

Place Date Language Material Number of texts Type Collections Find/Acquisition	<p>Aurelius Isidoros son of Ptolemaios</p> <p style="text-align: right;">ArchID 34. Version 2 (2013) Karolien Geens</p>
	<p>Arsinoites (Fayum), meris of Herakleides, Karanis AD 267-324 Greek and Latin Papyrus 175 Family archive Ann Arbor, Michigan University; Cairo, Egyptian Museum; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library; New York, Columbia University; New York, New York University Bought on the antiquities market in the period 1923-1925</p>
<p>Bibliography</p>	<p>A.E.R. BOAK, 'An Egyptian Farmer of the Age of Diocletian and Constantine', <i>Byzantina Metabyzantina</i> 1 (1946), p. 39-53 (non vidi).</p> <p>A.E.R. BOAK, <i>Village Liturgies in Fourth Century Karanis</i>, in <i>Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Wien 1955 (MPER N.S. 5)</i>, Wien, 1956, p. 37-40.</p> <p>A.E.R. BOAK / H.C. YOUTIE, <i>The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan [P. Cairo Isid.]</i>, Ann Arbor, 1960, p. 3-20.</p> <p>E. SEIDL, <i>Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römischer Provinz</i>, Sankt Augustin, 1973, p. 65, no. 1.20.</p> <p>J.D. THOMAS, 'A Family Dispute from Karanis and the Revolt of Domitius Domitianus', <i>ZPE</i> 24 (1977), p. 233-240.</p> <p>R.S. BAGNALL, <i>P. Col. VII</i>, 1979, p. 1-9.</p> <p>P.J. SIJPESTEIJN, 'Aurelius Isidoros en zijn familie. Teksten uit een Egyptisch familiearchief van ca. 300 n. Chr.', in K.R. VEENHOF (ed.), <i>Schrijvend verleden. Documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten vertaald en toegelicht</i>, Leiden – Zutphen, 1983, p. 204-210.</p> <p>O. MONTEVECCHI, <i>La papirologia</i>, Milano, 1988², p. 257-258 no. 65.</p> <p>D.P. KEHOE, <i>Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt During the Early Empire (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 40)</i>, Bonn, 1992, p. 158-163.</p> <p>The numbers in bold refer to <i>P. Cairo Isid.</i></p>
<p>Description</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">PURCHASE OF KARANIS PAPYRI</p> <p>Between 1923 and 1925, hundreds of papyri from late third and fourth century Karanis entered the antiquities market. P. van Minnen supposes that the texts were found in the house with dove-cotes labelled C35/37.¹ In 1923, the Cairo Museum acquired 143 papyri. Some large purchases of Karanis papyri were made by H.I. Bell, from the dealers Nahman, Blanchard, Askren and Abdullah (1924) and Kondilios (1925); see App. 1. Bell acted for a consortium, including the collections of Michigan, Columbia, New York University (through Columbia), Cornell, Oslo, British Museum and W.H. Merton.² The Cairo papyri purchased in</p>

¹ P. van Minnen, 'Archaeology and papyrology', in K. Lembke / M. Minas-Nerpel / S. Pfeiffer (eds.), *Tradition and transformation: Egypt under Roman rule*, Leiden, 2010, p. 465.

² SB XX 14378 was acquired before 1925 by John Frederik Lewis of Philadelphia through Azeez Khayat, in New York.

1923, together with 3 papyri from the Michigan collection, have been collected in *P. Cairo Isid.* The others have been published in *P. NYU*, *P. Col. VII*, *P. Oslo* and *P. Merton I-II*.

The papyri cover nearly a full century (ca. AD 270 - ca. 370). Lewis distinguished three groups of ‘family archives’.³ The earliest group (ca. AD 275-324), discussed below, centers on Aurelius Isidoros and contains some 180 items. The second group is the ‘archive’ of Aion, son of Sarapion, and Valerius, son of Antiourios (AD 299-377 or 319-377, ArchID 250). The latest and smallest group consists of six papyri concerning Aurelia Tetoueis (AD 372-374, ArchID 30). In his introduction to *P. Col. VII*, Bagnall tried to interrelate the three archives, reexamining the family relationships of the persons involved and providing a hypothetical stemma.

In his typescript report on the 1924 purchase, Bell remarks on Box XV: ‘These papyri clearly belong to a single find, made on the site of the ancient Karanis ... They have therefore been kept together and assigned to a single contributor [i.e. Columbia University, which shared them with New York University]; but as a matter of fact many papyri in other boxes ... clearly belong to the same find, and it was not possible to keep all these together without making the division inequitable’.⁴ Thus, papyri concerning Aurelius Isidoros were acquired with the same lot as those concerning the family of Aion and Valerius and Tetoueis (see App. 1). These papyri make up a small archive of Tetoueis on the one hand and a heterogeneous group of texts relating to the stepbrothers Valerius and Aion and various family members on the other. Their ancestors figure in the declarations of property of Aurelius Isidoros, which – besides the fact that they have been purchased together – suggest that there is a connection between the archive of Isidoros and that of Aion and Valerius and Tetoueis. Although all papyri may belong to a single find and perhaps to a single extended archive, we find it preferable to keep them separate, following Montevocchi.⁵

ARCHIVE OF AURELIUS ISIDOROS

The archive of Aurelius Isidoros contains some 175 texts dated between AD 267 and 324. Most of them are published in *P. Cairo Isid.* and *P. Col. VII*. Though Aurelius Isidoros is the central figure, not all texts relate to Isidoros himself. Some papers in the archive belonged to Isidoros’ father Ptolemaios (AD 267-283) and came into Isidoros’ possession after his father’s death. Several other documents concern Isidoros’ brothers (cf. App. 3). Finally, five documents concerning Atisios, son of Hatres, create a link between Isidoros’ family and that of Aion and Valerius.

