.), 14.75 *keratia* (x1: 8), 22 *keratia* (x1: *O.Leid.* 370fr.=VII.c); 22.25 *keratia* (x1: 2), and most commonly, 22.5 *keratia* (x7: 3; 4; 5; 6; 10; *O.Leid.* 372=VII.e; *O.Stras.* 290=VII.f).

Despite the terminology (and the references in each of the receipts to *chrysos*, “gold”), it is possible that Patermouthios actually made his payments (partially or completely) in base (copper) coinage, i.e., that the payments were simply *valued* on the
gold standard.\textsuperscript{33} It seems likely, however, that any taxpayer who employed the copper coinage of the period\textsuperscript{34} would have incurred an agio\textsuperscript{35} and/or a cushioning supplementary charge.\textsuperscript{36} If indeed this was the case, then either Patermouthios’ actual tax assessment was lower than the figure that appears in his receipt; or his total liability was greater than this figure. For example, if Patermouthios was given a receipt for, say, 22.5 \textit{keratia}, it is probable \textbf{a}) that his assessment was lower than 22.5 \textit{keratia} (21 \textit{keratia}?); or \textbf{b}) that his liability was for a full \textit{solidus}, 1.5 \textit{keratia} of which was agio and/or supplementary charge (but not documented in the receipt).\textsuperscript{37} The latter, in fact, seems to be the more likely scenario, since Patermouthios’ payments in \textit{keratia} relate to one another in a manner that recalls the system of Byzantine gold coinage: \textit{tremissis} (= 7.25 \textit{keratia}, \(x2 = 14.75\) \textit{keratia}), \textit{semissis} (= 11 \textit{keratia}), and \textit{solidus} (= 22, 22.25, or 22.5 \textit{keratia}).

In the above scenarios, Patermouthios presumably would have received change and/or a “rebate” in base coinage had he paid in gold. There are, however, several other possible explanations for low \textit{keratia} values in a gold payment scenario: devaluation of the Byzantine gold coinage (by the Umayyad treasury or by tax collectors);\textsuperscript{38} irrationality;\textsuperscript{39} “clipping” and other kinds of


\textsuperscript{34} This coinage, incidentally, was very irregular and traded by weight; see M. L. Bates, “Coins and Money in the Arabic Papyri,” in \textit{Documents de l’Islam médiéval: Nouvelles perspectives de recherche} (Cairo 1991) 57.

\textsuperscript{35} Due to the State’s undoubted preference for payments in gold, cf., e.g., M. F. Hendy, \textit{Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy}, c. 300-1450, (Cambridge 1985) 288, 358, and 359.

\textsuperscript{36} I.e., one to protect against negative variances between the State’s copper-gold exchange rate and the market’s (more fluid) rate, cf. the explanation of the \textit{prosdiagraphomena} that is given by K. Maresch, \textit{Bronze und Silber: Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolämischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.} (Opladen 1996) 124-27.

\textsuperscript{37} It will be noted that 1.5 \textit{keratia} are 6.67\% (one-fifteenth) of 22.5 \textit{keratia}; this is the precise equivalent of a rate that one finds for the \textit{prosdiagraphomena}, cf. Maresch, \textit{Bronze}, 127 n. 51.

\textsuperscript{38} This, of course, would only have happened after the introduction of Muslim gold coinage at the end of the seventh century.

\textsuperscript{39} Cf. Hendy, \textit{Studies} (cf. n. 35), 263-68.
alterations; intentionally low mint weights (i.e., light weight *solidi*);\(^{40}\) wear; collection or "bookkeeping" fees (also applicable to copper payments);\(^{41}\) or combinations thereof. Of these, devaluation seems unlikely.\(^{42}\) Clipping and irrationality could account for reductions in certain payments, but hardly for decreases in every single one. Light weight *solidi* could only have played a rôle in the payments of 22 *keratia* or more.\(^{43}\) Wear, determined by sight (and leading to a surcharge) or on the scales, would certainly have been a factor, though how much of one is of course contingent upon the velocity of the gold coinage. Fees and surcharges are possible, and in fact seem to be indicated in three of the receipts: 9; *O.Leid* 368 (VII.a); *O.Leid* 369 (VII.b).

However, there is also an alternative approach toward an explanation (at least a partial one), i.e., via metrology.\(^{44}\) Gold


\(^{42}\) Cf. Bates, “Coins” (cf. note 34), 61-62. One is also reminded of the famous passage in Kosmas Indikopleustès (*Topographie chrétienne*, ed. W. Wolska-Conus [Paris 1968] 1:392-5), a powerful *testimonium* even after one accounts for exaggeration: Ἐτερον δὲ σημείον δυναστείας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὤ αὐτοῦς κεχάρισται ὁ Θεός, λέγω δὴ ὅτι ἐν τῷ νομίσματι αὐτῶν ἐμπορεύονται πάντα τὰ εὐθνη καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἀπ’ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου γῆς δεκτόν ἑττι, θαυμαζόμενον παρά παντὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ πάσης βασιλείας, ὅπερ ἐπέδρας βασιλεία σοῦ ὑπάρχει τό τοιοῦτο. ("Il existe un autre signe de la domination des Romains que Dieu leur a accordé, j'entends le fait que toutes les nations font le commerce avec leur monnaie et qu'en tout lieu, d'un bout de la terre à l'autre, elle est acceptée, admirée par tout homme et par tout royaume, privilège qu'aucun autre royaume ne possède.")

\(^{43}\) But note that 22 and 23 *keratia* coins may have "gravitated" towards Islamic lands because they were struck at a weight that was closer to that of the *dīnār*, cf. Smedley, “Seventh-Century Byzantine Coins,” 125-26.

\(^{44}\) This approach, though hardly receiving its due from papyrologists, is current among numismatists (cf. P. Grierson, “The Monetary Reforms of ’Abd al-Malik: Their Metrological Basis and Their Financial Repercussions,” *JESHO* 3
payments usually would have been weighed;\textsuperscript{45} that such was the case with any gold payments that were made by Patermouthios may be confirmed by the absence of the modifier arithmios ("by tale," but cf. n. 41) in the receipts. If Patermouthios' coins were weighed on a standard in which the keration was heavier than the Greco-Roman keration/siliqua (.189g), they would appear to be "lighter." Arabo-Egyptian exagia (glass weights) do attest, in fact, to a standard in which the qirāṭ weighed .2015g.\textsuperscript{46} On this standard, the theoretical weight of the solidus is the equivalent of 22.511 qirāṭ, a figure that is effectively equal to the 22.5 qirāṭ that one meets so often in the dossier.

