PAYMENT OF A FINANCIAL OBLIGATION FROM TEBTYNIS

P. Tebt. 2. 523 descr. inv. 1454
Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley  H x W = 23.5 x 15.7 cm.  Tebtynis161/162 and 164

Margins: top: 2 cm.; bottom: 2,6 cm.; left: 2 cm.; right: 6,6 cm.

Light brown papyrus leaf of rectangular shape. The papyrus is complete at the bottom and on the right side. The left side is broken at the central portion of the leaf, with up to 10 letters missing on line 14. The upper part has numerous wormholes and breaks which render the reading of the first two lines difficult. A very broad right-hand margin was left, maybe to allow the document to be integrated into a τόμος συγκολλήματος, or as additional space for writing. The text is written in dark black ink along the fibers (→) in one column of 25 lines. Each line contains an average of 21-25 letters (line 20 contains only 6 or 7 letters). The verso (↓) is blank.

This papyrus was found during the 1899 - 1900 Tebtynis excavations conducted by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt and was assigned number T162 (written in black ink on the verso), indicating that the piece was found in the town of Tebtynis. The exact place of the find is however unknown2. P. Tebt. 523 was briefly (and incompletely) described in the second volume of the Tebtynis papyri3, but has never been published.

The hand is a rapid well-executed second-century cursive with an upright axis. The initial letter of the first and second lines (π in Πτολεμαῖον and c in Σατανάμ[υ]) is bigger. Ligatures are abundant, especially with α, ε, i, κ and c. Some deforming ligatures can be seen: αι in Ἀντωνιοῦ and αι in καί (l. 9), ει in ἐπεκοιμένος (l. 17) and ἐκείνον (l. 21). Noteworthy is the presence of letters traced with a slower ductus, such as the ν written with three strokes (Παχώ, l. 23) and the triangular δ (Ἀδριανοῦ, l. 12). Two forms of κ can be seen: one cursive (e.g. τριακο[ς], ll. 14-15; κεφαλαίων, l. 16), and one in two strokes in which the semicircle is detached from the vertical stroke (καί, ll. 11, 16, 17); v is written in two strokes (like the modern “v”) when detached from other letters (e.g. Ἀδριανοῦ, l. 12; ἐλλαττουμένον, l. 17), and in a more cursive manner, with a curve to the right, when in ligature (κυρίον, l. 19). Horizontal hastae of final ν sometimes extended into the right-hand margin (ἐπεκοιμένον, l. 15; Κεβακτόν, l. 19). The horizontal stroke extending into the margin at the end of line 3 is interpreted as belonging to the final c of ὅ[φειλε][τ]ε. The beginning of the third line ("Εκ[χ]ον...") is slightly ἐν ἐκθέει.

The handwriting of P. Tebt. 523 seems to correspond to the first of the two tendencies observed by Cavallo4 in the common cursive hands of the second and third centuries: rounded letter-forms, and some deforming ligatures, which can give the written surface an uneven aspect.

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1 The present text was edited during the ASP Papyrological Summer Institute held at the Brigham Young University in 2011. I would like to thank the BYU team, Roger Macfarlane, Stephen Bay, Lincoln Blumell and Thomas Wayment, for organizing the seminar, as well as all the visiting professors for their instruction and encouragement. I am especially grateful to Peter Van Minnen, Roger S. Bagnall, Nikos Litinias and Klaas A. Worp for helping me decipher and interpret the text, to Arthur Verhoogt, Rodney Ast, Jean Straus and Marie-Hélène Marganne for agreeing to read the first draft of this paper, and to Todd Hickey and Maryline Parca for their valuable advice. I would also like to thank the Bancroft Library for permission to publish the text.

2 T162 is not included in any of the “T-Number groups” of texts likely to have been found together in the temple enclosure or in the town, cf. E.R. O’Connell “Recontextualizing Berkeley’s Tebtunis Papyri”, in J. Frösén, T. Purola, E. Salmenkivi (edited by), Proceedings of the XXIVth International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki 1–7 August 2004 (Helsinki, 2007): 816.