Two lists of tax payers and two receipts for rent (*SB XXII 15823-15824*, *15837-15838*) have erroneously been attributed to the archive by Sijpesteijn.⁶ *P. Mich. IX 573* (AD 316), though related, does not belong to the archive either.⁷

³ Cf. N. Lewis, *P. NYU I*, 1967, p. IX-X.

⁴ Cited by N. Lewis, *P. NYU I*, 1967, p. IX.

⁵ Montevocchi 1988², no. 65, 66, 76.

⁶ P.J. Sijpesteijn, ‘Varia papyrologica IV’, *ZPE* 108 (1995), p. 204, 215. The four texts come from regular excavations in Karanis, not from the lot bought in 1923-1925.

⁷ *P. Mich. IX 573* has been excavated in 1927/1928, while all other papers in the archive have come down to us through antique dealers some years before.

The texts belong to several types (see App. 4). Most are incoming documents, addressed to Isidoros or one of his relatives. By far the largest group are receipts of various kinds: payment of taxes (in grain, wine, money, for *annona* and transport charges, ...), payment of rent and receipts for delivery of taxes collected by granary directors (*sitologoi*) and decemviri (*dekaprotai*). The receipt **54** is preserved in five copies (A-E), folded and tied up in a small bundle as to form a separate lot within Isidoros' archive. Four contracts of sale of beans drawn up in AD 308 (**87**, **88**, **89**, **97**), were tied together, like the receipt mentioned above. Next in line are contracts of sale, lease and loan. Two agreements about division of property and some substitutions of liturgy have been included in this group. An equally large group are petitions written by Isidoros or one of his relatives. These are in fact outgoing documents, but their presence in the archive is explained by the fact that they are drafts or copies kept by the petitioner. Some bear an official subscription and can be identified as the original petitions submitted by Isidoros and kept in his archive after they have returned from the responsible official. Many lists and accounts and reports of tax collectors and other officials relate to Isidoros' private business or to his liturgical duties. The archive also includes several property and census declarations. Private and official correspondence is rare.

Papers of Ptolemaios and Herois, parents of Isidoros

Ptolemaios was the son of Pankratios, who was a *speculator* in the Roman army. Nothing in the archive suggests that Ptolemaios followed his father's military career. **84**, a contract of sale of a donkey, is the earliest document (AD 267); **85** is another contract of sale (AD 275). A group of receipts for rent show Ptolemaios as a lessee: the lessor in **107-108** (AD 276) is another Ptolemaios; in **109-110** (AD 279) it is the soldier Aphrodisios, probably the man who sent him the business letter **133**. In **31**, a receipt for wheat, Ptolemaios makes deliveries on behalf of the veteran Asklepiades, perhaps another lessor. The relatively early date of **143**, the conclusion of a land lease and a receipt issued in the same year, marks it as another document left by Isidoros' father. **32** and **33** are tax receipts for Ptolemaios. In **32**, he pays along with his sister Thaisarion, whereas **33** shows that arrears of land tax due in 278 were only paid in 283. Finally, Ptolemaios might be mentioned in the private letter **132**, 10.

83, a contract of sale of a horse to Aurelius Heron, a cavalry man, has been dated on palaeographical grounds to the second half of the third century and may therefore also relate to the generation of Isidoros' father, although Heron is not attested elsewhere.

Ptolemaios is last heard of in 283 (**33**). He was certainly dead by 298, when his son Pankratios reported an olive grove to the *censitor* in the name of his mother Herois (**2**). In the next year Herois herself declared another olive grove and undated farm land (**3**). She was still alive in 309 (*P. Col.* 141).

Papers of Isidoros and his brothers

Ptolemaios and Herois left at least seven sons: Pankratios,⁸ Isidoros, Peras, Palemon, Heron,

⁸ Pankratios was no doubt the eldest son, since he inherits his grandfather's name and acts for his mother in the census declaration of AD 298; cf. *P. Cairo Isid.*, 1960, p. 4.