Alternatively, Patermouthios' tax payments could have been valued in the "normal" Egyptian qirāṭ of .195g.\textsuperscript{47} This, in fact, is the qirāṭ that J. Banaji has associated with the zygos Alexandreias,\textsuperscript{48} a standard that is attested in one of Patermouthios' receipts (O.Leid. 368=VII.a), and probably occurred in two others (9; O.Leid. 369 =VII.b).\textsuperscript{49} On this standard, a solidus would weigh 23.262 qirāṭ; fees and wear could easily bring this down to 22.5 keratia.

Thus far, we have assumed that Patermouthios would have paid his taxes with Byzantine gold coinage (the sole gold currency of any quantity in Egypt until 697 at the earliest),\textsuperscript{50} but, if dossier

\textsuperscript{45} Cf. Hendy, Studies, 330, and Bates, "Coins" (cf. n. 34), 60-61.

\textsuperscript{46} Value taken from Bates, "Coins" (cf. n. 34), 56. In the Umayyad section of A.H. Morton, A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps in the British Museum (London 1985) this (heavier than normal) Egyptian qirāṭ occurs in weights of Usāma b. Zayd (finance director 714-17, c. 720-1, #4) and ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb (finance director 725-34; #s 37-39).

\textsuperscript{47} Value taken from Bates, "Coins" (cf. n. 34), 57.

\textsuperscript{48} Rural Communities (cf. n. 44), 108.

\textsuperscript{49} Other Islamic period attestations include Stud.Pal. VIII 740.4, 741.5, 1085.6, and XX 188.1, as well as W.Chr. 286.4, and, probably, BGU II 367.18 (cf. BL I 42, III 12). Incidentally, in l. 8 of the newly published P.Bodl. I 145, one should read ἀλεξάδινορεῖαν for αλεξ.

\textsuperscript{50} Cf. Grierson, "Monetary Reforms" (cf. n. 44), 242-44, and Bates, "Coins" (cf. n. 34), 46.
dates from the eighth century, it is also possible that the keratia values reflect payments in reformed Umayyad coinage that had been weighed on the Byzantine standard. For example, a dinár of 4.25g\(^5\) weighs 22.49 Greco-Roman siliquaelkeratia, a value that is effectively equivalent to the 22.5 keratia that appears in many receipts. There are potential difficulties with this scenario, however. For one, the last known exagium on the Byzantine standard dates from the administration of Qurra (709-14),\(^5\) and if that governorship did indeed mark the end of the use of the Byzantine standard for fiscal purposes, the chronological window (697–at the earliest–to 714–at the latest) may be too small for the dossier. The fractions (one-third, one-half) of the dinár present greater difficulties: They were struck only for a limited time, the mintages appear to have been small,\(^5\) and the coins were produced solely in Spain and North Africa.\(^5\) Moreover, the chronological window shuts if the Byzantine standard ceased between 709 and 714, for the fractions were not introduced until c. 708/9.\(^5\)

VI. The Chicago Patermouthios Ostraka

Note: The general similarity of the handwritings, the small sample of writing from the signatories, and the poor condition of many of the ostraka have greatly hindered our attempts to identify the hands in the dossier. We have made indications only in cases about which we have felt confident.

---

\(^5\) The value used by Morton, Catalogue (cf, n. 46), 16.

\(^5\) Bates, “Coins” (cf. n. 34), 46.


\(^5\) Miles, “On the Varieties,” 82.
a. Receipts for dèmesia

1. OIM 6999 (Plate 9)

7.8 x 9.7 cm; ribbed red-brown pottery; second indiction. The first hand is identical to the hand of 3 and, despite its thinner strokes, is very probably the same hand as that in both 4 and O.Leid. 370 (VII.c). All of these texts were probably written by their first (in some cases, only) signatory, Theodosios.

1 (1H.) † ἐκχο(μεν) π(αρὰ) σοῦ Πατερμουθ(ίου)
Lambda σιδηρ(ου)ργ(ού) ἀπὸ δημο(ιῶν)
dευτέρας ἰνδικτίονος

4 χρυσοῦ κεράτια ἑνδέκα,
γι(ν). χρ(υσοῦ) <(κεράτια)> ια. Θ(ω)θ κθ, ἰνδ(ικτίονος) β.
† Θεοδόσιος στοι(χ). η†

(2H.) γι(ν). χρ(υσοῦ) (κεράτια) ια. † Κλέαρχος(ε)ς

8 στοι(χ). η††

1 ἐκχο, πι, σο, πατερμουθ οスト ostr. 2 σιδηρργ, δημομο οスト ostr. 5 γι, χρ, ινδ οスト ostr. 6 στοιχ οスト ostr. 7 γι, χρ, κλεαρχο οスト ostr.

Translation:

We have received from you, Patermouthis son of Lak, ironworker, for/from the money taxes of the second indiction, eleven gold keratia, total 11 gold (sc. ker.). Thoth 29, 2nd indiction. Theodosios agrees. Total 11 gold ker. Klearchos agrees.

Notes

1 ἐκχο(μεν): In all of their transcriptions, the O.Leid. editors have resolved the abbreviation with nu alone (= the first person singular). We believe that the plural is more appropriate in texts with two or more signatories.

2 Λακ: The name only occurs in the Patermouthis dossier. An equivalence with the Arabic “al-‘Akk” is tentatively suggested in NB (510), but this seems less appealing than other alternatives. It might, however, explain why there are no receipts for the diagraphon (usually paid by non-Muslim laymen only) in the
dossier. In Coptic, ἅκ means “cup, bowl, a measure” (Crum, Dictionary, 138). Such a name does not appear in G. Heuser, Die Personennamen der Kopten (Leipzig 1929); it should be noted, however, that this work was not comprehensive even when it first appeared, and that similar names are attested (cf. κογχωγχ [Heuser, 74, < κελωλ, “pitcher, jar”]; πελω [Heuser, 75, “der Becher,” presumably < φω, “cup” - for the interchange, see Bal I, p. 146]). Though there is no marker, it is also possible that Λακ is an abbreviation, cf. P.Mert. I 48.3, where Λακ is resolved Λάκ(κου) (<Λάκκοκος).

σιδηρουργοῦ: On the meaning of this word and the nature of the profession, see Lajtar, “Proskynema Inscriptions” (cf. n. 29 above), 56-57.

