## Receipt for the Revenue of the 1-and-2% Toll

W. Graham Claytor\*

**Abstract:** Edition of a receipt belonging to the Theadelphian archive of Aphrodisios, which provides more information on the family's liturgical posts.

Keywords: Fayum; Theadelphia; toll-gate; customs

https://doi.org/10.1515/apf-2021-0030

This receipt was drawn up for Aphrodisios, son of Philippos, who can be identified as Aphrodisios II of the four-generation family archive from Theadelphia.<sup>1</sup> The papyrus was part of Columbia University's 1924 distribution from the Anglo-American consortium and is the first from the collection to be connected to the archive, the core of which was acquired in 1912 from Ali Abd el-Haj, a well-known antiquities dealer based in Giza.<sup>2</sup> The gap between these acquisitions is paralleled by the papyri of the Theadelphia Administrative archive, some of which were purchased for the Berlin collection from the same dealer in 1912, while others, including parts of the same rolls, were acquired by Columbia in 1923.<sup>3</sup> Other papyri acquired in the 1920s are connected with the family of

<sup>\*</sup> Kontakt: W. Graham Claytor, Institut für Papyrologie, Zentrum für Altertumswissenschaften, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Marstallstr. 6, 69117 Heidelberg, Deutschland, <graham.claytor@uni-heidelberg.de> <gclaytor@gmail.com>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> TM Arch 294. For an overview and a family tree, see R. Smolders, "Aphrodisios son of Philippos and descendents," Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections, Version 2 (2013) <a href="https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/294.pdf">https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/294.pdf</a>>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On this dealer, see F. Hagen and K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930. The H.O. Lange Papers* (Copenhagen 2016), 192–195. The papyri were acquired by Carl Schmidt and divided between the John Rylands Library in Manchester and the Neutestamentliches Seminar in Berlin (*P.Meyer*, p. iii; R. Mazza, *Pap.Congr.* XXVI, p. 506); the latter collection was unfortunately destroyed during World War II. *SB* IV 7393 from the Berlin collection was also acquired from Ali Abd el-Haj in 1912.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> TM Arch 247.

Aphrodisios or the closely related archive of Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros, <sup>4</sup> including further unpublished documents in the Columbia collection and elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

The receipt records Aphrodisios' payment, through his colleague Stotoetis, of 184 drachmas, 3 obols, which represents one month's revenue from the 1-and-2% customs duty at the toll gate of Dionysias. Related to this receipt and no doubt also part of the archive is a Milan papyrus, dated just over a month later, in which the same pair of toll supervisors ( $\epsilon\pi$ irtnpntaí) are recorded submitting an account of revenues from the 1-and-2% toll covering the preceding five months (the amount itself is not recorded).<sup>6</sup> The revenues were destined for the state bank in Arsinoe, and the accounts of Aphrodisios and his colleague were subject to audit by the nome  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda$ oyu $\sigma$ tnc, as the Milan papyrus shows.

The family of Aphrodisios likely lived in Theadelphia, where the archive was no doubt found, although they were registered metropolites who belonged to the class of 6,475 settlers of the Arsinoite nome.

