Account of Livestock from Fayum Villages

P. Sed. 175_6 . A
Arsinoite Nome
41 x 11 cm.
3rd cent. B.C.

This papyrus is one of the private collections preserved in the museum of the faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University under “SEDMENT 1996, 175_6.A”.

The papyrus was vertically folded two times. It suffers from scattered worm-holes throughout the text. The document contains 49 lines. It contains a list of livestock collected from Fayum villages. The lower margin is ca. 03.50 cm. The upper margin is missing. In some lines the writing reaches the very edge of both right-hand and left-hand margins: new section, usually beginning with village name, followed by name(s) of police chief(s), and sometimes policemen, then record of livestock.

The writing runs along the fibers on recto in a medium sized cursive script, which in places is faint. On the verso there are some illegible traces. The handwriting is the same as that of P. Sed. 175_5.A, which is from the same collection and is published in the BACPSI, XXIII, Cairo, 2006, 9-17. The handwriting of both have parallels for the 3rd century B.C., see P. Petr. I, 27 (Fragments of Legal Records), 234 B.C.; P. Cairo Zenon, passim, e.g. P. Cairo Zenon I 59001, (Loan of Money), 273 B.C., see also E. M. Thompson, An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography, New York 1973 (1st Edition Oxford, 1912), facsimile no. 20, p.152.

Though the papyrus comes from Sedment, most villages mentioned belong to the Arsinoite nome i.e. they lie to the north of the Heracleopolis. The Cynopolite nome which is to the south of Heracleopolis is also mentioned, but as an ethnic for the police-chiefs Pais and Petenoupis: Κυνοπολιταις ἄρχων(λακταις) (l. 6). The text was written in the Fayum but found in Sedment in mummy cartonage.

Villages are grouped by merides. The first group are probably villages in the meris of Herakleides but this section is not preserved. The second group are villages in the meris of Themistos: Πτολέμας (line 4), Σεθροπαῖς (line 9), Θεαδελφα (line 15), Φιλωτέρας (line 20), Ψεντύμως (line 22), Απολλονίας (line 25). The third group are villages in the Polemon meris: Μοῦχας (line 30), Βουκόλων (line 32), Βερενήκας (line 36), Θεγόνης (line 39). The merides offer as terminus post quem quen 244 BC, see introduction

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1) We thank Willy Clarysse for kind assistance and cooperation regarding revision and correction of both the text and the introduction. We have been benefited a lot from his experience.

2) Sedment (Ehnasya; Ancient Egyptian: Hen-en-Nisut; Graeco-Roman Heracleopolis Magna) was the principal town of the 20th province of Upper Egypt, near the Fayum. Sedment was especially important in the First Intermediate Period, when the Egyptian kings came from here and may be also used the town as residence. The town kept its importance throughout the Egyptian history, and was again the seat of local kings in the late Third Intermediate Period. The main local god was Herishef. The temple was excavated by Naville in 1891 and Petrie in 1904, (http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/ehnasya/index.html)
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It is probably a list of livestock handed over to the police-chiefs of various villages for supply of troops. P. Tebt. III (1), 729 (2nd cent. B.C.) shows a report of the high handed proceeding of an individual who seems to have been in command of troops (ll.1-2): σ[τρα]-τιώταις εἰς τὰς στρατιὰς “to the soldiers for their pay”. It reports seizure of sheep and cattle of the writer’s neighborhood and handing over to the policemen (ll. 7-9): τὰς τε βόσκαι καὶ τὰ πρόβατα συνπερ[π]ελάς ανήγαγεν εἰς τὴν κώμην, ἃ καὶ παρέδωκεν τοῖς/φυ(λακταῖς) “Rounding up the cattle and sheep brought them to the village and handed them over to the policemen”. In P. Tebt. number of the livestock from one village was high such as case of the text being published herein (P. Tebt., ll. 9-10): πρ(βατα) σὺν ἄρ(νασι) φπ, βες σὺν ταρ(οις καὶ/δαμ ιεσιν ἃκαὶ παρ δ(κεν τοῖς/φυ(λακταῖς) “580 sheep and lambs, 67 cows, bulls, and heifers”.

If we put in mind that number of animals is too high to be for the supply of troops and that there is no mention for sheep nor bulls, but heifers in addition to cows and calves. It could be then a list prepared for taxing purposes. “In Ptolemaic Egypt, all animals, like adults, were taxed in various ways, and therefore needed to be counted at regular intervals” see; Willy Clarysse / Dorothy J. Thompson, Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt. II, Cambridge, 2006, Chapter 6, “counting the animals”.

By the end of each meris total number of items is given (ll. 27, 28 for Themistos and 42, 43 for Polemon (γίνεται…κτλ.), while the grand total is written by the end of the document (l. 44 εὶς τ[οῦ στοϊ]…κτλ.). Heifers or calves compared to cows are relatively small. In Themistos e.g. heifers to cows are 277:673 i.e. ca. 41% and calves to cows are 53:673 i.e. ca. 8% (see note on ll. 26-27). The government may not have required young animals and left them to be fed for the following collection or survey.