5 Θωδιοί = 26 (or, in a “leap year,” 27) September.

2. FM 267163 (Plate 10)

10.4 x 10.7 cm; pottery with ribs on concave (internal) surface; color: sand core (not completely visible), orange margins, sand surfaces; second (or third) indiction. In this text, and in 4, Patermouthios pays the δέμοσια with his son.

1 † ἐσχον παρά σοι
Πατερμούθιον σιδηρουργ(οῦ) (και) τ(ο)ῦ
ω νοῦ αὑτ(οῦ) ἀπο δημοσ(ίων) δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίονος)

4 χρυσοῦ κεράτια εἰκοσι δύο
τέταρτον, [γί(ν.) χρ(υσοῦ) (κεράτια)] κβδ’. Ἐπειφ κβ
† traces
† traces
traces

2 σιδηρουργ’, S, τ’ ostr. 3 δημοσ’, ν’ ostr.

Translation:
I have received from you, Patermouthios, ironworker, and from his (i.e., “your”) son, for/from the money taxes of the second ind., twenty-two (and) one-quarter gold keratia, [total] 22.25 [gold ker.]. Epeiph 22...
Notes:
5 Ἐπεὶφ κβ = 16 July. The payment could have been made in
the second or third indiction, cf. *O.Leid.* 368 (VII.a).

3. FM 267115 (Plate 11)
9.2 x 10.7 cm; coloration: gray-black core, red-brick margins,
sand-colored surfaces; fifth (?) indiction. The hand is identical to the
first hand of 1 and, despite its thinner strokes, is very probably the
same hand as that in both 4 and *O.Leid.* 370 (VII.c). All of these
texts were probably written by their first (in some cases, only)
signatory, Theodosios. Since Theodosios only signs for the dėmosia,
and because the sum paid here often occurs in the dėmosia receipts,
we are almost certain that our reading of the tax is correct.

1 † εχ̄̄ςο(ν) π(αρα) χο[ῦ] Πατερμουθ(ιου) Ά[ακ] κιδηρ(ου)ργ(ου) αυτ σιμ. ἀπό
δημο(σιων) πέμπτης κεράτης κυτίωνος
4 χρυσοῦ κερατία εἰκος δῦο
ἡμικυ γι(νυ) χρ(ους) <(κεράτης)> κβς. Π(α)ῦ(νι) ἡ
ινδ(ικτίωνος) ε
† Θεοδόσιος στοιχεῖων

1 εχ̄̄ςο, π/ ostr. 2 πατερμουθ ostr. 3 δημοσιου ostr. 5 γυ, χρυ, πυ, ἴνδ ostr.
6 στοιχ ostr.

1 There seem to be traces of ink at the end of this line. Perhaps
a reference to Patermouthios’ son (cf. 2.1-2) occurred here.
5 Παῦνι = 4 June.

4. FM 267134 (Plate 12)
7.8 x 10.5 cm; color: gray core (not completely visible), red-brick
margins, light sand surfaces (only traces on concave side); sixth
indiction. The hand is identical to the hand of *O.Leid.* 370 (VII.c)
and, despite its thicker strokes, is very probably the same hand as
that in 1 (first hand) and 3. All of these receipts were probably
written by their first (in some cases, only) signatory, Theodosios. In this text, and in 2, Patermouthios pays the *demosia* with his son.

1

† ἐκχο(ν) παρὰ σοῦ Πατερμουθ(ιου) (και) ὁ τοῦ υἱ(ου) αὐτ(ου)´

сидηρ(ου)ργ(ου) δι(α) το(υ) στρατη(γου) ἀπὸ

δημο(ςιων) ἐκτες ἵνδιτιονος

4

χρυσοῦ κεράτια εἴκοςι δύο

悍米υ, γί(νυ) χρ(υςοῦ) <(κεράτια)> κβS. Α(θυ)ρ [±1]

インド(ικτιόνος) ζ. † Θεοδόσιος

ετοίχ(ει) tachygraphy?

8

Smudged

Traces

Traces

1 ecxо, патермовθ, S, τον, υιν, αυτ остр. 2 сидηργ(ιοι – ex. corr.?); δυς, το, στρατη(ostr. 3 δημο oстр. 5 γί, χρ остр. 6 инδι oстр. 7 етот oстр.


There is some ink directly above the theta of Πατερμουθ(ιου) that we are unable to decipher.

2 δια του στρατη(γου): δια τοῦ is not completely satisfying paleographically, but we can think of no other alternatives. For the office of *stratégos* in tax receipts from early Islamic Egypt, see K. A. Worp, “More Ostraka from the Heerlen Collection,” *ZPE* 66 (1986) 145-6 and refs.

5. **FM 267016** (Plate 13)

7.2 x 10.7 cm; ribbed red-brown pottery (gray-black core visible in some places), pitch on interior surface; eighth indication.

1

(1H.) † ἐκχ(ομεν) παρ(α) σοῦ Πατερμουθ(ιου)

Λάκ сид(ηπουργού) ἀπὸ δημο(ςιων)

δυδόης инд(ικτιονος) χρυσοῦ κερ(ατια)

4 еικοσι δυο ημιυ, γι(νυ)
\[ \chi \rho(\nu \varsigma \omega \iota) <(\kappa \varepsilon \rho \alpha \tau \iota \alpha) > \kappa \beta \Sigma. \ \Pi(\alpha \upsilon \upsilon \upsilon \upsilon) \kappa, \iota(\nu) \delta(\mu \kappa \tau \gamma \iota \omicron \nu \omicron \omicron) \ \eta \ \dagger \] Markos stoi\chi(ei) \kappa \beta \Sigma. tachygraphy?
(2H.) \gamma(\nu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota) \chi \rho(\nu \varsigma \omega \iota \omicron) (\kappa \varepsilon \rho \alpha \tau \iota \alpha) \kappa \beta \Sigma. \ \alpha \tau \alpha \ I \omega \alpha \alpha \nu \nu \nu
8 stoi\chi(ei).

1 \epsilon \chi^{-}, co\upsilon, \pi \alpha \varepsilon \rho \mu \omicron \upsilon \omicron \upsilon \omicron \upsilon \omicron \upsilon \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron 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\omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron \omicron \upsilon \omicron 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Translation:
We have received from you, Paternouthios son of Lak, ironworker, for/from the money taxes of the eighth ind., twenty-two (and) one-half gold ker., total 22.5 gold (sc. ker.) Payni 20, ind. 8. Markos agrees: 22.5. (Tachygraphy?) Total 22.5 gold ker. Apa Iōannēs agrees.

