Money Account
from Michigan
Papyri

P. Mich.inv.306 recto　　　**30 x 27 cm**　　　　　　**Arsinoite (?)**

1st. quarter of 2nd CE

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The remains of this "unpublished" roll are light brown in color and of mediocre quality. From the perspective of the recto, it is broken off at the left and possibly the lower edge (though the height of 30 cm may very well be complete). It is regularly cut at the top, with some breakage, and the upper margin measures about 2 cm. There is a large diagonal lacuna in the middle. One strip of fiber at line 12 in column 1 is slightly misaligned. There are two *kolleses*, one at ca. 6 cm from the left edge, the other almost at the right edge, which suggests that a column or more is missing, a fact confirmed by the traces of a missing column at the left side of the verso. The width of the *kollema* is ca. 20 cm. The recto preserves three columns written with the fibers. Since the first preserved column does not contain a header (e.g. a date, as on verso), one column or more may be missing at the left. The hand is a medium-sized cursive with calligraphic features written in black ink with a thin nib. Entries ending with alpha, sigma, and sometimes with upsilon (especially in the repeated "τόκου") have an extended horizontal stroke. There is a diagonal "checking" stroke before the entry at ii.57. The verso text runs against the fibers in rather darker ink with a thicker nib. The hand and format are different from the recto, with blocks of entries organized into rough columns. It contains a heading that is wider than the other blocks of texts and may have been added later.

Money Account from Michigan Papyri

The recto contains three columns of an enigmatic money account. The verso[1], which contains a dated heading, is written in a different hand and is of a different format but contains some overlapping content and thus seems to be related to the account on the other side; it is assumed, therefore, that the recto was written only shortly before, probably in the same 12th year of Hadrian (127/128 CE). The names Lykarion and Noumenios are overwhelming Arsinoite, which points to the likely provenance of the piece.

The account on the recto contains both regularly aligned and indented entries followed by an amount in drachmas; where the entries have been written out in full, the genitive case is used for the regularly aligned entries and the nominative for the indented. This pattern has guided the expansion of abbreviations, but otherwise the significance of the alignment is not clear (the indented entries are not subtotals, for instance). Most entries are for individuals, often but not always identified by a patronymic or attribute. Other entries are for countable items, the most frequent of which is ὑποπινάκιον (see comm. to i.1), an otherwise unattested term. There are also several entries for μανδήλια ("hand towels" or "handkerchiefs") and one for βαλανάρια ("bath towels," i.10), which suggest the setting of a bathhouse, although the exact logic and purpose of the account remain unclear. Also of interest are the *addenda onomasticis* Καλοκαιρίς (ii.45) and Ἀνουβιανός (ii.46). None of the individuals found in the account appear to be attested elsewhere.