The following table shows number of items listed per village:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>βοῦς</th>
<th>δαμάλες</th>
<th>μύσχοι</th>
<th>βουκόλοι</th>
<th>παιδάρια</th>
<th>γυναῖκες</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Πτολέμας</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Σεθροναίας</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Φυρτασιος?</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Θεαδελφεια</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Φιλοτέρις</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Ψεντήμς</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Ἀπολλονιάς</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Μούχις</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Βουκόλιον</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>[...]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Βερενίκια</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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| Φερμούθες | Θεουγόνης | 07 | --- | --- | [..] | --- | 01 |

Most of the items are written in nominative case, but some are in accusative, e.g. in l. 18, 33, 41 (γυναικα not γυνη) in l. 27 (βοες not βους). The items in this account were addressed to either police-chiefs ἀρχιφυλακίται or to policemen φυλακίται. In l. 19 the cowherd(s) was/were addressed to a holder of 10.000 arourae “καὶ ριειμυριαρουρις βουκιόλ”. The myriarouros was a subordinate to the nomarchs responsible for infrastructure of the newly won agricultural land in the Fayum (see W. Clarysse, Nomarchs and toparchs in the third century Fayum, in Archeologia e papiri nel Fayyum. Atti del convegno internazionale, Siracusa, Quaderni del Museo del Papiro 8, 1997, pp. 69-76 and P. Sorb. III, p. 55).

Collaboration between policemen such as ἀρχιφυλακίται and φυλακίται with other officials is common during the early Ptolemaic period, see: e.g. P. Tebt. III (1), 708, late 3rd cent. B.C., lines 2-6; "τοῖς ν[ομάρχαις καὶ] τοῖς ὁ[ίκοι]γόμους καὶ τοῖς/βασιλ[είς]μ[αμ][ε]τέσσαρον το[ῦ] Ἀφροδίτου-πολίτ[ου καὶ] Ἡρακλε-[οπο]λίτου καὶ Ὤξυ-[-ρυγχ]του καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιφυλακίταις/ καὶ φυ(λακίταις).

The ἐπιστάτης φυλακίτων was the head of the police of a whole nome assisted by the village police chiefs ἀρχιφυλακίται. The ἀρχιφυλακίται and the φυλακίται had financial duties. Their main function in connection with guarding and inspection of items delivered such as livestock, liquids, crops, … etc. beside checking wages or fees paid for workmen (see note on line 159 of P. Tebt. 5 (118 B.C.)).

The papyrus is probably an account of deliveries to be addressed to higher authority, the ἐπιμελητής or the διοικητής (unfortunately, the heading is lost), or a report gathering accounts made by different officials of the above mentioned villages and handed over to the ἀρχιφυλακίται and their φυλακίται.

Text

[±13] ......................... καὶ
ο[βαστεί ἀρχιφ(λακίταις) καὶ Τεωτι καὶ
Νε[ξ]θεννή φυ(λακίταις) βοῦς ῥυ δαμά(λεις) ἵς μόσχοι δ [ἐν] Πτολεμαίδι τῇ ἔν τοῖ δρυμοί
5 Ἰά παραδοθέν[τα] Πατίτι καὶ
Πετ[ενονύε]ις Κυνοπολίταις ἀρχιψι(λακίταις)
βούς μᾶ δαμά(λεις) ἵς μόσχοι β
βουκό(λοι) β παιδαρία β
ἐ[ν] Σεθροκαί Θαμώντι Θαμώντος ἀρχιψι(λακίτης)
10 βούς Ως 'δαμάλεις' κε
βουκόλου β παιδάριον α

ἐν ] τῇ Φυρταϊον Ἀρενδώτη ἀρχιψι(λακίτης)


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βοῦς π' δαμά(λεις) κε μόσχοι μ

15 ἐν] Θεαδέλφῃ[ίαι Ἐριανούπει Πα[... ἄρχιφυ(λακίτη)]
καὶ Πάσι καί . . . . . φυ(λακίταις)

βοῦς ἦβ [δ]αμάλεις μβ

βουκόλοι [. . ] γυναίκα a

καὶ Ἐριζί μυριαρύροι βουκ[όλ] ἒν Vac

20 ἐν] Φυλωτερίδῃ ν.ο.δ.εί ἄρ[χιφυ(λακίτη)] . .
βοῦς ἦβ 'δαμάλεις' . . . βουκόλ[οι] ὁ

ἐν] Ψεντύμει Ἄργυβούτι ἄρχιφυ(λακίτη) καὶ

τ]να[ρ]ούσι καὶ Ίωρι φυ(λακίταις) βοῦς πδ

δαμάλεις κ ἐν Vac

25 ἐν] Α]πολλωνιάδῃ Δημητρίῳ ἄρχι[φυ(λακίτη)]

βοῦς λγ δαμάλεις μβ βουκόλ[οι]