5 Παύνι κ = 14 June.

7 The stroke that we have identified as the abbreviation marker for \( \chi \rho(\nu \varsigma \omega \iota) \) could simply be the upstroke at the end of the rho’s “tail”; if so, the following stroke, in which we have seen the symbol for \( \kappa \varepsilon \rho \alpha \tau \iota \alpha \), would in fact be the abbreviation stroke for \( \chi \rho(\nu \varsigma \omega \iota) \).

\( \alpha \tau \alpha \) On this title, see T. Derda and E. Wipszyccka, “L’emploi des titres abba, apa et papas dans l’Égypte byzantine,” JJP 24 (1994) 23-56. We have transcribed the title in the traditional manner; the authors of the aforementioned article chose to present the word without accent and breathing mark (p. 25).

6. FM 267097 (Plate 14)

13.0 x 7.7 cm; ribbed pottery, with much wear on the raised surfaces; coloration: grey core, brown margins; ninth indiction. The hand is the same as that of O.Leid. 372 (=VII.e, also probably written by Apa Iōannēs).
THE DOSSIER OF PATERMOUTHIOS

† ἐκχο(ν) π(αρά) σοῦ Πατερμοὺθίου Λάκ
ἀπὸ δημο(κίων) ἐ[νά]της ἰνδ(ικτίονος) χρυσοῦ κερ(άτια)
eἰκοσὶ δύο ήμις, γι(ν.) χρ(υσοῦ) <(κεράτια)> κβS.
Φαρ(μοῦ)θι(ν) ἰνδ(ικτίονος) θ.


1 ἐκχο, π/ ostr. 2 δημο, νδ/ κερ- ostr. 3 γν, χρ/ φαρθ, νδ/ ostr. 4 στοίχ ostr.

Translation:
I have received from you, Patermouthios son of Lak, for/from the money taxes of the ninth ind., twenty-two (and) one-half gold ker., total 22.5 gold (sc. ker.). Pharnouthi ---, ind. 9. Apa Ioannês agrees.

7. OIM 7006 (Plates 15-16)
8.3 x 9.9 cm; peach-colored pottery with sand-colored surfaces; eleventh indiction. The first hand is also the first hand of 8; it probably belongs to Nakeneiôτ (on whom see below).

front (convex side)
1 (1H.) † ἐκχο(μεν) π(αρά) σοῦ Πατερμοὺθ(ίου)
Λάκ σιδη(ρουργοῦ) ἀπὸ δημο(κίων) ἐνδεκάτης
ἰνδίκ(τιονος) χρυσοῦ κερ(άτια) ζδ’. Π(α)υ(νι) λ ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίονος)
ἰα †

4 † Νακενειωτ στοίχ(ε)ι † tachygraphy
(2H.) γι(ν.) χρ(υσοῦ) <(κεράτια)> ζδ’. † Θεοδόσιος
στοίχ(ε)ι.

back (continuation; concave side)
6 (3H.?) † ὁμοί(ως) χρυσοῦ(ῦ)
κεράτια ἐνδεκα,
γι(ν.) χρ(υσοῦ) <(κεράτια)> ια. Μεχ(ειρ) ια ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίονος)
9 ια † γι(ν.) χρ(υσοῦ) <(κεράτια)> ια. (1H.?) † Νακενειωτ στοίχ(ε)ι † tachygraphy
Translation:

Front:

We have received from you, Patermouthios son of Lak, ironworker, for/from the money taxes of the eleventh indik., 7.25 gold ker. Payni 30, ind. 11. Nake the Younger (or [sc. ‘the’] ‘great father’) agrees. (Tachygraphy.) Total gold (sc. ker.) 7.25. Theodosios agrees.

Back:

Likewise, eleven gold keratia, total 11 gold (sc. ker.). Mecheir 11, ind. 11. Total 11 gold (sc. ker.). Nake the Younger (or [sc. ‘the’] ‘great father’) agrees. (Tachygraphy.)

3 Παινι λ = 24 June.
8 Μεχειρ ια = 5 (or 6, in a leap year) February.
9-10 Νακενειωτ: We envision two possibilities: either Νακε (< Coptic NOC, “great,” cf. Νάκιος) + νειωτ(ερος) (< νεωτερος; ει < ε: Gignac, Gram. I, 256), “Nake the Younger”; or a Coptic (presumably religious) title (sans article) Νακ Νείωτ (for NOC ΝΕΙΩΤ, see Bal I, pp. 80-81 [σ>λ], 147 [ε>κ], and 52-54 [Ν>ΕΝ]), “great father.” In the latter case, Νακ cannot be construed as a proper name, cf. A. Shisha-Halevy, The Proper Name: Structural Prolegomena to Its Syntax—A Case Study in Coptic (Vienna 1989) 70 (2.2.1.5a). It should be noted that in 10, the tau of the second term (νεωτερος or ΝΕΙΩΤ) is suspended (a common way to mark an abbreviation).

8. OIM 7066 (Plate 17)

9.0 x 9.0 cm; dark brown ribbed pottery, with pitch on the concave side; eleventh indiction. We have included this text in the dossier because of its formula, signatories, and handwriting. The hand in question also appears in 7 (first hand); it probably belongs to Nakeneiot (on whom see 7.9-10).
break at top

x+1 (1H.) [ἀπὸ δῆμῳ(ο(σών)) ἐνδεξατῆς
ινδ(ικτιόνος) χρυσοῦ κερ(άπτα) δεκατέσσερα
ἡμικ τέταρτ(ον), γ(ίνυ) χρ(υκοῦ) <(κεράτιο)> ὶδSδ´.
Μ(ε)χ(εἰρ) γ ἢ(ν)δ(ικτιόνος) ἦα.

x+4 † Νακενειωτς στοιχ(εῖ) † tachygraphy ᾽δSδ´.
(2H.) † Κολλούθος στοιχ(εῖ) tachygraphy ᾽δSδ´.
(3H.) † Διόσκορος διάκο(νος) στοιχ(εῖ) †

x+2 ἵνδ, κερ/ ostr. x+3 τεταρτ, γυ/, χρ/, μχ/, ἤδ ἵα/ ostr. x+4 στοιχ ostr. x+5 στοιχ ostr. x+6 διακο/ ostr.