Col. I

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        ὑποπ(ινάκιον)  ᾱ                      ⟦(δρ.) η⟧ (δρ.) η
        Ἀρτεμίδ(ωρος) ὑποπ(ινακίου) ̣λ( ) α (δρ.) ι̣
        [Δ]ιόσκορος Φαλακρο(ῦ)                (δρ.) οβ
    [Ἥ]ρ̣ωνος Σύρου                           (δρ.) β
5   [      ] ̣ης                              (πεντώβ.)
        Ἀρτεμίδ(ωρος) ὑποπ(ινακίου) ᾱ        (δρ.) ̣ (ὀβ.)
        Ἀμμω( ) Πτολ̣( )                      (δρ.) δ
    [Πτολ]εμαίου το(ῦ) Ἱερακ̣(ος)            (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.)
    [                          ]  ̄          (δρ.) μθ (πεντώβ.)
10  [          ]ωνις βαλανάρια μᾱ           (δρ.) κϛ
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        [              ]ης                      [                    ]
        [              ]του                     (δρ.) ι ̣ ̣
        [                                                            ]
        [              ]ε( )                                         ]
        [                                       (δρ.)] δ
15      [                                       (δρ.)] μ
        [              ] ̣λ( )        α                           ̣ ̣α
        [              ] ̣ο( ) Ἀπολλ( )          (δρ.) ξ
        [              ] ̅ ᾱ                    (δρ.) κγ
        [Πτολ]εμαῖο(ς) Ἀπο ̣λ ̣λ ̣( ) λοιχυθ( ) (δρ.) λβ
20      [              ] ̣χτ ̣ι( ) β        ̣ ̣        ̣ ̣ (τρ ̣ιώ ̣β ̣.)
        [              ] το(ῦ) Ἀπολ( )          (δρ.) λβ
        [              ] ̣                       (δρ.) δ (τριώβ.)
        [              ] ̅ᾱ                     (δρ.) δ (δίχαλκ.)
        [              ] ̣                       (δρ.) ιβ
25      [           τό]κου                      (διώβ.)
        [              ] ̅ᾱ                                  ̣
        [Ἀγ]α ̣θ ̣ῆς                            [(δρ.)] δ
        [              ] ̣ω( )                   (δ ̣ρ ̣.) δ
        [                                                            ]
30      [              ] ̣                       (δρ.) α ̣ (δ ̣ί ̣ω ̣β ̣.)
        [Ἥρων Πρ]ωτάρχ(ου) ἐπὶ ᾱ                (δρ.) μ
        [              ] ̣ [                      ̣ ̣ ̣
        [            ] ̣ος Νειλᾶτο(ς)            (δρ.) λδ (τριώβ.)
        [              ] ̣                       [   ] ̣
35      [            ] ̣ων Νειλᾶτο(ς) κω( ) ̣ ̣ ̣ (δρ.) κ (ὀβ.)
        [              ] ̣ συριστοῦ              (δρ.) η
        [            ] ̣ ̣ ̣ [                                          ]
        ]
        ]
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19 l. ληκυθ-?

Col. II
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40      ὑποπ(ινάκιον) ᾱ                (δρ.) ια
        Ἀρτεμιδ(ώρου) Μώρου           (δρ.) ι
        ὑποπ(ινάκια) δ ̣( ) γ̅ (δρ.) ιγ (τριώβ.)  (δρ.) μ (διώβ.)
        ꝺ ὁμ(οίως) α                   (δρ.) ια
        ꝺ ὁμ(οίως) α                   (δρ.) η
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45	Καλοκαιρίδος	(δρ.) η
	Ἀνουβιανο(ς) Γείτονο(ς)	(δρ.) κη
	Σαραπάμμω(ν) Ἑρμίου	(δρ.) κ
	Ἰσίδωρος Νολβανοῦ	(δρ.) μ
	ἀποθήκ(η) ὑποπ(ινάκιον) ᾱ d	(δρ.) ζ
50	Ἀγαθῆς	(δρ.) δ
	Μαρκίωνο(ς) ἡμερησίου	(δρ.) κδ
	ἁρπεδ(όνης) μν(ᾶς) α	(δρ.) γ (τετρώβ.)
	ὑποπ(ινάκια) β̄ (δρ.) ζ (τριώβ.)	(δρ.) ιδ (δίχαλκ.)
	Ἑλένης	(τετρώβ.)
55	Ἀγαθῆς	(δρ.) δ
	Ποπλᾶς	(διώβ.)
	Πόπλις Σαραπ( ) ὑποπ(ινακ-) δ . ( ) .	(δρ.) ιη
	d ὁμ(οίως) . α( ) α	[ ]
	Καπίτω(ν)	(δρ.) γ (διώβ.)
60	Πτολεμαῖος Ἀπολ( ) χτι( ) . . α (δρ.) ιϛ	
	d ὁμ(οίως) α	(δρ.) θ (τριώβ.)
	ὑποπ(ινάκιον) α	(δρ.) ι (τριώβ.)
	ἁρπεδ(όνης) μν(ᾶς) α	(δρ.) δ (τριώβ.)
	ὑποπ(ινάκια) β (δρ.) ζ (τριώβ.)	(δρ.) ιδ (δίχαλκ.)
65	d δ . ( ) β (δρ.) ιγ (τριώβ.) (δρ.) κϛ .	
	d μανδήλ(ιον) α	[ ]
	Ἀμμωνίο(υ) το(ῦ) Πτολ(εμαίου) κω . ( ) (δρ.) ιθ	
	Ἀγαθῆς	(δρ.) δ
	Ἑρμίας ἑστιαράφο(ς) . . . . υ (δρ.) κϛ	
70	Πτολεμαῖο(ς) Ἱέρα(κος) ἐπι . [.] β̄ (δρ.) ξ (δρ.) ρκ	
	Πτολεμαίο(ς) το(ῦ) . . ω( )	(δρ.) ρκ .
	τόκ(ος)	. . .
	. . αστης Σαραπ( ) . . .	(δρ.) .
	. . . . . .	. .
75	π	(δίχαλκ.)
	Ἀγαθῆς	(δρ.) δ