An interesting parallel for this script can be seen in another papyrus from Tebtynis: *SB* 14.11488 (= *P. Tebt. 2*. 524 descr.) dated to 146-147.

The abbreviations and symbols present are fairly common and attested in many documentary papyri: [γε]γυμ (line 1, with the μ written as curvy stroke over the ν) for γεγυμασταρχηκώς, δραχμάϲ (lines 10 and 14, with a supralinear χ for δραχμάϲ), ἵ (lines 8, 12, 23) for ἵτους, δ (lines 22, 24, 25) for δραχμάϲ, ἰ (lines 22 and 25) for γίνονται, λόγοϲ for λόγου (l. 24) A supralinear stroke can be seen over the i indicating the 10th day on line 23 (and probably over ύ on line 21, but the upper part of the letters is lost). In line 14 the scribe first wrote the symbol for δραχμάϲ before writing out δραχμάϲ (the delta is written over the symbol).

The text is an acknowledgment of a series of payments of money from a priest and his brother (who was perhaps also a priest) to a man called Ptollario. The sum was paid on the account of the _philanthropoi_: λόγοϲ φίλανθρωπον (l. 5–6). When used in reference to priests or temples, φιλάνθρωπον or φιλάνθρωπα usually signifies a revenue perceived by the priest, or a donation made to him. Is the fact that a priest is in question connected to the use of the word φιλάνθρωπον? Since the priest Sarappamon is the payer, the term seems to allude to some sort of financial obligation the priest and his brother had towards Ptollario. It is however impossible to determine with certainty the exact nature of this obligation.

In documents from Roman Egypt, the term φιλάνθρωπον can have different meanings when concerning amounts of money: administrative fees, donations, pecuniary compensations, tips, gratuities, money loans (as in P. Stras. 5. 386, unknown provenance, March 26th 196 [TM 18793], l. 6: ἐπάρ φιλανθρωπον ἐπὶ λόγου ἄργου) and bribes (as in SB 14.576, Philadelphia, January 14th 43 [TM 14887]). The presence of [εἰϲ] λόγον “on account” could suggest that φιλάνθρωπα refers to a loan of money from Ptollario to the two brothers. Another possible interpretation is that Sarappamon had pledged his _philanthropoi_, i.e. the perquisites from his priestly duties, as a security for the payment of his debt to Ptollario.

Contrary to a common practice in this type of document, the text does not begin with the date, but with the names of the people involved in the transaction. Following the order attested in parallels, we seem to have the name of the creditor in the nominative in the first line (Πτολλαρίων) and that of the debtor in the dative in the second line (Σαραπάμ[α]|νοϲ). The central part of the first line, including the last part of the creditor’s name, is illegible, but based on [γε]γυμ(ναϲ̅) at the end of the same line, we could restore it as Πτολλαρίων. The creditor, Sarappamon, is a priest. Curiously, neither one of the names seems to be followed by a patronymic. Since the debtor’s name is in the dative, we could also expect a greeting, likely χαίρειν, but it does not seem possible to read this at the end of line two.

The information concerning the payments begins in line three. We learn that Sarappamon and his brother Pa...... has died, owed money to Ptollario, and that the priest has fulfilled the payment obligations (or at least partially) in installments. From November/December (Ἀδριανοῦ) of the twenty-third year of Antoninus Pius (涔[ϛ γ] Τίτ[ῳ] Αὐλίου) to October/November of the twenty-fourth year of the same emperor (161 AD), which is also the first year of Marcus Aurelius

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5 The term φιλάνθρωπον has a very concrete meaning in this text. H.J. Bell, “Philanthropia in the Papyri of the Roman Period”, in Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cummont (Brussels, 1949): 31-37, offers a survey of the concept of φιλάνθρωπον and of the various usages of φιλάνθρωπον in Roman Egypt.


7 Bell (n. 5): 35 mentions P. Foud 54 (unknown provenance, 141 – 142 [TM 20995]), in which a yearly payment of a debt is referred to as φιλάνθρωπον καθ’ ἔτος.


