

NIKOLAOS GONIS

P.SAKAON 73 + SB XII 11024: TWO LEASES OF GOATS REDUCED TO ONE

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 222 (2022) 207–210

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn



## P.SAKAON 73 + SB XII 11024: TWO LEASES OF GOATS REDUCED TO ONE

Leases of goats are extremely few. They all come from the Fayum and date from the late third and early fourth centuries: P.Stras. I 30 = P.Chept. 12 (276), P.Sakaon 73, SB XII 11024 (both of 328).<sup>1</sup> The last two turn out to be parts of the same document, which now becomes more or less complete (P.Sakaon 73 is itself a composite, made up of P.Thead. 9 + 56). A new edition is presented below.<sup>2</sup>

The archive or rather dossier of Aurelius Sakaon (TM ArchID 206) was found in Theadelphia and was dispersed at the very beginning of the 20th century, with the bulk housed in Cairo (P.Thead.) and the rest in European and American collections. Though it is not surprising to find a Sakaon papyrus divided between two places (cf. P.Sakaon 3 = P.Ryl. IV 656 + P.Thead. 55), it is remarkable that a piece joining one of the original find was on the market as late as the 1920s; SB XII 11024, now held at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore of Milan, was part of an acquisition of papyri in 1921 or shortly thereafter.<sup>3</sup> The lot of 1921 included several pieces from the archive of Harthotes, which are earlier in date but also come from Theadelphia. Harthotes papyri and others from this site were sold at various points in the 1920s by more than one dealer.<sup>4</sup> P.Corn. 19 = P.Sakaon 76 (298) is another papyrus from the wider dossier that was purchased at that time (1921 or 1922); one other related text, P.Mich. inv. 403 (306/7), was bought in Egypt in early 1920.<sup>5</sup> One wonders whether there were more Sakaon papyri in circulation in the 1920s.

The text of P.Sakaon 73 is fully restored where not extant. The additional piece reveals that many of the supplements were insecure, but the textual gains hardly alter the general picture: this is a two-year lease of ten goats, now known to be female, at an annual rent of five kids. The text of SB XII 11024 had other difficulties. (Most divergences from the earlier editions will not be reported in the notes.) The back of the Milan fragment is said to have  $\mu\acute{\iota}\theta[\omega\tau\iota\varsigma \quad ] \alpha[\iota]\gamma\omega[v]$  (*vac.*)  $\lambda$ , ‘lease ... of 30 goats’, but the goats are 10, and the editor notes that the traces are ‘completamente svanite’ (*Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 56), but no sublinear dots are supplied. In the absence of a photograph, I refrain from speculation.

A point of interest is the reference to the indiction. In the cycle of 312 to 327, the indiction was equated to the regnal (and civil) year and started on Thoth 1. According to Bagnall and Worp, *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 18, ‘In the

<sup>1</sup> Three others concern sheep as well as goats: P.Alex.Giss. 5 (215), SB V 8086 = P.Chept. 9 (268), P.Sakaon 71 (306). On leases of this kind, see M. Langellotti, *AnPap* 18–20 (2006–2008) 145–54.

<sup>2</sup> I studied P.Sakaon 73 from the online images, scans of black-and-white 35mm films made by the International Photographic Archive in 1973 (for the technical challenges of photography in the Cairo Museum at that time, see the review of P.Sakaon by R. Coles, *EΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ* 31 (1979) 518). For SB XII 11024, I relied on the plate in *Aegyptus* 50 (1970), before p. 49 (front only); it has not been possible to obtain digital images. The composite image published in this article was created by Ben Henry, whom I thank for this and for helpful comments on the transcription.