ἄρ[χιφυλα(κίτη)] (γύνεται) βόες χοῦ δαμάλεις ροζ

μόσχοι ζγ βουκόλοι κα γυ(ναίκες)[

Vac

ἐν τ]τι Πολέμινος μερίδι

30 ἐ]γ] Μοῦχει Πτ[ολεμ]αιωνί[ ἄρχιφυ(λακίτη)]

] βους β [. . .] βου[κόλον α

Vac

[ἐν] τοὶ Βουκολίωι τοῖς ἐκεῖ βουκόλοις [και τὴν γυναῖ[κ]α [ α

ἐν Θευ]γονίῳ Λυσιμ[αχίῳ

35 . . .] βουκόλοι β

ἐν Θευ]γονίῳ Λυσιμ[αχίῳ

ἀρχιφυ(λακίτη) βοῦς ζ βο<ν>κόλ[ον και τὴν γυναῖκα α]

Vac

(γύνεται) βόες ζῃ [μ]όσχοι [βουκόλοι [. .] γυναίκες
eἰς τ]δ αὐτὸ] βου[]

40 Μόσχοι β δ[αμάλεις

8
"…………………………and
To …bastis the police chiefs  and to Teos and
Nechthenibis the policemen 150 cows, 14 heifers, 4 calves
In Ptolemais in the marsh
Handed them over to Pais and
[to Pet]enoupis Cynopolitai police chiefs
44 cows, 13 heifers, 2 calves
2 cowherds, 2 slaves
In Sethronpais to Thamous son of Thamous the police
chief
96 cows, 25 heifers
2 cowherds, 1 slave
In the (village) of Phyrtaios to Harendotes the police chief
80 cows, 25 heifers, 40 calves
1 cowherd, .. 1 wife, 1 slave
In Theadelphia, to Herianoupis the police chief
To both Pasis and …. the policemen
62 cows, 42 heifers
.. cowherds, 1 wife
and to Herieus, holder of 10,000 arourae, .. cowherd(s)
In Philoteris N.N the police chief ...
92 cows, .. heifers, 4 cowherds
In Psentymis, to Haronbous, the police chief and
To both Narous and Horos policemen 84 cows,
20 heifers
In Apollonias to Demetrios the police chief
33 cows, 12 heifers, .. cowherds
To police chief Total 673 cows, 177 heifers
63 calves, 21 cowherds and ..
wives
In the division of Polemon
In Mouchis, to N.N. the police chief
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2 cows, ..........., 1 cowherd
In Boukolon to ... cowherds there
And 1 wife
In Teptynis to the police chief
........, 2 cowherds
In Berenikis, to those from Phermouthis
56 cows, 20 heifers, and
1 cowherd
In Theogonis, to Lysimachos
The police chief [.]7 cows, .. cowherd(s)
And 1 wife
Total 98 cows, .. calves
   .. cowherds, .. wife (wives)
Grand total
2000 calves, .. heifers
........”

Notes:
1  βαστει, this name could be reconstructed as [Πετο]βάστει, [Ψενο]βάστει see P/N and F/O.
3  Νε[ξ]θενιβι, it is reconstructed in accordance with P. Tebt. III, ii, 1043 (170 B.C.), 2, 22.
5  ἀ παραδοθὲντα, this verb seems to indicate that the animals were handed over to the policemen. This is not just “counting the animals” in the village, but amount collected for troops see supra P. Tebt., 729, 8-9: εἰς τὴν κόμην, ἀ καὶ παρέδωκεν τοῖς/φυ[λακίταις], or a high tribute actually paid by each of these villages.
10  δαμάλειας, it is written over an erasing.
22  Ψενοτιμαι, this village was not known in published papyri of the Ptolemaic period. It is in the north-western part of Themistos, see, L. Youtie, ΦΕΝΤΥΜΙΣ: A False place name, BASP 18 (1981), pp. 174-175.
  Ἀρονβοῦτι, though the reading of this name is clear we do not find the name elsewhere in papyri.
27-27  By comparing items of Themistos, missing items, can be deducted as follows:
Young slaves are not written in the total, they could have been added to the cowherds. The high number of missing cowherds (12) could be distributed between the missing village in the beginning plus the lacunae of lines 18 “βουκόλοι [. .]” and 19 “μυριαροὺς βουκόλιος”, after deducting the 4 and missing young slaves.

33 Ἰοκόλωι, Βουκόλων κόμη is well known in the meris of Themistos, but here we are in the Polemon meris. In Polemon there is also a village called Βουκόλος? Βουκόλος? rather than Βουκόλων, see, L. Youtie, Geographical Notes, BASP 19 (1982), pp. 91-92.

36 ἐν Βερενίκιο τῶν ἐκ Φερμουθίου[ες, this formula is not familiar. Both villages are in the Polemon meris, one may think that items were brought from Phermouthis to Berenikis to be counted there. Maybe, there is no police chief in Phermouthis.

44 ἰς τὸ αὐτὸ “grand total”, this line and the following lines would include the grand total of all the three merides. In that case, β that accompanied μόσχοι of line 45 could be interpreted as 2000 not 2.

45 δ[αμάλεις, restoration is made in accordance with its occurrence passim in the papyrus being published herein.

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