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THE OTHER SHEEP DECLARATION FROM HAWARA

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## THE OTHER SHEEP DECLARATION FROM HAWARA

J. G. Milne, *APF* 5 (1913) 394, described P.Haw. inv. 322 as follows:

‘On recto, two columns, in different hands: on verso, two columns, both in the same hand, which is different from either of these on recto. The only document which is fairly complete is that in col. 1 recto, which is a return of flocks: in col. 2 there is the end of a similar return, also dated in the reign of Antoninus Pius.’

Milne published only the first column, now SB XVIII 13241. On the basis of the formulas and the declarant’s name (Cενπετεπάας, l. 2), D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 165–7, suggested that it came from Upper Egypt. The papyrus would have been found in Hawara because of its reuse for another document on the back; it may also be that the official to whom the declarations were addressed took them home with him after his term ended. The name of the shepherd (Ψεννήσιο(ς), l. 8) also speaks for the same origin.<sup>1</sup> We possess very few declarations of livestock from Upper Egypt; there are four or five from the Hermopolite nome, one from the Athribite, and one from the Lycopolite.<sup>2</sup>

Col. ii remained unpublished and was not taken into account for the edition of col. i; otherwise it would have emerged that both texts were submitted on the same day, Mecheir 4. I present a full edition below. Its top left part is P.Haw. inv. 316, whose size and way of conservation made it easy to overlook; only the text written on the back is immediately accessible, while that on the front, and only the part that contains writing, is visible through a window in the frame (the top margin is concealed). This declaration too was submitted by a woman, called Taesis. She first reports the number of sheep registered the year before, probably forty; a year later, their number had not changed. The formulas are the same as in col. i, including the one for illiteracy, which seems to suggest an origin in Upper Egypt (see 12 n.). The names are not typical of any particular region.

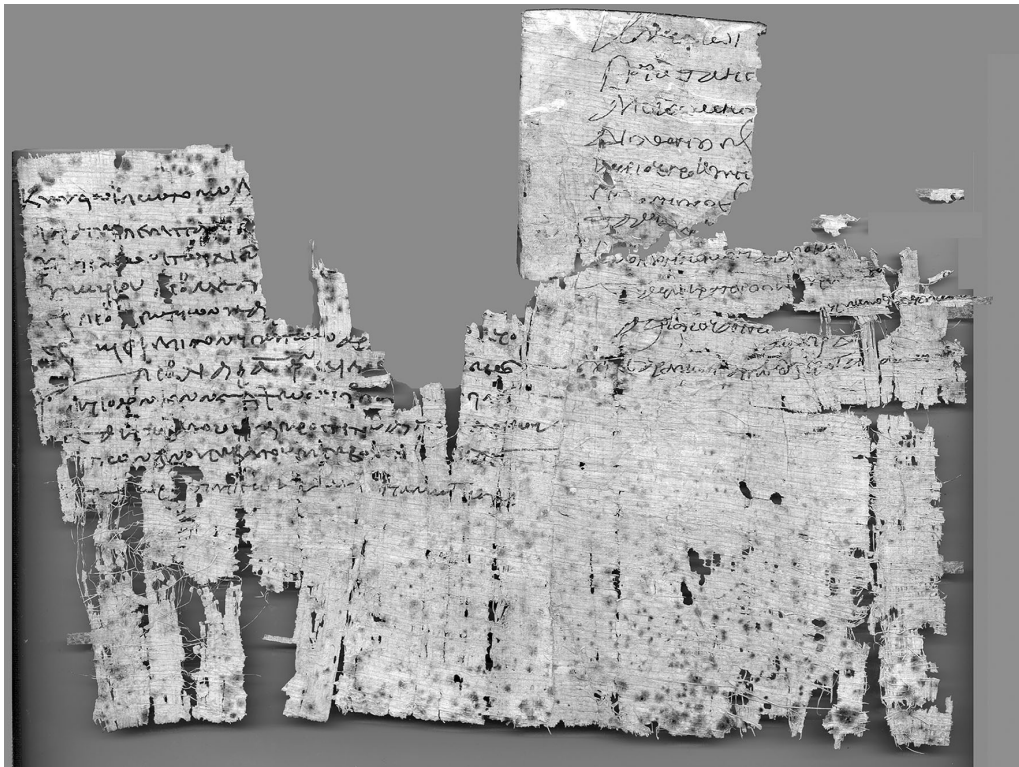
The two declarations were part of a pasted roll. Among documents of this kind, cf. e.g. P.Oxy. LXXXIV 5438 (25), II 357 = SB XX 14095 (67–9), or P.Heid. IV 302 (Ars.; 178). The second document was taller than the first (18.5 cm vs. 13 cm), which is not too uncommon.<sup>3</sup>