Translation:
...for/from the money taxes of the eleventh ind., fourteen, one-half, (and) one-quarter gold ker., total gold (sc. ker.) 14.75. Mecheir 3, ind. 11. Nake the Younger (or [sc. 'the'] 'great father') agrees. (Tachygraphy.) 14.75. Kollouthos agrees. (Tachygraphy.) 14.75. Dioskoros the deacon agrees.

x+3 Μεχειρ γ = 28 (or, in a leap year, 29) January.

9. FM 267227 (Plate 18)

10.2 x 13.7 cm; pottery with ribbing on concave (internal) side;
coloration: sand-colored core, orange margins, traces of sand-colored
surface on front, and pitch on back; indiction unknown. The form of
the text follows O.Leid. 368 (VII.a) and 369 (VII.b).

1 ἧ[ε]χο(ν) π(α)ρ(ά) γ[οῦ] Πατερμ[ο]γ[ῆ]θ(ίου)
Λάκ κιδη[ρουργ(οῦ)] ἀπὸ δῆ[μο(ο(σων)) ordinal ἵνδικ(τιόνος)]
χρ(υκοῦ)
νομικ[μ]π(ϊα) τρεία κερ(άτια) δεκατέσσερε[πα]

4 [ἡ]μυκ [τέ[ξ(αρτον)] σὺν λια(ί) ἐκάστ(ου) νο(μικατίου) [τῶ(ν)]
νο(μενομένων) ἀπ]ελθ(ειν)
traces; middle of line: ὴδS; end: //
traces; at end of line: χρ(υκοῦ) νο(μικάτια) [γ] (κέρατιο) ᾽δSδ´
traces
8 traces
10 traces

1 εχχο, πατερμουθ οstr. 2 σινηρουπ, χρ/ ostr. 3 νομιμαιτ, κερ/ ostr. 4 [τε]τ, διτ, εκαττ, νο, απελθ οstr. 6 χρ, νο, / ostr.

1 There are traces of ink to the left of εχχο, but they seem too far removed to be a chrismon.
2 The space available for the ordinal is small; accordingly, one should expect a very short (or abbreviated) ordinal name, or possibly even an ordinal symbol, here.

10. FM 267011 (Plate 19)

10.1 x 9.7 cm; ribbed pottery, with possible traces of pitch on concave surface; coloration: gray core, red-brown margins (inner incomplete), much of dark sand frontal surface abraded; indiction unknown. The first (only?) hand seems to be the same as that responsible for 6 and O.Leid. 372 (VII.e), both of which were probably written by Apa Iōannês. If indeed it is identical, it is likely that Apa Iōannês’ name occurred in the lacuna at the end of line 4; and that the text lies in chronological proximity to the other receipts that mention Apa Iōannês (eighth, ninth, and tenth indentions).

1 † εχχ[ο(μεν) π(αρά) κοο Πατερμουθ(ίου) Λάκ aut sim. ± σινηρουργού (probably abbreviated)
από δ[ήμο(σιν) ordinal ινδ(ικτίονος) χρ(υπού)
κ]ερ(άτια)
είκοσι δ[ύο ήμικυ, γί(νυ) χρ(υπού) ](κεράτια)> kβS.
4 εγρ(αφή) μ(ηνι) Π(α)χ(ούν) κβ ιγ[δ(ικτίονος) x PN
στοιχ(εί) † γ(νυ) χρ(υπού) ](κεράτια)> kβS (2Η.?) † Νακενεωντ
στοιχ(εί) tachygraphy
4 Παξών κβ = 17 May.
5 Due to the poor condition of the sherd, we are unable to verify that an expected second hand begins here at the chrismon.

11. **FM 267303** (Plate 20)

10.0 x 11.1 cm; coloration: gray-black core, red-brick margins, gray surfaces; unknown indication. The surface of this text of ten (?) lines is so poorly preserved that we are only able to present the following *descriptum*:

Broken at top, 

x+2: Λάκ σιδηρουργημ(εί) από
x+3: δημοσίων ±π της ινδ/ (=ινδικτήνων) χρυσοῦ
end of x+4: κερ/(=κεράτια)

b. Receipt for *dapanè*

12. **OIM 6971** (Plate 21)

11.6 x 13.1 cm; brown ribbed pottery with pitch on concave (internal surface); fourth indication.

1 † ἐσχο(ν) π(αρὰ) κο(ῦ) Πατερμουθ(ίου)
Λάκ (ὑπὲρ) δαπά(νης) το(ῦ) συμβούλ(ου)
(και) (ὑπὲρ) τιμ(ής) τῶ(ν) προβ(α)τ(ον) ἀμφα(ς)
4 αλμω(μιν) (και) ἀλλω(ν) δαπα(νων) τετάρτης
ινδικτί(ονος) χρυσοῦ κεράτι(α)
ἐπτά τέταρτ(ον), γ(ι)ν(ν) χρ(υσοῦ) <(κεράτια) > ξδ´. ἐγρ(άφη)
μ(ηνί)
Τῦ(βι) κ ἰνδ(ικτίον)ο(ς) δ. † Τριβούνος στοιχ(εῖ) †
Translation:
I have received from you, Patermouthios son of Lak, for the maintenance of the governor, and for the cost of sheep for the Commander of the Faithful and other expenses of the fourth indictment, seven (and) one-quarter gold keratia, total gold (sc. ker.) 7.25. Written in the month of Tybi, 20th day, ind. 4. Tribounos agrees.

2 δαπάνης τοῦ συμβούλου: See also P.Lond. IV 1433.70, 134, 182, 230, 267, 324, 364, 403, 437, 459, 491, 521, 539, 554, 567, 577, 584, 590; 1438+1484.8; 1446.15, 26; 1462(i).9-10; and 1491(h). O.Petr. 468.2 (cf. K. A. Worp, "Tables of Tax Receipts on Greek Ostraka from Late Byzantine and Early Arab Thebes," Anal. Pap. 4 [1992] 51), Bal II 301.11, and WS, p.14, can probably be added to this list. P.Lond. IV 1358 and 1375 are requisitions for the governor and his entourage.

3-4 τιμής τῶν προβάτων ἁμρᾶς ἀλμωμοῦν: In P.Lond. IV 1375, 155 sheep are requisitioned for the governor and his entourage. In that text, they are valued at half a solidus each; elsewhere in the volume, their cost/valuation ranges from a third of a solidus each to two-thirds of a solidus each.