9 Examples of repayments of loans which begin with a date: BGU 2. 394 (October 10th 137, Nilopolis), P. Amh. 2.111(August 8th 132, Herakleia), P. Fam. Tebt. 9 (November 22nd 107), P. Lips. 1.7 (January 12th 107 BC, Krokodilopolis). Some documents, however, begin directly with names of the creditor and the debtor: BGU 7. 1656 (August 29th – October 27th 213, Philadelphia), P. Oxy. 1.98 (141-142), P. Oxy. 14.1715 (June 25th 292).

10 See page 4, note 1.

11 Attested in documents of this type, e.g.: BGU 7. 1656, P. Tebt. 2. 396 (June 25th – July 24th 396).
and Verus ([Ἀ]θύρ of the 23rd year of Antoninus Pius to Αθύρ of the 24th year of Antoninus (= 1st year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus) / [και τοι] πρώτου Α[ντωνείνου και Ο[υ]ήρου), five hundred seventy six drachmas were paid. From November / December of the first year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus, three hundred drachmas or more were paid.

The creditor demands that he not suffer any decrease in respect to the principal, interests and other amounts (ἐπεϲομένων) still owed. The first part of the document is dated to the second year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus in lines 18-20 (161/162). Lines 20 to 25 were added later by the same hand: on the 14th of Pharmouthi in the second, third or fourth year (April 9th), he received three hundred eighty eight drachmas. It seems likely that the creditor kept the document and had the acknowledgements written every time the debtor paid another installment. Every installment is introduced by the adverb ὁμοίωϲ, which refers back to the opening formula of the acknowledgement (Ἔϲαρὰ...). The ink of the last line is paler, but it does not seem that the line was added later or by a different hand. Perhaps the scribe, knowing that there were only a few words left to write, did not tip his pen in the ink one more time.

The series of payments can be presented in chart form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancient Date</th>
<th>Modern Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 From Ἀδριανόϲ of the 23rd year of Antoninus Pius to Αθύρ of the 24th year of Antoninus (= 1st year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus)</td>
<td>From November/December 160 to October/November 161</td>
<td>576 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ἀδριανόϲ of the 1st of Marcus Aurelius and Verus</td>
<td>November/ December 161</td>
<td>300 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 14th of Φαρμοῦθι of the 2nd, 3rd or 4th year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus</td>
<td>April 9th 162, 163 or 164</td>
<td>300 drachmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 10th of Παχών of the 4th year of Marcus Aurelius and Verus</td>
<td>May 5th 164</td>
<td>480 drachmas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards the third payment, it could logically be assigned to any of the three years (162, 163 or 164). However, the third date is not very probable, for it would mean that Sarapammon (and maybe his brother Pa…) would have come up with 300 drachmas in less than a month. The most likely date for the third installment would be the 9th of April 163, inasmuch as the debtor(s) would have had one year and five months to collect the necessary amount.

The payment of money loans in installments could be stipulated already in the loan agreement, as shown in P. Mert. 1.25, a loan of money from Oxyrhynchus, dated to 214 CE (TM 21299). An interesting parallel to P. Tebt. 2.523 is P. Oxy. 1.98 (141-142; TM 20757), an acknowledgement of the payment of the second and last installment (168 drachmas) of a loan of 700 drachmas.13 A more concise witness of payments in installments is P. Col. 8. 210 (TM 17624), a receipt from the year 3 CE of unknown provenance.

There is no signature, nor is there mention of circumstances surrounding the writing of the document (if, for example, it was written in a γραφεῖον, by a professional scribe). It is possible that it was written by Ptollario himself or by his personal secretary. In fact, the absence of information such as the name of the city or town where the document was written, the patronymics of the persons involved, mention of a register’s office, and the concise nature of the text suggest that it is a personal transaction between people who knew each other and maybe did not feel the need to validate the document in a more official manner.

Except for a forgotten ι in Φαρμοῦθι (l. 21), there are no scribal errors or spelling peculiarities. Iotacism accounts for the ει in Αντωνείνου, a spelling attested very often in documents from Egypt.