Heras and Demetrios and one daughter Isidora (see the stemma of the family in App. 2).⁹ The papers of Ptolemaios and Herois ended up with Isidoros, who kept them together with his own documents and those relating to his brothers' affairs. Some documents concern Isidoros' private business; others reflect his public career. Isidoros' age is often given imprecisely,¹⁰ but he was born somewhere around 270.

a) Private business

Isidoros was both a land-owner and a tenant farmer, leasing land from residents of Karanis as well as of Ptolemais Euergetis.¹¹

In 299 he owned 35 27/64 arouras royal and private land in the village of Karanis and its territory.¹² This is shown by **4** and **5**, two declarations of land for the census of Diocletianus. Between 299 and 310, Isidoros' holdings substantially increased to 140 arouras (**69**, 17). The 115 arouras were probably inherited. In 299, his mother declared 30 15/32 arouras of grain land, and a copy of her declaration was found among his papers. The remaining 85 arouras probably resulted from the close cooperation of Isidoros with his brothers (see the *pittakion* lists **24-26** and perhaps **18**).¹³ All brothers and some of their sons were associated in a *pittakion* (an agricultural consortium) headed by Isidoros. Demetrios, Heron and Pankratios seem to have been independent landowners. Heron also leases a plot in the *topos* Testo (*P. Col.* 180). With Palemon and Heras, Isidoros seems to have had a relationship of a different kind. Unlike the other brothers, they appear rather frequently in the numerous tax receipts preserved in Isidoros' archive, whether paying individually, one for the other or through Isidoros. Isidoros kept receipts of taxes paid by or in the name of Palemon and his son Kopres between 302 and 312 (**41**, **51**, **52**, **61**, *P. Merton* I 30) and by Heras, his wife Taesis and her sister Kyrillous (**35**, **37**, **53**, **55**, **59**, *P. Merton* I 31, *P. Col.* 137, 138, 139, 141). In *P. Col.* 141, various payments are credited to Isidoros 'and his brothers' (Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσιδώρῳ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς) Since the receipt does not distinguish between amounts to be credited to Isidoros, Heras, Taesis and Palemon, Bagnall concludes that these four largely operated their property in common, so that the identity of the person actually making the payment or delivery did not matter. Anyway, Isidoros' property had declined to 80 arouras by 324, perhaps because some arouras were reclassified as unproductive land and removed from the tax rolls.¹⁴ Indeed, in **78**, Isidoros complains that only 7 out of the 80 arouras are under cultivation (l. 11) and according to *P. Merton* II 92, he sowed only 8 arouras with wheat and another 2 with hay.

⁹ Isidora was the owner of about 70 arouras; cf. R.S. Bagnall, 'Bullion Purchases and Landholding in the Fourth Century', *CdE* 52 (1977), p. 330-331 with n. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. **125**, 14 note; *P. Cairo Isid.*, 1960, p. 4.

¹¹ Cf. *P. Cairo Isid.*, 1960, p. 7-10; Kehoe 1992, p. 164.

¹² The total of 53 59/64 arouras suggested by A.E.R. Boak and H.C. Youtie, has been corrected to 35 27/64 arouras by L. Koenen / S. Omar, 'P.Cairo Isid. 5', *ZPE* 11 (1973), p. 245-250 at 246. In AD 299, Isidoros owned 11/16 aroura of private sown land in the village of Karanis (**4**); 17 31/64 arouras of royal land under cultivation in the *horiodeiktia* (**5**, 33-34); 15 3/8 arouras of private sown land in the *horiodeiktia* (**5**, 35-36) and 1 7/8 aroura of private land not capable of cultivation in the same district (**5**, 37).

¹³ Bagnall 1977 (see n. 9), p. 332.

¹⁴ This suggestion is made by *P. Cairo Isid.*, 1960, p. 8; cf. Bagnall 1977 (see n. 9), p. 329. Kehoe 1992, p. 158 suggests that some land may have been given to Isidoros' children.

In a number of contracts Isidoros is actively engaged in buying and selling beans. In the contracts **87**, **88**, **89** and **97**, five men, one of them Isidoros, acknowledge that they have received 15 talents as the price of 100 artabes of beans and promise to make a delivery within the same year. **90** and **91** are two other sales of beans contracted in the same year 308/309 by Isidoros. Perhaps these documents reflect the business of a *pittakion* of which Isidoros was a member.¹⁵ **21** is a record of beans and other vegetables in 314/315, perhaps deliveries made to Isidoros as a result of a purchase before the harvest of 314. **92** probably relates to the same. Isidoros may himself have been a bean grower or at least controlled a bean crop.¹⁶

In 298, some crops of Isidoros were destroyed by fire as a result of arson.¹⁷ The petitions **65**, **66 a-b**, **67** and **124**, submitted by Isidoros, all relate to this case. An earlier petition, which is not preserved, was sent to the *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome on August 20, 298 (cf. **65**, 2-10). The complaint was confirmed by a report of the assistant of the *strategos* (**124**). Somewhat later, Isidoros sent in the names of the culprits (**65**). Next he sent a petition to the *praefectus* Aelius Publius, in which he asked that they be brought to trial before the *praefectus*. This petition is preserved in two copies (**66 a** and **b**). **67**, which is also addressed to Aelius Publius, may be another draft of the same petition, or reflects a later stage in the same affair.