69 l. ἱστιαράφος

Col. III

	Ἀβάσκαντ(ος) Λυκαρίων(ος) . υ . ( ) . . . λγ	
	. . . . καιρ . υδ( ) ᾱ	.
	ἁρπεδ(όνης) μν(ᾶς) α	(δρ.) δ

80		ὑποπινάκ(ιον) α	
		Πτολεμαῖο(ς) ..	.. (διώβ.)
	Πτολεμαίου Τυχ( )		(δρ.) ξ
		ἐπαγ(ομένων) β	
		Ἀγαθῆς	(δρ.) δ
85	Ἀβασκάντ(ου) Λυκαρίων(ος)		(δρ.) λϛ
		ὑποπ(ινάκιον) δ̣ ( ) α	(δρ.) ια (τριώβ.)
	ԁ μανδ(ήλιον) ᾱ κ		(δρ.) ε (τριώβ.)
		ὑποπ(ινάκιον) β̣ ( )	(δρ.) ι (τριώβ.)
	Σαραπ̣ ̣ο̣( ) το(ῦ) Π̣ενιν( ) ⟦ ̣ ̣⟧ ῑ ε̣ κ		
90	ԁ ̣ ̣θ( ) ᾱγ		(δρ.) μη
	ԁ τόκου		(δρ.) ̣ (δίχαλκον)
	Πτολεμαῖο(ς) Ἀπο̣λ( ) χι̣ι̣( ) ῑδ (δρ.) ̣ξ		
	ԁ τόκου (δραχμὰς) ια (δίχαλκον)		
		Πτολεμαῖο(ς) Ἀπολ( ) χι̣ι̣( ) μδ̄ ̣ ̣	
95		ἀποθή(κης) ὀψωνίο(υ) Πτολ(εμαίου) [ ]	
	μανδηλ(ίων) β (δρ.) ζ	(δρ.) ι̣δ	
	ἀποθή(κης)		(δρ.) ϛ̣
		ὑποπ(ινάκιον) β̣ ( ) α	̣[ ]
		ԁ μα(νδηλι-) β̣ ( ) ̣ (δρ.) ζ	[ ]
100	ἁ̣ρπεδ(όνης) μν(ᾶς) α		(δρ.) ̣[ ]
	[ ]̣		[ ]
	[ ]̣[ ]̣[ ]̣[ ]̣[ ]̣[		
		Ἥρων Πρωτάρχο(υ) ἐπὶ γ̄ (δρ.) μ	(δρ.) ρκ
		Ἥρων Σύρος	(δρ.) β
105	Ἥρωνος το(ῦ) Πρωτάρχ(ου)		(δρ.) ιβ
	ԁ τόκ(ου)		(δρ.) β
		Ἀγαθῆς	(δρ.) δ
		ἀποθή(κη) ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣	(τετρώβ.)
	Νουμηνίου τ̣ο̣(ῦ) ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣	̣π̣ο̣[ ] ̣ ̣ ̣	
110	̣[̣ ̣]̣[̣]̣[̣]̣( ) [ ]̣ ̣ ̣[		
	[ ]		
	α̣ [ ]		
	[ ]̣ ̣[ ]		
	[ ]̣ ̣[ ]		