To our knowledge, the phrase τιμής τῶν προβάτων ἁμρᾶς ἀλμωμοῦν (aut sim.) does not occur elsewhere; the dapanē of the Amir al-Mu‘minin does, however, appear in Bal II 130 app. (l. 5) and PERF 637. (The latter text has been edited by F. Morelli and will appear in CPR XIX.) Though two Umayyad caliphs were briefly in Egypt (Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [February-March 685] and Marwān II [between January and June 750]; dates after EI2), it is doubtful that the present text refers to either sojourn; one need only point out that neither Bal II 130 app. (28.xii.723-26.i.724, so K.A. Worp, "Hegira Years in the Papyri," Aeg. 65 [1985] 112 [as well as Till, Datierung, 44]) nor P.Lond. IV 1433 + P.Ross. Georg. IV 26 (multiple references to the xenion of Amir al-Mu‘minin; 706-7) dates from a period in which a caliph was present in Egypt.

We have read ἁμρᾶ(c) since the word is clearly marked (by both suspension and a diagonal stroke) as an abbreviation. Generally, Amir al-Mu‘minin is simply transliterated; here the
scribe apparently has chosen to inflect the first element of the title. For a similar phenomenon, see P.Apoll. 37.10, where Amīr al-Muʿminīn is rendered 'Αμίρας τῶν Πιστῶν. We are uncertain whether ἀμίρας should be regarded as a grammatically incorrect nominative (because of the -ᾶς ending) or a grammatically correct but heteroclite genitive (usually ἀμίρα, but note O.Bodl. Π 2092.2, where μαχάρας may occur instead of μαχαιρᾶ).

7 Τῆστι Κ = 15 (or, in a leap year, 16) January.

c. Receipt for embolē

13. FM 267179 (Plate 22)

8.5 x 10.5 cm; ribbed pottery, gray core, red-brick margins (inner incomplete), brown surfaces; seventh induction.

1 † ἐςχό(ν) <παρά κοῦν> Πατερμουθ(ίου) Λάκ
(ὑπὲρ) ἐμβόλη(ῆς) ἑβδόμης ἰνδεκτ(ίονος)
cίτου ἀρτάβη(ν) ἐκτον τετρακ(αι)−
4 εικοστ(ὸν), κριθῆ(ε) ἀρτάβη(ν) ἡμιν,
γί(ν.) κί(του) ἀρτ(άβη) ἅκδ, ἀρτ(άβη) κρ(υ)(ῆς) Σ, (καὶ)
tο κιτοφ(ορικῶν)
(καὶ) τὸ ναῦλ(ον). ἔγρ(άφη) μ(ηνὶ) Θ(ω) ὅ γ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ζ †
† Τριβοῦνος στοιχ(εῖ) ταχυγραφία

1 ἐςχό, πατερμουθ οστρ. 2 ἱ, ἐμβόλη, ἰνδεκτ οστρ. 3 σίτου, ἀρτάβη/ οστρ. 4 κριθῆ/ οστρ. 5 γί, κί, ἀρτακ(τὶς), κρῆ, Σ, σιτοφ/ οστρ. 6 Σ, ναῦλ, ἔγρ, με, ἰνδ/ οστρ.; first θ of θθ ex. corr.? 7 στοιχ οστρ.

Translation:
I have (sc. from you) Patermouthios son of Lak, for the embolē of the seventh induction, one-sixth (plus) one twenty-fourth of an artabē of wheat (and) one-half of an artabē of barley, total 5/24 art. wheat (and) 1/2 art. barley, plus the sitoph(orkin) and the naul(ion) (charges). Written in the month of Thoth, 3rd day, ind. 7. Tribounos agrees. (Tachygraphy.)
5 τὸ σιτοφορικόν: This charge is unattested elsewhere. Perhaps it was similar to the sakkophorikon, for which see A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer in griechischen und römischen Recht* (Zutphen 1978) 13-14.


Θώδῃ γ = 31 August (or, in a leap year, 1 September).

VII. Previously Published Texts (all for δέμοσια)
a. O.Leid. 368

1 † εὐχ(ον) π(αρὰ) σοῦ Πατερμουθίου Λάκ
σιδ(ηρούργου) ἀπὸ δῆμο(οῦν) τρίτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος) χρυσοῦ

νομισμάτ(ια)

τρεία κερ(άτια) δεκατέσσερα ἡμιευ τέταρτ(ον)

4 ζῶν λι(τῶ) ἐκά(ς του) νο(μισματίου), τῶ(ν) νο(μιτευνομένων)

ἀπελθ(εὶν) ταγεντ(ων) ἐν τῆς

διατυπ(ώς εἰ), γί(νοι) χρυ(σοῦ) νο(μισματία) γ (κεράτια) ἰδΣδ´

Ἀλε(ξανδρείας ξυγῆ) (και) τὸ δ´ ἐκά(ς του)

νο(μισματίου). Ἐπείρ γ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) δ. † Κελεστίνος στοιχ(εῖ) †

† γί(νοι) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισματία) γ (κεράτια) ἰδΣδ. (2Η.) Εὔβοιλος

στοιχ(εῖ).

8 traces

2 ἰνδ οστρ. (not noted in ed. pr.) 4 τῶ οστρ. (not noted in ed. pr.) 4-5 ed. pr.: νο(μισματος) τῷ νο(μιτευνομένῳ) πελθ(ι) ταγεντ( ) εντ( ) καὶ ἀτυπ( ) 5 ed. pr.: αλε; ἰδ οστρ., γί(νοι) ex. corr. 6 ed. pr.: νο(μισματος); ἰνδ οστρ.

4-6 We proffer the following translation: "...with a liton (deducted) from each nomismation, the customary amounts to be deducted (literally, ‘to go away, depart’) having been appointed in the tax schedule, total 3 gold nom. (and) 14.75 ker. on the Alexandrian (sc. standard), and (less) the quarter (sc. ker.) from each nomismation.

