

	<b>Archive of Flavius Patermouthis, son of Menas</b>
Place	Syene
Date	AD 493-613
Language	Greek + Coptic
Material	Papyrus + 1 ostrakon
Number of texts	53 certain + 2 uncertain
Type	Private family archive with legal documents: conveyances (deeds of sale of house property and boats, cessions), documents dealing with legacy (records of litigation, settlements of dispute, a will), loans, acknowledgements of debts, a surety, recruit enrollment, lists of goods, letters
Collections Find/Acquisition	London, British Library; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [find/acquisition]

### Bibliography

- H.I. BELL, *Syene Papyri in the British Museum*, *Klio* 13 (1913), pp.160-174.
- JJ. FARBER – B. PORTEN, *The Pathermouthis Archive: A Third Look*, *BASP* 23 (1986), pp.81-98.
- J.J. FARBER, *Family Financial Disputes in the Pathermouthis Archive*, *BASP* 27 (1990), pp.111-122.
- G. HUSSON, *Houses in Syene in the Patermouthis Archive*, *BASP* 27 (1990), pp.123-137.
- J.G. KEENAN, *Evidence for the Byzantine Army*, *BASP* 27 (1990), pp.139-150.
- S.J. CLACKSON, *Four Coptic Papyri from the Pathermouthis Archive in the British Library*, *BASP* 32 (1995), pp.97-116.
- B. PORTEN et alii, *The Elephantine Papyri in English. Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (DMOA 22), Leiden – New York – Köln, 1996, pp.389-398.

### Description

The archive of Patermouthis, son of Menas, contains some 50 documents, in both Greek and Coptic, divided between the collections of London (British Library) and Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

In February 1907, Robert de Rustafjaell acquired a group of Greek, Coptic, Arabic and Nubian manuscripts from Syene, on a single day<sup>1</sup>. He passed them on to Sir Harold Bell for the British Museum (now British Library) in November 1907. Some 30 Greek documents from this purchase, including numerous fragments, originate from the Patermouthis archive. They were published in 1917 in the fifth volume of the London papyri. Their inventory numbers range between 1787 and 1820<sup>2</sup>. Though the sellers told Rustafjaell that the manuscripts had been found together near Thebes, they came from Assuan as appears from their contents. 6 Coptic documents from the same purchase are also part of the archive (Clackson 1-4<sup>3</sup>; *P.Lond.* 1720Vo and a small papyrus in Munich, still unpublished<sup>4</sup>). Among other Coptic manuscripts from the same purchase, 3 may be connected (BL Or. 6809, BL Or. 6943 (6-10) – both unpublished - and Crum, ST 116), though they do not mention Patermouthis or a family member<sup>5</sup>. They were accessioned in 1908, a year later than the other manuscripts. Since a papyrus and an ostrakon published by Crum as BM 446 and ST 423 do not originate from Rustafjaell, their connection with the archive is uncertain.

In August 1907, an antique dealer in Cairo showed some 15 papyri to the German excavators at Elephantine. It was only after a year, in 1908, that Friedrich Zucker acquired them for the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich (*P.Münch.* 1-16). The inventory numbers range between 96 and 113.

In the process of discovery and sale, at least 6 documents are divided between the collections of London and Munich: *P.Münch.* 8 + *P.Lond.* 1857; *P.Münch.* 3 + *P.Lond.* 1725; *P.Münch.* 4/5Vo + *P.Lond.* 1726; *P.Münch.* 6 + *P.Lond.* 1849; *P.Münch.* 7 + *P.Lond.* 1860; *P.Münch.* 15 + *P.Lond.* 1855.

