

Place Date Language Material Number of texts Type Collections Find/Acquisition	<p><b>Sheep lessees of Theadelphia</b></p> <p style="text-align: right;">ArchID 217. Version 2 (2013) Karolien Geens</p>
	<p>Arsinoites (Fayum), meris of Themistos, Theadelphia AD 260-306 Greek Papyrus 19 certain <b>Professional archive</b> Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale Bought on the antiquities market early 20th century</p>
<p><b>Bibliography</b></p>	<p>J. SCHWARTZ, 'Une famille de chepteliers au III<sup>e</sup> S.p.C.', <i>Rech. Pap.</i> 3 (1964), p. 49-96 [<i>P. Chept.</i> 1-20].</p> <p>D. RATHBONE, <i>Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in third-century A.D. Egypt: the Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate</i>, Cambridge, 1991, p. 202-206, 209-211.</p> <p>The numbers in <b>bold</b> refer to <i>P. Chept.</i></p>
<p><b>Description</b></p>	<p>The archive of the sheep lessees of Theadelphia (AD 260-306) consists of 19 documents in Strasbourg with inventory numbers ranging between 1169 and 1238. They entered the library at the beginning of the 20th century, together with some documents of the archives of Heroninos and of Sakaon of Theadelphia, which suggests that all texts have appeared together on the antiquities market and that they were probably found simultaneously. There is no information about their find place.</p> <p>The texts deal with a family specialized in leasing sheep from the region of Theadelphia (cf. the stemma App. 1). We have kept the name given by J. Schwartz, who made a full edition of the archive under the title 'Une famille de chepteliers'. The documents concern the brothers Neilammon (<b>1-3</b>, <b>5-6</b>, <i>SB</i> XIV 11589 (= <b>7+8</b>), <b>10</b>; AD 260-275) and Kalamos/Kalamon (<b>4</b>, <b>9</b>, <b>11</b>, <b>13-15</b>; 268-AD 281), and the latter's son Pabous (<b>12</b>; AD 277). The later documents (<b>16-20</b>; 300-306 AD) relate to Neilammon's son Pasis. Probably Pasis, who inherited his family's papers, was the final archive keeper. As he lived in Thraso, near Theadelphia, the archive might well have been found there. <i>P. Sakaon</i> 76 (now in Michigan, inv. no. <i>P. Cornell</i> II 30) is a declaration of land by [Aurelius Pas]is, son of Neilammon, of Theadelphia from 298. As the name of the author is uncertain and the document is outside the collection of Strasbourg, it is unlikely that the text is part of the archive, or that the author is identical with Pasis, son of Neilammon.</p> <p>All texts are incoming documents, except for <b>9</b> and <b>12</b>, offers to lease sheep by Kalamos and his son. They were kept by the lessees after confirmation by the lessor. A large group of documents are receipts for rent of sheep leases paid in money or in kind by both Neilammon and Kalamos (<b>1-6</b>, <i>SB</i> XIV 11589). <b>10</b> and <b>11</b> are orders to transfer their herds to the chief shepherd (cf. App. 2). <b>15</b> is a business letter addressed to Kalamos. The archive also contains two contracts of sale (<b>13</b> [a sale of a donkey]; <b>17</b> [a sale of wool]) and a contract of loan (<b>19</b>). Finally, there are four tax receipts (<b>14</b>, <b>16</b>, <b>18</b>, <b>20</b>).</p> <p>The brothers Neilammon and Kalamos were specialised in leasing sheep from large estates of</p>

metropolitane and Alexandrian citizens, such as Antonius Philoxenos, Flavia Isidora and Valeria Elpinike alias Philoxene (cf. App. 2).<sup>1</sup>

- **1-3** attest the lease of a flock owned by Antonius Philoxenos from AD 255 to 276. They constitute a rent-book kept by the successive lessees: the slave (*paidarion*) Kastor (in 255), Heroninos, manager of the Appianus estate (from 255 tot 260) and finally **Neilammon** (from 260 to 276), to whom the previous receipts were passed on. The rent was fixed in two equal six-monthly installments of 1000 dr., in Phamenoth and Thoth.<sup>2</sup> Neilammon also leased a herd of goats from Antonius Philoxenos (**5**). **6** records the payment by Neilammon to Flavia Isidora alias Kyrilla of an annual rent of 800 dr. in bi-annual installments for the years 261/262 through to 266/267. *SB XIV 11589* continues the record of these rent payments, now made to Valeria Elpinike alias Philoxene, from 267/268 to the first bi-annual payment for 270/271. The flock of Isidora/Elpinike consisted of half rams and half ewes, geared for the production of wool.<sup>3</sup>
- Neilammon's brother **Kalamos** leased herds from the same estates. In 267 he hands over goats to Antonius Philoxenos' chief shepherd Abous (**4**). **9** (AD 268) is a contract by which Kalamos continues leasing from Elpinike for a period of five years the flock he had until then leased from Flavia Isidora at the same annual rent.
- The leases of Neilammon and Kalamos were abruptly terminated, because the estate wanted the flocks transferred to the Memphite nome: **10** is an order addressed to Neilammon by Dionysios, guardian (*epitropos*) of Elpinike, to transfer 50 sheep and 5 goats to Pekysis, chief shepherd. Two days later, Pekysis acknowledges to Kalamos the transfer of the same amount of sheep and goats from the Arsinoite into the Memphite nome with chief shepherd Aurelius Sabinus (**11**). The estates preferred to entrust the day-to-day care of these investments to their own men.<sup>4</sup>
- Neilammon and Kalamos both had their herds in the village of Sentrepaei. They probably also lived there, though they originated from the village of Neilopolis (cf. *SB XIV 11589*, **9**, **11**).