<sup>6</sup> SB XIV 12135 (30 Aug., 134), quoted below in the commentary to 1. 5. SB XIV 11616, also from Milan, is also related: it is a short notation concerning two drachmas paid "though Aphrodisios, son of Philippos," for the 1-and-2% toll of the gate of Dionysias and thus can be dated to ca. 134. These papyri are part of the collection of Milan's Università Cattolica. Another link between the Theadelphian acquisitions of this collection and the Anglo-American consortium is the archive of Harthotes (TM Arch 99), which even includes two documents split between Milan and Columbia: SB XX 14440 and P.Col. inv. 11 (unpublished) + P.Mil. I<sup>2</sup> 10. See W.G. Claytor, E. Nabney, and N. Litinas, "Labor Contracts from the Archive of Harthotes," BASP 53 (2016), 79–119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *P.Corn.* 40 (105 CE); *SB* XXII 15536 (133 CE); *SB* XVIII 13091 (136 CE); *SB* VI 9093 (138 CE); *P.Leit.* 14 (148 CE); *P.Wisc.* I 37 (148 CE); *P.Oslo* III 91 (149 CE). The Milan papyri (below, n. 6) were likely also acquired in the early 1920s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P.Col. inv. 29, <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p423>, is a nomination of ἐπιτηρηταί (Ptolemaios, son of Diodoros alias Dioskoros is found in l. 4); P.Col. inv. 34b, <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p428>, is a penthemeral report of revenues for the period 18–22 Sept., 148, which directly precedes *P.Leit*. 14; P.Col. inv. 159a (image not in APIS) is a fragment of a census declaration submitted by Sarapias, daughter of Philippos (I), with Philippos (II, her nephew) as her *kyrios*. A papyrus held at Catholic University of America (H.H.1.02) preserves drafts (on both sides) of the census declaration *SB* XXII 15336, whose text can be improved through collation with this parallel (I thank Lajos Berkes for bringing this piece to my attention). Finally, P.Mich. inv. 142 (<https:// quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-4985/142R.TIF>), possibly a receipt for the φόρος προβάτων involving Aphrodisios II, is written in the same hand as P.Col. inv. 122. These papyri are now being studied by Valentina Iannace in the context of a University of Manchester dissertation on the archives.

Aphrodisios himself was a citizen of Antinoopolis by 139 CE.<sup>7</sup> Aphrodisios and his son Philippos (II) held a series of liturgical positions, which, according to one petition from the archive, rendered each of them ἄπορος (in the technical sense of being unable to perform liturgies).<sup>8</sup> Besides his ἐπιτήρησις of the toll gate at Dionysias, Aphrodisios II served as [σιτοπαρα]λήμπτης,<sup>9</sup> while Philippos II is well attested as ἐπιτηρητής of the pastures and marsh of Theadelphia and Polydeukeia.<sup>10</sup>

P.Col. inv. 12214.75 x 7 cmArsinoite nomeTM 32193420 July, 134 CEImage: <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p768>

The papyrus is nearly complete on all sides, with some damage along the edges and the two vertical fold lines. The bottom margin measures 5.5 cm and the top 2 cm. The writing is with the fibers in a rapid cursive exhibiting extreme *Verschleifung*. An interpunct separates the name from patronymic in 1. 5. The same hand is found in the unpublished receipt P.Mich. inv. 142 (see above, n. 5). The back is blank except for a few indistinct traces.

A close parallel for the structure of this receipt is *P.Meyer* 10 (144), in which Aphrodisios II's son Philippos II is likewise credited with a payment made through an  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi i\tau \eta \rho \eta \tau \eta \varsigma$ .<sup>11</sup> For another receipt for the revenues of the 1-and-2% toll, see *P.Mich.* XXI 834 (Karanis, 129), which was issued by the nomarchs to an unnamed recipient (but presumably the toll overseer).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *P.Ryl.* II 324 descr., ll. 11–12 (image: <https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/ detail/ManchesterDev~93~3~23692~100434>).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> P.Meyer 8.13–14, 151 CE. On this text, see N. Lewis, "The Tangled Tale of P.Mey. 8," in P.Thomas, pp. 25–27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *P.Meyer* 8.13–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> P.Col. inv. 34b (see n. 5), *P.Leit*. 14, *P.Wisc*. I 37, all of 148 CE; *P.Oslo* III 91 and *PSI* III 160 (duplicates, 149 CE); possibly also *P.Ryl* II 98a (154/5), where Philippos' patronymic is restored (note that a contemporary ἐπιτηρητής was named Philippos, son of Herakleides). On the title of this ἐπιτήρησις, see Reiter (n. 12), 194–197. Philippos II likely held another ἐπιτήρησις in 144, according to *P.Meyer* 10, quoted below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> P.Meyer 10.3–7 (with BL III.106): δι(έγραψε) | Φίλιππος Ἀφροδ(ισίου) δι(ὰ) Γαλάτου τοῦ καὶ | Διδύ(μου) ἐπιτη(ρητοῦ) εἰς τὰ καθ(ήκοντα) περιγι(νόμενα) ὑπ(αρχόντων) Θεαδελ(φείας) ἑβδόμου <(ἔτους)> (δραχμὰς) τριάκοντα ἕξ | γ(ίνονται) λς. The original cannot be consulted because it was destroyed along with the rest of the collection of the Neutestamentliches Seminar in Berlin during World War II.

ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου Αὐτο[κ]ρ[άτορος Καί]σ̞α̞[ρ]ο̞ς Τρα̞ιανοῦ Άδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπεὶφ κ͡<

- 4 εἰς ἀρίθ(μησιν) Παῦνι. δι(έγραψεν)
  Ἀφ {o} ροδίσιος Φιλίππου
  δι(à) Στοτοή(τιος) ἐπιτη(ρητοῦ) (ἑκατοστῆς) (πεντηκοστῆς) πύλ(ης)
  Διονυσι(άδος) ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου (ἔτους)
- 8 (δρ.) ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα τέσσαρας (τριώβολον),
  (γίν.) (δρ.) ρπδ (τριώβολον).

4 αριθ-, δι– pap. 5 αφοροδισιοσ· pap. 6 δι στοτοη επιτη  $\rho v \pi v$  pap. 7 διονυσι pap.

Eighteenth year of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Epeiph 26, for the accounting period of Pauni. Aphrodisios, son of Philippos, paid through Stotoetis, superintendent of the 1-and-2% toll of the gate of Dionysias for the eighteenth year, one hundred eighty-four drachmas, three obols, which come to 184 dr., 3 ob.

**3–4** Ἐπεὶφ κ $\overline{s}$  | εἰς ἀρίθ(μησιν) Παῦνι: For this accounting formula, see D. Hagedorn, *BGU* XX 2851, Exkurs II.

**5** Άφ{o}ροδίσιος Φιλίππου: There is too much ink for simply Άφρο-: following the vertical of phi (which, though abraded, comes straight down like that in  $\Phi_{i\lambda(i\pi\pi\sigma\nu)}$ , there is a smudged trace high in the line and a surprisingly low circle. The writer appears to have begun 'Aqo-, or perhaps even Άφρο-, before continuing with -ροδίσιος. The following patronymic could be transcribed  $\Phi_{i\lambda i\pi o \nu}$ , but given the writer's speed, I take the second pi as mostly buried in Verschleifung. Aphrodisios is the the thirdgeneration protagonist of the archive, called Aphrodisios II to distinguish him from this homonymous grandfather. He was born around 100 (SB VI 9093, P.Ryl. II 332 descr., and 324 descr.) and is still alive in 158-160 (PSI V 463). Although not explicitly stated in this receipt, Aphrodisios was also ἐπιτηρητής of the 1-and-2% toll, along with his colleague Stotoetis, as the Milan papyrus SB XIV 12135 (30 Aug., 134 CE) makes clear: ὑ[πὸ] Ἀφροδεισίου Φιλίππου καὶ | Σ[τοτ]οήτ[ι]ος Στοτοήτιος τῶν β | έπιτη(ρητῶν) (ἑκατοστῆς) καὶ (πεντηκοστῆς) πύλης Διονυσιάδο(ς) (ll. 2-4). For another metropolite serving as toll-supervisor, cf. P.Wisc. II 80.2-5 (Bakchias, 114 CE).

