## A Lease of a Palm Grove in Duplicate

P.Prag. III 245 is a lease of a third part of a palm grove situated in the Arsinoite village of Aphrodites Berenikes Polis. It was thought to survive in two fragments, but these are two copies of the same document. Their overlap helps with the reconstruction and reading of several damaged or otherwise difficult passages that obscure the text of the first edition. Closer study of the plates (Tavv. XLIV-XLV; digital images at http://www.psi-online.it/documents/pprag;3;245) has led to further textual gains, so that a new edition is presented below. A few problems remain; the state of preservation of the papyrus and the very fast handwriting pose some formidable challenges.

Both copies were written by the same hand, the second on a sheet slightly wider than the first. Copy A is complete at the top and broken below; the opposite applies to B. Copy B corresponds to A. 12 ff ., and contains three further lines not extant in A. B lacks a subscription and date, as often in copies; whether these elements were present in A, we cannot tell. Arsinoite leases surviving in two copies are listed in P.Col. X 284 introd.; see further B. Nielsen, ZPE 129 (2000) 187-214. P.Stras. V 336a-b (212) is the only other known lease of a palm grove written in duplicate.

Besides the trees, the lease includes $\delta 1 \alpha \alpha \psi \varepsilon 1 \lambda \alpha$, uncultivated areas around them that the lessee would sow. The only other leases attesting this term concern vineyards and olive groves (see below, A. 8 n .), but leases including the grounds around the trees are common; cf. those with $\varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \delta \alpha ́ \varphi \eta$, such as P.Soter. 4 (87), P.Heid. IV 329 (105/6? ${ }^{1}$ ), and probably BGU XV 2484 (117-61) and P.Hamb. IV 269 ( $3^{\text {rd }}$ c.), or those whose object is a $\varphi$ оиıкø̀v $\dot{v} \pi о с \pi \varepsilon \imath \rho o ́ \mu \varepsilon v o c, ~ a ~ ' p a l m ~ g r o v e ~ s o w n ~ b e n e a t h ', ~ v i z . ~ P . O x f . ~ 13 ~(1542), ~ P . S t r a s . ~ V I ~ 571 ~$ (175), P.Corn. $11\left(204 ?^{3}\right)$, and SPP XX 21 (215). For a list of leases of palm groves from Roman Fayum, see ZPE 208 (2018) 176-7 (it misses this text).

The duration of the lease is four years, counted from the 'current fifth' year of Antoninus Pius, which began on 29 August 141. It was made while the fruits were still hanging from the palm trees, i.e. before the harvest, which would take place in the autumn, mainly in September-October; see M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten (1925) 297-8. The latest autumn date on which a lease of a palm grove was made is 29 September; it comes from P.Stras. VI 571, in which the fruits are said to have fallen already. Our lease then is not likely to date from later than October 141. The sowing of other crops mentioned in it would take place in November.

My transcriptions diverge from the ed.pr. in numerous places; only some of the more significant differences will be mentioned in the notes. To facilitate comparison, I give the full text of the ed.pr. before each transcript, in continuous lines. In the apparatus, Verschleifung is indicated as v, vv, or vvv, but the reports are not comprehensive (e.g. the $\omega \mu$ and $\omega v$ clusters are not included). ${ }^{4}$

[^0]
## Copy A

















## 


 $\delta \eta \mu о с i ́ \omega v \pi \alpha ́ \nu \tau \omega v$ ő[v $\tau \omega v \pi \rho o ̀ c ~ с \grave{\varepsilon} \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ C \alpha \rho \alpha \pi ı \alpha ́ \delta \alpha$, $\kappa \alpha i ̀ \mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \chi \rho o ́ v o v ~ \pi ~[~[\alpha \rho \alpha \delta \omega ́ c \omega ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \varphi o ı v ı \kappa ळ ิ v \alpha ~ \kappa \alpha \theta \alpha \rho o ̀ v] ~$



 $14 \alpha v v v \tau \rho \imath \tau \quad 17$ vлос久s $26 \kappa \alpha \lambda v v \quad 27$ 1. 甲оívıк $\alpha c$
'To Sarapias daughter of Arist-, with her guardian Herakl- son of Herakl-, her relative, from Mystharion son of Theon, (of those from the) metropolis, registered in the district of Phremei, Persian of the descent. I wish to lease from you the third part, common and undivided, of a palm grove that belongs to you in the village of Aphrodites Berenikes polis of the division of