On the back there are remains of three columns, the first two written mostly by the same hand. The second is headed by ἰδ: column 14 of the roll. It is very damaged and for the most part little connected sense can be made; it mentions a lease (l. 4, τὴν μίθωσιν), an exaction of payment from a plurality of people (l. 12, μενοι παραθήτωσαν), and copies of something, one of them to be supplied to the *fiscus* (ll. 13–14, ... προκόδου ἀπλῆ τῷ θ. [ ] | τῷ καὶ τῷ φίκῳ ἡ ἴκη). At the end of l. 14, a second hand takes over, which also made the supralinear addition in l. 12 and others opposite ll. 11 and 17; the last two lines (16–17) run, καὶ δηλωθήτω μοι ἐντὸς μη(νῶν) ἔ (vac.) | ἵνα περὶ ἀπάντων ἐξετάσῃ (traces). The wording is suggestive of a judicial decision. The third column is mostly abraded and may have contained an account.

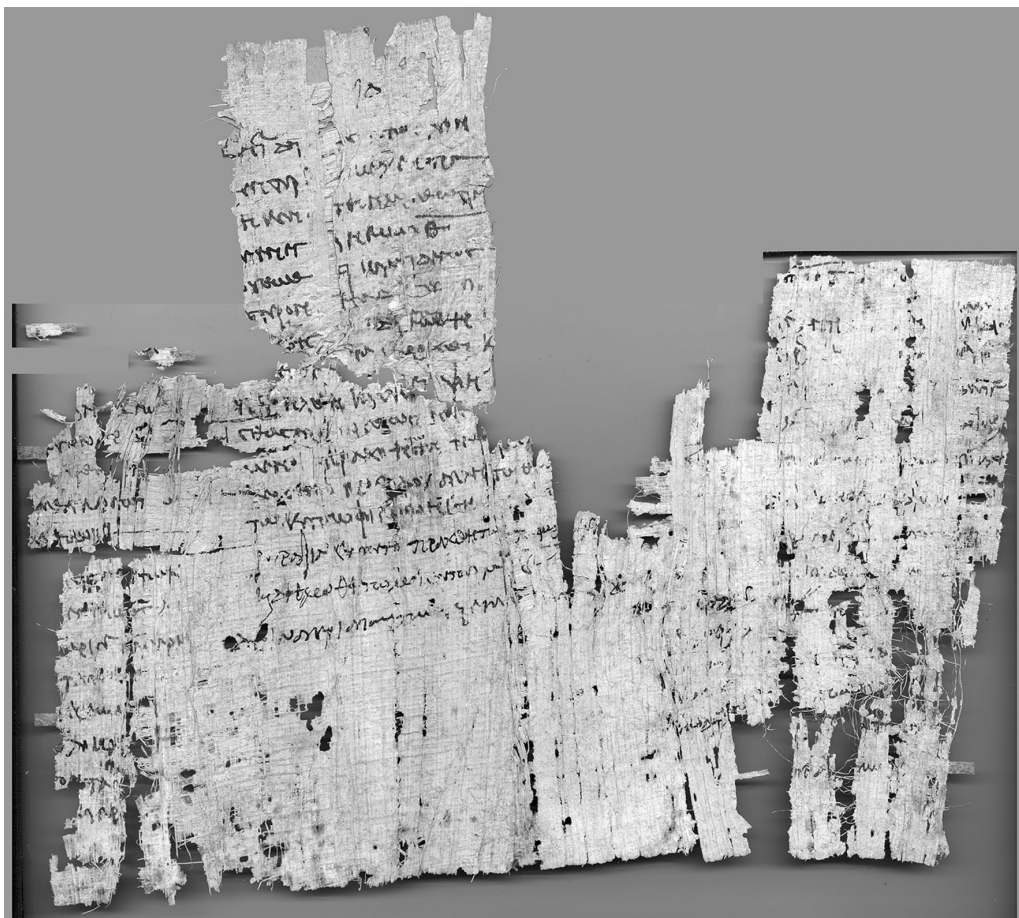
<sup>1</sup> There are three potential examples in Arsinoite documents, but they are all doubtful: P.Count 31.51 (254–231 BC) Ψέννησις; SB I 5244.5 (8 BC) Ψ[ένν]ησις, but the image shows that the reading is very uncertain (there is no lacuna but damaged letters); and P.Leid.Inst. 35v.5, but the text is not necessarily Arsinoite (cf. T. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* ii (2002) 970 n. 60).