*a) Types of documents*

The archive contains the legal transactions of the family of Patermouthis, son of Menas and his wife Kako, daughter of Jakobos (see stemma fig. 1)<sup>6</sup>. The Greek documents are mainly conveyances: 13 deeds of sale of house property and boats and 4 cessions (2 gifts in anticipation of death, a transfer of house share and a transfer of share of notes)<sup>7</sup>. Next in frequency are documents dealing with inheritance: legacy settlements and records of litigation and a will<sup>8</sup>. Deeds of obligation include 3 loans and 3 debt acknowledgments<sup>9</sup>. Finally, there are some other legal papers: a surety bond, an enrollment of a new recruit and a note<sup>10</sup>. The Coptic papyri are mainly private documents, e.g. letters and lists of goods<sup>11</sup>. The only document from the archive in which Kako acts alone without her husband, a debt settlement (Clackson 4), is in Coptic<sup>12</sup>.

It is unclear whether Patermouthis or Kako is the last keeper of the archive. Patermouthis is the last named individual in a dated text (*P.Lond.* 1737; AD 613) and may therefore be the last archive-keeper<sup>13</sup>. However, Clackson 4, a debt settlement in which Kako acts alone, may be of later date<sup>14</sup>. Unless there is a reason for Kako to take out a loan separately, Patermouthis' absence in this text may indicate that he was no longer alive. In that case, Kako would be the last keeper of the archive, which should be named after her. Anyway, as Kako's papers would certainly have been kept by Patermouthis while still alive, the name "archive of Patermouthis" is maintained here.

*b) Distribution in time*

The archive ranges over a timespan of 120 years, from AD 493 to AD 613 (see fig. 2: list of dated documents)<sup>15</sup>.

The **main archive** includes a series of some 20 documents running from AD 574 to 613, relating to the legal activities of Patermouthis, his wife Kako or his mother-in-law Tapia<sup>16</sup>. Virtually all these documents are preserved intact. The earliest document actually containing the names of Patermouthis and Kako is *P.Lond.* 1724 (578-582 AD). In this contract, Tsia and Tsone, great-granddaughters of Patechnoumios, sell their share of a house to Kako and Patermouthis. There must have been some connection between Kako's family and that of Patechnoumios (see fig. 1, stemma 2), since the descendants of Patechnoumios appear several times as parties in the archive (*P.Lond.* 1724, *P.Münch.* 3 + *P.Lond.* 1725, *P.Lond.* 1729, *P.Münch.* 13).

Some 10 documents relating to an **earlier period** (AD 493-557/8), do not directly concern Patermouthis or his relatives. One group consists of title deeds<sup>17</sup>; they must have been passed hand to hand as the properties changed ownership. Their presence among the archive indicates that the property which they convey had been acquired by one or more of the central figures (cf. *infra*). Among the earlier documents are also three loan contracts, dealing with people from the area of Thebes, but found among the archive: *P.Lond.* 1719 (AD 541 or 556), *P.Lond.* 1721 (AD 542 or 557), *P.Lond.* 1720 (AD 549). Bell suggests that they had been taken from Thebes to Syene on the settlement there of some member of Patermouthis' family to whom the other papyri belonged<sup>18</sup>. MacCoull links these three texts with the Coptic list of metal objects on the verso of *P.Lond.* 1720<sup>19</sup>. She gives two possible scenarios: the loans *P.Lond.* 1719 (which she dates to AD 541) and *P.Lond.* 1721 (which she dates to AD 542) had been written first in the area of Thebes. Then the Coptic list of articles on the verso of *P.Lond.* 1720 was drawn up. Having left some articles in pledge back in the Theban area, the papyrus was brought to Syene by a member of the family, moving to Syene, and its recto side was used to write the contract involving the earring. Alternatively, the Coptic text might post-date the Greek text on the recto side, if Paulos the debtor in *P.Lond.* 1719, had kept all three documents together and used a side of them to list, in Coptic, articles that had been left back in Thebes.