Herakleides, with uncultivated areas, of six aruras or as many as they may be, for four years, four crops and sowings, the palm trees from the hanging palm fruits of the past fourth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, the uncultivated areas from the sowing of the current fifth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, at a total annual rent for the same third part of eighty silver drachmas; and I shall carry out the harvesting and all the seasonal tasks, the making of dikes, irrigation, ploughing, the clearing of dikes, and everything that is appropriate, sowing the uncultivated areas with whatever I choose except for safflower, and providing myself with seed; and I shall pay the annual rent in the month of Hathyr, the public transport charges falling to me, Mystharion, and the other public charges falling to you, Sarapias; and at the end of the term I shall surrender the palm grove free from rushes, reeds, coarse grass and all dirt, and the palm trees bearing fruit ...'
 but everything after the first name is dubious: the origin of the lessors was not given in Arsinoite leases of hypomnematic form, and Sarapias, being a woman (not recognized by the editor, who translated 'Sarapione figlio di Arist(onico?)' and restored [ $\tau$ òv $\mathrm{C} \alpha \rho \alpha \pi 1 \alpha \dot{\alpha} \alpha \alpha$ ] at 24 and B.13), would have appeared with a male guardian. What was read as $\kappa \dot{\omega}(\mu \eta c)$ T $\alpha$ conceals $\mu \varepsilon \tau \dot{\alpha}$, and the line ends vovc. This suggests the common phrase $\mu \varepsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \kappa$ крíov $\tau 0 \hat{v}$ cv $\gamma \gamma \varepsilon$ vov̂c, followed by the name of the relative and guardian, but it is
 may account for the spatial distribution of the traces, but it is a compromise; I have also tried to read $\mu \varepsilon \tau \grave{\alpha}$


 of a genitive, and $\dot{\alpha} \pi \grave{o} \mu \eta \tau \rho о \pi o ́ \lambda \varepsilon \omega c$ (cf. ed. pr.), though attested in registers, is not found in contracts or declarations when a reference to a city district follows. The expected phrase is $\tau \hat{\omega} v \dot{\alpha} \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\eta} c \mu \eta \tau \rho o \pi o ́ \lambda \varepsilon \omega c$, with $\tau \hat{\omega} v$ sometimes omitted. I have wondered whether the saw-tooth writing before $\mu$ might represent $\tau \hat{\omega} v$ $\dot{\alpha} \pi$ ò $\tau \eta \hat{c}$, reduced to a minimum as it is a common formulation, but the shortening would be excessive.




 the acreage of the uncultivated area ('uncultivated aruras' were restored also in 1.12 and frB.1). $\delta 1 \alpha \psi \varepsilon$ í $\lambda$ oic is used as a substantive. There is no other instance of còv $\delta 1 \alpha \psi \varepsilon i ́ \lambda o c c$, but cf. P.Hamb. I 71.34 (Ars.; 149) ${ }_{\alpha} \neq \varepsilon \varepsilon v \delta i \alpha \psi i ́ \lambda \omega v$ (sim. 1. 19). The term is discussed in P.Panop. 14 introd. (ZPE 7 (1971) 35-6); DGE s.v.
 (II d.C.), $\gamma \hat{\eta}$ POxy. 707.23 (II d.C.), 3365.65 (III d.C.) ... • subst. đò $\delta$. terreno baldío, PRyl. 583.20 (II a.C.), PBerl.Leihg.31.2.24 (II d.C.).' One of the passages cited requires correction. CPR I 34.5-6 (Ars.; 217-23)
 for ov̋cac, but this would be odd. The online image shows that the text should be revised to read $[\hat{\varepsilon}] \underline{\chi} \alpha \hat{i} c$ $\delta t \alpha ́ \psi i \lambda \alpha$, 'in which (there are) uncultivated (areas)'; cf. P.Oxf. 13.9 (Ars.; 154) $\dot{\alpha} \mu \pi \varepsilon \lambda o ̂ v o c ~ \varepsilon ̇ v ~ o i ̂ c ~ \delta ı \alpha ́ \alpha ~ \psi i \lambda \alpha . ~$
 four-year leases of palm groves are P.Corn. 11 (204?) and P.Lond. inv. 1602a, ed. ZPE 208 (2018) 173ff.


 of the text before it. There is no textual loss at the end of 1.13 , but the writing is very cramped and the scribe uses Verschleifung; I juxtapose clippings of the ends of $11.11-13$ and the corresponding part from B.2:


 to particular letters. Similar Verschleifung occurs in lines 1 (see n.), 11, and elsewhere.