<sup>2</sup> There have been no additions to the list in P.Heid. IV, pp. 77–8, published in 1986; cf. M. Langellotti, *L'allevamento di pecore e capre nell'Egitto romano: aspetti economici e sociali* (2012) 118–19.

<sup>3</sup> See W. Clarysse, *Tomoi Synkollēsimoι*, in M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions* (2003) 354 and n. 27. Another example is the roll of applications for epicrisis published as P.Oxy. XLVI 3276–3284 (148/9).



P.Haw. inv. 316 + 322 (front)



P.Haw. inv. 316 + 322 (back)

P.Haw. inv. 316r + 322r (ii)

21.7 (w) × 18.5 (h) cm<sup>4</sup>

29 January 143

Κλαυδίωι Π[ρωτογένει  
 παρὰ Ταήσιου c. 18 ]  
 ἀπὸ κώμης [ c. 10 ὑπῆρχέ μοι τῶ ]  
 διελθόντι ε (ἔτει) [Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ]  
 5 κυρίου πρόβ(ατα) τεσσ[αράκοντα (?), ἃ καὶ ἀπογρ(άφομαι)]  
 εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ζ (ἔτος) [ c. 20 ]  
 τὰ αὐτὰ πρ[ό]β(ατα) [ c. 13 νεμόμ(ενα) περιί]  
 ὄλον τὸν νομὸν διὰ Σοκμ[  
 (ἔτους) ζ Αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αί]σαρος Τίτου Α[ιλίου]  
 10 Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀνω[νί]νου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς,  
 Μεχειρ δ.  
 ἔγρ(αψεν) Σαραπίων Ἀρπάλ(ου) ὑπὲρ αὐτ(ῆς) ἀγ[ρ]αμμάτου οὐζ[ης.]

4, 6 ζ 5, 7 προ<sup>β</sup> 9 L 12 εγρς, αρπαλ, αυ<sup>τ</sup>

‘To Claudius Protogenes ... from Tasis ... from the village ... In the past 5<sup>th</sup> year of Antoninus Caesar the lord I possessed forty (?) sheep, which I register in the current 6<sup>th</sup> year ... the same sheep ... grazing in the entire nome through Sokm- .... Year 6 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Mecheir 4.

‘Sarapion son of Harpalos wrote on her behalf because she is illiterate.’

1 Κλαυδίωι Π[ρωτογένει. Restored from SB XVIII 13241.1. He was either a strategus or a royal scribe.

2 Ταήσιου. The name (TM Nam 1237) is attested throughout Egypt, but most examples come from the Fayum.

3–6 ὑπῆρχέ μοι τῶ | διελθόντι ε (ἔτει) [Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ] | κυρίου πρόβ(ατα) τεσσ[αράκοντα (?), ἃ καὶ ἀπογρ(άφομαι)] | εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ζ (ἔτος). Cf. SB 13241.3–5, read as ὑπῆρχέ μοι τῶι διελ(ηλυθότι) [ε (ἔτει) Ἀνω[νί]νου Καίσαρος] | τοῦ κυρίου πρόβ(ατα) με αἰ[ξ] α], ἐ[ν] δὲ τῶι ἐνεστῶτι | ζ (ἔτει) πρόβ(ατα) πενήκοντα αἰξ [α, ἃ ἀπογράφομαι] εἰς τὸ | ζ (ἔτος). There are no close parallels; S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 171, described the clause as ‘stranamente imprecisa, perchè non spiega l’aumento del gregge’. The restored part of l. 4 is conjectural, to accommodate ]ε[ (the reading is secure) and the reference to the 6<sup>th</sup> year in l. 5, but the text thus obtained makes good sense.

