Most texts of the archive and wider dossier of Aurelius Sakaon (TM ArchID 206) first appeared in *Papyrus de Théadelphia* in 1911. Nothing was said about the find in this publication other than that the papyri entered the Cairo museum in spring 1903. Pierre Jouguet, the editor, was less reticent a few years earlier, when he spoke of ‘un lot saisi entre les mains d’un marchand par le Service des Antiquités d’Egypte’. The lot seized by the authorities did not contain all the papyri of the dossier. A few of them were bought by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt and were resold to the John Rylands Library at Manchester, and Girolamo Vitelli had purchased a handful of others in January 1903, and two other lots were acquired by the library of the University of Strasbourg, one in January 1902, and another possibly in 1900/1901. The find’s places of dispersal...
were not limited to Egypt and Europe. Two other papyri, published below,\(^5\) reached as far as Philadelphia in Pennsylvania; they entered the University Museum in 1902 through Wolfgang Max Müller, who would have bought them in Egypt in 1900.\(^6\) It appears then that Sakaon papyri circulated on the market well before the confiscation of the bulk of the archive by the Egyptian authorities, and for two or three years there were piecemeal sales of related papyri. A further implication is that there was not a single original find but a gradual accumulation of texts from the orbit of Sakaon. This would have started soon after the conclusion of Grenfell and Hunt’s excavations of Theadelphia in February 1899.\(^7\)

1. Account of Tax Payments in Money

E 16760 14 cm (w) × 15.4 cm (h)  c. 300–312
Theadelphia  https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/81564 Plate 6

The top part of an account of payments in talents and thousands of drachmas, under a heading that describes it as ‘entry of gold’ (ἰσοχῆς, l. εἰσδοχῆς, χρυσίου). Given that ‘gold’ in texts this period refers to the precious metal and is not a generic term for money, these must be contributions towards a government purchase of gold,\(^8\) such as those in P.Sakaon 17 (308) or 27 (312–329). The listing starts with payments from three persons, the first of them paying twice. Next come payments by the same three persons, described without their fathers’ names. The number 12 precedes the name of the first of these three payers (l. 5); perhaps these were payments made on the 12\(^{th}\) day of a month. Payments by seven other persons follow, before the papyrus breaks off. The amounts are variable; in what is extant, the top payers are Arion son of Dioskoros, with two payments totalling 5 talents 4,200 drachmas, and Melas son of Herakleides, with three payments to a total of 2 talents 4,000 (?) drachmas. No conclusions about the tax base of the payers may be drawn, however, since three of them receive more than one entry and the document is incomplete; some of those mentioned once may have made further payments later.

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\(^5\) The texts were first studied from the digital images available on line, and then from higher-resolution images purchased from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, courtesy of which they are reproduced here.

\(^6\) See J. R. Abercrombie, *A History of the Acquisition of Papyri and Related Written Material in the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar 6 (1985) 10, with notes 17–18. Müller made purchases at Luxor, very far from the Fayum, but the papyri sold to the Museum in 1902 include at least two items associated with the Fayum, one Coptic (E 16764) and one Arabic (E 16767). Müller, who also had dealings with a “well-known” Gizeh dealer, probably bought them somewhere else.

\(^7\) The date is given in D. Rathbone, *Villages and Patronage in Fourth-Century Egypt: The Case of P. Ross, Georg 3.8*, BASP 45 (2008) 192.

Most of these persons appear together in documents from Theadelphia of the early fourth century.9 Melas, Selpous, Arion, Sakaon, and Ptoleminos are among the borrowers of seed grain from the state in P.Sakaon 49 of 314. Tax payments by Melas, Arion, Ptoleminos, and Sakaon are known for 309/310 (P.Sakaon 8), and by Arion, Melas, Sakaon and Ptoleminos in 312 (P.Sakaon 5). Selpous and the pairs Sakaon–Melas and Arion–Alypios are fiscal agents in 314/315 (P.Sakaon 9). Donkeys of Sakaon and probably also of Melas and Alypios are recorded in 315/316 (P.Sakaon 19). Two of the payers are women, probably the wives of men recorded in the immediately preceding entries. See further 9 n.

Unlike the next item, which belongs to the archive in the strict sense of the term, this text may have been found not with Sakaon’s papers but somewhere else in Theadelphia. Though Sakaon served multiple times as comarch and as sitologus, and may have retained some documents from his terms of office, it is hardly likely that all of the tax documents in P.Sakaon were found together.10

The text is written along the fibres and the back is blank.

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10 One such example is P.Princ. III 134 = P.Sakaon 4 (336), purchased in the 1920s and clearly not part of the archive; cf. France, Theadelphia and Euhemereia (n. 4) 158, who has it among the texts ‘not strictly belonging to the Sakaon archive, but mentioning Sakaon’.