ζῶν λιτῶ ἐκάστου νομισματίου: The phrase is very probably recapitulated by καὶ τὸ δ´ (sc. κερ.) ἐκάστου νομισματίου, which suggests that each liton had a value of one-quarter of a keration. Presumably, then, a keration liton is meant; there were 120 of these
to the solidus, or five to every keration. Since the fractional series employed in the Patermouthios dossier is duodecimal, one-fifth would likely have been rounded to one-quarter. (For the keration liton, see Maresch, Nomisma, 47.)

diatupwcei: also attested during the Umayyad period in P.Apoll. 30.3.

b. O.Leid. 369

1 [† ἐςχ(ον)] π(αρά) σοῦ
[Πατ]ερμουθίου Λάκ ἀπὸ δημο(κίων) τετάρτης
ινδ(ικτίνον) χρυσοῦ νομιμο(ἀτια) τρειά κεράτια

4 δεκατέσσαρα ἡμεύ τέταρτον εἶν λι(τὸ) έκ(άτου)
νο(μιματίου) τῷ(ν) νο(μιματίου) ἀπελθ(εἴν) ταγέντ(ων)
ἐν τῷ διατυπῶ(εἰς),
γι(νεταί) χρυ(σοῦ) νο(μιματία) γ κερ(άτια) ἰδSd´........
Παχώ(ν) κβ ἵν(δι)κ(τίόνον) δ † αρ.. αρ..

5 ed. pr.: νο(μιματιος) τῷ νο(μιματιοῦ) πελθ( ) ταγεντ( ) ἐντ( ) καὶ ἀτυπω( ); τω ostr. (not noted in ed. pr.) 7 ed. pr.: ἵν(δι)κ(τίόνον) α

4-5 See commentary to O.Leid. 368.4-6 (VII.a above).

6 Presumably a version of Ἀλε(ξανδρείας ζυγῷ) (καὶ) τὸ δ´ ἐκά(του) νο(μιματίου) was written at the end of this line, cf. O.Leid. 368.5-6.

c. O.Leid. 370

The hand is identical to the hand of 4 and, despite its thicker strokes, is very probably the same hand as that in 1 (first hand) and 3. All of these texts were probably written by their first (in some cases, only) signatory, Theodosios.

front (concave side; pl. 93)

1 † ἐςχο(ν) παρά σο(ῦ)
Πατερμουθ(ίου) Λάκ
σιδηρ(ου)μ(γοῦ) δ(ιὰ) ψ(ιοῦ) Πιαρί(ου)
4 ἀπὸ δημο(cίων) ἐκτῆς ἤνδικ(τίονος)
χρυσοῦ κεράτι(α) εἰκοσι δύο
γί(νυ.) χρ(υσοῦ) <(κεράτια)> κβ. Ἐπείφ κθ
ἵνδ(ικτίονος) ζ Ἡθοδό[ς]ιος
8 στοιχ(εί) ἐμω

back (convex side)
9 ἵποι(ως)
χρυσοῦ κεράτια
ἐπτα τέταρτον, γί(νυ.) χρ(υσοῦ) κερ(άτια) ζδ´.
12 Φ.(ς) γ ἤνδ(ικτίονος) ζ Ἡθοδός(ιος)
στοιχ(εί) ἐμω

1 ed. pr.: π(αρα) 3 ed. pr.: σιδηρ(οριγοῖ) ς παρι; σιδηρῆς, δ' ostr. 4 ἤνδικ ostr.
5 ed. pr.: κεράτι(α) κ εξ τέταρτον 6 ed. pr.: (κερ.) κζδ'; β επεξ κ δυο? 12 ed. pr.: Φ.(ς) λ

3 διὰ νιοῦ Πιαρίου: We are not satisfied with the reading. For one, the name is rare; to our knowledge, it occurs only in BGU XII 2159.10 and P.Princ. II 99.3. We also would prefer to read the first iota of Πιαρίου as rho, and the rho as phi, with alpha possibly as omicron; but Praphi(ς) and Prophi(ς) are even less attractive as PN's than Piarios. What we have read as δ(ια) υ(ιοῦ) may in fact be δ(ια) τ(οῦ); if so, one might expect an official to follow.
12 Φ.(ς): Since the Upper Egyptian indication began in Pachon (CSBE, 25-26), Phaophi, Phamenoth, and Pharmouthi are all possible.

d. O. Leid. 371

1 ἵπεχ(ομεν) π(αρα) σοῦ [Πατερμοῦ-]
θ[η]([ιοῦ]) Λακ σιδηρ(οριγοῖ) ἀπὸ δημο(cίων)
δεκάτη(ς) ἤνδ(ικτίονος) χρυσοῦ κεράτια
4 ἐπτα τέταρτον, γί(νυ.) χρ(υσοῦ) <(κεράτια)> ζδ´. Π(α)χ(ιοῦ).
ἵν(υ)δ(ικτίονος) καὶ ἡ Νακενειῶς
THE DOSSIER OF PATERMOUTHIOS 107

ctoιχ(ει) tachygraphy τὸ ζδ’ Κολλοῦθ(ος)
ctoιχ(ει) tachygraphy τὸ ζδ’ †
8 Διόσκορος διάκο-
 voc ctoιχ(ει) tachygraphy

1 ed. pr.: ἔσχω(ν) 3 ed. pr.: ἐκτη(κ); δεκατη οστρ. 4 ed. pr.: ἐπτὰ ἡμικυ, (κερ.) ζS; τεταρτη οστρ. 5 ed. pr.: ... ἦ ι(ν)δ(ικτίονος). † ἀκε. ευωγ; ἦ ... / οστρ. 6 ed. pr.: ctoιχ(ει) † ... Κολλοῦθ(ος) 7 ed. pr.: ctoιχ(ει) † ... † 8-9 ed. pr.: Διόσκορος Ἀια.. | ctoιχ(ει) †

e. O.Leid. 372 (+ O.Leid., pl. 94)
The hand is the same as that of 6, which probably was also written by Apa Iōannēs.

1 † ἔσχω(ν) π(αρά) σο(ῦ) Πατερ(μου)θ(ίου)
Λὰκ σιδηρ(ουργοῦ) ἀπὸ δημο(σίων) ἐν-
νάτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος) χρυσοῦ κερά(τια)
4 εἰκοςι δύο ἡμικυ,
γί(ν.) χρυσοῦ <(κεράτια)> κβS. Παχώ(ν) ε
ἰνδ(ικτίονος) θ. ἀπα Ἰωάννης
ctoιχ(ει) †

2 δημο οστρ. 5 ed. pr.: (κερ.)

f. O.Stras. 290 (inv. 677)

1 † ἔσχω(μεν) π(αρά) σο(ῦ) Πατερμουθίο(ν) Λὰκ
σιδηρ(ουργοῦ) ἀπὸ δημο(σίων) δεκάτης
ἰνδ(ικτίονος) χρυσοῦ(ῦ) κεράτια εἰκοςι δύο
4 ἡμικυ, γί(ν.) χρ(ουςοῦ) <(κεράτια)> κβS. Παχώ(ν) τζ,
ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίονος) τ. Θεοδω-
ρακίος ctoιχ(ει) † γί(ν.) χρ(ουςοῦ) <(κεράτια)> κβS. ἀπα
Ἰωάννης
ctoιχ(ει) ..
6 The line most probably ended with a chrismon, tachygraphy, or both.