In **69** and **70**, two petitions addressed to the *strategos* of the Arsinoites, Isidoros complains that Akotas, son of Germanus, has extorted from him tax payments for farm land, which he himself owned. A petition of 296 records an assault (**139**). Four years later, Isidoros and Ammonios submit a petition about a nocturnal theft (**142**). In **141**, Isidoros complains to the chief of police (*eirenarches*) about a nocturnal rade on his *μὀνῆ*. When Isidoros tried to put the culprits under arrest, he was assaulted by one of them. In 316, Isidoros complained to the district administrator (*praepositus pagi*) that six villagers broke into his house and smashed his furniture, while he was working in the fields (**75**). Finally, a series of petitions relate to trespass by animals onto Isidoros' fields: **79**, **140**, **78**, *P. Merton* II 92 and *P. Col.* 171.

Isidoros also took on lease several parcels of land as a tenant. His archive contains some contracts of lease, and many receipts issued to Isidoros by landlords for payments of rent, or by tax collectors for payment of taxes on behalf of the landlords from 292/293 to 314/315.¹⁸ He farmed land under lease simultaneously with two or more lessors. Maybe he was not just a lessee, but also a middleman for urban landowners.

Isidoros maintained long working relationships with several individual landowners and even families.¹⁹ Sarapion, son of Onnophris, was Isidoros' landlord probably from 292/293 to 295/296. Isidoros pays taxes on his behalf in **34** II, **36**, **37** II, **38**, **39**, *P. Col.* 136 and *P. Merton* II 88 V and X.

¹⁵ Cf. *P. Cairo Isid.*, 1960, p. 330, the introduction at **89**.

¹⁶ Cf. **91**, introduction.

¹⁷ Cf. A.E. Hanson, 'A Petition and Court Proceedings: P.Michigan inv. 6060', *ZPE* 111 (1996), p. 175-176.

¹⁸ *P. Cairo Isid.*, 1960, p. 8-10.

¹⁹ R.S. Bagnall, 'An Arsinoite Metropolitan Landholding Family of the Fourth Century', in M. Capasso (ed.), *Papiri documentari greci (Papyrologica Lupiensia 2)*, Lecce, 1993, p. 100.

Between 293/294 and 309/310, Isidoros was a tenant of land in the sixth *sphragis* and in the *topos* Pammareas with the brothers Casius and Isidoros and their half-brothers Gemellus and Pasigenes. Four receipts for payment of rent on land belonging to Casius and Isidoros or their half-brothers, are preserved in the archive (**113**, **116**, **119** and probably **111**). Gemellus and Pasigenes, represented by their half-brother Isidoros, appear again in a lease concluded with Aurelia Serenilla in 300 (**101**). This woman of metropolitan status, a wealthy absentee landowner at Karanis, is mentioned in several other papyri in the archive: she owned some 19 arouras, mostly private land (**6**, 188-190) and she is listed under the heading ἀρχόντων καὶ πολιτῶν in a list of landholders of 309 (**9**; cf. **19**). **112** is a receipt issued to Isidoros for payment of two years' rent (298/299 and 299/300) for land in the *horiodeiktia* of Karanis. Isidoros' service as lessee of the family lasted some twenty years since he leased from Serenilla's children Zoilos and Ptolema as well.²⁰ In the contract of lease mentioned above (**101**), Serenilla is represented by her son Zoilos. In 296, Isidoros leased three parcels of land at Kerkesoucha Agoras for three years from Aurelius Zoilos (**99**), of which he was still cultivating one in 308 to 311 (**117**, **118**, **120**, **121**). Zoilos was assistant of the *prytanis* (cf. **99**). Zoilos' father Apollonios, husband of Serenilla, is identified by Bagnall as the veteran Apollonios who appears in the Karanis tax list as a metropolitan (**9**, 35, 48).²¹ Between 302/303 and 306/307, Isidoros leased a plot in the *horiodeiktia* from Ptolema. In the rent receipts, Ptolema's husband Ioannes, former gymnasiarch, acts on her behalf (**114**, **115**). Ptolema also acknowledges – through her son Serenus – to have received from Isidoros an annual rent for 313/314 and 314/315 (**122**).²² Since the amount of rent is identical to that involved in Zoilos' transactions in the immediately preceding years (**117**, **118**, **120**, **121**), the land might be the same, inherited by Ptolema from Zoilos, or they might have inherited in equal shares the plot from their parents.²³

Other landowners are attested only sporadically. In 296, Isidoros applied to Aurelius Nemesinos, councillor and former *exegetes* of Ptolemais Euergetis for a three-year lease of 4 arouras of wheat land (**100**) and **102** may also refer to a tenancy.

Although Isidoros' mother owned two olive yards, Isidoros offered to lease an olive grove from Aurelia Thermoutharion, daughter of a legionary, for a period of five years (*P. Col.* 179; AD 300).

While Isidoros mostly leased parcels of modest size,²⁴ the lease of a considerable plot (25 arouras) from the brothers Ammonianos and Kastor in 314/315 (cf. **74**, 5-10), led to litigation before the *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia: **74** (57385) has the governor's decision, **74** (57063) and *P. Merton* II 91 are petitions included by Isidoros in his later petition to the *strategos*. Of his original petition concerning this litigation to the *praepositus pagi* (*P. Col.* 169), three drafts are preserved: *P. Col.* 170; **76** (57361 and 57369).