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12 B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, E.J. Goodspeed seem to have failed to notice this dating.
13 Fifty monthly payments of 15 drachmas are also mentioned in this papyrus, but the relationship of these payments to the 700-drachmas loan is not clear.
I received from you from what you and your dead brother Pa... owe me on the account of the philanthropa ... from the month of Hadrianos of the 23rd year of Titus Aelius Antoninius to Hathyr of the 24th year, which is the 1st year of Antoninus and Verus, 576 drachmas, likewise from the month of Hadrianos of the 1st year of Antoninus and Verus, the lords Augusti, 300 drachmas on account...with no prejudice to me concerning the principal sums, the interests and the other amounts. In the second year of Antoninus and Verus, the lord Augusti, on the... of Hathyr.

And likewise on the 14th of Pharmouthi I received on account another 300 drachmas, and likewise on the 10th of Pakhon of the 4th year, I received on account another 480 drachmas"
Notes:

1. Πτολλαρίων . . . . [vac γ]γυμ(νασιαρχηκώϲ): two gymnasiarchs by the name of Ptollarion are attested in papyri from Tebtynis from the mid-second century: Ptollarion son of Pauleinos\textsuperscript{14} cited in 20 papyri dated to the mid-second century (approximately from 144 to 176), and Ptollarion son of Ptollarion\textsuperscript{15}, mentioned in SB 6.9370 from Tebtynis and dating from ca. 150 (TM 14164), who is perhaps the same gymnasiarch attested in P. Mil. Vogl. 3. 140\textsuperscript{16} (Tebtynis, May 1\textsuperscript{st} 176; TM 12383). In every occurrence, they are referred to as “former gymnasiarchs” (γεγυμασιαρχήκωϲ).

2. Καρασάμη[μο]γι τιςερε: a priest named Sarapammon is attested in one document from Tebtynis: P. Tebt. 2. 390, dated to 167 (TM 13546), an acknowledgment of a loan on mortgage from Helene, daughter of Zoilos, to three brothers, Pakēbik, Sarapammon and Onnophris, sons of Onnophris, all of them priests of Tebtynis. After ιςερε, the indication of the god or the place where Sarapammon is a priest could be expected, as well as a greeting formula, most likely χαίρειν, since the name is in the dative.

3. Τη[χ]τον: according to Kühnert\textsuperscript{17}, ξειν is used in the loan agreements referring to the debtor (who has received money from the creditor), while the compound ἀπέχειν appears in documents concerning the return of loans, where it is the creditor who receives the money. This distinction however is not always made in the papyri, since ξειν is attested in a number of repayment documents, e.g.: BGU 1.115 (Ptolemais Euergetis, June 4\textsuperscript{th} 189; TM 8887), BGU 7. 1659 (Philadelphia, third century; TM 30952), P. Fam. Tebt. 36 (June 20\textsuperscript{th} 156; TM 20965).

4. ό[φείλε][ι]: unlike δανείζειν or παρατίθεϲθαι, ὀφείλειν is not a specific term referring to a particular type of loan. The verb has the neutral meaning of “to owe” and can be used in documents concerning any type of money transaction\textsuperscript{18}. Here, the traces would fit better the second person singular of the present tense, though a second person plural would be expected with the compound subject (σὺ καὶ ὁ σου / ἀδελφὸϲ Πα . . . ).

5. Πα . . . . : exempli gratia, Πακῆβκιϲ: if it the person in question is Pakēbik, son of Onnophris from P. Tebt. 2. 390, the reading of τετελευτηκώϲ on line 4 is invalidated, since Pakēbik was still alive in 167, when P. Tebt. 2. 390 was written.

5.6. [eic] ιῶγον ϕ[ι]/[λα]/γρόπων: reading suggested to me by Rodney Ast, to whom I express my sincere thanks.

7. κγυ (ἐτουϲ): probable, if not certain restoration. A one-year time period seems to be in question, since there is a twelve-month interval between the months of Αὔρινοϲ and ΑΘύρ.