**6** δι(à) Στοτοή(τιος) ἐπιτη(ρητοῦ): For the abbreviation ἐπιτη(ρητοῦ), cf. *BGU* III 697.6 (= *W.Chr.* 321 = *Sel.Pap.* II 370, Arsinoite, 145 CE), where the eta is more clearly enlarged to indicate abbreviation. The name of the intermediary could at first glance be read as Σαραπ(), with a final curved pi in abbreviation. Yet, in light of the name of Aphrodisios' colleague in *SB* XIV 12135 (which looks correct on the plate), the reading Στοτοή(τιος) should be preferred; the final stroke in this case would be the hasta of a large, cursive eta.

**6–7** ἐπιτη(ρητοῦ) (ἑκατοστῆς) (πεντηκοστῆς) πύλ(ης) | Διονυσι(άδος): ἐπιτηρηταί, "overseers," were liturgists selected by the strategos to supervise state revenue streams.<sup>12</sup> ἐπιτηρηταί of other Arsinoite toll gates are known from SB XX 15021.6 (113/114) and 15022.4–5 (114; both Kaine); *P.Wisc.* II 80.2–4 and 190–191 (Bakchias, 114); *P.Amh.* II 77 = W.Chr. 277.7–9 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 139 or after); *P.Berl.Möller* 5.1–3 (Psei, 145); and *P.Phil.* 35.13–14 (Philadelphia, late II): cf. Reiter (n. 12), 255– 258. See also the recently-published *P.Mich.* XXI 836 (Karanis, 129), whose unnamed recipient was likely the ἐπιτηρητὴς πύλης Καρανίδος.

(ἑκατοστῆς) (πεντηκοστῆς) πύ $\lambda$ (ης): On this toll, see generally Reiter (n. 12), 236–250. Usually written  $\overline{\rho}$  kai  $\overline{\nu}$ , the toll's name is also found occasionally without the copulative (P.Customs, p. 24, n. 45; see P.Mich. XXI 836.6 for a recent example). In the present text, one could read simply  $\overline{\rho} \pi \overline{\upsilon}$ , but *pi* and *nu* are almost identical in this hand (cf.  $\Pi \alpha \widehat{\upsilon} \nu_i$ , 1. 4), and given the clear testimony of SB XIV 12135.4 that Aphrodisios and Stotoetis were supervisors of the combined 1-and-2% toll, it is best to read  $\overline{\rho v} \pi \overline{v}$ , with the *pi* mostly absorbed in *Verschleifung*. It is surprising that the numeral nu would be directly connected to the following word, but the two strokes above this cluster seems to provide support for this reading: the first would be marking the numeral, while the second I take as marking the abbreviation  $\pi i \lambda(\eta \varsigma)$ . Between 93–133, there are 12 references to a 1% toll alone, whereas before and after this period the 1% toll is always joined with the 2% toll (Reiter [n. 12], 248–250). The present text and SB XIV 12135 are the earliest evidence for the reintroduction of the combined toll, although there is one exceptional reference to the combined toll in the period 93-133: P.Mich. XXI 836 (Karanis, 3 Sept., 129 CE).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> F. Reiter, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites: Ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten* (Paderborn 2004), 281–282, who argues further that ἐπιτηρηταί were chosen when no voluntary μισθωταί could be found for a particular tax (for a response, see D. Rathbone's review, *CR* 57 (2007), 490–492 at 491).

πύλ(ης) | Διονυσι(άδος): Known from nine toll receipts<sup>13</sup> and the two other references involving Aphrodisios II: *SB* XIV 12135 and 11616 (see above with n. 6).



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *BGU* XIII 2308 (133 CE), *P.Fay.* 68 (158 CE), *BGU* XI 2029 (161–168 CE), *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4740 (183 CE), *P.Customs* 475 (207 CE), *SB* V 7822 (208 CE), *P.Customs* 466, 468–470 (208). For a new reading of *P.Customs* 467, previously assigned to the toll gate of Dionysias, and the date of the last group of receipts, see Reiter (n. 12), 240.