### VIII. Tabular Summary of the Patermoushios Dossier

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>DATE; IND.</th>
<th>DATE (Jul.)</th>
<th>TAX of IND.</th>
<th>AMOUNT</th>
<th>SIGNATORY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: OIM 6999</td>
<td>Thoth 29; 2</td>
<td>26/27 Sept.</td>
<td>démosia 2</td>
<td>11 k.</td>
<td>Theodosios; Klearchos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: FM 267163</td>
<td>Epeiph 22; 23?</td>
<td>16 July</td>
<td>démosia 2</td>
<td>22.25 k. *</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.Leid. 369 (VII.b)</td>
<td>Pachon 22; 4</td>
<td>17 May</td>
<td>démosia 4</td>
<td>3 s., 14.75 k.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.Leid. 368 (VII.a)</td>
<td>Epeiph 3; 4</td>
<td>27 June</td>
<td>démosia 3</td>
<td>3 s., 14.75 k.</td>
<td>Kelestinos; Euboulos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: FM 267115</td>
<td>Payni 10?; 5?</td>
<td>4? June</td>
<td>démosia 5?</td>
<td>22.5 k. (?)</td>
<td>Theodosios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.Leid. 370 fr. (VII.e)</td>
<td>Epeiph 29; 6</td>
<td>23 July</td>
<td>démosia 6</td>
<td>22 k. (?)</td>
<td>Theodosios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.Leid. 370 b. (VII.e)</td>
<td>; 6</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>démosia 6</td>
<td>7.25 k. (?)</td>
<td>Theodosios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5: FM 267016</td>
<td>Payni 20; 8</td>
<td>14 June</td>
<td>démosia 8</td>
<td>22.5 k.</td>
<td>Markos; Apa Ioannis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.Leid. 372 (VII.e)</td>
<td>Pachon 5; 9</td>
<td>30 Apr.</td>
<td>démosia 9</td>
<td>22.5 k.</td>
<td>Apa Ioannis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6: FM 267097</td>
<td>Phormouthi ?; 9</td>
<td>Mar.-Apr.</td>
<td>démosia 9</td>
<td>22.5 k.</td>
<td>Apa Ioannis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.Stras. 290 (VII.f)</td>
<td>Pachon 17; 10</td>
<td>12 May</td>
<td>démosia 10</td>
<td>22.5 k.</td>
<td>Theodorakios; Apa Ioannis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.Leid. 371 (VII.d)</td>
<td>Pachon ?; 10</td>
<td>Apr.-May</td>
<td>démosia 10</td>
<td>7.25 k.</td>
<td>Nakeneiöt; Kollouthos; Dioskoros diakonos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7: OIM 7006 fr.</td>
<td>Payni 30; 11</td>
<td>24 June</td>
<td>démosia 11</td>
<td>7.25 k.</td>
<td>Nakeneiöt; Theodosios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8: OIM 7066</td>
<td>Mecheir 3; 11</td>
<td>28/29 Jan.</td>
<td>démosia 11</td>
<td>14.75 k.</td>
<td>Nakeneiôt; Kollouthos; Dioskoros diakonos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9: FM 267227</td>
<td>?; ?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>démosia</td>
<td>3 s., 14.75 k.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10: FM 267011</td>
<td>Pachon 22; ?</td>
<td>17 May</td>
<td>démosia</td>
<td>22.5 k.</td>
<td>Apa Iōannês?; Nakeneiôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12: OIM 6971</td>
<td>Tybi 20?; 4</td>
<td>15/16? Jan.</td>
<td>dapanê 4</td>
<td>7.25 k.</td>
<td>Tribounos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13: FM 267179</td>
<td>Thoth? 3?; 7</td>
<td>31 Aug/ 1 Sept.?</td>
<td>embolê 7</td>
<td>5/24 art. wheat; 1/2 art. barley</td>
<td>Tribounos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Alternatives are separated by a slash (/).
- An asterisk (*) indicates that the receipt also mentions Patermouthios’ son (Piarios?).

It may be observed that, if one is justified in combining démosia payments for the sixth indiction (but see n. 17 above), the payments amount to 2,333 arithmia nomismatia (assuming that 22 and 22.5 keratia are both equivalent to 1 arithmion nomismation, and that 7.25 keratia is the equivalent of an arithmion trimission; and neglecting payments found in démosia receipts without a precise tax year). With the same premises, the payments for the ninth indiction yield a total of 2 nomismatia; the tenth, 1,333 nomismatia; and the eleventh, 1.5 nomismatia. In the case of the tenth indiction, one could argue that the different signatories suggest a different tax year (cf. n. 18 above), but for the eleventh there is at least one common signatory, Nakeneiôt; and a similar argument could be made regarding payments in both the sixth (all by Theodosios) and the ninth (all by Apa Iōannês). We have not succeeded in establishing any significant pattern for these démosia payments.

T. M. HICKEY

The University of Chicago

K. A. WORP

Universiteit van Amsterdam
1. OIM 6999
(With the permission of the Oriental Institute Museum,
University of Chicago)
Plate 10
(to Hickey and Worp, "Dossier of Patermouthios")

2. FM 267163
(With the permission of the Field Museum, Chicago)
3. FM 267115
(With the permission of the Field Museum, Chicago)
Plate 12

(to Hickey and Worp, "Dossier of Patermouthios")

4. FM 267134
(With the permission of the Field Museum, Chicago)
5. FM 267016
(With the permission of the Field Museum, Chicago)
6. FM 267097
(With the permission of the Field Museum, Chicago)
7. OIM 7006 front
(With the permission of the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago)
Plate 16
(to Hickey and Worp, "Dossier of Patermouthios")

7. OIM 7006 back
(With the permission of the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago)
(to Hickey and Worp, "Dossier of Patermouthios")

8. OIM 7066
(With the permission of the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago)
9. FM 267227
(With the permission of the Field Museum, Chicago)
(to Hickey and Worp, "Dossier of Patermouthios")

10. FM 267011
(With the permission of the Field Museum, Chicago)
11. FM 267303
(With the permission of the Field Museum, Chicago)
12. OIM 6971
(With the permission of the Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago)
13. FM 267179
(With the permission of the Field Museum, Chicago)
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