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

104 l. Σύρου

Translation

Recto
Col. 1:

]1 (small dish), ⟦8 (drachmas)⟧ 8 (drachmas)
Artemidorus (dish/s?) l( ) 1 10 (drachmas)
Dioskoros son of Phalakros 72 (drachmas)
H]yron son of Syros 2 (drachmas)
5-   ].es   5 (obols)
Artemidorus (dish/s?) 1 (drachmas), . (obol)
Ammonios son of Ptol( )   4 (drachmas)
[Ptol]emaios the son of Heracos 3 (drachmas), (3 obols)
]   49 (drachmas), (5 obols)
10-   ]onis 41 bath-towels, 26 (drachmas)
]es
]tou   10 (drachmas)
]   ]
]   4 [(drachmas)]
15-   ]   40 [(drachmas)]
] . l()   1   ] 1
] o() Apoll()   60 (drachmas)
] a   23 (drachmas)
Ptol]emaios son of Apoll( ) oil-flask 32 (drachmas)
20-   ] . chit   b   (3 obols)
] the son of Apoll( ) 32 (drachmas)
]   4 (drachmas) (3 obols)
]   1   4 (drachmas) (2 chalci)
] .   12 (drachmas)
25-   ]the interest (2 obols)
] 1
Ag]athes   4 [(drachmas)]
]   o   4 (drachmas)
]   . . . .
30-   [   ].   . . .   1 (drachma) 4, (2 obols)
[Heron son of Pr]otarchos in addition to 1, 40 (drachmas)
[   ].[
[   ]. os Neilatos 34 (drachmas), (3 obols)
]

35-   [   ].on   Neilatos   ko…   20 (drachmas), . (obols)

[   ]. syristou   8 (drachmas)

[   ]. . . [   ]

]

]

Col. 2:

40   1 small dish, 11 (drachmas)

Artemidorus son Maros 10 drachmas)

4 (small dishes), ( ) 3, 13 (drachmas), (3 obols), 40
        (drachmas, (2 obols)

likewise   1   11 (drachmas)

likewise   1   8 (drachmas)

45   Calocairidos   8 (drachmas)

Anoubianos son of Geiton   28 (drachmas)

Sarapammon son of Hermios 20 (drachmas)

Isidoros son of Norbanos 40 (drachmas)

The store, 1 (small dish) likewise, 7 (drachmas)

50   Agathes 4 (drachmas)

Markion daily 24 (drachmas)

cord 1 mina, 3 (drachmas), (4 obols)

2 (small dishes), 7 (drachmas), (3 obols), 14 (drachmas),
        (2 chalci)

Helenes , (4 obols)

55   Agathes, 4 (drachmas)

Poplas, (2 obols)

Poplis son of Sarap() (dish/s?) d .( ) ., 18 (drachmas)

likewise   a( )   a   [

Kapiton   3 (drachmas) (2 obols)

60   Ptolemaios son of Apol( ) 1,   6 (drachmas)

likewise   1, 9 (drachmas) (3 obols)

1(small dish),   10 (drachmas) (3 obols)

cord 1 mina, 4 (drachmas) (3 obols)

2 (small dishes), 7 (drachmas) (3 obols), 14 (drachmas)
        (2 chalci)

65   likewise   d( ) 2, 13 (drachmas), (3 obols), 26 (drachmas)

likewise   1 towel   [   ]

Ammonios son of Ptolemaios   ko) 19 (drachmas)

Agathes   4 (drachmas)

Hermias sail-patcher epi.[ ] u 26 (drachmas)

70   Ptolemaios son of Herakos epi.[ ] 2, 60 (drachmas), 120
         (drachmas)

Ptolemaios son of .o( ) 120 (drachmas)

the interest   . . .