12 đò $\delta] \grave{̨} \delta t \alpha ́ \psi \varepsilon ı \lambda \alpha$ [. Nothing will have followed in the break at the end of the line; cf. B.2.
 vestigial but is required by the grammar. The formulation is novel; leases (mostly) of the third century have

 lease concerned one-third of 6 aruras $=2$ aruras), which is not high; cf. the table in ZPE 208 (2018) 176-7.
$16 \underset{K}{K}[\alpha \tau \alpha c \pi \alpha] \subset \mu[o v ́] c$. Restored from B.6. The term refers to 'plucking' (LSJ s.v.) and generally the gathering of fruits from olive and palm trees. It is mentioned in three other leases of palm groves, but as part of a series of works; cf. P.Soter. 4.27 (87), P.Stras. IV 267.18 (126-8), SB IV 7441.12 (230). The wording of the clause is not attested elsewhere; cf. also next note.

16-17 $\tau \grave{\alpha} \kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \kappa \alpha u l \rho o ̀ v ~ \varepsilon ̌ p \gamma[\alpha$. This expression has occurred only in Oxyrhynchite 'leases of works', usually in vineyards and orchards: P.Oxy. XLVII 3354.36-7 (257), XIV 1631.27, 29 (280), PSI XIII 1338.15 (299), P.Col. X 284.8 = SB XXII 15769.10 (311).
$17 \chi[\omega \mu \alpha \tau \iota c \mu \mathrm{o}]$ v́c. The traces of the first letter would also admit $\pi$, but $\pi[\varepsilon \rho \imath \chi \omega \mu \alpha \tau \imath c \mu \mathrm{o}]$ v́c would be too long for the lacuna.
$20 \pi \lambda \grave{\eta}[\mathrm{~V}$ кขๆ́коv. A common provision in Arsinoite land leases (cf. P.Soter. 3.24f. n.); among those of palm groves, cf. P.Soter. 4.13 (87) and BGU XV 2484.3-4 (2 $2^{\text {nd }} \mathrm{c}$.). The note in ed.pr. (B. 8 n .) refers to the older view that the cultivation of safflower was avoided because it would have affected the quality of the land. D. Hagedorn, ZPE 17 (1975) 85-90, has argued that the reason may have been financial: the cultivation of safflower and other plants used for dyeing may have been subject to a state monopoly and attracted additional taxation.
$\dot{\varepsilon}[\alpha v] \tau[\widehat{\varphi} \chi] \stackrel{̣}{\rho} \eta \gamma \widehat{\omega}[v] c \pi \varepsilon \rho[\mu \alpha \tau \alpha]$. This phrase may be paralleled from a number of Arsinoite leases of earlier date: P.Mich. XII 632.15-16 (26), P.IFAO I 1.15 (27), P.Mich. V 311.16-17 (32).
 to the river harbours; for references, see P.Berl.Monte 8.13-15 n.

26 The lost part of the line corresponds to B.15; there may have been further textual losses after $\pi \alpha ́ c \eta \subset$, but the sense seems complete.


 this text suggested that $\dot{v} \pi o ́ \kappa \alpha \rho \pi o v ~ m i g h t ~ b e ~ a d v e r b i a l, ~ b u t ~ i t ~ i s ~ p r e f e r a b l e ~ t o ~ a r t i c u l a t e ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~ к \alpha \rho \pi o ́ v, ~ w i t h ~$ BL VIII 428. The same applies to the Vienna papyrus; the online image shows that it has v $v o \kappa \alpha \rho \pi o v$, i.e. úò к $\alpha \rho \pi$ óv. ن́ $\pi$ óк $\alpha \rho \pi$ oc may thus be deleted from the lexica.