For some documents, their presence in the archive **can not be explained**. It is unclear why the

recruit enrollment of Patermouthis, son of Dios (*P.Münch.* 2) was found among the papers of Patermouthis son of Menas. The same goes for *P.Lond.* 1723 (AD 577), an antichretic loan by Flavius Apa Dios, son of Kyriakos and Tsacho, to an Aurelius and his wife Anastasia and for *P.Münch.* 8 + *P.Lond.* 1857 (AD ± 540) also, a gift in anticipation of death by Aurelia Maria, daughter of Dios and Taeit to her (step)daughter. The witnesses in the latter text, Flavius Didymos son of Silvanus and Flavius Papnouthis son of Dios (ll. 47-48), occur in *P.Lond.* 1722. Finally, Patermouthis, son of Menas alias Benne in *P.Münch.* 4+5Vo, is certainly not identical with Patermouthis, son of Menas: the former is already styled Flavius in AD 581 (Vo, 1.1), while the latter is still Aurelius in AD 583/4 (cf. *P.Münch.* 9). Moreover, the name Benne is not elsewhere recorded for his father and the central figure of the archive is soldier of the numerus of Elephantine, whereas the other Patermouthis belongs to that of Syene<sup>20</sup>.

*c) The family's valuable belongings: house property*

As mentioned above, by far the largest group of documents are conveyances of property, mainly house property. All houses in the archive were located in the southern part of the fortress in Syene, fairly large, containing three stories, sometimes even four<sup>21</sup>. The archive contains deeds of sale of a complete house, a courtyard, a living room, undivided shares of a house and shares in designated rooms<sup>22</sup>. Some of these are older title-deeds, passed on from former property owners. Furthermore, there are three cessions of a house share. House shares were also inherited and bequeathed (*P.Lond.* 1727), were disputed among heirs (*P.Münch.* 6 + *P.Lond.* 1849; *P.Münch.* 7 + *P.Lond.* 1860; *P.Lond.* 1728; *P.Münch.* 14) and used as security for loans (*P.Lond.* 1723). Apparently there was a “generational transition” of estate: “one generation was gradually divesting itself of property in favor of the next as it sought to maintain itself in old age, while the heirs of the deceased, both children and spouses, quarreled over the estate”<sup>23</sup>.

In most documents, Patermouthis and/or his wife Kako are attested as property owners. The route by which the older title deeds found their way in the archive can be traced and the property conveyed in these title deeds, can be followed over several generations (see fig. 3)<sup>24</sup>.

- In AD 530, Jakobos and his wife Tsendia sold a house to Jakobos, son of Isakos. Some time after 530, Jakobos transferred the house with its deed (*P.Lond.* 1722) to Patechnumios, who left a third of the house and his deed to the entire house to his great-granddaughters Tsone and Tsere (cf. *P.Lond.* 1724, 22-23). At some time between AD 578 and 582, the two women sold their third share (a three-room apartment) to Patermouthis and Kako (*P.Lond.* 1724) and passed on with it the deed of the entire house (*P.Lond.* 1722). Kako's father Jakobos already owned a bedroom on the third floor of the apartment (ll. 30-31).
- A fragment of a protocol was found with *P.Lond.* 1734, a sale of a symposion by Taeit to an unknown person. On its back was written “to Patermouthis and Tkako” suggesting that the property had been sold to the couple. This protocol fits on top of *P.Münch.* 9<sup>25</sup> (AD 585), another sale of house property by Tapia to Patermouthis and Kako. We may surmise with Farber-Porten that the symposion, sold by Taeit to an unknown man, was conveyed by that buyer to Tapia. She resold half of the symposion to Patermouthis and Kako (*P.Münch.* 9 + *P.Lond.* 1734 protocol), together with some other house property, and along with the new conveyance went the old document (*P.Lond.* 1734). Nine years later, Tapia sold (the other?) half share of the symposion to a stranger (*P.Lond.* 1733). Eventually however, the entire symposion may have come to Patermouthis and Kako, as suggested by the presence of *P.Lond.* 1733 among their papers.
- In AD 586, Tapia sold half a share of a house— the other part belonging to her deceased husband Jakobos – to Flavius Kyriakos (*P.Münch.* 11). The couple had purchased the house from Johannes also called Paptios (l. 37). Five years later, Flavius Kyriakos sells the half-

share of the house to Paternouthis and Kako (*P.Münch.* 12). The couple might have inherited the other share from Kako's deceased father Jakobos.