²⁰ Kehoe 1992, p. 160.

²¹ Bagnall 1993 (see n. 19), p. 99.

²² In **114-115**, her name is written in the genitive as Ptolemas; cf. Bagnall 1993 (see n. 19), p. 99 n. 15. Kehoe 1992, p. 161, does not identify both women and takes Ptolemas in **114-115** to be another landowner, leasing out land to Isidoros. Boak / Youtie, *P. Cairo Isid.*, 1960, p. 9, are uncertain about the identification with Ptolema.

²³ Bagnall 1993 (see n. 19), p. 99.

²⁴ Kehoe 1992, p. 159-161.

45 is a receipt for wheat by Isidoros on behalf of Didymos, one of the ἄρχοντες καὶ πολῖται (**9**, II), presumably an Arsinoite landholder who had property at Karanis. Isidoros was probably his tenant.

P. Col. 140 is a receipt for delivery of bullion by Aurelia Ameis, daughter of Horion (AD 308). This woman occurs in **6**, 308-310 as owner of land in Karanis. The receipt might have come into Isidoros' hands if he was the lessee of the land belonging to Ameis and made payments on behalf of that land.

Though Isidoros characterizes himself as a man of 'moderate' means (cf. **68**, **69**, *P. Merton* II 91),²⁵ it is clear from his farming business that he was not a poor, landless peasant. Rather, he is a landowner of above average wealth with considerable capital.²⁶ Despite his inability to keep his own land productive, he leased substantial amounts of land from other landowners, sharing with them the costs of cultivation. Leasing gave Isidoros access to better land and allowed him to enlarge his income. The lease with the brothers Ammonianos and Kastor shows him even stronger than the lessors.²⁷

b) Public career

Though he was illiterate, Isidoros was assigned to ten liturgical offices in the course of twenty years (298/299 to 318/319);²⁸ see App. 5. It was presumably in view of one of these liturgies that he received a copy of the edict of the prefect concerning changes in the tax assessments (**1**).

His earliest liturgical duty is that of *kephalaiotes*, a foreman in charge of a donkey caravan, in 298/299 (**40**). The next year, he is *pediophylax*, a subordinate rural policeman (*P. Merton* II 89).²⁹ In 300/301, Isidoros served as tax collector, *apaitetes* (**42**). In the next two years, no liturgical obligations are recorded.³⁰ In 303/304 and 305/306, Isidoros was collector of meat for the army (**22**, **23**, **44**).

In 308/309, Isidoros was nominated village head or *komarches* together with a fellow villager (**125**).³¹ There is no other document recording him in his duty of *komarches*, but presumably that is how **129** and **130**, two orders for arrest issued to the *komarchai* and police of Karanis, came into Isidoros' possession. The letter from Herakleides, *praepositus* of the 5th *pagus* of the Arsinoite nome, to his colleague of another *pagus*, concerning the

²⁵ H.C. Youtie, 'Notes sur P. Cairo Boak 57049', *CdE* 28 (1953), p. 150 (cf. 69, n. 27) takes the word μέτριος to have an economic sense as a person of modest or humble station. M. Guéraud, 'Notes sur P. Cairo Boak 57049', *CdE* 28 (1953), p. 150 n. 1 gives it a moral sense.

²⁶ Kehoe 1992, p. 161-162; R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, 1993, p. 120.

²⁷ Kehoe 1992, p. 162-163.

²⁸ Cf. Boak, 1956, p. 37-40; *P. Cairo Isid.*, 1960, p. 11-17

²⁹ He may be identical with the *pediophylax* attested in *O. Mich.* I 356, which records the dispatch of 5 donkey loads of wood. One of the five donkey drivers is the *kephalaiotes* Isidoros.

³⁰ Since the receipt of meat for the annona for the year AD 301/302, issued by Aion and Komon, collectors, came into possession of Isidoros and was found among his papers, Isidoros may have acted as agent for Aion and Komon, or he may have served as collector of meat in the year AD 301/302; cf. *P. Cairo Isid.*, 1960, p. 12.

³¹ Maybe the presence among Isidoros' papers of **46**, a receipt of AD 307 of chaff issued to the chaff collectors Aurelius Hatres and possibly Isidoros (his name is restored), indicates that Isidoros was chaff collector of AD 307/308. As the editors note (**46**, introduction), it is surprising that he does not cite this function three years later when he protests his nomination to this very post and draws attention only to his current service as *sitologos*.

recovery of fugitives (**126**), may also have come into Isidoros' archive during his tenure of the *komarchia*.