. .astes Sarap( ) . . . (drachmas)

. . . . . .

75   p . . . . . .   (2 chalci)

Agathes   4 (drachmas)

Col. 3

Abaskanatos son of Lykarion .u ( ) …lg

. kaiar . ud( ) 1

Cord, 1 mina 4 (drachmas)

80   1 (small dish), . . .

Ptolemaios . .   .. (2 obols)

Ptolemaios son of Tych( ) 60 (drachmas)

The 2nd intercalary day

Agathes 4 drachmas

85   Abascantos Lykarion 36 (drachmas)

4 (small dishes), ( ) 1, 11 (drachmas), (3 obols)

likewise 1 towels, k, 5 (drachmas), (3 obols)

2 (small dishes), ( ), 10 (drachmas), (3 obols)

Sarap..o( ) son of Penin( ) ⟦. .⟧ 15 k

90   likewise   . . th( ) 3, 48 (drachmas)

likewise   the interest   . (drachmas) (2 chalci)

Ptolemaios son of Apol( ) chii( ) 14, 6? (drachmas)

Likewise the interest 11 (drachmas), (2 chalci)

Ptolemaios son of Apol( ) chii( ) 44

95   the pay of the store of Ptolemaios [ ]

2 towels, 7 (drachmas), 4 (drachmas)

the store 6 (drachmas)

2 (small dishes), .( ) . 1 .[

likewise table-cloth b. ( ) ., 7 (drachmas) [ ]

100   ] cord, 1 mina . (drachmas)

[   ].

[   ]. [   ]. [   ]. [ ]. [ ]. [

Heron son of Protarcho(s) epi 3, 40 (drachmas), 120
(drachmas)
Heron son of Syros 2 drachmas
105 Heron son of Protarcho(s), 12 (drachmas)
likewise the interest, 2 (drachmas)
Agathes, 4 (drachmas)
The store of ….., (4 obols)
Noumnious son of ….po [ ]
110 .[. .].[.].[.].( ) [   ]. . .[
[   ]
a.[   ]
[   ]. .[   ]
[   ]. .[   ]
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

recto

Col. 1

1   ὑπο̣π(ινάκιον). Found repeatedly throughout the account in the form
     ͡γπδ̈ and once expanded to ὑποπιν̣ .( ) (iii.80). The solution is
     found on the verso, where in the block of text below and to the right
     of the heading, we find ὑπο̣πινάκιον (l. 1) and ὑπ(ὲρ) ὑποπινακ(ίου)
     (l. 3). The term ὑποπινάκιον is *hapax*; it is compound from the
     diminutive of πίναξ. The use of the word is wide (See: LSJ[2]); but
     since there are some words in recto such as: μανδήλια ("hand
     towels" or "handkerchiefs") and one for βαλανάρια ("bath towels,"),
     it is possible refers here to "dish/s".The secure amounts for single
     ὑποπινάκια range from 7 dr., 3 ob. to 13 dr., 3 ob.

3   [Δ]ιόσκορος Φαλακρο(υ). Φαλάκρο(υ) (TM Nam 2463) is also
     possible.

4   [Ἥ]ρ̣ωνος Σύρου. It must be a *patronymic* and *grandfather's name*,
     while the name of the person in the missing part. Restored from
     iii.104.

8   [Πτολ]εμαίου το(ῦ) Ἱέρακ(ος). Cf. ii.70.

10   βαλανάρια μ̅α. There are traces above the final alpha of βαλανάρια and the mu whose significance is uncertain.

19   λοιχυθ( ). Possibly to be understood as a form of ληκύθιον, "oil flask."

20   Similar entries are found at ii.60, iii.92, and 94, all of which are associated with Ptolemaios, son of Apol( ).

27   [Ἀγ]αθῆς [(δρ.)] δ. Cf. below, *passim*. The amount associated with Agathes is always four drachmas.