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Entry of gold.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melas son of Herakleides</td>
<td>1 talent 200 drachmas; the same son of the same, 3,000+ dr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selpous son of Sarapion</td>
<td>1 talent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arion son of Dioskoros</td>
<td>1 talent 4,200 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Arion</td>
<td>4 talents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melas</td>
<td>1 talent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selpous</td>
<td>5,600 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alypios</td>
<td>3,000 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... , wife</td>
<td>5,600 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selpous son of Satabous</td>
<td>5,000 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... , wife, likewise</td>
<td>3,000 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— asnis</td>
<td>5,000 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptoleminos</td>
<td>5,500 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P—</td>
<td>1½ talent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 ἵσοχής χρωσίου. ἵσοχής no doubt stands for εἰσδοχής, as in P.NYU I 17.1 (Karanis; 334) εἰσδοχής σῖτου ἦ ἴνδοχης (τινος); it is curious that the spelling without δ is found only in two contemporary Arsinoite texts. εἰσδοχή is well attested in fiscal documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods for receipts in kind or in money; see P.Heid. IX 424.19 n.

2 Μέλας Ἡρακλίδου. See Bagnall (n. 9) 44 (C3). He is last attested in 314 (P.Sakaon 49.3) or 314/315 (P.Sakaon 9.5).

3 Σελπους Σαραπίωνος. Cf. 7. See Bagnall (n. 9) 47 (E2). He is last attested in 319/320.

4 Ἀρίων Διοσκόρου. Cf. 5. See Bagnall (n. 9) 50 (G3), 55. He is last attested in 336. His are the largest payments in what survives of this account, but his wheat payment in P.Sakaon 5.25 (312) is among the lowest recorded there. On the other hand, his landholdings are among the most extensive in the land register P.Sakaon 4 (336).

8 Ἀλύπιος. The absence of the father’s name is curious; the names of fathers were omitted in the previous three entries, presumably because the payers had been fully identified earlier in the text, but this does not hold for Alypios and the payers in ll. 12 and 13. This Alypios may well be the son of Herodes (Bagnall [n. 9] 43; B15), last attested in 315/316 (P.Sakaon 19.5; name plausibly restored). Another candidate is the son of Heron and presumably a grandson of the earlier Alypios, attested in 314 (Bagnall, ibid.; B18).

9 [. . .], γυνῆ. The remains of the letter on the edge would suit sigma or tau: Ἰ, being the end of a short name, or, as Mithof tentatively suggests, [ἡ ἀὐτή]ς(οῦ) γυνῆ. This would have been the wife of Alypios, not known from elsewhere. The name of the husband is normally stated when a woman is identified as γυνῆ in tax lists. Husband and wife are mentioned one after the other in P.Col. VII 130.6–7 (334/335), a tax account from Karanis.

(δραχμαὶ) Ἐ. The putative drachma sign looks different from others in the text. A break and a slight misalignment of fibres complicate the picture further. A horizontal written over Ἐ is perhaps a separator from the numbers in the previous line.

11 [...] γυνῆ. One of Sakaon’s two wives. His first marriage ‘should probably be placed around 290’ (Bagnall [n. 9] 42). His first wife was dead by 312, as he had been married to Kamoution by that time. The lacuna is too short for a name more than four letters long. The name of the first wife is unknown, but its genitive ending, -τος, may survive in P.Sakaon 38.4–6 (312), τὴν τῆς θείας μου | [...] τοῦ[θ]υγατέρα Ταεῦν τοῦ[σ][α]μα ... καὶ ἐν τῷ μετοξῆ ὑγατέρα [μ]υ[τ]ρός ... ο[ς]τος τετελε[υθηκής καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτής Σακαῶνος ἐτέρα γυναικὶ κοινωνήσαν[το]ς, with αὐτής recorded in the apparatus as an alternative to μητρός in l. 6. We could try to dissociate τος from the name of the mother and read τῆς τῆς Ταεῦ τοῦ, but if all that is lost at the start of P.Sakaon 38.5 is the mother’s name, its length will not tally with that of the lacuna in the present document.

όμοι(ως). The purported ο is too narrow and it would be easier to read ι, but the papyrus is not fully flattened at this point; what follows, a tall upright whose upper part is intersected by a horizontal, may only be read as ι ( ).

12 [...] σανις. No match with a known name has been possible.

13 [Πτο]λεμίνος. This is probably Ptoleminos son of Euporos; see Bagnall (n. 9) 49 (F3). He is last attested in 314.

14 α᾽. The sinusoid is rewritten in darker ink; I do not wish to rule out that it is a mere numerical marker and does not stand for ½. The short oblique stroke indicates that no further amount follows, as in l. 5.

2. Lease of Goats

E 16746 5.4 cm (w) × 17.4 cm (h) 27 March – 25 April 318 Theadelphia https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/151436 Plate 7

Aurelius Ekysis (see 3–4 n.) leases twenty goats from Aurelius Sakaon for two (or more) years. Sakaon leases out ten goats in P.Sakaon 73+ (328), but he was also a lessee himself, as we can tell from P.Sakaon 71 (306), a lease of sheep and goats; cf. also P.Sakaon 72 (327), called an ‘extension of lease of sheep’.