In June 309, Isidoros is performing the function of *sitologos* (cf. **47**, a series of receipts for delivery to the harbor of Kerke and Leukogion of grain collected by Isidoros and his colleagues). Similar deliveries of grain by donkey caravans between September and November 309 are listed in **15** (and **144?**). Apparently, he occupied two distinct posts in the course of a single year, the *komarchia* and the *sitologia*. **48** and **49** are receipts for delivery of emmer by Isidoros and his colleague in August and again in November 309. Although Isidoros is not mentioned by name in **50**, the receipt for delivery of wheat to the harbor of Kerke by Kopres and his colleague is also to be associated with Isidoros' *sitologia*, since Isidoros was one of Kopres' colleagues. **9** and **11** are reports of tax grain collected by the *sitologoi* on the harvest of 309. In **9**, a report of payments in wheat and barley made by individual landholders of Karanis, Isidoros appears himself as a contributor. **95** and **96** are loans of wheat issued by Isidoros and his colleagues *sitologoi* to villagers of Karanis, showing that Isidoros was still *sitologos* in 309/310. It is probably in his capacity of *sitologos* that Isidoros received **127**, a declaration under oath by Isidoros, son of Pemmeis. At the end of the tax year 309/310, Isidoros wrote a petition to the *praepositus* of the 5th *pagus*, charging the secretary of Karanis and his three associates, for nominating him to the office of chaff collector (**68**).³² This petition was without effect since Isidoros serves as chaff collector in 310/311. **10** is a daily record of chaff collected on the harvest of 310/311 by Isidoros and his colleague Seuthes. **17** is a list of arrears due on the chaff levy of 310/311. A report issued in February 314 reproduces receipts issued to Seuthes and Isidoros for chaff and hay (**16**). In that same year, Isidoros and Seuthes had to present a report of their collections of the same year to the *pertractator* Heptanomiaie (**13**). The receipts agree, with minor verbal differences, with those in **16**.

In 313/314, Isidoros acted as *tesserarius* of Karanis, working in close cooperation with the *komarchai*. In January 314, he joined the latter in certifying to the *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome that they received from the public bankers the price of clothing which they had delivered to the appropriate receivers for the *vestis militaris* of 310/311 (**54**, preserved in five copies). Later in 314, the officials of Bouto in the Memphite nome who had come to Karanis and taken into custody fugitives from Bouto whom they found in the village, issued a receipt to Isidoros as *tesserarius* against any additional claim upon him or his village (**128**). In **73** Isidoros, *tesserarius*, and Palemon, *quadrarius* of Karanis complain to the prefect of Egypt about injustices being inflicted on the people of Karanis by the *praepositus* of the *pagus* and by the *komarchai* of Karanis. **71** and **72** are notes for drawing up this petition. Four further documents are probably related to Isidoros' function of *tesserarius*: the order sent by the *praepositus pagi* to the *tesserarius* and *quadrarius* of Karanis (**131**) and a list of assignments of appropriate distribution (*epinemesis*) at Ptolemais, Bakchias and Kerkesoucha Agoras to landholders of Karanis in 313/314 (**12**). A daybook of tax contributions probably dates from the same year (**14**). The offer to lease addressed to three

³² Since *sitologoi* were held responsible for the delivery of the total annual assessment of the village, villagers tried to avoid these liturgies.

persons whose names are lost, was also submitted when Isidoros was serving as *tesserarius* (**103**).

In 317, Isidoros was called upon to perform an *ergasia*. However, he was replaced by the son of Tanouphis, probably because of his old age. The archive contains the acknowledgment of receipt of wages issued by Tanouphis to Isidoros (**123**). Isidoros was again nominated to a liturgy in 318. He tried to evade it by an exchange of liturgies with Ptolemaios, a much younger man (**82**).

In a petition dated in 319,³³ the writer, presumably Isidoros, complains that he is nominated for a liturgy, though his sons were serving as *sitologoi* and tax collectors. He requests that someone else should be assigned to the liturgy, since he is an old man (**138**).

c) Isidoros' household and relatives

Details about Isidoros' household are rare.³⁴ Tales, daughter of Palemon, was represented by her husband Isidoros in a petition to the *praepositus pagi* in 322 (**77**). If she was indeed the wife of our Isidoros, she was the mother of Peeous, the three-year old son who is included by Isidoros in the census declaration of 309 (**8**). Another son, Patieis, appears in several documents (**9, 10, 27, 28, 34, 57**) and is acting as Isidoros' agent in 294 (**34**). Patieis was active as *kephalaiotes* in 315. He appears in three receipts for delivery of barley to the komarchs of Karanis Germanus and Ariston (cf. **56, 58**), once again as a *kephalaiotes* (**57**). Several of these *kephalaiotai* occur in the accounts of tax collection in *P. NYU I* 12, 15, 16 and 17. Since he paid taxes in his own name in 309 (**9**) and 311 (**10**), Patieis must have been much older than Peeous. The editors of *P. Cairo Isid.* therefore suggest that Tales might have been Isidoros' second wife.

Besides being head of a *pittakion* to which also his brothers belonged, Isidoros also represents his brother Peras in **81**, a substitution in a liturgy of Peras, by Polion. Another brother Heron undertakes service as a colleague (*symmachos*) in place of another person in 296 (**80**). The contract of surety **106** may relate to one of Isidoros' other brothers, Pankratios.