<sup>3</sup> The older part of the collection of the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore derives from purchases made in the 1920s for the Scuola Papirologica, Regia Accademia Scientifica-Letteraria di Milano. The papyri passed to the Cattolica when A. Calderini moved to this institution; see C. Balconi, *Pap.Congr. XXIV* (2007) 76–7, and C. Gallazzi, *Annali di storia delle università italiane* 11 (2007) 168. According to the report by L. Criscuolo, *Papyrus Collections World Wide, 9–10 March 2000 (Brussels–Leuven)* (2000) 59, ‘it is now impossible to know exactly when the papyri were bought or given’. The first important purchase was made in winter 1920/21. Calderini wrote of ‘l’acquisto di un manipolo di parecchie decine di papiri greci’ in the Milan newspaper *La Perseveranza* of 15 March 1921, and reported the ‘donazione ... di molti papiri nuovi’ in *Aegyptus* 2 (1921) 114. In a letter to H. I. Bell dated 19 March 1921 (British Library MS Add. 59057, f.13), he wrote: ‘Abbiamo avuto anche noi una 80<sup>a</sup> di papiri inediti, del I–VI secolo d. Cr., tutti documentari.’ Calderini offered a preliminary description of these papyri in *I “papiri milanesi” ed altre antichità egizie in Milano. Prolusione al Corso di papirologia per l’anno scolastico 1921–22* (1922); their number, ‘circa 60 papiri’, is given on p. 8. They include those that appeared in P.Mil. I (1928), as well as others published later, such as P.Mil. II 35 (= C.Pap.Gr. II.1 23) (inv. 9), 54 (inv. 93), 74 (inv. 48), 80 (inv. 7), or P.Daris 7 (a surprising appearance). One might query whether the Harthotes papyri were acquired separately from the rest, since the papyri in P.Mil. I are said to belong to a particular group; cf. Calderini’s preface to P.Mil. I<sup>2</sup> (1967), ‘ripubblichiamo i testi della Collezione Jacovelli–Vita’, and S. Daris’ preface to P.Mil. II (1966), ‘i testi appartenenti al fondo Jacovelli–Vita (P.Med. I. nn. 1–12)’, who describes all other papyri as ‘appartenenti al fondo Castelli che rappresenta il nucleo fondamentale della intera collezione’. Yet Calderini in his *Prolusione* spoke of funds received from Jacovelli and Vita as well as from Castelli without ascribing the papyri to groups, and there are papyri of the archive of Harthotes among those associated with the ‘fondo Castelli’, namely P.Mil. II 43 (inv. 52) and SB XIV 11279 (inv. 281). In short, the ‘fondo Jacovelli–Vita’ may not reflect a purchase limited to the twelve papyri of P.Mil. I.

<sup>4</sup> On the acquisition history of the archive of Harthotes (TM ArchID 99), see W. G. Claytor, *BASP* 53 (2016) 80–81.

<sup>5</sup> My thanks to Graham Claytor, who drew my attention to this text, scheduled for publication in P.Mich.Cent.

Arsinoite, indiction 15 seems to have been prolonged beyond the end of Mesore 327, and 16 probably began only in the early summer of 328.<sup>6</sup> Our text is dated to 28 September 328 by the consuls and describes the 17th indiction as ‘current’. This would hold if indiction 17 began on 29 August (Thoth 1), which makes a start of indiction 16 in summer 328 difficult. A key document in the notion of the prolonged indiction is P.Sakaon 72, dated 24 June (Payni 30) 327, which mentions a payment to be made ‘in the month of Thoth of the current consulship in the current fifteenth indiction’. If we assume an error, that the writer failed to see that Thoth fell in indiction 16 and not in indiction 15, which was still current in Payni, the difficulty disappears.<sup>6</sup>

Cairo, JdE 59001 + 59047 + P.Med. inv. 54

16.5 cm (w) × 24.5 cm (h)