*d) Legacy and settlements of dispute*

Apparently, the modest wealth of the family created legal and financial disputes between family members. The quarrels of the Paternouthis family mainly concern houses and boats. In these, Flavius Johannes, Paternouthis' brother-in-law, figures prominently<sup>26</sup> (see fig. 4).

Five texts concern the estate of Jakobos, father of Kako. When at the death of Jakobos' father Dios alias Pasaraei, his estate was divided, a dispute arose among the children. This is resolved by a settlement drawn up in AD 574 (*P.Münch.* 1), in which Jakobos hands over to his two brothers and sister, a single solidus<sup>27</sup>. Clackson 1, a Coptic letter addressed to Paternouthis, Kako and their children, may relate to this dispute, since a woman named Tsia is opposing someone or something and one of the parties in *P.Münch.* 1 was also named Tsia<sup>28</sup>.

Nine years later, the inheritance of Jakobos himself was disputed among his own heirs. In AD 583, Jakobos' children Kako and Johannes forced his widow Tapia to submit to an arbitration which resulted in a division of the property into equal thirds. Still, Johannes was not satisfied and believed his mother was hiding something. Proceedings took place before a judge Marcus in early June 583 (*P.Münch.* 6 + *P.Lond.* 1849). Around that time, Tapia must have been making preparations to leave Syene and to flee to her brother Johannes who lived in Antinoopolis - some 700 kilometers down the Nile -, where Tapia would reside two years later (*P.Münch.* 9, 66). But the dispute pursued her even there. A mere two weeks after the proceedings before Marcus, on 23 June, her son Johannes and son-in-law Paternouthis signed an agreement in Antinoöpolis about the division of the property, with Paternouthis promising to get the consent of his wife Kako to the resolution (*P.Münch.* 7 + *P.Lond.* 1860). The agreement with Kako was not signed until AD 585, 8 March (*P.Lond.* 1728).

Soon after, the nun Tsone, daughter of Tapia and her first husband Menas, claimed that 4 solidi had been given to Tapia by Menas in order to pay for child support after their divorce - although Tapia had left Tsone to be raised by Menas. In *P.Lond.* 1731, Tsone acknowledges that she has received the money from Tapia and has no further claims on her mother.

In spite of all these settlements, the quarrel continued for another nine years. Johannes and Tapia had gone to arbitration about a house of hers. Tapia was condemned to pay him 4 solidi, but Paternouthis somehow prevented her from paying to her son. Johannes then brought a complaint against Paternouthis and the quarrel went on and on. *P.Münch.* 14 (AD 594) records the results of this arbitration between Johannes and Paternouthis before a priest. At the same time, Johannes' claim on Tapia was retained. Paternouthis needed to credit Johannes with the 4 solidi Tapia was supposed to give him.

A Coptic deed of mediation (Crum, BM 446) and Clackson 2 are probably concerned with another family dispute. In this document of non-legal nature, Kako reminds her brother that her husband is still waiting to be repaid. This text possibly relates to *P.Lond.* 1730, a renunciation of Johannes' share of his grandmother's house in favour of Paternouthis because of financial difficulties.

Except for *P.Münch.* 2 and *P.Münch.* 7, which were written from Elephantine and Antinoopolis respectively, almost all papyri have been drawn up in Syene<sup>29</sup>. Most parties are natives from Syene. The documents mention neither farm-buildings nor farm land. The buildings were exclusively town-houses. In fact there is hardly any agricultural land around Syene. Its inhabitants relied on food imported from the north<sup>30</sup>. This explains why the majority of documents deals with money and house property<sup>31</sup>.