The lacuna at the right may have contained a phrase on the lines of 'as I received (them)'; SPP XX 21.27 continues $\check{\omega} c \pi[\varepsilon] \rho \pi \alpha \rho \varepsilon ́ \lambda \alpha \beta o v$, and P.Stras. VII 673.9-10 $\kappa \alpha \theta \grave{\omega}[c]\{\kappa \alpha \theta \grave{\omega} c\} \mid \pi \alpha \rho \varepsilon \lambda \lambda \alpha \dot{\alpha} \beta \mu \varepsilon v$. The text would have continued as in B.16-18, followed by the subscription of the lessee.

Copy B







## [. .].]









слє́ $\rho \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$, к $\alpha i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ к \alpha \tau ’ ~ ह ै \tau о с ~ \varphi o ́ \rho о \nu ~ \alpha ́ \pi о \delta ́ ́ c \omega ~$


$\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \grave{\varepsilon}$ 呅 $\lambda \lambda \omega v \delta \eta \mu \circ c i ́ \omega v \pi \alpha ́ v \tau \omega v$ őv $\tau \omega v \pi \rho o ̀ c ~ c \grave{\varepsilon}$




[.]. . . . . . . .[. .]. .[. . . . . .] $\delta \grave{\varepsilon} \kappa \alpha \tau^{\prime}$ ётос
. $\mu v i ̈ \alpha i ̈ \omega v$ со́кко̣ч̣ $\delta$ v́o.
2, 7 1. $\delta \iota \alpha ́ \psi i \lambda \alpha \quad$ 31. Av $\tau \omega v i ́ v o v ~ к \alpha ı c \alpha \rho\left[{ }^{[ }\right] \tau 0 v v o v ~ 16 \varphi \alpha \rho \bar{\mu}$

6 Cf . A.16. My reading is tentative, as the clause is not exactly paralleled and the writing is partly lost. It assumes two scribal errors, the first of them not easy to explain. For another error, see next note.

6-7 A saut du même au même: the scribe jumped to the text that came after the second $\pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \tau \alpha$ in the original, and then added the omitted text between the lines, here signalled as line 6 a .

14 This line corresponds to A.25-26. It looks long as restored; unless there was an omission, some of these words must have been written very quickly or ellipitically (cf. $\theta \rho$ v́ov к $\alpha \lambda \alpha ́ \mu$ ov in A.26).

15 Unlike the previous line, this is too short. One more word or two may be missing after $\pi \alpha \dot{c} \neq \eta$ c.
16 тоịc ${ }^{\prime \prime} \rho \gamma o t c$ c $\Phi \alpha \rho \mu(0 v \theta \mathrm{v})$. The phrase is unparalleled, but K. Maresch reminds me of the


18 Leases often mention extra payments in kind, and this may be one: two sacks of a product whose name is uncertain. What remains of the first letter suggests $¢$ or $\gamma$, but no such word is known. $\mu v i ̈ \alpha i ̈ \omega v$ recalls $\mu$ оv́ $\alpha$, a measure of hay. The mysterious $\mu$ оv́ı $\alpha$ c $\alpha \kappa \tau \alpha ́$ in SB XVII 11960.43, 116 (2 $2^{\text {nd }}$ c.) might offer a parallel. K. Maresch tentatively suggests ( $\tau \rho \imath) \mu$ ọı $\alpha i ́ \omega v$ or $(\dot{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha) \mu$ ọv $\alpha i ́ \omega v$.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The editor dated this text to ' $105 / 6$ ?' (date queried because of its somewhat uncertain attribution to the reign of Trajan) but also noted that the lease would have been made in Pachon or Payni of year 9 ( $10-11 \mathrm{n}$.). The remaining summer months are possible too, so that we may place it in May-August 106.
    ${ }^{2}$ The HGV date is $154 / 5$. The lease was written in year 18 of Antoninus Pius (= $154 / 5$ ); we may narrow the date to the early months of the year, since the fruits are described as being on the trees.
    ${ }^{3}$ The HGV date is 204/5 or 233/4 (year 13 of Severus and Sons or Severus Alexander). The earlier date is preferable on prosopographical grounds; cf. P.Yale III 137.11 n . (with BL XII 56), 74 n . The fruits were said to be about to fall in the current year, which implies that the text should date from autumn 204.
    ${ }^{4}$ I am grateful to Gabriella Messeri for helpful comments on a draft.