Finally a dispute concerning the division of property between Taxis and Kyrrillous on the one side and their paternal uncle Chairemon on the other gave rise to three petitions (**62, 63, 64**) and two agreements about the division of the property (**104, 105**).³⁵ The sisters appear also among the landholders of Karanis (**6, 238, 244; 9, 162, 167; 17, 66; 18, 18**).

Papers of Atisios son of Hatres

Among the late third and fourth century Karanis papyri purchased between 1923 and 1925 and probably belonging to one single find, three groups of texts ('family archives') can be distinguished. The papers of Isidoros, being the early group, is linked to the mid fourth

³³ The undated report from Aurelius Ptollos to Aurelius Isidoros informing him that he has collected money from seven persons (**138**), may indicate that Isidoros had some official connection with the collection of the tax; cf. the introduction to **138**.

³⁴ *P. Cairo Isid.*, 1960, p. 4-5.

³⁵ Thomas 1977, p. 233-240.

century group (the so-called archive of Aion and Valerius) by five papyri relating to Atisios, son of Hatres.

Atisios was the greatgrandfather of Aion and Valerius and belonged to the generation of Isidoros. His landholdings figure in the archive of Isidoros. *P. Col.* 124 (between 298 and 302), of which *P. Mich.* XII 626 is a copy, is an extract of a census declaration listing holdings of Atisios. Other examples of this kind are 4 and 5. *P. Col.* 125 is an extract of census declaration (AD 308), but it only contains the property of Atisios situated in the 18th *sphragis* of the village of Karanis. In *P. Mich.* XII 636, of which *P. NYU* 20 is a copy, Atisios, now some 60 years old, transfers to Aurelius Heron his property in the first and fifth *sphragides*, listed in *P. Col.* 124. Heron will take over all the fiscal responsibility starting in the following year.

Archive texts *P. Cairo Isid.* 1-146; *P. Col.* VII, 124-125, 136-141, 169-171, 179-180; *P. Merton* I 30-31; II 88-89, 91-92; *P. Mich.* XII 626, 636.

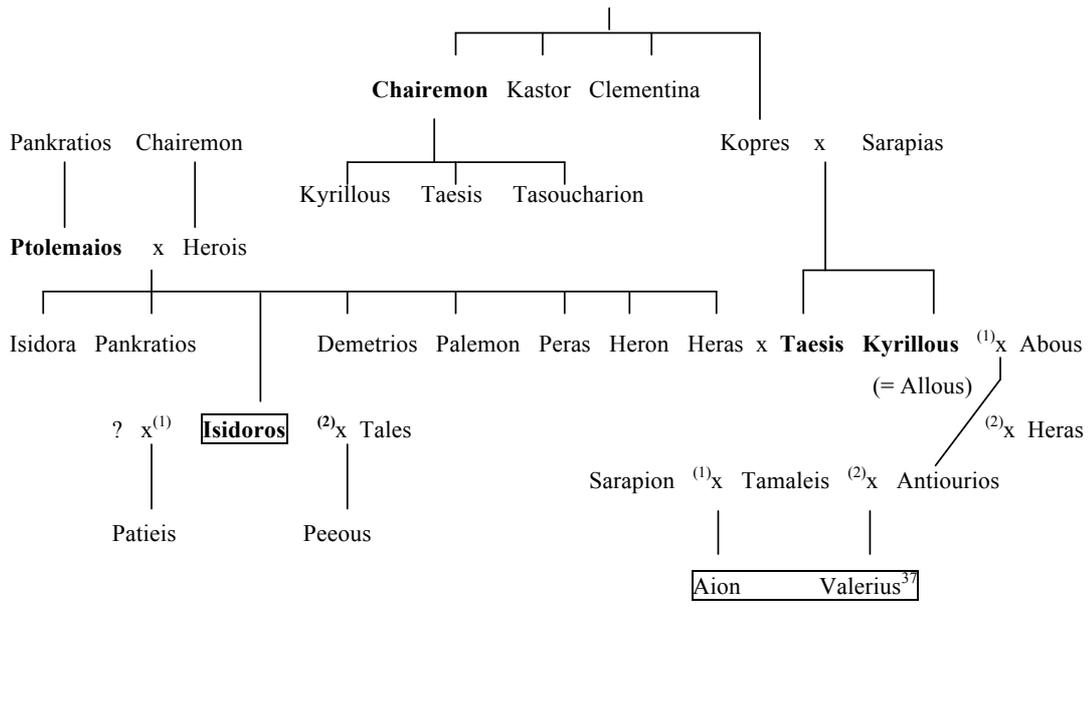
Text types See App. 4.

Appendices

App. 1. Third and fourth century Karanis papyri from the 1923-1925 purchase

See App. 1 of the archive of Aion, son of Sarapion, and Valerius, son of Antiourios (ArchID 250).