Many parties, subscribers, witnesses or scribes in the archive belong to the clergy<sup>32</sup> and the plain soldiers of the regiments of Syene, Philae and Elephantine. Keenan thinks that the camp at Syene contained a record-office or *grapheion* which was relied upon by the unit for official and private concerns, and by people of the surrounding area for drawing up documents of private law and for providing boards for arbitrations<sup>33</sup>. The Syene area was generally peaceful and the garrisons may have served as guardians and local police at the borders, perhaps assisting in the collection of taxes and tolls<sup>34</sup>. The soldiers likewise guarded transport between Syene and Philae of cargoes offloaded from ships onto camels. This may explain the fact that some men are identified as “boatmen by trade”.

A lot of family members of Patermouthis and Kako also were boatmen. Kako’s grandfather was a boatman. His eldest son Jakobos joined his father in the shipping business; his other two sons, Viktor and Paion, were still under age when he died. Johannes<sup>35</sup>, Jakobos’ son and Patermouthis’ brother-in-law, was a boatman by trade and a soldier of the numerus of Syene since 583 (*P.Munch.* 7; *P.Lond.* 1730). He served for at least ten years from AD 583 till 594 (*P.Lond.* 1728, 1730, *P.Munch.* 14).

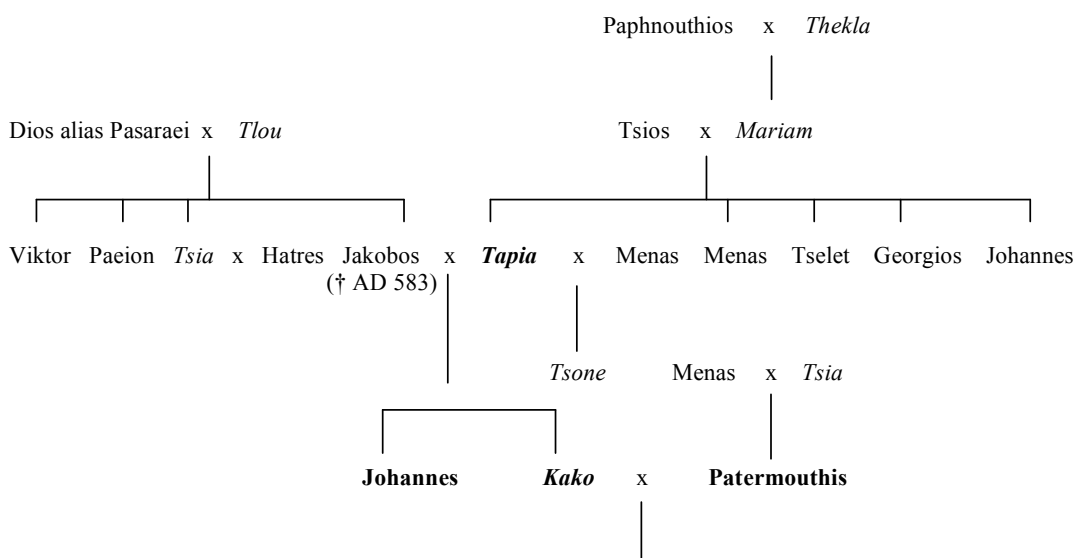
Patermouthis married into this family (see fig. 1, stemma 1), becoming a Nile boatman himself, perhaps through this marriage. Patermouthis is designated Aurelius from 578/82 till 585<sup>36</sup>. Between 30 May and 22 August 585 (cf. *P.Lond.* 1730, 4), he became Flavius<sup>37</sup>, upon enrollment as a soldier of the numerus of Elephantine<sup>38</sup>. He served in that regiment for at least 28 years<sup>39</sup>. Patermouthis and Johannes continued their activity as boatmen while in military service. As boatmen they functioned as private individuals, concerned with river traffic through the first cataract between Syene-Elephantine and Philae<sup>40</sup>.