διελ(θόντι) is to be read also in SB 13241.3 instead of διελ(ηλυθότι); it is the participle used in Oxyrhynchite declarations, whereas in other regions we find διεληλυθότι (in SB XXII 15780.6 (Ars.; 144/5), read διελ(ηλυθότι), not διελ(θόντι)). ἃ καὶ ἀπογρ(άφομαι) εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ζ (ἔτος) is the standard construction in Arsinoite, Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite declarations, and I have restored it here; we may accordingly restore ἃ καὶ ἀπογρ(άφομαι) εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ζ (ἔτος) in SB 13241.5 too.

5 τεσσ[αράκοντα] or τέσσ[αρα]. It is possible that αἰξ α followed, as in SB 13241.4.

6 There might have been another reference to Antoninus Pius in the lost part of the line, [Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου], but this would have been very tightly written.

7 τὰ αὐτὰ πρ[ό]β(ατα). Cf. PSI I 56.5–8 (Herm.; 107) ἃ καὶ ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς δέκατον (ἔτος) | Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, τὰ αὐτὰ | πρόβ(ατα).

7–8 νεμόμ(ενα) περιί | ὄλον τὸν νομὸν διὰ Σοκμ[. Cf. SB 13241.7–8 [ν]εμόμ(ενα) | περιὶ ὄλον τὸν νομ(ὸν) διὰ Ψεννήσιο(c) Πασ[. ]σιου. Σοκμ[ suggests Cόκμη, a name typical of the Fayum, though we seem to find Cόκμων in the Theban O.Ashm.Shelt. 28.3 and O.Bodl. II 1474.4 (with BL IX 403), both of 168 (Cοκμή(νεωσ) in O.Wilck. 822.4 (Theb.; 126) cannot be verified). Alternatives would be Σοκμ[ or ποιμ[ένος, the latter suggested by W. B. Hen-

<sup>4</sup> These are the dimensions of the entire pasted up sheet; Milne gave 22 (w) × 13.4 (h) cm for inv. 322. The images published here are composites created by Ben Henry, from scans made by Giada Orlietti in 2009 during an Erasmus traineeship at UCL; it will not be possible to join the two fragments physically for some time. Older images of inv. 322 are available at [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/GrandLatMisc/hawara/papydata/phaw\\_322.htm](https://www.ucl.ac.uk/GrandLatMisc/hawara/papydata/phaw_322.htm). – I am grateful to Dr Henry for his work on the images and for comments on this edition.

ry. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 166, has pointed out that the formula recalls the Oxyrhynchite δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ διὰ νομέως *name*; cf. also the collocation νεμόμενα ... δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ in Heracleopolite declarations.

Μεχειρ δ. [Μεχ]ειρ δ should be read also in SB 13241.10, in place of [ . . . . ] δ. From the end of the first century onwards, Mecheir was the month in which declarations of livestock were filed.

12 The subscription parallels 13241.11 [ἔ]γραψ[εν] Ὠρο[ς] Πανίσκου [ὕ]π(ερ) ἀντ(ή)ς [ἀ]γραμμάτ(ου) οὔτης (not γράμμ[α]τ(α) μὴ εἰδ(υί)ης; οὔτης is written very quickly). Illiteracy formulas beginning with ἔγραψεν/-α *name* are rare, and seem to point to Upper Egypt. Cf. a set of contemporary documents from Heptakomia: P.Giss. 6.i.17 (117), P.Alex. Giss. 15.26–7 (119), 16.19–20 (119). There is another example in P.Erl. 89, a papyrus only summarily described, which contains the phrase ἔγρα(ψεν) Ἀφροδ(ίτιος) [ὕ]π(ερ) ἀν(τ)οῦ μὴ εἰδ(ότιος) γρά(μματα); the text refers to *Κενορκενο[υφ]ις*, a name at home in Upper Egypt.

Ἀρπάλ(ου). The shape of the uncertain alpha is unusual. The name Ἄρπαλος (TM Nam 2309) is only rarely attested in Upper Egypt.

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