31   [Ἥρων Πρ]ωτάρχ(ου) ἐπι( ) α (δρ.) μ. Restored from iii.103, where Heron, son of Protarchos, is associated with three installations of 40 drachmas.

Col. 2

42   ὑποπ(ινάκια) δ ̣( ) γ̅ (δρ.) ιγ (τριώβ.) (δρ.) μ (διώβ.). The final figure is indeed three times 13 dr., 3 ob. reckoned on the 7-obol drachma.

43   ꝺ ὁμ(οίως) α (δρ.) ια. The symbol transcribed as ꝺ has not been identified. It is similar in shape to the d-shaped ¼ symbol but appears to have the meaning "ditto." If so, the symbol would refer back to the ὑποπινάκια of l. 42, while the ὁμοίως would replicate the abbreviated word following ὑποπινάκια. 11 and 8 drachmas (the figure in the next line) are in line with the other amounts for ὑποπινάκια.

45   Καλοκαιρίδος. The genitive of the female name Καλοκαιρίς, unattested elsewhere. The male name Καλόκαιρος (TM Nam 9765) is well established, and the feminine Καλοκαιρία appears outside of Egypt (*LGPN* III.B, 225).

46   Ἀνουβιάνος Γείτονο(ς). The name Anoubianos is otherwise unattested. Geiton is recorded as a personal name in Trismegistos (TM Nam 13544), though the one Greek example is dubious (*P.Bour.* 15, fr. 5.87; the other is Demotic); the word has been interpreted here as the regular noun. For the same ambiguity, cf. i.3.

48   Νολβανοῦ = Νορβανοῦ, Latin Norbanus.

52   ἀρπεδ(όνης) μν(ᾶς) α̅ (δρ.) γ (τετρώβολον). ἀρπεδόνη, "cord" or "yarn," has only been attested in three other texts, all Ptolemaic: *SB*

22.15276 (middle III BCE); *P.Tebt.* 3.1.703 (210 BCE); *SB* 18.14012 (after 101 BCE). In the last text, a mina of yarn cost 800 bronze drachmas, which is roughly comparable to the price here on the basis of wheat equivalents: 800 bronze drachmas in the period 130-30 BCE equates to roughly 2/3 of an artaba (for median prices, cf. Maresch 1996: 182), while 3 silver drachmas, 4 obols in the period 30 BCE – to 150 CE equates to a little less than half an artaba of wheat (cf. Drexhage 1991b: 13-15). In line 63, the price for a mina of cord is slightly higher, 4 dr., 3 ob., while in iii.79 it is 4 dr. even.

50 Μαρκίωνο(ς) the reading is clear, although the name was cited 6 times in the documents, yet the name Μαρκιανός was probably meant because it is not expected to find the genitive form at the beginning of the line; but rather the scribe was confused and interchanged the *omega* with *alpha.*

53 ὑποπ( ) β̄ (δρ.) ζ (τριώβ.) (δρ.) ιδ (δίχαλκ.). Cf. ll. 63-64. As in l. 64, the total falls short of the expected value of 14 dr., 6 ob.

56 Ποπλᾶς. Presumably related to the Latin name Publius, the named is taken as the Greek hypocoristic Ποπλᾶς (otherwise unattested). Cf. the next name, spelled Πόπλις.

57 Σαραπ( ). This Egyptian theophoric name could be in a compound form such as that in i. 47 (Σαραπάμμων) the two deities Sarapis-Ammon, or in a simple form such as Σαραπᾶς or Σάραπις or Σαραπίων.

66 μανδήλ(ιον). This is the earliest occurrence of Latin *mantele* / *mantelium*, "towel," in Greek papyri.

69 ἑστιαράφο(ς) (l. ἱστιαράφος). "sail-patcher," found elsewhere in the papyri only in *P.Cair.Zen*. 4.59754.1 (middle III BCE).

Col. 3

94 μδ̄. If the dot above mu is meaningful, perhaps instead μο( ) δ̄.