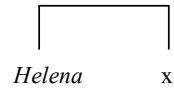
Patermouthis married his wife Aurelia Kako, in or before AD 582 (cf. *P.Lond.* 1724). They had at least two children, one of which is named Helena. The various purchases of house property made by Patermouthis and the loan advanced to his mother-in-law in AD 586, show that he was fairly well-off. Since no property seems to come from Patermouthis’ side of the family, he may have been less affluent than his wife<sup>41</sup>. In AD 611 he and his wife borrow 4 solidi from a sailor of Syene and in AD 613, Patermouthis borrows 3 1/3 solidi from the same person (*P.Lond.* 1737). These loans do not necessarily show that he was less prosperous towards the end of his life.

Appendices

Fig. 1: Stemma of the family

1. Family of Patermouthis and Kako





2. Stemma of Patechnoumios

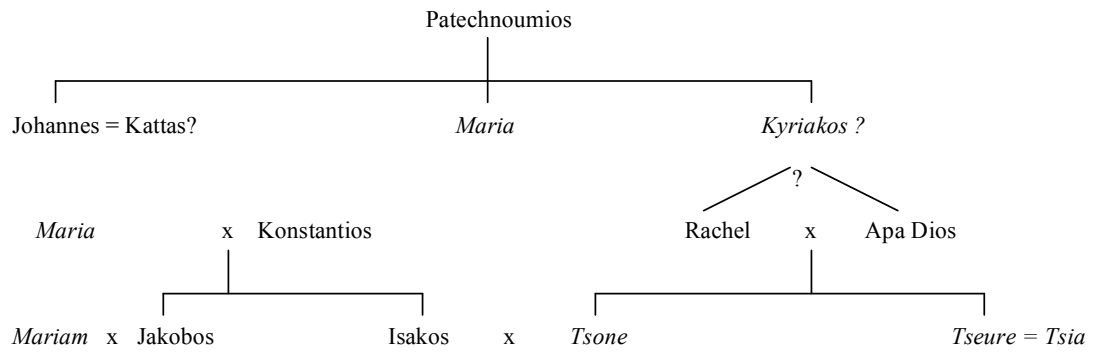


Fig. 2: List of dated documents

Date	Text	Type of text	Persons of the
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584 Aug. 12			
584-585	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1728	Settlement of dispute	P + K
584, March 12	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1729	Cession (gift in anticipation of death)	P
585, May 30	<i>P.Münch.</i> 9 + <i>P.Lond.</i> 1734 (protocol)	Sale of house shares	P
585, Aug. 22	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1730	Cession (transfer of house share)	P + K
585, Sept. 20	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1731	Settlement of dispute	Tapia
586, Jan. 28	<i>P.Münch.</i> 10	Cession (transfer of share of notes)	Pa
586, Aug. 16	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1732	Surety bond	P
586, Oct. 7	<i>P.Münch.</i> 11	Sale of house share	Tapia
590-591	<i>P.Münch.</i> 12	Sale of house share	P + K
594, Jan. 18	<i>P.Münch.</i> 13	Sale of house share + courtyard	P + K
594, Feb. 15	<i>P.Münch.</i> 14	Settlement of dispute	P
594, March 6	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1733	Sale of house shares	Tapia
Late 6th cent.	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1735 + 1851	Sale of house share	
611, Feb. 25	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1736	Loan	P + K
613, Feb. 4	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1737	Secured loan	P