28 September 328

Αὐρ[η]λίω Ζακαῶνι [C]αταβο[ῦ]τῶς ἀπὸ  
 κόμης Θεαδελφίας  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμωνίου[υ] Κανία [ . . . . ]  
 μαρίας. βούλ[ο]μαι μισθῶ[α]σθαι παρὰ [co]ῦ  
 5 ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων [ο]ι αἰ[γ]ας τελεία[ς θ]ηλ(είας)  
 δέκα ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τῆς [ἐν]ε-  
 [τώρη]ς ἑπτακεδεκάτης [ι]νδικτίων[ο]ς  
 [φόρου] τῶν αἰγῶν ἐνιαυτείως ἐρίφια  
 [π]έντε ἀρρενικὰ κὲ θηλυκὰ ἐξ ἴσου  
 10 [ἀνυπο]λόγου καὶ ἀκίνδυνου καὶ οὐκ ἐξ-  
 [έ]ται μοι ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου προλείπειν  
 [τῆ]ν μίσθωσιν κατ’ οὐδένα τρόπον ἀλλὰ  
 [καὶ] ἐπάναγκον ἐπιταλέ[σ]ω τὰ τῶν αἰγῶν  
 [ἔργ]α πάντα ὅσα καθήκει [ἐ]κ τοῦ ἰδίου τοῖς  
 15 [δέου]σι καιροῖς βλάβο[ς] μὴ δὲ ἐν ποιῶν, τῶν  
 [δὲ φόρου]ν ἀποδ[ώ]σω του[ . . . . ] . . . ἔτους μηνὶ  
 [ . . . ] καὶ [μετ]ὰ [τὸν] χρόνον παραδώσω τὰς  
 [αἰγ]ας ἀθανάτους c. 10 κα[θ]ὼς καὶ γὰρ παρ-  
 [λαβ]ον ἢ μίσθωσις κυρία καὶ ἐ[π]ερωτηθῆς  
 20 [ὡμ]ολ[όγη]σα. [ . . . ]  
 [ὑ]πατείας Φλαουίου Ἰανουαριανοῦ  
 καὶ Οὐαιτείου Ἰούτου τῶν λαμπροτάτων,  
 Φαωφι α. Αὐρήλιω Ἀμμώνιος ἔγραψα  
 τὰ ὅλα.

1 I. Καταβοῦτος 2 I. κόμης Θεαδελφίας 4 I. μισθῶσασθαι 6 I. χρόνον, δύο ἀπὸ 7 I. ἑπτακαιδεκάτης  
 8 I. ἐνιαυτείως 9 I. ἀρρενικὰ καὶ θηλυκὰ 10 I. ἀνυπόλογα, ἀκίνδυνα 13 I. ἐπιτελέσω, τῶν 14 I. ὅσα  
 15 I. τὸν 16 I. ἀποδώσω 19 I. ἐπερωτηθῆς 21 I. Ἰανουαρίνου 22 I. Οὐετίου 23 I. Αὐρήλιος  
 24 I. ὅλα

‘To Aurelius Sakaon son of Satabous from the village of Theadelphia, from Aurelius Ammonius son of Kanias(?), . . . -maria. I wish to lease from you, from your belongings, ten fully-grown female goats, for a period of two years, from the current seventeenth indiction, at a rent for the goats of five kids annually, male and female equally, without deduction or risk; and it shall not be permissible for me to abandon the lease within the term in any way, but I shall of necessity perform all the tasks concerning the goats which

<sup>6</sup> I should also note that the conclusion drawn from SPP II p. 33 about the start of the indiction in the Hermopolite nome in early summer is not inescapable: ‘The language of SPP II, p. 33, moreover, shows that an indiction starting by Pauni in use already at this time; in other words, that the characteristic early summer starting date of the indiction year in the cycle of 327–342 was already established in 328.’ (CSBE<sup>2</sup> 17.) This is a land lease dated to 24 August 328, which refers to payments τῷ Παυνι καὶ ἰ [Ἐπ]ειφ μητὶ τῆς εὐτ[υχο]ῦς ἐκομένης ἰς ἰνδικτίωνος ἧτοιγ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) (Il. 10–11). Even if in late antique leases such expressions routinely point to the fiscal, Pachon indiction, in this early phase of the indiction system we cannot rule out that in Hermopolis indiction 17 = 3 began on 29 August 328, as in the Fayum.



are appropriate, at my own expense, at the proper times, without causing any damage, and I shall pay the rent ... year in the month ...; and on the expiration of the term I shall surrender the goats immortal ..., just as I received them. The lease is binding, and upon being asked the formal question I gave my assent.

‘In the consulship of Flavius Ianuarinus and Vettius Iustus, *viri clarissimi*, Phaophi 1. I, Aurelius Ammonios, wrote everything.’

1 Αὐρ[η]λίω Ζακαῶνι [C]αταβο[ῦ]τωσ. Sakaon is known as a lessee, lessor, and seller of livestock; see M. Langellotti, *AnPap* 18–20 (2006–2008) 149–50.

3 Κανία. The name is known from P.Abinn. 71.15 (mid 4th cent.; Philadelphia?) Κανίασ, and SB XXVIII 17073.11 (late 3rd cent.; Dionysias) Κανείασ. Κανίω[υ] (the regular genitive ending) or Κανίω[σ] may also be considered.