The present text adds to the meagre number of leases of goats, most of them connected with Theadelphia and indeed Sakaon.11 Another point of interest is chronological: the papyrus offers an early equation of regnal years and indiction, and the earliest that involves Constantine, Licinius and the Caesars; see CSBE 2 12–13, and cf. below, 8–9 n.

The document has lost its lower part and the lines are incomplete at the left, but most of them can be restored from parallels. The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

11 P.Stras. I 30 = P.Chept. 12 (276) and P.Sakaon 73+ (328), the latter re-edited as P. Sakaon 73 + SB XII 11024: Two Leases of Goats Reduced to One, ZPE 222 (2022) 207–210. There are also three leases of sheep and goats: P.Alex.Giss. 5 (215), SB V 8086 = P.Chept. 9 (268), and P.Sakaon 71 (306). See M. Langellotti, Locazioni di capre nell’Egitto romano, AnPap 18–20 (2006–2008) 145–154. Another lease of livestock may be P.Lond. V 1833; cf. below, 13–14 n.
To Aurelius Sakaon son of Satabous from the village of Theadelphia, from Aurelius Ekysis son of Aïonis from the hamlet of Souchas. I wish to lease from you the twenty goats that belong to you, fully-grown, in good condition, immortal, for a period of two (?) years, from the present month of Pharmouthi of the current 12th year and 10th year and 2nd year of the 6th indiction, … at a rent of the produce … of seven kids, female and male …; and it shall not be permissible for me to abandon the lease within the term in any way, the pasture and grazing of green fodder and … produce and, may it not happen, death, as well as the care and provisioning resting upon me, the lessee; and the annual rent, that is, the seven kids, I will pay without fail, without delay; 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. …’

1–2 Cf. P.Sakaon 73+.1–2 (328) Αὐρηλίῳ Σακαῶνι Σαταβοῦτος ἀπὸ Θεαδελφείς.

3–4 [παρὰ Αὐρηλίου] Ἐκύσεως Ἀιώνεως ἀπὸ [ἐποικίου Σουχᾶ]. The supplements are based on SB VI 9269.4–5 (304) [παρὰ Αὐρηλίου] Ἐκύσεως Ἀιώνεως μ(ητρὸς) [.]. The name of the village should be read as Πύρια.
the topographic repertoires. The village of Πύρρεια (TM Geo 2036) is not a stranger to the archive (P.Sakaon 53.3 κόμης Πυρρίας), and was located not too far from Theadelphia; it probably belonged to the southern part of the mers of Themistos’ (W. Clarysse, at https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/2036.php?geo_id=2036).


7–8 ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐντὸς δύο (?!). The term is two years in P.Stras. 1 30 = P.Chept. 12 (276) and P.Sakaon 73, both of them leases of goats, but five years in SB V 8086 = P.Chept. 9 (268) and P.Sakaon 71, which also concern sheep. πέντε would be too long for the space, but δύο has the right length. τρία would also fit but is unparalleled.

8–9 Year 12 (Constantine) = 10 (Licinius) = 2 (3 Caesars) = indiction 6 = 317/318; see CSBE2 132. The only other similar equation comes from P.Sakaon 67 (322).

9 ὑπὲρ φόρου ἐπιγονής. This corresponds to ὑπὲρ ἐπιγονής in P.Sakaon 71.14, 16 (ὑ. ἐ. τῶν αἴγων), and 19; P.Sakaon 73+.8 has [φόρῳ] τῶν αἰγῶν.

10 ἕνασσίον (P.Sakaon 73+.8) or τῶν αἴγων (P.Sakaon 71.16) will not fill the whole of lacuna.

11 c.4 ]. . Perhaps ἢ ἐπαύσῃ, ‘equally’, but the traces after the break are confusing. Cf. SB V 8086.7 ἀρσενικὰ [καὶ] θηλυκά ἢ ἔπειτα, 8087.6, and P.Sakaon 73+.8. The fact that seven is an odd number and the division cannot be equal may be paralleled from P.Sakaon 73+.

11–13 καὶ οὖς ἐξέστη . . τρόπον. The supplements are based on P.Sakaon 71.20–21, with one minor difference, προπληκτιν (P.Sakaon 71.20, after D. Hagedorn’s correction) vs. προ[λ]επειν here.


14 εἰοτο. A conflation of ἢν and γένοτο, considered by Gignac, Grammar ii 404, as equivalent to γένοτο. This form also occurs in SB XVIII 13103.23 (117–138), SPP XX 35.7 (235), P.Sakaon 71.22, and P.Mich. XX 807.17 (372), always as part for the same phrase.

17 τοὺς ἐξέτων will not necessarily fill the space; a possible parallel in SB XXVI 16507.7 (Oxy.; 475) ὑπὲρ τούτων φόρους τουτέστων χρυσοῦ νομισμάτων.


Fig. 1: Courtesy of the Penn Museum, object E16760

zu N. Gonis, S. 64
Fig. 2: Courtesy of the Penn Museum, object E16746