Fig. 3: Transition of property

<b>House A</b>	1) Sale of entire house	A. Jakob and his wife Tsendia	Fl. Jakobos, son of Isakos	530	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1722
	2) Sale of entire house	Fl. Jakobos, son of Isakos	Patechnoumios	After 530	
	3) Sale of 1/3 share of house + deed of entire house	Patechnoumios	great-granddaughters Tsone + Tsere	?	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1724, 22-23
	4) Sale of 1/3 share of house + deed of entire house	Tsone and Tsere	<b>Patermouthis +Kako</b>	578-582	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1724
<b>Symposion</b>	1) Sale of symposion	Tacit	?	±550	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1734
	2) Sale of symposion	?	<b>Tapia</b>	?	?
	3) Sale of	<b>Tapia</b>	<b>Patermouthis</b> +	585	<i>P.Münch.</i> 9

	1/2 symposion 4) Sale of 1/2 symposion	<b>Tapia</b>	<b>Kako</b> Apa Dios, son of Sourous	594	<i>P.Lond.</i> 1733
<b>House B</b>	1) Sale of house	Johannes = Paptios	<b>Tapia + Jakobos</b>	Before 586	<i>P.Munch.</i> 11, 37
	2) Sale of 1/2 house	<b>Tapia</b>	<b>Kyriakos</b>	586	<i>P.Munch.</i> 11
	3) Sale of 1/2 house	Kyriakos	<b>Pathermouthis + Kako</b>	591	<i>P.Munch.</i> 12

Fig. 4: Litigation of inheritance

Text	Date	Persons involved		Object of dispute
<i>P.Munch.</i> 1	574, March 11	Victor, Paeion and Tisa and mother Tlou	Jakobos	Estate of Jakobos
Clackson 1	?	Tsia		
<i>P.Munch.</i> 6 + <i>P.Lond.</i> 1849	583, June 7 (?)	Johannes	Tapia	
<i>P.Munch.</i> 7 + <i>P.Lond.</i> 1860	583, June 23	Johannes	Pathermouthis	
<i>P.Lond.</i> 1728	584 or 585	Johannes	Kako	
<i>P.Lond.</i> 1731	585, Sept. 20	Tapia	Tsone	Payment of child support
<i>P.Munch.</i> 14	594, Febr. 15	Pathermouthis	Johannes	Legacy

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. DE RUSTAFJÆLL, *The Light of Egypt*, London, 1909, pp.3-5; FARBER – RORTEN 1986, p.81.

<sup>2</sup> The texts with inventory numbers 1804, 1808, 1809, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1815, 1817, 1818 and 1820 are published in *P.Lond.* V descr. These fragments were all purchased in 1907, come from Syene and are dated to the sixth century. Therefore they are very likely to be part of the archive.

<sup>3</sup> These texts have been published by CLACKSON 1995. Clackson 1 = BL Or. 6943 (2-5) = W.E. CRUM, *Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri* (= ST), Oxford, 1921, nr. 181; Clackson 2 = BL Or. 6943 (12); Clackson 3 = BL Or. 6943 (11); Clackson 4 = BL Or. 6943 (1) = Crum, ST 96.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *P.Munch.*I, p.2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. CLACKSON 1995, pp.97-98.

<sup>6</sup> A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire* II, Oxford, 1964, p.663; CLACKSON 1995, p.98; PORTEN et alii 1996, p.392; cf. fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Deeds of sale: *P.Munch.* 15 + *P.Lond.* 1855, *P.Munch.* 16, *P.Lond.* 1722, *P.Lond.* 1720, *P.Lond.* 1734, *P.Lond.* 1724, *P.Munch.* 4/5Vo + *P.Lond.* 1726, *P.Munch.* 9 + *P.Lond.* 1734 (protocol), *P.Munch.* 11, *P.Munch.* 12, *P.Munch.* 13, *P.Lond.* 1733, *P.Lond.* 1735 + *P.Lond.* 1851; gifts in anticipation of death: *P.Munch.* 8 + *P.Lond.* 1857, *P.Lond.* 1729; transfer of house share: *P.Lond.* 1730; transfer of share of notes: *P.Munch.* 10.