3–4 [ . . . . ] . | μαρίασ. (The traces at the end of l. 3, not reported in the first edition, may be illusory.) The text in P.Sakaon has μητρὸς | Μαρίασ, essentially after P.Theod. 9. BL VIII 302 records the proposal to read ἀπὸ Εὐη]μαρίασ, implied by J. D. Thomas, *Gnomon* 53 (1981) 807 (‘3–4 may refer to a place of origin rather than a metronymic, cf. [P.Sakaon] 32. 15’ – the papyrus has Εὐημαρίασ). Someone’s origin from a village would have been expressed as ἀπὸ κόμησ + *name of village* (cf. II. 1–2), but there is no room for κόμησ. On the other hand, a reference to the lessee’s origin is expected at this point.

5–6 αἶ[γ]ασ τελεία[σ θ]ηλ(είασ) | δέκα. Cf. P.Stras. I 30.5–6 αἶγασ | θηλείασ τε[λ]είασ. The omission of ειασ after θηλ is curious (there is no abbreviation stroke). The traces read as δε at the beginning of l. 6 are scanty; I have considered θηλοικῶ (cf. l. 9 for the spelling), but this would assume an erroneous ending (-κάσ needed), an ungrammatical word division, and the omission of the number of goats leased.

9 ἀρρενεικὰ κὲ θηλοικὰ ἐξ ἵσου. We find similar formulations in SB V 8086.7 (268) and 8087.6 (271). The oddity in our text is that the number of kids, five, is not divisible into equal parts.

10 [ἀνυπο]λόγου καὶ ἀγινδύνου. The case is wrong, perhaps under the influence of ἵσου (ἀνυπό]λογα καὶ ἀκίνδυν[α was read in P.Sakaon).

11 προλείπειν. The present infinitive is much less frequent than the aorist in this context, even if we take ι(ο)tacism into account; προλιπεῖν is used in P.Sakaon 71.20 (306) (as corrected by D. Hagedorn) and 67.12 (321).

13–15 ἐπάναγκον ... καιροῖσ. (ἐπάναγκον was previously read as ἐπάναγων.) A standard phrase in Arsinoite land leases, adapted to fit the object of the lease. Cf. e.g. P.Sakaon 67.13–15, where τὰ τοῦ ἔτους τῶν ἀρουρῶν [ἔργα occupy the same place as τὰ τον αἰγῶν [ἔργα].

15–16 τὸν | [δὲ φόρο]ν. Cf. SPP XX 21.18–19 (215), P.Princ. III 150.12 (341). ω is written instead of ο in lines 1 and 6 (twice).

16 του[ . . . ] . . . ἵ ἔτους μηνί. The traces before ἔτους do not admit κατ’, printed in SB XII 11024. Reading ]οῦτι would be acceptable, and one might think of [εἰσι]όγτι, but the grammar would be faulty. (τοῦ[σ αἶγασ in P.Sakaon went back to the previous state of the text, when the gender of the goats was unknown.)

17 At the start of the line, perhaps supply Παννι. Cf. P.Stras. I 30.14–17 τὴν δὲ ἀπόδοσιν | τῶν αἰγῶν ... ποιή]κομ[έ]ροι κατ’ ἔτος ἕκαστον μηνὶ | Παννι, in a lease dated Thoth 10. But there is no fixed rule; in SB V 8086, dated Choiak, the rent is payable in Phamenoth and Thoth.

17–18 κ]αὶ [μετ]ᾶ [τὸν] χ[ρόνον] παραδώσω τὰσ | [αἶγασ ἀθανάτους c. 10 κ]α]θὼσ κτλ. Cf. P.Sakaon 71.25–6 καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώσω τοῦσ τε αἶγασ καὶ πρόβατα | ἀθάνατα, τέλει[α], εὐάρετα, πάντα καθὼσ κτλ.; sim. P.Stras. I 30.18–21. εὐάρετους or τελείασ πάσασ would just fit in the break.

20 The traces could belong to the lessee’s subscription but the space is tight. It is less likely that they belong to the line above.

21–2 The consular date in SB XII 11024 had already been revised (BL VIII 365). The same consular pair occurs in P.Sakaon 66 (328), where the first consul’s name is spelled correctly (Ἰανουαρίνου).