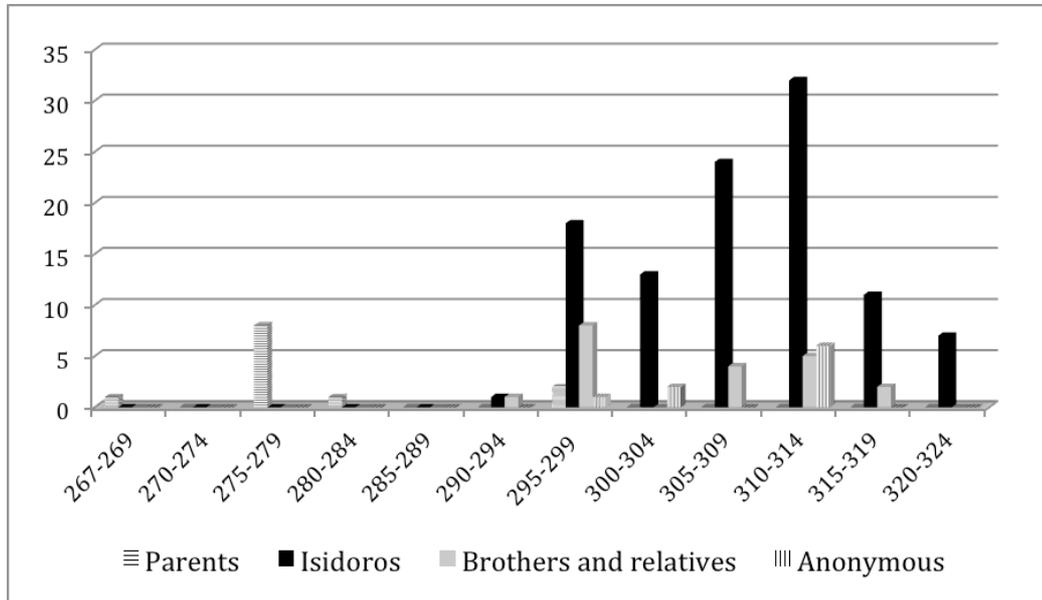
App. 2. Stemma of the family³⁶



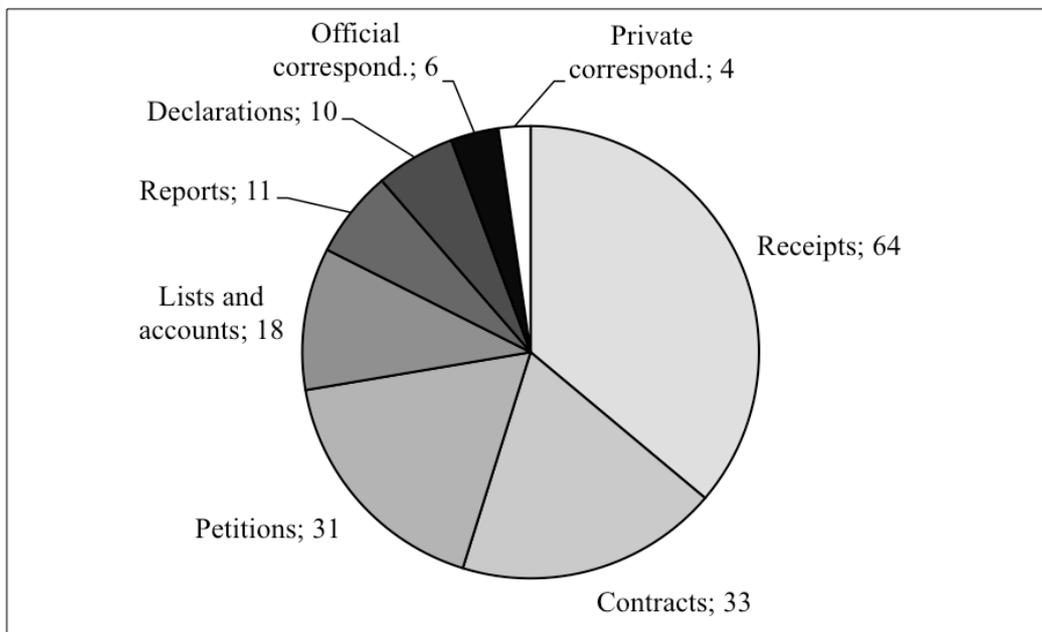
³⁶ I have inserted only these family members who regularly appear in the texts; for a complete stemma of the family; cf. *P. Cair. Isid.*, 1960, p. 6.

³⁷ Cf. the archive of Aion and Valerius (ArchID 250).

App. 3. Dated documents relating to Isidoros, his parents, his brothers and anonymous documents according to years



App. 4. Types of texts



App. 5. Liturgies performed by Isidoros

Year	Liturgy	Reference
298/299	<i>Kephalaiotes</i>	40
299/300	<i>Pediophylax</i>	<i>P. Merton II 89</i>
300/301	<i>Apaitetes</i>	42
(301/302)	Collector of meat	43
303/304	Collector of meat	22, 23, 44
308/309	Komarch	125, 128?, 129?, 130?
309/310	<i>Sitologos</i>	47, 48, 49, 50, 15, 9, 11, 95, 96
310/311	Chaff collector	10, 17, 13, 16
313/314	<i>Tesserarius</i>	54 A-E, 128, 71, 72, 73, 131?, 12?, 14?
317	? --> replaced	123
318/319	? --> replaced	82