<sup>8</sup> Legacy settlements and records of litigation: *P.Munch.* 1, *P.Munch.* 6 + *P.Lond.* 1849, *P.Munch.* 7 + *P.Lond.* 1860, *P.Lond.* 1728, *P.Lond.* 1731, *P.Munch.* 14; will: *P.Lond.* 1727.



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- <sup>9</sup> Loans: *P.Lond.* 1723, *P.Lond.* 1736, *P.Lond.* 1737; debt acknowledgments: *P.Lond.* 1719, *P.Lond.* 1721, *P.Münch.* 3 + *P.Lond.* 1726.
- <sup>10</sup> Surety bond: *P.Lond.* 1732; enrollment of a new recruit: *P.Münch.* 2; note *P.Münch.* 5Ro.
- <sup>11</sup> Letters: Clackson 1 and 2; BL Or. 6943 (6-10); lists of goods: *P.Lond.* 1720Vo; Crum, ST 116.
- <sup>12</sup> Cf. CLACKSON 1995, p.98.
- <sup>13</sup> FARBER 1990, p.111.
- <sup>14</sup> Cf. CLACKSON 1995, pp.113-114.
- <sup>15</sup> Cf. FARBER – PORTEN 1986, pp.94-95.
- <sup>16</sup> PORTEN et alii 1996, p.395.
- <sup>17</sup> *P.Münch.* 15 + *P.Lond.* 1855, *P.Münch.* 16, *P.Lond.* 1722, *P.Lond.* 1734.
- <sup>18</sup> BELL 1913, p.163; ID., *P.Lond.* V 1719, introduction.
- <sup>19</sup> L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Further Notes on ST 439* (= *P.Lond.* V 1720v), *ZPE* 96 (1993), p.230.
- <sup>20</sup> BELL 1913, pp.164-165; PORTEN et alii 1996, p.486.
- <sup>21</sup> Cf. G. HUSSON, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Paris, 1983, pp.270-271; HUSSON 1990.
- <sup>22</sup> PORTEN et alii 1996, p.394.
- <sup>23</sup> PORTEN et alii 1996, p.395.
- <sup>24</sup> FARBER - PORTEN 1986, pp.89-93.
- <sup>25</sup> Cf. FARBER – PORTEN 1986, pp.93-94.
- <sup>26</sup> Cf. FARBER 1990; PORTEN et alii 1996, pp.395-398.
- <sup>27</sup> L. WENGER, *P.Münch.* I, introduction, p.6.
- <sup>28</sup> Cf. CLACKSON 1995, p.102.
- <sup>29</sup> Bell supposed that *P.Lond.* 1735 was drawn up in Babylon, reading Βᾱ or Βαζ in, l.23 as Βαβυλωνος, the fortress at the head of the Delta, but this is corrected by J. GASCOU, *BIFAO* 76 (1976), pp.172-174.
- <sup>30</sup> HUSSON 1990, pp.135-136.
- <sup>31</sup> KEENAN 1990, p.146.
- <sup>32</sup> Cf. L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Christianity at Syene*, *BASP* 27 (1990), p.157.
- <sup>33</sup> KEENAN 1990, pp.149-150.
- <sup>34</sup> Cf. KEENAN 1990, pp.144-145.
- <sup>35</sup> Cf. L. WENGER, *P.Münch.* I, introduction, p.9; KEENAN 1990, pp.142-143.
- <sup>36</sup> FARBER 1990, p.111, n.2.
- <sup>37</sup> Cf. J.G. KEENAN, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt*, *ZPE* 11 (1973), pp.62-63; *ZPE* 13 (1974), p.300.
- <sup>38</sup> For Patermouthis' military career, see KEENAN 1990, pp.143-144.
- <sup>39</sup> KEENAN 1990, p.144.
- <sup>40</sup> KEENAN, 1990, pp.145-146.
- <sup>41</sup> FARBER 1990, p.112.