8. ἔος : difficult reading. There seems to be a ligature between the lunate c and the illegible letter before Ἦθορ. A diagonal stroke descends towards the left and finishes under the ω of ἔος. It could be a prolonged left leg of a λ, which could then be interpreted as the numeral 30 (“on the 30\textsuperscript{th} of Pharmouthi”). It does not seem very common to note the day before the name of the month in papyri. In P. Wisc. 2.72 (TM 26687), a letter from Caecilius Gemmelus to his sister dated to the II century, we read (l. 9-10) τῇ κΦαρμοῦθι: “on the 20\textsuperscript{th} of Pharmouthi”. The parallel may not be relevant due to the

\textsuperscript{14} P. J. Sijpesteijn, Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l’Égypte romaine (Zutphen, 1968), no.93.

\textsuperscript{15} Sijpesteijn (n. 14): no. 110.


\textsuperscript{17} H. Kühnert, Zum Kreditgeschäfte in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian, diss. (Freiburg, 1965): 141.

\textsuperscript{18} Kühnert (n. 17) : 146.
presence of the article in the dative. In SB 14. 11958 (TM 15481), a part of a billing for the works on a temple from Oxyrhynchites, dating from after November 17th 117, one reads ἔοϲ Ἀθύρ... “until the 30th of Hathyr”. In P. Münch. 3.94 (TM 12477), a contract for a money loan from Ptolemais Euergetis, dated to 98-102, the numeral of the day precedes the name of the month without preposition or article: κ Φορμοῦθ “on the 20th of Pharmouthi”

9. τοῦ κᾶ (ἐξους) / [καὶ τοῦ] πρῶτου Ἀ[ντι]ωνίνου: dating formulae in which the last year of one emperor is identified with the 1st year of another are attested, e.g., in P. Oxy. 1.98 (141-142 CE): [τοῦ] δεσποτῆρ καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ὦ ἔτος Εὐστόι Ἀντωνίνου Κ[αίσαρος] τοῦ κυρίου. [καὶ τοῦ]: possible if not certain restoration, given the available space. Another possibility would be [τοῦ καὶ].

15. [κάς κ.4]: One possible, but not certain restoration for the lacuna would be: [κάς (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) τ] μὴ ἐλαττουμένου. This formula is often used in documents concerning money transactions, as a “protection clause” for the creditor (see Häge19 [1970]: 195-205).

16. ὑπὲρ: either περί or ὑπέρ are suitable with the verb ἐλαττοῦμαι.

17. ἐπεσομένων: the future participle of ἔπεινα (Preisigke [1925] II: 534, ἐπειμὶ: “da sein”) is mostly attested in reference to people (e.g., τά ἐπεσομένα μοι τέκνα, P.Oxy. 3.495 (181-184; TM 20631); τοῖς ἐπεσομένοις ἐξ αὐτῶν δούλικοις ἐκγόνοις, P.Mich. 5.322a (Tebytnis, 1/11/46; TM 12132). In one occurrence the term is applied to animals (βόες ὀο καὶ τά ἐπεσομένα τοῦτος, SB 18.13168 [Pathyris, 23/03/123 BC, TM 468]) and in another, to time (τῶν ἐπεσομένων χρόνων, P.Ryl. 2.157 [Hermopolites, 18/06/135; TM 19511]). There are however some occurrences of the word referring to objects or money, including philantropho pa, in PSI 9.1018, dated to 110: ἀγνευτικῶν καὶ πάντων λοίπων καὶ καρπεῶν καὶ ἐπεσομένων φιλανθρώπων. If the reading ἐπεσομένων is accepted, the word would probably refer to the installments that were still to be paid.

20. [Ἀ]θ[ὺρ c.2]: possible, if not certain restoration.

22. ἄλλαϲ ἐπὶ [λό]γου (δραχμαῖ): formula attested in many receipts (e.g.: P. Oxy. 12.1522 V [after 222; TM 21898], SB 12.10895 [Diospolis Magna or Koptos, March 11th 118 BC; TM 4382]), but not in personal money loans.

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Bibliography:


H. Kühnert, Zum Kreditgeschäfte in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian, diss. (Freiburg, 1965).


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