Documents for the two sons are less common. In **12** Pabous, son of Kalamos, leases a herd of 56 goats in 276 from Aurelius Panneus of Theoxenis. Pabous resided in Euhemeria. Pasis, mentioned in the later documents, lived at Thraso, where he was employed at one of the domains of Alypios, of which Heroninos had formerly been manager (ArchiID 103). In **17** of July 301, Pasis sold some wool, presumably from a flock he was leasing, for 3000 dr. to a villager of Hermopolis. In 305/306 he paid an annual tax of 22,000 dr. on herds, from the domain of Alypios, which implies that he leased a flock, which had belonged to Alypios (cf. **20**). This high amount of 22,000 dr. reflects the monetary inflation of the period after ca. 270 and these annual payments may be the cause of Pasis' financial problems. In 303, Pasis contracted a loan of 4320 dr. for one month, so it seems that he was suffering some cash-flow

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rathbone 1991.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for payment in these particular months is given in **9**, 8-11, where it is said that half the flock had just been sheared in Thoth and the other half was due for shearing in Phamenoth. Cf. Rathbone 1991, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> Rathbone 1991, p. 205.

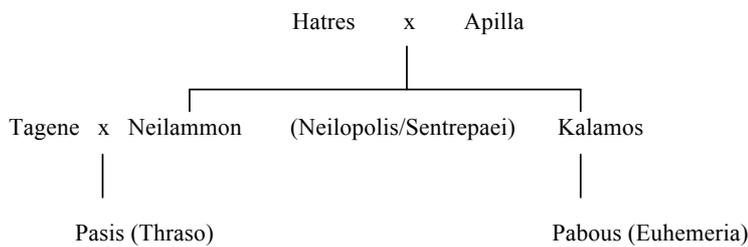
<sup>4</sup> Rathbone 1991, p. 205-206.

problems. Finally, according to the archive of Sakaon (ArchID 206), Pasis owned a small plot of land at Theadelphia (*P. Sakaon* 49) and is in 336 still registered as land owner of 3 1/8 arouras (*P. Sakaon* 49). Though the land is registered in his name, it is likely that Pasis was already dead by that time, or else he must have reached the age of ca. 95.<sup>5</sup>

**Archive texts** *P. Sakaon* 86 (= **16**); 87 (= **18**); 95 (= **17**); 96 (= **19**); 97 (= **20**); *P. Strasb. Gr.* I 6 (= **1**), 7 (= **2**), 8 (= **3**), 30 (= **12**), III 132 (= **6**), 139 (= **13**); *SB* V 8086 (= **9**), 8087 (= **10**), VIII 9908 (= **4**), 9909 (= **5**), 9912 (= **11**), 9913 (= **14**), 9914 (= **15**), XIV 11589 (= **7+8**).

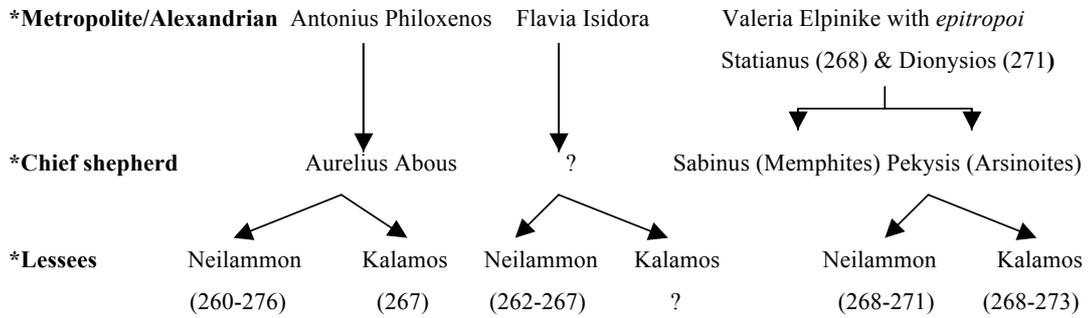
**Text types** Receipt of rent for lease, contracts of loan and sale, letter, order for transfer = incoming (**1-8, 10-11, 13-20**) and outgoing documents (**9, 12**).

**Appendices** App. 1. Stemma of the family



<sup>5</sup> Pasis was ca. 60 years in AD 301 (cf. **17**).

App. 2. System of leasing



Year	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273
Neilammon	260-276: Antonius Philoxenos													
				262-267: Flavia Isidora alias Kyrilla										
									268-271: Valeria Elpinike					
Kalamos								(1)						
									268-273 (271): Elpinike					

(1) AD 267: Antonius Philoxenos